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BORROWING AS A WORD-FINDING PROCESS IN COGNITIVE HISTORICAL ONOMASIOLOGY

Abstract

Since recent findings of cognitive linguistics have already initiated new discussions on semantic change and word-formation, this study now wants to shed new light on the third type of name-giving processes, i.e. borrowing. After a brief look on the motives for borrowing and the problems involved with integrating loans into another language, the article first discusses the classical terminologies by Haugen, Weinreich and Betz. It excludes so-called “loan creations” and “substituting loan meanings,” but includes “pseudo-loans” and addresses the subject of folk-etymology in connection with foreign linguistic models. Then the article sheds light on the recent comprehensive name-giving model by Peter Koch and discusses the role of loan influences in this model. Whereas all these authors depart from a word-oriented theory (form and meaning), the article aims at going one step further and attempts a word-and-mind-oriented approach: on the basis of the recent and slightly modified word-finding model by Pavol Štekauer and on the basis of revised aspects of the other models mentioned, it tries to place the variant roles of foreign influence (i.e. iconymic influences and formal influences) onto the various stages of the word-finding process.

1. Introductory Remarks

Historical onomasiology is the study of the history of words for a given concept. Since the baptism of the discipline by Zauner in 1902, studies have basically been concerned with the explanations of the internal and external side of words, i.e. their forms and (the motivations of) their meanings. In the wake of the new focus on cognitive aspects since the “foundation” of prototype linguistics by Rosch (1973) and Labov (1973), historical linguistics has slowly attracted historical linguists as well. In allusion to Jean Aitchison’s famous book, *Words in the Mind* (1994), I would like to define *cognitive historical onomasiology* as an approach that is not just word-oriented like the older onomasiological studies, but one that is word-and-mind-oriented. This is also alluded to by the word-finding aspect mentioned in the title. Works such as the ones by Dekeyser (1995), Gévaudan (forthcoming), Grzega (2002a, 2002b), Koch (1999a, 1999b), Krefeld (1999), Rastier (1999), or on a more a general basis of language change, Sweetser (1990), Lüdtke (1986), Traugott (e.g. 1991) and Geeraerts (e.g. 1983) show that onomasiology has begun to participate in the cognitive revival of diachronic branches of linguistics. One field of onomasiological study is studying the various ways of finding a new word for a given concept. The traditional literature basically lists three main types of name-giving: (a) taking an already existing word and applying it to a new referent (semantic change), (b) creating a new word with the material offered by the speaker’s language (word-formation), (c) adopting linguistic material from another language (borrowing, loans).¹ Historical semantics has already been attracting scholars for quite some years (cf. e.g. the landmark work by Blank [1997], which also encompasses an extensive bibliography, or Blank/Koch 1999a²). Cognitive word-formation is currently discussed by Štekauer (e.g. 2001) and also Grzega

¹ For a more detailed survey on these various formal possibilities cf. Zgusta (1990). The variety of name-giving possibilities is already remarkably presented by Whitney (1867, Chapter 3, and 1875, Chapter 8, especially 114ff.).

² Some articles in this book are briefly reviewed in Grzega (2001b); the contents are well summarized in Blank/Koch (1999b).

(2002b). It seems time that borrowing is also dedicated a few thoughts on how psychological aspects can supplement and revise the findings of older studies.

The article will first give a brief survey of motives for lexical borrowing (section 2) and illustrate some of the linguistic problems involved with the integration of loanwords³ (section 3). It will then review the classical views by Betz, Haugen and Weinreich (section 4) and cast light on a new model of lexical diachrony established by Peter Koch (section 5). Then I will present and revise a novel scheme of the word-finding process, namely Štekauer's word-finding model (section 6). On the basis of these revisions and further observations, I will finally develop a synthesis for a cognitive onomasiological model of borrowing (section 7). Examples will mainly be taken from English and German because the classical studies in the field of loans were on English and German. Nevertheless, I will also try to include material from other languages.

2. Motives for Borrowing

Apart from the very general distinction between “necessity borrowing” and “luxury borrowing” (cf., e.g., Tappolet 1913-1916, later also Öhmann 1924 and others) and the two frequently named motives “need to designate new (imported) things” (cf., e.g., Weinreich 1953: 56f., Bellmann 1971: 55, Oksaar 1972: 128f., Scheler 1977: 86, Tesch 1978: 201ff., Hock 1986: 408f., Hock/Joseph 1996: 271, Trask 1996: 18, Campbell 1998: 59, Fritz 1998: 1622) and “prestige” (cf., e.g. Bartoli 1945: 300, Weinreich 1953: 59, Baranow 1973: 139, Scheler 1977: 87f., Tesch 1978: 213f., Hock 1986: 385 & 409f., Hock/Joseph 1996: 271, Trask 1996: 19, Lipka 2001: 303), the following aspects, among others, have been mentioned as causes for lexical borrowing:

- (1) need to differentiate special nuances of expression, including stylistic variation (cf. Öhmann 1924: 284, Oksaar 1971, Baranow 1973: 283ff., Tesch 1978: 210f., Fritz 1998: 1622),
- (2) need to play with words (cf. Öhmann 1924: 284, Décsy 1973: 5),
- (3) homonymic clashes (cf. Weinreich 1953: 57),
- (4) loss of affectiveness of words (cf. Weinreich 1953: 58) or, seen from a juxtaposed viewpoint, emotionality of a specific concept (cf. Grzega 2002a: 1030),
- (5) feeling of insufficiently differentiated conceptual fields (cf. Weinreich 1953: 59) or rise of a specific conceptual field (cf. Grzega 2002a: 1030),
- (6) attraction of a borrowing due to an already borrowed word (consociation effects, analogy) (cf. Scheler 1977: 86ff.),
- (7) possibly general attraction of borrowing an etymological doublet (Scheler 1977: 87),
- (8) political or cultural dominion of one people by another (cf. Fritz 1998: 1622),
- (9) bilingual character of a society (cf. Tesch 1978: 199, Fritz 1998: 1622),
- (10) negative evaluation and aim of appearing derogatory or positive evaluation and need for a euphemistic expression (cf. Polenz 1972: 145, Tesch 1978: 212, Campbell 1998: 60)
- (11) laziness of the translator or lack of lexicographical means (cf. Baranow 1973: 127, Scheler 1977: 88, Tesch 1978: 207),
- (12) mere oversight or temporary lack of remembering the indigenous name (cf. Weinreich 1953: 60, Baranow 1973: 138, Tesch 1978: 209 & 214),
- (13) low frequency of indigenous words and instability of words within a region (cf.

³ Borrowings of phonemes, morphemes, phonological rules, morphological rules, collocations and idioms as well as morphosyntactic processes are excluded from this article.

Weinreich 1953: 57, Scheler 1977: 88).

Most of these reasons (items 1-10) also occur, although not always in this wording, in the catalog of motives for lexemic change recently established in Grzega (2002a: 1030ff.). From this catalog other factors may also motivate the speaker to look for a borrowing, e.g. taboo and word-play. However, the laziness of a translator (item 11) and mere oversight (item 12), which have been brought up in the classical literature, can certainly yield to borrowing in the *parole*, but it is hardly imaginable how these can have a lasting effect on the *langue*. and as a matter of fact, those who list this reason don't give any concrete examples. It is also unclear how a low frequency rate of indigenous words (item 13) can motivate borrowing. First of all, what is a low frequency rate of a word? Does it mean that the concept is rarely talked of? Does this then include that infrequent concepts have a tendency to be named with a loanword? This is not convincing. And a borrowing doesn't render a concept more frequent. Or does low frequency rate mean that other synonyms are more frequent? But why should the rare synonym then be replaced by a borrowing and not simply by the other synonyms? This is equally little convincing.

3. Excursus: Integration of Borrowings

The integration, or nativization, of a word in a borrowing language's system is not really a genuine part of the word-finding process itself, but nevertheless important with regard to the first realization(s), once the speaker has decided to use a borrowing. Since the topic is dealt with in length in a number of works (cf., e.g., Haugen 1950, Deroy 1956, Tesch 1978: 128ff., Hock 1986: 390ff. & 400, Janda/Jacobs/Joseph 1994: 70ff., Hock/Joseph 1996: 259ff. & 274ff., Trask 1996: 24ff., Campbell 1998: 60ff.), I will only briefly dwell on the aspect of integration. A one-to-one-reflex of a foreign word can be hindered by diverging phonemes, sound combinations (i.e. divergent canonic syllable forms), stress patterns and inflection patterns. Finally, Bellmann (1971: 36) and Tesch (1978: 128) have also pointed out that a word also needs to be integrated semantically. What position does it take in a word-field? How does it denotationally, connotationally and collocationally differ from already existing words. Sometimes the foreign term is stylistically higher, especially when it comes from classical languages (e.g. E. *to interrogate* is more sophisticated than *to ask*, G. *illustrieren* 'illustrate' is more sophisticated than the synonymous inherited words *zeigen* or *darstellen*, AmE. *autumn* is more sophisticated than inherited *fall*), but it can also be the other way around (e.g. BrE. *autumn* is less sophisticated than inherited *fall*), or there can be register differences (cf. G. technical *Appendicitis* vs. everyday *Blinddarmentzündung* 'appendicitis' or, in contrary distribution, technical *Fernsprecher* vs. everyday *Telefon* 'telephone'. Besides, we have to state that the effects and roles of the aspects of integration mentioned not only vary from language to language, but they can also vary from region to region, social class to social class, and generation to generation. Moreover, proper nouns have their own rules. It can be observed, for instance, that Austrians are more eager to reproduce the exact foreign pronunciation of a place-name better than the Germans (cf. Grzega 2000: 57); Americans normally replace the [χ] of German words by [k], e.g., the *German Reich* [raɪk], but some of them keep it in the name of the famous composer family *Bach*, [baχ] (cf. Hock/Joseph 1996: 260).

4. Borrowing in the Classical Models

Already Hermann Paul (1920: 392f.) draws a rough classification of borrowings, distinguishing between the borrowing of actual foreign (external) forms and the borrowing

of the internal structure of a foreign word—a classification that will later be known as importation vs. substitution (cf. also Stanforth [2002: 806f.]). However, it is the studies by Betz (1949, 1959), Haugen (1950, also 1956), and Weinreich (1953) that are regarded as the classical theoretical works on loan influence (cf. the two survey articles by Oksaar [1996: 4f.] and Stanforth [2002]). I would first like to juxtapose the respective nomenclatures and then add a few comments.

4.1. The Fundamental Classification(s) by Betz and His Successors

Weinreich (1953: 47ff.) differentiates between two mechanisms of lexical interference, namely those initiated by simple words and those initiated by compound words and phrase. Weinreich (1953: 47) defines *simple words* “from the point of view of the bilinguals who perform the transfer, rather than that of the descriptive linguist. Accordingly, the category ‘simple’ words also includes compounds that are transferred in unanalysed form.” Simple words can trigger off a transfer such as Am.Ital. *azzoraiti* < AmE. *that’s all right*, an extension of the use of an indigenous word of the influenced language in conformity with a foreign model such as Am.It. *libreria* ‘1. bookstore; 2. library’, with the second meaning effected by AmE. *library*, or a sign’s expression is changed on the model of a cognate in a language in contact (e.g. when *vakátsje* ‘vacation’ becomes *vekejšn* in Amer. Yiddish). Interference triggered off by composite items can also occur in three subtypes: either all the elements are transferred in analyzed form, or all elements are reproduced by semantic extensions of indigenous words, or there is a mixture of these two subtypes. After this general classification, Weinreich then resorts to Betz’s (1949) terminology, which will be illustrated below.

On the basis of his importation-substitution distinction⁴, Haugen (1950: 214f.) distinguishes three basic groups of borrowings: “(1) LOANWORDS show morphemic importation without substitution. [. . .]. (2) LOANBLENDs show morphemic substitution as well as importation. [. . .]. (3) LOANSHIFTS show morphemic substitution without importation.” Within *loanshifts* Haugen (1950: 219) further distinguishes between *loan homonymy*, “[i]f the new meaning has nothing in common with the old,” and *loan synonymy*, “[w]hen there is a certain amount of semantic overlapping between the new and old meanings”⁵. Hock/Joseph (1996: 275ff.) have also tried to determine the factors that make speakers decide adoption or adaptation: according to them, a high similarity of the structure of donor and target language as well as political dominion and prestige make speakers prefer adoption, whereas a low similarity of the structures of donor and target language as well as linguistic nationalism, or purism, make speakers prefer adaptation (cf. also Hock 1986: 409ff.). Haugen has later refined (1956) his model in a review of Gneuss’s (1955) book on Old English loan coinages, whose classification, in turn, is the one by Betz (1949) again. His suggestions are included in Table 1 and the following comments.

In sum, the basic theoretical statements evidently all depart from Betz’s nomenclature. Duckworth (1977) enlarges Betz’s scheme by the type “partial substitution” and

⁴ Hock/Joseph (1996) use the terms *adoption* and *adaptation*.

⁵ Haugen’s terminology was recently updated by Cannon (1999: 328ff.). However, his suggestions are not very convincing, in my opinion. Thus, I can’t agree with Cannon (1999: 328), when he sees E. *loanword* a simple naturalization of G. *Lehnwort* to fit English phonetic and graphemic patterns. E. *loanword* is definitely a loan translation; a simple English loan of G. *loanword* would, for instance, be a form *[ˈleɪnwɔːt] <[ˈlanewɔːt]>. Likewise, E. *activism* is not a formal adaptation of G. *Aktivism* ‘a philosophical theory’. Moreover, Cannon doesn’t seem familiar with Haugen’s (1956) further development of his own and the Betz-Gneuss system.

supplements the system with English terms, so that for further discussions we should refer to the following terminological Betz-Duckworth-version for lexical borrowings (Haugen's terms are added in square brackets]):

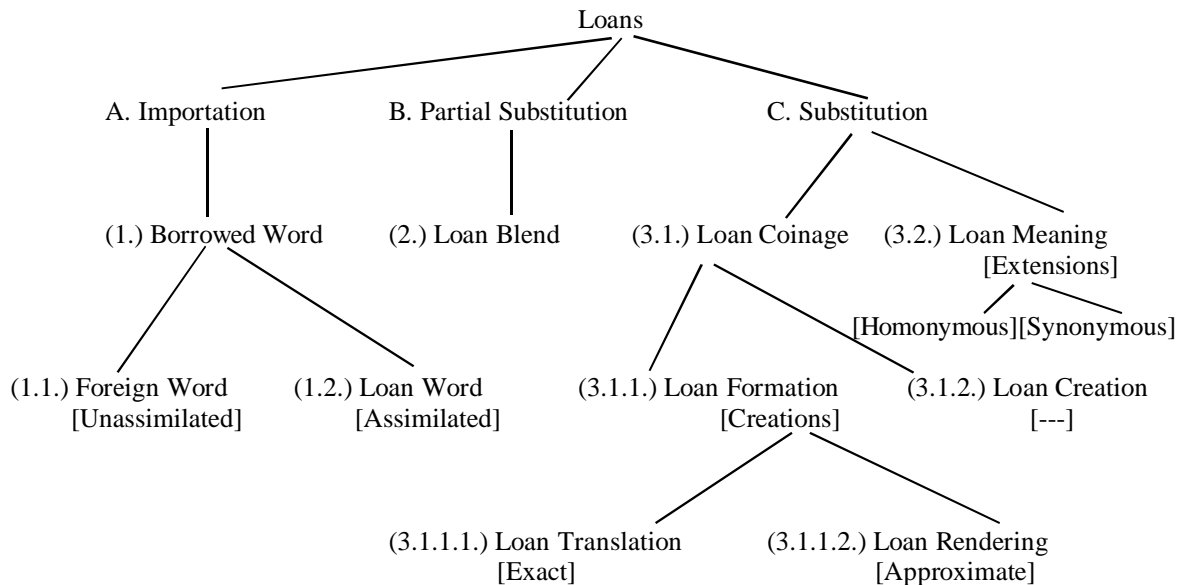


Figure 1:
Duckworth's revision of Betz's terminology for borrowings (together with Haugen's terminology)

Betz and Duckworth define these categories as follows:

- (1.1.): non-integrated word from a foreign language, e.g. E. *café* [kæ'feɪ], *envelope* in the form [ˈɑːnvələʊp], *fiancé* in the form [fi'ɑːnsei] (all from French)⁶; Sp. *hippie* ['xipi], Sp. *whisk(e)y* (both from English); E. *weltanschauung* (< G. *Weltanschauung*), E. *sympathy* (Gk *sympatheia*, maybe via Fr. *sympathie*), E. (*Johann Sebastian*) *Bach* in the form [bax]; It. *mouse* 'computer device' (< E. *mouse* 'rodent; computer device');
- (1.2.): integrated word from a foreign language, e.g. E. *music* ['mjuːzɪk], *envelope* in the form [ˈɛnvələʊp], *fiancé* in the form [fi'ɒntsei] (all from French); Sp. *jipi* ['xipi] (a case of graphic integration), Sp. *güisqui* (both from English), E. (*Johann Sebastian*) *Bach* in the form [bak];
- (2.): composite words, in which one part is borrowed, another one substituted, e.g. OE. *Saturnes dæg* 'Saturday' (< Lat. *Saturnis dies*), G. *Showgeschäft* 'literally: show-business' (< E. *show business*), G. *Live-Sendung* 'literally: live-broadcast' (< E. *live broadcast*);
- (3.1.1.1.): translation of the elements of the foreign word, e.g. OE. *Mōnan dæg* 'Monday' (< Lat. *Lunae dies*), Fr. *gratte-ciel* and Sp. *rasca-cielos* 'both literally: scrape-sky' (< E. *skyscraper*)⁷, E. *world view* (< G. *Weltanschauung*), G. *Mit-leid* 'sympathy' < Lat. *com-passio* (< Gk. *sym-patheia*), AmSp. *manzana de Adán* (< E. *Adam's apple*; vs. EurSp.

⁶ The phonetic variants here and throughout the rest of the article are taken from the EPD15.

⁷ This, of course, also includes the translations with respect to the word-formation patterns of the recipient language.

- nuez* [*de la garganta*] ‘literally: nut [of the throat]’);
- (3.1.1.2.): translation of part of the elements of the foreign word, e.g. E. *brother-hood* (< Lat. *frater-nitas* [= Lat. *frater* ‘brother’ + suffix] [cf. comment below!]), G. *Wolken-kratzer* ‘literally: clouds-scra-per’ (< E. *sky-scra-per*);
- (3.1.2.): coinage independent of the foreign word, but created out of the desire to replace a foreign word, e.g. E. *brandy* (< Fr. *cognac*);
- (3.2.): indigenous word to which the meaning of the foreign word is transferred, e.g. OE. *cniht* ‘servant + disciple of Jesus’ (< Lat. *discipulus* ‘student, disciple of Jesus’), OE. *heofon* ‘sky, abode of the gods + Christian heaven’ (< Lat. *caelum* ‘sky, abode of the gods, Christian heaven’), G. *Fall* ‘action of falling + grammatical case’ (< Lat. *casus* ‘action of falling, grammatical case’), G. *Maus* and Fr *souris* ‘rodent + computer device’ (< E. *mouse* ‘rodent, computer device’).

4.2. Comments on the Classical Classification(s)

The scheme that I have just presented calls for a few comments.

4.2.1. **General Remarks:** First, it should be added that Betz also includes loan expressions (or loan collocations) and loan syntax on a par with loan meaning. However, as Haugen (1956: 763) rightly suggests, they rather belong, “if anywhere, under *Lehnbildung*. They differ from other loan formations, not in the principle of borrowing, but in their linguistic structure: the same thing happens when French *faire la cour* becomes German *den Hof machen* as when English *skyscraper* becomes German *Wolkenkratzer*. In either case a *Lehnübersetzung* has taken place with a substitution of native morphemes.”

4.2.2. **Importation:** Borrowings may stem not only from another language, but also from another variety of the same language. Thus, ModE. *uncouth*, as can be seen by the lack of diphthongization of ME. [u:], descends from a North English dialect⁸. This possibility is referred to in the works by Schöne (1951), Deroy (1956: 113f., 116) and Hock (1986: 380 & 388f.), but by and large, it is not seldom neglected in the literature. On the other hand, it must also be mentioned that some linguists consciously exclude this possibility from their definition of *borrowing*. Gusmani (1973: 7f.), for instance, says that otherwise nearly every word would be a borrowing—at least from another idiolect. In a way this would indeed be a correct description for the loan innovation in an idiolect and for the diffusion of the loan in a the dialect of a speech community, but this is, of course, not a valuable description of loan innovations in a speech community. Also of note, some of the categories are hard to delimitate, especially when it comes to the distinction between foreign word (G. *Fremdwort*) and loanword (G. *Lehnwort*)⁹. The decisive criterion for the separation of loanword and foreign word is supposed to be the degree of integration. But “integrated” in what respect? Linguistically (system) or sociolinguistically (acceptance by speech community)? And if linguistically, which aspects? Only spelling and pronunciation or also inflection? For Polenz (1967: 72f.) only the sociolinguistic, or sociolinguistic, aspect is worth pursuing. Cannon (1999: 330f.), too, favors this approach, and distinguishes four degrees of naturalization, the definitions of which, however, do not really become clear (cf. also Pfeffer/Cannon 1994: xxxiii). Weinreich (1953: 54f.) mentions the phonetic, the morphological as well as the stylistic integration. Gusmani (1973: 23f) suggests keeping

⁸ Cannon (1999: 332f.) rightly remarks that sometimes the exact source variety or source language may not be determinable (any longer).

⁹ Among German linguists the discussion between foreign word and loan word has a long tradition (cf. Duckworth [1977: 40ff.], Tesch [1978: 42ff.] and Braun [1979]).

formal aspects and usage aspects apart and terms the former *integration*, the latter *acclimatization*. Discussions show at least one thing, namely that with these categories we are confronted with “fuzzy edges,” to adopt a label from cognitive linguistics. In other words: there are prototypical, clearly foreign words such as E. *coup d'état* (< Fr.) and prototypical, loanwords that are clearly such like E. *wine* (< Lat. *vīnum*) and in between many intermediate stages along a continuum (cf. also Derooy [1956: 224]). It should be realized, though, that in an onomasiological approach, which looks at the birth, not the maturation of the word, the distinction between *loanword* and *foreign word* is rather of minor importance and only relevant at the very last “onomasiological stage,” the actual pronunciation of the word. In addition, differentiations are also not unproblematic when it comes to loan formations and loan meanings, as shall be seen later. Moreover, it is a general rule—and should not be treated as something peculiar in a model—that foreign words are not adopted with their complete meaning of the source language, but normally in only one sense (cf. also Stanforth [2002: 808]). This is clear as a speech community does not borrow an (isolated) *word*, but a designation for a specific *concept* (cf. also Schelper 1995: 241).¹⁰ Rarely, terms are also adopted in a meaning broader than in the giving language (cf. Derooy 1956: 265, Pfeffer 1977: 523, Tournier 1985: 330).

4.2.3. **Loan Blends:** To the group of hybrid composites we may also add the phenomenon of those “tautological compounds” (cf. Gusmani 1973: 51, Glahn 2000: 46) where a native morpheme is added to a foreign morpheme, with the sense of the former being already encompassed in the latter. Examples are E. *peacock* (first element from Lat. *pavo* ‘peacock’), OE. *porlēac* ‘porridge’ (first element from Lat. *porrus* ‘porridge’ + OE. *lēac* ‘porridge’). It has been said that “tautological compounds” are coined because speakers don’t know the exact meaning of the foreign word (any longer) (Carstensen 1965: 265f., Fleischer 1974: 123, Tesch 1978: 127). This is well imaginable, but it can certainly not be the only reason. Does the choice between *crimson* and *crimson red*, e.g., depend on the knowledge of the exact meaning of *crimson*? Moreover, the formal extension of *pea* to *peacock* does not necessarily ease the identification of the corresponding concept, although there is nevertheless a rise in semantic transparency.

4.2.4. **Loan Formations:** As to “loan translations” and “loan renderings” it should first be noted that Betz’s example of *brotherhood* seems problematic, as here we may wonder whether *-hood* doesn’t simply represent the translation of Lat. *-itas*, which then makes it a “full” loan-translation. As a matter of fact loan translations and loan renditions have not always been separated consistently, as Tesch (1978: 114) rightly criticizes. As to an onomasiological theory it should be underscored that “loan formations,” which Haugen (1956) calls “creations,” are hard to detect anyhow. How do we know whether the inventor of a coinage had a foreign model in mind or whether s/he selected the same motive for the designation (the same *iconym* in Alinei’s [1997] terminology) by chance? It seems as if the more salient an iconym, the more difficult we can decide whether we have to do with an independent formation or a calque¹¹. In addition, the existence of “loan renderings” shows that it is the iconym rather than the form that is the model for the coinage (cf. also Derooy 1956: 216). For “loan translations” the formal aspect may play an additional part, but this cannot be decided for sure; the criteria that the classification might additionally be founded

¹⁰ This way, Lipka’s (2001: 305) view that G. *Handout* shows semantic narrowing because it only carries the English sense ‘piece of printed information given out to an audience’, but not the sense ‘amount of money given to a needy person’ seems wrong to me.

¹¹ Also Lehmann (1972: 29), Schelper (1995: 326) and Glahn (2000: 37) note that latent loans are hard to detect. Betz (1972: 141f.) has tried to establish a catalog of criteria, but the general problem will remain unsolved.

on includes a cross-linguistic comparison (is a specific semantic broadening wide-spread or only singular?), dates of the first occurrence in the presumable donor and the presumable target language, and cultural contexts. Deroy (1956: 222) shows that calques can also occur with idiomatic expressions, e.g. OFr. *Coment le faites vous?* ‘literally: How it-object make-2pl. you?’ becomes *How do you faire?* in Middle English and later *How do you do?*.

4.2.5. Loan Meanings and Loan Creations: As regards loan meanings, or semantic loans, (in Haugen’s [1956] terminology “extensions”) already Gneuss (1955: 21) observes that actually two different processes have been subsumed under this term. In one subprocess, which he calls “analogous loan meanings,” the polysemy of the foreign model is copied (e.g. G. *Fall* ‘action of falling + grammatical case’ < Lat. *casus* ‘action of falling, grammatical case’), in the other subprocess, which he calls “substituting loan meanings,” a word that has a “similar” meaning is extended to purvey the notion of the foreign model (e.g. OE. *cniht* ‘servant + disciple of Jesus’ < Lat. *discipulus* ‘student, disciple of Jesus’). But here we face the same problem as with loan formations, namely: the question of whether cases of substituting loan meanings were really in any way influenced by a foreign language. This can be denied even more strictly than with loan formations (cf. also Glahn [2000: 42]). What is foreign is the concept, but there is no foreign linguistic import. The word is created just like any word out of indigenous material. Analogous loan meanings, on the other hand, seem to be a true mixture of semantic change and borrowing, where the foreign word serves as a model very early in the word-finding process. As for “analogous loan meanings” Gneuss (1955: 22f.) and Haugen (1956: 764) distinguish between those analogies that are triggered off by the semantic intersection of model and replica, e.g. OE. *tunga* ‘tongue + language’ due to Lat. *lingua* ‘tongue, language’, and those that are triggered off by the phonetic similarity between model and replica, e.g. Am.Norw. *brand* ‘fire + bran [i.e. the outer covering of grain that is separated when making white flour]’ due to E. *bran* ‘the outer covering of grain that is separated when making white flour’¹². Haugen speaks of “synonymous loan extensions” in the first and “homophonous loan extensions” in the second example, but since model and replica may not represent complete synonyms and homophones, I suggest speaking of [content-induced] “loan meanings” and [sound-induced] “loan designations.” However, it seems doubtful whether these two phenomena are really subtypes of the same type. The genesis seems rather different to me and Haugen actually offers an alternative view of the second phenomenon which seems more apposite, namely “regard such homophonous extensions as LOANWORDS, in which the phonemic replica was not made phoneme-by-phoneme, but was mutated by influence of phonemically similar morphemes” (Haugen 1956: 764; my emphasis). Tesch (1978: 118) even mentions a third type of “semantic loan,” viz. “homologous semantic loans.” As an example he mentions G. *realisieren*, which, apart from ‘to make, to carry out’, has adopted the sense of ‘to note’ on the basis of E. *realize*. Such cases would then represent both content-induced and sound-induced loan phenomena. The boundaries of these three phenomena are, of course, fuzzy (cf. also Tesch 1978: 118). Moreover, also Betz’s “loan creations” (not synonymous with Haugen’s creations, which equal Betz’s loan formations) come into existence, in contrast to what the model suggests and Kiesler (1993: 516) supports, without any influence from the foreign expression (as already shown by Betz’s definition¹³ and also propagated by Haugen

¹² Gneuss (1955: 23) gives another example: G. *irritieren* ‘to irritate + to confuse’ (< Lat. *irritare* or Fr. *irriter*, both ‘to irritate’) due to G. *irr* ‘confused’. This, however, is not a good example, since the extension is not due to a foreign model, but due to the folk-etymological influence of a native (!) word. Also of note, as Urbanová (1966: 108) has rightly pointed out, it can sometimes be difficult to distinguish between the import of a foreign word and semantic change; besides, it is also difficult to separate these phenomena from loan translations (cf. Tesch 1978: 117).

¹³ Betz’ example of E. *brandy* is not a good one, since the word is possibly a true loan of the first element

[1950: 220f., 1956: 765], Schuhmann [1965: 66], Tesch [1978: 115] and Höfler [1981])¹⁴—similar to the so-called “substituting loan meanings.” Both “loan creations” and “substituting loan meanings” should therefore be excluded from an onomasiological model of loans, since otherwise all types of word-formations would fall under this heading only because the concepts designated were imported. This can hardly make sense.

4.2.6. **Pseudo-Loans:** Hardly integrated in such models, but normally treated separately (if at all) are the so-called pseudo-loans¹⁵. Therefore, I shall delve into this category a little more thoroughly. Pseudo-loans are traditionally classified into three types (cf., e.g., Carstensen 1980a, 1980b, 1981—examples are taken from these works):

- (i) semantic pseudo-loans (i.e. a foreign word shows a meaning it didn't have in the original meaning, e.g. G. *Start* in the sense of ‘take-off’, G. *beaten* ‘to play beat music’ G. *Oldtimer* ‘veteran car’, G. *Musicbox* ‘juke-box’, G. *Dress* ‘outfit (sports); shirt, or strip, of a sports team’, G. *checken* ‘understand’),
- (ii) lexical pseudo-loans (i.e. the word looks foreign or is coined with foreign morphemes, but the combination of the morphemes cannot be found in the foreign language, e.g. G. *Handy* ‘cellular phone’¹⁶, G. *Showmaster* ‘host’¹⁷),
- (iii) morphological pseudo-loans (combinations of lexical morphemes that do not quite correspond to the formations in the foreign language, e.g. G. *Happy-End* for E. *happy ending*¹⁸).

Pseudo-loans can be understood as a process of “borrowing” that is encouraged by the foreign language’s prestige and rules (cf. Schottmann 1977: 27)¹⁹. Janda/Jacobs/Joseph (1994: 71ff.) and Hock/Joseph (1996: 270) point out the phenomenon of “hyperforeignization” in pronunciation (or “emphatic foreignisation” in Campbell’s terminology [1998: 76f.]), e.g. the pronunciation [ku:dəgra] for *coup de grâce*, which in French would have to be [kudəgras]. However, one type of pseudo-loans is very prominent in English, although they are never labeled as such, viz. the so-called “neo-classical compounds,” i.e. terms for basically modern inventions consisting of Latin and Greek elements. It need be underlined that the above-given tripartite classification is understandable and valuable from a analytical, synchronic perspective, especially in the realm of foreign language teaching. A synthetical (i.e. onomasiological) perspective, however, must view the phenomenon of “pseudo”-loans in a different way. First, one must look at the source language at the time of the first attestation of the word in the target language and not into present-day dictionaries in order to discern whether a word is a “true” loan or a “pseudo”-loan. Höfler (1990: 100ff.) has already criticized the ahistorical view that is much too often found in dictionaries. This is especially relevant in an onomasiological approach and also includes the

of Du. *brandewijn* (cf. Scheler 1977: 27).

¹⁴ Haugen also refers to an article by Casagrande (1954: 217).

¹⁵ There is a variety of other names for the same phenomenon, but I will refrain from listing and commenting on them. Cf. also Höfler (1990) and Gusmani (1979).

¹⁶ The classification of G. *Handy* as a lexical pseudo-loan is due to the fact that a noun *handy* doesn't exist in English. For Glahn (2000: 37), however, *Handy* is a semantic pseudo-loan, as he just sees the form without its membership in a word-class (and so *handy* exists in English as an adjective).

¹⁷ In contrast to G. *Handy*, which represents a combination of two foreign morphemes not in use in the German language before, the item G. *Showmaster* was coined of two foreign morphemes that had already been known by the German speech community. We may therefore speak of two subtypes of “lexical pseudo-loans.”

¹⁸ Meyer (1974: 123) has called such instances *loan shortenings*.

¹⁹ Especially pseudo-anglicisms have been the focus of a number of studies on German (cf. e.g. Carstensen 1980a, 1980b, 1981, and Grzegza 2001a), but also on other languages (cf. Filipović 1985, Cypionka 1994). As to English there doesn't seem to be a consciousness of pseudo-loans although they do exist (cf. Janda/Jacobs/Joseph 1994).

exact analysis of semantic pseudo-loans: was the aberrant sense already present at the very stage of borrowing (i.e. was the foreign word misunderstood or misused?) or is the aberrant sense a later, secondary, independent and conscious development in the target language (cf. also Carstensen 1965: 256f., Bellmann 1971, Höfler 1990: 99)? Personally, I don't see that aberrant uses of a loan, if they should ever happen in the *parole*, can have any lasting effects on the *langue*. We have no evidence that the first introduction of a loan is a wrong use of the foreign language²⁰. What we can suggest, however, from large corpuses of attestations such as the ones of the AWb, is that loans can easily undergo semantic extensions (and are finally no longer used in their original senses). As a consequence lexical pseudo-loans such as G. *Handy* or G. *Showmaster* are not (necessarily) thought to be renderings of actual foreign words. What counts is that they sound foreign and that they have been coined with foreign material (maybe to the prestige of the foreign language). Actually, we can observe that these are always compounds or derivations, in other words: morphosemantically motivated words. This is natural as a pseudo-loan only makes sense if it shows (at least partly) motivation. It is the entire contact language that serves as a model and not only the phonetic system (although this can also happen as will be shown in section 4.2.7.). What has been subsumed under morphological pseudo-loans can either be secondary developments or true slight changes in the morphological structure. Thus, in *happy ending* the derivational suffix *-ing* was probably not felt necessary for understanding and was thus suppressed in G. *Happy End* (aside from the more recent *Happy Ending*; cf. AWb). The same holds true for G. *Aerobic* 'aerobics' and G. *Gin Tonic* 'gin and tonic'. As to semantic pseudo-loans, it seems sensible to have a more thorough look at the examples given above. G. *beaten* 'to play beat music' is most probably not at all based on E. *to beat* (as the AWb suggests), but on the earlier loan G. *Beat* 'beat [music]' and therefore represents an autochthonous derivation. Autochthonous word-formation, this time compounding, is also the process G. *Musicbox* 'juke-box'. I do not agree with the AWb either, which claims that one American dictionary also lists *music-box* 'jukebox' and that therefore G. *Musicbox* is a true loan; I think that G. *Musicbox* is an independent, autochthonous formation. G. *Oldtimer* and G. *Start* both were borrowed in their original English uses, but show secondary semantic extensions based on similarity between the originally and the secondarily denoted concepts (cf. the dates given in the respective entries in the AWb). G. *checken* originally only had the sense 'to check', but later also included the sense 'to understand' (cf. AWb), which can be traced back to the contiguity relationship between these two concepts. G. *Dress* 'outfit (sports)', finally, does not seem to be based on the English noun *dress*, but rather on the compound *tennis dress* (for ladies) or on the more general (verbal) morpheme *dress*; in the latter case, we should see G. *Dress* on a par with G. *Handy* and G. *Showmaster*, i.e. it is an autochthonous formation with foreign material. In conclusion, the phenomenon of semantic pseudo-loans is very rare from an onomasiological point of view, if it exists at all. In sum, we could distinguish between morpho-lexical pseudo-loans if the word of the replica

²⁰ Trask (1996: 18f.) lists a number of other examples: Ru. *vokzal* 'station' < E. *Vauxhall* 'very important London station', E. *kangaroo* 'kangaroo' < Austr. 'large black kangaroo', E. *cafeteria* 'cafeteria' < Sp. *cafetería* 'coffee shop', Fr. Sp. *footing* 'jogging' < E. *footing* 'act of walking, pacing, or stepping'. These examples can all be rejected as non-valid, though, after a look in relevant dictionaries. The story of Ru. *vokzal* is explained in Görlach (2001: 340): "This meaning was coined in Russian, when an English Vauxhall (amusement park) opened close to a station of the first railway line in Russia near St. Petersburg. In the course of time, the name for this fair was transferred to the station building close by and finally became a generic term." This is therefore a case of (secondary) semantic change. The etymology of *kangaroo* is still very unclear and debated. AmSp. *cafetería* included the sense of 'place where you can buy and drink [first coffee, later all kinds of other drinks]', from which AmE. developed still another sense (cf. OED s.v. *cafeteria*). Fr. Sp. *footing* 'jogging' (the type also occurs in other languages) may actually represent an independent, autonomous formation (that later spread over other European countries) (cf. also Görlach 2001: 123).

language does not exist in the model language (such as G. *Handy* ‘cellular phone’, G. *Showmaster* ‘host’), and sem(antic)o-lexical pseudo-loans if the (composite) word of the replica language does exist in the model language, but was “mis-used” in the replica language. In any case, one should only speak of semo-lexical pseudo-loans when the deviating meaning is already there with the “borrowing” process. When the deviating meaning is secondary then we are facing an instance of semantic change.

4.2.7. Folk-Etymological Adaptations: The force of folk-etymology in connection with borrowings can be illustrated by the German word *ausgepowert* ‘1. impoverished, 2. exhausted’. This word was originally only used in sense 1 and pronounced [‘aosgəpovət] well into the middle of the second half of the twentieth century; it represents a derivation of the German loan replica of Fr. *pauvre* [povr] ‘poor’. With the growing prestige of (American) English, however, the word was folk-etymologically put into the group of Anglicisms by pronouncing it more and more frequently [‘aosgəpauvət] (cf. E. *power*). This seems close to what Weinreich (1953: 50) terms a “mild type of lexical interference[, which] occurs when the expression of a sign is changed on the model of a cognate in a language in contact, without effect on the content, e.g. when *vakátsje* ‘vacation’ becomes *vekejšn* in Amer. Yiddish.” To what degree *vekejšn* was borrowed into American Yiddish due to its phonetic similarity with *vakátsje* remains to be seen: it seems that several motives had their effects here. G. *auspowern* is a different case: the spelling remains the same—but it is re-interpreted. There are also cases of borrowing that obviously go parallel with folk-etymology. Thus E. *gooseberry* (from G. (dial.) *Krausbeere*, Du. *kruisbezie* or Fr. *grosseille*) seems to represent an apt example. The OED doesn’t believe in an external influence from G. (dial.) *Krausbeere*, Du. *kruisbezie* or Fr. *grosseille*, viewing the huge impact of animal names on plant names. However, the weak motivation for naming this specific berry after the goose and the strong similarity of sounds between the English word and the foreign words are simply too striking to deny any relation. Another instance is Fr. *contredanse* (Fr. *contre* ‘counter, opposite’) from E. *country dance*. Mostly, however, folk-etymological adaptations are normally not triggered off by the name-giver and borrower, but by the speech community, which subsequently tries to adopt the word.

5. Borrowing in Koch’s Three-Dimensional Model for Lexical Diachrony

In a recent article Koch (2001) has made the commendable attempt to provide us with a comprehensive model of lexical changes and established a three-dimensional diachronic lexicological grid which systemizes the possibilities provided to speakers for coining a new term for a given concept. Koch distinguishes between cognitive-associative relations (such as contiguity and similarity) on an horizontal axis and formal relations (such as suffixation, prefixation, and composition) on a vertical axis. In addition, there is a third axis for distinguishing between indigenous material and borrowed elements; we could term this the stratification axis. Koch’s (2001: 19) table looks like this:

	identity	contiguity	metaphor- ical similarity	taxonomic similarity	taxonomic superordin.	taxonomic subordin.	cotaxonom- ic contrast	conceptual contrast
'zero'	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
conversion	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
suffixation	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
prefixation	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
composition	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47
:								
:								

Figure 2:
Koch's three-dimensional grid for lexical diachrony

A few examples (cf. Koch 2001: 18ff.) for the indigenous material systematized in the front half of the grid shall illustrate some of the processes. Koch suggests noting lexical changes down in the form of triples <cognitive relation.formal relation.stratification>. An example for <taxonomic subordination.zero.stratum> is ModE. *meat* 'flesh of an animal when it is used for food' (from OE. *mete* 'victuals; food and drink'), an example for <contiguity.composition.stratum> is ModE. *pear tree*, an example for <identity.suffixation.stratum> is E. *wandering* (from *wander*), an example for <metaphorical similarity.zero.stratum> is Fr. *chef* 'person in the leading position' (from Fr. *chef* 'head'), an example for <taxonomic similarity.zero.stratum> is Pg. *rato* 'mouse' (from Lat. **ratt-* 'rat'), an example for <cotaxonomic contrast.zero.stratum> is E. (slang) *bad* 'good', an example for <conceptual contrast.zero.stratum> is It. *brava donna* 'prostitute' (from *brava donna* 'honorable woman').

As to the stratification dimension, which is treated rather in passing, Koch (2001: 25) writes that very often borrowings are, as he says, neutral in their cognitive as well as in their formal dimension, i.e. they are simply adopted without formal and semantic change, and thus simply correspond to the type '00' in the grid (e.g. E. *café* < Fr. *café*, It. *mouse* 'computer device' < E. *mouse* 'animal; computer device'). This has the advantage that the differentiation between foreign word and loan word and the differentiation between loan translation and loan rendering become irrelevant. The stratification axis in relation to the formal axis on the hand and in relation to the cognitive-associative axis on the other is also a reflex of the old distinction between importation (formal borrowing) and substitution (cognitive-associative borrowing).

But the models also triggers off new problems. Problems arise, for instance, with cases

where either a word of the stratum is said to take over a new semantic function under the influence of a foreign word or where the borrowing itself is said to undergo semantic change. As an example for the former Koch quotes G. *Maus* ‘animal’, which, under the influence of E. *mouse*, also denotes the computer device; the latter is illustrated by G. *Sombrero* ‘Mexican hat with a broad brim’ from Sp. *sombrero* ‘hat’. However, while formal influence from another language or variety is easily detectable (e.g. E. *café*, It. *mouse*, G. *Sombrero*), foreign influence on the cognitive-associative level can hardly be made out for certain: how sure can we be that G. *Maus* ‘animal’ developed its secondary sense ‘computer device’ on the basis of E. *mouse* and does not represent an independent development? Again, the criteria that the classification might be based on includes a cross-linguistic view (is a specific semantic broadening wide-spread or only singular?), dates of the first occurrence in the presumable donor and the presumable target language, and cultural contexts.

Another point of criticism concerns cases like G. *Sombrero* ‘typical Mexican hat with a broad brim’. Is it really the case that the relation of taxonomic subordination plays a role in the borrowing of Sp. *sombrero* ‘hat’ into German? If German really got *Sombrero* directly from Spanish and not via English, it rather seems to be the case that German speakers, when importing the prototypical type of a Mexican hat and looking for a name, simply took over the word they had frequently heard among Mexicans denoting their prototypical member of the category HAT, namely the basic level term *sombrero*²¹. It may then be that either the speakers did not know that the word did not refer to a specific kind of hat, but any type of hat, or that they did know, but that they also knew that the typical Mexican hat is broad-brimmed. True, in a semasiological analysis, which departs from the word, the development of Sp. *sombrero* ‘hat’ to G. *sombrero* ‘specific kind of hat (viz. with a broad brim, as worn in Mexico)’ is an instance of specialization; an onomasiological analysis, which looks at the name-giving steps, suggests that this sense relation is never present in the German speech community’s minds. This is evidence, again, that people don’t adopt meanings, but references, in other words: not lexemes, but designations for a specific concept or referent. This is different from cases like E. *meat*, e.g., where the first users knew that *meat* is originally ‘food’; in other words there was a stage of polysemy that did not exist with the adoption of *sombrero* in German.

In conclusion, it may be doubted whether, aside from the cognitive and the formal relations, the stratification aspect should be adopted as a third equally working dimension, unless maybe in fully bilingual societies. This is not to deny that Koch’s grid is otherwise very useful and illustrative.

6. The Word-Finding Process

At the beginning of each name-giving process is a concept that you want to name. You either choose an already existing name for the concept or you choose to create a new synonym or you even must create a new word because the concept is so new that it has not even been given a name yet. The cognitive consequences in cases (b) and (c) are the same then. In these instances speakers need find a suitable motive—an iconym, as Alinei (e.g. 1997) has called it—for the new coinage. This means that they have to analyze the concept (into salient aspects): you may see the elements it consists of (partiality), you may see what it looks like compared to other things (similarity), you may see what it does not look like compared to other things (contrast) or you may see other concepts (from adjacent frames)

²¹ subordinate level term is deducible from a number of studies (cf. Mangold-Allwinn 1995: 126ff., 153f.).

that the concept to be named is related to (contiguity). When trying to find a name for a given concept the speaker not only has to select from cognitive possibilities, but s/he also has to select from formal possibilities to bring these associations into actual sound: basically, as already said, s/he may either

- (a) take an already existing word and give it a new meaning (i.e. semantic change),
- (b) borrow an already existing word with the same meaning from another dialect or language,
- (c) coin a new word from already existing material (word-formation); the speech community may also use a combination of these possibilities.

In his onomasiological theory of word-formation Štekauer has established a valuable word-finding scheme that need not be narrowed down to word-formation only, but can serve us as a general basis for onomasiological processes. According to Štekauer a word-forming process consists of five levels²²:

- (1) the conceptual level, where the concept to be named is analyzed and conceptually categorized in the most general way (i.e. “SUBSTANCE, ACTION (with internal subdivision into ACTION PROPER, PROCESS, and STATE), QUALITY, and CONCOMITANT CIRCUMSTANCE. (for example, that of Place, Time, Manner, etc.)” [Štekauer 2001: 11]),
- (2) the semantic level, where the semantic markers or semantic components are structured²³,
- (3) the onomasiological level, where the semantic components for the naming units are selected (“naming in a more abstract sense”) (this level could also be labelled “iconymic” level),
- (4) the so-called onomatological level (with the Form-to-Meaning Assignment Principle [FMAP]), where the concrete morphemes are selected (“naming in a more concrete sense”),
- (5) the phonological level, where the forms are actually combined.

I prefer to call the last level “morphological level,” since it also respects morphological and suprasegmental rules. As to the first two levels the model is a little problematic because Štekauer provides with no evidence that these are the stages that the speaker’s goes through. But what we know from psycholinguistic studies is that the various sensory features of an object are processed by the perceptual system at the same time, but in different speeds: so-called global features such as the contours or the color are processed more rapidly than so-called local features like interior features of an object (cf., e.g., Mangold-Allwinn 1995: 133ff., 260f., Kolb/Wishaw 1990, Navon 1977). Therefore, I suggest to combine Štekauer’s conceptual and semantic level under a term “perceptual level.” If the object, or concept, it will immediately trigger off a mental network of linguistic information, in other words: the linguistic sign (cf. Mangold-Allwinn 1995: 158ff., 261). But the speaker may prefer not to utter the usual form that has come to his mind, but to search for a new word (e.g. for reasons of prestige and modernity). This is, of course, automatically necessary with unnamed (new) objects or concepts. It is logical that the speaker will then have to look at the object and filter out one or more salient features that he wants to take as a basis for the new name, taking into account similarities, contiguities, the situational context etc. (onomasiological level). Dirven/Verspoor (1998: 55) speak of an “onomasiological struggle.” For these features s/he will also have to find corresponding

²² The five levels are slightly supplemented in Grzega (2002b).

²³ Onomasiological relations are also in the center of a recent article by Horecký (1999).

linguistic material in his/her mind (onomatological) before s/he finally produces the word with his articulatory apparatus (morphonological level). This approach seems to work very well as far as word-formation and semantic change are concerned. The following section will investigate to what extent this scheme can be applied to word-finding processes where borrowing is involved.

7. Synthesis: Loan Effects in the Word-Finding Process

In sum, borrowings can be categorized (a) according to the level where they come into effect in the word-finding process and from where the speaker jumps immediately to the morphonological level and (b) according to whether the formal (and iconymic) structure of a word is borrowed or merely its iconymic structure. The following figure illustrates my revised of Štekauer's model plus the various types of influences indicated by circled numbers, which are explained below²⁴:

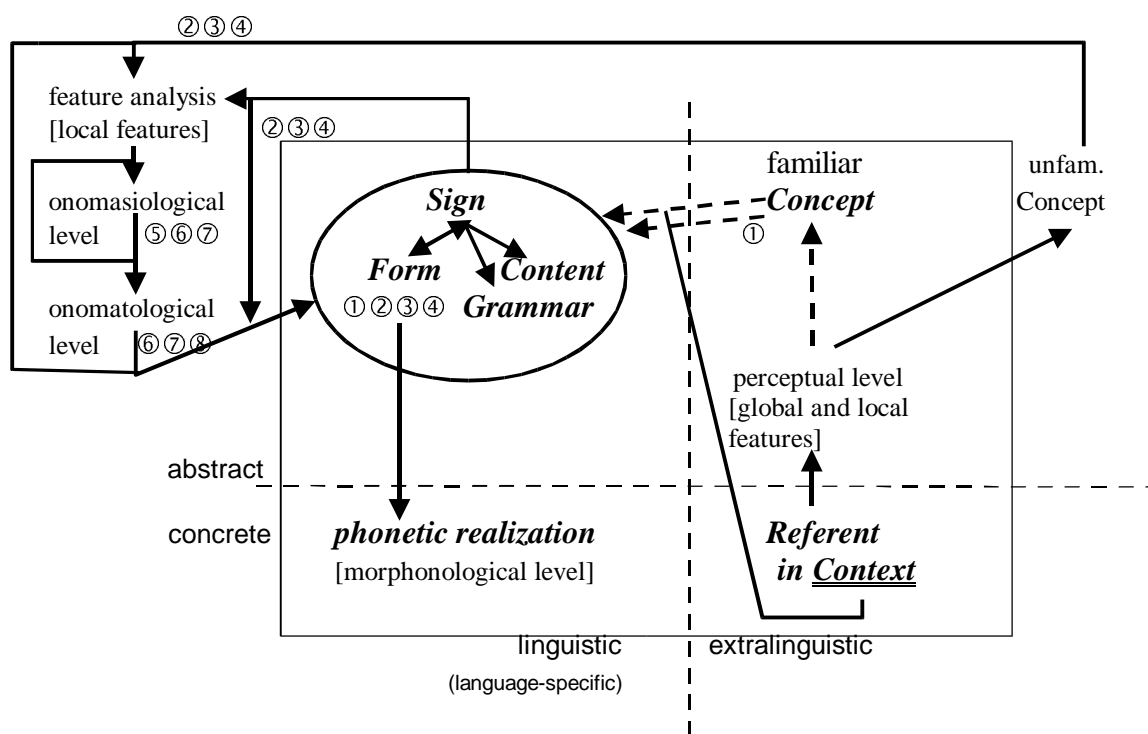


Figure 3:

Suggestion for a new onomasiological scheme of borrowing processes

The word-finding process is as follows. On the perceptual level the speaker analyzes a Referent in Context and categorizes it either as a familiar or as an unfamiliar Concept. In the first case s/he then connects the Concept to the corresponding linguistic Sign. Here an accident, for which I propose the term “**phonetic loan**”^①, may happen. An example of “phonetic loan” was G. *auspowern*, where the present German pronunciation was attracted by E. *power* (though this, as has been shown, is not the true etymon of the word). Furthermore, we can confront OE. *fers* with ModE. *verse* and OE. *Crēac* with ModE. *Greek*; in both instances the initial sound has been re-modeled on the Latin correspondent

²⁴ In the terminology that I suggest, the names for the coinages showing an external model all end in *loan*, whereas those coinages where the internal structure has a foreign model show the morpheme *loan* in the first part of their names.

(and, as a matter of fact, etymon). In other words: we are virtually not facing an instance of word-finding, or name-giving. The name is already there, but the speaker is mistaken as to the exact form and re-shapes it on the basis of a foreign, paronymous (i.e. similarly sounding) name for the same concept. This is a specific case of folk-etymology then. Such instances first only occur in the *parole*, but may easily spread due to the lacking familiarity with a term or due to the prestige of a specific user of the new sound shape.

Apart from resorting to a familiar name for the Concept, the speaker may also choose to replace by creating a new name for it. If the Concept is unfamiliar, the speaker is forced to create a name anyway. The steps following are equal in both cases. On the way of creation the speaker, before even analyzing the Concept, again may choose to take the respective name for the Concept from a foreign language or variety. This borrowing will usually not mean the borrowing of an entire sign including its semantic and morphological characteristics (Content and Grammar), but will only mean the borrowing of a Form. The speaker then proceeds immediately to the level of the Sign and the morphological level. The result may be termed a **“true loan”**^②. Yet three accidents may occur at this level, which I term “incomplete loan,” “misloan,” and “phonetic loan.” An **“incomplete loan”**^③ is created if not all morphemes of the foreign word are reproduced one-to-one. In the traditional terminology we speak of a morphological pseudo-loan (e.g. G. *Happy-End* and Fr. *happy end* from E. *happy ending* or G. *Aerobic* from E. *aerobics*). Under **“misloans”**^④ I understand those words that undergo folk-etymological alterations during the borrowing process (e.g. *gooseberry* from G. [dial.] *Krausbeere*, Du. *kruisbezie*, or Fr. *grosseille*) and instances like Am.Norw. *brand* ‘fire + bran [i.e. the outer covering of grain that is separated when making white flour]’ (due to E. *bran* ‘the outer covering of grain that is separated when making white flour’) where an already existing indigenous morpheme is used because of the phonetic similarity between model and replica. However, such “misloans” will normally only occur in the *parole*, but will not primarily influence the *langue*. If a “misloan” enters the *langue*, then this usually happens for reasons of word-play or of fashionable copying of the creator of the “misloan.”

Instead of simply borrowing the form of a foreign word, the speaker may continue the word-coining process by analyzing at the iconymic structure of the corresponding expression in a foreign language or dialect on the onomatological level. If on the onomatological level the Speaker simply tries to find a way to express the iconymic structure by indigenous material, the result can be termed a **“loan rendering”**^⑤. But the Speaker can also continue to take the foreign expression as a model on the onomatological level. This can be done in two ways: (a) the Speaker may copy a polysemy of a foreign expression by the semantic extension of an indigenous word (**“loan meaning”**^⑥) or (b) the Speaker may copy the morphemic combination of the foreign word (**“loan translation”**^⑦). As to the distinction between “loan translation” and “loan renderings”, I would like to stress, again, that it may not always be easy to determine when a parallel construction is influenced by a foreign model and when it is an independent coinage. Our classic example of a *loan meaning* (i.e. *stricto sensu*, “content-induced”) was G. *Fall* ‘action of falling + grammatical case’ (< Lat. *casus* ‘action of falling, grammatical case’). The influence of foreign words with such instances seems to be the following. On the perceptual level the concept (here: GRAMMATICAL_CASE) is semantically structured as ‘X’ (here: ‘grammatical case’) and the speaker now looks at words for the same reference and semantic structure ‘X’ in a foreign language and sees that a corresponding foreign word (here: Lat. *casus*) carries an additional meaning ‘Y’ (here: ‘action of falling’). So the speaker may in turn look for the corresponding native word that expresses this additional meaning ‘Y’ of the foreign word (here: G. *Fall*) and finally decides to extend the use of Y’s name to X, parallel to the

foreign words semantic spectrum (here: ‘action of falling’ + ‘case’).

Of course, it may also appear that the Speaker has reached the onomatological level without any influence from a foreign language or dialect on the onomasiological level, in other that s/he has found an iconym without a foreign model. Nevertheless, s/he may now refrain from taking indigenous material to coin the word, but resort to foreign material. The results of such coinages has traditionally been termed “pseudo-loans,” and we can continue calling them so; alternatively, I suggest the term “**creative loans**”⁸. Among “creative loans” we can distinguish between (a) morpho-lexical pseudo-loans, (b) semo-lexical pseudo-loans, and (c) formations with loan material accidentally also exists in the foreign language. The process is as follows. When speakers reach the onomatological level (where the concrete morphemes are selected), they can draw from the set of indigenous morphemes or the word-stock of another language or indigenous morphemes and foreign words are intermingled. Here, the name-giver doesn’t care whether the coinage is a real foreign word; it is only important for the speaker that the morphemes of the new coinage are foreign-sounding (e.g. because of prestige). These types of loans can be further subdivided. The subtypes have already been mentioned: (a) morpho-lexical pseudo-loans (e.g. G. *Handy* ‘mobile phone’), (b) semo-lexical pseudo-loans (for which I have no safe example as far as the *langue* is concerned), and (c) formations with loan material that happens to exist also in the foreign language (e.g. G. *Musicbox*). This last type is to be distinguished from “loan translations” and “loan renderings”, which are formations that have been stimulated not only by a foreign formal model, but also by a foreign iconymic model. The actual classification is, as I have already said, difficult. But it seems as if “loan renderings” and “loan translations” suggest themselves more when the iconymic structures are based on similarity than when based on contiguity; it would be an amazing coincidence if two speech communities came up with the same similarity association, as similarity associations between two objects are not directly nature-given, but have to be construed in the mind, which allows infinite possibilities of comparing one object to another. Thus, the comparison between the rodent and the computer device is not obvious. If several languages like German and French show the same extension of the animal term with English, we can be pretty sure that there English, which was the first to show this use, must have influenced the other languages.

(P.S.: I would like to point out that this terminology can also be applied to cases of “loan blends”).

8. Conclusion

We have come to the following observation as regards the three basic name-giving processes, i.e. semantic change, word-formation and borrowing. Semantic change and word-formation are phenomena exclusively connected with the onomasiological and the onomatological levels of the word-finding process (except for the process of folk-etymology). On the onomasiological level speakers select from the cognitive-associative possibilities, on the onomatological level they select from various (in this case indigenous) formal possibility (cf. Koch’s distinction between the cognitive-associative axis and the formal axis). As far as borrowing is concerned, the synthetic and dynamic word-and-mind-oriented approach proposed in this article has shown that influence from a foreign tongue can occur at various stages of the word-finding process. This approach has allowed us to detect a number of short-comings in the classical terminologies, but it has also allowed us to keep the basic notions of these terminologies and refine their definitions by looking at the processes in the mind. A larger project will try to establish a comprehensive cognitive onomasiological model of processes and motives of lexical change (with special reference to

English) and will have to take a word-and-mind-approach as suggested in this article.²⁵

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²⁵ Cf. also the preliminary studies in Grzega (2002a) and Grzega (2002b).

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