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Pseudo-anglicisms in German

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1. Introduction

As the central phenomenon of languages in contact, borrowing has secured a firm place in linguistics. For the purpose of discussing the effects of language contact, Weinreich introduced *interference* as the most appropriate term for this notion. He defines it as "the rearrangement of patterns that results from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language" (1953: 1). In his renowned work *Languages in Contact* (1953), Weinreich underlines that, over the course of years, English has mostly been studied as source language. This has not significantly changed ever since. Bearing in mind the long tradition of anglicisms in German, Burmasova (2010: 140) points out that the growing dynamics of the borrowing process has influenced the necessity to conduct corpus-based anglicism research within the scope of German linguistics; the more it is borrowed, the more it is published.

However, while extensive investigation of anglicisms in German has led to a vast number of publications dedicated to this field, one particular subcategory of anglicisms has been left neglected – pseudo-anglicisms. These words are borrowed from English, but used in a way that is either unrecognizable to native speakers of English or used to mean something completely different from their original meaning. The aim of this paper is to help illuminate the still fairly obscure field of pseudo-English loan words in German.

The first challenge is to give a brief overview of the history of anglicisms in German (chapter 2.1.) and introduce the notion of *Denglish* – a phenomenon that embodies the pervasiveness of English in everyday German (chapter 2.2.). Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that such a strong influence of English is not confined only to German, but it is present in other languages as well, ranging from Croatian to Japanese.[1] After all, one of the best-known pseudo-anglicisms in German - *Walkman* - was coined in Japan. However, as this thesis is primarily focused on pseudo-English elements in German, no further analysis of examples from other languages will be conducted in this study.

Another aim of this thesis is to place pseudo-anglicisms within a rather complex network of English loan words (chapter 3). One of the problems is caused by the inconsistent

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[1] Incorporating a large number of English words into another language is often regarded with disapproval. Language purists term this phenomenon *Denglisch*, *Spanglish*, *Franglais* and the like (depending on the importing language in question). The term *Franglais* proves that even French, one of the most conservative Indo-European languages, is not immune to the widespread influence of English.

terminology which arises from a great number of publications dealing with the classification of anglicisms. It is challenging enough to make a clear distinction between foreign words and loan words[2], let alone to place an exception like pseudo-borrowings in the intricate typology structure. That is why this thesis will first attempt to lay out the theoretical and terminological basis for language contact research, with due regard to English loan words in German. Also, it is important to point out that the distinction between American and British English pseudo-borrowings will not be made in this paper. As Yang (1990: 8) insightfully observes, neither English language dictionaries nor etymological data in German dictionaries of foreign words give precise information needed for dividing anglicisms into Briticisms and Americanisms.[3] For that reason, the difference between American and British pseudo-anglicisms will be disregarded here.

Another point that will be discussed is the classification of pseudo-anglicisms (chapter 4). This phenomenon has so far been approached from the angle of contrastive analysis, focused mostly on the differences between pseudo-anglicisms in German and their English equivalents. Also, as most studies of the English influence on German, publications dedicated to pseudo-anglicisms take up the synchronic approach (cf. Burmasova 2010: 10). Apart from cataloguing and describing the current state of affairs in German and English, this investigation will also aim for a qualitative analysis of pseudo-anglicisms, focusing on the process of borrowing, or rather say lexical creation. In other words, it will investigate regularities in linguistic change that have led to pseudo-anglicisms in German. These changes can be either morphological or semantic, which finally results in morphological (4.3.1.), lexical (4.3.2.) and semantic (4.3.3.) pseudo-anglicisms. While morphological changes implement a variety of word-formation processes, semantic pseudo-anglicisms are more complex and therefore require closer inspection. In order to find out what gave rise to this subcategory, the answer should best be looked for in contemporary linguistics: Since semantic pseudo-anglicisms are in fact a result of semantic change, the cognitive view of semantics might shed new light on this problem. It may be safe to point that cognitive mechanisms such as metaphor and metonymy are responsible for the meaning of semantic pseudo-anglicisms.

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[2] The well-known dichotomy between foreign words and loanwords (Ger. *Fremd-* and *Lehnwort*) has gained quite a lot of attention in the literature dedicated to language contact. However, it is quite a challenge to unambiguously answer the question of origin of foreign elements in any language.

[3] According to Yang (1990: 8), this distinction is underlined only in few cases, which is not enough to run a research only on British or American pseudo-borrowings.

These are the very mechanisms that govern the changes that have led to semantic false friends (this topic should be reserved for later discussion; see chapter 4.4.). All in all, this thesis starts from the hypothesis that pseudo-anglicisms should be interpreted according to the principles of morphological and semantic change presented in 4.2.

One crucial problem encountered in the research process was finding the right corpus. Although the number of pseudo-anglicisms seems to be growing every day, they still do not appear frequently enough in print media such as newspapers and magazines, or online sources like internet forums and blogs.[4] As it turned out, focusing only on one or two types of sources would not provide us with sufficient material for analyzing English pseudo-borrowings. This is why the online database Linguee[5] was chosen as the source of pseudo-anglicisms in German for this corpus-based empirical study. The practical benefit of using this database is that it also serves as a dictionary and translation search engine, offering bilingual text examples useful for contrastive analysis. These contextual translation examples originate from a wide variety of text types, ranging from the Official Journal of the European Communities to advertisement articles for incontinence pads. Such methodology of corpus analysis accounts for greater diversity in pseudo-English data in German. Also, it is important to underline that this analysis will be focused on autosemantic expressions,[6] primarily nouns as the most frequently borrowed word class. Many authors recognize nouns as the biggest word class among loan words (Burmasova, Viereck, Haugen, Yang), namely for several reasons: First of all, they signify things and concepts that come anew; new expressions are regularly coined to keep up with the demands of (scientific) invention. Secondly, nouns are more concrete, whereas verbs und adjectives bear a higher semantic load. Finally, they are morphologically more neutral than verbs and adjectives, which makes them easier to transfer from one linguistic system into another without many changes (cf. Burmasova 2010: 63).

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[4] Hoberg (2002: 174) maintains that, although anglicisms are quite ubiquitous nowadays, they are high in number only in few types of texts, such as the youth language, the advertising language or the IT jargon. This, however, does not hold true for pseudo-anglicisms, as they are not that frequently represented to begin with.

[5] http://www.linguee.com

[6] Autosemantic expressions are meaningful in isolation, independent of the context (e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.), as opposed to synsematic expressions, which are meaningful only when they occur in the company of other words (e.g. pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, etc.).

To sum up, the investigation of anglicisms in German is an intersection point between English and German studies. As Leisi[7] points out, one of the purposes of German studies is to observe the changes and developments in present-day German. It is even better, Leisi continues, when experts, or at least aspiring experts such as students of both English and German linguistics, investigate these issues, because they are well-equipped to pinpoint the intricacies of the English influence on German[8]. That is exactly what the work in hand is aiming for – to elaborate on the topic of English *pseudo-interference* in German.

2. The influence of English on the German language

English has long become the most widely spoken language in the world. According to Krischke (2009: 241), over 1.3 billion people speak English nowadays, either as their mother tongue or as a second language. As the lingua franca of today, English has a strong impact on most European languages including German, causing linguistic changes on different levels – phonetic, morphological, syntactic, orthographic and semantic. For that reason, Eisenberg (2004: 122) claims the majority of the Germans consider the development of their mother tongue to be "alarming or disquieting". However, English has not always had such a strong impact on German. The following chapter will present a short overview of the history of anglicisms in German.

2.1. The history of English loan words in German - a brief overview

As proposed by Muhvić-Dimanovski (1982) in her insightful overview of the influence of English on German, it all started in the fourteenth century, when German Hanseatic tradesmen initiated the borrowing of the earliest expressions from English, especially from the domain of trade and shipping, such as *Boot* or *Flagge* (1982: 214). After the Thirty Years' War, Germany started taking a special interest in English politics and state management, which consequently resulted in the borrowing of words such as *Bill* or *Debatte*. Krischke (2009: 242) claims that around the same time, some of the first loan translations of English words occurred in German: *Freimaurer* from *freemason* or *Volkslied* from *popular song*. As a great colonial force, England became Europe's leading authority on a number of scientific fields: medicine (*Inokulation, Rachitis*), physics (*Spektrum*), economy (*Export*) - just to name a few. Furthermore, as Muhvić-Dimanovski reports, the Industrial Revolution did not take

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[7] Quoted in Carstensen and Galinsky (1967: 12).

[8] Ibid.

place in Germany until the nineteenth century, which eventuated in the adoption of the new technical words along with their respective inventions: *Lokomotive, Waggon, Tunnel* (1982: 215). In the years to come, the English lifestyle (sports, fashion, and social life) became a trend-setting model for the German middle and upper classes. For this reason new terms such as *Tennis, Set*, and *Smoking*, but also a group of words denoting foods and drinks (*Gin, Pudding, Rumpsteak, Cocktail* and *Whisky*) were introduced into German (cf. Krischke 2004: 244; Muhvić-Dimanovski 1982: 215).

According to Viereck's[9] view, the history of borrowing anglicisms into German can be divided into three stages – before World War I, between the two wars and after World War II. Burmasova (2010: 32) agrees and adds that before World War I mostly Briticisms were borrowed into German, whereas after 1917 and especially after 1945, Germany came under the growing political influence of the USA. This was also the starting point of linguistic changes caused by numerous American soldiers who came to live in the US-military bases on the West German ground, gradually influencing the everyday speech of the local population. Consequently, a great number of Americanisms were borrowed in this period, especially the ones from the domain of music; words like *Jazz, Blues, Swing, Foxtrott* were already borrowed in the twenties, whereas anglicisms from the domain of pop culture such as *Teenager, Party*, *Make-up* (Krischke 2009: 244), *After-Shave, Drink, Hit, Musical, Show,* and *Television* (Muhvić-Dimanovski 1982: 216) came into German at a later stage.

Regarding the motives for borrowing from English, Hoberg (2002: 177) proposes two factors: the historic-cultural and the political-economic factor, the latter being responsible for the English dominance over German. As Krischke (2009: 242) suggests, the fact that English is today spoken worldwide has less to do with its alleged simplicity than with the vast economic power, first of the British colonial empire and later of the USA. Such political-economic dominance has gradually made English the new language of science:

> "Due to the growing internationality of sciences in general, anglicisms can be found in almost every scientific field, from medical to nuclear physics. But not only there: indeed, they have become a part of everyday language" (Hentschel 2008: 324).

As opposed to English, German has clearly lost the status of a language for international scientific communication it used to have. Eisenberg (2004: 123) points out that certain scientific terminologies have not even been transferred to German, or at least not completely.

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[9] Quoted in Burmasova (2010: 71-72).

Beside the scientific context, research has shown that anglicisms are more represented in some text types and contexts than others (see footnote 4), but as this issue does not hold much relevance for this paper, it will not be discussed any further.[10]

To conclude, a brief historical overview of linguistic borrowing from English has shown - the greater the political influence of the English speaking countries on Germany, the bigger influx of English vocabulary into the German language (cf. Hoberg 2002: 173-174). This has not significantly changed to the present day. On the contrary; it has even given rise to *Denglish*[11] – a mixture of English and German based on "the integration of English terms into the otherwise German text" (Hentschel 2008: 323). Denglish is a phenomenon that best describes the pervasiveness of English in everyday German.

2.2. Preserving German

As Burmasova insightfully observes, language criticism and language cultivation have always been important topics in German linguistics:

> "The German language strikes me as an interesting object of investigation, because it has always put up a fight against the influence of foreign languages, by replacing them with native German elements" (Burmasova 2010: 9).[12]

The same position is held by Hoberg (2002: 171), who also claims that the English influence on German has been stirring up public opinion for quite a long time. The survey of the Institute for the German Language in Mannheim conducted in 1997 has shown that anglicisms are among the most negatively rated developments in present-day German. The statistics show that almost sixty percent of speakers of German fear the deterioration of the German language (Eisenberg 2004: 121): "Wird aus Deutsch Denglish?" (ibid.)[13]; "Am Ende darf nicht *Pidgin German* oder eine westdeutsche *newspeak* stehen" (Carstensen & Galinsky 1967:

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[10] For a more detailed account on the dominance of English, see Burmasova (2010: 76-78).

[11] *Denglisch* is a blend that consists of *deutsch* (German) and *English*. Plag (2002: 155) defines blends as "words that combine two (rarely three or more) words into one, deleting material from one or both of the source words."

[12] "Die deutsche Sprache erscheint mir als Untersuchungsobjekt deswegen interessant, weil sie sich, historisch betrachtet, immer mehr als andere Sprachen gegen fremdsprachliche Einflüsse gewehrt hat, indem sie Lehnelemente durch eigene Lexeme ersetzte" (translated by the author of the paper).

[13] "Is German about to become Denglish?" (translated by the author of the paper).

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32).[14] Beside the Institute for the German Language, there are other institutions concerned about the development of the German language. Eisenberg (2004: 122) has even compiled a list of such institutions: *Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein* (General German Language Society), *Verein deutsche Sprache* (The German Language Association) – the most influential private organization fighting the influence of English on German; *Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache* (Association for the German Language), *Internationale Vereinigung für Germanistik* (International Association of German Studies), to name but a few.[15]

All in all, the preoccupation with their mother tongue has been present among speakers of German for quite a long time. Yet, the question that arises is: where does such a negative attitude towards anglicisms come from? Hoberg (2002: 172-173) suggests several aggravating factors and arguments against English: First of all, anglicisms are seen as 'superfluous' because German is well equipped to express whatever there is to be expressed. Bartzsch, Pogarell and Schröder have even gone so far to compile the Dictionary of Superfluous anglicisms (*Wörterbuch überflussiger Anglizismen*, 1999), explaining that the use of anglicisms makes German a mixed language, neither German nor English, but *Denglish* (Glahn 2002: 230). Secondly, since not all speakers of German understand English, anglicisms can lead to misunderstandings and make communication unnecessarily difficult. Although English and German come from the same linguistic family, there are still significant formal differences between them, such as phonetic, orthographic and semantic (false friends, e.g.). Finally, English is generally considered prestigious, despite all the attempts to ban its influence from German. For that reason, some consider the extensive use of anglicisms to be nothing but showing off:

> "The wish to appear well-informed, the inclination toward 'showing off' and impressing the reader, in short 'the prestige motive' justly emphasized by Charles Hockett, will also motivate interference" (Carstensen and Galinsky 1967: 43).

According to Glahn's empirical research (2002: 230), informants appear to be using anglicisms because they are easy to remember, they sound attractive and correspond to the *Zeitgeist* of modern times. Apart from prestige, there are many other motives for borrowing from English, the most notorious one being language economy: choosing anglicisms over

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[14] "Finally, we don't need some kind of *Pigdin German* or West German *newspeak*" (translated by the author of the paper). *Newspeak* is a deliberately impoverished fictional language in George Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

[15] Also cf. Krischke (2009: 243) and Hoberg (2002: 180).

their German equivalents often accounts for brevity, but also easily achieves the effect of vividness (cf. Carstensen and Galinsky 1967: 30; 57; 71). There may even be stylistic effects, such as conveying a certain tone in a given context, e.g. American color of settings, actions and characters. (Carstensen and Galinsky 1967: 69). As Glahn (2002: 230) sees it, anglicisms also account for a greater variation of expression and enrich the German language.[16] On the other hand, authors like Hentschel (2008: 324) and Glahn (2002: 230) claim that German alternatives to English expressions are often hard to come by. Speakers therefore use them not only to achieve a certain stylistic effect, but simply for the sake of precision – for some words of English origin it may be difficult to find an adequate German expression. For instance, just like many other English-German word pairs, *Job* and *Arbeit* are not perfect synonyms. They may have the same denotative, but significantly different connotative meaning(s) (cf. Yang 1990: 47-48).[17]

To sum up, the borrowing from English into the German language is today still a fiercely debated issue. Denglish has taken over the everyday speech of the once German speaking population. The following paragraph will set the theoretical framework for the classification of English loan words and finally, for placing pseudo-anglicisms in a rather complex network of anglicisms.

3. Anglicisms in German

Due to a long history and a growing trend of borrowing from English, the scientific studies of anglicisms in German conducted within the scope of German linguistics have been on the increase in the past years. Burmasova (2010: 16) and Glahn (2002: 222) observe that the English lexical and semantic influence has attained such proportions and has become so omnipresent and manifold, that it would be quite illusory to expect an exhaustive documentation of anglicisms in German in the near future. This makes the classification of anglicisms one of the most debated and difficult endeavors in language borrowing (2010: 52). The problems regarding classification seem to arise from two factors: On the one hand, different authors take up different classification criteria; every linguist can take up his or her

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[16] Carstensen and Galinsky (1967:69) refer to Rudolf Filipović's work *The Phonemic Analysis of English Loan-Words in Croatian* where he, from the viewpoint of Croatian-English language contact, emphasizes that Croatian writers quite often use both the foreign word and its native equivalent for the variation of style.

[17] For a more detailed account on the pros and cons of borrowing from English, see Burmasova (2010: 80, table 3).

perspective, be it diachronic (focused on origin) or synchronic (focused on the level of assimilation to German). On the other hand, the terminological apparatus has been overloaded for a long time now (this was first observed by Carstensen in 1968)[18]. The fact that different authors use different terminology to refer to the same concepts makes scientific communication more difficult. On account of the above mentioned reasons, a clear categorization of anglicisms in modern linguistics has become quite a challenge. Yet, it is indispensable for placing pseudo-anglicisms in the intricate network of English borrowings.

3.1. Defining anglicisms

Burmasova (2010: 216) argues that "all linguistic signs whose form or meaning suggests English origin belong to the category of anglicisms".[19] Similarly, Eisenberg defines anglicisms in German as:

> "linguistic units starting with morphemes and ending up with phrases, which are used in German and whose form or meaning or whose form *and* meaning can be said to originate in English" (Eisenberg 2004: 126).

Eisenberg (2004: 128) also adds that the term *anglicism in German* is used for a language unit that exhibits those grammatical properties an average native speaker of German would consider to be properties of English and at the same time not properties of German. Like Eisenberg, Glahn (2002: 220) points at different levels of linguistic influence. He finds each case of phonetic, morphological, syntactic, or semantic influence of English on German to be an example of anglicisms. Yang, on the other hand, puts more emphasis on different varieties of English and sees *anglicism* as an umbrella term for all the words borrowed from British English, American English and other English speaking countries (Yang 1990: 1). All in all, when it comes to defining anglicisms, different authors choose different starting points.

It is also important to underline that not all anglicisms in German have equal status; whereas some of them are italicized in written form, implying that they are still not generally accepted by native speakers of German (e.g. *Freestyle*), others are completely assimilated and hardly even recognized as non-German vocabulary, e.g. *Streik*, as observed by Viereck (1980: 11). English borrowings appear in different forms, ranging from calques to pseudo-anglicisms. This issue will be discussed more thoroughly in the following chapter.

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[18] Quoted in Burmasova (2010: 52).

[19] "Alle sprachlichen Zeichen, deren englische Herkunft an der Form oder Semantik zu erkennen ist, gehören zu den Anglizismen." (translated into English by the author of the paper).

3.2. Classification of anglicisms in the German language

So far, many German authors have endeavored to classify English loan material, taking up different criteria, such as the level of formal assimilation to German (cf. Carstensen & Galinsky 1967; Eisenberg 2004), origin (cf. Kirkness and Woolford 2002), or multiple criteria at once (cf. Glahn 2002; Faber 2008). However, the categorization employed in this paper is primarily derived from Yang (1990), who offers a very precise and frequently quoted classification of loan words (including anglicisms).[20] Yang's diagram devoted to this topic can be found in the Appendix (7.1.).

Yang (1990: 40-43) makes a basic distinction between external and internal loan material[21]. External loan material is comprised of all linguistic expressions evidently borrowed from English (e.g. *Freestyle, Sport, Talkmaster, Handy*). They can be further divided into direct and indirect borrowings. The former can be divided even further into foreign words and loan words,[22] which may well be the most heavily debated dichotomy in the context of linguistic borrowing. In short, both form and meaning of the foreign (English) words are directly imported into German without any formal adaptation to the German language system, capitalization of nouns aside, which makes their English origin rather conspicuous (e.g. *Show, Cowboy, Callgirl*). By contrast, loan words have gone through the process of formal assimilation to German (e.g. *Tunnel*, *Sport*). All in all, foreign and loan words differ in the "degree of Germanization", as observed by Yang (1990: 11), which is in some cases nothing but a matter of speaker's personal judgment. Moreover, indirect borrowings are subdivided into loan blends or hybrid loans (*Mischkomposita*) and pseudo-anglicisms (*Scheinanglizismen*). The former contain elements of both English and German at once, e.g. *Haar-Spray* and *Managerkrankheit*[23]. Another very illustrative example is *Barmädchen* (barmaid), whose first morpheme *Bar*- is transferred and the second reproduced

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[20] According to Burmasova (2010: 38-39), Yang's overview of anglicisms is modeled on the classical theoretical works on loan influence presented by Betz (1949), who delivered a classification of Latin loan words in Old High German, as well as Carstensen (1979) and Steinbach (1984), who were more focused on anglicisms in the German language.

[21] In Ger. *evidentes* and *latentes Lehngut*.

[22] In Ger. *Fremdwort* vs. *Lehnwort*.

[23] *Managerkrankheit* (Engl. *Manager* and Ger. *Krankheit* for disease) is the German equivalent to *stress disease* or *executive burnout*. However, since expressions like *manager sickness* or *manager disease* do not exist in English and therefore cannot serve as a role-model, *Managerkrankheit* is a case of indirect borrowing, used in a non-English way.

with the help of German native material -*mädchen* – "a cognate of partial homophony and similar meaning", claim Carstensen and Galinsky (1967: 39). Yang (1990: 43) observes that most loan blends are not in fact modeled on the morphological patterns of the English language, and in that respect they bear resemblance to pseudo-anglicisms – English linguistic material used in a non-English way. All further subcategories of pseudo-anglicisms will be accounted for in more detail in the chapters 4.3.1. – 4.3.3. entirely dedicated to this phenomenon.

Internal loan material aims at reproducing the meaning of an expression from a donor language by using the linguistic material of the recipient language[24]. In other words, the content is taken from English, but the form is German (cf. Glahn 2002: 222; Burmasova 2010: 41). According to Yang, internal loan material can be divided into semantic loans (*Lehnbedeutung*) and loan coinage (*Lehnbildung* or *Lehnprägung*). Semantic loans transfer the English meaning onto an already existing German word. For example, *realisieren* used to mean only 'to bring into reality, to make real', but under the influence of English, it gained additional meaning 'to realize, to perceive' (Carstensen and Galinsky 1967: 23). Loan coinage, on the other hand, can be further subdivided into loan translations (*Lehnübersetzung*), loan renditions (*Lehnübertragung*) and loan creations (*Lehnschöpfung*), claims Eisenberg (2004: 126-128). Loan translations or calques are English expressions directly translated into German, such as *Gehirnwäsche* - a one-to-one translation of *brainwash*, or *Eierkopf* – a loan translation proper of *egghead*, a colloquial expression for an intellectual. Unlike loan translations, loan renditions are based on the idea behind the English word that is transferred, but not directly translated into German; e.g. the German word for *skyscraper* is *Wolkenkratzer* and not its direct translation *Himmelkratzer*. The last subcategory includes loan creations – German expressions coined independently of the English word they are replacing. Some of the illustrative examples are *Klimaanlage* for *air conditioner* and *Helligkeitsregler* for *dimmer* (Eisenberg 2004: 126).

Apart from the above presented categories of anglicisms in German, there are a few subcategories of loan coinage Yang disregards and leaves out of his classification – loan idioms (*Lehnwendungen*) and loan syntax (*Lehnsyntax*), observed by Burmasova (2010: 39).

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[24] Carstensen (1980: 77) uses the term *donor language* when referring to the language from which the word was borrowed, and *recipient language*, when referring to the language that borrowed it, in this case - English and German. This terminology will be used in this thesis as well.

Loan idioms are German imitations of English sayings and figures of speech, such as *das Beste aus etwas machen* for *to make the best of something;* or *die Schau stehlen* for *to steal the show*. Similarly, loan syntax implies the influence of English on the syntactic patterns of the German language (Faber 2008: 17). As observed by Eisenberg (2004: 128): "Though closely related in many respects, English and German are still fundamentally different as far as inflection is concerned." However, under the influence of English, some German phrases took over English qualities. Over time, *Sinn haben* started competing with the newly coined *Sinn machen,* modeled on the syntactic pattern of the English phrase *to make sense*. Also, the verb *denken* started being used transitively like its English equivalent *to think*, to name but a few.

Finally, as borrowing is a dynamic process, a distinction can be made between several stages of importation: complete, partial and no importation (cf. Haugen 1950: 214). Complete importation encompasses expressions consisting exclusively of English morphemic material (foreign words, loan words and pseudo-anglicisms), whereas partial importation refers to loan blends comprised of both English and German morphemes. The last stage implies importing only the meaning of an English word, but substituting its English form completely or partially with German morphemic material, like in the case of loan coinage and semantic loans. As Carstensen and Galinsky **(**1967: 58) point out, literal transfers are rare, while translations abound and foreign origin of anglicisms is thus often not suspected.

In conclusion, the above given examples are all anglicisms, some for genetic, others for structural reasons. The latter is valid for pseudo-anglicisms; even though they were generated in German, they are still considered to be anglicisms because they use English lexical material (though in a non-English way). This will be further discussed in chapter 4.

4. Pseudo-anglicisms in German

Most definitions suggest that all anglicisms originate from English. Although this claim may at first seem plausible, a closer inspection of anglicisms suggests quite the opposite; German does not borrow all its anglicisms from English, neither from British nor from American or any other variety of English, for that matter. On the contrary, quite a few expressions contain units or have grammatical properties specific for English, though they were in fact formed by speakers of German. In English, such words are called *pseudo-anglicisms*, whereas German boasts a number of terms, such as *Pseudo-Anglizismen,*

Scheinanglizismen, Pseudotransferenz, Scheinentlehnungen or *Sekundärentlehnungen.* The latter three also refer to pseudo-borrowings imported from other languages beside English.[25]

4.1. Defining pseudo-anglicisms

When it comes to defining pseudo-anglicisms, different scholars take different standpoints. Most of them focus on pseudo-borrowings in general, describing them as words consisting of linguistic material of foreign origin coined in the recipient language, that do not exist in the donor language they are derived from (cf. Burmasova 2010: 43; Carstensen 1965: 252; Carstensen and Galinsky 1967: 24; Faber 2008: 17; Glahn 2002: 221-222; and Yang 1990: 12). Tesch for example defines pseudo-borrowings as "indigenous word coinages formed with exogenous linguistic material which are not used in the language they seem to be borrowed from"[26]. Some authors, on the other hand, do focus on pseudo-English borrowings, defining them as words that consist of English morphemic material which are generally neither used in English in that form nor perceived as English by native speakers of English. Duckworth e.g. offers a very concise definition that sums up the essence of this phenomenon: "Pseudo-anglicisms in German are neologisms that consist of English linguistic material"[27].

Moreover, Schneider (2008) points out that some instances of pseudo-anglicisms do in fact exist in English, though with a different meaning than in German. Although these coinages use English morphemic material to imitate the already existing English vocabulary, their German meaning is unknown to English speakers. However, Carstensen (1980: 77) suggests that pseudo-anglicisms are not simply neologisms in German that are built out of English linguistic material. Instead, he observes that this phenomenon is far more intricate and therefore proposes three different types of pseudo-anglicisms that will be illustrated separately in the subsequent chapters (4.3.): morphological pseudo-anglicisms, lexical pseudo-

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[25] Like *pseudo-* in English, the prefix *Schein-* in German is used to describe something false or fake. Although some authors refer to this category using the term *Sekundärentlehnungen*, Carstensen (1965: 252) claims that *Scheinentlehnung* as a direct equivalent of *pseudo-borrowing* seems more appropriate.

[26] "... mit exogenen Wortbildungsmitteln geformte indigene Wortschöpfungen, die in der Sprache aus der sie scheinbar entlehnt sind, nicht vertreten sind" (quoted in Yang 1990: 12; translated by the author of the paper).

[27] "Neubildungen der deutschen Sprache mit englischem Sprachmaterial" (quoted in Yang 1990: 12; translated by the author of the paper).

anglicisms, and semantic pseudo-anglicisms.[28] But first, a theoretical overview should explain the changes that take place in the process of pseudo-English borrowing.

4.2. Changes that cause pseudo-English borrowing

Pseudo-anglicisms are formed either through coinage of new words or through semantic shifts. The fact that English linguistic material is used creatively to coin new non-English expressions implies certain changes in form, content, or both. Although some of them have already been indicated, the following chapters will deliver a more detailed account of morphological (4.2.1.) and semantic changes (4.2.2.) that occur in the process of pseudo-English borrowing.

4.2.1. Mechanisms of morphological change

In most cases, though not always, what serves as the basis for pseudo-English coinage are expressions already borrowed from English (cf. Kirkness and Woolford 2002: 199). In their discussion about some of the typical features of Denglish, Carstensen and Galinsky (1967: 18-20) focus predominantly on morphological changes that occur in the process of borrowing.

First of all, following the principle of language economy, there is a general tendency to clip English loan words. According to Plag (2002: 154), clippings appear as "forms abbreviated from larger words, which […] share a common function, namely to express familiarity with the denotation of the derivative". For example, as an abbreviated form of *crime* (*novels* or *movies*), *Krimi* is typically used by those who read or watch thrillers (i.e. read *crime* novels and watch *crime* movies), whereas some clippings find their way into larger communities of speakers, such as *Dia* from *diapositive*. Plag observes that most clippings are either mono-syllabic or disyllabic and also, they are usually cases of back-clipping, formed on the basis of the first part of the word from which they derive, clipping off its end. However, some pseudo-English borrowings exhibit other characteristics of morphological change besides clipping, such as *Slow-go*, a German variety of *go-slow*, 'a protest that workers make by doing their work more slowly than usual' (OALD).

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[28] Yang (1990: 13) refers to this classification of pseudo-anglicisms as *Steinbachs Dreiteilung* (Steinbach's trichotomy), dividing them into *Lehnveränderungen* (morphological pseudo-anglicisms), *lexikalische Scheinentlehnungen* (lexical pseudo-Anglicisms) and *semantische Scheinentlehnungen* (semantic pseudo-anglicisms).

Moreover, pseudo-English borrowings often take the form of blends or *portmanteau* words. There are two types: On the one hand, some blends combine elements of multiple English words to create a new compound[29] that appears to be English but is in fact unrecognizable to native speakers of English. On the other hand, there are also compounds which "combine two (rarely three or more) words into one, deleting material from one or both of the source words" (Plag 2002: 155). Blends that combine English and German lexical material in a single lexeme are called *anglogermanisms* (Kirkness and Woolford 2002: 206). One of the most illustrative examples of cross-linguistic blending is the Denglish noun *Grusical*, built in analogy to *Musical* to signify a musical horror movie or a play. *Grusical* derives from merging the German adjective *grus(elig)*, which means creepy' or 'spooky' (DUDEN) and Engl. (*mus)ical*. The word stands exemplary for expressions which are, after being borrowed from English, used creatively to produce new inner German coinage.

All in all, clipping and blending appear to be the most typical mechanisms of morphological change in English loan words. The following paragraph will present mechanisms of semantic shift.

4.2.2. Mechanisms of semantic change

Studying the phenomenon of semantic change has led quite a few authors to the conclusion that polysemy is its prerequisite condition. The general view on polysemy is primarily focused on the capacity of a single linguistic form to have multiple different, yet conceptually related meanings[30] (Yule 1985). It is a well-known fact that most lexemes have more than one meaning, which makes polysemy the rule rather than the exception. In the process of borrowing from English into German, the meaning of some polysemic English words is transferred to its full extent, while the meaning of others (almost one third of all the loan words) is only partially transferred (cf. Carstensen and Galinsky 1967: 25; Kirkness and Woolford 2002: 200). In other words, the range of word meanings adopted in German varies from partial to full-scale, depending on the loan word.

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[29] Carstairs-McCarthy (2002: 59) defines compounds as "words formed by combining roots".

[30] In discussing the semantic structure of polysemous lexical items, Geeraerts (1997: 20) uses the word *reading* instead of *meaning* or *sense*. He chooses *reading* to avoid the strict dichotomy between semantic and encyclopedic information. However, as the focus of this paper resides in pseudo-anglicisms and the above mentioned dichotomy does not play a significant role, the term *meaning* will therefore be used here.

Geeraerts (1997: 6) takes a somewhat different approach, defining polysemy as "the synchronic reflection of diachronic semantic change". That implies that multiple meanings of a polysemous word are related to each other by means of cognitive mechanisms of semantic change such as metaphor, metonymy and narrowing, to name but a few.[31]

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 6) were the first to redefine the concept of metaphor, claiming it is not merely a figure of speech, but also an important aspect of human cognition:

> "...metaphor is not just matter of language, that is, of mere words. We shall argue that, on the contrary, human thought processes are largely metaphorical. [...] Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system."

Lakoff and Johnson define conceptual metaphors as the backbone of cognitive shaping that enable us to grasp abstract entities in terms of more specific ones. This basically suggests that metaphors help us understand an abstract domain by linking it to a more concrete one. Some of the most productive conceptual metaphors are the ones that account for vivid imagery in their representation of the human body. One of the most illustrative examples is the often-quoted idiom *spill the beans* that can be interpreted as 'to reveal a secret' (Gibbs 1994: 290) based on the conceptual metaphors 'mind is a container' and 'ideas are physical entities'. This kind of cross–domain mapping is also applied to borrowing, pseudo-borrowing being no exception. An example is the pseudo-anglicism *Evergreen*, a word whose primary meaning in English (when used as an adjective) is 'referring to foliage that remains green even in the winter period', whereas in German the same word (though used as a noun) signifies a golden oldie – 'a song or a movie that is quite old but still well known and popular' (OALD). In this case, the domain of art is metaphorically linked to the domain of nature due to the conceptual similarity between the two meanings of *evergreen*.[32]

Just like metaphor, metonymy is also based on the association between two ideas. In that sense, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 35, 39) claim that "metonymic concepts allow us to conceptualize one thing by means of its relation to something else". Radden and Kövecses (1999: 21) offer a similar definition:

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[31] Similarly, Broz (2008) brings polysemy into relation with false friends. This will be elaborated in more detail in 4.4.

[32] The metaphorical extension in *Evergreen* will be explained in more detail in 4.3.3. as an example of semantic pseudo-anglicisms.

"Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model."

However, this association between two entities is not grounded on similarity, but on conceptual relatedness or contiguity relations, such as part–whole (synecdoche), cause–effect or content–container (cf. Radden and Kövecses 1999). Unlike metaphor, which is based on cross-domain mapping, metonymy is based on semantic change within a single domain. Some of the examples of synecdoche are: *England* for 'Great Britain', a case of metonymical extension 'part-whole'; as well as the diametrically opposite example − *America* for 'United States', a case of metonymical extension 'whole-part'. Another example of metonymical extension in German is *Body* or *Bodysuit*, a pseudo-anglicism that refers to the so-called *teddy* − 'a woman's undergarment combining a camisole top and panties' (FD), usually made out of one-piece, elastic, tight-fitting material that covers the trunk of the body. The metonymical extension in this case seems to be grounded in the content–container contiguity relation, because the human body is the content of such body-covering garment – *teddy*.

As for other mechanisms of semantic change, narrowing or specialization is also quite common. For example, in English, *cutter* has various meanings, one of them being 'a person or thing that cuts' (OALD). The same occupational title is more narrowly defined in German; *Cutter(in)* refers only to a film, radio or TV editor[33] (cf. Carstensen & Galinsky 1967: 24), which makes it a case of semantic narrowing. The mechanism opposite to narrowing is generalization or semantic widening. A pseudo-English example of generalization is *Homepage* which can refer to any website in German.

Apart from metaphor, metonymy and narrowing, there is a wide range of other mechanisms of semantic change, such as degeneration or pejoration, elevation or amelioration, hyperbole, etc. However, since none of them play an important role in the process of pseudo-borrowing, this paper will refrain from analyzing them further. The abovementioned notions have been briefly outlined in order to offer a new perspective on the topic of pseudo-anglicisms in German.

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[33] "Mitarbeiter bei Film, Funk und Fernsehen, der cuttet; Schnittmeister" (DUDEN).

4.3. Categorization of pseudo-anglicisms

In order to account for a clearer overview, all the forty examples of different types of pseudo-anglicisms in German will be presented in the form of a table in the Appendix (7.2.).

4.3.1. Morphological pseudo-anglicisms

According to Yang (1990: 13), the first category of pseudo-anglicisms can be broadly defined as morphologically altered English borrowings or morphological "detours" in the recipient language. Burmasova (2010: 43), on the other hand, is more specific and defines morphological pseudo-anglicisms as shortened German borrowings. This, however, appears to be only one of altogether four subclasses of morphological pseudo-anglicisms. According to Carstensen[34], they are: clipped lexemes, clipped compounds, abbreviated idioms and morphologically altered loan words. Since clipping has proven to be one of the most common mechanisms of morphological change (see 4.2.1.), such division of morphological pseudo-anglicisms does not come as a surprise.

As already pointed out, clippings are usually mono-syllabic or disyllabic and formed on the basis of the first part of the word from which they derive. This is valid for most examples of morphological pseudo-anglicisms, except for (10) *Puzzle*. Here are a few examples of clipped lexemes:

(1) *Profi* from *professional*

    a) "...die künstliche Trennung zwischen dem *Profi*- und dem Amateursport..."

    b) "The artificial separation between *professional* and amateur sport…"

(2) *Pulli* from *pullover* (Am. sweater or Br. jumper)[35]

    a) "[...] und er trägt immer den gleichen *Pulli* und sein Gewicht ändert sich nicht... "

    b) "[...] and he always wears the same *sweater* and his weight doesn't change…"

(3) *Deo* from *deodorant*

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[34] Quoted in Yang (1990: 13).

[35] Yang points out that the word *Pulli* went not only through morphological, but also through semantic change in the recipient language; apparently a *Pulli* in German is thinner and lighter than a *pullover* in English. Yet, the dictionary definitions in DUDEN and OALD seem to overlap, defining *Pulli* as "a knitted woolen or cotton piece of clothing for the upper part of the body, with long sleeves and no buttons" (OALD).

a) "Seife, *Deo,* Shampoo*,* After Shave: mehr Pflegeprodukte brauchten die meisten Männer früher nicht, um ihrer Schönheit nachzuhelfen."

b) "Soap, *deodorant*, shampoo, aftershave: in the past, men did not need more cosmetic products than this to give their looks a boost."

(4) *Dia* from *diapositive* (slide)

a) "Die Benutzung von Lautsprechern, das Zeigen von Werbefilmen*, Dia*-Shows und Videos bedarf der Genehmigung..."

b) "Using loudspeakers, showing commercials*, slide* shows and videos requires the approval…"

(5) *Teenie* from *teenage*

a) "Als 14jährige eroberte Sophie Marceau die Herzen der Kinogänger mit La Boum (1980) und wurde über Nacht zum *Teenie*-Idol."

b) "Sophie Marceau conquered the heart of the public at the age of 14 with La Boum (1980) and became a *teenage* idol overnight."

(6) *Fesch / fäsch* from *fashionable* (jaunty, posh or stylish)

a) "Sieht dieser Clown nicht *fesch* aus mit seinem Hut und der Tasche voller hoffentlich guter Nachrichten?"

b) "The clown looks *jaunty* with his hat and a bag full of goods news, doesn't he?"

(7) *Flirt* from *flirten*

a) "[...] der Armut der Verlierer (Slumming von Michael Glawogger) und den bedrohlichen *Flirt* mit autoritären Regierungsstilen..."

b) "[...] society's losers by the successful (Slumming by Michael Glawogger) and dangerous *flirtation* with authoritarian styles of governance..."

Clipped compounds (or *Kürzung von Zusammensetzungen*) can be defined as compounds borrowed from English, subsequently abbreviated in German and unknown to English speakers in their new German form. Some of the examples are:

(8) *Discounter* from *discount store*

a) "Dior und die französische Regierung sind der Ansicht, dass der Verkauf von mit der Marke Christian Dior versehenen Waren an einen *Discounter* [...] eine Schädigung des Ansehens..."

b) "Dior and the French Government submit that the sale of goods bearing the Christian Dior mark to a discount [...] constitutes damage to the reputation..."

(9) *Happy End* from *happy ending*

    a) "Und nach dem dramatischen Höhepunkt folgt ein Abspann, dessen Musik ein völliges *Happy End* andeutet."

    b) "Eventually, the dramatic climax is followed by the final credits whose music indicates a joyous *happy ending*."

(10) *Puzzle* from *jigsaw puzzle*

    a) "Die Diskussion hat hervorgehoben, dass sich die Stakeholder für ihr jeweiliges Teil des 'Meeres-*Puzzlespiels*' in hohem Maße verantwortlich fühlen."

    b) "The debate has highlighted the ownership that stakeholders feel for their particular piece of the maritime *jigsaw puzzle*."

(11) *Smoking* from *smoking jacket* (today – tuxedo)

    a) "Wählen Sie aus einer überzeugenden Auswahl von ausgesuchten Business-Anzügen, *Smokings* und Blazern."

    b) "Choose from an impressive selection of exquisite business suits, *dinner-jackets* or blazers"

The last example (11) is an extraordinary morphological pseudo-borrowing because it also displays diachronic semantic change in the donor language. As in many other European languages, the meaning of *Smoking* in German can be traced down to the English compound *smoking jacket* or *smoking suit* (*Rauchjacke* in German) – an overgarment that used to be worn by men when they would retrieve to a smoking room after dinner, claims Schneider[36]. However, *smoking jacket* became somewhat outdated and is today replaced by *dinner suit / dinner jacket* or *tuxedo* (LMW) in both British and American English. German *der Smoking* therefore does not denote a *smoking jacket* in the Edwardian sense, but a *dinner jacket* in its present-day sense. To sum up, the original version of this pseudo-anglicism (*smoking jacket*) was once was a full-fledged compound in English vocabulary that fell out of use over time and was replaced by another compound (*dinner jacket*), only after it was previously introduced into German where it established itself in its clipped form. Taking all this into account, *Smoking* does not only display morphological, but also semantic change. Nevertheless, Carstensen (1980: 93) disregards this fact and places it only in the category of morphological pseudo-anglicisms.

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[36] Wolfgang Schneider's audio book (2008): "Speak German!"

Another example is (12) *Fotoshooting,* a morphologically and orthographically altered version of its English equivalent *photo shoot*. *Fotoshooting* is a marginal case of this category, because it has been extended, not clipped in German.

(12) *Fotoshooting* from *photo shoot*

a) "Hier können sich die Kunden online mehrere Filme vom Brandneu-*Fotoshooting* in Miami Beach ansehen."

b) "…here customers can watch a number of films from the 'Brandneu' *photo shoot* in Miami Beach online."

The third subcategory of morphological pseudo-anglicisms - abbreviated idioms – is not a very fruitful one. It encompasses shortened Germanized versions of idiomatic expressions borrowed from English. Yang (1990) brings forward two examples: (13) from DUDEN *Fremdwörterbuch* (1982), a shortened form of the original English phrase *Right or wrong it is my country;* and a shortened form of (14) *gin and tonic* given by Carstensen (1979).

(13) *Right or wrong my country*

(14) *Gin Tonic* from *gin and tonic*

a) "[...] doch Jessy ist auch ein typischer Australier, der keinerlei Probleme damit hat seinen ersten *Gin Tonic* bereits am frühen Nachmittag zu mixen."

b) "[…] but Jessy is also a typical Australian, who has no problems with mixing his first *gin and tonic* already in the early afternoon."

Finally, the last subcategory of morphological pseudo-anglicisms is comprised of morphologically altered English loan words. Although it may seem similar to the previous three subcategories, this one is not based on clipping; instead it consists of morphological departures from the original form of English loan words.

(15) *Gentleman-Agreement* from *gentleman's agreement*

a) "...bedeutet dies, das *Gentleman-Agreement* zwischen Rat und Parlament zu überprüfen."

b) "…it will mean that the *gentlemen's agreement* between the Council and Parliament will have to be reviewed."

(16) *Dogge* from *dog*

a) "Als Vorläufer der heutigen *Deutschen Dogge* sind der alte Bullenbeißer ..."

b) "As forerunners of the present day *Great Dane*, one must look at the old 'Bullenbeisser' (Bulldog)…"

(17)   *Bowle* (punch) from *bowl*

    a) "Im Sommer kann man dem Apfelwein Erdbeeren hinzufügen für eine *Bowle*."

    b) "During the summer you can add fresh strawberries to the apple wine to create a *punch*."

(18)   *USB-Stick* from *USB flash drive*

    a) "Wenn der Speicherort das Archivs ein *USB-Stick* ist..."

    b) "In case the archive storage location is a *USB flash drive...*"

Unlike example (15) *Gentleman-Agreement*, which is an obvious deviation of the original English borrowing, examples (16) *Dogge* and (17) *Bowle* are similar cases of semantic shift and could hence be compared to (11) *Smoking*. *Dogge*, a derivation of the English word *dog*, is a German equivalent of the dog breed known as *Great Dane* or *German Mastiff*, which makes it a case of semantic narrowing in the recipient language. However, some authors claim that *dog* and *Dogge* are in fact false friends – words in different languages with the same or similar form, but different meaning. Broz (2008: 204) illustrates the origin of the words *dog* and *Dogge* back in Middle English, when the basic term for *dog* was *hound* (similar to German *Hund*) and *dog* was just another breed such as *spaniel* or *terrier*. As dog was probably a very frequent breed, known as *German Mastiff* in recent-day English, it became the prototype of the category *hound*. Since this semantic change never took place in German, *hound* has remained *Hund*, and *mastiff* (*dog*) is still called *Dogge*.

On the other hand, (17) *Bowle* is not, as Carstensen (1980: 94) points out, a German synonym for *bowl*, but instead it refers to a special kind of drink, similar to wine punch. The cause for this shift in meaning can be explained through the cognitive mechanisms of metonymy, in which a container (*bowl*) stands for the content (*Bowle*).

4.3.2. Lexical pseudo-anglicisms

This subcategory encompasses German words built out of English morphemic material. Although these new words are usually modeled on the already existing English vocabulary, they are not present in English in such form (cf. Yang 1900: 14; Burmasova 2010: 43). Unlike morphological pseudo-anglicisms, which are mostly abbreviated versions of English words, lexical pseudo-anglicisms are coined in German, according to the word-formation principles of the English language.

Lexical pseudo-anglicisms often take the form of blends or portmanteau words.[37] One of the most illustrative examples is (19) *Showmaster*[38], a German term for a 'TV host or a show host' (LMW), consisting of *show* and *master*, both legitimate lexemes in English when used independently. However, when used in a compound as in *Showmaster*, the same morphemes do not carry meaning in English. Carstensen (1965: 253) points out that, instead of forming a German loan translation *Schaumeister*, this pseudo-anglicism was built in analogy to the English compound *quizmaster*. Similarly, *Funeralmaster* is the German coinage for *undertaker* (Faber 2008: 16).

(19)　*Showmaster* for *show host* or *TV host*

    a) "Das Rezept für den langjährigen Erfolg ist die Moderation der Sendung durch Deutschlands beliebtesten *Showmaster*, Thomas Gottschalk..."

    b) "The recipe for success over many years includes the presentation of the programme by Germany's favourite *TV host*, Thomas Gottschalk..."

Another lexical pseudo-anglicism with the morpheme –*show* is *Castingshow*, a German lexical creation for a talent search television series.

(20)　*Castingshow* for *talent show*

    a)"[...] Bandmusiker einiger 'Neuer Österreicher' und Finalisten der österreichischen *Castingshow* 'Starmania'..."

    b) "[…] a band-member of some 'New Austrians' and finalists of the Austrian *talent show* 'Starmania'…"

Another example is (21) *Dressman*, a German expression for a 'male model' (LMW) or 'Mannequin' (Carstensen (1965: 252) formed according to the same principle as (19) *Showmaster*. Some may claim that the compound *Dressman* combines elements of both English (*dress*)[39] and German (*man*) and is thus a case of cross-linguistic blending[40]. This, however, is incorrect, because *man* in German is spelt differently than in English – *Mann*, or *mann* when used as a bound morpheme. If it cannot be proven that a German compound was modeled on English vocabulary, Kirkness and Woolford (2002: 201) offer the following analysis: "from Engl. x and Engl. y that cannot be found in this combination in English

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[37] For blends or *portmanteau* words see 4.2.1. Mechanisms of morphological change.

[38] Also possible – *Talkmaster*.

[39] As an example of semantic pseudo-anglicisms, *Dress* will be analyzed in more detail in the chapter devoted to semantic pseudo-anglicisms (4.3.3.).

[40] For an explanation of *blends* see footnote 11.

dictionaries."[41] The same holds true for *Dressman*, consisting of Engl. *dress* and *man*, which cannot be found in any English dictionary in that combination.

(21) *Dressman* for *male model*

    a) "Von Gewaltakten ist die Produktionsgemeinschaft finger so weit entfernt wie Heribert Fassbender von einem *Dressman*."

    b) "The production collective, finger, is as far removed from acts of violence as Heribert Fassbender is from a *male model*."

Similarly, (22) *Snobiety* is a pseudo-English blend that combines elements of two English lexemes, *snob* and *society*, to create a new compound that may at first sight seem English, but is in fact unrecognizable to native speakers of English. *Snobiety* depicts a social group whose lifestyle is marked by arrogance and exclusiveness of those who consider themselves to be superior to others (DUDEN).

Further examples of pseudo-English compounds are (23) *Shootingstar* and (24) *Hometrainer*. Spelt separately in English, *shooting star* signifies 'a small meteor that travels very fast and burns with a bright light as it enters the earth's atmosphere' (OALD). The meaning of the same expression in German is a successful newcomer in show business, sports, music, literature, business or politics. It is a metaphorical extension of the literal meaning based on the similarity between a shining shooting falling star and a person who quickly comes under the spotlight.

(23) *Shootingstar* for *successful newcomer*

    a) "[...] gemeinsam mit der Regisseurin Yael Ronen - *Shootingstar* und Enfant terrible der israelischen Theaterszene."

    b) "[…] together with their director Yael Ronen - the *up-and-coming* enfant terrible of the Israeli theatre scene."

(24) *Hometrainer* for *exercise bike*

    a) "Dort stehen nämlich der *Hometrainer* und die Rudermaschine meiner Tochter."

    b) "That's where my daughter has an *exercise bike* and a rowing machine."

This pseudo-anglicism signifies 'an exercise device resembling a stationary bike' (FD) usually ridden at home, which explains the use of English lexemes *home* and *trainer*.

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[41] "Wenn ein formales englisches Vorbild für ein komplexes deutsches Wort, das aus "englischen" Komponenten besteht, nicht nachgewiesen werden kann, steht die Angabe "aus engl. x und engl. y, die in englischen Wörterbüchern in dieser Kombination nicht belegt sind" (Kirkness and Woolford 2002: 201).

(25) *Beamer* is a German word for *overhead* or *video projector*. It is also used in English, but with a different meaning: In British English, *beamer* is an expression in cricket for 'a full-pitched ball bowled at the batsman's head', whereas in American English it is a colloquial expression for a BMW (Knapp 2008). The discrepancy between the meaning of *beamer* in English and German clearly indicates that *Beamer* is not a loan word from English, but a German coinage instead.

(25) *Beamer* for *projector*

   a) "[…] modernste Präsentationsmedien und Konferenztechnik (Laptop, *Beamer*, Internet etc.)."

   b) "[…] the most modern presentation media and telecommunications possibilities (laptop, *projector*, internet etc.)."

As opposed to the clipping *Pulli* (2), (26) *Pullunder* is a German coinage not shortened but modeled on the Engl. word *pullover*. According to DUDEN, it is derived from 'to pull' and 'under' to stress that, as opposed to *pullover* (see footnote 35), *Pullunder* is a sleeveless vest usually worn over a shirt or a blouse. Interestingly enough, its English equivalent is *slipover* and not *slipunder*, as might be expected.

(26) *Pullunder* for *slipover*

   a) "Moderne City-Outfits mit kreativen Jacken- und *Pullunder*-Variationen präsentieren sich in edlen Naturtönen."

   b) "There are also variations of modern city outfits with creative jackets and *slipovers* in elegant natural tones."

A further example of lexical pseudo-anglicisms is (27) *Mobbing*, a German expression for 'bullying, harassment at work' (LMW). The actual meaning of 'to mob' is somewhat related - 'to crowd about and attack or annoy' (MW).

(27) *Mobbing* for *bullying at work*

   a) "[...] das Problem des *Mobbing* am Arbeitsplatz in der Union vielfach wahrscheinlich noch immer unterschätzt wird. "

   b) "[…] the problems associated with *bullying at work* are still probably underestimated in many quarters within the Union."

In German, (28) *Kicker* is a pseudo-English expression for table football. In English, it signifies a rugby or a football player whose task is to kick conversions, penalty goals, etc.

(28) *Kicker* for *table football*

    a) "Ob Sie Ihre Gäste zu [...] einem *Kicker*-Turnier in Stadionatmosphäre […] einladen möchten..."

    b) "Whether you are inviting your guests to […] a *table football* tournament…"

Interestingly enough, in American English, *Kicker* is often called *foosball*, a variation on the German word *Fußball* (football).

    a) "[...] außerdem hatte ich im Stadtteil Pigneto ein Lokal entdeckt, in dem es einen *Kicker* gibt, der im Freien steht."

    b) "[...] during that time I had discovered a bar in the Pigneto district where they had *foosball* outside."

(29) *Peeling* is a German word for (*facial* or *body*) *scrub*, both in the sense of a cosmetic product and the procedure applying it - exfoliation. This is also an example of semantic change based on the metonymical extension action – means or method. In this sense, the act of peeling dead body cells off the skin in German stands representative for the product applied in this procedure.

(29) *Peeling* for *body scrub*

    a) "Die Behandlung beginnt mit einem *Peeling* des gesamten Körpers mit gereiftem Fango."

    b) "The treatment begins with a full *body scrub* with mature mud."

As already indicated in 4.2.1., one of the most illustrative examples of cross-linguistic blending is a hybrid loan *Grusical*, built in analogy to *Musical* to signify a musical horror movie or a play. This Denglish noun derives from merging the German adjective *grus(elig)* which means 'creepy' or 'spooky' (DUDEN) and Engl. (*mus)ical*.

(30) *Grusical* from *gruselig* and *musical*

    a) "Das transsylvanisch-bissige *Grusical* nach dem Film-Klassiker von Roman Polanski..."

    b) "Set in Transylvania, the biting, *scary musical* adaptation of Roman Polanski's film classic…"

There are a couple of less common and somewhat outdated examples of lexical pseudo-anglicisms, such as *Twen* or *Southern*. (31) *Twen* is a German coinage modeled on the English word *twenty*, but in reference to *teen*. Just as *teen* signifies 'between 13 and 19 years old; connected with people of this age' (OALD), so does, according to Carstensen (1965: 253), *Twen* refer to a) a person in his or her twenties; b) the time period of one's twenties; and c)

clothes for people of that age. Kirkness and Woolford (2002: 201) observe that such pseudo-anglicisms are neither directly borrowed from English nor translated into German.

(31) *Twen* from *twenty* and *teen*

    a) "Mit dem jugendlichen *Twen* Sven Gettkant..."

    b) "Featuring young Sven Gettkant, *in his twenties...*"

On the other hand, aside from its English meaning when used as an adjective - 'relating to, or characteristic of southern regions or the South' (FD) – when used as a noun *Southern* is, according to Carstensen & Galinsky (1967: 24), an expression for an adventure film set in Africa, formed by speakers of German in analogy to *Western*.[42]

In conclusion, lexical pseudo-anglicisms are formed according to the principles of both morphological and semantic change.

4.3.3. Semantic pseudo-anglicisms

The last subcategory of German pseudo-anglicisms comprises genuine English lexemes that are used to mean something different from their original meaning (Burmasova 2010: 43). In most cases, they are English words that were introduced into German in their original form and meaning(s) and eventually developed new meanings, which they previously did not have in English (cf. Carstensen 1980: 78; and Glahn 2002: 224). Unlike the previous two subcategories, semantic pseudo-anglicisms do not exhibit morphological changes, but keep their English form. This can be put down to the fact that semantic pseudo-anglicisms were already established in German in their original form before they acquired additional meanings.

The most prominent example of this phenomenon is probably (32) *Handy* - the German word for *cell(ular) phone* (in American English) or *mobile phone* (in British English). Due to its English spelling and pronunciation, *Handy* is easily perceived as anglicism (Burmasova 43). However, it does not have the same meaning in English as it does in German; in English, *handy* is used as an adjective, synonymous with 'convenient' or 'dexterous' (MW). According to Schneider (2008), its origin goes back to 1945, when the US-Army named its first hand-size telecommunication gadgets *handy-talkies*. Though in the course of time the

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[42] Another example of outdated pseudo-anglicisms is *Fanny*, the female form of Engl. *fan* (Carstensen 1965: 252; Carstensen & Galinsky 1967: 24).

compound *handy-talkies* became outdated in English, it came into use in German in its clipped form – *Handy*. Schneider reports that in 2006, Dan Hamilton, a professor for International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, proposed an act of mutual linguistic enrichment. He namely suggested borrowing the German meaning of *Handy* into American English because it seemed appropriate, easily understandable and even pleasant sounding. Although this proposal has never been accepted, *Handy* is still used in German in its old English meaning – mobile phone.

(32) *Handy* for *cell phone* or *mobile phone*

    a) "Autos kommunizieren selbstständig Verkehrsgefahren an andere Autos und an Leitstellen, Herd und Heizung werden von unterwegs per *Handy* gesteuert"

    b) "Cars quite naturally communicate traffic hazards to other cars or to control centres, ovens and heating can be controlled by *mobile phone* from outside"

This gives rise to an important question: Is *Handy* a morphological or a semantic pseudo-anglicism? On the one hand, since *Handy* came into use in German as a clipped version of *handy-talkie*, it can be considered a case of morphological pseudo-anglicism. On the other hand, it has the same form as Engl. *handy* (capitalization aside) but different meaning, which makes it a semantic pseudo-anglicism. All in all, it can be concluded that *Handy* is a morphological pseudo-anglicism from the diachronic point of view and a morpho-semantic pseudo-anglicism from the synchronic point of view.

Another example of this category is (33) *Evergreen*, a German word for a *golden oldie* – 'one that was a hit or favorite in the past' (MW), especially a hit record or song that has remained popular for a long time or is now enjoying a revival. The same word in English "applies to trees / plants which do not shed their leaves, and when used figuratively refers to something of a lasting and vigorous nature" (Carstensen 1980: 89). Although the definition in MW indicates that the primary meaning of *evergreen* in English does indeed refer to plants that have 'foliage that remains green […] through more than one growing season', it also suggests that the marginal meaning 'something that retains its freshness, interest, or popularity' is a metaphorical extension of 'perennial', one of the component parts of the concept *evergreen*.

(33) *Evergreen* for *golden oldie*

    a) "[...] das ursprünglich auf 10 Jahre beschränkte Investment in Venture Incubator in ein *Evergreen* Engagement umzuwandeln."

    b) "[...] decided to transform the investment in Venture Incubator, which was originally limited to ten years, into a *permanent* engagement."

Similarly, *oldtimer* in English refers to an elderly man or a veteran. Apart from that meaning, (34) *Oldtimer* in German has another related meaning – *vintage* or *veteran car,* which is a metaphorical extension on the basis of (advanced) age as their common feature.

(34)   *Oldtimer* for *vintage car*

    a) "*Oldtimer*, d. h. historische Fahrzeuge, Fahrzeuge mit Sammlerwert oder Fahrzeuge, die für Museen bestimmt sind..."

    b) "*Vintage vehicles*, meaning historic vehicles or vehicles of value to collectors or intended for museums…"

While (35) *Slip* is a German expression for *underpants* or *panties,* in English it refers to 'a piece of woman's underwear like a thin dress or skirt, worn under a dress' (OALD), among other different meanings.

(35)   *Slip* for *underpants*

    a) "Wenn man in den öffentlichen Toiletten, den Mantel hochgeschlagen, die Handtasche über der Schulter, den Rock hochgehoben oder die Hose festhaltend, Strümpfe und *Slip* heruntergezogen [...] urinieren muß..."

    b) "When you have to urinate in a public toilet with your coat pulled up, handbag slung across your chest, skirt hitched up or trousers clutched in your hand, tights and *underwear* down..."

According to Glahn (2002: 224), in some cases, the recipient language borrows only one aspect of the word's meaning from the donor language. One such example of semantic narrowing is (36) *Dress*. Whereas in English it has various meanings, such as 'a piece of woman's clothing that is made in once piece and covers the body down to the legs' (OALD) or 'clothing [...] appropriate or peculiar to a particular time' (MW), in German *Dress* stands only for the latter meaning – clothes for a special occasion, especially sports gear (DUDEN).

(36)   *Dress* for *sports gear*

    a)   "Mit   Deutschland-Fahne   und   ebenfalls   ausgerüstet   mit dem *Dress* der Nationalmannschaft..."

    b)   "Complete with German flag and also dressed in the German National Team's *uniform*…"

After the abovementioned case of narrowing, (37) *Homepage* is an example of the diametrically opposite mechanism of semantic change – generalization. Although it refers only to the opening page of a website, *Homepage* in German can be used to refer to website in general.

(37) *Homepage* for *website*

   a) "Eine besondere Rolle soll die gemeinsame *Homepage* der internationalen Bergarbeiterkonferenz spielen..."

   b) "The common *website* of the international miners' conference shall play a special role…"

Whereas *slipper* in English predominantly refers to a house or indoor shoe, the same word in German refers to shoes without laces. What is common to *slipper* in both languages is the fact that it 'may be easily slipped on and off' (MW), without tying the laces. Based on this common feature, the pseudo-English (38) *Slipper* in German is a metaphorical extension of the original English word.

(38) *Slipper* for *lace-less shoe*

   a) "Ob für Tag oder Tanz, flott oder glamourös, mit Absatz oder flach, *Slipper* oder geschnürt, ein Schuh muss immer vier grundsätzliche Kriterien erfüllen... "

   b) "For the office- or the dance-floor, glamorous or casual, high-heeled or flat, with or *without laces*, a shoe must always respond to four essential criteria…"

(39) *Flipper* is a pseudo-English expression for a *pinball machine* not only in German, but in other European languages as well. In English, flipper has several meanings: a) 'a wide flat limb, as of a seal, whale, or other aquatic mammal, adapted for swimming'; b) 'rubber covering for the foot [...] used in swimming and diving, also called *fin*.'; c) 'a flat lever in a pinball machine, used to hit the ball so it stays in play' (FD). The last meaning is the basis for the semantic change that caused today's meaning of *Flipper* in German − *pinball*. This metonymical extension is grounded in the part-whole relation, where *flipper* in English is only a part of the pinball machine as a whole.

(39) *Flipper* for *pinball*

   a) "*Flipper* und andere Spiele für Erwachsene außer Glücksspielen."

   b) "[…] *pinball machines* and other games for adults other than games of chance."

The English compound *music box*, also called *musical box*, refers to 'a box containing a device that plays a tune when the box is opened' (OALD). (40) *Musicbox*, the German version of the same compound, in fact means *jukebox*, 'a coined-operated machine that automatically plays selected recordings' (MW), only in this case the morpheme *juke*[43] is replaced by *Music*.

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[43] According to The Free Dictionary (FD), juke is 'a small roadside establishment in the southeastern United States where you can eat and drink and dance to music provided by a jukebox'.

Eisenberg (2004: 127) observes that for some native speakers of German *Musicbox* is considered an anglicism just like *Cocktailparty* or *Bodyguard*.

(40) *Musicbox* for *jukebox*

    a) "Anhand verschiedener Kundenprojekte - wie zum Beispiel der *Musicbox* von Sony Music..."

    b) "With the help of various customer projects, such as *Jukebox* from Sony Music…"

4.4. False friends and semantic pseudo-anglicisms

Since English and German are closely related language systems, the fact that they share a wide range of similar and same sounding[44] expressions is no surprise. Although there are different types of such expressions, they all have one thing in common – they are consequences of semantic change.

As stated above, polysemy as the capacity of a single linguistic form to have multiple different, yet conceptually related meanings is the prerequisite condition for semantic change (see 4.2.2.). This does not only refer to semantic pseudo-anglicisms, but also to various cases of change in meaning. Accordingly, Broz (2008) brings polysemy in relation to false friends – words in different languages with the same or similar form, but different meaning. According to Chamizo Domínguez (2007), false friends can be divided into chance false friends, that do not, and semantic false friends that do share the same etymological origin (quoted in Broz 2008: 200).[45] An example of semantic false friends would be the German-English word pair *realisieren – realize*; apart from the shared meaning 'to bring into reality; make real', German has also acquired an additional meaning under the influence of *realize* - 'to be fully aware or cognizant of' (FD). Consequently, words like *realisieren*, which have gained new meaning(s) from English, are being used increasingly.

All in all, semantic false friends and semantic pseudo-anglicisms seem to be related, in that they are both "considered to be a cross–linguistic equivalent to polysemy", suggests Broz (2008: 203). The question that arises is – how does one differ from the other? Where is the

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[44] Although *homonymous*, i.e. *homonymic* means 'having the same form', it has been deliberately avoided in this context in order to avoid the homonymy vs. polysemy – debate.

[45] Depending on whether they overlap in meaning or not, semantic false friends can be further subdivided into partial and full. Partial semantic false friends have at least one meaning in common, whereas full semantic false friends have none (Broz 2008: 200).

line between semantic false friends – words in different languages with the same or similar form – and semantic pseudo-anglicisms – lexemes that are used in the recipient language to mean something different from their original meaning in the donor language? For instance, is the word pair (Engl.) *music box* vs. (Ger.) *Musicbox* a case of semantic false friends or pseudo-anglicisms? Considering the abovementioned definitions, it seems to fall under both categories; on the one hand, apart from spelling, *music box* and *Musicbox* do not seem to exhibit any formal differences though they are lexemes from two different language systems. On the other hand, the original English meaning of *music box*, a small mechanical instrument that produces tunes, was abandoned and became 'jukebox' in German. Taking all this into consideration, this word pair seems to be an example of English-German false friends that developed into pseudo-anglicisms.[46] It may be safe to conclude that this is valid for most examples of semantic pseudo-anglicisms presented in 4.3.3.

5. Are pseudo-anglicisms anglicisms at all?

There is a general consensus among the authors that English words are lexical units of the English language, whereas anglicisms are lexical units of the recipient language, in our case – German. However, when discussing what falls under the category of anglicisms, some authors (e.g. Kirkness and Woolford; Yang) make the basic distinction between external and internal loan material (see 3.2.): external loan material is comprised of linguistic expressions evidently borrowed from English, whereas internal loan material consists of expressions formed in the recipient language, which are hence not considered to be anglicisms by some authors (Kirkness and Woolford 2002: 218). In that sense, *Gewittersturm*, as a German loan translation of the Eng. *thunder storm*, does not fall under the category of anglicisms. As far as pseudo-anglicisms are concerned, even their name implies that they are not genuine anglicisms. In that sense, e.g. *Twen* (a German coinage modeled on the English word *twenty*, but in reference to *teen*) is not considered to be an anglicism. As Kirkness and Woolford point out, only words that stem from English and not inner-German neologisms and semantic shifts count as anglicisms.

Unlike Kirkness and Woolford, Yang (1990: 13) holds that even expressions coined in German could be regarded as anglicisms because English loan words are an essential condition for lexical creation and semantic change to begin with. Furthermore, Burmasova

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[46] Broz (2008: 221) refers to Chamizo Domínguez (2006) claiming that false friends can come about in many ways, including homonymy, pseudo-borrowings, semantic loans, cognates, etc.

(2010: 33-34) claims that in the context of language contact, origin is less relevant than form; anglicisms are linguistic signs that consist either entirely or at least to some extent of English morphemes, regardless of whether they bear the same meaning as in English or not. Taking both sides into consideration, the debate seems to be a simple matter of perspective of approaching pseudo-anglicisms: from the diachronic point of view, as expressions coined in German, they are excluded from the category of anglicisms. From the synchronic point of view, they bear formal features of English and consist of borrowed English elements, which makes them full-fledged anglicisms. Be that as it may, it is up to the author to choose the perspective of analyzing pseudo-anglicisms, as well as all the other linguistic phenomena for that matter.

6. Conclusion

Just like many other languages, German seems to have been facing the challenges of what some authors refer to as increasing "americanization" since 1945 (cf. Carstensen and Galinsky 1967: 31). With this in mind, Eisenberg (2004: 121) refers to one of the statements of the New York conference "The Fate of European Languages in the Age of Globalization: The Future of German":

> "...we should be concerned about the future of the German language in the age of globalization. We should work out an honest diagnosis and think about possible remedies. Perhaps one can take comfort from the fact that the future of German is closely related to the fate of European languages in general."

There have even been some more radical formulations, claiming that due to the immense influence of English German is an endangered, if not a dying language. However, Eisenberg (2004: 123) observes that, as a language with over 100 million speakers and more than 20 million learners worldwide, German is far from being endangered.[47] On the other hand, the state of being strongly influenced by English is not described as 'endangerment' by all authors. On the contrary, some consider it an enrichment of the German language, both morphosyntactic and semantic (cf. Carstensen and Galinsky; Hoberg), which has resulted in a vast number of publications and scientific research dedicated to this topic. However, not all types of anglicisms have been equally studied. For this reason, the somewhat disregarded category of pseudo-anglicisms has been the focal point of this thesis.

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[47] Regarding the status of German today, Hoberg (2002: 176-177) claims that, according to the number of its speakers, German is the 12th most widely spoken language in the world (101 mil.), second in Europe (91.473.000) and first in the EU.

Pseudo-anglicisms are comprised of English language material which is used creatively to generate new expressions in German. This is done by applying different mechanisms, such as clipping, blending, word formation modeled on English, as well as various types of semantic shifts. The latter refers to cognitive mechanisms of semantic change including primarily metaphor, metonymy, narrowing and generalization that gave rise not only to semantic pseudo-anglicisms, but also to other cross-linguistic phenomena such as false friends.

As far as the motivation behind pseudo-anglicisms is concerned, Glahn (2002: 224) observes, there is a significant distinction between active and passive knowledge of English, that is between understanding and speaking or writing it. In other words, someone who is acquainted with English borrowings does not necessarily have to understand and use them correctly. Furthermore, both Faber (2008: 17) and Glahn (2002: 221-222) hold major German companies responsible for publicly disseminating some of the most notorious pseudo-anglicisms such as *Handy* (Deutsche Telekom), *Service Point* (Deutsche Bahn) and *Talkmaster* (TV broadcasting companies) through the media. As advertising language is particularly focused on linguistic innovation, pseudo-English expressions like these are excessively used in advertisements, consequently setting the trend of pseudo-English lexical coinage.

To sum up, this thesis has attempted to give an overview of pseudo-anglicisms in German as well as different forms they appear in, but most importantly, to answer the question – which mechanisms of linguistic change gave rise to pseudo-English *interference*. Finally, the aim was to show that, if only as a borderline case, pseudo-anglicisms also fall under the category of anglicisms and should thus be taken just like any other linguistic phenomenon. After all, to quote the renowned German poet and thinker Goethe, "the power of a language is not spurning the unfamiliar, but in devouring it."[48]

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[48] "Die Gewalt einer Sprache ist nicht, daß sie das Fremde abweist, sondern daß sie es verschlingt" (quoted in Hoberg 2002: 174).

7. Appendix

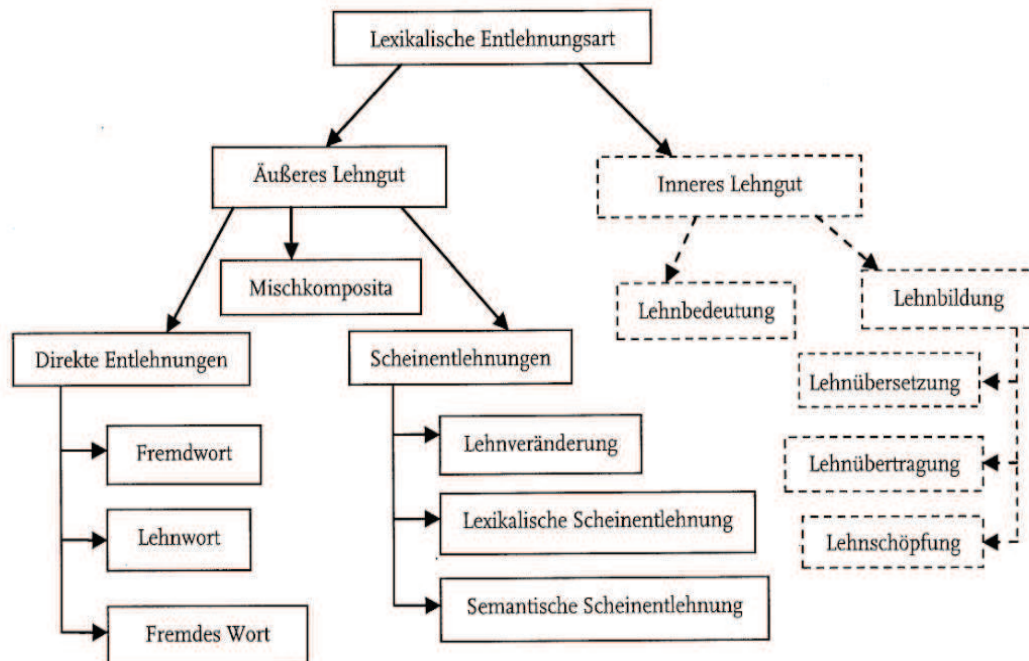7.1. Diagram: Classification of anglicisms by Yang (1990); in Burmasova (2010: 40).

Diagramm 1. Klassifikation von W. Yang (1990) (meine Hervorhebung – S.B.)

7.2. Table: Analysis and overview of pseudo-anglicisms in German

Order	Pseudo-anglicism	Meaning in English	English model	Type of pseudo-anglicism
(25)	**Beamer**	(data/ overhead / video) projector	beam	lexical
(17)	**Bowle**	punch	bowl	lexical
(20)	**Castingshow**	talent show	casting + show	lexical
(3)	**Deo**	deodorant	deodorant	morphological
(4)	**Dia**	slide	diapositive	morphological
(8)	**Discounter**	discount store	discount	morphological
(16)	**Dogge**	Great Dane	dog	morphological
(36)	**Dress**	sports gear	dress	semantic
(21)	**Dressman**	male model	dress + man	lexical
(33)	**Evergreen**	golden oldie	evergreen	semantic
(6)	**fesch**	fashionable	fashion(able)	morphological
(39)	**Flipper**	pinball	flipper	semantic
(7)	**Flirt**	flirtation	flirt	semantic
(12)	**Fotoshooting**	photo shoot	photo shoot	morphological
(15)	**Gentleman-Agreement**	gentleman's agreement	gentleman's agreement	morphological
(14)	**Gin tonic**	gin and tonic	gin and tonic	morphological
(30)	**Grusical**	scary / horror musical	musical	lexical
(32)	**Handy**	cell phone / mobile phone	handy	morphological/ semantic
(9)	**Happy End**	happy ending	happy ending	morphological
(37)	**Homepage**	website	homepage	semantic
(24)	**Hometrainer**	exercise bike	home + trainer	lexical
(28)	**Kicker**	table football	kick	lexical
(27)	**Mobbing**	bullying at work	to mob	lexical
(40)	**Musicbox**	jukebox	music box	semantic
(34)	**Oldtimer**	vintage car	old-timer	semantic
(29)	**Peeling**	body scrub	to peel	lexical
(1)	**Profi**	professional	professional	morphological
(2)	**Pulli**	pullover	pullover	morphological
(26)	**Pullunder**	slipover	pullover	lexical
(10)	**Puzzle**	jigsaw puzzle	jigsaw puzzle	morphological
(13)	**Right or wrong my country**	right or wrong it is my country	right or wrong it is my country	morphological
(23)	**Shootingstar**	Successful newcomer	shooting star	semantic
(19)	**Showmaster**	TV or show host	show + master; quizmaster	lexical
(35)	**Slip**	underpants / panties	slip	semantic
(38)	**Slipper**	lace-less shoe	slipper	semantic
(11)	**Smoking**	tuxedo / dinner jacket	smoking jacket	lexical
(22)	**Snobiety**	snobby clique	snob + society	lexical
(5)	**Teenie**	teenage	teenage	morphological
(31)	**Twen**	in his/her twenties	twenty + teen	lexical
(18)	**USB-Stick**	USB flash drive	USB-Stick	lexical

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