

5 Euro: The Career of a European Neologism in German Press Texts (1995-1999)

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Introduction

As part of the larger topic of 'Attitudes Towards Europe', this chapter deals with the sub-topic of the European monetary union. It will focus on the career of the name for the common currency adopted by the members of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) – *Euro* – and its rendition in German press texts from 1995 to 1999.

We have chosen a lexicological approach starting with the competing designations of the expressions based on the currency name *Euro*, analysing the word formations appearing with this neolexeme as well as its collocations in three chronological sections. The aim is to demonstrate the communicative power behind the various linguistic realisations of the theme word *Euro*: Not only is it regarded merely as the name for the common currency of the members of the EMU; instead, on a larger scale it may act as a crystallisation nucleus towards the concept of an integrated Europe.

This aim is reflected in the structure of the chapter: We will first outline the factual background as necessary for the understanding of the subject; secondly, we will explain the methods. Thirdly, we will describe the grammatical and morphological properties of the lexeme *Euro*. The final part contains the analytic and interpretative parts and presents the lexical evidence for each of the chronological sections.

Facts

European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)

Although a full rendering of the history of European integration in all its aspects would exceed the scope of this chapter, let us take a quick glance at the development of the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and its stages, the introduction of the Euro within the framework of the EMU so far being the biggest event in the history of European integration.

The EMU is being brought about in three stages. The first stage commenced on 1 July 1990, when all restrictions on the movement of capital between EU member states were abolished.

The second stage started on 1 January 1994 and ended 31 December 1998. In this stage, the EU member states were expected to meet the economic convergence criteria in order to be eligible for participation in the monetary union. The convergence criteria were laid out in the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, with the following stability aims: price stability; balanced public finances (absence of an excessive government deficit); low long-term interest rates and exchange rate stability. On the basis of the statistical data for 1997, the European Council – the assembly of the Heads of State or Government of the fifteen member states of the European Union and the President of the European Commission – recommended in early May 1998 that from the beginning of 1999 the following eleven countries should participate in the Economic and Monetary Union: Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain. The United Kingdom and Denmark, although meeting the convergence criteria, decided not yet to adopt the new currency from 1999 on, thus exercising their special right to opt out afforded by the Maastricht Treaty.

On 1 January 1999 the third and final stage commenced with the implementation of a single monetary policy under the responsibility of the European System of Central Banks (ESCB) and the gradual changeover to the Euro as the common currency of the member countries. There will be a transitional period (1 January 1999 – 31 December 2001) where banking is possible both in Euro and the national currencies. Circulation of Euro coins and banknotes will start 1 January 2002. From 1 March 2002 national banknotes and coins will cease to be legal tender.

The Euro – its Name and History

It has been a long way to the currency unit ‘Euro’, its immediate predecessor being the ‘European Currency Unit’, better known in its short form ‘Ecu/ECU’. Unlike the Euro, the ECU, which had been introduced on 13 March 1979, had always been an artificial or ‘ledger’ currency.

It had been established as a common basket currency to accommodate the fixed, but variable exchange rates of the national currencies within the framework of the European Monetary System.

During the preparation stage for the creation of a common European currency for the members of the Economic and Monetary Union, another debate arose when it came to finding a name for the new common currency. Although the original EU treaty proposed to simply keep the name ‘ECU’, this turned out to be a highly controversial issue within the discussion, as the German partners in particular opposed ECU as the name for the new currency. This name would not appeal to German citizens, who were said to be mostly sceptical towards the monetary union anyway. Moreover, another argument against the use of ‘ECU’ was to be found in the official German version of the EU treaty, where ‘ECU’ was spelt with capital letters, thus being not a name but merely an abbreviation for ‘European Currency Unit’. The new currency, however, should have a proper name if it was to be accepted by the citizens. But the controversies slowly died down. After a passing predilection for ‘Franc’ (‘Die Euro-Währung wird wohl Franken heißen’ [‘The Euro-currency will most probably be named Franc’] *Berliner Zeitung*, 29 May 1995, p. 7), ‘Euro’, the proposal suggested by the then German Finance Minister Theo Waigel during a meeting of the EU finance ministers in October 1995 in Valencia gained ground. The first occurrence of the word ‘Euro’ within the IDS corpora refers to this meeting:

Wie das neue Geld heißen wird, darüber gab es einen aussichtsreichen Vorschlag, der immer wieder auf den Gängen des Sitzungssaales kommentierte “Euro”. (*die tageszeitung*, 2 October 1995, p. 6)

[There has been a promising proposal for the name of the new currency, judged by the comments in the conference room: “Euro”.]

Shortly after that date, during the Madrid Summit meeting on 15/16 December 1995, the EU Heads of State or Government agreed upon the name ‘Euro’ for the future common currency, for it was meeting essential

criteria such as being acceptable to the citizens, easy to understand and to pronounce, and not biased towards any particular nation.

This decision also put an end to the - however short-lived - discussion of another proposal, mostly designed to build up trust: to combine the name 'Euro' with the national currency denominators, thus naming it 'Euromark', 'Eurofranc', and so on. Finally, in 1996, a name was also given to the coins to be used for small change – 'Cent' or – more precisely – 'Eurocent'. One Euro equals 100 Cent. Thus, a neutral name had been found also for the smaller denomination. Unlike the neologism *Euro*, *Cent* – deriving from the Latin word for 'one hundred' *centum* – is already used in various countries as a name for the smaller denomination of their currency.

A final remark about the denominations: there will be seven banknotes (of 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 200 and 500 Euro) and eight coins (of 1, 2, 5, 10, 20 and 50 cent and of 1 and 2 Euro).

Now and then, the name *Euro* has also been subjected to (linguistic) criticism. For instance, the *Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung* (German Academy of Language and Literature) criticised *Euro* as an *Unwort* [nonsense word]:

weil das Abhacken der letzten Silbe einem historisch verwurzelten Begriff wie "Europa" nicht gerecht werde. (Fachdienst Germanistik 4/1998, p. 7)
[because to simply chop off the last syllable means to disregard the deeply rooted historical context of a word like "Europe".]

However, such critical comments ceased fairly quickly. For *Euro* can indeed be seen as a successful formation, conferring a tangible term on the currency to be shared by several million European citizens. Moreover, the form ending with the vowel –o corresponds to a pattern well established with currency names, cf. *Peso*, *Escudo*, *Centesimo*.

Among the linguistic aspects typical for currency names is the use of signets and abbreviations.

Besides one or more abbreviations, there are special symbols (signets or 'logos') for some currencies; among the best known are the dollar sign (\$) or the symbol used for the Pound Sterling (£). The new European currency unit Euro also has its own symbol, chosen at the EU summit in December 1996 in Dublin: €.

Closely following a press report of April 1997, in which the European Commission presented the Euro sign to the public, Duden – Der Euro (1998, p. 85) explained the Euro symbol as follows:

Das Zeichen für den Euro (Euro-Logo, Euro-Signet) stellt eine Kombination aus dem griech. Epsilon als Symbol für die Wiege der europ. Zivilisation, dem Buchstaben E für Europa und den Parallelen (doppelter Querstrich) als Symbol für Stabilität dar. Dieses symbol. Zeichen für den Euro wird voraussichtlich einen ähnlichen Bekanntheitsgrad erreichen wie das Dollarzeichen \$ und auch in die Standardbelegung von Computer- und Schreibmaschinentastaturen aufgenommen werden.

[The Euro symbol (Euro logo, Euro sign) is a combination of the Greek epsilon symbolising the cradle of European civilisation and the parallel lines (equals sign) symbolising stability. It is expected that the Euro symbol will become as widely known as the dollar sign \$ and will soon appear on the standard keyboard layout for computers and typewriters'.]

As far as the abbreviations for currencies are concerned, one has to distinguish between the common abbreviations used by the different nations - for instance DM for Deutsche Mark, Lit for Lira Italiana, FF for Franc Français - and the official abbreviations designed by the ISO (International Organisation for Standardisation), which always consist of three capital letters, such as DEM for Deutsche Mark, ITL for Lira Italiana, FRF for Franc Français and so on. This so-called ISO code is used throughout the whole commerce system, for instance within the giro system and on the foreign exchange markets. The ISO code EUR for Euro was announced in April 1997. Along with this abbreviation, the Euro signet will also be made an ISO standard as the symbol for the new currency.

Method and Approach

As stated in the introduction to this article, we have chosen a lexicological approach to analyse the dynamic usage of the neolexeme *Euro* as an example for conscious, standardised lexical change (cf. Wurzel 1994, pp. 98). Apart from striking collocations of the lexeme, our main focus will be on compounds with *Euro* as one of their constituents. By applying this analysis – or rather, microanalysis – of recent language change we will describe and interpret the changing usage aspects of a neologism acting as a European theme word during a five-year time span ranging from 1995 to 1999.

Here again, we will use the same methods that we applied for the analysis of key words of the *Wende* era, the German re-unification period (cf. Herberg/Steffens/Tellenbach 1997), i.e. a survey based on a defined text corpus, describing and interpreting the use of the neolexeme *Euro* and

its combinations in common language. However, an extensive, source-based documentation of the findings would exceed the scope of this article.

As stated above, this chapter presents details of common language usage in the Federal Republic of Germany ranging from the end of 1995 to the beginning of 1999, i.e. from the formation of the currency name *Euro* to the official introduction of the currency thus designated in the countries of the European Union. In order to describe the details of the changes and special features of language use in relation to certain events in history, it is necessary to structure the investigation period. It will therefore be divided into three chronological sections, each of which is characterised by distinct developments and stages within the framework of the EMU. Each section represents an investigation period of four months, with the sections arranged in order to include also the media coverage of the historical environment of the relevant events, developments and issues:

Period 1:

Decision to assign the name *Euro* to the new common currency of the European Union (November/December 1995, January/February 1996).

Period 2:

Debate on the fulfilment of the convergence criteria and on the eligibility of the participating countries for membership in the EMU (November/December 1997, January/February 1998).

Period 3:

Introduction of the Euro as 'ledger currency' on 1 January 1999 (November/December 1998, January/February 1999).

Assigning texts to different periods is a proven heuristic instrument to detect and verify changes in language use and word formation in relation to one or more previous or subsequent periods.

This analysis is entirely based on common language as represented in newspaper texts. Common language use, here also including official use, is of particular interest, as it reflects,

die Intentionen und Interpretationen gesellschaftlich wirksamer Kräfte [...], unabhängig davon, ob diese Kräfte bewußt den Sprachgebrauch zu beeinflussen versuchen. (Stötzel/Wengeler 1995, p. 1)

[the intentions and interpretations of significant forces in society [...], no matter whether they have the intention to change language use.]

The analysed newspaper articles are taken exclusively from the newspaper corpora held at the IDS Mannheim. The following newspapers were selected: The weekly *Die Zeit* and the daily papers *Berliner Zeitung* (*BZ*) and *die tageszeitung* (*taz*). As some of the IDS corpora do not cover all issues for the last few years, the sources are as follows:

Period 1 - *Die Zeit; die tageszeitung;*

Period 2 - *Die Zeit; die tageszeitung; Berliner Zeitung;*

Period 3 - *Die Zeit; die tageszeitung; Berliner Zeitung.*

Features of the Lexeme *Euro* with Regard to Grammar and Word Formation

Grammar

Euro as the representation of the lexicalised name for the currency unit of the European Economic and Monetary Union may be explained as the unisegmental short form of the initial segment of European Currency Unit.

Like many other currency names, *Euro* is a masculine noun in German, thus *der Euro* just like *der Heller, Taler, Dollar, Schilling, Pfennig, Franken, Gulden, Rubel*; but: *die Mark, die Krone, die Drachme; das Pfund* (cf. Duden-Grammatik 1995, p. 198), although there was initially some uncertainty about the gender of the name: 'Denn, soweit ersichtlich, hat Euro kein Geschlecht. Heißt es der Euro, die Euro oder das Euro?' ['For as far as it is possible to tell, *Euro* has no gender. Is it *der Euro, die Euro or das Euro?*'] (*Die Zeit*, 23 February 1996). The sub-unit *Cent* already displayed the male gender.

Even today, several years after the formation of this neolexeme, the use of inflected forms is still somewhat ambiguous. The uncertainty reflected in the representation of the lexeme *Euro* in recent dictionaries is a rather common feature with measurement and currency units. The table below shows a comparison of seven language dictionaries with regard to their forms of the singular and plural genitive forms.

Table 1 Euro - Genitive Forms

	Dictionary	Genitive Singular	Plural
1	Duden - Rechtschreibung (1996)	- [s]	- [s]
2	Duden - Deutsches Universalwörterbuch (1996)	- [s]	- [s]
3	Langenscheidt - Internet (1999)	- / -s	- / -s
4	Heyne - Wörterbuch (1997)	-s	-s
5	Bertelsmann - Rechtschreibung (1999)	-s	-s
6	Bertelsmann - Fremdwörterlexikon (1999)	-s	-s; if specifying a certain amount: -s < but: 10 Euro >
7	Duden - Das große Wörterbuch (1999)	- [s]	- [s] < but: 10 Euro >

We may observe four clearly distinct patterns between dictionaries 1, 2 and 3 (either no ending or the ending *-s* is possible with both forms), dictionaries 4 and 5 (with both forms, only the ending *-s* is possible), dictionary 6 (similar to 4 and 5 except for the plural restriction ‘no ending if specifying a certain amount’) and dictionary 7 (genitive singular same as in 1,2 and 3, plural the same as in 6). The rules given in dictionaries 1, 2, 3 and 7 are confirmed by the corpus evidence, i.e. the appearance of variants either having no ending or ending with *-s*.

Word Formation

Along with the establishment of the neolexeme *Euro* around 1995, we can observe a novel aspect in word formations with the element ‘euro’.

Until then, there had only been numerous – almost exclusively nominal– compounds with ‘euro’ acting as prefix or prefixoid element (the distinction is somewhat ambiguous in the current literature), summarised by researchers like Born with regard to similar words in other European languages.

According to Born, [die] Einschätzung von *euro-* als Präfixoid [trägt] dem internationalistischen Charakter dieses Wortbildungselementes eher Rechnung als die Deutung als ein abgekürztes Substantivkompositionselement [‘to regard *euro-* as prefixoid takes into account the

internationalistic character of this morpheme better than its interpretation as an abbreviated compound noun element'] (1995, p. 350), as expressed for instance in Duden-Grammatik:

Um Zusammensetzungen handelt es sich z.B. bei Bioladen, Biorhythmus, Euromarkt, bei denen die attributiven Adjektive (biologisch, europäisch) gekürzt in die Wortbildung eingehen, ohne daß die Kurzform als selbständige Einheiten existieren. (1995, p. 411)

[There are compounds such as Bioladen, Biorhythmus, Euromarkt etc., where the abbreviated attributive adjectives (biologisch, europäisch) enter the word formation process without being free morphemes themselves.]

The morpheme 'euro' can have different meanings such as 'European', 'concerning Europe', 'made in Europe' etc. Among the areas listed by Born as containing these compounds are EU and EU-related institutions (e.g. *Eurokratie*, *Europarlament*, *Eurorichtlinien*, *Euronormen*), the financial sector (e.g. *Eurowährung*, *Eurobank*, *Euroanleihen*), but also research, technology, communication, sport and transport. Although we need not and cannot go into detail here, we should keep this background in mind when examining word formations with the neolexeme *Euro*. *Euro* as currency denominator is a noun and may form compounds with other lexemes – mostly nouns, – which it frequently does. It is not always clear from the semantic construction, whether it is the prefix(oid) *euro-* or the noun *Euro* that makes up the first part. Even the context does not always give clues. Here, a clearly defined graphematic convention would be helpful, for instance with prefix(oid) constructions written as one word (without a hyphen), compounds on the other hand requiring a hyphen, i.e. *Eurobürokratie*, *Eurokartell*, *Eurotunnel* etc., but *Euro-Kriterien*, *Euro-Logo*, *Euro-Münze*, *Euro-Start*, *Euro-Umstellung* and so on. However, corpus evidence is showing a more confused situation, as Born states just for the spelling of the prefix(oid) compounds (1995, p. 356): 'In der Realität läßt sich ein ziemlich unmotiviertes Durcheinander beobachten. Die Faustregel, Ad-hoc-Bildungen mit Bindestrich, Lexikalisierung ohne läßt sich jedenfalls bezüglich *euro-* nicht bestätigen'. ['In reality, we find a state of confusion. The rule of thumb to hyphenate ad-hoc-formations and write lexicalised units as one word obviously does not hold true for *euro-*.']

The situation becomes even more complicated when looking at compounds with the currency denominator *Euro*. For instance, does

Euroskepsis/Euro-Skepsis mean ‘scepticism towards Europe’ or ‘scepticism towards the currency unit Euro’?

Analyses and Interpretations

In this section we will present the results gained from the examination of language use based on texts from the three different periods. In the following, all stages are assigned to separate sections of a similar structure. Firstly, we will examine the usage of the lexeme *Euro* in the relevant period, with special regard to collocations. We define ‘collocation’ in a wider sense as combinations between *Euro* and other lexemes, realised within the corpus as syntactic entities showing a distinct usage of *Euro*. We will then summarise and interpret those collocations according to their different semantics and content.

Under the sub-title ‘word formation’ we will then have a look at word formations with *Euro*. Here too, we will summarise and interpret the occurrences after grouping them.

For reasons of space, only very few of the discussed collocations and compounds could be shown in their larger context and with full reference to the source.

Period 1: Decision to assign the name Euro to the new common currency of the European Union (November/December 1995, January/February 1996)

Here, the public discussion is mainly concerned with the decision made by the Heads of State and Government of the European Union during the Madrid summit meeting held 15/16 December – as outlined before – to follow the proposal of the then German Minister of Finances Theo Waigel to assign the name *Euro* to the new common currency. Prior to this official decision, there had been discussions on different levels about a variety of alternatives, still reflected in the texts of this period, as illustrated in the sample given below: Here, the *taz* quoted the results of a survey launched by the British newspaper *The Guardian* in conjunction with eleven other European daily newspapers, the *taz* among them. The survey, carried out centrally by *The Guardian*, led to the following results with regard to the question of how to name the new currency:

Die Mehrheit, 36 % aller europaweit Befragten, wolle es Ecu nennen, an zweiter Stelle rangiert die Euro-Mark, Euro-Pfund, Euro-Franc usw.

Finanzminister Theo Waigels Vorschlag, die neue Währung Euro zu nennen, erreichte einen respektablen dritten, unter *taz*-LeserInnen sogar den zweiten Platz. Dukat, Florin und Franken konnten nur Achtungserfolge erzielen. Weitere Vorschläge waren Euro-Dollar, Taler (in Anspielung auf die Valuta Entenhausens), Pfifferling, Stein, WaiGeli oder Wolpertinger. (*taz*, 13 December 1995, p. 8)

[The majority, 36 percent of those questioned in the whole of Europe, favoured Ecu, followed by Euro-Mark, Euro-Pound, Euro-Franc etc. The proposal of the Minister of Finance, Theo Waigel, to name the new currency Euro, came a respectable third, among *taz* readers it even ranked second. Ducat, Florin and Franc only gained polite acclaims. Among the other suggestions were Euro-Dollar, Taler (an allusion to the German name for the currency used in Ducksburg), Pfifferling ('chanterelle', a reference to the German idiomatic expression *keinen Pfifferling wert*, roughly to be translated as 'not worth a bean' in English), Stein ('stone'), WaiGeli or Wolpertinger'. (name of a mythological Bavarian creature)]

After the official decision was taken in favour of *Euro*, there followed a short period where some linguistic aspects – such as its pronunciation or gender in the different languages of the participating countries – and questions concerning the introduction of the new currency were the subject of discussion. Here, we have to distinguish between those collocations that refer to the introduction of the Euro in a neutral way and others expressing the collocation partners' approval or disapproval or a positive or negative attitude towards the Euro. Thus, the collocations prevailing in the texts of this period can be classified according to four collocation areas, to which all frequently recurring and other typical collocations have been assigned:

Examples for collocations referring to the term *Euro* for the common European currency:

die Bezeichnung, die Währungsbezeichnung, der Name Euro
die neue Währung Euro nennen, taufen
die neue Währung, das Kind soll / wird Euro heißen
Euro sei dein Name (see Example 1 below)
an den Euro die alte Währung anhängen
Euro ist polysem, hat kein Geschlecht
ein mit 'Euro' bedruckter Geldschein

Example 1:

Der portugiesische Regierungschef Antonio Guterres fand auf dem EU-Gipfel vor ein paar Tagen die richtigen, weil biblischen Worte dafür: 'Euro sei dein Name, und auf diesem Euro werden wir unser Europa errichten'. (*taz*, 21 December 1995, p. 10)

[At the EU summit a few days ago, the Head of the Portuguese Government, Antonio Guterres, found the right, because biblical, words for this: 'Euro be thy name and upon this Euro we shall build our Europe'.]

Examples of collocations referring to the introduction of the Euro:

*Einführung des Euro, der EU-Währung Euro
 Start des Euro
 Startschuß für den Euro
 Endspurt des Euro
 der Euro kommt
 der Euro wird Wirklichkeit, wird geschaffen, erblickt das Licht der Welt
 den Euro bekommen, kriegen, haben
 die Geburtsstunde für den Euro schlägt
 für den Euro werben, die Werbetrommel röhren
 Übergang zum Euro
 Umstellung der Mark auf den Euro
 die D-Mark wird zum Euro, soll dem Euro Platz machen
 in Euro umrechnen
 mit (dem) Euro bezahlen
 Rechnungen künftig in Euro schreiben*

Examples of collocations expressing the collocation partners' agreement or disagreement with the Euro:

Agreement:

*den Euro wollen, liebenlernen, ernst nehmen
 an den Euro glauben*

Disagreement:

*den Euro sabotieren, bereits beerdigt haben
 Angst vor dem Euro
 ungeliebter Euro
 emotionale Blockade gegen den Euro
 auf Distanz zum Euro gehen
 der Euro ist gescheitert*

Examples of collocations expressing the collocation partners' positive or negative attitude towards the Euro:

positive: *der Euro ist eine gute Sache.*

negative: *wenig stabiler* (see Example 2), *weicher, labberiger Euro.*

It is a characteristic feature of the texts of Period 1, that the main focus is on the procedure for finding a name for the new European currency and

certain aspects of its introduction, while in this early period (1995/96) – with the real issues concerning the transition to the Euro still rather far ahead – pro and con-statements are comparatively rare. But even at this early point it was feared that the solid, stable Deutschmark would be changed into a weak, unstable Euro:

Example 2:

Gerade in deutschen Köpfen hat sich die Befürchtung festgesetzt, der Euro werde nie so stabil sein wie die Mark. (*Die Zeit*, 29 December 1995)

[Especially in the heads of the Germans there is a fear that the Euro will never be as strong as the Deutschmark].

Word Formation

The texts of Period 1 show a range of – mainly nominal – compounds with *Euro* as qualifying element. However, in some cases we cannot always exclude the possibility of a prefix(oid) formation with *euro-*: For instance, does *Eurowährung / Euro-Währung* stand for ‘the currency Euro’ or simply for ‘European currency’? The often inhomogeneous spelling – with or without hyphenation – of one and the same formation type could be partly based on the novelty character and instability of the formation. Generally, hyphenated spellings dominate. It is obvious that the ambiguity of those compounds – including graphematic variance – is sometimes used to play with the language. The compounds with *Euro* as qualifying element can be roughly classified by the meaning of their base words.

Examples of compounds referring to different aspects of the introduction of the Euro:

*Euro-Einführung, Euro-Projekt, Euro-Idee
 Euro-Zeitplan, Euro-Ära, Euro-Tag
 Euro-Club, Euro-Bürger
 Euro-Umfrage*

Examples of compounds referring to the monetary aspects of the currency Euro. The graphematic variants mentioned above are mainly found in this group:

*Eurowährung/Euro-Währung, Eurogeld/Euro-Geld, Euro-Geldscheine,
 Euro-Geldmünzen und -Scheine, Euromünzen und -Scheine, Euro-Knete,
 Euromark/Euro-Mark, Europfennig/Euro-Pfennig, Euro-Franc, Euro-Lira, Euro-Pfund, Eurocent*

Examples of compounds expressing agreement or disagreement towards the Euro:

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| Agreement: | <i>Euro-Befürworter, Euro-Fans</i> |
| Disagreement: | <i>Euro-Skepsis, euroskeptisch</i>
<i>Euro-Pessimisten, Euro-Skeptiker, Euro-Muffel</i> (see
Example 3) |

Most occurrences with compounds expressing disagreement refer to the British, e.g.

Example 3:

*die als Euro-Muffel verschrienen Briten (Die Zeit, 19 January 1996)
 [The British as notorious Euro-grouasers]*

Period 2: Debate on the fulfilment of the convergence criteria and on the eligibility of the participating countries for membership in the EMU (November/December 1997, January/February 1998)

Similar to Period 1, the part of the survey defined as Period 2 also falls into the second stage of the introduction of the EMU. It covers four months representing a significant cross-section of the discussion on central aspects of creating the EMU. To sum up: This period is marked by the struggle for meeting the convergence criteria as fixed in the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 and ratified by the European Council in Amsterdam in the middle of 1997 under an 'Agreement for Stability and Growth', where the statistical data of 1997 should determine the eligibility of the candidates for participation in the EMU starting in 1999, this decision having been scheduled for the first half of 1998. Obviously, collocations and compounds referring to this background, i.e. introduction of the Euro, criteria for participation in the EMU, attitudes towards the Euro and its assessment are the main issues of this part of our survey.

The name for the new currency itself, *Euro*, is no longer considered an important issue. Compared to Period 1 there is a wider discussion on possible effects of the Euro, i.e. on future aspects. We do not only detect a different emphasis with regard to content, but also a difference in quantity between the two periods. For instance, the number of occurrences of *Euro* within a comparable time span of four months has more than doubled (*Die Zeit, taz*). The higher absolute number of occurrences compared to Period 1

is the result of adding the *Berliner Zeitung* (*BZ*) to the survey. The number of types within the compound words (compounds with *Euro* -) has even multiplied, without doubt due to the increased complexity of the issues dealt with in Period 2. Inevitably, this has led to an increase of tokens within the compounds.

Although below we will list all relevant collocation areas, due to the large number of occurrences we must limit – even more restrictively than in Period 1 – the number of examples to very distinct ones. Still, in accordance with the subject of this volume, those collocation areas expressing attitudes and assessments will be dealt with in greater detail. Let us start with the small area of collocations consisting of a generic concept noun (with a definite article) immediately followed by the currency denominator *Euro*. The concept noun then acts as core element of the constituent (or attribute), the proper name is to be defined as juxtaposition (close apposition) (Duden-Grammatik 1995, p. 648), for example:

*die Gemeinschaftswährung Euro, die Einheitswährung Euro
 die (gemeinsame) europäische Währung / Einheitswährung Euro
 die künftige gemeinsame Währung Euro
 die Euro-Währung Euro
 das Gemeinschaftsgeld Euro*

The largest area in Period 2 contains collocations referring to the introduction of the Euro, for example:

*Vorbereitung auf den Euro, Weg zum Euro
 Einführung, Schaffung, Start des Euro
 Übergang zum Euro, Umstellung auf den Euro
 Kurs des Euro
 der Euro kommt, rollt
 den Euro einführen
 der Euro ist beschlossen, wird Realität, wird verbindliches Zahlungsmittel
 sich auf den Euro vorbereiten, einrichten
 auf (den) Euro umstellen
 mit / in Euro bezahlen
 Rechnungen, Schecks in Euro ausstellen
 Preise in Euro auszeichnen, Waren in Euro auspreisen
 Mark-Bargeldbestände in Euro umtauschen
 Steuererklärungen in Euro akzeptieren, zulassen
 den Aktienhandel in Euro abwickeln*

Some collocations – more or less as a thematic sub-group of this area – refer directly to a postponement or non-establishment of the Euro, for instance:

Verschiebung des Euro

der Euro kommt zu früh (see Example 4), *muss / kann verschoben werden*
den Euro noch aufhalten, vorläufig stoppen

Example 4:

Der Euro kommt zu früh, meinen 155 deutsche Professoren und fordern, die Währungsunion zu verschieben. (*Die Zeit*, 12 February 1998, p. 20)
 [The Euro is too early, such is the opinion of 155 German professors who demand a postponement of the currency union.]

The background for collocations of this kind is the above-mentioned petition by 155 German professors to postpone the currency union and the complaint about infringements of the constitution by four prominent opponents to the Euro, both having taken place in Period 2. However, neither this petition nor the complaint to the Federal Constitutional Court could hinder the scheduled introduction of the Euro on 1 January 1999.

Examples of collocations referring to meeting the so-called convergence criteria as prerequisites for membership in the EMU:

Maastricht-Kriterien, Stabilitätspakt, Stabilitätskriterien,

Konvergenzprogramm für den Euro

Qualifikation, Aufnahmeprüfung, Reifezeugnis für den Euro

Teilnahme, Teilnehmer am Euro

am Euro teilnehmen, sich am Euro beteiligen

beim Euro von Anfang an / mit dabei sein, beim Euro mitmachen

fit, reif sein / werden für den Euro, X fit machen für den Euro

sich für den Euro qualifizieren, für den Euro sparen

X (nicht) vom Euro ausschließen

dem Euro beitreten, angehören

den Euro schaffen (= ‘to manage, to accomplish the Euro’)

Examples of collocations referring to possible effects of the introduction of the Euro:

Vorteile, Chancen, Gefahren, Risiken, Folgen, Auswirkungen des Euro

der Euro eröffnet beachtliche Chancen

der Euro wird Europa radikal verändern

der Euro schafft (keine) neue(n) Stellen / Arbeitsplätze

*der Euro wird den Arbeitnehmern / Verbrauchern eher schaden
 der Euro heizt die Immobilien nachfrage an
 der Euro verbindet, trennt, lockt
 Spaltung durch den Euro
 Urlaub mit dem Euro
 mit dem Euro rechnen müssen
 vom Euro profitieren
 Herr über den Euro (see Example 5)*

Example 5:

Wer wird Herr über den Euro? Die Mitgliedsländer der EU ringen um die Spitzenpositionen bei der Europäischen Zentralbank (*Die Zeit*, 13 February 1998)

[Who will be master of the Euro? The EU member states struggle for the leading positions in the European Central Bank]

The occurrences often refer to expected effects on the economy in general, on banking, on the labour market and on tourism. Whereas sceptical attitudes prevail with regard to the labour market, the effect on the other areas is seen rather optimistically.

The following collocation areas with collocations expressing attitudes towards and assessments of the Euro have both been already detected in Period 1. However, with the political, juridical and verbal debates concerning the establishment of the Euro reaching their climax in Period 2, compared to Period 1 collocations of the above type claim a larger part with regard to the overall number of collocations with *Euro*. On the same level, there is a considerable increase in the variety of the collocation partners.

Examples of collocations expressing the collocation partners' agreement or disagreement towards the Euro:

Agreement:

*Befürworter des Euro, pro Euro
 den Euro befürworten, wollen, brauchen, zum Erfolg führen
 auf den Euro setzen
 Entscheidung, Zustimmung, Mehrheit, Argumente, Kampf, Bündnis für den Euro
 für den Euro sprechen, argumentieren
 sich für den Euro aussprechen, stark machen
 Vertrauen in den Euro haben
 fest, voll und ganz hinter dem Euro stehen
 positiv über den Euro denken*

*vom Euro überzeugt sein
Bekenntnis, Ja zum Euro
sich zum Euro bekennen, fest zum Euro stehen*

Disagreement:

*Gegner, kein Freund des Euro
Ablehnung des Euro
der Euro ist ungeliebt, hat viele Gegner, wird scheitern, ist 'out'
den Euro fürchten, scheuen, nicht wollen, geißeln, skeptisch beurteilen (see Example 6), noch kippen, in Frage stellen
dem Euro mit Skepsis entgegensehen
sich dem Euro widersetzen
Absage an den Euro, Kritik am Euro
Widerstand, Abneigung, Wahlkampf, Klage, Verfassungsbeschwerde, Votum, Volksbegehren, Volksbefragung, Demonstration, Opposition gegen den Euro
Kläger, Agitator gegen den Euro
gegen den Euro sein, klagen, agitieren, mobilisieren, Stellung beziehen
sich gegen den Euro engagieren
Zweifel gegenüber dem Euro
dem Euro gegenüber negativ eingestellt sein
über den Euro streiten, (Dauer)streit um den Euro
vom Euro nicht überzeugt sein, wenig vom Euro halten
Ängste, Warnung vor dem Euro
sich vom Euro fürchten
Rettung der D-Mark vor dem Euro
wider den Euro
Nein, kritische Haltung zum Euro*

Example 6:

Die Mehrheit der Deutschen beurteilt den Euro weiterhin skeptisch. (BZ, 30 December 1997)
[The majority of Germans is still sceptical towards the Euro.]

Even this limited selection clearly shows that the collocations expressing disagreement are far more frequent and varied in expression than those expressing agreement, one reason being the influence of the above-mentioned petitions and complaints, not to mention decisions and referenda which have massively affected the press texts throughout the whole period.

Examples of collocations expressing the collocation partners' positive or negative attitude towards the Euro;

positive:

*harter, stabiler, starker, gesunder Euro
erfolgreicher, konkurrenzfähiger Euro
Härte, Stabilität des Euro
Erfolg, Vorteile des Euro*

negative:

*weicher, schwacher Euro (see Example 7)
der Euro wird nicht so stabil wie die D-Mark sein
der Euro wird weniger hart als die D-Mark sein
der Euro ist risikoreich, riskant, hochinflatorisch, politisch verhängnisvoll
der Euro hält nicht, was man sich von ihm verspricht
Instabilität, Unflexibilität, Werteverlust des Euro*

Example 7:

In der jüngsten Entwicklung der Mark sehen die Professoren schon eine Bestätigung ihrer These vom kommenden schwachen Euro. (*taz* 10 February 1998, p. 2)

[The professors see their prophecy of a weak Euro confirmed by the recent development of the Deutschmark.]

Word Formation

In Period 2 not only the collocations with *Euro*, but also the types and tokens of word formations with *Euro* have clearly increased compared to Period 1. The variety of the aspects discussed above has obviously led to a greater demand for nominal compounds with *Euro* as the modifier; with the occasional occurrence also of adjectival compounds. Constructions with *Euro* acting as base word are extremely rare.

The problem of graphematic variants with or without hyphen, already discussed in the word-formation section of Period 1 above, also exists in Period 2; here too, the hyphenated spellings dominate.

The compounds with *Euro* as qualifying element can be roughly classified by the meaning of their base words. In addition to the three groups known from Period 1, where the compounds refer to monetary issues and aspects of procedure and attitude, we may classify a new group of compounds which – in accordance with a corresponding collocation area – refer to aspects of meeting the so-called convergence criteria as a prerequisite for membership in the EMU.

Examples of compounds referring to the different aspects of establishing the Euro:

*Euro-Debatte, Eurodiskussion, Euro-Referendum, Euro-Abstimmung
 Euro-Entscheidung, Euro-Beschluß
 Euro-Einführung, Euro-Start, Euro-Umstellung, Euro-Umtausch, Euro-
 Verwendung, Euro-Fragen, Euro-Details, Euro-Regularien
 Euroeinführungsgesetz / Euro-Einführungsgesetz
 Euroverschiebung / Euro-Verschiebung, Euro-Kalender, Euro-Zug (see
 Example 8)
 Euro-Zeitalter, Euro-Ära, Euro-Jahr (= 1998), Euro-Phase
 Euro-Beauftragter, Euro-Fachmann, Euro-Stäbe, Euro-Kompetenz
 Euro-Bürgertelefon, Euro-Informationsforum, Euro-Hotline*

Example 8:

'Der Euro-Zug rollt' – davon sind die Analysten spätestens seit Freitag überzeugt. (BZ, 28 February 1998)
 ['The Euro train is on its way' – such is the conviction of the analysts at least since Friday.]

Examples of compounds referring to the monetary aspects of the currency Euro:

*Euro-Währung, Euro-Bargeld, Euromünzen / Euro-Münzen, Euro-Banknoten,
 Euro-Scheine
 Euro-Aktien, Euro-Kredite, Euro-Pfandbrief, Euro-Wertpapiere, Euro-Steuer,
 Euro-Zins, Euromieten, Euro-Gehalt, Euro-Konto
 Euro-Bank, Euro-Zentralbank, Eurobanker, Eurotower / Euro-Tower
 Euro-gefördert, Euro-kompatibel*

A remarkable difference to Period 1 is the fact that the coming up of practical issues concerning the transition to the Euro led to a majority of those base words referring to various aspects of monetary policy and the financial market.

The formation *Eurotower / Euro-Tower* (see Example 9), describing the premises of the European Central Bank (ECB) in Frankfurt/M., is not self-explanatory:

Example 9:

Noch ist die Bezeichnung Eurotower für das 150 Meter hohe Domizil des EWI wenig populär. (Die Zeit, 26 February 1998)
 [The name 'Eurotower' for the domicile of the ECI, which is 150 metres high, is still not very popular.]

Examples of compounds referring to meeting the so-called convergence criteria as a prerequisite for membership in the EMU:

Euro-Kriterien, Euro-Teilnahme-Kriterien, Euro-Kennzahlen, Euro-Marke, Euro-Gutachten
Eurotauglichkeit / Euro-Tauglichkeit, eurotauglich / Euro-tauglich, Euro-Fähigkeit, Euro-Reife, euroreif
Euro-Kandidaten, Euro-Bewerber, Euro-Aspirant, Euro-Qualifikanten
Eurobeitritt / Euro-Beitritt, Euro-Teilnahme
Euroteilnehmer / Euro-Teilnehmer, Euro-Teilnehmerländer, Euro-Teilnehmerstaaten, Euro-Teilnehmergruppe, Euro-Teilnehmerkreis, Euro-Staaten (also: Nicht-Euro-Staaten), Euro-Gruppe, Euro-Start(er)gruppe, Euro-Startteilnehmer, Euroländer / Euro-Länder (see Example 10), *Euro-Mitglieder, Euroclub / Euro-Club, Euro-Club-Mitglieder, Euro-X, Euro-X-Klub, Euro-11, Euro-Partner, Euro-Liga, Euro-Union, Euro-Truppe, Euro-Kreis*
Euro-Gebiet, Euro-Zone, Euro-Raum, Euro-Währungsraum, Euroland / Euro-Land (see Example 11), *Euro-Markt, Euro-Binnenmarkt*

For reasons of space, we have to restrict our comments to a particularly interesting compound: *Euroland / Euro-Land*

As early as during the preparation stage for the EMU there was a need for a concise, attractive term for the territory of those members of the European Union taking part in the currency union. Generic, common terms such as *die Euro-Staaten* or *die Euro-Länder* seemed unsatisfying. Hence, other terms, such as *Euro-Zone* were discussed.

However, another word won the race: *Euroland*. It has been suggested that the economic expert and publicist Claus Noé was the first to use this term (cf. *Die Zeit*, 29 October 1998, p. 28).

Since then, corpus evidence shows two clearly distinctive interpretations of the compound *Euroland / Euro-Land* (see also the relevant article in Duden – Das große Wörterbuch 1999):

Euro-Land, das (Genitive Singular: *Euro-Land(e)s*; Plural: *Euro-Länder*) meaning ‘one of the countries participating in the Economic and Monetary Union’ as in:

Example 10:

Die Entscheidung über die Euro-Länder soll Anfang Mai fallen. (*BZ*, 2 January 1998)

[The decision regarding the Euro-Länder is scheduled for the beginning of May.]

Euroland (mostly without article; no plural) meaning 'all countries participating in the Economic and Monetary Union', as in:

Example 11:

Beide [Trichet und Duisenberg] stehen im Rennen um den Job des obersten Währungshüters in Euroland. (*Die Zeit*, 14 January 1997, p. 3)

[Both [Trichet and Duisenberg] are among the front runners for the job of first custodian of the currency in Euroland.]

Unfortunately, this semantic difference is not as clearly distinguished in real language as may be suggested by the above extracts. They are – albeit relatively rare – hyphenated spellings for variant 2, as well as compound spellings for variant 1. However, the adoption of variant 2 in common language use results in a preference for the compound forms.

Examples of compounds expressing agreement or disagreement towards the Euro;

Agreement:

Euro-Bekenntnis, Euro-Aufruf, Euro-Kampagne

Euro-Erfolg, Euro-Boom, Euro-Euphorie (also as pun using contamination: *Euro-phorie*, see Example 12)

Euro-freundlich, euroselig

Euro-Befürworter, Euro-Sympathisanten, Euro-Freund, Euro-Fan

Example 12:

Euro-phorie in Brüssel (*Die Zeit*, 5 December 1997)

[*Euro-phoria in Brussels*]

Disagreement:

Eurofeindlichkeit / Euro-Feindlichkeit, Euro-feindlich, Euroskepsis / Euro-Skepsis, euroskeptisch / Euro-skeptisch, Euroskeptizismus, Europessimismus, Euro-Protest, Euroangst / Euro-Angst, Euro-Müdigkeit

Euro-Protest, Eurostreik, Euronörgeleien

Euro-Kritik, Euro-Klage, Euro-Streit, Euro-Terror

Euro-Sackgasse, Euro-Krise, Euro-Zwänge, Euro-Unheil

Eurogegner / Euro-Gegner, Euroskeptiker / Euro-Skeptiker (see Example 14), *Euro-Kritiker, Euro-Kläger, Euro-Blockierer, Euro-Rebell, Euro-Dissident*

Period 2 shows the first appearance of a new formation type among the compounds expressing approval or disapproval by placing the

constituents *Pro-Euro-* or *Anti-Euro-* respectively in front of base words that themselves are neutral with regard to the Euro, such as:

*Pro-Euro-Kampagne, Pro-Euro-Manifest, Pro-Euro-Stimmung
Anti-Euro-Initiative, Anti-Euro-Klage, Anti-Euro-Erklärung, Anti-Euro-Diskussion, Anti-Euro-Werbung, Anti-Euro-Kurs, Anti-Euro-Linie, Anti-Euro-Volksbegehren* (see Example 13), *Anti-Euro-Partei
Anti-Euro-Kämpfer, Anti-Euro-Kläger*

Example 13:

Vom 24. November bis 1. Dezember liegt sein (= Jörg Haiders) Anti-Euro-Volksbegehren zur Unterschrift aus (*taz* 24 November 1997, p. 11)
[From 24 November until 1 December his (= Jörg Haider's) petition for a referendum against the Euro is on display for people to sign.]

In period 2, the total number of types and tokens expressing disapproval clearly exceeds those expressing approval. Compared to period 1, there is a significant difference with regard to content. Whereas in period 1 most occurrences deal with the topic of disagreement as a matter of principle (especially from the British side), in period 2 the texts reflect the opposition and scepticism within the potential participants of the EMU, for instance:

Example 14:

Frankreichs Euro-Skeptiker machen erneut gegen den EU-Vertrag von Amsterdam mobil. (*taz*, 3 January 1998, p. 5)
[Again, the French Euro-Sceptics mobilise against the EU Treaty of Amsterdam.]

Our corpus evidence shows only three occurrences of compounds with *Euro* acting as base word in period 2: '*Silber-Euro*', '*Probe-Euro*' und '*Peterseuro*' (see Example 15), two of them expressing their singular and novel character through quotation marks.

Example 15:

Die Umwandlung des Peterspfennigs in einen 'Peterseuro' (*Die Zeit*, 26 December 1997, p. 16)
[The conversion of St. Peter's Penny into 'St. Peter's Euro']

Period 3: Introduction of the Euro as 'ledger currency' on 1 January 1999 (November/December 1998, January/February 1999)

On 1 January 1999 the third and last stage of the EMU began. On this day, the eleven participants of the European Currency Union centralised their financial policy under the European System of Central Banks (ESCB) and introduced the Euro as common currency: until the end of 2001 as a so-called 'ledger currency' parallel to their local currencies, from 1 January 2002 as legal tender, with local banknotes and coins being abolished from 1 March 2002. The survey section defined as Period 3 ranges from two months ahead of 1 January 1999 to two months after that date, so that the reflection of the transition process - the final preparation for the transition, the deadline, the first weeks with the new 'ledger currency' Euro - in the chosen press media will be fully covered by the survey. The majority of the collocations and compounds in Period 3 deal with aspects of the introduction and in particular with the monetary aspects of the Euro currency, now for the first time appearing in reality. Aspects of attitude and assessment are also frequent subjects of discussion in this period. Collocations following the pattern 'generic concept noun+*Euro*' or referring to aspects of participation in the EMU or possible consequences show only small areas.

The large number of collocations and compounds made it again necessary to choose only a very limited set of distinctive examples for illustration.

To ensure a maximum comparability of results, the arrangement of collocation is the same as in Period 2. The extensive collocation area dealing with monetary aspects, appearing here for the first time, follows the one dealing with aspects of the introduction of the Euro, as both belong to the same context.

Let us again begin with the small area of collocations consisting of a generic concept noun (with a definite article) immediately followed by the currency denominator *Euro*. Examples:

*die Gemeinschaftswährung Euro, die Einheitswährung Euro
die europäische Währung/Einheitswährung Euro
die einheitliche/gemeinsame/neue Währung Euro*

Next follow the by far largest collocation areas dealing with aspects of the introduction of the Euro. Due to the large number of aspects, we have decided – different to Period 2 – to structure the overall area by distinguishing between general collocations and those referring to concrete monetary and banking aspects in two different sub-groups. There is no need to comment on these collocations as they are self-explanatory.

Examples of collocations referring to the introduction of the Euro:

*Einführung, Schaffung, Start, Ankunft, Beginn, Geburt(ssstunde), Jahrzehnt, Zeitalter, Europa des Euro
Vorläufer des Euro (= Ecu)
Stadt (see Example 16), Hauptstadt, Kapitale des Euro (= Frankfurt/Main)
der erste Tag, das erste Jahr des Euro
der Euro kommt, rollt, startet, gilt, tritt in Kraft
der Euro steht vor der Tür, ist auf den Weg gebracht, hat seinen Einzug gehalten
der Euro existiert, ist da, wird konkret, ist Realität
der Euro lebt, ist geboren, hat das Tageslicht erblickt, wurde zum Leben erweckt
der kommende, nahende, frische, neugeborene Euro
die ersten Euros
dem Euro gelassen entgegensehen
den Euro einführen, begrüßen
sich an den Euro gewöhnen
sich auf den Euro einstellen, vorbereiten
Vorbereitung, Aussicht, Warten auf den Euro
für den Euro fit, gerüstet sein
der Umgang mit dem Euro
Volksabstimmung über den Euro
Aufwand, Diskussionen rund um den Euro
Übergang, Vorbereitungen zum Euro
Fragen, Antworten, Infos zum Euro*

Example 16:

‘Stadt des Euro’, wie sich Frankfurt nennt (*Die Zeit*, 28 January 1999)
[‘City of the Euro’, as Frankfurt calls itself]

Examples of collocations referring to monetary and banking aspects of the Euro:

*2 Euro, ein halber Euro, mehrere Milliarden Euro
der Euro fällt, wertet ab, gibt nach
den Euro testen, verwenden
Kurs, Wert, Preis des Euro
Anschub, Aufwertung, Überbewertung, Wertzuwachs, Kursrückgang des Euro
Produktion, Erstausgabe des Euro
Herr des Euro (= Wim Duisenberg), Verwalterin des Euro (= European Central Bank)*

*Wettbewerbsvorteile des Euro
 sich am Euro orientieren
 auf Euro umschreiben, umstellen, umrechnen
 auf Euro laufen, laufen
 Umstellung, Umrechnung auf Euro
 Zinssatz, Quotierungen, Zielzonen für den Euro
 in Euro (be)zahlen, abrechnen
 Konten in Euro führen
 Rechnungen in Euro ausstellen, transferieren
 Schecks in Euro ausfüllen, akzeptieren
 Beträge in Euro überweisen, umrechnen, ausweisen, angeben
 Einlagen, Kurse, Preise, Forderungen in Euro
 Auszeichnung, Bezahlung, Handel, Umrechnung in Euro
 Noten, Scheine, Münzen in Euro
 mit Euro zahlen
 Handel, Umsatz mit Euro
 Nachfrage nach Euro
 Kontrolle, Kommando über den Euro
 Umtauschkurs, Wechselkurs zum Euro*

Examples of collocations referring to aspects of membership in the EMU:

*Qualifizierung für den Euro
 (Nicht)Teilnahme am Euro, Beitritt zum Euro (see Example 17)
 Teilnehmerländer des Euro / am Euro
 Außenvertretung des Euro
 noch nicht am Euro teilnehmen
 beim Euro mitmachen
 dem Euro vorerst fernbleiben*

Example 17:

Blair bereitet britischen Beitritt zum Euro vor [Überschrift] (*Die Zeit*, 28 January 1999)
 [Blair prepares for British participation in the Euro [Headline]] (*BZ*, 24 February 1999)

It is not surprising that with the participants of the EMU already fixed and the actual transition to the Euro being the centre of interest, the above collocation type plays a minor role compared to Period 2.

The possible consequences of the introduction of the Euro are still a matter of debate in Period 3, however, the prognostical aspects are clearly dominated by those dealing with the concrete transition to the Euro.

Examples of collocations referring to possible consequences of the introduction of the Euro:

Folgen, Folgewirkungen, Wirkungen, Auswirkungen des Euro
Chancen, Risiken des Euro
die (internationale) Rolle, die Zukunft des Euro
der Euro als Motor der Integration
den Euro als Chance begreifen
der Euro bringt Nutzen, Vorteile
der Euro begünstigt Investitionen, treibt Investitionen an
der Euro macht uns stark (see Example 18)
der Euro schafft Unsicherheit

Example 18:

Eine breite Werbekampagne mit dem Slogan ‘Der Euro macht uns stark’ (*taz*, 15 January 1999, p. 4)
 [A broad publicity campaign with the slogan ‘The Euro will make us strong’]

A remarkable fact is the lesser frequency of negative articulations compared to positive ones – a clear difference to Period 2. This is obviously a result of the advancing and irrevocable introduction of the Euro in the member states of the EMU: there is not much sense anymore in evoking pessimistic prognoses as a warning against the Euro.

Both the following collocation areas expressing the same aspects with regard to attitudes and assessments already mentioned in Period 1 and 2, draw a strikingly different picture compared to earlier periods, in particular to Period 2. Apart from a decreasing frequency of such collocations in general, there is a significant majority of collocations expressing agreement or a positive attitude, one plausible reason being that with the Euro now a reality, the warning and equivocal voices obviously step back behind those who bear in mind the inevitable facts and try to seek the positive aspects of the Euro.

Examples of collocations expressing the collocation partners’ agreement or disagreement towards the Euro;

Agreement:

Beliebtheit, Popularität, Begrüßung, Glaubwürdigkeit des Euro
Anhänger, Freunde, Befürworter des Euro
den Euro befürworten, loben, feiern, akzeptieren, unterstützen, stärken, wollen
der Euro ist in, erzeugt Hoffnungen
große Erwartungen an den Euro
positive Reaktionen auf den Euro

*optimistisch auf den Euro blicken, sich auf den Euro freuen
für den Euro sein*

*Sympathie, Begeisterung, Hauptargumente, Kampagne für den Euro
sein Heil im Euro suchen (see Example 19)*

Zustimmung zum Euro

Example 19:

Diesmal könnten die roten Zahlen Blair dazu verleiten, doch noch sein Heil im Euro zu suchen. (*taz*, 5 November 1998, p. 2)

[Being in the red, Blair could be tempted to seek his salvation in the Euro after all.]

Disagreement:

*unpopulärer Euro
den Euro ablehnen, nicht wollen, nicht brauchen
dem Euro nicht über den Weg trauen
der Euro erzeugt Ängste, scheitert
Vertrauensverlust für den Euro
gegen den Euro sein, stimmen
Mißtrauen, Vertrauenschwund in den Euro
Angst, Panikmache vor dem Euro*

Examples of collocations expressing the collocation partners' positive or negative attitude towards the Euro;

positive:

*harter, stabiler, starker, fester, steigender Euro
Stabilität, Stärke des Euro
Erfolg, Vorteil, Vorzüge, Glanz des Euro
vom Euro profitieren*

negative:

*weicher, schwacher, geschwächter, instabiler, leichter Euro
Schwäche, Probleme, Kehrseite des Euro
den Euro schwächen*

Word Formation

The same four content-defined groups detected for Period 2 also appear in Period 3. However, a certain shift in quantity can be stated for those compounds having a parallel within the collocation areas, i.e. a strong increase in compounds referring to monetary and banking aspects. There is also a rather striking number of compounds referring to aspects of

membership in the EMU. In particular, there is a large number of those types of compounds representing the EMU member states as a whole. This comes as no surprise given the communicative need for formations illustrating the unifying power of the Euro just at the time when the common European currency finally becomes reality. As in the previous period, nominal formation and hyphenation prevails.

Examples of compounds referring to the different aspects of the establishment of the Euro:

*Euro-Debatte, Euro-Informationen, Euro-Fragen, Euro-Vorbereitungen,
 Euro-Aspekte, Euro-Projekt, Euro-Experiment, Euro-Erwartungen
 Euro-Entscheidung, Euro-Initiative
 Euro-Rhetorik, Euro-Vokabular
 Euroeinführung / Euro-Einführung, Euro-Test, Eurostart/Euro-Start, Euro-
 Debüt,
 Euroumstellung/Euro-Umstellung, Euro-Stufenfahrplan, Euro-
 Terminkalender, Euro-Übergangszeit, Euro-Einführungsgesetz
 Euro-Erstaussstattung, Euro-Automat, Euro-Update
 Eurobeauftragter / Euro-Beauftragter, Euro-Experte, Euro-Spezialist, Euro-
 Projektleiter, Euro-Macher
 (erster) Euro-Tag, (erste) Euro-Wochen, Euro-Ära
 Euro-Feier(lichkeiten), Euro-Party, Euro-Dinner
 Euro-Symbol, Eurozeichen/Euro-Zeichen
 Euro-City, Euro-Metropole (= Frankfurt/Main)
 Eurotower / Euro-Tower, Euro-Turm
 Euro-Briefmarke, Euro-Uhr (see Example 20), Euro-Schlips, Euro-Weste
 eurotauglich, eurofähig / Euro-fähig, eurokompatibel*

Example 20:

Die Euro-Uhr in Frankfurt zeigte den Countdown bis zur Währungsunion.
 (BZ 2 January 1999)
 [The Euro-Clock in Frankfurt displayed the countdown to the currency union.]

Examples of compounds referring to monetary aspects of the currency Euro:

*Euro-Währung (also: Nicht-Euro-Währungen), Eurogeld / Euro-Geld, Euro-
 Bargeld, Euro-Beträge, Euro-Summen, Euromünzen/Euro-Münzen (also:
 Zwei-Euro-Münze, Zwei-Euro-Stücke), Euro-Banknoten, Euro-Noten, Euro-
 Geldscheine, Euro-Scheine
 Euro-Zahlung(en), Euro-Überweisung, Euro-Buchungen, Euro-Umtausch,
 Euro-Konto, Euro-Bank, Euro-Zentralbank, Euro-Notenbank, Euro-Zentrale,
 Euro-Haushalt, Euro-Geldpolitik, Euro-Vermögen, Euro-Werte, Euro-*

*Außenwert, Euro-Finanzmarkt, Euro-Geldmarkt, Euro-Aktienmarkt, Euro-Rentenmarkt, Eurokurs(e) / Euro-Kurs(e) (also: Euro-Dollar-Kurs), Euro-Wechselkurs, Euro-Umrechnung(skurs), Euro-Niveau, Euro-Aktien, Euro-Anleihe(n), Euro-Aktienbarometer, Euro-Aktienindex, Euro-(Stoxx-)Index, Euro-Libor, Euro-Fixing, Euro-Anpassung, Euro-Überbewertung, Euro-Wertpapiere, Euro-Pfandbrief, Euro-Darlehen, Eurobonds/Euro-Bonds, Euro-Schuldschein, Euro-Tagesgeld, Euro-Börsen, Euro-Zinsen, Euro-Leitzinsen, Euro-Tarife, Euro-Transaktionen, Euro-Orders, Euro-Reserve, Euro-Preisauszeichnungen, Euro-Steuererklärungen
 Eurohüter, Euro-Währungshüter, Eurobanker, Euro-Koordinator, Euro-Schuldner
 Euro-Taschenrechner, Euro-Taste (see Example 21)
 Euro-spezifisch*

Example 21:

Für den Ausnahmefall sind die Kassen seit Anfang des Jahres mit einer Euro-Taste ausgestattet. Ein Knopfdruck genügt und der Mark-Betrag wird umgerechnet. (BZ, 5 January 1999)

[For this exceptional case, the cash points have (since the beginning of the year), been equipped with a special Euro-button. One touch of the key and the amount in Deutschmarks will be converted.]

Examples of compounds referring to aspects of membership in the EMU:

*Euro-Kriterien, Euro-Anforderungen, Euro-Tauglichkeit, euro-fähig
 Euro-Beitritt, Euro-Abstinenz, Euro-frei (see Example 22)
 Euro-Anwärter, Euro-Aspiranten, Euro-Bürger (also: Nicht-Euro-Bürger)
 Euro-Abstinentzler, Euro-Außenseiter, Euro-Outsider, Euro-Nachzügler
 Euro-Teilnehmer, Euro-Teilnehmerstaaten, Euro-Teilnehmerländer,
 Eurostaaten / Euro-Staaten (also: Nicht-Euro-Staaten)
 Euroländer / Euro-Länder (also: Nicht-Euro-Länder), Euroland / Euro-Land,
 Euro-Kernländer, Euro-Mitgliedsländer, Euro-Mitgliedstaaten, Euro-Nationen, Euro-Regierungen, Euro-Partner(staaten), Eurozone / Euro-Zone, Euroraum / Euro-Raum, Euro-Gebiet, Euro-Währungsgebiet, Euro-Bereich, Euro-Welt, Euro-Europa, Euro-Klub / Euro-Club, Euro-Block, Euro-Verbund, Euro-Gruppe, Euro-Kartell, Euro-Gilde, Euro-11 / Euro-Elf, Euro-11-Gruppe / Euro-Elf-Gruppe, Euro-11-Zone, Euro-11-Partner
 Euro-Ausland
 Euro-Welthandel, Euro-Stabilitätspakt, Euro-Vertretung, Euro-Gipfel, Euro-Elf-Rat, Euro-11-Präsidentschaft
 euro-weit
 Euro-Zeitalter, Euro-Zeit*

Example 22:

Großbritannien noch lange Euro-frei [Überschrift] (*taz* 4 November 1998, p. 11)
 [Great Britain will remain Euro-free for some time to come[Headline]]

Examples of compounds expressing agreement or disagreement towards the Euro:

Agreement:

Euro-Begeisterung, Euro-Enthusiasmus, Euro-Euphorie (see Example 23;
 also realised as pun using contamination: *Europhorie / Euro-Phorie, euphorisch*)

Euro-Manie, Eurowahn

Euro-freundlich, europhil

Eurobefürworter / Euro-Befürworter, Euro-Anhänger, Euro-Anhängerschaft, Euro-Optimisten, Euro-Enthusiasten, Euro-Konvertit (= Blair)

Example 23:

Die vorgesehene Übergangszeit von drei Jahren bis zur Ausgabe des neuen Geldes sei angesichts der Euro-Euphorie ‘vielleicht eine zu lange Zeit’. (BZ 11 January 1999)

[The envisaged transition time of three years until the new banknotes and coins are issued could be considered ‘perhaps too long’ with regard to the prevailing Euro-euphoria.]

Also belonging to the above group regarding their content are the formation *europhil*, which we consider as a confix compound (for an explanation of this term cf. Fleischer 1995, p. 64) and the derivation *Eurotiker*, a pun based on *Neurotiker* which had been used as the counterpart of *Euroskeptiker* in a ‘*taz*-Euro-quiz’ (*taz*, 30 December 1998).

Examples of disagreement:

Euro-Verweigerung, Euroskepsis / Euro-Skepsis, Euroskeptizismus, euroskeptisch / Euro-skeptisch, eurofeindlich, eurokritisch, Euro-Angst, Euro-Ängste, Europhobie / Euro-Phobie, Euro-Gegner, Euro-Kritiker, Euroskeptiker / Euro-Skeptiker

Although remarkably less frequent than in Period 2, Period 3 also contains some types of compounds expressing approval or disapproval through the constituents Pro-Euro- or Anti-Euro- respectively:

Pro-Euro-Entscheidung
Anti-Euro-Wahlkampf, Anti-Euro-Tumulte

First occurring in Period 3 is the small group of compounds expressing a positive or negative attitude towards the Euro through positive or negative features of the base word; a function predominantly – in Periods 1 and 2 even exclusively – covered by collocations.

Examples of compounds expressing a positive or negative attitude towards the Euro;

positive: *Euro-Stabilität*

negative: *Euro-Schwäche*

Compounds with *Euro* as base word are isolated cases also in Period 3. It seems, however, that the formation pattern is no longer regarded as very unusual as none of the three occurrences is put between quotation marks:

EU-Euro does not need any further explanation. *Schokoladen-Euros* were handed out at the so-called ‘changeover weekend’ in Frankfurt/Main. *Uni-Euro* is a term often used in the discussion on the introduction of the European Credit Transfer Scheme (ECTS) at German universities.

Conclusion

The decision made at the end of 1995 to assign the name *Euro* to the new European currency led to the coining of a European neologism which in the following years was to act not only as a currency designation, but outside its own scope serve as a theme word and nucleus for aspects of European integration. With the lexeme *Euro* itself being neutral and impartial, attitudes and assessments towards the Euro can only be expressed by using the relevant collocation partners or constituents. The same applies to all other usage aspects, where the communicative power of this neolexeme is evident in its collocations and constructions. For our analysis of the dynamic use of the lexeme *Euro* we have chosen three cross-sections illustrating common language use with reference to historic dates, events and developments in the years 1995 to 1995. Each of these sections corresponds to a survey period of four months based on texts taken from the newspapers *Die Zeit*, *die tageszeitung (taz)* and *Berliner Zeitung (BZ)*, thus reflecting the common language use of the period in question. The

results from these analyses, referring to the expressions based on the lexeme *Euro* have been presented in three sections of a similar internal structure.

Unlike collocations, which may contain nearly all aspects, compounds are subject to various restrictions. For instance, the aspects of the name and the possible effects of the *Euro* are exclusively represented by collocation areas, not by compounds.

With regard to word formation, compound nouns predominate, most of them hyphenated. Compounds using *Euro* as base word are rare exceptions, as are derivations of *Euro*.

Among the eight collocation areas and compound groups that have been structured by their content, the following two appear to be most relevant with regard to communicative powers: those referring to various aspects of the introduction of the Euro and those expressing approval or disapproval of the Euro. Both groups are widely represented in all three periods both with collocations and compound forms.

With the other areas or groups we may observe a sometimes striking clustering in relation to the historic events taking place in the relevant periods. For instance, *Euro* as currency denominator is only discussed in Period 1, the aspect of meeting the convergence criteria as a prerequisite for membership in the EMU, however, is not yet considered an important issue during that period, but is dominant in Period 2. Due to the nature of the subject, monetary and banking aspects prevail in Period 3, when the transition to the Euro became reality.

The survey period clearly shows two distinctive phenomena with regard to the aspects of attitude and assessment. These aspects can easily be classified by their content: agreement/disagreement; positive vs. negative assessment; possible effects of the Euro.

The first phenomenon is the distinct shift from con to pro through the periods: Whereas periods 1 and 2 show a mainly negative, disapproving or at least reluctant attitude, this changes in the course of periods 2 and 3, displaying an increasing number of occurrences expressing a more positive, approving and optimistic attitude. This change is apparently due to the power of fact, i.e. the actual realisation of the currency union.

Secondly, we may observe that within Period 1 – representing a comparatively early stage of the discussion about the pros and cons of a common currency – occurrences expressing a negative or disapproving attitude tend to be attached to potential ‘opt-out’-countries such as Britain, whereas in period 2, which shows a vast increase of those negative

occurrences, they are more related to arguments within ‘Euroland’ or individual member states. For instance, in Germany the predominance of occurrences expressing negative attitudes is most certainly due to the professors’ petition and the complaint about a violation of the constitution brought to court by four prominent opponents to the Euro.

The present survey has been strongly motivated by the author’s belief that the currency designated by the lexeme *Euro* will rise above itself in playing an important role in the creation of a common European identity. A final quote from the *Berliner Zeitung* will serve to emphasise this:

Dabei ist die Einführung der Einheitswährung selbst ein erster Schritt zur Schaffung dieses neuen Gefühls der Zusammengehörigkeit. Der Euro könnte zu einem wichtigen Identifikationssymbol für Europa werden. Denn zum ersten Mal werden alle Europäer gemeinsam etwas besitzen. Allein die sinnliche Erfahrung, in ein anderes Land zu kommen und mit seinem »eigenen« Geld bezahlen zu können, verändert das Gefühl von Fremde und Heimat. Bisher speiste sich europäische Gemeinsamkeit vor allem aus der Idee, zusammen neue Kriege zu verhindern. Jetzt kommt etwas sehr Konkretes hinzu. Identität entsteht auch durch die Alltäglichkeit des Umgangs mit Dingen. Der Euro macht Europa anfaßbar. (*Berliner Zeitung* 30 December 1998)

[The introduction of a common currency is itself a first step towards a feeling of togetherness. Thus, the Euro could become an important symbol for the identification with Europe, as for the first time, all European citizens share a common possession. Just the emotional perception of entering a foreign country and still being able to pay with one’s »own« money will change the feeling of home and abroad. Until now, the idea of a common Europe has mainly been based on the common obligation to prevent a new war. But from now on, there is something else, something concrete. Identity also develops from the things of daily life. The Euro will make Europe tangible.]

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