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 (Usseler 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.

Usseler (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 EEPPD 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.), Usseler (1977) found that more than 90% of all PNs had their stress on the one-syllable verbal stem, while the results for the far less frequent PNs with a two-syllable verbal stem were somewhat lower.

Sorensen (1979:66) in a comparison of the stress-patterns in EEPPD 13 and EEPPD 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 KEPD 14 lists only 105 exponents of the word-type under discussion, a fraction of the ever-increasing total inventory, Sorensen'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. Carstairs (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.

20 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 20 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, 133 (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 stress-patterns are not in accordance with the stress-shift hypothesis.

Only three dictionaries use end-stress exclusively with all PNs (Wahrig 1961, Wahrig FWL 74, Knaw 1978). 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 Cheekup 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 ace, 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 1978, Wahrig FWL 74 and Knaw 1978.

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 Dudes Wb 78 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 false 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 produc-
tions 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
twelve years of English at school and whose schooling was at least five years back.
Subjects without a knowledge of English were not tested. Since there was no indication
that they would produce a larger number of three-syllable instead of two
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 78% of the PNs were spoken with
end-stress, 18% with fore-stress and 7% with level-stress. 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 ana-
logous 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 diction-
aries 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 [au] in the particle, i.e. the diph-
thong 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 cir-
cumstances, stress-shift 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 in the second syllable, and the other four used level-stress.

Drive-In was used in the text as a 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 pronun-
ciation. It seems that this again is one of the more influential factors in facilitat-
ing 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 dis-
cussed for Pullover and Pullunder.

Checkout (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 Hang-up and Kick-up are to be considered relatively new loans which are not yet listed in the German dictionaries. Pick-up appears in almost all dictionaries with the meaning "the part of a record-player which receives and plays the sound from a record" (LDC), 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" (LDC).

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 these PNs with a diphthong in their particle (-out, -down, -low, -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, so 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 word-material + -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-Pries. 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 36 PNs in 14 German Dictionaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Symbols</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>stress-pattern '—'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>stress-pattern '—'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>stress-pattern '—'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>not listed or no stress-pattern given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickup</td>
<td>same stress-pattern in all dictionaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahrig 75</td>
<td>same stress-pattern for all PNs in this dictionary (excluding Ketchup)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendices B

The results for the PHNs 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stress Pattern</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Encircled</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pickup</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singout</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comeback</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playback</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach-In</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fallout</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkups</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handout</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit-In</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laugh-In</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layout</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makeup</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feedback</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countdown</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standby</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lift-Off</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take-Off</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowhow</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackout</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breakdown</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashback</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holdup</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hangover</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Showdown</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stress patterns of English phrasal nouns

Herdew

Klappenbach

Knau

LDCE

Lewis

Nenke/Nenke

OALD

Schüler-duden

Währig

Währig Fw

2. OTHER WORKS


Sørensen, K. 1970. “In end-stressing on the increase?”. English Studies 59. 54-55.


REFERENCES

1. DICTIONARIES

DA


DF


DR 72


DR 80


DR 76


Duden Wb


EKP D 13

EVP D 14


GF
