THE USAGE AND INTEGRATION OF ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN GERMAN
A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF ANGLICISMS
IN DER SPIEGEL MAGAZINE
FROM 1990-2010

by
UWE SEIDEL

A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Modern Languages and Classics
in the Graduate School of
The University of Alabama

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

2010
ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present study was to determine the usage and integration of English loanwords in Der Spiegel magazine from the year 1990 until 2010. This thesis builds upon a study published in 1990 by Wenliang Yang on the same magazine. Based on Yang’s observations, I reexamined the quantitative as well as the qualitative development of lexical borrowings found in nine issues of Der Spiegel from the years 1990, 2000, and 2010, respectively. The elicited data was first classified by year of occurrence, word class affiliation, and thematic category, and then compared with Yang’s results. Furthermore, I analyzed the degree of assimilation of the English loanwords into the German orthographic and grammatical system by comparing the findings from the magazine with their respective entries in the latest edition of various German dictionaries. This approach goes beyond Yang’s study, in which the integration of English loanwords in German with respect to grammatical and orthographical features is only treated marginally.

The study corroborated trends about which Yang could only make vague assumptions. The numerical usage of English loanwords in Der Spiegel increased considerably over the time of the investigation period. This intensification in the use of such borrowings could be seen in every thematic category of the newsmagazine. In addition to this, semantic shifts occurred with some of the English words that set them further apart from their original meaning in English. Another finding of this study is the ongoing integration of English word material into the grammatical system of the German language. Interestingly, the grammatical integration seems not to parallel integration of English words into the spelling system of German.
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Dr. Barbara Fischer, without whose help and enthusiasm I would have never been able to engage in a project like this. Thank you, Dr. Fischer.

We miss you.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS


AE  American English


AWB  Carstensen’s Anglizismen-Wörterbuch

BE  British English

Brock  Brockhaus

COED  Concise Oxford English Dictionary

DF  Duden Fremdwörterbuch (2010)

DgF  Duden Großes Fremdwörterbuch (2007)

DH  Duden Herkunftswörterbuch (2006)

DU  Duden Universalwörterbuch (2007)

KE  Kluge Etymologisches Wörterbuch


MA 2010 II  Medienanalyse (2010)

MW  Merriam Webster’s Online Dictionary

Wahr  Der Wahrig

*  ungrammatical form
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is my pleasure to express my gratitude to all those people who assisted and encouraged me in the course of completing this thesis. First and foremost, I am indebted to Dr. Douglas Lightfoot, the chairman of my thesis committee, for his steadfast support and advice, along with his expert critique of my work. I would also like to thank the rest of my committee: Dr. Catherine Davies and Dr. Michael Picone. For their engagement and substantive criticism, I am grateful. The support of the Department of Modern Languages and Classics and Dr. Barbara Fischer, who made my three semesters at the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, possible, will not be forgotten.

Equally as important as the academic support was the invaluable moral support I received from my fellow graduate students at the Department of Modern Languages and Classics and from my friends. The most outstanding person in this respect proved to be Charlotte Lewis. Her excellent cooking skills and her joyful nature were of vital importance to me and the completion of this project.

And last, but by no means least, I would like to thank my parents, Sabine und Ralph Seidel, and my brother Henry for their love and for the unconditional support they have shown me in the pursuit of my goals, even in my absence.
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1. INTRODUCTION

When two cultures carry on a trade, more than just goods are exchanged. A commonly accompanying phenomenon of trade is the transfer of linguistic material from one of the trade partners’ language to the others. In most of the cases, this transfer is marked by lexical borrowing from the language of a dominant or more prestigious culture (cf. Busse & Görlach, 2002, p. 13ff). This phenomenon in language contact situations has happened between a great many cultures in the world and has left its marks in many of today’s modern languages. The German language has not been exempt from this development.

By virtue of trade with various other nations, a plethora of foreign terms have entered the German language from languages like Latin, Italian, Dutch, French, and English, reaching back as far as to the 5th century (König, 1992, p. 51). Many of these borrowed terms are today well integrated into the German language and, therefore, cannot be further recognized as loans by the average speaker of German (e.g. Student). Even though the influence of their respective donor languages has subsided over the course of time, these languages left their imprint on the German lexicon. In more recent times, American and British English have emerged as the primary sources of a massive influx of borrowings into the lexicon of German business language. Many scholars related this recent development in the German language to the role of the United States and all its implications on Germany after World War II (cf. Busse & Görlach, 2002; Hofmann, 2002; Leopold, 1967; Waterman, 1991). The two main objectives of US foreign politics during the post-war years was the economic rebuilding of West-Germany and protection against the threat of Communism by means of the Truman Doctrine (Carstensen, 1965, p. 16). In a short time, the United States became a role model for many (western) Germans, politically and socio-culturally. It was this political and cultural re-
orientation towards the North American culture that led to a broad and steadily growing influx of Anglo-American loanwords (Busse & Görlach, 2002, p. 14).

There is unanimity among linguists that the year 1945 represents a turning point in the lexical borrowing into German from English, i.e. the number of English loanwords used in German newspapers, magazines, plays, films and popular music skyrocketed compared to the pre-war area (cf. Bus 1980; Busse & Görlach, 2002; Carstensen, 1979; Viereck, 1980).

Within this range of media, the printed press is the most reliable indicator of language change within German, since it is newspapers and journals that cover the widest range of domains of daily life (Carstensen, 1965, p. 20). Zindler (1959) concurs in this view by stating that:

... die Presse eine große Wirkung auf den Leser ausübt, seine Sprache in einem hohen Maße formt und daher eine der stärksten Kräfte in der Entwicklung des heutigen Deutsch ist (the press exerts wide influence on the reader, forges to a high degree the way he or she talks, and therefore, is one of the strongest driving forces for the development of contemporary German). (p. 1)

The number of studies on the role of English in German advertisement, newspapers, trans-regional newspapers, and popular magazines corroborates the belief of the printed press as a crucial gauge for the influence of English loanwords on the German language.

Integration of loans from a donor language into the linguistic system of a recipient language can affect the morphology, phonology, semantics, and/or other grammatical categories of the loanword in question. Even though they are members of the Germanic language family, both English and German show quite a number of differences in their respective linguistic systems, which can cause problems for the grammatical integration of an English loan into the German inflectional or derivational system.

Another matter related to the integration process lies with the semantic value of a loanword. When a word is borrowed from one language into another, it usually does not retain
all the meanings it originally bore (Busse & Görlach, 2002, 26f.). In most of the cases, semantic narrowing, broadening, or shift is taking place.

In my thesis, I systematically analyze the quantitative as well as the qualitative usage of English loanwords in the language of the German press. The data for my study are three issues of the German popular magazine *Der Spiegel* from the years 1990, 2000, and 2010 respectively. The loanwords that I found are categorized and analyzed, in order to answer the following three underlying questions:

1. Frequency: In which year is the frequency the highest? Is there a word class that is used more often than others? Which category (sports, politics, education etc.) is most susceptible to the use of Anglicisms?
2. Meaning: Are there any semantic differences in the way Anglicisms are used in English and *Der Spiegel*?
3. Integration: To which degree are Anglicisms incorporated into the German grammatical and orthographical system?

Before engaging in an analysis of this nature, the question of the appropriate corpus has to be answered. In 1990, Wenliang Yang’s work *Anglizismen im Deutschen* (Anglicisms in German) was published. In his book, Yang analyzed the quantitative and, to a certain degree, qualitative usage of English loanwords in four issues of *Der Spiegel* magazine from each of the years 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980. From his corpus Yang yielded 10,070 Anglicisms (tokens). Even though Yang’s wordlist of Anglicisms would have been a convenient starting point for the present study, the author decided not to do a word search on the basis of a fixed list, but decided to read extensively each issue. In this way, English loanwords that appeared after 1980 and those words that were not found by Yang could be collected. The use of a preset wordlist would have carried the risk to disregard those novel loanwords. The meticulous reading of each issue parallels the method Yang employed to compile his list of
Anglicisms. In this light, the present study can be regarded as a follow-up study that resumes where Yang stopped in 1990.

Nevertheless, one has to mention that a corpus is never perfect, because it only shows an excerpt of a language which as such is indefinite. Furthermore, the language of *Der Spiegel*, though said to be especially rich in new English loans and eloquent neologisms (Carstensen, 1965, p. 23), is again only one fragment in the mosaic of the German language, and therefore not representative for all instances and different types of media where English entered German. In addition to this, any ambition to give an exhaustive overview of the English influence on the German language would exceed the scope of this thesis.

For these very reasons, the really general purpose of the present study on the integration of Anglicisms in language of *Der Spiegel* can be subsumed as a supplemental contribution to the vast field of the impact of the English language on German, and therefore an aid for further research into this subject.
2. STATE OF THE ART

The influence of English loan words exerted on the German language after 1945 has intrigued many linguists, especially scholars of the English language. Besides a series of independent papers and essays, a great number of comprehensive books and dissertations have been published on the subject of Anglicisms and the various aspects related to the borrowing of English terms into German. The majority of this research has been dedicated to written language, and more specifically to the language of the German press. A myriad of different print media has been the object of study within the last 65 years.

The first extensive work on the influence of English words on the German language after World War II was written by Horst Zindler in 1959 (Yang, 1990, p. 5). In his *Anglizismen in der deutschen Presse nach 1945* (Anglicisms in the German press after 1945), Zindler gives insight into the way English loans are used in the German language of the press. Instead of using a systematic corpus, Zindler concentrated on the usage of frequently used Anglicisms from different fields. In his work, he did not discriminate between British and American loanwords, but subsumed all English loans under the term “Anglicism.” The most intriguing outcome of Zindler’s study is the fact that one third of all Anglicisms are ‘imported’ without their full English semantic content (Zindler, 1959, p. 19). This means that polysemous words that were used in different contexts by the English-speaking community, suddenly underwent semantic narrowing by the way the German speakers used them.

A more systematic approach was undertaken by Broder Carstensen and Hans Galinsky. In 1963 the two linguists published their work *Amerikanismen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* (Americanisms used in contemporary German), in which they presented the results of their investigation of the impact of American loanwords on the language of the
German press after 1945. They classified and presented their material in terms of orthographical, phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactical features. The corpus of their investigation comprised twenty different West-German newspapers and magazines, one of which was Der Spiegel, a popular and widely read magazine that represented the main object of study. Carstensen and Galinsky asserted that Der Spiegel can be labeled as “Haupeinfallstor für Amerikanismen in die deutsche Sprache” (main port of entry for Americanisms), whose style of writing (i.e., neologisms, Anglicisms, syntactical originalities) is then imitated by other German newspapers and magazines (Carstensen, 1963, p. 14).

Besides a presentation of their findings according to the already mentioned features, Galinsky also elaborated on the stylistic aspects of American elements in Modern German. As reasons for linguistic borrowing, he mentioned the following functions of interference:

1. the provision of a national American color of settings, actions, and characters;
2. the establishment or enhancing of precision;
3. the offering or facilitation of intentional disguise;
4. brevity and terseness;
5. the production of vividness;
6. the conveyance of a certain tone;
7. the increase of variation of expression. (p. 71)

Eero Alanne was among the first to investigate the development of the influence of English on the language of commerce (commercial language) in Germany. In 1964, “Das Eindringen von Fremdwörtern in den Wortschatz der deutschen Handelssprache des 20. Jahrhunderts mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der neuesten Zeit” was published. Alanne screened three major German dictionaries of commercial language from the years 1911, 1950, and 1958. Additionally, she included in her study several German foreign dictionaries from the period of 1960 to 1962, and a couple of newspapers. Alanne’s research revealed that there was little influence exerted by English on the German commercial language at the beginning of the 19th
century. Over the course of the subsequent decades, this picture had dramatically changed. Since the early 1950s, the German language of commerce and trade has been subject to language contact with American English.

In 1965 then, Carstensen’s work „Englische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache nach 1945“ was published, in which he, by building on his previous study, presented the various levels of influence of British and American loanwords on the German language. Because the object of Carstensen’s study was the language of the West-German press, he took a series of newspapers and magazines as the object of his study. Again, Carstensen set the main focus of his work on the magazine Der Spiegel, from whose 1961 to 1964 issues he drew the majority of his material. The German linguist came to the conclusion that there are now more English loanwords of American origin than British origin entering the German language. What is more, Carstensen labels the press as the medium that is most susceptible and productive in the reception, creation and spreading of neologisms and Anglicisms, and furthermore exerts the most influence on the German reader (Carstensen 1965, 20). However great the impact of English is, according to Carstensen this development seems to affect only the lexical system of the German language, whereas changes to the grammatical or the syntactical structure of the language are rare. This phenomenon is typical of language contact (Viereck, 1996, p. 18).

In 1968, Hermann Fink expanded on the results of Carstensen’s and Galinsky’s study of 1963. His dissertation with the title Amerikanismen im Wortschatz der deutschen Tagespresse (Americanisms in the vocabulary of the German daily press) was the first piece of work that was based on one specific corpus. In his dissertation, Fink searched for Anglicisms in eight subsequently published weekend-issues of three different national periodicals, i.e. Die Welt, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, and Süddeutsche Zeitung. The aim of his study was to show differences in frequency and the level of assimilation/acceptance into the language of the press between the different geographical regions, where the three newspapers were mainly distributed. Through his investigation, Fink ascertained that the
fields of economics and politics are the ones that showed the greatest number of Anglicisms compared to the other columns of the newspapers (Fink, 1968, p. 183). In comparison to Carstensen and Galinsky, whose study from 1963 revealed a frequency of one English word per page, Fink ended up with an overall frequency of four Anglicisms per page. What is more, Fink coined the terms *Nullsubstitution* (zero-substitution), *Teilsubstitution* (partial substitution), and *Vollsubstitution* (complete substitution), which were all referred to and played a vital role in a great number of subsequent studies.

As far as the integration process of English loanwords into German is concerned, David Duckworth’s work *Der Einfluß des Englischen auf den deutschen Wortschatz seit 1945* (The influence of English on the vocabulary of German since 1945) (1970) has to be mentioned. In his essay, Duckworth attempted to determine the factors that played a role in the assimilation of foreign words from one language into another. He therefore analyzed several press releases, pieces of *Fachliteratur* (technical literature), and text translations from English into German released in the period between 1945 until 1964. This diachronic approach revealed that the earliest point of time at which a foreign word enters another language first, is crucial to its level of incorporation in that recipient language. Therefore, a foreign word that fills a gap in the lexical system of a language is more likely to be assimilated (graphemically and phonologically, i.e., its orthography and pronunciation is adjusted to the linguistic rules of German (e.g., Engl. *clown* vs. German *Klown*; Engl. *blog* [blɔɡ] vs. German *Blog* [bloʊk]). On the other hand, so-called ‘vogue expressions’ that are accepted into the language for their obvious distinctiveness are more likely to retain their status of a foreign word. What is more, Duckworth discovered that in the vocabulary of *Fachsprachen* (technical languages) English terms, which have a German equivalent, are oftentimes replaced with that German equivalent at an early stage in the assimilation process.

In the following years several works were published that primarily dealt with the quantitative influence of English on German. The studies of Carstensen et al. *Zur Intensität*
des englischen Einflusses auf die deutsche Pressesprache (About the intensity of the English influence on the language of the German press), published in 1972, and Barbara Engels’ study Gebrauchsanstieg der lexikalischen und semantischen Amerikanismen in zwei Jahrgängen der Welt (Increasing usage of lexical and semantic Americanisms in two issues of Die Welt newspaper) (1976) both investigate lexical and semantic Anglicisms and their role in the language of the German press. Carstensen et al. analyze one single issue of the regional periodical Mainzer Allgemeine Zeitung from October 20, 1971, and sift out an average usage of ten Anglicisms per page. An ancillary survey among German college students reveals that most of the foreign terms are not understood. B. Engels decided on the national newspaper Die Welt (1954-1964) as her object of study. Over the investigation period she registered an increase from an average of six Anglicisms per page in 1954 to an average of 19 in 1964. Both studies demonstrated that there is a basic trend towards an increase in the numerical use of Anglicisms in the language of the German press.

In 1980, Heiner Bus draws on the findings of Fink (1968), Carstensen et al. (1972) and Engels (1976), and sees his work “Amerikanisches Englisch und deutsche Regionalpresse: Probleme lexikalischer Interferenzforschung am Beispiel einer Zeitung des Rhein-Main-Gebietes“ (1980) published. His corpus comprises the findings made in seven issues of the regional newspaper Mainzer Allgemeine Zeitung from February 6 through 12, 1978. Basically, the study by Bus corroborated earlier research: the frequency of Anglicisms in German newspapers has increased considerably since the end of World War II (Bus 1980, 30). Furthermore, Bus’ study also reveals that ‘older’ Anglicisms (i.e. those that had entered the German language earlier) are the most frequently used (Bus, 1980, p. 34).

Ten years later, Wenliang Yang carried on an extensive study on the popular newsmagazine Der Spiegel. In Anglizismen im Deutschen: Am Beispiel des Nachrichtenmagazins DER SPIEGEL (Anglicisms in German: Illustrated on the example of the newsmagazine Der Spiegel) (1990), Yang analyzes 6 issues from the years 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980. The
Anglicisms that he found were classified by frequency, semantics, word formation, and their stylistic function within the German sentence. Yang concludes that the influence of English on German is steadily gaining strength. Thus, from the 1950s until the 1980s, the number of Anglicisms used per page has steadily increased. Among the different word classes, nouns are by far the most frequently used, followed by verbs, and adjectives (Yang, 1990, p. 166). As far as the quantitative usage of foreign words in the various columns of *Der Spiegel* is concerned, the area of sports is the one with the most registered tokens. As for the frequency of registered Anglicisms, the advertisement pages of the magazine were the ones with the highest ratio of Anglicisms compared to the total amount of words in the respective article. With regard to the semantic function, most of the polysemous Anglicisms were not transferred into German with all their original meanings. Yang mentions that Anglicisms are only rarely used in all of their meanings in the issues *Der Spiegel* that he investigated, but that they are oftentimes used with only one meaning in German (Yang, 1990, p. 167).

Newer studies include dissertations based on databases consisting of various print media sources. In 2000, Kovtun examined the integration business-oriented Anglicisms in issues of *Der Spiegel* of 1993 and 1994. The only study that exclusively uses general business publications as a corpus is Langner (1995), in which two consecutive issues of *Capital* and *DM* (name was later on changed into *Euro*) are used to investigate which of the two magazines uses the most Anglicisms, which types of Anglicisms occur most, and how the Anglicisms have been adapted to the German language. Her main concerns are the functions of the loanwords and the possible motives of the journalists for using them.

In her doctoral dissertation written in 2001, Zürn investigated the use and integration of Anglicisms in German. The objects of study were three German-speaking news magazines, namely *Focus*, *profil*, and *Der Spiegel*, that appeared within a period of five weeks in 1994. The fifteen magazines contained a total of 9,482 English loans, which is equivalent to a frequency of four Anglicisms per page. Zürn found out that the field of sports contained the
highest such frequency, whereas the articles concerned with domestic politics and foreign affairs revealed a surprisingly low number of Anglicisms. With regard to their grammatical and orthographical incorporation into the German language, many of the Anglicisms were used in a way that can be described as assimilation to the recipient language.

Hedderich’s (2003) investigation of recent language changes in Business German is a rather small-scale study. Hedderich examines three successive issues of Wirtschaftswoche in October 2002. Among his conclusions on linguistic interference was that the number of Anglicisms in the business magazine depended on the topic of the articles as well as on journalistic preferences.

Rathmann’s (2006) doctoral thesis “The Influence of English on German Business Language: A Corpus-Based Study of the Use of Anglicisms in the German Business Press” is a corpus-based study on the use of Anglicisms in the German business magazine Wirtschaftswoche from 1973 to 2003. His corpus consists of cover stories, editorials, and letters to the editor. Like many other previous studies, Rathmann’s analysis of his corpus data shows a significant increase in the use of Anglicisms over the period. Whatever the overall increase in tokens, Rathmann states that the variety of Anglicisms did not change considerably (Rathmann, 2006, p. 115). The study also shows a discrepancy between the uses of Anglicisms in the different news genres of the magazine. Thus, the letters to the editor show a lower frequency of Anglicisms than all the other genres. Rathmann explains this with the different writing intentions of journalists and the readers, that is, the readers’ primary concern is with expressing a personal attitude, whereas the authors’ intentions is more with the conveying of information in an efficient and convincing way (Rathmann, 2006, p. 117).

The most recent study has been carried out by Alexandra Onysko (2007). Like Rathmann, she applied a corpus-based word search to 52 issues of Der Spiegel from 2000. Her results corroborate Rathmann’s conclusions on type frequency of Anglicisms.

Consequently, Onysko summarizes the results of her quantitative analysis with the words: “In
relation to the total numbers of types and tokens, however, the numerical influence of English elements in the corpus is in fact a marginal phenomenon (Onysko, 2007, p. 147).
3. METHODOLOGY & TERMINOLOGY

Yang wrote his work in German and, therefore, used German terms when referring to borrowing and loanwords. Since not all of these terms can be translated satisfactorily into English, the original word, as it is used by Yang, will be used and followed by a translation in parentheses. This facilitates comparability with Yang’s original work.

3.1 Anglicism

Before starting a study such as the present one, it is of crucial importance to clarify some of the termini that will be recurrently used. In the center of discussion stands the term ‘Anglicism.’ Within the literature this term is used in different ways, which renders comparability between different works problematic. Morphologically, the word itself is problematic since it suggests that ‘Anglicisms’ are only those loanwords that have their origin in British English.

A differentiation between British English (BE) and American English (AE) is not useful, since it is hard to pinpoint from which language the term is really borrowed (cf. Busse & Görlach 2002, p. 14; Fink, 1968, p. 9; Glahn, 2000, p. 15f; Götzeler, 2008, p. 146; Langner, 1995, p. 18f; Yang, 1990, p. 7). The various dictionaries are of no further help. Wächtler (1980) notes that some English terms are not uniformly labeled in the different dictionaries (p. 146).

In the following, a brief overview of previous research in the field is given to demonstrate how versatile the term ‘Anglicism’ is used in the literature. In his dissertation from 1959, Zindler defines ‘Anglicism’ as follows:
Ein Anglizismus ist ein Wort aus dem britischen oder amerikanischen Englisch im Deutschen oder eine nicht übliche Wortkomposition, jede Art der Veränderung einer deutschen Wortbedeutung oder Wortverwendung (Lehnbedeutung, Lehnübersetzung, Lehnübertragung, Lehn schöpfung …) nach britischem oder amerikanischem Vorbild (Any word or uncommon compound in German that derives from British or American English, or any sort of alteration of meaning or usage of a German expression (loan translation, loan transfer, pseudo-loan, …) on the model of British or American English is considered an Anglicism). (p. 2)

He obviously reacts to the difficulty in tracing back the origin of a term as either British or American. To a limited extent, loanwords from other English varieties such as Australian English or Canadian English have found their way into the German language.¹ For this reason, Zindler’s definition must be expanded to cover loanwords from these English varieties, too.

Carstensen (1965) also feels the need for modification. He states that Zindler’s definition ignores the effect on the German phonological and syntactical system by English loans (p. 30). Further, in contrast to Zindler, Carstensen does find it necessary to distinguish between Americanisms and Briticisms (i.e., loanwords that entered German through contact with British English) (p. 30). However, he fails to explain the reason for such a differentiation. The author of this study believes that Briticisms and Americanisms, as well as loanwords from other varieties of English, should all be covered under the umbrella term of Anglicisms. With the exception of minor orthographical differences,² all words from the different English varieties share the same spelling. Since it is the graphemic feature that sets English loanwords apart from German words, a differentiation according to the origin of those

¹ Only one Australian word, namely dingo, was found in the corpus of this study.
² Differences in spelling between AE and BE are for instance: <-ort/-our>, <-ort/-re>, and <-izel/-ise>.
English terms is redundant. Fischer (1980, p. 19) orientates himself on the definitions given by Zindler (1959) and Carstensen (1965). She redefines Anglicism as an:

Englisches Wort, eine englische Wendung oder eine englische Abkürzung in einer anderen Sprache oder als das Produkt einer unter englischsprachlichem Einfluß stattgefundenen Veränderung eines anderssprachlichen Wort- oder Wortgruppenkörpers in morphologischer, semantischer, syntaktischer, orthographischer, lautlicher und frequenzmässiger Hinsicht (An English word, phrase, or abbreviation in another language, or any other product of linguistic change that was caused under the influence of the English language; this change may affect the morphology, semantics, syntax, spelling, phonology, or frequency of usage of either entire words or just parts of words. (p. 19)

In her study in 1995, Langner employs the term Anglicism in a slightly different way. She alters Zindler’s definition to make the term better suit her research project. Thus, Langner narrows down the definition given by Fischer, and uses the term Anglicism only to refer to loanwords from English, acronyms and phrases (p. 18f).

Authors of more recent works seem to have agreed on the notion of an Anglicism as an umbrella-term for borrowings from all English varieties. A distinction between loanwords from BE or AE has been abandoned, due to the fact that most English loanwords nowadays derive from American English anyway (Kovtun, 2000, 20f; Langner, 1995, 18f; Zürn, 2001, p. 64).

Since there is still no unanimity among linguists about the notion of ‘Anglicisms,’ it seems most sensible for the present study to define the term in a way that suits the purpose of the study. The aim of the author is to explore the integration of English loanwords into the language of a German-speaking magazine.
For this reason, I forego making a differentiation between loanwords from British English and American English, and therefore follow Yang (1990) by using ‘Anglicism’ as a generic term that covers:

- Words, abbreviations, acronyms, and phrases that differ in their spelling from German. Certain strings of letters of English loanwords are uncommon for German such as the consonant cluster “sh-” in initial position as in *shareholder* or *show*, or certain vowel cluster such as “ay” (*lay-out*) or “oy” (*playboy*).

- Words, abbreviations, acronyms, and phrases that entered German through one of the English varieties. In order to verify the origin of an Anglicism, the 6th edition of the German dictionary *Duden – Das große Fremdwörterbuch* and Kluge’s *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* will be consulted.

Whether an English loan is considered *altentlehnt* or *neuentlehnt* is of no relevance for the initial quantitative registration of Anglicisms in *DER SPIEGEL*. In the qualitative analysis of the corpus, however, a distinction will be made between ‘*altentlehnt*’ and ‘*neuentlehnt*’. In this light, even those words will be registered as Anglicisms that might not be regarded as ‘foreign’ anymore by speakers of German, because they have been in use for such a long time (cf. Zürn, 2001, p. 66f).

### 3.2 Types of lexical borrowing

It is crucial to understand the different notions and ways in which an English word can enter the German language. Not in all cases is the English term per se borrowed into German with its original spelling and its notions. It is more often the case that only parts of its meaning are transferred, if at all. Sometimes the spelling of a borrowed English term is maintained, while its meaning in German is changed. Sometimes the opposite is the case, and

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3 (transl.) Borrowed a long time ago.
4 (transl.) Borrowed in more recent times.
in again other instances, terms are coined that orthographically appear to be English, but they are not. In order to avoid confusion about the many different types of lexical borrowings, an overview of the classifications set up by linguists of the past should be presented here.

The classification of the borrowed linguistic material has always been central for linguists that dealt with the phenomenon of language borrowing. As with the term ‘Anglicism,’ the categorization of loan material is manifold and not always unanimous. However, by comparing previous works on the borrowing process, the majority of German scholars tend to apply the terminology rules established by Betz, Haugen, Fink, and Carstensen.

Betz (1959, p. 27) is among the first German scholars to make a distinction between *Lehnwort* (loanword), which he further divides into *Fremdwort* (foreign word) and *assimiliertes Lehnwort* (assimilated loanword), and *Lehnprägung* (calque), a generic term that includes *Lehnbildung* (loan formation), *Lehnbedeutung* (loan shift), *Lehnwendung* (loan expression), and *Lehnsyntax* (loan syntax). The distinction he draws relates to whether the lexical value of the borrowed term (*Lehnwort*) or only its semantic value (*Lehnprägung*) is borrowed from one language into the other.

While Betz (1959) focused on the outcome of linguistic borrowing on a word basis, Haugen (1950) perceived the whole borrowing as a dynamic process. According to him, the central aspect of linguistic borrowing is “the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another [language]” (p. 212). Haugen classifies borrowings with respect to the degree of integration of their spelling within the receiving language. Thus, his three categories of the loan process are titled “complete importation,” “partial importation,” and “no importation” (1950, p. 214). Haugen’s terminology bears on the differentiation between imported loanwords that have retained their original spelling even in the recipient language, and those of which only the concept, but not spelling, has been borrowed into a recipient language.
According to Carstensen (1950; 1979; 2001), the borrowed material can be classified into either belonging to the realm of *evident* (external) or *latent* (internal) influences. Whereas the first applies to direct borrowings (with their graphemic representation and meaning), the latter refers to loan translations (or calques), which bear the meaning of an English term but are composed of German word material (cf. Glahn, 2002; Götzeler, 2008).

Another often cited classification of lexical borrowing was set up by Fink (1970). In his work *Amerikanismen im Wortschatz der deutschen Tagespresse* (Americanisms in the vocabulary of the German daily press), he coins a classification that is similar to Haugen’s (Yang, 1990, p. 10), but, contrary to Haugen, focuses more on the result of the borrowing process. Fink divides the borrowed material according to its morphological and semantic realization in German. Thus, he distinguishes between *Nullsubstitution* (zero-substitution), *Teilsubstitution* (partial substitutions), and *Vollsubstitutionen* (complete substitutions).

Zero-substitutions cover foreign words, loanwords, and pseudo-loanwords, all of which consist entirely of English word components. Examples of zero-substitutions would be: *Lunch* or *Meeting*. Partial substitutions on the other hand, are compounds that are comprised of German and English word material, such as *Haarspray* (hairspray) or *Jetflug* (jetflight). Finally, complete substitutions subsume words, compounds, and phrases that were modeled on the example of the original English word, but were formed entirely out of German word material. This group also covers cases in which the English meaning was transferred to a German term, and therefore is mostly concerned with change in meaning of German terms (cf. Engels, 1976; Viereck, 1980). Examples of complete substitution are *Gehirnwäsche* (after English ‘brainwashing’) or *Öffentlichkeitsarbeit* (after English ‘public relations’).

These classifications and terminologies are not congruent, and different scholars applied different aspects of these classifications in their research. However, the various models of lexical borrowing show some overlapping and should therefore be further explained in the following.
3.3 Evidentes Lehngut (direct borrowings)

Direct borrowings cover all those instances, in which an English term was borrowed into German while maintaining its graphemic representation. Direct borrowings can be sub-classified into foreign words, loanwords, pseudo-loanwords, and mixed compounds (*Mischkomposita*).

3.3.1 Foreign word and loanword

The borrowing of an English term with its original spelling and meaning is the most common occurrence in lexical borrowing (Carstensen, 1965, p. 90). However, it is quite rare that the English term is borrowed into German with all of its meanings. Typically, the borrowed word is only used in the recipient language with only one of the meanings it bears in the donor language. In Yang’s study, these words were nonetheless regarded as foreign words and loanwords (p. 11).

What sets apart a foreign word from a loanword is its degree of integration into German (p. 11). A foreign word can still easily be recognized as such since it has not been subject to any phonological, orthographical, morphological, and semantic changes in the recipient language (DF, p. 122f).

Contrary to the foreign word, a loanword has undergone change in one or more of the areas just mentioned. English loanwords in German show certain structural features that demonstrate their degree of integration (Langner, 1995, p. 28). The most essential factors are the loanword’s morphological, orthographical, and phonological features.

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5 In order to define a word as ‘foreign’ or not, Yang consulted common German dictionaries, the most prominent being *Duden* and *Wahrig*. The author of the present study resorted to the same dictionaries, to ensure comparability between Yang’s study and the one at hand.

6 With the exception of nominal English loanwords that are usually capitalized in German.
a. Morphological features. Every English verb that has been borrowed into German has to have the typical –e(n) ending for its infinitive, such as *stoppen*, *interviewen*, *managen*, or *surfen*. Adjectival Anglicisms are integrated into the German inflectional system. A number of borrowed English nouns are given a German plural form: *der Manager – die Manager* (Note: most German animate nouns that end in –er form the plural with a zero plural marker); *der Boß – die Bosse*. Yang excludes capitalization of English nouns as a marker of morphological integration, since this would mean the exclusion of all nominal foreign words.

b. Orthographical features. We speak of orthographical integration when English *<c>*, *<ss>*, and *<sh>* are replaced by *<k>*, *<ß>*, and *<sch>* respectively in German: *comfort – Komfort; club – Klub; Boss – Boß; shock – Schock*. Another example for orthographical integration is the German spelling of *Streik* for English *strike*.

c. Phonology. Phonological features play a role for the integration of Anglicisms into the German phonemic system. Anglicisms that contain phonemes that are unknown to the German phonemic system are oftentimes pronounced slightly different from their original English pronunciation. To do this, the English phoneme is replaced by a German phoneme that holds similar features. Therefore, the initial sound in English *job* [dʒ] will most likely be pronounced by the average speaker of German as /tʃ/. In addition to this, the position of a final voiced consonant is unknown to the German phonological system. A speaker of German does not distinguish between *Tod* /tɔːd/ and *tot* /tɔːt/. Thus, the final voiced consonant [b] in English *job* becomes subject to the German rule of final devoicing, resulting in a phonological realization of /p/, and leaving us with /tʃɔp/.

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7 For instance, nominative singular: *ein cleverer Student*; genitive singular: *eines cleveren Studenten.*
However, since the present study deals with the integration of Anglicisms into German on a graphemic level, phonological features of English loanwords will not be considered in the following.

3.3.2 Pseudo-loanwords

An English pseudo-loanword is a word that was formed in German with word material from English, and the meaning of which is unknown in English (Yang, 1990, p. 12). Examples of pseudo-loanwords are *Showmaster* formed after English *quizmaster*, or *Funsport*, which combines the English words *fun* and *sport* into one. Yang differentiates further between three types of pseudo-loanwords, namely loan change (*Lehnveränderung*), lexical pseudo-loans, and semantic pseudo-loans.

3.3.3 Loan change/loan shift

*Lehnveränderungen* are pseudo-loanwords and describe instances of morphological alteration to English words. The result of the morphological alteration is a word that appears to be English, but is not understood by native speakers of English. According to Carstensen (1979a), morphological alterations can be further divided into shortenings and rearrangements of the English morphological material (p. 160).

Shortenings usually mean the clipping of endings from single English words, compounds, or even phrases. Thus, one finds in German expressions such as *Pulli* (after pullover), *Fox* (after *foxtrot*), and *Gin Tonic* (after *gin and tonic*) (Yang, 1990, p. 13). As an example for the rearrangement of English morphemes, Yang mentions *Gentleman-Agreement* (after *gentleman’s agreement*) and *Slow-go* (after *go slow*) (p. 13).\(^8\)

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\(^8\) Interestingly, the ‘shortening’ of English words in the recipient language is not an exclusively German phenomenon. In French, the same process takes place, resulting in the formation of words such as *le pull*, *le fox*, or *le gin tonic*.
3.3.4 Lexical pseudo-loanwords

The group of lexical pseudo-loanwords encompasses lexemes and lexeme compounds that were formed with English word material in German, and the meaning of which is unknown in any of the English varieties. Yang mentions the word Showmaster as one of the most famous examples of pseudo-loanwords (p. 14). He argues that German Showmaster was modeled on English quizmaster.

3.3.5 Semantic pseudo-loanwords

Semantic pseudo-loanwords refer to all those words that have been borrowed into German in their original English form, but have undergone a semantic change in German that has lead to semantic differences between the way the term is used in English and in German (Carstensen in Yang, p. 14). Yang mentions the noun slip, which designates in English, among others, “an undergarment made in dress length and usually having shoulder straps” (Webster). In German, however, a Slip is a short and tight tailored sort of underpants that ends shortly below the hipbones and is worn by women, men, and children (DF, 2009, slip). The problem of semantic change will be addressed again in the section “The meaning of Anglicisms” below.

3.3.6 Mixed compounds

Mixed compounds, which Fink (1970) referred to as partial substitutions, are compositions of English and German lexemes. Such a compound can be formed on the basis of an English word, or without an English model. Yang lists German Showgeschäft (after English show business), Haarspray (after English hair spray), and Jetflug (after English jet flight) (p. 15). It becomes obvious from these few examples that German puts together two words that are written separately in English.
Yang remarks that mixed compounds are highly productive in German and that they constitute a big part of newly coined terms (i.e., neologisms) in German (p. 15). Thus, mixed compounds represent one of the major sources for the expansion of the German vocabulary.

3.4 Inneres Lehngut (indirect borrowing)

Following Carstensen’s terminology, indirect borrowings cover all those words that do not bear morphological features that indicate their English origin. Oftentimes, these kinds of borrowings are not easily differentiable from German words. In this context, Carstensen (1979a) speaks of latent or hidden influences, whereas Fink (1970) labels them as complete substitutions. Either label refers to the fact that indirectly borrowed lexical material (i.e. meanings and concepts that were first coined in one of the English varieties) have been replaced entirely by German lexemes. Betz (1965) refers to this group of words as Lehnaugungen (loan coinage), which he further subdivides into Lehnbildung (loan formation), Lehnwendung (loan phrase), and Lehnssyntax (loan syntax) (p. 27). In comparison to direct borrowings, the number of indirect borrowings is considerably low (Yang, 1990, p. 15).

In the present study, I will follow Yang’s differentiation of Anglicisms. Hence, only foreign words, loanwords, pseudo-loans, and mixed compounds will be counted as Anglicisms. Loanwords that consist only of German word material will not be regarded, since they are too hard to distinguish from native German words and since they do not carry weight in terms of frequency.
3.5 The corpus

3.5.1 The magazine *Der Spiegel*

The object of study is the German popular magazine *Der Spiegel*, which was founded shortly after World War II, after the model of American *Time* magazine (Yang, p. 16). *Der Spiegel* is one of the most popular newsmagazines in Germany. According to AWA 2010 (general analysis of German media), the publishers of *Der Spiegel* sold considerably more copies than its two fiercest competitors *Stern* and *Focus*. In fact, among national newsmagazines, *Der Spiegel* sells the most copies. In 2010, the magazine had a readership of more than 6.54 million readers per issue (MA 2010 II). Such numbers demonstrate the magazine’s importance in the field of German print media.\(^9\)

3.5.2 The language of DER SPIEGEL

One of the features that set *Der Spiegel* apart from other magazines in Germany is the language that is used in its articles. Carstensen claims to recognize the style of *Time* magazine in the way articles are written in *Der Spiegel* (1965, p. 22). He characterizes the style in *Der Spiegel* as especially receptive to the adoption/acceptance of foreign words and loanwords, as well as to the high degree of productivity in the creation of new compound words (neologisms) (p. 22). Because the authors of *Der Spiegel* articles use more Anglicisms than any other newsmagazine, Carstensen considers the magazine as the main port of entry for Americanisms into the German language among print media (p. 22).

Yang agrees with Carstensen’s observation and attributes to the magazine an outstanding role in the borrowing and spreading of Anglicisms (p. 19).

In this regard, Just adds that the number of Anglicisms used in *Der Spiegel* is relatively high even in the area of German morphology and syntax. He further highlights that

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\(^9\) These numbers concern only printed issues of the magazine. In the realm of online issues, *Der Spiegel* counts another 2.37 million readers, who exclusively read the online issue (MA 2010, II).
English borrowings are predominantly present in the vocabulary of the ‘Spiegel language’ (1976, p. 148).

3.5.3 The readership

Before studying the roles of Anglicisms in the language of Der Spiegel, it is sensible to have a closer look at the readership of the magazine. The writing style and the choice of certain words and terminologies are usually dictated by the makeup of the target group for which an author writes. In order to increase the readership and to raise sales figures, choices are made by the authors concerning the nature of the covered topics and the general writing style of the articles.

Thus, a brief overview of the makeup of Der Spiegel’s readership will be given. The data used here are drawn from the two media analysis tools MA 1995 and AWA 2010. Yang’s findings from the years 1980 and before were used as a starting point for most of the comparisons made with more recent data. If not otherwise indicated, the data from 1960 through 1980 was drawn from Yang’s work in 1990.

1. Der Spiegel is not a magazine that predominantly caters to a male readership. As far as the male-female ratio among readers of Der Spiegel is concerned, Yang already determined in 1990 that the percentage of male readers (58%) is not considerably higher than that of female readers (42%). Over the course of the subsequent thirty years, this imbalance has come into sharper relief. In 2010, virtually two out of three readers are male.
### Table 1

**Makeup of readership according to gender (1980-2010)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1995*</th>
<th>2000**</th>
<th>2010***</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: Medienanalyse (MA 1995)
** Source: Allgemeine Wirtschaftsanalyse (AWA II, 2000)
***Source: SpiegelOnline (www.spiegel-qc.de)

2. The level of education of the readers of *Der Spiegel* is also of high interest, insofar as it gives an idea about extent to which readers are familiar with the meaning of English terms and foreign terms in general. It can be assumed that a higher level of education among readers encourages writers for *Der Spiegel* to employ a specific kind of language in their articles that chiefly caters to the readers of the magazine. In this light, a rather high frequency of compounds, loan words, and technical terms could account for the fact that *Der Spiegel* is mainly written for more educated individuals.
Table 2  
Makeup of readership according to level of education (1980-2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education (14 years+)</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1995*</th>
<th>2005**</th>
<th>2010***</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(33%)</td>
<td>(26%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(4%)</td>
<td>(3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior high school/middle school</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(36%)</td>
<td>(32%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(25%)</td>
<td>(21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German high school diploma</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Abitur) or college degree</td>
<td>(31%)</td>
<td>(43%)</td>
<td>(32%)</td>
<td>(30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary school (without high school diploma)</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>(15%)</td>
<td>(17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary school (with high school diploma)</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>(25%)</td>
<td>(30%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: Medienanalyse (MA 1995)  ** Source: Allgemeine Wirtschaftsanalyse (AWA II, 2000)  ***Source: SpiegelOnline (www.spiegel-qc.de)
3. In 1980, readers out of the upper three professional groups (managers, freelancers, self-employed people, CEOs, and high officials) comprise roughly a third (800,000) of the total readership. After a remarkable drop in 1995, these numbers have ever since steadily increased to 26.8% (1.58). This trend parallels the development towards a more ‘male dominated’ readership in table 1.1, since it can be assumed in all probability that the majority of the jobs in the best-paying professions are still predominantly held by men.

What is also remarkable is the dominance among readers of Der Spiegel who work as upper-middle-class people. Despite the constant decrease in numbers, readers with an upper-middle-class background still represent more than 45% (2.7 million) of the total readership in 2010.

Table 3

Makeup of readership according to profession (1980-2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>level of profession</th>
<th>Number of readers (in million and percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>company owners, managers, freelancers</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-employed, small- or mid-size companies</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(11.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEO’s, high officials</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other employees, officials</td>
<td>1.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(56.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skilled laborers</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(9.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other laborers</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unemployed</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total number of readers (in million)</td>
<td>2.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: Medienanalyse (MA 1995) ** Source: Allgemeine Wirtschaftsanalyse (AWA II, 2000)
***Source: SpiegelOnline (www.spiegel-qc.de)
4. In the years 1969 and 1980, people between the age of 20 and 49 comprised almost two thirds (63%) of the overall number of readers (Yang, 1990, p. 23). After a massive drop in the years around 1995, this “active age group” (p. 23) still represents more than half of the total readership in 2010.

It should also be pointed out that the percentage of readers between the ages of 50 to 59 remained quite stable, whereas the number of readers over the age of 60 has more than doubled in the course of the last thirty years. One reason for this development could be the general demographic shift within German society. Another plausible explanation could be the elderly people’s lack of knowledge about electronic media, which results in higher sales numbers of the written version of Der Spiegel among older people. Younger, more technology savvy readers might prefer the electronic version of the magazine that can be easily accessed over the Internet, or downloaded on portable storage devices such as cell phones, laptops, or iPads.

According to ACTA 2009 – an independent market research institution for the usage of print- and non-print media – an average of 3.33 million people accessed the website of Der Spiegel per week in 2009. However, almost a third of the online-users (0.96 million) still purchased the printed version of the magazine. Future research will show whether the shift towards a preference of electronic media over the written word is an ongoing development or just a trend that will fade.
Table 4

Makeup of readership according to age (1980-2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age group</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1995*</th>
<th>2000**</th>
<th>2010***</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14-19 years</td>
<td>0.44 (10%)</td>
<td>1.81 (28%)</td>
<td>1.30 (23%)</td>
<td>0.27 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 – 29 years</td>
<td>1.19 (26%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.86 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39 years</td>
<td>0.88 (19%)</td>
<td>1.29 (20%)</td>
<td>1.14 (20%)</td>
<td>0.89 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49 years</td>
<td>0.83 (18%)</td>
<td>1.15 (18%)</td>
<td>1.13 (20%)</td>
<td>1.27 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59 years</td>
<td>0.66 (15%)</td>
<td>1.10 (17%)</td>
<td>1.08 (19%)</td>
<td>1.04 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69 years</td>
<td>0.40 (9%)</td>
<td>0.66 (10%)</td>
<td>0.60 (11%)</td>
<td>0.85 (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 years and older</td>
<td>0.16 (3%)</td>
<td>0.39 (7%)</td>
<td>0.43 (8%)</td>
<td>0.72 (12%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: Medienanalyse (MA 1995) ** Source: Allgemeine Wirtschaftsanalyse (AWA II, 2000)
***Source: SpiegelOnline (www.spiegel-qc.de)

To sum up, the main audience of Der Spiegel consists mostly of educated, middle-class to upper middle-class males. With regard to age, the readership is relatively homogeneous. However, there has been a trend within the last two decades from a middle-aged to an older audience.

3.6 The principles of the word count

The corpus of this study was taken from nine issues of Der Spiegel magazine. From each of the years 1990, 2000, and 2010 respectively, three issues (namely nr. 11, 21, and 30) were read and examined for occurrences of Anglicisms. The total extent of the nine issues comprised 1023 pages. The Anglicisms that were found were categorized according to word class, year, and category (politics, economy, sciences, sports, etc.). The statistics in this study display the absolute number of Anglicisms as well as their relative number per page.

Furthermore, the distinction was made between tokens and types. The main objective of the
count was to determine the overall proportion of Anglicisms in Der Spiegel and their
distribution on the various years, word classes, and categories.

For the word count, the following principles set by Yang were applied:

The following words were counted:

a. Word is a direct borrowing (foreign word, loanword, pseudo-loanword, or mixed
compound) like Kicker, Manager, Meeting, Popmusik. No distinction was made on the
basis of the moment of borrowing.
b. Derivations of Anglicisms such as durchtrainiert, or Digitalisierung.
c. Shortenings of Anglicisms such as Lok, Profi, or TV.

The following words were not counted:

a. Names of persons, like Bill Clinton, Shakespeare, or Bill Gates;
b. Names of countries or geographical entities, such as USA, New York, or Rocky
Mountains;
c. Names of political parties, institutions, companies, banks, or schools, such as
NATO, Tea Party, State Department, Oval Office, Commonwealth etc.;
d. English titles of books, musicals, songs, movies etc., such as My Fair Lady, The
Jungle Book, or Poker Face;
e. Citations or exclamations in English.

Compounds that contained one or more Anglicisms (e.g. Baseball-Fan, Accounting-
Manager, Football-Team etc.) were only counted once in the present study.

For technical reasons, Anglicisms in advertisements in Der Spiegel could not be considered.

For this reason, Yang’s findings from 1980 were altered accordingly. This ensures
comparability between the results of his study and the present one. Despite the technical
constraint, the omission of Anglicisms in advertisements has its justification in the fact that
the language found there is not the language used by the authors of Der Spiegel. Since the
present work explores the usage/use of Anglicisms and their integration into the language of
the German press, the acceptance of terms from commercials would give a false impression of
the general usage of English terms in German. In addition to this, the frequency of Anglicisms
in the language found in advertisements is outstandingly high. It is the field where most
‘vogue expressions’ can be found (Carstensen, 1965, p. 25). The primary objective of
language in advertisements is to sell goods to potential customers, but not the communication
of information. The language in advertisements has to be kept separated from the language in
the articles of *Der Spiegel*, since advertisements do not reflect everyday language (Zürn, p.
123).
4. FINDINGS

4. Frequency

With regard to the overall frequency of Anglicisms in Der Spiegel, it can be stated that Anglicisms are quite numerous. The investigation of nine issues from 1990 to 2010 yielded 7,111 Anglicisms (tokens). This equals an overall frequency of almost seven Anglicisms per page, which is more than double the frequency Yang ascertained in his study in 1980.\(^{10}\)

4.1 Absolute Frequency and per Page

In the year 1990, each Anglicism (type) appeared 2.73 times, in 2000 3.0 times, and in 2010 also 3.0 times. In consideration of Yang’s results, it can be stated that the frequency per Anglicism has constantly increased from 1980 through 2010. It also has to be pointed out that there has been a great leap in frequency of use between the years of 1980 and 1990. Within the last two decades, however, this trend has lost momentum. There was only a slight increase in frequency of use from 2000 to 2010. One has to be careful so as not to make premature assumptions, but it might be possible that the frequency of Anglicisms in Der Spiegel has reached a plateau. There could be two reasons for this: Either a stagnation in the number (tokens) of used Anglicisms, or less variation in the number of used Anglicisms (types). Whichever is the case, future research will be needed in order to make sound assumptions about a development of that nature.

\(^{10}\) In the following, all the data from 1950 through 1980 is drawn from Yang’s study.
Table 5

Frequency of Loanwords per Year (1950-2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of loanwords (types and tokens) found per decade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>types</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The sum of all types per year is higher than the actual overall number of types. This is due to the fact that some Anglicisms were used in several years.

In the three issues from 2000, more than 15 Anglicisms (tokens) were used per page. This number is considerably higher than in 1990 and 2010 respectively. This sudden jump in the numbers can be explained by the socio-historic background. The invention of the Internet and the advancement of the computer lead to an increase in the use of Anglicisms related to such fields as technology and communication.

Even though the numbers from the last three decades do only allow for careful generalizations about future developments, it can be ascertained that the frequency in the use of English terms per page has significantly increased compared to the years 1950 to 1980.

Table 6

Frequency of Loanwords per Page (1950-2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of loanwords (tokens) found per decade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TPR = token-page-ratio
4.1.2 Frequency according to word class

With regard to word class membership, the results of the present study demonstrate that Anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* chiefly belong to one of the three word classes, namely nouns, verbs, and adjectives. This observation concurs with Yang’s findings in 1980. The vast majority of found Anglicisms in our corpus belongs to the group of nouns. In fact, almost 96% of all findings (tokens) were nouns or nominal phrases. The prevalence of nouns among used Anglicisms can be found in every year of the investigation period. All in all, with 3,695 types, every nominal Anglicism in the corpus was used more than three times on average. Yang yielded a similar result with 92% (p. 29).

Other studies in the field of lexical borrowing have yielded similar results. In their analysis of three regional German newspapers from December 1994, Fink et al. (1997) ascertained that 91% of all the spotted English terms were nouns (p. 86). In Zürn’s investigation of three newsmagazines from 1994, a total of 94% of all Anglicisms were nouns (p. 109). Finally, Götzeler (2008) found out that 88% of all the English loanwords found in two national German newspapers were nouns or nominal phrases (p. 186).

The year with the most nominal Anglicisms (tokens) was 2000 with 5,754, followed by 2010 with 3,427 findings, and finally 1990 with 2,000 findings. In second place of the most frequent word class come verbs with 270 tokens (2.32%), followed by adjectives with a total number of 181 tokens (1.55%). This result shows how much English nouns are favored when it comes to the borrowing of foreign words. Nouns lend themselves to lexical borrowing for various reasons. By referring to Van Hout and Muysken (1994), Haspelmath explains the reason for the high proportion of nouns within the borrowing process:

A very important factor involves one of the primary motivations for lexical borrowing, that is, to extend the referential potential of a language. Since reference is established primarily through nouns, these are the elements borrowed most easily. (p. 7).
A closer look at the list of the most frequently borrowed nouns sheds even more light on this issue. In the entire corpus, the ten most often found nominal Anglicisms are *Film, Internet, Konzern, Computer, Partner, Manager, Star, Television (TV), Trainer, and Team*. In fact, the first nineteen words in the list of the most frequently used Anglicisms are nouns, all of which denote concepts or ideas for which there are no satisfying equivalent expressions in German. By comparing the just given examples with their German equivalents, it becomes obvious that the English loanwords oftentimes can only be substituted in German by cumbersome or long paraphrases. In this light, Yang explains:

> Dies ist nicht verwunderlich, weil sich die meisten übernommenen englischen Wörter auf neue Techniken, neue Erfindungen und neue Begriffe beziehen, die zuerst in den englischsprachigen Ländern, vor allem in Amerika, entstanden sind, und für die es innerhalb des deutschen Sprachraums oft keinen entsprechenden Ausdruck gibt (This is no surprise since the majority of borrowed English words designate new technology, innovations, and new terminologies that were invented in English-speaking countries, especially the United States. For these terms oftentimes no equivalent expression in German exists). (p. 28)

According to Myers-Scotton, nouns are borrowed preferentially “because they receive, not assign, thematic roles,” which renders “their insertion in another language … less disruptive of predicate-argument structure” (2002, p. 240).

With quite some distance, verbs constitute the second most numerous group of Anglicisms with a total of 270 tokens in the entire investigation period. Verbs account for 2.32% of the entire corpus. In *Der Spiegel*, each verb was used on average more than twice. In the corpus, there are only nine verbs that were employed eight times or more often. The most often used one is *stoppen* (38x), followed by *investieren* (24x), *trainieren* (17x), *boomen* (10x), *dopen* (9x), *exportieren* (9x), *recyclen* (8x), *filmen* (8x), and *importieren* (8x). On the other hand, 41 of the verbs in the corpus were only used once. The year with the highest
percentage of verbs is the year 1990 with 2.54%. In the years 2000 and 2010, verbs account equally for 2.27% of the Anglicisms. Interestingly, for each one of the most often used verbs in the corpus, there is a related noun that appears among the most frequently used nouns. Thus, the corpus contains *Stopp/stoppen, Investment/investieren, Training/trainieren,* *Boom/boomen, Doping/dopen, Export/exportieren, Recycling/recyclen, Film/filmen,* and *Import/importieren.* However, there are English nominal loanwords in the corpus without any English-rooted equivalent in German. For instance, there is *das Meeting,* which comes close in meaning to German *die Versammlung or die Besprechung,* but there is no verb *meeten* that could express the action of having a meeting. This immediately suggests what Moravcsik (1975) observed. She claims that “if verbs are borrowed, they seem to be borrowed as if they were nouns: the borrowing language employs its own means of denominal verbalization to turn the borrowed forms into verbs ‘before’ using them as such” (p. 111-112).

Adjectives represent the group with the fewest findings in my corpus *Der Spiegel.* 181 adjectives were used 100 times. The adjectives can be divided into two groups, namely those which were directly borrowed from English into German (e.g. *clever, cool, fair, happy, hip, komfortabel, out, sexy, trendy, tricky,* etc.), and those which are amalgamates of an English noun and a German adjective or participle (e.g. *Internet-fähig,* web-enabled; *computergesteuert,* computer-operated; *Comedy-fähig,* suitable for comedies; *Scrapie-infiziert,* infected with scrapie; etc.). The first group exceeds the latter one by far. In the corpus are 81 directly borrowed adjectives that are used 150 times within the thirty years of the investigation period. Nine out of all the adjectives in the corpus (9%) were found more than five times, namely *digital* (15x), *cool* (12x), *okay* (11X), *parlamentarisch* (11x), *exklusiv* (8x), *sexy* (7x), *trickreich* (7x), *nuclear* (6x), and *virtuell* (6x). Of all the adjectival Anglicisms spotted in *Der Spiegel,* a total of 53 were only used once.

The results of the present study only partly match the findings made in previous studies. According to studies carried out by Engels (1954), Fink (1968), Viereck (1980), and...
Zürn (2002), the number of adjectives was higher than the one of verbs. However, the findings of this study match Yang’s observation made in 1980.

With a percentage of 0.19% of the total tokens, adverbs are the least often used word class in the corpus. In all, there are five adverbs that were used 25 times. These adverbs are *online* (10x), *live* (7x), *offline* (3x), *inklusive* (3x), and *exklusive* (2x). In his study in 1980, Yang only found one single adverb (*nonstop*) that occurred 22 times. The reason for this dramatic change in the number of adverbs might be the invention of the computer and the establishment of the Internet in the late 20th century. Interestingly, adverbs do not pose any problems when borrowed into German, since in German there is usually no graphemic difference between the basic form of the adjective and the respective adverb. Thus, the adverbs *online, offline, and live* could as well be used in their respective forms as adjectives. The two findings *exklusive* and *inklusive*, however, bear the adverbial marker –e, which sets them orthographically apart from the adjectives *exklusiv* and *inklusiv*. 
Table 7

Frequency of Loanwords according to Word Class (1950-2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>20,464</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>1,023</td>
<td>3,241</td>
<td>4,443</td>
<td>2,002</td>
<td>5,754</td>
<td>3,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(90.7%)</td>
<td>(91.8%)</td>
<td>(91.1%)</td>
<td>(93.2%)</td>
<td>(96.0%)</td>
<td>(96.0%)</td>
<td>(96.0%)</td>
<td>(96.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbs</td>
<td>732</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7.9%)</td>
<td>(4.0%)</td>
<td>(4.7%)</td>
<td>(4.2%)</td>
<td>(2.5%)</td>
<td>(2.25%)</td>
<td>(2.25%)</td>
<td>(2.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.4%)</td>
<td>(3.9%)</td>
<td>(3.8%)</td>
<td>(2.5%)</td>
<td>(1.4%)</td>
<td>(1.7%)</td>
<td>(1.45%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbs</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>(0.3%)</td>
<td>(0.4%)</td>
<td>(0.1%)</td>
<td>(0.1%)</td>
<td>(0.15%)</td>
<td>(0.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentages indicate the share of the respective word class compared to all tokens per year.
Percentages are either rounded up or down.

In Table 7, the development in the usage of Anglicisms in Der Spiegel articles over the time from 1950 till 2010 is illustrated. All in all, the number of nominal Anglicisms has steadily increased, now accounting for almost 96% of all English loanwords in the Spiegel-corpus of 2010. The numbers of verbs and adjectives, however, dropped considerably over time. But it also seems that their numbers have stabilized within the last ten years of the investigation period (2000-2010), now representing 2.27% (verbs) and 1.46% (adjectives) of the corpus. In the case of adverbs, their number also dropped remarkably after 1960, but increased again within between 1990 and 2010. In the corpus of the present study, adverbs account for 0.31% of the entire corpus.

4.1.3 Frequency according to thematic categories in Der Spiegel

The articles found in Der Spiegel are usually presented under different categories, that is, foreign politics, society, sports, etc. In order to explore whether the frequency in usage of
Anglicisms depends on the thematic category or domain in which they are used, Yang divided his corpus into six distinct news genres, namely

1. *Innen- und Außenpolitik* (domestic politics and foreign affairs),
2. *Wirtschaft und Finanzen* (economy and finance),
3. *Wissenschaft und Technik* (science and technology),
4. *Sport*,
5. *Kultur und Bildungswesen* (culture and the educational system), and

This division into categories was also made in the present study, in order to ensure a high degree of comparability with Yang’s findings. However, for technical reasons it was not possible to include advertisements into the word search. Anglicisms used in advertisements in *Der Spiegel* could therefore not be regarded. This, however, is not to the detriment of this study. There is a good reason to disregard Anglicisms in magazine ads. They are not written by the authors of the magazine, and therefore do not belong to the same writer-reader discourse that is established through the articles in *Der Spiegel*. In this context, Zürn writes:

Die Sprache der Werbung entspricht nicht dem umgangsprachlichen Sprachgebrauch, auch nicht dem der Nachrichtenmagazine. In den untersuchten Magazinen waren teilweise Werbeeinlagen beigelegt, die durchgängig englischsprachig waren. Diese wurden aus der Untersuchung ausgeschlossen ... Die Begründung ist, daß sie im Sprachgebrauch keine Anwendung finden und somit die Ergebnisse in hohem Maße verfälschen würden. (The language found in advertisements does neither represent the colloquial language used by speakers of Germans nor the written language employed in the articles of newsmagazines. The magazines that were investigated sometimes contained advertisement supplements, which were entirely written in English. These supplements were therefore excluded from the investigation … This is justified since
these English expressions are not used in the same way in the spoken language, and would skew the outcome of this study if they were to be regarded in the word count).

(p. 123)

According to Zürn, the language that is used in advertisements does not reflect the daily language used by people in general. For this reason, Anglicisms in ads in Der Spiegel were not regarded.

The news genre ‘domestic politics and foreign affairs’ plays a major role in a newsmagazine such as Der Spiegel. This genre comprises articles written on politics in general, but also on any changes within or reforms that affect Germany’s society. On more than 550 pages, there were more than 4,100 English loanwords. As in Yang’s study, it is the category with the highest total number of Anglicisms. However, at the same time it is also the category with the highest number of pages in the investigation period. Per page there were 7.4 Anglicisms, which is more than double the amount of what Yang ascertained for his investigation period (2.7 Anglicisms per page). The year with the highest number of Anglicisms per page is 2000 (10.65), which, again, exceeds Yang’s highest result (1970 with 2.9 English loanwords per page) by far. While the number of pages slightly decreased over the thirty years, the number of Anglicisms per page for the category ‘politics and society’ rose on average.

Another genre of articles in Der Spiegel is titled ‘economy and finances’ (Wirtschaft und Finanzen). In this category, 1,759 English loanwords (tokens) were found on a total of a little bit more than 124 pages, which equals an average use of 14.2 Anglicisms per page. The year with the highest number of English loanwords per page was again the year 2000. The year 2010 shows an average of 15.8 Anglicisms per page, which is almost three times as many as counted in 1990. In comparison to Yang’s study, the frequency in the usage of

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11 In Yang’s study, the category ‘domestic politics and foreign affairs’ ranked second after ‘advertisement,’ which was left out in the present study.
Anglicisms per page was lower in 1990 than in Yang’s findings of the years 1960 to 1980, which present an average frequency of 6.5 Anglicisms per page. Interestingly, despite the widespread belief that the language used in the fields of economics and finance is marked by a nomenclature that caters to experts, and therefore more often resorts to English terms (Rathmann, 2006, p.56), in the present study this genre does not show the highest frequency of Anglicisms.

The third category to which articles in Der Spiegel can belong is ‘sciences, technology, and the environment’ (Wissenschaft und Technik). Articles of this category deal with the latest innovations and inventions in the sciences, which covers such topics as recycling, biology, and chemical and demographic research. This genre presents 1,230 Anglicisms distributed over more than 104 pages. This equals an average frequency of 11.8 loanwords per page, which is more than double as much as Yang determined (5.23 Anglicisms per page). Surprisingly, Anglicisms were used more frequently in this category in 1990 (17.9 per page) than in 2000 (11.3) and 2010 (10.8).

Articles and reports that pertain to the field of sports were ranged in the eponymous category ‘sports.’ Yang labels the language found in this category as especially heavily influenced by the usage of English terms (p. 32). He mentions the many names to designate English or American sports along with the numerous technical terms that are typical of sports as the main reasons for the overwhelming presence of Anglicisms in this category. Like in Yang’s study, ‘sports’ represents the category with the smallest number of pages in this corpus. Measured by the entire corpus, the category of sports accounts for a mere 4.8% of the total number of pages. Nevertheless, with an average of 24.1 Anglicisms per page, this category is the one with the highest frequency of used English loanwords. This result matches findings made by Yang, who, however, found only 13.3 Anglicisms per page for this category in his corpus from 1950 to 1980. In the present corpus, 2000 is again the year with the highest
frequency of an astounding 34.2 Anglicisms per page, followed by 1990 with 21, and 2010 with 18.7 English loanwords per page.

The last genre of *Der Spiegel* articles is titled ‘culture and education’ (*Kultur und Bildungswesen*). In this category, one finds articles and reports that relate to movies, theater, television, literature, music, dance, the educational system, etc. In the present corpus, 3,368 Anglicisms on almost 190 pages were counted, which results in an average frequency of 17.8 Anglicisms per page. Hence, this category features the second highest frequency per page. The year 2000 is once more the one with the highest such frequency (22.8 per page). The year 2010 ranks second with 16.6, followed by 1990 with 11.8 English loanwords per page.

To sum up, with 35.2% of the total amount of Anglicisms in the entire corpus, the category ‘politics and society’ shows the highest number of English loanwords. Second comes the genre ‘culture and education’ with 28.9%, followed by ‘economy and finance’ containing 15.1% of the total number of Anglicisms. The two categories with the lowest number of Anglicisms are ‘sciences, technology, and the environment’ (10.5%), and ‘sports’ (10.2%). In Yang’s study, the difference between his categories in terms of total numbers of Anglicisms was less clear cut.

Yang found, however, the distribution of English loanwords in the various categories not to be consistent (cf. Table 4.5) within the different years. He found a high degree of fluctuation in the hierarchy of the category with the highest number of Anglicisms per year (p. 35). This finding could not be corroborated by the present study. In the thirty years of the investigation period, the category ‘politics and society’ was always the one with the highest number of Anglicisms, whereas the category ‘culture and education’ always showed the second highest number of English loanwords for each year. However, there was some fluctuation in this respect between the distribution of Anglicisms in the other three categories.

With regard to the frequency of used Anglicisms per page, the picture is a different one. With 24.1 Anglicisms per page, the category of sports is the one with the highest
frequency. ‘Culture and education’ comes second with a usage of 17.8, followed by ‘economy and finance’ with 14.2 English loanwords per page. The fourth place is taken by the category of ‘sciences, technology, and the environment,’ which features an average of 11.8 Anglicisms per page. The articles in Der Spiegel that are related to politics and the society show the lowest frequency of Anglicisms. In these articles, only 7.4 English loanwords were used per page.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thematic category</th>
<th>Amount of loanwords (tokens) found per decade</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. politics &amp; society</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,426</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>106 1/3</td>
<td>118 1/3</td>
<td>290 2/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. economy &amp; finance</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,112</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41 1/3</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sciences &amp; technology</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,816</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>173</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. sports</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,911</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 2/3</td>
<td>3 1/3</td>
<td>17 2/3</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9.56</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. culture &amp; education</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,622</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>1,107</td>
<td>611</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>123 2/3</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>5.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2 Most frequent Anglicisms

A study like the present one, which focuses on a language contact situation, should not only focus on the total numbers of loan borrowings, but also investigate the smallest units of such a lexical transfer, i.e. the single loanwords. Yang presents in his study a list of the most frequently used Anglicisms without further exploiting the data he gives. To sum up the quantitative analysis of my corpus research, I will present my own list with the most frequently used Anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* articles from 1990 to 2010. A part of this list will then be compared with Yang’s findings, in order to explore any possible changes at the single word level.

The most frequent Anglicisms are displayed in Table 9. All the 151 Anglicisms (including their occurrence in compounds) in the list were found at least ten times in the nine issues that were screened. The list gives an idea which kinds of words are used the most in an average article of *Der Spiegel*. Out of the 151 most frequently used Anglicisms, 137 (90.7%) are nouns. Verbs and adjectives account for six words (4%) in the list respectively. As for adverbs, there are only two (1.3%) in the entire list. Among the most frequently used English loanwords, only one was found with more than 300, three with more than 200, and four with more than 100 occurrences.

In Yang’s list of the most frequently used Anglicisms, there were 183 nouns (89.7%), twelve verbs (5.9%), and eight adjectives (3.9%). Interestingly, there was only one adverb (0.5%) in Yang’s list. This comparison reveals that the number of nouns among the most frequently used English loanwords has stayed stable, whereas there has been a shift in the number of frequently used verbs and adjectives. Adverbs have in both lists a rather marginal appearance. This outcome confirms what the literature on lexical borrowing has already ascertained (i.e., that open word class categories are more subject to borrowing than closed word class categories).
### Table 9

Twenty-five most frequently used loanwords (1990-2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>loanword</th>
<th>Amount of loanwords (tokens) found per decade as simplex and in compounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Film</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Internet</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Konzern</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Computer</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Partner</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Manager</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Star</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Television (TV)</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Trainer</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Team</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Club (Klub)</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Job</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Interview</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Sex</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Video</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Doping</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Fan</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Pop</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Parlament</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. online</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Software</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Show</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Test</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Deal</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. CD (-ROM)</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When comparing the 25 most frequent words from both lists, it becomes obvious that there are similarities as well as differences. Interestingly, 13 out of the 25 most frequent words from Yang’s list are still present in my list of the 25 most frequently used.

Ten of the most frequently used Anglicisms from Yang’s corpus in 1980 do not appear among the 25 most frequent words in 2010 anymore. Those words that are less often used are Boß (Boss), City, Export, Kassette, Komfort, Rekord, Reporter, Service Start, Streik, and Whisky. The word HiFi (High Fidelity), which was first used in Der Spiegel in 1970 (Yang, 1990, p. 37) with a total of 138 tokens, is not even present in the entire list of all found Anglicisms of this present corpus. In other instances, the usage of English loans declined considerably. The word Kassette (Cassette), for instance, was among the 20 most used words in Yang’s corpus, whereas it could only be found once in the compound Brennstoff-Kassette in my corpus from 2010. This shows that some of the English loanwords stay in the language of Der Spiegel for only a short period of time, i.e. thirty to forty years. The usage of Anglicisms such as Kassette, Floppy-Disc, or Fax are closely linked to the socio-historical background of their time. Once they were praised as innovative, and, therefore, frequently used in newsmagazines such as Der Spiegel. But once they become replaced by a new invention, their usage drops considerably. Even if it became apparent from the collected data that the overall number of Anglicisms has increased over the last 50 years, there are so-called “vogue expressions” (Carstensen, 1965) that stay in use for only a restricted period of time, before they become old-fashioned and are not used anymore. The results of this quantitative analysis also show that a high frequency in use of a term does not allow any predication about the time this term will stay in active use.

Apart from the Anglicisms that are used more than ten times, there is a vast majority of words in the corpus that are used less than ten times. These words account for more than 90% of the corpus. Almost half of these words, again, occur only once in the entire corpus.
5. DISCUSSION

After having explored the quantitative usage of Anglicisms in the news magazine Der Spiegel, I will now discuss the qualitative usage of English loanwords. A qualitative approach to the usage of loanwords is always linked to the way they are used within the German sentence, or in the German language as a whole. Further, the employment of a loanword depends on such notions as the meaning and the form of the word, to mention only two.

An exploration of all Anglicisms of my corpus would verge on the impossible. In order to limit my scope, only the twenty most often used nouns will be scrutinized for their meaning. This approach has its justification, since the most frequently used Anglicisms can be regarded as representative for the way English loanwords are semantically and grammatically treated in the language of Der Spiegel. Many of the tokens of my corpus appear only once during the entire investigation period from 1990 to 2010 and can therefore be regarded as vogue expressions. Thus, it is justified to neglect the rarely occurring and focus more on the highly productive ones. Whenever need be, less often used Anglicisms from the corpus will be used to illustrate the respective aspect of loanword integration.

In order to measure the qualitative usage of Anglicisms in Der Spiegel, the material was first classified by word class (i.e., nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs). In a second step, the thus categorized material was investigated by means of comparison with the linguistic features of German that are relevant to the respective word classes. For instance, nouns were checked for their plural marking suffixes, whereas verbs were scrutinized for their conjugational patterns.
5.1 Integration

When talking about the process of lexical borrowing, many linguists find it necessary to further distinguish between the various linguistic levels of a loanword that are affected by the borrowing process.

In this light, Onysko (2004) mentions that a loanword undergoes not only one, but a series of processes of integration, when being transferred from one language into another (60f). Thus, when English words enter the German language, they can be integrated on the phonological, orthographical, as well as the structural level (Onysko, 2004, 61). The structural level can be understood as a treatment of the English term in accordance to the grammatical rules in German. For instance, adjectives in the superlative in German take the suffix ‘-ste’, verbs in the infinitive end in ‘-(e)n’, and so forth.

Jablonski (1990) distinguishes between six levels on which the assimilation of a foreign word can take place. According to him, there are the graphemic, the phonetic-phonological (pronunciation, stress), the flectional-morphological (flexion), the lexical-morphological (compounds, derivation etc.), the semantic (meaning), and the stylistic level.

Carstensen (1992) offers a less detailed distinction. He mentions pronunciation, spelling, grammar, and meaning as the four main domains in which the original English term can differ from its loan-representation in German (p. 88). Fink (1970) follows Carstensen’s categorization and broadly divides his findings with respect to graphemic and morphological features.

All in all, scholars and linguists in the field of language contact have settled on a more or less uniform set of features, by means of which the integration of a loanword can be measured, even though the used the terminology differs slightly. Yang, for instance, scrutinizes the same grammatical and morphological categories of his findings as Zürn (2002) and Götzeler (2008) do, but he labels them differently.

12 The sole exception to this rule is the highly irregular verb sein (to be).
Since this is a follow-up study, the author contents himself with Yang’s categorization of the loan material. In his chapter on the integration of Anglicisms in *Der Spiegel*, he scrutinized gender, flexion, plural formation, declination, conjugation, spelling, and meaning. In order to ensure a fairly high degree of comparison between Yang’s data and the data elicited in the present study, the author will pay attention to the same features as his predecessor did. However, as far as terminology itself is concerned, this study will be orientated on more recent studies (Görlach, 2002; Götzeler 2008; Zürn, 2002).

In what follows, the degree of integration of Anglicisms from the corpus is ordered by semantic, morphological, and grammatical features.13

5.1.1 Meaning (Semantic Value)

When loanwords are transferred from a donor language into a recipient language, it is not only the word material that is transferred, but also the connection with an idea or concept the term denotes. However, scholars such as Carstensen (1980c, p. 78) and Zindler (1959, p. 19) observed that oftentimes only a part of the meaning is transferred together with the word. For instance, the English word *trainer* bears the following meanings:

a. a person who trains people or animals;

b. (informal) an aircraft or simulator used to train pilots;

c. (BE) a soft shoe, suitable for sports or casual wear (COED).

However, the word was transferred into German only with the first meaning. In many other instances, it becomes obvious that the semantic value of many English loanwords is different, when compared in the donor language (English) and the recipient language (German). In some other cases, there is not even an equivalent in German to describe the English term.

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13 Since the present study is primarily concerned with the integration of English loanwords in the written German language, phonological aspects will not be regarded.
These terms usually belong to field of the arts, sciences, or technology, and denote new inventions or trends. Yang writes that these Anglicisms are hard to translate, and that similar German expressions fail to describe them in all their nuances (p. 73). In these instances, one can consider the Anglicisms as enrichment to the semantic field into which it is borrowed. Yang, for instance, draws attention to the many names of ball sports such as Football, Basketball, or Golf, for which there is no equivalent expression in German. In these instances, the English term fills a lexical gap in a lexical field.

In other cases, there are borrowed English terms that enter an already well-established and functioning lexical field, where there is no perceived need for a new term. The Anglicism Kids is an example of such a term. In German, Kids describes an age group that is in between Kinder (Eng. children) and Jugendliche (Eng. adolescents). What is more, the word Kids bears the connotation of savvy or trendy, which sets it apart from plain Kinder. Interestingly, this word opened the door for the integration of its derivates and compounds kidnappen, Kidnapping, and Kidnapper or Kidnapperin.

Görlach (2002) explains that an item is borrowed in a specific situation and linguistic context, which consequently affects its meaning (p. 10). In this light, the meaning of a borrowed word may be semantically narrowed down (i.e., being more specific), broadened (designating more concepts than in the original language), or simply shifted (referring to another range of objects). Yang states that interestingly the semantic change occurs only in the recipient language, but not in the original language English (p. 94).

In the following, ten out of the 50 most frequently used Anglicisms found in articles of Der Spiegel are used in order to demonstrate the integration of English loanwords in terms of their semantic value.14

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14 Terms that do not or only slightly differ from their English equivalent, such as Internet, Computer, Television, Sex, or Video, are omitted since they are not suitable for the demonstration of semantic change.
1. Film. The term *Film* first entered German at the beginning of the 1900s and was used to describe a thin strip of translucent material that was used for making photos (AW), or "a story or event recorded by a camera as a series of moving images" (COED).

In *Der Spiegel*, the term *Film* is also used to refer to the entire film industry. It has thus undergone semantic broadening.

"Es ist die Mittelklasse Amerikas, in der seine Helden leben ... Sie arbeiten in der Werbung oder beim Film, im Büro oder an der Uni ... . "

(Der Spiegel, 21/2010, p.7)

"Und wie bei jeder Hollywood-Produktion ist es der riesige Apparat, der sie erst möglich macht. ... Und wie beim Film bleibt dieser Apparat unsichtbar."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 121).

2. Star. The COED describes the English word *star* as "3. a famous or talented entertainer or sports player." In addition, the Merriam Webster Online Dictionary mentions the meaning of "d. a person who is preeminent in a field." In German, the English loanword seems to incorporate both meanings. The term *Star* is not restricted to someone with outstanding talent in sports or the performing arts, but can be employed to describe anyone who is in the focus of interest in their domain (DgF), including politics and the stock market.

"Dazu übten die Starmodels sofort einen neuen Dreh."

(Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 273)

"Jeff Koons, der Künstlerstar, hat viele Spuren hinterlassen."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 128)

"Zwar war die CDU-Generalsekretärin der Star beim Politischen Aschermittwoch im mecklenburgischen Städtchen Stavenhagen."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 25)

"Endlich scheint der Börsen-Star seine hochgejazzte AG mit Substanz füllen zu können."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2000, p. 69)
The meaning of the derivate *Shootingstar* in German differs strongly from the meaning of its English equivalent. While the original English meaning still is „a small, rapidly moving meteor burning up on entering the earth’s atmosphere“ (COED), the German expression only designates a person who suddenly becomes famous and successful (AWB).


3. **Team.** One of the most often used words in the *Spiegel* corpus of this study is *Team*. In its original sense it designates a pair or group of athletes who participate as representatives of a club or a country in a competition (AWB). It was borrowed into German at the beginning of the 20th century and was restricted to sports only. In the middle of the 20th century, it was increasingly used to refer, along with its first meaning, to a group of people that work together in such fields as research or film production (AWB) or any other domain.

"Während Journalisten, Fotografen und *Fernseh-Teams* … sich bereits in dem Ausbildungslager am Springsee tummelten, … "

(Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 105)

"Solche computerknackenden Programme könnten die sogenannten *Tiger Teams* ersetzen, kleine Gruppen von ‘eingekauften’ Hackern, die für Unternehmen … Schwachstellen in deren eigenen Rechennetzen aufspüren."

(Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 252)

"Kaum am Ort eingetroffen, hat er sein *Mitarbeiter-Team* ins Stadion … geführt."

(Der Spiegel, 21/1990, p. 212)

It is with this extended meaning that the word *Team* is used in mixed compounds such as *Teamarbeit* (Eng. *teamwork*) and * Teamspieler* (Eng. * team player*) in the corpus.

"Statt der früher praktizierten *Teamarbeit* würden nur noch Befehle von oben nach unten erteilt." (Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 44)
"Wenig hilfreich ist, dass Merkel nicht gerade als Teamspielerin gilt."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 26)

4. Job. Another interesting case of semantic change appears with the case of the word *Job* in German. The Anglicism was borrowed into German in the 20th century with its English meaning, namely "a paid position or regular employment" (COED). Zindler notes that the word was oftentimes used in the meaning of temporary employment, the main purpose of which is the acquisition of money (p. 53), and therefore was less high in register than *Beruf* (Eng. *profession*) or *Arbeit* (Eng. *work*). This evaluative usage of *Job* becomes obvious with the usage of the derived verb *jobben* and the noun *Jobber*:

"Das Modell des Studienkontos bietet allerdings den zahlreichen Teilzeitstudenten, die viel nebenher *jobben*, bessere Chancen." (Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 67)

"... schließlich saß an dessen Spitze mit Helmut Kohl ein ehemaliger BASF Ferienjobber." (Der Spiegel, 30/2000, p. 104)

According to Zindler, the difference between German *Job* and *Beruf* (Eng. *work*, *profession*) is based on the speaker’s attitude toward his or her position. In *Der Spiegel*, one finds instances of this usage, when the writer of the article refers to high-paid positions by using *Job*:

"Am 29. Oktober 2009 wurde Arntz im Auswärtigen Amt eingestellt. Auf die Frage, was ihn für den *Job* qualifiziere, verwies das Amt auf Arntz’ frühere Tätigkeit ..."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2010, p. 20)

"Sie verstehe ... den Politiker*job* ihres Mannes und ihre damit verbundene Rolle nicht als Last." (Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 25)

Later on, its meaning was expanded and covered „a task or piece of work“ (COED) as well. The same usage can be found in the corpus. The Anglicism has thus undergone the same semantic extension in German and English.
"Die Abermillonen Jahre alte Evolutionsgeschichte zeigt, dass normalerweise andere Spezies den **Job** einst vorherrschender Arten übernehmen …"

(Der Spiegel, 11/2010, p. 122)

"‘Mein **Job** ist es, weit zu werfen’, sagt er."  

(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 100)

In the corpus there are also the derivate **Jobber** and the verb **jobben**, which share the same connotation as **Job**.

**5. Deal.** Some English loanwords undergo semantic pejoration when borrowed into another language. This happened with the word *Deal*. The Anglicism was introduced into German in the late 20th century, denoting a usually criminal or ethically questionable agreement entered into by two or more parties for their mutual benefit (AWB). While the English term seems to be of neutral nature, the German one solely acquired a negative connotation:

"Für die Kirchen war der informelle **Deal** perfekt."  

(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 31)

"Für den Zuschlag sorgte der Präsident, doch der **Deal** kam unter dubiosen Umständen zustande."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 89)

"... ausgerechnet jener latent Halbseidene, der sich vehement für Waffendeals in den Nahen Osten einsetzte ..."  

(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 23)

"… denn der **Deal** missachtet jene politischen Standards ..."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 89)

The use of *Deal* in German is therefore an example of a borrowed word that acquired negative semantic features in the recipient language, which its equivalent in the donor language is devoid of.

**6. Container.** *Container* is another example of an Anglicism that is used in a different context in English than in German. Borrowed into German in the 20th century, the term
designated a receptacle for holding or transporting something. According to the COED, this included both small receptacles as well as "large standard-sized metal box[es] for the transport of goods by road, rail, sea, or air." Seemingly, Container does only hold the latter meaning in German, thus referring to receptacles of large sizes only.

"Abfall- und Reinigungsfirmen, die Container schiffe und Frachter ausfegen, …"  
(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 79)

"Denn in insgesamt 91 Container-Camps der Region hausen noch immer über 8000 Menschen."  
(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 134)

"Ein Lkw nach dem anderen liefert Zubehör an, transportiert fertige Waren in Containern ab."  
(Der Spiegel, 21/2010, p. 66)

Thus, the Anglicism Container has undergone semantic narrowing in its use in articles of Der Spiegel. In English, however, it still designates a wider range of objects.

7. Trainer. The loanword Trainer came into German at the turn of the 19th and 20th century (AWB). While the term is used freely in German to refer to a person who trains performers, athletes, or animals (DU), the native speaker of AE would primarily use it for a person who trains animals, rather than human beings. For the latter one, there is the word coach or instructor. In Der Spiegel, however, the term is also found when referring to athletes and performers.

"Spaß hatten Sie vermutlich nur bis zu dem Tag, an dem Ihre damalige Trainerin sagte …"  
(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 244)

"Mein Trainer hat das erkannt und mich in der Regel das üben lassen, wozu ich gerade Lust hatte."  
(Der Spiegel, 11/2010, p. 125)

8. Baby. The AWB states that the Anglicism Baby was first used in German in the middle of the 20th century. The Webster online dictionary paraphrases baby as "an extremely
young child; esp. infant," "the young of an animal," or "the youngster member of a group." In more recent times, the word is also used to refer to someone who shows the demeanor of a baby (Webster).

Yang writes that English baby coexists with its German equivalents Säugling (Eng. infant) and Kleinkind (Eng. toddler). He ascribes a higher degree of affection inherent in the word baby than in its German equivalents (p. 56).

"Und geraten erst Babys Händchen in ihr Blickfeld, kann man sich auf die soundsovielte Neuauflage der uralten Hymne auf den Fingernagel gefasst machen."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2000, p. 82)

However, in the corpus there are instances in which the Anglicism seems to take over semantic domains of the neutral Kind and the more formal Säugling, whose use predominates, for instance, in hospitals:

"Kinder: Medienstreit um Findelbabys" (Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 6)

"Auch Bundesfamilienministerin Christine Bergmann (SPD) plädierte … für Babyklappen – als ‘Möglichkeit, Leben zu retten.” (Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 92)

Baby might be one of those Anglicisms that supplants its German competitors in the semantic field of offsprings. The above given examples might be at least indicative of such a development that would entail a re-organization between the German signifiers Säugling, Kind, and Kleinkind and the concepts to which they refer.

9. Farm. The word farm is a special Anglicism, since it demonstrates how some English loans in German defy semantic change. When English farm was first used in the German press in the 1930s, it solely referred to a plot of land that is devoted to the raising of animals and especially domestic livestock (AWB), as it did in English at that time. Later, in the English speaking world, the term was broadened and thus, included the artificial cultivation of aquatic life forms (Webster). However, in German farm is still restricted in its
use. It still bears the connotation of being connected to the English speaking world, or even other countries. In this respect, it has not succeeded in replacing German *Bauernhof* (Eng. *farm*).

In *Der Spiegel*, the German derivate *Farmer* and *Farm* are thus only employed to refer to agricultural processes outside of the German speaking world.

"Die einst riesigen Bestände des Ogallala-Speichers, die von *Farmern* im Südwesten der USA zur Erzeugung von Getreideüberschüssen verprasst wurden …"

(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 155)

"Papis und Muttis Afrika-*Farm* ist hoch verschuldet, der Geldhai bleckt schon die Zähne …"

(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 133)

When referring to Germany, *Spiegel* authors still prefer the German expressions *Landwirt* (Eng. *farmer*) and *Bauernhof* (Eng. *farm*).

10. Box. The word *box* was borrowed into German in the late 19th century (DH), in the sense of *stable*. Today, the COED describes the term as "1. a container with a flat base and sides and a lid." In German, however, the use was expanded to refer to objects for which English has other terms. For instance, German *Box* could either describe an area alongside an auto racecourse used for refueling and repairing the cars during a race, or it could even refer to an apparatus that converts electrical impulses into sound (AWB). For both objects, English uses respectively the terms *pit* and *loudspeaker*. The use of *box* in *Der Spiegel* is hence an example of semantic broadening in German.

"Das wissen nicht nur die [Formel-1] Teams, deren *Boxen* inzwischen so aseptisch sauber wie OP-Säle aussehen."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2000, p. 73)

"… aus den *Boxen* bollern HipHop-Rhythmen …"

(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 140)
These ten examples show that the semantic integration of Anglicisms in German can take different paths. An English loanword can either preserve its original meaning, or change it. In most of the cases, the meaning is changed. This can happen through semantic broadening, narrowing, or shifting. For some of the borrowed loanwords, the German language knows equivalent expressions. However similar the German expressions and the respective Anglicisms are, they are never completely synonymous (Weisgerber, p. 167). Oftentimes, there are slight differences in connotation, which explain the use of one form over the other. Zürn points out that it is the writer’s task to make these, at times minimal, differences recognizable to the reader in order to assure comprehensibility. To do this, writers of articles in Der Spiegel have a series of authorial means at their disposal.

### 5.1.2 Highlighting

In his work dedicated to the use of Anglicisms that are relative to economics, Kovtun stresses the necessity to explain or at least highlight loanwords in the German sentence in order to avoid incomprehensibility on part of the reader (p. 45). It is thus the journalist’s duty to establish a link between foreign term and the context in which it is used. In this light, Kovtun distinguishes between graphemic and lexical means that serve the purpose of explaining or highlighting Anglicisms. The first group comprises quotation marks, parentheses or brackets, and hyphens. The latter group includes explanatory phrases such as ‘so genannte’ (so-called), ‘im Fachjargon genannt’ (in jargon called), ‘Englisch’ (in English), etc. (p. 46).

Yang points out that the highlighting of Anglicisms is done by the writers of Der Spiegel in order to draw the reader’s attention to the unknown term and, therefore, to perform a pedagogic task (p. 133). The unfamiliarity on the part of the reader is anticipated by the writer of the article.
From a slightly different point of view, the highlighting of newly borrowed English loanwords can also be interpreted as a sign of lacking integration. If a term is semantically integrated and used in various contexts, there is no need to mark it specifically in a sentence. Kovtun adds that oftentimes English terms are already marked by virtue of their distinct spelling or lack of capitalization. Therefore, she calls the tools of highlighting following below "secondary highlighters".15

5.1.2.1 Graphemic highlighters

a. Quotation marks. Quotation marks represent the most often used highlighting tool in Der Spiegel. In the corpus, there are many examples of their use as a highlighting tool:

"Kanzler Willy Brandt etwa ersetzt seine Aufforderung, die Bürger zu mehr"  
"Compassion", zum Mitleiden, zu ermuntern …"  
"Dann montiert die Wasserpolizei den "flow-restrictor": eine verengte Leitung zum Hauptwasseranschluß, durch deren verringerten Querschnitt nur eine Gallone dringt."

"Fast jedes Produkt ist von einem Tierarzt empfohlen. "Influenza-Marketing" heißen solche Leumunddienste in der Branche."

"Man habe offenbar einen "Info-Blackout" erreichen wollen. Einen Blackout hat es wohl gegeben."

In these instances, the highlighted English term is oftentimes followed by an explanation or the equivalent German term.

Kovtun ascertains a slightly different usage of the quotation marks, namely as a means of citation in the broadest sense (p. 47):

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15 In her work, Kovtun uses the German term ‘Markierungsmittel’ to refer to highlighting tools (p. 46).
… zielt voll auf die Generation der "TV-Babys" ab. So nennt der amerikanische Autor und Entwickler ... Robert Pittmann die zunehmende Mehrheit der Bevölkerung, die in der Flimmerwelt aus der Steckdose aufwuchs.

(Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 101)

In this more conventional usage, quotation marks principally serve the purpose to cite what someone else said. Kovtun assesses this specific usage as a means on the part of the writer to distance him- or herself from the English expression (p. 47). However, at the same time the reader’s attention is drawn to the Anglicism, which renders quotation mark a versatile writing tool.

b. Parentheses. The use of parentheses is also widespread in articles of Der Spiegel. Usually, parentheses and brackets include additional information that is not essential for the understanding of the text. In the following examples, parentheses are used in order to give the English technical term, and therefore, educate the reader by giving him the translation of an otherwise unknown Anglicism:

"… greifen TV-Sender zur Technik des geteilten Bildschirms ("split screen"), mit der aktuelle Ereignisse gleichzeitig ins Haus geliefert werden."

(Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 103)

"Während die Theoretikerzunft bereits über Zeitlöcher und fabulöse Materiefäden („Strings“) diskutiert, ..."

(Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 243)

"Vom 1. April an soll die bisherige Kommunalsteuer ... durch eine Kopfsteuer (Poll Tax) ersetzt werden."

(Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 167)

Once the term is introduced this way, it can be used in the remainder of the article without further highlighting:

"Sie glauben an die Existenz sogenannter dunkler Materie ("dark matter"), einer unsichtbaren Rätselsubstanz, ... Die Dark-Matter-Idee schwebt nicht im leeren Raum."
Interestingly, in the issues of the year 1990, parentheses are primarily employed to introduce a new English term. In the latter issues, especially in the year 2010, the opposite is the case. Parentheses are more and more used to give the German translation or explanation of an earlier introduced English expression. In those instances, the use of parentheses deviates from its conventional use as a means of exclusion or marginalizing. To the contrary, Kovtun stresses that expressions in parentheses oftentimes are essential for the understanding of the text (p. 49):

"Er habe ... Pläne gesehen, auf denen von "German suppliers" (deutschen Ausrüstern) die Rede gewesen sei." (Der Spiegel, 21/1990, p. 81)

"Überanstrengte Tiere dürfen in Spas oder zum Doga (Yoga für Hunde) und übernachten etwa im ..." (Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 66)

In a few other cases, parantheses are used to give the English words for an expression used otherwise only as an acronym:

"... virtuell rekonstruiert – mit Hilfe der CAD-Technik (Computer Aided Design)." (Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 248)

Hyphens, even though rarely found in this corpus, serve the same purpose as parentheses do. However, they are rather used to provide the reader with an explanation or a secondary object:


"Unmut bricht sich Bahn, wenn "hydro vigilantes" – Wasser-Rächer – eine Sondernummer bei den Wasserwerken wählen ..." (Der Spiegel, 30/1990, p. 123)

All in all, the use of parentheses can be regarded as a means of inducting the reader into the realm of technical language (Kovtun, p. 50). It is in this respect that Yang labels highlighting tools as pedagogical means (p. 133).
5.1.2.2 Lexical highlighters

The lexical means that are found in the corpus to highlight English expressions are numerous. They include paraphrases and formulations that give explanations for Anglicisms. In the following, the three most prominent lexical highlighters are presented.

The most frequently used formulation to introduce an allegedly unknown English expression is the German paraphrase ‘so genannte’ (Eng. so-called):

"Besonders gefürchtet sind so genannte Flashover-Blitze, die in Überlandleitungen einschlagen ..."  
(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 236)

"Auf diese Fragen gibt das so genannte Non-Paper von Turku keine Antwort."

(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 195)

"So wird ein so genannter Realityhunter, der den Mitspielern bei der Jagd zur Seite steht, ..."  
(Der Spiegel, 30/2000, p. 115)

Another lexical means of explanation is to translate from English into German within the sentence. To do this, the author directly draws attention to the English origin of the word:

"Assange hat die Internetplattform wikileaks.org gegründet ... ‘leak’ wie das englische Wort für undichte Stelle.”  
(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 82)

"‘Femalismus,’ abgeleitet vom englischen Wort ,female‘ ..."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2000, p. 76)

Again, the author can create distance to the Anglicism:

"Häuslichkeit, neudeutsch „Cocooning” genannt, gilt als letzter Schrei …"  
(Der Spiegel, 21/1990, p. 259)

Another commonly found approach is to mention the group of people that are associated with the English term, or known for using it actively:

"‘Grow or perish,’ wachse oder vergehe, nennen amerikanische Manager dieses erarmungslose, aber die Warenmenge stetig mehrende Gesetz des Kapitalismus."

(Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 143)

"Der Macher selber nennt es ‘spectacle’ ..." (Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 265)

"Die ‘Story’, wie Analysten zu sagen pflegen, hat Phantasie."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2000, p. 69)

To sum up, Anglicisms and English expressions are highlighted in Der Spiegel by various graphemic and lexical means. The reason might either be to provide explanation, and therefore, enhancement of comprehension with the reader. On the other hand, highlighting can be used to create distance between the author and the used expression.

As far as the link between highlighting and integration of English loanwords is concerned, Fink (1970) interprets the absence of such highlighting tools as a sign of integration in progress (p. 152). In his material, even newly introduced Anglicisms were less often highlighted than formerly ascertained by Zindler (1958). Nevertheless, the above mentioned examples from Der Spiegel seems to demonstrate that the press still holds a pedagogic function in the introduction and explanation of foreign words. In this respect, Yang’s conclusions can be corroborated at this point.

5.2 Orthographic and grammatical integration

5.2.1 Orthographic integration

The very first moment a foreign word is used in another language, it is subject to grammatical integration. This is inevitable since otherwise the word could not be incorporated into a sentence or utterance (Zürn, 2001, p. 170), but would awkwardly stick out like a foreign body. Which orthographic and grammatical categories are exactly subject to change depends on the word class to which the English loanword belongs. Thus, English verbs are usually attributed typical German verb endings for the various conjugational forms. Adjectival Anglicisms, on the other hand, are normally integrated into the flectional pattern of German.
And last but not least, English nouns that are borrowed into German are assigned the three grammatical categories of gender, number, and case.

In this context, the grammatical integration of any one Anglicism appears to be more salient than the adaptation to German spelling. Zürn mentions the possibility that some English terms retain their original spelling over a long period of time, therewith ‘resisting’ orthographic integration into German (p. 170). Examples from my corpus such as Container, Deal or Show affirm this claim. Even though borrowed into the German language in the middle of the 20th century (DH), all of these words retained their obvious non-German spelling.16

**a. Upper case and lower case.** According to Langner, in many of the descriptive dictionaries of German there are no universally valid rules for the spelling of English loanwords (p. 65), which leads to the question whether the degree of integration of an Anglicism can be really measured on the basis of its spelling.

Carstensen (1965), on the other hand, argues that the capitalization of a foreign word is an indicator of its integration in the recipient language (p. 34). He continues saying that the lower case spelling is predominantly found with either unknown words such as cash flow or lean production, or vogue expressions that have been in use for a short period of time (p. 34).

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16 In the case of die Show, the surrogate term die Schau already existed when the English term was introduced. However, ever since, the English term now covers the meaning ‘demonstrative display’ of its German equivalent, restricting the former one’s usage to compounds or fixed expressions such as die Modenschau (Eng. fashion show) or das Schaufenster (Engl. shop window, display).
Table 10
Lower case spelling of nominal Anglicisms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>loanword</th>
<th>Amount of loanwords (tokens) found per decade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>automatic shutoff nozzle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big deal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black smoker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>business-to-business</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coasting phase</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark matter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>failed state</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final option</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flow-re Restrictor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good governance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>holy grail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>learning by doing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legal closure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lovely boy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low-flow shower head</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mad cow (-disease)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magic tree</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re-enactor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run-off-Methode/-Wasser</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silly talking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>special relationship</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>special-Reportage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spectacle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>split screen</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stock options</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hydro vigilante</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>webmiles</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the corpus of this study, the vast majority of nominal Anglicisms were spelled in upper case. Carstensen came to the same conclusion in his study in 1965. He called the capitalization of English loanwords in German a „matter of course” (translated, p. 34). In the Spiegel corpus of this study, only 29 nominal Anglicisms (types) show lower case spelling. These account for 0.84% of all the types in the corpus. Yang counts in his study 50 types of that kind, which account for 1.37% of his corpus. Thus, there has been a quite considerable drop in the number of Anglicisms that are printed exclusively in lower case letters. Furthermore, each of the lower case spelled Anglicisms was only used once in the entire investigation period. This outcome corroborated Yang’s observation that those nominal Anglicisms are not capitalized, which are either used for the very first time or extremely rarely (p. 163).

Non-capitalized nouns include terms that refer to abstract concepts such as final option, legal closure, good governance, or learning by doing. The number of nouns with an all-lower case spelling was higher in 1990 (9x) than in 2000 (8x), and 2010 (4x). Zürn ascertains that this way of spelling affects especially recently borrowed terms and abstract concepts or ideas (p. 172). However, the findings in the corpus of the present study indicate that there is a general tendency towards upper case spelling over lower case spelling. This might be correlated to the average higher proficiency of English among readers of Der Spiegel (cf. chapter on readership of Der Spiegel).

In addition, there seem to be underlying principles for the upper case spelling. Compounds that contain an English noun followed by at least one German noun are usually capitalized. For instance, there are Mad-Cow-Syndrom, Sale-and-lease-back-Geschäft (-business), Trial-and-Error-Prinzip (-principle), or Fun-fun-Raster (-pattern). As can be seen, word classes other than nouns can still be found in lower case. There is for instance run-off-Wasser (-water), Zero-out-Funktion, and Fifty-fifty-Verhältnis (-ratio).
Zürn also draws attention to fluctuation in capitalization of English nouns in German (p. 171). This is also the case for this study. One such example is Joint-venture (1990) and Joint Venture (2000). This fluctuation in the spelling of English nouns is not correlated to time. Cases of irregular spelling cover the entire investigation period.

Despite the many irregularities, the general tendency leads towards capitalization. Thus, in 2010 there are expressions like Collateral Murder, Light Version, Vital Signs, and Live-Bild. Interestingly, English adjectives in compounds with English nouns are capitalized as well. This might be due to the fact that the writers of Der Spiegel perceive the whole nominal group as a noun, and therefore capitalize it according to the German spelling rules. The individual elements of the compound are then lexicalized, and become part of the whole compound. This process can also be illustrated in the spelling of compounds. In some cases, where there used to be a hyphen to connect two parts of a compound, there is now one single word: Come-back and Comeback, Show-down and Showdown, or Lay-out and Layout.

As far as the connection between capitalization and the degree of integration is concerned, Zifonun (2002) notes:

Ein erster leichter Integrationsschritt ist die Substantivgroßschreibung; sie markiert in der Regel den Übergang vom Zitieren eines englischen Wortes zum Verwenden eines englisch-amerikanischen Fremdwortes im Deutschen

(The capitalization of English nouns is a first small step towards integration; it usually represents the transition from quoting to usage of an English-American foreign word in German). (p. 5)

In this light, the preliminary considerations about a possible connection between spelling and integration can be phrased as follows: The examples presented in this paragraph illustrated the absence of any governing rules in the upper case and lower case spelling of English compound nouns in Der Spiegel. However, there are tendencies that can be discerned, which
might develop into rules in the future. It is therefore more suitable to speak of principles that influence the capitalization of English nouns in the German sentence.

b. Orthographical variants. Another aspect of spelling that might be an indicator for integration concerns the so-called variants. Variants are two different spellings of one and the same English term, as found in the pairs *Club* vs. *Klub*, *Boss* vs. *Boß*, and *Shock* vs. *Schock*. Zürn explains the presence of those variants as the result of differing levels of phonetic and graphemic integration of the Anglicism in question (p. 173).

Yang (1990) states in his research that with the exception of capitalization most of the Anglicisms in his corpus have retained their original spelling (p. 163). Among the few Anglicisms the ‘German’ spelling of which differs from the original English one, Yang lists four groups of graphemic substitution.

The first group contains German *<ß>* instead of English *<ss>*. Yang mentions words such as *Streß*, *Busineß*, *Boß*, *Fitneß*, *Dreß*, *Hosteß*, *Miß*, and *Stewardeß* (p. 164). In my corpus, the words *Boß* (3x), *Bergarbeiterboß*17 (2x), and *Fitneß-Klub* (1x), are the only Anglicisms with the *ß*-spelling. All these variants were found in the issues of the year 1990, but not in 2000 or 2010. In the later years of the investigation period, the older *ß*-spelling was without exception replaced by *<ss>*. Fink (1970) ascertains in his investigation that the use of *<ß>* instead of English *<ss>* declines in the two German youth magazines *Bravo* and *Freizeitmagazin*. Zürn draws attention to the spelling reform in German from 1998 that established a series of rules for the spelling of German words (p. 176). According to this reform, consonants that preceded a short vowel must be geminated. It is this prescriptive rule which can be regarded as the driving force behind the decline in English *ß*-variants in *Der Spiegel*. This explains in the same way the spelling of German *Stopp* and *Tipp* in the corpus. However, there are certain Anglicisms that have not undergone this gemination. There are

17 Literally *mineworker boss*, person in charge over mineworkers.
findings like *Flop, Shop, Chip, Pop, Plot, Put, Rap,* or the prefix *Top-* in the corpus, which all defy gemination.

The second group of English variants comprises the substitution of English `<c>` by German `<k>`. Again, Yang’s findings from the pre-spelling reform years (1950-1980) are remarkably more numerous than the findings in this study. Examples of this kind of graphemic integration are: *Klub vs. Club, Klan vs. Clan,* or *Disko vs. Disco,* to mention only a few. Interestingly, while there was a variation in the spelling of *Club/Klub* in the issues from 1990, findings of the same ‘variant’ in more recent issues of *Der Spiegel* were devoid of such a variation in spelling. In 2000 and 2010, the former variant was exclusively found in the original English spelling *Club, Recorder* and *Handicap* which, compared to Yang’s earlier findings, do show a revival of the original `c`-spelling.

Into the same category as the one just mentioned falls the variation between `<sch>` and `<sh>`. When borrowed into German, the English clusters `<sh>` or `<ch>` are oftentimes replaced by German `<sch>`. In accordance with Yang’s results, this kind of substitution only occurs with the words *Scheck, Schock,* and *Schocker* in the corpus. In all the other cases, the English spelling dominates: *Cash, Check, Establishment, Fashion, Screenshot, Shampoo, Shareholder, Sheriff, Shirt, Shop, Shorts, Show, Shrimp, Shutter, Shuttle, Squash, Trash,* and *Troubleshooter.*

The last group of graphemic substitution involves the replacement of English written monophthongs by German diphthongs. Yang mentions as the only two examples of his study *Streik/strike* and *kraulen/crawl* (p. 164). In this corpus, there was only one representative of this sort of graphemic alteration, namely *Streik* and the derived verb *streiken.* Representations such as *Schau* for *show* seem not to have asserted themselves. In this case, the English spelling is preferred over the German substitution.
### Table 11
Variation in spelling of Anglicisms in German

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>spelling variation</th>
<th>Amount of variants (tokens) found per decade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; ß &gt; vs. &lt; ss &gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boß</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boss</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitneß</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitness</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; p &gt; vs. &lt; pp &gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tip</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipp</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; k &gt; vs. &lt; c &gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handikap</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handicap</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kassette</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassette</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klan</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klick</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Click</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klub</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kode</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komfort</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comfort</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rekorder</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recorder</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; sch &gt; vs. &lt; sh &gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schau</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Show</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; ei &gt; vs. &lt; i &gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streik</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strike</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Yang, variants such as Klub, Schock, or Komfort have been integrated better into the German orthographical system than those Anglicisms that retained their original spelling, like Computer, Camping, or Talkshow (p. 164f). The validity of this assumption has to be questioned. As demonstrated, the German spelling reform from 1998 has caused changes in the spelling of many Anglicisms that made them appear more closely integrated into the German spelling system. However, this change was fostered by prescriptive external factors, which can hardly be taken as a measurement of natural integration. By looking at the data of my corpus, it becomes clear that in some instances the writers of Der Spiegel resort to the English spelling of the word (e.g. Club, Videoclip etc.). For this reason, one has to be careful when assessing the integration of an English loanword on the basis of its spelling.\(^{18}\)

5.2.2 Grammatical integration

After having explored the orthographical integration of English loanwords in Der Spiegel, we will now concern ourselves with the grammatical integration. Depending on the word class to which an Anglicism belongs, grammatical integration can be noticed by many means.

In order not to go beyond the scope of discussion, in the following only the integration of the Anglicisms into the inflectional pattern of German will be discussed.

5.2.3 Nominal loanwords

According to Heller (2002), the integration of a loanword takes place the very moment the term is used in the recipient language (p. 192). In the case of nominal Anglicisms in

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\(^{18}\) Before being published, articles in a magazine such as Der Spiegel undergo a series of editorial processes, which might be the reason for certain variations in spelling. It would be useful to compare the spelling of variants in articles with their graphemic representation in blogs, where a more ‘natural’ language is employed.
German, this immediate integration can be recognized by the assignment of one of the three grammatical genders, the plural marking, and the declensional pattern.

The vast majority of Anglicisms in the corpus of this study are nouns. Though closely related in many respects, English and German are still fundamentally different as far as inflection is concerned. It should therefore be of importance to explore how German inflects its Anglicisms. In order to do this, we will investigate the marking of plural in the findings from *Der Spiegel*.

By citing Sörensen, Zürn states that the plural of English loanwords is first formed the way it is formed in English, namely with the plural marker –s. In some rare cases, Zürn continues saying, a second form of the plural develops that is in accordance to the rules of the linguistic system of German (p. 188).

The nominal material in the present corpus can be divided into three groups, with regard to plural markers: English plural suffix, German plural suffix, or varying plural suffixes.

Most of the Anglicisms in the *Spiegel* corpus form their plural the same way it is done in English. Thus, we find an immense amount of English nouns that form their plural with the English plural suffix <-s>, like Copyshops, Tricks, Deals, Joint-ventures, Slums, Toasts, Tests, Klubs, Bars, Singles, Gästeshows, Underdogs, Jets, Meetings, Streiks, Bands, Gags, Bluffs, Fußballrowdys, Townships, Kandidatenmatches, Combos, Highlights, Starmodels, etc. Acronyms of English words are always assigned the plural-s: CDs, VIPs, and PCs. Other than in English, the s-suffix in the plural forms of English acronyms is never spelled with an apostrophe. It is interesting that the plural of Computer in *Der Spiegel* is formed by a zero allomorph, whereas the plural of the acronym PC (Personalcomputer) is formed with the suffix <-s>.

"Doch das Netz funktioniert nur, wenn alle Server-Computer stets über dieselben Informationen darüber verfügen können ..." (Der Spiegel, 11/2010, p. 293)
"Im E-Mail-Fach ... fanden sich zwei Screenshots von PCs aus der Staatskanzlei."


In this respect, the zero-plural marking of English nouns that end in <-er> can be taken as an instance of grammatical integration, since German proceeds the same way with native nouns (e.g. der Lehrer, the teacher – die Lehrer, the teachers). Accronyms such as PC or DVD, however, do not seem to be Germanized to the same degree.19

Another fluctuation in the marking of plural of Anglicisms in Der Spiegel concerns words whose singular form ends in <y>. According to Carstensen (1982) and Find (1970), there are no rules for the formation of English loanwords of this kind. Thus, earlier studies revealed instances of fluctuation between the two plurals Hobbies and Hobbys (cf. Zürn, 2001, p. 190). Yang’s findings reveal this kind of fluctuation for the Anglicisms Hobby, Lady, Party, Story, whereas similar words (e.g. Baby, Bobby, and Shorty) are only represented in the plural forms ending in <-ys> (1990, p. 160).

In the corpus of this study, for the following Anglicisms only plurals with <-ys> could be found.

"Ihre Chips sind doch nur ein Rohstoff, ohne den Computer, Handys, Herzschrittmacher oder Waschmaschinen nun mal nicht funktionieren."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2010, p. 119)

"Bei Partys und Empfängen läßt sich kaum noch einer der Gäste zitieren oder fotografieren ..."

(Der Spiegel, 30/1990, p. 120)

"Doch es gab keine Babys außer den zwei heute elf und neun Jahre alten Kindern des Ehepaares K."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 88)

"... und alle Ladys sehen aus wie Nofretete."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 252)

"… und dabei auch eine der Cyber-Citys besucht."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 218)

19 But again, this could be misleading since German treats native acronyms the same way. For instance, there is variation in the plural of LKW (short for Lastkraftwagen, truck): LkWs vs. LkW.
The only English loanword with varying plural markers in the corpus is Story.

"Keine der untersuchten Sendungen vernachlässigt die Politik zu Gunsten von Storys über Sex & Crime, ..."  
(Der Spiegel, 30/2000, p. 110)

"Tatsächlich ist in diesen 18 ‘Stories’ kaum etwas gesichert ..."  
(Der Spiegel, 11/2010, p. 142)

However, the quotation marks suggest that the word itself was quoted directly, without any alteration, from the original title of the book it refers to. Judged by the given examples, a tendency towards the ys-plural is discernable. Eisenberg (2001) states for the s-plural in general:

Besides proper names the s-plural goes with abbreviations, with short terms, with plurisyllabic words ending in an open unstressed syllable with a full vowel and with some related classes of nouns. (p. 134)

As far as the correlation between the plural marker and the degree of integration is concerned, Eisenberg continues:

For anglicisms it would be ‘functional’ to preserve the s-plural as long as the word is not well known and accepted in German and should therefore be used with one and only one stem form. (p. 134)

Zifonun (2001), however, cautions not to take this functional plural marker as an indicator of a high level of integration. According to her, the s-plural is simply a typical plural suffix for foreign words in German (p. 5).

Another way to mark the plural of an English word is by adding a German plural suffix. In this context, Yang mentions the German plural markers –en, -e, as well as the zero allomorph (p. 160). In the corpus of the study at hand, one finds Analysten, Investoren, Lokomotiven, Touristen as examples for the first, and Bosse for the latter one. A great number of animate nouns that designate professions or the like are formed according to German rules by means of a zero allomorph. Some examples for the zero allomorph from the corpus are:
Banker, Blogger, Börsen-Boomer, Boxer, Farmer, Hardliner, Insider, Kidnapper, Manager, Partner, Reporter, Trendsetter, Troubleshooter, User, and Computer. As can be seen in the case of Computer, not only animate nouns, but all nouns that end on –er form their ‘German’ plural by virtue of the zero allomorph.

A third group of Anglicisms forms their plural irregularly in German. Apart from the already mentioned <-ys>/<-ies> variation, Yang draws attention to a series of other English loanwords in his corpus that have two plural forms in German (p. 160). Among these words are some that are oftentimes mentioned in the literature, such as Test(-s, -e) or Lift(-s, -e) (cf. Yang, p. 160). However, in the present corpus there is no indication of this sort of fluctuation. Eisenberg (2001) mentions:

German anglicisms ending in –er and selecting the masculine for whatever reason are expected to take the so-called zero plural. These words are fully integrated in that they behave like the respective nouns from the core vocabulary (der Eimer – die Eimer, der Denker – die Denker). (p. 134)

5.2.4 Verbal loanwords

Verbal Anglicisms constitute the second most numerous group of words in the present corpus. However, compared to the number of nominal English loanwords, verbs seem to play only a marginal role within the borrowing process. Haspelmath (2008) describes the borrowing of verbs as difficult, since they have to be incorporated into the inflectional system of the recipient language (p. 8). Compared to nouns, where inflection according to the four grammatical cases in German is accomplished by the adding of suffixes, borrowed verbs have to undergo a more complicated process before they can be used as such within a German sentence.
At first, the integration process for verb stems involves the formation of the typical German infinitive form of the verb, which always ends in \(<-n>\).\(^{20}\) Thus, we can distinguish the following classes of verbal Anglicisms:

- **a.** ausflippen, bloggen, bluffen, boomen, boxen, chatt en, dippen, dopen, faxen, filmen, fisten, flirten, floppen, hacken, interviewen, jetten, jobben, joggen, kicken, killen, klicken, liften, einloggen, lynchen, managen, mixen, mobben, outen, parken, aufpeppen, poppen, posten, rocken, scannen, schocken, sprinten, starten, stoppen, streiken, surfen, tanken, testen, ticken, tippen, toasten, tricksen, zoomen

- **b.** boykottieren, budgetieren, digitalisieren, exportieren, importieren, investieren, tätowieren, trainieren

- **c.** chartern, kontern, lasern, ordern, pokern, twittern

- **d.** doublen, modelln, recyceln

- **e.** click & buy, copy and paste, grow or perish, print on demand

As can be deduced from this list, the most productive formation in the borrowing process of English verbs is the assignment of the -en-ending, followed by the popular -ieren-ending, and finally the slightly less productive –ern-, and -eln-ending. The verbs in the fifth group above are not productively used, and therefore, could only be found in set phrases, such as:

"Aus 2000 Statisten machten die Computerexperten per ‘Copy and Paste’ eine Volksmasse von 35 000 Menschen"  
(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 225)

Unfortunately, Yang does not give a detailed list of his verbal findings, so that a diachronic comparison between the productiveness of different German verbal endings cannot be made here. However, comparisons can still be made on the basis of the conjugational patterns of English verbs in Der Spiegel.

\(^{20}\) The only exception is the infinitive of the verb *sein* (Eng. *to be*).
Yang states that all the verbs in his corpus followed the weak declension (p. 162). The weak declension in German includes the adding of the prefix *ge-* and the adding of the suffix *<-t>* to the stem of the verb in order to form its past participle:

"Schon 1988 ist er in 40 Tagen von den Kanaren nach Trinidad **gejoggt**."  
(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 289)

"... der sich in der Millenium-Umfrage des SPIEGEL als 'Künstler des 21. Jahrhunderts' **geoutet** hat, ..."  
(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 268)

"... und auch die Bundesdruckerei habe reihenweise neue Maschinen **geordert**."  
(Der Spiegel, 21/2010, p. 68)

Interestingly, *recyceln*, even though it shares the same infinitival ending, does not follow the same formation pattern for the past participle. Instead, only the suffixal *<-t>* is attached to the root of the verb.

"Abwasser wird im Irak kaum gereinigt, geschweige denn **recycelt**."  
(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 111)

The reason for the lack of a *ge-*prefix is based on the fact that *recycelt* already contains the foreign prefix *<re-*.

English verbs that are formed with the *ieren*-suffix, form their participles likewise through the addition of *<-t>* to the end of the stem of the verb:

"Die **budgetierten** Kosten beliefen sich auf zwei Milliarden Dollar."  
(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 94).

"Er habe ein Fitness-Studio besucht, mit einem Bekannten **trainiert**, ..."  
(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 72).

Another apparent feature of English verbs in German is the orthographic gemination of consonant letters in final position. Thus we find forms such as the above mentioned ones.

With reference to nouns from which the verbs derived, Eisenberg (2001) writes that „the verb stem and the respective noun stem often differ in that the former exposes gemination whereas
the latter does not" (p. 131). As an example for this phenomenon, Eisenberg presents the different spellings of the noun *Job* and its respective verb *jobben*. He concludes that "such spelling difference is not permitted in the core vocabulary, [and therefore] marks a stem as alien" (p. 131).

5.2.5 Adjectival loanwords

Adjectives represent the third largest group of Anglicisms in the corpus. According to Yang, they can be categorized in two distinct groups: Adjectives that can solely be used as predicates, and adjectives that can be used as both predicates and attributes.

The predicatively used adjective in German is invariant, that is, there is only one form, regardless of the gender or number of the noun to which it refers. This basic form does not have any suffix:

"Das ist nur fair." (Der Spiegel, 30/2000, p. 19)

A higher degree of integration might be attributed to the adjective, when it is used as an attribute that precedes a noun. In this case, the adjective has to bear a specific ending that agrees with gender, number, and case of the noun to which it is assigned. In this respect, the English adjective can be regarded as being fully integrated into the German system of adjectival inflection.\(^{21}\)

In the following, the Anglicism *digital* serves as an example to demonstrate the usage of English adjectives as attributes:

[genitive, masculine, singular]

"... die Langsamkeit der Politik und die Tücken der digitalen Welt."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 9)

[dative, neuter, singular]

"Über die Kunst des Müßiggangs im digitalen Zeitalter."

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\(^{21}\) An overview of the inflectional pattern of German adjectives can be found in table 12 in the appendix section.
Except for a very few exceptions, the integration of English adjectives into the inflectional system of German is without any problems.

However, the complete integration of adjectival Anglicisms that end in a vowel proves problematic. Adjectives from the corpus such as happy, tabu, trendy, tricky, and sexy cannot be used as attributes in all instances. Compare the following examples:

"… ‘Frauen lügen besser’ zeigte sie als frustrierte Lektorin, die sich in eine sexy Hexy verwandelt."  

"... lieber als ein Arzt wäre dem leidenschaftlichen Jogger freilich ‘eine sexy Ärztin’"  

In both examples, the adjective stays unchanged, even though the grammar demands an e-suffix in this specific attribute-object constellation. In these cases (nominative, singular, feminine), the use of the invariable form of sexy might be accepted. However, in other instances, the use of the same form of the adjective would be regarded as ungrammatical:

* Ich gab dem happy Mädchen einen Ballon.*

Zürn (2001) explains that some English adjectives are not inflected in German, because the outcome would sound too ‘cumbersome’ (p. 206). Since the usage of this kind of English adjective is restricted to a few instances, they cannot be considered as fully integrated into
German. Haspelmath (2001) elaborates on the limitations of adjective borrowing by saying that the „borrowability” of different parts of speech depends highly on the differences in the part-of-speech systems between the donor and the recipient language (p. 8). Since German and English differ quite substantially in the way they treat attributive adjectives, borrowability is rather restricted.

It might be due to this restricted usage of y-adjectives that mixed compounds modeled on the original English term are coined. Among the many Anglicisms in the Spiegel corpus, there are mixed compounds such as spleenig, trickreich, trending, and tabuisiert, which are used in constructions that are barred to their English equivalents spleeny, tricky, trendy, and tabu. The following examples demonstrate the preference in usage of mixed compounds over English simplex adjectives:

"Sie wollen daher die jahrzehntelang tabuisierte französische Nuklearpolitik von einer Arbeitsgruppe überprüfen lassen." (Der Spiegel, 30/2000, p. 119)

"Seit 1997 ermittelte Maier gegen ... den trickreichen Lobbyisten ..." (Der Spiegel, 30/2000, p. 33)

"Ewald Lienen, sperriger und ... auch etwas spleeniger Trainer des 1. FC Köln ..." (Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 238)

5.2.6 Adverbial loanwords

In the literature, little to no attention is paid to borrowed English adverbials. This might be due to their rather unspectacular graphemic and grammatical features. In German,

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22 The same problem can be found in the attributive use of adjectives of non-English origin that end on vowels, such as lila (purple) or rosa (pink). The problem can be avoided by adding a German suffix such as -farben (...colored), which allows inflection.

23 The same problem applies to comparison of adjectives such as sexy. The comparative form *sexier* and the superlative *am sexiesten* are perceived by native speakers of German as highly ungrammatical. There is only one instance in the corpus of such a usage: “Man wählte sie zur ‘schönsten Frau der Welt,’ zum ‘größten Sex-Symbol aller Zeiten,’ zur ‘sexisten Frau der Welt.’” (Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 119). However, the ‘incorrect’ form of sexy is preceded by two German equivalents (i.e., größten and schönsten) that balance out its ungrammaticality.
most of the adverbs derive directly from adjectives, and usually immediately precede or follow the adjective or adverb to which they refer. In all of the nine *Spiegel* articles from the entire investigation period, there are only seven adverbials: *cool, digital, fair, live, offline, online,* and *inklusive.* In the case of the first six, the form of each of the adverbs corresponds exactly with the forms of the respective adjectives.

"Im vorigen Jahr konnte man die Staatliche Abwrackprämie ... noch online bestellen."

(Der Spiegel 30/2010, p. 134)

"... und zieht cool an seiner 'original deutschen’ Zigarettenspitze."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 98)

"SPIEGEL ONLINE berichtet live und analysiert die Schwächen der Regierung Rüttgers."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2010, p. 153)

The adverbial *inklusive,* however, differs in its graphemic representation from the respective adjective *inklusiv:*

"Ich war der Hauptkontakt für das ganze palästinensische Netzwerk aus Parteien und Organisationen, inklusive der Terrorzellen."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2010, p. 100)

This chapter demonstrates to which degree nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs can be integrated into the orthographical and grammatical system of German. It becomes obvious that German Anglicisms are not always smoothly integrated into the core inflectional system of the language. There are some frictions, and the English nouns might even help to induce a more serious systematic change. With respect to the German inflectional system, the influence of English is still marginal compared to the deep changes of the derivational and inflectional system caused by Latin and French (Eisenberg, 2001, p. 134).

This is because the grammar of a language such as German is a relatively closed system that only allows for changes to a small extent. These changes can only be observed over a longer period of time than the investigation period of this study.
6. CONCLUSIONS

The present work systematically analyzed the usage of Anglicisms (Americanisms and Briticisms) in the German newsmagazine Der Spiegel with respect to their frequency, semantics, and integration into the grammatical system of the German language. In this respect, the present study is a follow-up study of Yang’s research on the same magazine for the time period between 1950 and 1980.

For this purpose, three issues, namely nr. 11, 21, and 30, from each of the years 1990, 2000, and 2010, were read manually. The corpus accumulated is comprised of a total of 1,024 pages. A series of qualitative and quantitative analyses yielded the following results:

1. The lexical impact of English on the language used in Der Spiegel is enormous. Taking into consideration Yang’s result from the time period 1950 to 1980, a steady increase in the total number of used Anglicisms in the magazine can be ascertained. This outcome corroborated the leading role of Der Spiegel among German speaking newsmagazines in terms of adoption and usage of English loanwords. The corpus of this study comprises of not less than 7,128 Anglicisms (tokens). This equals an average frequency of almost seven Anglicisms per page in Der Spiegel. This rate is almost double as high as the one Yang ascertained in his study in 1990. The frequency of Anglicisms per page is subject to fluctuation when compared on a year by year basis. However, the overall trend is a continual increase in the average number of tokens per page. Sole exception is the issues from the year 2000, where the highest frequency of Anglicisms per page was registered in the entire investigation period. This can be explained by the historical background, which saw a series of technological inventions in the field of communication. Innovations such as the Internet and the computer contributed to the influx of English loanwords into the German language.
Various findings of new Anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* are witnesses of this linguistic development. In terms of type-token-ratio of each English loanword, there has been a steady growth in the period from 1950 till 2010 as well. The biggest leap was registered between the years 1980 and 1990, which, again, can probably be explained by the already starting development in telecommunication. As far as word classes are concerned, nominal Anglicisms constitute the most numerous group of all registered Anglicisms (tokens) with 95.94%. By comparison, only 2.32% of all the registered Anglicisms were verbs, followed by adjectival loanwords, which represented 1.55% of the corpus. Adverbs accounted for 0.19% of all tokens and were therewith the least numerous group of Anglicisms in the corpus. This hierarchy in the numbers of findings concurs with the outcomes of Yang’s study, and appears to be a universal phenomenon of linguistic borrowing in the literature. With regard to types, the same picture can be drawn. However, while Yang (1990) determined in his study that the number of English adjectives (68 types) surpasses that of verbs (64 types), the present study reveals the opposite. In recent times, verbal Anglicisms seem to be borrowed in greater numbers (118 types) than adjectival ones (100 types), suggesting that verbs play a more vital role in the borrowing process than adjectives. This tendency can be related to the difficulty in the inflection of English adjectives in German (e.g. *sexy* - *sexier* - *am sexiesten*), compared to the relatively easy integration of verbal Anglicisms into the inflectional system.

As for the thematic categories in *Der Spiegel*, the frequency of Anglicisms per page differs greatly in the different categories. With 24.1 tokens per page, the genre ‘sports’ features the highest such frequency, followed by ‘culture and education’ (17.8), ‘economy and finance’ (14.2), ‘sciences and technology’ (11.8), and finally ‘politics and society’ (7.4). Like in Yang’s study, the language of ‘sports’ is most prone to the usage of English word material, whereas ‘sciences and technology’ and ‘politics and society’ turned out to be the two genres that are least hospitable to English loanwords. The remaining two thematic categories
switched in order. The present study showed that the thematic category of ‘culture and education’ has surpassed ‘economy and finances’ in terms of frequency of usage.

The following terms have an extremely high frequency of occurrence: Film (310x), Internet (294x), Konzern (224x), Computer (202x), Partner (138x), Manager (130x), Star (130x), TV (102x). A total of 151 Anglicisms in the corpus were used more than ten times. Many of Yang’s most frequently used findings could not be found in equally high numbers in the corpus of the present study. Words such as Komfort, HiFi, and Kassette, which showed a frequency of more than 100 times in Yang’s corpus, did appear only in extremely low numbers or not at all in Spiegel articles between 1990 and 2010. On the other hand, a great number of English loans such as Software, CD, or online that were not as prominent in Yang’s study, appear now among the most frequently used ones. Yet others seem to have persisted and still play a vital role in the vocabulary employed by the writers of Der Spiegel (e.g. Film, Konzern, Computer, Partner, Manager, Export, Service, Test, etc.). This shows that a high frequency of one word is not an indicator for its future usage. English, as well as German, terms and expressions depend too much on the need of the speech community to use them. Thus, the invention of the Internet created the need to refer to concepts and ideas that the German language had no words for. An influx in the number of Anglicisms at that time was the logical consequence. On the other hand, the increasing use of the CD as a medium led to dwindling usage of cassettes, in real life as well as in the written language of Der Spiegel.

2. The qualitative part of this study showed that most of the Anglicisms in the corpus are polysemous in English, but are only used in one or two of their meanings in Der Spiegel. Furthermore, some of the English loanwords have undergone change in meaning, which did not occur in the same way in English. The changing of meaning appeared in the form of semantic broadening, narrowing, or shift. Ten high-frequency Anglicisms from the corpus were chosen to exemplify change of meaning of English loanwords in German. Today, discrepancies in meaning between English words and their equivalent representation in
German (Anglicism) are evidence of the necessity of lexical borrowing in order to fill lexical gaps. For instance, German Baby competes with the words Säugling (Eng. infant) and Kleinkind (Eng. toddler). However, none of these terms is synonymous to one another. The Anglicism carries notions that its ‘competitors’ are devoid of, and therefore, fills a gap in this specific lexical field. Another example is the English word Farmer, which did not replace its near-synonymous German terms Bauer and Landwirt. In Der Spiegel, the Anglicism is restricted in its usage to agricultural matters outside of Germany. Along with this, Anglicisms oftentimes bear additional or different connotations that set them apart from their closest German equivalent expressions.

3. With regard to the grammatical integration of Anglicisms, most of Yang’s findings could be substantiated. The study at hand showed that the majority of English loanwords were adjusted to the German flectional system. Only some exceptional cases could be found in the Spiegel corpus, in which Anglicisms defied integration.

All animate and inanimate nouns ending with –er form their plural with the typical German zero allomorph. Nevertheless, there is also a series of nouns that take the s-plural – a highly productive plural marker in English, which is restricted in German to a small group of nouns.\(^\text{24}\)

As for verbal Anglicisms, all of them in the corpus form the infinitive with the typical n-ending. Furthermore, almost all the verbs were found to be inflected according to the German inflectional pattern of weak verbs, that is, the stem of the past participle bore the ge-prefix and the suffixal –t. This is less complex of a change than the alternative, where strong verbs typically undergo internal vowel changes, and parallels tendencies in the change in past formation of formerly strong verbs in German.\(^\text{25}\) The verb recyceln represents the only exception to this rule in the corpus. A lack of integration is recognizable with some of the

\(^\text{24}\) This concerns internationalisms such as Auto, Kino, Pizza, Radio, Zoo, and other nouns that end in a vowel (e.g. Klo, toilette).

\(^\text{25}\) Compare the two past participles of backen (to bake): buk and backte (both meaning ‘baked’).
Adjectival Anglicisms in the corpus. Adjectives ending in –y, like *sexy, trendy, or tricky*, proved to be problematic when forming the comparative in German. In such cases, an equivalent mixed compound, comprised of the English stem of the adjective and a German adjective ending (e.g. *trickreich, spleenig*), was preferred in Der Spiegel. The lack of grammatical integration is correlated to a low frequency in usage of the Anglicisms in question.

The integration of English loanwords into the orthographical system of German appears to be opposed to grammatical integration. In this study, a trend from the Germanized spelling of Anglicisms toward their original English spelling could be ascertained. Therefore, the present study corroborates Yang’s statement that the English spelling is usually preferred over the German one (1990, p. 161). Usually, the lack of integration into the orthographical system of German is not correlated with usage frequency of the respective terms. Hence, formerly orthographic variants that have settled on their non-German spelling, such as *Boss, Club, and Code* belong to the most frequently found Anglicisms in Der Spiegel. Nominal Anglicisms in Der Spiegel are, with the exception of 29 tokens, capitalized.

With respect to gemination of final consonants, fewer cases of variation between German spelling and English spelling were registered in this study than in Yang’s. This, however, can be explained by external linguistic factors such as the German spelling reform that became effective in 1998. In general, older Anglicisms tend to be graphemically more integrated than more recently borrowed loanwords.

All in all, this study might have shed at least some light on the usage of English loanwords in one popular written publication of the German press. However, the outcomes of this study are restricted not only to one single medium, but also to the written language. Therefore, it should be stressed anew that these findings can only be interpreted as a reflection of one aspect of the German language. Nevertheless, this follow-up study allows for some careful assertions about the future influence of English on the language of the German press.
Yang (1990) points out that the impact of English on the German language is highly dependent on development within the political, economic, and military relations with the English-speaking world (p. 170). Compared with Yang’s study, the present work has shown that the language in *Der Spiegel* is a reliable tool for the prediction of such future tendencies that concern the numerical representation of English loanwords in the language of the German press. In some instances, it also became clear that the integration of such loanwords into the grammatical system of German does not necessarily correlate with graphemic integration. What is more, this study has demonstrated that the grammatical integration of Anglicisms is a complex phenomenon that includes word formational processes (for instance, the suffixation of English adjectives that are hard to inflect). The relationship between phonological adaptation and orthographical integration could not be explored in this study, since the object of study was a written medium.

The aim of this study was to contribute to the study of loan integration of English words into the German language used in *Der Spiegel*. This rather modest goal has been achieved. At the same time, a couple of questions were raised that relate to German-English language contact, but could not be addressed in the limited scope of the present work. Clearly, more research on the usage of individual loanwords, and their use in other registers of written and spoken media will be of paramount importance. More data from such varied domains on trends in loan integration are most welcome, particularly as technology blurs the bounds between oral and written language (e.g. blogs, tweets, wikis, etc.).
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A

Inflectional pattern of attributive adjectives

The following three tables illustrate the inflectional pattern of German adjective endings when used attributively, as opposed to predicatively, where there is no alteration in the adjective ending, regardless the gender, number, or case the adjective refers to.

Table 12
Inflectional pattern of attributive adjectives in German

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>case</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>der faire</td>
<td>ein faire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>des fairen</td>
<td>eines fairen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>dem fairen</td>
<td>einem fairen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>den fairen</td>
<td>einen fairen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

masculine adjective endings with respect to case

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>case</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>die faire</td>
<td>eine faire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>der fairen</td>
<td>einer faren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>der faren</td>
<td>einer faren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>die faire</td>
<td>eine fare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

feminine adjective endings with respect to case

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>case</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>das faire</td>
<td>ein faires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>des faren</td>
<td>eines fairen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>dem faren</td>
<td>einem fairen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>das faire</td>
<td>ein faires</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

neuter adjective endings with respect to case

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>case</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>das faire</td>
<td>ein faires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>des faren</td>
<td>eines fairen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>dem faren</td>
<td>einem fairen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>das fare</td>
<td>ein faires</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**APPENDIX B**

**Most frequently used loanwords**

The following list shows the loanwords that were found at least ten times (tokens) in the corpus of this study. Each appearance as a simplex as well as part of a compound was counted.

**Table 13**

The most frequent loanwords

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>loanword</th>
<th>Amount of loanwords (tokens) found per decade as simplex and in compounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konzern</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer</td>
<td>202</td>
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<tr>
<td>Partner / Partnerin</td>
<td>138</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manager / Managerin</td>
<td>130</td>
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<tr>
<td>Star</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV / Television</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trainer / Trainerin</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club / Klub</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
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<td>Sex</td>
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<td>Video</td>
<td>73</td>
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<td>Doping</td>
<td>70</td>
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<td>Pop</td>
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<td>Parlament</td>
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<td>Software</td>
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<td>Test</td>
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<td>Deal</td>
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<td>CD / CD-Rom</td>
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<tr>
<td>Container</td>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td>Band</td>
<td>49</td>
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<td>Profi</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training</td>
<td>48</td>
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<tr>
<td>30. Trick</td>
<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>Export</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>Handy</td>
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<td>Chip</td>
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<td>Reporter</td>
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<td>Talk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Investor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boom</td>
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<tr>
<td>stoppen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trend</td>
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<td>40. Investment</td>
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<td>Banker</td>
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<td>Web</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boss / Boß</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baby</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>Laser</td>
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<td>50. Hightech / High-Tech</td>
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APPENDIX C

Entire list of English loanwords

The following list contains all the English loanwords that were found in the issues nr. 11, nr. 21, and nr. 30 from the years 1990, 2000, and 2010 of *Der Spiegel*. The list comprises a total of 3,447 different Anglicisms. Nouns are usually listed in their singular form, and verbs in the infinitive.

Table 14
Complete list of English loanwords

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big deal
Big Oil
Big Schnatterich
Bill of Rights
Billardhalle
Black Box
Info-Blackout
black smoker
Blazer
Blimp
Blind-Date
Blind-Date-Braut
Blind-Date-Kapriolen
Blizzard
Blockbuster-Medikament
Blog
bloggen
Blogger
Blogger-Manifest
Blogger-Text
Blue Box-Methode
Blue Chip
Bluegrass-Ballade
Blues
Bluff
bluffen
Bobweltmeister
Body
Bodybuilder
Bodyguard
Boom
Aktienboom
Bauboom
Boombranche (-Branche)
Boom-Generation
Boommarkt
Boomzeit
Börsenboom
Busboom
Dauer-Boom
Formel-1-Boom
Kuba-Boom
Machandelboom
Malereiboom
Medienboom
Neubau-Boom
Olboom
Super-Boom
boomen
Börsen-Boomer
Beatles-Boots
Borderline
Borderline-Journalismus
Borderline-Mädchen
Boss / Boß
Bergarbeiterboß
CSU-Boss
Disney-Boss
Firmenboss
Ford-Boss
Hollywood-Boss
Industrieboss
Mafia-Boss
Plattenboss
Rudelboss
Siemens-Boss
Stromboss
Vize-Boss
Bourbon
Bowlingbahn
Bowlingcenter
Bowlinghalle
Box
1000-Watt-Box
Boxengasse
Lautsprecherbox
Melkbox
Stahlbox
boxen
durchboxen
Boxen
Boxkampf-Idee
Boxtraining
Boxweltmeister
Thaibox-Champion
Boxer
Berufsboxer
C
CAD-Technik
Cafeteria
Call
Callcenter
Callcenter-Leiter
Callgirl
Camp
Bascamp
Campingplatz
Campingzelt
Ferriencamp
Freizeitcamp
Geheimcamp
Jugendcamp
Militärcamp
Trainingscamp
US-Camp
Formel-1-Camper
Campingplatz
Campingplatz-Idylle
Campus
Campushalle
Capture/Kill-Auftrag
Cargohosen
Cargolifter
Cartoon
Kino-Cartoon
Cartoonist
Cashewbaum
Cashewnussbaum
Cashflow
Cassette
Casting
Casting-Agentur
Catcher
Berufscatcher
Schlamm-Catcher-Arena
CD / CD-Rom
Big Brother-CD
CD-Angebot
CD-Cover
CD-Sortiment
CD-Verkauf
CD-Verkäuferin
Doppel-CD
Musik-CD
Steuer-CD
Steuerhinterzieher-CD
Celebrity-Kultur
Center
Behördencenter
Eros-Center
CEO
Challenger
Champion
DDR-Championjockey
Ex-Champion
NBA-Champion
Champions League
Championsring
Charter
Chartergeschäft
Chartergesellschaft
Chartermaschine
Charterlinie
Charter-Unternehmen
chartern
Chartern
Charts
Album-Charts
Chat
Chat-Log
Chat-Protokoll
Chat-Raum
Chatroom
Chatter-Treffen
chatten
Check
Gesichts-Check
Seelencheck
Checkpoint
Armeen-Checkpoint
Polizei-Checkpoint
Cheerleader
Chicken McNuggets
Chief
Chip
Chip-Austausch
Chipfabrik
Chipfertigung
Chip-Firma
Chip-Gigant
Chipkarte Comic-Zwerg
Chippreis  
Chipsparte  
Chipunternehmen  
Gigahertz-Chip  
Infineon-Chipproduktion  
Infineon-Chipträger  
Logik-Chip  
Mikrochip  
Red Chip  
Speicherschip  
City  
Claim  
Abacha-Clan  
Bush-Clan  
Clan-Mitglied  
Familienclan  
Wagabow-Clan  
Wallenberg-Clan  
clean  
Clearing-Stelle  
clever  
Cleverer  
Fußball-Cleverer  
Click & Buy  
Clinch  
Clip  
Clip-CD  
Clown  
Clownsnase  
Hausclown  
Horror-Clown  
Medienclown  
Pausenclown  
Club / Klub  
Aldina-Clubchef  
Armeesportklub  
Aktienclub  
Anlegerclub  
Buchclub  
Bundesligaklub  
Chaos Computer Club  
Clubauftritt  
Clubdepot  
Clubgaststätte  
Clubhaus  
Clubheim  
Clubkamerad  
Clubspieler  
Country-Club-Republikaner  
Dorfklub  
Fußballclub  
Klubarzt  
Klubchef  
Klubleben  
Klubleiter  
Klubmitglied  
kubtypisch  
Kluburlaub  
Lieblingsclub  
Nachtclub  
NFL-Club  
Privatclub  
Profilclub  
Rio-Club  
Schallplattenclub  
Skatclub  
Sportklub  
Verkehrsclub  
Vorzeigeclub  
"Wetten, dass ...?"-Club  
Cluster  
Cluster-Operation  
Clustertransplantation  
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Coach  
Bundesliga-Coach  
DDR-Coach  
Vereins-Coach  
Wunschcoach  
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Code-Eingabeaufforderung  
Codename  
Codewort  
Codewortmüll  
Geheimcode  
Gencode  
Programm-Code  
Sicherheitscode  
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Codierung  
Coffee-to-go  
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Collateral Murder-Video  
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Combo  
Untergrundcombo  
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Bundesliga-Comeback  
Comeback-Show  
Comeback-Versuch  
Comedy  
Comedy-Erfolg  
Comedy-fähig  
Comedy-Sendung  
Comic  
Comic-Fan  
Comic-Figur  
Comicfigur  
Comic-Held  
Comic-Panel  
Comic-Verlag  
Polit-Comic  
Commander  
Basis-Commander  
Küstenvacht-Commander  
Commodity Exchange Act  
Finanz-Community  
Company  
Platten-Company  
Compassion  
Compliance-Ausschuss  
Compound  
Computer  
Apple-Computer  
Beats-Computerspiel  
BKA-Computer  
Bordcomputer  
computeranimiert  
Computeranlage  
Computerarbeitsplatz  
Computer-Bastler  
Computerbegeisteter  
Computerbetriebsdaten  
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Computerfehler  
Computerfirma  
Computerfreak  
Computergemeinde  
Computergeneration  
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Live-Berichterstattung
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China-Lobby
Klinik-Lobby
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Lobby-Organisation
Pharmalobby
Polen-Lobby
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Wall-Street-Lobby
Wasserversorger-Lobby
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Industrie-Lobbyist
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Logbuch
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CDU-Logo
JVA-Logo
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Mainstream
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Make-up
Management
Baumanagement
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Ford-Management
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Leanmanagement
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 Atommanager
 Auktionsmanager
 Automanager
 Automobilmanager
 Bankmanager
 Bauer-Manager
 Bertelsmann-Manager
 BMW-Manager
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 DDR-Chefmanager
 Dell-Manager
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 Ford-Manager
 Foxconn-Manager
 HGAA-Manager
 Hotelmanager
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 MEN-Manager
 Mercedes-Manager
 Mg-Manager
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 Philips-Manager
 Promotion-Managerin
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 Marketing-Trick
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 Masterplan
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Outdoor-Erlebnisbericht
outen
Outfit
Outlaw-Gehabe
Outperformer
Oval Office
Overall
Weltraumoverall
Overkill

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Fußballpalaver
parken
zuparken
Falschparker
Parkbeleg
Parkplatz
Presseparkplatz
Parlament
Europaparlament
Landesparlament
Parlamentschef
Parlamentskonkurrenz
Parlamentsmehrheit
Parlamentspräsident
Parlamentswahl
Parlamentswoche
Stadtparlament
parlamentarisch
Partner / Partnerin
Ansprechpartner
Bündnispartner
DVR-Kooperationspartner
DVR-Partner
EG-Partner
Ehepartner
Filmpartner
Friedenspartner
Fusionspartner
Geschäftspartner
Gesprächspartner
Handelspartner
Juniortpartner
Klenk-Partner
Koalitionspartner
Kohl-Partner
Langzeitpartner
Lebensabschnittspartner
Lebenspartner
Minderheitspartner
Partnergescellschaft
Partnerland
Partnerstadt
Partner suche
Partnersuchender
Partnervermittlung
Partnerwechsel
Quartett-Partner
Sicherheitspartnerschaft
SPLA-Partner
Tarifpartner
Traumpartner
Verhandlungspartner
Vertragspartner
Westpartner
Wunschpartner
Partnerschaft
partnerschaftlich
Party
Examsenparty
Fastlovend-Party
Garten-Party
Geburtstagsparty
Partyhüte
Partymiezchen
Partystimmung
Party-Time
Partyvolk
Patchwork
Beziehungs-Patchwork
Patchwork-Decke
Patchwork-Identität
Pay-TV
PC
Anti-PC-Bewegung
Büro-PC
Kaufhaus-PC
PC-Chip
PC-Nutzer
PC-Prozessor
PC-Spiel
Peanuts
Peepshow
Penthouse
Pep
aufpeppen
aufgepeppt
peppig
Performance
Klartext-Performance
Performance-Künstler
Performance-Monitoring
Pick-up
piercen
durchgepierct
gepierct
Pint
Pin-up-Girl
Pipeline
Pipeline-Deal
Pitbull-Terrier
Pitchen
Pitchpine-Diele
Vollplayback
Playboy
Player
Playoff-Spiel
Plot
Plotpoint
Plumpudding
Poker
Koalitionspoker
Pokerspiel
Pokerturnier
Preisbanker
pokern
Polo
Polohemd
Pool
Gen-Pool
Pool-Halle
Ressourcenpool
poor
Pop
Ballon-Pop
Deutschpopper
Dramatiker-Britpop
Elitepopper
Pop-Art
Pop-Artisten
Popformat
Pop-Geschichtsschreibung
Popgröße
Popgruppe
Pop-Heiliger
Pop-Heroen
Pop-Ikone
Popklassiker
Popkultur
Pop-Life
Popmusik
Popmusikanten
Popsänger
Pop-Schrebergarten
Popsingle
Popstar
Pop-Sumpfbäume
Pop-Terrorismus
Pop-Terrorist
Pop-Universum
Popwelt
Unterhaltungspop
Popcorn
poppen
posten
Poster
Rock-Lady
Rock-Legende
Rockmusik
Rockmusikfan
Rockoper
Rockschuppen
Rockspektakel
Rock-Star
US-Rockband
rocken
Rocker
Rockertext
Rocker-Weihe
Rock’n’Roll
Rollerblades
Root
Root Server
Roll-on-roll-off (RoRo)
RoRo-Fähre
RoRo-Schiff
Fußballrowdys
Rowdytum
Royal
Running Man
run-off
run-off-Methode
run-off-Wasser

S
Safe
Safekombination
Safer Mix
Sale-and-lease-back-Geschäft
scannen
einscannen
Scheckbuch
Scheckbuch-Politik
Schock
Elektroschock
Kulturschock
Schockerebnis
Schocktherapie
Schockwelle
Schockzustand
Schocker
Elektroschocker
Schockermaschine
Schockerserie
schocken
geschockt
Science Fiction
Promi-Scientologie
Scientology
Scientology-Mitglied
Scientology-Sekte
Scoop
Scout
Scrapie
Scrapie-infiziert
Scrapie-krank
Screenshot
Secondary School
Secondhand-Händler
Selfmademan
Selfmade-Mann
Server
Server-Computer
Service
Flugservice
Global Services
Lügen-Service
Serviceagentur
Service-Betrieb
Service-Computer
Service-Division
Service-Geschäft
Service-Provider
Serviceschiff
Serviceteam
Sonder-Servicenummer
Waschservice
Zimmerservice
Fotosession
Set-Top-Boxen
Sex
Kindersex
Schwulen-Sexring
Sex & Crime
Sex-Affäre
Sex-Arbeiterin
Sex-Biest
Sexfilm
Sexgeständnis
Sexgewohnheit
Sex-Ikone
 Sexmesse
Sexphantasie
Sexshop
Sex-Skulptur
Sexspielzeug
Sex-und-Lügen-Spiel
Sex-Sprachmüll
Sex-Symbol
Sex-Torero
Sexvideo
Sex-Website
Teenager-Sex
Telefonsex-Hostess
Sexismus
sexy
Sexy-Sound
Shadow
Shampoo
Anti-Schuppen-Shampoo
Shampoo-Flasche
Shareholder
Shareholder-Value
Shareholder-Value-Fan
Shareholder-Value-Gesellschaft
Sheriff
Shirt
Rambo-Shirt
Schumi-Shirt
Big Brother-T-Shirt
MDC-T-Shirt
Obama-T-Shirt
Tommy-T-Shirt
T-Shirt
Shootingstar
Shop
Bärbel-Shop
Beate-Ulse-Shop
Flughafen-Souvenirshop
Souvenirshop
Shoppen
Shopping-Center
Belletristik-Shortlist
Shorts
Short Story
Show
Beatles-Show
Fernsehshow
Gameshow
Gästeshow
Gerichtsshow
Late-Night-Show
Leichenshow
Personality-Show
Roadshow
RTL-2-Show
Scherben-Showman
Showbiz-Kind
Show-Boykott
Showbranche
Showbusiness
Showgeschäft
Showstar
Talkshow
Theatershow
The Wall-Show
Überwachungsshow
Unterhaltungsshow
Voyeures-Show
ZDF-Samstagabendsshow
ZDF-Show
Showdown (Show-down)
Shrimp
Shrimpzüchter
Shutter
Shutterbrille
Shuttertechnik
silly talking
Single
Beatles-Single
Singlebörse
Single-Charts
Single-Dasein
Single-Party
Single-Versteigerung
US-Single-Charts
Fernseh-Sitcom
Skaterkids
Sketch
Skin (head)
Skinorganisation
Skin-Szene
Skipper
Skyship
Slang
Slapstick
Slideshow
Slogan
Werbeslogan
Slum
Slumbewohner (-Bewohner)
smart
Smiley
Smog
Dauer-Smog
Sommersmog-Verordnung
Smoking
Hundesmoking
SMS (Short Message System)
Sneaker
Nicht-Snob
snobistisch
versnobt
Soap
ARD-Ärzte-Soap
Ärzte-Soap
Ärzte-Soap-Saurier
Soccer-Mom
Softdrink
Softie-Sex
Soft Power
Software
Schad-Software
Schnittsoftware
Software-Aktie
Software-Antrag
Software-Branche
Softwarecode
Software-Entwickler
Software-Entwicklung
Software-Experte
Software-Fachkraft
Software-Firma / Softwarefirma
Software-Geschäft
Software-Haus
Software-Konzern
Software-Laden
Software-Millionär
Software-Patent
Software-Patentierung
Software-Problem
Software-Produkt
Software-Riese
Software-Spezialist
Software-Surrogat
Softwaretechnologie
Software-Unternehmen
Software-Update
Spielesoftware
Zusatzsoftware
Song
Lady-Gaga-Song
Led-Zeppelin-Song
Songtext
Songwriter
Sonnyboy
sorry
Soul
Soul-Diva
Soul-Genre
Sound
Soundcheck
Soundeffekt
Soundtrack
Space Boots
Space-Shuttle-Astronaut
special relationship
special-Reportage
spectacle
Speed
Spin
Spirit
Spleen
spleenig
split screen
Heck-Spoiler
Sponsor
Sponsorengelder
Sponsorenpartner
Sponsorenvertrag
Tiefkühlkost-Sponsor
Sponsoring
Grand-Pix-Sponsoring
Produktsponsoring
Sponsoring-Idee
Spot
FDP-Wahlspot
Wahlspot
Spray
Leberspray
Nasenspray
Sprinkler
Sprinkleranlage
Rasensprinkler
Sprint
DDR-Sprint-Europameisterin
sprinten
Sprinter / Sprin terin
Squash
Standard
EU-Standard
Industrie-Standard
Lebensstandard
Mindeststandard
Qualitätsstandard
Sicherheitsstandard
Spitzenstandard
Standard-These
Standardwerk
Standing Ovations
Star
Aida-Star
All-Star
All-Star-Team
Allstar
Avantgarde-Star
"Biutiful"-Star
Börsen-Star
Cannstatt
Fernsehstar
Fußballstar
Hollywood-Star
Hollywood-Starfrau
Jungstar
Künstlerstar
Lakers-Star
Malerstar
Medienstar
NBA-Star
Neustar
Oasis-Star
Popstar
Porno-Star
Regie-Star
Rockstar
Starmaler
Starmodell
Superstar
Topstar
US-Star
Weltstar
Star-Spangled
Start
Blitzstart
Börsenstart
Fehlstart
Karriere-Neustart
Karrierestart
Kinostart
Motorstart
Rückrundenstart
Startampel
Startformation
Startkapital
Startseite
Startunfall
Starten
Start-up
Start-up-Firma
Start-up-Unternehmen
Statement
Steak
T-Bone-Steak
Stealth-Jäger
Stereoanlage
webmiles
Web-Seite
Website
friendScout24-Website
Seitensprung-Website
Weekly
Wellness
L’Oréal-Werbespot
Western
Whirlpool
Whiskey / Whisky
  Whisky-Klasse
Whistleblower
Who’s who
Wild Card
Wonderbra
Working-Class
Workout
World Wide Web
www.-Seite
Wort Case
  Worst-Case-Bedingung
  Worst-Case-Szenario
wow

X
  XXL

Y
Yacht
  Yachthafen
Yellow-Blättchen
Yellow Press
Young Boys Network
Young Gun
Youngster
Yuppie

Z
Zapping
Zero-out-Funktion
Zombie
zoomen