# English Loans in German and the Borrowing of Meaning\*

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#### **Abstract**

There are many English loans in German, which fall under the categories of (i) phonetic and semantic borrowings (e.g., *Computer* 'computer', *downloaden* 'to download'), (ii) phonetic borrowings (e.g., *Handy* 'cell phone', *Long-Drink* 'mixed drink'), and (iii) semantic borrowings, or calques (e.g., *Sinn machen* 'to make sense'). All of these loans are naturalized into German and undergo phonological and morphosyntactic changes. I provide an overview of the integration process that loans undergo and a description of how these words appear in German.

When words are borrowed into German from English, secondary or metaphorical meanings of the English are not necessarily borrowed. Most often, the primary, literal meaning of the English word is the meaning the loan takes on, e.g., the loan *Baby* means 'baby, infant' in German, but not 'coward, wuss,' as it can in English. I report the findings of a survey of native German speakers, investigating the borrowing of meanings of English words. Through the examination of seven loans and the comparison of their meanings in English and German, I show that generally, only the primary meaning of an English word is transferred to a loan in German.

#### 1 Introduction

The goal of this thesis is to provide an examination of English loans in contemporary German. Focusing first on the incorporation of loans into German, I examine the phonological and morphosyntactic changes that loans undergo when used in German. I also investigate the overlap in meaning between English words, English loans in German, and semantically related native German words, through the means of a survey of native German speakers. For example, I investigate how all the meanings of the English word

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<sup>1</sup> When I say "native" German words, my intention is to distinguish the recent loans from English from all other words in the German language. I do not mean to imply that no other words in German have ever come from other languages, or that these loan words are not used by native German speakers. My goal is merely to distinguish the words I am discussing from the words that have been around long enough and incorporated into the language enough for native German speakers to consider them part of the language. I am intentionally avoiding the term "standard," since there is a good deal of variation within German and not all native German speakers use standard German. When I say "native German speakers," I am talking about people who learned German as their first language.

baby (such as 'infant', 'young animal', 'coward'), correspond with the meaning(s) of the loan Baby in German, as well as the approximate native German equivalents Kleinkind 'toddler' and Säugling 'suckling'. The survey results for the seven loans I examine demonstrate that English loans in German only have the meaning of their primary, or perhaps original, meaning in English, though there are of course exceptions. It seems as though the less literal meanings from English are not borrowed into German, at least in the case of the seven words I examine.

#### 1.1 Background

Loan words, or borrowings, are words or phrases originally from one language (the *donor language*) and used in another (the *recipient language*). These words may be direct borrowings, such as *fajita* in English, which is not a translation of anything, but rather the word used in Spanish to refer to a certain food. There are also *loan translations* (also called *calques*), such as *loan word* itself, which is a direct translation of the German *Lehnwort*. Sometimes, the origin of a loan is transparent for speakers of the recipient language – most English speakers would recognize that *sushi* and *Schadenfreude*, for instance, are not originally English words, even though they are used in everyday speech.

Some loans are not as transparent for speakers of the recipient language, however. For instance, some English speakers might know that *kindergarten* and *restaurant* originally come from German and French respectively, but the words have been so integrated into English that they are not necessarily recognized as loans. That is to say, some loans have been naturalized or integrated to the point where they are no longer thought of as foreign words by most ordinary speakers of the recipient language, but

rather as part of the recipient language. The process of naturalization usually involves at least some phonological and morphological (as well as orthographic) changes, making the loan sound and behave more like words originally from the recipient language. The formation of linguistic blends is also an indicator of integration. Blends are made of a combination of loan material and material from the recipient language. An example of this is the German *Backshop* 'bakery', which is comprised of the English loan word *shop* and *Back*, which comes from the German *backen* 'to bake'.

There are a fair number of English loans in German, and German speakers are reportedly more tolerant of English loans than some of their European neighbors, particularly French speakers. Many contemporary loans from English are related to technology and the internet, as well as drugs, but these are by no means the only groups of loan words used by native German speakers. Loans from English are sometimes called *anglicisms*, or *Anglizismen* in German. At least informally, German with English loan words is sometimes referred to as *Denglisch*, a portmanteau of the words *Deutsch* 'German' and *Englisch* 'English'. For more background on loans in general, as well as English loans in German, see Steinmetz and Kipfer 2006, Gardt and Hüppauf 2004, Barbe 2004, Strutz 2000, Calabrese and Wetzels 2009, and especially Onysko 2007.

## 1.2 Data Sources

I collected most of the data for this thesis from German films, television shows, songs, magazine articles, and advertisements. Additional sources of loan word examples include articles, books, and a slang dictionary for English speakers. Any native German examples in the text or examples with no sources listed have been made up by me, based on my knowledge of German. Since I am not a native speaker, however, these examples

have either been verified with printed works or with a native speaker. See Appendix A for an explanation of all source abbreviations.

## 1.3 Methodology

In order to gain some insight into the semantic overlap between English words, the English words as used in German, and the native German words, I conducted a survey of native German speakers' attitudes, knowledge, and usage of various English loan words in German. The seven loan words I investigated were *Team*, *Band*, *Ticket*, *cool*, *Girl*, *Baby*, and *Sound*. In the survey, I first asked if the respondents would use each loan word, and if it had the same meaning as the primary meaning in English. Then, I asked if the loan in question had the same meaning as each additional definition of the English word. Finally, I asked if the meaning of the corresponding native German word was the same as the primary meaning of the English word, and if the native German word had the same meaning as each of the English definitions. For example, I asked if the respondents use the word *Team*, and if it means *Mannschaft* 'sports team'. Then I went through all of the other common English meanings of *team* and asked if the German *Team* describes the same things. I also asked if *Mannschaft* can be used with any of the other meanings of *team* in English.

I selected these words for the survey based on two criteria: first, I chose words with several distinct meanings in English, and second, I chose English words with several native German equivalents. As a result, I purposefully did not include some English loans that I know are used frequently in German (such as *Party* 'party', *Handy* 'cell phone'), because I was interested in the semantic overlaps between English and German, and *party*, *Party*, *cell phone*, and *Handy* do not have many additional meanings.

Furthermore, some of the words I included in the survey are not widely used by any of the German speakers I surveyed, such as *Girl*. Though *Girl* is not frequently used, the responses to the questions about *Girl* are nevertheless interesting.

The survey was emailed as a document to various German friends and acquaintances, who passed it on to their own friends. A total of twenty-one people answered the survey, ages 20-56, both male and female. Though the survey was written in English, the consultants could and did answer in either English or German. Five speakers, or 23.8%, answered in German, though a number of speakers included a few words from the language they were not writing in. Most respondents wrote long answers to many of the questions, which I recoded in terms of yes/no questions when analyzing the data. See Appendix B for full demographics of each speaker, Appendix C for the survey, and Appendix D for the full results for all of the survey questions.

#### 1.4 Overview of the Thesis

I discuss some categories of English loans in German in section 2. Incorporation of English loans is discussed in section 3, with subsections on phonological changes (3.1), adjectival morphosyntax (3.2), nominal morphosyntax (3.3), and verbal morphosyntax (3.4). The survey on semantic overlapping is discussed and its results analyzed in section 4, with full discussion of each of the seven loan words from the survey. Speaker attitudes towards English loans in German are discussed in section 5, and concluding remarks are given in section 6.

## 2 Categories of English loan words in German

There are three categories of English loans in German. The first group (1) contains words that are both phonetically and semantically similar in English and German.

Though there might be slight differences, the words in this category are largely unchanged between English and German, both in meaning and pronunciation.

(1) Pullover 'pullover, sweater'

Jukebox 'jukebox' Baby 'baby'

Grass 'marijuana (slang)'

Teenager 'teenager'

Happyend 'happy ending (of a storm, film, etc.)'

downloaden 'to download' chatten 'to chat' daten 'to date'

cool 'cool, awesome'

stoned 'stoned, under the influence of drugs'

sexy 'sexy' hi 'hi'

Shit 'shit' (interj.)
Fuck 'fuck' (interj.)

sorry 'sorry'

(Strutz 2000; "Griechischer Wein"; Barbe 2001; Strutz 2000; TfA 01x01; Strutz 2000; Onysko 2007; Strutz 2000; TfA 01x01; TfA 01x01; TfA 01x01; Strutz 2000; Barbe 2004; Soul Kitchen; TfA 01x01; TfA 01x01; TfA 01x01)

Most of the words in this list are very similar in both English and German. The verbs downloaden, chatten, and daten have the obligatory German infinitival ending -en, which is not used in English. Grass is a rather dated slang name for marijuana in English, having been replaced by weed and pot, but Grass seems to be more contemporary in German. Happyend is nearly the same phonetically as the English happy ending, though it does not have the -ing ending that the English word has. Despite these slight differences, this category of words is indeed phonetically and semantically similar in both languages, and these words are easily recognized as loans when they are used in German. The meaning of these words is fairly transparent for English speakers, even if they have no knowledge of German.

The second category of loans from English to German includes words that are phonetically but not semantically similar (2).

(2) a. Evergreen 'old, favorite/classic song'

Handy 'cell phone'

Pullunder 'short-sleeved sweater, vest'

Sonnyboy 'golden, fair-haired boy; charmer' (Strutz 2000; Strutz 2000; Strutz 2000)

b. Twen 'twenty-something'

Long-Drink 'mixed drink' Showmaster 'game show host'

Body-Bag 'backpack/messenger bag'

(Barbe 2004; Strutz 2000; Onysko 2007; Barbe 2004)

Some of these words (2a) have directly equivalent English words with a different meaning, such as *Evergreen* and *Handy*, while others (2b), such as *Pullunder*, are built from English words, but the compound is not used in English. That is to say, both *pull* and *under* are meaningful in English, but the combination *pullunder* is not used in English. Strutz (2000:226) claims that *Pullunder* was invented by analogy from *Pullover* by German speakers. Similarly, *Twen* came about the same way *teen* did in English – as abbreviations of *twenty-something* and *teenager* respectively. By contrast, *evergreen* and *handy* are words used in English, though they have different meanings as loans in German. This category of loans is also recognizable as words of English origin, though German speakers may not be aware that these loans do not have the same meaning in English. Some German speakers think that *Handy* is the word English speakers use to refer to their cell phones, for instance (personal communication: Corinna Kalbaβ).

The final category of English loans in German contains words or phrases that are semantically the same as English, but phonetically different. In other words, these are calques, or literal word-for-word translations of idiomatic expressions (3)-(7):

(3) die Seifenoper 'soap opera'

(4) a. sinnvoll sein 'to make sense', lit. 'to be sensible'

b. Sinn machen 'to make sense'

(5) a. erfolgreich sein 'to be successful' b. ein Erfolg sein 'to be a success'

(6) a. Spaß haben 'to have fun'

b. eine gute Zeit haben 'to have a good time'

(7) a. rausschmeißen 'to dismiss, fire'

b. feuern 'to dismiss, fire; to light a stove'

(all from Barbe 2004)

Example (3) is a literal translation of the English term *soap opera* – *Seife* 'soap' and *Oper* 'opera'. In (4)-(7), the first phrase (a) is the native German phrasing. The second phrase (b) is also a phrase in German, but the word order comes from English. The (b) examples in (4)-(7) correspond with the semantics of the English phrase and have been adopted into German. (7b) has another native German meaning, 'to light a stove', and the addition of the meaning 'to dismiss, fire' is an extension of meaning, borrowed from English. The older, non-English forms of (4)-(7) are still used in spoken German, but the English-influenced forms have become standard, too. All of the calques like (3)-(7) do not require further phonological or morphological adaptation: once they are translated, they are fully German.

## 3 The Eindeutschung 'Germanization' of English (Phonological) Loans

Unlike the purely semantic loans in (3), both groups of phonological loans (1, 2) must undergo some process of nativization or incorporation into German. They change in order to fit in better with German phonology and morphosyntax. As Barbe (2004:31) puts it,

The overarching principles seems to be that once items appear in German, they follow German phonotactic, morphological, and, in general, grammatical rules. [...] Most loans will undergo some changes to be aligned with German orthography, phonology, and morphology; in one word, they become *eingedeutscht* ['germanized'].

Once English loans are incorporated into German, they are used as regular parts of the lexicon.

# 3.1 Phonological changes

One of the ways English loan words get incorporated into German is through changes in pronunciation. For the most part, the stress and intonation patterns are unchanged from those of English, but there are other phonological changes that happen to loans.

One example of a German phonological rule is the devoicing of syllable-final obstruents (Wiese 2000). This rule is quite wide-spread in casual spoken German (8). This devoicing of syllable-final consonants carries over to English loans, too (9).

(8)	[hʊnt]	Hund	'dog'	*[hʊnd]	
	[bat]	Bad	'bath'	*[bad]	
	[gənuk]	genug	'enough'	*[gənug]	
(9)	[mɪt]	Midlife-Crisis	'midlife crisis'	*[mɪd]	
	[laɪf]	live	'live'	*[laɪv]	
	[sicd]	Boys	'boys'	*[bɔɪz]	
	[hʊt]	Hood	'(neighbor)hood'	*[hʊt]	
	(TfA 01x01; TfA 01x01; TfA 01x03; TfA 01x03)				

The devoicing of syllable-final obstruents in loans (9) mirrors the devoicing in native German words (8).

While a syllable-final voiceless alveolar stop /t/ is usually glottalized, or even pronounced as a glottal stop [?] in English, the same is not the case in German. It is, in fact, pronounced as plain unglottalized [t] (10). This is also the case for English loans in German (11).

(10)	[hut]	Hut	'hat'
	[rat]	Rat	'advice'
	[tat]	Tat	'deed'
	[qəmaxt]	gemacht	'done'

(11) [ʃit] Shit 'shit' \*[ʃiʔ] [bit] Beat '(musical) beat' \*[biʔ] [aʊt] out 'out, passé' \*[aʊʔ] (TfA 
$$01x01$$
; "Dickes B"; TfA  $01x03$ )

In English, the words *shit*, *beat*, and *out* are pronounced with a glottal stop [?] or an unreleased  $[\vec{t}']$  at the end. When they are used in German, however, the final /-t/ is pronounced in accordance with German phonological rules.

The letter (T) is pronounced a variety of ways in different dialects of German. The most common pronunciation is the uvular fricative [\$\mathbb{B}\$], though the uvular and alveolar trills [\$\mathbb{R}\$, \$\mathbb{r}\$] are used as well. When (T) appears in the coda of a syllable, it is typically pronounced as [\$\mathbb{B}\$] (Hall 1993). Although the English alveolar approximant [\$\mathbb{I}\$] is not a native sound of German, most Germans pronounce (T) as [\$\mathbb{I}\$] when it appears in the onset of a syllable in an English loan word (12).

The pronunciation of (r) in the onset of syllables seems to be an instance in which the German pronunciation does *not* win out, and the original English pronunciation is maintained. Perhaps this is because the English [1] is a much more distinctly English sound, and by maintaining the English pronunciation, the origins of the loan are more obvious.

When \(\text{r}\) is in a syllable coda (13), however, English pronunciation is abandoned and, instead, \(\text{r}\) is pronounced as [v], as is standard in German.

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*[rots.tax]*[rots.tax]*
[sots.tak.st]
               Recordstore
                              'record store'
                                              *[dens flox], *[dens flox]
[dens floe]
               dance floor
                              'dance floor'
[ha:dkov]
               hardcore
                              'hardcore'
                                              *[ha:rdkor], *[ha:idkoi]
[bebisite]
               Babysitter
                              'babysitter'
                                              *[bebisitex], *[bebisitex]
(TfA 01x03; Soul Kitchen; "Dickes B"; "Dickes B"; "Dickes B"; Bella Martha)
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This is an interesting contrast to onset (r), in which the English alveolar approximant [1] is maintained. The word *Recordstore* is particularly notable, because it shows both patterns of (r) pronunciation. The first (r) is in onset position and is pronounced as the English [1]. The (r) in -store, however, is in coda position, and is therefore pronounced as [v].

Though most of the vowels in English and German are approximately the same, there are some differences. For instance, the English vowel [æ] does not exist in German, so in loan words, it is pronounced with its closest equivalent in German [ε] (14).

Although these are certainly not all of the phonological changes English loan words undergo, they are some of the most notable ones.

## 3.2 Adjectival Morphosyntax

The inflectional morphology of German adjectives is strongly influenced by the nouns they modify. Predicative adjectives do not decline and do not undergo any morphological changes, while attributive adjectives require a suffix. Predicative adjectives appear in sentences with main verbs such as *sein* 'to be', *bleiben* 'to remain', *werden* 'to become', *finden* 'to find'<sup>2</sup>, and so on. Sentences (15)-(16) give examples of predicate adjectives.

<sup>2</sup> *finden* has two meanings in German: 'to find' as in 'to encounter, discover', and 'to find' as in 'to think of something a certain way.' This second meaning is the one that allows predicative adjectives, as seen in examples (16) and (18).

- (15) Dieser Mann ist ziemlich alt. 'This man is quite old.'
- (16) *Ich finde deinen Haarschnitt wunderschön!*I find your haircut gorgeous
  'I think your haircut is gorgeous!'

Because the adjectives *alt* 'old' and *wunderschön* 'gorgeous' do not appear directly before the nouns they modify, they do not have any endings at all. The case is the same for examples (17)-(18), in which English adjectives appear in predicate position.

- (17) Verbieten ist voll out.
  forbidding is full out
  'Forbidding things is totally out/passe.' (TfA 01x03)
- (18) Ne wirklich, finde ich's cool.
  no really, find I it cool
  'No really, I think it's cool.' (TfA 01x02)

Like sentences (15) and (16), the adjectives *out* 'out/passé' and *cool* 'cool' in these sentences do not have adjective endings, since they are in predicate position.

Attributive adjectives, however, require a suffix that indicates the case, gender, and number of the noun they modify. Furthermore, adjectival suffixes are affected by the presence or absence of determiners. There are three sets of adjective endings for the scenarios in which (i) there is no preceding determiner, (ii) there is a so-called *der*-word (various forms of the definite article *der/die/das* 'the' and words with similar inflectional patterns, such as *dieser* 'this', *welcher* 'which', *jeder* 'each/every', *mancher* 'many', etc.) before the adjective, and (iii) there is an *ein*-word (variations on the indefinite article *ein* 'one' or 'a', the negating article *kein*, and possessive pronouns, such as *mein* 'my', *dein* 'your (inf.)', *sein* 'his', etc.) (Turneaure:1987). (See Appendix E for a detailed look at adjective suffixes.) Some examples of the adjectival endings are given in examples (19)-(24):

- (19) Sie ist eine junge Tante. 'She is a young aunt.'
- (20) guter Wein 'good wine'
- (21) schwarze Hunde 'black dogs'
- (22) Ich bin eine coole Mutter.
  'I am a cool mother' (TfA 01x03)
- (23) stylischer Look 'stylish look' (email ad)
- (24) clevere Ladys 'clever ladies' (Barbe 2004:32)

In (19), the adjective *jung* 'young' takes on the ending *-e*, since the noun *Tante* 'aunt' is feminine, nominative, and preceded by the *ein*-word *eine* 'a.fem.nom'. In (20), the masculine noun *Wein* 'wine' is also in the nominative case, but is not preceded by any articles. Consequently, the adjective *gut* 'good' takes the ending *-er*, which is used for nominative, masculine nouns with no preceding determiner. In (21), the adjective *schwarz* 'black' is an adjective with no determiner in the nominative case, modifying a plural noun *Hunde* 'dogs'. As a result, *schwarz* takes the nominative plural ending *-e*.

The same adjectival endings apply to loan adjectives from English. In sentence (22), the adjective *cool* takes on the same -*e* ending that *junge* takes in (19), since *Mutter* 'mother', like *Tante* 'aunt' in (19), is a feminine noun in the nominative case, preceded by the *ein*-word *eine*. In (23), the adjective *stylisch* 'stylish' precedes the masculine noun *Look* 'look'. There is no determiner before the adjective and masculine noun in this example, just as in (20), which means that *stylisch* takes the same suffix -*er* that *gut* does in (20). In (24), the plural noun *Ladys* (note the Germanized spelling of 'ladies') is not preceded by any articles, so the adjective *clever* 'clever' takes the suffix -*e*, for the same

reasons that *schwarze* takes the same ending in (21). Even though *Lady* is a feminine noun and *Hund* 'dog' is masculine, the plural forms of all nouns behave the same, which means that the same adjectival inflectional patterns apply for both *Lady* and *Hund*.

While most German adjectives are declined as a result of the case, number, and gender of the nouns they modify, there are some exceptions. Most notably, the adjectives *rosa* 'pink' and *lila* 'purple' are indeclinable, taking no endings, even when other adjectives in the same position would be declined (25)-(26). It is worth noting that both *rosa* and *lila* are loan words, though they were introduced to German several hundred years ago and do not come from English (Barbe 2004:32).

- (25) a. eine rosa Bluse b. \* eine rosae Bluse 'a pink blouse'
- (26) a. ein lila Rock b. \* ein lilaer Rock 'a purple skirt'

Given the inflectional patterns of most German adjectives, the expected forms of *rosa* and *lila* in (25) and (26) would be (25b) \*eine rosae Bluse and (26b) \*ein lilaer Rock, with rosa taking the feminine ending -e as a result of the feminine noun Bluse 'blouse', and *lila* taking the masculine ending -er because of the masculine noun Rock 'skirt'. The grammatical forms, however, do not have any adjectival suffixes at all, (25a) and (26a).

According to Barbe (2004:32), some English adjectives, such as *sexy* 'sexy' and *foxy* 'foxy' (27)-(28), cannot be declined like regular adjectives, and instead behave like *rosa* and *lila*.

a. eine sexy Frau
b. \* eine sexye Frau
'a sexy woman'

a. ein foxy Typ b. \* ein foxyer Typ 'a foxy guy'

These examples (27) and (28) behave the same way *rosa* and *lila* do (25)-(26). One would expect *sexy* and *foxy* to have suffixes reflecting the inflectional rules, (27b) and (28b), but these forms are ungrammatical, just as they are for *rosa* and *lila*. The grammatical forms have no suffixes at all, (27a) and (28a). This may be a phonological restriction, as there are very few native German adjectives that end in vowels that do decline, such as *blau* 'blue' and *neu* 'new'. (For more on adjectival morphosyntax and incorporation, see Onysko 2007:248-71.)

## 3.3 Nominal morphosyntax

An important part of the German nominal system is the grammatical gender of nouns. The gender affects the adjective endings and determiners, though there are not many morphological changes to the nouns themselves. According to Barbe (2004:32) and Onysko (2007:152) loan nouns tend to be assigned:

- a. natural gender, corresponding to the gender of the object in question (e.g., feminine *Lady*, *Oueen*; masculine *Gentleman*, *Cowboy*)<sup>3</sup>
- b. the same gender as their German equivalent (e.g., masculine *der Aufsatz* 'essay' → *der Essay*, feminine *die Wirtschaft* 'economy' → *die Economy*)
- c. gender based on semantic categories corresponding with native German words (e.g., native German terms for months, seasons, and days are masculine; chemical elements are largely neuter; floral names are usually feminine)
- d. gender according to the suffix of the noun (e.g. most native German nouns ending with -tät, -ung, -keit, -heit are feminine; -er, -ist, -ich, -ant are masculine; -chen, -lein, -um, -ment are neuter)

Unfortunately, despite these general trends, gender for loan nouns is unpredictable and

<sup>3</sup> Many German nouns are assigned gender based on the biological gender of the object, e.g. masculine der Mann 'man', der Onkel 'uncle'; feminine die Frau 'woman', die Tante 'aunt', etc. There are, of course, exceptions, perhaps most famously the neuter das Mädchen 'girl', which is neuter not due to any implications about the biological gender of girls, but rather because of the diminutive -chen ending, which is always neuter in German, regardless of the noun's inherent gender.

often inconsistent. Onysko (2007:151-2) writes that *Duden*, a highly regarded German dictionary, acknowledges that there is no hard and fast system for assigning gender. For instance, *Duden* lists the word *Evergreen* 'old classic song' as both masculine and neuter. When asked whether he would say *der* or *das Evergreen*, indicating masculine or neuter, a native German speaker admitted that he does not know which would be correct. Instead, he reported that he would probably say *ein Evergreen*, avoiding the problem by using the indefinite article *ein* 'a/one', which, in most grammatical cases, is the same for masculine and neuter (personal communication: Hartmut Land; see Appendix E for more on determiners).

Though most of the English loan words in German are nouns, there is comparatively little morphosyntactic change involved in the *Eindeutschung* 'Germanization' of English lexical items into German. For the most part, there are few noun suffixes, so the loans are not modified very much. One instance in which the morphology of nouns changes is in the formation of the plural. Usually German nouns are pluralized with the addition of *-n* or *-en*, but there is variation. Occasionally there is a change in the vowels in the stem, or the suffix added is *-s*, *-e*, or *-er*, or some combination of a suffix and a vowel change<sup>4</sup>. It is also possible that there is no change in the noun itself when it becomes plural. For most loan nouns, the plural is either formed by adding *-s* (29), or the noun remains unchanged (30).

(29) der Shop 'shop' → die Shops 'shops' die Lady 'lady' → die Ladys 'ladies' das Girl 'girl' → die Girls 'girls' das Team 'team' → die Teams 'teams (Barbe 2004; Barbe 2004; Strutz 2000)

<sup>4</sup> E.g., das Haus 'house' → die Häuser 'houses'; der Markt 'market' → die Märkte 'markets'

(30) der Teenager 'teenager' → die Teenager 'teenagers' der Computer 'computer' → die Computer 'computers' der CD-Player 'cd player' → die CD-Player 'cd players' (Barbe 2004; Strutz 2000; Strutz 2000)

For nouns that do not change in the plural, one must rely on any articles and adjectives that modify it, as well as the conjugation of the verb, if the noun is the subject, to distinguish the plurality of the noun. This is not unheard of in German, however, as a fair number of native German nouns are unchanged in the plural, such as *der/die Kuchen* 'cake(s)', *das/die Fenster* 'window(s)', *der/die Onkel* 'uncle(s)', *das/die Mädchen* 'girl(s)', etc.

- (31) a. Mein großer Kuchen wird gegessen. my big cake becomes eaten 'My big cake is being eaten.'
  - b. Meine großen Kuchen werden gegessen. my big cakes become eaten 'My big cakes are being eaten.'

In sentences (31a) and (31b), the plurality of *Kuchen* 'cake(s)' is not ambiguous at all. There are three indicators that *Kuchen* is singular in (31a) and plural in (31b): (i) the possessive pronoun *mein* 'my' is unmarked in (31a) but has the plural suffix -e in (31b); (ii) the adjective  $gro\beta$  'big' has the masculine nominative ending -er in (31a) but the plural nominative ending -en in (31b); and (iii) the verb *werden* 'to become' is in the third person singular form *wird* in (31a) but the third person plural *werden* in (31b). The plurality of loan nouns is indicated the same way (32).

- (32) a. Sein alter Computer funktioniert nicht. 'His old computer isn't working.'
  - b. Seine alten Computer funktionieren nicht. 'His old computers aren't working.'

In (32), the number of computers in each sentence is unambiguous. The first indicator of

plurality is the possessive pronoun *sein* 'his', which is uninflected in (32a), indicating the singularity of *Computer*, while the plural ending *-e* is present in (32b). The adjective *alt* 'old' has the masculine nominative ending *-er* in (32a), while the ending in (32b) is the plural nominative *-en*. The verb *funktionieren* 'to work, function' is also conjugated differently in the two sentences – in (32a), it is the third person singular form, *funktioniert*, while in (32b), it is the third person plural, *funktionieren*.

Another suffix that German nouns receive is the ending -n on plural nouns in the dative case. Unless the plural noun already ends in -n or -s, the suffix -n is added.

- (33) Er will nicht mit Kindern arbeiten.
  he wants not with children work
  'He doesn't want to work with children.'
- (34) Diese Übung funktioniert einfach nicht mit Teenagern.
  This exercise functions simple not with teenagers
  'This exercise just doesn't work with teenagers.' (TfA 01x01)

The preposition *mit* 'with' only takes nouns in the dative case, which means that the noun *Kinder* 'children' takes the dative plural ending -*n* in (33). The same happens in (34), with the plural noun *Teenager* 'teenagers' taking the suffix -*n* because *Teenager* is in the dative case. (For more on nominal morphosyntax, see Onysko 2007:180-91.)

#### 3.4 Verbal morphosyntax

German verbal morphology consists mostly of suffixes, as well as circumfixes for past participle forms. The German infinitival suffix is *-en* (35), which attaches to the stem of the verb.

(35) kommen 'to come, arrive' essen 'to eat' denken 'to think' arbeiten 'to work'

(36) strippen 'to strip'
joggen 'to jog'
downloaden 'to download'
rebooten 'to reboot (a computer)'
jetten 'to fly, travel by jet'
chatten 'to chat'
(Strutz 2000; Strutz 2000; Strutz 2000; Onysko 2007; Strutz 2000; Strutz 2000)

Verbs borrowed from English also take the infinitival suffix -en (36), which attaches to the bare form of the English verb. In (35), the stems of the verbs are komm-, ess-, denk-, and arbeit-, and the stems of the loans in (36) are stripp-, jogg-, download-, reboot-, jett-, and chatt-.

German verbs are conjugated with respect to the number and person of the subject, as well as the tense of the verb. These features are marked with a suffix, which is attached to the stem of the verb (37)-(39).

- (37) Er kommt. 'He is coming.'
- (38) Wir essen nicht.
  'We are not eating.'
- (39) *Ich muss mehr arbeiten.* 'I have to work more.'

In (37), the third person singular subject and present tense are marked with the suffix -t, which is added to the stem of the verb, komm-. In (38), the first person plural subject and present tense are marked with the suffix -en, attached to the stem of the verb, ess-. The main verb of sentence (39) is the irregular modal verb müssen 'to have to' is the main verb, conjugated as muss for the first person singular subject in the present tense. The modal verb takes an infinitive, which means that the verb arbeiten appears in the infinitival form with the suffix -en. Loan verbs from English are treated the same way (40)-(42).

- (40) Sie strippt.
  'She strips' or 'She is stripping' (TfA 01x02)
- (41) Wir joggen nicht.
  'We are not jogging.' (Onysko 2007:230)
- (42) Ich muss den Computer rebooten.I have to the computer reboot.'I have to reboot the computer.' (Barbe 2004)

In (40), the third person singular and present tense suffix -t is added to the stem of the verb 'to strip', just as the same suffix is added to *komm*- in (37). In (41), the subject of the sentence is first person plural and the tense is the present tense, both of which are marked by the suffix -en, just as in (38) with the verb *essen* 'to eat'. In (42), the main verb of the sentence is not *rebooten* 'to reboot', but rather *müssen* 'to have to', just like sentence (39). For the same reasons, the verb *rebooten* appears with the infinitival suffix -en.

Some German verbs have prefixes, either inseparable or separable. When the verbs with inseparable prefixes are conjugated, the prefix is unaffected and the suffix indicating the subject and tense is attached to the stem of the verb. When separable prefix verbs are conjugated, the prefix separates from the stem of the verb and moves to the last position of the sentence.

The past participle is formed with either a suffix or a circumfix, depending on the verb. For verbs with no prefixes, the circumfix *ge--t* or *ge--en* is added to the stem of the verb. If there is an inseparable prefix, only the second part of the circumfix is added to the stem, either *-t* or *-en*. If there is a separable prefix, the first part of the circumfix *ge-* is inserted between the prefix and the stem, and the second part of the circumfix is added to the end of the stem. See Table 1 for a comparison of the three kinds of verbs and how their inflection varies.

Table 1 – verbs with no prefixes, inseparable prefixes, and separable prefixes. Note the **prefixes** and

circumfixes in the past participle forms.

	INFINITIVAL FORM	CONJUGATED FORM	PAST PARTICIPLE
NO PREFIX	brauchen 'to need/require'	wir brauchen etwas 'we need something'	g <u>e</u> brauch <u>t</u> 'needed'
INSEPARABLE PREFIX	verbrauchen 'to consume, use up'	wir verbrauchen etwas 'we are consuming sthg.'	<i>ver</i> brauch <u>t</u> 'used, consumed'
SEPARABLE PREFIX	anfangen 'to start'	wir fangen <b>an</b> 'we are starting'	<i>ang<u>e</u>fang<u>en</u> 'started'</i>

English loan verbs form the past participle in the same way, both as verbs with no prefixes and as those with separable prefixes. There do no seem to be many loan verbs with inseparable prefixes, if any.

- (43)Wir haben etwas gebraucht. we have something needed 'We needed something.'
- (44)Der Flug wurde gecancelt. the flight became canceled 'The flight was canceled.' (Onysko 2007:233)
- (45)Wir haben angefangen. 'We have started.'
- (46)Wir haben ausgeloggt. we have out-logged 'We have logged out.' (Onysko 2007:241)

In (43), the circumfix ge--t is added to the stem of the verb brauch-, forming the past participle gebraucht 'needed'. In (44), the same circumfix ge- -t is added to the stem of the loan verb *canceln* 'to cancel', forming the participle *gecancelt* 'canceled', the same way gebraucht is formed. In (45), the circumfix ge--en is attached to the verb anfangen 'to start', between the separable prefix an and the stem fang-. In (46), the separable prefix ge--t is attached to the verb ausloggen 'to log off', between the separable prefix aus and the stem *logg*-, forming the participle the same way *angefangen* is formed in (45).

In some cases, it is unclear whether a loan word functions as a verb with a

separable or inseparable prefix. The verb *downloaden* 'to download' is an accepted loan, but there is uncertainty about the past participle form of the verb (47).

- (47) a. *Updates werden gedownloadet*. updates become downloaded 'Updates are downloading'
  - b. Updates werden downgeloadet.
     updates become downloaded
     'Updates are downloading'

In (47a), *downloaden* is functioning as a verb without a prefix, since the circumfix *ge--t* is attached to the stem *download-*. In (47b), however, *downloaden* is functioning as a verb with a separable prefix, as demonstrated by the circumfix *ge--t* attaching to the verb between the prefix *down-* and the stem *load-*. Both of these forms are grammatical, but there is no consensus among native German speaker about which form is the "correct" one (personal communication: Elisabeth F.). For more on the integration and nativization of loan verbs, see Onysko (2007:229-48).

# 4 Semantic overlap between English words, their use in German, and the native German

After examining the incorporation of loan words into German, I compared the meanings of English words, the same English words as used in German, and the equivalent native German words. In order to gain some insight into the semantic overlap between these three groups of words, I conducted a survey of native German speakers' attitudes, knowledge, and usage of various English loan words in German. The seven loan words I investigated were *Team*, *Band*, *Ticket*, *cool*, *Girl*, *Baby*, and *Sound*. In the survey, I first

<sup>5</sup> German nouns are always capitalized, and I have maintained the orthography when referring to the loan nouns, since they are capitalized in German, too. Adjectives, such as *cool*, are only capitalized at the beginning of sentences in German, and I am following this convention. I do not capitalize English words, in accordance with English orthographic conventions.

as its primary meaning in English. Then, I went through all of the secondary or metaphorical meanings of the English word, and asked if the loan shared any of the secondary English meanings.

For the most part, the results show that the primary meaning of the English word is the only one that gets borrowed. The secondary or metaphorical meanings are usually not transferred with the loan, though there are of course exceptions.

#### 4.1 *Team*

The first section of the survey is about the word *Team*, usually translated as 'sports team'. The survey respondents indicate, however, that there is more meaning involved in the word *Team* than 'sports team'. As in English, the loan *Team* can also refer to a non-sports group, such as a search-and-rescue team, or a team of lawyers. Unlike in English, however, *Team* cannot refer to a team of animals, such as work horses or oxen.

All twenty-one speakers report using the word *Team*, but only three (14.3%) said that it has the exact same meaning as the native equivalent *Mannschaft* (literally 'sports team'). Every speaker save one (95.2%) says that *Team* can extend to mean groups of people outside of sports, such as teams at work, search-and-rescue teams, and even Team Edward (referring to fans who supports the pairing of *Twilight* character Bella with Edward, rather than Jacob). Many speakers add that *Team* would be used in a work environment by managers trying to build camaraderie or team spirit. Nearly everyone (95.2%) agrees that *Team* can be used fairly interchangeably with *Gruppe* 'group'.

Sixteen speakers (76.2%) report that *Team* is a word they would use to describe a sports team and that they would not find such usage completely foreign. Nineteen

speakers (90.5%) say that *Team* could refer to any sports team and that its usage is not restricted to certain sports, though they themselves might not use it this way. When asked about the size of a *Team* as compared to a *Mannschaft*, such as when describing a tennis doubles team, all speakers affirm that *Mannschaft* would be an inappropriate term. Thirteen speakers (61.9%) say that one could use *Team* to describe a sports group like a tennis duo, though many others report that they would use *Doppel* 'double' or *Paar* 'pair', and some say that they would use *Doppel* or *Paar* to the exclusion of *Team*.

A compound noun that can be formed with *Mannschaft* is *Nationalmannschaft* 'national team', which is an accepted native German word. Only eight respondents (38.1%) say that they would use the corresponding compound *Nationalteam* 'national team'. Another compound that appears frequently in German is *Frauenmannschaft* 'women's team'. Nine speakers (42.3%) say that they would use the related compound *Frauenteam*. Speaker 6 in particular mentions preferring *Frauenteam* over *Frauenmannschaft*, since *Frauenmannschaft* is contradictory in itself, as *Mannschaft* refers most literally to a group of men (*Mann* 'man'), while *Team* does not have any gender implications.

All twenty-one speakers report that one would never use the words *Team* or *Mannschaft* to refer to animals, as in *a team of oxen* or *a team of horses*. Both *Team* and *Mannschaft* are thus restricted to humans.

All in all, *Team* seems to have been accepted into the German lexicon, with about three-quarters of the speakers in this survey using *Team* to refer to a sports team, as in *Mannschaft*, and about ninety-five percent of speakers using *Team* to refer to a group of people not related to sports. A sports *Team* is not limited in terms of what sports it can

refer to, and about sixty percent of consultants even said that one could use *Team* to refer to two-person teams, such as tennis doubles. The compounds *Nationalteam* and *Frauenteam* do not seem very common, though they do have their supporters. The German meaning of *Team* corresponds to the many of the various uses of the English word *team* – but only when referring to humans.

## **4.2** *Band*

The loan word *die Band*, meaning 'musical group' or 'band', has an even wider range of meanings in English. In English, *band* may refer to a musical group, a rubber band or some other means of binding things together, a group of people (such as a band of thieves), or a wedding ring. In German, however, only the meaning 'musical group, band' has been borrowed along with the loan *Band*. The native German equivalent that is used to describe musical groups is *Gruppe*, literally 'group'. *Gruppe* is not just limited to 'musical group', however, though it certainly can be used as such. In fact, the loan *Team* is also sometimes used with the same meaning as *Gruppe*, referring to a non-sports group.

Twenty respondents (95.2%) say that they use the word *Band*, and in fact many say that *Band* is the only word they would use to describe a musical group, although they might replace it with *Gruppe* if talking to their grandparents, for instance. Most speakers say that *Band* and *Gruppe* both refer to the same kinds of musical groups, though the remaining four speakers think that there is some sort of a difference between the two. Speaker 13, for instance, says that *Band* refers to live music, while *Gruppe* "is some casted group of lipsynching mishaps." Speaker 19 says that *Gruppe* may also refer to an a capella group. Speakers 1 and 8 both say that *Band* is the only word that they would

ever use to talk about a musical group or band.

The German word for 'rubber band' is indeed also *Band* – but it is not the feminine loan *die Band*, pronounced [bɛnt] – but rather the neuter *das Band*, pronounced [bant].

All twenty-one speakers confirm that these are two separate words. The speakers also unanimously agree that *die Band* cannot be used to talk about a non-musical group of people, such as *a band of thieves*. Similarly, all of the speakers agree that *die Band* (or *der*<sup>6</sup> or *das Band*) can never refer to a wedding ring the way *band* might in English, and that the only terms for a wedding ring are *Ring* 'ring' or *Ehering*, literally 'marriage-ring'.

In summary, the only time the English loan *Band* may be used in German is when it is referring to a musical group. It seems as though the word has only been borrowed in the context of musical groups, and that the other meanings of the English word *band* are not transferred.

#### 4.3 Ticket

English *ticket* and German *Ticket* are interesting in terms of translation. There are a multitude of German words that could be translated into English as *ticket*, such as *Fahrkarte* and *Fahrschein* 'railroad ticket', *Flugschein* 'plane ticket', *Eintrittskarte* 'entrance ticket', and *Strafzettel* and *Strafmandat* 'traffic or parking ticket'. The loan *Ticket* only corresponds in meaning with the first four of these native German translations. In German, a *Ticket* is only a means of entrance, not a fine or reprimand.

All twenty-one consultants agree that the loan *Ticket* covers *Fahrkarte*, *Fahrschein*, *Flugschein*, and *Eintrittskarte*, with the general meaning of 'entrance ticket',

<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, there is a division among speakers as to whether the masculine *der Band* exists. Some speakers confirm that it means 'tome' or 'volume' (as in, the first volume of the *Harry Potter* series), while others are quite vehement that *der Band* is not real and only people who don't know German would say *der Band*. The masculine *Band* is pronounced like the neuter *Band*: [bant].

with the idea that with a *Ticket* one can get into a train, plane, theatre, amusement park, and so on. Every speaker save one (95.2%) says that *Ticket* can only be used in the sense of an admission ticket and that *Strafzettel* and *Strafmandat* do not have the same meaning as *Ticket*, as they are not entrance tickets, but rather reports of violation. The English usage of *ticket* as a traffic or parking violation has not been borrowed into German, though the general meaning 'a means of gaining admission or entrance' has.

Eighteen speakers (85.7%) report that they use *Ticket*, though some of them said that they do not necessarily use it more than the alternatives. Though there is some sense that one might not use *Ticket* with much older people, it seems to be fairly universally accepted, recognized, and understood.

Although *Ticket* is an accepted and used loan, at least among the speakers surveyed, it is clear that only the meaning of 'entrance pass' has been borrowed, and not the 'fine, reprimand' meaning. The native German equivalents of *Ticket* all have slightly different meanings, similar to the distinctions drawn for the English *ticket*, which converge to the single loan word *Ticket*.

#### **4.4** *Cool*

The English word *cool* 'excellent; fashionable' has made its way into the German lexicon with the same meaning, but its acceptance is a bit more tenuous than that of other loan words examined in this study. Fifteen respondents (71.4%) report that they themselves use it, while the others say that they would never use it, and that people who do are trying too hard to be, well, 'cool'. There are a number of native German words with roughly the same meaning, but there is no consensus on which ones are appropriate, current, or the best descriptors of a favorable thing. In fact, speakers disagree quite a bit on what is

appropriate and in fashion at the moment.

All twenty-one consultants confirm that *cool* may never be used in a temperature-related sense in German, as it is in English. For temperature, one would use the words *kalt* 'cold', *kühl* 'cool', or sometimes *frisch* 'fresh'. The only meaning the word *cool* has in German is along the lines of 'fantastic', 'great', or 'awesome.'

#### 4.5 *Girl*

The English word *girl* has many meanings, but the German *Girl* has relatively few. None of the survey respondents use the German *Girl*, at least not with its primary meaning 'female child'. A few speakers report that a woman might refer to her female friends as *Girls*, or that one could call a young woman *Girl*. Besides that, however, none of the speakers think that the various English meanings of *girl* can be conveyed with the loan *Girl*, especially the primary meaning in English of 'female child'.

All twenty-one speakers report that they do not use the English loan *Girl* 'girl' and that native speakers would not use it to refer to young female children at all, one would always say *Mädchen* 'girl' or *Mädel* 'girl'. *Mädel* is more informal than *Mädchen* and, as discussed below, seems to be more acceptable when referring to people who are not young, female children. Similarly, none of the speakers think that *Girl* can be used with the meaning 'daughter', as in *I have three girls and a boy*, meaning three daughters and a son. A few speakers say that a proud parent might talk about their daughter as *mein Mädchen* 'my girl', but most often people would just talk about *meine Tochter* 'my daughter'. Speaker 1 says that one could probably use *Girl* to refer to a young woman, and eight speakers (38.1%) said that one might refer to a young woman as a *Mädchen*. Most speakers (15, or 71.4%), however, felt that it would be rude to refer to a young

woman as either a *Girl* or a *Mädchen*, with the cut-off age between girl and woman around age twenty. Referring to older women, as is sometimes done in English, such as the *Golden Girls*, as either *Girls* or *Mädchen* is definitely frowned upon by the speakers, and all report that they would just say *Frau* 'woman', never *Girl* or *Mädchen*.

While all of the speakers agree that one would never use *Girl* to mean 'maid', as is sometimes done in English, three (14.3%) said that one could use *Mädchen* meaning 'maid', and seven (33.3%) said that *Zimmermädchen* 'room-girl' is also an acceptable term for a maid, though all noted that these usages are old-fashioned or uncommon, as few people have maids.

In English, women sometimes refer to their female friends as *girls*, such as *I went to the movies this weekend with the girls*. Most survey respondents agree that, in German, a woman would not use *Girl* or *Girls* to refer to her female friends, though speakers 1 and 15 think that a woman might use *Girl* in this way. That said, both speakers 1 and 15 are male, and therefore are not necessarily aware of how female speakers refer to their female friends. Three speakers (14.3%) say that women could use *Mädchen* (plural) to refer to their female friends, though *Mädels* 'girls' seems to be more common for women referring to their female friends, as seven speakers (33.3%) report that this is a valid option used by women. *Mädel* has a more casual and friendly connotation than *Mädchen*, especially in the context of referring to one's friends.

Another English usage of the word *girl* is as a term of endearment or a greeting, such as *Hey girl, how are you*? All twenty-one speakers report that one would never use *Girl* this way in German, and only two (9.5%) say that one could use *Mädchen* this way. All of the speakers also concur that, contrary to some uses of *girl* in English, German

speakers would never refer to a woman's breasts as either *Girls* or *Mädchen*. In fact, most respondents express incredulity at the idea that women might refer to their breasts as *girls*, and speaker 5, who answers the rest of the survey in German, writes in English, "Girl boobs are girl girls? Funny!?!" Additionally, none of the respondents report that one could refer to one's girlfriend or partner as *Girl* or *Mädchen*.

Despite the fact that *Girl* has not really become a part of the German lexicon, it seems as though a few speakers are willing to use it, though, interestingly, not with its primary English meaning 'female child'. Rather, the few speakers who do use *Girl*, or who think that one could use it in German, would use it with the meaning 'young woman' or 'female friend'. All in all, *Girl* does not really seem to be a part of the German lexicon and has not become *eingedeutscht*.

#### 4.6 *Baby*

In contrast to *Girl*, which is very seldom used in German, *Baby* 'baby' is widely used. In fact, all survey respondents say that *Baby* is the *only* word that any German speaker would use to describe an infant, and that the other German words, *Kleinkind* and *Säugling*, would never be used when referring to a small baby. Twenty speakers also specifically commented that *Baby* refers to an infant or a very young baby, while *Kleinkind* only refers to a toddler or a baby that has started crawling and moving around. Not one respondent says they use *Säugling*, literally 'suckling', and several commented that *Säugling* is much more clinical and not actually used in informal speech.

Interestingly, *Baby* seems to have entirely replaced the older German term for infant or baby, so much so that literally no other words are used for a very young child.

In English, however, baby is not restricted to meaning 'infant'. Sometimes, baby

can be used to talk about the youngest person in a family, even if they are not actually a baby or even a child. Six speakers (28.6%) agree that one could use *Baby* in this way in German, but the rest find that usage strange and not allowed in German. In English, baby can also refer to a young (or comparatively young) person, not necessarily in the same family as the speakers, as in You've got a lot to learn yet, you're still a baby. Seven people (33.3%) say that one could use *Baby* with this meaning in German, though most noted that it would probably be insulting. Around half of the speakers (52.4%) agree that Baby can describe a childish, whiny, or immature person, as in Don't be such a baby, just do your homework. Only six respondents (28.6%) say that Baby can mean 'coward' or 'wuss', as in I can't stand the sight of blood, because I'm such a big baby. Five speakers (23.8%) report that one could use *Baby* to refer to one's girlfriend, boyfriend, spouse, etc. Speaker 17 notes, however, that such usage of *Baby* is recognized as an English word, while Baby 'baby, infant' is considered German. The pronunciation of Baby 'romantic partner' is not different from the pronunciation of Baby 'baby, infant'. Other speakers add that one might possibly use Baby as an affectionate term for a romantic partner, but that one would only do it if trying to imitate an American movie or similar. All in all, this usage is not widespread in German.

While the primary meaning of the English *baby* has been completely absorbed into the German *Baby*, the other English usages have not been assimilated as much. About half the speakers think *Baby* can be used metaphorically to describe childish or immature people, and the other meanings have even less support. *Baby* is definitely a German word, but the extent to which its meanings match the English meanings of *baby* varies.

#### 4.7 Sound

When asked what word they would use to describe a generic, unspecified noise, all respondents reply with *Geräusch* 'sound, noise'. There are, in fact, many German words to describe sounds, none of which really have the same meaning. The most common are *Geräusch*, *Ton* 'tone, note', *Laut* 'utterance', and *Klang* 'tone, note, clang'. Unlike English, in which *sound* is the most generic term for something one hears, the same is not the case for *Sound*. Along with the other sound-related words explained here, *Sound* has a specific meaning. Seventeen respondents (81%) say that *Sound* refers to the quality or style of music, a band, or an era, such as *the sound of the sixties*. Twelve speakers (57.1%) say that *Sound* refers to the sound coming out of speakers or other technical equipment, rather than the style of music. Unlike the English word, the German *Sound* is rather restricted in terms of meaning.

## 5 Speaker attitudes towards English loan words in German

At the end of the survey, the respondents were asked to talk about their opinions of English loan words and whether they consider the loans part of the German language, or just foreign words inserted into the language. Perhaps not surprisingly, the respondents were, generally speaking, positive about the incorporation of Anglicisms into German. Since most of the people I know and asked to fill out the survey, as well as the people my friends in Germany passed it on to, are pretty liberal, open-minded, and interested in language, I wouldn't expect to see many overwhelmingly negative responses.

Several respondents were rather matter-of-fact about the fact that language changes, and a part of language change can be incorporating new words from other languages. As speaker 5 says: "Words are always absorbed into languages; English is

now what French used to be for German" in terms of the source of loan words. Speaker 13 agrees, writing, "As any language [does], the German language incorporates many words from foreign languages. Two hundred years ago French was en vogue and we have assimilated a lot of French words. [The s]ame is happening with English, only on a somewhat larger scale. Some words may even get a German spelling eventually."

Speaker 11 also adds that people of her grandparents' generation tended to use French words or French-influenced words in their speech, while today's generations, particularly the younger ones, are more likely to use English. Speaker 4 writes, "As English is becoming the second language of most people, the use of English words will always become more frequent, and be understood by everybody. This has happened with other languages before in Germany, the language is full of loanwords and will continue to evolve."

Some of the other consultants do use English words, but consider them foreign, despite their common use in German. Speaker 2 writes that loans "aren't 'German' words and will never be, but many people use them. I think we are just borrowing them, maybe they will be changed a little (eingedeutscht) ['germanized']. I think they are just words we use, but they are still foreign." Speaker 12 also says, "in my opinion, they will always remain English words and most people will be aware of them being foreign words, and I also find it impossible to prevent loan words from entering other languages." In other

<sup>7</sup> Translation mine. Originally: "Klar werden Worte immer in Sprachen aufgenommen, was früher für die deutsche Sprache das französische war, ist heut das englische."

<sup>8 &</sup>quot;Vielen älteren Menschen ist das Französische auch näher, weil sie sich hier an die Sprachwahl ihrer Vorfahren erinnert fühlen. Meine Großtante und Detlefs [meines Mannes] Großmutter hatten ganz selbstverständlich sehr viele französische Worte in Ihre Alltagssprache integriert. Es galt zu ihrer Zeit als vornehm sich in einer solchen Weise zu artikulieren. Das Französische wurde durch das Englische abgelöst und stellt ganz eindeutig eine Vereinfachung und vor allen Dingen eine Vereinheitlichung der Sprachen dar."

words, these speakers are comfortable with the use of English words in German, though they think that speakers will maintain a mental distinction between what is "really" German and what is not.

Several speakers bring up the distinction between loan words for which there is a common native German word (e.g. *Ticket*, with many equivalents) and for which there is not (e.g. *Baby*, with no currently-used native German equivalent). Speaker 18 writes that "since we have perfectly good German words for [loans that are less incorporated into German, for which there are commonly-used native equivalents], I'm rather opposed to using [the non-incorporated loans]." Others also bring up this distinction. Speaker 17 says "To borrow some loanwords when there is no good word in your own language or to shorten the existing word is okay, I guess and pretty natural." Sometimes, though, the native German words are seen as easier to use and to understand. Speaker 6 explains this in relation the confusion surrounding *downloaden* 'to download' quite well:

In general, I have nothing against using English words in German. I do it and sometimes I don't even think about it, because the English word comes naturally. However, I do think that we (the people speaking German, if native or not) don't have to use English words just because it's supposedly "cooler" or more modern, especially when the German word is just as easy. For example "herunterladen" instead of "downloaden" is a lot less complicated because I don't have to think about the grammar with "ich habe etwas heruntergeladen". How do you say this using "downloaden"[,] "Ich habe etwas gedownloadet [sic] oder down geloadet?"

As speaker 6 says, the native German is often much less ambiguous, both in terms of morphology (e.g., *gedownloadet* vs. *downgeloadet* 'downloaded') and in terms of meaning (e.g., *Fahrkarte* and *Eintrittskarte* have overlapping meanings with *Ticket*, but not with each other). Speaker 11 calls German a very "precise" and "independent" language and thinks that when foreign words are introduced into it, the language loses

some of its precision and becomes ambiguous, as shown in the *Ticket/Eintrittskarte/*Fahrschein/etc. situation. Speaker 1 says, "most English words used in German have a relatively wide definition compared to the specific German words." In this survey, the only example of English words having a wider definition than the German words is das Ticket. That said, this survey is by no means an exhaustive list of English loans in German, and it is entirely possible that there are many words like Ticket that condense the meanings of their native German equivalents into one word.

Several speakers mention that those who use the most Anglicisms are often the people with the least knowledge or skill in English. Speaker 18 mentions that it seems as though "people who actually never learnt that much English at school are more prone to use English words than those who know the language much better," and speaker 3 adds that "most people who use a lot of anglicism [sic] don't actually speak English on a good level [sic] if they do at all." This is tied to the idea of using English loans to seem cooler. If native German speakers actually do speak English or have studied it, the allure of using foreign words is lower, since they actually have a command of the foreign language in question and don't have to use loan words to display their supposed knowledge

All in all, the survey respondents accept the fact that English loan words are used fairly frequently in German. Some speakers prefer using native German words, but they recognize that English words have made their way into the German lexicon and should be considered part of the language. Speakers report that it is possible to overuse English words, or force English words into German, which comes across as trying too hard. It seems as though a moderate amount of English words is acceptable for German speakers,

<sup>9 &</sup>quot;Die deutsche Sprache ist eine eigenständige, sehr präzise Sprache. Das Integrieren vieler englischer Worte verwässert die deutsche Sprache und macht sie sehr ungenau."

but that too much is not natural.

#### 6 Conclusion

There are quite a number of English loans in German, some of which have very similar pronunciation and meaning as they do in English. Others are phonologically similar, but differ greatly in terms of meaning, while still others have no phonological similarity, but do have shared meanings. The phonological loans from English undergo phonological and morphosyntactic changes as part of their incorporation into German.

Based on the seven loan words examined in a survey of twenty-one native German speakers, it seems as though loans from English tend not to borrow all of the English meanings, but only the primary or perhaps original meaning. Few, if any, of the secondary or metaphorical meanings are borrowed, meaning that, for the most part, the borrowing of meaning is restricted to literal meaning, not figurative. There are, of course, exceptions, such as *Girl*, which is not used to mean 'female child', and *Sound*, which is used with the narrower meanings of 'quality of a music group, time period' and 'quality of speakers, etc.'

In the future, it would be interesting to conduct a similar survey with a larger number of loan words, especially with words that are actually used frequently by native German speakers. I would like to see if the general trends from this study hold true when the meanings of more loan words are examined, as well as when more respondents answer the survey.

Since my survey was written in English, I know that all of my respondents have at least a fairly good grasp of the English language. If, as my respondents report, German speakers who know less English use English loan words more frequently, conducting the

survey in German – and therefore getting results from people who don't necessarily speak English – could yield very interesting results. It is possible that people who don't speak English use some English loans with different meanings. I predict that loans that have not been widely accepted into German would be used with several different meanings, and perhaps not the primary or literal English meanings. There is certainly much more to be investigated about English loans in German.

#### Appendix A – Abbreviations used for sources

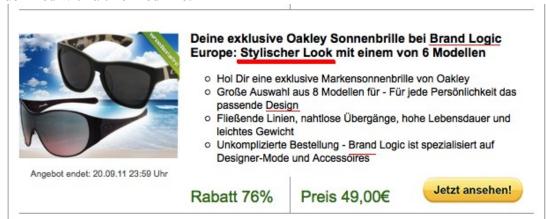
If not included in this table, example phrases and sentences come either from a published work (cited in the text), were made up by me, or come from personal observations and have been verified by native German speakers.

**Bella Martha** is a German film from 2001 directed by Sandra Nettlebeck.

"Dickes B" 'big B' (referring to Berlin) is a German song by the group Seeed [sic] (fronted by Peter Fox), from their 2001 album New Dubby Conquerors.

**Email ad** refers to German spam emails with advertisements and coupons that appeared in my inbox. Many of them had examples of English loans, which I subsequently took screencaps of.

Example (23) *stylischer Look* comes from the ad below, with the phrase underlined with a thick red line:



The whole headline is translated as 'your exclusive Oakley sunglasses from Brand Logic Europe: stylish look with one of six models'.

"Griechischer Wein" 'Greek wine' is a famous German song by Udo Jürgens, from his 1974 album *Griechischer Wein - Seine neuen Lieder* ('Greek wine – his new songs').

**Soul Kitchen** is a German film from 2009 by German/Turkish director Fatih Akın.

**TfA** – *Türkisch für Anfänger* 'Turkish for beginners' is a popular German television show about a Turkish-German stepfamily in Berlin, focusing on the sixteen-year-old daughter. The show ran from 2006-2009 and was aimed at teenagers. The dialogue features a good deal of English loan words. Episodes are referenced in the text in the form of TfA 01x01, which refers to season 1, episode 1. The titles of the episodes referred to are:

01x01 – "Die, in der ich meine Freiheit verliere" ('the one in which I lose my freedom')

01x02 – "Die, in der ich keine Schwester will" ('the one in which I don't want a sister')

01x03 – "Die, in der ich abstürze" ('the one in which I crash')

# Appendix B – Demographics of Consultants

#10	Alex 31 M II  Alex 20 M II  Bianca 26 F II  Dagmar D. 47 F G  Detlef J. 49 M II  Elisabeth F. 22 F II  (Anonymous) 29 F II  Katja B. 46 F II  Katrin 27 F S  Lukas G. 20 M G  Kathrin Z. 49 F II  Nadine U-P 32 F II  Ralf T. 34 M II	Born <sup>11</sup>	Raised	Current location	Lived in an Eng-spkg country?	Other langs <sup>12</sup>		
1	Alex	31	M	Frankfurt am Main	Around Frankfurt am Main	Hertfordshire, UK	The past 1.5 years	FR, ES
2	Alex	20	M	Borna	Bayreuth	Frankfurt am Main	No	ES, EU, CA
3	Bianca	26	F	Berlin-Spandau	Around Hamburg	Around Hamburg Around Hamburg		FR
4	Dagmar D.	47	F	Garmisch- Partenkirchen	Munich	Near Garmisch- Partenkirchen	No	IT, RO, FR
5*	Detlef J.	49	M	Dinslaken am Rhein	Krefeld	Berlin-Kreuzberg	6 mos., UK	FR, IT
6	Elisabeth F.	22	F	Vienna, Austria	Vienna, Austria	Vienna, Austria	3 wks., Ireland	FR, ES, IT, LA
7	(Anonymous)	29	F	Bad Wildungen	Edertal	Erftstadt	No	FR, IT, LA
8	Katja B.	46	F	Engelskirchen	Bad Ems	Darmstadt	No	FR, LA, RU, NO
9	Katrin	27	F	Sachsen	Germany	Germany	No	NO
10*	Lukas G.	20	M	Offenbach a.M.	Dreieich	Heidelberg	No	ES
11*	Kathrin Z.	49	F	Bad Kreuznach	Pfaffen- Schwabenheim	Berlin-Kreuzberg	6 mos., UK	FR
12	Nadine U-P	32	F	Neustadt/Weinstrasse	Neustadt until age 13; Prague (Czech Rep.) for 6 yrs; Passau for 1.5 yrs	Canary Islands, Spain, since 2001	No, but married to native English speaker since 2001	CS, ES, FR, SK
13	Ralf T.	34	M	East Berlin	East Berlin	Tokyo, Japan	1 yr., USA	SP, JA, RU
14*	Rebecca B.	31	F	Bremen	Achim	Jülich	No	NL, FR
15	Rolf A. 56 M Unkel		Unkel	Linz	Neuwied	No	FR, IT, NO, ID	
16	Sabine 29 F Rinteln		Lower Saxony Frankfurt am Main		3 mos., England at age 14	PT, FR, SP, IT, NL, GL		

<sup>10</sup> If indicated with an asterisk \*, the respondent answered the questions in the survey with German responses.

<sup>11</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all locations are in Germany.

<sup>12</sup> The respondents were asked what languages they speak. All consultants are native speakers of German and can speak English as well, neither of which are listed in this section. Respondents reported various skill levels in other languages, but all levels are listed here, using the Library of Congress 2-letter abbreviations.

17	Tina T.	26	F	Oberhausen	Oberhausen	Duisburg	No	FR, NL
18	Vera	37	F	Bochum	Bochum	Bochum	Studied in Newcastle upon Tyne (UK) for one term in 1996, abt. 5 mo	FR, SV
19*	Sunka S.	49	F	Hannover	Hamburg	Swarthmore, PA, USA	Since 1986	ES
20	Mirjam G.	22	F	Munich	Munich; Kaufbeuren	Kaufbeuren	No	ES, FR, LA
21	Christopher Z.	20	M	Duisburg	Neuwied	Munich	1 yr., in MI, USA	RU

### **Appendix C – Survey**

The survey below was sent out via email to native German speakers, who could answer in English, German, or both. The survey appeared exactly as shown below.

### Survey for native German speakers on the use of Anglicisms in German

I am writing my linguistics senior thesis at Haverford College on the use of English words in modernday German. I am interested in your responses, as a native German speaker, on the use and meaning of English words in German.

Please answer the following questions based on how *you* would be most likely to speak. Please do *not* answer with what you think the answer *should* be, but rather with what would come most naturally to you. You may answer in English, German, or whatever combination you prefer. If you have any questions or comments about this survey, or my thesis in general, please email me at <a href="mailto:mlane@haverford.edu">mlane@haverford.edu</a>, and I will be happy to talk about it all at length!

Thank you very much for your help!

Name:

Age:

Place of birth:

Where did you grow up?

Where do you live now?

Have you ever lived in an English-speaking country? Where? How long, or since when? What other languages do you speak, if any?

(If you do not want your name associated with your answers, please say so and I will remove it.)

Which word would you be more likely to use in casual, everyday speech: *das Team* or *die Mannschaft*? Which do you prefer to use? Would you use one more in certain circumstances or situations? With different people? With people older or younger than you? Do they have the same meaning?

What kind of person would say *das Team*? What kind of person would use *das Team* exclusively over *die Mannschaft*?

Which do you expect most German speakers use more, das Team or die Mannschaft?

In English, the word *team* often refers to a sports team. Does *das Team* in German have the same meaning? Does *die Mannschaft*?

In English, there can be a team for any kind of sports. Can *das Team* be used regarding any kind of sports, or can it only be used for certain sports?

If you were to refer to a national sports team in German, you could say *die Nationalmannschaft*. Could you say *das Nationalteam*?

In German, you can talk about a women's team as *eine Frauenmannschaft*. Could you talk about *ein Frauenteam*?

A *team* in English is not just a big group of athletes – you can talk about a doubles team in tennis, for example, which has just two people. What would you call this in German? Could you use *das Team* to describe a tennis doubles team? Would you describe this as *eine Mannschaft*, or would you use another word?

In English, *team* can also refer to a group of animals, as in *a team of horses* or *a team of oxen*. Does *das Team* also have this meaning in German? What about *Mannschaft*?

Sometimes, English speakers use *team* to refer to a group of people who don't play sports. There are *teams of lawyers*, or *search and rescue teams*, or even things like *Team Edward*, which refers to certain fans of the *Twilight* book series. Can you talk about these kinds of groups using *das Team*? Is *das Team* limited to people playing sports together? Could you use *Mannschaft* to talk about these people? What word would you use to describe these groups?

Which would you be more likely to use in casual, everyday speech when referring to a musical group in German – *die Band* or *die Gruppe*? Would you use one more in certain circumstances or situations? With different people? With people older or younger than you? Do they have the same meaning?

What kind of person would say *die Band*? What do you expect most German speakers would say when talking about a musical group or band?

Does *die Band* have a different meaning from *der Band* or *das Band*? What is the difference, if any?

In English, *band* sometimes means something that contains or binds, like a rubber band. Does *Band* have this meaning in German? Which *Band – der*, *die*, or *das*?

In English, *band* sometimes also refers to a group of people, but not in a musical sense, such as a *band of thieves*. Would this kind of group be called a *Band* in German, or would you use a different word?

Sometimes, the word *band* in English refers to a ring that one might wear, such as a *wedding band*. What word would you use to talk about a wedding band or ring in German?

Would you say *das Ticket* in casual, everyday speech? Would you be more or less likely to use it with people older or younger than you, or in different places or situations?

What does *das Ticket* mean to you? In English, a *ticket* can be all kinds of things – a parking violation ticket, a driving violation ticket, a train ticket, a plane ticket, a theatre ticket, a ticket for the movies, or a general entrance ticket. Can *das Ticket* mean any of these things in German?

How does *das Ticket* compare in meaning to *die Fahrkarte*, *der Fahrschein*, *der Flugschein*, *die Eintrittskarte*, *das Strafmandat*, *das Billet*, and *der Strafzettel*? Can *das Ticket* mean any of these things in German, or used instead of any of these words? Would you be more likely to use *das Ticket*, or one of the other words listed?

What kind of person would say *das Ticket* instead of the other words listed above? In what social situations?

Do the words die Fahrkarte, der Fahrschein, der Flugschein, die Eintrittskarte, das Strafmandat, das Billet, and der Strafzettel have the same meaning in German?

Would you use the word *cool* in casual, everyday speech? Would you use it more, less, or the same amount as other words, such as *toll*, *geil*, *krass*, or *hammer*? Would you use one more in certain circumstances or situations? With different people? With people older or younger than you? Do they have the same meaning?

What kind of person would say *cool* occasionally? What kind of person would say *cool* exclusively? What other words like *cool* are there?

Are there any phrases that *cool* is a part of? Any other words?

In English, *cool* also means cold, or not warm. Would you use *cool* meaning cold in German? Would you say *kühl*?

When you are referring to a young woman or a female child, what word are you more likely to use – *das Mädchen*, *das Mädel*, *das Girl*, or something else? Does it depend on the context or who you're speaking with? Does *das Girl* have certain implications that *das Mädchen* and *das Mädel* do not?

In English, *girl* can refer to young, female children. What word would you use to describe young, female children in German?

The English *girl* can also mean daughter. Does *Mädchen* or *Mädel* have the same meaning? Could you talk about *das Girl* and mean daughter or *Tochter*?

Some people in English use *girl* when talking about a young woman, even if she is not a child. Would you use *das Girl* in the same situation? What about *das Mädchen*? In English, calling a woman *girl* can be offensive or rude. Would it be rude in German to call a woman *ein Girl* or *ein Mädchen*?

In fact, sometimes *girl* means <u>any</u> woman, regardless of her age. Would you be able to say that in German? Or would you call her a woman?

In English, *girl* can also mean *maid*. Could you use *das Girl* or *das Mädchen* to talk about a maid in the same way? Would it be polite or rude to do so?

Sometimes, women refer to their female friends as *girls*, or sometimes *my girls*, as in *I* went to the movies this weekend with my girls. Would a German speaker talk about her female friends in the same way? Would she say die Girls, or perhaps meine Girls? What about die Mädchen or meine Mädchen?

Sometimes, friends use the word *girl* as a term of endearment or as a greeting, such as *hey girl, how are you?* Can you use *das Girl* to talk about your friends this way? What about *das Mädchen*?

Women also use the word *girls* to refer to their breasts, as in *I have a hard time buying sports bras because nothing contains the girls*. Would you ever use *das Girl* or *das Mädchen* to refer to a woman's breasts? Would any native German speaker?

A speaker of English might also use the word *girl* with the meaning *girlfriend*. Would someone in German talk about their *Girl*, meaning *girlfriend*? What about *Mädchen*, or *Mädel*?

Are there any other common meanings of the words das Girl, das Mädchen, or das Mädel?

When referring to a very young child or an infant, what word are you more likely to use – das Baby, das Kleinkind, or der Säugling? Would your answer change depending on who you were speaking with or what situation you were in?

What does it say about a person if they use das Baby as opposed to das Kleinkind?

Sometimes, people can be *babies* even if they are not infants, but rather the youngest of a group of people. An example of this is, *Even though my little sister is almost 30, she's still the baby of the family*. Could you use *das Baby* or *das Kleinkind* in this way?

In English, *baby* can be used to refer to young animals as well as young children. For instance, one might refer to a kitten as a *baby cat*, or a calf as a *baby cow*. Could you use *das Baby* in the same way in German? What about *das Kleinkind*?

In English, *baby* can also refer to people that aren't necessarily young, but are comparatively young. For instance, an older person might refer to a younger adult as a *baby*, implying that they have a lot to learn or experience. Could you use *das Baby* in the same way in German?

The word *baby* in English can also be a dismissive word, implying that someone is childish, immature, or whiny. An example of this might be, *you don't want to do your homework? Don't be such a baby about it.* Could you use *das Baby* in this context in German?

A baby can also be a coward, as in I can't stand the sight of blood, because I'm such a big baby. Could you use das Baby to refer to a cowardly person?

In English, *baby* may also be used as an affectionate term for one's girlfriend, boyfriend, spouse, etc. Would you ever call someone *Baby* (in this sense) in German? Is this *Baby* the same *baby* as *das Baby*, or *das Kleinkind*?

If you were to hear a noise, any noise, and you wanted to describe it, what is the first word that comes to your mind? *Das Geräusch*, *der Ton*, *der Laut*, *der Klang*, *der Sound*, or something else?

What does *der Sound* mean? In English, *sound* can refer to any noise of any kind or quality. Does *der Sound* have the same meaning in German?

Do das Geräusch, der Ton, der Laut, and der Klang have the same meaning in German? Is any one more specific than the others, or is one more generic?

In English, *sound* can also refer to the quality or characteristic of someone's voice, a group, an area, or a musical style. Does *der Sound* have this meaning in German?

What do you think of English words in German? Are they becoming German words? Are they already German words? Are they just English words that German speakers use in their regular speech? Are they part of the German language, or are their foreign?

Are there special occasions or circumstances in which one might use more or fewer words from English? What kind of person uses a lot of words from English? What kind of person uses a few?

Any other comments or thoughts on the use of English words in German?

# Appendix D – Full Survey Results

**D.1** *Team* – The questions about *Team* received many long responses. When analyzing the data, I organized it in terms of yes/no questions listed below in (48), the results of which are shown in table D1. Answers of 'no' are coded as 0, answers of 'yes' as 1.

(48) Q1: Do you use *Team*?

Q2: Does *Team* mean the same thing as *Mannschaft*?

Q3: Does *Team* denote a sports team?

Q4: Can *Team* be any kind of sports team?

Q5: Could you say *Nationalteam*?

Q6: Could you say Frauenteam?

Q7: Can Team be 2 people?

Q8: Can you say *Team* of animals?

Q9: Is *Team* a non-sports group?

Table D1

Speaker	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9
1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
2	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
5	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
7	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
8	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
9	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
10	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
11	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
12	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
13	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
14	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
15	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
16	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
17	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1
19	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
20	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1

21	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
Total	21	3	16	19	8	9	13	0	20
%	100	14.3	76.2	90.5	38.1	42.9	61.9	0	95.2

**D.2** *Band* – The questions about *die Band* gathered a few long responses. When analyzing the data, I organized it in terms of yes/no questions listed below in (49), the results of which are shown in table D2. Answers of 'no' are coded as 0, answers of 'yes' as 1.

(49) Q1: Do you use *die Band*?

Q2: Does *die Band* denote the same musical group as *Gruppe*?

Q3: Can you use *die Band* to mean a rubber band?

Q4: Can you use die Band to mean a band of thieves, etc?

Q5: Can you use *die Band* to mean a wedding band/ring?

Table D2

Speaker	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
1	1	0	0	0	0
2	1	1	0	0	0
3	1	1	0	0	0
4	1	1	0	0	0
5	1	1	0	0	0
6	1	1	0	0	0
7	1	1	0	0	0
8	1	0	0	0	0
9	1	1	0	0	0
10	1	1	0	0	0
11	0	1	0	0	0
12	1	1	0	0	0
13	1	0	0	0	0
14	1	1	0	0	0
15	1	1	0	0	0
16	1	1	0	0	0
17	1	1	0	0	0
18	1	1	0	0	0
19	1	0	0	0	0

20	1	1	0	0	0
21	1	1	0	0	0
Total	20	17	0	0	0
%	95.2	80.9	0	0	0

**D.3** *Ticket* – The responses to the questions about *Ticket* in this section were fairly straightforward. When analyzing the data, I organized it in terms of yes/no questions listed below in (50). The full results may be seen in table D3. Answers of 'no' are coded as 0, answers of 'yes' as 1.

(50) Q1: Do you use *Ticket*?

Q2: Does *Ticket* have the same meaning as *Fahrkarte*, *Fahrschein*, or *Flugschein*?

Q3: Does *Ticket* have the same meaning as *Eintrittskarte*?

Q4: Does Ticket have the same meaning as Strafzettel or Strafmandat?

Table D3

Speaker	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
1	1	1	1	0
2	1	1	1	0
3	1	1	1	0
4	1	1	1	0
5	1	1	1	0
6	1	1	1	0
7	1	1	1	0
8	1	1	1	0
9	1	1	1	0
10	1	1	1	0
11	0	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	0
13	1	1	1	0
14	1	1	1	0
15	1	1	1	0
16	1	1	1	0
17	1	1	1	0
18	0	1	1	0

%	85.8	100	100	4.8
Total	18	21	21	1
21	1	1	1	0
20	0	1	1	0
19	1	1	1	0

**D.4** *Cool* – Though the survey respondents had a lot to say about *cool* and other words denoting varying degrees of excellence, there were really only two questions in this section of the survey, shown in (51). The full results are in table D4, and answers of 'no' are coded as 0, answers of 'yes' as 1.

(51) Q1: Do you use the word *cool*?

Q2: Can you use *cool* to describe temperature?

Table D4

Speaker	Q1	Q2
1	1	0
2	0	0
3	1	0
4	0	0
5	0	0
6	1	0
7	0	0
8	1	0
9	1	0
10	1	0
11	0	0
12	1	0
13	1	0
14	1	0
15	0	0
16	1	0
17	1	0
18	1	0
19	1	0

20	1	0
21	1	0
Total	15	0
%	71.4	0

**D.5** *Girl* – This section of the survey, asking about the usage of *Girl* vs. *Mädchen*, did not prompt much discussion or commentary from respondents, though they were firm in their convictions. When analyzing the data, I organized it in terms of yes/no questions listed below in (52), the results of which are shown in table D5. Answers of 'no' are coded as 0, answers of 'yes' as 1.

(52) Q1: Do you use *Girl*?

Q2: *Girl* = young, female children?

Q3: *Girl* = 'daughter'?

Q4: *Girl* = young woman?

Q5: *Mädchen* = young woman?

Q6: Rude to call a young woman Girl or Mädchen?

O7: Girl = ANY woman?

O8: *Mädchen* = ANY woman?

O9: Girl = maid?

O10: *Mädchen* = maid?

O11: *Zimmermädchen* = maid?

Q12: Did the speaker mention *Mädchen für alles* 'jack of all trades'?

Q13: Would a woman refer to her female friends as Girls?

O14: Would a woman refer to her female friends as *Mädchen*?

Q15: Would a woman refer to her female friends as Mädels?

Q16: Would you use *Girl* in a greeting (e.g. "hey girl")?

O17: Would you use Mädchen in a greeting?

Q18: Would a woman refer to her breasts as *Girls*?

Q19: Would one refer to their girlfriend as Girl?

Table D5

Speaker	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q16	Q17	Q18	Q19
1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

%	0	0	0	4.8	38.1	71.4	0	0	0	14.3	33.3	14.3	9.5	14.3	33.3	0	9.5	0	0
Total	0	0	0	1	8	15	0	0	0	3	7	3	2	3	7	0	2	0	0
21	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
19	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
18	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

**D.6** *Baby* – In the questions about *Baby*, nearly all of the survey respondents added additional information about age distinction and terminology, reporting that *Baby* refers to infants and *Kleinkind* refers to toddlers, even though that information was not actively solicited. When analyzing the data, I organized it in terms of yes/no questions listed below in (53), the results of which are shown in table D6. Answers of 'no' are coded as 0, answers of 'yes' as 1, and no answer (as in Q2 and Q3, which I did not ask directly) are marked as -.

- (53) Q1: Do you use Baby?
  - Q2: Baby = infant?
  - Q3: Baby = toddler?
  - Q4: Could you use *Baby* meaning 'baby of the family', if not actually a baby?
  - Q5: Could you use *Baby* to refer to young animals?
  - Q6: Could you use *Baby* to refer to a younger person, not necessarily

#### family?

Q7: Could use *Baby* to mean 'childish, immature, or whiny'?

Q8: Could you use *Baby* to refer to a coward or a wuss?

Q9: Could you use *Baby* to refer to a girl- or boyfriend?

**Table D6** 

Speaker	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	1	1	-	0	1	0	0	0	0
5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
7	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
8	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
9	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
10	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
11	1	1	-	0	1	0	0	0	0
12	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
13	1	1	-	1	1	0	1	1	1
14	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
15	1	1	-	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
17	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
18	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
19	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
20	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
21	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
Total	21	20	1	6	15	7	11	6	5
%	100	95.2	4.8	28.6	71.4	33.3	52.4	28.6	23.8

**D.7** *Sound* – When asked about the meaning of *Sound*, survey respondents had fairly little to say, especially in comparison to the other sections of the survey. The questions I analyzed (54) are not necessarily the ones I asked in the survey, but rather what the respondents volunteered. In table D7, answers of 'no' are coded as 0, and answers of 'yes'

are 1.

(54) Q1: General term for any sound = *Geräusch*?

Q2: General term for any sound = *Sound*?

Q3:  $Geräusch = Ton = L\"{a}rm = Sound$ ?

Q4: Sound = quality or style of a musical group, genre, or time period?

Q5: Sound = quality of music or sound coming out of speakers?

### Table D7

Speaker	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
1	1	0	0	0	1
2	1	0	0	1	0
3	1	0	0	1	1
4	1	0	0	1	0
5	1	0	0	1	1
6	1	0	0	1	0
7	1	0	0	1	1
8	1	0	0	1	0
9	1	0	0	1	1
10	1	0	0	1	1
11	1	0	0	1	0
12	1	0	0	0	1
13	1	0	0	1	0
14	1	0	0	1	0
15	1	0	0	1	0
16	1	0	0	0	1
17	1	0	0	1	1
18	1	0	0	1	1
19	1	0	0	1	0
20	1	0	0	1	1
21	1	0	0	0	1
Total	21	0	0	17	12
%	100	0	0	80.9	57.1

## Appendix E – Adjective Endings

German adjectives receive different suffixes based on (i) the grammatical gender of the noun they modify (masculine, feminine, neuter, or plural), (ii) the grammatical case of the noun (nominative, accusative, dative, or genitive), and (iii) whether they are not preceded by any determiners, by an *ein*-word, or by a *der*-word.

The *ein*-words are variations on the indefinite article *ein* 'one' or 'a', the negating article *kein*, and possessive pronouns, such as *mein* 'mine', *sein* 'his', etc. The category of der-words is comprised of the various forms of the definite article *der/die/das* 'the' and words with similar inflectional patterns, such as *dieser* 'this', *welcher* 'which', *jeder* 'each/every', *mancher* 'many' etc. (Turneaure:1987).

The complete set of adjectival suffixes is given below in Tables E1, E2, and E3.

able E1 – ı	unpreceded adjectives	s – no <i>ein</i> - or <i>der</i> -wo	ords (no determiners	)
	MASC 'good tea'	FEM 'good milk'	NEUT 'good beer'	'good friends'
NOM	<b>-er</b>	-e	<b>-es</b>	<b>-e</b>
	guter Tee	gute Milch	gutes Bier	gute Freunde
ACC	<b>-en</b>	-e	-es	<b>-e</b>
	guten Tee	gute Milch	gutes Bier	gute Freunde
DAT	-em	-er	-em	-en
	gutem Tee	guter Milch	gutem Bier	guten Freunde
GEN	-en	-er	-en	<b>-er</b>
	guten Tee	guter Milch	guten Bier	guter Freunden

Table E2 –	Table E2 – adjectives preceded by <i>ein</i> -words						
	MASC 'a good tea'	FEM 'a good milk'	NEUT 'a good beer'	'no good friends' <sup>13</sup>			
NOM	<b>-er</b>	-e	<b>-es</b>	<b>-en</b>			
	ein guter Tee	eine gute Milch	ein gutes Bier	keine guten Freunde			
ACC	-en	-e	<b>-es</b>	<b>-en</b>			
	einen guten Tee	eine gute Milch	ein gutes Bier	keine guten Freunde			
DAT	-en	-en	-en	-en			
	einem guten Tee	einer guten Milch	einem guten Bier	keinen guten Freunde			
GEN	-en	-en	-en	<b>-en</b>			
	eines guten Tee	einer guten Milch	eines guten Bier	keiner guten Freunden			

Table E3 –	adjectives preceded b	y <i>der</i> -words		
	'the good tea'	'the good milk'	'the good beer'	PL 'the good friends'
NOM	<b>-e</b>	<b>-e</b>	<b>-e</b>	<b>-en</b>
	der gute Tee	die gute Milch	das gute Bier	die guten Freunde
ACC	-en	-e	-e	<b>-en</b>
	den guten Tee	die gute Milch	das gute Bier	die guten Freunde
DAT	-en	-en	-en	-en
	dem guten Tee	der guten Milch	dem guten Bier	den guten Freunde
GEN	-en	-en	-en	-en
	des guten Tee	der guten Milch	des guten Bier	der guten Freunden

<sup>13</sup> There is no indefinite article in the plural, so the negating article *kein* is used here instead.

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