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## Ludicity in lexical innovation (II) – German

**Abstract:** The paper explores ludic innovations as a specific subtype of linguistic innovation at the lexical level. I will discuss the phenomenon of linguistic ludicity in the context of lexicographic sources in German, taking into account contemporary and historical dictionaries as well as Early New High German sources of metalinguistic reflection. Different types of lexical innovation will be analysed, with a special focus on structural, semantic, and pragmatic features underlying the process of ludic expansion of the lexicon. Firstly, I will reflect on methodological challenges encountered when exploring linguistic ludicity from a lexicographic point of view. Subsequently, I will analyse the linguistic and lexical marking of ludicity in dictionaries of contemporary German (most importantly *Duden online* 2017) and in selected sources of the (Early) Modern period (Harsdörffer, Kramer, Adelung), in order to investigate general metalinguistic and lexicographic lines of depicting wordplay and ludic innovation leading to language change. There will be a particular focus on Johann Christoph Adelung's *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart* ([1793–1801] 1970) and the tracing of relevant pathways of evolution of ludic innovations, especially in the predominant domain of nominal compounds. Overall, it will be shown that markedness plays a central role for ludic innovation and that the analysis of ludic use from a lexicographic point of view can uncover underlying dynamics of lexical expansion and change. \*

### 1 Introduction: Exploring ludicity in the context of lexical innovation

Linguistic ludicity can be explored from different angles and has been the object of scientific reflection on both the theoretical and empirical levels (see for example different recent positions in Knospe et al. 2016: 11–94; Filatkina and Moulin, submitted). In the following, the focus is centred on *ludic innovations* as a

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specific subtype of linguistic innovation at the lexical level. The term – as introduced by Winter-Froemel (see the preceding paper in this volume) – links the aspects of *ludicity*, understood as the playful use of linguistic items (coined with humorous intentions in the speaker-hearer interaction) and of *innovation*, a dimension associated with language change and semantic transformations at the lexical level. The notion of ludic innovation thus opens up a path to the inherent *dynamics* of linguistic innovation in general and to its diachronic implications in particular, especially in the domain of wordplay. Wordplay as such has an inherent historical component that is profoundly culturally bound, interactive und highly functional: The following definition given by Winter-Froemel can be used as a starting point for our reflections:

Wordplay is a historically determined phenomenon in which a speaker produces an utterance – and is aware of doing so – that juxtaposes or manipulates linguistic items from one or more languages in order to surprise the hearer(s) and obtain a humorous effect on them. (Winter-Froemel 2016: 37)

Regarding the different parameters mentioned here for the identification of this type of linguistic innovation, it can be pointed out that the dimensions of awareness on the part of the speaker, the juxtaposition / manipulation of linguistic items and the functional dimension of humorousness are not always essential prerequisites, notably from a diachronic point of view when it comes to explaining the emergence, coining and dynamization of ludic items (see Filatkina and Moulin, submitted; Winter-Froemel, in this volume). Research on ludic innovation and wordplay has up to now mainly focused on synchronic aspects of the phenomenon in question (both for modern languages and for historical stages of these); it thus seems necessary to broaden the scope of analysis by combining both dimensions. Turning to lexicographic sources in order to explore ludic innovation allows one to observe metalinguistic choices concerning ludic items and their treatment in contemporary and historical dictionaries. Furthermore, for historical stages of a language, contemporary metalinguistic comments are often the only tangible witnesses of relatively unfiltered explanatory power when it comes to the interpretation of linguistic evidence.

As far as the treatment of ludic items in lexicographic sources is concerned (for the state of the art, see the preceding paper by Esme Winter-Froemel), there has up to now been little research undertaken from a genuine diachronic point of view, let alone from a crosslinguistic perspective as intended by the two interlinked papers on French and German in this volume. Based on the general theoretical premises developed in the preceding paper, I will present selected case studies using German lexicographic data in order to explore the importance of

ludic innovations as a subtype of lexical innovation, with the intention of opening up the field for further research. With this aim in mind, the analysis of lexicographic and metalinguistic sources from modern and New Early High German will be combined to explore the importance and the role of ludicity from a historical point of view. Wherever possible, my findings are crosslinked with results obtained by Esme Winter-Froemel (see the preceding paper in this volume).

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 addresses methodological issues concerning the possibilities and challenges of identifying and exploring ludic innovations in lexicographic sources. Section 3 then traces ludic innovations in selected case studies in order to reveal underlying mechanisms in the lexicographic treatment of metalinguistic information on linguistic ludicity. I will analyse how ludic innovation is encoded and interpreted in the dictionary entries of contemporary German (most importantly *Duden online*) and relevant historical dictionaries from the Early New High German period and the Enlightenment (Matthias Kramer, Johann Christof Adelung). Section 4 explores pathways of evolution of ludic innovation with a case study of Johann Christoph Adelung's dictionary, highlighting i. a. the predominant group of items designated as ludic, namely nominal compounds, and other relevant phenomena found in the corpus (for example the role of diminutives for ludic use). In accordance with the findings for French, it can be observed that ludicity is often based on a relative markedness of the innovations and that these can be grouped in different subtypes. Formerly otherwise marked items can moreover often be reused in a ludic way, so that a coexistence of different varieties of use can be observed. Moreover, items once ludically reinterpreted or reused can also show a tendency towards wearout effects, so that ludically marked items may in turn become differently marked or unmarked in the course of diachronic evolution.

## 2 Dictionaries and ludicity: Setting the frame

Turning to dictionaries in order to explore ludic innovations in synchrony and diachrony implies preconditions that are bound to the historicity, materiality and textual organization of these sources. Nowadays, users (and dictionary makers) expect lexicographic reference works to have a certain layout and contain a minimum of specific types of information, i.a. the lexicon item itself in a precise (usually alphabetical) order, grammatical, semantic and perhaps etymological information, examples illustrating the use of the respective word and

details about its conditions of use, for example concerning its stylistic or dialectal marking. This modern dictionary ‘architecture’ with relevant micro- and macrostructural properties is part of a long lexicographic tradition that has evolved through the centuries (see for the German tradition e.g. Stötzel 1970; Grubmüller 1990; Kühn and Püschel 1990). Apart from the lexical item, prototypically placed at the head of the entry, the exact positioning and structuring of these features can vary. Furthermore, certain features present in dictionaries today were unknown or not compulsory in former times. Besides bearing in mind differences on a functional level, a diachronic investigation of dictionaries will have to cope with challenges linked to the heterogeneity, multimodality and variability of the material in question. Moreover, dictionaries themselves are subject to diachronic change, not only from one edition to another, but also when, for example, they comprise several volumes produced within the framework of a lexicographic project conducted over a longer period of time, possibly over more than several decades if not centuries. Research has shown that elaborate dictionaries with longer production periods, such as for example Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm’s *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, not infrequently reveal inconsistencies and changes in the presentation of their linguistic material (see e.g. Dückert 1987; Schares 2006). All these factors pose challenges when it comes to their subsequent analysis for linguistic purposes. Particularly digital representations of formerly printed dictionaries can differ significantly in the way the lexicographic material is presented in the digital format. This ranges from non-searchable or only poorly searchable image reproductions to highly encoded lexicographic systems in database form that include the detailed marking of subpositions and lexicographic features with high digital searchability of the sources (see e.g. Hildenbrandt and Moulin 2012; Moulin and Nyhan 2014). Similarly, born-digital dictionaries of modern stages of a language show differing degrees of online searchability, as the investigation in the following will show.

Ludic innovation in lexicographic sources can be traced by specific information given in the bodies of the entries, especially in the form of diaevaluative marks,<sup>1</sup> a subcategory of pragmatic marks in lexicography (see Wiegand 1981; Püschel 1989; Ludwig 2009: 1585–1587). These marks are of a different type and form a less homogeneous group than diatopic or diastratic marks, which is also reflected in high variance at the terminological level in lexicographic literature and the dictionaries themselves (see e.g. Corbin 1989; Ludwig 1991 and the contributions in Baider et al. 2011). Diaevaluative marks in dictionaries display – even for modern dictionaries – a high variability at the verbalization level in the

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1 Püschel (1989) uses the term *evaluative Markierungen* (evaluative marks).

dictionary entries themselves, with a range of quasi-synonyms for the symptom values of ludic use, as seen for French (see Preite 2007; Winter-Froemel in this volume) and shown below for German.

In his overview of diaevaluative marks in German, French and English dictionaries, Püschel (1989: 693) points out that diaevaluative marks display peculiarities of use that are not (yet) included in the intrinsic semantic explanation of the item and that are related to their profound pragmatic properties:

Sie dienen also der weiteren Spezifizierung der Gebrauchsregel eines Wortes. Während in den sog. Bedeutungserklärungen beschrieben wird, wie man mit einem Wort präzisieren bzw. referieren kann, geben die evaluativen Markierungen Hinweise darauf, was man mit einem Wort bei normaler Verwendung unter normalen Umständen außerdem noch machen kann. Denn wenn wir Wörter äußern, dann präzisieren und referieren wir nicht nur einfach, sondern wir machen zugleich noch was anderes.

[They [= evaluative marks] thus provide further specification for the rules of use of a word. Whereas the so-called meaning explanations describe how one can predicate or refer, evaluative marks point out what one can further do with a word in normal use under normal circumstances. Namely, when we utter words, we don't only predicate or refer, but at the same time, we also do something else.]

Diaevaluative marks such as 'familiar', 'playful', 'jocular', 'ironical' imply close relations to factors of style and accordingly fuzzy borders in their delimitation from other types of markers, for example diastratic ones. In consequence, when dealing with marking in dictionaries, Püschel (1989: 694) suggests an underlying "zero-marking" for the "normal" use of words showing a neutral use without marked features. The concept of unmarked (or zero-marked) forms in the lexicographic context can prove helpful for the further analysis, as words can be per se diaevaluatively marked (such as *Räuberzivil* 'casual dress' or French *réformette* 'insufficient, so-called reform', which show no neutral variant) or develop a secondary, marked use alongside or instead of an unmarked one (such as *Banane* 'banana / helicopter with two rotors' or French *mesurette* 'measuring spoon / insufficient, so-called measure'). In the course of language change, scales of markedness can be envisaged to trace the development, reduction or fading-out of the diaevaluative markedness of lexical items against the background of lexical innovation.

### 3 Tracing ludic innovations in lexicographic sources

In the following section, I will turn to the treatment of ludic innovation in German with case studies for modern and historical German lexicography. The first (section 3.1) focuses on the treatment of ludic items in the *Duden online*-Dictionary (DO 2017). Before turning to the treatment of ludic elements in selected dictionaries of German published between the seventeenth and the end of the eighteenth century (section 3.3), I will present some preliminary observations which are, from a metalinguistic point of view, linked to the topic of linguistic ludicity in Baroque times (section 3.2). The reason for the inclusion of metalinguistic considerations in this chapter is i.a. the fact that for the German language in the Baroque period there is a completely different situation where lexicography is concerned, as there was no large monolingual dictionary comparable to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see e.g. Stötzel 1970: 3). Furthermore, not all extant historical lexicographic sources of German are digitized and searchable online in a similar way to the ARTFL database of French dictionaries.

#### 3.1 Ludic innovations in Modern German

For *Duden online*, the prototypical lexicographic mark for signalling ludic items and usages in contemporary German is *scherzhaft* ('jocular, playful(ly), humorous(ly)'). The search for lexical entries containing "scherzhaft" revealed 1,558 items, which corresponds to about 0.78% of the total of approx. 200,000 dictionary entries. The number is comparable to that observed by Esme Winter-Froemel (see preceding paper in this volume) for the *Petit Robert* 2016. It should be noted that similarly to the findings for French, either the lexical item as a whole or a specific use of this item is marked as ludic, for example in a phrase or sub-meaning.

Besides *scherzhaft*, the dictionary team I consulted<sup>2</sup> also mentioned *spöttisch* ('mocking'), *salopp* ('slang'), *emotional übertreibend* ('emotionally exag-

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<sup>2</sup> The *Duden online* corpus cannot be queried by complex search parameters (such as for example stylistic markers) directly on the internet. I thank Kathrin Kunkel-Razum and Thorsten Frank (both Bibliographisches Institut / Berlin) for providing me with detailed and extensive material harvesting the stylistic marker field of the underlying dictionary database for the

gerating’), *gehoben* (‘elevated’) and *ironisch* (‘ironic’) as being used to signal degrees of ludicity. This is a similar finding to that made for French, showing the “fuzzy borders” of a clear marking of ludic use, as the following examples illustrate:

- (1) **Amtsniene, die** [...] MEIST SPÖTTISCH übertrieben strenger Gesichtsausdruck einer Amtsperson (DO 2017)
- (2) **Alphamädchen, das** [...] SALOPP durchsetzungsfähige, andere Menschen dominierende junge Frau (DO 2017)
- (3) **Humanitätsapostel, der** [...] IRONISCH jemand, der in übertriebener, der Realität nicht Rechnung tragender Weise die Verwirklichung der Humanitätsideale fordert. (DO 2017)
- (4) **Diebeshandwerk, das** [...] IRONISCH Betätigung fortgesetzten Diebstahls, ständiger Diebereien, mit der jemand seinen Lebensunterhalt bestreitet (DO 2017)

On the whole, the analysed corpus of the *Duden online* yielded 1,784 entries with such lexicographic marks, which have to be checked separately for their ludic use. The markers can be used alone or combined with diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic or diachronic features. For *scherzhaft* for instance, we find i. a. *umgangssprachlich scherzhaft* (‘colloquially jocular/playful/humorous’), *familiär scherzhaft* (‘familiarly jocular/playful/humorous’), *verhüllend scherzhaft* (‘euphemistically jocular/playful/humorous’), *landschaftlich verhüllend scherzhaft* (‘diatopically euphemistically jocular/playful/humorous’), *veraltend scherzhaft* (‘obsolescently jocular/playful/humorous’), *österreichisch scherzhaft* (‘jocular/humorous/playful use in Austrian German’), *Soldatensprache scherzhaft* (‘jocular/humorous/playful in army language’), it may sometimes be combined with another lexicographic mark (*salopp scherzhaft* ‘colloquially (slangily) jocular’; *oft scherzhaft*, *ironisch* ‘often jocular, ironic’).

- (5) **Räuberzivil, das** [...] UMGANGSSPRACHLICH SCHERZHAFT nachlässige, legere, nicht dem Anlass angemessene Kleidung (DO 2017)
- (6) **Hausfreund, der** [...] (2) SCHERZHAFT VERHÜLLEND Liebhaber der Ehefrau (DO 2017)
- (7) **Kapazunder, der** [...] ÖSTERREICHISCH SCHERZHAFT Koryphäe, Kapazität (DO 2017)

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analysis. My thanks go further to Doris al-Wadi (Institut für Deutsche Sprache / Mannheim) for insights into the data of the *online IDS Neologismenwörterbuch* (NWB).

- (8) **Bibliotaph, der** [...] BILDUNGSSPRACHLICH SCHERZHAFT VERALTEND jemand, der seine Bücher an geheimen Stellen aufbewahrt und nicht verleiht; zu griechisch *táphos* = Grab, eigentlich = Büchergab (DO 2017)
- (9) **Affenschaukel, die** [...] 1. SOLDATENSPRACHE SCHERZHAFT Fangschnur, Schulterschnur, 2. UMGANGSSPRACHLICH zu beiden Seiten des Kopfes in Form einer Schlinge herabhängender Zopf (DO 2017)

The examples demonstrate that native speakers (and dictionary makers) may judge the stylistic-diaevaluative marking of the item in different ways from those indicated by the dictionary makers; *Affenschaukel* (in (9)) in the meaning ‘pigtails, plaits’ is marked for example as colloquial, but not jocular. Thus, similar methodological constraints can be observed to those made for French in the preceding paper in this volume. In comparison to the *Petit Robert 2016*, the *Duden Online Dictionary* seems to be more reluctant to include of new lexical items in its corpus; for example, it does not record neologisms like *Aufschieberitis*, *Carbikini*, *Seniorenazubi* or *Tofutier*, which are recorded in the online *IDS Neologismenwörterbuch* (NWB) and marked as “pleasant”, “mocking” (“spöttisch”) or “colloquial”. The dictionaries can also differ in their assessment of one lexical item:

- (10) **Schwachmatikus, der** [...] SCHERZHAFT VERALTEND 1. Schwächling, 2. Dummkopf; scherzhaft latinisierte Bildung – **Schwachmat, der** UMGANGSSPRACHLICH 1. Schwächling, 2. Dummkopf; scherzhaft latinisierte Bildung; verwandte Form: Schwachmatikus (DO 2017)
- (11) **Schwachmat, der** [...] 1. SALOPP Person, die für beschränkt gehalten wird; Kurzwort zu Schwachmatiker; seit Anfang des ersten Jahrzehnts des 21. Jahrhunderts in Gebrauch (NWB 2017)

The example above also shows that the ludic dimension is not necessarily mentioned in the field for lexicographic marks, but may also (as in (10), *Schwachmat*) occur somewhere else in the body of the lexicon entry, for example in etymological explanations.

### 3.2 Ludic innovations and wordplay in Baroque metalinguistic reflection

In order to understand the role of the ludic dimension in German lexicography in early modern times, it is necessary to briefly turn to the context in which



German Early Modern dictionaries developed. The European process of what Sylvain Auroux<sup>3</sup> calls grammatisation led to a systematical increase in the production of vernacular grammars and lexicographic sources from the sixteenth century onwards. These sources are to be seen not only against the background of a growing use of the vernaculars in written, especially urban, communication, but also in the context of a theoretical, metalinguistically reflected approach to these languages themselves. The consequent debates on the nature and value of the mother tongue were also carried out on a poetological-philosophical level, for instance in systematical linguistic explorations of the internal structure of the respective linguistic systems. The vernaculars were considered “natural” languages of a “Golden Age”, qualitatively no different from and thus intrinsically equal to the so-called “holy” languages – Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, and thus subject to observation and experimentation. For German, the quantitative and qualitative increase in these discussions starts a little later than in other languages (for example Italian or French). It can be observed particularly in the Baroque period against the background of the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), notably in the context of linguistic societies such as the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* (founded in 1617) and their main actors, such as Justus Georg Schottelius (1612–1676), Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607–1658), Philipp von Zesen (1619–1689), and Kaspar Stieler (1632–1707). In the promotion of the role of German as a fully developed, equally prestige-marked medium of poetry and science, linguistic, rhetorical and aesthetic norms are deliberated and these norms are reflected at a moral-ethical level and employed as an instrument of epistemic insight. Thus, the analysis and puristic fostering of German were considered a central task for linguistic and poetic purposes, anchored in the concept of *Spracharbeit* (‘working with language’), a term coined particularly by Schottelius (1663) as a conscious act of language cultivation (see Hundt 2000; Filatkina and Moulin, submitted).

One of the core domains of the *Spracharbeit* was the analysis and development of a rich yet pure lexicon, with a virtually unlimited and ever-growing potency of its elements. This empowerment of word creation – and thus of lexical innovation – was considered a characteristic feature of the German language

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<sup>3</sup> See the definition of the term by Auroux (1992: 28): “Par grammatisation, on doit entendre le processus qui conduit à décrire et à outiller une langue sur la base de deux technologies, qui sont encore aujourd’hui les piliers de notre savoir métalinguistique: la grammaire et le dictionnaire.” Similar observations to those made in this paper for German (see also Moulin 2000) can be made for other European vernaculars.

in comparison to other vernaculars.<sup>4</sup> This immense lexical reservoir has a realised (as speech and norm) and a virtual status (as a system) and can be activated by the speakers as agents of their *Spracharbeit*. As a reflection of naturality and its divine quality, *Spracharbeit* is sophisticated, yet also effortless and entertaining in a ludic way. Language can thus be specifically defined and described in its ludic performancy (see Filatkina and Moulin, submitted).

Wordplay, as developed especially by Harsdörffer, who was programmatically called “der Spielende” (‘the player’) in the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, can be conducted at all levels of a language system, ranging from phonology to syntax and the lexicon, in written or spoken use, serving equally every day communication, cultivated conversation, and poetical purposes (Moulin 2016; Filatkina and Moulin, submitted). Wordplay thus follows rules that can be described and consciously applied for the sake of linguistic creativity and entertainment. Under these premises, ludicity plays a formative role in lexical innovation, the cultivation and expansion of the lexicon becoming a central motor in the development of Baroque dictionaries.

It is revealing that early evidence of the compound *Wortspiel* (‘wordplay’) is to be found in seventeenth-century texts,<sup>5</sup> produced by precisely those actors mentioned above: Baroque linguists and poets. In his *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (FZG [1643–1657] 1968), an eight-volume title based i.a. on ludic conversation and linguistic games played by six protagonists, Harsdörffer uses the term several times, i.a. in the context of building logogriphs (FZG, 7: 427). He also uses it as a header (“Wortspiele”) in his chapter on linguistic plays ranging from letter play, syllable play to word play, where the focus is particularly on compounds with indigenous elements (FZG, 8: 64–67). Over several pages, the protagonists choose for their witty dialogue examples playing with the lemma *Wort* as the first element of endocentric nominal compounds, forming common or more or less ad-hoc compounds according to the principle of analogy, among them *Wortspiel* itself (see Figure 1). These results could be regarded as lists of items for an as yet non-existent dictionary.

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<sup>4</sup> This conception is well visualized on the frontispiece of Caspar Stieler’s dictionary (1691), which shows a paradisiac garden with a huge tree as a symbol of the German language bearing an unlimited number of branches and single leaves symbolizing the unquantifiable number of “self-growing” elements of the German lexicon.

<sup>5</sup> DWB, 30: col. 1623 (<http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB?lemma=wortspiel>, accessed 31 July 2017).

		* Wortspiele *
CCI XXXII.	64.	
	38.	A. Wortchre/Wortteffer/Worttrevel.
	39.	R. Wortgedichte ohne Poetischen Inhalt / Wortklang/ Wortlehr.
Analogiever- borum,	40.	J. Wortkied/Worttrüffel/Wortrecht.
	41.	L. Wortgepräg/Wörterkrieg/Wortspiel.
	42.	D. Wortstraff/Wortart/Wortgefecht.
	43.	V. Wortfertig/Wortführer/Wortdeuter ic.
	44.	A. Sollten wir auch eulische ausgelassen haben?
	45.	V. Sehr viel, als: Centnerwort/ Vorwort / Sprichwort/ Schmerzwort / Hertzwort / Drauwort / Nebenwort / Tenn- wort/ Beywort / Stichwort/ Schlusswort / Senffwort / und wer wolte die fast unzählliche Menge zusammenbringen? Aus besagter Probe aber erhellet fattsam/wie Wortreich unsre Teutsche Sprache sey / und daß ihr hierinnen keine andre Zunge in allen nachsprechen könne.
* CLXVII.	46.	R. Hierunter gehören die Letterwächsel / * wie auch die Worte
* CLXVI.		grifflein*
* CCLXXV.		47-D.

Fig. 1: Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele, VIII, 1649 (1969), 64 (header *Wortspiele* and compound example *Wortspiel* in the dialogue-part of the text)

Asking themselves if they have omitted results, the protagonists argue that this is the case and in inversion of the elements create further compounds with *Wort* as second element, culminating in the observation that German is so *wortreich* ('rich in words'), that no other language can compete ("ihr hierinnen keine andere Zunge in allen nachsprechen könne", FZG, 8: 64).

Harsdörffer offers no semantic description of what is meant with *Wortspiel* here, but the plural form of the header (*Wortspiele*) points towards the duplexity of the wordplay itself using *Wortspiel* as a metalinguistic phenomenon (a "state of mind") and an object-language use of the term in the play. In the German Dictionary founded by Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm (DWB, 30, 1960), where Harsdörffer is quoted as the first record for the item *Wortspiel*, the historical meaning of the lemma is described as follows, embracing the actual meaning as well as the figurative meaning of the compound for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries:

die lexikalische buchung des wortes um die wende vom 17. zum 18. jh. lässt sich über die allen anwendungen gemeinsame vorstellung 'spielerischer umgang mit dem wort oder den wörtern' hinaus im engeren sinne der bedeutung 1 'spiel mit bloßen worten' oder 2 'wortscherz' nicht immer sicher bestimmen, scheint aber bereits beide vorauszusetzen. (DWB 1960, vol. 30: 1622–1623)

[the lexical entry for the word at the turn of the seventeenth to the eighteenth century cannot always be precisely determined beyond the concept of 'playful usage of the word(s)', which is common to all uses of the word; the narrower meanings 1 'play with mere words' or 2. 'jestful expression' can ultimately not be determined; though the word seems to already presuppose both.]

The Grimm Dictionary (DWB), whose article *Wortspiel* is well worth reading, then lists two entries taken from Baroque dictionaries. The first is from Kaspar Stieler's *Stammbaum* from 1691 (“rede- sive wortspiel *allusio verborum*”, Stieler 1691: 2088), the second from the Italian-German dictionary by the foreign language teacher and linguist Matthias Kramer in its 1702 edition (“Wortschertz / wort- oder wörterspiel scherzo, giuoco di parole, bisticcio, motteggio”, Kramer 1702, 2: 866c and 1397b; with the interesting synonyms *Redespiel*, *Wortspiel*, *Wörterspiel*, and *Wortschertz*).

The production of *Wortspiele* in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German as a linguistic-cultural practice may not have been of liminal significance as the compound engendered a verbal derivate *wortspielen* (‘to wordplay’, DWB, vol. 30: 1625) and a nomen agentis *Wortspieler* (‘word player’, DWB, vol. 30: 1625) with both literal and figurative meanings, both terms (as opposed to the figurative *Wortspielerei* and the adjective *wortspielerisch*) no longer being common.

### 3.3 Ludic innovations in Early Modern dictionaries

These observations on the coining of the word *wordplay* in German allows us to move towards to the marking of ludic dimensions in the vocabulary described in the dictionary entries themselves. This lexicographic dimension is difficult to explore for German in an overarching way, as there is almost no comprehensive literature on the stylistic marking in dictionaries of the German language from a historical point of view (see e.g. Püschel 1989; von Polenz and Moulin 2013: 197). Furthermore, older dictionaries of German like those of Kaspar Stieler (1691), whose *Stammbaum* is in fact one of the first comprehensive dictionaries of the German language in early modern times, are, though available on-line in the form of images, not searchable as full texts or annotated data material. The same applies for bilingual or multilingual Early Modern dictionaries such as those of Levin Hulsius (1546–1606), Matthias Kramer (1640–1729) or Johann Leonhard Frisch (1666–1743). Thus, we are faced with additional methodological challenges. The first results of our findings are that dictionaries of the German language (both monolingual and bilingual ones) from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have no or only rather sparse stylistic or pragmatic indication as to the use of the lemmas they list. Levin Hulsius's popular bilingual and multilingual dictionaries, whose first editions appeared at the end of the sixteenth century (see Moulin-Fankhänel 1994: 96–105), and Kaspar Stieler's *Stammbaum* give no such pragma-stylistic or diaevaluative information.

Von Polenz and Moulin (2013: 197) mention that Matthias Kramer was the first to structure his dictionary entries with a semantic classification and to also provide markings for ludic word use. Kramer is the author of several bi- and multilingual dictionaries with i.a. German, French, and / or Italian, some of them also containing grammars of the respective languages (see Kühn and Püschel 1990: 2053; Moulin-Fankhänel 1997: 166–177; Bray 2000: 59–77). In the preface to his *Neu-ausgefertigtes, herrlich großes und allgemeines italiänisch-deutsches Sprach- und Wörterbuch* (1693), he explicitly explains how pragmatic-stylistic features are documented and marked with an asterisk, namely with phrases as lexicographic items:

Etliche Phrases oder Redarten werden mit einem (\*) bezeichnet/ welches dann andeutet/ daß dieselbige nicht wie die andere/ in Ernst/ sondern nur in Stylo Comico und in Kurtzweil und Schimpff geredt werden: Dieweil aber dieses bis dato von keinem/ wie es sich gebührt hätte/ unterschieden worden/ haben nicht allein die gar Einfältigen/ sondern auch wol Geschicktere/ an statt einer ernstlicher Rede oder Concept/ zum öfftern die all-lächerlichste Schwencke vorbringen/ und für halbe Schalcksnarren gehalten werden müssen. (Kramer, 1693, fol)( ) (iv<sup>v</sup>)

[A number of phrases or expressions are marked with a (\*). This indicates that these items are not spoken in a serious way, but only in a stylo comico (a comic style) and for amusement and jest. Because this distinction has not been made by anyone as it should have been up to now, not only the really simple-minded but also more skilful speakers have – instead of putting forward a serious utterance or concept – occasionally uttered the most ridiculous stories and couldn't avoid being taken for more-or-less foolish jesters.]

Ludic use is thus marked for pragmatic purposes in order to prevent learners of German as a foreign language from using the lexicographic items erroneously in a serious (“in Ernst”) – meaning unmarked – way. The same method is used in Kramer's German-French Dictionary (1712–1715), where lexical items as such can also be marked as “Schertz-Wort”, see the following example explaining the use of French *épouseur* (‘suitor’) as a ludic creation and its parallels in German:

(12) **Epouseur**, [Schertz-wort] Heirater / Nehmer etc.

§ *tout amant n'est pas epouseur; beaucoup d'amans, peu d'epouseurs*, es ist nicht ein jeder Freyer ein Heirater; viel Freyer / wenig Nehmer.

*un epouseur de la plus offrante & de la derniere encherisseuse*, ein Heirater der jenigen Person so das meiste Geld hat.

\**c'est un epouseur des onze mille vierges*, das ist ein Heirater der 11000. Jungfern (ein Uberall-Freyer.) (Kramer 1712, 1: 893)

A systematic analysis of these markers in all Kramer's dictionaries should certainly be addressed in further research, as soon as his oeuvre, which encompasses several thousands of pages, is searchable on-line; the same applies for

example for the German-Latin and German-French dictionaries of Johann Leonhard Frisch (1666–1743).

Regarding monolingual dictionaries, the next milestone on the timeline is Johann Christoph Adelung's *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart*, which can fortunately be analysed regarding its pragmatic markers of ludic dimensions in its second edition (Adelung 1793–1801).<sup>6</sup> The author's grammatical and lexicographic work closes the Baroque grammatocographic and lexicographic tradition (Jellinek 1913: 329–385) and opens the path to descriptive metalinguistic theories indebted to insights of Enlightenment thinking. Adelung's definition of wordplay (*Wortspiel*) in the corresponding item entry of his dictionary serves to illustrate the more modern approach to the description of linguistic evidence. He carefully draws up a distinction between form and content in the ludic use of words and points out its pragmatic functions; for Adelung, wordplay is

[...] eine bloß auf Belustigung abzielende Beschäftigung mit Wörtern und ihren Bedeutungen; z. B. wenn man aus der wahren oder erzwungenen appellativen Bedeutung eigener Nahmen den Stoff zu einer Gedankenreihe entlehnet. In engerer Bedeutung ist das Wortspiel, wenn Wörter und deren Bedeutungen, ohne eine Wahrheit von einiger Erheblichkeit zu erhalten, bloß zur Belustigung einander entgegen gesetzt werden. [Adelung, 4: 1616]  
 [[...] an occupation with words and their meanings merely aiming to amuse, for example when one borrows from the real or contrived appellative meaning of actual names the material for a set of thoughts. Wordplay means in a narrower sense that words and their meanings are placed in contrast to each other solely for amusement, without obtaining a truth of any relevance.]

Furthermore, Adelung's Dictionary is one of the first dictionaries of German giving systematically pragmatic-diaevaluative information about the use of words in the approx. 58,500 entries it records (see Kühn and Püschel 1990: 2054–2057; Ludwig 1991: 55–102). Searching the online corpus with all combinations of *scherz*\* in the full text search, we obtain 494 entries; of these hits, 176 are not relevant for our question (false positives), leaving 318 hits indicating ludic use of the respective lexical item or one of its sub-meanings/uses. This corresponds to 0.54% of the listed vocabulary, a rate that lies under that determined above for the *Duden online* (0.78%). Similarly to the findings in French (see Esme Winter-Froemel in this volume), there is no standard stylistic

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<sup>6</sup> This edition is available in a searchable database in an online edition available on the Trier dictionary portal ([woerterbuchnetz.de](http://woerterbuchnetz.de)). The later Vienna edition of 1811 is also available for full text search (<http://lexika.digitale-sammlungen.de/adelung/online/angebot>, accessed 31 July 2017). The results are similar to those of the second edition.

mark for ludic items and also no fixed position for this information in the entry sections of the four volumes of Adelung's dictionary. The most common formulations are:

- (13) "im Scherze" ('in jocular / playful / humorous use')  
 "im gemeinen / niedrigen / vertraulichen Scherze" ('in common / low / familiar playful use')  
 "im figürlichen aber nur niedrigen Scherze" ('in figurative, but only low playful use')  
 „im Scherze und mit Verachtung“ ('in jocular / playful use and with contempt')  
 "eine (übliche) scherzhafte Benennung" ('a (common) jocular / playful denomination')  
 "in der scherzhaften Schreib- und Sprechart" ('in the jocular / playful manner of writing and speaking')  
 "(nur) im figürlichen Scherze" ('(only) in a figurative jocular / playful use')  
 "ein nur im vertraulichen Scherze im figürlichen Verstande übliches Wort" ('a word, only used in a familiar jocular / playful manner with figurative meaning')  
 „nur noch zuweilen im niedrigen Scherze“ ('only sometimes in a low jocular / playful use') [Adelung, 1–4]

The formulation patterns of the observed ludic use correlate with Adelung's overall approach to linguistic phenomena, which includes both normative aspects and elements of a descriptive approach (see e.g. Püschel 1982; Strohbach 1984; Kühn 1991: 108–109).

## 4 Disclosing pathways of evolution of ludic innovations in German (Adelung)

In the following section, I will concentrate on capturing ludic innovations as they can be traced diachronically in Adelung's dictionary (1793–1801). Given the constraints of a lack of annotated digital corpora of historical dictionaries from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, my case study focuses on Adelung and his treatment of diachronic change.

As seen above, Adelung's dictionary documents 318 lexical items with ludic use. Most of these items are products of word formation (compounds and derivations, 207 items), an observation that has to be placed in its historical context: For the German language, word formation patterns play a central role in the development of the lexicon in all linguistic periods. However, especially in the Early New High German period immediately preceding Adelung's dictionary, there is an increase in systematic metalinguistic reflection on the creative power of word formation and its use for puristic, poetic, lexicological and lexicographical purposes (see above section 3.2; e. g. Gützlaff 1989; Hundt 2000).

## 4.1 Ludic creations as nominal compounds

The predominant group of word formation structures in the Adelung corpus is made up of nominal compounds, namely 94 of the items in the list of results containing a ludic use marking (*scherzhaft* etc.) in the relevant entry:

- (14) Der Abschütz, das Amtsgesicht, das Augenpulver, der Bachhase, der Backfisch, der Becherstürzer, der Befehlshaber, die Beyschläferinn, der Blutegel, das Brustwerk, der Bücherjude, der Bücherwurm, die Butterbäume, der Degenkopf, der Denkkettel, der Ehekrüppel, der Ehrenmann, der Fehdebrief, der Fladenkrieg, der Fliegenfürst, die Flitterwoche, der Franzmann, der Freßsack, das Fußwerk, der Galgenstrick, der Gänsebauch, der Gänsewein, das Gartenhuhn, der Geiferbart, der Gesichtsgucker, der Gesundheitsrath, der Glücksritter, der Grabenfüller, der Grashecht, die Graswitwe, der Grillenfang, der Haarboden, der Haarmann, der Handgucker, die Handkrause, die Häringsnase, der Harnprophet, die Hausehre, die Haus-Postille, die Heckmutter, der Herrenbauch, die Herrenkrankheit, der Herzbeutel, die Himmelfahrt, der Hirsenpfriemer, der Hörnerträger, der Hosenflicker, das Hufeisen, der Kammerjäger, die Kammerjungfer, der Klopffechter, der Kohlgärtner, der Krähenfuß, der Kratzfuß, der Krippenreiter, das Küchen-Latein, der Kunstrichter, der Kuppelpez, der Landläufer, der Langohr, das Luntrecht, der Milchbart, der Milchbruder, die Pfaffengasse, der Poetenkasten, der Pumpernickel, der Salbader, der Sandmann, der Sandreiter, der Sauertopf, der Sausewind, die Schafkorbeere, der Schalksdeckel, die Schnabelweide, die Schneckenpost, der Schneiderfisch, die Schneiderkrankheit, der Schusterkarpfen, die Schweinsfeder, der Siebenschläfer, das Sitzfleisch, der Speicherdieb, die Staats-Dame, die Strohfiedel, die Strohwitwe, der Stuhlgang, der Stürzebecher, Das Weiberlehen, die Weindrossel [Adelung, 1–4]

The compounds in this list can be organized into different groups, displaying different systemic and diachronic features. A first pattern that emerges are cases in which diatopically unmarked compounds which already belong to a standard eighteenth-century lexical reservoir are endowed with a secondary, “new” ludic dimension. Generally, this new ludic use is encoded in the dictionary with a separate semantic entry:

- (15) **Augenpulver, das** 1) Ein Pulver für Gebrechen der Augen. 2) Im ironischen Scherze, eine kleine Schrift, weil sie die Augen schwächet. [Adelung, 1: 564]
- (16) **Blutêgel, der** 1) Ein kleiner länglicher Wurm, welcher sich in süßen Wassern aufhält, [...] 2) Im niedrigen Scherze, ein Vorgesetzter, der seine Untergebenen bis auf das Blut drückt. [Adelung, 1: 1093]
- (17) **Bücherwurm, der** 1) Eigentlich, eine Made, welche aus dem Eye entstehet, welches ein kleiner Käfer [...] im August zwischen dem Pergamente und dem Deckel der Bücher leget. Die Made, die daraus entstehet, sucht sich einen Weg aus ihrem Gefängnisse zu bahnen, und verzehret darüber die prächtigsten Denkmähler des menschlichen Geistes. 2) Im fürglichen Scherze, ein Mensch, der immer über den Büchern liegt. [Adelung, 1: 1238]



From a diachronic point of view, the ludic use is of course generated from the unmarked, neutral one; the semantic relation between the main meaning and the secondary one is based on various semantic mechanisms, for example metaphorical transfer.

Another group of compounds are “ludically born”, e.g. new nominal compound products that have been especially created for ludic use. Since they are not diatopically marked by Adelung, they can be counted as standard language variants of the time.

- (18) **Amtsgesicht, das.** Im Scherze, ein ernsthaftes Gesicht, ein Gesicht, mit welchem man seine Amtsgeschäfte zu verrichten pfliget. [Adelung, 1: 256]
- (19) **Bêcherstürzer, der.** Im Scherze, ein starker Trinker. [Adelung, 1: 776]
- (20) **Hêckmutter, die.** Im vertraulichen Scherze, eine fruchtbare Person weiblichen Geschlechtes, welche fleißig hecket, d. i. oft gebieret. [Adelung, 2: 1049]

A further group consists of ludic compounds or ludic uses with a dialectal or regional scope. These are explicitly marked as such and can show both variants mentioned above, e.g. known compounds, with a new ludic (diatopically bound) meaning or “ludically born” (diatopically bound) compounds:

- (21) **Bäckfisch, der.** Eine allgemeine Benennung aller derjenigen Fische, welche man in den Küchen lieber zu backen, als zu kochen pfliget. Im Scherze nennt man in Niedersachsen, ein junges, zum Heirathen noch nicht tüchtiges Mädchen einen Backfisch. [Adelung, 1: 686]
- (22) **Báchhase, der.** Im gemeinen Scherze einiger Gegenden, der Nahme eines Wassermußes oder Wasserbreyes, welcher auch wohl ein Landläufer genannt wird. [Adelung, 1: 680]
- (23) **Speicherdieb, der.** Eine im Niederdeutschen, vermuthlich nur im Scherze übliche Benennung des gemeinen Haussperlinges, weil er die Kornspeicher gern zu besuchen pfliget. [Adelung, 4: 179]

Ludic use in diatopically marked contexts can remain diatopically restricted, disappear or lose its diatopic mark through time as it becomes integrated into standard language (as for example *Backfisch*). At this point, we can note that for language evolution paths, the different types of markedness form a complex matrix showing certain degrees of permeability between their elements (see also section 4.3).

## 4.2 Reflecting ludicity in the dictionary: Diminutives and ludic use

In some of the entries in his dictionary, Adelung gives longer linguistic explanations, especially with lexical items displaying grammatical functions, for example derivation suffixes. In one case, that of the diminutive suffix *-chen* in German nouns, the author explicitly notes a ludic potential, pointing out that ludic use occurs especially with derivations of a plural base ending on *-er*:

Aber es gibt im Hochdeutschen auch einige Diminutiva, welche von dem Plural des Hauptwortes, welches verkleinert werden soll, gebildet werden. Kleine Lichterchen, artige Bücherchen, liebe Kinderchen, närrische Dingerchen, possierliche Männerchen, niedliche Wörterchen. So auch Häuserchen, Weiberchen, Geisterchen u. s. f. Diese Diminutiva finden nur bey solchen Wörtern Statt, die sich im Plural auf *-er* endigen; über dieß sind sie nur in der vertraulichen oder scherzhaften Sprechart üblich. [Adelung, 1: 1326]

[But in High German, there are some diminutives that are formed from the plural of the noun that is to be diminutised. *Kleine Lichterchen, artige Bücherchen, liebe Kinderchen, närrische Dingerchen, possierliche Männerchen, niedliche Wörterchen*. Thus also *Häuserchen, Weiberchen, Geisterchen* etc. These diminutives only occur with such words that show a plural ending in *-er*; moreover, they are only common in a familiar or jocular style of speech.]

The generic use of such ludic diminutives (noun+PL on *-er+chen*) is illustrated by Adelung in the explanation above (e.g. *Lichterchen, Bücherchen, Kinderchen, Dingerchen, Wörterchen, Häuserchen*), showing their paradigmatic seriation and synchronic productivity.<sup>7</sup> The forms are transparent with regard to their morphological and semantic structure and are not recorded systematically with separate lexicon entries in the dictionary, a fact that indicates the *ad-hoc* and strongly pragmatically marked character of the contexts they are used in. On the other hand, other derivatives with *-chen* without this pattern (*-er-chen*) are noted in their ludic use, as for example *Hänschen* (< *Hans*), *Männchen* (< *Mann*), *Seelchen* (< *Seele*), *Stellchen* (< *Stelle*), *Thalerchen* (< *Thaler*) or *Tummelchen* (< *Tummel*). On the whole, ludic diminutives in Adelung's dictionary show close affinities with other pragmatic marks such as familiar or colloquial usage, so that fuzzy borders between the categories do indeed have to be taken into account. Adelung's early metalinguistic observations on the ludic potential of diminutives are noteworthy and can be placed alongside to the findings of

<sup>7</sup> See for similar patterns in modern German Fleischer-Barz (2012: 235), who note besides the generic, diminutive function of the suffix an additional “emotional connotation”; see also Dressler and Barbaresi (1994).

Dressler and Barbaresi (1994) on diminutives in modern languages, especially German and Italian, showing, as they do, the central role of the ludic character of playfulness for this type of word formation.<sup>8</sup>

#### 4.1 Ludic items and diachronic change

Regarding language change and the evolution of ludic items, Adelung's dictionary has a number of entries with historical conjectures or explanations for the creation of unmarked lexical entries involving preliminary ludic use for their creation (with a subsequent path *ludic innovations* > *eighteenth-century unmarked item*; see also section 4.1):

- (24) **ABCSchütz, der.** Der Grund der Benennung ist unbekannt. Vielleicht hat man sie aus Scherz gemacht, und dabey vornehmlich auf die Griffel und andere Werkzeuge der Abschtüler gesehen, welche man mit Waffen verglichen [Adelung, 1: 16]

In other cases,<sup>9</sup> Adelung seeks the potential for etymological explanation in ludic origins, but does not always find convincing explanations in the “Mährchen”<sup>10</sup> (‘fairy-tale’) the etymological narratives might bring with them, when no confirmed path can be generated. The example above, with a compound designating a young child just starting school, aims at motivating the compound as an entity: whilst the first component (ABC, cf. Engl. *abecedarian*) is transparent, the second one (*Schütz(e)* ‘shooter’) is opaque in the eyes of the lexicographer, who conjectures ludic use with metaphorical bridging of writing instruments and weapons. The compound is obviously already lexicalized and unmarked in eighteenth-century German, as it is today.

Several other items from the list in (14) however, when compared to modern German, have lost the ludic markedness which still existed in Adelung's time, thus providing lexicographic evidence for semantic change in the direction *eighteenth-century German +ludic* > *modern German -ludic [+neutral]*, as the following examples illustrate:

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**8** See Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 197): “[...] one realization of the pragmatic features [fictive] and particularly [non-serious] is the ludic character that most diminutives have, at least to some extent. The ludic character is the dominant pragmatic meaning in case of playful interactions and is prominent in homileic discourse.”

**9** Well worth reading is the long article PUMPERNICKEL, der (Adelung, 3: 864) with two diachronic conjectures based on ludic use for the creation of this compound designating a typical sort of German black bread.

**10** This term is used by Adelung for the ludic speculations in the entry PUMPERNICKEL.

- (25) **Befehlshaber, der** [...] 2) Der andern zu befehlen hat, besonders von einem Vorgesetzten bey der Armee. Der Befehlshaber eines Kriegesheeres, eines Regimentes [...]. Daher befehlshaberisch, im Scherze für gebietherisch, auf eine befehlende Art. [...] [Adelung, 1: 790]
- (26) **Kammerjäger, der**. Ein fürstlicher Jäger, welcher seinen Herrn auf der Jagd und im Jagd-wesen bedient, aber von einem Leibjäger zuweilen noch verschieden ist. Im Scherze wird auch ein Mäuse- und Katzenfänger ein Kammerjäger genannt. [Adelung, 2: 1486]
- (27) **Flitterwöche(n), die**. Im Scherze, die ersten Wochen im Ehestande, wo sich die gegenseitige Zärtlichkeit noch in ihrer ganzen Stärke zeigt; in welchem Verstande man auch wohl der Flittermonath sagt, wenn anders diese Zärtlichkeit die Dauer eines Monaths erreicht. [Adelung, 2: 214]

In (25), the adjective *befehlshaberisch* ‘imperious’ has completely lost its ludic mark; and *Kammerjäger* (26) has, besides its main historical meaning (‘a hunter serving a prince’), nowadays developed a second, regular unmarked meaning (‘vermin exterminator’) originating from its ludic use:

- (28) **Kammerjäger, der** 1) (früher) im persönlichen Dienst eines Fürsten stehender Jäger, 2) jemand, der beruflich Ungeziefer innerhalb von Gebäuden vernichtet. [DO 2017]

As for “ludically born” *Flitterwoche(n)*<sup>11</sup> (‘the first [particularly tender] week(s) after marriage’), it has developed a plurale tantum with an unmarked meaning generated from its original use and a second (also neutral) one designating the holiday of a newlywed couple (DO 2017). Another development is documented with *Backfisch* ‘small fish for frying’ (21) showing in its marked, ludic meaning (‘female teenager’) a path *+dialectal* (18<sup>th</sup> century) > *-dialectal* (New High German) > *+obsolete* (contemporary German, see DO 2017). Here, the evolution path leads to archaization, and possibly, the disappearance of the lexical item in question.

As Ludwig (2009: 1579) points out, formally neutral archaic elements or phrases can be reactivated in language use with diaevaluative features:

Distanzierend oder ironisierend/scherzhaft bzw. allertümelnd werden sie [= Archaismen; CM] verwendet, z.B. *Beinkleid, Konterfei, alldieweil, hochgelahrte Festversammlung, des Diskutierens war zu viel, eine artige Empfehlung an den Herrn Gemahl*.

<sup>11</sup> The first part of the compound is opaque today; cf. MHG *vliittern* ‘to whisper, fondle’. English *honeymoon* has experienced a similar diachronic change (see the entry in the OED online, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/88181?rskey=UzEVs1&result=1>, accessed 31 July 2017).

[They [= archaisms; CM] can be used in a distancing, ironizing/ludic or antiquating way, for example *Beinkleid*, *Konterfei*, *alldieweil*, *hochgelahrte Festversammlung*, *des Diskutierens war zu viel*, *eine artige Empfehlung an den Herrn Gemahl*.]

Many of the examples cited here can be actualised (or reused) in concrete language use with a path showing an evolution *-archaic -ludic > +archaic -ludic > +archaic +ludic*. For example, the nouns *Beinkleid* ('trousers') and *Konterfei* ('portrait') show different stages of this path in Adelung's dictionary, the former having neither an archaic nor a ludic marking (Adelung, 1: 823), the latter being marked as archaic, but not (yet) as ludic (Adelung, 1: 1348). For contemporary German, *Duden online* marks *Beinkleid* as "scherzhaft, veraltet" ('jocular, obsolete; it is not clear here how the comma is to be understood) and *Konterfei* as "veraltet, noch altertümelnd oder scherzhaft" ('obsolete, still antiquating or jocular').

Tracing such pathways of evolution in ludic innovation simultaneously through a larger diachronic corpus of dictionaries from the sixteenth century until today, would certainly be a promising challenge for the issues tackled in this paper. This also concerns the building of complex digital lexicographic information systems (see e.g. Moulin and Nyhan 2014) that would enable research queries with algorithms capable of disclosing complex patterns of evolution in multidirectional ways and of coping with the existing heterogeneity and potential overlapping of lexicographic marks in lexicographic practice.

## 5 Conclusion

This paper explores linguistic ludicity as an important source of lexical innovation and expansion. Focusing on the analysis of lexical items marked as playful in contemporary and Early New High dictionaries of German, I have shown that information on ludic use has been recorded in lexicographic sources since the seventeenth century and that the marking of ludicity can today be considered a normal component of lexicographic practice. The dictionaries in question have developed for the description of ludic use a set of terminological instruments, that until today has displayed a certain heterogeneity around the concept of playfulness and ludicity and that overlaps with other diaevaluative or pragmatic marks. As a consequence, this also brings methodological challenges for the exploration of linguistic ludicity in lexicographic sources, whether they are contemporary or historical. It is worth noticing that the verbalisation of ludic use in both historical dictionaries (Adelung) and contemporary ones (*Duden online*) seems to play a quantitatively smaller role in comparison to the total of the

vocabulary treated, a finding that is similar to that made for the quantitative analysis for French (see the preceding paper in this volume by Esme Winter-Froemel). By choosing a descriptive approach that takes into account structural, semantic, and pragmatic features of ludic innovations, different types and steps of ludic innovation have been identified, allowing first insights into the structural types, the importance of markedness and the steps of the emergence and evolution of ludic items. An important methodological issue for further lexicographic research on lexical innovation will be the availability and operability of networked digital lexical resources enabling not only the identification and further analysis of pathways and patterns of ludic innovation, but also of other mechanisms underlying the expansion of the lexicon. Another point of interest will be drawing comparisons between the findings in dictionaries and those in larger historical text corpora, in order to trace divergences and similarities in the occurrence and treatment of lexical innovation from a diachronic point of view.

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