ENGLISH ÜBER ALLES\textsuperscript{1}: ANGLO-AMERICANISMS IN THE GERMAN LANGUAGE AFTER THE YEAR 1945

1. Introduction

It takes little linguistic training to notice that of all the world languages it is the English language that plays the major international role at the beginning of the third millennium AD.

There has never been a language so widely spread or spoken by so many people as English (Crystal 1997:139).

No language has ever before been put to so many uses so massively by so many people in so many places--on every continent and in every sea; in the air and in space; in thought, speech, and writing; in print on paper and screen, in sound on

\textsuperscript{1} The title 'English über Alles' originates from E. von Lowenstern article published in The New York Times Nov. 9, 1990, p. 35 where mocking the wide-spread usage of Anglicisms, he proves that it is possible to write an article in the German language minimizing the usage of German vocabulary [see Appendix].
tape and film; by radio, television, and telephone, and via electronic networks and multimedia ... It is used by over a billion of people (McArthur 1998:30).

The popularity and omnipresence of English is beyond dispute, but what has been the topic of many linguistic debates, apart from its actual status and the way it is labeled today ('international', 'world', or 'global'), is the nature and scope of its influence upon other ('recipient') languages.

This article briefly discusses several issues related to the problem of English language intrusion into the German lexicon after the year 1945, namely (1) the puzzling question of the source language of the new lexical material (American or British English), (2) the treatment of Anglo-Americanisms in both former German republics, (3) motives for the extensive usage of English word material in modern German, and finally, (4) the difficulties ordinary users may face while implementing the borrowings into their lexicon.

2. Source language dilemma: a summary of British-German and American-German postwar linguistic encounters

Anglo-Americanisms in German have always drawn notable attention from linguists, who generally agree that whereas England’s geographical proximity and leading role in trade and commerce set the stage for British-German contact in the 19th century, the 20th century has witnessed the rising predominance of American English by virtue of its role as an international superpower. One of the first audible comments about the ongoing transition from Br.E. to Am.E. influence comes from Carstensen (1967b:13) "... daß das AE heute das BE in seiner Bedeutung weiter und weiter zurückdrängt, ist kein Geheimnis und keine Vermutung mehr."

Br.E. and Am.E. are present in today's German, but the scale of transference from Anglo-American reality has been different with respect to both former East and West German varieties, and it has been an obvious consequence of postwar political and cultural developments.3

2.1. Anglo-Americanisms in the FRG

In the FRG the period of intensive postwar contact was started with the presence of American and British troops in two out of the four occupation zones.5 The Marshall Plan, with active US economic and technological assistance, further contributed to the Am.E.

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2 In this paper the terms 'Anglo-Americanisms' and 'Anglicisms' are used interchangeably.
3 For details see Galinsky (1991), Clyne (1997a).
4 A concise historical sketch of Anglo-American contacts with the German language in W. Vierreck (1986b).
5 With the American zone the largest of the four.
influence upon the West German language. On top of that, economic, political and strategic pacts and alliances introduced Germany to international cooperation and communication and opened its way to the world's supranational tendencies and movements in the arts, youth culture, etc. The West German Americanmania that dominated all aspects of life was manifested in all possible forms: from English-language (Am.E. in particular) newspapers and magazines being readily available, to pop songs and cable television (CNN live), to comics, consumer goods, or advertising techniques, to name just a few. Such massive exposure to English (Am.E. in particular) resulted in massive transference of items\(^6\), transference that operated at all levels.\(^7\)

There has been a steady flow of English loan-words into German since as early as the thirteenth century. Yet a dramatic change occurred after 1945 when the practice of borrowing from English became so strong that some people were prompted to say that German had become a mixed language, much like Franglais (a mixture of French and English), the result of which is called Denglisch, Engleutsch, Gerglish, Deuglish or Anglodeutsch and is plagued with what Perkins (1977) calls the 'English sickness'. Although this might well be a gross exaggeration, there is no doubt that the influence of English is a determining factor in present-day German (Carstensen 1983:13).

Am. E. as a source language is made obvious by words depicting typical and USA-only realia or items retaining a typically American spelling, but in many cases the Br./Am. E. source language dilemma is insoluble.

In many cases ... one can no longer furnish exact evidence: expressions which may have come into being in American English can a day later already be a part of British English (and vice versa), or even be an accepted part of the English language as a whole (Viereck and Bald 1986a:III).

It happens very often that even native speakers of English, when confronted with neologisms of Anglo-American origin, tend to give contradictory answers as to whether a given item can be attributed British or American origin (W.Viereck 1986b:121).\(^8\)

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\(^6\) Galinsky (1980; also 1991) shows that the process of adopting English lexical items (from British, American, Canadian, or New Zealand English) is a complex phenomenon. The speed with which the German language creates its replica word depends on numerous factors, such as ethnolectal channels of transference and areas of primary and secondary distribution. The conclusions are that some neologisms get assimilated immediately, while the reception of others can take anything from one to 3 years, or longer (28 (!) years in extreme cases).

\(^7\) Many English loans belonging to specialist jargon have also found their way from there into the mainstream of the German vocabulary, e.g. ‘splitting’ (separate assessment of half of the joint income of a husband and wife for taxation purposes).

\(^8\) "It would certainly be welcome if it were possible to determine and delimit both quantitatively and qualitatively the influence of AE as against Briticisms. This however is no longer possible even to those thoroughly conversant with both branches of the language."
2.2. Anglo-Americanisms in the GDR

Contrary to its western neighbor from the very beginning the linguistic policy in the GDR embarked on a course of separatism and anti-Anglo-Americanism, which reflected the general political orientation. The officially declared open-mindedness, however, favored "a good and simple language understandable to the masses" (Lehnert 1986:130) without banishing foreign language use which, as in the case of English words, was a part of scientific Marxist-Leninist terminology. Many items infiltrated GDR German as a result of contacts with the western world in various spheres of life, or ordinary people's fascination with western life styles, others came from and through Russian as an intermediary language; such innovations being often a part of the official jargon of the regime.

What is typical of GDR Anglo-Americanisms is the fact that, as compared with the FRG usage, they were less numerous, more restricted or different in meaning than their FRG counterparts, and often with Russian as an intermediary. Words such as Dispatcher, Cocktail, Kombine, Meeting, Pressebriefing, Platform, or Festival serve as the best exemplification of the above mentioned peculiarities of GDR use of Anglicisms: for example: (1) Meeting "a political gathering"; (2) Platform "the main ideas of a political party"; (3) Cocktail "diplomatic reception"; (4) Dispatcher "a supervisor who watches and directs the sequence of operations in industry and traffic" (Lehnert 1986:143; Carstensen 1984b:49). Transfers like Boss (Boß) or Manager, Big Business, or Image were stigmatized with negative connotations. Moreover, entry oddities like Broiler 'roast chicken', never employed in FRG German, appeared in the German of the GDR. Moreover, many western authors, for example Clyne (1997b:125), have stressed the significant role of Sprachkultur in fighting off English influences rather than welcoming foreign vocabulary enrichment of the German lexicon.

The following quotation may serve as an illustration of the controversial nature of East/West German independent studies of Anglo-Americanisms in the everyday usage of the GDR:

In reply to my letter in 1971 informing Carstensen that in N.Lehnert's above-mentioned study some Anglo-American words had been treated which were missing in his [Carstensen's] book (1965), he remarked... "that Container and Broiler have meanwhile become fixed terms in West Germany." His remark on

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9 For more detailed treatment see Buck (1974); Kristensson (1977); Lehnert (1986); Clyne (1992), e.g.
10 Nevertheless, still covering similar 'topical' spheres, such as politics, technology, fashion, sport, pop music, etc.
11 'Leiter' was the accepted GDR term referring to 'a person in charge of a company's division'.
Broiler seems rather surprising to us in view of his later statement15 "There are also Anglicisms which only occur in the GDR (Broiler being the best-known example)". All our West German visitors did not know so far what to make of the word Broiler ... (Lehnert 1986:133).

Generally speaking, the duality in the treatment of Anglicisms makes it difficult to estimate the actual Anglo-American influence on GDR German with East German linguists, subject to political pressures, dismissing transference,16 or quite contrary, (over)emphasizing it.17

... I hope to have shown that the Anglo-American influence on the language of the GDR has by far been greater and deeper than Carstensen, at least a decade ago, supposed when he wrote:18 "nicht einmal die DDR hat sich diesem sprachlichen Einfluß ganz entziehen können" ('not even the GDR could fully avoid this [Anglo-American] influence'). On the contrary, the GDR vies with the FRG in this field (Lehnert 1986:154).

3. Why use Anglo-Americanisms: motives for the use of borrowings from English in the German language19

What are the reasons for using Anglicisms in German? A number of linguists have addressed this issue and hypothesized on the justifiable reasons in various functional areas.20

The most easily understandable motive for the borrowing of a word from a foreign language is when the actual object or concept is also imported ... der Laser, der Landrover, das Milkshake, die Public Relations. This is particularly true of certain areas of the vocabulary, e.g. pop and rock music ... , and fashion ... (Russ 1992:101).

Generally, as Görlach and Schröder (1985:231) put it "English has 'snob-appeal' and it is used even where German equivalents are easily available ... Listeners do not resent the use of English words even if they understand them incompletely or not at all". It is also beyond dispute that English vocabulary items used to describe activities or professions add a certain prestigious flavor. In Lehnert's (1986:145) words "to be an Enter-

16 F.C.Weiskopf; H.Becker; V.Klemperer; S.Kahn.
17 H.Reich; N.Lehnert; G.Kristensson.
20 For details see Galinsky (1967); Pfitzner (1978); Fink (1980); Debus (1984), e.g.
tainer is a more pretentious activity than that of a mere Unterhalter. Likewise, a Schallplattenunterhalter prefers to be called Diskjockey or Disk-jockey." Anglo-American lexis is in vogue, although it forms a class of 'Imponiervokabeln' ('imposing words') (Kristensson 1977:234; cf. H. Ortner 1981, and L. Ortner 1982).

It seems that both the citizens of the FRG and the former GDR have long been under the spell of Anglo-American loans. Wilss (1958:184) was one of the first who enumerated a concise list of factors responsible for the spread of foreign loans in German; and since that time similar factors have been appearing and re-appearing in the listings of other authors. Wilss' inventory encompassed the following positions: (1) imitation and fascinations with the 'foreign'; (2) standardization and universality of tastes, life styles, and languages; (3) educational and snob-like marking value on the part of the potential user; (4) commercialization of language and persuasive force of foreignisms in the language of ads; (5) lexical enrichment; and finally (6) technicalization of the language.

One of the first extensive attempts to categorize English word-material in German, was made in 1964 by Galinsky.\(^{21}\) In his still-up-to-date categorization,\(^{22}\) Galinsky came up with seven stylistic functions of Anglicisms, documented with numerous examples from various domains including the press, politics, literature, etc. The categorial functions were as follows: (1) conveying 'American color'; (2) precision; (3) intentional disguise; (4) brevity; (5) vividness; (6) tone; and (7) variation of expression.

Debus (1984) emphasizes the usefulness of Anglicisms in political jargon because, thanks to vaguely defined semantic fields, they tend to be perceived as neutral, whereas their German counterparts may often evoke negative connotations, for example, E. Korruption vs. G. Bestechung (ibid., 21). Similarly, in the business language der Manager often replaces der Führer which brings negative associations\(^{23}\) (Kovtun 1996:346).

In science and technology, on the other hand, Anglicisms served the need for precision.\(^{24}\) The same 'maximum precision' principle applies in business. In his article, Fink (1980) addressed the use of English in the vast area of advertising and promotion, which he called "eines der Haupteinfallstore für Anglizismen im Deutsche" (ibid., 187). Here, according to Fink, English operates within six functional categories: (1) übersteigerte Wirkung ('exaggerated effect'); (2) Euphemismus ('euphemism'); (3) Sachlichkeit ('objectivity'); (4) Textgestaltung ('text creation'); (5) Bedürfnis ('need for necessity'); and finally (6) Anbiederung ('gaining favor').

A further contribution was made by K.Viereck (1986), who studied the presence of English word-material in two Austrian newspapers. Her findings contribute greatly to the discussion of functional aspects of English, especially with respect to newspaper ads. As with other similar studies,\(^{25}\) it seems that general apparent tendencies are: (1) the bigger the circulation the bigger the average number of Anglicisms, and (2) the higher the assumed level of education of the reader the bigger the number of Anglo-American

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\(^{22}\) Further developed by Pflitzer (1978).

\(^{23}\) As mentioned before in the GDR both 'Manager' and 'Führer' were avoided, instead the term 'Leiter' was used.


\(^{25}\) Other frequency studies of Anglicisms in German (or Austrian) press: Fink (1970); Engels (1976); K.Viereck et al. (1975); Bus (1980).
loans. But, K. Viereck reports on one more interesting phenomenon, namely, German anglicized orthography "A characteristic feature of German advertising language is its intended English appearance by means of anglicized spellings, as, for example, in exclusiv, creativ, Co-pilot, Tabac-Shop, etc." (1986:170). Such spelling 'tricks' employed by advertisers are a definite motivating factor as "they increase the desire to buy a product" (ibid., 170-71). On the whole, however, "Anglicisms are assigned important stylistic and expressive functions in contemporary German newspapers" (Pfitzner 1978:226). Also Perkins (1977:58-59) claims that "in German advertising there is a deliberate English (or American) slant, either in the names ('Irish love'--an ice cream) ... or in the descriptions ('Black Magic'--a special one-off black car series ...)." To support his opinion he gives several examples from the popular nomenclature of North German 'Kneipen' ('Come in', 'Dream Pipe', 'Mister Drink's Beerhouse', etc.), where anglicized labels work as a status-marking device.

4. Anglo-American transfers as sociolectal markers: how comprehensible are the Anglicisms used in the papers?

Not all the native speakers welcome Anglo-American transfers with open arms because, as Carstensen (1965:20) observes, "...newspapers and magazines still make considerable demands on the reader who is familiar with the English language, and the suspicion that many subtleties of the English language are lost on the average reader persists." Therefore, the language of the press is often described pejoratively as Journaleisch (E. journalese). In Germany for a number of years Der Spiegel, modeled on Time and Newsweek, has had a reputation for coining new words and extensive use of English lexical items in the articles. Der Spiegel, known for its complex style, has always been directed towards a (highly) educated audience, which, according to the publishers, should not face any problems in decoding English saturated texts. For an average reader, however, English-German lexical encounters seem to be a problem. Koller (1978:318) suggested that many of the English transfers used in GDR newspapers were not generally understood by the readers. This should not be surprising since the context to which the transfers referred was not known to most GDR readers. As K. Viereck (1986:173) reports spelling is the major hindrance to comprehension of English word-material. Items such as Disengagement, Impeachment, Ghostwriter, belong to the category of Anglicisms communicated mostly in written form, and, as a result, readers may have considerable difficulties pronouncing them. On the contrary,

26 These words, according to standard German orthography should be written with <k> instead of <c>.
27 The phenomenon of c/k substitution in the language of ads is also mentioned earlier in Urbanová (1966:101-102). She also mentioned the differences in the spellings of GDR and FRG press language with the FRG papers sticking to the original English (British?) orthography (Coexistenz, Suez, Labour Party), and the GDR valuing the integrated spelling (Koexistenz, Sues, Labour Partei).
28 In the introduction to his article Wilas (1958:180-181) discusses the press's role in spreading borrowings. He enumerates three factors that make the press such a powerful source of foreign lexical influence: (1) content-related; (2) formal; (3) social.
words distributed orally, like *Callgirl* or *Thriller*, are easy for the informants to pronounce but difficult to spell. Carstensen (1984b:51-53) emphasizes the similarities between English and German word-structure (mono-/polysyllabic words) and phonology that make it relatively easy for German speakers to implement English items into the German language, which is not as easy with items borrowed from other languages.

Paradoxically, when enriching the German language with new synonyms, it is the semantic sphere of English vocabulary that might be problematic for non-native users.

German speakers know the difference between *Lied* and *Schlager*, but sometimes they are unsure about the difference between *Schlager*, *Evergreen*, and *Hit*, and they have even greater difficulty in defining a *Song*, as *Song* implies not only social criticism (going back to Bertold Brecht), but also has become a close synonym of *Lied*, and the people who write *Songs* (and chansons) are nowadays called *Liedermacher* (Carstensen 1983:23).

As revealed in surveys concerning decoding of meaning, such as W.Viereck's (1980b), speakers confuse English loanwords (*Streß* with *Dreß*; *Jetset* with *Twin set*), or decode meaning intuitively with the help of their limited knowledge of English making false assumptions and generalization (*Ghostwriter* 'a writer of ghost stories').

Furthermore, apart from education, also age, sex, exposure to the media, etc. are determining factors in the comprehension of transfers. To simplify, the overall picture that emerges from the studies is that of young people employing transfers more often than older informants, and men using more transfers than women. So, on the whole, it seems that the main variables in using and understanding Anglicisms are English proficiency, level of education, and age or sex (which correlates with media consumption).

So, as Clyne (1984:113) puts it "... the widespread use of unintegrated transfers from English by the media ... has contributed to internal communication barriers between young and old, English and non-English-speaking Germans (Austrian or Swiss), more educated and less educated people. Transfers have developed into sociolectal markers." Similarly, in his article W.Viereck (1980b:21) criticizes the overuse of Anglo-Americanisms by the press calling the language found in the articles "Geheimsprache der Gebildeten ... oder derer, die sich dafür halten." Also Stickel (1984:43-47), after analyzing numerous letters-to-the-editor and readers' complaints concerning the use of Anglicisms came up with a dozen or more reasons called upon by the authors in their hostile critique of foreign usage: from laziness of thinking, snobbish admiration for the foreign (i.e. American), flattery to the Americans, corrupting and discrediting the German language, or even endangering national identity. Correspondingly, a questionnaire published in two regional papers about contemporary German, as reported in Russ

29 Earlier, Wilss (1958:185) pointed to the abusive and excessive employment of the English lexical items that usually lead to misunderstanding and odd creations: *Car-á-van* instead of *Caravan*; der *VW-Service-Dienst*; or *Thermo-Nuk-Lear-Waffen*.

30 Recent trends in the speech of the German youth in Freund (1997).

31 In the former GDR, according to Schönfeld and Donath (1978) quoted in Clyne (1984:113), 'party function' was also among the characteristics found to mark people who use transfers "... foremen often wrongly assumed that workers and apprentices understood the lexical transfers they themselves knew."
(1992:104), disclosed that 77.7% of informants agreed with the statement that 'Too many foreign words are used'.

5. Summary and conclusions

It is obvious that internationally German has given ground to English. It is also apparent that in the course of postwar history it has been English that has made the most significant contribution to modern German. Before the 1989/90 unification there were two distinctively different varieties of the language spoken on the territory of the contemporary Federal Republic. This differentiation ('language split') was a consequence of supralinguistic factors, as well as intentional linguistic manipulations ('Sprachkultur') directed at language cultivation in the GDR. In East Germany, more attention was paid to 'correctness' and resistance to external linguistic influence, whereas in the West a liberal, 'free market', language policy was adopted. Such extreme approaches to language change and language contact resulted in: (1) different treatment of Anglicisms: acceptance and implementation in the FRG, non-(or limited-)acceptance and non-(or limited) implementation in the former GDR; (2) differences in the distribution routes (indirect borrowing process with Russian as an intermediary in the GDR); and (3) variations in meaning, spelling, etc.

The Anglo-American influence on German may be attributed to a number of supralinguistic factors, such as fascination with American culture, internationalization, prestige, etc.; and a similar number of linguistic factors, simplicity, brevity, precision, among others.

The biggest numbers of postwar English transfers entered the German language via the media (electronic media included), and although it has always been a debatable issue to some degree, most linguists are unanimous that the majority of them originate from or come via American English.

Finally, when talking about the perception and comprehension of Anglo-Americanisms by German speakers, sociolectal factors, such as age, sex, level of education, media consumption, are at play. In the extreme cases of extensive use of English lexical material lack of comprehension on the part of the interlocutor may lead to communication barriers among the speakers.


Es war beim Dinner--Black-Tie, gegrillte Steaks mit Curry und Ketchup--da sagte der Old man, wir hätten eine faire Chance, unser Image zu verbessern, denn Job Application führt zur Success Story, wer nicht up to date ist, wird gekillt, that's life. Wir sind Workaholics, antwortete ich, wir kennen kein High-Life und wir sind keine Jetsetters, auch wenn ich die Bar und die VIP-Lounge in jedem Airport kenne und jeden Barmixer am Ton seines Cocktail-Shakers unterscheide.


Nur eines macht mich total crazy: Diese schrecklichen Anglizismen in unserer schönen deutschen Sprache.


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