This is to certify that the
dissertation entitled

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON GERMAN BUSINESS
LANGUAGE

A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF THE USE OF ANGLICISMS
IN THE GERMAN BUSINESS PRESS

presented by

Marc O. Rathmann

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for the

_____Doctoral_____ degree in _____German Studies_____

_____
Major Professor's Signature

_____11/02/06_____
Date

MSU is an Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Institution

PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.
MAY BE RECALLED with earlier due date if requested.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON GERMAN BUSINESS LANGUAGE

A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF THE USE OF ANGLICISMS IN THE GERMAN
BUSINESS PRESS

By

Marc O. Rathmann

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Linguistics and Germanic, Slavic, Asian, and African Languages

2006

ABSTRACT

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON GERMAN BUSINESS LANGUAGE

A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF THE USE OF ANGLICISMS IN THE GERMAN BUSINESS PRESS

By

Marc O. Rathmann

In Germany, the current debate about Anglicisms focuses primarily on general language use, whereas languages for specific purposes (except for advertising) have not come under similar scrutiny. German business language is one area where English influence has long been perceived as strong, yet it also has not been studied as extensively as language in general. This study will focus exclusively on the English lexical influence on German business language over time and across different text types. Randomly selected articles (cover stories, editorials, and letters to the editor) of one of Germany's major business magazines, *Wirtschaftswoche*, serve as the corpus of the study. The analyzed time period is from 1973 until 2003. The objective of this study is to describe and analyze changes in German business language and more specifically in the language of the German business press over the investigation period.

Many previous studies focused on lexical borrowing as one of the most obvious results of language contact, but not a lot of use has been made of large text corpora and the methodology of corpus linguistics in the area of German business language. Corpus-based research into the distribution and the nature of Anglicisms over time and in different genres is beneficial for the research field in providing new and representative

results. The use of a self-designed diachronic corpus presents the opportunity to highlight whether there is empirical proof for an ever-increasing impact of English in the general business domain.

The results of the study show a significant increase in the use of Anglicisms over the investigation period in all examined text types. As far as the use of Anglicisms in different text types is concerned, the highest percentage of English loanwords was found in cover stories. The opinion-centered genres contained significantly less Anglicisms. The results indicate that there is a considerable difference in the use of Anglicisms between journalists and readers.

.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Introduction

„Die Gewalt einer Sprache ist nicht, dass sie das Fremde abweist, sondern dass sie es verschlingt" (Goethe, 1994, p. 508[1])

Today there seems to be strong disagreement on whether Goethe's statement still applies to present-day German. Since the mid-1990s the influence of English on the German language has become a widely debated topic among scholars and in the German public. Linguists, politicians, and lay people alike utter their opinions about the English lexical influence on German and a growing number of critics express their views about how to contain this development which they perceive as language decay and a long-term threat to the German language. A multitude of new interest groups and initiatives against the invasion of Anglicisms has been founded. Walter Krämer[2], a professor of statistics, is at the forefront of this movement. He has published critical books on the topic and founded the "Verein Deutsche Sprache," an interest group whose existence is solely based on its opposition to the use of Anglicisms. Another prominent opponent to the use of Anglicism is news anchor Ulrich Wickert[3] who participates in an initiative to boycott the use of Anglicisms.

Linguists remain neutral to the current influences of the English language because of the nature of linguistics. In general, language use and language change are not

---

[1] Also cited on http://www.duden.de/produkte/downloads/fremdwort9_bereicherung.pdf
The power of a language is not that it rejects the foreign but that it devours it (translation by the author).
[2] See Eberhorn (2004) for more information on Walter Krämer.
[3] Ulrich Wickert is the anchor of the *ARD-Tagesthemen*.

evaluated, but described and analyzed[4]. The linguists' attitude is that speakers of a language evaluate their language themselves by using certain words and expressions from a pool of possibilities that they theoretically have (langue). The realization of language (parole) can lead to different linguistic developments, but linguistic criticism is not based on linguistics; its input has to come from outside the field. Linguistics as a research field typically does not evaluate any language change.

A large number of linguists have done research on the influence of English on German and other languages since the 1960s. However, until the 1990s this research received little attention from the general public and studies were done in relative isolation from outside pressures and commentary. Nowadays, however, there is a growing number of critics of Anglicisms who more than likely have no real expertise in the research field but nonetheless seem to have taken over the initiative on the debate – for example, the above mentioned Walter Krämer. These critics managed to direct the discussion of Anglicisms to questions of taste - the like or dislike of Anglicisms - without grounding their criticism in scholarly studies. They stir up the German public with warnings about the take-over of their native language by Anglo-American influences and sometimes extend their criticism with general reservations about the American culture and way of life. Since language is a part of culture, a change in language is also an indicator of cultural change. One may interpret the recent drastic increase of English loans in German as an aspect of cultural change in Germany that is a result of globalization. As will be explained later, a new trend in products, services, or thoughts can initiate the emergence

---

[4] Glück and Krämer (2000) criticize the attitude of linguists in this matter: "Die Sprachwissenschaft und die sprachpflegerischen Institutionen haben diese Entwicklung ignoriert und sich so aus der Verantwortung für unsere Sprache gestohlen." (p. 90)

of a new German word or the adoption of a word of foreign origin. This has often been the case when new concepts or objects were imported from a foreign country.

In general, public opinion about Anglicisms ranges from complaints about language decay to unlimited enthusiasm for new English vocabulary that allegedly opens new opportunities for the expression of thoughts (see also Krause-Braun, 2002). Overall, critical opinions dominate. A representative poll by the Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache found that most of the linguistic changes that people perceived in the 1990s were the result of importation of new Anglicisms, and that these were considered negative by a majority of respondents (Stickel, 1999). The debate over English influence on German is not a 20th or 21st century phenomenon. At the the end of the 19th century there was also widespread criticism of the use of new English loanwords. In 1899, Hermann Dunger, who was involved in a nationalist purist movement, gave a presentation called *Wider die Engländerei in der deutschen Sprache.* It was the first time that English loanwords were the main focus of a public speech. Whereas in Dunger's time the demand for language purity was often associated with nationalism and general xenophobia against foreigners, this is generally not the case today.

The main aspect of the current controversy about Anglicisms is the high number of English loanwords that have allegedly entered the German language. Linguists, themselves, might consider whether there is any number of Anglicisms in German that could be considered too high. What almost everyone agrees on is that the recent influx of English words is unprecedented in European history (Görlach, 2003). At the same time,

various linguists claim that this influence is still not comparable to the French influence on German in the 18th and 19th centuries (Busse & Görlach, 2002).

The public debate today primarily centers on general language use, whereas language use for specific purposes (except for advertising) has not come under much scrutiny. German business language is one of the areas where the English influence has long been perceived as being strong, yet it has not been studied thoroughly. There is still a lack of scholarly studies that examine business language systematically and use the methodology of corpus linguistics. Furthermore, as of yet, most studies were just synchronic snapshots in time but did not analyze long periods. This study focuses exclusively on English influence on the German business language in the business press over a time period of 30 years and across different journalistic text types. It also comprises an analysis of vocabulary and semantic aspects and examines whether (and how) this vocabulary is related to text types and time periods. This represents a new approach, because there have only been a few previous diachronic corpus-based studies, and none of them have dealt with business language in combination with such variables as time periods, text types, and semantic fields. What this study has in common with many others works about Anglicisms is its reliance on texts taken from the print media[5]. The text types used for this investigation were taken from one of the leading German business magazines, *Wirtschaftswoche*.

This dissertation is comprised of four chapters and a conclusion section. Chapter 1 gives the reader an overview of the present state of research on Anglicisms in German.

---

[5] For example, Fink (1968); Yang (1990); Fink, H., Fijas, L., & Schons, D. (1997); Adler (2001); and Krause-Braun (2002)

Chapter 2 introduces the terminology used in this and other studies and also explains linguistic terms such as language contact, loanword, and foreign word; it also describes the different types of loans that exist. In Chapter 3 the research design, methodology, and corpus are discussed. In addition, the advantages and disadvantages of a corpus based on a print media source are examined. Chapter 4 states the results, compares them to related studies, and evaluates them in the light of the research questions and hypotheses. The dissertation closes with a summary of the results and a conclusion.

Chapter 1: The State of the Research on Anglicisms in German

This chapter describes the development and the present state of research on Anglicisms in German. The objective is to give an overview of the most important studies in this field and to make the reader familiar with its researchers and their approaches and findings. The description does not pretend to be complete, because it is selective with respect to the purposes of this study. Due to its focus on lexicon, business language, and a corpus consisting of print media sources, this area of the research on Anglicisms will be the center of attention after general works on the English influence on the German language have been introduced.

The existence of Anglicisms in German was mentioned for the first time by literary critic Gottsched in "Deutsche Sprachkunst" of 1776. It was not until more than one hundred years later that Anglicisms became a topic of interest. In 1882, Dunger counted 148 English words in German. As a member of a nationalist purist movement, he harshly criticized the English influence. In 1899, Dunger took aim at English loan words in a lecture called "Wider die Engländerei in der deutschen Sprache." It was the first time that Anglicisms were the main focus of a public speech. In a later investigation Dunger discovered the existence of 900 English words in German in 1909. The first truly scholarly work about Anglicisms was a Ph.D. dissertation written by Agnes Stiven in 1936. "Englands Einfluß auf den deutschen Wortschatz" describes the English influence on German vocabulary from the 13th century until 1935. According to Stiven's findings, the infiltration of English words into German was a relatively modern phenomenon that she verified by examples from areas such as politics, trade, social life, and sports. Similar

to more recent scholarship, Stiven already pointed to the difficulty of differentiating between American and British loans. Since the author relied primarily on dictionaries and encyclopedias and not on primary sources, her dating of the loanwords have later often proved to be inaccurate. Nevertheless, Stiven's work was the basis for numerous publications after 1945.

Two other scholars who examined English items in the German lexicon prior to 1815 are Palmer (1933) and Ganz (1957). Ganz's work can be regarded as a sequel to Palmer's work; he extended the investigation period until the early 19th century. Ganz and Palmer both used primary sources, for example from literature and history, to describe the English influence on the German lexicon.

Most of the studies in the second half of the 20th century were carried out by scholars of British and American studies specializing in linguistics in Germany and were published in German. Fewer inquiries were undertaken by germanists (often from outside Germany), even though it would seem that the development of the German language should be of greater concern to German studies than to Anglo-American studies. The influence of English on the German language was not considered an independent and interdisciplinary research field before the 1960s. At that time, the English influences had multiplied due to the role of the United States as an occupying power and major architect of Germany's political and economic development. On the whole, the research into English influences on the German language continued to be primarily focused on lexical interferences.

The first comprehensive study of English influences of note after World War II was Zindler's 1959 dissertation "Anglizismen in der deutschen Pressesprache nach 1945." His purpose was to provide a view of English lexical influence on the German language of the press after 1945. The author did not systematically filter out English items from press articles; he rather focused on Anglicisms that were taken over into German after 1945. He came to the conclusion that English loanwords were few in number but used frequently and primarily introduced into German after 1945. He also compiled lists of English words that had entered German before 1945 and categorized them according to thematic areas. Like most studies about the English influence on German that have been carried out to this point, he did not differentiate between British and American origins of English loanwords. In general, scholars assume that the influence is American due to the extraordinary power and influence of the United States in almost every aspect of society. However, proof of that is hard to come by for many reasons. For example, loanwords have often taken a detour via Great Britain to get to Germany, and German schools for the most part still teach mainly British English, which influences the spelling of loanwords. The question of the origin of loans will be dealt with in detail in the following chapter. As far as semantic aspects are concerned, Zindler's study led to some interesting findings. He discovered that one third of all Anglicisms used in the press were only adopted with a part of their original meaning.

Zindler's study was the starting point for the research of Broder Carstensen, still considered the scholar who contributed most to this field. In 1965, he published his book *Englische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache nach 1945,* which remains the standard work in the research on Anglicisms in the German language. His analysis was based on

West German newspapers and magazines published between 1961 and 1964. Among them was the magazine *Der Spiegel*, which according to Carstensen introduced the greatest number of Anglicisms into the German language before they were spread further through adoption by other print media (Carstensen, 1965, p.22). Carstensen's study examined for the first time not only lexical influences in a detailed and systematic way, but also influences on morphology, syntax, spelling, and phonology. He came to the conclusion that the influence of English can only be regarded as strong in the area of lexicon whereas influences on general grammar and syntax were minimal. He also touched on aspects of style, where he explored why certain Anglicisms were used instead of existing German words or why no new German words were created to make up for a lack of an equivalent word in German.

In later monographs and articles Carstensen examined grammatical aspects of English influence in more detail, such as the gender of English loanwords and semantic problems of English-German loan processes. His interest extended also to the reception and understanding of the Anglicisms. In a joint survey with Hengstenberg (1983), he analyzed the responses of 682 people who were asked for the meaning of 50 common Anglicisms in German. The results proved that only 20 of 50 words could be defined correctly. The degree of knowledge of these Anglicisms was affected by two factors: the level of knowledge of English and the intensity of contact with the mass media.[6] Carstensen's lifetime achievements were united in the three volume dictionary of

---

[6] A 2003 representative study by market researcher Endmark AG demonstrates that even today many people do not understand Anglicisms - in this case company and product slogans that are used in German TV ads as well as in magazines, newspapers, on billboards, and on web sites. "Englische Werbeslogans werden kaum verstanden." (http://www.endmark.in-de.net/img/aktuell/MafoClaims.pdf)

Anglicisms that was first published in 1993 and was continued by Busse after Carstensen's death. This dictionary lists 3,500 Anglicisms in different thematic areas and discusses the spelling, pronunciation, types of loan processes, and grammatical aspects. It serves well not only as a comprehensive information source for all questions regarding certain Anglicisms but also as a directory of English words in German that can be used to search various corpora.

Two other distinguished linguists who dealt with Anglicisms in German are W. Viereck and Galinsky. Viereck (1980) was particularly interested in the knowledge, understanding, and use of German Anglicisms and demonstrated that there is a clear difference between understanding and actively using Anglicisms. Galinsky focused on the motives for using Anglicisms and their stylistic functions. His 1963 work (with Carstensen) "Stylistic Aspects of Linguistic Borrowing - A Stylistic and Comparative View of American Elements in German and British English" made important contributions in this area. He found seven main reasons for the use of Anglicisms:

"1. providing national American color for settings, actions, and characters

2. establishing and enhancing precision

3. offering or facilitating intentional disguise

4. effecting brevity to the point of terseness

5. producing vividness, often by the way of metaphor

6. conveying tone, its gamut ranging from humorous playfulness to sneering parody on America and 'Americanized Germany'

7. creating or increasing variation of expression" (Galinsky, 1963, p. 54)

Pfitzner (1978) uses Galinsky's work as the basis for his own research and analyzes the relationship between the use of Anglicisms as stylistic means and the journalists' intentions. His conclusion is that Anglicisms have become essential stylistic means for the German print media. A few scholars studied the influence of Anglicisms in different countries or regions of the German-speaking world. K. Viereck (1980) focused on the use of Anglicisms in Austria and studied Anglicisms in Austrian daily newspapers, sometimes in comparison with German papers. Dalscher (1966) examined the influence of English on colloquial Swiss German by conducting surveys based on questionnaires in German-speaking Switzerland. Lehnert exclusively examined the English influence on German in the GDR. For his 1990 book "Anglo-Amerikanisches im Sprachgebrauch der DDR" he analyzed East German newspapers between 1984 and 1989. Despite the obvious anti-American attitude of the GDR government, Lehnert found about 1,500 English words that were in use at the time. His comprehensive study will likely have a lasting effect because of its documentary value as a description of the language of a former socialist country. An earlier but more limited investigation of Anglicisms in the GDR was done by the Swedish germanist Kristensson (1977). His focus was on the motivations for using Anglicisms in GDR newspapers. He came to the conclusion that Anglicisms were used more intentionally than in the West and often with negative connotations. After the German reunification, Fijas and Schons (1997) described the influence of English in the new federal states and illustrated that differences between the usage of Anglicisms in the Western and Eastern part of Germany remain even though they are decreasing overall.

Other important studies focusing on English vocabulary in the German press were done by Fink. In 1968, he examined American words in the German daily press for his dissertation. This was the first comprehensive research study based on a particular corpus. Fink chose eight weekend editions of the nationals *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine* and *Die Welt* which he considered representative of the southern, central and northern parts of Germany[7]. His aim was to find regional differences in the reception of Americanisms as well as varying amounts of Anglicisms in different subject areas of the papers. The results were partly contrary to his assumptions. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* used the highest amount of Americanisms even though its readers had the lowest level of education. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* made the least use of these loanwords. Fink (1970) later also examined the motivation behind adoptions and came to the conclusion that there were only two major reasons for the usage of Anglicisms. On the one hand, a lack of German expressions in certain semantic fields make the use of English necessary and, on the other hand, the use of English words is an expression of closeness to and admiration for the United States. Fink's terminology (zero substitution, partial substitution, full substitution) has been central in Anglicism research and is still used by many researchers. It will be utilized with variations and additions in this study (see Chapter 2). In the 1990s Fink started to concentrate on the Anglo-American influence in certain areas of business language. He studied the reception of Anglicisms, especially in the language of advertisements. In his 1980 monograph "Superhit oder Spitzenschlager," Fink examines Anglicisms in advertisements in the teen magazines

---

[7] All of these newspapers are national dailies, but each is published in a different region (*Süddeutsche Zeitung* in Munich, *Frankfurter Allgemeine* in Frankfurt, and *Die Welt* in Hamburg).

Bravo and *Freizeit-Magazin.*". In 1991 he published a study on the use of Anglicisms in the economic policy debates of the Bundestag between 1980 and 1990. His study was based on the protocols of the sessions of the Bundestag. He analyzed the comprehensibility of the language used by interviewing 286 potential constituents (of different age and education) in the city of Paderborn. He came to the conclusion that the relatively high understanding of Anglicisms does not mean that they are used actively by the respondents. In 1983 Fink examined to what extent Anglicisms in German textbooks for non-university business schools were understood by students. In 1994 he examined if sales associates understood Anglicisms used as product names and for product descriptions. According to his findings, only 42 percent completely understood them and this led Fink to believe that it was not of main concern for marketing experts if Anglicisms were understood, as long as they functioned well as a sales strategy. In 1995 Fink published another volume about the American influence on German in business language and business in general, which features many of his students' master's theses: "Amerikanisierung in der deutschen Wirtschaft: Sprache, Handel, Güter und Dienstleistungen[8]".

In 1991 and 1994 Herbst called attention to a source of Anglicisms that had not been taken into account to date: dubbed movies and TV serials. He described examples of new Anglicisms that entered German unintentionally, for example, by literal translations of idioms. His study is one of the few that does not rely on print media materials.

---

[8] Americanization in the German economy: Language, trade, goods and services (translation by the author).

Carstensen's former student Busse (1993) carried out one of the few truly diachronic studies by using *Duden* spelling dictionaries of the years 1880 until 1986 as his corpus. His objective was to illustrate how language change had had an impact on the content of this important dictionary. He examined all the entries marked "from English," their chronological development and the time-lag between their first occurrence in texts and their inclusion in the *Duden*. He also took into account the differences between the West and East German editions of the *Duden* and the problem of American or British origins of the Anglicisms.

The first computer-aided quantitative lexical study was carried out by Engels in 1976. She examined the occurrence of Anglicisms in the daily *Die Welt*. She found an increase in the number of Anglicisms as well as an increase in their use when she compared issues of *Die Welt* from the years 1954 and 1964. However, Engels did not look for Anglicisms herself but used the list compiled by Fink to search her corpus. This means that Anglicisms that were not discovered by Fink or entered the German language after his investigation were not recognized.

Newer studies include dissertations based on databases consisting of print media sources. In 1990 Yang analyzed Anglicisms in 6 issues of *Der Spiegel* from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 according to frequency, semantics, morphology, and stylistic integration. In 1996 Kovtun examined the integration of 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 Langer (1996), in which two consecutive issues of *Capital* and

DM (today known as *Euro*) are used to investigate which of the two magazines uses more Anglicisms, which types of Anglicisms occur most, and how they have adapted to the German language. Her main concerns are the functions of the loanwords and the journalists' motives for using them. Another more recent mini study is Hedderich's (2003) investigation of recent language changes in Business German, which is based on the examination of three successive issues of *Wirtschaftswoche* in October 2002. Among his conclusions was the inference that the number of Anglicisms in the business magazine depended on the topic of the articles as well as on journalistic preferences. A more extensive study for a research article was done by Bartsch and Siegrist (2003). Their research is based on a quantitative computer analysis of the "Darmstädter Corpus Deutscher Fachsprachen" (which comprises 2.8 million words) using the methodology of corpus linguistics. Their results show an uneven distribution of Anglicisms over the different subject specific subcorpora of the corpus. They argue for the need for more corpus-based research in languages for specific purposes.

To conclude, the increase in the borrowing of Anglicisms in German resulted in an increase in the number of studies in this research field after World War II. Thus, German has become one of the best researched languages in respect to English influences, even though gaps in the research remain. Most of the research about Anglicisms in German relies on statistical analysis of newspapers and magazines intended for a broad spectrum of readers. Except for studies in the area of advertising, Anglicisms in languages for specific purposes in general or in other fields have been investigated only rarely. Furthermore, most of the research projects have been synchronic

studies focusing on a few newspaper issues of relatively short time periods. Diachronic

studies using the methodology of corpus linguistics have been the exception.

Chapter 2: Concepts and Terminology

2.1 Language contact

The most typical result of language contact[9] is a change in one or more languages. Usually, at least one language will exert an influence on one or more other languages. The use of loanwords in a language is the result of one type of influence and proves the existence of language contact between two or more languages (Thomason, 2001). Other linguistic features such as syntax or phonology can be subject to transfer from one language to another as well. In the case of German and English, various studies have shown that only lexical influence has had a considerable impact on German whereas other influences remain minor (Carstensen, 1963). However, according to Görlach (2002), such influences may increase:

It is also likely that other linguistic levels outside lexis will be increasingly affected: The impact is clearly apparent in phonology (where marginal phonemes imported through great numbers of Anglicisms from spoken English have become accepted, such as /ei/ and /ou/ in German) and morphology (where –s plurals are becoming normal and compounds on the English patterns are losing their foreignness). (Görlach, 2002, p. 12)

---

[9] Language contact usually occurs when speakers of different languages interact. "In the simplest definition, language contact is the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time." (Thomason 2001, p.1) However, nontrivial language contact also requires that there are contact situations in which at last some people use more than one language. Thomason makes clear that this kind of language contact does neither require fluent bilingualism nor multilingualism, but that "some communication between speakers of different languages is necessary". (p.1) This may happen in a variety of situations: refugees, immigrants, and expatriates have to interact with the residents of their host country, soldiers who occupy a foreign country have to interact with its population, tourists and foreign students have to interact with the people of the country that they are visiting, and journalists who report from a foreign country have to interact with the locals.

2.2 *Anglizismus* versus *Amerikanismus*

English loanwords in German are called either *Anglizismen* or *Amerikanismen*.

The *Duden* dictionary defines *Anglizismus* and *Amerikanismus* as follows:

Anglizismus
Übertragung einer für das britische Englisch charakteristischen Erscheinung auf eine nicht englische Sprache[10] (DUDEN, 2001, p.66)

Amerikanismus
1. sprachliche Besonderheit des amerikanischen Englisch
2. Entlehnung aus dem Amerikanischen ins Deutsche (DUDEN, 2001, p.56)

Thus, the *Duden* differentiates clearly between borrowings from American and British English. For the most part, the research literature about English borrowings in German does not follow the example of the dictionary. The term *Anglicism* in the research literature refers to a loan that various languages adopted from English. Most researchers (among them, Carstensen, Pfitzner, Zindler, Lehnert, and Yang) use *Anglicism* as a generic term denoting lexical adoptions from British, American, and other variations of English. Only a few German scholars such as Fink use *Americanism* instead of *Anglicism* to stress that the English language influence on German after World War II is widely considered to have been almost exclusively American. However, Fink himself hints at the difficulty of making a distinction between American and British lexical influences:

Infolge des parallellaufenden BE-Einflusses und der vielgestaltigen sonstigen

fremdsprachlichen Einwirkungen auf das heutige Deutsch läßt sich bei

---

[10] Anglicism: Transfer of an appearance that is characteristic of British English to a non-English language. Americanism: 1. linguistic special feature of American English, 2 Loanword from American English that has entered the German language (translation by the author).

bestimmten Entlehnungen nicht eindeutig ermitteln, ob sie Amerikanismen sind,

zumal diese - man denke an 'cafeteria' - manchmal amerikanisches Lehngut aus

nicht-englischen Sprachen darstellen. Im Fall von 'cafeteria' z.B. wirkt AE nur als

Vermittler eines überseeischen Hispanismus - in amerikanischer Wortbedeutung -

an das Deutsche. Zudem tauchen täglich im AE, BE und im Deutschen neue

Ausdrücke auf, deren Herkunft zunächst im Dunkeln bleibt[11]. (Fink, 1968, p. 9)

Görlach (2003) gives three reasons why, in his opinion, the distinction between

AE and BE is impossible to make with regard to loanwords:

1. Loanwords tend to be adapted in the borrowing process which deletes characteristic

features of the words of the two varieties of English (spelling and pronunciation).

2. Americanisms are either transmitted through BE or they are automatically adapted to

the model dominating English language in Europe - the British variety. This variety is

still dominant because language instruction in Europe (which is a major source of

language contact) still favors British over American English.

3. The only criterion left is encyclopedic - the adoption of words together with new

inventions, concepts, or commodities imported from America can be a clue but is not

conclusive.

---

[11] Due to the parallel influence of British English and the variety of other foreign-language influences on contemporary German one cannot investigate with certainty whether certain loanwords are Americanisms, especially if they represent occasionally American borrowings from non-English languages such as in the case of 'cafeteria.' In the case of 'cafeteria,' for example, American English functions only as an agent of a Hispanic expression - in American lexical meaning - introduced into German. Furthermore, new expressions both in American and British English and in German – the origins of which at first remain unknown - occur on a daily basis (translation by the author).

Görlach's conclusion is that there is not enough evidence to make clear statements about the origins of most English loanwords in German, and that although the American influence is increasing everywhere, British transmission is still effective.

Carstensen and Galynski (1975) also state that clear distinctions between loans from American and British English can rarely be made. However, they make it clear that on the basis of historic and cultural events the assumption can be made that until World War I British loans dominated on an international level, whereas after 1917 and even more after 1945 the American influence dominated.

Carstensen (1963) states that the differences between British and American English are decreasing, but that American English has taken on considerable predominance over British English in its impact on German. He supports some of his findings with population figures: 145 million people spoke American English as their native language whereas only 55 million spoke British English at the time. This does not seem convincing, though. Following this train of thought, languages such as Chinese would have to have a much stronger influence on other languages in today's world. Most of the other evidence Carstensen points to has a sociological basis: Germans had more contact with Americans in Germany than with British people due to the fact that there were more American soldiers than British soldiers stationed there. In addition, the American forces' radio AFN reached a larger audience than its British counterpart. There were more American movies than British movies shown in German movie theaters; there were more TV programs from America than from Great Britain, and German scholars

were reading more research literature from the U.S. than from Britain. Another reason for the influence of American English after the war is seen in the return of German emigrants from the United States.

Despite the evident predominance of American English, Carstensen and many others experts argue that unambiguous evidence for the origin of Anglicisms can only be given if an expression has come over from the U.S. (or Great Britain) along with the object or idea that it denotes, for example, *Supermarkt, Jazz, Park and Ride*. In other cases, a distinction between loanwords from the United States and Britain is very problematic and rarely without ambiguity. Dictionaries do not help to clarify the origin of new words in German, because new lexical material has first to be registered and analyzed. Sometimes only assumptions can be made that can later turn out to be wrong. Many scholars therefore have refrained from making a distinction between lexical items taken over from American English and British English. Due to the difficulty of determining whether a loanword is of American or British origin, the term *Anglicism* will be used in this dissertation in its broad sense.

2.3 *Fremdwort* versus *Lehnwort*

Anglicisms can either be loanwords or foreign words. The distinction between *Lehnwort* and *Fremdwort* has a long tradition in Germany and is not limited exclusively to academic circles. In the English-speaking world it has less importance, at least outside the academic world (Kirkness, 1984). Dictionaries that are exclusively devoted to foreign

words do exist but are not as widely available as in Germany and are neither geared towards the general public.

The traditional definition of foreign word (alien) and loanword (denizen) has often come under criticism and many alternatives or additions have been proposed for the original definition which traces back to Betz (1965) for the German-speaking countries. According to the traditional view, the basic difference between foreign words and loanwords is that the former are considered foreign objects in the language whereas the latter have adapted to the receiving language to such an extent that they are no longer considered foreign or cannot be recognized by laymen to have come from another language. This implies that the distinction between foreign words, loanwords and native words according to purely external criteria is an aspect of linguistic purism - an intention to keep a language free of foreign influences, or at least to make foreign influences obvious (e.g., Heller, 2002). The criteria on the basis of which the distinction is made are formal (spelling, morphology, word formation, etc.) and the dimension is synchronic.

What has often been criticized in regard to the traditional definition is the lack of attention to diachronic dimensions, that is, the historical view of borrowings. Link (1983) points at yet another aspect - the inclusion of words in dictionaries of foreignisms which should not be considered foreign words. Among them, he counts words whose origin has not been clarified, words that are compounds of German and English elements (e.g. *Dirndllook*), morphological pseudo-loans (abbreviations of English words such as *Pulli* and *Profi*), and lexical pseudo-loans, loan creations that have no origin in the donor language (*Dressman, Showmaster, Handy, Mobbing*). He hints at the fact that in contrast

to these examples, other words which do have a model in another language are not recorded in dictionaries of foreign words. These are borrowings which are not composed of English lexical material and are therefore not recognized as following a foreign model, for example, loan translations (*Gehirnwäsche*) or loan transferals (*Klimaanlage*).

Kirkness (1972/83) and von Polenz (1967) consider the traditional definition of a foreign word based on formal-grammatical criteria to be unsatisfactory. Von Polenz wants to use the term *foreign word* only for a very restricted number of cases. He claims that native speakers only use words from different languages occasionally and in the form of a quotation. He calls for the extension of the term *loanword* to all words of foreign origin which are known by a large number of native speakers and form part of their vocabulary. This position leads away from the purist attitude that focuses exclusively on formal external characteristics of a word. In such a synchronic view the borderline between *Fremdwort* and *Lehnwort* is fluid. However, other scholars such as Müller (1976) state that it is not important for defining a foreign word to know how it integrates into the context of another language, but by which features it can be recognized, i.e., what gives it its foreign character. Heller (2002) comes to the conclusion that an analysis of a word's characteristics is not meaningful unless it is supplemented by a diachronic perspective. Thus, a foreign word simply is a word of foreign origin that shows foreign characteristics in its lexical structure. Langner extended the definition in 1995 to include compound words with one or more elements of foreign origins which had previously not been regarded as foreignisms. Betz (1980) goes a step further and calls for the inclusion of loan creations under the definition of "foreign word." As noted before, these words

come into being as a consequence of the existence of a foreign word which functions as a model. However, they are built exclusively from German lexical material and are for that reason rarely recognized as having a foreign origin.

Heller's solution to the classification of foreign word, pseudo loan, loanword and native word is a combination of a synchronic and a diachronic approach, and is illustrated in the following table.

Result of the diachronic analysis (word origin)	Result of the synchronic evaluation of the formal structural characteristics in their entirety	Category
foreign	foreign	foreign word (alien)
foreign	native	loanword (denizen)
native	foreign	pseudo loan
native	native	native word

Table 1: Foreign Word, Loanword, Pseudo Loan, and Native word[12]

In the first major work about Anglicisms in German after World War II, Zindler (1959) states that in modern German there is a tendency to take over untranslated and unadapted words from English. Carstensen (1965) comes to the same conclusion: "Am häufigsten kommt die Übernahme eines Wortes in unveränderter Form und Bedeutung vor" (p.90).[13] It can be suspected that these findings still apply to the present time, and furthermore that unaltered words from English have increased in number. This has been

---

[12] Adapted and translated from Heller (2002).

[13] Unaltered meaning does not necessarily imply that the loanword has the same breadth of meaning in German, but that at least one meaning has been taken over unaltered. As mentioned before loanwords often only keep part of their original meaning in the receiving language.

demonstrated by more recent studies and will likely be documented in the study in hand. As a consequence, these borrowings must be considered foreign words according to the traditional definition. Taking over a word in unaltered form means that no changes have been made to the phonological, orthographic, morphological, or semantic aspects of a loanword in the receiving language. The only obvious change that is almost always made to English nouns that are used in German is that they are capitalized even if they remain otherwise unchanged from their English appearance. However, this adaptation does not necessarily make a foreign word a loanword.

If borrowed words change in the course of time and adapt to German spelling and other formal structural features, they are no longer considered aliens. This underlines the active role of the recipient language in the borrowing process. Jakob Grimm described this phenomenon as early as 1865:

Fällt ein fremdes Wort in den Brunnen einer Sprache, so wird es solange darin umgetrieben bis es ihre Farbe annimmt und seiner fremden Art zum Trotze wie ein einheimisches aussieht[14]. (as cited in Heller, 2002, p. 185).

To refrain from having to make the distinctions between loanwords and foreign words, which in some cases can be all but blurred, many researchers of Anglicisms have used *loanword* as a generic expression to denote loanwords (denizens) as well as foreign words (aliens) in German. In this study, *loanword* will also be used as a generic term to

---

[14] If a foreign word comes into the lexicon of a language, it resides within the language until it takes on the characteristics of that language and appears as a native word despite its foreignness (translation by the author).

denote foreign words as well as loanwords in the narrow sense. As in Carstensen's Dictionary of Anglicisms, a broad definition of Anglicism is intentionally used in order to find as many appearances of English lexical influence as possible. Nevertheless, despite this inclusive terminological approach, samples of words will be examined in regards to their integration into the German language. Every Anglicism in the corpus is examined with respect to whether it occurs in its original English spelling and morphology or if it has adapted to German grammatical rules.[15] Still there will be no differentiation between foreign word and loanword. The inclusive terminology may lead to the inclusion of too many alleged loanwords, but nevertheless such an approach is to be preferred to one that excludes certain lexical items from the beginning and by this means ignores important linguistic features.

2.4 Classification of Loanwords

Loanwords can be classified on a continuum ranging from direct borrowings to indirect borrowings from another language. Up until now, the research literature about Anglicisms in German tends to revert to the terminology that was first introduced by Fink (1968) and Carstensen (1979). Whereas Fink differentiates between full substitution, partial substitution and zero substitution, Carstensen refers to latent (internal) and evident (external) English influences that he further subcategorizes. This study will rely on Fink's terminology - but with variations and one important addition. Pseudo-loans (*Scheinentlehnungen*) will be added as a fourth main category. Zero substitutions will be

---

[15] An Anglicism that occurs in its original form is labeled "adoption"; if an adapted form of an Anglicism occurs, it is labeled "adaptation." These designations are similar to the ones that Bartsch and Siegrist (2002) used for their study.

subdivided into adoptions and adaptations. Partial substitutions will be named mixed compounds. Full substitutions will be subclassified in loan translations, loan creations, semantic loans, etc. These categories will be explained later in this chapter.

2.4.1 Pseudo-loans

Pseudo-loans are words that have been formed with English lexical material. They appear to be English, but do not exist in the source language, or if they do exist, they have a different meaning. Common examples of this category are: *Handy*, *Mobbing*, and *Showmaster*. Pseudo-loans can be divided into subcategories such as morphological, semantic, and lexical pseudo-loans. This categorization was first used by Carstensen in 1980 (p. 77) and will be used in this study as well. Examples for morphological pseudo-loans are *Happy End* (opposed to *happy ending* in English), *Mixpickles* versus *mixed pickles*, and *Pulli* versus *pullover*.

Semantic pseudo-loans are loans that were taken over in their original form, but took on one or more meanings in the recipient language that they did not have in the donor language. Thus, they are also used in different contexts in the recipient language. Examples are the use of *Start* and *starten* in German and English. In contrast to German the verb *starten* and the noun *Start* would not be used in connection with an airplane in English. Here, the verb and noun would be *take off*. Lexical pseudo-loans are words such as *Dressman* and *Showmaster* that were formed from English lexical material but do not exist in the English language. In some cases it is difficult to categorize pseudo-loans correctly and unambiguously. For example, *Handy* is used as a noun in German and does

not exist with the meaning of *cellular phone* in English. However, the word does exist as an adjective with a completely different meaning. Is *Handy* thus a semantic or a lexical pseudo loan? Such cases have to be examined on an individual basis, and on several occasions a satisfying categorization is not possible.

This study will include the examination of the use of pseudo-loans in business language as reflected in a leading German business weekly publication, for example, the percentage of pseudo-loans among all loans and its potential change over time as well as their use in different text types and semantic fields. In his study from 1974, Meyer came to the conclusion that pseudo-loans only play a minor role in newspapers. It will be interesting to examine if this also applies to the *Wirtschaftswoche* as a leading business weekly, and whether or not differences can be discovered between time periods and text types. Kirkness (1976) came to different conclusions than Meyer. According to him, pseudo-loans are generally frequent in German, but have not been examined much in comparison with other loanwords.

O'Halloran (2003) calls attention to another interesting aspect concerning pseudo-loans. While examining German fashion language she discovered a tendency towards the re-anglization of pseudo-loans. An example is "Dress" which in German often denoted clothing in general, whereas now a tendency can be observed to use the word once again for a woman's dress.

In conclusion, it needs to be pointed out that some scholars do not consider pseudo-loans to be Anglicisms and therefore ignore them completely in their studies.

Kirkness (2001) ignores pseudo-loans, because he sees them merely as the result of inner-German linguistic developments:

German cannot borrow from English a lexical item or a significate not attested in English [. . .] What appears at first sight to be the result of borrowing or direct influence from English might on closer examination prove to be the product of morphological and/or semantic processes involving Anglicisms that are internal to German (p. 322).

Thus, Kirkness aims at distinguishing between developments within the German language and real borrowings from English to get a clearer idea of the factual influence of English on German. As a consequence, many items which are included in the Dictionary of Anglicisms by Carstensen and Busse are - according to Kirkness - not Anglicisms. However, the author of this study agrees with the majority of scholars that pseudo-loans should be included in studies of Anglicisms since they demonstrate an indirect general influence of English. The question why pseudo English expressions are used in German in the first place is an interesting research question in itself. In this study, however, it will only be dealt with tangentially. At any rate, the use of pseudo-loans demonstrates the status of English as being trendy and omnipresent in German.

2.4.2 Full substitutions

Among all types of Anglicisms, those that involve full substitutions are the most difficult to identify because they do not contain any English lexical material. They are

formed with German lexical material but follow the English examples of word formation or semantics. As various studies have shown, full substitutions have become rare today as more and more loans are taken over with little or no changes at all. Loan translations, loan meanings, loan transferals, and loan creations are subcategories of full substitutions and need to be explored further. Loan translations are word-for-word translations of English lexical compounds, such as *Kabelfernsehen* and *Gipfelkonferenz*. Carstensen states that it would be a better idea to call them "nächste lexikalische Entsprechung" (1993, p. 53) and gives examples for problems that the expression "loan translation" can lead to. Sometimes a third language is involved; for example, the trigger of a loan translation to occur in German is an English word or expression which itself was influenced by a word or expression from yet another language (*Dritte Welt*). Another problem with the expression *loan translation* is that sometimes only another meaning is added to a word that already exists in German. For example, the word *Textbuch* was first known as a book containing the text of a musical work, but later the meaning as a book used in a class was added and *Textbuch* was regularly categorized as a loan translation.

Loan transferals are defined as being cases of partial translations of English compounds that consist of two or more individual words. In these cases, only one part of the compound is a literal translation whereas the other part has been translated only in a figurative way to render the meaning. This may happen because there is no exact equivalent in German, or because the equivalent is not regarded as being an appropriate translation that reflects the same meaning as the original. Examples for loan transferals are *Urknall* and *Wolkenkratzer*.

Loan meanings are transferals of the meaning of an English word or expression on a German word or combination of lexical items that already exist. This implies that the meaning of a German expression is broadened. For example, the German verb *realisieren* originally was only used in the sense of "make happen," but not in the English sense of "to note". Similarly, the noun *Kanal* used to denote only an artificial waterway, not a TV channel.

Loan creations are considered non-translation renderings of English expressions. The meanings are rendered by newly created German words but their creation is triggered by a concept and its expression in the English-speaking world. In other words, it is a rendering of an English expression which is free and formally independent from the donor language original. One can also call it a loan replacement. The term loan creation is controversial because some scholars doubt that it can be counted in the context of loan processes. However, since its creation needs the trigger of a foreign model, the treatment as a loan type can be justified. An example for a loan creation is *Klimaanlage*.

2.4.3 Partial and zero substitutions

Partial and zero substitutions will be the main focus of this study. Both are relatively easy to identify and have shown to represent the vast majority of Anglicisms. Partial substitutions are mixed compounds, which consist of English and German lexical elements to form a new word. Most of these words are nouns, such as *Leasinggesellschaft*, *Abwärtstrend*, and *Nebenjob*.

Zero substitutions are the easiest Anglicism to identify in German discourse, since they appear in their original spelling and morphological form or in similar form. However, this term is also not without complication. As Zindler has demonstrated in his 1975 work, some zero substitutions are only partially borrowed semantically. The noun *camp*, for example, was for some time only used to denote a POW camp in German, whereas the other English meanings *holiday camp* and *a group of close and like-minded people* (for example, "The Bush *camp* versus the Kerry *camp*") were taken over later. Another example is the English word *single*. In German, it was first known as the singles competition in a tennis match, then also as a 45 rpm record, and finally its connotations included that of an unmarried person. In a few cases, zero substitutions have taken on other meanings in German. The noun *City*, for example, is used in German in the meaning of *downtown* and has often replaced the words *Innenstadt* or *Zentrum* in certain contexts. Compound words with *City* include *City-Center* or *Forum City* for shopping malls in downtown areas. These examples demonstrate that there is still a connection between the meanings of these Anglicisms in German and in English, even though they are used in different contexts with different connotations. Carstensen noted in 1980 that such cases had increased since his first works about Anglicisms in the 1960s.

In conclusion, it should be noted that there is one further dimension to pseudo-loans, in that there may be either no connection between the meaning of a word in English and German (*Handy*), or the word does not even exist in the alleged source language (*Showmaster*). One has to differentiate between false morphological pseudo-loans and genuine loanwords from English which have undergone a process of

morphological adaptation to German. *Twen*, for example, is derived from *twenty* to denote a young person in their twenties. It follows the same pattern as the actually existing *teen* or *teenager* but does not exist in this form in English. *Profi* is the German abbreviation for *professional*, and *Happy End* has still remained close to the original *happy ending*. There are also independent developments that still stay close to the original meaning, but often change grammatical forms (for example, nouns turn into verbs or vice versa: *job/Job/jobben*).

After this introduction to the core terminology of the research of Anglicisms the following chapter will introduce the reader to the research focus and the methodology used in this investigation and describe the corpus that has been selected. In addition to that, the research questions and hypotheses (some of which have been mentioned implicitly before) will be presented in a systematic way at the beginning of the chapter.

Chapter 3: The Research Focus, Methodology, and Corpus

3.1 Research Questions and Hypotheses

The objective of this study is to describe and analyze changes in the use of Anglicisms in German business language, and more specifically in the language of the German business press. The business magazine *Wirtschaftswoche* was selected as its representative. The change in business language between 1973 and 2003 will be measured through a quantitative analysis of the incidences of Anglicisms in articles of *Wirtschaftswoche*. In addition, differences in the use of Anglicisms between different news genres will be examined. The choice of a written source is based on prior evidence that written language opposed to spoken language demonstrates deeper and more permanent changes in language (e.g., Carstensen, 1965). These changes are reflected in word choice and origin as well as in spelling. Even if spoken language did not have these shortcomings for research purposes, it would be extremely difficult to find a source of spoken business language such as a radio or TV show that could be analyzed over a period of 30 years.

The specific research questions to be addressed by this study are:

- Research question (RQ) 1: What is the overall frequency of Anglicisms in the corpus? How do tokens compare to types in the overall frequency[16]?

- RQ 2: Has the use of Anglicisms increased throughout the investigation period?

---

[16] The type versus token analysis reveals whether the variety of Anglicisms in the corpus is high, or whether a high number of frequently used Anglicisms contributes disproportionally to the overall amount of borrowing s. Tokens: the same Anglicism is counted every time it occurs. Types: each Anglicism will only be counted once.

- RQ 3: Has the variety of Anglicisms increased or are the same Anglicisms just used more often?

- RQ 4: Are there significant differences in the use of Anglicisms in the selected text types (cover stories, editorials, letters to the editor), and do professional journalists and readers differ in their use of Anglicisms[17]?

- RQ 5: Which Anglicisms are used most often?

- RQ 6: Do certain Anglicisms dominate in certain decades or years, and do they relate to the social, economic, and/or cultural circumstances of these times?

- RQ 7: Which important new Anglicisms have emerged between 1973 and 2003?

- RQ 8: What is the distribution of Anglicisms with respect to word type and loan type?

- RQ 9: Which are representative Anglicisms for each loan and word type?

- RQ 10: To what vocabulary class do most Anglicisms belong?

- RQ 11: How can the Anglicisms be classified semantically and what are their important semantic characteristics?

The specific hypotheses of the dissertation are as follows:

With regard to the use of Anglicisms throughout the investigation period the following developments are expected:

- Hypothesis 1: The use of Anglicisms increased throughout the investigation period.

---

[17] The different genres will be described later in this chapter.

- Hypothesis 2: Despite an overall increase, ups and downs in the use of Anglicisms may have occurred over the years. This may be related to the events and topics of the respective time periods.

- Hypothesis 3: Even though the use of Anglicisms increased, their overall frequency is still very low compared to the German word pool in the corpus.

- Hypothesis 4: The number of Anglicisms may have been lower in the past but the same loans may have been used more often (tokens versus types analysis). The variety of Anglicisms has increased over the investigation period.

- Hypothesis 5: A density of certain vocabulary can be observed at different times during the thirty-year period, for instance, technology-related Anglicisms may dominate from the 1990s until today. One objective of this work is to identify common Anglicisms at selected time periods (decades or years).

- Hypothesis 6: The loan types of Anglicisms have changed over the years. One of the expected findings is that the percentage of loan adoptions has increased compared to other loan types[18].

- Hypothesis 7: The vast majority Anglicisms in the corpus are nouns. This can be concluded from former studies. The majority of nouns designate abstract ideas or concepts, due to the mostly abstract contents of business publications.

The following assumptions are made in regard to the use of Anglicisms in the selected text types (cover stories, editorials, and letters to the editor) of *Wirtschaftswoche*:

---

[18] It has been frequently claimed that the number of loan translations has declined while adoptions have been on the rise over the years. These claims have not always been supported by empirical data. This study aims at achieving this in the area of business language.

- Hypothesis 8: There are different amounts of Anglicisms in cover stories, editorials, and letters to the editor. Letters to the editor contain the fewest Anglicisms and cover stories the most.

- Hypothesis 9: The types of Anglicisms used in the various genres may be different. It is expected that cover stories contain more technical terms than the other text types, whereas more colloquial terms may be used by readers in letters to the editor.

- Hypothesis 10: The amount of Anglicisms has increased in all text types, but in cover stories more than in editorials and letters to the editor.

3.2 Design of the Corpus and Other Methodological Aspects[19]

A corpus in its simplest definition is a collection of more than one text that can serve as the basis for a form of empirical linguistics. In modern linguistics this definition is supplemented by more specific details which McEnery and Wilson (1996) summarize under the terms "sampling and representativeness," "finite size," "machine-readable form," and "standard reference."

A corpus needs to be representative of a language or a part of a language. Its appropriate design depends on what it is meant to represent. The "representativeness" of a corpus in turn determines the kind of research questions that can be addressed and the generalizability of the results of a study.

It is important for most studies to take into account the language variants that occur in a language. For business language used in magazines, this means that all text

---

[19] This section follows Biber (1998), if not otherwise indicated.

types of these publications should be adequately represented by the corpus. Two options for data collection are conceivable: every single utterance of each language variety is analyzed, or a smaller sample of each language variant is selected. Unless the corpus is limited in size and constructed from widely available electronic sources, the first alternative is often impractical; however, modern computer technology helps this become more feasible. A smaller sample approach should be maximally representative of the genres under examination. Many corpora have a finite or limited size, in terms of the number of words, and are not open-ended. Open-ended corpora require the incorporation of new texts as language evolves. They are essential for diachronic lexicographic studies which aim at demonstrating the constant change of language over time. Compared to that, a corpus of a finite size only provides a synchronic snapshot of the covered investigation period. However, such a corpus can also be used for diachronic studies within a certain time period.

Along with its "representativeness" and size, a modern corpus also almost always implies "machine-readability." This facilitates the possibility of processing large amounts of quantitative data by allowing various kinds of calculations. Software such as concordance programs enables researchers to search for lexical items and to retrieve them along with their context (kwic - keyword in context). This makes it possible, for example, to analyze the occurrences of a word in a text. If a word often or always co-occurs with other words (collocations), one may be able to make general statements about its use and its semantic characteristics.

A corpus can be annotated or unannotated. An unannotated corpus consists exclusively of raw data without offering any additional information about its lexical components. Such additional information (e.g., grammatical annotations) can be easily added with adequate programs. Depending on the research questions and objectives of a study, an annotated or unannotated corpus is used. Finally, a corpus can also serve as a reference for future research. The nature of living languages is one of constant change. Language changes can be easily observed when a language is compared to an existing corpus. A prerequisite for this is that a corpus is widely available so that researchers may use it for different types of studies at a later time.

3.3 The *Wirtschaftswoche* Corpus

The corpus of this study will be discussed with respect to the requirements mentioned in the previous section. This corpus consists of text types taken from the weekly business magazine *Wirtschaftswoche*, a publication that has been among Germany's leading business magazines for decades[20]. The main genres occurring in *Wirtschaftswoche* are news stories (often combined with analysis), editorials and forewords to the reader, commentaries from salaried journalists and outside contributors, as well as letters to the editor. Cover stories were selected for the corpus to represent the most important news stories of a given week. In addition, careful consideration was given to selecting other important and frequently occurring text types such as editorials, commentaries, and letters to the editor. Commentaries from outside contributors who are not employed by the magazine are not considered to be representative, and therefore were

---

[20] The interested reader can look up detailed circulation information on the website of Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern e.V.: http://www.ivw.de

39

not selected as part of the corpus. Even though letters to the editors are written by readers, their selection and extent is influenced by editorial policies. They give an insight into the extent to which the usage of Anglicisms differs between readers and journalists

Four randomly selected samples[21] of each genre per year and over a period of 30 years (1973 - 2003) make up the text material used in this study. The corpus consists of a total of 556,810 words which spread over the different genres as follows:

- Editorials: 61,078 words

- Cover stories: 366,542 words

- Letters to the editor: 129,190 words

Cover stories, editorials, and letters to the editor were selected as the source of this study in the expectation that significant differences in the use of Anglicisms would occur among these text types. Two obvious research questions therefore would be focused on if and how the use of Anglicisms in these text types differs, for example, with respect to frequency. The following section will give a short overview of the general functions of the press and the selected genres, which is necessary as a background of this study.

3.4 The Function of the Press and Selected News Genres

In a democracy, mass media fulfills three political functions: providing information, participating in the formation of public opinion, and checking and criticizing the government (Meyn, 1994). Other tasks are the education and entertainment of the

---

[21] "Randomly selected" means that no pre-determined issues and articles of the magazine were intentionally selected.

public. Meyn points out that media in general have also taken on additional tasks, e.g., setting the agenda.

Wie die Wirkungsforschung hervorhebt, haben viele Medien über die erwähnten Funktionen hinaus weitere übernommen, zum Beispiel die Thematisierungsfunktion. Diese, wie sie in den USA heißt, "agenda setting function" bedeutet, daß die Leser, Hörer und Zuschauer genau die Themen für wichtig halten, die in den Medien behandelt werden[22]. (Meyn, 1994, p.13)

Within this framework of media functions, each news genre in the corpus takes on a different role.

3.4.1 Cover Stories

Cover stories mostly fulfill the function of providing information about a current event topic to the readers. This information, however, often includes analysis, because events or circumstances and their backgrounds are explained. On certain occasions, a newspaper or magazine can also set the agenda in making a certain topic the cover story. In that case, the topic may not yet have been at the forefront of the news, but may have potential to be brought to the public's attention through such action. Such a topic may be of great importance even though it has remained in the background a for long time. Cover stories therefore offer the press great opportunities to take advantage of their agenda-

---

[22] As the research on the effects emphasizes, many media took over more than the aforementioned functions, for example, the function of bringing up topics. This "agenda setting function," as it is called in the USA, means that the readers, listeners and spectators consider exactly those topics important that are dealt with in the media (translation by the author).

setting ability. Cover stories are news-centered, but since they also provide analysis of news, they may contain subtle opinions, especially in news magazines. However, in contrast to editorials and letters to the editor, they are not focused on expressing opinions and on trying to convince the reader of a certain viewpoint. In general, a cover story, just like a basic news story, should give answers to the following key questions:

- Who has done what?

- What has happened (to whom)?

- When?

- Where?

- How?

- Why?

Any additional questions such as "What does this mean?" and "What is the consequence of this?" make a news story a news analysis (Schneider, 1996). Cover stories in *Wirtschaftswoche* are usually labeled "Der Report". Kurz et al. (2000) point out characteristics of a report as a journalistic text type:

Dem Bericht als journalistischem Genre liegt trotz aller möglichen Kombinationen im wesentlichen die aus der Aufsatzlehre bekannte Darstellungsart zugrunde. Es wird ein reales, in dieser Form nicht wiederholbares Geschehen widergespiegelt, und zwar im Bezug auf die Abfolge seiner Phasen, detailliert und so anschaulich wie möglich [. . .] Daneben enthalten journalistische Berichte je nach Thema, Stoff und Absicht folgende Darstellungsarten:

Beschreiben oder Schildern; Erzählen; Darlegen und Urteilen, seltener auch Erörtern[23]. (Kurz et al., 2000, p. 238)

The significance of cover stories for this study lies in the fact that they may provide essential information about the use of Anglicisms at different time periods, because they primarily focus on the topics of most significance at a given time. While editorials, commentaries, and letters to the editors may also focus on current events, they may not reach the topicality of cover stories. The Anglicisms found in cover stories may therefore be most representative of the periods in which they occur. Different times entail changes of economic topics and possibly of semantic fields of vocabulary. Therefore, English loans will be analyzed according to their frequency and position in these semantic fields. As far as the language of cover stories is concerned, Kurz et al. (2000) point out that the word choice goes beyond the standard norms set for pure news stories. In addition to the standard vocabulary used in news stories, such reports can, for example, use more terminology, ambiguous words, and fashionable loanwords - depending on the topic of the article and the target group. Independent of the text type, however, any journalistic text should convey contents in a comprehensible way to the reader. Various practical handbooks for journalists recommend guidelines for language and style. Ahlke and Hinkel emphasize:

---

[23] The report as a journalistic genre is mainly based on the manner of description known from the teachings of essay writing, although various combinations are possible. A real event that will not repeat itself in the same way is reflected with respect to the sequence of its stages, in detail and as vividly as possible [...]
Next to that, journalistic reports contain - depending on topic, subject matter, and intention - the following types of descriptions: description or portrayal; narration; explanation, and judgment, more rarely discussion (translation by the author).

Die Aufgabe der journalistischen Sprache ist es, Inhalte verständlich zu vermitteln. Somit ist ein verbindliches Prinzip geschaffen, das über allen geschmacksorientierten Anleitungen steht [. . .] Sprache muß der Situation, der Funktion, der Gangart, der Zielgruppe sowie der Textart und -aussage angepaßt sein[24]. (1999, p. 19)

3.4.2 Editorials and Commentaries

In contrast to cover stories, editorials and commentaries focus on presenting opinions about current event topics, and on trying to win the reader for a certain viewpoint. Editorials present the opinion of the editor and the newspaper or news magazine as such. Commentaries express opinions of salaried journalists or of outside contributors. Due to the fact that not every single issue of *Wirtschaftswoche* contains editorials, commentaries from journalists who work for the magazine are also taken into account in this investigation. In this context, it is important to note that the terms editorial (Leitartikel) and commentary (Kommentar) are not used as distinctively in Germany as in the United States. For that reason, an opinion piece labeled "Kommentar" can sometimes be what Americans call an editorial.

Editorials and commentaries have in common that they are opinion-centered and are regarded as the legitimate location for the formation of (public) opinion (Schneider 1996). Schneider describes the characteristics of an exemplary commentary or editorial:

---

[24] It is the task of the journalistic language to convey contents understandably. Thus an obligatory principle is created, that stands above all taste-based instructions [...] language must be adjusted to the situation, the function, the pace, the target audience as well as to the text type and information.

[Der Journalist] formuliert zu Beginn seines Kommentars kurz und verständlich die Nachricht, auf die er sich bezieht; er schreibt seine Meinung besonders einprägsam und süffig, um die Chance wahrzunehmen, sie zur Meinung von vielen zu machen; und schreibt er gar gegen die mutmaßliche Meinung der Leser an, dann tut er gut daran, ihr erst einmal recht zu geben, um dann mit exzellenten Argumenten fürs Gegenteil zu werben.

Ein Ziel muß der Kommentator stets im Auge haben, ohne klare Stoßrichtung verfehlt er es. Ihm geht es wie dem Bürger in der Wahlkabine: Die Entscheidung mag noch so schwerfallen und die Waage sich kaum zu einer Seite neigen, dennoch darf er sein Kreuz nur hinter einer Partei machen[25]. (Schneider, 1996, p. 137)

Because editorials intend to convey an opinion to the readers and to influence them to take similar stands, it is expected that they will contain fewer Anglicisms than cover stories in order to be fully comprehensible (see Hypothesis 8). One research question therefore is if editorials really use fewer Anglicisms than the other selected news genres (see RQ 3). The opposite is also conceivable, because journalists may also try to impress readers by their command of the language and their use of loanwords. Kurz et al. (2000) point out that the word choice in opinion-centered text types is of much greater variety

---

[25] At the beginning of his comment the journalist formulates the piece of news to which he refers in a concise and understandable way; he writes his opinion especially in a way that is easily remembered in order to have the chance to turn it into the opinion of many; and he even takes a stand against the probable opinion of the readers; he does well to first agree with them before he then takes the opposite stand with excellent arguments. The commentator always has to have his objective in mind; without a clear direction he misses it. He feels like the citizen at the polls: Even if the decision is difficult and the scale hardly tips towards one side, he nevertheless elects only one party (translation by the author).

than in news reports and mentions two areas that may also be important with respect to the use of Anglicisms:

> Viele der Wörter und Komposita in Kommentaren sind temporär, d.h. aktuell begrenzt, an Ereignisse und Kampagnen gebunden. Daneben ist der Kommentar, da sich die Autoren als auf der Höhe der Zeit erweisen wollen, ein Feld von Modewörtern[26]. (Kurz et al., 2000, p. 324)

Thus, from Kurz's point of view, the results about the use of Anglicisms in editorials and commentaries could well turn out to be different than expected. Following his thoughts, journalists may not refrain from using a lot of Anglicisms in these text types.

3.4.3 Letters to the Editor

Letters to the editor offer the readers' stance on particular issues and are usually reactions or comments to previously published articles. In contrast to other sections of newspapers and magazines, their content is usually purely opinion-centered (Schneider et al. 1996). In this respect, they are part of the formation of public opinion and reflect developments and discussions in society. Depending on the newspaper or magazine and on the occasion, readers can lead an open dialogue with the journalists and other readers. In this way, a letter to the editor is an important means of public communication. In the form of a letter, it reflects how readers react to current events and changes in society.

---

[26] Many of the words and compounds in comments are temporary, that is restricted to the present time, and dependent on events and campaigns. In addition to that, the comment is a field of vogue words because the authors want to prove that they are up-to-date.

Most of the time the content of the letter expresses clear approval or rejection of an opinion that was stated in a journalist's article (Sommerfeldt, 2001). Siebert (1994) summarizes the most important aspect of letters to the editor in this way:

> LBV [Leserbriefverfasser] wollen sich öffentlich äußern, auf LB [Leserbriefe] anderer reagieren, Aktionen auslösen und zur Meinungsäußerung aufrufen. Die Wahl ihrer Themen ist abhängig von aktuellen Ereignissen, persönlichen Erfahrungen, von der Intensität der Auseinandersetzung mit gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen, von ihrem sozialen Status, ihrem persönlichen Wissen und Können sowie vom Charakter des Publikumsorgans.[27] (p. 181)

This implies that the language used in letters to the editor may also vary considerably due to the different educational levels and social status of the readers as well as due to differences between news publications. However, as will be shown later, the readers of *Wirtschaftswoche* do not differ much in their socio-economic and educational background. Because of that, major linguistic differences cannot be expected between letters to the editor in this publication. The fact that letters to the editor are also edited further strengthens this point.

As far as style and structure are concerned, letters to the editor are similar to private letters as they often start and end with a greeting, even though they are directed at

---

[27] Writers of letters to the editor want to express their opinion in public, react to letters of the editor that other have written, provoke actions and call for the expression of public opinion. The choice of their topics is dependent on current events, personal experiences, the intensity of their confrontation with social circumstances, their social status, their personal knowledge and ability as well as on the character of the publication (translation by the author).

the public. Their content also resembles a private letter, because thoughts, feelings, and personal interests are addressed. Today, hardly any newspaper or news magazine, no matter if in print or online, can do without letters to the editor or user comments, as they have become essential components of public opinion. In this context, it needs to be noted that even though letters to the editors are written by readers, their selection and length can be influenced by editorial policies (Sommerfeldt, 2001). The reason for this practice is that editors have only limited space to print letters, and they want to publish a variety of viewpoints on a variety of topics. Thus, letters to the editor have to be brief and concise, but also persuasive if the readers are interested in convincing others of their viewpoint. *Wirtschaftswoche* clearly indicates that letters to the editor can be shortened by the editors, which means that the reader's language use is influenced by the magazine.[28]

For this study, letters to the editor were chosen as a text type in the expectation that they would contain the fewest number of Anglicisms, because readers might be familiar with fewer Anglicisms than journalists or might actively choose not to use them. They might also use different kinds (e.g., colloquial loans compared to technical loans). It is therefore an interesting research question - do professional journalists and readers differ substantially in their use of Anglicisms (see RQ 3)?

On rare occasions, the letters to the editor section in *Wirtschaftswoche* also contain editorial corrections or comments as reactions to letters to the editor. Even though these statements are part of the language of the journalists and not of the readers, they

---

[28] See any page in the letter to the editor section of *Wirtschaftswoche* to find this clarification: "Leserbriefe geben die Meinung des Schreibers wider, die nicht mit der Redaktionsmeinung übereinstimmen muss. Die Redaktion behält sich vor, Leserbriefe zu kürzen."

will be counted among the text type "letter to the editor." Due to their very rare occurrence and brevity, their inclusion will hardly affect the results of the study.

3.5 Further Considerations Regarding the Corpus and the Execution of the Research[29]

Even if a corpus is considered very representative of a language, it is never perfect, because it is incomplete and only shows an excerpt of a language which as such is indefinite. Therefore one can expect incidental occurrences or incidental lack of occurrences of certain Anglicisms in a corpus.[30] Besides the representativeness of a corpus with respect to text types, another aspect to be taken into account for lexical studies is subject matter. A variety of subject matter should be included in the corpus. In this study, subject matter variety is ensured by the selection of cover stories as well as editorials and letters to the editor that cover (and comment on) various subject matters.

For a diachronic study such as this one, the corpus also has to represent a specific span of time. The time period between 1973 and 2003 was selected. 1973 marked a year of change at *Wirtschaftswoche*, as the publication adopted the look and style of a modern news magazine. It is beyond the scope of this study to use and analyze all issues of *Wirtschaftswoche* in the selected 30-year period. Past database studies and their sampling frequency, however, were helpful in deciding on an adequate number of issues to include.

---

[29] This section relates the parameters for good corpora to the study at hand. The parameters were already explained in Section 3.2.

[30] This shortcoming was already criticized by Chomsky with respect to the early use of corpora. He pointed out that corpus data are performance data that as such are imperfect and contain mistakes. Because of that, a corpus could only give a blurred impression of a language due to incidental occurrences or lack of occurrences of a word in a corpus (McEnery 1996).

As Biber (1998) states in his introduction to corpus linguistics, not only the number of samples taken from each text type is important in corpus design, but also the number of words in each sample, and the overall number of words. The size of the corpus for this study and its spread over the different genres is, according to Biber's methodology, adequate.[31]

Due to the fact that there were no exclusive online corpora for German business materials available for the period covered by this study, extensive copying, scanning, and editing became necessary to convert the articles into electronic format. They were then organized in different files according to genre and year of publication. Unfortunately, no software is capable yet of recognizing all Anglicisms in a German text due to the problematic German word boundaries which apply to all Anglicisms that have changed their appearance in German. Because of the size of the corpus, it would have been a prodigious task to manually retrieve the Anglicisms; instead an extensive list of previously identified Anglicisms that were published in Carstensen's and Busse's *Anglizismuswörterbuch* (2001) were used as a basis for the identification of Anglicisms in the corpus. Carstensen and Busse collected Anglicisms over a long period of time and from a variety of sources. Due to the fact that their dictionary is already dated and does not contain any items from after 1993, this list of Anglicisms was supplemented by records from the leading dictionary of neologisms of the 1990s (Herberg et al., 2004), as well as records from the UNIX English spellcheck dictionary and a German dictionary of

---

31 In a personal e-mail correspondence D. Biber expressed support for this study's corpus and its compilation (personal communication, July 24, 2004). The corpus consists of a total of 556,810 words which spread over the different genres as follows: editorials: 61,078 words, cover stories: 366,542 words, letters to the editor: 129,190 words.

business terms (Pasakarnis, 1997). The final list of Anglicisms then needed to go through the process of reverse lemmatization in order to assure that all inflections, i.e. the numbers and cases of nouns, all conjugations of verbs, and all endings of adjectives would be recognized in the corpus. On its website, the *Institut für deutsche Sprache* describes lemmatization as follows[32]:

Die Lemmatisierung ermöglicht, dass Flexionsformen, Zusammensetzungen und/oder sonstigen Wortbildungsformen ihre Grundformen zugeordnet werden können. Im diesem Zusammenhang sind Grundformen

- unflektierte Simplizia verschiedener Wortarten,

- unflektierte Ableitungen und Komposita,

- Wortbildungsmorpheme

(cited on http://www.ids-mannheim.de/kl/projekte/methoden/gl.html)

For this study the words had to be processed in the opposite direction. All inflection forms were assigned to lemmas in order to find as many occurrences of Anglicisms as possible[33].

The edited list of Anglicisms served as the search list for identifying Anglicisms in the corpus. The lemmatization as well as the following search were performed by a research associate in the Lexis department (program division: Corpus Linguistics) of the *Institut für deutsche Sprache* in Mannheim. The corpus itself was organized in .txt files

---

[32] http://www.ids-mannheim.de/kl/projekte/methoden/gl.html
[33] Examples: *gestartet* and *startet* are inflectional forms of *starten*; *Managerin* is a gender specific form of *Manager*; *boomendes, boomender, boomende* are inflection forms of *boomend*.

according to year and text types. Because of that, the retrieved list of Anglicisms contained information about each Anglicism's occurrence according to publication year of the article and text type. In addition to that, the list showed the Anglicisms in context (keyword-in-context information). All other necessary information for this study needed to be added to this list manually (for example, word type, loan type, noun classification, and so forth). Due to a variety of factors, the list from the *Institut für deutsche Sprache* also contained many mistakes that needed to be corrected manually.

As in previous studies, it is unlikely that one hundred percent of the Anglicisms in the corpus were found. However, the approach used was the best conceivable way of proceeding with the study. Even though the results may not reveal the absolute number of Anglicisms in the corpus with complete accuracy, this does not influence the accuracy of the proportional data. Differences in frequency between the years and between the different text types will be accurately reflected, which is a main purpose of this investigation.

As explained at the beginning of this chapter, the corpus-based approach to linguistics was the method used to carry out this research. It should have become clear that corpus linguistics is a methodology that "can be applied to empirical investigations in almost any area of linguistics" (Biber, 1998, p. 11) The characteristics of the corpus-based approach include the use of a corpus as basis for empirical studies of language use, the extensive use of computers, and the dependence on both quantitative as well as qualitative analytical techniques. After typical patterns of language use are uncovered, for

example, by frequency counts, a second step of corpus linguistics is to aim at functional interpretations of quantitative patterns (such as the use of Anglicisms). These interpretations are used as a basis for learning about patterns of language use in naturally occurring texts.[34] This study compares the frequency and variety of Anglicisms in different text types over a period of 30 years.

The study also discusses semantic characteristics of this English vocabulary in German. The Anglicisms are classified with respect to their affiliation with general language, or languages for specific purposes such as business or technology, as well as with formal or colloquial language. These classifications are somewhat subjective and were done on the basis of the author's judgment. In addition, nouns (which previously have always been shown to comprise the vast majority of Anglicisms)[35] were classified according to a standard linguistic taxonomy. Criteria such as concreteness and abstractness, human or non-human nature, countability or uncountability were used to examine semantic characteristics.[36] Such a classification may reveal which types of Anglicisms dominate and are more likely than others to be fully integrated into the German language. The most important part of this taxonomy is the comparison between concrete and abstract nouns.

Concrete nouns have a very specific referent. They refer to people, animals, and objects that can be perceived by the five senses of sight, touch, smell, hearing, and taste.

---

[34] This fact is stressed to differentiate such corpus-based studies from investigations of language structure that focus on how language can be used theoretically opposed to its actual use in reality (Biber 1998).
[35] See Chapter 4 for more details.
[36] This classification of nouns according to semantic criteria is described by Schatte and Schreiber (1995).

The sense which develops the earliest and is considered the most powerful is touch. First language research has found that concrete words are the first and easiest to learn, whereas abstract nouns that convey ideas and concepts are learned much later. In the case of second language acquisition the research is not as clear-cut, because second language learners already know abstract nouns from their first language and this knowledge is advantageous for the learning of another language. However, there are also clear indications that they have more difficulties learning and actively using abstract nouns. Nelson and Schreiber (1992) found that language learners perform better on concrete words than on abstract words, in laboratory tasks such as word recognition, recall of word, and pronunciation. If these findings are applied to Anglicisms, it can be suspected that the majority of English loans are concrete nouns that can be easily recognized, understood, and used. A new object from the U.S. that is introduced in Germany may therefore keep its American designation. It can be suspected that abstract Anglicisms are more difficult to use and understand and therefore would be used less frequently. On the other hand, topics in business magazines tend to be related to abstract and complicated concepts (see Rössler & Schenk, 1997). Therefore, the use of abstract nouns cannot be avoided. However, these nouns could conceivably all be German nouns, unless the concept or idea originated in the United States or another English-speaking country.

Potential findings of this study such as the prevalence of certain Anglicisms in specific text types or time periods will lead to other questions, such as the following: Why do certain Anglicisms appear in certain text types more than in others? Why do they dominate at certain times, and can conclusions be drawn due to the socio-cultural context

of these periods? Why do new Anglicisms emerge in German business language? This study will try to answer such questions and provide a starting point for future research into questions that remain.

3.6 The German Business Press

This section provides a general overview of the business press in Germany before a closer look is taken at *Wirtschaftswoche* in particular. The economy and its development are of great importance for individuals and the entire society in a market economy. In such an economic system, people are consumers, taxpayers, investors, savers, employees, or employers and often fulfill more than one role at a time. Society is dependent on a positive development of the economy in order to function. Therefore, information about the economy and the business world is essential. This task is fulfilled by the business press, which in Germany can be divided into four focal areas: business magazines, daily general and financial newspapers, and general news magazines which devote only parts of their coverage to the topic. The mass audience is mainly interested in dealing with its main role as employee and consumer. In Germany, this audience is served by daily newspapers and TV and radio shows as well as the relatively sensational news magazine *Stern*. Other more demanding news magazines are *Spiegel* and *Focus*. There has been no research, however, on the extent to which the average reader pays attention to the business sections of the non-business focused news sources. Two influential business dailies are *Handelsblatt* and *Financial Times Deutschland*. The main special interest business magazines are *Capital*, *Wirtschaftswoche*, *Euro (DM)*, and *manager magazin*. They address a rather small segment of the population which is socio-

economically attractive and has interests that go beyond the basic business coverage. In the research literature about the German press these readers are often called "Info-Elite", because they rely not on one magazine exclusively, but may supplement their reading of *Wirtschaftswoche* with that of *Spiegel* or other magazines and newspapers (Rössler & Schenk, 1997).

Past content analyses of the business press all came to the conclusion that the business coverage is not comprehensible to the man in the street, because it is unilaterally geared towards experts, and written in a difficult language style.

Es ist offensichtlich, dass die Wirtschaftsteile der großen Zeitungen im deutschen Sprachraum für Experten geschrieben werden, und zwar für solche die Arbeitgeber, Produzenten, Eigentümer oder Aktionäre sind. Interessierte Laien tun sich da schwer. Die Wirtschaftsredakteure muten ihnen - und im übrigen auch den sogenannten Experten - häufig eine Sprache zu, bei deren Lektüre kostbare Zeit verschwendet wird[37]. (Rössler & Schenk, 1997, p. 17).

It is not surprising, therefore, that the special business press is very unsuccessful in attracting a huge audience of non-experts. The difference between daily financial newspapers and special interest business publications is based on the percentage of news analysis and commentary, not on different language styles. Schröter (1992) finds that newspapers devote two thirds of their coverage to news reporting whereas this percentage

---

[37] It is obvious, that the business sections of the big newspapers in the German-speaking countries are written for experts, specifically for those who are employers, producers, property-owners, or stockholders. Interested laymen have a difficult stand. The editors of business publications use often a language that requires the reader (including the expert) to waste precious time on its comprehension (translation of the author).

is only 38% in business magazines, where news analysis accounts for more than 42% of the coverage.

Schenk and Rössler did a quantitative content analysis of major German business publications in 1995. They came to the conclusion that the range of topics treated in the various publications is the same or extremely similar. The focus of the reporting is on the following topics:

- Companies

- Personalities in business and politics

- Business environment and economic conditions

- Investment options and strategies

- Taxes

- Career topics

Differences exist in the way the topics are weighed in the different publications. According to Rössler and Schenk, *manager magazin* focuses on top entrepreneurs and managers. *Euro (DM)* and *Capital* put emphasis on the money market and provide investment advice whereas *Wirtschaftswoche* focuses on the business environment and economic and political conditions. The personalities in the reporting are the "who's who" of business life: executives and top managers, entrepreneurs, bankers, politicians, and scholars and scientists. The workers and consumers, seen as the smallest players in the business world, are widely ignored in all publications. It is not their interests that are covered, but rather those of the employers.

These findings indicate that all business publications have a slant with respect to the readers they are attracting. Lay people rarely find comprehensible and relevant information for their particular interests in business publications, but the extent of this deficiency varies from publication to publication. Whereas *Capital* and *Euro* at least fulfill a few basic information needs for consumers and employees, *Wirtschaftswoche* and *manager magazin* are completely focused on business leaders and employers. As far as the corpus of *Wirtschaftswoche* is concerned, the subjects covered do not differ much from Schenk and Rössler's subject list. The following are the most frequently covered topics in the investigation period in cover stories and editorials[38]:

1. Economic conditions and economic policy

2. Personalities in business and politics

3. Politics (mostly related to business topics)

4. Specific industry or company information

5. Investment options

The following section offers a short overview of the history of *Wirtschaftswoche* and its characteristics and is intended for readers who are not very familiar with the publication. The discussion will also include further comparisons between Wirtschaftswoche and competitive magazines.

---

[38] Letters to the editor contain various topics every week and were therefore excluded from a look at the covered topics.

3.7 The History and Characteristics of *Wirtschaftswoche*[39]

The predecessor of today's *Wirtschaftswoche* was called *Der deutsche Volkswirt* and appeared for the first time in 1926.[40] It wasn't until the 1960s that the cover got the look of a modern magazine and became multicolored. A gradual transformation of the magazine from a highly theoretical specialized business publication to a modern business magazine began. *Der Volkswirt* was intended to become a bridge between scholarship and practice. This bridging function was apparently well received by the readers, as its circulation tripled between 1967 and 1971. At this time, other business publications entered the market (e.g., *Plus* and *Der Aktionär*) and eventually merged with *Der Volkswirt*. In 1970, the *Der Volkswirt* was given a new subtitle "*Wirtschaftswoche*," which in 1971 became the new name of the magazine. Two years later, *Wirtschaftswoche* got new management, a new cover page along with an overall new layout and an extended content spectrum. The new trend was explained by then-editor Dieter Schütze:

---

[39] The information in this section was mainly taken from: W. Engels and H. Froels (eds.) Querschnitte. Sechs Jahrzehnte deutscher Wirtschaftsgeschichte 1926 – 1986. Düsseldorf: Gesellschaft für Wirtschaftspublizistik, 1986.

[40] For the reader interested in more details about the history of the magazine: The editorial objectives of *Wirtschaftswoche* were initially to present economic criticism and foreign policy analysis. With the arrival of the Great Depression in 1929 domestic economic policies became more and more important. The founder and long-term editor of the magazine, Gustav Stolper, an alumnus of the University of Michigan, greatly influenced the public debate in the 1920s through his contributions. The first issue of *Der deutsche Volkswirt* consisted of only 32 pages with a 16 page supplement and was available at newsstands for one Reichsmark once a week. The branches of the German Reichsbanken became subscribers to the magazine, which early on contributed to financial stability as well as to an average circulation of 5,000 (1927). Many prominent figures of the time wrote contributions for the magazine, making it the most successful business publication, until 1933 when it was temporarily outlawed by the Nazis because of "criticism of the methods and the objectives of the national revolution." During the Third Reich the magazine was brought into line with the positions of the Nazi government and its main thematic focus became the armament industry. In 1943 it was shut down completely like all other media outside the Nazi party monopoly.

After World War II, in 1946, the U.S. as an occupying power granted a license for the weekly *Zeitung für die neue Wirtschaft* (also called Frankfurt *Oekonomist*). This was to be the root for the later re-emergence of *Der Volkswirt*. In 1949, the old name was re-introduced and the first post war issue reached a circulation of 7,000. In the early post-war years the number of pages averaged 34, including 20% advertisements. In 1955, *Der Volkswirt* had already reestablished itself at the top level of the German print media. The first foreign office was opened in 1957 in London and was soon followed by offices in Paris and New York.

"Amerika hat Business Week, England hat den Economist. In Deutschland wird die *Wirtschaftswoche* über die Woche der Wirtschaft berichten". (Engels & Froels, 1986, p. 429). At this point in time, *Wirtschaftswoche* had fully developed the image of a modern magazine. Because of its significance for the development of *Wirtschaftswoche*, as well as the intention of covering a period of no less than 30 years, the year 1973 was chosen as the beginning year of this study.

In 1976, the year of the 50th anniversary of *Wirtschaftswoche*, the circulation surpassed 100,000 for the first time. 10 years earlier, it had only been 15,515. In 1984, the magazine had a volume of 224 pages - the most extensive copy until that time. This page volume was only exceeded in the dot-com boom of the late 1990s, when issues with more than 300 pages were normal. This was due to the high number of ads. Today the number of pages usually does not exceed 170 (WiWo-Chef Baron im Interview, 2005). Along with the number of pages and number of ads, the circulation has fallen as well since 2002. In 2005, an average of 180,000 copies were sold per month, with subscriptions contributing approximately 50% to the total sales.[41]

---

[41] Current data cited on Spiegel Online, September 30, 2005:
http://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/0,1518,377135,00.html
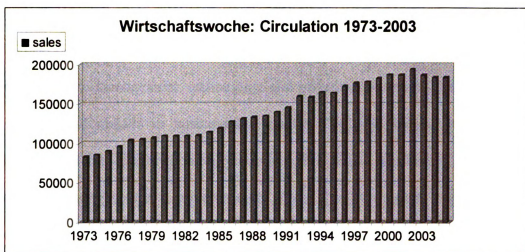
Figure 1: Circulation of *Wirtschaftswoche* 1973-2003

The current editorial conception of *Wirtschaftswoche* is described by chief editor Stefan Baron on the magazine's web site:

> Nichts ist spannender als Wirtschaft
>
> Die WirtschaftsWoche ist das Magazin für die Wirtschaft von heute. Nie zuvor war Wirtschaft so spannend. Nie war deshalb der Bedarf für ein Magazin wie die WirtschaftsWoche so groß. Als Spezialist unter Deutschlands großen Wochenmagazinen konzentriert sie sich auf das Thema Wirtschaft. Gegenüber den Monatstiteln hat sie den Vorteil der Aktualität. Im Vergleich zu den Tageszeitungen kann sie den Dingen tiefer auf den Grund gehen[42]. (GWP media-marketing, n.d.)

---

[42] Nothing is more exciting than business
The "WirtschaftsWoche" is the magazine for the business of today. Never before was business so exciting. For this reason, the need for a magazine such as WirtschaftsWoche was never as great. As a specialist among Germany's big weekly magazines it concentrates on topics of business and economics. Compared to the monthly magazines it has the advantage of topicality. In comparison with the daily papers it can be more profound in its investigations of news stories (translation by the author).

Wirtschaftswoche has an editorial team of 120 journalists with correspondents all over the world. The range of economic topics covered ranges from company news and economic policies to management, technology, and private investment. The main target groups are decision makers in business and politics. Detailed special reports about innovative areas such as multimedia, telecommunication, and biotechnology, as well as consumer-related themes such as advertisement, fitness, and retirement savings options are covered. *Wirtschaftswoche* also organizes special initiatives such as the "Hall of Fame der deutschen Werbung", and grants special prizes for innovative companies, e.g., "Innovationspreis der deutschen Wirtschaft," in cooperation with the top associations of German businesses. The magazine's close connection to German business is reflected in its pro-business political ideology, which makes it an ally of the Free Democratic Party (FDP). Chief editor Stefan Baron stands by the fact that *Wirtschaftswoche* has a clear political orientation and that this is one way that the magazine distinguishes itself from the competition:

Die "WirtschaftsWoche" hat eine 80 Jahre lange Tradition und war schon politisch, als es die anderen noch gar nicht gab. Sicher: Manche stören sich daran. Zu meinem wöchentlichen Kommentar bekomme ich auch viele kritische Briefe, wie Sie an den Leserbriefseiten sehen. Aber ein Standpunkt, an dem sich niemand reiben kann, ist doch uninteressant. Unsere klare liberale Positionierung ist ein Markenzeichen - sie hat uns Prestige gebracht, Leser in der entscheidenden

Zielgruppe, Anzeigen und Gewinn.[43] (WiWo-Chef Baron im Interview, 2005)

Besides the print and online editions of *Wirtschaftswoche*, the *Wirtschaftswoche* publishing house also publishes special editions such as "WirtschaftsWoche next - Das Magazin für Erfolg in Studium und Beruf" as well as books, videos and CDs.

A look at the *Wirtschaftswoche* web site offers an initial insight into the extensive use of Anglicisms in the language use of the magazine of today. In the following description of the online version of *Wirtschaftswoche* taken from its web site the obvious Anglicisms have been highlighted:

www.wiwo.de ist das **interaktive Online**-Angebot der WirtschaftsWoche und damit die kompetente und unabhängige Informationsquelle für Wirtschaft und Politik. Hier treffen sich **Young Professionals** und Entscheider, um sich tagesaktuell über das Wichtigste zu informieren. Aktuelle Börsenkurse und persönliche Depots können zügig abgefragt werden. Das redaktionelle Angebot konzentriert sich auf die Rubriken **Technologie**, Erfolg, **Management**, Unternehmen, Politik, Leben und Geld. www.wiwo.de stellt **exklusive** Studien, Grafiken und **Charts** zum **Download** bereit. Mit ausführlichen Branchen-**Spezials** informiert wiwo.de auch über internationale Großereignisse (z. B. **Computer**messe Cebit). Die Inhalte werden von den Redakteuren der

---

[43] The "WirtschaftsWoche" has a tradition of 80 years and was already political when the others did not even exist. Certainly: Some are bothered by that. For my weekly comment I get also many critical letters as you see in pages of the letters to the editor. But a point of view at which nobody takes offense is uninteresting. Our clear free-enterprise positioning is a trademark – it brought us prestige, readers in the decisive target group, advertisements and profit.

WirtschaftsWoche geliefert. Täglich wechselnde Diskussionsforen zu aktuellen Fragen aus Wirtschaft und Politik bieten zudem die Möglichkeit, Standpunkte und Meinungen **interaktiv** auszutauschen. Hinzu kommen pointierte Kolumnen, die zur Diskussion anregen[44].

3.8 *Wirtschaftswoche* Compared to its Competition

With approximately 800,000 readers reached each week, *Wirtschaftswoche* was the number two business magazine in the German market in 2004. Two other leading magazines, *Euro* (formerly called *DM* and *DM Euro*) and *Capital* frequently trade sales rankings with *Wirtschaftswoche* due to similar circulation numbers. *Wirtschaftswoche* prides itself on being the most up-to-date business magazine, because it is published weekly compared to its major competitors, which are either published bi-monthly (*Capital*) or monthly (*manager magazin* and *Euro*). Taking the weekly publication mode into account, *Wirtschaftswoche* is actually sold and read more than the competition. The following chart illustrates the positioning of Germany's four most successful business magazines *Wirtschaftswoche, Capital, Euro,* and *manager magazin.*

---

[44] www.wiwo.de is the **interactive online** version of the WirtschaftsWoche and therewith the competent and independent information source for business and politics. Here **young professionals** and decision-makers meet in order to inform themselves about the most important events on a daily basis. Current stock prices and personal investment accounts can be investigated swiftly. The editorial offer focuses on the columns **technology**, success, **management**, enterprise, politics, life and money. www.wiwo.de provides **exclusive** studies, graphics and **charts** for **download**. With detailed **specials about** different industries wiwo.de informs also about major international events (for example, the **computer fair** Cebit). The contents are supplied by the editors of the WirtschaftsWoche. Discussion forums about current questions from business and politics that change daily offer the opportunity to exchange points of view and opinions **interactively.** In addition to that, there are pointed columns that stimulate discussion.

Circulation of leading business magazines (2002)

Legend: ■ Wirtschaftswoche ■ Capital □ manager magazin ■ Euro

y-axis: number of sold copies (0, 50000, 100000, 150000, 200000, 250000)

x-axis: total sales, subscriptions
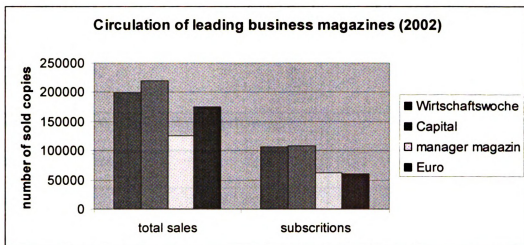
Figure 2: Circulation of German Business Magazines

The range of topics covered in *Wirtschaftswoche* does not differ much from *Capital*. As in *Wirtschaftswoche*, articles in *Capital* range from purely business-related topics, such as economic policies, company information, investment and retirement options, real estate, technology, and taxes to everyday or special interest topics such as shopping, traveling, and health. The thematic areas have an appeal to the readers because of the importance to their professional lives as well as to their private lives.

According to a recent media analysis, *Capital* is the business magazine with the highest percentage of executives and top-salary earners among its readers.[45] Compared to *Capital*, *Wirtschaftswoche* has fewer readers in upper management and among the top-salary earners. However, most socio-demographic factors are very similar for both magazines. 39 percent of *Wirtschaftswoche* and *Capital* readers are either executives,

---

[45] Media analysis for first quarter of 2004, Arbeitsgemeinschaft Media Analyse e.V., Frankfurt. http://www.agma-mmc.de. The data also shows that *Capital* reached a circulation of 205,184 and a readership of 1.25 million per month in 2004.

high ranking managers or public servants, or freelancers. Other characteristics of *Wirtschaftswoche* and *Capital* readers are provided in Table 2.

Publication	Wirtschaftswoche	Capital
Education of readers		
"Abitur" or University Degree	50.1%	46%
Gender of readers		
Female	20.5%	23%
Male	79.5%	77%
Age of readers		
30-59 years	87%	68%

Among the above age group, most readers are between 40 and 49 years of age.

Table 2: Profile of the Readers of *Wirtschaftswoche* and *Capital*[46]

Since both magazines target similar readers and cover similar topics, it is not to be expected that significant differences between the magazines exist in the use of Anglicisms. This study therefore focuses only on *Wirtschaftswoche,* which is considered to be representative of all leading German business magazines with respect to aspects such as content, language use, and text types. One can surmise, for example, that *Capital* and *Wirtschaftswoche* do not differ significantly in the use of Anglicisms. Potential differences in editorial policies which would influence the use of Anglicisms are unknown. *Wirtschaftswoche* has the longest history as a business publication in Germany and taking the weekly publication mode into account, *Wirtschaftswoche* is actually sold

---

[46] Media Analyse 2004/I, cited on http://www.capital.de ("Leserschaft")

and read more than the competition. Because of these factors, *Wirtschaftswoche* and not

Capital was selected as the magazine to be used for the corpus of this study.

Future studies could focus on other publications such as *Capital* and compare

their data to the *Wirtschaftswoche* data in order to find out if differences can be observed.

This clarification would give empirical proof whether *Wirtschaftswoche* is representative

of the language use of the German business press in general. However, at this point, this

can be surmised due to the many similarities between the business magazines.

3.9 Principles of the Count of the Anglicisms

This section details how the use of Anglicisms is examined and counted in this

study. A number of database studies in the past including Yang (1990) and Krause-Braun

(2002) have counted Anglicisms per page without taking into consideration that pages

may differ considerably not only between sources but even within one source. Due to

different font and page sizes and amounts of space devoted to text, comparisons between

such studies are problematic. The number of Anglicisms, therefore, has to be set in

relation to the total number of words in the corpus in order to be able to make useful

comparisons between studies. Even for comparisons within this study (for example,

between the use of Anglicisms in different text types), it is essential to contrast the

number of Anglicisms with a base value. The absolute number of Anglicisms will

therefore always be set in relation to the number of words in a particular sample (or in the

whole corpus) which leads to a percentage value.

The first goal of the count is to determine the total amount of Anglicisms in the corpus and their percentage of the overall number of words. Looking at the individual words, they will then be ranked according to the frequency of their individual use. After this first step, more detailed examinations are carried out to determine the number and usage frequency of the Anglicisms per year and per text type. Anglicisms will then be examined according to their word and loan type, and their integration into the German language as well as with respect to semantic aspects.

The principles of the count of the Anglicisms are displayed in the following overview. Anglicisms are counted in the corpus as follows:

- 1. Loanwords whose foreign origin can be easily recognized (direct adoptions) and loanwords which have adapted to the German language in spelling, pronunciation and/or morphology (adaptations). Words in both categories are zero substitutions according to Fink's original terminology (see Chapter 2).

- 2. Mixed compounds (partial substitutions, loan blends) and English compounds. In compounds consisting of two or more English words, every word is counted separately.

- 3. Indirect adoptions (full substitutions). As has been explained in Chapter 2, this category includes loan translations, loan transferals, and loan creations, and is the hardest to identify. For that reason, it is likely that a considerable number of these adoptions will not be identified. Many studies intentionally leave out this category in order not to run into this problem (e.g., Fink et al., 1997; Langer, 1996).

Compared to the amount of other Anglicisms, this group of words was in the past found to be very small. Still it seems useful not to ignore this category completely and to present selected examples.

- 4. Pseudo-loans: These words made up of English lexical material are also hard to identify, but are considered Anglicisms in this study.

- 5. Names of agencies, organizations, and companies are counted if they could be rendered in German (for example, *Federal Drug Administration* or *FDA* versus *US-amerikanische Arzneimittelbehörde*). English names of German companies are also counted. The use of such Anglicisms creates atmosphere and shows the indirect influence of English. It also demonstrates that the journalists take the readers' understanding for granted. Names will only be counted as one word even if they consist of more than one word.

- 6. Exotisms: Exotisms are Anglicisms that denote conditions, objects, and certain places that only exist in the country or language area of their origin[47]. According to Yang's definition (1990), exotisms are objects, institutions, processes or appearances that do not exist within the German language area, and because of that, receive the same designation as where they do exist. He decides not to take them into account in his 1990 study. Krause-Braun (2002) points out that distinctions are hard to draw between exotisms, proper names, and designations for categories and hints at examples such as *Coca-Cola* and *Broadway* and thus decides to count them in contrast to Yang (1990) and Oeldorf (2003). In this study, such Anglicisms are counted if their meaning goes beyond the simple

---

[47] In the context of this study, exotisms are Anglicisms that denote a person, object, place, or even concept that only exists in the English-speaking world.

location of a place or simple designation of an object. For example, Wall Street does not only designate a street in Manhattan, but also the financial center and part of the financial system of the United States.

Certain words and names are excluded from the count:

- 1. Names of geographic places (expressions which stand for more than just a geographic place like *Wall Street* are counted).

- 2. Names of people.

- 3. Names of non-German companies or organizations (that cannot be rendered in German).

- 4. Titles of English language books and articles.

- 5. English expressions and quotations that are translated. English quotations that are not translated are counted, because they are used with the expectation that readers understand them. Their use is a conscious decision for the utilization of Anglicisms. Every word of an expression or quotation is counted.

The same Anglicism is counted every time it appears (*tokens*). This count will be supplemented by a *types* count, in which each Anglicism will only be counted once. This count demonstrates how many different Anglicisms are used, and how often each one is used overall and according to year and text type. Lists of the most frequently used Anglicisms will be generated for the entire time period as well as per year and text type. If an Anglicism appears in quotes or parentheses it will be counted.

The limitation of this study is its reliance on previously identified Anglicisms. If the articles contain Anglicisms that are neither part of Carstensen's *Anglizismuswörterbuch* (2001), nor Herberg's *Neologismenwörterbuch* (2004), the UNIX English spell check dictionary, or Pasarkanis' *Business Dictionary* (1997), they will not be identified. Because of this, no claim of completeness can be made. In the case of full substitutions such as loan translations or pseudo-loans, a number of words may not have been identified. Despite their low frequency, studies should not ignore these types of borrowings completely. Unfortunately, the size of the corpus did not allow a manual identification and count of such Anglicisms, which are much harder to identify than adoptions or adaptations and mixed compounds. Despite this shortcoming, selected Anglicisms of this category will be discussed.

The following chapter presents and discusses the results of this study.

Chapter 4: Discussion of Results

This chapter will present the results of the study in terms of the number and frequency of Anglicisms in different text types and developments in Anglicism usage over the years of the investigation period. It will also present ways to classify these Anglicisms and discuss their context and semantic characteristics. The results will be discussed in light of the research questions and hypotheses put forward in the previous chapters. They will also be compared to previous studies.

4.1 Results with Respect to Overall Frequency

This section answers research question (1) about the overall frequency of Anglicisms in the corpus and their variety. A grand total of 8258 Anglicisms were found in the corpus, which consists of 556,810 words in articles from 126 issues of *Wirtschaftswoche* during the 1973 to 2003 time period. This corresponds to a percentage of Anglicisms in the corpus of 1.48[48].

Time Period	Tokens	Total number of words in corpus	Percentage of Anglicisms
1973-2003	8258	556,810	1.48%

Table 3: Frequency of Anglicisms over the Investigation Period

---

[48] Thus, the amount of Anglicisms is very low compared to the overall word pool of the corpus (see Hypothesis 3).

This number is slightly higher than the percentages found in a synchronic study of Anglicisms in the business publications *DM* and *Capital* by Langer in 1996. She only looked at two 1995 issues of each publication and came to a 1.1 and 1.4 percentage rate. Bartsch and Siegrist (2002) found a higher percentage of 3.33, in the subcorpus "Wirtschaft" of the *Darmstädter Corpus Deutscher Fachsprachen*. This subcorpus contains various business language sources, which may explain the higher percentages. In their study, no comparisons were made between different time periods. Other studies, which did not focus on business publications, had lower rates of Anglicisms than in the study at hand. As has been mentioned before, comparisons to various studies are problematic because they counted Anglicisms by page and did not take into account page size and content. If the number of Anglicisms is not set in relation to the total number of words, comparisons between studies are of little use, because different page and font sizes as well as different amounts of pictures on pages would distort any comparison. Another problem in comparing study results is based on the fact that some studies do not count certain kinds of Anglicisms such as loan translations and pseudo-loans, whereas others do.

The total number of Anglicisms was broken down further by examining how many of them were used more than once. It is significant to know if the variety of Anglicisms is high, or if a repetition of frequently used Anglicisms contributes disproportionately to the overall number of borrowings. The results show that there are indeed various Anglicisms which occur repeatedly whereas others are only used rarely. The total number of tokens (every Anglicism is counted no matter how often it occurs) is

more than three times higher than the number of types (every Anglicism is only counted once no matter how often it occurs). Thus, statistically, every Anglicism in the corpus is used 3.55 times. A closer look at the data reveals how this number comes about: More than one hundred Anglicisms occur more than ten times each in the corpus[49]; the most frequently used borrowing occurs more than two hundred times, whereas more than one thousand Anglicisms occur only once in the entire corpus. Table 4 shows the type-token-analysis.

Time Period	Tokens	Types	Tokens-Types-Ratio
1973-2003	8258	2326	3.55

Table 4: Type-Token-Ratio

The finding that some Anglicisms are used frequently has a variety of reasons and will be demonstrated by selected examples. A high frequency of a certain word not only implies popularity, but may also reflect a strong integration into the German vocabulary. An Anglicism may have filled a gap or may have partially or fully replaced another word. An Anglicism which is only used once, on the other hand, may not really have become part of the German language, but rather be used occasionally by a journalist as a stylistic device. In this case, it can only become well-known if other journalists follow the example and the word becomes part of the passive or even active vocabulary of the readers.

---

[49] See Tables 15 and 16 for examples of such Anglicisms.

4.2 Frequency per Year and Trend Analysis for 1993-2003

According to the data, the amount of Anglicisms increased considerably from 1973 to 2003. This answers research question (2) and confirms Hypothesis 1. The increase in Anglicisms does not become immediately clear if one looks at the individual years (see Table 5). Many times during the period, decreases in the use of Anglicisms from one year to another year stand in contrast to increases during other years. This confirms the assumption that there are fluctuations in the use of Anglicisms over the years (Hypothesis 3). Table 5 illustrates these fluctuations in the use of Anglicisms between 1973 and 2003. A trend analysis reveals, however, that the increases in use surmount the decreases in use over the whole period (see Figure 3).

Year	Number of Anglicisms	Number of words	Percentage of Anglicisms	decrease or increase compared to previous year
1973	262	23533	1.11%	
1974	304	25099	1.21%	+
1975	301	15849	1.90%	+
1976	203	17310	1.17%	-
1977	189	21202	0.89%	-
1978	218	18437	1.18%	+
1979	247	25114	0.98%	-
1980	196	13864	1.41%	+
1981	135	16049	0.84%	-
1982	324	19582	1.65%	+
1983	388	19820	1.96%	+
1984	306	22645	1.35%	-
1985	220	19853	1.11%	-
1986	203	18598	1.09%	-
1987	404	22486	1.80%	+
1988	223	23190	0.96%	-
1989	222	17479	1.27%	+
1990	309	19553	1.58%	+
1991	331	17759	1.86%	+
1992	283	15102	1.87%	+
1993	249	14574	1.71%	-
1994	154	13884	1.11%	-
1995	357	16658	2.14%	+
1996	151	10023	1.51%	-
1997	291	18775	1.55%	+
1998	269	21145	1.27%	-
1999	388	17208	2.25%	+
2000	447	14742	3.03%	+
2001	296	14458	2.05%	-
2002	309	18251	1.69%	-
2003[50]	79	4568	1.73%	+

Table 5: Frequency of Anglicisms (tokens) per year

---

[50] Only one sample of each text type was taken in the year 2003.

This upward trend can also be observed if decades are taken into account instead of individual years (Table 6)[51].

Decade	Number of Anglicisms	Number of words	Percentage of Anglicisms
1973-1979	1724	146544	1.18%
1980-1989	2621	193566	1.35%
1990-1999	2782	164681	1.69%
2000-2003	1131	52019	2.17%

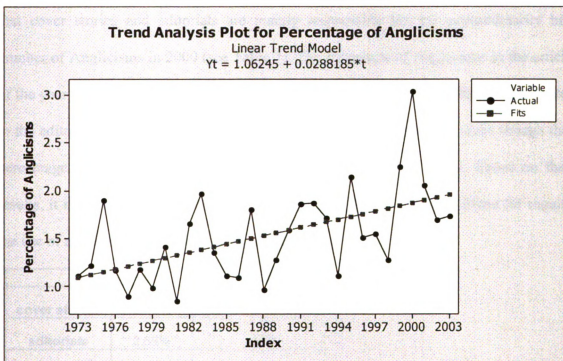Table 6: Frequency of Anglicisms per Decade

Figure 3: Trend Analysis for the Increase in Anglicisms 1973-2003

The increase in the frequency of Anglicisms is in part due to peak years during the investigation period that deserve a closer look. The 1970s and 1980s did not include a single year in which the percentage of Anglicisms reached over 2% whereas the 1990s

---

had two years, and the new decade has already had two years up to 2003. The articles of

the year 2000 contain by far the highest number of Anglicisms of the entire time period,

and a look at the topics of the articles of that year gives clues as to why. Two cover

stories dealt with the stock market, one with the internet economy, and the fourth one

with the car industry. As will be shown later, many Anglicisms in the 1990s and in the

new millennium are related to the stock market and internet domains. The editorials of

the year 2000 dealt with economic policy in general and the just-introduced German

Green Card for foreign computer specialists in particular. A more detailed analysis shows

that cover stories and editorials are mainly responsible for the extraordinarily high

number of Anglicisms in 2000 (see Table 7). The frequency of Anglicisms in the articles

of the year 2000 is more than twice the frequency of the entire 1973-2003 period. Letters

to the editor also have a higher than average frequency of Anglicisms, even though their

percentage rate is more 50 % lower than the one for covers stories. Based on these

results, it is obvious that the topics of the articles of the year 2000 facilitate (or require)

the use of more Anglicisms than other articles.

	2000	1973-2003
cover stories	3.60%	1.58%
editorials	2.69%	1.34
letters to the editors	1.77%	1.27

Table 7: Peak Year 2000 - Percentage of Anglicisms per Genre

On the other extreme, the year 1981 shows the fewest occurrences of Anglicisms in the

investigation period. The topics of the cover stories were bureaucracy in Germany,

economic policy in France, monetary policy, and foreign aid. Based on the data, these

articles apparently could do without the use of many Anglicisms. There is, however, no reason why the articles of 1981 contain the fewest Anglicisms, because topics such as bureaucracy in Germany and domestic and foreign economic policy are dealt with frequently during the investigation period.

Research question (3) asked whether, along with an increase in number, the variety of Anglicisms also increased between 1973 and 2003. If every single year of the corpus is regarded separately, lower tokens-types-ratios are observed than the ratio for the entire time period of 3.55[52]. This is not surprising because the probability of each Anglicism being used more than once is much lower in a smaller sample. The higher ratio of the overall period can be explained by the fact that many Anglicisms not only occur in a single year but also in others years. Table 8 shows the number of tokens and types as well as the tokens-types-ratio per year.

---

[52] See section 4.1.

Year	Tokens	Types	Ratio
1973	262	144	1.82
1974	304	181	1.68
1975	301	190	1.58
1976	203	106	1.92
1977	189	103	1.83
1978	218	126	1.73
1979	247	119	2.07
1980	196	102	1.92
1981	135	71	1.90
1982	324	139	2.33
1983	388	165	2.35
1984	306	141	2.17
1985	220	116	1.90
1986	203	123	1.65
1987	404	188	2.15
1988	223	133	1.68
1989	222	125	1.78
1990	309	154	2.01
1991	331	168	1.97
1992	283	146	1.94
1993	249	124	2.01
1994	154	88	1.75
1995	357	157	2.26
1996	151	87	1.74
1997	291	145	2.01
1998	269	155	1.74
1999	388	193	2.01
2000	447	226	1.98
2001	296	153	1.93
2002	309	164	1.88
2003	79	57	1.39
1973-2003	*8258*	*2326*	*3.55*

Table 8: Type-Token-Ratio per Year

The data in this table does not confirm Hypothesis (4) which expected an increase in the variety of Anglicisms over the period. Some database studies in the past have shown either a decrease or an increase in tokens-types-ratios over time, but no clear development can be observed here. The type-token-ratios range from a minimum of 1.39 to a maximum of 2.35. But no trends, like Yang (1990) and Krause-Braun (2002) found,

could be observed. Yang observed an increase in the number of times Anglicisms were used when he compared issues from *Der Spiegel* from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980. Krause-Braun, on the other hand, who compared two issues from the daily newspaper *Badische Zeitung* from 1949 and 1999, found that in 1949 the same Anglicisms were used more often, whereas in 1999 a wider variety and a higher number of Anglicisms were used. The results of this study do not allow for a definite interpretation. The fact that the tokens-types-ratio remained relatively stable does not mean that no new Anglicisms have emerged over the years, but it implies that older loanwords may have disappeared (or may not have been used as often as before) at the same time that new Anglicisms emerged. This is a possible explanation for why the variety of Anglicisms did not increase.

4.3 Most Frequently Used Anglicisms

Closely related to the question of the yearly and decadal fluctuations in frequency over the examination period is research question (5) concerning which Anglicisms are most frequently used over the entire period. Table 9 lists the most frequent English loans that occurred in the *Wirtschaftswoche* corpus between 1973 and 2003:

Anglicism	Tokens
Manager	210
(Produkt)[53] LAT	(125)
Interview	121
Management	117
Report	108
Investor	104
Partner	101
Experte LAT/FR	97
Analyst	79
Rezession	76
Technologie	74
Trend	73
Job	72
Innovation LAT	69
Medien LAT	67
Generation LAT	60
Engagement FR	58
Modell IT	55
global LAT/FR	47
Editorial	44
stoppen	44
Wall Street	44
Airbus	43
Club	43
technologisch	41
Computer	39
Know-how	38
Boss/Boß	35
Service	35
Wachstumsrate IT	35
Test	34
Marketing	33
Streik	32
Boom	31
deficit spending	30
elektronisch	29
starten	29
Top-Manager	29
Inflationsrate	28
Public Relations	28

[53] Even though *Produkt* is of Latin origin, its meaning of an industrially manufactured item is believed to have come into German through English influence (Carstensen 2001). Because of that, Carstensen included *Produkt* in his Anglizismuswörterbuch. In this study, *Produkt* has not been counted as an Anglicism in the overall frequency statistic because its individual meanings were not examined. Nonetheless, it needs mentioning here, because it occurs very often in the corpus.

Banker	27
fatal LAT	27
Image	27
Special	24
Profi	23
Deal	22
fair	22
Know-how	22
Start	22
Crash	21
Golf	21
Internet	21
Shareholder Value	21
Trainer	21
Dow-Jones-Index	20
smart	20
Film	19
OECD	19
unfair	19
Szene GR/LAT	18
Top-Manager	18
Votum	18
Kondition	17
Holding	16
Joint Venture	16
Controlling	15
Floating	15
Kreativität	15
Recycling	15
Star	15
Ecu	14
Koalitionspartner	14
nuclear	14
programmieren	14
Rate IT	14
Supermarkt	14
Administration	13
Datenbank	13
Exportboom	13
kreativ	13
Krisenmanager	13
Research	13
alternativ FR	12
Blue Chips	12
Cash-flow	12
City	12
clever	12
Flop	12

Insider	12
Jet	12
Minivan	12
Renner	12
Team	12
Tip/Tipp	12
intelligent LAT	11
Investment	11
Investmentbanking	11
Spitzenmanager	11

Table 9: The Most Frequently Used Anglicisms between 1973 and 2003[54]

This list contains all Anglicisms which occur more than ten times in the corpus. The most frequently used Anglicism by far is *Manager*, followed by *Interview*, *Management*, *Report*, *Investor*, and *Partner*. *Report* would not be as high up in the list if it were not used so often to label cover stories in *Wirtschaftswoche*. None of the words which appear close to the top of the list are restricted to any particular time periods or have newly emerged in German. The only two new Anglicisms that occurred for the first time in the corpus in 1996 are *Internet* and *Shareholder Value*. These loanwords reach the 57th and 58th position among the top 100 most often used Anglicisms in the corpus. This demonstrates how important the *Internet* as communication device and *Shareholder Value* as a business concept have become and that there was no effort made to replace them by German words through loan translations[55].

Internet has a much more versatile usage than *Shareholder Value*. It occurs by itself as well as in various compounds. Most of these are noun compounds, but a

---

[54] The abbreviations (LAT:Latin, IT= Italian, FR=French, and GR=Greek) in this table stand for the languages that the respective words originally came from. Because they received a broadening of meaning in English that influenced German, these words can also be classified as Anglicisms with respect to those new meanings. For a detailed description of these meanings, see Carstensen (2001).

[55] This answers research question (7) about new Anglicisms that have emerged in the corpus. Due to the size of the corpus, only the most frequent were mentioned here. See section 4.4 and 4.8 for more examples.

combination that forms an adjective also occurs (*Internet-gestützt*). On the other hand,

Shareholder Value only occurs in the corpus in this combination. No separate

occurrences of *Value* and *Shareholder* are documented. The only combination with

another noun is *Shareholder-Value-Prediger*. Table 16 shows the ways that *Internet* is

used in the corpus:

Internet
Internetadresse
Internetboom
Internet-Dienstleister
Internet-Experte
Internet-gestützt
Internet-Sektor
Internet-Serviceprovider
Internet-Startup
Internet-Szene
Internet-Wirtschaft
Internetzugang

Table 10: Occurrences of *Internet* in the Corpus

It is striking that compound nouns are either formed by writing both components

together (*Internetadresse*) or by joining them by using a hyphen (*Internet-Wirtschaft*).

The latter method implies less integration into German and can be regarded as a transition

period before words are joined without hyphens. Besides the spelling, it is evident that

Internet is joined with other English loans like *Boom* or *Startup* as well as with German

words (*Zugang, Wirtschaft*).

With the exception of *Internet* and *Shareholder Value* all of the Anglicisms on the

most frequently used list are established loans and not new importations into German. All

loans except two are adoptions and adaptations. The two exceptions are *Profi*, a pseudo

loan and abbreviation of *professional*, and *Renner*, the only loan translation to be used more than ten times. The fact that there are hardly any new loanwords among the most frequently used Anglicisms implies that new loans do not weigh much in the overall usage because they occurred for the first time relatively late in the investigation period. To see if new loans become popular, it is necessary to examine the year they first occur and the following years. Such Anglicisms seem to be rare in the corpus. This implies that the number of new importations in comparison to established loans is low. However, no conclusions regarding general validity can be drawn from these findings of the study because a loanword that appears for the first time in a year of the 1973-2003 time period may still have been used in other sources before.

Established loans are loanwords that have been used over many years and have been fully integrated into German due to their frequent use - not necessarily due to morphology and spelling. One may assume as well that these loanwords are well understood by a majority of readers.

The Anglicisms in the list can be further categorized. Among the items in the list are twenty-two compounds that consist either of English-English or German-English components. The remainders are single words. The list presented in Table 16 does not take into account that frequently used Anglicisms may also be components of mixed compounds, and that they primarily or exclusively occur in these word combinations. A second frequency list was therefore compiled which shows only individual words after compounds were split up (Table 11). A comparison of both lists reveals subtle

differences. The results show that the frequency of some Anglicisms (e.g., *Manager* and *Partner*) in the new list is considerably higher than in the previous ranking because they were now counted separately as opposed to being counted as a single word as a compound.

Anglicism	Frequency
Manager	355
(Produkt) LAT	(250)
Partner	210
Experte FR	200
Management	178
Interview	124
Rate IT	122
Technologie	117
Investor	113
Trend	109
Report	108
Analyst	101
Modell IT	97
Job	88
Generation	81
Rezession	79
Computer	78
Medien IT	78
Innovation LAT	73
Marketing	71
Boom	64
Engagement FR	58
global LAT, FR	57
Test	55
Investment	53
Club	51
Service	49
Wall Street	46
Know how/Know-how	45
stoppen	44
Airbus	44
Editorial	44
Banker	43
top	42
Crash	41
technologisch	41
high	38
Profi	38
Boss/Boß	46

Paket	34
Image	32
Tech	32
Star	29
elektronisch	29
Start	29
starten	29
Internet	29
Streik	27
fatal	27
Golf	27
smart	27
Park	26
Special	26
Film	25
Holding	25
online	25
Business	24
Szene	24
Public	24
Stopp	23
Research	23
fair	22
Leasing	21
Team	21
Deal	20
Mini	20
OECD	20
Software	20
Trainer	20
unfair	19
Jet	19
capital	19
Transfer	19
Venture	19
Floating	18
Schock	18
Kondition	18
Votum	18
Broker	17

Multi	17	testen	11
kreativ	17	spending	10
Tip	17	Fan	10
Video	17	Lobbyist	10
Recycling	16	Story	10
Lobby	16	Design	10
super	16	Internet	10
Banking	16	Mikroelektronik	10
Limit	16	Newcomer	10
Value	16	Party	10
Explosion	15	Philosophie GR	10
Chip	15	radikal	10
Center	15	Shareholder	10
Controlling	15	Szenario	10
Kreativität	15	streiken	9
Insider	14	Flotte	9
nuklear	14	Director	9
programmieren	14	multinational	9
-bewußt	14	Reaktor	9
Ecu	14	Relations	9
Floater	14	SDI	9
Research	14	Show	9
Supermarkt	14	Stock	9
Administration	13	Van	9
Boom	13	votieren	9
Budget	13	Comeback	8
City	13	Reaktion	8
Streik	13	Airport	8
Terminal	13	boomend	8
Watergate	12	Chairman	8
out	12	Corporation	8
Slogan	12	digital	8
clever	12	Freightliner	8
Flop	12	Greenback	8
Chart	12	ICE	8
Joint	12	Interviewer	8
Parks	12	managen	8
Relation	12	Managerin	8
Renner	12	Performance	8
Training	12	Team	8
deficit	11	Ticket	8
Order	11	Trip	8
cash	11	Trust	8
alternative FR	11	Präsident	7
Company	11	Control	7
intelligent LAT	11	extra	7
Klub	11	Airline	7
Medium	11	Automation	7

Bubble	7	Dumping	7
Cartoon	7	Eskalation	7
Champion	7	Headhunter	7
corporate	7		
Dow-Jones	7		

Table 11: The Most Frequently Used Anglicisms (Individual Words) Between 1973 and 2003

4.4 Frequent Anglicisms in Individual Years and Decades

Research question (6) asked whether certain Anglicisms dominate at certain times and whether new borrowings occur due to the circumstances of a time period. It was supposed that Anglicisms that dominate at certain times would reveal characteristics of the social, economic, and/or cultural background of these times (Hypothesis 5).

As had been suspected, the 1990s and the new millennium saw the occurrence of new Anglicisms which are often related to technology (e.g., *Internet*) and new concepts in business and economics that may not have been valued as much in Germany as in the Anglo-American world (e.g., *Shareholder Value*). The progress in communication technology during the 1990s is clearly reflected in the new English vocabulary that entered the German language during that time and occurs in the corpus. Even if a new technology had not been developed by the United States, English vocabulary would often be used to introduce these innovations, or pseudo-loans were created (e.g., *Handy*). Most of the new business terms refer to the stock market, which gained popularity among Germany's small investors in the 1990s. Prior to the 1990s small investors had been reluctant to invest money in stocks or mutual funds, and Germany even today is not a nation of stockholders to the extent that the United States is. Table 12 contains Anglicisms that are typical of the 1990s and the new millennium. However, only a few of

them occur for the very first time in the corpus in the 1990s. These Anglicisms are

highlighted in italics.

Bio-Chips
Biotech-Boom
Biotechnologie
Blue Chips
Boom
boomen
Börsencrash
Broker
Controller
Controlling
Crash
Dotcom-Crash
Emerging Market
Fondsmanager
Handy
High-Tech-Boom
High-Tech-Industrie
High-Tech-Produkt
High-Tech-Unternehmen
Internet
Internetadresse
Internetboom
Internet-Dienstleister
Internet-Experte
Internet-gestützt
Internet-Sektor
Internet-Serviceprovider
Internet-Startup
Internet-Szene
Internet-Wirtschaft
Internetzugang
Investment
Investor
Joint Venture
managen
online
Performance
Portfoliomanagement
Put-Optionsschein
Shareholder Value

Table 12: Selected technology and business terms (1990-2003)

Some Anglicisms reveal the major events of a year. For example, in the year 1974 the most frequently used Anglicism in the corpus was a name: *Watergate*. Originally, the name of a Washington, D.C. apartment complex, the word became known all over the world as one of the biggest political scandals in American history. In Germany a similar word - *Waterkantgate* - was later used for the biggest German post-war political scandal of 1987[56].

During the 1970s the use of Anglicisms such as *deficit spending* was also characteristic of the times. *Deficit spending* was continuously one of the most frequently used English loans of the decade. Many articles in the corpus deal with the leading macro-economic strategy of the time which followed the ideas of the British economist John Maynard Keynes by which the government was supposed to increase spending and take on debt in order to revive the ailing economy.

---

[56] This scandal, also known as "Barschel-Affäre," involved the wrongdoings of the governor of the state of Schleswig-Holstein. *Waterkant* is a Low German word for *coast* and in combination with *-gate* refers to this scandal at the northern German coast.

4.5 Frequency According to Word types

Research question (7) investigates the distribution of Anglicisms according to word type? Former studies have always found the vast majority of Anglicisms to be comprised of nouns (for example, Fink, 1996; Yang, 1990; Bohmann, 1996; Viereck, 1980; and Langer, 1996). These results have been re-confirmed by this study. On the whole, 85% of Anglicisms in the corpus are nouns, and if names are counted among the noun category, this rate goes up to 90%. Adjectives come in second with 5.2%, followed by verbs with 2.4%. All the other word categories together only reach a percentage of 2.1% and can therefore be disregarded. In her study of two issues of *Capital* and *DM*, Langer comes up with the same proportional distribution, but the number of nouns is even higher compared to adjectives and verbs (96.6%, 2.6%, 0.8%). Bohmann examines the language of advertising and finds a much lower percentage for nouns (70%) whereas verbs and adjectives have a higher than usual representation with 14.5% and 15.4%, which may be a characteristic of the language of advertisements. Yang's study of S*piegel* finds more verbs than adjectives. Viereck finds 91.2% nouns, 6.9% adjectives, and only 0.8% adjectives. Table 13 presents the findings with respect to word types in the *Wirtschaftswoche* corpus.

Word Types	Nouns (including 5.18% names)	Adjectives	Verbs	Adverbs	Others
1973-2003	90.37%	5.12%	2.39%	0.33%	2.12%

Table 13: Word Classification of Anglicisms

92

The high concentration of nouns can be explained by the fact that many English nouns come into German as the designation for an innovation in technology (*Internet*), or for a new emphasis, concept, or process in business and economics (*Shareholder Value*). The name of a new concept or object thus comes over to Germany along with its designation. Görlach points out that "nouns form the largest class of loanwords [in all European languages] (commonly over 80 percent); most of these are terms taken over as names for new things, inventions, and concepts" (Görlach, 2002, p. 7).

Another reason for the majority status of nouns is that they can be integrated more easily into the German language than verbs and adjectives[57]. A comparison with other studies suggests that the large majority of Anglicisms are always nouns no matter what language variety is examined. There is no indication that word types of Anglicisms differ in languages for specific purposes such as in business from general language in this respect.

4.6 Semantic Classification of Nouns

Since nouns represent the vast majority of all identified Anglicisms in the corpus, a more detailed classification of these word types is necessary[58]. Semantic characteristics of nouns can be examined by classifying them according to a basic linguistic taxonomy. The nouns in the corpus were categorized according to the following parameters:

---

[57] Nouns receive a gender and a plural ending in German and have to follow case rules. The gender of Anglicisms may not require different word endings unless a noun can be used for either a male or a female (*Manager/Managerin*). The plural of English nouns in German is often formed with –s, as in English. Because of that, they are more easily integrated into the language than verbs, which have to add different endings and prefixes that do not occur in English, e.g., starten, gestartet, startest.

[58] This section refers back to research question (11).

- abstractness or concreteness

- human or non-human nature

- countable or uncountable noun

Table 14 shows the results of this classification of the 7,037 nouns in the corpus.

human	1503	21.36%
non-human	5534	78.64%

abstract	4145	58.90%
concrete	2892	41.10%

countable	6063	86.16%
uncountable	974	13.84%

Table 14: Semantic Taxonomy of Nouns

These results are not surprising. The majority of nouns refer to non-human references, in other words, objects or concepts. Abstract concepts dominate over concrete objects. This can be expected in a magazine which reports mainly on abstract economic and business concepts. However, the relatively high amount of concrete references implies that Anglicisms that are imported frequently refer to concrete objects. This stands in accordance with vocabulary acquisition theories in first and second language acquisition, which show that those nouns referring to the concrete are learned faster and more easily. The same applies to countable nouns which form the vast majority in this corpus - they are usually less abstract than their uncountable counterparts. The acquisition of Anglicisms may follow the same pattern. Those which are concrete and countable are taken over more easily and are more familiar to journalists and readers than abstract ones.

94

The fact that the majority of Anglicisms is nevertheless abstract can be explained by the abstract nature of the contents of business publications[59].

4.7 Classification of Vocabulary

The Anglicisms in the corpus were also examined with respect to semantic categories (research question 10). The language categories were not determined beforehand, but came into being through a close look at each Anglicism. The following vocabulary categories were found:

- general language vocabulary

- business terms

- military terms

- political terms

- sports terms

- medical terms

- colloquial terms

The last category differs from the others, because vocabulary can be considered colloquial and still be part of other categories. However, as can be expected from a business magazine hardly any colloquial Anglicisms were found in *Wirtschaftswoche*. The overall findings are summarized in Table 15.

---

[59] Chapter 3 discussed this characteristic in more detail.

general language vocabulary	5562	67.35%
business terms	2145	25.97%
technological terms	423	5.12%
political terms	43	0.52%
military terms	31	0.38%
sport terms	28	0.34%
medical terms	2	0.02%
colloquial terms	24	0.29%

Table 15: Vocabulary Classification

The results show that the majority of Anglicisms in *Wirtschaftswoche* are words that are part of general language use. The business focus becomes obvious by the relatively frequent use of business Anglicisms which make up one quarter (25.9 %) of all Anglicisms. The next largest vocabulary class is technology related vocabulary[60]. All other vocabulary classes remain under two percent and therefore play no major role.

An important aspect in this context is the comparison between text types which will also be the focus of the following section[61]. With respect to vocabulary classes, cover stories use by far the most specialized Anglicisms. The percentage of business and technology-related loans is considerably higher than in editorials and letters to the editor as shown in Table 16[62]. This finding corresponds to the expectations put forward in Hypothesis 9.

---

[60] This vocabulary class has also increased over the years.

[61] Research question (4) refers this section and section 4.9.

[62] Tests of significance (Z-tests for two proportions) show significant differences between all text types in regard to the frequency of business terms. For cover stories and editorials as well as cover stories and letters to the editor the p-value is 0.000, for editorials and letters to the editor, it is 0.043. In regard to technology terms only the differences between cover stories and letters to the editor are significant (p-value=0.028).

	Cover story	Editorial	Letters to the Editor
business terms	27.59%	20.17%	23.18%
technological terms	5.43%	4.52%	4.32%

Table 16: Percentage of Specialized Anglicisms

4.8 Frequency According to Loan Type

Almost fifty percent of the Anglicisms found in *Wirtschaftswoche* have been taken over with little or no change in spelling and morphology[63]. Loans were labeled adoptions if they appeared in the text the way they would look in an English text. This implies that they may not be labeled adoptions if they appear with a German ending, for example, with a plural (*Investoren*) or a feminine ending (*Managerin*). Even though the capitalization of nouns is a sign of integration into the German language, it is not considered an aspect to differentiate between adoptions and adaptations in this study. To be considered an adaptation, an Anglicism in German must feature other characteristics which make it different from its English original, as in spelling changes such as "k" instead of "c," or typical German plural or gender endings.

The second and third most frequent loan types of Anglicisms in the corpus are mixed compounds and adaptations. As has been explained before, mixed compounds consist of at least one German and at least one English component. Adaptations have adapted to the

---

[63] This section answers research question (8) with respect to loan types.

German language in morphology, spelling, and pronunciation.[64] All of the other loan categories only account for 3% of all identified loans. Among them, loan translations and pseudo-loans are the most important whereas loan transferals as well as loan meanings can be disregarded due to their extreme low percentage of only 0.21 in the entire corpus. Figure 4 illustrates the frequency of the various loan types in the corpus.
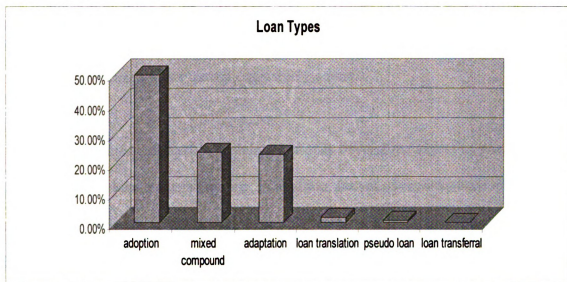

Figure 4: Frequency per Loan Type

Trend analyses for the investigation period reveal an increase of adoptions and pseudo-loans over the years whereas all other loan categories decrease. The finding that loan adoptions dominate and are further on the rise confirms Hypothesis 6. Other studies that did not focus on business language came to the same conclusion and also found adaptations and loan translations to decrease. As far back as 1965, Carstensen claimed

---

[64] Aspects of pronunciation will not be discussed in this study.

that there was a tendency towards the unchanged adoption of loans from English without basing his suspicions on a particular corpus.

4.8.1 Adoptions

The use of adoptions has increased over the years (see Figure 5). On the whole, they account for almost 50% of all Anglicisms found in the corpus. Examples for the most frequent adoptions in the corpus are *Interview, Management, Know-how, Service, Job*, and *Trend.* Such Anglicisms occur in the corpus the way they would appear in an American publication and are almost exclusively nouns.

Proper names that have a meaning that goes beyond the object or place that they stand for are also counted as adoptions. In addition, names of organizations and agencies that could be rendered in German belong to this category as well. Such proper names that occur repeatedly in the corpus are: *Wall Street, Supreme Court, Watergate, Silicon Valley, New Deal, Reaganomics, Hollywood,* and *U.S. Food and Drug Administration.* *U.S. Food and Drug Administration* could as well be rendered as *amerikanische Arzneimittelbehörde* in German. Using its original name takes for granted that the reader is familiar with this American agency and also adds local "flavor[65]." *Silicon Valley, Wall Street, Hollywood,* and *Watergate* all have meanings that go far beyond the designation of a place. *Wall Street* symbolizes the American stock market and financial system, *Watergate* stands for one of the biggest political scandals, *Hollywood* symbolizes the film industry and its participants, and *Silicon Valley* refers to the high-tech economy. It is striking that none of the adoptions are verbs. The reason for that is that verbs that are

---

[65] Galynski (1963) considered this one of the stylistic reasons for the use of Anglicisms.

imported into German form German endings in their conjugations and can never keep the same morphology as in English.
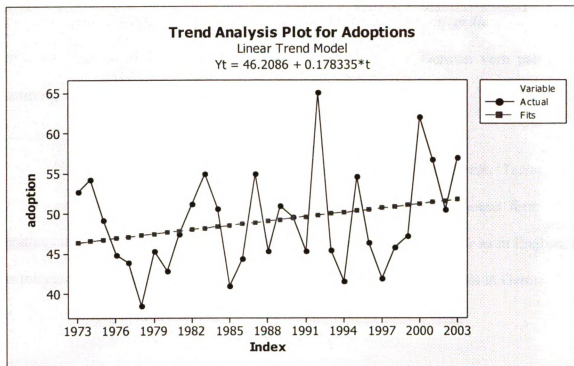

Trend Analysis Plot for Adoptions
Linear Trend Model
$Yt = 46.2086 + 0.178335*t$

Figure 5: Trend Analysis for Percentage of Adoptions 1973-2003

4.8.2 Adaptations

Adaptations account for twenty-three percent of Anglicisms in the corpus. Overall their use has decreased during the investigation period (see Figure 6). In contrast to adoptions, they have adapted to the German spelling and morphological system. All verbs in the corpus are adaptations, because they need to adapt to the German morphology (for example, in their conjugations) in order to fulfill their grammatical function. Attributive adjectives have to follow the rules of declension and therefore can also not keep their original appearance. Examples for business-related adjectives in the corpus are *boomend, trendig,* and *floatend.*

Exemplary verb adaptations (including business- and technology-related terms) are *managen, boomen, floaten, jobben, canceln, verleasen, feuern, splitten, verfilmen, puschen, jetten, klonen, drillen, trimmen, durchschecken, testen, grillen, austricksen, tricksen, klicken,* and *programmieren.* All verbs follow the German verb pattern by forming infinitive endings in *n* and *en.*

Noun adaptations are, for example, *Investoren, Scheck, Streik, Technologie, Filme,* and *Analysten.* Except for *Scheck* and *Streik,* all of these nouns form plural endings that are not used in English. Even if the plural is formed with *s* as in English, as is the case with *Scheck* and *Streik,* the nouns may distinguish themselves in German by a different spelling than in English.
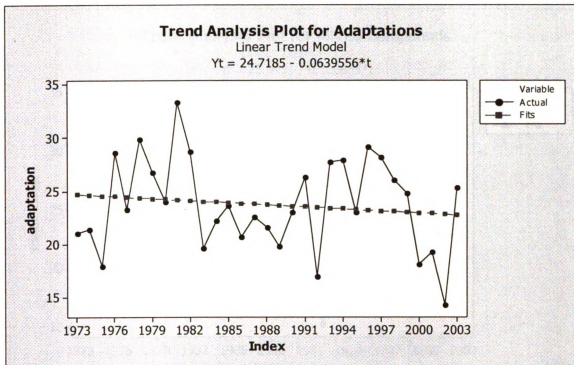
Figure 6: Trend Analysis for Percentage of Adaptations 1973-2003

4.8.3 Mixed Compounds

Mixed compounds make up almost twenty-four percent of all Anglicisms in the corpus, but their use has decreased between 1973 and 2003, as Figure 7 illustrates.
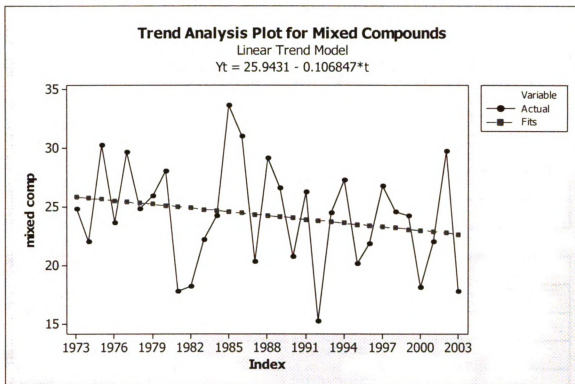
Figure 7: Trend Analysis for Percentage of Mixed Compounds 1973-2003

The English components of such noun compounds can stand in the first or end position (of a noun compound). Table 17 gives an overview of representative and mostly business-related mixed compounds from the corpus. Even though the list contains some very frequent compounds, it does not contain a ranking of frequency.

Mixed compound with Anglicism at the beginning	Mixed compound with Anglicism in end-position
Anti-Trust-Regel	Agenturbosse
Anti-Floating-Allianz	Bauboom
Clearing-Abkommen	Anlage-Hit
Cash and Carry Händler	Anlagen-Leasing
Computerhersteller	Auslandsorders
Holdinggesellschaft	Beschaffungsmarketing
Secondhand-Wohnungen	Bundesbanker
Sample-Stichprobe	Ehegattensplitting
Fast-Food-Riese	Einheitsboom
Merger-Phase	Doppel-Job
Open-Service-Filiale	Fernsehspot
Health-Care-Produkte	Gewerkschaftsboss
Internet-Café	Fondsmanager
Know-how-Verlust	Börsencrash
High-Speed-Internet-Anschluss	Jahresendrally
Shareholder-Value-Prediger	Lohndumping
Top-Ten-Verdiener	Viererteam
Job-Aktiv-Gesetz	Nachmittagsfixing
Pay-TV-Anbieter	Wertpapierresearch

Table 17: Mixed Compounds

An example for an Anglicism that deserves a closer look is *Sample-Stichprobe.* This compound is actually redundant because *sample* can be translated by *Stichprobe* in German. The question here is why *sample* is used at all. This could be interpreted as an attempt by a journalist to introduce a new Anglicism into German. Because *sample* is

probably not yet well-known to everyone, a compound is created which reveals its German translation. Anglicisms with redundant components such as *Sample-Stichprobe* should be observed in future studies to see if they become widely known and remain the same, or if they change.

4.8.4 Loan Translations

Loan translations only account for 1.9 percent of all loans in the corpus. Between 1973 and 2003 their number has decreased (see Figure 8). Only one loan translation - *Renner* - made it among the one hundred most frequently used Anglicisms. *Renner* is usually used to denote a product or service that is popular and selling well. In the corpus *Renner* is used by itself and in compounds such as *Rendite-Renner*, *Wirtschaftsrenner*, and *Kursrenner* which all refer to the stock market. Other loan translations that refer to business and economics are *Verkaufsförderung (sales promotion)*, *Teilzeit (part-time)*, and *Schwarzer Freitag (Black Friday)*. Most loan translations in the corpus are not business specific and include terms such as *Flotte (fleet)*, *Anhörung (hearing)*, *Selbstbedienung (self service)*, and *Wunschdenken (wishful thinking)*.
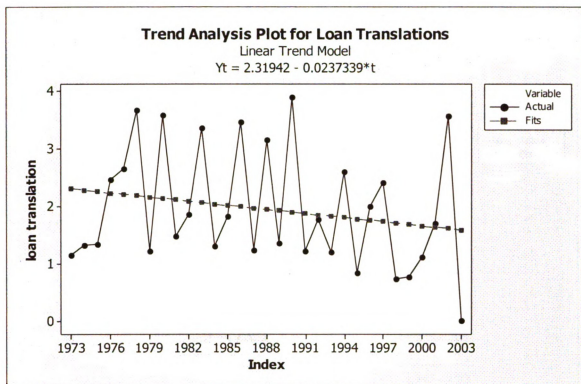
Figure 8: Trend Analysis for Percentage of Loan Translations 1973-2003

4.8.5 Pseudo-Loans

Pseudo-loans[66] represent only a very small percentage (0.9%) of all loans in the corpus, but their use increased between 1973 and 2003 (see Figure 9). With respect to their overall low frequency, Meyer (1974) and O'Halloran (2003) came to similar results when they examined print news media. Meyer found only a very low number of pseudo-loans in the dailies *Wiesbadener Kurier* and *Allgemeine Zeitung* (from Mainz), and O'Halloran came to the same conclusion when she analyzed the news tabloid *Stern*. She also examined the women's fashion and lifestyle magazine *Brigitte*. Here she found a considerably higher number of pseudo-loans and came to the conclusion that fashion language is more receptive for pseudo-loans than general language.

---

[66] As explained in Chapter 2, pseudo-loans are formed with English morphemes. They look like English words, but do not occur in English. See Chapter 2 for the subcategories of pseudo-loans.
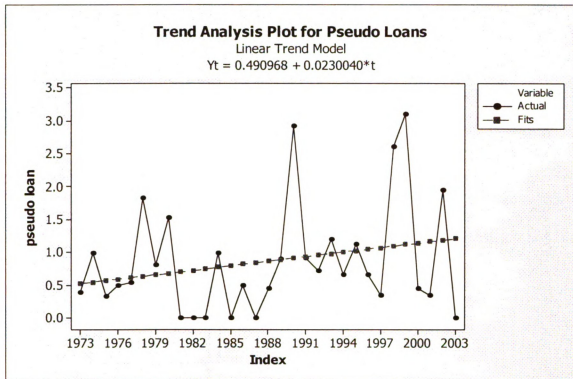
Figure 9: Trend Analysis for Percentage of Pseudo-Loans 1973-2003

Despite their low frequency compared to other loans, pseudo-loans still deserve to be looked at more closely due to their peculiar characteristics of being built from English lexical material without existing in English and due to their gradual increase over the years of the investigation period. Kirkness (1976) points out that German has many pseudo-loans compared to other European languages, but that they are less researched than other loans.[67] The majority of pseudo-loans occur in cover stories where their percentage is disproportionably higher than in the other genres. Journalists are therefore comfortable using these words in cover stories whereas they refrain from using them in

---

[67] As mentioned before, Kirkness does not consider pseudo-loans to be Anglicisms.

editorials. Readers only use them very rarely in letters to the editor. The most frequent pseudo-loans found in the *Wirtschaftswoche* corpus are listed in Table 18.

Profi	23
ICE	8
Multi	8
Mobbing	6
smart-car	4
Mobbingexperte	3
Handy	2
Intercity	2
Profi-equipped	2
Profi-Modelle	2
Quizmaster	2
Chemiemulti	1
Clinch	1
Deo	1
gemobbt	1
Gemobbte	1
Happy-End	1
mobben	1
Polit-Profi	1
Prognose-Profi	1
Promi	1

Table 18: Pseudo-Loans

Profi, a German abbreviation of *professional*, is the most frequently used pseudo loan in the corpus. It occurs by itself as well as in noun compounds and in combination with the English adjective *equipped*. Other such morphological pseudo-loans which are abbreviations from the English original are *Multi* and the mixed compound *Chemiemulti* for *multinational*, *Deo* for *deodorant*, and *Promi* for *prominent person*, in English usually referred to as *celebrity*. Another Anglicism that belongs to this category is *Happy End*, an abbreviation of *happy ending*. The most frequent lexical pseudo-loans in the corpus are *Handy* for cellular phone, *Mobbing* for *bullying* or *harassment at the workplace*,

Quizmaster for *host of a quiz show*, and *Clinch* for a *fight* or *argument*. As has been discussed before, *Handy* could also be considered a semantic pseudo loan since the word *handy* exists in English but as an adjective with a different meaning and not as a noun. *Clinch* falls into this pseudo loan category without a doubt since it exists as a boxing term in English, but does not possess its general German meaning.

The corpus not only contains *Mobbing* but also derivations of this noun such as *der Gemobbte* for a person who is the victim of workplace bullying and *mobben* as a verb signifying *to harass* or *to bully*.

The other pseudo-loans in *Wirtschaftswoche* are names for trains and cars. *ICE* (*Intercity Express*) and *Intercity* are names for express trains that are not commonly used in English. The *smart car* is a car built in a joint venture of DaimlerChrysler and Swiss watchmaker Swatch and its name is a German-Swiss invention.

4.9 Frequency According to Text Type

Research question (4) asked whether there are significant differences between the use of Anglicisms in the selected text types (cover stories, editorials, letters to the editor), and whether professional journalists and readers differ in their use of Anglicisms. The comparison between the frequencies of Anglicisms in the three different text types confirms Hypothesis (8) that cover stories contain the most Anglicisms, whereas letters to the editor contain the fewest. As can be seen in Table 19, cover stories contain by far the

highest percentage of Anglicisms in the corpus, followed by editorials; and letters to the editor[68].

Text Type	Percentage of total words in corpus	Anglicisms	Words in Corpus
cover stories	1.58%	5796	366542
editorials	1.34%	1644	61078
letters to the editor	1.27%	818	129190

Table 19: Frequency of Anglicisms per text type (percentage of total words)

These findings indicate that readers - even highly educated ones - are less inclined to use Anglicisms than journalists. One can only speculate about the reasons: They may know fewer Anglicisms than journalists, or consciously or unconsciously decide to use fewer of them. As has been examined by Fink (1991), knowledge and active use of Anglicisms do not go hand in hand. Carstensen made an early assumption that has not lost its significance today:

Der Durchschnittsleser von Zeitungen und Zeitschriften lernt zwar eine relativ große Menge englischer Fremd- und Lehnwörter kennen, aber das bedeutet natürlich nicht, daß er sie versteht und vor allem nicht, daß er sie auch selbst verwenden würde.[69] (Carstensen, 1965, p. 21)

---

[68] Tests of significance (Z-tests for two proportions) show significant differences between cover stories and editorials (p-value: 0.000) as well as cover stories and letters to the editor (p-value=0.000). The differences between editorials and letters to the editor are not significant (p-value=0.117).

[69] Even though the average reader of newspapers and magazines becomes acquainted with a relatively large number of English foreign words and loanwords, that does not mean, of course, that he understands them and above all that he would also use them himself (translation by the author).

Even though readers of *Wirtschaftswoche* cannot be labeled average newspaper or magazine readers, this statement still applies to them. Journalists, on the other hand, may show off their command of English and English vocabulary. As Carstensen (1965) observed as well, journalists who report from English-speaking countries may also unconsciously incorporate English words even, if frequently used German words with the same meaning exist. The findings of this study, however, demonstrate that if it comes to opinion-centered articles such as editorials, journalists also use fewer English loans. The objective of editorials is to convince the reader of a certain standpoint, and in order to guarantee a wide understanding, a conscious decision to avoid the use of lesser known Anglicisms would be logical. Such an interpretation is conceivable, but an unconscious use of fewer Anglicisms in editorials than in cover stories is also imaginable. Since cover stories and editorials have different objectives, they are also written in different styles which include the use of loanwords. Even though these writing styles are studied and acquired by journalists, they later are subconsciously used by them. Following that thought, they will not consciously decide whether to use an Anglicism or not.

If one looks at the number of Anglicisms found in the individual text types, one comes to the conclusion that around 70% of all Anglicisms in the corpus derive from cover stories, approximately 20% from letters to the editor, and only about 10% from editorials. However, the number of words in each genre has to be taken into account to make meaningful comparisons and interpretations. Since cover stories account for almost two thirds of the words in the corpus (the individual cover story is much longer than an editorial or letter to the editor), they should also contain the most Anglicisms. The

question arises as to whether the proportions in total words between genres correspond to the proportions of Anglicisms found in them. Table 20 demonstrates that Anglicisms are over-represented in cover stories whereas they are under-represented in editorials and letters to the editors, if the total number of words in each genre is taken into account.

Text Type	Number of Anglicisms	Percentage of Total Number of Anglicisms in corpus	Number of words in genre	Percentage of total words in corpus
cover stories	5796	70.19%	366542	65.83%
editorials	818	9.91%	61078	10.97%
letters to the editor	1644	19.91%	129190	23.20%

Table 20: Anglicisms and Their Representation in Relation to the Absolute Number of Words

These results are related to the changes in the use of Anglicisms between 1973 and 2003. The frequency of Anglicisms in all three text types increased throughout the investigation period, but the increase in cover stories is the greatest. This again confirms that journalists are most open to the use of Anglicisms in cover stories. The increase of frequency in letters to the editors is the lowest and confirms again that readers are more reluctant to use Anglicisms actively[70]. Thus, Hypothesis 10 is confirmed by the findings. The increase in Anglicism use has been greater in cover stories than in the opinion-centered genres. Figure 4-6 illustrate the increases of Anglicisms in cover stories, editorials, and letters to the editor.

---

[70] As mentioned before, another interpretation is that *Wirtschaftswoche* readers actually know less Anglicisms than journalists. Given their education, this seems unlikely, however.
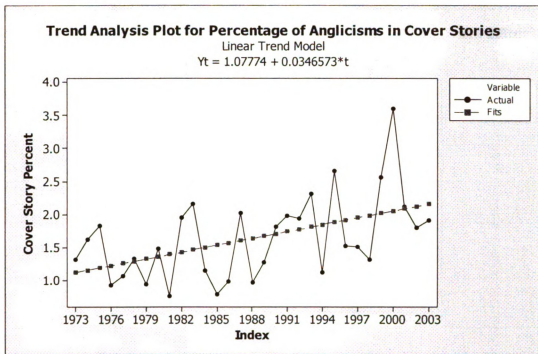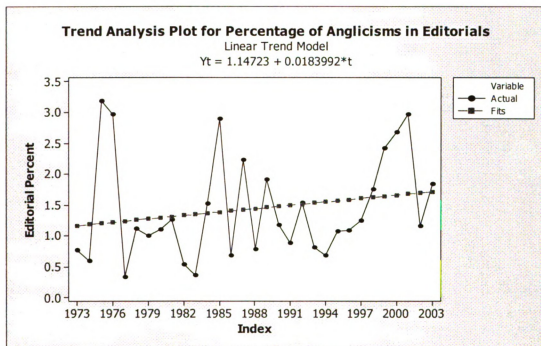
Trend Analysis Plot for Percentage of Anglicisms in Cover Stories
Linear Trend Model
$Yt = 1.07774 + 0.0346573*t$

Figure 4: Trend Analysis for Cover Stories

Trend Analysis Plot for Percentage of Anglicisms in Editorials
Linear Trend Model
$Yt = 1.14723 + 0.0183992*t$

Figure 5: Trend Analysis for Editorials

Trend Analysis Plot for Percentage of Anglicisms in Letters to the Editor
Linear Trend Model
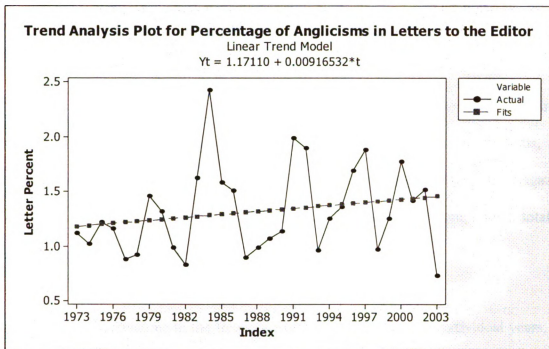$Y_t = 1.17110 + 0.00916532*t$

Figure 6: Trend Analysis for Letters to the Editor

Conclusions and Teaching Implications of Results

1. Results

This study systematically examines the use of Anglicisms in the German business language of business periodicals. The corpus consists of cover stories, editorials, and letters to the editor that were randomly selected from the business magazine *Wirtschaftswoche* between the years 1973 and 2003. The corpus comprises a total of 556,810 words in articles from 126 issues of *Wirtschaftswoche.*

Despite fluctuations in the frequency of Anglicisms over the individual years, the analysis of the corpus data shows a significant increase in the use of Anglicisms over the period. A total of 8,258 Anglicisms were found in the corpus which corresponds to 1.48 % of all words. The percentage of Anglicisms increased over the period from 1.18 % in the 1970s to 2.67 % for the first four years of the new millennium. Among the years, 2000 has the highest percentage of Anglicisms during the investigation period with more than 3%. Thus, the study confirms the increase of Anglicisms for an area of language that was often suspected of a high frequency of Anglicisms, yet had not been investigated systematically over a long period.

Statistically, every Anglicism in the corpus was used 3.55 times. However, the most frequently used Anglicism, *Manager*, occurs more than 200 times, whereas more than one thousand Anglicisms occur only once in the entire corpus. Over the years no clear development can be observed. The number of times that an Anglicism is used remains relatively stable, i.e. the variety of Anglicisms did not change considerably. This

stands in contrast to previous studies which find either an increase or a decrease in general language.

With respect to word types, nouns represent the vast majority of Anglicisms with 90.37 % of all words, followed by adjectives (5.12 %) and verbs (2.39 %). These results correspond to previous studies of Anglicisms in the press. A standard semantic taxonomy of nouns shows abstract nouns to be in the majority with more than 58 %. Given the abstract topics of business and economics, such results are not surprising. Despite a majority of abstract English loanwords there is a relatively large minority of concrete nouns, which can be related to findings of first and second language acquisition that concrete words in a foreign language are acquired more quickly and easily. These findings may be applicable to foreign words in the native language.

A classification of the language used in the corpus demonstrates that general language terms dominate even in the business language of the press. However, the amount of business terms takes a secondary position after general language terms and therefore makes it clear that German business and business language cannot do without a considerable number of special business terms taken from English.

According to the data, the most popular loan types are adoptions and adaptations (also called zero substitutions) and mixed compounds (partial substitutions). During the investigation period the number of adoptions and the relatively rare pseudo-loans increased whereas the number of all other loans decreased.

The comparison between the uses of Anglicisms in the different news genres confirms the hypothesis that cover stories contain the most Anglicisms followed by editorials and letters to the editor. Thus, readers are less likely to use Anglicisms than journalists even if they are familiar with most of them. The latter can be suspected due to their education and social status. Journalists, on the other hand, may want to impress with their knowledge and creative and extensive use of Anglicisms. The different frequency of Anglicisms can be explained by the differing intentions of the three news genres. The main intention of cover stories is to present and to explain topics of importance at a certain time, whereas both editorials and letters to the editor try to convey opinions and try to win more readers for a stance on an issue. The use of too many Anglicisms would make the message less clear and convincing. In addition to the different frequency of Anglicisms in the three text types, the corpus data also show the use of Anglicisms to have increased more in cover stories than in the other text types. This implies that the differences in frequency between the genres have grown and that this development is likely to continue based on the data of the past.

2. Potential for Future Research

The results of the study lead to new questions that can be explored in future studies. Some questions can be answered by further analyzing the existing data. To explore the context that business Anglicisms occur in, they could be subcategorized according to the area of business that they refer to, such as general economics, marketing, accounting, etc. In addition to looking at the meanings and connotations of individual words, it would be necessary to look more closely at the topics of the articles that they occur in. This goes beyond the scope of this study that only discussed a limited number of samples. A more detailed examination of this aspect would help answer the question of which areas of business are most receptive to Anglicisms.

English borrowings could also be analyzed more closely in regard to their spelling and morphology to clarify if and how they have integrated into German. This study only presented samples, but did not focus on this topic. It is striking that Anglicisms in the corpus occasionally differ in their spellings. Compounds, for example, are sometimes joined by writing them in one word (*Internetzugang*) or by using a hyphen (*Internet-Zugang*). It could be examined if the spelling changes over time coincide with an increasing integration of Anglicisms into the German language. In addition to spelling and morphology, it could be useful to explore the gender formation of business-related Anglicisms in order to find out which genders are preferred for such loanwords.

It is expected that the overall results of this study could be confirmed by analyzing a different business magazine over the same period of time. Even though

similar results are expected due to the topics dealt with in major business magazines and the similarity of their readership, a comparison of *Wirtschaftswoche* to another competing magazine would provide valuable evidence.

In addition, future investigations could also look at different sources of business language such as TV broadcasts, internet magazines, or blogs. Due to the ever increasing significance of the internet as a source of information and news, a comparison between an online and print version of the same source (a magazine or newspaper) may be also worth exploring. Newspapers and news magazines now often have separate editorial staff for their online and print versions, which raises the question as to whether the faster paced online environment has any influence on the use of Anglicisms. The difference of such studies to this one is that they would either be synchronic in nature or could only cover a short period of time.

The differences in the use of Anglicisms by journalists and readers could be further explored through surveys and interviews with editors, journalists, and readers about their attitude towards Anglicisms. In this way, possible explanations for the differences in use that were given in this study could be confirmed or rejected[71].

As far as the Anglicisms are concerned that were identified in the corpus, it would be beneficial to make a survey to find out which of them are still recognized as being foreign and irritate those who feel that there is too much English present in German.

---

[71] For example, definite answers could be given to the questions as to whether journalists know more Anglicisms than readers, as to whether they are just more open to using them, or as to whether they want to impress the readers by their knowledge and language use.

Other areas of business language that are difficult to examine but still could reveal new and representative results are internal and external business communications, which can be letters, e-mails, meetings, and formal and informal conversations within a business and between businesses. Unfortunately, data collection would be very impractical and difficult to achieve, which explains the lack of studies in this area.

To conclude, this study of Anglicisms in business periodicals is also regarded as a contribution to encourage further research in German studies in the United States where this research area is currently almost non-existent.

3. Implications for the Teaching of German

For me, as a teacher of business German in the United States, the question arises whether Anglicisms pose a problem in students' vocabulary comprehension and acquisition. Do these words need special attention in class, or can they be taught and acquired with the same techniques as other vocabulary in a business German class? As this study has shown, Anglicisms have been permanent elements in German business language for decades and gained even more importance over the thirty years of the investigation period. Therefore, it is essential to confront students with authentic texts, such as the ones used as the corpus of this study. In these texts they can observe and learn about the use of Anglicisms within a content-based approach. In the future, the data collected for the study could be further analyzed to demonstrate how Anglicisms are actually used in context, e.g., with which collocations they co-occur and within which topic areas they generally appear. Such information would help to develop teaching materials that explicitly teach students those Anglicisms, which are most difficult to learn for American students. As the results of this investigation show, loan adoptions represent the majority of Anglicisms in the business language of *Wirtschaftswoche*. These loanwords should not pose any comprehension problems for American students because they have been adopted from English without any major changes to spelling and morphology. Their meanings or connotations in German may occasionally be more restricted (or open) than in English, but since American students know the original range of meaning - unless the business concepts are unfamiliar even in English – they should be able to guess the appropriate meaning from the context.

In contrast to straightforward adoptions, adaptations, mixed compounds and pseudo-loans in particular may require more efforts on the part of teachers and students. Adaptations and mixed compounds show different degrees of similarity to the English original. Mixed compounds contain at least one English component which may or may not help with comprehension depending on whether a similar lexical or semantic combination exists in English. If such a combination does not occur in English, some degree of explicit vocabulary teaching will be beneficial. Adaptations differ in spelling and morphology from their original English counterparts. In such loanwords the English origin is often still recognizable. For that reason, the acquisition of such vocabulary will probably still be easier for American students than native German vocabulary.

Unfortunately, no studies about the acquisition of Anglicisms by American students exist so far. Only one recent journal article (Barbe, 2004) combined the topic of Anglicisms in German with recommendations of how to introduce them in the American classroom. Barbe's teaching unit for the intermediate students introduces the topic with a German reading text that gives a short summary of the English lexical influence on German. Students are then asked to classify selected Anglicisms according to loan types. Other activities include skimming an authentic text for Anglicisms and observing how nouns, adjectives, and verbs adapt to the German grammar. Barbe also confronts students with language taken from German ads to explore the stylistic reasons for the use of Anglicisms. Marketing represents a topic in business German that is particularly appropriate for the content-based introduction of Anglicisms. Such vocabulary is not only abundant in advertisements from newspapers and magazines, but also in TV commercials

and on company homepages. It is therefore easy to develop lesson plans for intermediate students that combine instruction of content (for example, marketing) with the introduction of German Anglicisms. Furthermore, the internet in general represents an excellent medium to introduce students to Anglicisms. A look at almost any German website, governmental, corporate, or non-profit, will reveal many of the current Anglicisms in German to the students.

Another aspect that needs to be taken into account with respect to Anglicisms and their acquisition is that a vast majority of them are nouns. These nouns tend to be abstract, as this study revealed. It is likely that most nouns used in business language are abstract no matter whether they are loanwords or not. The reason for that has already been discussed – the concepts of business and economics are abstract and therefore also require the use of a great number of abstract nouns. As with abstract vocabulary in general, such abstract Anglicisms may be more difficult to acquire than concrete Anglicisms. These loanwords will, however, only then pose a challenge for American students if they differ considerably from their English original.

The Anglicisms that are most difficult to understand for a speaker of English are pseudo-loans. Since they are formed with English lexical material, but have no origin in English or have a very different use and context, they can be a source of confusion and misunderstanding for the learners just like some cognates that are false friends. Because the number of pseudo-loans was found to be very low in this corpus, it seems conceivable to teach these Anglicisms explicitly by giving background information on their characteristics and by presenting them in an authentic context. In my experience,

American students are usually fascinated by pseudo-loans such as *Mobbing, Profi* and *Handy* and recall them better than other vocabulary after being introduced to them explicitly. However, as has been pointed out before, empirical studies about the comprehension and acquisition of Anglicisms by English-speaking German students do not exist yet. Their results could help answer the question as to whether Anglicisms pose comprehension and acquisition problems at all and develop strategies for teachers to best introduce these components of German lexicon.

Barbe (2004) summarizes the dilemma that teachers of German face when confronted with teaching Anglicisms in German:

> As teachers of German, we are confronted with an apparent paradox. We try to teach our students to use German words in every instance, sending them searching for the correct term. Our beginning textbooks use relatively few Anglicisms. Students with study abroad experience will have witnessed the frequent use of English in German. (p. 26).

This again implies that students should be confronted with authentic materials as often as possible in order to get to know and acquire such words. If an instructor is not a native speaker or has not spent much time in Germany for many years, he or she may not be familiar with the ubiquity of English words in German today, or, as is also conceivable, may not like it. However, if the students, as a result, are not introduced to this topic, they may be in for a big surprise when they visit Germany as study abroad

students, interns, or tourists and find themselves confronted with Anglicisms that do not always have the same meanings as at home, or do not even exist there. This may lead to misunderstandings, especially if the students, at first sight, believe to be familiar with lexical items taken from their own language. The findings of this and other studies demonstrate that Anglicisms have been on the rise and are part of German general and business language and that their numbers more than likely will not diminish in the future. On the contrary, a further increase has to be expected due to the economic pressures of globalization and the worldwide significance of English as a global language. Therefore, the efforts of teachers to teach their students German vocabulary in every instance are counterproductive. Hofmann (2002) who examined the understanding of Anglicisms among Germans also expresses concerns about the lack of introduction of students of German to Anglicisms:

In Grundstufen-Lehrwerken werden die Anglizismen meist bewusst umgangen. Der fortgeschrittene Deutschlernende wird jedoch häufig mit authentischen Texten konfrontiert und somit auch mit Anglizismen. Die Problematik der Anglizismen sollte den Deutschlernenden bewusst gemacht werden. Denn irgendwann werden sie auf deutsche Muttersprachler stoßen oder sich in Deutschland aufhalten und spätestens dann werden sie merken, dass die reine deutsche Sprache, die teilweise in den Lehrwerken verkauft wird, nicht existiert[72].

(Hoffmann, 2002, p. 244)

---

[72] In beginning level textbooks Anglicisms are avoided consciously most of the time. However, the advanced learner of German is frequently confronted with authentic texts and because of that also with Anglicisms. The problematic nature of Anglicisms should be made clear to the students of German. The reason for that is that they will someday meet German native speakers or spend time in Germany and at that

Teachers of German who are critical of Anglicisms and the openness of German to foreign influences may want to think of some positive effects that these developments could bring. German still has the reputation of being a difficult language to learn, but as a language that has opened itself to internationalization and Anglicization, German may attract new learners. These learners may be attracted by elements in the language that are familiar to them and make the language more accessible to them in the beginning stages. The introduction to Anglicisms could be one element in this endeavor.

---

time at the latest they will notice that the pure German language that is presented in part in the textbooks does not exist (translation of the author).

REFERENCES

Adler, M. (2004). Form und Häufigkeit der Anglizismen in deutschen und schwedischen Massenmedien. *Muttersprache*(2), 123-131.

Ahlke, K., & Hinkel, J. (1999). *Ein Handbuch für Journalisten*. Konstanz: UKV Medien.

Allenbacher, P. K. (1999). *Anglizismen in der Fachlexik: unter Berücksichtigung mündlichen Belegmaterials in der Fachsprache des Fernsehens*. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Neue Wissenschaft.

Ammon, U. (1991). *Die internationale Stellung der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.

Ammon, U. (1998). *Ist Deutsch noch internationale Wissenschaftssprache?: Englisch auch für die Lehre an den deutschsprachigen Hochschulen*. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.

Ammon, U. (1999). *Deutsche Sprache international*. Heidelberg: J. Groos.

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Media Analyse. (Ed.). Media-Analyse 2004. Retrieved from October 20, 2005 from http://www.agma-mmc.de

Barbe, K. (2004). The Role of Anglicisms in the German Language. *Unterrichtspraxis*, 37(1), 26-38.

Bartsch, S., & Sigrist, L. (2002). Anglizismen in den Fachsprachen des Deutschen. Eine Untersuchung auf Basis des Darmstädter Corpus Deutscher Fremdsprachen. *Muttersprache*(4), 309-323.

Bartzsch, R., Pogarell, R., & Schröder, M. (2003). *Wörterbuch überflüssiger Anglizismen* (5th ed.). Paderborn: IFB.

Berndstein, R. (2004, December 21). A Snappy Slogan? In German? Don't Smile. Try English. *New York Times*.

Biber, D. (1988). *Variation across speech and writing*. Cambridge New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Biber, D., Conrad, S., & Reppen, R. (1998). *Corpus linguistics: investigating language structure and use*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bohmann, S. (1996). *Englische Elemente im Gegenwartsdeutsch der Werbebranche*. Marburg: Tectum.

Bundespräsident wendet sich gegen Anglizismen. (2000, Nov. 23). *Associated Press Worldstream in German.*

Busse, U. (1993). *Anglizismen im Duden: eine Untersuchung zur Darstellung englischen Wortguts in den Ausgaben des Rechtschreibdudens von 1880-1986.* Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Busse, U., & Görlach, M. (2002). German. In M. Görlach (Ed.), *English in Europe* (pp. 13-36). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carstensen, B. (1964). Semantische Probleme englisch-deutscher Entlehnungsvorgänge. *Muttersprache*(2), 353-360.

Carstensen, B. (1965). *Englische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache nach 1945.* Heidelberg: C. Winter.

Carstensen, B., & Busse, U. (2001). *Anglizismen-Wörterbuch: der Einfluss des Englischen auf den deutschen Wortschatz nach 1945.* Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.

Carstensen, B., & Galinsky, H. (1963). *Amerikanismen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache; Entlehnungsvorgänge und ihre stilistischen Aspekte.* Heidelberg: C. Winter.

Carstensen, B., & Galinsky, H. (1967). *Amerikanismen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. Entlehnungsvorgänge und ihre stilistischen Aspekte* (2nd ed.). Heidelberg: C. Winter.

Carstensen, B., & Galinsky, H. (1975). *Amerikanismen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. Entlehnungsvorgänge und ihre stilistischen Aspekte* (3rd ed.). Heidelberg: C. Winter.

Cruse, D. A. (1986). *Lexical Semantics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Detje, R. (2001, February 22). Aufstand der Zwerge. Die Sprachschutzdebatte: Deutschtum und Deutschtümelei. *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* p. 16.

Dieckmann, D. (1999). Die Spreu, der Weizen, die Sprache. Sprachsäuberung, Sprachrassismus und die Frage, wo die Heimat der Sprache liegt. Ein Rezensionsessay. *Die Zeit.*

Duden. Das Fremdwörterbuch (7th ed.). (2001). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.

Duden. Das Herkunftswörterbuch (3rd ed.). (2001). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.

Duden Online. (n.d.). *Fremdwörter: Bedrohung oder Bereicherung?* (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.duden.de/produkte/downloads/fremdwort9_bereicherung.pdf

Eberhorn, J. (2004). Ein Sprachwächter und seine Mission. *Spiegel Online*. Retrieved August 13, 2004, from
http://www.spiegel.de/unispiegel/wunderbar/0,1518,311735,00.html

Eichhoff-Cyrus, K. M., & Hoberg, R. (2000). *Die deutsche Sprache zur Jahrtausendwende: Sprachkultur oder Sprachverfall?* Mannheim: Dudenverlag.

Elsen, H. (2002). Neologismen in der Jugendsprache. *Muttersprache*(2), 136-145.

Engels, W. a. H. F. (Ed.). (1986). *Querschnitte: sechs Jahrzehnte deutscher Wirtschaftsgeschichte 1926 bis 1986 in "Volkswirt" und "Wirtschaftswoche"*. Düsseldorf: Wirtschaftswoche.

Fink, H. (1970). *Amerikanismen im Wortschatz der deutschen Tagespresse, dargestellt am Beispiel dreier überregionaler Zeitungen (Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Die Welt)*. Munich: Hueber.

Fink, H. (1978). Der angloamerikanische 'Look' im Deutschen. *Muttersprache*, 51-69.

Fink, H. (1991). *Anglizismen in wirtschaftspolitischen Debatten des Deutschen Bundestages 1980-1990*. Paderborn: Universität Paderborn.

Fink, H. (1995). *Amerikanisierung in der deutschen Wirtschaft: Sprache, Handel, Güter und Dienstleistungen*. Frankfurt: Lang.

Fink, H. (1997). *Von Kuh-Look bis Fit for fun: Anglizismen in der heutigen deutschen Allgemein- und Werbesprache*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.

Fink, H., Fijas, L., & Schons, D. (1997). *Anglizismen in der Sprache der neuen Bundesländer: eine Analyse zur Verwendung und Rezeption*. Frankfurt am Main:Lang.

Fink, H., & Rammes, A. (1994). *Zum Verständnis anglo-amerikanischer Warenbezeichnungen und -beschriftungen beim deutschen Verkaufspersonal*. Freiberg: Freiberger Arbeitspapiere.

Gauger, H.-M. (2003, May 27). Anglizismen in Europa. Weltsprache Kauderwelsch. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, p. 38.

Gester, S. (2001). *Anglizismen im Tschechischen und im Deutschen: Bestandsaufnahme und empirische Analyse im Jahr 2000*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Glahn, R. (2001). Anglizismen. Ursachen für den häufigen Gebrauch. *Muttersprache*(1), 25-35.

Glahn, R. (2002). Englisches im gesprochenen Deutsch - Einfluss und Bewertung. In R. Hoberg (Ed.), *Deutsch-Englisch-Europäisch. Impulse für eine neue Sprachpolitik* (pp. 220-235). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.

Glück, H., & Krämer, W. (Eds.) (2000). *Die Zukunft der deutschen Sprache. Eine Streischrift.* Leipzig: Klett.

Goethe, J. W. v. (1994). *Werke. Hamburger Ausgabe in 14 Bänden* (12th ed., Vol. 12). Munich: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag.

Görlach, M. (2001). *A dictionary of European anglicisms: a usage dictionary of anglicisms in sixteen European languages.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Görlach, M. (2002). *An annotated bibliography of European anglicisms.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Görlach, M. (2002). *English in Europe.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Görlach, M. (2003). *English words abroad.* Amsterdam; Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Pub.

Greule, A. (2002). Deutsch am Scheideweg: National- oder Internationalsprache? Neue Aspekte der Sprachkultivierung. In R. Hoberg (Ed.), *Deutsch-Englisch-Europäisch* (pp. 54-66). Mannheim: Duden-Verlag.

Grimm, J. a. W. (1864). *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Vol. 1). Leipzig.

Güdelhöfer, T. (1989). *Anglizismen in deutschsprachigen medizinischen Fachzeitschriften 1970-1984.*

GWP media-marketing. "Nichts ist spannender als Wirtschaft." (n.d.). Retrieved April 16, 2004, from http://www.gwp.de/gwpwwwangebot/fn/gwp/sfn/buildpage/cn/bp_show_page/page/A2B 2C2D1/root/PAGE_528/strucid/PAGE_537/subnav/1/ssubnav1/PAGE_899/index.html

Haugen, E. (1950). The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing. *Language* (26), 210-231.

Heller, K. (2002). Der Einfluss der Sprachen aufeinander. In R. Hoberg (Ed.), *Deutsch-Englisch-Europäisch* (pp. 184-198). Mannheim: Duden-Verlag.

Herberg, D., Kinne, M., & Steffens, D. (2004). *Neuer Wortschatz - Neologismen der 90er Jahre im Deutschen.* Berlin: De Gruyter.

Hoberg, R. (Ed.). (2002). *Deutsch-Englisch-Europäisch: Impulse für eine neue Sprachpolitik.* Mannheim: Dudenverlag.

Hoberg, R. (2002). English rules the world. In R. Hoberg (Ed.), *Deutsch-Englisch-Europäisch. Impulse für eine neue Sprachpolitik* (pp. 171-183). Mannheim: Duden-Verlag.

Hunston, S. (2002). *Corpora in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Illgner, G. (2001). *Die deutsche Sprachverwirrung: lächerlich und ärgerlich: das neue Kauderwelsch* (2nd ed.). Paderborn: IFB Verlag.

Inghult, G. (2002). *Neue Anglizismen im Deutschen und Schwedischen 1945-1989: Transferenz und Integration aus kontrastiver Sicht*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. Institut für deutsche Sprache. (n.d). *Projekt Methoden der Korpusanalyse und -erschließung*. Retrieved from http://www.ids-mannheim.de/kl/projekte/methoden/gl.html.

Jessen, J. (2001). Schicksal Denglisch. Gegen Hegemonie hilft kein Sprachgesetz. *Die Zeit* (11). Retrieved May 19, 2004, from http://www.zeit.de/archiv/2001/11/200111_3._leiter.xml

Keller, H. (2003, March 24). Die Sinnmacher. Eine deutsche Medieninitiative boykottiert Anglizismen. *die tageszeitung (taz)*, p. 20.

Kim, D.-U. (2005). Anglizismen im Deutschen und im Koreanischen. *Muttersprache*(1), 31-38.

Kirkness, M. W. a. A. (2002). Zur Herkunft der Anglizismen im Deutschen: Beobachtungen und Vorschläge anhand des *Anglizismus-Wörterbuchs*. In R. Hoberg (Ed.), *Deutsch-Englisch-Europäisch. Impulse für eine neue Sprachpolitik* (pp. 199-219). Mannheim: Duden-Verlag.

Kovtun, O. (2000). *Wirtschaftsanglizismen: zur Integration nicht-indigener Ausdrücke in die deutsche Sprache*. Münster: Waxmann.

Krause-Braun, C. (2002). "Aliens" in der deutschen Pressesprache? Anglizismen im heutigen Pressedeutsch - ein Vergleich der Badischen Zeitung von 1949 und 1999. *Muttersprache*(2), 155-172.

Kurz, J., Müller, D., & Pötschke, J. (2000). *Stilistik für Journalisten*. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Langer, N. (1996). *Anglizismen in der deutschen Pressesprache: untersucht am Beispiel von den Wirtschaftsmagazinen 'Capital' und 'DM'*. Wettenberg: VVB Laufersweiler.

Langner, H. C. (1995). *Die Schreibung englischer Entlehnung im Deutschen: eine Untersuchung zur orthographie von Anglizismen in den letzten hundert Jahren, dargestellt an Hand des Dudens*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Lee, W.-H. (1996). *Anglizismen in Ostdeutschland vor und nach der "Wende": eine Untersuchung am Beispiel der Tageszeitung 'Das Volk' bzw. 'Thüringer Allgemeine' der Jahre 1988, 1990 und 1992*. Marburg: Philipps-Universität.

Lehnert, M. (1990). *Anglo-Amerikanisches im Sprachgebrauch der DDR*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Lehnert, M., Stiller, H., & Neubert, A. (1986). *Der Angloamerikanische Einfluss auf die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart in der DDR: dem Wirken Martin Lehnerts gewidmet*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Lüger, H.-H. (1983). *Pressesprache*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

McEnery, T., & Wilson, A. (1996). *Corpus Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Meier, C. (1999). *Sprache in Not?: zur Lage des heutigen Deutsch* (1st ed.). Göttingen: Wallstein.

Meyn, H. (2001). *Massenmedien in Deutschland*. Konstanz: UVK Medien.

Nelson, D. & Schreiber, T. (1992). Word concreteness and structure as independent determinants of recall. *Journal of Memory and Language*(31), 237-260.

Niehr, T. (2002). Linguistische Anmerkungen zu einer populären Anglizismus-Kritik oder: Von der notwendig erfolglos bleibenden Suche nach dem treffenden deutschen Ausdruck. *Der Sprachreport*(4), 4-10.

Oeldorf, H. (1990). Von 'Aids' bis 'Yuppification'. Englische Lehnwörter in der Wochenzeitung 'Die Zeit'. *Muttersprache*(100), 38-52.

O'Halloran, E. (2003). Scheinentlehnungen in der deutschen Modesprache. *Muttersprache*(3), 225-241.

Pasakarnis, E. (1997). *Business Dictionary. Englisch-Deutsch. Deutsch-Englisch*. München: Heyne.

Pogarell, R., & Schröder, M. (2001). *Wörterbuch überflüssiger Anglizismen* (4th ed.). Paderborn: IFB.

Pohl, I. & Ehrhardt, H. (1995). *Wort und Wortschatz : Beiträge zur Lexikologie*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Polenz, P. v. (1991). *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. Berlin; New York: de Gruyter.

132

Politiker empören sich über Anglizismen. (2001, February 12). *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, p. 6.

Röhrenbeck, U. (1988). *Dottern, dippen oder strippen. Anglizismen in der deutschen Medizinersprache*. München: Medikon.

Rössler, P. & Schenk, M. (1997). *Wirtschaftsberichterstattung in Zeitschriften. Literaturbericht und Inhaltsanalyse*. München: Burda Anzeigen-Marktforschung.

Russ, C. V. J., University of York. Dept. of Language., & Goethe-Institut (York England). (1984). *Foreign influences on German*. Dundee: Lochee.
Schanke, E. (2001). Neuere englische Lehnwörter in der deutschen Wirtschaftssprache aus Sucht eines Norwegers. *Muttersprache*(3), 235-247.

Schatte, C., & Schreiber, H. (1995). Wortfelder im Sprachvergleich Deutsch - Polnisch. In I. Pohl & H. Ehrhardt (Eds.), *Wort und Wortschatz: Beiträge zur Lexikologie* (pp. 185-194). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Schelper, D. (1989). *Die Anglizismen in der Zeitschrift Der Spiegel, 1947 bis 1987*. Ottawa: National Library of Canada.

Schelper, D. (1996). *Anglizismen in der Pressesprache der BRD, der DDR, Österreichs und der Schweiz eine vergleichende, typologische und chronologische Studie*. Ottawa: National Library of Canada.

Schmitt, P. A. (1985). *Anglizismen in den Fachsprachen: eine pragmatische Studie am Beispiel der Kerntechnik*. Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitätsverlag.

Schmitz, U. (2003). Wege zur germanistischen Linguistik im Internet. *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* (31), 136-145.

Schneider, W., & Raue, P.-J. (1996). *Handbuch des Journalismus*. Hamburg: Rowohlt.

Schröter, D. (1992). *Qualität im Journalismus: Testfall Unternehmensberichterstattung in Printmedien*. München : Publicom Medienverlag.

Sick, B. (2004). *Er designs, sie hat recycled, und alle sind chatting*. Retrieved June 6, 2004, from http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/o,1518,druck-292847,00.html

Sick, B. (2005). Falsche Freunde. *Spiegel Online*. Retrieved August 10, 2005, from http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/zweibelfisch/0,1518,296589,00.htm

Sommerfeldt, K.-E. (Ed.). (1994). *Sprache im Alltag: Beobachtungen zur Sprachkultur*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Sommerfeldt, K.-E., & Schreiber, H. (Eds.). (2001). *Textsorten des Alltags und ihre typischen sprachlichen Mittel*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang.

Steffens, D. (2003). Nicht nur Anglizismen . . .Neue Wörter und Wendungen in unserem Wortschatz. IDS-Sprachforum, 21. Mai 2003. *Der Sprachreport*(4), 2-9.

Stickel, G. (Ed.). (1999). *Sprache - Sprachwissenschaft - Öffentlichkeit*. Jahrbuch 1998 des Instituts für deutsche Sprache. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Stiven, A. (1936). *Englands Einfluss auf den deutschen Wortschatz*. Marburg.

Thomason, S. G. (2001). *Language contact*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Thuswaldner, G. (2001). Die Verteidigung der Sprache. *Muttersprache*(1), 11-24. Unterstöger, H. (2000, March 17). Modern Talking. Englisch etabliert sich als die Lingua Franca der Gegenwart. *Süddeutsche Zeitung, 10.*

Viereck, W. (1980). *Studien zum Einfluss der englischen Sprache auf das Deutsche = Studies on the influence of the English language on German*. Tübingen: G. Narr.

Viereck, W., & Bald, W.-D. (Eds.). (1986). *English in contact with other languages: studies in honour of Broder Carstensen on the occasion of his 60th birthday*. Budapest: Akadâemiai Kiadâo.

Vom Meeting zum Merger - Anglizismen in der Wirtschaftssprache nehmen überhand. (2001, March 19). *Associated Press Worldstream in German*.

Werbung wieder Deutsch. "Überleben Sie die Fahrt in unserem Auto". Spiegel Online. Retrieved February 19, 2004, from http://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/0,1518,287098,00.html

Wiechers, S. (2001). "Wir sind das Sprachvolk." Aktuelle Bestrebungen von Sprachvereinen und -initiativen. *Muttersprache*(2), 147-162.

WiWo-Chef Baron im Interview. "Die Linken verbreiten nun mal häufiger Unsinn." (2005, September 30). *Spiegel Online*. Retrieved October 4, 2005, from http://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/0,1518,377135,00.html

Wirtschaftswoche Online. "Service." (n.d.). Retrieved April 17, 2004, from http://www.wiwo.de

Yang, W. (1990). *Anglizismen im Deutschen: am Beispiel des Nachrichtenmagazins Der Spiegel*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Zabel, H. (2001). *Denglisch, nein danke!: zur inflationären Verwendung von Anglizismen und Amerikanismen in der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* (1st ed.). Paderborn: IFB.

Zabel, H. (2001). *Ein See, drei Länder, eine Sprache: internationales Bodenseetreffen der Sprachvereine im "Netzwerk Deutsche Sprache" vom 05. bis 08.10.2000 zum Thema "Amerikanismen und Anglizismen in der deutschen Sprache": Tagungsdokumentation.* Paderborn: IFB-Verlag.

Zifonun, G. (2002). Überfremdung des Deutschen: Panikmache oder Gefahr? IDS-Sprachforum, 15. Mai 2002. *Der Sprachreport*(3), 2-9.

Zindler, H. (1959). *Anglizismen in der deutschen Pressesprache nach 1945.* Dissertation, Kiel.

Zürn, A. (2001). *Anglizismen im Deutschen.* Universität Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe.