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Matt Garley
CUNY York College

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Seen and not heard: The relationship of orthography, morphology, and phonology in loanword adaptation in the German hip hop community online

Matt Garley
York College / CUNY
mgarley@york.cuny.edu

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1. Introduction

As part of what Androutsopoulos (2006: 420) describes as a “first wave” of research on computer-mediated communication, much was made of the “hybrid combination of written and spoken features” characteristic of online linguistic forms and orthography—this type of analysis being represented in, e.g., Crystal (2001). More recent analyses (Herring 2004; Androutsopoulos 2006) have taken a critical view of these early investigations, calling for a nuanced, situated, and less superficial approach to language use online, and the result of these efforts is visible in the last decade of scholarship in the paradigm of computer-mediated discourse analysis (CMDA), a program of research laid out in Herring (2004) and exemplified in Androutsopoulos & Beißwenger (2008). These discourse-centered approaches are of great utility in constructing a more complete and accurate picture of online communication, and I suggest that the considered study of lexical items and their linguistic features (understood here as inclusive of orthography) in online environments is a crucial part of the analysis of discourse. Discourse analysis of computer-mediated communication should include the careful quantitative and qualitative analysis of linguistic and orthographic features, a theme taken up by several authors in Jaffe et al. (2012). In this study, I demonstrate the utility of this approach by examining the case of English borrowings in German. These loanwords' various morphological, phonological, and orthographic features are the primary source of popular perceptions of these loans as *fremd*, or 'foreign', and for this reason, the study of these lexical items, their linguistic features, and their social utility is of great interest to the sociolinguistics of orthography.

The data I use in this study constitute instances of the orthographic nativization of English loanwords in the German-language hip hop community as represented by a large corpus of Internet forum discussions. This dataset was chosen for several reasons. First, German-language data were chosen because of recent public debates regarding perceptions of English influence on the German language, a kind of concern about language which is not entirely unique to Germany, but which has a very long historical, political, and cultural context in the German-speaking sphere (Spitzmüller 2007). Second, an analysis of language in German hip hop culture relates to ongoing research on the emergence of global hip hop, which has been a recent subject of interest in sociolinguistics and related fields (see, e.g., recent volumes from Pennycook (2007), Alim et al. (2009), and Terkourafi (2010)). In addition, Alim (2004: 388) has noted the centrality of linguistic behavior to the practice of hip hop (in

the form of rapping, one of hip hop's traditional 'four elements'), a placement which makes hip hop an ideal ground for the study of linguistic transfer. However, linguistic analysis of rap lyrics poses a conundrum to the researcher: rap lyrics are often carefully composed, edited, and rehearsed; and while extemporaneous compositions exist (a type of rapping known as 'freestyling'), the demands of meter, rhyme, and other concerns of a codified musical genre distance rap lyrics from more prototypical forms of natural language production. In selecting data for analysis, then, I here examine everyday language use among German hip hop fans and artists, focusing on the interaction of English and German in the adaptation of loanwords in a 12.5 million word corpus of German-language Internet discussions centered on hip hop. I collected this corpus (hereafter *the MZEE corpus*) from the forums at <http://www.MZEE.com>, a popular German-language Internet hip hop portal. Discussions included in the corpus span the time period from roughly March of 2000 to March of 2011.

The primary research questions addressed here are: 1) what forms do English-to-German borrowings take in the hip hop community, i.e., how are these borrowings nativized or adapted, and 2) how do community members use and react to these forms? The results of this study stand not only to enrich our understanding of the borrowing process, but also to address the extent to which English borrowings are (or are not) integrated into the German language. This in turn speaks to the sociopolitical question of language decline or decay raised in, e.g., Greiner (2010) in an article in the national newspaper *Die Zeit*, entitled *Ist Deutsch noch zu retten?* featuring the tagline *Englisch ist die Weltsprache. Aber wir können verhindern, dass unsere Muttersprache weiter erodiert*, "Can German still be saved? English is the world language. But we can prevent the further erosion of our mother tongue."

2. The problem

The focus of the present study is a particular orthographic-morphological form borrowed along with English verbs, namely the past participial/past-tense suffix <-ed>.¹ This suffix is *formally salient*, to use Onysko's (2007: 90) terminology in classifying borrowings; in other words, this suffix is visibly foreign to the German reader. In several ways I will discuss throughout this paper, this form exemplifies the interaction of orthography with morphophonology, an interaction which has been discussed only rarely in previous literature. Androutsopoulos' (2000) examination of stylization and orthography in punk fanzines, for example, examines in depth the social and stylistic significance of variants like <z> for <s>, demonstrating that these orthographic stylizations index subcultural meanings, but touches on cross-linguistic influence only in passing. In the remainder of this section, I will introduce the specific inflectional forms discussed in this paper and previous work on the nativization of borrowings in German to provide background for the subsequent analysis.

2.1 Verb tenses and inflectional affixes in English and German

The English and German verbal inflectional systems, being related, share certain features. In each there is a preterite or simple past tense indicated by a past affix (in English *-ed* and in German *-t*, but note that an additional affix for person/number, e.g. *-e* for 3rd person singular, necessarily follows

1 In this article, I will use the convention of angle brackets < > to indicate an orthographic form, square brackets [] to indicate a phonetic form (using IPA notation) and italic script to indicate a wordform or suffix in a general sense (incl. orthography, morphology, and pronunciation.)

the German preterite affix). Likewise, both systems share a present perfect tense formed by the combination of an auxiliary verb—in English an inflected form of *to have*, in German an inflected form of *haben* or *sein*—with a past participle form of the main verb. In English, this past participle is formed for regular verbs with *-ed* (and is thus identical to the simple past), but in German, the past participle for regular verbs is formed with the circumfix *ge- ... -t*. The situation for regular (weak) verbs is compared in Table 1:

Morphological form (person/number/tense shown)	English	German
infinitive	<i>to chew</i>	<i>kau-en</i>
past (3 rd person singular, preterite/simple past)	<i>he chew-ed</i>	<i>er kau-t-e</i>
past participle (present perfect)	<i>he has chew-ed</i>	<i>er hat ge-kau-t</i>

Table 1. Eng. and Ger. inflectional forms: infinitive, past, and past participle.

Two additional inflectional forms are noted in Table 2, as they will play a role later in the analysis. The German 3rd person singular present and plural imperative forms are both formed for regular weak verbs by the addition of the suffix *-t*:

Morphological form (person/number/tense shown)	English	German
(3 rd person singular present)	<i>he chew-s</i>	<i>er kau-t</i>
imperative (pl. only)	<i>(you) chew!</i>	<i>kau-t (euch)!</i>

Table 2. Additional inflectional forms.

There is a regular exception to the rule for past participle formation in German, as articulated by Fagan (2009: 89): “If a verb begins with an unstressed syllable, the *ge-* portion of the circumfix is dropped. This holds for verbs in all classes.” As an example, she provides *stu’dieren* (to study), the past participle of which is *stu’diert* ‘studied’. Note that this form is then identical for such verbs to the 3rd person singular present and plural imperative forms. Hence, the situation as relevant to the present analysis is that German past participle form is produced with *ge- ... -t* or simply *-t* in some cases, which is very much analogous to the English past participle (and simple past) suffix *-ed*, which is variably produced as [d] or [t], depending on its environment (the German form is, being word final, always [t]). The *-t* suffix is also used in German for two other inflections: the third person present singular and the plural imperative.

2.2 Inflection and nativization in borrowings

Several authors have remarked on the variable morphophonological integration or adaptation of loanwords (see, e.g., Haugen 1950, Poplack et al. 1988, Hock 1991), but Eisenberg (2004: 128-130) has produced the only in-depth observational analysis of English borrowings in German that I know of. Eisenberg examines, among other types, borrowed adjectives which take (English) participial forms. He lists *relaxed*, *recycled*, *gelabelled*, *gepuzzled*, and *airconditioned*—these participial adjectives are the only borrowings mentioned in his analysis that include *-ed* forms. (129). In terms of verbs,

Eisenberg finds that these, in general, readily integrate with German syntax and morphology in a predictably structured fashion, using examples like *Er hat gedealt* ‘he had dealt [drugs]’ and *Sie ist [...] gejoggt* ‘she [...] jogged’. Indeed, examinations of anglicisms in the MZEE corpus used for the present study reveal that straightforward integration seems to be the norm for the most common forms, like *rappen*, ‘to rap’, *gedisst*, ‘dissed’, *deepe*, ‘deep’. The use of the <-ed> suffix, however, is also found, and by contrast, does not superficially align with the straightforward application of German morphophonological rules. Hence, this form could be considered a problematic exception to the notion that the nativization or adaptation of English borrowings is in every case a simple process.

3. Linguistic analysis: the participial (and non-participial) –ed suffix

The primary argument set forth in this paper is that while an orthographic <-ed> form is established as a lower-frequency alternative to the German orthographic <-t> suffix in past participles constructed from borrowed English verbs (examples from a Google search include, e.g., *gephotoshopped*, *gejailbreaked*, or on a bottle of popular hair product, *von Stylisten designed* ‘designed by stylists’), there is, within the German hip hop community, a major extension of this <-ed> orthography to syncretic non-participial morphemes realized as *-t* in German. In particular, <-ed> is extended to borrowed English verbs in the 3rd person singular present tense and the plural imperative. While I suggest that the extension of this orthography to the syncretic *-t* suffix used for 3rd person singular and plural imperative forms is largely peculiar to the hip hop community studied here, the primary goal of this section is to establish the existence of this orthographic form and its environments of use. The investigation of forms ending in <-ed> was spurred by an examination of the wordforms *released* and *produced*, which appeared among the most frequent anglicisms identified by a classifier in the corpus. While this classifier is not in focus in the current analysis, it is relevant here to provide a brief outline of the classifier and corpus. The corpus, as mentioned in the introduction, is a roughly 12.5-million-word collection of discussions from the forums at a popular German hip hop website, spanning the date range of about March 2000 through March 2011. The discussions used in the present analysis come from the largest subforum, titled *Hip Hop Diskussion*. The discussions are carried out largely in a mixture of standard and non-standard German, and revolve most centrally around the suggestion and contestation of assessments of various hip hop artists, record labels, producers, and groups, as well as the state of hip hop culture in Germany and abroad. To handle a dataset of this size, a classifier based on the MALLET package (McCallum 2002) was devised, the details of which are presented in Garley & Hockenmaier 2012. The classifier identified candidate anglicisms in the corpus based on orthographic features (characters and combinations of characters) as well as known German/English words and a hand-classified training set. The classifier was modified to produce a recall of 95% (95% of target forms—in this case anglicisms—being identified correctly in the training data) at the cost of lower precision (a larger proportion of false positives). The list of highest-frequency candidates was then weeded by hand, and the appearance of several verb forms ending in <-ed> spurred further targeted investigations in the corpus.

3.1 Participial use of –ed

The borrowed verbs *released* and *produced*, and a large number of others like them, present an interesting orthographic innovation when surrounding context is considered. Examples (1a-b)

demonstrate the use of these verbs as past participles in the perfect tense with the auxiliary verb *haben*, while (1c) demonstrates the use of the participial form in a passive construction:²

(1a) [Post#020569, April 2006]

[...] *Genau dat isset, Azad war früher bekannt dafür das an seinen Alben fast alles selbstgemacht ist, auf dem neuen Album gibts glaub ich ein Lied das er **coproduced** hat, toll was Mehrverkauf mit sich ziehen muß.*

'That's exactly it, Azad was known earlier for the fact that he did almost everything himself on his albums, on the new album [on the other hand], I think there's a single song that he **coproduced**, crazy what mass sales bring with them.'

(1b) [Post #000286, November 2005]

[...] *Zum Thema: Gänsehautfeeling war als Samy aufm Splash 04 Sneak Preview **performed** hat. wie die Menge abgegangen is*

'On the topic: the goosebumps feeling was when Samy [Deluxe] **performed** Sneak Preview [a song] at Splash [hip hop festival] 04. how the crowd went nuts'

(1c) [Post #000848, November 2005]

[...] *Die jetzigen Sachen die dort **released** werden (Candy Shop is das beste Beispiel) werden nur produziert um kommerziell erfolgreich zu sein.*

'The current things that are being **released** there (Candy Shop is the best example) are only produced in order to be commercially successful.'

German morphology regularly forms past participles, with either native or borrowed roots, by taking the prefix *ge-* and the suffix *-t*. For example, the German infinitive *tanzen*, 'to dance' becomes the past participle *ge-tanz-t* 'danced'. In the perfect tense, this co-occurs with the auxiliary verb *haben*, appearing in (1a-b) as *hat*. The use of the nativized fully German-inflected form is standard for some borrowings; for instance, *gerappt* (the past participial form of 'rapped') is found 1,028 times in the corpus, *rapped* 45 times, and *gerapped* only 5 times.

By contrast, **geperformt* / **geperformed*, **gereleast* / **gereleased*, and **geproducet* / **geproduct* / **geproduced* (<c> alone does not represent a phoneme in native German orthography) are not found at all, while the forms *performed*, *released*, and *produced* are readily found in the MZEE corpus. This pattern is explained by the exception to the participial circumfix rule noted by Fagan (2009) and mentioned in Section 2.1 of this paper: these verbs have accent on a non-initial syllable, like German *probieren*, 'to try', *bearbeiten* 'to deal with something', or *buchstabieren*, 'to spell'. These verbs form their past participles without the addition of the prefix *ge-*, i.e., *probiert* rather than **geprobiert*; *bearbeitet* rather than **gebearbeitet*; *buchstabiert* rather than **gebuchstabiert*; see also the example

² Material in square brackets added by the author to indicate omissions (with an ellipsis) or provide clarification.

designed (and not **gedesigned*) in the introduction to this section.

In the case of the <-ed> suffix, the explanation is a bit more complex. Some German irregular verbs keep their infinitive suffixes (-*en*) when they become participles, but <-ed> is not the orthographic representation of an infinitive suffix in English, nor a German suffix at all. <-ed>, however, is the English participial suffix, and is pronounced variably as [d]/[t] in English. Crucially, <-ed> is produced by most German-dominant speakers as an unvoiced [t], i.e., with the same pronunciation as the German past participial suffix -*t*. This outcome is the result of word-final devoicing, or fortition, a productive phonological rule in German causing voiced stops and fricatives to become voiceless word-finally (Fagan 2009: 23). This circumstance means that -*ed*, or rather, <-ed>, is a felicitous orthographic borrowing: while <released> and <releas^t> would in any case be pronounced the same in both English and German, <performed> and <performt> would also be identical for most German speakers.

An important note here is that this use of <-ed> with borrowed verbs in participial form, while perhaps more common in the hip hop community, is not unique to this subculture. Relatively recent borrowings in mainstream usage also exhibit this variation, as seen in the various participial forms of the borrowed verb *googlen/googeln* ('to google (sth.)') reported in Kilgarriff (2010), including <gegoogled>, <gegooglet>, and <gegoogelt>, to name a few.

Finally, (3c) above is worth discussing in particular, as it contains both *released* and *produziert*, 'produced', for which we know from (3a) the alternative *produced* is possible, suggesting that the use of these forms is in variation, even within speakers. First, I would not expect most speakers to use one or the other form exclusively. Second, reading from context, this use of *produziert* may refer to a more generic production (i.e., bringing to market) of something by a record label, in this case, hip hop songs, rather than the more specific notion of *produced* which refers almost exclusively to the discipline (accomplished by a *Producer*) of putting together beats, melodies, and samples for rappers.

3.2 Non-participial use of -*ed*

The most exceptional thing about the -*ed* form in the MZEE corpus is that in the context of the German hip hop community (and to consulted native speakers' knowledge and in my own experience, nowhere else), this orthographic -*ed* is not limited to participial forms:

(2a) [Post #004014, December 2005]

[...] *ich glaub die streets alben haben hier auch die meisten im schrank und dass dizzee sich selbst **produced** ist auch nicht so neu.*

'I think most people here also have the streets' [a hip hop group] albums in the closet and the fact that dizzee **produces** himself [his own songs] is also not so new.'

(2b) [Post#138823, May 2005]

*Sido is eben so erfolgreich weil er gut **rapped**. Klar am Anfang war sein Rap schon ziemlich "derb", aber mittlerweile entwickelt er sich immer beser. Schon ein krasser Typ.*

PeaZe

'Sido is now so successful because he **raps** well. Clearly at the beginning his rap was still somewhat "rough", but since then he has developed himself better. Already a crass [colloquial usage, positive meaning] guy.
PeaZe'

(2c) [Post #149658, June 2005]

*Der Thread **sucked***

Achso: Moses rappt hin und wieder auf Englisch!

Oder hätte ich jetzt spricht hin und wieder rhythmisch.. writen sollen ist doch ein Bullshit thread!

Jeder wie er will, ist eben vieles sehr durch die V.S.von A. beeinflusst.

'This thread **sucks**

Oh wow: Moses raps in English now and again!

Or should I have.. written [']speaks rhythmically now and again['].

this is a bullshit thread!

Just do what you want, a lot is influenced by the U.S. of A. anyway.'

In (2a-2c), interpreting the wordforms (*produced*, *rapped*, *sucked*) as participial is only grammatically possible by assuming a full codeswitch to English morphosyntax—this is required because no auxiliary verb is present, a prerequisite for the use of a German participle. The interpretation of these forms as participial, however, is not likely in the contexts given here. Another possibility is that <sucked> here, for example, is a preterite form (which would not phonologically line up with the Germanized preterite form <suckte>). However, this analysis does not work for (2b) as Sido's rap in the past is immediately negatively assessed, incompatible with a reading which would translate as 'he rapped well'. The only other plausible reading (and the one favored by the context in these three examples) is as a simple present tense reading, which in all three cases would normally require the 3rd person suffix *-t* (a common and syncretic suffix in German, as will be shown in (3)). In fact, in the case of (2c), a debate begins in the discussion thread between the author of that post and a detractor of his or her usage who suggests the orthography <suckt> on account of the obvious impossibility of borrowing grammar from English—the author of (2c) defends his or her choice, noting in a later post that <suckt> *sieht total komisch aus*, 'looks totally weird' and even later, that <suckt> *sieht doof aus*, 'looks dumb'. I analyze this metalinguistic discourse in more detail in Section 4.

As mentioned above, a past participial reading is impossible in all three cases because of the lack of auxiliary verb (*haben/sein*) in each case. The other German past tense, the preterite, is also out; German verbs in the preterite, while they take a *-t* suffix, must also take a second suffix for person/number agreement, or else undergo ablaut, a process whereby a word-medial vowel changes in quality, e.g. Ger. *fliegen* 'to fly', preterite *flog*—although note that ablaut would not be expected in the verbs in (2a-c). This process is shared by certain English verbs, e.g., *freeze-froze*, but neither ablaut nor the second suffix are present in (2a-c). The next example shows a definite extension of the orthographic

-ed suffix to another German form marked by a syncretic *-t*: the imperative plural.

(3) [Post #012496, February 2006]

[...] Also alle deutschen Producer vereinigt euch, brüllt eure Namen wie Premo am Anfang des Beats, **sampled** Trademarks, gebt alles.

'So all you German producers come together, yell your names like Premo [DJ Premier] at the beginning of the beats, **sample** trademarks, give it your all.'

The occurrence of *sampled* as one of several coordinated second-person plural imperative verbs (*vereinigt*, *brüllt*, and *gebt*) makes it clear that the English orthography <-ed>, which is limited to participial forms and the past tense in written English, has taken root in this German-language hip hop forum as an orthographic representation of the German suffix *-t* which is syncretic in German, realizing one of several morphological categories (past participle, third person present singular, and second person imperative plural). The next question, then, is whether this phenomenon is specific to this forum. External evidence from YouTube suggests that this is not the case, as seen in Figure 1:

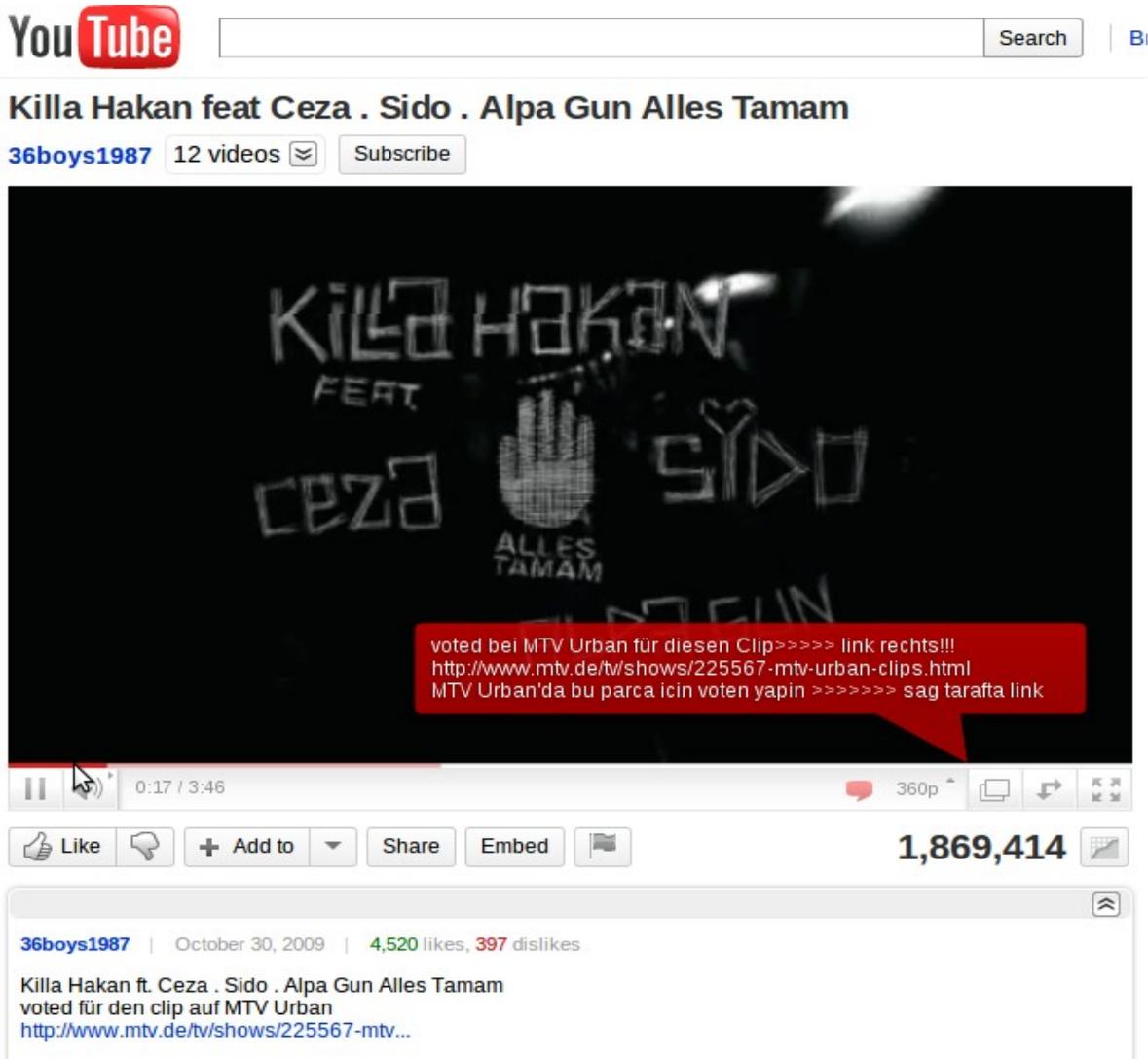


Figure 1. "Alles Tamam" Youtube video screen capture.³

Figure 1 is a screen capture from the German-Turkish hip hop video 'Alles Tamam' (Ger. *alles*, 'everything' + Turk. *tamam*, 'OK'). The video's uploader exhorts the viewer, both in the pop-up bubble and the video description, to vote for the clip on MTV Urban:

- (4a) [pop-up bubble text, German]
voted bei MTV Urban für diesen Clip>>>>>link rechts!!!
'vote [3.pl.imp] for this clip at MTV Urban>>>>>>link to the right!!!
- (4b) [pop-up bubble text, Turkish]
 MTV Urban'da bu parca icin **voten** yapin >>>>>>>sag tarafta link
'vote / do **voting** for this clip on MTV Urban >>>>>>>link on the right'

³ 'Killa Hakan ft. Ceza. Sido. Alpa Gun Alles Tamam' [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rEURQwYtgZc>] Accessed 10 November 2011.

- (4c) [video description text, German]
 [...] **voted** für den clip auf MTV Urban [...]
 'vote [3.pl.imp] for the/this clip on MTV Urban'

The first and last examples here contain essentially the same second-person plural imperative, and, crucially, the repetition of this message with minor rephrasing of the text demonstrates that this is not a one-off typo which has been cut-and-pasted. The Turkish translation is essentially a trilingual hybrid form: *vote* is an English root borrowed into German, given German infinitive morphology (-*en*),⁴ and then paired in this Turkish sentence with *yapın*, the Turkish polite imperative 'do (something)', i.e. *voten yapın* means something like 'please vote!'.⁵

So far we have evidence for the regular usage of the orthographic form <-ed>, and its extension as an orthographic pseudo-anglicism for third person singular and second person imperative forms, from a hip hop discussion forum and a YouTube video uploader's comments—'pseudo-anglicism' in this case referring to the fact that like *Handy* for 'cellular phone', this form is in some sense borrowed from English but not used as it is in English. Does this orthographic form have more widespread currency, and is there more evidence that this is not an unlikely and coincidental series of typos? Another YouTube video provides further evidence. Roey Marquis II, a German hip hop producer/DJ, features his song, *Pickel*, with Olli Banjo rapping as part of a double-video on his official YouTube channel. A portion of Olli Banjo's verse follows:

- (5) *Greif' das Mic, doch verbrenn' dir deine Finger net am Internet, denn wenn man Behindertrap aus dem Zwinger lässt,*
*Da **flowt** nix, wenn ein Kleinkind das Mic nimmt, das Internet einnimmt und die Scheisse dann eintippt.*

'Grab the mic, but don't burn your finger on the Internet, because when one lets handicapped-rap out of the dungeon,
 It doesn't **flow** [lit. there **flows** nothing], when a toddler takes the mic, engages the Internet, and types the shit in.'

The lyrics, as available from third-party lyrics host *magistrix.de*, transcribe the anglicism *flow* with the phonologically and orthographically native German -*t* 3rd-person singular present suffix, and given word-final devoicing, the segment is necessarily produced as [t], which is confirmed by careful listening.

The case here would be closed in favor of straightforward assimilation of the English verb *flow* as the German form *flowt* in an orthographic sense, but for the fact that the video (which uses paper masks as a motif) features several masks with the lyrics printed on them. In a rapid video cut, 'DA FLOWED NIX' clearly appears across the screen, as in Figure 2:

4 The Turkish infinitive -*mek/mak* used with *yapın* would yield a hypothetical borrowed form like *votmak yapın*.

5 [infinitive] + *yapmak* has been noted in Turkish-Dutch codeswitching data as early as Backus (1992). Thanks are due to an anonymous reviewer for this reference.



Figure 2. Screenscaptures of YouTube video for 'Pickel'/'Tschukka'.⁶

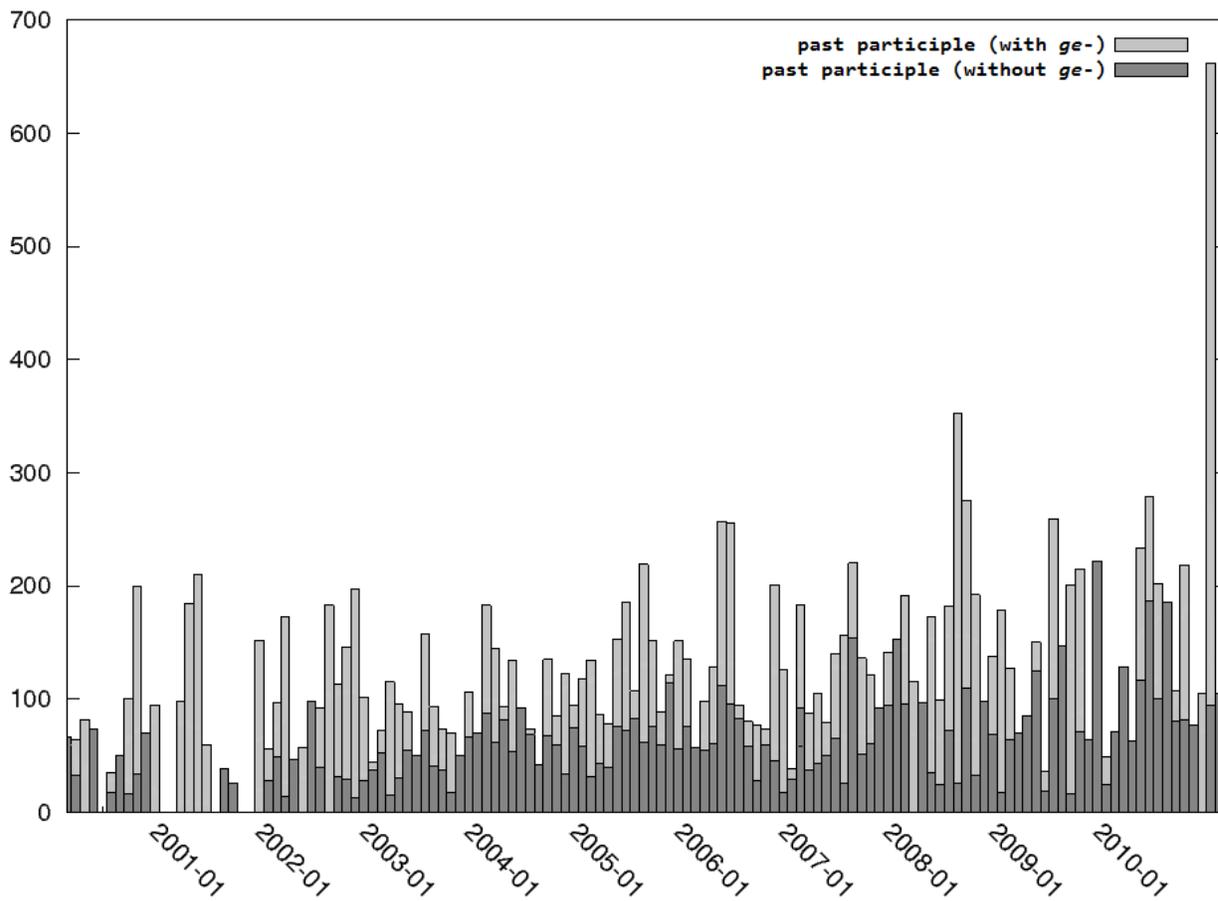
This visual use of the non-participial *-ed* is significant because it demonstrates the reach of this orthographic form as something used not only by hip hop fans but also by well-established hip hop artists, in this case Roey Marquis II and Olli Banjo. The case of the non-participial *-ed* thus provides further evidence that the borrowing of English verbs and their attendant participial morphology (a case where the difference between English and German participial morphology is neutralized by the operation of word-final devoicing) can lead to wider orthographic variation. In the following subsection, I turn briefly to a quantitative analysis of the *-ed* suffix and its use in participial and non-participial contexts in the MZEE corpus.

3.3 The distribution of participial and non-participial *-ed*

The size of the MZEE corpus along with its decade-long timespan allow not only for quantitative analysis of linguistic forms but also diachronic analysis of the same. I present here graphs of the usage of participial forms on a monthly basis throughout the MZEE corpus. As this analysis involved the discovery of any English-derived verb ending in *-ed*, the situation was more complex than a simple word search. First, all words in the corpus ending with *-ed* were located, and a list of stopwords containing names like *khaled* and adjectives like *stoned* or *wicked* were ignored. Likewise, all words ending in *-ied* and *-eed* were ignored, which removed a number of common German words like *Lied* 'song' or *Unterschied*, 'difference' and common English nouns like *weed* and *seed*. Next, the remaining words which were adjacent to an auxiliary verb, i.e., were located with an auxiliary verb

⁶ 'Roey Marquis II feat. Curse, Germany & Italo Reno - Tschukka' [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uRqRHa6uosM>] Accessed 13 October 2012. [the video is a split-video including two songs from the same Roey Marquis II album]

(like *haben*, *hat*, *hast*, *hatte*, *sind*, *ist*, *war*, *werden* and so forth) either immediately preceding or within the next two words, were divided into the classes 'participle with *ge*' (if the word begins with *ge*-) and 'bare participle' (if, like *produced* and *released*, no prefix *ge*- was present). The remainder were placed into another file (roughly 4,000 words) and annotated by hand as third-person singular present, second-person plural imperative, or false positive/indeterminate. In order to correctly and accurately annotate these forms, a concordance of four words of surrounding context (two on each side) was presented to the annotator. The results of this analysis revealed that the corpus contains 2,163 instances of *-ed* verb forms used as participles, of which 1,436 (66.4%) are prefixed with *ge*- and 727 (33.6%) are without prefix; additionally, the corpus contains 886 non-participial uses of *-ed*, of which 746 (84.2%) are third-person singular present, and 140 (15.8%) are second-person imperative plural. In a 12+ million word corpus, these figures are not especially large, but the *-ed* forms are used consistently throughout the timespan present in the corpus, as seen for the relative (to monthly corpus size) participial (Figure 3) and non-participial (Figure 4) monthly frequencies:



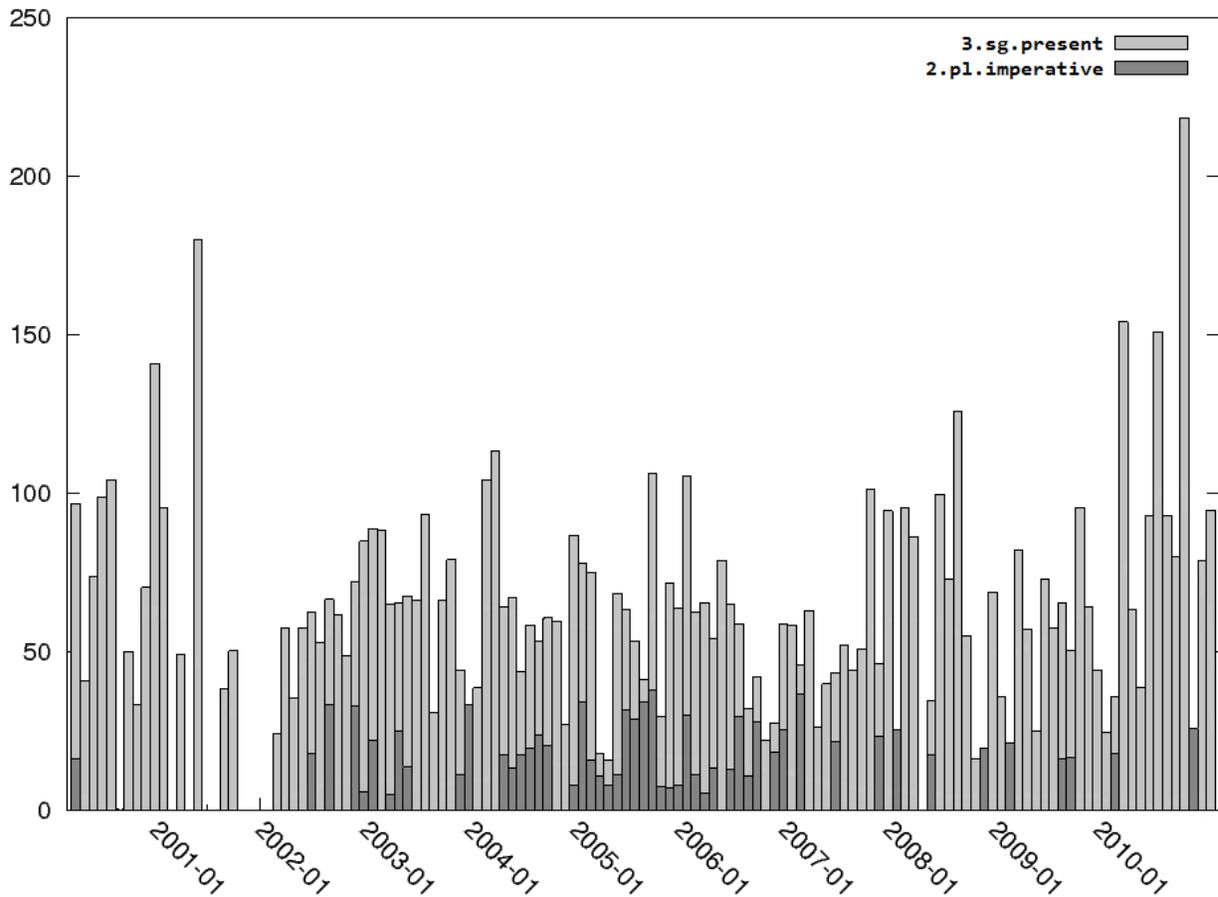


Figure 4. Relative monthly frequencies of third-person singular present non-participial usages of *-ed* (light gray) and second-person plural imperative usages of *-ed* (dark gray).

In Figure 3, it is noteworthy that participial *-ed* forms seem to slowly increase in relative usage over the timespan of the corpus; this indicates that these forms have become more accepted over time in the community. Because of the small number of examples used in creating Figure 4, it is inadvisable to read too much into the general trend; suffice it to say that both 3rd person singular present forms and 2nd person plural imperative forms are found to occur (although infrequently in the latter case) throughout the decade-long timespan of the corpus.⁷ The difference in overall frequency between the two types of *-ed* forms in Figure 4 is also not surprising, and is likely the result of 3rd person singular present being a more common form in natural language use. All in all, this analysis establishes the consistent use over time of both participial and non-participial *-ed* throughout the German hip hop forum corpus. It is important to note here that the use of the *-ed* form is certainly not predominant in the corpus, as the *-t* form occurs exclusively with German verbs (i.e., *-ed* is only an option for borrowed English stems).

4. Metalinguistic discourse about non-participial *-ed* in the MZEE forum

The following excerpts come from a thread [t-121644 in the MZEE corpus] nominally about the

⁷ The corpus is sparse in terms of data quantity for several months in 2001 and at the beginning of 2011. Combined with the general burstiness of word frequencies in a corpus, this accounts for the respective dip and spike at those times.

topic of anglicisms in German hip hop; the first post takes the position that the use of English and German together, especially for e.g. half-American German rappers, should not be considered problematic. A lively discussion follows, with a consensus emerging that anglicisms are essentially alright, but can be (and often are) overused and in such cases sound inauthentic. In this analysis, I concentrate on posts in the thread by two authors, Author A and Author B; the first post reproduced here is the 54th post in the thread. Author B's first post in response is the 62nd post in the thread, but directly quotes and references Author A's. While the remaining posts by the two authors are interspersed with posts by others, they continue to quote and respond to each other's posts, and these are the focus here. Author A's first post is also used as an example earlier in this paper, namely (3c).

<p>A: <i>Der Thread sucked</i> <i>Achso: Moses rappt hin und wieder auf Englisch!</i> <i>Oder hätte ich jetzt spricht hin und wieder</i> <i>rhythmisch.. wrieten sollen</i> <i>ist doch ein Bullshit thread!</i> <i>Jeder wie er will, ist eben vieles sehr durch die</i> <i>V.S.von A. beeinflusst.</i></p>	<p>A: This thread sucks Oh wow: Moses raps in English now and again! Or should I have.. wrieten speaks rhythmically now and again. this is a bullshit thread! Just do what you want, a lot is influenced by the U.S. of A anyway.'</p>
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The post begins by using *sucked*, which I've already noted is a use of the non-participial *-ed*. Mocking foregrounding of anglicisms is accomplished by using the borrowed verb *wrieten* (which usually refers to graffiti art, cf. *schreiben*, 'to write') after the stilted German circumlocution *spricht ... rhythmisch* as a proposed alternative to the borrowed form *rappt*. The use of *V.S. von A.* (an abbreviation of *Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika*, the German translation of 'United States of America' is also atypical for German speakers; the abbreviation *US* or *USA* is far more common in German. Essentially, author A is mocking language-purist suggestions to use native German words or calques in place of borrowed English forms.

<p>B: -<i>"Thread" ist eine amerikanische erfindung</i> -<i>"sucked" zwar falsch geschrieben, weil die</i> <i>endung zum präteritum gehört, und eigentlich</i> <i>versucht wurde, das wort in die deutsche</i> <i>grammatikinzubauen, aber trotz dummheit des</i> <i>verfassers würde ich es als allgemein anerkannten</i> <i>anglizismus nennen; bleibt die frage welcher ami</i> <i>das lutschen erfunden hat.</i> -<i>"ist doch ein Bullshit thread!"</i>; <i>bullshit ist ebenfalls ein anerkannter anglizismus,</i> <i>der schreiber hat versucht, es durch</i> <i>großschreibung in die deutsche grammatik</i></p>	<p>B: -<i>"Thread" is an american invention</i> -<i>"sucked" is written incorrectly, because the</i> <i>ending belongs to the preterite, and while there's</i> <i>an attempt to fit the word into german grammar,</i> <i>despite the idiocy of the author i would call it a</i> <i>generally accepted anglicism; however, the</i> <i>question remains: which american invented</i> <i>sucking.</i> -<i>"ist doch ein Bullshit thread!"</i>; <i>bullshit is in likewise an accepted anglicism, the</i> <i>author tried, through capitalization, to fit it into</i> <i>german grammar, an attempt which did not</i></p>
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<p><i>einzufragen, was sich beim zweiten teil seines zusammengesetzten wortes nicht mehr fortsetzte. dieses zusammensetzen von begriffen ist rein deutsch, nur eben wiedereinander falsch durchgeführt, wie alles an diesem post. also warum bezieht sich anglizismus nur auf gegenständlichkeiten, vA auf erfindungen? an dem "bullshit-post" von gerade siehste doch nun, dass sogar deutsche wörter erfinden, die englisch klingen sollen, nur um sich wichtig zu tun und zu zeigen, das sie mit beiden sprachen so ihre probleme haben.</i></p>	<p>continue to the second part of his compound word. this compounding of ideas is pure german, only again, falsely conducted, like everything on this post.</p> <p>so why does anglicization revolve around concreteness, above all on invention? on the "bullshit-post" here you see now that even german words are invented that are meant to sound english just to seem important and to show that there are problems with both languages.</p>
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Pedantically, and directly insulting Author A, Author B creates a list of suggested grammatical problems with Author A's previous post. This post also references an intervening post by a third author not reproduced here, which claims that anglicisms are the result of borrowed names for inventions (e.g. technology) with English names, a suggestion which Author B challenges at the end (by using Author A's post as a counter-example). It is additionally interesting that Author B mentions that A is using anglicisms, and English generally, 'just to seem/sound important'—obliquely suggesting a motivation for anglicism usage.

<p><i>A: Was sollen die Beleidigungen, ich beherrsche Englisch durchaus sehr gut! Es ging mir darum zu sagen, dass die Wörter jeder so nutzt in diesen Foren. Also die Diskussion lachhaft ist! Dazu kommt - es heisst "sucked" oder eben "sucks" - wenn du es mit t schreibst, hast du es ja germanized. Würdest du es "suckt" schreiben - weil mans so sagt? Das sieht total komisch aus!</i></p>	<p>A: What are all the insults about, I speak English completely well! I was trying to make the point that everyone uses the words this way in these forums. So the discussion is laughable! For that reason - it's "sucked" or even "sucks" - when you write it with a t, you've germanized it. Would you write it "suckt" - because it's said that way? That looks totally strange!</p>
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Author A's response takes a descriptive tack, suggesting that the usage of <sucked> is legitimate because of the common usage of English words in this way in this context, additionally suggesting that <suckt> doesn't look right, and noting that orthography has aesthetic concerns ('looks totally strange') independent from pronunciation ('would you write it X because it's said that way?') This additionally provides a further motivation for usage of *-ed*, i.e., to avoid purely orthographic aesthetic problems.

B:	B:
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du benutzt es eben wie ein deutsches [sic] verb, also musst du so schreiben. das suckt halt. wenn du ein wort aus dem englischen holst und innen deutschen satz stellst, dann musst du es germanizen, sonst isses weder ein deutscher noch ein englischer satz. die deklination ist ja nicht teil des wortes sondern teil der grammatik und die kannste eben nich rübernehmen. und ein "Bullshit thread" ist doch beispiel dafür, weil im englischen gar kein bedürnis [sic] besteht solche ausdrücke zu basteln. auch wenn du es formal also nicht hinbekommen hast, biste doch gedanklich sehr deutsch vorgeganen [sic].

das ist ja auch alles schön und gut, aber ich bin der meinung, dass anglizismen ne gute sache sind, wenn sie eine sprache erweitern, aber wenn dadurch nur müll entsteht isses halt ne schelchte entwicklung. war jetzt nicht als persönliche beleidigung gemeint. dein post war halt zufällig in der nähe, aber du wirst solche konstruktionen in allen möglichen threads finden. und die faulheit sich um seine eigene sprache zu kümmern sieht man vll am besten an dem genialen zitat von detlef soost (bzw. "D!"):

"Ihr seid so tight, wenn ich mit euch fertig bin, dann burnts"

solche mesnchen [sic] sollten im namen aller sprachen dieser welt gesteiniggt werden, denn alberner und dümmer kann man sich nicht anstellen

you're using it in this case like a german verb, so you've got to write it that way. just suckt. when you take a word from english and put it in a german sentence, then you have to germanize it, otherwise it's neither a german nor an english sentence. the declension is not part of the word, but rather part of the grammar, and you can't bring that over. and a "Bullshit thread" is an example, because in english, there's absolutely no allowance for creating those sorts of constructions. even if you didn't formally plan it, you've proceeded in a very german way.

this is all well and good, but i'm of the opinion that anglicisms are a good thing, when they add to the language, but when they just make garbage, it's a bad development. this wasn't meant as a personal attack. your post just happened to be nearby, but you will find such constructions in all kinds of threads. and the laziness in looking after one's own language is might be most visible in the genial quote from detlef soost (or "D!") [a German dancer]

"You guys are so tight, when I'm finished with you, it'll burn"

people like this should be stoned to death in the name of all the world's languages, because there's no way to come off dumber and more embarrassing.

Author B continues with a prescriptivist response, (incorrectly) noting that 'bullshit thread' is illegitimate in English and solely a product of German compounding. B also clarifies that some anglicisms enrich the language, while others reveal its decline—crucially without providing guidelines to differentiate the two types. According to B, the grammatical rules of German are invariant and state that the 3rd-person singular of 'to suck' must be written <suckt> in German. Interesting to note is that B does not adhere to formal prescriptivist writing rules himself, failing to capitalize most nouns and names, using orthographic representation of spoken or dialectal contractions like <dus> for *du es*, <biste> for *bist du* and <isses> for *ist es*. Despite this, B continues to level invective against 'laziness' and expresses explicit attitudes aligning with language-purist ideologies ('looking after one's own language') and takes this argument to the extreme ('people ... should be stoned to death') in a way not uncommon in Internet discussions—Squires (2010: 471) has an excellent treatment of such

prescriptivist metalinguistic discourse as ‘language on the Internet about language on the Internet.’

<p>A: <i>da sucken kein Dudenwort ist, kann ich es schreiben wie ich will ich finde suckt sieht doof aus drum sucked! Was du davon hältst [sic], ist mir egal. Im Prinzip hätte man nur ein Wort hier hinschreiben müssen. Als Antwort auf den Thread : "word" -- das ist typisch für dt. Foren.</i></p>	<p>A: Since 'sucken' isn't in the dictionary, I can write it however I want i think 'suckt' looks dumb hence 'sucked'! I don't care what you think about it. In principle, one could have written a single word here. To answer the thread: "word" -- that's typical for Ger. forums.</p>
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Author A's response defends the freedom to write things however one wants, which reiterates a theme brought up in A's first contribution to the discussion. A also closes his contribution, and the discussion between the two, with the anglicism leave-taking *word*.

At its core, this discussion between A and B hinges primarily on differing evaluations of A's use of the orthographic form <sucked>, which becomes contested in the following discourse, even though A's use of the form in the first place is likely only ironic due to the foregrounding of anglicisms in the larger thread. This analysis also shows the distance between language attitudes found in the German hip hop community; although the language of (global) hip hop culture has been lauded as a creative medium and, crucially, a 'resistance vernacular' (Potter 1995, Mitchell 2002), B's responses suggest a surprising linguistic conservatism within segments of the hip hop community.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

In this paper, I have presented an analysis of a particular linguistic feature, the orthographic suffix <-ed> and its morphological and phonological correlates. The results of this analysis suggest that the nativization and adaptation of borrowed words are not always straightforward, i.e., that a binary distinction between unassimilated loanwords and fully Germanized loanwords is essentially untenable, and that English orthography (<-ed>) and German phonological factors (like the word-final devoicing rule) and morphological factors (the syncretic suffix *-t*) make a significant contribution to the borrowed word's form, usage, and uptake. Also at work in this case is a phenomenon known as *hyper-foreignism*: Hock and Joseph (1996: 270) cite cases like the substitution of [ʒ] for [j] in the South Asian *raja(h)*, 'ruler/monarch/king', upon its borrowing into English and the dropping of the final [s] in the English pronunciation of French *coup de grace*, 'mercy-killing blow', noting that these cases of alternate pronunciation do not follow the rules of, e.g., French in the latter case, but rather English speakers' perceptions of those rules. In the latter case, the result sounds 'more French' to English speakers who know that final <s> is silent in French, but do not know that final <ce> is not. The case of non-participial *-ed* exhibits some parallels to this observation. While the key issue with <-ed> is that it is an orthographic representation of a German morpheme, rather than the English past-tense morpheme, its orthographic form is certainly conditioned by German speakers' perceptions of what looks English, rather than by a notion of adherence to English grammatical rules. However, the discussion between

Author A and Author B analyzed here shows that the use and reception of these forms are not entirely divorced from prescriptive linguistic concerns, although those concerns may not square with linguists' ideas about language. This, then, serves as a caution not to overgeneralize on language usage or language attitudes, even within a fairly tight-knit community of speakers.

The participial usage of *-ed* is found in German contexts outside of hip hop culture, yet the non-participial usage of *-ed* with borrowed verbs in German is thus far unattested outside of the online hip hop community, even in domains like advertising which are rich in English borrowings. Until contrary evidence is presented, then, I claim here that this orthographic phenomenon appears unique to the hip hop community and is related to the loosened orthographic norms of many online and youth-centered modes of communication, cf. Sebba (2012) with regard to a continuum of orthographic regulation. It is in addition important to be careful in claims of novelty and the attribution of a special or mysterious linguistic power to new media, as Stein (2005:201) notes:

[...] the well known claims in cultural theory about the hybridity of the modern media, particularly the internet, show little knowledge of the nature of spoken and written communication. What they do is fall prey to the same unrealistic segregationist views of much modern theorizing about language [...] In other words, if you do not see the hybridity of normal communication in terms of the sources of meaning in context and how they are constructed ad hoc, then, of course, the new media would appear to be particularly hybrid. Thus a myopic view of the polyphony of information sources causes modern constructionists to overlook the constructional character of spoken and written communication, and construct a non-existing contrast to the new media.

As Stein suggests, it is not the difference between written and spoken forms, i.e., orthography and morphophonology, that is crucial here; rather, it is important to recognize that spoken and written communication have not developed separately since the introduction of orthographic technology, but rather that norms and rules from each side have always influenced one another; an existing process of transfer between the two realms is merely accelerated in an age of computer-mediated discourse.

It is a primary goal of this article to establish the importance of orthography in revealing the social and linguistic factors at work in the borrowing process—without varied orthographic forms, for example, knowledge of the role of word-final devoicing in the use of <-ed> would not be accessible. Motivation is the final concern: while the combination of English and German linguistic rules allows for these varied forms, it is in part, as Androutsopoulos (2000) argues, the stylistic prerogative of individual speakers which ultimately motivates their use and, to use an example from this analysis, leads to the adoption of new forms like non-participial *-ed*. What lies behind this stylistic prerogative to use the orthographic <-ed> form and ‘look English’ in this community? Looking for a single motivation is almost certainly misguided, as English indexes a wide range of social meanings in Germany, e.g., modernity, future orientation, and global orientation (Piller 2001). However, the *mixture* of English and German is often associated with youth and subcultural belonging, as seen in the present case, and can be seen to transgress norms even within the community under consideration, as evidenced by the exchange between A and B reproduced in this article. The <-ed> may be chosen, as B derisively suggests, to ‘seem important’ by connecting with English, or as A maintains, to avoid

seeming ‘dumb’ and ‘strange’—qualities B implicitly associates with the fully integrated alternatives.

To conclude, it seems the US-oriented hip hop community in Germany, a product of globalizing forces, functions as a conduit for a wide range of English borrowings, but that rather than straightforwardly reproducing American forms, these forms, like the orthographic *-ed*, are taking on a life of their own in German, not strictly following the regulations of their origins but rather fusing with local meanings, styles, and orthographic norms. As for major social concerns about the future of the German language, these cases demonstrate that borrowed orthographic variations (like *-ed* for *-t* in non-participial forms) are conditioned not only by English morphophonology, but crucially by German morphophonology as well. These seemingly alien forms are in fact made more likely due to the German rule of word-final devoicing. While concern for the future of the German language is present in the media and the political sphere, most linguists would take the large speaker population as an indication of the German language’s continued well-being—and this research suggests that borrowing into German is in fact proceeding not haphazardly but in a rule-governed and systematic fashion, constrained by German linguistic rules. Finally, this research illuminates the way in which linguistic material is borrowed from English to German, and crucially, how borrowing interfaces with orthography, and how speakers can exploit adherence to or transgression of orthographic norms to express affiliations with identity and create social meaning. Orthography is often overlooked in studies of language contact, but it has valuable things to tell us about the way borrowing works—and can illustrate changes that are not evident in spoken language, but are nonetheless conditioned by the rules of spoken language.

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