# Exploring discourse on globalizing English

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A case study of discourse on anglicisms in German

> By recognizing our uncanny strangeness, we shall neither suffer from it nor enjoy it from the outside. The foreigner is within me, hence we are all foreigners. If I am a foreigner, there are no foreigners.
>
> Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves* (1991)

Is Kristeva's dissolution of the notion 'foreign' also applicable to language? The nature of language as a semiotic system of arbitrarily bound units of meaning and form determines the essential foreignness of signifier and signified. As such, every linguistic unit is indeed intrinsically foreign on the level of designation and, thus, there is no foreign language. On the surface of human communication, however, incomprehensibility among speakers can emerge as a criterion of foreignness. The perception of the foreign in language is particularly tied to situations of contact between different language-cultural areas. Such contact can occur internally in a multilingual speaker or can be observed externally as happening in the speech community. In both ways, crucial to language contact is a perceived intertwining of linguistic units from at least two distant, i.e. incomprehensible, codes culturally rooted in diverse speech communities. The last few decades have put the English language into the limelight of language contact since, as the voice of globalization, English contributes as a major source of language influence worldwide. As such English is, on the one hand, praised for its potential of building a common linguistic bridge facilitating cross-cultural communication. On the other hand, English is decried as a latent threat to cultural and linguistic diversity and seen as a restrictive instrument of social power. These ambivalent attitudes about the function of what can be termed *globalizing English* are the major forces underlying discourse about the role and function of English in various language-cultural areas.

On the background of English influence on the German language, this article will explore how the presence of English is meta-discursively reflected in public and academic discourse. After setting a general frame of polarity between public and academic views on anglicisms in German, largely based on earlier research, particular focus will be given to the conceptualizations of language and language contact. A juxtaposition of main conceptual metaphors underlying discourse in both domains will indicate the basic commonalities and differences of public and academic reasoning on the issue.

## Polarity between academic and public views in discourse on anglicisms

In a comprehensive study on discourse on anglicisms in the German press, Spitzmüller



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(2005) shows that today, purism emerges as the most distinctive feature separating academic and public views. This is based on the fact that linguistic thought generally conceives of language as an open system that is constantly subject to change while public opinion tends to see language as a closed system of inviolable norms. Thus, contact-induced language change is regarded as a natural process in linguistics whereas opinions following from the conceptualization of language as a discretely bounded entity can perceive other language influence as causing unwanted change in the status quo of language.

The difference between academic opinions and purist public attitudes emerges from the recent history of discourse in anglicism research and public criticism in German. In the second half of the twentieth century, concomitant with major developments in language contact research (cf. Betz, 1936, 1949; Haugen, 1950; Weinreich, 1953), the first large-scale descriptive studies on anglicisms in German were conducted. The works by Zindler (1959); Carstensen (1965); Carstensen & Galinsky (1975), and Fink (1968) described the rising impact of English on German by investigating the use of English borrowings in German press publications. These studies were centrally concerned with classifying various shades of English influence from calques to direct borrowings in line with Betz's taxonomy of loan influences. Furthermore, these studies investigated patterns of orthographical and morphological integration of English loans in German and outlined some of the reasons why English elements turned into popular additions to the German language.

In a way, these studies defined the field for the next three decades of anglicism research, which was characterized by a great number of investigations expounding on the use of English terms in different regional varieties of German (cf., among others, Bus, 1980; Koller, 1978; Lehnert, 1990; K. Viereck, 1986), in the field of technical languages (cf. Allenbacher, 1999; Schmitt, 1985), and by focussing on specific features of integration (e.g., gender assignment, cf. Carstensen, 1980; Gregor, 1983). In line with the widespread perception that the influence of English is constantly increasing in German, a number of scholars tried to test this hypothesis by quantifying the number of anglicisms. Most notably, Yang (1990) provides a diachronic cross-section of occurrences in the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* for the years 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980. Throughout this period, he notes a slight but steady increase from an average of 2.93 anglicisms per *Spiegel*-page in 1950 to 4.94 anglicisms in 1980 (1990:35–36). A similarly small increase in the number of anglicisms per page in other German press publications is reported in Lee (1996:30), who counts 4.47 in 1988 and 6.14 in 1992 as a token of the increase of anglicisms in the GDR from shortly before to after the fall of the regime. Schelper (1995) determines the number of anglicisms from a random sample of Austrian, German, and Swiss newspapers from 1949 to 1989. She observes yearly fluctuation in her data that is, however, still indicative of a general rise. As one of the highest rates of increase, her sample of the Austrian newspaper *Die Presse* shows 123 anglicisms in 1949 and 210 in 1989 (this count also includes potential calques as anglicisms). Most recently, the corpus study by Onysko (2007) determines an increase in the number of frequently used anglicisms in the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* from 12.725 tokens in 1993 to 19.965 in 2000 (2007:125). This increase is particularly due to the growing frequency in usage of IT-anglicisms (e.g., *E-Mail*, *Internet*, *Cyberspace*, *Homepage*, *Software*, *Web*, *online*, and the pseudo anglicism *Handy* 'cell phone'). In addition, the complete elicitation of *Der Spiegel* of the year 2000 has established 1.11% of all word-tokens and 5.24% of all word-types as anglicisms in German (2007:114). This underlines the overall marginal quantitative impact of English on general German, particularly since the newsmagazine is both regarded as rather innovative in language use and open to the integration of English loans. Altogether, the evidence of these studies shows a slight increase in the number of English terms used in German contexts over time; this, however, does not support any claims for a massive influx of English words into German, which is sometimes presented as a given fact in critical public statements on the contact between the two languages.

Recently, anglicism research in German has extended its empirical base to the analysis of spoken language (mostly in TV transmissions, cf. Glahn, 2002), to investigating specialized use of anglicisms (e.g., in advertisements, where the presence of anglicisms is more pronounced, partly due to the influence of global advertising), and to cross-linguistic case studies of anglicism use (cf., e.g., Plümer, 2000 for a



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comparison of anglicisms in French and in German, and Nettmann-Multanowska, 2003 for German and Polish; also cf. an earlier study by Jabloński, 1990 on English internationalisms in German, Polish, and French). Yet another approach to investigating possible English influences on German is pursued as part of research at the center for multilingualism at Hamburg University. Here, the hypothesis is put to the test that translation offers a pathway for English textual conventions to sneak into German (cf. House & Rehbein, 2004).

Apart from these generally descriptive studies, Carstensen & Busse have advanced the understanding of potential English lexical influence on German with their milestone lexicographical achievement of the German Dictionary of Anglicisms (*Anglizismenwörterbuch*) published in 3 volumes (1993, 1994, 1996). The particular merit of their work is the meticulous description of English loans and potential calques that is supported by a plethora of citations showing essential usage contexts of the anglicisms.

Despite the developments of anglicism research since the second half of the twentieth century, a lot of ground still needs to be covered in the field. To name just two important pathways of future research, it seems, first of all, necessary to expand corpus linguistic approaches, particularly with the help of computational means to automatically detect English loans. A first promising step in the direction of software development has been taken by Alex's (2008) design of an English inclusion classifier targeted for German and French texts. Automated detection of anglicisms is vital for drawing more substantial and detailed quantitative conclusions and for allowing a broader, comparative perspective of English influence on other languages. To tackle the issue of anglicisms from a cross-linguistic point of view indeed appears as the second major challenge of research as this would permit understanding the effects of English as a globalizing language on a more synthetic and comprehensive base. In the European context, Görlach's publications – (*English in Europe,* 2002, and *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms*, 2001) – offer a first step in this direction. Such approaches, however, would need to be unified by a cogent model of language contact that explains and predicts the similarities and differences found in individual contact scenarios between globalizing English and other languages. In addition, transnational research co-operations are imperative for allowing a diversified and detailed grasp on the use of English, including such immanent concerns as investigating speakers' attitudes to the occurrence of English (cf. Päivi et.al., 2008, for a recent questionnaire-based study in Finland).

Researching attitudes is also essential for building a bridge between scholarly and public concerns which, as indicated above, perceive English influence from rather distant perspectives. As the studies by Spitzmüller (2005) and Pfalzgraf (2006) show, public discourse on anglicisms in German has experienced an upsurge of purism since the 1980s. Spitzmüller (2005:113) links this fact to a general renationalization of anglicism discourse in the eighties and nineties latently caused by allied politics after World War II, and foremost because of the rising economic and technological dominance of the USA. Similarly, Pfalzgraf (2006:311) stresses the role of the USA as a sole superpower (after the breakdown of the USSR) and the reunification of Germany as reasons for increasing neo-purist tendencies in the early nineties.

Two events appear as particularly crucial for the shaping of public opinion in the nineties. First of all, the passing of the *Loi Toubon* in France, which restricts the use of English terminology in official documents (cf. Grigg, 1997), has set off a discussion for similar legislation in Germany. As Spitzmüller (2005:129) reports, this politicization of anglicism discourse intensified at the beginning of the new millennium when a delegate of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) put in an official request for a law protecting the German mother tongue against anglicisms ('Schutz der deutschen Muttersprache vor Anglizismen'). Such a step, however, was not considered necessary and was brushed off by the government. Thus far, the political climate has disfavoured a language law and has taken a stance of non-interference. A statement by the then president of the Bundestag, Wolfgang Thierse, is indicative of the political attitude at the time:

> Pauschale Fremdwortablehnung und deutschtümelnder Purismus wären dagegen im Zeitalter der Europäisierung und Globalisierung wenig sinnvoll. Der inflationäre und gedankenlose Gebrauch von Fremdwörtern kann zu Verständnisschwierigkeiten, auch zum Verlust von Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten unserer Muttersprache führen. Sinnvoll und sensibel verwendet, können Anglizismen und



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> Amerikanismen jedoch unsere Sprache ergänzen, unser Denken erweitern, unsere Kultur insgesamt bereichern. (Thierse, 2001; qtd. in Spitzmüller, 2005:135)
>
> [Outright rejection of foreign words and Germanizing purism are not reasonable in times of Europeanization and globalization. The inflationary and thoughtless use of foreign words can lead to difficulties in understanding, even to a loss of means of expression in our mother tongue. Reasonably and sensitively employed, however, anglicisms and americanisms can complement our language, expand our thinking, and, on the whole, enrich our culture.]

This statement decries purist tendencies as irrelevant in the current context of Europeanization and globalization while, at the same time, it appeals to reason and sensitivity in the use of English in German. Such a benevolent but cautious attitude to anglicisms is representative for non-purist public opinions (see below).

Apart from politicization of anglicism discourse, critical voices on the occurrence of English in German found an institutional organ with the foundation of the Association of the German language (*Verein Deutsche Sprache*) in 1997. As described on its webpage, a major goal of this association is to 'protect the German language against being displaced by English' <http://www.vds-ev.de> December 2008). According to Spitzmüller (2005) and Pfalzgraf (2006) the founding members of the association are particularly prone to using purist imagery in decrying the use of English in German (see below for examples). After a detailed analysis of purist traces of anglicism discourse on the Internet, in pamphlets, and in other publicly available written documents, Pfalzgraf (2006:64) establishes a set of characteristic arguments in purist criticism. These are summarized in the following:

- Anglicisms (as mixing of German and English) are generally considered as bad style. They violate the aesthetic integrity of German.
- The users of anglicisms are described as half-educated, as superficially and carelessly following a fashionable fad, and as using English as a means of showing off.
- Anglicisms are vague and they intentionally obscure meaning to deceive people (e.g., in advertisements). They generally create problems of understanding.
- Sometimes the former state of German is referred to as a role model. This strategy frequently involves calling upon iconic historical personae in German literature and philosophy.
- Finally, the occurrence of anglicisms in German can be put into a larger scheme of US political plans to Americanize the world (complot theory).

Thus far, the article has sketched the evolving scholarly tradition of anglicism research, which tends to describe the phenomenon in neutral terms of language change. At the same time, this section has focussed on the resurgence of purist tendencies towards the occurrence of anglicisms in German. This raises the question: on which conceptual grounds are these divergent views of the same phenomenon based?

In order to answer this question, conceptual metaphor theory emerges as a proper tool for investigating how academic and public views frame their understanding of language in general and of anglicisms as peculiar foreign elements of a language. On the linguistic side of the coin, conceptualizations are established from common theories of language contact as given in Clyne (2003), Coetsem (2000), Field (2002), Muysken (2000), Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002), Onysko (2007), and Thomason (2001). For reasons of space, the individual theories are not explicated in more detail here, but are taken at their common metaphorical core of conceptualizing language and contact. To exemplify underlying conceptual structures of public discourse on anglicisms in German, recent articles on the topic were selected from the German newspaper *Die Welt*, between September 2007 and September 2008. A search via Lexis Nexis in headlines and lead paragraphs has yielded 9 articles that explicitly deal with the issue of anglicisms. Two of them are interviews with people involved in *Verein Deutsche Sprache (VDS)*, Wolf Schneider, author of a popular book on supposedly proper usage of German, and Walter Krämer, president of the association. The remaining seven articles and short squibs take a more neutral stance on the issue. The following two sections take a closer look at the conceptualizations of public discourse emerging from the newspaper articles and on how, by contrast, language and language contact is conceptualized among linguists.



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## Conceptual metaphors in public anglicism discourse

To commence the analysis with the two interviews that, among the articles found in *Die Welt*, represent most outspoken criticism on the usage of anglicisms in German, it is, first of all, interesting to note the striking parallels in the application of argumentative devices. These are generally reminiscent of purist discourse framing. Thus, at the beginning the respondents give a personal statement that clearly positions their opinion (1). This position is supported in the following by pseudo-factual information (2).

1 Personal statement as opener:

> "Jeder, der die deutsche Sprache versaubeutelt, ist mein erklärter Feind", sagt Wolf Schneider. (*Die Welt*, September 13, 2008)
> ['Everyone who is ruining the German language is my avowed enemy', says Wolf Schneider]

> Zunächst mal haben wir keinen Schaum vor dem Mund. Wir lassen alle Leute nach ihrer Fasson selig werden. (Walter Krämer, *Die Welt*, January 10, 2008)
> [At first, we do not have foam on our mouth. We let people be happy according to their own wishes.]

2 Pseudo-factual information as support

> Außerdem beherrschen 60 Prozent der Deutschen gar kein Englisch. Und von den 40 Prozent, die behaupten, sie verstehen es, können es 35 bis 38 Prozent nur unzulänglich. Nach meiner Schätzung versteht höchstens ein Prozent der Deutschen wirklich alles und verwendet es auch richtig. (Wolf Schneider, *Die Welt*, September 13, 2008)
> [Furthermore, 60 percent of Germans do not know English at all. And the 40 percent who claim they do in fact, for 35 to 38 percent, only have limited knowledge of the language. According to my estimate only one percent of Germans understand everything and can use English appropriately.]

> Von den insgesamt 6000 Anglizismen, die es in der deutschen Sprache gibt, sind sicher 50 bis 100 eine Bereicherung, vor allem im Sport: Zum Beispiel bei "Foul" oder "fair" müsste ich lange überlegen, um Ersatz zu finden. Aber die restlichen 5900 Anglizismen sind so nötig wie ein Kropf. (Walter Krämer, *Die Welt*, January 10, 2008)
> [Among the total of 6000 anglicisms that can be found in the German language, 50 to 100 anglicisms are certainly enriching, particularly in sports. For example, I would have to think very hard to find a substitute for 'foul' or 'fair'. The remaining 5900 anglicisms, however, are as necessary as a goiter.]

As further strategies that are typical of a purist complaint tradition, both interviewees denounce the Germans' mentality towards their own language and their allegedly subservient adoration of American English language and culture. These statements serve as indirect appeals to overcome a diagnosed inferiority complex, to abandon a state of serfdom, and to be self-confident in being and speaking German (3). Finally, Wolf Schneider also takes recourse to a historical role model in order to moralize on the conditions that render English borrowings felicitous in German (4).

3 Germans as lacking self-confidence

> Wir hängen uns in viel stärkerem Maße als die romanischen Völker an das Englische an, sind auf eine perverse Weise stolz darauf, dass wir unsere Sprache verleugnen. (Wolf Schneider, *Die Welt*, September 13, 2008)
> [We stick much more closely to English than Romance peoples, we are proud in a perverse way of repudiating our language]

> Entweder sind wir übermütig und wollen die halbe Welt erobern. Oder - wenn uns das Gott sei Dank misslungen ist - wir küssen aller Welt die Füße und wollen so wenig deutsch sein wie möglich. Diese Einstellung finde ich traurig und ekelhaft. (Wolf Schneider, *Die Welt*, September 13, 2008)
> [We are either carefree and want to conquer half of the world; or – after we fortunately failed to do that – we kiss the feet of everyone and strive to be as little German as possible. I think this attitude is sad and disgusting.]

> Seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg betrachten viele deswegen alles, was das Beiwort Deutsch mit sich führt, als etwas Minderwertiges. (Walter Krämer, *Die Welt*, January 10, 2008)
> [This is why since the Second World War many consider everything bearing the attribute German as something inferior.]

4 Recourse to historical role models

> Am besten hat das Voltaire vor über 200 Jahren formuliert. Er sagte, wenn man ein fremdes Wort importieren will, muss es erstens nötig sein, zweitens allgemein verständlich und sich drittens angenehm aussprechen lassen. (Wolf Schneider, *Die Welt*, September 13, 2008)

> [This was expressed best by Voltaire more than 200 years ago. He said that if one would like to import a foreign word, it has to be necessary



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first of all, secondly be comprehensible for everyone, and thirdly be conveniently pronounceable.]

In order to dig deeper into the structure of public discourse, the analysis will shift to the metaphorical images used in these interviews and in the other articles. The analysis follows Lakoff & Johnson's (2003 [1980]) framework of cognitive metaphor theory as it has been applied by numerous scholars since. The particular hypothesis for this study is that the metaphoric imagery in anglicism discourse is indicative of underlying conceptualizations of language and the occurrence of anglicisms. In addition, an analysis of metaphors as embedded conceptualizations from primary to more elaborate mappings can help to explain the similarities and the differences between public and academic discourse on anglicisms in German.

The main conceptual metaphors arising from the interviews and the articles were extracted from the texts and are summarized below. At the end, they will be set into relation in order to show at which level of metaphoric conceptualization public and academic discourse diverge in their understanding of language and change and, thus, in their attitude towards anglicisms in German.

To continue with public purist discourse, particularly the interviews with members of *VDS* unveil the following types of conceptual metaphors:

5 LANGUAGE IS A MATERIAL ENTITY

5a GERMAN IS A PRECIOUS OBJECT [LANGUAGE CONTACT IS HARMFUL PHYSICAL ACTION ON THE OBJECT (LANGUAGE)] (by implication maltreatment implies loss of preciousness)

"Jeder, der die deutsche Sprache versaubeutelt, ist mein erklärter Feind", sagt Wolf Schneider. (*Die Welt*, September 13, 2008)
['Everyone who is ruining the German language is my avowed enemy', says Wolf Schneider]

…eine verächtliche Behandlung unseres Kulturguts (Walter Krämer, January 10, 2008)
[…a despicable treatment of our cultural good]

5b GERMAN IS A LIQUID SUBSTANCE [LANGUAGE CONTACT IS MIXING OF LIQUID SUBSTANCES] (by implication mixing causes impurity)

Die Verfechter der reinen Lehre, die sprachliche Mischformen als Panscherei geißeln,... (Hendrik Werner, *Die Welt*, May 16, 2008)
[The advocates of pure doctrine who castigate mixed forms of language as adulteration]

Das war ein wachsender Überdruss mit einer unerträglichen Vermanschung des Deutschen mit dem Englischen. (Walter Krämer, *Die Welt*, January 2008)
[That was growing weariness about an unsustainable adulteration of German with English]

6 LANGUAGE IS AN ORGANIC (INANIMATE) ENTITY

6a GERMAN IS GROWING VEGETATION [LANGUAGE CONTACT IS HARMFUL PHYSICAL ACTION ON VEGETATION] (by implication misuse of language is careless destruction)

Und parallel dazu ein Herumtrampeln unserer Landsleute auf ihrer schönen Sprache (Walter Krämer, *Die Welt*, January 10, 2008)
[And parallel to that a stamping around of our people on their beautiful language]

7 LANGUAGE IS AN ORGANISM [LANGUAGE CONTACT IS POPULATING THE ORGANISM]

7a ANGLICISMS ARE SYMPTOMS OF A SICK ORGANISM

Aber die restlichen 5900 Anglizismen sind so nötig wie ein Kropf. (Walter Krämer, *Die Welt*, January 10, 2008)
[The remaining 5900 anglicisms, however, are as necessary as a goiter.]

Statt in die larmoyanten Kassandrarufe jener Sprachpuristen einzustimmen, die beinahe jeden neuen Anglizismus als Indiz für den baldigen Niedergang des Deutschen werten, setzt Limbach auf eine homöopathische Mischung aus Selbstheilungskräften, dezenter Kulturpolitik und einer Rückbesinnung auf die Stärken und den Wohllaut der eigenen Sprache. (Hendrik Werner, *Die Welt*, May 16, 2008)
[Instead of joining the larmoyant prophecies of doom of language purists, who consider almost every new anglicism as a sign of the immanent demise of German, Limbach counts on a homeopathic mixture of self-healing powers, discreet cultural politics, and on a reappraisal of the expressive powers and euphony of the own language.]

7b ANGLICISMS ARE A PEST

Dass wir in Deutschland von Gesetzes wegen Anglizismen jagen, halte ich bei dem hier herrschenden Klima nicht für durchsetzbar. (Wolf Schneider, *Die Welt*, September 13, 2008)



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[I don't think that the political climate in Germany allows any legal measures to hunt anglicisms.]

As the examples show, purist imagery in the discourse samples is built upon conceptualizing language as a material entity, as an organic (inanimate entity), and as an organism. The particular evaluative traits that depart from these general conceptualizations of language towards negative assessments of English influence on German draw upon images of mistreatment, impurity (mixing), carelessness, and inflicted sickness. As such, contact with English is depicted as harmful physical action on the (in)organic entity of German, and English elements, i.e. anglicisms, are perceived as aggressors and dangerous substances impinging on the integrity and functional, i.e. healthy, state of German.

As far as non-purist public discourse is concerned, the metaphoric conceptualizations of the use of anglicisms in German are summarized below. The examples are taken from the remaining seven articles in *Die Welt* that discuss the influence of English on German from a more balanced perspective.

8 LANGUAGE IS A MATERIAL ENTITY

8a GERMAN IS AN OBJECT IN NEED OF CARE

"Die deutsche Sprache ist ein Kulturgut, das es sorgfältig zu pflegen gilt" Senatorin Karin von Welck (Simone Meyer, *Die Welt*, August 6, 2008)
['The German language is a cultural good that has to be tended with care.' Senator Karin von Welck]

Regionalleiter Hans Kaufmann etwa betrachtet die Pflege der Muttersprache als mögliche Aufgabe des Unterrichts. (Simone Meyer, *Die Welt*, August 7, 2008)
[Regional director Hans Kaufmann, for example, sees care for the mother tongue as a possible task of school education]

9 LANGUAGE IS AN ORGANIC ENTITY

9a GERMAN IS AN ORGANISM IN NEED OF CARE

"Trotzdem ist es um die Pflege und Förderung der deutschen Sprache auch in Hamburg leider nicht gut bestellt", sagt der frühere Rektor des Charlotte-Paulsen-Gymnasiums. (Simone Meyer, *Die Welt*, August 6, 2008)
['Despite that care and promotion of the German language is also not well-established in Hamburg', says the former rector of Charlotte-Paulsen-Gymnasium.]

10 LANGUAGE CONTACT IS MIGRATION

10a ANGLICISMS ARE MIGRANTS INTO GERMAN

…dem entgegenzuwirken, dass immer mehr amerikanische Wörter in die deutsche Sprache einziehen. (Simone Meyer, *Die Welt*, August 7, 2008)
[…to oppose the fact that more and more American terms move into the German language.]

Der Gedanke, dass sich gerade starke Sprachen durch das Aus- und Einwandern von Wörtern und Begriffen gegenseitig bereichern, ist den Sprachpuristen fremd. (Hendrik Werner, *Die Welt*, May 16, 2008)
[The thought that especially strong languages enrich each other due to emigration and immigration of words is unknown to language purists.]

10b ANGLICISMS ARE GOODS IMPORTED INTO GERMAN

Die übermäßige Einfuhr fremder Ausdrücke durch offizielle Vorgaben zu stoppen, lehnen die meisten Hamburger Politiker bisher ab. (Simone Meyer, *Die Welt*, August 7, 2008)
[So far, most politicians in Hamburg reject stopping the excessive importation of foreign terms with the help of official measures]

While on a general conceptual level, non-purist public discourse draws on similar basic metaphors conceiving of language as a material and as an organic entity, different evaluative imagery distinguishes purist from non-purist conceptualizations of English influence. Thus, images of danger, impurity, and destruction, which depict German as a passive victim of harmful English infiltrations, are cancelled in this sample of non-purist public opinions. Instead, German is conceptualized as an entity that has to be well-tended and taken care of. Furthermore, the examples of non-purist public discourse show that contact with English is conceptualized as an act of migration. Accordingly, anglicisms emerge as migrating people or as imported goods which do not pose a threat to their recipient German. In contrast to purist discourse, the lack of danger in migratory contact with English is emphasized by portraying German as an active host who is in power to decide upon accepting or refusing the English migrants. In the second excerpt in (15a) migration of words between separate language-areas is evaluated positively as mutual enrichment.



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## Conceptual metaphors of language and language contact in linguistics

Shifting the focus to basic conceptualizations of language in the field of linguistics, mainly two related views structure the metaphorical understanding of language: (a) LANGUAGE IS A COLLECTIVE ENTITY (SYSTEM) EXTERNAL TO A SPEAKER, and (b) LANGUAGE IS A SYSTEM CONTAINED IN A SPEAKER'S MIND. Theories relying on an understanding of language according to (a) are inspired by a sociolinguistic view which characterizes language as an abstract system uniting the sum of variation in a certain regionally and socially bound speaker community. As such, language is speaker externally bound to a community of language practice. By contrast, a linguistic understanding of language that is based on (b) emphasizes the containment of language in a speaker's mind as the center of perceiving and producing speech. As an essentially cognitive conception of language, (b) has given rise to various mentalistic models of language such as Universal Grammar and its modifications, the Dual Mechanism Hypothesis (Pinker, 2001), Optimality Theory (Prince & Smolensky, 1993), evolutional logic in language development (Ritt, 2004) and in language use (e.g., naturalness, economy, markedness, cf. Dressler, 1985). Over the last few decades, (b) has also inspired the rapid growth and theory development in cognitive linguistics, e.g., conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003 [1980]; Köveczes, 2005), usage-based network modelling of language (Bybee, 1985, 2001), semantic frames (Fillmore, 1982), Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 1999, 2008), prototypes and categorization (Lakoff, 1987; Geeraerts, 2006), Construction Grammar, (Goldberg, 2006; Croft, 2001), conceptual blending theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002), to name the most prominent approaches. This division in two basic conceptualizations of language as a speaker-externally bound and a speaker-internally bound system is not to say that linguistic models follow an either/or choice in theory construction. It is in fact quite common that both domains are accounted for in one way or other. Among others, functional grammar, for example, consistently draws on both domains of boundedness of language (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Both from a speaker-external and from a speaker-internal perspective, linguistic reasoning is generally grounded on a conception of language as an open (unbounded) entity/system constantly subject to change and where a limited set of forms and combinational schemas allow for unlimited ways of expression.

The basic vision of language as socially bound and as mentally bound is also reflected in the two general pathways of language change as happening internally to the system and as externally induced. As a synonym for externally induced language change, language contact is thus conceptualized as happening on the social pane of transmission of language elements from one language to another (LANGUAGE CONTACT IS TRANSMISSION OF ELEMENTS BETWEEN SOCIALLY BOUND LANGUAGE SYSTEMS). This metaphor is frequently invoked for characterizing the role of globalizing English when it is a socially distant source language donating anglicisms to various receptor languages (cf. Onysko, 2007). Coetsem's (2000) theory of transmission in language contact most explicitly follows from this basic conceptualization of language contact. As a speaker-internal process, on the other hand, language contact is metaphorically depicted as involving the interaction of diverse language systems within a speaker's mind (LANGUAGE CONTACT IS INTERNAL INTERACTION AND OVERLAP OF LANGUAGE SYSTEMS). Models of language contact that mainly reflect this imagery relate to the fields of bi- and multilingual speech phenomena as researched in, for example, the works of Clyne (2003), Muysken (2000), Myers-Scotton (2002), and Paradis (2004), to name just a few major publications. Again, comprehensive models of language contact have to strive for combining insights based on both the social and the cognitive domain as has been stressed explicitly in Thomason & Kaufmann (1988) and Thomason (2001). In this way, more isolated attempts of describing language contact as the interaction of abstract language systems removed from both social and cognitive grounds (cf., for example, Field's (2002: 40–41) typologically-based principles of system compatibility/incompatibility) have to be grounded in a socio-cognitive context of a specific language contact scenario.

## Joining metaphors from public and academic discourse on language contact (anglicisms)

After the conceptual metaphoric analysis of text samples exemplifying public discourse on



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English influence on German, and after providing a condensed overview of major conceptualizations of language and language contact from a linguistic point of view, this final section will summarize the metaphors of both discourse domains. Setting the various conceptual metaphors in relation to each other allows discerning their commonalities and disentangling their characteristic differences. In addition, the joined illustration of conceptual metaphors can help to understand the underlying conceptualizations that render public and academic discourse on English influence incompatible at times. The joined portrayal of conceptual metaphors follows a gradual cline of conceptualization from more basic, primary metaphors (on top) to more explicit, specific conceptualizations (at the bottom). This is in line with Grady's (1997) postulate of primary metaphors that form basic constituents of more complex conceptual metaphors.

On a primary level, as the top of Figure 1 shows, both discourse domains ground their understanding of language on its conceptualization as an entity. This conception of language emerges from a general cognitive process of understanding the non-physical/ abstract as physical/concrete. Essential for structuring our understanding along these lines is the basic image schema of CONTAINMENT (cf. Johnson, 1987), which allows us to discern (spatial) relationships and dependencies among physical and, by extension, abstract elements and which generally structures our perception of the world and our being as grounded in nested structures of containment. Language is both physical (as perceived sounds, as visible gestures, and as visible or tactile scripts) and abstract (as cognitive competence) as already expressed in Saussure's dual characterization of language as *parole* and *langue*. Thus, when it comes to conceptualizing the abstract nature of

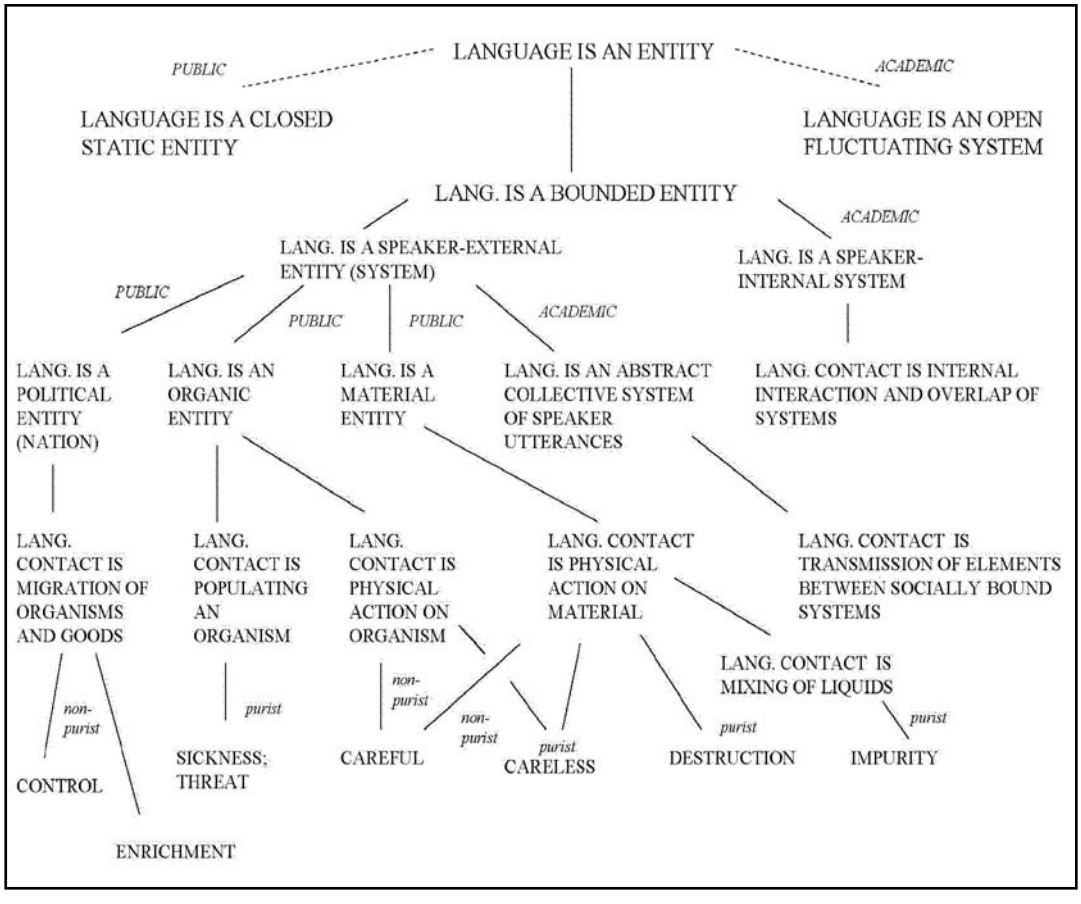



Figure 1: Joined illustration of conceptual metaphors in public and linguistic (academic) discourse



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language, mapping properties of its physical aspects (e.g. boundedness and containment) is cognitively speaking close at hand.

Taking the conception of language as an entity as fundamental, public and academic discourse tend to diverge immediately in their conception of language as a closed, static entity vs. as an open, fluctuating system. Building on the central notion of containment, language is generally metaphorized as a bounded entity. In linguistic modelling, language is contained internally in the mind of a speaker and language contact is thus conceived of as interacting systems of language in a speaker's mind. This conceptualization is usually not exploited in public discourse on English influence on German. An understanding of language as a bounded entity external to an individual speaker, however, gives rise to various more specific conceptualizations evident in public opinions on the issue. Thus, apart from the sociolinguistic view of language as bounded in a community of speakers, which evokes the metaphoric conception of language contact as transmission of language elements between speaker communities, public discourse tends to depict language in more concrete terms of speaker-external entities. The data from *Die Welt* contains conceptualizations of language as a material, organic, and political entity. These images give rise to related metaphorizations of language contact as physical action on material, as physical action on an organism, as growth and change of an organism, and as language contact as migration. The latter conceptualization is closely related to the mainly academic view of contact as transmission of language elements from source to receptor language.

Following the cognitive embedding of conceptual metaphors on language from a more general to a more specific level so far, it appears that public and academic discourse derive their understanding from a common primary metaphoric level of language as a bounded entity. While speaker-internal boundedness seems to be a sole characteristic of academic discourse, public discourse tends to construct an understanding of language on a more concrete material, organic, and social base. In turn, these conceptualizations evoke certain types of metaphors of language contact which can potentially be used to express purist and non-purist attitudes towards English influence on German. In fact, as the bottom of Figure 1 shows, purist imagery is tied to specific evaluative notions such as destruction, impurity, sickness, and threat, which enforce the image of German as a powerless victim. Non-purist evaluations of English influence, on the other hand, emphasize the vitality of the German language and draw on positive traits such as taking care, enrichment, and reasonable control. Thus, assessments of the impact of English on German emerge from a conceptual metaphoric mapping that includes these qualitative traits. These findings are in line with an earlier study on conceptual metaphors in German discourse on anglicisms by Osthus & Polzin-Haumann (2006:92–99), whose most prominent set of conceptual metaphors characteristic for purist discourse are extensions of the destruction theme (LANGUAGE CONTACT IS WAR, LANGUAGE CONTACT IS DESTRUCTION OF A BUILDING, and LANGUAGE CONTACT IS A NAT URAL CATASTROPHE).

## Conclusion: understanding discourse on globalizing English

A major effect of the globalizing function of English is the integration and use of anglicisms in various language-cultural areas. Such usage gives rise to different reactions among speakers ranging from attraction to repulsion. According to the central ideal of objectivity in science, linguists, on the other hand, usually strike an observant, descriptive, and generally unemotional tone when it comes to the assessment of English influence. On the background of this duality in discourse between public and academic opinions, this case study has taken up the issue on how discourse on the use of anglicisms is conceptually structured in the context of English influence on German. The analysis of primary conceptualizations of language emphasizes the basic divide between language as a closed and static entity vs. an open and fluctuating system. While language is generally understood as a bounded entity, academic models of language and contact emphasize speaker-internal boundedness and speaker-external, social boundedness. Laymen descriptions of languages and contact, on the other hand, favour more concrete physical imagery. In this sense, purist imagery draws on conceptual metaphors that emphasize aspects of destruction, impurity, danger, and carelessness. Accordingly, anglicisms are metaphorized as causing sickness, destruction, and



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demise of German. Utilizing largely the same general conceptual metaphors, non-purist opinions, by contrast, are based on specific metaphoric mappings that stress the power of the German language and the aspect of caregiving.

In order to shed more light on the conceptualizations of English influence on German, the scope of the present study would have to be extended considerably to larger samples of public discourse. Despite that, this investigation indicates that for understanding the current influence of English on a global scale, it is not only important to research its linguistic effects but also to focus on its reception in the diverse speech communities. Comprehending the metaphoric conceptualizations that lie beneath diverse opinions on the use of English in other languages appears as a necessary step towards increasing a language user's sensibility for the application and effects of discursive imagery, and, as such, it could help to foster mutual understanding between academic and public views on the issue. ■

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