LINGUISTIC BORROWING AND LANGUAGE PURISM IN GERMAN – A HISTORICAL

SKETCH

by

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(Under the Direction of Renate Born)

ABSTRACT

Languages are open systems, which constantly change, adapt, and evolve. Contact and interaction between languages result in the exchange of words, concepts, and ideas. Despite this fact, there has been no lack of *Sprachpuristen* in the German-speaking world over the past few centuries. For varying reasons, language purists have railed against the encroachment of foreign words into the German language. This work examines the history of foreign influences upon German, from the times of the Roman Empire through the present, and in this regard compares German to other European languages. This work then examines the history of language purism in German, and compares the movement to those in other European countries.

INDEX WORDS: linguistic purity, language purism, German language, history of the
                German language

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Languages are open systems, which constantly change, adapt, and evolve. Contact and interaction between languages result in the exchange of words, concepts, and ideas. Therefore, it seems strange to speak of linguistic purity. What makes a language "pure?" How might the standards of purity be defined, let alone applied? Despite these complications, there has been no lack of *Sprachpuristen* in the German-speaking world over the past few centuries. For varying reasons, language purists have railed against the encroachment of foreign words into the German language. The greatest threat was once seen as coming from the French language. Today, most advocates of *Sprachreinigung* are troubled by the ubiquitous nature of the English language, and specifically American English since the end of the Second World War.

In this work I will examine the following:

1.) What is the history of foreign linguistic influence in the German language? When did it begin, and which languages had an influence?

2.) English has had a profound influence upon the German language over the past 150 years. What influence has English had upon other European languages in that same span of time, in comparison to German?

3.) When did language purism begin in the German-speaking world, and what is its status today?

4.) Do the countries neighboring the German-speaking countries have similar occurrences of language purism movements?

It would be prudent to begin with an explanation of the types of loan words brought into German. The philosopher Karl Christian Friedrich Krause made a distinction between a *Fremdwort* and a *Lehnwort*; a *Fremdwort* is taken directly from another language as-is, because German has no equivalent, while a word only becomes a *Lehnwort* after its morphology, and sometimes pronunciation, are made to fit that of German (Busse 10). Under loan words, some of the main categories are direct loan translations (*Lehnübersetzungen*), and compound words (*Komposita* und *Mischkomposita*).

In *Amerikanismen der Deutschen Gegenwartssprache*, Broder Carstensen defines several more categories: *Lehnschöpfungen*, or 'loan creations', and *Lehnwendungen*, or 'loan sayings'. These are words or phrases coined in German, but formed from foreign word forms, such as *Direktübertragung* from 'live broadcast'. *Lehnbedeutung*, or 'loan definition' is illustrated by the use of the German verb *lieben* in the American/British sense 'to like', in addition to its traditional German definition of 'to love' (Carstensen 20-23). Of special interest linguistically is a term used by Wenliang Yang in his work *Anglizismen im Deutschen*: lexical and semantic *Scheinentlehnungen*. This could be translated into English as 'pseudo loan'; these are words that are indeed English, but coined by German speakers, and are often unknown to English speakers. Several examples of this type are *Showmaster* or *Talkmaster* (the host of a television/talk show), *twen* (a person in his/her twenties, from the English model 'teen'), *Callboy* (analogous to English 'callgirl'), and *Dressman* (a male fashion model) (Yang 14).

CHAPTER 2 – LINGUISTIC BORROWING IN GERMAN

Latin and Greek Influences

If we are to understand Modern German as primarily a descendant of various High German dialects, then one of the first major linguistic contacts for the Germans was with the Roman Empire. Although there would probably have been earlier contact between Germanic and Celtic tribes, there is very little evidence that Celtic languages had any significant linguistic influence. This was not the case with Latin, as Modern German is rife with ancient loanwords: *Keller* 'cellar', *Fenster* 'window', and *Mauer* 'outdoor wall' entered the German lexicon nearly two millennia ago, from *cellarium*, *fenestra*, and *murus*. The Roman influence was most profound in certain fields such as liturgical matters, as well as trade, legal, and governmental matters.

The linguistic interaction between the Germans and the Romans was practical in nature. The Romans introduced certain concepts such as money to the Germans for the first time; Latin *moneta*, for example, is the source of the German word *Münze*. In some cases, Latin loanwords were used to specifically describe general things in greater detail, such as German *Mauer* being used to define an outdoor wall made of stone (most likely introduced to the Germans by the Romans), which exists side by side with the more generic word for 'wall', *Wand*.

Furthermore, the introduction of Roman Christianity brought with it not only radically different ways of thinking, but a substantial vocabulary as well. After the fall of the Roman Empire in Western Europe, Latin remained prominent as the lingua franca of not only the Church, but of all learned people. Ultimately, the vulgar Latin spoken in Gaul became French,

which has long exerted an influence upon German. According to John Waterman's *History of the German Language*, a second wave of Latin influence occurred during the Renaissance, when many ancient philosophical and literary texts were rediscovered. More Latin loanwords entered the German language at this point than during the times of the Roman Empire (Waterman 120).

Greek has also been a linguistic donor to German. On the orthographic and phonetic levels, we see that German *y* is called *ypsilon*, and pronounced as that Greek letter. In the lexicon, common words such as *Gymnasium*, *Polizei*, and *Kirche* point to Greek ancestry. Greek was considered one of the three holy languages of the Bible, along with Latin and Hebrew. This certainly lent a high status to the Greek language, as well as an aura of credibility. As Western Europe began to re-discover classical knowledge during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, much of the ancient wisdom they read had been written in Greek.

French Influence

Prior to the 17th century, Germans held France in high regard. The French were renowned for their scholarship, and French scholars were sought as tutors. German authors of the Middle High German period had no compunction about employing French loan words, an example being that the chapters of the Nibelungenlied are labeled as *âventiure*. Furthermore, most of the literature of the Middle High German period was of a courtly nature, written for a courtly audience. At this time German nobles were infatuated with French culture and customs, and hence there was a need to use French words to describe their courtly pursuits in German. Instead of having the point of view that adoption of French culture would somehow spoil German culture, the nobles of the time embraced foreign customs.

When the general population is mentioned in a Middle High German text such as the Nibelungenlied, it is usually as part of a crowd, observing and witnessing the acts of social

superiors. They did not take part in any of the knightly games or other social activities, and they did not eat the same foods as the nobles. Therefore, they did not use the French terms in the fields of leisure and cuisine which were so prevalent at the court. Furthermore, in an age where many nobles themselves were illiterate, virtually no peasant could read or write. This would suggest that although the upper classes of German society were awash in all things French, the lower classes were, at least on a linguistic level, unaffected. French was not yet perceived as a threat because of the limit of its adoption.

However, courtly words were not the only French influence upon German. It was during the Middle High German period that the *-îe* suffix used to form nouns in Old French was adopted, and later diphthongized to *-ei* in the New High German period. This was also the time at which the verbal suffix *-ieren* became anchored in German. These suffixes came to be regarded as native, as they were then added to native German words: *Zauberei* and *buchstabieren* are indications of this (Waterman 90). Even before that, it is proposed that Old French and Old German mutually influenced each other on a grammatical level. The German indefinite pronoun is *man* in the nominative case, which contrasts with the formation of the oblique cases *einen*, *einem*. *Man* is thought to be derived from the French indefinite pronoun, *on*. Furthermore, German and French both use a compound construction to render the present perfect tense. An example of this is German *ich bin gekommen* and French *je suis venu*, both meaning *I have come*. Latin formed the perfect by either adding a suffix to the verb, or by an alteration of the root; the phrase *I have come* is simply one word, *veni*, in Latin. In Proto-Germanic times, the preterite was used in the way that Modern German now uses the perfect tense. German and French also maintain the use of the verbs *to be* and *to have* as auxiliary verbs, with *to be* being the more recent addition in both languages (Waterman 67).

Since the French language had been the courtly language during the Middle High German period, it was associated with the upper classes. The urban middle classes which emerged in the subsequent centuries had money and access to education, and through knowledge of French, they could attain some of the prestige which was not available to them before. The result of this was that French came to be seen as socially and culturally superior to German, largely because the lower classes spoke only German. This led to a pejorative view of German which would be held by a significant portion of the German upper and middle classes until the emergence of the German classic literature of Goethe and Schiller. Upper and middle class Germans had no compunction against replacing existing German words with "superior" French ones.

English Influence

The influence of English upon other European languages has a much more recent history than that of French. It was not until the rise of the British Empire that the English language became commonly spoken outside of the British Isles and the colonies of the British Crown. By the time Germany was established in 1871, Britain was nearly at the height of its power. The earliest loanwords from English were, as was the case with ancient Latin, of a mostly practical nature. German adopted words and loan translations of British parliamentary terms; the English Parliament had existed for centuries, while the concept was somewhat new to the Germans. *Adresse*, *Bill*, and *Sprecher* 'speaker' entered the German language at this time. English was also prevalent in the lexicon of sport, fashion, and food in the way that French had been over the previous centuries; witness *Fussball* 'football, soccer,' *Smoking* 'smoking jacket,' and *Beefsteak*, which all entered German in the 19th Century (Waterman 177-78).

Great Britain was the leading industrial nation, and quite wealthy. It is arguable that in Germany, British culture replaced French culture to some extent at the end of the 19th Century. The ubiquitous term "Made In Germany" was coined around the turn of the 20th Century, as Germany sought to equal Britain in manufacturing. In addition, as the National Socialists would later point out, the British and the Germans share a similar heritage, and this is certainly evident when comparing the two languages.

In the wake of the Second World War, Germany was fertile ground for English influence. Although the United States and Great Britain had been the mortal enemies during the war, they became the occupiers and protectors of Germany after the Allied victory. Completely defeated, exhausted, and with much of its infrastructure laid to waste, Germany was dependent on them. This would not be the case for very long, as Germany would soon undergo the *Wirtschaftswunder*, and recast its identity as a progressive, democratic, and capitalist nation. British English was at this point still a very important language, although the donor language increasingly came to be the American variety at the end the Second World War. The number of anglicisms which have entered the German language since 1945 has never been officially counted, but they are nonetheless legion. It has been a significant undertaking for the Duden Verlag to keep track of the new anglicisms which enter the language between editions of not only its dictionary, but also in a separate *Fremdwörterbuch* (that is, a dictionary of imported foreign words).

In an era of mass communication, we have instant access to all forms of information. The mass media and the Internet are two examples of technology which have revolutionized the ways people think about communication, as well as providing new ways in which the languages may interact and influence one another. From the period of French influence upon German, we have

many written records. Commentators of the time recorded their observations, and from that we can form an idea of just how pervasive French was. Today, we have an astounding, almost overwhelming amount of material with which to gauge the degree of English influence. Writing is ubiquitous, and literacy is almost universal in the West. No longer do we have to rely solely on accounts in letters, or on grammars to see the impact that English has had upon German in the last 50 to 60 years; one simply needs to turn on a television, surf to a German-language internet site, or open up a German-language newspaper or magazine.

A visit to the website of the German railroad reveals just how pervasive English can be. One reads of Last Minute Bahnurlaube, or Surf&Rail discounts, the CityTicket, and for the children, there is a Kids-Portal. Pseudo loanwords are rather common in modern German, such as the term Handy for a cellular (mobile) telephone. This connotation does not exist in any variety of English. On a syntactic level, some degree of English's influence can be seen as well. Many idiomatic expressions in German and English share similar constructions, and English conventions sometimes win out over the original German. For instance, a traditional German idiomatic expression is "Das hat keinen Sinn" is often rendered today as "Das macht keinen Sinn," which is a calque (loan translation) of the English expression "That makes no sense."

English Influence Upon Modern German

It is difficult to carry on a conversation today in German without employing some English terms. German slang is naturally rife with English, especially the slang of young people. English influence, however, is by no means restricted to slang: One has a telephone conversation using a *Handy* (cellular telephone), and a businessman or an athletic team might attend a *Meeting*. One buys a *Ticket* for a railroad journey, and on board the train, the passenger is served

by a *Service-Team*. Finally, a young mother might nurse her *Baby*; *Baby* is one of the earliest anglicisms to have been adopted by German-speakers.

This would seem to suggest that now, as in the past, German speakers are quite willing to import foreign words, even in cases where there is a perfectly appropriate German word. The closest comparable historical example would be the widespread adoption of French, beginning in the late 16th Century. Prior to this, the Latin words adopted were generally used to describe things or concepts for which the Germans had no word. When French became widely used by the emerging middle classes, however, it was regarded as a language of prestige.

The social situation of German-speaking countries is quite different today. While there are still manifold linguistic differences among and across the borders of economic class (i.e., the way that people speak, the words they chose to employ, their pronunciation, etc.,) foreign language education is no longer closed off to the lower classes. Poor and wealthy children alike learn English early in their scholastic careers. According to Göran Inghult's comparative study of anglicisms entering German and Swedish since the end of the Second World War, German children are required to begin studying a foreign language at the Hauptschule level, and furthermore, 90% of these pupils choose English. Since 1962, Swedish schoolchildren are required to begin learning English in the 4th grade of elementary school, at a substantially younger age than the German school system requires (Inghult 16).

Entry of Anglicisms into German since 1945

Modern German-speakers seem to fall somewhere into a category between the French desire for linguistic purity, and the assimilatory nature of English after the Norman Conquest. Modern German includes many loan words from other languages, and many of those come from English. Over the past 100 years, English has been the primary donor of foreign words into

German, especially after the end of the Second World War in 1945. One could conclude that German-speakers, as a whole, are much less worried about English taking over their language. Indeed, when comparing Germany to other non-English-speaking European nations, one notices English words and loan translations virtually everywhere: on outdoor billboards, in written media, in the television and radio, and in the everyday speech of the population, most notably the younger generation. This stands in contrast to other countries, such as in Scandinavia and the Netherlands. As established previously, English is widely understood in these societies and used in certain contexts, but the national language still dominates in advertising and media. This is not to say that German has been completely replaced by English in advertising, but simply that German-language advertising employs English more readily.

A primary conduit of anglicisms into the German language are the mass media outlets, particularly the print media. There is good reason for this. Since reporters are always working under the constraints of time and space on the page, they endeavour constantly to write as precisely and succinctly as possible. A one-word English term can often be substituted for an entire phrase or sentence in German. Yang includes a chart of some such terms, and their corresponding German translations. For instance, the English word *bar* would be "[ein] erhöhter Schanktisch, [ein] intimes Lokal, [oder ein] Verkaufsraum" (Yang 50). Another reason for the accelerated adoption of anglicisms since the Second World War is that many scientific and business innovations hail from English-speaking lands, predominantly the United States. Often, there is no appropriate German translation for the given term. Lastly, when describing the political or educational system of a foreign land, the native terms are employed to both educate and avoid confusion.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, *Der Spiegel* has been the prevailing news magazine since its foundation shortly after the Second World War. Its very creation owes a debt to English speakers; the magazine was first published as *Diese Woche*, under the British occupation government in Hannover, and the model for this magazine was the American news magazine *Time*. *Der Spiegel* has always placed strong emphasis on domestic and international politics, as well as international business, culture, and sport. Yang's work focuses primarily upon the role of *Der Spiegel* in introducing and nurturing anglicisms, and indicates that articles in these fields are the most likely to employ anglicisms. Special attention is paid to advertisements, some of which are often written almost completely in English today.

By contrast, *Das Neue Deutschland* (ND) was the dominant newspaper of the former German Democratic Republic, and advertising played virtually no role in the spreading of anglicisms in that regime. Many loan words did however find their way into the speech of the East Germans. Indeed, there were several English loan words used by the East Germans that were unknown to the more English-saavy West Germans. A good example of such a loan word is *broiler*. Americans use the word in the same sense, to indicate a medium-sized chicken suitable for broiling. In the former German Democratic Republic, *broiler* was also an appropriate term for the chicken after it has been broiled. In West Germany, this would have been rendered in German as *Brathähnchen* or *gegrilltes Hähnchen* (Lehnert 67-69).

While Russia was the hegemon of the Eastern Bloc, English was nonetheless the international lingua franca, and therefore colored the language of the East German citizens. The *ND* is the most often used example of GDR media in Martin Lehnert's work *Anglo-Amerikanisches im Sprachgebrauch der DDR*. One must also keep in mind the fact that the East German regime could never completely block the transmissions of Western television and radio,

and could not therefore seriously try to keep English out of their society. Western television and

music had a definite effect on East German citizens, though not as profound as in the FRG.

Lehnert cites a speech from 1984, in which the vice president of the Academy of Art in [East]

Berlin reported the percentages of Western entertainment consumed in the former Eastern Block

nations. In the GDR, 58% of entertainment programming was supplied by the West, compared

with 68% in the Soviet Union, and a very high 98% for Hungary (48).

The East German media often employed anglicisms in their reporting for the same

reasons that their counterparts in the FRG did; primarily because the news media relies on

punctuality and up-to-date information. It was often quicker to employ English terms, rather than

to translate them into German. The media, coupled with television and film, introduced the

citizens of the GDR many of the same anglicisms that were common in the FRG as well. The

biggest difference is that the anglicisms were added to the GDR lexicon a few years later than in

the West: for example, *Jogging* was first added to the Leipzig Duden in its 1986 edition of the

dictionary (Lehnert 80). It is interesting to note that many entries in the Leipzig Duden relating

to politics and the economy contained the qualifier "in capitalist countries."

Now that East and West Germany have been united again, there is less and less difference

between the language spoken by the *alten* and *neuen Bundesdeutschen* (that is, the 'old' and

'new' citizens of the Federal Republic). In 1974, the editor of the East German *Weltbühne* was

quoted as saying: "Die sozialistische Nation kämpft um ihre unverfälschte Nationalsprache, sie

grentzt sich offensiv von der mit Amerikanismen und Anglizismen durchsetzen Sprache ab, die

in der imperialistischen BRD gesprochen und geschrieben wird"[1] (Lehnert 24). However, there

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[1] The socialist nation battles for its unadulterated mother tongue, and it closes itself off
aggressively from the language spoken and written in the imperialist FRG, which is laden with
Americanisms and Anglicisms. [Translation mine]

is no longer any real political reason for East Germans to avoid English, and the specialized language of the socialist system is slowly dying out for lack of usage. It would be of linguistic interest to compare the attitudes towards purity between East and West Germans after the end of communism in Germany, but this would have to be done relatively soon. Those who were children when the Berlin Wall fell grew up not as East or West German, but simply German.

Anglicisms in the German-speaking Internet

In an article entitled *Anglizismen im Internet*[2], Professor Peter Schlobinski of the University of Hannover examines the influence of anglicisms in the Internet. Naturally, there are many; he quotes a study from the Internet search engine AltaVista, which claims that 89% of all websites are in English (4). Even so, other studies carried out in Germany show that while English is pervasive, most German speakers employ a language that is predominantly German. The most commonly used anglicisms in chat rooms are not even proper words, but rather abbreviations and acronyms such as *LOL* 'laughing out loud' and *btw* 'by the way'. About half of the chat terms listed by Schlobinski are taken directly from English, and the rest are English terms translated into German and rendered as acronyms, such as *kgw* for *komme gleich wieder*, and *vaT* for *völlig anderes Thema* (23). Their English equivalents would be *brb* for *be right back* and *oatus* for *on a totally unrelated subject*.

There is considerable variety in the way the word *e-mail* is rendered in German. Some of the more popular versions are *E-Mail*, *email*, *eMail*, and *e-Mail*; the most recent edition of the Duden dictionary lists *E-Mail* as the proper rendering. The *Verein Deutsche Sprache* feels that anglicisms are grossly overused in computer terminology, and prefer to use the term *E-Post* (as in Swedish). The VDS also compiled a list of appropriate German translations for English

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[2]Document accessed online at: http://www.mediensprache.net/networx/networx-14.pdf

computer terms (though they themselves are loan translations): *Sicherheitskopie* for 'backup',

Rechner for 'computer', *Verzeichnis* for 'directory', and *Festplatte* for 'hard disk' (Schlobinsky

5). Though many anglicisms are employed in the German-speaking Internet, Schlobinski does

not feel that the German language is in any way threatened by the use of English in the Internet

(26). There are several German language web portals, and websites from American Internet

giants Yahoo and Google also provide German sites.

CHAPTER 3 – LINGUISTIC BORROWING IN OTHER EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

The Most Recent Lingua Franca

In the modern world, English is essentially the global lingua franca, more widely used and prevalent than any that had come before. For hundreds of years, Latin was the international language of the literate and educated, and allowed knowledge to be easily disseminated among people who would otherwise have had no way to understand one another. The rise of English as an international language is quite different than that of Latin, in that the language is not limited to the highly educated. Furthermore, many more people speak English than ever spoke Latin or French. According to the *Columbia University Encyclopedia*, some 470 million people speak English as a native language. The total number of people in the world who speak at least some English is approximately 1 billion.

Other than being beneficial to those native speakers of English, in that the need for them to learn a foreign language is greatly reduced, international fluency in English benefits all of humanity. For when one considers that a primary source of conflict is misunderstanding, a language which all can comprehend could benefit everyone. However, different cultures have different views as to whether or not the predominance of the English language is something positive or negative. For instance, many French prefer not to use internationally accepted English words, and instead go out of their way to coin French translations of English words; for example, the Walkman is a portable cassette player invented by the Japanese electronics firm Sony in the 1980s, and now includes descendants such as portable compact disc players. In French, it is known as *le balladeur.* The word *Walkman* itself is not of British nor American English origin,

but rather a "pseudo loan creation" in the vein of German *Handy* for a cellular telephone. In contrast to *Handy*, however, it has long since been accepted into American English.

Gauging the Influence of English Upon Other Languages

It is easier today to examine the degree of influence which English has had upon the German language. While we have always had the writings of the Grammarians and Martin Luther, as well as the literary output of the 17th century, there is today simply a large amount of information which may be easily and instantly accessed. The past century of mass communication has radically changed the human environment. Specifically, we may now examine advertising posters and magazines, listen to the radio or the television, or access the World Wide Web. As a result, the task of comparing the linguistic purity movement in German with those in other nations is made somewhat easier. This is not to say that the a complete picture of the effect of English can be attained, as the field of research is vast. In the German-speaking realm, anglicism research is relatively young; serious in-depth study of the effects of English began only in the late 1950s.

I therefore intend to limit the scope of my research the following: first, I will examine several anglicisms common in modern spoken German, and determine whether or not those or similar words are commonly used in the languages of several countries neighboring the German-speaking countries. In some cases, the loans are direct, while other languages prefer a loan translation or a different word entirely. Second, I will examine the ways in which anglicisms have entered German in the past 60 years. Third, I will examine the linguistic purity movement as it exists in Germany today, as well as in neighboring societies. Fourth, I will attempt to gauge the general public acceptance of English linguistic elements in those same languages, using sources such as magazines, and editorials on the subject. I specifically wish to use reading

material relating to popular culture, as I feel that will be better to gauge popular rather than academic opinion. In addition to consulting written materials, I will also examine the goals and the effectiveness of groups dedicated to linguistic purity, such as the French *Academie Française* and the German *Verein Deutsche Sprache*.

English Influence in Other European Countries

In Sweden and the Netherlands, English is a purely practical medium of communication. Large portions of the Dutch and Swedish populations speak English fluently. Beyond the fact that the schoolchildren of these countries begin to learn English at a young age, there are a number of factors which explain this degree of fluency. English is the second language of these countries for the same reasons that English is such an important language in the German-speaking world. Since the high point of the British Empire, English has been the global lingua franca. The status of English as a global lingua franca has become more deeply entrenched by American dominance following the Second World War.

The populations of each of these countries play an important role in determining the status of English. Germany is one of the largest countries of the European Union. According to the *Bartleby World Fact Book*[3], as of July 2000, there are almost 96 million German speakers in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland combined. Therefore, there is a significant market for German translations of books, television shows, and films dubbed into German. Popular books are also translated into German relatively soon after their release in English.

This is not the case with the Netherlands or Sweden. While there are also translations of books into Dutch and Swedish, English-language films and television shows are subtitled rather than dubbed. Since the Netherlands has a population of approximately 15.9 million, and Sweden

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[3]http://www.bartleby.com/

has an approximate population of 8.9 million[4], there is a lack of economic incentive to dub popular American and British television shows and films into these languages which are not as widely spoken as German. The market is much smaller than in the German-speaking countries. Not only are the populations of Sweden and the Netherlands low, but there is also a low number of Swedish and Dutch speakers worldwide. This means that when the Swedish and the Dutch travel abroad, it is unlikely that their language will be widely spoken, and English is simply the most practical language to use.

As a result, proficiency in English is most likely higher in the Netherlands and Sweden (and by extension, in Scandinavia as a whole) than in the German-speaking regions. While some German-speakers need to be able to speak English for reasons of scholarship, business, or travel, proficiency in English is not as necessary for the average German-speaker. As mentioned earlier, much of the materials of popular culture are rapidly translated into German. A German-speaker does not have to wait indefinitely to read an English-language book, or to see the latest Hollywood movie. In terms of travel, the large number of German speakers coupled with their relative wealth means that a German-speaking traveller abroad is more likely to have his language needs accommodated than a Dutch or Swedish traveller. This is certainly true in the United States, where a tourist is more likely to find information printed in German alongside French and Spanish, rather than in Dutch or Swedish.

Comparison of Anglicisms Across Several European Languages

The table on the following page lists fourteen English words, and their equivalents in German, Swedish, Dutch, and French. The goal is to see how common it is in these languages to use the English term instead of a native one. Where two terms are found separated by a comma,

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[4]http://www.bartleby.com/

the first is generally the term used more often, according to the compilers of the *Dictionary of European Anglicisms.* However, Swedish was not one of the languages included in the *Dictionary*, so I chose to follow the order given in the *Routledge Swedish-English Dictionary* as to the most appropriate. The words chosen are common nouns, and describe general things. I avoided using jargon and technical and group-specific words. Naturally, anglicisms are much more common in some of these specialized fields, notably computers and technology.

Table 1 – Anglicisms Across Several European Languages

English	German	Swedish	Dutch	French
automobile	Auto	bil	auto(mobiel)	voiture
baby	Baby	(späd)barn, baby	baby	bébé
ball	Ball	boll	bal	balle, ballon
boss	Chef, Boss	bas	baas	chef, patron(ne)
boyfriend	Boyfriend	pojkvän	vriendje	petit ami
girlfriend	Girlfriend	flickvän	vriendinnetje	petite amie
CD (compact disc)	CD	CD	CD	disque compact
cellular/mobile telephone	Handy, Mobiltelefon	mobiltelefon	draadloze/ draagbare telefoon	portable
City (BrE)	Innenstadt, City	stan, city	binnenstad	centre-ville
computer (PC)	Computer, PC	dator	computer	ordinateur
e-mail	E-Mail	e-post	e-mail	courriel
meet (sport)	Meeting, Wettkampf	tävling, möte	ontmoeting, meeting	réunion sportive
meeting (business)	Treffen, Meeting	möte	ontmoeting	réunion d'affaires
ticket (train, etc)	Fahrkarte, Ticket	biljett	kaartje	billet
trainer	Trainer	tränare	trainer	entraîneur
TV (television)	TV	teve	TV, televisie	télé, TV

The results are somewhat predictable for French, when one considers the authority of the Academie Française. In only one case does the French language employ an anglicism, *bébé*. There are several loan translations, such as *réunion sportive* and *disque compact*, but the rest of the French words are unique to French, if not donors themselves (compare French *billet* and Swedish *biljett*). Also included is the loan translation *courriel*, the recent replacement for *e-mail*. The terms used for boyfriend and girlfriend are also unique to French, translating to 'little male friend' and 'little female friend,' respectively. In the case of TV, French is the donor language to English; *télévision* is a word coined by the French from Greek roots.

Dutch and Swedish are more mixed. Anglicisms are more apparent in these languages, but not to the extent which they are in German. For instance, in the case of boyfriend/girlfriend, the Dutch pair is *vriendje/vriendinnetje*, which is analogous to German *Freund/Freundin*. However, ambiguity exists in German, as *Freundin* could be interpreted as 'girlfriend' in the English sense, and also simply 'a female friend'. Using Girlfriend is distinctive in German. Swedish employs a loan translation, as *flickvän* is simply a compound of 'girl' and 'friend'. Inghult discusses this in his *Neue Anglizismen*. If German were to similarly form the compound *Mädchenfreund*, two problems would result. First, *Mädchen* makes it clear that the word describes a female, the grammatical gender notwithstanding. However, *Freund* is masculine, which is confusing (Inghult 76). Swedish possesses only a common and neuter gender, such that *vän* is gender neutral. By adopting the English word outright, a German speaker may avoid considerable ambiguity.

Swedish and Dutch both use the terms *baby* and *CD*, but the rest of the words are either native, or more commonly loan translations. In the case of an abbreviation, it is apparently common to simply render the initials according to the pronunciation of the individual languages.

Dutch and German use the word *E-mail*, but Swedish prefers the loan translation *e-post* (which is itself a borrowing from French.) A similar situation exists in the pair *computer/dator*. In the case of English *boss*, the remaining three Germanic languages have adopted both the English word, but changed the spelling such that it would be pronounced properly in the respective language. *Chef* is also an appropriate synonym in German and Swedish, the result of the French influence of the preceding centuries.

In the case of *city*, the English entry represents the British definition of the word, specifically the financial and business center of a city, as in the City of London. This use is also possible in American English, although it is usually rendered as *downtown*. German has adopted *City* in the British sense, as an equivalent to the original *Innenstadt*. Swedish uses *city* in the same fashion, but also has a native equivalent, *stan*. Dutch does not use *city*, but rather *binnenstad*. While the French word *cité* is related to English *city*, its definition is limited to 'a large population center.' *Centre-ville* is the French equivalent to downtown.

German uses the loanword *Meeting* to indicate an athletic competition, a business meeting, or even a political meeting. American English tends to use the shortened form *meet* to describe an athletic event, and reserves *meeting* for business and political meetings. Dutch also uses *meeting*, but its use is restricted to 'athletic competition.' *Ontmoeting* can refer to a meeting for either business or sport. Swedish uses *möte* in the same way, but does not use *meeting*. French does not employ any loanwords, but still makes a distinction between sport and business meetings, rendered by *réunion sportive* and *réunion d'affaires*, respectively.

Automobile is not as common an appellation as is *car*, but it was the first word used to refer to the vehicle. French uses a word which is etymologically completely different, but the remaining languages adopt either whole word or a part of the English word (Swedish *bil* coming

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from the final syllable). *Automobile* is ultimately derived from Latin, much the same way that *television* and *telephone* come from Greek. This may play a role in how these words are perceived; do the Dutch and Germans regard Auto as a borrowing from English, or from Latin? It may be that *Auto* is not seen as English, because *car* is so much more common today. Furthermore, Latin loans have been a part of these languages for nearly two millennia now, while English has been an influence for barely over a century. It is inconclusive at best.

Extent of English Influence Upon Youth Language

In addition to comparing words, it is interesting to compare the exposure of young people to English in different countries, outside of the academic environment. Many English slang words and terms have been enthusiastically embraced by young German speakers. I wished to compare the German magazine *Bravo* with some Swedish and Dutch equivalents. *Bravo* is aimed at teenagers, and is rife with anglicisms. The menu on their website includes choices such as *Newsletter*, *Sitemap*, *Feedback*, *Das Bravo.de Team*, *Home*, *Stars*, *Lifestyle*, *Handy & Games*, *Charts*, *Tests*, *Specials*, and *Bravo Family*. The introductions to articles include terms such as *Features*, *Sitetour*, *Boards*, and *Chats*. The anglicisms are not limited to nouns, but also include verbs such as *chatten* and *flirten*, and adjectives such as *sexy* and the ubiquitous *cool. Mädchen* is another German teenage magazine, specifically for girls. *Stars & News*, *Beauty*, and a *Styleguide* are some of the menu choices on its homepage.

TV-Spielfilm is a German entertainment magazine that provides television listings and movie reviews. While it is not explicitly intended for young people as is *Bravo*, teens are part of its target audience. However, the presence of English on this magazine's website was much more subdued. The menu included choices such as *Specials*, *Stars*, and *News*, but the articles themselves contained less direct loans from English than those on *Bravo*'s site. Titles of

upcoming movies from the United States are listed in their original English, such as "The Day After Tomorrow" and "Super Size Me." However, in the article about "Super Size Me," the word *Fastfood* was one of the only English direct loans to be found. Even articles about movies targeted at teenagers contained little English, such as the one written about "Spiderman 2."

A visit to the Swedish magazine *Chili* reveals less English influence, but the menu of its website does include *Snacks*, *Testa*, and *Gejma* 'games,' and there is a button for subscribers to *logga in*. However, when there is English, it is not as readily apparent, as Swedish tends to change the spelling of loans to correspond to the Swedish phonetic system. Whereas the paragraphs on the Bravo homepage seemed to contain at least one anglicism at least, they are used much less on the *Chili* site. Another magazine aimed at Swedish teenage girls is called *Frida*. On its website, anglicisms were more apparent, but not as overwhelming as on the *Bravo* site: *flirta* and *chatta* are observed, as well and *trend* and *jobb*.

Break Out! is the name of a Dutch teenagers' magazine. The name of the magazine is English, as are many of the menu selections: *The File*, *The Archive*, *Scoop*, *Wallpapers*, *What's On TV*, *Goodies*, the *Chill Out Room*, and the *Dating Room* are some of the selections. In fact, the menu contains more English entries than it does Dutch; out of 26 menu entries, only 4 are in Dutch. The articles themselves are mostly in Dutch, although peppered with English terms such as *lucky winner*, *babes*, and *hunks*. Another Dutch magazine is *Fancy*, intended for teenage girls, whose homepage carries a large banner across the top which states "Home is where the heart is, or where your boyfriend lives." Other menu choices include *Celeb News*, a *Fun Shop*, and a section called *Nice to Know*. The comment boards, in which the readers are able to contribute, there is significant usage of English terms, although the majority of the text is Dutch.

CHAPTER 4 – LANGUAGE PURISM IN GERMAN

A Perceived Threat

In more modern times, why is it that French and English influence have been deemed threatening to German language and culture, but Latin and Greek escape such judgment? When looking at the history of German, there is no evidence to suggest that there were a significant number of language purists before the rise of French as a pan-European language. It would be premature to consider their influence here. To begin with, there was no "German" language at the time of the first wave of Latin influence. The German language was not yet standardized during the second wave of Latin influence. Furthermore, the vast majority of German speakers were not learned, nor of the clergy. Most were peasants, and spoke the dialect of the region where they lived. While they most certainly used words such as *Kirche* and *Pferd*, it is unlikely that they knew the heritage of these words.

A linguistic purity movement requires that certain criteria be met. First, there must be a sense of national identity and a somewhat standardized language which is perceived to be threatened. Second, a large portion of the population has to use foreign words frequently enough for the self-appointed guardians of language to perceive a problem. Such a situation did not exist in the Middle Ages when peasants were all tied to the land. However, from the 14th Century onward, German cities became more and more important, and the lure of available work there began to draw more and more of the rural population.

Martin Luther

At the beginning of the Early Modern High German period, French had already significantly influenced German. However, it is still not proper to speak of a "German" language, as one did not yet formally exist. What is called Middle High German, and indeed Early Modern High German, is at best a collection of High German dialects. While these dialects were somewhat mutually intelligible, each region had its own dialect, full of not only phonetic differences, but significant lexical differences as well. The two primary factors in the formation of a discrete German language were to be the Protestant Reformation and the role played by the various German chancelleries.

Martin Luther is known as one of the primary figures in the Protestant Reformation, after he published his 95 Theses in Wittenberg. Since he was of the opinion that the Church should not have sole domain over the Christian Scripture, he sought to make the Bible accessible to his countrymen. He would accomplish this through a German translation of the Latin Bible, with later translations of Scripture written in Greek and Hebrew. The German variety he employed was basically the language in which he preached: his native East Central German, mixed with certain features of the southern Common German, or *Gemeines Deutsch*.

Since Martin Luther sought to write for the common people, often referred to at the time as the *Pöbel* (from French *peuble*), he felt the need to write in a language that they would not only understand, but also be able to relate to. The result of this was a rich, native German style which was not always a direct translation of the "original" Latin texts. This made him a "purist" of sorts, but not in the same fashion as some who would follow. He felt that the concepts of the Bible could be transmitted in German, without the help of foreign languages. He was not necessarily going out of his way to avoid foreign words, but rather emphasizing that German

could be used to render literature of all types, most importantly sacred texts. Therefore, he was not so much against foreign influence as he was for asserting that which was inherent in his native German.

As mentioned earlier, Luther's dialect was that which he had heard around him for all of his life. As he was translating the New Testament at Wartburg Castle, he would make clandestine trips to the nearby town, so that he could stay in contact with the language of the people. This intimate knowledge of dialect combined with proficiency in the major classical languages allowed Luther to offer a translation of the Bible that resonated with the people. There were at the time alternate German translations of the Bible; for instance, the High German version of Johann Mentel (Waterman 130). However, it is obviously the Luther Bible which has stood the test of time. Even those Germans who did not speak Luther's dialect could read his Bible with relative ease, as publishers would include with each copy of the Bible a page translating key words from Luther's dialect. Furthermore, Luther was rather skilled at writing idiomatic German which transcended his native dialect. This contrasts with Mentel's version of the Bible, which comes across as sterile and mechanical (Waterman 131).

The popularity of Luther's translation lent significant prestige to his preferred dialect. *Ostmitteldeutsch* came to be a rival of *das Gemaine Deutsch* favored by the Austrian crown and most of southern Germany. Its reach extended from Prague into northern Germany, where its adoption as the written medium was concomitant with the decline of the Hanseatic League. Eventually, *Ostmitteldeutsch* would evolve into Modern German, although with further influence from southern Germany.

Influence of the Grammarians and the First Language Societies

In the 17th Century there already existed both a fairly standardized German language, and a class of urban dwellers with access to basic education, who were susceptible to French cultural influence. This met the criteria for a linguistic purity movement. French culture had never really lost its allure to the Germans, and at this point many people, not just the nobles, wanted to adopt their habits. It was this environment that brought about language societies such as the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* and the *Teutschgesinnte Genossenschaft*. The membership of these societies included the prominent writers and grammarians of the day, who were concerned with cultivating the German language. In keeping with the spirit of Martin Luther, they sought to advance German as a literary and scientific language. The 17th Century marks the beginning of prolific writing in the German tongue. Waterman notes that the literature of this time is "remarkably free of foreign linguistic influences." (139)

A primary goal of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* was to cleanse German of foreign influences. Its stated goal was thus: *"bei dem bluttriefenden Kriegsjammer unsre edle Muttersprache, welche durch fremdes Wortgepränge wässerig und versalzen worden, hinwieder in ihre uralte gewöhnliche und angeborne deutsche Reinigkeit, Zierde und Aufnahme einzuführen, einträchtig fortzusetzen und von dem fremd drückenden Sprachenjoch zu befreien".*[5]

This marks the beginning of the movement to restore German to some idyllic historic state. However, the purists did have a formidable task. Even if they could convince their fellow Germans to abandon foreign words and habits, the German language had been indelibly and

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[5] The goal is: "with a cry of war, to return our noble mother tongue to its ancient Germanic purity, adornment, and reception, because it has become too salty and watery through ostentatious foreign language; to continue harmoniously, and free ourselves from the yoke of foreign expressions." [Translation mine]
(Source: Wikipedia entry, http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fruchtbringende_Gesellschaft)

irreversibly marked by foreign influence. To purify a language, one must exactly define and know which elements are "impure."The grammarians were fluent in Latin and Greek as well as in French, so they most likely knew the heritage of most loanwords. Even with this knowledge, it would have been quite a task to cleanse German of loan words. Perhaps the easiest place to begin was by replacing the most egregious offenders. For instance, Philipp von Zesen was one of the most radical members of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, and compiled lists of foreign words which he thought should be replaced. Words and concepts of foreign origin which could be easily rendered in German were targeted first. Not all of these suggested replacements have survived, but a number of them have. In several cases, the foreign word survives side-by-side with the suggested native replacement, as in *Anschrift*/*Adresse* for 'address', *Augenblick/Moment* for 'a blink of an eye, a moment', and *Mundart/Dialekt* for 'dialect'. Example of words which could not stand the test of time are *Menschenschlachter*, *Gottestum*, and *Krautbeschreiber*. German speakers over the centuries have preferred the loanwords *Soldat* 'soldier', *Religion* 'religion', and *Botaniker* 'botanist'.

Another influential member of the society was the grammarian Martin Opitz. He criticized his fellow Germans for letting their language fall into disrepair, both through abuse and neglect. He felt that the German language had a rightful place in literature of all genres, and was completely suitable for the task of expressing everything from the concrete to the abstract. It is somewhat ironic that he made these charges in 1617, in an essay titled *Aristarchus sive dê contemptû linguæ Germanicæ*, or *the Contempt of the German Language*. Although he was very much in favor of in using German in all kinds of writing, he felt that he had to publish in Latin to be taken seriously by the greatest number of people.

Opitz had several suggestions to purify the German language, the principal one being a guide to poetry, the *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* (1624). He advised that a writer should not only avoid foreign words in poetry, but also avoid archaic and crude words. Certain syntactic structures, according to him, would make poetry distinct from prose. He argued against the deletion of word final *-e*, which shows that he preferred the eastern middle German over the southern competitor. Since many writers were also members of the various language societies, Opitz's suggestions were taken to heart (Waterman 140). It is interesting to note that Opitz was of the opinion that archaic words should be avoided. Archaic words, even those of a pure Teutonic heritage, might be as unintelligible as foreign words to an average reader.

Another goal of the language societies was to establish a codified grammar of German. This was seen as necessary for a number of reasons. One of these was that grammarians of the time looked to the classical languages as the ultimate model. Latin and Greek are highly inflected, and have intricate, codified grammars. The grammarians thought that German needed the same, if it were to be regarded as a proper language. This way of thinking probably contributed to the establishment of *Ostmitteldeutsch* as the reigning language variety, as Luther's German had a more codified grammar than that of other dialects. Indeed, the morphological complexity of the language was viewed as a mark of its superiority. Writers of the time endeavoured to employ a highly stylized and artificial language, known in German as *Kunstsprache*. Another underlying desire for a grammar was the result of a nascent nationalism in Germany. As a national, standardized language was beginning to coalesce, the German people slowly began thinking in a more collective, national fashion. A standardized language with a standard grammar would be something in which all Germans could take pride.

One of the first comprehensive grammars was written by Christian Gueintz. Gueintz was a member of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, and was commissioned to author a grammar which he titled *Deutsche Sprachlehre Entwurf* (1641). While Gueintz is regarded as important, his work was seen to be lacking. In an attempt to correct what he saw as deficient in Gueintz's grammar, Justus Georg Schottel, known also as Schottelius, made a name for himself. His grammar formed a basis for what would later be taught to German schoolchildren until Adelung's grammar was published in the late 18th century. Schottel's primary theory was that grammar is an artificial construct, and the job of the grammarian is to establish rules for all to follow. Wise and educated men would determine what was proper and what was not through the way they spoke and wrote, and this would become the standard. According to Schottel, the standard language is not that which is spoken by the general public, as he found their speech to be base and vulgar. He did not share Luther's regard for the language of the common folk. He proposed that the standard language be an artificial construct, a *Kunstsprache* that could only be acquired through intensive and formal study. However, he also held that usage – the language of highly educated people – could also be taken into account, so that both paradigmatic regularity and usage by knowledgeable people were the guiding principles for the grammarians. Ultimately, the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* proved to be short-lived. It ceased to officially exist in 1680. Prior to its demise, the society had become somewhat of a joke, since the members were overly zealous in their desire for linguistic purity, and out of touch with the majority of the population. Time will tell if the same fate will befall its descendants, who will be discussed later.

French continued to have an influence upon the German language, and yet German exists today. This suggests that the linguistic purists were somewhat premature in their judgments. One factor that they failed to take into consideration was the very nature of language itself to shed

extraneous words. Many French loan words relating to jousting and knighthood simply died out, because that style of life had ceased to exist. There was no need to use those words, save for writing a historical account. This trend can easily be seen across many languages; many modern-day students of Shakespeare are puzzled to discover that he wrote in Modern English, because of the prevalence of archaic terms which have long since died out in the spoken standard language.

Nationalism would also come to play a role in the centuries following Schottelius. As certain German states such as Prussia came to be quite powerful, the nascent nationalism of the 17th and 18th centuries became much more intense. Still, French was very commonly spoken in courts throughout Germany; Frederick the Great of Prussia preferred it to German, and on a trip through Germany, Voltaire claimed that German was only for the soldiers and the horses (Waterman 138). As the states and principalities began to coalesce and ultimately form Germany, a strange thing began to happen. France became a chief rival, while simultaneously keeping its place as a role model. Nevertheless, a "purging" of French words would take place in the 19th Century.

Before this would occur, German would take on yet another layer of French loan words. The French Revolution at the end of the 18th Century had a profound influence upon all of Europe. The revolutionary zeal was hardly limited to France. Many of the words relating to revolution found their way into the German lexicon, the most famous example being the loan translation of the revolutionary motto: *Freiheit*, *Gleichheit,* and *Brüderlichkeit*, for *liberté*, *egalité*, and *fraternité* (Waterman 176). After the Revolution, Napoleon's France conquered much of Europe, including a vast swath of Germany. This increased the flow of French words into German. An example of this may be seen in parliamentary words. Culminating in the failed revolution of 1848, the citizenry of the various German states were beginning to call for

representation. In proposing a parliament, they looked to France. An adoption from this time which remains to this day, in both German and English, is the division of the legislature into its right and left wings, *die Rechte* and *die Linke.*

Nevertheless, towards the latter part of the century, German nationalism and pride required that some of the French be removed from the German language, and replaced with native stock. This purging was quite an undertaking, and would require significant effort from not only language authorities, but it would also require a broader base of support. The population had to support the purging of the French words, and more importantly, they had to actively use the German words chosen to replace them. As in the 17th century, there was a role to be played by language societies. One was created in the revolutionary year of 1848 by a Catholic priest named J.G.C. Brugger. Known as *Der Verein für deutsche Sprachreinheit*, this group had a similar aim as the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* in that it wanted to cleanse the German language of superfluous foreign influence. There was no longer a need to create a grammar, as this had been accomplished over the past two centuries. Furthermore, German had become an established standardized language at this time. As French influence declined, Father Brugger's society ultimately had little effect, and disbanded soon thereafter.

A better fate befell the society formed by Professor Hermann Riegel. Known at the time of its founding as *Der allgemeine deutsche Sprachverein*, it has since become *Die Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache*, still in existence today. It was founded some years after Brugger's, in 1885 (Waterman 176). At this time, there was a unified Germany, ruled by the Kaiser in Berlin. The German people now had their own country with its own language. It was seen by the *Sprachverein* as very important to use German in all spheres of life, for several reasons. The new

nation had to distinguish itself as separate and distinct, and it was felt that it could not do so when large portions of its lexicon had been derived from the language of an archrival.

An ally of the *deutsche Sprachverein* was found in the German postmaster general, Heinrich von Stephan. Von Stephan modernized the German postal system, organized a worldwide *Postverein*, and was an early supporter of telephone technology. In terms of linguistic purity, however, he is seen as a hero because he used his authority and influence to "Germanify" the terminology of the postal service. For instance, his first act after being named postmaster general by Chancellor Bismarck was to introduce the postcard to Germans. This idea was not necessarily new, as there was already a word for it: *Korrespondenzkarte.* This form is no longer used in German, as today we speak of a *Postkarte*, or of an *Ansichtskarte.* In 1874, von Stephan created German equivalents to the French postal words that remain in use today. A German-speaker of the present day does not refer to an envelope as a *Kuvert*, but rather as an *Umschlag.*[6] As an indication that French was not seen as the sole threat to German linguistic purity, the word telephone was recast in German, becoming *Fernsprecher.* Although the term *Telefon* came into German through French, its derivation is clearly Greek. This loan translation has not had the longevity of *Umschlag*, but at least in the city of Rostock, one can still find a *Münzfernsprecher.* For his actions, Heinrich von Stephan was made the first honorary member of *der allgemeine deutsche Sprachverein* when it was founded in 1885 (Waterman 177).

Another field in which French was prevalent was that of the railroad. Germany started to build its railroad system somewhat late in comparison with France and England. Many of the railroad terms were French. When a German nation was finally formed, the national rail service was quick to Germanify its terminology. What are today known as an *Abteil* or a *Fahrkarte* were

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[6]http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinrich_von_Stephan

previously referred to as a *Coupé* and a *Billet*, respectively. A *Bahnsteig*, or railway platform, used to be called a *Perron*. It is interesting to note that another pervasive foreign influence has worked its way into the railroad lexicon: today, one might buy a *Fahrkarte* or a *Ticket* (by way of airline terminology,) and receive a discount for being a *Teen* or even a *Twen* (that is, someone between the ages of 20 and 29.) As the influence of French upon German became less pervasive, English moved in to fill the void.

The Usage of Loan Words

The frequency with which a word is used determines whether or not a given word will remain current, become archaic, or become replaced or forgotten altogether. If there is no longer a need for a given word, it is generally forgotten relatively quickly. This was the case of the French words which were adopted by the nobles in the Middle High German period. When jousting and other elements of the feudal society fell out of vogue, the foreign words used to describe such activities often fell into disuse and obscurity. This was the case with *garzûn* 'page' and *leisieren* 'to ride with slackened reins.' (Waterman 91) When loan words survived, they often took on a different meaning. The German word *Turnier* is the equivalent of English *tournament*, but neither language uses the word in its original Old French meaning, that of a *jousting tournament*. This phenomenon is not limited to foreign words, as English speakers are not very likely to use the terms *forsooth* nor *fief* anymore. Another example would be the archaic German word *michel* and its archaic English equivalent *micel*; both mean 'great' or 'much', but is rendered nowadays as *groß/viel* in German, and in English, only exists in the Scots variety.

Language purists do not accept the fact that langauges change and evolve over time, and that change is largely determined by use. When purists see what they regard as too much foreign influence, they call for the foreign influence to be purged. This is often unnecessary, as a

language will often clean itself of "extraneous" words over time. Useful words and terms of foreign origin will be retained, even if their meaning becomes more restricted, or perhaps idiomatic.

CHAPTER 5 – LANGUAGE PURISM IN OTHER EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

Linguistic Purity in English

English is a hybrid language, cobbled together over centuries as a result of invasions and assimilations. While Germanic in basic syntax and vocabulary, some 60% of English vocabulary consists of either Greek or Latin loan words, or words that came into the English language through Norman French. Furthermore, many original Anglo-Saxon words in English were supplanted by Danish or Norse words when the Vikings invaded the British Isles in the late 8th century. Modern English now possesses a rich and diverse vocabulary, and new words are constantly being either imported from other languages, or created from elements already present in English. While there will always be purists who wish to maintain an "unadulterated" language, the history of the English language makes this a futile pursuit. There could be no possible English-language equivalent to the Academie Française, nor even an equivalent to the German Duden Verlag. English is simply too pluricentric; who could define what proper English is, or even a central location in which this "proper" English is spoken? The British *Received Pronunciation* (RP) is the official variety used by the royalty and the commentators of the British Broadcasting Corporation, but not commonly used outside of these fields. Furthermore, there is a considerable diversity between the varieties of English spoken in Great Britian, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India, all of which use English as an official langauge as a result of British imperialism. A strength of English is that the language is flexible, adapting itself well to a multitude of environments, never ceasing to assimilate new words and concepts.

Linguistic Purity in Europe

It would be useful now to consider the present level of the linguistic purity movement in other languages, such as French. The French language has been quite a bit more resistant to integrating English words. When one considers the similarity between the English and French lexicon, it is important to remember that most of the linguistic traffic went one way; that is, from French into English, and only relatively rarely and more recently the other way around. The premier linguistic society dedicated to the French language is the Academie Française, established in 1635 by Cardinal Richelieu. The Academie is not simply a watchdog organization, making suggestions and publishing guidelines. Rather, it has the authority to declare certain words inappropriate for use in television and radio in France. In a case similar to that of *balladeur*, the word *e-mail* was recently declared "persona non grata" in the French language. It has been replaced with the abbreviated loan translation *courriel* (short for *courrier électronique*). Whether or not this new coinage stays in French remains to be seen. The Spanish have a similar organization, known as the Real Academia Española.

Göran Inghult's *Neue Anglizismen im Deutschen und Schwedischen 1945-1989* attempts to contrast the influence of English on the German and Swedish languages respectively. While the primary thrust of the work is not about linguistic purity, it is a factor taken into consideration. Inghult found that while there was a difference in the types of English loans into the two languages, it could not be determined whether the Swedish or German language integrates anglicisms more readily. The issues which he most commonly cites are linguistic; he considers the difficulty of adapting English loans into the Swedish grammatical system. For instance, Swedish tends to use loan translations (which Inghult defines as *Reproduktion*) more than German, which is likely due to the fact that the definite article is a suffix in Swedish. In German,

on the other hand, it is easier to adopt an English word (again, Inghult's terminology, *Adoption*) , because it is less cumbersome to integrate these words into the German grammatical system. Another factor is the Swedish pluralization, which is more regimented than that of German (Inghult 134). For instance, German spelling rules allow the use of *-s* to mark the plural of loan words ending in a vowel, such as *Autos*, *Radios*, and *Babys*. On the other hand, Swedish grammar does not allow this, requiring plural forms to end in *-or*, *-ar*, or *-er*. It is more difficult to adapt English words to the Swedish system than to translate the English term and then apply the Swedish morphology to a loan translation.

When Inghult does consider linguistic purity in the two languages, he refers to the role of language societies. Specifically, he refers to the German *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Sprache* and the Swedish *Svenska språknämnden* (formerly known as *Nämnden för svensk språkvård*), both formed shortly after the Second World War. While these groups do somewhat resemble the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* or the *Teutschgesinnte Genossenschaft*, they are not quite as extreme as their forebears. Indeed, the two groups have similar goals: foreign words should not be completely cleansed from the respective languages, but their use should be moderate and measured. They both take the enlightened view that the overarching principle of language is to foster understanding between the speaker and the listener. This view was specifically stated in an issue of the journal of the *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Sprache*, entitled *Sprachdienst*. Issue 130 from 1970 states that "the most important task in the cultivation of language is 'to foster the understanding of those communicating with one another'" (Inghult 18). The moderate use of English or other foreign word stock is appropriate so long as the majority of the intended audience will be able to understand the meaning of those words. In the specific case of the

Svenska språknämnden, the two criteria when dealing with the use of anglicisms are relevance, and the degree to which the anglicisms may be integrated in the Swedish language (Inghult 19).

Another language society has been more recently established in Germany. The *Verein Deutsche Sprache* was founded in 1997 to "combat" the pervasiveness of *Denglish*, and to foster the use of German without unnecessary German/English mixtures. (*Denglish* is the German name given to this German/English mix.) According to their website, they do not propose that people speak a "pure" German, and they acknowledge the fact that all languages evolve and change through time. Furthermore, they do not seem to have a problem with internationally accepted English terms such as *Internet*, *Jeans*, and *Laser*. This group is not as academically oriented as the other language groups. Their methods involve lobbying German companies to abandon English slogans in favor of German ones, and they tend to the dramatic and ostentatious to get their message across. Several years ago, as a publicity stunt, the VDS attempted to auction off the German language on eBay. They were naturally unsuccessful.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSIONS

Through the course of my research, I endeavoured to determine the extent of linguistic borrowing in German, and compare this borrowing to other European languages as well. I also examined the linguistic purity movement in German, and compared this to those of France, Sweden, and the Netherlands. When comparing the use of certain anglicisms across languages, French indicated the lowest degree of English influence, as expected. Swedish and Dutch were more flexible, and more readily adopted English loans and loan translations. German had the highest occurrence of anglicisms; although it should be noted that for most of the anglicisms, German has a word of native stock, which is equally acceptable.

When examining several European magazines aimed at teenagers, one could see an abundance of English words and phrases on the website of the German teenager magazine, and less in the television and film magazine. However, the Dutch magazines contained even more English than the German magazines, which was surprising. Perhaps it is because of the fact that Dutch teenagers already have significant English capabilities, and English is more natural to them than to teenagers in other countries. The Swedish magazines were, on the surface, much more Swedish, although hardly free of anglicisms. Swedish morphology could be one of the factors accounting for the relative lack of anglicisms, but that fact can not be completely confirmed.

It has been suggested that English is used in German advertising (presumably in Austrian and Swiss advertising as well) as a marketing tool. While not fluent in English to the extent that the people in the Netherlands or Scandinavia are, many people in the German-speaking world are

conversant in English. Even so, it is worth asking whether or not most German speakers can understand even the simplified English of magazine, television, and billboard advertisements. A recent article on the *Deutsche Welle* website entitled "Deutsch Please, We're German" states that a small linguistic purity movement may be on the rise in Germany.[7] French is no longer seen as a threat to the German language, but Denglish is. For the past several years, McDonald's had been using the English phrase "Every time a good time" as their advertising slogan in Germany. This was recently changed to "Ich liebe es," coinciding with the change in US restaurants to "I'm lovin' it." This was perceived as a victory by the *Verein Deutsche Sprache*, but perhaps prematurely. McDonald's intended for the new slogan to be used in its advertising worldwide, and it has thus been translated into many different languages. Pressure from the language purists likely had nothing to do with the change.

The article also tells of a senior citizen's group in Nürnberg gathering signatures for a petition to reduce to use of Denglish in public speech. They specifically claim that they can no longer understand much of what politicians and other public figures say, nor can they understand much of what is claimed in advertising. Despite McDonald's decision to return to a German slogans, many companies have no such intention. Were Germany to make the transition to the kind of bilingual societies one sees in Scandinavia, with a firmer separation of linguistic domains, perhaps the role of English in advertising would decline.

The VDS was perhaps premature in another sense in cheering the *Germanification* of McDonald's slogan. "Ich liebe es" still shows English interference; the verb *lieben* in German traditionally only applied to love of people, and not of inanimate objects or foodstuffs as is common in American speech. On this level, the language societies face the same problems of

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[7]http://www.dw-world.de/

their forebears. Even if specific loan words can be targeted for removal, the societies will have a much harder time ridding German of foreign grammatical constructions. It is virtually impossible to try to stop semantic drift from occurring; that is, words will change in meaning over time, whether or not the language is exposed to foreign influence. Furthermore, although senior citizens in Germany may have problems understanding English, their grandchildren have much less to worry about. They have grown up hearing English, and are exposed to English at a young age.

After everything is considered, there is reason for German-speakers to be concerned about the state of their language, but there is very little that they can actually do. Certain influential people, such as Opitz or von Stephan, can sometimes make a difference. Otherwise, a language basically takes care of itself, and establishes its own equilibrium. German has not yet ceased to exist. French influence was insufficient to replace the German language part and parcel, and it is highly doubtful that English will replace German as the language of the German people. Some French constructions were deemed useful enough to remain, and they have long since been integrated into the language and are regarded as native. The same is true for many Latin and Greek words, and even English words. It is not inconceivable to think that 50 years from now, German will have shed many English words, in favor of native German words. Some English words will naturally remain, but the words relating to fads and other short-lived concepts will have long since died out from lack of use. That would, of course, be nothing new.

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