Amongst the treasured reminders of my postgraduate years in England, I cherish a sizable sheaf of manuscript pages, now yellow with age. They are in the hand of Sir William Craigie, that venerable pioneer of lexicographical study. The neat and delicate lines trace out the beginnings of a new venture. Sir William was making a record of the nominal compounds in Beowulf: they are arrayed under the banners of various headwords, each of which, as a glance will show, is a second element of composition. Alas, work on the project was never completed, nor are the present generation of Anglo-Saxonists aware of the particular line of argument Sir William had in mind when he set out to re-list the Beowulf compound vocabulary.

Still, if one pauses a moment, a general clue to his thinking may be found in an anecdote of Sir William's. Long retired from his academic duties, yet spirited and unbowed by age, Sir William, on one occasion in the late forties, prefaced a guest lecture at King's College, University of Durham, with the following story:

One day a Highland farmer, down to Edinburgh on business, entered the City Library to ask for a certain book. While the librarian was away rummaging among the shelves, the visitor noticed a large dictionary lying open on the desk. The Highlander began to leaf through its pages, desultorily at first, and then with mounting enthusiasm. When the librarian came back, his opinion was made up. "This yon book," he blurted out in unsophisticated glee, "is not half interesting, but frightfully disconneckit!"
Dictionaries being what they are, this piece of rustic criticism, if criticism it be, will always have a point to make. But, nevertheless, "disconnectedness" could be tempered in various ways — for instance, by careful cross-referencing, or by inserting, at opportune junctures, summary boxes bringing together synonyms, antonyms, and other vocabulary features. Thus we can cut across and relieve the tedium of mechanical alphabetic listing, otherwise so useful. Am I being fanciful in seeing a common strain in Sir William's telling the anecdote and then in fact starting a collection of compounds arranged according to, curiously, the second element? I hope not.

Some thirty-five years have passed since my meeting with this revered champion of our "gentle art", and since I discovered, during the labours of a postgraduate thesis, that a systematic ordering of second compound elements can lead to tangible results. Let us, therefore, for the purpose of this brief paper, glance back at old facts and experiences whilst shifting the scene from the past to the present. The first element in simple compounds, in all Germanic languages, usually functions as semantic qualifier of the other element, or base word; ponderously expressed, then, the former is the determinant, the latter the determinatum. First elements as a rule convey denotation rather than connotation. This is true whatever type of nominal compound is formed; the categories for English have been variously defined, e.g. subject-verb

1 R[einhard] R.K. Hartmann and F.C. Stork, Dictionary of Language and Linguistics (London: Applied Science Publishers, 1972), pp. 63-64. See also Hans Marchand, The Categories and Types of Present-Day English Word-Formation: A Synchronic-Diachronic Approach (München: C.H. Beck, 1969), p. 11: "In the system of languages to which English belongs the determinant generally precedes the determinatum." Marchand cites the exception 'father-in-law' — this is a syntactical formation, not a nominal one, though. Also, there are some "co-ordinative" compounds, such as 'cook-housekeeper', 'producer-director', where the constituents are in apposition to, rather than modifying, each other.
Occasionally, though, the first element has some emotive slant—for instance, the caressing diminutive in 'pussy-cat'. The rôle played by second elements is different and more complex. Not only do they furnish the semantic base which is sharply restricted by the first element; they may in fact also superimpose some connotational shading, in other words, "an emotive or affective component additional to its central meaning"—perhaps, a touch of irony or contempt. Here, too, there are exceptions. The second element -werk in German Laubwerk and Mauerwerk is a mere abstract generality; clearly, first elements Laub- and Mauer- are the semantic kernels of their respective compounds.

Nevertheless, evidence can easily be found in both English and German where the second element gives a subtle twist of meaning to the compound. In English, for instance, there are a wide variety of ways of referring to a male person who works at the London Foreign Office: 'Foreign Office chap' (the implication is almost invariably neutral-positive), 'Foreign Office bloke' (negative-neutral), 'Foreign Office bod' (negative), 'Foreign Office geezer' (insulting), 'Foreign Office chappie' (patronising), 'Foreign Office johnny' (the speaker is upper-class male), 'Foreign Office guy' (the speaker is probably American). Some of these variants can be turned back-to-front: 'bloke at the Foreign Office'. In German, to choose a different second element for parading the possible changes, colloquial speech has a trio of kindersachen 'kids' things',

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3 See John Lyons, Semantics (Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, 1977), I, p. 176: "the connotation of a word is thought of as an emotive or affective component additional to its central meaning."

Kinderzeug 'kids' stuff', Kinderkram 'kids' junk'. All these compounds can be used to mean "toys", "playthings" (there are figurative senses, too), but the second and third options would be selected by a speaker in an irritated or supercilious mood.

To illustrate the issue more adequately, let us look in detail at one particular pair of secondary compound elements frequently used in present-day colloquial German. Especially suitable for analysis, because of the many delicate shifts in meaning according to mood or context, are the -mann/-mensch twins, referring to (usually male) human beings. Near-synonyms, taken from the rather wide field of Christian names made into common nouns - e.g., -fritze as in Möbelfritze 'furniture chap', or Pressefritze 'newspaper bloke', 'newspaper johnny', and -heini as in Computerheini, slightly negative, hence 'computer bod', or Gremienheini 'committee man/chap' - extend the possibilities of semantic differentiation further. However, for the purposes of the present study, we shall largely ignore these additional variants, and attempt instead to "home in" on the -mann/-mensch contrasts and consistencies.

As a glance at the major dictionaries will show, these do not go beyond the obvious choice of '-man' as the set English equivalent, which is forced into service on each and every occasion. In fact, most -mann/-mensch compounds in popular use are not even granted a mention: Eiermann ('egg-man', 'egg-dealer' HAR), Eiermensch (O), Getränkemann/mensch (O), Versicherungsmann/mensch (O), Zeitungsmann (cf. Zeitungshändler

5 Harrap's Standard German and English Dictionary, ed. Trevor Jones, Part One: German-English, London [etc.]: George C. Harrap, 1963ff. (the fourth volume, letters S-Z, is yet to appear); Langenscheidt's Encyclopaedic Dictionary of the English and German Languages, ed. Otto Springer, Part II: German-English, Berlin [etc.]: Langenscheidt, 1974f. They are abbreviated HAR and LAN, respectively.

Further abbreviations met with in the following are: AmE = American English, AustrE = Australian English, BrE = British English; NorG = North German, NorWesEastG = North, West, and East German, SouG = South German; colloq. = colloquial speech, med. = medical parlance.
'newsagent', AmE 'news vendor'; cf. \textit{Zeitungsverkäufer} 'news vendor', 'newspaper seller' LAN), \textit{Zeitungsmensch} (O). Thus, the specific -mann/-mensch disparities are entirely neglected and the stylistic levels misinterpreted when any attempt happens to be made at translation. How indeed is it possible for \textit{Eiermann} to be equivalent to both 'egg-man', a colloquial term, and 'egg-dealer', the standard trade designation, actually corresponding to \textit{Eierhändler}? Casual speech requires \textit{Eiermensch}, too; say, when the speaker is annoyed with the 'egg-bloke', considers him incompetent or a nuisance (see below). Again, \textit{Zeitungsmensch} is a lighter, less formal word than either \textit{Zeitungshändler} or \textit{Zeitungsverkäufer}; thus, despite what Langenscheidt says, it cannot accurately be translated by 'newsagent' etc., but rather by 'paper man'. Vague and undiscriminating, 'paper man', just like its counterpart \textit{Zeitungsmann}, dissolves all the nice distinctions in the newspaper world: since the situations of everyday life do not usually demand more precise terminology, colloquial speech is simply taking on its natural "pragmatic" shape. Emotive connotations in spoken language often need to be conveyed more subtly than denotation. In this regard, \textit{Zeitungsmensch} is a convenient partner for \textit{Zeitungsmann}, although the major dictionaries omit the former altogether. An appropriate context for the choice of \textit{Zeitungsmensch} would be when the speaker is annoyed by an over-zealous distributor of newspapers (or, indeed, a journalist, another meaning of \textit{Zeitungsmann/mensch}); then the speaker might very well comment:

\begin{quote}
\textit{wenn der Zeitungsmensch kommt, sag, ich bin nicht da}
\end{quote}

when that pushy newspaper so-and-so comes, say I'm not in.

The adjective 'pushy' is introduced in English to express what is already built into the German \textit{Zeitungsmensch}, i.e. an ill-defined negative attitude which crystallises out according to the context. Sometimes, in British English, 'bloomin' (see below \textit{Eiermensch}, sentences 5 and 6) may be a more appropriate equivalent than 'pushy'.
The -mann/-mensch pairings tend to illustrate that duality which is symptomatic of man's desire to vent his likes and dislikes about the same entity. The following Eiermann/Eiermensch examples are an attempt to sift out more nuances of this double perspective:

**Eiermann**

1. *wenn du willst, ich hab einen Eiermann an der Hand, der hat Freilandhühner und ist gar nicht teuer: listen, I know this egg man who has free-range chickens and isn't at all dear (or, expensive).*

**Eiermensch**

2. *zum Glück kommt morgen der Eiermann, unser Vorrat geht langsam zu Ende.* Luckily (or, it's lucky) the egg man's (or, egg chap's) coming tomorrow, we're gradually running out.

3. *dieser Eiermensch am Markt ist mir [dir] ein teurer Bruder, der hat mich zum letzten Mal gesehen that feller (AmE guy) who sells eggs at the market is an expensive character (AmE proposition) - he won't see me again (or, he's seen the last of me, he's seen me for the last time) [,I can tell you]!

4. *den Eiermenschen kannst du nächste Woche ruhig (or getrost) abbestellen, wir haben noch mehr als genug you might as well cancel the egg bloke (AmE egg guy) for next week - we've got more than enough.*

5. *ausgerechnet (or gerade) jetzt muß der (dummen, NorWesEasG doofen, SouG tepperten) Eiermensch kommen, wo ich mich mit meiner Freundin am Telefon so schön unterhalte - daβ mir das immer passtert! that bloomin' egg bloke (AmE stupid egg peddler) would have to come right at this very minute (or, now of all times), just when I'm having a nice chat on the phone with my friend - that's always happening to me!*

6. *blöderweise hab ich dem (dummen, NorWesEasG doofen, SouG tepperten) Eiermenschen mein letztes Kleingeld gegeben; jetzt steht ich da, und keiner kann mir wechseln (or, herausgeben) I've been daft enough to give that bloomin' egg bloke (AmE stupid egg peddler) my last bit of loose money - and no one can help me out with change.*
The first two examples express a positive attitude towards, or even downright appreciation of, the tradesman, who is a useful individual meeting a need emphasised by the speaker: in British English, if a mild tinge of enthusiasm is present, he would therefore be the 'egg chap'. The switch from Eiermann to Eiermensch (3-6) is quite likely to involve a shift of identity, but it could just as well be a case of seeing the same person in a different light. The Eiermensch, we can be sure, guilty or innocent, is seen with a fairly jaundiced eye. The scale of disfavour ranges from slight to indignant: in examples 4-6, he is either considered expendable, comes at an inconvenient moment, or simply has been paid in loose change which the speaker later requires for another purpose. In all these three cases, the Eiermensch is a most innocent offender if ever there was one; but in (3), he deliberately contributes to his own bad image - though again, this is a subjective verdict - by charging high prices. Nevertheless, a little bias will go a long way. In English, he is that 'feller (AmE guy) who sells eggs'; an attribute may even be added that casts aspersions on his intelligence: the German equivalents to 'bloomin', 'stupid', etc. (e.g., doof, teppert) are not entirely necessary, in that the irritation, extreme or otherwise, is amply conveyed by Eiermensch itself. Sample (4) shows the stark reality of fickle human nature: the useful member of a local trading community in (2) has become expendable, and appreciation is turned to indifference or even near-contempt. It is no wonder, therefore, to find Eiermensch sometimes couched in a mood of social superiority and condescension; the following sentence, a modification of Eiermann (1), is said with a proprietary air:

\[
\text{ich hab da so einen Eiermenschen (an der Hand), or ich kann da so einen Eiermenschen is rendered by \text{BrE 'egg chappie'}}\]

\[
\text{I have this little egg chappie of mine or I know this little egg chappie.}\]

The pattern of meanings discussed for Eiermann/mensch is borne out by these examples featuring an insurance agent and an employee of the telephone company, respectively:
morgen kommt der Versicherungsmann wieder; da wird er uns gleich sagen, ob Einbaumöbel in der Hausratversicherung eingeschlossen sind.

Tomorrow the man from the insurance company is coming again; he's going to tell us if the built-in furniture is included in the household effects policy.

wenn heute vormittag der Telefonmann zum Reparieren kommt, frag ich ihn gleich, was es braucht (or, was man tun muß), um einen von den neuen Apparaten mit Tastendruck zu kriegen.

When the telephone man comes this morning to fix the phone, I'll make a point of asking him what you do to get a press-button phone.

so ein Mist, jetzt ist es schon Mittag, und der Telefomensch ist noch immer nicht da! blasted (AmE darn it) - it's already lunch time and that telephone bloke (AmE the guy who's supposed to fix the phone) is still not here!

They are not obliged, however, to select the -mensch equivalent if they are in a cross frame of mind. In the following sentence employing Fernsehmann, the irritation is chiefly directed against the television set, but also against the repair man, insofar as it is a nuisance to have to arrange for him to call round:

sahau hin, der Kasten, das alte Geflirren! Jetzt müssen wir schon wieder den Fernsehmann holen! just look at that, the flickering on the box is back - we're going to have to get the TV man in again!

Indeed, the -mann/-mensch compounds do not fit at all well into an iron grid of neat oppositions - they can be made to convey very sophisticated shades of meaning, according to the contexts in which they are uttered, and/or as spontaneous inventions prompted by the need to cope verbally with fresh circumstances. Some generalisations about their usage could, however, be suggested: for example, when the speaker is too tired
or too lazy to employ, or may not need to express precisely, or
does not even know, the standard term. It might be that the of-
ficial trade designation is too long: Obst(-, Wurstchen-, Zeit-
tungs-, etc.)händler/verkäufer - Obst(-, Wurstchen-, Zeitungs-, etc.)mann/mensch; but, where a short easy word such as Schuster 'cobbler' is available, there is hardly occasion for *Schuhmann,
which we could, moreover, when hearing it, confuse with a com-
mon proper name. Colloquial speech, supported as it is by the
pragmatics of context, does not have to be mathematically ex-
act; to be sure, it rarely is. Thus, when we are waiting for
the 'heating man/bloke', AmE 'heat man/guy', 'the man/bloke
(AmE guy) from the electricity', or the 'gasman', to come and
fix those services for us, we might casually refer to the Hei-
zungsmann/mensch, to the Lichtmann/mensch, or the Gasmann/
mensch - although in other equally obvious situations these
persons may be meter readers or salesmen.

Some contexts, such as our work environments, become so fa-
miliar to us that there quickly comes a point when we no longer
need to give our colleagues the accolade of their full profes-
sional titles. Thus, our university department has its own Bi-
bliotheksmann 'library man', its Beratungsstellenmann 'advice
(centre) man', and its Computermann 'computerman'; and a zoo
has its Krokodilmann 'crocodile man', Schlangenmann 'snake man',
and its Elefantenmann 'elephant man' - usually, these are the
keepers, but in the appropriate situation, they may be academic
experts attached to the zoo, or even passionate animal lovers
who constantly visit their favourite species. It is contextual
knowledge alone that can help us differentiate between Theater-
mann 'theatre man' (one who works, and is committed to his job,
be it lighting, producing or other, in the theatre) and Theaterr-
mann 'theatre man/person' whose greatest joy in life, or at
least he prefers it to the cinema, is going to performances:

\begin{align*}
\text{ich bin in erster Linie Theatermann,} & \text{Filmmann/mensch,} \\
\text{mache aber auch Fernsehen} & \\
\text{I do the odd TV show, but I'm really a} & \text{theatre film person/man.}
\end{align*}
Perhaps, *Filmmensch* is better than *Filmmann* because the former is more evenly weighted phonetically; whereas *Theatermensch* is not in common usage because it does not sound particularly emphatic. All the above examples actually involve a loss in subtlety of meaning. In fact, -mann/-mensch is a method of radically simplifying and partly doing away with complex distinctions: one is reminded of "pidgin" or of "learner's language".

However, the man-in-the-street surely cannot be blamed for resorting to pidgin when faced with the problem of referring to individuals employed in the higher bureaucratic walks of life: the ordinary person simply does not know the proper term for the various occupations he "lumps together" under *Kanzleramtsmann* 'somebody in the Chancellor's Office'; nor is he aware of the official designation for the somewhat sinister *Verfassungsschutzmann* (also shortened to *V-Mann*) 'Secret Service undercover man'. There are other cases where the first element may be conveniently abbreviated: *PR-Mann* 'PR man', or *ADAC-Mann BrE* 'AA man' or 'RAC man', *AmE* 'AAA man' (spoken as "Triple A man").

Lack of knowledge regarding exact distinctions, this time on the lowlier level of the names of local businesses, could also be the reason for the following occurrences of *Bettfedernmann* and *Uhrenmann*:

>`wenn (mir) noch Zeit bleibt, schau ich beim Bettfedernmann (or, Bettengeschäft) vorbei und bestell dir zwei Kopfkissen`  
if I've still got time I'll pop by the bed shop and order you two pillows.

>`hat der Uhrenmann noch offen?`  
*is the clock shop still open?*

English seems to prefer the more impersonal usage 'bed shop' and 'clock shop'. *Bettfedernmann* and *Uhrenmann* are both probably *ad hoc* creations prompted by the speaker's laziness.

Other spontaneous coinages - whether just for fun, playing with words as in the photograph, or to add an unusual, or em-
An interesting case of playful and productive use of second compound elements is to be found in a cluster of graffiti on the "kissing" edges of a lift door in the Arts and Divinity wing of Regensburg University. An almost daily liftee, I was a detached yet interested observer of what growth and permutations of the scribblings are capable of. It all started out with an indubitably erotic couple of antonyms, quite neatly invented and counterpoised, HART-MANN and WEICH-FRAU. Graffitiman Two, possibly of a misogynous strain, did not elaborate the theme of congenial opposites, but added a plain invective, BLODMANN, tainting the glory of HART-MANN. Graffitiman Three had a fit of MANN-o-mania, and sheepishly, unmethodically, repetitively, penned several other compounds. After him, an academic prude (or was he merely a budding Anglo-Saxon scholar who meant to immortalise his pride in knowledge?) destroyed the antonymous idyll by substituting WIF-MAN for the pristine heathen WEICH-FRAU. It is difficult to guess what is yet to come: how are the -MANN compounds to fare across the chasm of gaping lift-door halves? Will there be a teeming progeny? It is rather likely so, unless the university official in charge of maintenance puts an end to the voluble-mute creativeness by ordering a new coat of paint to obliterate the scene...
phatic, angle to a situation - are only to be expected: -mann/-mensch can be married to many things. Well aware that one in fact needs to hire a gardener, Gärtnar, one may still invent the term Baummann, if it is the trees that require attention, or the Grasmann, if the lawn is to be mown. Similarly, when a window-cleaner, glazier, or even perhaps a joiner who makes window-frames is in demand, one might come up with the word Fensterrmann. A different type of coinage may be inspired by the longing to eat one's favourite food; so a meat-lover at a party could easily refuse less appetising dishes with the words:

ich bin ein Würsterrmann und nicht ein Käsermann
I'm a sausage man (or, person), not a cheese man (or, person).

Another situation where one may want to make up a -mann/-mensch compound on the spur of the moment would be if one knew very little about a person - not even the name - but needed to relate him to something in order to be able to refer to him at all. Hence, the Vogelmensch (when not a well-known ornithologist, i.e. 'bird man') could well be the man we just met on the train who talked about birds, the 'bird feller', 'man/bloke/guy with the birds'. Other -mensch compounds, too, signalise our all too vague knowledge about a person. Thus, the Vermessungsmensh 'surveyor bloke', or the Versicherungsmensch 'insurance bloke', calling at the house is not our usual, trusted, familiar Vermessung/Versicherungsmann, but one we have probably not seen before and whose name we are not aware of.

Various ad hoc formations are prompted by the politics or culture of the day, and will disappear with the passing of such ephemera. Thus, for the time being, people talk about a Kohlmann (which has the same referent as the more permanent compound Kanzlermann): one who works for Helmut Kohl, the present West German Chancellor, or is a member of the latter's party - and who in either case is totally in favour of his leader's policies, perhaps owes his career to Kohl, and is most certainly a loyal follower. Or a Kohlmann (in Britain, a 'Thatcher-
man') may simply be a very convinced conservative voter and admirer of the party leader. Other famous politicians have, or did have in the past, their Straußmänner, Vogelmänner (not 'ostrichmen' or 'bird-men' - two thoughtless mistranslations - but followers of the West German political leaders, Franz Josef Strauß and Hans-Jochen Vogel, respectively), their 'Thatcher-men', or 'Thatcherites', and 'Reagan-men', or 'Reaganites'.

Important people in all kinds of hierarchical institutions, e.g. industrial companies, the established political parties, and some sections of education - in fact wherever petty ambition and jealousy produce factions - have their -männer, -leute, and rarely -menschen, too.

Another point of interest is that cultural phenomena of many sorts can generate compounds such as the following examples from English: 'I'm a Players man, myself' (emphasising preference for one brand of cigarette), 'I'm a collar and tie man' (indicating a formal taste in clothes), and 'I'm not much of a plastic flower person, I like real ones' (could be said by a woman, whereas '-man', or '-mann, cannot).

Since so many of these composite forms have now become popular, there is always a temptation to play with language and create, as the photographed examples show, nonsense words in the same pattern. More sophisticated coinages appear in a recent Time article, entitled "Specimens for an Urban Bestiary": 'jogman', 'touristman', 'therapyman'. These are humorous attempts to define the species Twentieth-Century Man - all in terms of his obsessions!

6 The abbreviated names of German political parties can also combine with -mann (or -ler), to form e.g. CSU-Mann (CSULer), SPD-Mann (SPDLer). Context determines whether these terms imply party membership, active support or presumed agreement with policies; but whatever the case, the style of the -ler form is more casual.

7 Time (Paris), November 5, 1984, No. 45, p. 58.
The above discussion may imply that it is always possible to choose between the -mann/-mensch alternatives, and that the decision is purely dependent on the speaker's mood. But there are a few caveats. Occasionally, the -mann/-mensch partners have different denotative meanings. A male flower seller can be either a Blumenmann or, more negatively, a Blumenmensch; but Blumenmensch might also sometimes be one (quite likely, a woman) who has a great passion for cultivating flowers, i.e. a 'flower person'. This Blumenmensch 'lives for his/her flowers', er/sie geht voll in seinen/ihren Blumen auf.

In some cases, however, for phonetic or other reasons, only one member of a compound pair has become genuinely established in colloquial speech. Thus, German has Baumensch, a specialist in the building trade who is probably closely involved with his work, but no *Baumann. The latter might be confusing because it is identical with a frequent proper name. Baumensch covers various jobs within the building trade, e.g. Baustoffhändler, Baumeister:

A: was ist er denn von Beruf?
B: er ist Baumensch.
A: what's he do for a living?
B: he's in the building line or he's in building.9

Baumensch, lacking its natural partner, must, moreover, be able to convey the positive-to-neutral and negative shades of connotation. The above example seems fairly neutral in tone, but some speakers might add a slightly contemptuous note to Baumensch. In other contexts, this word may imply much stronger

8 Other -mensch compounds, such as Rathausmensch 'Town Hall man', can be used for similar purposes of emphatic self-definition: ich bin Baumensch/Rathausmensch - Denkmalschutz geht mich nichts an I'm a builder [Town Hall man] - conservation of historic monuments has got nothing to do with me.

9 This translation strategy works with other compounds, too: er ist Theatermann/Filmmann 'he's in the theatre [film] line' or 'he's in theatre [film]', thus not requiring a '-man' equivalent in English.
intolerance. For instance, *diese Baumschen* is also the most appropriate rendering of the relevant phrase in this somewhat angry comment from Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga*: 'if you only make a firm stand against these builder chaps you'll get them down.'  

Here, the animosity is transferred in the English to the demonstrative 'these', since 'builder chaps' in itself is an unemotive term.

Whereas *Baumschen* is partnerless, *Theatermann* can be yoked to *Theatermenschen* — albeit uncomfortably, as the latter simply sounds clumsy. Nevertheless, *Theatermenschen* may sometimes be needed in order to refer to a female 'theatre person', one who loves going to performances — *Theatermann* cannot "step in" on this occasion. *Aktenmenschen*, a mildly denigrating term for one dedicated to the paper work involved in an administrative position, does not have *Aktenmann* — which is non-existent — as its twin. Instead, there is *Aktenleser*, a positive way of describing someone who conscientiously reads the necessary files; the direct opposite of *Aktenleser*, though, is *Aktenchiefer* (more abusive than *Aktenmenschen*), one who deals mechanically and unintelligently with such work. In the following statement, the negative implication of *Aktenmenschen* is recaptured in English, especially by the dismissive 'one of those':

*er zählt keinesfalls zu der Rasse der Aktenmenschen*

he's not by any means one of those facts-and-figures people.

Since there generally are negative associations with clerical work in our culture, *Büromensch* (no *Büromann*) usually has a built-in negative slant. Depending on the speaker's attitude, it is positive or negative in:

*er ist ein echter Büromensch*

he's the born (or, real) office type.

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Context will reveal whether diligence is being praised, or attention to unimportant detail criticised; but with the qualifying *so ein, Büromensch is definitely negative:

*er wird mit seiner Handelsschule *so ein Büromensch werden

he'll turn out one of those office types, going to business school.

However, where the first element has positive connotations in our society, the whole compound is likely to be appreciate: *Blumenmensch, Buchmensch (no *Buchmann - proper name), Naturmensch (no *Naturmann), Theatermensch. A Naturmensch corresponds to a 'nature lover', or a person with unpretentious ways, a 'natural person'. Of course, certain contexts invite the speaker to irony, as, for example, when pretending to justify someone's primitive manners:

*du regst dich auf, daß er mit den Fingern isst?
*tja, er ist halt ein Naturmensch

why make such a fuss about his eating with his-fingers?
you know, he's one of those "back-to-nature" people.

A Buchmensch is a 'book person', one who loves collecting and reading books; but, in the context of selling, this can also refer to an over-assertive, door-to-door 'book pusher'. An intriguing aspect here is that in German and in English the 'book person', or the 'natural person', may be a woman - this cannot be implied by the -mann compounds, though, with very few exceptions. Moreover, the use of the -mensch compounds in any of the professional (rather than the hobby) categories would be a very insulting way of alluding to a female: it would be "masculinising" her to der ... -mensch. The more familiar term for, to take a random example, Obst/Gemüsefrau 'fruit [vegetable] lady' is Obst/Gemüseweib 'fruit [vegetable] woman'. While it is possible to imagine that women's names could function as second elements (in analogy to -fritze, -heini), a detailed consideration of female equivalents to the male forms under discussion is unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper.
In addition to the categories relating to profession and hobby mentioned above, there are further -mann only (i.e. no -mensch partners) groupings current mostly in the North of Germany — although, of course, the media disperse such phrases beyond their natural homeland. One of these groupings comprises those -mann compounds where the first element is a psychological quality; the model for these formations is the staid and by now almost classical set of expressions such as Biedermann, Edelmann, and Ehrenmann. Thus have arisen Saubermann 'Mr. Clean' and Strahlemann 'Mr. Smiles', where the first element has a generally positive, appreciative connotation, although this can be turned to ironic purpose. In the second example for Strahlemann below, there seems to be too much of a good thing in his happiness, hence the sarcastic implication:

Saubermann is a much more subtle matter, it changes colour altogether according to the context. Firstly, it can denote, in a jocular way, a street cleaner, or a worker in other kinds of dirt-removing processes; or, indeed, a higher-level functionary engaged in supervising such matters. An example is the headline:

\textit{städtische "Sauermänner" plädieren für Hundekeß}

\textit{city "cleaner-uppers" demand dog loos.}

This flexible word also lends itself to the personification of cleaning activities; a figurative usage which, however, it would be unnatural to retain in the English translation:

\textit{es begann mit einer harmlosen Aktion "Saubermann"}

\textit{it all started with a simple "Clean Up" campaign.}
Saubermann may even allude to metaphorical instances of cleaning, e.g. in the sphere of shady political or business dealings. The term can either be fully appreciative, or again ironic, implying that such purity of behaviour must be a hypocritical affectation:

er hat als Sauber-
mann die Partei von
der Korruptions-
affäre befreit as cleaner-upper, he
helped the party
out of its cor-
ruption scandal

der Herr Parteivorsitzende tut so, als
ob wir nicht wüssten, daß er schon
einmal in einen Korruptionsskandal
verwickelt war; uns den Saubermann
vorspielen! the Rt. Hon. Party Lead-
er acts as if we didn't know he'd al-
ready been involved in a corruption
scandal; playing Mr. Clean!

The second example reveals a definitely hostile bias on the part of the speaker. Of course, another very likely area in which a Saubermann could operate would be in the purging of immoral gambling or prostitution syndicates, perhaps using a prominent official position to do so:

ich hab schon die Leute gern, die sich in bezug auf
das älteste Gewerbe als Saubermänner betätigen
I must say, I am really fond of those people who act
the "Mr. Prude" in matters concerning the oldest profession.

A more specialised case of Saubermann, originating as a pun, is to be found in the world of football, as an appreciative term for a goalkeeper who thwarts opponents' attempts to score. Thus, the following phrase,

er hält seinen Kasten sauber
he keeps a clean sheet

can be extended by word-play to an expression with Saubermann:

so einen Saubermann könnten wir für unsere Mannschaft brauchen
we could do with such a "clean-sheet keeper" in our team.

Two more compounds where the first element, as in most of the instances of Saubermann and Strahlemann, expresses a human psychological trait are Blödnmann and Tickmann, both of which
are terms of abuse. Tiakmann is confined to North Germany; it is related to the phrase *du tichst nicht richtig* 'you're not right in the head'; *Tia*, colloq. 'personal quirk of character' or med. 'nervous muscular twitch', is a German popularisation of the French word *tic*. As the following translated phrases show, there is little difference in meaning between the respective compounds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>so ein Bödmann!</th>
<th>du bist aber ein ganz schöner Tiakmann!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what a stupid twit!</td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(could even be said about a woman)</td>
<td>you're a proper nut-case, you are!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Less aggressive, though meaning much the same thing again, *du Weihnachtsmann* 'you silly (BrE daft) so-and-so' has an agreeable-sounding first element which is, however, given a sharp ironic twist.

Rather "out on a limb" as far as classification is concerned, *Sohnemann*, used by an affectionate parent, is equivalent to English 'son', 'sonny' or 'lad'. *Zahlemann und Söhne*, another isolated formation, obviously stems from a peremptory appellative, *zahle*, Mann!, with a superimposed pun on the name of a fictitious firm that seemingly thrives on family tradition. In spite of its new status, the compound noun retains the imperative force of the verb: it is a humorous encouragement to pay what one owes. Particularly at the end of a card game, the typical verbal extension of this phrase is *Zahlemann und Söhne machen müssen*. *Zahlemann und Söhne* could be rendered in English by 'come on, pay up! the debt collector's here', AmE 'come on, fork it over!' Both *Sohnemann* and *Zahlemann und Söhne* are examples of lengthening for emotive emphasis.

One step beyond the -mann compound as denoting a real human being is its figurative usage, in North-West Germany, to allude to objects: *BallePmann*, pistol or revolver; *Blaumann*, overalls, BrE also, boiler suit; *Flachmann*, hip flask for brandy, etc.; *Heiermann*, criminal slang for a five-mark piece; *Henkelmann*
(instead of Henkeltopf), a pot with a handle for warming up pre-cooked food, and regularly taken along to work, AustRE 'billy-can'. The element -mann humanises these objects, either because the speaker wants to refer to them appreciatively, or because they are possessions to which the speaker is greatly attached; although, admittedly, these expressions can be used as totally neutral, unemotive colloquial forms. The Ballermann is often a faithful friend in need, 'my good old popgun', AmE 'my good friends Smith and Wesson' or 'my good friend Mr. Colt'; the Flachmann accompanies its owner everywhere, and so could be rendered in English as 'my old (or, best) friend the hip flask'. Thoroughly unaffectionate, though, are the following for disagreeable states of the mind or body. Den Flattermann haben is either a trembling from nervousness, 'to have the jitters (or, jitterbugs),'to have butterflies (in one's stomach); or to be unsteady as a result of drinking, 'to have the shakes'. Sich einen Scheuermann laufen 'to chafe (or, rub) one's inner thighs raw' is quite different in meaning from Scheuermann haben, to be suffering from slipped discs and a hardening of the spine. These two phrases contrast, also, in their derivations; the first Scheuermann is related to the verb sich (auf-)scheuern 'to chafe oneself', 'to rub oneself sore' (cf. ticken ~ Tickmann), and is a highly colloquial formation which could almost be rendered in English as *'Chafeman'; but Scheuermann haben is the familiar way of referring to the Scheuermannsche Krankheit 'juvenile kyphosis' (from the name of the Danish X-ray specialist H. W. Scheuermann, 1877-1960). Within the "object" category (Flattermann and Scheuermann are objects in the figurative sense), -mensch alternatives are impossible to conceive of.

In a study of colloquial language, care must be taken not to include those '-man' or -mann forms which are either standard: 'dustman' (colloq. 'bin man', 'rubbish man'), 'postman',

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11 The surnames used here are two popular makes of firearms in the USA.
'yachtsman', Landsmann, Staatsmann, Zimmermann; or, in a few cases, poetic or archaic: 'bookman', 'ploughman', 'woodsman', Kriegersmann, Reitersmann, Wandersmann.

The purpose of this article has been to stress the need for dictionary sections that would group these compounds under their second elements - a far more informative procedure than the dispersal brought about by mere alphabetical insertion into a sea of unrelated words. A further intention has been to illustrate the wide variety of connotational shades a compound owes to its "rear end". Above all, perhaps, I have wanted to indicate the contribution of the -mann/-mensch and '-man' forms to the creative capacity of language.

To conclude: following in the footsteps of Sir William Craigie, today's lexicographer, pitting the rich colloquiality of German and English against each other, could perhaps arrange the above material according to the following pattern:

- mann m -(e)s/ ... männer [in casual speech, less often in writing, a convenient agent-noun element, with wide combinative potential, for referring to people, or occasionally objects, with effortless ease, though at the expense of acute precision; -mann compounds are usually emotionally neutral or positive, but sometimes negative or ironic]

1. male person whose occupation, nearly always itinerant, brings him into contact with many people; he generally either works in utilities, or sells services, food, drink, or other commodities (the first-element morpheme, if derived from a common noun, sometimes stands in the plural): ... man, chap; → Blumen-, Bier-, Fernseh-, Gas-, Getränke-, Heizungs-, Licht-, Obst-, Telefon-, Vermessungs-, Versicherungs-, Wurstchen- (Saug Wurstel-), Zeitungs-.

2. male person who is loosely connected, not necessarily through gainful employment, with the concept expressed by the first compound element; the two morphemes are often brought together for the nonce, and tiredness or laziness of the speaker may be the cause: ... man; → Baum-,
3. male person employed in the cultural professions, in business, or the Civil Service, especially when the official terminology is off-putting or too complicated for the ordinary person; by way of further simplification, the first element may appear in initial form: ... man; - ADAC-, Beratungsstellen-, Bibliotheks-, Film-, Kanzleramt-, PR-, Theater-, Verfassungsschutz-, V-. 

4. male supporter, in politics or in any bureaucratic unit, e.g. a government department, large school or university, or a big commercial concern, with its inherent hierarchic order and, hence, its jealousies and rivalries; the first element is almost always a proper name, i.e. the name of the leader of the party or faction to whom loyalty is due, although occasionally it is the designation of a certain rank obviously co-referential with the name of a particular individual: ... man, -ite; - Kohl- or Kohl- (at present synonymous with Kanzler-), Sträßer-, Thatcher-, Vogel-. 

5. male person who is a passionate enthusiast for something, be it his hobby, his profession, or just his favourite food: ... man, ... person; - Elefanten-, Film-, Käse-, Krokodil-, Schlangen-, Theater-, Würstchen- (Sog Würstel-). 

6. male (or occasionally female) person who has a marked psychological characteristic; - Blöd-, Sauber-, Strahle-, Tick-, Weihnachts-. 

7. NorG inanimate, or figurative, object which is humanised by -mann, often thus described when the speaker feels most appreciative towards it, and considers it a familiar personal possession, although occasionally the "possession" is an aspect of ill-health; - Baller-, Blau-, Flash-, Flatter-, Heier-, Henkel-, Scheuer-. 

8. miscellaneous formations involving lengthening for added emotive emphasis; - Sohne-, Zahle- und Söhne.

-mensch m -en ... menschen or leute [in casual speech, less often in writing, a convenient agent-noun element, with wide combinative potential, for referring to people with effortless ease, though at the expense of
acute precision; -mensch compounds may sometimes be neutral, or occasionally positive, but are usually negative with a connotation of irritation or contempt]

1. male person whose occupation, nearly always itinerant, brings him into contact with many people; he generally either works in utilities, or sells services, food, drink, or other commodities; the irritation or contempt present in the speaker’s tone is sometimes further emphasised by the addition of pre-modifiers, such as so ein (blöder [or NorWesEasG doofer, SouG tepparter]) --- (the first-element morpheme, if derived from a common noun, sometimes stands in the plural): BrE ... bloke, bod, geezer, AmE ... guy; - Bau-, Blumen-, Buch-, Eier-, Fernsehen-, Gas-, Getränke-, Heizungs-, Licht-, Obst-, Telefon-, Versicherungs-, Wurstchen- (SouG Würstel-), Zeitungs-.

2. male person who is loosely connected, not necessarily through gainful employment, with the concept expressed by the first compound element; the two morphemes are often brought together for the nonce, and tiredness or laziness of the speaker or his vague knowledge about the referent may be the cause; the speaker’s attitude is more neutral than in 1: BrE ... man, bloke, fellow, AmE ... guy; - Vogel-.

3. male (or female) person employed in the cultural professions, in business, the Civil Service, or administration, especially when the official terminology is off-putting or too complicated for the ordinary person: ... man, person, kind, type; - Akten-, Büro-, Film-, Kanzleramt-, Rathaus-, Theater-.

4. rare, usu. contp. male supporter, in politics or in any bureaucratic unit, e.g. a government department, large school or university, or a big commercial concern, with its inherent hierarchic order and, hence, its jealousies and rivalries; the first element is nearly always a proper name, i.e. the name of the leader of the party or faction to whom loyalty is due, although occasionally it is the designation of a certain rank obviously co-referential with the name of a particular individual: ... man, -ite; - Kohl- or
Kohl- & (at present synonymous with Kanzler-), Strauß-, Thatcher-, Vogel-.

5. male (or female) person who is a passionate enthusiast for something, be it his hobby, his profession, or just his favourite food: ... man, person; → Blumen-, Buch-, Film-, Käse-, Natur-, Theater-, Vogel-.

6. male (or female) person who has a marked psychological characteristic; → Natur-.

As any honest labourer in the vineyard of language is ready to confess, the subtlety and variety of semantic shadings are too much for a single lexicographer to cope with. This article has been no exception. The present writer was valiantly assisted by a bevy of cheerful helpmates, who never tired of searching through the nooks and crannies of their minds in order to add to the author's knowledge of present-day speech. These friends were Heidi Eidelloth (as immaculate a typist as ever, to boot), Dr. Jean Ritzke-Rutherford, B.A., Volker Engelhardt, Ulrich Martzinek, Steven Tanner, B.A. Hons., and Richard Tischler, while Anna M. Buckett, B.A., M.A., M.Phil., reigned supreme in co-ordinating the wealth of material which, without her intelligence and steadfast devotion, might yet be an embryonic welter of confusion.

Povzetek

PRODUKTIVNE DRUGE SESTAVINE IMENSKIH KOMPOZITOV: ANGLEŠKO-NEMŠKE VZPREDNOSTI

Končne sestavine germanskih imenskih kompozitov živijo za-radi svojega položaja v besedi skrito, zato pri teh sestavinah radi prezremo raznovrstno službo njihove pomenske strani. Članek priporoča jezikoslovcem in slovaropiscem, naj številne končne sestavine uvrstijo med samostojna gesla, da bi uporabniki laže opazili takim sestavinam lastne pomene in s tem možne rabe. Za takšno obravnavo sta primerna dvojčka -mann in -mensch: prikanz je široki razpon enakosti in razločkov, v katerega sta vpeta v sodobni nemščini. Pisec si prizadeva, da bi vsakemu po-menu ali pomenski tančini dodal natančen prevod v britansko in ameriško angleščino ter da bi opozoril na posebne prevajalske težave, ki nastanejo, kadar se v angleščini ne da hitro najti nespornih enoznačnih ustreznikov.