

Alexander Onysko  
Anglicisms in German



# Linguistik – Impulse & Tendenzen

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Borrowing, Lexical Productivity,  
and Written Codeswitching

Walter de Gruyter · Berlin · New York

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## Preface

This study sets out to shed light on a particular language contact scenario – the influence of English on German. In general, contact appears as one of the most intricate subjects in the study of language since it is based on a complex bundle of socio-cultural and psychological factors that influence the linguistic output of speakers on the interface of two or more languages and cultures. As such, language contact is at once socially and geopolitically determined and exists as an individual psychological reality of multilingual speakers. This double nature of language contact is truly fascinating and creates the necessary friction for thriving research. A plethora of studies following different approaches and schools of thought underline the prolonged interest in investigating the interaction of languages.

Outside of a linguist's box of analyzing contact features in sets of utterances, language contact can emerge as a socially and emotionally sensitive issue. Perceived linguistic influence can lead to institutional efforts of language planning and policy in order to "protect" the integrity of one's tongue. These reactions rest on the tight connection between identity and language, and on the belief that language is an alienable and limitable entity. The pervasiveness of contact, however, stresses the futility of these beliefs and of any related claims about language as pure or impure. In fact, variation, blending, projection, and generation underlie every form of verbal communication.

Despite these far-reaching prospects of language contact, this study does not attempt to deal with these issues on a general level. Rather, it aims to provide a theoretical base of contact types and parameters and to give a detailed analysis of how English impacts the structure of German and its discourse in a popular written medium. The general thrust of the contact situation reflects the present role of English as a global source of language influence.

As with most books, the process of creating this work, which is based on a dissertation defended at the University of Innsbruck, benefited greatly from the interaction with a number of inspiring people. I would like to thank a few supporters in particular. First of all, I express my gratitude to my dissertational supervisors, Manfred Markus for providing the necessary creative space and for giving essential guidance in the corpus-based analysis, and Nancy Stenson for welcoming me warmly as a guest-participant in her excellent classes at the University of Minnesota and for guiding and deepening my interest in the field of language contact. Their personal manner and their critical

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For invaluable proofreading and commenting on the whole manuscript, I am deeply thankful to my friend and colleague Gerhild Salcher. All remaining faults and inconsistencies are my own. I would also like to thank the Fulbright Commission for supporting a substantial part of my stay in the U.S. For personal support, professional advice, and helpful suggestions on formatting the manuscript, I am grateful to Gisela and Ferdinand Peters, Reinhard Heuberger, David Martyn, and Bernhard Morass. As far as the publication process is concerned, I extend my thankfulness to the editors of the series *Linguistik – Impulse und Tendenzen* and to the publishing house represented by Angelika Hermann and by its editor in chief Heiko Hartmann.

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*Alexander Onysko*

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## Symbols and Abbreviations

[...]	phonetic transcription
/.../	phonemic transcription
<...>	graphological notation / tag script
'...'	meaning / quotation within quotation
{...}	rules / structural notation
(...)	semantic features
*	hypothetical form
→	derived from / resulting in
→	direction of transmission
#	word boundary
acc.	accusative
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
A.E.	American English
A.G.	Austrian German
Am.Port.	American Portuguese
<i>AWB</i>	<i>Anglizismen Wörterbuch</i> (dictionary of anglicisms in German)
C	consonant
dat.	dative
dim.	diminutive
E.	English
EL	embedded language
f.	feminine
F.	French
G.	German (standard)
gen.	genitive
Gr.	Greek
indic.	indicative
L.	Latin
LC	language-cultural area
lit.	literally
m.	masculine
ME	Middle English
ML	matrix language
<i>MW</i>	<i>Merriam-Webster</i>
n.	noun
nom.	nominative

NP	noun phrase
nt.	neuter
OE	Old English
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OF	Old French
pass.	passive
pers.	person
pl.	plural
p-rule	phonological gender rule
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
RL	receptor language
sg.	singular
SL	source language
s/m-rule	semantic/morphological gender rule
subjunc.	subjunctive
TF	token frequency
trans.	translation
v.	verb
V	vowel
VP	verb phrase

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## 1. English as a source of language influence in German

*Die Welle der Anglo-Amerikanisierung schlägt über uns zusammen und droht das deutsche Sprachschiff auf den Grund zu schicken.* (Der Spiegel 2000: 44/240)

[The wave of Anglo-Americanization breaks on top of us and threatens to sink the ship of the German language.]

This quotation taken from the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* exemplifies how the occurrence of English elements in German is perceived in parts of the current public discourse. People decrying the use of English elements in German often apply metaphors describing English as a force that threatens the existence of the German language or that leads to an adulteration of German. Resistance towards the use of English has led to the foundation of the association *Verein Deutsche Sprache* (German Language Association), which explicitly states its attitude on the Internet:

*Uns vereint der Überdruß an der Vermischung des Deutschen mit dem Englischen zu Denglisch; uns geht das pseudokosmopolitische Imponiergehabe vieler Zeitgenossen, wie es sich insbesondere im hemmungslosen Gebrauch von überflüssigen Anglizismen äußert, gewaltig auf die Nerven.* (<http://www.vds-ev.de>, January 2006)

[We are united in being fed up with the adulteration of German with English, leading to “Denglisch”; we are deeply annoyed with the pseudo-cosmopolitan pretentiousness of many fellow citizens, which is particularly evident in the unrestrained use of unnecessary anglicisms.]

The association denounces the use of certain English loanwords, which are considered unnecessary for the German language (e.g. *event*, *highlight*, *shooting star*, *outfit* cf. <http://www.vds-ev.de/verein>, January 2007). As one of its ambitions to cultivate the German language, *Verein Deutsche Sprache* compiles a list of anglicisms with proposed German renderings. The association’s actions have culminated in a highly questionable public appearance which involved sticking posters on shop windows that display anglicisms (cf. Spitzmüller 2002 for a critical discussion). Furthermore, the association organizes monthly and annual awards to denigrate *Sprachpanscher* and *Sprachhunzer* (language adulterators). These activities show that the occurrence of anglicisms in German has led to a radicalization of public discourse (cf. Spitzmüller 2002: 254).

In general, the polemic strategies against the use of English words boil down to a few simple mechanisms. As in the opening quote, English is depicted as a menace to German. In a similar vein, the term globalization is often used synonymously with Anglo-Americanization to denote an impending challenge of the status quo (cf. Duszak and Okulska 2004: 7-13 for a discussion on the undifferentiated use of the term globalization). Metaphors of danger induce a reaction of fear and rejection. The discourse about anglicisms in German is based on a perception of English elements as non-indigenous, as foreign, as intruding. These beliefs, in turn, form the foundation for using language as a tool to construct identity and nationhood. For the construction of national identity, language can intermingle with the notion of cultural heritage, which commonly relies on an iconic interpretation of specific customs and historical figures. The discourse of *Verein Deutsche Sprache* tries to employ similar means by referring to German as “die Sprache Goethes” ('the language of Goethe') and by referring to the famous minnesänger Walther von der Vogelweide as a role model for the cultivation of the German language (<http://www.vds-ev.de/denglisch>; January 2007).

In light of this biased ideological undertone, scholarly investigation bears a socio-cultural obligation to provide more objective analyses of the influence of English on German. To work towards that aim, the task of research is two-fold: On the one hand, the public discourse on the topic should be critically analyzed and its results made accessible to the public (cf. Spitzmüller 2005 for a major contribution in this area). On the other hand, research should investigate the actual occurrence and the integration of English elements in different media and communicative situations of the German language. This calls for large-scale corpus studies that provide a detailed perspective on the numerical and structural impact of English on German.

As far as the history of research is concerned, investigations on the influence of English on German constitute fairly recent endeavours. Their origins date back to the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when Dunger drew attention to the rising occurrence of English terminology in German with his publications *Wörterbuch von Verdeutschungen entbehrlicher Fremdwörter* ('Dictionary of Germanizations of Dispensable Foreign Words', 1882; reprint in Dunger 1989) and *Engländerei in der deutschen Sprache* ('Anglicization in the German Language', 1909; reprint in Dunger 1989). As the titles imply, Dunger's works were inspired by language-purism. In 1936, Stiven conducted an extensive study of English loan influences in German from the 13<sup>th</sup> century to 1935. Her findings confirm Dunger's concerns that the

impact of English on German accelerated in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, concomitant with the industrial revolution.

After WWII, scholarly investigations of English influence on German began to flourish because of the influx of new loans from the Anglo-American world and due to advances in research on language contact by scholars such as Betz (1936, 1949), Haugen (1950), and Weinreich (1953). With his first major work *Englische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache nach 1945* ('English Influence on the German Language after 1945'), Carstensen (1965) paved the way for a multitude of studies in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Up until the nineties Carstensen remained one of the most avid researchers in the field. A decade long project led to the creation of the most comprehensive dictionary of anglicisms in German published so far, *Anglizismen Wörterbuch* (hence *AWB*), completed by Busse (3 vols.: 1993, 1994, 1996).

Until today, a variety of research foci have developed, such as the perennial problem of defining an anglicism (cf. Duckworth 1977, Galinsky 1977, Carstensen 1992), stylistic aspects of anglicisms (cf. Galinsky 1963, Pfitzner 1978, Viereck W. 1996), sociolinguistic studies about the comprehension and the acceptance of anglicisms (cf. Carstensen 1981b, Effertz and Vieth 1996, Hofmann 2002), and the use of anglicisms in special languages as in advertisements (cf. Fink 1997b, Hilgendorf 1996) and technical languages (cf. Allenbacher 1999, Schmitt 1985, Vesterhus 1992). The majority of studies have tried to assess the impact of anglicisms in terms of frequency, structural integration, and semantic functions. Traditionally, the language of the press has served as the main medium of investigation (cf. Carstensen 1965, Carstensen et. al. 1972, Dresch 1995, Fink 1968, Langer 1996, Oeldorf 1990, Schelper 1995, Yang 1990, Zengerling-Veith 2003, Zindler 1959).

Some studies on the language of the press have also investigated regional differences in the numerical occurrence and use of anglicisms. Viereck K. provides an account for Austrian German (1986). Fink (1997a) and Lee (1996) focus on East Germany and investigate the hypothesis that the number of anglicisms has increased since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Lee indeed notes an increase after the break-up of the former GDR (1996: 29-31). The lack of a comparison to West-German newspapers, however, leaves the question open whether the results are really related to unification and not merely indicative of a general rise in the use of anglicisms in Germany at that time. Schelper provides a contrastive diachronic analysis based on selected pages of one major newspaper each from Switzerland, Germany, East Germany, and

Austria in order to examine the general development of anglicisms over time (1949-1989) and to ascertain national differences. Her results show that the frequency of anglicisms has slightly increased over time (Schelper 1995: 129). In terms of national differences, however, Schelper is not able to find a significant numerical variation among the diverse newspapers (1995: 128).

More recently, studies have been based on spoken German on TV (Glahn 2002) or mixed corpora of press language and TV language (Plümer 2000). Furthermore, several contrastive studies with German and other European languages were carried out (cf. Jabłoński 1990: German, Polish, and French; Gester 2001: German and Czech; Nettmann-Multanowska 2003: German and Polish; Plümer 2000: German and French). Most notably in this regard, Görlach has compiled a volume comprising reports on the occurrence of English in sixteen different European languages including Finno-Ugric, Slavic, Germanic, and Romance languages, Albanian, and Greek (2002b). This volume is accompanied by a comprehensive bibliography of research on anglicisms in these languages (2002a). As the core of his work on documenting the usage of anglicisms in Europe, Görlach has edited *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (2001), which portrays the spread of individual English words in the same sixteen European languages. Apart from the *AWB*, this dictionary represents the most valuable current lexicographical approach to the subject matter of anglicisms. Studies by Busse (1993), Kirkness and Woolford (2002), and Langner (1995) complement lexicographically based analyses. The latter particularly focuses on orthographical conventions in the representation of anglicisms in German.

Discussions on the influence of English have also been incorporated in the discourse on globalization (cf. Duszak and Okulski 2004, Gardt and Hüppauf 2004). According to contributions in the latter volume, German has lost in international significance in the wake of English turning into the major language of science and scholarly research (cf. Ammon 2004: 157-72). German is also giving way to English as the main second language in Eastern European countries and shows decreasing enrolment numbers in US universities and colleges (cf. Keilholz-Rühle et. al. 2004: 245-52). Recent research has also established the influence of English on a discourse-pragmatic level (cf. Duszak, *Globalisation as interdiscursivity: On the spread of global intertexts*, 2004: 117-32). In a similar vein, the Research Center on Multilingualism in Hamburg is currently home to a project entitled “Covert Translation”, which investigates whether, via translation,

English textual norms evoke changes of German textual conventions (cf. House and Rehbein 2004).

Despite the plethora of research uncovering many nodes of contact between English and German, fundamental questions of English influence on German remain open to scrutiny. The problem of what is an anglicism has stirred intense debates and still remains inconclusive and controversial today. The cardinal issue of how many anglicisms occur in German and whether the amount of English influence is increasing calls for continuous documentation with substantial corpus analyses. Finally, the language-systemic question in how far anglicisms converge to or diverge from the structural conventions of German offers rich ground to investigate the following issues: grammatical features of German (e.g. gender assignment and plural formation), patterns of word formation productivity (e.g. the formation of hybrid compound nouns), and the as yet sparsely investigated phenomenon of English written codeswitching in German. Analyses in these areas provide the key to illustrating the intensity of English influence on the structural level of German.

Altogether, these questions constitute the frame of the present study. Their possible answers evoke a discussion of a range of issues, which interconnect in a complex picture of the impact of English on German. In its detailed approach, the study aims to reach beyond its immediate scope and provide stimulating insights for research on English as a source of language influence and for the field of language contact at large.

According to the main questions raised above, the book is structured into three parts. Part I starts out with a critical analysis of terminology and its underlying concepts that have continued to shape theoretical beliefs in research on anglicisms despite obvious controversies in their initial claims (cf. Betz 1936, 1949, 1959, Weinreich 1953). The discussion leads to a differentiation between the concept of borrowing as the transmission of linguistic units and conceptually induced creations comprising loan translation (i.e. calques) and its variants of loan rendition and loan creation. The basic understanding of the transmission process also explains lexical-semantic influences, which are often misleadingly referred to as semantic borrowing.

Chapter 3 continues with a discussion of the fluent transition between borrowing and codeswitching and devises a working classification for their occurrence in a written medium. Furthermore, a critical eye is cast on attempts to classify anglicisms in terms of their assimilation. This is followed by a discussion of the lexicographically

important approach to the definition of anglicisms in the *AWB* (cf. Carstensen and Busse 1993). The chapter ends with a revision of the main claims of Coetsem's theory of transmission (2000) and investigates its applicability for the influence of English on German.

The occurrence of hybrid forms of English and German elements and the use of English terms in unprecedented ways in German (i.e. pseudo-anglicisms) raise the question of whether these phenomena represent loan influences as partial substitutions or language-inherent creations. In line with earlier argumentation, Chapter 4 takes a theoretical stance that emphasizes the productive processes underlying the creation of hybrid forms and pseudo English terms.

Chapter 5 investigates diachronic aspects and their relation to a classification of English influence. Data in the corpus provide counterevidence to the widespread truism that diachronic persistence of a borrowing will automatically lead to assimilation in the receptor language. In addition, an etymological discussion of a few commonly used loans in German portrays the limitations of etymological categorization of loan influences. These findings emphasize that the identification of English influence in German should be based first of all on word form and secondly on etymology.

The lines of argumentation from Chapters 2 to 5 are tied together in Chapter 6, which provides a model of transmission from source language (SL) to receptor language (RL). Exemplifying the current influence of English on German, the model depicts a unidirectional flow of concepts and language elements from the source to the receptor. Finally, a definition of the term anglicism is derived from the model, which serves as the theoretical foundation of the following corpus analysis.

Part II introduces the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* as the corpus of the study. Socio-demographic information about the readership of the newsmagazine hints at its potential outreach in German-speaking areas. In Chapter 7 emphasis is also laid on the methods of data elicitation and analysis since quantitative research on anglicisms in German has so far lacked a common methodological framework. This, however, is a prerequisite for comparisons across individual studies and will allow a more comprehensive view on the impact of English on German. Furthermore, the application of corpus analysis software enables a single researcher to investigate large corpora, thus making cross study comparisons even more significant. The approach in this study emphasizes methodological clarity as an example for future investigations.

Following the methodological considerations, Chapter 8 presents the quantitative results of the corpus investigation. The frequency of anglicisms is set in relation to the total number of words (types and tokens) to assess the overall numerical impact of anglicisms in the corpus. A differentiation according to token frequency indicates a lexical core of anglicisms in German and generally highlights their lexical productivity. In order to investigate the question of whether the number of anglicisms increases over time, the study compares the token frequency of the 100 most frequent anglicisms in 2000 with their most frequent matches in the period from 1994 to 2000. Further evidence on the quantitative development of anglicisms in the German language of the press is gained from a comparison to other studies, in particular to an earlier investigation of *Der Spiegel* (Yang 1990).

The more frequently occurring anglicisms in the corpus (the ones with a token frequency of three and higher) are quantified in detail according to word classes, patterns of word formation, and salient grammatical features (gender, plural, and genitive case). This complements the picture of the numerical impact of anglicisms in the corpus and sets the stage for the following qualitative analysis.

The notion of systemic convergence or divergence underlies the structural and functional analysis of anglicisms in Part III. If anglicisms diverge from German morphological conventions, they can potentially cause structural changes in the German language. A scenario of convergence would emphasize the stability of German and characterize the influence of English as mainly additive to the German language.

On the background of these considerations, Chapter 9 explores the inflectional integration of nominal anglicisms. Grammatical gender is particularly interesting since nouns are unmarked for gender in English. As lexical novelties in German, they thus provide an opportunity to investigate principles of gender assignment. While the issue of gender assignment to English borrowings has been subject of investigation before (cf. in particular Gregor 1983), accounts have as yet remained inconclusive as they usually comprise mere listings of rules and exceptions. More recent insights into grammatical gender (cf. Bittner 2001, Nesset 2006, Steinmetz 1986, 2001) offer a stimulating base for deepening the understanding of gender assignment to anglicisms in German. Likewise, the debate on plural suffixation in German has gained insights from the Dual Mechanism Model (cf. Pinker 2000, Bartke, Rösler, Streb et.al. 2005). Plural inflection of anglicisms appears on the borderline between language inherent rule application and borrowing. Chapter 9 concludes with a view on the genitive case paradigm where anglicisms show some divergence to regular inflection.

At the beginning of Chapter 10, nominal anglicisms are analyzed according to their word formational integration in German. While anglicisms occur across the usual types of word formation, the prevalence of hybrid compound nouns calls for an investigation into the functional distribution of English elements in compound constructions. Phrasal compounds and pseudo anglicisms are analyzed as special types of nominal creations. The remainder of Chapter 10 deals with verbal, adjectival, and adverbial anglicisms. As appropriate, the empirical focus is on inflection, derivation, and on semantic types.

Concentrating on written codeswitching, the final chapter of Part III discusses structural convergence and divergence of anglicisms on the syntactic level of German. Chapter 11 begins with a description of single-word codeswitching and multi-word phrasal borrowing. In line with Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language-Frame Model approach to codeswitching (1993), the more frequent types of intrasentential and intersentential codeswitching appear as embedded language islands in German matrix clauses. Depending on their degree of syntactic completeness and structural obligatoriness, two major types of intrasentential codeswitching occur in the data. These types of codeswitching cover slightly different functions in the newsmagazine and show varying motivations (e.g. context, lexical facilitation, and discourse topic). The functions of intersentential codeswitching partially overlap with its sister-types but also exhibit a predilection for intertextual reference and bilingual puns. The conclusion in Chapter 12 sketches the impact of English on German from a summary of the main findings. A brief outline of possible stimuli for the use of anglicisms in German concludes the present study and opens up a host of possible objectives for further research in the field.

## **PART I**

### **Integrating Theories and Terminology: Borrowing, Codeswitching, Lexical Productivity, and Interference as Types of Anglicisms in German**

## Overview – What is an anglicism?

*Provisionally, every theory may begin its career as an attempt to preserve the phenomena, but once the theory gets a good hold on life and becomes entrenched in the minds of its adherents, there ensues a drive to sacrifice the phenomena to preserve the theory.*

John Haiman

One of the core issues in the field of language contact is how to classify the linguistic influence that a language (source language, SL) exerts on another language (receptor language, RL). As far as the international impact of English is concerned, the term *anglicism* is often used as a generic name to describe the occurrence of English language elements in other languages. However, a closer analysis of the concept of *anglicism* unveils the existence of fuzzy boundaries between linguistic and cultural influences and between changes imposed from the outside on the RL and changes happening within the RL. Thus, actual definitions of the term *anglicism* vary in the discourse about English influence on German. (cf. Allenbacher 1999: 35, Busse and Carstensen 1993: 59-65, Duckworth 1977: 36-56, Görlach 2002b: 29-31, Oeldorf 1990: 41).

Words such as *Boom*, *Beat*, *Briefing-Room*, *Catering*, *Comeback*, *Comedy*, *Computer*, *cool*, *Crash*, and *Cyberspace* are recognizable as anglicisms in German due to the fact that they largely retain their English graphemic-phonemic correspondence. But what can we say about *Wolkenkratzer*? Is this an actual anglicism because its meaning is close to English *skyscraper*, and the determinatum *-kratzer* is a literal translation of English *-scraper*? Could the syntactic group *innere Uhr* be influenced by English *biological clock*, and was *Vollbeschäftigung* created according to *full employment*? Why do native speakers of English come up with a totally different answer when asked for the meaning of *Handy* as compared to native speakers of German?

The nature of these questions will be discussed in Part I, which sets out with a critical assessment of the concepts of loan meaning and loan formation as established in Betz (1936, 1949, 1959). By following Saussure's postulate of arbitrariness and the integrity of form and meaning, a difference is established between borrowing and lexical creation as separate modes of how a receptor language (RL) reacts to the transmission of concepts from a source language (SL). Apart from the implications of lexical unity for the borrowing process, the discussion focuses on other classifications of borrowings (among others

Haugen 1950, Duckworth 1977, Carstensen and Busse 1993, Filipović 1996, Allenbacher 1999), on the relationship between borrowing and codeswitching (Myers-Scotton 1993), and on Field's "Principle of System Compatibility" (2002), which is integrated into the larger picture of Coetsem's "general and unified theory of the transmission process in language contact" (2000).

The phenomena of hybrid anglicisms and pseudo anglicisms will be addressed in a separate chapter since their status as borrowings is disputable. The answer to the question in how far anglicisms can be defined by their etymology is yet another piece in the mosaic of definitions. Finally, these diverse theoretical strands are tied together into a complex picture of the lexical impact of English on German today. At the beginning of Part I, the reader should be aware of the fact that the terms anglicisms, borrowings, loanwords, and loans are applied without terminological rigor to refer to the result of the borrowing process (i.e. importation/transfer of lexical elements from SL to RL) as well as to the use of English lexical material in German. As the discussion progresses, however, the actual difference between anglicisms and borrowings<sup>1</sup> will acquire definite shape and, finally, the working definition for the concept of an anglicism will show that, while all borrowings qualify as anglicisms, not all anglicisms are in fact the result of a borrowing process.

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1 The terms loan, loanword, and borrowing are used synonymously in this study to refer to the result of the borrowing process.

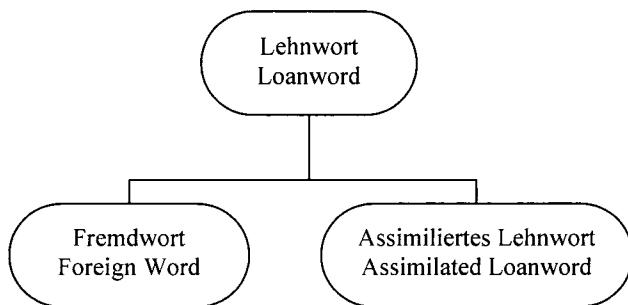
## 2. Loan meaning and loan formation<sup>1</sup>

In 1936, Werner Betz attempted to structure the field of lexical borrowing based on an analysis of Latin influences on the German vocabulary. The terminology he coined for the categorization of loanwords proved to have a significant impact on the field of language contact. The German terms “Lehnwort, Lehnprägung, Lehnbildung, Lehnbedeutung, Lehnschöpfung, Lehnübersetzung, and Lehnübertragung” were translated into English (cf. Figure 1), which allowed Betz to return at least a small portion of the favor that English usually grants German if we adhere to Betz’ understanding of loan translation. Some contemporary researchers focusing on the phenomenon of anglicisms in German still apply the categories as put forward by Betz. Schelper, for example, structures her data on anglicisms from Austrian, German, and Swiss newspapers according to classes of indirect borrowings (1995). Glahn also analyzes his data on the basis of loan formation, loan translation, and loan creation although he remains critical of these categories as he says that “in den meisten Fällen, in denen von einer Lehnübersetzung gesprochen wird, ist es schwierig, einen plausiblen Nachweis für diese Behauptung zu erbringen” (2002: 41). [It is difficult to plausibly prove loan translation for the majority of the terms that are considered to be loan translations.] This statement sums up the recurring criticism against indirect or non-evident loan influences or borrowings (cf. Allenbacher 1999: 36, Carstensen 1965: 214, Arter-Lamprecht 1992: 89, Oeldorf 1990: 41). An illustration of the model by Betz is given in the following to demonstrate his classification of loan influences.

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<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of selected parts of chapter 2 will appear as “Loan formation revisited: lexical borrowing and conceptual transmission in European languages” in *Language Contact and Minorities on the Littorals of Europe*, Studies of Eurolinguistics Vol. 5, edited by Sture Urelund, Anthony Lodge, and Stefan Pugh.

## (a) Direct loan influences



## (b) Indirect loan influences

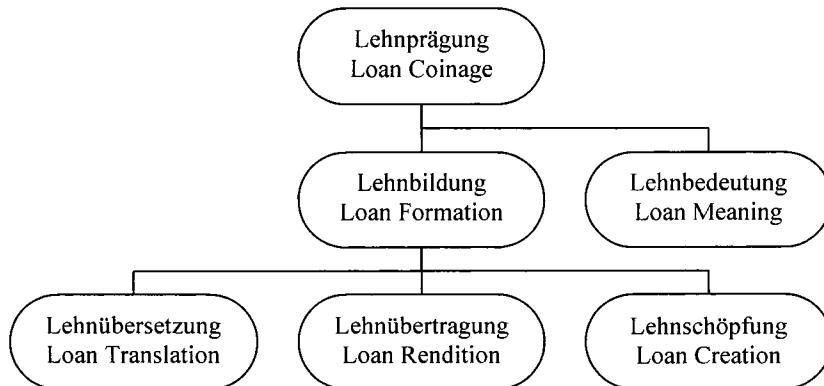


Figure 1: Reconstruction of Betz' classification of loan influences (1959: 128)

The English terminology conforms with Duckworth (1977: 40), and the term “assimilated loanword” appears in Arter-Lamprecht (1992: 88). The majority of the terms are also used by Carstensen (1965: 214-15) and Weinreich (1970: 51).

If we try to follow the model, a basic distinction can be drawn between direct and indirect loan influences (loanword vs. loan coinage and its subgroups). Direct loan influences (loanwords or borrowings) today are terms such as *E-Mail*, *Internet*, *Appeasement*, *einloggen*,

*gepiercte*, and *coole*. The last three examples show that English roots can be subject to morphological integration through affixation in German. The branch of loan coinage, on the other hand, depicts the so-called indirect lexical influence of the source language (SL) on the receptor language (RL). This influence is generally not discernible on the level of word form. So, indirect loan influences are difficult to prove and lead to speculation about the origin of words. Some frequently cited examples in this respect are “Gipfelkonferenz” – a loan translation of English *summit conference*, “Meinungspflege” – a loan creation of *public relations*, “Wolkenkratzer” – a loan rendition of *skyscraper*, and “Fertiggericht” – a loan creation of *fast food* (Duckworth 1977: 52; Weinreich 1970: 51; Glahn 2002: 40).

In order to set the concepts of loan meaning and loan formation in relation to borrowing, it is necessary to devise a working definition of the borrowing process. For this, I would like to draw on Coetsem (2000), who provides an elaborate theory of borrowing in a scenario of contact between source language (SL) and receptor language (RL). According to him, borrowing or “RL agentivity” is the transfer of language elements from a subdominant SL to a dominant RL (SL → RL; 2000: 49)<sup>2</sup>. In other words, “borrowing is a transfer operation from the SL to the RL performed by the RL speaker” (2000: 65). In a borrowing scenario, the RL constitutes the dominant matrix into which elements of the SL are integrated. This essential characteristic of the borrowing process is sufficient at this stage to discuss the concepts of loan meaning and loan formation in the context of borrowing. Thus, the following analyses embark on a notion of borrowing as a process of lexical transfer from a subdominant SL (English) to a dominant RL (German). A more detailed discussion of Coetsem’s theory of the transmission process in language contact will be provided in Chapter 3.4.

## 2.1 Loan meaning and the borrowing process

By definition, loan meaning (semantic loan, semantic calque) refers to a process in which only a semanteme of a word but not its form is transferred from SL into RL. Since language is essentially meaning represented in form, loan meaning has to be represented by word form

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2 Linguistic dominance relates to the internal state of a speaker’s language competence in SL and RL and to the external forces of language attitude and distribution of SL and RL in the speaker community.

in the RL. Following Saussure's postulate of arbitrariness of signifier and signified it is reasonable to assume that the same or similar meaning is represented by different signs in different languages (cf. Culler 1986: 29, Holdcroft 1991: 47-68). The German word *Baum*, French *arbre*, Russian *дёпесо*, and English *tree* all denote the same class of objects. What these examples show is the fact that languages often encapsulate the same or similar reference to objects and states in the real world across their varying phenotypes (types of languages). Our understanding of the world, however, does not allow the conclusion that English *tree* is a loan meaning from Russian *дёпесо* since this class of objects has existed independently in both cultures and, thus, a stimulus for naming is provided in the context of both languages.

This argument takes the issue of loan meaning to the level of cultural considerations. As a phenomenon of language contact, borrowing is indeed a culturally induced process. A functional scenario of how words are borrowed today is that products and ideas (i.e. concrete and abstract entities) originate in a certain language-cultural area and spread from this to other language-cultural areas if there is cultural pressure and a linguistic need to refer to a concept in the RL. Examples of recent terminology that has diffused to a variety of languages are anglicisms from the fields of computer-technology, business, leisure industry, fashion, and communication such as *Boom*, *Internet*, *E-Mail*, *Computer*, *Design*, *E-Commerce*, *Hightech*, *Online*, *Deal*, *Rap*, and *Web* to name but a few. The new concepts are commonly integrated together with their original names and, functionally, these loanwords enrich the semantic inventory in the receptor language. Since word forms are tied to meaning, the examples above constitute semantic borrowing. This is merely indicative of the interrelation of form and meaning as the basic characteristic of language. To assume that meaning is borrowed without form violates the concept of the double entity of the linguistic unit (cf. Holdcroft 1991: 50-51).

Applying this argument to our initial definition of loan meaning, the conclusion can be drawn that the postulate of loan meaning as meaning borrowed without form contradicts the nature of language. Meaning is accessed through form or, in other words, form evokes meaning depending on linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts. In terms of language influence this means that borrowing phenomena are discernible on the level of word form since signs generally change across languages whereas the concepts that are signified (i.e. the meaning of the signs) are more likely to remain the same or similar. For

a theoretical understanding of borrowing, the arbitrary relationship of form and meaning leads to the notion that borrowing can be ascertained when the same form denoting the same or similar meaning is found in two different languages. This basic relation of the borrowing process is depicted in the following figure:

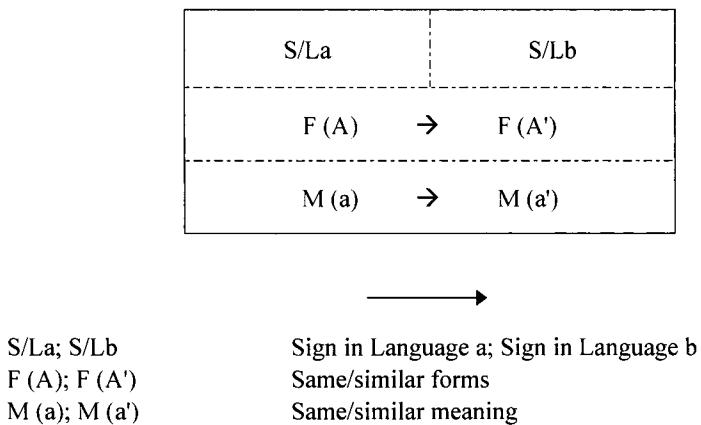


Figure 2: Integrity of form and meaning in the borrowing process

Taking the example of *online* in La English, the English sign is characterized by its form F (A = <online>, [ɔ:nlaɪn]) and its meaning M (a = ‘connected to, served by, or available through a system and especially a computer or telecommunications system’, *MW Online* 2007). German has the same sign S *online* with the form F (A' = <online>, [ɔ:nlaɪn]) and the synonymous meaning M (a'). *Online* appears as a borrowing in German due to the fact that it largely retains its English sound<sup>3</sup> and written form.

As far as the preservation of lexical unity from SL to RL is concerned, it is important to note that the borrowed lexical unit usually carries out restricted semantic functions in the RL. In particular, terms with multiple meanings in the SL are often borrowed in a specific sense. For example, the borrowing *Stress* in German denotes ‘bodily or mental tension’ and is not used in its linguistic sense or in the meaning of ‘emphasis’ and ‘weight’. The German meaning of *Image* can be

3 Even if the quality of the initial back vowel might fluctuate between [ɔ] and [o] in German.

paraphrased as ‘a mental and popular conception of a person, institution, or nation’ and does not comprise the English senses of ‘semblance, graphic representation’ and ‘idea/concept’ (*MW Online* 2007). The adjectival borrowing *cool* has entered the German language in its colloquial meaning of ‘very good, excellent’ and also denotes ‘calm and self controlled behaviour’ while lacking its English reference to temperature. Despite the possible semantic restrictions of lexical units in the RL, there is evidence of lexical borrowing as long as the same arbitrary relationship of form and meaning co-occurs in SL and RL.

Coming back to the notion of loan meaning as meaning borrowed without form, we can now frame loan meaning in terms of lexical transfer from SL to RL. The illustration of the integrity of form and meaning changes accordingly:

S/La	S/Lb
F (A)	F (B)
M (a)	M (a')



S/La; S/Lb	Sign in Language a; Sign in Language b
F (A); F (B)	Different forms
M (a); M (a')	Same/similar meaning

Figure 3: Loan meaning

Here, difficulties arise because of the fact that the same concepts can be found in different language-cultural areas and only a cultural-historical analysis would allow to ascertain actual transmission of meanings between cultures (cf. the example of *Baum*, *arbre*, *depezo*, and *tree* above). On the level of language, however, there seems to be no transmission as it follows from the logic of arbitrariness that the same or a similar meaning is more likely to be represented by unrelated and different forms in separate languages.

According to the link of form and meaning, Figure 3 shows that the concept of loan meaning cannot be integrated in the process of

borrowing, which involves a transfer of lexical units from SL to RL. So, the question arises of how the notion of loan meaning came into existence in the first place, and what the evidence is in support of this claim. Examples of loan meanings have been few and far between even though Betz postulates that loan meaning is the most frequent and most important process of language influence (1936: 2). He does not provide any evidence to support his claim. In one of his later works he describes two examples of loan meaning, the Latin terms *intellectus* and *spiritus*, whose meanings were transferred onto the German word *Geist*:

Dann würde beispielsweise die Lehnbedeutung *intellectus*, die das deutsche Wort *Geist* angenommen hat, eine entwickelnde Lehnbedeutung sein, weil man annehmen kann, daß sich diese Bedeutung auch ohne fremden Einfluß entwickelt hätte, daß also in diesem Fall eine vorhandene Anlage durch den äußeren Einfluß lediglich schneller entwickelt wurde. Hingegen wäre die Lehnbedeutung *spiritus (sanctus)*, die das deutsche Wort *Geist* ja gleichfalls angenommen hat, als eine bereichernde Lehnbedeutung zu bezeichnen, da kaum anzunehmen ist, daß das deutsche Wort diese Bedeutung jemals allein aus sich heraus entwickelt hätte. (1959: 129)

Betz claims that the loan meaning *intellectus* ('intellect') was transferred to the German term *Geist* ('ghost, mind, intellect, spirit'). He further specifies this extension as a developing loan meaning because it can be assumed that this meaning of *Geist* would also have developed independently. Latin influence merely had the effect of accelerating this process. However, he calls the loan meaning *spiritus sanctus* ('holy spirit') an enriching loan meaning of German (*heiliger*) *Geist*. This is based on the assumption that "one can hardly assume that the German word would ever have developed this meaning on its own" [trans. by author].

Betz' arguments seem merely speculative. On the one hand, he postulates that the semanteme of *intellectus* ('intellect') would have developed as an internal semantic extension of *Geist* anyway, but on the other hand he denies internal semantic extension in the example of the semanteme *spiritus* ('spirit'). The lack of any substantial evidence in support of this differentiation calls for a plausible alternative of how the semantic extensions have derived. According to the general characteristics of language, internal productivity and creativity are recognized as major driving forces for language change apart from borrowing. So, it is at least as likely that the German term *Geist* has developed its semantemes without a model from another language. This is emphasized by the fact that the sign *Geist* is semantically vague as it signifies abstract concepts in German. As an example of the semantic

diversity of *Geist*, *Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch* (German Dictionary) lists ten different senses of the word and describes the semantic genesis of its primary sense as changing from the meaning of ‘breath’ (as the purveyor of life) to the ‘thinking and cognitive awareness of the human being’ (2000).

A recurring example of loan meaning relates to the transfer of meaning of the English verb *realize* onto its French and German counterparts *réaliser* and *realisieren* (Carstensen 1975: 23, Glahn 2002: 40, Picone 1996: 4). In Picone’s study loan meaning is described as semantic borrowing (semantic calque) which occurs “when a preexisting French word, morpheme or locution shifts in meaning or becomes more extended or more restricted in meaning due to imitative language contact with English” (1996: 4). Thus, the French verb *réaliser*, which traditionally meant ‘to bring about, to concretize’, expanded its semantic scope presumably under the influence of English *realize* to include the meaning ‘to become aware of’ (1996: 4). The same process of semantic extension is also reported for the German language. Carstensen (1975) and more recently Glahn (2002: 40) claim that due to English influence, *realisieren* acquired the meaning ‘to become aware of’ in addition to its traditional meaning ‘to bring about, to concretize’.

The evidence of these studies confirms that the semanteme (‘to become aware of’) of the English sign *realize* has extended the semantic fields of its formally related signs (*réaliser*, *realisieren*) in German and French. A parallel indigenous development cannot be completely ruled out but seems unlikely. If English is granted responsibility for the semantic extension in German and French, this is due to the interrelation of form and meaning. Despite the fact that the French and German word forms (*réaliser*, *realisieren*) do not appear to have recently been borrowed<sup>4</sup>, their word formal similarity can cause interference in a multilingual speaker, who might transfer the semanteme of the English term onto its French or German associate.

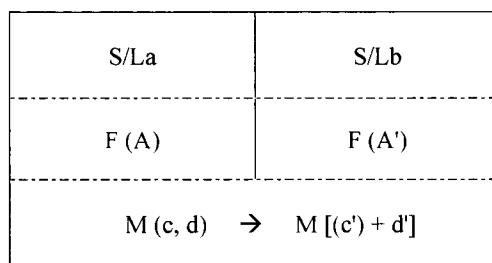
Formal relatedness of signs across languages can indeed lead to interference phenomena, known as *faux amis* or false friends. For example, German learners of English tend to confuse the English words *sensible* and *sensitive* due to (G.) *sensibel* meaning ‘sensitive’. Likewise, German speakers are prone to mix up the English terms *eventually* and *possibly* due to the formal similarity of (E.) *eventually*

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4 According to the *OED* English ‘realize’ was supposedly coined after French ‘réaliser’ in the 16th century (1994). French received its impetus from Latin ‘realis’ (*Le Grand Robert De La Langue Francaise*: 1992).

with (G.) *eventuell* meaning ‘possibly’. Schelper relates *faux amis* to loan meaning as she states that *faux amis* can become integrated in general language use and create semantic neologisms in the target language (1995: 11). This scenario offers a possible explanation for the semantic extensions of *réaliser* and *realisieren*.

*Faux amis* are particularly interesting as they symbolize the strong bond between form and meaning. In the mind of a speaker form and meaning seem bound to each other to such an extent that the same connection can be activated while speaking in the code of another language. Thus, the semantic transfer of *realize* symbolizes the interrelationship of form and meaning. While in the case of *realize* word form is not subject to borrowing, the formal similarity of the signs stimulates the semantic change. Assuming that the semantic extensions of the French and German terms are derived from the semanteme of English *realize*, their relation can be modelled as follows:



S/La; S/Lb                      Sign in Language a; Sign in Language b  
 F (A); F (A')                  Same/similar forms  
 M (c, c', d, d')                Semantemes

Figure 4: Semantic interference

English (La) has the form *realize* F (A) with its major semantemes M [(c) = ‘to bring about, to concretize’ and M (d) = ‘to become aware of’]. German and French (Lb) have the similar forms *realisieren/réaliser* F (A') with their primary semanteme M [(c') = ‘to bring about, to concretize’]. Formal similarity and semantic overlap cause interference in Lb that leads to the semantic extension of F (A') = M (c' + d'). The principle of economy in language change and the fact that multiple meanings can be activated through the same form in the mind

of a speaker support this scenario of interference<sup>5</sup>. Further examples that fit into the formal scheme of interference are the Am.Port. term *livraria* (original meaning ‘bookstore’), which acquired the meaning of E. *library* (Haugen 1950: 219) and Am.Port. *humeroso*, which added the meaning of E. *humorous* to its original meaning ‘capricious’ (Hoffer 1996: 543).

To sum up, the use of the terms loan meaning and semantic borrowing is misleading as they imply a borrowing process of meaning without form from SL to RL. In view of borrowing as a lexical process, however, the arbitrary relationship of form and meaning denies that meaning can be borrowed without form. As soon as the lexical unit of form and meaning in the SL is split in the RL, evidence of conceptual transfer from SL to RL is reduced to speculation or demands well-versed cultural-historical analyses. From a psycholinguistic point of view, the notion of loan meaning boils down to semantic interference that is caused by word formal similarities in different languages and that becomes conventionalized in language use. As portrayed in the example of *realize* and its influence on the French and German terms *réaliser* and *realisieren*, formal resemblance can indeed trigger a semantic change in the receptor language.

## 2.2 Loan formation and the borrowing process

Apart from loan meaning, Betz also distinguishes between other classes of indirect loan influences. The hypernym “loan formation” encompasses “loan translation, loan rendition”, and “loan creation”, all of which relate to terms that are coined in the RL due to a model or a stimulus from the SL. The resulting creations are not marked as borrowings on the level of word form but reflect a conceptual similarity with their source terms. The examples of *Gipfelkonferenz* after English *summit conference*, *Meinungspflege* after *public relations*, *Wolkenkratzer* for *skyscraper*, and *Fertiggericht* for *fast food* are frequently cited as examples of indirect borrowings.

Some researchers do not consider indirect loan influences as anglicisms (cf. Görlich 1994, Lee 1996, Moss 1992, K. Viereck 1986, Yang 1990). This is mainly based on the fact that indirect borrowings

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<sup>5</sup> Pinker describes the results of an experiment which shows that people recognize words that share semantic relations similarly fast even if their contextual meaning is inappropriate. After hearing the word *bug*, subjects were able to identify *ant* and *spy* faster than the unrelated word *sew* (1994: 211). The results indicate that the recognition of a word form grants access to a range of related meanings.

are difficult to discern since they lack formal clues of English descent (Yang 1990: 15). Other scholars try to incorporate loan formations in their works, as Carstensen and Busse (1993, 1994, 1996) and Sørensen (1997) in their dictionaries of anglicisms in German and Danish respectively. Allenbacher (1999), Schelper (1995), and Glahn (2002) also analyze their data according to types of indirect borrowings.

When it comes to the quantification of loan formations, the results of these studies unanimously contradict Betz, who claims that loan meaning and loan translation are the most frequent phenomena of language influence (1936: 2). In Allenbacher's study (1999: 264) the percentage of direct loans (72.6%) by far exceeds indirect loans (27.4%). In the Austrian newspaper *Die Presse*, Schelper finds a total of 7117 direct borrowings and hybrid constructions compared to 1207 loan translations and loan creations, which translates into 85.5% of direct loans and 14.5% of non-evident borrowings (1995: 135). Glahn's selection of anglicisms in TV broadcasts consists of 79% direct borrowings, 5.1% loan meanings, 3.6% loan translations, 1.2% loan renditions, and 0.2% loan creations (2002: 149). These figures invalidate the hypothesis about the dominance of non-evident borrowings of English in German. At the same time the little quantitative impact of loan formations most likely results from their lack of transparency, leaving the compilation of indirect borrowings largely dependent on individual assumptions about possible English influence. To distinguish more clearly between speculation and linguistic evidence of loan influences, it is necessary to establish a theoretical underpinning of loan translation, loan creation, and loan rendition in terms of their relation to the borrowing process.

## 2.2.1 Loan translation

Werner Betz initially defined loan translation as "die genaue Glied-für-Glied-Übersetzung des fremden Vorbildes", i.e. the exact translation, element by element, of the foreign model. (Betz 1936: 2, 1949: 27). To support his definition, Betz discusses various examples of loan translation from Latin and English as in German *Wolkenkratzer* after English *skyscraper*, *Gegengift* ('antidote') after Latin *contravenenum*, *Mitleid* ('compassion') after Latin *compassio*, and *Gewissen* ('conscience') after Latin *conscientia* (1949: 27, 32). While *Gegengift* and *Mitleid* follow the definition, *Wolkenkratzer* and *Gewissen* only partly conform to the postulate of loan translation. A literal German translation of *skyscraper* is \**Himmelskratzer* (*Wolken* = clouds), and a literal rendering of *conscientia* is \**Mitwissen*. These are just two

examples that indicate how problematic it is to blend the concepts of translation and lexical transfer.

Consecutive definitions of loan translation retain Betz' essential idea of translation as a process of language influence. Duckworth defines loan translation as "ein Wort wird nach dem Vorbild eines fremdsprachlichen Wortes neu gebildet, indem es dieses Vorbild genau mit eigensprachlichem Stoff nachbildet" (1977: 52). In other words, loan translation is the exact reproduction of a foreign term with language-inherent material. Weinreich stresses the overlap of the categories of loan formation. He claims that loan rendition and loan creation are variants of loan translation proper, "in which the model is reproduced exactly element by element" (1970: 51). Carstensen supports Weinreich's approach by stating that the overlap of loan translation, loan meaning, and loan rendition calls for a precise separation between loan translation as a process and loan translation as a product (1965: 215).

The fuzzy conception of loan translation as a factor of language influence has permeated into more recent research on anglicisms in German. By following Haugen's definition, Schelpner defines loan translation as the exact word by word translation of a foreign expression which results in a new compound or derivation whose sense is not necessarily deducible from the elements of the term (1995: 12). However, when she gives the example of *floating voter* and its presumed German loan translation *Wechselwähler*, she notes that a more rigid (in the sense of literal) translation should be *wechselnder Wähler*. Trying to solve this dilemma, Schelpner postulates that, in adherence to Betz, loan translations can diverge from their models in minor details such as affixes. This in fact undermines the crucial understanding of the concept of loan translation, which is the precise translation of the SL term in the target language. Apart from the problem of determining degrees of translational equivalence (e.g. *fließend* instead of *wechselnd* as a more literal translation of *floating*), the example shows that there are in fact language-inherent patterns at play which describe the formation of *Wechselwähler*. Since the creation of nominal compounds is a major word formational process in German, *Wechselwähler* appears as an indigenous construction (noun *Wechsel* + noun *Wähler* = *Wechselwähler*).

Sørensen notes another controversial issue in the theoretical understanding of loan translation. He states that "most translation loans are compound nouns in which each of the elements translates an English word" (1995: 18). Similarly, Glahn confines loan translation to

compound words and remarks that monomorphemic terms have to be regarded as “normal” translations (2002: 41).

These statements presuppose a difference between a “normal” translation and a loan translation, i.e. between a morphologically simple term and a complex term. From a linguistic point of view, translation is a process in which the meaning of a word or an expression is conveyed from a source to a target language by using signs from the target language. Thus, “translation is a communication operation guaranteeing identity of parole through differences of langues” (Fawcett 1997: 4, adapted from Ladmíral 1979: 223). Taking into account the interrelation of form and meaning, the translation process can be depicted as a transfer operation between source and target language as introduced in Figure 2.

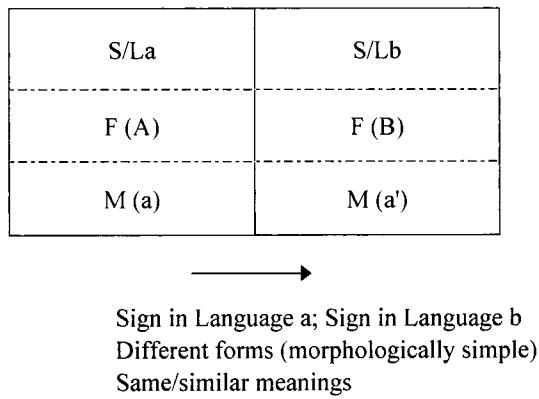


Figure 5: Translation of an isolated word

Taking the example of the simple term *zero* in La (English) and its translational equivalent *Null* in Lb (German), there is no indication for a relationship of language contact between these terms in English and German. The same is true for the translational equivalents of *growth* and *Wachstum* in English and German. A translation of the combinations of these constituents (*zero growth* as *Nullwachstum*<sup>6</sup>) leads to the following formalization:

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6 The term is mentioned as a possible loan translation in the *AWB* (Busse, Carstensen 1994: 973)

S/La	S/Lb
F [(Ac) = (D+E+)]	F [(Bc) = (F+G+)]
M (a)	M (a')

→

S/La; S/Lb	Sign in Language a; Sign in Language b
F (Ac), F (Bc)	Different forms (morphologically complex)
D, E, F, G	Compound constituents
M (a); M (a')	Same/similar meanings

Figure 6: Translation of an isolated compound word

As far as the translation of *zero* and *growth* as *null* and *Wachstum* is concerned, there is no difference between the translation of these terms as monomorphemic items and as compound constituents. Translational equivalence does not necessarily diverge on the morphologically simple and complex levels. So, the notion of translational equivalence seems inadequate to limit loan translation to morphologically complex terms.

However, compounds bear additional morphological information that can be retained in the translation process from SL to RL. In the example of *zero growth/Nullwachstum* the compound pattern determinant noun + determinatum noun holds in both English and German. This strengthens the formal evidence of loan translation because the compounds are constructed according to the same word formation pattern in separate languages.

Two major problems arise in the wake of this observation. If, in the absence of lexical clues of borrowing, the word formation process is generally productive in the SL and RL, the fact that the same productive pattern creates conceptually similar terms in two languages does not provide sufficient evidence to establish the direction of the possible influence. Carstensen exemplifies the difficulty in ascertaining the directionality of potential loan formations:

The central question of course is: how can we prove that German needed an English model to form a new word, phrase or construction? To put it more plainly: Which was first, the English or the German word? Was German *Drahtzieher* the model of English *wire puller* as Viereck (1982: 209) thinks, or was it the other way round as Stiven (1936: 81) states? (1992: 95).

Theoretically, potential influence could only be established on etymological grounds as by a comparison of the dates of dictionary entries in SL and RL. This method, however, fails to be sufficiently valid due to common lexicographic limitations in the coverage of lexical innovation.

A further complication in determining language influence between English and German arises from their common Germanic descent. The related languages are characterized by similar compounding structures, and there are plenty of comparable compounds in both languages. Similar examples of proposed loan translations that actually cohere to German patterns of compounding are extracted from Schelper (1995), Glahn (2002), Plümer (2000), and Busse/Carstensen (*AWB* 1993, 1994, 1996): *Flaschenhals* ('bottleneck'), *Hintergrund* ('background'), *immergrün* ('evergreen'), *Kaugummi* ('chewing gum')<sup>7</sup>, *Kettenreaktion* ('chain reaction'), *Lebensqualität* ('quality of life'), *Lufibrücke* ('air bridge'), *Nachbrenner* ('afterburner'), *Untergrund* ('underground'), *Vollbeschäftigung* ('full employment'), *Weltraumforschung* ('space research'), and *weltweit* ('worldwide'). As these terms are coined according to productive compounding mechanisms in German, it is not possible to detect any traces of structural influence from their English equivalents.

To sum up, two major arguments obstruct the understanding of loan translation as similar to borrowing. First of all, the combination of translational equivalence and structural similarity of a term in two languages does not prove lexical transfer if the word formation process is productive in the languages in question. Secondly, the mere existence of the same conceptual imprint in two languages is not sufficient to establish the direction of language influence. In order to find out which term originated first, cultural-historical analyses are necessary which are tied to the scope and validity of reference sources.

Following the analysis in Figure 6, loan translation can now be summarized as follows:

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<sup>7</sup> Note that the determinant in the English original is morphologically complex (verb stem *chew* + gerund suffix *-ing*) while the determinant of the German equivalent consists of the bare verb stem *kau-* which is attached to the head noun. This is typical of the German compound noun structure determinant verb + determinatum noun. By comparison, Hungarian mirrors the morphological structure of the English original *rágó gumi* (chew-er/ing gum; John Haiman personal communication).

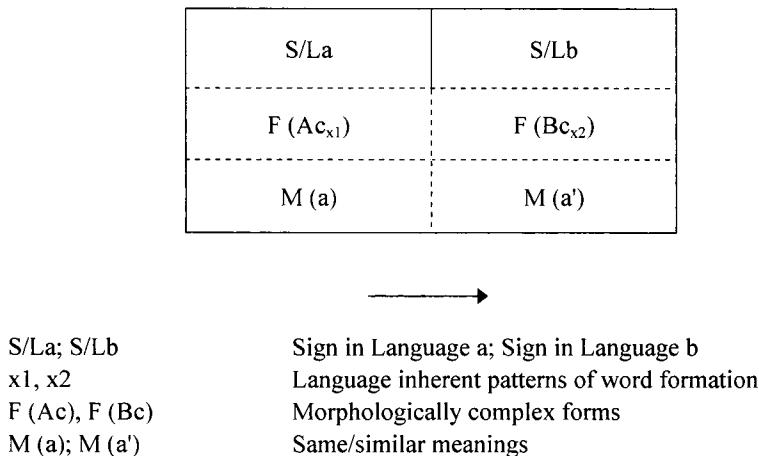


Figure 7: Loan translation (without formal transfer)

Applied to the example of *Blumenkind* as a loan translation of *flower child* (cf. AWB 1993), the model can be illustrated as follows: the English form (*flower child* = *flower* + *child*) with its meaning M (a = ‘a hippie who advocates love, beauty, and peace’, *MW Online* 2007) is represented in German as F (*Blumenkind* = *Blumen* + *Kind*) with the same meaning M (a’). On the formal level the terms *flower child* and *Blumenkind* consist of language-inherent elements, and so there is no phonological and orthographical evidence for English language influence in German. As far as word formation is concerned, both terms are constructed according to the same compound noun structure (c<sub>x</sub> = determinant noun + determinatum noun), which indicates a possible scenario of structural transfer. Since this type of compound structure is productive in both languages, however, *flower child* and *Blumenkind* actually conform to their respective language-inherent patterns (x1, x2); therefore, there is no evidence of language influence on the formal level.

Instead, this example shows that meaning is reconstructed by language-inherent elements of the target language, which results in the creation of a new integral unit of meaning and form in the target language. This is the basic mechanism that explains the bulk of loan translations in the context of English and German, as in a few more examples from the AWB (1993, 1994, 1996): *Brot-und-Butter* (‘bread and butter’), *Datenverarbeitung* (‘data processing’), *Echtzeit* (‘real time’), *Eierkopf* (‘egghead’), *Entwicklungsland* (‘developing country’), *Erdrutschsieg* (‘landslide victory’), *fliegende Untertasse* (‘flying

saucer'), *Gipfelkonferenz* ('summit conference'), *jedermann's Liebling* ('everybody's darling'), *Kalter Krieg* ('cold war'), *Kanonenboot-Politik* ('gunboat diplomacy'), and *Raumfahre* ('space ship').

By contrast, structural similarity can function as an indicator of borrowing if the word formation pattern (x) of the SL is marked as uncommon and not productive in the RL. Picone provides evidence of such a process in the context of the French language (1996: 4). Thus, the compound *tour-opérateur* indicates structural transfer in French as it mirrors the structure of its English equivalent, which conflicts with the dominant French morphosyntactic tendency (cf. *\*opérateur de tour*). In detail Picone states that "though its constituents are French in the assimilated version, it has retained the habitual linear order and the ellipsis of the relational particle that originated in the English progenitor and which conflict with dominant French morphosyntax tendencies" (1996: 4). Interestingly, the structural information of the English compound overrides the typical left headedness of French morphosyntactic constructions, creating a link on the level of word formation between English and French. However, the analysis of similar terms and their variations, e.g. *amplificateur-tuner* and *tuner-amplificateur*; *constructeur-promoteur* and *promoteur-constructeur*, lead Picone to the conclusion that language internal mechanisms such as the synthetic imperative could also have influenced these expressions (1996: 80).

For the analysis of loan translations, this means that complex terms can contain word formation information that signals language transfer. Such transfer is a possible explanation if the word formation pattern in the RL reflects the original in the SL and is not common in the RL. However, transfer in the sense of borrowing cannot be structurally verified if the pattern conforms to the language-inherent morphosyntactic structure and there are no other traces on the formal level, as in the examples of English and German equivalents.

## 2.2.2 Loan rendition and loan creation

The concepts of loan rendition and loan creation are tied to loan translation (cf. Weinreich 1970: 51). Therefore, the basic arguments that hold for loan translation are also valid for the analysis of loan rendition and loan creation. The difference between these taxonomic categories is that the postulate of translational equivalence is weakened for loan rendition and abandoned for loan creation. As a result, the conceptual similarity between complex terms in two languages serves as the foundation for conjectures about loan relations.

Carstensen defines loan rendition as a partial substitution of the model compound by a translational equivalent (1965: 215). Even more loosely, Weinreich understands loan rendition as the product of a model compound which “furnishes a general hint for the reproduction” in the target language (1970: 51). Duckworth mostly follows Weinreich’s definition:

Ein Wort wird nach dem Vorbild eines fremdsprachlichen Wortes neu gebildet, indem es mit eigensprachlichem Stoff dieses Vorbild in freier, teilweiser Anlehnung nachbildet. (1977: 53)

[A foreign model leads to the creation of a language-inherent term that is a free or a partial reconstruction of the model.]

To support his definition, Duckworth mentions the examples of German “Luftkissenboot” after English “hovercraft”, “Musikkiste” after “jukebox”, and “Unternehmensforschung” after “operations research” (1977: 53). These examples lack word formal transfer and even though the denotations of the English and German complex terms converge, they are conceptualized differently. The German compound *Luftkissenboot* ('hovercraft') relates to the shape and substance of the concept whereas the English term describes its functional properties, i.e. the ability of hovering.

According to historical evidence, it is appropriate to argue that the British invention of the hovercraft evoked the need to refer to the object in German<sup>8</sup>. Instead of integrating the new concept with its SL terminology, however, this referential need was met by coining a German neologism unrelated to the English term. This exemplifies that a fine line has to be drawn between borrowing as language transmission and the transmission of products and concepts across language-cultural areas in general. From a linguistic point of view, the transmission of concepts between two language-cultural areas (from SL to RL) takes place on a continuum between:

- (i) The linguistic unit of form and meaning of the SL is retained in the RL.
- (ii) The linguistic unit of form and meaning of the SL is disrupted and meaning is reproduced by language-internal forms in the RL.

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<sup>8</sup> *The Hovercraft in the U.K. year by year*. <http://www.hovercraft-museum.org/years.html>, January 2005

Mapped on the processes of transmission discussed so far, (i) relates to lexical borrowing where the unity of form and meaning from the SL is markedly preserved in the RL. In (ii) the original ties of form and meaning are severed and the transmission remains unmarked. This leaves a possible scenario of conceptual transmission which can result in the creation of a neologism by language-internal means. Thus, borrowing usually incorporates the transmission of a concept in the clothing of its foreign language form, while conceptual transmission per se does not exclusively rely on borrowing but can also be processed language internally.

Conceptual transmission also accounts for the postulate of loan creation which Betz defines as the creation of a new word in a language according to a foreign conceptual model without any formal relation to this model in terms of lexical structure (1936: 2). Similarly, Duckworth describes loan creation as a term that is created in order to reflect a foreign model without being formally related to the foreign term at all (1977: 52). As an example, he mentions the German term *Nietenhose*, created after English *jeans*. Carstensen also cites the example of *Nietenhosen* as a loan creation of *Blue Jeans* to illustrate his definition that loan creation requires the receptor language to freely reproduce the foreign original (1965: 215). Despite the fact that *Nietenhose* is very rarely used in German today, its creation is based on the language inherent reproduction of a conceptual stimulus from English. As Allenbacher explains, *Nietenhose* implies the manufacturing process of this type of garment (*Niete* = rivet, *Hose* = pants, 1997: 47). The popular synonymous anglicism *Jeans*, on the other hand, is an actual borrowing since the original English unit of form and meaning is retained in German.

To conclude the discussion of loan formation, it has become evident that the three types of loan formation as initially proposed by Betz (cf. Figure 1) are characterized by a lack of word formal transfer. According to the principle of the arbitrary integrity of form and meaning, loan formation can be formalized as a separate process from lexical borrowing. The latter is defined as the transfer of lexical units from SL to RL. Loan translation without marked formal transfer, loan rendition, and loan creation describe possible instances of conceptual transmission which can stimulate a language-internal reproduction in the receptor language.

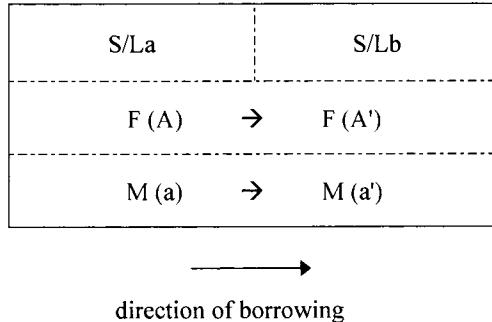
### 2.3 Borrowing and conceptual transmission without SL-form

At the end of Chapter 2, the various types and subtypes of loan influences as portrayed in Figure 1 can be reduced to basically three types of loan influences:

- (i) Borrowing, which is characterized by the retention of the source unit in the RL.
- (ii) Interference, which is responsible for semantic and functional transfer on the lexical, syntactic, and pragmatic levels due to formal similarity of units in SL and RL.
- (iii) Conceptual transmission without SL-form, which occurs when a conceptual stimulus from an SL motivates a language-inherent creation in the RL.

The major distinction between borrowing and conceptual transmission without SL-form is summarized below:

(a) Borrowing (transmission of linguistic units)



S/La; S/Lb	Sign in Language a; Sign in Language b
F (A); F (A')	Same/similar forms
M (a); M (a')	Same/similar meaning

## (b) Conceptual transmission without SL-form (inherent lexical creation)

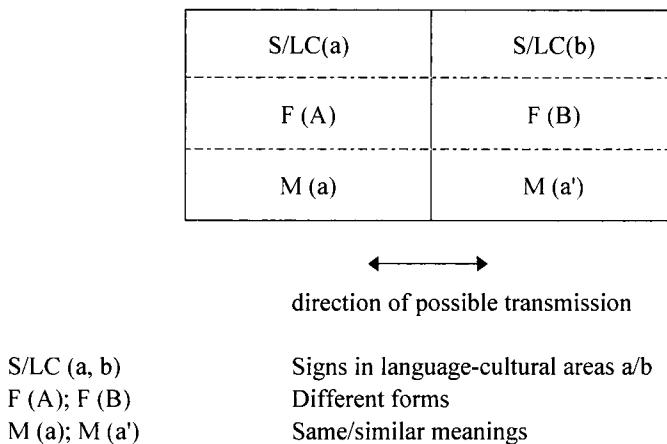


Figure 8: Borrowing and conceptual transmission without SL-form as separate types of transmission

As the figure shows, the difference between borrowing and conceptual transmission is represented on the formal level of the linguistic unit. In the case of conceptual transmission without SL-form, the spread of a concept from one LC to another LC can motivate the creation of an independent lexical unit [F (B), M (a')] that reflects the meaning of the original lexical unit [F (A), M (a)]. Lexical borrowing, on the other hand, can be visualized as a capsule of form and meaning that is transferred from La to Lb: [F (A), M (a)] → [F (A'), M (a')]. This difference underlies culturally induced German terms such as *Wolkenkratzer*, *Nietenhose*, *Lufikissenboot*, *Weinbrand*, *Musikkiste*, and *Kaugummi* and actual borrowings like *Jeans*, *Jukebox*, *Internet*, *Software*, *Business*, *Management*, and *Entertainment*. Since conceptual transmissions lack formal clues of their possible SL, the direction of the transmission can only be determined by encyclopaedic knowledge.

The process of lexical borrowing tends to mark the direction of the transmission by the word form of the borrowed units<sup>9</sup>. Thus, loanwords in German such as *Single*, *Image*, *Team*, *Manager*, *Computer*, *Show*, *Business*, *Hardware*, *hightech*, *Training*, *Party*, *Slogan*, *Teenager*, *Center*, and *surfen* orthographically and/or phonologically reveal their

9 For a discussion of word formal assimilation cf. Langner 1995. Compare Yang (1990: 36-42) for a selection of commonly assimilated anglicisms in German.

English descent. The question arises as to what extent formal similarity has to be represented in order to classify a term as a borrowing. From what has been argued so far, objective lexical evidence of borrowing can be detected on any level of word form (phonology, orthography, and morphology) as long as the integrity of form and meaning of the source term is at least partially retained in the RL. Anglicisms in German are frequently marked by their unusual interplay of phonological and orthographical form. The following examples show how the assimilated pronunciation of anglicisms in German can differ from a hypothetical and hypercorrect pronunciation according to German graphemic – phonemic correspondences:

(1)	<i>Image</i>	anglicism [imetʃ]	*German [image]
	<i>Team</i>	anglicism [ti:m]	*German [team]
	<i>Manager</i>	anglicism [menetʃər]	*German [manager]
	<i>Business</i>	anglicism [biznɪs]	*German [busines]

Sometimes anglicisms stand out in German for their graphemic structure alone. Unusual graphemes in German such as *cc*, *ct*, *gh*, *oa*, *oo*, *ou*, *ow*, *oy*, *sh*, and *wl* characterize the following loans: *Account*, *Actionpainting*, *Board*, *Boom*, *Boygroup*, *Ghostwriter*, *Highway*, *Knowledge*, *Outfit*, *Rowdy*, *Shareholder*, *Shop*, *Show*, *Soap*, and *Tycoon*.

In conclusion, the basic types of transmission portrayed in Figure 8 give rise to separate perspectives of research in the framework of language and cultural contact.

- (a) Analyzing inherent lexical creations: This is based on the fact that conceptual transmission can trigger the language-internal creation of a neologism. If a cultural-historical relation exists between the same concepts in two LC-areas, a contrastive analysis of how these concepts are expressed in the different LC-areas provides insights into the semantic and word formation motivations that underlie lexical creations (e.g. translational strategies and semantic salience as in *hovercraft* representing the function of the object vs. *Lufikissenboot* focussing on the shape of the object; or why is a *skyscraper* a \**cloudscraper*<sup>10</sup> in German?)
- (b) Analyzing borrowing as transmission of linguistic units: Research in this domain focuses on linguistic units that word

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<sup>10</sup> A literal translation of *skyscraper* as *Himmelskratzer* could be blocked for semantic reasons as *Himmel* means both ‘sky’ and ‘heaven’ in German.

formally allude to their origin and whose lexical unity of form and meaning is at least partly retained in the RL. In the wake of that, crucial questions about borrowings can be tackled accordingly, such as their morphological integration, their phonological assimilation, their semantic changes, their perception by speakers in the RL, and the reasons for the integration of borrowings.

### **3. Borrowing, codeswitching, and anglicism: different approaches to definition**

The terminology of language influence introduced by Betz has served as a point of departure for a variety of definitions in the field of language contact. Apart from the discussion of some theories related to Betz, this chapter will focus on the difference between codeswitching and borrowing, on the classification of anglicisms by their degree of assimilation, on the typology of loans in the dictionary of anglicisms in German (*AWB*; Carstensen and Busse 1993, 1994, 1996), and on the “general and unified theory of the transmission process in language contact” (Coetsem 2000).

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, Duckworth uses Betz’ terminology and its English equivalents to construct his model of loan influences (1977: 40). In contrast to Betz, Duckworth adds a third branch to his classification as he distinguishes between importation (direct loans), partial substitution (loan blend), and substitution (loan meaning and loan formation). The term “loanblend” was coined by Haugen to describe hybrid constructions that “involve a discoverable foreign model” (1950: 215). There is some dispute whether or not hybrid terms such as *Abendshow* (‘evening show’), *Abenteuertrip* (‘adventure trip’), and *actionmäßig* (‘action-like’) should be differentiated in terms of their coherence to a foreign source term, and this issue will be more extensively dealt with in Chapter 4.2.

Haugen also distinguishes between three dimensions of borrowing: (a) loanwords, (b) loanblends, and (c) loanshifts (1950: 214–15). Though named differently, these categories partly relate to the concepts proposed by Betz. For Haugen, a loanword shows morphemic importation without substitution but possible phonemic adaptation (cf. foreign word/assimilated loanword in Betz), loanblends are partial substitutions (i.e. hybrid terms), and loanshifts are characterized by total substitution with native elements as in the examples of loan formation and loan meaning. Allenbacher uses Betz and Haugen’s terminologies in a more recent approach to structure the field of anglicisms. He basically distinguishes between primary and secondary loans (1999: 44). Primary loans include direct borrowings and indirect influences such as hybrid compounds following a foreign model, loan meaning, and loan translation. Secondary loans are lexical creations such as hybrid constructions without a foreign model and (the various types of) pseudo loans, e.g. G. *Dressman* meaning ‘male model’ (cf. Chapter 4.1).

### 3.1 Codeswitching and borrowing

In multilingual environments, the definition of borrowing overlaps with the phenomenon of codeswitching. Theoretical discussions about the separation of codeswitching and borrowing have been stimulated by Haugen's initial definition that codeswitching "occurs when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech" (in Pütz 1993: 182-183). Poplack's depiction of codeswitching stresses its difference to borrowing as she states that "code switching is the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of the language of its provenance" (1993: 256). Borrowing, on the other hand, is primarily a lexical process that is accompanied by morphological and partly phonological assimilation in the RL. Clyne stresses the fact that codeswitching and borrowing form a continuum of usage (2003: 71). However, while "codeswitching is employed for both single-word and multi-word elements, borrowing is limited to the former" (*ibid.*). Furthermore, borrowings constitute part of the lexicon of the matrix language whereas codeswitches belong to the embedded language lexicon (*ibid.*). In sociolinguistic terms, codeswitching typically occurs in multilingual communities. Borrowing, on the other hand, can also occur in speech communities where the SL is socially distant and access is limited, as in the example of anglicisms in Korean (cf. Tyson 1995).

King argues that "intuitively, codeswitches and borrowings would appear distinct: the former is the product of two grammars, the latter of one" (2000: 86). This relates to Clyne's quotation above and stresses the fact that borrowings can be distinguished from codeswitching by their morphosyntactic integration into the RL. Thus, borrowings are paradigmatically incorporated and follow the syntagmatic relations of the RL whereas codeswitches retain the paradigmatic markings and the syntagmatic relationship from their original language.

As part of her fundamental model of codeswitching (The Matrix Language-Frame Model, 1993 and subsequent publications), Myers-Scotton takes a slightly different approach to distinguishing codeswitching from borrowing. While she also acknowledges the existence of a continuum of classification between the two, she argues that the degree of phonological and morphosyntactic integration remains inconclusive as a method of characterization. Both borrowings and codeswitches can appear in the frame of the matrix language with varying degrees of integration (1993: 206). For her, frequency of occurrence is the major qualifying criterion. Thus, an embedded lan-

guage (EL) lexical item which occurs only once in a corpus of considerable size would generally not qualify as a borrowing. She also differentiates cultural borrowings which involve new concepts from core borrowings which are used in the matrix language (ML) despite the existence of a close conceptual equivalent (1993: 207).

Myers-Scotton's observations are based on the study of spoken codeswitching in various multilingual communities. The written representation of language influence, however, demands slight modifications of her claims. First of all, the distinction between cultural borrowings and core borrowings is reminiscent of the debate about *necessary loans* vs. *luxury loans* from English in German (cf. Carstensen 1965, Donalies 1992, Langer 1996). Apart from touching upon the grey area of semantic equivalence, this distinction is empirically weak since it is not capable of making any predictions about the borrowability of a term. As Thomason and Kaufmann (1988) and Thomason (2001) argue, borrowings and codeswitches are triggered by individual socio-psychological reasons of a speaker and not merely by the denotative or structural potential of a term. Thus, the corpus of this study (*Der Spiegel 2000*) features a variety of frequently used borrowings which combine various degrees of connotational and denotational flavours as lexical novelties in German, e.g. *Film, cool, Computer, Image, Internet, Job, Team ...* (cf. Chapter 8.1, Table 5).

Secondly, frequency is not a sufficiently insightful criterion to distinguish borrowing from codeswitching in the corpus of the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*. As a written medium which is produced in Germany and targeted at a German-speaking readership, the periodical represents a stable platform of language contact with German as the dominant language. Furthermore, the production of written language is generally perceived as more deliberate than speaking. Accordingly, English elements in *Der Spiegel* pass through various stages in which their occurrence in relation to text production and target audience are monitored. Even if an English term occurs only once in the written corpus, it lacks the immediacy and evanescence of a single-instance codeswitch in spoken language.

The same argument can be applied to clarify the terminological distinction between *loans* and *nonce loans (ad hoc loans)*. While loans are borrowings that have become accepted in the lexicon of the RL, nonce loans are characterized by their spontaneous and sporadic use in the RL, i.e. by their lack of frequency and social acceptance in the RL. Pütz relies on Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan's definition, which describes a nonce borrowing "as an incorporation from another language uttered a single time by a single speaker in some reasonably

representative corpus” (1993: 191). There is some controversy whether nonce loans should be considered as a separate category or not. Nonce loans relate to the natural fluctuation of the lexicon when words are invented (borrowed), used a single time and disappear again. While frequency of usage might indicate the acceptance of a borrowing, a synchronic view on a language corpus does not necessarily allow for any predictions about the persistence of a borrowing. Even though the borrowings *Midtown-Girl*, *Newsdesk*, *Outpost*, and *Permanent-Make-up* appear merely once in *Der Spiegel 2000*, it is not possible to decide whether they will continue to exist as anglicisms or not. In order to prove the acceptance of a borrowing in the RL a diachronic analysis of comparable corpora is necessary.

Following this line of argumentation, no further distinction between loans and nonce loans is attempted in this study, but every lexical borrowing that qualifies as such (cf. Chapter 6.3) is treated as an anglicism irrespective of its token frequency. According to the mutually inclusive character of borrowing and codeswitching and in line with the specific conventions of the corpus, codeswitching and borrowing are not differentiated by token frequency. Instead, a distinction is drawn between multi-element syntactic units (codeswitches) and single lexical items (e.g. borrowings, compounds, derivations). This is supported by the observation that single lexical codeswitches and borrowings “resemble each other in the morphosyntactic procedures they undergo during language production” (Myers-Scotton 1993: 182). Multi-element EL islands, on the other hand, are internally consistent with the structural conventions of their source language. These different morphosyntactic properties of single lexical items, i.e. borrowings, and multi-element syntactic groups, i.e. codeswitches, allows for a separate analysis of the morphological integration of single English elements and of the syntactic embedding of multi-word units (cf. Chapter 11).

### **3.2 Classification of anglicisms in terms of assimilation**

Apart from the traditional loan terminology, assimilation processes in the RL are used to classify anglicisms. Among others, Filipović (1996), Gottlieb (1999), and Oeldorf (1990) structure anglicisms according to their patterns of assimilation. In terms of the phonological representation of anglicisms, Filipović (1996: 42) distinguishes between “zero transphonemisation” for terms that are pronounced the same in SL and RL (e.g. E. *boom* [bu:m], G. *boom* [bu:m]), “partial transphonemisation” for partial sound substitutions (e.g. E. *job* [dʒɒb], G. *job*

[dʒɒp]) and “free transphonemisation” for unrestricted sound substitutions (e.g. E. *job* [dʒɒpb], A.G. *job* [tʃɒp]). Apart from the fact that idiolectal and dialectal variation complicate the assignment of a borrowing to a certain type of transphonemisation, the categories merely reflect the natural tendency of substitution when uncommon phonological sequences enter the RL.

If the phonological systems of the SL and RL share the same elements, the pressure to assimilate is reduced in the RL and terms of the SL tend to retain their phonological form (although phonological colouring in the RL is a default principle of phonological assimilation). Thus, E. *internet* [ɪntənet] can be G. [intənet], E. *e-mail* [r̩:meɪl] can be G. [r̩:merl], and E. *computer* [kəmpjuitə] can be G. [kəmpjuitə]. If phonological features of the SL are unknown in the RL (e.g. E. interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ in German) or if phonological rules apply in the RL (e.g. final devoicing in German, final devoicing and devoicing of fricatives in Austrian German) borrowings from English are subject to substitutions (e.g. E. *thriller* [θrɪlə], G. [srɪlə]) and sound changes (e.g. E. *job* [dʒɒpb], A.G. *job* [tʃɒp]). Similarly, the theoretically possible sound sequence [st] in the anglicisms *start* [sta:t̩t] and *stress* [stres] is frequently assimilated in German to [ʃta:t̩t] and [ʃtres] in analogy to the German graphemic – phonemic relation of <st> and [ʃt].

On the level of morphological assimilation, Filipović (1996: 42-43) applies similar categories as he distinguishes between “zero transmorphemisation” (morphologically simple anglicisms that have the same form as their English source words, e.g. E. *team*, G. *Team*, E. *boss*, German *Boss*), “compromise transmorphemisation” (anglicisms that preserve the suffix of the E. source word, e.g. E. *management*, G. *Management*, E. *marketing*, G. *Marketing*) and “transmorphemisation” (the English suffix of the source word can be replaced with a suffix of the receiving language that has the same function, e.g. E. *lobbyism*, G. *Lobbyismus*). Filipović’s distinction is controversial for the German language because, depending on English language competence, borrowings are likely to be treated as lexical wholes by a German speaker and the English forms are generally not analysed into their derivational components. Even rare examples that cohere to Filipović’s category of transmorphemisation like E. *lobbyism* and G. *Lobbyismus* can be explained by a process of language-internal suffixation of a borrowed base in German rather than by an act of suffix replacement of the English model. In German, *-ismus* is a productive suffix for the derivation of nouns from foreign, mainly Greek and Latin bases, as in *Pragmatismus* (‘pragmatism’), *Separatismus* (‘separatism’), *Analpha-*

*betismus* ('analphabetism'), *Fanatismus* ('fanaticism'), and *Bürokratismus* ('bureaucratism').

Oeldorf (1990: 42-44) mainly focuses on orthographical and morphological criteria according to which an anglicism in German can be classified as a “transferred loanword” (no assimilation), as a “partially integrated loanword” (anglicisms that contain one criterion of assimilation), and as an “integrated loanword” (anglicisms that contain two criteria of assimilation). Orthographical signs of assimilation are capitalization and Germanized spellings of English borrowings such as *Klub* (→*Club*), *Handikap* (→*Handicap*). Data in *Der Spiegel 2000* and Yang's study of *Der Spiegel* (1990) indicate that capitalization is an integral part of the borrowing process and Germanized spellings are on the wane. The variant forms *Klub* and *Handikap* have disappeared, and anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* have resisted orthographical assimilation in the last couple of decades (cf. Chapter 5.2).

Oeldorf's criteria of morphological assimilation relate to the suffixation of borrowed bases to derive a verbal infinitive (*testen*, *joggen*, *swingen*). Furthermore, morphological assimilation includes verbal inflection (*gecharterten*), case marking and plural formation of nominal anglicisms (e.g. Plural: *die Bosse*; Genitive singular: *des Tests*), comparative and superlative marking of adjectival anglicisms (*fairer*, *fairste*), and the word formation process of hybrid compounding (*Fahrzeug-Leasing*, *Fahndungscomputer*). These categories are indicative of the fact that anglicisms can be ground in the morphological mill of German and turned into productive elements of German word formation. However, the morphological assimilation of anglicisms in German is not a definite criterion for classifying anglicisms as more or less integrated into German. Morphological integration is in fact dependent on the function of an anglicism in its syntactic environment. Thus, the inflection of verbs generally applies as soon as an anglicism takes the role of a verb in a German sentence. Nominal anglicisms are also subject to case and plural marking depending on their syntactic function. In line with German declensional classes, the anglicism *Manager*, for example, appears uninflected in the nominative, dative, and accusative singular while showing signs of inflection in the genitive (*des Managers*).

The adjective *cool* is not inflected when used predicatively but is inflected according to German conventions as an attribute to a noun (e.g. *Musik für coole Romantiker*; E. ‘music for cool romantics’). In contrast to inflection, the derivational productivity of borrowed bases indeed implies their acceptance in the RL. As a sign of their integration into the German lexicon, anglicisms such as *Computer*, *Club*, and

*Manager* form productive nests for the creation of hybrid compounds, as in *Computer-Berufe* ('computer jobs'), *Computerausdruck* ('computer print-out'), *Clubabend* ('club evening'), *Clubbesitzer* ('club owner'), *Managergeneration* ('manager generation'), and *Managerlaufbahn* ('manager career') to name but a few.

In his structural classification of anglicisms, Gottlieb distinguishes between "active" and "reactive" anglicisms (1999: 136-38). Active anglicisms are "overt lexical borrowings" (word formally marked), "covert lexical borrowings" (word formally assimilated, e.g. E. *cake*, G. *Keks*), loan translations (including hybrids), and pseudo anglicisms. He also regards "morphosyntactic calques" as active anglicisms, as in the example of article intrusion in Spanish "Es *un* maestro de escuela" from English "he is *a* schoolteacher" (1999: 137).

According to Gottlieb, reactive anglicisms are primarily semantic changes of already existing terms in the RL that are triggered by a role model in the SL. Semantic expansion happened in Danish *massiv*, which acquired the additional metaphorical meaning of English *massive*. The Canadian-French term *breuvage* has shifted in meaning from 'alcohol' to 'drink' due to interference with English *beverage* (*ibid.*). Word formal similarity can also boost the frequency of usage of existing terms in the RL, as in Danish *kamera* (English *camera*) and *invitere* (English *invite*). This effect particularly involves internationalisms of Greek and Latinate roots that are found in a variety of European languages.

As a whole, Gottlieb's classification provides a comprehensive overview of the different results of language influence. However, the distinction between active and reactive anglicisms seems haphazard from the perspective of how the RL processes SL influence. As portrayed in Chapter 2.2.2, the RL can incorporate SL influence on a continuum between:

- (i) The lexical unit from the SL is retained and integrated in the RL (passively).
- (ii) The lexical unit from the SL is disrupted and a new lexical unit is created in the RL (actively).

Loan translations and pseudo anglicisms are language-inherent creations whereas "overt lexical borrowings" are the result of lexical transfer in the RL. To consider these phenomena collectively as "active anglicisms" neglects the underlying difference of borrowing and lexical creation that leads to the existence of these diverse lexical units in the RL.

### 3.3 Typology in the dictionary of anglicisms in German

In 1983, as a result of the ongoing debates about the limitations of Betz' terminology, the German research society developed a new terminological framework for classifying anglicisms in German. Carstensen and Busse, the authors of the Dictionary of Anglicisms in German (*Anglizismen Wörterbuch – AWB*, 3 vols. 1993, 1994, 1996), apply this terminology in their hallmark approach to lexicographically portray the influence of English in German. The basic distinction in “aus engl. x” (from Engl. x), “nach engl. x” (after Engl. x), and “zu engl. x” (following Engl. x) is modified with probability markers that allows the authors to draw a comprehensive picture of the possible effects of transmission and to create a source of future reference.

“From English x” (x stands for an English sign) includes examples of evident borrowings such as E. *job* borrowed into German as *Job*. The category is also home to compounds such as *Action-Film*, which may or may not be listed in English dictionaries. Mixed constructions of native and borrowed elements like *Börsenboom*, and *stressig* are also part of evident influences in the same way as anglicisms that have changed semantically in German as in *Start* used in the sense of ‘take-off’ (1993: 18-19). “From English x” also covers pseudo anglicisms which represent a novel combination of English lexical items in German (e.g. G. *Showmaster* meaning ‘compere, emcee’).

“After English x” comprises non-evident lexical influences, i.e. loan formations, which are characterized by the creation of a new lexical unit in German such as the literal translation *Luftsack* after E. *air bag* (1993: 19). Due to the difficulty in establishing a diachronic dependence on an English model, the German terms are frequently marked as “probably after English x” or “possibly after English x” to stress the lack of word formal and etymological evidence of language influence (e.g. G. *Flüssigkristall* probably after E. *liquid crystal* and G. *defensives Fahren* possibly after E. *defensive driving*; ibid).

The third category of classification (“following E. x”) relates to evident borrowings that are morphologically altered in German. Thus, G. *Twen* is a clipping “following E. twenty” (1993: 19). The formation of *Twen* is probably motivated by analogy to *Teenie*, which is a borrowing from English *teeny*, a clipping of teeny-bopper (*OED* 1994). In the same way as the anglicism *Teenie* means ‘a person who is in his or her teens,’ *Twen* means ‘a person who is in his or her twenties’.

By introducing the probability markers in the area of non-evident borrowing (“probably/possibly after English x”), Carstensen and Busse are able to expand their framework and to include such terms as

*Kreativität* ('creativity'), *kein Problem* ('no problem'), *Kanal* (in the sense of 'TV-channel'), *Kanonenboot-Politik* ('gunboat diplomacy'), *jedermann's Liebling* ('everybody's darling'), *intelligent* ('intelligent'), *innere Uhr* ('biological clock'), and *Vollblut* ('full blooded'). As the authors remark, English influence cannot be fully confirmed in these examples.

### 3.4 Theory of the transmission process in language contact

In his "general and unified theory of the transmission process in language contact", Coetsem creates a theoretical framework that defines borrowing as a phenomenon of language contact (2000). Without taking neutralization into account, Coetsem basically distinguishes between two types of transfer in language contact:

- (a) RL agentivity or borrowing
- (b) SL agentivity or imposition

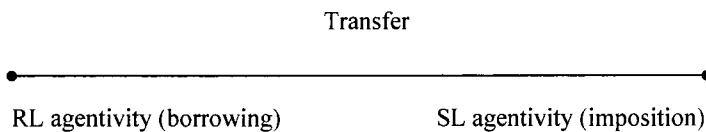


Figure 9: Borrowing and imposition as types of transfer in language contact (Coetsem 2000: 35)

In a scenario of the transfer of language material from SL to RL ( $SL \rightarrow RL$ ), the difference of borrowing and imposition is tied to the linguistic dominance of SL or RL. While imposition is a transfer of language material from the dominant SL to the subdominant RL, borrowing happens when language elements are transferred from the subdominant SL to the dominant RL. The dominance of the SL in SL agentivity (imposition) can lead to an increased transfer of language structures to the RL whereas RL agentivity (borrowing) resists structural transfer from the SL to a large extent (2000: 73).

In Middle English and Early Modern English, historical traces of imposition can be found in the phenomenon of *h*-dropping, which was partly stimulated by the dominant influence of French in Anglo Saxon language and culture as a result of the Norman Conquest (Markus 2002:

7)<sup>1</sup>. More recently, SL agentivity (imposition) typically occurs in areas of contact between majority and minority languages, as in the examples of English and German in German speech islands in the USA (Arter-Lamprecht 1992), Castilian and Galician (Huygens in press), French and Catalan (Perea 2004), and English and Irish (Stenson 1993a/b). The linguistic effects of SL agentivity are frequent codeswitching and codemixing, which can lead to the imposition of syntactic patterns as in the example of English influence on Irish Gaelic (Stenson 1993b: 122). As the subdominant language, urban Galician adopts and even imitates the Castillian phonetic system to increase its attraction among urban speakers (Huygens in press). Similarly, Perea (2004) reports that French imposes pronunciation and intonation patterns on Catalan and replaces the Catalan conjunctions *però* ('but'), *durant* ('during'), *des de* ('since'), and *on* ('where') with the French forms *mais*, *pendant*, *depuis*, and *où*. Aikhenvald and Dixon (2007: 43) refer to imposition as displacive language contact which can ultimately lead to language shift. They give examples of the Russification of ethnic minorities in the former Soviet Union and the punishment of children for using their aboriginal language in Australia.

With regard to the influence of English on German in the dominantly German language areas of Austria, Germany, and parts of Switzerland, language contact generally lacks immediate speaker contact. There is no pressure for German speakers to assimilate to English as it is the case in contact situations between majority language and minority language speakers sharing the same geographical space. Instead, English influence on German is mostly mediated (e.g. newspapers, TV, the Internet). The present study, which focuses on the occurrence of English elements in the newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*, is an example of such a contact scenario. German is a dominant RL while English takes the role of a subdominant SL. Accordingly, Coetsem's definition of "transfer" as the transmission of language material from SL to RL primarily coheres to the notion of RL agentivity (borrowing) in the present study of English influence on German. This entails an understanding of borrowing as the transmission of linguistic units of form and meaning from subdominant SL (English) to dominant RL (German) (Coetsem 2000: 38).

As part of his theory, Coetsem discusses the "stability factor" as a crucial principle of language contact (2000: 58). Stability is based on the fact that "certain language components or subcomponents are by

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1 Cf. Herdina (2005) for an account of the complexity of the language contact situation in the Normandy and in England around the time of the Norman Conquest.

nature more stable, while other such components are less stable. For example, lexical items, specifically contentive words, are far more likely borrowed than phonological or grammatical elements, which are more stable and less transferable" (2000: 58). As Hoffer reports, the notion of stability was referred to as early as 1881 by Whitney, who proposed a scale of adaptability that ranges from nouns, as most adaptable, to affixes, inflections, and sounds as most resistant to change (1996: 544). Similar claims by Haugen (1950: 224) emphasize that the lexicon is most readily affected by borrowing whereas phonology and morphology largely resist borrowing. Field (2002: 117) provides a recent account of stability which he summarizes in the following hierarchy of borrowability:

- (2) content item > function word > agglutinating affix > fusional affix

Moving from left to right, content items<sup>2</sup> (e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives) are more likely borrowed than function words (e.g. pronouns, adpositions, and conjunctions), which in turn are more prone to borrowing than agglutinating affixes, representing a one to one mapping of form and inflectional function (e.g. Turkish plural affix *ler/lar*). At the end of the hierarchy, fusional affixes are maximally stable elements as they incorporate multiple functions and are generally not interpretable in the SL outside their paradigms. According to Field, the hierarchy of borrowability not only implies the probability according to which linguistic items are borrowed into the RL but also relates to the sequence of borrowing (2002: 38). This means that if a language has borrowed agglutinating affixes, it has already borrowed content items and function words beforehand.

While Field's hierarchy of borrowing provides an adequate classification of how likely, i.e. how frequently, lexical elements are borrowed from SL to RL, his mention of semantic reasons for the intrinsic ordering of the borrowability of content items (cf. footnote 2) demands clarification. From an internalist approach to language analysis (cf. Chomsky 2000), the referential meaning of a lexical unit is dependent on its contextual interpretation in the I-language of a speaker. Differently labeled content items such as *house*, *go*, and *wonderful* are not more or less referentially transparent by mere membership to a certain word class<sup>3</sup>. So, the different borrowability of

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2 Among content items, nouns are most easily borrowed due to the fact that verbs and adjectives bear a higher syntactic and semantic load (Field 2002: 116).

3 Cf. Chomsky for a discussion on reference-based lexical semantics (2000: 164-94).

content items is not related to the semantic-referential content of nouns, verbs, and adjectives but is tied to their syntactic projections following the assumption that borrowability of a lexical item decreases if its syntactic load is increasing.

The intrinsic ordering of borrowability among content items is also reflected by the structure of the lexicon as a storage place of symbolic references to the world. The lexicon primarily contains labels for concrete and abstract entities in the world, i.e. nouns. To a lesser extent, the lexicon represents terms that describe the interaction of these entities, i.e. verbs, and words that qualify entities and their interactions, i.e. adjectives and adverbs. These representational differences in the lexicon seem to be based on human visual-spatial perception of the environment. The mind has a tendency to categorize and objectify its surroundings, i.e. to assign a plethora of labels for objects, shapes, and states. For reasons pertaining to the economy of information storage and faster information retrieval, this vast set of labels is combined with a smaller set of interactors and descriptors, which allows for generalizations of qualities and interrelations of the objects in the perceived world. According to this observation, the conclusion is obvious that labels for objects and states will also be the most prevalent lexical items transferred from SL to RL.

Thomason (2001: 68) discusses a further criterion of lexical borrowability which ties in with the cline of borrowability between content items and function words. According to her, “casual contact” particularly involves the borrowing of non-basic vocabulary. As the intensity of the contact increases, more basic vocabulary (e.g. kinship terms, terms of body parts, numerals) and function words are borrowed. Even though a distinction between non-basic and basic is empirically contested and should thus merely be a rough guideline, as Thomason also notes (2001: 72), the postulate that non-basic lexical items are among the first signs of language contact is supported in a great number of contact scenarios and is also adequate for the present study (cf. Chapter 8.1, Table 5). To do justice to Thomason’s opinion about the notion of borrowability it has to be emphasized “that any borrowing scale is a matter of probabilities, not possibilities” (2001: 71).

Coming back to the structural depiction of the hierarchy of borrowability as laid out in Field, his theory of stability culminates in the principles of System Incompatibility (PSI) and System Compatibility (PSC). These principles combine the hierarchy of borrowability with the typological nature of the RL from isolating-analytic, agglutinating-synthetic to fusional-synthetic (2002: 40-41). Thus, the Principle of System Compatibility (PSC) states that “any

form-meaning set is borrowable from a donor language if it conforms to the morphological possibilities of the recipient language with regard to morphological structure" (2002: 41). Form-meaning sets that lie outside the structural possibilities of the RL need to be structurally reanalyzed in order to fit the structure of the RL (2002: 44).

As far as Field's PSC is concerned, it is important to emphasize that this theory is particularly valid in a stable scenario of borrowing, as described by Coetsem's notion of RL agentivity (see above). In the case of imposition/SL agentivity any intrinsic hierarchies of borrowability seem moot, as Thomason and Kaufman argue:

But the structuralist reasoning is not consistent with the available data, for two reasons. First the claim that a language has a 'complex resistance to interference' (Weinreich 1953: 44) is only relevant to borrowing situations, not to cases of substratum interference; and second, though it is true that some kinds of features are more easily transferred than others, social factors can and very often do overcome structural resistance to interference at all levels. (1988: 15)

Thomason and Kaufman provide evidence of how intense contact situations, i.e. substratum influence and social factors, can lead to "heavy borrowing" and language shift, defying language internal hierarchies of borrowability (e.g. the rise of gender categories in Chinookan or the acquisition of an inclusive/exclusive we in the Indic languages Sindhi and Gujarati based on Dravidian influence, *ibid.*).<sup>4</sup>

In the case of remote language contact and RL agentivity as observed in the influence of English on German today, however, the hierarchy of borrowability offers a valid structural tool to describe SL influence on an RL. Field's theory also ties in nicely with Coetsem's understanding of "inherent stability", which he describes as structurally dependent stability of the receptor language (2000: 58). For Coetsem, borrowing (RL agentivity) has a defensive or conservative character because it mainly adds to the vocabulary of the RL while the formal structure of the RL is preserved as much as possible (2000: 59). As far as the impact of English on German is concerned, the lexical level is

<sup>4</sup> While Aikhenvald and Dixon basically fall in line with Thomason and Kaufmann, they do not entirely subscribe to the strong sociolinguistic claim. Instead their position on the borrowability of features lies between structuralists and sociolinguists when they claim that "typologically different linguistic structures tend to change in different ways. For each category, in order to answer the question of how diffusible it is, we need to know its function, expression, and status within the language" (2007: 47). This underlines the importance that research on language contact has to work out the social and linguistic parameters that characterize an individual contact situation.

indeed the primary source of influence, as verified by several studies of anglicisms in German (Carstensen 1965, Yang 1990, Fink 1997a/b). Structural influences mainly occur peripherally.

Schelpner provides an overview of structural influences classified as “loan syntax” (1995: 15). She states that language-inherent tendencies can be promoted through the influence of syntactic patterns from English. A potential area of syntactic interference relates to the circumscription of the genitive case with the preposition *von* + dative in German, following the English *of*-genitive as in *die Regierung von Helmut Kohl* (‘the government of Helmut Kohl’, *Der Spiegel* 2000: 15/31) instead of *\*Helmut Kohls Regierung* (‘Helmut Kohl’s government’). Furthermore, Schelpner notes the occurrence of *mehr* (‘more’) as a periphrastic comparative marker of German adjectives in line with the English comparative construction: *more* + adjective (*ibid.*). Intransitive verbs can be used transitively, as in *einen Wagen fahren* (‘to drive a car’). Further examples are the use of possessive pronouns instead of articles in phrases relating to body parts (e.g. *Er stützte seinen Kopf in seinen Arm*; E.: ‘he supported his head with his arm’), and the influx of prepositions that follow an English model, as in *G. in 1960<sup>5</sup>* instead of *im Jahre 1960* (*ibid.*). However, Schelpner concludes that English influence is merely speculative as these syntactic structures could also have evolved language-internally. The patterns lie within the range of possible German structures, and dialectal variation could have influenced their creation (1995: 16).

King argues that grammatical or structural borrowings enter the language together with lexical borrowings and that syntactic rules can change in the RL when borrowings cause reanalysis of syntactic structures in the borrowing language (2000: 83). As portrayed in Picone’s example of *tour-opérateur*, the shift of the French morphosyntactic pattern has entered French following the lexical model of English *tour operator*. If this word formation shift became emancipated from its lexical environment, the trigger of the morpho-syntactic change would indeed be a lexical one.

Apart from inherent stability, Coetsem stresses the importance of subsidiary stability, which relates to peripheral factors such as the affinity between SL and RL and the attitude of the speaker (2000: 58). As West Germanic languages, English and German are close in terms of their historical development and share a high degree of lexical affinity, which could facilitate lexical transfer. As far as their morphological structures are concerned, however, English has lost

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<sup>5</sup> This construction could also be considered a case of lexical borrowing (cf. Figure 8a).

almost all of its Germanic inflections and shifted towards the analytic end of the spectrum, whereas German has mainly retained its inflectional categories and its synthetic nature. So, English words frequently function as morphologically simple bases that can be integrated into the inflectional and derivational paradigms of German.

Speaker-attitude seems to play an important role in the occurrence of anglicisms in German. The majority of anglicisms relate to semantic areas that have a high socio-affective quality such as fashion (*Look, Show, Trend*), sports (*Fitness, Coach, snowboarden*), music (*DJ, Rap, Hip-Hop*), business (*Marketing, Investment, Management*), and communication (*Internet, SMS, chatten*). Particularly in the language of advertisements, anglicisms are frequently used as emotional tools to create an atmosphere of modernity (cf. Fink 1997, Augustyn 2004). The semiotic appeal of anglicisms is responsible for a low amount of subsidiary stability in a scenario of lexical transfer from English to German.

According to Coetsem, borrowing takes place on a scale of “imitation and adaptation” (2000: 49). Imitation incorporates the “inclusion” of terms in their original form of the SL (e.g. nominal anglicisms in German such as *Slogan, Airline*, and *Cockpit*) as well as the “integration” of borrowings in the RL (e.g. verbal anglicisms in German such as *leasen, shoppen*, and *zappen* and the use of anglicisms for the creation of hybrid terms in German, as in *abscannen, Abschiedsshow*, and *Werbespott*). In fact, the theoretical difference between inclusion and integration is minimal in the context of English borrowings in German. As soon as an English word is selected to fulfill a syntactic function in German, it is, at least to a certain extent, integrated into the German morphosyntactic system. Nominal anglicisms are assigned grammatical gender, which influences their inflectional behaviour. English *lover* is *der Lover* in the nominative case and becomes *des Lovers* following the rule of *-s* inflection in the genitive case paradigm of masculine and neuter nouns. As portrayed above, verbal anglicisms are marked in the infinitive and follow the weak conjugational pattern while adjectival anglicisms remain unmarked when used predicatively and decline accordingly in attributive position (e.g. *eine Heerschar von fitten Senioren* ‘an army of fit seniors’).

In spite of his analytical representation of inclusion as “the actual borrowing event” and integration as a “system determined” reaction, Coetsem relativizes this distinction as he claims that “RL agentivity constitutes a simple, self-contained totality, a unity [...] in which imitation implies the secondary operations of inclusion and integration”

(2000: 72). This statement is on the mark and actually precludes a further, even if only analytical, distinction.

Essentially, the division between inclusion and integration implies that first, in “the actual borrowing event,” words are borrowed in their original form and, as a secondary “system determined” reaction of the RL, the borrowed bases are integrated, i.e. they are equipped with the necessary information according to their function in the RL. This means that the borrowing event appears to be disconnected to the actual use of borrowings. As such the sequence of (first) borrowing and (second) use indicates that borrowing is a self-contained process that is not implicitly related to an expressive function in the RL. Consequently, words would be borrowed first as isolated items without a function, and only in a second stage of integration would they be assigned an expressive role in the RL. From a functional perspective, however, it is dubious to argue that words are borrowed randomly into the RL without any communicative intention in the first place. The occurrence of a borrowing is in fact tied to an expressive need<sup>6</sup> in the RL. This need stimulates the borrowing and, in fulfilling the need, the borrowed term is automatically assigned a role as it enters the RL. Thus, an analytical segregation of inclusion and integration is not tenable, as inclusion presupposes integration and vice versa.

In contrast to imitation, adaptation relates to adaptive reactions of the RL that can affect a borrowed term on various levels such as orthography, phonology, and semantics. While adaptation can interact with imitation in the process of borrowing (e.g. phonological adaptation of anglicisms in German via phonemic substitution), adaptation is also viewed as a “reaction or response to imitation” and “refers to the result of borrowing” for items that are entirely integrated (Coetsem 2000: 72). The German term *Keks*, for example, was orthographically integrated after being initially borrowed as *cake/cakes* (Dunger 1909: 93). In terms of semantic adaptation, *Keks* shifted from the English meaning of ‘cake’ to denote ‘biscuit’ in German. The degree of adaptation is connected to factors of subsidiary stability such as the affinity between SL and RL and the attitude of the speakers towards the SL.

Anglicisms in Russian, for example, are under immediate pressure of orthographical adaptation for purely alphabetic reasons. Thus, the majority of anglicisms in Russian are orthographically adapted, as in “римейк (*remake*), имидж (*image*),” and “лобби (*lobby*)” (Shakhovsky 2000: 32-33). A positive attitude of speakers in the RL

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6 E.g. Semantic needs, social needs (prestige), creative needs (word play, innovation, aesthetics), structural needs (conciseness), and combinations of these needs.

community towards the SL as well as profound knowledge of the SL can reduce the pressure of formal adaptation to RL conventions. Apart from the possibility of immediate adaptation, as in the examples of anglicisms in Russian, adaptation can also be a historical process, as in the German terms *Schal*, *Schock*, and *Streik*. These anglicisms are orthographically assimilated today whereas, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Dunger records the forms *shawl*, *shock*, and *strike* (1909: 97-98). Hence, adaptation can blur the word formal evidence of borrowing in the RL, and etymological knowledge becomes a necessary criterion for proving a former process of borrowing.

In general, Coetsem's theory of the transmission process in language contact provides a description of underlying processes of borrowing that go beyond the scope of common attempts at classification. With the interrelation of adaptation and imitation and their dependence on stability, Coetsem establishes a theoretical framework that depicts basic principles of the transfer of language elements in a borrowing relation between SL and RL. What distinguishes Coetsem's model from the others discussed in this chapter is the fact that it portrays the core mechanisms of borrowing as being responsible for the results of the borrowing process. The other approaches, on the other hand, try to grasp the phenomenon from the outside by molding the results of the borrowing process, i.e. anglicisms, into various sets of categories depending on their degree of similarity to an English model.

At the end of Part I, we will return to these theoretical issues and incorporate borrowing into a model of the transmission process between SL and RL. Before that, however, two more vital pieces have to be integrated into the puzzle of definition and terminology to achieve a more comprehensive view of English influence on German:

- (a) The phenomena of pseudo anglicisms and hybrid anglicisms
- (b) Diachronic aspects of anglicisms in German

## 4. Pseudo anglicisms and hybrid anglicisms

Pseudo anglicisms and hybrid anglicisms are indicators of lexical productivity in the RL. In terms of word formation, pseudo anglicisms and hybrids result from a novel combination of borrowed lexical units. While the pseudo anglicism *Wellfit-Bar* ('bar that caters for the needs of health-starved people') is a German compound consisting of English elements, the hybrid *Weitsprung-Coach* ('long jump coach') is based on the combination of a German compound and a borrowed English base. On closer scrutiny, the definition of pseudo anglicisms borders on morphological and semantic changes of borrowings in the RL. Hybrid anglicisms, on the other hand, have stirred some controversy as to the degree their creation is influenced by the existence of an English model. These different implications for pseudo anglicisms and hybrids will be addressed separately in the following.

### 4.1 Pseudo anglicisms

The term “pseudo anglicism” describes the phenomenon that occurs when the RL uses lexical elements of the SL to create a neologism in the RL that is unknown in the SL. For the German language, Duckworth simply defines pseudo anglicisms as German neologisms derived from English language material (1977: 54). He cites the example of *Dressman*, which occurs three times in *Der Spiegel 2000* and is also documented by other scholars (Carstensen 1981: 179, Hannah 1988: 60-70, Yang 1990: 170). *Dressman*, the German ‘male model’, is a canonical example of a pseudo anglicism because it indicates that English words can be combined in German to create a compound that does not exist in English. Semantically, the meanings of its English constituents *dress* ('clothing') and *man* ('adult male human') are partly incorporated in the meaning of *Dressman* as ‘male model’ in German. This stresses the fact that the formation of German *Dressman* is influenced by its English constituents. Carstensen assumes that *Dressman* was created in analogy to compound anglicisms with the head *-man*, such as *Stuntman* and *Gentleman* (1981: 179). German indeed shows some degree of permeability towards compound Anglicisms with the head *-man*, as in the following examples from *Der Spiegel 2000*: *Anchorman*, *Chairman*, *Doorman*, *Everyman*, *Gentleman*, *Gunman*, *Hangman*, *Ironman*, *Salesman*, *Selfmademan*, *Showman*, *Stuntman*, and *Superman*.

Pseudo anglicisms also occur in other languages that are in contact with English. Sørensen defines pseudo anglicisms as “words that look English, but which deviate from genuine English words either formally or semantically” (1997: 18). According to him, *Gamespoiler* (‘spoilsport’) and *Joykiller* (‘killjoy’) appear as home-made Danish constructions. Sicherl (1999: 14) detects pseudo anglicisms in Slovene, such as *golman* (‘goalkeeper’), *kabelman* (‘camera assistant’), and *playout* (‘knockout competition’). Interestingly, *-man* also appears as a productive element for the formation of pseudo anglicisms in Slovene. Apart from that, pseudo anglicisms are also documented in a variety of other Germanic, Slavic, and Romance languages such as Bulgarian, Croatian, Dutch, French, Italian, Romanian, Russian, and Spanish as well as in Modern Greek (Görlach 2002b).

Glahn (2002: 36-38), Plümer (2000: 148-51), and Yang (1990: 12-14) distinguish between different types of pseudo anglicisms. According to their classifications, pseudo anglicisms can be separated into lexical pseudo loans, morphological changes, and semantic pseudo loans. Lexical pseudo loans are the result of a novel German combination or use of English lexical elements that are not derived from an English model, such as *Dressman* (‘male model’), *Showmaster* (‘compere, emcee’), and *Handy* (‘mobile phone’). Morphological changes relate to the abbreviation of complex borrowings in German, such as *Pulli* (E. *pullover*), *Profi* (E. *professional*), *Happy End* (E. *happy ending*), and *last not least* (E. *last but not least*). Semantic pseudo loans occur if a borrowing takes on a new denotation in German, such as *City* referring to ‘downtown’, *Start* used in the sense of ‘take off/departure of a plane’, and *Slip* denoting ‘short undergarments for women’.

The division of pseudo loans into lexical, morphological, and semantic pseudo loans blurs the difference between semantic and morphological adaptation of anglicisms in German and the creation of pseudo anglicisms as lexical units irrespective of an English model. As the examples show, the English terms *pullover*, *professional*, and *happy ending* were subject to back-clipping in German; however, the forms *Pulli*, *Profi*, and *Happy End* originate from English models whose meanings are retained in the German variants. In terms of semantic pseudo loans, the anglicism *Start* is used in the English senses of ‘a beginning of movement, activity, or development’ and ‘a place of beginning’ (*MW Online* 2007). In addition, *Start* has extended its meaning in German to denote ‘take off/departure of an airplane or rocket’. This semantic extension is closely related to the original meaning of the borrowing. The meanings of the anglicisms *City* (‘down-

town') and *Slip* ('short undergarments for women') lie within the extensional meanings of their English models. Both terms are examples of semantic specification leading to a narrower reference of the English originals in German.

In sum, the above examples of morphological and semantic pseudo loans appear as regular borrowings that underwent semantic and morphological changes in German. The anglicisms *Profi*, *Happy End*, *Start*, and *City* are derived from English models, whereas actual pseudo loans such as *Dressman*, *Showmaster*, and *Handy* do not directly relate to English models.

In terms of lexical unity, a pseudo anglicism is not the result of lexical transfer (i.e. borrowing) but is the product of a language-inherent creation that is based on a novel combination and use of English lexical material in the RL. For example, the English adjective *handy* means 'convenient for use'. In German the same sign *Handy* denotes a cell phone (slight fronting of the vowel from [æ] to [ɛ] in German). From the perspective of English, the German term does not only differ in meaning but is also subject to zero-conversion from adjective to noun.

The true source of German *Handy* remains obscure although it is possible to detect some relations to an English origin. Theoretically, English *handy* could describe the convenient use of a cell phone. For the coining of German *Handy*, this means that a peripheral semantic attribute of the object in English has turned into the generic name for the object in German. The semantic shift of *handy* in German is accompanied by a change of word class from adjective to noun.

Another, and perhaps more plausible, connection could exist between the English terms *handheld* or *portable handset* and German *Handy*. In this case a clipping of either *handheld* or *handset* with analogical suffixation of -i/y as in *Profi*, *Pulli*, and *Kuli* (*Kugelschreiber* 'ball point pen') could have played a role in the creation of *Handy*<sup>1</sup>. It is also possible that a clipping of *handheld* or *handset* was followed by a pattern-driven attachment of -y in analogy to common anglicisms such as *Baby*, *Beauty Company*, *Dandy*, *Economy*, *Lobby*, *Party*, *Story*, and *trendy*. Despite these speculations, the reason why Germans say *Handy* remains opaque, characterizing *Handy* as a pseudo anglicism just like *Dressman*, ('male model'), *Showmaster* ('compere, emcee'), *Wellfit-Bar*, *Longseller* ('something that sells well for a long time'), and *Talk-Lady* ('female talk show host').

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1 Cf. Köpcke (2002) for an account on diminutive i-suffixation in German.

Even in the narrow sense of pseudo anglicisms as English lexical elements used for lexical creations in German without an English model, the classification of pseudo anglicisms is far from being straightforward. Carstensen and Busse note that dictionaries lag behind in documenting English neologisms, which can be borrowed into German before being registered in English (1993: 60). Furthermore, dictionaries are not capable of containing all possible English compounds so that the lack of an entry in an English dictionary is not tantamount to its non-existence in the English language. For example, anglicisms such as *Action-Film*, *Bed-Hopping*, *Cash-Management*, and *Computer-Junkies* are not part of the current *MW Online* dictionary (January 2007) and the *OED-Online* (January 2007). For some native speakers, however, these terms are comprehensible and acceptable in English (cf. Chapter 7.2). This emphasizes the fact that possible pseudo anglicisms need to be confirmed with the help of dictionaries and native speakers.

In conclusion, the creation of pseudo anglicisms in German is an interesting phenomenon that not only indicates the widespread knowledge of English in German-speaking areas but also symbolizes its acceptance among German speakers. Since pseudo anglicisms originate within the German language, they cannot be considered as borrowings in terms of lexical unity. Nevertheless, the term anglicism seems appropriate as, on the level of word form, pseudo anglicisms are marked as English signs in German. Functionally, pseudo anglicisms represent the word formation capabilities of German.

## 4.2 Hybrid anglicisms

Hybrid anglicisms (hybrids) are based on a combination of English borrowings with German elements, as in *Wunderkids* (\*‘miracle kids’) and *Zukunftstrip* (\*‘future trip’). Technically speaking, the inflection of anglicisms also leads to a mixture of native and borrowed morphemes, as in *des Trends* (noun genitive sg.), *trendige* (adjective nominative. sg.), and *gesurft* (verb past participle). The notion of hybridity, however, relates to derivational processes including affixation of borrowed bases and the formation of compounds of native and borrowed free morphemes. Hybrids occur in all major German word classes, as in the compound adjective *internethäfig* ('capable of handling the internet') and the deadjectival adverb *fairerweise*. Structurally, *internethäfig* is a combination of the nominal anglicism *Internet* plus the German adjectival head *fähig*. *Fairerweise* is a

derivation of the adjectival anglicism *fair* with the suffix string *-er* and *-weise*. Semantically, the complex modal particle represents a comment of the speaker on the state of ‘being fair’. In English, this meaning can be expressed by the phrase *in order to be fair*. A few more examples of hybrid anglicisms are compound verbs such as *heraufjazzzen* (‘to jazz up’; adv. *herauf* + v. *jazzzen*), *herumsurfen* (‘to surf around’; adv. *herum* + v. *surfen*) and compound nouns like *Hitzestress* (‘heat stress’; n. *Hitze* + n. *Stress*) and *Hobbymusiker* (\*‘hobby musician’; n. *Hobby* + agentive n. *Musiker*).

Among hybrids, compound nouns are by far the largest group. Glahn’s corpus (2002: 135) contains 98,8% hybrid compound nouns, and the first issue of *Der Spiegel 2000* includes merely 5 hybrid compound adjectives (types) but 290 types of hybrid compound nouns (98,3%). This is indicative of the general dominance of nominal borrowings over verbal and adjectival loans. Hybrid compounds also have a considerable impact on the total number of anglicisms in German. While Glahn’s corpus of spoken German on TV consists of 37% hybrids, their number seems significantly higher in the written language of *Der Spiegel 2000*, which shows 54 % hybrid anglicisms in issue 1 (295 out of 549 types).

The fact that hybrids are combinations of native and borrowed lexical elements has led to some controversy regarding their classification as loanwords or as language-inherent creations. Haugen separates *loanblends* as hybrids that “involve a discoverable foreign model” from *hybrid creations* that are not part of the borrowing process but that give evidence of an intimate fusion of the borrowed material into the receptor language since the borrowings have become productive in the receptor language (1950: 215; 221). Accordingly, Zindler (1959: 16) and Carstensen (1965: 39) try to divide hybrids into compounds that follow an English model and compounds without an English model. However, Haugen’s maxim is difficult to put into practice, and various scholars struggle to discover an English model and to prove that this model actually influences the creation of the hybrid in German. Lehnert states that it is often unclear whether a hybrid compound is based on an English model or not (1990: 114). Allenbacher (1999: 59) reports Carstensen’s argument that *Jetflug* could either be a partial substitution of *jet flight* or that it could also be a combination of the borrowed item *Jet* with German *Flug* in analogy to German compounds with the same head as in *Vogelflug* (‘bird’s flight’).

In their comprehensive dictionary of anglicisms in German (*AWB*), Busse and Carstensen argue that hybrid compounds are particularly

difficult to classify (1993: 66). The authors rely on English dictionaries in order to find possible models for hybrid anglicisms in German, and distinguish between different types of hybrid constructions based on the existence of an English model. According to Busse and Carstensen, G. *Heimcomputer* was derived from E. *home computer* and G. *Krisenmanagement* was influenced by E. *crisis management* (1993: 67). In terms of transmission, these examples could also be called partial loan translations or partial replacements due to the fact that one element from the original lexical unit is retained whereas the other element is substituted with a German translational equivalent. Hybrids such as *Gelegenheitsjob* ('occasional job'), *Managerkrankheit* ('stress disease'), and *Heimtrainer* ('exercise bicycle') are characterized by their lack of an English model compound as far as Busse and Carstensen's analysis is concerned (*ibid.*). Consequently, the creation of these terms could not have been stimulated by English but is due to a conceptual motivation in German indicating the lexical productivity of borrowed items in German.

The quest for a model compound in the SL is tied to etymology. Kirkness and Woolford (2002: 205) claim that the classification of compound anglicisms needs to address the following questions: What is the date of the first appearance? Is there a possible model and is it also dated earlier? Do the components of morphologically complex words already occur separately at earlier stages in German? [trans.]. The answers to these relevant questions lie in a comparison of German and English dictionaries, whose limitations have been stressed by Carstensen (1992: 95; cf. Chapter 5.1). Busse and Carstensen conclude that even if we are able to date an English model as preceding the German hybrid, we cannot definitely answer the question of whether there was actual influence or not (1993: 68). The notion of influence is particularly controversial in view of the role of compounding as the most productive word formation strategy in German. The creation of hybrids merely symbolizes that German can combine native and borrowed elements of its lexical inventory in order to form new terms.

The productivity of borrowings in German can be exemplified with the nominal anglicisms *Computer* and *Management*, which occur in a variety of hybrid constructions besides *Heimcomputer* and *Krisenmanagement*. In 2000, *Der Spiegel* contains 447 types of hybrid compounds that include the nominal borrowing *Computer* (383 times as determinant and 64 times as determinatum). Apart from *Heimcomputer* ('home computer'), a few other examples are *Computerarbeit* ('computer work'), *Computer-Architektur* ('computer architecture'), *Computer-Attacke* ('computer attack'), *Spezialcomputer* ('special

computer'), and *Billigcomputer* ('cheap computer'). Surprisingly, *Homecomputer*, the proposed English model of the hybrid *Heimcomputer*, appears as a borrowing as well (2000: 13/66). From their contexts of usage a minimal semantic difference exists between the borrowing and the hybrid form. *Heimcomputer* generally relates to a personal computer used at home whereas *Homecomputer* is used to refer to a personal computer from the beginnings of the computer era.

As a compound element, *Management* occurs in 130 types of anglicisms (55 times as determinant and 75 times as determinatum) as in *Managementsaufgabe* (\*'management task'), *Weltmanagement* (\*'world management'), *Demokriemanagement* (\*'democracy management'), and *Management-Probleme* (\*'management problems'). The dependence of hybrids like *Heimcomputer* and *Krisenmanagement* on an English model is relativized by the fact that the nominal borrowings *Computer* and *Management* function as productive bases and are not lexically isolated in a certain compound.

If we assume that English has served as a role model for the creation of selected hybrids in German (e.g. *Heimcomputer*, *Krisenmanagement*), the transmission process is characterized by a partial substitution of the English models. The question arises whether this partial substitution qualifies as borrowing or not. Arguing in terms of borrowing as a transfer of lexical units from SL to RL, *Heimcomputer* can be said to exhibit a partial reanalysis of the original lexical unit (*homecomputer*) in the receptor language German. The replacement of the original determinant *home* with the German lexical element *Heim* shows that German has reacted to the transmission with a language-internal strategy of partial translation that creates a new lexical unit in German. Thus, a hybrid compound following an English model is not the result of direct lexical transfer (borrowing) but is based on lexical creation by means of partial translation. As in the examples of *Heimcomputer* and *Krisenmanagement*, the English element is usually a well-established anglicism that occurs in a variety of lexical environments and resists translation in general. From the perspective of transmission, hybrids fall in line with the other categories of replacements, i.e. loan formations. They share a process of partial lexical creation in the RL as a consequence of the transmission of concepts from the SL (cf. Figure 8b).

Regardless of the existence of a possible English model, hybrids demonstrate that English language elements play a significant role for lexical innovation in German. Borrowings are integrated according to German word formation rules, and they can form productive nests for lexical creation. The productivity of borrowed bases implies their

acceptance in the host language. In terms of language development, hybrid anglicisms and pseudo anglicisms exemplify that etymology is decisive in order to ascertain the possibility of language influence. In reality, however, it is often difficult to arrive at cogent etymological conclusions. The relevance and the problems of etymology will be addressed more extensively in the following chapter.

## **5. Diachronic aspects of anglicisms in German: assimilation and etymology**

*“Fällt von ungefähr ein fremdes wort in den brunnen einer sprache, so wird es solange darin umgetrieben, bis es ihre farbe annimmt und seiner fremden art zum trotze wie ein heimisches aussieht.“*

Jacob Grimm

[When a foreign word falls by accident into the fountain of a language, it will get driven around in there until it takes on that language's colour and resembles a native term in spite of its foreign nature.]

This chapter focuses on two crucial diachronic aspects that are relevant for the classification of anglicisms in German: (i) the question of how etymology interacts with the definition of English borrowings in German, and (ii) the notion of word formal assimilation of borrowings over time. Contrary to what Grimm, the influential German linguist, wrote in 1854, anglicisms in German have developed a tendency towards zero orthographical and only partial phonological assimilation in German during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This means that although today the German language is home to assimilated borrowings such as *Keks* and *Streik*, whose English descent (→cake, →strike) is no longer discernible, the majority of anglicisms that have entered the German language in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century retain their original forms, as in *Boom*, *Comedy*, *Computer*, *cool*, *Cyberspace*, *Economy*, *Hightech*, *Highway*, and *Layout* to name but a few.

As far as etymology is concerned, reference works provide varying interpretations about the origin of anglicisms. Nevertheless, a selection of doubtful borrowings (i.e. borderline anglicisms) shows that etymological knowledge can be conducive to the identification of an anglicism. As a whole, the observations on word form, change, and the history of anglicisms result in a synchronic over diachronic approach to the identification of anglicisms in German. The discussions are based on anglicisms from the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* of the years 1994 – 2000 and on Yang's data from *Der Spiegel* (cross section of the years 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980). Further reference is made to records of anglicisms from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Dunger 1909), and to the dictionary of anglicisms in German (*AWB*; Carstensen and Busse 1993, 1994, 1996). The etymological information is mainly extracted from the *OED* (CD-Rom 1994 and online version accessed 2004), *Duden Fremdwörterbuch* (2003) and *Herkunftswörterbuch*

(2002), and from *Kluge's Etymological Dictionary of the German Language* (2002).

### 5.1 The quest for the origin of anglicisms

Words are borrowed into a language at a certain point of time. The answer to the question of when a borrowing first occurred in the receptor language is dependent on the records that document its usage. Appropriate results regarding the age of a borrowing can only be obtained if its first appearance in the host language is also documented. This, however, is difficult to prove since borrowings can remain part of spoken language for some time before they actually diffuse into the written form and vice versa. Until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the gap between written and spoken integration seemed to be particularly wide due to the fact that the general knowledge of writing as well as the access to publications and the spread of writings were limited.

Nowadays the situation is reversed. Mass media such as TV, Internet, radio, newspapers, and magazines reach the majority of the German-speaking population, keep track of the latest inventions, and actively participate in the induction of anglicisms as in the example of English used in advertisements (cf. Martin 2002, Glahn 2002, Fink 1997, Hilgendorf 1996). Thus, it is possible to say that today the time span between the first occurrence of an anglicism and its documentation is shorter. Nevertheless, the problem of finding the first record of an anglicism remains unsolved. Even more so, this process has been complicated to such an extent that it now seems impossible to establish the first record of an anglicism due to the inestimable plethora of language documents.

Already before the advent of the Internet, Galinsky (1980) describes the problem of determining the reception lag of American neologisms in German, which means the time span from their creation until they appear as borrowings in German. He concludes that “consequently, the precise reception lag, even on the level of written usage, cannot be defined by an individual researcher with the information now available” (256). He refers to the lack of adequate reference sources and the unlikelihood of detecting the first recorded instance of an anglicism.

For Carstensen, the crucial problem of how to prove the creation of loan translations is tied to etymology (cf. Chapter 2.1). He points out that a satisfactory solution is difficult to find because comparisons depend on the date of the first dictionary booking of a term. Even if the

information in the *OED* is taken for granted, there is a lack of adequate reference sources for the German language. So, he concludes that comparisons are often not feasible as in the question of whether the German term *Gleitzeit* or its English equivalent “gliding time” originated first. According to Carstensen, a hypothesis on the directionality of language influence could be postulated if we knew which term appeared first (1992: 95).

Busse describes the difficulty in establishing a relation between etymology and the classification of anglicisms in the dictionary of anglicisms (*AWB*). He is concerned with the question of whether English terms that came from Latin can be considered as English borrowings in German or not. There is no definite answer to that. Busse claims that German terms of Latin origin can be revived as their frequency of usage increases due to English influence (1993: 45). Polenz, on the other hand, does not distinguish between any secondary influences of borrowing. According to him, terms such as *export*, *import*, *radio*, and *video* are examples of “Eurolatin” (1999: 397). These words can be found in a variety of European languages.

## 5.2 Word form and assimilation of anglicisms

A trend towards zero orthographical and minimal phonological integration of anglicisms in German has developed during the last century, resulting in the fact that, today, the majority of English borrowings have retained their original orthography and are pronounced in close imitation of their English models. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was a tendency to phonologically and orthographically assimilate anglicisms to German spelling and pronunciation, as can be seen in *Keks* (→cake), *Konzern* (→concern), *Streik* (→strike), *Klub* (→club), *Klan* (→clan), and *Kutter* (→cutter). At the same time, there were already a number of borrowings that kept their original form in German, such as *copyright*, *baby*, *dinner*, *coach*, and *nonsense* (Dunger 1909: 92-99).

In the last few decades the trend towards assimilation to German phonetic and graphemic form has vanished and even been reversed as in the examples of *Klub* and *Klan*, which are now spelled with <c> again, and *Computer*, also spelled with <c> instead of <k> and pronounced [ju] instead of [u] (*Der Spiegel* 1994-2000). The German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* provides an opportunity to look for patterns of assimilation over time as anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* have been subject to analysis before (cf. Carstensen, 1965, 1975 and Yang 1990).

More recent data of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* (1994-2000) emphasize the fact that, nowadays, the trend towards unassimilated integration is dominating the field of direct borrowings. A few examples that demonstrate resistance to orthographical assimilation are *Camp*, *Clip*, *Cockpit*, *County*, *Crash*, *Crew*, *Lobby*, *Nobody*, *Newcomer*, *Party*, *Shareholder*, *Shirt*, and *Shop*. Theoretically, these terms could be assimilated in terms of <c> → <k>, <sh> → <sch>, and <y> → <ie>. With regard to the total of 559 direct English borrowings (types) in the first issue of *Der Spiegel* 2000, the verb form *puscht* → ‘pushes’ (<sh> → <sch>) is the only anglicism to show traces of orthographical assimilation.

Yang has analysed selected issues of *Der Spiegel* from the years 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980, and he compiled a list of the most frequent anglicisms (1990: 37-42). Of a total of 204 evident and non-evident loans that occur at least ten times, 85 anglicisms deviate from German phonetic spelling conventions and could potentially be assimilated. The twenty most common evident loans in Yang’s list are *Computer*, *Manager*, *Service*, *Club*, *City*, *Trainer*, *Whisky*, *Interview*, *Team*, *Training*, *Investment*, *Show*, *Job*, *Management*, *Jet*, *Boom*, *Design*, *Hobby*, *Feature*, and *Leasing*. Despite the potential for orthographical change, only five out of 85 direct borrowings show signs of assimilation: *Boß*, *Fairneß*, *Fitneß*, *Stewardeß*, and *Streß*. Orthographical variation can be found in the word forms *Club* – *Klub*, *Clan* – *Klan*, and *Code* – *Kode*. The remaining 77 direct borrowings (91%) resist orthographical assimilation in the time span observed by Yang.

A comparison of Yang’s findings with data in *Der Spiegel* (1994-2000) highlights the trend towards zero orthographical integration. Apart from the phraseologism *Fly and Drive*, which is not part of the present corpus, the remaining 84 most frequent unassimilated anglicisms in Yang’s study also retain their English spelling at the turn of the millennium. The German spelling reform, which was put into effect in 1998 with the aim to reduce spelling difficulties, targeted the allographical variants <ss> and <ß>. According to the new regulations, the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] after short vowels is graphologically represented as <ss>. In 2000, *Der Spiegel* seems to comply with this orthographical convention as *Fairneß*, *Fitneß*, *Stewardeß*, and *Streß* are replaced by *Fairness* (13 tokens), *Fitness* (50 tokens), *Stewardess* (10 tokens), and *Stress* (82 tokens). These terms now appear as unassimilated anglicisms. The word form *Boß* merely survived once in the compound *Fußball-Boß* (2000: 4/151), whereas the remaining 139 hits resemble the English original *Boss*.

The orthographical variation that Yang noted in *Club – Klub*, *Code – Kode*, and *Clan – Klan* does not appear in the corpus of the year 2000, which only contains the unassimilated anglicisms *Club* (362 tokens), *Code* (60 tokens), and *Clan* (37 tokens). While the loss of the assimilated variants *Kode* and *Klan* occurred before the year 1994, the shift from the assimilated form *Klub* to the original *Club* happened between 1994 and 2000. Figure 10 provides an overview of the occurrences of *Klub* and *Club* during this period.

Year /Issues	1994 /52	1995 /52	1996 /52	1997 /52	1998 /55	1999 /53	2000 /53
<i>Club</i> simple/compounds (tokens)	119	98	87	296	380	502	459
<i>Klub</i> simple/compounds (tokens)	328	260	343	193	8	0	0

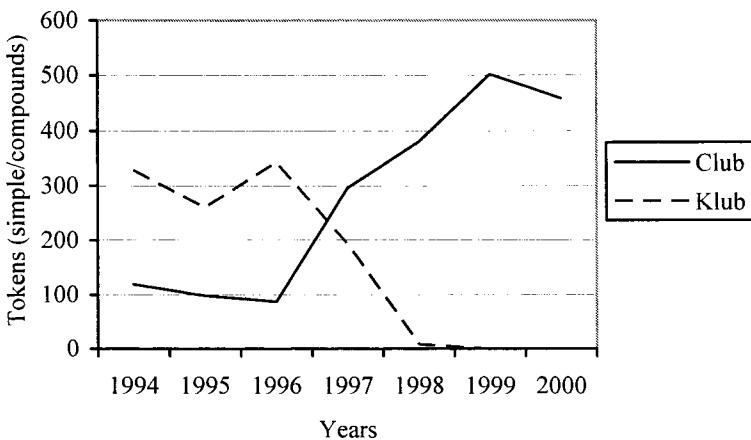


Figure 10: Frequency of occurrence of *Klub* and *Club* in *Der Spiegel* 1994-2000

The data show that, between 1994 and 1996, *Club* and *Klub* existed alongside each other, *Klub* being more frequent by roughly two-thirds. In 1997, the situation was reversed, and the disappearance of *Klub* initiated. *Club* reached 60.5% of the total number of occurrences while

*Klub* shrank to 39.5%. A year later, the number of *Klub* diminished to merely 3.4% of all the tokens, and the assimilated form did no longer occur in compounds. In 1999, *Klub* vanished completely and continued to be non-existent in the year 2000.

Apart from the ubiquitous capitalization of nominal borrowings and variation in the spelling of compound anglicisms as one word or two words (cf. Augst 1992), anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* follow the trend of zero substitution on the graphemic level. This development stands in opposition to the notion that languages have an immanent drive to assimilate borrowed material according to their spelling conventions (Langner 1995: 66). By giving the examples of *Computer* and *Jeans*, Langner has already stressed the fallacy of *Duden*'s claim that frequently used foreign words are modified over time in terms of German spelling (1995: 66). As mentioned before, 99.8% of the anglicisms found in the first issue of *Der Spiegel 2000* oppose *Duden*'s observation since they are not orthographically transformed. Direct borrowings such as *Code*, *Cent*, *Cocktail*, *Coach*, *Clip*, *Comeback*, *Company*, and *Carsharing* are a few more examples which, in terms of assimilation, could be spelled with <k> instead of <c> in a Germanized version.

This obvious lack of assimilation also calls for a diversified interpretation of Grimm's belief that borrowings inevitably become assimilated in the receptor language. Anglicisms in German today are generally not orthographically altered and merely show German phonological colouring when English sounds trip into holes of the German phonetic system, like the interdental fricatives /θ/, /ð/ and the bilabial approximant /w/. As these sounds are not part of the German phonetic inventory, they are commonly substituted with near sounds (in terms of voicing and place of articulation). Thus, the interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are often realized as alveolar fricatives /s/, /z/, and to a lesser degree as an alveolar stop /t/, or a labiodental fricative /f/. The bilabial approximant /w/ is frequently replaced by a voiced labiodental fricative /v/.

On the level of morphology, however, German colouring consistently occurs. All the 22 verbs and the nine morphologically complex adjectives in the first issue of *Der Spiegel 2000* are inflected according to German conjugational and declensional patterns, as in *coole*, *stressige*, *trashige*, *getestet*, *outete*, *einloggen*, and *startete*. The bulk of nominal anglicisms inflect according to German conventions.

Overlap with English in the case of *-s* plural morphemization<sup>1</sup> turns *-s* into the most frequent plural suffix of anglicisms in German. Thus, *-s* marks plurality in 64% of plural anglicisms in the first issue of *Der Spiegel 2000* (e.g. *Aliens*, *Airports*, *Briefings*, *Clubs*, *Teams*, *Trends*, and *Sprays*). Similar dominance has been reported by Yang (1990: 160) with 65% and Glahn, who detects 74.4% of *-s* plural forms (2002: 166).

To summarize the discussion on the assimilation of anglicisms in German, the conclusion can be drawn that the vast majority of anglicisms retain their original orthographical form in the receptor language German today. The comparison of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* shows that there is no immediate pressure to orthographically integrate anglicisms in German. Thus, orthography is generally not a valid criterion for classifying anglicisms in terms of integration.

Nevertheless, some researchers postulate a sequential development of borrowings according to their graphological form (Carstensen 1965, Neske 1970, Sørensen 1995). Their common reasoning is that a term is integrated with its original spelling first and then graphemically assimilated as a logical consequence of integration. Once the anglicism shows signs of conventionalization, it is rated as Germanized. Sørensen provides sporadic evidence (*Boß*, *Busineß*, *Dreß*) to prove her point by saying that an English borrowing is Germanized when its spelling changes from *<ss>* to *<ß>* (1995: 11). It is true that some of these variants have appeared in German. However, the vast majority of borrowings do not undergo this alteration, and recent data in *Der Spiegel* do not provide evidence of such a shift. As discussed before, changes from *<ss>* to *<ß>* seem no longer relevant since the implementation of the German spelling reform. Neske claims that the usage of *<k>* instead of *<c>* symbolizes a high degree of Germanization, quoting the terms “*Klown*”, “*Klub*”, and “*Handikap*” (1970: 16). These variants seem to be outdated as they are not part of *Der Spiegel 2000*. Instead, only their English forms *Clown* (24 tokens), *Club* (272 tokens), and *Handicap* (19 tokens) appear. While *Klown* is not part of the corpus from 1994 to 2000, the change from *Handikap* to *Handicap* co-occurred with the shift from *Klub* to *Club*.

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<sup>1</sup> –S is considered a separate, infrequent plural marker out of eight plural allomorphs in German (cf. Russ 1994: 189). According to Pinker (2000: 222-29,) Marcus et. al. (1995), and Bartke et. al. (2005), *-s* functions as the default plural morpheme in German. For more on the role of *-s* plural formation cf. Chapter 9.2.1.

Year /Issues	1994 /52	1995 /52	1996 /52	1997 /52	1998 /55	1999 /53	2000 /53
<i>Handicap</i> simple/compounds (tokens)	2	11	21	21	23	27	22
<i>Handikap</i> simple/compounds (tokens)	17	7	4	4	2	0	0

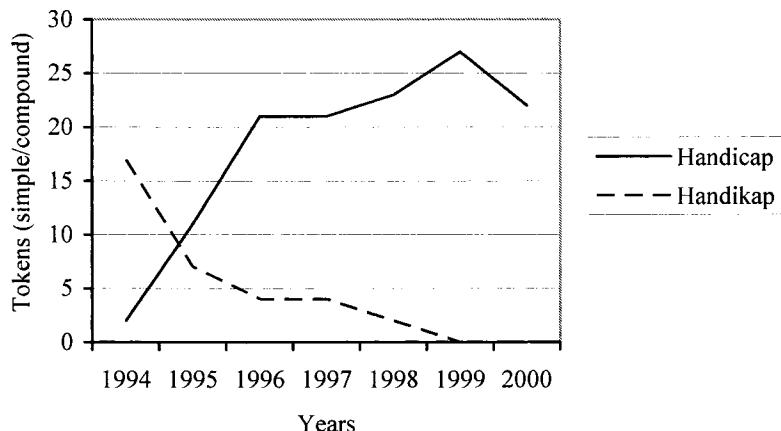


Figure 11: Frequency of occurrence of *Handikap* and *Handicap* in *Der Spiegel* 1994-2000

In 1994, *Handikap* amounted to 89.5% of all the tokens. One year later, however, the unassimilated form dominated its assimilated counterpart (61.1% *Handicap*, 38.9% *Handikap*). While *Handicap* became more frequent in the consecutive years, *Handikap* continued to exist marginally until it finally vanished in 1999, coinciding with the loss of *Klub*. The disappearance of *Handikap* seems complete as it did not occur in the year 2000 either.

Apart from Sørensen and Neske's arguments pertaining to graphemic integration, capitalization of nominal borrowings has also been interpreted as a sign of the acceptance of anglicisms in German. Carstensen claims that capitalization occurs only after the word has established a firm position in the language (1965: 34). Before that, borrowings are represented in their original form, i.e. written with small

initial letters, and are frequently italicized or found within quotation marks. Data in *Der Spiegel 2000* show a different tendency as the overwhelming majority of borrowings is capitalized. Recent borrowings such as *After Work Club*, *Appeasement*, *Beat*, *Big Bang*, *Cyberspace*, *Dowgrading*, *Softdrink*, and *Think Tank* are capitalized in every instance even if they appear between quotation marks as in “*After Work Club*”, “*Big Bang*”, “*Softdrink*”, and “*Think Tank*”. The only English borrowings spelled with small initial letters and in quotation marks in the first issue of *Der Spiegel 2000* are “*art-wear*” and “*assets*” from a total of 509 types of nominal anglicisms. In his study, Yang registered merely fifty types of anglicisms with small initial letters from a total of 3646 types in the years 1950, 1960, 1970 and 1980 (1990: 162). His results emphasize the fact that nominal borrowings printed in lower case are the exception rather than the rule. Thus, capitalization is generally not a diachronic process of integration but is an integral part of the borrowing process in German.

The reasons for the trend of zero orthographical assimilation of anglicisms in German today can probably be related to historical events in the twentieth century and their socio-cultural consequences. In terms of language, the change towards unassimilated integration resembles a snowball effect. At the beginning of the twentieth century, English borrowings were assimilated to a great extent; however, the first unassimilated word forms persisted as well, such as *team*, *shampoo*, *Shake-hands*, and *ready* (cf. Dunger 1909: 92-99). Due to the fact that the German language has accepted unassimilated borrowings ever since the beginning of its loan history with English, German seemed predisposed for the integration of further unassimilated borrowings. However, the forces that have actually inspired the trend towards zero orthographical assimilation originate from outside the German language system. The atrocities of the Nazi-regime have left a lasting effect on the German mindset so that today any tendencies of Germanization are still viewed suspiciously and are often publicly frowned upon (cf. “Konflikthypothek” of German, Nelde 2004: 33).

Furthermore, educational policies have led to a steady increase in the knowledge of English in the German-speaking population in the last couple of decades. As a consequence, anglicisms in a newspaper article are less likely to interfere with comprehension, and the pressure has diminished to assimilate anglicisms or to substitute them with German terms. Apart from their connotative value, anglicisms are often applied as a means of stylistic variation, as in the use of *Team*, *Economy*, *Event*, *Boss*, *Beach*, and *Know-how* alongside their equivalents *Manschaft*, *Wirtschaft*, *Veranstaltung*, *Chef*, *Strand*, and *Wissen*.

Today, English is an international voice that leaves its marks on the German language. Anglicisms in their original forms such as *World Wide Web*, *E-Commerce*, *Internet*, *Homepage*, *Insider*, *Business*, *Marketing*, *Investmentbanking*, and *Boom* are icons of the current zeitgeist in the German language. As a whole, this bundle of socio-cultural factors negates tendencies of assimilation, which is particularly evident on the graphemic level of German.

### 5.3 Anglicisms and etymology

Apart from the change towards zero orthographical assimilation and the resulting difficulty of classifying anglicisms in terms of orthographical integration, etymology is a crucial aspect for the definition of anglicisms in German. Borrowings are equipped with their individual backpack of historical information. If accessible, knowledge about the origin of a potential anglicism would aid its classification as a borrowing. However, as Carstensen's and Galinsky's opinions portray (cf. Chapter 5.1), etymology is often so blurry that it is of little help for research<sup>2</sup>. Polenz stresses the fact that lexical influences in the last 200 years have rarely originated from a single language but have often been mixed with Greco-Latin elements. He also points out that etymology is frequently based on random source texts, which can lead to inaccurate information (1999: 398).

Thus, etymology turns out to be a thin layer of ice that looks solid from the distance but whose actual resistance is limited. If etymology is not capable of supporting the full weight of explaining the origin of potential anglicisms in German, is it strong enough to elucidate the origin of at least a few? The answer depends on the information in etymological reference works such as the *OED* for the English language and *Kluge Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (2002), *Duden Das große Fremdwörterbuch* (2003), and *Duden Herkunftswoerterbuch* (2002) for German. Specifically for anglicisms, Carstensen and Busse have made a notable achievement with their comprehensive dictionary of anglicisms in German, *Anglizismen Wörterbuch (AWB)*, published in 3 volumes (1993, 1994, 1996), which also serves as an etymological reference work.

In what respect can these resources be helpful for an analysis of anglicisms? When it comes to the classification of doubtful borrowings, i.e. borderline anglicisms, diachronic knowledge can sometimes clarify

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2 Cf. Liberman (2002) for a lucid discussion on the relevance of etymology.

whether a borderline case is a borrowing or not. Borderline anglicisms are characterized by a lack of graphemic and phonemic marking in German as in *Test*, *Film*, *Start*, *Konzern*, *Hit*, *Partner*, and *Standard*. These terms could be borrowings due to the fact that (almost) identical cognates exist in English. In such cases etymological investigations provide an opportunity to find out about their true origin. There are a couple of German terms that have historically been borrowed from English, such as *Keks* (→cake), *Konzern* (→concern), *Rekord* (→record), *Scheck* (→check/cheque), *Streik* (→strike), *Stopp* (→stop), and *Tipp* (→tip). Their etymological roots, however, are hidden behind a German “face”. *Keks* is pronounced with an [e] instead of English [eɪ], and *Konzern* is [kontsərn] instead of English [kənsɜ:n]. German [o] frequently substitutes English [ɒ], [ə], and [ɔ], and the German uvular trill [ʀ] occurs instead of the English retroflex [r]. *Scheck* is pronounced word initially as [ʃ] instead of English [tʃ], and ‘st’ in *Streik* and *Stopp* is often realized as [ʃt] in German while English speakers say [st].

As far as their orthographical and phonological forms are concerned, these words appear to be German. The majority of native speakers, who are not aware of the history of these words, do not recognize them as anglicisms. Particularly young people today and future generations will have a hard time noticing the difference between *Kuchen* ('cake') and *Keks* ('cookies') for their word origins. These terms cannot be classified as anglicisms from a current perspective of language use. Despite that, a couple of researchers pay tribute to their descent and include terms such as *Keks*, *Konzern*, *Rekord*, and *Scheck* in their analyses (Langer 1996: 41, Oeldorf 1990: 49-52, Yang: 1990: 182-234) while others refrain from classifying them as anglicisms (Görlach 1994: 224, Viereck K. 1986: 162). Thus, either a synchronic or a diachronic perspective is decisive in order to define such borderline cases as anglicisms or not. The following examples of borderline anglicisms demonstrate the varying relevance of etymological information provided in reference works:

*Tennis*: In 1325, the game was introduced by French knights in Florence, Italy with the name of “*tene*”. About thirty to seventy years later the English forms “*te'netz*” and “*te'neys*” appeared. They imply French origin due to their final stress. Supposedly, the English words are based on the French imperative *tenez* meaning ‘take, receive’ (*OED* 1994). According to *Duden*, *Tennis* was borrowed from Middle English “*tene*”, “*tenet*”, which are derived from Old French “*tenez*”. *Tennis* is

listed in *AWB*, which says that its final form originated from English “lawn tennis”, the precursor of tennis as it is played today.

*Standard*: According to the *OED*, the origin of *standard* is somewhat obscure. It seems to be derived either from Old French “*standard*” or from Latin “*standardum, -us*”. *Duden* and *Kluge* argue that *Standard* is borrowed from English. The pronunciation of *Standard* in German emphasizes the contradictory nature of the term. While the vowels are pronounced according to German conventions [a] instead of English [æ] and [ə], there are two variants of the onset of the first syllable: English [st] coexists with German [ʃt]. Thus, the assumption can be made that the phonological realization [st] is based on English influence as this is indeed the case in a large number of English borrowings which retain word initial [st] in German, e.g. *Stalking*, *Statement*, *Steak*, *Sticker*, *Street*, *Stretching*, *Strip tease*, and *Stuntman*. By contrast, commonly used anglicisms can be assimilated to the typical German phonetic realization [ʃt], as in *Start* or, in analogy to *Standard*, their pronunciation can vary between [st] and [ʃt] as in *Star*, *Stress*, and *Story*. However, the word initial pronunciation [st] is also a prestigious variant, which is used to mark certain Greek and Latinate words such as *Stigma*, *Stil* ('style'), and *Stipendium* ('scholarship'), and is not an exclusive phonological property of English borrowings in German. Thus, the information given in the *OED* on a possible Latin origin of *Standard* ties in with the phonological realization of syllable initial <st> as [st] for certain Greek and Latinate terms.

*Konzern*: The first usage of English *concern* in the sense of the German word (a business organization) dates back to 1681 (*OED* 1994). *Duden* and *Kluge* assume English influence whereas the term is not included in the *AWB*. According to its editorial policy, the *AWB* only registers loan influences before 1945 if the meaning of the original borrowing changed over time (Busse 1993: 36). This is a reasonable lexicographical strategy as the massive influx of anglicisms in German did not really begin until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In order to classify anglicisms, however, a limited diachronic approach is not very helpful. Anglicisms before 1945 can still be marked as direct borrowings in German today, such as *Cocktail*, *Baby*, *Flirt*, [flɜ:t] and *Manager* [menetʃə] (cf. Dunger 1909: 92-99). *Konzern*, on the other hand, does not show any traces of English influence. Even if the term is a historical borrowing from English, its total orthographical and phonological assimilation complicates the recognition of *Konzern* [kontsərn] as an anglicism from a current synchronic point of view.

*Scheck*: The English terms *check* or *cheque* (esp. U.S.) were documented for the first time in 1774 (*OED* 1994). *Kluge* speculates on Persian, Arabic, or Turkish roots of the English word *cheque*, which was later borrowed into German. Due to its historical development, *Duden* and *Kluge* regard *Scheck* as an anglicism. In line with its editorial restrictions, the term is not mentioned in *AWB*. *Scheck* is an ambiguous borrowing as neither its graphemic nor its phonemic form relates to an English origin. The phonological difference between English [tʃek] and German [ʃek] is particularly interesting since the alveopalatal affricate [tʃ] is possible in the English and in the German phonetic systems. Thus, in the process of borrowing, no overt motivation arises for a lenition of the affricate to a fricative in the receptor language. However, this is exactly what happens as *Scheck* is pronounced with [ʃ] in German. In fact the pronunciation more closely reflects the French variant, which indicates that the German form *Scheck* might have been influenced by French.

*Service*: The English term is based on Old French ‘*servise, service*’, which is influenced by the Latin form ‘*servitium*’ (*OED* 1994). *Kluge* describes the etymology of the German term as a borrowing from both French and English while *Duden* claims that *Service* is originally French and entered German via English. The German Dictionary of Anglicisms (*AWB*) discusses the polysemous nature of the borrowing. *Service* is used in tennis to denote the act of serving the ball. Apart from that, *Service* is a general expression that relates to any kind of help, offers, and services provided by people, companies, and institutions. As far as these meanings are concerned, *Service* can be considered an anglicism since its pronunciation in German also follows the English model ['sɜ:vɪs]. In the meaning of coffee or tea set, however, German speakers say [ser'vi:s], which resembles the way *Service* is pronounced in French. Thus, *Service* is a homographic borrowing that descended from English and French. Its French origin is derived from the syntactic groups *service à café* and *service à thé*.

*Boykott*: In this case the etymological information directly relates the German term to its English source. The anglicism is derived from the name of Capt. Boycott who was abandoned by his workers and servants due to his outrageous behaviour. In 1880, the name was used by the Irish Land League to describe the workers’ action of protest. *Boycott* became an eponym as it was adopted by newspapers and spread to many European languages (*OED* 1994).

*Sport*: Is an aphetic form of “*disport*”, meaning ‘entertainment, amusement’, which appeared in English as early as in 1440 (*OED* 1994). According to *Kluge*, the German term *Sport* is a borrowing from English. The English word is influenced by Middle French “*desporter*”, which is in turn derived from Middle Latin “*deportare*”. *Duden* claims that *Sport* is a clipping from “*disport*” which originates from Old French “*desport*”. Again, *Sport* is not mentioned in *AWB*. The combination of ambiguous etymological information and inconspicuous word form fails to mark [ʃport] as an anglicism in German.

*Glamour*: The term is believed to be a corrupted form of ‘grammar’ and was first introduced into literary language by Scott (*OED* 1994). The word has been used in its sense of ‘beauty and charm’ since 1840, and there is no evidence of French influence. *Kluge* does not provide any etymological information about *Glamour* in German. Both *Duden* and *AWB* confirm that the term is a borrowing from English. The examples given in that respect are compound constructions such as *Glamour-Girl* (*AWB* Vol. 2 1994: 574-75). The French reference work *Le Petit Larousse* refers to the term as an anglicism as well (1999: 477). Thus, *Glamour* is considered to be an anglicism based on historical reasons. Its adjectival derivation in German (*glamourös*), however, is a hybrid form based on the combination of an English root and a French suffix (*glamour* + *ös*). The German adjectival suffix *-ös* represents the phonetic spelling of the feminine French suffix *-euse*. A number of German adjectives ending in *-ös* are actually borrowings from French, such as “*seriös*” (‘legitimate, reliable’), *minutiös* (‘meticulous, minutious’), *prätentiös* (‘pretentious’), *generös* (‘munificent’), *nebulös* (‘nebulous’), and *monströs* (‘monstrous’)” (*Kluge* 2002).

As these discussions illustrate, the various reference works sometimes provide different and speculative information on the history and derivation of lexical items. Etymological knowledge can in many instances merely create hypotheses on whether a term was borrowed from English or not. In the examples of *Tennis*, *Standard*, *Scheck*, and *Sport*, etymology is camouflaged by assimilation, both of which blur the vision of English influence. Direct historical evidence of English origin is given for *Boykott* and *Glamour*, which can be classified as anglicisms from a purely etymological perspective. The Latin, French, and English influences on the etymology of the borderline anglicism *Service* do not offer sufficient proof that the word is a borrowing from English. However, a decision can be made on the level of word form. Thus, the phonological realizations of *Service* ['sɜ:vɪs] and [ser'vi:s]

point to the fact that the term was borrowed with different meanings from English and French.

### 5.4 Identification of anglicisms: synchrony over diachrony

The etymological descriptions exemplify that drawing conclusions about the nature of an anglicism on historical data might be interesting and helpful in individual cases but is generally a time consuming process that provides limited evidence. Therefore, it seems reasonable to apply diachronic analyses only to doubtful terms which are not clearly marked on the level of word form. In order to identify words as borrowings in the German language, a natural hierarchy of classification arises in which synchronic word form is assigned primary relevance over diachronic content. If the word form does not allow for a direct reference to foreign language origin, an investigation of etymological information might help the decision making process. This approach is illustrated in the following figure for the identification of anglicisms in German:

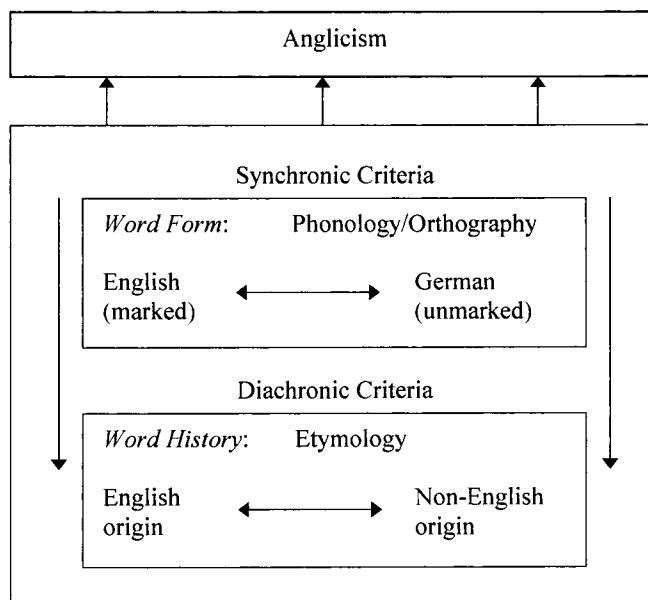


Figure 12: Synchronic over diachronic criteria for the identification of anglicisms in German

The figure represents an abstraction of a speaker's perspective in the receptor language. In a communicative situation, word forms are transmitted and processed as a prerequisite of content identification (cf. Model for understanding utterances, Garman 1990: 307). As the message is decoded, the average adult speaker of German is able to identify phonological or orthographical deviations from the German norm. If no such clues are given as in the example of "Ich esse gerne *Keks*" ('I like to eat cookies'), however, there is no evidence of the English roots of *Keks*. Its origin is tied to encyclopaedic knowledge, which relies on a separate cognitive process. As encyclopaedic knowledge is not part of initial language recognition, etymology is of secondary relevance for the identification of borrowings. Only those speakers who have acquired the appropriate historical knowledge are able to recognize a borrowing on its historical grounds.

The contrasts of English vs. German word form and English vs. non-English origin represent the idealized limits of synchronic and diachronic criteria in the figure. On the level of word form there is a fluent transition between orthographically unassimilated borrowings such as *Bodyguard*, *Blackout* and *Spot*, partially assimilated forms as in *Boykott* (→Boycott), and *Beautie* (→beauty), and total orthographical assimilation as in *Keks* (→cake), *Streik* (→strike), and *Stopp* (→stop). Due to the close genetic relationship of German and English, a couple of borrowings are not graphemically marked in German although they retain their English spelling such as *Hit*, *Test*, *Star*, *Film*, *Killer*, and *Reporter*. As these terms appear in the same form in both languages, an analysis of secondary criteria is necessary in order to establish their origin.

Morphological information can also be helpful to determine the source of such unobtrusive borrowings. As discussed in the section on word form and assimilation, anglicisms in German tend to retain their English -s plural. In the examples above, *Hit*, *Test*, and *Star* become *Hits*, *Tests*, and *Stars*. In line with German inflectional patterns, *Killer* and *Reporter* take the zero-plural ending while *Film* turns into the common German plural form *Filme*. The question of whether German speakers actually distinguish anglicisms based on -s plural inflection or not calls for further research (cf. Chapter 9.2.1).

In terms of pronunciation, the transition from the English model to its Germanized version is even more subtle than on the level of orthography, as anglicisms are subject to general and idiolectal sound substitutions. The degree of assimilation depends on the speaker's knowledge of English and motivation to realize the English borrowing in its original form. Apart from situations where English terms are

intentionally Germanized to achieve humorous effects, as in comic shows on TV or as group jargon among friends, the trend to keep close to the original prevails (cf. Busse 1996: 85, Görlach 1994: 228). Being able to pronounce English well is a sign of education and thus a matter of prestige.

Apart from the English phonemes /θ/, /ð/, and /w/, which do not have an equivalent in German and are thus generally substituted, other phonological alterations regularly occur, such as the change of English retroflex [r] into German uvular trill [R], the lack of contrast between voiced and voiceless alveolar fricatives [z] and [s] in initial and word final position, and the devoicing of word final consonants (“Auslautverhärtung”) in German. The latter is responsible for the pronunciations of [vep] for *Web*, [trent] for *Trend*, and [tjes] for *Jazz*. Variation can also happen on the suprasegmental level of word stress as in the example of *Analyst* and particularly in complex anglicisms such as *Comeback*, *Interview*, and *Striptease* where stress can shift to the final syllable in German.

On the level of word form, orthography and phonology generally complement each other as they strive to maintain the original form of the English source word. Thus, the vast majority of anglicisms are spelled like their originals and pronounced in a close imitation thereof, like *Gentleman*, *Highway*, *Handicap*, *online*, *Homepage*, *Manager*, *Team*, and *Image*.

A couple of anglicisms, however, lack the common directionality of phonology and orthography, as the example of *Hurrikan* shows, which occurs ten times alongside its unassimilated form *Hurricane* (22 tokens) in *Der Spiegel 2000*. Despite its assimilation in the written form (→*hurricane*), *Hurrikan* is pronounced in imitation of its English source word [hʌrikən]. Anglicisms such as *Club* and *Clan* also demonstrate the bifurcation of orthography and phonology. In contrast to *Hurrikan*, these terms are frequently assimilated in pronunciation [klup] and [klan] while their orthography is reminiscent of their source language.

Anglicisms in their primordial form that do not violate German graphemic conventions are more likely to be phonologically assimilated. Thus, as mentioned before, <st> in *Start* and *Stress* is often pronounced as German [ʃt]. The varying realizations of the letter <o> in English *Logo* and *Poster* [əʊ; ou], *Report* [ɔ:; ɒ], and *Rock* [ɒ; a:] (in the sense of music) are homogenized to [o] following the German phoneme – grapheme correspondence. As anglicisms, these terms are commonly pronounced as [logo], [poster], [report], and [rok]. Consequently, the

lack of formal clues about their English heritage obstructs their classification as anglicisms from a purely synchronic view.

In terms of etymology, the information provided by reference sources also fluctuates along a scale from English origin to non-English origin. As discussed earlier, *Boykott* and *Glamour* are two canonical examples of English heritage, whereas the history of *Standard*, *Scheck*, and *Sport* is somewhat obscure. Some researchers believe that despite the earlier history of a word only the last stage of the borrowing process is decisive in determining the donor language (Campbell 1998: 366, Rot 1991: 38-39). Despite its theoretical relevance, this claim is sometimes difficult to put into practice, as in the example of *Service*, which was originally borrowed from French into English and German and only later developed its polysemous nature in German due to English influence. Furthermore, this belief collides with the concept of internationalisms, which are characterized as words of same or similar form referring to the same concepts in a variety of languages (Schaeder 1990: 39). The majority of internationalisms are either derived from neo-classical roots or are directly borrowed from Latin and Greek. These languages have left their marks on English and German, donating a variety of affixes that are used in both languages in word formation processes, such as *auto-*, *-tion*, *inter-*, *intra-*, *super-*, *supra-*, *ex-*, *mikro/micro-*, *-logy/logie* and others (cf. Marchand 1969: 140-208, 229-355 and Polenz 1999: 396-97). Since, on a structural level, terms such as *Export* and *Import* show their neo-classical derivation and blend into German phonological conventions, it seems inappropriate to classify these terms as anglicisms.

In conclusion, the chapter on diachronic aspects of anglicisms in German exemplifies that there is a tendency towards zero orthographical assimilation of English borrowings in German today. The vast majority of borrowings retain their English forms and can be classified as anglicisms from a word formal perspective. In historical terms, the origin of an anglicism and its diachronic development is, theoretically, the key to a definite classification of English influence on German. However, the discussion shows that, frequently, influences from a variety of languages define the etymology and provide several possible directions of borrowing so that it is in fact difficult to prove English origin. Furthermore, the historical information given in reference works can vary, which complicates the definition of anglicisms on historical grounds even more. Due to the restricted practical application of etymological information and because of its secondary relevance in terms of language perception, it seems appropriate to base the identification of anglicisms in German first of all on word form and

only secondly on etymology. If the evidence on the level of word form is ambiguous (as in the case of borderline anglicisms), a historical analysis can be helpful for the decision-making process.

## **6. Modelling transmission from SL to RL<sup>1</sup>**

Chapter 6 provides a modular synthesis of the transmission phenomena in language contact between SL and RL. The model is based on a set of preliminary assumptions that summarize the crucial arguments from Chapters 2 to 5. Examples of English influence on German illustrate the various processes of transmission and the potential reactions of the RL (German). Finally, a working definition of the concept of an anglicism in German is derived from the model.

### **6.1 Preliminary assumptions**

The preliminary assumptions of the model describe the different types of transmission: borrowing, codeswitching, conceptual transfer without SL-form, and interference. Furthermore, a set of parameters influence the transmission process. The notion of stability and SL/RL-competence function as a filter of transmission. Identification of transmission is tied to language recognition and language awareness. As a frequent consequence of transmission, the RL uses SL-elements productively within its own system.

#### **6.1.1 Types of transmission**

A) BORROWING is defined as the transfer of units of form and meaning from SL to RL (cf. Figure 8a). This understanding is based on Saussure's postulate of the arbitrary integrity of form and meaning in the linguistic unit and its perpetuation in the transmission process. The definition also includes Coetsem's understanding of borrowing as a transfer of language elements from subdominant SL to dominant RL (2000: 49) and is in sync with Field's depiction of copying form-meaning sets (2002: 8), which relates to Johanson's code-copying model (1999).

B) CONCEPTUAL TRANSMISSION WITHOUT SL-FORM is characterized by the disruption of the unit of form and meaning of the SL and the reproduction of meaning from the SL by language-inherent forms in the RL. This process pertains to the formation of calques (loan translations,

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<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this chapter is published in Onysko, Alexander. 2007. "Modeling transmission in language contact: The impact of English on German". *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual High Desert Linguistics Society Conference*, Volume 6. 95-108.

loan renditions, loan creations). Cultural-historical and etymological evidence is necessary in order to prove conceptual transmission without SL-form that leads to lexical creation in the RL.

C) Formal analogy of signs can lead to INTERFERENCE in the languages in contact. This explains the conventionalization of semantic changes that are caused by the mapping of meaning on a term in the RL from a formal correlate in the SL. For example, the semanteme ‘to become aware of’ of E. *realize* is projected onto F. *realisér* and G. *realisieren*; E. *library* causes a semantic shift in Am.Port. *livraria* from ‘bookstore’ to ‘library’ (Haugen 1950: 219), and E. *humorous* is responsible for the semantic addition of ‘humorous’ to Am.Port. *humerozo* meaning ‘capricious’ (Hoffer 1996: 543).

D) CODESWITCHING relates to the embedding of sentential units of an SL into the matrix of an RL. While codeswitching and borrowing form a continuum of usage (cf. Clyne 2003: 71), borrowing is primarily a lexical issue. Borrowings are integrated into the language system of the RL, and they can turn into productive lexical items. Multilingual competence is not a necessary precondition for the lexicalization of borrowings. Codeswitching, on the other hand, relies on multilingual competence as codeswitches are constructed according to the syntactic structure of their SL. When embedded in the matrix language (RL), codeswitches retain their original syntactic structure. Thus, codeswitches are generally not reproducible in the system of the RL with the exception of lexicalized codeswitches. In the latter case, some, typically short, codeswitches can develop into set phrases of the matrix lexicon. In *Der Spiegel 2000*, for example, the phrase *I'm not amused* has turned into a fixed expression that occurs intrasententially in full or abbreviated form in a variety of contexts (e.g., „*I'm not amused*“, *kommentiert Christian Olearius...*, 21/94; *Traditionalisten in der Heimat sind not amused*, 27/70; cf. Chapter 11).

### 6.1.2 Parameters of transmission

A) STABILITY is a crucial factor in the transmission process in language contact. Coetsem distinguishes between “inherent” and “subsidiary” stability which determine the probability of transmission from SL to RL (2000: 58). Inherent stability relates to the fact that content items are most commonly transferred whereas structural elements resist borrowing to a greater extent. Field’s Principles of System Compatibility/Incompatibility (2002: 40-41) correspond to Coetsem’s notion of stability. Field describes a natural hierarchy of borrowability

from content items (in particular concrete nouns) as most prone to transmission to fusional affixes as least likely to be transferred. Transmission is also dependent on the typological nature of the languages in contact. Thus, without reanalysis in operation, the RL will only borrow those items that lie within its structural range. Typological affinity between SL and RL is part of Coetsem's subsidiary stability, which also includes the attitude of speakers of the RL towards the SL. Furthermore, stability is influenced by the linguistic dominance<sup>2</sup> of SL or RL. While SL dominance decreases the stability of the RL and can lead to the imposition of structural elements, RL dominance mainly involves the transmission of lexical elements. As a whole, stability works as a variable filter in a scenario of transmission from SL to RL.

B) Together with stability, MONOLINGUAL OR MULTILINGUAL COMPETENCE also has a filtering effect on the transmission processes from SL to RL. From the perspective of the RL, competence in SL and RL allows for the occurrence of a diverse range of transmission phenomena. Codeswitching and interference, for example, are based on competence in SL and RL. Bilingualism in SL and RL also contributes to lexical borrowing; however, it is not a prerequisite of borrowing since borrowings can enter the RL as neologisms from a monolingual point of view if their reference is clear to the speaker of the RL (e.g. SL product + name transferred to RL, as in E. *Rollerblade* → G. *Rollerblade*). Apart from translation, lexical creation as a result of conceptual transmission would, supposedly, demand the least degree of bilingualism as imported concepts are renamed with lexical material of the RL.

C) The IDENTIFICATION of SL influence in the RL operates on the synchronic (word form) and diachronic (word origin) levels. Theoretically, word origin is the key to proving SL influence. However, etymology is often blurry and limited to the information in reference sources. In addition, etymology constitutes part of a speaker's encyclopedic knowledge, which is variable and not intrinsically related to language recognition. While word form also bears its own limitations to identification (e.g. word formal assimilation of borrowings and inconspicuous word form in the RL), form is the indispensable access point to language. Thus, word form serves as the primary criterion to identify SL influence in the RL. After all, the identification of foreign

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2 Dominance is tied to socio-economic and political factors as well as to the areal diffusion of the languages in contact and to their numerical relation of speakers.

elements in the RL is dependent upon the degree of bilingualism of the speaker in RL and SL. If a speaker of the RL is exclusively monolingual, her ability to determine SL influence will be reduced. The question remains in how far a hypothetical true monolingual speaker of the RL would be able to recognize word formal differences of borrowings in the RL if they deviate from the conventions of the RL (e.g. deviation of English borrowings from German graphemic – phonemic correspondence).

D) Even in the common scenario of speakers sharing some competence in RL and SL, the lack of word formal marking of SL elements in the RL (e.g. agentive nominal suffix *-er* in E. and G., or English borrowings that are not word formally marked in German as in *Hit*, *Start*, *Test*) leads to BORDERLINE CASES of SL influence (i.e. borderline anglicisms in the context of English influence on German). From the viewpoint of research, an etymological investigation of borderline cases seems adequate to help identify SL influence.

E) In accordance with King (2000: 83) and Coetsem (2000: 115) and supported by Picone's example of morphosyntactic intrusion in French (1996: 4), structural changes are perceived as being transmitted in the RL together with their lexical or sentential units. The structural elements need to become independent of their lexical environment in order to augment the structure of the RL and occur in combination with native bases. The English plural morpheme *-s*, for example, has made its way into a variety of European languages either as a novelty in the plural system as in Norwegian (cf. Graedler in Görlach 2002b: 69) and Irish-Gaelic (cf. Stenson 1993b: 115), or it has increased the frequency of *-s* plural suffixation in Dutch (cf. Coetsem 2000: 115) and German (cf. Görlach 2002b: 7). Apart from a few Irish words that show *-s* plural inflection, however, the English plural morpheme is generally restricted to borrowed bases and has not yet turned into a productive plural marker of native bases in Irish (Stenson *ibid.*). In contrast to the increased stability of the RL against the autonomous use of borrowed structural units, LEXICAL PRODUCTIVITY OF BORROWED UNITS is a common consequence of the borrowing process. Lexical productivity is evident in the creation of hybrids and in novel combinations of borrowed bases in the RL (e.g. pseudo anglicisms in German such as *Stuntking* 'king of the stuntmen', *Baseballdress* 'baseball uniform', and *Cheergirls* 'cheer leaders'). Autonomous semantic developments of borrowings in the RL are further signs of lexical productivity as in the example of *starten* used in the sense of 'take-off' and *jumpen* which

specifically denotes ‘jumping for performing tricks’ in the jargon of modern sports. Borrowings can be used metaphorically as in the phrase *horizontaler Handshake* (‘horizontal handshake’), which is quoted from Doris Lessing to euphemistically refer to sexual intercourse (*Der Spiegel* 2000: 48/190).

As summarized above, the main channels of transmission, the variable filtering conditions, and the issue of the identification of SL influence in the RL can be combined into a model of transmission in language contact. The following chapter will illustrate the interrelation between channels, filter, and identification in a scenario of transmission from SL to RL.

## 6.2 Model of transmission from SL to RL

The model of transmission in Figure 13 is unidirectional in the sense that transmission is depicted as moving from SL to RL. The SL functions as the source and is assumed to remain stable throughout the process. The receiver of transmission, the RL, on the other hand, represents a variable entity with the potential for transmission-induced changes. Thus, the various processes of transmission are portrayed with their diverse impacts and their possible reactions from the perspective of the RL.

Although not separately mentioned in the model, SL or RL dominance (Coetsem 2000: 49) can influence the types and parameters of transmission. SL or RL dominance influences the degree of filtering (i.e. stability), leads to the promotion or obstruction of certain transmission processes and is made evident in the various impacts and reactions of the RL. SL dominance reduces the stability of the RL, feeds codeswitching and interference and leads to the imposition of structural patterns in the RL (e.g. overgeneralization of SVO word order in the German speech of second generation German immigrants in Australia, Clyne 2003: Table 8.1). SL dominance also facilitates the borrowing of stable lexical elements (e.g. function words) and results in the reanalysis of borrowed morphemes that have entered the RL together with their lexical units.

In the case of RL dominance, stability of the RL is high, and the filter is less permeable for structural influences from the SL. As a result, transmission has mainly lexical repercussions on the RL and follows the pathways of lexical borrowing and conceptual transmission without SL-form. Codeswitching is less likely to appear and, if so, does not cause structural alterations in the RL. Interference mainly occurs on

the lexical level where formal similarity between units in SL and RL can trigger a semantic change of the lexical item in the RL.

While this global understanding of SL and RL dominance can be generally projected onto the process of transmission, the notion of language dominance is in fact a highly complex issue that can work in opposite directions on different levels of the languages in contact. Even though the English influence on written German in the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* is a typical example of transmission from subdominant SL to dominant RL leading to a substantial amount of borrowing (cf. Chapter 8.1), English plays an important role as a stylistic means of variation and wordplay and is commonly used for creating an authentic atmosphere and for attracting the reader's attention. In articles dealing with British and American topics, codeswitches and discourse markers (e.g. *Hey*, *Hi*, *Well*, *Welcome*, *okay*) introduce English syntactic units and discourse strategies in German (cf. Chapter 11).

In sum, the notion of dominance is an intricate issue that influences the transmission process and predicts different reactions in specific scenarios of transmission from SL to RL. In an overall depiction of transmission, linguistic dominance is implied in the functions of the filter, in the activation of the various channels of transmission, and in the diverse impacts and possible reactions of the RL as portrayed in the following figure:

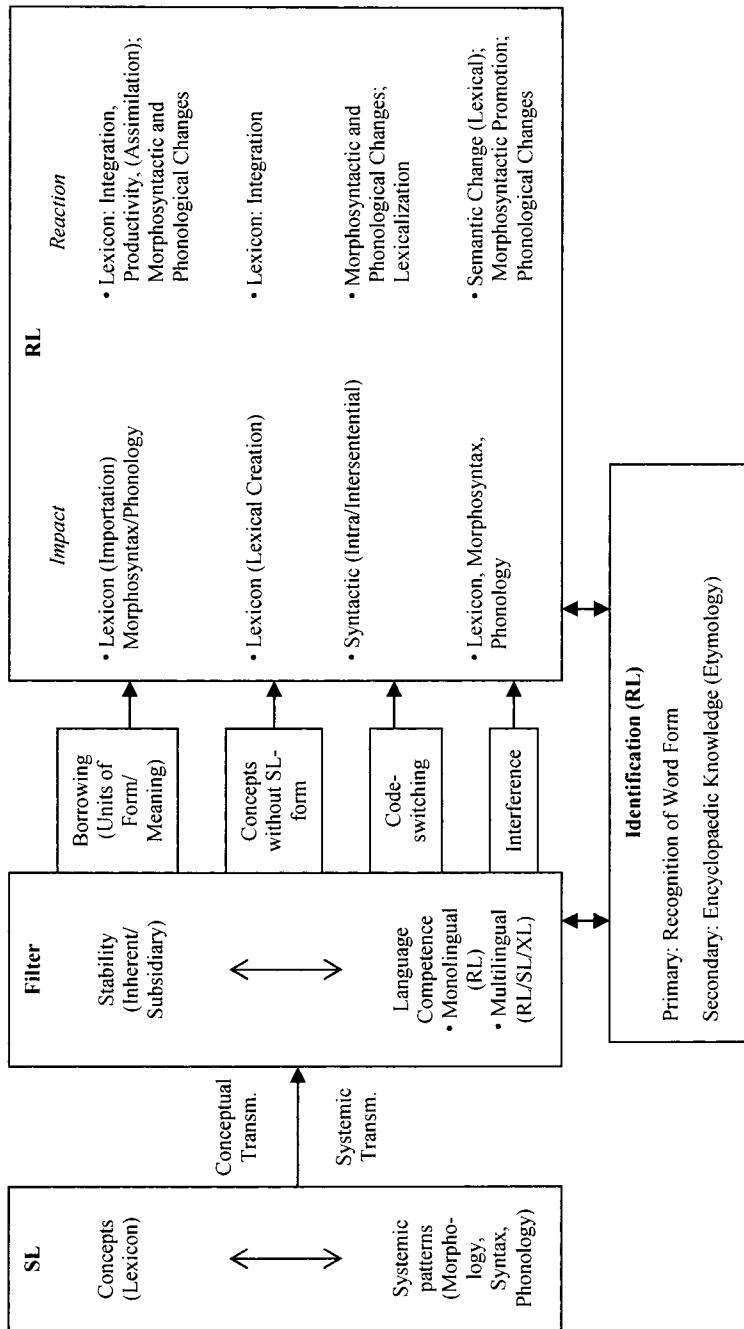


Figure 13: Model of transmission from SL to RL

In a scenario of transmission from SL to RL, conceptual and systemic entities of the SL are, theoretically, transferable. Depending on the filter settings (degree of inherent/subsidiary stability; degree of monolingual and multilingual competence), concepts and structures of the SL will enter the RL through various channels each of which impacts the RL in specific ways and can trigger certain reactions. While *impact* relates to the immediate effect of transmission, *reaction* subsumes the possible consequences of transmission in the RL.

According to the model, a concept can be imported together with its form (borrowing; e.g. E. *thriller* → G. *Thriller*, E. *team* → G. *Team*). Its immediate lexical impact can be accompanied by a structural or a phonological impact if the borrowing fails to blend into the morphosyntactic structure of the RL (e.g. genitive *des Team* instead of *des Teams*; *Der Spiegel 2000*: 41/110, 42/318) or if the borrowing retains its original phonological form in the RL which lies outside the phonetic conventions of the RL (e.g. *Thriller* pronounced in G. as [θrɪlə] although /θ/ is not part of the German phonetic inventory). A possible reaction to the borrowing of *Team* and *Thriller* is their integration into the German lexicon. According to their frequency of occurrence in *Der Spiegel 2000*, *Team* and *Thriller* appear to have reached that stage (*Team* is mentioned 308 times and *Thriller* occurs in 32 instances and both are lexically productive as compound elements). The structural deviance of *Team* and the competence of a bilingual speaker to realize the interdental fricative /θ/ in German have not (yet) triggered structural or phonological reactions in German (i.e. zero inflection of nouns in the genitive or the importation of /θ/). This indicates that, in a scenario of RL dominance, stability limits structural and phonological importations to a large extent.

Furthermore, a connection might exist between the frequency of a structural or phonological impact and the reaction of the RL. The more frequent a transmitted structural or phonological unit or pattern appears in the RL, the more likely it might trigger a reaction of reanalysis and integration into the RL. In the example of the nominal borrowing *Team*, the two instances of resistance towards genitive inflection (*des Team*) are outweighed by the number of regularly inflected forms (*des Teams*) occurring eight times in the same corpus. In terms of frequency, zero inflection of *des Team* has so far not led to any deeper structural reactions in German. The possibility of zero root-inflection in English borrowings is supported by redundant marking of the genitive in German (cf. Chapter 9.2.2).

Apart from borrowing, concepts can also enter the RL without their SL-form. This causes a purely lexical impact in the RL as the trans-

mitted concept is reproduced by a combination of RL-forms with word formation patterns of the RL (e.g. E. *air bag* → G. *Luftsack*). As a reaction to this process, the neologism can be accepted and integrated into the lexicon or it can disappear again. Despite its mention in the Dictionary of Anglicisms (*AWB*), German *Luftsack*, for example, is on the verge of being pushed into oblivion by the borrowed term *Airbag*. Thus, *Luftsack* occurs only nineteen times in *Der Spiegel* from 1994 to 2000 (it does not occur in 2000 at all), whereas the borrowed unit *Airbag* amounts to 149 tokens during the same period. The preference of the English term over its German lexical equivalent in *Der Spiegel* could indicate the attitude of German speakers to prefer an English original instead of a “fabricated and stilted” German version.

Codeswitching impacts the RL (matrix language) on the sentential level. Phrases and phrasal units of the SL are embedded inter/intrasententially into the matrix language. The following two examples illustrate embeddings of English phrasal units in written German<sup>3</sup>:

- (3) *Sie wünscht sich „the same procedure as every year“: Schatzsuche und Topfschlagen.* (33/109)  
[She would like the same procedure as every year: treasure hunt and find the pot]
- (4) *Klar hat er es nicht einfach zurzeit. „A very challenging time.“ Nicht geeignet für irgendwelche Rührstücke.* (46/312)  
[Of course it is not easy for him at the moment. A very challenging time. Not the right one for any generous acts.]

In (3) the codeswitch occurs intrasententially after subject and reflexive verb filling the object slot of the German sentence with an English comparative noun phrase. Interestingly, no obvious co-textual and contextual trigger seems to account for the switch. The subject pronoun *Sie* ('she') refers to a nine-year-old German girl from Hamburg whose divorced German parents would like to organize a birthday party for her. Example (4) illustrates an intersentential switch of an English sentence fragment interposed between a full German sentence and a German sentence fragment. The codeswitch in (4) can be explained from the context. The pronoun *er* ('him') in the clause preceding the switch refers to a manager of a German pharmaceutical company who, a few sentences earlier, is described as having worked in the USA for two years. The switch symbolizes a quotation of the manager's speech.

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3 Excerpts from *Der Spiegel* 2000 are quoted by (issue nr./page nr.) throughout the book.

In a situation where the matrix language is generally dominant (as in the example of English codeswitching in the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*), codeswitches can become lexicalized in the RL (cf. *I'm not amused*). Further impact of codeswitching as a discourse strategy is yet to be analyzed (cf. Chapter 11). In a scenario of intense language contact (minority/majority languages) and highly developed bilingualism, frequent codeswitching and the interchangeable use of both languages can lead to structural convergence of the languages in contact (cf. Clyne 2003) or be a sign of ongoing language shift (cf. Kremer 2004, Bird 2004). While, in the model of transmission in Figure 13, bilingual competence is regarded as a prerequisite for codeswitching, the repercussions of codeswitching are restricted to the perspective of the RL. This scenario symbolizes the role of English as a major donor of language elements to a variety of the world's languages today.

Interference as a transmission process from SL to RL follows the same restrictions as codeswitching. Language competence in SL and RL is a necessary precondition for the occurrence of interference phenomena from SL to RL. In contrast to Weinreich (1970: 48-55), who applies the term lexical interference as a hypernym for various kinds of lexical changes in the RL (including loan formation), interference, as part of the transmission process in Figure 13, pertains to semantic changes and the promotion of structural and phonological patterns in the RL caused by lexical, structural, and phonological similarities to the SL. Word formal analogy of signs in SL and RL can impact the RL by way of semantic interference. As a reaction of the RL, semantic interference can become conventionalized. This happened in the example of the French and German verbs *réaliser/realisieren*, which acquired the semanteme 'to become aware of' from the English verb *realize* (cf. Chapter 2.1). Phonological interference (segmental and suprasegmental) is possible in near homonyms of SL and RL and, on the structural level, interference from English seems to promote the usage of the preposition *von/vom* to express a periphrastic possessive in German analogous to the English *of*-construction (Schelpner 1995: 15, Chapter 3.4).

The identification of SL influence in the RL relies on synchronic and diachronic dimensions. Word form is intrinsically related to language recognition, and so word form is given primary relevance for the identification of transmission in the RL. Formal recognition of SL influence is dependent on the competence of an RL speaker in the SL. Encyclopaedic knowledge, i.e. etymology, relies on external information (e.g. reference sources) and serves as a secondary means of

identification. The identification of transmission is of practical relevance for research as the results of transmission in the RL can be registered along primary and secondary levels of identification. Therefore, arguments pertaining to identification will be applied in the following chapter to devise a working definition of the concept of anglicism from the model of transmission.

### 6.3 What is an anglicism? – A word formal approach<sup>4</sup>

In a general sense, the term *anglicism* could be used as an umbrella term to cover any instance of transmission from English to an RL (German). According to the model, this means that every impact of an English transmission and the resulting reaction in German could be considered an anglicism. However, as pointed out in the preceding chapter and in more detail in Chapter 5.4, the actual identification of an anglicism in German is primarily dependent on word form. Furthermore, the lexical principle of the unity of form and meaning draws a basic distinction between language-inherent processing of transmission, i.e. concepts that are reproduced by language-inherent means, and the importation of lexical or syntactic units from English into German. In terms of research on the influence of English on German, the latter case is particularly interesting since it first of all shows how German integrates and uses English language material. Secondly, the importation of lexical and sentential units also bears the potential of semantic reanalysis and structural changes in German.

If word form is applied as a criterion of definition, the term *anglicism* comprises the following types of transmission from Figure 13: borrowing, codeswitching, and interference. English influence in German is also evident in the productive use of borrowings, as in the example of hybrid constructions and the novel combination or use of English lexical units in German, i.e. pseudo anglicisms. As interference depends on the existence of formal or structural equivalents in English and German, interferential influences remain formally unmarked in German. Instances of interference are, thus, borderline cases of anglicisms. In a similar way, lexical borrowings from English can lack word formal marking in German if they correspond to German

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4 The definition of the term anglicism is discussed more extensively in relation to the notions of “foreignness” and “othering” in Onysko, Alexander. 2007. “Anglicisms in German: how to define the lingual foreigner?” *Finding the Foreign*. Schechtman, Robert and Suin Roberts (eds.). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 214-27.

phonemic – graphemic conventions (e.g. *Boss*, *Film*, *Test*, *Start*). To sum up, if the term *anglicism* is related to formal criteria, a core and a borderline area characterize the notion of *anglicism* as portrayed in the following figure:

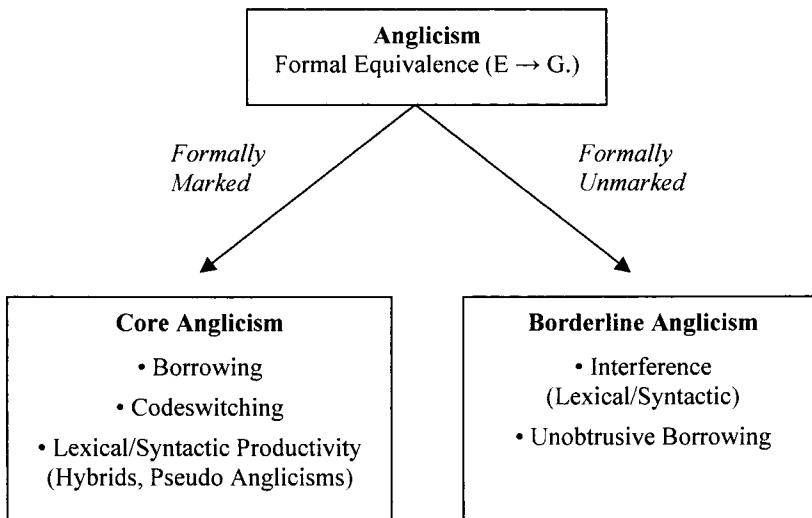


Figure 14: Anglicism as a hypernym of English forms in German

According to the figure, the term *anglicism* can be defined in the following way: An *anglicism* is any instance of an English lexical, structural, and phonological element in German that can be formally related to English.

This means that the term *anglicism* includes borrowings, codeswitches, and the productive use of English forms in German (semantic changes, hybrids, and pseudo anglicisms). Apart from that, *anglicism* also refers to instances of interference and to unobtrusive borrowing in German. The latter two lack formal salience, which complicates their recognition as anglicisms in German. In fact, examples of interference could also originate from language-inherent changes (cf. Schelper's explanation of loan syntax phenomena in German; Chapter 3.4). Despite formal equivalence, the lack of formal salience of unobtrusive borrowing in German can be compensated with the help of secondary criteria of identification, i.e. etymology.

This understanding of the term *anglicism* will serve as the basis for the corpus analysis of *Der Spiegel*. Thus, *anglicism* is used as a hypernym to denote any occurrence of English forms and structures in German. If further distinctions are necessary, the terms *borrowing*, *codeswitching/codeswitch*, *hybrid/hybrid anglicism* and *pseudo anglicism* are applied, as outlined in Chapter 6.1. In relation to codeswitching, the term *anglicism* refers to the codeswitch as a whole, i.e. the entire sentential unit, and not to its individual constituents. The term *interference* might occur as an explanation of semantic and structural changes in German. To define an anglicism along formal considerations has beneficial implications for research on the influence of English on German. First of all, formal criteria for the elicitation of data increase statistical validity and rule out speculations about conceptual transmission without SL-form to a large extent. Secondly, formal identification allows for a faster retrieval of anglicisms and a more efficient handling of large corpora, which are vital in order to create a more representative picture of the influence of English on German.

## 6.4 Summary

Part I sets out with a discussion of the concepts of loan meaning and loan formation, which originated from one of the first attempts to classify loan influences (Betz 1936) and have lived through decades of controversy among researchers in language contact. Based on the Saussurean maxim of the arbitrary unity of meaning and form, a basic distinction is drawn between borrowing as the transmission of lexical units from SL to RL and the types of loan formation which are characterized as language-inherent creations in the RL following a conceptual stimulus from the SL. Loan meaning is explained as a process of semantic interference in the RL due to word formal analogy between lexical units in the RL and SL.

Following the differentiation between borrowing and conceptual transmission without SL-form, a closer look is taken at other approaches that structure the field of loan influences. Among the diverse theories, the typology of anglicisms in the German dictionary of anglicisms (*AWB*) symbolizes a lexicographical advance in classification. The authors aim for a comprehensive coverage, which is in some instances based on speculation as far as conceptual transmission without SL-form is concerned. Another attempt to classify English loans in an RL is tied to patterns of assimilation. While these models provide a sound overview of the diverse phenomena of anglicisms (e.g.

morphological integration, semantic changes, pseudo anglicisms and hybrids) and seem to have some validity for individual languages (e.g. Croatian), assimilation of anglicisms is a futile criterion for a classification of anglicisms in the German language (cf. tendency of zero orthographical assimilation in Chapter 5.2).

The distinction between borrowing and codeswitching, on the other hand, is crucial for a depiction of transmission phenomena from English to German. Despite the fact that borrowing and codeswitching can overlap in mostly single-word utterances, the nature of a written corpus as a deliberate medium of language production allows a classification of codeswitching as syntactic units. Borrowing, on the other hand, is largely a matter of individual terms. As lexical units, borrowings are generally integrated into the system of the RL while phrasal codeswitches follow the structure of their source language and are embedded into an RL. In the model of transmission from SL to RL (Figure 13), these processes are displayed as separate types of transmission.

The chapter on “Approaches to definition and terminology” concludes with Coetsem’s “General and unified theory of transmission in language contact” (2000), which is supported by Field’s “Principles of System Compatibility/Incompatibility” (2002). Field’s hierarchy of borrowability and the typological affinity of the languages in contact are in line with Coetsem’s notion of stability which, together with his fundamental distinction of SL and RL dominance, is implied in the model of transmission in Figure 13.

Essentially, hybrid anglicisms and pseudo anglicisms are signs of the productivity of English elements in German. Thus, hybrids are generated from a combination of English and German terms and pseudo anglicisms symbolize the novel use of English terms or an original combination of English units in German. There is some controversy whether or not hybrids should be distinguished according to the existence of an English model, which would functionally make them partial substitutions. However, in many instances the quest for a model turns out to be a vain effort and loses its relevance when the English term functions as a productive base of hybrids in German (e.g. *Team*, *Show*, *Club*, and *Computer*).

The search for model terms in English in order to prove lexical influence in German is an etymological problem which is discussed together with the notion of the assimilation of borrowings over time in the chapter on “Diachronic aspects of anglicisms in German”. According to recent evidence in *Der Spiegel*, the German language shows a tendency towards zero orthographical assimilation of angli-

cisms which is emphasized by individual cases of reversing orthographical assimilation (e.g. *Handikap* → *Handicap*, *Klub* → *Club*). As far as etymology is concerned, the discussion of a selection of borderline anglicisms exemplifies that etymological evidence depends on the respective reference sources, whose information can vary. As a result, a hierarchy of identification is set up which assigns word form primary relevance over etymology.

In the final chapter of Part I, the relevant arguments of Chapters 2 to 5 are integrated into a model of the transmission process from SL to RL. Transmission is depicted as moving unilaterally from SL to RL. Influenced by the filter settings (stability, multilingual competence), transmission is possible as borrowing, as conceptual transmission without SL-form, as codeswitching, and as interference. These various types of transmission cause different impacts and reactions in the RL. According to the model, primary and secondary criteria of identification lead to a working definition of the concept of anglicism. Thus, the term anglicism is defined as any occurrence and use of an English lexical, structural, and phonological element in German that can be formally related to English. The degree of formal marking in German separates core anglicisms (borrowing, codeswitches, hybrids, and pseudo anglicisms) from borderline anglicisms (interference and unobtrusive borrowings). The following corpus analysis in Part II and Part III will focus on transmission phenomena with core anglicisms and discuss their quantitative and qualitative impact in the German language of *Der Spiegel 2000*.



## **PART II**

### **Corpus, Methods, and Frequency of Anglicisms**

## **Overview – Questions of research**

After the theoretical framework has been established in Part I, Part II continues with the presentation of the corpus and the methods of data elicitation and analysis. Furthermore, Part II features the quantitative results of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* and provides an impression of the numerical impact of anglicisms in German. The discussion is structured around a set of questions which epitomize the sequence of topics dealt with in Chapters 7 and 8:

- (i) How representative is a corpus of the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*?
- (ii) What are the benefits and limitations of corpus analysis software for the elicitation and processing of anglicisms?
- (iii) How large is the general numerical impact of anglicisms in the corpus?
- (iv) Is there evidence for an increase in the number of anglicisms in German?
- (v) Which anglicisms are most frequently used?
- (vi) To what extent are anglicisms distributed among major word classes, among word formation types, and among the salient grammatical categories of gender and plural?

The first two questions will be addressed in Chapter 7, which outlines the foundation of the ensuing data analysis. Special attention is given to methodological issues in order to increase the transparency of the results and to allow comparisons for future research. The remaining questions constitute the backbone of Chapter 8. The presentation of the quantitative results will move from the general to the more specific and will conclude with a diachronic perspective on the quantitative development of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel*. This provides an objective investigation of the commonly held belief that the number of anglicisms in German is increasing. In anticipation of Part III, Chapter 8 also discusses a variety of special types of anglicisms and their diverse usages in German.

## **7. Corpus and methods**

The first section of this chapter introduces the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* as the corpus of the investigation. Data on the readership and on the overall dissemination of the newsmagazine in German-speaking areas provide a sociodemographic perspective on the potential impact of *Der Spiegel* on Standard German. Due to previous studies on anglicisms in *Der Spiegel*, the newsmagazine has advanced to a traditional medium of research. Thus, the current findings of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* can be compared with earlier studies. As far as the methods of data elicitation and analysis are concerned, *Der Spiegel* on CD-Rom allows for a more efficient way of retrieving and processing anglicisms. This is achieved with the help of WordSmith Tools 4®, which offers the opportunity to elicit anglicisms from computed word lists. In order to increase the transparency of data selection, the section on methods delineates the scope and the limitations of this study. The chapter ends with a note on tagging procedures of anglicisms, anticipating the subsequent presentation of the results.

### **7.1 The German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel***

Since the advent of studies on anglicisms in German in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the language of the press has served as the major object of investigation. One of the pioneering researchers in the field, Broder Carstensen, has stressed the crucial role of newspapers and magazines in shaping the German language. For him, newspapers and magazines reflect language development, and they function as a creative source of language innovation. With reference to Moser (1959: 445-560), Carstensen regards the written form as more consistent than spoken language. He believes that neologisms in a written medium might have a stronger impact on a language community (1975: 11).

More recently, Glahn has argued that press publications used to function as the main gateways for English words entering the German language. Today, however, television has superseded the press as a source of anglicisms (2002: 29). Glahn's observation is based on a study by Fink, who ascertained that the majority of the people he interviewed mentioned TV as their initial source of contact with anglicisms (cf. Fink 1997b: 124).

Anglicisms occur in both written and spoken varieties of German. Thus, the question of whether TV, the press, or the Internet is the main

medium of anglicisms seems secondary to the corpus size and the demographic distribution of the respective medium. In fact, the different media overlap in their use of language. The Internet, for example, incorporates a diverse range of registers and genres from personal web pages to formal documents, and German spoken on TV (e.g. in newscasts) shares a fair degree of lexical similarity with written Standard German.

In general, claims about the impact of anglicisms on German are only valid for the selected corpus of German. Ideally, a comprehensive analysis of English influence on German should be based on large corpora of written and spoken German in formal and informal settings from a variety of media. If the scope of research is restricted to certain parts of the language, the investigation can only provide a glimpse of the general impact of anglicisms on German. The relevance of the results depends on the size of the corpus and its demographic spread. The significance of research increases when the data are derived from a text corpus which remains thematically coherent over a longer period of time. Periodicals such as newspapers and magazines provide a stable thematic framework that allows for diachronic comparisons of the occurrence and use of anglicisms.

The latter argument is a major reason for choosing the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* in this study. The results of the present investigation of *Der Spiegel* can be compared with Yang (1990), who analyzed a diachronic cross-section of the magazine from 1950 to 1980. It is also possible to relate the results of *Der Spiegel 2000*, at least partially, to other studies of anglicisms in the German press (Langer 1996, Lee 1996, Plümer 2000, Schelper 1995, Viereck K. 1986). In terms of data elicitation, the CD-Rom edition of *Der Spiegel* alleviates the detection and the processing of anglicisms compared with the conventional strategy of reading a text and picking out the anglicisms. The CD-Rom is equipped with a search engine which allows for quick navigation in its issues. A transfer of the individual issues from “pdf” into “txt” format facilitates further processing with text analysis software. This enables a single researcher to analyze a considerable text corpus.

Apart from that, *Der Spiegel* is an acknowledged source of lexical innovation in German. In Broder Carstensen's first major work, *Englische Einflüsse auf die Deutsche Sprache nach 1945* ('English influence on German after 1945'), the author comments on the special status of the language of the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*:

Der Amerikanist erkennt unschwer das Vorbild der amerikanischen Publikation *Time*, der der SPIEGEL auch in anderen Beziehungen, etwa in seiner Gesamtkonzeption, verpflichtet zu sein scheint. Auch das Vorbild von *Newsweek* ist deutlich. Die sprachlichen Übereinstimmungen zwischen *Time* und dem SPIEGEL werden im Verlaufe der Untersuchung herausgestellt. Soviel sei hier nur vorwegnehmend allgemein angeführt, daß der Spiegel als das Haupteinfallstor von Amerikanismen in die deutsche Sprache angesehen werden muß (1965: 22).

Essentially, Carstensen claims that *Der Spiegel* serves as the main port of entry of anglicisms into German due to its similarity to the American newsmagazines *Time* and *Newsweek*. *Der Spiegel* can also function as a role model for German newspapers, which spread the anglicisms even further (1965: 23). In his book about the language of *Der Spiegel*, *Spiegel-Wörter Spiegel-Worte*, Carstensen repeats this observation. He states that the large share of anglicisms is characteristic of the language of the newsmagazine (1971: 60). For Plümer, these remarks lead to the conclusion that anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* are not representative of the German press in general (2000: 15). On the other hand, the lexical creativity of *Der Spiegel* and its tolerant attitude towards the use of English provides a valuable perspective on the function of anglicisms as neologisms and on their morphological and semantic integration in German. The general impact of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* is emphasized by the fact that it functions as a role model for other press publications (cf. Carstensen 1965: 23), that it enjoys a reputation as a long standing and prestigious German newsmagazine<sup>1</sup>, and that it reaches a substantial number of readers.

Within a few decades after its foundation at the end of World War II, *Der Spiegel* developed into one of the most popular weekly magazines in Germany. From 1951 to 1961, the number of issues sold increased from 118,000 to 430,000 (Yang 1990: 17). Since 1989, the number of issues sold weekly has consistently remained above 1 million (*Der Spiegel Online*<sup>2</sup> 2005). The following figure shows the average number of weekly sales from 1947 to 2003 (ibid.).

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1 *Der Spiegel* began under the name of *Diese Woche* in 1946 in Hannover. After its foundation by British press officers and the publication of the first five issues, the magazine was handed over to a team of German editors led by Rudolf Augstein in 1947. From then on the magazine appeared under the name of *Der Spiegel*. In 1952, the publishing house of *Der Spiegel* moved to Hamburg (Yang 1990: 16).

2 [http://www.spiegelgruppe.de/medienangebot/index.htm#/medienangebot/spiegel/](http://www.spiegelgruppe.de/medienangebot/index.htm#/medienangebot/spiegel;); (February 2005)

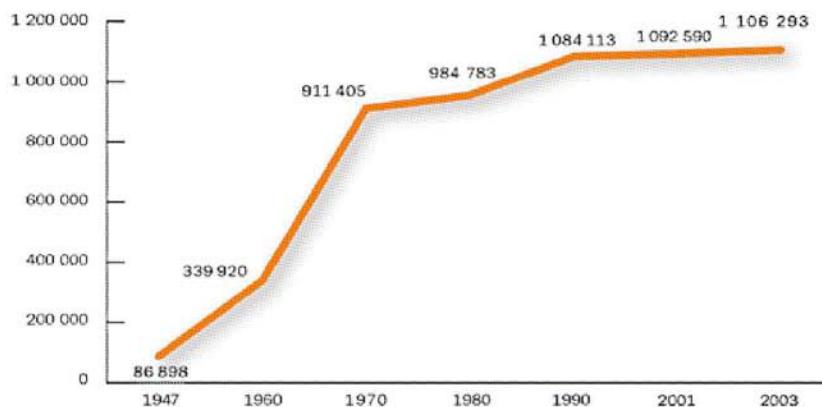
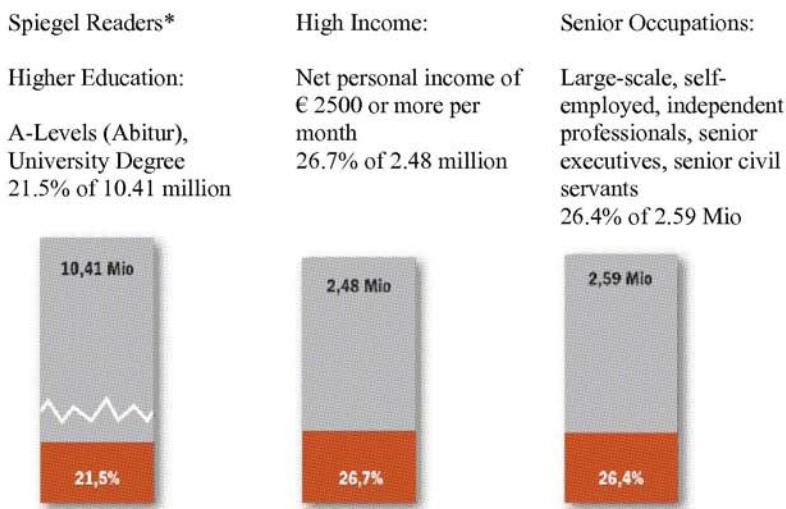


Figure 15: Average weekly circulation of *Der Spiegel* from 1947 to 2003<sup>4</sup>

*Der Spiegel* claims to be Germany's most important newsmagazine today. It enjoys the most widespread circulation among comparable magazines in Europe. It is distributed in 163 countries and is by far the most frequently cited medium in Germany (*Der Spiegel Online*<sup>2</sup> 2005). On average, 5.73 million Germans or 8.8% of all German adults, read *Der Spiegel* every week. About 380,000 readers in Austria and Switzerland and several hundred thousand in other countries complement the total number of readers. The readership of *Der Spiegel* includes a considerable number of university graduates and students, people with high income, entrepreneurs, and professionals in leading positions, as the following figure illustrates. (Note the use of a comma for decimal numbers in the German illustrations.)



\* Source: Media-Analyse  
Pressemedien II

Figure 16: Number of *Spiegel* readers in terms of high level of education, high income, and senior occupations compared to the total number of the German population in these areas<sup>3</sup>

According to the graphs, about every fifth German holding an advanced degree, approximately every fourth German with a high income, and about every fourth German senior professional read the newsmagazine. These statistics allude to the potential influence *Der Spiegel* might exercise on the perception and dissemination of Standard German as it attracts a large part of the influential segments of society. Stefan Aust, editor-in-chief, claims the maxim of the magazine is thorough research and reliable quality of information. In detail he states:

We try to concentrate primarily on events of political and social interest, and much less on entertainment. The result is a magazine which offers a lot of background information, a balanced mixture of short and long articles, bylined pieces making trenchant statements of position, dialogue and discussion forums, and an in-depth examination of the issue's cover topic.

(<http://www.spiegelgruppe.de/english/index.htm#/english/content.htm>; February 2005)

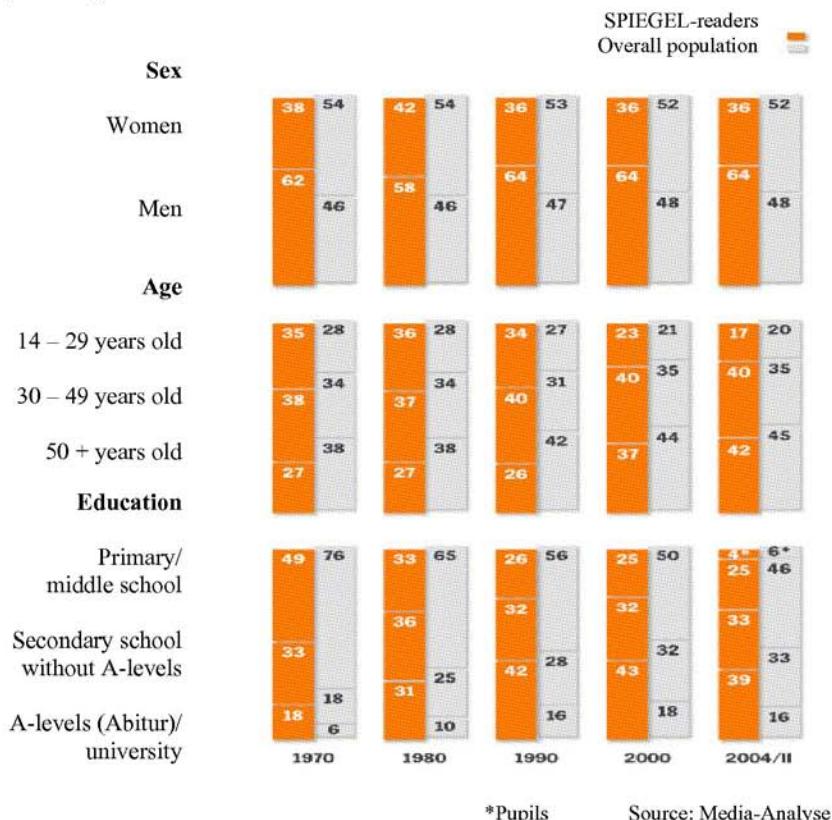
3 <http://www.spiegelgruppe.de/mediangebot/index.htm#/mediangebot/spiegel/leser.htm>; February 2005

How do anglicisms fit into this picture? According to the editorial intention, anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* should add primarily to the informative quality of the magazine. However, a variety of anglicisms do not appear as crucial mediators of informative content. On the contrary, codeswitches obstruct immediate content recognition from the perspective of a native German reader (cf. Chapter 11). Similarly, lexical items such as *Business*, *Job*, *Kids*, and *Story* do not introduce previously unknown factual concepts in German. These anglicisms often occur synonymously with German terms and can cover a broad semantic range. *Kids*, for example, is a hypernym for *Kinder* ('children') and *Jugendliche* ('teenagers'). *Story* can denote *Geschichte* ('story'), *Handlung* ('plot'), and *Erzählung* ('narration').

Even though anglicisms can lack novel factual content, they are apt to evoke the impression of a highfalutin informative style as the reader is confronted with the additional cognitive challenge to grasp the meaning of an English sign in a German context. In this function, anglicisms stand out of a German article like expensive fashion labels in a shop window whose products appeal to the consumer for their prestigious name rather than the quality of their fabric.

A closer look at the readership profile of *Der Spiegel* identifies the type of consumers who are typically exposed to anglicisms. The data in Figure 17 emphasize that, recently, the majority of *Spiegel* readers qualify for, undergo, or have completed university education. However, the rise in the readership's educational level seems commensurate with the general increase of educational levels in the German population.

### Readership profile since 1970 percentages



percentage of SPIEGEL readers in relation to total population, age 14 and above.  
Readership per issue = 100%. Until 1990: West German states only.

Figure 17: Readership profile (sex, age, education) of *Spiegel* readers since 1970<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the diversification of the readership according to levels of education, the figures show that the rate of male and female *Spiegel* readers has remained fairly constant since 1970. The average age of readers has increased considerably from 1990 to 2004. In 1970, 35% of the readership was between 14 and 29 years old whereas in 2004 the

4 <http://www.spiegelgruppe.de/medienangebot/index.htm#/medienangebot/spiegel/leser.htm>; December 2004

share of this age group dropped to 17%. At the same time the majority (42%) of *Spiegel* readers is now found in the age group of fifty years and older. Judging from the age distribution, the magazine currently seems to attract an older and, one might assume, more conservative readership. Nevertheless, as the statistics show (cf. Chapter 8), *Der Spiegel* is a rich source of anglicisms, many of which represent lexical innovations in German.

In sum, the German newsmagazine serves as a relevant corpus for the analysis of anglicisms for the following reasons: First of all, *Der Spiegel* is a popular and well-established German newsmagazine. It was born in the rubble of post-war Germany and has accompanied the development of Germany until today. Its dissemination in the German population has a potential impact on the understanding and use of Standard German. This is emphasized by the broad thematic scope<sup>5</sup>, which gives the magazine a flavour of general language. *Der Spiegel* is acknowledged for its open attitude towards the use of English. Thus, it provides ample opportunities to investigate structural, semantic, and pragmatic factors of integration and lexical innovation in German. The newsmagazine is also one of the better researched media in terms of anglicisms. This provides the opportunity to compare the more recent impact of anglicisms to earlier studies and to draw conclusions about the diachronic development of anglicisms. In methodological terms, the electronic format of *Der Spiegel* on CD-Rom allows for a handling of large amounts of data, which increase the scope and statistical validity of the analysis of anglicisms.

Despite its widespread circulation in German-speaking areas, it is necessary to keep in mind that *Der Spiegel* is but one representative medium of the German language. Other corpora including spoken Standard German (cf. Glahn 2002), regional variations (cf. Schelper 1995, Lehnert 1990, Grzega 2000), advertisements (cf. Fink 1997b, Schrodt 2002) and special languages (cf. Schmitt 1985, Allenbacher 1999) can yield different results as far as the number and the use of anglicisms in German is concerned.

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5 Articles of *Der Spiegel* appear in the following subject areas: Germany, Business, Sport, Media, Society, Foreign Affairs, Science/Technology, and Culture.

## 7.2 Methods of data elicitation<sup>6</sup>

Corpus linguistic software, specifically Wordsmith Tools 4®, was applied to tap the source of *Der Spiegel 2000* for anglicisms. The possibility to generate decontextualized word lists proves beneficial since attention remains focused on the individual types of words in the corpus and anglicisms can be identified faster. However, in some cases context is necessary in order to determine whether or not a term appears as an anglicism. Two particular concerns are the existence of homographs in English and German (e.g. E. *wall* and G. *Wall* ‘rampart’, E. *war* and G. *war* ‘was’, and E. *art* and G. *Art* ‘type, manner, kind’) and the use of English proper nouns. Similarly, titles of original English works and substantial quotations of English texts could be prematurely interpreted as anglicisms without clarifying their contextual usage.

These considerations formed the background for eliciting anglicisms in several stages from the corpus of 287,301 word types and 5,202,583 word tokens. First of all, German words from issues one to six were compiled in a *Stoplist*. Terms in this list were blocked from occurring in consecutive result lists of the corpus. The same procedure was repeated for a quarter of the total corpus, which, when applied to the whole data, reduced the type-size to a bit more than half of the total number. While the remainder of the wordlist was reduced to potential anglicisms in *Der Spiegel*, German words continued to be added to the Stoplist for future use on other corpora<sup>7</sup>.

After this step was completed, about 23,000 types of potential anglicisms needed to be checked individually for their contextual usage. At the same time, the actual TF of the anglicisms was ascertained. This is necessary in order to discount the usage of English words as proper nouns or as part of quotations from regular use as anglicisms. The unfiltered TF of *Internet*, for example, is 2168 while its actual use as an anglicism is evident in 1819 instances (filtered TF).

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<sup>6</sup> Parts of this chapter were previously published in Onysko, Alexander. 2006. “Anglicisms in German: Towards a methodological framework of corpus analysis.” *Corpora and the History of English: A Festschrift for Manfred Markus*. Mair, Christian and Reinhard Heuberger (eds.). Heidelberg: Winter. 265-78.

<sup>7</sup> At the end of the data elicitation, the *Stoplist* accumulated a size of 271,183 types. Despite its considerable size, the *Stoplist* only deletes about half of the types when applied to similar corpora of earlier years of *Der Spiegel* from 1994 to 1999. This indicates the high degree of lexical variation in the newsmagazine, mostly achieved by means of compounding.

Checking the concordances of each potential anglicism reduced the data to its final amount of anglicism types and tokens (cf. Chapter 8.1, Table 3).

So far, restrictions in the elicitation procedure have been hinted at for English proper nouns and English quotations. The following paragraphs will provide examples of the parameters for inclusion and exclusion of anglicisms in the corpus analysis. These should serve as a guideline for future studies and for cross-study comparisons. According to the theoretical framework established in Part I (cf. Figure 14), an anglicism is regarded as any instance of an English lexical and structural element in *Der Spiegel* that can be formally related to English. This includes the core types of borrowing, codeswitching, hybrids, and pseudo anglicisms. Codeswitching is evident when it represents bilingualism in a person's speech (e.g. in *Spiegel*-Interviews) regardless whether the English segments are typographically highlighted or not. Conversational English phrases and non substantial quotations for primarily stylistic reasons are also considered to be proper codeswitches. Longer, partly translated and commented quotations from English original works (e.g. from books and song lyrics), on the other hand, were not regarded as codeswitching cum anglicism.

Even though English proper nouns exemplify a contact scenario where a specific concept of the SL is transferred with its name into the RL, they are not counted as anglicisms in this study. This is due to the fact that they resemble original quotations and stand generally outside the productive mechanisms of the German lexicon. In the case of frequent usage, however, English proper nouns can depart from their specific reference frame and become integrated into the German lexicon. Eponymy as in *Rollerblades*, *Walkman*, *Colt*, and *Boykott* is an example of this process.

In general, the change from a proper noun to a common noun is accompanied by semantic bleaching, eroding the exclusive naming function of the proper noun. Apart from eponymy, this can be achieved by metaphorical mapping of features from the initial referent. In the vast majority of occurrences in *Der Spiegel*, *Queen* refers to Queen Elizabeth II of England. However, queen-like attributes are also projected onto other personalities. Agatha Christie, for example, is referred to as *Queen Mum of Crime* (17/246); the German fashion designer Jil Sander is called the *Queen of Less* (19/124). Prototypical semantic features of the concept *queen* (female, power, and beauty) also appear in compound anglicisms in German as in *Glamour-Queen*, *Dancing Queen*, and *New-Economy-Queen*. As far as the quantitative

data analysis is concerned, proper noun anglicisms that have grammaticalized to common nouns are counted as anglicisms in the corpus.

In light of the general impact of English on German, English names such as *Commission on Racial Equality*, *World Future Society*, *Media-Most-Holding*, *European Boating Association*, and *Career Company*, underline the tendency to leave English terms unexplained in German. The importation of such proper noun phrases can serve as a base for the autonomous use of English terms. This usually concerns common elements of name phrases such as *Company*, *Community*, *Holding*, *Investment*, and *Society*. These terms are characterized by an overall high TF in the corpus, ranging from 34 for *Community* to 99 for *Holding*. They occur both as elements of proper nouns and independently of their name phrases. As parts of names, they can function as anaphora for the whole name mentioned earlier in the text:

- (5) *Als Vorstandsvorsitzender der Walt Disney Company dirigiert er rund 110.000 Mitarbeiter... [three sentences later:] 25 Millionen Dollar stiftete seine Company für den Bau der neuen Concert Hall in Los Angeles... (11/253).*

[As the CEO of Walt Disney Company, he oversees about 110,000 employees... His company donated 25 million dollars for the construction of the new concert hall in Los Angeles...]

In (5) the anaphoric reference of *Company* is particularly salient due to its formal markedness and its position as an outsider in the German lexicon. However, this example should not overemphasize the notion that English name phrases serve as springboards for the independent occurrence of anglicisms in German. As the examples of *Association* (TF 29), *Corporation* (TF 40), *Foundation* (TF 22), and *Group* (TF 84) show, name constituents can remain tied to their name phrases despite frequent mention in the corpus.

Apart from the importation of English names, German also productively uses English to name German organizations, products, and events, as in *Fertility Center Hamburg*, *Intercity Express* (name of the German fast train), *Miss-Germany-Wahl*, *Miles & More* (name of the frequent flyer program of a German airline), *Love Parade* (city-wide techno music event in Berlin), *Berlin Document Center*, *CargoCity Süd* (cargo area south of Rhein-Main airport in Frankfurt), *Style Store* (shop at Potsdamer Platz in Berlin), *Deutsche Entertainment AG*, and many others. The application of English names for German products and institutions has led to public controversy (cf. Mechan-Schmidt 1999) and has fuelled the inception of the highly questionable award of the

language adulterator of the year (Verein Deutsche Sprache). In fact, the use of English names for German companies and products is a token of the prominent role of English in German advertising language. This function is also evident in names of German web pages such as *Beautynet*, *bicycles.de*, *cooleschule.de*, and *dress-for-less.de*. As in the compound internal rhymes of the last two examples, language play is targeted to increase the emotional appeal of these names. To recapitulate, English proper nouns and quotations from English original works are not counted as anglicisms in this study although both phenomena share the features of core anglicisms.

As far as borderline anglicisms are concerned, neither cases of interference nor word formally assimilated lexical items of ambiguous etymology are included in the quantitative and qualitative data analysis. In detail, the following table summarizes borderline anglicisms that are included and excluded from the result list of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*.

(a) Excluded borderline anglicisms

<i>Analyst</i>	<i>Limit</i>	<i>Sport</i>
<i>Bluff</i>	<i>Parlament</i>	<i>Standard</i>
<i>Budget</i>	<i>Partner</i>	<i>Stopp</i>
<i>Campus</i>	<i>Park</i>	<i>Streik</i>
<i>Discothek/Disco</i>	<i>Portfolio</i>	<i>Tank</i>
<i>Export</i>	<i>Poster</i>	<i>Tattoo</i>
<i>Fax</i>	<i>Radio</i>	<i>Television/TV</i>
<i>Import</i>	<i>Rekord</i>	<i>Tipp</i>
<i>Komfort</i>	<i>Scheck</i>	<i>Tour/Tourist</i>
<i>Konzern</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Trick</i>
<i>Keks</i>	<i>Sponsor</i>	<i>Video</i>

(b) Included borderline anglicisms

<i>Boykott</i>	<i>Report/Reporter</i>
<i>Film</i>	<i>Service</i>
<i>Glamour</i>	<i>Start</i>
<i>Golf ('sport')</i>	<i>Tennis</i>
<i>Hit</i>	<i>Test</i>

Table 1: Lexical borderline anglicisms (a) excluded (b) included in the study

In line with the discussion on anglicisms and etymology (cf. Chapter 5.3) and the hierarchy of identification (cf. Chapter 5.4) the criteria for the exclusion of borderline anglicisms are their graphological and phonological assimilation in German, as in *Keks*, *Konzern*, *Scheck*, *Stopp*, and *Tipp*, inconclusive etymology<sup>8</sup> as in *Budget*, *Park*, *Parlament*, *Partner*, *Portfolio*, *Sport*, and *Tourist*, and their use as internationalisms of mostly Latin and Greek origin as in *Campus*, *Radio*, *Sex*, *Sponsor*, *Tattoo* (Polynesian), *Television/TV*, and *Video*. Partly assimilated and unassimilated but unmarked word forms are included as borderline anglicisms if there is strong evidence of etymological influence from English, as in *Boykott*, *Film*, *Glamour*, *Start*, and *Test*.

Table 1 should not be taken as an exhaustive account of borderline anglicisms. In fact, the lists summarize frequent terms that show a certain currency of being regarded as anglicisms (cf. Carstensen and Busse 1993, 1994, 1996, Plümer 2000, Yang 1990). These borderline anglicisms tend to have a comparably high token frequency in German<sup>9</sup>. Thus, dependent on corpus size, inclusion or exclusion of borderline anglicisms potentially tilts frequency counts one way or the other. In order to increase the comparability of numerical results, it is necessary to make clear to what extent borderline anglicisms are included in the investigation.

The application of corpus linguistic software also brings up the issue of lexical vs. conceptual unity which can influence the frequency counts of anglicisms in German. While the individual English words in codeswitches appear as separate entries in the list of anglicisms, conceptually, the codeswitch represents one unit. English function words, for example, are inherent elements of codeswitches but they do not appear as single anglicisms outside their codeswitching environment. On a related note, lexical elements of phrasal constructions and of unhyphenated compounds are listed as separate items in the wordlist even though their occurrence might be restricted to certain phrases and compounds. *Green*, for example, exclusively occurs in *Green Card*, and *New* is lexically confined to a few compounds such as *New Economy*, *New Lads*, *New Look*, and *New Money*. These

8 The following etymological reference works were consulted: *OED Online* (2004), *Duden Herkunftswoerterbuch/Fremwoerterbuch* (2002/2000), *Kluge Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (2002), and *Carstensen/Busse Anglizismenwoerterbuch* (1993, 1994, 1996).

9 Cf. the following figures in *Der Spiegel 2000*: *TV* (TF 693), *Partner* (TF 563), *Sport* (TF 563), *Sex* (TF 455), *Konzern* (TF 420), *Parlament* (TF 373), *Radio* (TF 178), and *Video* (TF 115).

compound anglicisms are direct importations from English, which has a pronounced tendency to spell compounds as separate and unhyphenated words. For the elicitation of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*, however, this effect is marginal since in German compounds are commonly written as one word or hyphenated. An earlier study of Augst shows the prevalence of hyphens in writing hybrid compounds of English and German terms (1992: 47). This notion is confirmed in view of the whole data so that separate mention of compound elements only negligibly distorts the frequency results of anglicisms in the corpus.

In order to facilitate the analysis of how anglicisms fit into the structural categories of German, a tagging procedure was instantiated. All the anglicisms that occurred at least three times (TF 3+) were tagged according to word classes, patterns of word formation, and according to the most salient grammatical categories of integration. The following table provides an overview of the tagging conventions.

Parts of Speech	Word Formation	Gender, Number, and Case
<n> noun	<cpn> compound noun	<f> feminine
<v> verb	<cpnh> hybrid compound noun	<m> masculine
<adj> adjective	<cpadjh> hybrid compound adjective	<nt> neuter
<adv> adverb	<abbr> abbreviation (acronym)	<gendva> gender variation
<pron> pronoun	<clip> clipping	<gend> gender unverifiable
<prep> preposition	<bl> blend	<pl> plural
<det> determiner	<der> derivation	<gen> genitive
<conj> conjunction		
<interj> interjection		
<phr> phrase		

Table 2: Tags for anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*

Despite being largely a straightforward matter, tagging also unveiled some interesting aspects about the classification of anglicisms in German. The same form of an anglicism can stand for different functions as in the use of verbal anglicisms as participial adjectives.

The forms *trainierte* ('trained') and *recycelte* ('recycled'), for example, are used both as past verb forms for first and third person singular and as attributive adjectives for singular masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns in the nominative case following the definite article. In line with derivational processes in German, verbal anglicisms can be nominalized, as in *interviewte* ('interviewed') → *der Interviewte* ('the interviewed (person)'), *dealen* ('to deal') → *das Dealen* ('the dealing'), and *downloaden* ('to download') → *das Downloaden* ('the downloading'). These multiple functions of anglicisms in the corpus demanded separate tagging.

As far as word formational tagging is concerned, the few examples of abbreviations, clippings, and blends were tagged as such regardless of whether the derivational process happened in English or in German. Compounds, however, were differentiated in hybrid compounds as lexical creations in German <cphn> and in English compound anglicisms marked with <cpn>. From the perspective of the RL German, the ability to recognize English compounds is dependent on morphological awareness as part of a German speaker's competence in English.

Several considerations were taken into account to guide the application of the <cpn> label to compound anglicisms. First of all, orthography can signal morphological segmentation at free morpheme boundaries. So, hyphenated compounds consisting of English lexical units were tagged as <cpn> whereas compounds written as one word were interpreted as monosemous terms. Exceptions to the latter were made if an English compound consists of two base anglicisms that are also used as independent anglicisms in the corpus, as in *Filmstar*, *Topmanager*, *Trainingscamp*, and *Computerfreak*. In the example of *Trainingscamp*, *-s-* infixation between the free morphemes indicates that the anglicisms *Training* and *Camp* are combined in German. The occurrence of the compound infix<sup>10</sup> might aid the recognition of the morphological constituents of compound anglicisms. With a lack of morphological and orthographical marking, however, the recognition of individual compound elements depends on the frequency of their independent occurrence in German.

The most striking examples of compound anglicisms are pseudo anglicisms, which are based on a novel combination of English lexical material in German. The question of what counts as a pseudo anglicism was approached from several perspectives in this study. To check

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<sup>10</sup> For more on the morphological function of *-s-* infixation in compound anglicisms cf. Chapter 10.1.1.

whether the meaning of an English term in German is indeed non-existent in English, potential pseudo anglicisms were first of all looked up in the online dictionaries of *MW* and the *OED*. The remaining 57 unregistered terms were rated by native speakers of American English<sup>11</sup>, who were asked to comment whether or not they know these words. In addition, the native speakers were also supposed to describe or guess the meaning of every item given. The results of this test were taken as the final criterion to single out pseudo anglicisms. In detail, at least seven students were unfamiliar with 23 of the words given and they were also not able to guess their intended meaning. A total of eleven pseudo anglicisms were completely unknown to all the native speakers, such as *Late-Night-Talker* ('talk show host of a late night talk-show'), *Show-Power* ('impressive Show'), *Single-Boom* ('the trend to live as a single'), and *Twen* ('person in his or her twenties').

To sum up, this chapter has sketched the application of Wordsmith Tools 4® in the elicitation process of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*. Besides permitting faster retrieval of data from structured word lists, the program supports the creation of *Stoplists* which bar selected German terms from showing up in the word list of the corpus. Thus, the compilation of a *Stoplist* of less than a fourth of the corpus reduced the whole type size of *Der Spiegel 2000* by nearly fifty percent. The data elicitation of anglicisms was also subject to specific restrictions. Quotations and titles of English works, English song lyrics, and English proper nouns were excluded from the result list of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*. Furthermore, a selection of common borderline anglicisms was also eliminated from the results based on etymological and word formal grounds. Finally, the more frequently used anglicisms (TF 3+) were tagged according to word classes, word formation, and selected grammatical features. The tagging procedure facilitates the detailed analyses of the anglicisms, whose quantitative impact will be discussed in the next chapter.

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<sup>11</sup> The subject group consisted of nine students from different parts of the USA between 18 and 20 years old, who were studying at Macalester College, St. Paul/MN, at the time of the survey (November 2004).

## **8. The quantitative impact of anglicisms**

Following the methods of data analysis, this chapter presents the quantitative results of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*. The discussion starts out with the total number of anglicisms (types and tokens) and the overall distribution of token frequency in the corpus. The 100 most frequent anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000* are compared with the same anglicisms in earlier years of the newsmagazine (1994 to 1999). This allows for diachronic conclusions concerning the recent numerical development of the commonly used anglicisms in *Der Spiegel*. Chapter 8.2 focuses on the tagged anglicisms and shows their distribution among word classes, patterns of word formation, and among the morphological processes of plural suffixation and gender assignment. Finally, the results are compared to earlier research on anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* (Yang 1990) and to other studies on anglicisms in the German press in order to create a more comprehensive perspective on the frequency of anglicisms in German.

### **8.1 Number of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000***

The corpus of *Der Spiegel 2000* consists of 52 weekly issues from January through December and a chronicle issue of the year 2000. A total of 8,621 text pages have been searched for anglicisms. This excludes advertisements, the title pages, and the publisher's page at the end of each issue. The corpus has a size of 5,202,583 word tokens and 287,301 word types. According to the methods of data elicitation as described in Chapter 7.2, the total number of anglicisms is 16,663 types which occur in 57,591 instances. Compared with the total number of types and tokens, the rate of anglicisms amounts to 5.80% of all the types and 1.11% of all the tokens in the corpus. Table 3 provides an overview of the number of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*.

	Types	Tokens	TTR (Type-Token ratio)
<i>Der Spiegel 2000</i> total nr. of words	287,301	5,202,583	5.52%
Total nr. of anglicisms	16,663	57,591	28.93%
Percentage of anglicisms/ total nr. of words	5.80%	1.11%	

Table 3: Number of anglicisms (types/tokens) in *Der Spiegel 2000*

The results show an average of one anglicism for every 17.25 word type while the average ratio for tokens is one anglicism for every 90.49 word token. The divergence of the ratio of anglicisms per type and token is due to the fact that function words have a higher token frequency than content items. At the same time English function words rarely appear in the corpus. The few items that occur (e.g. *and*, *you*, *I*, *he*, *she*, *they*, *the*, *of*, *his*, and *her*) are restricted to instances of codeswitching and do not interfere with their German counterparts outside their codeswitching environment. This explains why only about every 91<sup>st</sup> word in *Der Spiegel 2000* is an anglicism.

The average type/token ratio of anglicisms (28.93%) is considerably higher than the type/token ratio of the whole corpus (5.52%), and more specifically of the corpus without anglicisms (5.25%). This indicates a low repetition rate of anglicisms. Thus, every non-anglicism type has an average token frequency (TF) of 19.01 in the corpus while every anglicism type appears 3.46 times on average. In detail, as many as 11,907 types of anglicisms, which is 71.46% of all the types, occur merely once in the corpus. The remaining 4,766 types (28.60%) have a token frequency of two and higher. Only 747 anglicisms (4.48%) appear 10 times and more often. Figure 18 shows the distribution of types of anglicisms according to their token frequencies.

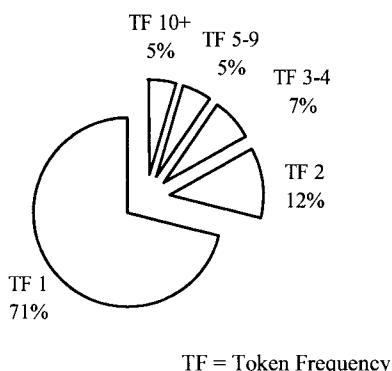


Figure 18: Distribution of anglicisms according to token frequency in *Der Spiegel* 2000  
(rounded values)

Hybrid constructions of English and German lexical elements account for 83.97% of the anglicisms occurring only once in *Der Spiegel* 2000. This number is indicative of the lexical productivity of anglicisms in German, which typically leads to the creation of hybrid compound nouns as in *Wunderkids* ('miracle kids'), *Großstadtkids* ('big city kids'), *Luxuskids* ('luxury kids'), *Konsumkids* ('consumption kids'), and *Motorradkids* ('motorcycle kids'). German derivational affixes can be attached to nominal anglicisms to derive adjectives and verbs, as in the examples of the deadjectival suffix *-ig* and the deverbal suffix *-(e)n*: *trendig* ('trendy'), *spacig* ('spacy'), *bluesig* ('bluesy'), *stressig* ('stressful'), *filmen* ('to film'), *starten* ('to start'), *boomen* ('to boom'), and *powern* ('to power'), to name just a few. If the total corpus is taken into consideration, the number of hybrid forms amounts to 12,652 types, which is 75.93% of the total number of anglicisms (16,663).

If the total number of tokens in the corpus is divided by the number of text pages, the average text page in *Der Spiegel* has about 603.5 words. Divided by the average occurrence of anglicisms (every 90.74 word), *Der Spiegel* contains on average about 6.65 anglicisms (tokens) per page. The average number of types per text page is 33.3, almost two of which (1.93) are anglicisms. In other words, a reader of *Der Spiegel* 2000 will come across almost 7 anglicisms per text page, two of which are different types. These numbers, however, represent gross abstrac-

tions that skew the actual distribution of anglicisms in the corpus. In fact, anglicisms tend to occur in thematic clusters in articles on business and financial matters, in articles on communication technology, in interviews with English speakers, in articles on foreign affairs, and in reports on fashion, lifestyle, and sports. The occurrence of anglicisms is also dependent on their stylistic function, as in the example of codeswitching, or the use of "Filser-Englisch"<sup>1</sup>. The latter is a hybrid of German syntax and English lexemes which is used to ridicule German speakers of English, particularly German politicians:

- (6) *Auch die Anfrage im Begleitschreiben, ob „the Edi“, Edmund Stoiber, der nächste Bundeskanzler und Waigel wieder Finanzminister werden könne, beantwortete der ehemalige CSU-Vorsitzende in gekonntem Kauderwelsch. „What you about the next chancellor and his finance-minister said, can I only for my part answer, namely that I surely not more finance-minister be will. Heartley greetings and joyful Easter. Your true Theo.“* (16/284)

[The former head of the CSU replied in fluent gibberish to the inquiry in the accompanying letter if "the Edi", Edmund Stoiber could become the next chancellor and Waigel could be finance minister again: "To what you said about the next chancellor and his finance minister I can only answer that I certainly won't be finance minister any longer. Kind greetings and happy Easter holidays. Yours, Theo."]

As this passage exemplifies, the rate of anglicisms is connected with the topic of the article, its setting and its stylistic mood, producing clusters of anglicisms instead of a linear dispersion in the corpus. Even the twenty most frequent anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000* (cf. Table 5) are not uniformly dispersed. At best, these anglicisms show dispersion values in the higher medium range between uniform dispersion (=1) and burstiness<sup>2</sup> (=0). The highest dispersion value is calculated for *Internet* (0.61), followed by *Job* (0.59), *Interview* (0.56), *Manager* (0.53), and *Computer* (0.53). The dispersion values for *Handy* (0.30), *Economy* (0.22), *Image* (0.20), and *Trainer* (0.20) are the lowest among the twenty most frequent anglicisms. These dispersion values indicate that even the most frequent anglicisms are not uniformly distributed across the corpus.

A comparison of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000* with the period from 1994 to 1999 shows that almost half of the types in the year 2000

1 The term has been adopted from *Der Spiegel 2000* (16/284).

2 Dispersion values are calculated by Wordsmith Tools 4® according to Oakes' formulae (1998). Dispersion ranges from 0 to 1 with 1 marking most uniform dispersion and 0 representing extreme burstiness of occurrence.

also occur at least once from 1994 to 1999: 8,031 types or 48.20% of all the types in 2000. The repetitive use of these matches indicates their persistence in the German lexicon. This is emphasized by the fact that in the match list merely 23% of the matches have a TF of 1, i.e. these anglicisms of the year 2000 have only one match from 1994 to 1999. 77% (6,183 types) match at least twice or more often. This stands in sharp contrast to how TF is distributed in 2000 (cf. Figure 18) and shows that the matching anglicisms tend to recur at a higher rate overall. In general, we can assume that the higher the token frequency and the greater the diachronic distribution of an anglicism, the stronger is its position in the German lexicon (at least for the period observed). Of all the 8,031 matching anglicisms of the year 2000 and from 1994 to 1999, the following list provides an overview of the 100 most frequent matches from 1994 to 1999.

Type	Token	Type	Token	Type	Token
1) <i>Film</i>	8.150	35) <i>Party</i>	658	69) <i>Booms</i>	379
2) <i>Internet</i>	4.232	36) <i>Handy</i>	653	70) <i>cool</i>	375
3) <i>Manager</i>	3.950	37) <i>Tennis</i>	622	71) <i>testen</i>	368
4) <i>Computer</i>	3.697	38) <i>Story</i>	617	72) <i>Managern</i>	366
5) <i>Interview</i>	3.501	39) <i>starten</i>	600	73) <i>Computern</i>	365
6) <i>Job</i>	2.911	40) <i>Killer</i>	596	74) <i>Dealer</i>	361
7) <i>Star</i>	2.052	41) <i>Training</i>	584	75) <i>startete</i>	360
8) <i>Action</i>	1.953	42) <i>Center</i>	571	76) <i>Babys</i>	355
9) <i>Filme</i>	1.826	43) <i>Love</i>	569	77) <i>Designer</i>	351
10) <i>Trainer</i>	1.799	44) <i>Boom</i>	559	78) <i>Doping</i>	344
11) <i>Stars</i>	1.528	45) <i>Kids</i>	555	79) <i>Slogan</i>	343
12) <i>E-Mail</i>	1.498	46) <i>Comeback</i>	536	80) <i>Hit</i>	339
13) <i>Jobs</i>	1.437	47) <i>Business</i>	529	81) <i>Clubs</i>	332
14) <i>Team</i>	1.430	48) <i>Test</i>	510	82) <i>okay</i>	331
15) <i>Start</i>	1.365	49) <i>Songs</i>	507	83) <i>Popstar</i>	330
16) <i>Fans</i>	1.337	50) <i>CD-Rom</i>	501	84) <i>Crash</i>	329
17) <i>Show</i>	1.290	51) <i>Tests</i>	492	85) <i>Queen</i>	329
18) <i>Image</i>	1.278	52) <i>Filmemacher</i>	470	86) <i>Report</i>	327
19) <i>Reporter</i>	1.195	53) <i>Jazz</i>	459	87) <i>Boxer</i>	323
20) <i>Software</i>	1.177	54) <i>Box</i>	445	88) <i>Pay-TV</i>	322
21) <i>Trends</i>	1.130	55) <i>Teenager</i>	443	89) <i>Crew</i>	321
22) <i>Trend</i>	978	56) <i>News</i>	440	90) <i>Fan</i>	318
23) <i>online</i>	971	57) <i>Boxen</i>	436	91) <i>Boys</i>	317
24) <i>PC</i>	963	58) <i>Thriller</i>	419	92) <i>Flop</i>	316
25) <i>Club</i>	936	59) <i>Jeans</i>	417	93) <i>getestet</i>	315

26) <i>Management</i>	904	60) <i>startet</i>	416	94) <i>Bosse</i>	314
27) <i>Filmen</i>	875	61) <i>Song</i>	415	95) <i>Cockpit</i>	314
28) <i>Pop</i>	842	62) <i>Insider</i>	409	96) <i>Models</i>	310
29) <i>Deal</i>	754	63) <i>Streß</i>	399	97) <i>Festival</i>	306
30) <i>Films</i>	721	64) <i>Fit</i>	398	98) <i>Handys</i>	301
31) <i>Baby</i>	695	65) <i>Gangster</i>	398	99) <i>Talkshows</i>	301
32) <i>live</i>	680	66) <i>Teams</i>	398	100) <i>trainiert</i>	301
33) <i>Interviews</i>	672	67) <i>Marketing</i>	396		
34) <i>CD</i>	670	68) <i>Spielfilm</i>	382		

Table 4: The 100 most frequent matching anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* from 1994 to 1999

The token frequencies in the table represent the sum of all occurrences (unfiltered TF) of the respective anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* from 1994 to 1999. Within the matches, *Film* is by far the most frequent anglicism in the years from 1994 to 1999, followed by *Internet*, *Manager* and *Computer*. As German nouns ending in *-er* take zero inflection in the plural, the token frequencies of *Manager* and *Computer* include both the singular and the plural occurrences, whereas the token frequencies of *Film* and *Internet* are based on their singular forms alone. The plural form *Filme* is the ninth most frequent matching anglicism while *Internet* lacks a plural form. The term refers collectively to the World Wide Web. The dual grammatical function of anglicisms ending in *-er*<sup>3</sup> increases their token frequency in relation to separate singular and plural forms. As a consequence, terms such as *Trainer*, *Reporter*, *Killer*, *Center*, *Teenager*, and *Thriller* appear at more advanced positions in the list than they would occupy as split singular and plural forms.

Besides *Filme*, the most frequent, overtly inflected forms are *Stars*, *Jobs*, *Fans*, and *Trends*. The suffix *-s* marks the plural and the genitive singular in these terms. If the frequency of *Job* and *Jobs* were merged into one, they would surpass *Computer* and *Manager* and take the second position after *Film*. Unsurprisingly, the only hybrid compound nouns on the list (*Filmemacher* and *Spielfilm*) incorporate the most frequent base anglicism *Film*. Abbreviated or partly abbreviated nominal anglicisms are *E-Mail*, *PC*, *CD*, and *CD-Rom* (in that order).

3 The suffix *-er* has largely identical functions in English and in German. According to Dirven and Verspoor *-er* is framed in a radial network of meaning including instrumental and locative senses. Thus, Dirven and Verspoor characterize the derivational pattern “[V + *-er*]” as “a human being or other force that is functionally linked to the event of V” (1998: 65).

The match list also contains a couple of verbal anglicisms. *Filmen* appears to have the highest token frequency. However, the number of occurrence is skewed by the fact that the form *Filmen/filmen* is yet another example of dual grammatical function. Apart from the verbal infinitive and the first and third person plural present indicative, *Filmen* also represents the dative plural form of the base noun *Film*. Similarly, the verbal infinitive form *boxen* is outnumbered by its nominal plural *Boxen*. The lemmas *starten* ('to start') and *testen* ('to test') remain purely verbal forms<sup>4</sup>. They are accompanied by their conjugated variants *startet* (third person singular and second person plural indicative present), *startete* (first and third person singular past indicative), and *getestet* (past participle). The third person singular and second person plural present indicative verb form *trainiert* ('trains/train') occurs more often than the infinitive and the first and third person plural present indicative form *trainieren* ('to train'), which does not appear among the most frequent anglicisms (TF 226).

The most frequently matching adjectival anglicisms are *fit* and *cool*, which are mainly used as predicative adjectives in German. They can also modify German nouns and are inflected accordingly (e.g. *der coole Typ* 'the cool guy', nom. m.; *ein sehr fitter Nachkomme* 'a really fit offspring', nom. m.). Apart from that, the base anglicism *fit* frequently appears in the verbal expression *fit machen* ('to make fit'), and *cool* functions as an adverb in the following phrases:

- (7) *Ab sofort sitzt er cool in seiner Villa am Starnberger See...* (26/206)  
[From now on he sits coolly in his new mansion at Lake Starnberg...]
- (8) *Etwa sechs Meilen von hier, sagt cool ein studentischer Experte.* (1/127)  
[Roughly six miles from here, a student expert says coolly.]

The adverbial function of *cool* in these examples mirrors the colloquial English usage of the term as a mere emphatic expression. Similarly, *cool* has grammaticalized to an emphatic marker in the discourse of young German people, who can utter it as a filler word in conversations to express sympathy, support, and allegiance to the speaker.

The frequent modifier *live* primarily modulates verbs, as in *live zu sehen* ('to be viewed live') and *live erleben* ('to experience live'). In a few instances, *live* functions as a predicative adjective; however, in 2000 the corpus does not contain a single mention of attributive adjectival use. Instead, as a noun qualifier, *live* is usually attached to a noun base and takes the position of a determinant in hybrid compound

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4 Verbs can be nominalized in German (cf. English the big coming).

nouns such as *Live-Aufnahme* ('live recording'), *Live-Auftritt* ('live show'), *Livebilder* ('live pictures'), and *Liveübertragung* ('live broadcast'). A similar pattern of usage can be found in the adjectival anglicism *top*. In the period from 1994 to 2000, it almost exclusively occurs as a determinant in compound nouns, as in *Top-Agent* ('top agent'), *Top-Fahrer* ('top driver'), *Topleute* ('top people'), and *Topniveau* ('top level'). These examples indicate that while in English *live* and *top* mostly appear as modifiers of a nominal head, German tends to incorporate these terms in nominal compound constructions.

Another interesting item among the most frequent matching anglicisms is the interjection *okay*, which functions in a variety of ways in German. As a discourse marker, *okay* marks consent of the speaker. So, it most frequently occurs in *Spiegel*-Interviews and in quotations of direct speech as in the following examples from *Der Spiegel 2000*:

- (9) *Aber wir hatten Glück, okay. Es war die falsche Idee...* (1/102)  
[But we were lucky, *okay*. It was the wrong idea...]
- (10) *Der stille Junge verließ das Büro des Dozenten mit den Worten: „Okay, das ist Ihre Entscheidung.“* (20/75)  
[The silent young man left the professor's office saying: "Okay, that is your decision."]
- (11) *...dass während der gesamten Zeit die Zuschauerzahl konstant bei exakt 18 Millionen geblieben ist. Okay, Michael Jackson hatte nachher 21 Millionen Zuschauer.* (43/146).  
[...that during the whole show the number of viewers consistently remained at exactly 18 million. *Okay*, Michael Jackson had 21 million viewers afterwards.]

While in (10) *okay* is uttered to signal acceptance to the interlocutor, the interjection assumes covert discourse properties in (9) and (11). In these examples *okay* functions as an introspective utterance not directly targeted at the interlocutor. This creates a sense of immediacy and decreases the conversational distance between the discourse participants. In sentence final position in (9), *okay* emphasizes the theme of the sentence, i.e. the fact that they were lucky. At the beginning of the sentence in (11), *okay* establishes a link between the two sentences acknowledging the fact that Michael Jackson had a bigger audience than the previous show.

Apart from being a discourse marker, *okay* also functions as a complement in a copulative sentence structure, following the English model "something is okay", as in the following phrases:

- (12) ...und plötzlich glaubte er, sein ganzes Leben sei „vollkommen okay.“  
 (22/138)  
 [...]and all of a sudden he believed his whole life was “completely  
 okay”]
- (13) *Das ist schon okay: Es liegt in der menschlichen Natur.* (3/204)  
 [That is okay: It is part of human nature]
- (14) *Leben nicht immer mehr Menschen nach dem Motto: „Ihr seid okay, wir  
 sind okay, alle sind okay“?* (4/115)  
 [Do not more and more people live according to the motto: “You are  
 okay, we are okay, everyone is okay”?]

Similarly, *okay* occurs in the phrasal verb construction *etwas okay finden* (\*to find sthg. okay, ‘to think something is okay’), as in (15) and (16):

- (15) *Den Farbbeutel, der vergangenes Jahr Außenminister Joschka Fischer  
 am Ohr traf, finden sie okay.* (46/17)  
 [They think it is okay that a bag filled with a coloured liquid hit foreign  
 minister Joschka Fischer on the ear last year.]
- (16) *Jürgen Trittin fand es okay.* (8/87)  
 [Jürgen Trittin thought it was okay.]

Furthermore, *okay* is used as a noun with the meaning of ‘approval’:

- (17) *Um das Okay der Opposition zu bekommen,...* (25/33)  
 [To get the okay of the opposition,...]
- (18) *Sobald Ihlau ihn anruft und das Okay gibt, wird die Tasche übergeben.*  
 (31/34)  
 [As soon as Ihlau calls him and (lit.: gives the okay) says okay, the bag  
 will be delivered.]
- (19) *Das Okay kommt telefonisch,...* (35/171)  
 [The okay is given on the phone,... (lit.: the *okay* comes...)]

As a noun, *Okay* objectifies the act of approval. This is emphasized by the fact that it collocates with the German verbs *geben* (‘give’) and *bekommen* (‘to get, to receive’), which prototypically describe a transfer of entities between agents. In grammatical terms, *Okay* takes neuter gender in German following the tendency of neuter gender assignment to words which are not typical members of the noun class

but become nominalized from other word classes (e.g. nominalized verbs, *lesen* = *das Lesen*).

If the 100 most frequent matching anglicisms from 1994 to 1999 are compared with the 100 most frequent anglicisms in the year 2000, some interesting patterns emerge. In general, almost two thirds (71 types) of the most frequent matches from 1994 to 1999 overlap with the 100 most frequent anglicisms in the year 2000. The following table provides an overview of the 100 most frequent anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*.

Type	Token	Type	Token	Type	Token
1) <i>Internet</i>	1819	35) <i>Baby</i>	133	69) <i>getestet</i>	88
2) <i>Film</i>	1058	36) <i>Business</i>	132	70) <i>Marketing</i>	88
3) <i>Computer</i>	872	37) <i>E-Mail</i>	129	71) <i>Website</i>	88
4) <i>Interview</i>	692	38) <i>Container</i>	128	72) <i>Chips</i>	87
5) <i>Manager</i>	676	39) <i>CD</i>	126	73) <i>Teams</i>	86
6) <i>Job</i>	549	40) <i>Interviews</i>	126	74) <i>startete</i>	84
7) <i>Reporter</i>	416	41) <i>starten</i>	123	75) <i>Computern</i>	83
8) <i>Trends</i>	365	42) <i>Party</i>	113	76) <i>Designer</i>	83
9) <i>Software</i>	298	43) <i>Films</i>	112	77) <i>Tennis</i>	81
10) <i>Trainer</i>	295	44) <i>Web</i>	111	78) <i>Babys</i>	80
11) <i>Filme</i>	289	45) <i>Band</i>	108	79) <i>Single</i>	80
12) <i>online</i>	268	46) <i>Test</i>	108	80) <i>Entertainment</i>	79
13) <i>Handy</i>	263	47) <i>Cyberspace</i>	107	81) <i>Slogan</i>	79
14) <i>Stars</i>	263	48) <i>E-Commerce</i>	107	82) <i>Investmentbanker</i>	78
15) <i>Image</i>	258	49) <i>fit</i>	103	83) <i>Fan</i>	77
16) <i>Fans</i>	257	50) <i>Tests</i>	103	84) <i>live</i>	77
17) <i>Start</i>	255	51) <i>Comeback</i>	100	85) <i>Bar</i>	76
18) <i>Trend</i>	237	52) <i>Insider</i>	97	86) <i>Killer</i>	75
19) <i>Team</i>	234	53) <i>Pop</i>	97	87) <i>Lobbyisten</i>	74
20) <i>Economy</i>	233	54) <i>Service</i>	97	88) <i>gestartet</i>	73
21) <i>Star</i>	230	55) <i>Songs</i>	97	89) <i>Fondsmanager</i>	72
22) <i>Jobs</i>	216	56) <i>Story</i>	96	90) <i>Cockpit</i>	71
23) <i>Deal</i>	206	57) <i>startet</i>	95	91) <i>Singles</i>	71
24) <i>Show</i>	198	58) <i>Stress</i>	95	92) <i>Holding</i>	69
25) <i>New</i>	191	59) <i>Homepage</i>	94	93) <i>old</i>	68
26) <i>PC</i>	174	60) <i>okay</i>	94	94) <i>Crew</i>	66
27) <i>Club</i>	171	61) <i>testen</i>	93	95) <i>Essay</i>	65
28) <i>Handys</i>	164	62) <i>cool</i>	92	96) <i>Flop</i>	65
29) <i>Boom</i>	155	63) <i>Teenager</i>	92	97) <i>Lady</i>	65

30) <i>CD-Rom</i>	148	64) <i>Card</i>	91	98) <i>Partys</i>	65
31) <i>Boss</i>	145	65) <i>E-Mails</i>	91	99) <i>Rock</i>	65
32) <i>Training</i>	145	66) <i>Kids</i>	91	100) <i>trainiert</i>	65
33) <i>Management</i>	135	67) <i>World</i>	91		
34) <i>filmen</i>	134	68) <i>Clubs</i>	90		

Table 5: The 100 most frequent anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* 2000

Fourteen anglicisms from the twenty most frequent ones in 1994 to 1999 are also among the twenty most frequent anglicisms in 2000. *Internet* appears on top of the list followed by *Film*, *Computer*, *Interview*, *Manager*, *Job*, and *Reporter*. Although *Internet* is mentioned in articles of *Der Spiegel* throughout the whole period from 1994 to 2000, its unfiltered token frequency in 2000 (TF 2,168)<sup>5</sup> amounts to 51.23% of its overall TF from 1994 to 1999. This indicates a huge increase in the usage of *Internet* in the year 2000, which reflects the growing importance of the medium. Similarly, the TF of the pseudo anglicism *Handy* ('cell phone') also shows a rapid increase in the year 2000, with 301 tokens, which is 46.09% of its overall TF of 653 from 1994 to 1999. Figure 19 shows the increase in TF of *Internet* and *Handy* from 1994 to 2000 (unfiltered TF).

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5 Unfiltered token frequencies are based on overall token frequencies as calculated by Wordsmith 4® and include any instance of occurrence in the respective corpus (cf. Chapter 7.2). Filtered token frequencies are given in Table 5 and apply to all calculations within the corpus of *Der Spiegel* 2000.

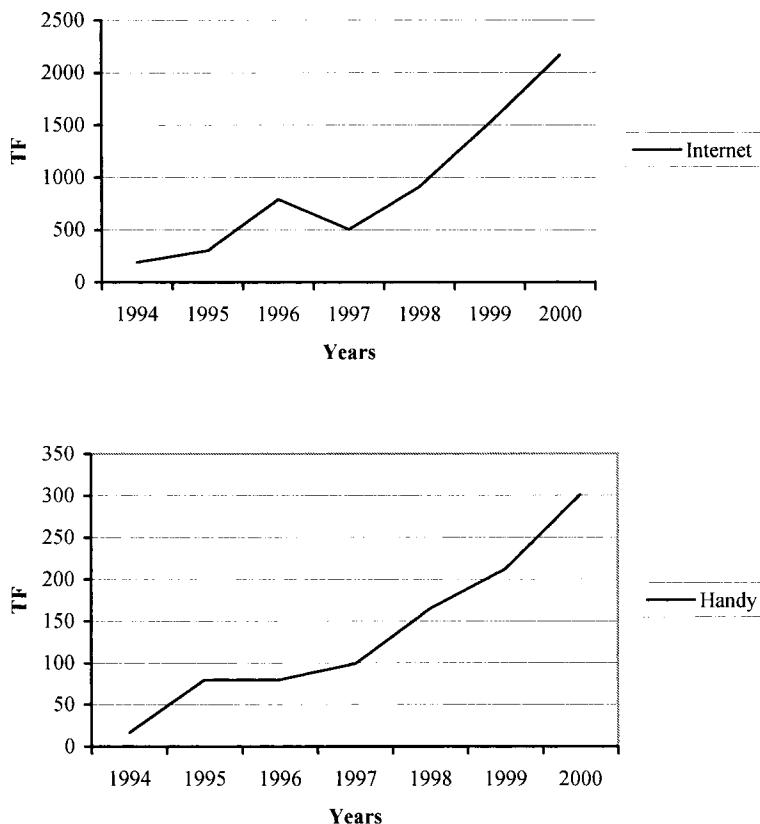


Figure 19: Token frequency of *Internet* and *Handy* in *Der Spiegel* 1994-2000 (unfiltered)

If the yearly sums of token frequencies are calculated for the 71 matching types from both lists (cf. Table 4 and 5), a general increase in the usage of these anglicisms is evident from 1994 to 2000. Figure 20 provides an overview of the increase of TF of the 71 most frequent matching anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* from 1994 to 2000.

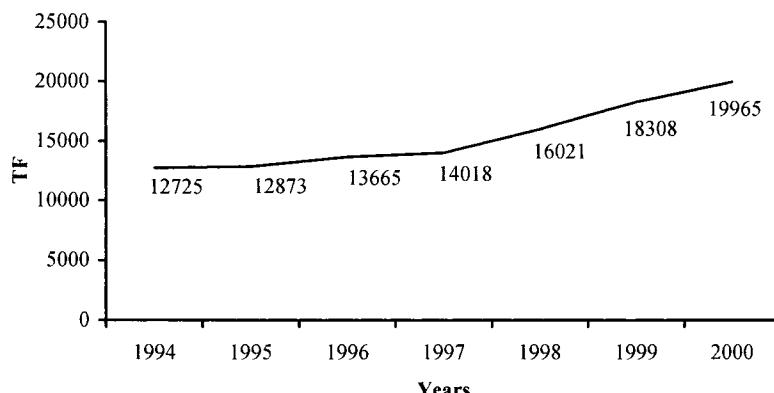


Figure 20: Token frequency per year of the 71 most frequent matching anglicisms

The overall rise in the occurrence of frequently used anglicisms is stressed by the fact that from the 71 most frequent matching anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* from 1994 to 2000 (unfiltered data), 42 types show their highest token values in 2000, while only *Film* and *Pop* have their lowest token frequency in 2000. Appendix 1 shows the detailed results of unfiltered token frequencies per type and per year.

Anglicisms relating to computer jargon play a substantial role in the overall rise of TF in the period from 1994 to 2000. Apart from *PC* (short for Personal Computer), whose TF is lower in 2000 (TF 174) than in 1994 (TF 191), the remaining computer terms *Computer*, *Software*, *online*, *E-Mail*, *CD-Rom*, *Web*, *Cyberspace*, *E-Commerce*, *Homepage*, and *Website* show varying degrees of increase in their token frequencies from 1994 to 2000. Figure 21 illustrates the rate of increase of these anglicisms.

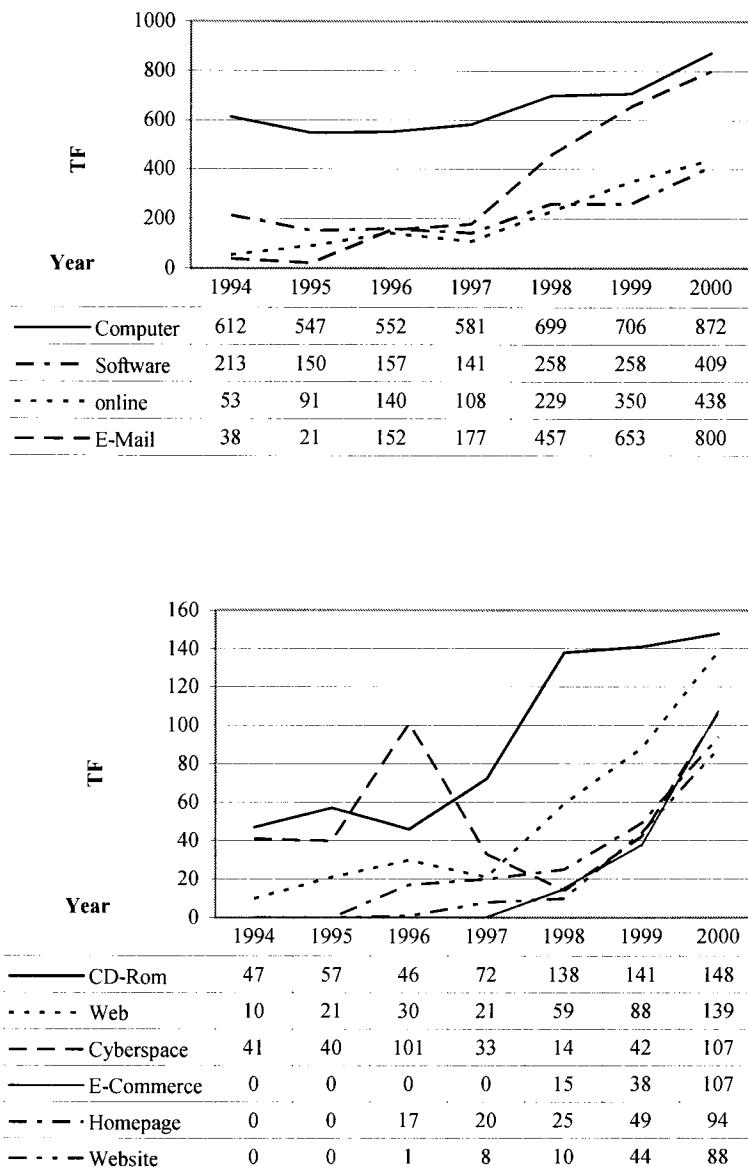


Figure 21: Token frequency of the most frequent anglicisms in computer jargon in *Der Spiegel* 1994-2000 (unfiltered)

The end values of the anglicisms in both graphs are higher than their initial values, and they generally increase throughout the years apart from a slight decrease in 1997 for *online*, *Web*, and *Software*. *Cyberspace* is the only exception to this pattern with a peak in 1996 followed by a steep decline and a second peak in 2000. Overall, the increase in TF of these lexical items is concomitant with technological progress and with the rising importance of issues related to computers, particularly to the *World Wide Web*. The anglicisms *Homepage* and *Website* were introduced in the German language of *Der Spiegel* in 1996. Their frequencies of usage have risen sharply since then. *E-Commerce* followed in 1998 with 15 occurrences in that year and increasing up to a TF of 107 in 2000. When mentioned for the first time, *E-Commerce* was introduced to the readership of *Der Spiegel* with a German translation followed by the English original in parentheses and in quotation marks. This is a common strategy for the introduction of neologisms in German journalistic writings (cf. Yang 1990: 133).

- (20) ...und der Einstieg in elektronische Handelsgeschäfte im Internet („E-Commerce“) werde durch die Vielzahl technischer Systeme erschwert...  
*(Der Spiegel* 1998: 10/106)  
 [...and the introduction of electronic commerce on the Internet (“E-commerce”) is made more complicated by the multitude of technological systems]

From the matching anglicisms that are part of the most frequent anglicisms in 2000, *Economy* has undergone the most rapid increase due to its use in the compounds *New Economy* and *Old Economy*. Its TF remained below fifteen in every year from 1994 to 1999 and hit 233 in 2000. As a result, the adjectival forms *old* and *new* are also among the 100 most frequently used anglicisms in 2000 (cf. Table 5) although they almost exclusively occur as compound elements. Apart from *New Economy*, *New* also entered the German language as part of compounds such as *New Lads*, *New Boys*, and *New Money* but does not function as an independent adjective in the corpus. The same holds true for *old*, which also occurs in a variety of compounds such as *Old School*, *Old Germany*, and *Old-Boys-Network* (euphemistic reference to politicians in the German Christian Democratic Union, CDU; 10/33). As an adjective, *old* appears once in the cluster *good old*:

- (21) ...good old swinging Harald schrammt sich durch zum glücklichen Ende. (40/143).  
 [...]good old swinging Harald struggles on until the happy ending]

These examples show that despite the fact that *old* and *new* appear as single adjectives in the list of most frequently used anglicisms, they are actually confined to compound elements in a small range of lexical items in German. The frequently occurring adverbial *online*, on the other hand, is highly productive as the determinant in 281 compounds, e.g. *Online-Akademien* ('online academies'), *Online-Aktien* ('online shares'), *Online-Aktivitäten* ('online activities'), *Online-Angebot* ('online offer'), and *Online-Auftritt* ('online performance'). As an independent lexical item, *online* acts as an adverb of location:

- (22) *Schon mehr als 250 Millionen Menschen sind online, darunter 16 Millionen in Deutschland.* (11/106)  
[More than 250 million people are online, among them 16 million in Germany.]
- (23) *Viele Konzerne wollen aber ihre Markennamen online wie offline verteidigen.* (11/295)  
[A lot of big companies, however, want to defend their brand names online and offline.]

Example (23) shows *online* in opposition to its antonym *offline*. There is evidence that the use of the antonym is stylistically triggered since it allows the author to juxtapose two concepts on the same level of register and to frame this opposition in a phrase internal rhyme. A circumscription of the less frequent *offline* (TF 11) with a German phrase would blur the immediate contrast between the two. This stylistic function seems to be the reason for the first occurrence of *offline* in *Der Spiegel* in 1996:

- (24) *Wer es online nicht mag, kann sich offline bedienen...*  
(*Der Spiegel* 1996: 11/3)  
[Who does not prefer it (*Der Spiegel*) online, can also use it offline]

Sentence (24) shows that the well-established anglicism *online* (in 1996 *online* had a TF of 140) pulls its English antonym into written German. In this case, the stylistic pull is based on a combination of semantic and semiotic reasons. The antonymic relation between *offline* and *online* is supported by their word formal similarity, i.e. their end rhyme in German.

To conclude the comparison of the most frequent matches (cf. Figures 22 and 23) with a look at verbal anglicisms, it becomes evident that they show the same distribution in 2000 and in the period from 1994 to 1999. The most frequently used verb forms in 2000 are *filmen*,

*starten, startet, testen, getestet, startete, and trainiert*. This is a mirror image of the most frequent verb forms in the period from 1994 to 1999. Thus, the lemmas *filmen, starten, testen, and trainieren* are consistently the most frequently used verbal anglicisms. In general, this is indicative of the fact that verbs are more stable elements of the lexicon, i.e. less borrowable (cf. Chapter 3.4). According to Kluge's *Etymological Dictionary*, *filmen, starten, and trainieren* were already borrowed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century while *testen* first appeared in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Kluge 2002).

In sum, the overall numerical results of anglicisms in the German corpus of *Der Spiegel* show some interesting tendencies. While in 2000 the average occurrence of anglicisms per word type and word token, i.e. seven tokens and two types per page, appears to be quite modest, individual articles can have a higher number of anglicisms. This is due to the fact that anglicisms are not uniformly dispersed across the whole corpus but have a tendency to cluster according to topic and text-type (e.g. *Spiegel-Interview*).

The high rate of anglicisms that merely occur once in the corpus (71% of the types) and the dominance of hybrid forms (75.94% of the types) indicate the word formation productivity of anglicisms in the German language of *Der Spiegel*. If the anglicisms in 2000 are compared to previous years (from 1994 to 1999), almost half of the anglicisms recur during this period. From the ones that appear in 2000 and before, the vast majority (77%) recurs more than once, which is a reversal of the distribution of token frequency per type in 2000. This symbolizes an increased lexical persistence of the matching anglicisms in the period observed and establishes a core of lexically accepted anglicisms in German. A comparison of the most frequently used anglicisms in 2000 and from 1994 to 1999 shows a steady increase in their number of occurrences. The increase in token frequency is particularly evident in anglicisms relating to computer terminology. In general, the selected data of *Der Spiegel* from 1994 to 2000 support the hypothesis that the usage of anglicisms in German is on the rise.

## 8.2 Number of anglicisms according to word classes, word formation, and salient structural categories

From the total number of types of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000* (16,663), the anglicisms that occur three times and more often (2,767 types) were tagged according to their function in the German context. As discussed in Chapter 7.2, these anglicisms were marked with labels of word classes, of word formation patterns, and of the salient grammatical features of gender, genitive case, and plural.

As far as word classes are concerned, the structural hierarchy of borrowability (cf. Chapter 3.4) predicts that in a stable contact situation of RL agentivity, content words are borrowed more frequently than function words<sup>6</sup>. In general, borrowability depends on the syntactic potential of a borrowing in the RL. The higher the grammatical load of a part of speech in the RL, the smaller the chances are that this slot will be filled with a borrowed term. This assumption predicts that verbs as central projectors of theta-roles are less likely borrowed than nouns, which are syntactically dependent on verbal projections (cf. Myers-Scotton 2002). German verbs incorporate a variety of syntactic information in their surface phonological form such as person, number, tense, and mood, while nouns inflect for number, case, and partly for gender. Apart from the possessive-genitive case, case is mainly induced from verbal and prepositional projections. The different syntactic load of content items might generally influence the structure of the lexicon, in which nouns form the largest class of words. As names for concrete objects and abstract concepts, nouns can be combined with smaller sets of modifiers (e.g. adjectives) and set into agent-instrument-patient relations by a small inventory of verbs to construct an infinite number of utterances. These macro-linguistic arguments serve as an explanation for the number of anglicisms per word class.

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6 In a similar vein, Myers-Scotton postulates an order of contact-induced changes in borrowing and language attrition from content morphemes, to early system morphemes, to late system morphemes according to their structural entrenchment (2002: 206). Thus, content morphemes will be borrowed most easily, and among content morphemes nouns take precedence as thematic role receivers over verbs as thematic role assigners (2002: 240).

	<b>Types</b>	<b>Tokens</b>
<b>Nouns</b>	2,383	36,035
<b>Adjectives</b>	156	2,015
<b>Verbs</b>	152	2,066
<b>Adverbs</b>	28	566
<b>Other</b>	48	898

Figure 22: Number of anglicisms per word class of tagged anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*

The table shows that nominal anglicisms constitute by far the largest group. Nouns amount to 86.12% of a total of 2,767 types of tagged anglicisms. Adjectives and verbs break even with 5.64% and 5.49% respectively. Adverbial anglicisms occur least of all with merely 1.01%. Apart from the major word classes, a couple of interjections and a variety of function words occur in the corpus. While function words are tied to English syntactic units, which are mostly embedded in German as codeswitches and phrasal anglicisms, the interjections *okay*, *sorry*, *hey*, *wow*, *welcome*, *bye-bye*, *yes*, and *well* (in the order of token frequency) are also used as independent discourse markers in the German corpus:

- (25) *Als Ina den „Pont du Carrousel“ erreicht, ist der Blick frei zum Eiffelturm, und es packt sie der gewohnte Sekunden-Schauer, ein kurzer Glücksrausch, wenn sie denkt: „Hey – du bist in Paris – glaub es endlich – es ist Wirklichkeit – ganz normal.“* (40/34)  
 [When Ina reaches “Pont du Carrousel”, her view stretches across to the Eiffel Tower, and she feels this familiar momentary shiver, a brief flush of happiness, as she thinks: “Hey – you are in Paris – believe it – it is true – nothing special.”]
- (26) *„Hey, haltet die Schnauze“, ruft der bemützte Supervisor... (17/184)*  
 [“Hey, shut up”, shouted the hooded supervisor...]

- (27) *Und dann sahen wir diese Lederhosen und dachten: „Wow! Die brauchen wir!“* (37/144)  
 [And then we saw the lederhosen and thought: “Wow! We need these!”]
- (28) *Bevor Burger aus der Maschine stieg, rief er lachend: „Bye-bye und auf Wiedersehen.“* (2/128)  
 [Before Burger left the plane, he shouted happily: “Bye-bye and see you.”]

Among the English function words in the corpus, determiners (*a, the, this, that*) and pronouns (*you, it, what, we* to name but the most frequent ones) are particularly tied to codeswitches, whereas the majority of conjunctions (*and, but, or*) and prepositions (*of, for, on, by* – again the most frequent ones) occur in phrasal and compound anglicisms. The examples below provide a glimpse of the integration of function words in multi-word anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*.

- (29) *Bestückt sind sie mit fröhlichen Cindy-how-can-I-help-yous und freundlichen John-what-can-I-do-for-yous, die weder helfen können noch etwas tun.* (5/119)  
 [They are equipped with happy “Cindy-how-can-I-help-yous” and friendly “John-what-can-I-do-for-yous”, who can neither help nor do anything.]
- (30) *Den Republikanern gilt „Kyoto“ als eine Art Anschlag auf den „American Way of Life“.* (46/112)  
 [The Republicans consider “Kyoto” as an attack on the American way of life.]
- (31) *Beauty and brains sowie die fließende Beherrschung von neun Sprachen plus Kung Fu wird ersetzt durch Latex und altkluge Sprüche.* (13/130)  
 [Beauty and brains as well as fluency in nine languages and Kung Fu are substituted by latex and wisecracks.]
- (32) *Gorbatschow verglich er mit Goebbels und redete ansonsten die Staatsmänner weltweit mit „Du“ an: „You can say you to me!“ Bald hatte Kohl überall nur noch Freunde...* (5/215)  
 [He compared Gorbatschow with Goebbels and addressed political leaders worldwide with you (informal address in German): “You can say you to me!” Soon Kohl made friends everywhere...]
- (33) *Dräcker reüssierte dann in mehreren Vorträgen mit eigenen Sprachkreationen, etwa einem „She is better than her cry“ oder „He has one in the crown“.* (33/52)

[Dräcker then succeeded in various speeches with his own language creations such as “She is better than her cry” (she is better than her reputation) or “He has one in the crown” (he is drunk).]

- (34) *Ja. Die poetischen Skizzen zeigen ihn oft „at his best“...* (44/257)  
[Yes. The poetic sketches often show him at his best...]
- (35) *Was sehen Sie, wenn Sie von oben auf die The-Winner-Takes-It-All-Society schauen?* (18/102)  
[What can you see when you look down from above on the “The-Winner-Takes-It-All-Society”?]
- (36) *Der Return on investment sei beträchtlich...* (27/150)  
[The return on investment is considerable...]
- (37) *Auf den Feuilleton-Aufmacherseiten von „Süddeutscher Zeitung“, „Welt“ oder „Berliner Zeitung“ herrschte vergangene Woche Business as usual...* (24/106)  
[The front pages of “Süddeutscher Zeitung”, “Welt”, or “Berliner Zeitung” showed business as usual last week...]

In some of these examples English phrases are transformed into multi-word compounds. Their status as compounds is marked by the inflection of the word final element in *Cindy-how-can-I-help-yous* and in *John-what-can-I-do-for-yous*, in which *yous* carries the grammatical information of plural even though the semantic head is represented by its first element *Cindy* and *John* respectively. The compounds exploit the stereotype of American telephone service personnel, who act friendly but are unable to help. Similarly, the item *The-Winner-Takes-It-All-Society* syntactically behaves as a compound noun. Preceding the multi-word compound, the definite article *die* marks the feminine gender (accusative case) of the compound head noun *Society*. Furthermore, the German article undermines any syntactic relevance of the English determiner *the*. Instead, *the* is part of the phrasal determinant *The-Winner-Takes-It-All*.

By contrast, the multi-word anglicisms *at his best*, *Return on investment*, and *Business as usual* represent phrasal units in German. In (34) the English elements fill the same syntactic slots as their would-be translational equivalents (‘von seiner besten Seite’). The same is true in examples (36) and (37), where the English head is post-modified by a prepositional phrase and a comparative construction in line with the morpheme order of German. However, it is also possible to regard these insertions as lexicalized phrases, i.e. as single syntactic elements. Inflectional behaviour of the multi-word segments could offer more

conclusive evidence in this case. If plural inflection shows on the last word of a phrase (e.g. *\*Return on investments*), the construction becomes interpretable as a single unit. On the other hand, if plural inflection appears on the semantic head of the phrase (e.g. *\*Returns on investment*), its phrasal character is retained.

Examples (32) and (33) are further instances of “Filser-Englisch”, which serves as a stylistic means of ridiculing the English spoken by German politicians. As mentioned above, “Filser-Englisch” is frequently based on a word by word translation of German into English. This method creates a humorous effect based on bad English syntax and lexical confusion. In (33) the funny turns arise from a lack of semantic equivalence of G. *Ruf* and E. *cry* for the intended meaning of ‘reputation’ and from a literal translation of a German idiom into English. Pragmatic factors are responsible for the amusing outcome in (32). In this case the lack of the distinction between formal and informal address in English personal pronouns is made palpable by a literal translation of the German phrase *Sie können du zu mir sagen* [‘You (formal pronominal) can say you (informal pronominal) to me’] as supposedly attempted by former German chancellor Kohl. Overall, the examples show that despite their appearance as ungrammatical English, readers need to have a sound knowledge of German and English to fully enjoy the humoristic implications of “Filser Englisch”.

Coming back to the numerical analysis of the major word classes (cf. Figure 22), content anglicisms exhibit various types of word formation structures. More than half of all the nominal anglicisms of the tagged portion of the corpus are hybrid compound nouns (1,263 types or 53.00%). This proportion is considerably smaller than the rate of hybrid anglicisms among single-instance anglicisms in the corpus (83.97%). In general, the increase in the rate of hybrid forms is inversely related to the token frequency of an anglicism. This underlines the fact that hybrid formation is the major process of lexical innovation with nominal anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*. To a minor extent, hybrid formation can also create verbal and adjectival anglicisms as in *durchgecheckt* (‘checked through’), *stressfrei* (‘stress free’), and *durchtrainierte* (‘well trained’).

Apart from hybrid compounds, the formation of compound noun anglicisms, derivations, abbreviations, clippings, and blends happens on a comparably small scale. Compound anglicisms can appear either as pseudo anglicisms, as in *Tuning-Hardliner*, *Powergirl*, and *Pullunder* or as combinations following an English model whose elements are also used as individual anglicisms in German, as in *Quizshows*, *Stardesigner*, *Top-Event*, *Internet-Software*, and *Cocktailparty*. Derived

forms are infrequent among the tagged anglicisms. Merely a few dozen derivations are scattered across the major word classes, as in the noun *Verfilmung* ('filmed version', *Ver-film-ung*), which is derived from the complex verb form *verfilmen* ('to make a film'). Further examples are the nominal derivation *Managerin* (noun stem *manager* + feminine suffix *-in*) and the adjectival derivation *uncool* (negative prefix *un-* + adjective stem *cool*), which is based on a replacement of the English equivalent prefix *un-* [ʌn] with German *un-* [ʊn].

Fifty-one abbreviated nominal anglicisms (including acronyms) appear more than three times in 2000. The abbreviations almost exclusively follow English models, and the overwhelming majority is combined with German bases to form hybrid nouns, as in *CD-Werk* ('CD factory'), *PR-Arbeit* ('PR job'), *PC-Markt* ('PC market'), *Doppel-CD* ('double CD'), and *Gratis-PR* ('free PR'). The most frequent abbreviations in 2000 are *PC*, *CD*, *LASER*, *SMS*, *GPS*, *Mr.*, *PR*, and *DJ*. The abbreviated form of address (*Mr.*) stands out from the bulk of technological abbreviations. *Mr.* creates a metonymical reference (PART FOR WHOLE) between a certain trait of character, personal achievement, or area of speciality and the person as a whole. Applied to an inanimate entity, *Mr.* personifies this entity and turns it into the central characteristic of a person, who becomes an archetype of the respective trait or achievement.

- (38) *Selbst Vodafone-Chef Chris Gent, bisher als Mr. Shareholder-Value gefeiert...* (20/93)  
[Even Vodafone boss Chris Gent, so far celebrated as "Mr. Shareholder-Value"...]
- (39) *In seiner Zeit als Mr. Privatfernsehen hatte Helmut Thoma ein Lieblingsthema...* (32/84)  
[During his time as "Mr. Private-TV", Helmut Thoma had a favourite topic...]
- (40) *Am 31. März hatte der Fonds von Ochner, der gern als „Mr. Neuer Markt“ bezeichnet wird...* (48/107)  
[On March 31 the fund of Ochner, who is frequently referred to as "Mr. New Market"...]
- (41) *Darin beanspruchte der Niederländer den Titel Mr. Euro allein für sich...* (21/195)  
[For that the Dutchman claimed the title "Mr. Euro" for himself...]
- (42) *Shawn ist Mr. Nice Guy, er muss so etwas sagen.* (9/226)  
[Shawn is "Mr. Nice Guy". He has to say something like that.]

In (39) and (40) *Mr.* is combined with German lexical elements, indicating that the form of address is used autonomously in German. Further evidence is provided by its unabbreviated variant *Mister*, which functions in the same way in a variety of combinations such as *Mister 60 Prozent* ('Mister 60 percent') *Mister Tausend Volt* ('Mister 1000 volts'), *Mister Cool*, and *Mister Dot.com*. The forms *Mr./Mister* are also used in combination with English lexical items as in (38) and (42), which could be direct copies from English models. It is likely that the productive usage of *Mr.* and *Mister* in German has initially evolved from the integration of English models.

In terms of frequency, clippings and blends play a marginal role among the tagged anglicisms (TF 3+) in *Der Spiegel 2000*. The most prominent clipping is *Profi* (→ professional), which also occurs in a number of hybrid constructions as in *Fußballprofi* ('soccer professional'), *Radprofi* ('cycling professional'), *Medienprofi* ('media expert'), and *Börsenprofi* ('stock market expert'). The last two examples show that the clipped form *Profi* has extended its meaning in German to denote an expert in general. Semantic extension and concise word form turn *Profi* into a popular candidate for compound constructions (74 types of *Profi*-compounds in the corpus). Further common clippings are *Skin* (→ skinhead), *Rolls* (→ Rolls Royce), and *Twen* (→ twenty). A couple of terms relating to the Internet appear as clippings in German: *Web* (→ World Wide Web), *Mail* (→ E-mail), *Site* (→ website), and *Net* (→ Internet). However, these contracted forms are also commonly used in English (cf. *MW Online*) so that the process probably took place in English first and the clippings were then imported into the German lexicon. Similarly, the three blends which occur among the tagged anglicisms, *Workaholic* (→ work + alcoholic), *Yettie* (→ yuppie + net), and *Bollywood* (→ Bombay + Hollywood), entered German as borrowings from English.

As far as the grammatical integration of nominal anglicisms in German is concerned, gender selection, plural formation, and partly also case inflection constitute the main paradigms of variation. Several studies have addressed the question of gender assignment in loanwords. They have come to the similar conclusion that the gender of anglicisms in German is largely determined by semantic equivalence and by morpho-phonological analogies (cf. Carstensen 1980, Gregor 1983, Jablonski 1990, Nettmann-Multanowska 2003, Yang 1990). Steinmetz (1985, 1986, 2001) has advanced a theory of gender assignment in German based on an underlying default hierarchy of masculine > feminine > neuter. Rice (2006) has recently integrated this approach into the framework of optimality theory. These approaches will be

discussed in depth with the segment of gender tagged anglicisms of *Der Spiegel 2000* in Chapter 9.1. At this stage, the quantitative results are presented in order to be able to compare the numerical distribution of gender in anglicisms with the results of other studies.

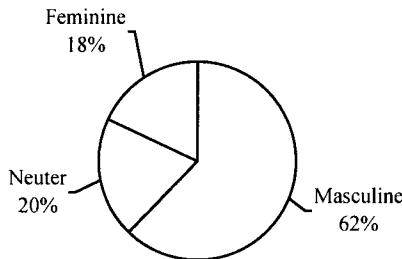


Figure 23: Distribution of grammatical gender among tagged nominal anglicisms

The illustration shows that the majority of the tagged nominal anglicisms which are marked for gender in *Der Spiegel 2000* (1,017 types) are masculine (633 types). Neuter nouns (201 types) precede feminine nouns (183 types) by a narrow margin. On first sight this result seems to conform to studies by Carstensen (1980: 41), Fink (1968: 463), Glahn (2002: 165), Plümer (2000: 190), and Yang (1990: 157), who report that masculine anglicisms dominate by far in their respective corpora. By contrast, Viereck K. notes that feminine gender is most frequent in her corpus of anglicisms (1980: 230).

In his monograph on the gender of English loanwords in German, Gregor argues against assertions of a “masculine tendency” of anglicisms in German. According to his analysis, there is no rule which would presuppose preference of the masculine gender. Instead, the results of gender assignment are tied to the respective corpus (1983: 62). However, from a quantitative point of view, Gregor’s argument about random influences on the numerical distribution of gender loses its validity as the size of the analyzed corpus increases. The number of types and tokens in *Der Spiegel 2000* seems sufficiently big to draw an adequate quantitative picture of how the gender of anglicisms is distributed in German. In fact, the results in Figure 23 reflect Stein-

metz' hypothesis of masculine gender as the default gender in the absence of gender specific rules (cf. Chapter 9.1).

This tendency is confirmed when morphological interference on gender assignment is reduced, i.e. when the gender of monosyllabic anglicisms is compared. Thus, of a total of 143 types of monosyllabic anglicisms, 66.90% are masculine, 17.61% are feminine, and 15.49% are neuter nouns. As far as all of the gender tagged anglicisms are concerned, the prevalence of certain morphological patterns as well as the lexical popularity of certain types of anglicisms further explain the dominance of masculine gender in the corpus. Among the masculine anglicisms, for example, *Manager* determines the gender of 53 compound nouns, followed by *Film* (38 compounds), *Star* (27 compounds), *Club* (18 compounds), *Test* (16 compounds), *Boom* (14 compounds), *Computer*, and *Start* (9 compounds each). By contrast, the most productive feminine anglicisms are *Show* (28 compounds), *Software* (6 compounds), *Party* (5 compounds), and *Story* (4 compounds). Similarly, the most common neuter anglicisms *Team* and *Interview* merely produce 14 and 5 compounds respectively.

Apart from this lexical reason, the dominance of the masculine gender is also based on morphological grounds. The agentive suffix *-er*, which has similar functions in English and German, marks masculine gender in German. In the tagged corpus all the anglicisms bearing the agentive suffix take masculine gender. This is a total of 207 types or almost a third of all the masculine nouns. No other suffix shows such a strong influence on the quantity of grammatical gender. By comparison, the suffixes *-ment* and *-ing* trigger neuter gender in 18 and 35 instances, while the common feminine terminal shape *-C[I]* defines 32 types, *-in* marks 14 feminine anglicisms, *-ness* six and *-(t)ion* four feminine types. The suffix analogy of *-er* between English and German might also increase the borrowability of English agentive nouns in general since they conform to default agentive marking in German. So, the anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000* indicate that, apart from the default hierarchy as proposed by Steinmetz, the dominance of masculine anglicisms is tied to suffix analogy between the English and the German agentive suffix *-er* and is supported by the fact that the most productive borrowed bases are masculine nouns.

Plural formation provides another interesting morphological perspective on the integration of anglicisms in German. Among the five major types of plural morphs in German, anglicisms mostly take the *-s* plural, which reflects their English plural forms. This has led to the belief that the *-s* plural suffix of anglicisms in German is a kind of a package deal borrowing from English (cf. among others Allenbacher

1999, Busse 1993, Carstensen 1981b, Glahn 2002, Görlich 2002b, and Schelper 1995). Indeed, the frequent use of *-s* plural with anglicisms stands in opposition to the common distribution of plural morphemes in non-anglicism German nouns, ninety percent of which form their plural either by *-e* or zero ( $\emptyset$ ) suffixation (Duden 1998: 223). However, as mentioned earlier, Pinker (2000), Marcus et. al. (1995), and Bartke et. al. (2005) provide evidence that *-s* plural suffixation is in fact the regular and underlying morphological process of plural formation in German (cf. Chapter 9.2 for a detailed discussion). The following figure provides an overview of the frequency of plural morphemes for tagged anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*.

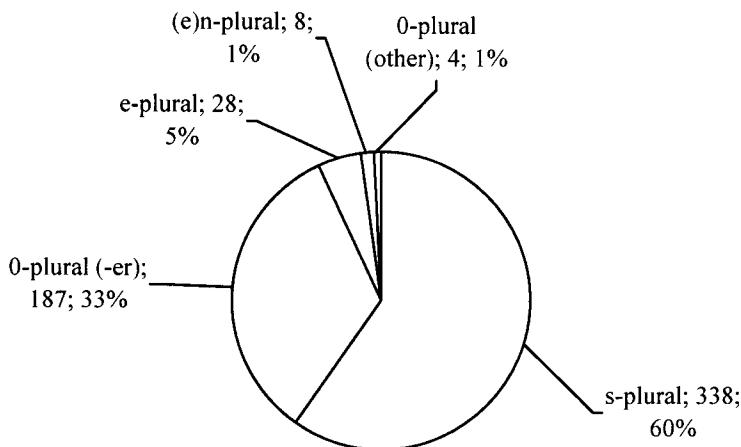


Figure 24: Frequency of plural suffixes of tagged anglicisms

From the tagged anglicisms in the corpus, 603 types are used in the plural. Leaving aside accusative and dative plural forms, the remaining 565 types are unevenly distributed across the German plural paradigms. Plural *-s* accounts for 60% of plural anglicisms, followed by 33% of  $\emptyset$  plural suffixation of anglicisms ending in *-er*, 5% *-e* suffixation, and marginal occurrences of *-(e)n* plural and other  $\emptyset$  plural marking. Since all the instances of plural forms ending in *-er* are actually based on  $\emptyset$

pluralization of agentive nouns in *-er*, the overt *-er* plural morpheme (cf. G. *Bild* sg. → *Bilder* pl.) does not appear as a plural marker of anglicisms in the corpus.

The usually more common German plural markers *-e*, Ø, and *-(e)n* only account for a few plural anglicisms: *Filme*, *Sketche*, *Bosse*, *Boykotte*, and *Remixe*, which are the only *-e* plural anglicisms in the tagged corpus. Due to their usage as heads in compound nouns, these five types make up a total of 28 types of *-e* plural anglicisms. The plural forms *Farmen*, *Lobbyisten*, *Interviewten*, and *Boxen* represent the only instances of *-(e)n* plural suffixation. Zero-plural inflection occurs in *PC*, *Gentlemen*, *Doormen*, and *SMS*. Interestingly, *Gentlemen* (TF 11) and *Doormen* (TF 5) retain their English plurals in German.

- (43) *Chris Layne hat vorsichtshalber zwei Gentlemen aus seinem Büro nach Sydney geschickt.* (38/267)  
[As a precaution, Chris Layne has sent two gentlemen from his office to Sydney.]
- (44) *...Small Talk englischer Gentlemen, ausgeruhte Konversation in ganzen Sätzen...* (51/199)  
[...small talk of English gentlemen, relaxed conversation in full sentences...]
- (45) *Wo in Berlin Star-Architekten Luxuswohnungen bauen, da hält auch eine – als amerikanisch geltende – fürsorgliche Belagerung Einzug, das sogenannte Doorman-Konzept. Doormen (die auch Frauen sein können, doch für sie gibt es noch keinen neu-deutschen Begriff)...* (49/170)  
[Where star architects build luxury apartments in Berlin, there also arises a supposedly American type of concern, the so-called doorman-principle. Doormen (who can also be women, but they still lack a New-German name)...]

In (43), (44), and (45), the English plural forms occur in the context of general reference to English-speaking cultures. This thematic link could stimulate the preservation of the irregular English plural form *-men* in German. From the perspective of the German plural paradigms, the hypercorrect English plural is marked in its syntactic environment. In (43) *Gentlemen* is preceded by a numeral, and in (44) adjectival agreement marks the noun as plural. In (45) the plural of *Doormen* is post-determined by the use of plural inflections in its modifying clause.

The abbreviations *PC* and *SMS* defy plural suffixation. Since *SMS* already ends in an alveolar fricative [s], plural *-s* might be phonologically blocked as it demands the insertion of a filler vowel [e, ə]. Abbreviations such as *CD-Rom* and *VIP*, however, take *-s* plural

and appear as *CD-Roms* and *VIPs* respectively. A tentative explanation of this difference might relate to the distinction between abbreviations and acronyms. While abbreviations are usually spelled out letter by letter, acronyms are phonologically realized as one word. Thus, the latter seem more prone to plural suffixation. This hypothesis, however, does not exist without exceptions. Even the form *VIPs* violates this assumption. *VIPs* is realized in spoken German both as an abbreviation [vi: ai: pi:s], with level or final stress, or as an acronym [vips].

The last issue briefly mentioned in this chapter concerns genitive case inflection of anglicisms in German. Genitive is the only case paradigm which shows some inflectional variation with nominal anglicisms. In the default scenario, the genitive case is marked by the suffix *-(e)s*<sup>7</sup>, which is attached to the root of masculine and neuter nouns, as in *Houses* ('house'; genitive), *Spiel(e)s* ('game'; genitive), and *Bodens* ('floor'; genitive). The majority of neuter and masculine anglicisms also conform to that pattern. From a total of 182 genitive anglicisms in the tagged corpus, 72% are regularly marked for genitive case, as in *Images*, *Bosses*, *Meetings*, and *Comebacks*. On the other hand, a considerable number of anglicisms (28%) resist genitive inflection on the root and function as zero-marked genitive nouns in German, such as *Cyberspace*, *Web*, *Underdog*, and *Recycling*. A detailed look at the morphological grounds for resistance to genitive marking and for patterns of plural formation of anglicisms will be given in Chapter 9.2.2. At this point the study continues with a comparison of the quantitative results of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000* with earlier studies on press corpora. This should contribute to the discussion of whether or not the numerical impact of anglicisms in German is on the rise, as is often presupposed.

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7 A few weak masculine nouns take *-en* instead (e.g. *des Menschen* 'man' +genitive).

### 8.3 Increasing numbers of anglicisms in German?

A variety of studies have tried to show the quantitative impact of English terms in German press publications. Their results, however, exhibit extensive fluctuation. Carstensen finds two anglicisms per page in his selection of newspapers and magazines (1979: 321, in Yang 1990: 27). Fink notes an average of four anglicisms per page in a variety of national German newspapers in 1963 (Fink 1968: 452). Meyer's analysis of two other German newspapers (*Wiesbadener Kurier* and *Mainzer Allgemeine Zeitung*) yields 14 anglicisms per page in 1972. Karin Viereck registers about 25 anglicisms per page in the newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in 1974. More recent studies also show diverging numbers. Yang on average finds three anglicisms (tokens) per page in his corpus of *Der Spiegel* (1990: 27). While Schelpner determines between 39 and 44 anglicisms per page in a corpus of four German newspapers from Austria, Germany, and Switzerland (1995: 128), Lee calculates between four and six types of anglicisms per page in East German newspapers (1996: 30).

These diverging numbers are not only due to the fact that different newspapers and magazines were the subject of analysis and that it is sometimes unclear whether the figures represent type or token frequencies. They also, and perhaps most of all, depend on the definition of the term anglicism. Schelpner, for example, includes conceptual transmissions without SL-form while other researchers take a primarily formal approach and exclude conceptual transmissions without SL-form (cf. Yang 1990, Langer 1996). Furthermore, the number of anglicisms per page is a vague value as the average number of words per page can differ considerably among different newspapers and magazines. Comparisons are only feasible if the number of words per page is known to be similar or if the number of anglicisms can be set in relation to the total number of words. Thus, the above-mentioned studies are largely self-contained and unsuitable for cross-study comparisons of the number of anglicisms in German. Within their own confines, however, Yang (1990), Schelpner (1995), and Lee (1996) conclude that the number of anglicisms increases throughout their periods of observation.

Lee notes a rise in the average number of types of anglicisms per page from 1988 (4.77) to 1992 (6.14) concomitant with the end of the GDR regime (1996: 30). Schelpner's corpus of one Austrian, one Swiss, and two German newspapers includes the analysis of one page per thematic category (politics, economics, feature pages and sports) in each first issue per year from 1949 to 1989 (1995: 37). Although the

total number of types per newspaper varies from year to year, an overall increase in the number of anglicisms is evident in the different newspapers. The Austrian newspaper *Die Presse*, for example, contains 123 types of anglicisms in 1949 and 210 types in 1989 (1995: 129). A tendency towards increasing numbers of anglicisms in the recent history of German is also reflected in *Der Spiegel*, which shows an increase in the token frequency of commonly used anglicisms from 12,725 in 1994 to 19,965 in 2000 (cf. Figure 20).

Apart from that, part of the quantitative results of *Der Spiegel 2000* can be tentatively compared with Plümer's study on anglicisms in German and French press publications (2000) and with Langer's study on anglicisms in the German press (1996). Plümer's German part of the corpus consists of the daily collection of pages devoted to politics in two German newspapers (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*) and of the daily newscast on ZDF (*Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen*) from April 19, 1993, to May 14, 1993 (2000: 4-5). Overall, her corpus yields 3102 anglicisms (tokens), which amount to 0.602% of the total number of words (2000: 126). By contrast, *Der Spiegel 2000* shows a higher rate with 1.11% of anglicisms (tokens) in relation to the total number of words. This difference is magnified by the fact that Plümer also includes conceptual transmissions without SL-form, which are not considered anglicisms according to the theoretical framework of this study. However, the low ratio of anglicisms in Plümer compared to *Der Spiegel 2000* might be explicable on thematic grounds. While Plümer focuses on political texts only, the analysis of *Der Spiegel 2000* also encompasses other topics which are likely to include anglicisms such as business and financial matters, computer and information technology, fashion, lifestyle, and sports.

In terms of word classes and gender distribution, Plümer's findings display minor differences to the results in *Der Spiegel*. In her study, 93% of the anglicisms are nouns, followed by 4% adjectives, 2% verbs and by 1% of other word classes (2000: 142). Similarly, 86.12% of the anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000* are nouns, 5.64% are adjectives, and 5.49% are verbs. The higher rate of verbal anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* probably indicates the creative use of English verb stems in less traditional fields than politics, such as information and computer technology, e.g., *chatten*, *scannen*, *surfen*<sup>8</sup>, *einloggen*, *downloaden*, and *mailen*.

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8 The verbal angicism *surfen* first occurred in German to denote the sports of wind-surfing and surfing. The metaphorical image of surfing the Web is based on two

The gender distribution of nominal anglicisms is even more similar in the two studies. Plümer finds 62.6% masculine, 21.3% neuter, and 16.1% feminine anglicisms. The data in *Der Spiegel 2000* contain 62% masculine, 20% neuter, and 18% feminine nouns. It would be interesting to cross-check whether the same lexical restrictions that influence the prevalence of the masculine gender in the corpus of *Der Spiegel 2000* are also evident in Plümer's data. Most likely this will indeed be the case since the more commonly used anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000* also appear to be most accepted in the German language in general. Furthermore, the frequent occurrence of the agentive suffix *-er* and its close connection to masculine gender is a general characteristic of the German language.

The quantitative results of Langer's study (1996: 35) allow for a limited comparison with the data in *Der Spiegel 2000*. Her corpus consists of four issues of two different business magazines (*Capital* and *DM*) from the first half of the nineties. As in the present study of *Der Spiegel 2000*, Langer excludes advertisements, conceptual transmissions without SL-form, and English proper nouns. Her corpus contains a total of 2,122 anglicisms (tokens), which is 1.24% of the total number of words. That is slightly higher than 1.11% in *Der Spiegel 2000*. These results indicate that compared to politics (cf. Plümer 2000), business and financial matters seem to yield a higher number of anglicisms in German while the corpus of *Der Spiegel 2000*, which encompasses all these fields, establishes a rate of anglicisms in between Plümer's and Langer's results. In terms of corpus volume and thematic diversity, the quantitative results in *Der Spiegel 2000* have a higher relevance for the use of anglicisms in German than either Plümer's or Langer's study.

From the plethora of quantitative research on anglicisms in German, the study by Yang (1990) on anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* is suitable for a close comparison with the current attempt of quantifying the impact of English on German. Yang analyzed 24 issues (six issues each of the years 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980), which amounts to a corpus size of 3,350 pages (Yang 1990: 4). This is a little less than half of the corpus size of the present study (8,621 pages). Besides the fact that Yang's study allows for the comparison of a homogenous corpus, i.e. different years of the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*, his work also provides a diachronic cross section of the quantity of anglicisms in

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projections of its source domain: 1) rapid physical movement characterized by frequent change of directions and 2) the vast medium in which the movement is contained, i.e. only a minuscule portion of the medium is affected. In German, the anglicism *surfen* is used in its original meaning and its metaphorical extension of surfing the Internet.

*Der Spiegel* from 1950 to 1980. Thus, a comparison of his data with the year 2000 is feasible in order to investigate whether or not the number of anglicisms in German is increasing. Before Yang's results are compared to the present study, the factors that determine the comparability of the corpora need to be discussed.

Yang does not include conceptual transmissions without SL-form. He also excludes proper names of any kind (e.g. geographical and institutional names), titles of English books and films, and English quotations. Compounds of one or more English terms are counted as one word (1990: 25-26). These restrictions also apply to the data elicitation of this study with the exception of codeswitching (cf. Chapter 7.2). Since anglicisms from English quotations are not registered in Yang, codeswitching is probably not reflected in the results of his study. This would mean that a higher rate of anglicisms in 2000 could be explained by a surplus of anglicisms found within codeswitches.

However, Yang includes a variety of borderline anglicisms that are not rated as anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*. Overall, 43 of the 204 most frequent anglicisms in Yang's study (TF 10+) are not regarded as anglicisms in the present sense as they are either part of the excluded borderline anglicisms (cf. list of borderline anglicisms, Chapter 7.2) or do not cohere to the criteria of definition as portrayed in Figure 14 (Chapter 6.3). Among these are terms such as *Konzern*, *Partner*, *Video*, *Export*, *Parlament*, and *Komfort*, which account for 1,411 tokens in Yang's corpus (1990: 36-37). By contrast, anglicisms as part of codeswitches in *Der Spiegel 2000* have a low token frequency. So, the inclusion of codeswitching in 2000 is numerically overruled by the exclusion of borderline anglicisms, and the calculation of token frequency actually follows a more conservative line in *Der Spiegel 2000*. This would strengthen the hypothesis of the increase in the number of anglicisms over time if indeed higher numbers of anglicisms than in Yang's study were reported for *Der Spiegel 2000*.

A further major difference between Yang's study and the present one is that Yang includes anglicisms in advertisements. In fact, with 28.2% of the total number of anglicisms, advertisements make up the largest share in Yang's corpus (1990: 34). Overall, Yang finds 10,070 anglicisms (tokens) on 3,350 pages. For statistical representation, Yang applies the value of the number of anglicisms per page instead of providing the relation of number of anglicisms to the total number of words. He calculates 605 words as the average number of words per article page in his corpus (1990: 33), which is close to 603.5 words as the average number of words per *Spiegel*-page in 2000. So, a com-

parison of the two studies is feasible on the basis of the ratio of anglicisms per article page excluding advertisements. If the share of advertisements is deducted from Yang's data, the total remains at 7,230 anglicisms (tokens) on 1,646 article pages. Table 6 shows the number of tokens, the number of pages, and the ratio of tokens per page and per year according to Yang's data with the exclusion of advertisements.

Year	1950	1960	1970	1980	Total
Anglicisms (tokens)	621	872	2,459	3,278	7,230
Number of pages	212	252	519	663	1,646
Anglicisms per page	2.93	3.46	4.74	4.94	4.39

Table 6: Number of anglicisms (tokens) per *Spiegel*-page in Yang's study for 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 without advertisements (calculated from Yang 1990: 35-36)

The data show that the total number of anglicisms and the number of anglicisms per article page in *Der Spiegel* constantly increased from 1950 to 1980. By comparison, *Der Spiegel 2000* on average contains 6.65 anglicisms (tokens) per article page. This is considerably higher than Yang's count for 1980 and confirms the tendency that the number of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* has constantly increased since the foundation of the magazine. While in 1950, on average every 207<sup>th</sup> word was an angicism, the occurrence of anglicisms has risen to about every 122<sup>nd</sup> word in 1980 and up to an average of every 91<sup>st</sup> word in 2000.

A comparison of the most frequent anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000* with Yang's list indicates that the overall rise in the number of anglicisms from 1980 to 2000 is closely connected with innovations in the computer and communication industry. The list of the most frequent anglicisms in 2000 contains 14 terms (including derivations) from this field which entered the German language after 1980, among them the most frequent angicism in 2000, *Internet*. The other anglicisms in order of token frequency are *online*, *Handy/Handys*, *E-mail/E-mails*, *CD*, *Web*, *Cyberspace*, *E-Commerce*, *Homepage*, *PC*, *Website*, *Chips*, and *CD-Rom*. Apart from these neologisms, the anglicisms *Deal*, *cool*,

*Kids*, *Card*, and *Holding* do not appear in Yang's list of anglicisms with a token frequency of more than ten.

The majority of the 100 most frequent anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000* are also mentioned among Yang's frequent anglicisms. This indicates that the overall increase of anglicisms in 2000 is also tied to the higher token frequency of an individual anglicism, i.e. frequent anglicisms tend to recur at a higher rate in *Der Spiegel 2000*. A comparison of the type-token ratios (TTR) of Yang's corpus (36.21%) with the year 2000 (28.98%) supports this claim as the percentages translate into an average TF of 2.76 in Yang while *Der Spiegel 2000* shows a higher average TF per anglicism with 3.45. To sum up, there is evidence that the number of anglicisms in the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* has increased from 1950 to 2000 with a particular leap in the period from 1980 to 2000. This increase is not only connected to new importations particularly in the field of computer and communication technology, but it is also based on a rise of the individual token frequency of lexically accepted anglicisms over time.

This chapter has depicted the quantitative impact of anglicisms in the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel 2000*. Judging from the total figures, a considerable number of anglicisms appear in the German language of *Der Spiegel 2000*. In relation to the total numbers of types and tokens, however, the numerical influence of English elements in the corpus is in fact a marginal phenomenon contrary to popular fears that a flood of anglicisms is undermining the German language. A comparison of the most frequent matching anglicisms from the year 2000 and the period from 1994 to 1999 shows an increase in the token frequency of about 57% between 1994 and 2000. Further indications for a general trend of increasing numbers of anglicisms in German are provided by a comparison with other studies, particularly with Yang's diachronic cross-section of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel*.

The detailed numerical depiction of the whole and of the tagged part of the corpus has unveiled some interesting patterns concerning the use and the integration of anglicisms in the German language. In terms of lexical productivity, the high rate of single-instance anglicisms (71%) and complex constructions (75.93%) calls for an analysis of compound anglicisms, hybrid forms, and pseudo anglicisms. Apart from word formation, the inflectional integration of anglicisms is dependent on gender selection and shows variation across paradigms of pluralization and genitive case assignment. Despite small numbers, verbal and adjectival anglicisms offer a view on the morphological integration of anglicisms into inflectional paradigms of German.

From a functional perspective, English codeswitching and the question of co-textual and contextual triggering hint at the stylistic functions of anglicisms in German (e.g. “Filser-Englisch”). This also evokes semantic implications of anglicisms in German and leads to questions of metaphorical usage and semantic changes of anglicisms on a cline from denotation to connotation and from semantic specificity to semantic opacity. Some of these questions will be dealt with in the analysis of Part III. The analysis will primarily focus on the morphological integration of anglicisms, their patterns of lexical productivity, and on written codeswitching in *Der Spiegel 2000*.

## **PART III**

### **Types and Integration of Anglicisms: Structural Patterns, Word Formation Productivity, and Codeswitching**

## **Overview – Convergence and divergence of anglicisms**

Part III presents the qualitative corpus analysis of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*. As indicated by the numerical results in the previous part, a variety of issues call for additional investigation in order to be able to draw a comprehensive picture of how anglicisms are integrated in German today. Due to the lack of grammatical gender in English, gender assignment is a salient feature of nominal anglicisms in German. Plural morphemization and genitive case inflection represent further nominal paradigms which allow for a discussion of inflectional patterns of anglicisms. These topics are analyzed first in Chapter 9.

Chapter 10 continues with an exploration of the productive usages of nominal anglicisms as hybrid forms, phrasal compounds, pseudo anglicisms, and as derivations and other types of word formation. The sections on verbal, adjectival, and adverbial anglicisms illuminate inflectional patterns, (semantic) types, and word formation aspects. A range of examples provide a perspective on how anglicisms converge to and diverge from German morphological conventions.

In the final chapter, the scope of analysis is shifted towards the level of English syntactic units, which are embedded in German matrix clauses as codeswitches and phrasal anglicisms. Of particular interest are questions pertaining to triggering, syntactic integration, and stylistic functions of English phrases in German. Altogether, Part III offers a detailed account on the role of anglicisms in a specific genre of Standard German. As such, it can serve as a substantial platform for further research and as a solid reference for a factual debate about the influence of English on German.

## **9. Salient morphological features of nominal anglicisms: gender, plural, and genitive case**

Among the diverse nodes of contact between anglicisms and the German morphological system, grammatical gender, plural formation, and genitive case inflection constitute the most striking paradigms in terms of the integration of nominal anglicisms in German. Since gender is inherent in German but not represented in English nouns, gender assignment to anglicisms follows German conventions of gender selection. The equivalent function but unequal distribution of *-s* as a plural marker in English and German evokes the question whether *-s* is a borrowed or an inherently assigned plural suffix of anglicisms.

As the only case that is marked on singular noun stems, genitive bears the potential for inflectional variation. Indeed, the substantial number of anglicisms which defy genitive marking call for an analysis of the reasons for zero inflection. The fact that English terms enter as novelties into these morphological paradigms allows for an investigation of underlying rules and patterns of the German morphological system.

### **9.1 Gender assignment<sup>1</sup>**

As introduced in Chapter 8.2, the question of gender assignment of anglicisms in German has stirred a fair amount of attention. This is not surprising since gender is not a structural feature of English. As a grammatical category of German, however, gender is an epiphenomenon of the morphological integration of anglicisms. As such it offers the possibility to investigate principles of gender assignment for the German gender classes of masculine, feminine, and neuter.

Despite the widespread acknowledgement of certain semantic, morphological, and phonological rules of gender assignment (cf. Köpcke 1982, Gregor 1983), the issue of gender attribution has often been regarded as riddled with exceptions and idiosyncrasies which render gender predictions impossible across the German lexicon. To quote Duden's words:

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1 As the basis of a cognitive approach to gender assignment of anglicisms, the findings in this chapter also appear in Onysko, Alexander. 2006. "Gender Assignment of Anglicisms in German." *Interdisciplinary Journal of Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis (IJGLSA)* 11:2, 163-93.

Grundsätzlich gesehen, gibt es kein System von Regeln, nach dem man das Genus der Substantive in jedem einzelnen Fall mit voller Sicherheit bestimmen kann. (1998: 198)

[Basically, there is no system of rules according to which the gender of nouns can be definitely ascertained in every single case.]

Accordingly, research on the gender of anglicisms in German has been characterized by listings of a variety of rules with examples and exceptions, as in the following adaptation of Yang (1990: 152-58), who draws on Carstensen (1980a) and Schlick (1984). The examples are provided from the corpus of *Der Spiegel 2000*:

1. Biological gender: Male or female persons take the respective masculine and feminine gender, e.g. *die(f.) Lady, der(m.) Gentleman, der Cowboy, der Dandy, die Queen, der Doorman, die Mom, der Sonnyboy*.
2. Lexical (semantic) analogy: Translational equivalence and semantic relations to German terms influence gender assignment, e.g. *der Essay* (G. *der Aufsatz*), *der Fan* (G. *der Anhänger*), *die Economy* (G. *die Wirtschaft*), *die Comedy*, (G. *die Komödie*), *der Trash* (G. *der Müll*), *das(nt.) Business* (G. *das Geschäft*), but *der Level* (G. *die Stufe, das Niveau*), *das Team* (G. *die Mannschaft*), *das Comeback* (G. *die Rückkehr*), *das College* (G. *die Universität*), *das Ticket* (G. *der Fahrschein*), *die Farm* (G. *der Bauernhof*),...
3. Semantic field analogy: Certain semantic fields are characterized by a specific gender, e.g. masculine gender for names of seasons, months, days, and for names of rocks; feminine gender for many floral names, and neuter gender for the majority of metals, chemical elements and medical substances (cf. Duden 1998: 201).
4. Suffix analogy: Suffixes show gender preferences, e.g. masculine suffixes *-er, -ant, -ist, -or, -ig, -ich, -ling*; feminine suffixes *-in, -heit, -keit, -schaft, -ung, -ness, -ess(e), -ity, -ion*, and the feminine ending *-e*; neuter suffixes *-ing, -ment, -um*, including the diminutives *-chen, -lein, -le* (cf. Duden 1998: 205-07).

More recent studies on anglicisms in German have not added much to Yang and earlier frameworks (cf. Gregor 1983). While Gester's account (2001: 78-81) seems like an exact copy of Yang's categories of gender assignment, Nettmann-Multanowska (2003: 98-109) combines Arndt's (1970) semantic and formal criteria of gender assignment with Carstensen's findings (1980b: 14-15) to add the notions of graphic analogy and homonymy as factors of gender assignment of anglicisms in German. Even though appealing from the perspective of pattern association, graphological and phonological analogies do not seem to play a remarkable role for gender assignment in *Der Spiegel 2000*.

Thus, the majority of gender coincidences between anglicisms and German homophones and homographs can also be explained with other criteria of gender assignment. For example, the anglicism *das Board* (German homophone *das Bord* ‘shelf; the space on a ship/plane where people sojourn, cf. to be on board’) bears the gender of its German conceptual equivalent *das Brett* (‘board’), which, according to Steinmetz, receives neuter gender by the rule {sheets, strips, slabs = neuter} (2001: 219). The anglicism *der Rock* (in the sense of ‘rock music’, German homonym *der Rock* ‘skirt’) follows the tendency of masculine gender for types of music and dances.

Further evidence that homonymic relations merely add to an existing conceptual associative link but do not function as an independent criterion of gender assignment is provided by the homophones *der Comic* (‘comic strip’) – *die Komik* (‘humor’) and *der Doc* (‘doctor’) – *das Dock* (‘dock’). The gender of these anglicisms can be explained by individual semantic analogy and morphological rules, which leave a gender trace in the reduced form. Thus, the unreduced anglicism *Doctor* is masculine by analogy to its conceptual equivalent *Doktor*, whose masculine gender is marked by the genitive suffix *-or*. The gender of *Doktor* is also supported by the semantic disposition that generic reference to professionals is expressed with masculine gender. So, in the absence of the morphological trigger the abbreviated term retains its gender, and interference with the neuter gender of the German homophone is blocked.

Similarly, *der Comic* is interpretable as a reduced form of *comic strip*, whose translational equivalent is *der Komikstreifen*. Arguing from the perspective of gender assignment by conceptual analogy to German *Komikstreifen*, masculine gender is assigned due to its concrete/individuative reference in the absence of other gender rules. Despite the ellipsis of the gender determining element, masculine gender of *Comic* is preserved, following the principle of gender conservation in German compound constructions which are reduced for their determinatum (cf. Duden 1998: 205). Thus, phonological equivalence to *die Komik* (‘humour’) does not influence gender assignment either.

Graphological analogy is also inconclusive as far as gender assignment is concerned. While the anglicisms *die Software/Hardware* correspond to the gender of German *die Ware* (‘ware, goods’) and *der Name* is equivalent in gender to German *der Name* (‘name’), there are a variety of anglicisms and German homographs whose genders diverge. The corpus provides the examples of G. *der Page* (‘footboy, page’) – anglicism *die Page* (‘page’), G. *das Band* (‘band as in ligament and

belt') and G. *der Band* ('volume') – anglicism *die Band* ('band, a group of musicians'), G. *der Gang* ('corridor, aisle, alleyway') – anglicism *die Gang* ('group of people'), and G. *der Wall* ('rampart') – anglicism *die Wall* ('wall'). The gender of these anglicisms is actually triggered by analogy to their German conceptual equivalents and is derived from gender specific rules, e.g. {collectives of individuals = feminine: *die Band*, *die Gang*}. The examples indicate that gender rules and associations between English and German conceptual equivalents are closer to the root of gender assignment to anglicisms in German and that purely homographic relations fail to account for gender assignment.

To sum up, the bottom line of various studies on grammatical gender is that morphological and semantic rules interact in gender assignment. To this Köpcke (1982) has added a few phonological constraints that seem to affect gender assignment of monosyllabic German nouns. However, as the author remarks, these rules are not absolute either and exceptions exist within the monosyllabic fragment of the German lexicon as well (1982: 104).

In addition to general semantic and morphological principles of gender assignment in German, for which Duden (1998: 198-212) provides a valid overview, previous research on the gender of anglicisms has established the criterion of lexical equivalence, i.e. the gender of an anglicism is influenced by its lexical counterpart in German. As the numerous exceptions show, however, the notion of lexical equivalence is not a valid criterion if it is regarded as operating on the surface level of word form. Instead, as will be pointed out further below, gender equivalence relates to the correspondence of the conceptual nucleus of an anglicism and its German associate. Altogether, anglicism research has so far lacked an attempt to investigate the interactions of gender rules. This, however, is necessary in order to draw a coherent picture of how gender is assigned to anglicisms in German.

As far as general research on gender in German is concerned, Bittner (2001) postulates semantic primitives of gender in nominal derivations. According to her, feminine suffixes (*-keit/heit*, *-schaft*, *-ung*, *-ion*...) derive abstract nouns, masculine suffixes (*-er*, *-ist*, *-ling*, *-ent/ant*...) characterize individuative and concrete nouns, and neuter gender by conversion and affixation (*Ge-*) represents collective and continuative meaning (2001: 7-11). Even though based on different theoretical standpoints, Bittner's insights can be blended with

Steinmetz' default principle of gender assignment in German<sup>2</sup> (1986, 2001). In detail, his understanding of gender assignment is based on a default hierarchy, which underlies the operations of phonological, semantic and morphological gender rules (p-rules, s-rules, and m-rules).

For German, the postulated default hierarchy is masculine before feminine before neuter {m > f > n}. This means, for example, that a noun such as *Brief* ('letter') is masculine by default since no gender rules apply (cf. 1986: 193). In its essence the theory predicts that gender is assigned first of all by gender specific rules. In case of a balanced conflict of gender rules, or if no gender rules apply, gender is assigned by virtue of the default hierarchy. Historical evidence for the existence of this default hierarchy of gender assignment is given in Steinmetz (2001), who discusses the gender shift in West Germanic from {n > m > f} to the above mentioned hierarchy of {m > f > n} due to phonetic changes in early West Germanic (2001: 214-16)<sup>3</sup>.

As far as the interaction of gender rules is concerned, the theory presupposes non-ranking of phonological, semantic and morphological rules. This means that rules follow binary logic: if a rule applies, it always triggers its respective gender regardless of the existence of other rules. If rules triggering different gender apply at the same time, the conflict is resolved in terms of the default hierarchy. The interrelation of default hierarchy and gender rules in German can be illustrated in gender tables adapted from Steinmetz (2001: 210-11):

Noun	Gender rules	Gender score	Gender
<i>die Brücke</i> 'bridge'	$\neg e = f.$	0m > 1f > 0n	f.
<i>der Klotz</i> 'block'	no rules apply	0m > 0f > 0n	m.
<i>die Finsternis</i> 'darkness'	$\neg nis = f./n.$	0m > 1f > 1n	f.
<i>Das Gespräch</i> 'conversation'	$ge- = n.$	0m > 0f > 1n	n.
<i>das Gefängnis</i> 'prison'	$ge- = n.; \neg nis = f./n.$	0m > 1f > 2n	n.

Table 7: Gender table for selected German nouns (adapted from Steinmetz 2001: 210-11)

2 Cf. Nessen (2006) for a discussion of default gender activation in a Usage-Based Model of gender assignment.

3 Cf. Trosterud's account (2006) on the historical evidence for the Germanic Gender Shift based on a comparison of Old Norse and Modern Norwegian.

This approach to gender assignment in German has recently been integrated into the framework of Optimality Theory (OT) operating on the assumption that “when two constraints are in conflict, the noun is assigned to the least marked of the conflicting categories” (Rice 2006: 1397). According to the default hierarchy, masculine is regarded as the least marked gender in German. Rice also proposes a notion of “crucial nonranking” of semantic and morphological constraints so that constraint conflict is decided on the basis of gender markedness, i.e. the default hierarchy. From a psycholinguistic point of view, the theory predicts that gender rules work on the background of a default hierarchy which functions as a last resort in case of rule based gender conflict. This leaves the question open whether different semantic, morphological, or phonological gender rules share the same degree of cognitive entrenchment or whether more frequent morphological schemas (e.g. agentive *-er* = masculine) will have priority over less frequent schemas. In addition, the question arises whether the mind actually calculates gender features and decides on a principle of majority wins before a default mechanism is activated<sup>4</sup>.

Even though these issues need further elaboration with psycholinguistic experiments<sup>5</sup>, the understanding of default gender assignment operating below the level of gender rules provides a valid approach to the gender question for two reasons. First of all, the theory offers an integrative account on how gender rules interact with an underlying default gender hierarchy, making it methodologically superior to approaches that assign gender based on the application of loose gender rules only. Secondly, the interrelation of gender principles and rules has vast explanatory power for gender assignment across the German lexicon and for other Indo-European languages (cf. Rice 2006, Steinmetz 2001, 2006, Trosterud 2006). Given the inconclusiveness of research on the gender of anglicisms in German so far, this approach offers the possibility to investigate gender assignment of anglicisms from a promising theoretical foundation. This will be tested in the analysis of gender-tagged anglicisms in the corpus.

The quantitative results in Chapter 8.2 for monosyllabic and for polysyllabic anglicisms show a dominance of masculine gender, which

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4 According to Nessel, “rule counting” is a misnomer since, from a cognitive perspective, the activation of different gender schemas leads to the selection of the gender whose schemas share “the highest degree of conceptual overlap” (2006: 1376).

5 Cf. Schiller and Schwichtenberg (2004) and Schiller and Caramazza (2006) for a series of experiments on gender congruency effects. Schiller and Schwichtenberg (2004) provide evidence that semantic schemas such as predatory animals = masculine and musical instruments = feminine play a role in gender assignment of native German speakers.

ties in with an understanding of masculine as the default gender in German from a purely quantitative point of view. A distinction in morphologically complex anglicisms and monosyllabic anglicisms allows for a more differentiated view on the rules that trigger gender of anglicisms in German. In contrast to polysyllabic anglicisms, suffix analogies are ruled out in monosyllabic anglicisms and mainly semantic reasons remain. Accordingly, the following analysis will distinguish between simple and complex anglicisms per gender class and will derive general conclusions from a comparison of the gender rules across the different gender classes.

Following Steinmetz' approach (1986, 2001), the analysis is based on the default hierarchy of gender in German in interaction with gender specific semantic rules (s-rules), morphological rules (m-rules), and phonological rules (p-rules). S-rules and m-rules can be related to semantic primitives of the different genders as postulated by Bittner for derived German nouns (2001: 8): {feminine = abstract}, {masculine = individuative and concrete}, and {neuter = collective and continuative}. Thus, more specific s-rules, e.g. {superordinate = neuter} and {generic person = masculine}, operate on the background of these prototypical semantic functions.

Biological gender is another basic semantic rule that influences masculine and feminine gender assignment and also plays a role for the assignment of neuter gender as will be shown below. While the p-rule {-e = feminine} (cf. Steinmetz 1986) is a shape based gender convention, m-rules are characterized as word formal representations of semantic functions. As extensions (suffixation), reductions (abbreviations), and zero-conversion, m-rules correspond with the underlying picture of semantic functions of gender in German. According to this principle and rule approach to gender assignment, all the anglicisms which are not default gender, i.e. masculine for German, receive their gender by specific gender rules. Following this prediction, the analysis will extend from masculine anglicisms to feminine and neuter anglicisms with a critical eye on the existence of rules for the marked gender categories.

### 9.1.1 Masculine

The tagged portion of the corpus contains 633 masculine anglicisms of which 538 are polysyllabic and 95 monosyllabic. A substantial share of the polysyllabic anglicisms receives masculine gender by a simple morphological rule and by the productive use of a few masculine anglicisms in compound constructions. Thus, -er suffixation for agentive and instrumental nouns accounts for 207 masculine angli-

cisms. The popular agentive determinata *Manager* and *Computer* and the monosyllabic anglicisms *Film*, *Club*, *Start*, *Test*, *Star*, and *Boom* function as the gender bearing elements in 184 compound constructions. If the productive use of a few more bases (*Appeal*, *Boss*, *Boykott*, *Hit*, *Jumbo*, *Sound*, *Stress*, and *Tycoon*) are discounted, about one hundred polysyllabic masculine anglicisms remain for detailed gender analysis.

In connection with the most productive morphological rule {*-er* = masculine}, which relates to animate agentive and inanimate instrumental nouns (e.g. *Computer*, *Container*, *Scanner*, and *Server*), the use of masculine gender as a generic marker for a person in a certain profession or function, s-rule {generic person = masculine}, covers the second largest group of polysyllabic masculine nominal anglicisms: *der Aussie*, *der Bodyguard*, *der Comedian*, *der Counterpart*, *der Darling*, *der Hippie*, *der Maniac*, *der No-Name*, *der Outcast*, *der Profi*, *der Skinhead*, *der Softie*, *der Tennis-Crack*, *der Tycoon*, *der Underdog*, *der Workaholic*, *der Yettie*, and *der Y yuppie*. The rule of {generic person = masculine} is also the most productive one for monosyllabic masculine anglicisms, as evident in *der Boss*, *der Champ*, *der Clown*, *der Coach*, *der DJ*, *der Doc*, *der Fan*, *der Freak*, *der Geek*, *der Host*, *der Punk*, *der Scout*, *der Single*, *der Skin*, *der Star*, *der Twen*, *der Vamp*, and *der VIP*.

The examples of *der Single*, *der Darling*, and *der Vamp* take masculine gender even if they refer to a female person. *Der Single* denotes single males and single females and *der Darling* is used as an expression of endearment for both sexes. Reference of *der Vamp* is exclusively female, thus showing divergence between grammatical and natural gender. Masculine gender of *der Vamp* is linked to the German cognate *der Vampir*, an originally male mythical figure. The metaphorical projection of a vampire's qualities (e.g. aggressiveness, seduction, preying on people) onto a female referent does not interfere with the masculine gender of the source term. This could be supported by the formal equivalence of the anglicism with a clipped version of the German cognate.

The retention of gender despite formal reduction appears as a general convention of gender applying to anglicisms across all gender classes in German. For masculine anglicisms gender trace {gender of reduced form = gender of full form/implied form} holds for a couple of polysyllabic and monosyllabic terms, as in *der Bob* (→ *der Bobschlitten*), *der Champ* (→ *der Champion*), *der DJ* (→ *der Discjockey*), *der Doc* (→ *der Doctor*), *der Jumbo* (→ *der Jet*), *der PC* (→ *der Personalcomputer*), *der Pick-up* (→ *der Truck*), *der Profi* (→

*der Professional), der Pulli* (→ *der Pullover*), *der Rolls* (→ *der Rolls Royce*), *der Science-Fiction* (→ *der Film*), *der Skin* (→ *der Skinhead*), and *der Smoking* (→ *der Suit*, G. *der Anzug*). This convention can also apply to collocates, e.g. *der Slapstick* (implied ‘humour’, G. *der Humor*) and *der Quickie* (implied ‘quick sex’, G. *der Sex*). As the examples show, gender trace explains the gender of abbreviated terms and elliptical constructions by implication to the gender determining element.

In addition to the conventions described so far, a variety of semantic (s-) and morphological (m-) rules determine the masculine gender of monosyllabic and polysyllabic anglicisms in the corpus, as summarized in the following:

a) m-rules:

- {agentive *-ist* = masculine}: *der Essayist, der Lobbyist*
- {agentive *-ant* = masculine}: *der Consultant*
- {*-ismus* = masculine}: *der Hooliganismus*
- {*-ism* = masculine}: *der Laddism* is the only example in the *Der Spiegel* 2000; earlier years of *Der Spiegel* (1994-99) show that all instances of –*ism* suffixation determine masculine gender: *der Egoism, der Historicism, der Journalism, der Kommunism, and der Nazism*

b) s-rules:

- {biological gender = grammatical gender}: *der Boy, der Chairman, der Daddy, der Doorman, der Dressman, der Gentleman, der Guy, der Lad, der Mister, der Mr., der Selfmademan, and der Stuntman*
- {type of music = masculine}: *der Blues, der Hiphop, der Jazz, der Pop, der Punk* (note the double meaning with s-rule: generic person = masculine), *der Rap, der Rock, der Soul, and der Swing*
- {type of car = masculine}: *der Jeep, der Minivan, der Rolls, and der Truck*
- {alcoholic beverage = masculine}: *der Cocktail, der Drink, and der Whiskey/Whisky* (lacking further specification *der Cocktail* and *der Drink* prototypically imply alcoholic beverages)
- {name of currency = masculine}: *der Cent*

Without considering the general convention of lexical-conceptual equivalence as a gender determinant at this stage, the following polysyllabic and monosyllabic anglicisms receive masculine gender by default as no other gender rules apply:

## (a) Polysyllabic

<i>der Airbag</i>	<i>der Cyberwar</i>	<i>der Level</i>	<i>der Return</i>
<i>der Airport</i>	<i>der D-Day</i>	<i>der Mainstream</i>	<i>der Service</i>
<i>der Appeal</i>	<i>der Download</i>	<i>der Market</i>	<i>der Showdown</i>
<i>der Background</i>	<i>der E-Commerce</i>	<i>der One-Night-Stand</i>	<i>der Slogan</i>
<i>der Blackout</i>	<i>der Essay</i>	<i>der Output</i>	<i>der Soundtrack</i>
<i>der Boykott</i>	<i>der Glamour</i>	<i>der Overall</i>	<i>der Startup</i>
<i>der Button</i>	<i>der Goodwill</i>	<i>der Overkill</i>	<i>der Super-G</i>
<i>der Cartoon</i>	<i>der Highnoon</i>	<i>der Poker</i>	<i>der Take-off</i>
<i>der Catwalk</i>	<i>der Jackpot</i>	<i>der Pudding</i>	<i>der Tower</i>
<i>der Content</i>	<i>der Joystick</i>	<i>der Pullover</i>	<i>der Turnaround</i>
<i>der Countdown</i>	<i>der Laptop</i>	<i>der Relaunch</i>	<i>der Value</i>
<i>der Cyberspace</i>	<i>der Laser</i>	<i>der Report</i>	

## (b) Monosyllabic

<i>der Beat</i>	<i>der Deal</i>	<i>der Lunch</i>	<i>der Speed</i>
<i>der Boom</i>	<i>der Drive</i>	<i>der Mix</i>	<i>der Spleen</i>
<i>der Chat</i>	<i>der Fight</i>	<i>der Mob</i>	<i>der Spot</i>
<i>der Check</i>	<i>der Film</i>	<i>der Plot</i>	<i>der Sprint</i>
<i>der Chip</i>	<i>der Flirt</i>	<i>der Point</i>	<i>der Start</i>
<i>der Claim</i>	<i>der Flop</i>	<i>der Pool</i>	<i>der Stress</i>
<i>der Clan</i>	<i>der Flow</i>	<i>der Run</i>	<i>der Take</i>
<i>der Clinch</i>	<i>der Fun</i>	<i>der Safe</i>	<i>der Talk</i>
<i>der Clip</i>	<i>der Gag</i>	<i>der Shop</i>	<i>der Test</i>
<i>der Club</i>	<i>der Hoax</i>	<i>der Slang</i>	<i>der Thrill</i>
<i>der Code</i>	<i>der Hype</i>	<i>der Slip</i>	<i>der Touch</i>
<i>der Colt</i>	<i>der Jet</i>	<i>der Slum</i>	<i>der Trash</i>
<i>der Court</i>	<i>der Job</i>	<i>der Smog</i>	<i>der Trend</i>
<i>der Crash</i>	<i>der Joint</i>	<i>der Song</i>	<i>der Trip</i>
<i>der Cup</i>	<i>der Kick</i>	<i>der Sound</i>	<i>der Way</i>
<i>der Cut</i>	<i>der Look</i>		

Table 8: Masculine anglicisms by default

Table 8 includes some interesting terms that provide indirect evidence for the relevance of morphological rules of gender assignment. The masculine gender of *Tower*, *Pullover*, and *Poker* is not due to the m-rule {–er = masculine} since –er functions as an empty phonetic shape

and not as an agentive/instrumental morpheme. *Tower* evolved from OE. *torr* (*OED* 1994), *Pullover* is a nominalized compound of the phrasal verb *to pull over*, and *Poker* is of uncertain origin but is probably related to an old German card game by the name of *Poch* or *Pochspiel* (*OED* 1994). These terms appear as non-agentives and obtain masculine gender by default.

The relevance of morphemic *-er* as a gender trigger is stressed by an analysis of *die Power*, *das Center*, *das Crossover*, and *das Cover*. As in the masculine anglicisms above, *-er* does not function as a separable morpheme in the feminine and neuter examples. Instead, *Power* derives from ME *poeir*, *pouer* after OF *poeir* and acquires its gender by conceptual analogy to the abstract German terms *die Kraft/die Macht*. *Center* originates from Latin *centrum*, which entered English via French *centre*, and receives neuter gender in accordance with the preference of superordinate terms for neuter gender {superordinate = neuter}. *Cover* relates to French *covert* (*OED* 1994) and takes neuter gender according to the s-rule {pictorial images = neuter}. As a nominalization of the English phrasal verb *cross over*, the anglicism *Crossover* ('mix') acquires neuter gender in line with the convention {non-individuative/non-agentive deadjectival and deverbal conversion = neuter}.

Further evidence for the interrelation of morphemic function and gender can be obtained from the deverbal nominal suffix *-ing*, which is a morphemic extension to the pattern of neuter gender for nominalized verbs in German. As such *-ing* derives nouns of action, as in *das Catering*, *das Engineering*, *das Qualifying*, *das Shopping*... (cf. chapter 9.1.3 for a full list of examples in the corpus). In the masculine anglicisms *der Smoking* and *der Pudding* (cf. *OED* 1994: ME *poding*, *pudding*), word final *-ing* is not a derivational suffix, and the rule of neuter gender by morphemic *-ing* does not apply. As an individuative/concrete concept, *Pudding* takes masculine gender by default. Similarly, *Smoking* (→ E. 'smoking suit') is not a derived action noun but a nominalized complement bearing the gender trace of its determinatum ('suit', G. *der Anzug*).

From the perspective of English, Table 8 contains a selection of deverbal nominal anglicisms derived by zero conversion: *der Blackout*, *der Chat*, *der Countdown*, *der Crash*, *der Deal*, *der Download*, *der Kick*, *der Look*, *der Output*, *der Showdown*, *der Startup*, *der Take*, *der Take-off*, *der Talk*, *der Thrill*, *der Touch*, and *der Turnaround*. These examples highlight the significance of semantic primitives in gender assignment. In contrast to the derivation of deverbal action nouns, the examples taking masculine gender have lost the verbal processual

meaning and denote bounded events or states. This objectivization to individuative and concrete concepts is marked by the assignment of masculine gender according to the semantic primitives of gender in German. From the perspective of nominal reference, individuative and concrete concepts, i.e. objects and states in the real world, can be regarded as the unmarked, default case of nominal reference, which coheres to an understanding of masculine as the default gender of Modern German.

The nominalized phrasal verbs *der Turnaround* and *das Crossover* exemplify the selection of a different gender reflecting their respective nominal conceptualization. *Der Turnaround* relates to a finite and bounded event inducing a reversal of the previous direction or development. This is emphasized by the definite reference of *Turnaround* to specific companies and people and by the usage of verbal expressions (to make, to accomplish) indicating a successful completion of the act.

- (46) *Deswegen haben wir jetzt ein Führungsteam eingesetzt, das in der Lage ist, den Turnaround zu schaffen.* (with reference to the financial crisis at Chrysler) (49/129)  
[This is why we have introduced a new management team that is capable of accomplishing the turnaround.]
- (47) *Vor allem Binder hatte im vergangenen Jahr immer wieder freudig verkündet, der krisengebeutelte Traditionskonzern habe nun endlich den Turnaround geschafft und werde wieder schwarze Zahlen schreiben.* (33/83)  
[Particularly Binder had gleefully announced again and again last year that the crisis-ridden traditional company had finally made the turnaround and would realize profit again.]

By contrast, the usage of *das Crossover* underlines the processual meaning of the term. The excerpts from the corpus show that *Crossover* is conceptualized as a continuative action. In (48) *Crossover* comes across as a fuzzy mix of various styles and types of music implying constant shifts among them. In (49) the term is modified with an adjective of frequency emphasizing the continuous event of crossover in the world of pop.

- (48) *Ich kann verstehen, dass sich die „Eight Seasons“ anhören wie ein Paradebeispiel für das modische Crossover, diesen Mix aus verschiedenen Stilen und Gattungen, aber damit hat es absolut nichts zu tun. Crossover halte ich in der Tendenz für gefährlich. [...] Die Qualität geht bei Crossover zu Gunsten der Quantität verloren.* (10/235).

[I can understand that “Eight Seasons” sounds like a prime example of modern crossover, like a mix of different styles and genres, but it has nothing to do with that. In my opinion crossover is a dangerous tendency. [...] Crossover loses quality at the expense of quantity.]

- (49) *Auffälliger ist dagegen das häufige Crossover mit der Popwelt.* (23/205)  
 [More striking, however, is the frequent crossover with the world of pop.]

Overall, the analysis of the masculine anglicisms demonstrates that a set of s-rules and m-rules explains the assignment of masculine gender. These rules generally operate on the background of masculine as the default gender, which accounts for the majority of types of masculine anglicisms. The basic semantic implication of masculine as a marker of the perceptually most salient noun class (individuative/concrete nouns) coheres with an understanding of masculine as the default gender in the sense of Steinmetz' gender hierarchy of German. According to the logic of a default system, the remaining feminine and neuter anglicisms are expected to be allegable by specific gender rules.

### 9.1.2 Feminine

With 157 polysyllabic and 26 monosyllabic nouns, the share of feminine anglicisms in the tagged corpus is considerably smaller than that of masculine anglicisms. Filtering out the compounds of the same head anglicism reduces the number relevant for gender analysis to 73 polysyllabic and 26 monosyllabic feminine anglicisms. Apart from the operation of gender specific rules, which partly overlap with the understanding of feminine derivatives as denoting mainly abstract concepts (Bittner 2001: 8), the German lexicon is home to a powerful phonological rule (p-rule) of feminine gender assignment. According to Steinmetz (1986: 192), German nouns that end in an *e*-sound take feminine gender, p-rule {-e [ə, e, ε] = feminine}, as in *die Blume* ('flower'), *die Dose* ('can'), *die Hose* ('pants'), *die Flasche* ('bottle'), *die Sache* ('thing'), and *die Pflanze* ('plant').

This widespread phonological rule in the German lexicon does not play a role for the gender tagged anglicisms in the corpus since none of them end in a schwa or [e, ε] sound. Yet there is evidence of another sound pattern in word final position that seems to account for feminine gender of anglicisms in the absence of other s/m-rules. The proposed p-rule {word final C+[i, ɪ] = feminine} describes the sequence of final consonant plus an [i, ɪ] sound, which is characteristic of a number of feminine anglicisms: *die Beauty*, *die City*, *die Comedy*, *die Community*,

*die Company, die Economy, die Identity, die Lobby, die Military, die Party, die Rallye, die Society, and die Story.*

Anglicisms that deviate from this rule are subject to other gender regulations such as *das Handy* ('mobile phone') and *das Hobby*, which retain their gender traces from the lexical equivalents of their unreduced form, *handset/handheld telephone* (G. *das Telefon*) and *hobby horse* (G. *das Pferd*). The suffixation of [ɪ] to the clipped stem (hand + y) adds an agentive-diminutive flavour to the base, which is also evident in *der Pulli* (from *der Pullover*) and *der Profi* (from *der Professional*). This agentive-diminutive function of [ɪ] is emphasized by its occurrence in anglicisms as generic persons, as in *der Yettie, der Aussie, der Softie, der Yuppie, der Hippie, and der Oldie* ('old man; 'old song'), which cohere to their English models. In several varieties of German, agentive-diminutive [ɪ] is used productively to coin pet names and nicknames (e.g.: *Strolchi, Benni, Mausi, Schatzi, Bärli, Putzi...*). Thus, these exceptions to the phonological pattern {word final C+[i, ɪ] = feminine} indicate that the phonological criterion is secondary to s/m-rules of gender assignment and that it only shows an affinity to feminine gender if no other s/m-rules apply. Apart from this phonological criterion a variety of s/m-rules trigger feminine gender:

a) m-rules:

{-ion = feminine}: *die Action, die Communication, die Connection, die Session*

{-ness = feminine}: *die Cleverness, die Coolness, die Correctness, die Fairness, die Fitness, die Wellness*

{-in = feminine}: *die Designerin, die Ex-Punkerin, die Interviewerin, die Lobbyistin, die Managerin, die Reporterin, die Stripperin, die Trainerin*

{-ess = feminine}: *die Stewardess*

{-sis = feminine}: *die Crisis*

{-ung = feminine}: *die Literaturverfilmung*

{-anz/ance = feminine}: *die Performance*

b) s-rules:

{biological gender = grammatical gender}: *die Lady, die Mom, die Nanny, die Queen*

{collective of individuals = feminine}: *die Band, die Crew, die Family, die Gang, die Group, die Shopping-Mall, die Task-Force*

According to the semantic load of the suffixes, the various m-rules fall into a group of abstract nouns (-ion, -ness, -sis, -ung, -anz/ance) or indicators of female agency (-in, -ess). Among the s-rules, the notion of {collectives of individuals = feminine} refers to collective terms that emphasize the existence of the individual members of the collective. A

*Family* consists of genetically and socially related individuals; *Crew* typically refers to a group of professionals who inhabit clearly defined task spaces (e.g. a flight crew); *Band* denotes a collective of individual musicians, *Gang* describes a group of individuals united by common interests (e.g. young people, criminals), and *Group* is a cover term for assemblies of individuals or objects. Similarly, *Task-Force* implies the military collaboration of individuals to solve a problematic situation and *die Shopping-Mall* induces the image of a collection of separate stores forming a larger unit. Gender variation with *das Shopping Mall* reflects the difference in conceptualization according to the semantic primitives of gender. Thus, neuter gender indicates a change in conceptual focus to the whole structural complex of the mall, i.e. to the mall as a structural entity.

This shift of perspective from the individual members of the collective to a superordinate conceptualization of the entity as a whole explains the gender difference between *die Crew* and *das Team*. *Crew* occurs in contexts that describe groups of individuals operating ships, planes, spaceships, movie equipment, rowing boats, and it is used with reference to hotel staff and political interest groups. *Team*, on the other hand, evokes highly generalized implications which blur the image of individuals in a group. As such it is freely applied in the contexts of politics, business, and sports and seems applicable to virtually every superordinate structure that unifies a group of people pursuing a common interest. Reference to a sports team, for example, goes beyond the mere personae of the players and includes the whole social and material network, which adds to the general purpose of the team.

In general, the division into s-rules and m-rules should not obscure the interrelation of both types of rules when projecting semantic primitives of gender. Thus, feminine s-rules and m-rules primarily derive abstract nouns or mark biological gender. Similarly, masculine s/m-rules overlap in their representation of concrete/individuative nouns and reference to a generic person. Despite the possible functional equivalence of s-rules and m-rules, a distinction is valid on the basis that m-rules mark the semantic function morphologically while s-rules rely on lexical implications of gender meaning.

As previously discussed in chapter 9.1.1, the convention of gender trace {gender of reduced form = gender of full form/implied form} holds for all gender classes in German. A few feminine anglicisms in the corpus bear witness to this convention as their gender remains stable despite the reduction of the gender determining morpheme: *die Hightech* (technology, G. *die Technologie*), *die Holding* (company, G. *die Firma*), *die CD* (disc, G. *die Diskette*, *die Scheibe*), *die Web-Cam*

(camera, G. *die Kamera*), *die Single* (record, G. *die Schallplatte*), *die Soap* (opera, G. *die Oper*), and *die SMS* (short message service, G. *die Nachricht*). In the last example, *SMS* actually denotes one or more single messages and not the service as such. This is why feminine gender is assigned by conceptual analogy to German (*die Nachricht*).

The examples above allude to another convention of gender assignment to anglicisms mentioned at the beginning of the chapter but so far excluded from the discussion. This is the notion of lexical equivalence as discussed by a variety of scholars (cf. Arndt 1970, Carstensen 1980a/b, Nettmann-Multanowska 2003, Yang 1990). The essence of lexical equivalence is specified here in the following terms: {gender of anglicism = gender of lexical-conceptual equivalent}. In other words, if an anglicism coincides with a conceptual equivalent in German, the gender of the anglicism is not merely influenced by the word form of the German equivalent but reflects the gender specific conceptual nucleus as expressed by s-rules and by the underlying gender meanings of abstract (feminine), concrete/individuative (masculine), and collective/continuative (neuter).

In general, the notion of lexical equivalence has received too much credit as a number of restrictions limit its relevance for gender assignment. First of all, the recognition of conceptual relations between English and German can depend on bilingual competence of a German speaker. Secondly, and even more importantly, the notion of lexical-conceptual equivalence is not a definite criterion since, as borrowings, anglicisms can represent novelties in the lexical-conceptual array of the German lexicon. Furthermore, an anglicism can evoke associations to a variety of German terms bearing different genders, which makes it difficult to justify the choice of one German equivalent that happens to share the same gender and ignore the others.

These shortcomings of lexical-conceptual equivalence become obvious when reconsidering the list of monosyllabic masculine anglicisms (Table 8b). Among the 63 terms only 17 masculine anglicisms cohere with the gender of possible German equivalents. On the other hand, 18 anglicisms are masculine even though the gender of the equivalent is other than masculine, and the German equivalents of 21 anglicisms exhibit a mix of masculine and other genders (cf. Appendix 2 for a complete tabular overview). For *Boom*, *Film*, *Flow*, *Smog*, *Spot*, *Sprint*, and *Stress* it is difficult to establish German lexical-conceptual equivalents.

Even among the examples where the gender of the German equivalent(s) coincides with the gender of the anglicisms, the associative connection between the German term and the anglicism remains

doubtful in several instances. While the meanings of the anglicism *Slang* and of the French borrowing *Jargon* overlap, the terms differ in their connotational implications. Thus, *Slang* refers to the use of a socially stigmatized variant whereas *Jargon* typically relates to the use of domain-specific terminology (e.g. the jargon of law, the jargon of economics, and the jargon of linguistics). Similarly, *Sound* is used in a broader sense than *Klang* including the style of music, and the reference of *Trash* as cheap entertainment diverges from the primary semantic scope of German *Müll*.

Gender differences between the masculine anglicisms and their potential lexical-conceptual equivalents are interesting in so far as they are often explainable by means of s/m-rules that generally influence gender assignment in German. The equivalents of *der Chat*, for example, are *die Unterhaltung* and *das Gespräch*, whose genders are triggered by the rule {*-ung* = feminine} and by the template {non-individuative/non-agentive deverbal derivation = neuter}. The variation of gender between *der Colt* (G. *die Pistole*), *der Flirt* (G. *die Anmache*), *der Joint* (G. *die Zigarette*), *der Slip* (G. *die Unterhose*), and *der Take* (G. *die Aufnahme*) are based on the p-rule {*-e* [ə, e, ε] = feminine} while no rules apply for their English counterparts, which thus receive masculine gender. Further examples are *der Clinch* (G. *die Umklammerung*), *der Mix* (G. *die Mischung*, *das Gemisch*), *der Plot* (G. *die Handlung*), *der Speed* (G. *die Geschwindigkeit*), and *der Trend* (G. *die Entwicklung*), whose different German genders can be explained by the rules {*-ung* = feminine}, {*-keit* = feminine}, and {non-individuative/non-agentive deverbal derivation = neuter}. The diverging genders of anglicisms and their potential German equivalents can be caused by gender specific p/m-rules that apply for the German terms but not for their monosyllabic English counterparts. These examples add to the relevance of gender assignment in German based on an interaction of gender rules and default hierarchy, as illustrated below:

<i>die Unterhaltung:</i>	0m > 1f { <i>-ung</i> } > 0n = f.
<i>das Gespräch:</i>	0m > 0f > 1n { <i>Ge-</i> } = n.
<i>der Chat:</i>	0m > 0f > 0n = m.
<i>die Unterhose:</i>	0m > 1f { <i>-e</i> } > 0n = f.
<i>der Slip:</i>	0m > 0f > 0n = m.
<i>die Geschwindigkeit:</i>	0m > 1f { <i>-keit</i> } > 0n = f.
<i>der Speed:</i>	0m > 0f > 0n = m.

<i>der Claim:</i>	0m > 0f > 0n = m.
<i>die Anforderung:</i>	0m > 1f {-ung} > 0n = f.
<i>der Anspruch:</i>	0m > 0f > 0n = m.
<i>die Reklamation:</i>	0m > 1f {-ion} > 0n = f.
<i>der Deal:</i>	0m > 0f > 0n = m.
<i>die Abmachung:</i>	0m > 1f {-ung} > 0n = f.
<i>das Abkommen:</i>	0m > 0f > 1n {conversion} = n.
<i>der Handel:</i>	0m > 0f > 0n = m.

In a couple of instances, lexical-conceptual equivalence between masculine anglicisms and their German associates is strengthened by near homonymy between the English and the German term (cf. Table 8). Thus, word formal associations have probably stimulated the assignment of masculine gender in *der Background* (G. *der -grund*), *der D-Day* (G. *der Tag*), *der Goodwill* (G. *der Wille*), *der Mainstream* (G. *der -strom*), and *der Market* (G. *der Markt*). This is also evident when analyzing feminine anglicisms and their relation to the gender of German lexical-conceptual equivalents. Interestingly, the feminine gender class contains a variety of examples in which the gender of an anglicism coheres to the gender of a German lexical-conceptual equivalent even though the gender of the German term is triggered by a specific gender rule (e.g. *-e* = feminine). The following list of monosyllabic and polysyllabic feminine anglicisms shows that their gender is not triggered by feminine specific gender rules but coheres with the gender of German lexical-conceptual equivalents.

Anglicism	German equivalent(s)	Anglicism	German equivalent(s)
<i>die Bar</i>	(G. <i>die Theke</i> )	<i>die Line</i>	(G. <i>die Linie</i> )
<i>die Box</i>	(G. <i>die Kiste, die Schachtel</i> )	<i>die Mergermania</i>	(G. <i>die –Manie</i> )
<i>die Card</i>	(G. <i>die Karte</i> )	<i>die Message</i>	(G. <i>die Nachricht</i> )
<i>die Chinatown</i>	(G. <i>die –Stadt</i> )	<i>die Music</i>	(G. <i>die Musik</i> )
<i>die Class</i>	(G. <i>die Klasse</i> )	<i>die Partnership</i>	(G. <i>die Partnerschaft</i> )
<i>die Disc</i>	(G. <i>die Scheibe, die Diskette</i> )	<i>die Power</i>	(G. <i>die Kraft, die Macht</i> )
<i>die Disease</i>	(G. <i>die Krankheit</i> )	<i>die School</i>	(G. <i>die Schule</i> )
<i>die Domain</i>	(G. <i>die Domäne</i> )	<i>die Show</i>	(G. <i>die Schau, die Aufführung</i> )
<i>die Flatrate</i>	(G. <i>die –Rate</i> )	<i>die Site</i>	(G. <i>die Seite</i> )
<i>die Homepage</i>	(G. <i>die –Seite</i> )	<i>die Time</i>	(G. <i>die Zeit</i> )
<i>die Hour</i>	(G. <i>die Stunde</i> )	<i>die Voice</i>	(G. <i>die Stimme</i> )

Table 9: Feminine anglicisms and their German lexical-conceptual equivalents

In a variety of examples in Table 9, the link between feminine gender of the anglicisms and feminine gender of their German counterparts is strengthened by a combination of word formal and conceptual equivalence, as in *die Card*, *die Class*, *die Domain*, *die Flatrate*, *die Line*, *die Mergermania*, *die Music*, *die Partnership*, *die School*, *die Show*, and *die Site*. In addition, the German equivalents of a couple of anglicisms represent basic lexical concepts whose salience in the German lexicon can promote the projection of gender onto the corresponding anglicisms. Including some of the examples just mentioned, such straightforward associative links could have advanced the assignment of feminine gender to *die Bar*, *die (China)town*, *die Disease*, *die (Home)page*, *die Hour*, *die Message*, *die Power*, *die Time*, and *die Voice*.

*Die Bar* is an interesting example since it expanded its meaning from a ‘counter’ as a part of a pub to refer to a pub as a whole. Its gender, however, remains the same despite possible lexical-conceptual interference with the neuter gender of the German superordinate term *das Lokal* (‘pub’). This indicates that gender is also a conventionalized category in German and that semantic additions which open up new associative connections to German equivalents do not generally interfere with the previously assigned gender. A merely minimal amount of gender variation in the corpus of anglicisms underlines the

conventional link between gender and lexical unit (cf. Chapter 9.1.4 for a discussion of gender variation).

Having analyzed the feminine anglicisms in terms of rules and tendencies of gender assignment, merely a few exceptional cases remain. The feminine gender of *die PR*, for example, has probably evolved from the abbreviation of the plurale tantum *public relations*. Since the form of the plural article *die* coincides with the singular feminine form of the article, a functional reanalysis of the homographs could have resulted in feminine gender as the morphological plural marker (–s suffix) vanished in the reduction process. As a result, *die PR* has turned into a feminine singular mass noun in German. Among the monosyllabic feminine anglicisms, *die Couch*, *die Lounge*, *die Farm*, and *die Ranch* shun clear criteria for feminine gender assignment. Lexical-conceptual equivalence remains inconclusive for *die Couch* (G. *das Sofa*, *die Liege*, *die (Sitz)bank*), *die Lounge* (G. *das Foyer*, *der (Aufenthalts)raum*, *die (Hotel)halle*), *die Farm* and *die Ranch* (G. *der Bauernhof*). Steinmetz (2002) offers an explanation for the feminine gender of these terms. Accordingly, the following set of rules explains the feminine gender of *die Couch*, *die Lounge*, *die Farm*, and *die Ranch*:

<i>die Couch:</i> {cushions and reclining = neuter}, {semantic diminutive = f}	0m > 1f > 1n = f
<i>die Lounge:</i> {semantic diminutive = f}	0m > 1f > 0n = f.
<i>die Farm, die Ranch:</i> {production and processing sites = f}	0m > 1f > 0n = f.

Overall, the analysis of the feminine anglicisms has shown that almost all the instances of feminine gender are rule-based. In addition to s/m-rules, feminine gender is also triggered by phonological patterns (p-rules) in word final position. Furthermore, lexical-conceptual equivalence plays a role for the assignment of feminine gender as it involves various anglicisms which correlate with basic feminine lexical concepts. These conceptual relations can be reinforced by word formal similarity.

### 9.1.3 Neuter

As far as neuter gender is concerned, the tagged portion of the corpus contains a total of 201 neuter anglicisms which are divided into 179 polysyllabic and 22 monosyllabic terms. If the polysyllabic portion is reduced by the number of compounds sharing the same gender bearing

elements or whose determinata are among the monosyllabic segment, a total of 100 neuter anglicisms remain to be analyzed.

The most productive schema of neuter gender assignment is formalized in the rule {non-individuative/non-agentive deadjectival and deverbal conversion = neuter}. This is in line with the general convention to assign neuter gender to deverbal and deadjectival nouns in German. The rule can be subcategorized according to the type of morphological marking. First of all, conversion through zero derivation creates a variety of neuter anglicisms in the corpus, as in *das Check-in*, *das Chill-out*, *das Comeback*, *das Coming-out*, *das Crossover*, *das Date*, *das Display*, *das Feedback*, *das High*, *das Highlight*, *das Interview*, *das Know-how*, *das Layout*, *das Make-up*, *das Outfit*, *das Remake*, and *das Surfen*<sup>6</sup>.

Furthermore, English nominal gerunds (derived by *-ing*) show a morphological extension to the rule {non-individuative/non-agentive deadjectival and deverbal conversion = neuter}:

m-rule {-ing (gerund) = neuter}: *das Briefing*, *das Casting*, *das Catering*, *das Coaching*, *das Controlling*, *das Doping*, *das Engineering*, *das Feeling*, *das Happening*, *das Kidnapping*, *das Landing*, *das Leasing*, *das Marketing*, *das Meeting*, *das Merchandising*, *das Mobbing*, *das Networking*, *das Opening*, *das Qualifying*, *das Ranking*, *das Rating*, *das Recycling*, *das Shopping*, *das Sponsoring*, *das Stalking*, *das Styling*, *das Timing*, and *das Training*

Another important factor for neuter gender assignment to anglicisms is the notion {superordinate = neuter} (cf. Steinmetz 1986: 192). Superordination includes an understanding of basic semantic functions of neuter as continuatives, e.g. *das Interface*, and objectivized collectives, e.g. *das Team* (in contrast to individualized collectives, e.g. *die Crew*, *die Gang*). The following neuter anglicisms can be allocated to the s-rule {superordinate = neuter}: *das Business*, *das Camp*, *das Cash*, *das Center*, *das Country*, *das Empire*, *das Food*, *das Handicap*, *das Image*, *das Interface*, *das Joint Venture*, *das Team*, *das Teamwork*, and *das Work*.

*Das Business* contradicts the schema {-ness = feminine}, which assigns feminine gender to nominalized deadjectival anglicisms (e.g. *die Fairness*, *die Cleverness*). Neuter gender is due to the semantic abstraction of *business* from a deadjectival noun to a hypernym comprising commercial trade activities and their locations. The change of meaning is supported by formal reduction (G. ['bɪsnəs]) so that the

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6 Note that *surfen* is integrated into the German verbal paradigm, whose infinitive form (stem+en) functions as the base of the nominalization.

original stem + affix combination is blurred and the term is analyzed as a monomorphemic entity. In case that *-ness* is not recognized as a derivational suffix, gender is assigned by the superordinate reference of the anglicism.

In a few examples, the notion of superordinate coincides with lexical-conceptual equivalence as the German equivalents also receive neuter gender by virtue of their superordinate reference, e.g. *das Cash* (G. *das Geld*), *das Country* (G. *das Land*), *das Empire* (G. *das Reich*). The notion of lexical-conceptual equivalence shows the same characteristics in neuter nouns as indicated in the discussion of feminine and masculine anglicisms. Thus, lexical-conceptual links between neuter anglicisms and German terms are emphasized by word formal similarity and by equivalence to basic lexical concepts in German, which receive neuter gender by specific s/m-rules (cf. overview of rules below). In detail, the following anglicisms reflect neuter gender of their German counterparts: *das Bike* (G. *das Fahrrad*), *das Committee* (G. *das Komitee*), *das E-Book* (G. *das -Buch*), *das Eye* (G. *das Auge*), *das Match* (G. *das Spiel*), *das Notebook* (G. *das -Buch*; however, used in the sense of laptop), *das Pokerface* (G. *das -Gesicht*), *das Popcorn* (G. *das Korn*), *das Spaceshuttle* (G. *das Raumschiff*), and *das Village* (G. *das Dorf*).

In addition, the general convention of gender trace {gender of reduced form = gender of full form/implied form} accounts for a couple of neuter anglicisms in the corpus: *das Copyright* (implied G. *das Gesetz*), *das GPS* (abbreviation, G. *das System*), *das Handy* (clipping of *handset/handheld telephone*, G. *das Telefon*), *das Hobby* (clipping of *hobby horse*, G. *das Pferd*), *das Puzzle* (implied G. *das Spiel*), *das Quiz* (implied G. *das Spiel*), *das Start-up* (implied G. *das Unternehmen*), *das Tennis* (implied G. *das Spiel*), and *das Zoom* (implied G. *das Objektiv*). Apart from the relevance of these gender conventions, a variety of rules assign neuter gender to the anglicisms in the corpus:

a) m-rules:

- {*-ment* = neuter}: *das Agreement*, *das Apartment*, *das Entertainment*, *das Equipment*, *das Establishment*, *das Impeachment*, *das Infotainment*, *das Investment*, *das Management*, *das Statement*, *das Understatement*
- {*-al* (nominal suffix) = neuter}: *das Festival*, *das Musical*, *das Revival*, *das Terminal*
- {*-chen* = neuter}: *das Filmchen*

## b) s-rules:

- {pictorial images = neuter}: *das Cover, das Design, das Label, das Logo*
- {neutral biological gender of animates = neuter}: *das Baby, das Girl, das Girlie, das Groupie, das Model, das Starlet*
- {sheets, strips, slabs = neuter} (cf. Steinmetz 2001: 219): *das Snowboard, das Steak, das Ticket*
- {clothing primary, midriff = neuter} (cf. Steinmetz 1986: 195): *das Shirt, das Sweatshirt, das T-Shirt*
- {cruciform objects, mesh-like structures = neuter} (cf. Steinmetz 2002): *das Grid, das Internet, das Net, das Web*
- {institutions = neuter}: *das College*
- {dwellings = neuter}: *das Camp, das Pub, das Cockpit, das Office, das Penthouse*
- {names of languages = neuter}: *das English*
- {units of measurement = neuter}: *das Barrel, das Bit*
- {chemical substances, names of drugs = neuter}: *das Speed*

In sum, the intricate rule system of neuter gender in German provides an explanation of almost all neuter anglicisms in the corpus with perhaps the exception of *das Movie*. Neuter gender seems surprising from the author's *sprachgefühl* which would assign masculine gender to the anglicism. The actual usage in the corpus emphasizes the equivalence of *das Movie* and *der Film*, both of which are used synonymously in the same article for purposes of lexical variation:

- (50) *Was lernt das Movie aus den Erfolgen von „Big Brother“?* [three sentences later...] *Das kann der Film von „Big Brother“ lernen: ... (34/100)*  
 [What does the movie learn from the success of “Big Brother”? ... This is what the film can learn from “Big Brother”:...]

Thus, from the viewpoint of lexical-conceptual equivalence, *Movie* could be assigned masculine gender due to its correspondence with *der Film*. However, lexical-conceptual equivalence fails to account for the neuter gender of *das Movie*, which alludes to the existence of another associative pattern responsible for the assignment of non-default gender. A probable explanation could lead into the realm of the rule {superordinate = neuter}. In contrast to *Film*, which was borrowed into German with the advent of photography and cinematography, *Movie* is a more recent borrowing. While *Film* was probably assigned masculine gender due to its objective, concrete reference to a film strip, *Movie*, has lost this point of reference and relates to a continuative notion of a filmic production shown on a screen. As a cover term for all kinds of

filmic productions, *Movie* acquires traits of a superordinate, which might trigger the assignment of neuter gender.

#### 9.1.4 Gender variation

The analysis of nominal anglicisms in the three gender classes of German indicates the relevance of a principle and rule-based approach to gender assignment of anglicisms in German. What adds to the explanatory significance is the little amount of gender variation that takes places among anglicisms in the corpus. Since anglicisms represent fairly recent additions to the German lexicon, it could be assumed that gender variation plays a bigger role with anglicisms than with other parts of the German vocabulary. The lack of variation, however, not only indicates that gender assignment is governed by rules, i.e. associative schemas, but also that it is a conventionalized category, meaning that gender merges with its nominal referent in the lexicon of a German speaker. This could explain why only a few instances of gender variation are documented in *Der Spiegel 2000*: *der/das Cash*, *der/das Cyberspace*, *das/die E-Mail*, *der/das Event*, *der/die Single*, *der/das Speed*, and the -way compounds *die Runway*, *die Gangway*, and *der Highway*.

The different genders in *der/die Single* and in *der/das Speed* are due to the homonymic nature of the noun. *Der Single* refers to a person living a single life and masculine gender follows the associative pattern {generic person = masculine}. The retention of a gender trace characterizes *die Single* ('a single record'), whose implied German lexical-conceptual extension is feminine (*die Schallplatte*). With reference to velocity, *der Speed* takes masculine by default, whereas, as a name of a drug, *das Speed* follows the rule {chemical substances, names of drugs = neuter}.

The variants *der/das Cash*, *der/das Cyberspace*, *der/das Event*, and *das/die E-Mail* represent true instances of gender variation since the different genders do not indicate separate lexical meanings. Variation between masculine and neuter in the first three examples hints at different conceptualizations reflecting semantic primitives of gender. In analogy to German (*das Geld* 'money'), *Cash* is marked as neuter in (51) evoking general anaphoric reference to the sum of money stated in the previous clause:

- (51) *Bislang bekam Henson jährlich gerade mal 18 Millionen Dollar für diese Rechte. Es war hundertprozentig richtig, sich dieses Cash jetzt zu sichern.* (50/87)

[Until now Henson merely received 18 Million Dollars per year for these rights. It was one hundred percent right to secure that money.]

In (52), however, reference is made to a specific type of *Cash*. This is achieved by the specification of *Cash* with a determinant in a compound construction (*Börsen-Cash*) and by the projection of definite reference from the preceding demonstrative pronoun.

- (52) *Es wird sich sehr schnell herausstellen, ob dieser Börsen-Cash überhaupt reales Geld ist.* (24/205)  
 [It will very soon become evident whether this cash from the stock market is real money after all.]

A similar difference between the conceptualization of the neuter variant as a non-specific superordinate notion and the masculine variant as a specific, individualized concept is palpable in *Cyberspace*. While masculine gender dominates in the corpus, there are also two instances of neuter gender. The dominance of masculine gender indicates that *Cyberspace* is largely conceived as bounded entity with instrumental function, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

- (53) *Doch entwickelt sich der Cyberspace immer mehr zum Instrument der Opposition.* (33/153)  
 [However, cyberspace is developing more and more into an instrument of the opposition]

When *Cyberspace* takes neuter gender, however, the conceptualization of the term shifts to an unbounded, continuative medium and to a superordinate entity that is remote from earthly limitations. This is evident in the contexts of the only two mentions of *das Cyberspace* in the corpus:

- (54) *Schließlich wirbt seine Ironie-Aktion für das Cyberspace als künstlerisches Medium.* (1/173)  
 [After all, his ironic deed promotes the cyberspace as an artistic medium.]
- (55) „*Ich habe in den letzten vier Jahren erlebt, wie das Cyberspace auf die Erde zurückgekommen ist*“, meint Marcinowski, ... (14/110).  
 [“In the last four years I have experienced how cyberspace has returned to earth”, Marcinowski says,...]

In line with gender variation of *Cash* and *Cyberspace*, the difference in the usage of masculine and neuter of *der/das Event* is also indicative of

the conflict between general, superordinate reference (neuter) and individuative, concrete reference (masculine). However, the semantic function of gender remains blurred since *das Event* denotes both specific and generic events whereas *der Event* is restricted to specific events. The prevalent use of neuter gender indicates that *Event* is generally conceptualized as a cover term for all kinds of happenings, social occasions and activities. This superordinate notion of *Event* can be optionally cancelled if reference is made to a specific event:

- (56) *Letztes Jahr gab's ein „Dschungelfest“, ebenfalls von Fiestas con Fettzi veranstaltet – das war ein richtiger Event.* (33/110)  
[Last year there was a “jungle-party” also staged by Fiestas con Fettzi – that was a real event]
- (57) *Erstmals in der Geschichte des Volkslaufs „City to Surf“ durch die Metropole musste die Teilnehmerzahl beschränkt werden. Es war der letzte große Event vor Olympia.* (37/193)  
[For the first time in the history of the citizens' run through the metropolis, “City to Surf”, the number of participants had to be limited. This was the last big event before the Olympic Games.]

In (56) and (57) the explicit mention of the names of the events establishes a specific reference frame, which coheres to the basic gender meaning of masculine. This provides a possible reason for the assignment of masculine gender.

In contrast to the previous examples, the variation between neuter and feminine in *das/die E-Mail* does not rely on semantic primitives of gender. Interestingly, gender assignment seems to be influenced by regional and dialectal factors. Neuter gender is widespread in south German varieties while feminine gender is particularly prevalent in standard German. As the more prestigious variant, feminine gender seems to be on the rise overall. Since the language of *Der Spiegel* is standard German, it is not surprising that the corpus of the year 2000 shows 33 instances of feminine *E-Mail* and only one case of neuter *E-Mail*. A look at the genesis of *E-Mail* in the newsmagazine provides evidence that feminine gender has most likely evolved due to conscious gender selection, i.e. by projection of gender from a translational equivalent. As *E-mail* was still a fairly new concept in German, it was introduced to the readership as *die elektronische Post (E-Mail)* in several instances in *Der Spiegel* in 1994. When the anglicism became familiar, the translational equivalent disappeared but left its gender trace on *E-Mail* in German.

- (58) *Er schaut die am Bildschirm aufgelaufene elektronische Post („E-Mail“) durch, „ob irgendwelche dringenden Probleme anliegen.“* (*Der Spiegel* 1994: 7/166)  
 [He is browsing through the electronic mail on the screen (“E-Mail”) to check whether any urgent problems have come up.]
- (59) *Allerdings halte ich es nicht für möglich, Inhalte von elektronischer Post („E-Mail“) zu kontrollieren.* (*Der Spiegel* 1994: 12/14)  
 [But I don't think that it is possible to monitor the contents of electronic mail (“E-Mail”).]

While the origin of *die E-Mail* seems to have been inspired by gender projection of a translational equivalent, neuter *das E-Mail* has evolved alongside its feminine variant without any gender traces to a possible translational rendering. Instead, *das E-Mail* reflects the semantic primitives of neuter gender. As such, neuter gender marks the continuative nature of e-mail, which only exists in an abstract virtual reality separated from the physical immediacy of regular mail. On a different note, this discussion indicates that gender choice of anglicisms in German can be subject to conventionalization: if influential media such as *Der Spiegel* attribute feminine gender to *E-Mail*, this gender can be adopted as a prestigious variant and spread over the population of German speakers.

A similar case of gender variation in the corpus concerns the *-way* compound anglicisms *die Runway*, *die Gangway*, and *der Highway*. As part of the locution (*American*) *Way of Life*, the anglicism *Way* receives masculine gender by default (individuative reference, no other rules apply). The masculine gender of *Way* is also projected onto the compound *der Highway* (cf. G. *die Autobahn*). However, feminine gender of *die Runway* and *die Gangway* deviates from the default gender of *Way*, which indicates that *Way* does not function as a gender determining element in these constructions. Instead, *Runway* and *Gangway* appear to be interpreted as simplex anglicisms, and the solution to their gender question is founded on lexical-conceptual equivalence to German terms (cf. *Runway* = G. *die Start/Landebahn*; *Gangway* = G. *die Fahrgasttreppe*, *die Landungsbrücke*), the latter of which take feminine gender according to the rule {access passages = f} (cf. Steinmetz, Rice 1989).

In conclusion, the application of a principle and rule approach to the analysis of the gender of the tagged nominal anglicisms in the corpus provides a variety of interesting results. The interaction of a default hierarchy of gender assignment and various semantic, morphological, and phonological rules is able to account for the vast majority

of masculine, feminine, and neuter anglicisms. For masculine, the s-rule {generic person = masculine} and its morphological extensions of agentive suffixation, {-er = masculine}, {-ist = masculine}, and {-ant = masculine}, are the most productive patterns of masculine gender assignment. Apart from a couple of other s/m-rules, a large portion of the masculine anglicisms receives gender by default as no specific gender associations apply. This is emphasized by generally weak associative links between masculine anglicisms and possible German lexical-conceptual equivalents.

A considerable number of feminine anglicisms, on the other hand, straightforwardly connect to German feminine lexical-conceptual equivalents since the anglicisms and their German counterparts describe the same basic lexical concepts and, in some instances, also exhibit word formal similarities. Based on these close conceptual and word formal ties, a projection of gender from a German lexical unit to its corresponding anglicism seems possible. Feminine gender is also triggered by a variety of other m-rules which either derive abstract nouns {-ion, -ness, -sis, -ung, -anz/ance = feminine} or mark female agency {-in, -ess = feminine}. Among the semantic triggers, the s-rule {collective of individuals = feminine} is particularly productive. In the absence of s/m-rules the phonological convention {word final C+[i, ɪ] = feminine} also has an effect on feminine gender of anglicisms.

The majority of neuter anglicisms are subject to the s-rule {superordinate = neuter} and to the rule {non-individuative/non-agentive dejectival and deverbal conversion = neuter}, which can be expressed by zero derivation or suffixation {-ing, -al = neuter}. Other rules involve an intricate mesh of semantic reasons that explain neuter gender for individual anglicisms. The limited amount of gender variation in the corpus indicates that the gender of anglicisms in German is also a highly conventionalized category. If variation occurs, it follows from a different conceptualization of the term according to the semantic primitives of gender in German (masculine = concrete/individuative, feminine = abstract, neuter = continuative/ collective, cf. Bittner 2001).

In general, the principle and rule approach to gender assignment (cf. Steinmetz 1986, 2001) provides a cohesive picture of the assignment of gender to anglicisms in German. It is also possible to incorporate the semantic primitives of gender in an understanding of default gender as the most cognitively salient class, i.e. concrete/individuative concepts. This residual semantic quality of gender forms the basis upon which gender specific rules operate. Apart from gender rules, the gender of anglicisms is also influenced by two

general conventions which apply across the different gender classes of German. First of all, gender trace {gender of reduced form = gender of full form/implied form} accounts for the retention of gender if the gender determining element is not word formally realized (either by reduction, e.g. abbreviation, clipping, or by the ellipsis of a collocational implication). Secondly, the gender of anglicisms in German can also be influenced by lexical-conceptual equivalence {gender of anglicism = gender of lexical-conceptual equivalent}. It is important to stress that this convention applies when an anglicism relates to the same conceptual nucleus as a German term and thus acquires the same gender based on conceptual equivalence as expressed by semantic primitives of gender and other gender specific s-rules. Gender equivalence due to lexical-conceptual equivalence can be overruled by the effects of m-rules and p-rules.

As far as morphological rules are concerned, terms such as *das Business*, *das Cover*, *die Power*, *der Pudding*, and *der Pullover* demonstrate that suffixes assign gender based on their semantic derivational content and not merely by virtue of their word form. Phonological rules, however, represent purely shape based criteria of gender assignment. In the corpus the only p-rule that shows an effect on gender assignment of anglicisms is the sequence of word final consonant and high unrounded front vowel {word final C+[i, I] = feminine}, e.g. *die Lobby*, *die Party*, *die Rallye*. The discussion of obvious exceptions to this rule implies that the phonological pattern has a secondary effect on gender assignment, i.e. it triggers feminine gender if no other s/m-rules apply.

This would suggest an additional segment of rule attribution between gender by default and s/m-rules for gender assignment of anglicisms in German. In principle, s/m-rules operate on the same level and gender conflicts of anglicisms or the lack of gender rules are resolved at the default level. Just as the phonological pattern {word final C+[i, I] = feminine} only applies before default in the absence of any other s/m-rules, the notion of lexical-conceptual equivalence can also operate on top of default if there is a lack of s/m-rules. This is evident in the variety of feminine and neuter anglicisms that coincide with the gender of basic German lexical concepts, and it is underlined by the phenomenon of constructed lexical equivalence, in which an anglicism is assigned the gender of a translational equivalent despite conceptual differentiation (e.g. *die E-Mail*).

Semantic primitives of gender are at the root of gender assignment and add a cognitive perspective to the default hierarchy of gender. Thus, masculine, as the least marked gender in German, refers to

concrete/individual concepts, whereas the marked categories of feminine and neuter denote abstract and collective/continuative concepts respectively. To sum up, if s/m-rules apply, secondary criteria of gender assignment are ruled out and gender conflicts are settled at the default level. If no s/m-rules apply, secondary criteria (the phonological pattern {word final C+[i, I] = feminine} and lexical-conceptual equivalence via semantic primitives) can influence gender assignment before the application of default and semantic primitives as a last resort. From a cognitive perspective, the interaction of the various gender triggers points to the existence of neural layers of associative gender patterns whose activation determine the respective gender of an anglicism (cf. Onysko 2006). At present, this framework of gender assignment of anglicisms in German aptly describes the instances of masculine, feminine, and neuter gender of the anglicisms in the corpus, and it remains subject to further research to widen the scope of the analysis and to expand on its cognitive implications for gender assignment.

## **9.2 Plural and genitive case inflection**

Apart from contributing to an understanding of the German system of gender, nominal anglicisms also provide valuable insights into the nature of plural formation and case marking in German. Plural formation is particularly interesting due to a partial overlap of English and German plural morphs. This evokes the question as to what extent -s plurals are borrowed together with their English bases or appear as inherent markers of plural in German. Genitive represents the sole case that is regularly marked on the stem of singular nouns. Thus, a substantial lack of genitive inflection of anglicisms demands further investigation into why the degree of morphological specification can be reduced. These crucial objectives will be discussed in separate chapters on pluralization and genitive case below.

### **9.2.1 Rules and patterns of pluralization**

In addition to gender assignment, the paradigm of plural formation in German has stimulated diverse approaches to rule formulation. Leaving aside phonological changes by umlaut, Duden postulates five plural morphs (-e, -Ø, -[e]n, -er, and -s), whose distribution can be predicted for 85% of the German core vocabulary by three rules (1998: 232). These rules are dependent on phonological conventions in word final syllables and on the gender of a noun. Köpcke (1988), on the other

hand, approaches the case of German plural allomorphy with associative schemas. His theory has found resonance in research on frequency effects of language (cf. Bybee 1991). A slightly different stance is taken in Steinmetz (2002). He follows Mugdan (1977), who proposes that the zero plural morpheme ( $-\emptyset$ ) is an allomorph of the  $-e$  plural morpheme. Thus, Steinmetz works with four plural morphemes, for which he postulates a default hierarchy  $\{-s > -n > -e > -r\}$ . In this scenario,  $-s$  functions as the default morpheme if no other rules apply (ibid.). Plural rules are based on gender, on certain word final phonological properties, and on specific semantic classes.

A further approach to German plural allomorphy is discussed in Marcus, Brinkmann, Clahsen et.al. (henceforth Marcus et. al. 1995) and Pinker (2000), who argue that  $-s$  is actually the regular German plural morpheme while  $-e$ ,  $-\emptyset$ ,  $-[e]n$ , and  $-er$  represent irregular forms. This claim seems counterintuitive to a descriptive notion of regularity, according to which the most frequent morphological patterns are commonly perceived as the regular elements. Plural  $-s$ , however, merely accounts for 4% of all plural endings in a large German corpus (CELEX; Marcus et. al. 1995: 228). Despite the numerical underrepresentation of  $-s$ , the authors make a strong case by showing that plural  $-s$  occurs in circumstances typically reserved for the application of regular morphological rules. The suffix marks the plural of non-canonical roots such as onomatopoeic words (e.g. *Wauwaus*), truncated roots and acronyms (e.g. *BMWs*, *Össis*, *Sozis*), and unassimilated borrowings (e.g. *Jobs*, *Teams*) (Marcus et al. 1995: 240). Furthermore,  $-s$  is used for pluralizing names and eponyms (e.g. *Golfs*, *Maiers*, *Porsches*), and lexicalized phrases (e.g. *Rührmichnichtans*) (ibid.). To this the authors add evidence from overregularization processes in child language. They also stress the lack of regular plural  $-s^7$  as a gap element in German compounds while irregular  $-e$ ,  $-en$ , and  $-er$  are possible, as in *Bettenzahl* ‘number of beds’, *Häusermarkt* ‘housing market’, and *Hundehütte* ‘dog shed’ (cf. 1995: 230). The latter argument is also reflected in the structure of English compounds, which permit the occurrence of irregular plural determinants (e.g. *teethmarks*, *mice-infested*) but not the intrusion of regular plural forms, as in *\*horses race* (cf. Pinker 2000: 180-85).

The postulate of  $-s$  as the regular German plural suffix has been formulated within the framework of the Dual Mechanism Model of language, which presumes an interaction of rules and stored forms.

7 Note that  $-(e)s$  as a genitive trace is a possible gap element, e.g. *Museumsleiter* (museum director).

According to the model, irregular items are stored as lexical entries in the mental lexicon and are subject to pattern associative processes while morphological rules apply when non-irregular items are selected from the mental word store. (cf. Pinker and Prince 1988, 1994). Proponents of associative networks tend to differ from this argumentation and generally stress the influence of frequency on the salience of morphological and phonological patterns (cf. Bybee 2004, 1991, Kapatsinski 2004a/b).

The Dual Mechanism Model of plural marking in German has received some recent empirical attention in a neurolinguistic ERP-study of German irregular morphology (Bartke, Rösler, Streb, et. al. 2005). The authors measured event related potentials in 22 German native speakers while they were exposed to a set of low frequency plural nouns. The observation focused on the subjects' reactions to plural forms in *-e* and *-en*. The results show subregular responses for the *-e* suffix in combination with masculine gender (2005: 50). This leads the authors to conclude that apart from the main regularity of *-s* plural suffixation, there is neurolinguistic evidence that *-e* suffixation also applies as a subregular process distinct from regular *-s* plural and from other German irregular morphs (2005: 51). Thus, the results call for a refinement of the Dual Mechanism Model of plural formation in German.

As far as anglicisms in German are concerned, the interesting node in the discussion on German plural formation lies in the assumption that unassimilated borrowings should take the *-s* plural due to the regularity hypothesis of the Dual Mechanism Model. As such, plural formation of anglicisms in German could add to the ongoing discussion about the status of *-s* as the default plural morph. To attenuate this enthusiasm, historical evidence indicates that *-s* was almost non-existent in Old and Middle High German and only entered the language in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries through borrowings from Low German, Dutch, English, and French (Marcus et. al. 1995: 242). Thus, one cannot rule out the possibility that recent borrowings from English have come into German as synthesized plural forms instead of being inflected in German. In a similar vein, Myers-Scotton suggests that for English “plurality is at the same lemma address as its head”, i.e. the plural forms part of the lexical entry in English (1993: 63). This assumption further complicates the distinction between plural formation in German and borrowed plural nouns. Despite the difficulty of analytically separating borrowing from *-s* plural suffixation in German, the premise remains that unassimilated borrowings represent a potential for regular plural formation. So, the following analysis of the data will focus on the various plural morphs

of anglicisms in German and will try to investigate the reasons for their occurrence.

To revert to the results of Chapter 8.2, the anglicisms tagged for plural in the corpus exhibit a marked predilection for *-s* plural in German: 60% take the *-s* suffix followed by 34% of zero marking, 5% of *-e* plural forms, and 1% of *-[e]n* suffixation. The least frequent suffix in the corpus, *-[e]n*, is only represented in the anglicisms *Farmen*, *Lobbyisten*, *Interviewten*, and *Boxen*. The term *Lobbyisten* coheres to the pattern of *-en* suffixation for plural agentive nouns derived by *-ist*. *Interviewten* follows the convention that derived singular nouns ending in *-e* take *-n* in the plural<sup>8</sup>. The forms *Farmen* and *Boxen* are more elusive to explanation. Rhyme associations might stimulate the plural of *Boxen* (cf. G. *Ochs* ‘ox’ → *Ochsen* ‘oxen’). However, phonological similarities fail in the example of *Farmen*, whose rhyming associates *Darm* (‘intestine’), *Arm* (‘arm’), *Schwarm* (‘swarm’), and *Alarm* (‘alarm’) are marked with *-e* in the plural: *Därme*, *Arme*, *Schwärme*, and *Alarne*. A possible explanation for the plural forms *Farmen* and *Boxen* can be found in Steinmetz (2002), who is able to solve the riddle by applying the rule {feminine nouns = plural suffixes *-n* and *-e*}. Equal plural suffixation is resolved at the default level: {*-s* > *-n* > *-e* > *-r*}. The plural tables for *Farmen* and *Boxen* illustrate their plural ending:

<i>Farmen</i>	[f. = <i>-n</i> , <i>-e</i> ] => 0s > 1n > 1e > 0r = <i>-n</i>
<i>Boxen</i>	[f. = <i>-n</i> , <i>-e</i> ] => 0s > 1n > 1e > 0r = <i>-n</i>

As the discussion of plural anglicisms in *-[e]n* shows, only a blend of rules from different theoretical strands manages to offer some explanation for the plural endings in *Boxen*, *Farmen*, *Interviewten*, and *Lobbyisten*.

The difficulty to clarify minority plurals of anglicisms is also palpable in the examples of *-e* suffixation: *Bosse*, *Boykotte*, *Filme*, *Remixe*, and *Sketche*. A mixture of phonological and diachronic arguments merely tentatively explains these plural forms. Thus, it can be argued that the necessity of schwa epenthesis in *Boss*, *Remix*, and *Sketch* might impede *-s* suffixation. The example of *Boykotte* (TF 4) is

8 This rule is particularly valid for agent nouns derived from participles and adjectives, e.g. *interviewt* (v.) → *der/die Interviewte* (n. sg.) → *die Interviewten* (n. pl.). However, underived nouns in *-e* can take other plural suffixes as in *Tee* (sg.) → *Tees* (pl.) and *Kaffee* (sg.) → *Kaffees* (pl.). These terms are usually mass nouns but receive *-s* for plural when used as countable entities implying kinds of tea/coffee or cups of tea/coffee. As such, *Tee* and *Kaffee* appear as non-canonical roots which inflect with *-s* for plural in line with the hypothesis of regular *-s* plural suffixation in German.

particularly interesting since it shows minor variation with *-s* plural in *Boykotts* (TF 1). The form *Boykotts* could be due to a reapplication of *-s* plural as the default plural overriding associative links to a stored form (*Boykotte*). Probably more likely, *Boykotts* has been coined in analogy to its English original, which would be evidence for the borrowing of a lexical item together with its plural form. A further and perhaps the most likely scenario explains *Boykotts* as the product of bilingual competence of a speaker, who applies the English *-s* plural rule if *Boykott* is interpreted as an English element.

As far as *Filme* is concerned, the term could be classified as an assimilated borrowing and thus as a canonical root, which is not the primary domain of *-s* suffixation (cf. Marcus et. al. 1995: 240). Without elaborating on the fuzzy edge of separating assimilated from unassimilated borrowings (cf. Chapter 5.2), the essence of the above argument entails the implication that *-s* suffixation might constitute a language change in progress. If earlier borrowings such as *Film* and *Boykott* did not take *-s* as a plural morpheme at the time when they entered German but recent borrowings generally inflect with plural *-s*, this would be an indication that *-s* is applied more widely to lexical borrowings in German today. Thus, the rule of *-s* suffixation in German could have been strengthened lately due to borrowing and due to the increasing English competence of German speakers.

The second most dominant pattern of plural formation with anglicisms in the corpus is zero plural morphemization. Apart from the retention of English irregular plurals in *Doormen* and *Gentlemen* (cf. Chapter 8.2), which are further indications of bilingual awareness, the abbreviations *SMS* and *PC* defy obvious plural marking. While in *SMS* word final [s] obstructs further *-s* suffixation, the plural of *PC* is frequently realized as [pe tses] in spoken German. This form also shows up once in the corpus as *PCs* (9/144). The instance of zero plural morphemization of *PC* can be explained by the plural form of its source compound. *Personal Computer* takes  $\emptyset$  following the convention of zero plural marking of masculine and neuter nouns ending in unstressed syllables (usually in *-er*, and *-el*). So, the plural form *PC* retains the morpho-phonologically triggered zero plural of its source compound. The retention of the unmarked plural trace is more likely to occur in situations of deliberate language use as in writing. In spoken language, on the other hand, the connection between the abbreviation and its source compound can be inactive, causing regular *-s* inflection.

The above convention of zero plural in word final schwa syllables appears to be the most powerful associative pattern of plural anglicisms in the corpus. Virtually all anglicisms ending in *-er* form their plural

with zero inflection. In total, this amounts to 33% of the tagged plural anglicisms in the corpus. The following is a small and random selection of zero plural anglicisms in *-er* (cf. Appendix 3 for a comprehensive list): *Cruiser*, *Daytrader*, *Designer*, *Farmer*, *Ghostwriter*, *Headhunter*, *HipHopper*, *Insider*, *Jogger*, *Kidnapper*, *Manager*, *Newcomer*, *Provider*, *Reporter*, *Stalker*, *Starter*, *Tester*, and *User*.

The only forms that diverge from this pattern are *Left-overs*, *Players*, and *Sneakers*, which occur as specific borrowings and are not pluralized within the German system. *Sneakers* (in the sense of ‘tennis shoes’) follows its English model as a plurale tantum. The term *Players* is part of the compounds *Golden Players* and *Global Players*. The latter shows variation with the plural form *Global Player*, which indicates a process of assimilation of the borrowed compound to the German associative plural convention {anglicisms in *-er* take  $\emptyset$  plural}. Interestingly, the originally borrowed form *Global Players* disappears after issue 16 of *Der Spiegel* 2000 while the plural *Global Player* occurs for the first time in issue 15 and continues from then on as the unrivalled plural form of the compound. Since, in this case, the shape based convention of  $\emptyset$  plural obviously deletes plural *-s* of the original borrowing over time, the assumption can be made that the associative pattern of  $\emptyset$  plural for anglicisms in *-er* blocks the application of regular *-s* suffixation.

The only other exception to the plural convention {anglicisms in *-er* take  $\emptyset$  plural} is the term *Left-overs*. As in the examples above, *Left-overs* is a recent borrowing in the corpus. The compound is specifically used with reference to unsolved political issues which arose at EU summits in Amsterdam (1997) and in Nizza (2000). The occurrence of *Left-overs* in *Der Spiegel* 2000 also exemplifies a journalistic strategy to introduce borrowings in German. At its first mention in issue 47, *Left-overs* appears as an uncapitalized quotation. Subsequent usages in issues 49 and 51 already show the compound as an integrated element in the text:

- (60) *Es darf diesmal keine ‚left-overs‘ geben“.* (47/23)  
[There must not be any ‘leftovers’ this time].
- (61) *Zunächst um die so genannten Left-overs vom Amsterdamer Gipfel 1997.* (49/213)  
[At first about the so called leftovers of the Amsterdam summit in 1997.]

- (62) ...nach dem Nizza-Gipfel keine offenen Fragen, so genannte Left-overs, mehr zu haben. (51/168).  
 [...not to have any open questions, so called leftovers, after the summit in Nizza]

Apart from the tentative explanation that the English plural in *Left-overs* is retained due to the event of its recent borrowing and its specific use in German, a reanalysis of the English form according to the pattern of {anglicisms in *-er* take  $\emptyset$  plural} could also be blocked for morphological reasons. In \**Left-over*, *-er* is not analyzable as a separate morpheme. All the other anglicisms in the corpus that cohere to the pattern of zero plural morphemization exhibit a morphological structure of base + agentive/instrumental *-er* (cf. Appendix 3). So, the data of anglicisms in German allow a tentative postulate that the plural convention of {anglicisms in *-er* take  $\emptyset$  plural} only applies if *-er* functions as a morpheme. This scenario also coheres to the gender rule {*-er* = masculine}, for which there is evidence that it only holds under the condition that *-er* is an analyzable segment (cf. Chapter 9.1.1).

Finally, the occurrence of *-s* as the most frequent plural marker of anglicisms in German evokes the question as to which extent *-s* is the product of a German rule or the consequence of lexical borrowing. The data provide some evidence on both sides of the argument (cf. Appendix 4 for a complete list of tagged *-s* plural anglicisms). First of all, orthographical variation between word final <*-ys*> and <*-ies*> serves as an indicator for borrowed English plural versus German *-s* suffixation. The terms *Celebrities*, *Communities*, *Ladies*, *Sixties*, and *Teenies* retain their English spelling in German and thus appear as direct borrowings. Preservation of the English singular ending <*-y*> in *Babys*, *Daddys*, *Hobbys*, *Ladys*, *Lobbys*, *Nobodys*, *Partys*, *Ponys*, and *Storys*, however, indicates *-s* suffixation of the respective singular base anglicisms in German. This process is particularly evident in the pseudo anglicism *Handy*, which also adds an *-s* to its stem to form the plural *Handys*.

The variation between the English spelling *Ladies* and the Germanized version *Ladys* is only slightly indicative of a distinction along the lines of direct borrowing and German inflection. *Ladys* is used in generic contexts, but it also occurs as a label of a group of British women who undertook an expedition to the South Pole and with reference to First Ladies of former US presidents. Such Anglo-American contexts generally form the background for the occurrences of *Ladies*. Thus, the English form appears once in a quotation of an English detergent producer and another time with reference to British

female ministers. Direct borrowing is explicitly marked in the incidence of *Ladies* as part of a proper noun (*Ladies von Rylestone*).

Further evidence for *-s* suffixation in German is provided by a couple of pseudo anglicisms and clipped forms, which take *-s* in the plural: *Profis* (→ professionals), *Pullis* (→ pullovers), *Teens* (→ teenagers), *Twens* ('people in their twenties'), and *Skins* (→ skinheads). Since the base forms of these anglicisms are the products of word formation processes in German, they show regular German plural inflection. The plural form *Crashs* is also indicative of German pluralization since it deviates from the original English plural *crashes*. The German variant represents the possible phonological sequence of voiceless alveopalatal and alveolar fricative [ʃs], which is avoided in English by schwa epenthesis.

By contrast, indication of borrowed *-s* plural is discernible in anglicisms which act as pluralia tantum in English and German: *Basics*, *Charts*, *Hotpants*, *Jeans*, *News*, *Rollerblades*, *Shorts*, and *Sneakers*. Similarly, a few anglicisms only appear as plural forms in German and are thus most likely direct borrowings from English: *Drugs*, *Royals*, *Sixties*, and *Skills*. Compounds and phrasal borrowings offer further proof of imported *-s* plurals in German, as in *Opening Games*, *Public Relations*, *Shopping Malls*, *Special Effects*, *Ups and Downs*, and *War Lords*. Furthermore, the borrowings *Stations* and *Amerindians* emphasize their integral link to English *-s* plural as they conflict with the plural of German lexical equivalents (*Stationen*, 'stations' and *Indianer* 'indians').

The above scenarios explain regular *-s* suffixation of anglicisms in German and integral borrowing of *-s* plurals with English lexical items. The majority of *-s* plural anglicisms in the corpus, however, cannot be clearly classified in terms of borrowing or German inflection. Plural anglicisms such as *Airlines*, *Airports*, *Aliens*, *Apartments*, *Bands*, *Bars*, *Beats*, *Boys*, and *Briefings* (cf. Appendix 4) exist alongside their singular bases in German. So, pluralization could depend on regular *-s* inflection in German or on integral borrowing from English. The functional equivalence of *-s* as a plural marker in English and German also constitutes a common node of transfer between the languages. Thus, increasing bilingual awareness of German speakers will foster the proper application of regular English plural with English bases. Regular German *-s* suffixation will continue to occur in other instances of plural assignment to non-canonical roots.

In sum, plural formation of anglicisms in German is an intricate issue. It is influenced by the counterpoles of lexical borrowing and inherent rule application. Although the approach to plural formation in

German in line with the Dual Mechanism Model is contested and demands further refinements, the postulate of *-s* as the regular plural morpheme is based on compelling evidence. Following the prediction of the model, borrowings should largely fall into the domain of regular *-s* suffixation. Indeed, merely a handful of anglicisms take *-e* and *-[e]n* suffixes in the corpus. A hotchpotch of explanations seems necessary to at least tentatively account for these exceptional pluralizations. The associative pattern {nominal anglicisms in *-er* =  $\emptyset$  plural}, on the other hand, constitutes the most predictable schema of plural formation. As exemplified by the shift of the borrowed plural *Global Players* to zero marked *Global Player*, the convention {anglicisms in *-er* =  $\emptyset$  plural} enjoys higher cognitive salience than *-s* suffixation. For anglicisms that do not end in *-er*, however, *-s* appears to be the unrivalled plural suffix. This is due to the mutual catalysis of borrowing and inherent rule application, which will also continue to shape future plural forms of anglicisms in German.

### 9.2.2 Genitive – an overspecified paradigm

Despite a switch of paradigms from pluralization to genitive case, the following discussion will continue to revolve around the *-s* suffix, which functions as a marker of plural and of genitive case in German. In general, the German case system of nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative shows a certain amount of syncretism, i.e. nouns can appear with equivalent suffixes and determiners, e.g. *die Menschen* (nom. pl.) and *die Menschen* (acc. pl.), *der Mutter* (gen. sg. f.) and *der Mutter* (dat. sg. f.). Feminine nouns do not show any root inflection in the singular while case markers (determiners and nominal inflection) merge in the plural for all the three genders. Apart from idiomatic phrases which can include a frozen dative *-e* nominal suffix, e.g. *im Grunde genommen* ('basically'; lit. 'taken at the base'), dative singular inflection is no longer active in German today. This leaves genitive of masculine and neuter nouns as the only case which is marked on noun stems in the singular. As shown in Chapter 8.2, however, almost a third of genitive anglicisms resist regular case inflection in *-[e]s*.

Considering the whole data of zero inflected genitive anglicisms (cf. Appendix 5), the resistance to genitive marking appears to be largely haphazard despite the existence of a few conditioning factors of zero genitive case inflection. Thus, if an anglicism ends in an [s] sound, further *-s* suffixation is largely blocked, as in *Business*, *Cyberspace*, *E-Commerce*, *Hooliganismus*, *Jazz*, *Service*, and *Tennis*. *Bosses* is the only exception, which actually follows the German convention of [e, ə] epenthesis to mark genitive case after a word final alveolar fricative. A

variety of anglicisms show free variation between regular genitive inflection and zero marking as *des Crash – des Crashes*, *des Entertainment – des Entertainments*, *des Laptop – des Laptops*, and *des Underdog – des Underdogs*. These examples are characterized by a balanced ratio of morphologically convergent and divergent forms.

The variation in *des Punk* and *des Punks* indicates the influence of marked paradigmatical integration on zero genitive inflection of anglicisms. The uninflected form *des Punk* is part of a quotation of a translated British newspaper title:

- (63) *Eine „Lady Di des Underground“ taufen sie die Zeitungen, eine „Prinzessin des Punk“,...* (39/100)  
 [The newspapers called her a “Lady Di of the underground”, a “princess of punk”,...]

In (63) the partly translated titles of a British newspaper share the same internal structure of head noun and genitive attribute. Both segments are highlighted with quotation marks, which form a visual link to an external source and at the same time mark the boundaries of the alien phrasal elements in the German matrix clause. Thus, typographical marking flags the phrasal units as insertions rather than as integrated syntactic groups. This is probably why paradigmatic stem inflection of the genitive case is blocked in these instances. Furthermore, the format of quotation could induce the translator to retain the original as far as possible to stress its alien source.

In a similar fashion, marked quotatives induce resistance to genitive inflection in *des „Branding“*, *des „Crash“*, *des „Shareholder-Value“*, and *des „SnowFunPark“*. However, these are the only other examples by which the quotative function relates to zero genitive inflection. The majority of anglicisms that resist genitive inflection are not typographically salient but appear as integrated elements in German phrases. There is also variation in the same form, as in *des Shareholder-Value*, which occurs merely once as an uninflected quotative and seven times as a typographically unmarked zero inflected nominal. This adds further evidence to the claim that quotations can function as insertions of alien text spaces which are not subject to German rule based integration (cf. Chapter 11 on codeswitching).

The most frequently used anglicism in the corpus, *Internet*, also shows variation between regularly marked *des Internets* and zero inflected *des Internet*. Contrary to the widespread notion that increased acceptance in the German lexicon will promote structural integration of an angicism, the irregular form *des Internet* is far more frequent (TF

30+) in typographically unmarked contexts than the Germanized version *des Internets* (TF 16). A comparison to earlier years of *Der Spiegel* (from 1994 to 1999) confirms the general predominance of zero inflection. In 1994, when the term was still a rather recent borrowing, five instances of *des Internet* and no inflected genitive forms occur. In 1995, a slight degree of structural integration is visible with two occurrences of *des Internets* while *des Internet* appears 12 times. The number of structurally integrated forms increases in 1996 to 11 and in 1997 to 14. In 1997, *des Internet* occurs even less than its structurally integrated equivalent (*des Internets*). However, 1997 seems to mark a numerical plateau of structural integration since consecutive years show similar values (1998: TF 14, 1999: TF 12, 2000: TF 16). The uninflected variant *des Internet* appears more than 30 times in each of these years. Thus, despite the established position and frequent occurrence of *Internet* in the German lexicon, the structurally integrated form falls far short of the morphologically divergent variant. This ties in with earlier examples of reversing orthographical assimilation (cf. Chapter 5.2) and substantiates the notion that an undifferentiated claim for assimilation of English borrowings over time is not confirmed in recent years of *Der Spiegel* (1994 - 2000).

In a similar vein, the example of *Internet* offers evidence against the argument of exoticism, i.e. that merely sporadically occurring items tend to resist morphological integration. Apart from the most frequently used anglicism in the corpus, other well-established anglicisms almost exclusively shun genitive case inflection: *Controlling, Glamour, Hightech, Rap, Recycling, Shuttle, Stuntman, Techno, Web, and Weltcup*.

So far the discussion has shown that the tendency of anglicisms to resist genitive suffixation can only be partly explained by phonological conventions and by the usage of anglicisms as typographically marked insertions. The beliefs that assimilation is a necessary consequence of diachronic persistence of a borrowing and that the frequency of a borrowing as a token of its lexical acceptance ultimately leads to morphological convergence in the RL are not substantiated by anglicisms in the genitive case.

Alternatively, a paradigmatically driven explanation for zero inflection of nominal anglicisms in the genitive seems to emerge from the degree of morphological specification in the German case system. As pointed out at the beginning of the chapter, only genitive singular and dative plural are marked at the noun stem of the strong declensional classes of masculine and neuter nouns in German. Other than that, case marking is mainly projected by determiners preceding the nominal.

Masculine singular represents the only fully developed case paradigm, in which the ending of a determiner indicates the respective case, as in the definite articles *der* (nom.), *des* (gen.), *dem* (dat.), and *den* (acc.). The genitive case suffix (*-es*) also appears in the determiners of neuter nouns. Since the morphological information of genitive is thus already incorporated in the determiner, further nominal root inflection bears redundant morphological information. This double marking of the genitive allows zero marking of nominal stems without blurring the morphological information of genitive case. So, from the perspective of language economy, genitive case constitutes a potential niche for language change by morphological reduction of an overspecified paradigm.

## **10. Lexical productivity and inflectional integration of anglicisms**

The previous chapter has dealt with inflectional issues of nominal anglicisms. Chapter 10 continues with a focus on the word formation processes of nominal anglicisms in the corpus. Commensurate with the numerical impact of nominal anglicisms, the main part of Chapter 10 investigates mechanisms of nominal productivity, particularly the creation of hybrid compound nouns. Other interesting phenomena are the occurrence of phrasal compounds, the formation of pseudo anglicisms, nominal derivation, and the existence of peripheral types of word formation. The remainder of Chapter 10 investigates the inflectional integration and word formation productivity of verbal, adjectival, and adverbial anglicisms. Besides discussing the integration of anglicisms in the German morphological system, explorations into the semantic projections of anglicisms, their idiosyncratic usages, and their combinatory propensity create a multifarious perspective of anglicisms in German.

### **10.1 Nominal anglicisms**

As portrayed in Chapter 8.2, nominal anglicisms amount to almost 90% of the tagged portion of the corpus (cf. Figure 22), which is a valid indication of the dominance of nominal anglicisms in the corpus at large. Accordingly, lexical productivity is particularly prevalent with nominal bases. Among the various types of word formation, compounding is by far the most productive process of nominal anglicisms in German. This is not surprising in light of the notorious tendency of German to construct compounds out of multiple elements, as in the longest construction in *Der Spiegel 2000*, which also contains an anglicism: *Portfolio-Management-Vermögensverwaltungsvertrag* (7/54). Apart from sending a chilly sensation down a translator's spine, the term exemplifies the conjunction of an anglicism with German lexical material to form a hybrid compound. In quantitative terms, hybrid formations on average account for three out of four types of anglicisms in the corpus (cf. Chapter 8.1). Thus, hybrids, in particular hybrid compound nouns, represent the most urgent issue of the word formation analysis of anglicisms in German.

### 10.1.1 Hybrid forms

In line with German conventions, the vast majority of hybrid compound nouns are endocentric (headed) compounds, which have their semantic and grammatical head on the rightmost nominal element, e.g.: *Abendshow* ('evening show')<sup>1</sup>, *Airline-Aktien* ('shares of an airline'), *Aktienboom* ('booming shares'), and *Anwendungssoftware* ('usage software'). The combination of a German noun and a nominal anglicism is the most common pattern of hybrid compound nouns. Less frequent types include the pattern verb + noun, adjective + noun, and adverb/particle + noun:

- (a) Verb+Noun: *Benimmtrainerin* ('behaviour instructor'), *Boxgeschichte* ('boxing history'), *Rechenpower* ('calculation power, ability'), *Schwimm-Star* ('swimming star'), *Surfpoeten* ('surf poets'), *Turntest* ('gymnastics test'), *Vorzeigeclub* ('role model club'), *Wackelpudding* (A.E. 'Jello'), and *Werbefilm* ('advertising film').
- (b) Adjective+Noun: *Alternativ-Look* ('alternative look'), *Alt-Raverin* ('old ravers'), *Billigjobs* ('low-paying jobs'), *Endlos-Soaps* ('endless soap operas'), *Fein-Scan* ('detailed scan'), *Gratis-PR* ('public relations for free'), *Großdealer* ('big dealer'), *Schnelltest* ('quick test'), *Selfmade-Architekten* ('self-made architects'), and *Spezial-Websites* ('special websites').
- (c) Adverb/Particle+Noun: *Acht-Stunden-Job* ('eight hour job'), *Einzel-coaching* ('individual coaching'), *Innen-Design* ('interior design'), *Nebenjobs* ('side jobs'), *Nicht-Surfer* ('non surfer'), *No-Name-Werke* ('no-name works'), *Noch-Nicht-Star* (lit. 'not yet star'; 'star to be'), *Off-Road-Autos* ('off-road cars'), *Online-Dienst* ('online service'), *Seitwrtstrend* ('sideways trend'), *Ubertraine* ('super trainer'), *Voll-Profi* ('full professional'), *Wow-Effekten* ('wow effects'), and *Zwischendealer* ('intermediary dealer').

As the examples show, the position of the anglicism can vary between determinant and determinatum. In a few instances, the head is preceded by a complex determinant (*No-Name*, *Off-Road*). An exceptional case is the occurrence of an interjection as a determinant, which figuratively depicts amazement (*Wow-Effekten*). As far as their morphological make-up is concerned, adjective + noun and adverb/particle + noun compounds appear as straightforward combinations of base forms. In verb + noun compounds, the verbal determinant generally loses its

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<sup>1</sup> Glosses are based on literal translations as far as possible in order to reflect the German conceptualizations of the hybrids.

infinitive ending *-(e)n* so that the bare verb stem is attached to the head of the construction (e.g. *Boxgeschichte*, *Schwimm-Star*, *Surfpoeten*, *Turntest*, and *Wackelpudding*). As predicted in Duden (1998: 496–97), an (empty) formative *-e* follows the voiced bilabial and velar plosive stem endings [b] and [g] (*Vorzeigeclub* and *Werbefilm*). In *Benimm-trainerin*, the verbal modifier represents the informal imperative, which is derived by ablaut from its infinitive (*benehmen* ‘to behave’). *Rechenpower* is an interesting example since the infinitive form of its verbal determinant is *rechnen* (in this sense ‘to calculate’). Thus, a reduction of the infinitive suffix leaves the stem form \**rechn*. As the vowel of the second syllable is lost its nasal remnant merges with the preceding velar fricative [χ] resulting in schwa epenthesis. This is reflected in writing as <e> leading to the form *Rechenpower*.

The vast majority of compound nouns are endocentric, and merely a few semantically headless compounds (exocentric compounds and copulative compounds) occur in the corpus. Copulative compounds are particularly sparse with only two occurrences, the hybrid *Café-Bar* and the borrowed compound *Flip-Flops*. In detail, the equal semantic status of the elements *Café* and *Bar* would theoretically allow a jumbling into \**Bar-Café* without changing much of its meaning. In the case of *Flip-Flops*, its onomatopoeic representation of the sound sequence while walking in this type of footwear might obstruct a switch to \**Flop-Flips*.

*Flip-Flops* could also be classified as an exocentric compound since its semantic head (‘a certain type of shoe’) lies outside the semantic scope of the compound elements. Examples of exocentric traits in hybrid compound nouns can be found in the constructions *Body-Buddhisten* (‘body buddhists’), *Cartoon-Legende* (‘cartoon legend’), *Chip-Riese* (‘chip giant’), *Computer-Maus* (‘computer mouse’), *Glamour-Grüne* (‘glamorous green politician’), *Investment-Haus* (‘investment house’), *Investment-Tochter* (‘investment daughter’), *PartygröÙe* (‘famous party person’), *Partymäuse* (‘party mice’), and *PC-Virus* (‘PC virus’).

These terms incorporate metaphoric and metonymic projections which establish a figurative link to a semantic head outside the primary meaning of the head noun. Thus, reference to a company is implied by virtue of size in *Chip-Riese*, by a metonymic relation to the building of an investment company for the whole company in *Investment-Haus*, and by metaphoric reference to familial bonds between investment companies in *Investment-Tochter*. Similarly, *Computer-Maus* epitomizes a shape-based relation between a mouse and a control device for computers. In *Partymäuse*, the relation between the source domain ANIMAL (‘mice’) and the target domain HUMAN (‘teenage

partygoers') lives off the simile of mice and men, i.e. humans blindfoldedly following an object of desire or being subject to manipulation in the pursuance thereof (cf. the allegory of the Pied Piper). The adjectival heads in *Glamour-Grüne* and *Partygröße* denote a person as the bearer of metaphoric extensions of the adjectival meanings. *Grüne* refers to a female green politician following the colour metonymy of green representing plants, i.e. the environment, and *Größe* exploits the metaphor of LARGE IS IMPORTANT.

The examples show that although the semantic heads of the compounds do not correspond to the literal meaning of their respective morphological heads, a figurative connection between the compound elements and the meaning of the term indicates the existence of an interrelation between morphological and semantic headedness in exocentric compounds. Canonical examples of exocentric compounds for the English language given in Katamba (*greenhouse*, *lazy bones*, *butterfingers* 1993: 319-20) and for German mentioned in Duden (*Dickkopf* 'mule as in person', *Milchgesicht* 'baby face', *Rotkehlchen* 'robin redbreast' 1998: 482-83) emphasize an interpretation of exocentric compounds as metaphor and metonymy in compound constructions. To briefly analyze these examples, a greenhouse is a construction (semantic prototype 'house') in which plants grow (metonymy: GREEN FOR PLANTS). The morphological heads in *lazy bones* and *butterfingers* represent metonymies of the type BODY PART(S) FOR ANIMATE ENTITY. In addition, *butterfingers* also contains a metaphor and can thus be classified as a metaphor in metonymy, i.e. metaphtonymy, to revert to Bründl's terminology (2001: 124). So, the simile 'fingers like butter' interact with the metonymy of fingers for the whole person, which leads to the image of a person whose fingers are like butter, i.e. a person who is prone to drop things.

The German exocentric compounds given in Duden can also be explained by figures of speech. Thus, the determinata of *Dickkopf*, *Milchgesicht*, and *Rotkehlchen* represent further metonymies of the type BODY PART(S) FOR ANIMATE ENTITY (cf. *Kopf* 'head' → 'person', *Gesicht* 'face' → 'person', and *Kehlchen* 'throat' diminutive → 'bird'). While in the example of the robin the color red defines its salient anatomical characteristic<sup>2</sup>, the determinants *Dick-* and *Milch-* incorporate further figurative references. *Milch* is based on a metonymy PROTOTYPICAL FOOD FOR CONSUMER, i.e. milk for baby. As a modifier of *Gesicht*, the compound denotes a person with a baby-like complexion and implies matching demeanor. The adjectival deter-

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2 Note the different conceptualization in English as redbreast.

minant *dick* emphasizes the thickness and strength of the head, which is thus difficult to manipulate from the outside and at the same time strong enough to crush outward resistance in the sense of other opinions (cf. the German proverb: *mit dem Kopf durch die Wand gehen*, lit. ‘to go with the head through the wall’). Accordingly, *Dickkopf* stands for a stubborn person. To recapitulate, the analyses of the exocentric hybrid compounds and the canonical exocentric examples in English and German show that semantic headedness is blurred by figurative use of language.

Having discussed the peripheral types of hybrid constructions, endocentric nominal compounds of anglicisms and German terms remain to be analyzed. They constitute by far the most productive pattern of word formation with anglicisms in German. If all the hybrid constructions are analyzed for the inclusion of anglicisms as determinant and determinatum, it becomes evident that a comparably small amount of anglicisms is involved in the creation of a great number of hybrid compound nouns. Thus, the one hundred most frequent English elements of hybrid compound nouns account for more than half (6940 types) of the total number of hybrid constructions in the corpus (12,652 types). Appendix 6 provides a detailed list of the one hundred most productive anglicisms in hybrid compound nouns with total numbers and split numbers of occurrence as determinant and determinatum.

In general, there is an extensive overlap between the most frequent individual types of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000* (cf. Table 5) and the most frequently used anglicisms in hybrid compound constructions. This emphasizes the belief that if an anglicism appears to be well integrated into the German lexicon, it will also serve as a productive base for further lexical creation in German. So, from the twenty most constructive anglicisms, eighteen are part of the one hundred most frequently used individual anglicisms in the corpus, as summarized in the following table:

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>Determinant</b>	<b>Determinatum</b>	<b>Sum (Types)</b>
<i>Film</i>	297	162	459
<i>Computer</i>	367	58	425
<i>Internet</i>	354	3	357
<i>Test</i>	136	152	288
<i>Manager</i>	16	261	277
<i>Show</i>	51	154	205
<i>Star</i>	87	104	191
<i>Software</i>	101	53	154
<b><i>Hightech</i></b>	148	1	149
<b><i>Profi</i></b>	62	80	142
<i>Pop</i>	126	12	138
<i>Club</i>	63	68	131
<i>Handy</i>	110	21	131
<i>Team</i>	29	98	127
<i>Training</i>	69	48	117
<i>Trainer</i>	33	73	106
<i>Party</i>	65	67	132
<i>Management</i>	35	69	104
<i>Marketing</i>	92	12	104

Table 10: The twenty most productive anglicisms in hybrid compound nouns (anglicisms not among the one hundred most frequently used individual anglicisms appear in bold)

As the only exceptions, *Hightech* (individual TF 44) and *Profi* (individual TF 56) appear as highly productive bases although their individual TF is below the level of the most frequently occurring anglicisms in the corpus. A possible explanation for this lies in their semantic functions as determinant and determinatum. As a result of the clipping, *Hightech* (→ *high technology*) shifts towards a qualifying, adjectival meaning, turning the term into a prime specifier of nominal heads. Its frequent occurrence is promoted by semantic implications of invention, technology, and progress. Thus, the anglicism projects the characteristic of high technology on various German heads, as in *Hightech-Atmosphäre* ('high-technology atmosphere'), *Hightech-Ausbildung* ('high-technology education'), *Hightech-Ausrüstung* ('high-technology equipment'), *Hightech-Bühne* ('high-technology stage'), and *Hightech-Büro* ('high-technology office') to name just a few.

In contrast to *Hightech*, which primarily functions as a specifier to a nominal head, the clipped form *Profi* (→ *professional*) shows an equal distribution as determinant and determinatum in hybrid compound nouns. Again, its functional position seems dependent on its semantic function. As a determinant, the clipped anglicism replaces an adjective by adding the quality of being professional to a variety of German bases, in particular to agentive nouns, as in *Profi-Darsteller* ('professional performer'), *Profi-Musiker* ('professional musician'), *Profi-Nörgler* ('professional nagger'), *Profisegler* ('professional sailor'), *Profi-Spieler* ('professional player'), and *Profi-Zuschauer* ('professional spectator'). A possible German translation of these hybrids would result in an adjectival phrase, e.g. *ein professioneller Zuschauer* ('a professional spectator') and *ein professioneller Musiker* ('a professional musician'). As a determinatum, on the other hand, *Profi* stands for an agentive head which is modified for its specific domain, e.g. *Boxprofi* ('boxing professional'), *Fußballprofi* ('soccer professional'), *Kredit-Profi* ('loan professional'), *Medienprofi* ('media professional'). This double function can lead to near synonyms of hybrids if the position of the head and modifier are switched, as in *Profiboxer* (cf. *Boxprofi*) and *Profifußballer* (cf. *Fußballprofi*). While these transpositional pairs can refer to a professional boxer and to a professional soccer player, the switched positions of the compound elements evoke slightly different semantic scopes. As a nominal head, *Profi* radiates the additional semantic trait of an 'expert'. Thus, a *Fußballprofi* can also be an expert in soccer whereas a *Profifußballer* solely denotes a professional soccer player.

Apart from the extraordinarily compoundable anglicisms *Hightech* and *Profi*, Table 10 alludes to the general distributional disparity of anglicisms as elements of hybrid compound nouns. Judging from the one hundred most productive anglicisms as compound elements (cf. Appendix 6), these anglicisms show a general tendency to function as specifiers of German nominal heads. So, the most productive anglicisms take the determinant position in 61.14% (4,241 types) of their total number of hybrid compounds (6,937 types). Based on the prevalence of occurrence as determinant or determinatum, a distinction can be drawn in anglicisms as determinants, anglicisms as determinata, and in anglicisms with double function (determinant/determinatum), i.e. neutral anglicisms. If an anglicism occurs twice as often in either position (as determinant or determinatum), it is classified respectively. Neutral anglicisms are characterized by a less pronounced distributional difference, i.e. if the occurrence of an anglicism as specifier is less than double of its occurrence as head or vice versa. Overall, this division

underlines the general predominance of determinant anglicisms in hybrid compound nouns. Thus, 49 types can be categorized as determinants, 26 anglicisms favor the position as determinatum, and 25 appear as neutral anglicisms. Appendix 7 provides a detailed overview of the positional distribution of the most productive anglicisms in hybrid compound nouns. The following table summarizes the most salient members of each of these groups.

#### a) Determinant anglicisms

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>Determinant</b>	<b>Determinatum</b>	<b>Sum</b>
<i>Internet</i>	354	3	357
<i>Hightech</i>	148	1	149
<i>PR</i>	90	3	93
<i>Web</i>	64	0	64
<i>Tennis</i>	56	1	57
<i>Biotech</i>	37	0	37
<i>Fitness</i>	37	0	37
<i>Investment</i>	34	0	34
<i>Action</i>	28	1	29
<i>Crack</i>	28	1	29
<i>Comedy</i>	27	1	28
<i>E-Mail</i>	24	1	25
<i>Lifestyle</i>	23	1	24
<i>Pay-TV</i>	23	0	23
<i>Basketball</i>	22	0	22
<i>Teenie</i>	21	0	21
<i>Football</i>	21	0	21
<i>Print</i>	21	0	21
<i>Science Fiction</i>	21	0	21
<i>E-Commerce</i>	19	1	20
<i>Charter</i>	19	0	19
<i>VIP</i>	19	0	19
<i>Baseball</i>	18	0	18
<i>Entertainment</i>	17	1	18
<i>Recycling</i>	17	1	18

b) Determinatum anglicisms

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>Determinant</b>	<b>Determinatum</b>	<b>Sum</b>
<i>Manager</i>	16	261	277
<i>Boss</i>	1	58	59
<i>Deal</i>	0	45	45
<i>Trip</i>	0	34	34
<i>Story</i>	2	29	31
<i>Camp</i>	1	24	25
<i>Look</i>	0	24	24
<i>Mix</i>	2	19	21
<i>Coach</i>	0	19	19
<i>Logo</i>	1	18	19
<i>Slogan</i>	1	17	18
<i>Report</i>	0	16	16

c) Neutral anglicisms

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>Determinant</b>	<b>Determinatum</b>	<b>Sum</b>
<i>Test</i>	136	152	288
<i>Star</i>	87	104	191
<i>Profi</i>	62	80	142
<i>Party</i>	65	67	132
<i>Club</i>	63	68	131
<i>Fan</i>	45	45	90
<i>Image</i>	42	35	77
<i>Design</i>	24	25	49
<i>Interview</i>	24	21	45
<i>Festival</i>	22	22	44
<i>Song</i>	13	13	26

Table 11: Summary of the most salient anglicisms in hybrid compound nouns as determinant, as determinatum, and as neutral elements

If we compare these categories, the different distribution of anglicisms as determinants, as determinata, and as neutral elements can be related to their semantic projections in hybrid compound nouns. Among the determinant anglicisms, *Internet* shows the highest number of occurrences as a modifier. The few examples in which *Internet* func-

tions as a determinatum are characterized by specification with proper nouns, e.g. *Mannesmann-Internet* and *Agfa-Internet*, and by a metaphorical comparison to a worldwide network of power lines in *Energie-Internet* ('energy internet'). Besides these few instances as determinatum, *Internet* takes the role of a specifier thus establishing a conceptual link between a vast variety of German nouns and the Internet, as in *Internet-Adresse* ('Internet-Address'), *Internet-Agentur* ('Internet agency'), *Internet-Aktien* ('Internet shares'), *Internet-Angebot* ('Internet offer'), and *Internet-Apotheke* ('Internet pharmacy'). This qualifying impact of *Internet* is first of all due to its specific reference frame as a synonym of the World Wide Web, and, secondly, it is promoted by the rapidly increasing significance of the electronic medium, which draws a variety of concepts into its associative field.

In relation to the semantic scope of *Internet*, the anglicisms *Web* (clipping of *World Wide Web*), *E-Commerce*, and *E-Mail* also represent specific concepts of a recent technological impact that function as specifiers to a variety of German bases (e.g. *Web-Bestellung* 'web order', *E-Commerce-Strategien* 'E-commerce strategies', and *E-Mail-Freund* 'E-mail friend'). Specific reference also fosters the use of anglicisms as determinants in the examples of the sports games *Baseball*, *Basketball*, *Football*, and *Tennis*, and in *Crack* (as a type of drug), *Recycling*, *Pay-TV*, and *Science Fiction*. Abbreviations are further indicators of specificity, which characterizes the occurrence of *PR* and *VIP* as modifying elements in hybrid compounds. In line with *Hightech*, the analogical clipping *Biotech* acts as a modifier by virtue of its possible adjectival interpretation. This becomes evident in the rendering of *Biotech*-compounds as adjectival attribution in German (e.g. *Biotech-Experimente* 'biotechnological experiments' → G. *biotechnologische Experimente* or *Biotechnologie-Experimente*).

Despite its agentive denotation as a simple lexeme, the derived form *Teenie* ('teenager') bears adjectival meaning of 'young, adolescent', which explains its exclusive incidence as a specifier of hybrid compound nouns in the corpus, as in *Teenie-Alter* ('teenage age'), *Teenie-Autor* ('teenage author'), *Teeniemusiksender* ('teenage music station'), and *Teenie-Spektakel* ('teenage event'). The determinants *Print* and *Charter* acquire their modifying function due to their status as participial complements as evident in German phrasal renderings of their source hybrid compounds. Thus, *Printanzeigen* can be paraphrased as *die Druckanzeigen*, i.e. *die gedruckten Anzeigen* ('the printed ads') and *Chartermaschine* turns into *die Mietmaschine*, i.e. *die gemietete Maschine* ('the chartered plane').

Apart from specific reference, anglicisms are also prone to operate as determinant elements if they express a current and trendy concept, as in *Action*, *Comedy*, *Entertainment*, *Fitness*, *Investment*, and *Lifestyle*. So, a variety of German terms are equipped with a twang of fancifulness through the modification with these anglicisms, as in *Actionszenen* ('action scenes'), *Comedy-Effekte* ('comedy effects'), *Entertainment-Gesellschaft* ('entertainment society'), *Entertainment-Kultur* ('entertainment culture'), *Fitness-Magazin* ('fitness magazine'), *Investmentbranche* ('investment sector'), *Lifestyle-Industrie* ('lifestyle industry'), and *Lifestyle-Werte* ('lifestyle values').

In contrast to the specific reference scope of determinant anglicisms, anglicisms as determinata represent broad nominal concepts that are specified by German determinants. These general heads (cf. Table 11b) are most commonly modified for a more specific type. The agentive nouns *Manager*, *Boss*, and *Coach*, for example, tend to be typified by a variety of proper nouns, as in *Allianz-Manager*, *BMW-Manager*, *CSU-Boss*, *Daimler-Boss*, *Bayern-München-Coach*, and *DFB-Coach*. A more general, categorial classification of the heads is marked by generic terms determining the fields of activity and responsibility of the personae, as in *Museumsmanager* ('museum manager'), *Wirtschaftsmanager* ('economy manager'), *Wissensmanager* ('knowledge manager'), and *Staatsmanager* ('state manager'). Similarly, for *Boss* we find the categorial types of *Wirtschaftsboss* ('economy boss'), *Gewerkschaftsboss* ('union boss'), *Firmenboss* ('company boss') and its semantic associates *Unternehmensboss* ('business boss'), and *Konzernboss* ('corporate boss'). Categorization of the head by metaphorical reference occurs in *Schwarzmarktboss* ('black market boss'). The determinants in *Kokainboss* ('cocaine boss') and *Brillenboss* ('glasses boss') represent metonymies of the type PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER/DISTRIBUTOR. Determination of *Coach* typically involves sports disciplines, as in *Fußballcoach* ('soccer coach'), *Hürden-Coach* ('hurdles coach'), and *Weitsprung-Coach* ('long jump coach').

The dichotomy between specific classification via proper nouns and generic classification via categorial determinants is also evident in compounds with *Logo*, *Report*, and *Slogan*. The related semantic functions of *Logo* as a visual emblematic feature of companies and organizations and of *Slogan* as its linguistic counterpart result in similar specific and categorial modifications such as *DB-Logo/DB-Slogan* ('German railways logo/slogan'), *SPD-Slogan/CDU-Logo* ('German social democratic party/German Christian democratic party slogan/logo'), *Firmenlogo/Firmenslogan* ('company logo/slogan'), and *Sen-*

*derlogo/Senderslogan* ('station logo/slogan'). Specific determination of *Report* particularly involves names of individuals as either subject or creator of the report, as in *Gerlach-Report*, *Grimmelt-Report*, *Kress-Report*, and *Meltzer-Report*. Categorial specification of *Report* marks topic, genre, purpose in *Abschlussreport* ('final report'), *Kulturreport* ('culture report'), and *Romanreport* ('novel(la) report'), and the institutional creator of the report in *Kommissions-Report* ('commission report').

In a similar vein, generic classifications of the heads *Camp*, *Deal*, and *Story* are based on various categorial types. Thus, *Camp* is determined by its purpose in *Ausbildungscamp* ('training camp'), *Expeditionscamp* ('expedition camp'), *Protestcamp* ('protest camp'), and *Vorbereitungscamp* ('preparation camp'). The type of camp is also specified by its inmates in *Entführer-Camp* ('kidnapper camp'), *Flüchtlingscamp* ('refugee camp'), *Forschercamp* ('researchers' camp'), *Gefangenencamp* ('prisoners' camp'), and *Geiselcamp* ('hostage camp'). Location is another common determinant, as in *Dschungelcamp* ('jungle camp'), *Mars-Camp* ('mars camp'), and *Wüstencamp* ('desert camp').

For *Deal*, the subject, i.e. topic of a deal features prominently in the determinant position, as in *Immobiliendeal* ('real estate deal'), *Munitionsdeal* ('ammunition deal'), *Papier-Deal* ('paper deal'), *Plattendeal* ('records deal'), *Steuerdeal* ('tax deal'), and *Wasserdeal* ('water deal'). Further specifications relate to the social relations of a deal, e.g. *Freundschaftsdeal* ('friendship deal'), and to the value of a deal, e.g. *Millionendeal* ('million deal'), *Milliardendeal* ('billion deal'). For *Story*, categorial determination relates to topic, e.g. *Beziehungsstory* ('relationship story'), *Erfolgsstory* ('success story'), *Lebensstory* ('life story'), to genre, e.g. *Horrorstory* ('horror story'), *Schockerstory* ('thriller story'), to purpose, e.g. *Titelstory* ('cover story'), and to the medium of the story, e.g. *Filmstory* ('film story'), *Fotostory* ('photo story'), and *Hörspielstory* ('radio play story').

While the head-anglicisms *Look*, *Mix*, and *Trip* are also determined for categorial types, these terms show further lexical particularities which surface in hybrid compound constructions. A frequent classification of *Trip* describes the purpose of the trip, as in *Abenteuertrip* ('adventure trip'), *Erkundungstrip* ('reconnaissance trip'), and *Vergnügungstrip* ('pleasure trip'). Proper noun determinants specify destination or path, as in *Afrika-Trip* ('Africa trip'), *Ägypten-Trip* ('Egypt trip'), *Prag-Trip*, ('Prague trip'), *Tiefentrip* ('depth trip'), *Transatlantik-Trip* ('transatlantic trip'), and *Ungarn-Trip* ('Hungary trip'). Other frequent determinants illustrate the mode of the trip, e.g.

*Blitzsiegtrip* ('blitz-victory trip'), *Chartertrip* ('charter trip'), *Luxustrip* ('luxury trip'), *Überschalltrip* ('supersonic trip'), and the duration of the trip, e.g. *Sieben-Tage-Trip* ('seven day trip') and *Wochenendtrip* ('weekend trip'). Means of transport also serve as specifiers in *Bootstrap* ('boat trip'), *Concorde-Trip*, and *Zug-Trip* ('train trip').

In the sense of a visionary experience after drug consumption, the anglicism *Trip* is determined as such in *Acid-Trip*, *Drogentrip* ('drug trip'), and *Haschtrip* ('cannabis trip'). An introspective aspect of *Trip* is also apparent in the meaning of *Trip* as an inclination towards certain ideas and trends, as in *Gen-Trip* ('gene trip'), *Internationalisierungstrip* ('internationalization trip'), *Neo-Yuppie-Trip*, *Selbsterlösungstrip* ('self redemption trip'), and *Zukunftstrip* ('future trip'). The double meaning of trip as physical travel and as mental disposition is played upon in an article title:

- (64) *Forschung: Gesundheitsministerin Andrea Fischer auf Gen-Trip in den USA* (29/6)  
 [Research: Minister of health, Andrea Fischer, on gene-trip in the USA]

As an element of an introductory line in the table of contents, the mention of *Gen-Trip* alludes to the content of the article: It deals with the meeting of the German minister of health with the controversial genetic scientist Craig Venter and her positive predisposition towards his visions of genetic engineering. The use of the anglicism also reinforces the contextual link to the location of the meeting.

The nominal anglicism *Mix* radiates an inherent meaning of plurality as a mix usually consists of a variety of entities. Thus, as a head in hybrid compound nouns, *Mix* projects plurality onto its determinant element which appears either as a plural noun, as a mass noun, or as a collective noun, as in the following examples:

Plural noun determinants: *Aktien-Mix* ('shares mix'), *Branchenmix* ('branches mix'), *Medienmix* ('media mix'), *Methodenmix* ('methods mix'), *Pillenmix* ('pills mix'), *Sprachenmix* ('languages mix')

Mass noun determinants: *Musikmix* ('music mix'), *Kitschmix* ('kitsch mix'), *Schlamm-Mix* ('mud mix')

Collective noun determinants: *Bevölkerungsmix* ('population mix'), *Materialmix* ('material mix')

Hybrid compound nouns with the head *Look* represent an underlying comparative construction, in which the determinant (x) is the source of the comparison, illustratable as (A) looks like (x). (A) stands for an optional target of the comparison preceding the hybrid compound, as in the following phrases: *der Opel im Ferrari-Look* ('the

Vauxhall which looks like a Ferrari'), *die Hauptdarstellerin im Marlene-Look* ('the leading actress who looks like Marlene'), *die Schlangenimitationssandalen im Prada-Look* ('the false snake sandals which look as if designed by Prada'), *Mel Gibson im Lederstrumpf-Look* ('Mel Gibson who looks like Leatherstocking'). If the target slot (A) remains empty, the comparison in the (x)-*Look* compounds is revoked, and the terms denote categorial looks, as in *Freizeitlook* ('free time look'), *Gladiatoren-Look* ('gladiator look'), and *Zuhälterlook* ('pimp look'). As far as the type of determinants is concerned, proper nouns and agentive nouns define archetypal looks, as in *Astronauten-Look* ('astronaut look'), *Dietrich-Look*, *Proust-Look*, *Sander-Look*, and *Straflingslook* ('convict look'). In connection with the general meaning of *Look* as appearance, determination can also involve the type or make of clothing, as in *Fetzenlook* ('rag look'), *Pyjama-Look* ('pajama look'), and *Siebziger-Synthetik-Look* ('seventies synthetic look').

In general, the discussion of the most salient determinatum anglicisms shows that the possible range of German determinants follows from the semantic scope of the head nouns. Thus, *Boss* and *Manager* are defined by their professional relation to a company or sector of the economy, a *Camp* is categorized by location, purpose, and its inmates, a *Deal* implies a subject, social relation, and value, and a *Trip* evokes purpose, destination, path, mode, and means of travel. These presupposed information units of the determinata are most frequently filled with either proper nouns or categorial nouns in determinant position. Individual head-anglicisms involve metaphoric and metonymic determination (*Boss*), semantic extension (*Trip*), projection of plurality (*Mix*), and a comparative relation (*Look*).

In contrast to determinant and determinatum prone anglicisms, neutral anglicisms are more or less equally distributed between the position of determinant and determinatum. The fact that many of the neutral anglicisms are older borrowings might indicate that their even distribution between the position of specifier and head is a result of lexical levelling due to longevity in the German lexicon. In detail, however, the double function of the anglicisms in Table 11c is explainable by their functional switch from a static receptor of specification to a dynamic projector of attributive qualities.

*Test* and *Design*, for example, exhibit verbal characteristics in determinant position. This is evident in phrasal renderings of the compounds, as in *Testkäufer* ('test buyer' → G. *eine Person, die zum Testen einkauft*), *Testgelände* ('test area' → G. *ein Gelände, wo getestet wird*), *Testkandidat* ('test candidate' → G. *ein Kandidat, der getestet wird*), *Designschüler* ('design student' → G. *ein Schüler, der lernt zu*

*designen), Designausstellung* ('design exhibition' → G. *eine Ausstellung mit designten Exponaten*), and *Designabteilung* ('design office' → G. *eine Abteilung, die Designs entwirft*).

Adjectival traits to some extent define the use of *Star* and *Party* as specifiers. Thus, *Star*, which represents an agentive nominal base as a simplex term, functions as an augmentative of agentive nouns in *Staranalyst* ('star analyst'), *Staranwalt* ('star lawyer'), *Stararchitekt* ('star architect'), *Starkoch* ('star chef'), *Starkünstler* ('star artist'), *Stargast* ('star guest'), and *Starregisseur* ('star director'). As a determinant, *Party* can project qualities of a party (e.g. happiness, fun, lack of seriousness) to German heads, as in *Party-Kanzler* ('party chancellor'), *Partyspaß* ('party fun'), *Partystimmung* ('party mood'), *Party-Poesie* ('party poetry'), and *Partysteck* ('party people').

The aspect that unifies the neutral anglicisms in their occurrence as determinants is their function as an attribute to a nominal base. Attributive specification primarily involves anglicisms as genitive attributes and, to a lesser extent, as prepositional attributes. *Club*, for example, creates a variety of genitive attributes, as in *Clubzentrale* ('club headquarters' → G. *Zentrale des Clubs*), *Clubnamen* ('club name' → G. *Name des Clubs*), *Clubmitglieder*, and *Clubphilosophie*. Genitive attribution is frequently found with German agentive heads, as in *Festivalleiter* ('festival director'), *Festivalgast* ('festival guest'), *Festivalbesucher* ('festival visitor'), *Imageträger* ('image bearer'), *Songschreiber* ('song writer'), and *Testsieger* ('test winner'). Further mixed examples of genitive attribution are *Imagewandel* ('image change'), *Partydekorationen* ('party decorations'), *Partyprogramm* ('party program'), and *Songtext* ('song text', i.e. lyrics). Prepositional attributes are particularly frequent with *Interview*, as in *Interview-Anfrage* ('interview request' → G. *Anfrage für ein Interview*), *Interviewausschnitt* ('interview excerpt' → G. *Ausschnitt aus einem Interview*), *Interview-Forderung* ('interview demands' → G. *Forderung geäußert im Interview*), and *Interview-Jagd* ('interview hunt' → G. *Jagd nach Interviews*). Other anglicisms are also productive as prepositional attributes, as in *Fanmagazin* ('fan magazine' → G. *ein Magazin für Fans*), *Fangruppen* ('fan groups' → G. *Gruppen von Fans*), and *Songideen* ('song ideas' → G. *Ideen für Songs*) to name a few more.

According to the general nominal reference of neutral anglicisms, their occurrence as a head in hybrid compounds seems to follow from a need of specification in contextual usage. The broad semantic scope of the anglicisms could be a result of semantic extension due to prolific usage in German. *Club*, for example, is a hypernym for organizationally

bound groups of people, as in *Amateurclub* ('amateur club'), *Automobilclub* ('automobile association'), *Fußballclub* ('soccer club'), *Jugendclub* ('youth club'), and *Sportclub* ('sports club'). By semantic extension, *Club* is also used with general reference to groups of people unified by a certain characteristic, e.g. *Altherrenclub* ('old men's club'), *Atomclub* ('nuclear club'), *Herausgeberclub* ('editor's club'). The term has also extended its meaning to denote a physical location that acts as a superstructure for groups of people, as in *Fitnessclub* ('fitness club'), *Luxusclub* ('luxury club'), *Nachtclub* ('night club'), *Privatclub* ('private club'), and *Urlaubsclub* ('holiday club').

Further examples of neutral anglicisms of a general nominal meaning are *Design* ('decorative or functional shape of an object'), *Festival* ('celebratory event'), *Party* ('social gathering'), and *Test* ('examination'), which are specified by a variety of German words, as in the following few examples: *Modedesign* ('fashion design'), *Schmetterlingsdesign* ('butterfly design'), *Schriftdesign* ('orthographic design'), *Musikfestival* ('music festival'), *Theaterfestival* ('theatre festival'), *Weltfestival* ('world festival'), *Abschiedsparty* ('good-bye party'), *Hochzeitsparty* ('wedding party'), *Überraschungsparty* ('surprise party'), *Bluttest* ('blood test'), *Schwangerschaftstest* ('pregnancy test'), and *Schwerelosigkeitstests* ('zero gravity tests'). A particularly frequent pattern is the modification of the head nominal anglicisms *Fan*, *Interview*, and *Song* with proper nouns, as in *Joschka-Fischer-Fan*, *Mars-Fan*, *Peter-Ustinov-Fan*, *Baumann-Interview*, *Kohl-Interview*, *Spiegel-Interview*, *Björk-Song*, and *Lindenberg-Song*. Again the choice of determinants is influenced by the semantic scope of the head so that *Fan* typically involves an object of reverence, *Interview* entails the participants and the medium, and *Song* is related to its creator.

The general meaning of the nominal head *Image* as a popular conception of persons, of institutions, and of nations is specified with a variety of agentive nouns. These determinants establish an archetypal relation between entities and their characteristics as in the example of political parties and individuals. Thus, *Auto-Hasser-Image* ('car hater image') refers to the Green party, and *Macherimage* ('maker image') and *Modernisierer-Image* ('modernizer image') appear in conjunction with the political leadership of Germany. *Märtyrer-Image* ('martyr image'), *Siegerimage* ('winner image'), and *Ureinwohner-Image* ('native image') describe characteristic qualities of individuals.

In conclusion, anglicisms show a significant tendency to occur in the determinant position of hybrid compound nouns. This is a result of their mostly specific reference, which is projected onto German heads

so that their meaning is tinted with the characteristic of the anglicism (cf. the use of *Internet* as a thematic tag of a plethora of German bases). A distinction of the most productive nominal anglicisms according to their positional distribution emphasizes the preference of the determinant position and sheds light on the semantic functions of determinant and determinatum anglicisms. Apart from specific reference, determinant anglicisms exhibit participial and adjectival qualities.

Anglicisms as determinata, on the other hand, are characterized by their broad semantic scope which constitutes the base for further specification. In this case determinants tend to fill the presupposed semantic slots of their head-anglicisms (mainly topic, purpose, location, destination, and participants). Head-anglicisms are narrowly specified by proper nouns and more generally determined by categorial nouns. Rather than bridging a gap between determinant and determinatum anglicisms, neutral anglicisms switch roles between functioning as dynamic projectors of attributive qualities and as static nominal receptors of determination. This semantic functional change indicates their appearance as determinants and determinata.

The chapter on hybrid nominal formations ends with a structural note concerning the occurrence of formative elements (*-e-*, *-er-*, *-(e)n-*, *-(e)ns-*, *-(e)s-*) between the compound constituents of hybrid compound nouns. Historically, these gap elements are not proper infixes but represent a morphemic trace of an original syntactic group. *Herzensfreude* ('happiness from the heart'), for example, has retained the genitive suffix of its syntactic group *des Herzens Freud(e)* (cf. Duden 1998: 494). However, gap elements have also developed without obvious grammatical functions as patterns of empty formatives following, for example, nominal determinants derived by the feminine suffixes *-heit*, *-ion*, and *-ung* (e.g. *Auferstehungsparty* 'resurrection party', *Animationsjob* 'animation job', *Einheitssound* 'uniform sound', *Produktionsdesign* 'production design', *Sicherheitssoftware* 'security software', and *Währungscrash* 'currency crash').

Formatives can also resemble plural suffixes of the determinant noun retained in hybrid compounds, as in *Aktencontainern* ('file containers'), *Aktiencheck* ('shares check'), *Blumenfarm* ('flower farm'), and *Kinderbooms* ('child boom'). A parallel version of plural and singular determinants with no real change of meaning exists in *Antivirus-Websites* (sg. 'antivirus websites'), and *Antiviren-Sites* (pl. 'antiviruses sites').

The plural morpheme can also act as an empty gap element which does not semantically mark plurality of the determinant even though it is structurally bound to the determinant. So, an *Autorenfilm* ('author

film') does not imply multiple authorship of the film but relates to a genre of film making. *Börsencrash* ('stock market crash') can refer to the crash of a single stockmarket. *Garagenband* ('garage band') denotes a typically young band which is not yet famous, and *Moderatorenjob* ('moderator job') is a generic term for the profession of a TV or radio presenter. A trace of plurality, however, seems to percolate to the semantic scope of these compounds since they express generic and collective meanings.

As the examples so far indicate, the gap element is structurally tied to the determinant and occurs with German nouns in the same way as in non-hybrid German compounds (e.g. *Blumenbeet* 'flower bed', *Börsenblatt* 'stockmarket newspaper', *Garagenfirma* 'garage company', *Kinderarbeit* 'child labor'). By contrast, merely a few determinant anglicisms in the corpus are followed by a formative. The frequent anglicism *Film* occurs as a plural determinant in *Filmemacher*/ *Filmemacherin* and *Filmefresser* from a total of nearly three hundred usages as a determinant in the corpus (cf. Appendix 6). The reason for these sporadic forms remains opaque since *-e-* is not inserted by a phonological rule in order to interrupt the adjacent bilabial nasal sounds in \**Filmmacher*/*Filmmacherin* (cf. *Filmmärchen* 'film fairy tale', *Filmminute* 'film minute', *Filmmuseum* 'film museum', *Filmmusik* 'film music'). Focus on plurality is not a compelling motive either since hybrids such as *Filmproduzent* ('film producer'), *Filmregisseur* ('film director'), *Filmschauspieler* ('film actor'), and *Filmverleih* ('film rental store') also imply the production, direction, acting, and rental of more than one film. The variation between *Filmefresser* ('film eater') and *Filmfresser* within the same article (12/139-40) indicates the semantic vagueness of the formative. While the title of the article reads "*Ich bin ein Filmfresser*" ('I am a film eater'), one page later the quote says, "*Ich bin ein Filmefresser, ich habe hundert Lieblingsfilme*" ('..., I have one hundred favorite films'). Interestingly though, the plural form precedes the mention of a specific number of films, thus stressing the notion of definite plurality, whereas in the title quote, which lacks this context, *Filmfresser* relates to non-specific plurality.

In line with the emergence of the plural gap element following determinants derived by the agentive suffix *-ist* (cf. *Journalistenfamilie* 'journalist family', *Kapitalisten-Tycoon* 'capitalist tycoon', *Sozialistenpartei* 'socialist party', and *Spezialistenteams* 'specialist teams'), the anglicism *Lobbyist* appears in its plural form in determinant position, e.g. *Lobbyistengesichtern* ('lobbyist faces'), *Lobbyistentätigkeit* ('lobbyist work'), and *Lobbyistenverbänden* ('lobbyist unions'). The most pronounced occurrence of a gap element in-

volves the term *Training*. In the corpus, the hybrid compounds with *Training* as determinant consistently show an *-s-* formative. In some instances, *-s-* represents a trace of a genitive relation between determinant and determinatum, as in *Trainingsmethodik* ('training method'), *Trainingsniveau* ('training level'), *Trainingsphase* ('training phase'), *Trainingspläne* ('training plans'), and *Trainingszeiten* ('training times'). In other examples, particularly with instrumental relations, *-s-* remains an empty formative, as in *Trainingsanzug* ('training suit'), *Trainingsgerät* ('training device'), *Trainingshilfe* ('training aid'), *Trainingshose* ('training pants'), and *Trainingskleidung* ('training clothes'). Thus, the formative *-s-* between *Training* and a German base has developed a pattern-like distribution, which shows a phonological environment similar to *-s-* infixation after *-ung* (i.e. following a voiced velar stop). However, this pattern represents a lexical idiosyncrasy since other determinant anglicisms ending in *-ing* (e.g. *Doping*, *Holding*, *Marketing*, *Shopping*) do not add a formative *-s-* in the compound gap.

### 10.1.2 Phrasal compounds and pseudo anglicisms

Having analyzed hybrid compound nouns, two further word formational phenomena, hybrid phrasal compound nouns and pseudo anglicisms, remain to be discussed. To build on the previous chapter, phrasal compounds are structurally related to hybrid compound nouns with the difference that the determinant position is occupied by a nominalized phrasal anglicism, as in *Business-to-Business-Geschäft* ('...deal'), „*The Winner takes it all*“-*Mentalität* ('...mentality').

Hybrid phrasal compound nouns can be classified according to certain semantic and structural functions of their nominalized phrasal determinants. A variety of phrasal determinants represent technical concepts, as in the following examples:

„ <i>Broken Windows</i> “- <i>Konzept</i>	(‘broken windows concept’)
<i>Business-to-Business-Geschäft</i>	(‘business to business deal’)
<i>Business-to-private-Anbieter</i>	(‘business to private vendor’)
„ <i>Earn-Out-Effekt</i> “	(‘earn out effect’)
<i>Melt-Down-Gruppe</i>	(‘melt down group’)
<i>Out-of-Area-Aktionen</i>	(‘out of area actions’)
<i>Print-on-demand-Technik</i>	(‘print on demand technique’)
<i>Sale-and-lease-back-Geschäfts</i>	(‘sale and lease back deal’)
<i>Stop-and-go-Strategie</i>	(‘stop and go strategy’)
<i>Trial-and-Error-Prinzip</i>	(‘trial and error principle’)

As far as orthographical conventions are concerned, the elements of the phrasal compound are frequently connected with hyphens. More exceptionally, quotative phrasal nominalizations can appear in quotation marks without a hyphen. The gap between determinant and determinatum in such hybrid phrasal compounds is usually filled with a hyphen.

Technical phrasal compounds are most commonly introduced in articles of *Der Spiegel 2000* by means of explicit or implicit postdetermination of their meaning. Exceptions are *Print-on-demand-Technik*, which is left unexplained, and *Stop-and-go-Strategie*, whose reference is determined in a preceding clause. A demonstrative pronoun links the information in the previous clause with the phrasal compound:

- (65) *Mal lautstarke Kritik, dann wieder staatstragende Konsensbereitschaft: Mit dieser Stop-and-go-Strategie... (17/23)*  
[Once vociferous criticism, then again a nation-wide willingness for consensus: with this stop and go strategy...]

Anaphora is characteristic for postdetermination of phrasal compounds. „*Broken Windows*“-Konzept, for example, is explained via an anaphoric tie with a demonstrative pronoun as illustrated in (66):

- (66) *Die unbestreitbaren Erfolge der Therapie werden dem vom damaligen Polizeichef William Bratton propagierten „Broken windows“-Konzept zugeschrieben. Nach dieser Theorie... (27/80)*  
[The indisputable success of the therapy is accredited to the “Broken Windows” concept of former head of police, William Bratton. According to this theory...]

Other strategies of clarifying the sense of a phrasal compound involve apposition and relative clauses, which give additional information about technical phrasal compounds. Examples of apposition in (67), of relative clauses in (68), and of a mixture of both in (69) illustrate these mechanisms:

- (67) *Als lukratives Wachstumsfeld gilt daher vor allem der „business to business“-Bereich („B2B“), der Handel zwischen Unternehmen. (8/137)*  
[The business to business sector (B2B), the trade between companies, is thus particularly considered as a lucrative growth area.]
- (68) *Zu unterscheiden sind so genannte Business-to-private-Anbieter [...], die vor allem Neuwaren und Restposten verhökern... (8/136)*  
[One has to differentiate between so called business to private vendors, who primarily sell new goods and remaining stock...]

- (69) ...verweist auf den „Earn-Out-Effekt“, also auf jene Milliarden, die erst später in die Kasse sprudeln... (15/90)  
 [...refers to the earn out effect, meaning the billions which will flow back later...]

These explicit structural means are not the only way of how technical phrasal compounds are introduced in the corpus. Postdetermination of meaning can also be achieved implicitly by giving examples or by providing further context. However, there is a lack of anaphoric cues which directly bind the following information to the preceding technical concept as portrayed in (70) and (71):

- (70) *Dabei ging der Unternehmenssitz im Rahmen eines so genannten Sale-and-lease-back-Geschäfts an die Deutsche Immobilien Leasing, eine 100-Prozent-Tochter der Deutschen Bank; die vermietete das Gebäude daraufhin an Holzmann.* (11/102)  
 [However, in a so called sale and lease back deal, the main building of the company was acquired by “Deutsche Immobilien Leasing”, a daughter company of “Deutsche Bank”, which owns one hundred percent of its shares; the real estate firm then leased the building to Holzmann.]
- (71) *Selbst Scharping findet es „erstaunlich“, wie selbstverständlich Out-of-area-Aktionen der Bundeswehr für Parlament und Öffentlichkeit nach den erbitterten Kontroversen um Einsätze in Somalia und auf dem Balkan schon geworden sind.* (48/33)  
 [Even Scharping thinks it is “amazing” that the parliament and the public now react matter-of-factly to out of area deployments of the German army after acrimonious disputes about deployments in Somalia and in the Balkans.]

In (70) implicit determination of the term *Sale-and-lease-back-Geschäfts* is achieved by describing an example of such a deal. The meaning of the compound *Out-of-Area-Aktionen* in (71) is implied by contextual reference to the German army and its past involvement in Somalia and in the Balkans.

Apart from technical reference, nominalized phrasal anglicisms also occur in hybrid compounds as specific labels of Anglo-American culture and as catch phrases of popular English:

<i>Bed-and-Breakfast-Quartiere</i>	(‘bed and breakfast accommodation’)
<i>Best-of-Platten</i>	(‘best of records’)
<i>Blind-Date-Braut</i>	(“blind date bride”)
<i>Coming-of-age-Geschichte/Filme</i>	(‘coming of age story/films’)

<i>Happy-End-Romane</i>	(‘happy ending novels’)
<i>Just-in-time-Flexibilität</i>	(‘just in time flexibility’)
<i>„Keep the Pound“-Kampagne</i>	(‘keep the pound campaign’)
<i>Know-How-Transfer</i>	(‘know how transfer’)
<i>Morning-after-Pille</i>	(‘morning after pill’)
<i>Non-Profit-Organisationen</i>	(‘nonprofit organisations’)
<i>„No Risk“-Garantien</i>	(‘no risk guarantees’)
<i>Park-and-Ride-Parkplätze</i>	(‘park and ride parking’)
<i>Shake-Hands-Termine</i>	(‘shake hands appointments’)
<i>Small-is-beautiful-Prinzip</i>	(‘small is beautiful principle’)
<i>Stars-and-stripes-Bikini</i>	(‘stars and stripes top’)
<i>„The Winner takes it all“-Mentalität</i>	(‘the winner takes it all mentality’)

From these examples, *Bed-and-Breakfast-Quartiere*, „*Keep the Pound*“-Kampagne, and *Stars-and-stripes-Bikini* represent cultural icons which refer to a typical British style of accommodation, to the attitude of the British towards their own currency, and to the flag of the USA. Other phrasal determinants symbolize well-established anglicisms in German such as *Best-of*, *Happy-End*, *Know-How*, *Non-Profit*, and *No Risk*. The hybrids *Blind-Date-Braut* and *Morning-after-Pille* play with the euphemistic function of anglicisms in German. They allow the expression of sexual implications through a semiotic filter of lexical foreignness with the effect of muffling the blatancy of the message.

The constructions *Coming-of-age-Geschichte/Filme* and „*The Winner takes it all*“-Mentalität indicate the influence of local textual triggers. Despite the lack of a contextual reason for *Coming-of-age-Geschichte* (the term is embedded in the description of a German movie project submitted to the academy of arts in Hamburg) the existence of a local lexical trigger, which, in this case, is the title of the movie, might promote the occurrence of the anglicism:

- (72) „*Oi! Warning*“ erzählt eine klassische *Coming-of-Age-Geschichte*.  
 (40/302)  
 [“*Oi! Warning*” is a typical coming-of-age story]

Similarly, the other instance of a coming-of-age construction in the corpus also appears in the vicinity of a possible lexical trigger:

- (73) „*Crazy*“ ist ein Film über das Erwachsenwerden. So was gibt es im deutschen Kino eher selten, im amerikanischen Kino dagegen bilden „*Coming of Age*“-Filme ein eigenes, oft höchst erfolgreiches Genre.  
 (23/202)

[“Crazy” is a movie about coming-of-age. Such movies are quite rare in German cinema; in American cinema, however, coming-of-age films constitute a separate, often highly successful genre.]

In this passage, the switch between the synonymous German term *Erwachsenwerden* and the anglicism *Coming of Age* is parallel to the shift of reference from German to American cinema. The mention of *Amerika* ('USA') also precedes the occurrence of the phrasal compound „*The Winner takes it all*“-*Mentalität* in (74).

- (74) *In Amerika hat sich eine „The winner takes it all“-Mentalität ausgebretet.* (11/106)  
 [In the US the mindset of “the winner takes it all” has spread over the country.]

The contextual superstructure conforms to the lexical trigger as the clause is taken from an article comparing the stock market boom in the USA with the situation in Germany. The excerpt in (74) follows the mention of American key players in the field of computer and information technology.

The hybrids *Just-in-time-Flexibilität* and *Small-is-beautiful-Prinzip*s are particularly interesting in that they both occur without obvious local textual triggers in an article entitled: „Die Mythen der New Economy“ ('Myths of the New Economy') by the German chancellor at the time, Gerhard Schröder. While Schröder's article focuses on the German economy and its future development, the text includes many anglicisms referring to current concepts of information technology and to economic achievements (e.g. *Computer*, *Cyberspace*, *Green-Card-Initiative*, *Lean Production*, *Online- und E-Commerce-Strategien*, *Software-Industrie*, *Teamwork*, *Think Tanks*). As the title implies, the key anglicisms in the article are *New Economy* and its counterpart *Old Economy*, which recur in several paragraphs throughout the article. A contextual link to the occurrence of the anglicisms is evident in cross-references to the economic development in the USA, which is presented as a role model in terms of the integration of information technology in its economy. On the micro textual level, however, many anglicisms appear without immediate triggers at various places in the text. This scattered use of anglicisms allows the author to transmit a metamessage of being up to date with current technological trends and knowledgeable about these issues. A common strategy to radiate this impression involves the clustering of anglicisms in lists, as in (75):

- (75) *Es sollte auch daran erinnert werden, dass die neue Ökonomie auch Wurzeln in der alten hat: Verfahren wie die so genannte Lean Production, Just-in-time-Flexibilität, der Kontinuierliche Verbesserungsprozess wurden in der traditionsreichen Automobilindustrie entwickelt.* (33/87)  
 [It should also be remembered that the new economy also has some roots in the old economy: processes like lean production, just in time flexibility, [and] continued improvement were developed in the traditional car industry.]

Another textual manoeuvre is the insertion of anglicisms that are not essential to the message but function as elements of surprise and thus cause the reader to linger over their meaning. This additional cognitive effort might have repercussions on the reader's judgement of the author as a knowledgeable persona. A further excerpt from Schröder's article shows an attempt to use an anglicism as such a metalinguistic token:

- (76) *...allerdings hat hier insbesondere die mittelständische Industrie noch Aufholbedarf. Diesen Umstand sollten die Verfechter des Small-is-beautiful-Prinzips genauso ehrlich bewerten wie die Tatsache, dass gerade Konzerne wie Deutsche Bank, DaimlerChrysler oder Lufthansa in der Anwendung der Netzökonomie eine Vorreiterrolle spielen.* (33/87)  
 [...however, particularly medium size industries need to catch up with this. Advocates of the small is beautiful principle should honestly assess this circumstance as well as the fact that companies such as Deutsche Bank, Daimler-Chrysler, or Lufthansa play a leading role in the application of the Internet economy.]

In (76) the gist of the message is carried forward by the head element of the hybrid (*Prinzips*) while the nominalized phrasal determinant *Small-is-beautiful* adds extra information. If the anglicism leaves a gap in understanding, the momentary deflection of comprehension is resolved by the head. This leaves the reader with the meaning of 'some sort of principle', which is sufficient to follow the remainder of the phrase. Thus, from the perspective of information coherence in stretches of discourse, the determinant position in hybrids seems particularly suitable for anglicisms to function as purely metalinguistic tokens of up-to-dateness and knowledgeability.

A special case of hybrid formation involves the anglicisms *Fun* and *Win*, which, as determinants, undergo reduplication in a couple of instances. In *Fun-Fun-Raster* ('fun fun pattern'), *Fun-Fun-Stimmung* ('fun fun mood'), *Fun-Fun-Fun-Gesellschaft* ('fun fun fun society'), and *Fun-Fun-Fun-Rufen* ('fun fun fun calls') reduplication has an augmentative function. This is exemplified in (77) and (78) which high-

light the abundance of fun and its presumed importance for the young generation in Germany:

- (77) *Klarer Himmel, leichter Wind, Pulverschnee versprechen ideale Voraussetzungen für Wintersport und Partylaune. Jäh schlägt die Fun-Fun-Stimmung um.* (53/290)  
[Clear sky, a slight breeze, and powder snow promise ideal conditions for winter sports and party mood. Suddenly, the fun fun mood is gone.]
- (78) *Es kann aber nicht im Sinne der SPD sein, auf die leider weit verbreitete Politik(er)-Verdrossenheit der Jugend nur mit Fun-Fun-Fun-Rufen zu antworten.* (52/16)  
[However, it cannot be the intention of the SPD to counter the regrettably widespread political disinterest of young people only with fun fun fun calls.]

In *Win-Win-Situation* ('win win situation') and *Win-Win-Win-Situation*, reduplication is used ironically. Thus, *Win-Win-Situation* refers to a business deal in which both parties profit from the result. Correspondingly, *Win-Win-Win-Situation* describes an event which is beneficial to three business partners as portrayed in (79):

- (79) „*Das ist eine typische Win-win-win-Situation*“, also eine Konstellation, in der alle drei nur gewinnen können. (15/87)  
[“This is a typical win win win situation”; a constellation in which all three can only win. (comment on a planned merger of Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank, and Allianz)]

As present in reduplication, alliteration could have influenced the creation of a couple of hybrids in the corpus. In *Big-Budget-Filmen* ('big budget films'), *Fast-Fashion-Kette* ('fast fashion chain'), *Fast-Food-Sprache* ('fast food language'), *Häppchen-Happening* ('appetizer happening'), *Prominenten-Placement* ('celebrity placement'), *Revival-Romantik* ('revival romance'), *Schule-Shuttle-Service* ('school shuttle service'), *World Wide Krimi* ('detective story on the Internet'), and *World wide weg* ('reference to travel agencies on the Internet'), alliteration of the compound elements adds a harmonic quality to the perception of the hybrids. The determinant *Sauber-* ('clean') which shares alliteration and a word final schwa with *Cyber-* has replaced the latter element to form *Sauberspace*, a pun that refers to turning the cyberspace into a clean space by banning downloads of music. In general, compound internal sound repetitions occur even more frequently with borrowed English constructions, as in:

*Bad Boy, Big Boy, Brain-Drain, Call-by-Call, Cash-Cow, Catch-as-Catch-can, coordinated concept, Face-to-Face, Fast Food, Harry-Hype, Killerthriller, Laptop, Pay-per-Day, Peer-to-Peer, Picture-in-Picture, Pole-Position, Pop-up-Pub, Powerplay, Working Women, and worried well.*

While phrasal hybrid compounds are mostly based on the combination of a phrasal borrowing with a German noun, English forms can also be coined in German without the existence of an equivalent model in English. This phenomenon is subsumed under the name of pseudo anglicisms (cf. Chapter 4.1). Compared with hybrid formations, pseudo anglicisms represent a marginal segment of the corpus. Fewer than thirty terms qualify as potential pseudo anglicisms. In total, merely about a dozen anglicisms are neither listed in the current online versions of the *OED* (accessed Mai 2006) and *MW* (accessed January 2007) nor understood by any member of a group of native speaker informants (cf. Chapter 7.2).

In general, the classification of pseudo anglicisms is based on reference works of the English language and is dependent on judgements of native speakers. In view of the increasing global status of English, however, the classification of pseudo anglicisms turns into a taxonomic artificiality, which lives off a preconceived notion of Standard English as owned by Great Britain and the USA. Instead, pseudo anglicisms could be regarded as a German lexical contribution to a variety of global English. Whichever perspective one is tempted to take, pseudo anglicisms represent the productive use of English within a predominantly German-speaking LC-area. The following list of pseudo anglicisms used in *Der Spiegel 2000* includes English terms which are not listed in the reference works and which are unknown to at least eight of the nine informants (cf. Chapter 7.2):

<i>Coldline</i>	(‘refers to a hotline of a German telephone company’)
<i>Dogwalk</i>	(‘the stage for the presentation of dogs at a dog show’)
<i>Dressman</i>	(‘male model’)
<i>Everseller</i>	(‘products that always sell’)
<i>Handy</i>	(‘mobile phone’)
<i>Late-Night-Talker</i>	(‘host of a late night talk show’)
<i>P-Day</i>	(‘the first day Playstation® 2 appeared in Germany’)
<i>Powergirl</i>	(‘energetic, powerful woman/girl’)
<i>Power-Sleeping</i>	(‘taking a nap in a Siesta salon’)
<i>Profi</i>	(‘professional’; ‘expert’)
<i>Pulli</i>	(‘pullover’)
<i>Pullunder</i>	(‘sleeveless garment typically worn under a jacket’)
<i>Show-Power</i>	(‘powerful show’)
<i>Single-Boom</i>	(‘popularity to live without a partner’)

<i>Talk-Lady</i>	(‘female talk show host’)
<i>Tuning-Hardliner</i>	(pl. ‘people who tune up their cars and motorcycles’)
<i>Twen</i>	(‘person in her/his twenties’)
<i>Wellfit-Bar</i>	(‘bar in a spa which serves healthy drinks’)

The creation of these pseudo anglicisms is mainly based on analogy and semantic reinterpretation, which are accompanied by processes of replacement, compounding, and shortening. Thus, analogical links to English terms are at the root of the creation of *Coldline*, *Dogwalk*, *P-Day*, *Pullunder*, and *Twen*. More specifically, partial replacement of the original English compound with an English antonym occurs in *Coldline* (→ hot line), *Dogwalk* (→ catwalk), and *Pullunder* (→ pullover). In *Pullunder*, the replacement is semantically motivated by the diverse function of two similar objects. While a pullover is designed to be worn as a top layer, the sleeveless *Pullunder* is intended for wear underneath a jacket. *Coldline* and *Dogwalk* represent playful creations. *Coldline* refers to a hot line where nobody is responding. Due to the partial replacement of catwalk into *Dogwalk*, a walkway at a fashion show turns into a stage for the presentation of dogs at a dog show. Similarly, *P-Day* is coined in analogy to D-Day with accompanying allusions to an invasion of Playstation® 2 in Germany. In structural terms, *Twen* is a clipping of English *twenty* followed by nominal conversion. An analogical connection to English *teen* seems to have served as the backbone of the creation of *Twen*, referring to a person in her/his twenties.

Reduction processes have also led to the coining of the pseudo anglicisms *Handy*, *Late-Night-Talker*, *Profi*, *Pulli*, and *Talk-Lady*. The English term *professional* functions as the root of the German clipping *Profi*, which acquired a hypocoristic-diminutive suffix *-i* in the process<sup>3</sup>. This suffix is a frequent marker of abbreviated names and nicknames in German (e.g. *Alfi* → *Alfred*, *Luki* → *Lukas*, *Michi* → *Michael*, *Steffi* → *Stefanie*..., also cf. Markus 2005). Apart from the morphological change, *Profi* has extended its meaning from a ‘professional’ to an ‘expert’. Likewise, *Pulli* is a clipped version of *pullover* following the same pattern of hypocoristic-diminutive suffixation as *Profi*. Although the creation of *Handy* remains somewhat obscure (cf. Chapter 4.1), a clipping of English *handheld/handset* (*telephone*) is a likely scenario for the creation of *Handy*, which also obtained an *-i* suffix in the process.

3 The name hypocoristic-diminutive suffix is based on the function of *-i* as a marker of endearment and as a structural trace of morphological reduction rather than a true semantic diminutive (cf. G. *-chen* and *-lein*).

The forms *Late-Night Talker* and *Talk-Lady* refer to a late night talk show host and a female talk show host respectively. In both examples, the determinant *Talk* stands for the compound *Talkshow*. Ellipsis of the head seems possible because of contextual specification with the actual names of the talk show hosts. In *Late-Night-Talker*, agentive suffixation (*-er*) marks the function of the person as a talk show host while the determinant *Late-Night* specifies the screening time of the show. The head of the pseudo anglicism *Talk-Lady* incorporates the semantic feature ‘female person’ whose role as a talk show host is specified by the determinant *Talk*.

As the examples of analogical replacements and morphological reductions show, semantic traces of English source terms remain evident in pseudo anglicisms in German. They are similarly palpable in novel combinations of English lexical units in German. Thus, a *Wellfit-Bar* combines the semantemes ‘healthy’ (overlapping reference of *well* and *fit*) and ‘a place where drinks are served’, a *Tuning-Hardliner* is an ‘uncompromising advocate’ of ‘engine tuning’, and a *Powergirl* denotes a ‘forceful young woman’. In *Show-Power* and *Power-Sleeping*, the meaning of *Power* varies from reference to ‘intensity’ (*Show-Power*) to ‘physical and mental strength’, which is regained after a brief period of sleep (*Power-Sleeping*).

The compounds *Dressman*, *Everseller*, and *Single-Boom* are based on a selection of specific semantic components of their individual elements. *Dressman* combines the features of ‘clothing’ and ‘male person’ to denote a male model, *Everseller* coalesces the semantic units ‘always’ and ‘products that sell well’, and *Single-Boom* blends the meaning of an ‘unmarried person’ and of a ‘rapid increase’ to refer to the increasing number of people that live a single life. In sum, pseudo anglicisms are non-transparent from the perspective of English because they are based on a combination of semantic modulation and formal restructuring of English lexical items in German.

#### 10.1.3 Derivation and other types of word formation

The discussion of pseudo anglicisms touches upon the existence of further word formation operations with nominal anglicisms in German. With the exception of derivation via affixation, however, these processes account for only few creations. Apart from the above mentioned clippings, *Profi*, *Pulli*, and *Twen*, the term *Skin* (→ skinhead) appears as the only other clipping of an English source term in German among the tagged portion of the corpus. In analogy to the clipped pseudo anglicisms, the determinant *Skin* takes the semantic and structural role of the compound while its head is reduced. This

reduction seems feasible in German due to the exclusive occurrence of *Skin* in the compound *Skinhead*. Thus, *Skin* retains its specific reference despite the back-clipping. The remainder of the clipped forms in the corpus represent borrowings from English. Thematically, all of the imported clippings except *Doc* revolve around computer and information technology: *Mail*, *Net*, *Site*, *Web*, and *Web-Cam*.

Since the formation of abbreviations and acronyms is particularly productive with proper nouns, which are not included among the findings of this study (cf. Chapter 7.2), only the following abbreviations appear in the corpus: *PC*, *CD-Rom*, *CD*, *SMS*, *GPS*, *Mr*, *PR*, *DJ*, *VIP*, and *XXL* (in the order of their TF) and the acronyms *Laser*, *Yettie*, and *Yuppie*. The latter serves as an analogical source for *Yettie*, which is introduced to the reader as an abbreviation of “young, entrepreneurial, tech-based”, the successor of *Yuppie* (25/123). Again, these reduced forms are not the product of abbreviation in German but represent importations of English units so that abbreviation does not appear to be a productive process with anglicisms in the German corpus of *Der Spiegel 2000*.

Blending, on the other hand, is not only evident in borrowed items but is also a productive strategy leading to the creation of anglicisms in German. From the borrowed blends, *Workaholic* (TF 10) and *Infotainment* (TF 8) are most frequently used. As an analogical blend to *Infotainment*, *Edutainment* has also made its way into German. The terms appear in *Spiegel* articles without further elaboration presupposing that German readers know their meaning. Less frequent borrowed blends, on the other hand, are introduced by segmentation into their elements or by explanation in context. While the concept of *Amerindian* is manifested in the context of an article on Indians in Guyana, *Dramedy* and *Netizen* are accompanied by a segmentation of their roots, as (80) and (81) show:

- (80) *Ein Netizen* (von Englisch „net“ und „citizen“)... (8/138)  
[A netizen (from English “net” and “citizen”)...]
- (81) „*Dramedy*“ heißt da das Kunstwort der Stunde. Es steht für eine kuriose Mischung aus Drama und Comedy,...(25/100)  
[“Dramedy” is the name of the latest invention. It represents a quaint mixture of drama and comedy...]

Apart from the borrowed blends, the terms *internett*, *Politainment*, *Shockumentaries*, *Tatterday-Night-Fever*, and *Unternet* occur as German creations in the corpus. Except for *Shockumentaries*, these terms are hybrid blends of German and English elements. In

*Politainment* the base words *Politik* and *Entertainment* are merged at their common node [t] concomitant with the loss of their adjacent morphemes (suffix *-ik* and base *Enter*). Despite the reduction, the meaning of the head is expressed in the suffix string *-tainment* which is specified by the stem *Polit-*. The borrowed blends *Infotainment* and *Edutainment* have probably served as a model for the creation of the hybrid blend in German. Since the bisyllabic nature of the reduced element (*Enter-*) is maintained in *Edu-*, *Info-*, and *Polit-*, the number of syllables of the blended term reflects the syllabic sequence of the unreduced form *Entertainment*.

Together with the blends in the corpus, canonical examples of English blends (e.g. *bluesical*, *brunch*, *motel*, *smog*, *stagflation*, *talkathon*) emphasize the tendency of blends to preserve the number of syllables of the right hand element in the blended construction. In *Shockumentaries*, for example, the syntactic group *shocking documentary* merges so that the initial syllable of the head (*Doc-*) is replaced by the first syllable of the modifier (*Shock-*). In both syllables the common node consonant [k] is preceded by the same vowel, which creates a rhyme effect between the original syllable and its substitute. An analogical sound sequence also lies at the heart of the blend *Tatterday-Night-Fever* which combines German *Tattergreis* ('dodderer') with English *Saturday*. The far out semantic connection of the two is strengthened in context. In order to alleviate the recognition of the empty formative *Tatter-*, the clipped element (-*greis*) reappears as part of an adjectival modifier immediately preceding the blend.

- (82) *Die Titel der Filme signalisieren greisenheißen Tatterday-Night-Fieber: ... (13/130)*  
 [The titles of the movies signal doter-hot "Tatterday-Night-Fever"]

The remaining examples in the corpus, *internett* and *Unternet*, represent partial replacements of the anglicism *Internet* with German lexical material. Again the prosodic conventions of similar syllabic structure and rhyme accompany these creations. In *internett* the base *net* is replaced with the German adjectival homophone *nett* ('nice') as a pun about the request of the North Korean head of state for Madeleine Albright's e-mail address:

- (83) *Der bislang bis zur geistigen Rückständigkeit als verschlossen geltende Chef der stalinistischen Diktatur erwiderte indes sehr internett: „Geben Sie mir bitte Ihre E-Mail-Adresse.“ (45/372)*

[The president of the Stalinistic regime, so far regarded as introverted to the point of mental retardation, surprisingly replied ‘internicely’: “Please give me your e-mail address.”]

*Unternet*, which refers to a futuristic scheme of automated underground transportation of goods, is coined in conceptual and structural relation to *Internet*. The analogy is based on the substitution of *Inter-* with German *unter* (‘below, under’) while the concept of a network is retained. The connection between the two words is emphasized in the immediate syntactic context. *Internet* and *Unternet* appear in a prepositional phrase each indexing the location of the same subject noun phrase:

- (84) *Im Internet werden Waren bestellt – und in Steins Unternet flitzen sie unsichtbar den Kunden entgegen.* (39/274)  
 [Goods are ordered on the Internet – and in Stein’s Unternet, they invisibly whiz to their customers.]

Having completed the analysis of anglicisms as products of peripheral types of word formation, the discussion turns to derivation via affixation. This is, after compounding, a further highly productive process leading to the creation of nominal anglicisms in German. The productive affixes in the corpus can be divided into German, Latin/Greek, and English affixes, which combine with anglicisms and German bases. In particular, semi-affixes represent a rich source for the derivation of anglicisms in German. The individual affixes will be listed below according to their origin and semantic function with examples of nominal derivations from the corpus.

### (a) German affixes and base anglicisms

A frequent pattern of affixation is the augmentation of anglicisms with the following semi-prefixes:

<i>Mords-</i> :	<i>Mordsstress</i> ('huge stress')
<i>Muster-</i> :	<i>Musterbody</i> ('model body'), <i>Musterfarm</i> ('model farm')
<i>Ober-</i> :	<i>Oberboss</i> ('big boss'), <i>Oberdandy</i> ('chief dandy')
<i>Riesen-</i> :	<i>Riesenbaby</i> ('giant baby'), <i>Riesencomputer</i> ('giant computer'), <i>Riesen-Deal</i> ('huge deal'), <i>Riesen-Events</i> ('huge events'), <i>Riesenflop</i> ('huge flop'), <i>Riesenjet</i> ('giant jet plane'), <i>Riesenjumbo</i> ('giant jumbo jet plane'), <i>Riesenparty</i> ('huge party'), <i>Riesenpuzzle</i> ('giant puzzle')
<i>Spitzen-</i> :	<i>Spitzenclub</i> ('top club'), <i>Spitzendesigner</i> ('top designer'), <i>Spitzenfestival</i> ('top festival'), <i>Spitzenfilme</i> ('top films'), <i>Spitzenjob</i> ('top job'), <i>Spitzenmanager</i> ('top manager'), <i>Spitzenstars</i> ('top stars'), <i>Spitzenteams</i> ('top teams')
<i>Traum-</i> :	<i>Traumjob</i> ('dream job'), <i>Traumpartnerin</i> ('dream partner(f.)'), <i>Traumstart</i> ('dream start'), <i>Traumstory</i> ('dream story'), <i>Traumteam</i> ('dream team')
<i>Über-</i> :	<i>Übertrainer</i> ('top coach')

The semi-prefixes *Riesen-* and *Spitzen-* function as the most productive German augmentative affixes with anglicisms in *Der Spiegel 2000*. The frequently used simplex anglicisms *Job* and *Team* recur as bases of augmentation in *Spitzenjob*, *Traumjob*, *Spitzenteams*, and *Traumteam*. In general, only commonly used anglicisms appear as bases for augmentative derivation with German semi-prefixes. In contrast to augmentation, diminution with German affixes is almost non-existent with the sole exception of *Filmchen*.

Evaluative semi-affixes which classify the significance of anglicisms are *Haupt-* ('main') in *Haupt-Cop*, *Haupt-Dealer*, *Hauptjob*, *Hauptpipeline*, its counterpart *Neben-* in *Nebenjob* ('side job'), *Sonder-* in *Sonderdiscount* ('special discount'), *Sondershow* ('special show'), and *Ur-* in *Ur-Girl* ('primal girl'). Negation and pejoration of base anglicisms is marked by the semi-prefixes *Fehl-* in *Fehlstarts* ('false starts'), *Gegen-* in *Gegentrend* ('counter trend'), *Miss-* in *Missmanagement* ('mismanagement'), *Nicht-* ('non') in *Nichtdoper*, *Nichtsnobs*, *Nicht-Surfer* and by the negative prefix *un-* in *Unfairness* ('unfairness'). Due to the overlapping function of *un-* in German and English, it is unclear whether *Unfairness* has actually been derived in German or was borrowed as a lexical unit from English. Phonological evidence indicates that German speakers at least reanalyze the prefix as a German element as the pronunciation of the prefix

follows German conventions while its derivational base largely retains English pronunciation (cf. G. [unfernes]).

Collective anglicisms are derived with the semi-suffixes *-leute* ('people') in *PRLeute*, *Filmleute*, *Marketing-Leute*, *Software-Leute*, *Online-Leute* and *-volk* ('people') in *Partyvolk*, *Reality-Volk*, and *Fanvolk*. Abstract generic nouns occur with *-schaft* (*Partnerschaft* 'partnership', *Lordschaft* 'lordship') and *-tum* (*Dandytum* 'dandydom', *Yuppietum* 'yuppiedom'). Other derived abstract nouns are deverbal action nouns in *-ung* (*Codierung* 'codification', *Verfilmung* 'filmification') and in *-erei* (*Chatterei* 'chatting', *Computerei* 'computing', *Dealerei* 'dealing', *Jet-Setterei* 'jet setting'). The creation of the latter nouns presupposes the existence of the verbal anglicisms *chatten*, *computern*, *dealen*, and *jet-setten*. Deverbal derivation with *-erei* adds a pejorative flavor to the action noun, indicating a repetitious or continuous activity which lasts longer than expected or wished for.

Derivation that marks concrete anglicisms frequently involves animate concepts which denote generic or gender specific names of professions and social roles. Thus, the semi-prefix *Alt-* ('old') classifies animate anglicisms as being old and experienced members of their respective class, as in *Althippie*, *Alt-Junkies*, *Alt-Profis*, *Alt-Punker*, *Alt-Ravern*, *Altrockern*, *Altsoftie*, and *Altstar*. The generic noun *-mann* ('man') can function as a semi-suffix to refer to a male professional in *Computermann*, *Marketingmann*, *PR-Mann*, *Servicemann*, and *Shareholder-Value-Mann*. Similar to the near equivalent prefix *un-* in German and English, the suffix *-er* is a marker of agentive and instrumental nouns in both languages. So, it is likely that the plethora of agentive nouns in *-er* are borrowings from English rather than separate creations in German. Nevertheless, as the discussion on gender assignment portrays (cf. Chapter 9.1), anglicisms ending in an agentive/instrumental *-er* suffix are regularly assigned masculine gender, which shows the morphological awareness of German speakers towards the imported complex anglicisms. The recognition of agentive *-er* is also a prerequisite for further derivation into "motionsfeminina" (cf. Matasović 2004: 172) with the feminine suffix *-in*. This is a highly productive process as the following findings from the corpus portray:  
*Babysitterin*, *Barkeeperin*, *Boxerin*, *Brokerin*, *Cruiserin*, *Cutterin*, *Designerin*, *Doperin*, *Essayistin*, *Filmerin*, *Hackerin*, *Headhunterin*, *Insiderin*, *Internet-Surferin*, *Interviewerin*, *Joggerin*, *Journalistin*, *Killerin*, *Lobbyistin*, *Managerin*, *Newcomerin*, *Partnerin*, *Peacemakerin*, *Producerin*, *Promoterin*, *Punkerin*, *Rapperin*, *Raverin*, *Reporterin*, *Skaterin*, *Sprinterin*, *Streetworkerin*, *Stripperin*, *Stylistin*,

*Talkerin, Talkmasterin, Testerin, Trainerin, Tramperin, Trekkerin, and Trendsetterin.*

As the examples show, motionsfeminina in *-in* are built on the male agentive suffixes *-er* and *-ist*. In analogy to *-mann* the antonym *-frau* ('woman') can also serve as a productive semi-suffix denoting female agency in *Computer-Frau, Glamourfrau, Marketingfrau, Partyfrau, Powerfrau, Single-Frau, Starfrau, and Yuppie-Frau*. Gender neutral professionals are derived with *-kraft* ('force') in *Computerkraft, Marketingkraft, and Servicekraft*. In these examples, *-kraft* is a clipped form of *Arbeitskraft* ('workforce'), whose meaning is retained in the semi-suffix.

### (b) Neoclassical affixes and base anglicisms

Latin and Greek affixes constitute a further highly productive source for the derivation of anglicisms in German. Many of these neoclassical morphemes complement the function of German affixes. Thus, the semi-prefixes *Makro-*, *Mega-*, *Giga-*, and *Super-* add an augmentative meaning to the base anglicism. Similarly, the term *Mammut* ('mammoth'), probably of Yakut origin, has grammaticalized to a semi-prefix which projects the meaning of 'giant, huge' onto its base word. A complete overview of anglicisms derived by these augmentative markers is given in the following:

<i>Makro-</i> :	<i>Makrotrends</i>
<i>Mammut-</i> :	<i>Mammutjet, Mammut-Show</i>
<i>Mega-</i> :	<i>Megacity, Mega-Deal, Mega-Event, Mega-Flop, Mega-Jets, Mega-Liner, Mega-Megatrend, Megamerger, Megamodel, Mega-Party, Megaseller, Mega-Show, Megastar, Megatrend, Mega-VIPs</i>
<i>Giga-</i> :	<i>Gigadeal</i>
<i>Super-</i> :	<i>Superbestseller, Super-CD, Super-Citys, Supercomputer, Superdeal, Superfighter, Supergolfer, Superhighways, Super-Hit, Super-Holding, Super-Internet, Super-Interview, Superjet, Superjobs, Superjumbo, Superpower, Superscoop, Supershow, Supersoftware, Superspeed, Supersprinterin, Superstar, Superwoman</i>

While *Mega-* and *Super-* seem most productive, their equivalent functions as augmentatives in English blur the distinction between prefixation in German and borrowing of lexical units already derived in English (e.g. *megacity, megastar, supercomputer, superpower, superstar, and superwoman*). Frequent hyphenization and the instance of reduplication for increased augmentation (*Mega-Megatrend*), how-

ever, signal the productive potential of these semi-prefixes with anglicisms in German.

Diminution of anglicisms is almost exclusively marked by the neoclassical semi-prefixes *Mikro-* ('micro') and *Mini-* in *Mikrochip*, *Mikrofilm*, *Mikrocomputer*, *Mikrolaser*, *Mikro-Marketing*, *Mikrotrend*, *Mini-Cartoons*, *Minichips*, *Minicomputer*, *Mini-Disc*, *Mini-Handys*, *Mini-Heckspoiler*, *Minijet*, *Minijobs*, *Mini-PC*, *Mini-Telefon-Display*, and *Mini-Thriller*. Opposition is expressed by *Anti-*, which is synonymous to German *Gegen-* ('against'), in *Anti-Aging*, *Antibabypille* ('antibaby pill'), *Anti-Crack-Demonstration* ('anticrack demonstrations'), *Anti-Doping-Agentur* ('antidoping agency'), *Anti-Dumping-Klagen* ('antidumping lawsuits'), *Anti-Smog-Maske* ('antismog mask'), and *Antivirensoftware* ('antivirus software'). *Anti-* also marks pejoration in *Anti-Designer*, and *Pseudo-* is a pejorative prefix in *Pseudoreporter*.

The prefix *Ex-* projects the meaning of 'former' on agentive anglicisms, as in *Ex-Boxer*, *Ex-Champions*, *Ex-Coach*, *Ex-Hacker*, *Ex-Hippie*, *Ex-Junkie*, *Ex-Killer*, *Ex-Lover*, *Ex-Manager*, *Ex-Model*, *Ex-Profi*, *Ex-Punk*, *Ex-Talk-Lady*, *Ex-Tennisstar*, and *Ex-Trainer*.

As far as suffixation is concerned, abstract concepts are derived by the denominal/deadjectival suffix *-ismus*, which is attached to nominal anglicisms in *Hooliganismus* ('hooliganism'), *Lobbyismus* ('lobbyism'), *Journalismus* ('journalism'), and *Workaholismus* ('workaholism'). According to the formal similarity of their English equivalents, these terms have probably been coined in German by suffix replacement of English *-ism* with the German variant *-ismus*. The fact that the agent nouns *Cartoonist*, *Essayist*, *Lobbyist*, and *Stylist* have direct equivalents in English favours a scenario of borrowing instead of a German derivation from the nominal anglicisms *Cartoon*, *Essay*, *Lobby* and *Style*. Thus, *-ist* does not appear as a productive suffix with anglicisms in German.

Finally, the semi-prefixes *Agro-*, *Bio-*, *Öko-* ('eco-'), *Retro-*, and *Polit-* add specific meanings to a variety of nominal anglicisms. These content elements represent clipped forms of neoclassical creations (cf. L. *agrarius*, G. *Biologie*, G. *Ökologie*, Gr. *oikos*, Gr. *Politika*) and of the French base *rétrospective*. Semantically, *Agro-*, *Bio-*, and *Öko-* revolve around the field of nature and life forms. They specifically relate to farming (*Agro-Business*), to aspects of life (*Biochip*, *Biocode*, *Biocomputer*, *Biofeedback*, *Biofilm*, *Bio-Gin*, *Bio-Monitoring*, and various *Biotech-* compounds) and to environmentalism (*Öko-Crash*, *Öko-Freaks*, *Öko-Holzsandalenboom*, *Öko-Image*, *Öko-Lobbyistin*, *Ökopower*, *Öko-Puzzles*, *Öko-Show*, and *Öko-Test*). *Polit-* is a produc-

tive tag which projects the meaning of ‘politics’ to a variety of anglicisms, as in *Polit-Clown*, *Polit-Comics*, *Polit-Dealer*, *Polit-Deals*, *Polit-Entertainers*, *Politfilm*, *Polit-Gang*, *Polit-Hippie*, *Polit-Jet-Sets*, *Polit-Junkies*, *Polit-Manager*, *Polit-Marketing*, *Polit-Profi*, *Polit-Quiz*, *Polit-Show*, *Polit-Slang*, *Polit-Society*, *Polit-Star*, *Polit-Start-up*, *Polit-Statements*, *Polit-Talk*, *Polit-Talkshow*, and *Polit-Thriller*. *Retro-* is used as a fashion concept denoting the revival of past styles in *Retro-Look* and *Retro-Design*. Overall, these semi-prefixes function similarly to determinant elements in compounds as they specify their base words with additional content meaning.

### c) Anglicism affixes and German or anglicism bases

Merely a few anglicisms are used as derivational affixes in the corpus. These productive elements are prefixes with negative meaning (*Non-*), with augmentative function (*Top-*), and with specific content relating to the Internet and electronics (*Cyber-*, *Dotcom-*, and *E-*). While the negative prefix *Non-* only occurs in the example of *Non-Fach* (‘non-subject’), the augmentative semi-prefix *Top-* attaches to a host of German terms and a couple of anglicisms as the following sample shows (for a complete list see Appendix 8): *Topabsolvent* (‘top graduate’), *Top-Act*, *Top-Agent*, *Top-Airlines*, *Top-Aktien* (‘top shares’), *Topanalysten* (‘top analysts’), *Topathleten* (‘top athletes’), *Top-Ausstattung* (‘top equipment’), *Topberaterin* (‘top advisor(f.)’), *Top-Beweis* (‘top proof’), *Top-Bosse* (‘top bosses’), *Top-Clubs*, *Top-Comedian*, *Top-Designer*, *Topentscheidern* (‘top decision makers’), and *Topereignisse* (‘top events’).

The anglicism *Top-* is synonymous to the German augmentative *Spitzen-* and so a variety of synonymous derivations exist in the corpus (e.g. *Spitzenagent* – *Topagent*, *Spitzenathlet* – *Topathlet*, *Spitzenclubs* – *Topclubs*, *Spitzendesigner* – *Topdesigner*, *Spitzenfilme* – *Topfilme*, *Spitzenjob* – *Topjob*, *Spitzenkandidaten* – *Topkandidaten*, *Spitzenmanager* – *Topmanager*...). Both semi-prefixes are productive in German although, with 184 derivations, *Spitzen-* accounts for more than double the number of *Top-* constructions (81 types). At the same time, *Spitzen-* and *Top-* exhibit a tendency to mingle among their own. Thus, *Spitzen-* primarily attaches to German bases (merely eight derivations of anglicism bases) whereas *Top-* connects with anglicisms in 20 instances (e.g. *Topteam*, *Topstar*, *Top-Performance*, *Topmodel*, *Topmanager*, *Topmanagement*, *Topjob*, *Tophit*, *Top-Event*, *Top-Designer*, *Top-Club*, *Top-Boss*, *Top-Airlines*, and *Top-Act*). This could also signify direct influence, i.e. borrowing from English.

The most productive semi-prefix of English descent is *Cyber-*, a clipping of *Cyberspace*, which is used synonymously to *Internet*. Thus, just as *Internet* is a highly productive determinant of hybrid compound nouns (cf. Table 10), *Cyber-* determines a variety of German bases and a few anglicisms in order to establish a thematic link to the medium of the Internet. The following examples are a small selection of the complete list in Appendix 9: *Cyberbankräuber* ('cyber bank robber'), *Cyberbar* ('cyber bar'), *Cyberbrillen* ('cyber glasses'), *Cyber-Café* ('cyber café'), *Cybercash*, *Cyber-Citys*, *Cyber-Commerce*, *Cyber-Deals*, *Cyber-Diebstahl* ('cyber theft'), and *Cyber-Dienste* ('cyber services').

Although far less frequent than *Cyber-*, the semi-prefix *Dotcom-* emerges as a further word formation element that refers to the Internet in *Dotcom-Generation*, *Dot-com-Webseite* ('dot-com webpage'), and *Dotcom-Zeitalters* ('dot-com era'). Similarly, *E-* (short for electronic) has evolved into a productive prefix in German probably under the influence of a variety of borrowings, most of all *E-Mail* but also *E-Banking*, *E-Book*, *E-Business*, *E-Cinema*, *E-Commerce*, *E-Convenience*, *E-Corporation*, *E-Economy*, *E-Life*, *E-Ready*, *E-Reality*, *E-Recruiting*, *E-Revolution*, *E-Rights*, *E-Services*, *E-Shopping*, *E-Students*, *E-Trade*, and *E-Vision*. These anglicisms serve as models for additional creations in German such as *E-Buch* ('e-book'), *E-economy*, *E-Demokratie* ('e-democracy'), *E-Einkäufern* ('e-shoppers'), *E-Notizbuch* ('e-notebook'), *E-Ökonomie* ('e-economy'), and *E-Technik* ('e-technology'). The creation *E-economy* indicates that *E-* has acquired autonomous morphological status as a referent to electronic transmission via the Internet. This morphemic function of *E-* is also marked phonologically in German by the imitation of its English sound [i] which contrasts with [e] as an abbreviation of electric/electricity in *E-Netz* ('electricity grid'), and *E-Lokomotive* ('electric locomotive').

In sum, peripheral types of word formation merely marginally impact the production of anglicisms in German. While abbreviation is only evident in borrowed units, clippings and blends account for a couple of creations in the corpus. The coining of blends is influenced by analogical relations to borrowed blends (cf. *Politainment* → *Infotainment*, *Edutainment*). Furthermore, blends are characterized by prosodic effects, in particular by rhyme between the clipped segment of the right-most element and its substitute. As a side effect of this type of blending, the syllabic structure of the unreduced right-most element is preserved. This alleviates the formal recognition of the blended concepts (cf. *Tatterday* → *Saturday*, *Edutainment* → *Entertainment*).

Denominal derivation of anglicisms, on the other hand, features prominently in the corpus. A variety of German and neoclassical affixes and a handful of English affixes derived from lexical borrowings manipulate a variety of base anglicisms and German terms. Among the semantic functions of affixation, augmentative derivations prevail with highly productive prefixes such as *Mega-*, *Riesen-*, *Spitzen-*, *Super-*, and *Top-*. Other derivations include motionsfeminina (*-in*, *-frau*), negation and opposition (e.g. *Anti-*, *Gegen-*, *Nicht-*, *Non-*, *Un-*), diminutives (*Mikro-*, *Mini-*), collectives and abstracts (e.g. *-erei*, *-ismus*, *-leute*, *-schaft*, *-tum*, *-ung*, *-volk*), taxative elements (e.g. *Alt-*, *Ex-*, *Haupt-*, *Neben-*, *Sonder-*), and a variety of content prefixes (e.g. *Bio-*, *Cyber-*, *E-*, *Öko-*, *Polit-*).

In general, the derivation of base anglicisms shows a pronounced tendency towards prefixation, particularly with semi-prefixes. Discounting the free morphemes *-mann*, *-frau*, and *-kraft*, which function as semi-suffixes, the bound suffixes *-erei*, *-ismus*, *-schaft*, *-tum*, and *-ung* account for merely fifteen derivations altogether. The most productive suffix is the feminine ending *-in*, which combines with more than forty bases. However, suffixation with *-in* mirrors its German morphological environment as *-in* follows agentive anglicisms ending in *-er* and *-ist*. Thus, terms such as *Killerin*, *Lobbyistin*, *Managerin*, and *Newcomerin* are in line with the German morphological constraint, according to which *-in* only attaches to derived masculine agentive bases. Overall, the reason for the prevalence of semi-prefixation might be connected to the fact that suffixation with bound morphemes changes the concept of the base on a scale of abstraction. Prefixation, on the other hand, in particular with content semi-prefixes, maintains the meaning of the base concept, which is merely specified for additional semantic content. In this way, semi-prefixation of anglicisms is reminiscent of modifier head relations in hybrid compound noun anglicisms.

## 10.2 Verbal anglicisms

As portrayed in Chapter 8.2 (cf. Figure 22), verbal anglicisms merely account for 5.49% of the tagged anglicisms in the corpus. This percentage is considerably lower than the rate of verbs in the German language at large which, according to Duden, is estimated to be close to a fifth of the lexicon (1998: 89). The infrequent occurrence of verbal anglicisms conforms with the hierarchy of borrowability (cf. Chapter 3.4), which explains the reduced likelihood of verbal borrowing in

terms of their increased syntactic load. In addition, borrowing is essentially a means of creating neologisms, which in its own right is primarily a process of nominal creation. Despite the small numerical impact of verbal anglicisms, their syntagmatic significance (valency, case assignment), their paradigmatic integration into the German inflectional system, and their possible derivation with a variety of German prefixes offer further insights into the structural behavior of anglicisms in German. Accordingly, this chapter will discuss the inflectional and derivational integration of verbal anglicisms and their syntactic functions in the corpus.

### 10.2.1 Inflection

To start the discussion with infinitive inflection, a few morphemic variants mark the infinitive of verbal anglicisms in German. The suffix *-ieren*, which derives a variety of verbs from neoclassical roots (e.g. *adaptieren* ‘to adapt’, *definieren* ‘to define’, *konzentrieren* ‘to concentrate’, *koordinieren* ‘to coordinate’...) only occurs in *boykottieren* (‘to boycott’), *campieren* (‘to camp’), and *trainieren* (‘to train’). Since these anglicisms originated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and *-ieren* is not found with any recent borrowings, the suffix seems to have lost its productivity for the derivation of verbal anglicisms. More recently, *campen* has evolved in addition to *campieren* causing semantic specification of the two forms. *Campieren* has shifted its meaning to the setting up of a larger camp as for military units while *campen* has acquired the meaning of tourist camping.

In general, the suffix *-en* derives the infinitive of the vast majority of verbal anglicisms in the corpus (examples from the tagged anglicisms):

<i>boomen</i>	(‘to boom’)	<i>jetten</i>	(‘to travel by jet’)
<i>brunchen</i>	(‘to have brunch’)	<i>joggen</i>	(‘to jog’)
<i>chatten</i>	(‘to chat online’)	<i>kicken</i>	(‘to kick’)
<i>dealen</i>	(‘to deal’)	<i>mobben</i>	(‘to mob’)
<i>designen</i>	(‘to design’)	<i>outen</i>	(‘to make public’)
<i>dopen</i>	(‘to dope’)	<i>rappen</i>	(‘to rap’, music)
<i>downloaden</i>	(‘to download’)	<i>rocken</i>	(‘to rock’, music)
<i>filmen</i>	(‘to film’)	<i>scannen</i>	(‘to scan’)
<i>flirten</i>	(‘to flirt’)	<i>shoppen</i>	(‘to shop’)
<i>floppen</i>	(‘to flop’)	<i>splitten</i>	(‘to split’)
<i>interviewen</i>	(‘to interview’)	<i>starten</i>	(‘to start’)

<i>kidnappen</i>	(‘to kidnap’)	<i>surfen</i>	(‘to surf’)
<i>killen</i>	(‘to kill’)	<i>testen</i>	(‘to test’)
<i>leasen</i>	(‘to lease’)	<i>toppen</i>	(‘to top, to excel’)
<i>liften</i>	(‘to face-lift’)	<i>trainieren</i>	(‘to train’)
<i>einloggen</i>	(‘to log on’)	<i>zappen</i>	(‘to zap’)
<i>managen</i>	(‘to manage’)		

Table 12: Verbal anglicisms with regular German infinitival inflection

With the exception of *brunchen* and *jetten*, these verbal anglicisms are most likely derived from borrowed English verbs. This is emphasized by the fact that the verbal anglicisms mirror the meaning of their English models, i.e. the relation between form and meaning of the English verb is retained in German. As part of the borrowing process, the English verbal roots adapt to German infinitival inflection following the pattern of “borrowed lexical nucleus + adapted flexive”. For Coetsem, this is a general convention of the systemic integration of borrowed lexical items into an RL (2000: 141). The verbs *brunchen* and *jetten* seem to lack English verbal equivalents (\*to brunch, \*to jet). So, these forms have probably been derived in German from the nominal borrowings *brunch* and *jet*.

According to German syllabic conventions, a single consonant between a stressed short (lax) vowel and an unstressed vowel takes the role of a syllable joint (“Silbengelenk”; cf. Duden 1998: 68). This means that the consonant serves as the coda of the stressed and as the onset of the unstressed syllable. This double function is represented orthographically by consonant doubling (gemination), which is evident in *chatten*, *floppen*, *jetten*, *joggen*, *kidnappen*, *einloggen*, *mobben*, *rappen*, *scannen*, *splitten*, *toppen*, and *zappen*. Besides gemination, traces of orthographical assimilation are evident in the inflected verb form *puscht*, which coexists with the English spelling of the alveolar fricative [ʃ] in *pushen*, and in the playful creation *upzugreten* (→ to upgrade), which occurs as part of a critical comment on the development of the German language:

- (85) *Dabei ist die deutsche Sprache drauf und dran, sich selbst auf das Global-Village-Level upzugreten – International Performance ist schließlich in 2000 up to date denn je.* (42/160)  
 [The German language is actually on the verge of upgrading itself to the level of the global village – After all, in 2000, international performance is more up to date than ever.]

The instance of orthographical assimilation in (85) underlines the author's intent to ridicule the use of English in German. In detail, the unusual phonetic spelling of the English term (*upzugreten*) catches the reader's attention and at the same time unmasks the incompetence of a German speaker to pronounce *upgrade* properly (monophthongization of [eɪ → ε]). The infixation of the infinitive particle *zu* ('to') enhances the eye-catching effect of *upzugreten*, which is derived from an analysis of *upgraben* as a separable prefix verb in German.

In certain phonological environments the infinitive of verbal anglicisms is marked by word final *-n* rather than *-en*. This happens in bisyllabic stems which end in liquids [r, l], as in *lasern* ('\*to laser'), *modeln* ('to model'), *pokern* ('to play poker'), *powern* ('to power'), and *recyceln* ('to recycle'). In the absence of verbal models, *lasern* and *pokern* have been converted in German from the nominal anglicisms *laser* and *poker*. For *modeln*, *powern*, and *recyceln*, however, English verbal equivalents could also have served as the basis for the creations. The verb stem of *recyceln* is orthographically transformed from *recycl* to *recycel* representing schwa epenthesis in its final consonant cluster [kəl], which creates the phonological environment for word final *-n* in the infinitive.

Thus far, the inflectional possibilities to derive the infinitive of verbal anglicisms in German have been discussed. What remains are a couple of English verbs that retain their form and show zero inflection in the infinitive. These verbs, however, do not function as isolated lexical borrowings but are embedded in German discourse as elements of codeswitches and phrasal constructions (cf. Chapter 11). Here is an overview of the English verbs used in codeswitches: *are, believe, buy, call, can, check, come, do, drive, get, give, go, have, let, love, make, run, save, sell, take, think, want, and win*. These verbs represent basic English terms, which are generally acquired at early stages of learning English. So, they represent a sort of common knowledge English for the majority of the German population. These basic verbs also indicate that written codeswitching tends to involve simple English sentential units and catch phrases (e.g. *The show must go on; What do you want?; We love you rebels*).

Coming back to verbal anglicisms as lexical borrowings that function in German syntactic environments, it has to be emphasized that the semantic scope of a verbal anglicism usually represents a particularization of the English model if the model encompasses different verbal concepts in English. Thus, in German, *boomen* refers to rapid growth and expansion, particularly in the context of economics. *Chatten* specifically denotes chatting on the Internet, *floppen* means 'to

fail', *kicken* is used as a synonym of playing soccer, *liften* only occurs in the meaning of a face-lift, *mobben* relates to the English meaning 'to crowd about and attack or annoy', *outen* appears in the sense of 'to make public', *rappen* and *rocken* are tied to their musical genres, *toppen* means 'to excel', and *zappen* refers to rapidly changing TV-channels. Other verbal anglicisms copy the specific reference of their source terms such as *dopen*, *downloaden*, *flirten*, *joggen*, *kidnappen*, *leasen* and *einloggen*, or they largely retain the broader meaning of their English models, as in *dealen*, *designen*, *filmen*, *killen*, *managen*, *starten*, *surfen*, and *testen*.

In general, semantic specification is a common side effect of borrowing since an item is initially borrowed to fill a specific communicative (expressive) need. Due to subsequent use in the RL, the borrowed unit underlies common mechanisms of language change, which can alter the meaning of the borrowing. *Kicken*, for example, extended its meaning from kicking the ball to a synonym of playing soccer in German.

The structural bottom line of infinitival derivation of verbal anglicisms in German is that verbal anglicisms regularly inflect with German endings regardless of their genesis as verbal borrowings or as language internal derivations from nominal anglicisms. The regular integration into the German infinitival paradigm presumes that verbal anglicisms will also show a high degree of morphological convergence to other inflectionally marked categories such as person, number, tense, and mood. Indeed, the vast majority of verbal anglicisms coheres to the regular (weak) inflectional paradigm of German verbs. The following selection of example phrases shows the diverse grammatical functions of verbal anglicisms in the corpus:

*Seit die Börse boomt,...*

[Since the stocks began to boom...;  
*boomt* = indic. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg.]

*Die Wirtschaft boomte weiter.*

[The economy continued to boom;  
*boomte* = indic. past 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg.]

*Der „Detroit News“ mailte er einen Gruß,...*

[He mailed a greeting to “Detroit News”,  
*mailte* = indic. past 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg.]

*...der Fernsehzuschauer zappt wahllos...*

[...the TV-viewer zaps randomly...;  
*zappt* = indic. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg.]

*Ich trainiere....*

[I train,...;  
*trainiere* = indic. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg.]

*Manchmal powere ich...*

[Sometimes I power...;  
*powere* = indic. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg.]

*Sie raven und rocken.*

[They rave and rock;  
*raven/rocken* = indic. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl.]

<i>Sie boykottierten MTV.</i>	[They boycotted MTV; <i>boykottierten</i> = indic. past 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. pl.]
<i>...folglich starte das Millenium am 1. Januar 2001.</i>	[...consequently, the millennium would start on January 1 <sup>st</sup> 2001; <i>starte</i> = subjunc. 1; 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. sg.]
<i>...wenn man beide Gehirnhälften entsprechend trainiere, ...</i>	[if one appropriately trained both brain hemispheres,... <i>trainiere</i> = subjunc. 1; 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. sg.]
<i>...ob er sich je gedopt habe.</i>	[...whether he had ever doped; <i>gedopt</i> = past participle used in present perfect, subjunc. 1]
<i>...war in Einzelfällen sogar ein Learjet für 70.000 Mark gechartert worden.</i>	[...in a few cases even a Learjet was chartered for 70,000 Mark; <i>gechartert</i> = past participle, used in passive voice]
<i>...als treuloser Ehemann geoutet hatte.</i>	[...had outed himself as an unfaithful husband; <i>geoutet</i> = past participle, used in past perfect tense]
<i>Skatende Senioren</i>	[Skating seniors; <i>skatende</i> = present participle, <i>-e</i> marks pl. agreement to noun, i.e. the participle functions as an adjective]

As the examples show, verbal anglicisms are used in a variety of syntactic functions and inflect accordingly. Across the whole corpus, verbal anglicisms particularly occur in 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person present or past indicative singular or plural. The traditional anglicisms *starten* and *trainieren* also appear in the subjunctive mood as elements of a consecutive clause and a conditional clause. A frequent function of verbal anglicisms involves their use as participles to mark complex tenses (present perfect and past perfect) and passive voice. The last example (*skatende Senioren*) indicates that participial anglicisms can also operate as adjectival attributes to German nouns (cf. Chapter 10.3).

The double role of participles as verbal and adjectival anglicisms breeds some inflectional irregularities. Thus, the corpus contains slightly more than a dozen anglicisms which partly defy participial circumfixation (*ge-...-(e)t*) and retain their English suffix (*-ed*) when used as participles in German. For the most part, these divergent forms serve as attributive and predicative adjectives, as in the following examples:

<i>educated:</i>	<i>Manchmal sage ich auch, ich bin ein „educated Kanakster“.</i> [Sometimes I even say I am an educated “Kanakster”.]
<i>gefaked:</i>	<i>Ihre Englischkenntnisse sind sozusagen gefaked.</i> [Her knowledge of English is fake so to speak.]
<i>oldfashioned:</i>	<i>Denglisch nennen das die oldfashioned Quengler.</i> [The old-fashioned whiners call this Denglisch.]
<i>overdosed:</i>	<i>Wenn du overdosed bist, dann verraffst du halt irgendwelche Sachen.</i> [When you are overdosed, then you will buy any kinds of things.]
<i>relaxed:</i>	<i>...beginnen wir das neue Jahrtausend ganz relaxed im Sitzen...</i> [... let's start the new millenium totally relaxed, sitting...]
<i>sophisticated:</i>	<i>...vermittele dem Käufer eine Botschaft: „Du bist sophisticated. Du bist cool. Du bist reich“.</i> [...convey a message to the client: You are sophisticated. You are cool. You are rich.]
<i>stoned:</i>	<i>Aufmerksam wurde er, als die ersten seiner Schützlinge „völlig stoned durch die Gegend liefen“.</i> [He grew attentive when the first of his protégés ran around totally stoned.]
<i>stonewashed:</i>	<i>...Klischees von stonewashed Jeanshemden...</i> [...clichés of stonewashed denim shirts...]
<i>unplugged:</i>	<i>...unplugged spielte.</i> [...played unplugged (music).]

These participial adjectives are mostly part of quotations, which indicates a certain readiness to use unassimilated English forms in conversation. As the more frequently used forms *relaxed*, *stoned*, and *unplugged* imply, the participial adjectival anglicisms in *-ed* have originally been borrowed as adjectives from English and fill adjectival slots in German discourse without having gone through a stage of morphological reanalysis. The odd one out in this selection, *gefaked*, takes the German prefix *ge-* while retaining its characteristic English suffix *-ed*. In this case, *-ed* marks the form as being derived from the root anglicism *fake*. Total inflection (\**gefakt*) could impede the recognition of the English base and induce a vowel change from [ei] to [a] leading to unintentional homophony with a four letter word.

In contrast to adjectival borrowings that appear as unintegrated participles in German, participles derived from verbal anglicisms follow the regular pattern of circumfixation (*ge-...-(e)t*), e.g. *gecancelt*, *gechattet*, *gecheckt*, *gecoacht*, *gecovert*, *gecrackt*, *gedropt*, *gefightet*, *gejobbt*, *gejoggt*, *gejettet*, *gekidnappt*, *geleast*, *gemanagt*, *geoutet*, *gepierct*, *gerappt*, *gestalkt*, *gestylt*, *getestet*, and *gezoomt*. When such

participles function as attributive adjectives, they add the possible agreement markers *-e*, *-em*, *-en*, *-er*, and *-es* which mark number and partially gender and case of the head noun, as in the following small selection:

<i>ein gecharterter Großraumtransporter</i>	[nom. m. sg.; a chartered transporter plane]
<i>ein positiv auf BSE getestetes Rind</i>	[nom. nt. sg.; a cow tested positively for mad cow disease]
<i>sorgfältig getimte Schwangerschaft</i>	[nom. f. sg.; carefully timed pregnancy]
<i>mit gepierctem Bauchnabel</i>	[dat. m. sg.; with pierced belly button]
<i>mit den gestylten Rastalocken</i>	[pl.; with the styled dreadlocks]

Thus far, it seems that the morphological divergence of a couple of adjectival participles is explainable by the fact that they were borrowed in their specific adjectival function. Participles derived in German from verbal anglicisms regularly converge to the German inflectional system. However, the situation is not quite as clear-cut as portrayed because there remain a very small number of verbal participles in the corpus which partly or completely retain their English inflection. These diverging participles are summarized in excerpts (86) to (89):

- (86) *Ich bin einfach inzwischen müde und erschöpft davon, entertained zu werden.* (9/237)  
[I have simply grown tired and exhausted of being entertained]
- (87) *Aber die audience hat das alles von Anfang an auch supported.* (5/122)  
[But the audience has supported all this from the beginning.]
- (88) *Es gibt einen Funpark am Kitzsteinhorn, Half- und Quarterpipes für Snowboarder. Es wird gecarved, gecruised und gepowdered.* (47/213)  
[There is a funpark at Kitzsteinhorn with halfpipes and quarterpipes where snowboarders carve, cruise and powder.]
- (89) *Und dann wird, im Office, den lieben langen Tag designt und gecancelt, gelayoutted und downgeloaded und mit Genehmigung des neuen Duden sogar gehighlighted.* (44/240)  
[And then, for the whole blessed day in the office, workers design, cancel, layout, download, and even highlight, the latter with the approval of the new Duden.]

The English participle in (86) appears in a *Spiegel*-Interview with American author Michael Crichton and is probably the result of a conscious choice of non-translation from the original. The form *supported* is part of a longer quote of German fashion designer Jill Sander, in which she explains how her career evolved. In both examples, the English participles substitute German forms and thus disrupt the morphological coherence of the German passive clause in (86) and of present perfect tense marking in (87). The lack of German inflection is partly compensated by word order. Thus, *entertained* and *supported* appear in their default positions as participles allowing proper parsing of the sentences despite morphological deviance. The use of the English verbal participles represents a case of paradigmatic divergence that goes beyond mere lexical borrowing. It indicates the co-function of two grammatical systems. Thus, the English rule of participle formation (stem + *-ed*) applies to the verbal borrowing, whose syntagmatic function, however, is controlled by the matrix grammar of German.

In (88) and (89) the participles are formed with a hybrid combination of German prefix (*ge-*) and English suffix (*-ed*). In the sentence *Es wird gecarved, gecruised und gepowdered*, the participles are used in a present passive construction and are lexically representative of the terminology used by snowboarders (verbal infinitives: *carven, cruisen, powdern*). The graphological retention of the English participial suffix despite appropriate German prefixation could be related to an effect of visual marking in order to alleviate the recognition of the verbal base. The purely orthographical function of <*-ed*> is highlighted by the fact that the assimilated pronunciation of the English suffix is homophonous to the proper participial ending (\**gecarvt*, \**gecruist*, \**gepowdert*) following German “Auslautverhärtung”, in this case the devoicing of the final dental stop (and of the preceding fricative).

Phonological convergence of the suffix despite graphological divergence is also evident in the participles *gelayouted, downgeloaded*, and *gehighlighted* (89). They are pronounced in the same way as their possible Germanized versions (\**gelayoutet*, \**downgeloadet*, \**gehighlightet*). In this case, the argument for *-ed* as a graphological device to alleviate the recognition of the base anglicism is not particularly strong since the verbal stems would be fully retained under German suffixation. What remains in (89) is a pragmatic function of <*-ed*>, which is to underline the foreign character of the words and to present them as misplaced in the German context. On the individual level, the forms *designt* and *downgeloaded* imply the existence of morphological

awareness in the process of participle formation. So, *ge-* is prefixed to the verbal stem in *downloaded* following the convention of participle formation in separable prefix verbs whereas *desight* is not subject to *ge-* prefixation in line with participle formation in verbs where primary stress does not fall on the first syllable.

Apart from slight irregularities in the formation of participial anglicisms, the picture of the regular integration of verbal anglicisms into German inflectional paradigms is also slightly distorted by the occurrence of another English verbal suffix. In a handful of instances, *-s* as a marker of 3<sup>rd</sup> person present simple occurs with verbal anglicisms in a German syntactic environment. These exceptional inflections appear in *meets*, *sells*, and *goes*, which constitute verbal nuclei in simple phrases of the type SV(O):

- (90) *meets*: *Casanova meets Mozart*, *Kunst meets Kitsch* ‘art meets kitsch’,  
*Literatur meets Lebenswelt* ‘literature meets reality’, *Politik meets Internet*, *Tango meets Barock*
- goes*: *Buddha goes Business*, *Heidi goes Hollywood*, *Rtl goes online*
- sells*: *Sex sells*, *Stil sells* ‘style sells’

From the examples in (90), *meets* displays the most productive and contextually independent function in German as it combines nominal concepts that do not necessarily originate from an Anglo-American background. A certain degree of conceptual and structural parallelism is characteristic for these ‘A meets B’ constructions. Thus, *meets* tends to mark a connection between counterpolar concepts such as Casanova and Mozart, art and kitsch, literature and real life, tango and baroque. As such, *meets* also signifies the exotic nature of the encounter, as in the example of politics and the Internet, which are described as being at odds in the context of the German government. In structural terms, both entities can act as the grammatical subject of the *meets*-sentences; however, if the meeting is visualized as a result of a non-reciprocal movement of the participating entities to each other, the sentence initial position signifies the role of the actor as the initiative force of the meeting. The grammatical parallelism of the construction {A meets B = B meets A} is in a couple of instances accompanied by alliteration of the participants.

Alliteration also serves as a stylistic tool of phrases containing the verbal nuclei *goes* and *sells*. This is emphasized by the textually salient position of *Buddha goes Business* as the title of a brief article on a German company that tries to integrate Buddhist values into their corporate philosophy. The alliteration in *Heidi goes Hollywood*

characterizes the working title of a fashion collection created by a German designer. Contrary to the syntactic constituents in the clauses of the type {A meets B}, the pattern {A goes B} is characterized by the use of an anglicism as the purported goal of the motion. Thus, the use of the verbal anglicism *goes* semiotically agrees with its goal while grammatical agreement to the agent of the motion is marked by the use of the English suffix *-s*. Similar to the textually salient positions of *goes*-constructions, the phrases *Sex sells* and *Stil sells* appear in prominent locations as opening and concluding mottos in different articles in *Der Spiegel*. Thus, they function as catch phrases to draw the reader's attention by means of structural brevity and sound parallelism.

Altogether, the integration of verbal anglicisms largely follows German morphological conventions of regular (weak) inflection as evident in infinitive suffixation with *-en*, and in a variety of suffixes that mark person, number, tense, and mode of the base anglicism. Instances of morphological divergence of verbal anglicisms occur with participles when they are used as adjectives. A distinction between borrowing and German creation, however, shows that adjectival participles retain their English inflection when they are borrowed as adjectives from English. When adjectival participles are derived from verbal anglicisms in German, on the other hand, they cohere to German rules of inflection. This reduces the number of truly irregular verbal anglicisms in the corpus to merely a handful. The remaining cases of morphological divergence involve verbal participles which either retain the form of the participle or are derived by a hybrid combination of German prefix (*ge-*) and English suffix (*-ed*). The occurrence of *-s* as a marker of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular present tense in the verbs *meets*, *goes*, and *sells* is a further indication of the retention of English morphological cues in German constructions. While these diverse instances of morphological divergence represent traces of structural influence of English in German, their occurrence in the corpus remains restricted to stylistic implications of textual salience, to graphemic marking of English origin, and to establishing relations between counterpolar concepts.

#### 10.2.2 Derivation and types of verbs

Apart from inflectional integration, verbal anglicisms are modified derivationally by a variety of prefixes. These derivational elements add different aspectual, directional, and thematic meanings to the bases. In structural terms, the prefixes appear as bound and free morphemes. The latter derive from adverbials and prepositions and account for the vast majority of derived verbal anglicisms in the corpus. Bound prefixes are

merely productive in a few forms with *er-* and *ver-* (*erjobbt*, *verfilmen*, and *verpokert*). In these examples, *er-* marks the achievement of a goal under laborious circumstances. As such *erjobbt* is synonymous to the German verb *erarbeiten* ('to acquire by hard work'). The prefix *ver-* has the opposite meaning of *er-* in *verpokert*, which in this context denotes loss of money due to speculative investment. In *verfilmen*, the prefix indicates the rendering of different genres such as novels and dramas into film. In addition to their thematic meanings, *er-* and *ver-* imply completion of the acquisition, loss, and transformation, i.e. they function as perfective markers.

The remaining verbal derivations in the corpus are created with free morphemes which are prefixed to the verb stem. Depending on the stress of the complex verbal anglicism, these prefixes are inseparable from the base verb or emerge as separable prefix verbs. Lack of stress on the prefix is indicative of an inseparable prefix verb. The sole example in the corpus is *umdrabbelt*, in which the adverbial *um-* denotes movement around an opponent player in ball sports. The meaning of *umdrabbelt* is applied in a figurative sense in the context of an obituary article following the death of comic designer Charles M. Schulz (53/73). In this article, the verb refers to Schulz' strategy of outwitting the reader's expectations with surprising denouements in the final picture of his cartoons.

In general, the single derivation of an anglicism with an unstressed inseparable prefix ties in with the sparse occurrence of bound prefixes, which also lack primary stress. Unstressed prefixes signal reduced morphological autonomy, which seems to bear a negative effect on their derivational productivity with base anglicisms. Autonomous prefixes which receive primary stress, on the other hand, are far more productive in the derivation of verbal anglicisms.

This is emphasized in the corpus through a variety of prepositions and adverbials which appear as stressed prefixes (semi-prefixes) in complex verbal anglicisms. The following table provides a comprehensive overview of the separable prefixes and their derivations.

Prefix	Type	Examples	Prefix Meaning
<i>ab-</i>	adverbial	<i>abfilmenden, abgedrifftet, abscannen, abtrainiert</i>	directional: movement away; thematic: privative; aspect: perfective
<i>an-</i>	preposition	<i>antrainieren, angetestet</i>	thematic: increase; aspect: inceptive
<i>auf-</i>	preposition	<i>aufgestylt</i>	thematic: ornative
<i>aus-</i>	preposition	<i>auschecken, ausgeknockt, ausgeloggt, ausgepowert, ausgetalkt, ausgetestet</i>	thematic: completion; aspect: perfective
<i>durch-</i>	preposition	<i>durchboxten, durchgecheckt, durchgepiercten, durchgestartet, durchgestylten, durchgetestet, durchscannt, durchzupowern</i>	directional: movement through; thematic: completion; aspect: perfective
<i>ein-</i>	preposition	<i>eingecheckt, einloggen, einscannen</i>	directional: movement into; aspect: inceptive
<i>her-</i>	adverbial	<i>herjetten</i>	directional: movement towards speaker location
<i>herauf-</i>	adverbial	<i>heraufjazzzen</i>	thematic: increase
<i>herum-</i>	adverbial	<i>herumsurfen, herumswitchen, herumzujoggen</i>	directional: non-targeted movement; aspect: durative
<i>herunter-</i>	adverbial	<i>heruntersprintet</i>	directional: downward movement
<i>hin-</i>	adverbial	<i>hingesprayte</i>	directional: movement to target location
<i>hinzu-</i>	adverbial	<i>hinzugemixt</i>	thematic: addition
<i>mit-</i>	preposition	<i>mitkickt, mitsurfen, mittrainiert</i>	thematic: inclusion, participation
<i>voran-</i>	adverbial	<i>voranzujoggen</i>	directional: ahead
<i>weg-</i>	adverbial	<i>wegdriften, weggemobbt, wegtrainiert</i>	directional: movement away; thematic: privative
<i>zurück-</i>	adverbial	<i>zurückgekickt</i>	directional: movement back to location of origin
<i>zusammen-</i>	adverbial	<i>zusammenmixen</i>	thematic: inclusion

Table 13: Verbal prefixes and their derivations in *Der Spiegel 2000*

As the examples show, separable prefixes modify the meaning of verbal anglicisms in various ways. A common function is the addition of locational/directional information about the movement, as in *abgedrifftet* ('drifted off'), *durchboxten* ('shouldered through'), *einloggen* ('to log in'), *herjetten* ('to fly by plane [to and] fro'), *herumsurfen* ('to surf around'), *heruntersprintet* ('sprint down'), *hingesprayed* ('sprayed there'), *voranzujoggen* ('to jog ahead'), *wegdriften* ('to drift away'), and *zurückgekickt* ('kicked back'). Directionals marking movement away (*ab-*, *weg-*) can also indicate privation, as in *abtrainiert* ('trained off'), *weggemobbt* ('mobbed off'), and *wetrainiert* ('trained off').

Other semantic functions of separable prefixes relate to increase or addition, as in *antrainieren* ('to build up'), *heraufjazzzen* ('to jazz up'), and *hinzugemixt* ('mixed into') and to inclusion, as in derivations with *mit-* ('with') and *zusammen-* ('together'). In *aufgestylt* ('styled up'), the prefix highlights the ornative character of the verb, which relates to using make-up, wearing fashionable clothes, and having a fancy hairdo.

In connection with their thematic meaning, a couple of separable prefixes also function as markers of verbal aspect when attached to verbal anglicisms. *Aus-*, for example, implies completion of the action. Traces of perfective aspect can also be found in a few derivations with *ab-* (*abscannen* 'to scan over to completion') and *durch-* (*durchgecheckt* 'checked through', *durchgetestet* 'tested through', *durchscannt* 'scans through'). The meaning of the directional prefix *ein-* as entrance evokes a sense of initiation/beginning, i.e. inceptive aspect. In *angetestet* ('cautiously begin to test'), the prefix *an-* also projects the quality of inceptive aspect onto its base anglicism. By implication of its meaning of non-targeted movement in *herumsurfen*, the complex adverbial prefix *herum-* stresses the continuity of the action, i.e. durative aspect.

These different functions of verbal semi-prefixes indicate the complexity and interwovenness of derivational meanings in verbal anglicisms. Thus, individual prefixes appear as polysemous items which can incorporate various semantic and aspectual features. As the derivations with *ab-*, *durch-*, *ein-*, *herum-*, and *weg-* show, verbal prefixes can acquire their polysemous nature by semantic extension from a primary directional meaning.

As far as the base verbs are concerned, a couple of anglicisms appear as frequent targets of prefixation in the corpus. The base *trainieren*, for example, is specified for the meaning of training with the effect of reduction in *abtrainiert* and loss in *wetrainiert*. Antonymically, *antrainieren* denotes gain and acquisition while *mit-*

*trainiert* means to participate in a training session. The prefixes *ab-*, *weg-*, and *an-* characterize an entity which is directly impacted by the verbal action of *trainieren*. This referent is obligatory in the sentence and takes the position of a direct object:

- (91) *Die Menschen hatten den Winterspeck mitnichten wegtrainiert...*  
 (15/247)  
 [The people had not trained off their holiday pounds at all...]

In other words, the derivations of *trainieren* with *ab-*, *weg-*, and *an-* create transitive verbs, which demand obligatory valents. The prefix *mit-*, on the other hand, presumes the existence of a collective of people undergoing the same action and does not imply a referent that changes due to the verbal action. Thus, if the reference of *mit-* is clear in context, the prefix alone can function as a pronominal, and the derivation is free to be used without an object. Similar considerations define the valency of verbal derivations with the recurring bases *scannen*, *testen*, and *checken*. So, the forms *einscannen*, *durchscannt*, and *abscannen* all demand an object of the scanning, and the same is true for *angestestet*, *ausgetestet*, and *durchgetestet*. In these examples, the prefixes do not interfere with the transitivity of the stem anglicisms. In *auschecken*, *durchgecheckt*, and *eingecheckt*, however, the valency of the verb changes by implication of the prefixes. With reference to a location (e.g. a hotel), the prefixes in *auschecken* and *eingecheckt* specify an intransitive verb action which can also render an explicit mention of the location redundant in context. The preposition *durch-* in *durchgecheckt*, on the other hand, implies the existence of a patient of the checking, which appears as an obligatory element in an active sentence construction (e.g. \**Der Mann checkte seinen Koffer durch*, ‘the man checked his suitcase’).

In general, the base anglicisms of the derivations in Table 13 are mostly subject-dynamic verbs denoting activity on part of the agent. *Driften* and *jetten* stand out from this pattern since these verbal anglicisms describe movement as happening to the agent rather than being initiated by the agent itself. Among the subject-dynamic verbs, a couple of anglicisms can be classified as motion verbs which specify different types of movements of an agent, as in *boxen*, *joggen*, *kicken*, *sprinten*, and *surfen*. A variety of the anglicisms serving as stems of derived verbs occur in pairs of noun and verb parallel to their English source: *filmen* – *Film*, *mixen* – *Mixer*, *mobben* – *Mob*, *piercen* – *Piercing*, *powern* – *Power*, *scannen* – *Scanner*, *sprayen* – *Spray(dose)*, and *sprinten* – *Sprint*. Due to the parallel genesis of the verbal and

nominal pairs in English and German, the question is left open whether these verbal anglicisms were initially derived from copies of English source verbs or from nominal borrowings in German. As mentioned before, parallel meaning of an anglicism and its English original allows for speculations about borrowing rather than on separate coining in German.

As far as the types of verbs are concerned, anglicisms generally occur as intransitive and transitive verbs. Examples of intransitive verbal anglicisms are *boomen*, *brunchen*, *floppen*, *kicken* (in the sense of ‘playing soccer’), *rappen*, and *rocken*. The number of transitive concepts is fairly larger with *dealen*, *designen*, *downloaden*, *filmen*, *interviewen*, *kidnappen*, *killen*, *leasen*, *liften*, *managen*, *scannen*, *splitten*, *starten*, *testen*, and *toppen*. These terms typically demand a direct object if the focus of the sentence is not the verb action alone. There are also a number of verbal anglicisms that imply additional information, which is usually added in the form of prepositional attributes. Thus, prepositional phrases with *mit* (‘with’) clarify the participants for *chatten* and *flirten* and the type of substance for *dopen*. *Gegen* (‘against’) introduces the victim of the abuse for *mobben*, and the locational/directional prepositions *im/in* (‘in’) and *durch* (‘through’) mark the locational/directional attributes for *jetten*, *shoppen*, *surfen*, and *zappen*.

The occasion of reflexive verbal anglicisms is rare with the only exceptions of *einloggen* (‘to log in’), its antonym *ausloggen* (‘to log out’), *outen*, and *testen*. Even though *einloggen* and *ausloggen* only occur with reflexive pronouns in the corpus, they do not fulfil the criteria of truly reflexive German verbs such as obligatory presence of the reflexive pronoun and non-replaceability with a nominal constituent (cf. Duden 1998: 108–09). The following phrases illustrate the reflexive use of *einloggen* and *ausloggen* in the corpus:

- (92) *Schaulustige können sich live einloggen.* (10/112)  
[Curious onlookers can log on to live action.]
- (93) *Das Sil-Hospital und die Yale University haben sich ausgeloggt.*  
(37/151)  
[Sil-Hospital and Yale University have logged off.]

Non-reflexive uses are possible in the context of a person logging on/off another person, as in \**Er loggt sie ein* (‘he logs her on’). Reflexive and non-reflexive uses can be observed for *outen* and *testen* as shown in the following phrases:

- (94) *Dürfen sich homosexuelle Soldaten outen?* (4/123)  
 [Are gay soldiers allowed to come out as homosexuals?]
- (95) *So konnten die Bechtle-Anwälte den Kopfjäger und seinen Auftraggeber mühelos outen und verklagen.* (49/136)  
 [This is why Bechtle-lawyers could easily find out about the head-hunter and his client and sue them.]
- (96) *Aber nicht nur die Angst vor der Ausgrenzung hält viele davon ab, sich testen zu lassen, ...* (28/167)  
 [But not only fear of isolation keeps many [people] from taking the test...]
- (97) *Jetzt wollen Mark Tuszynski und seine Mitarbeiter von der University of California in San Diego das von ihnen entwickelte Verfahren an acht Menschen testen.* (2/153)  
 [Now, Mark Tuszynski and his co-workers at the University of California, San Diego, would like to test their newly developed procedure on eight people.]

In the corpus, *outen* shows a preference for reflexive constructions over non-reflexive usage, which could hint at a process of extension of its initial reflexive meaning ('to disclose one's personality') to a general meaning ('disclose, reveal'). Reflexive constructions with *testen*, on the other hand, are few and far between with merely two instances out of a total of 93 usages in the corpus. In general, the lack of truly reflexive verbal anglicisms and the sparseness of mixed constructions could be interpreted as a token of the structural orthodoxy of German in the borrowing process. Since there is no comparable class of reflexive verbs in English, verbal loans do not interfere with the inventory of German reflexive verbs and are merely used as reflexives if a close conceptual link exists to a German equivalent. Thus, *sich einloggen/ausloggen* stands for *sich anmelden/abmelden*, *sich outen* incorporates the sense of *sich nach außen kehren/sein Inneres preisgeben*, and *sich testen* substitutes *sich prüfen*.

In terms of their semantic implications, the majority of verbal anglicisms relates to concrete processes involving human agents: *brunchen*, *chatten*, *dealen*, *dopen*, *downloaden*, *filmen*, *flirten*, *interviewen*, *jetten*, *joggen*, *kicken*, *kidnappen*, *killen*, *leasen*, *liften*, *einloggen*, *shoppen*, *splitten*, *mobben*, *rappen*, *rocken*, *scannen*, *surfen*, and *zappen*. These verbs partly represent denotative additions to the German lexicon, which would demand circumstantial descriptions (e.g. *flirten*, *liften*, *mobben*, *surfen*, and *zappen*). Many of the verbs also refer to imported nominal concepts and describe actions which directly relate

to the nominals: *brunchen* – to have brunch, *filmen* – to record a film, *dopen* – to take substances classified as doping, *jetten* – to fly by jet plane, *rappen* – to sing rap music, *rocken* – to play hard-rock music/to dance to hard-rock music. Verbs such as *chatten*, *dealen*, *einloggen*, *interviewen*, *joggen*, *kicken*, *leasen*, *scannen*, and *splitten* occupy denotative niches within the semantic scope of existing German verbal concepts. Thus, *chatten* specifically refers to conversing over the internet while *plaudern* is generally used in the sense of casual talk. *Dealen* denotes a clandestine or illegal type of trade as a subtype of the generic verb *handeln*. *Joggen* implies running slowly for leisure whereas *laufen* is applied for the more competitive sense of running, and *leasen* is restricted to the context of car-leasing while *mieten* covers the semantic breadth of the English verbs rent and lease.

A few concrete verbal anglicisms appear as close synonyms to German verbs such as *downloaden* (G. *herunterladen*), *kidnappen* (G. *entführen*), *killen* (G. *töten*), and *shoppen* (G. *einkaufen*). In the corpus *downloaden* and *shoppen* occur in free variation with their German equivalents. Both *downloaden* and *herunterladen* specifically relate to downloading data from the Internet. Similarly, *shoppen* and *einkaufen* can refer to online-shopping, as in *Einkaufen im Internet* and *im Internet shoppen* but also describe the more traditional forms of shopping<sup>4</sup>. The nearly synonymous terms *kidnappen* and *entführen* both capture the sense of physical kidnapping; however, the original German term is also used in a figurative sense of ‘being mentally carried away into other worlds’. While *killen* and *töten* cover the same denotative range, the anglicism bears a slightly euphemistic undertone which is evident in the figurative usage of *killen* with inanimate abstract concepts such as ‘theory’ and ‘job’:

- (98) *Mittlerweile sei die Sorge, die freiwillig Engagierten könnten bezahlte Jobs killen,...* (45/101)  
[In the meantime the concern that the voluntarily employed could kill jobs,...]
- (99) *...dass sie die ganze Theorie killen wollten,...* (48/96)  
[...that they would like to kill the whole theory,...]

In addition to the concrete types of verbal anglicisms discussed so far, the corpus also contains a few borrowed verbs that represent general

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<sup>4</sup> Kettemann (2006) describes the semantic difference between G. *einkaufen* and the anglicism *shoppen*. While *einkaufen* implies necessity and a specific goal, *shoppen* bears connotations of a pleasurable leisure activity.

verbal concepts: *designen*, *managen*, *starten*, *testen*, and *trainieren*. These versatile terms apply in a variety of contexts and possible German equivalents merely partially overlap with the meaning of the anglicisms. *Designen*, for example, goes beyond the meaning of German *zeichnen/entwerfen* and relates to planned manufactured creation in general. *Managen* can apply to the management of organizations, companies, and teams in the sense of German *leiten*, but it can also refer to ‘managing one’s life or belongings, to organize’ and can even include the notion of ‘to overcome’ and ‘to come to terms with’, as in the following phrases:

- (100) ...um Konflikten vorbeugen oder Krisen effektiv managen zu können.  
 (47/40)  
 [...to prevent conflicts or manage crises effectively.]
- (101) ...können das aber in ihren Köpfen kaum managen, ... (44/236)  
 [...]but can barely manage this in their heads,...]

Likewise, *testen* is used as a generic term encompassing the meanings of ‘to try’ and ‘to examine’ whereas its closest German equivalent *prüfen* is only used in the latter sense. Originally applied in the domain of sports and now used as a widespread term denoting planned effort to acquire a skill, *trainieren* includes the meanings of German *üben* (‘to practice’) and *ausbilden* (‘to train’), and presupposes a sense of improvement. In several contexts *starten* appears as a synonym of German *beginnen/anfangen*, but it also covers the meanings of switching on machinery (e.g. engine, computer), initiating campaigns and projects, taking part in competitions, and describing the take-off of flying objects.

In comparison with the number of concrete verbs, abstract verbal anglicisms are rare guests in the corpus. Among the most frequently used verbal anglicisms, the types *boomen*, *floppen*, *(sich)outen*, and *toppen* stand out as abstract verbs. *Boomen* exclusively occurs with inanimate subjects. When used in conjunction with the economy and related concepts, the anglicism takes the meaning of ‘to flourish, to boom’. As a predicate for theatre and works of art, *boomen* implies popularity. *Floppen* and *toppen* also occur as intransitive verbs that mostly describe inanimate subjects. Their meaning (*floppen* = ‘to fail’, *toppen* = ‘to exceed’) remains stable throughout the corpus despite their combination with subjects from diverse semantic fields. In general, the predilection of concrete verbal loans over abstract verbal borrowings could be indicative of the influence of cognitive demand in the process of borrowing from subdominant SL to dominant RL. Arguing from this

perspective, form meaning relations of concrete verbal concepts, which allow for visual associations to the material world, can be conceptualized more straightforwardly in terms of naming (cognitive labelling) in the RL than abstract actions. The latter are more difficult to conceptualize, i.e. to grasp and to explain, and could thus bear a greater potential of obstruction in the process of borrowing.

In conclusion, the analysis of derivational patterns and types of verbal anglicisms has shed light upon their word formation productivity and their semantic and syntactic functions in the corpus. In line with elevated morphological markedness, i.e. prefix stress, the majority of the complex verbal anglicisms are derived by a combination of German prepositions and adverbials, which are attached to base anglicisms as stressed semi-prefixes. Apart from locational and directional information, these prefixes also modify their bases for privation, addition, inclusion, mark various aspectual qualities, and can have repercussions on the valency of the verb. In terms of verb types, the corpus contains intransitive and transitive anglicisms and a marginal number of reflexive constructions, which bear evidence of German equivalents. Semantically, the majority of concrete verbal anglicisms represent additions to the German lexicon or specifications within the semantic frame of existing German verbs. A few anglicisms have acquired general reference and function as hyperonyms of lexical fields in German (e.g. *testen* combines the meanings of the German verbs *untersuchen* ‘investigate’, *prüfen* ‘examine’, *feststellen* ‘determine’, and *probieren* ‘try’). Overall, the patterns of inflectional integration and derivational productivity of the vast majority of verbal anglicisms cohere to German morphological conventions. Thus, they emphasize the notion of an underlying regular incorporation of anglicisms in the system of the German language.

### 10.3 Adjectival and adverbial anglicisms

As shown in Chapter 8.2 (cf. Figure 22), the quantitative impact of adjectival anglicisms is comparable to that of verbal anglicisms. A further parallel to verbal anglicisms is the exclusive use of a variety of adjectives as elements of codeswitches, phrasal anglicisms, and compound elements. Thus, common English adjectives such as *beautiful*, *easy*, *funny*, *hard*, *heavy*, *hot*, *new*, *old*, *short*, *small*, *special*, and *strong* emerge in English syntactic units which are embedded in articles of *Der Spiegel*, as in the following few examples taken out of their context: *easy going*, *funny money*, *hard landing*, *small is beautiful*,

*special animals*, *New Economy*, and *Old Economy*. Similarly, frequent adverbial anglicisms such as *again*, *just*, *maybe*, *never*, *only*, *ready*, and *really* appear as elements of English codeswitches (cf. Chapter 11). This reduces the actual amount of adjectival and adverbial anglicisms that occur as modifiers of German terms. Nevertheless, the corpus includes a substantial number of individual adjectival anglicisms and a few adverbials. These call for a detailed analysis of their functions and their morphological integration in German. Accordingly, this chapter focuses on the inflectional and derivational patterns of adjectival anglicisms and their semantic types as well as on the classes of adverbials and their derivations in the corpus.

### 10.3.1 Adjectives: types and morphological patterns

In line with German syntactic conventions, adjectival anglicisms can be used as attributive and as predicative elements. While adjectives as nominal attributes inflect for agreement, predicative adjectives and adjectives functioning as adjectival and adverbial attributes remain morphologically unmarked in German. These structural preconditions set the stage for an analysis of adjectival anglicisms in terms of their morphological convergence and divergence in German.

Close to two dozen types of English adjectives function as predicative adjectival anglicisms in the corpus: *big*, *busy*, *clean*, *clever*, *cool*, *fair*, *fit*, *great*, *happy*, *high*, *hip*, *light*, *pink*, *sexy*, *smart*, *soft*, *top*, *tough*, *trendy*, *unfair*, and *wonderful*. The participles *entertaining*, *sophisticated*, and *swinging* also retain their English original form when used as predicative adjectives in German. Due to lack of morphological marking, predicative adjectival anglicisms appear as straightforward borrowings that mostly relate to the subject but can also describe the object of a German phrase:

- (102) „*Die sind tough*“, urteilte sie hinterher respektvoll. (33/168)  
[“They are tough”, she concluded respectfully afterwards]
- (103) *Richard Gere ließ sich mit seiner Gefährtin Carey Lowell auf dem Markusplatz fotografieren, fand alles „wonderful“ – ...* (36/241)  
[Richard Gere did not object to have pictures taken of him and his companion Carey Lowell on Markus square; he found everything “wonderful” – ...]
- (104) *Oper ist ihr Stoff, Musik stimmt sie high.* (27/188)  
[Opera is her heroin; music makes her high.]

- (105) *Er blieb fast clean, bis seine Tochter Jana geboren wurde.* (22/136)  
 [He stayed almost entirely out of drugs until his daughter Jana was born.]
- (106) *So hip sind die Konzerne der Internet-Industrien geworden, ...* (45/235)  
 [The companies of the internet industries have become so hip,...]
- (107) *Lesters Nachbarn zur Linken sind Jim und Jim, ein schwules Paar, unverschämt happy, fit und beruflich hoch qualifiziert;* (3/203)  
 [Lester's neighbors to the left are Jim and Jim, a gay couple, outrageously happy, fit, and professionally highly qualified;]
- (108) *Das wäre uncool, schließlich sind alle unglaublich busy.* (5/115)  
 [This would be uncool; after all, everyone is tremendously busy.]
- (109) *Auch eine Unterhose, die seinen Namen trägt, so der Designer, vermittelte dem Käufer eine Botschaft: „Du bist sophisticated. Du bist cool. Du bist reich. Du bist jung, amüsant und sexy.“* (24/100)  
 [According to the designer, even briefs which show his name convey a message to the buyer: “You are sophisticated. You are cool. You are rich. You are young, funny and sexy.”]

As the examples portray, subject related predicative adjectival anglicisms typically occur with a form of the German copula *sein* ('to be') or with similar copulative verbs (e.g. *bleiben* 'to remain/to stay', *fühlen* 'to feel', *gelten* 'to be considered as', *werden* 'to become'). Adjectival anglicisms functioning as object predicates are part of transitive verb phrases. In such constructions, the relation of the predicative adjectival anglicism to the object can result from an ellipsis of an underlying copulative clause. As the copula of the subordinate clause is deleted, the subject and the adjective of the subordinate clause raise to the position of the object and its predicate. This has happened in (103), where the phrase *fand alles „wonderful“* can be paraphrased by a clause following the reporting verb *\*fand, dass alles wonderful sei* ('he found that everything was wonderful').

Similarly, the verb *stimmen* in (104) projects the meaning of 'to cause someone to feel'. So, the subject of *stimmen* signifies a change of state in the object, which rises from its position as subject of a copulative clause: *\*die Musik verursachte, dass sie high wurde* ('music caused her to feel high').

The majority of predicative adjectival anglicisms in German only occur as such. Merely a few frequently used adjectival anglicisms also function attributively: *clever, cool, fair, fit, hip, smart, soft, and tough*. Thus, it seems plausible to postulate a slight correlation between the

acceptance of an adjectival anglicism in the German lexicon (as symbolized by its frequency of occurrence in the corpus) and its attributive usage. The connection between the functional distribution of adjectival anglicisms and their lexical integration in German also implies that the predicative position seems more susceptible to initial borrowing of an adjectival anglicism than the attributive position. This would conform to a structural view of borrowing according to which morphological flagging in the RL is a secondary process following integration with zero inflection. So far, however, this observation only seems to bear some relevance for adjectival anglicisms in German. Indeed, the corpus does not contain any attributive adjectival anglicisms that function solely as attributive adjectives.

On a related note, there are a few frequently occurring predicative adjectival anglicisms which are not or irregularly used as nominal attributes: *happy*, *sexy*, and *trendy*. These terms defy attributive inflection due to phonological reasons. Thus, the word final sequence of consonant and vowel forms an unusual environment for the following [e] or reduced schwa of the German adjectival agreement suffix. Instead German adjectival bases for attributive inflection end in diphthongs and most often in consonants as emphasized by the consonantal endings of the derivational adjectival suffixes in German (cf. Duden 1998: 539–50 for a list of derivational suffixes). According to this phonological constraint, adjectival anglicisms such as *busy*, *happy*, *sexy*, and *trendy* would resist agreement marking as nominal attributes. In the phrase *einen sexy Computer*, *sexy* indeed occurs as an uninflected attributive adjective. The resistance towards attributive inflection can also be circumvented by means of denominal derivation, as in *trendig*, which functions as an attributive complement to its predicative equivalent *trendy*.

A couple of frequently used predicative adjectives occur in comparative and superlative constructions in German. The anglicisms take regular German inflections and form comparative phrases with the ordinary particles and intensifiers as shown in the following examples:

- (110) *Ich werde einfach noch smarter sein.* (10/252)  
[I will simply be even smarter.]
- (111) ...*abzulehnen wirkt heute cooler als damals.* (37/137)  
[...to reject seems a lot cooler today than back then.]
- (112) „*The Language of Flowers*“ von Marina Heilmeyer klingt viel trendiger als etwa „*Lass Blumen sprechen*“. (42/160)

[“The Language of Flowers” by Marina Heilmeyer sounds a lot trendier than „Lass Blumen sprechen“.]

- (113) ...*obwohl sich Sportler nach dem Kälteschock subjektiv fitter denn je fühlen.* (10/221)  
 [...although, subjectively, athletes feel fitter than ever after the cold shock.]
- (114) *Jeder, der nicht die coolsten Klamotten, Schuhe oder Handys hat,...*  
 (5/13)  
 [Everyone who does not have the coolest clothes, shoes, or cell phones...]
- (115) *Es sind einige der smartesten Köpfe der Computerbranche,...* (31/55)  
 [They are a few of the smartest heads in the computer world]

In (110) to (115) the adjectival anglicisms are fully integrated into German comparative phrases. They regularly inflect with comparative *-er* and superlative *-est* and are followed by the usual comparative particles such as *als* or the formulaic expression *denn je*. They can also be preceded by additional intensifiers in the comparative (*noch, viel*). Thus, adjectival anglicisms apparently converge to the morphological and syntactic conventions of German comparative and superlative constructions.

The impression of the regular integration of adjectival anglicisms in German is largely confirmed by the analysis of attributive adjectival anglicisms. The findings in the corpus show that adjectival anglicisms exploit the functional and distributional possibilities of nominal, adjectival, and adverbial attribution in German. As nominal attributes, adjectives in German are usually marked for agreement in case and number. Different inflectional paradigms exist depending on whether the attribution is preceded by (a) a definite article, (b) an indefinite article or certain pronominal determiners, and (c) zero determiners. The underived adjectival anglicisms *clever, cool, fair, fit, hip, and smart* blend into these paradigms when used as attributes to German nouns:

<i>durch clevere Ernährung</i>	(f. acc. sing. ‘by means of a clever diet’)
<i>ein cooler Bursche</i>	(m. nom. sing. ‘a cool guy’)
<i>ein faires Angebot</i>	(nt. nom. sing. ‘a fair offer’)
<i>durch den hippen Berliner Osten</i>	(m. acc. sing. ‘through the hip east of Berlin’)
<i>des smarten Propagandakaders</i>	(m. gen. sing. ‘smart propaganda team’)
<i>mit coolen Nummern</i>	(f. dat. pl. ‘with cool numbers’)

The only exceptions to regular inflection of nominal attributes in the corpus are the anglicisms *sexy* and *stonewashed*. The lack of inflection in *sexy* (e.g. *eine sexy Ärztin* ‘doctor(f.)’, *die sexy Welle* ‘wave’, *einen sexy Computer*, *in sexy Klamotten* ‘clothes’) is caused by the phonological constraint {C+[i/i]# blocks attributive [e/ə]} (see above). Non-inflection of *stonewashed* in *von stonewashed Jeanshemden* is indicative of an interpretation of *stonewashed Jeanshemden* as a set, lexicalized phrase (cf. the collocation “*stonewashed jeans*” in English).

As nominal attributes, the anglicisms *light*, *live*, and *soft* occur in a marked position immediately following their head. Such postnominal attribution, which is devoid of agreement marking, is typically found as a feature of technical jargon and occurs in advertisements to add qualifying characteristics to brand names, e.g. *Langenscheidt Expresskurs Russisch*, *PONS Grammatik Deutsch kurz und bündig*, *Darbo naturrein*. In the corpus, *light* postmodifies a variety of nouns, as in *Ehe light* (‘marriage light’), *Erotik light* (‘eroticism light’), *Deutschland light* (‘Germany light’), *Horror light*, *Magie light* (‘magic light’), *Ökosteuer light* (‘environmental tax light’), *Privatversicherung light* (‘private insurance light’), and *Training light*. These examples show that postmodification leads to the creation of generic terms, which function as labels for certain types of ‘marriage’, ‘magic’, and so on. The use of quotation marks („*Ökosteuer light*“, „*Privatversicherung light*“) and contextual descriptions emphasize the function of postmodified noun phrases as generic labels (cf. 116-119).

- (116) *Magie light – mehr Spaß als Spuk.* (47/152)  
[Magic light – more fun than spook.]
- (117) *Diese dreiteilige TV-Fassung (USA 1997) nach der Stephen-King-Vorlage ist nur ein müder Abklatsch, Horror light.* (51/105)  
[This TV version in three parts (USA 1997) based on a novel by Stephen King is just a poor copy, horror light.]
- (118) *Der dritte Weg, eine Ehe light, die allen offen steht, wird von deutschen Rechtspolitikern überwiegend abgelehnt: kein Bedarf.* (29/79)  
[The third option, a marriage light which is open to everyone, is rejected by the majority of German right wing politicians: no need.]
- (119) *...tollen liebenswert und voller Unschuld durch Schnitzlers entschärften Liebesreigen.[...] ob er als Taxi-Macho, Studentenklemmi, Politikpharisäer, aufgeblasener Dichter oder Aristokrat – es ist Erotik light, was da über die Rampe kommt...* (15/290)  
[...frolic charmingly and innocently through Schnitzler’s softened love-drama [...] whether as macho cab driver, thrifty student, political

hypocrite, bloated poet or aristocrat – it is eroticism light that comes across...]

In the examples, the classificatory effect of the nominal+*light* construction is stressed by its links to preceding or following information units. A hyphen connects the following descriptive elements with the noun phrase in (116). In (118) *Ehe light* is followed by a relative clause, which provides qualifying information about the NP. The nominal+*light* combinations in (117) and (119) embrace the preceding information under their respective label. Postnominal attribution in *Erotik light* is actually indicative of the prominent position that *light* takes in the wider context of the article. Already the title paragraph reads: *Die Light-Version von Schnitzlers Reigen hat das Zeug zum Bühnenhit* ('the light version of Schnitzler's *Reigen* is ready to become a stage success'). The early mention of the anglicism and its recurrence in (119) emphasize that *light* functions as a key descriptor of this version of Schnitzler's drama.

While *light* functions as a frequent postnominal modifier, the adjectival anglicisms *soft* and *live* merely occur once in postnominal position. In the phrase *eine FDP soft*, postmodification creates a similar labelling effect, as in the examples above. Thus, the phrase classifies an ideological shift of the German liberal party to a supposedly less drastic political agenda. The expression *trockener Humor live* ('dry humour live'), however, is not subject to adjectival postmodification. Instead, *live* represents the meaning of *\*live dargeboten* ('featured live') and thus acts as an adverbial despite the ellipsis of the verb in the surface structure.

The last example indicates that adjectival anglicisms also occur as modifiers of other parts of speech such as adjectives and verbs. Since the adverbial use of adjectives and adjectival attribution are not morphologically marked in German, adjectival anglicisms are free from paradigmatic restrictions to specify the meaning of verbs and fellow adjectives. Hence, a variety of adjectival anglicisms occur as attributes to verbs and adjectives in the corpus: *amused*, *bloody*, *clever*, *cool*, *fair*, *fit*, *great*, *relaxed/relaxt*, *smart*, *stoned*, *straight*, *top*, *topless*, *unfair*, and *unplugged*. If we focus on the more frequently used adjectives from this selection, some interesting patterns of usage emerge.

Adjectival attribution and adverbial uses are attested for *clever*, as in *clever taktierenden Beschuldigten* ('cleverly plotting accused'), *clever penetranter Moralapostel* ('cleverly obtrusive advocate of moral standards'), *agierte clever und kaltblütig* ('acted cleverly and cold-bloodedly'), *knapp und clever formulierte Schlachtrufe* ('concisely and

cleverly formulated battle cries'), *pfiffig und clever anstellen* ('act wittily and cleverly'). As the last three examples show, *clever* has a tendency to occur in conjunction with other modifiers. From a total of 21 occurrences, *clever* combines with a German modifier seven times, which is the highest rate among the adjectival anglicisms in the corpus. A tentative explanation might lie in the lack of semantic specificity of *clever*, which projects a general meaning of 'wit, ingenuity, skill' onto its nominal referent. This general reference draws further qualifications in order to tint the referent's characteristics more thoroughly. As a caveat, however, it has to be noted that adjectival anglicisms with a comparably broad semantic scope such as *cool*, *fair*, and *fit* do not show the same predilection to combine with other adjectives. So, the sequence of *clever+und+adjective* appears as an idiosyncratic pattern, which would need further elaboration in different corpora.

In the same way as *clever*, a couple of other adjectival anglicisms are used as adverbials and adjectival attributes. Here are a few more examples with *cool*, *fair*, *great*, *smart*, and *top*, which illustrate the unmarked integration of adjectival anglicisms as verbal and adjectival modifiers in German: *cool designten Küche* ('coolly designed kitchen'), *sagt cool* ('says coolly'), *pfeifen cool* ('whistle coolly'), *cool von dannen zieht* ('leaves coolly'), *fair behandelt werden* ('be treated fairly'), *fair arbeiten* ('work fairly'), *fair aufgeteilt* ('fairly split'), *great plant* ('plans greatly'), *top modernisierten* ('top-modernized'), and *smart gebürstet* ('brushed smartly').

Apart from the tendency of *cool* to appear in copulative clauses with the verbs *sein* ('to be'), *bleiben* ('to remain/to stay'), *gelten* ('to be considered as'), and *wirken* ('to seem'), the examples show that it also functions as a frequent adjectival and adverbial attribute. In one instance, *cool* is integrated into a German idiomatic phrase *auf etwas/jemand machen* ('to pretend to be sthg./so.'): *Die Bewerberin selbst macht derweil auf cool* 'in the meantime the female applicant pretends to be cool' (18/152). This idiomatic occurrence of *cool* emphasizes that the anglicism is a well integrated element in German discourse today.

The usage of *fit* is characterized by a strong collocational link between the anglicism and the German verb *machen*. Thus, the phrase *fit machen* ('to make fit') occurs 34 times in a total of 103 usages of *fit* in the corpus. The findings demonstrate huge syntactic variation as the phrase appears in the infinitive and indicative, in active and passive mode, with reference to present, past, and future, and in different word order constellations following conventions for complex German verb

phrases (e.g. framing of subject or object). The following list provides a brief glimpse on the varied uses of the phrase *fit machen* in the corpus:

<i>Macht extreme Kälte fit?</i>	(‘does extreme cold make you fit?’)
<i>um sich vor wichtigen Gesprächen fit zu machen</i>	(‘to make yourself fit before important talks’)
<i>Lehrer fit für das Internet gemacht werden</i>	(‘teachers be made fit for the Internet’)
<i>fit gemacht für eine Koalition</i>	(‘made fit for a coalition’)
<i>die Gemeinschaft fit machen will müssen Israel fit machen für das 21. Jahrhundert</i>	(‘wants to make the community fit’) (‘have to make Israel fit for the 21 <sup>st</sup> century’)
<i>hat uns fit gemacht für Deutschland fit machen fürs dritte Jahrtausend</i>	(‘has made us fit for’) (‘to make Germany fit for the third millennium’)
<i>um unser Land fit zu machen für das die EU fit macht für deren Ausbau</i>	(‘to make our country fit for’) (‘which makes the EU fit for its expansion’)
<i>das Land wirklich fit für die Zukunft der neuen Internet-Industrien gemacht</i>	(‘have made the country really fit for the new Internet technologies’)

The excerpts also indicate a strong tie between *fit* and the preposition *für* (‘for’), which introduces a noun phrase in the accusative as the purpose of the action (*fit machen für* + NP acc.). The relation between *fit* and *für* is also prevalent outside the frame of the phrasal verb and generally marks the target for which the quality of being fit is essential. Overall, the combination of the anglicism and the preposition appears 44 times in the corpus, as in the following few examples: *fit für die digitale Ära* (‘fit for the digital era’), *fit für den Arbeitsmarkt* (‘fit for the labor market’), *fit fürs digitale Zeitalter* (‘fit for the digital age’), *fit für die Erweiterung* (‘fit for the expansion’), *fit für Europa* (‘fit for Europe’), *fit für das E-Commerce-Zeitalter* (‘fit for the age of E-Commerce’), *fit für die neue Ökonomie* (‘fit for the new economy’), *fit für die neue Internet-Technologie* (‘fit for the new Internet technology’), *fit für morgen* (‘fit for tomorrow’), and *fit für die nächste Mission* (‘fit for the next mission’). The collocation *fit für* projects the meaning of futurity, i.e. being fit is a prerequisite for the successful achievement of a target. Accordingly, the nominal targets in the examples refer to current themes and future events.

So far, adjectival anglicisms have been analyzed in their basic functions of predication and attribution. The latter involves nominal, adjectival, and adverbial attributes including the marked case of post-nominal attribution. The discussion has shown that anglicisms regularly

converge to German inflectional and syntactic conventions. Anglicisms ending in the sequence of consonant and high unrounded front vowel defy attributive inflection for phonotactic reasons. A few of the more frequently used adjectival anglicisms have developed specific collocational ties with German verbs and prepositions. Since the corpus also contains a variety of derived adjectival anglicisms, the remainder of this chapter will try to shed light on the word formation processes of adjectival anglicisms in German<sup>5</sup>.

From the different types of word formation, derivation is by far the most productive process for the creation of adjectival anglicisms. Compounding is merely a marginal phenomenon although semi-suffixes represent a transitional stage between derivation and compounding (see below). True adjectival compounds have been attested in four cases, all of which are hybrid formations of an anglicism and a German adjective: *cool-verschlampt* ('cool-sleazy'), *graumetallic* ('grey-metallic'), *schnörkeligspleenig* ('squiggly-spleeny'), and *Spacig-Provokativ* ('spacy-provocative'). Their contextual use includes predication (*graumetallic*, *schnörkeligspleenig*), nominal attribution (*cool-verschlampte T-Shirts*), and nominalization (*Spacig-Provokatives*). The hybrid adjectives in predicative function act as copulative compounds. They represent independent content elements and are not subject to agreement marking. As the anglicism and the German term are of equal semantic status, swapping their internal order would not change the overall meaning of the hybrid adjective.

While remaining outside the structural paradigm of word formation, participles frequently function as attributive adjectives in German. In the corpus, the use of participial anglicisms as adjectives surpasses their occurrence as verbal elements. Adjectival participles occur as present participles {verbal infinitive + *-d*}, as in *boomende*, *bungeejumpender*, *filmend*, *herjettend*, *joggend*, *kickenden*, *ravende*, and *startenden* or as past participles {(ge-) + verb stem + *-(e)t*}, as in *abgefuckte*, *ausgepowerten*, *designten*, *durchtrainierte*, *eingescannten*, *gecharterte*, *gecrackte*, *gecrashte*, *gedopte*, *gefloppte*, *gekidnappte*, *geleaste*, *geliftete*, *gelynchten*, *gemanagte*, *gemixten*, *geoutete*, *gepierkte*,

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<sup>5</sup> In line with the Bracket Erasure Convention (cf. Katamba 1993: 125) the following analysis concentrates on the derived bases of adjectival anglicisms and largely disregards inflectional suffixes. For example, the inflected forms *trendige*, *trendiger*, *trendigen*, and *trendigste* are analyzed as their common adjectival base *trendig*. As an exception, adjectival agreement suffixes in participial adjectives (*-e*, *-em*, *-en*, *-er*, *-es*) are retained to highlight their difference to verbal participles.

*gesampelten, gestarteten, gestresster, gestylte, getesteten, getunten, hingesprayed, hochgejazzte, interviewten, recyclerte, and verfilmten.*

Apart from thematic attribution, participial adjectival anglicisms also project aspectual qualities. Present participles imply imperfective aspect including indefinite time and progression. Past participles show that the attributed quality has already affected the receiver, i.e. they signify the perfective nature of the event. For example, in the phrase *vielen neu gestarteten Unternehmen droht das Ende* ('many newly started ventures are in danger of going out of business') the past participle *gestarteten* indicates the completed foundation of the companies before they face bankruptcy (38/82). In *die Positionslichter der startenden und landenden Touristenjets* ('the position lights of the tourist planes taking off and landing') the form of the present participle (*startenden*) creates a present frame for the incessant flow of air traffic at Málaga airport (26/153).

Derivation of adjectival anglicisms is manifested in the corpus by a variety of adjectival suffixes and semi-suffixes and by a few prefixes. The latter do not cause a change of word class but merely gradate the meaning of adjectival bases. The semi-prefixes *ober-* and *super-* augment the meaning of adjectival anglicisms in *obertrendy*, *supercool*, *supersexy*, and *supertough*. *Unter-* has the opposite effect in *untertrainiert*, which denotes an inadequate physical condition for lack of training. In the same way as in nominal compounds, the adjectival borrowing *top* is prefixed as an augmentative tag to a few adjectives: *topfit*, *top-kreativ* ('top-creative'), and *topmodisch* ('top-modern'). The negative prefix *un-* is also used productively to alter the meaning of an adjectival anglicism. Since German *un-* has a homographic functional equivalent in English, terms such as *uncool*, *unfair*, and *unfriendly* could also have been directly influenced from English. As mentioned earlier, the pronunciation of the prefix can be taken as guide to the morphological independence of *un-* from its English base. German pronunciation in *uncool* [unkul] and *unfair* [unfe:<sup>r</sup>] indicates suffix replacement of E. [ʌn] with G. [un]. A high degree of Germanization in *untrainiert* ('untrained') and non-equivalence in *uncorrect* ('incorrect') and *ungeoutet* ('not outed') demonstrate the productive application of the German negative prefix with adjectival anglicisms.

Suffixation shows a broad spectrum of adjectival derivation. A diverse selection of adjectival suffixes and semi-suffixes combine with a variety of mostly nominal bases to form adjectival anglicisms. The following table summarizes the individual suffixes and their derivations in the corpus.

Suffixes/Semi-suffixes	Derivations
<i>-artig</i>	<i>bluesartig, boomartig, popartig</i>
<i>-bar</i>	<i>trainierbar, recyclebar</i>
<i>-esk</i>	<i>clownesk, hippieesk</i>
<i>-fähig</i>	<i>teamfähig, internetfähig, recyclingfähig, Web-fähig, Comedy-fähig, onlinefähig</i>
<i>-frei</i>	<i>stressfrei, dopingfrei, logofrei, spotfrei</i>
<i>-freundlich</i>	<i>marketingfreundlich, dopingfreundlich</i>
<i>-gemäß</i>	<i>soapgemäß</i>
<i>-gerecht</i>	<i>computergerecht</i>
<i>-haft</i>	<i>dandyhaft, profihhaft</i>
<i>-haltig</i>	<i>actionhaltig</i>
<i>-ig</i>	<i>jazzig, poppig, spleenig, stressig, trendig, bluesig, spacig, punkig, trashig, freakig</i>
<i>-isch</i>	<i>filmisch, snobistisch, essayistisch</i>
<i>-like</i>	<i>BMW-like, ladylike, gentlemanlike</i>
<i>-mäßig</i>	<i>partymäßig, hippiemäßig, actionmäßig, marketingmäßig, imagemäßig</i>
<i>-ös</i>	<i>glamourös</i>
<i>-trächtig</i>	<i>imageträchtig, publicityträchtig, PR-trächtig, Fun-trächtig, bestsellerträchtig</i>
<i>-tauglich</i>	<i>Internet-tauglich, PC-tauglich, bestsellertauglich, covertauglich</i>
<i>-würdig</i>	<i>quizwürdig</i>

Table 14: Adjectival (semi-)suffixes and their derivations in *Der Spiegel 2000*

Apart from the term *onlinefähig* and derivations with *-bar*, all suffixes function as denominal derivatives. While *onlinefähig* is turned into an adjective by adding the semi-suffix *-fähig* to the adverbial base *online*, *recyclebar* and *trainierbar* are derived from verbal stems. The creation *recyclebar* deviates from the orthographical representation of schwa epenthesis as evident in the verbal infinitive *recyceln* (cf. Chapter 10.2). Although the final consonant cluster of the verb stem in *recyclebar* is phonologically realized as [kəl], the spelling of the base reflects the English original.

Denominal adjectival derivation is a straightforward morphological process which involves the simple attachment of suffixes to a noun base. The most productive suffix in the data is *-ig*, which conforms to the derivational productivity of *-ig* in the German lexicon at large. Monosyllabic nominal anglicisms with word final consonants constitute the typical structural environment for adjectival derivations with *-ig*.

Also a variety of semi-suffixes, which now mainly function as adjectival markers, have initially been derived by *-ig* (*-artig*, *-fähig*, *-haltig*, *-mäßig*, *-trächtig*, and *-würdig*).

Semi-suffixes generally appear as highly productive elements of adjectival derivation as Table 14 shows. This is probably due to their increased morphosemantic autonomy as individual lexical items which have retained traces of their lexical meaning while being grammaticalized to adjectival markers. Their independent status leads to borderline cases between suffixation and compounding. This is emphasized by orthographical variation of a couple of adjectival creations. Thus, in *Web-fähig*, *Comedy-fähig*, *BMW-like*, *PR-trächtig*, *Fun-trächtig*, *Internet-tauglich*, and *PC-tauglich* a hyphen marks the separation of the two elements. The capitalization of the nominal bases further stresses their autonomy from the adjectival element. In the examples with abbreviations, the hyphen also acts as an orthographical aid for word recognition.

As far as semantic patterns are concerned, semi-suffixes often combine adjectival meanings with thematic characteristics. The addition of *-frei*, for example, marks the absence of the nominal referent so that *stressfrei* means free of stress, *dopingfrei* free of doping, and so on. Such creations could also be stimulated by comparable English constructions with *-free* (e.g. stress-free). Further thematic semi-suffixes are *-freundlich* ('friendly'), *-haltig* ('containing'), and *-trächtig* ('bearing'). They qualify their bases accordingly. As an attribute, *marketingfreundlich* characterizes its head as being friendly towards marketing, i.e. easily marketable, *actionhaltig* describes the quality of containing action, and *imageträchtig* indicates the potential of purveying a positive image. The semi-suffix *-mäßig* is a frequent adjectival element in German, which can be paraphrased by the comparative constructions *as far as X is concerned* and *like X*. In this case, X stands for the nominal base of the derivation (e.g. *partymäßig* can mean 'as far as a party is concerned', or 'like a party').

Other semi-suffixes form groups of semantically related elements, as in *-gemäß* and *-gerecht*, which add the meaning of 'accordingly/appropriately' to their base anglicisms. This defines the meaning of *soapgemäß* as 'according to the characteristics of a soap [opera]' and explains *computergerecht* as 'appropriate for use with a computer'. Overlapping meaning also characterizes the semi-suffixes *-fähig*, *-tauglich*, and *-würdig*, which stress the capability, suitability, and worthiness in relation to the nominal base. Individually, *-fähig* can underscore the ability to live up to the demands of the derived entity, e.g. *teamfähig* means to be able to work in a team; *-tauglich* encom-

passes a slightly passive disposition, e.g. *covertauglich* means to be suitable for appearing on a cover. In *quizwürdig*, *-würdig* implies the worthiness of being classified as a quiz. The semantic overlap of these semi-suffixes can lead to near synonymous derivations, as in *internethfähig* and *Internet-tauglich*.

In contrast to the semi-suffixes discussed so far, the derivational elements *-artig*, *-haft*, and *-like* project little or no thematic meaning onto their nominal bases. They mainly function as adjectival markers that establish a comparative relation to another entity. Thus, *-artig* denotes 'kind of like' in *bluesartig* ('kind of like blues'), *boomartig* ('kind of like a boom'), and *popartig* ('kind of like pop'). Similarly, derivations with *-haft* and *-like* create a comparative frame for their bases, as in *dandyhaft* ('like a dandy'), *profihhaft* ('like a professional'), *BMW-like* ('like a BMW'), *gentlemanlike*, and *ladylike*.

The occurrence of *-like* as a productive adjectival suffix is interesting since it represents an example of a loan affix, which is a comparably rare phenomenon in an RL dominated contact scenario. Most likely, the suffix has acquired independent status in German after being integrated as part of lexical borrowings such as *gentlemanlike* and *ladylike*. In 2000, *BMW-like* is the only example of the autonomous use of *-like* as an adjectival suffix in German. However, a look at earlier years of *Der Spiegel* yields further results in 1995 (*FAZ-like*), in 1998 (*Clinton-like*, *Hilton-like*), and in 1999 (*Bertelsmann-like*). These derivations confirm the productive potential of the English term as an adjectival marker in German. Derivations with *-like* occur in non-inflected positions as attributes to adjectives, as adverbials, and as predicative adjectives. The examples attested in *Der Spiegel* from 1994 to 2000 show that *-like* exclusively occurs with proper nouns as derivational bases. Thus, it seems as if the specific reference frame of proper nouns constitutes the preferred environment for the loan suffix *-like*.

In addition to semi-suffixes, the deverbal suffix *-bar* and the denominal suffixes *-esk*, *-ig*, *-isch*, and *-ös* function as productive elements in the corpus. The deverbal constituent equips its bases with a passive-modal meaning comparable to English *-able*, e.g. *recyclebar* ('recyclable') and *trainierbar* ('trainable'). The main function of the denominal suffixes *-esk*, *-ig*, and *-isch* is to establish a comparative frame for its nominal base, as in *clownesk* ('like a clown'), *hippieesk* ('like a hippie'), *freakig* ('like a freak, freaky'), *jazzig* ('like jazz, jazzy'), *trashig* ('like trash, trashy'), and *snobistisch* ('like a snob, snobby'). With the sole example of *glamourös*, the suffix *-ös* qualifies

its base as an ornative adjective. In *spacig*, *spleenig*, and *trendig*, *-ig* also implies ornative meaning.

Further functions of adjectival suffixes include causal reference in *stressig* ('causing stress') and genre-specific reference in *essayistisch* ('in the form of an essay') and *filmisch* ('in the form of a film'). Strictly speaking, *essayistisch* could be paraphrased as ('like an essayist'). However, usage in the corpus shows that *essayistisch* is not analyzed as an agentive base plus an adjectival suffix but that *-ist* appears as a phonologically motivated insertion between the stem *essay* and the suffix *-isch* in order to bridge the sequence of the stem final diphthong [eɪ] and the consecutive front vowel [ɪ] of the suffix.

In sum, the analysis of word formation patterns of adjectival anglicisms allows for some interesting generalizations. Compounding appears as a highly marginal process. The few creations in the corpus are mostly copulative compounds whose coordinating nature is particularly obvious in predicative position. Apart from a bulk of participial adjectives, derivation via affixation is the prime source for the creation of adjectival anglicisms. Derivation of adjectival anglicisms basically reflects the productive patterns of German adjectival derivations. Accordingly, a couple of prefixes and semi-prefixes modify the meaning of existing adjectival bases and a great variety of suffixes and semi-suffixes derive mostly denominal adjectives.

While suffixes merely add adjectival meaning to their bases, semi-suffixes tend to incorporate thematic and adjectival components. The obvious predilection for denominal derivation is probably due to the fact that nominal anglicisms constitute by far the largest pool for derivations and that denominal derivation is based on the simple addition of adjectival suffixes and semi-suffixes to a nominal stem. The actual choice of adjectival suffixes is influenced by their semantic function and their phonological environment. Thus, *-ig* is particularly productive with monosyllabic nominal bases. In the examples of *dandy* and *profi*, however, *-ig* is an unlikely candidate for a derivation on phonotactic grounds despite semantic equivalence with *-haft* (cf. *dandyhaft*/*\*dandyig* 'like a dandy' and *profihhaft*/*\*profiig* 'like a professional'). *Top-* and *-like* stand out as exceptional derivational elements since they represent examples of borrowed items that have turned into productive affixes in German. The prefix *top-* functions as an augmentative similar to *ober-* and *super-* and combines with borrowed and native bases. The suffix *-like* shows a narrow scope of productivity, which is restricted to proper noun bases. It would be a task of future research to investigate the dispersion of these affixes in

other German corpora and to validate the appropriateness of combinatory restrictions.

### 10.3.2 Adverbs: types and morphological patterns

As indicated in Chapter 8.2 (Figure 22), adverbials constitute the smallest class of anglicisms in the corpus. This conforms to the situation in the German lexicon at large, where the number of adverbs is supposedly around a few hundred (Duden 1998: 362). Despite their small number, adverbs form an open word class based on the derivational productivity of a set of adverbial suffixes (e.g. *-maßen*, *-weise*, *-wärts*). In contrast to English, adverbials lack morphological salience in German. Adjectival anglicisms retain their base form when used as adverbials in German, as portrayed in the previous chapter. Since English adverbials as part of codeswitching and phrasal anglicisms are also discounted at this stage, merely a few adverbial anglicisms remain as lexical borrowings. These adverbials, however, show some noteworthy patterns of usage, which add to the overall picture of the integration of English elements in German.

The following anglicisms occur as adverbs in the corpus: *fairerweise* ('in order to be fair'), *friendly*, *inside*, *live*, *nonstop*, *offline*, *online*, *politically*, *testweise* ('tentatively'), and *very*. *Fairerweise* and *testweise* stand out as German derivations. Both adverbs cohere to regular patterns of denominal and deadjectival adverbial derivation. In *testweise*, the adverbial suffix *-weise* attaches directly to the nominal base *Test* while in *fairerweise* an empty gap element resembling the comparative suffix *-er* is incorporated between the adjetival base and the adverbial suffix. In terms of their semantic types, *testweise* can be interpreted as an adverb of manner that specifies the action of the main verb:

- (120) *Die notwendigen Scanner der Firma GoCode wurden testweise an 100 interessierte Leser verteilt.* (20/213)  
 [The necessary scanners of the company GoCode were distributed tentatively among 100 interested readers.]

*Fairerweise* appears as an independent annotative adverb ("Kommentaradverb"), which allows the speaker to introduce a personal evaluative comment in an utterance:

- (121) SPIEGEL: *Fairerweise muss man wohl sagen: Dieser Punkt ist nicht so bedeutend...* (28/34)  
 [SPIEGEL: To be fair, one has to say: This issue is not that important...]

In (121) the interviewer uses the anglicism to increase her authority by claiming to argue from a fair point of view. This effect is supported by the impersonal pronoun (*man*), which creates the impression of general validity. The syntactic independence of *fairerweise* is marked by the necessity to paraphrase the adverbial with a German infinitival phrase: *um fair zu sein* ('in order to be fair').

The remainder of the adverbial anglicisms are direct importations from English. The forms *live*, *nonstop*, *offline*, and *online* can be considered as established in the German lexicon since they come up in diverse contexts across the corpus. *Friendly*, *inside*, *politically*, and *very*, on the other hand, are exceptional elements. The occurrence of *politically* constitutes a borderline case between codeswitching, phrasal borrowing, and autonomous adverbial use:

- (122) „*Es ist nicht politically correct das zu sagen,...* (52/152)  
 [“It is not politically correct to say this,...”]
- (123) ...*freie Meinungsäußerung aber ist politically uncorrect und undiplomatisch.* (19/126)  
 [...] freedom of speech, however, is politically incorrect and undiplomatic.]

In (122) orthographical evidence indicates that *politically correct* forms a self-contained unit, which is embedded intrasententially in the German phrase. This is emphasized by the fact that the term *Political Correctness* has recently spread from Anglo-American culture and could have stimulated the importation of the adjectival phrase. In (123), however, *uncorrect* represents an unusual English derivation. As *un-* can be productive with adjectival anglicisms in German, *uncorrect* could be interpreted as a German creation. In this case *politically* is not directly linked to *uncorrect* but appears as an autonomous lexical borrowing. Orthography, however, emphasizes the interpretation of *uncorrect* as an English form, which strengthens the evidence for phrasal insertion. From the perspective of a German speaker, interference of German *unkorrekt* has probably triggered the creation of non-standard English *uncorrect* while an associative link between *politically correct* and its counterpart seems to influence the semiotic representation of *uncorrect* as an English form.

The term *friendly* is the only other independent anglicism that functions as an adverbial in the corpus and is, on first sight, also word formally reminiscent of an English adverbial. On closer analysis, however, *friendly* is actually an adjectival anglicism, which coheres to the German convention of unmarked verbal attribution. Like *cool*, *fair*, *great*, *smart*, and a couple of other adjectival anglicisms, *friendly* appears as an adjectival base describing the manner of the verbal action. The adverbial is part of a quotation of a German stock market analyst, who comments on the practice of buying out businesses in order to take them off the stock market.

- (124) *Von brachialen Übernahmeschlachten wie sie deshalb in England beispielsweise um die 1,5 Millarden Pfund schwere Firma United Biscuits tobten, will Hageman nichts wissen. „Wir gehen die Dinge hier friendly an“, sagt er.* (22/96)

[Hageman does not subscribe to the practice of brute battles for take over as they happened in England in the example of United Biscuits, a company worth 1.5 billion pounds. “We approach things here in a friendly manner”, he says.]

The excerpt is a further indication of the influence of context on the use of English in German. In (124) the adverbial *friendly* links the English example with the situation in Germany. This connection, however, is of a contradictory nature, which leads to an ironic undertone in the manager’s words. While, semantically, *friendly* negates the existence of an English corporate climate in Germany, the English word form marks the application of English “friendliness” in the German corporate environment.

Likewise, contextual links are evident in the usage of *inside* and *very*. The latter occurs as a stylistic token in an article denouncing the abundant use of English in German (42/160). The locational adverb *inside* shows up in a passage describing the central office building of Yahoo in California:

- (125) *Auch die Stimmung inside Yahoo ist ungefähr so kultig wie die bei der Bundesversicherungsanstalt für Angestellte.* (13/140)  
 [Also the atmosphere inside Yahoo is about as groovy as at the Federal Insurance Institution for Employees.]

In the example, *inside* not only ties in with the cultural reference of its head but also permits a more economic mode of expression compared with its German paraphrase *\*im Inneren von Yahoo*. Phrases (122) to (125) represent the only occurrences of the respective adverbials; thus,

they merely indicate the potential use of adverbial anglicisms in German.

Frequently used adverbial anglicisms are rare in the corpus. *Live*, *nonstop*, *offline*, and *online* are the only items which seem to have earned a solid standing in the German lexicon. These terms exploit a wide range of adverbial functions. *Nonstop*, for example, occurs as an independent element and as an attribute to nouns and verbs as the following examples illustrate:

- (126) ... *16 Stunden nonstop sind möglich*, ... (25/81)  
[...16 hours nonstop are possible,...]
- (127) ... – *einmal um die Erde, nonstop und allein*. (34/148)  
[– once around the earth, nonstop and alone.]
- (128) *Strecken bis zu 10000 Kilometern lassen sich so nonstop zurücklegen*, ...  
(31/115)  
[Distances up to 10,000 kilometers can be thus covered nonstop,...]

The integration of *nonstop* as a postnominal attribute in (126), as a non-attributive element in (127), and as a verbal attribute in (128) coheres to regular German syntactic conventions. Thematically, the adverbial is particularly frequent in connection with flight and travel, which probably served as its entrance domain into German. The anglicism is also used in its meaning of ‘without stopping’ to describe a variety of other events such as *Lebenslanges Lernen nonstop* (‘life long learning nonstop’), *Mörderschleife nonstop* (‘murder loop nonstop’), and *58 Stunden Qual nonstop* (‘58 hours pain nonstop’). As a determinant in hybrid compounds, *Nonstop-* projects the same meaning of ‘without stopping’ onto its German head, e.g. *Nonstop-Arbeit* ‘nonstop work’ and *Nonstop-Verbindungen* ‘nonstop connections’. With reference to travel or as an attribute to temporal complements, *nonstop* generally functions as an indicator of manner. In a few other contexts, however, the anglicism can act as an adverb of frequency describing the perpetuity of an action:

- (129) *Da ist seine Mutter, die nonstop von seinem toten Vater schwärmt*...  
(10/127)  
[There is his mother, who raves about his dead father all the time...]

The adverbial *live* basically exhibits the same syntactic functions as *nonstop*. Thus, *live* occurs as an independent element (e.g. *Live ist das Leben besser* ‘life is better live’), as a postnominal attribute (*Gladia-*

*torenkämpfe live* ‘gladiator fights live’, *Trockener Humor live* ‘dry humor live’), and as a verbal attribute (*live zusehen* ‘to watch live’, *live zeigen* ‘to show live’). The latter is particularly frequent and manifested in several verbal collocations. The anglicism *live* entered German with the advent of live broadcasts on TV, which also remains its primary field of reference today. Therefore, *live* shows a tendency to occur in conjunction with verbs of perception (e.g. *zuschauen* ‘to watch’, *erleben* ‘to experience’, *gucken* ‘to look’, *verfolgen* ‘to follow by watching’, *betrachten* ‘to view’, *sehen* ‘to see’, and *ausmachen* ‘to spot’) and with verbs of transmission (e.g. *übertragen* ‘to transmit, to broadcast’, *berichten* ‘to report’, *senden* ‘to broadcast’, and *zeigen* ‘to show’). From these types of verbs, *live* forms the strongest collocational link with *übertragen* (‘to transmit, to broadcast’) as the following selection indicates:

- (130) *Die live übertragene Pressekonferenz ist zum neuen Forum der Nation geworden,...* (8/112)  
[The live broadcast press conference has become the new forum of the nation,...]
- (131) *Der Friedensschluss zwischen den verfeindeten Banden, im September 1997 im dänischen Fernsehen live übertragen,...* (6/118)  
[The peace between the hostile gangs, broadcast live on Danish TV in September 1997,...]
- (132) *Der Regionalsender Südwest 3 übertrug live.* (5/127)  
[The regional TV station Südwest 3 broadcast live.]

Altogether, the collocation *live übertragen* accounts for 17% of all the occurrences of the adverbial in the corpus. Even though the meaning of *live*, ‘at the actual time of occurrence’, implies temporal reference, the anglicism functions as an adverb of manner describing the mode of transmission or perception. This is due to the quasi-temporal nature of *live*, which does not refer to a specific point in time but merely describes the simultaneity between an event and its transmission or perception. So, if the question “when did you watch the show?” were answered with “I watched it live”, the reply would only make sense if the interlocutors knew when the show took place.

By far the most prevalent adverbial anglicism in the corpus is *online* with more than 200 occurrences. As portrayed in Chapter 8.1 (24), *online* has pulled its antonym *offline* into German for stylistic reasons. This interrelationship between the two adverbials is still active

in *Der Spiegel 2000*. Four out of seven instances of *offline* involve juxtaposition with *online*:

- (133) ...will online vieles anders machen als offline... (45/170)  
[wants to make a lot of things online different from offline...]
- (134) Online gucken, offline kaufen, lautet offenbar die Devise. (51/26)  
[Select online, purchase offline, is apparently the motto.]

*Online* and *offline* share the same adverbial functions in German so that general observations regarding adverbial typology and syntactic construction of *online* can also be projected onto its antonym *offline*. In a slightly different manner to *nonstop* and *live*, *online* only occurs as a postnominal attribute and as a non-attributive, autonomous unit. Postnominal attribution is quite rare and typically involves proper nouns qualified as being available online, as in *Süddeutsche Zeitung online* and *Rheinzeitung online*. The vast majority of the data show *online* as a discrete item which appears in copulative constructions and acts as a complement to a variety of verbs. The examples below are representative of the major uses of *online*:

- (135) Schon mehr als 250 Millionen Menschen sind online,... (11/106)  
[Already more than 250 million people are online,...]
- (136) Internet-Surfer mit analogem Telefonanschluss können für nur 49 Mark im Monat rund um die Uhr online bleiben. (14/82)  
[Internet surfer with an analog telephone connection can stay online day and night for only 49 Marks a month.]
- (137) Fortwährend sollen die „taz“- Leute ihre Artikel online stellen... (34/104)  
[Continuously, “taz”-contributors should put their articles online...]
- (138) Wer heute online geht,... (26/130)  
[Who goes online today,...]
- (139) Kann nicht jeder in der Zukunft alles online tätigen? Man wird online einkaufen, arbeiten... (10/12)  
[Will not everyone be able to do everything online in the future? It will be possible to shop online, work online...]
- (140) ...., und Jobs in globalen Unternehmen können schon jetzt praktisch nur noch online vermittelt werden. (12/132)  
[...“and already now jobs in global companies can virtually only be procured online.”]

- (141) *Experten schätzen, dass in drei bis vier Jahren jede sechste Hypothek online abgewickelt wird.* (27/87)  
 [Experts estimate that in three to four years every sixth mortgage will be processed online.]
- (142) ...und warten auf den richtigen Moment, online Aktien zu ordern oder zu verkaufen. (8/132)  
 [...and wait for the right moment to order or sell shares online.]

Examples (135) and (136) show the integration of *online* in a copulative phrase and, in similar function, as a complement to a stative verb. In such constructions, *online* acts as an adverb of location. The locational reference of *online* is also noticeable in combination with motion verbs. In (137) and (138) *online* provides information about the target location of the entity undergoing movement. Probably stimulated by English *to go online*, the terms *online* and *gehen* form a collocational link, which is stressed by nine occurrences in the corpus. A weaker collocational link holds between *online* and *abwickeln* ('to process, to conduct'), which appears in five separate instances. As in (141), *online abwickeln* is used exclusively with reference to processing financial transactions online. In general, a strong thematic connection exists between *online* and verbs from the domain of trade such as *einkaufen* ('to purchase', 'to shop'), *verkaufen* ('to sell'), *bestellen/ordern* ('to order'), *vermitteln* ('to procure'), *anbieten* ('to offer'), and *erwirtschaften* ('to earn'). Links between *online* and terms relating to trade amount to 53% of all the adverbial usages. This generally alludes to the popularity of framing the Internet in a discourse about trade and economy.

In a similar vein, (140) alludes to the existence of a conceptual link between the Internet and globalization. This connection is expressed by the terms *online* and *global*, which complement each other in their reference to an unbound location. The term *global* evokes the abstract locational concept 'world', which is primarily constructed upon a combination of culturally shared artefacts (e.g. globe, maps, pictures, movies...) and personal experience. These sources lead to a certain uniform understanding of the locational reference of *global*, but they also perpetuate an individual perception. At the same time, the locational meaning of *global* remains indefinite since human ability to grasp location as an entity is perceptually restricted by the range of sensory input and also limited by an individual experiential horizon. So, even with the possibilities of gathering a multitude of impressions from different parts of the world and of holding an abstract model of the world in our hands, the indefiniteness of the locational reference of *global* remains definite. Similarly, the anglicism *online* refers to an

abstract unbound location, which is conceptualized by a metaphor of a network of connections encompassing the indefinite space of the world. To be *online* means to be part of the network and to be able to access its resources. In this case, perception of location is restricted to images on a computer screen which only allow for a limited apprehension of the presupposed potential and lead to the conceptualization of a fuzzy locational metaphor of virtual space.

The vague locational denotation of *online* paves the way for an alternative interpretation of its adverbial meaning. The reference of *online* is particularly blurry when the adverb is used outside of a copulative construction or not as a complement to a motion verb. In this case (cf. 139-142), it is possible to interpret *online* as either a locational complement or as a verbal attribute. In the latter view, *online* acts as an adverb of manner which describes the verbal action as being done by using the Internet. To exemplify this interpretation, it is possible to ask for location (where?) and for manner (how?) in order to elicit the same answer (“online”) in the phrase *Man wird online einkaufen* ‘we will shop online’ (139).

To review the main features of adverbial anglicisms in German, it has to be emphasized first of all that their occurrence is a highly marginal phenomenon. The corpus contains merely two derivations and a couple of borrowed adverbs. Some of these borrowings occur as lexical isolates, which, however, indicate the potential use of adverbial anglicisms in German. Single-instance adverbials such as *friendly*, *inside*, and *very* stress the relationship between Anglo-American contexts and the occurrence of anglicisms in German. The few adverbial anglicisms that have established a firm position in the German lexicon have entered German for specific reasons. Thus, *live*, *offline*, and *online* came into the language with their respective inventions of TV and Internet and offered immediate labels for new concepts. *Nonstop* seems to appeal to an economic mode of expression, and its integration was probably also alleviated by the independent usage of the element *stop* in German. The frequent adverbial anglicisms are used to varying degrees as attributes and as independent complements. They show a tendency to occur in specific semantic fields reminiscent of their entrance domains. The most frequently used adverbial anglicism, *online*, forms a thematic link to the field of trade. Semantic dispositions can constitute the base for collocational links, as in the examples of *live übertragen*, and *online abwickeln*. As far as semantic types are concerned, the fuzzy conceptualizations of *live* and particularly of *online* allow for diverse interpretations of their meaning as locational, temporal, or modal depending on their syntactic and thematic environment. The unbounded locational

reference of *online* ties in with the vague conceptualization of *global* and thus indicates why the terms *Internet* and *globalization* complement each other so nicely in the current discourse of globalization.

## 11. Codeswitching and phrasal anglicisms<sup>1</sup>

So far, Part III has examined the phenomenon of anglicisms in German on the level of individual lexical items, i.e. borrowings and lexical creations. In Chapter 11 the focus of analysis will shift towards English syntactic units which are integrated in articles of *Der Spiegel* as instances of codeswitching and phrasal units. As yet, the criteria to differentiate borrowing from codeswitching postulated in research have failed to provide a clear delineation of two types of language influence (cf. Chapter 3.1 and additionally Gardner-Chloros 1995, Muysken 1995, Myers-Scotton 2002). A separation according to single-word (borrowing) vs. multi-word syntactic units (switching) and along the lines of lexical integration merely allows for gross classification. Single-word units can be codeswitches (e.g. tag switches) while multi-word units can appear as phrasal borrowings (e.g. compounds). Borrowings can defy morphosyntactic integration as in the lack of genitive inflection in a couple of frequently used anglicisms in German (cf. Chapter 9.2.2). This contradicts a definition of borrowing as a process that obligatorily involves morphosyntactic marking in the RL.

The belief that an item is classifiable as a borrowing when it is accepted as a lexical element in the lexicon of the host language (RL, ML) is also built on a shaky foundation. Acceptance is generally tied to the token frequency of an item in a significantly sized corpus. While it is true that a high token frequency of a term is an indicator of lexical acceptance in a language community (e.g. *Internet* with a TF of 1,819 in the corpus), the intriguing question is as to when the critical mass of recurrence reaches a threshold characterizing a term as accepted, i.e. borrowed. So far, threshold levels have been based on arbitrary frequencies of more than one (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993: 204). In theory, the lexical acceptance of a term would have to be measured across various segments of a speaker community. This means to actually assess the token frequency in relation to a word's dispersion among diverse speakers. On the individual level, lexical choice is a result of a

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1 Various examples of codeswitching presented in this chapter have also been discussed in Onysko, Alexander 2006. "English codeswitching in the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*." *Innovation and Continuity in Language and Communication of Different Language Cultures*. Muhr, Rudolf (ed.). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 261–90. This article formalizes different structural types of written codeswitching on a cline from phrasal intrasentential, clausal intrasentential, integrated intersentential, and autonomous intersentential.

speaker's language competence, and the use of mixed vocabularies in speech is a token of a speaker's individual mental lexicon.

From a synchronic perspective, borrowing and codeswitching are perhaps most adequately perceived as constituting a continuum of language contact phenomena which are characterized by the appearance of form-meaning sets from separate codes in a speaker's utterance (cf. Chapter 3.1). A differentiation between borrowing and codeswitching seems immanently tied to the respective contact situation and the medium of the contact. In a written corpus, token frequency proves insufficient to classify borrowing and codeswitching due to the potential role model of the written word. The single mention of an anglicism in *Der Spiegel* could potentially lead to its spread among the readership. Thus, the criterion of token frequency as an indicator of lexical acceptance seems not sufficiently adequate for the written corpus. Instead, a distinction between single-word items that largely follow the morphosyntactic conventions of German, i.e. borrowing, and multi-word segments that are governed internally by English syntactic conventions, i.e. codeswitching, appears as a more appropriate criterion for the contact situation of English and German in *Der Spiegel 2000*. However, as the occurrence of single-word codeswitches and multi-word phrasal borrowings shows (cf. 11.1), this distinction is not a hard and fast rule but merely holds for the majority of the data.

What is also peculiar to codeswitching in *Der Spiegel* and generally in written language is the role of the author as source and mediator of codeswitching. Since writing for purposes of publication is commonly a more reflective process than speaking in everyday contexts, codeswitching in *Der Spiegel* occurs on the background of an author's deliberate choice regardless of the original source<sup>2</sup>. From the perspective of a German reader, patches of English discourse induce a receptive switch from the main (matrix) language German into an auxiliary English mode. This demands additional cognitive effort from the less well-versed bilingual, which makes codeswitching a prime site for transmitting specific messages. The intentionality on part of the source or mediator and the increased receptive demands for an average German reader characterize codeswitching as marked textual spaces with a high functional load. Accordingly, the following analyses will discuss the functional implications of English codeswitches in the German newsmagazine as evident in intersentential and intrasentential

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2 Apart from acting as a creative source of a codeswitch, *Spiegel*-authors mediate the original voice of English speakers, of L1 German speakers using English, and of speakers using English as a lingua franca.

codeswitching. Before that, however, the issue of single-word codeswitching and multi-word phrasal borrowings demands further attention.

### 11.1 Single-word codeswitching and multi-word phrasal borrowing

The corpus contains a few single lexemes that function as codeswitches and a variety of multi-word syntactic groups that appear as compound nouns in German. The former mostly involve English discourse tags and a few adverbials which occur in stretches of direct speech. While the varied distribution of *Wow* and *Hey* in the corpus (TF 14 and TF 19 respectively) allow for their classification as borrowed discourse markers, the expressions *Farewell*, *Hello*, *Hi*, *Now, please*, *Welcome*, *Well*, *Yeah*, and *Yes* are examples of single-item codeswitches. When analyzed in context, these terms share similar functions. The greetings *Hello*, *Hi*, *Welcome*, and *Farewell* appear as utterances of English speakers:

- (143) *Blair wusste die Angelegenheit von der heiteren Seite zu nehmen: Er habe ihre fehlende Reaktion nicht als Brüskierung empfunden: „Wir sagten einander tatsächlich ‚Hello‘.“* (1/180)  
[Blair knew how to make light of the situation: He did not regard her lack of responsiveness as an affront: We actually said ‘hello’ to each other.]
- (144) *Der Lebemann Lord Louis Mountbatten, der hier als letzter Vizekönig regierte und 1947 dann für das Empire Farewell sagte, ...* (42/296)  
[The bon vivant Lord Louis Mountbatten, who governed here as the last viceroy and then said farewell for the Empire in 1947,...]
- (145) *Der Beamte am Checkpoint prüft auch ihr Gepäck, dann sagt er „Welcome“.* (39/302)  
[The officer at the checkpoint also examines her baggage; then he says “welcome”.]
- (146) *Auf der Straße lächeln dich wildfremde Menschen an, und manche werfen dir im Gehen ein Hi! entgegen wie eine Handvoll Schnee.* (7/232)  
[Strangers smile at you on the street and some throw a Hi! at you like a handful of snow.]

In (143-145) an English speaker is explicitly mentioned as the source of the greeting. Excerpt (143) comments on Tony Blair's attempt to appear in public on the tube in London; (144) marks the date when the last British ruler left India; (145) describes the welcoming procedure of athletes to the Olympic village in Sydney. The quotation in (146) is taken from a novel. The passage narrates the thoughts of a recent Russian immigrant to the US while he is walking on the streets of New York. The discourse anglicism *Hi* is not tied to a specific person but symbolizes the generic voice of the people in New York. Thus, the greeting functions as a linguistic cue allowing the author to evoke a culturally specific image of New York. A translation into a German equivalent (e.g. *Hello*) would mar the immediacy and cultural authenticity of the scene.

This effect is generally characteristic for the occurrence of the tag-switches in (143-145). By providing the culture specific tone of the utterance, the writer is able to create a more authentic scene. As (143) shows, it seems sufficient to leave the greeting untranslated while the remainder of Tony Blair's words are rendered into German. The usage of English greetings as cultural indices presupposes that the reader is able to recognize the cues appropriately and, consequently, create an image of the source culture. Since greetings represent simple linguistic gestures which are not only language specific but also most readily absorbed by outsiders, they constitute appropriate textual elements for creating a culture specific atmosphere. This purpose is also evident among other discourse elements in the corpus:

- (147) *...zum Dank ließ der Interessent das Maklerteam vom deutschen Fernsehen ein: „Kommt rein, please.“* (10/150)  
[... in gratitude, the prospective renter called in the estate agents of the German TV station: “Come in, please.”]
- (148) *Der Moderator fragt: „Können Sie die Ziellinie klar sehen?“ Und Marla Runyan sagt: „Yeah. Wenn ich genau über ihr bin.“* (38/267)  
[The moderator asks, “Can you see the finishing line clearly?” And Marla Runyan says, “Yeah, when I’m exactly on top of it.”]
- (149) *Und sagten die Leute ‚okay‘, würde Ovitz eine Pause machen und fordern: Well, und jetzt bestehe ich darauf, dass ihr noch die Farbe der Radkappen ändert...* (27/184)  
[And if the people said ‘okay’, Ovitz would take a break and demand, Well, and now I insist that you also change the colour of the hubcaps...]

- (150) ...aus der platten Agrarwüste von Westkansas, der seine Sätze meist mit einem grüblerischen „Well“ ... “einleitet.  
 [...]from the flat agrarian desert of West Kansas, who mostly starts his sentences with a thoughtful “Well...”.]
- (151) ...kam es im ehrwürdigen Crown Court im nordenglischen Preston zu Gefühlsausbrüchen. Zuschauer weinten, riefen „Yes“ oder reckten zornig die Fäuste. (6/114)  
 [...]sentiments were released in the venerable Crown Court in the northern English town of Preston. Spectators cried, shouted “Yes” or angrily raised their fists.]
- (152) „Do you believe in God?“ Cassie, so schilderte es eine Überlebende, sagt „Yes“. (3/143)  
 [“Do you believe in god?” Cassie, according to a survivor, says “Yes”.]
- (153) Plötzlich schreit eine stämmige rothaarige Mutter: „What do you want?“ Die Kids antworten: „Paedophiles out“. Die Einheizerin setzt nach: „When do you want it?“ Alle brüllen „Now“. (33/130)  
 [Suddenly a portly, redhead mother screams, “What do you want?” The kids answer, “Paedophiles out”. The instigator continues, “When do you want it?” All of them yell “Now”.]

The discourse anglicisms in examples (147-153) appear before a background of Anglo-American themes. The polite request *please* is uttered by a German soccer player who moved to New York (147). A few sentential codeswitches earlier in the same article unmask the player’s knowledge of English („*My English is not very good. My German is better*“; „*I hope we have a little bit lucky and can win the American Championship.*“ 10/149). So, the codeswitch in (147) not only flags the cultural setting but also prolongs the ironic undertone on the use of English by the German soccer player.

The English elements in (148-153) are related to English speakers. From the perspective of the German reader, the terms appear as single-word codeswitches forming a direct link between the speaker and her/his utterance. In (150) the discourse marker *Well* is mentioned as a characteristic discourse element of an American physicist and Nobel laureate. This creates a slightly ironic undertone based on the image that one of the world’s leading thinkers abundantly uses an empty filler word in his speech. On the metatextual level, this shows the author’s subtle intercultural awareness of discourse patterns which is projected onto the German readership.

Examples (151-153) depict highly emotional scenes. *Yes* in (151) captures the reaction of the public when an English physician is con-

victed. He killed over a dozen of his patients with lethal injections. In (152) and (153) the single-word codeswitches occur in conjunction with sentential codeswitches. The English discourse units zoom in the actual event and provide an authentic impression of the action. Excerpt (152) features the words of an amok teenager and the response of one of his victims in Littleton/Colorado; (153) shows a public protest in Great Britain after a British newspaper revealed the names of previously convicted sex offenders. In both examples the English voices decrease the receptive distance of the readers by imitating the original scene. The frame of the action which interlinks the codeswitches, however, is expressed in German. So, the reader is guided through the narration by a familiar linguistic structure while the emotional moments of the scene are given in their authentic voices.

Apart from the instance of single-word codeswitching, the corpus also contains a variety of phrasal elements which primarily function as compound nouns. Despite their occurrence as multi-word English segments, they thus qualify as potential borrowings. Phrasal anglicisms actually represent a major source of lexical innovation in German. The corpus offers a diverse pool of phrasal units which are introduced as neologisms in German texts. A detailed look at these phrasal constructions unveils some common structural and functional patterns.

A couple of phrasal anglicisms are based on an internal structure of coordinated conjunction, as in *Beauty and brains*, „*board and lodging*“, „*Copy and Paste*“, „*drinks and drugs*“, „*drugs and thugs*“, „*Flip and flee*“, *Hire and Fire*, *Law and Order*, „*name and shame*“, „*pump and dump*“, *Rhythm and Blues*, *Stars and Stripes*, *trial and error*, and *Ups and Downs*. The elements of the phrasal anglicisms are selected from the same word class leading to combinations of noun and noun, verb and verb, and nominalized adverbials (*Ups and Downs*). While the conjunction of nouns resembles a listing with theoretically free ordering of its constituents, the order in the verbal combinations implies a sequence of action. So, *Hire and Fire*, indicates a succession of first hiring and then firing a person. Similar sequential relations hold for „*Copy and Paste*“, „*Flip and flee*“, and „*pump and dump*“. The latter two describe illegal financial practices. „*Flip and flee*“ relates to the creation of bogus companies in order to attract investors. In a similar vein, „*pump and dump*“ refers to the dissemination of wrong information in order to increase the value of weak shares. If the strategy proves successful, the insiders can rapidly sell their shares to their benefit.

The structural parallelism of the phrasal anglicisms is partly accompanied by alliteration, as in *Beauty and brains*, „drinks and drugs“, „Flip and flee“, *Stars and Stripes*, and rhyme, as in „drugs and thugs“, *Hire and Fire*, „name and shame“, and „pump and dump“. These sound effects enhance the cognitive salience of the phrasal anglicisms. In a few examples, semantic relations of antonymy and overlapping meaning exist between the constituents of a conjunctival phrase, as in *Hire and Fire*, „pump and dump“, and *Ups and Downs*.

Associative links in „board and lodging“, „Copy and Paste“, „drinks and drugs“, „drugs and thugs“, *Law and Order*, and *Rhythm and Blues* are strengthened by the conjunction *and*, which actually blends the two concepts into a more complex unit. Thus, „Copy and Paste“ embodies a combined process of copying and pasting information on a computer. In this case, both verbal segments presuppose each other. Similarly, „board and lodging“, *Law and Order*, and *Rhythm and Blues* have developed into set phrases where the individual meanings merge to construct an integral conceptual unit. *Rhythm and Blues* (short *R&B*), for example, evolved into an autonomous style of music; „board and lodging“ is a cover term for the basic needs of a traveller, and *Law and Order* mutually interact as cause and effect. From the perspective of the German language, the conceptual merger of the phrasal anglicisms into lexical units is emphasized by their internal, word formal coherence, which marks the phrasal anglicisms as discrete units in their German lexical environment.

This is also evident in periphrastic possessive constructions, which represent another common structural pattern of phrasal anglicisms, as in (*American*) *Way of Life*, „Economies of scale“, *clash of civilizations*, „Letter of Intent“, „loss of control“, „meals of equals“, „merger of equals“, „Point of no return“, „pursuit of happiness“, „state of the art“, „states of concern“, and „theory of mind“. With the exception of (*American*) *Way of Life*, which appears as a lexicalized unit, the remaining phrasal anglicisms occur sporadically in the corpus. They mainly function as quotations representing technical terms or general terms which underline crucial topics or events in an article. „Economies of scale“, for example, is introduced to the reader as a key label for economic growth following a lengthy paragraph stressing the necessity to increase the productivity of companies:

- (154) *Fachleute sprechen von den „Economies of scale“ – und die gilt es zu nutzen.* (33/143)  
 [Experts speak of “economies of scale” – and they have to be utilized.]

Similarly, „*merger of equals*“ functions as a key term that summarizes the topic of its article. The anglicism relates to a proposed merger of two German banks. An explanation of the phrasal anglicism is provided by a translation inserted as an apposition immediately after its English source:

- (155) *Doch Breuer will einen „merger of equals“, einen Zusammenschluss unter Gleichen, ...* (15/87).  
 [However, Breuer wants a “merger of equals”, a union of equal partners,...]

The phrase gives rise to the coining *meals of equals*, which occurs at a later stage in the same article and describes a joint dinner of the business partners. „*Point of no return*“ and „*loss of control*“ mark crucial stages in their respective articles. While the former relates to an interview that led to political turmoil within the German Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the latter captures the moment as a Russian nuclear submarine gets out of control and sinks with its hazardous load.

So far, phrasal anglicisms have not shown an obligatory dependence on Anglo-American contexts but primarily epitomize specific concepts. They also occur in salient textual positions to highlight the significance of an event or function as labels (also *clash of civilizations* and „*state of the art*“).

The latter function is also evident in a few periphrastic possessive anglicisms which arise from Anglo-American contexts. „*Pursuit of happiness*“, for example, is inserted in the German text with reference to the US constitution. The anglicism is used as a label, which marks the institutionalization of happiness:

- (156) ...*das menschliche Streben nach Glück, das schon in der US-Verfassung als „pursuit of happiness“ unter Schutz gestellt ist,*... (8/301)  
 [...the human quest for happiness, which is already protected in the US constitution as “pursuit of happiness”,...]

Similarly, „*states of concern*“ is embedded in the context of the American political leadership. The phrasal anglicism is used as a label denoting potentially dangerous countries from the viewpoint of the US. The use of the English original instead of a German rendering alludes to the source of the term and allows the author to convey the meta-message that this is only what the Americans believe.

- (157) *Sie müssen sich künftig von Washington als „states of concern“ bezeichnen lassen.* (26/20)  
 [From now on, they will have to cope with being called “states of concern” in Washington.]

In (157) the contextual frame of the phrasal anglicism „states of concern“ is marked by a metonymy of the type NAME OF LOCATION FOR ITS CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE. Since Washington is the administrative capital, the name of the city stands for the political leadership of the US. In the example above, the name of the city epitomizes the voice of the American political leadership.

Besides (*American*) *Way of Life*, the phrase „*Letter of Intent*“ occurs in relation to an Anglo-American setting. The anglicism describes the outcome of negotiations between a Spanish arms manufacturer and a prospective American buyer.

In terms of their phrase internal structure, the periphrastic possessives can be paraphrased in German as a nominal group of head noun and genitive attribute. Thus, these types of phrasal anglicisms fill nominal slots in German, which allows for their interpretation as lexical units.

Apart from possessive phrasal anglicisms, the corpus includes a varied selection of other prepositional phrases. These anglicisms show a tendency to appear as technical and semi-technical terms. The frequent extension *on Demand*, for example, describes the recent trend of producing goods on request. As such it relates to books, films, and music, as in *Book(s) on Demand*, *Krimis on Demand* ('detective stories on demand'), *Music on Demand*, and *Video on Demand*. The instance of *Knowledge on Demand* and „*traffic on demand*“ indicates the versatile use of the phrasal element in German. The expressions „*just in time*“, which relates to the appropriate timing for offering a product on the market, „*public to private deals*“, *Return on investment*, and „*time to market*“ are part of the jargon of economics. Their usage is devoid of Anglo-American references. Instead, they represent technical terms which are optionally explained in context:

- (158) „*Just in time*“, genau zur rechten Zeit, soll der Kunde finden, was er gerade braucht. (31/149)  
 [“Just in time”, exactly at the right time, the client should be able to find what he needs.]
- (159) *Geschwindigkeit – „Time to market“ – ist alles in der neuen Ökonomie.*  
 (31/57)  
 [Speed – “time to market” – means everything in the new economy.]

In (158) a postposed apposition clarifies the meaning of the anglicism. Excerpt (159) shows the phrasal anglicism as a marked insertion in the German clause. In this case, the German terms *Geschwindigkeit* ('speed') and *neue Ökonomie* ('new economy') create a conceptual frame for the anglicism. In both examples, the anglicisms function as non-obligatory sentential constituents. Their elimination would not conflict with the structural make-up of the German clauses. Furthermore, the meaning of the phrasal anglicisms is reflected in the remainder of the clause so that they also appear as non-obligatory items from a semantic-denotative point of view. The usage of anglicisms despite their lack of structural obligatoriness and novel denotative content basically serves two functions:

- (a) to introduce neologisms in German texts, as in (158) and (159)
- (b) to add to the connotative flavour of a text by establishing contextual and intertextual links.

Function (b) can be called the ornamental function of anglicisms in German. Example (160) demonstrates a phrasal anglicism as a textual ornament:

- (160) *Ein Fall, of course, für die ortsansässige Miss Marple.* (17/264)  
 [A case, of course, for resident Miss Marple.]

The insertion of *of course* is stimulated by the proper noun *Miss Marple*, which creates an intertextual link between Agatha Christie's famous detective and current female fictional detectives. Many complementary anglicisms are of a combined ornamental and neologistic nature as the following example shows:

- (161) *Heute treffe sie persönliche Entscheidungen wie geschäftliche: knapp und „on the fly“.* (25/123)  
 [Today she makes personal decisions as in business: concisely and “on the fly”.]

The usage of „*on the fly*“ in conjunction with a German adjective is reminiscent of the pattern *clever+und+German adjective* (cf. Chapter 10.3.1). Double modification with an English and a German modifier decreases the denotative load of the anglicism, which functions as a semantic intensifier of the German modifier. In terms of its ornamental value, „*on the fly*“ could be characterized as an indicator of current lifestyle. The anglicism is used in an article describing people who prefer to live on their own.

Other phrasal anglicisms as lifestyle tags are *in residence*, *on stage*, *Patch Over Party*, and „*under construction*“. These elements also refer to attributes of modern life such as music and entertainment (*in residence*, *on stage*), the Internet („*under construction*“), and motorcycles (*Patch Over Party*). The selection of prepositional phrasal anglicisms from the corpus is complemented by the lexicalized phrases *work in progress* and *learning by doing*. While the latter functions as a pedagogical catch phrase, the former is applied as a hypernym for unfinished works of arts.

The most frequent pattern of phrasal anglicisms involves a combination of a modifier and a noun. Such constructions are syntactic groups in English and, as anglicisms, compound nouns in German. They typically appear as neologisms and exotisms as emphasized by their original form as two separate and sometimes uncapitalized items and by the use of quotation marks: „*back channel*“, „*bad guy*“, „*beautiful losers*“, „*benign neglect*“, „*big guy*“, „*full time*“, „*Functional Food*“, „*funny money*“, „*good neighbors*“, *Happy Birthday*, *Happy End*, *High Speed*, „*human living*“, *Lonesome Hero*, „*lowdown voice*“, „*low profile*“, „*morning gaggle*“, „*preferred partnership*“, „*political affairs*“, „*political animal*“, *Political Correctness*, *Political Junkies*, *politically correct*, „*public domain*“, *real time*, „*right stuff dating*“, „*simulated crime*“, „*special animals*“, *Splendid Isolation*, „*stealth shopping*“, „*stiff upper lip*“, „*strictly British*“, „*Strong Buy*“, „*toolmaking animal*“, „*tough guy*“, „*unfriendly takeover*“, and „*wrong spirit*“.

In addition, a few phrasal anglicisms exist as combinations of determiner and adjective (*all inclusive*), adverbial and verb (*easy going*, *never ending*), and verb and noun („*coming home*“). While the uncommented usage of *all inclusive*, *easy going*, and *never ending* presupposes their comprehension by the German-speaking readership, „*coming home*“ is an example of how a neologism is introduced in a German text.

- (162) *Das Radio soll deshalb Geborgenheit und Intimität bieten. „Coming home“ nennen die Trendgurus, um einen schönen Begriff nie verlegen, diese angeblich neue Entwicklung.* (19/110)  
 [This is why the radio should provide a feeling of security and intimacy. “Coming home” is how the trend gurus, never short of a nice term, call this allegedly new development.]

In (162) the first sentence creates a conceptual space built on a relation between the radio and feelings of security and intimacy. The following anglicism is introduced as a label for this conceptual space. The label-

ling function of „*Coming home*“ is made clear by explicit mention (*einen schönen Begriff* ‘a nice term’) and by anaphora to its conceptual space (*diese angeblich neue Entwicklung* ‘this allegedly new development’).

If we turn our attention onto the bulk of modifier and noun constructions, these phrasal anglicisms combine a variety of functions that have partly been addressed before. Thus, the selection includes a few technical terms such as „*back channel*“, „*Functional Food*“, „*preferred partnership*“, and „*Strong Buy*“. These terms relate to the different thematic areas of economics („*preferred partnership*“, „*Strong Buy*“), diplomacy („*back channel*“ refers to a secret line of communication between hostile parties; used in the context of the Balkan War), and health („*Functional Food*“ is food that also serves health purposes, e.g. bacteriologically enriched yoghurt). Their specific reference demands an explanation in context:

- (163) *Verabredet wurde eine „preferred partnership“, also der bevorzugte Verkauf von Büchern, Videos und CDs auf den Internet-Seiten von Lycos und Terra, der Internet-Tochter von Telefónica.* (21/96)  
[A “preferred partnership” was arranged, that is the preferred sale of books, videos, and CDs on the web pages of Lycos and Terra, the Internet daughter of Telefonica.]
  
- (164) *Jetzt aber werden PepsiCo-Aktien von Analysten noch stärkere Chancen eingeräumt als Coca-Cola. Das Papier gilt für Credit Suisse First Boston und Morgan Stanley Dean Witter als „strong buy“.* (33/79)  
[But now PepsiCo-shares are given even stronger chances than Coca-Cola. The shares are rated as a “strong buy” by Credit Suisse First Boston and Morgan Stanley Dean Witter.]

In (163) „*preferred partnership*“ is explicitly made clear with an appositional clause explaining the specific reference of the anglicism. In (164) the explanation is implicitly given in the previous sentence which creates a positive image of the share that is subsequently referred to as a „*strong buy*“.

Similarly, „*benign neglect*“, „*morning gaggle*“, „*public domain*“, „*simulated crime*“, *Splendid Isolation*, and „*stealth shopping*“ represent hard words which call for an explanation in the text. This is provided by means of translation and, as in the examples above, by explicit and implicit statements. What differentiates these phrasal anglicisms from technical terms is the fact that they function as catch phrases and not as discipline-specific jargon. They also tend to arise in

the immediate context of Anglo-American culture. In (165), for example, „stealth shopping“ is mentioned in an article on an American trendsetter whose products are en vogue among people in New York and L.A.

- (165) *Dazu kauft man derzeit Turnschuhe, T-Shirts und Füllfederhalter in einem von Schrager's neuen Lifestyle-Läden beim „stealth shopping“ – beim heimlichen Einkaufen.* (40/243)  
 [Additionally, people currently buy sneakers, T-shirts and fountain pens in one of Schrager's new lifestyle shops while “stealth shopping” – while shopping secretly.]

The phrasal element *political* is part of the popular terms *Political Correctness* and *politically correct* and occurs in the spin-offs *Political Junkies*, „*political affairs*“, and „*political animal*“. The use of English *animal* to metaphorically refer to human beings in German is shrouded in euphemism. This effect is particularly discernible in „*political animal*“, and „*special animals*“:

- (166) *Mit dem Instinkt des „political animal“, wie Parteifreunde rühmen, hatte der Regierungschef am Mittwoch vergangener Woche beim Blick in die Zeitungen höchste Gefahr gewittert:...* (27/72)  
 [With the instinct of a “political animal”, as friends in his own party boast, the head of government had smelled profound danger when taking a look at the newspapers on Wednesday last week.]
- (167) *Nur zu genau weiß er, was für Diven die Investmentbanker sind, „special animals“, die man hätscheln und pflegen muss, will man sie nicht verlieren.* (15/94)  
 [Only too well does he know what kind of divas investment bankers are; they are “special animals” who have to be fondled and cared for in order to keep them happy.]

In (166) and (167) German translational equivalents (*politischen Tiere* and *spezielle Tiere*) would fail to strike the same semantic chord as the anglicisms. The German term *Tier* (‘animal’) evokes stronger naturalistic associations than English *animal*.

With a token frequency of 25, the German clipping *Happy End* (E.→ happy ending) is by far the most frequent form among all the phrasal anglicisms in the corpus. The vast majority of the phrasal anglicisms merely occur once or twice in the corpus. This confirms the notion that phrasal anglicisms mostly appear as neologisms and exoticisms in German.

In structural terms, phrasal anglicisms of modifier and head mostly mirror German compound nouns of determinant and determinatum. These phrasal anglicisms can thus be interpreted as lexical units in German despite their appearance as syntactic groups in English. The anglicisms occur across the German case paradigm although merely once („*stiff upper lip*“) in subject position. Due to the fact that phrasal anglicisms tend to function as names or labels, they frequently occur as complements to subjects and to direct objects, or in copulative sentences.

In contrast to the nominal phrasal anglicisms, the complex adjectival anglicisms *politically correct* and „*strictly British*“ behave more like syntactic groups in German. Phrase-internally, the adverbial determines the adjectival head. Both constructions appear in a copulative clause and the anglicisms replace a German adjectival phrase (e.g. *Es ist nicht politically correct...* ‘it is not politically correct’).

To summarize, this chapter has shed light on the area of overlap between codeswitching and borrowing. Contrary to an analytical distinction of borrowing and codeswitching along the lines of single-word vs. multi-word elements, the corpus contains a few single-word codeswitches and a larger number of phrasal anglicisms, which function similarly to regular borrowings. Single-word codeswitching almost exclusively involves English discourse markers. As quotations of English speakers, these codeswitches typically mark an emotional state of the interlocutor whose original voice is thus partly retained in the text. This allows the author to establish a more immediate and authentic image of the original event.

The phrasal anglicisms can be analyzed as conjunctional phrases, periphrastic possessive anglicisms, other prepositional anglicisms, and as syntactic segments of modifier and head. Conjunctional phrases with *and* show parallel constituent structure which is substantially complemented by alliteration and rhyme. Periphrastic possessive phrasal anglicisms feature broadly as technical terms which demand explanation in context. They generally substitute a German nominal group of head noun and genitive attribute. Other prepositional phrasal anglicisms rarely occur as elements of discipline-specific jargon. They tend to fill non-obligatory slots in German clauses. The complementary function of prepositional phrases serves the primary purposes of introducing neologisms in German texts and of establishing contextual and intertextual links, i.e. they function as textual ornaments. Phrasal anglicisms with an internal structure of modifier and noun are most

frequently found in the corpus. Their structural similarity to German compounds allows for a definition as such.

In general, phrasal anglicisms are prime indicators of the potential of English as a source of lexical additions to the German language. According to the usual strategies of integrating neologisms in texts, phrasal anglicisms are frequently explained by means of translation or explicit and implicit description. They are also highlighted typographically as exotic insertions in articles of the German newsmagazine. Phrasal anglicisms generally indicate the openness of *Der Spiegel* towards the usage of English, and thus they are central to the study of neologisms in German.

## 11.2 Intrasentential codeswitching

Having touched upon the non-canonical examples on the borderline between borrowing and codeswitching, the remainder of Chapter 11 will focus on the more common types of codeswitching in the corpus. These codeswitches are characterized as syntactic units that follow English grammatical conventions while being embedded in a German matrix clause. To complement the line of argumentation in the introduction, it has to be emphasized that codeswitching has so far been mainly discussed as a phenomenon of spoken language in the context of flagrant bi/multilingualism (cf. among others Auer 1995, Clyne 2003, Myers-Scotton 1993, Muysken 1995, 2000, Mufwene 2001, Poplack 1993, Pütz 1994, Stenson 1990b).

Although spoken and written codeswitching overlap in their structural behaviour, differences in language use require a partial differentiation between spoken and written codeswitching. Thus, the situational effect of spoken codeswitching is largely lost in a written medium where codeswitches appear on the background of deliberate language use. Consequently, written codeswitches have been regarded as primarily serving stylistic functions (cf. Montes-Alcalá 2001). As indicated in the introduction of Chapter 11, codeswitching in *Der Spiegel 2000* is mediated by the author, who chooses to integrate a speaker's original English utterance in the German text or who functions as the source of an English phrase.

On the structural level, codeswitching is generally divided into intrasentential and intersentential units although a differentiation between these two types of codeswitching is far from clear-cut. Typical examples of intrasentential switches are phrasal elements of an SL that

occur in a sentence of the Matrix Language (ML, cf. Chapter 3.1), as in the following examples:

- (168) *Berlin sei eben „the place to be“, erklärt ein Banker... (15/41)*  
[Berlin is just “the place to be”, says a banker...]
- (169) *Sie wünscht sich „the same procedure as every year“: Schatzsuche und Topfschlagen. (33/109)*  
[She would like the same procedure as every year: treasure hunt and find the pot.]

In addition, *Der Spiegel 2000* contains a variety of English sentences embedded as coordinate and subordinate clauses in stretches of German discourse. As untranslated quotations of the original utterances, such codeswitches are often introduced by a reporting verb in the German matrix clause.

- (170) *„It's great“, erklärte Hillary mit vollem Mund. (37/281)*  
[“It's great”, said Hillary while munching (an Italian sausage)]
- (171) *Und wenn Jesse sagte: „Let's do the tradition“, dann wusste man, was gemeint war. (51/73)*  
[And when Jesse said: “Let's do the tradition”, it was clear what he meant.]

In (170) and (171) the codeswitches represent grammatically complete English clauses which function as obligatory constituents in a larger German syntactic frame. This syntactic obligatoriness of English clauses in the matrix of a German compound sentence<sup>3</sup> appears as one structural characteristic of intrasentential codeswitching. Another feature of written intrasentential codeswitching is structural incompleteness of the syntactic units in a sentence of the matrix language as in the examples of phrasal anglicisms as modifiers of nouns, verbs, and adjectives in a German matrix clause.

Intersentential codeswitching, on the other hand, is evident when a grammatically complete English clause is attached as a non-obligatory sentential constituent in a larger German sentential matrix. Furthermore, English sentences that occur outside the typographic frame of a German sentence appear as intersentential codeswitches. In this case, the codeswitched clauses are embedded in the larger textual frame of

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3 For written codeswitching this study basically follows a formal-textual definition of sentences as syntactic units framed by periods, question marks, exclamation marks, and (semi-)colons.

the ML. Examples (172) and (173) illustrate these two types of inter-sentential codeswitching in the newsmagazine:

- (172) *Narkosen müssten abgebrochen werden, sobald etwas Zweifelhaftes auftauche: „If in doubt, take it out.“* (5/58)  
[Anesthesia has to be suspended when something problematic appears: “If in doubt, take it out”]
- (173) *...und wendeten damit gleichsam dialektisch alten Horror in neue Vision von Liebe und Verständnis. All you need is love.* (46/153)  
[...so that they quasi dialectically turned old horror in new visions of love and compassion. All you need is love.]

From the two widely accepted types of codeswitching, intrasentential variation has earned a slightly more salient position in research. This is due to the fact that codeswitching is particularly immanent within a single utterance evoking the question of why speakers should change their code within a sentential unit. Answers to this question have been shaped by a proposal of structural constraints such as word order equivalence and the free morpheme constraint (cf. Poplack 1980), and by investigations based on government and binding theory (GB; cf. DiScullio, Muysken, Singh 1986). As several authors argue, however, these approaches can only account for limited data of codeswitching (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993: 34-35, 40-45; Stenson 1990b: 184-88).

Myers-Scotton (1993 and subsequent works) has devised a theoretical framework that describes the relation between the participating languages in codeswitching as one of Matrix Language (ML) and Embedded Language (EL). The ML is the more dominant language that sets the syntactic frame for the whole utterance while the EL contributes with elements to the larger syntactic frame of the ML (1993: 66-70). This relationship is particularly valid for the corpus of this study. In *Der Spiegel*, German constitutes a global ML due to the newsmagazine's socio-cultural frame and primary target audience of German speakers. English is a marked choice, and inter/intrasentential English codeswitches appear as EL islands in the German texts. The notion of EL islands is defined in Myers-Scotton's terms as consisting of at least two lexemes that “show internal structural dependency relations” (1993: 138). Excerpts (168-173) exemplify the appearance of English syntactic units as inter/intrasententially embedded language islands. On the background of this theoretical frame, the discussion will continue with an analysis of intrasentential codeswitching in view of its structural implications, its semantic functions, and its reasons of occurrence.

To summarize the discussion of examples (168-169) and (170-171), two types of intrasentential English codeswitching can be differentiated in the corpus: (A) English phrasal units which substitute German elements in a German sentence, i.e. phrasal intrasentential codeswitching, and (B) structurally complete English clauses which function as necessary segments in German matrix sentences, i.e. clausal intrasentential codeswitching. To start the discussion with phrasal intrasentential codeswitching, several English phrasal units appear as complements in copulative constructions. Besides (168), there are a few more codeswitches as copulative complements:

- (174) *Der Kollege aus den Niederlanden sei „absolutely first class“, befand Eddie George, Chef der Bank of England.* (43/22)  
[The colleague from the Netherlands was “absolutely first class”, stated Eddie George, head of the Bank of England.]
- (175) *„Die Goldgräberzeiten“, sinnierte einer mit glasigem Blick ins Gin-Tonic- Glas, seien „definitely over“.* (16/110)  
[“The times of the gold rush”, one of them pondered with hazy eyes over a glass of Gin and Tonic, were “definitely over”.]
- (176) *Schließlich wird ihnen mit dem Slogan „Buy British Beef“ von Politikern und Presse unermüdlich eingebläut, heimisches Rindfleisch sei absolut sicher und sowieso „the best in the world“.* (32/140)  
[With the slogan “Buy British Beef” they are, after all, constantly urged into believing that homegrown beef is totally safe and anyway “the best in the world”.]
- (177) *...schließlich ist ihr Leben im Big Apple „really busy“,...* (30/176)  
[...after all her life in the Big Apple is “really busy”,...]
- (178) *Summers war „his master's voice“, er formulierte die Position des Präsidenten.* (10/25)  
[Summers was “his master's voice”; he expressed the position of the president.]
- (179) *Sie sind unerlässlich „to bring out the vote“: Damit die Demokraten am 7. November überhaupt die Wahlkabinen aufsuchen.* (44/206)  
[They are indispensable “to bring out the vote”: so that the democrats actually go to the polls on November 7.]

In (174-177) the switched segments function as adverbial and adjectival phrases which qualify the nominal head of the copulative construction. The English phrases mirror the morpheme order of close German renderings (*absolut erste Klasse*, *definitiv vorbei*, *das beste der Welt*,

*wirklich geschäftig*). This underlying structural equivalence could have facilitated the codeswitches. On further scrutiny, however, parallel morpheme order does not appear as a necessary criterion for the occurrence of intrasentential codeswitches as (178) and (179) indicate. Despite the fact that the morphemic arrangement of *his master's voice* can be retained in German as *seines Meisters Stimme*, the more common and less poetic variant *die Stimme seines Meisters* represents the unmarked choice in line with the discourse context. The departure from underlying German morpheme order is even more pronounced in the infinitival phrase *to bring out the vote*. In German, the infinitival marker *zu* and the adverbial *hervor* are prefixed to the verb stem (*bringen*), and the derived verbal infinitive moves to phrase final position (*um die Wähler hervorzubringen*). Semantically, the code-switch represents an idiomatic phrase relating to the US presidential elections. The meaning of the phrase is made clear implicitly in the following clause.

Instead of equivalent morpheme order, Anglo-American context appears as a stronger facilitational cue for the codeswitches above. The examples in (174-176) represent untranslated portions of utterances by English speakers, which are directly contextualized by English lexical items (*Bank of England*, *Big Apple*, *British Beef*) or framed in prototypical American contexts (presidential elections, the gold rush). Interestingly, the untranslated parts take the syntactically more peripheral position as copulative complements while the structural core of subject and copula is expressed in German. The original English voices serve as a means to subtly modulate the message. By switching into a marked code, the author can construct a perceptive distance between the contents and the reader, emphasizing the inappropriateness of the original statement. This is evident in (176) where, in the wake of Mad Cow Disease, the English comment on the quality of British beef in fact undermines the claim for its safety and quality.

In addition to functioning as copulative complements, intrasentential codeswitches surface as appositions. The examples below illustrate that appositional codeswitches specify the meaning of their preceding noun phrases.

- (180) *Die erste Frage ist ohnehin die f-or-m-Frage, female or male,...*  
 (48/192)  
 [The first question is anyway the f-or-m question, female or male,...]

- (181) „*Eingegriffen wird erst dann, wenn der Rauch aus dem Schornstein quillt, ,at the end of the pipe’’.* (44/150)  
 [They only interfere when smoke rises from the chimney, “at the end of the pipe”.]
- (182) *Willkommen im Sauberspace, made in Germany.* (15/266)  
 [Welcome to the (clean) cyberspace, made in Germany.]
- (183) *Die überraschte Queen, not amused, ließ ihn laut Augenzeugen abblitzen...* (45/241)  
 [The Queen, taken by surprise and not amused, brushed him off according to eye-witnesses...]
- (184) ...*verschenkt Sat 1 ab sofort Geld für treue Kunden des „Comedy-Kanals“ (Harald Schmidt), formerly known as „Kuschelsender“.* (23/96)  
 [From now on, Sat 1 gives money to frequent customers of the “Comedy-Channel” (Harald Schmidt), formerly known as “Kuschelsender” (cuddle station).]

The appositional codeswitches in (180-184) occur for various reasons: (180) represents a bilingual wordplay in a discussion of online chat forums for partner search. The words of a German police officer in (181) comment on the failure to try to legally prevent drug trafficking in Germany. The codeswitch marks a metaphoric relation between a smoking chimney (*Schornstein*) and the smoking of a pipe. These two images are blended to compare the lack of environmental action in the seventies and current anti-drug policies.

While the instances of codeswitching discussed so far generally occur on the background of Anglo-American discourse contexts, (180) and (181) stand out as being couched in German settings. However, if we follow an understanding of written codeswitching as a motivated phenomenon<sup>4</sup>, the themes in (181) and (182) appear as possible facil-

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4 Essentially, this understanding builds on Clyne’s notion of triggering/facilitation which claims that, on the lexical level, transfers, proper nouns, and bilingual homophones facilitate the occurrence of a codeswitch (cf. 2003: 166-67). Recent evidence for the role of lexical triggers in bilingual codeswitching is provided in Broersma and De Boot (2006). Interestingly, many of the examples of codeswitches in *Der Spiegel 2000* as discussed so far and later occur in the vicinity of lexical facilitators (mostly English proper nouns and other anglicisms). However, the deliberate nature of written language places additional emphasis on contextual and thematic factors that prepare a possible switch site in German discourse. Apart from codeswitching for highly specific stylistic purposes (cf. Chapter 11.3), written codeswitching in *Der Spiegel* is indeed globally linked to Anglo-American context and certain discourse domains (e.g. lifestyle, computer and communication technology, foreign politics).

tators of the codeswitches. Thus, the central function of anglicisms as key terms in the jargon of computer and information technology (e.g. *Attachment*, *Computer*, *Cyberspace*, *E-mail*, *downloaden*, *Internet online*, *surfen*...cf. chapter 8.1) induce the occurrence of further English elements in this discourse domain. Similarly, anglicisms play a crucial role in the jargon of drugs (e.g. *Crack*, *Ecstasy*, *dealen*, *Joint*, *Junkie*, *Speed*...), which could stimulate the codeswitch in (181).

In (182-184) the codeswitches happen after anglicisms, which possibly act as local lexical facilitators. The effect of the local trigger *Queen* in (182) is underscored by its contextual setting of Bush's visit to Queen Elizabeth II. As excerpts (182) and (184) are set in a German context, these codeswitches lack a global contextual trigger but seem at least textually facilitated by their preceding anglicisms.

A few, typically short English phrases function as adverbials. Since these multi-word units represent English idiomatic phrases, they appear on the borderline between lexicalized phrasal insertions and code-switching in German (cf. Chapter 11.1).

- (185) *Die poetischen Skizzen zeigen ihn oft „at his best“,...* (44/257)  
 [The poetic sketches often show him “at his best”,...]

- (186) *Das schöne Geld sei „out of the blue“ über ihn gekommen – wie Manna vom Himmel.* (19/41)  
 [The wonderful money has come to him out of the blue – like manna from heaven.]

- (187) *...hätten ihm „by the way“ gesagt, dass sie in Zukunft in einem Land leben wollten,...* (31/36)  
 [...had told him “by the way” that, in the future, they would like to live in a country...]

In (185) and (186) the English elements do not show any discernible traces of contextual and textual triggering or facilitation. *At his best* is uttered by a German speaker, the director of a literary archive in Zurich, Switzerland, as he comments on the quality of a Swiss writer. *Out of the blue* is the reaction of a German politician accused of having accepted donations in his function as a party official. The insertion *by the way* occurs in the context of a state visit of German politicians in North Korea. In this case, the switch alludes to the use of English as a diplomatic lingua franca.

Further intrasentential codeswitching involves nominal complements to German grammatical subjects and objects and phrasal elements in the position of a direct object in the German matrix clause.

The examples in (188-191) portray the only instances of these functions in the corpus:

- (188) ...*die das Image Großbritanniens als „Dirty old man of Europe“ konservieren.* (14/189)  
[...which conserve the image of Great Britain as “dirty old man of Europe”.]
- (189) ...*aber der alte Shaft durfte sich auch als „sex machine for all the chicks“ hervortun.* (43/296)  
[...but the old Shaft was also allowed to excel as a “sex machine for all the chicks”.]
- (190) *Die Läuferin hat sich „cos I'm free“ auf die rechte Schulter tätowieren lassen.* (37/207)  
[The runner(f.) had “cos I'm free” tattooed on her right shoulder.]
- (191) *Bei künftigen Krisen in Europa werden die Amerikaner „Germans to the front“ rufen, anstatt eigene Spezialkräfte zu schicken.* (48/33)  
[In future crises in Europe the Americans will call “Germans to the front” instead of sending their own special forces.]

The codeswitches in (188) and (189) show similar structural integration into the German matrix clause. *Dirty old man of Europe* and *sex machine for all the chicks* are linked postnominally with German *als* in the prepositional function of specifying the role of its antecedent noun phrase. As such the codeswitches define the object noun phrase *das Image Großbritanniens* ('the image of Great Britain') and the subject noun phrase *Shaft* (name of a movie character).

The EL-islands '*cos I'm free* (190) and *Germans to the front* (191) take the position of grammatical objects. They represent direct speech acts which are embedded as quotations in the German phrases.

In terms of triggering, the examples above demonstrate a mixture of contextual and lexical facilitation. In (188) the macro-context of the codeswitch is a report on public protests against a nuclear plant in Sellafield, GB. This coincides with the occurrence of the anglicism *Image* and the contextual cue *Großbritannien* as elements of the noun phrase binding the codeswitch. In (189) the discourse context of an interview with actor Samuel Jackson and the proper noun *Shaft* act as potential triggers of the codeswitch. The phrase '*cos I'm free* (190) seems entirely triggered out of context. The codeswitch is quoted from a tattoo displayed by an Aboriginal Australian runner during the Olympic Games in Sydney. In (191) the mention of the Americans precedes the switch, which symbolizes the potential reaction of the US

government when asked for further military support to solve crises in Europe. As quotations, these last two examples purvey a more contextually authentic tone than German renderings.

The phrasal insertions in (188) and (189) indicate a further purpose of anglicisms in German: euphemism. In order to avoid the use of improper and stigmatized German expressions, the English phrases *dirty old man of Europe* and *sex machine for all the chicks* function as less direct and aggressive statements while still alluding to their intensional meaning. The euphemistic radiance of English in German seems generally based on the emotional and discourse functional distance to an SL in an RL dominant speaker with the effect that stigmatization and tabooing of the SL terms is circumvented.

The intrasentential codeswitches discussed so far represent straightforward examples of EL islands in German matrix clauses. The syntactic nucleus of these sentences (subject and verb) is expressed in German while the EL islands can take the position of an object or, to a greater extent, occur as complements to objects and subjects, as phrasal modifiers, and as appositional phrases. However, the corpus also contains a few instances of intrasentential codeswitching where English morphemes constitute the syntactic core of the sentence.

- (192) *Now really being inside Peter Boenisch: „Wir brauchen Fremdenfreundlichkeit, aber keine Überfremdung.“* (26/98)  
[Now really being inside Peter Boenisch: “We need friendliness towards foreigners but not too much foreignization.”]
- (193) *„Time Has Come Today“, um mit den Chambers Brothers zu sprechen.*  
(34/122)  
[“Time has come today”, to speak with the Chambers Brothers.]
- (194) *...und ein breites Schmunzeln, das nicht weichen wollte. „Jawohl, that's it.“* (41/22)  
[...and a broad smile that did not want to fade. “Yes, that's it.”]
- (195) *Das Fernsehen hat die große, ambitionierte Fotoreportage offenbar überflüssig gemacht. That's life, leider.* (53/147)  
[Television has made ambitious foto stories apparently superfluous. That's life, unfortunately.]

On the individual sentential level, examples (192-195) indicate a change of ML since the syntactic frame of the sentence is laid out in English. The only German element in (192) is a proper noun. In (193) the English main clause precedes a dependent German infinitival phrase. The codeswitches in (194) and (195) have the same core

structure of demonstrative pronoun and copula. According to Myers-Scotton, these codeswitches could qualify as situationally induced changes of ML (1993: 73). The examples actually indicate that the concept of ML depends on a global or a local interpretation. As a macro structure, the ML pertains to the textual level or, in homogenous text corpora, to the whole corpus. On a micro level, the ML is restricted to an individual sentence or speech act. From a global perspective, the ML in the present corpus is unanimously German according to the parameters described before (dominant frequency of German terms and sociolinguistic setting of the medium). These global factors set the default mode for codeswitching in the corpus. Thus, the vast majority of intrasentential codeswitches appear as English EL islands in a German matrix clause. As the examples above show, however, the macro structure of the ML can be revoked on the individual sentential level. Such local cancellations of the ML are dependent on specific situational effects.

In (192) for example, the English sentence fragment preceding the name of a German yellow press journalist flags the beginning of the author's main criticism on Boenisch's xenophobic undertone. The example in (193) features the thoughts of Stephen King as he decided to start writing again while still recovering from an accident. The excerpt thus represents a mixture of King's original voice and a German translation of it. The part that is left untranslated appears as an English catch phrase which consists of simple English and is probably understood by the vast majority of the German readership. Similar considerations characterize the codeswitches in (194) and (195). *That's it* and *that's life* appear as lexicalized phrases easily understood and reproducible by many German speakers. The former describes the reaction of German foreign minister Joschka Fischer after the ousting of Milošević in Serbia. *That's life* seems motivated by word play. The codeswitch comments on the bankruptcy of the American magazine *Life*.

To sum up, phrasal intrasentential codeswitching embodies diverse functions in German matrix clauses. As copulative complements and as direct objects the codeswitches appear as obligatory syntactic constituents. For the larger part, phrasal intrasentential codeswitching is embedded as optional appositional phrases, adverbial phrases and nominal complements. A fairly limited set of codeswitches induce a local, i.e. sentential, change of the ML contrary to the global perception of German as the ML in the German newsmagazine. These local cancellations of the macro ML (German) show an immanent contextual

motivation or appear on the borderline of lexicalized, simple English phrases.

As pointed out in footnote 4, the emergence of English codeswitching in the newsmagazine follows the presumption that these instances of marked language use are motivated in German. A combination of Clyne's mainly lexical approach to triggering, called facilitation in his more recent work (cf. 2003: 162–68) and the discourse context serve as a means to investigate possible reasons for the occurrence of the codeswitches. As the data analysis so far has shown, facilitational links between codeswitches and possible triggers can indeed be established in almost all instances of phrasal intrasentential codeswitching. Facilitation is often based on a combination of lexical means (e.g. English proper nouns and anglicisms), Anglo-American context, and discourse topic (e.g. Internet and drugs). As exceptions, the codeswitches in (185), *out of the blue*, and (186), *at his best*, occur without any of the above facilitational factors. This is due to their affinity to lexicalized phrasal insertions (cf. Chapter 11.1).

Since a number of codeswitches are original utterances by English speakers, these phrases appear as typographically marked quotations in the German matrix clauses. Furthermore, quotation marks can highlight exceptional use of language outside the framework of German as in the examples of English adverbial phrases. As such, quotation marks delineate textual islands allowing free expression outside the German norm and facilitate the integration of a marked code such as English codeswitches and phrasal neologisms.

Shifting the focus of analysis on the type of clausal intrasentential codeswitching, it is evident that clausal intrasentential codeswitching occurs more often than the structurally more dependent type of phrasal intrasentential codeswitching. As far as the functional distribution is concerned, however, clausal intrasentential codeswitching exhibits less diverse uses than phrasal intrasentential codeswitching. Thus, the bulk of clausal intrasentential codeswitching surfaces as quotations embedded in German matrix sentences frequently with reporting or emotive verbs:

- (196) ...steigt Marlene Dietrich aus dem Shuttlebus, klimpert mit falschen Wimpern und trällert „Good morning, everybody“ in Richtung der Statisten,... (10/230)  
 [...]Marlene Dietrich gets off the shuttle, flutters her fake eyelashes and lilts “good morning everybody” towards the supernumeraries...]

- (197) „*Jaguar goes public*“, sagt Kliegl, „*wir wollen unsere Exklusivität beibehalten,...*“ (15/128)  
 [“*Jaguar goes public*”, Kliegl says, “we would like to keep our exclusiveness,...”]
- (198) „*I am a full-time writer*“, sagt die junge Frau, „*aber ich zwinge mich nicht zum Schreiben, am liebsten hänge ich mit Freunden herum oder besuche meine Familie.*“ (34/206)  
 [“*I am a full-time writer*”, the young woman says, “but I don’t force myself to write. I like most to hang out with friends or to visit my family.”]
- (199) „*We are back in the game*“, triumphierte Schatzmeister Matthias Wissmann in der Sprache der Sieger. (2/22)  
 [“*We are back in the game*”, triumphed treasurer Matthias Wissmann in the language of the winners.]
- (200) „*The body is the message*“, variiert die Hamburger Soziologin Gabriele Klein die berühmte Medienthese von Marshall McLuhan. (27/144)  
 [“*The body is the message*”, Gabriele Klein, sociologist in Hamburg, varies Marshall McLuhan’s famous media thesis.]
- (201) „*Kopenhagen*“, sagt er grinsend auf seiner Couch, „*was a great great Missverständnis.*“ (36/260)  
 [“*Kopenhagen*”, he smirked on his couch, “*was a great great misunderstanding*.“]

A closer look at the codeswitches in (196-201) unveils some interesting insights into their functions and contextual implications. In (196) Marlene Dietrich is quoted as she greets people at Berlin airport after her arrival from the US. The usage of English is significant of her renunciation of Germany at the time of the Hitler regime when she emigrated to the US. Further examples of German speakers switching into English are given in (197), (199), and (200). With reference to an English car manufacturer, contextual and lexical facilitation might account for the codeswitch in (197). The codeswitch in (199) is devoid of lexical, contextual, and discourse domainal facilitators. In this case the English clause functions as a catch phrase which, even though commented upon ironically, underlines the prestige of the English language in German. Similarly, the codeswitch in (200) shares the characteristics of a catch phrase (simple English terms in a straightforward copula construction). *The body is the message* blends into the discourse domain of lifestyle which represents a favourable conceptual base for the occurrence of the codeswitch.

(198) is another instance of codeswitching as the result of partial translation (in this case the words of an Israeli author). As in (174-176), the untranslated part that surfaces as the codeswitch contains the key proposition of the utterance. Similar to catch phrases, the codeswitch is spelled out as a simple copulative clause.

Another common function of clausal intrasentential codeswitching is the quotation of emotional expletives. This serves the primary purpose to emphasize the authenticity and immediacy of the utterance.

- (202) *Ich habe ihr die Bälle in die Hand gedrückt und gesagt: thanks a lot, I'm gone – danke schön, das wars.* (45/227)  
[I put the balls in her hand and said, thanks a lot, I'm gone – (trans.:) thank you, that was it.]
- (203) ...*seinen Jet so brutal in den Landeanflug, dass der Co-Pilot entsetzt ausrief: „What the hell are you doing?“ (Was zum Teufel machst du da?)* (23/237)  
[...his jet so brutally for the landing approach that the terrified co-pilot called out, “What the hell are you doing?” (German translation)]
- (204) ...*zwei Männer ziehen mich hinein, schlagen die Tür zu. Einer sagt: „Sorry for that.“* (31/20)  
[...two men pull me in, slam the door shut. One of them says, “Sorry for that.”]
- (205) „*Shut up!*“ ruft der Gymnasiallehrer... (21/186)  
[“Shut up!” the grammar school teacher shouts...]
- (206) „*It's gametime!*“, verkündet der Stadionsprecher mit rauer Stimme.  
[“It's gametime!”, the speaker in the arena announces in a husky voice.]

In (202-205) the codeswitches reflect the role of English as a lingua franca. The individual scenes describe the leave-taking of a Dutch tennis coach from his Russian player (202), the use of English in aviation (203), and the interaction between German hostages and their Philippine kidnappers. The English phrase in (206) is uttered by the announcer during a basketball game in Portland, Oregon. Examples (202) and (203) indicate the dual function of translation following a codeswitch. Apart from alleviating the understanding of the code-switch, translation achieves additional emphasis by means of modulated repetition of the English phrase. In the rare cases where codeswitching goes hand in hand with translation in the newsmagazine, emphasis emerges as the main function of translation.

While most of the quotational clausal intrasentential codeswitches are immediately accompanied by German reporting verbs, there are also a few examples which are not directly embedded as such. In (207), for example, the direct speech act is linked to its speaker as a parenthetical thought to the side. In (208) the distance between the verb *fragen* ('ask') and the codeswitch increase the difficulty in recognizing the English phrase as just another question posed by American tourists in Germany. The use of English poignantly implies a sensationalistic attitude and slightly morbid fascination as a stereotypical characteristic of some American tourists.

- (207) *Doch Walsh will bei seinen regelmäßigen Barbesuchen („You have to keep in touch with the real world“) erfahren haben, dass sich die Trinkgewohnheiten ändern.* (37/103)  
 [But Walsh claims to have found out on his regular trips to bars ("You have to keep in touch with the real world") that drinking habits change.]
- (208) *Spuren der Diktatur suchen Amerikaner dagegen vergeblich. Sie fragen ihre deutschen Freunde im Bus nach einem Stück Mauer mit Todesstreifen und Wachturm oder wenigstens „Hitlers Bunker, where he died“.* (15/41)  
 [The Americans look in vain for traces of the dictatorship. They ask their German friends on the bus for a piece of Berlin wall with restricted zone and watchtower or at least "Hitler's bunker, where he died."]
- (209) *...und die Gasfuß-Fetischisten mit dem Heckaufkleber „Follow me – if you can“, die sich von keinem Spritpreis stoppen lassen.* (35/63)  
 [...and the full speed fetishists with their bumper sticker "Follow me – if you can", who cannot be stopped by any gas prices.]

The codeswitch in (209) alludes to another widespread function of clausal intrasentential codeswitching in the corpus which goes beyond mediated quotation. This is the use of English clauses as guidelines, mottos, rules, and principles in German. As such the codeswitches are frequently flagged with a set of corresponding German terms: *Motto* ('motto'), *Prinzip* ('principle'), *Leitsatz* ('guideline'), *Regel* ('rule'), *Credo* ('credo'), *Slogan* ('slogan'), *Weisheit* ('knowledge'), and *Sprichwort* ('proverb').

- (210) *Unter dem Motto „Music is the only drug“ feiern rund 60 000 Raver beim „Union Move“ in München.* (5/249)  
 [Under the motto “Music is the only drug”, about 60.000 ravers celebrate at “Union Move” in Munich.]
- (211) *Und ihr Motto ist: Too much is not enough!* (19/126)  
 [And her motto is: Too much is not enough!]
- (212) *Wie soll er dem Credo „form follows function“ gerecht werden?* (38/154)  
 [How should he live up to the credo “form follows function”?]
- (213) *Never catch a falling knife, lautet die zur Sicherheit aufgestellte zweite Regel: Greife nicht in ein fallendes Messer.* (5/79)  
 [Never catch a falling knife, is the second safeguarding rule: (German translation).]
- (214) *Seine wirtschaftlichen Entscheidungen zu Anfang seiner Amtszeit waren entscheidend und sind unter dem Slogan „It's the economy, stupid“ sogar in unseren allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch eingegangen.* (18/121)  
 [His economic decisions at the beginning of his term were crucial and, by the slogan “It's the economy, stupid”, they have even entered our common language.]
- (215) *Offenbar beherzigen Aktionäre derzeit die alte Börsenregel „Sell on good news“.* (46/121)  
 [Apparently, shareholders currently heed the old stockmarket rule “Sell on good news”.]
- (216) *Im Gegensatz zur frühen Industriegesellschaft, in der es erst darum ging, zu sparen und dann zu kaufen, lautet das heutige Prinzip: Buy now, pay later.* (33/116)  
 [In contrast to early industrial society in which saving preceded buying, the principle today is: buy now, pay later.]
- (217) *Noch gilt die alte Branchenweisheit: „Nobody knows anything.“* (21/257)  
 [The old trade lore is still valid: “Nobody knows anything.”]
- (218) *Nur für Schwergewichtler gelte das Sprichwort „They'll never come back“, trotzte Schäuble kürzlich in einem Interview.* (38/35)  
 [The proverb “They'll never come back” is only valid for the heavy-weights, Schäuble recently mocked in an interview.]
- (219) ...*handelte Clinton in seiner indischen Woche nach dem Broadway-Motto „The show must go on“.* (13/206)

[...during his week in India Clinton acted according to the Broadway-motto “The show must go on”.]

- (220) ...*denn über allen Rezepturen thront der Leitsatz: „Love is the Message“.* (2/59)  
 [...]because on top of all the recipes the guideline reads: “Love is the Message”.]

As typical for mottos, principles, rules, and slogans (hence mottos), the codeswitches in (210-220) constitute succinct statements which function as catch phrases. Simple syntactic structures are in a few instances complemented by alliteration (212 and partly 217) and parallel rhythm (216). Thematically, the codeswitches are couched in the domains of lifestyle and music (210), fashion trends (211), design (212), the film industry (218), and nightlife (220). The mottos are particularly prominent in the fields of economics (213-217) and politics (218, 219). Interestingly, only (214) and (219) relate to an Anglo-American background. The other codeswitches as mottos are comments of German journalists and interview partners. Some of the examples directly originate from a German context such as a rave in Munich (210), the German stock market (215), German politics (218), and a bar in Berlin (220). This suggests that codeswitches as mottos occur largely independently from common facilitational criteria.

Another, albeit rare, function of intrasentential codeswitching in articles of *Der Spiegel 2000* involves the author’s use of an English phrase as a summarizing comment. These commentative codeswitches are usually employed as connotative ornaments which tie in with the topic of the utterance.

- (221) ...*warum die Autorin Berg derzeit als eine Art Übermutter der so genannten Pop-Literatur verehrt wird: It's only Entertainment, aber herzzerreißend ist es auch.* (44/283)  
 [...]why author(f.) Berg is currently revered as a kind of supermother of the so called pop literature: It's only entertainment, but it is also heart-breaking.]
- (222) *Der Zeitgeist sucht den Abflug, fasten seat belts.* (47/151)  
 [Zeitgeist is ready for take-off, fasten seat belts.]
- (223) *Erfolg nach außen wird in Amerika dermaßen propagiert, dass selbst nach innen, in den Familien, jedes Problem unter den Teppich gekehrt, und somit jedem Kind/Jugendlichen die Möglichkeit genommen wird, sich mit Konflikten sinnvoll auseinander zu setzen ... „happiness forever“.* (5/13)

[In the US, success outside is so strongly propagated that even inside the families every problem is covered up. This leaves all the children and young people devoid of possibilities to constructively deal with their conflicts ... "happiness forever".]

In (221) the phrase *It's only Entertainment* underlines the reference to pop literature as easy to read and pleasurable. *Fasten seat belts* acts as an imperative which expands the metaphor of the current trend to abscond into a world of magic (with reference to *Harry Potter*). The use of English instead of a German rendering (*bitte anschnallen*) seems connected with the term *Zeitgeist*, which, despite its nature as a Germanism in English, conceptually evokes associations to anglicism prone discourse topics (cf. anglicisms relating to lifestyle, fashion, entertainment, and modern sports). In (223) *happiness forever* functions as an ironical comment on societal values in the US. Thus, the English phrase refers to happiness as a façade, which, as argued in the preceding clause, results from a purportedly superficial strive for material success and its negative repercussions on conflict management within the family.

In sum, clausal intrasentential codeswitching is more numerous than phrasal intrasentential codeswitching but functionally less diverse. The bulk of clausal intrasentential codeswitching occurs as quotations flagged by reporting or emotive verbs. These quotational codeswitches cover various thematic aspects, and they generally show less obvious links to facilitation by Anglo-American context. Thus, a variety of codeswitches seem solely induced by their connotational value of English in the discourse domains of current lifestyle (e.g. music and fashion), politics, and economics. A substantial number of quotational codeswitches represent emotional utterances. By featuring the original voices, these codeswitches create an immediate and authentic flavor in *Spiegel* articles. Only a few quotations lack verbal flagging and are linked by implication to the source of the quotation.

A second frequent function of clausal intrasentential codeswitching is its occurrence as mottos. These codeswitches typically involve concise catch phrases which relate in particular to lifestyle, economics, and politics. Interestingly, the majority of English mottos are set in a German context. This leaves discourse topic and the connotational implications of English as possible facilitators of the codeswitches.

Finally, clausal intrasentential codeswitching can underline the author's opinion in the form of a summarizing comment. In this case, the author abandons her role as a mediator of codeswitching, i.e. as a purveyor of other people's utterances, and functions as a source of

codeswitching. Instances of author bound codeswitches, however, are rare in the corpus. The few examples basically underline the gist of the passage they refer to. At the same time, they appear as stylistic tokens that reflect the connotational and contextual setting.

In comparison, phrasal intrasentential codeswitching and clausal intrasentential codeswitching partly overlap in their global function as quotations of English utterances. Due to their different structural composition, however, these two types of intrasentential codeswitching generally fulfil different roles in German matrix sentences. While phrasal intrasentential codeswitching appears across the range of mostly syntactically peripheral positions as copulative complements, direct objects, appositional phrases, adverbial phrases, and as nominal complements, clausal intrasentential codeswitching is limited to grammatically complete quotations and independently embedded mottos. A difference between the two types of intrasentential codeswitching is also evident in their relation to facilitational criteria. Thus, the less numerous and structurally deeper embedded type of phrasal intrasentential codeswitching is generally accompanied by pronounced facilitational cues, often as a mixture of lexical and contextual triggers. Clausal intrasentential codeswitching is frequently accompanied by contextual references to Anglo-American culture and falls in line with the use of anglicisms in certain discourse domains. Overall, clausal intrasentential codeswitching more frequently lacks overt facilitational ties as in the example of mottos.

### **11.3 Intersentential codeswitching**

For the scope of this study, intersentential codeswitching is differentiated from intrasentential codeswitching by mainly two structural criteria. First of all, intersentential codeswitching comprises grammatically complete English sentences that occur as optional clauses in longer German matrix sentences. Secondly, intersentential codeswitching is evident when English phrasal units are embedded between separate typographically bounded German sentences. In the latter case, the existence of typographic sentence boundaries (e.g. periods, question marks, exclamation marks) turns structural completeness of the English phrase into an optional criterion. As far as the typographical integration of intersentential codeswitching in longer German matrix sentences is concerned, colons or hyphens function as the primary means of embedding the English sentences in the German matrix frame. The following

examples illustrate these different manifestations of intersentential codeswitching in the corpus:

- (224) ...*darüber blinkte vergangene Woche schon mal die Werbung eines Web-Portals: „Shop 'Til You Drop!“, kauf bis du fällst – oder dich fallen lässt.* (9/184)  
[...above that the advertisement of a web gateway flashed last week, “Shop ‘til you drop!”, (German translation) – or make yourself drop.]
- (225) *Leser meiner Generation wollen unterhalten werden: Entertain me.*  
(21/110)  
[Readers of my generation would like to be entertained: Entertain me.]
- (226) *Vielmehr strebe es, immer schon, nach Macht und Reichtum – Diamonds are a girl's best friend.* (30/81)  
[In fact, as at all times, she goes for power and wealth – Diamonds are a girl's best friend.]
- (227) *Man begehrst die Begierde. „Desire is a fuzzy matrix.“ Soll heißen: Verlangen ist eine füsselige Substanz.* (27/145)  
[One desires desire. “Desire is a fuzzy matrix.” This should mean: Desire is a linty substance.]
- (228) *Olympia? Forget it, man.* (37/214)  
[The Olympic games? Forget it, man.]

Despite different typographical marking, intersentential codeswitching shares some similar functions with clausal intrasentential codeswitching. The separation between clausal intrasentential codeswitching and intersentential codeswitching is primarily tied to the structural criterion of whether the sentential unit is grammatically obligatory in a German matrix sentence or not.

Generally less numerous than clausal intrasentential codeswitching, intersentential codeswitching mainly occurs as quotation, which takes the general functions of emphasis and summarizing comments in the corpus. In (229), for example, an English proverb initiates a reader's response to the question of cultural integration in Germany:

- (229) „*When in Rome, do as the Romans do.*“ *Dieses englische Sprichwort drückt eine Binsenweisheit aus:...* (46/14)  
[“When in Rome, do as the Romans do.” This English proverb expresses a truism:...]

While (229) is produced by a German author and is devoid of indicators of contextual or textual facilitation, the majority of intersentential code-switches represent the original voice of an English speaker:

- (230) *Allen voran natürlich der über den Grundkonflikt des Mafia-Bosses und Familienvaters Tony Soprano: „If one family won't kill him, his other one will.“* (10/127)  
 [First of all, of course, the one about the basic conflict of the mafia boss and father Tony Soprano: “If one family won’t kill him, his other one will.”]
- (231) *Eine Fortsetzung der Geschichte sollte es nur geben, wenn mindestens 75 Prozent von ihnen den Tribut an ihn entrichten würden: „If you pay, the story rolls. If you don't, the story folds.“* (45/294)  
 [The story will only continue if at least 75 percent of them would pay tribute to the author: “If you pay, the story rolls. If you don’t, the story folds.”]
- (232) *Ein Präsident, der seinen selbstzerstörerischen Zug nie besiegen konnte und von dem vor allem ein Satz in Erinnerung bleiben wird: „I did not have sexual relations with that woman.“* (45/250)  
 [A president, who could never conquer his self-destructive trait and of whom one sentence will particularly remain in memory: “I did not have sexual relations with that woman.”]
- (233) *Und der ließ mitten im SPIEGEL-Gespräch Ellison einen Zettel reichen: „The president wants to chat with you, from 4:20 to 4:25.“* (45/3)  
 [And in the middle of the interview with Spiegel, he had a message delivered to Ellison: “The president wants to chat with you, from 4:20 to 4:25.”]
- (234) *Unter der Cheops-Pyramide hat er jüngst ein verborgenes Gangsystem aufgespürt, den „Osiris-Schacht“ – und gleich wieder geschlossen: „No time to excavate.“* (24/224)  
 [Below the pyramid of Cheops he had recently found a hidden system of corridors, the “tunnel of Osiris” – and immediately closed it again: “No time to excavate.”]

To briefly comment on the origin of the codeswitches, (230) is a statement describing the dilemma of a mafia boss in a US TV series; (231) is a quotation from a webpage where Stephen King is selling a novel in instalments; (232) and (233) feature former US President Bill Clinton’s words, and (234) contains the reaction of an Egyptian archaeologist. Examples (230-233) are contextually linked to an American

background, and (234) is another instance of the role of English as an international language.

According to the structural characteristic of intersentential codeswitching, the English clauses occur as non-obligatory additions to the contents expressed in the German matrix sentence. This position allows the codeswitches to elucidate information contained in the German sentence (in particular 230, 232, 233), to create an authentic impression of the actual scene (all examples but least important in 231), and to emphasize the previously made point in the German sentence (particularly 231 and 234). In detail, the segment *vor allem ein Satz in Erinnerung bleiben wird* ('particularly one sentence will remain in memory') flags the importance of the following codeswitch in (232); example (233) features the message of the president's note (*Zettel*), and (234) explains, in the voice of the archaeologist, why the excavation site was swiftly closed again (*und gleich wieder geschlossen*). The codeswitch in (231) gains perceptual salience due to its parallel conditional construction and end rhyme.

In a similar manner as clausal intrasentential codeswitching, a couple of intersentential codeswitches express emotional reactions of English speakers.

- (235) „*Wenn man die 1 Meter 20 auf 1 Meter 80 großen Frauenkörper sieht,“ so Lew Lillian, Chef des Plakatierungsunternehmens, „diese entsetzlich von Narben entstellten Frauenkörper – das ist nichts für die Öffentlichkeit. It’s too shocking.“ (8/312)*

[“If, on 1 meter and 80 centimeters, you see the 1 meter 20 centimeters tall women’s bodies”, says Lew Lillian, head of the billposting company, “these terrible scars on the women’s bodies – this is not meant for the public eye. It’s too shocking.”]

- (236) *Und eins seiner häufigsten Worte im Gespräch klingt mir im slawischen Sound des polnischen Immigranten in den Ohren: „My friend ... it makes me too emotional.“ (11/263)*

[And one of his most frequent words during the talk sounds in my ears in the Slavic tone of the polish immigrant: “My friend ... it makes me too emotional.”]

- (237) *Livingstone ist eine Viertelstunde zu spät und schimpft über die heruntergekommene U-Bahn, über die sich auch die meisten Londoner endlos empören können: „Bloody tube!“ (18/186)*

[Livingstone is fifteen minutes late and complains about the derelict underground transportation about which also most of the Londoners endlessly grumble: “Bloody tube!”]

(235) is another example of a longer quotation of an English speaker which is partially translated into German (cf. 174-176, 198). As in some of the examples discussed before, the more complex content of the speaker's utterance is expressed in German while the switched segment appears as syntactically and lexically simple English. The copulative clause *It's too shocking* represents the core of the speaker's statement. By retaining the authentic voice the phrase also radiates a culturally tinted undertone. Thus, the public dismay to a poster campaign of the American Breast Cancer fund is stressed as typical for the American cultural and ideological context whereas such a reaction would not be as likely in Germany where images of exposed bodies are less tabooed in the media and the public.

Cultural iconicity is also evident in (237). In this case, the mention of the tube creates a specific reference frame which is adequately filled with a typical British swear word to complement the image of a Londoner blaming underground transportation for his late arrival. In line with earlier occurrences of English swear words (cf. 188, 189) *bloody* bears less drastic connotations than a German translational equivalent. Euphemism is at the core of a few other intersentential codeswitches in the newsmagazine:

- (238) *Shit happens. Shit sells: als „Big Brother“-Spiel und -T-Shirt, -CD und -Video.* (21/274)  
[*Shit happens. Shit sells: as “Big Brother”-game and -T-shirt, -CD and -video.*]
  
- (239) „*Wenn es wahr ist, was hier übersetzt wurde, dann sieht es nicht so gut aus bei den nächsten Wahlen – if you ever really said all this shit.“ Gabriel blieb gelassen.* (41/293)  
[“*If it is true what was translated here, then it doesn't look very good for the next elections – if you ever really said all this shit.” Gabriel remained calm.*]

While in (239) the utterance of an American software specialist is only partly translated leaving the swear phrase in the original, example (238) demonstrates the productive use of English expletives in German. A complete translation in (239) is avoided because the more stigmatized German term would mar the ironic implications of the passage. A similar effect is achieved in (238) where the English swear words hint at the commercial success of the low quality TV series “Big Brother”. A combination of lexical (*Big Brother*) and discourse domanial (lifestyle) factors seems to have facilitated this author based code-switch.

Similar to the function of the codeswitches in (230-234), the English clauses in (238) and (239) take the role of summarizing comments which encapsulate acute observations and generally serve to highlight the contents expressed in adjacent German phrases. This purpose is also prevalent in a few other author-induced and mediated intersentential codeswitches:

- (240) ...*die in drei Nächten mit viel Dosenbier ein neues zusammendichten mussten: 960 Dollar. Als Zuschauer gibt man bald auf, in diesem Chaos von Dialogkadavern und klinisch toten Anschlüssen nach einem Sinn zu suchen und spürt nur noch einer Frage nach: Show me the money, wo ist das Geld?* (21/272)

[...who, in three nights drinking lots of beer from the can, had to come up with a new one: 960 Dollars. As a viewer, you soon quit looking for sense in this chaos of carcassed dialogues and clinically dead leads and just want to find out about one question: Show me the money; where is the money?]

- (241) *Jüngst noch postulierte das so genannte popkulturelle Quintett fünf aufstrebender Jungautoren („Tristessee Royale“), das Ende der lustigen Fahnenstange sei erreicht: „Irony is over“;* (23/111)

[Recently, the so called pop-cultural quintet of five upcoming young authors (“Tristessee Royale”) posited that the end of the funny turn was reached: “Irony is over”:]

In (240) *Show me the money* underlines the essential opinion of the author in a critical article on a Hollywood movie whose quality falls far short of the money spent in the production process. The switch into English is supported lexically by the mention of the Dollar and is contextually framed by reference to the Hollywood movie industry.

The summarizing comment *Irony is over* in (241) is integrated as a quotation that is preceded by a German idiomatic paraphrase (*das Ende der lustigen Fahnenstange sei erreicht*). Thematically, the codeswitch fits into the anglicism prone discourse domain of entertainment and lifestyle; structurally, it is a further example of a simple copulative clause, which is also lexically transparent due to near equivalence of E. *irony* and G. *Ironie* and because of the integration of *over* as a segment of other phrasal anglicisms in the German lexicon (*Game over, over and out*).

In a few instances, intersentential codeswitching as author-induced summarizing comments plays upon intertextual references. Well-known chorus lines of English pop songs serve as the main mediators of intertextual implication in the newsmagazine as in (226), (242), and (243):

- (242) *Ist nicht die Überschreitungssucht der Camus- und Bataille-Helden (und dazu Castorfs schlechte Laune) auf genau diesen öden Popnenner zu bringen – I can't get no satisfaction? (2/181)*  
 [Is not the addiction to transgress of Camus and Bataille's heroes (and in addition Castorf's bad mood) to be precisely reduced to this bleak pop message – I can't get no satisfaction?]
- (243) *Oops! She did it again! Sie hat 80 Minuten gesungen und getanzt, ihre Hüften geschwenkt und ihren Bauchnabel vorgeführt... (45/196)*  
 [Oops! She did it again! She sang and danced for 80 minutes, moved her hips, and showed her belly button...]

Since frequent exposure can turn lyrics of popular English songs into lexicalized phrases in the mind of a German speaker, their dependence on facilitational cues is generally reduced. In (242), for example, the famous chorus line of a Rolling Stones song lacks standard facilitational links. The phrase functions as a summarizing comment underlining the banality of a German theatre performance. A few sentences before the codeswitch, the author associates a stage prop with a symbol of the Rock band (a protruding tongue). This associative link paves the way for the stylistically congruous codeswitch. In (243) the author modulates the original line of a hit song by Britney Spears (“Oops! I did it again!”). Its salient textual function as the title of an article serves the purpose of playfully indicating the topic.

The last example indicates that English phrases can be generated or altered to fit certain communicative purposes. A recurrent pattern, for example, is the blending of English and German into larger phrasal units for humorous effects, so called “Filser-Englisch” (cf. previous mention in (6), (32), and (33)). These hybrid sentential units are generally applied to ridicule the insufficient English competence of a German speaker and thus represent a type of interlanguage. In order to collectively discuss the various humorous implications of English codeswitches, the following discussion merges examples of intrasentential and intersentential codeswitching from the corpus.

- (244) *Auch McDonald's, das große Einfallstor für Amerikanismen aller Art, persifliert sich selbst mit Sprüchen wie „Please do not klecker auf your Hose“ oder „About this Frühstücksei lachen ja the chickens“. (44/244)*  
 [Also McDonald's, the huge port of entry for all kinds of americanisms, makes fun about itself with expressions like “Please do not spot your pants” or (literally:) “even the chickens laugh about this breakfast egg.”]

- (245) *Er erzählte, mit imitiertem osteuropäischen Akzent, Belanglosigkeiten, die keine Pointen hatten. Schließlich sagte er: „Tenk you veddy much.“* (19/256)  
 [Imitating an Eastern-European accent, he told trivia which did not have a punch line. Finally, he said: "Tenk you veddy much."]
- (246) *Waigel bedankte sich artig in bestem Filser-Englisch „For your friendly letter thank I you very much ... I will take it after house and I will read it at Easter.“ [next sentence:] ...beantwortete der ehemalige CSU-Vorsitzende in gekonntem Kauderwelsch „What you about the next chancellor and his finance-minister said, can I only for my part answer, namely that I surely not more finance-minister be will. Heartley greetings and joyful Easter. Your true Theo.“* (16/284)  
 [Waigel thanked [him] properly in his best Filser-English "I thank you very much for your friendly letter ... I will take it home with me and will read it at Easter." [next sentence:] ...the former head of the CSU answered in fluent gibberish. "To what you said about the next chancellor and his finance minister I can only answer that I certainly won't be finance minister any more. Kind greetings and happy Easter holidays. Yours, Theo."]
- (247) *Lübke hatte nach der Unterkunft deutscher Stahlwerker gefragt: „How are they undercome?“* (33/52)  
 [Lübke had asked about the accommodation of the German steel workers, "How is their accommodation?" ]
- (248) *In übermütiger Stimmung meldeten sie sich beim Offizier vom Dienst und erklärten ihm in ihrem unbeholfenen Englisch: „This is our high time!“* (42/108)  
 [In an exultant mood, they reported to the officer of the day and explained to him in clumsy English, "This is our wedding!" ]

In (244-248) the humorous implications arise on various linguistic levels. While in (244) the imperative clause *Please do not klecker auf your Hose* is set in an English matrix frame with German lexical substitutions, the following phrase *About this Frühstücksei lachen ja the chickens* is an inverted version (German matrix frame with English lexical substitutions). The ridiculous effect of the alternation of English and German elements is due to their mixing within a syntactic unit (e.g. a VP with German verb and English negation, *do not klecker*, or an NP consisting of English determiner and German noun, *this Frühstücksei*). Additionally, partial lexical substitution of an idiomatic phrase (*lachen ja the chickens* → G. *da lachen ja die Hühner*) causes the German idiomatic meaning to fall apart and leave a mere trace of the original.

In (245) the amusing tinge lies on the level of phonology. Thus, the deviant spelling of the English phrase *Tenk you veddy much* should indicate the Slavic accent of the speaker. Examples (246-248) are canonical types of “Filser-Englisch”. These passages evoke a humorous perception based on a mixture of semantic, structural, and lexically productive features. As a common characteristic, the underlying word order of the hybrid clauses is German while the individual slots of the German sentence structure are relexified by English literal translations. Thus, marked word order of English items is combined with translational equivalents which fail to achieve referential adequacy (e.g. G. *Hochzeit* – lit. high time, meaning ‘wedding’; G. *nach Hause nehmen* – lit. after house take, meaning ‘to take home’). Literal translation can also lead to lexical creations which do not exist in Standard English, as in *heartley* for *heartily* or *undercome* from G. *untergebracht* meaning ‘accommodated’.

Apart from the humorous connotation generated by structural and lexical semantic friction between English and German, the corpus contains a few more examples of bilingual puns and wordplays. Their amusing effect arises from a bilingual interpretation of German and English lexical items, i.e. from double meaning based on the simultaneous activation of German and English readings of a term.

- (249) *Mit schwerem Wintergerät schoben 800 Mann der Berliner Stadtreinigung („We kehr for you“)...* (29/46)  
[Using heavy winter equipment, 800 workers of the Berlin sanitation department (“We [keəf] ‘sweep’ for you”) pushed...]
- (250) *Tatsächlich hatten Marktforschungen ergeben, dass die Wochenzeitung zwar als „Bastion“ gegen den Zeitgeist geschätzt werde, andererseits aber nicht viel zu sagen habe, da sie nicht mit der Zeit gegangen sei. Out of time? Eine Umfrage über das Image deutscher Presseprodukte bestätigte: Nur 20 Prozent sahen die „Zeit“ als Blatt mit Zukunft.* (48/131)  
[In fact, market research has shown that the weekly newspaper is indeed rated as a bastion against zeitgeist, and that it is not able to say a lot for its failure of being up to date. Out of time? A survey about the image of German press publications confirmed that only 20 percent saw “Zeit” as a newspaper that will continue to exist in the future.]
- (251) *Und scherzten. „Are you coming“, rief Callie Strydom, als er mit Monique runter zum Fluss wollte. „You know I haven’t been coming for weeks“, rief sie zurück.* (52/156)

[And joked. “Are you coming”, called Callie Strydom when he wanted to go down to the river with Monique. “You know I haven’t been coming for weeks”, she called back.]

In (249) double meaning is created by an interplay of phonology and orthography. While homophony of English *care* and the German verb stem *kehr* ('sweep') primarily activates the English meaning in the environment of the English codeswitch, orthographical form of German *kehr* emphasizes a German interpretation. Homophony between the expected English term in the codeswitch and its German substitute is vital for the pun, which is why proper phrase internal inflection of the German verb stem (1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl.: *kehren*) is blocked.

The bilingual pun in (250) is based on the usage of the English translational equivalent *time* for German *Zeit*. The codeswitch *out of time* follows the idiomatic German phrase *nicht mit der Zeit gehen* (lit. ‘not to go with time’, sense ‘not to be up to date’) and expresses the possible consequence for the future of the German newspaper. Thus, the English phrase evokes a meaning of termination which is implicatively linked to the German newspaper by virtue of translational equivalence between the name of the newspaper (*‘Zeit’*) and English *time*.

In (251) the wordplay on the double meaning of the English verb *come* relies on proper interpretation in the German context. In order to alleviate the recognition of the pun in the codeswitches, the author anticipates the jest by introducing the English conversational turn with the phrase *Und scherzen* ('and joked'). From a bilingual perspective, the identification of paronomasia is also facilitated due to parallel semantic ambiguity of English *come* and its German equivalent *kommen*.

In sum, the majority of intersentential codeswitching in *Der Spiegel* appears as grammatically complete English sentences that are embedded as structurally optional clauses in a German matrix sentence. To a lesser extent intersentential codeswitching occurs in the format of typographically bounded sentences in between separate German clauses. As far as their origin is concerned, intersentential codeswitches are for the most part author mediated with only a few examples generated by the author (cf. 225, 228, 229, 238, 240, 250). In structural terms, the English sentences tend to be built of simple lexical items arranged in copulative constructions. As such, they generally function as summarizing comments that frequently emphasize the contents expressed in the German discourse segments. On a more fine-grained level of analysis, intersentential codeswitching can express authentic emotional reactions which are sometimes shrouded in euphemism (cf. 237). Furthermore,

codeswitches act as cultural icons (cf. 235, 237), as intertextual referents, as in the example of lyrics taken from famous English songs (cf. 226, 242, 243), and as elements of humor. The recognition of the latter is dependent on the bilingual competence of a German reader on various linguistic levels (syntax, phonology, and semantics).

Since the bulk of intersentential codeswitching is based on quotation of an English speaker, these codeswitches generally happen in an Anglo-American contextual frame. This context can also stimulate author-induced intersentential codeswitching as examples (228), (238), and (240) show. In (238) and (240) lexical items complement contextual facilitation of the codeswitches. The discourse domain of modern lifestyle and trends appears as a further facilitational factor for intersentential codeswitching (cf. 225, 227, 238, 241). Specific discourse functions as intertextual reference, euphemism, and as bilingual puns can stimulate individual cases of intersentential codeswitching in the corpus.

Altogether, the chapter on anglicisms as instances of written codeswitching in *Der Spiegel* has established a differentiation into phrasal borrowing, single-word codeswitching, intrasentential codeswitching, and intersentential codeswitching. While the first two types emphasize the transitional nature between borrowing and codeswitching, intrasentential and intersentential types follow an interpretation of codeswitching as the occurrence of sentential units in a matrix language. According to their structural shape in a written medium, a further division into phrasal and clausal intrasentential codeswitching and typographically integrated and separate intersentential codeswitching is necessary. On the whole these types form a continuum from deep structural embedding (phrasal intrasentential) to structurally autonomous embedding (typographically separated, autonomous intersentential codeswitching; cf. Onysko 2006).

In correspondence with their different degrees of structural embedding, the individual functions of the various types of codeswitching allow for a few generalizations across the spectrum of written codeswitching in *Der Spiegel*. First of all, the structurally most integrated type of phrasal intrasentential codeswitching appears least often in the corpus and shows the most inhomogeneous and predominantly peripheral syntactic functions. Clausal intrasentential and integrated intersentential codeswitching represent the most numerous types of written codeswitching. Functionally, they overlap as quotations (including euphemistic and emotional utterances), but they also occupy diverse niches as mottos (intrasentential) and summarizing comments for pur-

poses of emphasis (intersentential). While sharing the functions of summarizing comments with its sister type, autonomous intersentential codeswitching is particularly prolific in framing bilingual puns.

The degree of structural embedding is also reflected in the existence of possible facilitational criteria in the vicinity of the codeswitch. Thus, phrasal intrasentential codeswitching shows strong links to lexical and contextual facilitators which often apply in combination. Lexical facilitation is generally less pronounced in intersentential codeswitching than in intrasentential codeswitching while Anglo-American discourse context is prominent across the board. Again in line with the degree of structural embedding, autonomous intersentential codeswitching appears as most independent from obvious facilitational criteria and can merely be motivated by discourse domain and specific stylistic functions (e.g. bilingual wordplay).

Since in bilingual and multilingual contexts of spoken language use codeswitching is often found in contact scenarios of ongoing language shift and language loss<sup>5</sup>, the question arises whether written codeswitching as evident in *Der Spiegel* can be interpreted as a sign of increasing English influence and, to use a term of the more emotionally tinted discourse about anglicisms in German, as possible endangerment of German. Based on similar logic as used in the postulation of a structural cline of borrowability (cf. Field 2002: 117, Chapter 3.4), Myers-Scotton advances two hypotheses which describe the hierarchy of occurrence of codeswitching (as EL islands):

1. The more peripheral a constituent is to the theta-grid of the sentence (to its main arguments), the freer it is to appear as an EL island.
2. The more formulaic in structure a constituent is, the more likely it is to appear as an EL island. (1993: 144)

In terms of language stability in a contact scenario this means that syntactically peripheral and formulaic codeswitches do not really interfere with the structural system of the RL. They are embedded at save spots outside the structural core of a sentence, or they appear as sentential, nearly lexicalized expressions in RL based discourse. In other words, peripheral codeswitches and formulaic codeswitches epitomize a stable contact scenario in which the RL remains structurally

5 Cf. the discussion on immigrant languages in Australia, Clyne 2003, 2001 and Pütz 1994. For other examples of codeswitching/mixing cf. Myers-Scotton 2002, and Muysken 2000. For a general discussion on the relationship of codeswitching and language shift see Thomason 2001.

intact, i.e. stable, while SL codeswitching primarily provides peripheral information, emphasizes given information, and functions as stylistic ornaments.

As far as the data on codeswitching in *Der Spiegel* is concerned, the results confirm the stability of the German language since the vast majority of codeswitches are peripheral to the syntactic core of the German matrix clause and exhibit formulaic traits. As obligatory elements within the basic syntactic structure of a German clause, phrasal intrasentential codeswitches merely occur as copulative complements (cf. 174-179) and to a lesser extent in the position of grammatical objects (cf. 190, 191). Despite being part of the basic sentence structure, these codeswitches do not interfere with the syntactic projections of the German construction but function as stative descriptors and nominals. The remainder of phrasal intrasentential codeswitching functions as peripheral elements such as appositions, adverbial phrases, and nominal complements.

Clausal intrasentential codeswitching is mainly formulaic in its manifestations as quotations and as mottos. Independent from a direct source of an English speaker, mottos involve concise English syntactic units. They emerge as nearly lexicalized catch phrases and thus emphasize the formulaic nature of the codeswitch (cf. 210-220). Similar to clausal intrasentential codeswitching, intersentential codeswitching involves quotations which are loosely connected as non-obligatory additions to German sentences or which alternate with German phrases. Intersentential codeswitches appear as closed syntactic units which do not interfere with German sentence structures. Contextually, they are linked to elements in the German environment to which they add further information and emphasis. Thus, from the findings in the corpus, codeswitching emerges as a regular process that tends to take a structurally peripheral position in German texts and accommodates to the systemic make-up of the German language. The integrity of German is only put to test in the example of an artificially created hybrid ("Filser-Englisch"), solely applied for reasons of humor.

## **12. Conclusion – The impact of anglicisms and its implications for the future of German**

The various specific findings and arguments have been summarized throughout the individual chapters. What is still pending is a synthesis of the main claims to underline the general implications of anglicisms in German and to provide a solid base for further research and discussions on the topic. Furthermore, the conclusion will tie together some of the loose strands briefly mentioned at different points throughout the book concerning the reasons why anglicisms occur in German.

The present study sets out with a theoretical discussion of terminology and concepts used in the field of language contact which have given rise to ongoing controversy and have led to diverse theoretical positions in research on anglicisms in German. By arguing along a Saussurean belief in the arbitrary relation of form and meaning in the linguistic unit, a basic separation can be drawn between borrowing and conceptual transmission without SL-form. While the former accounts for the transmission of linguistic units, the latter pertains to calques, which appear as conceptually induced creations in the RL. To put these claims in a broader perspective, a variety of theoretical stances are discussed in terms of their applicability for a contact scenario of English and German. As part of the analytical frame of this study, the phenomena of hybrid creations and the coining of pseudo English words in German are interpreted as signs of the lexical productivity of English elements in German.

As far as diachronic aspects of anglicisms in German are concerned, an etymological discussion of a few commonly used putative borrowings shows the limited application of etymological knowledge for the classification of anglicisms. Accordingly, within its own restrictions, an approach to the identification of loan influences is put forward that assigns word form primary relevance over etymological criteria. Contrary to the truism that diachronic persistence of a borrowed form will lead to gradual adaptation in the RL, *Der Spiegel* provides evidence that English words resist orthographical integration in German today. This is emphasized by the occurrence of individual examples of reversing orthographical assimilation from <k> to <c>. Thus, sweeping statements about assimilation as a logical consequence of borrowing need to be differentiated in view of the separate representational levels of phonology, orthography, and morphology.

At the end of Part I, the relevant theoretical claims are incorporated into a model of transmission from SL to RL that explains the current

influence of English on German as an example of a contact situation between subdominant SL and dominant RL. Further research will show to what extent the model is capable of holding general implications for the present role of English as a global language, i.e. as a donor of language material to stable language communities world-wide. In line with the model, a definition of the term anglicism can be deduced which acknowledges a core area of anglicism (borrowing, codeswitching, hybrid forms, and pseudo-English forms) and a borderline area of anglicism (unmarked lexical borrowing and interference). This theoretical backbone serves as a point of departure for the ensuing corpus analysis.

Following an introduction of the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* in light of its socio-demographic impact and possible role in the dissemination of anglicisms in German, Part II provides an overview of the methodological considerations that arise in a computer-aided corpus analysis. The approach taken in this study could serve as a guideline for future investigations in the field. In general, methodological clarity in research on anglicisms is indispensable to facilitate cross-study comparisons, to allow individual researchers to combine their forces, and, thus, to create a more comprehensive picture on the influence of English on German.

The remainder of Part II features the numerical results of the corpus analysis. Overall, the frequency of anglicisms is low with 5.80% of all the types and 1.11% of all the tokens in the corpus. In terms of the total number of anglicisms (16,663 types), merely 5% appear ten times and more often while 71% occur merely once in *Der Spiegel 2000*. These figures indicate the productive use of anglicisms, which is particularly evident in the creation of hybrid compound nouns (75.94% of all the anglicism types). A comparison of the most frequently used matching anglicisms in 2000 and in the period from 1994 to 1999 shows a permanent increase of TF. Anglicisms from the field of computer and communication technology demonstrate the most pronounced increase during that period.

A detailed analysis of all the anglicisms with TF 3+ in the corpus confirms the general gist of studies on loan influences: Nominal borrowings predominate by far with 86.12% while adjectives and verbs amount to 5.64% and 5.49% respectively. This indicates that the current influence of English on German resembles a stable language contact scenario, in which English influence leads to an expansion of the German lexicon. An earlier study of anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* (Yang 1990) allows for a limited diachronic comparison of the numerical impact of anglicisms in the German newsmagazine from 1950 to 2000. The results show that the average number of anglicisms (tokens) per

*Spiegel*-page has approximately doubled. The recent increase from 1980, which marks the end of Yang's calculations, to the present study seems connected with the influx of anglicisms via the jargons of computer and communication technology and economy. These results confirm the often held belief about the constant increment of English in German. Even so, anglicisms continue to have a minimal numerical impact in the general German language of the newsmagazine in 2000 (advertisements not considered). In light of the generally non-restrictive attitude of *Der Spiegel* towards the use of English elements, the quantitative results of this study decisively deny popular assumptions that English is flooding the German language and undermines its integrity.

In order to investigate the integration of anglicisms into the system of the German language, Part III embarks on a structural analysis of the more consistently occurring anglicisms in the corpus (TF 3+). Basically, anglicisms can either converge to or diverge from German morphological conventions. Only in the latter case do English elements indicate a potential for inducing systemic changes in German.

Since many anglicisms represent neologisms and quite recent additions to the German language, they generally provide an opportunity to investigate the application of paradigmatic rules in German. The salient inflectional features for nominal anglicisms are gender, plural, and genitive case assignment. The gender question is particularly fascinating since the system of German gender has stimulated ongoing controversies in research. The current study applies insights from a principle and rule based approach to German gender (Steinmetz 1986, 2001, 2006) and integrates general semantic features of German gender classes (Bittner 2001). This combined approach indicates the relevance of a cognitive perspective on gender assignment of anglicisms in German (cf. Onysko 2006).

The occurrence of *-s* as the dominant plural suffix of anglicisms in German ties in with an understanding of *-s* as the regular German plural morpheme according to the Dual Mechanism Model (cf. Bartke et. al. 2005, Pinker 2000, Marcus et. al. 1995). However, the data also indicate that *-s* plural can be borrowed together with an English base. In addition, bilingual competence of German speakers can foster the occurrence of *-s* plural with English bases in German and can lead to a merger of the German and the English plural rule.

Since genitive is the only case that is regularly marked on the stem of masculine and neuter nouns in German, a scenario of convergence predicts that masculine and neuter anglicisms regularly inflect for genitive in German. In fact, a substantial number (28%) of anglicisms

used in the genitive resist regular stem inflection. Even the most frequently used anglicism in the corpus, *Internet*, has a tendency to remain uninflected in the genitive. As genitive is distinctively marked on the preceding determiner of a noun, stem inflection carries redundant information. It thus appears as if anglicisms, as neologisms in German, tend to diminish the redundancy of the overspecified genitive paradigm.

The numerical impact of nominal anglicisms, in particular of hybrid compound nouns, calls for an analysis of word formation patterns. In hybrid compound constructions, the majority of anglicisms occur in the determinant (specifier) position concomitant with their high degree of semantic specificity. Apart from specific nominal reference, determinant anglicisms can take the underlying role of participial and adjectival elements functioning as specifiers of nominal heads. Anglicisms as determinata, on the other hand, are characterized by their broad semantic scope which demands further specification according to presupposed semantic categories of the head noun (e.g. topic, purpose, participants, location, and duration). A couple of anglicisms occur in equal distribution as determinant and determinatum. These terms can function both as projectors of attributive meaning and as receptors of specification depending on the degree of semantic objectivization.

While marginal types of word formation (e.g. abbreviation, clipping, and blending) remain truly peripheral for the creation of anglicisms, affixation, in particular semi-affixation, is productive as nominal derivation of anglicisms in German. The affinity between semi-affixation and regular compounding emphasizes the general predilection of anglicisms to be derived by straightforward compounding. This is also evident in word formation processes of verbs and adjectives which are primarily derived by semi-affixes or unbound affixes. With verbal anglicisms, prefixes add diverse thematic and aspectual meanings to the bases. Similarly, adjectival anglicisms are derived by a variety of semi-suffixes which combine thematic features with denominal adjectival derivation. Overall, the derivational analysis shows that anglicisms regularly converge to German word formation patterns.

This impression is also largely confirmed for verbal and adjectival inflection. Some marginal exceptions arise in the sporadic retention of the English participial ending (*-ed*) when marking the same function in German and in the forms *goes*, *meets*, and *sells*, which keep their English inflection in a few simple catch phrases. Predicative adjectival anglicisms, which remain morphologically unmarked, are slightly more frequent in the corpus. Attributive adjectival anglicisms regularly take German inflectional endings with the exception of *happy*, *sexy*, and

*trendy*, where inflection is blocked for phonological reasons. Altogether, the general image of the overwhelming convergence of anglicisms to German word formation and inflectional conventions demonstrates the vitality of the German language, which easily integrates English language material into its own system.

The occurrence of English syntactic units, i.e. written codeswitching, is also regularly governed by structural conventions of German matrix structures and shows a pronounced tendency to appear outside the syntactic core of German clauses. Merely a few phrasal intrasentential codeswitches function as structurally obligatory constituents within a German syntactic core (SVO). These examples basically act as copulative complements or, in two instances, as direct objects. The vast majority of codeswitching involves self-contained English sentential units which are integrated as intersentential and clausal intrasentential codeswitches. Intersententially, codeswitching mainly involves structurally non-obligatory quotations and a few stylized creations. Intrasententially, clausal quotations occur as obligatory elements in German matrix sentences and are overtly flagged by reporting and emotive verbs or by nominal labels as in the examples of mottos. The use of English for mottos also highlights the general tendency of code-switching to entail simple lexical items in straightforward English syntactic structures, which function as catch phrases, summarizing comments, and textual ornaments in German matrix structures. The final chapter of Part III uncovers strong ties between source speaker, context, and the occurrence of English codeswitching in German. In addition, discourse topic, lexical items, and specific functions (e.g. bilingual puns) seem to facilitate the event of English codeswitching in the corpus.

On a general level, the question of why anglicisms appear in German has only been touched upon at different stages in the study but not discussed as a separate subject. Thus, the concluding chapter will briefly reconsider some of the criteria previously mentioned (e.g. Chapter 3, footnote 6) and put them into a larger framework of factors that could motivate the use of anglicisms in German. A couple of studies have addressed this issue before (cf. Hilgendorf 1996, Schelper 1995, Yang 1990). Many of their claims relate to Galinsky's work on "Stylistic Aspects of Linguistic Borrowing" (1963). Hilgendorf discusses Galinsky's functional areas of anglicisms in German as "(1) conveying an American atmosphere or setting; (2) precision; (3) creating or facilitating intentional disguise/euphemism; (4) brevity; (5) metaphorical translations to produce vividness in language; (6) comic or playful

touch, satire; (7) variation of expression." (1996: 6). A variety of these functions indeed characterize the use of anglicisms in this study (cf. in particular Chapter 11). The approach briefly outlined in the following incorporates these stylistic factors in a framework of communicative needs, which arise from the interplay between the micro-level of the individual communicative situation and the macro-level of general parameters of English and German language contact.

On the micro-level, communicative needs are basically fuelled by denotative needs (e.g. anglicisms as specific *denotata* lacking German equivalents) and connotative needs (e.g. emotional implications entailed in the use of anglicisms). More generally, the latter could be termed the *aura of English in German*, which radiates a variety of connotations such as education, modernity (cf. the use of anglicisms by the German chancellor in an article on the "New Economy", ex. (75), (76)), invention, cosmopolitanism, wealth, and power (cf. the metacomment on English as the language of the winners, ex. (199)). These connotational flavors relate to the preferred use of anglicisms in the discourse topics of current lifestyle, trends, (modern) sports, economics, and computer and communication technology. Anglicisms are also stimulated by denotative needs in these areas. This generally indicates that denotative and connotative reasons interact and can vary for the same anglicism according to the communicative intention of the speaker. A further stimulating factor for the occurrence of anglicisms that draws from both denotative and connotative aspects can be subsumed as the ornamental characteristic of anglicisms in German. This is evident in variation of expression, contextualization, bilingual puns, intertextual references, and emphasis by means of exoticism, summarizing comments, and catch phrases. Since any of these factors can stimulate the selection of an anglicism in an individual communicative act, an investigation into the reasons for the occurrence of an anglicism demands a specific analysis of its usage context. Essentially, the incidence of an anglicism in German is tied to the psycholinguistic state of a speaker's mental lexicon and her motivation for lexical selection.

The various facilitators for the use of anglicisms on the micro-level operate on a macro-level of general parameters of the contact situation between English and German. These parameters define the background of the use of anglicisms in German on basically three tiers:

- (1) Socio-psychological parameters of the contact situation (e.g. a role model effect of the Anglo-American LC in the German LC based on a perceived imbalance in economic wealth and political power, or the historical burden of Germany which counteracts tendencies of Germanization in language)
- (2) Socio-cultural parameters of the contact situation (e.g. educational policies which aim for increased levels of bilingualism of L1 German speakers in L2 English. The higher the competence in the L2 the more pronounced are the preconditions for transmissions from English to German.)
- (3) Language systemic parameters of the contact situation (e.g. the typological distance of the languages in contact and word formal factors of language representation. English and German share similar systems of lexical structure and representation and exhibit a high degree of lexical similarities which can promote transmissions between the languages.)

Altogether, reasons for the occurrence of anglicisms in German are based on an interaction of denotative and connotative needs, which arise on the basis of fundamental parameters pertaining to the contact situation between English and German. Further research into this theoretical outline for the use of anglicisms in German seems necessary in order to delineate the various needs and show their interaction in different communicative situations. Such an endeavour should take into account recent developments in psycholinguistic modelling of lexical selection (cf. Broersma and De Boot 2006, Costa, La Heij, et.al. 2006). Furthermore, an understanding of the motivations for the use of anglicisms in German could be integrated into the present model of transmission from English to German (cf. Chapter 6.2, Figure 13). This would further substantiate the theoretical underpinning of English influence on German.

The remarks on the possible stimuli for the use of anglicisms bring the present investigation of anglicisms in German to a close. According to the results, German stands undisputed in its integrity on the lexical and structural level, contrary to often heard concerns among the more emotionally led debate about the influence of English on German. The current development of increasing internationalization and mobility and, within Europe, further expansion of the European Union will probably strengthen the position of English as an international language and continue to promote English competence of German speakers. For the future of the German language, it would thus seem necessary to encourage multilingual sensibility and conscious language choice in

German speakers in order to strengthen German on a local level. This could be promoted, for example, by implementing language awareness in curricula of language classes, which should make English accessible as a separate mode of expression with particular communicative usages (e.g. for international relations) in addition to German. A restrictive approach to the use of English, however, could potentially backlash since German would acquire a taste of an institutionalized and static language, no longer adequate to meet the current means of communicating. Reasonable pride in the German language should be guided by a belief in the openness and vitality of German which, as the study shows, proves easily capable of processing new lexical influences from other language cultural areas. As such, German will continue to be a language in bloom.



## 13. Appendices

**Appendix 1:** Token frequency (unfiltered) per year (1994 to 2000) of the most frequent matching anglicisms

Anglicism	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Sum
<i>Internet</i>	193	305	794	508	912	1520	2168	6400
<i>Film</i>	1411	1300	1206	1352	1472	1409	1168	9318
<i>Computer</i>	612	547	552	581	699	706	872	4569
<i>Interview</i>	564	606	589	622	523	597	692	4193
<i>Manager</i>	711	582	693	671	616	677	676	4626
<i>Action</i>	163	348	294	329	370	449	549	2502
<i>Job</i>	423	407	467	504	477	633	549	3460
<i>Reporter</i>	112	135	76	166	276	430	440	1635
<i>Trends</i>	141	135	139	189	203	323	365	1495
<i>Image</i>	183	190	209	214	219	263	305	1583
<i>Handy</i>	17	80	80	99	165	212	301	954
<i>Software</i>	213	150	157	141	258	258	409	1586
<i>Trainer</i>	348	318	321	241	338	233	304	2103
<i>Filme</i>	329	306	244	266	324	357	289	2115
<i>Online</i>	53	91	140	108	229	350	438	1409
<i>Stars</i>	209	235	226	256	286	316	298	1826
<i>Fans</i>	194	203	232	237	222	249	257	1594
<i>Start</i>	172	176	233	238	231	315	286	1651
<i>Club</i>	104	82	74	202	226	248	272	1208
<i>Trend</i>	152	122	165	177	171	191	237	1215
<i>Team</i>	216	181	257	209	265	302	308	1738
<i>Star</i>	256	318	319	334	368	457	390	2442
<i>Jobs</i>	188	176	272	264	283	254	268	1705
<i>Deal</i>	78	133	113	118	139	173	206	960
<i>Show</i>	192	190	208	188	210	302	312	1602
<i>E-Mail</i>	38	21	152	177	457	653	800	2298
<i>PC</i>	191	131	117	94	214	216	174	1137
<i>Handys</i>	6	24	33	61	77	100	164	465
<i>Boom</i>	101	84	89	96	84	105	155	714
<i>CD-Rom</i>	47	57	46	72	138	141	148	649
<i>Training</i>	96	104	81	101	97	105	145	729

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>1994</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>Sum</b>
<i>CD</i>	95	119	104	118	99	135	135	805
<i>Management</i>	168	132	129	148	142	185	158	1062
<i>Filmen</i>	147	128	140	141	162	157	134	1009
<i>Baby</i>	100	138	90	110	142	115	133	828
<i>Business</i>	59	60	122	95	84	109	132	661
<i>Interviews</i>	94	96	110	98	146	128	126	798
<i>Starten</i>	66	93	110	93	108	130	123	723
<i>Party</i>	86	87	100	136	109	140	139	797
<i>Films</i>	123	122	113	107	157	99	112	833
<i>Fit</i>	60	54	50	76	64	94	114	512
<i>Tests</i>	67	102	75	73	91	84	105	597
<i>Comeback</i>	90	83	96	69	98	100	100	636
<i>Live</i>	86	102	122	104	125	141	99	779
<i>Insider</i>	71	68	78	58	68	66	104	513
<i>Pop</i>	136	150	120	177	117	142	114	956
<i>Songs</i>	64	81	81	89	101	91	106	613
<i>Story</i>	85	105	91	97	115	124	129	746
<i>Startet</i>	72	47	66	58	79	94	95	511
<i>Stress</i>	87	67	63	81	61	40	95	494
<i>Okay</i>	43	48	61	51	65	63	94	425
<i>Testen</i>	54	64	56	71	59	64	93	461
<i>Cool</i>	55	55	57	63	91	54	96	471
<i>Teenager</i>	74	82	57	60	67	103	92	535
<i>Kids</i>	120	109	65	106	71	84	91	646
<i>Clubs</i>	7	6	8	67	103	141	90	422
<i>Getestet</i>	44	60	47	34	64	66	88	403
<i>Marketing</i>	62	58	53	53	61	109	108	504
<i>Teams</i>	73	46	54	70	75	80	101	499
<i>Startete</i>	57	44	61	64	46	88	84	444
<i>Computern</i>	73	57	63	51	50	71	83	448
<i>Designer</i>	67	47	27	52	69	89	83	434
<i>Tennis</i>	73	155	107	97	75	115	81	703
<i>Babys</i>	57	79	66	39	67	47	80	435
<i>Slogan</i>	53	47	69	41	74	59	80	423
<i>Fan</i>	49	46	44	57	56	66	77	395
<i>Killer</i>	105	119	99	103	105	65	79	675

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>1994</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>Sum</b>
<i>Cockpit</i>	48	47	64	47	55	53	71	385
<i>Crew</i>	44	37	71	55	52	62	66	387
<i>Flop</i>	66	52	48	56	48	46	65	381
<i>Trainiert</i>	38	49	54	41	53	66	65	366
<b>Sum</b>	<b>12725</b>	<b>12873</b>	<b>13665</b>	<b>14018</b>	<b>16021</b>	<b>18308</b>	<b>19965</b>	<b>93596</b>

## Appendix 2: Monosyllabic masculine anglicisms and their possible lexical equivalents in German

### (a) Gender of anglicism = gender of equivalent

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>German equivalent(s)</b>	<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>German equivalent(s)</b>
<i>der Beat</i>	der Schlag, der Takt	<i>der Kick</i>	der Tritt
<i>der Crash</i>	der Unfall, der Absturz	<i>der Point</i>	der Punkt
<i>der Court</i>	der Platz	<i>der Run</i>	der Lauf
<i>der Cup</i>	der Pokal	<i>der Slang</i>	der Jargon
<i>der Cut</i>	der Schnitt	<i>der Spleen</i>	der Tick
<i>der Drive</i>	der Antrieb	<i>der Sound</i>	der Klang
<i>der Fight</i>	der Kampf	<i>der Start</i>	der Beginn, der Anfang
<i>der Gag</i>	der Witz, der Einfall	<i>der Trash</i>	der Müll
<i>der Hoax</i>	der Scherz, der Jux		

### (b) Anglicisms without close equivalent

*der Boom, der Film, der Flow, der Smog, der Spot, der Sprint, der Stress*

### (c) Gender of German equivalents not masculine

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>German equivalent(s)</b>
<i>der Chat</i>	das Gespräch, die Unterhaltung
<i>der Clinch</i>	die Umklammerung
<i>der Code</i>	die Chiffre, die Kennzahl, das Kennzeichen
<i>der Colt</i>	die Pistole
<i>der Flirt</i>	die Anmache, das Gspusi
<i>der Jet</i>	das Flugzeug
<i>der Joint</i>	die Zigarette
<i>der Lunch</i>	das Mittagessen
<i>der Mix</i>	die Mischung, das Gemisch, das Durcheinander

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>German equivalent(s)</b>
<i>der Plot</i>	die Handlung, die Verschwörung
<i>der Pool</i>	das Bassin, das (Schwimm)becken
<i>der Slip</i>	die Unterhose
<i>der Slum</i>	das Armenviertel, das Elendsquartier, das Ghetto
<i>der Song</i>	das Lied
<i>der Speed</i>	die Geschwindigkeit
<i>der Take</i>	die Aufnahme
<i>der Test</i>	das Examen, die Prüfung
<i>der Trend</i>	die Entwicklung, die Tendenz

(d) Equivalents with mixed gender

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>German equivalent(s)</b>
<i>der Check</i>	der Stoß, der REMPLER, die Überprüfung
<i>der Chip</i>	die Marke, der Jeton
<i>der Claim</i>	die Anforderung, der Anspruch, die Reklamation
<i>der Clan</i>	die Sippe, der Stamm
<i>der Clip</i>	die Klemme; der Kurzfilm
<i>der Club</i>	der Verein, die Disco
<i>der Deal</i>	die Abmachung, das Abkommen, das Geschäft, der Handel
<i>der Flop</i>	das Fiasco, der Fehlschlag, der Reinfall
<i>der Fun</i>	die Freude, der Scherz, der Spaß
<i>der Hype</i>	der Rummel, die Begeisterung
<i>der Job</i>	die Arbeit, der Beruf
<i>der Look</i>	der Anblick, das Aussehen
<i>der Drink</i>	das Getränk, der Trank
<i>der Mob</i>	die Bande, das Gesindel, der Pöbel
<i>der Safe</i>	der Tresor, das Schließfach
<i>der Shop</i>	das Geschäft, der Laden, die Handlung
<i>der Talk</i>	das Gespräch, die Besprechung, der Vortrag
<i>der Thrill</i>	der Nervenkitzel, die Spannung
<i>der Touch</i>	der Hauch, das Flair
<i>der Trip</i>	der Ausflug, die Fahrt, die Reise
<i>der Way</i>	der Weg, die Bahn

**Appendix 3:** List of tagged zero plural anglicisms ending in *-er*

<i>Babyboomer</i>	<i>Entertainer</i>	<i>Manager</i>	<i>Server</i>
<i>Babysitter</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Shareholder</i>
<i>Barkeeper</i>	<i>Filmer</i>	<i>Mixer</i>	<i>Skater</i>
<i>Biker</i>	<i>Gangster</i>	<i>Newcomer</i>	<i>Snowboarder</i>
<i>Blockbuster</i>	<i>Ghostwriter</i>	<i>Nigger</i>	<i>Spoiler</i>
<i>Boxer</i>	<i>Globetrotter</i>	<i>Pager</i>	<i>Sprinter</i>
<i>Broker</i>	<i>Golfer</i>	<i>Performer</i>	<i>Stalker</i>
<i>Butler</i>	<i>Hacker</i>	<i>Player</i>	<i>Starter</i>
<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Hardliner</i>	<i>Producer</i>	<i>Sticker</i>
<i>Center</i>	<i>Headhunter</i>	<i>Provider</i>	<i>Surfer</i>
<i>Computer</i>	<i>Highflyer</i>	<i>Pullover</i>	<i>Teenager</i>
<i>Container</i>	<i>Hijacker</i>	<i>Ranger</i>	<i>Tester</i>
<i>Controller</i>	<i>HipHopper</i>	<i>Rapper</i>	<i>Thriller</i>
<i>Cover</i>	<i>Insider</i>	<i>Raver</i>	<i>Trader</i>
<i>Cracker</i>	<i>Interviewer</i>	<i>Recorder</i>	<i>Trainer</i>
<i>Cruiser</i>	<i>Jogger</i>	<i>Reporter</i>	<i>Trapper</i>
<i>Cutter</i>	<i>Kicker</i>	<i>Revolver</i>	<i>Trendsetter</i>
<i>Dealer</i>	<i>Kidnapper</i>	<i>Roadster</i>	<i>Trucker</i>
<i>Decoder</i>	<i>Killer</i>	<i>Rocker</i>	<i>User</i>
<i>Designer</i>	<i>Loser</i>	<i>Scanner</i>	<i>Youngster</i>
<i>Doper</i>			

**Appendix 4:** List of tagged *-s* plural anglicisms

<i>Affairs</i>	<i>Displays</i>	<i>Kiddies</i>	<i>Shirts</i>
<i>Airlines</i>	<i>DJs</i>	<i>Kids</i>	<i>Shops</i>
<i>Airports</i>	<i>Dogs</i>	<i>Labels</i>	<i>Shorts</i>
<i>Aliens</i>	<i>Domains</i>	<i>Ladies</i>	<i>Shows</i>
<i>Amerindians</i>	<i>Dot-Commies</i>	<i>Lads</i>	<i>Singles</i>
<i>Apartments</i>	<i>Downloads</i>	<i>Ladys</i>	<i>Sites</i>
<i>Babys</i>	<i>Downs</i>	<i>Laptops</i>	<i>Sixties</i>
<i>Bands</i>	<i>Drinks</i>	<i>Left-overs</i>	<i>Skills</i>
<i>Bars</i>	<i>Drugs</i>	<i>Lobbys</i>	<i>Skinheads</i>
<i>Basics</i>	<i>E-Books</i>	<i>Logos</i>	<i>Skins</i>
<i>Beats</i>	<i>Effects</i>	<i>Lords</i>	<i>Slips</i>

<i>Bits</i>	<i>E-Mails</i>	<i>Lounges</i>	<i>Slogans</i>
<i>Bobbies</i>	<i>Essays</i>	<i>Mails</i>	<i>Slums</i>
<i>Bobbys</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Malls</i>	<i>Sneakers</i>
<i>Bodyguards</i>	<i>Evergreens</i>	<i>Markets</i>	<i>Snobs</i>
<i>Boykotts</i>	<i>Fans</i>	<i>Matches</i>	<i>Soaps</i>
<i>Boys</i>	<i>Features</i>	<i>Meetings</i>	<i>Softpornos</i>
<i>Briefings</i>	<i>Festivals</i>	<i>Minivans</i>	<i>Songs</i>
<i>Bytes</i>	<i>Flirts</i>	<i>Models</i>	<i>Soundtracks</i>
<i>Camps</i>	<i>Flops</i>	<i>Movies</i>	<i>Spots</i>
<i>Cards</i>	<i>Freaks</i>	<i>Musicals</i>	<i>Starlets</i>
<i>Cartoons</i>	<i>Futures</i>	<i>Musik-CDs</i>	<i>Stars</i>
<i>CD-Roms</i>	<i>Games</i>	<i>Networks</i>	<i>Starts</i>
<i>Celebrities</i>	<i>Gangs</i>	<i>News</i>	<i>Startups</i>
<i>Cents</i>	<i>Gays</i>	<i>Newsgroups</i>	<i>Statements</i>
<i>Charts</i>	<i>Geeks</i>	<i>Nobodys</i>	<i>Stations</i>
<i>Chat-Rooms</i>	<i>Gigs</i>	<i>Oldies</i>	<i>Steaks</i>
<i>Chats</i>	<i>Girlies</i>	<i>Outlaws</i>	<i>Storys</i>
<i>Chips</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Outlets</i>	<i>Superjumbos</i>
<i>Claims</i>	<i>Groupies</i>	<i>Overalls</i>	<i>Swimmingpools</i>
<i>Clans</i>	<i>Handicaps</i>	<i>Partys</i>	<i>Talks</i>
<i>Clips</i>	<i>Handys</i>	<i>Pick-Ups</i>	<i>Teams</i>
<i>Clowns</i>	<i>Happenings</i>	<i>Players</i>	<i>Teenies</i>
<i>Clubs</i>	<i>Highlights</i>	<i>Playmates</i>	<i>Teens</i>
<i>Cockpits</i>	<i>Hippies</i>	<i>Plots</i>	<i>Terminals</i>
<i>Cocktails</i>	<i>Hits</i>	<i>Points</i>	<i>Tests</i>
<i>Codes</i>	<i>Hoaxes</i>	<i>Ponys</i>	<i>Tickets</i>
<i>Colleges</i>	<i>Hobbys</i>	<i>Pubs</i>	<i>Tops</i>
<i>Comebacks</i>	<i>Homepages</i>	<i>Pullis</i>	<i>Trainings</i>
<i>Comedians</i>	<i>Homeruns</i>	<i>Punks</i>	<i>Trends</i>
<i>Comics</i>	<i>Hooligans</i>	<i>Puzzles</i>	<i>Trendscouts</i>
<i>Communities</i>	<i>Hotpants</i>	<i>Radprofis</i>	<i>Trips</i>
<i>Consultants</i>	<i>Images</i>	<i>Ratings</i>	<i>Trucks</i>
<i>Cookies</i>	<i>Independents</i>	<i>Relations</i>	<i>Twens</i>
<i>Cops</i>	<i>Interviews</i>	<i> Rocks</i>	<i>Tycoons</i>
<i>Crashes</i>	<i>Investments</i>	<i>Rollerblades</i>	<i>Ventures</i>
<i>Crews</i>	<i>Jeans</i>	<i>Royals</i>	<i>VIPs</i>
<i>Daddys</i>	<i>Jeeps</i>	<i>Safes</i>	<i>Websites</i>
<i>Deals</i>	<i>Jets</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Workaholics</i>

<i>Discjockeys</i>	<i>Jobs</i>	<i>Sessions</i>	<i>Yetties</i>
<i>Discs</i>	<i>Joints</i>	<i>Sheriffs</i>	<i>Yuppies</i>

**Appendix 5:** List of tagged anglicisms with zero genitive inflection

<i>Jazz</i>	<i>Elektropop</i>	<i>Shareholder-Value</i>
<i>Outcast</i>	<i>Rap</i>	<i>Empire</i>
<i>Entertainment</i>	<i>Techno</i>	<i>Shuttle</i>
<i>Jet-Set</i>	<i>Stuntman</i>	<i>Village</i>
<i>Internet</i>	<i>Laddism</i>	<i>Committee</i>
<i>Hooliganismus</i>	<i>Soul</i>	<i>E-Commerce</i>
<i>Business</i>	<i>Punk</i>	<i>Service</i>
<i>Tennis</i>	<i>Crash</i>	<i>Cyberspace</i>
<i>Glamour</i>	<i>Hightech</i>	<i>Grid</i>
<i>Speedster</i>	<i>Underdog</i>	<i>PC</i>
<i>Weltcup</i>	<i>Controlling</i>	<i>Web</i>
<i>Laptop</i>	<i>Recycling</i>	

**Appendix 6:** List of the most productive anglicisms in hybrid compound nouns (distribution and total numbers of occurrence)

Anglicism	Determinant	Determinatum	Sum (Types)
<i>Film</i>	297	162	459
<i>Computer</i>	367	58	425
<i>Internet</i>	354	3	357
<i>Test</i>	136	152	288
<i>Manager</i>	16	261	277
<i>Show</i>	51	154	205
<i>Star</i>	87	104	191
<i>Software</i>	101	53	154
<i>Hightech</i>	148	1	149
<i>Profi</i>	62	80	142
<i>Pop</i>	126	12	138
<i>Club</i>	63	68	131
<i>Handy</i>	110	21	131
<i>Team</i>	29	98	127
<i>Training</i>	69	48	117

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>Determinant</b>	<b>Determinatum</b>	<b>Sum (Types)</b>
<i>Trainer</i>	33	73	106
<i>Party</i>	65	67	132
<i>Management</i>	35	69	104
<i>Marketing</i>	92	12	104
<i>Service</i>	52	43	95
<i>PR</i>	90	3	93
<i>Start</i>	63	28	91
<i>Fan</i>	45	45	90
<i>Job</i>	31	49	80
<i>Container</i>	54	23	77
<i>Image</i>	42	35	77
<i>Designer</i>	50	23	73
<i>Chip</i>	53	18	71
<i>Hobby</i>	64	3	67
<i>Boom</i>	17	49	66
<i>Baby</i>	54	10	64
<i>Web</i>	64	0	64
<i>PC</i>	53	7	60
<i>Boss</i>	1	58	59
<i>Tennis</i>	56	1	57
<i>Killer</i>	36	18	54
<i>Rock</i>	48	4	52
<i>Business</i>	40	11	51
<i>CD</i>	30	20	50
<i>Design</i>	24	25	49
<i>Jet</i>	16	32	48
<i>Trend</i>	34	14	48
<i>Box</i>	31	16	47
<i>Lobby</i>	11	36	47
<i>Deal</i>	0	45	45
<i>Hit</i>	14	31	45
<i>Interview</i>	24	21	45
<i>Festival</i>	22	22	44
<i>Clan</i>	5	38	43
<i>Jazz</i>	40	3	43
<i>Comic</i>	37	5	42
<i>Stress</i>	15	23	38

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>Determinant</b>	<b>Determinatum</b>	<b>Sum (Types)</b>
<i>Biotech</i>	37	0	37
<i>Crash</i>	22	15	37
<i>Fitness</i>	37	0	37
<i>Reporter</i>	10	27	37
<i>Insider</i>	24	12	36
<i>Bestseller</i>	26	8	34
<i>Investment</i>	34	0	34
<i>Trip</i>	0	34	34
<i>Single</i>	28	3	31
<i>Story</i>	2	29	31
<i>Thriller</i>	8	23	31
<i>Musical</i>	27	3	30
<i>Techno</i>	30	0	30
<i>Action</i>	28	1	29
<i>Crack</i>	28	1	29
<i>Glamour</i>	25	4	29
<i>Comedy</i>	27	1	28
<i>Power</i>	18	10	28
<i>Ticket</i>	10	17	27
<i>Holding</i>	7	19	26
<i>Poker</i>	10	16	26
<i>Song</i>	13	13	26
<i>Boykott</i>	10	15	25
<i>Camp</i>	1	24	25
<i>E-Mail</i>	24	1	25
<i>Gangster</i>	20	4	24
<i>Lifestyle</i>	23	1	24
<i>Look</i>	0	24	24
<i>Pay-TV</i>	23	0	23
<i>Basketball</i>	22	0	22
<i>Teenie</i>	21	0	21
<i>Football</i>	21	0	21
<i>Mix</i>	2	19	21
<i>Print</i>	21	0	21
<i>Science Fiction</i>	21	0	21
<i>Band</i>	5	15	20
<i>Crew</i>	4	16	20

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>Determinant</b>	<b>Determinatum</b>	<b>Sum (Types)</b>
<i>E-Commerce</i>	19	1	20
<i>Charter</i>	19	0	19
<i>Coach</i>	0	19	19
<i>Logo</i>	1	18	19
<i>VIP</i>	19	0	19
<i>Baseball</i>	18	0	18
<i>Entertainment</i>	17	1	18
<i>Recycling</i>	17	1	18
<i>Slogan</i>	1	17	18
<i>Bar</i>	4	13	17
<i>Report</i>	0	16	16
<b>Sum (Types)</b>	<b>4241</b>	<b>2696</b>	<b>6937</b>

### Appendix 7: Positional distribution of the one hundred most productive anglicisms in hybrid compound nouns

#### (a) Determinant anglicisms

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>Determinant</b>	<b>Determinatum</b>	<b>Sum</b>
<i>Computer</i>	367	58	425
<i>Internet</i>	354	3	357
<i>Hightech</i>	148	1	149
<i>Pop</i>	126	12	138
<i>Handy</i>	110	21	131
<i>Marketing</i>	92	12	104
<i>PR</i>	90	3	93
<i>Start</i>	63	28	91
<i>Container</i>	54	23	77
<i>Designer</i>	50	23	73
<i>Chip</i>	53	18	71
<i>Hobby</i>	64	3	67
<i>Baby</i>	54	10	64
<i>Web</i>	64	0	64
<i>PC</i>	53	7	60
<i>Tennis</i>	56	1	57
<i>Killer</i>	36	18	54
<i>Rock</i>	48	4	52

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>Determinant</b>	<b>Determinatum</b>	<b>Sum</b>
<i>Business</i>	40	11	51
<i>Trend</i>	34	14	48
<i>Jazz</i>	40	3	43
<i>Comic</i>	37	5	42
<i>Biotech</i>	37	0	37
<i>Fitness</i>	37	0	37
<i>Insider</i>	24	12	36
<i>Bestseller</i>	26	8	34
<i>Investment</i>	34	0	34
<i>Single</i>	28	3	31
<i>Musical</i>	27	3	30
<i>Techno</i>	30	0	30
<i>Action</i>	28	1	29
<i>Crack</i>	28	1	29
<i>Glamour</i>	25	4	29
<i>Comedy</i>	27	1	28
<i>E-Mail</i>	24	1	25
<i>Gangster</i>	20	4	24
<i>Lifestyle</i>	23	1	24
<i>Pay-TV</i>	23	0	23
<i>Basketball</i>	22	0	22
<i>Teenie</i>	21	0	21
<i>Football</i>	21	0	21
<i>Print</i>	21	0	21
<i>Science Fiction</i>	21	0	21
<i>E-Commerce</i>	19	1	20
<i>Charter</i>	19	0	19
<i>VIP</i>	19	0	19
<i>Baseball</i>	18	0	18
<i>Entertainment</i>	17	1	18
<i>Recycling</i>	17	1	18

## (b) Determinatum anglicisms

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>Determinant</b>	<b>Determinatum</b>	<b>Sum</b>
<i>Manager</i>	16	261	277
<i>Show</i>	51	154	205
<i>Team</i>	29	98	127
<i>Trainer</i>	33	73	106
<i>Boom</i>	17	49	66
<i>Boss</i>	1	58	59
<i>Jet</i>	16	32	48
<i>Lobby</i>	11	36	47
<i>Deal</i>	0	45	45
<i>Hit</i>	14	31	45
<i>Clan</i>	5	38	43
<i>Reporter</i>	10	27	37
<i>Trip</i>	0	34	34
<i>Story</i>	2	29	31
<i>Thriller</i>	8	23	31
<i>Holding</i>	7	19	26
<i>Camp</i>	1	24	25
<i>Look</i>	0	24	24
<i>Mix</i>	2	19	21
<i>Band</i>	5	15	20
<i>Crew</i>	4	16	20
<i>Coach</i>	0	19	19
<i>Logo</i>	1	18	19
<i>Slogan</i>	1	17	18
<i>Bar</i>	4	13	17
<i>Report</i>	0	16	16

## (c) Neutral anglicisms

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>Determinant</b>	<b>Determinatum</b>	<b>Sum</b>
<i>Film</i>	297	162	459
<i>Test</i>	136	152	288
<i>Star</i>	87	104	191
<i>Software</i>	101	53	154
<i>Profi</i>	62	80	142

<b>Anglicism</b>	<b>Determinant</b>	<b>Determinatum</b>	<b>Sum</b>
<i>Club</i>	63	68	131
<i>Training</i>	69	48	117
<i>Party</i>	65	67	132
<i>Management</i>	35	69	104
<i>Service</i>	52	43	95
<i>Fan</i>	45	45	90
<i>Job</i>	31	49	80
<i>Image</i>	42	35	77
<i>CD</i>	30	20	50
<i>Design</i>	24	25	49
<i>Box</i>	31	16	47
<i>Interview</i>	24	21	45
<i>Festival</i>	22	22	44
<i>Stress</i>	15	23	38
<i>Crash</i>	22	15	37
<i>Power</i>	18	10	28
<i>Ticket</i>	10	17	27
<i>Poker</i>	10	16	26
<i>Song</i>	13	13	26
<i>Boykott</i>	10	15	25

#### Appendix 8: List of derived nouns with semi-prefix *Top-*

<i>Topabsolvent</i>	<i>Top-Gewinner</i>	<i>Top-Politikern</i>
<i>Top-Act</i>	<i>Tophit</i>	<i>Top-Position</i>
<i>Top-Agent</i>	<i>Top-Informatiker</i>	<i>Top-Priorität</i>
<i>Top-Airlines</i>	<i>Topjob</i>	<i>Top-Qualität</i>
<i>Top-Aktien</i>	<i>Top-Journalisten</i>	<i>Top-Quelle</i>
<i>Topanalysten</i>	<i>Topjournalistin</i>	<i>Top-Quoten</i>
<i>Topathleten</i>	<i>Top-Juristen</i>	<i>Top-Seelsorger</i>
<i>Top-Ausstattung</i>	<i>Topkandidaten</i>	<i>Top-Seller</i>
<i>Topberaterin</i>	<i>Top-Kräfte</i>	<i>Topspiel</i>
<i>Top-Beweis</i>	<i>Top-Kreative</i>	<i>Topspion</i>
<i>Top-Bosse</i>	<i>Topkunden</i>	<i>Topstars</i>
<i>Top-Clubs</i>	<i>Toplagen</i>	<i>Top-Strecken</i>
<i>Top-Comedian</i>	<i>Topteilungen</i>	<i>Topteams</i>

<i>Top-Designer</i>	<i>Topleuten</i>	<i>Top-Technologien</i>
<i>Topentscheidern</i>	<i>Toplichter</i>	<i>Top-Ten</i>
<i>Topereignisse</i>	<i>Top-Mafiosi</i>	<i>Top-Terrorist</i>
<i>Top-Etage</i>	<i>Topmanagement</i>	<i>Topthema</i>
<i>Top-Event</i>	<i>Topmanager</i>	<i>Top-Theologe</i>
<i>Top-Fahrer</i>	<i>Top-Mannschaften</i>	<i>Top-Titeln</i>
<i>Top-Favorit</i>	<i>Topmarken</i>	<i>Top-Trainern</i>
<i>Topfilme</i>	<i>Top-Meldung</i>	<i>Top-Universitäten</i>
<i>Top-Fleisch</i>	<i>Topmodel</i>	<i>Top-Unternehmen</i>
<i>Top-Fondsmanagern</i>	<i>Topmodell</i>	<i>Top-US-Promoter</i>
<i>Topform</i>	<i>Top-Nachwuchs</i>	<i>Topverdiener</i>
<i>Top-Führungskräfte</i>	<i>Top-Namen</i>	<i>Top-Vorstände</i>
<i>Top-Gastarbeiter</i>	<i>Topniveau</i>	<i>Topwerte</i>
<i>Top-Gehalt</i>	<i>Top-Performance</i>	<i>Top-Zuschläge</i>

### Appendix 9: List of derived nouns with semi-prefix *Cyber-*

<i>Cyberbank</i>	<i>Cyberkids</i>	<i>Cyberradio</i>
<i>Cyberbankräuber</i>	<i>Cyberklamauk</i>	<i>Cyberradio-Gründer</i>
<i>Cyberbar</i>	<i>Cyber-Konflikte</i>	<i>Cyberraum</i>
<i>Cyberbrillen</i>	<i>Cyber-Kreaturen</i>	<i>Cybersender</i>
<i>Cyber-Café</i>	<i>Cyber-Kretins</i>	<i>Cybersex</i>
<i>Cybercafés</i>	<i>Cyberkrieg</i>	<i>Cybershops</i>
<i>Cybercash</i>	<i>Cyber-Kriminalität</i>	<i>Cybershow</i>
<i>Cyber-Citys</i>	<i>Cyberkriminellen</i>	<i>Cybersöldner</i>
<i>Cyber-Commerce</i>	<i>Cyberkultur</i>	<i>Cybersport</i>
<i>Cyber-Deals</i>	<i>Cyber-Kuppler</i>	<i>Cyber-Studenten</i>
<i>Cyber-Diebstahl</i>	<i>Cyberland</i>	<i>Cyber-Terror</i>
<i>Cyber-Dienste</i>	<i>Cyber-Liste</i>	<i>Cyber-Terrorist</i>
<i>Cyber-dinos</i>	<i>Cyber-Markt</i>	<i>Cybertiere</i>
<i>Cyber-Dollar</i>	<i>Cyber-Marktplatz</i>	<i>Cyber-Traum</i>
<i>Cyber-Elite</i>	<i>Cybermaster</i>	<i>Cybertunnel</i>
<i>Cyber-Fachzeitschrift</i>	<i>Cyber-Metropole</i>	<i>Cyber-Unternehmen</i>
<i>Cyber-Feuerwerk</i>	<i>Cyber-Milliardäre</i>	<i>Cyberunternehmer</i>
<i>Cyber-Firma</i>	<i>Cyber-Nachwuchs</i>	<i>Cyber-Values</i>
<i>Cyber-Flitzern</i>	<i>Cyber-Ökonomie</i>	<i>Cyber-Variante</i>
<i>Cybergangstern</i>	<i>Cyberpaläontologie</i>	<i>Cyber-Währung</i>

<i>Cyber-Gefährt</i>	<i>Cyber-Piraten</i>	<i>Cyberwar</i>
<i>Cybergeneration</i>	<i>Cyber-Planer</i>	<i>Cyberweibs</i>
<i>Cybergeografie</i>	<i>Cyber-Polizisten</i>	<i>Cyberwelt</i>
<i>Cybergeography</i>	<i>Cyberport</i>	<i>Cyberwesen</i>
<i>Cybergesellschaft</i>	<i>Cyberport-Deal</i>	<i>Cyberwonderland</i>
<i>Cyber-Gewinnlern</i>	<i>Cyberprofit</i>	<i>Cyberzeitalter</i>
<i>Cyber-Girlie</i>	<i>Cyberpublic</i>	<i>Cyberzellen</i>
<i>Cyber-Heimat</i>	<i>Cyberpunks</i>	<i>Cyber-Zöglingen</i>
<i>Cyberhelden</i>	<i>Cyberpunk-Szene</i>	<i>Cyberzöllnern</i>
<i>Cyber-Highways</i>	<i>Cyberquatter</i>	<i>Cyber-Zombies</i>



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## Anglicism Index

The index contains the anglicisms mentioned as examples in the book. Anglicisms in the appendices are not included. Hybrid nominal anglicisms of highly productive bases (p. 196 – 206) are indexed by their base anglicism. Asterisks (\*) mark English terms which occur as elements of phrasal units and codeswitches. These items (mostly function words, verbs, and adjectives) are not used as independent anglicisms in the corpus.

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