

**German Adoptions for Mental Conditions in English
and Their Current Usage**

A Comparative Study on Dictionaries and Language Corpora

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English Philology
Second Subject Thesis
May 2011

Tampereen yliopisto
Kieli-, käännös- ja kirjallisuustieteiden yksikkö
Englantilainen filologia

HELENIUS, JENNA: *German Adoptions for Mental Conditions in English and Their Current Usage. A Comparative Study on Dictionaries and Language Corpora.*

Sivuaineen pro gradu -tutkielma, 33 sivua + 2 liitesivua
Toukokuu 2011

Tämä tutkielma käsittelee saksalaisia lainasanoja englannin kielessä. Englantiin on lainattu saksan kielestä sanoja monilta eri aloilta, mutta eniten tieteellistä termistöä sekä ammattisanastoa. Erityisesti itävaltalaisen Sigmund Freudin ansiosta saksan kielestä on tullut englantiin myös psykologian termejä. Näihin kuuluvat muun muassa sanat *angst*, *death wish* (lainakäännös sanasta *Todeswunsch*) ja *schizophrenia*, joita tässä tutkielmassa käsitellään. Tarkoituksena on selvittää miten ja missä merkityksessä kyseisiä sanoja käytetään nykyenglannissa.

Työn teoriaosassa tarkastellaan ensin yleisesti saksan kielen lainasanoja englannissa. Samalla pohditaan psykologisten termien merkityksissä tyypillisesti tapahtuvia semanttisia muutoksia: merkityksen laajeneminen ja pejoraatio. Työn empiirisessä osassa vastataan kysymyksiin: missä merkityksissä sanoja *angst*, *death wish* ja *schizophrenia* käytetään nykyenglannissa verrattuna niiden alkuperäisiin merkityksiin ja onko samanlaisia muutoksia tapahtunut alkuperäisille sanoille (*Angst*, *Todeswunsch* ja *Schizophrenie*) saksan kielellä? Näihin kysymyksiin on pyritty vastaamaan vertailemalla sanojen määritelmiä eri sanakirjoissa sekä niiden käyttöä kielikorpuksien esimerkeissä.

Tutkielmasta käy ilmi, että sanat *angst*, *death wish* ja *schizophrenia* ovat saaneet paljon laajempia ja vaihtelevampia merkityksiä nykyenglannissa verrattuna niiden alkuperäisiin yksinomaan psykologiassa käytettyihin merkityksiin. Itse asiassa *schizophrenia* on sanoista ainoa, joka on säilynyt psykologian terminä. Sitä voidaan kuitenkin käyttää yleiskielessä ja erityisesti poliittisessä retoriikassa myös figuratiivisesti ja siitä on tehty lyhenne *schizo* ('hullu'), jolla on usein negatiivinen konnotaatio. Sana *angst* tarkoittaa yleiskielessä usein huolta lähes mistä tahansa asiasta (*teenage angst*, *holiday angst*, *age angst*) ja sitä käytetään usein journalistisessa kielessä. Sana *death wish* ('kuolemankaipuu') on yleinen poliittisessä retoriikassa sekä vaarallisista aktiviteeteista puhuttaessa. Molempia sanoja käytetään usein silloin, kun kritisoidaan muiden ihmisten käyttäytymistä tai kun tekstiä tai puhetta halutaan elävöittää ja sävyttää humoristisella liioittelulla ja ironialla. Alkuperäisten saksan kielen sanojen kohdalla vastaavaa ilmiötä ei ole tapahtunut. Saksassa niin *Angst* kuin *Schizophrenie* ovat edelleen psykologian termejä. Sana *Todeswunsch* sen sijaan osoittautui harvinaiseksi saksan kielessä, sillä se on nykyään korvattu pääasiallisesti muilla ilmaisuilla. Sanaa *Schizophrenie* voidaan myös saksassa käyttää vertauskuvallisesti, mutta arkikielessä se vaikuttaa olevan harvinaisempi kuin englannissa, eikä siitä yleisesti käytetä lyhenteitä. Kaiken kaikkiaan voidaan todeta, että englannissa sanat *angst*, *death wish* ja *schizophrenia* ovat kehittyneet psykologian ammattisanoista yleisiksi ja monikäyttöisiksi, jopa negatiivissävytteisiksi, puhekielen ilmaisuiksi, mutta saksan kielessä vastaavaa ei ole tapahtunut.

Asiasanat: sanakirja, korpus, vertaileva tutkimus, saksalainen lainasana, psykologian termit, semanttinen muutos, merkityksen laajeneminen, merkityksen pejoraatio

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1 Introduction

This second subject thesis discusses German contribution to English vocabulary for mental conditions. The aim is to study the dictionary treatment and present-day use of the words *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia* in the English language. These are all German adoptions in English for mental conditions. In fact, mental illnesses and conditions is one of those areas in English where there are quite a few German adoptions largely due to the wide spread and influence of Sigmund Freud's works on psychoanalysis (Stubbs 1998, 25). In my study, answers are sought to the following two questions, which are divided into more specific sub-questions:

1. Have the words examined developed new uses or new connotations in English in comparison to their earliest senses in English?
 - How are the words treated in dictionaries?
 - Are there differences between different kinds of dictionaries (British and American general purpose dictionaries, learner's dictionaries, dictionaries of psychology)?
 - How are the words used in corpus samples and on the Internet?
 - How do dictionary information and corpus findings correspond to each other?
2. Have similar developments taken place in the German language as well?
 - How are the words (in the form in which they were first adopted into English) treated in German dictionaries?
 - Are the words used differently in German, the language of origin, from English?

In short, the purpose is to find out whether these words, after being adopted into English from German, have started to live a life of their own: have they lost some of their original fields of usage or connotations and/or have they gained new ones in English, which are perhaps not present in German? Although my topic appears not to have been studied in detail before, there is at least one thesis (Laitinen 2008) written in Finland on German-based loans in

English, but their use is studied in periodicals and the words are not restricted to any special field of usage. There is also one thesis (Nyrke 2010) written at the University of Tampere on words denoting mental illness and low intelligence. Like mine, it is a study on dictionaries and language corpora, but deals mostly with indications of negative attitude and is not restricted to German adoptions. Since German adoptions for mental illness is a fairly untouched area in the study of words, I hope my study will cast further light on the topic. In addition, the study might contribute to our understanding on how the use and meanings of words change in time and space in general and whether words for mental conditions tend to follow similar lines of development in the original language and the recipient language.

Chapters two and three form the theoretical background of this study. Chapter two discusses German adoptions in English: what has been adopted into English from the German language in general and when? The third chapter focuses on the typical faith of psychological terms, which often tend to widen and deteriorate in meaning. Chapter four introduces the material and methods used in the empirical part of this study. Finally, chapter five will be dedicated to the comparative analysis of *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia* in dictionaries and language corpora.

2 On German adoptions in English

Relatively little attention has been paid to German adoptions in books on the history of English, not to mention German adoptions for mental conditions in particular. After Latin, French and Greek, German is however the fourth largest etymological source of borrowings into English, with a total of 12 322 words with a German background in the second edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter *OED*) (Hughes 2000, 370). The number of more immediate and explicit German loans, found in the *OED* since 1900, is about 1 250 (Stubbs 1998, 21). According to another estimation German is the source for 2,5% of all new words

that came into the English language between 1880 and 1982 (Bauer 1997, 35). However, the number of new words with German origin has decreased in the late 20th century, as has the amount of borrowing of vocabulary from other donor languages as well (ibid., p. 34). This is due to the fact that new words in English are increasingly coined from native elements through various word-formational methods, such as suffixation and compounding (ibid., p. 38).

From a historical point of view, German loans in English are recorded since the Early Modern English period (1500-1800). The influence of German at that time was not especially heavy, partly because Germany achieved political unification and developed a standard language fairly late (Millward 1996, 286). German prominence in geology and mining provided the 18th century loans *bismuth*, *cobalt*, *gneiss*, *meerschaum*, *quartz* and *zinc* (ibid.). Other loans of the period are *carouse*¹, *fife* ('a flute-like instrument'), *halt* ('a stoppage'), *knapsack*, *noodle*, *plunder*, *swindle* ('to defraud'), *veneer* and *waltz* (ibid.). During the Present-Day English period (from the mid-20th century onwards) there has been an increase in German loanwords in English due to Germany's emergence as an international power, her early supremacy in graduate education and the heavy German immigration into the USA in the 19th century, among other factors (Millward 1996, 328). The educational or intellectual borrowings during the Present-Day English period include *seminar*, *semester*, *kindergarten*, *gestalt*² and *leitmotiv*³ (ibid.). Terms for food and beverages are also borrowed from German (*lager*, *schnapps*, *pretzel* 'thin, salty, crisp bread in the shape of a knot', *strudel* 'a baked sweet' and *zwieback* 'a biscuit'), as well as words having to do with popular music (*accordion*, *glockenspiel*, *yodel* and *zither*) (ibid.). Miscellaneous loans include *dachshund* ('a

1 *carouse*: In the phrase to drink, quaff (pledge one) carouse : i.e. to the bottom, to drink a full bumper to his health. (*OED*, s.v. *carouse* adv.)

2 *gestalt*: A 'shape', 'configuration', or 'structure' which as an object of perception forms a specific whole or unity incapable of expression simply in terms of its parts. (*OED*, s.v. *gestalt*)

3 *leitmotiv*: In the musical drama of Wagner and his imitators, a theme associated throughout the work with a particular person, situation, or sentiment. (*OED*, s.v. *leitmotiv*)

badger-dog'), *poodle*, *ersatz* ('substitute'), *kaput*, *strafe* ('to punish'), *paraffin*, *stalag*⁴, *hinterland* ('back country') and *klutz* ('a clumsy, awkward person') (ibid.).

Interestingly, even the words *loan word* and *loan translation* are loan translations of the German words *Lehnwort* and *Lehnübersetzung* (*OED* s.v. *loan-word*, *loan-translation*). Stubbs (1998, 25) states that although the total number of German loanwords in English is quite small, it is yet larger and more varied than people usually think. If asked to name German adoptions in English, English speakers would usually think of words having to do with World War II, such as *Nazi*, *Luftwaffe* and *Blitzkrieg* (cf. Stubbs 1998, 19). In fact, the influence of German on English is greatest in academic areas, as German was a major language of scholarship in the 19th and 20th centuries, especially in natural sciences, humanities and social sciences (ibid., p. 19-20). Perhaps surprisingly, an estimated 50% of German loans in English are specialist, technical or scientific words, unknown to most native English speakers (ibid., p. 21).

As is stated earlier in this study, the German language has donated quite a few terms for mental conditions thanks to several important German speaking psychiatrists and the spread of their work internationally, of whom Sigmund Freud is among the most famous. In addition to *angst*, *death-wish* and *schizophrenia*, words such as *schizoid* and *regression* are German contribution to English vocabulary for mental conditions as well (*OED* s.v. *schizoid*, *regression*).

3 Semantic change of psychological terms

One of the main interests in this study is to examine, whether the use of *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia* has changed when compared to their earliest senses in English and their original field of use in German. My hypothesis is that today the words in question are used in

⁴ *stalag*: In Nazi Germany: a prison-camp primarily for captured enemy private soldiers and non-commissioned officers. (*OED*, s.v. *stalag*)

more ordinary contexts and not to a large extent as psychological⁵ terms anymore. I even suspect that *angst* and *death wish* in particular may have disappeared from formal psychological contexts altogether. In fact, it has been discovered that words that start off as medical terms and begin to be used by laymen in more varied and questionable contexts, perhaps even with a negative connotation, often tend to disappear from medical language altogether and later from other formal contexts as well (Ayto 1993, 213-214). Words such as *moron*, *idiot* and *lunatic* are among those originally psychiatric terms that have had this typical fate of descending into “more-or-less off-colour colloquialisms” (ibid.). According to Ayto (1993, 214) the word *lunatic*, for example, was a proper medical term as long as until the early 19th century. Already in 1903 however, *OED* stated that the term is “not now employed technically by physicians” (ibid.). Ayto (1993, 212) argues that we have created these colloquialisms to “poke fun at” madness and to “show that we do not really care about it”. Moreover, he states that we avoid “the literal frankness” of ‘madness’ words and therefore allow ourselves “metaphorical extensions” of the terms (ibid., p. 213).

According to Hughes (2000, 387) there is “a lack of sympathy for mental conditions” in the English language, which is perhaps due to the fact that they have not yet gained “the status of socially acceptable disorders, and because of scepticism about the efficacy of psychiatric treatment”. Hughes argues further that as a fairly young discipline, psychoanalysis has not yet acquired the professional status of law and medicine, for example, which as older professions have been able “to maintain powers of definition and of obfuscation within their fields” (ibid.). As a result, ordinary people have adopted psychological terms and are using them familiarly in unscientific contexts and much of the psychological terminology has been “demystified and made more crude” (ibid.).

5 As there seems to be no consensus among different dictionaries on whether *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia* are psychiatric or psychological terms, I simply choose one and use it consistently to avoid confusion. Hereafter I will refer to the words as psychological terms, unless I am referring to a specific dictionary that uses a different label for the terms.

In semantics the changes in the meanings of words are called semantic changes. There are four main types of changes that can occur: *widening*, *narrowing*, *amelioration* and *pejoration* of meaning (Harley 2006, 103-105). The words examined in this study are likely to have gone through either widening or pejoration of meaning, or perhaps both are possible. According to Harley (2006, 103) *widening* (also called *generalization of meaning*, Hughes 1988, 9) happens when the word broadens in meaning and over time comes to refer to a more inclusive concept. For example the word *bird* formerly meant ‘young fowl’, whereas today it is used to refer to a far larger group of animals (Harley 2006, 103). *Narrowing* (also called *specialization of meaning*, Hughes 1988, 11) then means the opposite of widening, where a word with a formerly broad application gradually develops a more narrow application (Harley 2006, 103). A word undergoes *pejoration* of meaning (also called *deterioration of meaning*, Hughes 1988, 12) when it moves downward, either socially or emotionally, in other words, when it moves from a higher to a lower register or from having positive or neutral connotations to having negative connotations (Harley 2006, 104). For example, developmentally delayed children were first described with the once technical term *moron*, which later became pejorative and was replaced by *retarded* (ibid.). *Retarded* in its turn had the same faith as *moron* and was replaced by a new set on technical terms, such as *special needs* and *developmentally disabled*. *Amelioration* of meaning is the opposite of pejoration. For example the word *nice* used to mean ‘stupid, simple’ still in the 15th century, whereas today it has a far more positive meaning (ibid.).

I suspect that the words *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia* have undergone processes similar to what have been described above. My hypothesis is that they too have become commonplace metaphorical colloquialisms used by laymen for different effects and therefore their meanings have either widened or perhaps partly even deteriorated in English. This hypothesis is based purely on my own intuition as an English-knowing person. The task

of the empirical study is therefore to test the validity of this hypothesis.

4 Material and methods

I will study the treatment of the words *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia* in various dictionaries. The aim is to find out whether there are differences in the definitions and usage information on these words. In order to do that, I will compare British and American general purpose dictionaries, but also learner's dictionaries. I chose to compare these dictionaries, because I am interested in finding out whether there are differences depending on the type of target audience (learner's dictionaries vs. general purpose dictionaries) and as regards the dictionary's country of origin (British vs. American dictionaries). Some dictionaries of psychology will also be consulted, in order to find out whether the words are recognized in them: are the words still used in psychology or do they perhaps have some informal connotations in addition or even instead? In other words, are perhaps some of the lexemes examined used nowadays only in informal contexts?

To find out how the words in question are actually used, language corpora (the *British National Corpus*, hereafter BNC, and the *Contemporary Corpus of American English*, hereafter COCA) will be consulted in this study. The aim is to find hits where the words are used in a context or meaning which is different from their original psychological connotations. Some samples on the use of the words from the Internet (via *Google Search*) will also be provided where the searches yield interesting or relevant results. It should be pointed out that the number of tokens of each word will not be discussed, for quantitative information is not relevant for the purpose of this study. The corpora are used simply to provide examples on the current use of the words.

In order to find out whether the original words are used with the same meaning in German, some German dictionaries will be used in this study as well. I consult general

purpose dictionaries, but also German dictionaries of psychology, the main focus still remaining on the English use of the words. All the German quotations provided in this study are translated into English by me. To check how the words in question are translated and whether they are considered as equivalents of their original German words, some bilingual dictionaries will be consulted in addition. Where possible, 21st century dictionaries are used in this study. However, I had no access to more recently published dictionaries of psychology and the ones used in this study are all published between the sixties and the nineties. This could be due to the fact that psychology is a fairly stable discipline and for this reason, there is seldom need for revised editions of dictionaries of psychology. For the purposes of this study, that is not a problem however, since the words studied here are unlikely to appear in later editions of dictionaries of psychology. It is therefore even more interesting to study somewhat older dictionaries. The following dictionaries provide the main sources for this study:

British dictionaries

CD: *The Chambers Dictionary*, 10th ed. 2006
OED: *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 1989; online version November 2010

American dictionaries

RHUD: *Random House Unabridged Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 1993
AHD: *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th ed. 2000

Learner's and collegiate dictionaries (both American and British)

CALD: *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 3rd ed. 2008
COBUILD: *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's English Dictionary*, 5th ed. 2006
MWC: *Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 10th ed. 2001
OALD: *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, 6th ed. 2000

German dictionaries

Duden Deutsches Universal Wörterbuch, 2003
Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch, 2002

English dictionaries of psychology

Dictionary of Behavioral Science, 1975
Dictionary of Key Words in Psychology, 1986
Dictionary of Psychology, 1975
Longman Dictionary of Psychology and Psychiatry, 1984

German dictionaries of psychology

Dtv-Wörterbuch zur Psychologie, 1970
Kleines Psychologisches Wörterbuch, 1990
Psychologisches Wörterbuch, 1976
Wörterbuch der Psychologie, 1965

To see whether there is regional variation in the definitions of the words, I decided to compare the comprehensive general purpose dictionaries only and treat learner's dictionaries separately regardless of their place of publication. The reason for this is the fact that learner's dictionaries have a good deal in common because of their shared target audience no matter whether they are published in the USA or in Britain. Besides, only one such American dictionary is used in this study, which would not provide enough data for comparative purposes.

The dictionary definitions of *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia* (with *schizo* as an additional entry for reasons clarified later in this study) are provided in tables at the end of this thesis (see Appendix). I have purposely left out the information on pronunciation from the definitions in order to save space and because it is not of interest in this study. All other information is a faithful reproduction of the dictionary entry, including italics, boldface, brackets and capital letters. In the case of *OED*, however, the various historical quotations are not provided.

5 A study of *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia*

The words *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia* are all discussed separately in this study. In each case the word's use in English is first discussed on the basis of dictionary definitions and corpus findings. Then the word's use in the donor language, German, is dealt with, mainly

by discussing dictionary definitions and a few Internet findings. Finally the word's status as a psychological term both in English and in German is examined by consulting dictionaries of psychology. In alphabetical order, *angst* (chapter 5.1) is discussed first, followed by *death wish* (chapter 5.2) and finally *schizophrenia* (chapter 5.3).

5.1 *Angst*

5.1.1 *Angst in English*

Angst is defined in *OED* by its synonyms “[a]nxiety, anguish, neurotic fear; guilt, remorse”. Despite the fact that the medical word *neurotic* is used in its definition, *angst* is not labelled as a psychological term. In fact, none of the dictionaries used in this study recognise *angst* as a term of psychology. *Angst* is first recorded in English texts in 1849 in a German context as a foreignism (with a capital letter and single quotes), but in a purely psychological context later in 1922 in a translation of Freud's *Beyond Pleasure Principle* (*OED* s.v. *angst*). Today *angst* is clearly settled in the English vocabulary as a domesticated word and not as a foreignism: it is commonly listed in dictionaries, it is written with a small initial letter and some dictionaries do not even recognise its German origin, as for example *COBUILD* and *CALD* of the dictionaries used in this study. Only the British dictionary *CD* (s.v. *angst*) states that *angst* is often written with a capital letter, but even there the word is written with a small a in the entry.

When compared to the American dictionaries (*RHUD* and *AHD*), the British dictionaries seem to give somewhat more scientific definitions for *angst*. As is stated earlier in this chapter, *OED* uses the term *neurotic* and *CD*'s definition is even closer to a definition one might find in a psychological dictionary. In *CD* (s.v.) *angst* is defined as “a general feeling of anxiety produced by awareness of the uncertainties and paradoxes inherent in the state of being human”. In both British and American dictionaries *angst* is defined as

‘anxiety’, one of the American dictionaries (*AHD* s.v. *angst*), however, adding the definition ‘apprehension’ and “often accompanied by depression”. The American dictionaries seem to have a slight tendency towards a somewhat less clinical definition of *angst*. However, solid conclusions about the differences between the British and the American dictionaries cannot be made on the basis of just four dictionaries.

In contrast, the differences between general purpose and learner's dictionaries are significantly more clear-cut. In all of the learner's dictionaries *angst* is defined as a ‘worry’. This ‘worry’ can be either “about personal problems” (*CALD* s.v. *angst*) or “about a situation, or about your life” (*OALD* s.v. *angst*). In addition, *CALD* defines *angst* as ‘unhappiness’. As can be expected from the target audience of learner's dictionaries, the words used in the definitions of *angst* are far more common than the words used in the comprehensive general purpose dictionaries. This is fairly self-evident. More interesting is perhaps the fact that in learner's dictionaries *angst* is defined as something far more general and less severe than in other dictionaries used in this study. That is to say that in learner's dictionaries there is hardly any trace of *angst* having originated as a psychological term. This is clearly indicated even in the example sentences of two of the learner's dictionaries: “*All my children went through a period of late-adolescent angst*” (*CALD* s.v. *angst*) and “*songs full of teenage angst*” (*OALD* s.v. *angst*). In fact, *angst* is associated with teenagers and especially with a period that more or less everyone goes through at some point in adolescence.

Stubbs (1998, 23) states that the word *angst* has recently acquired strong evaluative connotations in English in that it is often being used “when other people's behaviour is being evaluated in ironic or highly critical ways” and *angst* is something “typically suffered by adolescent, middle-class, introspective, sensitive, suburban souls”. In addition, *angst* often occurs in semi-fixed phrases such as *angst-ridden* and in *teen(age) angst* (*ibid.*), as in the following example from the Internet:

- (1) well, technically my worst "date" was when my prom date showed up late to my prom and then dumped me right afterwards and took the limo and left me there..... but that's ancient history. I suppose **teenage angst** prom stories shouldn't really count as dates. especially when you are in your thirties and still upset about it clearly :) (Internet source 1)

In the BNC several instances were found where *angst* is used in a teenage context. Interestingly, many of these were published in periodicals and seemed to be some sort of critical reviews of teenage movies, bands or musicals written in a very ironic tone and colourful language. Here are a few examples from the BNC:

- (2) THE ULTIMATE teen movie, a sharp-edged black comedy which mercilessly swipes at adolescent **angst**, peer pressure, consumerism, and that old favourite, the generation gap. (BNC, CHA 3183)
- (3) Horowitz's adolescent **angst** is the usual stuff about 'careless' parents, pill-popping, losing your cherry, driving convertible cars into swimming pools, and rebelling against adult authority figures. (BNC, CAD 2253)
- (4) There can also be few musicals infused with quite so many infectious tunes or sardonic lyrics which embody perfectly the **angst** and awakening libido of the seven teenagers at the club on a typical Saturday night. (BNC, BM4 486)
- (5) While each twist of that film served to subvert a teenage cliché, his latest starring vehicle takes its **angst** a good deal more seriously. (BNC, ED7 1540)
- (6) They just make indie music because they're middle class teenagers who want to get rid of a bit of **angst** and I don't think that is what Curve are about. (BNC, C9J 1850)

These findings are in accordance with Stubb's statement of *angst* being used "when other people's behaviour is being evaluated in ironic or highly critical ways" (1998, 23). This is perhaps why it also seems to be a common word in critical writings, as in the examples above. The fact that those writings mostly deal with different artistic products, such as films and music, and artists conforms well with the other point being made by Stubb about the connection of *angst* with "introspective, sensitive ... souls" (ibid.). When used evaluatively *angst* seems to have not only a critical, but also a slightly comical undertone that adds colour to the text in question.

Stubbs (1998, 23) also states that *angst* is a popular word in journalism. One of the

learner's dictionaries, the *COBUILD* (s.v. *angst*), recognises this as well and assigns *angst* the label “[JOURNALISM]”. This is also supported by my corpus data: not only are many of the BNC examples of *angst* published in periodicals, but I also managed to find quite a few instances on the Internet, where *angst* is used in all sorts of titles, perhaps to add emphasis and “eye-catchingness”, as in the following examples (No. 7 is the title of a blog entry, No. 8 of an article, No. 9 of a paperback):

- (7) Hair Color **Angst**: To Dye or Not to Dye? (Internet source 2)
- (8) Talking turkey: Planning, advance preparation can ease holiday **angst** (Internet source 3)
- (9) Skinny bitching : A thirty-something woman mouths off about age **angst**, pregnancy pressure, and the dieting battles you'll never win (Internet source 4)

Angst seems to have come a long way from its original usage as a psychological term. Apparently it is used to over-dramatize a feeling of worry or slight stress about any kinds of trivial things, as shown by the examples above. It seems that *angst* is not only something to do with teenagers, but it can also be used in association with almost anything people at any age stress about in their lives: appearance, holidays and age among other things (see examples 7-9). I was able to find cases like these in the BNC as well, having to do with dieting and age:

- (10) Do you have problems with obesity, he asked the steward on the Desert Wind, the train so called not because of dietary **angst** but because it crosses the Mojave on the way from LA to Chicago. (BNC, A8F 216)
- (11) Date of birth causes endless **angst** for those over 35. (BNC, CB8 1250)

To conclude, *angst* in English is used to describe a feeling of worry about almost anything and the word's origin as a psychological term is hardly detectable in its current usage. Therefore it can be said that the definitions of *angst* in learner's dictionaries are much closer to the word's actual use than the definitions in the other dictionaries (esp. British) used in this study, which are still somewhat faithful to the word's original psychological meaning by for

example emphasizing ‘anxiety’ and ‘anguish’ in their definitions. *Angst* is something commonly suffered by teenagers or any kind of worry about anything, mostly about trivial things. *Angst* is often used in journalism, especially in critical film, music or book reviews and in different kinds of titles. *Angst* seems to be used for different purposes as well: for criticising, catching attention in titles, making the language more colourful, over-dramatizing and at the same time adding a hint of humour or a comical undertone to the text in question (see examples 7-9).

5.1.2 *Angst* in German

In today's German *Angst* (with a capital letter like all nouns in German) is a simple and common word for any kind of fear, and it is something that I as a German-knowing person would hardly associate with psychology. In fact, in *Langenscheidts Taschenwörterbuch der englischen und deutschen Sprache* (1982), *Angst* is translated into English as ‘anxiety’ and ‘fear’, not as ‘angst’, so this already gives an idea of the different connotations of *angst/Angst* in English and in German.

Duden's *Deutsches Universal Wörterbuch* (s.v. *Angst*) states that *Angst* is also used “in the jargon of psychology” (“in der Fachsprache der Psychologie”), where it is seen as something “unfounded, not object-oriented” (“unbegründet, nicht objektbezogen”), but this sort of meaning is not common “in standard language” (“in der Allgemeinsprache”). In other words, *Angst* in German has two different meanings depending on whether it is used in ordinary language or in psychology.

5.1.3 *Angst* in dictionaries of psychology

In order to find out whether *angst* (*Angst* in German) is still used as a psychological term in German and in English I decided to examine whether *angst* is recognized in German and English dictionaries of psychology. The corpus data already showed that in English *angst* is

used less and less as a psychological term and that it has become an ordinary word used by common people, not only by professionals working in the field of psychology. This is further supported by the fact that *angst* is not commonly recognised in English dictionaries of psychology. In fact, only one out of the four dictionaries recognise *angst* as a psychological term and even there it is defined by using the word *anxiety*: “Anxiety strikes at the center of the person's experience of himself as a being...” (*Longman Dictionary of Psychology and Psychiatry* 1984, s.v. *angst*). Other English dictionaries of psychology have an entry for *anxiety* describing a similar phenomenon to that of *angst* in *Longman Dictionary of Psychology and Psychiatry*. It seems therefore that in English *angst* has almost ceased being a psychological term and the word *anxiety* is used instead. Even in one of the German dictionaries for psychology *Angst* is provided with the English translation *anxiety*, which further confirms this point. It is perhaps not surprising that in contrast to English dictionaries, all of the German dictionaries of psychology recognise *Angst* as a psychological term. To conclude, *Angst* in German is still commonly used as a psychological term, whereas *angst* in English is not and the term *anxiety* is used instead.

5.2 *Death wish*

5.2.1 *Death wish in English*

According to the *OED*, *death-wish*⁶ is a loan translation of the German word *Todeswunsch* and means “a conscious or unconscious wish for the death of oneself or another”, but it is not labelled as a psychological term. It is also stated that the word can have a figurative meaning, as in the quote “Even in America.. [sic] the death-wish of the business community appears to go beyond the normal limits of political incompetence and geographical security” (*OED* s.v. *death-wish*). *Death-wish* is first recorded in English texts in 1896 and in a psychological

⁶ There are some differences in the spelling of *death wish*. In the *OED* it is spelled with a hyphen (*death-wish*) and with a space (*death wish*) in other dictionaries. In *COBUILD* there is nevertheless the sidenote that *death wish* can also be spelled with a hyphen.

context in 1913 in a text titled *Freud's Interpretation of Dreams* (*OED* s.v. *death-wish*).

There are a few differences between the American and British general purpose dictionaries in the definition of *death wish*. The British dictionaries use the word *wish* in their definition, whereas the American dictionaries prefer *desire*: “desire for one's own death or for the death of another” (*RHUD* s.v. *death wish*). All of the general purpose dictionaries are congruent with each other in that *death wish* can mean the wish for death of either oneself or of another person. Whether *death wish* is conscious or unconscious is commented on in every general purpose dictionary, except for *RHUD*. There are some differences in the labelling as well: the *OED* gives no label whatsoever, *CD* labels *death wish* as a psychological term and both the American dictionaries (*RHUD* and *AHD*) assign the label *Psychiatry* to one of its meanings. Interestingly, only the American dictionaries give *death wish* two senses. In addition to the meaning discussed so far, they both add notions on suicidal behaviour in the second meaning of the term: “A suicidal urge thought to drive certain people to put themselves consistently into dangerous situations” (*AHD* s.v. *death wish*, sense 2) and “A suicidal desire, manifested by passivity, withdrawal and absorption in nihilistic thoughts, that may eventually lead to suicidal behavior” (*RHUD* s.v. *death wish*, sense 2). Whereas *RHUD* labels this second meaning as psychiatric, *AHD* does not and labels the first meaning as psychiatric instead. The American general purpose dictionaries do not therefore agree on which meaning is psychiatric. When compared to the British general purpose dictionaries, the American ones still have the notion of suicidal behaviour in common. In conclusion, there seems to be some regional variation in the understanding of *death wish* in the dictionaries dealt with in this study.

There are also some interesting differences between the learner's dictionaries. Only *MWC* comments on the fact that *death wish* can be a wish for the death of another person as well. *CALD* (s.v. *death wish*) on the other hand is very brief in its definition: “a desire for

death” and does not even comment on whether it is conscious or unconscious, whereas the other learner's dictionaries do. Its example sentence, however, gives an idea of the word's additional meaning: “The chances he takes, you'd think he had a death wish” (*CALD* s.v. *death wish*). It can be understood that *death wish* has to do with suicidal behaviour, as is suggested by the American general purpose dictionaries discussed earlier.

In the corpus data I was able to find some interesting cases of the actual use of *death wish* in English. First of all, *death wish* is often used in association with extreme or dangerous sports and activities, such as surfing, bungee jumping and riding a bike or a car (see examples 12-18). In these cases *death wish* is often used to criticise the fact that someone would engage in such dangerous activities. The person with a *death wish* is on purpose acting in a way which is disadvantageous to him- or herself and this is seen as foolish by the speaker or the writer. Saying that someone has a *death wish* seems to be a rather lively or even humorous way of criticizing the lack of judgement of the person in question (see for instance example 17). The following examples illustrate, how *death wish* is used in association with more or less extreme activities:

- (12) Driving:
You had to have a fucking **death wish** to drive in L.A.
(COCA, 2009 FIC Bk: LosersTownDavid)
- (13) Rock climbing:
Here's a little secret: You don't have to be Sir Edmund Hillary to conquer some of California's highest and best-known peaks. Nor do you need ropes, Sherpas, bottled oxygen, Popeye-sized forearms, pitons or a barely disguised **death wish**. # Anyone with a pair of hiking boots and a good set of lungs can walk all the way to the top of Mount Whitney or Mount Lassen with their hands in their pockets. (COCA, 2001 NEWS SanFrancisco)
- (14) Tanning:
In fact, the entire picnic atmosphere has become health-conscious. Remember witnessing throngs of people parking their oiled bodies on beach towels and rolling over every hour? Now " the perfect tan " conveys one of two messages: 1) sheer ignorance or 2) a **death wish**. (COCA, 1993 MAG MotherEarth)
- (15) Surfing:
After you'd seen the famous blow-holes, there wasn't a lot to do unless you

were a surfer with a **death wish**, so they mostly walked around enjoying the peacefulness. (COCA, 2004 FIC Analog)

Bungee jumping:

- (16) He could've shot you. You have a **death wish**? You a bungee jumper? (COCA, 2001 FIC Mov:AngelEyes)

Riding a bike:

- (17) I could never understand why people got so worked up about bicycles. They were kids' toys. Adults rode them because they couldn't afford, or didn't believe in, cars. Or maybe they had a **death wish**, or awful fashion sense. I didn't get it and I didn't care. (COCA, 2001 MAG Bicycling)

White water rafting:

- (18) Class V: Extremely difficult; long violent rapids that must be scouted from shore, dangerous drops, unstable eddys, irregular currents. Class VI: Unless you have a **death wish**, don't even think about it. (COCA, 1998 NEWS Atlanta)

Death wish is also often associated with politics, especially for criticizing purposes, when for example a political party or a member of that party is acting in a way that might make the party or the politician unpopular. In other words, the person or the party (or other political institution) with a *death wish* is, according to the judgement of the speaker or writer, acting foolishly in a way which is disadvantageous to the subject referred to in the sentence.

There were several instances like this in the corpora:

- (19) MR RUSSERT Newt Gingrich, when you were elected chairman of the party, said the Democrats must have a **death wish**. (COCA, 2005 SPOK MSNBC_MeetPress)
- (20) That's a pattern that's emerged in virtually every state, every big state in the country: McCain's a stronger general election nominee. Do Republicans have a **death wish** in the fall? (COCA, 2000 SPOK CNN_Novak)
- (21) Other officials, some largely supportive, wonder about an apparent UN **death wish**, pointing to the renewed effort to hamstring the Security Council, the refusal to embrace major house cleaning, and the resurgence of an inflammatory rhetoric that pits region against region. (COCA, 1997 ACAD WorlsAffairs)
- (22) Since governments with a **death wish** are rare, growth which enriches the individual is sacred. (BNC, AB6 1262)
- (23) Does he have a political **death wish**? WILLIAM KRISTOL, ABC News Consultant: Well, I don't know about that. I- it was a tough week for the Dole

campaign. I think a lot of people on the Dole campaign probably started smoking again this week. (COCA, 1996 SPOK ABC_Brinkley)

- (24) Republican **Death Wish** is titled that because there are three senators -- and actually two as it turns out -- who are joining the Democrats, saying, Yeah, we don't need these tax cuts. It's really going to hurt us bad. (COCA, 1995 SPOK Ind_Limbaugh)

Similarly to political parties, businesses can also be said to have a *death wish*, if their actions are seen to contradict their best interests:

- (25) Do the domestic airlines have a **death wish**? It seems as though they keep losing money, and every time they try to raise fare a little bit to save themselves, somebody does something to lower maybe a few fares, and everybody crashes in, and everything goes down. (COCA, 1992 SPOK ABC_Business)

Most often *death wish* is used to describe a situation where the subject wishes for his/her own death (not perhaps literally). There are, however, some instances, where *death wish* means the wish for the death of another and not of the subject him-/herself:

- (26) Mr Milne said: 'I am convinced that certain parts of the north-east community have a **death wish** for the fish processing sector in this area.' (BNC, K5H 2218)

In the following example *death wish* is similarly a wish for the death of someone else. The example further illustrates that *death wish* can also be used with inanimate things, such as shoes:

- (27) For fall, edit out, among other things, massive, combative shoulders, pants you could lose a ship in, and shoes with a **death wish**. The extreme shoe, though key to designers' visions, has escalated to emergency proportions in the regular-world trenches. " I'm still wounded, " laments actress Tracee Ellis Ross of her night out in killer gladiator sandals. (COCA, 2008 MAG HarpersBazaar)

In many of the cases, *death wish* is used in a rather humorous context, as in the previous example. In the following examples *death wish* is humorously associated with marriage and weddings, but also with an exaggerated suicidal urge that is triggered by not being able to watch TV:

- (28) Cynics say getting married is a **death wish**. # Now, I'm no Pollyanna, but I try to ignore cynics. Anyway, what I usually say is that catering weddings is a **death wish**. My assistant, twenty-two-year-old Julian Teller, and I laugh at that. Yucking it up provides a bit of comic relief... (COCA, 2009 FIC Dk: Deadlock)
- (29) I mean, I know eventually I'm going to get- be able to watch TV again so it's not the end of the world, but I can't imagine not being able to watch TV. That-that's like, to me that's like a **death wish**. (COCA, 1996 SPOK ABC_20/20)

To conclude, *death wish* in English is used in far more varied contexts than merely as a psychological term. Like *angst*, it has become a common everyday word. It is used to criticize other people's actions that are considered as death defying, but it is also used figuratively especially for political parties and companies, when they are acting against their best interests and are at risk of becoming unpopular or going bankrupt. *Death wish* is often used for humorous purposes and for exaggeration as well. In this use, inanimate things can also have a *death wish*. It seems that *death wish* has, at least to some extent, ceased being the psychological term it used to be. In this respect, I argue that some of the common purpose dictionaries are somewhat misleading in their definitions of *death wish* in that they are still faithful to the word's psychological definition.

5.2.2 *Todeswunsch* in German

Interestingly, the word *Todeswunsch* is not listed in either of the German rather comprehensive dictionaries, Wahrig's *Deutsches Wörterbuch (WDW)* and Duden's *Universal Wörterbuch (DUW)*. There is the possibility that it is just a very rare word, or even that the meaning of *Todeswunsch* is expressed with a different word or expression nowadays. In fact, *Pons Globalwörterbuch Englisch-Deutsch* gives *death-wish* the translation 'Wunsch zu sterben' ('wish to die'), instead of *Todeswunsch*. The Finnish equivalent for *death-wish* is 'kuolemankaipuu' (*Englanti-suomi suursanakirja* 1990) and *kuolemankaipuu* is translated into German as *Todessehnsucht* ('longing for death') (*Suomi-saksa suursanakirja* 1997).

Todessehnsucht, however, is not recognised in either *DUW* or *WDW*. These findings point to my hypothesis that the meaning of *death wish* is not expressed as *Todeswunsch* in German, but that there are other expressions that cover roughly the same meaning as *death wish* in English. This remark is possibly supported by the fact that the title of a thriller film from the U.S. called *Death Wish* was not translated as *Todeswunsch* in German, but as *Ein Mann sieht rot* ('a man sees red') (Internet sources 5 and 6). There are of course many motives for the choice of a film title translation, but this choice may imply that *death wish* and *Todeswunsch* do not have exactly the same connotations, which possibly implies further that *death wish* has started to live a life of its own in the recipient language, English.

Despite the fact that *Todeswunsch* is listed in none of the German dictionaries consulted in this study, the *Google Search* was still able to find 48 700 instances of *Todeswunsch*, many of them having to do with psychology as in the following example: "Suizidgedanken oder -versuche entspringen nicht einem eigentlichen Todeswunsch, sondern sind Ausdruck eines „So-nicht-mehr-Leben-Wollens"" ("Suicidal thoughts or attempts do not emerge from an actual death wish, but they are expressions of "not wanting to live like this anymore") (Internet source 7). There are also instances where *Todeswunsch* is used as the name of a book (Internet source 8), a song (Internet source 9), an online game (Internet source 10) and a music album (Internet source 11). This indicates that *Todeswunsch* is used in German also in other than psychological contexts. It still seems to be a rare word in German and it is perhaps in most cases replaced by the phrase "Wunsch zu sterben" ('wish to die'), which with its 2 460 000 hits via *Google Search* is far more common than *Todeswunsch*.

5.2.3 *Death wish and Todeswunsch in dictionaries of psychology*

In English, *death wish* is recognized as a psychological term by only one of the dictionaries of psychology (*Longman Dictionary of Psychology and Psychiatry* 1984, s.v. *death wish*⁷), which is a clear indication of *death wish* having become an ordinary word in English. Surprisingly, however, *Todeswunsch* is recognized by none of the German dictionaries for psychology. It seems that *Todeswunsch* in German does not officially exist either as an ordinary word or as a psychological term. In fact, the only place where I was actually able to find the word *Todeswunsch* used in German, was the Internet, as is already pointed out in the previous chapter. In other words, *Todeswunsch* seems to have faced extinction to some extent in German, whereas in English *death wish* has lived on, but rather as an ordinary word and not as a psychological term.

5.3 *Schizophrenia*

5.3.1 *Schizophrenia in English*

According to *OED*, *schizophrenia* comes from the German word *Schizophrenie*. The term was coined by the Swiss psychiatrist Eugen Bleuler in 1910 and in English texts it is first recorded in 1912, also with the mention of Bleuler (*OED* s.v. *schizophrenia*). *OED* labels *schizophrenia* as a psychological term with the definition “[a] mental disorder occurring in various forms, all characterized by a breakdown in the relation between thoughts, feelings, and actions, usu. with a withdrawal from social activity and the occurrence of delusions and hallucinations“.

Only two of the dictionaries consulted in this study give *schizophrenia* a label. As is already mentioned, *OED* labels it as a term of psychology. In addition *RHUD* labels

7 The definition of *death wish* (s.v.) in *Longman Dictionary of Psychology and Psychiatry* 1984: “In psychoanalysis, a conscious or unconscious wish that another person, particularly a parent, will die. According to Freud, such wishes are a major source of guilt, desire for self-punishment, and depression. The d.w. is usually related to oedipal rivalry for the affections of the other parent. Guilt and depression over such wishes may in some cases direct the d.w. inwardly.”

schizophrenia as a term of psychiatry. However, all the dictionaries somehow indicate that the term has to do with a mental condition: the definitions of *schizophrenia* (s.v.) range from “psychotic disorder” (*AHD*, *MWC*), “psychosis” (*CD*), and “mental disorder” (*OED*, *RHUD*) to the more ordinary definition “mental illness” (*COBUILD*, *CALD*, *OALD*) preferred by all of the learner's dictionaries. Despite the lack of labelling in many of the dictionaries and the differences in the choice of words used in the definitions, *schizophrenia* is still, according to the dictionaries, clearly a psychological term in English, used to denote a mental condition.

In its definition, *OED* adds the sidenote that *schizophrenia* is “used in the U.S. with a broader meaning than in Britain” and this is illustrated by one of the quotes:

1980 J. Ashton *Everyday Psychiatry* v. 33 His [*sc.* Bleuler's] use of the word in a wide sense has influenced the practice of Swiss and American psychiatry to the present day, so that ‘American schizophrenia’ ranges from apparently minor personality disorders with a range of emotional reactions, through to the major deterioration of personality that is recognized as schizophrenia by British psychiatrists. (*OED* s.v. *schizophrenia*)

It is interesting to find out whether this broader psychological interpretation of schizophrenia has resulted in a broader figurative use of the word in everyday speech in the U.S., since according to the quote above, *schizophrenia* can also refer to a less severe personality disorder and this “lightness” of the term could make it more acceptable to use in everyday speech. The psychological definitions of the word in British and American general purpose dictionaries do not greatly differ from one another from the “severeness” point of view. However, there is a noticeable pattern in the definitions that clearly points to the fact that *schizophrenia* does have a broader figurative use in the U.S.: the American dictionaries all assign *schizophrenia* a very similar figurative use: “a state characterized by the coexistence of contradictory or incompatible elements.” (*RHUD*, s.v. *schizophrenia*, sense 2). *AHD* (s.v. *schizophrenia*, sense 2) illustrates this meaning with the following example: “the national schizophrenia that results from carrying out an unpopular war”. Only two of the British dictionaries recognise some sort of non-psychological sense for *schizophrenia* and even there,

the sense is somewhat different to that of the American dictionaries. *OED* only states that there is a transferred and figurative sense, not commenting on it any further (other than the historical quotations). *CALD* on the other hand gives *schizophrenia* an “[INFORMAL]” sense: “behaviour in which a person appears to have two different personalities”. This too is quite far from the figurative sense assigned by the American dictionaries.

Although *schizophrenia* is mostly used in psychological contexts both in the BNC and the COCA, there are, however, clear indications in the corpus data that support the term having a figurative sense, similar to those discussed in the previous paragraph. Here are some cases where *schizophrenia* is used in a figurative sense:

- (30) Next month's summit-at-sea may see a resolution of the Bush Administration's **schizophrenia** over Moscow. (BNC, A87 188)
- (31) But subsequent albums, especially Sign of the Times have seen Prince's cultural **schizophrenia** implode within individual songs. (BNC, AB3 745)
- (32) Doesn't the suppression of his Indian side in subsequent Western stories suggest a certain national ... **schizophrenia**? (BNC, CK6 1561)

The dictionary definitions and the corpus data show that there is a clear widening of meaning in the case of *schizophrenia*. A further point that indicates this is the fact that slang abbreviations are made from the term's derivatives *schizophrenic* and *schizoid* (*OED*, s.v. *schiz* & *schizo*). Among these are *schizo* (*OED*, *CD*, *RHUD*, *AHD*, *MWC*, *CALD*; s.v. *schizo*), *schiz* (*OED*, s.v. *schiz*), *schitz* (*OED*, s.v. *schiz*), *schizy* (*MWC*, s.v. *schizy*) and *schizy* (*MWC*, s.v. *schizy*), which are all used in informal contexts. *Schizo* is recognized by all of the dictionaries consulted in this study, except for *COBUILD* and *OALD*. It is labelled as slang abbreviation (*OED*), derogatory informal (*CD*), informal (*RHUD*), offensive slang (*AHD*) and informal disapproving (*CALD*). It is mostly used to describe a schizophrenic person, but *RHUD* (s.v. *schizo*, sense 3) also adds the sense “crazy; wildly eccentric; lunatic”. In fact, in addition to *schizo* being an abbreviation for someone with a diagnosed schizophrenia,

according to the corpus data *schizo* often seems to have taken the place of *crazy* or *mad*, in that it is used in fixed phrases, where one would normally see *crazy* or *mad* used instead, such as *go crazy/mad* or *drive sb crazy/mad* as in the following examples:

- (33) your stomach **has gone schizo** You may have: Irritable bowel syndrome (IBS).
(COCA, 2003 MAG Cosmopolitan)
- (34) He **was going schizo** again, hearing things. (COCA, 1993 MAG Atlantic)
- (35) She had been through enough to **drive** the average person **schizo**.
(COCA, 2000 FIC FantasySciFi)

In addition *schizo* can also have a more negative connotation in that it is used as an insult as in the following example:

- (36) What kind of **schizo** moron are you anyway?????? (Internet source 12)

The following two examples illustrate another way in which *schizo* is used in English:

- (37) Well, in fairness to the moms, maybe we damsels have been a little **schizo**. First we wanted the dashing gestures, the affection and the caretaking. But then feminism arrived. We wanted equal pay (naturally), and some women weren't so sure that they wanted a door held for them anymore. (COCA, 2002 MAG Town Country)
- (38) Dear mother nature, why are you a bipolar **schizo** bitch? Can you please make up ur damn mind on the weather? Please.... (Internet source 13)

In examples 37 and 38 *schizo* is not necessarily used as an equivalent of *crazy* or *mad*, but it rather seems to have the meaning ‘erratic’, ‘unpredictable’, ‘volatile’ and ‘fickle’. To conclude, according to the corpus data *schizo* can have the meaning of simply ‘crazy’ and ‘mad’, or it can be used to describe someone or something with constantly changing moods and unpredictable character. In general it is used with a more or less negative connotation in an informal context. For other than *RHUD* (s.v. *schizo*, sense 3) with its mention of “crazy”, none of the dictionaries clearly indicate these uses of the word *schizo*.

Since *schizophrenia* is the underlying word form for the informal abbreviation *schizo* it is fair to say that *schizophrenia* has in fact, not only widened (figurative use), but also deteriorated in meaning in the English language in that it has been abbreviated for informal

use, which can in some contexts be used offensively with a negative connotation. The corpus findings show that the dictionary definitions of *schizophrenia* and *schizo* are lacking essential usage information: only some of the dictionaries recognise the non-psychological uses of *schizophrenia* and the actual use of *schizo*, when even listed, is not entirely captured in the dictionaries either.

5.3.2 *Schizophrenie* in German

The definition of *Schizophrenie* in German does not greatly differ from that in English. *DUW* gives *Schizophrenie* two senses: one is for the mental condition and labelled as a term of psychology and medicine. The second sense, recognized in *DUW* but not in *WDW*, is similar to the figurative use assigned to *schizophrenia* by the English dictionaries: “being schizophrenic; of schizophrenic character” (“das Schizophrenesein; schizophrener Charakter” *DUW*, s.v. *Schizophrenie*, sense 2). This use is illustrated by the example sentence: “this case shows the schizophrenia of his fiscal policy” (“dieser Fall zeigt die S. seiner Finanzpolitik” *DUW*, s.v. *Schizophrenie*, sense 2). Interestingly in *DUW* this sort of meaning is given the label *bildungssprachlich*, meaning that *Schizophrenie* is used in this figurative sense in German only by educated people. Although this sort of labelling does not seem fit in modern society where class and social distinctions are avoided, there is support for this labelling on the Internet. *Schizophrenie* does appear to be common in political rhetoric in German, which is also illustrated by the example sentence in *DUW*. Politics on the other hand can be seen as an interest of the educated people and in that respect *Schizophrenie* could in fact be *bildungssprachlich* in German. The following example is a very recent article headline on the website of *Financial Times Deutschland*, where *Schizophrenie* is used figuratively in a political context:

- (39) **Luftangriffe gegen Gaddafi: Schizophrenie der arabischen Liga**
Amr Mussa macht es sich bequem: Erst fordert er eine Flugverbotszone, dann kritisiert er sie. Typisch für die arabischen Führer, die alles andere wollen als

Wandel. (Internet source 14)

(Air strike against Gaddafi: Schizophrenia of the Arab League

Amr Mussa takes the line of least resistance: First he insists on a flight ban zone, then he criticizes it. Typical of the Arabic leaders who want everything else but change.)

It can be stated that *schizophrenia* in English and *Schizophrenie* in German are used very similarly both in psychological and in figurative use. However, *Schizo/schizo* or similar abbreviations and modifications are not found in either of the German dictionaries, nor are they widely represented on the Internet, at least not as alone standing slang words. Although there are some instances with *schizo* in blogs and platforms, I suspect that it might be used there as an Anglicism as perhaps in the following example, where *schizo* is accompanied by another Anglicism *cool*:

(40) PX12 ist halt bei weitem nicht so cool wie SHIZO [sic]. oder bist du **schizo** oder was? (Internet source 15)

(PX12 is not even nearly as cool as SCHIZO. or are you **schizo** or something?)

Here *Schizo* is a model name for ski bindings and the writer uses the word also to mean “crazy” perhaps to show his or her inventiveness. This is quite an interesting finding in general. It can be argued that *Schizo* exists in German, but only due to English influence and that could be the reason why it is not recognised in German dictionaries. To conclude, although there are no great differences between the uses of the words *schizophrenia* in English and *Schizophrenie* in German, there are however clear indications towards the term's deterioration of meaning in English when it comes to the modifications of the word. These abbreviations are present in English, whereas in German they seem to be quite rare and even then used as some sort of Anglicisms. This might further imply that in German psychological terms are more likely to be used only in psychological contexts. In German-speaking countries terms for mental conditions are perhaps considered as taboos or dealt with more respect and it is therefore not appropriate nor generally accepted to modify them and to use

them informally or even offensively. This notion could of course also be partly triggered by differences in dictionary making conventions. It is possible that *schizo* (and *Todeswunsch* even) are in fact real German words, yet not listed in dictionaries due to sensitivity factors and conservative traditions in dictionary making. This, however, cannot be the whole truth, since there are not even many instances on the Internet with *schizo* or *Todeswunsch* on German websites either.

5.3.3 *Schizophrenia/Schizophrenie* in dictionaries of psychology

As was expected *schizophrenia* is listed in all of the dictionaries of psychology, as is *Schizophrenie* in the German ones. In this respect *schizophrenia* is a different case from *angst* and *death wish*. It has not ceased being a psychological term, it is still very clearly the name for a mental condition in both the English (*schizophrenia*) and the German (*Schizophrenie*) language. Yet it has developed new figurative uses in English and German, but perhaps more interestingly only in English it has been modified into slangy abbreviations to denote craziness in a rather humorous or even offensive manner. It is therefore no wonder that none of these abbreviations made it into the dictionaries of psychology and this is true for both English and German dictionaries of psychology.

6 Conclusions

The purpose of this second subject thesis was to study German adoptions in English for mental conditions and the semantic changes they have gone through in the English language. This was attained by means of a comparative analysis on dictionaries and language corpora. Both the method and the material proved to be very suitable for the answering of the research questions (see chapter 1 *Introduction*). However, it must be kept in mind in the generalization of the results that the number of the dictionaries used in this study is limited and the corpora only provide examples on how the words in question are actually used. The material is

nevertheless representative enough for drawing essential conclusions on the use of the studied words.

This study has shown that *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia* are living a life of their own in the English language, which is quite far from the psychological context in which they originated in the German language. *Angst* is used in journalistic language and *death wish* especially in political rhetoric, but also by common people as metaphorical colloquialisms for purposes of criticism, obtrusiveness and humorous exaggeration, especially when other people's behaviour is being evaluated. *Schizophrenia* is also commonly used figuratively especially in politics, but moreover, it has been transformed into an informal abbreviation, *schizo*, which often has a negative connotation and is used to describe someone who is crazy or unpredictable, sometimes in an offensive manner. In general it can be stated that all of the words examined in this study have undergone a process of widening of meaning: terms originally denoting merely a mental condition have developed into words with far more varied and broader meanings. The process can also be described as a deterioration of meaning: terms originally used merely by professionals in a special field of science have degenerated, so to speak, into informal, or even offensive, colloquialisms used by laymen.

These kinds of developments have not, however, taken place in German in the case of *Angst*, *Todeswunsch* and *Schizophrenie* which are the original sources of the English *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia*. In German *Angst* is still generally recognised in psychology, although it is also widely used in standard language with a different meaning, however. In English *angst* is hardly a psychological term anymore: this is supported by the lack of labelling in dictionary definitions, by the corpus data and by its absence in almost all of the psychological dictionaries used in this study. Roughly the same is true of *death wish*, which has also ceased being a psychological term in English, contrary to some of its dictionary definitions that still label it as a psychological term. In German however, *Todeswunsch* seems

to have almost ceased being a word altogether, both as a common word and as a psychological term. *Schizophrenie* in German has, similarly to *schizophrenia* in English, gained a wider application when used figuratively. But unlike in English, *Schizophrenie* in German has not been modified into an informal colloquial abbreviation, *schizo*, nor is *schizo* recognized as a psychological term, although it stems from one.

In general, the dictionary definitions examined in this study do not really capture the whole essence of the current usage of *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia* that is manifested by the corpus data. Learner's dictionaries are, however, closer to doing so thanks to their example sentences and more down-to-earth approach to language, which makes it easier to explain words that have become so earthy as *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia*.

On the basis of this study it can be argued that loan words can develop additional or even new meanings, connotations and forms in the recipient language, which are not present in the donator language. Why these changes occur and have some other German adoptions in English had a similar faith, would be an interesting topic for further comparative studies on dictionaries and language corpora.

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Appendix: Tables of *angst*, *death wish* and *schizophrenia (schizo)* dictionary definitions

	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>	<i>The Chambers Dictionary</i>	<i>Random House Unabridged Dictionary</i>	<i>The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language</i>	<i>Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary</i>	<i>Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's English Dictionary</i>	<i>Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary</i>	<i>Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary</i>
<i>angst</i>	angst, n. Etymology: German. Anxiety, anguish, neurotic fear; guilt, remorse.	angst n (often <i>cap</i>) anxiety, esp a general feeling of anxiety produced by awareness of the uncertainties and paradoxes inherent in the state of being human. [Ger <i>Angst</i> , Dan <i>angst</i> fear, anxiety]	angst n., pl. ängste. a feeling of dread, anxiety, or anguish [1840-50; < G <i>Angst</i> fear, anxiety, OHG <i>angust</i> (c. MLG <i>angest</i> , MD <i>anxt</i>), equiv. to <i>ang-</i> (akin to <i>eng</i> narrow, constricted) + <i>-st</i> abstract nominal suffix, perh. a conglomerate of a suffix * <i>-os-</i> + * <i>-ti-</i> suffix forming abstracts]	angst ¹ <i>n.</i> A feeling of anxiety or apprehension often accompanied by depression. [German, from Middle High German <i>angest</i> , from Old High German <i>angust</i> . See <i>angh-</i> in Appendix I.]	angst n [Dan & G; Dan, fr. G] (ca. 1942) : a feeling of anxiety, apprehension, or insecurity	angst <i>Angst</i> is a feeling of anxiety and worry. [JOURNALISM]	angst noun [U] strong worry and unhappiness, especially about personal problems: <i>All my children went through a period of late-adolescent angst.</i>	angst noun [U] (from German) a feeling of anxiety and worry about a situation, or about your life: <i>songs full of teenage angst</i>
<i>death wish</i>	death-wish, n. Etymology: tr. German <i>todeswunsch</i> , < <i>tod</i> death + <i>wunsch</i> wish. A conscious or unconscious wish for the death of oneself or another; also fig.	death wish n (<i>psychol</i>) a wish, conscious or unconscious, for death of oneself or another.	death wish 1. desire for one's own death or for the death of another. 2. <i>Psychiatry.</i> A suicidal desire, manifested by passivity, withdrawal, and absorption in nihilistic thoughts, that may eventually lead to suicidal behavior. [1910-1915]	death wish <i>n.</i> 1. <i>Psychiatry</i> <i>a.</i> A desire for self-destruction, often accompanied by feelings of depression, hopelessness and self-reproach. <i>b.</i> The desire, often unconscious, for the death of another person, such as a parent, toward whom one has unconscious hostility. 2. A suicidal urge thought to drive certain people to put themselves consistently into dangerous situations. [Translation of German <i>Todeswunsch</i> .]	death wish <i>n</i> (1913) : the conscious or unconscious desire for the death of oneself or of another	death wish also death-wish. A death wish is a conscious or unconscious desire to die or be killed.	death wish noun [S] a DESIRE for death: <i>The chances he takes, you'd think he had a death wish.</i>	death wish noun [sing.] a desire to die, often that sb is not aware of

<p><i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i></p>	<p><i>The Chambers Dictionary</i></p>	<p><i>Random House Unabridged Dictionary</i></p>	<p><i>The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language</i></p>	<p><i>Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary</i></p>	<p><i>Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's English Dictionary</i></p>	<p><i>Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary</i></p>	<p><i>Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary</i></p>
<p><i>schizo-</i> <i>phrenia</i></p> <p>schizophrenia Eymology: < German <i>schizophrenie</i> (E. Bleuler 1910, in <i>Psychiatrisch-Neurol. Wochenschr.</i> XII: 171) Psychol. a. A mental disorder occurring in various forms, all characterized by a breakdown in the relation between thoughts, feelings, and actions, usu. with a withdrawal from social activity and the occurrence of delusions and hallucinations. b. transf. and, fig.</p>	<p>schizophrenia <i>n.</i> form of psychosis characterized by dissociation from the environment, split personality. 1912, New Latin, from Greek <i>schizo-</i> 'split + <i>phrēn</i> (genitive <i>phrēnōs</i>) 'mind'; see FRENETIC + the New Latin suffix <i>-ia</i> 'disordered condition, disease'. The word was coined in German in 1910 as <i>Schizophrenie</i> by the German psychiatrist Eugen Bleuler.</p>	<p>schizophrenia <i>n.</i> 1. Psychiatry. Also called dementia praecox: a severe mental disorder characterized by some, but not necessarily all, of the following features: emotional blunting, intellectual deterioration, social isolation, disorganized speech and behavior, delusions, ans hallucinations. 2. a state characterized by the coexistence of contradictory or incompatible elements. [1910-15; SCHIZO- + -PHRENIA]</p>	<p>schizophrenia <i>n.</i> 1. Any of group of psychotic disorders usually characterized by withdrawal from reality; illogical patterns of thinking, delusions, and hallucinations; and accompanied in varying degrees by other emotional, behavioral, or intellectual disturbances. Schizophrenia is associated with dopamine imbalances in the brain and may have an underlying genetic cause. 2. A situation or condition that results from the coexistence of disparate or antagonistic qualities, identities, or activities: <i>the national schizophrenia that results from carrying out an unpopular war.</i></p>	<p>schizophrenia <i>n</i> [N1] (1912) 1 : a psychotic disorder characterized by loss of contact with the environment, by noticeable deterioration in the level of functioning in everyday life, and by disintegration of personality expressed as disorder of feeling, thought (as in hallucinations and delusions), and conduct — called also <i>dementia praecox</i> 2 : contradictory or antagonistic qualities or attitudes <both parties ... have exhibited over the desired outcome— Elisabeth Drew></p>	<p>schizophrenia Schizophrenia is a serious mental illness. People who suffer from it are unable to relate their thoughts and feelings to what is happening around them and often withdraw from society.</p>	<p>schizophrenia noun [U] 1 a serious mental illness in which someone cannot understand what is real and what is imaginary: <i>paranoid schizophrenia</i> 2 INFORMAL behaviour in which a person appears to have two different personalities</p>	<p>schizophrenia <i>noun</i> [U] a mental illness in which a person becomes unable to link thought, emotion, and behaviour, leading to withdrawal from reality and personal relationships</p>
<p><i>schizo</i></p> <p>schizo, <i>n.</i>, and <i>adj.</i> Slang abbrev. of SCHIZOPHRENIC <i>adj.</i> and <i>n.</i> A. <i>n.</i> ≡SCHIZOPHRENIC <i>n.</i> <i>B. adj.</i> ≡SCHIZOPHRENIC <i>adj.</i></p>	<p>schizo (<i>derog inf</i>) <i>adj</i> and <i>n</i> (<i>pl schizos</i>) (a) schizophrenic.</p>	<p>schizo <i>n., pl. schizos</i>, <i>adj. Informal</i>—<i>n.</i> 1. a schizophrenic or schizoid person.—<i>adj.</i> 2. schizophrenic or schizoid. 3. crazy; wildly eccentric; lunatic.</p>	<p>schizo <i>n.</i>, <i>pl. -os</i> <i>Offensive Slang</i> A schizophrenic person. —schiz'o <i>adj.</i></p>	<p>schizo <i>n.</i>, <i>pl. schizos</i> (1945) : a schizophrenic individual</p>	<p>[no entry]</p>	<p>schizo noun [C] (plural <i>schizos</i>) INFORMAL DISAPPROVING a person with very strange and usually violent or threatening behaviour</p>	<p>[no entry]</p>