

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 Vermanschung 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 Okulska 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 formational 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, Nessel 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.

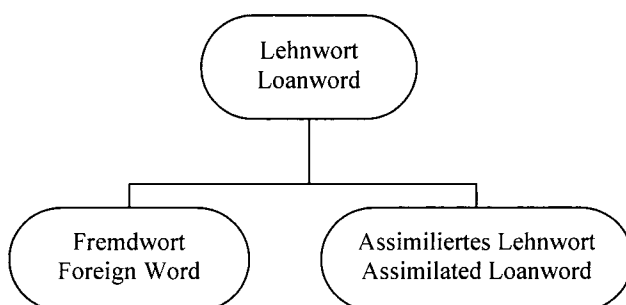
## 2. Loan meaning and loan formation<sup>1</sup>

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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1 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 Ureland, Anthony Lodge, and Stefan Pugh.

## (a) Direct loan influences



## (b) Indirect loan influences

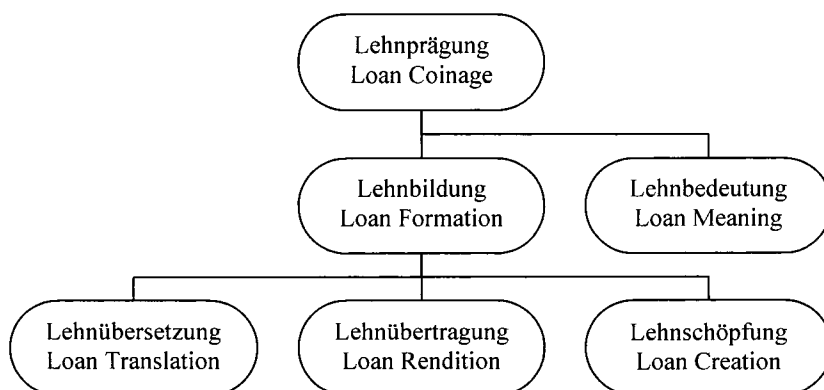


Figure 1: Reconstruction of Betz' classification of loan influences (1959: 128)

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 *депесо*, 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 *депесо* 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:

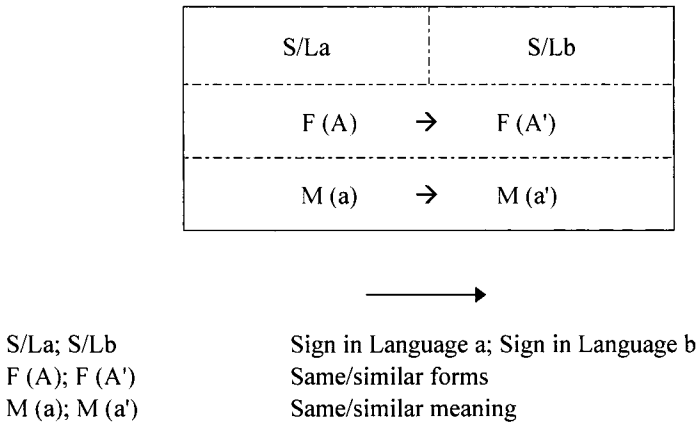


Figure 2: Integrity of form and meaning in the borrowing process

Taking the example of *online* in La English, the English sign is characterized by its form F (A= <online>, [ɔːnlaɪn]) 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>, [ɔːnlaɪn]) 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:

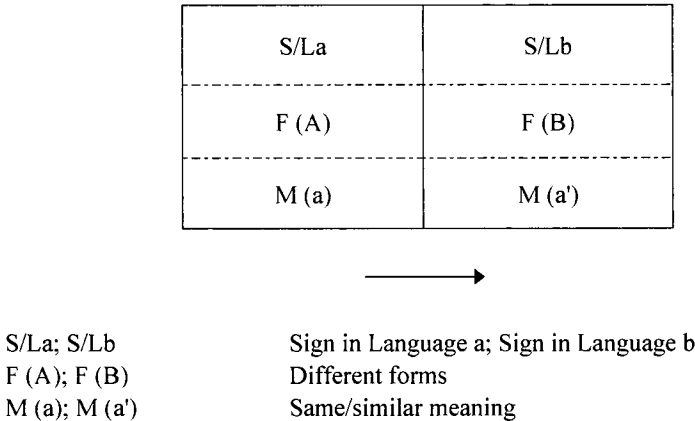


Figure 3: Loan meaning

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*, *дерево*, 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:

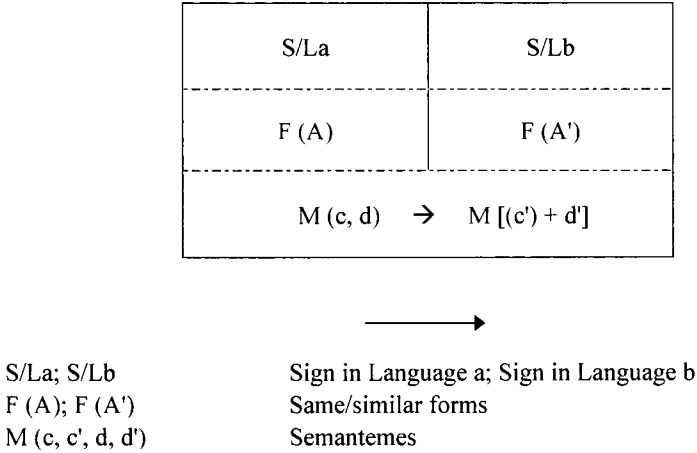


Figure 4: Semantic interference

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. Görlach 1994, Lee 1996, Moss 1992, K. Viereck 1986, Yang 1990). This is mainly based on the fact that indirect borrowings

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5 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, Schelper 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, Schelper 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 Ladmiral 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.

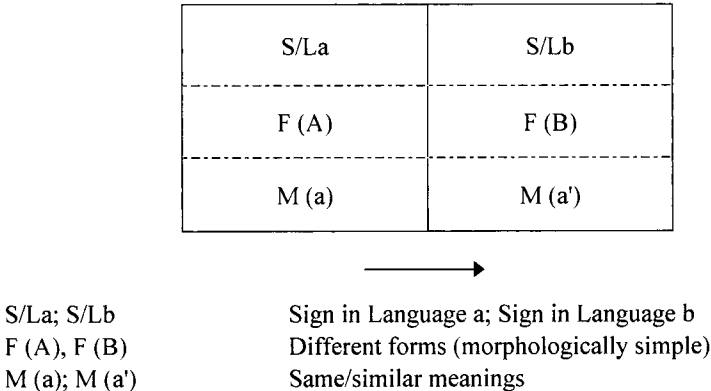


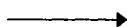
Figure 5: Translation of an isolated word

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 formational 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 formational 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).