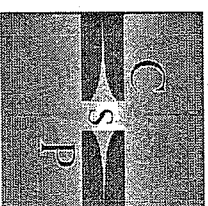


Anglicisms in Europe:  
Linguistic Diversity in a Global Context

Edited by

Roswitha Fischer and Hanna Pulańczewska



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AWb	<i>Anglizismen-Wörterbuch</i>
CDE	<i>Chambers Dictionary of Etymology</i>
CMT	<i>Commissions ministérielles de terminologie</i>
COD	<i>The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English</i>
DAE	<i>Diccionario de argot español</i>
DEA	<i>A Dictionary of European Anglicisms</i>
DR	<i>Juden Rechtschreibung</i>
DRAE	<i>Diccionario de la Real Academia Española</i>
EIE	<i>English in Europe</i> (dictionary project)
Engl.	English
Fr.	French
GDU	<i>Grande dizionario italiano dell'uso</i>
Gem.	German
GL	<i>Grand Larousse Dictionary</i>
GLFF	<i>Grand Larousse de la langue française</i>
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDS	<i>Institut für Deutsche Sprache</i>
IPA	<i>International Phonetic Association</i>
Ital.	Italian
LSP	Languages for Specific Purposes
MW	<i>Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary</i>
OCEl	<i>The Oxford Companion to the English Language</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
Port.	Portuguese
SL	source language
Span.	Spanish
TL	target language
ZDSV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Sprachvereins</i>

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## CHAPTER ONE

# UNPLEASANT, UNNECESSARY, UNINTELLIGIBLE? COGNITIVE AND COMMUNICATIVE CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING BORROWINGS AND ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES\*

ESME WINTER-FROEMEL

### 1. Traditional Criticisms of Anglicisms

Anglicisms have always been an intensively debated issue, and negative judgements mostly predominate. In such disapproving attitudes, borrowings from English have been considered as *anglomanie* (Mackenzie 1939: 107-111, Georgin 1957: 119), *franglais* (Étiemble 1964), or *Denglis(c)/h* etc., and all these terms clearly have negative connotations. But what reasons are these attitudes based on? And to what extent can they claim any general value? Three common reproaches towards anglicisms are that they are unpleasant, unnecessary, and unintelligible. Let us therefore start by having a closer look at these criticisms.

The first reproach expresses an aesthetic judgement. For example, Georgin criticises the anglicism Fr. *contacter* for its "provocative ugliness" ("[...] mais le néologisme *contacter* a beau s'être aligné sur *aimer*, il n'en reste pas moins d'une laideur provocante." Georgin 1957: 120). Such purely aesthetic judgements, however, can hardly claim intersubjective validity. This is also confirmed by Germ. *Ket(s)chup*, where both the non-adapted spelling *Ketchup* and the adapted spelling *Ketschup* have been criticised for their "ugliness" in recent debates on orthography.

According to the second frequent criticism, anglicisms are in many cases just unnecessary: "Ci sono degli anglicismi assolutamente inutili: per

esempio *challenge* invece di *sfida* [...], *meeting* per *incontro*, [...] *trend* per *tendenza*." ("There are anglicisms which are of absolutely no use: for example *challenge* instead of *sfida* [...] *meeting* for *incontro* [...] *trend* for *tendenza*." Castellani 1987: 143). Frequently, a distinction between two kinds of borrowings is made here: "necessary borrowings" designating a new concept for which yet no term exists in the borrowing language are often tolerated as a sort of necessary evil, while all efforts are turned towards avoiding the second type of borrowing, i.e. "luxury borrowings", which introduce another designation for a concept which is already designated by a target-language expression (e.g. Plümer 2000: 20; compare also Düniger's dictionary in which "dispensable" borrowings are translated into German, Düniger 1882/1989). However, even in the latter case, the speaker may consider the borrowed term necessary for his communicative purposes, or in Dery's words, there may be not only a material need, but also an affective need for borrowing (Dery 1956: 172). For example, the use of Germ. *Grapefruit* instead of *Pampelmuse* (which, besides, is itself a borrowed word) may serve to avoid the consonance with Germ. *Pampe* 'liquid food of sticky consistency and poor taste, slop' and *Mus* 'mush' (Zimmer 1997: 17). The borrowing can also be motivated by the exotic flavour it bears (e.g. Germ. *Orange* besides *Apfelsine*, Zimmer 1997: 17). In sum, the necessity of an anglicism is also a mostly subjective criterion (Schmitt 2005: 94).

Finally, an important criticism of anglicisms and borrowings in general relates to their presumed unintelligibility. In Germany, this argument was very important in the 19th century in the context of general criticisms of academic style for its massive use of borrowed terms (von Polenz 1967: 114). In this line of argumentation, it has been pointed out that borrowed terms could be pronounced and spelled correctly by a minority of the population only, so that linguistic barriers could arise (Zimmer 1997: 9). However, in some cases, it is precisely their unintelligibility which motivates the use of borrowings. They may assume euphemistic functions or serve as elements of a secret language (Daniels 1959: 52, Sornig 2000: 144), or they can be used in publicity to cover up certain characteristics of a product (Zimmer 1997: 29-30).

As we have seen, traditional attitudes towards anglicisms diverge, and aesthetic judgements as well as evaluations of their necessity and usefulness in communication may contradict each other. The traditional arguments therefore do not provide a satisfactory basis for judging anglicisms. What is more, some traditional positions are even self-contradictory. For example, extensions or loan meanings are often considered as a special danger because of an almost imperceptible

\* I would like to thank Sam Featherston for linguistic revision of this contribution.

infiltration and subversion of the borrowing language (compare the French expression *anglicismes masqués*, Brasehmann 2002: 206-207):

Enfin - et ce n'est pas le fait linguistique le moins dangereux - des mots existant en français ont pris, sous l'influence de l'anglais, un sens nouveau qui altère notre vocabulaire. Je pense à [...] *poster* (dans poster une lettre), [...] à *contrôler* (au sens nouveau de diriger, avoir la haute main sur), (Georgin 1957: 120)<sup>1</sup>

The anglicisms which are sharply criticised here by Georgin represent extensions or loan meanings, i.e. semantic changes of French words which imitate a polysemy existing in English: Fr. *poster* acquires the new meaning 'to post (a letter)' besides the older meaning 'to place (a soldier) at his post', following Engl. *to post* 'to post (a letter)', 'to place (a soldier) at his post'. Similarly, Fr. *contrôler* 'to check' acquires the additional meaning of 'to direct', following again the English model *to control* 'to check', 'to direct'.

In another passage, however, the same author explicitly recommends such extensions in order to substitute for other kinds of borrowings:

Que faire devant cette invasion? Résister aux entraînements de la mode verbale et remplacer, chaque fois que c'est possible, un hôte anglais ou américain indiscret par un mot de chez nous: [...] *business* par affaires, [...] *flash* par éclair (ou, au figuré, nouvelle-éclair), [...] *meeting* par réunion [...]. (Georgin 1957: 121)<sup>2</sup>

Surprisingly, the solutions proposed in this passage follow exactly the same pattern as the examples cited above: Fr. *affaires* acquires the new meaning 'commerce, business life' besides the older meaning 'matters, affairs', and thereby follows Engl. *business*, which has the same meanings. Similarly, Fr. *éclair* 'sudden bright burst of light' is attributed the new meaning 'newsflash', and thereby parallels the polysemy of Engl. *flash*.

To sum up, no coherent view emerges from these traditional judgements of borrowings. Generally speaking, loanwords and borrowings

<sup>1</sup> Transl. "Finally, and this is not the least dangerous linguistic fact, words which exist in French have taken, under the influence of English, a new sense which alters our vocabulary. I am thinking of [...] *poster* (in *poster une lettre*), [...] *contrôler* (in the new sense of 'to direct, to have power over')." All translations of citations in this article are mine, EWF.

<sup>2</sup> Transl. "What shall we do faced with this invasion? Resist the currents of verbal fashion and replace, each time this is possible, an indiscrete English or American host by a native word: [...] *business* by *affaires*, [...] *flash* by *éclair* (or, figuratively, *nouvelle-éclair*), [...] *meeting* by *reunion* [...]."

are discussed from various different perspectives: some take an ideological and purist view, others are concerned with the interests of learners, still others focus on aesthetic aspects or discuss borrowings from linguistic interest (cf. Gardt 2001). The aim of my contribution is to work out linguistic criteria on the basis of which borrowings and possible alternatives can be evaluated, and to develop a comprehensive view of borrowings and related phenomena. I will first discuss which types of borrowings and possible alternatives to borrowing should be considered (section 2). In section 3, I will outline different contexts of use in which these words can occur and which are therefore relevant to the evaluation of borrowings. In section 4, I will then specify a series of linguistic criteria which can be applied to the various strategies and possible uses, and which take into account both cognitive aspects and communicative functions. The results are summed up in section 5, and remaining issues which open perspectives for further research are indicated.

## 2. Contact-induced Innovations: Borrowing and Alternative Strategies

In order to evaluate the possible cognitive and communicative advantages and difficulties related to the use of anglicisms, it seems first necessary to take a brief look at the various kinds of borrowings that have traditionally been distinguished. At the same time, however, I want to argue that we should consider not only borrowings, but also take into account alternative types of contact-induced innovations. Furthermore, I will propose a view which differs in another crucial respect from traditional approaches. Instead of defining the categories on the basis of a structural comparison of source and target language expressions, I want to argue for a cognitively founded view, which is based on the communicative acts and cognitive processes that are involved when the expressions are coined and used in the target language (TL).

With these aims in mind, the central question is: given a situation of language contact in which a TL speaker is motivated to coin a TL equivalent for a source-language (SL) expression, what possible strategies can s/he choose to follow?<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This question should be kept apart from two related issues which have a different focus of analysis. While diachronic studies of linguistic borrowing are focused on retracing the origins and further development of borrowings, synchronic studies of non-native structures in the lexicon and grammar of a given language are focused on the formal properties of these elements (non-native phonemes, stress patterns,

Let us note here that we adopt an onomasiological approach: the TL expressions for a given concept, e.g. Ital. *software* or Fr. *logiciel* for SOFTWARE, are compared to the SL expression which is equivalent to them, that is, which designates the same concept and therefore may have influenced the TL expressions. Such linguistic influence can be observed in Ital. *software*, but it need not necessarily be determining, as the example of Fr. *logiciel* shows. In such cases it is only the designated concept (SOFTWARE) which constitutes the linking point between the SL and TL expression. In the remainder of this contribution, I will therefore refer to the concepts designated, when interlinguistic comparisons are made.

If a TL speaker<sup>4</sup> is confronted with a SL expression, e.g. Engl. *cookie* INTERNET COOKIE, and wants to designate this concept in the TL, a first possibility is that s/he may use a paraphrase, e.g. Fr. "le petit fichier qui est installé sur le disque dur lors de la consultation d'un site web" ("the small file which is installed on the hard disk during the consultation of a web site"). Such occasional paraphrases will not be considered in more detail in this contribution, as they do not lead to a lexical innovation. If the TL had still not adopted a lexical item for exactly this concept, we would have to conclude that the situation of language contact had not influenced the TL lexicon.

In many cases, however, language contact results in a lexical innovation, e.g. Fr. *cookie*, *témoïn de connexion* or *mouchard*<sup>5</sup> (*électronique*), which can all designate the concept INTERNET COOKIE.

plural formation, etc.). The three issues and the overlaps and divergences between them are discussed in more detail in Winter (2005).

<sup>4</sup> The terms *speaker* and *hearer* are used here in a general sense which does not exclude written communication. Therefore, the following reflections are also applicable to situations of written language contact or combinations of both oral and written contact.

<sup>5</sup> The examples are taken from a study of the computing and Internet terminology in four Romance languages (compare Winter 2005 and Winter, in press). In this study I have gathered the French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish designations for 73 concepts from this domain on the basis of general and specialised dictionaries, glossaries and databases (among others, *Eurodicautom*, a terminology database for translators provided by the European Union). Then I analysed the 833 items found with respect to their relations to the SL term(s). As a consequence of this focus of analysis and the sources used, an important caveat has to be made: As in many cases, several designations for one concept have been registered for each TL, the examples cited do not necessarily represent the terms which are most wide-spread in the speaker communities. For example, even if both Fr. *mouchard* (*électronique*) and *témoïn de connexion* are officially recommended terms and they are both

These examples show different lexical development strategies. In Fr. *cookie*, the word form is imported from English. For Fr. *témoïn de connexion*, in contrast, the speaker creates a compound from *témoïn* WITNESS and *connexion* CONNECTION, which is independent of the English innovation *cookie* FOOD COOKIE → INTERNET COOKIE. The strategy employed in the case of Fr. *témoïn de connexion* leads to what is generally known as a *loan creation*. There has been a longstanding debate about whether this category falls under linguistic borrowing or not, and seemingly contradictory positions have been taken.<sup>6</sup> I would like to argue that there is a third solution, by which the arguments of both positions can be taken into account. Innovations like Fr. *témoïn de connexion* can be regarded as cases of contact-induced innovations, but within this category, they represent a strategy which is alternative to linguistic borrowing (Winter 2005). Thus, a first option the speaker may take when confronted with a SL expression for a given concept is to create a contact-induced, but independent innovation in the TL in order to designate this concept.

Another fundamental option is borrowing. The speaker creates an expression which is influenced by the SL form. Traditionally, two main kinds of borrowings are contrasted: loanwords like Fr. *cookie*, and *calques*<sup>7</sup> like Fr. *souris* COMPUTER MOUSE or Span. *hojeador* BROWSER (cf. Betz 1949, 1974, Pergnier 1989: 28, Görlach 2002: 3). Haugen (1950) has distinguished these two types by the criterion of "importation versus substitution applied to the morphemic level, that is, loanwords are seen as cases of morphemic importation, while *calques* represent instantiations of complete morphemic substitution. Concerning the first type of borrowings, it is important to stress that they can be accompanied by substitutions on other linguistic levels, e.g. substitutions of phonemes (Haugen 1950: 213). Therefore, the strategy central to this type of borrowing can be labelled *importation/substitution* (Winter 2005, in press).

With respect to the second type of borrowing, Haugen's description of morphemic substitution states that the morphemes of the SL word are completely substituted in the borrowing process. Yet this criterion does

indicated by *Le nouveau Petit Robert*, the latter term seems to be more commonly used in Internet communication.

<sup>6</sup> Among others, Betz (1949, 1974), Duckworth (1977), Schottnann (1977) and Kistler (1993) have argued that the category should be included in studies of linguistic borrowing, while Haugen (1950), Schumann (1965), Höfler (1971, 1981) and Bäcker (1975) have pointed out the independency from the SL term and concluded that loan creations should not be considered as linguistic borrowings.

<sup>7</sup> I understand *calque* here in a general sense which includes loan translations, loan renditions and extensions/loan meanings.

not indicate which items are used as substitutes and what the cognitive foundations of these innovations are. Therefore, in order to account for the cognitive processes that are involved when the speaker introduces a *calque* into the TL, I propose to label this strategy an *analogical innovation*: the speaker proposes a semantic or morphological innovation in the TL which has, at the same time, a model in the SL. For example, in the case of Fr. *souris*, an extension, the speaker uses the word with the meaning 'animal mouse' to refer it to the concept COMPUTER MOUSE, and thereby copies the polysemy of Engl. *mouse* 'animal mouse', 'computer mouse'. In the case of loan translations, a new word is created by means of native elements, and again, this innovation has a SL model, e.g. Span. *hojeador* is derived from *hojear* TO BROWSE, and thereby follows Engl. *browser*, which is derived from a verb with a similar meaning. In some cases, the imitation of the foreign model may be incomplete (compare the semantic divergence of Fr. *hors* OUT OF and Engl. *off* OFF for Fr. *hors-ligne*/Engl. *off-line*); these cases are traditionally analysed as loan renditions (see, e.g., Betz 1949: 24-25, Carstensen 1968: 35, Bäcker 1975: 87, Duckworth 1977: 53).

Summing up, there are three main strategies of dealing with foreign influences in situations of language contact: importation of the SL word with possible substitutions on lower linguistic levels, analogical innovation and independent innovation. The fact that all these options represent in principle viable options can be exemplified by different French terms for OFF-LINE:

- (1) Fr. *off-line* from Engl. *off-line*
- (2) Fr. *hors ligne* ← Fr. *hors* OUT OF + Fr. *ligne* LINE in (partial) analogy to Engl. *off-line* ← Engl. *off* OFF + Engl. *line* LINE
- (3) Fr. *autonome* OFF-LINE ← AUTONOMOUS

In both (1) and (2) an influence of the English word can be observed. While in (1), the English word is imported into French, example (2) is characterised by an imitation of the way the concept is designated in English. (As the imitation is only partial, the example represents a loan rendition.) Finally, for Fr. *autonome*, the concepts AUTONOMOUS and OFF-LINE are associated. This innovation is not influenced by the English form, as the concept OFF-LINE is designated in an entirely new way in French. If we now take a closer look at some more examples, we will see that within each of these three fundamental strategies, different alternatives can be realised. Within the first strategy, compare the following examples:

- (4) Span. *cookie* INTERNET COOKIE from Engl. *cookie*

- (5) Span. *ciqui* INTERNET COOKIE from Engl. *cookie*

The English form *cookie* exhibits features such as the grapheme <K> and the grapheme-to-phoneme correspondence <oo> ↔ /ʊ/, which do not appear in native Spanish words. In both examples, the word is imported into Spanish, but the extent of substitutions which accompanies this borrowing varies considerably. In (4), the original spelling is kept, and foreign (non-native) features are transferred into Spanish. Such transfers can be seen as the most prototypical case of borrowing, and most of the traditional reflections on Anglicisms are focused on this option (compare e.g. aesthetic judgements on foreign graphemes). On the other hand, there is also the possibility to have strongly adapted borrowings like Span. *ciqui*. Generally, such adapted borrowings are characterised by substitution of phonemes or graphemes, changes in phonotactic structure, word stress, phoneme-to-grapheme correspondence rules, etc.

Within the scope of analogical and independent innovations, we can further differentiate two main subtypes on the basis of the distinction word formation vs. semantic change (Koch 2000). While analogical innovation by word formation leads to loan translations or loan renditions (see examples (6) and (7)),<sup>8</sup> analogical innovation by semantic change results in extensions (example (8), cf. Humbley 1974: 61):

- (6) Span. *hojeador* ← Span. *hojear* TO BROWSE in analogy to Engl. *browser* ← Engl. *to browse* TO BROWSE
- (7) Fr. *hors ligne* ← Fr. *hors* OUT OF + Fr. *ligne* LINE in (partial) analogy to Engl. *off-line* ← Engl. *off* OFF + Engl. *line* LINE
- (8) Span. *galleta* INTERNET COOKIE ← FOOD COOKIE in analogy to Engl. *cookie* COOKIE ← FOOD COOKIE

Language contact may similarly induce independent innovations both by word formation (example (9)) and by semantic change (example (10)):

- (9) Fr. *témoïn de connexion* INTERNET COOKIE ← Fr. *témoïn* WITNESS + Fr. *connexion* CONNECTION

<sup>8</sup> As from the point of view of the speaker and hearer, loan translations and loan renditions function similarly in many respects, in a way which is different from extensions, they are grouped as analogical innovations by word formation. Within this category, however, further refinements could be made in order to account for the role of creativity in loan renderings.



(10) Fr. *mouchard* INTERNET COOKIE ← SNOOPER, TELLTALE

To sum up, we have obtained six subcategories of contact-induced innovations, which are shown in table 1-1.

**Table 1-1 Types of Contact-induced Innovations**

importation of SL form	↗	with transfer of foreign features (Span. <i>cookie</i> )
	↘	with (strong) formal adaptation (Span. <i>caguí</i> )
types of	↗	by word formation (Span. <i>hojeador</i> , Fr. <i>hors ligne</i> )
contact-induced →		analogical innovation
innovations	↘	by semantic change (Span. <i>galleta</i> )
	↗	by word formation (Fr. <i>témoin de connexion</i> )
independent innovation	↘	by semantic change (Fr. <i>mouchard</i> )

These categories cover loanwords (including both non-adapted and adapted forms), *calques* (loan translations, loan renditions, extensions/loan meanings), and the so-called loan creations and substituting loan meanings (cf. Höfler 1981: 152, Grzegza 2003: 30). At the same time, they provide an answer to the main question raised at the beginning of this section. These are the options the speaker may choose to follow when confronted with an SL expression and feeling the need to innovate in the TL.

### 3. Contexts of Use of Contact-induced Innovations

In the preceding section, I have contrasted different strategies by which a TL equivalent for an SL term can be obtained. In order to carry out a

comparative evaluation of the different options on cognitive and communicative criteria, we now need to address another fundamental question: In what contexts of use are these contact-induced innovations likely to occur? For each of these situations, the different options can be evaluated, and as we will see, what constitutes an advantage when an innovation is coined may represent a difficulty in later uses.

As we have already seen in section 2, the first situation which is relevant to borrowing and contact-induced innovations is the situation where speakers of the TL are faced with an SL term and feel the need to innovate in their language. More precisely, two steps can be distinguished here, namely comprehension of the SL expression and creation of the TL equivalent. First, the TL speakers may have difficulties in understanding the SL expression, and their degree of comprehension and bilingualism limits the lexical innovation possibilities. Secondly, for the creation of the TL equivalent we can consider the cognitive operations implied by the different strategies. How do they function, and what kind of processing efforts do they require?

The next aspect to be taken into account is the further use of the innovation in TL communication. How will the TL hearer interpret the new expression, and what are the cognitive and communicative aspects which determine these later uses of the different types of innovations?

Moreover, we might consider the uses of contact-induced innovations in international communication. What are the implications of choosing one or another strategy in international contexts?

Finally, we can focus on language learning and ask whether the different types of innovations can be easily learnt and memorised. Thus, in order to evaluate borrowings and possible alternatives from the perspective of the language users, all these contexts of use and user groups (TL speakers, TL hearers, TL learners, and speakers in international communication) will have to be taken into account.

### 4. Evaluating Borrowings and Alternative Strategies: A Comprehensive Scheme

Let us now proceed to a comprehensive evaluation of the different types of contact-induced innovations for the various contexts of use. Arguments which have been proposed in earlier approaches can serve as a starting point here. However, as these arguments generally refer to certain strategies and occasions of use only, I will enlarge the perspective and adopt a genuinely comparative perspective. Evaluations for the other

options will be added, so that their relative advantages and disadvantages can be compared for each occasion of use.

Firstly, the different types of contact-induced innovations can be evaluated with respect to the situation of communication in which they are created (Table 1-2). What advantages, and what possible difficulties do the different strategies imply? It has often been pointed out that all types of borrowings presuppose bilingualism (e.g. Haugen 1950: 210, Kiesler 1993: 505-506). However, the degree of bilingualism which is actually necessary for a borrowing to take place has been much debated. Some examples hint at the fact that a small degree of bilingualism may be sufficient for importing a word, or better, a chain of sounds or signs, into the TL. For example, in the borrowing of Germ. *Eldorado* 'eldorado' from Span. *El Dorado* 'The Golden (Land)', the definite article is agglutinated (cf. *Ethnologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* 2002). Another striking example is Fr. *vasistas* 'lanthorn, sliding window, e.g. at a counter', borrowed from Germ. "Was ist das?" ('What is that?', asked over the counter, cf. *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* 1998). These examples show that borrowings can be accompanied by considerable morphological and semantic changes. Consequently, a relatively low degree of bilingualism may be sufficient for the importation of SL forms.

For analogical innovations, however, a much higher degree of bilingualism is required. Here, the TL speaker must be able to understand not only the SL word, but also know how it relates to other words or meanings in the SL, in order to then imitate the SL pattern of word formation or polysemy in the TL.

For independent innovations, in contrast, no such knowledge of the SL must be referred to in order to explain the actual form of the innovation. (Nevertheless, it is clear that the innovation is motivated by a situation of language contact. Thus, under normal circumstances, the innovator will have a certain degree of knowledge of the SL.)

Apart from bilingualism, the cognitive effort implied by the various types of innovations can be compared. The three strategies function differently and imply different cognitive processes.<sup>9</sup> Importation of a SL form is characterised by replication. The speaker replicates a sequence of SL signs, and introduces this sequence into the TL. For analogical innovations, the speaker analyses the SL form (e.g. Engl. *mouse* designating the concepts COMPUTER MOUSE and ANIMAL MOUSE) and retrieves the TL equivalent for the source concept (Engl. *mouse* ANIMAL

<sup>9</sup> However, to my knowledge, no empirical studies investigating the relative processing costs have been carried out up to now, so that no comparative statements about the processing ease or difficulty of the strategies can be made.

MOUSE ↔ Fr. *souris* ANIMAL MOUSE), which is then associated to the target concept or serves as the basis for a word formation. In the case of an independent innovation, finally, the speaker associates the concept s/he wants to designate to one or several other concepts (e.g. OFF-LINE ↔ AUTONOMOUS for Fr. *autoroute*, or INTERNET COOKIE ↔ WITNESS, CONNECTION for Fr. *témoir de connexion*), and forms a new expression or uses an existing TL form in a new meaning. Contrary to analogical innovations, no SL model is initiated here. Consequently, the notion of creativity is central to independent innovations.

**Table 1-2 Evaluation of Contact-Induced Innovations for Creation of the TL Expression**

Importation of SL Form	Analogical Innovation	Independent Innovation
presupposes a certain degree of bilingualism by replication of a sequence of sounds or written signs	higher degree of bilingualism by analyzing the SL form, retrieving a corresponding TL form and imitating the SL pattern of semantic change or word formation	by new association of concepts and semantic change or word formation

The next aspect I want to consider is how a contact-induced innovation is received and understood by other TL speakers (Table 1-3). The three types can all be conceived as possible functional extensions of the TL lexicon (Schlobinsky 2001). However, they differ in various respects. Generally, an imported sequence of sounds or written signs is an unanalysable or unmotivated entity of the TL lexicon.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, this type of borrowing is frequently criticised for its "incomprehensibility" (see section 1). Analogical and independent innovations, in contrast, can be put into relation with other TL words or meanings, which may facilitate their comprehension (cf. Pergner 1988: 116-117). For example, Span. *hojeador* can be easily associated to Span. *hojear*, Fr. *témoir de connexion* can be associated to Fr. *témoir* and *connexion*. In a similar way, the meanings of

<sup>10</sup> T. E. Hope speaks of a "loss of morphemic and semantic transparency" in borrowing (1971, Vol. II: 611). Leisi and Mair describe the isolated position of borrowed words as a phenomenon of dissociation (Leisi and Mair 1999: 51-59). For a general approach to lexical motivation see Retig (1981).

Fr. *souris* 'computer mouse' and *mouchard* 'internet cookie' can be associated to the meanings 'animal mouse' and 'snooper, telltale' respectively.

On the other hand, the isolated status of loanwords within the TL can also be interpreted as a possible advantage. The forms that are obtained by importing SL forms are, at least at a first stage, unambiguous, as they are imported in just one meaning at a given moment of time, and they have at this point of time no other meanings in the TL (cf. Pergnier 1988: 114-115).<sup>11</sup> Analogical and independent innovations by semantic association, in contrast, necessarily lead to polysemous TL forms, which may be ambiguous in some contexts of use and may therefore complicate communication. Goose (1971: 39) has stressed this point for analogical innovations, underlining that if the words Fr. *pare* and *réunion* are used in a new meaning and referred to the concepts PARKING-SPACE and PUBLIC POLITICAL MEETING respectively, these new uses may lead to misunderstandings, as the hearer may also interpret these words in their older meanings and refer them to the concepts of PARK and MEETING (PUBLIC OR PRIVATE).

Another possible advantage of certain borrowings by importation is their relative shortness compared to analogical or independent word formations: Germ. *Campus* vs. *Hochschulgelände* (Zimmer 1997: 27), Germ. *Baby* vs. *Säugling*, *Kleinkind* (Plümer 2000: 265), Port. *e-mail* vs. *correio electrónico*.<sup>12</sup> Yet most analogical and independent innovations by semantic change are relatively short as well (e.g. Fr. *souris*, Fr. *mouchard*), and many innovations by word formation are not or not considerably longer than their SL equivalents (see, e.g. Fr. *hors ligne* - Engl. *off-line*, Ital. *sistema operativo* - Engl. *operating system*). Therefore, this aspect seems to concern only certain innovations and their possible alternatives.

<sup>11</sup> Evidently, words can be borrowed in other meanings at another stage of time. A well-known example of such multiple borrowings is Germ. *Twist*, borrowed from English in the meanings 'cotton yarn', 'drink made from spirits, beer and eggs', and 'fashion dance' (Carstensen 1968: 44). Another example is Fr. *cockpit* borrowed in the domains of automobiles, aviation, and astronautics (Humbly 1974: 53). Additionally, imported words are free to semantically evolve in the TL once they are borrowed, so that new polysemies can arise in the TL.

<sup>12</sup> See also Daniels (1959: 107-109), who analyses the success or failure of analogical and independent formations proposed by Campe in order to replace imported forms. Daniels suggests that the failure of forms like Germ. *Empfindsamlichkeit* or *Kunstgefühl* (for *Sensation* and *Vase*) is due to their "awkwardness" and to the difficulty or impossibility of derivations and compositions.

Considering the communicative effects of the different kinds of contact-induced innovations, a first observation is that, like all types of linguistic innovation, they may be used in order to capture the hearer's attention, as they are new means of expressing a given content (see e.g. Keller 1994: 131-143). If we take a closer look at the various types of innovations, we can see that different features are central to this effect. Analogical and independent innovations are based on a new association of concepts (e.g. COMPUTER MOUSE ↔ ANIMAL MOUSE), and the hearer may judge these new conceptualisations either in a positive or negative way, for example as witty, amusing, clever, laughable, inadequate, etc.

For the importation of SL forms, the distinction between adapted forms and forms which transfer foreign features into the TL becomes central. When the latter forms are introduced into the TL, the foreign features can function as hallmarks for the foreign language or for linguistic extravagance in general. For example, in French internet communication, utterances like the following can be found: "C'ki?" instead of "C'est qui?", "Kœ?" for "Quoi?" etc. In these examples, the French grapheme <qu> is substituted by non-native <k>, and interestingly, this pattern is applied to native words of the French lexicon here. The substitution seems to be motivated by the desire to capture the attention and to exhibit linguistic creativity and a playful use of language. On the other hand, strong adaptations can also serve to capture the attention, especially if they go beyond the degree of adaptation which is normally applied to borrowings at the given period of time. Such playful uses of strongly adapted anglicisms are found in Queneau, e.g. Fr. *bloudimizes* and *guidenappeur*, deviating from the "usual" spellings in French, *blue-jeans* and *kidnappeur* (Queneau 1959: 48, 108).

Furthermore, forms containing foreign patterns (e.g. Span. *whisky*, Ital. *week-end*) often carry associations of exclusivity and prestige. This effect is frequently exploited when anglicisms are used in publicity (cf. Pratt 1986: 362-365, who makes some more general remarks on linguistic prestige). Anglicisms are also used to create effects of local colour (Plümer 2000: 259-264). Moreover, as Schweickard (1998: 301) points out, they can give an impression of cosmopolitan and expert knowledge, while strongly adapted forms are in some cases considered as obsolete or interpreted as a sign of lacking education (e.g. Ital. *quizzo* borrowed from Engl. *quiz*, Ital. *meeting* borrowed from Engl. *meeting*, Schweickard 1998: 294).

Finally, the types of innovation can be evaluated in different ways, depending on the hearer's attitude towards the SL and TL. If foreign influences are negatively judged in general, forms which exhibit foreign

features should be expected to be negatively received as well. If, in contrast, foreign influences are welcome as a source of enrichment of the TL, a more positive attitude towards such forms can be expected. A similar observation is valid for the other strategies. That is, on the basis of a negative attitude towards language contact and interlinguistic influences, analogical innovations are frequently condemned, while independent innovations are appreciated for their inventiveness and creativity.

**Table 1-3 Evaluation of Contact-induced Innovations for TL Communication**

Importation of SL Form	Analogical Innovation	Independent Innovation
functional extension of TL lexicon	functional extension of TL lexicon	functional extension of TL lexicon
unmotivated TL items	unmotivated TL items	unmotivated TL items
unambiguous	innovations by semantic change: potentially problematical polysemy	innovations by semantic change: potentially problematical polysemy
relative shortness of certain innovations	capture of attention	capture of attention
capture of attention	capture of attention	capture of attention
transfer of foreign features: exclusivity, prestige, local colour, cosmopolitan and expert knowledge	positive or negative evaluation of conceptualisation	positive or negative evaluation of conceptualisation
strong adaptation: obsolescence; lacking education		
positive or negative evaluation of formal adaptation	positive or negative evaluation of imitation of SL pattern	positive or negative evaluation of independent innovation

The different types of contact-induced innovations can also be evaluated with respect to international communication (Table 1-4). What is fundamental here is the relative proximity or distance of the TL expressions to the SL. Imported forms generally facilitate international communication (Braun 1978: 372, Schaefer 1987: 137-139), as speakers may be able to infer the meaning of unknown SL words due to their

resemblance to TL forms or vice versa. Therefore, the degree of similarity of the SL and TL form is crucial. While forms showing only minor formal adaptations will easily be recognised, the possible effect of intercomprehension diminishes with a higher degree of formal adaptation. For example, for Ital. *porce* or Span. *escchner*, many speakers will fail to immediately recognize the corresponding English items *punch* and *scanner*.<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, it has been pointed out that there is also the danger of misleading resemblances and false identifications. In the case of "false friends", the SL and TL word forms are closely similar to each other or identical, but the meanings of the words differ.<sup>14</sup> For analogical innovations, international communication will be facilitated if the speakers are bilingual, so that they can recognize the similarity of the conceptualisations in SL and TL (e.g. Fr. *souris* ANIMAL MOUSE → COMPUTER MOUSE like Engl. *mouse* ANIMAL MOUSE → COMPUTER MOUSE), or if the languages are closely related, so that the linguistic forms are similar. For instance, for Germ. *Maus* MOUSE, in addition to the parallelism of conceptual association (ANIMAL MOUSE → COMPUTER MOUSE), we can observe a formal resemblance of the two word forms (*Maus* ↔ *mouse*). We find another interesting example in Romance terms

<sup>13</sup> Theoretical questions and problems of evaluating degrees of formal similarity between SL and TL words as well as earlier approaches to this issue are discussed by Müller-Lancé (2003: 144-171). Interestingly, empirical studies indicate that beyond the quantitative degree of similarity, the location of divergence also affects the recognition of foreign words (Müller-Lancé 2003: 159, Caddéo and Vilaginés Serra 1997: 122). This observation has been confirmed by my own experiences in a course held at the University of Tübingen from October 2005 to February 2006, where students were confronted with texts in Romance languages hitherto unknown to them and then asked to infer the meaning of these texts, making use of, among others, their knowledge in other Romance languages. Generally, forms like Fr. *scanner* were put into relation with Engl. *scanner* more easily than forms like Span. *eschner*.

<sup>14</sup> It could also be objected that intercomprehension is not facilitated with imported forms which do not have the same range of meanings in the SL and TL. In this line of argumentation, it could be pointed out that, for example, for Germ. *Chat*, communication with English speakers will be facilitated only if the word refers to ONLINE CHAT, but be of no help if the English word is used in another sense. However, reduction of polysemy is the rule in borrowing, as it is lexical units (defined as one word form with one meaning, Cruse 1986: 49) which are borrowed. Consequently, a facilitation of international communication at least with respect to the lexical unit borrowed, e.g. *chat* ONLINE CHAT, seems undeniable. Moreover, in some cases, knowledge of this lexical unit may also help to infer other meanings of the SL word.

for OPERATING SYSTEM: Ital. *sistema operativo*, Port. *sistema operativo*, and Span. *sistema operativo*. These forms all imitate the conceptual association of SYSTEM and BEING IN ACTION which is the semantic basis for the innovation in the SL (Engl. *operating system*). Moreover, these forms are very similar to each other (identical spelling, minor differences in pronunciation). Thus, additional synergetic effects of interlinguistic comprehensibility can arise when related languages follow similar paths for contact-induced innovations. For independent innovations, finally, no facilitation of international communication due to similarity of SL and TL is to be expected.

**Table 1-4 Evaluation of Contact-induced Innovations for International Communication**

Importation of SL Form	Analogical Innovation	Independent Innovation
weak adaptation: immediate relation to SL → facilitation of international communication strong adaptation: relation to SL weakened → decreasing inter-comprehensibility possibility of "false friends"	relation to SL is conserved for bilingual speakers → facilitation of international communication for bilingual speakers	no relation to SL → no facilitation of international communication

As a final point, let us consider how the different types of innovations are learnt and memorised (Table 1-5). While, as we have already seen above, importation leads to isolated forms in the TL which have to be learnt and memorised as such, both analogical and independent innovations result in forms which are closely related to other words or other meanings of the same word in the TL. This means that learning and memorisation of these items can be facilitated (cf. Miller-Lancé 2003).

The formal features of borrowed items are another relevant issue. More specifically, only imported words are concerned by this criterion, as only these may import any foreign features, which differ from native patterns, into the TL. For example, forms containing non-native sounds, or "irregular" forms which are not pronounced or spelled according to the

grapheme-to-phoneme correspondence rules of the TL often represent difficulties in language learning (cf. Munske 1987: 31, Nitsler 1987).

In addition to the formal aspects and the effects of motivatedness, the learning process can also be influenced by interlinguistic factors. For example, if an English speaker learns Italian as a foreign language, words imported from English will accelerate the learning process, as s/he can recognize these words in Italian (for a general overview of learner strategies in foreign language learning, see Müller-Lancé 2003). On the other hand, however, there is again the possibility of "false friends". For analogical innovations, the learning process can be facilitated by the similarity of conceptual associations in SL and TL. Finally, for independent innovations, no such additional effects occur.

**Table 1-5 Evaluation of Contact-induced Innovations for Learning and Memorisation**

Importation of SL Form	Analogical Innovation	Independent Innovation
words have to be learnt and memorised as isolated items transfer of foreign features: possible difficulties facilitation by corresponding SL forms possibility of "false friends"	facilitation of learning and memorisation by motivation in TL facilitation by similar conceptualisation in SL and TL	no facilitation by learning and memorisation by motivation in TL no facilitation by corresponding SL forms

To conclude, the criteria presented above permit us to evaluate different kinds of contact-induced innovations with respect to various contexts of use. The various options and evaluations are summarised in Table 1-6. Up to now, I have not addressed the question of evaluating pseudo-loans (cf. Carstensen 1981, Höfler 1990). Such forms as e.g. Germ. *Handy MOBILE PHONE* or Germ. *Beamer VIDEO PROJECTOR* do not represent contact-induced innovations, but are created within the TL. Therefore, the first set of criteria is not applicable here. However, pseudo-loans can be assessed with respect to TL communication and international communication. Pseudo-loans can convey extravagance, as the speaker overuses a foreign item or pattern which s/he considers prestigious. Moreover, they represent isolated entities in the TL, a characteristic they

share with words imported from another language. Contrary to these latter innovations, however, pseudo-loans do not present the possible advantage of facilitating international communication, as the putative SL word does not exist in the SL (at least, not in the expected form or meaning), but represents a creation within the TL (e.g. Engl. *hardy* exists only in adjectival form, and Engl. *beemer/beamer* is a slang word for a BMW CAR).

## 5. Conclusions and Implications

The main aim of my contribution was to develop a comprehensive understanding of borrowing and possible alternatives, which permits a comparative evaluation of the various options. I have argued that two fundamental strategies can be followed in borrowing, importation of the SL form and analogical innovation, which I have each subdivided into two more specific categories (importation of the SL form with transfer of foreign features/with formal adaptation and analogical innovation by word formation/by semantic change). Along with these, I have argued, a third strategy of independent innovation should be added, which again subdivides into two more specific categories (independent innovation by word formation/by semantic change). I have then proceeded to consider the situations of communication in which the TL innovation is created and used. On the basis of these distinctions, I have presented a comprehensive and comparative evaluation of the various strategies.

The main points of this evaluation can be summarised as follows: [1] The different types of innovations have been comparatively evaluated for various contexts of use, that is, the different kinds of Anglicisms have not been judged separately, but in comparison to possible alternatives to borrowing. [2] When evaluating the different options, I have taken into account a broad range of factors and criteria: criteria related to cognition and communication, factors related to speaker and hearer, the relation between the SL and TL form, factors concerning the position of the TL form within the lexical and grammatical system of the TL, and intra- and interlinguistic aspects. [3] The evaluation has shown that all strategies present certain advantages, but also imply possible difficulties. Therefore, no simple and general answer to the question which option is best can be given. In particular, the needs of speakers and hearers may contradict each other, that is, the form which best fits the needs of the producer must not necessarily represent the best option for the hearer. [4] Most importantly, I have argued that evaluations of borrowings and possible alternatives should be based on the uses of these innovations in communication. Therefore, the criteria of evaluation have been founded upon the needs of

speakers and hearers, which include both cognitive and communicative aspects.

Enlarging the perspective, we can finally observe that the question which factors are accorded priority may not only depend on individual speaker decisions, but also on more general social and linguistic conditions. For example, linguistic communities may have a strong desire to stress linguistic independence and creativity, or on the contrary value more highly the close relations to the SL, or international relations in general. Attitudes towards Anglicisms also depend on the presence or absence of an officially organised long-term language policy (see Humblay in this volume). Furthermore, it has been observed that the degree of formal adaptation of loanwords closely correlates to the level of knowledge of the SL within the TL society, and that good SL knowledge generally leads to low formal adaptation (Braun 1978: 371, Braselmann 2002: 206, Blank 1995: 47). Another related issue which needs to be investigated in more detail is the importance of the distinction between everyday language and languages for special purposes. In languages for special purposes, there is frequently a strong tendency towards international terminologies favouring the importation of SL forms, so that this parameter equally proves of central importance for the global evaluation of Anglicisms (compare the chapters on Anglicisms in languages for special purposes in this volume).

**Table 1-6 Cognitive and Communicative Criteria for Evaluating Borrowing and Alternative Strategies**

Creation of the TL expression > degree of bilingualism > cognitive processes	Importation of SL Form	Analogical Innovation	Independent Innovation
	presupposes a certain degree of bilingualism	higher degree of bilingualism	by new association of concepts and semantic change or word formation
	by replication of a sequence of sounds or written signs	by analysing the SL form, retrieving a corresponding TL form and initiating the SL pattern of semantic change or word formation	

TL communication/lexicological aspects	functional extension of TL lexicon	functional extension of TL lexicon	functional extension of TL lexicon
> motivatedness	unmotivated TL items	motivated TL items	motivated TL items
> ambiguity	unambiguous	innovations by semantic change: potentially problematic polysemy	innovations by semantic change: potentially problematic polysemy
> formal aspects/pragmatic effects	relative shortness of certain innovations capture of attention	relative length of certain innovations capture of attention	relative length of certain innovations capture of attention
	transfer of foreign features: exclusivity, prestige, local colour, cosmopolitan and expert knowledge Strong adaptation: obsolescence, lacking education	positive or negative evaluation of conceptualisation	positive or negative evaluation of conceptualisation
	positive or negative evaluation of formal adaptation	positive or negative evaluation of imitation of SL pattern	positive or negative evaluation of independent innovation
International communication	weak adaptation: immediate relation to SL → facilitation of international communication strong adaptation: relation to SL weakened → decreasing inter-comprehensibility	relation to SL is conserved for bilingual speakers → facilitation of international communication for bilingual speakers	no relation to SL → no facilitation of international communication
Learning and memorisation	possibility of "false friends" words have to be learnt and memorised as isolated items	facilitation of learning and memorisation by motivation in TL	facilitation of learning and memorisation by motivation in TL
> intralinguistic aspects	transfer of foreign features: possible difficulties		
> interlinguistic aspects	facilitation by corresponding SL forms	facilitation by similar conceptualisation in SL and TL	no facilitation by corresponding SL forms
	possibility of "false friends"		

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