

The wolf in sheep's clothing: Camouflaged borrowing in Modern German¹

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This article addresses a phenomenon of language contact that has not received much attention in mainstream contact linguistics, namely borrowing via a mechanism Zuckermann (2003) calls MULTISOURCED NEOLOGISATION. Multisourced neologisation is a subtype of Zuckermann's larger class of CAMOUFLAGED BORROWING, and constitutes a special form of calquing in which the calque is phonetically similar to the source language material. It has much in common with folk etymology and is sometimes identified with it, but there are good theoretical reasons to keep the two phenomena apart. Though German is well known for its calquing ability, the application of this special type of calquing has gone virtually unnoticed in the literature as well as in the ongoing public debate over the excessive influx of loanwords. This paper shows that multisourced neologisation is not uncommon in the integration of elements borrowed from English into German, and argues that factors favouring its use include lexical and structural congruities between both languages as well as the relatively high transparency of English to the average speaker of German. Thus, though German does not belong to the prototypical language groups using multisourced neologisation that are described by Zuckermann (2003), special circumstances prompt the application of this and other methods of camouflaged borrowing.

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1. Camouflaged borrowing (Zuckermann 2003)

The literature on contact linguistics notes a variety of phenomena that can be observed in language contact situations. Commonly, a broad distinction is drawn between **BORROWING** on the one hand, and what Van Coetsem (2000) terms **IMPOSITION** –also known as **SUBSTRATUM INFLUENCE**– on the other. As regards borrowing, this is generally defined as the incorporation of source language (SL) items into a receiving language (RL) or target language (TL). The receiving language is usually maintained, and is at the same time enriched by the borrowed source language material. In borrowing the receiving language is active, determining the path of integration of the borrowed elements in accordance with its own grammatical and lexical systems. The process of integration oscillates between imitating the source language with regard to the borrowed element and adapting it to the needs of the receiving language. However, borrowing ultimately aims at the full integration of the borrowed elements, so that after a certain period of time they are no longer recognised as being non-native.

There are various ways of integrating loan material into a language, which, according to Zuckermann (2003), can be broadly divided into **OPEN** and **CAMOUFLAGED** borrowing. In open borrowing, the imported material retains foreign characteristics at least for a while, whereas camouflaged borrowing, by contrast, adapts source language material immediately, effectively covering up the borrowing process. Zuckermann (2003: 37) defines camouflaged borrowing as follows, contrasting it with open borrowing:

By ‘camouflaged borrowing’ I mean covert, invisible borrowing, which is different from the case of classical guestwords [i.e. ad hoc creations], foreignisms and loanwords, and in which the SL lexical item is replaced by semantically, phonetically or phono-semantically related TL morphemes or lexemes.

Within camouflaged borrowing Zuckermann (2003) further differentiates between **CALQUES** (usually called *INNERES LEHNGUT* in the traditional German terminology) and **PHONETIC CALQUING**. Calques (also termed loan

translation, loan creation and semantic loan, see e.g. Busse & Görlach 2002: 29 for discussion) comprise all cases in which the receiving language creation resembles the source language etymon semantically but not phonetically, while in phonetic calquing or MULTISOURCED NEOLOGISATION (MSN)² the source language element is immediately reanalysed to match it up phonetically with an item from the receiving language. Both processes of camouflaged borrowing can introduce into the receiving language a new semantic feature (sememe/sense/reading), a new word, a new compound and a new phrase, as illustrated in Figure 1.

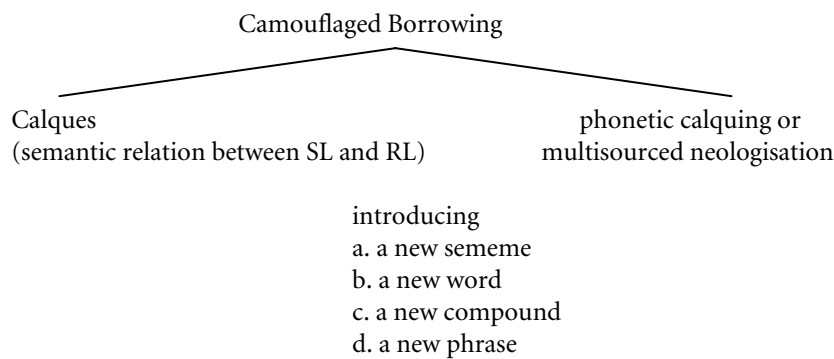


Figure 1. Types of camouflaged borrowing

Camouflaged borrowing is the most extreme form of receiving language agentivity, because the foreign nature of the borrowed material generally does not surface (for the concept of LANGUAGE AGENTIVITY in language contact see Van Coetsem 2000: 52ff). Camouflaged borrowing is traditionally simply referred to as CALQUING, and what is termed phonetic calquing by Zuckermann (2003) is often identified with FOLK ETYMOLOGY. However, the classification in Figure 1 has significant advantages. First, although the formal mechanisms of folk etymology and phonetic calquing are very similar, there are good theoretical reasons to keep the two processes separate (see also the more detailed discussion in §2). The main argument is that folk etymology refers to a diachronic reanalysis of an already existing item that is no longer understood, whereas phonetic calquing refers to a synchronic

² As will be more fully discussed in §2 below, the term multisourced neologisation refers to the fact that there is in fact not only one source, the source language, but actually two, as the receiving language supplies a substantial part of the new creation.

process, whose aim is to integrate foreign material that is not immediately understood. If phonetic calquing is subsumed under folk etymology, as in the majority of the relevant literature (notable exceptions are Paul 1920 and Weinreich 1968[1953]: 47–48), then this distinction is relinquished and phonetic calquing is not recognised as an integrative borrowing process.

Second, the usefulness of Zuckermann's (2003) distinction lies in the conceptual separation of imitative and adaptive borrowing, which is neater and simpler than the traditional taxonomy of contact phenomena (see e.g. Winford 2003: 45) and also captures Van Coetsem's (2000) lucid theoretical approach more adequately. Calques as defined in Figure 1 transport (or imitate) the meaning of the source language item, its phonetic shape does not play any role. By contrast, phonetic calquing (or multisourced neologisation) attempts to imitate the phonetic shape of the source language item, while adapting it phonetically at the same time. Semantics do not have to be involved in this process at all, but if they do, this is called PHONO-SEMANTIC MATCHING in Zuckermann's (2003) terminology.

This article addresses phonetic calquing and other forms of camouflaged borrowing in German mainly for two reasons. First, German has traditionally been perceived as a language that makes extensive use of calquing. As Van Coetsem (2000: 153) puts it, this "analysing attitude of German manifests itself, for instance, in *Fernsehen* for *Television*, *Rundfunk* for *Radio*". Nevertheless, in recent years there has been a growing feeling that German has lost this ability, and that there is an excessive influx of English loanwords and loan phrases; as Zifonun (2002: 7) points out:

Heute dagegen, so haben viele den Eindruck, hat das Deutsche keine Erneuerungskraft mehr. Englische Wörter werden für Neues einfach übernommen, anstatt deutsche Wörter zu prägen. Dabei geht z.T. unter, dass nach wie vor einiges auch durch Lehnübertragung bzw. Neubedeutung bei deutschen Wörtern unsichtbar lexikalisch eingedeutscht wird, es handelt sich um so genanntes inneres Lehngut. Woran liegt aber der Rückgang an solchen Entsprechungen?³

³ 'By contrast, in the eyes of many people German has lost its revitalising power. Instead of creating German words, English words are simply being imported. However, it is often neglected that a lot is still integrated invisibly by way of loan translation and semantic borrowing, cases of so-called inner loan material. But what is the reason for a decrease in such German creations?' [trans.– RM]

Busse (2001: 147) believes that this development is due to the global availability of words in the contemporary media-dominated world, which makes their adaptation through camouflaged borrowing redundant:

Im Unterschied zu früheren Zeiten besteht meiner Meinung nach in der Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft die Hauptschwierigkeit darin, bereits weit verbreitete Anglizismen, die dem äußeren Lehnwort zuzurechnen sind, durch inneres Lehnwort zu ersetzen.⁴

However, this is not entirely convincing, as many languages, such as Chinese and Israeli (henceforth: I),⁵ make extensive use of camouflaged borrowing to integrate new vocabulary irrespective of its global availability. Moreover, the feeling itself that German has lost the ability to resort to camouflaged borrowing may be partly due to a misconception. As will become clear below, German is using camouflaged borrowing to integrate foreign elements far more frequently than commonly observed, a point this article wants to draw attention to.

The second reason for investigating camouflaged borrowing in German has to do with language contact theory. On the one hand, this paper aims at underlining the differentiation of calquing from phonetic calquing, because it seems to make a difference whether the primary point of focus in the borrowing process is the integration of the source language semantics or whether the source language form is primarily matched up phonetically with an item belonging to the receiving language. This also concerns the difference between phonetic calquing or multisourced neologisation (synchronic integration of a source language element) and folk etymology (integration of an existing element that has become opaque through e.g. language change). On the other hand, it demonstrates that the various forms of multisourced neologisation, which, as Zuckermann (2003: 253) asserts, are prototypical for “‘reinvented languages’, languages using phono-logographic

⁴ ‘The main difficulty for the contemporary media and information society in contrast to former times, in my opinion, is to replace widespread Anglicisms, which are part of external loan material, by inner loan material.’ [trans.– RM]

⁵ Following Zuckermann (2003: viii *et passim*), I use the term ISRAELI to refer to “twentieth-century ‘Revived Hebrew’” as opposed to e.g. Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew (henceforth abbreviated Heb).

script, secret argots, minority languages and pidgins and creoles”, can also be observed in languages like German.⁶

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 explains the concept of phonetic calquing or multisourced neologisation, as defined by Zuckermann (2003). Sections 3 and 4 contain, respectively, cases of multisourced neologisation and calquing illustrating the nature as well as the extent of camouflaged borrowing in German. Finally, a conclusion is drawn which assesses the current borrowing situation in Modern Standard German.

2. Phonetic calquing as a form of camouflaged borrowing

Zuckermann (2003) distinguishes two main types of phonetic calquing, namely PHONETIC MATCHING (PM) and PHONO-SEMANTIC MATCHING (PSM).⁷ The former refers to a reanalysis of a source language item modelled on a receiving language item that matches it phonetically without considering semantics at all, whereas the latter lines up the source language element with an item from the receiving language that offers a phonetic as well as a close semantic correspondence. Through phonetic calquing, new sememes, words, compounds and phrases can be introduced (cf. Figure 1 above). The following examples from Zuckermann (2003, 2005) serve to

⁶ Ghil’ad Zuckermann (p.c.) points out that he personally believes phono-semantic-matching to be “much more widespread than one thinks in any language” and adds “puristically oriented” and “standardised” languages to the group of REINVENTED LANGUAGES. As the above quotations as well as the current public debate in Germany show, German speakers seem to have developed a certain degree of puristic orientation, which may be an additional reason why camouflaged borrowing is on the rise in German.

⁷ Zuckermann (2003: 8) identifies a third type, namely “semanticised phonetic matching” (SPM), in which the semantic match between the receiving language item and the source language item is only loose. However, this is of little heuristic value in the context of the present study because it is often difficult to draw the line between semanticised phonetic matching and phono-semantic matching due to the inherent vagueness of the concept of LOOSE SIMILARITY, a defining characteristic of semanticised phonetic matching as opposed to SEMANTIC SIMILARITY, which defines phono-semantic matching. Hence, it seems methodologically preferable to differentiate only two types of multisourced neologisation, one that provides a semantic correspondence and one that does not, but allowing for a continuum between them (see also Zuckermann 2003: 36).

illustrate the processes of phonetic matching and phono-semantic-matching respectively.

- (1) Phonetic matching:
 - a. E *cockroach* as a reanalysis of Sp *cucaracha*, using *cock* ‘rooster’ and *roach* ‘*Leuciscus rutilus*’ (a small freshwater fish)
 - b. Texas AmE *Austin Waco* as a reanalysis of Sp *hasta luego* (see Zuckermann 2003: 26; probably an *ad hoc* creation)
- (2) Phono-semantic matching:
 - a. I *klit* ‘video clip’ from E *clip*, using Heb \sqrt{qlt} ‘record’
 - b. Turkish *belleten* ‘bulletin’ < F *bulletin*, using Turkish *belle-* ‘memorise’ + *-t-* (causative suffix) + *-en* (participle), i.e. ‘something that allows one to learn by heart’
 - c. Taiwan Mandarin Chinese *wēiérǎng* ‘Viagra’ < E *Viagra*, using *wēi-* ‘big’ + *er* ‘and’ + *ǎng* ‘hard, strong’

From these examples it becomes clear why Zuckermann (2003) also uses the term multisourced neologisation to refer to this type of camouflaged borrowing. The newly created words in (1) and (2) are modelled on source language items that are matched up with corresponding items of the receiving language. According to Zuckermann (2003: 3), multisourced neologisation can be defined “as a neologism that preserves both the meaning and the approximate sound of the parallel expression in SL_1 , using pre-existent TL/SL_2 lexemes or roots.”

Consequently, each new creation can be seen as going back to two sources, one is the actual source language (termed SL_1 in the quotation above) and one is the receiving language (SL_2). This is illustrated in Figure 2, using an example from Zuckermann (2005):

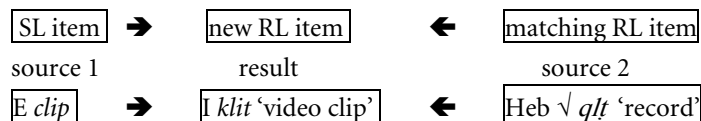


Figure 2. The mechanism of multisourced neologisation

As already pointed out in §1, the process of multisourced neologisation is essentially very similar to what is usually termed folk etymology (see Olschansky 1996 for an overview of this notion), with the crucial difference being that multisourced neologisation is used to adapt material that is

borrowed from a source language, whereas folk etymology is best seen as a reanalysis of already existing items that have become opaque from a synchronic perspective, either in a process of language acquisition or in an attempt to speculate about the origin of a word (see also Vennemann 1999: 274–275). However, both multisourced neologisation and folk etymology make use of the same adaptive mechanism, which consists of analysing an unknown and often opaque item on the basis of the native synchronic language system. Thus, multisourced neologisation and folk etymology are cases of receiving language agentivity. However, whereas folk etymology operates with a word that is already part of the lexicon, multisourced neologisation is used to nativise a foreign word or structure by pretending that it is not foreign at all but that it can be explained with the help of the receiving language, which is why camouflaged borrowing is such a suitable term for this phenomenon. The subcategories of folk etymology in Vennemann (1999: 280–287), namely *phonologische Volksetymologie* (‘phonological folk etymology’) and *semantische Volksetymologie* (‘semantic folk etymology’), are exact processual correspondences to phonetic matching and phono-semantic matching in Zuckermann (2003).⁸ The close conceptual connection of multisourced neologisation to folk etymology is furthermore reflected in Zuckermann’s (2003) term “Folk-Etymological Nativisation”, which subsumes the vast majority of multisourced neologisations.⁹

⁸ A further subdivision of folk-etymological creations according to whether they preserve the phonetic shape of the source item exactly or only roughly has been proposed by Ronneberger-Sibold (2002), but does not seem to offer any advantages, especially since she (2002: 121ff) shows that the phonetic match of folk-etymologies is usually fairly rough anyway, concentrating on prosodic elements and the final contour (G *Nachkontur*) of the source item. Contrary to the assertion by one reviewer, folk etymologies do not always result in a “synchronically complex lexeme”, though this is often the case. For instance, place-names are frequently the object of folk etymology, though they are not always perceived as complex, e.g. the German name of Munich, *München*, is usually explained as the plural of G *Mönch*, as Munich was first referred to as *apud monacos* (‘nearby the monks’) in a medieval document (see Vennemann 1994).

⁹ Apart from Folk-Etymological Nativisation, multisourced neologisation comprises also cases in which the SL₂ is not the receiving language but a third language, a process which Zuckermann (2003: 49–50) calls Lexical Conflation. He (2003: 50) illustrates this subtype with I *karpadá* ‘toad’ from F *crapaud* ‘toad’, modelled on Aramaic *qūrpəđaj* ‘unknown kind of animal’.

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the effect of multisourced neologisation is that borrowing is effectively covered up. Native speakers of the receiving language frequently do not even suspect any foreign influence at all. This is also the reason why this type of borrowing does not feature in the traditional literature on German anglicisms. The available databases, such as the AWb, rarely pick up cases of multisourced neologisms, simply because they look like native words (though cases of standard calquing are usually registered).

As already mentioned in §1, Zuckermann (2003: 253) identifies five major cases in which multisourced neologisation is used, namely “re invented languages’, languages using phono-logographic script, secret argots, minority languages, and pidgins and creoles”. Apart from serving to intentionally disguise a source language item, multisourced neologisation is likely to occur if the source language item is not transparent to the speaker of the receiving language or is simply unknown.

Once the theoretical background has been established, the notion of camouflaged borrowing is applied to German in the subsequent sections, where attention will be drawn to various cases of multisourced neologisation and calquing.

3. Phonetic calquing in German

According to Zuckermann’s (2003) predictions, as detailed in the preceding paragraphs, phonetic calquing or multisourced neologisation should be a marginal phenomenon in German, as German does not belong in any of the language groups where phonetic calquing is likely to occur.¹⁰ However, the examples in this section demonstrate the potential that German has for the application of multisourced neologisation. In particular, what Zuckermann (2003: 39) calls SEMANTIC SHIFTING, that is, the addition of a new sememe to a word already existing in the receiving language, to match phonetically a source language item (with or without pre-existing semantic similarity; cf. the distinction between phono-semantic matching and phonetic matching) may well be more common in Modern Standard German than the short list in (3) below suggests. Its occurrence under the influence of English, from

¹⁰ Unless we interpret the puristic tendencies mentioned in footnote 6 as assimilating German to the group of “re invented” languages.

which the majority of contemporary German loan vocabulary is borrowed, is facilitated by the relatively close genetic relationship between German and English. Note also that it is the phonetic similarity that differentiates semantic shifting from what is traditionally called a SEMANTIC LOAN, to be discussed in §4.

- (3) Semantic shifting in German:
- a. G *Maus* ‘computer mouse’ < E *mouse* ‘computer mouse’, using G *Maus* ‘mouse’ [PM/PSM]¹¹
 - b. G *realisieren* ‘understand, grasp, realize’ < E *realize*, using G *realisieren* ‘put into practice’ [PM]¹²
 - c. G *blocken* ‘block an attack, a movement, etc.’ < E *block*, using G *block-* in *blockieren* ‘block a movement’, *Block* ‘block’, etc. [PSM]
 - d. G *Seite* ‘website’ < E *website*, using G *Seite* ‘page’, secondarily motivated by E *homepage* [PSM]
 - e. G *laden* ‘load a program’ < E *load*, using G *laden* ‘load a firearm’ [PSM]
 - f. G *kontrollieren* ‘control’ < E *control*, using G *kontrollieren* ‘check, verify’ [PSM]¹³

The pre-existing German words, which possessed a very similar phonetic shape, took over a specific part of the semantics of the source language lexeme; this provides a particularly good camouflage, so that they are hardly

¹¹ See also AWb (891), where, however, it is not taken into account that G *Maus*, denoting the animal, existed long before. The fact that G *Maus* and E *mouse* are phonetically very similar, combined with the pre-existence of G *Maus* in the lexicon distinguishes it from semantic loans, e.g. *Fenster* ‘computer window’, which is not phonetically similar to E *window*.

¹² Theo Vennemann (p.c.) suspects that G *realisieren* ‘put into practice’ may already have been coined under the influence of E *realize*, used in that sense since the 18th century. However, the word may also have been borrowed directly from F *réaliser* ‘put into practice’, the source of E *realize* (OED s.v. *realize*²). Note also that the phonetic match is not one hundred per cent, so that G *realisieren* could also be seen as a case of a semantic loan, i.e. a “normal” calque (see e.g. AWb: 1167).

¹³ See also AWb (791). It is interesting that G *checken* –originally borrowed from English with the meaning ‘check’– has developed a second denotation ‘understand, have knowledge of’ in mainly colloquial German, e.g. *ich check’s nicht* ‘I don’t get it’ (cf. Kluge 2002: 169), from which the noun *checker* referring to someone who is an expert at something is derived.

noticed despite the fact that the original semantics of the German word is not always suited to host the semantic content of the source language lexeme. A good historical example of this is G *Kaffeebohne* / E *coffee-bean*, which comes from Arabic *bunn* ‘fruit of the coffee plant’ modelled on G *Bohne* / E *bean*¹⁴ despite the fact that the fruit of the coffee plant does not necessarily resemble a bean and does not belong to the group of beans from a botanical point of view (see Kluge 2002: 459).

In addition, there are also examples of phonetic matching/phonosemantic matching showing the introduction of new lexical items, either simple/complex words or phrases. However, these seem to be more common for earlier periods of Modern German than for the contemporary language. This may have to do with the fact that nowadays lexical entities seem to be either openly borrowed or subjected to calquing (cf. §4 below).

- (4) Phonetic calquing introducing a new lexical item/phrase:
- a. G *Hängematte* ‘hammock’ < Dutch *hangmat* ‘hammock’ < Caribbean *hamáka* (Kluge 2002: 390) [PM]
 - b. G *Alarm* ‘alarm’ < It *allarme* (*all’arme*); EModG doublet *allerme* under the influence of G *Lärm* ‘loud noise’ (Kluge 2002: 27) [PM]
 - c. G *Karfunkel* ‘red gem’ < L *carbunculus* ‘small piece of red-hot coal’, using G *Funke* ‘spark’ (Kluge 2002: s.v. *Karfunkel*; Ronneberger-Sibold 2002: 120) [PSM]
 - d. G *Fatzke* ‘vain, arrogant person’ < Polish personal name *Wacek* possibly under the influence of EModG *fatzen* ‘to pull someone’s leg’ (Kluge 2002: 279) [PSM]
 - e. G *Medaillist* ‘medallist’ < E *medallist*, using G *Medaille* ‘medal’ [PSM]
 - f. G *Protektor* ‘protective equipment’ < E *protector* using G *Protekt-* (e.g. *Protektion*, *Protektorat*) [PSM]
 - g. G *Blankscheit* ‘busk’ < *planchette* ‘small wooden board’, using G *blank* ‘blank’ and *Scheit* ‘piece of wood’ (Kluge 2002: 129; Ronneberger-Sibold 2002: 119) [PSM]
 - h. G *Konterbande* ‘smuggled goods’ < It *contrabbando* ‘smuggling’, using G *konter-* ‘against’ and *Bande* ‘gang, group’ (Kluge 2002: 524) [PM]
 - i. G *Rutsch* ‘slide’ in *Einen guten Rutsch!* ‘Have a good New Year!’ < Heb *rosch ha-schana* ‘beginning of the year’; hence *ins neue Jahr (hinüber-) rutschen* ‘to slide into the new year’ [PM]

¹⁴ Note in this connection that F *grain de café* ‘coffee bean’ does not involve a word denoting ‘bean’, which is not surprising given that the French words for ‘bean’ (i.e. *fève* or *haricot*), do not match Arabic *bunn* phonetically.

- j. G *Hals- und Beinbruch* ‘break a leg’ < Yiddish *hatslokhe u brokhe* ‘success and blessing’ [PM]

As illustrated by (3) and (4f), the fact that German and English share a sizeable amount of vocabulary, either because of common heritage (e.g. *laden/load* < Gmc. ⁺*hlada-* ‘load’, *Maus/mouse* < Gmc. ⁺*mūs-* ‘mouse’),¹⁵ or because of earlier borrowing (e.g. G *kontrollieren*, *Protekt-*), facilitates the application of multisourced neologisation. This is expressed in Zuckermann’s (2003: 53) CONGRUENCE PRINCIPLE (see also Thomason & Kaufman 1988), which predicts that “if a similar item exists in more than one contributor –whether primary or secondary (including the TL)– it is more likely to persist in the TL”. This is why cases of multisourced neologisation are so hard to detect. Only semantic loans, which are addressed in the next section, possess a comparable degree of subtlety.

4. Widening the perspective: calquing in Modern Standard German

As mentioned in §1 above, German has a reputation for calquing. Despite the prevalent opinion that this subtle type of camouflaged borrowing has somehow lost its impetus in contemporary German, the sizeable amount of recent calques demonstrates that this may be a misperception. Especially in the field of semantic loans and calques that introduce a new phrase, German seems to be rather creative, perhaps even too subtle for the untrained eye. This brief look at calquing in Modern German uses the categorisation in Zuckermann (2003: 39), according to whether the calque introduces a new sememe, a new word (simple/complex) or a new phrase. In addition, cases of loan syntax are discussed. The first set of examples represents calques that are traditionally called semantic loans. These are creations that add a new denotation to an already existing lexeme that is phonetically dissimilar to the source language item.

¹⁵ See Hill (2005) and Mailhammer (2007: 137–138) for the reconstruction of Gmc. ⁺*hlada-* with a voiced Verner variant (Gmc. *d*), going back to an original zero grade present that was regularised differently in the Germanic daughter languages (voiceless variant in G *laden* vs. voiced variant in E *load*). I use the raised cross (ˆ) to indicate reconstructed forms and the asterisk (*) to mark ungrammatical forms. In quotations the author’s use is respected.

- (5) Calques introducing an additional denotation (semantic loans):
- a. G *arbeiten* 'work' in "[das] Urinal arbeitet ohne Wasserspülung" '[the] urinal works without flushing' (Zimmer 1997: 38), according to Zimmer under the influence of E *work*
 - b. G *Netz* 'world wide web' < E (*world wide*) *web* / *internet*
 - c. G *Fenster* 'program window' < E *window*
 - d. G *Macher* 'maker, creator' < E *maker*, using G *Macher* 'visionary person who puts his ideas into practice'¹⁶

Calques that enrich the German vocabulary by adding a new word, either simple or complex, represent the prototype of calquing and are commonly termed LOAN TRANSLATIONS. Some of the examples in (6) are in fact original suggestions by the Verein Deutsche Sprache ('German Language Association') that have caught on in everyday usage, in contrast to a host of creations that have not (e.g. *Prellsack* for *Airbag* < E *airbag* and *Tanzorgie* for *Rave* < E *rave*, see Zifonun 2002).

- (6) Calques introducing a new word (loan translations):
- a. G *Datenautobahn* translating E *information highway*
 - b. G *CD-Brenner* translating *CD burner*
 - c. G *Bezahlfernsehen* translating E *pay-TV*
 - d. G *herunterladen/hochladen* translating E *download/upload*
 - e. G *Daumenregel* translating E *rule of thumb*, replacing G *Faustregel*
 - f. G *punkten* translating E *score*

It is interesting that loan translations have a much better reputation than either semantic loans (cf. (5) above) or the following type, namely calques introducing a new phrase, a type that is widely perceived to be more and more common in contemporary German, especially in the eyes of the public debate (see e.g. Sick 2004). This is all the more puzzling because in all cases of calquing receiving language material is used to emulate foreign items, be it a new denotation, a new word or a new phrase. Below (7) is a list of recent loan phrases from English, suggesting that this type of calque is indeed on the rise in Modern German. One of the few well-known historical examples is G

¹⁶ The AWb (862) only includes *Macher* in the original meaning but not in the 'creator' meaning (e.g. *Von den Machern von Findet Nemo kommt jetzt ein neues Filmereignis in die deutschen Kinos* 'A new film by the makers of *Finding Nemo* is coming to cinemas throughout Germany'). The first instance is a loan translation, whereas the second is a semantic loan.

den Hof machen ‘court’ from F *faire la cour*, but it seems likely that in other cases the true origin has merely been forgotten.

- (7) Calquing introducing a new phrase:
- a. G *es macht Sinn* translating E *it makes sense* (see also AWb: 131)
 - b. G *eine gute Zeit haben* translating E *have a good time* (see also AWb: 1740)
 - c. G *nicht wirklich* translating E *not really*
 - d. G *einen guten Job machen* translating E *do a good job*; also *einen guten Job tun* (e.g. German television, ARD WM-Studio, 5th July 2006)
 - e. G *lass es uns tun* translating E *let's do it*
 - f. G *das ist nicht mein Ding* translating E *that's not my thing*
 - g. G *mein Punkt ist* translating E *my point is*
 - h. G *um auf der sicheren Seite zu sein* translating E *to be on the safe side*
 - i. G *stehende Ovationen* translating E *standing ovations*

Note that it is not always easy to verify beyond doubt that a particular phrase is a calque, especially one under the influence of English. The examples in (7) were cross-referred using the COSMAS corpus (www.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2/), which contains German texts going back to the late 18th century. Thus, if a phrase is found already in classical texts of the late 18th and the early 19th century, an English origin seems less likely than if it appears only from the late 20th century onwards. Thus G *keine Idee haben* ‘have no idea’, which is often viewed as an anglicism, is attested in the writings of Goethe, suggesting that it could also have been modelled on F *avoir aucune idée*, not to mention an independent creation, which makes a recent borrowing from English an unnecessary assumption (see also AWb: 41*-45* for a discussion of this problem).¹⁷ In addition, it has to be noted that calques introducing a new phrase are not syntactic but lexical changes, because the syntactic behaviour of German words is not changed. Hence, they are not much different from loan translations, in spite of their bad publicity. However, there are also a few cases of loan syntax, in which the syntactic properties of German words have been changed in accordance with the English model.

¹⁷ Ghil’ad Zuckermann (p.c.) points out that English may nevertheless have reinforced the usage of *keine Idee haben*. He (2003) terms this phenomenon “use intensification”.

- (8) Loan syntax in German:
- a. G *in* + year, e.g. *in 2006*, modelled on E *in* + year (*in 2006*) instead of *im Jahr(e) 2006* or simply *2006*
 - b. G *für* + timespan, e.g. *für zwei Wochen*, modelled on E *for* + timespan (*for two weeks*), instead of *zwei Wochen (lang)*
 - c. Adj (proper noun) prespecifying a N, e.g. *ein Jerry Bruckheimer Film*, modelled on an identical construction in English, cf. *a Jerry Bruckheimer film*¹⁸

Loan syntax is a far less common phenomenon in Modern German than the current public debate suggests, and great care must be taken when examining potential cases of such influence. For instance, non-academic publications, such as Zimmer (1997: 41) and Sick (2004) claim that G *erinnern* + accusative object instead of reflexive *sich an etwas erinnern* (with prepositional object) is modelled on E *remember something*, which is far from certain considering the fact that the first construction has been common in Northern German for quite a while.

5. Conclusion

This paper applies the concepts of multisourced neologisation and, more generally, camouflaged borrowing, as established by Zuckermann (2003), to Modern German, pursuing a twofold aim, namely to underline the significance of multisourced neologisation for language contact theory and secondly to demonstrate that together with other forms of camouflaged borrowing it remains an important borrowing mechanism in contemporary German. It makes use of the analysing capacity and the creative potential of the speakers in much the same way as folk etymology and puns do (cf. Ronneberger-Sibold 2002, Zuckermann 2003).

¹⁸ Alternatively, this construction could be analysed as a compound. At any rate, in English the specifying element clearly has adjectival properties, as it can be compared, e.g. *this film is even more Jerry Bruckheimer than the last*. If the German construction likewise represents a sequence of Adj + N then the difference from the standard attributive usage is, of course, that the adjective derived from a personal noun is not inflected, e.g. *Gestern habe ich einen Jerry Bruckheimer Film gesehen* vs. *Gestern habe ich einen schönen Film gesehen*.

Overall, Zuckermann's (2003, 2005) assertion that multisourced neologisation is used in a restricted set of languages is borne out; multisourced neologisation is not highly frequent in Modern German, but it is also far from rare. This is especially true for the type referred to in §3 as semantic shifting, which is perhaps even more common than it would appear at first glance. Calquing, however, continues to be a major phenomenon of borrowing despite the ongoing public debate in Germany suggesting the contrary. Although German is not one of the prototypical languages using multisourced neologisation identified by Zuckermann (2003), it exists within a constellation that seems to be well disposed to multisourced neologisation and calquing, especially if the source language is English. This is because English and German possess a number of lexical congruities, either through common heritage or through earlier borrowing processes, which is a good prerequisite for multisourced neologisation. Moreover, just like English, German allows the formation of compounds, which is very helpful in the creation of phonetic and traditional calques. In addition, English words and phrases are generally transparent to speakers of German, which facilitates their camouflaged adaptation/adoption, either consciously or accidentally. These factors, therefore, extend Zuckermann's (2003) list of prototypical languages using multisourced neologisation, which could then be reformulated as a list of circumstances that are favourable for camouflaged borrowing.

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