English Borrowings in German Newspaper Language: Motivations, Frequencies, and Types, on the basis of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Muenchner Merkur*, and *Bild*.

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This study examines three online German newspapers to investigate the frequency of English words, patterns in the types of borrowings, and motivations behind their use. The paper first examines possible types of borrowings from English, historical reasons for the borrowing from English, and stylistic aspects to the usage of English in press language. Next, it presents previous research on the topic and describes the objectives and procedures of this study. It then proceeds to the results of the study and discusses the main questions that this study tries to answer: (1) How does the research data support the stylistic motivations for the borrowing of English words put forward by Galinsky and Pfitzner? (2) How does the frequency of English borrowings vary in different newspapers? (3) How does the frequency of English borrowings vary in different genres of news? (4) Using Carstensen's categories of vocabulary borrowings, what types of English words are borrowed? (5) What grammatical types do the borrowed English words belong to? (6) Among the English borrowings, which words occur the most frequently? (7) How do the results compare to previous studies on the topic? The paper closes by providing some limitations to the study and suggesting possible improvements.

I Types of Borrowings

Building on earlier work, Carstensen defines an Anglicism as a word in German coming from British or American English, an uncommon word compound, or any type of change in German word meaning, word usage, pronunciation, or syntax following British or American example (Carstensen, 1965, 30). While he also points out the difference between Americanisms and Briticisms, this study does not distinguish between the two and refers to borrowings from either country as Anglicisms. Carstensen's work covers the influence of English on three areas of the

German language: morphology, vocabulary, and syntax (Carstensen, 1965). While English has strong influences on German morphology[1] and syntax[2], investigating these influences is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, for purposes of this study, the area of focus is the influence of English on German with respect to vocabulary only. Carstensen, Griesel, and Meyer focus on this influence on vocabulary (Carstensen, Griesel, & Meyer, 1972). They investigate the intensity of English influence on German media language and categorize the English words they find into eight groups as follows:

(1) consists of foreign and loan words[3], or words that are transferred from English in their entirety, e.g. *Bestseller*, *Computer*, *Couch*.

(2) consists of compound words made up of one English and one German part where either the first or second part of the compound is English, e.g. *Beatrhythmus*, *Couchtisch*, *Campingplatz*, and *Mainz-City*, *Haarstylist*, *Spitzenstar*.

(3) is composed of loan translations - words literally translated from English into German, e.g. *Einkaufszentrum* 'shopping center',

[1] An example of a morphological influence involves the direct compounding of two nouns, as in *Adenauer-Reise* 'Adenauer trip' vs. *Adenauers Reise* 'Adenauer's trip' (Carstensen, 1965, 40).

[2] An example of a syntactical influence is illustrated by certain preposition uses. For example, *in 1960* 'in 1960' vs. *im Jahre 1960* 'in the year 1960' is due to English influence (Carstensen, 1965, 71).

[3] In his earlier work, Carstensen clarifies that sometimes foreign words and loan words are borrowed from another language because they do not exist in the target language or cannot be precisely expressed in the target language. In other cases, foreign and loan words are borrowed even though they have equivalents with same or similar meaning in the target language. The distinction between foreign words and loan words relates to orthography and pronunciation. For foreign words, orthography and pronunciation remain unchanged from the source language. Loan words, on the other hand, adapt to the new language with respect to orthography and pronunciation (Carstensen & Galinsky, 1967, 20).

Untergrundtaetigkeit 'underground activity', *Einbahnstrasse* 'one-way street'. Loan translations are commonly known as calques.

(4) consists of loan meanings, i.e., words that previously existed in German and take on a new meaning under the influence of English. For instance, *Klima* 'climate' previously referred only to the weather climate, but has taken on the meaning of general atmosphere or ambience as in *Betriebsklima* 'work climate'.

(5) is composed of loan creations - new formations independent from English influence that are created to reproduce the meaning of an English word[4], e.g. *Klimaanlage* 'air conditioning (lit. climate facility)', *vollklimatisiert* 'air-conditioned (lit. fully "climatized")'.

(6) consists of pseudo loan words. Pseudo loan words are formed in German with English morpheme material, but their combination and meaning do not exist in English, e.g. *Dressman* 'male model'.

(7) includes words that came from English into German as a whole and are later shortened to a form that is not understood in English. For example, *Pullover* 'sweater' is commonly referred to as *Pulli*.

(8) includes words that have been borrowed into German more than once with a different meaning each time, e.g. *Service,* which initially referred to a tennis move and now takes on the additional meaning of client services (Carstensen et al., 1972, 239-41).

[4] However, it is not clear to me how this is different from any other coinage in German. Perhaps category (5) includes only coinages for items coming from the United States (or Great Britain).

The present study does not include words from all eight above categories. Instead, it focuses on those that are direct transfers from English, i.e. words of categories (1) (foreign and loan words), (2) (compound words with an English part), (6) (pseudo loan words) and (7) (shortened loan words). Words of (8) (multiple loans) are often foreign or loan words and are thus also counted in the study. To clarify, the words that are counted all contain English morpheme material. Excluded from the study are those words that do not contain English morpheme material and are not easily identifiable as being of English origin, i.e. loan translations (calques), loan meanings, and loan creations.

II Historical reasons for the borrowing from English

Schlick presents an overview of the historical reasons for the borrowing of English terms in the German language (Schlick, 1985). Many words of English origin have been in the German language for so long that they have been fully integrated and can no longer be distinguished from pure German words, e.g. *Start, Streik, Tank,* introduced into German in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first English words, e.g. *Boot,* entered the German language as early as the thirteenth century. Maritime terms have come from the seafaring nation of England, while commercial vocabulary came from trade between Britain and the Hanseatic League in North Germany. Later, intellectuals and authors started incorporating terms they read in English novels in their own writing. Additionally, German travelers brought English expressions home with them. Since the thirteenth century, the extent of English influence on German has fluctuated a great deal. After 1870-71, when the adoption of

French words began to decline, English became popular and its influence began to grow. The links between the Prussian Hohenzollerns and the British Royal House provided grounds for language borrowings. Also, England was the leading industrialized nation at the time and, furthermore, led the way in many sporting areas. After Germany's defeat in World War I, the rate at which English words entered German further increased. At this point, most English words came from America, e.g. *Bar*. After 1945 there was an influx of English words higher than any seen previously. There are several reasons behind this influx during the post-war period. Carstensen identifies the main points of contact after 1945 between Germany on the one side and the United States and England on the other as being on military, political, economical, and cultural bases (Carstensen, 1965, 15-7). *Permit* and others during the first years of Allied Occupation were the beginning of a large quantity of English word borrowings (Schlick, 1985, 5). The influence of political events can be seen through examples like *Impeachment* borrowed after the Watergate scandal, and *Eskalation, Konfrontation* borrowed during the Vietnam war era (Schlick, 1985, 10). Economic influences on the German language increased with the Marshall Plan (Carstensen, 1965, 15). Also, during the second half of the twentieth century, German adopted innumerable English words because of the many technological innovations of the time. The Germans used English names for innovations that came into the country, e.g. *Computer.* In addition, they wanted to give internationally recognizable names to their products that were being exported to the world. International scientific exchange also facilitated language borrowings. American culture was brought over to Germany through the wide range

of media. Admiring the American lifestyle, many Germans started using English words for items they associated with that American lifestyle, e.g. *Jeep* (Schlick, 1985, 10)

III Stylistic Aspects

Having established that English has generally entered the German language on military, political, economical, and cultural domains, it is important to note that not all English words in German are domain-specific borrowings, i.e., not all English words in German are borrowed due to their pertaining to a specific field. As English words are sometimes borrowed for style, it is essential to also examine the stylistic aspects behind the usage of an English word. Galinsky's work (Carstensen & Galinsky, 1967) is groundbreaking in the research of stylistic aspects for the usage of Anglicisms in German and forms the basis for further research. Later, Pfitzner (Pfitzner, 1978) looks at press language specifically, and outlines the stylistic functions of the Anglicisms it contains. This section of the paper examines four of Galinsky's main stylistic motivations for the usage of Anglicisms in German, and expands on them using Pfitzner's discussions where appropriate.

The usage of *Jeep* due to admiration of the American lifestyle relates to the first stylistic motivation for the borrowing of English. Being the most obvious stylistic use in Galinsky's mind, Anglicisms suggest American reality by "impressing American 'atmosphere' on the German listener's or reader's mind" (Carstensen & Galinsky, 1967, 38). Also referred to as providing American color, the function of suggesting American reality is used to convey to the reader or listener American figures, settings,

or actions. When watching a play, for example, listeners feel a closer understanding to the reality of the characters when some terms remain in the characters' language (Carstensen & Galinsky, 1967, 38). Transferring this idea to newspaper language, readers might grasp the reality of a news story relating to the United States or to an American person more easily when they perceive English words. On stylistic coloring Pfitzner suggests,

> Auf den Journalismus uebertragen heisst das, dass die Zeitung sich besondere Muehe gibt, um der Eigenart des Geschilderten in der sprachlichen Fassung gerecht zu werden (Pfitzner, 1978, 39).
>
> 'Carried over to journalism this means that the newspaper takes particular care to linguistically live up to the peculiarity of that which is illustrated' (my translation).

Pfitzner distinguishes three types of coloring: *Lokalkolorit* 'local coloring', *Fachkolorit* 'field coloring', and *Sozialkolorit* 'social coloring'. *Lokalkolorit* implies the usage of foreign words to portray objects, phenomena, people, or processes that do not occur within German language boundaries. Anglicisms are suited in a unique way to indicate local coloring since the average reader has certain emotional associations with England or America (Pfitzner, 1978, 39-41). *Fachkolorit* refers to expressions specific to a certain field or profession, and are used to help readers identify with that field or profession. The reason why *Fachkolorit* may employ many Anglicisms is due to a reason mentioned previously: innovations coming from abroad keep their English names in German (Pfitzner, 1978, 46-7). English words used for *Sozialkolorit* try to reach linguistic identification between members of a group having a same characteristic or sharing a similar interest. Such words may delineate group membership and exclude

outsiders, and they are, therefore, similar to words of *Fachkolorit.* What distinguishes the two is more colloquial character of words of *Sozialkolorit* (Pfitzner, 1978, 98-9).

The stylistic function of suggesting American reality can be linked to Galinsky's function of precision. Compared to the former, in which Anglicisms refer mostly to American things, the function of establishing precision has a wider range of applications and can refer to German things also, even though an implicit reference to an American origin might remain (Carstensen & Galinsky, 1967, 42). A borrowing that occurs for precision reasons has no exact German equivalents and "helps repattern a German semantic field" (Carstensen & Galinsky, 1967, 44). For example, *Job* has a distinctive meaning from *Stelle* 'job' in that it refers to paid employment that is usually part-time and less permanent (Carstensen & Galinsky, 1967, 45).

Third, Galinsky suggests that Anglicisms are used for the practical reason of effecting brevity. With its many syllabic inflections and multimorphemic compounds, German lends itself particularly well to borrowing monosyllabic and disyllabic words from English for stylistic reasons. For example, it is not surprising that the trisyllabic transfer *Sex-appeal* with German equivalents *geschlechtliche Anziehung* or *geschlechtliche Anziehungskraft* has been successful since 1927 (Carstensen & Galinsky, 1967, 48-9). Pfitzner refers to both the usage of Anglicisms to achieve linguistic precision and the use of Anglicims to achieve brevity as language economization (Pfitzner, 1978, 161). He suggests that both precision and brevity are vital to newspaper language, yet the motivations behind the two are divergent. Brevity decreases the space needed in the publication as well as the time it takes the journalist to write the article, and both of

these result in a saving in costs. In attempting to achieve precision, the journalist is not influenced by non-linguistic considerations for choosing the right word, but rather acts in his own interest to secure optimal stylistic effectiveness to the reader. According to Pfitzner,

> Unter praezisen Ausdruecken verstehen wir einerseits solche, die der sprachlichen Darstellung angemessen sind und andererseits beim Lesepublikum auf Interesse, auf Verstaendnis oder reactive Gefuehle stossen werden (Pfitzner, 1978, 161).
>
> 'Precise expressions are those that are appropriate linguistic depictions on the one hand, and evoke interest, understanding, or reactive feelings in the reader audience on the other hand' (my translation).

This quote suggests that newspaper language has a dual role of both giving an accurate description and evoking the reader's interest.

Fourth, Galinsky discusses the usage of Anglicisms to create or increase variation of expression. According to Galinsky, variation of expression occurs in two forms. In one form the native phrase or word is used jointly with the borrowed variant, and in the other form the native item is omitted (Carstensen et al., 1972, 69). As an example of the former, a text using *Feier* 'party' in the first sentence may refer to the same event by *Party* in the second sentence. Alternatively, the text could refer to the event as *Party* throughout. Pointing out that it is sometimes unavoidable to repeat an important word several times and that journalists are always looking for synonyms, Pfitzner views Anglicisms as an option for avoiding monotonous repetition. An additional advantage lies in the added perspective: two words that are similar in meaning can give a far richer nuance than one word alone (Pfitzner, 1978, 153-4). In close relation to the function of stylistic variation, Pfitzner mentions those of

conspicuity, word games, and intensification of expression. The first suggests that for orthographic reasons, Anglicisms are conspicuous when embedded in German sentences, and thereby catch the attention of the reader (Pfitzner, 1978, 122). Word games are used to deviate from the usual and give the texts an unusual form to evoke interest and enjoyment of joke in the reader. For instance, a journalist may play with rhythm and rhyme of Anglicisms (Pfitzner, 1978, 145). Anglicisms are also used for emphasis to achieve intensification of expression. Journalists may string together several synonyms for a word, using Anglicisms as one possibility (Pfitzner, 1978, 149).

In many cases, the motive behind an Anglicism is a combination of several stylistic aspects, and it can be difficult to disentangle the effects. Take for example the word *Trend* and its German equivalents *Richtung*, *Tendenz*, *Stroemung. Trend* is the only monosyllabic substantive and might be borrowed for brevity reasons. In addition, *Trend* might function under *Lokalkolorit* in that people might associate it with a process that originated in America (Carstensen et al., 1972, 49). Thirdly, depending on the context, *Trend* might provide variation in expression when it is being substituted for a German equivalent.

It is important to remember that this study counts both words where the journalist deliberately chooses to use an English alternative for a word (stylistic borrowings), as well as words that have no German equivalent (context borrowings). The words that have no German equivalent, e.g. *Internet, online, Jazz, Cent* are not a reflection of the journalist's choice. The motivation behind the usage of these words is thus not a stylistic one, but rather one of necessity.

IV Previous Research

> Newspapers constitute a major means of conveying language innovations.
>
> Die Zeitung und die Zeitschrift sind nicht die einzigen Einfallstore fuer Sprachformen aus dem Amerikanischen Englisch (AE), aber, wie es scheint, die wichtigsten (Carstensen & Galinsky, 1967, 11).
>
> 'Newspapers and magazines aren't the only gateway for language forms from American English, but they are, as it seems, the most important ones' (my translation).

Zindler, as cited by Carstensen affirms that it is clear that the press

> ...eine grosse Wirkung auf den Leser ausuebt, seine Sprache in einem hohen Masse formt und daher eine der staerksten Kraefte in der Entwickelung des heutigen Deutsch ist (Carstensen, 1965, 20).
>
> 'has a strong effect on the reader, forms his language to a high extent, and is therefore one of the strongest forces in the development of modern German' (my translation).

The above quotes suggest that language change and variation are to some extent in the hands of journalists. On the other hand it can be argued that the journalists' choice of English is a subconscious decision where they happen to choose the English word out of the wide range of possibilities available to them in their lexicon. Newspapers are then not necessarily a source of language change, but rather a reflection of language change.

While newspapers share the function of conveying new language forms with radio and television, their influence is argued to be stronger for three reasons. First, newspapers present a larger quantity of material to the audience. Second, it is argued that written language is more permanent than spoken language (Carstensen, 1965, 20). The latter argument can be criticized on the basis that newspapers are usually not kept

on record by individuals. They are read through once and then disposed of. A third advantage of looking at newspaper language to examine language innovations suggests that compared to the language in literary work that is often targeted toward a very specific audience and might tend to use specialized language, newspaper language is less likely to use terms that are not understood by the majority of readers (Carstensen et al., 1972, 239). It is important to note that there are also some disadvantages of looking at newspaper language. For example, English expressions used in press language are often temporary borrowings that disappear after a short while. While it is impossible to imagine the word *Babysitter* ever being replaced by a German term again, other English borrowings enter and leave the language. For instance, the term *Camp* in the sense of *Kriegsgefangenenlager* 'war prisoner camp' has been lost from German (Carstensen, 1965, 20). The newspaper language of a certain period may thus not accurately reflect the usage of English in actual spoken language during that time period (Carstensen et al., 1972, 241). Another disadvantage of press language is its anonymity. Many unknown authors work on the press language, and due to the nature of their profession, they tend to write under time pressure. As there is usually not much time for revision, unwanted words sometimes remain in the articles. In the case of Anglicisms, this can happen easily to German journalists reporting in England or the United States, where they may subconsciously use English words (Carstensen, 1965, 20-1).

Various studies have been conducted on the usage of English in German media language. The results of four major studies are summarized here. Carstensen carries out

a systematic study using language material from twenty different West-German newspapers and magazines from the years 1961 to 1964. He devotes particular attention to the news magazine *Der Spiegel*, a highly-respected and very influential weekly magazine with a circulation of about one million per week. While being very hesitant to give a result, he finds that the German press contains on average about two Americanisms or Anglicisms per page. Carstensen warns that the amount of English depends to a large extent on the content of the particular newspaper or magazine. For example, in one of the magazines he examines, he finds a total of 40 English words, 24 of them being within one article on professional boxing. This example shows how easily the data can be skewed in a certain direction. Carstensen also finds that the section of a publication that is most likely to contain a large number of English words is the feature pages (movie and theater reviews). In addition, Carstensen points out that the sports language uses a lot of English, but most of the words were borrowed before 1945 (Carstensen, 1965).

A study by Carstensen, Griesel, and Meyer investigates Anglicisms and Americanisms in a single edition of the Mainz *Allgemeine Zeitung*, with a total of 22 pages. The Mainz *Allgemeine Zeitung* is a standard regional newspaper, comparable to the *Muenchner Merkur*. It is read in the northern region of Rhineland-Palatinate and had a circulation of 180,000 copies at the time of the study. The authors differentiate between actual text and advertisement. The actual text exhibits 117 Anglicisms, advertisements have 92, and titles and picture annotations have 17. The authors claim that the relatively small use of Anglicisms in the last category indicates that English is

not used as an eye-catcher (Carstensen et al., 1972). These numbers alone do not give us much insight, though, as we are unaware of the total number of words counted in the study.

Fink examines Americanisms in the vocabulary of the three German newspapers *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and *Die Welt*. These newspapers are representative for their particular geographic area (southern, central, and northern Germany, respectively), but at the same time mirror German newspaper language of the entire country. Fink categorizes the Anglicisms he finds into three groups: no-substitution, partial substitution, and full substitution, where substitution refers to the replacement of an English word by a German one. Words with no-substitution are directly taken from English, e.g. *Disengagement, Bestseller, New Look.* Words with partial substitution are compounds with both German and English parts, e.g. *Disengagement-Vorstellungen* 'disengagement visions', *Fernsehinterview* 'television interview', *Spitzenmanager* 'top manager'. Words with full substitution are usually not as easily recognizable as Americanisms, e.g *einfrieren* 'to fix (lit. to freeze)'. It is important to note that Fink's categorization is in line with Carstensen's: Fink's no-substitution words correspond to Carstensen's foreign and loan words; Fink's partial substitution words correspond to Carstensen's compound words; Fink's full substitution words include Carstensen's loan translations (calques), loan meanings, and loan creations. Out of a total of 7336 expressions, Fink finds that 58.5% are no-substitution words, 37.3% are partial substitution words, and 4.2% are full substitution words (Fink, 1970).

Engels investigates the changing influence of American English on German during the period 1954 to 1964. The study uses two corpora of *Die Welt*, and is carried out with the help of a computer. Engels uses the same terminology as Fink, i.e. no-substitution, partial substitution, and full substitution. She finds a total of 845 Anglicisms in 1954, and 2372 in 1964, implying that in 1964 they occur 2.8 times as often as in 1954. After adjusting for total number of words checked in each year, the number of Anglicisms in 1954 is extrapolated to 914. Nevertheless, the frequency of Anglicisms in 1964 is much higher than in 1954. The number of Anglicisms as a percentage of the total corpus is about 0.2% in 1954, and 0.6% in 1964. In 1954, there is one Anglicism per 600 words, and one new Anglicism (not previously used in the text) per 1300 words. In 1964 the situation has already changed, and there is one Anglicism per 200 words, and one new Anglicism for every 550 words (Engels, 1976). This is much higher than the results of Fink's studies indicate.

While many studies have been conducted on this topic, it is very misleading to compare their results for several reasons: the number of words that constitutes one page of newspaper text can vary to a significant extent. Take for example the difference between a page of reports and a page of advertisements. In order to compare the results of different studies, one would have to know the number of English words as a percentage of total words, or another number that can be found and compared across different studies. Even if the numbers were compatible for different studies, there would be yet another factor to hinder their comparison: differences in the words that the authors include in their count. Among the four studies above, the first two include

words from Carstensen's eight categories of vocabulary borrowings, while the later two studies look for words in the three categories of no-substitution, partial substitution, and full substitution. To add to the difficulty of comparison, some studies, e.g. Carstensen, Griesel, and Meyer consider both Anglicisms and Americanisms, while others, e.g. Engels consider only influences from American English. Lastly, Engels is the only out of the four to work with computers, which, as she claims, results in fewer counting errors and more accurate numbers[5] (Engels, 1976, 51).

V Objective and description of study

The objective of this study is to investigate English borrowings in three German online newspapers aimed at different audiences. It will examine the motivations behind their usage, the frequency at which they occur, and their different types (any patterns that arise with respect to the choice of borrowings). The main questions that the discussion of the research data will focus on are as follows:

(1) How does the research data support the stylistic motivations for the borrowing of English words put forward by Galinsky and Pfitzner?
(2) How does the frequency of English borrowings vary in different newspapers?
(3) How does the frequency of English borrowings vary in different genres of news?
(4) Using Carstensen's categories of vocabulary borrowings, what types of English words are borrowed?
(5) What grammatical types do the borrowed English words belong to?
(6) Among the English borrowings, which words occur the most frequently?
(7) How do the results compare to the previous studies above?

[5] It would be wrong to assume that a computerized method always gives more accurate results. Depending on how the program is run, it may potentially also lead to counting errors.

Three major newspapers with a range of target audiences serve as the main sources for this study. Due to the increasing use of the internet for communication of news, this study uses the online versions as opposed to their printed counterparts. The research method consists of counting the number of English borrowings as a percentage of total words in a series of thirty-six articles in each newspaper. As mentioned in the introduction above, only English words pertaining to Carstensen's categories (1), (2), (6), and (7) are counted. These include foreign and loan words (where loan words are those that have become nativized with respect to orthography and pronunciation), compound words with an English part, pseudo loan words, and shortened loan words. In Fink's terms, this study includes words of no- substitution and partial substitution only. The following newspapers were chosen for the study: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ), Muenchner Merkur*, and *Bild-Zeitung (Bild)*. Information on each of these sources is given below. The general opinion among German readers is that the *FAZ* is one of the most serious German newspapers. It generally gets a high level of respect from educated people. The *Bild* has a reputation of being unreliable, and it tends to not be respected by educated people. The *Muenchner Merkur* is assumed to lie somewhere in between the *FAZ* and the *Bild*, as it does not stand out either as being particularly well-respected at a national level or as being looked down upon by the educated.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Frankfurt general newspaper") is a highly-respected nationwide independent daily newspaper. Having over a million readers per day, the *FAZ* describes itself as "required reading" at all German security exchanges. It is delivered daily to 148 countries, making it the German newspaper with the highest

distribution rate to other countries. The *FAZ* has been in print since 1949. "Newspaper for Germany" was and is the primary characteristic of its function. The founders of the *FAZ* generated a newspaper addressed to a wide range of social classes to reflect people of all occupations and age groups (*Portraet: Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung im Ueberblick*). The *FAZ* is known to be a serious newspaper. The title page traditionally has no pictures, and the rest of the newspaper consists primarily of text. The *FAZ* primarily covers the following genres of news: politics, economy, finance, sport, and feuilleton (literature, concert, cinema).

The *Muenchner Merkur* ("Munich Mercury") is a standard regional daily newspaper of the Munich region. According to a member of the editorial staff, the *Muenchner Merkur* has been in print since 1946 and has about 300,000 daily readers (personal communication, November, 2004). In addition to its standard Munich edition, the *Muenchner Merkur* prints varying editions that are local to towns in the Munich area. For example, the town of Freising has the *Freisinger Tagblatt*, which in addition to the standard *Muenchner Merkur* sections, has a section with local news from Freising. The *Muenchner Merkur* covers the following main genres of news: politics, local news, culture, economy, and sports.

The *Bild-Zeitung* ("picture newspaper") is a nationwide daily tabloid newspaper. A tabloid is a newspaper with the smaller size of the two standard newspapers. The *Bild* sells around 4 million copies every day (*Bild-Zeitung*). It often presents news in sensational forms by making use of numerous illustrations, emphasizing crime stories, celebrity gossip, sex, and sports. It is not broken up into different sections. The *Bild-*

Zeitung is known to exaggerate stories in general and has been criticized on the basis of lack of credibility and objectivity. The language of the *Bild-Zeitung* tends to have a colloquial character (*Bild-Zeitung*).

Within each newspaper, I chose articles of six different contents or genres of news and counted six articles per genre, totaling thirty-six articles per newspaper and 108 articles in the entire study. Choosing different genres of news enables me to investigate whether certain subject matters are more likely than others to have a higher percentage of English words. The following news genres were chosen for the study: *Politics, Economy, People, Soccer, Computer, Health/Wellness.* While these genres of news are not all equally represented in each of the newspapers, they provide an effective combination for the purpose of this topic of study. Politics, economics, and sports are three topics that are usually covered at least to some extent in every newspaper. The *Politics* and *Economy* sections contain both national and international news. Specifying sports articles to a specific sport gives results that are more consistent in terms of the specific vocabulary used for a sport. The percentage of English words in articles of different kinds of sports would very much depend on the type of sport the article covers. For example, an article on American football is more likely to have many English words than an article on a sport that traditionally has been played in Germany. As it is the national sport, soccer was chosen for this study. The news genre *People* seems to be popular particularly in the *Muenchner Merkur* and the *Bild*. It includes stories on royal families, pop stars, movie stars, and other celebrities. Articles on both German and international people were counted. The news genre *Computer* is

included in the study to see how the frequency of English words changes when the article deals with a technology-related topic. *Health/Wellness* includes articles on diet and fitness programs, medications, and other topics related to the body. With respect to the categories of English words counted in the articles, it was mentioned above that this study considers foreign and loan words, compound words with an English part, pseudo loan words, and shortened loan words. Some types of words that are not included in the count are proper names, names of cities, and names of events (festivals, tournaments e.g *Champions League*). The reason for their omission is the fact that proper names and the like are hardly ever translated and tend not to have German equivalents.

VI Results and Discussion

Table 1 gives a summary of all collected data,[6] where the numbers indicate the percentages of English words out of the total number of words in the articles. The numbers that correspond to a specific section in a certain newspaper were calculated by dividing the total number of English words across all articles of that section in the particular newspaper by the total number of words in these articles. The last column indicates the percentages of English words in each genre across all articles in the three newspapers. The last row indicates the percentages of English words in each newspaper across all articles in the six genres. The number in the bottom right corner cell indicates the overall percentage of English words of all articles included in the study. Figure 1 below is a graphical representation of the data in Table 1.

[6] See Appendix I for complete list of data. See Appendix II for complete list of words.

	FAZ	MM	Bild	Genre (overall)
Politics	0.13%	0.09%	0.64%	0.23%
Economy	1.39%	0.69%	1.91%	1.25%
People	1.57%	2.22%	2.00%	1.85%
Soccer	1.20%	1.65%	0.75%	1.20%
Computer	3.69%	4.06%	3.86%	3.85%
Health/Wellness	0.35%	0.67%	2.87%	1.01%
Newspaper (overall)	1.30%	1.43%	1.96%	1.50%

Table 1: Summary of data: Percentages of English words

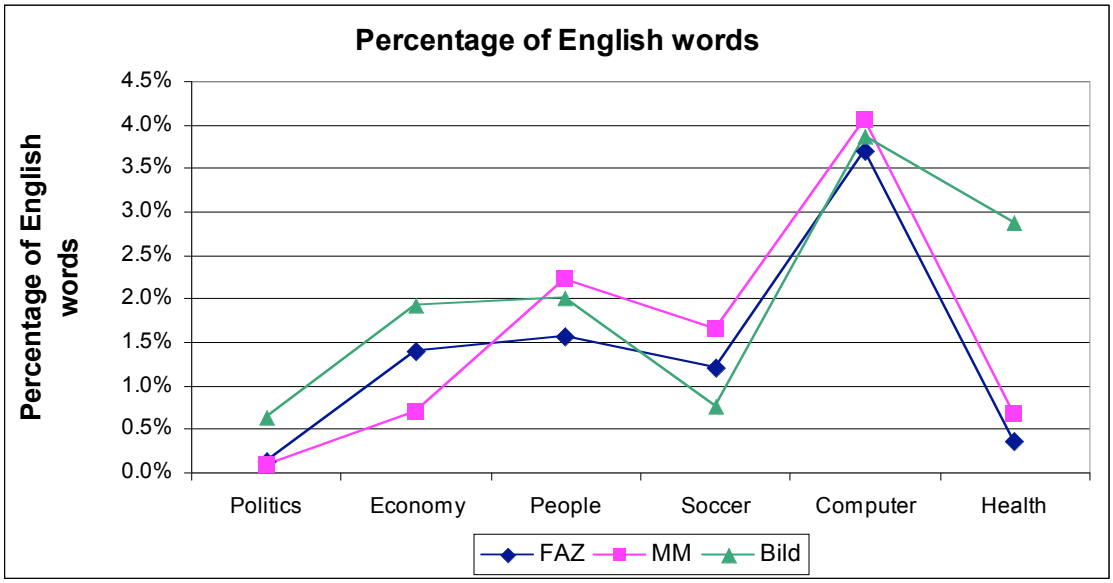

Figure 1: Percentages of English words

(1) How does the research data support the stylistic motivations for the borrowing of English words put forward by Galinsky and Pfitzner?

Among the English words that were found in the examined articles, do we find any support for the claims made by Galinsky and Pfitzner? This section first investigates whether the data provides any support for American coloring and

furthermore provides some examples of the data that illustrate the functions of achieving precision, brevity, and variation in expression.

By identifying each article as relating either directly, indirectly, or not at all to either the United States or Great Britain, we will be able to see whether the amount of English borrowings increases when the subject matter is related to things American or things British (Fink, 1970, 120). Each of the articles was given a value: 3 if its subject matter was directly related to the United States or Great Britain, 2 if its subject matter was indirectly related to the United States or Great Britain, and 1 if there was no relation. Category 3 includes an article on Michael Jackson, for example. Category 1 includes an article on a soccer match between Borussia Dortmund and FC Bayern. Category 2 is less clearly defined, and includes an article on international reactions to the finding of uranium in Iran, and another on internet searching. Table 2 summarizes the results of this investigation where the second column gives the percentage of English words across all articles in a particular category.

Relation of subject to US/GB	Percentage of English words
Direct	2.11%
Indirect	3.74%
None	1.04%

Table 2: Percentages of English words with respect to article's subject matter

Table 2 shows that articles whose subject matters are either directly or indirectly related to the United States or Great Britain have a much higher percentage of English words than do those whose subject matter is completely unrelated to the two countries. While the percentages for both the directly-related and indirectly-related

categories are higher than the percentage in the unrelated category, it is somewhat surprising that the indirectly-related category has a value that is higher than the value of the directly-related category. Breaking the data in Table 2 down into newspapers as shown in Table 3 illustrates the reason for the relatively high frequency of English borrowings in the indirectly-related category.

Relation of subject to US/GB	FAZ: Percentage of English words	MM: Percentage of English words	Bild: Percentage of English words
Direct	2.25%	2.22%	1.78%
Indirect	2.53%	2.22%	8.00%
None	0.93%	0.71%	1.64%

Table 3: Percentages of English words by newspaper with respect to article's subject matter

Table 3 shows that the newspapers do not behave the same way in each of the three categories. The fact that the *Bild* has a disproportionately high frequency of English borrowings in its articles in the indirect category skews the overall number in Table 2 upward to 3.74%. The unusually high number for the *Bild* in the indirect category may arise from the fact that many of the indirectly-related articles deal with computer-related subjects. Articles in the *Computer* category have the highest percentage of English words, and *Computer* articles in the *Bild* moreover have a relatively high percentage of English words as compared to all *Computer* articles. A possible reason why the differences between the direct and indirect categories are not large for the *FAZ* and *Muenchner Merkur* is that articles were assigned a category based only on their title. It may be the case that many of the articles identified as being indirectly-related are in fact more closely related than their titles suggest. Nevertheless, the results from

this investigation in Tables 2 and 3 suggest that American coloring or suggesting American reality may be a stylistic motivator for the borrowing of English. We must be careful in drawing any definite conclusions, though, as the frequency of English borrowings may be higher for non-stylistic reasons as well.

We saw previously that borrowings occur for precision reasons when the word has no exact German equivalent. It was pointed out that *Job* has a distinctive meaning from *Stelle* 'job' in that it refers to paid employment that is usually part-time and less permanent. There is no German word with the exact same connotation as *Job*. Upon examination of the data collected in this study, we find several borrowings that are comparable to *Job* in that they may have been borrowed for precision reasons. Ten such cases are exemplified in Table 4:

English borrowing	**German equivalent**	**Difference in connotation**
Experte	Fachmann	While *Fachmann* refers to being an expert in a professional field, one can be an *Experte* at many different activities. For example, one could even be called an *Experte* at frequently yelling at other people.
fit	gesund	*Fit* focuses on the shape/condition someone is in, i.e. whether someone exercises regularly. *Gesund* focuses on the health of the person, i.e. whether or not s/he has any disesases. Someone can be *gesund* but not fit
Show	Auffuehrung	*Show* emphasizes the entertainment aspect of a show, i.e. it brings to mind special effects, music, etc. whereas *Auffuerung* can refer to a more serious event, such as a Shakespeare play.
Trainer	Uebungsleiter	A *Trainer* is a professional who manages a person or group of people, e.g. in a sport. An *Uebungsleiter* may lead more leisurely training.
Hit	Schlager	*Hit* refers to popular, modern songs. *Schlager* tends to refer to songs that were popular in

		previous generations.
Dinner	Abendessen	*Abendessen* refers to the daily meal of the evening at home. *Dinner* refers to a dinner of special occasion, rather like a banquet, mostly outside the home.
Hotel	Gasthof	*Gasthof* refers to a more old-fashioned lodging accommodation with a small number (perhaps 5-10) rooms. *Hotel* refers to a larger lodging accommodation. Also, *Gasthof* brings to mind a place where guests receive more personal attention from the hosts.
Klub	Verein	*Verein* refers to a club or organization that has been around for a long time. In the case of *Verein*, the activity that the members are engaged in has oftentimes become a tradition, e.g. *Fussballverein* 'soccer club'. *Klub* can refer to all organizations, including those with a new activity, e.g. a *Fan-Klub*.
walken	laufen	*Walken* implies walking bristly and emphasizes the exercise that someone is getting while engaged in the activity, whereas *laufen* is just a means of transportation. *Walken* has the connotation of a sport.
Tipp	Ratschlag	*Tipp* refers to a piece of advice that is shorter in length than *Ratschlag*. *Tipp* can be just a short hint or clue.

Table 4: English borrowings and their closest German "equivalents": differences in meaning

It is worth pointing out that in three of the examples in Table 4 (*Hit, Hotel, Klub*), we find that the German equivalent has an old-fashioned undertone. The reason behind this pattern is obvious. When the English borrowings started being used frequently and people stopped using the equivalent German terms, the German terms started to lose their association with the modern world. For example, when people started to use *Hit* for a new popular song and stopped using *Schlager*, the world *Schlager* became somewhat outdated and started referring to old songs.

The third of the stylistic aspects of borrowings discussed previously suggested that English words may be used for purposes of brevity. The example of *Sex-appeal* vs. *geschlechtliche Anziehung* clearly illustrated this argument. With its many multimorphemic compounds, German lends itself well for substituting shorter terms. Upon examination of the data collected in this study, we find numerous borrowings whose German equivalents are much longer, which may have been borrowed for brevity reasons. Ten of such cases are illustrated in Table 5:

English borrowing	**German equivalents**
Fan	Anhaenger, Bewunderer
Index	Anzeiger, Inhaltsverzeichnis
Team	Mannschaft, Arbeitsgruppe
Look	Aussehen
Boom	Aufschwung, Hochkonjunktur
Trend	Richtung, Tendenz, Verlauf
Hit	Schlager
Show	Auffuehrung, Vorstellung, Ausstellung
Interview	Vorstellungsgespraech, Bewerbungsgespraech
Dinner	Abendessen

Table 5: English borrowings and German equivalents: differences in length

The fourth stylistic motivator for the borrowing of English words was reaching variation of expression. We established earlier that one way of achieving variation of expression is by using an English word for something previously referred to by the German equivalent. For example, a text using *Feier* 'party' in the first sentence may refer to the same event by *Party* in the second sentence. The following five examples

illustrate that the articles examined in this study might have borrowed English words to avoid monotonous repetition of words. In each article, the same phenomenon was repeatedly referred to by both the English as well as the German term, as shown in Table 6.

Name of Article	German words referring to phenomenon	English words referring to same phenomenon
So wird auch Ihrer Pokalreif (Bild)	laufen	joggen, walken
Wiedersehen ohne Freude (MM)	Mannschaft	Team
Günstig in die Röhre schauen (MM)	Bildschirm	Monitor
Surferparadies unter weiss-blauem Himmel (MM)	Seite	site
Borussia Dortmund stuerzt ab (FAZ)	Verein	Klub

Table 6: English borrowings and German equivalents referring to same event

Further evidence for the stylistic motivations behind the usage of an English borrowing arises through personal communication with the editorial staff of *NEWS,* a new newspaper that recently came into print in the Rhein-Main region. In response to my inquiry as to why the name has been chosen to be *NEWS*, a member of the newspaper's staff gave the following response:

> *NEWS* ist kurz, prägnant und beinhaltet das, was unsere Zeitung transportiert: Weltweite und lokale Nachrichten, Wirtschaft, Kultur und Wissenschaft (personal communication, November, 2004).
>
> '*NEWS* is short, concise, and implies that which our newspaper transports: worldwide and local news, economy, culture, and science' (my translation).

(2) How does the frequency of English borrowings vary in different newspapers?

The *Bild* clearly stands out with 1.96% English words. The *Muenchner Merkur* has the second highest percentage of English words, 1.43%. The *FAZ* with 1.30% does not lie too far from the *Muenchner Merkur*. The newspapers can be ranked as follows with respect to the percentages of English words they have:

Newspaper	English words as a percentage of total words
Bild	1.96%
Muenchner Merkur	1.43%
FAZ	1.30%
Overall	1.50%

Table 7: Frequency of English words in different newspapers

Using a Chi-squared test for statistical significance, we get the following results:

	Chi^2	Prob
FAZ vs. MM	1.8252	17.670%
FAZ vs. Bild	35.0547	0.000%
MM vs. Bild	20.2502	0.001%

Table 8: Chi-squared test results

In each of the three cases, we are testing the null hypothesis that the two newspapers have the same frequency of English words. The values in the right column of Table 8 represent the probability that the null hypothesis is true. When this value is above 5%, generally the accepted practice is to fail to reject the null hypothesis. In the data in Table 8, the value for *FAZ* vs. *MM* is far above 5%. We fail to reject the null hypothesis, and conclude that the difference in frequencies of English words in the *FAZ* and *Muenchner Merkur* is not statistically significant. The probability values in the other two cases are below 5%. We can reject the null hypothesis in these cases, and conclude that the frequency of English words in the *Bild* is significantly different from both the frequency in the *FAZ* and that in the *Muenchner Merkur*.

The pattern in Table 7 shows that the frequency of English words decreases with increasing seriousness of the newspaper. Why does the *Bild* contain more English words than the other two newspapers? A possible path of reasoning behind this pattern may be due to the stylistic motivations for the borrowing of English words. We remember that several of the stylistic motivations are related to making the language more interesting. Pfitzner discusses the functions of variation of expression, conspicuity, word games, and intensification of expression. English words that are borrowed for stylistic reasons such as these serve the primary purpose of catching the reader's attention. We also established that the *Bild* is known for presenting news in brief, sensational forms and shortening facts on a contextual basis. Given what we know about the *Bild,* we can assume that, compared to the *FAZ* and the *Muenchner Merkur*, the *Bild* focuses more on the language itself rather than on the actual content

of the articles. If this is indeed the case, it is quite understandable why the *Bild* has a higher percentage of English words: with the goal of sounding dramatic and sensational, it focuses more on the presentation of the news headline. It does this by using words that stand out to the reader. English words tend to stand out to the German reader, so English words are often used. Instead of trying to write sensational news stories, the *FAZ* focuses on stimulating the reader to think. This goal emphasizes the actual content of the news and related background information. As the *FAZ* is more focused on thoughtful articles, it makes sense to assume that the articles need fewer English words in order to bring over their messages. While the *Muenchner Merkur* is less of an intellectual newspaper than the *FAZ*, the percentage of English borrowings it contains is not statistically different from the percentage of English borrowings in the *FAZ*. A possible explanation for this finding suggests that the *Muenchner Merkur* has a similar objective as the *FAZ* – presenting the news and related background information. The difference from the *FAZ* is that it is more focused on local and regional news. While it is not widely read in other parts of the country, the *Muenchner Merkur* is well-respected in Munich and its surroundings. It is interesting to note that the *Muenchner Merkur* generally has more English in those sections that are arguably more locally-oriented than the equivalent sections in the *FAZ,* e.g. *People, Soccer,* and *Health/Wellness.* In those sections, which, like the *FAZ,* arguably discuss national issues, e.g. *Politics*, *Economy*, the frequency of English borrowings in the *Muenchner Merkur* is as small or even smaller than in the *FAZ.*

In summary, the frequency of English words in the three newspapers is related to the objectives of the newspapers. The objective of the *FAZ* and the *Muenchner Merkur* is to present the news and stimulate reflection, while that of the *Bild* is to entertain and create emotions. English words serve the function of eye-catchers. Since the *Bild* is very concerned with having headlines and stories that stand out, it is not surprising that it has the highest frequency of English borrowings out of the three newspapers that were examined.

(3) How does the frequency of English borrowings vary in different genres of news?

With respect to the number of English borrowings in the language, the *Computer* section stands out with 3.85% of all words being English. Second highest, but far from the *Computer* section, is the *People* section with 1.85%. *Economy, Soccer,* and *Health/Wellness,* ranging from 1.25% to 1.01%, are not too far apart. The *Politics* sections stand out with only 0.23% of all words being English, the least amount of all sections counted. The sections can be ranked as follows with respect to the percentage of English words they have:

News genre	English words as a percentage of total words
Computer	3.85%
People	1.85%
Economy	1.25%
Soccer	1.20%
Health/Wellness	1.01%
Politics	0.23%
Overall	1.50%

Table 9: Frequency of English words in different genres of news

The percentage of English words across all genres is 1.50%. *Computer* has the highest number of English words, followed by *People*, *Economy*, *Soccer*, and *Health/Wellness*. *Politics* has the lowest number of English words. What are possible reasons for this pattern? Reasons for the high number of English words in the *Computer* section are not difficult to understand. Many of the computer-related borrowings are domain-specific, i.e. there is no alternative to using the English words since there are no German equivalents, and the usage of English borrowings is a necessity. With the huge number of computer products and software applications coming from the United States, the German language adopts the vast majority of new terms, e.g. *Software, E-mail, online.*

Besides the *Computer* sections, the *People* sections, with 1.85% of all words being English, have a relatively large percentage of English words. For one this is due to the many pop culture terms that are adopted in German. Along with the great influence of music and movies on Germany comes the influence of music and movie terminology on German. With many English expressions in this field having German equivalents, it can be argued that the borrowing of English is less of a necessity, but rather a stylistic choice. In the *People* section, Galinsky's stylistic device of providing American color might be playing a role. For example, when reporting about the lifestyle of a Hollywood star, it seems reasonable to assume that there will be English words in the article to create a certain closeness to the star. For example, in the *Muenchner Merkur* article "Britney Spears gibt zum zweiten Mal ihr Ja-Wort" on

Britney Spears' wedding, some English words used are *Pop-Prinzessin, Fans, Party, Smokings, Shows*. German readers tend to associate pop stars with Hollywood, Hollywood with the United States, and the United States with English. Using English will therefore indirectly give them a feeling of being closer to the pop star.

The frequencies of English words in the *Economy*, *Soccer*, and *Health/Wellness* sections are very close to one another with 1.25%, 1.20%, and 1.01% respectively. English borrowings in the *Economy* section are often field-specific borrowings relating to international finance, the state of the economy, or certain aspects of business, e.g. *Crash, Exportboom, Investment.* Also, articles on the economy often discuss new markets and products, and, as we have seen previously, names for new products with an international market are often in English, e.g. *Software.*

With soccer originating in Great Britain, English terms such as *Team, Trainer, Club* have been used in the realm of soccer for a long time. Many of the borrowings in the *Soccer* section do have German equivalents, but the English borrowings continue to be used more.

The words that are borrowed in the *Health/Wellness* sections, e.g. *Design, Wellness-Drink, Power-Drink* tend to have German equivalents. Why then do we see English borrowings? From personal observation, there seems to be a general view among Germans that diets or healthy lifestyle tips coming from the United States are stylish. Assuming that this is indeed the case, Galinsky's stylistic function of American coloring or suggesting American reality might be one of the reasons for English borrowings in the *Health/Wellness* sections. When talking about a certain diet, for

example, the usage of English borrowings might suggest to the reader that the diet comes from the United States, and this might give him or her a greater incentive to approve of or appreciate the diet. Another reason for the borrowing of English terms in the *Health/Wellness* section comes from the fact that a number of articles in this section are related to the field of medicine, a sector which is well-advanced in the United States. Within the field of medicine, we see field-specific borrowings, such as *AIDS*.

The *Politics* sections have the lowest percentage (0.23%) of English words. There are a few possible explanations for this finding. First, the *Politics* sections are very news-oriented and informational and are generally not read for entertainment. Additionally, the articles in *Politics* often deal with domestic issues, e.g. Germany's education system. When discussing internal politics, it is not necessary to include English words. Moreover, some readers might not want to see English words in those sections as they may possibly associate an influence of English words on the language of politics with an influence of the United States (or Great Britain) on politics in Germany. A more "pure" form of German in the *Politics* section might portray political autonomy.

(4) What are the types of English words, with reference to Carstensen's categories?

A previous section outlined Carstensen's categorization of English borrowings and established the categories that are considered in this study: foreign and loan words, compound words with an English part, pseudo loan words, and shortened loan words. The distribution of the English words across the different categories is as follows:

Word Type	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of total words
Foreign/loan words	411	61.71
Compounds	240	36.04
Shortened loan words	11	1.65
Pseudo loan words	4	0.60

Table 10: Distribution of English borrowings using four of Carstensen's categories

Table 10 shows that out of a total of 666 English words, the majority (411 or about 62%) are foreign or loan words. This category includes foreign words that are taken from English without any change, as well as loan words that are transferred directly from English but add a German morphological ending or inflection. Examples of foreign words in the data are *Designer, Country, Party, Mail, Trend*. Examples of loan words in the data are *boykottieren, boomte, coolen*. More than a third (240 or about 36%) of all English words were part of a compound, i.e. they were compounded with a German word. Examples of compounds in the data are *Softwareunternehmen, Schulmädchen-Look, Sicherheits-Updates, Teenager-Laune, Bertelsmann-Manager.* Eleven shortened loan words were found, including *Promi, Profi.* A small number of pseudo loan words were found in the articles, e.g. *Handy* 'cell phone'. The data in Table 10 suggest the trend that journalists are more likely to take words from English as they are, as opposed to combining an English word with a German one to form a compound.

(5) Of what grammatical type are the English words?

Organizing the words into their grammatical categories can provide some insight into which grammatical words tend to be borrowed more often than others from English into German. Table 11 shows the result of organizing the English words into the grammatical categories of noun, verb, adjective/adverb, and other.

Grammatical Type	Number of Occurrences	Percentage of total words
Noun	625	94
Verb	19	3
Adjective/Adverb	22	3
Other	0	0

Table 11: Distribution of English borrowings with respect to grammatical categories

With 625 out of a total of 666 (94%) words being nouns, nouns are by far the most frequently borrowed type. Verbs and Adjectives/Adverbs have 19 and 22 borrowings, respectively, corresponding to about 3% for each. Borrowed verbs include *boykottieren, gesponsert, getestet, joggen.* Borrowed adjectives/adverbs include *cool, American, live, sexy.* No English words from any category other than the three above were borrowed. The data in Table 11 illustrate a general tendency of language to borrow nouns over words of any other grammatical category. According to Trask, there are three main reasons for this. First, nouns are far more numerous than any other category of words. Second, new things are most likely to be denoted by nouns, and third, new nouns are generally easier to accommodate within the grammatical system of a language (Trask, 1996, 23). Trask's second reason was discussed earlier when we established that many English borrowings in German are terms denoting domain-specific innovations that did not originate in Germany. As such things are

often objects invented or discovered in the U.S., or names for people or groups of people first used in the U.S., it is understandable that most of them are nouns. In fact, looking at the list of the fifteen most frequently found English words in this study (see Table 12 below), we find three of them *(Internet, Software, Online)* refer to recent inventions in the U.S., and seven of them (*Trainer, Star, Klub, Team, Expert, Fan, Manager*) refer to categories of people.

(6) Among the English borrowings, which words occur the most frequently?

While some English borrowings tend not to be used very frequently, others occur over and over again. Table 12 shows the fifteen most frequently-occurring English words among those found in the articles in this study. The value in the frequency column on the right counts occurrences of the word in isolation as well as instances where they form part of a compound. For example, included in the word count for *Internet* is the number of times *Internet* occurred as well as words like *Internetradios, Internet-Stationen, Internetseite* etc. Plural forms are also included in the count.

Word	# of Occurences
Internet	46
Trainer(Training)	34
Software	28
Star	24
Pop	18
Klub	13
Team	13
Experte	11
Tipp	11
Code	10

Fan	10
Klick	10
Manager	10
Online	10
Passwort	10

Table 12: Most frequently occurring English words

Table 12 shows that *Internet* with 46 occurrences was by far the most frequently occurring English word. Other words that appear more than 20 times are *Trainer, Software, Star, and Pop.*

Nearly all words in Table 12 seem to have become completely integrated in the German language. *Internet, Trainer, Pop. Klub, Team, Experte, Tipp, Klick, Manager, Passwort* will probably not be recognized as being foreign by many people, which is expected from those borrowings that appear most frequently.

(7) How do the results compare to the previous studies above?

As mentioned above, we must be extremely careful when comparing studies of this nature with one another. Earlier, we saw a few results from previous studies that can be compared to my numbers in percentages: Fink finds one Americanism per 1000 words or 0.1%, Engels finds one Anglicism per 600 words or 0.167% in 1954, and one Anglicism per 200 words or 0.5% in 1964. The percentages of English words in this study are much higher for each of the three newspapers that were investigated: 1.30% in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* 1.43% in the *Muenchner Merkur,* and 1.96% in the *Bild.* After establishing that Fink and Engels accounted for words of no-substitution, partial substitution, *and* full substitution, while this study considers

hardly any full substitution words, it is reasonable to draw the conclusion that the percentage of English words is higher in this study than in Fink and Engels: This study considers fewer words in its count, yet has higher percentages of English words. In other words, if the articles used in this study were re-examined to include all full substitution words (e.g. calques), it can be assumed that the percentages of English words would be higher than those found here. It is crucial to point out that none of the newspapers in the previous studies contained sections on computers since the technological aspect of the media did not yet exist at the time of the studies. With the *Computer* sections in this study having a significantly higher amount of English than any of the other sections, it can be concluded that the addition of *Computer* as a major newspaper section in recent years skews the overall average of the newspapers upward. The extent of the increase in the number of English borrowings would perhaps not be as large if we were to disregard the data from the *Computer* sections.

The conclusions in Carstensen's work provide grounds for another comparison with this study. He finds that the section of a publication that is most likely to contain a large number of English words is the feature pages (movie and theater reviews). Movie and theater reviews relate to my *People* section, which I found to have the second-highest percentage of English loan words, with almost 2% of all words being English. In addition, Carstensen points out that the sports language uses a lot of English, but most of the words were borrowed before 1945. Similarly, in my study the language in the *Soccer* sections has a relatively high percentage of English words with 1.20% of all words being English. My data are consistent with Carstensen's findings in

that the two main sections pointed out by Carstensen as being likely to contain a large number of English words also have a high number of English words in this study.

Finks's categories of no-substitution and partial substitution are analogous to this study's categories of foreign/loan words and compounds, respectively. Out of a total of 7336 expressions, Fink finds that 58.5% are no-substitution words and 37.3% are partial substitution words. This study found that about 62% of all English words were foreign/loan words (no-substitution words) and about 36% were compounds with both an English and a German component. The numbers in Fink's study and those presented here are strikingly similar. Both results suggest that English words tend to stand on their own after being borrowed into German.

VII Limitations

There are several limitations to this study regarding the statistics of the research method. One quantitative limitation arises from the fact that the frequency of English borrowings depends to a great extent on the particular style of the journalist. While some journalists may use English words to reach one of the stylistic aspects discussed above, other journalists tend to be more hesitant to use English words and look for other means of enriching their language. Extending this study to include a much larger number of articles could correct for the shortcoming since a few articles with either an extremely high use of English or no use of English will then not skew the results as strongly in one direction. In addition to including more data in the study, the data collection could be set up such that significance testing could also be carried out for the frequencies of English words in different newspaper sections.

Another limitation in the method of data collection lies in the fact that if a certain article discusses an invention that has an English name, there are likely to be numerous occurrences of that English name, and this study will count each one. For example, as we saw above, there are 46 instances of the word *Internet*. These 46 instances were not evenly spread over the 108 articles. Instead, a smaller number of articles contained the majority of appearances.

To readers who do not have much experience with empirical data of this nature, the percentages of English words might appear small. Engels provides an explanation why the results of studies investigating the amount of English in German often yield low percentage results. She points out that the 1000 most frequently occurring words of a language form about 85% of a text. These words are usually not very important words with respect to their information content. For the most part they include grammatical words like pronominals, conjunctions, simple verbs. To really appreciate the influence of English words, the part of the text with grammatical words would have to be subtracted from the text, and English words should be found as a percentage of the remaining words (Engels, 1976, 49).

For further research, it might be beneficial to also consider English influences on German morphology and syntax, in addition to influences on vocabulary. In terms of vocabulary influences, all nine of Carstensen's categories could be included. Further research would also benefit from differentiating between words of American English origin and words of British origin, when possible.

VIII Conclusion

The introductory section of the paper established that English words enter the German language in two different ways: On the one hand, English terms are borrowed into German through certain fields, in which there is contact between the United States/Great Britain and Germany. For example, a great number of English words in German are technology-related due to the contact between Germany and technological innovations coming from the United States. In such cases, the English borrowing often does not have a German equivalent. On the other hand, English terms are borrowed into German for stylistic reasons. An example that we have seen is the borrowing of English to ensure variation in expression. In these cases, the English borrowing often does have a German equivalent, and the author makes a decision to employ the English version. The data in this study provide support for both methods of English borrowings. Examples of field-specific borrowings were for obvious reasons found to a high degree in the *Computer* section and also in the *Economics* and *Soccer* sections. As to borrowings on a stylistic basis, examples of terms were found serving each of the following purposes: suggesting American reality, and effecting precision of expression, brevity of expression, and variation of expression. With regards to the extent of English in different newspapers, it was found that the *Bild* with 1.96% has the highest frequency of English borrowings, while the *FAZ* with 1.30% has the lowest. A possible explanation behind this pattern suggests that the frequency of English words in the three newspapers is related to the objectives of the newspapers. The function of the *Bild* being entertainment much more so than those of the other newspapers, it is very focused on using eye-catching language. English words are one way of achieving that

goal. In terms of different genres of news, it was found that the *Computer* articles with 3.85% contain the highest number of English borrowings. The reasoning behind this finding suggests that the German language adopts the vast majority of English terms for new computer products and software applications coming from the United States. Other results of the study include the finding that almost two-thirds of all borrowings are foreign/loan words, indicating that the German language tends to take words from English as they are and pick up the same meanings. Furthermore, it was found that more than ninety percent of the borrowings are noun borrowings. Compared to previous studies of similar nature, the extent of English in German newspaper language has increased. The newspaper sections with high frequencies of English borrowings have generally remained similar, though, as have the types of words borrowed. An interesting extension to this study would examine the influence of English on German syntax and morphology in addition to all types of vocabulary borrowings in the same current online newspapers to see the true extent of increase of English influence on the German language since Carstensen's work in the 1960's.

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Appendix 1: Number of English words per article

Newspaper	Section	Total words	# Engl.	% Engl.	Article Title
FAZ	Politics	1119	0	0.0%	Schily: Verfassungsgericht für NPD-Erfolg verantwortlich

		713	1	0.1%	„Wir sind Türken, und wir entscheiden über uns"
		854	1	0.1%	"Der richtige Mann"
		580	0	0.0%	Wieder ein neues Parteiengesetz
		735	2	0.3%	Afghanistan-Einsatz Zustimmung und Fragen
		751	2	0.3%	Am Tropf des Westens
	Economy	459	5	1.1%	Suchmaschine Goyellow geht an den Start
		378	0	0.0%	„Der richtige Mann”
		395	4	1.0%	Karstadt-Aktie verliert deutlich an Wert
		423	6	1.4%	Stimmung der deutschen Wirtschaft stabil
		594	8	1.3%	Radikale Schnitte bei Karstadt
		783	19	2.4%	Borussia Dortmund stuerzt ab
	People	356	5	1.4%	Michael Jackson trifft Mutter seines angeblichen Opfers
		605	6	1.0%	Prozeß gegen Michael Jackson auf Januar verschoben
		346	6	1.7%	Schwer schwiegertochtertauglich
		598	4	0.7%	Scheitel des Tabus
		273	4	1.5%	Marc Jacobs schickt Schulmädchen auf den Laufsteg
		627	19	3.0%	Das Genie liebt die Gesellschaft
	Soccer	793	10	1.3%	Tief im Westen
		675	4	0.6%	Bayern ist überall ein Stück besser
		594	7	1.2%	„Sie haben uns überrollt”: Leverkusen entzaubert Real
		563	7	1.2%	Bayern-Pflichtsieg nach „Angsthasenfußball”
		575	10	1.7%	„Verhältnis nicht intakt”: Schalke entläßt Trainer Heynckes
		718	9	1.3%	Das Team der Tschetschenen als russisches Politikprojekt
	Computer	152	5	3.3%	Tueckische Bildchen
		554	8	1.4%	Zweimal Freisprechen mit Komfort
		785	43	5.5%	Das kostenlose Musikvergnügen im Internet
		254	16	6.3%	Microsoft legt "Office-Quellcodes" offen
		184	6	3.3%	Betrug bei Ebay durch veränderte Artikelbeschreibung möglich
		1023	31	3.0%	Irgendwie geht es immer um Microsoft
	Health/Wellness	491	0	0.0%	Klinik muß schwerbehindertem Mädchen Schmerzensgeld zahlen
		366	1	0.3%	Amerikaner wappnen sich gegen Vogelgrippe-Epidemie
		364	0	0.0%	Ein Verein gegen das Übergewicht
		245	2	0.8%	Tuberkulose-Alarm an Aschaffenburger Schule
		256	3	1.2%	Syphilis in den Großstädten auf dem Vormarsch
		549	2	0.4%	Hessische Kliniken befürchten Medizinermangel
Muenchner Merkur	Politics	447	0	0.0%	Rueckschlag fuer die CDU
		392	0	0.0%	Der "Deichgraf" rettet die SPD
		323	0	0.0%	Irans Uran sorgt wieder international für Zündstoff
		337	1	0.3%	CSU fordert Entschuldigung
		270	0	0.0%	Verheugen erhöht Druck auf die Türkei
		343	1	0.3%	Alle fuehlen sich als Sieger
	Economy	401	2	0.5%	Stellenabbau, Filialschließungen: Karstadt kämpft ums Überleben
		453	2	0.4%	Bilanzpolizei geht auf Streife: Ab 2005 mehr Anlegerschutz
		253	5	2.0%	SPD: Handelsregister weiterhin drucken
		293	1	0.3%	Bundesregierung bekennt sich zu Mehdorn
		452	3	0.7%	Bundesrat: Schluss mit Ladenschluss
		323	2	0.6%	2,3 Prozent zur Jahresmitte: Bayern beim Wachstum wieder Spitze
	People	152	2	1.3%	«Forbes»-Liste: Bill Gates bleibt reichster Amerikaner
		158	5	3.2%	Cat Stevens bringt nach 30 Jahren neue Single heraus
		180	7	3.9%	Hohe Strafe wegen Janet Jacksons entblößter Brust

		288	4	1.4%	Britney Spears Hochzeit noch nicht «vollständig legal»
		217	7	3.2%	Cat Stevens darf nicht in die USA einreisen
		447	7	1.6%	Britney Spears gibt zum zweiten Mal ihr Ja-Wort
	Soccer	317	3	0.9%	Striktes Wiesnverbot zum Dank fuer den Sieg
		400	12	3.0%	Probleme mit dem Alltag
		568	6	1.1%	Wiedersehen ohnen Freude
		487	10	2.1%	Neben der Meisterschaft reizt der Pokal die Fußballvereine
		352	4	1.1%	Deutsche Vereine glänzen im UEFA-Cup
	Computer	191	3	1.6%	Drei Jahre Haft für Tauschbörsen-Nutzer geplant
		461	17	3.7%	Surferparadies unter weiß-blauem Himmel
		232	4	1.7%	Brauchtumspflege mit der Maus
		437	26	5.9%	Günstig in die Röhre schauen
		491	28	5.7%	Ein Cent pro Minute: Telefon per Internet ist konkurrenzlos billig
		184	3	1.6%	Volle Integration statt Isolation
	Health/Wellness	630	4	0.6%	Ist die Mikrowelle wirklich schaedlich?
		460	0	0.0%	Gefahr droht, wenn der Fuß gefühllos wird
		689	9	1.3%	Wie man einer Reisethrombose vorbeugen kann
		592	5	0.8%	Medikamente vom Acker: Pflanzen als Biofabriken
		282	2	0.7%	Toedliche Mueckenstiche in Deutschland?
		490	1	0.2%	Neue Methoden gegen Zuckerkrankheit
Bild	Politics	336	0	0.0%	Standpauke von Kanzler Schroeder Sind die Deutschen Schmarotzer?
		322	1	0.3%	Wer siegt, wer wird abgestraft?
		412	5	1.2%	Waehler strafen CDU und SPD
		398	2	0.5%	Oberster US-Waffeninspektuer widerlegt Praesident Bush
		215	1	0.5%	Gute Noten fuer die Tuerkei
		199	3	1.5%	Kanzler Schroeder reist trotzdem
	Economy	133	0	0.0%	Verschenken Sie kein Baugeld!
		177	7	4.0%	Heizoel: Jetzt kaufen oder abwarten?
		260	7	2.7%	Bis zu 68% billiger!
		180	1	0.6%	Neues Chaos bei der Riester-Rente!
		276	8	2.9%	Kekse und Bonbons bis zu 73% billiger!
		176	0	0.0%	Das muessen Haeuslebauer jetzt wissen!
	People	199	2	1.0%	Scheiterte die Prinzen-Ehe an Sex, Suff und Schulden?
		171	3	1.8%	Jacko wehrt sich gegen Sex-Vorwuerfe
		333	2	0.6%	Muttersoehnchen der Herzen
		235	9	3.8%	Wen schleckt Paris denn hier ab?
		326	10	3.1%	Hier paddelt Kevin Kostner seine Frau ins Ehe-Glueck
		336	6	1.8%	Warum wird eine Frau auf einmal lesbisch?
	Soccer	313	1	0.3%	Das Kuranyi-Drama
		303	3	1.0%	Mainz verloppt den Tabellenfuehrer
		357	0	0.0%	Pfiffe gegen Bayern! FC Haargel viel zu pomadig
		319	2	0.6%	Bayern rumpelt weiter nach oben
		253	3	1.2%	Lehmann kann sich aufhaengen. Kahn ist der bessere Torwart.
		252	7	2.8%	Koller klaut dem Club die Punkte
	Computer	180	19	10.6%	Jetzt kabellos ins Internet
		167	12	7.2%	Die heißen Girls aus dem Cyber-Space!
		235	15	6.4%	Achtung, Internet-Betrueger greifen wieder an!
		167	19	11.4%	Ist Ebay noch sicher?
		145	9	6.2%	So wird Online-Shopping zum echten Vergnuegen
		68	3	4.4%	So kinderleicht ist die Internet-Recherche

Health/Wellness	304	18	5.9%	Laufprofi Dieter Baumann macht Sie fit fuer den Marathon
	175	7	4.0%	Was steckt drin in meinem Essen?
	193	3	1.6%	Hier gibt's die besten Klicks gegen den grossen Herbst-Frust
	240	0	0.0%	Doppelangriff auf das Fett im Blut
	230	10	4.3%	So wird auch Ihrer *PO*kalreif
	253	2	0.8%	Groesste Aids-Gefahr fuer die Jugend im Osten

Appendix 2: List of English words

FAZ

Politics	boykottieren, Fachjargon, Wiederaufbauteams (2x), Transferzahlungen (2x)
Economy	Internet-Start-ups, Internet, Softwareunternehmen, Software, Gelbe-Seiten-Modell, Finanzcrash, Investmentbanker, Klub, Desaster, Leasinggesellschaft, Stars(2x), Team, Krisenmanagements, Spielertransfermarkt, boomte, Expansionskurs, Fußballboom, Softwareunternehmens, Hedgefondsmanager, Kurskiller, Management, Fans, Internet, Partner, Aktienpool, Interview, Bertelsmann-Manager, Ifo-Index(3x), Exportboom, Index, Teilindex, Top 100, Investmentbank, Call-Center, E-Commerce(2x), Joint-venture, Cash-flow, Branchenexperten
People	Popstar (2x), Fans (2x), Interviews, Popstar (2x), Ranch (2x), Entertainer, Teenager, Jungdesigner, Designer (3x), T-Shirt-Oberteil, Trend, Lifestyles, Lifestyle, Corporate Identity, Corporate Design, Tweed-Jacken, Schulmädchen-Look, Latina-Queen, Designer-Show, blues-getränkten, coolen, Soul-Pop-Nummern, Song, Songbook, American, Hit, Rhythm&Blues-Ghetto, Country, Jazz, rockt, croont, teacher, preacher, Soul, Rhythm&Blues-Shouter, Jazz-Pianist, Country-Jodler, Blues-Crooner
Soccer	Klub (2x), Trainer (3x), Klubs (2x), Manager, Team, Champions, Bundestrainer, Klub, Trainer (2x), Team (3x), Comeback, Trainer, Bundestrainer, Image, Underdog, Trainer, Manager, Fuehrungscrew, Hotel, Gala-Dinner, Heimatklub, Trainerstation, Trainer (3x), Manager (2x), Stil, Teammanager, Wunschtrainer, Klubs, Hotelkoenig, gesponsert, Klub (2x), Trainer, Stuermerstar, Fussballklubs, Fans
Computer	Computerbenutzern, Webseite, E-Mail, Sicherheits-Updates, Test-Datei, Handyverbot, in, HiFi-Hersteller, Handy, Adapter, Noise-Cancelling-Mikrofon(2x), Design, Live, Internet(4x), Webradios, Phonostar-Software, Megabyte, Windows-Programm, Programmcodes, Softwarekonzern(2x), Software(6x), Programmcode, Quellcode, Quellcodes, Open-Source-Programme, Quellcodes(2x), Quell-Code, Phonostar-Hörer, Klick, Hits, Dance, Techno, Reggae, Jazz, Top-Hits(2x), Mausklick, Phonostar-Player, Internetradios, Jingles, Tips, Internet-Stationen, Jazz-Programme, Jazz-Network-Radio, , Phonostar-Player, Windows-Wav-Format, Internet-PC, Internetradio(4x), Hardlinern, Software, Computer-Hardware, Internetradio, Ethernet-Kabel, Wireless-Lan-Verbindung, DSL-Flatrate, PC-Router, Multimediales, DSL-Flatrat, Online-Auktionshaus, Tricks, Programmiercodes, Text, Ebay-User, Experten, Software(9x), Internet(2x), Quellcodes(2x), open source, Software-Patente, computerimplementierter(2x), Lobbyarbeit, Computerprogramme, Open-source-Bewegung, Softwarepatentpraxis, Ein-Klick-Patent, Mouse-Klick, Doppelklick, Mouse-Klick, Software-Patenten, Open-Source-Anhänger, Internetseite, Text Open-source-Bewegung
Health/ Wellness	Baby, Tuberkulosetest, Tbc-Test, Sex, Aidserreger, HIV, Approbation(2x)

MM

Politics	Interview, Trend
Economy	Partnern, Jobs, "Enforcement"-Verfahren, Flowtex-Betrügereien, Internet (3x), Internet-Zugang, Internetzugang, Manager, Trend, Online-, Automaten-Banking, Pump, real
People	Investment-Mogul, Top Ten, Single (2x), Boyzone-Star, Chartsieger, Christmas Number, Popstar, Pop-Sänger, Halbzeit-Show, American-Football-Endspiels, Nipplegate, Show, Popsaengerin, Interview, Luxus-Hotel, Pop-Prinzessin, Popstar (4x), Zwischenstopp, Showbühne, Hits, Pop-Prinzessin, Fans, Party, Promi-TV-Sendung, Smokings(2x), Shows
Soccer	Trainer, Coach, Trainers, Double-Gewinner, cleverer, Ex-Klub, top, Trainer, Club, Club-Schlussman, Traumpass, Underdogs, Super-Mannschaften, Supersiegen, Fans, Team, Job, Trainer, Training, BVB-Manager, Bundestrainer, Comeback, Trainer (2x), Team (2x), Amateur-Clubs, Image, Profi-Clubs, Song, Fussball-Fans,

	Fans, Clubgeschichte, Foul, Trainer
Computer	Internet-Tauschbörsen, Songs, Robbie-Williams-Song, Surferparadies, Internet, Hightech-Geräten, Wiesn-Homepage, Alcopops, Wiesn-Card, Wiesn-Site, Wiesn-Special, Webseite, online, Wiesn-Webseiten, News(2x), Topaktuell, Oktoberfest-Special, Online-Magazin, Web-Adresse, Internetseite, Webseite, live, Extra-Tipp, Hobby, Computerhersteller, Monitor, Monitoren (3x), Röhrenmonitoren, LCD-Bildschirme, Markenmonitor, TFT-Monitor, TFT, LCD-Bildschirme, TFT-Bildschirme, Transistoren, TFT-Bildschirme, TFT-Bildschirm, Allround-Tintenstrahl-Drucker, Laserdrucker, Hobby-Fotografen, PC (2x), Tests, Monitoren, Print-, Online-Ausgaben, Surfen, Internet (4x), "Voice over IP"-Telefonie, Internet-Protokoll, PC (2x), USB-Port, PC-Lösung, Einwahlsoftware, Instant Messenger, Internet-Gebühren, online, PC, Fritz-Box Fon, Box, online, AVM-Produktmanager, IP-Telefone, Internet-Telefonie, Internet-Provider, Profi, Online-Preis, VoIP, Internet-Anbieter, Cent, Webseite, Schulmodelle, Schulprojekt, Computerzeitschriften
Health/ Wellness	Mini-Nachkommen, Handy-Strahlung, Elektro-Smog, Verhaltens-Tipp, Experten, Tipps, Stress, Economy- Class-Syndrom, Economy- Klasse, Business und First Class, Verhaltenstipps, getestet, Test, Molekulare Farming, Design, simplex, Teams, Molekulares, Farming, Experten(2x), Experten

Bild

Politics	super, Super-Wahljahr, Trendwende, Abwärtstrend, stoppen, Superergebnis, Experten, Experten-Seiten, Inflation, Horrornachrichten, Hotel, Typ
Economy	Jahres-Rekord, Cent(2x), Energie-Experte, Tank, clever, Energie-Experten, No-Name-Produkten, No-Name-Naturjoghurt, Cent(2x), Discounter, No-Name-Artikel, Cent, No-Name-Fleischsalat, Supermarkt(2x), Chips, Flips, BILD am SONNTAG-Test, Cent, Chipsletten, Crunchips
People	Disco, Partys, Fans, Mega-Star, Showdown, Partys, Playboy, Mode-Label, Job, Geburtstagsparty, Promi-Gesellschaft, Top-Model, R&B-König, Cocktails, Handtaschen-Designerin, Ranch, Boots-Zeremonie, Champagner-Picknick, Hollywood-Helden, „Sex and the City“-Star, Abschieds-Special, „Sex and the City“-Stars, Teenager-Laune, Interview, Popsängerin, Pop-Sängerin, Babypause, toppen, Hit, Party-Parkett, Stars
Soccer	Foul, News, Stars, Limit, Fußball-News, Trainer, Bundestorwart-Trainer, Interview, Training, Club, Klub-Coach, Nürnberg-Keeper, Dreier-Paß, Club, volley, Paß
Computer	Internet(5x), chatten, E-Mail, DSL-Anschluß, Wireless-LAN, WLAN-Router, PC, Notebook, WLAN, PCs, WLAN-Router, Router(2x), Surfen, Sicherheits-Tips, Girls, Cyber-Space, Volleybälle, Monitor, Computerspiele, Cyber-Girls(2x), sexy, Strip-Poker, Kult-Cyber-Girl, Cyber-Girls-Galerie, Internet-Betrüger, Schock, Online-Banking, Gefahren-E-Mail, Link, Phishing, PINs, TANs, Transaktionen, Paßwörter(5x), Nepper-E-Mails, Hacker, Internet-Dienst, Tricks, Paßwort(4x), Paßworts, hackerfeindlich, Trick, Pfishing, Fishing, Mails, Internet-Seite, E-Mail, Klick, Online-Betrug, Internet-Seiten, Provider, T-Pay(3x), T-pay Kunde, Passwort, Pay by Call, MicroMoney, Internet, Passwort, Profi-Suchbefehlen, Internet-Recherche, googeln
Health/ Wellness	Fit(3x), Lauf-Fans, Trainingsprogramm, Trainer, Softwareverlag, Computerprogramm, Trainingsprogramm, trainieren, Lauftrainer(3x), Freizeit-Outfit, Profi, Tipps, Profi-Tricks, Profi-Tipps, Joghurt-Drink, und Co(2x), Klicken(3x),Wellness-Drinks, Team, Power-Drinks, Tipps, Baywatch-Babe, POp-Star, R&B-Sängerin, trainieren, Joggen, Walken, joggen, Tipp, Tipps, sexy, Experten, Anti-Aids-Kampagne