

STRESS-PATTERNS OF ENGLISH PHRASAL NOUNS  
OF THE TYPE *MAKE-UP* IN GERMAN

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A considerable number of English Phrasal Nouns (PNs) of the type *make-up* have been adopted into present-day German, and the productivity of this particular word-formation type in colloquial English, in the terminology of science and technology as well as in different fields of journalism, will certainly continue to bring new loans into German (Uessler 1973; 1978; 1979; 1980).

A systematic treatment of the integration process has to consider phonological, morphological, and orthographical adaptations as well as semantic changes and modifications. This paper will concentrate on one phonological aspect, i.e. the stress-shift that supposedly occurs when English NPs are adopted into present-day German.

In the past there has been some controversy as to the correct stress-pattern of PNs in English. Carstensen (1973), who has reviewed a number of English dictionaries and linguistic studies on the subject, arrived at the conclusion that there is a strong tendency towards fore-stress but that there is no general agreement in all cases, and this could be an indication of instability in these stress-patterns.

Uessler (1977) in a comparison of pronouncing dictionaries that were published over the last 75 years shows a distinct trend towards fore-stressing but only Lewis (1972) uses forestress exclusively in all examples while *EEPD 13* often gives level-stress and end-stress as possible alternatives. In a supplementary analysis of PNs in spoken language (radio broadcasts, informal discussions, etc.), Uessler (1977) found that more than 90% of all PNs had their stress on the onesyllable verbal stem, while the results for the far less frequent PNs with a two-syllable verbal stem were somewhat lower.

Sørensen (1979:55) in a comparison of the stress-patterns in *EEPD 13* and *EEPD 14* cites a number of examples in which the fore-stress changed to

end-stress and "feels tempted to interpret these facts as suggesting a general tendency towards increased end-stressing".

However, one of the crucial points involved in all of these analyses is the fact that PNs are often new words many of which are not yet listed in any of the pronouncing dictionaries or in any other dictionaries. Since the *EEPD 14* lists only 105 exponents of the word-type under discussion, a fraction of the ever-increasing total inventory, Sørensen's observations have to be treated with some caution, and we will have to wait for further editions to verify this possibly new trend.

Since, however, most of the newer dictionaries such as *OALD* (1980) and *LDCE* (1978) and most of the works discussed above take fore-stress as the dominant stress-pattern, we will assume for reasons of simplicity that the stress-pattern of PNs in English is '—, and disregard other subsidiary variants. Carstensen (1973:41) hypothesized that English PNs used in German do not have fore-stress like the English source words but end-stress. However, his analysis of stress-patterns in German dictionaries only revealed the uncertainty of their authors and editors which in turn might reflect the uncertainty of those German speakers using PNs.

This study has the following goals:

1. Working with a systematic sampling of stress-patterns given for PNs in 14 German dictionaries, most of which were published after 1973 or are new editions of older ones, we shall endeavor to test
  - if the stress-patterns given in the dictionaries comply with the above-mentioned hypothesis,
  - which of the PNs receive the same stress-patterns in all dictionaries,
  - which dictionaries consistently use one stress-pattern for all PNs.
2. With the result of a reading test we shall examine the question as to whether the stress-shift hypothesis can be verified in general or if it has to be modified.

26 PNs were selected on the grounds that they were examined previously or are frequently listed in German dictionaries. Some of them are not necessarily familiar to many German speakers (e.g. *Kickoff*, *Pickup*), some are analogies to other PNs already established in German (*Drive-in*, *Love-In*), some are more technical (*Take-Off*), some are relatively new loans (*Handout*, *Hangover*) and there is one pseudo-loan (*Pullunder*). We also included the pseudo-PN *Ketchup*.

Since these 26 PNs appear more or less frequently in German dictionaries, they were used in preparing the dictionary chart. (Appendix A)

For the reading test seven others, none of them found in German dictionaries, were added to the list (*Breakdown*, *Hangup*, *Holdup*, *Laugh-In*, *Liftoff*, *Singout*, *Standby*). With these items, one can be reasonably sure that most of

the subjects had never heard them before and that their production to some extent might yield some information on how German speakers pronounce new English PNs.

Since the subjects were required to read aloud the PNs as part of fake news-items, care had to be taken that the various spellings would not influence the stress-patterns of the German speakers. In order to emphasize the substantial character of the PNs and to avoid highlighting the test items spelt in an unusual manner, all items were capitalized. Hyphens between verbal components and particles were only introduced in those cases where leaving them out would possibly result in a false pronunciation:

*Take-Off* but: *Hangup*

In *Makeup* and *Layout* the hyphen was omitted since this way of spelling them in German is firmly established. On the other hand the hyphen was kept in all PNs with the particle — *in*.

Of the 33 PNs selected, 26 appear in at least one of the 14 dictionaries that were consulted for stress-patterns. Neske/Neske (1972) were excluded because they always give the English pronunciation with no modification, and therefore invariably list fore-stress.

For the 26 PNs, we found a total of 238 entries, 41 (17%) with fore-stress, 183 (77%) with end-stress and 14 (6%) with level-stress. The entries for *Ketchup*, for obvious reasons, are not included in these figures. Thus 23% of all the stresspatterns are not in accordance with the stress-shift hypothesis.

Only three dictionaries use end-stress exclusively with all PNs (*Wahrig 75*, *Wahrig FWL 74*, *Knauer 78*). In only 14 out of 26 cases do they unanimously agree on one stress-pattern (these items are underlined in Appendix A), however, the relatively new loans *Checkup* and *Take-Off* receive fore-stress. The pseudo-PN *Ketchup* is marked with fore-stress in all dictionaries. With the other 12 PNs there is considerable disagreement, especially with *Blackout*, *Countdown*, *Drive-In*, *Feedback*, *Layout* and *Playback*.

Identical stress-patterns for PNs appearing more frequently are, of course, somewhat more conclusive than those that are only listed in two or three dictionaries; e.g. *Pullover* appears in all dictionaries consulted, whereas *Flashback* is only listed in *Wahrig 75*, *Wahrig FWL 74* and *Knauer 78*.

One would expect that a new English PN taken over into German would move from fore-stress to end-stress as a result of the integration process and that this process might somehow be reflected in the dictionaries. *Playback* roughly follows this pattern up to a certain point, although *DR 80* still gives fore-stress. A comparison of *DR 73* and *DR 80* reveals three new entries, *Feedback* and *Handout* having fore-stress, but *Showdown* having end-stress. *Fallout* has end-stress in *DR 73* and *DR 80*, but *Duder*, *Wb 76* returns to the fore-stress pattern.

In summarizing the chart, one might say that although there is a definite tendency towards assigning end-stress to English PNs in German dictionaries, there are a number of cases in which we have considerable disagreement and inconsistency. It remains to be seen how these observations compare to the pronunciations produced by German speakers in the reading test.

In a preliminary test in which several subjects were asked to produce the PNs in isolation, it was shown that under such test conditions the subjects would choose one stress-pattern in one of the earlier items and use it invariably throughout the test. Therefore, in order to avoid this effect and to achieve more realistic test conditions several fake news-items in which the 31 PNs appeared were made up.

The subjects were asked to read the texts aloud as a German newscaster on radio or television would. They were aware of the fact that their productions were being taped.

To disguise the actual goal of the experiment a few other Anglicisms were introduced into the text along with the PNs. When asked after the experiment, most subjects suspected that the "correct pronunciation" of the English words should be checked but none of the subjects actually mentioned the PNs.

The texts were read by 10 subjects who had had between one and nine years of English at school and whose schooling was at least five years back. Subjects without a knowledge of English were not tested, since it was expected that they would produce a larger number of three-syllable instead of two syllable PNs. The group tested being relatively small, additional information such as age, place of birth, contact with the media etc. was not taken into account.

The results of the experiment show that 75% of the PNs were spoken with end-stress, 18% with fore-stress and 7% with levelstress. Interestingly enough, these percentages roughly correspond to those obtained in the dictionary survey, though not necessarily with corresponding results for individual items.

Nine PNs were spoken with end-stress by all of the subjects:

- |             |              |             |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Knockout | 2. Breakdown | 3. Drive-In |
| Makeup      | Knockdown    |             |
| Pullover    | Showdown     |             |
| Pullunder   | Knowhow      |             |

The results of the first group are not surprising: Only a few German speakers are aware that *Pullover* is of English origin, and this is also true of the analogous pseudo-loan *Pullunder*. Both of these items have a two-syllable particle which in general favors the stress-shift, and they occur within the same text. *Makeup* and *Knockout* are relatively frequent in spoken language. All four

items unanimously receive the stress-pattern —'— in those German dictionaries in which they are listed.

Interpreting the results of the second group is somewhat more difficult. Only for *Knockdown*, which appears in six dictionaries, do the entries agree with each other (possible analogy to the more frequently used *Knockout*), while there is some disagreement for *Knowhow* and *Showdown*. *Breakdown* is not listed in any of the dictionaries consulted and can therefore be considered a "transfer-item".

All four of these PNs share the diphthong [av] in the particle, i.e. the diphthong is not monophthongized, while the diphthongs in the first syllable of *Breakdown*, *Showdown* and *Knowhow* are all reduced to a long vowel in the German pronunciation. One can therefore conclude that, under these circumstances, stressshift is most likely to take place, even when the PN is relatively new and unknown, as is the case with *Breakdown*. As an example to the contrary one might cite *Countdown* where only six of the subjects placed the main stress on the second syllable, while the four others used level-stress, very likely because the diphthong [av] in this PN occurs in both syllables. Incidentally, 7 out of 13 dictionaries also use level-stress.

*Drive-In* was used in the text as part of a compound (*Drive-In-Schalter*), since it is almost exclusively listed in the dictionaries in this way (*Drive-In-Restaurant*, *Drive-In-Kino*). The identical productions with the main stress on the particle produced by all of the subjects tested indicates that the stress-shift is facilitated when the PN is part of a compound.

*Ketchup* was the only item to receive fore-stress in all of the productions recorded, and thus confirms the stress-pattern in all of the dictionaries. This pseudo-PN was included because its structural makeup is very similar to that of PNs of the type *verb + -up*, and it was expected that some speakers would use an analogous end-stress pronunciation. The results, however, show that none of the subjects falsely associated this item with the PNs of the type *verb + -up*.

12 more PNs received end-stress by seven or more of the ten subjects tested.

There are three PNs (*Singout*, *Layout*, *Standby*) which have a diphthong in their particle which is not reduced to a long vowel in the German pronunciation. It seems that this again is one of the more influential factors in facilitating the stress-shift, even with new and relatively unfamiliar PNs, as is the case with *Singout* and *Standby* (compare the results for PNs with the particle *-down* and *Knowhow* discussed earlier). *Layout* is firmly established in German and has already formed the verb *layouten* and the noun *Layouter*.

*Hangover* has a two-syllable particle and follows the pattern already discussed for *Pullover* and *Pullunder*.

*Checkup* (which was twice on the reading test with almost identical results), *Hangup*, *Holdup* and *Pickup*, together with *Makeup* discussed earlier, complete

the group of PNs with the particle *-up*. This group of PNs rather consistently displays stress-shift for all of its items, although *Hangup* and *Holdup* are to be considered relatively new loans which are not yet listed in the German dictionaries. *Pickup* appears in almost all dictionaries with the meaning "the part of a record-player which receives and plays the sound from a record" (*LDCE*), a meaning which is most likely unfamiliar to many German speakers, and has only recently acquired a new meaning in German: "type of light VAN having an open body with low sides" (*LDCE*).

The PNs of the type *verb + -up*, together with the PNs having two-syllable particles are the only groups that consistently show the stress-shift in all cases. It was mentioned earlier that those PNs with a diphthong in their particle (*-out*, *-down*, *-how*, *-by*) in the majority of cases have end-stress, and thus might be added to the two preceding groups.

The results for the PNs of the type *verb + -back* in the reading test correlate with some of the inconsistencies found in the dictionaries. All 14 dictionaries agree on the end-stress of *Comeback*, as do nine of the subjects on the reading test. However, there was no clearly discernible stress-shift pattern for *Feedback*, *Flashback* and *Playback*. In the case of *Feedback* and *Playback*, the long vowel of the first syllable in the German pronunciation could be a factor in preventing the stress-shift.

Of the five PNs with the particle *-in* only *Drive-In*, for reasons explained earlier, and *Love-In* show stress-shift, while the results for *Laugh-In*, *Sit-In* and *Teach-In* are somewhat inconclusive. This is rather surprising because the PN *verb + -in* was very productive in the 60's and early 70's during the time of the student protest movements. Beside a number of English loans and pseudo-loans using English word-material, there were even some PNs using German wordmaterial + *-In*, although most of these were coined to produce a comic effect. With the end of the protest movements, many of these PNs more or less disappeared, and they have rarely been used in the new political protest movements of today, so that we find them in a considerable number of dictionaries but rarely read them in newspapers or hear them on radio or television today.

The results of the dictionary survey and of the reading test confirm the overall tendency towards end-stress in English PNs which are used in German. 21 out of 32 PNs on the reading test were spoken with end-stress by most of the informants, while with the remaining PNs there was considerable inconsistency and disagreement among the subjects tested.

Stress-shift occurred in virtually all PNs with a two-syllable particle, with particles containing a diphthong in their German pronunciation and with the particle *-up*. In some cases, the vowel quantity in the verbal component in comparison to the particle is an influential factor.

If the PN is part of a compound, the stress-shift is facilitated as was demonstrated in the item *Drive-In-Schalter*.

A final note on the possible reasons for the stress-shift that takes place in the integration process of English PNs into German: Darstensen (1973:45) dismisses the notion that a German speaker producing a PN subconsciously thinks of an imperative pattern, in which case the particle receives primary stress in German (e.g. *Mach 'auf!*). However, some examples, mostly taken from the area of advertising, seem to support this hypothesis: *Fahr mit* is the name of a German student travel agency, *Rubbel-mit* (*-Gewinnspiel*) was a lottery game used in a sales-campaign of a German oil company. In sales at department stores you sometimes find *Greif-zu-Preise*. A fruit juice is called *Drink out Fruchtsaftgetränk*, a brand name for a particular kind of candy is *Nimm 2*.

#### Appendix A

##### Chart of Stress-Patterns of 26 PNs in 14 German Dictionaries

###### List of Symbols

1 =stress-pattern '— —

2 =stress-pattern —'

3 =stress-pattern '—'

— =not listed or no stress-pattern given

\* =transcription marked "engl."

*Pickup* =same stress-pattern in all dictionaries

*Wahrig 75* =same stress-pattern for all PNs in this dictionary (excluding *Ketchup*)

	Duden Wb - 76 ff.	DR 73	DR 80	DA 74	DF 74	Schülerduden 75	Wahrig 75	Wahrig FWL 74	Herder 73	Knauer 78	DR 76 (Ost)	GF 77	KF 72	Klappenbach/Steinitz
Blackout	13	—	—	132	1	13	2	2	—	2	—	1	2	1
Checkup	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Comeback	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Countdown	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Drive-In	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	3	2	—	—
Fallout	1	2	2	1*	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	2	2	—
Feedback	1	—	1	1*	1	1	2	2	—	2	—	1	3	—
Flashback	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	2	—	—	—	—
Handout	1	—	1	1	12	32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hangover	2	—	—	1*	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kickoff	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Knockdown	2	—	—	2	2	2	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—
Knockout	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Knowhow	21*	21*	21*	1*	2	2	2	—	2	3	2	2	—	—
Layout	21	12	12	12	12	12	2	2	12	2	12	12	13	21
Love-In	2	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Makeup	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	2	—	—	—	—
Pickup	21*	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Playback	2	1	1	1*	1	12	2	2	—	2	2	2	2	1
Pullover	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Pullunder	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Showdown	2	—	2	—	3	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Sit-In	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Take-Off	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—
Teach-In	2	2	—	2	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ketchup	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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## Appendix B

The results for the PNs are presented in the same order as they appeared in the test. If more than two thirds of the subjects used one particular stress-pattern, the results are encircled.

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1. Pickup	1	1	(7)	2
2. Singout	2	2	(8)	0
3. Comeback	1	1	(9)	0
4. Playback	5	5	4	1
5. Teach-In	4	4	4	2
6. Fallout	4	4	6	0
7. Checkups	1	1	(8)	1
8. Handout	5	5	5	0
9. Sit-In	3	3	5	2
10. Laugh-In	0	0	4	6
11. Layout	2	2	(7)	1
12. Makeup	0	0	(10)	0
13. Feedback	1	1	(7)	2
14. Countdown	0	0	6	4
15. Standby	1	1	(9)	0
16. Liftoff	2	2	(8)	0
17. Take-Off	4	4	6	0
18. Knowhow	0	0	(10)	0
19. Blackout	5	5	5	0
20. Breakdown	0	0	(10)	0
21. Flashback	3	3	6	1
22. Holdup	1	1	(9)	0
23. Hangover	2	2	(7)	1
24. Showdown	0	0	(10)	0

25.	Love-In	2	8	0
26.	Hangup	3	7	0
27.	Knockdown	0	10	0
28.	Knockout	0	10	0
29.	Checkup	2	8	0
30.	Kickoff	6	3	1
31.	Drive-In	0	10	0
32.	Pullover	0	10	0
33.	Pullunder	0	10	0
		60	246	24
		18%	75%	7%
34.	Ketchup	10	0	0

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