

**THE GERMAN LANGUAGE AND REUNIFICATION  
1990: THE EFFECT OF EMOTION ON THE USE OF  
MODAL PARTICLES IN EAST AND WEST BERLIN**

**Natalie Braber**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



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Modal Particles in East and West Berlin.**

**Natalie Braber**

**University of St Andrews**

**Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD**

**September 2001**



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## Abstract

'The German Language and Reunification 1990: The Effect of Emotion on the Use of Modal Particles in East and West Berlin.'

The thesis looks at the language of Germany before and after unification in 1990. In particular the language of the German Democratic Republic before the *Wende* is examined and the subsequent changes within it. Furthermore, the influence of emotion on the use of modal particles in East and West Berlin is analysed in order to ascertain how emotion can affect language use. The first section concentrates on the language of the German Democratic Republic and how this differed from the language of the Federal Republic of Germany. By looking at two such opposing political systems it is possible to see the effect of politics and the social, cultural and economic values of a state on its language. The second section analyses the language of Germany after the *Wende* in 1989 and unification in 1990. These changes in German society had profound effects on all aspects of East German life, and to a lesser extent in the Federal Republic of Germany. The citizens of the former German Democratic Republic had to learn to adapt to their new system and this is closely examined. Section three examines modal particles, what they are and how they are used in the German language. After a more general section, the particular modal particles examined in chapter 5: *eben*, *halt*, *doch*, *denn* and *eigentlich* are discussed and their usages examined. The fourth section concentrates on emotion and how it has been viewed in past and present research, in conjunction with thought and language. The fifth and final section is the analysis of a corpus of German language, interviews with citizens of East and West Berlin regarding 9 November 1989 and the period after. By examining this corpus, looking at the usage of the five afore-mentioned modal particles and tags and the emotion felt by the speakers, the connection between emotion and the use of modal particles is illustrated.

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## List of transcription symbols used in corpus

- % sequence % - quietly spoken
- ! sequence ! - loudly spoken
- >> sequence >> - speeded up
- << sequence << - slowed down
- + - short pause
- + number + - pause in seconds
- \*sequence\* - muffled pronunciation
- \*product\* - name or product which remains anonymous
- (sequence) - not understood
- (x) - not understood, number of estimated syllables
- sequence^ - rising intonation
- sequence\_ - falling intonation
- @@ - short laugh
- @number@ - longer laugh with number of seconds
- @sequence@ - said laughing
- sequence=sequence - marking of words in a sequence
- / - Interruption by speaker, or self-correction
- sequence-
  - sequence - one speaker following on
- \ - Interruption by another speaker
- &sequence&
  - &sequence& - Two speakers speaking simultaneously
- hm, mh - signals from listener
- (h) - audible breathing
- eh, eh:, eh::
  - äh, äh:, äh::
  - mh, ehm, ähm - delay in speaking
- ?sequence? - marking of questions
- (SEQUENCE) - commentary

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## Introduction

There will be several questions asked in this thesis. One of them will be what happened to the German language during the years of division and what has happened to it since reunification in 1990, with particular emphasis on the German Democratic Republic (GDR).<sup>1</sup> Another question will concern itself with the effects of emotion on language, and in particular whether this can be seen in the use of modal particles in those varieties of German used in East and West Berlin. I will look at the use of language by the citizens of East and West Berlin in order to discover how 40 years of separation and the subsequent ten years of unification have affected the German language. By looking at the language of the GDR and the subsequent changes within unified Germany the situation of the German language today can be truly evaluated, examining all aspects of life to find out how unification has affected the lives of the Germans. Examining the use of modal particles in accounts of highly emotional events can help establish whether there is a link between emotion and language use for speakers of German.

The division of Germany following the Second World War was the outcome of military events and political negotiations, not the result of a neutral process. Minnerup believes: "The division of Germany was a highly artificial event, politically as much as geographically, in that it was entirely rooted in the differences arising between the Soviet Union and the Western Allies after 1945 but not in German society itself" (Minnerup 1994:80). Berlin illustrates a particularly interesting aspect of the German language divide as it mirrors the German

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<sup>1</sup> I use the terms German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, GDR, FRG, East Germany and West Germany with complete political neutrality. I do not wish to suggest any political stance with the usage of these terms.

situation, but on a geographically smaller scale.

This division and subsequent unification affected every area of life in Germany. As Durrani wrote: "There is scarcely an area of public activity in present-day Germany which has not been shaken to its foundations by the upheavals of unification, a process which began suddenly, and for many people, unexpectedly in November 1989" (Durrani 1995:xi). There is no doubt that language is crucial in identifying attitudes and opinions of people, due to the fact that different forms of language will have influenced people in different ways as language adapts itself to social change. Norbert Dittmar wrote in his book *Die Sprachmauer*: "Die Schlüsselrolle der Sprache im Prozeß der Teilung und der Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands wurde vor der Wende überschätzt und nach der Wende - als die notwendige Arbeit der gegenseitigen Verständigung begann - unterschätzt" (Dittmar 1999:5). In addition to Dittmar, many other linguists have stressed the important role language plays in people's everyday lives. These linguists include Hellmann, Schlosser and Hodge. Hodge wrote: "Language is one of man's most remarkable attributes. It is an absolute precondition for nearly all our social life, and it is the medium in which most organized thought and communication proceed" (Hodge 1993:1). He continues: "Language is an instrument of control as well as of communication. Linguistic forms allow significance to be conveyed and to be distorted. In this way hearers can be both manipulated and informed, preferably manipulated while they suppose they are being informed" (Hodge 1993:6). From these quotes we can see that not only in the German process of unification did language play an important role in the ability of people to adapt, but language is a crucial aspect to all the

processes of life.

Before we examine this phenomenon of language change in Germany it is first necessary to scrutinise the development of the German language in the GDR before 1989. The language in the GDR used to be considered by most West German linguists as the changed form of the language, as compared to that of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Although the semantics and grammar of the two varieties never really diverged, it is clear to see that changes took place in the lexis of the languages. Kobler-Trill is of the opinion that: "Der Wortschatz ist als der flexibelste Teilbereich der Sprache zu betrachten, der zugleich am engsten mit Veränderungen - in der Sprache benannten - Realität verknüpft ist, mit dem Auftreten neuer Denotate und dem Untergehen alter" (Kobler-Trill 1997:181). Through the years the West German language changed in order to adapt to new technological and societal advances as well as being subject to the increase of Anglo-American influence in society. However, it is mainly in the language of the GDR that many social and political differences can be found. Heavily influenced political ideology as well as the great changes in society required new words to cope with these changes. Everyday language also changed, as people adapted to the new ways of living, and most citizens of the GDR developed the ability to code-switch between public and private spheres of life. Keller wrote that: "Die Sprecher verändern ihre Sprache nicht intentional, nicht planvoll und nicht bewußt" (Keller 1990:25), but was this really the case in former East Germany, especially when it can be seen that people were aware of their language style and had the ability to adapt it?

Linguists hold different views on the meaning and importance

of the languages of the GDR and FRG. For many, political viewpoints affected this judgement, for others the passing of time changed their opinions. As the situation in the two German states progressed from 1945 to 1989, East and West German linguists offered different suggestions on what was happening to the German language. Initially, the East German linguists stressed the continuity of the German language, but in the 1970s and beyond the differences between the two languages were stressed, and linguists such as Gotthard Lerchner suggested that GDR-German was a new variety of German. An opposing view of a linguist who did not believe in the divide in the German language was that of Jörg Pätzold; he wrote: "Eine deutsche Sprache der DDR gibt es nicht, und es hat sie nie gegeben - allen Abgrenzbemühungen, einschließlich der Bemühungen um den 'wissenschaftlichen' Nachweis von vier nationalen Varianten des Deutschen zum Trotz" (Pätzold 1992:94). On the other hand, West German linguists feared initially that the two states would diverge so greatly that people would not be able to understand each other any longer. But after the 1960s the West Germans stressed the similarities of the two languages, for many West Germans the unity of the German language was the main bond between the two very different states, and many relied on it to unify the Germans when the time came. Many linguists were not convinced of differences in the German language in the GDR and FRG; Gustav Korlén commented that when people said there were two languages in Germany, his answer was "Nur zwei?" (Korlén 1969:6). As Sven-Gunnar Andersson wrote in 1984, it was undeniable that there were differences in East and West German, but opinions differed on the extent of these differences, as well as what caused and resulted from

them (Andersson 1984: 54). I will try to clarify the differences in the language of the GDR and what happened to this language and that of the FRG after unification.

It is also important to examine what was different in the varieties of German, as only by examining these differences will it be truly possible to understand the East and West German societies. It came to be accepted that rather than GDR German being a move from the standard, its language was one of several varieties of the standard language, which all had the same core, but their own specifics.

In 1989 it was accepted by many that there were differences in the German languages. Antos and Schubert commented: "Daß die Deutschen trotz gemeinsamer Sprache nicht die gleiche Sprache sprechen, ist - nicht nur in Ostdeutschland - ein inzwischen weit verbreitetes, von vielen akzeptiertes und von den Medien verfestigtes Gefühl" (Antos/Schubert 1997:308). Other linguists were not as keen to accentuate these differences. In 1995 Renate Baudusch wrote: "Deutschlands Germanisten sind sich einig: Die deutsche Sprache hat die 40jährige Teilung, die Aufspaltung in zwei verschiedene Kommunikationsgemeinschaften fast unbeschadet überstanden" (Baudusch 1995:302). Although it is true to say that the German language survived the Cold War, it is also true that changes did take place, and in certain aspects the German languages did diverge. As Michael Clyne wrote: "if there had not been a GDR national variety, the convergence discussed in this chapter would not be necessary. ... The process of divergence has stopped. The reversal is in progress, involving innovation, disintegration of past structures, and integration to the West" (Clyne 1995:87). It can be said that any changes in society will be matched by changes in the language, and so it is

crucial to examine language for the results of these changes.

It is also true to say that after unification problems regarding these differences were bound to emerge, and they would be problems that could not be solved as quickly as political and economic unity. Dirk Bauer agreed with this viewpoint; he wrote that although it seemed absurd to think that at one point linguists feared that Germans of different states would not be able to communicate without an interpreter, there were problems regarding communication between the citizens of the two states. "Trotzdem ist es ein Irrtum anzunehmen, mit dem 3. Oktober 1990 seien die sprachlichen Divergenzen urplötzlich verschwunden. Vielmehr ist es zu erwarten, daß die unterschiedlichen Alltagserfahrungen, die sich auch sprachlich manifestieren, noch über Jahre nachwirken werden" (Bauer 1993: 124). Such problems led to misunderstandings and reservations between the people of both states, which accentuated their continuing differences, and both sides had to learn about the way of life in the other Germany in order to combat the feeling of being strangers. This feeling of being foreign to each other was unexpected in a way, as most Germans did not realise how foreign the other side was to them. The main problem when two languages meet is that it is rarely the case that both are considered equal, usually one language is considered to be superior to the other. This also applied to Germany, as for most Germans it was the West German language variety which was the desired and more respected variety of language. The East Germans were expected to adapt to this, rather than the West Germans picking up anything from the former GDR. There are still East Germans, however, who remain proud of their identity and use their language to remain distinct from West Germany. This was

especially clear to see a few years after unification, when the initial euphoria had worn off, and many people began to see that West German reality was not what had been expected. For many people not only did their East German language change, but their attitudes towards it changed, as they began to adapt to living another way of life, positive for some, but negative for others.

A crucial aspect of this thesis is to study the use of modal particles in the German language, how they are used and what message they convey in the German language. In the past, modal particles were considered to be insignificant fillers and not worthy of linguistic investigation. This is clearly a view which cannot be sustained, as Germans continue to use modal particles in all aspects of spoken German. Even so, some linguists still hold this attitude. Particles were considered for a long time to be part of that word class which contained other non-inflected words such as adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions. But modal particles hold a very important communicative function in conversation. Aleksej Krivonosov said of modal particles: "Zwei gleiche Sätze, einer mit und der andere ohne Modalpartikeln, können nicht als ein und derselbe Satz aufgefaßt werden. Diese Sätze sind verschieden nach ihrer Kommunikationsabsicht und können kaum in derselben Situation gebraucht werden, wenn selbstverständlich der Satz ohne die modalen Partikel nicht mit ungewöhnlicher Melodieführung gesprochen wird, die dem Einsatz der modalen Partikel gleichkommt" (Krivonosov 1965b:588). For the last few decades linguists have tried to work out how to classify modal particles, work out their meanings and compare them to their homonyms present in other word classes. Linguists such as Krivonosov and Harald Weydt spent years working

out their functions. Weydt wrote: "die Partikeln bringen in den Satz erstens ihre eigene spezielle Bedeutung mit, zweitens wirken sie verbindlich, rein durch ihr Vorhandensein und ganz abgesehen von ihrer Einzelbedeutung; sie stellen eine Gesprächsstimmung her, verhindern die Schroffheit des Tones usw" (Weydt 1969:21). Particles add a subjective judgement to sentences. A major claim of this dissertation, based on an analysis of a corpus of spoken German, is that modal particles often add an emotional nuance to sentences. By using modal particles speakers can inform the listener how they feel emotionally about what is being said and what the hearer should feel about what is being said. It is also possible that speakers use modal particles subconsciously, because they feel emotion or are trying to convey a message to the listener.

As well as looking at the German of East and West Germany, considering the changes which led to a 'unified language', and looking at the functions and uses of modal particles, another aspect of interest in this thesis is the concept of emotion, considered in its own right as well as within language. Language, as well as its non-verbal equivalents, is used to show how people convey their feelings to others. People rarely interact without some aspect of feeling; what someone says, how they say it and also what they do not say can convey the emotional state of a person. Battachi wrote: "Sprache liegt an der Nahtstelle zwischen biologischen, psychologischen und kulturellen Prozessen und stellt eine komplexe Form der zwischenmenschlichen und individuellen Wirklichkeit dar. Der Sprache kommen vielfältige Funktionen zu: sie dient der Darstellung von Sachverhalten in der Welt, dem Ausdruck von Befindlichkeiten, der Anweisung von Dritten. Weniger augenfällig, aber sehr

bedeutsam ist die Schaffung und Stärkung des sozialen Bandes durch Rede, wobei der Inhalt gänzlich in den Hintergrund treten kann" (Battachi et al. 1996:10). The way we see things and how we feel about topics can influence the language we use to describe them. Bickes wrote: "Aber nach langjährigen Debatten über das Verhältnis zwischen sprachlichem Handeln, unserem Denken und der Konstitution von Wirklichkeit dürfte heute doch Konsens darüber bestehen, daß zwar keine deterministische Beziehung, aber doch eine enge Wechselwirkung zwischen unserem Sprechen und unserem Kognizieren besteht" (Bickes 1992:115). It seems that thought, emotion and language are all very closely linked to one another. Oatley and Jenkins (Oatley and Jenkins 1996) wrote about scholars such as Nico Frijda, William James and Sigmund Freud who all stressed the importance of emotions on the life of the individual, yet the effect of emotion upon language remains an often neglected issue. But language is crucial to the life of people, and many societies view language as a tool to control people. Drosdowski is of the opinion that: "Es ist heute geradezu modisch, für alles die Sprache verantwortlich zu machen, für Frauenfeindlichkeit, Rassismus, Inhumanität, selbst für Kriege. Immer mehr Wörter und Wendungen werden inkriminiert und tabuisiert - in der Hoffnung, dadurch das Denken und Handeln der Menschen zu ändern und die Welt zu verbessern" (Drosdowski 1997:36). As well as sharing this view other linguists are of the opinion that language is crucial to the individual. For example, Fix writes that: "Es ist tatsächlich wahr, daß mit Sprache die Welt nicht verändert werden kann. Aber es ist ebenso wahr .... daß man sich mit der Sprache als Individuum erleben und verwirklichen kann" (Fix 1996:11).

My own analysis of modern German, looking at the use of modal particles in East and West Berlin, is based on a corpus of spoken German compiled by Professor Norbert Dittmar of the Free University of Berlin, and is the primary source of this thesis. The corpus is a series of interviews carried out in the early 1990s by students of that University looking at the different experiences of East and West Berliners regarding the fall of the Wall and unification. There are 29 interviews with people from East Berlin and 24 from West Berlin. Throughout the interviews the aim was to pick people who were known to the interviewers and to use people from different backgrounds. My research is qualitative rather than quantitative, by which is meant that rather than a statistical analysis of modal particle usage, the content of the usage is here of ultimate importance. Gender and social class have not been examined, since it is emotion that is under focus here - looking at other factors would have led to too wide a scope for one thesis. By taking an event that was significantly more important to one group than the other (viz. the East Berliners), it was hoped in my research that differences in language use would be apparent. In particular, the use of certain modal particles and tags were examined. Although my analysis is qualitative, i.e. based on content and meaning rather than statistics, graphs are included to give an overview of the statistical findings, which can be found in Appendix 1. The graphs illustrate the frequency of use of modal particles and tags in the corpus. As well as illustrating frequency of use by each interviewee, the dotted lines show average overall use, and bold lines show the statistically significant numbers. These boundary lines are always found at the top of the graph and sometimes also at the bottom, if the modal particle is found to be used

to a high enough extent. The findings and views presented in this dissertation are a contribution to the study of language use in East and West Germany, and in particular to research on modal particles and their function within the German language, using the new perspective of my corpus to suggest new ideas. The thesis also furthers knowledge of the concept of emotion and its function within a language, and how emotion can manifest itself in people's speech. Much more needs to be done within these fields, but I hope that this contribution will assist and encourage others to further investigate this fascinating subject.

Language changes constantly over time. It fulfils many functions in society, and these are crucial to our knowledge of people and how they interact; language is part of culture. As František Daneš wrote: "Language is not alien or indifferent to us, but we are attached to it, though in a different way from our attachment to most things external to our beings" (Daneš 1994:251). Looking at the East German language and how it developed after unification illustrates the influence of language and how people think. There were many unforeseen difficulties during unification; Helga Königsdorf comments: "Ein Volk zu sein ist schwieriger, als eins zu werden. Die meisten hatten sich ein Zusammenwachsen leichter vorgestellt" (Königsdorf 1995:7). She continues by saying: "Schon wird die eigene Erinnerung unscharf, schon läßt sich nicht mehr genau rekonstruieren, was man einst gedacht hat, weil es die Sprache, in der man dachte, nicht mehr gibt. Zwar sind die Wörter die alten, aber sie haben einen anderen Geruch, einen anderen Geschmack." It may well be easier for an outsider, i.e. not a German, such as myself, to look at these changes in Germany, as people in Germany itself may be too involved to

remain objective. This was commented upon by Gustav Korfén in 1959: “Zu meiner Rechtfertigung darf ich vielleicht darauf hinweisen, daß es möglicherweise für einen Außenstehenden leichter ist, die sprachlichen Erscheinungen und Tendenzen, um die es hier geht, einigermaßen objektiv zu verfolgen, als es für denjenigen ist, der an dieser Entwicklung unmittelbar beteiligt ist” (Korfén 1959: 139). I take the liberty of using the same point of self-justification for this thesis.

## Chapter 1 Language in the German Democratic Republic

### 1.1 A Brief History of the German Democratic Republic

The two German states, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), were founded as conscious attempts to develop new forms of state and society. Each great socio-economic system of the time, capitalism and socialism, wanted to break - each in its own way - with the immediate Nazi past, which had been discredited and discarded, so that the two German states were based on very different political ideologies and theories of society, leading to two separate nations. As Fulbrook wrote: "They were in effect tests in reality of opposing theories of how to create a 'good' society - a historical experiment virtually unparalleled in history" (Fulbrook 1992:3). It was a test of social and political theory in practice. The GDR was not established until after the FRG. The creation of the East German state was a clear riposte to the Western decision. The timing was a sign that the Soviet Government was still committed to the search for some form of reunification, according to Windsor (Windsor 1969:44). After 1945 Stalin was primarily interested in a *Gesamtdeutschland*. He had established the East German system in the years immediately after the occupation as a pilot state for a Communist Germany, but by 1949 he was forced to acknowledge the failure of his original plan. Up until 1955 the GDR was in constant danger of being abandoned by its own protector and ally (Windsor 1969:57).

One of the reasons the GDR, and the Eastern Bloc generally, were economically weaker than the West was the fact that the USSR

did not allow any of its satellite states to accept Marshall Aid, as it feared they would become too dependent on the Western economic system. Marshall Aid was economic aid that the United States of America tried to introduce on a vast scale, where Germany, France and the Soviet Union would profit. But Stalin feared it could increase American influence in regions where he deemed it essential that the Soviet Union should be paramount, and rejected it. There was already a mutual mistrust between the USA, UK and France on one side and the USSR on the other, but this was fuelled by the differences regarding Marshall Aid. This, as well as other geo-political reasons, led to the development of the Cold War.

The more the FRG insisted on maintaining contact with the GDR in order to back up its contention that the two German states were part of a single German nation as proclaimed in its constitution, the more it helped establish the legitimacy of the East German regime, both at home and abroad. Both Germanies were accorded full sovereignty in 1955 with certain residual Allied rights and gained their own armed forces. Both were part of wider international networks: the GDR was in the Warsaw Pact and Comecon, whilst the FRG was in NATO and was a founder member of the European Economic Community. If the two Germanies had acknowledged each other, rather than making the prospect of reunification less likely it might have proven that they could resolve their differences and undertake a reasonably long-ranging set of political relations. By doing so, the other powers might have allowed them to settle their problems on an intra-German basis (Windsor 1969:118).

Emigration from East to West Germany became increasingly intense. Between 1945 and 1961 nearly three million people left for

the West, some for political reasons, but mostly for the western 'economic miracle'. In the first seven months of 1961 nearly 160,000 people left East Germany, and the GDR government decided to take action (Hutchinson and Jones 1992:11). This came in the form of the building of the Wall in August 1961, which separated East and West Germany, as well as East and West Berlin.

In the late 1960s the confrontation between the two states was tense, but seemed to be stable. Indeed, it may very well have been that this stability was due to the tension between the two, as this prevented either side from risking any move that could then lead on to war. The 'German question' was held open for the time being until there could be a satisfactory agreement; the GDR wanted recognition and the FRG did not want to reverse its previous policies. During this time it seemed that the two German states were growing apart, but in fact in the 1970s there was an increasing closeness. An example of this was the biggest shift yet of West German policy toward the East in 1969, with what was in effect the official recognition of the East German state. The refusal before 1969 to recognise the GDR had meant that the Soviet Union put a limit on the FRG's relations with the rest of Eastern Europe. The political term for the FRG trying to get closer with Eastern Europe and particularly the GDR was *Ostpolitik*. The concept was used by the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD) led by Willy Brandt, to preserve the substance of the German Nation. First of all, treaties were signed with the Soviet Union, then Poland and finally the GDR. Its aims were to bring about *Wandel durch Annäherung* (change through rapprochement) within Germany. This policy was important for the SPD, as after the building of the Wall in 1961 it seemed for a time as if reunification was

impossible. At the end of the 1960s, the disproportionate economy, stagnating living standards and political severity led to periods of crisis in the GDR and to those living there.

Although in the 1970s the situation in the two German states stabilised and relations seemed more relaxed, it seemed possible that with the passage of time the two states would grow so far apart that they would seem as foreign to each other as other German speaking countries, such as Austria (Fulbrook 1992: 21). The fact that during the 1970s the German Democratic Republic was admitted to the United Nations and other international organisations made people feel more stable within East Germany. But was East Germany a system built solely on repression as was maintained by the West? The Wall in Berlin and around the borders of the GDR, the presence of Soviet troops, the enormous East German military forces, border patrols with orders to shoot those attempting to cross, the secret police, censorship and media control all seem to suggest that this was the case. Nevertheless, by Soviet Bloc standards the citizens of the GDR enjoyed a relatively affluent life. There were career prospects for everyone, especially for women. There were also good state benefits as well as free higher education and small university classes, low prices for the essentials of life - food, rent and public transport, and a very low crime rate. The leaders of the GDR admitted that the East was less prosperous than the West, but said that theirs was a state based on justice, equality, the rights of the working man and ownership by the people of most means of production, property and shops; but they did not, however, acknowledge the fact that it was a state ruled by fear and terror. The GDR's achievements were in the international sport arena rather than in political, economic or scientific

areas. Those in charge claimed that the GDR was the successor to all anti-fascist, socialist, peace-loving and progressive forces in German history, and heir to the great writers like Goethe, Schiller and Heine. To them, the FRG represented the culmination of all fascist, exploitative and imperialist forces. This resulted in a politics of separation, also known as *Abgrenzung*, with names such as Leipzig's *Hotel Deutschland* being replaced by *Hotel am Ring* (Hutchinson and Jones 1992:12).

By the late 1970s and early 1980s the GDR was trying for a closer relationship with the West. The FRG was the GDR's largest trade partner, and the artificial exchange rate of one to one brought a monetary advantage to the GDR, as it had tariff-free access to the West German market and received hard currency that the FRG paid annually in transit fees for access through GDR territory to West Berlin. Even though political relations were not always ideal, the regime used these advantages to its benefit. A paradox of the West German situation was that it was difficult to make much progress in improving the situation of the citizens of the GDR without giving increased recognition to East Germany as an independent state, and thus deepening the gap that divided the nation rather than overcoming it (Moreton 1990:98). The belief in reunification as a political possibility had also rapidly diminished, with only 2% of West Germans expressing such a belief in the late 1970s. In November 1981, in an opinion poll carried out by the Allensbach Institute, almost half (43%) of those asked what constituted the German nation replied 'the Federal Republic' (32% replied 'Federal Republic and the Democratic Republic', whilst 12% also included the former territories in the East) (Moreton 1990:150). If there had been a change in the political

loyalties of either part of Germany, it would have radically altered the balance not only of Europe, but world-wide.

Fulbrook wrote about the decreasing need felt by many West German citizens regarding a German unification: "Over nearly half a century, the division of Germany became more and more institutionalised and accepted, such that by the late 1980s it was generally recognised that only lip-service need be paid by West Germans to their constitution's preamble committing them to work for reunification" (Fulbrook 1992:1). In the GDR itself, critical questions from the population regarding basic human rights were not answered. The politicians just provided further promises, maxims and slogans rather than giving open and honest answers.

The first time that the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (SED) rejected Soviet control was at the time of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, which were very unwelcome officially in the GDR as the government stated that these phenomena were not new to the GDR as they had always existed there. In fact, these terms were not used officially in the GDR; instead the East German government used the terms *Offenheit* and *Transparenz* for *glasnost*, and *Umgestaltung* and *Umbau* for *perestroika*, in contrast to the FRG, where the Russian terms were used. In 1989 there were the first successful mass demonstrations in Leipzig about human rights, the first of which led to many arrests and prison sentences for those involved. More demonstrations followed throughout the GDR, with the result that by early February all those arrested had been released. This was the first show of loss of nerve by the government and may have encouraged the next wave of demonstrations for the recognition of human rights which took place in March 1989 in many East German

towns. By this time the FRG considered unification seriously for the first time, and it became reality after the Wall fell on 9 November 1989. Unification had always been a long-term goal, and there could be economic advantages. Furthermore, Helmut Kohl wanted to be the first all-German Chancellor. There were two potential avenues for unification: either the two states could agree a joint treaty and constitution for a new state; or under Clause 23 of the West German constitution (the *Grundgesetz*), the old *Länder* in the East, which had been abolished in 1952, could be restored and could together agree to join the existing Federal Republic with its existing *Grundgesetz*. The second option made no concessions to those who wanted some of the East German laws and values to continue into a unified Germany, as it was by far the simpler and quickest road to unity. It was this second option, with little regard for the GDR which was taken and resulted in the fact that the GDR became an addition to the FRG rather than a new German state being formed. As Armin Burkhardt wrote:

Die DDR (1949-1990) war ein real existierender (wenngleich nicht allseits völkerrechtlich anerkannter) Staat, der genau 4 Tage weniger als 41 Jahre Bestand hatte und dessen Ende paradoxerweise exact am 40. Jahrestag seiner Gründung besiegelt wurde, und zwar durch Gorbatschows an die zur Ostberliner Jubelfeier angereisten Journalisten gerichtete, unvergeßliche Worte: 'Wer zu spät kommt, den bestraft das Leben' (Burkhardt 1992:155).

## 1.2 Varieties of the German language

A question which concerned many linguists for much of the period of German division was whether the German language was being affected by the political separation. It is undeniable that there were linguistic differences between East and West Germany, but opinions differed and still do to this day on the style and the extent of the

differences, as well as their causes and results. Some linguists decided that there was only one German language which had not been affected by the political differences, others talked about different varieties of the same language. Domaschnov wrote in 1989 that it was Riesel who first suggested in 1953 that German could have different national varieties (Domaschnov 1989:344). In another article Domaschnov wrote: "Eine Sprache behält ihre normative Einheitlichkeit, solange wie die sprachlich-kulturelle Volksgruppe (Ethnie) oder die staatlich-nationale Gemeinschaft (Nation) einheitlich ist, die diese Sprache verwendet" (Domaschnov 1991:1). The question here is whether the people of the two states (or four when including Austria and Switzerland) still spoke one language.

The different varieties of German, that of the GDR and the FRG as well as Austrian and Swiss German, can be seen as a continuum of loyalty to some ideal of the German language, with the variety of the FRG being the closest to that ideal. The two varieties in Germany were certainly closer to each other than either were to Austrian German, and especially Swiss German. Sven-Gunnar Andersson wrote in 1984 that:

Die Diskussion darum, ob die heutige deutsche Standardsprache sich als drei Varianten (Binnendeutsch, österreichisches Deutsch, schweizerisches Deutsch) oder als vier (Bundesdeutsch, DDR-Deutsch, österreichisches Deutsch, schweizerisches Deutsch) realisiert, hat erkennen lassen, daß der Begriff 'landes-(staaten-)spezifisch' nicht unproblematisch ist und daß eine präzisere Erfassung der Vorkommensweise der in die Diskussion involvierten sprachlichen Erscheinungen angebracht ist, um sie im Hinblick auf die sogenannte Drei- bzw. Viervariantenthese angemessen beurteilen zu können (Andersson 1984:54).

To decide whether there were differences, vocabulary in addition to semantic shifts and changes as well as markedness have to be

examined: this will be dealt with in sections 1.5 and 1.6. Differences in Austrian and Swiss words tend to be in words and concepts that were only used within that state or for influences from other countries. This did not apply to the GDR and FRG according to Andersson: "Die deutsch-deutsche Situation ist anders. Zu der Teilung Deutschlands kommt die Integrierung der beiden Staaten in entgegengesetzte politische, ideologische, militärische und wirtschaftliche Lager, die gerade hier geographisch aufeinanderstoßen" (Andersson 1984:55). It is instructive to note which East German words are used in West Germany and vice versa, as the fact that the same words appear in both states weakens the case for state-specific languages.

According to the West German linguist Walter Dieckmann in *Sprache in der Politik* (1969) the registers in both states changed and were in the constant process of changing. Pronunciation, grammar, spelling and the majority of vocabulary were, however, not affected. He also mentions that there were changes specifically in certain aspects of language, for example politics, and that changes of these kinds were to be found in West and East Germany, though, more significantly in the East. The main reason for changes in the East German language was the influence from Russian. He also found many similarities between the language of the GDR and the Third Reich and that the language of the GDR showed signs of a totalitarian, police state. The language of the East was perverted and misused and suffered from lack of content. He claimed that there was the danger that East and West would not be able to understand each other any longer and that the languages of the two states would grow completely apart.

In the early 1980s a team of researchers at the *Institut für*

*deutsche Sprache* in Mannheim discovered that in a corpus of over 2.2 million words, 24,000 words were used differently in the German Democratic Republic (out of a possible 300,000 words in the modern German language, although Lerchner puts this number at 800,000 (Lerchner 1974:261)). The language of the GDR could be considered to be one variety of German, with a number of individual words unique to itself. The German language could, during the years of separation, be considered a pluricentric language with a number of varieties, all developing along parallel lines. The problem with this concept is the fact that the varieties do not seem to be equal in status, with 'West German' the dominant and 'correct' variety, even though Hellmann stated that "Alle nationalen Sprachvarianten sind untereinander gleichberechtigt, sie sind älter und jünger, aber keinesfalls wichtig und unwichtig, besser and schlechter" (Hellmann 1989a:87). The other varieties tended to be influenced by the West German variety, particularly by the West German media, and many neologisms were taken from there. There were several reasons for this phenomenon. Among these reasons were, for example, the higher number of German speakers in the FRG. Of importance also was the strong influence of political and economic developments in the FRG, the power of the FRG media, such as radio and television, and the fact that the FRG had borders with all the other states. Many words originated in the Federal Republic of Germany and travelled outwards towards the other states. The East German variety tended to be viewed as the ideologically loaded variety as compared with the other states.

Some linguists did not feel that the language of the GDR deserved to be considered a separate variety. Braun quoted

Schlosser as writing:

Die Absicht, für die DDR eine 'national-sprachliche Variante' von gleichem Gewicht zu reklamieren, wie es die Österreichische oder Schweizer Variante gegenüber dem Deutschen in der Bundesrepublik angeblich schon hat, stellt die relativ junge politisch-ideologische und gesellschaftliche Sonderentwicklung in der DDR in eine Reihe mit einer jahrhundertealten Eigenstaatlichkeit, die gerade im offiziellen Schriftdeutsch bis heute gar nicht die Differenzen hervorgebracht hat, die die DDR in Abgrenzung zur Bundesrepublik so sehr hervorgehoben sehen möchte (Braun 1993: 72).

One of the problems with examining the two varieties of language in the GDR and FRG is that it tended to be the extremes that were looked at. But there were other types of language, for example the language that the people used every day, which were more similar than the political registers. Dieckmann commented that when discussing the language differences between East and West, one should remember that the question whether the citizens of both states are citizens of one or two nations is not directly linked to the language question: "weil die Vermischung die Diskussion deutsch-deutscher Sprachunterschiede ernsthaft behindert hat und weil die Frage nach den beiden Nationen linguistisch nicht beantwortbar ist" (Dieckmann 1989:175).

A question that should be asked is whether the varieties of language in Germany were different enough to distinguish whether a speaker originated from the GDR or the FRG. Were the different dialects the distinguishing factor or were there separate varieties? Domaschnov wrote that "Die bestehenden Varietäten des Deutschen liefern bis heute noch nicht genügend Mittel, um einen Sprecher immer und ohne weiteres als DDR-Deutschen bzw. als BRD-Deutschen zu identifizieren" (Domaschnov 1991:8). Although many citizens of the FRG seemed to be of the opinion that the people in the

GDR spoke quite differently, they could not always give examples of this. The view of the linguists seemed to change in both the GDR and FRG as time progressed, and will be dealt with in section 1.3.

Lerchner asserted that it was dangerous to say that everything in the East was different, in fact, just as dangerous as saying that it was always the same (Lerchner 1996b: 169). The main problem is that in the past, especially in the time when there were still two German states, the German language debate was mainly approached from a political angle, sometimes in the interests of propaganda. An example of such politics is in Dieckmann's *Sprache in der Politik*, which referred to the language of the GDR as being a perverted form of German, which was misused by the people who ran the country.

### **1.3 Attitudes towards the change within the German language by linguists of both German states**

For most GDR linguists in the 1950s the unity of the German language was not a matter for discussion, and attitudes to be held were often prescribed by those in charge of the GDR. "Es wurde betont, daß die Sprache eine dauerhafte Grundlage darstellt" (Shethar and Hartung 1998:41). Differences in use were deemed unimportant and temporary. Discussions on the language tended to warn against an Anglo-American influence. But during the 1950s West German linguists started talking of a *Sprachspaltung*, a split affecting the German language, fearing that soon East and West Germans would speak different languages. They also warned of strong Russian influence, referred to as *Sowjetdeutsch*, taking over the East German language, and did not pay attention to the fact that official German

was obviously not spoken by the people in their everyday language.

According to the Australian linguist Michael Clyne, up to the mid- 1960s West German linguists, or perhaps the politicians, emphasised the emerging differences, warned these could lead to a communication breakdown which could damage the unity of Germany, and criticised GDR neologisms (Clyne 1984:27). The GDR, on the other hand, up to 1963 tended to ignore the possibility of emerging language differences. After the 1960s West German research tended to play down the differences and stress the common bond, while East German linguists highlighted the distinguishing characteristics, thereby giving them a separate status. Especially after Erich Honecker came to power in 1971 there was a very strong feeling from the politicians to emphasize the GDR as an independent state and in so doing to try to distance the East German language from the West. The FRG saw its language as free of any ideological pollution, whereas it considered the East German language to be corrupt and loaded with bias. The dominant view in the GDR was that its German was a national variety distinct from that in West Germany. It came to be accepted that rather than East German being a move from the standard, there were several varieties of the standard language, which all had the same core, but their own specifics. These different attitudes at different times tended to be due to different political stances at the time.

The main difference was that the East German linguists saw language as representative of a nation and of the GDR as a socialist state; they wondered whether the language its citizens spoke was still the same as that of a capitalist state. West German linguists, on the other hand, saw the German language as the unifying feature

between the two states. The problem with these observations is that many of them are biased, as those examining the language were a part of these systems. Although examining from within the states did allow the linguist to observe from the closest possible station, it could be difficult to obtain an unbiased view of the situation. Many of the studies carried out were influenced by extra-linguistic concerns. The results of studies tended often to reflect the political attitude at the time, in particular influenced by how the individual state viewed itself, which applied especially to the GDR.

Some linguists in the FRG were of the opinion that the language of the GDR followed on from that of National Socialism. Sometimes it was referred to as the language of the fourth Reich, the language of the FRG being considered as guarding the true values and being the home of the German language, while the language of the GDR was seen as misused and manipulated. German in the GDR was seen as being defaced, deformed and subject to excessive Russian influence, and was hence referred to as *Sowjetdeutsch* (Townson 1992:178). These aspects of military language and foreign influence will be dealt with in section 1.8.

#### **1.4 *Sprachspaltung* - The division of the German language**

The culmination of all these discussions of the language of East and West Germany was that it was feared that the language of Germany could divide and form into two parallel languages. Not all linguists shared this fear. Ahrends wrote in 1989: "Immer wieder geistert die Rede von einer deutsch-deutschen Sprachspaltung wie eine Drohung durch die Medien, und ein paar exotische DDR-Wörter

müssen als Beweis herhalten" (Ahrends 1989:7). He added that East and West had the same orthography and grammar and that there was less difference between East and West Germany than between the North and the South. It may be true to a certain extent that there were dialectal differences which were also present in other parts of Germany, but the differences between the language of the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG obviously represented a special case of particular interest.

Victor Klemperer at a conference in East Berlin in 1953 was one of the first linguists to say that some people spoke *Ostdeutsch* and some spoke *Westdeutsch*. Gustav Korfén wrote in the journal *Der Deutschunterricht* that people should not over-dramatise the differences, and that no matter what the dangers seemed to be, the language would hold the people together as there would always be a German language (Korfén 1969:7). The similarities were stronger than the differences; but was this also the case from the viewpoint of the people who lived there? When speaking of national varieties, other factors need to be taken into account too, according to Polenz (Polenz 1988:200), for example the loyalty of the speakers to the standard language, and in which circles language was spoken. He also considered other aspects, for example diglossia (the use of different varieties of language or different languages in different situations in a single speech community) and bilingualism. Diglossia will be dealt with under the heading of code-switching in section 1.17. Polenz also differentiated between *Staatsnationen* which share a historical past and *Kulturnationen* which share culture, religion or literature to name but a few. The two German states shared a historical past until 1945 and in many ways their culture and religions

started to diverge from each other from this time onwards.

A problem with examining East and West German is that boundaries are vague and differences can be hard to define: "Allerdings werden die Grenzen bei diesen Untersuchungen notwendigerweise unscharf, also zwischen Entwicklungstendenzen des Deutschen im allgemeinen und Besonderheiten, die mit der staatlichen Trennung zusammenhängen" (Welke 1992:1). One aspect that can be affirmed, however, is that the different path, the *Sonderentwicklung*, of the GDR has been examined and found by both sides to be stronger than that of the FRG.

### **1.5 *Wortwanderung* - Changes of word meaning in Germany**

As the two German states became more established, the language changed to reflect the changes in society, and these extra-linguistic phenomena will be the subject of the following sections. "Language change and changes in patterns of communication require material conditions which are favourable to such change, and secondly, that socio-economic change presupposes the existence or creation of the communicative conditions favourable to the change" according to Townson (Townson 1992:30). It was the divergent socio-economic developments in East and West that were reflected in linguistic developments, especially in the area of lexis.

There were many different kinds of change which took place, especially in the GDR. In some cases new words were invented to describe new aspects of society. Other words became specific if they were used in one state only, or if the meanings in the two states were different. Words could have positive connotations in one state and

negative in the other. Other words were used more in one state than in the other. Frequently certain lexemes were only used in one state but could still be understood in the other, particularly in the case of East Germans understanding West German words. Sven-Gunnar Andersson wrote:

Die Wortwanderung folgt verschiedenen Wegen. Ein wichtiger Vermittlungsweg für BRD-Typika in der DDR sind Rundfunk und Fernsehen. Dagegen wird in der Bundesrepublik von den Sendungen der DDR-Medien wenig Notiz genommen, weshalb diese eine sehr geringe Rolle als Vermittlungsweg für DDR-Typika spielen. Berichterstattungen und Diskussionen über den anderen Staat in den Massenmedien des eigenen Landes (Presse, Rundfunk, Fernsehen) spielen in beiden Staaten eine wichtige Rolle, wie auch direkte persönliche Begegnungen im Zuge der Vereinbarungen zwischen den beiden deutschen Staaten (Andersson 1984:65).

He examined East and West German words which appeared in the other state's press and found that this was a major tool for GDR citizens especially to learn the terms of the other state.

It is important to remember that although it is the language of the GDR which was mainly looked at by the majority of linguists and also the fact that the language of the FRG had stronger restorative tendencies than the East, this does not mean that the West German language has stood still over the last 40 years. For example, the language of the FRG was under a stronger Anglo-American influence than the East, which was also reflected in many of the changes the language underwent.

There were different kinds of lexical divergence in the two German states. There were old lexemes, which pre-dated 1945, and which afterwards were specific to one system, for example *Beamte* in the FRG and *Arbeitsbuch* in the GDR. There were also neologisms which were specific to one system, examples of this being *Sex-Shop*

in the West and *Intershop* in the East. Other lexemes were only used in one system, for example *Personalabteilung* in the West and *Kaderabteilung* in the East. There were also lexemes for which there was an exact correspondence in the other system, for example what was called *Broiler* in the East was referred to as *Brathähnchen* in the West. New signs were developed in each system with the same reference to denote new phenomena, for example *Republikflüchtige(r)* in the East and *DDR-Flüchtling* in the West. Identical signs were developed in both systems which possessed different references, eg *APO* was *außerparlamentarische Opposition* in the West and *Abteilungsparteiorganisation* in the East, or *Kulturraum*, which signified a geographical area made up of one cultural group in the West and a large public room for cultural events in the East. There were also words which were present in both systems but had evolved further in their meaning in one system, becoming either more generalised or more specialised. For example, *Kollege* was a co-worker at a place of work in the West and a member of the wider community of labour in the East. Finally, there were also ideological lexemes which existed in both systems and which were marked for positive or negative connotations. In both states words such as *Demokratie*, *Freiheit* and *Humanismus* were positively loaded and others such as *Ausbeutung*, *Imperialismus* and *Unterdrückung* were negative concepts. However, other words such as *Klassenkampf*, *Kommunismus* and *Revolution* had negative connotations in the West but positive in the East, and the reverse was true for *Pluralismus* and *soziale Marktwirtschaft*, which were seen as positive in the West but negative in the East.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> All the previous examples are taken from Townson 1992.

## 1.6 Marked/Unmarked Words in the two German states

Certain words existed in both the German states, even though they could have different meanings or nuances. A word like *friedliche Koexistenz* was unmarked in the FRG and could be used to refer to situations other than that of East and West Germany. This was not the case in the GDR, where it was only used for the latter meaning. Mainly vocabulary regarding politics, ideology and the hierarchy of the state were affected by such markings. An interesting example of this in the FRG was to do with the barring of those with extreme political views, especially the left, of occupying certain positions for instance in academia, the civil service, doctors and other positions.

Conservatives called this the *Extremistenbeschluß*, those who were politically central called it the *Radikalerlaß*, and the political left called it *Berufsverbot* (Clyne 1984:132). This illustrates how the same basic meaning could be manipulated to add a political message. As Dieckmann says, words can change their meaning depending on whether a Communist or someone with another political standpoint uses them: "Der Grundwortschatz der marxistischen Theorie ist in seinem Bedeutungssystem eng und direkt mit der Ideologie verknüpft, und es ist sinnvoll und auch beim Einzelwortvergleich erfolversprechend, der ideologischen und propagandistischen Komponente nachzuspüren" (Dieckmann 1967:152). Dieckmann also asserted that such strong political influence on the language was not good for the people, as they lost the power to use their own language without the added political meaning. He thought that people no longer felt confident speaking their own language, as so many words become ideologically loaded: "... verlieren die Menschen das

Vertrauen in die Sprache und das Vertrauen zueinander. Sie beginnen das Wort zu fürchten, weil es ihnen im Munde verdreht und gegen sie als Waffe verwendet werden kann" (Dieckmann 1967:158).

In many cases, East Germans avoided their government's ideologically loaded words by using West German terms. For example, many East Germans referred to East Berlin as *Ost-Berlin* and not as *Hauptstadt der DDR* and to the Soviet Bloc as *Ostblock* rather than using the term *sozialistische Staatengemeinschaft*. In doing so, they were able to speak about aspects in their life, but without a political undertone frequently suggested by the political language.

In the GDR the word *Volk* was still used, unlike the FRG, where this word was avoided due to the undertones of the Nazi regime. The Communists stressed the importance of the workers and the people, as it was they who would rebuild East Germany and lead it to the forefront of Europe. Examples of this *Volk* usage in the GDR were, among others, the newspaper of the Communist Party which was called the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, the government talked about *Volkssolidarität*, and there was the *Deutsche Volkspolizei*, the *Volksarmee*, as well as the *Volkskongreß*, and *Volkseigentum*. In these cases, where West Germany would avoid words which called to mind the recent past, the East felt exempt from such guilt, as they were anti-fascist and therefore did not share the fascist heritage.

Certain phrases could also differ semantically. For example, the phrase *Heute im Angebot* in the FRG meant that a special price offer was taking place (a *Sonderangebot*), whereas in the GDR it meant a product was in the shop, perhaps unusually, but this had no particular effect on the price. This example also interestingly shows

how in every day life simple words were affected by a political loading.

The word *Demokratie* is also a fine example of a politically marked word. The idea of democracy in East and West Germany was very different, and in the GDR in particular, the idea of democracy in theory and practice was very different. Thuret comments on the idea of democracy in the GDR thus: "Demokratie war in der DDR gleichzeitig bejubelte Gegenwart und ferne Zukunft, angestrebtes Ziel und rhetorische Formel" (Thuret 1994:149). The GDR government advocated a democracy, but reality was very different: "Die demokratische Fassade - Verfassungsrechte, Parteienvielfalt, Volkskammer and allgemeine Wahlen - auf die die DDR nicht verzichten wollte oder konnte, wurde allgemein belächelt" (Thuret 1994:153). For the West, democracy simply meant an end to a dictatorial past, and a closer alliance with Western Europe and America.

There were many other words, such as *Arbeitgeber*, *Arbeitnehmer*, *Kapitalist* and *Parliamentarismus*, where the words differed quite substantially depending on the state in which they were used, and by whom. This is considered further in section 1.14, where the Dudens of both states are discussed.

### **1.7 Language of the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands**

All languages are influenced by political ideology, but in a single party state with only powerless *Blockparteien* as the opposition, the language this party uses is particularly important, since it alone as a political party influences the citizens of that country. A change in

politics produces a change in language. Students at university and college in the GDR had to follow a *marxistisch-leninistisches Grundlagenstudium* and there was a *Parteilehrjahr* which some businesses and industries carried out to educate workers politically. This passing on of ideology was ironically referred to as *Parteichinesisch* and *Kaderwelsch*. The latter is a word-play on *Kauderwelsch* meaning 'gibberish' or 'gobbledegook', and the first term is a linguistic register for language which is not understood or makes no sense. According to Hellmann, it was Viktor Klemperer who first emphasized these terms alongside other words such as *Funktionsjargon* in order to characterize the style of GDR language (Hellmann 1989b:27). This type of language was often parodied and ridiculed, but those who had to live in this society could not afford to ridicule it in public. It was the *sprachliche Realität* for more than 40 years and was part of that era. It was the language of the party and not that of the individual, but people used it in order not to differentiate themselves from others and not to stray from the party-line; using the language that the SED prescribed was a kind of self-defence. Oschlies wrote in 1989 about the language of the SED that no one would use it voluntarily, but when needed all people could speak it fluently (Oschlies 1989:116). The influence of the Party was very strong: "alle traditionellen sprachlichen Unterschiede geschichtlicher, regionaler, sozialer und ständischer Art treten zurück vor der uniformierenden Gewalt der Parteisprache" (Dieckmann 1967:142). Uniformity of language is characteristic of most totalitarian states, in order to try and influence people's thinking. Although language cannot change people's opinions completely, it is a strong influence in their lives. "Zwar sind Sprache und Denken nicht identisch, aber sie

bilden eine unauflösliche Einheit; und so kann Sprache zum Indikator werden, an dem sich Denkweisen und Haltungen - wenn auch vermittelt und vielfältig gebrochen - erkennen lassen" (Bergmann 1996a:65). A very important factor which strengthened the influence of the SED was that so many people were involved in the system, whether they wanted to be or not. "Die SED-Diktatur hat es nur ganz wenigen erlaubt, nicht in direkten Kontakt mit ihrem Machtapparat zu kommen, wie die erschreckend hohe Zahl mehr oder weniger unfreiwilliger Helfer der Staatssicherheit beweist" (Schlosser 1990: 10). Typical of the language of the Party was the use of 'Sprachklischees', for example 'Den Kapitalismus überholen, ohne ihn einzuholen' (Bergmann 1996a:66), such phrases were empty of any meaning, and certainly had no real influence on the people of East Germany. Phrases such as this, and many other key themes of the Party, did not further their cause. Rather than convincing people of the ideals, the people ended up hearing the same phrases time and time again, leaving only empty meanings behind. Good examples of such empty phrases were those used by the Party on the marches of Labour Day on the 1st May, such as *Hohe Leistungen zum Wohle des Volkes und für den Frieden - Alles für die Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des XI. Parteitagess!* as well as *Unser sozialistisches Vaterland - Heimstatt für Freiheit, Demokratie und Menschenrechte!* - used on the 1st May 1988.<sup>3</sup>

The language of the SED was "arm an Geist und arm an Gefühl" according to Bergmann (Bergmann 1996a:69). He continues: "Die sprachliche ist Ausdruck der geistigen Armut. Diese hatte ihre Wurzel in einer ausgesprochenen Geistfeindlichkeit. Diese zeigte sich

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<sup>3</sup> These slogans come from Bergmann 1996a.

in bestimmten Paraphrasierungen des Staatsnamens. Wenn sich die DDR als Arbeiter-und-Bauern-Staat bezeichnete, so war der Intellektuelle von vornherein ausgegrenzt" (Bergmann 1996a:69). Most members of the SED were not university educated, and many were not very eloquent speakers. This was in strong contrast to earlier socialists such as Lenin, Marx and Engels, whose writings were all very literary. In the official language of the GDR aesthetics tended to be neglected, rhetoric was not a strong point, and speeches were often regarded as boring by the GDR citizens. All speeches and writings were decided from the highest level and so ideology was enforced; official communication was prescribed from above. Gärtner wrote: "Mit den bisher genannten Charakteristika - die offizielle Kommunikation war monopolisiert, ideologisiert, terminologisiert - ist das folgende Merkmal eng verbunden: das Offizialdeutsch war im Grunde adialogisch, nicht wirklich auf Verständigung angelegt" (Gärtner 1996:121). On the other hand, the SED saw the language of the GDR as a phase in the tradition that stemmed from Goethe, Schiller and Lessing to Marx, Engels and Bebel, and viewed it as the true German language, different to that used in the West.

Much of the language was manipulated in ways that either attempted to shield the people from seeing what was really happening, or furthering the socialist ideal. There was a constant struggle against the pressure of the FRG, as it showed something different but very successful in many aspects compared to the GDR. "Um den Sozialismus in der DDR zu verwirklichen, nahm der Staat - über Jahrzehnte! - Einfluß auf die Sprache, wurden Wörter einfach ausgemerzt oder im Sinne der Partei in der Bedeutung festgelegt" (Drosdowski 1997: 30-1). The Berlin Wall was referred to as the

*antifaschistischer Schutzwall*, as if it were protecting the people from the West, rather than fencing them in. When private ownerships were taken over by the state, it was referred to as *Umwandlung in sozialistisches Eigentum* or *Überführung in neue Eigentumsformen*, stressing the positive aspects. The *Staatssicherheit* (the secret police in the GDR) used the foreign word *observieren*, as it sounded less intrusive than the German word *bespitzeln*. Not only this, but people were not permitted to have their own opinions and their say. From a young age, they were taught to conform to Party lines and avoid confrontation with Party ideals. Baudusch writes about this lack of spontaneous language:

In der DDR hatte man nicht gelernt, die eigene Meinung zu sagen. Bewußt individuell geprägtes freies Sprechen wurde im Muttersprachunterricht nicht gefördert. Statt dessen lernte man in der Kommunikationsgesellschaft DDR etwas anderes: so zu sprechen, daß man nicht gegen die offiziell vorgegebene Parteilinie, gegen die in Regierungsverlautbarungen und in den Massenmedien vorgeprägten Formulierungen verstieß (Baudusch 1996: 81-2).

The SED did not encourage the use of dialect, as they considered it the language of *Plejeber und Unterdrückten* (Oschlies 1989:174). Dahl-Blumenberg also commented on this tendency: "In der DDR war die offizielle Haltung zum Dialekt jedenfalls bis zu Anfang der 1980er Jahre sehr kritisch. Es wurde unverblümt versucht, ihn zu eliminieren, u.a. von der Betrachtung ausgehend, daß jeder DDR-Bürger Zugang zur Hochsprache haben sollte, um sich dadurch an der öffentlichen Debatte beteiligen zu können" (Dahl-Blumenberg 1987:362).

The official language of the GDR was hard to understand for West Germans, and could be considered a separate language, also known as a *Sondersprache*. Oschlies quotes the Hamburg *Welt* as writing on the 28th April 1949 that: "Man muß bereits einen kleinen

Sprachführer zu Hilfe nehmen ... um die amtlichen Ausdrücke der Ostzone zu enträtseln" (Oschlies 1990a:15). On a similar note, the SED said in 1967 that:

Die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung in der DDR und in Westdeutschland ist so unterschiedlich verlaufen, daß es heute nicht mehr möglich ist, länger von einer deutschen Nationalsprache zu sprechen (...) Wir werden einen einheitlichen deutschen Wortschatz erst dann wieder haben, wenn Westdeutschland sich auf den Weg des Völkerfriedens und des gesellschaftlichen Fortschritts begibt, den die DDR seit über zwei Jahrzehnten beschreitet (Oschlies 1990a:19).

At the end of the 1970s it was clear that the 'new' language of the GDR was highly politically motivated and very closely linked to the ideology of the SED. Oschlies described the language of the GDR as follows:

Schon aus Erwägungen sprachlicher Ökologie muß sie weg (füge ich hinzu), denn jedes Wort von ihr war eine atmspärliche Verseuchung! Schlagworte, ineinandergeschachtelte Partizipial-konstruktionen, Weihe- und Drohwörter, unsinnige Steigerungen (meist in der SED-typischen Form von noch + Komparativ), falsch verwendete Präpositionen und Fremdwörter, Inflation der Genitive und Substantive auf -ung, der ganze sprachliche Zuschnitt voll trügerischer Mobilität - die selbstgenannte Avantgarde der SED, wie sie dachte und sprach (Oschlies 1990a:30).

Samson wrote in 1994 that the language of the SED was *unlogisch*, *absurd*, *vereinnahmend*, *schönfarbend* and *hochwertend* and he also said: "Da die Parteiführung keine neue Sprache fand, die die neue Realität hätte greifen können, mußten auch die in den alten Partiejargon eingebetteten Dialogangebote als heuchlerisch erscheinen und wurden als solche erkannt" (Samson 1994:203).

In summing up, I would like to quote Colin Good on the situation of the language of the SED: "Die monolithische Ideologie und das Einparteiensystem führten zur Entwicklung eines von Ritualen

und Wiederholungen gekennzeichneten Stils, dessen formelhafte Ausdrücke die fixe Konzeptstruktur und eine starre Hierarchie reflektierten" (Good 1995:264).

### **1.8 Military Language and similarities of GDR language to that of the Third Reich**

It was said by some linguists of the FRG that the language of the GDR was militant, war-like and similar to that of the Third Reich. The aim of the language of the Third Reich was to bring the listener to states of ecstasy, as it was at this point that their power of judgement would be reduced and they would be easier to influence. The language of the SED was the opposite: every sentence was carefully thought out and as such strict forms had to be adhered to speeches were mainly read out. But it seems obvious that a speaker who cannot speak freely cannot win over the listeners to his ideas. In this way, the language of the SED cannot really be compared to that of Nazi Germany, though there were similarities and both languages were totalitarian.

Dieckmann discussed their similarities as being:

Die nachgewiesenen Ähnlichkeiten liegen im Bereich des politischen Redestils und vor allem in seinem militanten Charakter. Besonders genannt wurden bevorzugter Gebrauch des Fremdwortes, Formelhaftigkeit, Wiederholungsstil, superlativische Aussageweise, Verwendung von Invektiven, Wir- und Muß-Stil und die Aufnahme der Alltags- und Gossensprache (Dieckmann 1967:156).

Ulla Fix writes that the vocabulary and content of the two languages was similar, for example using the verb *betreuen* in the sense of *beaufsichtigen* or *beeinflussen* (Fix 1996: 12). Also the fact that both the National-Socialists and the Socialists involved themselves in all stages of life; in the form of youth groups and holiday

camps. Both had prizes for those who excelled in their society, as well as rejecting those who did not comply, and both having a secret police.

The language of the SED was frequently militant. It repeatedly referred to *Kampf* and *kämpfen*. An example of this was the phrase *mein Arbeitsplatz ist mein Kampfplatz für den Frieden*. Factories became *Kampfstätte*, where the worker *kämpfte* for higher productivity. The difference to West Germany in this case is that in the West there was a fight to get a job and in the East there was the fight at work for more production. The concept of *Klassenkampf*, the class struggle, was a crucial aspect of Communism which the GDR also developed. There was also a fight against an enemy, which in the case of the SED was capitalism, the main enemy: "Die Theorie von Klassenkampf impliziert den Gegner; und offensichtlich brauchte ihn der Sozialismus und konnte ohne ihn nicht auskommen; denn er benötigte ständig einen Feind, den er für die fortgesetzt auftretenden Miseren und Unzulänglichkeiten verantwortlich machen konnte" (Bergmann 1996a:78). The GDR was in a constant battle against the capitalists in Western Europe, this was one of the main features of life. The struggle against the *Klassenfeind* meant that in fulfilling the economic plans they would be fighting against West Germany.

The differences in the political communication of different states was described by Klein:

Ein grundlegender Unterschied zwischen diktatorischen und demokratischen Systemen besteht darin, daß in der öffentlichen politischen Kommunikation einer Diktatur nur eine einzige homogene Identifikations- und Distanzierungskonstellation zulässig ist, während in demokratischen Gesellschaften eine Vielfalt konkurrierender Konstellationen existiert (Klein 1998:190).

Another aspect of dictatorship in the GDR was that public communication was carried out in such a way as to try to show that the people were at one with the leaders, although this may have been achieved by threat and force. Both these aspects were present in the GDR. In democracies verbal attacks on opponents are generally much more visible than in dictatorships, as the democracies may show an image of an enemy; but it seems to be exaggerated and less believable, whereas in a dictatorship there is always an enemy present.

### **1.9 Propaganda**

Although some communists use the concept of 'Agitation and Propaganda', the word *Propaganda* tends to be used by politicians to describe the opposition, whereas for themselves they use terms such as *Information, politische Bildung, Erziehung* or *Aufklärung*. Propaganda is suggestion - what people should think and how they should act. It is not the actual words of a language which are propaganda, but rather the way in which they are used. Dieckmann writes about his views of what propaganda is: "Die totalitäre Propaganda dient zum Teil gerade der Verschleierung des Zwanges, beruft sich auf das Volk, biedert sich an und schließt mit der Wir-Form den Angeredeten ein" (Dieckmann 1975:110).

Although the language of the GDR was significantly more militant than in the West, and propaganda more obvious, this did not mean that there was no propaganda in the FRG, and that politicians did not use language to their advantage. All language is influenced by political ideology, although some more than others, according to Dieckmann (Dieckmann 1967:157). Dieckmann continues elsewhere

that the power of language should not be judged too highly: "Die Vertreter der empirischen Massenkommunikationsforschung sind übereinstimmend der Ansicht, daß die Beeinflussungsmöglichkeiten des Denkens und Verhaltens durch die Propaganda recht begrenzt sind" (Dieckmann 1975:117). However, propaganda can be very effective when those in power have control over all the information channels and there are no arguments against them. The people who are brought up with this form of propaganda and have never experienced anything else, can be influenced very strongly. The main problem in these aspects in the GDR was that most still had links to the West, through television, radio, newspapers and personal contacts. Another problem was that the people of the GDR could see the contradiction between 'reality' as their government presented it and the everyday life which they experienced, which meant that propaganda would never be completely successful.

### **1.10 Censorship**

Censorship can be linked to propaganda in that it is needed to make propaganda complete. Heinrich Böll wrote in 1959:

Es ist kein Zufall, daß immer da, wo der Geist als eine Gefahr angesehen wird, als erstes die Bücher verboten, die Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, Rundfunkmeldungen einer strengen Zensur ausgeliefert werden; zwischen zwei Zeilen, auf dieser winzigen weißen Zeilen, auf dieser winzigen weißen Schußlinie des Druckers, kann man Dynamit anhäufen, um Welten in die Luft zu sprengen. In allen Staaten, in denen Terror herrscht, ist das Wort mehr gefürchtet als bewaffneter Widerstand, und oft ist das letzte die Folge des ersten. Die Sprache kann der letzte Hort der Freiheit sein. Wir wissen, daß ein Gespräch, daß ein heimlich weitergereichtes Gedicht kostbarer werden kann als Brot, nach dem in allen Revolutionen die Aufständischen geschrien haben (Die Sprache als Hort der Freiheit:6).

Journalists in the GDR received their information from those in power and were expected to adapt it to suit what could be said and what could not. All politicians' speeches and writings were set by the leading powers and ideology was enforced through this. Basically, all language in the public eye was monopolised by the SED to try and control what people read and saw. The constitution of the GDR did not specifically mention censoring, although it does comment that:

Die Freiheit der Presse, des Rundfunks und des Fernsehens zu sichern, heißt deshalb vor allem, keinerlei Mißbrauch der Massenmedien für die Verbreitung bürgerlicher Ideologien zu dulden und ihre Tätigkeit bei der Verbreitung der marxistisch-leninistischen Ideologie als Foren des schöpferischen Meinungsaustausches der Werktätigen bei der Organisierung des gemeinsamen Handelns der Bürger für die gemeinsamen sozialistischen Ziele voll zu entfalten (Schlosser 1990:104).

Those who live in such a closed system tend to formulate their own type of language, which can only be understood in that specific group. This is something that can be said of the GDR, where people could code-switch between different styles of language, something which will be commented upon in section 1.17. People tended to know what they could say and what they could not. "Kennzeichnend für die DDR-Orthodoxie ist die Befolgung von expliziten wie impliziten Sprachregelungen im Sinne von Zensur bzw. Selbstzensur. Orthodox war der politisch-gesellschaftliche Diskurs der DDR insofern, als er jede Abweichung zum intolerablen Ketzertum abstempelte" (Teubert 1996:286). This sort of language was not capable of expressing the reality of the world in which the people lived, and was not chosen by the people themselves, but was enforced to make the citizens fit in with the state. Those who control the language have influence over people, as they control the way things are presented to the people.

### 1.11 Political culture

The fact that the politics of East and West Germany were completely opposed may be one of the reasons that the citizens of each state misunderstood each other in certain cases. Different political realities affected life and the way people interpreted it. The experiences of the citizens of the two states were completely different to one another - whether it be the accepted ideologies, the way history after 1945 was dealt with, the role of the State in the life of the individual or the involvement of the State in public life.

The politics of the GDR needed a different show of loyalty to that of West Germany. Hoffmann discussed the ritualised political culture of the GDR: "Die weitgehend ritualisierte politische Kultur der DDR im Gegensatz zu jener der Bundesrepublik brauchte offensichtlich regelmäßige Loyalitätsbeweise in Gestalt von Massenveranstaltungen, was auch die optimistischen Parolen und die Entschlossenheit verkündenden Losungen nur schwer überdecken konnte" (Hoffmann 1997:361). These demonstrations were compulsory and were widely broadcast to show the people's support for the State.

Glaessner wrote in 1994 that the relationship between culture and social system is mirrored by the relationship between political culture and political system. If the definition of political culture fails to take account of the social system and the general cultural context which the social system provides, then it is reduced to vacuity. A significant aspect of all political cultures, particularly those which have not emerged in a democratic state, lies in the fact that no society exhibits one single 'dominant' political culture. There are always

political subcultures, some of which are more or less evident than others (Glaessner 1994:56). Although in the GDR the state and society did form a unit, it was one enforced by the state, and therefore the people had no part in determining the aims and functions of their own state or society.

The GDR was not a pluralistically-organised society, it was a state where one party dictated, and decided all the aims and forms of public communication. Typical was a lack of discussion and official politics claimed a complete inner harmony which influenced both political and public language.

Votes against a motion in the parliament of the German Democratic Republic were not included when viewing opinions. Those who agreed with a motion stood up or raised their hands and these were the only votes counted. Members of Parliament did not tend to discuss against each other, even those who were members of the *Blockparteien*. All were on the same side against a common enemy, which was capitalism. Any problems in inner politics were blamed on foreign factors. The individual was expected to conform to society, a society which was against the western countries.

### **1.12 Political Opposition**

East Germany's leading party did not have any official opposition, so the term opposition was used for a wide range of people - from nonconformist youth culture, dissident intellectuals, writers and artists to conflicts between the church and state. Even the unofficial opposition was not cohesive or socially relevant, as opposed to the other socialist states such as Poland and Czechoslovakia. The only

informal groups of 'dissidents' were those allied with the Church, human rights and ecology groups. None of these groups would have been able to replace the regime with a democratic government. This means that the collapse of the GDR government cannot in any way be viewed as the culmination of years of oppositional struggle as it could in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Only when the Communist bloc started crumbling did something resembling opposition arise in the GDR, with the start of the Monday Demonstrations in Leipzig.

### 1.13 GDR-specific Lexis

Certain words and phrases were very typical of the GDR, and in some cases could be used as markers to indicate that a speaker was from the GDR. For example, where the West Germans would say *Parteichef*, East Germans would use the term *Erster Sekretär*, in the case of *Comecon* the East Germans said *Rat für gegenseitige Wirtschaftshilfe*. Instead of the West German word *Astronaut*, the East Germans used the Russian influenced word *Kosmonaut*. Some very well known examples were *Plaste* for the West German word *Plastik* and *Kaufhalle* instead of *Supermarkt*, also *Polylux* for *Overheadprojektor*, *Fahrzeugbrief* for *Kfz-Schein* and *Eingabe* for *Beschwerde* to name but a few. A well-documented typical East German word is the word *Raum*, where *Zimmer* would be used in West Germany, especially when advertising for accommodation. In the GDR people would exchange homes, where people looking for a bigger flat or house would swap with someone who wanted a smaller place to live. This type of swapping was unheard of in the FRG, where people would apply in newspapers for a place to live regardless of

where they were living. The differences between these two words according to Reiher is that "jedes Zimmer ist ein Raum, aber nicht jeder Raum kann auch als Zimmer bezeichnet werden" (Reiher 1997: 44). For example, a kitchen can be called a *Raum* but not a *Zimmer*. Another example of different uses for words is the word *versorgen*, which was used in both German states, but in very different ways. In East Germany it was used in the sense of *verkaufen* and *anbieten* and it was often the case that shoppers did not have much choice in what they wanted to buy. In West Germany it was used in the sense of supplying something where there were no other alternatives - for example *Energieversorgung*, and also in the case of helping the helpless - "als Kranke, Unfallopfer oder als Kleinkinder!" (Schlosser 1992:48-9). Other times it was possible to recognise an East German by their use of idiom - rather than saying something like *von Adam und Eva an* they would say *vom Urschleim an*, which avoided any religious connotation.

In letters and official greetings, the terms *Werter Genosse* and *mit sozialistischem Gruß* were ritual greetings and used regardless of whether the person was a member of the party or their ideological position. They were also used to create a feeling of closeness according to Reiher: "Es sollte der Eindruck einer gleichberechtigten, symmetrischen Beziehung zwischen dem Antragsteller und der mit Machtbefugnissen ausgestatteten öffentlichen Institution erweckt werden" (Reiher 1996a:89). Often official terms would be used in private situations, as there would be no other available vocabulary to describe these concepts, for example if someone was looking for accommodation they would still refer to the *KWV* (Kommunale Wohnungsverwaltung), and someone taking the *Abitur* would still talk

about the *EOS* (Erweiterte Oberschule). In other cases official language was consciously avoided, or used to undermine the state. There were many words referring to the secret police which could not be used in public, for example *Stasi*, *VEB Horch & Greif, die Firma* and *zur Truppe gehören* for those working for them, to name but a few of the many names available. Another example is that officially the Russians were referred to as *die Freunde*, but East German citizens said that they were *unsere Brüder, denn Freunde könnte man sich aussuchen* (Schlosser 1990:162). Other words used to mock the state and the things it controlled were words such as *Alu-Chips* to refer to the currency of the GDR, as well as *Arbeiterschließfach* and *Proletarierintensivhaltung* for the concrete flats the workers lived in. Furthermore, there were terms such as *der deutsche Blick*, which was used when people looked around to check people eavesdropping, and also *fallen gehen* referring to voting day; *reisefähiges Alter* which was the age of retirement, when travelling was easier, and finally *Rotlichtbestrahlung*, which was used to refer to the political teaching in schools. People tended to avoid official terminology or used it ironically, as Schlosser observed:

Es gab in der DDR also zahlreiche Möglichkeiten, durch die man sich der genormten Benennung einer spezifischen Sachwelt entziehen konnte, vom ideologisch neutralen Jargon über das ironische Zitat bis zur ironisch-zynischen Infragestellung des Systems. Aber selbst und gerade die Formen deutlicher Distanzierung bestätigen auf ihre Weise, daß die deutsche Sprache in der DDR unter den Bedingungen einer eigenen Kommunikationsgemeinschaft lebte, die deutliche Unterschiede zur hiesigen aufwies (Schlosser 1990: 163).

There were special problems with the terms *Deutschland* and *Berlin* in both German states. This was due to the split of Germany, knowing which terms to use to describe the separate states, since

both states thought of themselves as the real Germany. In the FRG in the 70s there was already a relatively stable situation with the naming of both states, and only right-wing groups and some tabloid papers insisted on the non-recognition of East Germany.

Manfred W. Hellmann has several theories regarding lexical differences in the two states. He said that there were several different types of lexemes in the two states. There were *Lexembesonderheiten*, which meant that the word or term belonged to only one state; *Bedeutungsbesonderheiten* was the case when one or more meanings of a polyfunctional word were used in only one state; *Bezeichnungsbesonderheiten*, where one meaning of a polyfunctional word was used in one state, but other meanings may be used in the other state; and *Gebrauchsbesonderheiten*, where words appeared in both states, but perhaps with different frequencies, different values and in different collocations (Hellmann 1984: 26-7).

There were certain words which West German linguists considered 'typical' East German words, although in most cases such words were never used by citizens of the GDR - for example, *Jahresendflügelfigur* for the Christmas Angel, *Frühjahrsschokoladenhohlkörper* for chocolate Easter rabbits and *rauhfuttermwertende Großvieheinheit* for cattle. These words may have been ideological preferences on the part of the GDR government, but were never used by any citizen of the GDR. Due to the fact, however, that many West German linguists lacked the opportunity to examine East German language first-hand, these examples were what they viewed as the language of the GDR, furthering the fears of a German language split.

One of the main difficulties West Germans had in understanding the East German language was the large number of

abbreviations, known as *Kurzwörter*, present in the language, especially in economics. Many of these were common knowledge for the citizens of the East, but did not aid the West Germans' understanding. The largest area of such abbreviations were acronyms, for example *FDJ* (*Freie Deutsche Jugend*), *SED* (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*), *DSF* (*Gesellschaft für Deutsch-Sowjetische Freundschaft*), and many others. Another form of abbreviation was what can be called *Silbenwörter*, where syllables of words form a new word - for example *Vopo* for *Volkspolizist*, *Sero* for *Sekundärrohstoffeffassung*, and *Stasi* for *Staatssicherheit*. The last group of such words are *Mischkurzwörter*, for example *BUBIMA*, which meant *Buchbindereimaschinenbau*, *DEFA* from *Deutsche Film-AG*. All these acronyms and abbreviations were brought in to try and simplify the language, rather than using compound words. But the idea that East Germany had many more than West Germany is probably not true to a great extent, it was just that they were noted by West German linguists as they were not used to them, and could not recognise them as they would their own abbreviations such as *ARD* and *ZDF* (West German television stations). Such abbreviations quickly led to an East German text being incomprehensible to a West German reader.

#### **1.14 The Duden**

After the Second World War and the division of Germany, the main German dictionary, the *Duden*, split into two editions - one published in Mannheim and the other in Leipzig. During 41 years of separation, the two dictionaries followed different paths of development. The Leipzig edition had 75,000 words and the Mannheim edition 108,000.

“Der auffällige Unterschied im Wortbestand der Duden hat nun am wenigsten etwas mit der Entwicklung des Deutschen in beiden deutschen Staaten zu tun, sondern beruht hauptsächlich auf der Entscheidung der jeweiligen Redaktionen, was ins Wörterverzeichnis aufzunehmen ist” (Augst and Sauer 1992:73). Political ideology influenced the decisions of what was included in the dictionaries. The Mannheim edition had more Austrian and Swiss words, as well as anglicisms. Both editions put forward different pronunciations of the same word, and the Leipzig edition had more etymology. Famous people’s names only appeared in the Mannheim edition, but inconsistently, i.e. some authors and historical figures were included and others left out. The West German edition seemed to deliberately ignore the existence of an East German edition in the preface, but used its information without acknowledgement.

In the first separate Mannheim edition some words were defined as being from the *Sowjetzone*; this was later replaced by the term *Ostdeutschland* and from the early 1970s *DDR*. In the late 1980s about 130 words were described as being specific to the GDR. The Leipzig edition never marked any word as being specific to the FRG. Augst and Sauer’s opinion was that: “wenn die *Volksarmee* laut Duden-West ein DDR-Wort ist, müßte die *Bundeswehr* auch als BRD-Wort gekennzeichnet werden” (Augst and Sauer 1992:77). But this was not the case: the West German Duden never marked any words as being specific to the FRG, in order to contrast with an East German word. Particularly in the East German edition, many words were negatively marked. For example, the word *Aggression* was missing in the Leipzig editions of 1951 and 1954, but in 1957 it re-appeared as ‘(widerrechtlicher) Angriff; imperialistischer Überfall’.

The East German Duden contained many neologisms that came into being after the founding of the GDR, and especially since the edition of 1957. Most of these words did not enter the West Duden dictionary - for example, *Sozialdemokratismus* in the Leipzig edition. When comparing the two dictionaries at the beginning of the 1960s (by comparing the Leipzig edition of 1957 to the Mannheim edition of 1954), it was seen that in the letter 'A' alone, there were 200 words that differed (Betz 1960). The two editions took over different words from the original Duden, and changed some meanings. Often the words which appeared in the Leipzig edition were not new, but just used in a new way. According to Betz, a West German linguist, the Leipzig edition was more explanatory, and more accurate in its descriptions (Betz 1960:96). The East German dictionary tended towards a more selective approach, omitting many less common words and including only the more widely-known technical terms (Buck 1985:372). The East German edition tended to transcribe only words which did not conform to the general pronunciation pattern, and only indicated stress and vowel length when it did not fall on the first syllable, whereas the West German edition transcribed in IPA symbols<sup>4</sup> every headword except those which were compounds or derivatives. New words in the Mannheim edition in 1961 were words like *Bundespräsident*, *Luftbrücke*, *soziale Marktwirtschaft* and *Entwicklungsland*. Although some of these words may have been in use before this date, they came to epitomise the West German state's policies and opinions. The Leipzig Duden did not mention some of these words, as it was the official belief that they did not describe the way of life in the the GDR. New words in the East Duden edition were

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<sup>4</sup> IPA is the abbreviation for International Phonetic Alphabet.

*Kulturhaus, Sollerfüllung, Arbeiterfestspiele* and *Republikflucht*.

Contrary to popular West German opinion, direct borrowing from Russian was not common in the East German Duden. There was an Anglo-American influence on East German which was not expected. But just because a word did not appear in the East or West edition, it did not mean that the citizens of that state did not know what it meant. The fact that many English words were not used in the Leipzig Duden according to Bauer had to do with the ideological situation in the GDR, which wanted to minimize what it referred to as unwanted capitalist influence (Bauer 1990:235-6).

Illustrative quotations in the Leipzig Duden were drawn from literary sources, some from non-fiction works, for example from Marx's *Das Kapital*, and *Die Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, as well as from journals and the press. The Mannheim Duden had a more varied collection - from press, non-fiction works, specialist journals, reference works, advertisements and travel brochures. In both Dudens there were instances of quotations being translated from foreign sources, which was not desirable as such quotes were not examples of original German.

The disadvantage of the Leipzig Duden was that it was used as a political instrument for socialism, but it was a high-quality dictionary if this political aspect was set aside. Because of its political ideology, however, it had much less appeal to users in the other German-speaking countries. That is not to say that the West German Duden was politically neutral either. Many common East German words were not mentioned when maybe they should have been. Also, the Mannheim Duden's accuracy was not consistent; there were basic errors, for example strong verbs labelled weak, weak verbs labelled

strong, and sometimes paired with the wrong auxiliary verb. In some cases there were errors in stress pattern or pronunciation. Both dictionaries were marred by certain drawbacks which considerably impaired their quality and usefulness. An example which highlighted the differences between the two states was the description of the word *Bauernlegen*. In the FRG it was explained as *'Einziehen von Bauernhöfen durch den Großgrundbesitz'*, whereas in the GDR it was defined as *'Raub von Bauernhöfen durch die feudale Gutsherrschaft'*. Furthermore, a word like *Kolonie* was described in the Mannheim edition as *'Niederlassung im überseeischen Ausland, eine auswärtige Besetzung eines Staates'*, but in the Leipzig edition it was described as *'Meist durch gewaltsame Unterwerfung angeeignetes und ausgebeutetes Überseegebiet kapitalistischer Länder'*. One can really see from these two Dudens the extent to which history and politics are created and invented by the society that wrote them. As stated earlier, the fact that certain words were missing from the Dudens, both Mannheim and Leipzig, did not mean that people did not use them, or understand their meaning. Often the non-inclusion of words was based on ideology rather than knowledge.

### **1.15 Everyday Life and Language**

Life in East Germany was greatly influenced by the political situation, in that its citizens were very conscious of what they were saying, even if only to avoid using the state's language. The fact that people tried to avoid phrases and words the regime used, and the code-switching which people adopted between public and private situations, had an effect on the way people spoke. Moreover, political and everyday life in the German Democratic Republic was influenced and often

distorted by permanent comparison with the Federal Republic. Annette Simon asks: "Ist eigentlich schon mal untersucht worden, welche Auswirkungen es hat, in einem Land zu leben, aber ständig und unablässig von den Medien des anderen Landes begleitet zu sein?" (Simon 1995:58). Reiher discusses how language can be influenced:

Alltagssprache als 'die im menschlichen Alltag übliche Sprech (-und Schreib)weise' ist durch die Spezifik des Alltags geprägt, in der sie verwendet wird. Dieser Alltag war in der DDR stark ideologisiert. Die in bestimmten Situationen verwendeten Texte folgten relativ festen Mustern, die kaum kodifiziert, aber dennoch stark verinnerlicht waren (Reiher 1996a:90).

All aspects of life in the GDR were affected by the SED; not just politics, economics and government, but also art, science, education and other institutions. Other non-official areas were affected due to rituals practised by the state, such as the *sozialistische Namensgebung*, *Jugendweihe* and socialist marriages. "Selbst in Alltagsgespräche, die sich nicht auf Institutionen wie Arbeit oder Schule bezogen, drang spezifischer Wortschatz ein, den man zwar nicht politisiert nennen kann, den man aber als DDR-typisch zu bezeichnen hat und der Sprecher aus den neuen Bundesländern sicher am längsten von Sprechern aus den alten Ländern unterscheiden wird" (Fix 1994:131). Such rituals are present in most countries, but as they were politically motivated in East Germany they reflected political influence. Although these rituals did have a political aspect to them, which can be seen by the language which was used in the ceremonies, for example in the case of the *Jugendweihe*,<sup>5</sup> they also had a more festive side which was present in the areas outside the spoken parts; the celebrations, presents etc. The *Jugendweihe*

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<sup>5</sup> The *Jugendweihe* was a GDR initiation ceremony in which children were welcomed into the adult world.

was very popular; it was first introduced in the GDR in 1955, when around 52,000 fourteen to fifteen year olds were introduced to this ceremony, and continues to be popular even in reunified Germany. This continues to be the case mainly due to the festive aspects rather than any political undertones. But the government could not control all aspects of life: "nicht jedes vom Staat eingesetzte Ritual [wurde] von der Bevölkerung angenommen. So konnte sich die sozialistische Namensweihe zum Beispiel nicht durchsetzen. Rituale sind also nicht vollständig willkürlich einsetzbar und manipulierbar" (Kauke 1997: 374).

Something that has to be remembered when examining the language of ordinary people is that they do not speak the language of the state or the media. Just as the people of the FRG did not speak the language we can read in *Der Spiegel* or *Die Welt*, the East Germans did not necessarily speak the language of *Neues Deutschland*. It is important to try and find language which was actually used by the people of East Germany and try to analyse that, to see the differences between East and West. Why did people use language that was different to that of the ideological state? According to Ulla Fix the answer is: "... um sich zu distanzieren, um Selbständigkeit zu wahren, um sich als Individuum auszudrücken, um reale Probleme (Alltag, Arbeit) wirklich besprechen zu können, um die Privatsphäre abzugrenzen, um Aufmerksamkeit zu wecken, schließlich auch, um Kritik auszudrücken und - nicht selten - um zu provozieren" (Fix 1995a:37).

Christina and Carsten Gansel claim that it was not just politics that affected the language. Describing the way life affects the way people think and speak, they comment: "dass es nämlich zu

Veränderungen in der Alltagskommunikation gekommen ist, die nicht einfach als besonderes Register der Sprachverwendung zu klassifizieren sind und auch überhaupt nicht zu tun hatten mit einer etwaigen Identifikation der Sprecher mit dem System" (Gansel and Gansel 1997:59). Furthermore, the type of society that ruled in the GDR had an influence on the way people spoke: "Zum einen hatte die Ökonomiezentriertheit der SED-Ideologie und -Sprache ihre unmittelbaren Auswirkungen auf den Alltag, zum anderen ist die Ökonomie der Dreh- und Angelpunkt der politischen und sozialen Umgestaltung der ehemaligen DDR mit noch unübersehbaren Folgen für alle anderen Bereiche" (Schlosser 1992: 44-5). From these quotes it seems clear that the language and power of the SED affected not only the political language of the GDR, but also that of everyday life and even of people's way of thinking.

### 1.16 Communicative Competence

Do East Germans speak differently today, in unified Germany, to West Germans? Did the different way of life affect people's attitude to language, even today? According to Baudusch: "Ehemalige DDR-Bürger wirken im Dialog unentschlossen, gesprächsgehemmt, sie sprechen vorsichtiger und überlegter oder verstummen ganz, wenn sie bei ihren westlichen Gesprächspartnern auf Vorurteile oder Desinteresse stoßen" (Baudusch 1996:83). Fix also agrees that the political situation and the ideological influence upon language has affected GDR citizens' ability to communicate. She writes:

Wie ist das Syndrom 'reduzierte und verformte Kommunikationskompetenz' zu beschreiben? Als Merkmale dieses Syndroms lassen sich nennen: die **reduzierte** Fähigkeit zum selbständigen Sich-Mitteilen (Scheu vor schriftlicher Formulierung und vor allem - aus Mangel an

Übung - vor öffentlicher Rede) und die **verkümmerte** Fähigkeit zum wirklichen Zuhören und zum Verstehen von Mitgeteiltem (Aneinandervorbeireden, Nichtzuhören, 'Abschalten', weil man ohnehin nichts Neues, sondern die alten Formeln erwartet). Aus diesen Defekten folgt, daß auch die Fähigkeit im Gespräch Konflikte auszutragen und Übereinkünfte auszuhandeln, verkümmern mußte (Fix 1996: 22).

Former GDR citizens comment in the interviews analysed in chapter 5 that they feel less confident about public speaking than their western counterparts, who seem generally very much more comfortable doing so.

### **1.17 Code-Switching**

Citizens of East Germany had the ability to switch between the official language of the State, when so required, to the language which was used in private situations, and were very used to doing so. This phenomenon is referred to as code-switching, and is found in many mono- and multilingual societies. In the home and in private circles there was a second language: the two varieties can be referred to as *Sprachregister* - one public and one non-public way of speaking. Some linguists referred to this manifestation of language in the GDR as diglossia, which furthered the concept of the presence of two separate registers in the GDR. In the FRG there was also an 'official' language which was used in public situations, but it was much more obvious in the GDR, where the ideological influence penetrated the language more deeply. Difficulties in understanding the other country occurred less frequently in the GDR, it was in the FRG that people had more problems understanding the official discourse of East Germany.

The people of East Germany could use the official language of

the state, but this did not mean that they believed what the state told them. It was well known that "DDR-Sprache doppelbödig war. Daß neben Code-Switching (zwischen offizieller und privater Sprache) auch das Ausblenden, das 'Überhören' von bestimmten leeren Formeln, agitatorischen Redewendungen, Schlagwörtern vorlag, weil diese im DDR-Alltag fast immer zu hören war, jegliche Bedeutung also verloren hatten. Die von Ideologie überdeckten Bereiche der Sprache wurden statt dessen in ihrer ursprünglichen Bedeutung rezipiert" (Kauke 1997:373).

People could use language in a way that meant they were not directly contradicting the state, but showed they were against the system. They knew how to use the language of the SED, but could code-switch at any opportunity. GDR citizens also had the ability to read between the lines, for example in the media, understanding the difference between what was said and what that really meant. A problem with this situation was: "Wie kann jemand DDR-spezifische Lexik vermeiden, wenn er über sein in der DDR verbrachtes Leben berichten soll?" (Oschlies 1989:107). This meant that even those who did not agree with the system had to use its language to describe many aspects of life, such as education, law and housing.

### **1.18 Sociolinguistic Variation**

According to Dittmar (1997a), there were two different kinds of sociolinguistics in Germany, one in the East and one in the West. In the FRG, sociolinguistic theories said that linguistic differences caused social ones. Linguists tried to show that unequal language proved social inequality, and this hypothesis was to be established using descriptive linguistics. The researcher's drive to determine that

such unequal language entailed social inequality resulted in superior instruments for the description of variation and theories. In the East, on the other hand, language was investigated in terms of social needs. This meant that with support from sociolinguistics, linguistic norms had to be developed in order to achieve a socialist 'language culture'. Sociolinguistics sought to document the favourable conditions of communication in socialist countries and neglected empirical methods. Dittmar wrote that East Germans were cut off from the Western world and were controlled in their social perceptions and needs, "living under a kind of bell-jar of socialist monoculture, and were also constrained by the 'corset' of a state-run language culture" (Dittmar 1997a:148).

Communication problems can appear anywhere where people are confronted by other people and different situations. All different social networks and social situations can lead to changes in language. Words can be interpreted in different ways depending on who is using them; we can see this is the case when Oskaar writes:

Die sprachliche Dimension der soziokulturellen Variation ist besonders wichtig bei Interpretationsfragen. Ein und derselbe Ausdruck kann, je nach Sprachträgergruppe, nicht nur mit individuellen, sondern auch mit kollektiven, sozial-spezifischen Konnotationen verbunden sein, wobei wiederum Variablen wie Alter und Geschlecht eine Rolle spielen. Hier können Differenzen in der Interpretation einer Mitteilung leicht zu Mißverständnissen führen (Oskaar 1994:223).

These misunderstandings caused by different factors such as age, gender and situation have to be appreciated in order to be avoided.

### **1.19 Public Language**

One of the main areas to consider in public language is the media.

Newspapers and journalists were especially influenced by politics in the GDR, as the leading party decided how words were defined and in which way they were to be used. Journalists were picked and trained to make sure they were reliable, and there was always the danger of being banned if they wrote against the state. All newspapers displayed an ideological unity with the state and tended to report on all the achievements in the GDR, as well as emphasising the conflict, unemployment and inflation in the West. This led to a general uniformity of all newspapers in the East, and rarely could individual opinions be formulated. Journalists were to concern themselves with showing the continuing growing development of society and the economy. Rather than distributing information, journalists were to influence people's opinion, to convince the public of the state's desired information and thereby stabilise the country. For example, journalism about the economy did not necessarily involve discussing the country's politics, or working out the advantages and disadvantages of individual strategies, plans or projects taking place.

Some linguists, for example the East German Wolf Oschlies, who moved to West Germany before 1989 had very strong opinions on the role of journalists in the East German state. He wrote in 1990 that "Die Journalisten der DDR waren die Call-Girls der SED, und es spielt keine Rolle, ob sie das gern oder widerwillig waren - es soll auch frigide Huren geben (die aus Not ihrem 'Beruf' nachgehen). Klein jedenfalls ist die Zahl der Zeugnisse für offenen Widerstand der DDR-Presse gegen die SED" (Oschlies 1990a:32-3).

Most people realised there was a discrepancy between what the papers printed and the reality of life, and thus developed the ability to read between the lines; understanding what was really

meant, but what could not be said. Schlosser comments on this situation: "Auf kaum einem anderen Feld der Kommunikation waren die Unterschiede zwischen Bundesrepublik und DDR so leicht greifbar wie in der Mediensituation, wobei auch die Zusammenhänge zwischen den jeweiligen ideologisch-politischen Grundlagen und den sprachlichen Erscheinungen ziemlich offen zu Tage traten" (Schlosser 1990:104).

This official language was not the same as the language people used in their everyday lives, and the difference between these two was greater than in any other of the German-speaking countries. There were places where these two registers overlapped; for example, at work, school, official places and most institutions. Oschlies wrote: "Zwar glaubte niemand von uns, die Menschen drüben sprächen ND-Leitartikel, sobald sie den Mund öffneten - aber jeder von uns hatte doch mit dem Stachel im Bewußtsein zu ringen, daß steter Tropfen den Stein höhlt" (Oschlies 1990a:40). This is a very important aspect when analysing the language of the GDR. Were people affected by the political use of language, or could they just switch the ability to use such language on and off as they pleased?

### **1.20 Foreign Influence**

Both states were heavily influenced by certain foreign languages, especially by English and American, since Britain and the USA led in the technological, political and scientific spheres and provided the two German states with new concepts and the vocabulary to go with them. It was feared by the West that the GDR was influenced strongly by Russian, and Oschlies even wrote that: "Sprachwissenschaftler in Ost und West waren und sind sich einig, daß ein Großteil der

sprachlichen Veränderungen in SBZ/DDR direkt oder indirekt auf sowjetische Einflüsse zurückging" (Oschlies 1989:27). This tended only to be so in the case of common ideologies. Some words were directly translated from Russian, for example *Kulturhaus*, *Volkseigentum* and *Held der Arbeit*, and this was the most common form of borrowing; other words were influenced by Russian, for example the term *Freundschaft* used as a greeting, and *Jugendfreund* as a greeting of the *Freie Deutsche Jugend*. The problem with influence from Russian was that Russia was not viewed positively by many citizens of the GDR, and the people may, therefore, have avoided words with Russian influence. This was very different in the FRG, where British and American influences were on the whole very favourably viewed by the population. The areas most influenced were mass media, advertising and technology. The danger of Russian influence was highly exaggerated: Anglo-American influence on West German language, especially economic language, was much more widespread.

In the case of English there were lexical transfers, where exact words were taken over (in particular by West Germany), for example *Marketing* and *Team*. There were also semantic transfers, where the meanings of English words were transferred to existing German ones, including loan translations where foreign concepts such as *Beiprodukt* (by-product) or *Datenverarbeitung* (data processing) were translated into German and also loan renditions, where one part was transferred and one part based on English, for example, *Autodienststation* (service station) and *Untertreibung*. Finally, there were also loan meanings, with a transference of meaning, for example *feuern* (which used to mean to shoot, came to mean to fire

someone) and loan idioms, a morpheme for morpheme translation; *das Beste aus etwas machen* and *Geben und nehmen*. In some cases, there were even pseudo-transfers, which are not actually used in English - for example *Showmaster* (quizmaster) and *Herren-Slip* (men's underpants).

In technology, the GDR avoided direct English borrowings, even if the terms originated from English-speaking countries, where the FRG used the words influenced by English. For example, in the GDR they used *Plaste* (rather than West German *Plastik*), and *Rechner* (*Computer* in West Germany). But the Anglo-American influence in the East was bigger than may have been expected. Oschlies wrote ironically that "Die DDR muß sich auch sprachlich in *offensiver Abgrenzung* üben, weil in Westdeutschland ein angloamerikanisch *infiltriertes* Deutsch gesprochen wird ..." (Oschlies 1989:146). Political words in the GDR came from different sources, sometimes from Russian. But often these words can be traced back to general communist concepts which can be followed back in history as being used by workers' movements and communists up until 1933 and also in the time of the resistance against fascist rule.

### **1.21 Taboo subjects - The Environment**

Accurate information about air, water and ground pollution were not published in the GDR, as this would not fit into the ideal of the state which did things for the good of the people. Environmental issues in general were avoided. Plans for environmental development did not inform the people in any aspect. Certain words were repeated over and over again, such as *Land- und Forstwirtschaft*, and people did not question their content due to their familiarity. Only those with a good

knowledge of environmental issues would be able to read between the lines. It was believed by officials that the more people were kept in the dark, the easier they would be to persuade. Until the mid 1980s ecological terminology was banned from official use. Kampferer shows an example of this: "Ein Kommentator des Berliner Rundfunks erklärte 1983, daß das Wort 'Smog' deswegen in der DDR nicht gebräuchlich sei, weil damit ein spezifisch kapitalistisches Phänomen beschrieben werde" (Kampferer 1992:36).

### 1.22 Taboo subjects - Religion

Religion and practising religion were, in general, not encouraged in East Germany, which portrayed itself as an atheist state, and many non-religious rituals were introduced: *Jugendweihe*, socialist marriages etc. But many patterns in these rituals were closely linked to religious ceremonies, for example the ten commandments of the *Jungpioniere*. "Die Begründung für die Übernahme der Muster aus dem religiösen Bereich liegt zum einen tatsächlich in dem pseudoreligiösen Charakter des Systems und seiner Ideologie" (Fix 1996:37). Some religious ideas were used, for example 'Die Lehre von Karl Marx ist allmächtig, denn sie ist wahr!' (during the Karl-Marx year in 1983 this was the slogan of all GDR towns). There was talk of *Glaube*, and people such as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were referred to as *Märtyrer*. Wotjak also refers to some of these religious overtones in socialist vocabulary, such as the 'fester/unerschütterlicher Glaube an die historische Mission der Arbeiterklasse' and 'die Ideale der Arbeiterklasse/die Verpflichtung

zum Frieden sind/ist uns heilig'.<sup>6</sup>

### 1.23 Job Designations

There were specific tendencies in the way that jobs were described in the GDR. A third of all job titles in the GDR included the word *Facharbeiter*, which was found much less in West Germany (Barz 1997:78). For example, the job which is called *Hüttenwerker* in the FRG was called *Hüttenfacharbeiter* in the East. West Germany aspired to a poly-functional job world, whereas the East stressed the similarities of the workers. The GDR was a society where work was of central importance. A specific job could influence accommodation, creches, health care and holidays. In contrast to West Germany, it was seen as unreliable to change jobs or subject at university. Once a person joined a company or factory, they became part of it and remained there until they retired. There was no real competition for jobs, and nobody had to fear unemployment or being fired, as this was highly unusual. Rather than encouraging good work, this practice led to the opposite, as no one had to fear unemployment since the right to work was part of the East German constitution. Different qualities were positively favoured in the working environment. Rather than being a good worker, being a good socialist was highly valued. Barz wrote an article about the different titles for jobs in East and West Germany. Typical examples she gives for West German jobs are *Altenpflegerhelfer*, *Florist* and *Pharmakant*. Typical East German job titles she names as *Agrotechniker*, *Blumenbinder* and *stomatologische Schwester* (Barz 1997:78). There were also cases

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<sup>6</sup> These examples come from a lecture handout given by Barbara Wotjak called *Sprache in Bewegung* held at the Herder Institut in Leipzig, 1995.

where there were differences in job titles. Up until 1980 the term *Augenoptiker* had the same meaning in both East and West Germany. After this date, however, West Germany introduced more specialised terms such as *Feinoptiker* and *Brillenoptikschleifer*, which did not exist in the GDR.

#### 1.24 Values

Meulemann discusses the values of the GDR and FRG before and after reunification extensively. He writes:

Beide Staaten haben die deutsche Geschichte geerbt, beide sind Nachfolger des untergegangenen Deutschen Reiches. Beide Staaten repräsentieren die deutsche Nation. Aber jeder vertrat ein anderes Gesellschaftsmodell, das er für die ganze Nation verbindlich machen wollte: Kapitalismus gegen Sozialismus, Markt gegen Plan, Konkurrenzdemokratie gegen die führende Rolle einer Partei. Pluralismus der Weltanschauungen gegen die Dominanz einer Ideologie (Meulemann 1996:11).

This is the idea that a population's values are affected by the society in which they live. Both states tried to cope with Germany's history in a different way: the GDR by becoming an anti-fascist state, and the FRG by adopting a western European democracy-style state.

As time passes people's values and perceptions change, but was this possible in East Germany? Meulemann, for example, found that hard to believe when he wrote:

Kaum finden sich dort spontane soziale Entwicklungen, für die sich ein Wandel von Werten als Erklärung anböte; statt dessen finden sich massive Eingriffe der Politik in die Gesellschaft, mit denen Werte als verbindlich gesetzt werden sollen - von der Bekämpfung der Kirchen bis zur Enteignung des Privateigentums, vom Umbau des Bildungswesens bis zur verfassungsmäßigen Proklamation der 'sozialistischen Persönlichkeit' (Meulemann 1996:177).

West German television and media portrayed a different society to the

people of the GDR, and they could see the differences between the two societies. It seems that value systems are relatively constant, even when under historical and social pressures.

### 1.25 Colloquialisms in the GDR

There were many cases of ironic or sarcastic use of language, for example to describe certain things present in the state. The television tower in East Berlin was referred to by many people as the *Telespargel*, *Protzkeule* or *Sankt Walter*. Similarly, the parliament area was referred to as *Volvograd* because of the many politicians' Volvo-limousines. The trams from Czechoslovakia were called *Dubcecks Rache*, those from Rumania as *Ceaucescus letzte Rache* and a Russian car as *Rostquietsch*. The area around Dresden was called *Tal der Ahnungslosen* as it could not receive West German television, and the West German channel *ARD* was called *Außer Raum Dresden*.

Frequently the misunderstandings between Germans were due to age rather than origin. Youth language is a topic in itself, and there is no great scope available for its discussion in this thesis, but it is useful to note that it expresses a unity against a common 'enemy', enabling young people to distance themselves from the norms of society. "Angesichts typisch westlicher Modedifferenzierungen seit den siebziger Jahren mochte es zunächst auch nicht erstaunen, daß die DDR-Linguistik Jugendsprache zunächst für eine Erscheinung 'kapitalistischer' Gesellschaften hielt und in der eigenen Gesellschaft bereits als Möglichkeit leugnete" (Schlosser 1990:172). A lot of the youth language of East Germany came from the West; it was very rare to have youth language which came from the East. A few examples

were the word *deli* as an expression of surprise (probably from the expensive Delikat-shops), someone who was not nice as a *Kaputtnik* (from Sputnik) and someone stupid as *Dumm wie ein Konsumbrot*. A principal difference in youth language was that in East Germany only young people would use it, whereas in West Germany it would be used in advertising and media.

### 1.26 *Berlinisch*

Barbour and Stevenson note that: "Berlin offers a virtually unique opportunity to study the linguistic consequences of the abrupt disruption of a speech community" (Barbour and Stevenson 1990: 112). This fact will be looked at in much greater detail in chapter 5, where the corpus examined consists of spoken texts produced exclusively by speakers from East and West Berlin. Although West Berlin was an isolated island in the GDR, its language remained a dynamically developing variety, although one quite different from East Berlin: "Die Teilung der Stadt führte zu starken sprachlichen Wandlungen und zu erheblichen Unterschieden zwischen Ost und West" (Schönfeld 1996:71). Berliners are known for their mixture of humour, quick-wittedness, and self-assertive, aggressive type of language known as *Berliner Schnauze*. The attitudes towards this language range from very positive to very negative, calling it rude and aggressive.

In East Berlin *Berlinisch* was the accepted language form, used in most aspects of life and was a form of language that many speakers could not switch out of without some difficulty. Localised Berlin forms are considerably more prevalent in East than West Berlin, but this could be a sign of a more static community, as opposed to West

Berlin, where many outsiders moved in. In East Berlin *Berlinisch* developed into a language variety which spread in the direction of Brandenburg. In West Berlin local Berlin speech was strongly stigmatised, but even so still persisted among working class people. East Berliners believed that those in West Berlin used standard German rather than *Berlinisch*, and those in the West believed that East Berliners spoke a strong variety of *Berlinisch* in all circumstances.

Even in East Berlin there was a link between prestigious jobs and language, but in this case the two varieties were the Berlin and Saxony varieties. The Saxon-influenced standard variety was the language of the public domain, especially politics, and was not seen as the prestige variety among the Berlin citizens. Using *Berlinisch* marked the speaker as belonging to a positive social group, and gave them a sense of identity.

### **1.27 Events leading up to 9 November 1989**

The changes which were to take place in the German language after the fall of the Wall and unification were preceded by the socio-political changes which were taking place in the second part of 1989 throughout the GDR. It is important to note these initial changes within society in order to look further in chapter 2 at the changes in language of the GDR and the FRG. In the summer of 1989 many GDR citizens started leaving East Germany by entering the West German embassies in Prague and Budapest, and from there were taken by train to West Germany. Others left by the Hungarian/Austrian border which was opened in May 1989. The first mention of people leaving the GDR in this way was a small article which appeared without a

headline on 11 September 1989 in *Neues Deutschland*, reporting the *Menschenhandel* at the Hungarian border. Hungary was portrayed as a traitor in allowing GDR citizens to leave the country and those leaving were also seen as betraying their country. Even the word *Menschenhandel* suggests some negative influence coming from outside. The state could no longer control the people.

During this time there were peaceful demonstrations organised by the people in Leipzig every Monday, and as the weeks and months progressed, these meetings of the people grew ever larger, as well as spreading to other cities. Initially, the demonstrators wanted a democratic GDR, but this was soon taken over by the wish to join West Germany and become one country. Bauer describes the situation at this time thus:

Etwa im November 1989 tritt eine grundlegende Veränderung der Situation ein. Die Akteure des Umbruchs, die bisher auf einen relativ kleinen Kreis von Personen beschränkt geblieben waren, werden von der Dynamik der Entwicklung schließlich selbst überrollt. Es entsteht eine Massenbewegung, deren vorrangige Ziele mit denen der bisherigen, oppositionellen Kräfte nicht mehr übereinstimmen (Bauer 1993:148).

One of the most significant events that led to the changes in the GDR was brought on by Mikhail Gorbatshev, who said at a meeting of the 40th anniversary celebrations of the GDR, on 7 October 1989, 'Wer zu spät kommt, den bestraft das Leben'. Another main event at this time was Honecker's resignation as head of the GDR on 18 October 1989.

On the night of 9 November 1989, Günther Schabowski said in an interview regarding the possibility for GDR citizens to travel to non-communist countries while reading from a scrap of paper, that "Alle Beschränkungen der 'ständigen' wie auch der 'zeitweiligen Ausreise'

sind mit sofortiger Wirkung hinfällig, Ausreise-Visa werden ohne Fristen und Formalitäten erteilt ...” After this announcement tens of thousands of GDR citizens rushed to the borders, crossed them and celebrated with the West Berliners who were awaiting them. The words *Wahnsinn! Unglaublich!* and *Unfassbar!* were the words that were typically heard from all sides during this time.

### **1.28 Summary and conclusion**

This chapter discussed the situation of the GDR and its language. The history of the GDR was examined, how the two Germanies came to exist, and the background was set for the rest of the chapter. The different varieties of German and how many varieties existed was discussed. It was seen that linguists' views differed on this topic, some believing that East and West German remained the same language, others thinking there was a danger of the German language being split. On the whole, West German linguists were convinced that East and West Germany would remain together as their common language bound them. East German linguists were not always of this opinion. As Drosdowski wrote: “In der DDR dagegen versucht man nach der Proklamation der Zwei-Staaten-Theorie, sich auch sprachlich abzugrenzen. DDR-spezifische Wörter und Verwendungsweisen wurden dazu benutzt, den Alleinvertretungsanspruch der Bundesrepublik zu unterlaufen und die DDR als souveränen Staat mit einer eigenen Sprache zu etablieren” (Drosdowski 1991:23).

It was seen that the language of East Germany, as well as that of West Germany underwent changes. New vocabulary was needed for new concepts, new institutions and technology as well as social, economic and political change. In other cases, words changed

meaning in the two states, leading to the same words having different meanings as well as different words having the same meaning. West Germany discarded the language of the Nazis, which the East Germans felt absolved from already as they were a socialist state. The public register of the SED was the most obvious example of GDR language, with its ideology and beliefs influencing the language. Bergsdorf wrote: "Die politische Sprache der DDR war ideologisch fest angebunden, sie wurde unter den Gesichtspunkten ideologischer Opportunität gelenkt, sie wurde in ihrem Ausdrucksreichtum eingeengt und erschwerte Kommunikation. Ihre Aufgaben war weniger Kommunikation als Aktion" (Bergsdorf 1993:1187-8). Finally, some elements of language in both states became obsolete and were discarded.

It was seen in this chapter that the language of the GDR was very military and shared similarities to the language used in the Third Reich. Furthermore, the obvious propaganda and censorship in the GDR were looked at, and it was pointed out that these aspects were also present in the FRG in a rather less overt manner.

The differences between the lexis of the two states was looked at, in particular the everyday words of the people of the GDR. We saw which words came to be used in the GDR, and how these developed from 1945. In support of this argument the two Duden editions, Leipzig and Mannheim, were discussed. There were quite fundamental differences between the two dictionaries which reflected the changing society of Germany. The ability of the GDR citizens to code-switch was linked to both these aspects. Most GDR citizens could speak two registers, depending upon the the situation and whose company they found themselves in. The public register of the

GDR was also examined and how the SED used language to further its aims.

Foreign influences, particularly Anglo-American influence on West German and the extent of Russian influence on East German, were explored. Different ideologies stressed the acceptance of foreign influence. Linked to this were the taboo subjects of the GDR - mainly the environment and religion.

Finally, aspects such as jobs, values, slang, including *Berlinisch*, were examined in order to cover all aspects of life in the GDR. The events which led up to 9 November 1989 were examined to discover what causes lay behind these changes which were carried through by the people of the GDR and which took Germany into the *Wende*.

Although it can be seen that there were many similarities in the languages of East and West Germany, some linguists think that this period of time was not long enough to develop any significant changes, for example Dirk Bauer. He wrote: "Aus sprachhistorischer Sicht ist ein Zeitraum von 45 Jahren, in dem es in Westdeutschland und Ostdeutschland zu unterschiedlichen gesellschaftlichen und politischen Entwicklungen gekommen ist, nicht besonders groß. Deshalb kann es nicht überraschen, daß die sprachkulturellen Unterschiede marginal geblieben sind" (Bauer 1993:137). It can be seen, though, that there were significant changes in the societies of West and East Germany, and particularly in the case of the GDR these changes in society led to the language changing in order to cope with this ideological influence. Many aspects of life changed in the GDR and for many people, when the time came, the ability to discard this identification was to prove almost impossible.

## Chapter 2

### The Language of the *Wende* and the years which followed in unified Germany

#### 2.1 Events post 9 November 1989

On 9 November 1989 in a press conference about the possibility of travel of GDR citizens to the FRG and other non-socialist countries, Günther Schabowski, a member of the Zentralkomitee (ZK) of the SED, told journalists that GDR citizens would from now on be able to travel visa-free to the West. This unexpected announcement followed the demonstrations of GDR citizens throughout East Germany, as well as the exodus of many through West German embassies in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. From this date the unification of many aspects of the two German states followed at astounding speed and culminated in the official unification of 3 October 1990. According to Eigler and Pfeiffer the events of November 1989 led to drastic changes in all aspects of German life:

A painfully slow process of equalizing economic, social, political and cultural living conditions of the countries of the former Soviet Bloc and western Europe is under way - a process which will last, by all accounts, well into the next century. Germany is a special case here: all the problems of reorientation facing the fledgling eastern democracies *and* the western countries are concentrated within *one* sovereign country (Eigler and Pfeiffer 1993:1).

When the Wall came down in November 1989, it became clear that although the registers of the two states had not split into two different varieties, there were significant differences in the lexis and the way that language was used, as was discussed in chapter 1. As Bauer wrote: "Trotzdem ist es ein Irrtum anzunehmen, mit dem 3. Oktober 1990 seien die sprachlichen Divergenzen urplötzlich

verschwunden. Vielmehr ist es zu erwarten, daß die unterschiedlichen Alltagserfahrungen, die sich auch sprachlich manifestieren, noch über Jahre nachwirken werden" (Bauer 1993: 124). This chapter will deal with the changes of the German language during and after 1989, as well as looking at some of the social and economic changes which were the cause of many language changes.

There were several stages in the unification of Germany, starting in the autumn of 1989 and ending in the autumn of 1990, and I refer to these periods as a whole as the *Wende*. These phases were: the mass exodus of East Germans, through the West German embassies in Prague and Warsaw and through the Austrian border with Hungary; the fall of the Wall on 9 November 1989; the first democratic elections; the currency union; economic and social union; and the official unification of the two states on 3 October 1990 (*Tag der deutschen Einheit*). Although these stages can be used to follow the events in East Germany from October 1989, unification was not a planned event, according to Schluchter: "Die Vereinigung der beiden deutschen Staaten, der Bundesrepublik und der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, war nicht das Resultat langfristiger Planung. Sie war vielmehr das Ergebnis eines situationsabhängigen Reagierens angesichts einer plötzlich auftauchenden, flüchtigen Gelegenheit" (Schluchter 1996:7).

Although there were many sentiments held by different groups in the GDR and FRG regarding the changes occurring within the GDR, for example differences in attitude between the SED officials on the one hand and reformers, old and young, on the other, after 9 November 1989 the joyful feelings were shared by the majority of both populations. Initially East Germans were welcomed with open arms by

people in West Berlin and West Germany. The events of November 1989 were so sudden and unexpected, to those both in East and West, that nobody could quite believe what was happening. At this time no one was actually thinking about the differences between East and West, and what the future would bring. But when the celebrations were over, some of the joy seemed to recede: "Die Tage und Wochen nach dem 9. November 1989 waren für viele Bürger der so plötzlich untergegangenen DDR wie ein schöner Traum. Aber der Traum war kurz, das Erwachen kam schnell, und im Frühsommer 1992 haben Träume keine Konjunktur mehr" (Becker, Becker and Ruhland 1992: 17). The same sentiment is expressed by Shethar and Hartung: "Als 1989 die Mauer fiel, war fast jeder von der Wiedervereinigung als einem historischen Ereignis fasziniert, doch die anfängliche Begeisterung löste sich bald in wachsende Ressentiments und eine neue Entfremdung auf beiden Seiten auf" (Shethar and Hartung 1998:40). For many former GDR citizens the problem was that nothing of their country seemed to be retained, rather all West German institutions, policies and systems quickly took over, dominating the new *Bundesländer*, institutions and systems that the East Germans had no knowledge of. The problem as stated by Schluchter was that: "Wo, wie bei der deutschen Einigung, ein Wandel durch den Transfer von Institutionen bewirkt wird, ist also nicht zu erwarten, daß damit zugleich die 'dazu gehörenden' Kulturen und Mentalitäten Fuß fassen" (Schluchter 1996:20). It would take longer to adjust mentally to the changes than had been expected.

It had become clear to those demonstrating for a democratic but still socialist GDR that this was no longer a viable option, as there was too much competition from a much stronger West Germany, and

that the GDR would soon collapse completely. The groups of demonstrators originally were made up of those wanting to reform the GDR and many members of church groups, but they were soon joined by huge numbers of GDR citizens. After the initial demonstrations the message of the demonstrations changed. As Schluchter wrote: "Der Prozeß der Vereinigung war ein Prozeß der Verwestlichung des Ostens, strukturell und teilweise auch personell" (Schluchter 1996: 64). This was not what the original reformists had been looking for; these groups had wanted to discuss the shortcomings of the GDR with a view to improving conditions: they wanted free elections, freedom of the press and media, freedom to travel, freedom from oppression of the Stasi, economic reforms, a greater sensitivity to environmental matters and a reduction in militarism (Fulbrook 1992:83). The currency union on 1 July 1990 precipitated the downfall of the East German economy, with huge unemployment adding to the personal strains and uncertainties of the East Germans. For the East Germans reunification brought freedom in the western sense, but also a limitation of women's rights as women were no longer guaranteed the right to work, a reduction of economic opportunity and high unemployment rates, and a sense of disorientation, especially for young people. Only after the unification of the two states did it become clearly visible what 40 years of socialism had done to East Germany. Mass migration had meant a general reduction in the number of qualified and skilled workers, the social structure was completely different to that of the West, free enterprise and self-employment had almost entirely disappeared, and there was no visible unemployment. Thuret wrote that for many GDR citizens the reality of their new lives was a shock: "Konfrontiert mit den Greueln der real existierenden

Demokratie, verlieren die neuen Bundesbürger das Gefühl, vor 1989 in einer Diktatur gelebt zu haben" (Thuret 1994:157).

The peaceful revolution in the GDR had the effect of an instantaneous language emancipation. Whereas for years the language had been controlled by the state, and demonstrations were forbidden, people had taken to the streets with slogans that articulated what they were feeling. It was these ordinary people, and not the politicians of the GDR, who caused the changes which took place in the autumn of 1989. Language was suddenly used in a creative way, public language was mocked and parodied in slogans and in graffiti as is illustrated by Bauer: "Eindrucksvolle Beispiele für die Befreiung von der offiziellen Sprachnorm bieten als besondere Textsorten jene Sprechchöre und Transparentaufschriften, die als Losungen auf den verschiedenen Demonstrationen zu hören bzw. zu lesen waren" (Bauer 1993:149). Several books have been written about the *Demo-Sprüche* of the meetings in Berlin and Leipzig, for example by Leo Hoppert and Ewald Lang. Their examples show the word-play, irony and humour of these slogans which illustrate the themes and subjects which interested and worried the citizens of the GDR. Fix remarked about this type of language: "Sprachlich sind die Demo-Sprüche gekennzeichnet durch Kreativität, Originalität, Humor. Das wohl am häufigsten genutzte Mittel ist die Textmuster Mischung" (Fix 1994: 139). Often word-play using the names of politicians was used, for example *Wir lassen uns nicht einKRENZen*, *eGOn*, *Keine KOHLonie DDR*, *de Misere* (instead of de Maizière). Also, phrases reflecting the former slogans of the SED were often used, for example: *Demokratie - jetzt oder nie!*, *Wir sind das Volk! Wir bleiben hier!*, *Mein Vorschlag für den 1. Mai, die Führung zieht am Volk vorbei!* and *Privilegierte aller*

*Länder, beseitigt euch* (instead of the SED phrase from Marx *Proletarier aller Länder, vereinigt euch!*). Some banners proclaimed what the people of East Germany wanted: *Pässe für alle - Laufpaß für die SED, Eure Politik ist zum Davonlaufen, Kein Artenschutz and Stalin entsorgen*. Many slogans were about the danger of being taken over by West Germany, for example *Lasst euch für 100DM nicht verkOHLen, Lieber eigener Mut als Helmut*, and *Wir lassen uns nicht BRDigen!*. Other slogans were about money, or mainly the lack of it for East Germans: *Wo habt ihr das Geld verscharrt? Erich, Egon, Eberhard?, Mehr Lohn, wir sind keine Arbeitskräfte für euch* and *Wem nützt denn ein Reisepaß, wenn du kein Geld zum zahlen hast?* Some slogans were word-plays on abbreviations of both SED and PDS: *SED - Pack deine Sachen!, SchEinDemokratie and Partei des Schuldigen*, among many others.<sup>7</sup> Samson described the importance of slogans to the citizens of the GDR: "Mit ihnen als Waffe erkämpften sich die bis dahin sprachlosen Bürger ihre Sprache wieder und beschleunigten den Verfallsprozeß des alten Diskurses. Die neue Sprache ist eine lebendige, witzige, kreative, vom Volksmund geprägte Sprache, die an die Sprache der Jahre um 1968 denken läßt" (Samson 1994:197).

New words were introduced daily, some new to East Germans only, others new to both states, and examples of these will be discussed in section 2.6. Differences could also be seen in the East German media, in particular the written media as soon as the Wall fell. Newspapers such as *Neues Deutschland* started expressing shades of modality such as possibility and probability, not just certainty. Words and expressions with negative connotations started to be used

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<sup>7</sup> These examples of slogans used at demonstrations all come from Hoppert 1990 and Lang1990.

about the GDR and positive ones about the FRG and other western countries. Also, English lexical transfers which had been previously avoided were now put into use. Other points illustrated the move from a totalitarian press to a free one: propaganda slogans were dropped, negative weightings from 'western' words, such as *Pluralismus* and *Marktwirtschaft*, were removed, and typically socialist political terms such as *Genosse* were no longer used. As was stated by Clyne and discussed in the Introduction to this thesis there must have been a GDR variety of the German language to a certain extent as many years of research have shown, and this process of the registers diverging was being reversed in the period of the *Wende*, when the language of the GDR had to adapt to that of the FRG.

According to Eroms, several questions have to be asked regarding reunification: can Germans themselves look at it dispassionately, or are they too involved; is forty years long enough for a language to split; for there to have been a division of states, did there have to have been a unity before; and finally, were there really two states at the time of separation? (Eroms 1994:23). These questions touch the very core of reunification and how the two Germanies would come together again. Could the differences between East and West become similar to the regional differences between North and South Germany? It seems, however, that there were indeed differences between the two states after 1989, and that these differences have continued up until the present day. The East Germans could not just give up their language and country, as they were expected to after the GDR collapsed. The end of the division was not a simple matter of reunification, but should have been the creation of something new, with its own individual characteristics and

problems, not just a larger West Germany. Do the Germans still have a common identity after the years of separation, or are there now two different German ways of thinking?

In a study by Michael Mertes, citizens of both East and West Germany were asked how they felt about the situation in Germany (Mertes, Muller and Winkler 1996:5) . One month after unification, 77% of people in the FRG and 48% in the GDR declared themselves 'in general satisfied with their political system' (13% in the West and 25% in the East were dissatisfied, and 10% in the West and 25% in the East were undecided). Of the younger generation, 47% in the West and 68% in the East endorsed the statement 'I am proud to be German' (West 48%, East 31% were not proud). In other questions too, there were relatively high figures of the answers 'undecided' and 'no opinion' in the East. So it seems that after the initial euphoria had worn off the East Germans did feel proud to be German, but they were largely unhappy with the situation they were living in. The high numbers of 'undecided' and 'no opinion' could have indicated a lack of information or perhaps a general feeling of hopelessness, and a lack of control over the situation they were facing. Mertes added (on p.23) that the problems of social fragmentation were pronounced, and that the healing process between the two states was proving to be very slow. In the words of Peter Schneider:

After forty years of living under such unequal conditions, it seemed likely that they would feel things other than tenderness for one another: lack of understanding, prejudice, envy, even hatred. Tearing down the Wall wouldn't remove it. For it was the Wall alone that preserved the illusion that the Wall was the only thing separating the Germans (Schneider 1992:13).

## 2.2 Reunification and Language

The differences in the German language did not disappear after unification, but became more obvious. Baudusch is also of this opinion: "Die sprachlichen Unterschiede wurden durch die Wende nicht aufgehoben, sondern traten erst deutlich hervor" (Baudusch 1995:313). Although communication was obviously possible and people could live together as many inter-German relationships showed, in the workplace as well as socially, there still seemed to be problems, which Baudusch illustrates: "Noch ist sie da, diese Mauer, und auch die sprachliche Einheit ist noch lange nicht vollbracht. Die Menschen aus Ost und West haben sich wenig zu sagen, vor allem die Jugendlichen, die Schüler und Studenten, die sich nicht die Mühe machen zu hinterfragen: Wie habt ihr im anderen deutschen Staat eigentlich gelebt?" (Baudusch 1995:314). Although the political isolation of the two Germanies ended after the fall of the Wall, the social situation of the people may not have changed that much for many immediately after November 1989.

Only about 2,000 words used solely in East Germany were shown to have existed, and immediately after the fall of the Wall they started to disappear gradually, and most did not survive the post-*Wende* period (Baudusch 1995:304). This had some unexpected results. Communication breakdowns, for example, occurred because people used certain words in different ways, attached different meanings to them than may have been intended. The separation had caused different social and mental processes which led to difficulties once the states became unified. Although people from East and West Germany spoke the same basic language, some differences

accentuated the fact that in some senses they were actually foreigners to each other. Fraas stressed the importance of recognising these differences between the citizens of the two states. She wrote:

Die Ursache für diese Kommunikationskonflikte sind offensichtlich nicht unmittelbar an der sprachlichen Oberfläche festzumachen. Sie haben mit verschiedenen Erfahrungswelten, Lebensweisen, Verhaltens- und Bewertungsmustern zu tun, die sich in beiden Teilen Deutschlands herausgebildet haben und die nicht einfach außer Kraft zu setzen sind (Fraas 1993:260).

Especially the FRG had not taken much of an interest in the life of East Germans, and this often led to difficulties. The process of unification was very much asymmetrical: "als Eingliederung von fünf neuen Bundesländern in die heile Welt der westdeutschen Sozialordnung, als Integration der ostdeutschen in die westdeutsche Kommunikationsgemeinschaft" (Baudusch 1996:81). Many West Germans were de facto more knowledgeable about specific situations than East Germans. This occurred, for example, on the issue of housing and employment terms. As a result East Germans found it more difficult to adjust to such issues. There was a term to describe this phenomenon, which was *Besserwessi* (from the verb *besserwissen* and a play on the word *Wessi*). This West German feeling of superiority, and the continuing East German cautiousness about what they said and to whom, led to a feeling of inferiority on the part of many East Germans.

Many West Germans seemed to look at the East Germans as something very different to themselves, rather exotic to the normal way of life, rather than there being one Germany. Creutziger comments in the following way: "Die Probleme der Ost-West-Kommunikation in Deutschland lassen sich nicht mehr allein aus der

Vergangenheit erklären; es zeigt sich vielmehr immer deutlicher, daß es etwas wie einen neuen Separatismus gibt - vielmehr zwei, einen westlichen und einen östlichen" (Creutziger 1997:89). The years of separation had created many differences, and people did not understand each other. "Die Menschen aus Ost- und Westdeutschland sind sich fremd. Einige wenige versuchen, Verständigung zu erreichen und nach der politischen auch die soziale und kulturelle Trennung aufzuheben. Für die meisten aber scheint die Fremdheit unüberwindlich" (Dittmar and Bredel 1999:64). East Germans were being confronted with things they had never experienced before, such as unemployment, homelessness, increase in crime, violence and right-wing extremism. Although these aspects of life may have been present in the GDR, they were never openly discussed and seemed new to many people. The main changes in the language took place in the sphere of politics, and as the official language of the SED had been so rigid, the differences were especially noticeable. The first changes during the *Wende* were therefore also immediately obvious in official GDR discourse, for example radio, newspaper and television.

Could some words ever be sanitised in order to be used again by the citizens of East Germany? Will the word *Sozialismus* ever be used in a democratic way and understood to mean that? Perhaps these words need to be abandoned for a few years before they can be used again. Some people really believed in the benefits of socialism for the GDR and the other countries of the Soviet Bloc, and especially for these people the changes will be hard to accept and the new way of living hard to adapt to. GDR citizens had for many years lived in a society where everything had been decided for them and they had

been given many ideas and boundaries to believe in. For many, the collapse of the GDR led to feelings of isolation and hopelessness. As Detlev Gärtner asked: "Was machen Menschen ohne Ideale und Hoffnungen?" (Gärtner 1996:119).

There were many different words referring to the time around 9 November 1989 and the unification of Germany, and most of these words have different nuances which in many cases illustrated the opinions and feelings of the speaker. The words which are used for this time are *Wende*, *Revolution*, *Umwälzung*, *Umbruch*, *Umsturz*, *Veränderung*, *Wandlung*, *Wandel*, *Erneuerung* and *Reform*, which all refer to the events around 9 November 1989 and will be further discussed in this section.<sup>8</sup> Some of these can be grouped semantically. *Revolution*, *Umwälzung*, *Umbruch* and *Umsturz* all define political and social changes, whereby *Umsturz* is the only one with which violence is automatically linked. *Veränderung*, *Wandlung*, *Wandel*, *Erneuerung* and *Reform* are more general; with *Erneuerung* and *Reform* there is more stress on the end-product, with the emphasis on something good coming out of the situation.

The word *Wende* was very important as all of these words already had meanings previous to the situation in 1989, but *Wende* came to be used for this time alone, and did not have to compete with any of the other words describing these events. It could be used with the definite article to mean this period of time, *die Wende*, which illustrates its importance. The word *Wende* had been used before, in June 1953, when the SED tried to signal a new, more liberal trend, and it had also been used by Kohl in West Germany after the end of the socialist-liberal coalition, when he talked of the changes which

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<sup>8</sup> These words are all referred to and explained, as are many other *Wende* words, in Herberg et al. 1997.

would take place. The first published use of *Wende* in its new form was on 5 October 1989 in a 'Vereinigte Linken' text, and because of this new association it was written in inverted commas.<sup>9</sup> After Egon Krenz, Erich Honecker's successor as leader of the SED, used it on 18 October 1989 it became a catchword of the SED for a couple of weeks, before other words such as *Erneuerung* entered use. The word *Wende* was used in many collocations and compounds where it could be either the modifier or the root word, for example *die ostdeutsche Wende*, *die demokratische Wende*, *die Wende findet statt*, *Wirtschaftswende*, *Wendepolitik*, to name but a few. In the words of Michel Kaufmann: "Das Wort *Wende* hat sich im alltäglichen Sprachgebrauch wie auch in der öffentlichen Rede durchgesetzt als Bezeichnung für die historische Phase, die in der DDR zwischen Oktober 1989 und März 1990 zum Sturz des von der SED dominierten Regimes, zur Wiederherstellung der Grundrechte und zu pluralistischen Wahlen führte" (Kaufmann 1994:177).

In contrast to the dictionary meaning of 'Revolution' as a violent process, Germans used this word at the time of the *Wende* to stress its peaceful nature. This does not correspond to the meaning in the *Duden* dictionary, which is 'mit Zerstörung, Gewalttat u. Willkür einhergehender auf radikale Veränderung der bestehenden politischen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse ausgerichteter, gewaltsamer Umsturzversuch'. Because of this meaning some people were of the opinion that there was no actual revolution in the GDR or many of the other Communist countries. In the media it was often the

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<sup>9</sup> This first usage is quoted in Herberg, 1997:81: "Die Zeit ist vielmehr reif für einen radikalen Umbruch in Richtung Sozialismus! Wir hören jetzt häufig, die 'Wende' sei da, und manchmal schon, sie sei unumkehrbar. Wir hören dies auch von Politikern, die noch vor wenigen Wochen zentrale Interessen der Bevölkerung ignorierten und die Notwendigkeit einer Reform entschieden bestritten haben."

case that adjectives were used together with the word *Revolution* to accentuate this peacefulness, for example *friedliche, gewaltlose, unblutige Revolution*. The adjective *demokratisch* occurred so frequently with *Revolution* that one is forced to conclude that the phrase *demokratische Revolution* was no longer a free word-combination but a collocation. *Revolution* was also used in different compounds and other collocations, such as *erfolgreiche Revolution, Fortsetzung der Revolution, die Revolution ist im Gange, Revolutionszeit* and *Herbstrevolution*. Some people referred to this time as a *Medienrevolution* or the *erste Fernsehrevolution der Welt*. This is as many people thought that the changes in the GDR could not have occurred without West German television. This is most certainly not the case, as at the crucial demonstrations in Leipzig there were no television crews present. The media did not start the movement, but it may have helped increase numbers and awareness of what was happening.

All the other aforementioned words can be described in similar ways, with their ability to be used in compounds and collocations. *Umwälzung* tended to refer to the character of what happened: *die demokratische Umwälzung*. *Umbruch* could refer to place or time: *Umbruch in der DDR, der derzeitige Umbruch*, and could refer to social as well as political elements. Constructions such as *im Umbruch sein* and *sich im Umbruch finden* were quite common and it also appeared as modifier: *Umbruchjahr, Umbruchsituation* and with an extra element *Umbruchsprozeß* and *Umbruchsphase*. Between 1989 and 1999 more than a 1000 books appeared about East Germany which contain the word *Umbruch* in the title (Dittmar 1999:18). *Umsturz* was used for political but not for concomitant

social changes. It was the word most connected with violence. It was also used three times as much in texts from West Germany than East Germany (Herberg et al. 1997:31). It was sometimes used with adjectives such as *friedlicher* and *gewaltloser* to show that the speaker was aware that *Umsturz* was in some respects not a very apt description of these times.

The term *Veränderung* was rather vague and referred to the social changes which tied in with the political changes, but did not refer to these directly. It was mainly found with attributes which refer to what was changing: *politische, gesellschaftliche, strukturelle Veränderungen*, but very rarely as initial part of a compound. One example of this was *Veränderungsdruck*. Among the more vague lexemes the term *Wandlung* was the most rare and was used by all political parties. As with *Veränderung* it referred to social changes rather than political ones. It was mainly used with those things that were being changed: *die Wandlung der politischen Strukturen, der Ökonomie, des öffentlichen Bewußtseins*, but rarely appeared as the main element in compounds.

The word *Wandel* could not form a plural and tended to be avoided, as it already had a meaning in West Germany. There it was used to describe the way the West German government looked at relationships with the East, which was referred to as *Wandel durch Annäherung*. It very rarely referred to political occurrences. *Erneuerung* was also very general, suggesting something gradual and not specific to changes. As it did not refer directly to change and had positive connotations it had been used in the GDR system before the *Wende* where a typical phrase was *Kontinuität und Erneuerung*. This phrase had been previously used by reformers against the

system with the approval of the GDR government, as it suggested an improvement in the system, which had been a concept used frequently by the GDR government throughout the period of the GDR. This may have been one of the reasons for its use by the demonstrators at the time of the *Wende*; to use a word approved by the system against it. And finally, *Reform* referred to a change in something that already existed, and suggested that something would change for the better. It was used a lot by the opposition in the GDR and often reflected the need for things to change. *Reform* and *Reformist* had also been used in the past by Communists, such as Lenin, in a negative way to describe those who did not want a Communist Revolution, for example for Social Democrats.

Another example where the choice of lexeme reflected the speaker's attitude were the terms *Wiedervereinigung*, *Vereinigung* and *Einigung* as well as their respective verbs. The term *Wiedervereinigung* did not occur in the constitutions of the GDR and the FRG, but it achieved a certain role as key word in both states. Willy Brandt said in the Bundestag in 1989: "Ich habe ... seit vielen Jahren mein Problem mit dem 'Wieder' bei der Vereinigung, weil ich überzeugt war und bin: dies suggeriert, als könnte etwas wieder so werden, wie es einmal war". Could a country be reunified if it had never been a union before? A word play on *Wiedervereinigung* was *Niedervereinigung*, which showed a very negative criticism of what was happening at the time of unification. *Vereinigung* was the most common choice of the three, and the adjective *deutsch* was a very common attribute to appear with it. Some politicians and parts of the media chose to try and avoid these words and instead referred to what was happening as a *Herstellung der Einheit Deutschlands* or a

*Herstellung der deutschen Einheit*. The word *Vereinigung* was mainly popular with politicians, as the Germany of 1989 was unlike anything that had been in the past. Many commentators overlooked the fact that there had never been a united Germany in this way, and the occurrences of 1989 actually led to a new Germany coming into existence. In general, these three words competed against each other during this time. For a while *Wiedervereinigung* had a more negative connotation, but it became more acceptable again after unification on 3 October 1990. The continuing problem with this word remained that: "Wiedervereinigung oder Wiederherstellung der Einheit oder verwirklichte deutsche Einheit sind nur dann die richtigen Wörter, wenn wir uns dabei nicht eine Heimführung oder gar einen Anschluß eines Teils vorstellen" (Creutziger 1997:90).

There were more terms to describe the union of the two German states, and these words also carry speaker opinion. The main lexemes in this field were *Beitritt* and *Anschluß*. *Beitritt* was the most neutral word, whereas the others tended to hold more negative connotations. This is because only in the case of *Beitritt* did East Germany have an active role, all the other descriptions described something as being done to the GDR (*Angliederung, Annexion, Anschluß, Einverleibung, Übernahmne, Vereinnahmung, BRDigung der DDR*). This meant that there were many collocations with negative descriptions - *chaotischer, kalter Anschluß, großkotzige Vereinnahmung* among others. Another problem with the word *Anschluß* was that it had connotations of Austria being forced to join Germany by the Nazis in 1938.

There are many other interesting words surrounding the time of the *Wende*, some new to GDR citizens only, others to both states,

even others were old words with new meanings used specifically for this time. Examples of these are words which described the citizens of the GDR leaving their state before 9 November 1989, such as *fliehen*, *Exodus*, *ausbürgern*; other words described aspects of the new political situation of the time, such as *Runder Tisch*, *Abwicklungsparlament*, *Wendehals*; other words described aspects of the economic and social situation at the time, such as *Treuhand*, *Warteschleife*, *Umtauschkurs*. All of these words and many more would be interesting to examine in further detail, but lie outwith the scope of this thesis.

### **2.3 East Germany adapting to a new life**

After the initial event of 9 November 1989 other events quickly followed in the social, economic and political spheres. Blei was one of the linguists to comment on this period: "Seitdem vollzog sich in einem nahezu atemberaubenden Tempo die Vorbereitung und Verwirklichung der Wirtschafts-, Währungs- und Sozialunion, schließlich die Vereinigung beider deutschen Staaten" (Blei 1990: 391). These changes in society, politics and culture were then mirrored by changes in the language to fit in with the new ways of life. Words can quickly disappear when the things they describe are no longer used. Samson also agreed with this point of view: "Politische Veränderungen werden von Veränderungen in der Sprache begleitet" (Samson 1994:191). But can people change their way of life solely by changing the way they speak? They still remain inhabitants of different lives, as Streeck commented:

Wenn die Theorie des sprachlichen Relativismus irgendeine Geltung besitzt, dann sind auch solch beiläufige Mittel wie die Wahl einer räumlichen Präposition Bausteine der Mauer in den

Köpfen. Aber sie sind aus den Materialien der gleichen Sprache gebacken: Auch mit einer einzigen Sprache lassen sich leicht unterschiedliche Welten aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven konstruieren (Streeck 1995:435).

But it was not just new vocabulary that had to be learned (although about 2,000 - 3,000 new words or words with a new meaning had to be learned (Hellmann 1997a:72)), whole new complex interaction processes for everyday life had to be learned, such as business letters, curriculum vitae and reference letters, among many others. These are the aspects which caused most misunderstandings between the citizens of the two states. "Es ist, so vermute ich, eher die Art, wie wir kommunikativ miteinander umgehen, es ist das Kommunikationsverhalten, das uns in Ost-West-Kommunikation als abweichend auffällt" (Hellmann 1997a:82).

The citizens of the GDR were put under pressure to conform to West German values; frequently by West Germans, but in many cases also by their own people. It was thought by many East Germans that the only way to advance was to adopt West German practices, and that all East German practices had to be discarded. During the time of the *Wende* the language of the GDR was generally dissolved and had to change to the Western style. "Die, wenn auch nicht homogene, so doch geregelte Kommunikation in der 'Kommunikationsgemeinschaft DDR' erfuhr eine völlige Auflösung zugunsten der nicht nur größeren, sondern auch anders strukturierten und organisierten Kommunikationsgemeinschaft 'Neue Bundesrepublik'" (Reiher 1995b: 237). As well as learning new patterns of speaking and living, the old ones had to be forgotten. People did not want to be recognised as East German citizens and rushed to adopt new practices. Many West Germans saw their way of living and speaking

as the correct form, and the East Germans ways as divergent, therefore implying that they themselves had nothing new to learn. There still seemed to be a wall separating the Germans. Undine Kramer declares: "Seit dem Fall der Mauer reflektieren mit wiederkehrender Regelmäßigkeit unterschiedliche Personen zu verschiedenen Anlässen über eine neue, als 'unüberwindliche' apostrophierte Mauer. Diese Mauer ist eine *innere*, eine *psychologische*, sie *existiert in den Köpfen*, es ist eine *sprachliche Mauer*, und sie trennt die Deutschen" (Kramer 1996:55).

The divided speech community was reunified, but what did people feel about this sudden change in the situation of living and speaking? In 1990 women were less positive than men about reunification. At the end of February, beginning of March, 88% of men and 80% of women supported unification. At the end of April, 92% of men and still only 80% of women supported unification. Women seemed to be more mindful of what would change; life becoming more expensive, social conditions changing, and the prospect of losing their jobs (Kramer 1996:55). For many citizens, however, the desire for a reunified Germany may not have been a primary one. Most wanted a different way of life within the GDR, with changed social conditions in their own country. One of the main wishes of the population of the GDR according to Förster and Roski was: "die Vereinigung nicht zu überstürzen, alles gut zu bedenken und den Weg zur Einheit mit Würde zu gehen" (Förster and Roski 1990:176).

Social and cultural differences in history are important for the language process. Reiher commented: "Daraus folgt, daß die gegenwärtigen Sprachprozesse nur adäquat beschrieben und erklärt werden können, wenn die unterschiedlichen historischen

Erfahrungen ihrer Träger Berücksichtigung finden, wenn die verschiedenen Wege, die in Ost und West beschritten und durchlebt wurden, von beiden Seiten begriffen und anerkannt werden" (Reiher 1995b: 232). Many East Germans felt that they had lost their language and that new linguistic barriers were replacing the old barriers. Differences in social norms and values, social behaviour and language use, which people had previously perhaps not really considered, or only from afar, were suddenly experienced directly, on a daily basis. Some East Germans managed quickly to adapt to the new way of life and fitted in well with the new order, but for others it led to a deep loss of identity, inferiority complexes and even identity crises.

There were different stages in the change-over in the language from East German norms to West German standards. The first stage was to get rid of GDR-specific vocabulary (for example *Volkseigener Betrieb*, *Produktionsgenossenschaft* and *Poliklinik*). Certain East German words became 'archaic' as West German forms were adopted. The second stage was getting rid of GDR words that had alternative terms in West Germany (for example *Kaderabteilung*, *Kollektiv* and *Feierabendheim*). Especially words with ideological connotations were avoided (for example using *Personalabteilung* instead of *Kaderabteilung*). This process is known as *Desynonymisierung*, where West German alternatives were chosen. Also, words with certain values which were different to the West German ones were changed, and subsequently avoided. For example *Kollektiv* had been positively valued in East Germany and was avoided after the *Wende*, and the word *Individualist* had had a negative value in the GDR but a positive one in the west, therefore

becoming acceptable after 1989.

## 2.4 Loss of GDR specific language

In his *erste Bestandaufnahme* Hellmann said about the language of the GDR that:

Die DDR-Bevölkerung hat sich in einem gewaltigen, revolutionären Kraftakt von den alten Machtstrukturen in Staat, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft, Kultur befreit oder ist im Begriff, sie umzubauen. Sie hat das Verschwinden jener massiven Decke aus repressiven Sprachkonventionen als Befreiung, auch als sprachliche Befreiung, empfunden und gewollt. Das war und ist eine beeindruckende Leistung. Von diesem Umbruch und seinen Folgen sind allerdings auch Strukturen, sind auch Wörter und sprachliche Gewohnheiten betroffen, die bis ins alltägliche Leben hineinreichen, die den meisten DDR-Bürgern in 40 Jahren längst vertraut und heimatlich geworden sind. Sie zu verlieren und sich andere, unvertraute zu eigen zu machen, ist eine erhebliche Belastung.<sup>10</sup>

It was accepted by most linguists that GDR vocabulary was disappearing, for example as Ahrends commented: "Es steht zu vermuten, daß die meisten Spracheigenheiten, die es in der DDR gab und gibt, ziemlich rasch außer Gebrauch kommen" (Ahrends 1990: 91). But why did words disappear? According to Bergmann this had two reasons: "Das Veralten von Wörtern läßt sich auf zwei Ursachen zurückführen. Entweder sie veralten mit ihren Denotaten, oder das Formativ gerät außer Gebrauch" (Bergmann 1995a: 17). There was another difficulty with 'old' words which were disappearing as they were no longer relevant. Bergmann pointed out the main difficulty: "Als problematisch erweist sich auch die Grenzziehung zwischen Archaismen und Historismen. Oft ist es nicht zu entscheiden, ob die Sache oder das Wort veraltet ist" (Bergmann 1995a:18). Some examples of GDR vocabulary that was no longer used after 1989 were

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<sup>10</sup> As in quoted in: Marianne Schröder 1996:149.

related to institutions which were disbanded, for example the *Staatsrat*, *Ministerium für Staatssicherheit*, *Grenztruppen* and *Delikatladen*. Also some legal terms were no longer used, such as *staatsfeindliche Hetze*, *Grenzprovokation* and *illegales Verlassen der DDR*. Some parts of bureaucratic life were no longer required, for example *Wohnungsvergabeplan*, *Jahresendprämie*, *abkindern* and *Held der Arbeit*. Many products of the GDR were no longer made and therefore disappeared from the market. Some words for East German foods were changed and replaced with West German terms. For example, *Grilletta* became *Hamburger*, *Ketwurst* became *Hot Dog*, *Hackepeter* and *Schabefleisch* were replaced with *Gehacktes vom Rind und Schwein*, or *Rindegehacktes* and *Gehacktes gemischt*, and some products were displayed under different names, which confused many East Germans.

In the former GDR many words lost their use swiftly, as the political system they were required for collapsed, especially those which were closely linked to the politics of the state, including the media. Although many of the disappearing words belonged to terminology of the socialist state and its economy, not all words which were lost belonged to this political group. Other words were commonly used in everyday life, for example *Aktivist*. Most of these words vanished with the disappearance of their referent or were simply replaced with corresponding West German words. The *Parteijargon* words disappeared more quickly than words which were in everyday use, so a word like *Datsche* was used for longer than words like *Arbeiterklasse* and especially words such as *Politbüro*. In East Berlin the word *Stadtbezirk* was banned after public discussion and replaced with the West Berlin term *Bezirk*. Schröder comments on

loss of words thus: "Streichen von Wörtern erfolgt dann, wenn sie sich von der benannten Sache her anbieten (erweiterte Oberschule), wenn sie dem westdeutschen Informanten nicht geläufig sind (Lehrstelle), wenn sie im DUW (Deutsches Universalwörterbuch) mit 'DDR' gekennzeichnet sind" (Schröder 1996:153). Every word is part of a semantic net which can be used to compare or contrast. But there were not always equivalents to words which were 'removed' from the language, as West and East German were not identical. A comparison of publications concerning the GDR before and after the *Wende* shows that the language use changed towards West German norms. Teubert has two theories why GDR citizens changed their language:

Eine Hypothese könnte sein, daß die Menschen vorher unter Normierungszwang gestanden haben und sie jetzt wieder ihre 'natürliche', unzensurierte Sprache sprechen. Eine zweite wäre, daß die Ostdeutschen sich möglichst rasch von ihrer auch sprachlich manifesten DDR-Identität befreien und einfach nur noch Deutsche sein wollen und deshalb versuchen, sich auch sprachlich den Westdeutschen anzugleichen (Teubert 1993: 37).

The official language register which had ruled language use for the last forty years was no longer dominant, and it became the West German norm that had to be followed. Many East Germans avoided using East German language with West German authorities, on application forms and in conversations with West Germans, to prevent conflicts and being pigeon-holed. East German words were also avoided as they could be associated with negative connotations. Furthermore, words which had a specific meaning in the GDR but a different one in West Germany and reunified Germany caused added difficulties to the East German speakers.

For older people words that had been used in the past were now being used again, for example *Krankenkasse*, *Börse* and

*Arbeitsamt* , to name but three. But for the younger generation these words were new, although they may have had knowledge in theory from West German media. The language of the GDR had to be examined very quickly after the *Wende* by linguists, as GDR-specific vocabulary was disappearing continually as the old economic and social conditions changed so quickly.

Baudusch commented on the situation of the language of the GDR and its future: "Bis heute sind kaum mehr als 2000 DDR-Wörter sprachwissenschaftlich nachgewiesen, doch ihre Anzahl verringert sich ständig, und man kann darüber reflektieren, wieviele davon die Wende- und Nachwendezeit überleben werden. Schon heute ist der Wortschatz der DDR im Grunde nur noch von historischem Interesse" (Baudusch 1995:304). While the language of the GDR was disappearing following unification, it was still used by many citizens from the former GDR. As said earlier, this caused communication problems with West Germans, especially as the East Germans began to hesitate in using certain words. Clyne, for example, mentions that in round-table discussions with East Germans post-*Wende* broadcast on television, when old GDR words were used they were frequently accompanied by hesitation phenomena such as filled and unfilled pauses, which seem to indicate linguistic uncertainty. This could suggest both a lack of lexical alternatives available to the speakers and the anticipation of a communication breakdown with West German audiences (Clyne 1995).

The changing language situation in the GDR was very different to normal language change. As Schröder commented:

Die Archaisierung als Phase des Sprachwandels weist unter den Bedingungen der Nach-Wende Besonderheiten auf. Gewöhnlich veralten einzelne Wörter allmählich, was die Sprachbenutzer unbewußt nach und nach erfahren. Jetzt sind

es ganze Wortreihen, -felder (Personenbezeichnungen zum Beispiel), die plötzlich veralten, was der Sprachbenutzer unmittelbar erfährt und worauf er sich einstellen muß, will er zeitgemäß kommunizieren. Ein Teil der jetzt veraltenden Wörter sind nicht sehr alt - Neologismen der DDR (Schröder 1996:165).

## 2.5 Retaining GDR Vocabulary

Not all aspects of language linked to the GDR disappeared after the *Wende*. Bauer wrote:

Es ist zu erwarten, daß bestimmte sprachliche Varietäten auch weiterhin bestehen bleiben. Selbst die offizielle politische Kultur und ihr spezifisches Sprachregister, die mit dem Ende der DDR ebenfalls untergegangen sind, dürften dort, wo sie die Alltagskultur in spezifischer Weise mitgeprägt haben, auch in der Zukunft für eine gewisse Zeit als sprachliche Rudimente fortbestehen (Bauer 1993:126).

Even though political and social conditions change, it was not always possible to change language as swiftly, as language is more ingrained. In the case of East Germany, some GDR words were being retained by the people, some consciously and some not, in both written and spoken German. What were the motives for keeping this language? Simply because people still needed to talk about the past; but also because some of the institutions had different names from those in the FRG; and also because people talked about the effects the past was having on their current lives. There were instances of a continuing GDR tradition. The *Jugendweihe* is an East German tradition which was carried on in reunified Germany. Kauke wrote in 1997: "An der Jugendweihe ostdeutscher Prägung nehmen noch heute 50% der Jugendlichen Teil" (Kauke 1997:374). This is a significant number for seven years after reunification. The day in the religious calendar called *Himmelfahrt* in West Germany is still referred

to as *Herrentag* in East Germany. It was hoped that not everything to do with the former GDR would disappear, to be replaced by West German equivalents. Many in the East felt like second-class citizens and began to feel a sense of nostalgia for their former lives, a phenomenon popularly known as *Ostalgie*. There was widespread regret that the positive features of the GDR had not been preserved. As long as there were still East German institutions, such as the *Deutsche Reichsbahn*, which is the name still used in some parts of East Germany, and East German traditions, such as the *Jugendweihe*, certain aspects of GDR vocabulary will continue to exist too. Moreover, East German words which were not ideologically loaded but neutral would be more likely to continue to be used. Frequently the East German variant was still used in speech simply through force of habit, even if the name designated had officially changed, for example *Kaufhalle* was used instead of *Supermarkt* and *Broiler* instead of *Brathähnchen*. Although the western terms were known in the GDR, both East German equivalents were kept by most East Germans. In restaurants in East Berlin there were sometimes signs saying: 'Hier können Sie *Broiler* sagen', suggesting that many GDR citizens felt happier using their own terms. The expression *Fakt ist ...* is still commonly used in East Germany, including in everyday language, and since the *Wende* it is even occasionally used in West Germany. One final example of an East German word which survived the *Wende* is *Zielstellung* rather than the West German *Zielsetzung*, which was used in everyday language in the East, but was strongly GDR-marked in the West.<sup>11</sup>

In some cases these East German forms have been

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<sup>11</sup> These examples are taken from Hellmann1997a:77.

reintroduced after a period of rejection. Initially the West German words were seen as more positive, but then, because of negative associations with the West German world, some of the words were discarded in favour of the original East German ones. Some people, perhaps those who were in some way not so involved in the new Germany, may have continued using the East German language, such as elderly people, youth, unemployed people, but also some of the intelligentsia (in particular those of the previous elite), certain farmers, and those who had been politically involved in the old system. For these groups a new position in reunified Germany was hard to find. In some ways the Wall within people's heads is still there, and these difficulties present an ongoing problem in unified Germany. In this respect it is interesting to observe what is happening to *Berlinisch* in East Berlin. Whereas in GDR days this form was a prestige variety in East Germany, it was frowned upon as substandard in West Berlin. Will the East Berliners continue to use it in spite of, or because of, West German opinion, or is it possible that this dialect may be discarded to an extent in the East as well? Schönfeld wrote: "Sind zwei Berliner Varianten vorhanden, übernehmen bestimmte Ostberliner Gruppen die Westberliner Form öfter nur mit Widerspruch oder lehnen sie sogar - zur Zeit - unter Protest ab" (Schönfeld 1993: 201). It seemed that after the initial joy of unification had worn off, many East Germans were more hesitant in taking over all aspects of West German life which they had desired for so long.

In some cases, keeping GDR vocabulary became part of an East German identity, and using these words was like making a statement. As Dittmar and Bredel pointed out: "Wer sie noch benutzt, outet sich als *Ossi*; wer sie nicht mehr benutzt, verliert einen Teil

seiner Sprache. Den unmarkierten Fall gibt es nicht" (Dittmar and Breidel 1999:138). Another sign of a returning East German feeling in the 1990s, as well as dissatisfaction with the new Germany, is the fact that the PDS, *Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus* (the reformed *Sozialistische Einheitspartei* of the GDR) received a significant number of votes in the 1994 election. Many aspects of the former GDR have made a come-back in recent years, some with certain groups of people, others in certain situations. Frequently West German words were rejected when there was an equivalent East German term, for example *Broiler* and *Fahrerlaubnis*. For some people of the former GDR the changes and subsequent disappointments of life in the West made them think back to the days of the GDR with a sense of nostalgia. This allowed for the word-play *Ostalgie* (as well as *ostalgisch* and *Ostalgiker*) for those who thought back to the 'good old days' as mentioned at the beginning of section 2.5. Becker wrote: "Wer sich dieser wehmütigen Stimmung hingibt, wünscht sich nicht wirklich die Wiederkehr der alten - schon gar nicht der politischen - Verhältnisse. Vielmehr ist die nostalgische Haltung als Akt der Selbstvergewisserung zu verstehen" (Becker, Becker and Ruhland 1992:56). Kramer also wrote about the importance of *Ostalgie* :

Die wechselseitigen mentalen Resistenzen zwischen Ost und West, die sich in einem vor allem **nach** der Wende einsetzenden sprachlichen Distanzierungsprozeß artikulierten und diesen bis dato vorantrieben und stabilisierten, finden derzeit ihren Ausdruck nicht nur in neuen Wörtern und bekannten Strategien, sondern auch vielfach als Implikationen und vor allem im Begriff OSTALGIE (Kramer 1998:279).

This nostalgic view of the GDR and negative view of West Germany, epitomised by the word *Besserwessi*, is expanded by the lexeme *Super-Ossi*, which is used to describe those who were not ashamed

to be East German.

The advertising world is an aspect of society where the East German identity can be clearly seen. Läser stressed the importance of advertising in raising a positive image of East German identity: "Im Zuge des wieder erwachenden Selbstbewußtseins der Ostdeutschen kommen in der Werbung Identifikationssymbole des DDR-Bürgers zu neuen Ehren" (Läser 1996:216). He also adds that East German words were used in advertising to give East German citizens a 'gesteigertes Selbstwertgefühl' (Läser 1996:217) and make people proud to be East German. Initially, after the *Wende* in 1989 most East German products disappeared from the market, but after a few years, and particularly during and after 1993, once the situation in Germany had settled, many East German products returned on the market, and with them the old traditions. East German stereotypes were portrayed positively, according to Läser:

In der klischeehaften Abgrenzung zwischen Ost- und Westdeutschen spielt das Stereotyp der armen, besitzlosen Ostdeutschen gegenüber dem reicheren Westdeutschen eine bestimmte Rolle ... Die relative 'Not' der Ostdeutschen wird zur Tugend gemacht: Bescheidenheit, Sparsamkeit und Preisvorteile ostdeutscher Firmen bzw. Produkte werden thematisiert (Läser 1996:217).

Advertising and the changes it underwent in the GDR after 1989 will be further dealt with in section 2.14.

In some cases West German language usage was rejected.

Oschlies expressed a strong view on this when he wrote:

Geöffnete Grenzen und entstaute Informationsströme machen die Menschen der DDR mit neuen Sprachkonventionen vertraut. Gegen einige wehren sie sich - hoffentlich mit Erfolg. Beispielsweise mißfällt ihnen das unsägliche man/frau-Kauderwelsch, mit dem die Feministinnen dabei sind, beinahe jede Politikerrede zu formensprengenden Hefeteig expliziter Nennungen (Wählerinnen und Wähler, Bürgerinnen und Bürger) zu machen und die deutsche Orthographie bis zur

Lächerlichkeit zu verhunzen (StudentInnen) (Oschlies 1990a:50).

Perhaps East German women did not feel the need to use this type of vocabulary, as they did not feel excluded when one type of word was used, for example *Bürger*, and perhaps this was because of the type of society in which they lived, with more equal rights for women, regarding the right to work and childcare when working. This sort of feminist use of language was not present in East Germany before 1989 to any great extent which is in part explained by the lack of women's movement in the GDR at this time.

## 2.6 New Vocabulary for the GDR

The new situation in Germany required new vocabulary for the new social, economic and political changes in order to describe what was happening. For East Germany this mainly meant taking over West German lexis from all aspects of life, but in some cases both states had to learn new words. Examples of this are words such as *Mauerspecht*, *Zwei-Plus-Vier-Gespräch* and *Stasi-Auflösung*. In cases where the same word had different meanings in both states, it tended to be the East German word which lost out in favour of the West German meaning. There did not tend to be a movement of words, referred to as *Wortwanderung*, from East Germany to West Germany. Words such as *Dialog*, *Reform*, *Wende* and *Umbau* were words that existed already but took on new meanings with the changing society of 1989. We have already seen that East Germans had to learn approximately 2,000 to 3,000 new words and to add to this number were the words which had to be learnt in both states. Hellmann writes that East Germans had to learn this number of words

from 1990 to 1992. In Bittermann's very opinionated and anti East German book *It's a Zoni*, Mathias Wedel wrote that since the Wende the East Germans have had to learn 30,000 new words (Wedel 1999:48), which seems a rather implausible estimate. But the East Germans did have to learn new words from many different aspects of life. For example in politics (*Bundesgerichtshof* and *Regierungspräsident*), for voting (*Zweitstimme* and *große Koalition*), in the economy (*Anlagekapital* and *GmbH*), in banks and the stock market (*börsenfähig*, *DAX* and *shareholder value*), for laws (*Betriebsverfassungrecht* and *Widerrufsklausel*), regarding taxes (*Einkommensteuer* and *Verbraucherschutz*), in the social services (*Arbeitslosengeld* and *Allgemeine Ortskrankenkasse*), in the work place (*Beamter* and *Langzeitarbeitslose*), for housing (*Eigentumswohnung* and *Sozialwohnung*) and in education (*Studiengebühren* and *numerus clausus*). These were all words which West Germans had been using in their everyday lives, but which were all completely new to East Germans.

Hellmann discussed the concept of new words in the German language: "Neuwörter (Neolexeme) sind hier solche Wörter, die samt den damit bezeichneten 'Sachen' im Zuge der Wende und der Vereinigung für eine der beiden Kommunikationsgemeinschaften - meist die der DDR bzw. der neuen Bundesländer - oder für beide neu in Gebrauch gekommen sind" (Hellmann 1997a:66). Many of these words had to be learnt by those living in both states and have since already gone out of use, as the situations they described are already in the past. Ludwig wrote about the short term life of many of these new words: "Vieles aus der Sprache der 'Wende' ist kurzlebig ... Der Gebrauch vieler Wörter und Wendungen liefert aber anschauliche

Beispiele für das Sprachverhalten der Menschen in der Wendezeit" (Ludwig 1992:68). Examples of such words are *Botschaftsbesetzer*, *Botschaftsflüchtling*, and *Fluchtwelle*, which were all very important words during the time of the *Wende*. New words were invented to describe past concepts, for example *real-existierender Sozialismus* was renamed *Stalinismus*, *Kommandosozialismus*, *Kasernen-Sozialismus* and *marxistisch-leninistischer Sozialismus*.

Many neologisms mainly affected East Germans, as it was their state which was disappearing and many of the words described the situation during the *Wende* and the initial period of reunification. Even words which were new to FRG citizens did not seem to affect their lives to any great extent. For example, words like *Treuhand*, *Seilschaft* and *Abwicklung* were only used passively by the West Germans but were entirely current to East Germans. Many new words had very negative connotations for the situation within East Germany, for example words like *Treuhand* as well as others such as *Warteschleife*, *Evaluierung* and *Kurzarbeit Null* were all concepts which greatly changed the working lives of many East Germans as employment opportunities had been so secure in the GDR. In particular the word *Abwicklung* was found to be one of the most hated words of German bureaucracy, but was not found in the first *Einheitsduden* of 1991, according to Schaefer (Schaefer 1994:68), and is also absent from Herberg's *Schlüsselwörter der Wendezeit*.

Officially and in the media the West German form tended to take precedence over East German forms; we have already seen for example that *Plastik* was used instead of *Plaste*. Also in the case of shops and their names, many changes took place. Instead of being called *Laden* or *Geschäft*, many shops changed to the West German

forms such as *Salon, Studio (Küchenstudio, Cosmeticstudio), Shop (Videoshop, Reitershop), Center (Angelcenter, Spielwarencenter)* and *Collection (Video Collection)*. The words *Bistro* and *Pub* were found much more frequently, and one of the biggest changes was to be found at the hairdressers. Instead of *Friseur* or *Frisör* the West German *Salon, Studio, Haarsalon, Haarpflege-Salon, Haar-Dressing, Hair-Dressing* and *Coiffeur* were adopted. *Schlächter* was replaced by *Fleischerei*, which since 1991 has become *Metzgerei*. In addition the East German *Klempner* changed jobs to *Blechschmied*. The reason for all these changes in shopping, hair and fashion industry were mainly due to prestige, as many East German words were not considered as sophisticated as West German equivalents. Another example of West German words taking over was the case of creches. Parents in East Germany used to take their children to a *Hort* where they were looked after by a *Hortnerin*. In West Germany this was called the *Kindertagesstätte*, commonly referred to as the *Kita*, which led to other unknown words for East German parents such as *El-Kitas*, which were the *Elterninitiativentagesstätten*.

How many of these changes in the language were taken over depended very strongly on the individual, and social factors were also important. Where people lived and worked were strong indicators of how much change was made. The unemployed and retired may have taken over less of the West German language, as they were not as strongly surrounded by it. Furthermore, the attitude towards unification and to the East German past influenced speakers strongly. Those who were disappointed by the events of 1989 and subsequent years were less likely to adopt West German practices.

## **2.7 The difficult relationship between the new and the old Länder**

Similar to the way that the social and economic changes in the process of unifying Germany were asymmetrical, the situations and feelings of the people within the two regions differed also. In many cases citizens of the former East did not seem as comfortable or confident in the company of West Germans as vice versa. The way that the people from East and West thought of and experienced things was different as well, which was obviously due to the different ways of life both nations had led. Dittmar and Bredel comment that the relations between people were not straightforward: "Die Menschen aus Ost- und Westdeutschland sind sich fremd. Einige wenige versuchen, Verständigung zu erreichen und nach der politischen auch die soziale und kulturelle Trennung aufzuheben. Für die meisten aber scheint die Fremdheit unüberwindlich. Begriffe werden erfunden, die das Fremde wenigstens beim Namen nennen" (Dittmar and Bredel 1999:64).

As we know, the West Germans did not judge the East Germans very highly. "Ihren neuen Mitbürgern trauen sie eine Reihe von Eigenschaften, die als wichtige Voraussetzungen für beruflichen Erfolg und marktwirtschaftliche Entwicklung gelten, nur in sehr geringem Maße zu, während die Ostdeutschen selbst sich entschieden positiver einzuschätzen scheinen" (Becker, Becker and Ruhland 1992: 26). 85% of East Germans described themselves as 'fleißig' according to Becker, whereas only 34% of West Germans described East Germans as 'fleißig'. 80% of East Germans described themselves as 'anpassungsfähig' and only 40% of West Germans

called them that. 75% of East Germans described themselves as having 'Pflichtbewußtsein' but only 28% of West Germans think East Germans displayed this trait. "Bei diesen krassen Abweichungen zwischen dem Selbstbild der Ostdeutschen und ihrer Einschätzung aus westdeutscher Perspektive nimmt es nicht wunder, wenn 65 Prozent der Menschen in Ostdeutschland und immerhin 68 Prozent der Westdeutschen erklären, sie seien von Mißtrauen gegenüber den Menschen im jeweils anderen Landesteil erfüllt" (Becker, Becker and Ruhland 1992: 26-7). Each side tended to blame the other for the things that were happening which they could not themselves control. Most misunderstandings were not caused by vocabulary, but were due to different experiences, interests, advantages and a lack of empathy.

Words such as *Ossi* and *Wessi* and many others did not help the relations between the people of East and West. A former *NVA* officer (the East German Army) explained that such terms "schaffen nur Barrieren, freiheitliche Barrieren, das ist, als wollte man wieder Mauern sehen" (Becker, Becker and Ruhland 1992:38). It seemed that the two systems could not be truly united. Unification seemed merely to mean a swallowing of East Germany by the West. Even those who lived in the separate states for the least amount of time, the youth, did not always accept those from the other side. Beneke interviewed young people from East and West Berlin and asked them about their opinions. The results were rather worrying. Comments from the Eastern side were: "Ich fahr auch nich gerne in' Westen. Ich fühle mich da immer so, wie ich mir vorstelle, wie sich die Ausländer bei uns fühlen müssen" and "Solln se doch in ieam Scheißwesten bleim"; and from the West: "Seit die Mauer weg ist, ist allet Scheiße. Bloß

noch Staus, Dreck, Lärm, volle U-Bahn; und wir müssen zahlen, zahlen, zahlen" and "Die sind doch alle 'n bißchen doof, schon wie se blöd kieken!" (Beneke 1993:218). People did not seem to be actively seeking contact with those on the other side, and many contacts which were made were only short-lived. By 1999 many more East Germans had travelled to the West than West Germans had gone to the East, as Dittmar wrote: "Nach jüngsten Umfragen waren über 40% aller Westdeutschen seit der Öffnung der Mauer noch nicht in der ehemaligen DDR, während kaum ein Ostdeutscher noch nicht in die ehemalige Bundesrepublik gereist ist" (Dittmar and Bredel 1999: 107). People did not seem to get on with each other. People's opinions were made up of stereotypes and clichés. "Stereotype, Vorurteile und Klischees, so störend sie sich auswirken können, gehören nun einmal zu den legitimen und normalen Leistungen menschlichen Geistes" (Beneke 1993:226). It can be seen, however, that such opinions are part of human nature. As Prokop wrote:

Jede nationale oder Kulturgemeinschaft verfügt über eine Sammlung von sogenannten cultural patterns, d.h. von fertigen musterhaften Vorstellungen über die Elemente der umgebenden Welt. Zu dieser Sammlung gehören auch die vereinfachten, d.h. stereotypen Vorstellungen über andere Nationen, die im Laufe der direkten Kontakte der Vertreter zweier oder mehrerer Nationalitäten (d.h. in der interkulturellen Kontaktsituation) oder auch innerhalb derselben ethnischen Gruppe (in der intrakulturellen Kommunikation) in verschiedenen Erscheinungsformen zum Ausdruck gebracht werden (Prokop 1995:180).

People of East and West had many names for each other and for themselves. People felt the need to compare themselves with others, to create a feeling of identity with their own group. In one of the articles in Bittermann's aforementioned book, it is claimed that the relationship between the two states was "wildfremd, spinnenfeind -

Mitunter regiert der blanke Haß. ... Zehn Jahre nach dem Fall der Mauer wird also immer klarer: weder gehört hier noch wächst da in Deutschland irgendetwas zusammen. Die nationalistische Lehre vom ewigen und einigen deutschen Volk und Vaterland hat sich durch die Realität gründlich widerlegt. Nie waren Ost- und Westdeutschland auseinanderer" (Tietz 1999:39). Some examples of names the West Germans had for those from the East were *Ossis*, *Ostler*, *Zonis*, *Teilvolk Ost*, *Quasi-Ausländer*, *Einheimische Ost*, *Möchtegern Bundesbürger*, *Kommupitalisten*, *Brüder und Schwestern*, *DDRler*, *Ostraper*, *Ostbrote*, *Ostlersau*, *Beutelratten*, *Ostpocke*, *Udo* (*unsere doofe Ossis*) and *Doofköppe*. East German words for West Germans were *Westberliner*, *die da drüben*, *die Bornis*, *die Eingebildeten* and very rarely *Westschweine*. It seems the West German youth especially were much more insulting than their East German counterparts. There were already many such words during the years of separation, but it was mainly during the transition period of unification that these designations became widespread. There were generally more words for East Germans, as they were the ones undergoing all the changes, and were therefore in the public eye more. There were also many terms such as *Noch-DDR-Bürger*, *künftiger Bundesbürger* and *Ex-DDRler*, but these were only used during the period of transition. There were also words describing the GDR; for example *O-Zone*, *angeschlossene Ostgebiete*, *Ossinesien* and *Kolonien östlich der Elbe*. The interesting thing regarding the terms *Ossi* and *Wessi* as well as many other words is that they were seen positively when used to describe their own people, but were used as insults to describe the other side, and led to insults such as *Jammerossi* and *Besserwessi*. The word *Wessi* was used before the *Wende* by West Berliners as an

insult to visiting tourists from West Germany. Now the West Berliners were considered *Wessis* by the East! It was not surprising that there were bad feelings between the two nations, especially on the East German side, when West Germans were offered *Buschgeld*, *Buschzulage* or even *Ekelzulage* to encourage them to take on positions in the East, and were then seen as *Pioniere* and *Wegbereiter*. All these words merely furthered the stereotypes that people had, and increased the distance between them.

The problem with East and West Germans communicating which each other seemed to be that they forgot during the years of separation that they were dealing with people who had led completely different lives and were now in a very different position in unified Germany. Although East and West Germans speak the same language, they are essentially foreign to each other. Fuchs explained the dangers of this problem:

Es fehlen die klaren Indizien der Fremde, die zur Vorsicht mahnen könnten. Das kulturelle Arrangement ist ähnlich, eine zu weiten Teilen gemeinsame Geschichte verhindert, daß man die Anderen wirklich als Andere erlebt. So stellt sich schnell die Vorstellung ein, wir haben es mit einem Teil unserer selbst zu tun, der nur zurückgeblieben ist, so daß eine Asymmetrie von Meister/Schüler entsteht ... (Fuchs 1996:23).

This example of East and West Germans being like teacher and pupil is very interesting and is also mirrored by Norbert Dittmar in *Die Sprachmauer*. He wrote that East and West have very different roles to play in the process of reunification. This inequality in roles has led to many of the problems in society and among the citizens of the two states in certain cases. He gives examples where the West Germans are in a superior position over the East Germans. It seems that in many cases the West was guiding the East, and he explained this

concept in the form of a table, showing that in most cases the West Germans' position was to inform, lead and show East Germans the way forward:

<u>Ost</u>	<u>West</u>
Kommen	Empfangen
Eine komplexe Neue Welt entdecken	Hilfestellungen bei der Entdeckung
Kaufen	Verkaufen
Besucher	Gastgeber
Neuling/Ankömmling (Dittmar 1997b:4)	Ratgeber

In the case of this table the roles of the two sides are opposing as the West Germans are the experienced citizens, having to help the East Germans and show them how life should be lived. Another example of this West German superiority of experience is of the West Germans giving and the East Germans taking. Here the giver is in the strong position, having the other reliant on them. At the beginning of the *Wende* many West Germans were happy to fulfil all of these roles, but as time passed by, ever more West Germans were increasingly reluctant to do so.

## **2.8 German identity**

After 40 years of separation and sudden reunification it was to be expected that the East Germans would feel confused about their identity and their role in society. Becker referred to this problem of identity: "Offenbar haben jahrzehntelange Unterdrückung, Gängelung und Fremdbestimmung in Verbindung mit dem allgegenwärtigen Bild des strahlenden und erfolgreichen großen Bruders im Westen bei den Menschen in der ehemaligen DDR zu tiefsitzenden kollektiven Minderwertigkeitsgefühlen geführt" (Becker, Becker and Ruhland

1992:30). The East Germans were used to being the richest country in the Communist bloc, but after reunification they were suddenly the poorer region compared to the West Germans. In 1991 the average East German pay was 40.6% of that of West Germany. The general view of economists is if a person earns less than 50% of average pay they are considered to be poor, and less than 40% is a sign of extreme poverty. Even though East Germany was still better off than other Eastern Bloc countries after reunification, the population did not make comparisons with the people from these countries but with those in West Germany. This situation affected the East Germans greatly according to Becker: "Viele ehemalige DDR-Bürger durchleben derzeit eine ernsthafte Identitätskrise ... In der Tat herrscht in Ostdeutschland eine sehr starke Nachfrage nach therapeutischer Hilfe, nach Telefonseelsorge und Lebensberatung jeglicher Couleur" (Becker, Becker and Ruhland 1992:55). Some East Germans seem to have lost their feelings of orientation as well as not being happy with the situation they found themselves in. As Boehm explains:

Zu ihrer Einschätzung der deutschen Einheit wird geäußert: die Zufriedenheit sei 'Fifty-Fifty', das soziale Umfeld habe sich verschlechtert, auch wenn man jetzt Auto und Farb-TV kaufen könne. Vorbilder hätten sie keine mehr: 'Der Erich [Honecker] hat uns ja sogar beim Mittagessen zugeguckt'. Zu Beginn der Wende '[...] ha'm se bei uns [Karl] Marx mit runtergeholt' (Boehm 1992:337).

It is hard to know whether West Germans realised the extent of these feelings, and the consequences of this. A rather extreme view expressed by von Westphalen is: "Es kann nicht schaden, auch mal laut und kräftig in den Osten hinüberzurufen: Solange ihr mit dem rechtsradikalem Geschmeiß nicht fertig werdet, bleibt ihr für uns Bürger zweiter Klasse, basta!" (von Westphalen 1999:145). Some

East Germans were able to cope with this identity crisis by adapting to West German standards, whilst others maintained pride in their East German identity. Although the fall of the Wall was a happy occasion for many East Germans it was also a frightening time for many; according to Dittmar and Bredel it was: "eine gigantische Identitätsentleerung. Es gibt nicht einfach Freiheit zu gewinnen; es gibt viel zu verlieren" (Dittmar and Bredel 1999:61). At a time of sudden change, identity, and specifically group identity, was an important aspect of life. Heneghan explained the need East Germans felt to have a common identity with each other. He wrote: "This east German identity is now a symbolic construction, a reaction to the way that everything became different at once. People need an anchor to hold them steady during this radical upheaval" (Heneghan 2000: 149). Is there now a common German identity? In an Emnich questionnaire of 1989, German citizens decided that a typical German was: "fleißig, ehrgeizig, intelligent, gründlich, sauber, sparsam und genau" (Hermann 1996:22). These are all very middle class qualities, but both states seemed to think that Germans had these qualities. But was there still a common German identity after 1989 or were there two different German ways of thinking and living? It seems that since unification the distance between the two groups of people has not decreased and there is much hostility to be found between the citizens of the two former states.

When West Germans discussed the situation of what was happening in Germany, the word *Ost* was used more than *West*, even when it was not necessary for the context. This was because for them the word *deutsch* seemed to be synonymous with *westdeutsch*. This was the case before and after unification. This is another example of

the asymmetrical situation in Germany, where the East Germans seem to be in a secondary position to those in the West. This could lead to feelings of superiority in the West and feelings of inferiority, frustration, lack of social identity and powerlessness in the East. People always feel the need to compare themselves with others, creating a feeling of identity within their own group. In some cases this led initially to the desire to abandon East German habits, but after this period had passed to a more positive feeling about East Germany. Reséndiz discussed the confusing situation for the East Germans and their problems with identity:

Die Äußerungen der Informanten über ihr eigenes Sprachverhalten lassen vielfältigste Schattierungen vermuten. Während die Vermeidung auffälliger lexikalischer DDR-Marker von vielen Ostsprechern besonders im ersten flüchtigen Kontakt mit Westdeutschen oft als Schutz vor erwartbaren Stigmatisierungen angestrebt wird, zeigte sich zugleich eine bewußte Ablehnung der als tendenziell oberflächlich und aggressiv empfundenen westlichen Sprechweise verbunden mit der Hervorhebung von positiven Charakteristika der östlichen Sprechweise (offen, ehrlich, sachlich) in der nicht offiziellen Kommunikation (Reséndiz 1992:138).

So it seemed that linguistic and social conditions were causing great problems for many citizens of the former GDR. It did seem as if the East Germans had a stronger feeling of identity within their own group. Phrases like *bei uns im Osten...*, and *In der DDR* do tend to show that people did not feel fully integrated into unified Germany. After the initial negative feelings about East Germany there seemed to be a new feeling of *Osttrotz*, being proud of East Germany, and saying that not everything in the old way of life had been bad.

Judging from other questionnaires in Wagner's *Kulturshock Deutschland* it seems that the people of the two regions viewed the other side as having gained advantage from unification in a way that

their own state had not. 75% of West Germans said that unification had more disadvantages than advantages for them, while 75% of East Germans on the other hand, thought that unification had more advantages for the West Germans: "Das ist keine gute Grundlage für Verständigung" (Wagner 1999:24).

## **2.9 Vergangenheitsbewältigung**

The topic of dealing with the past was very relevant to the Germans, who had already had to cope with this concept after the Second World War. Many in the GDR had felt exempt from any war guilt, as they felt they had not been in league with the fascists since they had fought against them. But after 1989 there was a new past that had to be lived with, as well as having to cope with the past that the West Germans had already had to in the post-war situation. As Burkhardt wrote: "ganz sicher ist es viel besser, sich kritisch mit der Gegenwart auseinanderzusetzen, statt ihr später, als Vergangenheit, mühsam hinterherlaufen zu müssen" (Burkhardt 1993:128). One of the main problems of dealing with the past of the GDR is the question of who should deal with the *Stasi-Akten*. Are East Germans too involved to look at this, or are West Germans too distant to be able to understand the situation of the *Stasi* and the people who worked for it? The past has to be dealt with without using preconceived ideas or political beliefs, but facts and arguments must speak for themselves. Burkhardt continues: "Die bloße Existenz des Wortes Vergangenheitsbewältigung suggeriert dabei, daß sich die Vergangenheit in der Tat bewältigen ließe. Das ist jedoch ein Trugschluß. Retrospektives Bewältigen im strengen Sinne ist unmöglich. Nur Gegenwart und Zukunft lassen sich (möglicherweise) bewältigen" (Burkhardt

1993:141). The main thing is that the past should not be forgotten, as this is not an acceptable way to move on to the future. By working out differences Germans should be able to pave the way for a future free of resentment.

## **2.10 West Germany**

Looking at the FRG before and after unification is not in the scope of this thesis, but introducing a view of the effects changes of unification had on the people and country seems useful. Baudusch mentioned that many West Germans had not been happy about the rapid unification which followed 9 November 1989. She wrote: "Vielen Westdeutschen gingen die Öffnung der Mauer und der deutsche Einigungsprozeß, der ja immerhin erst fast ein Jahr danach offiziell vollzogen wurde, viel zu schnell" (Baudusch 1995:307). There was not much interest or sympathy from West Germany during the mass demonstrations in the East. Older West Germans were happier about reunification as they remembered the days before the regions were separated as well as those who had close family who lived in the GDR. For many younger West Germans, reunification was interesting more because it was unusual.

West German history since the Second World War had been very different to East Germany's. The West Germans had to look closely at their history, and built West Germany up into one of Europe's most powerful nations. "Einer Mehrheit der Westdeutschen dienten Wohlstand und Wirtschaftskraft ihres Landes als unverdächtiges Ventil für patriotische Bedürfnisse, die sich anders kaum artikulieren durften und konnten" (Becker, Becker and Ruhland 1992:44). The West Germans could not understand the feelings of

those who had been trapped in their country by a wall that was supposed to be there for their own protection. In general many West Germans had had little contact with the GDR and knew very little about life behind the Wall. The American way of life and the English language influenced West Germany very strongly, much more so than East Germany was influenced by the Soviet Union, and it could be said that East Germany actually remained more 'German' than the West.

The West Germans referred to the East Germans' way of speaking in a very negative way. Brussig commented on this West German opinion: "Die können keinen normalen Satz sagen. Die sind immer so umständlich. Die reden verkrampft. Die sprechen immer so ein Bürokrattendeutsch. Die sind nicht locker, die sind nicht gut drauf, die haben immer schlechte Laune" (Brussig 1996:137). The East Germans, on the other hand, called the West German way of speaking a show. As Brussig commented: "Die präsentieren sich ständig. Die nehmen immer den ganzen Raum ein. Die sind nicht aufrichtig. Die sind kalt. Die sind arrogant" (Brussig 1996:137). This West German tendency to strut, in contrast to the East German tendency to control themselves, added to the many other negative opinions, did not help the two regions in their integration. This air of West German superiority was also present in other aspects of life. The fact that most East German institutions had to be adapted to West German standards led to phrases such as *Wie im Westen, so auf Erde* and *Gott weiß alles, der Wessi weiß alles besser*.<sup>12</sup> Words such as *Ostjammer* illustrated the way that West Germans viewed the East; generally unfavourably and with negative characteristics. Many

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<sup>12</sup> These examples come from Schluchter 1996.

viewed East Germans as lazy, needing West German sympathy, and weak, and thought the East Germans should be grateful for what was given to them.

In comparison to the East Germans, the West German way of life changed very little, apart from the increase in tax which many West Germans were very bitter about. But there were one or two examples of situations which changed which can be illustrated by words which could no longer be used in West Germany. The word *Halbstadt* (referring to West Berlin), *Zone* (Ostdeutschland), *Vopo* (Volkspolizei) and *Zonis* (for inhabitants of East Germany and East Berlin), as well as *Wessis* (for people of West Germany) had changed in meaning since 1989 and were no longer relevant to unified Germany.

## **2.11 Employment**

The changes Germany underwent during unification affected the working world of East Germans to a great extent. In the GDR work was guaranteed for the entire population and life centred around the workplace, affecting accommodation, creches, health insurance and even holidays. In the GDR it was preferred when workers stayed in the same job their entire working life, and changing jobs on a regular basis was seen as a character weakness. Barz wrote about the different emphasis placed on work by East and West Germans:

Die Identifizierung des Einzelnen in der DDR mit seiner Arbeit implizierte bekanntermaßen nicht automatisch eine hohe Arbeitseffizienz, vielmehr sorgten die geltenden Gesetze und die Normen im Berufsalltag eher für das Gegenteil. Die wichtigste Ursache dafür war das in der Verfassung der DDR garantierte Recht auf Arbeit. Es bedeutete in der Praxis absoluten Kündigungsschutz für die Arbeitnehmer (Barz 1997: 80).

No citizen of the GDR had serious fears about losing their job. This was no longer the case in unified Germany. The number of unemployed in the former GDR grew from 0% at the beginning of 1990 to 7.2% in July, to 25% in the spring of 1991. At the beginning of 1992 it was up to 30%, which does not include the 700,000 who were given early retirement and the 54,000 who found jobs in the West (Schluchter 1996:41). Wages in West Germany were higher than those in the East, even for the same jobs. Those who were in the top positions in the GDR tended to stay there and occupied similarly the top jobs and positions in the new *Bundesländer*.

Even job titles changed in the new Germany. A third of all job titles in the GDR included the word *Facharbeiter*, which was found much less in West Germany. Even when this word was present in job titles, it was not always to describe the same jobs. Those moving to the West needed to learn the new job titles which they may have to work under as well as the fact that many jobs within the former GDR were changing. Barz commented on the importance of job titles: "Bei der beruflichen Umbenennung geht es für die Individuen nicht schlechthin um den Wechsel eines Etiketts, sondern sie ist äußeres Zeichen dafür, daß Menschen abrupt in veränderte Arbeitswelten geraten sind, die von ihnen ganz neue Verhaltensweisen fordern, ihnen fremde Normen auferlegen und andere Werte als die bisher erfahrenen vorschreiben" (Barz 1997:77).

One of the main differences in the working world of East and West Germany was the concept of *Spaß*, the concept of work being fun. This had not always been expressed in the GDR as Auer explained: "zumindest in der ersten Zeit nach der Wende scheint die vermutete östliche Distanz oder sogar Befremdung über die

westdeutsche Spaßkultur im Bewerbungsgespräch durchaus real zu sein" (Auer, Birkner and Kern 1997:216-7). Before the *Wende* most East Germans worked because it was a fundamental part of socialist society and culture, and afterwards because of the money, while the West Germans generally discussed the pleasure in their work and linked it to the consequent success within it. Auer found in 1993 the West Germans used the term *Spaß* in role-playing games twice the amount the East Germans did. Already in 1995 these levels had evened out, and those from the East had starting using it as much as people from the West. What had also become important in applying for jobs for East Germans was personality. In contrast to the GDR, where employers would simply advertise for a specific job, in the West and unified Germany all aspects of the applicant's life and personality were important. Barz noted this tendency: "Positiv bewertet werden sämtliche für die Berufsausübung für wesentlich gehaltenen Eigenschaften einer Person wie Intellekt, Arbeitseinstellung, Leistungsvermögen, Leistungsbereitschaft, Charaktereigenschaften, Sozialstatus, soziales Verhalten, das Alter und sogar der Gesundheitszustand und das Äußere einer Person" (Barz 1997:87). Many East Germans had to learn how to sell themselves to the job market.

According to Wolf Wagner's *Kulturschock Deutschland*, the East and West Germans have different attitudes towards their work and what they expect of it. He writes that whereas East Germans like to be given instructions on the steps they are expected to perform, the West Germans like to know the goal they have to reach, but like to decide the individual steps for themselves. The East Germans like the responsibility for their work to lie at the top, it being someone else's

responsibility, but the West Germans like to be more independent and take on more responsibility. This consequently leads to different word use when East and West Germans describe their style of working. The East Germans think that when it comes to work they are *kooperativ*, *kollegial* and *fleißig* and that the West Germans are *berechnend*, *einzelgängerisch* and *konkurrenzfixiert*. The West Germans, on the other hand, refer to themselves as *innovativ*, *einsatzbereit* and *zielorientiert* and think the East Germans are *inflexibel*, *unselbständig* and *fortschrittsfeindlich* (Wagner 1999:133). Looking at these descriptions of themselves and the others, it seems clear that different people expect such different things from their work and from each other.

## **2.12 Political developments in unified Germany**

After the collapse of the GDR the SED had to change from a "machtausübende Leninistischen Partei hin zu einer Partei unter vielen, die im Rahmen der demokratisch verfaßten, rechtstaatlichen politischen Ordnung miteinander konkurrieren" according to Good (Good 1996:265). The difficulty was that this party had to gain the trust of the East German people, who were very wary of the previous SED, but they also had to try and gain the votes of people in West Germany. This was obviously extremely difficult, since socialism had been discredited with the collapse of Eastern Europe. The PDS had a difficult past, which they tried to distance themselves from and avoided in their party programme at the elections. Since reunification the PDS has enjoyed some success, although they have not made any significant progress in West Germany. In the new *Bundesländer* the PDS is the third strongest party in the parliament and is very

strong in some regions (Good 1996:283).

### 2.13 The Duden

The first Einheitsduden appeared on 24 August 1991 and was Duden's 20th edition, which ended 40 years of separate Dudens in East and West Germany. The last East German edition was the 18th in 1985 and the 19th in 1986 in West Germany. By looking at the changes in the Duden entries it can be seen how far changes in vocabulary are reactions to social changes. The *Einheitsduden* contained new words as well as some from the GDR, which were necessary for younger people who may not have understood certain concepts. But Ludwig questioned what was taken over from the former GDR: "[w]as ist an DDR-spezifischen Wortschatz in den Duden von 1991 aufgenommen worden? Um es vorwegzunehmen: Nicht sehr viel" (Ludwig 1996:110).

It is important to note that East Germany and its history were not just discarded in the more recent editions of the Duden dictionary. Even so the way that GDR words were described in the new Duden was not uniform in any way. Ludwig writes that the use of *ehemalig*, *in der ehem. DDR* or *bes. in der ehem. DDR* is superfluous and did not need to be specifically mentioned. It was also noticed that some words which had a 'DDR' marking in the Mannheim Duden no longer had this in the new Duden; for example *Babyjahr*, *kollektivieren*, *Leistungslohn* and *Voucher*. The word *wiedervereinigen* did not exist in the Leipzig Duden, and in the Mannheim Duden the example given was 'Deutschland muß wieder vereinigt werden' which changed to 'Deutschland ist wieder vereinigt worden' in the new Duden. Also the word *Einheit* was 'Tag der deutschen - (17. Juni)' which became 'Tag

der Deutschen - (3. Oktober)', with *Deutsch* now written with a capital in the Einheitsduden. There were no examples of East German authors at all in the new Duden. And, in general, there was very little taken from the East German edition in the new one. Schaefer commented on the tendency of GDR material to be discarded in unified Germany: "Schließlich gilt weiterhin, was zu Beginn dieser Ausführungen schon festgestellt wurde: Duden bleibt Duden. Und wer geglaubt hatte, daß sich am Mannheimer Duden durch den Leipziger Duden Zuwachs etwas Grundlegendes ändern würde, sei daran erinnert, daß der Duden-West schon immer für sich in Anspruch nahm, was das Titelblatt verkündet: 'Maßgebend in allen Zweifelsfällen'" (Schaefer 1994:84).

#### **2.14 Advertising**

We have already noted the disappearance and return of GDR products and their advertising in section 2.5, but the language of advertising also underwent some interesting changes. Advertising in the GDR was monotonous and stilted, because there was no real need for advertising in the socialist economy. Customers were approached half-heartedly. Advertising consisted mainly of the product's name, which were often loan words from Latin and Greek, or abbreviations and compounds of such words. The target audience was supposed to be impressed by this knowledge and learning, but were rarely personally addressed. The products were named or described in a very sober style and the adjectives used to describe them show this: *vollhygienisch*, *klein*, *gediegen* and *variantenreich*. Between 1989 and 1992 styles had to change, and printed adverts as well as radio and television commercials become more catchy and

humorous. Sentence length was reduced and there were many more short sentences in the adverts. There were also more questions and demands which referred to the customer directly. There were more verbs in the texts which made them more lively. Many adverts started with a question or a double meaning that the reader had to solve, and many ended with a *Schlußformel* of the product name or the make and slogan. The main functions of such texts was to persuade the shopper to buy, which had never been the case in the former GDR, where such competition was not needed for survival of products. All these changes were due to the sudden competition between products, which had not been present in East Germany. Aseng commented on the differences of advertising in the former GDR and unified Germany: "Wirkungsvolle Werbung ist in der Gesellschaft notwendig und elementar. In der Planwirtschaft der DDR war sie eher nebensächlich und hatte eine Art Alibifunktion" (Aseng 1998:126). Another need for more effective advertising (by making it more expressive) was the ever increasing costs of advertising. This meant the investment needed for advertising would only be worthwhile if the adverts were effective, and for this purpose they had to be more eye-catching and appealing to their target audience.

## **2.15 Values**

Meulemann believed that one of the reasons behind the difficulty of unification was the different values held in East and West Germany. He wrote: "[D]ie Einfügung der Ostdeutschen in den Institutionsrahmen Westdeutschlands löbt sich offensichtlich nicht so schnell und so einfach wie erwartet. Doch die Erklärung dafür scheint einfach genug: unterschiedliche Werte" (Meulemann 1996:269). Any

changes in Germany could be due to both states changing or one state adapting, and as we know most changes were unidirectional, where East Germany adapted to West German standards. Unification affected many values and beliefs held by East Germans, as Wagner wrote: "Die massenhafte Konfrontation mit westdeutschen Standards bei den ersten Besuchen im Westen stellte beinahe alle in der DDR geltenden Werte und Orientierungen zumindest in Frage, oft genug aber auf den Kopf" (Wagner 1999:11). East Germans felt the state should have to play a greater role in looking after the individual, which did not seem to be the case in the politics of West Germany. Freedom to do as one wanted seemed to be the most important quality for West Germans, whereas equality was more important for East Germans. Another noticeable difference between the two states was religion. Before the *Wende* religion was much less prevalent in East Germany as the state did not approve of the Church having a strong role in society. But even after 1989 belief in God rose in West Germany and fell in East Germany, making the difference even greater. Meulemann commented on this difference: "Vielleicht ergibt sich die Distanzierung auch im Bereich der Religiosität aus einem wir-Gefühl, das die Ostdeutschen nach der Vereinigung auch ihrer Arbeit in der DDR aufbauen" (Meulemann 1996:350).

In 1992 60% of East Germans felt themselves to be 'East German' and only 35% felt themselves to be 'German'. This is exactly reversed in the case of the West Germans, who identified more strongly with the unified state. Meulemann believed the reason was this: "Was immer die Ostdeutschen an DDR-Identifikationen hatten, haben sie mit der Vereinigung schnell aufgegeben; aber ebenso schnell haben sie ein Wir-Gefühl als Ostdeutsche aufgebaut. Die

DDR-Identifikation wurde geradezu durch eine Ost-Identifikation ausgetauscht" (Meulemann 1996:381). The people of the GDR found it very hard to identify with the state which kept them imprisoned and dictated their lives, but now that these things had disappeared, GDR citizens felt more able to identify with their own, those who had shared the same experiences. What was East Germany's reaction to being treated as second class citizens in the unified Germany? "Ihre fundamentalistische Reaktion darauf griff auf hohe kulturelle Werte zurück, die in der Wendezeit nur zeitweise in Frage gestellt waren: Gleichheit und Solidarität" (Wagner 1999:159).

## **2.16 Summary and conclusion**

This chapter discussed the unification of Germany and its subsequent effects on the language of East and West Germany. The immediate effect of the changes in society on the language of East Germany was obvious and far-reaching. As well as in private use, the public language changed. The language of the media and writers no longer needed to conform to the standard prescribed by the SED. Many new words had to be learned by East Germans in order to adapt to the new society in which they lived.

Typical East German words disappeared very quickly after the collapse of the GDR, especially those which described politics and its institutions. West Germans tended to look at the East German language as something rather exotic and unknown, whereas most East Germans had a knowledge of West Germany which they had acquired through the West German media. As well as new words, the East Germans had to experience other concepts which they were not accustomed to in the GDR, such as unemployment, increase in crime,

and political violence.

Words which typified unification were analysed, such as *Wende*, *Revolution*, *Umbruch* and *Anschluß*. Their different nuances within the changing language were discussed, as well as the collocations and compounds in which they appeared. Also, the different meanings of *Wiedervereinigung*, *Vereinigung* and *Einigung* were looked at, as well as the different effects of their usage. In both cases it was found that choice of words very often reflected the opinion of the speaker.

The East Germans were put under great pressure to conform to West German standards in order to succeed in the new society. As well as new ways of speaking, other differences had to be overcome, such as those within business and the workplace. For many East Germans these changes and adaptations led to feelings of insecurity, and many struggled with their identity. The first losses of the East German language were in the fields of politics and related groups. When words were no longer relevant to the new society they tended to be discarded and replaced by the West German equivalents. East Germans frequently avoided the use of GDR words to avoid being recognised as East Germans in the workplace and other official situations. Although in every language words lose their relevance and become archaic over time, the speed at which this happened in Germany is extremely rare and was very difficult for the people to cope with.

Particularly after the initial euphoria had worn off, it was often seen to be the case that East German vocabulary was kept and re-used. It was still needed to talk about things which happened in the GDR and the effects of the past on present lives. Other aspects of GDR

life were also kept; the *Jugendweihe* retained its popularity, as many more East German teenagers kept this tradition than confirmation. On account of the dominance of West German language and society many East Germans felt a sense of nostalgia and loss regarding the GDR. This feeling was referred to by many as *Ostalgie*, and could be seen in the cases where everyday GDR vocabulary was retained. Examples of this are *Plaste*, *Kaufhalle* and *Broiler* (as opposed to the West German *Plastik*, *Supermarkt* and *Brathähnchen*). The phenomenon of nostalgia was also evident in the advertising world. There was a re-birth of many East German products, which had been initially discarded after the *Wende*, and frequently the place of origin of East German produce was stressed to influence consumers.

Although it was seen that some aspects of the GDR were kept, many more new concepts had to be learned by the citizens of the new *Bundesländer*. During the time of the *Wende* there were new words which had to be learnt by citizens of both German countries, such as *Mauerspecht*, *Wendehälse* and *Stasi-Auflösung*.

Many of these words were short-lived, and they were no longer used after unification was complete. Other words took on new meanings during the time of reunification, for example *Wende*, *Umbau* and *Reform*. East Germans had to learn new words for all aspects of their new lives: regarding politics, voting, the economy, social services, housing, and the workplace. Many other new words such as *Abwicklung*, *Treuhand* and *Seilschaften* did not affect the West Germans greatly, but were to change the lives of many East Germans. Also in their everyday lives there were many changes for the people of East Germany. Many names for shops and their products were changed, and these terms had to be learnt quickly.

It was not surprising that relations between the people of East and West Germany were subsequently often strained. Neither group had a very high opinion of those on the other side, and each tended to have strong senses of identity with their own people. Stereotypes and clichés were frequent and particularly commonly used by the West Germans, and this was expressed by using specific words. As well as the terms *Ossi* and *Wessi*, there were many other words to describe people, ranging from *Ostler*, *Zonis*, *DDRler* to *Quasi-Ausländer*, *Ostlersau*, *Beutelratten* and *Ostpocke* on the side of the West Germans, to *die Bornis*, *die Eingebildeten* and *Westschweine* from the East Germans. People tended to forget that they were dealing with people who were essentially foreign to each other, and this furthered difficulties. This added to the fact that frequently the West Germans had the roles of leading and teaching the East Germans, which then led to feelings of resentment on both sides.

The East Germans tended to compare themselves to West Germans rather than looking at the other Eastern Bloc countries for comparison. Both East and West Germany viewed the other side as having gained more from reunification, and especially the East Germans retained their sense of East German identity. The way that both sides had dealt with the past was also discussed. For the East Germans two periods of history had suddenly to be discussed, as previously the communists had felt exempt from any guilt after the Second World War. West German attitudes towards their East German counterparts were also analysed. In general East Germans were not judged very highly, and the West Germans could not appreciate what difficulties the East Germans had had to cope with, since their own lives had changed very little.

The difference of work situation and its consequences on the language was seen. Where previously the GDR had full employment, suddenly the East Germans had to sell themselves to employers and needed to gain a different view of the workplace. Attitudes within work and its responsibility were very different on both sides: where the West Germans preferred to have a lot of responsibility, most East Germans were not used to it. In other aspects of life the changing role of the PDS, as well as the different functions of the Duden in unified Germany and these consequences on the language were seen. Furthermore, the role of advertising, from the role of advertising in the GDR to its new position in unified Germany, having to conform to West German standards in order to sell and the effects this had on language, were examined. Finally, the importance of different values held by East and West Germans was considered. The East Germans emphasized the importance of the state in every aspect of life, such as employment and child care. East Germans regarded equality as the most important feature of life, whereas for West Germans freedom was most highly valued. Although many West German values were taken over by East Germany, many East Germans identified themselves very closely with being East German rather than German. This was due to the fact that they could identify with their own people, who had experienced the same way of life as themselves. For others, this sense of identification was in reaction to the feeling that they were regarded as second class citizens by many West Germans.

## Chapter 3 Modal Particles

### 3.1 Introduction

In past research modal particles tended to be disregarded, and were not considered to have a specific function in language. Baerentzen wrote: "In vielen Darstellungen werden die deutschen Fügewörter stiefmütterlich behandelt. Ihnen wird jede Funktion auf der gliedfunktionalen Ebene aberkannt und statt dessen bloß eine sogenannte verbindende Funktion zugesprochen" (Baerentzen 1989: 19). This neglected state can be seen by the names modal particles were given in German, for they have been described and included under many different names, such as *Fügewörter*, *Gesprächswörter*, *Abtönungspartikeln*, *Modusadverbien*, *Modalpartikeln*, *modale Partikeln*, *Wurzwörter*, *Sprachhülsen*, *Farbewörter*, *unscheinbare Kleinwörter*, *Lückenbüßern*, *sinnlose Einschiebseln*, *Flickwörtern*, *Parasiten* and *Läusen im Pels der Sprache*. Especially the last few names illustrate former opinions of these parts of the language. It was also the case that linguists could not agree which words belonged in the category of modal particles, and which did not. As Helbig showed: "Das Deutsche verfügt über eine beträchtliche Zahl von 'kleinen Wörtern', die unflektierbar sind und doch nicht einfach mit den anderen unflektierbaren Wörtern (den Konjunktionen, Präpositionen, Adverbien, Interjektionen) gleichgesetzt werden können" (Helbig 1988:11).

This problem was not limited to German linguists. In many traditional dictionaries modal particles were frequently described as not having a specific function to themselves. It was also the case that

many uninflected words were grouped together under one heading. If this was done, it could lead to extremes in some languages. For example, in English adjectives and articles would be considered particles and in Chinese most words would be considered particles, as most words are uninflected.

It was eventually found, however, that modal particles had a very important function, particularly in the spoken language, where they could be considered a typical feature, as well as being more common in spontaneous rather than planned speech and informal rather than formal language, appearing more in dialogue than monologue. Modal particles have now been credited with playing an important role in spoken language, even though their specific function has not always been easy to describe exactly. Bublitz wrote in 1978 that:

Eine ausgearbeitete Theorie, die für die Beschreibung von Modalpartikeln usw. geeignet ist, gibt es zur Zeit nicht. Eine Eigenart der untersuchten Ausdrucksweisen der Sprechereinstellung liegt darin, daß ihre Gebrauchsweisen anders als bei vielen anderen Lexemen und grammatischen Konstruktionen losgelöst von Kontexten nicht beschreibbar sind (Bublitz 1978:10).

There has been much work done on these particles in the last 15 years and much has been discovered. "Abtönungspartikeln haben eine Menge von semantischen, syntaktischen und pragmatischen Eigenschaften. Dennoch ist in der Linguistik bisher keine Einigkeit über die Abgrenzung der Wortart erreicht worden" (Hentschel and Weydt 1994:282).

Adler wrote about the necessity of modal particles that: "Wenn wir sprechen, verwenden wir in ungezählten Fällen mehr Wörter, als wir nötig hätten, um das auszudrücken, was wir sagen wollen. ... Die

einfache Wendung *Komm her!* genügt uns oft nicht. Durch ihre Kürze wirkt sie leicht schroffer als die längere Wendung” (Adler 1964:52). In such cases modal particles can make commands seem more friendly, but they can also make a question more urgent or threatening. Modal particles are necessary aspects of language; Adler continued: “Die Vorzüge einer knappen Ausdrucksweise, zu denen vor allem die Klarheit und die Entschiedenheit gehören, schätzen wir hoch, aber unser Sprechen wäre dürftig und leblos, wenn wir uns nicht wiederholt bestimmter Füllwörter einzeln wie auch in Reihen bedienen” (Adler 1964:53). Basically, modal particles do not reflect a specific word in a sentence but the entire sentence, as Hentschel and Weydt asserted: “Abtönungspartikeln funktionieren nicht innerhalb der wörtlichen Ebene des Satzes, in dem sie stehen, sondern sie kommentieren ihn als Gesamtäußerung von einer Metaebene aus und verankern ihn so im Redekontext” (Hentschel and Weydt 1989: 14). Weydt is of the opinion that the word *Modalpartikel* should be avoided, and that they should rather be referred to as *Abtönungspartikeln*, as the term ‘modal’ is rather vague and any link with *Modalwörter* should be avoided (Hentschel and Weydt 1994:280). To conclude this introduction to modal particles in the German language, Heringer wrote about what was wrong with particle research which has been undertaken in the past, and which weaknesses such research has:

- (1) The inflation of meaning which is due to the confusion of meaning and interpretation. Symptoms of meaning are taken for the meaning itself.
- (2) Rigid operationalism fails in ascribing a grammatical category to particles. It leads to an inflation of particles and categories. Particles are subjected to grammatical criteria that would not hold for any other lexical category.
- (3) The pragmatic power of particles is mystified as if they would ‘do’ something which in fact is accomplished by the speaker/hearer on the basis of mutual knowledge” (Heringer

1988:730).

Such problems have to be dealt with to create a clear category for modal particles, especially as some linguists, as Heringer continues, still believe that modal particles have no real meaning.

### **3.2 What are modal particles?**

Traditionally the word *Partikel* in grammar books of German included all uninflected word types, which were sometimes described as not having a real meaning. In the past modal particles were also never sufficiently well explained in dictionaries, and this led to them being considered less important when it came to language teaching. They were not well described as their uses and functions were complex, and they could be used in many ways, which made them therefore hard to describe syntactically and semantically. There is one major difficulty when it comes to describing them, as Hartog and Ruttenauer illustrated: "Jedem, der sich mit genauen Untersuchungen über deutsche Sprachpartikeln befaßt hat, ist es geläufig, daß die meisten dieser Partikeln nur wieder durch andere Partikeln umschrieben werden können, wenn nicht in Kauf genommen werden soll, daß merkbare Nuancen eines Satzes oder Textes verlorengehen" (Hartog and Ruttenauer 1982:70). Their different functions cover not only the modal particle word class, but also other uninflected word classes. Krivonosov wrote in 1965: "Als eine Klasse der nichtflektierten Wörter wurden die modalen Partikeln ursprünglich nicht als eine funktionell zusammengehörige Gruppe von Wörtern behandelt, sondern zu den Adverbien, Konjunktionen und Präpositionen hinzugezählt" (Krivonosov 1965a:573). The fact is that modal particles used to be

included in the class of uninflected words such as adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions. Fábričz believes that modal particles "are the end-product of some psycholinguistic process" and that these lexemes originally came from other parts of speech such as conjunctions, adverbs and pronouns. There are a number of modal particles that coexist with their etymons, and so offer an insight into the differences that still exist between these two counterparts (Fábričz 1989:378).

Gerhard Helbig is one of the linguists who said that the German language contained many words which could not be classed as part of the same group as the other uninflected words, as they had been in the past. "Die Partikeln weisen gegenüber den anderen Funktionswörtern Besonderheiten auf, die deshalb kaum erkannt worden sind, weil sie sehr lange von der Sprachwissenschaft vernachlässigt worden sind und erst in den letzten beiden Jahrzehnten stärker in das Blickfeld der Forschung getreten sind" (Helbig 1988:5). In the 1970s the main area of interest was the pragmatic viewpoint, which looked at the factors which influenced the choice of modal particles used. This changed in the 1980s, when modal particles were looked at from a more semantic and syntactic point of view, examining their grammatical functions and their role in the sentence, as by this time the pragmatic explanations no longer seemed sufficient. Meibauer discussed the change of analysis:

Unzufrieden mit den Beschränkungen einer rein kommunikativ-pragmatischen Analyse, hat man mehr und mehr typisch 'modulare' Fragestellungen an die bisher gesicherten Fakten herangetragen. Diese Entwicklung korrespondiert mit der zunehmenden Deutung linguistischer Sachverhalte unter kognitiven Aspekten" (Meibauer 1994:2).

Only when it was realised that an important aspect of modal particles

was their multi-functionality was research able to progress.

Baerentzen wrote in 1989: "Dies stets janusköpfige Auftreten der Fügewörter in der Hierarchie ist sicher daran schuld, daß man ihren mit dem grammatischen nichtssagenden Etikett der verbindenden Funktion versah und dabei ihre spezifische gliedfunktionale Rolle außer acht ließ" (Baerentzen 1989:20). As well as having many functions, modal particles can clearly be traced back in time; some particles, such as *ja*, *doch* and *denn*, can be traced back to Old High German, and even to Gothic, an East-Germanic language and the earliest recorded form of Germanic.

An explanation of their function needed to be found, as this would firmly establish their role as essential parts of speech. As Burkhardt explained: "Gäbe es also für Abtönungspartikeln nicht die Möglichkeit einer semantischen Paraphrase oder der metasprachlichen Explizitierung, so signalisierten sie entweder etwas völlig Unbestimmbares und Unkontrollierbares, das nie näher erläutert werden könnte - ... - oder sie wären bedeutungslos und redundant" (Burkhardt 1982a:87). Modal particles need to be able to be paraphrased and, according to Burkhardt, those linguists who do not think that modal particles can be paraphrased do not fully understand the semantic status of these words. He writes that by removing modal particles from sentences, the full semantic content of them can be seen (Burkhardt 1982a:88). Helbig writes of the importance of modal particles in the German language: "Auf Grund ihrer hohen Frequenz und ihrer zentralen Bedeutung für den kommunikativen Sinn von Äußerungen dürfen die Partikeln nicht als periphere Elemente des Wortschatzes angesehen werden, wie das lange Zeit geschehen ist" (Helbig 1988:13). From these opinions we

can see that modal particles are a crucial aspect of the German language whose importance has only been realised in recent years.

### 3.3 The uses of modal particles

What are modal particles used for? Burkhardt wrote that they were words which were typically used in the spoken language illustrating the speaker's opinion of what he or she was saying:

"Abtönungspartikeln dienen vor allem der Dialogsteuerung, die über Präsuppositionen geleistet wird" (Burkhardt 1982b:153). Another function is explained by Franck: "Die Modalpartikeln können sowohl zur Verdeutlichung wie auch zum bewusst Vage-Halten der Kontextdefinition und der Definition der Beziehung der Beteiligten gebraucht werden" (Franck 1980:255). Helbig sums up what he believes modal particles are used for:

Die Partikeln haben keinen Einfluß auf den Wahrheitswert und auf die Grammatikalität des Satzes. Sie können in den Sätzen, in denen sie stehen, eliminiert werden, ohne daß die Sätze (syntaktisch) ungrammatisch werden und ohne daß sich (semantisch) am Wahrheitswert etwas ändert. Dennoch modifizieren sie die Äußerung in bestimmter Weise (teils semantisch, teils pragmatisch) (Helbig and Helbig 1995:9).

Some modal particles have more than one semantic function: it is extremely difficult to give each modal particle an individual meaning, as they tend to change in context. Although many of the problems have been overcome and the importance of modal particles has been realised, there are still many problems in modal particle research today. One of the main problems is whether to try and give each particle a narrow, individual meaning but thereby possibly missing a generalisation; or being very general with meaning and only ascribing a very vague description to each particle. Brausse

writes: "Als besondere Schwierigkeit für die Bedeutungsbeschreibung dieser Wortklasse wird häufig genannt, sie seien so vielfach polysem, daß es nicht möglich ist, eine Grundbedeutung anzugeben, sondern sie hätten in unterschiedlichen Kontexten auch unterschiedliche Funktionen" (Brausse 1986:206). She also adds that a mistake which is often made is that the individual particle should not bear the sole weight of the subjective meaning, as some of this can be related to the entire sentence:

In vielen Veröffentlichungen wird die Auffassung vertreten, daß für jede Partikel mehrere Bedeutungsvarianten in Abhängigkeit von Kontexttyp unterschieden werden müssen, in einigen anderen wird der Hoffnung Ausdruck gegeben, daß es möglich ist, gemeinsame Merkmale aller für eine Partikel zulässige Kontexte zu finden, die es erlauben, eine Grundbedeutung anzunehmen (Brausse 1986:207).

Doherty agrees with this viewpoint: "One difficulty of German particles like *doch*, *ja*, *etwa* etc is that they seem to contribute little to the meaning of a sentence. Their interpretation is heavily context dependent, a fact which makes the analysis of the relevant context a precondition for the analysis of the meaning of the particles. This is the only way to avoid taking the meanings of various context classes for the meanings of the particles themselves" (Doherty 1985:4).

Context is crucial, as meanings change in different sentences. Every occurrence of a modal particle has to be interpreted individually.

Particles can be moved around the sentence and do not affect other parts even when moved. König wrote:

Semantisch gesehen kann man die Modalpartikeln in einer lockeren Redeweise als Elemente betrachten, die die Wahrheitsbedingungen eines Ausdrucks nicht verändern. .... Ganz allgemein läßt sich sagen, daß Modalpartikeln auf verschiedene Aspekte oder Koordination der Sprechsituation - nicht nur und nicht immer auf die Einstellung des Sprechers zum Gesagten - Bezug nehmen. Damit hängt die Tatsache zusammen, daß Modalpartikeln in vielen Fällen den

illokutiven Charakter, die kommunikative Funktion einer Äußerung verdeutlichen (König 1977:116-7).

Krivosov wrote in 1965 of the importance of context:

Sobald man aber die Partikeln aus dem Kontext herausnimmt, hören sie auf, die ihnen zugeschriebene Bedeutung auszudrücken (...). Die sogenannte selbständige lexikalische Bedeutung der modalen Partikeln (also die Bedeutung der Verstärkung, der Ungeduld, der Empörung, der Verwunderung usw.) muß man nicht in der Partikel selbst suchen, sondern im ganzen Satz oder sogar in einem breiteren Kontext. ... Die subjektive Modalität ist nur dort vorhanden, wo der Sprecher seine Einstellung zum Satzinhalt ausdrücken will, also nicht in jedem Satz (Krivosov 1965a:574).

Thurmair continues on this theme of the interdependency of context and modal particles and stresses the importance of the fact that although the two are closely linked, modal particles are not solely dependent on the context:

Die charakteristische Interdependenz von Modalpartikeln und Kontext darf also keineswegs zu der Annahme führen, mit jeder Änderung des Kontextes ändere sich auch die Bedeutung einer Modalpartikel; es muß möglich sein, aus der Analyse all der verschiedenen Kontexte, in denen eine Modalpartikel auftreten kann, die eine (kontextfreie) Bedeutung jener Modalpartikel 'herauszuschälen' (Thurmair 1989:99).

König also mentions such problems of meaning and context in his book *The meaning of Focus Particles*, where he writes that aspects of the meaning of a particular context in which a particle occurs are often taken for the meaning of the particle itself: "The search for a 'Gesamtbedeutung' is often too quickly abandoned in favour of postulating polysemy. ... Analyses of modal particles are often unnecessarily complex in the meanings and uses they distinguish, as a result of failing to capture certain generalisations in the semantic development and use of function words" (König 1991: 175). He continues this theory in another article, where he writes: "Der

illokutive Charakter einer Äußerung ist das Ergebnis einer Interaktion zwischen vielen Aspekten der Satzbedeutung und auch kontextuellen Faktoren. Es ist deshalb nicht überraschend, daß Modalpartikeln oft einen Beitrag zur illokutiven Kraft einer Äußerung liefern, aber dieser Beitrag scheint mir nicht ihre zentrale Funktion zu sein" (König 1997: 59). Heringer also writes of the problems concerning modal particles and polysemy: "Die Inflation der Partikeln ist Folge zweier unterschiedlicher gravierender methodischer Schritte. Der leichtere Fall ist der, daß man Polysemie ansetzt, wo es einem nicht gelingt, eine einheitliche Bedeutung zu ermitteln. ... Der schwerere Fall ist der, daß man Polysemie oder ähnliches direkt auf die Einheit des Wortes durchschlagen läßt" (Heringer 1988:732).

We can see that modal particles can have many functions, one of which is to add emphasis to what the speaker is saying. Their function relies very heavily on which context they are used in, which can make them difficult to describe individually. However, this has led to many linguists giving up on finding meanings for modal particles and instead advocating that modal particles always have multiple meanings.

### **3.4 The emotional aspect of modal particles**

Hans Jürgen Heringer mentions that the use of modal particles can be tied to emotion, but this is something that one very rarely comes across in the literature about modal particles. He writes: "Zwar wird den Partikeln seit alters eine emotionale Kraft nachgesagt; sie haben zu tun mit Einstellungen. Aber sie haben in neueren Kommunikationstheorien auch nicht viel Beachtung gefunden" (Heringer 1988:738). Modal particles are often used to show emotion, alongside other

aspects of speech. "Neben Interjektionen und der Intonation dienen im Deutschen vornehmlich Modalpartikeln dazu, Überraschung oder eine ähnliche Emotion des Sprechers auszudrücken" (Bublitz 1978: 216). Modal particles are mainly used in spoken language, especially in dialogue, colloquial and spontaneous language, when they are used by the speaker to show listeners what is felt about what is being said. Communication partners expect modal particles; in German conversation seems impolite or too direct when they are not used. Weydt discussed the effect of a sentence without an expected modal particle: "Der deutsche Hörer erwartet nämlich Partikeln. Fehlen sie, so erhält der Satz dadurch einen stilistischen Wert: ohne die Partikel wirkt er abgehakt, barsch, unfreundlich, seine Aussage apodiktisch, schroff, krass unverbindlich" (Weydt 1969:20). The more modal particles are used in a conversation, the more personal and informal it becomes. Burkhardt calls modal particles 'Gesprächswörter', and this is "... weil sie 'Haltungen und Reaktionen der Partner zum Ausdruck bringen' ..." (Burkhardt 1982b:140). Modal particles can be used to express what the speaker feels, help bring what is felt to the attention of those listening: "der Redende will sich zum Hörenden in seelischem Verkehr setzen, will, um auch dies Wort zu wiederholen, nicht nur etwas, sondern sich selbst aussprechen, nicht nur eine Thatsache, ein Urtheil, einen Wunsch oder Willen, sondern sein eigenes seelisches Befinden dabei dem Anderen mittheilen" (Gabelentz, quoted in Weydt 1977:11). Krivonosov summarises thus: "Kurz gesagt, in den Sätzen mit den modalen Partikeln bringt der Sprechende seine subjektive Stellungnahme zum Gesagten (subjektiv-modale Bedeutung) zum Ausdruck" (Krivonosov 1965a: 576). He continues: "In der mündlichen Rede ist die Intonation ein

sehr lebendiges und wirksames Ausdrucksmittel der subjektiv-modalen Bedeutung. Die modale Partikel dient in der mündlichen Rede demselben Zweck. Aber sie ist ein zusätzliches und schon lexikalisches oder, genauer gesagt, ein synsemantisches Mittel" (Krivonosov 1965a:588).

Modal particles are crucial to communication, even though their function is often more subconscious than adding actual fact to what is being said. Most speakers are not aware of using modal particles, just as they are often not aware of their facial expressions or body language while they are speaking. They can imply that which is not directly said, as Helbig wrote:

Sie drücken oft - mitunter sogar entscheidende - kommunikative Nuancen aus, die (auch wenn sie oft der Äußerung wenig sachliche Information hinzufügen) keineswegs für unwesentlich gehalten werden dürfen, weil sie der Sprache nicht nur Flüssigkeit und Verbindlichkeit verleihen, sondern auch ein bestimmtes 'Gesprächsklima' schaffen (...), die Konversation steuern, im Interaktionskontext verankern und auf diese Weise auch ausdrücken, wie die Gesprächspartner zueinander stehen, welche Voraussetzungen sie haben und welche Reaktionen erwartet werden (Helbig 1988:12-3).

Harden quotes Adler to show the emotional value of modal particles. He wrote: "Die 'Fullwörter wie die APn [Abtönungspartikeln - NB] bei ADLER heißen, erfüllen häufig eine psychologische Aufgabe, da sie der Rede oft 'eine besondere Note' verleihen, und zwar eine emotionale" (Harden 1983:51).

### **3.5 Modal particles in relation to other word classes**

The modal particles frequently overlap with other word classes, as many of the modal particles also fall into other classes when used in different situations and contexts. This is referred to as

polyfunctionality, i.e. a word has different functions when used in different classes. Due to the fact that modal particles can appear in different classes with differing functions it can be difficult to classify them. Hentschel writes: "Diese Wörter treten allerdings nicht ausschließlich als Indikatoren auf; sie haben alle Homonyme, die völlig andere Wortklassen angehören und auf der Darstellungsebene fungieren, wo sie als Adjektive, Adverbien, Gradpartikeln, Modalwörter etc gebraucht werden können" (Hentschel 1986:3-4). Examples of this are: *es hat geregnet **aber** wir haben uns trotzdem amüsiert, das wollte ich **eben** sagen* and ***eigentlich** wollte ich nur fünf Minuten bleiben*.<sup>13</sup> König agrees with such a theory. He writes that: "In fact, multiple class-membership is often regarded as a characteristic property of those expressions that can be used as modal particles" (König 1991:174). In another article he writes that "Eine solche Überlappung ist zu erwarten, wenn - wie vielfach angenommen - Modalpartikeln am Ende einer Entwicklung stehen, die von mehreren Wortklassen gespeist wird" (König 1997:58). Although modal particles do have homonyms, this need not lead to confusion, as they share different grammatical characteristics when used in different word classes. Krivosov writes: "Im Deutschen wurden 24 Modalpartikeln abgegrenzt, die eine geschlossene (terminale) Wortklasse der deutschen Sprache sind. Unter den 24 Lexemen, die als modale Partikeln erkannt worden sind, gibt es kein einziges monofunktionales Lexem, das nur als modale Partikel auftreten könnte" (Krivosov 1989a:35). Although modal particles, as well as adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions, are all uninflected, there are differences in the way these words are used. Meibauer

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<sup>13</sup> These examples, with my bold type, are all from Collins *German Dictionary*, 2nd edition 1991.

wrote:

Modalpartikeln können nicht wie die Adverbien andere Kategorien modifizieren, und sie können auch nicht wie diese valenznotwendig sein. Modalpartikeln projizieren nicht wie Präpositionen, und sie werden nicht durch bestimmte Verbklassen selektiert wie (eine Teilklasse) der subordinierenden Konjunktionen. ... So haben Modalpartikeln keinen Bezug auf eine bestimmte andere Konstituente wie die Gradpartikeln, sie können nicht als Antwort dienen wie die Antwortpartikeln, und sie stehen nicht außerhalb von Sätzen wie die Gliederungspartikeln (Meibauer 1994:28).

This does, however, according to Meibauer, emphasize the need for further examination of the function of modal particles. He wrote (bold type by Meibauer):

Wenn Modalpartikeln Heterosemie in anderen Wortarten haben, sollte es zu **Ambiguitäten** kommen können. ... Die Existenz dieser Ambiguitäten ist ein klares Argument dafür, daß eine Wortartenklassifikation im Partikelbereich deskriptiv nützlich und theoretisch sinnvoll ist. Sie zeigt aber auch, daß das Bedürfnis nach Disambiguierung ein weiterer Faktor der Entwicklung von Heterosemie sein dürfte (Meibauer 1994:28).

An example of such crossing of word classes is the lexeme *aber*.

Weydt explains:

Als getrennte Bedeutungen wurden angenommen: die Abtönungspartikel *aber* (Bist du *aber* groß!) und die Konjunktion *aber* (*Aber* bist du groß!). Wie später (...) noch gezeigt wird, drückt *aber* in beiden Fällen einen Gegensatz aus: als Abtönungspartikel einen Gegensatz zu dem Erwarteten (Überraschung), als Konjunktion zu etwas Vorgehenden, das nicht groß ist. Die Bedeutung bleibt gleich, nur wirkt sie auf einer anderen Ebene (Weydt 1969:59).

The basic grammar of modal particles, now agreed by most linguists, is that:

- they are not capable of being in initial position;
- they cannot be focused on;
- they are not 'erfragbar', i.e. they cannot be directly questioned;
- they have no lexical meaning;

- they do not alter the truth value of a sentence.

These conditions are described by Ekkehard König in *The Meaning of Focus Particles*, as well as Hentschel and Weydt, who also comment that they are often combined and appear in groups (Hentschel and Weydt 1989:14). In certain sentences, for example certain questioning sentences, the position modal particles can take is limited, although they often appear in the middle of clauses; it also tends to be the case that they appear after the parts of the sentence which are not intonated, since the main intonation of the sentence comes after modal particles. Helbig adds to the above points that modal particles cannot form an independent sentence by themselves and cannot be answers to questions, nor can they be negated. These are important features of modal particles. Helbig wrote:

Eine Beschreibung der Partikeln beginnt zweckmäßigerweise mit einer Distributionsanalyse, d.h. mit der Ermittlung, in welcher formalen Satzart (...) die Partikel auftreten kann (...). Ein solche Analyse ist vor allem für die Abtönungspartikeln nötig, da diese in ihrem Vorkommen in verschiedenen Satzarten starke Restriktionen aufweisen und da die Satzart der einzige an der sprachlichen Form beobachtbare Ausgangspunkt für eine Klassenbildung innerhalb der Abtönungspartikeln darstellt (Helbig 1988: 65-6).

According to Weydt, they are uninflected words which illustrate the opinion of the speaker on what is being said, they cannot answer a question and cannot be in first position in a sentence. They stand in relation to the whole sentence and are integrated in the sentence. If accentuated differently or used differently syntactically they can change their meaning and in these other uses they belong to other word classes.

A basic summary according to Weydt is that:

Die abschließende Definition dieser Gruppe lautet also:  
Abtönungspartikeln sind unflektierbare Wörtchen, die dazu

dienen, die Stellung des Sprechers zum Gesagten zu kennzeichnen. Diese Wörtchen können in gleicher Bedeutung nicht die Antwort auf eine Frage bilden und nicht die erste Stelle im Satz einnehmen. Sie beziehen sich auf den ganzen Satz; sie sind im Satz integriert. In anderer syntaktischer Stellung oder anders akzentuiert haben sie alle eine oder mehrere andere Bedeutungen. In dieser anderen Verwendung gehören sie dann anderen Funktionen an (Weydt 1969:68).

### **3.6 The type of language modal particles are used in**

“Modal particles are perhaps the most typical feature of colloquial German” is what Nehls writes of modal particles (Nehls 1989:282). They are one of the most important and distinctive techniques used by German speakers to indicate mood or attitude. They can serve to express different kinds of emotional attitudes in communication such as astonishment, doubt, emphasis, encouragement, impatience, reassurance, reproach and surprise, among others. This means that the speaker wants to tell the hearer something about what he is saying, whether it be a wish, opinion or judgement. In general, it is true to say that modal particles are more prevalent in informal situations. Helbig writes: “Je umgangssprachlicher ein Text ist, desto partikelreicher ist er in der Regel auch” (Helbig 1988:12). Thurmair adds: “Der Haupterscheinungsbereich der Modalpartikeln ist die Umgangssprache. Sie treten also vor allem dort auf, wo spontan miteinander gesprochen wird. Daneben finden sich auch zahlreiche Modalpartikeln in Dialogen in der belletrischen Literatur, in der neueren Bühnensprache und in Filmdialogen” (Thurmair 1989:3). Krivonosov also wrote about the occurrence of modal particles in spoken language:

Die Sätze der natürlichen Sprache, die einen bestimmten logischen Modus ausdrücken, besitzen sehr oft modale Partikeln, die subjektive Stellungnahmen des Sprechers zum Gesagten ausdrücken. Folglich wird in der natürlichen Sprache

das Rationale, das Logische, auch durch seine 'emotionalen', subjektiv-modalen, konnotativen Mittel (durch Modalpartikeln) zum Ausdruck gebracht (Krivonosov 1989b:376).

It is true to say that there seem to be no linguists who do not agree that modal particles occur mainly in spoken, colloquial language.

Weinrich added to this:

Modalpartikeln sind textuelle Kontaktsignale. Sie dienen nicht ausdrücklich der Steuerung des Sprecherwechsels im Dialog, sind aber gleichwohl stark partnerbezogen und werden zwar nicht ausschließlich, aber doch vorzugsweise im mündlichen Sprachverkehr gebraucht. Durch Modalpartikeln gibt der Sprecher seinem Hörer insbesondere zu verstehen, wie die Geltung einer Feststellung 'modalisiert', das heißt, flexibel in den Kontext oder in die Situation eingebunden werden kann (Weinrich 1993:841).

We have already seen that modal particles have been considered more important in recent years, as their role has become increasingly better understood. Weydt wrote regarding their importance: "weil durch sie die sozialen Bezüge und die inter-personalen und kooperativen Aspekte, die in jeder Kommunikation vorhanden sind, das gegenseitige Einwirken der beiden Kommunikationspartner aufeinander, am deutlichsten ausgedrückt werden und weil gerade dieses etwas ist, das in steigendem Maße die Linguisten interessiert" (Weydt 1981b:46). Traditionally the written language was considered the correct form of language, with the spoken language viewed as secondary. But in recent years it has been realised that the spoken language is just as important as the written, but has other focuses. Weydt wrote about the differences between spoken and written language:

So steht also Umgangssprache mit Partnerbezogenheit und Abtönungsreichtum einerseits gegen andererseits Schriftsprache mit Sachbezogenheit und Abtönungsarmut. Die beiden Charakteristika der Schriftsprache sind dabei negativ: der Schriftsprache fehlen Partnerbezogenheit und Partikel. So

bleibt, was beiden gemeinsam ist: der sachliche Inhalt (Weydt 1969:102).

### 3.7 Modal particles in other languages

Modal particles cannot be translated into other languages by a single lexical item, because, rather than the words, the subjective meaning has to be translated. English does not use modal particles, but uses intonation and tag questions to provide such subjective nuances. Bublitz writes: "Es lassen sich keine englischen Partikeln nachweisen, deren semantische und pragmatische Strukturen denjenigen der deutschen Modalpartikeln ähnelten oder ihnen gar gleich seien" (Bublitz 1978:227). Despite the fact that such particles were generally felt to be nothing more than 'fillers', they can clearly be distinguished from genuine fillers such as *ah* in English and *hm* in German insofar as they are subject to various contextual restrictions and must therefore be considered an integral part of sentence structure.

The fact that many other languages do not use modal particles in the way that German does can lead to problems. "In der Tat gilt die deutsche Sprache als besonders partikelreich im Verhältnis zu anderen Sprachen; dieser Umstand führt zu Schwierigkeiten bei der Übersetzung der deutschen Partikeln, weil diese zumeist keine direkten Äquivalente in anderen Sprachen haben" (Helbig 1988: 11-2). This can lead to difficulties in translating the exact meanings of these words. "Es ist nicht möglich, modale Partikeln z.B. ins Russische (sowie in andere Sprachen) durch ein einziges Äquivalent zu übersetzen. Eigentlich wird nicht die modale Partikel selbst, sondern die subjektiv-modale Bedeutung des ganzen Satzes übersetzt" (Krivonosov 1989a:32-3). It is often the case when translating German texts into other languages that the text has to be re-written to fully

incorporate the meanings of modal particles.

It seems that many of the modal particles in German do not stem from Indo-European, as their history is relatively short when compared to the other functions of such words. This is perhaps why other Indo-European languages such as English do not use modal particles, and only in the time since Indo-European has the language which developed into German used these words. Hentschel writes: "Damit liegt die Vermutung nahe, daß nicht nur einige, sondern alle Abtönungspartikeln aus anderen Wortklassen in die metakommunikative Verwendungsweise überführt wurden" (Hentschel 1986:6). English does seem to be the only Germanic language which does not use modal particles. Other languages which have identified modal particles as a special group of function words are Dutch<sup>14</sup>, Norwegian, Finnish and some Slavic languages. It can, however, be seen that modal particles have been used for many years in the German language. "Abtönungspartikeln lassen sich schon früh in der Geschichte der deutschen Sprache nachweisen und können in einzelnen Fällen bis ins Althochdeutsche zurückverfolgt werden" (Hentschel and Weydt 1989:15). The main problem is that modal particles can only be traced back historically in the written language, which has never been the main area in which modal particles were used, as compared with the spoken language. But looking back at texts that have been found, it can be seen that the use and meaning of modal particles in German has not changed much in the last 700 years (Weydt 1981b:57).

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<sup>14</sup> Examples of modal particles in Dutch are the difference between: Doe het, doe het *maar* and doe het *maar even* (Do it, just do it and just do it now). Also: Dat is *toch* zo? (Isn't that so?). Je bent *toch* niet bang? (You aren't scared, are you?).

### 3.8 Further functions of modal particles

Some modal particles give the hearer extra information, which could be about the speaker's opinion or thoughts. Other particles can imply that the hearer should already know what is being said. Heringer writes: "Der Sprecher setzt voraus, daß der Hörer weiß, von welchem Sachverhalt gesagt wird, daß er zutrifft. Das ist einleuchtend, sonst würde der Hörer nichts verstehen" (Heringer 1988:736). An example of this would be: *Das habe ich dir doch schon erzählt*. Modal particles can also be used for *Dialogsteuerung*, where they structure a conversation or signal speaker change, hesitation and desire to speak. They can imply that which is not said explicitly. They can also check that the speaker understands what is being said. As Bublitz writes: "Einige Modalpartikeln und bestimmte Arten von Vergewisserungsfragen und 'tag-questions' werden vom Sprecher häufig verwendet, um sich der für die Kommunikation notwendigen Gemeinsamkeiten zu versichern, d.h. um festzustellen, ob der Sachverhalt wirklich, wie angenommen, dem Hörer bekannt und gegenwärtig ist" (Bublitz 1978:16). Modal particles can be used to check that the speaker and hearer are referring to knowledge common to both of them. Burkhardt agreed with this: "Abtönungspartikeln seien Mittel des Ausdrucks - und so auch des Vollzugs - von Präsuppositionen des Sprechers hinsichtlich der Beschaffenheit der gemeinsamen Situation bzw. in bezug auf das Wissen des Hörers" (Burkhardt 1985: 242). In another article he declares:

Aber gerade dadurch, daß man dem Hörer Vertrauen in sein Wissen anzeigt, gibt man ihm - wie sich aus konversationellen Implikaturen ergibt - auch seinen Zweifel an diesem Wissen kund - sonst brauchte man nicht extra die Information zu

geben. Durch die Partikeln *ja*, *doch*, wird also zugleich Vertrauen in die Hörerinformation und Zweifel an dessen Wissen signalisiert und dadurch die behauptende Illokution im Sinne einer Abschwächung abgetönt (Burkhardt 1982b:152).

Again it seems that all linguists are in agreement about this function of modal particles. Thurmair said: "Im wesentlichen dienen Modalpartikeln dazu, eine Äußerung in den Interaktionszusammenhang einzubinden. Mit ihnen kann auf den Gesprächspartnern gemeinsames Wissen verwiesen werden, auf Annahmen oder Erwartungen von Sprecher oder Hörer, es kann ein bestimmter Bezug zu einer vorangegangenen Äußerung angezeigt werden, oder es kann der Stellenwert, den der Sprecher der Äußerung beimißt, gekennzeichnet werden. Insofern modifizieren die Modalpartikeln auf je spezifische Weise Illokutionstypen" (Thurmair 1989:2). To summarise in Weydt's words, "Auch die Abtönungspartikel werden als persönliche Ausprache empfunden. Sie enthalten immer ein Element, das der Hörer als an sich selbst gerichtet betrachten kann: der subjektive Gehalt betrifft nicht so sehr die Sache, als den, der von ihr vernimmt. Oft nimmt die Partikel auch direkt Bezug auf die vorhergehende Partnerrede" (Weydt 1969:91).

### **3.9 Modal particle combinations**

There are restrictions in the way in which particles can be combined, although it is often the case that combinations are spontaneous and particle combinations are very common. Helbig discussed the ability of modal particles to combine:

Die Kombinierbarkeit von Partikeln im Satz ist generell dadurch beschränkt, daß nicht alle (Abtönungs-) Partikeln in allen (formalen) Satzarten und in allen (kommunikativen) Sprechhandlungstypen vorkommen können. Darüber hinaus wird diese Kombinierbarkeit auf Grund der

Vereinbarkeit/Unvereinbarkeit der speziellen Funktionen der einzelnen Partikeln stark eingeschränkt (Helbig 1988:76).

In the case of combined particles, both particles seem to change their meaning slightly to accommodate a new meaning for their combination. Doherty writes about particle combination: "If particles are combined with each other, they are subject to certain restrictions in regard to the order in which they may be used" (Doherty 1985:114). She continues: "The particles are ordered by what can be called their assertive power, which is defined as the distance of its evaluation from knowledge. The nearer it gets to knowledge, the greater its assertive power is. A particle of higher assertive power will always come before one of lower assertive power" (Doherty 1985:114-5). For example *ja*, which implies that the knowledge the sentence expresses is true and has the greatest assertive power, will come before other modal particles. *Doch* asserts or implies and is less assertive than *ja*, but more assertive than *wohl*, which changes the idea into a hypothesis; therefore, *doch* will appear after *ja* but before *wohl*. For example: *er ist doch wohl nicht gefahren* and not *\*er ist wohl doch nicht gefahren*.

In general it is the case that: "Semantically unacceptable combinations will be filtered out either because they contain semantically contradictory structures or because they violate a general selection restriction or idiosyncratic contextual restriction introduced at some stages of the derivation" (Doherty 1985:141). But modal particles can be used in combination for specific functions, as Rost-Roth writes: "Von daher sind auch Partikelkombinationen in Argumenten besonders effizient. Sie zeigen einen direkten Zusammenhang mit der Komplexität von Argumentstrukturen, da

mittels Partikelkombinationen auch unterschiedliche Argumentfunktionen gleichzeitig realisiert werden können" (Rost-Roth 1998:320). It seems that particle combinations do have rules governing them, in which order they are placed; however, when it comes to combining particles it seems to be very common to do so. Such combinations are usually spontaneous and rarely thought out beforehand, and the listener is not consciously aware of which particles are used, rather of the message they bring across, as Rudolph noted: "Man möchte eher annehmen, daß dem Sprecher die Benutzung der Kombination kaum bewußt ist. Andererseits achtet zwar der aufmerksame Hörer weniger auf die Form der Äußerung als auf ihren Inhalt, aber dennoch wird sein Verständnis des Inhalts ganz entschieden mitbestimmt durch die Form" (Rudolph 1983:58).

### **3.10 Theme and rheme**

In terms of theme-rheme structure the modal particle tends to come before the rheme of the sentence; that is, before whatever is the new information in the sentence. Hentschel wrote: "Die Partikel steht offensichtlich **vor** demjenigen Satzteil, dem der höchste Mitteilungswert zukommt; dieser Teil des Satzes wird gewöhnlich als 'Rhema' bezeichnet" (Hentschel 1986:211). This also means that they tend to follow the theme, that which is already known. Krivososov wrote: "Auf logisch-grammatischer Ebene dienen modale Partikeln als eine Grenze des 'Gegebenen' (Thema) und des 'Neuen' (Rhema), und sie beteiligen sich dementsprechend an der kommunikativen Gliederung des Satzes" (Krivososov 1989a:33). They also tend to stand near the finite verb of the sentence. Krivososov wrote:

Die modale Partikel steht in der Regel in der unmittelbaren

Nähe des Verbs, dem sie strukturell angehört und mit dem sie ein einheitliches analytisches Prädikat bildet. Zwischen dem Verb und der modalen Partikel können nur solche NG [Nebensatzglied - NB] stehen, die durch die entsprechende Melodieführung nicht hervorgehoben werden (...). Das ist das Gegebene im Satz, oder das Thema der Aussage (Krivonosov 1965b:502).

Weydt and Hentschel added to this: "Wenn allerdings das finite Verb das Rhema des Satzes bildet, kann die Partikel diese Position vor dem Verb nicht einnehmen und steht meistens am Ende des Satzes" (Hentschel and Weydt 1994:287). Examples regarding this are from Hentschel and Weydt and are that it is possible to say *Ulla hat doch ihrer Freundin das Buch geschenkt*, *Ulla hat ihrer Freundin doch das Buch geschenkt* as well as *Ulla hat ihrer Freundin das Buch doch geschenkt*, but it is not possible to say *\*Doch hat Ulla ihrer Freundin das Buch geschenkt*.

### **3.11 Children's and foreigners' use of modal particles**

The use of modal particles is a sub-conscious procedure; children are already found using them correctly from a young age. People use them without thinking, and cannot recall which particles and in which combinations they used them if questioned. The question is how children learn to use modal particles in the correct way. Very little research has been conducted on this issue. However, Weydt said: "Da die Partikeln (Abtönungspartikeln) komplexe partner- und kontext-bezogene Relationen zum Ausdruck bringen, ist zu untersuchen, wieweit ihr Auftreten in der Rede und ihr Erwerb mit der Fähigkeit, eben diese Bezüge kognitiv zu erfassen zusammenhängt" (Weydt 1981b:61). This does, however, mean that those people learning German as a foreign language have problems learning how

to use them, as there seem to be no definitive rules, and often those learning German are not prepared for using them. When foreign learners were questioned about two speakers by Harden and Rösler<sup>15</sup>, the majority found the speaker with particles sounded more friendly and were more eager to speak with them. The language with particles came across as more friendly, warmer, more interesting, more lively, more personable and more expressive. When native speakers leave out particles where they would be expected, there is usually a specific reason for it, for example, to be impolite, coarse or wanting to lack diplomacy. Even listeners with no knowledge of German found the conversation without particles less natural, suggesting their addition is more than purely grammatical, as Harden and Rösler illustrated: "Da sie für die Beurteilung nur ihre naive Intuition zur Grundlage hatten, können wir annehmen, daß das Fehlen von Partikeln in einer auf Deutsch geführten Unterhaltung unnatürlich wirkt" (Harden and Rösler 1981:72). Krivisonov added to this: "Zwei gleiche Sätze, einer mit und der andere ohne Modalpartikeln, können nicht als ein und derselbe Satz aufgefaßt werden. Die Sätze sind verschieden nach ihrer Kommunikationsabsicht und können kaum in derselben Situation gebraucht werden ..." (Krivonosov 1965a:588). The more impersonal the communication, the less scope there is for modal particles.

### **3.12 Summation**

In summary, modal particles are an integral part of language. As Adler wrote: "Die reinen Füllwörter sind weder an sich Modewörter noch bloße Flickwörter, also weder Aufputz noch notdürftiges Vehikel. Sie

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<sup>15</sup> The experiments discussed here are described in: Harden and Rösler 1981.

runden den Sprech- und Schreibstil ab, oft wäre der Stil ohne sie ärmlich. Sie fördern den Gesamtverlauf der Sätze, die durch sie beweglicher und auch geschmeidiger werden" (Adler 1964:54). To discover the function of modal particles the language in which they are used needs to be examined. "Die Bedeutung der Gesprächswörter zu bestimmen oder zu beschreiben heißt, ihre Funktion im Hinblick auf die illokutionäre Struktur von Gesprächen zu untersuchen und zu beschreiben" (Burkhardt 1982b:144). It is not always easy to describe the function of modal particles. "Die harte Nuß der semantischen Beschreibung von Partikeln ist, daß sie eher global etwas signalisieren. Es ist deswegen schwierig, die genaue Wirkung in einem Satz zu beschreiben, und ebenso schwierig, eine allgemeine Bedeutung anzugeben" (Heringer 1988:739). There are still problems with modal particles research which have been discussed in previous sections: the homonymy of modal particles, the problem of word class and finding an exact function and meaning for them. These problems need to be overcome with continuing research into this word class. The basic functions of modal particles are this, according to Sandig:

Die Beschreibung der Abtönungspartikel enthält also mindestens folgende Gesichtspunkte: den Satz, der geäußert wird, um den Sprechakt zu vollziehen und als dessen Teil die Partikel gebraucht wird, das Sprecher-Hörer-Verhältnis, durch vorausgegangene Interaktion gegebene Voraussetzungen und schließlich die Verpflichtungen, die nach dem Interesse des Sprechers durch die Verwendung der Partikel beim Hörer verstärkt werden (Sandig 1979:86).

The importance of modal particles has only been fully realised in recent years: "Daß Abtönungspartikeln eine Bedeutung haben, ist eine Feststellung, die möglicherweise immer noch der Erläuterung bedarf, obgleich sie inzwischen wohl als allgemein anerkannt

betrachtet werden kann" (Hentschel 1986:120). If particles do not have a meaning, then why would so many speaker use them? Even though they do not affect the truth value of a sentence, this does not detract from their importance. "Wenn ein Element weglaßbar ist, so bedeutet dies folglich gerade nicht, daß es keine Bedeutung trägt" (Hentschel 1986:120). Thurmair also realised that this was a problem: "Ob Modalpartikeln überhaupt eigene Bedeutung haben, ist immer wieder diskutiert worden. Der Grund dafür liegt sicher auch darin, daß Modalpartikeln aus jedem Satz weglaßbar sind, ohne das ein erkennbarer Informationsverlust eintritt" (Thurmair 1989:2). Modal particles stress the informality, the degree of relationship between speakers and the interest of those speaking. "Abtönungspartikeln haben die Funktion, das Gesagte im Kontext der Rede zu situieren. Sie geben dem Gegenüber Informationen darüber, in welchem Zusammenhang ein Satz geäußert wurde und ermöglichen es ihm, ihn pragmatisch einzuordnen" (Hentschel and Weydt 1994:283).

Before we examine some selected modal particles in more detail, we conclude this general section on modal particles with a quotation from Fábrič about the function of these words: "For a better understanding of modal particles it is crucial to view them as words with complex functions and meanings. The differentiation of function and meaning provides a clue to setting modal particles apart from their etymons. The meaning of particles becomes manifest on the level of sentence predication" (Fábrič 1989:386).

### **3.13 Some selected Modal Particles**

The particles which will be discussed in more detail in the following sections are: *eben*, *halt*, *doch*, *denn* and *eigentlich*, which is the order

they will be looked at in this chapter. This follows on from the initial introduction and explanation of modal particles in general, and will contain more information in greater detail to explain the uses and functions of these five modal particles. Notwithstanding the fact that Doherty says that contextual restrictions of particles are highly idiosyncratic and not subject to generalizations (Doherty 1985), this will be our goal in the following sections, to give a basic description of these five particles. The five particles will be those examined in the corpus in chapter 5, and particularly *eben* and *halt* will be of great importance.

### 3.14 Eben

The Duden<sup>16</sup> definition of the modal particle *eben* is that it conveys the meaning of *nun einmal* and *einfach*. Some of the examples given are *das ist eben so* and *du hättest ihm das Geld eben nicht geben sollen*. A comprehensive explanation of the function of these modal particles and examples is found in Martin Durrell's revised *Hammer Grammar* (Durrell 1993). In the *Hammer Grammar* *eben* is described as having four meanings; it can emphasize an inescapable conclusion: *Das ist eben so*; in commands *eben* emphasizes that there is no real alternative: *dann bleib eben sitzen!*; used before another word or in response to a question or statement it has the sense of exactly, precisely or just: *das wäre mir eben recht*; and it can lessen the force of a negative: *sie ist nicht eben fleißig*.

*Eben* can also convey a sense of unalterability, the fact that a situation cannot be changed. In some cases a sense of resignation can be felt, or sometimes even a feeling of something undesired.

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<sup>16</sup> The edition of the Duden used in this chapter is that of Mannheim 1977.

Brausse writes "*Eben*, das im Aussagesatz und in Aufforderungen vorkommen kann, wird allgemein als Ausdruck der Resignation, der Unabänderlichkeit eines (negativ gewerteten) Tatbestandes aufgefaßt" (Brausse 1986:209). An example of this is *Das Spiel ist eben verloren*, suggesting, *wir können es nicht ändern*, meaning that the game has been lost, and there is nothing that can be done about it. Helbig refers to this function as that *eben* "Macht eine Aussage kategorisch, stellt sie als evident und allgemeingültig hin, immunisiert sie weitgehend gegen andere Begründungen und suggeriert die innere Notwendigkeit des Sachverhalts und vor allem seine Unabänderlichkeit, deutet an, daß der Sprecher den Sachverhalt nicht verändern kann" (Helbig 1988:120). Trömel-Plötz commented on the role of *eben* as well:

Durch die Modifizierung mit *eben* wird der Status der Behauptung geändert: die Behauptung wird zur kategorischen, axiomatischen Aussage, die unmittelbar evident, allgemein gültig und für alle Zeiten zutreffend ist. ... Mit *eben* wird also eine Immunisierung der Behauptung erreicht: es wird eine innere Notwendigkeit des Sachverhalts und seine Unabänderlichkeit suggeriert (Trömel-Plötz 1979:321).

Compare also the case of *das ist eben so*, which suggests again the feeling that nothing can be changed, and the speaker is suggesting that it could not be any other way. It can also be seen as the only conclusion to a situation; *dann steh eben etwas früher auf*, where according to the Helbig *eben* "drückt aus, daß die Handlung (zu der aufgefördert wird) sich als (einzig mögliche) Konsequenz aus dem vorhergehenden Geschehen ergibt, das in einem Konditionalsatz angefügt ist oder werden kann" (Helbig and Helbig 1995:50).

Sometimes *eben* can be used as a conclusion to the argument of another speaker, or of a previous conversation. As Brausse states:

"Eben kennzeichnet eine Äußerung als Schlußfolgerung aus einer anderen im Text oder im Gespräch vorangegangenen Äußerung oder aus einem Geschehen des Situationskontextes, das als Argument für den durch *eben* gekennzeichneten Satz dienen kann" (Brausse 1986: 211). *Eben* does not necessarily mean that an argument has been proven objectively, but that the speaker takes it for the truth, according to Brausse: "Der Sprecher gibt mit *eben* aber zu verstehen, daß er die geäußerte Ansicht durch ein weiteres Indiz nunmehr für gesichert hält. *Eben* drückt also nicht aus, daß ein Sachverhalt objektiv bewiesen ist, sondern daß er dem Sprecher als bewiesen gilt" (Brausse 1986:219). *Eben* also suggests a common past experience between the speakers which can be actual or desired on the part of the speaker, for example *dann nimmst du eben den teuren Mantel*, where it is understood *wenn die billigen dir alle sowieso nicht gefallen*. However, *eben* does not only have negative connotations. "Die Bewertung des Sachverhalts spielt keine Rolle für die Bedeutung von *eben*. Es gibt auch keine systematische Beziehung zwischen Bewertung und Satzintonation" (Brausse 1986:222).

When explaining something to someone, *eben* can be used to suggest that it is obvious, for example, when describing how to fix something; *das ist eben der .... Eben* can also be used to explain about having to meet requirements; when explaining that you have to re-sit an exam because of illness, *dies ist eben ein strenges Gymnasium*. Bublitz wrote: "*Eben* in modaler Funktion bezieht sich auf ein vorliegendes Problem, das vom Gesprächspartner nicht gelöst werden kann, für das der Sprecher mit dem *eben*-Satz eine einfache Lösung anbietet ... *Eben* in Aussagen steht daher gewöhnlich in Erklärungen, die als einzig mögliche und vorhandene gestellt

werden" (Bublitz 1978:81). He continues: "Dies scheint auch zu erklären, warum *eben* nicht in Fragen vorkommen kann, mit denen ein Sprecher gewöhnlich nicht signalisieren kann, daß es über die Proposition nicht weiteres zu sagen gibt" (Bublitz 1978:82). In this case *eben* is used very differently to *eigentlich* and *vielleicht*, which can further the interest of the listener and encourage further questions. In this case, however, *eben* signals the end of the conversation regarding this specific topic. *Eben* can also be associated with a linking factor: "*Eben*-Äußerungen unterliegen im Unterschied zu solchen mit *ja* oder *doch* bestimmten Sequenzierungsbedingungen: sie knüpfen immer an einen Vorgängerzug an" (Thurmair 1989: 120).

*Eben* and *halt* are seen generally to be synonymous, however, one of the differences is that they are seen as regional variants, whereby *eben* is used in North Germany and *halt* is used in South Germany, this is illustrated in the map found in Appendix 2. *Eben* is slightly more common than *halt*, but is sometimes seen as the slightly less friendly option when compared to *halt*. Franck wrote: "HALT und EBEN werden hier als regionale Varianten betrachtet. Diese Vereinfachung stimmt jedoch nur solange, wie ihre Verwendung in den regional nur minimal gefärbten Varianten der Hochsprache beschrieben wird und nicht ihre Verwendungen in den verschiedenen Dialekten selbst" (Franck 1980:235). Within the various forms of German dialects, the meanings of *eben* and *halt* can no longer be seen to be identical, as they may be used differently. Many of the modal particles can be interchanged quite freely without changing the meaning of the sentence significantly. For example, the particle *eben* can frequently be interchanged with *halt*, *einfach*, *gerade* and *genau*;

although with only certain ones in different cases. The *eben* which is referred to as the *Unabänderlichkeits-eben* in Hartog and Ruttenauer's article, can be replaced by *einfach* and *halt*, where these suggest a range of meanings from an opposition to a more meaningless filler; but in the case of the *Hervorhebungs-eben* this can only be replaced with *gerade* and *genau*, where these suggest an emphasizing role. These are all different meanings of *eben*, and this is reflected in their intonation. "So trägt das Möglichkeits-*eben* den Hauptakzent, während das Hervorhebungs-*eben* im allgemeinen einen Nebenakzent trägt und das Unabänderlichkeits-*eben* unbetont ist" (Hartog and Ruttenauer 1982:79).

Hartog and Ruttenauer summarised the uses of *eben*: "Es werden zwei Kernbedeutungen unterschieden, die man annäherungsweise als Unabänderlichkeits- und als Hervorhebungs-*eben* bezeichnen kann, sowie ein *eben*, das nur in gewissen stereotypen Redewendungen vorkommt und Möglichkeits-*eben* genannt wird" (Hartog and Ruttenauer 1982:69). Hentschel supplements the summary of *eben* thus: "*Eben* und *halt* können in Assertionen, Imperativen und deren Paraphrasen sowie in Intonationsfragen auftreten. In Exklamationen, Interrogativsätzen sowie in selbständigen Konditionalsätzen ist ihr Gebrauch nicht möglich" (Hentschel 1986:164).

### 3.15 Halt

The Duden definition of *halt* mentions an implication that a feeling of resignation is present in the statement and the examples given to describe its use are *das ist halt nicht anders*, *dagegen kann man halt nichts machen* and *damit muß man halt rechnen*. The Hammer

Grammar merely describes *halt* as being the south German alternative to *eben* in some cases, and gives no examples of its use. Hentschel believes that the meanings of *halt* and *eben* are similar, and that dialectal differences are the only separation. "Da die Partikeln 'halt' und 'eben', wie gezeigt werden konnte, in ihrem meta-kommunikativen Gebrauch bedeutungsgleich sind, muß es für ihr Nebeneinanderbestehen andere, stilistische (konnotative), dialektale oder diastratische Ursachen geben" (Hentschel 1986:174). She continues in another article: "Diese beiden Partikeln werden traditionell als völlig gleichbedeutende dialektale Varianten angesehen, deren Zuordnung zum süd- bzw. norddeutsche Sprachbereich bisher als eindeutig galt" (Hentschel 1982:231-2). Weinrich was also of the opinion that these two modal particles have the same meaning: "Die Modalpartikeln *eben* und *halt* haben die gleiche Bedeutung, die mit dem Merkmal <ERWARTUNG> beschrieben werden kann. Durch die Bedeutung dieser Modalpartikeln kann der Sprecher einer Feststellung den Charakter eines offensichtlich erwartbaren Sachverhalts verleihen" (Weinrich 1993:848). Thurmair did not agree with these assumptions that *eben* and *halt* were synonyms:

Dafür spricht zum einen ihr unterschiedliches Verhalten in den Kombinationen (...) und die Tatsache, daß sie miteinander kombiniert werden können (echt synonyme Partikeln wie z.B. eh und sowieso werden nach meinen Beobachtungen nie kombiniert) und zum anderen die Tatsache, daß *eben* und *halt* nicht beliebig austauschbar sind (Thurmair 1989:124).

She continued: "Überspitzt könnte man vielleicht sagen: *halt* kann immer dann nicht durch *eben* ersetzt werden, wenn das Plausible nicht evident ist; da aber umgekehrt das Evidente (in der Regel) auch plausibel ist, ist erklärt, warum *eben* immer durch *halt* zu ersetzen ist"

(Thurmair 1989:128). One of the other cases where *halt* cannot replace *eben* is when *eben* is stressed. In some cases *halt* and *eben* do not mean the same thing, for example in the sentence *Du kannst deine Freunde schon mitbringen. Wir haben halt kein Bier mehr* and *Wir haben eben kein Bier mehr*. Here *halt* can be seen to be more neutral, whereas *eben* seems to give across the message that the friends are not really welcome. *Eben* and *halt* are not always interchangeable. Hartog and Ruttenauer commented: "Wie aus unserer Analyse des *eben* hervorgeht, kann das nicht stimmen, da *halt* nur mit dem Unabänderlichkeits-*eben* austauschbar ist, nicht aber mit dem Hervorhebungs-*eben*" (Hartog and Ruttenauer 1982:78).

*Halt* can be used to advise, or suggest doing something: *drück halt mal ein Auge zu*, but cannot be used to order someone to do something. As in the case of *eben*, *halt* can also be used to show the unalterability of something: "die Einsicht des Sprechers in die Unabänderlichkeit des geäußerten Sachverhalts" (Helbig 1988:158), for example *die Prüfung ist halt zu schwer*. It also has the feeling of resignation, as there may be no other possibilities, and is often used in conjunction with *dann* : *dann nimm halt die S-Bahn*.

Some linguists (e.g. Weinrich) say that because *halt* is more dialectal, it does not have the feel of 'know it all' as much as *eben* can in certain circumstances, when *eben* can seem a little patronising, for example *du bist eben für das harte Arbeitsleben viel zu zart!* Grimm is one of the linguists who said that *halt* is warmer and more friendly a modal particle than *eben*. This is a viewpoint which Gerhard and Agnes Helbig agree with. They also feel that *halt* should be considered a stylistic variant of *eben*, with *halt* the weaker and friendlier form of the two (Helbig and Helbig 1995:68). Weinrich also

wrote of this aspect of *halt*: "Im Unterschied zu *eben* hat die Modalpartikel einen dialektalen Einschlag. Sie ist vorwiegend im süddeutschen Sprachraum heimisch. Mit der dialektalen Färbung ist *halt* weniger rechthaberisch" (Weinrich 1993:849).

In requests and demands *halt* is more common: *wenn dich die Schule langweilt, (dann) denk halt schon an das Wochenende. Halt* does not often appear with questions, although it can be combined with almost every other particle (except perhaps *etwa* and *vielleicht*). Just like *eben*, *halt* can reflect back to an aspect previously mentioned. "Halt' verweist wie 'eben' auf den Zusammenhang der Äußerung mit den 'zuvor' oder 'eher' genannten (oder als bekannt vorausgesetzten) Umständen und Bedingungen, auf denen der Satz basiert" (Hentschel 1986:172).

Helbig summarises the meaning of *halt* thus: "Als **Gesamtbedeutung** für die Partikel *halt* kann die Einstellung des Sprechers angesehen werden, daß der Sachverhalt seinem Eingreifen entzogen ist und deshalb als unabänderlich verstanden wird" (Helbig 1988:159). Weydt added to this:

Bisher wurde *halt* in der Literatur weitgehend als bedeutungsgleiche süddeutsche Variante von *eben* angesehen. Nach neueren Erkenntnissen ist diese Interpretation jedoch nicht haltbar. Die beiden Abtönungspartikeln bestehen im alemannischen Sprachraum schon seit langem nebeneinander. ... Dabei unterscheiden sich *halt* und *eben* nicht in ihrer Bedeutung - die in beiden Fällen mit 'Unabänderlichkeit' paraphrasiert werden könnte -, wohl aber in ihrer Emotionalität. *Halt* wirkt eher freundlich, während *eben* stärker als sachlich und kühl empfunden wird (Weydt and Hentschel 1983:13).

### 3.16 Doch

*Doch* is one of the most common modal particles in the German

language along with *ja* (Hentschel 1986:12). The Duden definition of *doch* is that it can emphasize a question, statement or desire. The examples given are *es wird doch nichts passiert sein?* as well as *das hast du doch gewußt?* The Hammer Grammar has quite a large number of possible meanings for *doch*. It can indicate a certain degree of disagreement with what has just been said: *ich habe doch recht gehabt*. Unstressed it may indicate gently a reason for disagreement, for example *wir wollten doch heute Abend ins Kino gehen*. Harden believes that this role of *doch* is very important as it can be an "Ausdruck einer Adversität. In der betonten Form tritt diese sehr deutlich zutage. ... In der unbetonten Form ist der adversative Charakter z.T. kaum noch zu erkennen" (Harden 1983:25). It can have the effect of turning a statement into a question expecting a positive answer: *Du kannst mir doch helfen*. In commands it can add a note of urgency or impatience: *reg dich doch nicht so auf!* In *w-* questions (*wo, warum, wann* and other such questions) it can ask for confirmation of an answer, for example *wie heißt doch euer Hund?*, especially if the speaker is attempting to recall something which he has said before, and in these situations *doch* can act as an invitation for the listener to remind the speaker. It can also show the speaker's wish for a positive answer from the listener: "Der Sprecher möchte sich rückversichern und vergewissern (...) und erwartet eine Bestätigung" (Helbig and Helbig 1995:41). It can emphasize the speaker's surprise that something is the case: *wie winzig doch alles von hier oben aussieht!* *Doch* can also try to dispel feelings of resistance and misgiving, as in: *Kommen Sie doch ruhig hierher*. König writes of *doch*: "*Doch* is primarily used to indicate inconsistencies between a new proposition and already existing

assumptions ... [this] is most obvious in declarative sentences used as a response as well as in imperatives" (König 1991:181). *Doch* can also be used to encourage correction on the part of the listener: "Der Sprecher zeigt also durch *doch* neben dem Verweis auf Bekanntes auch an, daß der Gesprächspartner seine bisherigen Annahmen und Erwartungen oder sein bisheriges Verhalten korrigieren soll und zwar aufgrund des ihm eigentlich bekannten Wissens" (Thurmair 1989: 112).

"The conditions for the use of *doch* are more complex than those governing the use of *ja* and *denn*, not only because *doch* is acceptable in more contexts than the other two particles, but also because it has a much wider range of semantic variation than *ja* and *denn*" (Doherty 1985:105-6). When stressed, *doch* can be used in questions and be negated there, which is rather unusual for a modal particle. Whereas unstressed *doch* can only be used in assertions or secondary questions, and contrasted *doch* may only be used in proper questions; *doch* can be made the object of opaque attitudes and, under certain conditions as mentioned, even be negated: *Konrad ist wahrscheinlich doch verreist?*; *Ist Konrad doch verreist?* and *Ist Konrad nicht doch verreist?*

*Doch* has a wide range of semantic variation. Frequently *doch* can be used to refer to what has been previously said; this is referred to as the *erinnerndes doch* (the reminding *doch*), for example *wir waren doch letztens bei Eva ....* . There is also an emphatic *doch* - *Das ist doch das letzte!* At other times *doch* can be used to try and change the listener's attitude; perhaps in a critical way as in the case of *so, du hast ihn doch geschlagen?* *Doch* can also be used to refer to something previously mentioned: *Diesen Plan hatten wir doch schon*

*neulich besprochen?* When referring to something in the past, *doch* tends to be very context related. This means that *doch* does not have an inherent positive or negative meaning. Franck shows this when she writes: "Auch Implikationen, die sich aus dem DOCH-Satz ergeben, wie z.B. negative oder positive Wertungen oder Empfehlungen, sind nur in Abhängigkeit vom relevanten Kontext, d.h. dem Vorgängerzug, auf den sich das DOCH bezieht, festzulegen" (Franck 1980:178). It can also refer to something which has been temporarily forgotten: *Wann waren wir doch das letzte mal in Paris?* Another function is its expression of wishes, for example *Käme der Brief doch bald! Hätte ich doch das Buch behalten!* Bublitz wrote: "Modales *doch* läßt sich in Aufforderungssätzen und in Aussagesätzen nachweisen, die als Aussagen, Fragen und Ausrufe fungieren können" (Bublitz 1978:104). He continued: "Mit dem Gebrauch von *doch* werden nicht nur Annahmen und Unterstellungen, sondern wird allgemein ein Fehlverhalten des Gesprächspartners zurückgewiesen" (Bublitz 1978:105). And also "Mit *doch* in Äußerungen ... wird nicht nur die Unwissenheit des Fragenden zurückgewiesen, sondern gleichzeitig eine implizite Gegenfrage gestellt im Sinne von: *Du weißt es und fragst, warum fragst du?*" (Bublitz 1978:105). The final reference to Bublitz regarding this modal particle will be about *doch* appearing in questions. He writes: "Auch mit *doch* kann ein Sprecher seine Zuversicht hinsichtlich einer zustimmenden Antwort signalisieren, da mit *doch* in Fragehandlungen potentielle Einwände des Hörers im vornhinein zurückgewiesen werden können und eine größere suggestive Wirkung zu erzielen ist" (Bublitz 1978:127).

Hentschel summarises the main function of *doch* thus: "Doch

thematisiert stets einen Widerspruch zwischen zwei Sachverhalten, die einander als These und Antithese gegenüberstehen" (Hentschel 1986:143).

### 3.17 Denn

In the Duden *denn* is given two meanings: The first is that it can emphasize the speaker's participation in questions in the sense of *überhaupt* or *eigentlich*, for example *was soll das denn?*, *was willst du denn?* and *wo ist er denn nur?* The other definition is that it can add emphasis to statements and can suggest a consequence in the sense of *also*, *schließlich* or *nun*. Examples of this are *so wollen wir denn verfahren* and *das ist denn doch die Höhe!* According to the Hammer Grammar *denn* is used exclusively in questions, although it cannot be used in secondary questions, for example *\*Konrad ist denn verreist?* is not grammatically correct. Usually it refers back to what has just been said or tones down a question, making it less blunt: *Warum muß er denn in die Stadt?* If there is an implicit or explicit negative element in the question, *denn* signals reproach and the question itself expects not an answer but a justification: *Wo bist denn du so lange geblieben?* *Denn* can convert some *w*-questions into rhetorical questions expecting a negative answer: *Was hat er denn schon damit gewonnen?* Yes/no questions with *denn* are used as exclamations of surprise: *Ist das Wetter denn nicht herrlich?* Harden agrees with this point of view, when he writes: "Entscheidungsfragen mit 'denn' drücken gewöhnlich eine Überraschung aus, die sich aus der Diskrepanz zwischen Erwartetem und dem nun gegen die Erwartung vermutlich Eintreffenden ergibt" (Harden 1983:43). In North German speech *denn* is often heard for the standard German time adverb

*dann*. Schatte wrote: "Es zeigt sich, daß das betonte denn ... nur eine in der gesprochenen Sprache in Norddeutschland und wohl auch in Leipzig durchaus übliche Variante von dann ist, die sich diachronisch ohne weiteres erklären läßt" (Schatte 1990:121-2).

As *denn* must be used with questions, it cannot be used with opaque sentence adverbs, for example: *\*Ist Konrad denn wahrscheinlich verreist?* which is not grammatically correct, as *wahrscheinlich* is not definite enough. But it can be used with transparent adverbs, which are acceptable in questions, as in *Ist Konrad denn wirklich verreist?* Often *denn* is used in questions in which the speaker expects that the listener will know the answer. Very occasionally *denn* is used in non-question situations, and its function there is that it "gibt aber in ambivalent verstehbaren Kontexten ihre Relief-Bedeutung ebenfalls gut zu erkennen" (Weinrich 1993:852).

*Denn* can be used within a question, making it more polite and less blunt: *Ich bring dich mit dem Auto nach Hause. Hast du denn ein Auto?* As we have seen, certain questions without modal particles come across as very impolite, as Bublitz discussed: "Fragen, die persönliche Sachverhalte (Eigennamen) oder persönliche Handlungen (Einkaufen) betreffen, klingen leicht schroff und auffordernd, wenn sie nicht mit Frageintonation und ohne Partikel gesprochen werden" (Bublitz 1978:61). *Denn* can also be used as a reproach in rhetorical-style questions: *Kannst du denn nicht endlich mit dem Rauchen aufhören?* Most rhetorical questions with *denn* contain an argumentative element, as Franck wrote: "Sowohl die monologischen wie die dialogischen rhetorischen DENN-Fragen beziehen sich argumentativ auf ein explizit genanntes oder nur unterstelltes Gegenargument des Hörers oder eines anderen

Opponenten in der Argumentation" (Franck 1980:226). But it can also make questions more natural and friendly, for example *wie spät ist es denn* and *wo kommst du denn her?* In yes/no questions *denn* is used about twice as often as *eigentlich*. In Hentschel's experiments *denn* was chosen for the friendlier questions, rather than neutral ones or sentences with other particles (Hentschel 1981). In what way does *denn* make a question more friendly? According to Weydt: "Der Sprecher stellt nicht nur die betreffende Frage, sondern er deutet mit Hilfe der dialoganaphorischen Bedeutung von *denn* zugleich auch an, daß etwas im Verhalten des anderen ihn zu dieser Frage motiviert" (Weydt 1989b:332). Using *denn* can also express surprise at what is being said, as Bublitz writes: "Fragesätze mit *denn* drücken gewöhnlich die Überraschung des Sprechers aus, die auf die Diskrepanz zwischen der Erwartung und einem aus der Situation oder der vorhergegangenen Äußerung des Gesprächspartners erschlossenem Satz zurückgeht" (Bublitz 1978:59).

*Denn* can also suggest to the listener that the speaker is referring to something that has already been discussed. Becker wrote about this that: "*Denn* stellt die Frage in einen kausal-logischen Zusammenhang mit einer vorhergegangenen Äußerung des Sprechers oder des Zuhörers oder mit Umständen, die beiden Gesprächspartnern soweit bekannt sind, daß ein bloßes *denn* genügt, um sie in die Frage einzubeziehen" (Becker 1976:8). *Denn* can also suggest that a question is externally motivated.

### 3.18 Eigentlich

In the Duden *eigentlich* is said to place heavier emphasis on questions, suggesting the strong involvement of the speaker, and can

also strengthen a reproach in the sense of *denn* and *überhaupt*. The examples given are: *was denkst du dir eigentlich?*, *wie geht es ihm eigentlich?* and *du könntest eigentlich etwas freundlicher sein*. According to the Hammer Grammar, *eigentlich* emphasizes that something is actually the case, even if it appears otherwise. It is often used to change the topic of conversation. When used unstressed in questions it tones the question down and makes it sound more casual: *Wie spät ist es eigentlich?* When stressed in w-questions it implies that the question has not yet been answered fully or satisfactorily and insists on the whole truth: *Wie heißt er eigentlich?* In statements it can be used to assert that something is the case, even if it seems to be otherwise: *Er scheint manchmal faul, aber er ist eigentlich sehr fleißig*.

*Eigentlich* can be used in imperative questions: *Kannst du eigentlich das Fenster öffnen?* *Eigentlich* can illustrate an objection the speaker has, that the listener may not be aware of, for example: *Das ist eigentlich mein Buch, aber es macht nichts*. It can be used to introduce a new topic, for example: *Ich muß eigentlich nach Berlin fahren*.

*Eigentlich* can be used in yes/no questions as well as w-questions. Questions with *eigentlich* give a new turn to a conversation which has already started. Because of this it cannot be used at the start of a conversation. König wrote: "Fragen mit *eigentlich* geben einem bereits vorher begonnenen Gespräch eine neue Richtung. Sie sind oft der Beginn eines neuen Themas and dienen der Klärung von Voraussetzungen für einen optimalen Verlauf des weiteren Gesprächs bzw. der weiteren Interaktion" (König 1977:124). Thurmair also writes about this: "Fragen mit *eigentlich* geben dem Gespräch

immer eine neue Wendung, mit ihnen wird ein neues Thema oder zumindest ein neuer Aspekt eines Themas eingeführt" (Thurmain 1989:281). It can also be used to return to a previous theme, when the conversation is moving in a different direction, or used by the speaker to signal that an answer was not sufficient and that more information is required. König also noted that *eigentlich* is not used in statements whose function is phatic communication (König 1977:124). It is, however, used to imply real interest in a question, for example: *wie geht's* as opposed to *wie geht es dir eigentlich?*

Harden summarised the function of *eigentlich* in this way: "Thematisierung einer zugrundeliegenden Wahrheit, eines Kerns, der, selbst wenn er im Widerspruch zu den beobachteten Oberflächenphänomenen steht, 'wahrer' ist als diese ... Damit nimmt 'eigentlich' immer bezug auf einen Gegensatz zwischen vordergründigen und tiefer liegenden Argumenten" (Harden 1983: 39).

### 3.19 Summary and conclusion

The first part of this chapter discussed modal particles in general, the findings of which can be found in section 3.12. The second part of this chapter dealt with the individual modal particles which will be looked at in the evaluation of the corpus to be analysed: *eben*, *halt*, *doch*, *denn* and *eigentlich*. These modal particles each have their own individual characteristics and are used for different purposes in conversation. *Eben* tends to emphasize a kind of resignation within sentences, it suggests that there is no real alternative to the suggestion being made. It can also carry the meaning of the speaker agreeing with what is being said. *Eben* can also be used as a

conclusion to the argument of another speaker or of a previous conversation. *Eben* and *halt* are generally seen as synonymous and used in the same way in different parts of Germany; where *eben* is used in North and *halt* in South Germany. It has become clear that this is not always the case, as these two modal particles can be combined and are also not always interchangeable with each other. *Halt* is generally considered to be softer and more friendly than *eben*. Although this can be the case, *halt* is still used to suggest feelings of resignation as well as advising or making a suggestion to another speaker. These two modal particles will play an important role as markers of speaker identity (where speakers think they come from) in the corpus analysed in chapter 5.

*Doch* is one of the most common modal particles in the German language and correspondingly has a wide range of meanings. It can, directly or indirectly, indicate reasons for disagreement with another speaker; it can turn statements into questions where a positive answer is expected; it can act as a request of confirmation of an answer; it can express the speaker's desire for something; it can emphasize the speaker's surprise and can be used to indicate inconsistencies in the conversation. *Denn* is used only in questions, and cannot be used in any other type of sentence. It can show an element of surprise and also tone down questions, where the speaker may want to be less blunt. *Denn* can also be used to show reproach in certain types of questions, as well as making other questions less aggressive. Finally, it can also be used to refer back to something discussed previously, or to remind a speaker that something should already be known.

Finally, *eigentlich*: this can emphasize that something is the case even if it seems unlikely. It can make questions more casual, as

well as showing true interest in the answer. *Eigentlich* can be used in imperative questions and can illustrate any objections the speaker has. *Eigentlich* cannot be used at the start of a conversation, as it gives a new turn to an already existing conversation.

From these points it can be seen that every individual modal particle can have many different functions within the sentence. Modal particles cannot be given an exact meaning, as each has to be judged within its individual context. Furthermore, the real and very significant importance of modal particles in the spoken language should be realised, and these words should not be disregarded as meaningless and empty as has so frequently been the case. As Eisenberg wrote: "Die Partikeln, diese Zaunkönige und Läuse im Pelz der Sprache, wurden lange Zeit und aus verschiedenen Gründen stiefmütterlich oder gar nicht behandelt. Wir bleiben dieser Tradition treu" (Eisenberg 1989:206).

## Chapter 4 Emotion

### 4.1 Introduction

As this thesis is concerned with the notion that the way people speak can be affected by their feelings and therefore the theory that emotion could affect language and the way it is used, we will first review some of the theories concerning emotion. Numerous psychologists, biologists, anthropologists and linguists have tried to define emotions, explaining what they are and how they are brought on and manifested in behaviour. Emotion and feelings are hard concepts to define. As Tischer wrote: "Wir verwenden das Wort 'Gefühl' im Alltag relativ problemlos, begegnen ihm in Massenmedien und Schlagertexten. Zweifel entsteht erst dann, wenn wir dazu gezwungen werden, 'Gefühl' zu definieren" (Tischer 1993:4). There appears to be no consensus on the definition of emotion; this area still requires much research to clarify the emotional aspect of human life.

### 4.2 The nature of emotion

Emotions are a part of everyday life: "Daß wir Gefühle haben, ist ein unumstößliche Gewißheit der Alltagserfahrung. Wir erleben sie, und wir sprechen über sie. Wie wir über sie reden, sagt viel über die Art, wie wir sie uns vorstellen, wie Gefühle alltagweltlich in dieser Kultur und auf dieser Stufe der geschichtlichen Entwicklung konzeptualisiert werden" (Fiehler 1990:40). Hascher said about the relations between emotion and communication: "Obwohl es bisher nicht gelungen ist, eindeutig zu erklären, was das Wesen von Emotionen ist, sind sie ein wichtiges Thema in der täglichen Kommunikation: Emotionen werden

häufig thematisiert, und es gibt eine Vielzahl an Wörtern, welche den emotionalen Zustand eines Individuums beschreiben" (Hascher 1994: 13). Forgas also thinks that our feelings can influence how we view life: "How do feelings influence our social perceptions and judgments? This question has been of intense interest to philosophers, artists and scientists, as well as lay people since time immemorial. Surprisingly, the scientific study of affective influences on social judgements is a fairly recent development" (Forgas 1991:3). From these quotes we can see that emotions are considered a very important aspect of life and communication. Battachi even considers emotions to be older than language. He wrote: "Man kann davon ausgehen, daß die Emotionen phylogenetisch betrachtet älter sind als die Sprache. Auch in ontogenetischer Perspektive zeigt sich, daß die meisten Emotionen vor der sprachlichen Entwicklung ausgebildet sind" (Battachi et al. 1996:10). He continues with saying that emotions are like a language, as they inform people. "Die Emotionen sind also auch eine Sprache (...), da sie eine informative Funktion ausüben" (Battachi et al 1996:25).

A prerequisite for emotion is that a situation be perceived as positive or negative for one's concern. Emotions come about when something important brings out these feelings, or when particular events correspond to or interfere with the person's concerns. According to Frijda: "Emotions are elicited by significant events. Events are significant when they touch upon one or more of the concerns of the subject. Emotions thus result from the interaction of an event's actual or anticipated consequences and the subject's concerns" (Frijda 1987:6). Certain events trigger certain reactions, for example attacking when angry, running when scared and comforting

a baby which is crying. Oatley and Jenkins discussed two aspects of emotions which describe their functions, as well as describing what emotions are:

1. An emotion is usually caused by a person consciously or unconsciously evaluating an event as relevant to a concern (a goal) that is important; the emotion is felt as positive when a concern is advanced and negative when a concern is impeded.
2. The core of an emotion is readiness to act and the prompting of plans; an emotion gives priority for one or a few kinds of action to which it gives a sense of urgency - so it can interrupt, or compete with, alternative mental processes or actions (Oatley and Jenkins 1996:96).

Emotions also have certain social values attached to them. There are different kinds of emotions and they are all brought out in different ways, as well as having different functions. Hascher wrote: "Es gibt verschiedene Emotionen, die aufgrund unterschiedlicher Auslöser oder Ursachen entstehen. Emotionen haben verschiedene innerliche und äußerliche Ausdrucksformen und üben unterschiedliche Funktionen aus" (Hascher 1994:25). Certain emotions may be viewed as positive or negative in society and certain behaviour may be associated with certain feelings and emotions. Armon-Jones wrote: "In particular, emotions are alleged to involve internalised social values so that the agent capable of feeling the appropriate emotion provides an autonomous and reliable adherent to the values marked by the emotion" (Armon-Jones 1986:57). Fiehler also discussed the social values of emotions: "Wie schon bei der Emotionsgenese möchte ich verdeutlichen, daß die Tatsache, wie wir in bestimmten Situationen fühlen und welche Emotionen wir manifestieren, ein sehr viel stärker *sozial geprägtes* Phänomen ist, als unser alltagsweltliches Verständnis es uns zunächst glauben macht" (Fiehler 1990:77). Different emotions may be viewed differently in different cultures and

countries, and the words to describe them may have other connotations. Emotions can also be seen as a link between different cultures, and can help one group of people understand another group. As Oatley and Jenkins explained: "If there were no universals of emotion, there would be no basis for concerted world action on anything, no human sympathy for the oppressed, no outrage against tyranny, no passion for justice, no concern for protecting or sharing the world's limited resources" (Oatley and Jenkins 1996:310). But do people speaking the same language understand the same emotions? "Die Mitglieder einer Kultur- bzw. Sprachgemeinschaft werden dazu neigen, unter ein und demselben Emotionswort unterschiedliche Bedeutungsstrukturen zu verstehen, dennoch sind innerhalb einer Sprachgemeinschaft deutliche Konvergenzen der Wortbezüge und Wortfunktionen zu erwarten" (Battachi et al. 1996:82). People must share some knowledge to allow effective communication: "Verbal communication of all kinds presupposes shared background knowledge. Speakers, if they want to be understood, must be able to assess the hearer-interactants' social position within a known or knowable social universe" (Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz 1994:374). Emotions are like guiding structures, they enable us to communicate with others and understand our feelings. Only if we understand our emotions and how best to convey them to others can we make other people understand what we are feeling.

Children are described as having only certain emotions at a very young age, such as distress and fear, as these two feelings reflect their needs in this early part of their life. As children grow up they learn to control their emotions, and acquire new ones. Even very young children can communicate their needs to their parents, who

can react to these requirements. Armon-Jones wrote in connection to this that: "... age-related emotion ascriptions reflect sociocultural beliefs and values concerning intellectual and moral development which themselves embody particular conceptions of ideal age-specific emotions" (Armon-Jones 1986:77). This suggests that in many societies people are expected to control their emotions to fit in with the expected norm, and that this is a learned behaviour, which is acquired as children grow up. Children can also be affected by their parents in the way that they express themselves linguistically and emotionally. Moreover, parents can influence the way children cope with emotion and how it affects them: "Es kann konstatiert werden, daß die Eltern oder Pflegepersonen einen entscheidenden Einfluß darauf haben, welche Emotionen auf welche Weise kognitiv repräsentiert werden und wie mit ihnen umgegangen wird" (Battachi et al. 1996:81).

According to Oatley and Jenkins the theories regarding emotions can be split into three groups: biological, bodily and psychotherapeutic. One of the main promoters of the biological approach was Charles Darwin. He was not interested in emotions as such, but saw them as "possible evidence for the evolution of the human species, the continuity of human behaviour with that of other animals, and the physical bases of mind" (Oatley and Jenkins 1996: 3). He thought emotions were derived from habits which had been useful to humans in the past, but are no longer fully under our conscious control. The bodily approach was put forward by William James, an American philosopher and psychologist. He stressed the way that humans are moved by emotions, not only mentally but also physically. This actual bodily movement is a sign that something important is happening and reminds us that body and spirit are in

close touch. James also wrote that emotions colour our life and experiences, and that without them everything would be pallid. His theories suggested that the previously accepted order, that physical feelings cause the emotional ones, were not correct. Rather, the bodily states follow the emotional perception: "... the more rational statement is that we feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike, afraid because we tremble, and that we cry, strike, or tremble, because we are sorry, angry or fearful as the case may be. Without the bodily states following on the perception, the latter would be purely cognitive in form, pale, colourless, destitute of emotional warmth" (Oatley and Jenkins 1996:6-7).<sup>17</sup>

Sigmund Freud advocated the psycho-therapeutic approach to emotions. His first theory of emotional effects was that "certain events, usually of a sexual kind, can be so damaging that they leave psychological scars that can affect the rest of our lives" (Oatley and Jenkins 1996:7). He also wrote that emotions are not simple and can be very obscure. Sometimes emotions only become clear when they are expressed, by someone reflecting upon them, or sharing them with another person. Freud also studied the effects of distressing memories on the mind, and developed the theory that the mind seems to guard against them by blocking them out. Oatley and Jenkins continue to discuss the need and function of emotions:

In general emotions seem to have two parts, an informational part which becomes conscious, so we typically know the objects of our emotions, and a control part that sets the brain into a mode that has been selected during evolution for coping with recurring kinds of situation, such as making progress towards a goal, losses, frustrations, threats, and so forth. In some emotions, of love and rejection, the object of the emotion is always known. Emotions and moods have been shown to have substantial effects on other mental processes. They can

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<sup>17</sup> This article originally appeared in *Mind* 1884, vol. IX - pp 188 - 205.

affect perception, and they usually constrain attention to events related to the emotion. Emotions, particularly positive ones, tend to enhance the memorability of events in our lives (Oatley and Jenkins 1996:283).

Emotions have not always been viewed positively, say Oatley and Jenkins, and frequently these attitudes can be traced back in time, to other periods in time and other opinions when emotions were not understood and not trusted: "There is a suspicion in Western culture that there is something wrong with emotions. The idea goes back at least to Plato (375 BCE), who thought that emotions are to be distrusted because they arise from the lower part of the mind and pervert reason. The distrust was brought into the modern era by Darwin (1882), who implied that, in human adults, expressions of emotions are obsolete, vestiges of our evolution from the beasts and of our development from infancy" (Oatley and Jenkins 1996:38).

Frijda also realised the physical importance of emotions and writes that emotions have a biological basis, providing two examples. Firstly, that emotions are matters of the body, which means that they affect the activity and responses of the organs. Secondly, that many emotions occur in a similar way in animals and we share many of these feelings with them. Those emotions that only affect humans have their own markings: "Emotions in humans are human phenomena; that is, human emotions may be expected to present typically human aspects. They may be expected to be related to norms and values, to human modes of interaction, and to human cognitive possibilities - in particular, those of reflective awareness and intentional activity" (Frijda 1987:5). Both humans and animals have to live with and sometimes have to control their emotions to certain extents, as well as contending with emotional experience:

"*Regulation*, as it will be called here, is an integral part of emotion"  
(Frijda 1987:5).

### 4.3 The expression of emotions

As well as emotion and language, emotion and thought are also closely linked. Our values and behaviour are affected by this close link. Lutz expands on this partnership:

The dichotomy of thought and emotion is all the more powerful and seemingly irresistible as it is integrated into a large number of other basic cultural themes and dichotomies; thus, we talk about the naturalness of emotion and the culturalness of cognition, the uncontrollability of emotion and the controllability of thought (or rather the need for control of emotion and the lack of such need for thought), hidden and dangerous emotion and more overt and safe thought. One of the most powerful cultural distinctions in which the thought-emotion dichotomy is enmeshed is between facts and values. The alienation of emotion from thought in our explicit theories has its parallel in the perceived irreconcilability of facts and values and represents another disadvantage to maintaining the former dichotomy (Lutz 1987:308).

After considering language and thought, it seems appropriate to look at the relationship between emotion and language. How are emotions expressed and is speech important in this expression?

Hascher wrote:

Emotionen sind sehr komplexe Phänomene, die bisher nicht durch ein einheitliches Konzept definiert werden konnten. Es gibt deshalb viele unterschiedliche Ansätze, die versuchen, das Wesen der Emotionen anhand verschiedener Zugangsformen zu definieren. Eine alltagsnahe und zugleich aussagekräftige Zugangsform ist dabei die Sprache. Das Lexikon der Emotionswörter bietet eine Vielzahl an Beschreibungen für die Mitteilung von Gefühlen (Hascher 1994:251).

Although emotions can be very complex and are not always understood, the importance of them is seen every day. "Wir wissen,

daß wir die Emotionen in uns tragen, daß sie uns beherrschen können, daß sie uns widerfahren und daß wir sie verbergen können. Wir wissen aber auch, daß Emotionen häufig 'nach außen' drängen" (Fiehler 1990:1). We can also show emotions that we do not really feel. But is it possible for people to control themselves when they are being affected by very strong emotions? "Emotionen und Selbstdarstellung schließen sich offensichtlich aus. Für diese Auffassung findet man auf Anhieb Beispiele: Von Gefühlen sagen wir, daß sie uns ergreifen, daß sie uns überwältigen. Wir scheinen ihnen ausgeliefert zu sein. Wenn wir aber nicht Herr unserer Gefühle sind, dann stellen Gefühlsreaktionen mehr als andere Äußerungen Indikatoren für Echtheit aus" (Laux and Weber 1993:37). Emotions can draw our attention to our needs, changing attention from one aspect of life to another. "Emotions are not just by-products of our biological origins. They point to the fundamental problematics of action in a world that is imperfectly known, and can never be fully controlled" (Oatley and Jenkins 1996:253).

When people grow up in a particular culture they can adapt or modify their emotions to show how they are feeling to others. This is crucial for the continuation of understanding within a social group. Emotions between people can be like a form of communication, they can express things that words may not always be able to. "The smile - the best established universal sign of emotion - is the sign of social affirmation; happiness is the emotion of cooperation. The frown signals something not going well; anger is the emotion of interpersonal conflict, and so forth. What verbal language has done is not to replace emotions, but to allow us to communicate yet more elaborately about what is important to us - our emotional

relationships" (Oatley and Jenkins 1996:87).

Arndt and Janney differentiate between *emotional communication* and *emotive communication*, where emotional communication portrays those emotions which are not controlled, as opposed to emotive communication, where emotion is used to influence language. "In contrast to purely emotional communication, emotive communication must in fact operate on some types of cognitive basis, for if people were not to some extent able to consciously produce, recognise, and interpret emotive activities, these would be useless for reaching goals in different situations" (Arndt and Janney 1991:529-30). Emotional behaviour can depend on the individual as well as the situation, both of which can affect how those involved react in different situations: "Emotionales Verhalten und Erleben in sozialen Situationen verlaufen in einem Spannungsfeld zwischen *sozialen Normen* für angemessene Emotionen und der *individuellen Emotionalität* der Beteiligten, die sich wiederum aus einer Wechselwirkung von *emotionalen Persönlichkeitsmerkmalen* und den aktuellen *situationalen Anrengungsbedingungen* für Emotionen ergibt" (Aspendorf 1983:267).

Emotions can show someone what they are feeling, something they may not have been aware of. "Bestimmte Emotionen implizieren - im Unterschied zu körperlichen Empfindungen wie Hunger, Schmerz, Müdigkeit - eine für sich kennzeichnende kognitive Situationstypisierung; zumindest gilt dies für 'elaborierte' Affekte wie Schuldempfinden, Schadenfreude, Stolz, Sorge, Eifersucht" (Brandstädter 1985:256). Communication may be used to influence the listener, so the speaker uses emotion or emotional language to persuade or convince someone. "Der Ablauf der Kommunikation in

einem Gespräch kann zwei Ziele haben: Entweder zielt das Gespräch auf eine Information des Partners, die zu einer Änderung seines Horizonts führen kann, oder es hat das Verhalten des Partners im Auge, sein Handeln (eine Realisierung), und kann so eine Änderung der Situation bewirken" (Brinkmann 1973:130). Most parts of our everyday lives are ruled by our emotions, "The communicative roles and behaviors that we enact in everyday life are in different ways conditioned by, and intertwined with, our attitudes, feelings and emotions" (Caffi 1994a:246). In another article she continues: "One of our underlying assumptions will be that all competent native speakers of a given language possess what might metaphorically be called an 'emotive capacity': that is, certain basic, conventional, learned, affective-relational communicative skills that help them interact smoothly, negotiate potential interpersonal conflicts, and reach different ends in speech" (Caffi 1994b:327).

#### **4.4 The expression of emotions and the use of language**

Language and emotions are very closely linked, and by looking at one the other can also be examined. "The study of emotion as discourse allows us to explore how speech provides the means by which local views of emotion have their effects and take their significance" (Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990:11). According to Lutz: "Emotions can be said to be *created in*, rather than shaped by, speech in the sense that it is postulated as an entity in language where its meaning to social actors is also elaborated" (Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990:12). Both language and emotions appear together in speech, and it can be difficult to separate the two from each other. Arndt and Janney are of the opinion that "The signalling of logical relations

between, and emotive reactions to, experiences are interdependent, simultaneously occurring processes in speech. They are also generally perceived and interpreted together, making it difficult to distinguish what people say from how they say it" (Arndt and Janney 1991:523). Language allows people to express their feelings; Bloom and Beckwith wrote: "... language allows individuals to articulate something of the causes, the circumstances, and the objects of their emotional experience" (Bloom and Beckwith 1989:314). Further to this, they feel that language is used to express emotions to the outside world. "Language is the pre-eminent mode of expression and is provided by society and culture for making manifest and public that which is internal to the individual" (Bloom and Beckwith 1989:337). But although language and emotion are clearly very close to each other, it seems that this relation is not fully examined, rather the two subjects are looked at independently from each other. Caffi writes about the fact that the relations between emotion and language are scarcely analysed: "Often, when emotive language is analysed, it is in a unidirectional way, which focuses only on how emotions condition language and not on how language can condition emotions" (Caffi 1994a:246). But it seems that emotion and cognition are inseparable, so attention should be paid to how language mediates between the two. Without emotive feedback, communication would be bound to collapse. Caffi feels that the psychological field seems to deny or ignore the links between emotion and language. "In the psychological literature, it sometimes seems as if people, at least as far as the expression of affect is concerned, are speechless. Language and emotion never seem to take place together. When emotion occurs, language does not. It is replaced with silence, interjections, grimaces,

body movements, cries and so forth" (Caffi 1994a:247).

Battachi uses a diagram to show the influence of emotion on language: "Das dargestellte Diagramm zeigt ausschließlich die Wirkung von Emotionen auf Sprache, doch ist zu beachten, daß sprachliche Äußerungen emotigene Wirkungen haben können (...), also Rückkopplungsprozesse zwischen Sprache und Emotionen anzunehmen sind" (Battachi et al. 1996:104). This diagram can be seen in Appendix 3. He adds that it may be that the full influence emotions can have on language has been undervalued, as not enough research of the exact kind needed to work out the full importance has been carried out.

Hascher wrote: "Die Sprache ist ein symbolisches System, durch das Sprecher und Hörer die Emotionen kommunizierbar und reflektierbar machen" (Hascher 1994:41). The system relies on a shared code within the language group, allowing people to understand and interpret what is meant in different situations, thus avoiding conflict and furthering cooperation. "The fact that speech constantly varies in assertiveness, value-ladenness, and intensity, and that these variations can be perceived and interpreted by others in the culture, enables speakers to engage in subtle strategic emotive exchanges" (Arndt and Janney 1991:538). These fields constantly change, and it requires decisions and understanding on behalf of the speaker and listener to understand these changes and act upon them, thereby allowing further communication.

As stated earlier, emotions in a sense are like a language, as they perform an informative function. Communicating emotions is just one of the many aspects of the complex interaction process. People can only express those feelings and aspects of feelings which they

have vocabulary for. People are not always aware of their emotions, sometimes until these emotions out themselves. Ekman and Davidson discussed the fact that emotions cannot always be realised before they arise: "... the fact that emotions may occur quickly or that one can be surprised by one's emotional reaction also does not diminish the cognitive contribution, since the requisite computations generally occur outside awareness" (Ekman and Davidson 1994:182). Fiehler writes that strong feelings of emotion can motivate people telling their stories, something which is of great interest to the topic of this thesis, as the corpus to be presented and discussed in chapter 5 is very narrative. He writes, "Häufig dominiert beim Erzählen nicht die Absicht, dem anderen vergangene Ereignisse nahezubringen oder ein außergewöhnliches Erleben zu verdeutlichen, sondern die vergangenen Ereignisse werden *primär* erzählt, um dem Zuhörer die eigene *Bewertung* dieser Ereignisse zu kommunizieren" (Fiehler 1990:236). It seems that an important aspect of emotions is describing them. "Emotionen kann man benennen oder beschreiben. Will man vergangenes Erleben thematisieren, will man von Emotionen erzählen, so kann man dies darüber hinaus tun, indem man die situativen Umstände, die Ereignisse, den Ablauf des Geschehens schildert" (Fiehler 1990:232). Using emotive communication "is a conscious attempt to influence the situation by projecting a particular definition of it to which the partner must respond or adapt in some way" (Arndt and Janney 1991:529). Another viewpoint of interest to the Dittmar corpus to be discussed in chapter 5 is that of Battachi. He wrote about the fact that emotion can affect memory. "Der Umstand, daß Menschen Inhalte besser erinnern, wenn sie sich in einem emotionalen Zustand befinden, denn sie bei der ursprünglichen

Speicherung der Inhalte erlebt haben, wird in der Gedächtnisforschung als 'stimmungabhängiges Gedächtnis' bezeichnet" (Battachi et al. 1996:85-6). It is also the case that when in a happy mood more positive memories will be remembered, and more depressed ones when people are sad. The fact that emotion affects memory could imply that the East and West Germans will have different memories of the 9th November 1989, as they felt different emotionally about the whole event. Battachi continued: "Je stärker die emotionale Qualität aufgeprägt ist, um so stärker sollten gefühlkongruente Informationen im Arbeitsgedächtnis repräsentiert sein und um so wahrscheinlicher wäre eine Versprachlichung derselben" (Battachi et al. 1996:96).

Daneš thinks that "People experience language in a number of different ways, at different depths, and with varying intensity, not only because of their individual characters and biases, but also, as a rule, in response to different aspects and parts of the phenomenon of language, perceived in different situations, in different momentary personal states" (Daneš 1994:256). This comment could be applied to different attitudes that East and West Germans have to language, due to the different societies in which they lived. People have strong views about language, be it about their own, other peoples' dialects or the direction language change is taking.

#### **4.5 Summary and conclusion**

With Battachi we can conclude: "Zusammenfassend kann festgestellt werden, daß Emotionen passagere, kurz-andauernde Reaktionssyndrome darstellen, die durch ein bestimmtes Ereignis ausgelöst werden, einen deutlichen 'Einsatz' haben sowie durch ein

Auf- und Abklingen charakterisiert sind" (Battachi et al. 1996:28). We can conclude by saying that emotions make people realise exactly how they feel and how they should react. By showing emotions we can tell people how we feel, which helps people maintain good relationships. "Through emotion one gets acquainted with one's world. At the same time, one gets acquainted with oneself: as being insecure; or dependent; or desirous of care and tenderness. Awareness of emotion can modify the self-image" (Frijda 1987:245). Furthermore, there appear to be different opinions on the expression of emotions. Frijda:

There are thus two definitions of emotion, one encompassing the other. *Emotion* is action readiness change. *Emotion proper* is relational action tendency and change in relational action tendency generally (activation). One might add still a third function, one still more restrictive. *Emotion* might be defined as action readiness change in response to emergencies or interruptions; and this action readiness change itself might be restricted to activations and deactivations of actual, overt response: activated behavior and physiological arousal or upset. That definition, of course, yields the 'excited' emotions, the typical, or paradigmatic, emotional responses (Frijda 1987: 474).

We have found that emotion has not always been examined fully and that it can also be said that there are different kinds of emotion. However, it is clear that there are direct links, not only between emotion and thought, but also between emotion and language.

## Chapter 5 Analysis of Corpus

### 5.1 Introduction

For the empirical data collection and analysis part of this thesis I have used a corpus provided by Professor Norbert Dittmar, of the Free University of Berlin. Dittmar has already written a book about this corpus which is a collection of spoken interviews, called *Die Sprachmauer*. In this book he concentrates on the different forms of narration and more grammatical elements of the interviews. He devotes part of his attention to the use of *eben* and *halt* as markers of regional dialect. As stated previously, the main focus of my research is the use of modal particles. Similarly to Dittmar, I have examined the use of *eben* and *halt*, but not solely as markers of regional dialect. Using a different focus from Dittmar - namely the relation between modal particles and emotion - this chapter will examine the use of the modal particles *eben* and *halt* as well as *doch*, *denn* and *eigentlich* plus the use of tags in the corpus interviews.

Originally the interviews were carried out by students of the FU in 1993/4 with a view to publishing a selection of recollections of the fall of the Wall and the period thereafter from the viewpoint of East Berliners. Having obtained the interviews it was decided that the results were so informative and unexpected that the same interviews would be carried out with West Berliners. Not only can we see language barriers in the interviews, but it can be clearly seen how the lives of the two sides and the adaptations that had to be made to cope with the changes since 1989 were very different. In discussion, Dittmar spoke of the interviewees as leaving their fingerprint of what happened during these years, and once all the interviews are looked

interviews are looked at on the larger scale, a greater picture can be seen and patterns can be recognised.

The interviews did not have a pre-set pattern. The interviewers had been asked to discuss the actual 9 November 1989 with their interviewees, what they remembered, how they felt, what they did, and they were also asked if the hopes and thoughts they had then had been fulfilled today and how they felt about the situation now that Germany had been reunified. Most of the interviews with East Berliners were carried out on 9 November 1993, in the hope that the anniversary of the fall of the Wall would trigger the appropriate memories and emotions. The West Berlin interviews were carried out at a later date, and again the flow of the interview was very much left up to the interviewer and the people interviewed. East was interviewed by East and West by West, to prevent any blockages by the very East-West discrepancy that was under examination. Interviewers were asked to interview people they knew as it was hoped that this would ease the nerves of those being interviewed. Bredel, who worked with Dittmar on *Die Sprachmauer*, commented that the fact that friends interviewed each other meant that there was more scope for emotions and feelings to be discussed (Bredel 1999:33).

All in all there are 39 interviews from the East and 38 from the West. After having discarded some because of poor tape quality, 29 East Berliner and 22 West Berliner interviews remain. There were also some interviews with people from East and West Germany, but as there were only 5 from East Germany and 4 from West Germany, I have decided not to use these in my analyses, as I feel they are not truly representative in such small numbers. Both men and women are

interviewed, and ages range from early twenties to fifties. Dittmar gives no information on the names the interviewees are given, some appear to be genuine whereas others are anonymous or reflect upon the jobs of those interviewed. There are people from different jobs: shop workers, musicians, and a very large number of teachers and students. This large number of teachers could mean that the selection of interviews is not completely representative of the total population. However, having many of the interviews with teachers is rather interesting when looking at language. Not only are teachers able to speak for long lengths of time which other people may not be used to or capable of, but on the whole teachers will be aware of the language they are using. Teachers are able to control their language use more consciously than many other speakers. Therefore, if we still find that teachers show greater signs of emotion when talking about emotional events, and use a greater number of modal particles doing so, the result is all the more interesting. One minor problem is that the East Berliner interviews are slightly longer than their western counterparts, and this is why the modal particles were counted as an average per page of transcript and not as an absolute number. The interviews vary greatly in length, being anything from 3 to 27 pages of transcript. After the tapes were recorded, the interviews were transcribed by several different people. The transcriptions tried to remain as close as possible to the spoken language, keeping aspects of dialect and spelling. This has led to words being written differently when spoken by different interviewees. For example, the modal particle *eben* can also be found as *ebend*, *eemd*, *ebnd* as well as the modal particle *eigentlich* being written as *eigntlich*, *eijentlich* and many others. The transcriptions use a series of symbols to convey

what is occurring in the interviews: for example volume, speed and laughing. A list of these symbols can be found on page v. I used both the tapes and the transcriptions to analyse the conversations. This cross-referencing was very useful, since many interesting aspects come across better when reading the texts, but it was also possible to hear voice intonation and speed which were harder to notice during the reading of the transcriptions.

Dittmar was examining these spoken texts to look for a manifestation of stable or unstable language situations due to an unexpected change in society that these individuals had no control over. He wanted to see how such *Umbruchsituationen* in society would affect the people and their language. He finds that the East Germans are directly affected by this change, and have had to change their life significantly to cope with a new way of living. He finds that the interviews take a different course: the East Berliners tend to discuss how they coped with the changes emotionally and talk about the problems they came across, whereas the West Berliners talk less of the actual events of the night of 9 November, but talk more of the times afterwards when they had to help and advise or even profited from the changes. The West Berliners also often discuss the times when family from the East visited them before the *Wende*. Again, this is a situation where they were in a helping position.

One thing that stands out when reading the texts is the large number of modal particles which appear. It is interesting to look at *eben* and *halt* because of the strong link these particles have to regional differences, and the other particles also have interesting features, whether it be the fact of their occurrence or the way they are used. Furthermore, the use of tags is also revealing, as they occur in

large numbers in the texts, especially in the East Berlin ones.

I have counted the occurrence of each of the five modal particles and tags in every text, and divided this number by the number of pages, in order to obtain an average per page, which would rule out any difference due to difference in text length. Putting these counts onto graphs, with the speaker number on the horizontal axis and the counts per page on the vertical axis, the difference becomes clearly visible: the graphs can be seen in Appendix 1. Every graph also has an average use, which is represented by the dotted line, and also the lines of statistical significance which are always present at the top of the graph and in some cases additionally at the foot of the graph. All the speakers whose use crossed either the top or bottom lines can be said to be statistically significant in their use of the particle. The average allows comparison between different particles and different usage by East and West. The graphs are used mainly to highlight any significant difference of use, so that further investigation can be carried out in the actual texts. The graphs were plotted with the aid of the program *graficas.m.* (written by MATLAB), which worked out the average and the points of statistical significance automatically.

The first thing to come to light on examination of the graphs is that there is a quantitative difference in the use of modal particles between people from East and West Berlin. Why should this be so? The answer that I propose in this thesis is that there is a link between modal particles and emotion. Modal particles occur more frequently in informal language situations, and also in situations where difficult topics are discussed. Modal particles can be a sign of greater dialect use, something for which the East Germans and specifically the East Berliners were known. Especially in East Berlin, *Berlinisch* was an

accepted form of language in all situations, including school and work. The situation is very different in West Berlin, where *Berlinisch* was frowned upon and seen to be a sign of the working class. In socialist East Berlin, on the other hand, it was precisely the sociolect of the working classes that enjoyed a high prestige. I suggest that if there is an increased use of modal particles in the East, this must reflect upon the social, emotional and cultural situation of the people. For the people in the East the fall of the Wall and Reunification was a very emotional and important topic. For them, the changes of 1989 led to a completely different way of living. For the West Berliners the changes of this time could be viewed from a more distanced angle. Their lives were not directly affected, and for most of them the main changes were being able to travel into Brandenburg without a visa and longer queues at the supermarkets. This more distanced experience of 9 November 1989 was also commented upon by Becker, who wrote: "Spricht man mit Westdeutschen über ihre Erinnerungen an die Wende, so werden vornehmlich Fernsehbilder wiederbelebt, die sich bei vielen eingepägt haben" (Becker, Becker and Ruhland 1992:20). Modal particles and tags can be seen as signs of a different way of speaking. East and West Germans lived in very different societies for forty years. The use of modal particles among East German speakers may reflect the fact that they are less secure in their new position in a reunified Germany. Perhaps the East Germans use modal particles and tags as they want feedback from the interviewer. They may use more modal particles and tags because they lived in a society where among friends more dialogue was used, rather than a more aggressive style of speaking, which many of the East German speakers refer to in the corpus as being typical of West

Germans.

Below I will discuss each individual speaker and their uses of modal particles, as it seems plausible that in this way patterns may be found among different speakers. As well as looking at the five modal particles mentioned previously and the tags used, I will also discuss any especially interesting aspects in the corpus which may further our understanding of how these speakers use language to express their emotions. We will start with the East Berliners, and then move on to the West Berliners.

## 5.2 The East Berlin interviews

Speaker 1 from East Berlin is 21 year old Gina, who now works at a dental practice in West Berlin, after being a seamstress in the GDR. Overall she uses *eben* under the level of significance, but does use it a considerable amount when explaining that she had to find a new job after the *Wende*, and how she came about choosing this particular job. When she talks about her new life it seems that she does not have much spare time, which she resents, and she uses the combination *ebend halt* frequently. It is striking to see that in the transcriptions the combination is never *eben halt*, but always has the final 'd' when used in combination. Since *eben* is typical of East Berlin and *halt* of West Berlin, this combination seems to epitomize the split personality of the divided city. Dittmar also commented on the combination of *eben* and *halt*. He wrote:

In der Kombination wird *halt* in unserem Korpus stets nach *eben* gesetzt ( hat er **eben halt** nicht kommen können); bei der Kookkurenz dieser beiden Abtönungspartikeln wird deutlich, dass *halt* die Partikel *eben* noch weiter abtönt oder, um es metaphorisch zu sagen, dass *halt* ein Weichmacher des härteren *eben* ist. Dieser sozialpsychologische Vorteil führt zum Prestige von *halt* und zum Sprachwandel (Dittmar MS).

Gina does use *halt* significantly: this could either be because of the influence of West Berliners now that she works with them, or the fact that she is trying to distance herself from the typically East German marker *eben*. She says that she often feels that West Germans look at her and other people from the East and judge them. She says on p.15 of the transcription<sup>18</sup> :

wie man denn inne ubahn sitzt alsoo + weeß ich  
nich ne^ und kiekt/ + wird man anjeglottzt und  
dann ja dis is bestimmtn ossi + weeß ick ni  
ürgendwei sitzt man da verklemmter

In general she feels that there are difficulties between the people of the two Germanies. She feels that the West Germans have the idea that they are better than the East Germans, that the East Germans need to learn how to work properly, and she mentions this several times:

aber uns denn sagen ja ihr oassis lernt erstmal  
richtig arbeiten ja^

on p.6, also:

wir sollen erstmal arbeiten lernen

on p.7 and:

'also die ollen oassis + den müssen wa arbeiten  
erstmal beibringen und so ja^'

on p.16. She also mentions on p.14 that she thinks West Germans think of them as 'scheiß oassis'. Her uses of *eigentlich* and *doch* are around average and she never uses them in combination with any other modal particle or tag. She uses *denn* just under the line of significance, particularly when she is explaining situations to the

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<sup>18</sup> For an explanation of the symbols used in the transcriptions see page v. Modal particles are highlighted in the text only in particular cases of interest.

interviewer. Gina is the third highest tag user in the East Berlin corpus; she frequently uses them individually but also often in conjunction with the other modal particles. The main times that she does not use tags is when she is describing her friends and what has happened to them since unification. In general she uses many combinations of modal particles, for example on p.3-4 when she is talking of her new work place she says:

na ick meine klar hier halten se im in som  
kleenen betrieb + da halten se irgendwie mehr  
zusammen weil ja jeder auf den andern **ebend**  
anjewiesen ist **halt ne^** + und da ick meen + da  
hat **ebend** jeder so-n bißchen so + naja willste  
nich wenn nicht denn +1+ komm immer so-n paar  
ecken **denn ebend halt rüber denn ne^**

Although in general Gina seems to be adapting well to the new society and is perhaps discarding such markers as *eben* to distance herself from her former identity and displaying an increased use of *halt*, there are still plenty of markers which show she comes from East Berlin. She talks of a *Raumwohnung* rather than *Zimmerwohnung* as it is called in the West, and she also uses the word *schlau* (instead of *klug*) which is a word very closely associated with the East. Although she does not like being part of the East German stereotype, she is young enough to be one of the less disaffected East Germans, she still feels strong ties to East Germany.

Speakers 2 and 3 are Dirk and Gabi; Dirk is the main interviewee at the start of the recording, but halfway through his girlfriend, Gabi, comes in and joins the conversation. Both have strong affinities with the former GDR. Especially Gabi feels much more at home in the East, and both have lost jobs due to unification. Dirk was a musician and Gabi a dancer, and due to lack of funds for culture their music and dance groups have been disbanded. Both think that

West Germany is not as good as is made out: 'heutzutage ist ooch nich allet gold was glänzt', and neither has very high opinions of West Germans, although Dirk does say that the West Germans have more confidence, which is a theme that occurs more later in the corpus; it seems that many East Berliners feel that the West Berliners have much more self-confidence in their abilities. On p.18 he says:

wat mir + sehr offjefallen is daß + wolln ma sagen viele leute öh von vielem ne ahnung haben + ja^ + ob nu dit imma stimmt sie brings zumindest so rüber daß-et erstma gloobst + hat ooch mit dem selbstbewußtsein zu tun

Gabi is the most frequent *eben* user in the corpus. She uses it particularly frequently when she gets excited about the subject she is talking about. This is very obvious when she is discussing the different employment opportunities for East and West Gemans, on p.21:

daß **ebend** ne wessi würde niemals hierher arbeiten kommen weil er hier einfach viel zu wenig geld verdient oder er kricht n posten was sich echt lohnt + oder er kommt **ebend** und kricht dann **ebend** das doppelte von den andern weil er **eben** n wessi is und **ebend** ahnung davon hat

Neither Dirk nor Gabi are *halt* users, and neither uses *eigentlich* frequently. In fact, they are almost significant in that they use it so rarely. This is interesting, as *eigentlich* can be seen as a more distanced modal particle, used for narration rather than emotive involvement. Their use of *doch* and *denn* is average and neither speaker uses any of the modal particles in combination with each other or other modal particles and tags. Neither speaker uses tags very often, and this is particularly surprising in the case of Dirk. It has often been said that modal particles and tags are linked to dialect and the more colloquial a conversation is, the more modal particles and tags are expected. Yet Dirk is one of the strongest dialect speakers in

the whole corpus, but he does not use many modal particles or tags to add to his descriptions. Dirk explains that he uses dialect as it was normal to do so in East Berlin. When asked why he thinks the East Berliners use dialect more he says on p.19:

na ick denk dit kommt einfach durch dieset + dit  
resultiert sicherlich aus den + lockeren + wiet  
früher war daß et einfach nicht 'wichtig war

Speaker 4 is Heidi, a 31 year old interpreter from Chemnitz (Karl-Marx-Stadt is how she refers to it) who has lived in East Berlin for 7 years. Although she does have views about the situation before unification and since, she is not particularly emotional and this is reflected in the language she uses. This could also reflect on her occupation, which may have increased her awareness of language and knowledge of how to speak more *Hochdeutsch*, thereby avoiding the use of modal particles and tags. She uses very few modal particles, and the one that she uses most is *eigentlich*, which is generally used for narrative purposes, something Heidi does throughout the interview. Occasionally she uses *eben*, but she does not use *halt* at all, something that could reflect her upbringing in the East or her affinity with East Germany's new situation in Germany. She disagrees with stereotypes, as she says there are no differences between East and West Germans and there never have been; on p.3 she says:

also grundprinzip is erstmal die kochen auch alle  
nur mit wasser + (h) + das war + eigentlich für  
mich die entscheidende feststellung nach der  
wende

She nevertheless says that people are in general more friendly in the East and that the West Germans are not very interested in the way the East Germans are living and lived in the past. The West Germans did

not understand what the GDR was and she does not see that time of her life as being entirely negative; on p.7 she says:

das lebens in der de-de-er 'is 'nich 'nur grau  
gewesen + und es + hat nich nur aus den worten  
partei und stasi bestanden + äh + dieses  
stereotyp + muß erstmal überwunden werden

One of the main problems she sees with the situation of Germany in 1989 was that it was not an equal process for both states. She is one of the few speakers to comment on the words used for the unification of two states; on p.7 she says:

daß wort vereinigung is meiner ansicht nach  
völllich falsch + es ist weder eine vereinigung  
noch eine 'wiedervereinigung + es s/is schlicht  
und einfach eine erweiterung

She fears that the two regions may become polarised and feels that people have to concentrate on the importance of unity within Germany. She is able to remain rather more distanced from the whole process than other East Berlin speakers, and this is reflected in her use of modal particles and tags.

Speaker 5 is Micha, a 33 year old skilled worker and lorry driver. He uses *eben* very significantly throughout his interview. It is noticeable that he uses it most when he discusses an emotional subject. Although he says he did not always agree with the way the GDR was run, he does have strong opinions about what has been happening in Germany since 1989. This is particularly noticeable when talking about art and culture in Germany. On p.14 he says:

dit will + dit will im 'osten ja keena 'sehn  
sowat ja^ +1+ da wern **ebend** + da muß **ebend** die  
kunst äh + die + kunst für kinder **ebend**  
kinderstücke undsoweiter muß absolut  
zurücktreten weil **ebend** da so-n + indendant da  
der sich erst n namen machen muß in dieser  
theaterkultur + äh + der macht **ebend** so so so  
durch sone chaotenstücke äh wern se 'publik

It is interesting to note that Micha uses the same metaphor as Heidi (speaker 4) about the West: 'die wessis kochen auch ziemlich viel mit wasser' on p.10, to describe the way of life of the West Germans. Also similarly to Heidi, Micha comments on p.7 that many West Germans assumed that all East Germans were in the Stasi, and he adds that this stereotype does not ring true. Micha does not use *halt* at all, and his use of *eigentlich* is very low; this is generally as he is very passionate about what he is speaking about. His uses of *doch* and *denn* are average, and he does not tend to use any modal particle in combination with another. Tags, however, appear very frequently in Micha's conversation. He is the second highest tag user in the corpus, and uses different tags such as *ja* and *ne* consistently throughout his interview. Excepting the first few minutes, where Micha uses almost no modal particles, tags or dialect (presumably to appear to be a 'good' speaker), he uses tags for the remainder of the conversation. Differently to Dirk, who spoke dialect but used very few modal particles, Micha is also a dialect speaker and uses mainly *eben* and tags to express his thoughts. Due to the fact that at the beginning of the interview Micha uses far fewer tags, it would seem he is attempting to speak *Hochdeutsch*. As is the case for many of the other interviewees the job and wages situation is also very important to Micha. Many interviewees are worried that East Germans are taken advantage of and that West Germans receive all the best paid work. On p.7 he comments:

und denn jing die ausbeutung ja schon los er hat westtarif + jekricht und uns hat man + obwohl wir genau dieselbe arbeit jemacht haben + uns hat man **ebend** + den oststundensatz jezahlt

Speaker 6 is Yvonne, a 53 year old teacher who lives in West Berlin, after leaving East Berlin before the Wall fell. As mentioned in section 5.1 there are a large number of teachers involved in these interviews. This is probably due to the fact that those interviewing were teachers and they had to interview people who were known to them, increasing the chances of this link. Although teachers have been trained in speaking and are probably more aware of their language, and hiding their emotions, it does seem that many of the teachers in the interviews use modal particles and tags to express their emotions, although this is not always the case. In general, Yvonne does not use many modal particles or tags. On the front page of the transcript there is some space for the interviewer to make comments regarding the interview. The interviewer comments that Yvonne is nervous at the beginning of the interview and that she makes an effort throughout to speak *Hochdeutsch* (the interviewer and Yvonne are friends) but that she uses dialect when she is particularly emotional. Apart from tags, she is well below average use for the other modal particles. One occasion when it can be seen that she is emotional and uses modal particles and tags is when she is describing how she found out that the Wall had fallen. She says on p.2:

wir fernseha an und dann ham wa dit **ebend** allet  
 so jesehen%\_ (h) und wir habm uns/ sind uns in  
 die arme jefalln und habm jejubelt und jeweint  
 und +%na + war schon% + (h) [HOLT TIEF LUFT]  
 sehr +1+ sehr schlimm für uns so + ick mein im  
 positiven sinne ?wa? + jaa dis war erst ma dit  
 und dann **eben**^ +na+ meine tochter kam ja erst im  
 april neunundachzich rüber^ aber **eben** man jat  
 verwandte drüben mutta und bruda und so und is  
 nu allet + (h) jetzz 'anders

From this we can see that Yvonne does use modal particles when she

is describing her feelings. On p.3 she also says: 'mir kamen die tränn'. Another thing which is quite curious about Yvonne and which could be linked to her lack of modal particles, is that she seems to identify herself with being a West German now, even though she is from East Berlin. When asked about the differences between East and West she tells the interviewer on p.7:

(h) und ebmd ooch immer wieda +2+ na bei uns in-  
 a de-de-er ?ne?  
 <Eb07> hm+  
 <Yvon> bei uns in-a de-de-er\_ ja + heute ooch  
 noch\_ +  
 <Eb07> hm  
 <Yvon> die sagn nich ma früha in-a de-de-er  
 sondan bei uns noch ?ne? &oda^& ja\_  
 <Eb07> & ja &  
 <Yvon> bei uns wir sagn ja ooch noch bei/ + im  
 westen + ja\_

It seems that Yvonne now thinks of herself as being part of West Germany and West Berlin, rather than feeling close ties with the East as some of the other speakers do.

Speaker 7 is Bert, a male nurse who has lived in Munich since 1991 as he found work there. He is a very slow and deliberate speaker, carefully thinking about everything that he says. It is therefore interesting to see that he is one of the lowest tag users in the corpus, as well as being the highest user of *eigentlich*. Bert very rarely uses *eben* - his use of it is well below the corpus average. When he is talking about the differences in the workplace between East and West Germany, he suddenly uses *eben* much more frequently; in fact, out of 7 uses of *eben* overall, 5 occur in this little section. Perhaps this is because the topic is a difficult one, having to think about what is different in an aspect of life which is very important to him. Because of lack of work Bert has had to leave his wife and family in Berlin and has found a job in Bavaria. Although he likes the area he lives in and

enjoys his job, he finds it hard to be so far away from his family. The fact that Bert has been living in West Germany is reflected in his use of *halt* rather than *eben*. He is the highest *halt* user in the East Berlin corpus, using it almost twice as much as the next highest user.

Although I doubt whether Bert is using *halt* to distance himself from the East, as he does not seem to have particularly negative opinions of the East, it can be seen that the West German way of speaking has influenced him. It would be interesting to know if Bert used *halt* this much when he lived in the GDR. We can see that Bert does not think very negatively of East Berlin and its way of life; as he says on p.2:

man ... hatte eigentlich ääh von dem goldnen  
westen in anführungsstriche ne besondere  
'erwartungshaltung^ + aber das waarn genau  
solche 'straßen\_ genau solche 'häuser\_ im  
westteil ber'lins

Bert also discusses the view that some West Germans he has come across have of the East Germans and their way of life. On p.3 he says:

man wurde mehr oder minda am anfang *ebm* als  
'exot betrachtet^ 'ausgefragt^ und auch + ääh  
viele ham sich von vornherein gewundat daß man  
überhaupt schreibm oda lesen kann und und und  
daß es im ossiland überhaupt schulen gab so nach  
dem motto^

As well as using the term *ossiland* ironically, this is one of the few *eben* uses in the interview. This is obviously a subject that lies close to Bert's heart, which is evident in his language use. Throughout his interview Bert uses very little dialect, and this section is one of the times he uses more dialect. In general though, Bert is one of the less emotional speakers of East Berlin. This is reflected by his high use of *eigentlich*; Bert is the highest user of this modal particle, which is used for a more distanced analysis of the events of the interview. Bert is very much a speaker who recounts the details of what happened in a

factual way. For example on p.2 he says:

erwartungen hatten wir **eigentlich** nur zu dem  
zeitpunkt^ als es geschehn war\_ daß wer äh  
gehofft habm +2+ daß sich die verhältnisse in-a  
de-de-er + ändern^ und äh<< für uns war das  
**eigentlich** damals schon vor'rausschaubar daß die  
de-de-er nich mehr lange existieren wird mit der  
grenzöffnung (h) war **eigentlich** die macht \*aus-  
dn\* händn gegeben worden + und äh für uns war es  
klar daß es bald + keene de-de-er mehr geben  
wird und die frage des weitren exis'tenz +  
**eigentlich** mehr in den 'vordergrund gerückt

Speaker 8, a 43 year old television lighting engineer,  
Leonardo, is a very interesting example of the link between emotion  
and the use of certain types of language. The interviewer, who is well  
acquainted with Leonardo, comments on the front page of the  
transcription that he is very relaxed, but has 'kaum emotionale  
Beteiligung'. This is very clearly reflected in his language use. His use  
of all modal particles, apart from *eben*, are well below average, in  
particular his use of tagging. Although his use of *eben* is above  
average, this is slightly misrepresentative as almost half of the uses  
occur in one passage. This is when Leonardo is talking about how  
difficult it is for East Germans in his job to keep up with West Germans  
in terms of equipment, and that his work in the new Germany is much  
more competitive than it used to be. For example, a part of this  
passage on p.7 is:

und aus dem grunde habm sich viele ehemalige  
kollegen **eemd** in freien berufsgruppen  
zusammengeschlossen die sich gegenseitig auch  
unterstützen + und somit **ebmd** der tägliche kampf  
etwas leichter wird + aber **emd** +3+ zur + altenn  
konkurrenz +1+ oder zu den alten bundesländern  
**ebmd** \*ein schwerer\* konkurrent/ äh  
konkurrenzkampf is + << weil man **ebmd** doch äh  
diee + geschäftsbeziehungen + äh sehr schwer +  
eröffnen kann in den alten bundesländern<<  
'leichter ist es für die alten bundesländer 'hier  
im osten fuß zu fassen weil **ebmd** doch das geld +  
das 'hier im osten fuß zu fassen weil **ebmd** doch  
das geld + das regierende +3+ potential **ebmd** is

Apart from this passage, Leonardo does not show any other signs of emotional involvement. When talking about the day the Wall fell, he comments on p.3 that it:

ist kein 'soo historisch bewegendes datum  
daß man also das so überbewerten muß

Also towards the end of the interview, when the two had been discussing much of the unification process as well as the actual 9 November 1989, the interviewer refers again to the 9 November. At this point Leonardo asks the interviewer whether he/she is referring to that date in 1989 as there are other years in which the 9 November was an important date; perhaps he is trying to insinuate that although this 9 November was a happy occasion there are other 9 Novembers that need to be remembered. One thing that Leonardo does not agree with from the period discussed is the word *Wiedervereinigung*. Every time he mentions this word, he calls it the *sogenannte*

*Wiedervereinigung*; this is because he says:

unter wiedervereinigung versteh ich immer zwei  
gleiche partner ... hier warn ja die bedingungen  
'absolut nicht gleich

Speaker 9 is 29 year old Angi, who is a teacher. The analysis of her data is more difficult than others, as her interview is very short, but this is meaningful in its own right. She hardly uses modal particles at all, she uses *eigentlich* a few times, but *eben* only twice and tags not at all. This is very interesting, as the first thing she says in her interview is:

also ick kann mich **eigentlich** nur noch erinnern  
daß ick an dem tach 'krank war\_ im 'bett war\_

Although she does mention that she remembers seeing people on the television crying and being very emotional, it is clear that she was

rather more distanced from these events. This could also be why her interview is very short, as she does not have as strong a memory of this time as most of the other speakers. One of the main things she does mention about reunification is on p.3, when she says:

und ansonsten hätte ick mir gern bei der  
vereinigung einfach jewünscht daß-et nicht +2+  
die ehmm zu dieser +2+ naa angliederung oder  
übernahme der de-de-er jekommen wäre wie es dann  
doch sehr plötzlich am dritten oktober jekommen  
ist sondern daß der prozeß eventuell hätte n  
'bißchen länger gehen sollen

again rather than a personal experience this is a more distanced, objective view of events.

Speakers 10 and 11 are Assi und Ussi, a 36 year old primary school teacher and a 38 year old secondary school teacher respectively. Both have quite strong affinities to the old way of life in the GDR and feel quite close to it; they talk about 'unsere ossis' (p.11) and feel that the East Germans are seen by the West Germans as being inferior. Assi uses most modal particles below average, apart from tagging, where she is the highest user of the corpus and uses them in specific situations where she feels strongly about what she is saying. Ussi, on the other hand, is also emotional, but uses tags much less. She does, however, use both *eigentlich* and *denn* above the use of most speakers; both of them are above the line of statistical significance. She uses both of these in particular when she is narrating the events she is describing. Both start off the conversation calm, but as the interview progresses they both become more involved in the conversation, speak faster, interrupt each other more, and their use of modal particles and tags increases in the latter parts of the interview. Both use the tag *ja* very frequently, which seems to suggest they are almost seeking some agreement from each other

and the interviewer, for example on p.9:

bloß man kann ja nu nich allet nur vorteile  
haben sicher^ + ja^ aber ick finde also ick  
würde nich mehr so sagen ich möchte nochmal  
zurück ja^ wie viele ja jetzt schon rufen ja^  
die möchten aber dit allet gute och behalten^  
und möchten dan dit andre aber och noch / eh dit  
geht dit geht natürlich nich ja^

Neither Assi nor Ussi liked it when they were made to feel somehow inferior to the West Germans when they crossed the border. Both talk on p.4 about the 100DM money the East Germans received from the West German banks:

wir sind so keen fff bettelvolk 'jewesen oder so

also on p.6:

mir war dit schon peinlich jenug die hundert  
mark da abzuheben wa^

and also

so als bestechungsgeld @@@@ weeiß ich was +2+ war  
mir unangenehm muß ich ganz ehrlich sagen

They also mention on p.8 that the West Germans:

selbstbewußter sind se & aber doch selbstbewußter  
as Dirk mentions as well.

Speaker 12 is 23 year old Crista, who is a dentistry student and has always lived in East Berlin. The modal particle she uses most often is *eben*, although her usage is just below the line of statistical significance. It could be that the influence of having lived in East Berlin all her life means that she uses *eben* more, although her younger age may mean that she could be more susceptible to the newer influence from West Germany; even so, she uses *halt* below the average use. The younger generation adopt new language changes faster than the older generation, who are more stuck in their

ways. This is especially the case when the newer version is coming from a society which has a higher prestige or is fashionable. The fact that Crista has been able to resist using *halt* to a great extent may be because she feels a close affinity to East Berlin, she says on p.4:

=ja\_ und + also ick fühl mich eignlich +  
irgendwie is dit 'komisch ick fühl mich echt  
'wohla wenn ick dann wieda in unserm teil bin  
obwohl dit ebend ja nun drei jahre her is

She also mentions that for many West Germans unification was not as joyful an event as for the East Germans. On the same page she says:

man hat ja ebend och schnell jemerkt daß + diese  
+ freude diese anfängliche freude der wessis dann  
+ doch 'rasch nachließ @@

That Crista uses modal particles when talking about subjects that she finds difficult to explain seems to be the case on p.5, and this quote also illustrates again her affinity to East Germany:

die leute sind mir **ebend** och janz/ die sind  
**ebend** weitaus 'selbstbewußter is mir uffjefalln  
und oftmals **ebend** sind se **ebend** selbstbewußt  
und + ham **eignlich** jar nich so den 'grund dazu  
und/und + unsre leute hier also zumindest 'meine  
bekannten oder so + die sind **doch** + mehr  
zurückhaltend und und nich so + naja nich so  
'großkotzich und + mir **eigentlich** 'anjenehma

This is a theme that also came up with Dirk (speaker 2) and Assi (speaker 10). Similarly to Gina (speaker 1), Crista mentions the fact that West Germans often seem to be of the opinion that the East Germans do not know how to work, i.e. that they are lazy. On p.7 she says:

kann einen dit irgndwo schon + naja + bißchen  
beunrujen wenn ebend die meinung da is so weeiß  
ick nich die ossis müssen erstma + äh lern=n  
richtich + äh + zu arbeiten und so und + wat ham  
wa die vierzich jahre jemacht wir ham nur faul  
rumjesessen denn + ärgert ein: dit schon weil et  
eben nich so war ja^

Crista is a very low tag user, very occasionally she will use the tag *ja* to emphasize what she is saying, suggesting that she expects that the interviewer agrees with her point of view.

Speakers 13 and 14 are a married couple, Kita and Schlosser, a 48 year old nursery nurse and a 50 year old metal worker. Kita is a real story teller, and this is reflected in her comparatively large use of the modal particle *eigentlich*, a modal particle often used for narration, which she uses more than any of the other modal particles, including tags. Neither use *eben* very much and they do not use *halt* at all. Kita's description of what her friends did after the Wall came down is a good example of her use of *eigentlich*. On p.3 she says:

und die hat ihren sohn dann nachts natürlich  
besucht det war die einziije kollegin **eigentlich**  
+ alle andern kamen hochrot an^ und ham alle  
erzählt wat se jehört ham^ und aber so daß die  
kollegen jegangen sind **eigentlich** + im  
kindergarten warn och **eigentlich** alle kinder  
da^ + die kinder ham **eigentlich** nich viel  
erzählt^

It seems that *eigentlich* is mainly used when the speaker is narrating a situation to the interviewer. Schlosser uses *doch* significantly in the interview. He mainly seems to use it when he thinks he is correcting his wife and it tends to sound quite argumentative, for example on p.9:

ja bloß alleene kannn ick **doch** och nich

and

sei **doch** mal ehrlich

and

dit kann **doch** nich passiern

to name but a few. Schlosser thinks that people should stand up for their rights in the new Germany as they had done in the past; he says on p.9:

die müßten wie zu ostzeiten auf de straße jehn  
und wieder sagen wir sind das !volk heidi!

Both Schlosser and Kita seem to have quite an affinity with East Germany, particularly Kita. On p.9 she says:

die ddr war ja + in bestimmter hinsicht nich  
schlecht\_

and she does not always like the way that life has changed since unification. On page 10 she says:

'dit is so=ne anonyme jesellschaft jeworden'.

Like Assi (speaker 10), she does not like the way the East Germans were treated when they went across the border. On p. 4 she is talking about those handing things out to the East Germans, including people on loaded trucks:

wo se ürgendwelche dinge runterjeschmissen ham  
jeschenke für die ostler die armen/ so armen  
ostler die dann so rüberkamen du dit war mir  
peinlich\_ + dit war mir !echt! peinlich

She adds that she did not accept any presents from West Germans, although she did collect the 100DM from the bank. She describes later how some East Germans seemed to take advantage of what was being offered to them, and how she felt about this. This extract is another good example of seeing *eigentlich* being used for narrative purposes. On p.6 she says:

da hab ich mich **eigentlich** jeschämt + ick hab  
mich jeschämt über + diese leute die dort  
aufjetreten sind die **eigentlich** eh: durch die  
ddr + jebildet erzogen wurden die ihr/ ihre  
ganze existenz sozusagen der ddr verdanken  
können\_wie die sich auffjeführt haben\_

Speaker 15 is Gitta, a 28 year old secretary who fled the GDR via the West German embassy in Prague in 1989. In Gitta's case too, her social circumstances reflect her language use, again it would

have been interesting to examine how she spoke in the days before 1989. Her use of *eben* is very low, well below the average for the East Berliners. Significantly, in the beginning of the interview she rarely uses *eben* at all, but she uses it more, albeit still in a limited way, in the last section of the interview, perhaps when she is not so self-conscious about her language use as she was at the start of the interview. An example of her use of *eben* is when asked how people feel after unification, whether the feelings of joy had changed after the Wall fell. On p.10 she says:

ja aber ich hab **ebend** auch jestaunt muß ich  
sagen daß **eben** die leute na ja^ganz egal wen man  
so fragt^ !na^ wie geht=s und so^! daß du nich  
mehr so=ne wahnsinnig euphorischen antworten  
krist

Gitta is one of the highest *halt* users in the corpus, especially in the beginning of the interview. Perhaps for her, using *halt* distances her from the East German state which she fled, and helps her adapt to the new society in which she lives. Perhaps by using *halt* more than *eben*, it helps her blend in with a society which uses *halt* more, and by doing so she does not stand out so much as being East German. The only time she combines the two forms is at a particularly emotional moment. She is describing how she and her family drove to Prague to try to get to the West German embassy, but had been told that it was being heavily guarded. Leaving all their possessions in their car they walk to the embassy and are asked by journalists if they had come to get to the embassy, who then helped them get in, and in her description she says on p.2:

und da standen we **halt denn** vor der botschaft  
und da war=n fernsehteam jwesen und die frachten  
?wollt ihr 'rein^? + o:da^ wollt ihr **ebend halt**  
nur gucken\_?

This section is also one of the few times Gitta combines her modal particles. Gitta's use of *eigentlich* is about average, but she uses it mainly in her opening description of her leaving Germany and getting to Prague. Towards the end of the interview, when Gitta is more relaxed and is talking about her new life in West Berlin, she starts using tags much more than at any other point during the interview. Perhaps she was able to relax more, or it could have been that she began using a more colloquial type of language which brought out the use of tags. This is another aspect for which the East Germans, and particularly East Berliners, were known, the acceptance of a register which was not *Hochdeutsch* in many situations. Gitta is aware that many people of East Germany are not as happy as they were initially after the Wall fell, but she is one of the few who really feels that she is better off, although she had actually left the GDR before 9 November. Although initially life was very difficult, she says that she would not change anything about leaving East Germany and would do it all again if she had to.

Speaker 16 is Dolly, a 27 year old who is training to be a doctor's assistant, whereas in the GDR she was involved in the catering trade. She very rarely uses *eben* at all, she only uses it twice in her whole interview and is one of the lowest users in the corpus. Whether this is age-related, or because of the desire to fit into a new society, is not clear. She is, however, one of the highest *halt* users in the corpus, perhaps for the same reasons that she does not use *eben*. In her former job in the catering trade Dolly always had a lot of contact with West Germans and West Berliners, and this could also be the reason she has been influenced to use this word. One of the times she uses *halt* particularly frequently is when she is describing how

hard life is for people in the new Germany; on p.4 she says:

man muß schon früh lern=n +2+ für sich selbst zu  
kämpfn daß nich ürgendwie jemand is + der eenen  
auf ne 'bahn schickt + und kriegt allet jemacht  
man muß **halt** + selbst/ so wie man in=a schule +  
für sich 'selbst lernt und sich selbst  
durchboxen muß ist dit **halt** schon denn + ne  
vorstufe für=t janze lebn muß **halt** für/ sich  
selbst + 'kämpfn und enga'giern und  
'arranschieren

Her uses of the other modal particles and of tags are approximately average for an East Berlin speaker. She never uses any of them in combination, and although her use of these words is fairly evenly spread, there are sections where there is a greater use. Dolly starts off her interview very formally, narrating some of the events leading up to 9 November, and the eagerness of the East Germans to hear the latest details of what was happening. As the interview progresses, she gradually starts using more modal particles and tags and certain sections contain a high number of them. An example of this is when she describes the *Kaufrausch* that many East Germans have suffered from, which is also one of the two situations in which she uses *eben*.

She adds that she does not have so much money and cannot afford to

buy expensive products when there are cheaper ones available. On

p.6 she says:

na sichalich werd ick denn diese preis +  
'günstigere kaufn **ne**^ + und wieviele + sind

**abend** dem janzen kaufrausch verfalln^ + **ne**^ +

ob da nu ne goldne schleife drauff ist oda nich

dit is mir **eigentlich** e'jal^ + aba + viele ham

sich **halt** praktisch in den urin/ in den ruin

jewirtschaftet **ne**^ und + meine klar jeld aufjebn

könnte man stundnlang

Similarly to Assi (speaker 10) and Kita (speaker 13) she mentions

how some East Germans behaved when they were first in West Berlin

and how this made her feel. On p.3 she says:

dit war schon manchmal + erniedrigend oda man

fühlte sich schon / dit war beschämend wie  
manche leute + sich denn + zwei oda dreimal  
anjestellt ham wo se denn von den el-ka-wees  
'kaffe und banan runtajeschmissen ham

and one sentence later:

nur um da n paar pa/ bana:n abzukriegn + dit war  
dann schon hat man sich eigentlich jeschämt für  
einije ja^ weil + dit is +2+ als bettla + wollte  
man sich eigentlich nich abstempeln lassn ja^

Of the West Germans she says that they are unfriendly and tend to live for themselves, she is of the same opinion as many other East Berliners that the West Germans are self-confident. Another theme which recurs throughout the East Berlin interviews is the view that West Germans think that the East Germans are not capable of working. On p.7 Dolly says:

+ eigentlich sind wir !nich^! menschn der zweetn  
klasse aba man würd da halt so 'abjestempelt die  
wessis + die ham ja 'jesacht also najja die die  
ham ja sowieso nich jeabetet die könn ja nich  
abetn un die sin faul

Dolly does not always view reunification positively; she mentions that the social structure of the GDR was very good and that many East Germans are now suffering from unemployment and are turning to drink to cope with their problems.

Speaker 17 is Kira, a 36 year old doctor who has always lived in East Berlin. In certain ways she seems to contradict some suggestions made so far. The interviewer comments separately that Kira has tears in her eyes for some parts of the interview, and on the first page, when discussing how she heard that the Wall had fallen, it is commented in the transcriptions that you can hear *Schluckgeräusche* when she is particularly emotional. However, even during these points Kira rarely uses modal particles or tags and this

continues throughout the interview, which is also one of the longest interviews carried out. Perhaps this is because she is trying to speak properly, or perhaps she never really uses modal particles in her normal speech. It could also be linked to her education as a doctor, where she learned to control her language use. Only the use of *denn* and tags are around the average, and the others are well below average. Her use of *eigentlich* is actually bordering on the lower line of significance as Kira uses it so infrequently that it is significant. This could suggest that she is not merely narrating events, but is actually involved in what she is saying. It seems unlikely that Kira is trying to speak *Hochdeutsch* consciously, as she comments in her interview on p.20 about the way that West Germans speak:

wenn die anjefangen ham zu sprechen dann is mir  
+ am anfang echt n kalter schauer^ übern rücken/  
weil die + wirklich nur standarddeutsch  
gesprochen haben ja^

She also comments that East Berliners use more dialect than their western counterparts. In general Kira does not seem to have a very high opinion of West Germans and West Berliners. One of her friends is from West Germany, although she says about him on p.15:

also ma n/ ma n wessi kennenjelernt+ wo man sagt  
dit kann / dit muß n irrtum sein wa^ eigentlich  
jehört der hierher auf die seite + der is da  
bestimmt + ausversehen jelandet

Kira also comments about the way that West German doctors behave with children (in the GDR she was a paediatrician) and how this is very different to how East German doctors behaved towards the children that came in to be treated. On p.16 she says:

die distanzk die die kollegen im westen zum  
patienten halten und och zum kind + dit dit kenn  
ich nich ick geh ganz anders ran wenn da n kind  
kommt dann wird dat geknuddelt und gedrückt und  
gestreichelt

The reason she suspects for this is that in East Germany doctors chose willingly to be paediatricians, whereas in West Germany it was seen more as a profession to enter if they had not got into other fields of work, as it was not as well paid. Two final points which show Kira's positive attitude towards the East and less so towards the West are firstly; she says right at the beginning of the interview that although she went to visit family on 10 November, she was not very bothered about West Berlin on the whole, and in fact on p.4 she says:

da hätte mich dit wahrscheinlich nich gestört\_ +  
wenn wieda zujewesen wäre

Kira also thinks as many others do that West Germans think they can recognise East Germans and she says on p.16:

der sagte sagen sie mal^ wo haben sie  
eigentlich ihre praxis^ im osten^ oder im  
westen^ ick sag na raten se doch mal^ wa + da  
sagt der woher soll ich denn dit wissen dis  
steht ihnen doch nich auf der stirn geschrieben  
ick sag na ihr wessis meint doch sonst immer ihr  
riecht uns ossis wa^

Appropriately, this is one of the passages which includes most modal particles and tags in the interview. This may also be linked to the fact that, in this case, she wanted to distance herself from the person she was speaking to and consciously chose to speak differently from the person she was speaking to, in this case a West German.

Speaker 18 is Karin, a 29 year old teacher from East Berlin. She has quite mixed views about East and West Germany and about reunification. The interviewer comments separately that she is very relaxed and has an easy-going attitude towards the interview. Karin is quite unusual as her rate of modal particle and tag use declines throughout the interview, rather than increasing as happens with most of the other speakers. Especially in the first few minutes of the

interview there is a frequent occurrence of *denn*, accompanied by lots of laughter as she describes how she heard that the Wall had fallen. Karin's use of *eben* and *halt* are well below average. She rarely uses *halt* at all, and her use of *eben* is slightly more and evenly spread throughout the interview, as she incorporates them into her narrative. Karin's use of *eigentlich*, on the other hand, is well above average and is particularly frequent on the third page of the transcript. Here she is telling of her experiences of the first few days after the Wall fell and also of the situations of her friends and acquaintances, many of whom had left the GDR before November 1989. An example of this is on p.3, where Karin says:

die bekanntn und freunde von mir sind zum:  
größtn teil abjehaun mit den=n hat ich  
**eigentlich** kurz vorher vor: ham: m: dem neunten  
november 'wenig zu tun weil wie jesacht viele  
weg warn^ und och im september ich noch zu zwei  
hochzeitn einjeladn wurde die **eigentlich** nur +  
stattfand=n damit die beid=n in den westn komm=n  
könn^ und war **eigentlich** ziemlich finster und  
dadurch war die sache für mich relativ +  
'erleichternd

Karin's use of *denn* is interesting, of which she is by far the highest user in the entire corpus. In particular during the first two pages of the transcriptions of the interview, Karin's use of *denn* is very high. It is during this time that she is describing how she heard that the Wall had fallen and how she went to cross the border on the night of 9 November. Karin does not seem particularly overcome with emotion as she describes these events as compared to some of the other East Berlin speakers, and seems very factual and calm; for example on p.2 she says:

sind **denn** dahin jefahrn@ zum/ zur bornholmer  
straße em: %wohn ja in pankow war nich allzu  
weit % + stelltn **denn** da die fahrräder hin ham  
die o noch anjeschlossn und + ham **denn**: menschn  
und massn jesehn det war echt + total voll @da

un denn@ ham wa jedacht mensch + wenn wir da  
ankomm denn is et weitaus später

It is during these sections that she laughs very frequently, which does seem to suggest some emotional involvement or nervousness. Karin is unusual in the way that she is one of the few East Berlin speakers to say that she liked West German aspects of their life before the Wall came down and also concerning the way she talks of the things that happened in November 1989. On p.4 she says:

wir ham den kalten krieg verlorn^ und da muß man  
nun sehn wie=s klar wird aber + des hielt mich  
immer noch nich davon ab von so manch=n  
westlichen sachn begeisterter zu sein als von  
den östlich=n

In the same section she also mentions that she avoided many of her friends because of their attitudes to what was happening in Germany. She says that many of her friends used to complain about the GDR, but when the Wall fell, she says:

ich hatt keene lust mehr nur rumzuheuln und nur  
zu sagn ach^ is das alles ein elend^ + und + das  
war alles so früh + viel besser^ und ich möchte  
meine mauer wiederhab=n war auch nich mein ding

She continues by saying that the situation at the time of the interview is not ideal either, and not what she would have wished for. Later in the interview (p.7) Karin mentions that all the things that the East Germans have now do not necessarily improve their way of living.

She says:

auch wenn wir n videorekorder nich hatten aber  
ich meine ist es n fortschritt wenn wir zur  
winterzeit ananas essen können^ oder is=es n  
fortschritt wenn wir zur winterzeit uns pilze  
auf die grilletta legen konnten oder is=es denn  
ein fortschritt wenn wir zu jeder tages und  
nachtzeit blumen bekommen können ich glaube  
nicht + daß das den fortschritt des jahrhunderts  
ausmacht^

Interesting here is also her use of the word *Grilletta*, which is the East German variant of the West German word *Hamburger*. Karin's use of tags is below the average use of East Berlin speakers. She very rarely uses them, and when she does it is not in conjunction with any other modal particles, or in particularly interesting sections of her interview. One other thing that is striking in Karin's interview is something she mentions towards the end about her West German friends. She talks about the fact that the relationships between them and her are more strained since 3 October 1990. She says that many of them are not so happy with the conditions within Germany, and feel that the East Germans have profited more from the effects of reunification than West Germans; on p.7 Karin mentions that her friends say:

aber du hast doch einen guten schnitt gemacht^  
and that many of them are strongly influenced by money.

Speaker 19 is 40 year old Paula, a teacher from East Berlin. Her use of *eben* is very slight, she is one of the lowest users in the corpus. She only uses it a few times, and two of those are regarding the night she heard that the Wall had fallen. Her use of *halt* is much greater, maybe because of West German influence, which is unusual as Paula has rather strong ties with East Germany. Maybe this use has increased subconsciously since the *Wende* because of higher use by those in the media. Her main use of *halt* in the interview is on page 7, when she is discussing the different language use of East and West Berlin. She is one of the many East Berlin speakers who mention that the language of those in West Berlin is different to the East Berliners. She says:

die sprachen nun fast alle hochdeutsch

but also that

hinter dem sprachstil + oft + na ja mehr schein  
als sein war + und ja die leute konnten sich  
alle sehr gut ausdrücken

which is different to East Berlin because

bei uns wurde **eigentlich** der berliner dialekt  
noch mehr gepflegt + was heißt gepflegt na dit  
war **halt** so drin und man erwünscht sich ja auch  
selbst + ich meine in=ner klasse spricht man  
hochdeutsch aber wenn man !bißchen! schneller +  
erzählt + dann mogelt sich dieser/ dieser  
berliner dialekt immer wieder rein da kann ick  
machen wat ick will @@ ja^@@ dis is **halt**/

Another time is when she talks of different vocabulary in East and

West. Paula says:

eh wenn wir + für uns n broiler jeholt ham + war  
dit ein !hähnchen! ja^ ein brathähnchen bei uns  
war=s halt der broiler

Once during the interview Paula combines *eben* and *halt* when she is  
talking about catalogue shopping, something which she enjoys doing,  
but that often things do not turn out to be what she thinks. She says on  
p.8:

aber ja der schein trügt **eben halt** auch öfter^  
ne^

Paula's use of *eigentlich* and *doch* are exactly average relative to the  
use of East Berliners and she does not use either of them in  
combination with other modal particles or tags. Her use of *denn* is  
very low, and there are no particular parts of the interview where she  
uses it a particular amount. The tags are used quite a lot throughout  
the interview, and Paula's use is almost significant. She uses them  
particularly frequently towards the end of the interview, when talking  
about shopping and money, both topics which are important to Paula.  
That Paula uses *eben* and other modal particles so infrequently is

quite surprising because of the attitudes which she has towards the former GDR and the fact that she feels quite strongly about what she is saying. Paula feels close to the GDR and was very surprised by the events of 1989 and 1990. At the beginning of the interview she says:

wir hattn immer gelernt die entwicklung geht  
vorwärts + eine rückentwicklung in der  
gesellschaft gibt=s nich ja ick kann mich noch  
an die worte von dem erich honecker erinnern  
@die mauer wird nie fallen@ ich hätt-s ooch nie  
geglaubt weil man ja auch in dem sinne erzogen  
war ja^

When Paula went across to West Berlin she was surprised by what she saw; she says on page 3:

naja nach ner ganzen weile warn wa dann endlich  
auf !west!berliner gebiet sah genauso aus wie  
bei uns da war nüscht nüscht anderes

Her husband's family had been separated by the Wall, and when her husband meets his brother on 9 November she mentions:

ick stand da und hab geschluckt da mußte mich  
wegdrehn

she meets family that she had never met before. Later in the interview, on p.5, she says that she still does not feel as secure in West Berlin:

irgendwie föhl ich mich wieda sichra wenn ich im  
@ostteil berlins bin@ ick kann nich sachn warum  
un wieso aber vielleicht kennt man-s doch noch  
genauer + ich föhlm mich irgndwie dann wieda zu  
hause is vertrauter

Towards the end of the interview Paula also comments:

ick föhl mich als ossi @@@ ja + ja doch ick +  
bin noch n ossi + und innerlich bin ick och  
stolz drauf obwohl=s mich äußerlich oftmal  
ärgert daß man doch + sag mal n bürger zweiter  
klasse is

Although Paula believes that some things were better in the GDR and other things are better in reunified Germany, there are things which bother her at this time. One is that the society in which she lives has

become an *Ellenbogengesellschaft*, which is an idea which is carried in many East Berlin interviews. Another thing is something which she discussed with a West German headmaster. On p.4 she says:

der war och der meinung naja hoffentlich wird es  
mal nich so komm daß !ihr! alles von uns übernehm  
mußt sondern daß euer gutes und unser gutes  
zusammenwächst wie man heute weiß es geschah  
nicht so

Speaker 20 is 41 year old Maria, who is a primary school teacher and has always lived in East Berlin. Maria mentions at several points throughout her interview that she felt very closely involved with the GDR, and even today feels that it was a good state to live in, and that she was proud to serve it; on p.2 she says:

ich war jahrelang^ und bin-s heute eigtllich imma  
noch n angaschierta lehra + habe meien aufgabm  
im meinem land und im meinem staat in dem ich  
gelebt habe eigtllich sehr ernst genom

This could be seen to be reflected in the fact that although Maria does not use *eben* very often, she does not use *halt* at all. Whilst listening to the interview it becomes clear why Maria uses very few modal particles and tags, apart from *eigentlich*. It seems that she has prepared the interview, and when listening to Maria speak, it sounds as if she were reading the interview from a piece of paper, which would explain the fact that her language use is rather formal at times. Her very frequent use of *eigentlich* makes her one of the highest users in the corpus. For example on page 7:

ick würde sagen schon zwee tage danach und damit  
war t für mich abjeklärt und zwar war ich  
**eigentlich** erschütterert jewesen + ehm + daß +  
un/unsere regierung^ sich in dieser situation so  
machtlos jezeigt hat + und im prinzip uns  
**eigentlich** ehm + uns bürger **eigentlich** in  
bestimmten dingen im stich gelassen hat und für  
doof verkooft hat

As the interview progresses she starts to use *eben* more than she did

initially, although the use of other modal particles does not increase as significantly, and neither does the use of tags, nor does Maria combine modal particles with each other or with tags. One of the times when Maria uses *eben* frequently is also unusual in the fact that she is pointing out an advantage of West Germany yet she is mainly pro-GDR. On page 10 she says:

und wenn denn mal n kleenet hallochen dit nich  
so pack^ na denn packts **ebend** nicht dann packt  
det dit **ebend** morgen^ und dit is **ebend**  
heutzutage keen beenbruch früher wärs ne  
katastrophe^

In general it seems that Maria was not really affected very strongly by the fall of the Wall. She thinks that the best thing about it was that (p.3):

'bevor se sich in ungarn tottrampeln machn se die  
mauer uff und die jehn alle rüba und der rest  
der hierbleibt der tut wat für-t land und dann  
is jut\_

She was very pleased by the fact that most people who went across on 9 November were not leaving East Germany or East Berlin, but were just going to have a look at the other side of Germany and then return home again. Maria says of herself:

hat mich überhaupt nich uffjeregt ick hab  
wunderbar die nacht jeschlafen

Initially it seems unusual that Maria has such an ambivalent attitude towards West Germany, as she mentions that her family was divided by the Wall, but she later explains why she feels like this. In her family the West was glorified, they were not allowed to watch East German television, and it seems that Maria rebelled against this, as she says on p.4:

dadurch habe ick persönlich zum westn eigentlich  
ne aggressive haltung entwickelt als kind und  
o:chne opposition jebildet und habe also vasucht

mit 'dem wat mein äh + staat für mich wo ick  
aufwachse und der sich eigentlich ja in gewisse  
form o:ch um mich jekümmet hat

Maria is very cynical about West Germans, including her own family. She mentions that her family in the West used to send them presents and money, but she believes this is only because they could deduct the costs from tax, and mentions that when the tax relief stopped the presents and help stopped, too. Things that Maria mentions which are also mentioned by other East Berliners are the fact that East and West Berlin were more similar than expected. On p.6 she says:

na dit is ja n scheißhinterhof + den hast du im  
osten och' and 'dit sieht ja jenauso aus wie bei  
mir zu hause

and on p. 15:

den wessi erkennt man an seiner  
!kaltschnäuzigkeit!

as well as the fact that she thinks East Germans take more care over their everyday appearance than West Germans do; on p.14 she says:

meine erste bekenntschafft mit mit westbürger im  
bevölkerungsbild war jewesen abjelatschte  
schuhe^ ausjelatschte pullover^ und richtig  
schöne triste graue röcke

Speaker 21 is 35 year old old Lena, who used to be a qualified secretary and telephonist and now works in a factory in West Berlin. She has family in West Berlin and had visited West Berlin before November 1989. Her use of *eben* and *halt* are about equal, perhaps because of the influence of West Berlin relatives or because she now works in the west of Berlin. One of the times she uses *eben* more frequently is when she is describing how her husband, who was in West Germany, heard about the borders opening. She says on p.3:

'denn kommt da ne durchsage durch dieset  
hausmikrofon/ haussprechanlage ähm + das **ebent**  
die grenzen offjemacht worden sind + und + jetzt

ebend mip=m ansturm zu rechnen ist und da hat er  
jedacht + die wolln ihn vascheißern + die hättn  
ihn erkannt + daß dit n ostler ist

One of the times when Lena uses *halt* is when she is describing why there are so many problems between East and West Germans, something which is obviously an emotional subject. On p.9 she says:

dann könnte man vielleicht besser mitnander  
leben +2+ aber nich sagen na mein gott + dit is  
halt allet alt jwesen und dat mußte halt  
jeschlossen wer=n und + ich meine wir ham ja och  
die janzen jahre produziert + und noch vakauft  
+2+ so schlecht kann=s ja nich jwesen sein

Although Lena's use of *eigentlich* and *doch* are about average, and not used in combination with each other or other modal particles or tags, her use of *denn* is above the level of significance. There does not seem to be a particular pattern regarding this use, but it does mainly occur in passages of narration. Lena's use of tags are also around average and occur regularly throughout the interview, with no particular passages of high occurrence. Lena does not seem to have strong ties with either East or West Germany. However, she does mention that on earlier visits to West Berlin it would cross her mind whether or not to return to East Berlin at the end of her visit. On p.3 she says:

als ick zurückjefahrn bin + friedrichstraße  
jestanden und hab übalegt + jehste^ oda jehste  
nich zurück + aba durch die kinder bin ich  
zurückjeyangen

She also mentions the fact that she always worried when her husband visited the West:

der kam ja och @gott sei dank imma wieda@ + die  
angst haste aber jedetmal jehabt + kommt=a  
kommt=a nicht + imma wieda ne^

Certain themes in Lena's interview are themes that have turned up in

many of the East Berliners' conversations. On p.4 she mentions:

wir mußten + ja alle + alles annehm vom westen +  
der hat ja nüscht von uns anjenomm

and also the opinions of the West German relatives:

tante und onkels sagten denn also wir ham +4+  
wir^ ham + vierzig jahre nur jefaultentz^ +  
deshalb konnte aus uns nüscht werden^ + deshalb^  
mußten wir + bankrott jehn deshalb mußte die  
mauer jeöffnet wer=n deshalb mußten !die! uns  
aufnehmen deshalb müssen !sie! uns jetzt  
weiterhin + durchschleppen mehr oder weniger  
!sie! müssen ja für uns zahlen

It is quite clear from the way this is formulated and the language used that Lena feels very strongly about it. The idea is expanded on p.5 when Lena tells of the opinions of her work colleagues. She says:

die stehn uff den gleichen standpunkt + wir sind  
dumme ossis^ + wir ham die janzen jahre nüscht  
jelernt + und wir könn nich mal das alphabet  
richtig + grad so + daß wir die karteikarten  
alphabetisch einordnen können + ne

Another theme which turned up in many other interviews with East Berliners which Lena also mentions is the way language is used. On p.7 she says:

na die berufstätige frau die muß halt was  
darstellen nach außen ebend och un im !jespräch!  
wenn die denn mun aufmachen und die sprechen  
!hochdeutsch! n perfektet hochdeutsch + und  
vornehm denn noch dabei

One of the negative points is that people are used to having more now in reunified Germany and take much of it for granted. Lena says it is harder to please her children now; where before they would be happy with a small gift this is no longer the case. She also feels that the people are not yet one, and that much has to happen before that will be the case. The strongest viewpoint she expresses in the interview is on p.8, when she says that reunification has mainly had negative

effects on her family, personally and financially. She even says:

ach weeßte manchmal hab ick ja schon jesagt die  
können die mauer wieder zumachen

Speaker 22 is Lore, a 50 year old teacher from East Berlin.

Throughout the interview she is quite emotional, and tells the interviewer of the things which affected her, in the former GDR and during the time of the *Wende*. She is one of the highest *eben* users of the entire corpus, and this could be seen to be because of her age, as she is one of the older speakers of the corpus, and also because of the frequent use of *eben* when she talks about emotional circumstances. In the transcriptions it is clear how affected Lore was by the events of 9 November 1989. At one point she is explaining how the realisation of what had happened slowly dawned on her, as on p.3 she says:

zur folge ham daß ich einfach pausenlos jehault  
habe + + und !wenn ick! [TRÄNEN SCHIESSEN IN DIE  
AUGEN, KÄMPFT DAGEGEN AN] +3+ jetzt noch dran  
denke jeht=s mir immer noch so ute ja^  
[WEINERLICHE STIMME]

Further on she says:

ick war eigentlich nur dazu in der lage erstmal  
eben nur zu heulen

On the use of *eben* there are a few interesting examples, for example also on p.3 Lore says:

dit kann man **ebend** nich beschreiben + ich ich  
war eigentlich nich dazu in der lage +2+ ähm +  
na **ebend** n kla:ren gedanken zu fassen

and on p.6 she is explaining her feelings of guilt about what she had to make the children at her school do, for example join certain groups, when she says:

drüber ja +2+ konnt ich **eben** nicht lachn + weil  
dit **eben** stimmt +3+ (h) tja +2+ so war dit + und  
denn hat=s mich wieder geärgert + äh daß ick

diese + daß ich diese + empfindung + äh diese  
diese schuldempfindung + äh hatte^ +mh+ und  
!andre! + die se **eben** + ha auf alle fälle **eben**  
janz deutlich haben !müßten! + hättn ham müssen  
ham=se **eben** nich

Although I have picked out these two examples, Lore does use *eben* throughout her interview, although at certain points they cluster together. In contrast to the very high use of *eben*, Lore does not use *halt* in the same way, she only uses it once throughout the entire interview. The occasion where she does use *halt* is a topic which can be seen to lie close to her heart, having to force pupils to join certain clubs. On p.7 she says:

das hat mich solche + furchtbaren nerven  
gekostet oder den schüler davon zu überzeugen +  
daß er mitglied der fdj wird !oder! ihn davon zu  
überzeugen daß er **halt** dies und dies und dies  
und jenes und das und das und die schüler ham=s  
zum glück hm jetan eh mir !zuliebe!

This fact of having to force pupils to join certain things is something which really bothers Lore. On p.6 she says:

!es stinkt mich an hinterm ladentisch zu stehn  
und etwas verkaufn zu müßsn was ich selbst nie  
kaufn würde^!

Although Lore's use of *eigentlich* is not over the line of significance, it does come very close to it, and she tends to use it in sections of narration or explanation, where fewer of the other modal particles, especially *eben* and tags, are used. An example is on p.9, where she says:

eh n richjer theaterfan war ick **eigentlich** nie  
ick muß mich **eigentlich** immer durch n  
abonement eh + zwingen dit hatte aber  
**eigentlich** nich damit zu tun daß ick nich jerne  
ins theater ging sondern + oder sagn wir mal so  
+ richtjer fan war ich nich ich ich ging ganz  
!gerne^! ins theater aber nich !so! gern wie  
viele andere also mich interessierte wahnsinnig  
ballet^ eh opern überhaupt **eigentlich** nich  
!sprech!bühne^ aber es kostete mich **eigentlich**

immer überwindung

Lore's use of *doch* and *denn* are below average, but they tend to be used during the same sections as *eigentlich*. The use of tags is above average and tend to be used in certain sections, although they are not combined with each other or other modal particles. It can also be seen, when looking at the transcriptions, that the tags are used most frequently in the sections where *eben* is used most. Lore feels that the West Germans and West Berliners could not understand the feelings that the citizens of the East had. She describes visiting a West German friend and her partner, who she had only met a few times but who was overjoyed to see her. But to Lore this seemed strange, and on p.4 she says:

aber äh dit war so + eh + plötzlich so=ne  
vertrautheit als ob man sich **eben** hundert jahre  
schon kennt + aber der war=n !wessi! verstehtste  
was so so + dis dis war ne/ is ne andre freude  
ne an/ ne andre freude ne freude über über über  
das ver!eint!sein

Speaker 23 is Jenny, a 22 year old whose occupation is not revealed. Jenny has very strong affinities to East Germany and East Berlin, which may be reflected in her choice of *eben* over *halt*, as many of the other younger East Berliners have started to adopt the West German form. Jenny uses *eben* frequently throughout the interview and only uses *halt* once. Although she uses *eben* throughout, there are times when they are used in close proximity. An example is when talking about her plans to travel abroad, which she was not able to do before 1989. On p.3 she says:

was mich wirklich gefreut hat is daß wir **eben**  
jetz eh: +ja+ hört sich doof an muß ick einfach  
so sagen reisen^ können + also ick find=s  
unheimlich aufregend^ da mal in diese länder zu  
fahrn die man **eben** früher nich so besuchen  
konnte + und genieße das auch und: + eigentlich  
sind meine ganzen nächsten ferien schon alle

verplant daß ich dann **ebend** 'dahin fahre und  
'dahin fahre und 'dahin fahre'^.

This is one of the few times that Jenny discusses the more positive aspects of reunification; in general she is not so positive about the changes which have taken place. Initially Jenny did not travel to West Berlin, as she did not know what to think of the changes that were happening. On p.2 she says:

und auch an den folgenden tagen nicht nach  
westberlin gefahrn + nachdem ich mich so=n  
bißchen mit der situation abgefunden hatte^ +  
also ich wußte nich so richtig was ich dazu  
denken sollte soll dis nun gut finden oder  
schlecht findn

Like many other East Berliners, Jenny did not like collecting the money that she was entitled to. She says:

war auch irgendwie n sehr schlimmes gefühl für  
mich als wir dieses begrüßungsgeld abgeholt habn  
als + fand ich irgendwie + sehr erniedrigend

She thinks that the people in East and West Berlin are very different, she thinks East Berliners are on the whole much friendlier people and says on p.3 that those from West Berlin:

doch sehr 'kalte leute sind

She also mentions that those from the East use more dialect than their western counterparts and that the city is not yet truly reunited. The one time Jenny does use *halt* is when she is describing West Berlin language. On p.3 she says:

und was ich son=n bißchen schlümm finde an dieser  
sprache sind so so: kleine einschubwörter wie zum  
beispiel also (x) übahaupt kein sinn^ und  
irgendwas ham die **halt**^ und + wat jibt=s n da  
noch also dit sind so=ne wörter die ick wirklich  
schlimm finde

She also feels that reunification has not always led to positive effects.

On p.3 she says of people from East and West that:

jeder hat sich dann nur noch um 'sich gekümmert  
wichtig war jetzt das 'geld das andre hat alles  
nicht mehr gezählt

Jenny's use of both *eigentlich* and *doch* are above average, and as was the case with Lore (speaker 22), these modal particles tended to be used in the passages where there were fewer uses of *eben*. For example on p.2 Jenny says:

also ich teile **doch** immer noch ein + m ich fahr  
jetz in osten oder ich fahr jetz in westn also  
im osten is dann doch immer noch immer n andres  
klima als im westen oder umgekehrt

It seems that these modal particles are used exclusively of each other. Tags are rarely used in Jenny's interview at all, and when they are, it is not in conjunction with any other modal particle. One last thing to comment upon is that even a few years after reunification Jenny still distinguishes strongly between people from the East and West, even though she does not like doing so. When talking about her workplace on p.3 she says:

arbeite ich zum großen teil mit sogenannten  
@ostlern@ zusammn^ ich bin also an ostschule +  
%blöde dieses wort osten % ostschule^ und da  
sind natürlich auch ostlehrer^ und kein  
westlehrer^ habe lediglich kontakt zu  
sogenannten 'westleuten in den seminaren die ich  
noch besuche^

Speaker 24 is Vera, a secretary in her early twenties who lives in the centre of Berlin. She is a very interesting example of how, subconsciously, the outside world can influence things that speakers may have no control over. Vera is very consciously pro-East Germany and quite negative towards the West; this is however, not shown in her language use. Her use of *eben* is well below average, whereas her use of *halt* is well above average. When Vera does use *eben*, it tends to be to justify what she is saying, for example on p.5 she says:

fahr ick doch mal ab und zu recht gerne rüber^  
zwar nur sportbedingt weil eben die spiele  
größtenteils im westen sind^

On the other hand she tends to use *halt* in topics where she becomes emotionally involved in what she is saying, as on p.8 when discussing the fact that West Berliners do not speak the same as East Berliners as they tend to only speak *Hochdeutsch*. She says:

dit paßt überhaupt nich zu dem so zu reden +  
aber wenn er der meinung ist daß man so reden  
muß dann muß er **halt** so und + jeder redet so wie  
er will und ick rede nu mal so und wenn ick **halt**  
hochdeutsch reden !muß! dann geb ick mir  
natürlich allergrößte mühe

Another interesting factor is that Vera's use of *eigentlich* is very high, in fact it is over the line of statistical significance. Throughout the interview, but particularly at the very beginning and end, she continually uses *eigentlich* to narrate her story. As in some of the other cases, it can be seen that *eigentlich* is used in different sections than the other modal particles and tags, although, as in Jenny's case (speaker 23) it can happen that *doch* and *denn* are used at the same points. This is also the case for Vera, although she does not use either *doch* and *denn* as much as *eigentlich*. Vera's use of tags is also exceedingly low, which is unusual as she does feel very strongly about what she is saying. Perhaps it is because, although Vera feels very strongly about what she is saying, she tries to use neutral language to explain her emotions. For example on p.2 she says the following when she heard that the Wall had fallen:

ick hatt eigentlich nicht dit interesse jehabt  
rüba zu fahrn^ und bin dann einfach in die  
schule gefahn

and also of her classmates' opinions:

warn so: wei:t aller der gleichen meinung  
jewesen is eigentlich im prinzip scheiße^ + %daß

die mauer uffgemacht wurde%

The strongest opinion on the subject is in the same section as the previous two quotations, when she says:

!äh: man könnte die mauer meinetwegen wieda  
'hinbaun + sie könnte noch doppelt so hoch^ sein

When she does visit West Berlin she says that she felt ashamed to be East German when she saw how many East Germans were behaving, and she also mentions that she feels much more at home in East Berlin than in the West. Throughout the interview Vera's East German feelings are clear. On p.5 she says:

die einjung in=n köpfen wir noch ne weile dauern  
+ und wird eigentlich immer + ost und west  
bleiben gibt natürlich wie jesagt schon westler  
die sind nich so + blöd wie andre die so  
überheblich sind

Vera thinks that reunification came too soon, and is very conscious of buying East German products, for example when she says on p.5:

ick geh natürlich so grundsätzlich eigntlich nur  
im osten einkoofen weil + ick der meinung bin  
man muß den osten unterstützen

Vera also mentions that she does not think West German women have the same desire to work full time which the East German women always had to do. She also comments on the fact, as do many other East Berliners, that the West Germans think that the East Germans cannot work. On p.7 she says:

kenn ich nur die einstellung so nach dem motto  
die männer könn ja nich arbeiten oder überhaupt  
allgemein die ostler

Vera feels very strongly about the different way that West Germans speak. On pages 7 and 8 she comments:

wir sagen ja + ich stehe hier oder ich habe dort  
gestanden^ und die sagen eh 'ich bin gestanden  
wie hört sich denn dit an dit is doch keen  
deutsch also ürgendwo oder ich bin gesessen eh +

ja entweder seh ick dit vakehrt oder + oder eben  
weeß ick nich oder ick hab + drei jahre umsonst  
deutsch jelernt oder zehn jahre so in=ner in=ner  
grundschule und hauptschule und so aber + ich  
bin jestanden also + weeß nich ürgendwie + na ja  
es/ ja also trotzdem noch alljemein so viele  
reden natürlich sehr hochdeutsch wat sich  
manchmal wirklich n bisschen bescheuert anhört

One final noteworthy point about Vera is one of the last things she comments upon in her interview which sums up her feelings towards reunification. On p.8 she says:

et jibt genug leute + den=s wesentlich  
schlechter jeht als zu ostzeiten

Although she does not include herself in this group of people, it is interesting to note that she does not mention the advantages which reunification has brought to some, nor does she mention any positive points.

Speaker 25 is Rainer, and all we know about him is that he is a *Republikflüchtiger*, escaping from the GDR in September 1989. He did this by getting a visa to Bulgaria, with travel through Hungary. He flew to Bulgaria, then went by train to Hungary and there went to the Red Cross, which arranged for buses to travel to West Germany, and from there to West Berlin. On p.2 he tells the interviewer:

und war zu dieser zeit + schon cirka zwei monate  
+2+ in berlin west^ nach berlin west bin ich  
gekomm + durch die +2+ damals sogenannte +  
republikflucht'. He says 'ich wollte einfach nur  
raus^ aus der de-de-er weg + ich konnte das nich  
mehr ertragen in der de-de-er weiter +2+ leben  
zu müssen^

Similarly to Maria his interview sounds prepared and almost as if he is reading it from the page, and this is reflected in his use of modal particles and tags. He uses no modal particles at all apart from *eigentlich* minimally, *doch* only once and he uses no tags either. This

could be the case since modal particles are very much a sign of spontaneous, spoken language and not of prepared or written German. Perhaps Rainer avoids the use of *eben* because of its East German connotations. Similarly, perhaps he does not yet use *halt* as he has not been living in West Berlin for a significant period of time. The use of *eigentlich* reflects the style of language which is being used, he uses it to convey his narrative as many of the other speakers also do. Rainer uses one of the key words of the *Wende* time to explain how this period was viewed by many; on p.3 he says:

mit sicherheit war-s + auch für die meisten  
 menschen sehr schwer zu verstehen daß aufeinmal  
 die mauer + dieser mythos^ + diese  
 unüberwindliche^ grenze aufeinmal ?offen? sein  
 sollte ich glaube eh sogar + daß rein  
 empfindungsmäßig + das f:für die meisten  
 menschen wirklich der absolute wahnsinn war

The word *Wahnsinn* really became a key word for people to express what was happening in November 1989, although it is not used in any of the other interviews. The time just after November 1989 must have been particularly difficult for people like Gitta (speaker 15), Konrad (speaker 28) and Rainer, as they left everything behind them to escape the GDR and within months the whole system collapsed, although all mention that they would do the same again if they had to.

Speaker 26 is Willy, a newly trained teacher in his mid to late twenties. Willy is interesting in that he can see both the positive and negative sides of what happened to Germany in 1989. Throughout this time and also throughout the interview he is calm and tries to view both sides of the story. He is the second highest *eben* user in the entire corpus and uses it consistently during the entire interview, but particularly at the beginning and towards the end. For example on p.8 Willy talks about the possibility of reading books from different

countries; he says:

der buchmarkt der jetzt so so mannigfaltig is so  
breit is daß **eben** da **ebend** auch +2+  
interessanter aber auch **ebend** schwieriger weil  
die/ wie überall hat man doch + die qual der wahl  
+ und + deshalb+ **ebend** auch daß ich vor allem  
darüber sprechen kann +2+ ich lese nach wie vor  
auch autoren die: aus der ehemaligen ddr kommen  
aber habe **emd** jetzt auch die chance mir +  
schriftsteller **ebend** an lang zu ziehen die  
damals **ebend** hier überhaupt nicht verlegt wurden  
die **ebend** eh + für mich intressant sind aber  
**eben** nich intressant weil se sagen mal aus=m  
bestimmten land kommen oder bestimmte  
nationalität haben sondern einfach weil der stoff  
über den sie schreiben + für mich intressant is  
also das is ne sache die ich **ebend** vor allem  
jetzt kulturell + nutze

Willy does not use *halt* at all, and his use of *eigentlich* is well below average. This is probably because his style of speaking is very much spontaneous and not simply narrating events. Willy is also one of the highest *doch* users in the corpus, and what is interesting to see is that he very often combines *eben* and *doch*, and also uses them closely together. For example on p.2, when talking about the possibility of the Wall falling, he says:

n abfinden damit **doch** nich also also es war so  
immer + ne hoffnung da daß man sagt mensch +  
vielleicht ändert sich das mal aber der glaube  
daran war **doch eben** eh so gering daß **eben doch**  
+ diese ganze situation die dann am neunten  
november eh auf einmal + losbrach oder dieser  
damm der dort brach + **doch** schon erstmal schwer  
zu verarbeiten war auch für so=nen jungen  
menschen eh wie mich

His use of *denn* and tags are also well below average and these are not used in conjunction with any other modal particles or tags. Willy's situation in the GDR is interesting, as he qualified as a teacher in the GDR and taught for a while before the Wall fell. On p.2 he remembers one of his first meetings as a teacher when he says:

an der ersten pädagogischen rat den ich hier in  
der schule erlebte wo: lehrer + rinnen und

lehrer ebend + den eh sozialismus in dem rahmen  
der ddr verteidigten und wirklich eh ganz  
engagiert der meinung warn +2+ reformen egal  
welcher art eh sind in der ddr sinnlos

After this he discusses what happened after November 1989 and how  
it felt to have broken out from the system. But he does not view  
everything as completely positive and holds back much more on other  
aspects. For example, on p.4 he says:

ich gehörte auf jeden fall nich mit zu den  
ersten die da gleich mit rübergerannt eh: sind

and he is disappointed with some of what he sees in the West. Like  
many other East Berliners he says (p.5):

dieses wie man sich mal vorgestellt hat + war  
**doch eben** nich so man hat gesehn da gabs  
genauso=ne mietshäuser wie wir sie in unserem  
teil der stadt ham

He also mentions being ashamed of his fellow East Germans who  
accepted so many gifts from the West, which is something that he did  
not do; on page 5 he says:

und bot mir ürgendso=ne zigarette an mit den  
worten willste mal ne westzigarette rauchen^ nun  
rauch ich auch nich aber + alleine das ich hätt  
sie auch nich genommen wenn ich geraucht hätte  
weil ich mir + also vorkomme wie so=n  
eingeborener der dann ürgendwas von der  
zivilisation angeboten bekommt

Speaker 27 is Dithmar, a 33 year old locksmith from East  
Berlin. Dithmar is much more positive towards the former GDR than  
reunified Germany and believes that things could have been worked  
out better. Although he does not use *eben* very much, he does not use  
*halt* at all, presumably because of his lack of contact and  
communication with the West. He uses *eben* at regular intervals  
during his interview, mainly when expressing things of importance  
that happened during the time of the *Wende*. He rarely uses

*eigentlich, doch* and *denn*, and the highest occurrence is his use of tags. Similarly to *eben*, tags are used throughout the interview, but especially in the section regarding his first visit to West Berlin. Points of interest in his interview are his views of how the unification of Germany should have been carried out; on p.3 he says:

wenn dit ne fördertion jeworden wär wär=t super  
jewesen + aber nich so wie jetze anschluß unter  
paragraph dit wußt ick von anfang an daß die  
scheiße wird

He feels that the government of the new united Germany is trying to keep the people in check when he says:

dit ham se allet im grundgesetz achtundvierzig  
verankert daß dat volk nie wieder uffstehn kann  
und sagen wir sind n volk

He also thinks that the GDR was swallowed up by the West, on p.4 he says:

die bündesrepublik entsteht vonner eh  
vereinnahmung der ehemaligen ddr

The word *Vereinnahmung* was a key word around the period of October 1990 when it was being decided what would happen to the GDR. Dithmar does not view the GDR as a bad place to have lived in; on p.4 he says:

und so jeht diet allet bis zum áusspionieren du  
bist schlimmer wie der gläserne mensch in  
dresden +2+ hier unter de lupe + dit kriegst du  
allet jar nich mit + die stáasi + mensch die hat  
dich doch in ruhe jelassen wenn de/n  
nullachtufffzehntyp warst

Speaker 28 is Konrad, a 28 year old builder and husband of Gitta (speaker 15), and therefore he is also a *Republikflüchtiger*, escaping from the GDR in September 1989 via the West German embassy in Prague. In general he does not use many modal particles; he does use *eben* a few times, and it is interesting to see that when he

does use it it is to describe his financial situation, which has been a great struggle since he left everything behind in the GDR. He says on p.3:

was wa dann im dezember neunzehneinundneunzich jemacht habm da ham wa **ebend** unsre eigene firma jegegründet h +2+ hat natürlich ooch 'sehr viel mühe und +2+ naja und kampf ums tägliche geld bedeutet + bis zum heutijen tag + grade in der baubranche is et **ebend** sehr sehr hart

Konrad does not use *halt* at all, which may be because he has not yet spent enough time under the influence of the West German language. The modal particle used most by Konrad is *eigentlich*, and he tends to use it to explain how they have coped in such a different society, and after such sudden changes, or explaining why they left the GDR. The use of *doch* and *denn* are minimal, and Konrad does not use modal particles in his interview at all, perhaps because he is trying to speak *Hochdeutsch* as much as possible. Even though Konrad had left the GDR before the Wall fell, he still perceives 9 November and the time around it as joyful. On p.2 he says:

am neunten november war die +2+ mauer + weg^ + vielmehr die grenze war offen^ + h und + det war mit einer der schönsten tage überhaupt^ + wir sind dann nachts noch losjefahren zur/ ähm zum grenzübergang

and on p.3:

naja ick muss sagen dass dieser neunte novemba eigentlich für mich so=n äh sch/ schlüsseltag in meim leben jeworden is

Something which is coincidental about Konrad and Gitta's escape from East Germany is on their return to West Berlin, which was on 7 October, the SED's last celebration, when Konrad says on p.2:

h kam=n dann + h über + übern alexanderplatz flogen wa ein^ + sahn erich honeckers letztes feuerwerk^ + h war genau der + siebte oktober^

The final East Berlin speaker is number 29, Lutz, a 38 year old carer for the elderly who used to be a teacher. He does not have very happy memories of 9 November, as he was lying in bed with his leg in plaster, unable to move. At the very start of the interview he says:

war einklich ne schreckliche zeit für mich

Lutz was very closely involved with the GDR, was a member of the SED, and felt very close to the state; on p.2 he says:

und war unsa lang +2+ und unsa staat und wir ham  
uns da eingebracht und ham uns nich als eh wie  
viele sagen einjesperrt gefühlt

Although Lutz's use of *eben* is below average, he only uses *halt* a few times, and this could reflect his solidarity with the former GDR, as well as his age. When he does use *eben* it tends to be in his descriptions of his former life in the GDR, which was important to him. His use of all other modal particles and tags are well below average, with the tags being used the most and throughout the entire interview. In general he holds very negative attitudes towards unified Germany, a new society which has changed his status considerably. He did not take part in the *Konsumrausch* which many East Germans did. On p.3 he says:

also ick bin nie nach westberlin jerannt um ne  
banane zu kofen oder so

he collected his money and saved it for the family to go on holiday.

Lutz took an active part in demonstrating after German unification and on p.6 he explains:

ich muß bei der treuhand die sch/ die scheiben  
einschmeißen^ (h) also hab mich dan an so na  
demo beteilicht^

Because of such things and perhaps his political past he is still active in politics; on p.10 he says:

aba ick denke dass diese regierung und die die  
dit sagen ham so arrogant sind wie ihre (h) dis  
is ja nich mehr ertragbar + darum werd ick die  
nie/ 'nie wähln

The strongest point Lutz makes is on p.7, when he tells the interviewer that the GDR was not such a bad place to live, and although it was a dictatorship it did have values and cared for many aspects of peoples' lives. He sums it up by saying:

ick fühl mich also als verlierer dieser wende + ick  
bin eindeutig nen verlierer^

The interviews of East Berlin, on the whole, are extremely emotional, and many of the speakers recount what they did on 9 November 1989, and how this date subsequently affected their lives. Although most of the speakers mention that they would not like to live in the GDR again, many express the difficulties that they have come across as well as negative attitudes from West Berliners and West Germans. Many express the idea that West Germany is not much better than the GDR was, and that life in the GDR was not as bad as had been made out. The high occurrence of modal particles and particularly tags reflects this high emotional involvement felt by many of the speakers.

### **5.3 The West Berlin interviews**

The West Berlin interviews differ from those of the East Berliners in many respects. In general, the topics of discussion differ; whereas many of the East Berliners tend to place great emphasis on the actual 9 November 1989, the West Berliners tend to gloss over that day and concentrate on other aspects. The interviews tend to be a lot less emotional and there are very few speakers in the West Berlin section

who seem to be as affected by events as their Eastern counterparts. Rather than a life-changing event, the *Wende* seems to have been an inconvenience, or something which was a temporary change before life returned to normal.

Speakers 1 and 2 are Alex and Norman, who are brothers whose ages are not revealed but they are almost certainly in their twenties and are in sales. Both brothers are doing well since reunification, and neither feels particularly affected by the *Wende*. The use of *eben* of both brothers is well below the average of West Berlin speakers, which may be partly affected by their age. One of the few times it is used, Alex is giving his opinion of the position many East Germans found themselves in after the GDR. On p.12 he says:

und die leute die da in + der zeit gut gelebt  
haben die sind ja nach neunundachtzig + ham se  
ja abstriche machen müssen und + da + is **eben**  
die unzufriedenheit jewachsen + bei denen + weil  
se **ebend** eh + nich mehr ihren wartburg + und n  
trabant + 'und ne datsche hatten

Alex very rarely uses *halt*, whereas Norman uses it to quite a large extent, making him one of the most significant users. This is interesting, as Norman has strong opinions on many things and expresses them frequently. Neither of the brothers seem to know much about the GDR, even though they had relatives there, and they do not feel very close to them as on p.4 Norman says:

wir ham **halt** ziemlich schnell ge/ eh ich glaube  
dis geht den eltern auch nicht anders ziemlich  
schnell festgestellt + daß man + **halt** doch nich  
so viel jemein hat mit den leuten

He thinks that the East Germans have a completely different way of thinking and cannot really sympathise with any problems they may have. He continues by saying:

also w(x) die ganze/ die ganze 'denkart weiße +  
(h) + kann man/ is/ is kein^ vorwurf %gegen die

leute% aber + diese ewije 'rum'jammerei

where this fulfils the stereotype that many West Germans have of the East. It seems that Norman was happier with the running order life had before; on p.6 he says:

!berlin! war vorher halt ne schöne nette insel  
gewesen

and on p.7:

berlin vorher war halt die sondersituation  
gewesen jetzt iss-es wie es überall auch is

This is quite ironic, as Norman comments that his family are better off after reunification. Alex is slightly different in his opinions, he does not think people should distinguish between East and West Germany any longer, on p.5 he says:

also diis dis is immer so noch dann + ja weil dit  
immer noch der + 'ostler und der 'westler + und  
dis + sollte man doch + irgendwo sich mal  
abgewöhnen + also gerade hier in der stadt auch +  
entweder wir sind eins + oder ebend +!+ 'nicht

It is interesting to note that neither Alex nor Norman use *eigentlich* at all throughout their rather long interview. This could be because neither particularly narrates events, rather they talk of their opinions and feelings, rather than specific situations. The use of *doch* and *denn* are also rather low, particularly *denn*, which is used rarely by Norman and not at all by Alex. At the points these modal particles are used there tend to be no other modal particles or tags used, and neither are used in combination with each other or other modal particles or tags. Both speakers use tags above the average, although not significantly. The use of tags tends to occur in groups, where some sections have no tags at all, and other sections have quite a high occurrence. The use increases when the brothers are talking about their business and

the way that East Germans came across in the shop when they were first able to shop and buy in the West. Generally neither Alex nor Norman feel that East Germany has anything to offer them; Norman says on p.7:

ich bin nich unbedingt der meinung daß die +  
gesellschaftspolitisch + ürgendetwas + haben +  
was sie einbringen können + weil +2+ unter äh äh  
einem so repressivem system wie es ja nun äh  
wohl war

They have not changed their habits since reunification, except to use the surrounding countryside for cycling, although they have profited from the *Wende*. Especially Norman seems to think quite negatively of the East, as on p.5 he is describing a family friend who is from the former GDR and says:

aber der hat + entwickelt (h) eine wahnsinnige  
energie und aktivität aber weißte (h) der is  
nich so lethargisch + man würdit ihm gar nich  
mal im ersten moment anmerken glaube das esn  
ostler is

He thinks it is very easy to recognise East Germans when speaking to them, and does not seem very comfortable in doing so. On p.15 he says:

also mit einem ehemaligen westler unterhalte +  
es is 'ungezwungener weißte + ich werd oftmals  
das gefühl nich los + daß die leute 'höllisch  
darauf aufpassen 'was 'sie 'sagen +1+ also um  
janich ent'deckt zu werden ja^

Norman is of the opinion that the East Berliners use less dialect, which makes him the only person who says so, all others, West and East alike, claim that those in the East use more dialect. After Norman's initial views, two later viewpoints do not seem to fit in. He thinks that East and West should not be considered the same, and that something new should have come out of reunification. On p.6 he

says:

ich bin auch gar nicht mal der meinung daß man/  
daß man/ daß sich diese beiden also sich ost und  
west angleichen + meine hoffnung war ja das etwas  
neues daraus entsteht

and on p.8 he says:

die 'wiedervereinigung und dit dit dit wort  
wiedervereinigung 'sacht ja schon allet +  
'wiedervereinigung + kein neuvereinigung nicht  
neues

Speaker 3 is Alina, a 51 year old carer for the elderly who lives in West Berlin. She uses an interesting mix of modal particles, using most of them very frequently. She is the second highest user of *eben* in the West Berlin corpus, using it evenly throughout her entire interview, and particularly in the last section when she discusses how East Germans must have felt after the Wall came down, and the identity problems they could have had. On p.6 she says:

und dann plötzlich stellte man **ebent doch** fest  
+ was **ebent** och in mein persönlichen gesprächen  
so herauskam^ daß (h) daß eh gesacht wurde ja  
aba dis kann **doch** nich 'alles^ schlecht gewesen  
sein was in der ddr war also mit diesem (h) mit  
dieser erkenntnis (h) + war denn ihr ganzes  
'selbst^wertgefühl **ebent** auch hin und das + /  
und das wollte natürlich niemand aba es w/ es/  
es fand **ebent** in ganz vielen fällen so statt^

Alina uses *halt* much less frequently, although she does use it well above the average for a West Berlin speaker. It seems *eben* is still her most common mode of expression, perhaps as a result of her age, but it is clear that *halt* is taking hold in her vocabulary. One section where she uses *halt* more than in other parts of the interview is when she is discussing a visit she had from an East German friend before 1989.

On p.3 she says:

ich hatte ja och üba all die jahre ne freundin  
in ostberlin und das (h) eh eh ja gelang uns  
ja dis so aufrecht zu erhalten trotz der

trennung und alles aba + und daß sie selba hier  
**halt** auch (h) dann bald ehh ein größeres  
familienfest halt miterlebte von mir und (h) daß  
sie **halt** all + meine freunde und und also nähere  
und weitere also jedenfalls n ganz bunter haufen  
dann so miterlebte

This event is obviously an emotional occasion for her, and I would suggest that this is reflected in Alina's use of modal particles. One aspect which makes Alina's interview different from many other speakers is that even though she uses particles such as *eben* and *halt* frequently, she also uses *eigentlich* just above the level of significance, which makes her one of the highest users in the West Berlin corpus. What is also interesting is that her use of *eigentlich* occurs in the same passages of the text as other modal particles. This could be as Alina is a rather emotional speaker who views the *Wende* and the time since positively, which not all West Berlin speakers do. On 10 November she went to the crossing point at Glienicker Brücke and:

die 'massen dort + empfangen so wie-s sich so  
ge'hörte

and also mentions on p.2:

un'bändige 'glücksgefühle det wa also so-wat ick  
hätte die ganze zeit 'heulen 'mögen

At the same time Alina manages to retain some of the distance which could be illustrated by her frequent use of *eigentlich*. On p.2 she tells a story about some people she met on 10 November and who she photographed and swapped addresses with, and when the interviewer asks her whether she still has contact with them or anything has come of the meeting she says:

ähhh +1+ nee ergeben **eigentlich** nich sondern  
'nur daß ich dann hab die 'bilder **halt**  
'hingeschickt und und äh + und dabei iss-es **denn**  
**eigentlich** geblieben weil ich **eigentlich** och zu

radrennfahren dann nich so-ne be@sondere  
beziehung@ hatte

Alina's use of *doch* and *denn* are both very significant in their frequency. Similarly to *eigentlich*, both these modal particles are used throughout the interview and also in conjunction with other modal particles. On p.3 Alina discusses her meetings with East Germans and how these decreased as time passed by. She says:

bei uns zu hauses jesessen ham bei den zu hause  
jesessen ham (h) aba daß nachdem diese phase denn  
vorüber war dann war dis auch okay daß dis/ daß  
se halt denn wech warn und man hatte  
offensichtlich (h) ehh dann nich so dis bedürfnis

and regarding the differences between East and West she says:

daß ihr dis vorkam als wäre dis ne 'auswanderung  
daß is **ebent doch** so wahnsinnige unterschiede  
warn zwischen (h) ihra altgewohnten heimat  
ostberlin und diesem westberlin

and throughout the interview these combinations continue to appear. It seems that Alina uses many different modal particles in expressing her opinions and feelings on many subjects and that this use seems to enrich her descriptions of what she is saying. Another point of interest is that, although Alina's use of modal particles is clear to see, she does not use any tags whatsoever. At no point in any of her explanations and stories does she use tags to expand on her feelings. It is not quite clear why this should be the case. Perhaps Alina does not consider that these tags would fit in with a more formal type of language as this interview could be conceived to be, but then it is not clear why she continues to use so many modal particles. Perhaps her frequent use of modal particles means she subconsciously feels no need to further use tags, but this seems to stand in opposition to many other speakers.

Speaker 4 is Manfred, a 46 year old social education worker from West Berlin. His use of *eben* is above the general West Berlin average, which fits in with the fact that he says of himself that he is *pro Ost*, although it could also be an age-related factor. His use of *halt* is well below the West Berlin average, perhaps also because of his pro-East tendencies as mentioned before. One point in the interview where he uses these two modal particles to a greater extent is when he is discussing his meetings with East Germans in the days after the Wall fell. He says on p.2:

ich war dann tagelang auf=n beinen und **eben** eh  
in tiergarten da gibts ein lokal an der der  
schleuse (xx) am zoo da oben und ehm da strömten  
**halt** leute hin und her und wir sind dann/ war  
mit nem freun zusammen wir sind essen gegangen  
und da saßen **eben** ganz viele ost+ler und wir  
haben dann + eh drei jungen leuten die da saßen  
ham wir eh essen spendiert

This is obviously an emotional time for him, especially after his initial disbelief, when on 9 November he heard that the Wall had fallen and he went to bed as he could not believe it had happened. Another point where Manfred uses *eben* frequently is when he is discussing East German attitudes to their way of life since reunification. He says that if he were East German he would concentrate on all the things he could do, and the new things he could experience in his life; freedom of speech, freedom to travel, having greater consumer power, being able to undertake new training, but he also says he finds that many East Germans are much more negative:

die hört man dann immer wieder sie sagen nee ick  
kann das aber **eben** das und das nicht mehr\_ also  
gar nicht das was sie jetzt können sondern **eben**  
was sie !nich! mehr können

Although he does not call it *jammern* as many other West Germans do, which is an important signal, it suggests the same thing. Manfred's

use of *eigentlich* and *doch* are both around the average level for a West Berlin speaker, and he uses them in different sections of the interviews as compared with *eben* and *halt*. He uses the former two modal particles (*eigentlich* and *doch*) particularly when discussing the effects that reunification had upon the East Germans and how their lives have changed, which does not affect him closely, and he can therefore distance himself from these things. Manfred does not use *denn* at all in his interview, perhaps again because for him these events have not really affected his life to any great extent apart from being able to travel into East Berlin and East Germany to see what is happening there. He says on p.4:

ich fahr sehr oft in ostteil oder mal ins umland  
(xxx) und bin da auch sehr neugierig ich bin  
immer erstaunt was eigentlich alles gemacht wird

Manfred's use of tags is also around average, and he uses these every once in a while to emphasize what he is saying, but there are no particular points where they become particularly obvious in their use. One of the problems he mentions that East Germans have is something which many East Berliners mention in their interviews: the fact that West Germans think they are not capable of working, or performing to the same standards as those in the West. He says on p.3 that East Berliners mention West German opinions as being:

ja ja so in der richtung\_ kein wunder daß du das  
nich kannst du bist aus=m osten

Manfred does believe that the West has influenced the East, but what he finds hard to believe is that there are still such great differences between East and West, especially since five years have passed since reunification. When the interviewer asks him about differences in the East German language he comments on the frequency of

acronyms and abbreviations in the language of the GDR, but does not comment on any other aspects, such as using more dialect or individual, everyday words, as many other West Berliners do.

Speaker 5 is 29 year old Manuela, who used to be a paediatric nurse and then studied primary school education. She lives in East Berlin now, but grew up in West Berlin. The interviewer comments separately that she is very relaxed when talking and that she speaks freely. Very little in the interview is actually about 9 November 1989, which is very common in many of the West Berlin interviews as those from the West tend to discuss the aftermath more than the actual day, possibly as it was not as important to them. Manuela uses *eben* more than the average West Berliner, perhaps this is because she now lives in the East and is subconsciously influenced in her language use due to this. She uses *eben* throughout the entire conversation, while at some points she uses it more often than once. An example of this is when she is discussing an East German colleague, a woman who fled East Germany leaving her husband and child behind, which is something Manuela disapproves of. On p.3 she says:

gab schon% spannungen also zumal die **ebent** den  
mann und den sohn inn-er ddr **ebent** noch jelassen  
hatte

and also when discussing the knowledge East Germans had of hospital equipment when they started working in West Berlin she says:

also die aus berlin kamen aus der charité oda so  
gut da + wa **ebent** der neuste stand aba wer  
**ebent** irgendwie aus-m 'kleineren krankenhaus kam  
(h) da war der stand nich so

Manuela's use of *halt* is below the average of West Berlin. She uses it infrequently during the interview, but one of the sections in which she

uses it is when the interviewer asks her how long it took her to get used to the fact that she could go to East Berlin. Manuela answers her on p.5:

+ also dran je'wöhnt hab ick mich einklich imma noch nich? + würd ick sagen ick seh dit imma noch jeteilt^ und immanoch dass ich eha kucke was bei uns los is^ also bis uff hier maxim gorki theater gehn wir **halt** sehr gerne rin %da^ kuck ich **halt**%

This seems a rather strange attitude since Manuela actually lives in East Berlin, but even so, she does not seem to feel as great an affinity with East Berliners as some of the other West Berliners who are more closely involved with East Germans. When the interviewer asks her on p.4 if the East Germans speak differently she answers:

na @nervich

and she continues:

hmm + kann sagen wat se will noch so freundlich aba es geht eim irgendwie gegen den hutstrich

even though she cannot explain further how the languages differ. Manuela's use of *eigentlich* is well above the average and almost reaches the level of significance in West Berlin. Although the interviewer comments that Manuela is very relaxed, her answers are not very long, she seems merely to answer the question and does not expand much further on her own initiative. When she does answer, she tends to do so using *eigentlich* and *denn*, the use of which is above the level of significance. Even when she is telling of things that she says were exciting to her, the use of *eigentlich* and *denn* seem to neutralise what she is saying; for example on p.2 when she tells of going to the Wall to wave at the people coming over she says:

unnd eh ja weeß ich nich ham die alle +  
zujewinkt jedenfalls wa ick **eingtlich** sehr  
aufjeregt und fand dit allet **eingtlich** sehr

spannd

Another example of this is when Manuela comments on how things have changed in the behaviour of the East Germans she works with.

She says:

na einmal das se **denn ebent** och alles konnten<sup>^</sup>  
unnd +2+ na **eingtlich** dannn schon anjepaßt warn  
+ und/ also se wußten och wat se zu sagn habm  
was se nich zu sagn ham

This includes one of the few times when Manuela combines the use of modal particles, but even so, she does not seem to feel much emotion about what she is saying. Manuela uses *doch* very rarely, and tends only to use it when answering a question affirmatively, to emphasize her agreement. Manuela does not use tags at all during her interview, and this seems to stem from her involvement in the discussion, which at no point seems very enthusiastic. On the whole her answers are very short without elaboration, and even though she now lives in the East she seems much more at home in West Berlin. When asked what she had hoped for in November 1989, she seems very confused by the question and answers on p.2:

ick weeß och nich so\_ wat ick da hoffen @sollte@

She is saying that she did not feel directly affected by the fall of the Wall.

Speaker 6 is known only as *Studentin*, is studying educational theory, and is 27 years old. She uses *eben* more than *halt*, which is unusual considering her age, but can be explained from other factors. Her parents are from East Germany, and came to West Berlin before the Wall was built in 1961. Her boyfriend is also from East Berlin, and she now lives in East Berlin. One point in the interview where she uses *eben* is noteworthy as she is not happy with what the GDR

should now be called, which very few West Berliners comment upon. She is commenting on an occasion when she talked to an elderly lady who is also from the East, and says on p.6:

und die sachte auch dis **eben**/ die kam **eben** nu  
as der de-de-er und/ und diee ehh sachte oda aus  
der ehemaligen iss imma blöd mit den begriffen  
hier

Another time she uses *eben* frequently is when she is talking of the way that East Berliners speak, something she feels very strongly about in a positive way. On p.8 she says:

die leute die ich kenne sind ja meistens  
studenten (h) die berlinan alle vielmehr als wir  
und die machens auch weitahin und dis find ich  
einglich gut und ehmm im westen haste ja  
immanoch so dis man **eben** nich berlinan durfte  
weil dis **eben** nich schick war also es war also  
es war al/ also nich nur schick sondern dis wa  
**ebent** auch nich erzogen wer berlinerte

Her use of *eigentlich* and *denn* are both above average for West Berlin. She tends to use these terms when narrating or explaining what she means to the interviewer. One of the times when this happens is when she is telling about the initial discussion of what had happened with her parents; on p.2 she says:

ja und dann ehm + ham wir ja **denn**/ hab ich **denn**  
bis abems meinn als ich denn aus der uni kam ehm  
ham wa **denn** natürlich abends zu hause auch  
darüba gesprochen

and on p.5 when she is explaining how she acts around East Germans:

+ ehmm also +1+ **eingtlich**/ **eingtlich** eh hab  
ich versucht so offen wie möglich zu sein (h)  
ehmm +1+ dis + ja ehh (h) **eingltich** hab ich  
mich versucht so zu verhalten ich brauchte mich  
auch nich weita anzustrengen ehh + also ich hab  
mich ih/ ihnen so gegenübaa verhalten wie ich  
mich normalerweise auch leuten verhalte=

Her use of *doch* is extremely low, she only uses it a few times in the

interview and not near any other modal particles and tags, or in combination with them. Neither does she use tags very often, which is surprising as her emotional involvement is rather high and she feels strongly about the topics she is discussing. Perhaps even though she does evaluate *Berlinisch* highly in other people, she does not like using this form of German herself and is sticking to a formal language type for the interview. In general she is very positive about unification, and about East Germans - perhaps as she is highly involved with them in her personal life. Even though she admits herself that she did not know much about the people or way of life on the other side of the Wall, she was and is very happy about unification. On p.2 she says:

ja ich/ ich hab mich ehm sehr drüba gefreut daß  
die/ daß die maue auf war (h) und daß viele  
leute aus ostberlin dann/ dann jetzt hier  
rübakomm konnten und daß wir uns mit den treffen  
konnten (h) und + ja dis/ dis hat eingtlich  
ziemlich lange angehalten diese/ diese freude  
ich hab se eingtlich heute noch ich freu mich  
also heute noch

She is also negative about today's society, especially West German society. She comments on p.6 that:

die leute sind unfreundlicha geworden

and calls it an 'ellbogengesellschaft' and declares that it must be hard for East Germans. On p.7 she comments:

ich weiß nur daß sich ehmm +1+ daß viele leute  
eben der/ der ehemaligen de-de-er nachtrauern  
diesem zusammengehörichkeitsgefühl nachtrauern  
(h) und sich eben an diese kälte die doch in  
westberlin doch noch vorherrscht das se sich  
daran nich gewöh&nen& können

Speaker 7 is 27 year old Markus, a student from West Berlin. His attitude towards East Germany and unification is very positive. He uses very few modal particles and tags, but this could be due to the

fact that he is trying to speak very formally. The interviewer, who is a good friend of his, comments that his attitude during the interview is:

unsicherheit; bemüht sich, gewähltes hochdeutsch zu sprechen

Markus does not use *eben* at all during the interview, which as well as reflecting upon his trying to speak formally, could also be a reflection of his age, the general use of *halt* having penetrated the West Berlin speech community from the South. Markus's use of *halt*, although still below the West Berlin average, is higher than *eben*. There are no particular points in which the use of *halt* is more obvious, rather he uses it a few times in the interview to accentuate what he is saying. The use of *eigentlich* and *doch* is very low, and *denn* is not used at all throughout the interview, which is also the case for tags. The use of these modal particles is never close to each other and never in combination. In general Markus very rarely uses modal particles, but I believe this to be because of his attempts to speak 'properly' rather than his lack of emotion regarding the topic. On p.2 he comments:

dis is ja jetzt nun schon alles wieder n bißchen verblaßt ?nich? jetzt is ja nun schon wieder die normalität die sich eingestellt hat aaber diee gefüühle ähm warn über'wältigend äh als ich da + gesehn habe + die glückliche gesichter und die freudenträn derjenigen menschn die durch die grenzabspernung nach westberlin gekomm sind

Although he does say that he felt emotional about 9 November, he did not actually go to East Berlin until 31 December, when he went to a New Year's Eve party. He does have relatives in East Germany, but he finds that these contacts are breaking down now after unification. His reasoning for this is very interesting and opposite to Maria's (speaker 20 of the East Berlin corpus). Markus believes (p.3) that the communication between him and his relatives is breaking down

because:

se unsre + ja unsre materielle unterstützung  
nich mehr gebraucht @habm@

whereas Maria comments that her West German relatives did not want to help any more as they could no longer deduct the costs from tax.

Markus's view about East Germans' ability to work is very different to some of the other West Berlin speakers. On p.5 he comments:

ich glaub aber schon daß se genausogut arbeiten  
könn und genauso schnell wie n westdeutscher +  
ähm + nur zum teil ham-se-es halt nich gebraucht  
oder konnten-s gar nich

and further on:

vom kommunikationsverhalten her +3+ sind mir die  
ostdeutschen eigntlich durchaus positiv  
aufgefalln also ich hab die als sehr kreativ ä  
kreative persönlichkeiten erlebt

He comments that he does not really see any differences in language between East and West, apart from the word *schau*, which is *toll* in West Germany. One last aspect which makes Markus different to many of the other West Berlin speakers is his view on what could have happened to East Germany after 9 November, when on p.2 he says:

ich dachte mir zunächst mal + daß es  
möglicherweise n neuen + konsolidierten +  
oststaat gibt sozusagen also mir war noch nich  
ganz klar + daß sich die bundesrepublik + und  
die de de er vereinigen beziehungsweise + sich  
die de de er in ihrer rechtlichen grundsetzung  
an die bundesrepublik völlig anschließt

This is an opinion not many West Berliners hold, the majority of whom assumed automatically that East would join West.

Speaker 8 is known as Aldi, called after the shop in which he worked, a 57 year old man who has had many different jobs and always lived in West Berlin. He is a real story-teller, who enjoys

talking, which makes it quite unusual that he uses hardly any modal particles in the interview, especially as other 'story-tellers' do use *eigentlich* in their narrations. He uses *eben* and *halt* infrequently, and not at any point where he is particularly emotional, in contrast to the greater part of the corpus. However, throughout the interview it is rather that he is telling stories than that he was affected by the changes. He is neither particularly positive nor negative regarding unification, although it did make his job a lot harder when many East Germans and Poles came to shop in *Aldi* and many products were sold out, although this did mean a lot of extra money for him. *Aldi* tends to use *eben* and *halt* to back up any theories he is propounding, for example on p.9 he says:

dit war **ebend** die kehrseite' and 'ich bin auch  
nich hektisch jeworden + aber **halt** sehr  
belastend einfach

He seems to use these modal particles to accentuate his opinions. His use of *doch* and *denn* are also very low, and not linguistically enlightening in the sense of this thesis. His use of *eigentlich* is a bit higher, which reflects the fact that he is mainly telling stories, really narrating events and circumstances which he came across, which makes much of what he is saying less personal, which may have been the way it appeared to him. There are no sections of the interview where he uses more modal particles than other sections, but it does seem that *eigentlich* is sometimes used to describe something which may have been expected to have been otherwise. For example on p.9 he comments:

also ick hab **eigentlich** gute erfahrungen gemacht  
mit denen nich^' and 'mich hat **eigentlich** jefreut  
die wiedervereinigung hat mich unheimlich  
jerührt weißt du weil + wie schon jesagt nech^  
wir warn als kinder immer drüben^

To Aldi, East Germany was not as much of an unknown entity as to many West Germans, since he had spent a lot of time there as a child before the Wall was built. The one area where Aldi really stands out from the other West Berlin speakers is his use of tags. He is the second highest user in the West Berlin corpus, and the frequency with which he uses tags is well above the level of significance. At the beginning of the interview there are not quite so many occurrences, perhaps due to his being slightly nervous or apprehensive at being recorded. However, after this initial lull Aldi uses tags very often to explain what he is saying. In this interview tags seem to be mainly used to gain affirmation from the interviewer, something which occurs frequently in the East Berlin texts. For example on p.11 he says:

dit is eigentlich ganz logisch wa^ jeder denkt  
doch zuerst an jeld und an sich wie er seine  
familie ernähren kann nich^

and on p.13:

ich finde dit schon xx dit is n jewisser betrug  
nich^ am volk nich^ aber + wir wollten die  
wiedervereinigung und dafür muß man zahlen det  
seh ick ein und ich find et trotzdem schön

Although Aldi affirms that he was pleased with reunification he says that many West Germans were not so, especially after the initial euphoria had worn off. When, as Aldi points out, many East Germans came shopping in the West, and many goods were sold out and queues lengthened, there was talk on of (p.7):

immer die scheid/ die scheid ossis + wa^' and also:  
'jewiss sag ick kann man denn sogn n gewisser haß  
war dann von den da

on the side of the West Germans. Aldi is one of the many people who comments upon the difference between the work ethics of East and

West. At his place of work there were East Germans employed after 1989 and he comments on p.8:

die mußten sich ja an unser arbeitsklima  
ge'wö:hnen [EXTRA BETONT]

He mentions that the East Germans who came to *Aldi* were not very good workers, and that only one of the original eight was employed after their trial period was over. Aldi also mentions the importance of realising that they are all Germans and all belong to one country. On p.10 he says:

das dat natürlich jetzt so n bißchen +2+  
kon/konfrontation dit is ja alles klar wa^ +  
weil + wir meckern und die meckern och

and on p.11:

wir sind nu mal deutsche und wir gehörn zusamm

He has this opinion even though he has personally experienced the more negative sides of unification. On p.10 he mentions:

die + berlinzulage is ja nun total wejefallen  
also du ick hab allein durch die berlinzulage  
hab ick n minus von 250 - 260 mark im monat

and it seems very surprising that none of the other West Berliners mentioned this point. Also on p.11 Aldi states that relations with former friends have changed; he says:

wir ham freundschaften drüben im osten + also +  
warn wirklich gute freundschaften ja^ die sind  
kaputtjegangen nich weil die + sind uns richtich  
feindlich geworden

He finds it hard to explain why this has happened and thinks perhaps bad experiences following unification are being blamed upon them, and these bad feelings are carried on.

Speaker 9 is an unnamed woman of 19 who is training to work in a pharmacy and has always lived in West Berlin. Speaker 9 is

described as speaking very quietly and does not seem very sure of what she is saying. She does not use *eben* at all throughout the interview, which is suggestive, as she does use other modal particles to a large extent. It could be that her young age has led to the strong influence of the growing popularity of *halt*, a form which she is the highest user of in West Berlin and the second highest user in the entire corpus. She uses *halt* consistently throughout the interview, although she does not use it in combination with any other modal particles or tags. She is very unsure of exactly when she went to the Wall or what happened around the time of 9 November, which is something which does not occur in the East Berlin interviews. When asked what she did when she heard about the Wall falling, she comments that she did nothing on the actual 9th, but the next day, when asked whether she went to school or not, says on p.2:

+3+ weiß das gar nich mehr so genau + nee war  
glaub ich schule +2+ weiß ich gar nich mehr  
genau

One of the times when she uses *halt* is when she is discussing how she gets on with East Germans; she says on p.3:

sag ich mal ich kenn jetzt auch viele von der  
berufschule und so ich sag die meisten sind **halt**  
echt ganz in ordnung + es gibt **halt** immer solche  
mit denen man sich nich versteht aber das is ja  
ganz normal

In general, though, speaker 9 uses *halt* very frequently at all points in the interview. This is also so in the case of *eigentlich*, of which she is by far the most frequent user in the corpus. This serves to emphasize the attitude that she has towards 9 November and unification, a more distanced, de-personalised stance that not many East Berliners take. An example of this is when talking of what happened to the GDR after 9 November; on p.2 she says:

hast damals anders gesehn aber +2+ weiß nich  
damals hab ichs **eigentlich** nich so gesehn und  
ich fands **eigentlich** ganz ganz ganz toll  
ürgendwie so + wie se alle halt völllich happy  
warn und so + **eigentlich** gut aber dann + ging so  
schnell hätt ich gar nich gedacht

Although she did see that for many people the events were happy ones, she does not include herself in this group. She seems to see East Germans as being very different from herself and other West Germans. On p.3 she says:

ich weiß nich irgendwie so + in der auffassung  
oder + na ich meine war ja alles neu für die die  
wußten das ja nich das war los is ne^ und so das  
se halt viele sachen gar nich gesehn ham die wir  
ja kannten is klar könne se ja auch nich

Her use of *doch* and *denn* are very low, in fact she does not use *denn* at all. Her use of tags are around average, which is low in comparison to her highest uses, *halt* and *eigentlich*. This low use of tags seem to add to the general idea that she is not very closely involved in what she is saying and very often seems to say that she does not know things, which may also be linked to her age, as she was quite young when the Wall came down (she was only 13 in 1989). Another notable thing that Speaker 9 says is in the final part of her interview when she is asked whether the East Germans speak differently, and she comments:

ja na sicher die berliners vielleicht stärker  
aber + ich glaub auch nicht daß es mehr so doll  
rauskommt ne ürgendwie ham se sich vielleicht  
auch schon bißchen dran gewöhnt

although why this should be so is not mentioned.

Speaker 10 is Ernst, a 35 year old male nursery nurse who lives in West Berlin. The interviewer comments separately that Ernst seems stressed, and he is one of the few interviewees who does not

know his interviewer, which could affect his language as well as his feeling of confidence. Ernst does not use *eben* at all in his interview, which is compensated for by the fact that he is a very high *halt* user in the West Berlin corpus. It seems that he has never had much contact with East Berlin or East Germany, and this is presumably the reason for the lack of *eben* in his language. He uses *halt* very frequently, and also often uses it multiply, for example on p.3 he says when crossing the border the first time he went across:

war ja trotzdem noch eh mit ausweiskontrolle^  
konnts ja halt/ und dit war trotzdem ürgendwo  
immer noch + so n ulkjet jefühl man mußte halt  
eh + ja durch ne grenze und man wurde halt  
trotzdem noch kontrolliert dit war für mich halt  
immer noch nich offen

It can often be seen how unsure Ernst was of the events of November 1989. He says many times that:

ich konnte dit nich fassen

and:

dit hat auch ne janze weil jedauert bis man das  
eichtlich so fassen konnte daß es überhaupt so  
is

as well as saying:

dit war für mich eichtlich zu viel schon

He continues on p.3:

ich wußt och nich ob ich mich dadrüber freuen  
sollte^ + oder/ also ob dit freude war^ oder ja  
nich freude^ dit is so janz + dit hat wirklich  
janz janz lange jedauert

Ernst avoided the outside world for a while when coming to terms with what had happened. On p.3 he says:

also ick bin dann ne zeitlang och jar nich mehr  
so durch die kaufhäuser oder + bin auch jar nich  
mehr auf die straße jejangen weil dit war diese  
luft dit war schon so dich jewesen^ so ne  
agression drin + die mir überhaupt nich mehr

jefalln hat

Ernst is also a high *eigentlich* user, and he tends to use these in multiple occurrences. An example of this is on p.3 when discussing how East Germans he knew seemed to change when the Wall came down. He says:

und die ham sich och wat uffjebaut^ und ürgendwo war dit **eigentlich** gleich null jewesen + also + die ham denn nur noch den westen jesehn und dit fand ick **eigentlich** och schade + find icks heute och noch so daß die **eigentlich** + ihr eigene sachen wat die so uffjebaut haben **eigentlich** so allet schlecht machen

Ernst uses *eigentlich* to illustrate what he is saying, when trying to explain to the interviewer exactly what he means. His use of *doch* is around average, but his use of *denn* is significant. Similarly to *eigentlich*, this use of *denn* seems to be to add to what he is saying, adding content rather than emotion as some of the other modal particles and tags do. What is unusual is that Ernst does not use tags at all in his interview. This is surprising as he does seem to be quite emotional about what he is saying, even when he is just saying that he was unsure whether what was happening was good or bad. Perhaps he does not use tags to try and avoid a more colloquial style of speaking with someone he does not know. This is rather exceptional in the corpus, as most other interviewees know who is interviewing them, which may influence their language style. Ernst cannot understand what happened to East Germans after unification, and thinks they should have stayed more closely to their previous way of life. On p.4 he says:

die ham + ihre ware nich mehr jekooft und die + doppelt so billich war und ham hier die teuren sachen dann jekooft weest also das war für mich dann so + unfafßbar' and also 'det is et also dit ganze sozialsystem dit ham die selber sich ja kaputtjemacht jetzt + weil se halt allet so

wollten wie wir

Speaker 11 is a 39 year old teacher called Dieter who lives in West Berlin. Dieter is an extremely interesting speaker as he says that he was not very bothered by what happened in November 1989 and afterwards, but it is very clear by what he says that this is not the case. His use of *eben* is below average, but this may be to subconsciously distance himself from East Germany, which he does not seem to feel very close to at all, thereby enabling him to feel closer to West Germany. What is interesting to note is that the few times he does use *eben* he uses it in combination with *halt*, and never uses it individually. His use of *halt* is just above average, and he uses it more so after the initial part of the interview has finished, and he is more relaxed. The times he does use *halt* are to describe East Germans and what they are doing in West Germany and how they have adapted, something he seems to feel quite strongly about. His use of *eigentlich* is rather low, which corroborates the findings of this thesis, as he is rather emotional in his opinions and this modal particle would not fit that description. His use of *doch* and *denn* are both above the level of significance, and he uses these to describe his emotions and feelings about the subjects he is discussing. It is interesting to note that, although he combines *eben* and *halt* when discussing politics, he does not combine those modal particles which he uses much more frequently. What is unusual in Dieter's interview is that his use of tags is very low, which is unexpected as he is an emotional speaker. The only reason which seems feasible is that he is trying not to use too informal a style in his interview. When asked how he felt at the time around 9 November he comments:

habe mich aber überhaupt nich da großartig drum gekümmert' and: 'fand ick dit allet sehr +2+

überzogen übertrieben

as well as commenting:

dit war mit so scheißegal

Although he does have these feelings, he does seem to have been interested on another level; at the same time as mentioning these things he says:

andererseits fand ick dit ganz spannend^ + bei + weltgeschichte dabeizusein

He also mentions that he was not particularly bothered by the presence of the Wall; on p.2 he says:

also ick habe + mich darauf eingerichtet jehabt mit dieser mauer noch ewigkeiten und drei tagen zuleben und ick konnte sehr jut damit leben

At other times Dieter's involvement is very obvious, and also commented upon in an aside by the interviewer. On p.3, when talking about people who suddenly changed their political views after unification, he says:

und auf einmal die eine die belegte dann auf einmal so n managementlehrgang^ und war vorher die + kulturfrau + war [er kriegt sogar das stottern vor lauter entrüstung] sofort bei den grünen vorher sed mitglied und dit + dit war allet + dit wendete/ also wenn man von wendehälsen sprach + konnte man dit man dit ja vielleicht auch drauf beziehn ja so dieset jefühl sich/ so n waschzwang zu haben + sich schnell reinzuwaschen und dann so eh+ wir sind aufeinmal dabei und neu

From such comments it is obvious that although Dieter thinks that he is not affected by reunification, he does have rather strong opinions regarding many aspects of it. Regarding the future, his final remarks are:

also wenn ick dran denke wat wir + xx alle wenjer haben + dieset jelaber wir schaffen dit in 5 jahren oder in 10 oder wann auch immer + xxx wat daraus wird dieser großstadtwhahn hier

dieser bau ach n+ a hör doch uff da wirnds mir  
nur schlecht da da + wat sollte diese  
mauer^öffnung^ verstehste dat hat doch keem wat  
jutet jebracht^ keenem außen den leuten die die  
kohle eh ham und sich jetzt ne reiche nase  
machen

Speaker 12 is Concha, a 48 year old speech therapist who lives in West Berlin. Her interview is not particularly revealing linguistically as she uses very few modal particles and tags, confirming the view that low emotional involvement is reflected in low usage of modal particles and tags. It could also be that her training and control of language has affected her way of speaking. She discusses what she did around 9 November, visiting the Wall and different parts of Berlin, as well as having a little summerhouse in East Germany where she and her husband spent their weekends for three years. She uses *eben* below average, and does not use *halt* at all, which may be because of her age, as she is still influenced by the more traditional North German *eben* form. She does not use *eigentlich*, *doch* or *denn* above average, although *eigentlich* comes closest to it. In one of the last sections of the interview she uses most modal particles, and this is when she is discussing why they gave up their summerhouse. She says:

zum scharmützelsee fahrn wir **eigentlich** nur noch  
+ gelegentlich +2+ weil das war uns **doch** sehr  
geschlossen das klima so + da sind wir/ hatten  
wir nich soviel möglichkeiten diese kontakte  
aufzunehm außerdem sind wir **doch** stadtmenschen  
das merkt man erst wenn man + ne weile mal was  
andres gemacht hat

Concha does not use tags at all during the interview, and this may reflect the fact that she is not very emotional. The *Wende* did not really affect her life in any way at all, as she comments on p.3:

ja für mich persönlich hats +4+ es hat wenich an  
meinen lebensformen geändert

and it could also be because she is using too formal a language style to use tags, which is quite surprising as she knows the interviewer, who comments on the cover page of the transcript that Concha is relaxed throughout the interview. The main difference Concha notices between East and West Germans is in the language and she comments on page 3:

ick denke so die berlinismen sind andere als wir sie verwenden

and that in the former GDR even intellectuals and academics were proud to use dialect, which would not have been accepted in West Berlin.

Speaker 13 is Pia, a 46 year old psychologist also involved in education, who lives in West Berlin. Pia is special in that she is one of the very few people who uses neither *eben* nor *halt* in her interview, although this may be due to the fact that her interview is relatively short, or due to her educational training. However, she does use other signals of emotion despite this brevity, for example tags. The interviewer, who Pia does not know, comments that Pia seems reserved, which may affect her language style. Her use of *eigentlich*, *doch* and *denn* are all below average. In the case of *eigentlich* this could be expected as the interview is very chatty and *eigentlich* does not often fit into this role in the interviews previously looked at. The one marker of spoken language which Pia does use frequently and actually marks her out as the highest user in the West Berlin corpus is the use of tags. She uses these consistently throughout the interview to express her views and opinions of 9 November 1989 and reunification afterwards. At no point in the interview does she use tags multiply. Pia's views on what happened in Berlin around the time of

the *Wende* and afterwards are quite mixed. As soon as she heard about the Wall falling she went to welcome the people across, which many West Berliners interviewed did not do, as they waited and watched on television and listened to the radio to find out what was happening. But Pia went with her children and says on p.2:

ick hatte den eindruck wirklich uff wildfremde menschen zu^ und &um&armten die^

and she was not sure what was happening:

und boten de:n sekt an und + so: + dacht ick + %ja% +2+ ja ob das jetzt + >nur ma so ne vorübergeh/ also ob das jetzt nur für diese paar stunden ge/ also ürgen&wie& wollt ichs nich so wahrham=

But when the interviewer asks her whether she immediately went across to East Berlin or East Germany she says:

&überhaupt nich & ja na eh/ mir/ mir war dit allet noch nich so geheua &ick&/ ick hab mich &nich& rübagetraut &?ne?& und ick muß sagn es hat auch 'ziemlich + 'lange gedauert + bis ich endlich mal + so den dreh gefunden habe mip-m auto

and she also comments that she feels more at home still in West Berlin. At the same time she felt trapped in West Berlin and is happy that the Wall has come down. On p.3 she comments:

aba für mich selba (h) + die maua is weg + dis is schon so n + gefühl we:B ick so + freiheitlich üma wenn ick aus-m urlaub zurückkam + (h) hab ich so das gefühl gehabt + ah nee jetzt is der urlaub zuende jetzt fährst-e wieda in diesen hexenkessel rein ?ne?

which is something not many West Berliners commented upon. On p.4

Pia says that she makes sure that her children do not distinguish between East and West, she says:

daß ick bei mei:n kindern sehr darauf achte daß-se also nich hier trenn zwischen ost und west^ und wenn se sagn + äh + wir fahrn dort und dort hin^ denn möcht ick also o:ch den bezirk hörn

und nicht &sagn& wir fahrn in den osten &oda& so

What is very striking is that Pia says something which seems to contradict most other East and West Berliners, and that is her view regarding language. The interviewer asks her whether she has noticed any differences between East and West Germans, be it their mentality or language, and Pia replies:

sprachlich nee + im gegenteil + also die +  
freunde die wir also + nach der maueröffnung  
gewonn ham da hat ich gleich so/ also + das  
gefühl da is für mich so eine wellenlänge +  
speziell jetzt äh berlina + weil + jo die ham den  
gleich/ die gleich mundart wie wir

Speaker 14 is 55 year old Gudrun, who is a teacher in West Berlin. Although Gudrun uses *eben* below average, she does not use *halt* at all, which may be due in part to her age. She uses *eben* a few times in her interview, but only after the initial part of the interview is over, and she uses it to clarify what she is saying, in particular when talking about the problems many West Berliners had with shopping once the Wall had come down. On p.5 she comments:

ja dis hab ich dann/ stimmt das hab ich gehört  
von anderen die dann **ebend** sauer darüber warn  
das se lange + an der kassa

and also:

also stimmt das hab ich mir von andern sagen  
lassen ich hab auch gehört daß mein/ gemerkt  
daß meine nachbarn oft diese agressionen hatten +  
aber die hab ick nich so empfunden weil ich dann  
**eben** einfach nich + da einkaufen gegangen bin

Gudrun's use of *eigentlich* is above average, and she uses it at all points in her conversation to clarify her explanations, for example on p.2:

und für mich war **eigentlich** das einschneidenste  
erlebnis + am 10. november als wir dann sagten  
wir wolln him in die zitty fahrn

and

und wir hielten dann auch an und sagten: is kirchainer damm offen^ und seid ihr dahergekomm^ und da war **eigentlich** für uns erst richtig so die mauer auch offen

The use of *doch* and *denn* as well as tags in Gudrun's interview are all well below average and this could reflect the fact that, as is the case in many of the West Berlin speakers, she does not really feel very affected by what happened in 1989. What Gudrun noticed after the Wall came down was that she did not really know anything about the GDR. She says on p.3:

aber was mir aufgefalln is + ich hab/ also daß ich doch sehr wenig + wußte was in der DDR los war

as she did not really occupy herself with what happened in the GDR. Gudrun mentions a few aspects by which she could recognise East Germans; one was by the cold relationship East German teachers had with their pupils as well as parents with their children. On p.4 she says:

negativ is mir auch aufgefalln grad bei den + ersten kontakten bei diesen ersten fahrten ins umland + wo man noch gemerkt hat + eh wer **ebend** aus der ddr kommt aus ostberlin + wie auch zum teil die eltern mit ihren kindern umgegangen sind

She also comments that East Germans had different words for certain things and that they spoke differently, on p.4:

also wenn einer besonders stark berlinert + eh + war es also anfangs so wußte man es is/ es kommt aus !ost!berlin

Speakers 15 and 16 are Christine and Jens, a 49 and 52 year old married couple from West Berlin. Christine is a teacher at a primary school and Jens at a secondary school. Both Christine and

Jens use *eben* a very high amount, in fact, Jens is the highest user in the West Berlin corpus, and Christine is the fourth highest user.

Although both use *eben* very considerably at all points in the interview, there is still a significant rise in use when the two discuss things which lie close to their hearts, sometimes situations that East German friends have found themselves in, or how their lives were different before 1989. Jens comments about the inability to travel to surrounding areas on p.8:

und du warst **eben** doch !gestützt! in deinem  
möglichkeiten\_ die in/ du konntest da **eben** nich  
hin\_ ob de da nu hinwolltest oder nich\_ es ging  
**eben** nich\_ du hast dit nich so wahrgenommen weiß  
de **eben** da meintest **eben** gar nich hinzuwollen  
da du wärst gar nich auf die idee gekommen da  
hinzuwollen

Christine barely uses *halt*, and Jens does not use it at all in his part of the interview. Both of them realise that this is the case and comment on the fact that they mainly use *eben* when questioned by the interviewer. When the interviewer asks Jens whether he uses *halt* or *eben*, he replies on p.13:

eben benutz ich sicherlich

and Christine also acknowledges this; when asked she says of *halt*:

nee\_ überhaupt nie\_ ich sag eben

Both Jens and Christine use *eigentlich* the same amount, which is just above average for a West Berlin speaker. They both tend to use it to put forward their arguments for what they believe. Jens discusses opinions people held on whether unification would take place; he says on p.4:

in den sonntagsreden& politiker + tradt dit ja/  
nee seit vielen vielen jahren ja **eigentlich** von  
langer hand immer wieder\_ berlin is hauptstadt  
und wiedervereinigung und im grunde (hat die)  
seltner dann + aber **eigentlich** hat überhaupt

keen mensch dran jeglaubt denk ich mal

and Christine talks about their visits to East Germany before 1989; on p.5 she says:

nee\_ seltener **eigentlich**\_ wir hatten immer vor  
und da ham wir uns immer diese/ + ick globe acht  
passierscheine haste kriegen können\_ dann ham  
wir uns immer jeholt\_ und **eigentlich** sind wir  
dann immer nur einmal und denn war dit wieder  
verfallen\_also/ @@@

Although Christine uses *doch* around the average level for a West Berliner, Jens uses it significantly. Jens uses the combination *eben doch*, which is also one of the few times either speaker combines any of the modal particles or tags. He does so at times when he feels very strongly about what he is saying. For example, on p.4, when he says that people could not believe that at last the Wall had fallen and that the two states had become one, he says:

und man hatte sich vorstellen können daß  
ürgendwie so=n koexistiern nebenander unter  
aleichterten bedingungen zustande kommen könnte\_  
aber daß dann die mauer eines tages wirklich  
aufgeht\_ dis hat keiner + damit gerechnet\_ und +  
genau das war glaub ich auch so/ so überraschend  
daß das + **eben doch** auf einmal n ende findet\_

Regarding the experience of seeing East Berlin for the first time he says on p.8:

und dahinten sind so die straßen + sind kurz  
unterbrochen dann geht die gleiche pflasterung  
weiter\_ oder der baustil is genau derselbe und  
die die straßennamen die führen zu einem ort der  
so heißt wie die/ wie die straße eben angibt\_  
das is **eben doch** + was man die ganze zeit eben  
nich erlebt hat\_

The final time he uses this combination is also on p.8, in the quote used previously in Jens's use of *eben*, to say that West Berlin people were in a way trapped in where they could or could not go. Christine's use of *denn* is about average and Jens's slightly less so, they both

tend to use this modal particle in sections where *eigentlich* and *doch* are also used, but neither use it to any great extent. In the case of tags, Jens uses them below average, whereas Christine uses them just below the level of significance. She tends to use them at the end of her utterances to gain agreement from Jens. In this way she uses them in the way that some of the East Berliners did, as a form of feedback to their comments. For example on p.9 she says:

wir war schon viel@@@ drin aber ebend och die  
theaterstücke + also die ham uns einfach  
interessiert und die warn da ebend und ick finde  
dit ne tolle bereicherung ne^

to which Jens replies 'ja', and this repeats itself many times in the interview. Both Christine and Jens feel very strongly about the fact that they can now travel to East Germany and what this means to them, which makes them very similar to Pia (speaker 13), who commented that she felt trapped in West Berlin. On p.4 Christine talks about the time when she realised she could go places that she had only seen across the Wall. She says:

und dann hab ick immer gesagt is das ne !schöne!  
allee da möcht ick mal langfahrn mit=m fahrrad  
und dann auf eenmal kannst du dit/ also dat find  
ick würlklich + toll\_ ick muß richtig heulen wenn  
ick daran immer denke\_ ja^

On p.8 Jens comments that the Wall was not simply a border, he says:

die sache is ja auch die daß die !mauer! + ja  
nich bloß ne grenze war^ + da war ja och optisch  
die welt + zuende

Christine also says that East Germany was more foreign to them and further away than London or Paris, the fact that the GDR was a completely unknown entity to many West Germans and West Berliners. They tried to make contact with East Germans which lasted for a little while, and said that it used to be easy to tell East Germans

apart as they spoke differently, in dialect and vocabulary, but that this is no longer really the case. On p.14 Christine says:

aber ick finde inzwischen + ehm + kann ich  
eigentlich nich mehr sagen daß de dit auf antrieb  
erkennen kannst ob jemand aus=m osten oder aus=m  
westen kommt ja^

Finally, Jens is one of the few West Berliners to point something out that many of the East Berliners comment upon, the fact that West Germans seem to have taken over since unification; on p.16 he says:

und überall sitzt der wessi und macht sich breit

he seems to have an insight into how many East Germans feel, or perhaps shares a sentiment with them.

Speaker 17 is Ilona, a 44 year old former nursery nurse who lives in West Berlin. In general, her use of modal particles and tags is no different from the descriptions so far, but is particularly interesting regarding emotion, as she rarely discusses the *Wende*, but rather her job. Ilona now works as a dance therapist in East Germany, which is what most of the interview is about. What is also noticeable is that the interviewer seems to talk a lot in comparison to most of the other interviews - both of East and West Berlin. Ilona very rarely uses *halt* at all, and uses *eben* slightly more, although still well below the average. She uses both infrequently in her replies, and uses them both very rarely in comparison to the interviewer! *Eigentlich*, *doch*, *denn* and tags are also all used below average in comparison to other West Berlin speakers, and also to the East Berlin corpus. It would be interesting to know why Ilona uses modal particles and tags so sparingly, as she is talking about a topic which is very important to her, which is her job. She seems very enthusiastic about what she is doing, especially as she works with East German women who have

had very little experience in the field of dance expression and many of them are trying her therapy for the first time. Ilona seems to enjoy her job, but even so, she rarely uses these markers which in so many other speakers convey their emotion. Perhaps she is using *Hochdeutsch* as she is being recorded, or perhaps the interviewer is taking over the interview, not leaving Ilona very much time to get involved in the conversation. Even though she works in East Germany she lives in the West, but still refers to the East on p.2 as *drüben*. She comments on the differences between the people of East and West.

On p.3 she says:

die menschen dort haben sicherlich + noch  
weniger geld

and also thinks that they are a different kind of people. On pages 4 and 5 she says:

die sind einfach eh auch noch nich so eh +3+ so  
drauf aus eh sich viel anzuschaffen und zu eh eh  
mit ihren klunkern zu zu klappern sondern die  
sind viel viel natúerlicher viel einfacher viel  
hérzlicher

She also mentions that many East German women were at first shy at expressing themselves in dance and were different to West German women in that they readily announced that they had no experience of this kind of dance before, whereas West German women would not like to admit to it. Ilona mentions on p.5:

also so cool sind die da drüben nicht

She also mentions that the East Berliners use more dialect and different vocabulary and that this is mainly what sets East Germans aside from their Western counterparts.

Speaker 18 is Rolf, whose age and occupation are not divulged. He is a prime example of the phenomenon whereby people

do not know their own language style in a way that they think they do, as we shall see when we discuss his use of the modal particle *eben*. He is one of the highest *eben* users in the West Berlin corpus, and does not use *halt* at all. With the exception of the first few minutes, where he may have been nervous, he uses *eben* throughout his interview. For example, when mentioning that East German children often have unusual names on p.6 he says:

auffällig is **eben** daß se + ick sach mal so so meistens exotische vornamen existieren; daran erkennt man meistens **eben** die + eh kinder von/ von leuten die aus ostberlin &oder& aus der ehemaligen ddr kommen

He thinks this is due to the fact that the parents were not able to travel to foreign countries and wanted something different in their lives. Also, when talking of the possibilities a city such as Berlin holds he says on p.9:

ick finds pösitiv weil ick der meinung bin **eben** so=ne so=ne stadt wie berlin mit soviel möglichkeiten eh + da kann man viel draus machen; problem is leider daß **eben** vieles immer noch parallel läuft; daß es also/ daß sie es nich schaffen bestimmte dinge **eben** zu konzentriern

But when asked about his use of language by the interviewer, Rolf does not seem aware of his tendency to use *eben*. The interviewer asks him whether he uses *halt* or *eben* and he answers on p.9:

für mich +2+ halt

and also that in general people in Berlin use *halt* rather than *eben*. In total, Rolf uses *eben* 45 times in his interview and does not use *halt* at all! Although it is often the case that speakers do not report their usage correctly due to overt or covert prestige, this seems rather an extreme example. It is also rather ironic, as on p.8 when discussing the different uses of *weil*, Rolf comments that he would notice things in

language as:

das wáer/ das wáer mir mit sicherheit  
aufjefallen; weil ick da eigentlich + dit so=n  
glaub ick n ganz jutet sprachjefühl hab für die  
sachen ne

Rolf's use of *eigentlich*, *doch* and *denn* is all relatively low, around or below average. Especially *eigentlich* is mainly used in sections where *eben* is not, marking out the differences in usage of these modal particles. Rolf's use of tags is higher, well above average and almost reaching the level of significance. Throughout the interview he only uses *ne* as a tag, and not any of the others, and seems to use it expecting the interviewer to agree with what he is saying, for example on p.2:

es war ja dann fréitag **ne**

and on p. 4:

und da is=es natürlich immer noch ne andre sache  
**ne**

It is interesting that Rolf mentions that he cannot remember exactly when his first trip to the other side was. This is something which occurs in more of the West Berlin interviews, but not at all in the East Berlin ones. When Rolf talks about his first trip to the East, he cannot really remember exactly where or when he went, whereas in the East Berlin interviews these details have been etched on people's memories, as the event was much more momentous for them. On p.2 Rolf says:

und sind dann so/ ick würde ma sagen vierzehn  
tage später sind wir dann ma rüber waltersdorfer  
chaussee ham wir jeguckt und dann mal + n stück  
rumjefahrn; weeiß gar nich wo wir warn +2+ also es  
war nich so daß es sich einjepägt hätte

Like most West Berliners, the main gain of reunification for him is that

the surrounding countryside is now easily accessible to them. On p.2

Rolf says:

also ich + bin eh schon oft/ ich hab dat jetzt  
oft jenutzt und freu mich immer wieder dran daß  
ich also da eben einfach mal + eh die sachen  
sehn kann die also nun fast ne ganze zeit meines  
lebens nich/ nicht jenießen konnte

Rolf thinks that the differences between East and West were very  
great and still stand today. He mentions that:

sie fühlten sich unsicher/ dit war ihnen  
anzumerken; sie wußten nich so + entweder sie  
warn zú selbstbewußt daß man sich jesagt na dit  
is eigentlich/eigentlich klar; wo die leute  
herkommen; so tritt man normalerweise nich uff  
oder wie warn eben genau dat Gegenteil daß se  
ganz + / mußten da reinwachsen in die rolle +  
aber ich + würde sagen es is eh + eben immer noch  
+2+ auch noch zu merken

This is partly a different attitude from many East Berliners in the  
corpus who mentioned that they could recognise West Germans as  
they were so self-assured. One final comment about Rolf's interview is  
on his view of the Berlin dialect. He says that he uses it and is often  
recognised by outsiders as coming from Berlin. But he seems to be  
proud of it, which not many West Berliners are, and comments on p.7:

und und und auch die schwaben schäbeln und von  
daher/ die frankfurter die babbeln auch; warum  
solln die berliner nich also auch ihren dialekt  
behalten

Speaker 19 is Norbert, a 44 year old headmaster from West  
Berlin. Although the interviewer comments separately that he is very  
relaxed during the interview, his language style remains quite formal,  
and this could be the reason for Norbert's lack of modal particles and  
tags in the interview, although it could also be because he does not  
feel at all emotionally involved in this time. He very rarely uses *eben*  
during the interview, and does not use *halt* at all. When he does use

*eben*, it seems to be to emphasize what he is saying. For example, on p.4 he is talking about visiting East Berlin and says:

also anfangs aus/ aus großem interesse einige sachen dort wahrjennommen + eh weniger + aber hm nich weil weil eh nu im ostteil und ich den westteil bevorzuge sondern daß ich **eben** im moment viel unter/ vor zwei jahre war et intensiver

His use of *eigentlich* is exactly average, his use of *denn* around the same, although *denn* is used with *eben*, which is one of the only times Norbert uses a modal particle combination, even though it appears only once in the interview. This is when he talks about the night of 9 November and what he thought about it; on p.2 he says:

so lief der abend also ab und man hat dann gesprochen mit welchen konsequenzen das nun + verbunden is und womit man zu rechnen hat + was es bedeutet ob es so bleibt eh welche politischen hintergründe daraus entstehen also was man so **eben denn** + am tisch zu hause so denkt und überlegt

Norbert's use of *doch* is in the significant level, and he tends to use it when situations seemed to contradict his expectations or what he thinks the interviewer's expectations could be. For example, on p.4 he talks of visiting Brandenburg rather than East Berlin:

hat mich das **doch** bißchen außerdem + wollt ich sehn wie die natur dort beschaffen is und was ein=n dort so erwartet in den nächsten jahn

One of the times Norbert uses numerous modal particles in relation to the rest of his interview is when he mentions that during his first visit to Brandenburg he still had to fill out a card when entering, just as people had to do before November 1989, and how this bothered him. He says on p.4:

wo also + **doch** / na (xx) zum beispiel auch beruf + und und wohnort eh stattfand und wo man **eigentlich** so sehr unwillig war und sagte nun muß ick **doch** diesen + mist hier denn man + ja

jahrzehntelang vorher hatte als kind ganz  
schlimm noch kann ich mich erinnern  
grenzübergang wo man warten mußte auf die visa:  
dann dann aufgerufen wurde^

Norbert's use of tags are below average, and he very rarely uses them to illustrate his opinions or feelings. His school took part in an exchange where a school from East Berlin could come and observe how their school worked and what the differences were. But Norbert was aware of trying not to make out that their way was better. He mentions on p.5:

tja aber eigentlich + nich daß man nu zeigen  
wollte^ daß wir eben die bessren sind^ das war  
von vornherein gleich klar daß das also nich der  
punkt sein sollte sonder daß die andern n  
einblick mal bekommen + was hier läuft

Another contact broke off quite soon, from the side of the East Berliners. Norbert suspects that it had something to do with such feelings of insecurity. He says on page 6:

obwohl ich großes interesse signalisiert hatte  
leider nie was zustandegekommen + da die  
schulleitung dort^ + glaub ick keinen kontakt  
haben wollte die hatten also so das war mein  
eindruck + genug von den besserwissis

Speaker 20 is Frieda, a 41 year old housewife who used to work in a bank. Although Frieda is very positive about the *Wende* and reunification, this does not seem to be reflected in her language. This may also be due to the fact that she is nervous, something the interviewer comments upon in the covering page of the transcript. Frieda's use of *eben* is well below average, and she does not use *halt* at all. Although she has many relatives in the GDR and can understand how happy they are, she is perhaps not as emotionally involved as she seems, although she could also be seen as a counter-example to the theory put forward in this thesis. The few times

Frieda does use *eben*, she uses it when talking about her East German relatives or when she and her pupils went to the Wall to hand out coffee and cakes to the East Germans crossing the border. These are events which obviously meant a lot to her. For example on p.5 she talks of working together with her pupils and says:

und da habn 'so viele kinda und eltern  
begeistert mitgemacht weil **eben** diese ganze  
große freude so +2+ herrschte in unsrer stadt

Frieda' use of *eigentlich*, *doch* and *denn* are all around average and are not used in combination with each other or other modal particles or tags. One time when she does use *eigentlich* more is when discussing something that other people might disagree with. She is talking on p.2 about being happy that the Wall came down and that she still feels like that today. She says:

die 'gefühle sind **eigentlich** nach wie vor +  
vorhandn und zwar die gutn gefühle + daß sich  
also/ oda auch unsre ganze familie daß wir uns  
freun über die vieln kontakte die man **eben** jetzt-  
o haben kann + äh erwartung^ + hattn wa damals  
**eigentlich** keine s war einfach nur freude und  
euphorie und ja **eigentlich** auch im ganzen lande

Frieda rarely uses tags, and when she does it is usually the desire to gain agreement from her interviewer, who is her cousin. Because of Frieda having many relations from the East she understands the reality of their life. She says that she does not see her relations as much as she used to and puts it down to the *existenzkämpfe* as they are referred to in the interview which many people suffer from. She also comments on p.2 that the language is different between East and West:

an der sprache der ostberliner fällt 'uns nach  
wie vor auf + man hat sich inzwischen schon mehr  
dran gewöhnt aber es fiel uns am anfang sehr auf  
daß die^ + 'sehr belinert haben also viel mehr  
berlinert als wir + westberliner

Later she comments that any other differences are no longer obvious between the people of the two states. As well as being able to see family, one of the main advantages Frieda has discovered is similar to many West Berliners. On p.5 she tells the interviewer:

das berliner umfeld is ja 'so 'wunderschön un  
wir ham noch längs nich alles erförscht also man  
müßte würllich mal + zu hause urlaub machn um  
alles zu sehn war jetzt so + in unsrer wunderbarn  
umgebung + an schöna landschaft zu findn is

Another point which shows Frieda's positive attitude towards what happened in Germany is on p.5, when she talks about the first days after unification when she met East Germans on the street:

!man fühlte sich gar nich fremd! man fühlte sich  
so + mitnander vabundn

and she cannot understand that for many people these feelings of joy have passed:

ich versteh gar nich warum die menschen dis  
alles schon wieda vergessn ham oda vergessn  
wolln

the people of East and West Germany seem to have forgotten how they felt at the time of 9 November 1989.

Speaker 21 is Piet, a 37 year old teacher from West Berlin. He is very negative about unification and is very distanced from the situation around 9 November 1989. Both his uses of *eben* and *halt*, however, are above average, although below the level of significance. But what is really interesting about Piet's language is that he continually combines *eben* and *halt*, mainly using *eben halt*, and once *halt eben*. Apart from the first sections of the interview, this combining is present continuously throughout the interview. It is not clear why he does so, and Piet himself is not aware of this. When the interviewer

asks him if he uses *eben* or *halt*, he says that he uses *eben*, and is very surprised when told that he combines the two. What is also interesting is that the interviewer tells Piet that he only uses *halt eben*, whereas he only uses this once, much less than *eben halt*. A time when this is particularly noticeable is when Piet describes the good thing about unification, something very rare for him. Like many other West Berliners, being able to travel to the area surrounding Berlin is the main positive thing of reunification. On p.4 he says:

also + die ersten tollen sachen die dann/ was  
**eben halt** für für uns berliner **eben halt** was/  
was ganz neues war; is **eben halt** umland zu  
haben

Piet's use of *eigentlich*, *doch*, *denn* and tags are all around or just below average. He mainly uses all of these, including tags, in sections where *eben* and *halt* do not occur. Piet did not rush across to East Berlin or East Germany, and the first time he ventures there is on 12 January 1990, and then only because a friend wants to celebrate her birthday there. Piet has very bad memories of trying to cross the border to the GDR, and this had led to his reluctance to go there after the Wall had fallen. On p.2 he says:

und da ich als student auch + motorradfahrer  
war; und lange haare hatte und so weiter + hab  
ich eigentlich auch/ ich hab + sehr sehr viel  
ärger an der grenze gehabt

He was stopped and questioned many times when he did visit the GDR, he believes this is because his direct family had had problems with the GDR and:

offensichtlich warn/ + unsere familie dann auch  
in irgendeiner form registriert

He was a teacher in a class of asylum seekers and other foreign pupils who were also very wary of going to East Berlin, and did not

feel any real desire to do so. Piet is also not very sure that unification was carried out in the right way, as on p.3 he comments:

bin ich auch nich ganz sicher ob dis + eh so schnell so gut war

Also after this time reunification was negative for him; he believes that it broke up projects which he was working on, and it is clear from his use of modal particles that he feels very strongly about this. On p.5 he comments:

=und das is ja dann alles irgendwie + eh raus weil dann + die **eben halt** auf/ aufgrund von mieten + und und der ganzen situation; und viele projekte jestorben sind; was **eben halt** + nur bedingt natürlich was + mit der wiedervereinigung zu tun hat; aber weil **eben** + vieles nicht mehr subventioniert worden is

It seems that Piet thinks life could have stayed the way it was; this becomes clear when he talks about his East German friends who had been very happy in the GDR and accepted their way of life there. On p.6 he says:

daß also ne ja für ihn wars ganz normál; daß da aben zuende war, und daß berlin für ihn + war der westteil nicht die attraktión letztendlich ne, + also der hat ganz normal gelebt; und fand dis auch alles so

Piet also feels envious that East Germans were coming in and taking West German jobs for which they were not fully qualified, and he believes that they were taking these jobs from West Germans. He feels that his education was being wasted and not valued, and also says on p.7:

und da war dieser neid da daß dann bevorzugt kollegen aus=n/ aus=n neuen bundesländern genommen worden sind; eh und leute die hier die ausbildung gemacht haben; ehm nich genommen worden sind=

The only positive thing Piet discusses about East Germans and

unification is that he comments that East Germans use more dialect in their language and that this is commendable. He says on p.10:

ick denke jeder sollte zu seinem dialekt stehen

He also comments that he likes to use dialect when he is not teaching, and seems quite offended when the interviewer asks him why he is not using it during the interview, as he says that he is.

Speaker 22 is Anton, a 42 year old headmaster from West Berlin. His use of *eben* is average, and he does not use *halt* at all, which may be a reflection of his age. He uses *eben* very evenly throughout the interview and at no point do any of the uses cluster together. He tends to use *eben* in situations in which he is expressing emotion, whether it be positive or negative. Initially he tells the interviewer that he felt overjoyed when he heard the news on 9 November, in fact he says:

mir lief-n die trän: vor freude

but decides not to go out and goes to bed. Afterwards he says:

für mein damaljes em'pfinden heute ärger ich mich natürlich hm diesen augenblick verpasst zu haben aber ick denke wir habn in der 'folgezeit dann also doch geschichte **eben** nochmal sehr hautnah erlebt\_

Also when talking about the price West Germans have had to pay for unification, he says on p.8:

und das is auch an bestimmten stellen sicher ärgerlich +1+ aber das ist der preis den wir dafür zahl'n müssn freiheit kann man nicht einfach eh verordnen und sagen so und so muss das sein dann wärs ja **eben** keine freiheit mehr

The uses of *eigentlich*, *doch*, *denn* and tags are all around average, and as is the case in many speakers, they seem to appear in different sections to *eben* and *halt*. An exception to this is when Anton is

explaining that East Germans had to adapt to West German working conditions as their working hours had been much more flexible previously. On p.5 he says:

+ na es geht zum beispiel um um arbeitszeiten eh die warn **einklich** gewohnt ihre arbeitszeiten na dann hatte man **eben** sein: sein:beutel dabei und wenns ürgendwo was gab dann ging man ganz selbstvständig raus ?ne?

Similar to Piet (speaker 21) and many other West Germans, Anton comments on the ability to travel outwith West Berlin, which was not possible so easily before. He says on p.4:

ich gehe also sehr gerne spaziern^ und mach mit meina frau einklich regelmässich eh grössre spaziergänge wir ham uns jetzt nun auch + n: 'hund angeschafft mit dem wir also noch längere spaziergänge machn wolln

Anton does not think that East Germans of his age will fully adapt to the new life of unified Germany, but that the younger generation will be able to live normally. He says on p.5:

also ich denk mal die generation die nu meine meine verwandten sind jetzt so um die fünfzich die werden sich nich mehr vollständig anpassen können aber die kinder die werden die werden ganz normal reinwachsen und in zwanzig jahren spricht davon von diesen unterschieden keiner mehr

When it comes to *Berlinisch*, Anton sees it as enriching to have many different dialects and sorts of people working in his school, although he does point out that his teachers speak *Hochdeutsch* in the classroom. He believes many East Berliners used dialect to distance themselves from politicians such as Walther Ulbricht, who had a strong Saxon accent and was not very popular among the people, and finds that those in East Berlin use it much more than their Western counterparts, himself included (p.12):

ich bemü mich einklich eh immar hochsprache zu

sprechen na hochsprache aba eh doch relativ  
deutlich und mit wenich dialekt behaftete  
sprache zu sprechen

Although he thinks that unification had some negative effects on West Germans, such as having to pay *Solidaritätszuschlag* for the East, he believes that people in West Berlin experienced unification very differently to West Germans. He says on p.11:

die war dis eben ne gan/hatte es ne ganz andere  
dimension und eh + diese kollegen und auch ich  
wir haben das als ne viel grössere befreiung  
empfunden und und diese möglichkeit die sich  
damit ergibt und wir sehn auch die die probleme  
einklich viel hautnaher als vielleicht jemand  
der in kölln seine verwandten hat

The last West Berlin speakers are 23 and 24, Berta and Caroline, who are both students from West Berlin. Neither use *eben* at all during the interview, which is to be expected because of their age, but surprising in that both study at the Humboldt University, with a majority of East German students. Berta also now lives in East Berlin. She comments that immediately after the *Wende* she used much more Berlin dialect than she does now, although she does comment that she has picked up some East German phrases from her friends, for example on p.9:

ursten knast haben

when she is very hungry. Berta also comments towards the end of the interview that using dialect is looked down upon in the West and is regarded as rather working class (p.9):

n prol verbind ich damit

When it comes to *halt* Caroline uses it around the average level, but Berta uses it significantly. For example, she uses it a lot when talking about initial fears that East German students had when West German students joined their course at University. She says on p.3:

die hatten einfach angst daß wir jetzt irgendwie was kontrolliern oder sowas das war ganz + das ham sie hinterher auch gesagt daß die einfach berührungängste **halt** auch hatten\_ + weil **halt** eh grade alles neu war bei denen am neuen aufbauen und sowas + war=s **halt** n bißchen komisch für die

Moreover, when talking about how well she got on with the people on her course, Berta's use of *halt* goes up dramatically. The uses of *eigentlich*, *doch* and *denn* are all around average. Caroline occasionally clusters her uses of *eigentlich* together, for example when she is discussing why she did not visit East Berlin regularly when the Wall first came down (p.7):

ne **eigentlich** nich also ich ich hab  
**eigentlich** was man so tut in dem alter^ @@@ ne  
ganze menge bloß ich dachte besser als hier  
kanns **eigentlich** nich sein\_ von daher (x)  
abwarten

and when she is telling the interviewer that she used to feel pity for East Germans:

man dachte immer man hat !mehr! und die andern  
haben nichts (xx) könn ei=m **eigentlich** !leid!  
tun also aber das hat sich jetzt **eigentlich**  
auch ergeben

Berta's use of tags is just below significant, and Caroline's use is slightly lower again. Both tend to use these where they expect agreement from each other and from the interviewer, making the interview sound very relaxed and conversational, which is probably the case as the three know each other very well. Berta is one of the few West Berliners to mention that she had fears about talking to East Berliners, which is something many in the East comment upon, having a fear to talk to those on the other side on the night of 9 November .

On p.2 she mentions:

geredet ham wir nich viel mit denen also da is  
mir irgendwie noch voll !berührungängste!

Berta finds that those from East Berlin speak about the same way as people from West Berlin, but that it is the people from Brandenburg who use the strongest Berlin dialect, and that it is those people who are most easily recognised. Caroline comments on p.5 that for them nothing much changed in their way of living and that:

diese große + euphorie ging relativ schnell weg  
+ normal man hat auch gemerkt daß man sich nich  
mehr auf der straße + begrüßte oder sich  
anlächelte

She also thinks that it is different for those from the East, as people cannot change as quickly as society has, after having being brought up in a particular system. Both comment that there are still differences between East and West, although not as obvious as they were before.

On p.8 Berta says:

also ich glaube wenn man so richtig feinfühlig  
drauf achtet so und jetzt überlegste na ossi  
oder wessi oder sowar^ + an so kleinigkeiten  
sieht man dann manchmal\_ wens halt nich  
ürgendwie n paar ohrringe sind mit so=m golden  
schimmer die die gabs bei uns halt einfach nich\_  
oder + weiß ich nich was noch ürgendwie n füller  
oder so=ne kleinigkeiten daran sieht mans dann  
@@@

#### **5.4 Summary and conclusion**

This chapter initially introduced and explained the corpus which is used for this discussion of East and West Berlin language habits. It contains a detailed analysis of interviews held with individuals from many social backgrounds in East and West Berlin, obtained between the autumn of 1993 and March 1996. As well as looking at the usage of modal particles and tags, general feelings and ideas of interviewees were looked at, in order to gain an insight into how they perceived the situation in Germany. From the results it is clear to see

that East and West Berliners view 9 November and the ensuing years very differently. For many East Berliners it was an event which changed their lives and of which they had many expectations, whether they be positive or negative. For most West Berliners it was an interesting day, but many knew nothing of it until 10 November and did not react to the news. For them, the 9 November led to very different opportunities from East Germans, the ability to explore the surrounding countryside for example, rather than major changes. These differences can be seen to be reflected in the language both use to describe their experiences. On the whole, most East Berliners are much more emotional in their descriptions, and this is reflected in the use of modal particles and tags. The use of modal particles and tags is higher in East Berlin, and I do not feel that this can be solely put down to more dialect use in the East. Clearly emotion felt by speakers can influence their language, and particularly in such important events as the *Wende* and the reunification of the two German states it is clearly visible. Although the interviewees are not completely representative of the Berlin community due to the large number of teachers, they do cover a wide range of ages and jobs, and both genders. The large number of teachers can even be seen to further the point I make about emotion increasing the frequency of modal particles and tags in people's language. To examine people who are trained in speaking in front of others for long periods of time and still to find an increase of modal particle and tag use in the East Berlin section, is instructive. Even these interviewees showed the effect emotion had on their language forms. It is clear that asking people about emotional events in their lives, here the fall of the Wall for citizens of East Berlin, can lead to interesting results in the use of

modal particles and tags. This increase suggests that there is a link between the usage of modal particles and tags and emotion in language.

Furthermore, what is different about this particular analysis is that rather than looking at the corpus stylistically or purely grammatically, I have looked at the language forms in relation to what is being said by the speakers and felt by them in a very specific situation. This is very different to other research, in a way which provides new insights into the differences between speakers of East and West Berlin.

It can be seen clearly from this chapter, as well as from the graphs in Appendix 1, that there are significant differences in the way that East and West Berliners use modal particles and tags when speaking about the 9 November 1989. As well as using the traditional North German form *eben* more, the East Berliners use more modal particles in general and especially more tags. The West Berliners take a more distanced and less emotional view of the *Wende*, and this is reflected in their reduced use of modal particles and tags. The form *halt* is the main exception to this, and this is the form which has come to be preferred in the West to *eben*. This usage has slowly penetrated from the South to most users in West Berlin, and since reunification, to the younger citizens of East Berlin and East Germany. Dittmar commented that in the late 1970s the form *halt* was not to be found in Berlin or Brandenburg. Even during the time of the interviews, the modal particle *halt* still carried an emphasis in East Berlin, it suggested overtones of West Berlin and West Germany, which for many former GDR citizens was the world they were trying to integrate into. The modal particle which is used most similarly by both citizens

of East and West Berlin is *eigentlich*. This modal particle can be regarded as the least emotional of all the modal particles and tags discussed, and is used very frequently by all speakers in order to narrate events from a more distanced perspective, rather than the other modal particles and tags which convey a more personal and subjective view.

We have also seen that language can be affected by more than age, gender, occupation and such things. The circumstances an individual is in can also influence the way that language is used, and the way something is told. By choosing a topic which was emotional for one group of speakers, i.e. East Berliners, and examining them side-by-side with a control group of West Berliners, we were able to examine language for differences and subtleties in usage. In the corpus modal particles and tags were found to differ between the two groups of speakers, reflecting the emotional state of those interviewed.

## Summary and conclusion

The question asked at the start of this thesis was how the language of Germany has changed since the reunification of 3 October 1990. More specifically, I have looked at the language of the former German Democratic Republic and how the effects of reunification have influenced the linguistic changes which took place after 1989. More specifically still, I have examined the use of modal particles in a corpus of spoken East and West *Berlinisch* compiled by Professor Norbert Dittmar and his students in 1993. The topic of the corpus was the historic, tumultuous night of 9 November 1989, in Berlin. It is well known that modal particles express the subjective opinion of the speaker about the propositional content of the sentence. What I have done is to take this idea a stage further and focus on the emotional involvement of the speaker in the propositional content of his or her sentence. The corpus chosen was particularly appropriate for this purpose, since the 9 November 1989 stirred especially deep emotions in the East Berlin speakers, less so in the West Berlin speakers. I noted that *eben* and *halt* had a high rate of occurrence in the corpus when speakers became emotional about what they were saying. *Eben* is more common in East Berlin, *halt* in West Berlin, and I noted the extent to which this situation is sometimes reversed as East Berliners pick up *halt*, and to a much lesser extent some West Berliners pick up *eben* in the gradual process of social and linguistic unification following in the wake of political unification. Thus this dissertation has a semantic perspective: the meanings of modal particles; a socio-linguistic perspective: the difference between East and West *Berlinisch*; and a historical perspective: the future direction

which the German language is taking after the unification of West Germany and the GDR in 1990.

Initially, my analysis focuses on the language of the GDR. After a brief history of the situation which led to the separation of the two German states, the two varieties, East and West German, were discussed. Many linguists tried to ascertain whether the division of Germany could lead to the addition of two more varieties, East and West German, to the already recognized Swiss and Austrian German. Throughout the years of the Cold War linguists of East and West Germany were of differing opinions regarding the state of the German language. Immediately after 1949 (the year in which the GDR and the FRG were founded) the East German linguists stressed the continuing similarity of the two varieties, mainly concentrating on the negative effects, as they saw it, of an Anglo-American influence on German. However, after Honecker came to power in 1971 many GDR linguists and politicians stressed the distinguishing features of the East German language. This was very different to the West German viewpoint, where during the 1950s linguists started fearing a *Sprachspaltung* and warned of the Soviet influence on the East German language. However, after the 1960s West German linguists started playing down the differences of the two registers and stressed the common bond between the two. After these sections I discussed some details of the two varieties. As the states became more established the language often changed to reflect the changes taking place within the two states. It was also often the case that the same words were used differently in either state, as well as new words being developed to describe new concepts. In other cases words could have a positive connotation in one state, but a negative in the

other, depending upon the denotational content of the word.

One of the main differences of language between East and West Germany could be seen in the sphere of politics. Especially in the East many terms were ideologically loaded to convey the new style of government. The influence of the leading party was very strong in the East and people had to conform to certain standards in order not to stand out as rebelling against the state. The language of the GDR was often compared to the language of the Third Reich, as it was in part militant and war-like. Whereas propaganda and censorship were used deliberately and consciously in the GDR, and affected the language, the propaganda and censorship of West Germany was more subtle and covert, but nevertheless still affected their language. After this political section, GDR-specific words on a more everyday level were discussed. Many words could mark out a speaker as being from the East; and many of these words were used every day by speakers of East Germany, such as *Kaufhalle*, *Plaste* and *Broiler*. Other words which were considered typically East German by West German linguists were never used by the people, for example *Jahresendflügelfigur* and *Frühjahrsschokoladenhohlkörper*. The Duden of the two states were also examined, how they differed from one another. Especially words registered in the Duden as coming from the other state were looked at, and it was interesting to see how each state dealt with such words, either explaining them in their own terms or disregarding them. As well as discussing the extent to which GDR citizens were influenced by political ideology and to which their language was affected by this, the very important and frequently discussed ability of the East Germans to code-switch was also dealt with. Depending on the situation and people present East

Germans often changed their language style to fit in with the situation. Especially in official circles and the media the language of the East Germans differed considerably from that used in the private sphere. Influence from abroad also differed between the two states. Whereas the West German language was highly influenced in all areas by Britain and especially America, the language of the GDR was influenced on a much smaller scale by the Soviet Union and Russian, mainly due to the ambivalent attitude of the GDR people towards the Russians.

In the GDR some subjects were considered taboo and could not be discussed in an official context, for example the environment and religion. Another question posed was whether the different societies could change the values of the German people. For example, divorce and abortion rates were much higher in East Germany than West Germany, and female employment numbers were also much higher in the GDR. It seems that the different societies in which the East and West German people lived did indeed influence the language to some extent. It was mainly the East German language which changed to reflect the changing society and to differentiate the GDR from the capitalist West. The West German language also changed, mainly to incorporate new technology and science, as well as receiving influence from the Anglo-American countries. It does seem, though, that most East Germans could differentiate between the language of the state and that within the private sphere. There are some words which appear in the everyday world of the East Germans, but they do not appear to the same extent as those which were ideologically influenced. Most East Germans could distinguish between official and unofficial language and switched between the

two when needed.

Subsequently the situation within Germany immediately after November 1989 was discussed. The views and hopes of East and West Germans were considered, and whether these feelings changed in any way as time passed. Another point of interest was the way these sudden changes had affected the German language, mainly on the side of the East Germans, starting with the slogans before and after the demonstrations in November 1989. Many new words were needed to describe the new situation after the Wall fell. Many new political and social events and processes had to be described and given a name for the people who lived in this new society. Other words were lost in the East German vocabulary, mainly words whose referents were now in the past or obsolete. The changing expectations and hopes of the citizens of both sides of the Wall were examined, how each side viewed each other and what knowledge both German states had of the other side. It seemed that most East Germans were fairly familiar with the West German way of life, and looked on it very favourably. On the other hand, it seemed most West Germans were very unfamiliar with the East German way of life, and looked upon it as something foreign and almost exotic. Words of particular importance were discussed, mainly words referring to the changes taking place in Germany, for example the word *Wende* itself and other terms describing the events of November 1989, as well as new names for the German states, the people that lived within them, and words describing reunification. It was clearly the East Germans who mainly had to adapt to a West German way of living, and this includes the language to a great extent. East Germans had to learn a whole range of new vocabulary to cope with the changing society in

which they lived.

Many East Germans wanted to distance themselves from the society in which they had lived, and numerous East German traditions and ways of speaking were lost initially, especially aspects linked to politics and ideology. But it seemed after the initial period of euphoria had worn off that West German society was not what many East Germans had expected, and within a few years there was a resurgence of East German words and ways of speaking, as well as an increase in the sales of East German products, which had been almost totally ignored for most of the first years after unification. This process of the reintroduction of East German aspects was commonly known as *Ostalgie* or *Nostalgie*, although most people did not wish the return of the former system. It seems that at this stage some West German language and behaviour was being rejected, as the novelty of being part of a unified Germany wore off. At the same time as this nostalgia for the former way of life came about, it was often the case that there were problems between the citizens of the two states as relationships grew strained. It was also the case that each side viewed their own people positively, whilst looking in a negative way at the citizens of the other state, furthering the stereotypes and conflict between the two groups of people. Another aspect which affected East Germans much more than West Germans was the loss of identity following the collapse of the GDR. Many East Germans were not sure of their position in the New Germany, and suffered identity crises after unification. Many were affected by feelings of insecurity and inferiority compared to their West German neighbours. Loss of employment, lower wages, and lack of knowledge of the new society were the main causes of these feelings. Both groups of people seemed to think that

the other side had gained from unification, and that their own side had lost, which fuelled the conflict between East and West.

On the whole it was the East Germans who had to adapt to the West German way of living, which many found hard to do, not having full knowledge of the new system, which led to feelings of resentment. On the other hand, many West Germans felt that they were paying for German unification and that the East Germans were gaining all the profit. On the language level it was the East Germans who had to learn large amounts of new vocabulary, which the West Germans did not have to do, as most GDR-specific vocabulary was discarded after 1989, unless used historically. Although many linguists argued that there has only ever been one language in Germany, it can clearly be seen that even if only on an official level the East Germans had much to learn in a new society. Great adaptations in the way of living had to be overcome, and many East Germans felt resentment against the *Besserwessis*, whereas many West Germans saw their neighbours as *Jammerossis*, who could not work and would not learn how to.

After this modal particles were discussed. Historically modal particles tended to be disregarded in the study of language as having no meaning. Many linguists could not agree in which word class modal particles belonged, if any. Often modal particles were not described as having a specific function and were grouped under the heading of word types such as prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions, as they were also uninflected. However, it was realised that modal particles were used very frequently in spoken language, even though their use was apparently not absolutely necessary, and the conclusion this led to was that these words must have some function. It was decided that modal particles did not refer to one

particular word in the sentence, but to the sentence as a whole, changing its nuance. Modal particles are complex, used in many different ways in different situations. Modal particles tend to be used to illustrate the speaker's opinion of what he or she is saying. They do not alter the truth value of a sentence, and they can be removed from a sentence without affecting its grammaticality. Most modal particles have more than one function, and it is extremely difficult to give each modal particle an individual meaning, as they can change in context. A dilemma regarding modal particles is the decision whether to give them a broad meaning in the spirit of capturing generalizations, or to give each particle a very specific meaning but possibly missing a general term for each modal particle. It should be realised that their meaning is context dependent, and every individual use must be analysed in its own right.

Even though the link between modal particles and emotion is very rarely made, we have seen numerous instances in the corpus of how modal particles are used to illustrate what the speaker is feeling emotionally. In German dialogue modal particles are expected, and omitting them sends a very specific message; whether it be the desire to be rude, or simply direct. Most speakers are not aware of the modal particles they use, as it is a subconscious procedure, and they cannot recall which particles they used when questioned. Children are already found using modal particles correctly from a young age, and also use them without thinking. The mysterious and intuitive nature of modal particles leads to problems when foreigners are learning German, as there are no known hard and fast rules regarding modal particle use.

The words in the modal particle class frequently overlap with

those in other word classes. This multi-class membership is often considered a characteristic of modal particles, although there are differences in use in different word classes. Modal particles are perhaps the most typical feature of spoken German, and are used to indicate mood or attitude of the speaker. A considerable problem with modal particles is that they cannot easily be translated into other languages using a single lexical item. Languages such as English do not use modal particles in the same way as German and tend to use intonation and tags (isn't it, doesn't he, don't you think) to convey those meanings.

Although multiple particle combinations are very common and often spontaneous, there are rules regarding this. When combining particles, they can change their meaning slightly to form a new meaning in a particular combination. They tend to be ordered within the sentence according to their assertive power. This means that the nearer the modal particle stands to the propositional content of a sentence, the higher its assertive power is. Speakers are not generally aware of this and use instinct in combining modal particles to convey a specific meaning. Furthermore, the modal particle tends to come before the rheme in the sentence, which is the new aspect of the sentence, and comes after the theme, that which is already known.

After examining modal particles in general terms, the five modal particles which are examined in the corpus were discussed. These are *eben*, *halt*, *doch*, *denn* and *eigentlich*. *Eben* can be seen as having several meanings: it can emphasize an inescapable conclusion; it can stress that there is no real alternative; it can have the sense of precisely; and it can also lessen the force of a negative. *Eben* can also serve to conclude the argument of another speaker or

of a previous conversation. *Eben* can also suggest that the interlocuters have knowledge of past experience together. *Eben* can be used to suggest that something is obvious or to explain something. *Eben* and *halt* are generally seen to be synonymous and to be regional variants of each other, where *eben* is used in North Germany and *halt* in South Germany. Many linguists believe that dialectal variation is the only difference between these two modal particles. On the other hand this view is refuted by some, as these two modal particles can be used in combination with each other, and cannot always replace each other. *Halt* can be used to advise, or to suggest doing something, but cannot be used to order someone to do something. *Halt* can suggest feelings of resignation and the unalterability of something. *Halt* is sometimes considered to be a stylistic variant of *eben*, with *halt* the weaker and friendlier of the two.

*Doch* is one of the most common modal particles in German, and has a large number of possible meanings. It can indicate a degree of disagreement with what has been said; it can turn a statement into a question, where a positive answer is expected; it can add a note of urgency or impatience to commands; it can ask for the confirmation of an answer; and it can show the speaker's desire for a positive answer. As well as these, *doch* can emphasize the surprise of the speaker and can try to dispel feelings of misgiving. *Doch* can also be used to encourage correction on the part of the listener, as it shows up inconsistencies between new propositions and existing assumptions.

*Denn* is used exclusively in questions and usually refers back to what has just been said. If there are negative elements in the question, *denn* can signal reproach to the listener. *Denn* can also

signal the surprise of the speaker that something is the case. *Denn* can also suggest to the listener that the speaker is referring to something that has already been discussed.

Finally, *eigentlich* can emphasize that something is actually the case even if does not appear to be so. It is used to change the topic of conversation, and can also tone questions down, thereby making them sound more casual. *Eigentlich* can start a new turn in a conversation, though it cannot start a conversation. It can also be used to return to a previous theme, signalling that an answer was not sufficient and more information is required.

In summary, modal particles have multiple meanings and cannot be easily described in their functions. They are not capable of being in initial position; they cannot be focused on; they cannot be questioned directly; their exact meaning has not been fully explicated; they do not alter the truth value of a sentence; they are often combined and appear in groups; they cannot form an independent sentence by themselves; they stand in relation to the whole sentence into which they are integrated; and they cannot be answers to questions. They are uninflected words which express the subjective opinion of the speaker and can highlight the emotional involvement of the speaker. If accentuated differently or used differently syntactically they can change their meanings and can also belong to other word classes. Clearly they are not meaningless fillers but are a crucial part of the meaning of spoken language.

After this presentation of the situation of the German language and modal particles, the concept of emotion was considered. As this thesis is concerned with the idea that the way people speak could be affected by their feelings, it was necessary to examine some

psychological and other theories of emotion. Emotions are part of everyday life which most people simply take for granted. Emotions can inform people of what is happening, and how to cope with a situation. Such feelings are particularly brought about when someone finds something which affects their being. Emotions are used to evaluate events crucial to the survival of the individual, as these feelings can prompt someone to act upon their feelings. Emotions are viewed differently in different cultures, and can be seen as the link or dividing line between man and animal. This aspect led to some people, for example Charles Darwin, distrusting emotions, as they believed emotions came from a lower part of the mind which we cannot control. Babies are born with certain emotions which reflect their needs, and as they grow up they learn to control them as well as acquiring new ones. Emotions keep the body and spirit of humans in close communication with each other, and although they can be very hard to control we can also show emotions that we do not really feel. Within certain social groups emotions are like communication, and they may have to be modified to continue the understanding between individual members of the group. It can also be the case that emotions show someone something that they did not realise they were feeling, for example jealousy can make someone realise the love they feel for someone. Emotional language can be used to communicate with others, to convince them of the feelings of another.

Emotion and thought are closely linked, as are emotion and language. Both appear in the spoken language and cannot be easily separated from each other. Language can be used to express emotions to the outside world, but it seems that the two are still considered independently from each other. The relations between

emotion and language are rarely analysed, yet it would seem to be the case that you have to understand one in order to comprehend the other. People can only express those feelings which they have words for. Strong emotion can motivate people telling their stories, and emotive language can be considered a conscious attempt to influence the listener. People experience language in different ways, as a result of their different lives, and this could affect speakers of different language forms, for example the East and West Germans.

The final chapter dealt with the empirical data collection and analysis part of this thesis. In order to look at the effect emotion has on the use of language, I used a corpus compiled by Professor Dittmar of the Free University of Berlin. In this corpus East and West Berliners are interviewed about their memories of 9 November 1989, their opinions and views of this date and the times following it. The results are very different between East and West. Whereas the East Berliners tend to concentrate on the night of 9 November and the first time they visited West Berlin, the West Berliners rarely mention this date and very frequently did not hear about the Wall falling until 10 November. The memories of the East Berliners are very strong, recalling the smallest detail, but the West Berliners seem much more vague and their memories are much less vivid. This is obviously because the event was a much more crucial one for those in East Germany, whose lives were much more directly affected by the changes it encompassed. This difference in degree of importance is exactly the reason why this corpus is ideal for looking at the effect emotion has on language.

By looking at events which were life-changing for one side, but nominal for the other, the real linguistic differences can be brought

out. These differences seem, among others, to be visible among modal particles. The use of *eben* is much higher among East Berliners than West Berliners, and this is a pattern which continues in the other modal particles examined, apart from *halt*. *Halt* is seen as the typically South German version of *eben*, and it is clear to see that, although its influence is spreading to the North of Germany, in 1994 it had not yet crossed into East Germany and East Berlin. Here *halt* was a marker of West Germanness which most GDR citizens would have wanted to avoid. The modal particle which is used most similarly in the two halves of Berlin is *eigentlich*, which is interesting since *eigentlich* is the most emotionally detached of the above modal particles. It tends to be used for narration and does not involve the speaker or listener as much in the events it describes. The biggest difference, however, between speakers of East and West Berlin is in the use of tags. These highly under-researched aspects of language bring out most differences between the two groups of speakers. The average usage between speakers is very different, and there are also many more speakers of the East Berlin corpus who use tags to a much greater extent. As with the case of all modal particles examined, except perhaps *eigentlich*, and especially with the use of tags, it seems that those speakers who felt very emotional about the events they were discussing, whether it be positive or negative, tended to be the highest users. Those whose lives did not change greatly or who were not bothered about the events taking place in Germany; including those who were perhaps too young or were not directly involved in what was happening, tended to use modal particles much less.

It is known that modal particles occur much more frequently in

informal language situations, and also in situations where difficult topics are discussed. Modal particles are also a sign of greater dialect use, something for which the East Germans and specifically the East Berliners were well known. *Berlinisch* was an accepted form of language use in almost all situations in East Berlin, including formal ones, whereas it was generally frowned upon in West Berlin. This could be one factor why East Berliners use more modal particles and tags than their western counterparts. The increased use of modal particles also reflects the situation of the people. For the East the falling of the Wall and reunification were life-changing events, which they could not be considered for the West. It could also be that the increased use of modal particles and specifically tags are signs of the East Berliners being less secure of their new position in reunified Germany. This is something which comes up in many of the East Berlin interviews.

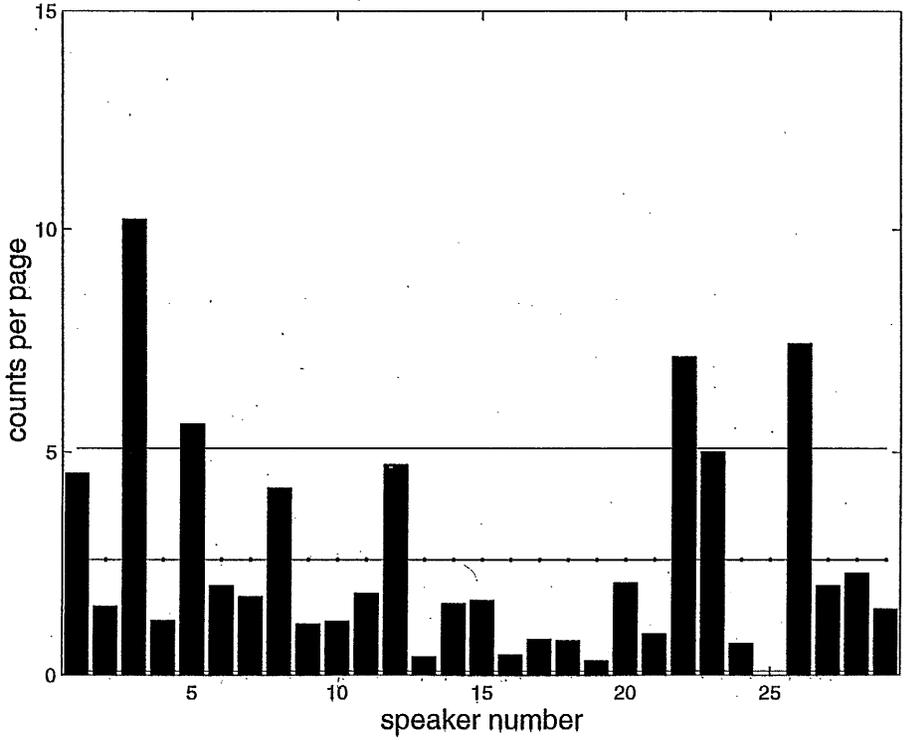
Some linguists have wondered in the past whether modal particles were superfluous in German, as they can be left out of sentences without significantly altering the truth value. However, it has become clear that Berliners at all levels continue to use them to express their emotions. The suggestion which arises from the analysis of the Dittmar corpus is that there is a relation between emotion and the use of modal particles and tags in the German language. It is obvious that modal particles serve very important functions in German, one of them being the relationship between their use and emotions felt by the speaker. Emotional involvement affects the way that people speak, and in the case of the East Germans it seems that the separation from West Germany and the changes since 1989 have affected the language spoken by the former citizens of the German

Democratic Republic. The years of division followed by the *Wende* and its resulting changes have thus left an imprint upon the language of those from the former GDR.

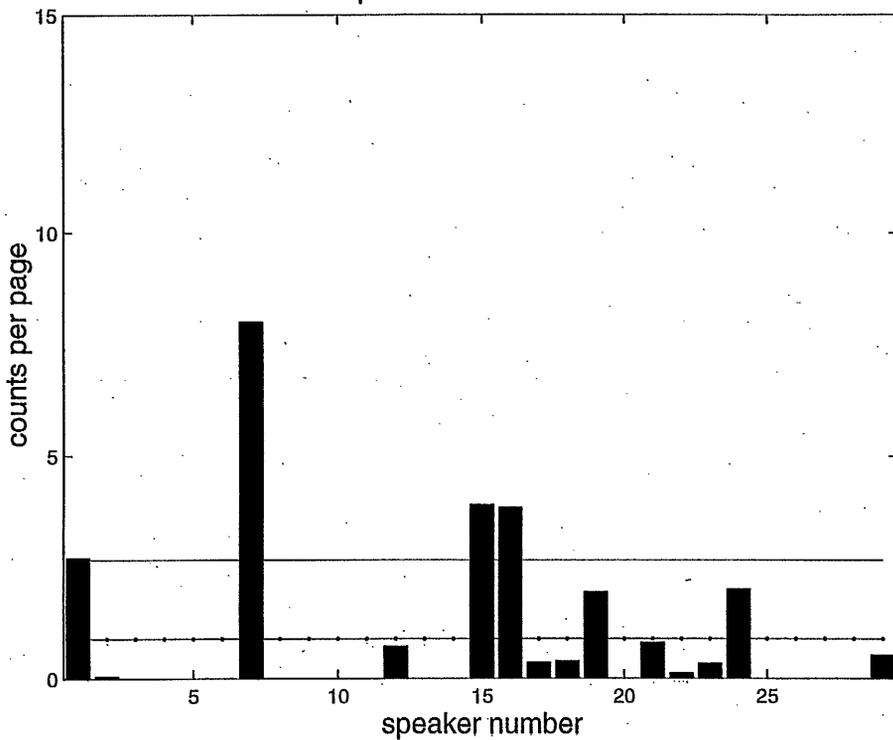
## Appendix 1

The occurrence of each of the modal particles in every text has been counted, and this number divided by the number of pages in the transcripts of the interviews, in order to obtain an average per page, which would rule out any difference due to difference in text length. Putting these counts onto graphs, with the speaker number on the horizontal axis and the counts per page on the vertical axis, the difference in frequency of use of the particles and tags becomes clearly visible. Every graph also has an average overall use, which is represented by the dotted line, and also the lines of statistical significance which are always present at the top of the graph and in some cases additionally at the foot of the graph. All the speakers whose use crossed either the top or bottom lines can be said to be statistically significant in their use of the particle. The average allows comparison between different particles and different usage by East and West. The graphs are used mainly to highlight any significant quantitative difference of use, so that further qualitative investigation could be carried out in the actual texts. The graphs were plotted with the aid of the program *graficas.m.* (written by MATLAB), which calculated the average and the points of statistical significance automatically.

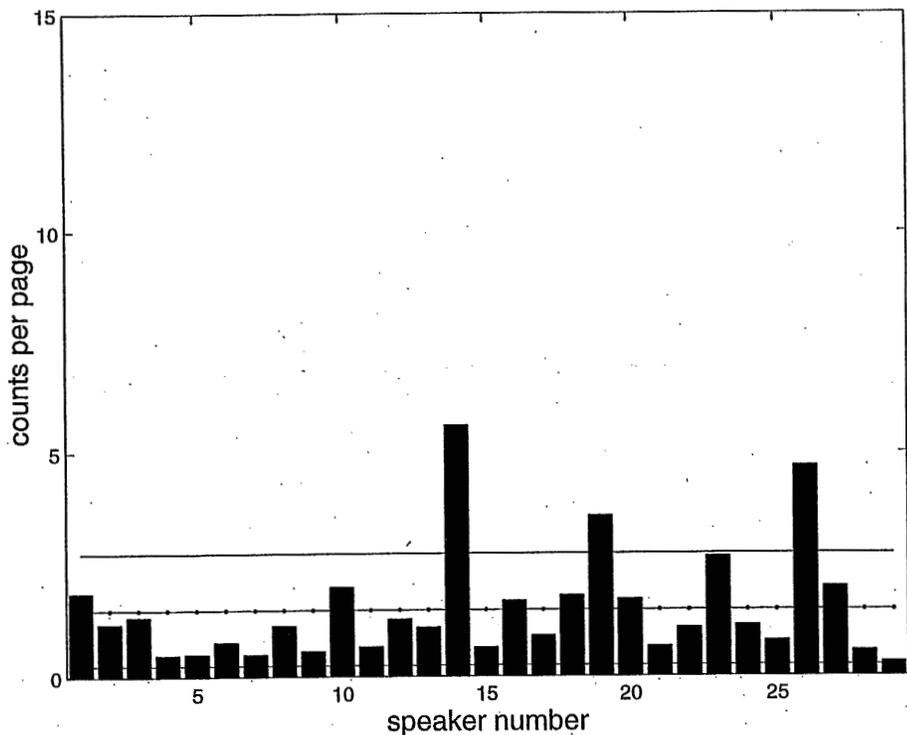
Berlin Corpus - East Berlin: Use of *EBEN*



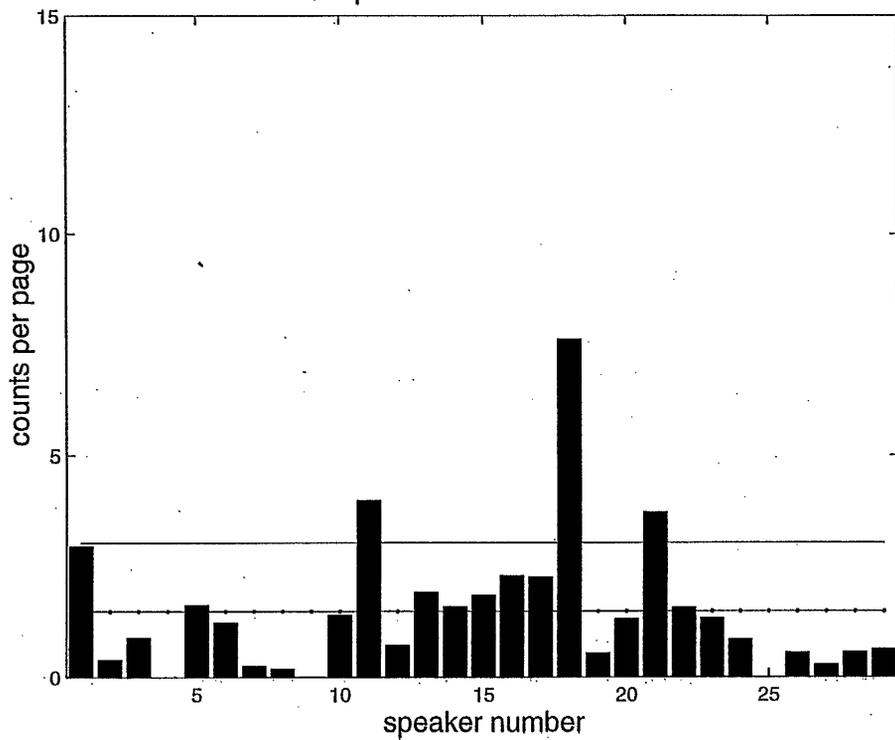
# Berlin Corpus - East Berlin: Use of *HALT*



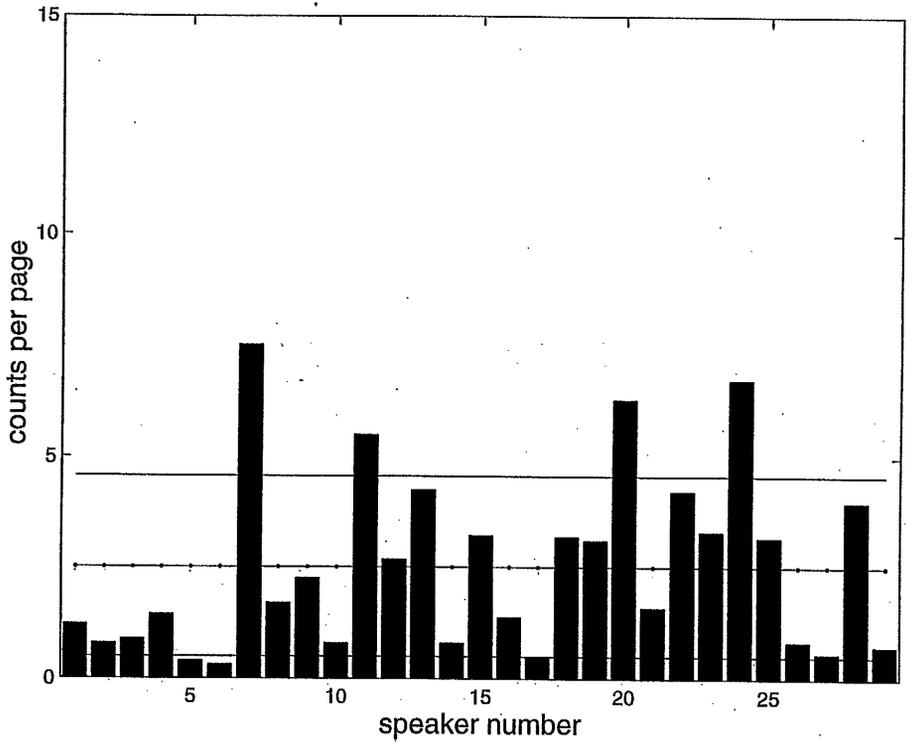
# Berlin Corpus - East Berlin: Use of *DOCH*



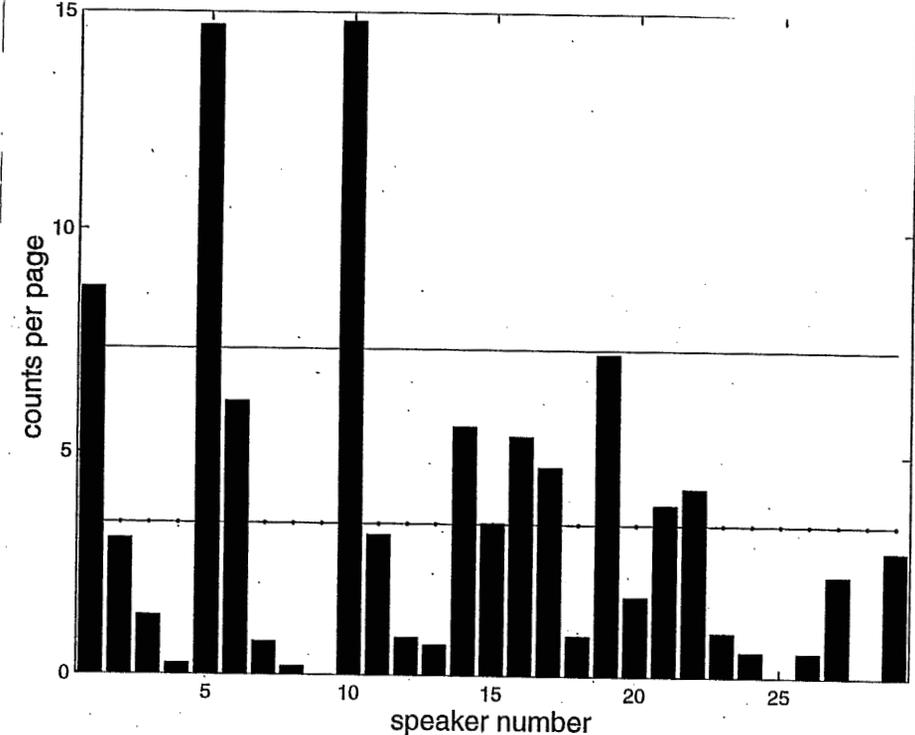
# Berlin Corpus - East Berlin: Use of *DENN*



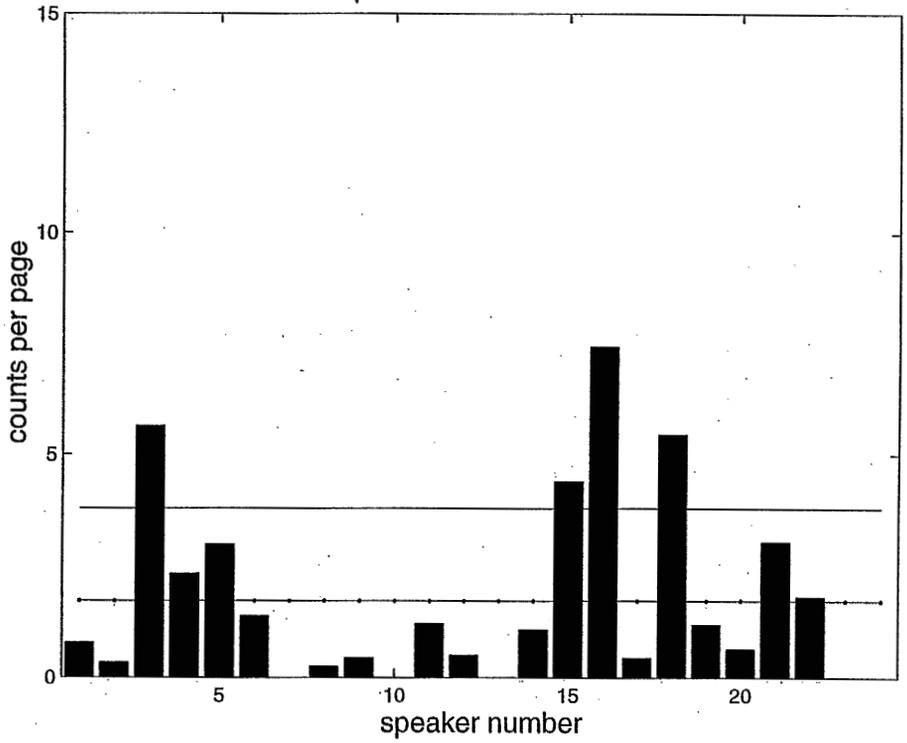
Berlin Corpus - East Berlin: Use of  
*EIGENTLICH*



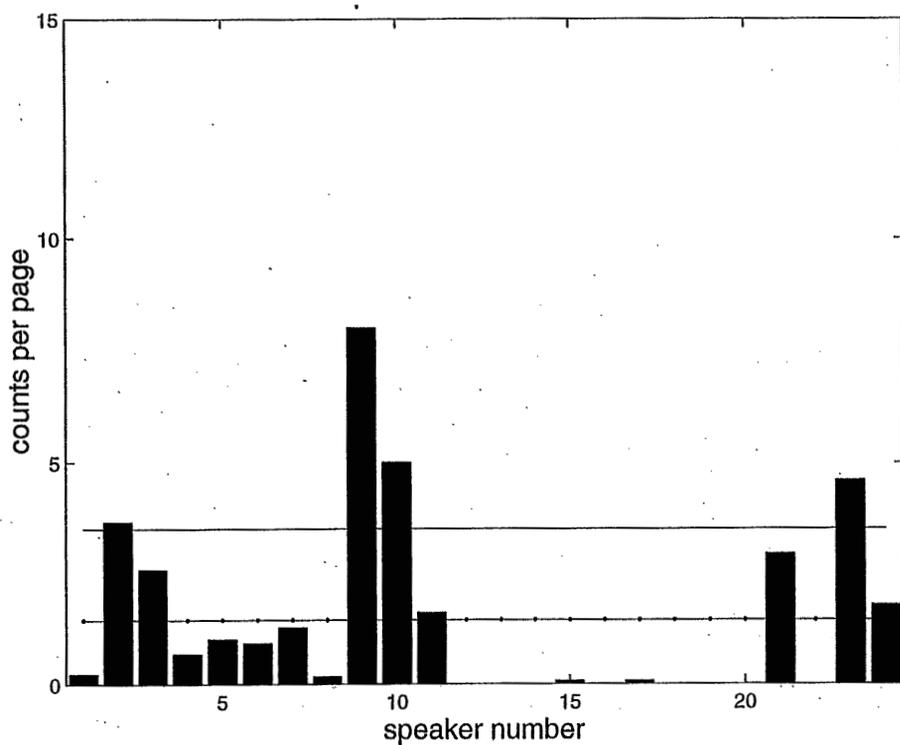
Berlin Corpus - East Berlin: Use of TAGS



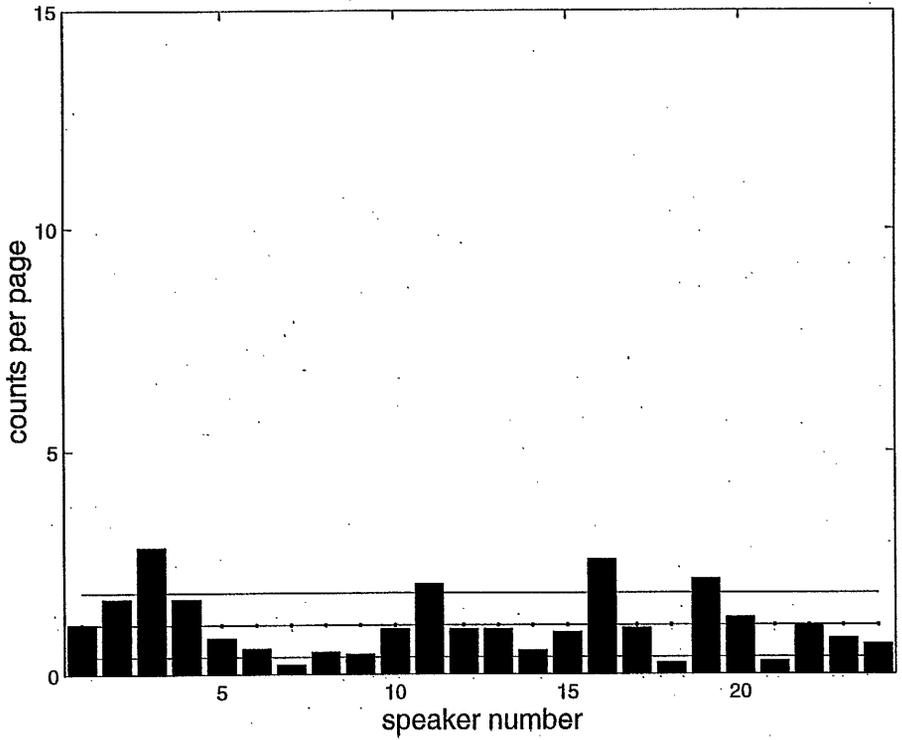
Berlin Corpus - West Berlin: Use of *EBEN*



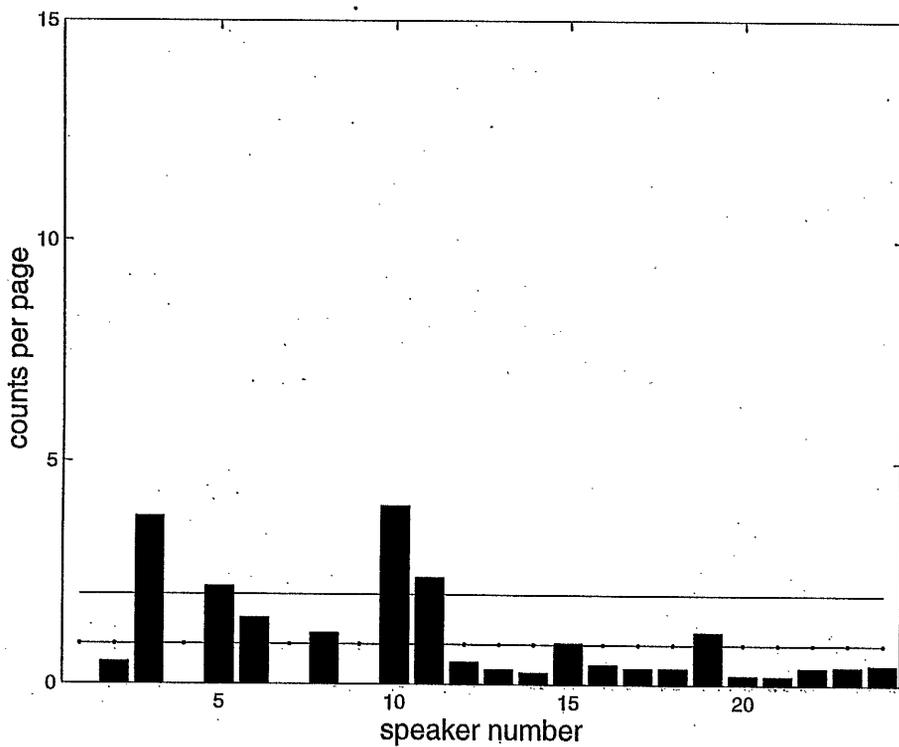
# Berlin Corpus - West Berlin: Use of *HALT*



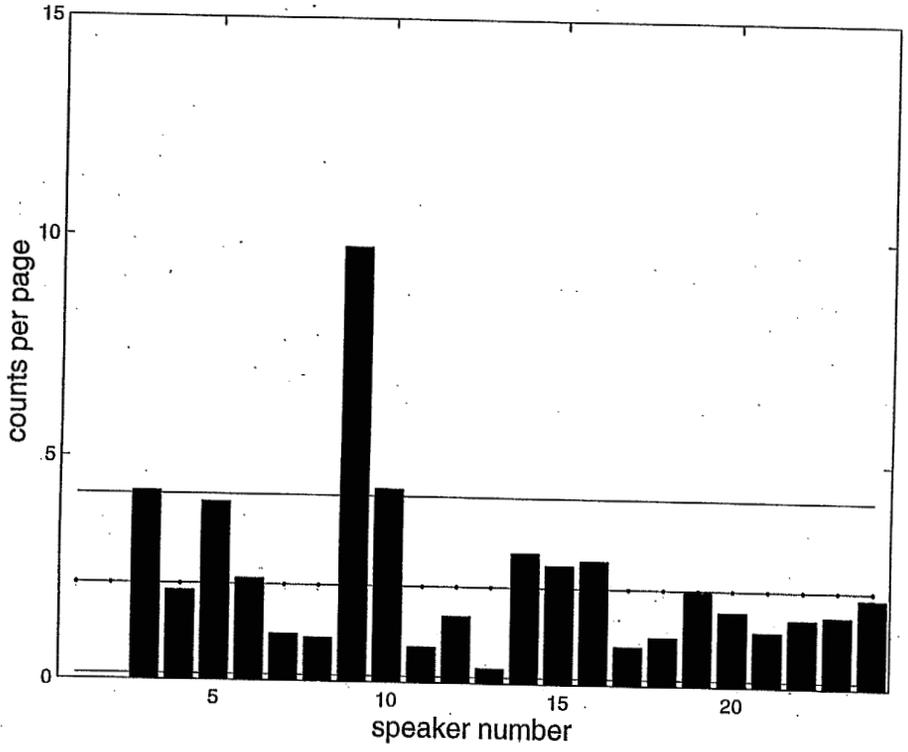
# Berlin Corpus - West Berlin: Use of *DOCH*



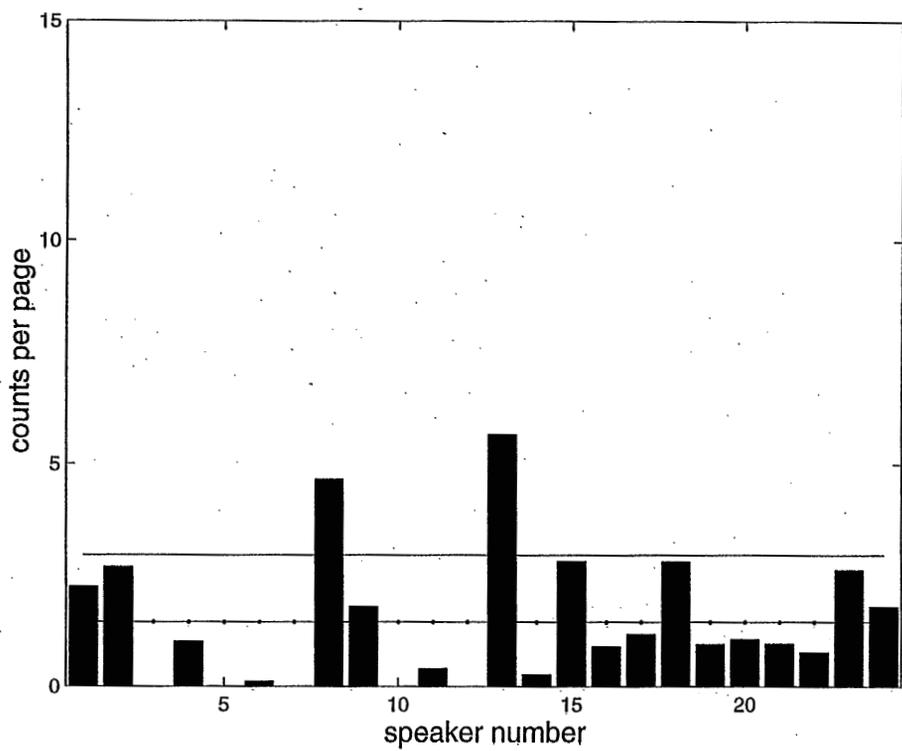
# Berlin Corpus - West Berlin: Use of *DENN*



Berlin Corpus - West Berlin: Use of  
*EIGENTLICH*



# Berlin Corpus - West Berlin: Use of TAGS



## Appendix 2

This map shows the use of *eben* and *halt* throughout Germany in the 1970s, as illustrated in Hentschel 1986:175 and is referred to on p.164 in chapter 3 of this thesis.

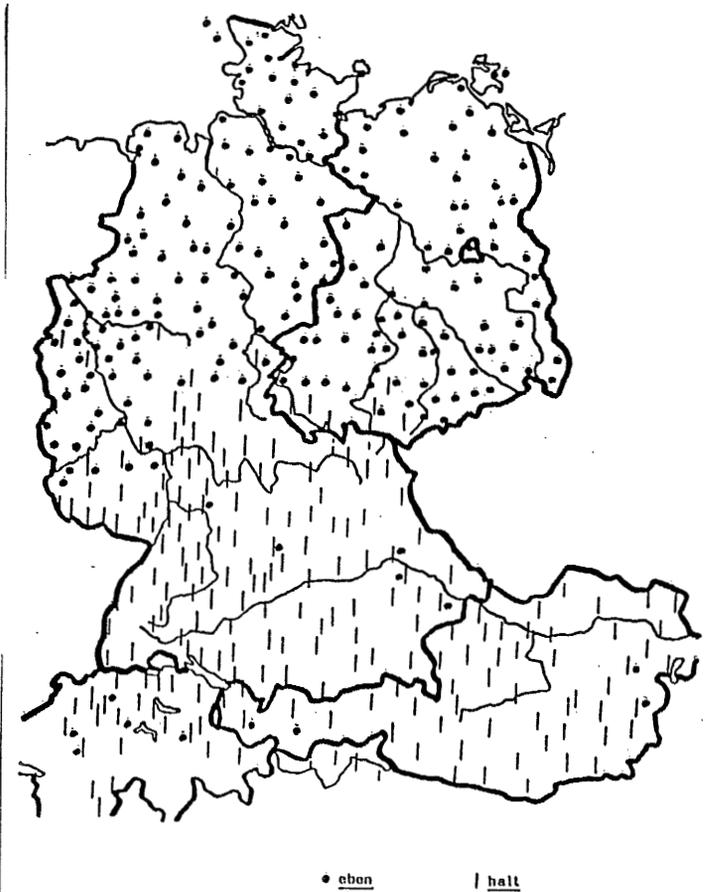
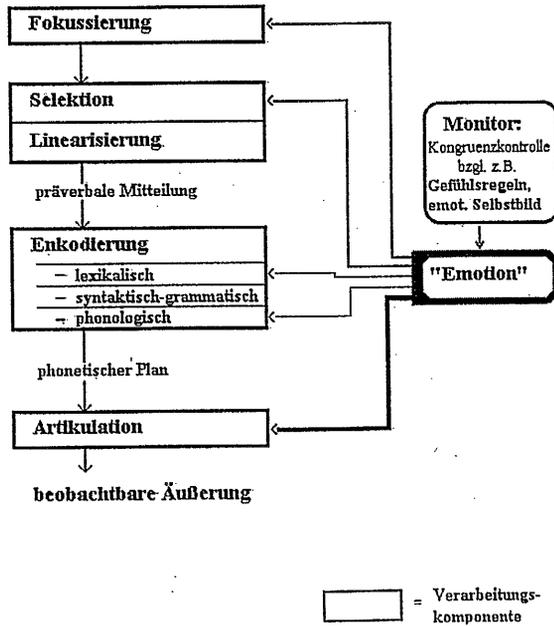


Abb. 1 (nach BICHHOFF 1979: 103)

## Appendix 3

This diagram shows the influence of emotion on language as illustrated by Battachi et al. 1996:103 and is referred to on p.191 in chapter 4 of this thesis.



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