

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

by
UWE SEIDEL

A THESIS

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

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

2010

ABSTRACT

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

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

DEDICATION

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

We miss you.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ACTA 2009 Allensbacher Computer- und Technik Analyse (2009)

AE American English

AWA II 2000 Allgemeine Wirtschaftsanalyse (2000)

AWB Carstensen's Anglizismen-Wörterbuch

BE British English

Brock Brockhaus

COED Concise Oxford English Dictionary

DF Duden Fremdwörterbuch (2010)

DgF Duden Großes Fremdwörterbuch (2007)

DH Duden Herkunftswörterbuch (2006)

DU Duden Universalwörterbuch (2007)

KE Kluge Etymologisches Wörterbuch

MA 1995 Medienanalyse (1995)

MA 2010 II Medienanalyse (2010)

MW Merriam Webster's Online Dictionary

Wahr Der Wahrig

* ungrammatical form

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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

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

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

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. STATE OF THE ART.....	5
3. METHODOLOGY & TERMINOLOGY.....	13
4. FINDINGS.....	33
5. DISCUSSION.....	49
6. CONCLUSIONS.....	84
REFERENCES.....	90
APPENDICES.....	98

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Makeup of readership according to gender (1980-2010)	26
2.	Makeup of readership according to level of education (1980-2010)	27
3.	Makeup of readership according to profession (1980-2010)	28
4.	Makeup of readership according to age (1980-2010)	30
5.	Frequency of loanwords per year (1950-2010)	34
6.	Frequency of loanwords per page (1950-2010).	34
7.	Frequency of loanwords according to word class (1950-2010)	39
8.	Frequency of loanwords according to thematic category (1950-2010).	45
9.	Twenty-five most frequently used loanwords (1990-2010)	47
10.	Lower case spelling of nominal Anglicisms	67
11.	Variation in the spelling of Anglicisms in German.	72
12.	Inflectional pattern of adjectives in German	101
13.	The most frequent Anglicisms	102
14.	Complete list of English loanwords	107

1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

orientation towards the North American culture that led to a broad and steadily growing influx of Anglo-American loanwords (Busse & Görlach, 2002, p. 14).

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

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

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

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

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

Another matter related to the integration process lies with the semantic value of a loanword. When a word is borrowed from one language into another, it usually does not retain

all the meanings it originally bore (Busse & Görlach, 2002, 26f.). In most of the cases, semantic narrowing, broadening, or shift is taking place.

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

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

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

Anglicisms. In this light, the present study can be regarded as a follow-up study that resumes where Yang stopped in 1990.

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

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

2. STATE OF THE ART

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

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

A more systematic approach was undertaken by Broder Carstensen and Hans Galinsky. In 1963 the two linguists published their work *Amerikanismen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* (Americanisms used in contemporary German), in which they presented the results of their investigation of the impact of American loanwords on the language of the

German press after 1945. They classified and presented their material in terms of orthographical, phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactical features. The corpus of their investigation comprised twenty different West-German newspapers and magazines, one of which was *Der Spiegel*, a popular and widely read magazine that represented the main object of study. Carstensen and Galinsky asserted that *Der Spiegel* can be labeled as “Haupteinfallstor für Amerikanismen in die deutsche Sprache” (main port of entry for Americanisms), whose style of writing (i.e., neologisms, Anglicisms, syntactical originalities) is then imitated by other German newspapers and magazines (Carstensen, 1963, p. 14). Besides a presentation of their findings according to the already mentioned features, Galinsky also elaborated on the stylistic aspects of American elements in Modern German. As reasons for linguistic borrowing, he mentioned the following functions of interference:

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

Eero Alanne was among the first to investigate the development of the influence of English on the language of commerce (commercial language) in Germany. In 1964, “Das Eindringen von Fremdwörtern in den Wortschatz der deutschen Handelssprache des 20. Jahrhunderts mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der neuesten Zeit“ was published. Alanne screened three major German dictionaries of commercial language from the years 1911, 1950, and 1958.

Additionally, she included in her study several German foreign dictionaries from the period of 1960 to 1962, and a couple of newspapers. Alanne’s research revealed that there was little influence exerted by English on the German commercial language at the beginning of the 19th

century. Over the course of the subsequent decades, this picture had dramatically changed. Since the early 1950s, the German language of commerce and trade has been subject to language contact with American English.

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

In 1968, Hermann Fink expanded on the results of Carstensen's and Galinsky's study of 1963. His dissertation with the title *Amerikanismen im Wortschatz der deutschen Tagespresse* (Americanisms in the vocabulary of the German daily press) was the first piece of work that was based on one specific corpus. In his dissertation, Fink searched for Anglicisms in eight subsequently published weekend-issues of three different national periodicals, i.e. *Die Welt*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. The aim of his study was to show differences in frequency and the level of assimilation/acceptance into the language of the press between the different geographical regions, where the three newspapers were mainly distributed. Through his investigation, Fink ascertained that the

fields of economics and politics are the ones that showed the greatest number of Anglicisms compared to the other columns of the newspapers (Fink, 1968, p. 183). In comparison to Carstensen and Galinsky, whose study from 1963 revealed a frequency of one English word per page, Fink ended up with an overall frequency of four Anglicisms per page. What is more, Fink coined the terms *Nullsubstitution* (zero-substitution), *Teilsubstitution* (partial substitution), and *Vollsubstitution* (complete substitution), which were all referred to and played a vital role in a great number of subsequent studies.

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

In the following years several works were published that primarily dealt with the quantitative influence of English on German. The studies of Carstensen et al. *Zur Intensität*

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

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

Ten years later, Wenliang Yang carried on an extensive study on the popular news-magazine *Der Spiegel*. In *Anglizismen im Deutschen: Am Beispiel des Nachrichtenmagazins DER SPIEGEL* (Anglicisms in German: Illustrated on the example of the newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*) (1990), Yang analyzes 6 issues from the years 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980. The

Anglicisms that he found were classified by frequency, semantics, word formation, and their stylistic function within the German sentence. Yang concludes that the influence of English on German is steadily gaining strength. Thus, from the 1950s until the 1980s, the number of Anglicisms used per page has steadily increased. Among the different word classes, nouns are by far the most frequently used, followed by verbs, and adjectives (Yang, 1990, p. 166). As far as the quantitative usage of foreign words in the various columns of *Der Spiegel* is concerned, the area of sports is the one with the most registered tokens. As for the frequency of registered Anglicisms, the advertisement pages of the magazine were the ones with the highest ratio of Anglicisms compared to the total amount of words in the respective article. With regard to the semantic function, most of the polysemous Anglicisms were not transferred into German with all their original meanings. Yang mentions that Anglicisms are only rarely used in all of their meanings in the issues *Der Spiegel* that he investigated, but that they are oftentimes used with only one meaning in German (Yang, 1990, p. 167).

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

In her doctoral dissertation written in 2001, Zürn investigated the use and integration of Anglicisms in German. The objects of study were three German-speaking news magazines, namely *Focus*, *profil*, and *Der Spiegel*, that appeared within a period of five weeks in 1994. The fifteen magazines contained a total of 9,482 English loans, which is equivalent to a frequency of four Anglicisms per page. Zürn found out that the field of sports contained the

highest such frequency, whereas the articles concerned with domestic politics and foreign affairs revealed a surprisingly low number of Anglicisms. With regard to their grammatical and orthographical incorporation into the German language, many of the Anglicisms were used in a way that can be described as assimilation to the recipient language.

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

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

The most recent study has been carried out by Alexandra Onysko (2007). Like Rathmann, she applied a corpus-based word search to 52 issues of *Der Spiegel* from 2000. Her results corroborate Rathmann's conclusions on type frequency of Anglicisms. Consequently, Onysko summarizes the results of her quantitative analysis with the words: "In

relation to the total numbers of types and tokens, however, the numerical influence of English elements in the corpus is in fact a marginal phenomenon (Onysko, 2007, p. 147).

3. METHODOLOGY & TERMINOLOGY

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

3.1 Anglicism

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

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

In the following, a brief overview of previous research in the field is given to demonstrate how versatile the term 'Anglicism' is used in the literature. In his dissertation from 1959, Zindler defines 'Anglicism' as follows:

Ein Anglizismus ist ein Wort aus dem britischen oder amerikanischen Englisch im Deutschen oder eine nicht übliche Wortkomposition, jede Art der Veränderung einer deutschen Wortbedeutung oder Wortverwendung (Lehnbedeutung, Lehnübersetzung, Lehnübertragung, Lehnschöpfung ...) nach britischem oder amerikanischem Vorbild (Any word or uncommon compound in German that derives from British or American English, or any sort of alteration of meaning or usage of a German expression (loan translation, loan transfer, pseudo-loan, ...) on the model of British or American English is considered an Anglicism). (p. 2)

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

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

¹ Only one Australian word, namely *dingo*, was found in the corpus of this study.

² Differences in spelling between AE and BE are for instance: <-or/-our>, <-er/-re>, and <-ize/-ise>.

English terms is redundant. Fischer (1980, p. 19) orientates himself on the definitions given by Zindler (1959) and Carstensen (1965). She redefines Anglicism as an:

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

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

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

Since there is still no unanimity among linguists about the notion of 'Anglicisms,' it seems most sensible for the present study to define the term in a way that suits the purpose of the study. The aim of the author is to explore the integration of English loanwords into the language of a German-speaking magazine.

For this reason, I forego making a differentiation between loanwords from British English and American English, and therefore follow Yang (1990) by using ‘Anglicism’ as a generic term that covers:

- Words, abbreviations, acronyms, and phrases that differ in their spelling from German. Certain strings of letters of English loanwords are uncommon for German such as the consonant cluster “sh-“ in initial position as in *shareholder* or *show*, or certain vowel cluster such as “ay” (*lay-out*) or “oy” (*playboy*).
- Words, abbreviations, acronyms, and phrases that entered German through one of the English varieties. In order to verify the origin of an Anglicism, the 6th edition of the German dictionary *Duden – Das große Fremdwörterbuch* and Kluge’s *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* will be consulted.

Whether an English loan is considered *altentlehnt*³ or *neuentlehnt*⁴ is of no relevance for the initial quantitative registration of Anglicisms in *DER SPIEGEL*. In the qualitative analysis of the corpus, however, a distinction will be made between ‘*altentlehnt*’ and ‘*neuentlehnt*.’ In this light, even those words will be registered as Anglicisms that might not be regarded as ‘foreign’ anymore by speakers of German, because they have been in use for such a long time (cf. Zürn, 2001, p. 66f).

3.2 Types of lexical borrowing

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

³ (transl.) Borrowed a long time ago.

⁴ (transl.) Borrowed in more recent times.

in again other instances, terms are coined that orthographically appear to be English, but they are not. In order to avoid confusion about the many different types of lexical borrowings, an overview of the classifications set up by linguists of the past should be presented here.

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

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

While Betz (1959) focused on the outcome of linguistic borrowing on a word basis, Haugen (1950) perceived the whole borrowing as a dynamic process. According to him, the central aspect of linguistic borrowing is “the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another [language]” (p. 212). Haugen classifies borrowings with respect to the degree of integration of their spelling within the receiving language. Thus, his three categories of the loan process are titled “complete importation,” “partial importation,” and “no importation” (1950, p. 214). Haugen’s terminology bears on the differentiation between imported loanwords that have retained their original spelling even in the recipient language, and those of which only the concept, but not spelling, has been borrowed into a recipient language.

According to Carstensen (1950; 1979; 2001), the borrowed material can be classified into either belonging to the realm of *evident* (external) or *latent* (internal) influences. Whereas the first applies to direct borrowings (with their graphemic representation and meaning), the latter refers to loan translations (or calques), which bear the meaning of an English term but are composed of German word material (cf. Glahn, 2002; Götzeler, 2008).

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

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

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

3.3 Evidentes Lehnwort (direct borrowings)

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

3.3.1 Foreign word and loanword

The borrowing of an English term with its original spelling and meaning is the most common occurrence in lexical borrowing (Carstensen, 1965, p. 90). However, it is quite rare that the English term is borrowed into German with all of its meanings. Typically, the borrowed word is only used in the recipient language with only one of the meanings it bears in the donor language. In Yang's study, these words were nonetheless regarded as foreign words and loanwords (p. 11).⁵

What sets apart a foreign word from a loanword is its degree of integration into German (p. 11). A foreign word can still easily be recognized as such since it has not been subject to any phonological, orthographical, morphological, and semantic changes in the recipient language (DF, p. 122f).⁶

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

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

⁶ With the exception of nominal English loanwords that are usually capitalized in German.

a. Morphological features. Every English verb that has been borrowed into German has to have the typical –e(n) ending for its infinitive, such as *stoppen*, *interviewen*, *managen*, or *surfen*. Adjectival Anglicisms are integrated into the German inflectional system.⁷ A number of borrowed English nouns are given a German plural form: *der Manager – die Manager* (Note: most German animate nouns that end in –er form the plural with a zero plural marker); *der Boß – die Bosse*. Yang excludes capitalization of English nouns as a marker of morphological integration, since this would mean the exclusion of all nominal foreign words.

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

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

⁷ For instance, nominative singular: ein *cleverer* Student; genitive singular: eines *cleveren* Studenten.

However, since the present study deals with the integration of Anglicisms into German on a graphemic level, phonological features of English loanwords will not be considered in the following.

3.3.2 Pseudo-loanwords

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

3.3.3 Loan change/loan shift

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

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

⁸ Interestingly, the 'shortening' of English words in the recipient language is not an exclusively German phenomenon. In French, the same process takes place, resulting in the formation of words such as *le pull*, *le fox*, or *le gin tonic*.

3.3.4 Lexical pseudo-loanwords

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

3.3.5 Semantic pseudo-loanwords

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

3.3.6 Mixed compounds

Mixed compounds, which Fink (1970) referred to as *partial substitutions*, are compositions of English and German lexemes. Such a compound can be formed on the basis of an English word, or without an English model. Yang lists German *Showgeschäft* (after English *show business*), *Haarspray* (after English *hair spray*), and *Jetflug* (after English *jet flight*) (p. 15). It becomes obvious from these few examples that German puts together two words that are written separately in English.

Yang remarks that mixed compounds are highly productive in German and that they constitute a big part of newly coined terms (i.e., neologisms) in German (p. 15). Thus, mixed compounds represent one of the major sources for the expansion of the German vocabulary.

3.4 Inneres Lehnwort (indirect borrowing)

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

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

3.5 The corpus

3.5.1 The magazine *Der Spiegel*

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

3.5.2 The language of DER SPIEGEL

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

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

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

⁹ These numbers concern only printed issues of the magazine. In the realm of online issues, *Der Spiegel* counts another 2.37 million readers, who exclusively read the online issue (MA 2010, II).

English borrowings are predominantly present in the vocabulary of the ‘*Spiegel* language’ (1976, p. 148).

3.5.3 The readership

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

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

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

Table 1

Makeup of readership according to gender (1980-2010)

gender	Percentage of readers of <i>DER SPIEGEL</i>			
	1980	1995*	2000**	2010***
male	58	62	64	65
female	42	38	36	35

* Source: Medienanalyse (MA 1995)

** Source: Allgemeine Wirtschaftsanalyse (AWA II, 2000)

***Source: SpiegelOnline (www.spiegel-qc.de)

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

Table 2

Makeup of readership according to level of education (1980-2010)

level of education (14 years+)	Percentage of readers		level of education (14 years+)	Percentage of readers	
	1980	1995*		2005**	2010***
	4.56 million	6.4 million		5.69 million	5.91 million
elementary school	1.48 (33%)	1.61 (26%)	elementary school & primary school	0.20 (4%)	0.19 (3%)
junior high school/middle school	1.64 (36%)	2.03 (32%)	junior high school / middle school	1.41 (25%)	1.20 (21%)
German high school diploma (<i>Abitur</i>) or college degree	1.44 (31%)	2.76 (43%)	secondary school (without high school diploma)	1.84 (32%)	1.76 (30%)
			secondary school (with high school diploma)	0.84 (15%)	1.00 (17%)
			college	1.41 (25%)	1.74 (30%)

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

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

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

Table 3

Makeup of readership according to profession (1980-2010)

level of profession	Number of readers (in million and percentage)			
	1980	1995*	2000**	2010***
company owners, managers, freelancers	0.10 (3.6%)	0.14 (2.2%)	0.20 (3.5%)	0.24 (4.1%)
self-employed, small- or mid-size companies	0.32 (11.6%)	0.48 (7.5%)	0.52 (9.2%)	0.56 (9.5%)
CEO's, high officials	0.38 (13.7%)	0.70 (11%)	0.73 (13%)	0.78 (13.2%)
other employees, officials	1.57 (56.7%)	3.07 (48%)	2.64 (46.5%)	2.70 (45.8%)
skilled laborers	0.27 (9.7%)	0.64 (10%)	0.59 (10.4%)	0.61 (10.3%)
other laborers	0.13 (4.7%)	0.26 (4.1%)	0.24 (4.2%)	0.24 (4.1%)
unemployed	-	1.10 (17.2%)	0.76 (13.4%)	0.77 (13%)
total number of readers (in million)	2.77	6.39	5.68	5.9

* Source: Medienanalyse (MA 1995) ** Source: Allgemeine Wirtschaftsanalyse (AWA II, 2000)

***Source: SpiegelOnline (www.spiegel-qc.de)

4. In the years 1969 and 1980, people between the age of 20 and 49 comprised almost two thirds (63%) of the overall number of readers (Yang, 1990, p. 23). After a massive drop in the years around 1995, this “active age group” (p. 23) still represents more than half of the total readership in 2010.

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

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

Table 4

Makeup of readership according to age (1980-2010)

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

* Source: Medienanalyse (MA 1995) ** Source: Allgemeine Wirtschaftsanalyse (AWA II, 2000)

***Source: SpiegelOnline (www.spiegel-qc.de)

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

3.6 The principles of the word count

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

Furthermore, the distinction was made between tokens and types. The main objective of the

count was to determine the overall proportion of Anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* and their distribution on the various years, word classes, and categories.

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

The following words were counted:

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

The following words were not counted:

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

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

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

For this reason, Yang's findings from 1980 were altered accordingly. This ensures comparability between the results of his study and the present one. Despite the technical constraint, the omission of Anglicisms in advertisements has its justification in the fact that the language found there is not the language used by the authors of *Der Spiegel*. Since the present work explores the usage/use of Anglicisms and their integration into the language of

the German press, the acceptance of terms from commercials would give a false impression of the general usage of English terms in German. In addition to this, the frequency of Anglicisms in the language found in advertisements is outstandingly high. It is the field where most 'vogue expressions' can be found (Carstensen, 1965, p. 25). The primary objective of language in advertisements is to sell goods to potential customers, but not the communication of information. The language in advertisements has to be kept separated from the language in the articles of *Der Spiegel*, since advertisements do not reflect everyday language (Zürn, p. 123).

4. FINDINGS

4. Frequency

With regard to the overall frequency of Anglicisms in *Der Spiegel*, it can be stated that Anglicisms are quite numerous. The investigation of nine issues from 1990 to 2010 yielded 7,111 Anglicisms (tokens). This equals an overall frequency of almost seven Anglicisms per page, which is more than double the frequency Yang ascertained in his study in 1980.¹⁰

4.1 Absolute Frequency and per Page

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

¹⁰ In the following, all the data from 1950 through 1980 is drawn from Yang's study.

Table 5

Frequency of Loanwords per Year (1950-2010)

	Amount of loanwords (types and tokens) found per decade							
	Total	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
types	7,093	325	543	1,570	1,988	765	1,980	1,177
tokens	18,889	621	872	2,459	3,278	2,086	6,002	3,571
TTR	2.663	1.911	1.606	1.566	1.649	2.727	3.031	3.034

TTR = type-token-ratio

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

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

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

Table 6

Frequency of Loanwords per Page (1950-2010)

	Amount of loanwords (tokens) found per decade							
	Total	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
tokens	18,889	621	872	2,459	3,278	2,086	6,002	3,571
number of pages	2,670	212	252	519	663	315	397	312
TPR	7.07	2.93	3.46	4.74	4.94	6.62	15.12	11.45

TPR = token-page-ratio

4.1.2 Frequency according to word class

With regard to word class membership, the results of the present study demonstrate that Anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* chiefly belong to one of the three word classes, namely nouns, verbs, and adjectives. This observation concurs with Yang's findings in 1980.

The vast majority of found Anglicisms in our corpus belongs to the group of nouns. In fact, almost 96% of all findings (tokens) were nouns or nominal phrases. The prevalence of nouns among used Anglicisms can be found in every year of the investigation period. All in all, with 3,695 types, every nominal Anglicism in the corpus was used more than three times on average. Yang yielded a similar result with 92% (p. 29).

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

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

A very important factor involves one of the primary motivations for lexical borrowing, that is, to extend the referential potential of a language. Since reference is established primarily through nouns, these are the elements borrowed most easily. (p. 7).

A closer look at the list of the most frequently borrowed nouns sheds even more light on this issue. In the entire corpus, the ten most often found nominal Anglicisms are *Film*, *Internet*, *Konzern*, *Computer*, *Partner*, *Manager*, *Star*, *Television (TV)*, *Trainer*, and *Team*. In fact, the first nineteen words in the list of the most frequently used Anglicisms are nouns, all of which denote concepts or ideas for which there are no satisfying equivalent expressions in German. By comparing the just given examples with their German equivalents, it becomes obvious that the English loanwords oftentimes can only be substituted in German by cumbersome or long paraphrases. In this light, Yang explains:

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

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

With quite some distance, verbs constitute the second most numerous group of Anglicisms with a total of 270 tokens in the entire investigation period. Verbs account for 2.32% of the entire corpus. In *Der Spiegel*, each verb was used on average more than twice. In the corpus, there are only nine verbs that were employed eight times or more often. The most often used one is *stoppen* (38x), followed by *investieren* (24x), *trainieren* (17x), *boomen* (10x), *dopen* (9x), *exportieren* (9x), *recyceln* (8x), *filmen* (8x), and *importieren* (8x). On the other hand, 41 of the verbs in the corpus were only used once. The year with the highest

percentage of verbs is the year 1990 with 2.54%. In the years 2000 and 2010, verbs account equally for 2.27% of the Anglicisms. Interestingly, for each one of the most often used verbs in the corpus, there is a related noun that appears among the most frequently used nouns. Thus, the corpus contains *Stopp/stoppen*, *Investment/investieren*, *Training/trainieren*, *Boom/boomen*, *Doping/dopen*, *Export/exportieren*, *Recycling/recyclen*, *Film/filmen*, and *Import/importieren*. However, there are English nominal loanwords in the corpus without any English-rooted equivalent in German. For instance, there is *das Meeting*, which comes close in meaning to German *die Versammlung* or *die Besprechung*, but there is no verb **meetten** that could express the action of having a meeting. This immediately suggests what Moravcsik (1975) observed. She claims that “if verbs are borrowed, they seem to be borrowed as if they were nouns: the borrowing language employs its own means of denominal verbalization to turn the borrowed forms into verbs ‘before’ using them as such” (p. 111-112).

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

The results of the present study only partly match the findings made in previous studies. According to studies carried out by Engels (1954), Fink (1968), Viereck (1980), and

Zürn (2002), the number of adjectives was higher than the one of verbs. However, the findings of this study match Yang's observation made in 1980.

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

Table 7

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

word class	Amount of loanwords (tokens) found per decade							
	Total	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
nouns	20,464	574 (90.7%)	1,023 (91.8%)	3,241 (91.1%)	4,443 (93.2%)	2,002 (96.0%)	5,754 (96.0%)	3,427 (96.0%)
verbs	732	50 (7.9%)	45 (4.0%)	168 (4.7%)	199 (4.2%)	53 (2.5%)	136 (2.25%)	81 (2.25%)
adjective	486	9 (1.4%)	43 (3.9%)	134 (3.8%)	119 (2.5%)	29 (1.4%)	100 (1.7%)	52 (1.45%)
adverbs	47	0 (0%)	3 (0.3%)	14 (0.4%)	5 (0.1%)	4 (0.1%)	10 (0.15%)	11 (0.3%)

Percentages indicate the share of the respective word class compared to all tokens per year.

Percentages are either rounded up or down.

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

4.1.3 Frequency according to thematic categories in *Der Spiegel*

The articles found in *Der Spiegel* are usually presented under different categories, that is, foreign politics, society, sports, etc. In order to explore whether the frequency in usage of

Anglicisms depends on the thematic category or domain in which they are used, Yang divided his corpus into six distinct news genres, namely

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

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

Die Sprache der Werbung entspricht nicht dem umgangssprachlichen Sprachgebrauch, auch nicht dem der Nachrichtenmagazine. In den untersuchten Magazinen waren teilweise Werbeeinlagen beigelegt, die durchgängig englischsprachig waren. Diese wurden aus der Untersuchung ausgeschlossen ... Die Begründung ist, daß sie im Sprachgebrauch keine Anwendung finden und somit die Ergebnisse in hohem Maße verfälschen würden. (The language found in advertisements does neither represent the colloquial language used by speakers of Germans nor the written language employed in the articles of newsmagazines. The magazines that were investigated sometimes contained advertisement supplements, which were entirely written in English. These supplements were therefore excluded from the investigation ... This is justified since

these English expressions are not used in the same way in the spoken language, and would skew the outcome of this study if they were to be regarded in the word count).
(p. 123)

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

The news genre ‘domestic politics and foreign affairs’ plays a major role in a newsmagazine such as *Der Spiegel*. This genre comprises articles written on politics in general, but also on any changes within or reforms that affect Germany’s society. On more than 550 pages, there were more than 4,100 English loanwords. As in Yang’s study,¹¹ it is the category with the highest total number of Anglicisms. However, at the same time it is also the category with the highest number of pages in the investigation period. Per page there were 7.4 Anglicisms, which is more than double the amount of what Yang ascertained for his investigation period (2.7 Anglicisms per page). The year with the highest number of Anglicisms per page is 2000 (10.65), which, again, exceeds Yang’s highest result (1970 with 2.9 English loanwords per page) by far. While the number of pages slightly decreased over the thirty years, the number of Anglicisms per page for the category ‘politics and society’ rose on average.

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

¹¹ In Yang’s study, the category ‘domestic politics and foreign affairs’ ranked second after ‘advertisement,’ which was left out in the present study.

Anglicisms per page was lower in 1990 than in Yang's findings of the years 1960 to 1980, which present an average frequency of 6.5 Anglicisms per page. Interestingly, despite the widespread belief that the language used in the fields of economics and finance is marked by a nomenclature that caters to experts, and therefore more often resorts to English terms (Rathmann, 2006, p.56), in the present study this genre does not show the highest frequency of Anglicisms.

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

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

frequency of an astounding 34.2 Anglicisms per page, followed by 1990 with 21, and 2010 with 18.7 English loanwords per page.

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

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

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

With regard to the frequency of used Anglicisms per page, the picture is a different one. With 24.1 Anglicisms per page, the category of sports is the one with the highest

frequency. 'Culture and education' comes second with a usage of 17.8, followed by 'economy and finance' with 14.2 English loanwords per page. The fourth place is taken by the category of 'sciences, technology, and the environment,' which features an average of 11.8 Anglicisms per page. The articles in *Der Spiegel* that are related to politics and the society show the lowest frequency of Anglicisms. In these articles, only 7.4 English loanwords were used per page.

Table 8

Frequency of loanwords according to thematic category (1950-2010)

thematic category		Amount of loanwords (tokens) found per decade							
		Total	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
1. politics & society	tokens	6,426	254	240	842	983	714	1,985	1,408
	pages		106 1/3	118 1/3	290 2/3	345	197	186 1/3	172
	TPR (token-page-ratio)		2.4	2.0	2.9	2.85	3.6	10.65	8.2
2. economy & finance	tokens	3,112	97	264	417	575	224	1,065	470
	pages		38	41 1/3	62	89 2/3	39	55 1/3	29 2/3
	TPR (token-page-ratio)		2.55	6.4	6.7	6.4	5.7	19.2	15.8
3. sciences & technology	tokens	1,816	11	75	220	280	173	737	320
	pages		10	25	25	52	9 2/3	65 1/3	29 1/2
	TPR (token-page-ratio)		1.1	3.0	8.8	5.4	17.9	11.0	10.85
4. sports	tokens	1,911	44	47	294	333	364	502	327
	pages		4 2/3	3 1/3	17 2/3	28	17 1/3	14 2/3	17 1/2
	TPR (token-page-ratio)		9.56	14.2	16.7	11.9	21	34.2	18.7
5. culture & education	tokens	5,622	215	246	686	1,107	611	1,711	1,046
	pages		53	64	123 2/3	148 1/3	51 2/3	75	63
	TPR (token-page-ratio)		4	3.84	5.55	7.46	11.8	22.8	16.6

4.2 Most frequent Anglicisms

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

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

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

Table 9

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

loanword	Amount of loanwords (tokens) found per decade as simplex and in compounds			
	Total	1990	2000	2010
1. Film	310	65	162	83
2. Internet	294	-	182	112
3. Konzern	224	27	143	54
4. Computer	202	64	91	47
5. Partner	138	32	77	29
6. Manager	130	29	57	44
7. Star	130	13	80	37
8. Television (TV)	102	25	64	13
9. Trainer	91	40	27	24
10. Team	88	18	45	25
11. Club (Klub)	83	27	41	15
12. Job	82	10	44	28
13. Interview	80	13	50	17
14. Sex	78	3	23	52
15. Video	73	4	41	28
16. Doping	70	30	4	36
17. Fan	71	4	46	21
18. Pop	69	17	22	30
19. Parlament	68	1	38	29
20. online	68	-	47	21
21. Software	63	9	51	3
22. Show	63	6	47	10
23. Test	60	5	23	32
24. Deal	52	5	28	19
25. CD (-ROM)	51	2	28	21

When comparing the 25 most frequent words from both lists, it becomes obvious that there are similarities as well as differences. Interestingly, 13 out of the 25 most frequent words from Yang's list are still present in my list of the 25 most frequently used.

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

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

5. DISCUSSION

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

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

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

5.1 Integration

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

In this light, Onysko (2004) mentions that a loanword undergoes not only one, but a series of processes of integration, when being transferred from one language into another (60f). Thus, when English words enter the German language, they can be integrated on the phonological, orthographical, as well as the structural level (Onysko, 2004, 61). The structural level can be understood as a treatment of the English term in accordance to the grammatical rules in German. For instance, adjectives in the superlative in German take the suffix ‘-ste’, verbs in the infinitive end in ‘-(e)n’,¹² and so forth.

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

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

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

¹² The sole exception to this rule is the highly irregular verb *sein* (to be).

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

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

5.1.1 Meaning (Semantic Value)

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

- a. a person who trains people or animals;
- b. (informal) an aircraft or simulator used to train pilots;
- c. (BE) a soft shoe, suitable for sports or casual wear (COED).

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

¹³ Since the present study is primarily concerned with the integration of English loanwords in the written German language, phonological aspects will not be regarded.

These terms usually belong to field of the arts, sciences, or technology, and denote new inventions or trends. Yang writes that these Anglicisms are hard to translate, and that similar German expressions fail to describe them in all their nuances (p. 73). In these instances, one can consider the Anglicisms as enrichment to the semantic field into which it is borrowed. Yang, for instance, draws attention to the many names of ball sports such as *Football*, *Basketball*, or *Golf*, for which there is no equivalent expression in German. In these instances, the English term fills a lexical gap in a lexical field.

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

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

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

¹⁴ Terms that do not or only slightly differ from their English equivalent, such as *Internet*, *Computer*, *Television*, *Sex*, or *Video*, are omitted since they are not suitable for the demonstration of semantic change.

1. Film. The term *Film* first entered German at the beginning of the 1900s and was used to describe a thin strip of translucent material that was used for making photos (AW), or "a story or event recorded by a camera as a series of moving images" (COED).

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Dazu übten die **Starmodels** sofort einen neuen Dreh."

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

"Jeff Koons, der Künstler**star**, hat viele Spuren hinterlassen."

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Abgenix ... und Medavex [sind] in den USA schon heute deutlich höher bewertet als der deutsche **Shootingstar** aus Martiensried." (Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 127)

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

"Während Journalisten, Fotografen und **Fernseh-Teams** ... sich bereits in dem Ausbildungslager am Springsee tummelten, ... " (Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 105)

"Solche computerknackenden Programme könnten die sogenannten **Tiger Teams** ersetzen, kleine Gruppen von 'eingekauften' Hackern, die für Unternehmen ... Schwachstellen in deren eigenen Rechnernetzen aufspüren." (Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 252)

"Kaum am Ort eingetroffen, hat er sein **Mitarbeiter-Team** ins Stadion ... geführt." (Der Spiegel, 21/1990, p. 212)

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

"Statt der früher praktizierten **Teamarbeit** würden nur noch Befehle von oben nach unten erteilt." (Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 44)

"Wenig hilfreich ist, dass Merkel nicht gerade als **Teamspielerin** gilt."

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

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

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

"... schließlich saß an dessen Spitze mit Helmut Kohl ein ehemaliger BASF

Ferien**jobber**." (Der Spiegel, 30/2000, p. 104)

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

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

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

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

Later on, its meaning was expanded and covered „a task or piece of work” (COED) as well. The same usage can be found in the corpus. The Anglicism has thus undergone the same semantic extension in German and English.

"Die Abermillionen Jahre alte Evolutionsgeschichte zeigt, dass normalerweise andere Spezies den **Job** einst vorherrschender Arten übernehmen ..."

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

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

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

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

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

"Für die Kirchen war der informelle **Deal** perfekt." (Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 31)

"Für den Zuschlag sorgte der Präsident, doch der **Deal** kam unter dubiosen Umständen zustande." (Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 89)

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

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

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

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

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

6. Container. *Container* is another example of an Anglicism that is used in a different context in English than in German. Borrowed into German in the 20th century, the term

designated a receptacle for holding or transporting something. According to the COED, this included both small receptacles as well as "large standard-sized metal box[es] for the transport of goods by road, rail, sea, or air." Seemingly, *Container* does only hold the latter meaning in German, thus referring to receptacles of large sizes only.

"Abfall- und Reinigungsfirmen, die **Containerschiffe** und Frachter ausfegen, ..."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 79)

"Denn in insgesamt 91 **Container**-Camps der Region hausen noch immer über 8000 Menschen."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 134)

"Ein Lkw nach dem anderen liefert Zubehör an, transportiert fertige Waren in

Containern ab."

(Der Spiegel, 21/2010, p. 66)

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

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

"Spaß hatten Sie vermutlich nur bis zu dem Tag, an dem Ihre damalige Trainerin sagte ..."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 244)

"Mein Trainer hat das erkannt und mich in der Regel das üben lassen, wozu ich gerade Lust hatte."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2010, p. 125)

8. Baby. The AWB states that the Anglicism *Baby* was first used in German in the middle of the 20th century. The Webster online dictionary paraphrases *baby* as "an extremely

young child; esp. infant," "the young of an animal," or "the youngest member of a group." In more recent times, the word is also used to refer to someone who shows the demeanor of a baby (Webster).

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

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

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

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

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

"Auch Bundesfamilienministerin Christine Bergmann (SPD) plädierte ... für

Babyklappen – als 'Möglichkeit, Leben zu retten.'" (Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 92)

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

9. Farm. The word *farm* is a special Anglicism, since it demonstrates how some English loans in German defy semantic change. When English *farm* was first used in the German press in the 1930s, it solely referred to a plot of land that is devoted to the raising of animals and especially domestic livestock (AWB), as it did in English at that time. Later, in the English speaking world, the term was broadened and thus, included the artificial cultivation of aquatic life forms (Webster). However, in German *farm* is still restricted in its

use. It still bears the connotation of being connected to the English speaking world, or even other countries. In this respect, it has not succeeded in replacing German *Bauernhof* (Eng. *farm*).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 140)

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

5.1.2 Highlighting

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

Yang points out that the highlighting of Anglicisms is done by the writers of *Der Spiegel* in order to draw the reader's attention to the unknown term and, therefore, to perform a pedagogic task (p. 133). The unfamiliarity on the part of the reader is anticipated by the writer of the article.

From a slightly different point of view, the highlighting of newly borrowed English loanwords can also be interpreted as a sign of lacking integration. If a term is semantically integrated and used in various contexts, there is no need to mark it specifically in a sentence. Kovtun adds that oftentimes English terms are already marked by virtue of their distinct spelling or lack of capitalization. Therefore, she calls the tools of highlighting following below "secondary highlighters".¹⁵

5.1.2.1 Graphemic highlighters

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

"Kanzler Willy Brandt etwa ersetzt seine Aufforderung, die Bürger zu mehr

"**Compassion**", zum Mitleiden, zu ermuntern ..." (Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 29)

"Dann montiert die Wasserpolizei den "**flow-restrictor**": eine verengte Leitung zum Hauptwasseranschluß, durch deren verringerten Querschnitt nur eine Gallone dringt."

(Der Spiegel, 30/1990, p. 123)

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

(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 67)

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

(Der Spiegel, 21/2010, p. 68)

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

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

¹⁵ In her work, Kovtun uses the German term '*Markierungsmittel*' to refer to highlighting tools (p. 46).

"... zielt voll auf die Generation der **"TV-Babys"** ab. So nennt der amerikanische Autor und Entwickler ... Robert Pittmann die zunehmende Mehrheit der Bevölkerung, die in der Flimmerwelt aus der Steckdose aufwuchs."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Sie glauben an die Existenz sogenannter dunkler Materie (**"dark matter"**), einer unsichtbaren Rätselsubstanz, ... Die Dark-Matter-Idee schwebt nicht im leeren Raum."

(Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 246)

Interestingly, in the issues of the year 1990, parentheses are primarily employed to introduce a new English term. In the latter issues, especially in the year 2010, the opposite is the case.

Parentheses are more and more used to give the German translation or explanation of an earlier introduced English expression. In those instances, the use of parentheses deviates from its conventional use as a means of exclusion or marginalizing. To the contrary, Kovtun stresses that expressions in parentheses oftentimes are essential for the understanding of the text (p. 49):

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

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

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

"... virtuell rekonstruiert – mit Hilfe der CAD-Technik (**Computer Aided Design**)."

(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 248)

Hyphens, even though rarely found in this corpus, serve the same purpose as parentheses do.

However, they are rather used to provide the reader with an explanation or a secondary object:

"Alle für die Wahlsendungen notwendigen Apparate – **ihre Computer** – bringen die Wahlforscher aus Bonn mit." (Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 40)

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

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

5.1.2.2 Lexical highlighters

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

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

"Besonders gefürchtet sind **so genannte** Flashover-Blitze, die in Überlandleitungen einschlagen ..."

(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 236)

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

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

"So wird ein **so genannter** Realityhunter, der den Mitspielern bei der Jagd zur Seite steht, ..."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2000, p. 115)

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

"Assange hat die Internetplattform wikileaks.org gegründet ... ‘leak’ wie das **englische Wort** für undichte Stelle."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 82)

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

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

Again, the author can create distance to the Anglicism:

"Häuslichkeit, **neudeutsch** „Cocooning” genannt, gilt als letzter Schrei ..."

(Der Spiegel, 21/1990, p. 259)

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

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

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

„**Anhänger einer dritten Theorie** nennen den jetzigen Zustand des Kosmos die

‘coasting phase‘, die Phase des Leerlaufs.“ (Der Spiegel, 11/1990, p. 246)

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

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

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

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

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

5.2 Orthographic and grammatical integration

5.2.1 Orthographic integration

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

And last but not least, English nouns that are borrowed into German are assigned the three grammatical categories of gender, number, and case.

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

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

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

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

Table 10

Lower case spelling of nominal Anglicisms

loanword	Amount of loanwords (tokens) found per decade		
	1990	2000	2010
automatic shutoff nozzle	1		
big deal		1	
black smoker	1		
business-to-business		2	
coasting phase	1		
dark matter	1		
failed state			1
final option		1	
flow-restrictor	1		
good governance			1
holy grail		1	
learning by doing	1		
legal closure		1	
lovely boy			1
low-flow shower head	1		
mad cow (-disease)	2		
magic tree		1	
re-enactor			1
run-off-Methode/-Wasser		2	
silly talking			1
special relationship	1		
special-Reportage		1	
spectacle	1		
split screen	1		
stock options		1	
hydro vigilante	1		
webmiles		1	

In the corpus of this study, the vast majority of nominal Anglicisms were spelled in upper case. Carstensen came to the same conclusion in his study in 1965. He called the capitalization of English loanwords in German a „matter of course” (translated, p. 34). In the *Spiegel* corpus of this study, only 29 nominal Anglicisms (types) show lower case spelling. These account for 0.84% of all the types in the corpus. Yang counts in his study 50 types of that kind, which account for 1.37% of his corpus. Thus, there has been a quite considerable drop in the number of Anglicisms that are printed exclusively in lower case letters. Furthermore, each of the lower case spelled Anglicisms was only used once in the entire investigation period. This outcome corroborated Yang’s observation that those nominal Anglicisms are not capitalized, which are either used for the very first time or extremely rarely (p. 163).

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

In addition, there seem to be underlying principles for the upper case spelling. Compounds that contain an English noun followed by at least one German noun are usually capitalized. For instance, there are *Mad-Cow-Syndrom*, *Sale-and-lease-back-Geschäft* (-business), *Trial-and-Error-Prinzip* (-principle), or *Fun-fun-Raster* (-pattern). As can be seen, word classes other than nouns can still be found in lower case. There is for instance *run-off-Wasser* (-water), *Zero-out-Funktion*, and *Fifty-fifty-Verhältnis* (-ratio).

Zürn also draws attention to fluctuation in capitalization of English nouns in German (p. 171). This is also the case for this study. One such example is *Joint-venture* (1990) and *Joint Venture* (2000). This fluctuation in the spelling of English nouns is not correlated to time. Cases of irregular spelling cover the entire investigation period.

Despite the many irregularities, the general tendency leads towards capitalization. Thus, in 2010 there are expressions like *Collateral Murder*, *Light Version*, *Vital Signs*, and *Live-Bild*. Interestingly, English adjectives in compounds with English nouns are capitalized as well. This might be due to the fact that the writers of *Der Spiegel* perceive the whole nominal group as a noun, and therefore capitalize it according to the German spelling rules. The individual elements of the compound are then lexicalized, and become part of the whole compound. This process can also be illustrated in the spelling of compounds. In some cases, where there used to be a hyphen to connect two parts of a compound, there is now one single word: *Come-back* and *Comeback*, *Show-down* and *Showdown*, or *Lay-out* and *Layout*. As far as the connection between capitalization and the degree of integration is concerned, Zifonun (2002) notes:

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

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

In this light, the preliminary considerations about a possible connection between spelling and integration can be phrased as follows: The examples presented in this paragraph illustrated the absence of any governing rules in the upper case and lower case spelling of English compound nouns in *Der Spiegel*. However, there are tendencies that can be discerned, which

might develop into rules in the future. It is therefore more suitable to speak of principles that influence the capitalization of English nouns in the German sentence.

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

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

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

¹⁷ Literally *mineworker boss*, person in charge over mineworkers.

findings like *Flop, Shop, Chip, Pop, Plot, Put, Rap*, or the prefix *Top-* in the corpus, which all defy gemination.

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

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

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

Table 11

Variation in spelling of Anglicisms in German

spelling variation	Amount of variants (tokens) found per decade					
	1990		2000		2010	
< ß > vs. < ss >	Boß	5	Boß	0	Boß	0
	Boss	2	Boss	21	Boss	6
	Fitneß	1	Fitneß	0	Fitneß	0
	Fitness	0	Fitness	4	Fitness	4
< p > vs. < pp >	Tip	2	Tip	0	Tip	0
	Tipp	0	Tipp	6	Tipp	7
< k > vs. < c >	Handikap	0	Handikap	0	Handikap	-
	Handicap	2	Handicap	2	Handicap	-
	Kassette	3	Kassette	0	Kassette	-
	Cassette	0	Cassette	1	Cassette	-
	Klan	0	Klan	-	Klan	0
	Clan	1	Clan	-	Clan	4
	Klick	-	Klick	13	Klick	2
	Click	-	Click	0	Click	1
	Klub	21	Klub	0	Klub	0
	Club	5	Club	37	Club	13
	Kode	-	Kode	0	Kode	0
	Code	-	Code	25	Code	3
	Komfort	2	Komfort	1	Komfort	2
	Comfort	0	Comfort	0	Comfort	0
	Rekorder	2	Rekorder	0	Rekorder	-
	Recorder	0	Recorder	1	Recorder	-
< sch > vs. < sh >	Schau	0	Schau	0	Schau	0
	Show	7	Show	44	Show	9
< ei > vs. < i >	Streik	9	Streik	2	Streik	6
	Strike	0	Strike	0	Strike	0

According to Yang, variants such as *Klub*, *Schock*, or *Komfort* have been integrated better into the German orthographical system than those Anglicisms that retained their original spelling, like *Computer*, *Camping*, or *Talkshow* (p. 164f). The validity of this assumption has to be questioned. As demonstrated, the German spelling reform from 1998 has caused changes in the spelling of many Anglicisms that made them appear more closely integrated into the German spelling system. However, this change was fostered by prescriptive external factors, which can hardly be taken as a measurement of natural integration. By looking at the data of my corpus, it becomes clear that in some instances the writers of *Der Spiegel* resort to the English spelling of the word (e.g. *Club*, *Videoclip* etc.). For this reason, one has to be careful when assessing the integration of an English loanword on the basis of its spelling.¹⁸

5.2.2 Grammatical integration

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

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

5.2.3 Nominal loanwords

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

¹⁸ Before being published, articles in a magazine such as *Der Spiegel* undergo a series of editorial processes, which might be the reason for certain variations in spelling. It would be useful to compare the spelling of variants in articles with their graphemic representation in blogs, where a more 'natural' language is employed.

German, this immediate integration can be recognized by the assignment of one of the three grammatical genders, the plural marking, and the declensional pattern.

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

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

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

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

"Doch das Netz funktioniert nur, wenn **alle Server-Computer** stets über dieselben Informationen darüber verfügen können ..."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2010, p. 293)

"Im E-Mail-Fach ... fanden sich zwei Screenshots von **PCs** aus der Staatskanzlei."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2010, p. 38).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁹ But again, this could be misleading since German treats native acronyms the same way. For instance, there is variation in the plural of *LkW* (short for *Lastkraftwagen*, truck): *LkWs* vs. *LkW*.

The only English loanword with varying plural markers in the corpus is *Story*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another way to mark the plural of an English word is by adding a German plural suffix. In this context, Yang mentions the German plural markers *-en*, *-e*, as well as the zero allomorph (p. 160). In the corpus of the study at hand, one finds *Analysten*, *Investoren*, *Lokomotiven*, *Touristen* as examples for the first, and *Bosse* for the latter one. A great number of animate nouns that designate professions or the like are formed according to German rules by means of a zero allomorph. Some examples for the zero allomorph from the corpus are:

Banker, Blogger, Börsen-Boomer, Boxer, Farmer, Hardliner, Insider, Kidnapper, Manager, Partner, Reporter, Trendsetter, Troubleshooter, User, and Computer. As can be seen in the case of *Computer*, not only animate nouns, but all nouns that end on *-er* form their ‘German’ plural by virtue of the zero allomorph.

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

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

5.2.4 Verbal loanwords

Verbal Anglicisms constitute the second most numerous group of words in the present corpus. However, compared to the number of nominal English loanwords, verbs seem to play only a marginal role within the borrowing process. Haspelmath (2008) describes the borrowing of verbs as difficult, since they have to be incorporated into the inflectional system of the recipient language (p. 8). Compared to nouns, where inflection according to the four grammatical cases in German is accomplished by the adding of suffixes, borrowed verbs have to undergo a more complicated process before they can be used as such within a German sentence.

At first, the integration process for verb stems involves the formation of the typical German infinitive form of the verb, which always ends in <-n>.²⁰ Thus, we can distinguish the following classes of verbal Anglicisms:

- a. ausflippen, bloggen, bluffen, boomen, boxen, chatten, dippen, dopen, faxen, filmen, fisten, flirten, floppen, hacken, interviewen, jetten, jobben, joggen, kicken, killen, klicken, liften, einloggen, lynchen, managen, mixen, mobben, outen, parken, aufpeppen, poppen, posten, rocken, scannen, schocken, sprinten, starten, stoppen, streiken, surfen, tanken, testen, ticken, tippen, toasten, tricksen, zoomen
- b. boykottieren, budgetieren, digitalisieren, exportieren, importieren, investieren, tätowieren, trainieren
- c. chartern, kontern, lasern, ordern, pokern, twittern
- d. doubeln, modeln, recyceln
- e. click & buy, copy and paste, grow or perish, print on demand

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

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

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

²⁰ The only exception is the infinitive of the verb *sein* (Eng. *to be*).

Yang states that all the verbs in his corpus followed the weak declension (p. 162). The weak declension in German includes the adding of the prefix <ge-> and the adding of the suffix <-t> to the stem of the verb in order to form its past participle:

"Schon 1988 ist er in 40 Tagen von den Kanaren nach Trinidad **gejoggt**."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 289)

"... der sich in der Millennium-Umfrage des SPIEGEL als ‚Künstler des 21.

Jahrhunderts‘ **geoutet** hat, ..."

(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 268)

"... und auch die Bundesdruckerei habe reihenweise neue Maschinen **geordert**."

(Der Spiegel, 21/2010, p. 68)

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

"Abwasser wird im Irak kaum gereinigt, geschweige denn **recycelt**."

(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 111)

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

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

"Die **budgetierten** Kosten beliefen sich auf zwei Milliarden Dollar."

(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 94).

"Er habe ein Fitness-Studio besucht, mit einem Bekannten **trainiert**, ..."

(Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 72).

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

With reference to nouns from which the verbs derived, Eisenberg (2001) writes that „the verb stem and the respective noun stem often differ in that the former exposes gemination whereas

the latter does not" (p. 131). As an example for this phenomenon, Eisenberg presents the different spellings of the noun *Job* and its respective verb *jobben*. He concludes that "such spelling difference is not permitted in the core vocabulary, [and therefore] marks a stem as alien" (p. 131).

5.2.5 Adjectival loanwords

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

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

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

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

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

[genitive, masculine, singular]

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

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

[dative, neuter, singular]

"Über die Kunst des Müßiggangs im **digitalen** Zeitalter."

²¹ An overview of the inflectional pattern of German adjectives can be found in table 12 in the appendix section.

(Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 10)

[nominative, feminine, singular]

"Die **digitale** Revolution ist zum treibenden Faktor für den Strukturwandel geworden."

(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 106)

[dative, masculine, plural]

"Ton dröhnt heute, in der Version fürs neue Jahrtausend, aus allen **digitalen** Kanälen"

(Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 254)

Except for a very few exceptions, the integration of English adjectives into the inflectional system of German is without any problems.

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

"... 'Frauen lügen besser' zeigte sie als frustrierte Lektorin, die sich in eine **sexy** Hexy verwandelt." (Der Spiegel, 11/2000, p. 141)

"... lieber als ein Arzt wäre dem leidenschaftlichen Jogger freilich 'eine **sexy** Ärztin'" (Der Spiegel, 21/2000, p. 18)

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

* Ich gab dem happy Mädchen einen Ballon.*

Zürn (2001) explains that some English adjectives are not inflected in German, because the outcome would sound too 'cumbersome' (p. 206). Since the usage of this kind of English adjective is restricted to a few instances, they cannot be considered as fully integrated into

German.²² Haspelmath (2001) elaborates on the limitations of adjective borrowing by saying that the „borrowability” of different parts of speech depends highly on the differences in the part-of-speech systems between the donor and the recipient language (p. 8). Since German and English differ quite substantially in the way they treat attributive adjectives, borrowability is rather restricted.²³

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

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

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

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

5.2.6 Adverbial loanwords

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

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

²³ The same problem applies to comparison of adjectives such as *sexy*. The comparative form **sexier** and the superlative **am sexiesten** are perceived by native speakers of German as highly ungrammatical. There is only one instance in the corpus of such a usage: "Man wählte sie zur 'schönsten Frau der Welt,' zum 'größten Sex-Symbol aller Zeiten,' zur 'sexiesten Frau der Welt.'" (Der Spiegel, 30/2010, p. 119). However, the 'incorrect' form of *sexy* is preceded by two German equivalents (i.e., *größten* and *schönsten*) that balance out its ungrammaticality.

most of the adverbs derive directly from adjectives, and usually immediately precede or follow the adjective or adverb to which they refer. In all of the nine *Spiegel* articles from the entire investigation period, there are only seven adverbials: *cool*, *digital*, *fair*, *live*, *offline*, *online*, and *inklusive*. In the case of the first six, the form of each of the adverbs corresponds exactly with the forms of the respective adjectives.

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

(Der Spiegel 30/2010, p. 134)

"... und zieht **cool** an seiner ‚original deutschen‘ Zigarettenspitze."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. CONCLUSIONS

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

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

1. The lexical impact of English on the language used in *Der Spiegel* is enormous. Taking into consideration Yang's result from the time period 1950 to 1980, a steady increase in the total number of used Anglicisms in the magazine can be ascertained. This outcome corroborated the leading role of *Der Spiegel* among German speaking newsmagazines in terms of adoption and usage of English loanwords. The corpus of this study comprises of not less than 7,128 Anglicisms (tokens). This equals an average frequency of almost seven Anglicisms per page in *Der Spiegel*. This rate is almost double as high as the one Yang ascertained in his study in 1990. The frequency of Anglicisms per page is subject to fluctuation when compared on a year by year basis. However, the overall trend is a continual increase in the average number of tokens per page. Sole exception is the issues from the year 2000, where the highest frequency of Anglicisms per page was registered in the entire investigation period. This can be explained by the historical background, which saw a series of technological inventions in the field of communication. Innovations such as the Internet and the computer contributed to the influx of English loanwords into the German language.

Various findings of new Anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* are witnesses of this linguistic development. In terms of type-token-ratio of each English loanword, there has been a steady growth in the period from 1950 till 2010 as well. The biggest leap was registered between the years 1980 and 1990, which, again, can probably be explained by the already starting development in telecommunication. As far as word classes are concerned, nominal Anglicisms constitute the most numerous group of all registered Anglicisms (tokens) with 95.94%. By comparison, only 2.32% of all the registered Anglicisms were verbs, followed by adjectival loanwords, which represented 1.55% of the corpus. Adverbs accounted for 0.19% of all tokens and were therewith the least numerous group of Anglicisms in the corpus. This hierarchy in the numbers of findings concurs with the outcomes of Yang's study, and appears to be a universal phenomenon of linguistic borrowing in the literature. With regard to types, the same picture can be drawn. However, while Yang (1990) determined in his study that the number of English adjectives (68 types) surpasses that of verbs (64 types), the present study reveals the opposite. In recent times, verbal Anglicisms seem to be borrowed in greater numbers (118 types) than adjectival ones (100 types), suggesting that verbs play a more vital role in the borrowing process than adjectives. This tendency can be related to the difficulty in the inflection of English adjectives in German (e.g. *sexy* - **sexier** - **am sexiesten**), compared to the relatively easy integration of verbal Anglicisms into the inflectional system.

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

switched in order. The present study showed that the thematic category of ‘culture and education’ has surpassed ‘economy and finances’ in terms of frequency of usage.

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

2. The qualitative part of this study showed that most of the Anglicisms in the corpus are polysemous in English, but are only used in one or two of their meanings in *Der Spiegel*. Furthermore, some of the English loanwords have undergone change in meaning, which did not occur in the same way in English. The changing of meaning appeared in the form of semantic broadening, narrowing, or shift. Ten high-frequency Anglicisms from the corpus were chosen to exemplify change of meaning of English loanwords in German. Today, discrepancies in meaning between English words and their equivalent representation in

German (Anglicism) are evidence of the necessity of lexical borrowing in order to fill lexical gaps. For instance, German *Baby* competes with the words *Säugling* (Eng. *infant*) and *Kleinkind* (Eng. *toddler*). However, none of these terms is synonymous to one another. The Anglicism carries notions that its ‘competitors’ are devoid of, and therefore, fills a gap in this specific lexical field. Another example is the English word *Farmer*, which did not replace its near-synonymous German terms *Bauer* and *Landwirt*. In *Der Spiegel*, the Anglicism is restricted in its usage to agricultural matters outside of Germany. Along with this, Anglicisms oftentimes bear additional or different connotations that set them apart from their closest German equivalent expressions.

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

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

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

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

²⁵ Compare the two past participles of *backen* (to bake): *buk* and *backte* (both meaning ‘baked’).

adjectival Anglicisms in the corpus. Adjectives ending in *-y*, like *sexy*, *trendy*, or *tricky*, proved to be problematic when forming the comparative in German. In such cases, an equivalent mixed compound, comprised of the English stem of the adjective and a German adjective ending (e.g. *trickreich*, *spleenig*), was preferred in *Der Spiegel*. The lack of grammatical integration is correlated to a low frequency in usage of the Anglicisms in question.

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

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

All in all, this study might have shed at least some light on the usage of English loanwords in one popular written publication of the German press. However, the outcomes of this study are restricted not only to one single medium, but also to the written language. Therefore, it should be stressed anew that these findings can only be interpreted as a reflection of one aspect of the German language. Nevertheless, this follow-up study allows for some careful assertions about the future influence of English on the language of the German press.

Yang (1990) points out that the impact of English on the German language is highly dependent on development within the political, economic, and military relations with the English-speaking world (p. 170). Compared with Yang's study, the present work has shown that the language in *Der Spiegel* is a reliable tool for the prediction of such future tendencies that concern the numerical representation of English loanwords in the language of the German press. In some instances, it also became clear that the integration of such loanwords into the grammatical system of German does not necessarily correlate with graphemic integration. What is more, this study has demonstrated that the grammatical integration of Anglicisms is a complex phenomenon that includes word formational processes (for instance, the suffixation of English adjectives that are hard to inflect). The relationship between phonological adaptation and orthographical integration could not be explored in this study, since the object of study was a written medium.

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

REFERENCES

- Alanne, E. (1964). Das Eindringen von Fremdwörtern in den Wortschatz der Deutschen Handelssprache des 20. Jahrhunderts. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 65, 332-360.
- Allensbacher Computer- und Technik Analyse. (2009). Retrieved from <http://www.acta-online.de>
- Altmann, G., & Raettig, V. (1973). Genus und Wortauslaut im Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung*, 26(3-4), 297-303.
- Ammon, U. (1991). *Die internationale Stellung der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Arndt, W. W. (1970). Nonrandom assignment of loanwords: German noun gender. *Word*, 26, 244-253.
- Augustyn, P. (2004). The seductive aesthetics of globalization: Semiotic implications of anglicisms in German. In A. Gardt & B. Hüppauf (Eds.), *Globalization and the future of German* (pp. 307-318). New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- AWA II: Allgemeine Wirtschaftsanalyse. (2000). Retrieved from <http://www.agma-mmc.de>
- Bär, J.A. (2001). Fremdwortprobleme: Sprachsystematische und historische Aspekte. *Der Sprachdienst*, 45(4), 121-133.
- Barbe, K. (2004). The role of anglicisms in the German language. *Die Unterrichtspraxis*, 37(1), 26-38.
- Betz, W. (1959). Lehnwörter und Lehnprägungen im Vor- und Frühdeutsch. In F. Maurer & F. Stroh (Eds.), *Deutsche Wortgeschichte* (2nd ed.) (pp. 127-147). Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Bittner, D. (2000). Gender classification and the inflectional system of German nouns. In B. Unterbeck & M. Rissanen et al. (Eds.), *Gender in grammar and cognition* (pp. 1-24). New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Buck, T. (1974). Selfmade-Englisch: Semantic peculiarities of English loan-material. *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 10, 130-146.
- Bungert, H. (1963). Zum Einfluß des Englischen auf die deutsche Sprache seit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges. *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 62(4), 703-717.
- Bus, H. (1980). Amerikanisches Englisch und deutsche Regionalpresse: Probleme lexikalischer Interferenzforschung am Beispiel einer Zeitung des Rhein-Main-Gebietes. In W. Viereck (Ed.), *Studien zum Einfluß der englischen Sprache auf das Deutsche* (pp. 25-36). Tübingen: Narr.

- Busse, U. (2001). Typen von Anglizismen: Von der *heilago geist* bis *Extremsparring*: Aufgezeigt anhand ausgewählter lexikographischer Kategorisierungen. In G. Stickel (Ed.), *Neues und Fremdes im deutschen Wortschatz: Aktueller lexikalischer Wandel* (pp. 131-155). New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Busse, U., & Görlach, M. (2002). German. In M. Görlach (Ed.), *English in Europe* (pp. 13-36). Oxford: UP.
- Busse, U., & Solms, H.-J. (2002). Englisch und Deutsch: Die Geschichte zweier ungleicher 'Schwestern'. In R. Hoberg (Ed.), *Deutsch – Englisch – Europäisch. Impulse für eine neue Sprachpolitik*, 3 (pp. 105-138). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
- Cannon, G., & Pfeffer, J.A. (2003). English loans in a current Modern High German periodical. *Dictionaries*, 24, 97-178.
- Carstensen, B. (1965). *Englische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache nach 1945*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Carstensen, B. (1972). Zur Intensität des englischen Einflusses auf die deutsche Pressesprache. *Muttersprache*, 82, 238-243.
- Carstensen, B. (1979a). Evidente und latente Einflüsse des Englischen auf das Deutsche. In P. Braun (Ed.), *Fremdwort-Diskussion* (pp. 90-94). München: Fink.
- Carstensen, B. (1979b). Morphologische Eigenwege des Deutschen bei der Übernahme englischen Wortmaterials. *Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 4(2), 155-170.
- Carstensen, B. (1980a). Der Einfluß des Englischen auf das Deutsche: Grammatische Probleme. *Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 5(1), 37-63.
- Carstensen, B. (1980b). Das Genus englischer Fremd- und Lehnwörter im Deutschen. In W. Viereck (Ed.), *Studien zum Einfluß der englischen Sprache auf das Deutsche* (pp. 37-75). Tübingen: Narr.
- Carstensen, B. (1992). Anglicisms in German. The description of the loan-process. In G. Meder & A. Dörner (Eds.), *Worte, Wörter, Wörterbücher: Lexikographische Beiträge zum Essener linguistischen Kolloquium* (pp. 87-103). Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Carstensen, B. (Ed.). (2001). *Anglizismen-Wörterbuch. Der Einfluß des Englischen auf den deutschen Wortschatz nach 1945* (Vols. 1-3). New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Carstensen, B., & Galinsky, H. (1963). *Amerikanismen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache: Entlehnungsvorgänge und ihre stilistischen Aspekte*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Carstensen, B., & Galinsky, H. (1975). *Amerikanismen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache: Entlehnungsvorgänge und ihre stilistischen Aspekte* (3rd ed.). Heidelberg: Winter.
- Conzett, P. (2006). Gender assignment and the structure of the lexicon. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung*, 59(3), 223-240.
- Corbett, G. G., & Fraser, N. M. (2000). Gender assignment: A typology and a model. In G. Senft (Ed.), *Systems of nominal classification* (pp. 293-325). Cambridge: UP.

- Crystal, D. (2004). The past, present, and future of world English. In A. Gardt & B. Hüppauf (Eds.), *Globalization and the future of German* (pp. 27-45). New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Duckworth, D. (1970). Der Einfluß des Englischen auf den deutschen Wortschatz seit 1945. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Sprache*, 26. 9-31.
- Duden: Das Fremdwörterbuch* (10th ed.). (2010). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
- Duden: Das Herkunftswörterbuch* (4th ed.). (2006). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
- Duden: Deutsches Universalwörterbuch* (6th ed.). (2007). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
- Effertz, A., & Vieth, U. (1996). *Das Verständnis wirtschaftsspezifischer Anglizismen in der deutschen Sprache bei Unternehmern, Führungskräften und Mitarbeitern der neuen und alten Bundesländer*. Frankfurt a.M.: Lang.
- Ehrlich, K. (2002). Die Zukunft des Deutschen und anderer Sprachen – außer der Englischen – in der wissenschaftlichen Kommunikation. In R. Hoberg (Ed.), *Deutsch – Englisch – Europäisch. Impulse für eine neue Sprachpolitik* (Vol. 3) (pp. 44-53). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
- Eisenberg, P. (2001). Die grammatische Integration von Fremdwörtern: Was fängt das Deutsche mit seinen Latinismen und Anglizismen an? In G. Stickel (Ed.), *Neues und Fremdes im deutschen Wortschatz: Aktueller lexikalischer Wandel* (pp. 183-209). New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Engels, B. (1976). Gebrauchsanstieg der lexikalischen und semantischen Amerikanismen in zwei Jahrgängen der 'Welt' (1954 und 1964): Eine vergleichende computerlinguistische Studie zur quantitativen Entwicklung amerikanischer Einflüsse auf die deutsche Zeitungssprache. Frankfurt a.M.: Lang.
- Fink, H. (1968). Amerikanismen im Wortschatz der deutschen Tagespresse. Dargestellt am Beispiel dreier überregionaler Tageszeitungen: Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Die Welt. München: Hueber.
- Fink, H. (1983). Wirtschaftsanglizismen in Lehrwerken kaufmännischer Schulen: Eine quantitative und empirische Studie zum Verständnis. *Wirtschaft und Erziehung*, 5, 158-161.
- Fink, H. (1990). Soziokulturelle Effekte von Amerikanismen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache und von Germanismen des heutigen Amerikanisch: Versuch einer quantitativen Analyse. In F. Krampikowski (Ed.), *Amerikanisches Deutschlandbild und deutsches Amerikabild in Medien und Erziehung* (pp. 83-135). Esslingen: Pädagogischer Verlag Burgbücherei Schneider.
- Fink, H., Fijas, L., & Schons, D. (1997). *Anglizismen in der Sprache der neuen Bundesländer: Eine Analyse zur Verwendung und Rezeption*. Frankfurt a.M.: Lang.
- Fisiak, J. (1975). Some remarks concerning the noun gender assignment of loanwords. *Bulletin de la société polonaise de linguistique, fascicule*, 33, 59-63.

- Galinsky, H. (1968). Der anglo-amerikanische Einfluss auf die deutsche Sprachentwicklung der beiden letzten Jahrzehnte: Versuch einer systematischen Übersicht. In H. Marchand, H. E. Brekle & L. Lipka (Eds.), *Wortbildung, Syntax und Morphologie: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Hans Marchand am 1. Oktober 1976* (pp. 67-81). The Hague: Mouton.
- Glahn, R. (2002a). Englisch im gesprochenen Deutsch: Einfluss und Bewertung. In R. Hoberg (Ed.), *Deutsch – Englisch – Europäisch. Impulse für eine neue Sprachpolitik* (Vol. 3) (220-235). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
- Glahn, R. (2002b). *Der Einfluß des Englischen auf gesprochene deutsche Gegenwartssprache: Eine Analyse öffentlich gesprochener Sprache am Beispiel von 'Fernsehdeutsch'* (2nd ed.). Frankfurt a.M.: Lang.
- Good, C. (1975). On the function of the 'Fremdwort' in Modern German. *New German Studies*, 3, 127-138.
- Görlach, M. (2002). *English in Europe*. Oxford: UP.
- Götzeler, C. (2008). *Anglizismen in der Pressesprache. Alte und Neue Bundesländer im Vergleich*. Bremen: Hempen.
- Gregor, B. (1983). *Genuszuordnung: Das Genus englischer Lehnwörter im Deutschen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Haspelmath, M. (2008). Loanword typology: Steps toward a systematic cross-linguistic study of lexical borrowability. In T. Stolz, D. Bakker, & R. Salas Palomo (Eds.), *Aspects of language contact: New theoretical, methodological and empirical findings with special focus on romancisation processes* (pp. 43-62). New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Haugen, E. (1950). The analysis of linguistic borrowing. *Language*, 26, 210-231.
- Hedderich, N. (2003). Language change in business German. *Global business languages*, 8, 47-55.
- Heller, K. (2002). Was ist ein Fremdwort? Sprachwissenschaftliche Aspekte seiner Definition. In R. Hoberg (Ed.), *Deutsch – Englisch – Europäisch. Impulse für eine neue Sprachpolitik* (Vol. 3) (pp. 184-198). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
- Henning, J. (1963). Zum grammatischen Geschlecht englischer Sachbezeichnungen im Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, 19, 54-63.
- Heringer, H. J. (1995). Prinzipien der Genuszuweisung. In H. Popp (Ed.), *Deutsch als Fremdsprache. An den Quellen eines Faches. Festschrift für Gerhard Helbig zum 65. Geburtstag* (pp. 203-216). München: Iudicium.
- Hickey, R. (2000). On the phonology of gender in Modern German. In U. Barbara & M. Rissanen et al. (Eds.), *Gender in grammar and cognition* (pp. 25-54). New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Hilgendorf, S. K. (2001). Language contact, convergence, and attitudes: The case of English in Germany (Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 2001).

- Hofmann, D. (2002). Do you understand English? Eine Umfrage zum Anglizismenverständnis. In R. Hoberg (Ed.), *Deutsch – Englisch – Europäisch. Impulse für eine neue Sprachpolitik* (Vol. 3) (pp. 236-246). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
- Jablonski, M. (1990). Regularität und Variabilität in der Rezeption englischer Internationalismen im modernen Deutsch, Französisch und Polnisch. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Jorgensen, P. A., & Moraco, D. A. (1984). The categorization of English loanwords in German. In C. E. Reed & W. W. Moelleken (Eds.), *Dialectology, linguistics, literature: Festschrift for Carroll E. Reed* (pp. 104-114). Göttingen: Kümmerle.
- Just, D. (1967). *Der Spiegel: Arbeitsweise, Inhalt, Wirkung*. Hannover: Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen.
- Kilarski, M., & Krynicki, G. (2005). Not arbitrary, not regular: The magic of gender assignment. In N. Delbecq, J. van der Auwera, & D. Geeraerts (Eds.), *Perspectives on variation: Sociolinguistic, historical, comparative* (pp. 235-250), New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Kirkness, A., & Woolford, M. (2002). Zur Herkunft der Anglizismen im Deutschen: Beobachtungen und Vorschläge anhand des 'Anglizismen Wörterbuchs'. In R. Hoberg (Ed.), *Deutsch – Englisch – Europäisch. Impulse für eine neue Sprachpolitik* (Vol. 3) (pp. 199-219). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
- Kluge, F., & Seebold, E. (2002). *Kluges etymologisches Wörterbuch* (24th ed.). New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter.
- Koekkoek, B. J. (1957). The English loanword manager in present-day German. *The German Quarterly*, 30(3), 162-166.
- König, W. (1992). *Dtv-Atlas zur deutschen Sprache* (9th ed.). München: DTV.
- Köpcke, K.-M. (1983). Die kognitive Organisation der Genuszuweisung zu den einsilbigen Nomen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik*, 11(2), 166-182.
- Kovtun, O. (2000). *Wirtschaftsanglizismen. Zur Integration nicht-indigener Ausdrücke in die deutsche Sprache*. New York: Waxmann.
- Kraif, U. (Ed.). (2007). *Duden: Das große Fremdwörterbuch* (4th ed.). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
- Langner, H. C. (1995). *Die Schreibung englischer Entlehnungen im Deutschen: Eine Untersuchung zur Orthographie von Anglizismen in den letzten hundert Jahren, dargestellt an Hand des Dudens*. Frankfurt a.M.: Lang.
- Leopold, W. F. (1967). *English influence on postwar German*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- Medienanalyse 1995. (1995). Retrieved from <http://www.agma-mmc.de>
- Medienanalyse 2010 II. (2010). Retrieved from <http://www.agma-mmc.de>

- Mackison, A. (2000). Towards a corpus-based comparison of two journals in the field of business and management German. In B. Dodd (Ed.), *Working with German corpora* (pp. 181-198). Birmingham: UP.
- Merriam Webster dictionary online. Retrieved from <http://www.merriam-webster.com>.
- Moravcsik, E. A. (1975). Verb borrowing. *Wiener linguistische Gazette*, 8, 3-30.
- Muhvic-Dimanovski, V. (1982). The English element in German: The phonological and morphological adaptation. In R. Filipovic (Ed.), *The English element in European languages* (pp. 231-243). Zagreb: Institute of Linguistics.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (2002). *Contact linguistics: Bilingual encounters and grammatical outcomes*. Oxford: UP.
- Onysko, A. (2004). Anglicisms in German: From iniquitous to ubiquitous. *English Today*, 20(1), 59-64.
- Onysko, A. (2007). *Anglicisms in German: Borrowing, lexical productivity, and written codeswitching*. New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Paul, P. (1972). How do loan words from English get their German gender? *Probleme der deutschen Gegenwartssprache: Studies in German language and literature* (pp. 47-61). Brisbane: UP Queensland 1.
- Rathmann, M. O. (2006). *The influence of English on German business language: A corpus-based study of the use of anglicisms in the German business press* (Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 2006).
- Schanke, E. (2001). Neuere englische Lehnwörter in der deutschen Wirtschaftssprache aus der Sicht eines Norwegers: Beispiele aus dem 'Handelsblatt' vom März 2000. *Muttersprache*, 111(3), 235-247.
- Schlick, W. (1984). Die Kriterien für die deutsche Genuszuweisung bei substantivischen Anglizismen. *The German Quarterly*, 57(3), 402-431.
- Schlick, W. (1985). Diese verflixte englische Geschlechtslosigkeit!: Zur deutschen Genuszuweisung bei neueren Lehns substantiven aus dem Englischen. *Muttersprache*, 95(3-4), 193-221.
- Schwichtenberg, B., & Schiller, N. O. (2004). Semantic gender assignment regularities in German. *Brain and language*, 90, 326-337.
- Simmons, P. (1971). *Problems of grammatical gender in German, with particular reference to English loanwords* (Doctoral dissertation, Canberra, 1971). Canberra: UP.
- Soanes, C., & Stevenson, A. (2009). *Concise Oxford English dictionary* (11th ed.). London, UK: Oxford UP.
- Spitzmüller, J. (2002). Selbstfindung durch Ausgrenzung. In R. Hoberg (Ed.), *Deutsch – Englisch – Europäisch. Impulse für eine neue Sprachpolitik* (Vol. 3) (pp. 247-265). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.

- Thornton, A. M. (2009). Constraining gender assignment rules. *Language Science*, 31, 14-32.
- Tombo, R. (1911). Variation in the orthography and inflection of English loan-words in German. *Modern Philology*, 9(2), 259-264.
- Ulrich, A. (2002). Deutsch unter Druck von Englisch in Wissenschaft und Politik. In R. Hoberg (Ed.), *Deutsch – Englisch – Europäisch. Impulse für eine neue Sprachpolitik* (Vol. 3) (pp. 139-151). Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
- Van Hout, R., & Muysken, P. (1994). Modeling lexical borrowability. *Language Variation and Change*, 6, 39-62.
- Vesterhus, S. (1998). Anglicisms in German car advertising: The problem of gender assignment. *Moderna Sprak*, 92(2), 160-170.
- Viereck, W. (1980a). Zur Thematik und Problematik von Anglizismen im Deutschen. In W. Viereck (Ed.), *Studien zum Einfluß der englischen Sprache auf das Deutsche* (pp. 9-24). Tübingen: Narr.
- Viereck, W. (1980b). Empirische Untersuchungen insbesondere zum Verständnis und Gebrauch von Anglizismen im Deutschen. In W. Viereck (Ed.), *Studien zum Einfluß der englischen Sprache auf das Deutsche* (pp. 237-322). Tübingen: Narr.
- Viereck, W. (1996). English in Europe: Its nativisation and use as a lingua franca, with special reference to German-speaking countries. In R. R. K. Hartmann (Ed.), *The English language in Europe* (pp.16-24). London: Intellect Books.
- Wächtler, K. (1980). Was ist ein Amerikanismus – Heute? *Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 5, 145-157.
- Wahrig-Burfeind, R. (2006). *Wahrig: Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (6th ed.). Mannheim: dtv.
- Wassen, P. (Ed.). (2009). *Bertelsmann Lexikon*. Gütersloh: Wissen Media.
- Weisgerber, L. (1962). Von den Kräften der deutschen Sprache, I: Grundzüge der inhaltbezogenen Grammatik (3rd ed.). Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann.
- Wilson, C. B. (1899). The grammatical gender of English words in German. *Americana Germanica*, 3, 265-283.
- Yang, W. (1990). Anglizismen im Deutschen. Am Beispiel des Nachrichtenmagazins DER SPIEGEL. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Zifonun, G. (2002). Überfremdung des Deutschen: Panikmache oder echte Gefahr? *Institut für Deutsche Sprache-Sprachforum*, 3, 2-9.
- Zindler, H. (1959). Anglizismen in der deutschen Presse nach 1945 (Doctoral dissertation, Universität Kiel, 1959). Kiel: UP.
- Zürn, A. (2001). Anglizismen im Deutschen: Eine Untersuchung zur Häufigkeit von Anglizismen und deren Inkorporiertheit im Deutschen am Beispiel dreier deutschsprachiger Nachrichtenmagazine; mit einem historischen Abriß und einer

Typologie der Entlehnungsarten (Doctoral dissertation, Karlsruhe, 2001). Karlsruhe:
UP.

APPENDIX A

Inflectional pattern of attributive adjectives

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

Table 12

Inflectional pattern of attributive adjectives in German

masculine adjective endings with respect to case

case	singular		plural	
nominative	der faire	ein fairer	die fairen	faire
genitive	des fairen	eines fairen	der fairen	fairer
dative	dem fairen	einem fairen	den fairen	fairen
accusative	den fairen	einen fairen	die fairen	faire

feminine adjective endings with respect to case

case	singular		plural	
nominative	die faire	eine faire	die fairen	faire
genitive	der fairen	einer fairen	der fairen	fairer
dative	der fairen	einer fairen	den fairen	fairen
accusative	die faire	eine faire	die fairen	faire

neuter adjective endings with respect to case

case	singular		plural	
nominative	das faire	ein faire	die fairen	faire
genitive	des fairen	eines fairen	der fairen	fairer
dative	dem fairen	einem fairen	den fairen	fairen
accusative	das faire	ein faire	die fairen	faire

APPENDIX B

Most frequently used loanwords

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

Table 13

The most frequent loanwords

loanword		Amount of loanwords (tokens) found per decade as simplex and in compounds			
		Total	1990	2000	2010
1.	Film	310	65	162	83
	Internet	294	-	182	112
	Konzern	224	27	143	54
	Computer	202	64	91	47
	Partner / Partnerin	138	32	77	29
	Manager / Managerin	130	29	57	44
	Star	130	13	80	37
	TV / Television	102	25	64	13
	Trainer / Trainerin	91	40	27	24
10.	Team	88	18	45	25
	Club / Klub	83	27	41	15
	Job	82	10	44	28
	Interview	80	13	50	17
	Sex	78	3	23	52
	Video	73	4	41	28
	Doping	70	30	4	36
	Fan	71	4	46	21
	Pop	69	17	22	30
	Parlament	68	1	38	29
20.	online	68	-	47	21
	Software	63	9	51	3
	Show	63	6	47	10

	Test	60	5	23	32
	Deal	52	5	28	19
	CD / CD-Rom	51	2	28	21
	Container	51	1	46	4
	Band	49	9	11	29
	Profi	48	15	25	8
	Training	48	21	9	18
30.	Trick	47	8	25	14
	Export	45	22	15	8
	Handy	42	-	22	20
	Chip	41	8	32	1
	Reporter	40	8	17	15
	Talk	40	3	29	8
	Investor	40	10	25	5
	Boom	39	8	25	6
	stoppen	38	8	18	12
	Trend	36	10	14	12
40.	Investment	36	1	20	15
	Banker	35	3	13	19
	Start	35	6	20	9
	nuklear	34	14	6	14
	Tourist	34	7	12	15
	Web	34	-	24	10
	Boss / Boß	34	7	21	6
	Baby	34	3	23	8
	Management	32	7	17	8
	Laser	31	-	17	14
50.	Hightech / High-Tech	31	11	10	10
	Top-	31	6	16	9
	E-Mail	30	-	18	12
	Code	30	-	27	3
	Rock	29	5	15	9
	Service	29	5	20	4
	Lad	27	-	27	-
	Lobby	26	4	5	17
	Rekord	26	8	13	5
	Hit	26	1	21	4
60.	Camp	26	6	11	9
	Komitee	25	17	2	6
	Image	25	3	16	6
	Single	25	1	11	13

	HIV	25	7	18	-
	Farm	24	1	22	1
	investieren	24	1	18	5
	Song	24	4	13	7
	Shirt	23	2	11	10
	Marketing	23	3	16	4
70.	PR / Public Relations	23	4	10	9
	Standard	22	1	11	10
	Business	22	-	13	9
	Box	22	7	11	4
	Sponsor	22	7	11	4
	trainieren	21	4	8	9
	Mini	21	6	8	7
	Hacker	21	6	7	8
	Story	21	3	10	8
	Party	21	4	16	1
80.	Teenager	20	3	4	13
	Tank	20	-	12	8
	Cyber-	19	-	17	2
	Insider	19	4	7	8
	Farmer	18	6	12	-
	Radio	18	5	11	2
	Schock	18	7	5	6
	Tourismus	17	2	4	11
	live	17	5	9	3
	Dschungel	17	5	11	1
90..	digital	17	-	12	5
	Streik	17	9	2	6
	Bestseller	16	4	7	5
	Jet	16	3	9	4
	Chat	16	-	9	7
	Analyst	16	-	16	-
	ICE	15	-	1	14
	Klick	15	-	13	2
	cool	15	2	4	9
	Tipp	14	1	6	7
100.	Stress	14	-	4	10
	PC	14	-	12	2
	Designer	14	2	8	4
	Lobbyist	14	-	9	5
	Recycling	14	9	1	4

	Surfer	14	-	9	5
	Killer	14	3	9	2
	Import	14	6	7	1
	Comeback	14	3	9	2
	Homepage	14	-	11	3
110.	Hobby	13	3	5	5
	Budget	13	2	6	5
	DNA	13	-	12	1
	Clan	13	1	8	4
	Jeans	13	-	5	8
	Couch	13	-	3	10
	Entertainer	13	1	12	-
	New Economy / new				
	economy	12	-	12	-
	Monitor	12	-	7	5
	Chief	12	-	-	12
120.	Mail	12		3	9
	Pool	12	3	5	4
	Fax	12	-	9	3
	Aids	11	1	8	2
	filmen	11	1	7	3
	dopen	11	9	-	2
	boomen	11	1	8	2
	Slum	11	2	2	7
	Mikrofon (Mikro)	11	4	4	3
130.	Monster	11	-	4	7
	Musical	11	-	11	-
	okay / OK	11	1	7	3
	Ticket	11	2	3	6
	parlamentarisch	11	-	6	5
	Laptop	11	-	2	9
	Stopp	11	4	4	3
	Crash	11	2	6	3
	Crew	11	1	8	2
140.	Action	10	2	5	3
	App (Application)	10	-	-	10
	Basketball	10	-	4	6
	Comic	10	2	2	6
	Discothek / Disco	10	3	4	3
	Essay	10	1	2	7
	exklusiv	10	4	4	2

	Favorit	10	1	7	2
	Glamour	10	-	9	1
	Know-how	10	2	4	4
150.	Label	10	-	4	6
	Supermarkt	10	5	2	3
	Swimmingpool (-pool)	10	7	1	2
	Tabu	10	1	6	3

APPENDIX C

Entire list of English loanwords

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

Table 14

Complete list of English loanwords

A	Bild-App	Bankerkollege
Twitter-Account	Marvel-App	Commerzbanker
Action	WSJ-App	Deutschbanker
Action-Freund	U.S. Army	Ex-Banker
Action-Heldin	Art Car	Investmentbanker
Action-Plot	ausflippen	Notenbanker
Action-Star	Authoritative Root Server	Staatsbanker
Action-Streifen	automatic shutoff nozzle	Zentralbanker
Agency	Avatar	Telefonbanking
Aids	Sports-Award	bar
Aids-Arzt		Bar
Aidserreger	B	Barbie
Aids-Hilfe	Baby	Baseball
Aids-Kongress	Anti-Baby-Pille	Baseballkappe
Aids-Medizin	Baby-Entsorgung	Baseball-Pitcher
Aids-Präventions-Kurs	Babygeschrei	Baseballschläger
Aidsstiftung	Babyklappe	Baseballspieler
Aids-Tod	Babyleiche	Basecap
Air-Konzert	Babynahrung	Basketball
Airbus	Babysitter	Basketballspieler
Airbus-Sanierungsbudget	Riesenbaby	Basketballsport
Airbus-Tankflugzeug	Wolfsbaby	Basketballteam
U.S. Air Force	Backgammon	Basketballer
Airline	Backstage	Battle
Airport	Backstage-Bereich	Battle Damage Assessment
Airport-Business-Center	Backstage Comedy	Beachvolleyballer
Airportclub	Medusa-Bag	Beagle
Airport Conference Center	Baggy Pants	Beat
Airport-Hotel	Band	Bed-in
Franz-Joseph-Strauß-Airport	Alternativ-Band	Beef War
Alien	Backing-Band	Beeper
Alien-Drama	Bandmitglied	Best of
Pornalike	Boyband	Best-of-Sammlung
Allroundpolitiker	Garagenband	Bestseller
Analyst	Lieblingsband	Bestseller-Autor
Analystenkonferenz	Rockband	Bestsellerliste
Angus-Rindfleisch	Schwermetall-Band	SPIEGEL-Bestsellerliste
Apartment	US-Band	big
App (Application)	Banker	Big Apple
App Store	Bankerbild	Big Bang

Big Bike	Hollywood-Boss	Casting
big deal	Industrieboss	Casting-Agentur
Big Oil	Mafia-Boss	Catcher
Big Schnatterich	Plattenboss	Berufscatcher
Bill of Rights	Rudelboss	Schlamm-Catcher-Arena
Billardhalle	Siemens-Boss	CD / CD-Rom
Black Box	Stromboss	Big Brother-CD
Info-Blackout	Vize-Boss	CD-Angebot
black smoker	Bourbon	CD-Cover
Blazer	Bowlingbahn	CD-Sortiment
Blimp	Bowlingcenter	CD-Verkauf
Blind-Date	Bowlinghalle	CD-Verkäuferin
Blind-Date-Braut	Box	Doppel-CD
Blind-Date-Kapriolen	1000-Watt-Box	Musik-CD
Blizzard	Boxengasse	Steuer-CD
Blockbuster-Medikament	Lautsprecherbox	Steuerhinterzieher-CD
Blog	Melkbox	Celebrity-Kultur
bloggen	Stahlbox	Center
Blogger	boxen	Behördencenter
Blogger-Manifest	durchboxen	Eros-Center
Blogger-Text	Boxen	CEO
Blue Box-Methode	Boxkampf-Idee	Challenger
Blue Chip	Boxtraining	Champion
Bluegrass-Ballade	Boxweltmeister	DDR-Championjockey
Blues	Thaiibox-Champion	Ex-Champion
Bluff	Boxer	NBA-Champion
bluffen	Berufsboxer	Champions League
Bobweltmeister		Championsring
Body	C	Charter
Bodybuilder	CAD-Technik	Chartergeschäft
Bodyguard	Cafeteria	Chartergesellschaft
Boom	Call	Chartermaschine
Aktienboom	Callcenter	Charterlinie
Bauboom	Callcenter-Leiter	Charter-Unternehmen
Boombranche (-Branche)	Callgirl	chartern
Boom-Generation	Camp	Chartern
Boommarkt	Basiccamp	Charts
Boomzeit	Campingplatz	Album-Charts
Börsenboom	Campingzelt	Chat
Busboom	Feriencamp	Chat-Log
Dauer-Boom	Freizeitcamp	Chat-Protokoll
Formel-1-Boom	Geheimcamp	Chat-Raum
Kuba-Boom	Jugendcamp	Chatroom
Machandelboom	Militärcamp	Chatter-Treffen
Malereiboom	Trainingscamp	chatten
Medienboom	US-Camp	Check
Neubau-Boom	Formel-1-Camper	Gesichts-Check
Ölboom	Campingplatz	Seelencheck
Super-Boom	Campingplatz-Idylle	Checkpoint
boomen	Campus	Armee-Checkpoint
Börsen-Boomer	Campushalle	Polizei-Checkpoint
Beatles-Boots	Capture/Kill-Auftrag	Cheerleader
Borderline	Cargohosen	Chicken McNuggets
Borderline-Journalismus	Cargolifter	Chief
Borderline-Mädchen	Cartoon	Chip
Boss / Boß	Kino-Cartoon	Chip-Austausch
Bergarbeiterboß	Cartoonist	Chipfabrik
CSU-Boss	Cashewbaum	Chipfertigung
Disney-Boss	Cashewnussbaum	Chip-Firma
Firmenboss	Cashflow	Chip-Gigant
Ford-Boss	Cassette	Chipkarte Comic-Zwerg

Chippreis	Nachtclub	Polit-Comic
Chipsparte	NFL-Club	Commander
Chipunternehmen	Privatclub	Basis-Commander
Gigahertz-Chip	Profiklub	Küstenwacht-Commander
Infineon-Chipproduktion	Rio-Club	Commodity Exchange Act
Infineon-Chipträger	Schallplattenclub	Finanz-Community
Logik-Chip	Skatclub	Company
Mikrochip	Sportklub	Platten-Company
Red Chip	Verkehrsclub	Compassion
Speicherchip	Vorzeigeclub	Compliance-Ausschuss
City	"Wetten, dass ...?"-Club	Compound
Claim	Cluster	Computer
Clan	Cluster-Operation	Apple-Computer
Abacha-Clan	Clustertransplantation	Beatles-Computerspiel
Bush-Clan	Co.	BKA-Computer
Clan-Mitglied	Coach	Bordcomputer
Familienclan	Bundesliga-Coach	computeranimiert
Wagabow-Clan	DDR-Coach	Computeranlage
Wallenberg-Clan	Vereins-Coach	Computerarbeitsplatz
clean	Wunschcoach	Computer-Bastler
Clearing-Stelle	coasting phase	Computerbegeisterter
clever	Cockpit	Computerbetriebsdaten
Cleverer	Lufthansa-Cockpit-Belegschaft	Computerbranche
Cleverle	Cocktail	Computerdaten
Fußball-Cleverle	Molotowcocktail	Computereinbruch
Click & Buy	Cocooning	Computerelektronik
Clinch	Code	Computerentwurf
Clip	Code-Eingabeaufforderung	Computerexperte
Clip-CD	Codename	Computerfachfrau
Clown	Codewort	Computerfachkraft
Clownsnase	Codewortmüll	Computerfachleute (-Fachleute)
Hausclown	Geheimcode	Computerfehler
Horror-Clown	Gencode	Computerfirma
Medienclown	Programm-Code	Computerfreak
Pausenclown	Sicherheitscode	Computergemeinde
Club / Klub	Zahlencode	Computergeneration
Aldina-Clubchef	Zugangscode	Computergenie
Armeesportklub	zugangscodiert	computergesteuert
Aktienclub	Codierung	Computergrafik
Anlegerclub	Coffee-to-go	Computerhacker
Buchclub	Collateral Murder	Computer-Hersteller
Bundesligaklub	Collateral Murder-Video	Computerhilfe
Chaos Computer Club	College	Computer-Homepage
Clubauftritt	Colonel	Computerindustrie
Clubdepot	Combo	Computer-Ingenieur
Clubgaststätte	Untergrundcombo	Computerkenntnis
Clubhaus	Comeback	Computerklitsche
Clubheim	Bundesliga-Comeback	computerknackend
Clubkamerad	Comeback-Show	Computerkönig
Clubspieler	Comeback-Versuch	Computerkonzern
Country-Club-Republikaner	Comedy	Computerkriminalität
Dorfklub	Comedy-Erfolg	Computer-Kriminalität
Fußballclub	Comedy-fähig	Computerkunst
Klubarzt	Comedy-Sendung	Computermarkt
Klubchef	Comic	Computermilliardär
Klubleben	Comic-Fan	Computermißbrauch
Klubleiter	Comic-Figur	Computermodell
Klubmitglied	Comicfigur	Computernetz
klubtypisch	Comic-Held	Computerprogramm
Kluburlaub	Comic-Panel	Computer-Programmierer
Lieblingsclub	Comic-Verlag	Computersabotage

Computerschuh	Stahlcontainer	Daviescup-Inszenierung
Computerselbsthilfe	Wellblechcontainer	Europacup
Computersicherheit	Containment	Porsche-Cup
Computersicherheitszentrum	BMG-Controller	Weltcupfinale
Computerspezialist	cool	Customer Relationship Management
Computerspiel	Cool Britannia	Cutter
Computerspieldramaturgie	uncool	
Computersprache	verzweiflungscool	
Computersteuerung	Wasser-Cop	D
Computersteuerungsanlage	Copy and Paste	Dad
Computersystem	Copyright	Daily Talk
computertechnisch	Copyright-Norm	Dailytalk-Ära
Computertechnik	Copyshop	Daily-Talk-Genre
Computertechnologie	Corporate Design	Dandy
Computertomograf	Corporate Finance	Hollywood-Dandy
Computertomografie	VW-Cost-Cutter	Kunst-Dandy
Computer-Trickser	Couch	Dark Horse
Computertüftler	Couchsurfer	dark matter
Computer-Umwelt	Couchsurfing	Dark-Matter-Idee
Computerverfahren	Ledercouch	Darling
Computervirus	"Wetten, dass ...?"-Couch	Datadesign
Computerwelt	Wohnzimmercouch	Date
Computerwerkschutz	Countdown	Day
Computerzeitalter	Verona-Count-down	Christopher Street Day
Computerzeitschrift	Counterpart	Dead Man Talking
Forschungscomputer	Countertenor	Dead Man Voting
Gen-Computer	Cover	Deal
IBM-Computer	Albumcover	Atom-Deal
Mini-Computer	Covergirl	China-Deal
Personalcomputer	Cowboy	Deal Insider
Polizeicomputer	Cowboypuppe	Deutsche-Bank-Deal
Robotron-Computer	Geheimdienst-Cowboy	Droh-Deal
Roulettcomputer	Plastikcowboy	Elf-Deal
Schachcomputer	Knabber-Cracker	Leuna-Deal
Schreibcomputer	Crash	Mega-Deal
Supercomputer	Börsen-Crash	Milliardendeal
Testcomputer	Börsencrash	Plattenbau-Deal
Connection	Crash-Kurs	Waffendeal
Pizza-Connection	Crash-Theorie	Dealer
Consultant	Euro-Crash- Seminar	Dealer-Ware
Consulting	Credit Default Swap	Delta Force
Consulting-Firma	Crew	US-Department
Container	Alvin-Crew	Derby
Baustellencontainer	Bodencrew	Derbybahn
Big Brother-Container	Hindenburg-Crew	Galoppderby
Blechcontainer	Wissenschaftlercrew	Design
Containerbewohner	Crossover	Design-Chef
Container-Camp	Cruise Missiles	Design-Rambo
Containerflüchtling	Cruisergewicht	Politiker-Design
Container-Kaserne	Cyber-	Reaktordesign
Container-Kulisse	Cyber-City	Über-Design
Containernachrückerin	Cyber-Cop	Designer
Containerquintett	Cyber-Kuppler	Anzeigendesigner
Containerschiff	Cybermobbing	Designer-Anzug
Containersiedlung	Cyber-Polizei	Designer-Chic
Container-Studio	Cybernet-Aktie	Designer-Jeans
Containertransporter	Cyberradio-Gründer	Designerklamotten
Geldcontainer	Cyberraum	Designer-Kleidung
Meßcontainer	Cyberspace	Designer-Modell
Müllcontainer	Cyberunternehmen	Grafikdesigner
Sammelcontainer	Cup	Lichtdesigner

Topdesigner
 Detektiv
 Privatdetektiv
 Lügendetektor
 Diet Sprite
 digital
 Digitalfernsehen
 Digitaltechnik
 digitalisieren
 Digitalisierung
 Dildo
 Dingo (Austral.)
 Atelier-Dinner
 Spenden-Dinner
 dippen
 Discothek / Disco
 Dorfdisco-
 Schönheitsköniginnenwahl
 Discount
 Discountpreis
 Markendiscount
 DJ / Discjockey
 Display
 Distrikt
 DNA
 DNA-Analyse
 DNA-Baustein
 DNA-Identitätsfeststellungsgesetz
 DNA-Labor
 DNA-Probe
 DNA-Profil
 DNA-Spur
 DNA-Verpackung
 Doc / Doctor
 Document-Center-Akte
 Doga (Dog + Yoga)
 Doggystyle
 Domainname
 Domain Name System Server
 (DNS-Server)
 Dope
 dopen
 weiterdopen
 Doper
 Doping
 Anti-Dopingkämpfer
 Dopingarchiv
 Dopingarzt
 Dopingexperte
 Dopingfachmann
 Dopingkontrolle
 Dopingkontrolllabor
 Dopingmittel
 Dopingopfer
 Dopingopfer-Hilfegesetz
 Dopingopfer-Hilfeverein
 Dopingpolizei
 Dopingpräparat
 Dopingpraxis
 Dopingprobe
 Dopingprogramm

Dopingskandal
 Dopingsperre
 Dopingsünder
 Dopingtäter
 Dopingtricks
 Doping-Untersuchung
 Doping-Verdacht
 Dopingverdacht
 Dopingvergangenheit
 Dopingvorwürfe
 Dopingzentrale
 Doping-Zyklus
 Rasierklingen-Doping
 Grube-Double
 doublen
 Download
 Download-Plattform
 verdrribeln
 Dribbling
 Joghurt-Drink
 Drive-Stufe
 Dschungel
 Dschungelcamp
 Dschungelkiosk
 Dschungelmode
 Dschungelpfad
 Dschungelregion
 Großstadtdschungel
 Justizdschungel
 Anti-Dumping-Verfahren
 Dunk
 DVD

E
 E-Book
 E-Book-Firma
 E-Book-Format
 EC (electronic cash)
 EC-Automat
 EC-Karte
 EC-Karten-Notfallservice
 E-Commerce
 E-Commerce-Beratungsfirma
 E-Commerce-Firma
 E-Commerce-Industrie
 Eco-
 Eco-Net
 Eco-Roman
 Economy
 Economy-Passagier
 Eishockey
 Eishockeyspieler
 Eishockey-Verein
 E-Learning-Programm
 E-Mail
 E-Mail-Account
 E-Mail-Adresse
 E-Mail-Anbieter
 E-Mail-Empfänger
 E-Mail-Fach
 E-Mail-Newsletter

Emerging Market
 Empire
 E-Musik
 Energy-Drink
 Entertainer
 Pro-Sieben-Entertainer
 Entertainment
 Entertainment-Branche
 Entertainment-Profi
 Event
 Event-Agentur
 Event-Veranstalter
 Kultur-Event
 Sport-Event
 Zeitgeist-Event
 Essay
 Bild-Essay
 Essay-Band
 SPIEGEL-Essay
 Establishment
 Evergreen
 exklusiv
 Exklusivfrist
 Exklusivvertrag
 exklusive
 Exklusivität
 Export
 Buch-Export
 DDR-Export
 Exportanteil
 Exportchance
 Exporterlös
 Exportgeschäft
 Exporthilfe
 Exportindustrie
 Exportkraft
 Exportkunde
 Exportland
 Exportnation
 Exportprofit
 Exportregeln
 Exportschlage
 Exportstopp
 Exportsubvention
 Exportweltmeister
 Exportzoll
 Rüstungsexport
 Trinkwasser-Export
 Waffenexport
 Waffenexport-Regeln
 exportieren
 Regionalexpress
 Eyetracker

F
 Facelifting
 failed state
 fair
 unfair
 Fairness
 Fake-Bild

famous	Fight	Frankenstein-Film
Fan	Titelfight	Freizeitfilmemacher
Barbie-Fan	Film	Hallström-Film
Deutschland-Fan	Abschlussfilm	Historienfilm
Europa-Fan	Almodovar-Film	Hitchcock-Film
Fahnen- und Fanfaren-Fan	Amateurfilmfestival	Hollywoodfilm (-Film)
Fanartikel	Animationsfilm	Horrorfilm
Fanartikelgeschäft	Antikriegsfilm	James-Bond-Film
Fanartikelverkauf	Aufklärungsfilm	Jeanne d'Arc-Film
Fan-Ausschreitungen	Autorenfilm	Kinofilm
Fanblock	Beatles-Film	Kostümfilm
Fangemeinde	Disney-Film	Kriegsfilm
Fan-Kontakt	Dokumentarfilm	Kultfilm
Fanmagazin	Eröffnungsfilm	Kurzfilm
Fanpost	Familien-Filmfirma	Monumentalfilm
Fan-Shop	Filmadel	Pixar-Film
Fanzeitschrift	Filmakademie	Polizeifilm
Fanzine	Film-Aktiengesellschaft	Sandalenfilm
Fluminense-Fan	Filmautor	Science-Fiction-Film
Fußballfan	Filmbeginn	Schindler-Film
Lakers-Fan	Filmbranche	Sexfilm
Luxusfan	Filmemacher	Shakespeare-Filmfreund
Madonna-Fan	Filmerzähler	Spielfilm
Rennfan	Filmfestival	Spionagefilm
Riesenfán	Filmfestspiele	Strittmatter-Verfilmung
Schumi's-Fangemeinde	Filmfirma	Stummfilm
Farm	Film-Flieger	Stummfilm-Parodie
Afrika-Farm	Filmgeschäft	Tom-Tykwér-Film
Farmarbeiter	Filmgeschichte	Tonfilm
Farmbesetzer	Filmgesellschaft	Toy Story-Film
Farmerretter	Filmheld	Trickfilm-Arbeit
Farmhaus	filmhistorisch	Trickfilm-Festival
Farmwasser	Filmindustrie	Trickfilm-Idee
Fischfarm	filmisch	TV-Film
Gwenoro-Farm	Filmjacke	Ufa-Film
Riesenfarm	Filmkritiker	US-Film
Rinderfarm	Filmkunst	US-Spielfilm
Smith-Farm	Filmkünstler	Weltkriegsfilm
Farmer	Film-Liebe	Werbefilm
Milchfarmer	Filmmusik	Wettbewerbsfilm
Obstfarmer	Filmpark	Wettbewerbstrickfilm
US-Farmer	Filmpartner	Woody-Allen-Film
fashionable	Filmperspektive	Zeichentrickfilm
Fast-Fashion-Kette	Filmplan	filmen
Fast Food	Filmporträt	abfilmen
Fastfood-Kette	Filmproduzent	verfilmen
Favorit	Filmprojekt	Verfilmung
WM-Favorit	filmreif	Walser-Verfilmung
Fax	Filmrolle (-Rolle)	Filmer
Faxfehler	Filmschauspielerin	Amateurfilmer
Faxnummer	Filmsequenz	Naturfilmer
Faxsendung	Filmstar	Titanic-Filmer
faxen	Filmstudio	Werbefilmer
Feeling	Filmszene	final option
Big Brother-Feeling	Filmtheoretiker	First-Class-Eheschließung
Femalismus	Film-Traumszene	First Lady
Festival	Filmtypus	fisten
Festivalchef	Film-Vater	Fisten
Sowjet-Jugendfestival	Filmverleih	Fistereí
Woodstock-Festival	Filmwirtschaft	Fisting
Fifty-fifty-Verhältnis	Filmzitat	Fisting-Praktiken

Fist-Prärie
 fit
 Fitness
 Fitnesscenter
 Fitnessgerät
 Fitneß-Klub
 Fitnessprogramm
 Fitnessraum
 Fitness-Studio
 Fitnesszentrum
 Flashover-Blitz
 Flatrate
 Flip
 Flip-Station
 Flirt
 Dauerflirt
 Flirtmaschine
 Flirt-Ritual
 Flirtwilliger
 Sommerflirt
 flirten
 Flop
 Riesenflop
 floppen
 flow-restrictor
 Flower-Power
 Flower-Power-Linie
 Flyer
 Folk / Folklore
 Folk-Schlager
 Folklore-Kostüme
 Folkloreverein
 Folkrocker
 Genfood
 Football
 American-Football-Team
 Footballprofi
 Footballsport
 Forward
 Foul
 Boateng-Foul
 Fußballfoul
 Freak
 Motorfreak
 Schach-Freak
 Technikfreak
 Friend
 Friendship-Community
 Fun
 Fun-fun-Raster
 fun-orientiert
 Fun-Rocker
 FDP-Fundraising

G
 Gag
 Gag-Geschenk
 Wahlkampf-Gag
 US-Gallone
 Gameboy
 Gameshow

Gang
 Gangbang
 Gangster
 Gangsterfilm
 Gangstertum
 Mafia-Gangster
 Gangway
 Geek
 Gentleman
 GI
 Bond-Girl
 Girlie
 Girlietum
 RTL-Girlie
 Glamour
 Glamour-Ereignis
 Glamour-Faktor
 Glamourfaktor
 Glamour-Metropole
 Glamour-Queen
 Glamourwelt
 Glamour-Wirbel
 glamourös
 Global
 Global Hawk
 Global Player
 Global Village
 Gold / Golden
 Gold Card
 Golden Girls
 Golden Retriever
 Golf
 Golfball
 Golfkarren
 Golfspieler
 Golfturnier
 Golfwagen
 Golfen
 good
 good governance
 Good Old News
 Goodwill
 googeln
 GPS
 GPS-Gerät
 Grammy
 Grandma
 Grandpa
 Green Card (Greencard)
 Green-Card-Initiative
 Akropolis-Grillteller
 Groupie
 grow or perish
 Grunge-Rock
 Hubschrauber-Gunship

H
 hacken
 Hacker
 Ex-Hacker
 Hackergruppe

Hackerjäger
 Hacker-Kongress
 Hackermethode
 Hacker-Szene
 Handicap
 Handling-Dienste
 Handy
 Handy-Benutzer
 Handy-Besitzer
 Handy-Betriebssystem
 Handy-Dieb
 Handy-Display
 Handy-Geschäft
 Handy-Gesellschaft
 Handy-Gespräch
 Handykamera
 Handyleitung
 Handymarkt
 Handy-Nummer
 Handy-Single-Party
 Handy-Sparte
 Handy-Zugang
 Krypto-Handy
 Wap-Handy
 Happening
 Yves-Klein-Happening
 happy
 Happy End
 Happy-End-Geschichte
 Hardcore
 Hardcore-
 Boulevardjournalismus
 Hardcore-Pornografie
 Hardcore-Seite
 Hardcore-Sex
 Hardcover
 Hardcover-Bestseller
 Hardliner
 Hardliner-Regierung
 Hardrocker
 Hard Power
 Hardware
 Hardware-Laden
 Hearing
 Heavy Metal
 Heavy-Metal-Band
 Heavy-Metal-Musiker
 Heavy-Metal-Sänger
 Hedgefond
 Hedgefonds-Anlage
 Helicop
 Helikopter
 Puma-Helikopter
 Hellfire
 Hellfire-Präzisionsrakete
 Hellfire-Rakete
 High Court
 Highflyer
 Highheels
 Highlight
 High Potentials

High-Society	HIV-Risiko	Importgenehmigung
Hightech / High-Tech	HIV-Schwerpunktpraxis	Importgeschäft
Hightech-Ausbildung	Hobby	Importverbot
High-Tech-Betrieb	Hobby-Boxer	Nahrungsimport
Hightech-Bildgebung	Hobbyforscher	importieren
Hightech-Bildschirm	Hobbyfußballer	importiert
High-Tech-Bomber	Hobbyimker	impossible
Hightech-Branche	Hobbykicker	in
High-Tech-Equipment	Hobbykoch	inklusive
Hightech-Experte	Hobbyliterat	Inline-Skates
High-Tech-Fähigkeiten	Hobbyrichter	In-Lokal
Hightech-Firma	Hobbysportler	Insider
Hightech-Firma	Holding	CDU-Insider
High-Tech- Firma	Gewerkschaftsholding	Grünen-Insider
High-Tech-Geschoss	Holdingfirma	Insider-Handel
Hightech-Handy	Mannemann-Holding	Insider-Information
Hightech-Indianer	Medienholding	Insiderkreis
Hightech-Land	Öko-Test-Holding	Insiderwissen
Hightech-Modell	Porsche Automobil Holding	MfS-Insider
Hightech-Neugründung	holy grail	Nato-Insider
Hightech-Pionier	Ferrari-Motorhome	Instant-Wagner
High-Tech-Praktiken	Homepage	Intelligence Service
High-Tech-Unternehmen	Ace Alibi-Homepage	Internet
Hightech-Unternehmen	Bunte-Homepage	CDU-Internet-Sprecher
Hightech-Wert	FDP-Homepage	Gratis-Internet-Provider
High-Tech-Zentrum	Firmen-Homepage	Internet-Account
High-Tech-Zwitter	Skora-Homepage	Internet-Adresse
High-Touch	Hooligan-Szene	Internet-Aktie
High Value Target	Hotline	Internet-Anbieter
Highway	0190-Hotline	Internet-Angebot
hip	Firmenhotline	Internet-Anschluss
HipHop	Hotline-Nummer	Internet-Anwendung
HipHop-Formation	Hot Spot	Internetauftritt
HipHop-Rhythmus	House of Lords	Internet-Bank
Hippie	Hype	Internet-Bekanntheit
Ex-Hippie-Gitarrist	D-Mark-Hype	Internetbenutzer
Hippie-Hochburg	Formel-1-Hype	Internet-Beratungsagentur
Hippie-Kapitalismus	Hyperlink	Internetbezahl dienst
Hippie-Nerd		Internetblog (-Blog)
Hippie-Zeiten	I	Internetboom (-Boom)
US-Hippie	IC	Internet-Branche
Hipster	ICE	Internet-Business
Großstadthipster	ICE-2-Zug	Internetcafé
Historical Resource	ICE-Flotte	Internetchat
Hit	ICE-Netz	Internet-Community
Dauerhit	ICE-Problem	Internetdienst
Doku-Hit	ICE-Strecke	Internet-Dienstleister
Hitparade	ICE-Zug	Internet-erfahren
Hitparaden-Champion	ICE-Zugbegleiterin	Internet-Euphorie
Millionen-Hit	Schnee-Iglu	Internet-Expertin
Nummer-eins-Hit	Image	Internet-Fan
Orgel-Hit	Imagegrund	Internetfernsehen
Quoten-Hit	Imagekampagne	Internetfirma (-Firma)
Welthit	Imagemaschine	Internet-Firmengründer
HIV	Imagepflege	Internetforum (-Forum)
HI-Virus	Imageträger	Internet-Gemeinschaft
HIV-Infektion	Macherimage	Internet-Generation
HIV-infiziert	Macho-Image	Internet-Geschäft
HIV-Infizierter	Star-Image	Internetgigant
HIV-Paar	Import	Internet-Gründer
HIV-positiv	Fleischimport	Internet-Handel

Internetindustrie (-Industrie)	Interviewter	Kreischjob
Internet-Injektion	Intranet	Politikerjob
Internetkonzern	investieren	Sherpa-Job
Internet-Kult	Investment	Traumjob
Internet-Kunde	Investmentbank	Vorstandsjob
Internet-Markt	Investmentbanker	jobben
Internet-Millionär	Investmentbanking	Ferienjobber
Internet-Nerd	Investmentclub	Jockism
Internet-Nutzer	Investmentfirma	joggen
Internet-Organisation	Investmentfond	Joggen
Internet-Pionier	Investmentgeschäft	Jogger
Internetplattform	Investmenthaus	Jogging
Internet-Portal	Polizeiinvestmentclub	Jogginganzug
Internet Protokoll (-Protokoll)	Investor	Jogginghosen
Internet-Radio	Finanzinvestor	Jogging-Kombination
Internet-Recht	Risiko-Investor	Joint Prioritized Effects List
Internet-Regierung	US-Investor	(JPEL)
Internetseite (-Seite)	IP-Nummer	JPEL-Aktion
Internetshow	IT- (Information Technology)	JPEL-Liste
Internet-Sprecher	IT-Dienstleister	JPEL-Ziel
Internetstartseite	IT-Referatsleiter	Joint
Internet-Start-up	IT-Sicherheit	Joint-venture (Joint Venture)
Internetsteinzeit	IT-Sparte	Jointventure-Unternehmen
Internet-Strategie	Siemens-IT-Führungskraft	Jumbo-Jet
Internet-Surfer		Junk
Internet-Tageszeitung	J	Industrie-Junk
Internet-tauglich	Jackpot	Junkie
Internet-Technologie	Jazz	Informations-Junkie
Internet-Therapeutin	Jazzgeneration	Jury
Internet-Unternehmen	Jazzkonzert	Jury-Bedenken
Internet-Unternehmer	Jump Jazz	Jury-Sekretär
Internet-Verkauf	hochgejazzt	Pulitzer-Jury
Internet-Veröffentlichung	Jeans	
Internet-Versandhaus	Jeanshemd	K
Internet-Welle	Jeep	Kanister
Internet-Welt	Jet	Brennstoff-Kassette
Internet-Wert	Alpha-Jet	Ex-Nationalkeeper
Internet-Wirtschaft	Cityline-Jet	Keks
Internetzeitalter (-Zeitalter)	Düsenjet	Key Business
Internetzensur	Jet-Flugstunde	kicken
Internet-Zugang	Kampfjet (-Jet)	Kicker
Internet-Zugangsanbieter	Lear-Jet	Kickerjahr
Interstate-Autobahn	Lufthansa-Regional-Jet	Kickerspektakel
Interview	Passagierjet	Kicker-Tempel
Bruce-Willis-Interview	Präsidentenjet	Nachwuchskicker
Fantasy-Interview	Privatjet	Kids
Fernseh-Interview	Regional-Jet	Kidnapper
Gruppeninterview	Jetlag	Kidnapping
Interview-Anfrage	Jetset	Antikidnapping-Einsatztruppe
Interviewpartner	Alkohol-Kokain-Spielsucht-Jetset-	Antikidnapping-Truppe
Interviewpause	Leben	killen
Interview-Zweikampf	Jetset-Leben	Killer
Kummer-Interviewpartner	jetten	Auftragskiller
Menschen-Interview	Job	Killerblitz
Reuters-Interview	Forschungsjob	Killerkeim
Ricci-Interview	Geschäftsführer-Job	Killerklausel
SPIEGEL-Interview	Industriejob	Mafia-Killer
Star-Interview	Ingenieursjob	Massenkiller
Telefoninterview	Jobabbau	Mietkiller
interviewen	Jobstart	Umweltkiller
Interviewer	Jobsuche	Klick

Klick-Wunsch	Konzernkasse	L
Mausklick	Konzernlenker	Label
klicken	Konzernmodell	"heute"-Label
einklicken	Konzernpatriarch	Lad
hin- und herklicken	Konzernspitze	Lad-Magazin
Klicken	Konzernsprecher	New Lads
Know-how	Konzernstrategie	Ur-Lad
Boehringer-Know-how	Konzerntochter	Laddism
K.-o.-Erfolg	Konzernumsatz	Junior-Laddism
Komfort	Konzernvorgabe	Laddism-Welle
Fahrkomfort	Konzernzentrale	Lady
Komfort-Gut	Logistikkonzern	Eiserne Lady
Sitzkomfort	Mammut-Konzern	Luxuslady
komfortabel	MAN-Konzern	Laptop
Komitee	Mannesmann-Konzern	Laser
Besatzerkomitee	Medienkonzern	Excimer-Laser
Bürgerkomitee	Minenkonzern	Excimer-Lasersystem
Energie-Komitee	Mineralienkonzern	Laserattacke
Nationalkomitee	Mischkonzern	Laserchirurgie
Pulitzer-Komitee	Mobilfunk-Konzern	Lasengerät
Pulitzer-Preis-Komitee	Multi-Utility-Konzern	Laserlicht
Regierungskomitee	Mutterkonzern	Lasermedizin
Zentralkomitee	NUR-Touristic-Konzern	Laseroperation
kompatibel	Ölkonzern	Laserpointer
Kondom	Pharmakonzern	Laserreflektor
kontern	Pressekonzern	Laserstrahl
Konzern	Privatkonzern	Laserstrahler
Autokonzern	Reisekonzern	Laserstrahlschütze
Bahnkonzern	Riesenkonzern	Laserstrahlsorte
Baukonzern	RTZ-Konzern	Lasersystem
Bayer-Konzern	Rückversicherungskonzern	Lasertherapie
Chemiekonzern	Rüstungskonzern	lasern
Disney-Konzern	RWE-Konzern	Lasern
Elektrokonzern	Siemens-Konzern	Law
Elektronikkonzern	Springer-Konzern	Murthys Law
Energiekonzern	Staatskonzernlenker	Law-and-Order-Mann
Familienkonzern	Stahlkonzern	Layout
Ford-Konzern	Statoil-Konzern	Lay-over
Fusionskonzern	Stromkonzern	LCD-Brillengläser
Gaskonzern	Tabakkonzern	Leak
Gates-Konzern	Telefonkonzern	Leaken
Großkonzern	Tierfutterkonzern	learning by doing
Handelskonzern	Time-Warner-Konzern	Leasing
Hoesch-Konzern	Touristik-Konzern	Fahrzeug-Leasing-Gesellschaft
IBM-Konzern	Traditionskonzern	Leasing-Fahrzeug
Industriekonzern	US-Konzern	Leasingrate (-Rate)
Kabelkonzern	Verkehrskonzern	Leasing-Wagen
Konzernbereich	Verlagskonzern	legal closure
Konzernbetriebsführung	Versorgungskonzern	Lifestyle
Konzernbetriebsrat	Volkswagen-Konzern	Lifestyle-Blatt
Konzernboss	VW-Konzern	Lifestyle-Kochtip
Konzernchef	WAZ-Konzern	Lifestyle-Magazin
Konzern-Compliance-Abteilung	Weltkonzern	Lifestyle-Operation
Konzernebene	K.-o.-Sieg	Lift
Konzernfirma (-Firma)	Krimi	Liftfrau
konzernfrei	Fernsehkrimi	liften
Konzerngesellschaft	Kriminalroman	light
Konzerngewinn	Umweltkrimi	Light-Produkt
Konzernherr	Weltallkrimi	Light Version
Konzernhierarchie	WG-Krimi	Link
Konzernjurist	ZDF-Krimi	Linkliste

verlinkt	Lowtech-Bewässerung	Hotelmanager
Liquid Sound	Luxusliner	HSBC-Manager
Liquid-Sound-Anlage	lynchen	Icann-Manager
little Vietnam	Lynchmob	Krisenmanager/in
live		Managergehalt
Liveaufnahme	M	Managertyp
Live-Berichterstattung	mad cow	MEN-Manager
Live-Bild	mad cow disease	Mercedes-Manager
Live-Gespräch	Mad-Cow-Syndrom	Mg-Manager
Live-Mitschnitt	magic tree	Musikmanager
Live-Schaltung	Mail	Nachwuchsmanager
Live-Sendung	Mail-Adresse	Philips-Manager
Live-Sex	Mailbox	Promotion-Managerin
Live-Übertragung	Mainstream	RWE-Manager
Lobby	Major	Sat-1-Manager
Alteigentümer-Lobby	Make-up	Schuldenmanagerin
China-Lobby	Management	Siemens-Manager
Klinik-Lobby	Baumanagement	Spitzenmanager
Lobbyarbeit	Beschwerde-Management	Springer-Verlagsmanager
Lobbyfirma	Finanzkrisen-Management	Stadtwerke-Manager
Lobbygruppe	Ford-Management	Stahlmanager
Lobbykampagne	Krisenmanagement	Systemmanager
Lobby-Organisation	Leanmanagement	Thyssen-Manager
Pharmalobby	Managementaufgabe	Verlagsmanager
Polen-Lobby	Managementenerfahrung	Wein-Manager
Viehzüchter-Lobby	Managementfehler	Westmanager
Wall-Street-Lobby	Managementguru	technokratisch-managerhaft
Wasserversorger-Lobby	Managementproblem	Beatlemania
Lobbyist	Riskiomanagement	Marketing
Industrie-Lobbyist	Umweltmanagement	Influenza-Marketing
Lobbyistengesicht	Versorgungsmanagement	Marketingaktion
Pharmalobbyist	Wassermanagement	Marketing-Etat
Rüstungslobbyist	Wirtschaftsmanagement	Marketingexperte
VFA-Lobbyistin	managen	Marketing-Firma
Logbuch	Managing Director	Marketing-Gründen
einloggen	Manager / Managerin	Marketingidee
Einloggen	Atommanager	Marketinginstrument
Login	Auktionsmanager	Marketingkonzept
Logo	Automanager	Marketingoffensive
CDU-Logo	Automobilmanager	Marketing-Plan
JVA-Logo	Bankmanager	Marketingprofessor
Lokomotive / Lok	Bauer-Manager	Marketingrecht
Dampflo	Bertelsmann-Manager	Marketingregel
Lokomotivführer	BMW-Manager	Marketing-Trick
Regierungslokomotive	Börsenmanager	Marketing-Unternehmer
Lonely-Hearts-Fete	Daimler-Manager	Polit-Marketing
Look	DDR-Chefmanager	Sportmarketing
Alternativ-Look	Dell-Manager	Master of Business Administration
Pennäler-Look	Dresdner-Bank-Manager	Masterplan
Rio-Look	Elf-Manager	Match
Schlabber-Look	Energiemanager	Kandidatenmatch
Loser	Event-Manager	Medley
Lounge	Ex-Manager	Meeting
Love & Peace	Ex-Thyssen-Manager	Frühjahrsmeeting
Love-Parade	Familienmanager	Wahlmeetings
lovely boy	Finanzmanager	Merchandising
Lover	Firmenmanager	Merchandising-Abteilung
Ex-Lover	Fondsmanager	Merchandising-Artikel
Staatsanwalt-Lover	Ford-Manager	Merchandising-Geschäft
Low-Budget-Produktion	Foxconn-Manager	Mergers and Acquisition (M&A)
low-flow shower head	HGAA-Manager	Merger of Equals

Mergermania	US-Multi	Old Economy
Midlife-Crisis	Multimedia	Old Nobodaddy
Mikrofon (Mikro)	Multimediaagentur	Oldie
Bordmikro	Multimediasparte	Oldie-Protagonist
ORF-Mikrofon	Multimedia-Zauber	Oldtimer
Saalmikrofon	multimedial	Oldtimerfreund
Tischmikrofon	Musical	On-Air-Design
Mini	Dreißiger-Jahre-Musical	One-Night-Stand / One Night
Mini-Auto	Musical-Inszenierung	Stand
Miniboot	Musical-Macher	online
Mini-Bundeswehr	Musical-Version	Online-Abonnant
Mini-Flieger	Musicalwelt	Online-Angebot
Mini-Jet		Online-Archiv
Mini-Notebook	N	Online-Auktionshaus
Mini-Revolution	Namedropping	Online-Balzplatz
Miniroboter	Nanny	Onlinebanking (-Banking)
Minirock	U.S. Navy	Online-Broking
Minischritt	Navy Seal	Online-Buchhandel
Mini-Wohlfahrtsstaat	Nerd	Online-Buchhändler
Mix	Netbook	Online-Casino
Schlamm-Mix	Net Service	Online-Clark-Gable
Wolfsmix	New Age	Online-Demokratie
mixen	Newcomer	Online-Designer
Mnemotechnicolor	New Economy / new economy	Online-Enzyklopädie
Mob	New Economy-Initiative	Online-Flirtgeschichte
Chávez-Mob	New Economy-Pakt	Online-Gebrauchtwagenhandel
Mob-Mamsell	New Look	Online-Gemeinde
mobben	News	Online-Gemeinschaft
herausmobben	NGO	Online-Handel
Mobbing	Non-Paper	Online-Journalismus
Mobile Commerce	Non-Profit-Gesellschaft	Online-Konkurrenz
Mod	Non-Pofit-Unternehmen	Online-Kontoführung
Model	Nonsense	Online-Kreativjob
Starmodel	nuklear	Online-Journalismus
Supermodel	nichtnuklear	Online Matching Service
modelln	Nuklearaffäre	Online-Multi
Modem	Nuklearanlage	Online-Nomade
Mogul	Nukleararsenal	Online-Nutzer
Groß-Mogul	Nuklear-Deal	Online-Nutzung
Medien-Mogul	nuklearfähig	Online-Paar
Mohair-Anzug	Nukleargarantien	Online-Partnersuche
Monitor	Nuklearmaterial	Online-Plattform
Bordmonitor	Nuklearmedizin	Online-Portal
Monitorbild	Nuklearmediziner	Online-Profil
Ultraschallmonitor	Nuklearpolitik	Online-Reichtum
Monitoring	nuklearpolitisch	Online-Shop
Monopoly	Nuklearprojekt	Online-Shopping
Börsenmonopoly	Nuklearrüstung	Online-Spiel
Firmen-Monopoly	Nuklearschirm	Online-Stellenmarkt
Monster	Nuklearsektor	Online-Unterstützung
Monster-Fabrik	Nukleartechnik	Online-Versender
Mountain Bike	Nuklearwaffe	Online-Voting
Mountain-Biker	nuklearwaffenfrei	Online-Wertpapierhaus
Movie	Nuklearwaffenspezialist	Online-Wette
MP3	thermonuklear	Online-Zeitung
MPEG-Format		US-Online-Buchhändler
Mr. / Mister	O	Open Access
Muffin	offline	Open-Access-Gedanke
Multi	Offliner	Open-Air
Energimulti	Off-Sprecher	Open-Air-Bühne
Energie- und Öl-Multi	okay / OK	Open-Air-Happening

Open-Air-Kino
 Open-air-Konzert
 Open Source
 Open-Source-Entwicklung
 Order
 Krenz-Order
 Mielke-Order
 ordern
 beordern
 nachordern
 out
 Megaout-Partei
 Outdoor-Erlebnisbericht
 outen
 Outfit
 Outlaw-Gehabe
 Outperformer
 Oval Office
 Overall
 Weltraumoverall
 Overkill

P

Pad
 Fußballpalaver
 parken
 zuparken
 Falschparker
 Parkbeleg
 Parkplatz
 Presseparkplatz
 Parlament
 Europaparlament
 Landesparlament
 Parlamentschef
 Parlamentskonkurrenz
 Parlamentsmehrheit
 Parlamentspräsident
 Parlamentswahl
 Parlamentswoche
 Stadtparlament
 parlamentarisch
 Partner / Partnerin
 Ansprechpartner
 Bündnispartner
 DVR-Kooperationspartner
 DVR-Partner
 EG-Partner
 Ehepartner
 Filmpartner
 Friedenspartner
 Fusionspartner
 Geschäftspartner
 Gesprächspartner
 Handelspartner
 Juniorpartner
 Klenk-Partner
 Koalitionspartner
 Kohl-Partner
 Langzeitpartner
 Lebensabschnittspartner

Lebenspartner
 Minderheitspartner
 Partnergesellschaft
 Partnerland
 Partnerstadt
 Partnersuche
 Partnersuchender
 Partnervermittlung
 Partnerwechsel
 Quartett-Partner
 Sicherheitspartnerschaft
 SPLA-Partner
 Tarifpartner
 Traumpartner
 Verhandlungspartner
 Vertragspartner
 Westpartner
 Wunschpartner
 Partnerschaft
 partnerschaftlich
 Party
 Examensparty
 Fastloved-Party
 Garten-Party
 Geburtstagsparty
 Partylöwe
 Partymiezchen
 Partystimmung
 Party-Time
 Partyvolk
 Patchwork
 Beziehungs-Patchwork
 Patchwork-Decke
 Patchwork-Identität
 Pay-TV
 PC
 Anti-PC-Bewegung
 Büro-PC
 Kaufhaus-PC
 PC-Chip
 PC-Nutzer
 PC-Prozessor
 PC-Spiel
 Peanuts
 Peepshow
 Penthouse
 Pep
 aufpeppen
 aufgepeppt
 peppig
 Performance
 Klartext-Performance
 Performance-Künstler
 Performance-Monitoring
 Pick-up
 piercen
 durchgepierct
 gepierct
 PIN (Pin)
 Pin-Code
 Pin-Nummer

Pint
 Pin-up-Girl
 Pipeline
 Pipeline-Deal
 Pitbull-Terrier
 Pitchen
 Pitchpine-Diele
 Vollplayback
 Playboy
 Player
 Playoff-Spiel
 Plot
 Plotpoint
 Plumpudding
 Poker
 Koalitionspoker
 Pokerspiel
 Pokerturnier
 Preis poker
 pokern
 Polo
 Polohemd
 Pool
 Gen-Pool
 Pool-Halle
 Ressourcenpool
 poor
 Pop
 Ballon-Pop
 Deutschpopper
 Dramatiker-Britpop
 Elitepopper
 Pop-Art
 Pop-Artisten
 Popformat
 Pop-Geschichtsschreibung
 Popgröße
 Popgruppe
 Pop-Heiliger
 Pop-Heroen
 Pop-Idol
 Pop-Ikone
 Popklassiker
 Popkultur
 Pop-Life
 Popmusik
 Popmusikanten
 Popsänger
 Pop-Schrebergarten
 Popsingle
 Popstar
 Pop-Sumpflütle
 Pop-Terrorismus
 Pop-Terrorist
 Pop-Universum
 Popwelt
 Unterhaltungspop
 Popcorn
 poppen
 posten
 Poster

Bach-Poster	US-Profiliga	Fernsehrecycling
Power	Vertriebsprofi	Fernseher-Recyclingwerk
Powerhaus	Vollgas-Profi	Maximalrecycling
Powerhouse	Promoter	Recycling-Anlage
Power-Walker	Promotion	Recyclingfirma
Powerpoint-Präsentation	Prozessor	Recyclinghof
Predator	Mikroprozessor	Recyclingverfahren (-Verfahren)
Predator-Drohne	Pub	Recyclingzentrum
Premium-Trockenfutter	Publicist	re-enactor
PR / Public Relations	Hollywood-Publicist	Referee
Gratis-PR	Publicity	Refluxer
PR-Agent	Wackelpudding	Reformer
PR-Agentur	PUK (Puk)	Reggae
PR-Aktion	Pullover	Reggae-Fan
PR-Arbeit	Pulli	Rekord
PR-Coup	Pumpgun	Europa-Rekord
PR-Deutsch	Pumps	Rekordauflage
PR-Firma	Punchingball	Rekord-Konjunktur
PR-Gag	Punk	Rekordpreis
PR-Journalismus	Punk-Rhythmus	Rekordsumme
PR-Kontrolle	Put	Rekordtief
PR-Mann	Put-Option	Rekordüberschuß
PR-Produkt	Puzzle	rekordverdächtig
PR-Profit	Q	Rekordwert
PR-System	Queen	Weltrekord
PR-Zweck	Porno-Queen	Weltrekordler
Presenter	Quiz	Weltrekordlerin
Preview	R	Weltrekordsumme
Print	Radar	Relaxing
Print on Demand	Radaranlagen	Gonadotropin-releasing
Print-Ausgabe	Radargerät	Remake
Printbranche	Radio	Dschingis Khan-Remix
Printjournalist	Autoradio	Report
Printmedium	Radio-Empfänger	Geheimdienstreport
Private-Equity-Firma	Radiokurzaufttritt	Inlandsreport
Producer	Radiomoderator	Lightman-Report
Profi	Radioreporter	Reportseite
Börsenprofi	Radiosender	SPIEGEL-Report
Bundesligaprofi	Radiosignal	UNFA-Report
Chelsea-Profi	Wildwasser-Rafter	Reporter
Durchschnittsprofi	Rallye	Bild-Reporter
FC-Profi	Ranking	Boulevardreporter
Fernsehprofi	Rap	Buchreport
Fußballprofi	Rap-Band	Fernsehreporter
Galopp-Profi	Rap-Kritiker	Prozessreporter
Jung-Profi	Rap-Musik	Reporterfrage
Motorradprofi	Rap-Song	RTL-Rennreporter
Nationalmannschafts-Profi	Rapper	SPIEGEL-Reporter
NBA-Profi	Deutsch-Rapper	Time-Reporter
Politprofi	Rappermilieu	Retailbanking
Profi-Basketballer	US-Rating-Agentur	Revolver
Profiboxer	Reaganomics	Gasrevolver
Profi-Football	Reality	Revolverblatt
Profifußball	Realityhunter	Rock
Profifußballer	Reality-Runner	Rockband
Profijahr	Reality-Seifenoper	Rockcafé
Profiliga	Reality-Wahnsinn	Rockclub
Profi-Team	recyclen	Rockgeneration
Profitum	Recycling	Rockgruppe
Profi-Zuschauer		Rockkonzert
Spendenprofi		Rockkritiker

Rock-Lady	Secondary School	Schumi-Shirt
Rock-Legende	Secondhand-Händler	Big Brother-T-Shirt
Rockmusik	Selfmademan	MDC-T-Shirt
Rockmusikfan	Selfmade-Mann	Obama-T-Shirt
Rockoper	Server	Tommy-T-Shirt
Rockschuppen	Server-Computer	T-Shirt
Rockspektakel	Service	Shootingstar
Rock-Star	Flugservice	Shop
US-Rockband	Global Services	Bärbel-Shop
rocken	Lügen-Service	Beate-Uhse-Shop
Rocker	Serviceagentur	Flughafen-Souvenirshop
Rockertext	Service-Betrieb	Souvenirshop
Rocker-Weihe	Service-Computer	Shoppen
Rock'n'Roll	Service-Disvision	Shopping-Center
Rollerblades	Service-Geschäft	Belletristik-Shortlist
Root	Service-Provider	Shorts
Root Server	Serviceschiff	Short Story
Roll-on-roll-off (RoRo)	Serviceteam	Show
RoRo-Fähre	Sonder-Service Nummer	Beatles-Show
RoRo-Schiff	Waschservice	Fernsehshow
Fußballrowdys	Zimmerservice	Gameshow
Rowdytum	Fotosession	Gästeshow
Royal	Set-Top-Boxen	Gerichtsshow
Running Man	Sex	Late-Night-Show
run-off	Kindersex	Leichenshow
run-off-Methode	Schwulen-Sexring	Personality-Show
run-off-Wasser	Sex & Crime	Roadshow
S	Sex-Affäre	RTL-2-Show
Safe	Sex-Arbeiterin	Scherben-Showman
Safekombination	Sex-Biest	Showbiz-Kind
Safer Mix	Sexfilm	Show-Boycott
Sale-and-lease-back-Geschäft	Sexgeständnis	Showbranche
scannen	Sexgewohnheit	Showbusiness
einscannen	Sex-Ikone	Showgeschäft
Scheckbuch	Sexmesse	Showstar
Scheckbuch-Politik	Sexphantasie	Talkshow
Schock	Sexshop	Theatershow
Elektroschock	Sex-Skulptur	The Wall-Show
Kulturschock	Sexspielzeug	Überwachungsshow
Schockerlebnis	Sex-und-Lügen-Spiel	Unterhaltungsshow
Schocktherapie	Sex-Sprachmüll	Voyeurs-Show
Schockwelle	Sex-Symbol	ZDF-Samstagabendshow
Schockzustand	Sex-Torero	ZDF-Show
Schocker	Sexvideo	Showdown (Show-down)
Elektroschocker	Sex-Website	Shrimp
Schockermaschine	Teenager-Sex	Shrimpzüchter
Schockerserie	Telefonsex-Hostess	Shutter
schocken	Sexismus	Shutterbrille
geschockt	sexy	Shuttertechnik
Science Fiction	Sexy-Sound	silly talking
Promi-Scientologe	Shadow	Single
Scientology	Shampoo	Beatles-Single
Scientology-Mitglied	Anti-Schuppen-Shampoo	Singlebörse
Scientology-Sekte	Shampoo-Flasche	Single-Charts
Scoop	Shareholder	Single-Dasein
Scout	Shareholder-Value	Single-Party
Scrapie	Shareholder-Value-Fan	Single-Versteigerung
Scrapie-infiziert	Shareholder-Value-Gesellschaft	US-Single-Charts
Scrapie-krank	Sheriff	Fernseh-Sitcom
Screenshot	Shirt	Skaterkids
	Rambo-Shirt	Sketch

Skin(head)	Song	Aida-Star
Skinorganisation	Lady-Gaga-Song	All-Star
Skin-Szene	Led-Zeppelin-Song	All-Star-Team
Skipper	Songtext	Altstar
Skyship	Songwriter	Avantgarde-Star
Slang	Sonnyboy	"Biutiful"-Star
Slapstick	sorry	Börsen-Star
Slideshow	Soul	Cannes-Star
Slogan	Soul-Diva	Fernsehstar
Werbeslogan	Soul-Genre	Fußballstar
Slum	Sound	Hollywood-Star
Slumbewohner (-Bewohner)	Soundcheck	Hollywood-Starfrau
smart	Soundeffekt	Jungstar
Smiley	Soundtrack	Künstlerstar
Smog	Space Boots	Lakers-Star
Dauer-Smog	Space-Shuttle-Astronaut	Malerstar
Sommersmog-Verordnung	special relationship	Medienstar
Smoking	special-Reportage	NBA-Star
Hundesmoking	spectacle	Neustar
SMS (Short Message System)	Speed	Oasis-Star
Sneaker	Spin	Popstar
Nicht-Snob	Spirit	Porno-Star
snobistisch	Spleen	Regie-Star
versnobt	spleenig	Rockstar
Soap	split screen	Smashing-Pumpkins-Star
ARD-Ärzte-Soap	Heck-Spoiler	Starallüren
Ärzte-Soap	Sponsor	Staraufgebot
Ärzte-Soap-Saurier	Sponsorengelder	Stardirigent
Soccer-Mom	Sponsorenpartner	Stargespräch
Softdrink	Sponsorenvertrag	Starkonzern
Softie-Sex	Tiefkühlkost-Sponsor	Star-Leben
Soft Power	Sponsoring	Starmaler
Software	Grand-Pix-Sponsoring	Starmodell
Schad-Software	Produktsponsoring	Superstar
Schnittsoftware	Sponsoring-Idee	Topstar
Software-Aktie	Spot	US-Star
Software-Antrag	FDP-Wahlspot	Weltstar
Software-Branche	Wahlspot	Star-Spangled
Softwarecode	Spray	Start
Software-Entwickler	Leberspray	Blitzstart
Software-Entwicklung	Nasenspray	Börsenstart
Software-Experte	Sprinkler	Fehlstart
Software-Fachkraft	Sprinkleranlage	Karriere-Neustart
Software-Firma / Softwarefirma	Rasensprinkler	Karrierestart
Software-Geschäft	Sprint	Kinostart
Software-Haus	DDR-Sprint-Europameisterin	Motorstart
Software-Konzern	sprinten	Rückrundenstart
Software-Laden	Sprinter / Sprinterin	Startampel
Software-Millionär	Squash	Startformation
Software-Patent	Standard	Startkapital
Software-Patentierung	EU-Standard	Startseite
Software-Problem	Industrie-Standard	Startunfall
Software-Produkt	Lebensstandard	starten
Software-Riese	Mindeststandard	Start-up
Software-Spezialist	Qualitätsstandard	Start-up-Firma
Software-Surrogat	Sicherheitsstandard	Start-up-Unternehmen
Softwaretechnologie	Spitzenstandard	Statement
Software-Unternehmen	Standard-These	Steak
Software-Update	Standardwerk	T-Bone-Steak
Spielesoftware	Standing Ovations	Stealth-Jäger
Zusatzsoftware	Star	Stereoanlage

Chávez-Sticker
 Stinger-Rakete
 stock options
 Stopp
 Baustopp
 Planungsstopp
 Siedlungsstopp
 Vergabestopp
 Zwischenstopp
 stoppen
 Store
 Apple-Store
 iTunes Store
 Story
 Beatels-Story
 Erfolgsstory
 Fotostory
 Lügenstory
 Stretching
 Streetballspieler
 Streik
 Druckerstreik
 Generalstreik
 Hungerstreik
 Mitarbeiter-Streik
 streiken
 hungerstreiken
 Streikender
 Stress
 Klimastress
 Psycho-Stress
 Stressbewältigung
 Stresstest
 String
 String-Tanga
 Männerstrip
 Stripperin
 Styling-Studio
 Stylist
 stylen
 durchgestylt
 gestylt
 hochgestylt
 Superman
 Supermarkt
 Supermarktmüll
 Supermarkt-Parkplatz
 West-Supermarkt
 Supervisor
 surfen
 Surfen
 Surfer
 Nichtsurfer
 Swatch-Uhr
 Sweatshirt
 Unisex-Sweatshirt
 Swimmingpool (-pool)
 Swimming-pool-Besitzer
 Swing

T
 tabu
 Tabu
 Sexualtabu
 Tabubruch
 Tabu-Thema
 tabuisiert
 Talk
 Talk-Dino
 Talk-Evolution
 Talkmaster
 Talk-Runde
 Talkshow
 Talkshow-Tournee
 Talkshow-Einladung
 Talkshow-Moderator
 Talk-Pastor
 Talk-Redakteur
 US-Talkshow
 Talker
 Tank
 Minol-Tankstellennetz
 Mülltank
 Riesentank
 Stickstofftank
 Tanklaster
 Tankquittung
 Tankschiff
 Tankstelle
 Tankstellengeschäft
 Tankwagen
 Unterwassertankstelle
 tanken
 Tanker
 Öltanker
 Supertanker-Flotte
 Tankerauftrag
 Tanker-Bestellung
 Task Force (Task-Force)
 Task-Force-Kämpfer
 Multitasker
 Tattoo
 Tätowierstudio
 tätowieren
 tätowiert
 Poll Tax
 Team
 Alex-Team
 Archäologenteam
 Erstliga-Team
 Fernsehteam (-Team)
 Fluminense-Team
 Formel-1-Team
 Forscherteam
 Führungsteam
 Jordan-Team
 Junioren-Nationalteam
 Kamerateam
 Ligier-Team
 Mitarbeiter-Team
 Nachwuchsteam

Osart-Team
 Prost-Team
 Rennteam
 Roberts-Team
 Spitzenteam
 Teamarbeit
 Teamarzt
 Teambesitzer
 Teamchef
 Teamfähigkeit
 Teamkollegin
 Team-Shirt
 Teamspielerin
 Tiger Team
 Yamaha-Marlboro-Team
 Wiederaufbauteam
 Wissenschaftlerteam (-Team)
 Zweitligateam
 Techno
 Techno-Stil
 Technopop
 Teddybär
 Teenager
 Teenageralter
 Teenie
 Teenie-Alter
 Teenie-Hollywood-Hit
 Teenie-Schwarm
 Teenie-Virtuosin
 Teenie-Weltstar
 Telefax
 Telex
 Tennis
 Tennis-Makler
 Tension Album
 Terminal
 Test
 Abwehrtest
 Anabolika-Test
 Biertest
 Eignungstest
 Gentest
 Intelligenztest
 IQ-Test
 Massentest
 Produkttest
 Realtest
 Regeltest
 Risikotest
 Speicheltest
 Testbecken
 Testbetrieb
 Testdesign
 Testgelände
 Testheft
 Testlabor
 Testmethodik
 Testobjekt
 Testperson
 Testphase
 Test-Roulett

Vaterschaftstest	Sex-Tourismus	Trainingskurs
Testen	Tourismusbörse (-Börse)	Trainingslager
testen	Tourismusbranche	Trainingspartnerin
"The winner takes it all"-Mentalität	Tourismusminister /-in	Trainingspensum
Think Tank	Tourismusverband	Trainingsplan
Thriller	Tourismuswirtschaft	Trainingsplatz
Gefängnis-Thriller	Tourismuszentrale	Trainingsprogramm
Horrorthriller	Tourist	Trainingsverlauf
Polit-Thriller	DDR-Tourist	Trainingszentrum
Thriller-Miniatur	Medizintourist	Traktor
Thriller-Spezialist	Mondtourist	DDR-Traktor
ticken	Nationalpark-Tourist	Traktorbuch
Ticker	Ökotourist	Tramp-Tour
Tickermeldung	Polit-Tourist	Transfer
Ticket	Rucksacktourist	Embryo-Transfer
Billigticket	Touristen-Attraktion	Libyen-Transfer
Ticketautomat	Touristen-Gala	Nikolajewicz-Transfer
Ticketkauf	Touristenvisa	Warentransfer
Ticketpreis	Touristenziel	Transmitter
Ticket-Thema	Weltraumtourist	Daten-Transmitter
Timing	touristisch	Transport
Tipp / Tip	Tournaround	Leichentransport
Aktionstipp	Tower	Transporter
Fingertipp	Town Hall Meeting	Daimler-Transporter
Presse-Tip	Township	Großraumtransporter
Tippgeber	Trader	Hercules-Transporter
tippen	Bank-Trainee	Truppentransporter
mittippen	Trainer / Trainerin	VW-Transporter
Toast	Bundestrainer	abtransportieren
Käsetoast	Cheftrainer	Trash
Toast Hawaii	DDR-Leistungstrainer	Trash-TV
toasten	DDR-Schwimmtrainer	Trashkanal
Toaster	FC-Trainer	Trawler
Baumwoll-Top	Gladiatoretrainer	Pressetreck
Top-	Hundetrainer	Trenchcoat
Top 100	Nationaltrainer	Trend
Top-Act	Schwimmtrainer	Rückwärtstrend
Top-Event	Stoßtrainer	Trend-Slogan
Top-Experte	Torwarttrainer	Trendsetter
Top-Fahrer	Trainerkollege	Trendwende
Topfilm (-Film)	Trainerraum	Zukunftstrend
Top-Gelehrter	Verbandstrainer	trendy
Top-Kandidat	Wurf-Bundestrainer	Trial-and-Error-Prinzip
Top-Kommandeur	Zweitliga-Trainer	Trick
Top-Mafiosi	trainieren	Immen-Trickaufnahme
Top-Management	austrainiert	Küchentrick
Topmanager (-Manager)	durchtrainiert	Stalin-Trick
Top-Mannschaft	Training	Bilanztrick
Topmodel	Intervalltraining	Propagandatrick
Top-Quelle	Krafttraining	Trickfilm
Topstar (-Star)	Probetraining	Trickfilmkulisse
Top-Taliban	Qualifikationstraining	Tricktechnik
Top ten	Sicherheitstraining	trickreich
Top-Unternehmer	Trainingsanzug	Zeichentrick-Video
US-Top-Politiker	Trainingscamp	tricksen
Tornado	Trainingscomputer	austricksen
Tornado-Einsatz	Trainingsfaulheit	Trickser
Tornado-Jagdbomber	Trainingsgruppe	Zeichentrickser
Touchscreen-Haptik	Trainingshalle	Trickserei
Tourismus	Trainingsjahr	tricky
Polit-Tourismus	Trainingskontrolle	Trip

Acid-Trip	TV-Netz	Überwachungsvideo
LSD-Trip	TV-Oscar	Videoanbieter
Transatlantik-Trip	TV-Produktionsfirma	Videaufnahme
Urlaubstrip	TV-Produzent	Videoband
Troubleshooter	TV-Recht	Videobeamer
Trucker	TV-Recycling	Video-Business
Tunnel	TV-Reporter	Videoclip
Alpentunnel	TV-Rohstoff	Videoclub
Autotunnel	TV-Sender	Videodisplay
Eurotunnel	TV-Serie	Videogame
Kanaltunnel-Projekt	TV-Set	Videogerät
Krötentunnel	TV-Star	Videogeschäft
Tunnelblick	TV-Station	Videogreifer
Turf	TV-Strategie	Videokamera
DDR-Turf	TV-Sternchen	Videokonferenz
Turf-Brüder	TV-Talk	Videomonitor
Turf-Metropole	TV-Talkrunde	Video-Rebell
Turf-Prominenz	TV-Talkshow	Viderekorder / Videorecorder
TV / Television	TV-Team	Videoszene
Börsen-TV	TV-Tycoon	Videothek
DDR-TV	TV-Unterhaltung	Videothekar
Kabel-TV-Netz	TV-Unternehmer	Videothekenbesitzer
Pay-TV-Gewinn	TV-Unverantwortlicher	Videothekenbetreiber
Schmuddel-TV	TV-Vertrag	Videothekenszene
Total-TV-Attacke	TV-Welt	Videüberwachung
TV-Ansagerin	TV-Woche	Videowürfel
TV-Auftritt	TV-Zeitalter	YouTube-Video
TV-Baby	TV-Zusammenfassung	hydro vigilante
TV-Beauty	TV-Zuschauer	VIP
TV-Betrieb	twittern	VIP-Bereich
TV-Bild	Tycoon	VIP-Raum
TV-Branche	Medientycoon	VIP-Tisch
TV-Container	Pferde-Tycoon	VIP-Village
TV-Couch		VIP-Wohnzimmer
TV-Debatte	U	Virtualität
TV-Dokumentarist	UMTS-Netzwerk-Technologie	virtuell
TV-Dokumentation	Undercover-Journalist	Vital Signs
TV-Entertainer	Underdog	Volley
TV-Entwicklung	Underground	votieren
TV-Familie	United-Colors-of-Benetton-Familie	Votum
TV-Film	unplugged	Bürgervotum
TV-Firma	USB-Stick	Mißtrauensvotum
TV-Frühjahrskollektion	User	Wählervotum
TV-Gerät	User-Name	
TV-Geräteherstellung		W
TV-Geschäft	V	Waggon
TV-Gigant	Value at Risk	Waggonfabrik
TV-Größe	Vamp	Wap-Technologie
TV-Interview	Bertelsmann-Ventures-Chef	Warlord
TV-Interviewserie	VC-Firma (Venture-Capital-)	Warlord-Sippe
TV-Journalist	Venture-Capital (VC)	Water Warrior
TV-Kabel	Verdikt	Web
TV-Kamera	Victory-Zeichen	Webcam
TV-Kanal	Video	Web-Konsortium
TV-Kooperation	American Pie-Video	Web-Seite
TV-Kritik	Bagdad-Video	Web-Seiten-Verwaltung
TV-Literaturkritiker	Big Brother-Video	Website
TV-Magazin	DVR-Videothek	Websurfer
TV-Manager	Folchert-Videothek	Web-TV-Format
TV-Movie	Musikvideo	Web-Wert
TV-Nation	Rabatt-Video	Webcam-Girl

webmiles
Web-Seite
Website
 friendScout24-Website
 Seitensprung-Website
Weekly
Wellness
L'Oréal-Werbespot
Western
Whirlpool
Whiskey / Whisky
 Whisky-Klasse
Whistleblower
Who's who
Wild Card
Wonderbra
Working-Class
Workout
World Wide Web
www.-Seite
Wort Case
 Worst-Case-Bedingung
 Worst-Case-Szenario
wow

X
XXL

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

Z
Zapping
Zero-out-Funktion
Zombie
zoomen