

On the Integration of Anglicisms into Present-day German

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1 Introduction

In the life of languages it is a natural phenomenon that one word or expression is taken from one language into the other. These days we can witness a considerable spread of anglicisms in almost all languages and German is no exception. As defined in the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (Summers 2001), “an anglicism is an English word or expression that is used in another language”.

Nevertheless, it is worthwhile mentioning that the term itself serves as a collective term for the words and expressions borrowed from both British English and American English as in the majority of cases it is rather difficult to determine their origin clearly.

It is as taken that due to globalization English is spreading all over the world. As a result, we come across words of English origin in every walk of life ranging from computer science through medicine, business, air traffic control, academic research, advertising to sport, fashion, music and entertainment.

That anglicisms in German represent a not at all negligible tendency is also shown by the fact that not only German magazines abound in them, but even German course books for beginners contain quite a great number of them. Let us just think of such words of English origin as *der Job*, -s, *das Handy*, -s, *die E-Mail*, -s, *der Fan*, -s, *das Steak*, -s, *das Snowboard*, -s, *die SMS*, *die Web-Seite*, -n, *der Business-Sprachkurs*, -e, *die Online Redaktion*, -en, *der Joggingsschuh*, -e, *das Picknickwetter* or *joggen*, *chatten*, all of which I found in a recently published course book called *Schritte 1 international* (Niebisch *et al.* 2006).

Recognising the importance of this modern and quite natural phenomenon in German, Carstensen *et al.* published a three-volume dictionary of anglicisms titled *Anglizismen-Wörterbuch* in 1993, 1994 and 1996, which contains more than 3500 examples of borrowings documented from the end of World War II until the early 1990s.

Which are the most commonly used anglicisms out of this great number? In a survey conducted by Erkenbrecher (2006: 19) 100 Germans, mainly university

students were asked to name 10 anglicisms they most frequently use. Accordingly, the top 10 English words in German are as follows:

Words sorted by decreasing frequency:

1.	cool	(23)	9.	T-Shirt	(9)
2.	Handy	(20)		Show	(9)
3.	E-mail	(18)		Manager	(9)
4.	Party	(14)	10.	Trend	(8)
	Laptop	(14)		Star	(8)
5.	Internet	(13)		Live	(8)
6.	Jeans	(12)		Link	(8)
7.	Okay	(11)		Fastfood	(8)
	Beamer	(11)		dissen	(8)
8.	shoppen	(10)		Band	(8)
	Fuck	(10)			
	Computer	(10)			
	CD	(10)			

Even these few words clearly show that anglicisms are integrated into the vocabulary of the German language in a special way. The primary aim of this paper is to explore the impact of English in Germany today. First, I will give a brief historic overview of English lexical borrowings in German and reveal the reasons for this phenomenon. Secondly, I will highlight the functional range and domains of use of these foreign terms. Furthermore, I will investigate what types anglicisms have, and how they are integrated into the system of the German language, with respect to their orthographic, phonological, morphological and semantic properties. Finally, the focus will be on the attitudes associated with these foreign linguistic elements in German.

2 A historical overview and the reasons for the occurrence of borrowing

Language contact is regarded to be one of the main reasons of linguistic borrowing. Crystal (2004) gives the following definition for language contact:

A term used in sociolinguistics to refer to a situation of geographical continuity or close social proximity (and thus of mutual influence) between languages and dialects. The result of contact situations can be seen linguistically, in the growth of loan words, patterns of phonological and grammatical change, mixed forms of language (such as creoles and pidgins), and a general increase of bilingualisms of various kind. (Crystal 2004: 102)

Borrowing can be defined as a process whereby a word which is used in one language begins to be used in another language. Crystal defines borrowing as follows:

A term used in comparative and historical linguistics to refer to a linguistic form taken from one language or dialect from another; such borrowings are usually known as 'loan-words' and several types have been recognised. (Crystal 2004: 56)

Analysing the history of borrowing between English and German, Viereck (1986: 107-109) points out that in the Middle Ages there were hardly any anglicisms in German. The few that were to be found were mainly in connection with Christianity and religion (e.g. Old High German *gotspell* from Anglo-Saxon *gōdspell*) and seafaring and trade (*Boot* – *boat*). From the 17th century onwards interest in English increased and many borrowings were confined to political terms (*Unterhaus* 'House of Commons, Lower House', *Oberhaus* 'House of Lords, Upper House'). The 18th century saw the first substantial influx of English vocabulary into German, such as philosophical terms (*Freidenker* 'free thinker'), terms of politics (*Koalition*, *Opposition*) and terms from trade and commerce (*Import*, *exportieren*, *Banknote*).

The Industrial Revolution during the 19th century in England was also a major contributor of new terminology to the lexicon of German, such as *Dampschiff*, *Lokomotive*. During the 19th century German also experienced an influx of anglicisms, especially with regard to fashion, and sport: *Sport*, *Tennis*, *Fußball* (football), *Pullover* and *Sweater*, etc.

As noted by Hilgendorf (1996), up until World War II British English was the primary source of influence. Afterwards, the emergence of the United States as a global power led to the simultaneous rise in significance of American English. Especially after World War II there was a huge increase in the number of anglicisms entering German with more coming from American English than British English, though it is difficult to distinguish between the two, and today these words are also used in British English: *Star*, *Party*, *Quiz*, *Jazz*, *Beat*, *Hit*, *Song*, *Jeans*, *Make-up*, *Job*, *Trend*, *Manager*, *Boss* and *Interview*, etc.

More recently, i.e. in the latter half of the 20th century, various events brought English and German into contact with one another. These are the political, industrial, technical, military, scientific predominance of the United States, the spread of American culture and lifestyle, the formation of the European Union and the advances in technology, such as the invention of the computer and the Internet. Today computers are used for a multitude of purposes and in practically every area of life. More recently, the World Wide Web, the Internet, e-mails have also led to increased contact between languages of the world including English and German. Besides being the language of

international communication, English is also the most dominant among foreign languages taught at schools all over the world.

Analysing the linguistic impact of American English on the German language, Hilgendorf (1996: 4) refers not only to the political, industrial, technical and scientific predominance of the United States, but also to the spread of American culture, English language newspapers, dubbed films and pop songs and the expansion of the medium of television in Germany.

3 Functional range and domains of English in present-day German

Several linguists have done research to explore the functional range and domains of the phenomenon of English in the German language today (cf. Galinsky 1967, Yang 1990, Corr 2003 and Hilgendorf 2007, etc.). Galinsky (1967) and Yang (1990) refer to the following stylistic functions for anglicisms:

1. conveying an English/American atmosphere or setting (reference to locations and idiomatic expressions for which German equivalents either do not exist or would not suffice in conveying an authentic American setting, e.g. *Greenwich Village, Pub, First Lady, Queen, High-school, Campus, College, Cowboy, Skinhead, Playboy, Bobby, New wave*)
2. establishing or enhancing precision (*der Job* in German refers to a temporary position or part-time work to earn extra money, and *der Swimming-pool* refers to a pool inside or outside a building on a private property only, thus they have specific, limited meanings)
3. creating or facilitating intentional disguise/euphemism, especially sex and drug-related expressions
(e.g. *Bordell* ~ *Appartmenthaus, Eros-Center, Prostituirte* ~ *Hostess, Callgirl, Drogenabhängiger* ~ *Fixer*)
4. effecting brevity (the adaptation of single or two-syllable American words where multi-morphemic or compound German equivalents already exist, anglicisms are more economical handier and more convenient (e.g. *Boom* ~ *Wirtschaftsaufschwung, Budget* ~ *Haushaltsplan, Campus* ~ *Universitätsgebäude*)
5. producing vividness, often by way of metaphor, (*Brainwashing* ~ *Gehirnwäsche, Summit conference* ~ *Gipfelkonferenz*)
6. conveying comic or playful touch
7. creating or increasing variation of expression (*Hi* ~ *Hallo, Baby* ~ *Säugling, Fan* ~ *Anhänger, Boss* ~ *Chef, Team* ~ *Mannschaft, Ticket* ~ *Fahrschein*, although they sometimes may have a different connotation)

The above mentioned authors generally point out the followings main domains of anglicisms (the examples are taken from the German dictionary called *Duden Deutsches Universalwörterbuch* by Kunkel-Razum et al. 2006):

- politics and public life: *Comeback, Hardliner, Image, Politprominenz, Revival, Splittergruppe, Trend*;
- business and commerce: *Boom, Budget, Cash, Crash, Cateringfirma, Clearing, Deal, Designer, E-Commerce, E-Mail, E-Banking, Joint Venture, Know-how, Leasing, Marketing, Onlineshopping, outsourcen, Safe, Shareholder, Trust*;
- technology and science: *Computer, Flipchart, Hacker, Keyboard, Laser, Mikroprozessor, Overheadprojektor, Recycling, Software*;
- entertainment and leisure: *Bar, Bestseller, Big Brother, Breakdance, Comics, Festival, Gag, Happening, Nonstop-Kino, Nightclub, Party, Pub, Quiz, Show, Western*;
- fashion and clothes: *Bluejeans, Deodorant, Jumper, Look, Lotion, Make-up, Nylon, Outdoorbekleidung, Piercing, Pullover, Shorts, Slip, Spray, T-Shirt, Tweed*;
- food and drinks: *Brunch, Cheeseburger, Chips, Cocktail, Coke, Curry, Gin Tonic, Grapefruit, Hot Dog, Junkfood, Longdrink, mixen, Popcorn, Shake, Shortdrink, Sherry, Snack, Toast*;
- sports: *Aerobics, Baseball, Bodybuilding, Bowling, Bungy-jumping, Coach, Curling, Fitness, Fan, Game, Jetboat, joggen, kicken, Rafting, Skateboard, Squash, Surfing, Team, Trainer, etc.*

As pointed out by Hilgendorf (2007: 136), politicians often use anglicisms “because of their vaguely defined semantic fields”. When the term *Korruption* was first adopted, it carried a far less negative connotation than its German equivalent *Bestechung*. Whereas politicians use English at times in an effort to be vague or elusive, the opposite is true for those working in the legal domain. Terms, such as *Leasing, Outsourcing*, are used for the pragmatic functions of precision and clarity.

As observed by Corr (2003), the language of specialist topics or specialist terminology is the area where the greatest amount of borrowing from English terminology takes place. Technical language abound in anglicisms, such as in areas technology, engineering, electronics, physics, chemistry, biology, medicine and computer technology. Consider the following examples which are used in computer science: foreign words: *E-Mail, Homepage, Internet, Notebook, Laptop, Scanner, Software*, loan translations: *Brenner (burner), Mausclick (mouse click), Passwort (pass word), Webseite (website), Dateiname (file name)* and loan meanings: *Benutzer (user), Drucker (printer), Rechner (computer), Speicher (memory) scannen (to scan)*, etc. (cf. Corr 2003:118-126)

In the domain of science and research English prevail as the dominant code. In accordance with the shift to publishing more articles in English, academic publishing houses have also been switching to English as the language of

publication for the academic journal especially in natural sciences, such as in mathematics. (cf. Hilgendorf 2007: 138)

Hilgendorf (2007: 141) also refers to the general tendency that German scholars within the scientific community and German employees working in German business subsidiaries in foreign countries use English with foreigners who can speak German. It may be due partly to prestige, partly to the English specialist terminology used by them, and also to the fact that if both partners use a foreign language, i.e. English instead of their mother tongue they tend to speak more slowly and more clearly. Thus, they can avoid misunderstanding, which could have serious consequences in a job contact.

Browsing German magazines, we can't help observing that anglicisms are especially commonly used in advertising. The main objective of advertising is to catch the attention of prospective customers to sell their products. Anglicisms do this easily as they tend to be short and compact. To illustrate this, let us see some advertisement that appeared in the German magazine *Focus* (2006 No. 23, 34, 2007 No. 22):

You & Us

Wir arbeiten an genau zwei Orten.

Überall und direkt an Ihrer Seite.

Weil Finanzlösungen keine Grenzen kennen, haben wir weltweit Investment-Analysten vor Ort. In den Bereichen Wealth Management, Asset Management und Investment Banking sind Spezialisten rund um den Globus für Sie tätig. So kann Ihr UBS Berater auf ein Netzwerk von Ressourcen zurückgreifen und Ihnen die optimale Lösung zur Verfügung stellen.

Top im Job

mit Pocket Business

Pocket Business bietet Kompaktwissen für Ihren Berufserfolg

Das Business ist hart. Unsere Tests sind härter.

TECRA A8. Beste Qualität für Ihren harten Arbeitstag. Dieses professionelle Notebook mit verbesserter Hardware bietet beispiellose Zuverlässigkeit und Produktivität.

As mentioned above, foreign words have a greater prestige than native ones in certain areas. The young generation, teenagers in particular associate a certain degree of 'coolness' with using numerous anglicisms in their speech and regard them trendy. Pop music is often associated with young people and a great number of the most popular and successful recordings they listen to are in English. Thus, it is not surprising that the role of English within the domain of

popular music and in the language young people use is a conspicuous one (e.g. *Rockmusik, CD, Rap, Techno, Song, Hardrock, Heavy Metal, Hip-Hop* and *Discjockey*, etc.).

It is also the younger generation that are more prone to the influence of the various crazes started in the English-speaking world. Besides music, the area of sport seems to be really influential. Consider the following examples: *Bodybuilding, Bungy-jumping, Coach, Curling, Game, Fan, Fitness, Jetboat, joggen, kicken, Rafting, Skateboard, Snowboard* and *Squash*, etc.)

All in all, we can say that anglicisms can occur in every aspect of life from business to sport and music. It is due to the fact that English is the main language of business, airports and air traffic control, the different branches of science, technology, medicine, diplomacy and pop music. As evident from the above discussion, there are a multitude of reasons for the occurrence of borrowing, such as advances in technology, trade, new ways of thinking, trends in society, and sometimes even prestige. Now it seems to be worthwhile to examine how anglicisms can be classified, and how they are integrated into the system of present-day German in terms of their orthography, phonology, morphology and semantics.

4 Classification and integration of anglicisms into the system of the German language

Various scholars (e.g. Yang 1990, Carstensen 1993, Corr 2003, Onysko 2007, etc.) have classified anglicisms in German in different ways. Yang (1990: 11) makes a distinction between “foreign words” and “loan words”, describing how they differ from each other with regard to their various levels of integration. “Foreign words are lexemes or connecting lexemes which are borrowed from a foreign language and are assimilated into the receptor language without any orthographical, morphological or semantic change and whose foreign origin is clearly and easily recognisable”. In Onysko’s interpretation (2007: 14), these are the so called direct borrowings which have kept their foreign spelling and pronunciation, or their pronunciation is slightly changed complying with the sound system of the German language, for example *Business, Boom, Computer, Designer, Detail, Jeans, Laptop, Manager, Meeting, Notebook, Shop, Team, T-Shirt, Talkshow* und *Ticket*, etc.

A loan word is similar to a foreign word as it is also a word borrowed from a foreign language, but it has been adapted phonologically and/or morphologically and/or orthographically to the borrowing language. “Loan words can be loan translations, loan renditions or semantic loans”. (cf. Yang 1990: 11, Carstensen 1993: 56, Corr 2003: 28)

A loan translation is where each individual part of the word from the donor language is rendered literally by its counterpart in the receiving language. For

example, *Mausklick* ‘mouse click’, *Familienplanung* ‘family planning’, *Luftsack* ‘airbag’, *Körpersprache* ‘body language’, *Seifenoper* ‘soap opera’, or *weiche Landung* ‘soft landing’.

Loan renditions apply to translations into German where only one part of an English term is translated literally and another is adapted freely, such as *Wolkenkratzer* ‘skyscraper’, *Urknall* ‘big bang’, *Musikkiste* ‘juke-box’ or *Luftkissenfahrzeug* ‘hovercraft’.

A semantic loan or loan meaning refers to anglicisms in which only the meaning of a word but not its form is transferred from the source language (SL) into the receptor language (RL). (Onysko, 2007: 19). The classical example of loan meaning relates to the transfer of the meaning of the English verb *realize* onto its German counterpart *realisieren*. Due to the English influence *realisieren* acquired the meaning ‘to become aware of’ in addition to its traditional meaning ‘to bring about, to concretize’. German *feuern*, the English counterpart of which is ‘fire’, also acquired the meaning of ‘dismiss’ in addition to ‘light a fire’ or ‘shoot’. A similar example of semantic loans is the German verb *kontrollieren*, which earlier had only the meaning of ‘to make sure the correctness of figures, accounts’ borrowed a new meaning from the English verb ‘control’ in the sense of ‘to have power over someone or something’.

A further category of borrowing which has been introduced is that of “pseudo-loans” (cf. Yang 1990: 12, Görlach 2002: 29-30, Onysko 2007: 53). Pseudo-loans occur where a lexeme of the donor language is used to produce a word in the receiving language. The resulting word looks like a word from the donor language, but it doesn’t actually occur in that meaning in the donor language. We can distinguish the following three types of pseudo-anglicisms:

- lexical pseudo-anglicisms, i.e. compounds of English words that do not exist in English: *Dressman* ‘male model’, *Showmaster* ‘quiz master’, *Powergirl* ‘energetic, powerful woman/girl’, *Talk-Lady* ‘female talk show host’
- morphological pseudo-loans, which are shortened items in the recipient language: *Pulli* ‘pullover’, *Profi* ‘professional’, *Happyend* ‘happy ending’, *Gin Tonic* ‘gin and tonic’.
- semantic pseudo-loans, the meaning of which is different from that of the English word: *Handy* ‘mobile phone’, *Beamer* ‘projector’.

Besides the above mentioned types, linguists, such as Yang (1990: 138) and Onysko (2007: 59) also refer to “hybrid anglicisms” which are the combination of English borrowings with German elements. Some of them follow the English models, for example in *einchecken* ‘check in’, *herumsurfen* ‘to surf around’, *einloggen* ‘to log in’, *Heimcomputer* ‘home computer’, *Krisenmanagement* ‘crisis management’, *Joggingsanzug* ‘jogging suit’, *Outdoorbekleidung* ‘outdoor clothes’ and *Teamarbeit* ‘team work’. Others are characterised by their lack of

an English compound *Heimtrainer* ‘exercise bicycle’, *Gelegenheitsjob* ‘casual job’, *Managerkrankheit* ‘stress disease’ or *Jeanshemd* ‘denim shirt’, etc.

In certain hybrid compounds a base noun of English origin is combined with a German noun, such as in *Flugticket*, *Wirtschaftsboss*, *Staatsbudget*, *Forschungsteam*, *Sammelncontainer*, *Riesensteak* or *Unternehmensimage*. Other types include the pattern English base noun + German noun, such as in *Leasingfirma*, *Computerspiel*, *Apartmenthaus*, *Fitnessraum*, *Internetzugang*, *Recyclinganlage* and *Webseite*, etc.

As shown by the above examples, in the majority of cases a noun is combined with another noun, but there are other types of combinations as well. In *Billigangebot*, *Digitaluhr*, *Großprojekt*, *Schnelltest*, an adjective is combined with a noun, or in *auftanken*, *einscannen*, *auschecken* a prefix with a verb.

Onysko (2007: 210) even refers to “hybrid phrasal compound nouns”, the majority of which represent technical concepts and are usually hyphenated, such as *Business-to Business-Geschäft*, *Stop-and-go Strategie*, *Trial-and-Error-Prinzip* or *Print-on-demand-Technik*.

Besides, Zimmer (1997: 23) calls our attention to some hybrid anglicisms used consciously as an attention-catching device in advertising, such as *Open-air Gefühl*, *Mini-Abo Service*, *Antiklau-Code* or *Politthriller*. In his view, these are, however, to be thrown away after use.

Not only word-combinations but also word groups or loan-phrases have been translated and accepted into German. Some examples of “loan phrases of Anglo-American origin” are (cf. Lehnert 1986: 139):

Wir sitzen alle im gleichen Boot. ‘We are in the same boat.’
grünes Licht geben ‘to give green light’
das Beste aus etwas machen ‘to make the best of something’
jemanden die Schau stehlen ‘to steal the show from someone’

As the above examples show, English borrowings are assimilated into the system of the German language at different levels and degrees. Loans which are unassimilated or only partially assimilated are usually identified as possessing features which are not present in German. These features which differentiate a loan from a German word may occur in the areas of orthography, phonology, morphology and semantics.

4.1 Orthography

As noted by Onysko (2007: 317), English words resist orthographical integration. Generally speaking, an anglicism conforms to German rules and is spelt according to its pronunciation, keeps its original English spelling or is a mixture of both.

Probably the most obvious indication of orthographic change is where all nouns which are anglicisms become capitalised when integrated into German (*der Laptop, das Meeting, der Star, das Team* and *die Party*).

Other changes in spelling include the English letter <c> being changed to either <k> or a <z> in German. Some anglicisms can occur with either the English or German spelling e.g. *Klub/Club, Kode/Code, Zigarett/Cigarette* and *Zertifikat/Certifikat*. However, a few of them, such as *kraulen, Handikap, komfortabel, Rekord* are written only with <k>, whereas many of them follow the English spelling with <c>, such as *Action, clever, Camping, Campus, Cocktail, College, Comeback, Company, Computer, cool, Copyright* and *Cup*, etc.

In the case of borrowing with <sh> and <ch> the English spelling is dominant *Shaker, Sherry, Sheriff, Shorts, Shop, Show, T-Shirt; Check-in*, it is rarely substituted by <sch>: *Schock, Scheck, Schokolade*.

Especially in the case of verbs, it is also common for consonants to become doubled when integrated into German, e.g. *babysit ~ babysitten, job ~ jobben, stop ~ stoppen*, or *shop ~ shoppen*.

Finally, in the case of compounds, many anglicisms either occur as two separate words, e.g. *Hard Drug, Happy End, Joint Venture, New Wave* or as two words with a hyphen in between, e.g. *CD-Player, E-Mail, Know-how, Late-Night-Show, Open-Air-Festival*, or as one word, e.g. *Airbag, Babysitter, Bluejeans, Computervirus, Copyright, Digitalkamera, Fitnesscenter, Folksong, Laptop, Softdrink, Mailbox, Mikroprozessor, Notebook*. The spelling of some fluctuate between the latter and hyphenation: *Beautyfarm ~ Beauty-Farm, Liveshow ~ Live-Show, Safetycar ~ Safety-Car, Sexappeal ~ Sex-Appeal*. (cf. Kunkel-Razum et al. 2006)

Interestingly enough, one of the special areas where we often find Anglicised spellings is the German advertising language.

4.2 Phonology

With phonology, the level of integration is determined by the degree of similarity and dissimilarity between the phonological systems of German and English. There are sounds in English which do not exist in German. As a result, the pronunciation of the anglicism is only partially the same as the English source word.

For the labio-velar glide /w/ in English there is no equivalent sound in the German system. Where a word is written with a <w>, it is always pronounced as a /v/ sound (*Windsurfing, Weekend, Webcam, Whisky* and *Workshop*). Similarly, the English dental fricative /θ/, such as in *Thriller*, is also missing in German, and it will be replaced by /s/.

German speakers will substitute the English diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ by /e:/ and /o:/, respectively, for example *Aids*, *Baby*, *Brakedance*, *mailen*, *Spray*, *Playboy*, *Trainer*, and *Foul*, *Soul*; *Toast*, *Open-Air*, or *Know-how*.

Another sound which doesn't exist in German is the open, central vowel /ʌ/ as in *jungle*, but it is substituted by /a/ in words such as *Brunch*, *Budget*, *Bungy-Jumping*, *Cupfinale*, *Cutter* and *Pub*.

Variation can happen not only in the segmental elements, but also in the supra-segmental elements of the pronunciation as in the examples of *Musik*, *Interview*, *komfortabel* and *akzeptabel*, where stress can shift to the final or the last but one syllable in German.

4.3 Morphology

As Onysko's analysis of the German *Der Spiegel* (2007: 317) showed, English nominal borrowings predominate in German with 86,12% while adjectives and verbs amount to 5,64% and 5,49% respectively.

As far as the integration of nominal anglicisms in German is concerned, grammatical gender, plural formation and genitive case inflection constitute the most striking paradigms. (cf. Yang 1990: 152-58, Onysko 2007: 151-191)

Gender can be quite problematic because English, unlike German, does not distinguish grammatical gender. Therefore, an anglicism must be assigned one of the three German genders.

The natural gender of a loan plays a decisive role. Male or female persons take the respective masculine or feminine gender, e.g. *der Cowboy*, *der Gentleman*, *die Queen* and *die Lady*, etc.

Lexical analogy also influence gender assignment, i.e. the anglicism directly takes the gender of the German concept for the English term, for example, *der Computer* because of *der Rechner*. Other examples: *der Airport* (*der Flughafen*), *das Business* (*das Geschäft*), *das Notebook* (*das Buch*), *das Bike* (*das Fahrrad*), *die Economy* (*die Wirtschaft*), *die City* (*die Stadt*), *die Story* (*die Geschichte*), but *das Team* (*die Mannschaft*), *das Ticket* (*der Fahrschein*) and *der Level* (*die Stufe*, *das Niveau*).

In some anglicisms we can witness a hidden semantic analogy, which involves German compounds. The last part of a compound in German always decides which gender the whole compound takes. But sometimes because of semantic relations which are not obvious at first, a compound may take an unexpected gender. An example is *die Holding* (*-company*, *-gesellschaft*). As *-gesellschaft* in *Holdingsgesellschaft* is feminine and *-gesellschaft* is semantically related to *-company*, *Holdingscompany* also takes the feminine gender.

Interestingly enough, words belonging to the same group all take the same gender, which is referred to by Yang (1990: 154) as 'group analogy'. For example, *Blues*, *Boston*, *Breakdance*, *Foxtrott*, *Free Jazz*, *Jazz*, *New-Wave*, *One-*

Step, Quickstep, Rock 'n' Roll and *Swing* all take the masculine gender because *Tanz* ('dance') is also masculine.

Furthermore, the number of syllables can also have an impact on gender. Single syllable loans in German are nearly always masculine. Very rarely they take the feminine or neuter gender. For example, *Beat, Boom, Boy, Chip, Clan, Clown, Club, Coat, Colt, Cup, Deal, Drink, Fan, Fight, Job, Shop, Start, Test* and *Trend*, etc., and many more all take the masculine gender. Exceptions include *Art, Band, Bar* and *Box*, which are all feminine and *Black, Byte, Match* and *Girl* are neuter. (Yang 1990: 155)

Finally, anglicisms which are created from combining a verb and a particle are either masculine or neuter, e.g. *der Countdown* and *das Check-in*. (Yang 1990: 157)

Onysko (2007: 174) also refers to gender variation that takes place in some anglicisms. For example, *der/das Cash, der/das Cyberspace, das/die E-Mail, der/das Event, der/das Single* and *der/das Speed*. 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). *Die Single* means a single record, which is feminine due to lexical analogy (*die Schallplatte*). The other variants, i.e. *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.

Regular plurals in English are usually formed by adding an *-s* or *-es*. The majority of anglicisms in German also often form their plurals with *-s*. It might be that *-s* plural is borrowed together with the English base (*Jobs, Diskos, Colas, Teams, Shops, Homepages, E-Mails, Pubs* and *Fans*, etc). Interestingly enough, if an anglicism has a final *y* it takes *-s* (*Babys, Partys, Handys, Hobbys* and *Citys*, etc.) without changing final *y* into *i* before *-es*, (cf. English *babies* and *parties*).

The second most dominant pattern of plural formation with anglicisms is zero plural morphemization, e.g. *Computer, Designer, Manager, Tester, Beamer, Dealer* and *User*, etc, usually the ones that end in *-er*. Some anglicisms form their plural with *-e*, such as *Bosse, Filme, Boykotte* and *Sketche*, etc.

In German the genitive is the only case on the stem of masculine and neuter nouns. Thus it is predictable that masculine and neuter anglicisms also regularly inflect for genitive in German (e.g. *des Laptops* or *des Crashes*). As the genitive is distinctly marked on the preceding determiner of a noun, stem inflection carries redundant information, and masculine and neuter anglicisms have a tendency to remain uninflected in the genitive or show a variation between an inflected and an uninflected genitive, such as *des Internet* or *des Internets*. (cf. Onysko 2007: 189)

The integration of anglicisms is especially conspicuous in the case of verbs. Infinitive either take the *-en* ending, such as *jobben*, *joggen*, *checken*, *chatten*, *downloaden*, *surfen*, *testen*, *scannen*, *shoppen* and *starten*, etc., or 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’, *reservieren* ‘to reserve’, and also occurs in *campieren* ‘to camp’, *bombardieren* ‘to bombard’, *boycottieren* ‘to boycott’, or *trainieren* ‘to train’.

When it comes to deriving different tenses, the anglicisms conform to the normal process necessary to form each individual tense in the German system. For example, participles derived from verbal anglicisms follow the regular pattern of circumfixation (ge-... -(e)t), e.g. *gejobbt*, *gechattet*, *gejoggt* or *getestet*, i.e. they are always conjugated like weak regular verbs.

Verbal anglicisms are modified derivationally by a variety of prefixes. Both separable prefixes, such as *auschecken*, *einscannen* and *herumsurfen*, and inseparable prefixes (e.g. *erjobben* or *verfilmen*) can occur.

Adjectives borrowed from English can present a few problems as they don't all necessarily take their respective German adjective endings. Most adjectives, like *smart*, *clever*, *cool*, *fair* and *postmodern* take their appropriate endings, e.g. *ein faires Angebot*. However, the adjectives *sexy*, *busy*, *happy*, *trendy*, *groggy*, *ladylike* and *live* do not inflect because they mostly occur in predicative position (*Er ist sehr sexy*. ‘He is very sexy.’). In fact, *sexy* doesn't take any endings even when used as an attributive adjective, as can be seen from *ein sexy Kleid* ‘a sexy dress’. Some frequently used predicative adjectives occur in comparative and superlative constructions in German (*cooler*, *coolest* or *smarter*, *smartest*) as well. (cf. Onysko 2007: 252)

4.4 Semantics

As pointed out by Corr (2003: 46-7), anglicisms can either consist of words adapted from English which only have one meaning, e.g. (English) *beefsteak* (German) *Beefsteak*, or there can be anglicisms whose meaning is limited in number compared to the English source words. For example, *feeder* in English has the followings meanings: 1. feeder road, river is a smaller one that leads to a more important one; 2. a feeder airline and railways services connect major routes and local destinations; 3. a feeder school or team that provides students or players for a larger or more important one; 4. a container that you fill with food for birds or animals; 5. supply pipe. However, *Feeder* in German means only ‘supply pipe’.

Besides, sometimes the meaning of a word can become narrowed or more restricted, for example, the word *City*. In English *city* means a ‘large town’ while in German it has come to mean ‘city centre’. (*The City* refers merely to the area of London which is Britain's financial centre and contains the important

institutions). In other cases anglicisms in German may have a different connotation from the original connotation they have in English, for example, *clever* normally has a pejorative sense of being ‘cunning’ in German.

5 Attitudes to anglicisms

In German speaking countries there are more and more debates about the spread of anglicisms in the media, and several studies have been published about it recently. In fact, the views are rather divided over them. Some scholars express their concerns that German is endangered by the English language (cf. Meyer 2004) whereas others are not so pessimistic about it. They regard it as a natural and inevitable tendency, which happens in all other languages as well. Even the former President of the German Bundestag (from 1998 to 2005), Wolfgang Thierse spoke out against any legal restrictions for the use of anglicisms on the grounds that ‘anglicisms and americanisms complement the German language, extend people’s thinking and enrich their culture as a whole’. (Gardt & Hüppauf, 2004: 189)

Goethe, the outstanding German poet and scientist of the 18th century also took the view that ‘the strength of a language is not that it rejects all that is foreign, but that it consumes them’.¹ (“Die Gewalt einer Sprache ist nicht, daß sie das Fremde abweist, sondern daß sie es verschlingt.”)

(<http://www.wissen-im-netz.info/literatur/goethe/maximen/1-11.htm-24k->).

Hohenhaus (2001: 86) also notes that the changes in German under the influence of English are nowhere near as dramatic as claimed by the critics of the current flood of anglicisms. Despite some lexical changes, German is still German; the grammatical system, in particular is intact and under no threat.

Not surprisingly, the English scholar David Crystal (2004: 30) argues in defence of English when he says that a language becomes a world language for one reason only – “the power of the people who speak it”. Accordingly, the estimate that more than 1.400 million speak English today (400 million as a first language, 400 as a second language and 600 million as a foreign language) is tied to the historical development that turned Great Britain and the USA into the world’s political, technological and cultural powerhouses.

In contrast to all this, others fear that due to the influx of anglicisms Germans will lose their national identity. The formation of the *Verein für die Deutsche Sprache* (*Association for the German Language*) in 1997 coincided with renewed puristic criticisms of anglicisms. The members of the association state (<http://www:vds.ev.de>):

¹ translated by the author

“Wir wollen der Anglicisierung der deutschen Sprache entgegenreten und die Menschen in Deutschland an den Wert und Schönheit ihrer Muttersprache erinnern.”

”We want to counter the ‘anglicisation’ of the German language and remind people in Germany of the value and beauty of their native language.”

As pointed out by Gardt and Hüppauf (2004: 8), the growing spread of English is frequently objected to as a “colonizing act of the americanisation of the world, which can lead to the loss of identity and homogenisation and multilingualism in a globalized world”.

Some people (e.g. Zimmer, 1997) even suggest that German is “degenerating into a pidgin”. Another contributing factor to the current wave of paranoia regarding anglicisms is DEnglisch, which is a relatively popular term that refers to a language which is a mixture of Deutsch and Englisch.

Although Carstensen (1984: 43) notes that no other language has influenced German more nor has a stronger impact on it today, attitudes and reactions towards anglicisms remain mixed in Germany. Its extensive functional roles, however, suggest that English will remain the preferred means of international communication.

It seems to me that it is Onysko (2007: 322), who has managed to find the happy medium in this much debated question, which he captures like this:

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. A restrictive approach to the use of English could potentially backlash since German would acquire a taste of institutionalised and static language. Reasonable pride in the German language should be guided by a belief in the openness and vitality of German, which proves easily capable of processing new lexical influences from other language cultural areas. As such, German will continue to be a language in bloom. Onysko (2007: 322)

6 Conclusion

As is evident from the above discussion, anglicisms represent a multifaceted phenomenon in German today. The present study set out to highlight the following aspects of anglicisms: the reasons for borrowings touching upon their diachronic development, their functional range and domains, their classification

possibilities, their integration into the system of present-day German with special emphasis on their orthographic, phonological, morphological, and semantic properties, and people's attitudes associated with this new way of expanding the lexicon.

Similarly to other languages, the main reason for the appearance of anglicisms in German is language contact. Analysing their diachronic development, it can be stated that at the beginning religion, trade, politics, and later new innovations and the spread of the American culture and life-style were its main motivating factors. Nowadays due to globalization, we can find anglicisms in different fields of life, ranging from technical and scientific terms through business, commercials to entertainment and sports. I assume that in the majority of cases the appearance of loan words is a mere necessity as a language needs new words for new things. However, it must also be mentioned that in some cases it seems to be a matter of fashion to use anglicisms.

As for their functions, their precision, brevity, vividness, playfulness and variation of expression make them undoubtedly a preferred means of communication, not just in German, but in other languages as well.

Anglicisms get integrated into the system of German at different levels. We can observe various degrees of assimilation, ranging from partial to full assimilation in terms of their orthography, phonology, morphology and semantics. Assimilation is especially conspicuous in the morphology of nouns, first of all in assigning their grammatical gender, in the formation of their plural and the genitive case.

As far as their word classes are concerned, nouns make up the majority of words of English origin in German. It is perhaps not surprising because the majority of borrowings refer to new inventions and concepts which first appeared in the English-speaking countries, mainly in the United States, and there were no corresponding expressions in German for them. I assume that of their types, i.e. direct borrowings, the different types of loan words, pseudo anglicisms (*Handy*, *Beamer*) and hybrid compounds (*Business-Sprachkurs*, *Teamarbeit*), the latter two are especially interesting phenomena, and reflect the creativity of the German language.

It is, however, worth mentioning that while these borrowings seem to have some impact on the morphology of German, its syntax remains more or less untouched by their influence. No doubt the integration of anglicisms into present-day German is most dominant in the field of lexis. In fact, they have an important gap-filling function, and thus they contribute considerably to the enrichment of the lexicon of the German language.

Anglicisms have stirred and keep on stirring intense debates in German speaking countries nowadays. Some people depict the influx of new loans from the Anglo-American world as a menace to German whereas others look on them

as a normal phenomenon. All in all, they enrich the German language, primarily its lexicon.

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