Cristiano Furiassi and Henrik Gottlieb (Eds.)
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Pseudo-English

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Edited by
Cristiano Furiassi and Henrik Gottlieb

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Table of contents

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I Theory

Henrik Gottlieb and Cristiano Furiassi

1 Getting to grips with false loans and pseudo-Anglicisms

Abstract: Words that sound or look foreign, yet are not direct imports from another language, represent a special challenge to laypeople and linguists alike. Whereas non-experts may unknowingly use such home-spun words when communicating in the foreign language, linguists may be able to spot these items but still fail to agree on how to label and define them. In the 21st century, most loans and pseudo-loans are based on English, and this article presents a number of expert definitions and delimitations of English-inspired, yet not truly English lexical items. The reader is presented with examples of pseudo-Anglicisms from a range of European languages, items demonstrating the past and present fascination with foreign-sounding words. While modern corpus searches reveal that only one word out of five thousand in continental European languages may qualify as a pseudo-Anglicism, such -isms represent a long and strong tradition of linguistic hybridity. These deceptive items are the mutant outcome of intercultural encounters in an era where English is still the prime exporter of magic words and their components.

Keywords: *bona fide* Anglicisms, catachrestic loans, core pseudo-loans, donor languages, false Anglicisms, frequency studies, internationalisms, linguistic borrowing, luxury loans, necessary loans, neologisms, peripheral pseudo-loans, pseudo-Anglicisms, receptor languages, text corpora, typologies

1 Introduction

This volume is the first ever to deal exclusively with false loans – also known as pseudo-loans – involving the English language. It contains a selection of papers presented at the seminar *The Creative Reshaping of Vocabulary: Pseudo-/False Borrowing from/into English* held at Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Istanbul, in September 2012 as part of the 11th International Conference of *The European Society for the Study of English* (*ESSE*). By gathering scholars working in this area of expertise, the seminar was aimed at evaluating past and present approaches and comparing methodologies for assessing the phenomenon of pseudo-/false borrowings within single languages and across languages. Pseudo-borrowings or false borrowings occur when genuine lexical borrowings, or elements thereof, are

reinterpreted by speakers of various receptor languages, resulting in formal and/or semantic changes related to the words in question. Contributions at the seminar, attracting a considerable international audience, included papers by scholars from six European countries – Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Norway and Spain, thus well representing both the Germanic and the Romance languages spoken in Europe. English being the prime generator of loans worldwide means that the focus in the seminar, as reflected in this volume, was on false loans in other languages, i.e. pseudo-Anglicisms like *youngtimer* for *classic car*, but even false loans in English are covered, e.g. pseudo-Gallicisms like *rendez-vous* for *secret meeting*.

Pseudo-Anglicisms in Europe – and worldwide – constitute a relevant topic: though quantitatively limited, their pervasiveness, motivated by sociolinguistic and cultural factors, is indeed remarkable and, at the same time, controversial. The articles appearing in this volume fit into a rather new and quickly developing research field and will appeal to scholars interested in the spread of the English language, contact linguistics, lexicology and lexicography. The lexical influence of English on other European languages – via genuine as well as false Anglicisms – is a field worth investigating. It goes without saying that false borrowings spread across international boundaries: therefore, the development of shared principles and methods for their definition and categorization, especially from a cross-linguistic standpoint, is much needed.

This book is divided into four parts. The two contributions in Part 1 address theoretical problems and methods relevant to the exploration of the notion of false borrowings in general and false Anglicisms in particular: the qualitative and quantitative features of false loans (Gottlieb and Furiassi), and the categorization of false borrowings as allogenisms (Humbley). Part 2 is entirely devoted to the spread of false Anglicisms in three Germanic languages, namely Danish, German and Norwegian: a corpus-based analysis of false Anglicisms in Danish (Gottlieb), false Anglicisms in the German press (Knospe), and the pragmatic use of false Anglicisms in Norwegian (Andersen). Part 3 presents studies on the influence of false Anglicisms in three Romance languages, namely French, Italian and Spanish: a contrastive analysis of false Anglicisms in French, Spanish and Italian (Renner and Fernández-Domínguez), a promising method to measure the acceptability of false Anglicisms as perceived by native speakers of English in France (Walker), and a survey focusing on the rise of the English *-ing* form as a source of pseudo-Anglicisms in Spanish (Mott). Part 3 concludes with an article on false Anglicisms and false Gallicisms in the Italian language of fashion (Lopriore and Furiassi). Part 4 presents a contribution on false Gallicisms commonly encountered in the English language, showing that false or pseudo-loans are also used by native speakers of English (Martí Solano). Finally,

an appendix includes a survey of the terminological ambiguity – attested by a dense reference section – surrounding false borrowings and false Anglicisms (Furiassi).

2 Qualifying pseudo-Anglicisms

To avoid the negative connotations of *pseudo-* and *false* while also eschewing the trendiness of the term *creative* (as in the otherwise tempting term *creative coinages*), ideally a neutral label like *English-based neologism* might replace the commonly used terms *false Anglicism* and *pseudo-Anglicism*, the latter of which has been preferred in most scholarly publications, especially by authors from Germanic speech communities, while the former is widely used in studies on the Romance languages (see Furiassi in this volume).

However, a label like *English-based neologism* would include two "unwanted" types of neologisms: (1) coinages by non-native English speakers meant for intra-English communication and (2) any all-English neologism coined in speech communities belonging to the inner circle of native-speaking Anglophone societies, as defined by Kachru (1985). For this reason, and for lack of a true alternative, in this article we will use the terms *pseudo-Anglicism* and *false Anglicism*.

As so often seen in developing academic fields, diverging – or even imprecise – terminology in contact linguistics is related to disagreement concerning the very nature of the topic studied. The lack of consensus with respect to the term *Anglicism* (Gottlieb 2005: 162–163) may lead to incompatibility of lexicographical data when comparing speech communities (Gottlieb 2002: 142). In the words of Manfred Görlach (2003: 67): "[i]t would be rash to conclude that differences [in selected dictionaries of Anglicisms] must reflect conditions in the languages covered – they may well represent the lexicographers' personal hobbies or dislikes."

Such diverging attitudes or conceptualizations among scholars are also found in regard to the definition and naming of what is labeled *pseudo-Anglicism*, *false Anglicism*, etc. (Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodríguez-González 2012: 13; Furiassi in this volume). In the following list of quotations, some prominent views on English-based pseudo-loans are juxtaposed (translations by the editors; emphasis added):

> [...] pseudolånene [...] er ord, der ganske vist ser ud, som om de er engelske, men som afviger enten i form eller i betydning fra engelsk, eller som er helt uengelske. (Sørensen 1995: 21) [pseudo-loans [...] are *words that may look English* but deviate in form or meaning from English, or are in fact un-English.]

> Pseudolån [. . .] er ord som ser udenlandske ud, men ikke er det. (Jarvad 1995: 61) [Pseudo-loans [. . .] are *words that look foreign, but aren't*.]
>
> Neubildungen der deutschen Sprache mit englischem Sprachmaterial. (Duckworth 1977: 54) [*New coinages* [. . .] *based on English language material*.]
>
> [. . .] dérivation[s] francaise[s] sur des mots anglais [. . .]. (Humbley 2008: 5, citing *Le Petit Robert*) [[. . .] French *derivatives based on English words* [. . .].]
>
> Pseudo-Anglicisms [. . .] are *loan words gone wrong*. They look like English words and often came from English words but they are used differently. (Nicholls 2003b)
>
> The term "pseudo Anglicism" describes the phenomenon that occurs when the RL [receptor language] uses lexical elements of the SL [source language] to create *a neologism in the RL that is unknown in the SL*. (Onysko 2007: 52)

While the latter of these definitions comes close to a precise identification of our object of research, an interesting alternative is offered by Cristiano Furiassi (2010: 34), who defines a pseudo-Anglicism as "a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language even though it does not exist or is used with a conspicuously different meaning in English".

It follows from this definition that false or pseudo-Anglicisms should mirror English orthographic patterns rather than complying with the orthographic norms of the RL. They are English-looking words, constituted by sequences of graphemes which are typical of the English language. Exceptions are common, however, as the following examples from Italian show. Words such as *autogol*, *bloc notes*, *eliskì*, and *fotoreporter*, in which the lexical item (*-gol* instead of *-goal*, *bloc* instead of *block*), the combining form (*foto-* instead of *-photo*), or both (*eli-* instead of *heli-* and *-skì* instead of *-ski*) are adapted to the orthographic conventions of the RL (*in casu* Italian) need to be considered rare instances of graphically adapted pseudo-Anglicisms, or they might be labeled hybrid Anglicisms, e.g. *fotoreporter*, since they are constituted by a mixture of Italian and English forms. Conversely, the forms *autogoal*, *block notes* and *heliski* should be considered pseudo-Anglicisms proper since no graphic adaptation occurs.

Regarding the semantic aspect mentioned in the above definition, a fruitful strategy when delimiting pseudo-Anglicisms is to look at the phenomenon from the point of view of the monoglot Anglophone reader or listener, as suggested in a Danish MA thesis (Larsen 2009: 22):

> Kriteriet for, om en Anglicisme er at betragte som en pseudo-Anglicisme kunne derfor være, at det kan forstås af andre end dem, der taler det sprog, hvorpå ordet bruges. Eksempelvis vil en englænder ikke forstå, at der er tale om en mobiltelefon, hvis en tysker på engelsk anvender handy i betydningen "mobiltelefon". [Thus, what determines whether an Anglicism should be considered a pseudo-Anglicism could be that it should be understood

by others than those speaking the language in which the word is used. As a case in point, an Englishman won't understand that a mobile phone is the object referred to when a German speaking English uses *handy* in the sense "mobile phone".]

Finally, the element of translation may be added to our understanding of the nature of pseudo-Anglicisms. As observed by Ian MacKenzie (2012: 33), who is a native English-speaking scholar based in Switzerland, pseudo-Anglicisms are "coinages that resemble words from the 'prestige' language, English, but which would not be recognized or understood by monolingual English native speakers, and which, if translated from a source text into English by a native speaker, would be substituted by a genuine English word."[1]

3 The creative potential of false borrowings

In situations of language maintenance "[l]exical borrowing is an extremely common form of cross-linguistic influence." (Winford 2003: 29). However, as stated by Haugen (1950: 212), a borrowing "may vary all the way from an imitation satisfactory to a native speaker to one that the native speaker would not recognize at all", thus confirming that borrowing is a rather free and ungoverned process.

Due to the overt and covert prestige conferred on the donor language by speakers of the recipient language, false lexical borrowings coexist alongside "real" lexical borrowings. Undoubtedly, "[f]alse borrowings – although covering a very small area of the lexicon – are attractive manifestations of language contact, proving that the creative potential of language users is hardly measurable." (Furiassi 2014: 47).

According to Pilch (1976: 154), "pseudo-borrowings" are words which are not "current in the prestigious source language, but are socially accepted as borrowings in the inferior [sic] language." This happens notably in situations of "sesquilingualism", i.e. the "mastery of one-and-a-half-languages", which occurs when "all members of a given society speak the inferior language, but only some of its members speak the prestige language, usually in a more or less imperfect manner as a 'foreign language.'".

1 It must be added that not all pseudo-Anglicisms will be incomprehensible to native English speakers. Apart from the fact that successful communication is always aided by context-based reasoning partly based on linguistic redundancy, some pseudo-Anglicisms – especially clippings (see section 13) – will be "translated" into standard English in the mind of the native speaker of English.

False borrowings can be viewed as a type of "word-manufacturing" (Marchand 1969: 452) obtained through the manipulation of foreign elements in a supposedly recipient language. Through lexical false borrowings, i.e. words that look and/or sound foreign but never existed as such in the language that allegedly acted as "loan-giver" (Andersson and Trudgill 1990: 84), speakers resort to material from a foreign language to expand the lexical and semantic inventory of their own language, thus reshaping vocabulary in a creative way.

4 The side effect of false borrowings

The proliferation of false borrowings may involve a negative side effect, especially if seen from the perspective of "anguished English" (Lederer 1987, 1994, 2005). For instance, a false Anglicism used in the presence of a native speaker of English or in a native English environment "would no doubt raise quite a few eyebrows" since "[s]omehow the word is no longer English." (Greenall 2005: 222). As Davis (1986: 438) points out: "it would take a very clever native speaker of English to figure out what the speaker is referring to.". The same opinion is shared by Perkins (1977: 60), who believes that "[i]t is presumptuous to expect even a competent 'Anglist' to fully grasp the semantic distortions continuously engaged by the indiscriminate borrowing of English words.".[2] This is probably the reason why Busse (2004: 191) and Dieter (2004: 140) – although not specifically referring to false Anglicisms – ironically named the phenomenon *BSE (Bad Simple English)*.

More specifically, referring to the use of false Anglicisms within the Italian context, Gani (2002: 20) states that "[o]ccasionally, the English used is not incomprehensible, but brings a smile to an English speaker's lips.". Gani (2007: 41) also adds that "[i]ronically, Italians using English 'imports' have no trouble at all understanding each other. It's English speakers who are unfamiliar with Italian who get confused.".[3] Lack of understanding or misunderstanding on

2 It is curious to notice that even some native speakers of English – especially if living abroad for a long time – have difficulty discriminating false Anglicisms from "real" Anglicisms.

3 Referring to Italian speakers' awareness of false Anglicisms, Brownlees (1989: 14) states the following: "È difficile sapere se chi usa queste parole le adopera rendendosi conto che il significato corrisponde a quello inglese, oppure sa che il significato è diverso, ma le usa senza alcuna preoccupazione linguistica." [It is hard to ascertain whether speakers using these words believe that their meaning is English, or know that it is different, despite any linguistic insight.]. Taking the side of native English speakers, Nicholls (2003a) states that "[…] those of us who come into contact with non-native English speakers in the course of our daily lives need to be sensitive to the fact that misunderstandings can arise as a result of their using a borrowed word with its post-borrowing meaning.". See Walker (in this volume) for further considerations on the attitude of native speakers of English towards false Anglicisms as used in French.

the part of the native speaker of English runs as a leitmotiv through the various quotations provided above and seems to be what actually differentiates an Anglicism, i.e. a "real" borrowing from English, from a false Anglicism.[4]

It certainly is the prestige of the English language and possibly an unconscious xenophilic complex which entice speakers of languages that have been affected by English to go as far as to coin false Anglicisms. Their use seems to grant speakers the status, the authority and the allure they crave.

5 False Anglicisms: a worldwide phenomenon

A plausible explanation for the spread of false Anglicisms in a "distant non-bilingual setting" (Loveday 1996: 18) is provided by Filipović (1996: 38), who claims that: "[i]n the twentieth century the contact of English with other languages of Europe became closer due to new means of communication. The result was a very free and versatile linguistic borrowing of English words by European languages.".[5] Versatile is exactly how English becomes when reinterpreted and creatively changed by non-native English speakers throughout Europe (and beyond). Accordingly, Wilkinson (1991: 52) suggests that "Europeans [...] will continue to acquire more English through their contacts with other Europeans than through contact with those for whom it is the mother-tongue.". This is confirmed by Modiano (2007: 533), who states that "mainland Europeans are claiming English, and in doing so are molding it into something new.".[6]

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4 Although without specifically using the label *false Anglicism*, Booij (2001: 354) seems to be in favor of coining "words that do not exist in [...] international English, but are in accordance with the word formation rules of English", quoting *money machine* as a semantically transparent example to be used instead of *cash dispenser* (British English) or *teller machine* (American English). Likely, the author is not aware of the fact that *money machine* does exist in English, as attested in the *OED*: "**1**. The prevailing financial system; financial institutions collectively. **2**. A person who or thing which makes a lot of money or has no purpose other than making money; a lucrative business, product, etc. **3**. A machine which converts, takes, or dispenses money; *spec*. an automatic teller machine, a cash dispenser.". In spite of the fact that the first two meanings may lead to classify *money machine* as a possible semantic shift from its "real" English homonym, the third meaning – attested for the first time in 1973 – indeed coincides with the one implied by the author. All in all, this shows how difficult it is to select false Anglicisms – and false borrowings in general – and discriminate between "real" and false borrowings.

5 It goes without saying that "the conquest of the world by American culture has made English a prestige language" (Horvat 1971: 325), thus fostering not only "real" Anglicisms but also false Anglicisms.

6 As Haugen (1988: 8) puts it: "There is much to be done in teasing out the English models, their origins in speech or writing, their tortuous ways of reaching the European public, and the current results in the form of local replicas.".

Filipović (1985: 254) also observes how "Anglicized jargon is a frequent source of pseudoanglicisms in various countries." False Anglicisms, like most aspects of English today, are present in many European and non-European languages.

The phenomenon of "over anglicization" (Harris and Cardoso 2009: 74, 2011: 6) has turned out to be so pervasive that, especially from a normative – and at times 'ironic' – perspective, many terms have been coined in order to describe languages that have been permeated by a considerable amount of Anglicisms and/or false Anglicisms over the centuries. For instance, Italian has been alternatively labeled *anglo-italiano* (Italiano 1999: 36), *highly Anglicized Italian* (McArthur 2002: 155), *Ingliano* (Devereux 1976: 301), *italiese* (Chiarioni 1974: 85; Dardano 1986: 242, 1998: 356), *Italish* (Gani 2003: 174), *italo-inglese* (Stammerjohann 2003: 78), *itanglese* (Venuta 2004: 5) and *itangliano* (Elliot 1977: 8; Dunlop 1989: 33; McArthur 2002: 155; Venuta 2004: 5; Beccaria 2006: 146). Bressan (2006: 315) adds *inglese maccheronico* and *spaghetti English* to this list.

In addition, when German, French and Spanish are spoken and/or written with a large number of Anglicisms and/or false Anglicisms, the following labels are used: *Germish* (Vogel 2004: 57), *Denglisch*, *Engleutsch*, *Germang*, *McGermish*, *Neudeutsch* (Busse 2004: 191, 2008: 60) and *Denglish* (Schlobinski 2001: 239; Bergien 2008: 183) for German; *franglais* (Étiemble 1980: 11; Hartmann 1983: 117; Amato 1990: 8; Lenoble-Pinson 1991: 6; Bogaards 2008: 13), *franricain* (Hagège 1987: 16) and *sabir atlantique* (Étiemble 1980: 11) for French; *Spanglish* (San Vicente 2002: 21) for Spanish.[7]

False Anglicisms are indeed attested in virtually all European languages, as shown by the most detailed lexicographic account to date, the *DEA* (*A Dictionary of European Anglicisms*). The false Anglicisms recorded in the *DEA* are rather easy to spot since, as Görlach (2001: xxi) clearly indicates, each entry followed by an asterisk "is not a word in English, although an Anglicism nevertheless".

For instance, as stated in the *DEA*, in Icelandic *city dress* refers to "a man's suit composed of a black jacket and waistcoat and striped trousers"; in Norwegian *road-racing* means "car (or motor bike) racing";[8] in Dutch a *space cake*

7 Nicholls (2004) adds *Hunglish* to refer to the over-Anglicization of Hungarian. As far as oriental languages are concerned, the following terms are used: *Chinglish* (Chan and Kwok 1986: 428; Nicholls 2003a) for Chinese; *Englanese* (Stanlaw 1988: 522) and *Japlish* (Pierce 1971: 45) for Japanese; *Konglish* (J. Miller 2003) for Korean; *Tinglish* (Nicholls 2003a) for Thai.

8 According to Johansson and Graedler (2002) also *snacksy*, meaning 'tasty, attractive' (Pulcini, Furiassi, and Rodríguez González: 2012: 7), is a false Anglicism which is used in Norway.

is "a cake filled with hashish"; in German a *Handy* is "a mobile phone";[9] in Russian a *clipmaker* is "a person who produces videoclips"; in Polish *caddy* refers to "a kind of trousers"; in Croatian a *barmixer* is "a person who mixes cocktails"; in Bulgarian a *paceclock* is "a device that measures the speed of a runner"; in French *baby-foot* is used to refer to "table football";[10] in Spanish a *filmlet* is "a commercial spot on TV/cinema"; in Romanian (and French, its source) *roastbeef* is used as a nickname to refer to "the English"; in Finnish (and Danish, not included in the *DEA*) *soft-ice* is "a special kind of ice cream sold in a soft, i.e. semifluid, form"; in Hungarian a *deep cleaner* is "a cosmetic lotion"; in Albanian (via French) a *recordman* is "a sportsman who has achieved a record"; in Greek *no future* refers to "an attitude expressing hopelessness (among young people)".

Some false Anglicisms have even reached the status of internationalisms, i.e. English-looking words which have the same form and the same meaning in many languages of different language families (Petralli 1992a: 121, 1992b: 74). In theory, all false Anglicisms may cross European borders and eventually become internationalisms. For instance, *autostop* (En. *hitchhiking*), *happy end* (En. *happy ending*), *recordman* (En. *record holder*) and *smoking* (En. *dinner jacket* or *tuxedo*) are found in several European and non-European languages, thus giving rise to "World-Wide Pseudo-English" (Carstensen 1986a: 831).

6 Pseudo-loans and "real" internationalisms: "classic" neologisms

Focusing now on inner-circle English, i.e. the English of native speakers, some of the "genuine" English words most typical of elevated or technical style are indeed pseudo-loans – made up of Greco-Latin combining forms. As pointed out by Joachim Grzega (2003: 30): "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

9 According to Gottlieb (2005: 166), also *Dressman*, meaning 'male model', *City*, meaning 'center of town', and *Oldtimer*, meaning 'classic car', are false Anglicisms which are used in Germany and Austria.

10 As recorded in the *Larousse*, more, typically French, false Anglicisms are *baskets*, meaning 'trainers' or 'sneakers', *Caddie*®, meaning '(supermarket) trolley' or '(grocery) cart', *jogging*, meaning 'track suit', *pressing*, meaning 'dry cleaner's', and *talkie-walkie*, meaning 'walkie-talkie'.

Latin and Greek elements." Neither *television* nor *hologram* are Greek or Latin inventions; these two compound nouns were put together some two thousand years after the era in which their elements thrived. In English, creative re-shuffling and combinations of lexical building blocks from Antiquity are highly respected ways of coining new words for new concepts.

In turn, many of these so-called internationalisms, "carrying in them no trace of the nation that coined them" (Görlach 2003: 56), are being adopted or adapted in other speech communities. *Television*, for example, triggered the loan translation *Fernsehen* in German, from which Danish soon derived the loan translation *fjernsyn*. The fact that this word already existed in Danish, although used in rather formal contexts only, meaning 'mental foresight', was no hindrance to its immanent success in Danish in the new, technical sense. However, the term *fjernsyn* is now under pressure from the direct Anglicism *TV*, also spelled *tv*, nicely echoing the contemporary power of English *vis-à-vis* German in Northern Europe.

In delimiting the notion of false or pseudo-Anglicism – or pseudo-loan, for that matter – it is important not to go overboard in one's possible fascination with the fact that seemingly English words are sometimes coined outside the inner circle of monoglot Anglophone countries. Thus, the fact that the brand name for a portable music player, *Walkman*, was coined in Japan by *Sony* in 1979 makes neither the trademark *Walkman*™ nor the genericized *walkman* a pseudo-Anglicism; the device was marketed internationally and the term soon became used generically in English. As an Anglicism, it entered Danish already in 1981 (*NOID*).

A similar example, where the label *pseudo-Anglicism* may be more justified, concerns the Danish-coined term *Time Manager*™. This term, introduced as a trademark of a sophisticated calendar registered in 1976, still in production as of 2014 and also available as a software product, has been termed a pseudo-Anglicism (Jarvad 1995: 83).

Whether the *Time Manager*™ deserves this label depends on its use in inner-circle Anglophone speech communities. If used generically only in the receptor language (Danish) and spelled *timemanager*, it may indeed qualify as a pseudo-Anglicism; if also used generally by (at least some) native speakers of English, and accordingly spelled *time manager*, it should be considered an Anglicism, together with items coined in Britain, the US or other "native" territories. However, as none of the ten hits in a 2013 search for the string "time manager" in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)* refers to a calendar, this Danish coinage may indeed, used generically, deserve its status as a pseudo-Anglicism. The *British National Corpus (BNC)* in fact yields three hits of "time manager", two of which refer to the job position "full time manager".

Figure 1: *Time Manager*™

Only the third hit – a transcription of a conversation recorded in 1994 – points to the calendar, though directly referring to Denmark.[11]

This is not to say that the coining of English terms for international English usage does not deserve scholarly interest, quite the contrary. We will no doubt see more and more examples of this creativity among speakers of English as a second language (ESL) and even speakers of English as a foreign language (EFL). A 2013 example from an EFL country is the Spanish-coined concept *Bicycled*. This Janus-faced portmanteaux word, launched by the Madrid-based company *Lola*, refers to a bike made out of cars found in scrap yards. The word not only combines the words *bicycle* and *recycled*, but also turns a would-be adjective into a noun. Yet, as the product, including the term, was created for an international Anglophone market, the neologism *bicycled* will not qualify as a pseudo-Anglicism if it comes to be used generically in English.

7 The bidirectionality of false borrowings

Borrowings, and even pseudo or false borrowings, are never one-sided, no matter how dominant a superordinate culture is in the subordinate speech community. According to Winford (2003: 34), "the asymmetry in power and prestige

11 "Oh, this is Denmark isn't it, it's not too far out [...]. And off we go, right. And then, then we go on these expensive courses for time management, don't we. We buy *a nice little time-manager thing*, with little pink elephants in it, and goodness knows what, and we spend eight hundred pounds to get something to tell us how to time manage, and you really get enthusiastic about this for three months, and then you put it in the drawer and go back to your diary" (emphasis added).

of the languages involved [...] promote borrowing [...] primarily into the subordinate language. [...] borrowing in the opposite direction, from subordinate to dominant language, also occurs, though not usually to the same degree". In fact, false borrowings are apparent also "from a lower into an upper language" (Dillon 1945: 15), thus being an element of "lexical gain" rather than "lexical loss" (Coleman 1995: 118). Therefore, lexical contact between languages manifests itself through false -isms in virtually all directions. Indeed, the phenomenon of false borrowings is bidirectional: for instance, not only are false Anglicisms found in languages other than English, but also false Italianisms, false Germanisms, false Gallicisms and false Hispanisms may be encountered in the English language.

False Italianisms, e.g. *stiletto*, meaning "a very narrow, high heel on women's shoes" (*OED*),[12] instead of Italian *scarpa con tacco a spillo* (*Oxford-Paravia*), false Germanisms, e.g. *blitz* – the ellipsis of the German compound *Blitzkrieg* – for "attack or offensive launched suddenly with great violence" (*OED*), false Gallicisms, e.g. the phrase *bon viveur*, instead of French *bon vivant* (*TLFi*), referring to "a person who lives high and well" (*Merriam-Webster*), and false Hispanisms, e.g. *desperado*, meaning "violent criminal" (*Merriam-Webster*), instead of Spanish *bandido* (*Collins*), are commonly used in both British English and American English.

By way of example, a recent comparison (Furiassi 2014: 68–69) of the quantitative difference between false Italianisms in English and false Anglicisms in Italian revealed that the number of false Italianisms in English, i.e. 20, is obviously much smaller than the number of false Anglicisms in Italian, i.e. 286. This is a logical consequence of the higher quantitative impact of the English lexicon on Italian and the reduced impingement of the Italian language upon English. False Italianisms in English are fewer than false Anglicisms in Italian because – especially in times of globalization – English is (undoubtedly) the dominant language while Italian is among the subordinate ones. It would not be surprising for such conclusions to be generalizable to other false borrowings from and into English: false Germanisms, false Gallicisms and false Hispanisms in English are likely to be much fewer than false Anglicisms in German, French and Spanish respectively.

12 The entry *stiletto*, which in the 2000 edition of the *GDU* is not recorded with the meaning 'tacco a spillo', i.e. *spike heel* (*Oxford-Paravia*, *Ragazzini*), is in fact present – though marked as a low-frequency item and labeled 'BU' (i.e. 'basso uso') – in the 2007 edition. Consequently, *stiletto* may be considered a false Italianism created in English that has been recently reborrowed in Italian.

In addition, as for Italian, it is worth noting that the phenomenon of false borrowings is not restricted to false Anglicisms.[13] False Germanisms, e.g. *blitz*, false Gallicisms – whose proliferation is possibly enhanced by geographical contiguity, e.g. the adjective *pré-maman*, instead of French *de grossesse* (*Garzanti*), meaning "maternity" (*Oxford-Paravia*) and false Hispanisms, e.g. *espadrillas*, instead of Spanish *alpargatas* or *esparteñas* (*DRAE*), referring to "rope-soled sandals" (*Collins*), may be found in the Italian language.[14]

8 When is a loan "false" or "pseudo"?

For decades, linguists studying grammar and phonology have successfully applied empirical methods in order to obtain reliable evidence on the linguistic behavior of speakers of a certain language. The intention was, and still is, to be able to detect and explain systematic patterns of "orderly heterogeneity" – a fitting term launched by Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968: 100). Whereas detection and description of linguistic phenomena have come a long way since the pioneering days of sociolinguistics in the 1960s, models from which one can derive useful quantitative predictions are still in demand, not least when dealing with neologisms – of which Anglicisms and other loans constitute a substantial part.

As this volume focuses on false loans into, and especially from English, the following discussion, although relevant to all contact situations between a dominant donor language (DL) and a less dominant receptor language (RL), will use Anglicisms for exemplification.

Regardless of the definition used, whether narrow or broad, Anglicisms and other -isms remain part of the linguistic polysystem of all receptor languages. As languages in themselves are inanimate entities devoid of human creativity, the term *speech community* is often preferable to the term *language*. In a given speech community, all linguistic entities – even internationalisms and other import words – are bound to be used and perceived differently than their cognate or equivalent terms in any other speech community, as these entities operate in a different cultural and linguistic environment and tend to fulfill different needs.

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13 For a comprehensive survey of false Anglicisms in Italian, see the *Dictionary of False Anglicisms in Italian* (*DFAI*) included in Furiassi (2010: 137–214).

14 In contrast with Marello (1996: 36), who considers *espadrillas* a false Hispanism, De Mauro and Mancini (2003: 251) consider it a variant of *espadrilles*, a "real" borrowing from French.

This is easily seen when looking at the semantic fields in which Anglicisms are found – fields that, by definition, will differ from their immediate counterparts in Anglophone speech communities. A simple example is the word *blues*. In English, the word has maintained not only its plural character, but also its connection to the color term 'blue', meaning, in its metaphorical sense, 'sad'. Hence there is a link between *I feel blue* and *I've got the blues*. This means that the semantic load, the cognitive processing, and the associations of *blues* among native English speakers differ significantly from those of foreign speakers, to whom the word is nothing more than a musical term. Based on the insight that no two speech communities use the "same" words in the "same" sense – a concern also expressed by Humbley (in this volume) – it may be difficult to maintain the traditional distinction between pseudo-Anglicisms and *bona fide* Anglicisms.

Taking Danish as a showcase of this fuzziness, we find a cline from recognized pseudo-Anglicisms, e.g. *longjohn* for 'carrier bicycle' and *volley* for 'volleyball', to "standard" Anglicisms, including covert borrowings, e.g. *klumnist* inspired by 'columnist', as well as overt ones, e.g. *paper* used instead of the established Danish *artikel*. It turns out that what sets *bona fide* Anglicisms apart from pseudo-Anglicisms is the *degree* of "un-Englishness" rather than the *absence* of it. In this context, it is worth noting that many Anglicisms are unrecognizable due to orthographical and morphological adaptations. In Germanic speech communities, this is especially true of early borrowings. Thus, nineteenth-century Danish Anglicisms like the verbs *hive* (from English 'heave') and *splejse* (from English 'splice') are among the many items safely under the radar of even purist-minded Danes – whereas more recent Anglicisms tend to keep their pronunciation and spelling in Danish, cf. *app* and *dating*.

The observation that English borrowings in other European languages need not look English – and that English-looking words are not always used in English – is not new. Already in 1941, during the German occupation of Denmark, Torsten Dahl (1941: 387), in his contribution to an Anglophone Nordic journal, mentioned the issue of pseudo-Anglicisms by highlighting "[…] the fact that several English words have been transplanted to Danish in senses which do not occur in the original language. Besides the Continental use of *smoking* for 'dinner-jacket', we may mention *Sixpence* as a 'cloth-cap'."

As French was the first language affected by English, pseudo-loans followed in the wake of the *anglomanie* beginning in the late 18th century. Recognizing the phenomenon of pseudo-loans in the Romance languages, Hope (1971: 618–619) made the following statement:

> Here a word is created in the recipient language on the pattern of forms which exist generally in the source, but without corresponding to a specific etymon (e.g. the French 'pseudo-English' loans *autostop* and *recordman* which have also on occasion passed temporarily into Italian). [...] Not all false loans are accurately described as *loan-creations*. A number of pseudo-forms felt by native speakers to be loan-words are indeed traceable to foreign etyma, but loss of semantic motivation has led to ellipsis and consequent reduction to a single substantive what was initially a transparent phrase.

Spence (1987: 180) added that "the concept of pseudo-anglicism is an historical one", thus emphasizing the necessity of a diachronic approach to the description of the phenomenon. The author also recognized that the difference between pseudo-Anglicisms and adapted Anglicisms is slight (Spence 1987: 181), as "there would be hesitation over the borderline between adaptations and pseudo-anglicisms. This kind of problem is even more difficult to solve when one is attempting to determine the degree of semantic deviation that justifies one speaking of 'falseness'."

In an Italian context, Moss (1995: 127–128) provided the following definition:

> "I take as pseudoanglicisms those unadapted borrowings which, through their appearance or their morphological use, have deviated or are different from an original English form so that a native speaker of English who knew Italian would be aware of such deviation or difference on encountering them in a written context."

With regard to French, Picone (1996: 5) recognized that a pseudo-Anglicism is coined "when a French neologism made up of English constituents mimics an integral borrowing." He provides *new look* and *tennisman* as examples of pseudo-Anglicisms in French. However, as pointed out earlier, if locally coined pseudo-Anglicisms like the French *new look* or the Italian *slowfood* (Furiassi 2010: 70–71) designate new concepts, they may spread to other languages, sometimes even including English. Rather than rigorously labeling words like *slowfood* an Italianism and *walkman* a Nipponism, such neologisms feeding back into English could be termed *exogenous English coinages* and subcategorized, as all other Anglicisms, according to their degree of adaptation in the language(s) in question.

9 The term "borrowing": misleading yet useful

Before venturing any further into the concept of pseudo-Anglicism, let us stop for a moment to look at its hyperonym *Anglicism*, defined by Gottlieb (2005: 163, 2012: 175) as "any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English."

With its inclusion of items fostered by English inspiration rather than export, this definition clearly stipulates that pseudo-Anglicisms belong in the realm of Anglicisms. Strictly speaking, based on the realization that Anglicisms are "inspired by" rather than "replicas of" English language features, the widely accepted term *linguistic borrowing* seems meaningless. However, in most speech communities the concept of receptor languages borrowing material from donor languages (rather than donor languages lending material to receptor languages – an interesting conceptual bias) is so firmly entrenched that we, too, will use the term whenever it eases communication. This fits in well not only with those Anglophone writers who use terms like *lexical borrowings* for Anglicisms and other -isms, but also with those who use similar terms in German (*Entlehnungen*), French (*emprunts*), Danish (*låneord*), etc.

Since no Anglicism is an exact copy of its English etymon, there is always something non-English underneath – whether termed *pseudo-* or not. As all other "loans", Anglicisms are bound to differ in one or more of the following fields: orthography, morphology, phonology and semantics (including pragmatics). As pointed out by Virginia Pulcini (2011: 437):

> In the borrowing process, however, this store of potentially shared vocabulary is often formally and semantically re-modelled to suit the linguistic and expressive needs of the borrowing languages, so that many Anglicisms undergo several types of linguistic changes – graphemic, phonological, morphological and semantic – deviating from their English source words.

Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as interlingual synonymy; having settled in a different lexicological context, with differing semantic distinctions and overlaps, no imported word is able to carry its foreign semantic field and network with it into a new language. Even Anglicisms that represent novel phenomena – and have thus typically been categorized as "necessary loans" (Winter-Froemel & Onysko 2011: 1550) or loans motivated by "need" (Winford 2003: 37) – often deviate from their English etymons. The alternative terminology suggested by Winter-Froemel and Onysko (2012: 47), replacing the distinction between "necessary" and "unnecessary" loans – or even "luxury" (Winter-Froemel & Onysko 2011: 1550) and "prestige" (Winford 2003: 37) loans – by the dichotomy "catachrestic" vs. "non-catachrestic" innovations, may sound less biased. Yet, these new terms do not eliminate the fact that, due to the illusive nature of synonymy, it is impossible to label certain loans as totally "unnecessary" – or "non-catachrestic".

For this reason – as also pointed out by Gottlieb (in this volume) – we could argue that, in a sense, all Anglicisms are pseudo-English. It takes two languages to conceive an Anglicism, and Anglicisms only exist in non-native minds. In

addition to this, unlike officially declared national language policies establishing, for instance, diglossia, Anglicisms develop spontaneously – unknowingly, perhaps, but not unwillingly: "Anglicisms are not merely vehicles of some Anglo-American mental imperialism; they are the offspring of other languages' voluntary intercourse with English." (Gottlieb 2005: 162).

10 Pseudo-Anglicisms: conceived by mistake or for fun?

As a logical consequence of what was previously said, all borrowings or loans (from English or any other language) are reframed in the receiving speech community – and as such they may be considered "recycled" rather than "borrowed". Three scenarios offer themselves in this process:

- domestication via invisibility: foreign item → adapted or translated -ism → unrecognizable -ism;
- maintained foreignness: foreign item → adopted -ism → foreign-looking -ism;
- home-grown foreignness: foreign feature → local reshuffling or coinage → foreign-looking pseudo-ism.

A central question when discussing the outcome of the third of these scenarios, *in casu* pseudo-Anglicisms, is the following: are such items generated on purpose, or by mistake? In speech communities without general knowledge of English, "[l]ack of understanding or misunderstanding [. . .] seems to be what actually differentiates an Anglicism, i.e. a real English borrowing, from a false Anglicism" (Furiassi 2010: 21).

However, with increased knowledge of English in a given speech community, other factors may be taking over as prime generators of pseudo-Anglicisms, as "the taste for the exotic, the charm of a foreign language, and the glamorous quirk of being creative and playing with language are the core motivations for the birth of false Anglicisms" (Furiassi 2010: 62–63).

Yet another factor worth mentioning here is language economy, i.e. the quest for brevity and succinctness in language. While this factor is often mentioned as a reason for adopting "real" Anglicisms, it certainly also plays a role in the coining of pseudo-Anglicisms. When, for example, a speech community does not use the English term *body* in the senses 'physical structure of a person' or 'corpse' but uses one or more domestic words for these concepts, the three syllables in *bodystocking* are not needed to designate that garment. In this way

the abridged form *body* offers itself – and is indeed found in several languages, as attested in *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms*, edited by Manfred Görlach (*DEA* 2001: 28).

With Slavonic speech communities as his point of departure, Croatian lexicographer Rudolf Filipović (1999: 19) emphasized the function of donor-language elements in the creation of neologisms in receptor languages:

> One of the functions of borrowing from donor languages is to fill the gaps in the vocabulary of receiving languages. Filling the gaps is not only done by borrowing words or expressions from a donor language and forming anglicisms, but also by coining new words or new expressions from elements of the donor language and then generating secondary anglicisms.

This use of English as a generator of "secondary" or pseudo-Anglicisms is found not only in speech communities using English as a foreign language (EFL), but also in those using English as a second language (ESL) (see Gottlieb 2012). In Scandinavia, conscious and creative use of "pseudo" English has been found since the middle of the 20th century, as shown in examples (1) and (2), which illustrate a playful, even disrespectful, take on the interface between English and the Scandinavian languages:

(1) *Kvickly* (coined in Sweden in the 1950s as the name for *Coop* stores in Stockholm; used since 1961 for major Danish *Coop* stores)

(2) *Tjips* (brand of potato chips (US English) or potato crisps (UK English) registered in Denmark in 2012; correct Danish spelling *chips*)

To show the unstoppable creativity in terms of Nordic (pseudo) English name-giving, example (3) is a listing of tongue-in-cheek names for Copenhagen hairdressers (based on Blankholm 2011):

(3) *Hårlywood* (Danish *hår* meaning 'hair'); *Director's Cut*; *Headquarters*; *Hair We Go*; *Mo-Hair*; *Atmosphair*; *My-T Sharp*; *Upper-Cut*; *Hairwerk*

The last item on the list, *Hairwerk*, is a showcase of trilingual wordplay: English *hair* plus German *Werk* (meaning 'work') equals a homophonic play on Danish *hærværk*, meaning 'vandalism' – literally the work of armies, with the Germanism *hær* meaning 'army'.

The creativity thus witnessed in naming practices in outer-circle speech communities, where the building blocks of English are used and abused in a hybrid context, indicates that, although lexicalized pseudo-Anglicisms may be rare, English-inspired proper nouns (including trademarks and brands) are very common indeed.

11 Quantifying neologisms

When dealing, as we are, with a special type of *neologism*, especially the first morpheme of that term, *neo-*, seems to create an obstacle to an operational definition of the word. What does it take for a lexical item to be "new" (the *neo-* part)? A no-nonsense take on this is offered by Hargraves (2004: vii, cited in Fjeld 2011: 21), who simply states that "a neologism is letters in combinations hitherto unseen in a language".

However, this simplistic definition would cover misspellings, invented names and nonce words that would never enter the language, i.e. be known to and used by a wider number of native speakers. Unfortunately, especially before digitized text corpora and archives were made available to researchers, several such unsuccessful "neologisms" were cited in scholarly papers, and many found their way into dictionaries of new words and other novel phenomena of language. Several instances of this are found in the otherwise impressive *Dictionary of Anglicisms in Danish* (Sørensen 1997), based on the author's singular observations made during half a century – and comprising a stunning 6,180 entries.

In another non-corpus-based dictionary, *New Words and Their Meanings*, Green (1993: vii) states in the introduction that "one person's mainstream is another's marginalia" and later adds that what he deals with in compiling his dictionary "is, at best, an inexact science". Even after the ubiquitous presence of text corpora and archives, this claim may still be true, although the inexactness is more manageable now. Rather than trusting one's own intuition as a lexicographer – supported by a few citations documenting the odd neologism in one's language, and perhaps presenting merely anecdotal evidence – relying on electronic corpora and text archives will yield much more solid data on what goes on in language. Yet, there is still the issue concerning fuzziness and (sometimes lacking) representativeness of the electronic sources chosen as the empirical basis of one's findings and claims.

Still, giant contemporary corpora constitute a fair basis for judgments of what items to include or exclude in various collections of "rare birds" in a language. Accordingly, a necessary precondition for the above-mentioned "hitherto unseen" combination of letters to be granted the status of neologism is actual usage above a certain threshold, measured in quantitative terms. Listing in dictionaries does not suffice. As demonstrated in the article on Danish pseudo-Anglicisms (Gottlieb in this volume), claimed pseudo-Anglicisms may turn out to be nonce words rather than neologisms – with frequencies in written news genres of sometimes less than 0.0005 parts per million (ppm).

However, neologisms are words that often – at least as they are introduced – serve as spices rather than main ingredients in a language. For that reason, neologisms, including loanwords – and among them, pseudo-loans – tend to be rare in absolute, quantitative terms. Thus, they may be salient and well-known in a speech community and still display frequencies that most observers (except corpus linguists) find extremely low. As a case in point, the Germanism *doppelgänger*, known by all educated native speakers of English and included even in English learner's dictionaries, yields a frequency of only 122 hits[15] in the 450 million word strong *COCA* covering the period 1990–2012, against 19 hits[16] in the *BNC*, with 100 million words covering the years 1980–1993. These figures amount to as little as 0.27 and 0.19 ppm, respectively. In the Danish *Korpus DK*, with 56 million running words, the formally similar Germanism *dobbeltgænger*, although a much less academic term in Danish, appears only 44 times (36 singular and 8 plural hits), yielding a frequency of 0.79 ppm.

12 Pseudo-Anglicisms: how common are they?

Studies on the frequency of Anglicisms – often in the context of lexical borrowing in general – have all demonstrated the relative scarcity of English borrowings. However, the salience of Anglicisms typically surpasses their statistical representation; they often designate key concepts in the texts where they appear.

In German, a language increasingly influenced by English, a recent corpus-based study reached a figure of merely 1.27% "lexical and phrasal English-based units" among the 4 million running words in a year's issues of the political magazine *Der Spiegel* (Knospe in this volume). Earlier Danish studies, although at a minor scale (e.g. Jarvad 1995), indicate a share of Anglicisms similar to the German figure, and there is no reason to believe than contemporary Danish figures would be much higher than that.

Focusing on pseudo-Anglicisms, they are certainly much less frequent than *bona fide* Anglicisms. It has been stated that "although the number of Anglicisms found in European languages under study is much greater than that of pseudoanglicisms, the fields of human activity in which both are used are more or less the same." (Filipović 1985: 253). Summing up, one can say that pseudo-Anglicisms are rare but useful.

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15 Of these 122 occurrences (none of them spelled with the prescribed umlaut), 112 are *doppelganger* – with or without the German capital *D* – and 10 are the plural *doppelgangers*.
16 Of the 19 hits, there are 14 *doppelganger* and 5 *doppelgangers*.

Exactly how rare, then, are pseudo-Anglicisms in European languages? A study of borrowing in spoken Norwegian (Lea 2010) showed that direct loans made up 80.5% of all loans, while phrases and hybrids constituted the second and third largest categories, with 7.9% and 6.7% respectively. Pseudo-loans accounted for merely 2.7% of all loans, mostly Anglicisms. In another Norwegian study (Brandsegg 2001) pseudo-loans constituted as little as 1.8% of all loans.

In a diachronic study from 2011, frequencies of various types of Anglicisms in a Danish youth magazine were compared at 7-year intervals. Whereas in 1960, English pseudo-loans comprised 5.9% of the Anglicisms found in the material, the figures for the 1967 and 1974 material were merely 2.2% and 1.5%, respectively (Christensen 2011: 54). Interestingly, this corroborates the assumption that pseudo-Anglicisms are on the decline in societies moving from EFL to ESL status. Yet, Christensen did not study the frequencies of (pseudo-)Anglicisms *vis-à-vis* non-Anglicisms in her material. Knospe (in this volume) does exactly that, showing that only 0.34% of the Anglicisms in his German corpus are pseudo-Anglicisms, thus accounting for merely 0.004% of the total number of words in *Der Spiegel* – 43.18 parts per million, to be exact. This amounts to one item for every 23,159 running words.

In contemporary Italian, pseudo-Anglicisms may be more common.[17] They account for 0.1% of the total vocabulary (as represented in the 2000 edition of the *GDU* (*Grande dizionario italiano dell'uso*) and 0.008% of the words in the *La Repubblica* corpus of about 380 million running words (Furiassi 2010: 118 and 96). Of the 286 pseudo-Anglicisms listed in Furiassi (2010), only ten, i.e. *basket* (En. 'basketball'), *fiction* (En. 'serial'), *holding* (En. 'holding company'), *killer* (En. 'hit man'), *no global* (En. 'anti-globalization activist'), *pullman* (En. 'bus'), *spot* (En. 'commercial'), *testimonial* (En. 'endorser'), *ticket* (En. 'prescription charges') and *tilt* (En. 'out of order'), have a frequency above 10 parts per million (ppm).[18]

A Norwegian study of loanwords in newspaper texts found that modern loanwords comprised 1.1% of all words in the newspapers investigated and, although 90% of these loans were Anglicisms, the resulting figure is still merely one percent (Selback 2007: 52–53). Of this tiny fraction of vocabulary in use, pseudo-loans constitute some 2% (Gottlieb in this volume). This means that

17 In Italy, an EFL speech community, only 34% of the adult population believe that they speak English "well enough in order to be able to have a conversation". Corresponding figures for the Netherlands and Denmark, two emerging ESL nations, are as high as 90% and 86%, respectively (European Commission 2012: 21).

18 Due to miscalculations, these figures were presented with ppm values ten times too high (Furiassi 2010: 126–128).

pseudo-Anglicisms in European languages may constitute as little as 0.02% of all running words, i.e. one out of five thousand words.

This shows that while rightly excluding misprints and lexical one-offs, one should be careful not to place the frequency bar so high that one cuts off items – in this context, pseudo-Anglicisms – which, at least temporarily, as *occasionalisms*, play or have played an integral role in the speech community under scrutiny.

13 Types of pseudo-Anglicisms

Having now discussed a number of conceptual, methodological and statistical aspects, one issue remains: which typology is best suited to classify contemporary pseudo-Anglicisms?[19] An earlier study (Gottlieb 2009: 79) distinguished between the following five types of pseudo-Anglicisms:

- archaism (a form maintained in the RL (receiving language) after turning obsolete in English);
- semantic change (found when a borrowing acquires a sense in the RL unknown in English);
- contamination (when "hypercorrecting" English expressions);
- morphological change (when, for instance, English words are shortened);
- jocular derivation (when mock-English RL elements are mixed with English morphemes).

As some of these categories, although illustrative, may be difficult to operationalize and compare with the existing international literature, we will recommend a typology in line with the well-known tripartite one offered by the late Broder Carstensen, one of the major names in German Anglicism research. Carstensen (1980: 77) distinguished between three types of pseudo-Anglicisms:

- Morphologische Eigenwege [morphological neologisms];
- Lexikalische Scheinentlehnungen [lexical pseudo-loans];
- Semantische Scheinentlehnungen [semantic pseudo-loans].[20]

Another German *Anglizist*, Manfred Görlach (2003: 62), shows that non-English features can be found at the four following levels:

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19 The question of how to classify pseudo-Anglicisms is also dealt with by Humbley (in this volume, sections 2.1–2.4).

20 This tripartite typology is used in several recent studies on pseudo-Anglicisms, e.g. Nowocień (2011) on German.

- spelling: when native words or items borrowed from other languages are spelt as if they were English;
- pronunciation: when words from other languages are pronounced as if they were English;
- morphology: when derivation and compounds are made that may or may not conform with English patterns, but are certainly not recorded in English;
- meaning: when English words are applied to non-English contexts (sometimes the "deviance" is caused by the loanword's fossilizing older English meanings).

These four categories (cited verbatim from Görlach) make good sense, but – as often seen in linguistics – the question remains: what does it take for a given item to gain inclusion in one of these categories and in that way obtain status as pseudo-Anglicism? With regard to Görlach's second category, pronunciation, a potential pseudo-Anglicism is the Italian word *stage*, meaning 'apprenticeship', 'internship', 'placement', 'residency', 'training course' or 'training period'. The word was borrowed from French but is usually pronounced by Italian speakers as if it were English.[21] The fact that many Italian speakers apparently believe that *stage* is a genuine English borrowing raises the question whether it should be labeled a pseudo-Anglicism in Italian. Using strictly etymological criteria, *stage* is not a pseudo-Anglicism, but a Gallicism. Applying more cognitive criteria (as does Gottlieb in this volume; see the categorization of Danish *large*), the English-sounding Italian *stage* is indeed a pseudo-Anglicism, to such an extent that even English-speaking Italians may use the word in its Italian sense when communicating in English.

In the definitions reviewed above and in Furiassi (in this volume) there seems to be widespread agreement that pseudo-Anglicisms are at least partially connected to an English model, which is creatively reshaped. This supposed model is freely reinterpreted by RL speakers, *in casu* Italians, in one of the following ways (Furiassi 2010: 38–52):

- by joining two English free morphemes in order to form a compound that does not exist in English, e.g. *recordman* (*record* + *man*);
- by coining a new word based on an English free morpheme and an English suffix, e.g. *footing* (*foot* + *-ing*);
- by deleting the head of an English two-word compound, irrespective of the ellipsis rules of the English language, e.g. *basket* (from English *basketball*);

21 This is probably due to the fact that the Italian vocabulary also includes the real Anglicism *stage* – homograph of the French *stage* – which is used to refer to the flooring, usually in a theater or stadium, where artists perform.

- by clipping a genuine English word, e.g. *happy end* (from English *happy ending*);
- by reusing an English word with a new meaning that is not found in English, e.g. *mister* (meaning in Italian 'coach' or 'trainer');
- by employing English-looking proper names, e.g. *carter* (meaning in Italian 'chain guard' or 'crank case'), place names, e.g. *new jersey* (meaning in Italian 'median barrier' or 'traffic divider'), or trademarks, e.g. *ticket restaurant*, from genericized *Ticket Restaurant*® (meaning in Italian 'meal ticket'), as common nouns.

On the one hand, the fact that an English model is somehow recognizable justifies the choice of the label *Anglicism*. On the other hand, the fact that the Anglicism either does not formally exist in English or is used with a different meaning in the RL justifies the choice of the label *pseudo-* (or *false*).

When discussing semantic pseudo-loans, these typically surface *after* a loanword has gained ground in the RL – hence the label *neo-semantization*, a term (in itself a neologism in English) based on the Norwegian lexicographer Ruth Vadvedt Fjeld's *neosemantisering* (Fjeld 2011: 22). However, we should not forget *archaisms*, i.e. RL items whose native English counterparts have undergone neo-semantization as native English usage has changed since the introduction of such terms in the RL. By extending the range of this category compared to the way it was conceived by Fjeld, what counts is the *distance* between donor and receptor meanings of a given lexeme, thus including instances where the semantic shift takes place in the donor rather than the receptor language. As this shows, pseudo-Anglicisms should always be dealt with in a diachronic perspective; rather than being neologisms, these items are often fossilized testimonies of former language contact between English and the receptor language(s).

Still, before hastening to include a potential pseudo-Anglicism in the "semantic" category, one should keep in mind that even if the RL sense differs from that typically found in English, this does not necessarily mean we are dealing with a pseudo-Anglicism. Although rare, the RL sense may (still) appear in English, in which case the term should be labeled a *bona fide* Anglicism.

14 "Core" and "peripheral" pseudo-borrowings: where to draw the line

By examining the literature on pseudo-isms (Furiassi in this volume), there seem to be two main approaches among scholars: one considers only "core" pseudo-Anglicisms as pseudo-borrowings, while the other also includes "peripheral"

pseudo-Anglicisms. "Core" pseudo-Anglicisms are those that comply, in theory, with English graphotactic criteria but do not formally exist in English, as they were coined by means of compounding, e.g. *tennisman* (*tennis* + *man*), or derivation, e.g. *footing* (*foot* + *-ing*).

"Peripheral" pseudo-borrowings are either (1) homonyms of their English etymons with a newly-acquired "un-English" meaning created via semantic extension in the RL, e.g. *mister* (meaning 'coach' or 'trainer' in Italian), (2a) clippings, e.g. *aircondition* (instead of *airconditioning*), or (2b) ellipses of compounds, e.g. *volley* (instead of *volleyball*).

The reason why some scholars include only "core" pseudo-Anglicisms in their classifications is that they consider any semantic extension as a kind of semantic adaptation, in which the meaning of the "real" English word is adapted to the context (and culture) of the recipient language after the word is borrowed. Likewise, also morphological processes, such as ellipsis and clipping, are simply viewed as merely morphological adaptations.

A prominent exponent of this "hardcore" approach is John Humbley (in this volume), who argues that *recombinations* are "truer" pseudo-loans than those belonging to the more peripheral categories, as these have developed either morphologically (into clippings) or semantically (via neo-semantization). Humbley suggests the term *allogenisms* for all "true pseudo-loans", including phenomena such as recombinations of French morphemes in English. Although, from a diachronic viewpoint, the distinction between allogenisms on the one hand and clippings plus neo-semantization on the other does make sense, most authors in this volume – including the editors – consider members of all three categories pseudo-Anglicisms.

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John Humbley

2 Allogenisms: The major category of "true" false loans

Abstract: Allogenisms can be defined as lexical constructions made in one language using material from another language, and as such may be considered as a subclass of false loans. In the past, allogenisms have been based on languages other than English: learned words coined from Greek and Latin roots fall into this category, as do constructions based on French elements from the eighteenth century, incorporated into various European languages. Today, allogenisms based on English are fairly current in many languages including French, as is shown by analysing new words incorporated into French dictionaries. However, it turns out that they are more extensively dealt with in unconventional sources, such as *Wiktionary*, and that they appear to occur more frequently in more marginal lexical fields such as brand names, film titles and slogans. From the point of view of classification, allogenisms have much in common with hybrids, both being made in one language drawing partly or wholly on lexical material from another, though in some cases evidence is lacking to determine exactly how the word was coined. Both allogenisms and hybrids can be claimed to reflect a distinctive type of language influence.

Keywords: allogenism, Anglicism, brand name, Chinese, classification, dictionary, English, etymology, false loan, film title, French, German, hybrid, innovation, Italian, Japanese, lexicon, neologism, slogan

1 Introduction

The author (Humbley 1990: 82) predicted that false Anglicisms would become less frequent as non-Anglophone Europeans became more proficient in English. This may hold for certain categories, at least in languages such as French (Humbley 2008), but it does not seem to be the case for that particular class of false Anglicisms[1] which we suggest should be called allogenisms.[2] Indeed, it

1 The labels *false loan*, *false Anglicism* and *false Gallicism* will be used in this article to the exclusion of *pseudo-loan*, *pseudo-Anglicism* and *pseudo-Gallicism*, following Furiassi (in this volume). Furiassi (in this volume) and Winter-Froemel (2011: 44–45) indeed set out the terminological variants used to name this phenomenon.

2 For French, the author proposed *construction allogène* (Humbley 2008: 230); Winter-Froemel (2011: 218), while pointing out that the suggestion does not seem to have been taken up very widely, in fact uses it herself, in German, as *Allogenismus*. Fradin's (2000: 14) suggestion of *heterolexical word*, on the other hand, does not seem to be used in loanword studies.

seems likely that allogenisms based on English will become more common, and not simply in French, as speakers of other languages choose to fulfil certain naming functions using English elements.

In this article it will be argued that allogenisms make up a lexical class of neology based on non-native elements and as such constitute a significant manifestation of linguistic influence. In this respect, they represent a broader category than false Anglicisms. It is also true that many false Anglicisms already identified in a variety of languages fall into this class, but very many others do not. The difference, as will be shown below, is made obvious when a diachronic viewpoint is adopted. Allogenisms can be considered "true" false loans in as much as they are lexical creations made in one language using material from another language, whereas other categories of false loans, which diverge from their foreign language model, are indeed real linguistic borrowings, in the sense defined by Haugen (1950). To take a few well-known examples from French to illustrate the difference, the nineteenth-century false loans *racingman* or *tennisman* are to be counted as allogenisms, since they are made up of English elements available in French by their presence in other loans, whereas *dancing*, also traditionally classified as a false loan, is in fact also a real loan, since it is a replica – in Haugen's (1950) terms – of *dancing hall* or *dancing house*, with the second element lost either at the time of the loan or subsequently, just as *lunch*, which semantically corresponds to the English false Gallicism *buffet*, also classified as a false loan, does indeed have an English-language model, although the semantic range has evolved differently.[3] These are divergences from the original model which may occur at the time of the borrowing process or subsequently, whereas allogenisms have no direct model as Haugen (1950) posits for loans, and are therefore not replicas, and thus not loans as such.

Allogenisms are nothing new. They are manifestations of what happened in European languages creating new words from Latin and Greek roots, and what happened in several European languages, English included, which coined words modelled on French. It is also the case of Japanese, which has long exploited Chinese and now English for purposes of neology, just to anticipate examples which will be analysed in the course of this article.

Allogenisms are thus an important indicator of the influence which one language can exert over another without constituting a case of borrowing. By focusing on this innovative aspect, the study of allogenisms puts false loans – and false Anglicisms in particular – into a larger picture, not just as a part of

3 See Gottlieb (2005: 164), who categorises these as archaisms, such as *smoking* in Russian – but also in French; his designation for allogenisms is "recombination" or "reshuffling", subsumed under pseudo-Anglicisms.

lexical enhancement but also as a more general means of expression on the level of discourse.

2 Allogenisms in the context of false Anglicisms

The distinction put forward in this article has already been foreshadowed in previous research. It has been suggested in various forms in past studies on false loans, going back in French to Bonnaffé's 1920 dictionary and including major studies by Trescases (1984), Thogmartin (1984), Spence (1989) and Cypionka (1994), though none seek to make a clear-cut distinction between real though modified loans, on the one hand, and lexical creations using English elements, though without any English-language model, on the other. In a more recent study on hybrids, analysed later, Kortas (2009: 541) explicitly contrasts hybrids and neologisms created with allogenous elements. It is perhaps significant that the two major French dictionaries of Anglicisms, i.e. Höfler (1982) and Rey-Debove and Gagnon (1984), both mention the phenomenon of false Anglicisms, but without actually naming any sub-categories. Starting from Cypionka (1994) however, more recent analyses make a clearer distinction, though once again not necessarily as a dichotomy.

2.1 Cypionka's classification

Cypionka (1994) can be quoted at some length as exemplary of the classifications used by her predecessors, which she analyses in depth, but without making the fundamental distinction between loan and non-loan. In her major study on false Anglicisms in French, she puts forward seven categories:

1. *Lehnzusammensetzungen*, which can be translated as 'loan compounds', are words made up in French from English words: *auto-coat*, *baby-foot*, *camping-car*, *fly-tox*, *jet-society*, *one woman show*, *silentbloc* and *speed-sail* are the examples analysed, generally also present in reference works.
2. *Lehnableitungen*, which can be translated as 'loan derivatives', are not defined precisely, but it can be assumed that the second element (either *-man* or *-ing*) is considered a suffix. The examples are *bluesman*, *clapman*, *couponning*, *groupman*, *perchman*, *pop-man*, *recordwoman*, *rowingwoman*, *speedy* and *véloceman*, with *footing* and *trottingman* seen as possible but unconfirmed candidates for this class. The various sources which Cypionka (1994) cites do not have a particular term for this category, possibly because

the status of *-man* as a suffix could be questioned – though Picone (1996: 296–306) argues in favour of it, seeing its high productivity in the 1990s. It is perhaps less ambiguous in the case of false loans formed with the clearly derivative *-ing* suffix, e.g. *brushing*, *couponning* [sic].

3. *Lehnkürzungen*, which can be translated as 'loan shortenings' or 'loan abbreviations', *camping*, *dancing*, *happy end*, *parking* being given as examples. One of the key issues for this class is to determine whether the shortening occurs at the time of the borrowing or subsequently. For the distinction proposed here, the time of the shortening is irrelevant, so long as there is an identifiable – and identified – model on which the neologism was formed.
4. *Entlehnung mit semantischer Verschiebung* or 'loan with semantic shift', including *brushing*, *fifties*, *mailing*, *pressing*, *recorder*, *smoking*, *speaker*. These are all claimed to have English-language models.
5. *Entlehnung mit morphologischer Veränderung* or 'loan with morphological change'; only two examples are given, i.e. *slip*, *yé-yé*, which again have clearly identified models, albeit with modification.
6. *Graphisch-phonetische Anglisierung* or 'graphic/phonetic Anglicisation'; only one example given: *rallye-paper*.
7. *Namenentlehnung* or 'borrowings of (proper) names': *Browning*, *Chadburn*, *Oxford*. This last category, as most of the others, could be vastly expanded.

While the detail of the classification may be questioned (is *trolleybus* really a false Anglicism in French?),[4] the overall characterization is clear. On the one hand, there is a class of words formed in French from English material (categories 1 and 2) and another class, of a more disparate nature, which consists of real borrowings which have undergone change either at the time of borrowing or subsequently (categories 3 to 7). Cypionka does not mention this dichotomy, but her categories 1 and 2 can be considered to compose a single class if affixation is classified as a sub-category of compounding.

2.2 Furiassi's classification

More recently, drawing on Italian rather than French, Furiassi (2010) has made a more detailed typology than Cypionka (1994), but one which turns out to

4 *Le Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé* (*TLFi*) gives *trolleybus* as a real loan from English, but with the same date for the first attestation in both languages as 1921. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) confirms this date for English, with an attestation from British Columbia, suggesting that the French may indeed be an allogenism.

be largely compatible with it. What he terms "autonomous compounds" and "autonomous derivatives" correspond to Cypionka's categories 1 and 2; "compound ellipses" and "clippings" to category 3, "semantic shifts" (further divided into three sub-groups) to category 4, and finally "eponyms", "toponyms" and "generic trademarks" all being part of name borrowing, or category 7. The same global distinction can be made as for Cypionka: the first two categories are not loans at all, but constructions made with English-language elements in Italian, French or any other language, but again, no dichotomy is indicated.

The justification for not making the general distinction between "true" false loans and loans that only look different is a synchronic and practical one. The resulting lexemes all diverge from current English usage, making a dictionary of false Anglicisms in Italian, included in Furiassi (2010), a useful tool for encoding into English by non-natives. However, from a diachronic point of view, and thus from the point of view of loanword studies, the first overall category is distinct from the second. The first, which we term *allogenic construction* or *allogenism*, is a constructed lexical item made of non-native linguistic material, whereas the other categories, which may be false Anglicisms, are indeed real though modified loans. The change has generally taken place in the post-integrative phase, either by abbreviating the loanword in some way or through some semantic evolution taking place in the target language or in the source language (or in both).

2.3 Humbley's classification

In a purely metalexicographic context, the author (Humbley 2008) proposed a simple typology of three classes of what the reference dictionary *Le Petit Robert* (*PR*) 2007, termed *faux anglicismes* (there are in fact in this dictionary 15 words marked *faux anglicisme*, and one (*tennisman*) marked *pseudo anglicisme*). As this lexicographical marker is part of the etymological information given in the dictionary entry, it is only right and proper to treat it from a diachronic viewpoint, and to provide relevant attestations in both languages from the time of borrowing or creation. The three classes proposed to account for these sixteen cases were *contructions allogènes*, i.e. 'allogenic constructions', *modèle tronqué*, i.e. 'truncated model', and *évolution divergente*, i.e. 'diverging development', which can be semantic, morphological or both. Of these, *allogenic constructions* turned out to be the most numerous.

2.4 Winter-Froemel's classification

Winter-Froemel (2011) has been investigating innovative aspects of language interference and borrowing, bringing these phenomena into the scope of the study of language change in general. It is in this context that she makes a clear distinction between the two types of so-called false loans we have been discussing. Situating the innovation strictly in the act of discourse, Winter-Froemel (2011: 60) posits that the speaker making the innovation must rely on competence in both the source language and the target language, in order to handle elements of the source language to be used in the target language. She suggests that *construction allogène*, mentioned above, has the advantage of indicating the mechanism involved.

3 Allogenisms in language contact: a historical review

Winter-Froemel (2011: 56) also suggests that false loans – including allogenisms – are an important class in terms of interference, partly overlapping the categories of loan creations and later integrated loanwords. If this is the case, one would expect to find instances of allogenisms wherever language contact is strong. In this section we propose to review quite briefly cases of false loans in three different contexts, striving all the time to determine which cases are in fact allogenisms rather than false loans in general. The first context is that of the influence which the classical languages, Greek and Latin, exerted over modern European languages for many centuries. The second context is that of Japan and the recourse which the Japanese have made to Chinese traditionally and more recently English in fulfilling needs of neology. The third case concerns French false loans in German, English and Italian. In the cases of French for the three modern European languages mentioned, or of Greek and Latin being used to provide specialised lexical material in Western languages in general, the common feature is that of prestige languages (see Winter-Froemel 2011: 218) being used both for borrowing, which has been mentioned very often in the literature, and for lexical creation, which is what concerns us here. In other words, the prestige languages in Europe over modern times, Greek and Latin, then French, now English, provide both loans and material for neology.

3.1 "False loans" from the classical languages

In his remarkable French dictionary of classical roots (called *formants*[5]) and how they are used for scientific and technical neology, Cottez (1980: xvii) distinguishes between three categories:

- real loans, taken from Greek or Latin with the meaning of the original language: *phlébotomie* from the Greek *phlebotomia*,
- adaptations from Greek or Latin, where the form is borrowed but in another meaning such as *endo-* in *endogène*, which in fact means 'born in the house';
- an entirely new word, which is neither borrowed nor adapted from Greek or Latin, for example *chrono-* and *-logie*, elements which both exist in Greek, but which go to make up *chronologie*, which is not attested in Greek.

It is obvious that the third category corresponds exactly to that of allogenisms as defined here.

The use made of these classical sources is so pervasive that they are considered, in some languages including French, to be part of the native stock. It is more often the case in the Romance languages, which are derived from Latin so that it is sometimes – though infrequently – difficult to know what is an inherited word from Latin and what is a later borrowing. In the Germanic languages, in German in particular, the tradition is to lump most of the classically derived roots into the *Fremdwörter*, i.e. 'foreign words', whereas the loan translations (or loan creations) are considered native vocabulary (creating doublets such as *Lungenentzündung* and *Pneumonie*, etc.). In French, on the other hand, borrowings from Latin and even Greek are so much part of word formation that they are not considered to be borrowings at all.

This is why Rey-Debove (1987), for example, criticizes blends in French (especially when they are borrowed via English) because they perturb the French grasp on morphology: *pétrodollar* being misinterpreted in French as 'dollars from stone (*petr-*)'! The native French learner's dictionary *Le Robert Méthodique* (Rey-Debove 1982; see also Tamba 1982) has, as one of its aims, to inculcate the use of Latin and Greek roots in French and to show how many of them are related to inherited forms. Kortas (2009: 540), quoting other French linguists, points out that the degree of assimilation also depends on the education of the speaker, suggesting that the distinction is one of degree rather than kind.

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5 Also called *confixes* in French (see Kortas 2009: 536) or *quasi-morphemes* (Tournier 1993: 57).

Attitudes towards borrowing are important in understanding how language change occurs, but the fact that using Greek and Latin roots is considered part of native language resources just goes to show how deep this influence is. This practice goes beyond naming new inventions or new species (some taxonomies use Latin or Greek without modification), since it can also be used in proper names, such as *Philadelphia*, the (city of) brotherly love. It will be shown that allogenisms are indicative of influence going beyond lexis.

As Cottez (1980: xv) suggests, the scientists of the eighteenth and nineteenth century had a sound education in Greek and Latin, and therefore readily took to creating neologisms from these languages. It is by no means certain that all such allogenic constructions were made in this way, indeed it is likely that subsequent use of these classical roots were made by analogy with existing forms. Thus, inventions such as the phonograph were as much inspired by the existing photograph, as a return to the Greek roots. The first attestation in French of *phonographe*, which predates the actual invention, was by the photographer Nadar.[6] Similarly, *telegraph* and *telegram* were formed on existing words, often independently in various European languages, without necessarily passing through Greek. Whatever the source of inspiration, however, culture changed in the twentieth century. Raad (1989) claims that the predominance of Greek and Latin roots used to form new terms was over and that the emerging sciences, such as information technology, tend to turn to modern languages, English in particular, to coin new words. Nevertheless Schmitt (1991) found that most of the new words in the *Le Petit Robert* (1980) were coined from Greek or Latin. Whatever the attitudes to allogenisms from the classical languages may be or their degree of integration, the frequency with which they are used reflects a strong influence.

3.2 The Japanese traditions

Japanese is said to have had a similar attitude to Chinese as European languages to Greek and Latin, borrowing copiously and drawing on Chinese roots for its own neology. This tradition was continued with English but in accordance with some of the neological habits, such as using mainly monosyllables as the basis of compounds. The use which Japanese has been making of English roots to form new words has long been known in the West, resulting in compounds such as *salaryman* and *pokemon*, i.e. 'pocket monster'.

6 All references in this paragraph are based on the *Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé (TLFi)*.

Miller (1997) identifies what is known in Japanese as *wasei eigo* as false Anglicisms, many of which are described as Japanese lexical creations modelled on English (Miller 1997: 123), thus corresponding to the definition of allogenisms. It may be held that coining new words through the medium of English is simply a modern adaptation of the long-standing recourse made to Chinese for the same purpose. This implies that languages establish traditions of what might be called allocreativity, as have modern European languages with regard to Latin and Greek, but also within modern languages, as is shown in Japanese and in the examples below.

3.3 Allogenisms based on French in other European languages

As the most prestigious European language until the early twentieth century, French provided not only many loans to neighbouring languages, but also source material for lexical creations. Here we briefly review allogenisms of French inspiration in German, Italian and English.

3.3.1 False Gallicisms in German

That German has false Anglicisms is well known (such as *Dressman* for 'a male model', see Gottlieb 2005: 166), but it is also the case that false Gallicisms were and to some extent still are current. An example is *Blamage*, formed from French *blâmer*, 'to blame', and the suffix *-age*, a construction unknown in French, and, in addition, with a divergent semantic development, meaning 'embarrassment'; the *Duden*, published in 1983, notes "französierende Bildung zu blamieren" [French-style construction from [the verb] *blamieren*]. Other examples are *Exporteur* (from *export*, plus the suffix *-eur*, whereas the French form is *exportateur* – no remark in the *Duden*) and *Raffinesse* (from *raffiné*, 'refined', and the French suffix *-esse*, whereas the corresponding French word is *raffinement* – the *Duden* notes "französierende Bildung wohl in Anlehnung an *Finesse*" [French-style construction possibly on analogy with *finesse*]. These probably date back at least to the nineteenth century, though the *Duden* does not provide datings, and, together with examples of divergent semantic development, are also lumped in as false Gallicisms, which accompanied the wholesale borrowings from French over the eighteenth century.

One feature of allogenisms which may be typical of false Gallicisms in German is the extent to which the combination of a lexical stem and a borrowed suffix is used, as in the well-known examples quoted above. This struck the author in the

case of *Lekteuse* (the *Duden* gives only *Lektorin*), the feminine form of *Lektor* in an ecclesiastical context.

3.3.2 False Gallicisms in Italian

Tallarico (2011) studied false loans in a bilingual French-Italian, Italian-French dictionary (*Garzanti*), which has a special marking for "false Gallicisms", but failed to find any example of allogenic constructions, contrary to the other two classes – diverging post-integrative evolution and truncated models. However, he did identify fourteen other cases which he was not able to categorize. It does seem possible to attribute some of these indeterminate cases to the category of allogenic constructions, such as *porte-enfant* for 'a christening cushion', which he terms a *faux emprunt composé* (Tallarico 2011: 238). As a word made up in Italian using French lexical material, with no direct French model, it is a good candidate for classification as an allogenism. Indeed the presence of such French-based constructions in Italian is consistent with the situation in German, where a language which exerted considerable influence in the past continues to be exploited to a limited extent for purposes of neology.

3.3.3 False Gallicisms in English

The influence which French has had on English is a very old one, though one which has tended to decrease over recent years. Schultz (2012) has found that loans from French have declined from an appreciable level at the beginning of the twentieth century to almost nothing at the beginning of the twenty-first. False Gallicisms in English, therefore, tend to be older formations. Some do seem to correspond to the definition of allogenisms, such as *gourmanderie*, quoted by Chadelat (2000: 19) for example – the French equivalent being *gourmandise*. Martí Solano (in this volume) has similar examples of recent allogenisms.

4 Allogenisms in contemporary French dictionaries

A first-step search for false loans and allogenisms in particular has been made in existing dictionaries, as has already been mentioned (Humbley 2008). French

monolingual dictionaries are frequently updated: *Le Petit Larousse Illustré* (*PLI*) and *Le Petit Robert* (*PR*) have an annual edition, and a search in the electronic version allows the extraction of those entries marked *faux emprunt*, *pseudo-emprunt*, *faux anglicisme*, etc. Martinez (2009), see also Martinez and Terrien (2006–2013), has a database, *DiCo* (*DIctionnaires COmparés*), from which new entries made in these two dictionaries over the last fifteen years can be extracted. The search for false loans – in fact all false Anglicisms – led to the following list, in which false loans added to annual editions of *Le Petit Larousse Illustré* (*PLI*) and *Le Petit Robert* (*PR*) between 1997 and 2012 are included: *collector* (*PR* 2006; *PLI* 2001), *flash-ball* (*PR* 2005; *PLI* 2009), *kitesurf* (*PR* 2005; *PLI* 2008), *marketer* (*PR* 2002; *PLI* 2009), *hype* (*PR* 2008; *PLI* 2009), *kicker* (*PR* 2008; *PLI* 1998), *2-scratch* (*PR* 2008; *PLI* 1998), *taximan* (*PR* 2008), *zoning* (*PR* 2008; *PLI* 2002), *autogoal* (*PR* 2007; *PLI* 2009), *performeur* (*PR* 2010; *PLI* 2008), *mobbing* (*PLI* 2011), *flashcode* (*PR* 2012), *scrapbooking* (*PR* 2011; *PLI* 2012).

Not all of the above can be claimed to qualify for allogenic status. Some are clearly not false Anglicisms at all: *hype* and *scrapbooking* are well attested in English and thus constitute clear-cut cases of real loans. Others correspond to a shortened but real loan: *collector* from *collector's piece*. There are examples of real but adapted loans, such as *performeur* and *marketer*. Semantic shift can explain both *mobbing* – originally from Konrad Lorenz's description of animal behaviour (*W8*) – and *kicker* – Belgian French for *table football* or *table soccer*, known in France by the allogenism *babyfoot* (*W1*); the other instances, however, are potential allogenisms.

The three most obvious cases are those of French inventions bearing English names. This is the case for *flash-ball*, and indeed a trademark of the French firm *Verney-Carron*, as their website indicates. It has been introduced into English – see *Wikipedia* article in English (*W3*) – as has *kitesurf*, also a French invention, as attested by the patent (*Inflatablekite.com*), but going back to the 1980s, though English *Wikipedia* suggests that modern kitesurfing started in the 1990s, without mentioning any French predecessor (*W7*). *Flashcode* was developed by the *Association française du multimedia mobile* and has its French *Wikipedia* page (*W4*), though this time there is no corresponding entry in English. *Taximan* is obviously part of the *-man* paradigm; *Le Petit Larousse Illustré* (*PLI*) indicates that it is current in Belgium and Africa, but the author has records of it in French newspapers since the 1980s. It could thus be counted as an allogenism of the same sort as *tennisman*, *racingman*, etc. *2-scratch* is another possible though less likely candidate: *scratch* or *scratching*, i.e. 'moving a vinyl record back and forth for sound effects', is a well-documented borrowing in most European languages, as evidenced by *Wikipedia* articles in fourteen different languages, all using the English word and English forms for the various techniques involved (*W9*).

It is not usual for more than one source to be credited. The German *Wiktionary* (*Wikiwörterbuch*) article on *autogoal* (*W12*) – which is claimed to be used more in French-speaking Belgium and Switzerland than in France – has the following etymological note: "seit den 1960iger Jahren belegt; es werden zwei unterschiedliche Wege in die französische Sprache angenommen. Entweder handelt es sich um eine Lehnübersetzung des deutschen *Eigentor* (Übertragung von *eigen-* mit auto-$^{\rightarrow fr}$ und *Tor* mit goal$^{\rightarrow fr}$) oder es handelt sich um eine Entlehnung aus dem italienischen autogoal$^{\rightarrow it[1]}$" [Attested since the 1960s, introduced into French via two different ways. It is either a loanword based on the German *Eigentor* (*eigen* rendered as *auto* see French and *Tor* as *goal* – see French), or a loan from the Italian *autogoal* (see Italian)]. In either case, however, it appears to be a loanword in French, whatever the model was, though in Italian there is a distinct possibility that this is an allogenism.

Recourse to general language dictionaries has thus shown to be useful in documenting allogenisms, but these prove to be small in number, suggesting that the phenomenon may be marginal as far as the general lexicon of the language is concerned. Research in other, less conventional sources, is thus the next step.

5 Allogenisms in unconventional sources

In the absence of any constituted corpus for contemporary French, the search for recent allogenisms has been performed either on a random basis or in selected specialised and generally unconventional corpora. There is a neology observatory for French, *Neologia* (Cartier and Sablayrolles 2010), from which the small number of occurrences presented below have been taken.

5.1 Brand names

Evidence from the general language dictionaries suggests that allogenisms are used to create brand names (*flash-ball*, *flashcode*, *kitesurf*, etc.). Some specific studies, using specialized if restricted corpora, confirm this tendency. It is well known that brand names can be made up using elements from a foreign language, English in particular (Kelly-Holmes 2010). In this connection, Laurent (2007) has made a particularly interesting study on French brand names, analysing product names officially registered in France between 1961 and 2004. The methodology is innovative as it situates the research in the field of brand

names, formerly eschewed in studies in lexicology as being external to language. As Winter-Froemel (2011: 328–335) points out, there are many instances of language influence which are not situated within traditional lexicology, in particular as the process takes place at the level of discourse. It is secondly innovative in that it brings to light a type which does not seem to have been identified elsewhere: that of truncation associated with composition. The two major brand names studied in Laurent (2007: 139) are the Renault brand names *Kangoo* and *Twingo*. The author points out that the model for the first is an abbreviated form of *kangourou*, using typically English graphemes (*-oo*, *k-*). *Twingo* (Laurent 2007: 138) is presented as a blend of *tango* and *swing*, an unknown combination in English. This particular study, though limited in scope, is significant in identifying other manifestations of allogenisms than compounding with either free or bound morphemes.

This sort of initiative invites more extensive research projects, for example an enlarged corpus of brand names, taken from the national body registering these – for France, the *Institut National de la Propriété Industrielle* (Laurent 2007: 133). Car names would seem to be a particularly fruitful line of investigation. Citroën's *Jumpy* (1995) had to be renamed *Dispatch* for marketing in English-speaking countries, as the *Wikipedia* article points out (*W6*) – strongly suggesting that *Jumpy* was a creation aimed at a French-speaking public who would not recognize the negative connotations.[7]

Modern lexicography does not exclude proper names (Vaxelaire 2005), and clearly allogenisms are even more widespread in proper names than in common ones, illustrating that there is a continuum between proper names and common nouns which needs to be accounted for in lexicological theory.

5.2 Film titles

Another source for a systematic study is that of film titles. It has long been observed that these are often made up with English elements, either for French-language films or, possibly more commonly, for American films whose original title is thought to be beyond the grasp of the average French cinema-goer (Truchot 1990: 186). This tendency dates back to the early 1980s. Truchot gives several examples of American films which are given simplified English-language titles: *Kentucky Fried Chicken Movie* became *Hamburger Film Sandwich*, *Eraser Head* turned into *Labyrinth Man*. Such changes are still common practice, as

7 *Jumpy*: (of a person) anxious and uneasy: *he was tired and jumpy*; characterized by abrupt stops and starts or an irregular course (*OED*).

evidenced by *The Hangover* (2009), which became *Very Bad Trip* in France. In the 1980s the practice was evidently widespread: Truchot (1990: 187) reports that in November 1986, out of 80 films screened in Paris, 39 had titles entirely or partially in English and 38 films had French titles. Of those partially in English, Truchot claims that four are examples of "Franglais", probably involving false Anglicisms.

5.3 Slogans

Slogans written in languages other than that of the country concerned have been in existence for some time. T-shirts bearing slogans in English have been sold in Europe since the 1970s, many bearing slogans of English-language origin (*Make love not war*), others with made-up English, including fanciful American campuses. For the moment no corpus of slogans comparable to that of Laurent's for brand names seems to exist, making systematic study difficult, but sufficiently well publicised examples surface in the press, so that this could be a fruitful source of phrasal allogenisms. One of the best known is the Italian allogenism *slow food*,[8] the Italian response to *fast food*, dating back to the 1980s, and registered as a brand name, as Furiassi points out (2010: 70–71). This term is now attested in English (see MacKenzie 2013, who attributes the spread of false Anglicisms to English as a lingua franca), to judge from the *Wikipedia* article in that language (*W10*). It can be compared to the perhaps more commercially oriented French allogenism *fooding*, dating to 2000, which involves a blend presumably unknown in English, and not calqued after an existing model.[9]

8 "Slow Food nasce nella città di Bra, in provincia di Cuneo, e si pone come obiettivo la promozione del diritto a vivere il pasto, e tutto il mondo dell'enogastronomia, innanzitutto come un piacere. Fondata da Carlo Petrini e pensata come risposta al dilagare del *fast food* e alla frenesia della vita moderna, Slow Food studia, difende e divulga le tradizioni agricole ed enogastronomiche di ogni parte del mondo." (*W10*) [Slow Food was born in the town of Bra, in the province of Cuneo, with the purpose of promoting the right to experience meals and the world of fine food and wine above all as a pleasure. It was founded by Carlo Petrini and conceived as a response to the growth of fast food and the frenzy of modern life. Slow Food studies, defends and disseminates agricultural tradition as well as fine food and wine in all parts of the world.]

9 "Selon Adam Gopnick, « Le Fooding est à la cuisine ce que la Nouvelle Vague a été au cinéma » Contraction du mot food et feeling, *Fooding* (apparu pour la première fois en 1999 dans un article de Nova Mag signé Alexandre Cammas, journaliste français et chroniqueur gastronomique) est la marque d'un guide de restaurants annuel (print, web, appli…) et d'évènements internationaux gastronomiques, festifs et souvent caritatifs." (*W5*) [According

A recent example in France illustrates well how the system functions. In the last days of September 2012, a group of entrepreneurs running start-ups in the IT sector launched a *Facebook* site to protest against the French government's plan to increase capital gains tax. The slogan which was chosen to brand the site was *We are pigeons*. The explanation of this name was given in the press, for example in *Les Echos* of 2 October 2012.[10] It was in fact modelled on the *Hackers' Anonymous* slogan *We are legion*. The case for an allogenic construction is in fact ambiguous, since *pigeon* exists in both languages in the same form and possibly with the same meaning, including the metaphorical one, though this will be questioned later. The construction can thus be interpreted either as a hybrid (*pigeon* as a French word) or an allogenism (*pigeon* as an English word). Both French and English pronunciations of *pigeon* were heard on French radio at the time.

The result is nevertheless quite similar: both explanations point to the influence exerted by English as both a model and a source for lexical creation in French. The case for considering the slogan as an allogenism is indeed quite strong, since English-speaking journalists take the meaning of *pigeon*, i.e. a gullible person, as being typically French, so it would seem that the unspoken implication is *on se fait plumer* 'you get plucked', a common French expression for getting ripped off.

5.4 *Wikipedia*/*Wiktionary*

We have just reviewed three usually neglected sources of neologisms, i.e. brand names, film titles and slogans; the present section is devoted to secondary attestation in unconventional reference works. Contrary to Germany, where loanword

to Adam Gopnick, Fooding is to cooking what the New Wave was to cinema. It is a blend of food and feeling. Fooding appeared for the first time in an article in Nova Mag by Alexandre Cammas, a French journalist and food writer. It is the name of a restaurant guide (print, web, app. . .) and international gastronomic events which are often of a festive or charitable nature.]

10 "« *We are pigeons.* » Toute révolution commence par un slogan. Celui-là a été emprunté aux hackers anarchistes des Anonymous, « We are legion », mais il émane d'une tout autre mouvance : celle des entrepreneurs du Net. Ceux-là ont décidé, le week-end dernier, de donner de la voix contre le projet de loi de Finances présenté en fin de semaine dernière par le gouvernement, et accusé de faire fuir les entrepreneurs en taxant trop fortement le capital." (*Les Echos*, 2 October 2012) [We are pigeons. Any revolution needs a slogan. This one was borrowed from the anarchist Anonymous hackers' We are legion, but it's from an entirely different movement, that of net entrepreneurs. They decided last weekend to voice their disapproval of the finance bill presented late last week by the French government, suspected of driving entrepreneurs out of business by overtaxing their capital.]

studies are common, there seems to be a lack of scholarly interest in the subject in France, thereby partly explaining the absence of university work on false loans. This does not mean that the general public has lost interest in the topic, in particular in false Anglicisms, to judge by the presence of a special annex in the French *Wiktionary*, *Wiktionnaire*, devoted to this very question (*W11*). The annex is well sourced, giving references and links to two sites more specialised in this topic. The first of these links is to the website of the *Bibliothèque Angellier* of the *Université Lille 3* and consists mainly of false friends, with a short supplement on false Anglicisms. The second, called *Le cabinet des curiosités*, is anonymous but contains almost the same list as the library site, about sixty false Anglicisms, which are given fuller treatment here: indicating the date of first occurrence (although the source is not specified), providing an explanation, stressing the divergence between the two languages and giving the current English equivalent, ending with a recommendation to avoid using the false Anglicism. Most of the words reviewed are old, some going back to the nineteenth century, but there are a few from the twenty-first century, such as *fooding*, already mentioned, from *food* and *feeling*, as well as more questionable cases such as *surbooking* and *relooking*, probably modified loans rather than allogenisms.

Winter-Froemel (2011: 328–335) advocates using grass-roots Internet sources – social media in particular – to gauge user awareness of the use of loans and neologisms in general, and the French *Wiktionary* entry attests the depth of interest. However, true to *Wikipedia* philosophy, it does not publish original research, but echoes that which is available elsewhere. The problem of constituting a corpus of allogenisms is thus not approached in this context, though evidence provided by individual entries can be helpful in reconstituting the process in the languages concerned, as has been illustrated in the analysis of false loans in recent French dictionaries.

6 Methodological issues

As illustrated in the examples discussed above, it is often difficult to identify allogenisms unambiguously. Several reasons can be given to explain why. Firstly, it is well known that watertight categories of real loanwords are notoriously difficult to establish, so it is not surprising that this is also the case for false loans. Secondly, this lack of clear-cut distinctions can be at least partly explained by the complex and multiple nature of language change in general and borrowing in particular, where several sources can be attributed to what becomes

one single change. Below we examine two of the issues: firstly, the similarities and differences between allogenisms and hybrids, and, secondly, the criteria used to identify allogenisms in texts.

6.1 Allogenisms and hybrids

Allogenisms and hybrids share the distinction of being made up of at least one element from another language, and not being loans at all. In principle, the distinction between the two is clear. Allogenisms are made up of elements from a source language assembled into a new form in a different language community. Hybrids are composed of at least one element of the source and one of the receptor languages. But just what constitutes elements from one or the other language is often difficult to determine. Kortas (2009) has proposed a typology of hybrids in French, inspired by research carried out in the Slavic languages. Kortas (2009: 539) makes a clear distinction between a synchronic and a diachronic approach to the question where "synchronic" is defined as the time of the lexical creation.[11] Following this reasoning, the allogenous element in a hybrid must be actually borrowed at the time the word was coined.

Kortas (2009: 542) also views hybridity as a scalar phenomenon, in particular regarding the allogenicity of the borrowed element. We have seen that the slogan *We are pigeons* could be considered either a hybrid or an allogism: this is not exceptional. The site of the French open tennis championship, sponsored by *BNP Paribas*, has a name coined on exactly the same model: *We are Tennis*, where *tennis*, just like *pigeons*, is a thoroughly assimilated Anglicism in French. *Ramping* 'crawling in sports' is, for Kortas (2009: 544), a good example of a hybrid, since the French verb *ramper* 'to crawl' is made into a noun by adding the obviously English suffix *-ing*. It could however be argued that *-ing* has become available to a degree in French, as witnessed by allogenisms such as *couponning* or *mailing*. A similar problem is posed with French words ending in *-man*, but having no English-language model. Are *câbleman*, *perchman* – or indeed *racingman*, *tennisman* and *taximan*, analysed above – hybrids or allogenisms? They certainly seem to be formed on the same model: *sport + man*. Or is Picone's (1996: 246) explanation, that *-man* has become a French suffix, convincing? Historical research is needed to distinguish allogenisms

11 "[…] en synchronie, au moment de la formation de cette unité un élément lexématique venant d'une langue étrangère est non autonome dans la langue emprunteuse, contrairement à son statut autonome dans la langue prêteuse." [[…] in synchrony, when this unit was formed as a non-autonomous unit in the borrowing language but autonomous in the donor language.]

from constructions which actually originate in the "source" language but which have disappeared since, but that is the case for false loans in general, not this particular class.

6.2 Identification

A second question arises as to how potential allogenisms, in particular the ones made up of English-language elements, can be identified. Are allogenisms limited to constructions which somehow infringe on an aspect of English morphology or, more commonly, semantics? In other words, would a construction which was found to be completely acceptable in that language still be considered an allogenism? It could be argued that this is the case with *We are pigeons*, synchronically identified as an allogenism according to the circumstances of its coining. After all, English dictionaries list *pigeon* as a gullible person, someone liable to be taken in. But the coverage of this news item in the English-language press shows that the newspapers found an explanation necessary, even if the dictionaries give the same meaning in both languages.[12] It would seem then that even what may seem to be well-formed allogenisms may raise problems of interpretation similar to those of false loans in general.

If the criterion for allogenisms is that they are lexical creations made up of elements taken from another language, then the interpretation and degree of acceptance (MacKenzie 2013: 48) could be claimed to be irrelevant. The only criterion that counts is the etymological one, as far as this can be determined, as lexical creation is usually a series of multiple events. So it is consistent with the criteria that *We are pigeons* is an allogenism, because it was consciously created in French but with English elements.

As is the case for blends, allogenisms are usually conscious creations, which means that their history can in many cases be documented, even if the result is very similar to what a construction made in English would be. It can thus happen that what may seem to be allogenisms from a synchronic point of view actually turn out to be loans. One case in point is a particular corkscrew marketed by the French firm *Le Creuset*, called *Screwpull* (*LeC2*). Two reasons

12 "'Pigeons' flap for Hollande: [...] They call themselves "Les Pigeons" – French slang for mugs or suckers – and use a black-and-white logo of a frowning bird" (Angélique Chrisafis, *Guardian Weekly*, 12 October 2012). "Across the web entrepreneurs have been changing their profiles to pictures of pigeons. Why? Well, 'A Pigeon' is French slang for a sucker, or perhaps a fall guy – which is exactly how they feel." (Mike Butcher, *TechCrunch*, 7 October 2012). "Calling themselves *les pigeons*, or "suckers", French entrepreneurs mounted an online revolt" (*The Economist*, 13 October 2012).

would tend to indicate that this compound was not made by native speakers. The first is that both elements, *screw* and *pull*, although indicating how the corkscrew works, have common sexual overtones which are hardly in keeping with opening bottles of wine. The second is the resulting wordplay in English, phonetically identical or close to *scruple*, which has no semantic connection to the item in question either. To find out whether the hypothesis holds, it is necessary to investigate the history of the referent. The company's website gives a history of this device (*Alice Délice*), and it transpires that *Screwpull* was the name of a company which *Le Creuset* took over in 1991 (*LeC1*). This company was founded by the American Herbert Allen. Pursuing the investigation, it turns out *Screwpull* was the name of a revolutionary corkscrew which Herbert Allen invented in 1978, and which today constitutes a museum piece in the *Museum of Modern Art* (*MoMA*) in New York. Their website confirms this with the picture of the original 1979 corkscrew, duly labelled *Screwpull*. The word is therefore a direct loan in French and not an allogenism at all, however improbable it may sound. The etymological criterion, obtained through documentary research, is the deciding factor.

To demonstrate the irrelevance of native speakers' judgment as to the acceptability of a construction in determining whether it is an allogenism or not, we can take the case of compounding carried out in French with English elements but which results in not only a perfectly acceptable word in English, but also in one that is actually widely attested in that language. A remarkable example of this is afforded by the French *Wikipedia* article *busway de Nantes* (*W2*). This article describes how a bus route scheduled for conversion into a tramline was simply upgraded for buses with provision of some reserved track and priority at traffic lights. It was to be a *tramway*, but was eventually marketed as a *busway*. The local lexical development was thus from *tramway* to *busway*. Now, it so happens that English also has *busway*, with much the same definition in the corresponding *Wikipedia* page. Do we have a loan or an allogenism, or parts of both?

In today's allogenisms, it is almost impossible to say if they are made up by non-natives, and we may expect lexical formations appearing simultaneously coined by native and non-native speakers.

7 Motivation

In this section the focus is on why speakers of one language use lexical material from another language to create new words, and to determine whether this motivation has changed in recent times. From the evidence of allogenisms used in European languages over the past centuries, two types of motivation stand

out. The first, and probably most prolific type, is that of scientific designation, where naming is part of a system of classification. This is clearly the case of chemical nomenclature, as worked out in the eighteenth century (Zanola 2014), where chemical substances were named systematically, drawing on Latin and especially Greek, to create new paradigms. The second, of a social and cultural nature, characterised by false Gallicisms in various European languages, is by no means as prolific as classicisms, and is not systematic in the same sense, usually based on analogy with existing loans.

The present-day use of English to create allogenisms is clearly more strongly related to this social aspect than to systematic and scientific naming. However, English is used, as has been demonstrated, to name invented products, and for trade names, film titles and slogans. English thus takes on the function of the "default language for global brands" (Kelly-Holmes 2010: 480), even in countries where it is not the national language. For instance, Renault chooses to invest new models with names derived from English, with a view to the global market which characterizes the automobile industry. This is consistent with observations made on the commodification of language, "a shift from language as use-value to language as exchange-value" (Block 2010: 295), typical in brand names, which frequently exhibit this sort of multilingual formulations, often with a play on words. As Kelly-Holmes (2010: 478) says: "[…] brand names, slogans, and marketing texts such as advertisements can feature multilingual and heteroglossic play".

The motivation of names made from English-language elements is multiple: on the one hand, it sets the name or slogan in an international context. In the case of *We are pigeons*, English was the natural language for French IT entrepreneurs, a language they themselves use professionally at least as much as their mother tongue, and in a situation where they were anxious to project an international image. But there is also a strong localized motivation as well. As the slogan was aimed at the French government and more broadly at the general public, it was designed to be immediately comprehensible to French speakers with minimal English skills. On the other hand, it was not completely transparent to native English speakers, as English journalists had to gloss this seemingly English slogan for the benefit of English-speaking users. Film titles illustrate the same motivation, where localization trumps internationalization, since the films are renamed in more simple English in order to project an international or American aura on the film in question while still remaining comprehensible to a public with limited English-language skills. In some cases the motivation may be too divergent between non-native and native speakers, as for *Jumpy*, which may sound snappy to a French customer but unnerving to

an English-speaking one. In these cases, the commodification of English is instrumental in motivating these constructions.

8 A continuum?

As there has been no previous research focusing on allogenisms, it is difficult to obtain an overview of how widespread they are. From the evidence presented above, however, it seems that this category is just one of several manifestations of the influence that English is exerting over other European languages. Many of the examples are open to differing interpretations: as allogenisms, hybrids, real loans or simply compound words using lexical stock previously borrowed and assimilated. It is probably not by chance that lexical elements used in many allogenisms are common to both English and French, e.g. *taxi*, *bus*, *pigeon*, as if the very availability of these forms in both languages facilitates the formation of new combinations.

More generally though, it seems that allogenisms constitute a category of cultural and language influence which is closer to hybrids than to "true" false loans. Whereas "true" false loans represent the evolution of borrowing in directions not known in the source, and thus of interlanguage independence, allogenisms and hybrids are signs of interlanguage proximity: needs in naming are fulfilled by using material from a very familiar second language, English. From this point of view, it can be claimed that allogenisms are an outlying case of language influence, the source language providing a stock of lexical elements which are available to second-language speakers, provided by English as a lingua franca.

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II Germanic languages

Henrik Gottlieb

3 Danish pseudo-Anglicisms: A corpus-based analysis

Abstract: The Danish speech community has developed from speaking English as a foreign language to using English as a second language, a default language that Danes switch into when communicating with foreigners. This article presents a longitudinal study of the use and frequencies of pseudo-Anglicisms in Danish. It shows that in parallel with the changing status of English in Denmark is a shift away from the prolific coinage of pseudo-Anglicisms in the past. However, over a twenty-year period (1993–2013) established pseudo-Anglicisms – most of which Danes believe to be genuine English borrowings – continue to increase their usage when compared with all-Danish synonyms. The article includes a comprehensive overview of the types and usage of pseudo-Anglicisms recorded in contemporary Danish media. Divided into four categories, a total of 114 Danish pseudo-Anglicisms are listed, with frequencies, definitions, etymons and/or English equivalents given for each item.

Keywords: Anglicisms, corpus-based methodology, Danish, diachronic approach, EFL, English impact, ESL, *Infomedia*, lexicography, lexicology, pseudo-Anglicisms, receptor language, relative frequencies, relay Anglicisms, semantic market share, typologies

1 Danish pseudo-Anglicisms – room for systematic observations

Apart from a few remarks made by Torsten Dahl (Dahl 1941: 387), pseudo-Anglicisms (PAs) in Danish were not discussed until the 1970s. Since then, some Danish Anglicists and lexicographers have, in a more or less systematic fashion, included pseudo-Anglicisms in their work, most notably Knud Sørensen (1973, 1995, 1997), Pia Jarvad (1995, 1998) and Andrzej Szubert (1999a, 1999b, 2003, 2006). Still, no scholarly and systematic publication has been offered on this topic, no comprehensive listing has been made, and no statistics on the usage have been presented. This study seeks to remedy this – by looking at the use of pseudo-Anglicisms in Danish over two decades, using the more than 20 billion word strong text archive *Infomedia* as its point of departure.

In this article I will present the findings of my research focusing on the types, frequencies and functions of pseudo-Anglicisms in contemporary Danish usage. I will start by presenting examples of the three main types, i.e. morphological, lexical and semantic pseudo-Anglicisms.

2 The various types of Danish PAs

For practical reasons, I will use the following terminology, based on Carstensen's German-based typology (1980), Furiassi's (2010) work regarding Italian, and Fjeld's article on Norwegian lexicology (2011):

1) *clippings* (these morphological items constitute the largest group of pseudo-Anglicisms in Italian[1]);
2) *recombination* of English morphemes (lexical PAs);
3) *neo-semantization* of English lexemes (including semantic fossils and semantic neologisms).

2.1 Clippings

Beginning with the morphological pseudo-Anglicisms, aka *clippings*, this category includes items like *mail* for *e-mail* and *grape tonic* for 'a sparkling soft drink with grape fruit flavor' – a taste far removed from that of the alleged grapes in the name, as foreigners soon realize. It must be noted that English-sounding clippings found in a receptor language (RL) are not necessarily pseudo-Anglicisms, but may originate in English proper. Thus, the term *laptop*, short for *laptop computer*, is highly frequent in both English and a host of other languages. In Danish, it is used alternatively with the all-Danish clipping *bærbar*, meaning 'portable', short for *bærbar computer*.

Finally, while recombinations and neo-semantizations typically stem from a linguistic need or a creative whim specific to one speech community, the same clippings are often found in several languages. Items like *happy end* and *aircondition* are thus common in Norwegian (Fjeld 2011: 36), German (Onysko 2007: 53), and – as we will see – Danish.

1 The world's only dictionary of pseudo-Anglicisms (Furiassi 2010, dealing with Italian) has 286 headwords, 84 of which begin with A, B or C. 50% of these (42 items) are clippings. In Danish, at least, clippings seem to be less dominant than lexical or semantic pseudo-Anglicisms, with only 23 clippings out of the 114 items listed in Tables 3 to 6.

The oft-mentioned *smoking*, originally coined in French and known in Danish since 1902 (Meyer 1902), may be the world's most ubiquitous pseudo-Anglicism. In *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (Görlach 2001), the use of *smoking* (in some cases with localized spelling) to refer to *tuxedo* (US English) or *dinner jacket* (UK English) is documented in no less than 15 out of the 16 European languages investigated – with Albanian as the only unaffected language.

2.2 Recombinations

This category is very productive in Germanic languages and constitutes a significant part of the established Danish inventory of pseudo-Anglicisms, including the four items below, all coined before 1960 and still the sole or dominant terms for the objects displayed in Figure 1:

DK: *cottoncoat*	DK: *babylift*	DK: *stationcar*	DK: *sixpence*
UK: *raincoat*	UK: *carrycot*	UK: *estate car*	UK: *cloth cap*
US: *trenchcoat*		US: *station wagon*	

Figure 1: High-frequency Danish pseudo-Anglicisms

As these examples illustrate, the coining of recombinations to designate physical entities commonly known to Danes and native Anglophones alike was once a recurrent phenomenon in Denmark. But in parallel with the increased knowledge of English, rather few such recombinations have appeared in Danish since the mid-twentieth century (see Table 8 below). Today, new coinages that may, to some observers, look like recombinations (and thus pseudo-Anglicisms) are almost always hybrids, linking an existing Danish element with an English morpheme or lexeme. To cite one typical example of this trend, the neologism *metrosteward* was coined in 2003 as the Copenhagen metro opened. The term *metro*, an established Gallicism previously used in Danish of underground train services, e.g. in Paris, was combined with another established term, the Anglicism *steward*, used in Danish with reference to a male service person on airlines and intercity trains – a sense also found in English.

2.3 Neo-semantizations

In a few cases, Danish Anglicisms are presently used in senses now obsolete in English, thus rendering them pseudo-Anglicisms. An example of such semantic fossils is the earlier-cited term *sixpence*, used for a traditional cloth cap originally sold in the UK for six pence (see Figure 1). Another fossilized Anglicism, *the upper ten* (referring to members of the upper class), quite common in Danish even after its demise in English, is now so seldom used that it fails to qualify for inclusion in the listings in Tables 3 to 6: only 14 instances of this PA were found in *Infomedia*.

The antithesis of such fossilized usage is the appearance of semantic neologisms, i.e. Anglicisms that have developed new senses never found in native usage. Danish examples of this range from *kiks* (a neuter noun derived from *kicks*, having acquired the sense 'slip' or 'miss', with documented Danish usage since 1782) to modern developments like *bake-off* (meaning 'half-baked bread') first attested in 1990.

In my listing of neo-semantizations (see Table 5 below) I include instances of word class change, as when the grammatical repertoire of the (international) Anglicism *SMS* is expanded into covering the act of texting, thus coining the Danish verb *at sms'e*, 'to text' – an interesting parallel to the synonymous German coinage *simsen* (Görlach 2003: 71). The list also includes some occasional items that may not be, in the words of Cristiano Furiassi (2010: 34), "recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three)". This is partly due to the fact that Danish and English are quite closely related at the three levels mentioned here by Furiassi. Thus, Danes may not have a clue whether a given word is of Danish or English origin. This, of course, goes for *bona fide* Anglicisms as well as false Anglicisms. An example of this is the adjective *smart* – a full-blown Anglicism which happens to look and sound Danish, rhyming with the all-Danish adjective *sart*, meaning 'delicate'. Thus, only Danes with a fair command of English would identify *smart* as an English loanword.

Folk etymology may work the other way round with the common-gender noun *kiks*, meaning 'biscuits' or 'crackers', attested in Danish since 1878. While linguists may know that the etymon of the word is *cakes*, average Danes might – if ever asked – think that *kiks* is derived from English *kicks*. Ironically, this is exactly the etymology of the above-mentioned neuter pseudo-Anglicism *kiks*.

As part of the general argument of this study, neo-semantizations of English lexemes are in principle unavoidable if the semantic and pragmatic circumstances of the usage of Anglicisms are investigated in detail: "[o]n closer scrutiny, the definition of pseudo-Anglicisms borders on morphological and semantic changes of borrowings in the RL" (Onysko 2007: 52).

Consequently, as long as semantic change in an Anglicism justifies its inclusion, via the label "neo-semantization", in the pseudo-Anglicism category, one might be tempted to label all Anglicisms pseudo-Anglicisms. However, in order to keep the neo-semantization category operational, we must determine the degree of semantic change needed for an item to be classified as a case of neo-semantization, and thus be considered a pseudo-Anglicism.

In Table 1, each of the three numbered factors will constitute a neo-semantization, whereas the remaining two factors (Ø1 and Ø2) will not:

Table 1: Neo-semantization criteria

Constituting factor	Danish example	Modern English equivalent	English etymon
1) usage now obsolete in English	*butterfly*	*bow tie*	*butterfly tie*
2) change of word class	*sms'e* [verb]	*text*	*SMS* [noun]
3) significant change of meaning	*pop* [noun]	*bullshit, hot air*	*pop (music)*
Ø1) minor change of meaning	*pamflet*	*lampoon*	*pamphlet*
Ø2) one or more English senses missing	*alien* (= extra-terrestrial being)	*alien* (extra-terrestrial being) *alien* (foreign national)	*alien*

As demonstrated earlier, practically any borrowed lexeme will show some degree of semantic change in the RL when compared to the semantics of the "same" lexeme in the donor language. For this reason, to prevent all Anglicisms from being considered pseudo-Anglicisms, the two "negative" criteria, Ø1 and Ø2 in Table 1, are important gatekeepers. While Ø1 deals with the semantic *focus* of a given lexeme, Ø2 deals with its semantic *range*.

Once in use in the "foreign" speech community, some pseudo-Anglicisms enter into false-friend relations with the cognate English lexemes that acted as models. The Ø1 item in Table 1 is an example of this: the Danish Anglicism *pamflet* is used of a small publication with a political and/or controversial twist – a *lampoon* in English – whereas the English *pamphlet* is largely devoid of such critical connotations. Accordingly, the Danish equivalent for *pamphlet* is not *pamflet*, but *hæfte* or *småskrift*.

The second example in Table 1 (Ø2) illustrates the common phenomenon that only one of the senses of a given (English) lexeme is adopted with the word (Alexieva 2008: 43).[2] In other words, when the word *alien* is used in

2 My database of Danish-English false friends (see also note 6) includes hundreds of English words that "lose" some of their meanings on their way to Danish usage, ranging from *bitch* (losing 'female dog') to *body shop* (in Denmark, only the capitalized brand name is known, i.e. *The Body Shop*®, while the English core meaning 'auto repair shop' is lost).

Danish, there is a 100% chance that this signifies a Martian or the like. In many English text genres, however, the word *alien* – especially when preceded by *illegal* – will refer to a very earthly creature.

2.4 Mixed categories

Quite often, pseudo-Anglicisms represent a combination of two of our three main categories of pseudo-Anglicism. The Danish word *butterfly* is thus a redefined clipping of the obsolete English term *butterfly tie*, in English now replaced by *bow tie*.

A Danish dairy brand, *Cheasy*®, on the other hand, merges the words *cheese* and *easy* in an attempt to add positive connotations to the English adjective *cheesy*. Or perhaps the Danish company that coined this brand name just did not know the negative semantic prosody of *cheesy* in English.[3] As long as customers in Denmark and abroad share this seeming lack of knowledge of the English adjective, things work out nicely, but with the increasing knowledge of "real" English worldwide, such unfelicitous pseudo-English coinages are less likely to appear in the future. And, as documented in Humbley (in this volume), manufacturers sometimes feel forced to rename certain products, as when *Citroën* started selling their *Jumpy*® van in Anglophone countries.

In Table 2 below, examples of two possible "mixed" types are shown, together with examples of the three main types:

Table 2: Types of pseudo-Anglicism

	Danish item	**English etymon**	**Modern English synonym**
1) clipping	*happy end*	*happy ending*	*happy ending*
2) recombination	*stationcar*	*station + car*	*station wagon* (US); *estate car* (UK)
3) neo-semantization	*sixpence*	*sixpence*	*cloth cap*
1+3) neo-semanticized clipping	*butterfly*	*butterfly tie*	*bow tie*
2+3) neo-semanticized recombination	*Cheasy*®[4]	*cheese + easy*	*cheesy* (*cheap; smelly*)

3 In English, the two main senses of *cheesy* are 'smelly' and 'cheap'/'of poor quality'.

4 As the word is not (yet) used generically in Danish, it does not count as a fully-fledged PA (see the discussion in section 3). *Cheasy* is only included here to show the potential typological variety of pseudo-Anglicisms.

2.5 Beyond our categories: vocal pseudo-Anglicisms

A final phenomenon may deserve mentioning: *vocal PAs*. By this term is meant non-English loanwords that are considered Anglicisms by speakers in the receptor speech community and for that reason are pronounced in a (mock) English fashion – and sometimes even reinterpreted.

In German, an illuminating example is the word *ausgepowert*, meaning (1) 'impoverished' or (2) 'exhausted'. Until the mid-twentieth century, this word was only used in sense 1, and the letter *w* was – in accordance with German phonology – pronounced as an English *v*. In recent decades, the fact that the word is based on French *pauvre* (En. 'poor') tends to be ignored. Now German folk etymology has it that *ausgepowert* is derived from English *power*, leading to redefining the meaning from sense 1 to sense 2 above and establishing the increasingly common English-sounding pronunciation of the *w* (Grzega 2003: 32).

Danish examples of such vocal pseudo-Anglicisms include *vue* (from French, now often pronounced like *view*), *respit* (a Latin borrowing, its last syllable by some pronounced as *speed*), *unik* (French, but often heard with an English-sounding *u*), *charge*, in the sense 'official rank', and *large*, meaning 'broad-minded', the two latter items borrowed from French, but typically pronounced with English-sounding sibilants.[5]

Ironically, more than a century ago, Otto Jespersen lamented the same phenomenon, only with French and English in the opposite roles, stating that several English loanwords were pronounced as if they came from French. Among the examples cited were *parlament*, *wagon* and *jockey* (Jespersen 1902: 502). Still today, while the generations that used the French-sounding pronunciation of *jockey* have passed away, the two former Anglicisms are pronounced with the French-inspired stress on the final syllable, even by young Danes. And this still applies to other early Anglicisms in Danish, among these *glamour* – always thought of as a French loan in Danish, and accordingly pronounced by Danes rhyming with *amour* (see also Gottlieb 2012: 173).

3 On finding and counting Danish pseudo-Anglicisms

Determining exactly which pseudo-Anglicisms are the most frequent in Danish usage is not easy. The major Danish *bona fide* text corpus (*Korpus DK*), although

5 Hyper-Anglification is also known in other speech communities, see the mentioning of the common English pronunciation of the Gallicism *stage* in Italian (Furiassi 2010: 29–30; Gottlieb and Furiassi in this volume).

POS-tagged and well-organized, with 56 million running words, is too small for rarities like PAs, while *Infomedia*, covering nearly all Danish news media – although colossal and wide-ranging – is organized as an (untagged) text archive for journalists, not as a tool for linguists.

Besides, no available algorithms exist that would automatically detect (Danish) pseudo-Anglicisms in texts. However, promising attempts have been made, e.g. Furiassi and Hofland (2007), focusing on pseudo-Anglicisms in Italian newspaper texts, and Andersen (2012), presenting a semi-automatic Anglicism detector developed for Norwegian.

This means that finding candidates for the listing of Danish pseudo-Anglicisms in this study was done by a combination of "rounding up the usual suspects" from the existing lexicographic literature (including the works by Knud Sørensen, Pia Jarvad and Andrzej Szubert) and personal records, including my database of Danish-English false friends.[6] Whether or not all these PA candidates made it into the list (shown in Tables 3 to 6) depended on how they fared in the selection process described below.

Although a comprehensive listing may be fascinating, some PA candidates turned out to be simply too rare to justify inclusion. Let us, for example, look at *gamespoiler* – mentioned in Sørensen (1995: 106) and derived from English *spoilsport*. *Gamespoiler* appears in only 4 of *Infomedia*'s 50 million articles, while its established Danish synonym *lyseslukker* – literally 'light extinguisher' – is found in no less than 2,735 articles. So even if *gamespoiler* may seem an interesting item to a lexicographer, it shows a frequency way below the threshold suitable for an investigation into pseudo-Anglicisms in contemporary usage.

Not only frequency is an important parameter in selecting items for inclusion; should, for instance, names of companies and products be included if they are frequent enough? As this study focuses on general usage, the answer to this must be 'no'.

Based on these considerations, the following criteria were applied when compiling PAs for this study:

I) Only standard-language items are included, thus excluding
   a) technical terms;
   b) brand names, including many pseudo-English coinages, e.g. the Danish coinage *Cheasy* and *Renault*'s *Kangoo* (1997) and *Twizy* (2011);
   c) terms formerly considered pseudo-Anglicisms but now (or even then) used in standard English, e.g. *badwill* (included as a PA in Sørensen 1997).

6 As of July 2014, this database, entitled *Lumske ord i engelsk* [Tricky words in English], comprised 2,311 pairs of Danish-English false friends. While hundreds of these pairs consist of a Danish monosemic Anglicism plus its English polysemic etymon, only a dozen instances of pseudo-Anglicisms are found among the Danish entries.

II) As will be specified in section 4, only items frequently occurring in contemporary written Danish are included, thus excluding
   a) nonce words and one-off creations;[7]
   b) items that may be frequent in oral language but seldom appear in print;
   c) items that had fallen out of use before 1993.[8]

The fact that an item qualifies as a pseudo-Anglicism according to the above criteria does not imply that it is more frequent than its Danish alternative – if such a word exists. As a case in point, in the period 2007–2012 the clipping *basket* appeared in Danish newspaper articles 510 times, while the full form, *basketball*, was used in 2,109 articles – more than four times as often. In other words, while the standard Anglicism had a "semantic market share" of 81%, the pseudo-Anglicism merely covered 19% of the Danish usage.[9]

4 A listing of frequent Danish pseudo-Anglicisms

Tables 3 to 6 below list more than one hundred Danish pseudo-Anglicisms that qualified for inclusion (see criteria I and II above), presented according to the main categories discussed in section 2. Although some of the words listed are adapted to Danish spelling conventions, all items are likely to be considered English by Danish non-experts and may hence be used in conversation with native English speakers.

The demand for items to be frequent in contemporary written Danish (see criterion II) was operationalized by focusing on PAs which in the period 1993–2013 appeared in minimum 40 *Infomedia* articles – a minimum set in order to avoid unsuccessful coinages and nonce words. Although this threshold is quite low – equaling only two articles for each year investigated – it seems to be fitting: even statistical "rarities" like *motherfuckerskæg* (meaning 'van Dyke beard', attested in 45 *Infomedia* articles) and *twist* (in the sense 'cotton waste',

7 As a case in point, whether the oft-mentioned term *bigshopper* (included in Sørensen 1997) was ever frequent is questionable. In the twenty-year interval under scrutiny here, only 9 articles contained that word, four of which discussed the term rather than showing its actual usage.

8 Several Danish pseudo-Anglicisms have disappeared from usage long ago, one example being *mahogni*, based on English *mahogany* and used as an adjective in the sense 'noble'. Sørensen (1997) cites an example of this obsolete usage in a Danish biography from 1876.

9 The form *basket* is productive in Danish. Several compounds exist, among them the hybrids *basketstøvle*, 'basketball shoe', and *basketkamp*, 'basketball match'.

found in 46 articles) will sound familiar to most adult Danes. Thus, all PAs in Tables 3 to 6 are expected to be part of the vocabulary of adult (educated) Danes by 2013.

Infomedia does not provide the user with any statistics regarding its text volume. In May 2013, when most searches were made, its website stated that the archive held more than 50 million articles from 1,790 Danish sources, some of which go back to 1990. With an average length of 400 words per article (my estimate based on random counts), it is fair to say that *Infomedia* totals more than 20 billion running words – of which the period investigated (1993–2013) yields almost 20 billion.

How rare, then, is an item with the minimum frequency of 40 hits? Knowing that *Infomedia* counts always refer to the number of articles in which the search node appears,[10] and using a conservative estimate of four occurrences of a given search node per article found, our threshold turns out to be as low as 0.008 ppm (equaling 4 times 40 hits divided by 20 billion).

In plain terms, this means that in order to make it into this list, a Danish pseudo-Anglicism needs to appear only once in some 125 million running words; an order of magnitude that might indicate the inclusion of items practically unknown to non-experts – but, as we have seen, a higher cut-off point would have excluded many PAs known to – and used by – native Danish speakers.

All *Infomedia* searches listed in the tables were made in 2013 and covered the 20-year period March 1, 1993 through February 28, 2013. Except otherwise stated, each search was performed as "udvidet søgning" ('extended search'), using the "alle ord i hele artiklen" ('all words in the entire article') search mode. This mode ensures that all inflected forms are counted, without including derivatives. In *Infomedia*, all available Danish-language printed and online news sources – 1,790 in all – were searched, thus excluding only three sources, all of them news agencies: the Anglophone *Reuters World Service* and *Reuters Finans*, and the bilingual *Ritzaus Bureau*.

All figures in the tables below refer to the number of articles, not the number of individual hits in articles. In Tables 3 to 6, the following symbols are used:

! search conducted in "præcis sådan", 'exact match', mode, to avoid over-reporting due to homography;

– in column 3, an Em dash indicates that, due to extensive homography, valid counts were not possible, but samples were taken to check that the relevant homograph would have a frequency above the required minimum;

10 Although figures for all occurrences in the articles would be interesting, there is a positive side effect to counting articles rather than individual words: the impact of short-lived jargon and idiosyncratic language is diminished.

* items followed by an asterisk entered Danish via German;
§ items are included in the comprehensive *Dictionary of Anglicisms in Danish* (Sørensen 1997);
\# items are included in the online *Nye Ord i Dansk* (*NOID*);
& items are represented as PAs in *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (Görlach 2001) covering 16 languages, though not including Danish;
< before a year, as in <1991: earlier attestations are deemed likely;
< before a figure, as in <987: this figure includes 'noise', i.e. some irrelevant hits;
> before a figure, as in >352: this figure does not include all occurrences of the search item;
Ø no Danish synonyms – not even Anglicisms – were found;
POS part-of-speech (word class) label.

Items in **boldface** are also found (with similar semantic traits) in Italian (Furiassi 2010). Items based on now obsolete English etymons are *italicized*.

Table 3: Danish pseudo-Anglicisms: clippings

Clippings: 23 items	(POS) dating[11]	Article hits	English etymon	Danish synonym
aircondition / air condition §	(n) 1943	35,179	air conditioning	airconditioning, klimaanlæg
basket §	(n) 1951	21,808	basketball	basketball
beachvolley #	(n) 1991	8,523	beach volleyball	beachvolleyball
body	(n) 1966	–	bodystocking	bodystocking
brainstorm §	(n) 1959	4,346	brainstorming[12]	brainstorming
discount §	(n) 1988	–	discount store	discountforretning
double	(n) 1924	8,376	doubles [tennis term]	Ø
flirt ! §	(n) 1902	18,521	flirtation	Ø

11 The following sources were consulted in order to determine the age of the listed items: Nyrup (1882), Jespersen (1902), Meyer (1902), Bang and Bang (1938), *ODS*, *RO 1955*, Sørensen (1997), *DDO*, *NOID* and *Infomedia*. However, several items may have been coined prior to the dating in this and the following tables. Especially pseudo-Anglicisms from before the 20th century and those mostly used in spoken Danish may have been introduced several years before being recorded by any of the sources used.

12 While in Danish, *brainstorm* means 'spontaneous exchange of ideas', the English meaning is rather 'mental blackout'. In English, *brainstorming* is the equivalent of the Danish *brainstorm*.

13 *Dagbladet Ringkøbing-Skjern*, Thursday 6. August 1936: "Grape-Tonic er navnet på en ny og særdeles velsmagende læskedrik, som Carlsbergbryggerierne har ladet fremstille."

grape(tonic) / grape (tonic)	(n) 1936[13]	76	grapefruit (tonic)	Ø
happy end §	(n) 1938	–	happy ending	happy ending
infight §	(n) 1984	7,996	infighting	nærkamp
kidsvolley[14]	(n) 2002	1,741	kids + volleyball [biddy volleyball]	børne-volleyball
mail	(n) 1988	–	email	e-mail
overhead #	(n) 1968	–	overhead projector	overheadprojektor
overhead #	(n) 1975	–	overhead transparency	transparent
push-up #	(n) 1996	–	push-up bra	støtte(-bh)
quad*	(n) 2008	–	quad bike	ATV
single §	(n) 1902	>16,891[15]	singles [tennis term]	Ø
softice / soft-ice / soft ice § &	(n) 1955	47,357	soft ice cream	Ø
streetbasket / street basket	(n) 1987	3,430	street basketball	street basketball
tumbler	(n) 1955	<987[16]	tumble drier	tørretumbler, tørretromle
volley[17]	(n) 1969	14,059	volleyball	volleyball
wellness*	(n) 1998	<26,250[18]	wellness program [spa]	velvære

The term *wellness* is an example of the international exchange, or reborrowing, of pseudo-Anglicisms (Furiassi 2010: 70–71). The earliest Danish usage found in this study was attested in an article in *Flensborg Avis*, a bilingual German-Danish newspaper, published in 1998, two years after the same newspaper had first presented the term in its German coverage. In both instances, *wellness* referred to spas in Germany.

14 The term *kidsvolley*, i.e. simplified volleyball for children, was launched in the Netherlands before reaching Denmark in 2002.

15 In order to disambiguate this homograph, I searched for "'single' + 'tennis'/'badminton'".

16 This figure includes some 200 hits of the homograph *tumbler* (En. 'athlete').

17 This word is almost always part of a name of a volleyball club, e.g. *Team Køge Volley*.

18 This figure includes roughly 300 German hits from the bilingual *Flensborg Avis*.

Table 4: Danish pseudo-Anglicisms: recombinations

Recombinations: 26 items	(POS) Dating	Article hits	English etymon	Danish synonym	English synonym
afterskiing # afterski	(n) 1969 (n) <1991	1,488 2,387	after + ski(ing)	Ø	après-ski
babylift §#	(n) 1955	556	baby + lift	Ø	carrycot
bakgear	(n) 1924	7,413	back + gear	Ø	reverse
casestory §[19]	(n) 1959	228	case + story	case, case study	case history, case study
citydress / city-dress &	(n) 1938	96	city + dress	jakke og hvid skjorte	suit and tie
cityshorts # &	(n) 1988	136	city + shorts	lange dameshorts	long ladies' shorts
cottoncoat §	(n) 1937	1,297	cotton + coat	Ø	trenchcoat, raincoat
cowboytoast	(n) <1993	233	cowboy + toast	Ø	minced-meat sandwich
dressman* § #	(n) 1956	<339[20]	dress + man	mandlig mannequin	male model
grillbar § #	(n) 1969	16,491	grill + bar	Ø	takeaway
grillparty #	(n) 1953	1,063	grill + party	grillfest	barbecue
homeparty / home-party &	(n) 1986	558	home + party	Ø	sales meeting in someone's home
hometrainer §	(n) 1969	150	home + trainer	kondicykel, motionscykel	exercise bike
IT-supporter #	(n) 1995	1,982	IT + supporter	edb-assistance	technical support
longjohn §	(n) 1929	369[21]	long + John	budcykel	carrier bicycle
misser §	(n) 1988	–	miss + -er	fiasko	miss [En. 'failure']
monkeyclass	(n) 1983	526	monkey + class	økonomiklasse	economy class
movieboks; moviebox #[22]	(n) 1983	12 108	movie + box	Ø	portable VCR
no bad feelings !	(n) 1970	190	no + bad + feelings	ingen sure miner	no hard feelings
showmaster / show-master &	(n) 1988	642	show + master	showvært	host; MC [entertainer]
speeder §	(n) 1934	>39,024[23]	speed + -er	gaspedal	gas pedal, accelerator
speedmarker §	(n) 1974	207	speed + marker	filtpen	felt-tip pen
stationcar §	(n) 1950	44,514	station + car	Ø	UK: estate car; US: station wagon
taxfree shop / tax-free shop &	(n) 1963	104	tax-free + shop	lufthavnsbutik; Border Shop	UK: duty-free shop; US: duty-free store
timemanager	(n) 1976	272	time + manager	kalender	calendar [trademark]
youngtimer*	(n) 2000	373	young + timer	klassisk bil	classic car

19 Figures for compounds, like *casestory*, include hyphenated forms, in casu *case-story*.
20 The frequency figure includes several instances of the Norwegian company name *Dressman*.
21 Hits of *Long John Silver* were excluded.
22 Obsolete term; hits later than 1996 refer to memories of renting a *movieboks*.
23 Search node: definite form "speederen", to avoid homographs.

Table 5: Danish pseudo-Anglicisms: neo-semantizations

Neo-semantization: 60 items	(POS) Dating[24]	Article hits	New sense in Danish	Danish synonym	English etymon	Main sense of etymon in English
artdirector / art-director / art director &	(n) 1960	2,738	senior employee at advertising agency	AD	art director	scenographer
bake-off ! #	(n) <1990	1,268	half-baked bread	ikke-færdigbagt brød	bake-off	baking competition
beautyboks §[25] beautybox	(n) <1939	571 311	vanity case	Ø	beauty box	[obsolete] vanity case
bobbet (hår)[26] §	(adj) 1921	405	perm [En. 'cut and curled hair']	permanentet (hår)	bobbed (hair)	short, straight haircut
bobcat	(n) <1993	<1,078[27]	mini-bulldozer	minigravko	Bobcat	[brand name]
bungalow §	(n) 1938	<4,491[28]	small 1930s-style felt-roof house	Ø	bungalow	1. Asian-type house 2. one-story detached house
charter(rejse)	(n) 1959	14,519	package (tour)	selskabs(rejse); pakke(tur)	chartered	hired

24 Dates refer to first known use of the items in the new sense.

25 The *OED* cites the December 10, 1908 issue of the *Lady* magazine for this sentence: "'Beauty Box' containing one box of face powder, with swansdown puff, is sent post free." This may indicate that the pseudo-Anglicism *beautyboks* may indeed stem from the long-forgotten brand name *Beauty Box*, as a result of the generic use of the proper noun – a well-known process in diachronic linguistics. However, most likely *beauty box* was never used generically in English, hence the labeling neo-semantization here.

26 The expression *bobbet hår* represents the ultimate semantic pseudo-Anglicism in the sense that there is a false-friend relation between the English *bobbed hair* (straight, short hair) and the Danish *bobbet hår* (a perm, i.e. curly hair).

27 Only roughly half of the occurrences of the uninflected form refer to the generic use; the rest refer to the make *Bobcat*®.

28 The plural, *bungalows*, often refer to (hotel) bungalows in Asia, i.e. neither the Danish nor the English sense.

Table 5: *Continued*

Neo-semantization: 60 items	(POS) Dating[24]	Article hits	New sense in Danish	Danish synonym	English etymon	Main sense of etymon in English
choker[29] §	(n) 1953	>375	choke (control)	Ø	choker	necklace
city* §	(n) 1911	–	inner city, downtown	centrum, midtbyen	city	town
cleare §	(v) 1989	–	pair [used when voting in parliament]	afstemme, modregne	clear	rid of
cowboy(bukser) §	(n) 1955	39,802	(blue) jeans, denim	jeans	cowboy	cowboy
drink §	(n) 1938	–	alcoholic drink	genstand	drink	drinkable fluid
drop [in hospital] §	(n) <1980	>161[30]	drip	Ø	drop	small quantity of liquid
filme §	(v) 1922	–	bluff, simulate	simulere	film	shoot a film
filme §	(v) 1932	–	flirt	flirte		
flip §	(n) 1969	–	craze	mani	flip	somersault
flipover[31] flip-over &	(n) 1973	432 16,398	flip chart	Ø	flip + over	turn (something) over
flipper §	(n) 1971	–	freak, hippie	freak, hippie	flipper	limb of a seal
grill	(n) 1983	–	take-away	grillbar	grill	gridiron
hitliste §	(n) 1961	48,997	music chart	Ø	hit + list	list of victims
jobbe (op) §	(v) 1925	>88[32]	force up (prices)	presse op	job (up)	work

29 Used for the choke control in a car, this term enters into a false-friend relationship with English *choker* (meaning 'necklace', originally 'stiff collar'). This search was conducted in the exact match mode in order to eliminate the infinitive verb form *chokere* (En. 'shock'), a homograph of the plural form of *choker* in Danish.

30 In order to avoid noise from homographs, the search string "fik drop" (En. 'had a drip') was used.

31 Only this (rarely used) spelling is approved by the *Dansk Sprognævn* [Danish Language Council] (*RO 2012*).

32 The figure is a total of the hits for four relevant conjugations of *jobbe priserne op*.

Table 5: *Continued*

Neo-semantization: 60 items	(POS) Dating[24]	Article hits	New sense in Danish	Danish synonym	English etymon	Main sense of etymon in English
junke §	(v) 1970	>78[33]	be addicted to	være afhængig af; (ind)tage	junk	discard as rubbish
kiks [common gender] §	(n) 1878	>53[34]	UK: biscuits US: crackers	Ø	cakes [plural]	baked food
kiks [neuter] §	(n) 1782	>352[35]	slip, miss; miscue	uheld; smutter	kicks [plural form]	thrusts, blows
kikse* ! §	(v) 1889	4,724	miskick, fail	skyde galt; misse	(to) kick	thrust, blow
kikset !	(adj) <1991	18,826	unsuccessful	mislykket		
large [attitude][36]	(adj) 1921	–	broad-minded	storsindet; tolerant	large [< French]	big
liveshow §	(n) 1971	9,143[37]	sex show	sexshow	live show	any on-stage performance
mobbe §	(v) 1972	5,505[38]	bully, harass	chikanere, genere	mob	mafia, gang
mobning § **mobbing**	(n) 1971	49,000 <305[39]	bullying, harassment	chikane, drilleri		

33 In order to exclude homographs, this figure includes only the past tense of the verb, *junkede*.
34 This search was limited to "spiste kiks" (En. 'ate biscuits/crackers') to disambiguate the common-gender term.
35 This search was limited to "lille kiks" (En. 'minor slip') in order to disambiguate the neuter term.
36 Pronounced in a mock-English fashion, this word covers two senses: 'big' (of clothes; as in English) and 'broad-minded'. Although in the latter sense this adjective is technically a Gallicism, the fact that Danes perceive *large* as English qualifies it as a PA.
37 This is a case of the influence of standard English over time: whereas 7 out of the 14 hits in the first year studied (1993–1994) were tokens of the Danish "sexual" sense, i.e. pseudo-Anglicisms, only 1 of the 14 most recent hits (from February 2013) was a PA.
38 Search mode: "Præcis sådan" (exact match) to disambiguate from *mob*. – the abbreviation of *mobil* (En. 'mobile phone').
39 This figure includes many hits from German articles in the bilingual *Flensborg Avis*.

Table 5: *Continued*

Neo-semantization: 60 items	(POS) Dating[24]	Article hits	New sense in Danish	Danish synonym	English etymon	Main sense of etymon in English
motherfucker-(skæg) #	(n) 1996	45	Van Dyke beard	Ø	motherfucker	asshole
old boys §	(adj) 1938	<12,639[40]	male senior ball player	Ø	old + boys	grown-up men
old girls	(adj) <1990	<1,734[41]	female senior ball player	Ø	old + girls	grown-up women
oldtimer*	(n) 1991	<2,214[42]	classic car	klassisk bil, veteranbil	oldtimer	old man
pincher &	(n) <1925	49	pinscher [dog]	pinscher	pinch + er	one who pinches
plaid §[43]	(n) 1902	<4,571[44]	woolen blanket	uldent tæppe	plaid	tartan blanket
playback &	(n) 1958	2,972	lip-synch miming	Ø	playback	playing prerecorded music
plimsoller §	(n) 1902	921	coffin ship	Ø	(Mr.) Plimsoll	family name
pop #	(n) 1964	–	junk	bras	pop	popular music
pop #	(adj) 1962	–	cheasy; low-quality	billig, sjusket		
punke #	(v) 1979	–	force (someone)	plage (nogen)	punk	young rebel
rocker §	(n) 1964	>51,185[45]	(criminal) biker	Ø	rocker	rock musician

40 Figures for *old boys* and *old girls* include a few *bona fide* Anglicisms, e.g. *old boys network*.
41 As all other non-solid expressions, this compound was searched in "Præcis sådan" (exact match) mode.
42 Including a few hundred German hits from *Flensborg Avis*.
43 This word is one of the earliest successes of English lexical export, attested in Italian as early as 1757 (Furiassi 2010: 186).
44 Including several hundred hits referring to the British pop duo *Plaid*.
45 To disambiguate the PA from the sense 'rock musician', typically used of individuals, the search was limited to the plural form *rockere*. Disambiguating all PA senses of the singular form may double this figure.

Table 5: *Continued*

Neo-semantization: 60 items	(POS) Dating[24]	Article hits	New sense in Danish	Danish synonym	English etymon	Main sense of etymon in English
shirting &	(n) 1924	55	cloth (binding)	Ø	shirting	fabric for shirtmaking
sixpence §	(n) 1921	<1,709[46]	(cloth) cap	kasket	sixpence	British coin
slips ! §	(n) 1882	31,926	tie	Ø	slips [plural]	a woman's undergarments
sms'e	(v) 2000	5,682	text	sende sms'er	SMS	text message
snobbe (for) §	(v) 1921	7,397	toady (to)	Ø	snob	snobbish person
speaker §	(n) 1926	>9,905[47]	announcer, anchor	studievært	speaker	public speaker
splejse §	(v) 1925	2,013[48]	go Dutch; share a bill	dele en regning	splice	join two ropes
step (danser)	(v) 1929	574	tap-dance	Ø	step	walking motion
stresse !	(v) 1962	23,054	feel strained	blive stresset	stress	emphasize
tank[49]	(n) 1931	>350,383	US: gas station UK: petrol station	benzintank	tank	container; armed vehicle
tipper &	(n) <1939	111[50]	someone doing the football pools	Ø	tipper	someone giving tips

46 Including some hundred instances of proper names.
47 Search node: the definite form "speakeren".
48 The figure accumulates hits of "splejse til" and "splejse om".
49 To disambiguate from the 'armed vehicle' sense and all-Danish homographs, the search node was "på tanken" (En. 'at the gas station').
50 To disambiguate from forms of the verb *tippe*, the search combined *tipper* and *tips*.

Table 5: *Continued*

Neo-semantization: 60 items	(POS) Dating[24]	Article hits	New sense in Danish	Danish synonym	English etymon	Main sense of etymon in English
tips	(n) 1907	>799[51]	football pools	Ø	tips	money given for services
tjekket	(adj) 1983	–	stylish; well-organized	velklædt; velordnet	checked	patterned
tricke[52] #	(v) 1991	217[53]	trig	opildne, anspore	trick	cheat
truck[54]	(n) <1955	>7,238	forklift	gaffeltruck	truck	large commercial vehicle
twist[55] tvist	(n) 1938	>46 >27	cotton waste	Ø	twist	twisted thread
whiskers	(n) <1950	>237[56]	brushes	Ø	whiskers	facial hairs
wrap[57]	(n) 2005	>230	hay fermented through wrapping	wraphø	wrap	cover

51 To disambiguate from the plural form of the Anglicism *tip*, the search combined *tips* and forms of the verb *vinde* (En. 'win').
52 This item could also be considered a simple misspelling of the Anglicism *trigge*, a direct adaptation of the English verb *trig*.
53 Several hits represent the meaning 'cheat' or 'trick', but the majority point to the 'trig' sense.
54 To avoid ambiguity, "gaffeltruck" was the search node.
55 Only the spelling *tvist* is recognized by the *Dansk Sprognævn* [Danish Language Council]. To disambiguate from other senses of 'twist' and 'tvist', figures for the phrase *tot twist*/*tot tvist* (En. 'piece of cotton waste') are given.
56 To minimize homography-induced noise, the search string was: "'whiskers' + 'spille*'" (En. 'play*').
57 Search string: "'wrap' + 'hø'" (En. 'hay').

The word *whiskers* is a textbook example of a word destined to create misunderstandings between native English speakers and foreigners – as in this *non sequitur* cited by a Danish jazz critic: "A Danish jazz drummer (with whiskers) once asked the trompet player Clark Terry: »Do you want me to use whiskers in the next song?«. Terry answered: »Yeah – I'd like to see you do that!«. The Danish drummer didn't get the point" (Christensen 2012; my translation).[58] Interestingly, in contemporary Danish, *whiskers* is used in this musical sense far more often than in any of the original English senses – including that of 'sideburns'. Yet, the only Danish dictionary entering this neo-semantization is the corpus-based *Den Danske Ordbog* (DDO 2003–2005).

Table 6: Danish pseudo-Anglicisms: neo-semanticized clippings

Neo-semanticized clippings: 5 items	(POS) Dating	Article hits	English etymon	Danish alternative form	English synonym
butterfly §	(n) <1934	–	butterfly tie	Ø	bow tie
dirttrack dørtræk	(n) 1928	151 322	dirt-track racing	speedway	speedway
discount §	(adj) 1989	–	discount store	lavpris-	low-priced
smoking* §	(n) 1902	6,353[59]	smoking jacket	Ø	tuxedo, dinner suit
toast[60]	(n) <1990	–	toasted bread	parisertoast	croque-monsieur

5 The nature of Danish pseudo-Anglicisms

Looking at Tables 3 to 6, it is remarkable that rather few of these pseudo-Anglicisms are recent coinages. Out of the 114 items, only 10 were coined in the period investigated, i.e. between 1993 and 2013. And, as pointed out below, contemporary Danish English-based coinages are typically hybrids, loan translations and calques. To name just one example, the newcomer *missoir* (coined in 2006 at a Danish music festival as a name for a urinal for women), rather than

58 The Danish original goes: "En dansk trommeslager (med bakkenbarter) spurgte engang trompetisten Clark Terry: »Do you want me to use whiskers in the next song?«, hvortil Terry svarede: »Yeah – I'd like to see you do that!«. Den danske trommeslager forstod ikke finten."

59 In order to separate the PA sense, this figure represents the number of hits for the query "'smoking' minus 'no' or 'and' or 'gun' or 'guns'".

60 The pseudo-Anglicism *toast* is a clipping of the hybrid *parisertoast*, a mid-twentieth century coinage. *Toast*, in the original English sense, i.e. 'speech in someone's honor', is a very early Anglicism in Danish. It was found already in the writings of Hans Christian Andersen (*ODS*).

being a proper pseudo-Anglicism, is a hybrid of the English noun *Miss* and the suffix *-oir*, a morpheme borrowed from French.

Another salient feature is the dominance of nouns among these items: all morphological PAs as well as all recombinations are nouns (see Tables 3 and 4), and the few adjectives and verbs are found among the neo-semantizations and redefined clippings (Tables 5 and 6). In total, there are 92 nouns (81% of all items), 14 verbs (12%), and 8 adjectives (7%). These figures tally well with the distribution of the 6,180 items in the *Dictionary of Danish Anglicisms*: 80% nouns, 9% verbs and 9% adjectives (Sørensen 1997: 4).

Regarding the overall frequencies of pseudo-Anglicisms in Danish, the situation is pretty much in line with that of Norwegian, German and Italian, as discussed in Gottlieb and Furiassi (in this volume). The most common Danish pseudo-Anglicism among the 114 items listed above, *tank*, in the sense 'gas/petrol station', has a frequency of some 70 ppm – a figure based on 350,383 articles of some 4 occurrences each in the *Infomedia* archive of 20 billion words. The second-most frequent item, *rocker* (En. 'biker'), has a frequency in the *Korpus DK* of just 15 ppm (430 tokens of the lemma 'rocker' in the *Korpus 2000* subcorpus of 28 million running words). In comparison with *bona fide* Anglicisms, pseudo-Anglicisms are few and far between, in Danish as in other languages.

Looking at the relative importance of the main categories of PAs in contemporary Danish, as shown in Table 7, it turns out that, while categories 1 and 2 seem to be equally productive, category 3, *neo-semantization*, yields by far the most items, and includes the most frequent pseudo-Anglicism in Danish, i.e. *tank* (excluding senses shared with English):

Table 7: Danish pseudo-Anglicisms: types

PA type	Number of items listed	Share of all listed items	Most common item	First attested as a Danish PA	Number of article hits
clippings	23	20%	aircondition/ air condition	1943	35,179
recombinations	26	23%	stationcar	<1950	44,514
neo-semantization	60	53%	tank	1931	350,383
neo-semanticized clippings	5	4%	smoking	1902	6,353

This dominance of neo-semantization marks a deviation from the typical pattern in the generation of neologisms in the Germanic languages, where recombination and suffixation constitute the most common types (Fjeld 2011: 25).

Moving from categories to historical periods, the earlier-mentioned assumption that the coinage of Danish PAs is now on the decline seems to be justified, as shown in Table 8:

Table 8: Danish pseudo-Anglicisms: dating[61]

PA type	before 1900	1900–19	1920–39	1940–59	1960–79	1980–99	2000–2013	total
clippings	0	2	3	5	4	7	2	23
recombinations	0	0	5	5	7	8	1	26
neo-semantization	4	4	19	6	14	11	2	60
neo-semanticized clippings	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	5
total	4	7	29	16	25	28	5	114

Even though the most recent period in Table 7 covers a shorter time span than the others (14 against 20 years), the drop in new PA coinages is conspicuous: after 1999, only five new items are recorded. This may indeed herald a time in which Danes, well versed in English as they are, stop coining new pseudo-Anglicisms. However, a factor contributing to the paucity of new PAs needs mentioning: one of the main sources used in this study, the standard work on Danish neologisms, *Nye ord* (Jarvad 1999), now online as *Nye Ord i Dansk* (*NOID*), has not yet been fully updated due to lack of manpower until 2011 (Nørby Jensen 2011: 42). Be that as it may, it is striking to see that even in contemporary usage, pseudo-Anglicisms from the pre-WW2 period are so numerous, only matched by those coined in the period 1980–1999.[62]

Obviously, the amount of data is limited and care should be taken in the analysis of these figures. Still, it seems fair to say that neo-semantization was the dominant type of PA when English was not yet spoken by most Danes.

61 Although many sources were consulted in order to ascertain the earliest usage of the PAs in this study, several items may have been launched prior to the dating in Tables 3 to 6. Especially PAs common in spoken Danish may have been introduced several years before being registered in any of the written sources, whether primary texts or dictionaries.

62 The present stagnation in the coinage of pseudo-Anglicisms in Danish may be found in other ESL speech communities, but it certainly does not reflect the development in the inventory of Anglicisms in general. No Danish statistics on the dating of Anglicisms exist yet, but the total number of Anglicisms in the sixteen European languages dealt with in Görlach (2001) shows continuous, exponential growth all the way from 1800 to 1995, when data collection for the dictionary was completed (Görlach 2003: 166).

Before 1940, 27 out of 40 (surviving) pseudo-Anglicisms belonged to that category, thus constituting 68% of the pre-WW2 PAs. In contrast, only 44% of all PAs coined since 1940 (33 items out of 75) were neo-semantizations.

As for the origins of Danish pseudo-Anglicisms, a few items started out as brand names and later acquired more general senses. e.g. the clipping *grape tonic*, the recombination *cowboytoast* and the neo-semantization *bobcat*. However, the overwhelming majority of PAs were coined or – in the case of neo-semantizations – developed in a bottom-up fashion by semi-bilingual Danes. Hardly surprising, no pseudo-Anglicisms were launched or promoted by official Danish institutions; the Danish Language Council (Dansk Sprognævn) has always treated PAs as any other established Danish lexical items by listing them in the nation's only authoritative (spelling) dictionary, *Retskrivningsordbogen (RO 2012)*. This dictionary issues orthographic and morphological norms while accepting any (frequent) lexeme without any prescriptive filters. As a case in point, the entry for the Danish PA *truck* looks like this: "**truck** *sb.*, -en, -s *el.* truck, -ene *(et køretøj)*". While the word 'truck' is thus loosely defined as 'a vehicle', the RO gives us one accepted definite form (singular 'trucken' and plural 'truckene') but allows two plural indefinite forms, 'trucks' and 'truck'. Summing up, pseudo-Anglicisms in Danish are – with a few exceptions – the outcome of Danes' juggling with English, resulting in useful lexical entities that happen to deviate from "real" English.

Although an important source in the compilation of the lists in Tables 3 to 6, *Nye ord i Dansk (NOID)* – another dictionary compiled by the Danish Language Council – sometimes presents unfounded claims. As a case in point, the term *bad taste-party* is labeled "hjemlig dannelse" (En. 'domestic coinage') allegedly coined in Danish as late as 1990. However, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) presents this wonderful citation from the *Oakland Tribune* of April 28, 1935: "Miss Patty Bahls and Mrs. Lawson Poss are discussing plans for their Bad Taste party to be held May 11, at Claremont Country Club." This is exactly the context in which one would find the Danish *bad taste-party*, so, even though the expression may have found its way into Danish only in recent decades, it does not qualify as a pseudo-Anglicism.

Even less precise in its labeling is the otherwise impressive *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (Görlach 2001). Out of 56 candidates for inclusion in this Danish study, all listed as pseudo-Anglicisms, 37 – amounting to no less than 66% – were in fact *bona fide* Anglicisms, found in standard online dictionaries and language repositories accessible via *OneLook Dictionary Search* (1,062 dictionaries indexed as of July 2013). However, the fact that a certain PA candidate is found in a dictionary or text corpus does not always exclude the possibility

that the item in question should be considered a pseudo-Anglicism. Thus, items that are (or have become) extremely rare in native English contexts may indeed qualify as PAs if considered "un-English" by native speakers.

In relation to the discussion concerning the "necessity" of Anglicisms (see Gottlieb and Furiassi in this volume), it is worth mentioning that roughly half the Danish pseudo-Anglicisms listed in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 lack direct synonyms; neither domestic nor imported alternatives exist (see the Ø symbol in the tables). However, some PAs come in different orthographic guise, see the neo-semantization *beautyboks* (with 571 hits) vs. *beautybox* (with 311 hits) – the latter, less common, form not accepted by the Danish Language Council and thus still outlawed from the latest edition of the *Retskrivningsordbogen* (*RO 2012*). Regarding the recombination *afterskiing* (the only form listed in *RO 2012*), the tables are turned. With 2,387 hits, the unofficial spelling *afterski* (prohibited by the Danish Language Council) is more frequent than the official variant *afterskiing* (with only 1,488 hits).

A final example of the intricacies encountered in this hybrid field of lexicology is the word *dandere*. This verb, documented in Danish since 1895, is still in use, with 837 *Infomedia* hits in the period investigated. As a redefined clipping of the French verb *dandiner*, it does not qualify as a (pseudo)-Anglicism. Yet, the factor that changed the sense of the word (from 'walking in an unsteady fashion' to 'behaving in a careless fashion') as well as its length (down from *dandinere* to *dandere*) is the English noun *dandy*. This means that this particular word could be categorized as an English-impacted pseudo-Gallicism – a very special category, indeed.

6 Are pseudo-Anglicisms *passé* in Danish?

In a semi-bilingual speech community like Denmark, pseudo-Anglicisms could very well be an endangered species. In order to establish whether the use of these lexical creatures is in fact on the decline, a number of items from Tables 3 to 6 were selected, and their success *vis-à-vis* Danish synonyms (including *bona fide* Anglicisms) was measured at 10-year intervals: in 1993, 2003 and 2013.

Only PAs with existing synonyms were candidates for selection. The reason is that without synonyms, the PA frequencies found in such longitudinal studies would reflect sizes in the population searched – in the case of *Infomedia* merely reflecting the (growing) number of sources from 1993 to 2013 – rather than the relative success or decline of a given item over the years, measured against a competing lexeme.

Among the items with synonyms, ten were selected, representing I) all three main categories of pseudo-Anglicisms (as defined in section 2, and displayed in Tables 3 to 5), II) the three main word classes (nouns, verbs and adjectives), III) different years (decades) of introduction, and IV) different frequency levels.

Table 9 below shows the relative success or failure of these ten items in the period investigated – with additional data from the Danish *Korpus DK* in the two columns to the right, presenting the number of tokens of all relevant forms of the search node in two subcorpora covering the years 1983–1992 and 1998–2002, respectively. These subcorpora (*Korpus 90* and *Korpus 2000*) are equally balanced and consist of 28 million running words each. Following the figures for PA tokens are the respective ppm (parts per million) values.

For easy reference to the data in Tables 3 to 5, the far-left column gives the relevant table number – after the word-class abbreviation and before the earliest known usage. Hence, the first item, *basket*, is a noun found in Table 3 and first attested in Danish in 1974:

Table 9: The development of selected pseudo-Anglicisms in Danish

	Number of *Infomedia* hits (articles)			PA's share of total usage				*Korpus DK* hits (PA tokens)	
PA vs. synonym	**1993**	**2003**	**2013**	**1993**	**2003**	**2013**	**Change 1993–2013**	**1990 (ppm)**	**2000 (ppm)**
(N 3; 1974) basket basketball	124 323	525 1,589	982 3,016	28%	25%	25%	-11%	34 (1.2)	28 (1.0)
(N 3; 1959) brainstorm brainstorming	27 14	73 41	209 97	66%	64%	68%	3%	5 (0.2)	19 (0.7)
(N 3; 1984) infight nærkamp	25 163	253 467	449 636	13%	35%	41%	215%	7 (0.3)	27 (1.0)
(N 4; c. 1953) grillparty grillfest	10 12	23 113	23 215	45%	17%	10%	-78%	0 (0.0)	4 (0.1)
(N 4; 1934) speeder(en) gaspedal(en)	295 18	1,462 45	3,197 196	94%	97%	94%	0%	94 (3.4)	106 (3.8)
(N 4; 1955) cowboybukser(ne) jeans(ene)	440 277	1,121 685	1,275 2,849	61%	62%	31%	-49%	278 (9.9)	135 (4.8)
(N 5; 1926) speakeren studieværten	57 115	153 264	199 244	33%	37%	45%	36%	88 (3.1)	52 (1.9)
(V 5; 1979) punke plage	4 216	7 621	21 813	2%	1%	3%	50%	3 (0.1)	5 (0.2)
(V 5; 1962) stresse (blive) stresset	53 227	711 1,439	1,269 2,334	19%	33%	35%	84%	18 (0.6)	53 (1.9)
(Adj. 5; <1991) kikset mislykket	75 283	604 1,094	822 1,900	21%	36%	30%	43%	12 (0.4)	60 (2.1)

As it turns out, whether looking at the *Infomedia* or the *Korpus DK* figures, only 3 out of these 10 pseudo-Anglicisms have lost ground over the two decades investigated. This means that, contrary to expectations, pseudo-Anglicisms – at least established items – still seem to be thriving in written Danish,[63] albeit as a very small contribution to the overall influence from English. The typical frequency is around 1 ppm, rendering conclusions based solely on a 'small' corpus like *Korpus DK* a somewhat daring enterprise.

Indicated by the *Korpus DK* findings, and based more firmly on the *Infomedia* data, it seems that even in speech communities like Denmark now moving into the ESL circle[64] – in which English is a second rather than a foreign language – PAs are still found useful.

7 "English" coinages abroad feeding back into English

Considering for a while the landscape just beyond the realm of pseudo-Anglicisms, we will focus on English-based lexemes coined outside the inner circle of Anglophone speech communities but meant for international communication – and thus not PAs.

7.1 Coinages in Danish

Starting with Denmark, a successful example of such a lexeme is the term *roof window*, coined by Danish exporter of skylights, *Velux*, and now common in native English parlance. Formerly obsolete in English, *roof window* was re-introduced not as an involuntary pseudo-Anglicism – as it was never intended for domestic use – but as a result of interference from Danish as *Velux* launched their products worldwide, including the US, in 1975. Whether the marketing department at *Velux* knew that the standard English equivalent of the term *tagvindue*, lit. 'roof window', was indeed *skylight* remains unanswered; the neologism did and does make sense: the

63 All sources used in this study are – technically speaking – written (whether printed or online) and nearly all are published by various news media. Still, a substantial part of the material, including blogs and letters to the editors, are phrased by non-professionals and/or represent direct speech. However, a more speech-oriented corpus may yield somewhat different results regarding the types and frequencies of Danish pseudo-Anglicisms.

64 This state of affairs is illustrated by the fact that when asked, 86% of Danes claim that they speak English "well enough in order to be able to have a conversation", while the figures for Germans, Frenchmen, Italians and Spaniards are 56%, 39%, 34% and 22%, respectively (European Commission 2012: 21).

windows made by *Velux* – now sold in Denmark as *ovenlysvinduer* and often referred to internationally as *roof windows* or *Velux-style roof windows* – differ from traditional skylights in that they are double-glazed and may stay open without letting the rain in. As new phenomena tend to acquire new names, it seems fair that these 'windows-in-the-roof' are granted an English name of their own; the only unusual thing being that this time, foreigners came up with the English name for something now well-known in the Anglophone world.

A less successful product – and thus a less widely-used term – is *Time Manager*™ (see Gottlieb and Furiassi in this volume). Although included in some English-language dictionaries without mention of its non-native origin, the term is in fact the name of a Danish deluxe pocket calendar officially registered in 1976.

Summerbird™ is an example of a perhaps naïve, yet more successful Danish coinage. Whether this term will become established in international English depends on the commercial success of the brand itself outside Denmark. So far, this tongue-in-cheek name for Danish luxury chocolates makes English-speaking Danes smile, but most likely, the pun is lost on foreigners, including native English speakers.

Figure 2: Danish chocolate with a pseudo-English name

Is this brand name a conscious play on words, realizing that most Danes know that a *sommerfugl* (Danish for 'butterfly') is not a 'summerbird' in English, or were the founders of this company – based on the Danish island of Funen – ignorant of the English meaning of the term *butterfly*? This is not easy to tell from the way the company proudly presents their first chocolate product as being made of "Marcipan [...] formet som poetiske sommerfugle (heraf navnet Summerbird)" [En. 'marzipan shaped as poetic butterflies, hence the name Summerbird']. However, Mikael Grønlykke, the CEO of Summerbird, said the company name was a conscious choice, not the result of "Danish country bumpkins' best bet at an English translation of the word 'sommerfugl'". According to Grønlykke, "the word butterfly sounded too industrial; like an English factory with 10,000 smokestacks. So we played around with the word, and then this direct translation came up – which sounds far more poetic. And abroad, no

one's puzzled by that; they just think it's a great name". (Thorsen 2015: 3; my translation).

In "real" English, while 'summer bird' may indeed refer to a bird, i.e. the wryneck, the solid spelling 'summerbird' seems to be a non-entity, attested neither in *BNC* nor in *COCA*. However, perhaps inspired by the fact that the Yiddish word for butterfly is *zumer-feygele* – closely reminiscent of the Danish term 'sommerfugl' – "Charlotte-area native Cindy Siesel set out in late 2010 to fill a hole in Charlotte's retail landscape by opening summerbird, an inspired collaborative boutique" (W1). To prove the outlandish semantics of this name, the shop's logo is an orange butterfly.

Thus, whether based in North Carolina or in Denmark, infusing the English language with foreign-bred features may be good for business.

A definitely humorous neologism, *roligan* (dating back to the 1980s and referring to non-violent Danish football fans), may look English (or Scottish), but should be considered a hybrid (of the Danish adjective *rolig*, meaning 'quiet', and *-gan*, the last syllable of the Anglicism *hooligan*) rather than a pseudo-Anglicism.

A final example of a Danish near-pseudo-Anglicism is the frequent hybrid *whiskybæltet*, lit. 'the whisky belt', used of the affluent northern suburbs of Copenhagen. This slightly derogatory expression, based on the American *Bible belt* template, refers to the fact that the well-off are said to drink (imported) whisky rather than more folksy local liquors like *snaps*, the Danish equivalent of vodka.

7.2 Coinages in other languages

This Anglophone linguistic creativity outside the inner circle is by no means limited to speech communities as closely related to English as Denmark. Without believing in a forthcoming consensus on what some scholars term "Euro-English" (Jenkins 2009), a few examples of pseudo-Anglicisms that are, or have been, used in "native" English should be mentioned: *New Look* (a fashion concept launched in France, by Christian Dior, in 1947); *rector* (used in EU contexts of the head of a university, in line with most languages in Europe, yet in opposition to both the British *vice-chancellor* and the American *university president* or *chancellor*) and *home-jacking* (a French coinage from 2004 designating a phenomenon hitherto nameless in English, see Melin and Christiansen 2008: 80), as seen in this newspaper citation: "The burglaries highlight the growing problem of what the French call "le home-jacking" – house-breaking to obtain the keys to steal expensive cars" (Samuel 2006).

The brand name *Bluetooth*™, used of the process of transmitting data from mobile to stationary platforms, was coined by Swedish engineers in 1998 (*NOID*). Unknown to most users, the term refers back to the Danish king Harald Blåtand, lit. 'Harald Bluetooth', who united the Scandinavian lands prior to his death in year 987. Interestingly, while the genericized English term *bluetooth* is unrivaled in Danish, the Nordic term *blåtand* is used alternatively in Swedish and Norwegian.

Sometimes foreign speakers manage to fill an existing void in the English lexical inventory, as is seen with the neologism *slowfood*. This term – coined in Italy in 1986 as an antidote to America's fast-food mentality – verbalized a central concept in (traditional European) cooking and was soon used the world over, both in English and in domestic languages. A true international success, and thus not included in *False Anglicisms in Italian* (Furiassi 2010).

A final example of a word that would have been a pseudo-Anglicism, had its use been limited to a non-Anglophone speech community, is *flexicurity*. As *bluetooth*, it has entered the international vocabulary of English and is today included in most English dictionaries. Still, the etymology of this recombination is not agreed on. The English version of *Wikipedia* (*W2*) claims that it was coined in Denmark (emphasis added):

> **Flexicurity** (a portmanteau of **flexi**bility and se**curity**) is a welfare state model with a proactive labour market policy. *The term was first coined by the social democratic Prime Minister of Denmark* Poul Nyrup Rasmussen in the 1990s. The term refers to the combination of labour market flexibility in a dynamic economy and security for workers.

Ironically, the Danish *Wikipedia* site (*W3*) credits the Dutch for having invented the term (emphasis added):

> **Flexicurity** er et begreb, der etymologisk består i sammenskrivning af de to engelske ord; **flexi**bility og se**curity**. Begrebet er blevet anvendt siden 1995, hvor *det blev introduceret af den hollandske professor Hans Adriaans* i forbindelse med et regeringsforslag til arbejdsmarkedsreform.

These years, in ads and other commercial texts, we often meet humorous *ad hoc* English-based neologisms coined by (and for) a sophisticated and increasingly Anglicized global audience – items of the 'jocular derivation' type (see Gottlieb and Furiassi in this volume). Below, two examples from the European motor industry illustrate this playful type of pseudo-Anglicism, the one using bilingual wordplay for a given local market, and the other playing with the English language itself. In 2011, a number of German car magazines ran a series of prize-winning ads for *Peugeot*'s luxury sports two-seater, the *RCZ*, under the heading *Neid Rider* – a reference to the well-known 1980s TV series *Knight Rider*

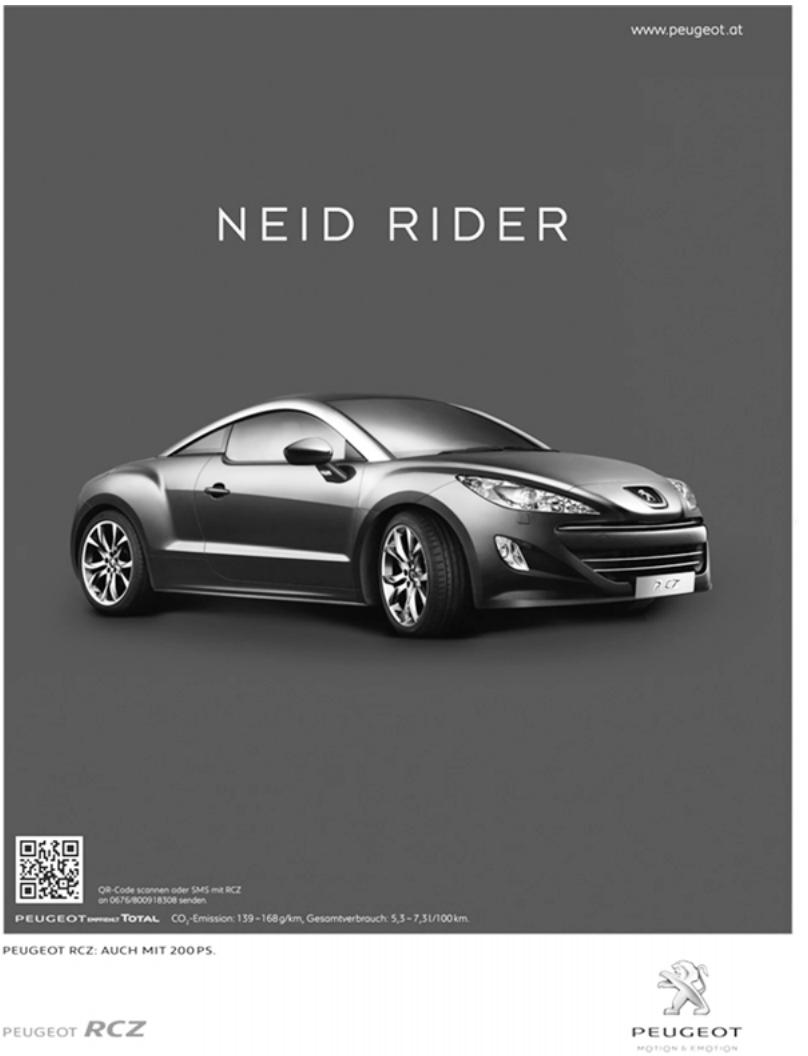

Figure 3: Hybrid English-German wordplay

(also known in other countries, such as Italy, as *Supercar*), plus a play on the near-homophony between *Neid* (German for 'envy') and both *knight* and *night*, the latter in perfect harmony with the car's dark surroundings in the photo seen in Figure 3.

The second example concerns the Spanish auto maker *Seat*, a *Volkswagen* affiliate that asserts itself as more emotional than its German parent company; even outside Spain, *Seat* has used their slogan *auto emoción*. However, since

Figure 4: Pan-European English neologism

2011, *Seat*'s newspaper and magazine ads as well as TV commercials in other European countries, although communicating in the local language, display the buzzword *Enjoyneering* – a playful portmanteaux word coined by *Seat*. Figure 4 includes an illustration from *Seat*'s French campaign.

Thus, we have here two examples of contemporary pseudo-English slogans: *Neid Rider*, a hybrid that merges English and another language, and *enjoyneering*, which could have been a native English neologism, but happened to be launched in a non-Anglophone context.

8 Relay Anglicisms: another "pseudo" aspect

From a synchronic point of view, the existence of Anglicisms – including pseudo-Anglicisms – in a language is, first and foremost, a token of the power of English. A diachronic investigation, however, will reveal the power that other languages may have had. In borrowing from dominant languages, the provenance of a given dominant-language lexeme is secondary; what counts is that the lexeme is used in that particular donor language, whether originally a loanword or not. As mentioned in Gottlieb and Furiassi (in this volume), this applies to the many so-called internationalisms, including modern coinages based on Greek or Latin roots borrowed from English by speech communities the world over.

As the English dominance is of a relatively new date, many Anglicisms were in fact not imported from English at all, but from other languages in closer contact with the receiving culture at the time – typically languages then more prestigious than English. An example of this global phenomenon is found in a study of English borrowings in Romanian, where no less than four languages have contributed to the current stock of Anglicisms: French, German, Italian and Russian (Greavu 2011: 39).

In Denmark, several early imports from English were mediated through French and, later, German. Both languages enjoyed high prestige in Denmark, and still today, certain Anglicisms are pronounced in a mock-French fashion, e.g. *budget* and *glamour* (see section 2.5). While no Danish pseudo-Anglicisms seem to stem from French, no less than eight of the pseudo-Anglicisms listed in Tables 3 to 6 were imported wholesale from German or are based on Germanized Anglicisms. This is true of Danish Anglicisms in general; especially prior to WW2 many English borrowings entered Danish via German.

While most scholars would consider any English-looking item an Anglicism (whether *bona fide* or pseudo), some would classify loans strictly according to which language they were imported from. By that standard, hundreds of Danish items, including pseudo-Anglicisms like *city*, *kikse* and *smoking*, should be relabeled Germanisms.

On the other hand, this somewhat counter-intuitive classification would mean that *sushi* and *burrito* should be granted Anglicism status. "Pseudo" or not, such a radical and near-synchronous approach to etymology would tell interesting tales of cultural exchanges and power relations through history. Thus, an echo of the former power of Danish in the Nordic countries is found in the fact that Danisms are still frequent in Norwegian and Icelandic. Danish has even "exported" pseudo-Anglicisms: for instance, both Norwegian and Icelandic have adopted the neo-semantization *sixpence* (Görlach 2001).

9 The future of pseudo-Anglicisms

As long as English is experienced as a foreign language (EFL) by people outside the inner circle of "native" Anglophone societies, pseudo-Anglicisms will be coined and exchanged in Europe, often through "lack of understanding" (Furiassi 2010: 21). Increasingly, however, English is becoming a second language (ESL) to more and more people, and in Scandinavia English is no longer just a foreign language, but "the" foreign language by default – a second language, in fact. English as a lingua franca (ELF) is the language that someone from Scandinavia will use as soon as the national language is believed to impede communication, whether in writing or in speech. This applies even in situations where the objective differences between the languages of two individuals, say a Dane and a Swede, are similar to those that normally distinguish dialects rather than *bona fide* languages (Gottlieb 2012: 172).

Apart from the potential threat to cross-border understanding of neighboring languages, the shift from EFL to ESL or ELF may have the effect of limiting the coinage and usage of pseudo-Anglicisms – a development similar to the one

documented in societies where pidgins or creoles are increasingly adopting standard-language features.

Although, as was shown in section 6 and Table 9 above, many established pseudo-Anglicisms are gaining semantic market share in contemporary (Danish) usage, the changing role of English may result in fewer new clippings and recombinations. Such neologisms may look provokingly un-English to bilinguals, and instead English imports and loan translations will be favored.[65] However, the third main type of pseudo-Anglicism, neo-semantizations, will be less likely to go out of fashion. There are two reasons for this: firstly, such local semantic changes are inconspicuous and make sense in the given social and lexical environment, and secondly, these changes are inevitable in any speech community, not least the inner-circle nations. This means that even if a so-called minor speech community – Denmark, for instance – maintains the English denotations and connotations of a given Anglicism, American or British usage may very well render a "loyal" Danish usage of an English loanword obsolete as new senses develop on American or British soil. Every time this neo-semantization occurs, the Danes will unknowingly have added another item to the list of national pseudo-Anglicisms.

Not surprisingly, existing PAs may survive as long as the phenomena they refer to still exist outside the language. This means that as long as a *stationcar* is not replaced on Danish roads by *SUV*s or *cross-over vehicles* (both Anglicisms are used of potential automotive alternatives to traditional station wagons), the Danish *stationcar* will remain the sole term for the concept. However, that recombination would not be likely to appear today. Even more dire prospects await obsolescent items like *shirting*, which refers to a near-extinct entity reminiscent of the time before WW2, the heyday of Danish pseudo-Anglicisms.

10 Are all Anglicisms pseudo-English?

As is evident from the present study, "linguistic anglicisation is a more complex and more nuanced process than may at first sight appear and [...] many phenomena perceived as "anglicising" do not, in fact, have the inevitable consequence of bringing the recipient language(s) closer to English" (Dunn 2008: 67).

65 This move away from home-spun English-looking lexical items also applies to names. In his discussion of pseudo-English naming practices in Denmark, Torben Kisbye concludes that such (boys') names, favored especially by working-class families, were in vogue only from around 1900 to the 1940s (Kisbye 1990: 102) – the period in which Denmark became an EFL speech community, one may add.

By functioning in a non-Anglophone context and by being used by non-native speakers of English, all Anglicisms are – as stated earlier in this article – hybrid phenomena. Some look English, some sound English, some reflect Anglo-American thinking, some are local coinages, but none are truly English. Ranging from totally adapted 18th-century borrowings over contemporary calques to seemingly undiluted recent imports, Anglicisms remain pseudo-English entities. Thus, as stated by John Dunn (2008: 67), "they demonstrate the paradox that linguistic globalisation is often at the same time linguistic fragmentation".

There seems to be only one exception to this state of affairs: although sometimes treated as a subcategory of Anglicism, along with *active* and *reactive* Anglicisms (Gottlieb 2004: 44–49; 2005: 163–166; 2009: 77–82), *codeswitching* may be seen as more than pseudo-English. As opposed to all "embedded" types of English-inspired language features, codeswitching from and into English represents genuine oscillation between two mindsets in the truly bilingual speaker. But even in societies like the Scandinavian countries, moving into the outer (ESL) circle, this oscillation is rare. And although Anglicisms may seem to totally permeate certain types of communication (as exemplified in Lønsmann 2009, on gaming lingo among teenagers), as long as the function words belong to the local language – which they do in unmarked codeswitching (Myers-Scotton 1993: 125) – we are still on pseudo-English ground, at a safe distance from "real" English.

Contrary to the main hypothesis of this study – that of the imminent demise of pseudo-Anglicisms in emerging ESL speech communities like Denmark – most established Danish pseudo-Anglicisms, even those with synonyms, seem to thrive in the period investigated, 1993–2013.

However, new general-language pseudo-English coinages are few and far between, thus partly corroborating the hypothesis: The distance between the receptor culture and the native Anglophone cultures does play a central role in the proliferation or demise of pseudo-Anglicisms. Using Kachru's circles once more as a convenient metaphor, a revised hypothesis may say that the further away from the English inner circle a speech community is situated, the greater chances are that new pseudo-Anglicisms will enter RL usage. In contrast, the closer to the inner circle a given speech community is, the fewer new pseudo-Anglicisms will be coined.

This development may be compared to the earlier mentioned phenomenon of decreolization, viewed as "the process through which a creole language gradually merges with its lexifier language, i.e., the standard language of the community, as a result of creole speakers' increased access to, and 'targeting' of, the latter" (Sato 1993: 122).

Parallel to this decreolization, bilingual speakers of languages in close contact with English – with Danish as a prime example – will continue to coin loan translations and hybrids, experience semantic borrowing, produce English calques and, not least, adopt "true" English lexemes. But with increased bilingualism there may be less room for "false" Anglicisms. Diglossia and domain loss might be a future threat to several European languages, including Danish (Jarvad 2001), though most likely, pseudo-Anglicisms will end up facing the same destiny as those established receptor-language expressions that are presently losing ground to an array of various neologisms, including a large number of "real" Anglicisms.

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Sebastian Knospe

4 Pseudo-Anglicisms in the language of the contemporary German press

Abstract: Although pseudo-Anglicisms form part of most taxonomies modeling the influence of English on other linguistic codes, there is a need for studies which investigate their frequency in particular languages and check the adequacy of classifications previously proposed. Based on a synchronic press corpus, this article seeks to offer some insights into these two desiderata with a focus on pseudo-Anglicisms in German. The data under discussion are extracted from 52 editions of the news magazine *Der Spiegel*, which, as a corpus, has been of central importance in research on the impact of English on German since the 1960s. Extracting pseudo-loans according to Furiassi's (2010) methodology, the empirical part of the article gives an overview of their distribution in the corpus in comparison to the number of hybrids and Anglicisms proper. In addition, the share of different word classes and of newly emerging vs. already attested pseudo-Anglicisms is identified. This is followed by a detailed discussion of Carstensen's (1979, 1980, 1981) proposal for distinguishing three major types of pseudo-Anglicisms. By analyzing individual examples, the article addresses challenging points of classification such as unclear etymology, the overlap of shifts in form and meaning, and the adoption of pseudo-loans from other languages.

Keywords: Anglicisms, archaisms, borrowing, hapax legomena, hybrids, lexical pseudo-Anglicisms, linguistic economy, loan clipping, morphological pseudo-Anglicisms, pseudo-Anglicisms, nativization, reshaping, semantic pseudo-Anglicisms

1 Introduction

The fact that English has established itself as a second language or lingua franca in many countries around the globe keeps on promoting the influx of elements into the vocabularies of numerous recipient codes (e.g. Backus 1992; Koll-Stobbe 2000: 50–79; Winford 2003: 11–26; Görlach 2003: 33; Gottlieb 2005: 163). The constellation prototypically examined in contact-linguistic publications is borrowing proper. This concept stands for the wholesale adoption of linguistic signs, which, as a result, can be said to represent relatively exact copies of their English models (Matras 2009: 146). Regarding German, this can be illustrated by

adopted lexemes such as *Manager, downloaden* 'to download', or *smart*. Commonly, these words are integrated in terms of inflection, but only slightly adapted in pronunciation today, while orthographical changes mainly affect imported nouns, which are generally written with a capital letter. Despite these adaptations, the English provenance of these units and, with it, their status as *direct loans* or *Anglicisms proper*, which, by and large, have kept the form-meaning relationship found in the donor language, is evident. Amalgamated with German elements, they may form stylistically diverse *hybrids* such as the derivations *freakig* 'freaky' or *Coolheit* 'coolness', and mixed compounds like *Computerausfall* 'computer defect' or *Wissensmanagement* 'knowledge management'.

In other cases, language contact leads to the emergence of *pseudo-Anglicisms*, i.e. pseudo-loans or false loans from English, which may also be used productively in word-formation along with German morphemes. Paradoxically, these elements are both English-based and non-English at the same time. For instance, witness the noun *Dressman:* taken as a whole, it is not English, i.e., unlike its individual elements, the compound is not documented in L1 use, where usually the expression *male model* is chosen. Instead, this is a case where two lexical units from English have been combined afresh in a non-native context (Görlach 2001: 96). Consequently, if German users who are unaware of this resort to such items when communicating with L1 speakers of English, they are likely to cause confusion.

From this perspective, pseudo-loans, following Busse and Görlach (2002: 39), should be understood as native configurations which arise due to an "incomplete competence in the donor language (or a failure to accept its prescriptive norms)". As the authors suggest, diachronically speaking, some kind of adoption or borrowing must take place, even though the integrity of the English sign is not reproduced. In a way, pseudo-Anglicisms are thus *semi-borrowed forms* (Matras 2009: 175), testifying to specific processes of adaptation or nativization (Kachru 1990: 59–60; Kachru 1992: 235). Since, most of the time, these changes do not touch the signifier, they are covert and create possible traps for learners, based on the misapprehension that they, like other items, are "English loanwords due to their spelling and pronunciation" (Matras 2009: 175). Yet, it needs to be stressed here that such adaptations do not question their functionality in German, but only turn potentially problematic when they manifest themselves in situations where native users of English are present. Sometimes, these nativizations, which may later on become accepted on a wider scale, are initiated without any awareness on part of the creators (see Viereck 1996: 18). However, Busse and Görlach (2002: 29) claim that other pseudo-Anglicisms are the product of intentional deviations from the norms of L1 English. By definition, such 'manipulations' presuppose a higher command of English, but,

after having been institutionalized, may be inconspicuous to the majority of German speakers, too (see Koll-Stobbe 2000: 72 as well as Sočanac and Nicolić-Hoyt 2006: 317).[1]

Although pseudo-Anglicisms epitomize a move away from L1 norms hidden below the surface, this phenomenon "has so far received only fragmentary attention from linguistics" (Furiassi 2010: 14). By looking at present-day German[2], more exactly at German press language, this article aims to address two questions: first, how frequent are pseudo-Anglicisms after all, and which types and word classes are most often found among them? Second, do previous typologies proposed, e.g. the ones devised by Carstensen (1979, 1980, 1981), Gottlieb (2004, 2005), and Furiassi (2010), render possible a cogent classification of the German data? To begin with, section 1 specifies the press corpus this study draws on along with the methodology used for the identification of pseudo-Anglicisms. Building on this, section 2 gives an overview of their overall quantity in the corpus in comparison to the number of Anglicisms proper and hybrids. For the sake of clarity, the inclusive term "English-based items" is employed here whenever all (lexical or phrasal) units are to be referred to, irrespective of their belonging to the groups of loans, pseudo-loans, or hybrids. Section 3 moves on to a qualitative discussion of individual pseudo-loans from English, scrutinizing their principal subtypes and the processes involved, including challenging examples. The major findings are summed up in the conclusion, which also systematizes problem areas in terms of classification.

2 Corpus and methodology

Since the 1950s, linguistic transfers from English which have made their way into German have been the subject of numerous publications; most of them are based on press data. This offers several advantages: generally, print media are well accessible and can be conveniently collected for different periods, which allows for diachronic comparisons. In addition, they are produced for a larger readership and comprise different sections which cover a variety of topics. Another feature worth emphasizing is the particular openness of press language to linguistic innovations. This, in turn, ties in with the observing function of the media which tend to readily absorb new words or create neologisms themselves. The latter aspect makes them an adequate source for examining both Anglicisms

1 See also Carstensen (1980: 77), who talks of "individual paths" ("Eigenwege") of German, and Winford (2003: 42–45), who, widening Haugen's (1950) taxonomy of borrowing, groups pseudo-loans into the larger framework of *native creations*.

2 Although the focus of this study is on German, it is not excluded that some of the pseudo-Anglicisms named here exist in other European languages as well (see also section 5).

proper and pseudo-Anglicisms. According to Furiassi (2010: 95), the reason for this is that they are "contextualized and sometimes directly explained in [. . .] newspapers [, which] may give them more chances to survive". This hints at the role of the press as a potential gateway, which, in conjunction with television and the Internet, may help to spread them in society. To some extent, the susceptibility of journalists to adopt new words and to play with linguistic material also reduces the impact of native target norms and may promote the formation of pseudo-Anglicisms. This holds true in spite of the professional editorial scrutiny the texts pass through, since English conventions are not necessarily binding in a German context of use. Instead, L2 users, as was argued above, might deviate from those on purpose.

For reasons like these, the study at hand builds on a representative German press corpus. Ideally, oral data should have been included as well so as to check the distribution of the items in different spoken and written varieties of German. Still, one may assume that they share "a fair degree of lexical similarity" (Onysko 2007: 98), also because press texts incorporate quotations or other intertextual references, linking them to spoken language. Vice versa, a new word originating in the language of the press and diffused through online channels, for instance, might also catch on in oral use.

The corpus investigated here consists of 52 editions of the weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel*, which were accessed electronically (see footnote 7), covering the period between July 2006 and June 2007. This magazine was chosen because, in terms of circulation, it is the biggest of its kind in Germany. Moreover, it has been explored for traces of English more systematically than any other German print medium over the last decades (see Carstensen 1965; Schelper 1988; Yang 1990; Zürn 2001; Onysko 2007). This line of research has to do with its broad thematic scope, which gains its profile from investigative stories on politics, economy, life style, technology, and cultural affairs. As the *Spiegel* journalists follow the style of the American *Time Magazine* and *Newsweek*, their diction is marked by an affinity to creatively use English material, as was already pointed out by Carstensen (1965: 22), who also stresses its potential trend-setting function for other newspapers. Taking for granted that pseudo-Anglicisms are at least partly conscious reshapings of imported English material, one could expect to find newer examples of native creations in *Der Spiegel*.

As such, the identification of a pseudo-Anglicism requires a complex process of verification in which the non-existence of an item of this form and/or meaning in L1 English has to be ascertained. Based on data taken from Knospe (2014), this investigation followed the procedure depicted by Furiassi (2010: 77–118); it involved three major steps:

To benefit from existing lexicographic reference works, the study departed from current dictionaries produced for German that show an interest in (a) general use or (b), more specifically, in English elements found in this language. As to category (a), the German reference dictionary, the *Duden*, was searched through. Concerning category (b), the *Anglizismen-Wörterbuch*, edited by Carstensen and Busse (1993, 1994, 1996), and Görlach's (2001) *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* were examined. Importantly, the editors of these three dictionaries apply a similarly broad definition of pseudo-loans from English, which they classify as subtypes of Anglicisms.[3] Units marked as native creations based on English material in these sources were singled out and inspected more closely, i.e. seen as potential pseudo-loans.

The items extracted in the first step were then searched for in the *Spiegel* texts. Next, the corpus was scanned manually for possibly newer or less frequent pseudo-loans which are not documented in the aforementioned dictionaries. The two lists gained were then joined. In light of the definition put forward in section 1, units which have lost their English appearance due to formal integration processes were discarded (see Görlach 2003: 1 and Onysko 2007: 105–112). Given that inflectional morphemes, like the infinitival suffix *-en*, are grammatically obligatory for verbs in German, reshaped lexemes marked by such signs of integration were included, however, as long as their morphological base is formally related to English through its spelling and/or orthography. Hence, a word like *Bowle* is discussed as a pseudo-loan in this study, because, apart from showing a meaning deviating from L1 English, it includes the non-native consonant cluster <ow>. Also, the verb *trampen* contains the vowel /æ/ or – partly nativized – /e/, while a German verb with the letter <a> would be realized with the phoneme /a/. Still, there are some borderline cases like *kicken* (derived from the noun *Kick*), *Pulli* (short for *Pullover*), and *Trickfilm* which, on formal grounds, are not clearly marked as foreign, but also match German pronunciation and spelling conventions.

The third and most decisive step consisted in finding out whether the elements collected are documented in L1 English or not. To check the entries in the German dictionaries given above and to decide on the status of the items, British and American English dictionaries (*OED, Merriam-Webster*), as well as corpora of the two varieties, namely the *BNC* (*British National Corpus*) and the *COCA* (*Corpus of Contemporary American English*), were consulted. During the

3 Görlach (2001) marks all items which he and his collaborators see as pseudo-Anglicisms with an asterisk, while Carstensen and Busse (1993, 1994, 1996) either apply the label *aus englisch x (und . . .)* 'from English x (and. . .)' or *zu englisch x* 'based on/following English x'. In the *Duden*, notations similar to the ones found in Carstensen and Busse's (1993: 18–19) dictionary are used. Moreover, the *Duden* uses the term *anglisierende Bildung* 'pseudo-English formation'.

corpus search, proper names and homonyms not related to the uses found in German contexts were filtered out. Simultaneously, different spelling variants of compounds had to be acknowledged, as they may either be written as one or two orthographic words, or with a hyphen in English (see footnote 5). This search entailed two alternative findings:

1) if an item suspected to be a pseudo-Anglicism during the first two steps was found in this form or meaning in one of the English sources, this classification could, of course, not be maintained. Instead, this unit was treated as a "pseudo pseudo-loan", i.e. as an Anglicism proper, then;
2) if, by contrast, the respective item is not attested in the English corpora and dictionaries, it was interpreted as a candidate which is rather likely to be a pseudo-Anglicism. Accordingly, the elements were further checked via a *Google* research limited to British and American sources whenever no, few, or ambiguous corpus references or hapax legomena (single occurrences of one item) were found. Finally, this permitted a classification of a formation such as *Survival of the Fattest*, which manipulates Darwin's well-known phrase *Survival of the Fittest* with regard to the size and weight of dinosaurs, as a one-off L1 creation. Sometimes, the corpus search also yielded results that contradicted some of the entries in Görlach's (2001) dictionary.[4] For example, the noun *top manager*, which Görlach (2001: 326) marks as non-native, was identified in the *BNC* and the *COCA*, and *top model*, in contrast to Görlach's (2001: 326) classification as a pseudo-loan, could at least be attested in the *COCA*, which offers fresher data than the *BNC*. Its use in British and American English is confirmed by recent TV formats like *Britain's/America's Next Top Model*. Similarly, *Discounter* – short for *discount store/shop* and classified as a pseudo-Anglicism by Carstensen and Busse (1993: 372), but not by Görlach (2001: 90) – was detected in both the *BNC* and the *COCA*. These and other items such as *Aircondition*,[5] *Audit(ing),*

4 For a discussion of available dictionaries of foreign words and neologisms, see Furiassi (2010: 88–91).

5 In the *COCA* the forms *air-condition* and *air condition* are mainly employed verbally. Still, there are also eight nominal uses of *air condition*, whereas *airconditioning, air conditioning* and *air-conditioning* are attested 2,799 times altogether. By comparison, the *BNC* shows 363 hits for the three spelling variants of the *-ing* form, while the noun *air condition* is documented once only (and exclusively in this orthographic form). Yet, it is restricted to the meaning 'air quality'. The few uses of *air condition* in the sense of 'airconditioning system' in the *COCA* might indicate that non-native uses have crept into American English. At least four of the nominal occurrences of *air condition* in the *COCA*, which refer to a device controlling the temperature and the humidity of the air in a room, are connected to foreign speakers: one to a Palestinian, another one to a Cuban, while the remaining two examples originate from Russian users of English. One of them is placed in a literary text published in the magazine *Triquarterly*; the other one occurs in a television interview with Anna Netrebko.

Casting, Crashtest, Forechecking, Jazzband, Piercing, Playgirl, Roastbeef, Shake-hands, Softpower, and *Teenie*[6] were therefore removed from the final list of pseudo-Anglicisms. Also, the compound *Pop-Dandy*, which seems to have been triggered by a book written by Stan Hawkins, was not counted as a pseudo-Anglicism for the same reason.

3 Quantity of pseudo-Anglicisms in the corpus

Going through the procedure outlined in section 2 and identifying the types and tokens of pseudo-Anglicisms and other English-based units by manual analysis, the following quantitative results were obtained.

3.1 Share of pseudo-Anglicisms

To be able to assess the findings adequately, the global distribution of all English-based items must be taken into consideration. On the whole, 15,221 types and 54,445 tokens of lexical and phrasal English-based units were identified in *Der Spiegel*.[7] As the corpus consists of 4,382,624 tokens, the English-based units make up for 1.27% altogether, with individual texts considerably exceeding this average. At first glance, this might be seen as indicative of a limited impact of English, but the figures obtained for most other German papers – which are characterized by a comparable spectrum of topics – are usually lower. Furthermore, the quota of 1.27% already marks a considerable rise for *Der Spiegel*, as a diachronic comparison with the data presented by Yang (1990: 25–44) and Onysko (2007: 113–148) brings to light.

What is most relevant for this article, however, is the share of pseudo-Anglicisms among the units identified in relation to that of other English-based items. Reaching a number of 11,519 or 74.2% of all types, hybrids constitute the largest subgroup. Among them, 356 types or 3.1% turned out to be compounds

6 The German orthography *teenie* (English: *teen(e)y*, short for *teenage-bopper*, see *OED*) is viewed as a sign of spelling regularization here, converging with the orthography of other forms such as *Cookie*, *Girlie* and the proper name *Lassie* etc.

7 In this connection, prior to any attempts of classification, the English-based items identified in German dictionaries of Anglicisms and the ones discussed by Onysko (2007) were searched for electronically in *Der Spiegel*. Yet, to able to spot potential (pseudo-)English items which may have come up recently, an additional manual extraction procedure was necessary (see also Onysko 2007: 105–112).

that build on a German element and a pseudo-Anglicism.[8] In this respect, nativized lexemes such as *Handy* 'mobile/cell phone' and *Profi* 'professional' are most productive. By contrast, the number of pseudo-Anglicisms which appear as unbound forms, since they are not combined with free lexical German morphemes, lies at 53 only. Carstensen and Busse (1993, 1994, 1996) and Görlach (2001), by comparison, list 216 pseudo-loans, although they mark most of them as outdated or low-frequency technical expressions. Adding the percentages of pseudo-Anglicisms that occur as unbound items and those of hybrid compounds with a pseudo-loan from English as determinans or determinatum, a quota of about 2.6% is attained if measured against all the English-based types in the news magazine *Der Spiegel*. This overall distribution in *Der Spiegel* is displayed in Figures 1 and 2. Onysko's (2007: 113–148) study, which is based on all editions of *Der Spiegel* published in 2000, reflects similar results, albeit with a lower overall frequency of English-based items. Yet, differently from this study, the author only includes lexical pseudo-loans (see section 4.4).

3.2 Distribution of pseudo-Anglicisms according to word class

Looking at the word classes which the unbound pseudo-Anglicisms belong to, it can be stated that they behave like Anglicisms proper[9]: with 48 or 90.57% of the 53 types, nouns represent the majority of reshaped English vocabulary items in *Der Spiegel*. The category of verbs follows with three types (5.67%), while only one adjective, i.e. *topfit*, and one supra-lexical pseudo-Anglicism, i.e. *last not least*, were found. The high percentage of nouns is not astonishing, but easily explicable because they primarily label objects or entities, making use of the prestige of English. Semantically, most of the pseudo-loans, like 'real' borrowings, relate to domains such as technology, culture, lifestyle, fashion, and sports (see Kettemann 2002: 68).

3.3 Already attested vs. newly emerging pseudo-loans

Another point concerns the number of pseudo-loans already attested in available dictionaries of Anglicisms and the *Duden* in comparison to that of units which were spotted in *Der Spiegel*, but are not lexicographically documented in the sources named. Despite the profile of the magazine depicted in section 2, the

8 Hybrid compounds were counted as one type each even if they contain one and the same (pseudo-)Anglicism. For example, *Handy-Besitzer* 'mobile phone owner' and *Handy-Geschäft* 'mobile phone store' were thus considered to be two individual types.

9 See Haugen (1950: 203, 224), Weinreich (1953: 35–37), Matras (2009: 153–165), and – with regard to English transfers in German – Yang (1990: 29) and Onysko (2007: 131).

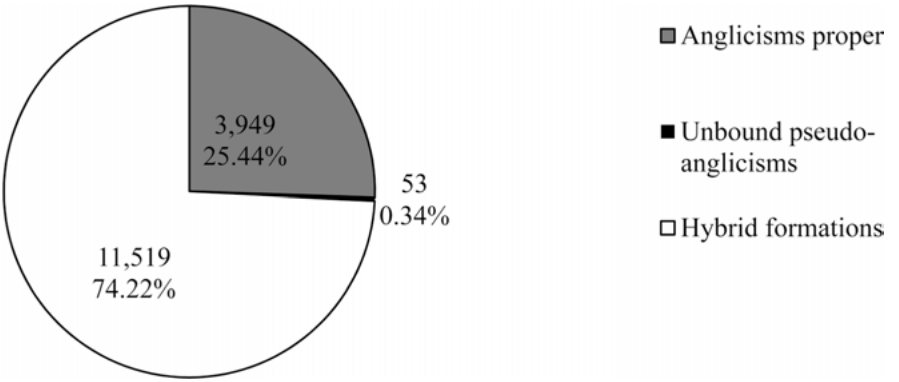

Figure 1: Proportions of Anglicisms proper, hybrids, and unbound pseudo-Anglicisms among the English-based units in the *Spiegel* corpus (types)

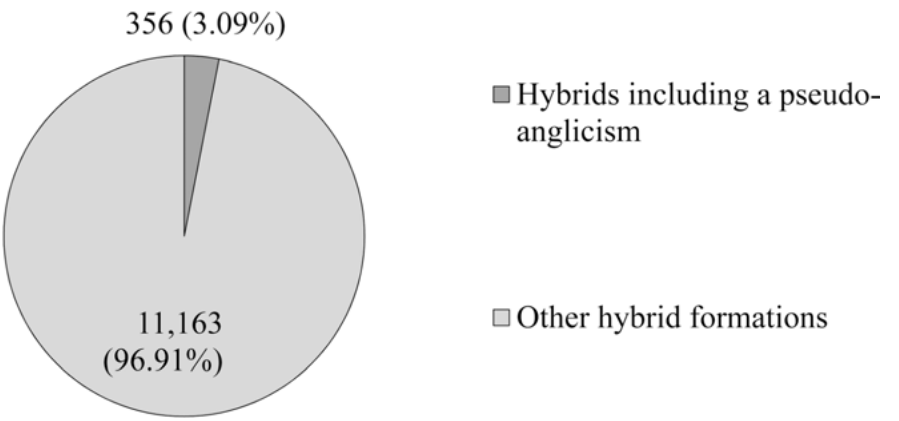

Figure 2: Proportion of hybrids with and without a pseudo-Anglicism

amount of fresh pseudo-loans proved to be quite limited: only 6 or 11.3% out of the 53 items are not listed in Carstensen and Busse (1993, 1994, 1996) or Görlach (2001). Still, the data contain a considerable number of *ad hoc* hybrid compounds (see Knospe 2014).

4 Classification and discussion of individual pseudo-Anglicisms

Based on this quantitative overview, section 4 aims to clarify what types of pseudo-Anglicisms were found in the corpus and in how far previously de-

veloped taxonomies are a suitable basis for modeling pseudo-loans encountered in *Der Spiegel*.

4.1 Three major types of pseudo-Anglicisms

As suggested in section 1, pseudo-loans may come into being through different processes. In this article, the classification proposed by Carstensen (1978, 1979, 1980) was used as a point of departure. Methodologically, it contrasts their forms and meanings with those of their origin-language model components. In so doing, the author posits (1) morphological, (2) semantic, and (3) lexical pseudo-loans. Equivalent proposals have been made in research focusing on the influence of English on other languages (see Filipović 1985; Alexieva 2008; Dunn 2008), although Gottlieb (2005: 164) and Furiassi (2010) have recently extended the classical tripartite categorization.

Interestingly, the different forms of pseudo-loans are almost equally distributed in the *Spiegel* corpus: there are 11 morphological pseudo-Anglicisms, 19 semantic pseudo-Anglicisms, 19 lexically nativized types, and 4 types that combine several processes. Also the latter were assigned to one category each, supposing that the process in question took place first. The following subsections provide a more detailed analysis of the different types of pseudo-loans.

4.2 Morphological pseudo-Anglicisms

As the designation suggests, morphological pseudo-Anglicisms are characterized by the fact that they are morphologically altered if contrasted with the probable English model. Since this is linked to shortening or clipping processes, Yang (1990: 13–14) talks of *Lehnveränderungen* 'loan alterations' or *Lehnkürzungen* 'loan shortenings' (see also Winford 2003: 44). This way, Yang (1990: 13–14), without adding any further comment on this, avoids the term *pseudo-loan* as do Filipović (1994) and Fischer (2008: 8). Perhaps the reason for this resides in the observation that morphological pseudo-Anglicisms result from subtractive morphological operations that leave the root (or, in case of more complex items, at least one of the roots) intact and discernible. Clearly, this constellation is opposite to the processes involved in the formation of hybrids, which emerge when one part of a complex English lexeme is substituted by a German element, leaving behind a partial copy of the model, or when Anglicisms are freely combined with other-language material. To indicate the English etymon from which the morphologically altered form developed, Carstensen and Busse (1993: 19) use the label *zu Englisch x* 'based on/following English x'.

Furiassi (2010: 41–44) differentiates between two categories of morphologically nativized terms: *compound ellipses* and *clippings*.[10] He sees the difference between the two classes in "that the former involve the elimination of an entire lexical item while the latter are limited to the deletion of a suffix" (Furiassi 2010: 44).

Different from Furiassi's (2010) findings for Italian, the first category, viz. compound ellipses, is limited to merely one type in the *Spiegel* corpus, namely the fashion term *Basecap*, which abridges the compound *baseball cap*.[11]

With 10 types, the majority of morphological pseudo-Anglicisms is thus constituted by the category of clippings. An illustrative example of this class is *Happy End*, which has been in use in German and beyond since the 1950s. Its L1 English equivalent is *happy ending*, attested in Dutch, Norwegian (Görlach 2001: 146), as well as Danish (Sørensen 1997: 140). Attempting a probabilistic explanation for the clipping, we may postulate an interlingual identification in Weinreich's (1953: 11) sense because *end* is formally associated with the German cognate *Ende*. Alternatively, the abridged form *Happy End* may owe its existence to the greater cognitive presence of the competing English noun *end* due to the well-known formula *THE END* which shows up in the closing credits of international film productions.

Sometimes, loan clippings also eliminate function words from a phrasal English model. For instance, *Gin and Tonic* as well as *Soda and Whiskey* got rid of the coordinator *and*, producing linguistically economical compounds in German. In Western European use, the discourse formula *last but not least* often does without the element *but* as well, a shortening which, according to Görlach (2001: 182–183), goes back to the 19th century. The deletion of *but* may be the outcome of a selective oral transfer so that the conjunction, which is often rendered in its weak form in casual speech, was lost (see Winter-Froemel 2011: 273–276). A similar process of reduction induced through selective oral perception may have been at work in the case of *open end* in the meaning 'open-ended'.

Further examples, which can be explained as clippings and were presumably created for the sake of brevity and catchiness, are presented in Table 1. All of them, except for the one marked with °, are already documented in the available dictionaries of Anglicisms (Carstensen and Busse 1993, 1994, 1996; Görlach 2001).

10 In opposition to that, Alexieva (2008: 46–47) uses the label *loan clippings* as a superordinate term for these two classes.

11 However, there are also mixed types (see the paragraph below Table 1).

Table 1: Further examples of morphological pseudo-Anglicisms in the *Spiegel* corpus

morphological pseudo-Anglicism	English equivalent
Flirt	*flirtation*[12]
Gentlemen-Agreement	*gentlemen's agreement*
Holding	*holding company*
Lifting	*face lifting, face lift*
°*Trolley*	*trolley bag*
Twen (a short form possibly formed by analogy with the clipping *teen* for *teenager*, see Carstensen and Busse 1993: 19; Onysko 2007: 42)	*someone in his/her twenties*

Apart from these examples, there are several types of pseudo-loans which mix shortening and other processes of nativization. *Profi* 'professional', for instance, is a clipping to which the German diminuitive suffix *-i* was attached. Besides, we find two items combining compound ellipsis and lexical nativizations: *Pulli*, short for English *pullover*, using the German diminutive *-i*, and the noun *Stepper* 'step machine'. There is also one word showing compound ellipsis and a semantic modification: *Smoking*. Probably, it was mediated via French. In historical contexts, it matches the English term *smoking jacket*, while the present-day meaning of this shortened form used in German corresponds to that of the L1 words *dinner jacket* or *tuxedo*. In concordance with Furiassi (2010: 199), the clipping is seen here as the process occurring before the meaning change. Although Gottlieb (2005: 164) also considers the shortening, the aspect most crucial for him is that a term now archaic in L1 English has been maintained in languages in contact with English, where it has been filled with a new meaning eventually.

4.3 Semantic pseudo-Anglicisms

The previous example directly leads us to the second major type of pseudo-Anglicisms in Carstensen's (1979, 1980, 1981) taxonomy: semantic pseudo-loans, which Gottlieb (2005: 164) labels *semantic slides*, whereas Furiassi (2010: 44–52) speaks of *semantic shifts*. In opposition to morphological pseudo-loans (provided that these come about in isolation), their signifier is clearly English, while the signified diverges from the meaning in habitual L1 English use (see Buck

12 The pseudo-loan thus refers to the activity of flirting, while the L1 English use of *flirt* focuses on the flirting person. The integrated verbal Anglicism *flirten* is a loanword proper in German.

1974). Carstensen and Busse (1993: 18) categorize them as items which developed *aus Englisch x* 'from English x'. Furiassi (2010: 21), following Klajn (1972), argues that this class must be reserved for words "with a meaning so different from the original that [...] [they are] perceived as a new lexeme". This condition is fulfilled when this meaning is expressed by an entirely different lexeme in English. While Onysko (2007: 136) argues, for instance, that German *Profi*, is not only morphologically reshaped and lexically nativized through the addition of the suffix *-i*, but also "extended its meaning in German to denote an expert in general", this view is not shared here: in fact, the sememe 'expert' is rather close to the range of meanings of the English word *professional* from which it developed. After all, the *OED* also lists the meaning 'that has or displays the skill, knowledge, experience, standards, or expertise of a professional; competent, efficient'. Otherwise, owing to the omnipresence of at least slight adaptations on different linguistic levels, all loans could be said to be pseudo-loans (see Gottlieb in this volume), which would invalidate the classical term *borrowing* then. Due to the complex nature of meaning changes, there is, however, another danger: the risk of not being able to trace all semantic pseudo-loans. Perkins (1977: 60, quoted in Carstensen 1980: 96) states that "[i]t is presumptuous to expect even a competent 'Anglist' to fully grasp the semantic distortions continuously engaged by the indiscriminate borrowing of English words".

Acknowledging this, let us turn our attention to the mechanisms involved in the creation of semantic pseudo-Anglicisms. We may use the conceptions of diachronic semantics and lexicology (see Geeraerts 1997: 93–122; Aitchison 2003: 153–158) here, according to which the changes can be described as semantic shifts in terms of either meaning specializations or meaning extensions. Additionally, Furiassi (2010: 44–51) adduces pseudo-Anglicisms produced through metonymic, metaphorical and meronymic shifts, as well as constellations where eponyms, toponyms or trademarks have adopted a range of uses not known in English. Such changes are enforced by the integration of the items into the lexicon of the absorbing language, where they are not bound to native rules but might be semantically twisted in different ways.

Table 2 lists the 19 semantic pseudo-Anglicisms extracted from the *Spiegel* corpus, whereby the ° marks items not included in Carstensen and Busse's (1993, 1994, 1996) and Görlach's (2001) dictionaries of Anglicisms. The table illustrates the meaning changes by contrasting the nativized signification with that of the English word. As many English words are polysemous, only the sememe which has changed in comparison to L1 English is included in the third column. Where necessary, the list also separates cases in which a direct transfer of one meaning has taken place from semantic changes which have affected the word in German later on. This option shows that at least some of the semantic

nativizations occur after a borrowing proper of a lexeme has come about; they are thus motivated and linguistically economical. Mostly, it is meaning specializations and meaning extensions that become visible here:

Table 2: Semantic pseudo-Anglicisms in the *Spiegel* corpus

semantic pseudo-Anglicism	**English equivalent rendering the meaning of the pseudo-loan**	**native English meaning of the item**
Bowle	*punch*	especially as a drinking vessel; whence the bowl, drinking, conviviality; the contents of a bowl, a bowlful
City	*downtown, business district*	large and important town, often with special rights
Gag	*gimmick*	joke or funny story, especially as part of a comedian's act
Gangway	*ramp, stairs* (of a plane)	movable bridge for entering or leaving a ship; (BrE) passage for two rows in a theatre
Handy	*mobile phone, cell(ular) phone*	(adjective) convenient in size so as to be held with your hands
kicken	*to play football/ soccer*	*to kick:* hit (something/someone) with the foot (this meaning was also borrowed by German)
Mailbox	*voice mail*	letter-box, post-box
mobben	*to bully* (at work), *to harass*	*to mob:* crowd round (someone) noisily in great numbers, either to attack or to admire
Mobbing (see *mobben*)	*bullying (at work)*	*mobbing:* the action of a mob or group of people in attacking, harassing, or crowding round a person (now esp. in adulation or acclamation); an instance of this. Also: the action or an act of congregating in a mob or crowd
Oldtimer	*veteran car*	a person who has lived in a place or been associated with a club, job, etc. for a long time
Peanuts	*trifle, bagatelle*	very small amount of money (this meaning is also known in German)

Pony	*fringe* (of hair)	small type of horse (this meaning was also transferred into German)
°*Public Listening*	*group listening* (public music event or party)	a meeting in which opinions on a particular topic are exchanged, often involving encounters between politicians and voters
°*Public Viewing* (a neologism becoming popular due to the *FIFA World Cup 2006* in Germany)	*public screening, public broadcast* (e.g. of football matches)	an occasion on which something (private) is shown to the public, often for the first time; in burial contexts: public laying out of a dead person
Slip	*underwear, panties*	an article of women's attire, formerly an outer garment, later worn under a gown of lace or similar material; also *transf.*, an infant's garment of this nature. In twentieth c. use, an underskirt or petticoat dependent from the waist or the shoulders and having no sleeves
Slipper	*slip-on* (also worn outside, with no laces)	a light and usually heelless covering for the foot, capable of being easily slipped on, and chiefly employed for indoor wear
Spleen	*quirk, eccentricity, whim*	organ of the body situated at the left of the stomach, which regulates the quality of the blood; *(fml or dated)* bad temper, ill-humour, irritability or grumpiness
Start	*take-off* (of a plane)	beginning of a journey, an activity, a plan, a race etc.; process or act of starting (this meaning was also borrowed into German; additionally, the signification in column 2 developed)
trampen	*to hitch-hike*	*to tramp:* walk long and far; hike

Because of their intransparent etymology, some of the examples above defy a clear classification. For instance, the interpretation of *City* as a semantic pseudo-loan hinges on the assumption that its meaning was specialized in German and other languages, adopting a signification habitually expressed by the compound *city centre* in L1 English. Alternatively, starting from *city centre*,

we could also posit a shortening process here. Another example of unclear etymology is German *Handy* 'mobile phone, cell(ular) phone', for the origin of which various proposals have been made. The explanation assumed to be most convincing here is that it is analyzable as a zero derivation or conversion from the adjective *handy* (see also Gottlieb 2005: 164). Onysko (2007: 54), however, regards the lexemes *hand-held phone* or *portable handset* as potential English models. They may have been submitted to a clipping process before the suffix *-y*, which is also contained in imports such as *Baby*, *Beauty*, *Country*, and *Economy*, was added. The word *Handy* would result from the combination of a morphological and a lexical nativization then. Spitzmüller (2005: 172), in turn, considers the eponym *Handie-Talkie* (a formation analogous to *Walkie-Talkie*) to be the starting point, assuming an interplay of clipping and a semantic shift. In addition, there are also folk-etymological explanations for the emergence of German *Handy*. One of those was formerly found on the German *Wikipedia*: here, a dialectal origin was made responsible for this coinage, based on the surprised Swabian exclamation *Hän di kei Schnürle?* 'Don't they [such devices] have cords?'.

4.4 Lexical pseudo-Anglicisms

While Onysko (2007: 52–55) and Winter-Froemel (2011: 44–52) interpret morphological and semantic alterations as nativizations naturally occurring in the post-borrowing phase and thus exempt them from the concept of pseudo-loans, they, like other authors, particularly accentuate one class: lexical pseudo-Anglicisms. In this case, borrowed lexical morphemes, which have become more or less productive in German, are concatenated to form new words unknown in English. To emphasize that new configurations were created, Carstensen and Busse (1993: 18) use the label *aus englisch x und englisch y* 'from English x and English y'. Alternatively, in cases where they suspect an English model, but it is not documented in English dictionaries, they state this explicitly.

Gottlieb (2005: 164) characterizes lexical pseudo-loans as creative "reshufflings of English lexical units" which arise from "innovative compounding" (Winford 2003: 33) or manifest themselves as fresh derivations (see Filipović 1994: 138–134). Furiassi (2010: 38–52), though not employing the superordinate term *lexical pseudo-loans*, distinguishes *autonomous compounds* (AC) and *autonomous derivatives* (AD) respectively, depending on whether two free lexical morphemes or a free lexical plus a derivational morpheme are put together without there being a role model in the original donor language.

Omitting mixed types of nativization (see section 4.2), table 3 shows the 19 lexical pseudo-Anglicisms attested in the *Spiegel* corpus. Except for the ones marked with °, all of them are already included in Carstensen and Busse's (1993, 1994, 1996) and Görlach's (2001) dictionaries of Anglicisms.

Table 3: Lexical pseudo-Anglicisms in the *Spiegel* corpus

Example	type of lexical pseudo-loan	English equivalent
Beamer	AD	*(data) projector*
Dressman	AC	*male model*
°*Ego-Shooter*	AC[13]	*first-person shooter*
Go-Go-Girl	AC	*go-go-dancer*
Kicker	AD	*football/soccer player*
Late-Night-Talker	AC	*host of a late night talk show*
Longseller	AC	*steadyseller*[14]
Partner-Look	AC	*matching outfits*
Playback	AC	*lip-sync(hronization), mime*
Pullunder	AC	*sleeveless pullover*
°*Service Point*	AC	*information (desk)* (at big German train stations)
Shooting (also in the compound *Foto-Shooting*)	AD	*photo-shoot*
Showmaster	AC	*compere, host*
°*Talk-Lady*	AC	*female talk show host, lady of talk*
Talkmaster	AC	*talk show host*
topfit	AC	*perfectly fit*
Trickfilm	AC	*animated cartoon*
Wellness-Hotel	AC	*spa hotel*
Westover	AC	*slipover*

13 *Ego-Shooter*, standing for a *first-person shooter*, i.e. a game centered on gun and projectile weapon fights, is a special case because the element *ego* 'I', both known in English and German, substitutes the longer English element and is combined with the determinant *shooter*.
14 As Carstensen (1986) did not make out the form *steadyseller* in English dictionaries, he classified it as a pseudo-Anglicism, also pointing to the use of the element *-seller* for creative new coinages. According to the dictionaries and corpora looked at for this study, *steadyseller* is, however, also used in English.

The data in Table 3 reveal some of the stimuli which contribute to the creation of lexical pseudo-loans. Above all, it appears that these words were formed in analogy to Anglicisms proper already established in German (see Eisenberg 2000: 44). For instance, both *Showmaster* 'compere, host' and *Talkmaster* 'talk show host' were probably coined following the model of the English loanword *Quizmaster*. *Longseller* was obviously triggered by the loanword *Bestseller*. Similarly, *Pullunder* 'sleeveless pullover' supplies the semantic pendant to the loanword *Pullover* which may also be shortened to *Pulli* in German, yielding a morpho-lexical pseudo-loan then. What needs to be pointed out here is that the phonologically integrated unit *-under*, pronounced with an initial [u], is built on the English preposition *under* and thus forms the semantic opposite to the element *-over* in *Pullover*. In fact, a *Pullunder* is worn under a jacket or blouse (see Onysko 2007: 218). With *Westover*, another analogous formation can be given. Here, the particle *-over* is maintained, since this garment is worn over a shirt, for instance. One may thus conclude that these examples are conscious creations. Cognitively, they go back to an analysis of already existing Anglicisms proper such as *Pullover*. Based on that, new 'German' English words lexically associated with these institutionalized imports were created. Although in a different sense than with the two other types of pseudo-loans, this can be considered linguistically economical – in this case because regular word families got established and because the pseudo-Anglicisms just mentioned are partly also more concise than the corresponding English terms. Hence, the view that pseudo-Anglicisms are primarily a product of low English competencies proves too short-sighted. Rather, the items discussed show the work of regularization mechanisms (see Carstensen and Busse 1993: 65).

Moreover, Onysko (2007: 217) states that such forms of nativization "could be regarded as a German contribution to a variety of global English". From this angle, pseudo-Anglicisms cannot be sufficiently described if they are merely interpreted as potential error sources in contexts of cross-cultural communication. Instead, a less normative perspective is taken here in so far as existing L1 norms are not understood as fixed and mandatory, but as negotiable and renewable in other circles of English as a world language. For Hannah (1988: 60) and Muhr (2002: 15), the emergence of pseudo-loans is often promoted by processes of branding. Here, English comes into play in its function as the prestigious global language of our times – not only in fashion terms like in the previous examples (see O'Halloran 2003), but also in words standing for concepts of popular entertainment culture. Nativized lexical configurations such as *Go-go-Girl*, *Showmaster*, *Talkmaster*, *Talk-Lady* and *Late-Night-Talker* are both found in this and Onysko's (2007: 54, 218) *Spiegel* corpus. The same is true for the adjective *topfit*, which alludes to perfect fitness and displays the productivity of the borrowed intensifier *top*.

The production of the autonomous derivatives *Beamer* 'data projector', *Kicker* 'football/soccer player', and *Stepper* 'step machine' can be similarly explained. It is hypothesized here that at least the first two are de-verbal derivations. *Beamer* might have emerged due to the popularity of the formula *Beam me up/beam me down, Scotty*, announcing the teleportation of the characters in Star Trek films, whereas the technical gadget referred to by the pseudo-Anglicism projects images onto a screen through an in-built source of light and a system of lenses. Dunn (2008: 62) makes out a potentially different source, mentioning the English use of *beamer* as a cricket term for "a ball bowled, usually unintentionally, directly at a batsman's head" or as a slang word for a BMW car. Yet, these uses are deemed to be semantically too distant so that the above explanation and the classification as a lexical pseudo-loan are preferred. In contrast, the word *Kicker* appears to be derived from the semantically widened verb *kicken* in the sense of playing soccer (see section 4.3). Finally, *Stepper* is based on the noun *step* and labels a machine permitting special bodily motions to increase one's fitness by moving up and down on two pedals with one's feet. It is true that the *COCA* also contains the proper name *Mini Stepper exercise machine*, albeit with one hit only. A Google research indicates that the main English term, in fact, is *step machine* which was obviously morphologically and lexically nativized. At the same time, the fact that *stepper* is meanwhile also employed in English Amazon advertisements for exercise machines of this kind suggests the potential impact of production sites and of branding practices in areas where English is not used natively.

5 Conclusion

As has been shown in this article, the number of pseudo-Anglicisms in German is rather small in comparison to that of Anglicisms proper and hybrids. This matches Matras' (2009: 175) claim that pseudo-loans are "statistically perhaps of marginal relevance", a statement which is confirmed for Italian by Furiassi (2010: 116–118). Still, taken in their own right, they form a differentiated category of mostly lexical, sometimes phrasal items that result from various processes of morphological, lexical, or semantic reshaping. By and large, these could be accounted for by the taxonomy sketched above. However, in terms of classification, some problem areas – mentioned in different sections of this article – became manifest. They can be summarized as follows:

First, as was documented with the help of nativizations like *City, Handy*, and *Stepper*, some difficulties are connected to cases of unclear etymology, which mark an omnipresent challenge in lexicological and lexicographic projects.

Second, it has to be noted that not all pseudo-loans seem to have emerged from one process of nativization only. This is not surprising, as different procedures may overlap in native word-formation processes, too. This point is not explicitly recognized by Carstensen (1979, 1980, 1981), but considered by Furiassi (2010: 170, 183, 185) as well as Knospe (2014). In this article such items were grouped according to the primary nativization process at work. Take the example of *Smoking* again, which is rooted in the English compound *smoking jacket*. It was shortened in French use and, after having been disseminated to other European languages including German and Italian in the 19th century, also shifted its meaning: whereas the term *smoking jacket* originally stood for an over-garment worn while smoking (a meaning now archaic in English), the signification of the pseudo-Anglicism *Smoking* corresponds to that of the word *dinner jacket* in present-day (British) English. Thus, we may assume a morpho-semantic pseudo-loan here, resulting from the interaction of clipping and a semantic change. In a similar vein, *Pulli* shows a pattern of morphological and lexical nativization.

A third aspect that must be reflected on, but so far has not received much attention in the literature on pseudo-loans, is that supposed pseudo-Anglicisms may be hapax legomena or at least rarely used English words. Indeed, the noun *wellness* 'well-being' is found both in the *BNC* and the *COCA*, though much more frequently in the latter (1,649 hits in the *COCA* against 11 hits in the *BNC*). Unlike in German, it is, however, not used in compounds like *Wellness-Hotel* which is thus a lexical pseudo-loan. Rather, in English, the expression *spa hotel* is habitually chosen.

Fourth, care is needed in view of *ad hoc* formations (see Furiassi 2010: 118). To base the classification as a pseudo-loan on solid ground, researchers are required to examine large corpora, while not forgetting about the creative potential of the donor language. Print media like *Der Spiegel*, may, for example, give information on the initiators of certain forms. If they are discursively linked to native speakers of English and also attestable on Anglophone websites, a grouping as a pseudo-loan is clearly unfounded. Departing from this method, the nonce form *Survival of the Fattest* (see section 2) and the creative formula *Coalition of the Billing*, in analogy to George W. Bush's proclamation of the *Coalition of the Willing* in the war against terrorism, were not grouped as pseudo-loans. Still, also pseudo-Anglicisms may spring from what Gottlieb (2004: 45) names "jocular derivation[s]". He illustrates this by means of the Danish formation

webmoster (literally 'web auntie') that exploits the close phonetic similarity with the English word *master* (see the Anglicism *webmaster*).[15]

Fifth, as outlined in the introduction already, pseudo-borrowing and borrowing are closely interlinked. This also means that pseudo-loans might be transferred between different languages. Therefore, the *Spiegel* corpus, apart from the word *smoking*, also encompasses a (modern) pseudo-Anglicism that was coined in French: the noun *peoplization*, which shows up in an article about the election campaigns of Nicolas Sarkozy and Ségolène Royal, next to *ad hoc* compounds like *Sarko-Show* and analogous *ad hoc* creations such as *Sarko-mania* (see *Abba-mania*, *Beatle-mania*, etc.). Similarly, *Talkmaster* and *Showmaster* are nativizations which were taken over from Dutch (Görlach 2001: 283, 315).

Finally, some pseudo-Anglicisms also enter into English use. This holds for *smoking*, which the *OED* marks as a Gallicism that may be used jocularly in English, but also for words like, perhaps, *stepper* and *beamer* 'data projector'. The latter term has partly been promoted in the context of international conferences in German-speaking countries (see Dunn 2008: 62). Moreover, *public viewing* is a nativized form which is partly also documented in English newspapers, especially around the time of the Fifa World Cup 2006 which took place in Germany (Knospe 2014).

All this stresses the immense dynamics of the reshaping or nativization processes at work. Future research should not only study pseudo-Anglicisms on the basis of larger written and oral corpora, but also from a systematic cross-linguistic, i.e. comparative, perspective. This seems necessary to be able to better trace the directions of exchange between different languages and to compare the frequency of the reshaping mechanisms at stake.

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15 The term *derivation* must be understood in a loose sense here: it includes not only morphological derivations, but also, as exemplified by *webmoster*, coinages which manipulate the signifier of a lexeme to create overlaps on the sound level with native words.

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Gisle Andersen

5 Pseudo-borrowings as cases of pragmatic borrowing: Focus on Anglicisms in Norwegian

Abstract: Previous research on borrowing has mainly been concerned with lexical and terminological issues, while less attention has been paid to pragmatic aspects and discourse features. Such features can be subsumed under the heading of pragmatic borrowing (Andersen 2014b; Prince 1988; Treffers-Daller 2010), a notion which incorporates the contextual and socio-cultural prerequisites for and implications of borrowing. Focusing on Anglicisms in Norwegian, this paper aims to explore the relation between pseudo-borrowing and pragmatic borrowing. Specifically, I argue that in Norwegian there are relatively few pseudo-Anglicisms, especially compared with the massively productive process of hybridisation. I outline and exemplify the domain of pragmatic borrowing and argue that there is a need for more focused research in this domain. I also look into a small set of recently borrowed English-based interjections and discourse markers in Norwegian, notably the apologetic marker *sorry*, the interjections *gosh* and emphatic *yes!*, and the expletive use of the forms *fuck* and *fucking* (and their orthographically adapted versions). Through a corpus-based investigation of the use and *post hoc*-adaptation of pragmatic items, I try to identify cases of pragmatic pseudo-borrowing. It will be demonstrated that, although some notable and productive patterns occur, there are few pseudo-borrowings in the domain of pragmatics.

Keywords: Anglicisms, apology, borrowing, corpus, discourse, discourse marker, expletive, interjection, Norwegian, pragmatic borrowing, pragmatics, pseudo-Anglicisms, pseudo-borrowing, swearing

1 Introduction

English exerts a considerable influence on other languages via borrowings. While previous research has mainly been concerned with lexical and terminological aspects of borrowing, less attention has been paid to pragmatic aspects and discourse features. Such features can be subsumed under the heading of pragmatic borrowing (Andersen 2014b; Prince 1988; Treffers-Daller 2010), a notion which incorporates the contextual and socio-cultural prerequisites for and im-

plications of borrowing. On the one hand, pragmatic borrowing concerns pragmatic aspects of lexical and terminological borrowing, such as attitudes towards borrowing and the domestication of borrowed forms, as well as the covert prestige attributed to the donor culture and contextual factors affecting the transition from idiosyncratic code-shifting to established borrowings (Galinsky 1967; Onysko 2009; Onysko and Winter-Froemel 2011). On the other hand, pragmatic borrowing also concerns the incorporation of discourse-pragmatic features from a source language (SL) into a recipient language (RL) (Andersen 2014b; Matras 1998; Prince 1988; Treffers-Daller 2010). It is this latter type of borrowing which I am primarily concerned with in this article. This encompasses the direct and indirect borrowing of words and phrases whose functions are generally associated with the domain of pragmatics and whose contribution to utterances is mainly discourse-pragmatic and not lexical or propositional. More specifically, what is borrowed is, for instance, interjections, e.g. *duh*, discourse markers, e.g. *well*, expletives, e.g. *fucking*, tags, e.g. *no?*, and vocatives, e.g. *man*, as well as clause-connecting and clause-structuring phrases (Andersen 2010a; Prince 1988; Treffers-Daller 2010).

An equally intriguing aspect of borrowing is the existence of false or pseudo-borrowings (Furiassi 2010). A pseudo-borrowing is "a word or multiword unit in the RL made up of English lexical items but unknown or used with a conspicuously different meaning in English" (Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodríguez González 2012: 7). Well-known false Anglicisms are German *handy* in the sense of 'mobile phone' and, to Norwegians, *snacksy* for 'tasty, attractive' (Johansson and Graedler 2002). In this article I wish to explore the relation between pseudo-borrowing and pragmatic borrowing. Specifically, I argue that in Norwegian there are relatively few pseudo-Anglicisms, especially compared with the massively productive process of hybridisation, which involves the combination of an Anglicism and a domestic word into a compound, such as *blogginnlegg* 'blog post'. I outline and exemplify the domain of pragmatic borrowing and argue that there is a need for more focused research in this domain. I also look into a small set of recently borrowed English-based interjections and discourse markers in Norwegian. Through a corpus-based investigation of the use and *post hoc*-adaptation of pragmatic items, I try to identify cases of pragmatic pseudo-borrowing. It will be demonstrated that, although some notable and productive patterns occur, there are few pseudo-borrowings in the domain of pragmatics.

Although the borrowing of interjections and discourse markers has been recognised (Görlach 2001; Johansson and Graedler 2002; Lipsky 2005; Treffers-Daller 1994), such items are generally given very sketchy accounts in the literature in terms of their pragmatic functions. There is a need to account for the use

of individual items especially through cross-linguistic comparison of the functional properties with a view to detecting differences between the SL and RL. I therefore argue that a contrastive corpus analysis can be used to detect instances of pseudo-borrowings at the pragmatic level. By comparing the functional range of interjections and discourse markers, one can identify narrowing, broadening or shift in pragmatic functions that can occur *post hoc*, alongside processes such as domestication, hybrid formation and emergence of new phrasal patterns in the RL (see section 3).

The article is structured as follows. First, in section 2, I briefly present the concepts of pseudo-borrowing and pragmatic borrowing against the backdrop of previous studies. Next, section 3 contains a corpus-based study of a set of interjections and discourse markers, notably the forms *fuck* and *fucking* used as expletives (and their orthographically adapted versions), the apologetic marker *sorry* and the interjections *gosh* and emphatic *yes!*. The choice of these forms as object of study is motivated by their salience in the data investigated, as well as my wish to explore functionally different pragmatic Anglicisms. This part of the study is based on primary data from two Norwegian corpora, with English corpora as a secondary documentation of SL usage of the same forms. Finally, I summarise the findings in section 4.

2 Pseudo-borrowing and pragmatic borrowing exemplified

An extremely common form of adaptation of Anglicisms in Norwegian is the creation of hybrid compounds consisting of a borrowed and a domestic morpheme, such as *blogginnlegg* 'blog post' (see Graedler 1998 and Andersen 2011 for distributional data). Much less common are pseudo-borrowings, where an English-based form is either coined in the RL or where an existing SL form is used with a new function in the RL. For example, *snowjogger*, a type of shoe, is an English pseudo-borrowing according to Johansson and Graedler (2002). Even though *jogger* already existed as a borrowing, *snow* did not; hence the combination of the two English lexemes appears to have first occurred in the RL, and the new compound can therefore rightfully be considered a pseudo-borrowing. The concept of pseudo-borrowing is generally taken to exclude hybrid compounds but to include simplex forms, like *handy*, that already exist in the SL but are used with a different function.

Some pseudo-Anglicisms have been widely adopted by Norwegian language users, such as *stressless*, which is both a registered trademark, i.e. *Stressless*® – owned by the Norway-based manufacturer *EKORNES*® – and used loosely in the

more generic sense of 'reclinable armchair'. Although less frequent, *snacksy* can be interpreted as either a creative combination of *snacks* and *sexy*, or of *snacks* and the borrowed suffix *-y* (Graedler 1998). This adjective may be used in a variety of senses relating to something appealing and tasty, occasionally in the sense of 'having sex appeal', other times describing food or other attractive items. This word has become something of a 'canonical' example for the category of pseudo-borrowings in Norwegian; see for instance its appearance in the book title by Johansson and Graedler (2002). Of more recent date is *hockey* in the sense of 'mullet' (haircut), often found in the hybrid *hockeysveis* 'mullet hair', as well as the verb *å bæde* 'to bad', meaning 'to lose one's temper' or 'experience a bad trip from drugs'. It has also been suggested that *babynapper'* is a pseudo-borrowing (Lea 2010), but the word actually occurs in the *Urban Dictionary*, suggesting that it is not.

A quite productive pattern, however, is made of formations with the suffix *-ings*, which, when attached to an English word clearly bears the hallmarks of a pseudo-Anglicism. This is seen in the form *fuckings*, which is further discussed in section 3.1. Although it is conceivable that the suffix *-ings* might be of domestic origin since both the morphemes *-ing* and *-s* exist in Norwegian, it has generally been considered an Anglicism in the literature (Tryti 1984: 48; Graedler 1998: 196–198). The domestic equivalent *-ing* is a derivational suffix that would invariably involve the nominalisation of a verb, e.g. *rulle* 'roll' (verb) → *rulling* 'rolling' (noun), and a tonemic change in Norwegian. As observed by Graedler (1998: 196), the borrowed suffix, on the other hand, freely combines with words of different word classes without affecting the word class of the word, nor does it lead to a tonemic change, and the *-s* is not a plurality marker. Thus, formations like *rullesigarett* → *rullings* 'hand-rolled cigarette', *drita full* → *dritings* 'very drunk' and *hundrelapp* → *hundrings* '100-kroner note' demonstrate a colloquial way of shortening an expression and at the same time 'anglifying' domestic words. This is a creative and productive process, as illustrated by recent innovative forms such as *gratulerings* 'congratulations', *hengings* 'to hang out with', *flottings* 'great', etc.[1]

The English influx on the Norwegian lexicon raises much debate, and it is sometimes said to be threatening for languages that adopt this vocabulary. However, in recent Anglicism research there seems to be an incipient reorientation towards a greater focus on pragmatic aspects of borrowing. This is seen in research that focuses on factors that pragmatically motivate the use of a borrowed lexeme, such as the attitudes, symbolic values and prestige associated with the source language culture, the additional pragmatic meanings associated

1 Examples are extracted from the *Norwegian Twitter Corpus* (*NTC*); see section 3.

with the use of a borrowed lexeme (its weak implicatures or connotations), or contextual factors that may govern the lexical choice of a borrowed or domestic item. For instance, in a recent study Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011: 1562), argue that "the usage of *Kids* in German is particularly tied to contexts that portray the modern emancipated child". They explore the pragmatic motivations for borrowing by relating this linguistic phenomenon to general pragmatic principles, suggesting that borrowing is closely related to linguistic innovation, whose "potential motives" may be "flattery, insult, disguise, taboo/emotional markedness, prestige/fashion, and changes in the world/need for a new name" (Onysko and Winter-Froemel 2011: 1553). This line of research could be termed "the pragmatics of lexical borrowing"; other contributions along similar lines are Galinsky (1967), Kristiansen (2010) and Onysko (2009). More comprehensive surveys of such studies are given by Schiffrin (1996) and Treffers-Daller (2010).

Pragmatic borrowing also captures the incorporation of discourse features of a source language into a recipient language (Andersen 2010a, 2010b, 2014b; Matras 1998; Prince 1988; Treffers-Daller 2010). Research has shown that a particular syntactic form may have a discourse function in the RL which is the result of borrowing of an analogous structure from another language (Treffers-Daller 2010). An early study which explores this idea is Prince (1988: 517), where it is ascertained that "borrowing is possible at the pragmatic level". More specifically, Prince (1988: 505) states that "(i) a syntactic form S2 in L2 [here: RL] may be construed by speakers as 'analogous' to a syntactic form S1 in L1 [here: SL], and (ii) the discourse functions of S1 in L1 may then be borrowed into L2 and associated with S2.".

Prince's case in point is so-called *dos*-sentences in Yiddish. These consist of a single clause with an extra constituent, namely the determiner/pronoun *dos* 'this', which is not the argument of the verb but a structurally superfluous element that is added in order to achieve focus. Observing that this structure has no cognate in German – the language most closely related to Yiddish – its occurrence is ascribed to influence from Slavic languages such as Russian, where a structure with the determiner/pronoun *eto* 'this' performs exactly this focusing function. A related phenomenon is observed by Andersen (2010a), who shows that the Norwegian construction *tingen er at* 'the thing is that' is used as a discourse-connecting construction with a textual function. It indicates "how to interpret the following proposition in relation to the previous discourse, as an explanation or further elaboration of it, as well as adding focus to this proposition" (Andersen 2010a: 44). This usage is found in spoken and written Norwegian corpus data from 1990s onwards; along with other recent uses of vague nouns, the construction appears to be borrowed from English.

These two cases exemplify indirect pragmatic borrowing, where the syntactic forms in question are drawn from the RL (Prince's L2) but it takes on a discourse-pragmatic use that is analogous to structures in the SL (Prince's L1). Thus, these cases follow the path of "semantic loans" (Haugen 1950: 215). However, pragmatic borrowing may also be direct and constituted by forms that are new in the RL. The most familiar type of direct pragmatic borrowing is probably the use of borrowed interjections, of which many are reported in Anglicism dictionaries such as Görlach (2001) and Graedler and Johansson (1997). An informal count in the former dictionary suggests that there are at least tens of English-based interjections that are used in Norwegian, examples being *ahoy* 'used aboard ship' (Görlach 2001: 4), *hiphiphurrah!* 'a cheer for a winner' (Görlach 2001: 152), *oh boy* 'expressing surprise, excitement, etc.' (Görlach 2001: 217) and *OK* 'all right, satisfactory' (Görlach 2001: 217), as well as *Jesus*, *fuck*, *please* and others.

The study of interjections is a subdomain of pragmatics that has received limited attention in monolingual studies (e.g. Ameka 1992; Norrick 2011) and even less attention in cross-linguistic studies or in studies of language contact. It should be noted that the borderline between interjections and neighbouring lexical categories is indeed fuzzy, and borrowed forms can often be used with a variety of functions. For instance, the Anglicism *OK/okay* may be an adjective/adverb, example (1), or an interactional discourse marker, example (2); *fuck* (often orthographically adapted to *føkk* in Norwegian) may be an expletive interjection, example (3), or verb, example (4):

(1) *Så lenge klienten ikke har fremstått med navn og bilde i avisen, synes jeg det er **okay** å gi konkrete opplysninger om saken sett fra vår side, sier Topstad.*
(NNC/FV/1999-08-18)
'As long as the client is not presented with his name and picture in the newspaper, I think it is okay to provide specific details about the case seen from our side, says Topstad.'

(2) *Og ikke pappaen min heller, **okay**? sier gutten.*
'And not my daddy either, okay? says the boy.'

(3) *Du vet det kommer, det er uunngåelig som bare **føkk**: nyttårsaften!*
(NNC/DA/2007-12-29)
'You know it is coming, it is unavoidable as only fuck: New Year's Eve!'

(4) *Til så skjer, som de sier i hiphop-kulturen: Ikke **føkk** med whippen.*
(NNC/DB/2005-06-18)
'Until that happens, as they say in the hip-hop culture: Don't fuck with the whip.'

Although dictionaries such as Görlach (2001) and Johansson and Graedler (2002) provide conspicuous documentation that interjections are an integral part of the inventory of Anglicisms, they merely note the use of various forms without detailing their functional properties. Thus, there is a need for empirical studies which in greater detail look into the functions performed by these words in both the SL and the RL.

A category of words that has been described widely in the literature on pragmatics but less so in the context of contact linguistics or Anglicism studies is that of discourse markers (pragmatic markers). This category includes discourse connectives, evidential expressions, quotation markers, speech act indicators, markers of speaker attitude, etc., which are generally taken to serve important attitudinal, textual and interactional functions and to contribute as procedural constraints on utterances and not as propositional constituents (Andersen and Fretheim 2000; Andersen 2001; Schiffrin 1987). The first study to attest the borrowability of such items is probably Haugen's seminal work (1969: 91–92) on the language of Norwegian immigrants in the USA. He reports that "'[p]opular were also such adverbs as *ennivei* 'anyway', *ætål* 'at all', *iven* 'even' and *kårs* 'of course'". Classified as adverbs in Haugen's study, all of these words generally perform functions which today would be characterised as proper of discourse markers. Investigating language contact in the south of the USA, Salmons (1990) shows that German speakers in Texas have adopted the English discourse marker *well* and that their use of the marker "follows the English constraint on placement and does not behave according to the normal placement rules for German modal particles" (Salmons 1990: 468). More recently, Hennecke (2012) shows that the English discourse markers *like* and *so* are direct borrowings used in the French spoken in the Canadian province of Manitoba with similar functions to their SL etymons, e.g. quotative *like* and connective *so*. Her data also provide evidence of an indirectly borrowed discourse marker, namely *comme* 'like' used in ways which resemble the English discourse marker *like*. Further, Andersen (2014a) observes the emergence of an English-based discourse marker, namely *as if*, as shown in examples (5) and (6):

(5) *Hvilket land vil vel gjøre det umulig å kjøpe øl på søndager, og etter 18 på lørdager? Og det godtar folk? (**As if!**) Nå tror de ikke på noen ting lenger.* (NNC/AP/2008-10-31)
'Which country would [particle][2] make it impossible to buy beer on Sundays, and after 6 PM on Saturdays? And people accept that? (As if!) Now they don't believe in anything anymore.'

2 Modal particle, in this case *vel*.

(6) @ NICKNAME4 *this is it spilte inn over 100 mill på bare en dag jeg sier* ***as if*** *at dette bare skal vises i to uker*
'@ NICKNAME4 this is it made more than 100 million in just one day I say as if that it will only be shown for two weeks'

The examples illustrate a case of a direct pragmatic borrowing. What is borrowed is not a lexeme that contributes to the propositional content, but a rather opaque phrase whose origin is the SL subordinating conjunction *as if*. This is used in both the SL and RL as a marker that conveys a speaker's attitude of emphatic rejection, along the lines of *absolutely*/*certainly*/*definitely not!*. It can thus be seen as indicative of the speaker's attitude towards a proposition P, namely that the speaker strongly rejects P. In example (5), *as if* serves to emphatically reject the idea that people will accept the ban on beer sales. In example (6), *as if* co-occurs with the domestic complementiser *at* 'that', which introduces a non-factual subclause. Although this might resemble a direct borrowing with the same grammatical function as the English conjunction *as if*, it is clear that what is communicated is certainly not a neutral rejection of the proposition expressed in the subclause, but a highly emphatic rejection of the idea that the biographical film on Michael Jackson, *This is it*, should be shown in cinemas for just two weeks. There seems to be a tacit motivation for the user to select the English conjunction in order to underline and enforce negativity, in ways which could not be achieved by means of the alternative domestic structure *som om at* 'as if that'.

The borrowing of discourse markers is problematic and poses a challenge to existing hierarchies of borrowability, e.g. Whitney (1881), which usually give the ordering of nouns (most borrowable), followed by other lexical words, grammatical words and finally derivational and inflectional affixes. Matras (1998, 2000) shows that structure-oriented borrowability hierarchies on their own cannot give a satisfactory explanation of why utterance modifiers (interjections, discourse markers such as *well* and *anyway*, and adverbial particles) are borrowed so frequently in many contact situations (Treffers-Daller 1994, 2010; Van Hout and Muysken 1994). While Poplack (1980) would stress the emblematic nature as a motivational factor favouring the borrowability of discourse markers, Stolz and Stolz (1996, quoted in Treffers-Daller 2010) emphasise their sentence-peripheral nature and structural simplicity as explanations for their easy integration into other languages. On the basis of observations of borrowed discourse markers in the speech of bilinguals of various language backgrounds (English, German, Polish, Romani, Russian, Yiddish), Matras (1998, 2000) proposes a hierarchy of pragmatic detachability: those discourse markers that are at the top of the hierarchy and are pragmatically more detachable are most likely to be borrowed (see also Fuller 2001). His prediction is that the more gesture-like and turn-related discourse markers are more easily borrowed than those that

are more lexical or content-related. Further, discourse markers that mark contrast, restriction or change are more easily borrowed than those that mark addition, elaboration or continuation. "For example, the English D[iscourse] M[arker] *well* is not easily analysed in terms of lexical meaning and thus would be predicted to be borrowed earlier than the highly lexical *y'know* (Fuller 2001: 355). Matras (2000: 526) proposes a cognitive motivation for pragmatic borrowing, namely "an overall attempt by speakers to reduce the mental processing load on complex monitoring-and-directing operations".

Having exemplified pragmatic borrowing in terms of text-structuring devices, interjections and discourse markers, I should point out that the concept is even wider, as it encompasses a variety of phenomena that have been observed but merit a broader investigation. Pragmatic borrowing can be said to include the borrowing of greetings and leave-taking formulae such as *gudbai* 'goodbye' (Haugen 1969) and *bye-bye* (Johansson and Graedler 2002), politeness markers like *please* (Peterson 2012), vocatives like *dude* (Johansson and Graedler 2002), general extenders (also known as set-marking tags) like *(or) whatever* (Johansson and Graedler 2002), tags like *innit* (Andersen 2001; Hewitt 1986) and *no?* (Christian 1983), quotatives like Norwegian *bare* (lit. 'just'; Opsahl 2002), and perhaps even intonational patterns (Colantoni and Gurlekian 2004) and symbolic features such as the recently globalised heart-hand gesture – as testified in an article written by Marisa Meltzer and published in *The New York Times* (Andersen 2014b).

A word such as *please* is so common in contemporary Norwegian that it must be considered a stable borrowing (Görlach 2001: 235). Evidence for this claim is that it is used on a regular basis in pleading requests by children with an otherwise limited competence in English. As with other types of borrowing, including lexical borrowing, it may sometimes be difficult to draw the line between cases of borrowing and instances of code switching: presumably all cases of borrowing start in the RL as idiosyncratic code-switches by innovative users. This is supported by the observations made by Goss and Salmons (2000: 469), whose data suggest that English discourse markers first enter German speech as emblematic code-switches and eventually become established borrowings. Regarding the relation between code-switching and borrowing, Haspelmath (2009: 41) states the following:

> Of course, all loanwords start out as innovations in speech, like other cases of language change, and the process of propagation of the novel word through the speech community is gradual (see Croft 2000 on the distinction between innovation and propagation). It is also conceivable and indeed likely that the process of a word entering the mental lexicon of a speaker is gradual. Thus, there are bound to be intermediate cases between loanwords and single-word switches. These could be called "incipient borrowings", "regular switches", or similar.

In some instances of pragmatic borrowing it may be difficult to judge on the basis of corpus data whether an incipient borrowing, such as *as if* described above, has entered the mental lexicon of speakers and to what degree it has become conventionalised in a larger user group.

3 Adaptation and false borrowings

This section presents some recent cases of pragmatic borrowing from English and how they have become formally and functionally integrated in contemporary Norwegian. I first account for expletives with the word *fuck/fucking*, next for the apology marker *sorry* and finally for *gosh* and *yes* used as interjections. The investigation is based on two corpora representing contemporary Norwegian language, the *Norwegian Newspaper Corpus* (*NNC*), which is a 1.1 billion-word corpus of Norwegian newspaper texts retrieved from the Internet (Andersen and Hofland 2012), and an experimental *Norwegian Twitter Corpus* (*NTC*), a web-based corpus of some 25 million words which is compiled with the same technology as the *NNC* (Andersen 2014a). Anglicisms found in the *NNC* have reached the stage where they are used by journalists and published in edited newspaper texts, while Anglicisms used in social media such as *Twitter* may well be more incipient borrowings. As a source of evidence for SL usage, I have also occasionally checked the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (*COCA*) (Davies 2009) and the other corpora hosted at Brigham Young University, including the 1.9 billion word *Corpus of Global Web-based English* (*GloWbE*).

3.1 Expletives with *fuck/fucking* and their *post hoc*-developments

The "f-word" has a history of a few decades in Norwegian, and the expletive *fuck* has been used as an interjection and a verb since the 1980s (Görlach 2001). The pragmatic borrowing of this word pertains to its use as an expletive marker to intensify a message and express attitudes such as hostility, aggression, annoyance, etc., and not to its literal sense as a verb denoting sexual intercourse. The borrowed expletive takes different forms including not only the free-standing expletive *fuck*, example (7), but also the intensifying adjectival/adverbial *fucking*, example (8), and some multiword expressions that have been borrowed as phrases, namely the hostile and aggressive phrases *fuck off*,

example (9), *fuck you*, example (10), and *shut the fuck up*, example (11), and the interrogative phrase *what the fuck*, example (12), expressing annoyance, incomprehension or the like:

(7) *Jeg vet godt at jeg ikke kjente deg, far, men **fuck** hvor jeg savner deg, står det skrevet på et kort* (NNC/VG/2003-09-19)
'I know well that I didn't know you, father, but fuck how I miss you, a postcard says'

(8) "*Det kommer så **fucking** mye sexistisk og voldsforherligende dritt ut at man må lydisolere seg for å ikke bli tilgriset", lød fortsettelsen.* (NNC/DB/2005-10-28)
'"There is so fucking much sexist and violence-adoring crap coming out that one needs acoustic insulation in order not to become stained", it continued.'

(9) *Hovedbudskapet er å tenke skjønnhet, sannhet og lengsel i erotikken, og si "**fuck off**" til sexologene.* (NNC/DB/1999-12-14)
'The main message is to think beauty, truth and yearning in the eroticism, and say "fuck off" to the sexologists.'

(10) *Da Pernille Sørensen gikk ut og sa jeg måtte slutte å klage, tenkte jeg "**fuck you**, jeg har ikke klaga på en dritt".* (NNC/DB/2007-12-07)
'When Pernille Sørensen publicly stated that I should stop complaining, I thought "fuck you, I haven't complained about shit".'

(11) *tror jeg begynner å gråte av fortvilelse snart please **shut the fuck up** og la meg sove* (NTC/2009-09-05)
'think I'm going to start crying in despair soon please shut the fuck up and let me sleep'

(12) *henger meg på kritikken av nye www.politi.no og sier **what the fuck** dette ser jo helt forferdelig ut* (NTC/2009-08-31)
'(I am) joining the criticism of the new www.politi.no and say what the fuck this looks absolutely horrible'

The expletive has been subjected to various forms of *post hoc*-adaptation. Its orthography is often conventionally adapted to *føkk*, as shown in example (13) (Andersen 2012), and the hostile *fuck you* has been partially Norwegified through a replacement of the second collocate with its Norwegian pronominal counterpart, namely *deg*, as shown in example (14):

(13) *«Sorry, Einar Gerhardsen,* ***føkk*** *dette møkkalandet, jeg raner en bank!»* (NNC/DB/2008-01-30)
'Sorry, Einar Gerhardsen (former Norwegian PM), fuck this shitty country, I will rob a bank!'

(14) *Jenta gikk bort til to av jentene i den andre gjengen og spurte om de hadde sagt "***fuck deg***" til henne. Da de benektet dette, ba 15-åringen dem si "***fuck deg***", hvilket de også gjorde.* (NNC/AP/2009-05-14)
'The girl went over to two of the girls in the other group and asked them if they had said "fuck you" to her. When they denied this, the 15-year-old told them to say "fuck you", which they also did.'

We observe from the *NNC*-based examples above that, when the news media use *fuck/fucking* it is often in connection with reports of somebody else's language, for instance football players whose use of the expletive has subsequently led to a penalty.

The uses above cannot be characterised as pseudo-borrowings from English, i.e. pseudo-Anglicisms, since there are corresponding forms in the SL that perform the same functions. However, there is one form which does seem to be a pseudo-Anglicism, in that its SL etymon is not a swear word, namely the form *fuckings*/*føkkings*, as seen in examples (15) and (16):

(15) *Vi skal* ***fuckings*** *reise Torshov og Sagene som festspot nummer én, lover de selvsikkert.* (NNC/DA/2005-12-18)
'We're going to fucking raise Torshov and Sagene (areas in East Oslo) to becoming party spot number one, they promise confidently.'

(16) *Vi synes dette er den optimale Kaizers-plata. Nå er det helt* ***føkkings*** *perfekt.* (NNC/VG/2010-08-24)
'We think this is the ultimate Kaizers recording. Now it is totally fucking perfect.'

Although the word does have a homographic SL form in the plural of the nominalised *fucking*, the form *fuckings* occurs extremely rarely in the English corpora consulted,[3] and never as an intensifying adverb/adjective in the manner

3 For SL documentation I consulted the seven corpora available from Brigham Young University, namely the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (*COCA*), the *Corpus of Historical American English* (*COHA*), the *TIME Magazine Corpus (TIME)*, the *British National Corpus* (*BNC*), the *Corpus of American Soap Operas (SOAP)*, the *Corpus of Canadian English* (*STRATHY*) and the *Corpus of Global Web-based English* (*GloWbE*). The form *fuckings* is non-existent in the *COCA*, the *COHA*, the *TIME*, the *SOAP* and the *STRATHY*. Two irrelevant tokens were found in the *BNC* (0.02 ppm in the context of a French phrase *Les fuckings*) and two irrelevant tokens were found in the British component of the *GloWbE*, where it is a plural of the noun (0.0005 ppm).

of *fuckings/føkkings*, as in examples (15) and (16). In Norwegian this is quite a prominent form; it occurs 67 times in the *NNC* (0.06 tokens per million words, henceforth ppm) and 227 in the *NTC* (9.08 ppm) and its Norwegified spelling is relatively more frequent than the related Anglicisms *fucking/føkking* and *fuck/føkk* (30% in the *NNC*; 39% in the *NNC*). It should be pointed out that *fuckings/føkkings* follows a quite common pattern of pseudo-Anglicism creation, on a par with a variety of formations that contain the borrowed morpheme *-ings*, such as *dritings*, 'very drunk', and *rullings*, 'hand-rolled tobacco', as observed by Graedler (1998) and Tryti (1984) (see section 2).

Another *post hoc*-development worth pointing out is the emergence of a phrase in the RL that does not seem to have an equivalent etymon in the SL. This applies to the form *fuck heller* (lit. 'fuck rather') in example (17), following the pattern of the domestic expletive phrase *faen heller*, which literally translates to 'the devil rather' but whose functionally nearest equivalent is probably 'bloody hell':

(17) *Men så tenkte jeg at "faen heller, det er jo sånn jeg ser ut på tur, så* ***fuck heller****!"* (http://underliv.com/2012/11/28/dykkerinstruktor-frue/)
'But then I thought that "bloody hell, that is [particle] how I look when I'm hiking, so fuck rather!"'

I only found one token in the *NNC*, but consistent evidence of this usage was found in various social media (blogs, *Twitter*, *Facebook*) that contain several examples, like (17), suggesting that new phrasal patterns with expletives may indeed arise.

3.2 The apology marker *sorry* and *post hoc*-developments

The interjection *sorry* has been used as an apologetic marker in Norwegian since the 1970s (Görlach 2001: 295). Considering its use in contemporary Norwegian corpora, it can be noted that this usage, as in example (18), is quite a common case of pragmatic borrowing, with 2,178 tokens in the *NNC* (1.98 ppm) and 3,998 in the *NTC* (159.92 ppm):

(18) *Strålende idé. Men vi har ikke råd.* ***Sorry****. Men det fins private bedrifter som yter slike tjenester.* (NNC/AA/2002-03-02)
'Splendid idea. But we cannot afford it. Sorry. But there are private businesses that offer these services.'

Only very rarely is this form orthographically adapted to *sorri*, as in example (19); only three tokens were found in the two corpora. In English, the pattern *sorry* + VOCATIVE is a conventionalised way of expressing an informal apology, and some phrasal Anglicisms have been borrowed wholesale, like *sorry man*, *sorry dude* and *sorry folks*, as shown in example (20).

(19) *Jeg har ikke noe til overs for skaphomoer i den alderen.* ***SORRI!*** *:) og han er ikke så kjekk* – (NTC/2009-06-09)
'I am not particularly fond of closeted gays of that age. SORRY :) and he is not that good looking –'

(20) *Stress oppstår når man ikke føler at man strekker til. Og* ***sorry folks*** *og fotballfans, den største sportslige henrykkelse er* … (NNC/AP/1999-10-23)
'Stress occurs when you feel that you are not able to keep up. And sorry folks and football fans, the greatest kind of sports-related happiness is …'

Sometimes the vocative pattern in the SL contains a (masculine) name, and the *Urban Dictionary* lists *sorry charlie/jack/mac/mickey* (sometimes capitalised) as variants. These can be viewed as the result of a pragmatic reanalysis in the SL from [[apology marker] + [vocative]] to [apology marker], where the vocative no longer refers to a specific character or person. Of these, only *sorry mac* is found in the Norwegian corpora with the alternative spellings *mack*, *Mækk*, etc.

Given their English etymons, the examples above cannot be considered false Anglicisms. However, along with these forms which are functionally similar to their SL correspondents, there is a new form and there are some new collocations that seem to be lacking conspicuous English equivalents, as in example (21):

(21) *Uten støtte fra FrP er det umulig for dere å danne regjering,* ***sorrysam*** (NTC/2009-09-01)
'Without the support of FrP (right-wing political party) it is impossible for you to form a government, sorrysam'

The form *sorrysam* can be considered a pseudo-borrowing in the sense that it is the combination of an English apology marker and an English-based name which appears to have emerged in the RL. The form was not documented in any of the English corpora consulted, nor is listed among the variants in the *Urban Dictionary*. Thus, it seems to lack a SL equivalent with the same generalised apologetic function. However, it cannot be ruled out that *sorry sam* may be a direct borrowing of a form which is now obsolete, or that it is still used in other varieties of English than the data consulted here.

It should also be pointed out that there is evidence that *sorry* has developed uses that diverge from the phrasal patterns found in the SL. Highly noticeable is the collocation of *sorry* and the word *altså*, which is originally an adverb meaning 'consequently, then' but which is also used as an emphatic discourse marker. This collocation occurs repetitively in both the Norwegian corpora. The orthography of the phrase reflects a commonly reduced pronunciation of the second collocate, represented as *sorry altså/asså/assa/ass/azz/as*, as shown in examples (22) and (23):

(22) *Jeg heter egentlig Adam Andreas, men jeg vil helst at du skriver Adam A.* ***Sorry ass****, men jeg er litt bitchy på det, sier Adam A. Schjølberg* (NNC/VG/2004-06-11)
'My name is really Adam Andreas, but I rather want you to write Adam A. Sorry [particle], but I am a bit bitchy when it comes to that, says Adam A. Schjølberg'

(23) *Gi meg rocken tilbake! Tommy Rockens tidsalder er over...* ***SorryMækkAss*** *FrostFusion hei frost musikken deres er veldig bra, men* (NNC/DB/1998-11-30)
'Give me rock back! Tommy the age of Rock is gone.... SorryMækkAss FrostFusion hey their frost music is very good, but'

Note the hybrid consisting of a vocative-based marker *sorry mac*, described above, and the reduced form of *altså*, as in example (23).

Finally, it can be noted that *sorry* sometimes diverges syntactically from its English etymon, in that it seems to behave like a transitive verb, taking a NP as direct object – as shown in examples (24) and (25), unlike the SL phrasal verb *be sorry*, which takes a prepositional phrase with *about/for* or a *that*-clause as its complement:

(24) ***sorry*** *sent svar (twitterfri helg) håper du har hatt en super helg –* (NTC/2009-09-06)
'sorry (about the) late response (twitter-free weekend) hope you've had a great weekend –'

(25) ***sorry*** *sen tilbakemelding det kan være at internettleverandøren enten har vedlikehold eller driftsprob* (NTC/2009-09-14)
'sorry (about the) late response it could be that the internet supplier either has maintenance or support prob(lems)'

There are some twenty tokens of the collocation *sorry + sen(t) svar/respons/tilbakemelding* 'late response' in the *NTC* (0.8 ppm). This repetitive usage suggests a development from discourse marker to verb, likely due to analogy with the synonymous verb *beklage*, 'regret', which takes a direct object consisting of a NP or *that*-clause and not a prepositional phrase as its immediately following constituent.

3.3 The interjections *gosh* and *yes!* and their *post hoc*-developments

One aspect of borrowing which deserves more attention is how pragmatic items enter hybrid creations, for instance the interjection *gosh*, example (26). The interjection sometimes combines with the pronoun *meg* 'me' with an intervening linking morpheme (interfix) *-a-*, to form the hybrid *gosh-a-meg*, lit. 'gosh-a-me', 'holy moly'. As the SL interjection may be adapted to *gosj* and the pronoun is occasionally adapted to reflect its diphthongal pronunciation /mei/, the hybrid is variably spelt *gosjameg*, *gosjamei*, *goshamei*, *gosha-mei*, etc., as shown in example (27):

(26) *Men det hele bunner til syvende og sist ut i at dette – **gosh**, milde makrell – utrolig nok er "Grand Theft Auto"* (NNC/VG/2005-11-28)
'But the whole thing is finally due to the fact that this – gosh, blimey – incredibly enough is "Grand Theft Auto"'

(27) ***gosha-mei** så stor du har blitt* (NTC)
'gosha-mei how large you have become'

Another case in point is the Anglicism *yes*. Several features of its post-borrowing adaptation suggest that it is regularly used – as shown in examples (28) and (29) – not as a neutral affirmative marker in the RL, but as an emphatic marker that connotes a strongly positive evaluation:

(28) *Og likevel har jeg ennå ikke sett den norske bandromanen som virkelig får meg til å tenke **yesss!** Men det er vanskelig å skrive om musikk, sier Jacobsen.* (NNC/DA/2005-09-27)
'And yet I still haven't seen the Norwegian band novel that really makes me think yesss! But it is difficult to write about music, says Jacobsen.'

(29) *Men så, da han kjempet seg tilbake på seierspallen, fikk han ikke den samme gleden. – Jeg fikk ikke helt* ***yes-følelsen****. Jeg har lurt på hvorfor, antagelig er det fordi jeg har fått litt større perspektiv på livet.*
(NNC/DN/2013-02-10)
'But then, when he fought his way back to the winner's rostrum, he did not experience the same joy. – I did not quite get the yes feeling. I have been wondering why, it is probably because I now have a wider perspective on life.'

Represented with multiple *s*-es and often followed by multiple exclamation marks, the emphatic function is mirrored in both orthography and punctuation, as seen in example (28). Of course, both the neutral affirmative *yes* and the strongly positive exclamative *yes!* exist in the SL, but it is interesting to note that it is especially the latter function that is salient in the RL, suggesting a type of functional specialisation in the borrowing of this item (more fully explored in Andersen 2014b). Besides, the hybrid *yes-følelse*, example (29), sometimes represented as a non-hybrid with the SL orthography *yes-feelingen*, also suggests that the word conveys a high degree of vivid enthusiasm.

4 Conclusion

This study has been primarily concerned with formal adaptations of pragmatic borrowings. The discussion of the expletives *fuck/fucking*, the apology marker *sorry*, and the interjections *gosh* and *yes* has shown that forms that have been pragmatically borrowed can undergo some of the adaptation processes that characterise linguistic borrowing more generally. It has been shown that the forms may be adapted to Norwegian orthography, although the degree to which this happens varies considerably, *fuckings* → *føkkings* being among the frequent adaptations, *sorry* → *sorri* being very rare. Like lexemes, interjections may be part of hybrids, as seen in words such as the interjection *gosh-a-meg*, lit. 'gosh-a-me', 'holy moly', and the hybrid noun *yes-følelsen*, 'the yes feeling'. Moreover, users may apply creative spelling of words such as *yesssss* to emphasise the positive evaluation associated with this interjection. With regard to pseudo-borrowing, more specifically pseudo-Anglicisms, this is not a particularly common characteristic of pragmatic borrowing, judging by the restricted set of forms studied here. I have suggested that the forms *fuckings* and *sorrysam* can be viewed as pragmatic pseudo-Anglicisms, since they appear not to have English counterparts that are used with the same pragmatic functions. The emergence of

pseudo-Anglicisms should therefore be seen in connection with other processes of *post hoc*-adaptation of pragmatic borrowing.

The study has also documented some arguably more substantial processes that concern functional changes of the borrowed interjections/discourse markers. These involve the emergence of new collocations that do not have a direct counterpart in the SL, such as the expletive *fuck heller* (lit. 'fuck rather'), which is analogous to the domestic expletive *faen heller* 'bloody hell'. Generally speaking, the degree to which Anglicisms are borrowed wholesale as phrases – exemplified here by phrasal expletives such as *fuck off* and *what the fuck?* – and especially, the degree to which Anglicisms enter into new phrasal contexts after borrowing, are topics that clearly deserve further investigation.

Finally, the study has suggested another type of *post hoc*-adaptation which can characterise pragmatic borrowing. This concerns the grammatical change evidenced by the verb-like nature of *sorry*, as in examples (24) and (25) above, which showed that the word sometimes behaves syntactically like its RL synonym *beklage* 'regret'.

I have argued that pragmatic borrowing is understudied and that full accounts of pragmatic and discourse-functional perspectives on borrowing remain rare. Another argument in favour of increased efforts in this field of study is that pragmatic borrowing may be quite frequent. Johansson and Graedler (2002: 176) observe that interjections and discourse markers in their data account for 23% of the Anglicisms in spoken Norwegian and between 0 and 1% in written Norwegian.

Common to the items studied here is that they are borrowed discourse markers and (expletive) interjections with English etymons. Discourse markers and interjections are surface manifestations of underlying cognitive states and processes such as the speaker's doubt, surprise or astonishment and perceptions of logical connections between utterances and their contexts (Blakemore 1992). Given the universality of such processes, it is not surprising that discourse markers come to be borrowed in language contact situations. As Dunn (2008: 60) pointed out, "a borrowed word, while not actually changing its meaning, will acquire or possibly lose certain connotations upon its arrival in the destination language". In my view, this is a generalisation which holds true for pragmatic borrowing as well. It is well known that discourse markers and interjections are syntactically flexible and highly polysemous, and they often serve a range of discourse-pragmatic functions, such as *well* (Jucker 1991) and *like* (Andersen 2001). This multifunctionality poses a significant problem for the study of this type of borrowing, which is probably more qualitatively challenging than the analysis of borrowed lexical or terminological items such as *blog* or *airbag*. If a full understanding of pragmatic borrowing is to be achieved, there is a need to

inspect carefully the systematic constraints on use in the SL and to compare this with the uses observed in the RL. It is possible, indeed likely, that discourse markers and interjections are subjected to *post hoc* functional adaptation, such as narrowing (specialisation of pragmatic function) or broadening (addition of new pragmatic functions) (Andersen 2014b). We therefore need to ask to what extent the forms have undergone such functional adaptation and, more generally, how pragmatic functions come to be used by RL users (simultaneity or a sequential ordering of functions). Therefore, substantial qualitative and quantitative work remains to be done before we have a comprehensive picture of the nature of pragmatic borrowing.

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III Romance languages

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6 False Anglicization in the Romance languages: A contrastive analysis of French, Spanish and Italian[1]

Abstract: False Anglicization, the process by which new meanings are conveyed either through units which are formally identical to items already institutionalized in English or through units arising from the novel combination of word-building elements of the English language, is widespread in the Romance languages. In this article, we contrast data from French, Spanish and Italian and show that cross-linguistic false Anglicization is a frequent phenomenon (about one-third of all units are shared by at least two of the three languages), which suggests that many false Anglicisms might be circulating somewhat freely from a language to another. We also proffer a synchronically principled typology of false Anglicization and conclude that resemanticization and, to a lesser extent, compounding are the two major processes by which the overwhelming majority of false Anglicisms appear in the three languages.

Keywords: affixation, compounding, eponymization, false Anglicisms, false Anglicization, French, Italian, lexical blending, mediating language, phraseologization, resemanticization, Romance languages, Spanish, typology

1 Introduction

Language contact with English often leads to borrowing lexical and morphemic items, e.g. *dandy*, *airbag*, *-ing*, and it may also result in some English lexemes and morphemes starting a new life of their own in the recipient language. This is done through false Anglicization, a dual process by which new meanings are conveyed either through units which are formally identical to items already institutionalized in English or through units arising from the novel combination of word-building elements of the English language. This lexical phenomenon is widespread in South-Western Europe and it is our aim in this article to compare

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the situation in three closely related geolinguistic contexts – France, Spain and Italy – in order to highlight the existence of both remarkable cross-border characteristics and distinctive language-specific features of false Anglicization.

In this research, a false Anglicism (henceforth FA) is defined as a new lexical unit in a recipient language (RL) which has one of the two following defining features:

- it is homographic to an English lexeme and has acquired a different or additional sense in the RL – in Italian, the noun *discount* does not refer to a reduction in price, but to a store where goods are sold at a low discounted price; *cocktail* is a true Anglicism in French, Spanish and Italian, referring to any mixed drink with a spirit base, but it has also acquired the sense 'cocktail party' in the three languages;
- it is made up of a combination of English morphemes and/or lexemes, but has no established meaning in any native variety of English, namely all varieties included in Kachru's (1992) "Inner Circle", e.g. French *babyfoot* 'table football', Spanish *anti-baby* 'contraceptive pill', Italian *food valley* 'bread basket valley'.

The canonical way to operationalize this definition is to resort to an RL-into-English translation test, as advocated by Furiassi (2010: 36–37), as is shown in example (1):

(1) Fr. *J'ai été invité à un cocktail.*
Sp. *Me invitaron a un cocktail.*
It. *Ero stato invitato ad un cocktail.*
En. **I was invited to a cocktail.*
En. *I was invited to a cocktail party.*

The impossibility to keep the original Anglicism in the translation into English testifies to its status as a false Anglicism in the RL in question.

2 Methodology

Our goal was to gather the longest possible lists of established false Anglicisms in the three languages analyzed. Comparing dictionaries of FAs was not a possibility, as Furiassi's (2010) work is a piece of scholarship that has no equivalent in French or Spanish, and restricting ourselves to one dictionary of Anglicisms

per language would have severely limited the number of FAs under scrutiny. We instead chose a cross-linguistic multisource approach, and the items gathered in this research were culled from various lexicological and lexicographic sources on Anglicisms and false Anglicisms. Initial lists of FA candidates came from Rey-Debove and Gagnon (1984) and the *Petit Robert* (2013) for French, from Alfaro (1970), Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997), Gómez Capuz (2000, 2001) and Balteiro (2011) for Spanish, and from Furiassi (2010) for Italian. In the case of general-language dictionaries, only those items for which the etymological information gives an English origin – which includes false Anglicisms – were manually checked; in the case of dictionaries of Anglicisms, all the (sub-)entry words were manually checked.

A selection of six general-language English dictionaries, i.e. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (*AHD*), the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (*CALD*), the *Collins English Dictionary* (*CED*), the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), the *Macmillan Dictionary Online* (*MDO*) and the *Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary* (*Merriam-Webster*), was used as a reference lexicon. If the FA candidate was listed in English with the same sense as in the RL in any of the dictionaries, it was excluded; if it was not listed, or listed with different senses in English and the RL, it was included. This resulted in discarding, for example, French *mailing* (*MDO*) and *taximan* (*Merriam-Webster*) and Spanish *cream* (*cream sherry*), *Post-it*™, *skater* and *training* (*training session*) (*OED*), even though these lexemes were labeled as false Anglicisms in, respectively, the *Petit Robert* and Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997), as well as a number of Italian items listed in Furiassi (2010) – *break* (*service break*), *house* (*house music*), *playmaker*, *slot* (*slot machine*) (*AHD*); *loft* ('living space') (*CALD*); *antismog*, *autoreverse*, *mail* (*e-mail*), *minimarket*, *pick-up* ('small truck'), *quad* (*quad bike*), *quiz*, *ski pass*, *tie-break* (*CED*); *Barbie*, *big* (*big shot*), *Luna Park*, *match ball*, *relax* (*relaxation*), *soft-core*, *taxi-girl* (*OED*); *ambient* (*ambient music*), *check-in* ('the area where checking in takes place'), *chillout* (*chillout music*), *duty-free* (*duty-free store*) (*MDO*); *bomber* (*bomber jacket*), *cult* ('object of devotion') (*Merriam-Webster*). In view of the large number of cross-linguistic FAs, i.e. items shared by at least two languages, a second step of the data collection consisted in systematically checking whether or not the collected FAs were also established in the other two languages, which led to adding more items in all three languages.[2]

We counted lexical senses rather than lexical units, as some units have more than one sense (*body*, for instance, has two senses, 'bodysuit' and 'infant

2 The authors are grateful to Sandra Garbarino for help with the Italian data.

bodysuit', in the three languages) but not necessarily the same (number of) senses: *box* is a FA in both French and Italian for the senses 'lock-up garage' and 'box stall'; it has two more senses which are specific to French, 'box calf' and 'residential gateway', and seven more senses which are specific to Italian, 'pit box', 'cage', 'playpen', 'cubicle', 'information booth', 'shower stall' and 'box set'. We also counted as different units the various formal variants which may be co-institutionalized in the RL, e.g. *skin* and *naziskin* for 'skinhead' in Italian, notably because they may be the outputs of different processes – *skin* is a case of resemanticization, *naziskin* a case of compounding.[3]

Items whose origin is not indubitably English were excluded from the data to be analyzed. The noun *canadair* for instance was originally the name of a Quebec-based company, *Canadair*™, and the blend might have been forged in French. Likewise, *ticket restaurant* first appeared as a French trademark, *Ticket Restaurant*™, and its two compounding elements are lexemes of French. This was also applied to any unit which is homographic with an English lexeme, e.g. French *hand* 'team handball' (← German *Handball*), Italian *cross* (← French *motocross*), as well as all orthographically altered units, e.g. French *silent bloc* 'bushing', with the only exception of diacritics, as in Spanish *blíster* 'blister pack' or *míster* 'soccer coach'. In the case of Spanish, which has a marked tendency towards the orthographic adaptation of borrowings, e.g. *básquet*/*basket* 'basketball', *cóctel*/*cocktail* 'cocktail party', we chose to retain the units which were attested at least three times in their original Anglicized variant in the 154-million-word *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (*CREA*), even when the variant in question was not listed in the *Diccionario de la lengua española* of the *Real Academia Española* (*DRAE*).

The sources for the original FA candidates in the three languages cannot be considered to be totally homogeneous as the methodology used to gather lexical units in general and Anglicisms in particular inevitably varies from one lexicographer (or team of lexicographers) to another. It is a well-known inconvenience, which has been discussed in the literature on dictionaries of Anglicisms (Gottlieb 2002; Busse 2008), and this will necessarily affect the absolute accuracy of some comparisons. The discordance is, however, minimized here by the fact that the three lists have been compiled by merging FA candidates taken from a variety of sources and obtaining three extensive lists of FAs (see Table 2). The final lists of 242 French, 185 Spanish and 298 Italian units seem to us to be large enough

3 See section 3.2 for a presentation of the various morphosemantic processes of false Anglicization.

to provide a fairly representative overview of the properties of FAs in the three languages and to form the basis for cautious contrastive statements.

3 Data analysis

The number of FAs is markedly different in the three languages, with 298 items in Italian, 242 in French and 185 in Spanish. This is an unexpected result when contrasted with the number of Anglicisms listed in Görlach's (2001) *Dictionary of European Anglicisms*, respectively around 1,600 for Italian, 1,650 for French and 1,525 for Spanish, according to Bogaards's (2008: 70) computation. While Anglicization is measured to affect the lexis of the three languages to about the same degree, false Anglicization appears as a remarkable feature of Anglicization in Italian, and a relatively weaker phenomenon in Spanish.

3.1 Cross-linguistic FAs

FAs may be identical in only two of the three languages under study, for instance French and Spanish *fuel* 'fuel oil' and *sport* (adj.) 'casual', French and Italian *bowling* 'bowling alley' and *hard discount* 'hard-discount store', Spanish and Italian *champions* 'UEFA Champions League' and *mobbing* 'bullying'. They may also be found in all three languages: examples include *autostop* 'hitchhiking', *clip* 'music video', *coffee shop* 'cannabis coffee shop', *compact* 'compact disc', *fair-play* (adj.) 'sportsmanlike', *gin tonic* 'gin and tonic', *golden* 'Golden Delicious', *passing* 'passing shot', *poker* 'four of a kind', *scotch* 'Scotch™ tape', *starter* 'choke' and *step* 'step aerobics'. Some items are false cognates and should therefore not be counted as three-language FAs, but as independent FAs. The noun *stop*, for example, is a three-language FA meaning 'stop sign', but it also corresponds to a triplet of false cognates – in French, it means 'hitchhiking'; in Spanish, it means 'stop button'; in Italian, it means 'brake light'.

Table 1 gives a detailed account of the distribution of one-language and cross-linguistic units. FAs which are identical in two or three languages are counted only once, which brings the total number of units down to 486 (340 one-language FAs plus 66 two-language FAs plus 80 three-language FAs). Percentages were rounded to the nearest integer.

Table 1: Distribution of FAs according to their (cross-)linguistic status

status	number of items	percentage
cross-linguistic	146	30
three-language	80	16
two-language	66	14
French-Italian	22	5
French-Spanish	23	5
Spanish-Italian	21	4
one-language	340	70
Italian	173	36
French	108	22
Spanish	59	12
total	486	100

The number of two-language and three-language FAs totals 146, which means that about one-third of all units are shared by at least two languages. This is a noticeably high figure, which should be taken as an encouragement to go beyond the study of the FAs of an individual language in isolation, just as it has been done for Anglicisms as a general category.

A number of additional key points can be abstracted from the data. First, three-language FAs are more numerous than two-language FAs in the three pairs of languages combined (80 vs. 66 items), which bears witness to the close kinship of the phenomenon of false Anglicization in the three languages. Second, the relatively high number of three-language FAs suggests that a circulation scenario, with a single neologization process, is more likely than a separate-origin scenario, with independent Anglicization processes, leading to identical outputs in several languages, at least for a large number of cross-linguistic FAs. Third, the number of items in the three two-language categories is not proportional to that of FAs in each individual language: French and Spanish share about as many FAs as Italian and Spanish do, which hints at the fact that they may have developed a closer interrelation. This can be linked to a more general phenomenon which has been documented in several languages – the fact that some Anglicisms have spread throughout Europe via mediating languages (for illustrations in the specific case of FAs, see Furiassi (2003: 139–140) and Gottlieb (2005: 166–167)). Finally, about two-thirds of all FAs occur in only one of the three languages. The distribution of one-language FAs reflects the numerical hierarchy between Italian, French and Spanish, but not in a proportional fashion: 58% of the Italian FAs are one-language units, but only 45% of the French and 32% of the Spanish FAs are. This last figure is relatively low and could be

interpreted as meaning that Spanish is somewhat more reluctant to initiate false Anglicization and integrates many new FAs through borrowing from neighboring Romance languages.

3.2 A synchronically principled typology of FAs

The typologies of FAs proffered in the literature, e.g. Humbley (2008) and Furiassi (2010), are diachronically focused in so far as they rely on historical and etymological information to determine membership in one type. Furiassi's approach is self-described as "mainly synchronic" (2010: 15), but he occasionally needs to resort to formally comparing lexical equivalents in the recipient and the donor language at the time of borrowing. Furiassi (2010: 167) classifies, for example, the Italian FA *golf* 'sweater' as a case of compound ellipsis, from *golf coat*, even though the latter compound is not its present-day equivalent in English.

Humbley (2008: 236) acknowledges that "il est parfois difficile de connaître l'origine précise d'un néologisme" [it is sometimes difficult to know the exact origin of a neologism] and Furiassi (2010: 38) states that "in some cases false Anglicisms may not fit into rigid categories and it is sometimes difficult to determine their origin". The classification of many FAs is indeed debatable as incontrovertible evidence may be lacking. Should *flirt*, for example, be classified as an instance of clipping (← *flirtation*) or conversion? *Antiage* as an instance of clipping (← *antiaging*) or the concatenation of *anti-* and *age*? *Smile* 'emoticon' as an instance of clipping (← *Smiley*) or a case of resemanticization of English *smile*? Should FAs ending in *-ing*, such as *dribbling*, *footing*, *forcing*, *franchising*, *outing*, be classified as instances of affixation or direct borrowings of English forms which have been resemanticized in the RL? Should *happy end* 'happy ending' be classified as an instance of clipping or a combination of *happy* and *end*? *Gin tonic* as an instance of coordinator ellipsis or a combination of *gin* and *tonic*?

To circumvent these stumbling blocks, it was here decided to depart from an etymologically motivated model and take the radical step of adopting a fully synchronic approach, which has the decisive advantage of allowing the unequivocal classification of all items. The analysis excludes etymological considerations; it is established on the sole criterion of the formal identity or non-identity of the units in English and the RL. If the FA is identical to a lexical unit of English, it is classified as a semantic FA; if it is not, it is classified as a formal FA.

Semantic FAs, which amount to 203 units in French, 161 units in Spanish and 199 units in Italian (see Table 2), have undergone a process of resemanticization (e.g. French *bob* 'bucket hat', *pressing* 'dry cleaner'; Spanish *catering*

'catering firm', *MP3* 'MP3 player'; Italian *backstage* 'making-of documentary', *garden* 'garden center'). A unit like *footing* 'jogging' is considered as an output of resemanticization, and not of affixation, which, incidentally, is in line with the fact that the noun *footing* has been attested with the senses '*act of walking, pacing, stepping*' and '*moving with measured tread*' in English since the sixteenth century (*OED*). In parallel, units containing more than one lexemic base, such as Italian *backstage*, Spanish *baby boom* 'baby boomer' or French *drugstore* 'high-end shopping center', are not viewed as outputs of compounding but resemanticized items when they formally correspond to lexical units of present-day English.

On the basis of a morphemic decomposition of formal FAs, three processes of false Anglicization have been distinguished to account for most of the 162 "formal" items under scrutiny: affixation, compounding and phraseologization, as shown in Table 2 (39 units in French, 24 units in Spanish and 99 units in Italian). The small number of FAs which could not be (fully) decomposed into English morphemes – cases of lexical blending or eponymization – are grouped into the fourth miscellaneous category below:

- affixation: e.g. French *peps* 'pep', *pin's* 'lapel pin'; three-language *super-welter* 'super welterweight';
- compounding: e.g. French *flashcode* '2D barcode', *home-trainer* 'exercise bicycle', *speed-sail* 'beach windsurfing board'; Spanish *sex boxing* 'mud wrestling', *pressing catch* 'professional wrestling'; Italian *beauty farm* 'health farm', *skiman* 'ski technician';
- phraseologization: e.g. French *go fast* 'type of drug-smuggling technique'; Spanish *off the record* 'off-the-record comment'; Italian *dark lady* 'femme fatale', *next opening* 'opening soon', *no global* 'anti-globalist'; three-language *best of* 'compilation album', *happy end* 'happy ending';
- other cases: e.g. French *bicross* (← *bicyclette*/*bike*[4] + *cross*) 'BMX', *chatterton* (← Jonathan Edwards Chatterton) 'friction tape', *tansad* (← *tandem* + *saddle*) 'pillion'; Italian *montgomery* (← Bernard Law Montgomery) 'duffel coat'; Spanish and Italian *vibracall*, originally a trademark, *VibraCall*™ (← vibrate/vibration + call) 'vibrating alert'; three-language *carter* (← J. Harrison Carter) 'crankcase'.

Table 2 presents a clear cross-linguistic contrast: resemanticization is the major process of false Anglicization in all three languages while compounding is a minor but sizable process (especially in Italian) and the other processes are

4 According to the *Petit Robert*, the source lexeme is *bicyclette*; according to the *Larousse*, it is *bike*.

marginal (except for phraseologization in Italian). Resemanticization accounts for a vast majority of FAs in the three languages, and especially so in French and Spanish, while Italian has the most sizable proportion of formal FAs, with many more compounds and phrases than French and Spanish taken together. It can be conjectured that the wide availability of several processes leads both to a less lopsided distribution and to a higher total number of FAs: Spanish has proportionally more resemanticized FAs than French, and French more than Italian; at the same time, Italian has a higher proportion of compounds than French, and French a higher one than Spanish.

Table 2: Distribution of FAs according to their morphosemantic type

type	French	Spanish	Italian
resemanticization	203 (83.9%)	161 (87%)	199 (66.8%)
affixation	3 (1.2%)	2 (1.1%)	5 (1.7%)
compounding	27 (11.2%)	14 (7.6%)	63 (21.1%)
phraseologization	3 (1.2 %)	4 (2.2%)	25 (8.4%)
other cases	6 (2.5%)	4 (2.2%)	6 (2.0%)
total	242 (100%)	185 (100%)	298 (100%)

More language-specific features emerge from a morphosemantic analysis of the data. French notably stands out as a language which repeatedly resemanticizes English nouns into adjectives: *addict* 'addicted', *cash* 'direct', *design* 'designer', *destroy* 'wasted', *hype* 'hip', *snob* 'snobbish', *space* 'weird', *speed* 'overactive', *sport* 'casual' and 'sportsmanlike', *trash* 'trashy'. Italian freely uses elements such as *baby*, e.g. *baby boss* 'teenage gang leader', *baby gang* 'teenage gang', *baby killer* 'juvenile killer', *baby pusher* 'juvenile drug dealer', and *sexy*, e.g. *sexy bar* 'strip club', *sexy shop* 'sex shop', *sexy show* 'sex show', *sexy star* 'porn star' and 'stripper', in new units, which partially explains the comparatively large number of compounds and phrases in the language. Italian is also remarkable in so far as it is the only language with semantically left-headed FA compounds, which have been modeled after the RL pattern of compounding, e.g. *capostazione* 'master + station = stationmaster', *pesce spada* 'fish + sword = swordfish': for instance, *camera car* refers to an on-board camera fixed on a car, in motor racing, and *gas killer*, which is an equative compound, i.e. an XY compound that can be glossed as "an XY is an X who/which is a Y",[5] denotes any greenhouse gas.

5 For a discussion of equative compounding, see Arnaud and Renner (2014).

4 Conclusion

This research has demonstrated the interest of a contrastive analysis of false Anglicization in closely related languages. It has brought to the fore the fact that the French, Spanish and Italian lexes share a considerable number of FAs (146 units, 30% of all items), which suggests that many FAs might be circulating somewhat freely from a language to another. From a neological point of view, resemanticization and, to a lesser extent, compounding are the two major processes by which the overwhelming majority of FAs appear in the three languages. The quantitative analysis also shows that the situation is contrasted: false Anglicization is a comparatively important feature of Anglicization in Italian, a language in which FAs in general and creative compounding and phraseologies in particular are relatively profuse, and, towards the other end of the cline, it is a somewhat minor feature of Anglicization in Spanish, a language which boasts relatively few unique FAs.

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James Walker

7 False Anglicisms in French: A measure of their acceptability for English speakers

Abstract: This article offers an opportunity to look, from a somewhat different angle, at an issue which has been the subject of a considerable amount of work in the literature (for example, Furiassi 2010; Humbley 2008; Walker 1998; Moss 1995), that of false Anglicisms, or pseudo-Anglicisms. It sets out the results of a survey conducted into the attitudes of learners of French as a foreign language with regard to the use of Anglicisms in that language. In so doing, we seek to provide a new critical take on the previously offered definitions of Anglicisms, and conclude that the distinction between true and false Anglicisms is inoperative for non-French speakers, as it arguably is for French speakers themselves, but that the distinction between luxury and necessary Anglicisms is almost certainly more pertinent and demanding of greater scrutiny.

This article is organised as follows: we offer first a brief review of previous attempts to delimit the notion of false Anglicism, with particular reference to French, illustrating the confusion that reigns in certain lexicographical treatments of the phenomenon and explaining the cause of such confusion. We then discuss a survey conducted to determine whether there is any mileage in changing perspective and taking speakers' attitude and awareness into account, before concluding, in the final section, that this may well be a dead-end.

Keywords: Anglicisms, false Anglicisms, French, lexicography, luxury Anglicisms, speakers' attitudes, true Anglicisms

1 True vs. false Anglicisms – an intractable problem?

There is very little need to rehearse a definition of false Anglicisms here, as it is something that has been much discussed in the literature, and for practically every major European language.[1] It will be necessary, however, to provide a schematic and relatively consensual working definition, whereby a false Anglicism, such as *footing* 'jogging', *autostop* 'hitchhiking' or *babyfoot* 'table football

1 See in particular Furiassi (in this volume), for an extensive discussion of the literature on a number of European languages.

or table soccer' in French, is a word which clearly bears all the hallmarks of having originated in English but which is not used by English speakers, either because the word is nonexistent in English or because it has a different denotatum in English and in French or whatever other language we may be referring to. A "true" Anglicism can, on this view, be defined negatively as any Anglicism which is not "false".

That this typology should have been so widely discussed comes as little surprise, when one takes into consideration the difficulties involved. One brief illustration of these difficulties is the manner in which the issue is handled in one of France's best-known and most widely used reference dictionaries, *Le Petit Robert*.[2] Apart from the ubiquity of this particular desktop dictionary in France, the other reason for choosing *Le Petit Robert* is that the starting point for this research was a comment in one of *Le Petit Robert*'s sister volumes, the *Dictionnaire des Anglicismes* (Rey-Debove and Gagnon 1990), as we will see shortly.

The entry for *anglicisme* in *Le Petit Robert* reads as follows:

> ANGLICISME : n.m. – 1652 ; du lat. médiév. *Anglicus*. Locution propre à la langue anglaise – Emprunt à la langue anglaise. (par extension à l'anglais d'Amérique → américanisme).

That is, an Anglicism is defined in about as broad a manner as is conceivable as an expression specific to English or a borrowing from that language. It is a definition which would seem to explicitly exclude false Anglicisms, which, as we have seen, are neither specific to English nor borrowings from English, at least not straightforwardly so. However, in the list of abbreviations and symbols given in the preface, explaining how the label "ANGLIC." will be used in entries, we read a much more normative take on things:

> mot anglais, de quelque provenance qu'il soit, employé en français et critiqué comme abusif ou inutile (les mots anglais employés depuis longtemps et normalement en français ne sont pas précédés de cette marque) [English word, irrespective of its origin, used in French and criticised as improper or unnecessary (English words which have been used for some time, and normally, in French, are not labelled in this way)].[3]

The "de quelque provenance que ce soit" may be an attempt to account for the many varieties of English where Anglicisms may have originated, but it may well equally be an attempt to nod in the direction of false Anglicisms, as the notion of Anglicism is thus explicitly detached from its origin. Matters, however,

2 All of the examples cited here are taken from the online version of *Le Petit Robert* (2014).

3 As far as I can ascertain, this has been the beautifully imprecise wording of the preface since the inception of the dictionary, as it figures as such in all of the successive paper versions I have been able to consult.

are not entirely clear, and specifically, there is no explicit indication that false Anglicisms might constitute a category recognised by the dictionary. Nevertheless, in a certain number of entries, we find the label "FAUX ANGLIC.". Indeed, the policy of *Le Petit Robert* seems somewhat confused, as we find "FAUX ANGLICISME" sometimes employed as a usage label, as in the case of *recordman*, example (1):

(1) recordman [ʀ(ə)kɔʀdman] nom masculin
ÉTYM. 1883 ◊ de record et anglais man « homme »
■ FAUX ANGLIC. Détenteur d'un record. → champion. Des recordmans. On dit aussi des recordmen [ʀ(ə)kɔʀdmɛn] (d'après l'angl.)

At other times, the same label is found as part of the etymology, as with *collector*, example (2), where, as is so often the case with *Le Petit Robert*, there is no explicit indication that the given example is made up rather than being a quotation, with the result that this latter noun is both an Anglicism and a false Anglicism:

(2) collector [kɔlɛktɔʀ] nom masculin
ÉTYM. 1989 ◊ faux anglicisme, de l'anglais collector's item « objet de collection »
[. . .]
■ ANGLIC. Objet commercial à diffusion limitée, recherché par les collectionneurs. Cet album pourrait devenir un collector. Des collectors.

To complicate matters still further, the same dictionary also uses the label *pseudo-anglicisme*, as for *tennisman*, example (3):

(3) tennisman [tenisman] nom masculin
ÉTYM. 1903 ◊ pseudo-anglicisme sur le modèle de sportsman; de tennis et man « homme »
[. . .] ■ Joueur de tennis. Des tennismans. On dit aussi des tennismen [tenismɛn] (d'après l'anglais).[4]

4 The full list of false Anglicism entries in *Le Petit Robert* reads as follows: ("faux anglicisme" as a usage label) *pin's*, *recordman*, *recordwoman*, *rugbyman*, *scrapbooking*, *speakerine*, *sponsorisation*, *sponsoriser*, *surbooking*; ("faux anglicisme" in the etymology) *collector*, *coming out*, *hype*, *scratch*. As far as I can ascertain, *tennisman* is an outlier inasmuch as it is the only word to be called "pseudo-anglicisme".

The foregoing should not be seen as a criticism of what is a very fine dictionary, but more as further illustration of the difficulties inherent in what Gottlieb (2004: 45) memorably refers to as a "buccaneering category". To further illustrate the difficulties inherent in this typology, we take four examples from French, i.e. *leader*, *square*, *pressing* and *golf*.

Within the category of what we have called "true" Anglicisms, we can, following Pergnier (1989: 54), distinguish a continuum, the two extremities of which are illustrated by the words *leader* and *square*. In the first instance, the French signified is to be found entirely in English. In other words, there is no meaning of the French word *leader* which does not appear to have been borrowed from English or to have followed the same diachronic semantic development as its English counterpart. The same holds true of *square*, which is never used in French in a sense which is unknown in English. There is, however, an important difference, as in the first case, there are very few meanings in English which do not find their way into French, and those which do not tend to be technical in nature, i.e. a horticultural term referring to "a shoot which grows at the apex of the stem" (*OED*) or, in fireworks, a "quick match enclosed in a paper tube for the purpose of conveying fire rapidly" (*OED*). We can illustrate this situation as follows, Figure 1:

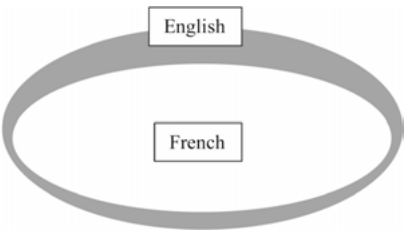

Figure 1: leader

The outer ellipse represents the English signified of *leader*, the inner ellipse that of the French. The latter is contained within the former and the sizes are similar.

The case of *square*, on the other hand, is rather different. In French, the word has the meaning of 'small public garden', which is only one of a huge array of uses of the word in English, where it can be verb, noun, adverb and adjective, and in each case is highly polysemic, with 18 nominal, 12 adjectival, 13 verbal and 5 adverbial primary senses, according to the *OED*, a situation which can be represented in Figure 2:

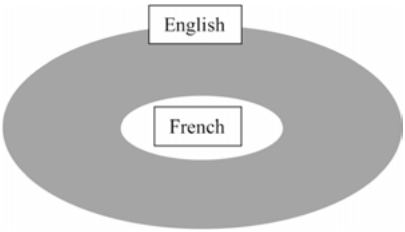

Figure 2: square

A true Anglicism, therefore, can be represented by two concentric ellipses of variable sizes in which the French ellipsis is to be found within the English. This variability, however, raises the question, which will remain unaddressed here, of whether some Anglicisms are truer than others.

Reversing the polarity of the negative definition referred to above, we can say that all other configurations can be classed as false Anglicisms. There are two other possible configurations, the first of which can be represented by the word *pressing*, Figure 3. This signifier exists in both languages, but the respective denotata are separate. For the Anglophone, it is a deverbal noun or adjective, in other words a noun or adjective derived from a verb, in addition of course to being a verbal form, whereas for the French speaker, it is a noun meaning *dry cleaner's*. There is no overlap between the two, and the same holds true of *footing* and *speaker*, for instance:

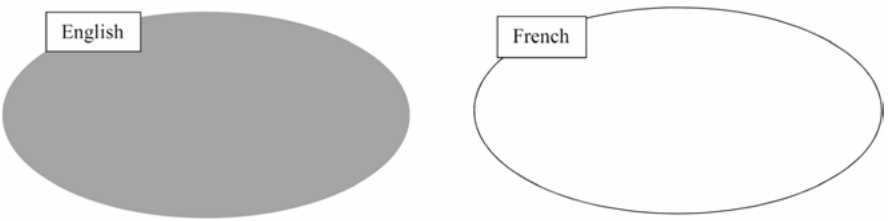

Figure 3: pressing

And as regards cases such as *baby-foot* or *tennisman*, the situation is even clearer, since there is no English signifier, and were these to be the only possibilities, matters would indeed be relatively simple: embedded ellipses = true Anglicism, separate ellipses, or no English ellipse = false Anglicism.

Fortunately for the category-loving linguist, life is not so simple. Take the word *golf*. At first blush, it would seem to be a simple, and true, Anglicism,

with a meaning shared by the languages. The problem here is that its French senses are in fact more numerous than its English. In the latter case, *golf* refers to a sport, and no more than that. For the French, it is a sport, the place where the sport is played and even, though the usage is somewhat dated, an item of clothing used for playing golf (equivalent to *plus fours*). This metonymic extension, which is very common in borrowings from English (consider, for instance, *bowling*, *dancing*, *practice*, etc.)[5] means that the English signified is embedded within the French, as in Figure 4:

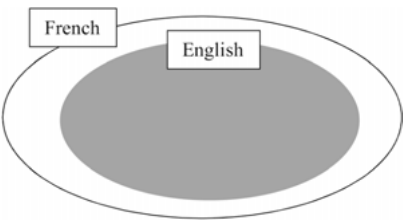

Figure 4: golf

When faced with these complexities, one solution might be to reject the whole dichotomy altogether as being inoperative. If one were being cynical, one might wish to say that this is a dichotomy which is pleasing for linguists to study, but which has no substantial association with actual language usage or behaviour and is therefore little more than butterfly collection. Furthermore, as was demonstrated in Walker (1998: 94–120), French speakers do not make any discernible distinction between true and false Anglicisms. In a survey wherein French speakers were asked to judge whether a series of Anglicisms were English or French words, there was no statistical difference between the two categories, and the author concludes that the true/false dichotomy should be dispensed with.[6]

Before the dichotomy is given up altogether, however, there is perhaps another avenue worth exploring. The attempts at defining false Anglicisms, as

5 There is of course the argument that what we are dealing with is the elision in each case of a true Anglicism, with *bowling (alley)*, *dancing (hall)*, *practice (course)* etc., but this runs up against the fact that there is no evidence that the full forms were ever borrowed into French and that we are therefore positing the existence of the ellipsis of a form which never existed *per se*.

6 It could equally be argued, of course (Furiassi 2010: 119–121) that this is precisely the reason why the distinction should be examined in further detail.

set out before, have not made any reference to the speakers of the respective languages, still less to the attitudes that speakers of the respective languages may have and the light such attitudes might throw on our definition. This is not to say that such reflections are entirely absent from the literature. Rey-Debove and Gagnon (1990: vi), in the preface to their dictionary of Anglicisms, on the subject of false Anglicisms, state the following:

> Ainsi avons-nous inventé *recordman, footing, moto-cross, pressing, brushing, auto-stop*, qui ont le double défaut d'avoir une forme anglaise et de n'être pas anglais, ce qui est choquant pour les personnes bilingues, et ridicule pour tout le monde. [We therefore invented *recordman, footing, moto-cross, pressing, brushing, auto-stop*, which have the double defect of having an English appearance while not being English. This is shocking for bilinguals and ridiculous for everybody.]

Behind this rather uncharacteristically sweeping statement with its normative undertones lies another possibility – one that is also picked up on by Serianni (1987: ix, quoted in Furiassi 2010: 24), who writes of false Anglicisms that they are "vocaboli molto comuni che un inglese o une americano non capirebbero, almeno nell'accezione in cui sono usati in Italia" [very common words that an Englishman or an American would not understand, at least not with the meaning given to them in Italy] – that it might be possible to categorise false Anglicisms using a speaker-based analysis, either attitudinal in nature, as Rey-Debove and Gagnon hint at, or by making some form of appeal to speakers' knowledge or awareness, as does Serrianni. Rather than attempting a categorisation based on purely linguistic data, examining the morphology, diachrony and so on, which is possibly destined to founder on the rocks of complexity, is there any mileage in exploring speakers' reactions to Anglicisms, to see whether there is any life yet in the false/true dichotomy?

2 An attitudinal survey

The majority of work on false Anglicisms, it would appear to me, has been typological, categorising work, attempting to draw a boundary around the phenomenon, and has almost always, for reasons that are quite evident, focused on the receiving language and its speakers. There have been occasional discussions on the attitudes of receiving-language speakers towards Anglicisms in general and false Anglicisms in particular, for instance Walker (1998). Very few studies, to my knowledge however, have attempted to explore matters from the opposite

perspective, i.e. that of native speakers of the "giving language". Serianni (1987), cited above, is a possible exception. The following survey takes a further step in that direction.

Attitude is not an easy term to define, and it is one that social psychologists debate intensely,[7] and we shall therefore content ourselves with a pre-theoretical and generally consensual notion, a kind of non-technical use of attitude, wherein attitude is a latent, i.e. not directly observable, mental disposition to react favourably or disfavourably towards a given object. One means of accessing an individual's attitude is through eliciting explicit comment. In an attempt to see whether there might be some advantage in using attitude as at least a factor in a typology of false Anglicisms, the following brief questionnaire, containing only seven questions, was conducted. Not all of those questions will be discussed here. The questionnaire was a written survey conducted using a *Google Docs* form and sent out to acquaintances and friends of acquaintances. A total of 96 questionnaires were collected in this fashion. The condition for participation was to be a speaker of English, a learner of French as a second language with some experience of living in France. The biographical data of the respondents, i.e. gender, age, self-declared competence in French and time spent in French-speaking countries, is summarised in Table 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively:

Table 1: Gender

males	20,8%
females	79,2%

Table 2: Age

18–25	45,8%
26–40	33,3%
40–59	10,4%
more than 60	10,5%

7 Alexandre (1996: 23) reports that in the journal *Psychological Abstracts*, which collects articles, books, monographs and other publications in the fields of psychology and social psychology, the word *attitude* features in no fewer than 20,209 titles from 1970 to 1979, and a further 14,120 from 1983 to 1988. Myers and Lamarche (1992: 41) explain that "l'étude des attitudes est centrale en psychologie sociale et constitue historiquement l'une de ses premières occupations." [the study of attitudes is central to the field of social psychology and is historically one of its chief preoccupations.]

Table 3: Self-declared competence in French

native-like fluency	42,5%
very good	36,3%
good	14,4%
"I get by"	6,8%

Table 4: Time spent in French-speaking countries

7 months–1 year	35,4%
1–2 years	30,2%
3–5 years	8,3%
6 years or more	26,1%

All of the usual caveats about sample size and distribution apply, of course, as do those about the reliability of self-declarative features such as language competence. The gender imbalance is not deemed to be a problem as this was not a factor under investigation, and seems intuitively unlikely to have any bearing on the results, as was also demonstrated by Walker (1998: 115) in the aforementioned study of the attitudes of French speakers. As regards the other autobiographical data given here, the decision was taken, for this initial survey, not to look at correlations with other answers, because the numbers involved are insufficient to suggest firm conclusions. This may well be an avenue for further investigation, depending on the other results of the survey, discussed below.

The aim of the first question was to see whether speakers of English with knowledge of French have different reactions to false and real Anglicisms. A total of twenty-five lexical Anglicisms were chosen at random from existing studies, comprising some that are false under the definitions examined in the first part of this article, and others that are true Anglicisms. The randomisation of the choice explains why there is not an equal number in each category (11 true, 14 false). In Table 5, true Anglicisms appear in bold type. The respondents were asked, for each of the words, whether they had ever encountered the word in question and, if they had, what the likelihood was that they would themselves use it when speaking French. The means for each category appear at the bottom of the table. The final row will be discussed later.

Table 5: Randomly-chosen Anglicisms[8]

Anglicisms	never encountered (number of respondents)	heard but would not use (number of respondents)	used sometimes (number of respondents)	used often (number of respondents)
tennisman	60	17	7	12
en off	60	21	10	5
footing	21	31	33	10
flipper	33	26	26	10
hard discount	**62**	**17**	**14**	**0**
low cost	**33**	**17**	**29**	**17**
kitchenette	17	21	48	7
(c'est un peu) short	40	31	17	7
football	**2**	**2**	**21**	**69**
lifté	64	21	7	2
(ça va être) just	17	29	31	19
autostop	26	17	38	14
(il est) clean	31	43	12	10
(elle est) crazy	**48**	**24**	**7**	**14**
(j'ai) flippé	31	26	21	17
un must	**36**	**24**	**19**	**17**
news	**24**	**19**	**29**	**24**
no comment	**26**	**38**	**14**	**17**
overdose	**36**	**17**	**19**	**24**
peanuts	**60**	**10**	**12**	**14**
cool	**0**	**2**	**6**	**64**
c'est fashion	48	36	12	0
zapping	19	31	24	21
number one	29	31	24	12
casting	31	12	31	21
mean	34.2	22.5	20.4	15.8
mean "false Anglicisms"	35.6	25.9	22.6	11.1
mean "true Anglicisms"	32.4	18.3	17.6	21.8
mean "luxury Anglicisms" *off*, *short*, *clean*, *crazy*, *news*, *no comment*, *peanuts*, *fashion*, *number one*	40.2	27	15.6	12.7

It appears – even without the aid of statistical testing – that the mean values of each category are not statistically different, depending on whether we are faced with a true or a false Anglicism. This impression is borne out by the Stu-

8 The totals in each line do not add up to 96 (number of respondents) because respondents occasionally failed to provide an answer.

dent's t-test, which shows no statistical difference between the two groups of items.[9]

The same continues to hold true if the last two categories are collapsed into one, i.e. if we oppose some use, however slight, on one hand, to a refusal to use or an unawareness of the term on the other.[10] This result would seem to indicate that English speakers do not make a distinction between false Anglicisms and others, at least in terms of their declared usage.

The items chosen made it possible to test a further hypothesis, one that calls for a brief return to the typological discussion above, to focus on a category of Anglicisms which have sometimes been termed "anglicismes de luxe" (Bannenberg 2006: 11; Rey-Debove 1997: 95). This term refers to an Anglicism which is manifestly not being used because of some form of lexical gaps in French causing a need for the borrowing, but for purely stylistic, social and/or interpersonal reasons. An example of this is the use of the word *news* in contemporary French, which is very common on television and in the print media, and sits alongside other pre-existing French words such as *nouvelles*, *actualité* or *bulletin*, conveying no semantic nuance other than its use as a symbol of Englishness. It might be hypothesised that English-speaking learners of French are sensitive to this superfluousness but, while the means given are slightly higher than those for the previous categories, they still fail to attain statistical significance.[11]

Question 2, "if you answered "heard but would not use" to any of the questions above, can you explain why?" was an open question, with an 82% response rate, which provided qualitative rather than quantitative data. The intention was to ascertain whether there is any truth in the idea that false Anglicisms somehow stand out for learners of French, in the way that Rey-Debove suggests above. The results show that respondents made no overt distinction between the two categories, something which the answers to question 1, just discussed, should in fact mean is no surprise. In the examples quoted as having to be avoided, there was an equal number of each of the categories we have characterised as true and false. For instance, regarding *no comment*, we read

9 A t-test is a method for establishing the degree to which two sets of data can be said to be statistically different from one another. The outcome of the test is known as the p-value, and it is conventional to regard a p-value of 0.05 or less as indicating statistical significance. In this case, the result was a p-value of 0.675, indicating no significant difference.

10 The same test returns a value of 0.667 in this case.

11 I am aware of the danger of circularity in the experimental protocol being used here, inasmuch as the categorisation of a loan as a luxury or as a necessity is probably dependent, to a certain degree, on the speaker's attitude. The Student's t-test results, for the luxury vs. necessary distinction, are identical (0.88) when all four categories are taken together and when the final two categories are collapsed together.

"There is a French equivalent that I "like better" and would more readily use – such as "pas de commentaires". However, there were an equal number of similar comments for false Anglicisms such as *footing*: "To me, (being an Anglophone) saying "faire un/du footing" feels very artificial, since it is created from an English word. I would say "faire du jogging" or "courir" instead.[12]

The majority of respondents did not refer to any particular example, thus making it impossible to determine whether they see any difference between the two categories, or perhaps making it possible to claim that they do not see any difference between them. Examples of responses of this kind include: "because I think these words just sound silly, and I don't like mis-pronouncing English words. An Anglophone pronouncing English words with a French accent is a bit much". Indeed, in more than one case, there was the seemingly paradoxical suggestion that these Anglicisms are in fact too authentically French to be used by an Anglophone:

> They're franglicisms and I'd feel inauthentic if I used them. I've encountered these words in French media and find them accessible, as a native English speaker, and pretty amusing, but they seem to be "intended for" native French speakers in that they're insider language for French speakers who also speak/use/understand English.

Question 3 continued to probe the degree to which English speakers reject Anglicisms by asking "for each of the following pairs of words, state which you would be more likely to use" and presenting the following pairs:

1. *tennisman*/*joueur de tennis* (false Anglicism)
2. *news*/*nouvelles* (true Anglicism – luxury Anglicism)
3. *weekend*/*congé de fin de semaine* (true Anglicism – well integrated)
4. *short*/*serré* (false Anglicism)
5. *fun*/*s'amuser* (true Anglicism)

The results are summarized in Table 6:

Table 6: Likelihood of use of French equivalents

tennisman	15%	*dernières news*	87%	*weekend*	94%	*un peu short*	12%	*pour le fun*	17%
joueur de tennis	79%	*dernières nouvelles*	6%	*congé de fin de semaine*	0%	*un peu serré*	82%	*pour s'amuser*	77%
did not answer	6%	*did not answer*	7%	*did not answer*	6%	*did not answer*	6%	*did not answer*	6%

12 It is hard to judge whether the respondent objects to *footing* but is happy with *jogging* because the former is a creation and the latter a borrowing. If this were the case, it would be strong evidence, without wishing to anticipate too much, that would go counter to the conclusion set out in the final section of this article.

These figures clearly demonstrate that there is a strong tendency, on the part of English-speaking learners of French, to avoid not only the false Anglicisms included here, but also the more salient luxury Anglicisms represented by *news* and *fun*. The only exception is *weekend*, indisputably a completely integrated Anglicism whose alternative is so rare as to perhaps be unknown to learners of French. While the number of items included here is of course insufficient for drawing any firm conclusions, they nevertheless point towards the same conclusion as in the first question – the difference between false and true Anglicisms is not particularly salient for our population.[13]

Question 4 approached the question of salience from a different perspective, asking respondents "on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is the most French and 5 most unlike French, how would you score the following words?"

The proposed list contained two false Anglicisms, *lifté*[14] and *autostop*, three true Anglicisms, *shopping*, *kitchenette* and *cool*, one luxury Anglicism, *no comment*, and one red herring, *international*, used to determine to what degree the answers provided could be trusted. Despite the small-scale nature of the survey reported on here, it remains sound methodology to include decoy answers in any questionnaire, and as will become apparent in the ensuing discussion, in this case it proved providential – although not necessarily for the benefit of the solidity of any conclusions to be expounded in the final section. The results are shown in Table 7:

Table 7: Degree of "Frenchness" of selected Anglicisms[15]

Anglicisms	1	2	3	4	5
lifté	11	19	28	19	17
shopping	4	15	40	15	17
international	38	21	9	9	17
no comment	15	0	6	13	60
autostop	17	36	21	11	9
kitchenette	13	19	36	15	9
cool	11	23	38	9	13

13 The low number of items in the survey was chosen as a deliberate attempt not to place too heavy a burden on respondents. Sailing a course between the Charybdis of a lengthy questionnaire that discourages participation and the Scylla of a lightweight questionnaire which makes conclusions hazardous is an almost impossible task.

14 Whether *lifté* is understood as a sporting term, e.g. *un revers lifté* 'a backhand with topspin', or as a cosmetic term, e.g. *une femme liftée* 'a woman who has undergone a facelift', it remains a false Anglicism in both cases.

15 The totals in each line do not add up to 96 (number of respondents) because respondents occasionally failed to provide an answer.

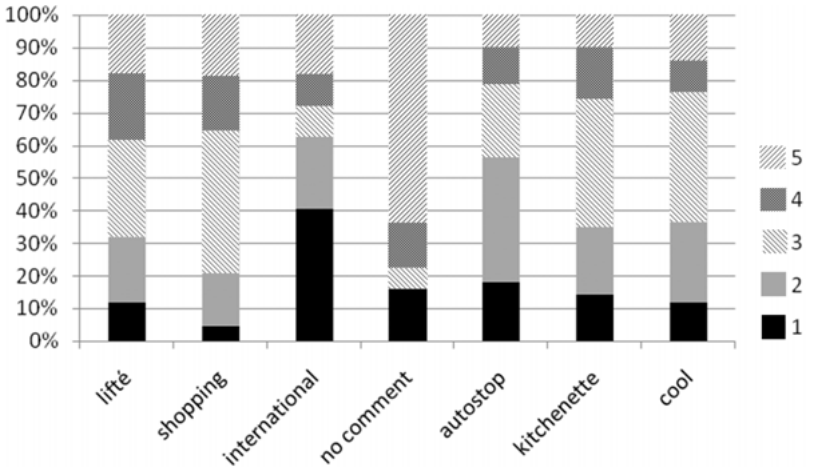

Figure 5: Degree of "Frenchness" of selected Anglicisms

There is no statistically significant difference between the true and the false Anglicisms here either,[16] but contrary to previous questions, where luxury Anglicisms are not distinguished, the result for *no comment* is significantly different, and the luxury Anglicism stands out as being particularly "non-French", as graphically represented in Figure 5.

This is in line with intuition, and the fact that it counterevidences previous answers is worthy of reflection. Great care must be taken, however, with these figures, as there must be every suspicion that the question was misunderstood. It is hard, for instance, to conceive of how the same proportion of speakers may have deemed *international* to be "unlike French" as *lifté* or *shopping*. Although the word *international* is, from one perspective, indeed an Anglicism, as it was first attested in French in the translation by Etienne Dumont (1802) of Jeremy Bentham's *An Introduction to the principles of morals and legislation*, its Latinate etymology surely means it is better analysed as an internationalism than as an Anglicism. Despite this, more than a quarter of respondents classed it 4 or 5 on the scale, and therefore as quite or very un-French, surely an anomalous result.

3 Conclusion

It is important, first of all, to note a number of deficiencies and weaknesses in this survey, though it should be stressed once again that the intention here was to conduct a pilot survey to determine whether this might be a fruitful path for

16 The independent two-sample Student's t-test returns a result of 0.964.

future research. The first observation is that the size of the survey is insufficient for any definitive conclusions, be they statistical or more qualitative in nature, to be drawn. The second is that any follow-up study might gain from not only looking at the true vs. false distinction, but should equally focus on the question of necessary vs. luxury Anglicisms. For instance, *no comment* is not a false Anglicism, in fact by almost any definition it comes as close as possible to being a pure Anglicism, and yet appears to be the only outlier in any of the foregoing discussions.

What transpires most clearly from the work presented here is that definitions which refer, in some shape or form, to speakers' attitude are of little help in our classificatory endeavours. The original quotation by Rey-Debove and Gagnon (1990: vi), "choquant pour les personnes bilingues, et ridicule pour tout le monde", repeated here for the sake of convenience, is therefore not only curiously normative for a linguist, but is in fact simply incorrect. English learners of French do not make any discernible distinction between false and true Anglicisms. Similarly, definitions which refer to what a native speaker might or might not understand, such as that proposed by Furiassi (2010), among others, are sketchy at best.

There are, it seems to me, two possible conclusions to be drawn from this. The weaker of the two is simply to observe that the whole true vs. false dichotomy is fraught with difficulty and deserves to be handled with care. A second, more radical conclusion is that the dichotomy should be dispensed with altogether, as it does not reflect language awareness, a state of affairs only compounded by the fact that appeals to speakers' knowledge or behaviour provide no means of resolution.[17]

However, there may be a way of hanging on to the distinction, which would involve reducing any attempts at definition to purely linguistic criteria, namely etymology, morphology, orthography, etc., explicitly ignoring any other aspects. This slightly less radical solution appears preferable in this instance. After all, it is an incontrovertible truth that languages other than English have developed lexical items that owe nothing to lexical borrowing as such, but to some form of cultural borrowing. In other words, false Anglicisms exist, but perhaps should not be seen as a linguistic phenomenon, or even as a social phenomenon, but as a cultural marker. To dispense with the dichotomy altogether deprives us of a

17 This of course prejudges the deeper epistemological question of whether any typology should attempt to reflect explicit knowledge or behaviour, or whether these latter are extraneous detail. That is a matter for another article. Nailing my colours to my mast, my sense is that if linguists do not take native-speaker awareness into account, then they are not attempting to account for the whole phenomenon of language.

tool for describing the cultural reasons that doubtless lie behind their creation. The key question is less what speaker attitudes to these items are than how to describe and account for the cultural processes which lead to this kind of creation which, in a final flourish, we might want to call endogenous Anglicity.

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Brian Mott

8 The rise of the English *-ing* form in Modern Spanish: A source of pseudo-Anglicisms

Abstract: Spanish has been borrowing vocabulary from English since the emergence of Britain as a world power in the nineteenth century with the concurrent development of the Industrial Revolution. This process reached its zenith in the second half of the twentieth century. One of the most noticeable phenomena in this area in recent years is the marked increase in the number of *-ing* forms appearing in Spanish, these ranging from the more serious to the blatantly humoristic, owing to the frequency and salience of this morphological type in the donor language. Not all of these words, however, are *bona fide* English items. Apart from obvious direct borrowings, like *phishing* and *ranking*, there are inventions such as *lifting* ← *face-lift*, *parking disuasorio* ← *park and ride*, *footing* (occasionally found as *fúting*), meaning 'jogging' (via French), and even new creations based on a Spanish stem, like *puenting* 'bungee jumping', *metring* 'riding on the back of underground trains', *tumbing* 'lying around', *Vueling*®, the name of a Spanish airline, and, with a Spanish/English prefix, *ecomárketing*, meaning 'green marketing'. This study proposes to examine these neologisms from the point of view of their spelling, pronunciation, gender, countability, morphological and semantic development, collocations, and ontological category (e.g. ACTIVITY → PLACE, ACTIVITY → THING), keeping in mind that some of them may be instances of pseudo-Anglicization in the Spanish language.

Keywords: contrastive linguistics, English gerund, English influence, *-ing* forms, lexicology, linguistic borrowing, pseudo-Anglicisms, Spanish

1 Introduction

With the emergence of Britain as a world power in the nineteenth century and the growth of the Industrial Revolution, there was a commensurate influence of the English language on other European languages, including Spanish. This developed slowly in the early twentieth century, only to be brought to a complete halt in Spain by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, which engendered a consequent increase in chauvinism encouraged by General Franco and

his rebel troops after the military coup against the Second Republic on the 17th–18th July of that year. Although Franco's main obsession was the idea that a Jewish-Bolshevistic-Masonic conspiracy was threatening to undermine Spain, in fact any opposition to the establishment in the form of progressive liberalism was seen as a danger to the integrity of the nation. English was an obvious vehicle for this kind of thinking. However, from 1950 onwards, English once again came to the fore and spread its influence even more rapidly in the 1960s with the massive increase in the number of British tourists visiting Spain's coastal areas, though not without stubborn resistance from the attitudes of *casticista*, i.e. 'purist', Spain as embodied in the very popular, conservative weekly *ABC* or the writings of the historian and diplomat Salvador de Madariaga in the late 1960s (Smith 1989: 121–122). All this was reminiscent of the protest against Gallicisms in Spanish from the late 18th to the end of the 19th century. Anyhow, by the end of the 1960s, tired of hearing their parents repeating stories of the hardships of the Civil War, Spanish youth were beginning to rebel and seek change that would bring them into line with the rest of Europe: young Spanish men were wearing long hair and jeans, and the girls sported the mini-skirt. The impact of this external influence reached its full height in the 1970s through the effect of pop music (which Spaniards referred to as "la música ye-ye") and Anglo-American culture in general. There was a corresponding change of lifestyle and way of thinking, the so-called *transculturación*, though much has also been made of the negative aspects of this cultural hegemony, especially as far as the predominance of American values is concerned. Detractors thus began to use the facetious term *cocacolonización* (from English *coca-colonization*) to refer to the invasion of other parts of the world by American culture as typified by the availability of the drink *Coca-Cola*™.

But music, fashion and mass tourism, with its concomitant effect on the language of hotel management and car rental services, are not the only channels by which Anglicisms reached Spain. Many other fields have been the medium for the importation of extraneous forms from the English language, namely interior design and decorating, sport, telecommunications, the press, the cinema, commerce, computer technology, which has moved from the work sphere into people's homes, and, not least, the economic, political and scientific preponderance of English-speaking countries. Above all, it is in the sphere of advertising that the Anglicism has had most impact, not just in product names but also in the words used to describe those products.

Regarding the linguistic issues most relevant to Spain, which are the subject of this study, it is noticeable that recent times have witnessed an appreciable increase in the number of words ending in *-ing*, either borrowed into Spanish from English or created within the language using existing Spanish or English

stems. While such forms have attracted some attention sporadically in various publications – for example, Náñez Fernández (1973) and Riquelme (1998: 80), who devotes a short paragraph to them – it appears that no more detailed study of this morphological class has been attempted to date. Often corresponding to what are or would be infinitival forms in Spanish, these *-ing* forms tend to fit into the ontological categories PROCESS, ACTIVITY or EVENT, and range from the serious to the humoristic, in some cases generating pseudo-Anglicisms (see Furiassi 2010).

As the use of written accents on the stems of English *-ing* forms in Spanish is arbitrary, the words quoted in this article will generally be reproduced without them, even if variation exists in the orthography, unless there is a marked preference for the accented form (as is often the case in long words).

2 Spelling and pronunciation

The original English spelling of *-ing* forms is usually retained, particularly nowadays because of the increase in the number of Spanish speakers who are familiar with English, though Alfaro (1970: 93), an early anthology of Anglicisms in American Spanish compiled in a critical, disapproving vein, gives mainly Spanish versions: *bérins* 'bearings' (Spanish *cojinetes*), *güeldin* 'welding' (Spanish *soldadura*), alongside forms with partial Spanish morphology like *filmación* 'filming, shooting'. For the same reason, highly idiosyncratic Hispanicized spellings are much less common than they used to be. Thus, today one rarely sees *esmoquin*, *eslipin*, *estanding*, *estrikin/estriquin*, *fúting* and the lesser known *bording (jaus)*, all of which have been replaced by *smoking*, *sleeping*, *standing*, *streaking*, *footing* and *boarding house*, respectively. Accented forms like *cámping* and *antidóping* are also becoming less usual as Spanish gives in to the pressure of Anglicization. However, as Spanish makes only limited use of double letters (for example, across morpheme boundaries: *innato* 'innate', in which both nasals are pronounced in Spanish, but not in English), these are sometimes ignored even in English adoptions, like *planing* = *planning*, *zaping* = *zapping*, or even misapplied, as in *dopping* = *doping*, where the single consonant in English indicates that the stressed vowel is long.

Occasionally, differential spellings are used for different meanings. Thus, *mitin* is used more in the context of politics, while *meeting* is applied to athletics (Rodríguez González 2002: 137). In the same paragraph, Rodríguez González also quotes the case of *legging* 'female article of clothing' and *legui* 'a type of shorter leggings for men' (military jargon). The Spanish plural ending *-es*, which is used

after consonants, may be attached to short words, e.g. *mítines* ← *mitin*, but words of three syllables or more, e.g. *esmokin* (*smoking*), usually just add <s>, e.g. *esmokins* (*smokings*). In this latter case, note too how the prothetic [e-] which Spanish speakers prefix to English words beginning with <s> + consonant is also often reflected in the spelling.

Regarding Spanish pronunciation of the suffix *-ing* itself, although there is a tendency for Spanish speakers to produce the final nasal as alveolar in keeping with the limitations imposed by their own phonological system, velar [ŋ] is no longer uncommon today owing to the recent spread of English teaching, which means that many Spanish people are now aware that in careful pronunciation of the ending by native speakers the velar nasal is used. On the other hand, it is still very common for the stem of English words to be Hispanicized: *catering* [ˈkaterin] instead of the more correct [ˈkeɪtərɪŋ], or [ˈkeɪtəɹɪŋ] with an English type of [r], and *funding* [ˈfundin] for the standard English pronunciation [ˈfʌndɪŋ]. This last word is also pronounced [ˈfandin], and an approximation to the English pronunciation is likewise found in *brainstorming* [ˈbreinstorˌmin], *brushing* [ˈbraʃin, ˈbroʃin] and *piercing* [ˈpirsin]. A corpus of spoken Spanish consulted by Gómez Capuz (2001: 59) revealed that a Hispanicized pronunciation for Anglicisms was used in only 11.27% of cases, thus confirming that more recent Anglicisms in Spanish are oral acquisitions, since "si la vía de entrada es escrita, se pronuncia como si la palabra fuera española; si la vía de entrada es oral, se intenta imitar la pronunciación inglesa." (Gómez Capuz 2001: 53) [if adoption is through the written language, the word is pronounced as if it were Spanish; if adoption is oral, there is an attempt to imitate the English pronunciation.].

As regards the stress pattern used by Spanish speakers on English adoptions ending in *-ing*, this does not seem to be too much of a problem (at least as far as disyllabic words are concerned), since Spanish speakers are apparently aware that this suffix does not attract stress and the primary stress must therefore be placed on the stem.

3 Gender and countability

As far as grammatical gender is concerned, when English nouns ending in *-ing* are taken into Spanish, they are usually assigned masculine gender, e.g. *el jogging*, *el surfing*, although sometimes there is vacillation, as in the case of *el/la action painting*, owing to the fact that a literal Spanish translation possesses a feminine noun as head of the phrase, in this case *la pintura*, as in *la Pintura de*

Acción). In the *Wikipedia* entry for *Action Painting*, we actually find the term *Action Painting* used with both genders, first the masculine, and then, a little later in the text – in fact less than two hundred words below – the feminine: "El *Action Painting* tiene sus orígenes en las creaciones automáticas de los surrealistas [...]. La *action painting* fue la tendencia que más influyó en la segunda generación del expresionismo abstracto [...]." [*Action Painting* originates with the automatic creations of the surrealists [...]. *Action painting* was the trend that most influenced the second generation of abstract expressionism [...].].

On the question of countability, it should be noted that *-ing* nouns as used in English are highly variable. Those which can refer to a single instance of an action, like *beating*, *bombing*, *serving* and *shooting*, tend to be used countably, where appropriate. Spanish shows greater flexibility in the area of countability, with the result that many *-ing* forms that are uncountable in the source language, or have simply been constructed on the basis of the source language, are used countably in the host language: *un antidóping* 'a drugs test', *tres dopings positivos* 'three positive drugs tests', *holdings* 'holding companies', *dribblings* 'dribbles', *leasings* 'leases', *servicios de un catering* 'services of a catering firm', *loopings* 'loops' (aviation, acrobatics). This freedom concerning countability in Spanish applies to other morphemes like *-ismo*, too. English allows some plural forms with *-ism* like *Anglicisms*, *Gallicisms* and *mannerisms*, but pluralization of *-ismo* nouns is far more frequent in Spanish, e.g. *localismos* 'local words', *intrusismos* 'interference', *formalismos* 'bureaucracy' (for more examples, see Mott and Mateo 2009: 170), in keeping with the overall tendency of Spanish to make ample use of countability, as is manifest in expressions like *encontrar dificultades* 'to get into trouble', *conflictos* 'fighting', *consejos* 'advice' (for more examples, see Mott and Mateo 2009: 283–291).

4 Morphology

Many *-ing* forms in Spanish are direct borrowings from English with no change in their morphological composition. Examples are *catering*, *ranking* and *phishing*, an altered form of *fishing* with an idiosyncratic spelling to underline the fact that it represents a special use of the term. Compare *phat*, probably a rewritten form of *fat*, originally from black slang (African American Vernacular English), whose spelling has been modified for similar reasons and whose meaning now ranges over a whole hyperbolic area covered by terms like *great* and *terrific*, or even just *very attractive* or *fashionable*. But sometimes, translations are made or Hispanicized versions are created, and these may coexist with the English ones, as is

the case of *piragüismo* = *canoeing* and *antidopaje* = *antidoping*. In other cases, the original English form may not be used as an alternative in Spanish: *flirteo* ← *flirting*, *filmación* ← *filming* (*shooting*), though Spanish speakers do seem to prefer *hacer zapping* to *zapeo* and the verb *zapear*. In English, *channel-hopping* and *channel-surfing* are also common for this meaning.

Certain forms which look as if they are direct borrowings from English are in fact pseudo-Anglicisms, words used in the host language with a meaning different to that of the original English word, some of which are creations based on English but inherited via French, e.g. *footing*, *brushing*, *smoking*, *pressing*, *antidoping*. And, it must be added, not all of these necessarily fill a gap in the host language. For example, Lázaro Carreter (2003: 351) objects to *pressing*, meaning 'to put on the pressure' in sport, because of the existence of Spanish *acoso* and *acosar*, while admitting that *presión* or use of the verb *presionar* might be too weak an equivalent in the context: "[. . .] se puede presionar, tal vez, sin hacer *pressing*." [[. . .] one can pressurize perhaps without the implications of *pressing*'.]. Apart from the cases of Spanish suffixes attached to the English stem that have been mentioned, there is at least one instance of prefixation in Spanish that does not coincide with the *-ing* form used in English, i.e. *ecomárketing* 'green marketing'.

Of special interest are the linguistic inventions with a Spanish stem + *-ing*. Probably the commonest of these is *puenting* 'bungee jumping', based on Spanish *puente* 'bridge', and the least common is, no doubt, *cuerding* (Riquelme 1998: 87), with the same meaning, and based on Spanish *cuerda* 'rope, string'. The English form *bungee jumping* 'jumping off a bridge or high building' has also produced an expression modelled on it, *bungee salting* (Spanish *saltar* meaning 'to jump'), to refer to an activity in which children jump on a trampoline while lifted high into the air by elastic bungee straps (also called *bungee jumping* and *bungee trampolín*). The term *panching* ← *pancha* 'belly' (Catalan *panxing*) has become popular on the Catalan coasts as it refers to sunbathing, presumably with reference to lying face up in order to brown one's abdomen, with *tumbing* ← *tumbarse* 'to stretch out' having the more general sense of 'lying around'. Another holiday activity, practised mainly by daredevil tourists in Spain, is *balconing*, consisting in jumping from the balcony of a holiday apartment into the swimming-pool below, often with fatal consequences. In Spain's big cities, reckless youth may try their hand at *metring* 'train surfing' or 'riding on the back of an underground train'.

The appeal of the English suffix *-ing* is apparent from its use by companies, like the Spanish airline *Vueling*® (← *vuelo* 'flight'), whose flight attendants wish their passengers a safe journey on board their aircraft with the message "Les deseamos un feliz *vueling*" ['We wish you a happy *vueling*'], while the company

tries to win customers with the lure in English "Stop flying, start *vueling*". The word has also found its way into advertisements for *Carlsberg*™ beer: "Los creativos publicitarios de Carlsberg guiñan el ojo con el descabellado *vueling*: el premio de volar sin cortapisas a cambio de probar la, "quizás", mejor cerveza del mundo." (Riquelme 1998: 87) [The creative adverts for Carlsberg beer entice us through the fad for *vueling*: the promise of unrestrained flight if we are willing to try the arguably best beer in the world.]. Renting a bicycle has become an alternative way of getting round Barcelona, where the business *Bicing*® has set up. Many other audacious lexical inventions of this kind, like *sanfermining* – a humorous reference to the risky practice of running in the path of the bulls in the streets of Pamplona, in northern Spain, as part of the celebrations in honour of San Fermín, held in July – can be found in Lorenzo (1996: 250–252).

As well as coinages based on a Spanish stem, there are also many with an English stem, i.e. pseudo-Anglicisms. The word *footing* 'jogging', acquired from French, was mentioned above, but there are others: *(face-)lifting* 'face-lift', *parking disuasorio* 'park and ride', *fading* 'fade' (sound), *fixing* 'rate fixing' or 'fixed rate' (closing price on the stock exchange), *mailing* 'mailshot', *punching* 'punchball', *tuning* 'car styling, accessorizing and customizing cars'. The creation *windoping* 'window-pane', a kind of drug like LSD, is of particular interest as a case of popular etymology. Recently, Patricia García, a young Spanish rugby player, started a photo competition called *rugbing* in order to advertise and promote her sport. The public are invited to upload photos showing any kind of rugby pose to encourage people to play and take an interest in the game.

Among the *-ing* forms found in Spanish which have given rise to pseudo-Anglicisms, truncation is very common: *smoking* ← *smoking-jacket*, *sleeping* (Andes/Mexico) ← *sleeping-bag* (*saco de dormir*), *living* ← *living-room*, *catering* ← *catering company*, *sparring* ← *sparring partner*, *holding* ← *holding company* (since *Rumasa* crashed in 1983; see Riquelme 1998: 90), *stretching* ← *stretching exercises*, *training* ← *training course*, *travelling* ← *travelling shot*, *tracking shot*, *dolly shot* (a scene shot from a mobile platform). In these items the meaning of the original whole is retained, so that we end up with a range of application in Spanish that results in a specialization of the meaning of the bare English gerund. Spanish has also adopted *texting* ← *text messaging* (and more recently, the derivative *sexting* 'the sending of sexually explicit messages and photos by cell phone or computer'), whose truncated forms are common in English, too. Aphaeresis, loss of initial syllables of words, is similarly quite common, as in *handling* ← *baggage handling*, *karting* ← *go-kart racing*, whereby the result is once again a restriction of the meaning of the original form.

5 Semantics

As has been seen from the examples in the previous paragraph, semantic restriction may arise in lexical items ending in *-ing* in Spanish through retention of the original meaning of the whole after reduction of phonological form. But we also find that the gerunds themselves that are borrowed wholesale from English undergo specialization of meaning. This justifies their existence alongside Spanish terms of similar but not identical meaning. Thus, for example, the borrowed word *jumping* is used not merely to refer to the actions covered by the Spanish verb *saltar*, but is applied specifically to the sporting activity of jumping off a high building with a parachute. Likewise, *rating* is not generally used in Spanish to refer to just any kind of rating, but more often than not in the sense of a popularity rating on TV, *happening* in Spanish is not simply applied to any kind of event, but to a show with audience participation, and *consulting* usually means 'business consultancy'. As regards *camping*, which in Spanish may refer to the activity or the place where this activity takes place, there is still room for *campamento*, since it is often used in a restricted military sense of 'training camp'.

The words *fading* and *antifading* now no longer have currency in the context of radio broadcasting, since the transmission of sound has improved to the point where fading is no longer a problem and there is therefore no need for an antifading device. But the word *fading* can still be used for gradual reduction of light or sound in general (Lorenzo 1996: 208).

6 Collocations

The *-ing* forms adopted into Spanish from English can be used in various types of collocation. Firstly, as gerunds they can be premodified or postmodified by an adjective, subject to the usual restrictions on meaning in Spanish related to these two positions for the adjective accompanying a noun, e.g. *de alto standing* 'top-quality', *mailing electoral* 'postal canvassing', *lifting facial* 'face-lift', *marketing político* 'political marketing' (aimed at improving a person's image). Postmodification may involve use of a prepositional phrase with *de*, e.g. *botas de trekking* 'walking boots', *una sesión de brainstorming* 'a brainstorming session'.

Secondly, the *-ing* forms may themselves be used as premodifiers or postmodifiers, as in the cliché *swinging London*, *postura racing* 'racing posture' (as on a motorbike) and *medidas antidumping* 'antidumping measures'.

Lastly, note that *-ing* forms are very often incorporated into a verbal periphrasis as the object of a light verb, which is frequently the case in English too, *hacer* being a common option, e.g. *hacer un mailing* 'to do a mailshot', *estar de/ir de/hacer camping* 'to be/go camping', *tener algo en leasing* 'to lease', *hacerse un piercing en el ombligo* 'to have one's navel pierced', *hacer pressing* 'to put the pressure on' (sport), *hacerse el brushing* 'to have a blow-dry', *hacer streaking* 'to do a streak', *hacer dumping* 'to dump goods', *hacerse un lifting* 'to have/get a face-lift', *hacerle mobbing a alguien* 'to bully', *hacer rafting* 'to go rafting', *darle al drinking* 'to drink heavily' (humoristic).

7 Change of ontological category

In sections 4 and 5 it was shown how English *-ing* forms, when borrowed into Spanish may undergo semantic restriction, this often being due to phonological reduction in the form of apocopation, loss of final syllables of words, so that the remaining part of the word takes on a *pars pro toto* function. Another factor in this semantic change is shift in ontological category. For example, words which formerly denoted an activity in the source language may come to be used to refer to the place where such an activity is carried out. This is the case of the gerunds *parking*, *bowling*, *camping*, *dancing*, *shopping* and *skating*, which are used in Spanish in the sense of English *car-park*, *bowling-alley*, *camp-site*, *dance-hall*, *shopping centre* (American English *shopping mall*) and *skating-rink*, respectively. Lorenzo (1996: 251) cites the example *discodancings*, which has been replaced by *discoteca*, English *disco(theque)*.

Another category change involves a shift from denotation of the activity to the object by which the activity is mediated or the result of the activity. Thus, *leasing*, which in English means 'renting', in Spanish has come to be used in the sense of the noun *lease*, that is 'agreement or document that allows a person to rent something'. Similarly, whereas in English the gerund *punching* refers to the act of hitting with the fists, in Spanish it has taken on the meaning of the English words *punchball* or *punchbag*, the object that is used when a boxer does physical exercise to train for his sport. Consider also the case of *consulting*: this in English means 'seeking advice', but in Spanish it has acquired the meaning of English *consultancy*, either 'a firm from which advice can be sought' or 'the service that such a firm provides', the native Spanish word in this latter case being *asesoramiento*.

8 Other phenomena

This section will discuss other phenomena related to the rise of English *-ing* forms in Spanish, namely their sometimes gratuitous use, the treatment of less familiar ones, the reintroduction of Spanish substitutes or the invention of Spanish calques, and finally, the recent replacement of Spanish inventions by the original English forms.

There can be no justification for many of the *-ing* forms that are used in Spanish other than the desire to impress and make other people believe that the speaker is up to date in linguistic usage. Riquelme (1998: 15, 98) quotes several items of vocabulary that say little more than their Spanish equivalents. The forms *timing*, *planning* and *shopping*/*shopeando* are hardly more semantically exact than the possible respective Spanish equivalents *coordinación*, *planificación* and *compras*, and *shopeando* is a curious hybrid. Nor do these adoptions express a concept other than the one that resides in the Spanish form. Spanish dry-cleaners sometimes use the term *dry-cleaning* as if the process described through the English expression were somehow more sophisticated than that implied in *limpieza en seco*.

Most of the *-ing* forms quoted in this article are well known and quite acceptable to the average educated Spanish speaker. However, if the English word is fairly new in Spanish and still not widespread, when it appears in a publication, it may be placed in italics to show that it is still considered a foreign element, and may even be defined for the readership. This happened to the word *crowdfunding* when it was used in the Spanish daily *El País* on the 16th of April 2012. The definition provided was the following: "En el *crowdfunding*, el ciudadano hace una pequeña aportación y recibe su contraprestación, una entrada, un CD, o derecho a futuros beneficios." [In crowdfunding, you make a small payment and, in return, receive tickets for a show, a CD or the right to some future benefit.].

Of course, not all English *-ing* forms are available in Spanish. So far, for example, none of the following neologisms, which are prime candidates for adoption in view of the new concepts that they express, have yet appeared in Modern Spanish (e.g. *DRAE*) or Spanish-English dictionaries (e.g. *Larousse*): *tombstoning* 'jumping off rocks into the sea', *hotting* 'stealing cars and driving them at high speed', *hothousing* 'artificially accelerating the mental development of a child'. The word *grooming* 'the process in which an adult develops a friendship with a child, usually via the web, with sexual intentions' is now heard on Spanish TV, but has not reached bilingual Spanish-English dictionaries yet. In actual fact, there is at least some evidence of a reaction against unnecessary

Anglicisms in Spanish if the examples quoted in this article are anything to go by.

Already in the 1990s, counter to the long history of borrowing from English into Spanish as outlined in the introduction to this study, there appears to be sometimes a preference for a Hispanicized form in formal text rather than an *-ing* form directly borrowed from English. This may be an invented translation or a Spanish calque, as the following examples manifest: *márketing* → *mercadotecnia* (Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades 1997: 330), *bodybuilding* → *culturismo*, *brainwashing* → *lavado de cerebros*, *brainstorming* → *tormenta de ideas*, though Lorenzo (1996: 137) gives the Spanish equivalent of this last form as *reunión creativa*.

Opposed to the recent trend announced above, there are also cases of regression to the English form, where the Spanish neologism has been felt to be overcreative, as perhaps is the case of *puenting*, which is now sometimes expressed as *bungee jumping*, or where the lexical item used in Spanish has come to be considered just wrong through awareness that in English the concept is expressed differently. This may well be true of the Gallicism *footing*, which appears to be losing ground to *jogging*.

9 The borrowability of *-ing*

Owing to the recent interest in the behaviour of bound morphology in language-contact situations, it seems appropriate to add comment about the borrowability of *-ing* in the light of debates on the topic, especially considering that there seems to be a rejection of the traditional view that the borrowing of bound morphemes is rare. As Marianne Mithun (2012: 15) says: "It was once thought that in situations of language contact, substance is always borrowed before structure [...]. Ongoing work is making it ever clearer, however, that morphological categories and patterns are copied quite frequently." Even Thomason (2001: 69), although affirming that the basic prediction is that vocabulary is borrowed before structure, refines this statement by warning readers that "the 'words first' prediction does not actually hold in all borrowing situations." Moreover, Evangelia Adamou (2012: 143) recalls the widely held opinion that derivational morphology is more likely to be borrowed than inflectional morphology, but she is able to offer examples of the transfer of certain inflections among the Balkan languages, while Lenka Zajícová (2012: 292–293) reports on the use of a Czech plural morpheme in the Spanish of Czech immigrants in Paraguay and concludes from her reading of the relevant literature that "inflectional morphemes are borrowed more often than is usually thought."

So what are the factors that have favoured the spread of *-ing* in Modern Spanish if, as we have seen from the *-ing* words examined, we are not dealing with cases of mere lexical borrowing but also implementation of structure? First of all, there is the fairly obvious, general sociolinguistic issue of the status of English as a donor language. Then, there is the fact that, since *-ing* is a core inflectional morpheme in English, it is a high-frequency element and a very versatile one, as its syntactic role as verb, adjective and noun show, e.g. *is painting*, *painting machine*, *a painting* (Beard 1998: 60). Note also that it shows little variation as regards phonological form (alveolar [n] may be used instead of velar [ŋ] in the present participle, but this is mainly conditioned by social and stylistic factors), which is an additional aid to its adoption. It is also noteworthy that, whereas analogical forms like *workaholic* and *chocoholic* (← *alcoholic*) require prosodic identity, "[g]enuine suffixes like *-ing* may be added to stems of any length or prosodic structure" (Beard 1998: 57). Moreover, it is used in Spanish in nominalizations, and it is the noun category that accounts for most loans in the world's languages, so this fact has undoubtedly also encouraged its prolific adoption. To this we could add the functional and semantic transparency of *-ing*, the fact that Spanish also has a present participle form and the bonus that the borrowed item fits comfortably into the structure of the host language.

10 Conclusion

Although *-ing* forms continue to permeate Spanish vocabulary, increasingly widespread knowledge of English nowadays means that spelling adaptations and spelling pronunciations are becoming or have become less frequent. There is also more of a tendency today to create Spanish equivalents from the autochthonous morphology or even revert to an earlier Spanish expression (see section 8). No doubt, the popularity of the suffix *-ing* in Spanish is due to its high frequency in English, thus establishing it as an extremely salient and prototypical morph in the language, and to the fact that, because it is often indicative of a complex activity or process, it performs a succinct descriptive function. In spite of the fact that some *-ing* forms are condemned in Modern Spanish, not least in style manuals, as is the case of *overbooking*, little harm is done if such a term is used in humorous contexts, like *Hubo overbooking en el coche* [There was an excessive number of passengers in the car].

In order to give an idea of the increase in the number of *-ing* forms found in Spanish in recent times, Table 1 provides information on those listed in four

major publications produced between 1980 and 2005, i.e. Pratt (1980); Lorenzo (1996); Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997); *Larousse* (2005). Naturally, the last source, published in 2005 and being a bilingual Spanish-English, English-Spanish dictionary, is rather more selective than the other works but it has the advantage of indicating which of these lexical items are likely to be the most commonly used in modern times. Regarding words in *-ing* which have not been included in Table 1, note that Gómez Capuz (2000: 58, 64, 121, 244–255, 281) has only three items that are not found in the list: *coding* (Spanish also *codificación*), *fumating* (Spanish also *acuñación*) and *thinking time*; Medina López (1996: 31, 37, 39) lists *boxing*, *tobogganing*, *building*, *checking* and *wrestling* from various different sources.

In the first column, items marked with an asterisk are Spanish or French creations, i.e. pseudo-Anglicisms, rather than direct borrowings from English; items marked with two asterisks are adaptations with some slight change in form or a modification of meaning, where the new meaning in Spanish is significantly different from its English etymon. The three items made up of a Spanish free morpheme and the English *-ing* form, i.e. *goming*, *puenting* and *tumbing*, are marked with three asterisks. However, they are not pseudo-Anglicisms but Spanish-English hybrid creations. The second column includes English equivalents or English meanings of Spanish-made *-ing* forms which are pseudo-Anglicisms, i.e. one-asterisk and two-asterisk items. Mediated pseudo-Anglicisms, i.e. those introduced via French, are marked accordingly.

Table 1: The *-ing* forms used in Spanish as recorded in four major publications

***-ing* forms**	**English equivalents or meanings**	**Pratt (1980)**	**Lorenzo (1996)**	**Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997)**	***Larousse* (2005)**
*airbagging	'deliberate crashing in a car with airbags'			✓	
**antidoping* ← French (see also *doping*)	*drugs test*, *dope test*		✓	✓	✓
***antidumping (medidas antidumping)* (see also *dumping*)	*antidumping measures*			✓	✓
antifading			✓	✓	
aquaplaning, *aqua-planning*, *acquaplaning*			✓	✓	✓

-ing forms	English equivalents or meanings	Pratt (1980)	Lorenzo (1996)	Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997)	*Larousse* (2005)
** *aquaplaning*, *aqua-planning*, *acquaplaning*	*water skiing (aquaplaning)*		✓		✓
baby(-)sitting				✓	
bartering			✓		
** *boarding*, *bording*	*boarding house*		✓		
body building				✓	✓
body-painting				✓	
body-piercing				✓	
booking (see also *over-booking*)			✓		
booting				✓	
bowling				✓	
** *bowling*	*bowling-alley*			✓	
brainstorming				✓	✓
break-dancing				✓	
briefing			✓	✓	
** *brushing*	*blow-dry*			✓	
building				✓	
bullying = mobbing				✓	
* *bunging*, *bungee/bungy (jumping) = goming*, *puenting*	*bungee jumping*		✓	✓	
** *camping*, *cámping*	*camp ground*, *camping ground*, *camp site*, *camping site*		✓	✓	✓
** *camping caravaning = caravaning*	*caravaning*			✓	
** *camping-gas* ← French *Campingaz*®	*camp stove*			✓	✓
canoeing Spanish *piragüismo*				✓	

***-ing* forms**	**English equivalents or meanings**	**Pratt (1980)**	**Lorenzo (1996)**	**Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997)**	***Larousse* (2005)**
caravaning = camping caravaning Spanish *caravanismo*				✓	✓
***caravaning*	*caravan site*, *caravan park*, American English *trailer park*			✓	
***casting*	*cast*		✓	✓	
***casting*	*audition*, *casting session*		✓	✓	✓
***catering*, *cátering*	*catering company*	✓	✓	✓	✓
***clearing*	*clearing agreement*, *clearing house*	✓	✓	✓	
clearing-house		✓	✓	✓	
cocooning 'keeping to oneself and one's family life'				✓	
***consulting*	*consultancy*			✓	✓
coopering 'use of an old piece of news to bolster a recent one'				✓	
cracking Spanish *craqueo* 'chemical process used on oil'		✓		✓	
crossing-over Spanish *entrecruzamiento genético* 'rearrangement of genes'				✓	
curling 'a sport played on ice'				✓	✓
***dancing*	*dance*, *dancing*, *dance hall*	✓	✓	✓	
**disco-bowling*	'bowling-alley with background music'			✓	

-ing forms	English equivalents or meanings	Pratt (1980)	Lorenzo (1996)	Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997)	*Larousse* (2005)
**discodancings*	*discotheque*		✓		
doping, *dopin*, *dopping* (see also *antidoping*) 'use of performance-enhancing drugs'		✓	✓	✓	✓
dribbling, *dribling*				✓	✓
***drinking* 'heavy drinking'	*binge-drinking*			✓	
dripping (art)				✓	
dry-cleaning			✓		
dumping/dumpin 'sale of a product at a lower price' (see also *antidumping*)		✓		✓	✓
engineering		✓			
***esmoquin, smoking* ← French ← English *smoking-jacket*	*dinner jacket*, *dinner suit*, *dress suit*, *evening suit*, American English *tuxedo*		✓	✓	
estanding = standing					
estrikin, *estriquin = streaking*					
***face(-)lifting = lifting*	*face-lift*		✓	✓	
factoring 'purchasing debts from clients at a discount and making a profit'		✓			✓
fading (see also *antifading*)		✓	✓	✓	
***feeling*, *filin*	*sensitivity* (shown by an artist or musician)			✓	
fist fucking				✓	
***fixing* (economics)	*rate-fixing*		✓		

***-ing* forms**	**English equivalents or meanings**	**Pratt (1980)**	**Lorenzo (1996)**	**Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997)**	***Larousse* (2005)**
**footing, futin, fúting* ← French (more recently *jogging*)	*jogging*	✓	✓	✓	✓
franchising 'concession of a license'				✓	
funding				✓	
****goming* ← Spanish *goma* 'rubber' = *bunging*, *puenting*	*bungee jumping*			✓	
hacking				✓	
handling			✓	✓	✓
happening Spanish *jápenin*			✓	✓	
happy ending				✓	
***hidrocracking* Spanish *cracking hidrogenante*	*hydrocracking*			✓	
***holding* Spanish *sociedad matriz*	*holding company*	✓	✓	✓	✓
inning (baseball)				✓	
jogging (= *footing*)			✓	✓	✓
jumping (horse-riding, bungee)			✓	✓	
***karting*	*go-karting*, *go-kart racing*			✓	✓
kickboxing, *kick boxing*				✓	
leasing		✓	✓	✓	✓
legging/leggin				✓	
***lifting/liftin = face-lifting*	*face-lift*				✓
***living/livin*	*living-room*		✓	✓	✓
***looping*	*looping*, *looping the loop*			✓	
***mailing*	*(direct) mailing*, *(direct) mailshot*		✓	✓	✓
making of				✓	

-ing forms	English equivalents or meanings	Pratt (1980)	Lorenzo (1996)	Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997)	*Larousse* (2005)
márketing, marketing/ marketin, marquetin		✓	✓	✓	✓
***meeting = mitin*	*athletics meeting*	✓	✓	✓	
melting pot				✓	
merchandising			✓		✓
missing Spanish *desaparecido*				✓	
***mitin = meeting*	*rally*	✓	✓	✓	
***mobbing = bullying*	*bullying*			✓	
mushing 'action of dogs pulling sledges' ← Canadian French *moucher* 'to rush'				✓	
outsourcing 'contracting the services of another firm'				✓	
overbooking, *overbuquin*		✓	✓	✓	✓
***parking*, *párking* ← French	*car-park*	✓	✓	✓	✓
passing-shot (tennis)		✓	✓	✓	
***peeling* (cosmetics)	*exfoliation*, *facial scrub*, *face mask*, *face pack*		✓	✓	✓
petting				✓	
piercing(s)	*(body-)piercing*			✓	✓
pilling, piling 'formation of balls on woollen articles'				✓	
planning/planing				✓	✓
**pressing* (sport) ← French	*hard tackling* (football), *full-court press* (basketball), *pressure* (general)	✓	✓	✓	✓

***-ing* forms**	**English equivalents or meanings**	**Pratt (1980)**	**Lorenzo (1996)**	**Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997)**	***Larousse* (2005)**
****puenting* ← Spanish *puente* 'bridge' = *bunging*, *goming***	*bungee jumping*		✓	✓	✓
punching = punching bag/ball	*punchbag*, *punchball*			✓	
putting(-)green				✓	
***racing*	*racing bike*, *racing car*			✓	
Racing Club			✓		
rafting			✓	✓	✓
ranking		✓		✓	✓
rating				✓	✓
readings 'collection of articles on one or more topics'				✓	
recording				✓	
reestiling = restyling					
renting				✓	
restyling = reestiling				✓	
***revolving*	*revolving credit*			✓	
***revolving(-bookcase)*	*revolving bookcase*			✓	
runningback, *running back* (American football)				✓	
sampling				✓	
screening (cinema and medicine)				✓	
**sex-boxing*	*(female) mud wrestling*			✓	
***shopping*	*shopping centre/ mall*			✓	✓
skateboarding				✓	
skating			✓		

-ing forms	English equivalents or meanings	Pratt (1980)	Lorenzo (1996)	Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997)	*Larousse* (2005)
***sleeping* (Andes, Mexico)*	*sleeping-bag*				✓
***sleeping(-car)*	*sleeping-car*	✓	✓	✓	
***smoking = esmoquin*	*dinner jacket*, *dinner suit*, *dress suit*, *evening suit*, American English *tuxedo*	✓	✓		
spanking				✓	
***sparring*	*sparring partner*	✓	✓	✓	✓
sparring partner		✓			
splitting (economics)			✓		
sponsoring				✓	
squatting				✓	
stalking 'game played by boy scouts'				✓	
standing = estanding		✓		✓	✓
**starking*	'kind of red apple marketed by William P. Stark'			✓	
***stepping*, *step*	*step aerobics*			✓	
streaking		✓	✓	✓	
stretching				✓	
stripping			✓		
*surfing (**surf)= wind-surfing (**wind surf)*			✓	✓	✓
swinging				✓	
telemarketing				✓	✓
time-sharing 'use of a PC by several users; use of a house by various different users'				✓	
timing			✓	✓	

***-ing* forms**	**English equivalents or meanings**	**Pratt (1980)**	**Lorenzo (1996)**	**Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades (1997)**	***Larousse* (2005)**
toasting (music) 'improvisation in reggae'				✓	
trading			✓	✓	✓
training				✓	
***travel(l)ing, trávelin, travelín*	*travelling shot*			✓	✓
trek(k)ing ← Afrikaans			✓	✓	✓
***trimming* (canine cosmetics)	'extracting hair from dogs to make it grow stronger'			✓	
trunking				✓	
****tumbing* ← Spanish *tumbarse* 'lie down'	*relaxation*			✓	
underwriting (economics) 'supporting an activity'				✓	
upwelling (oceanography) 'rise of cold waters to the surface of the ocean'				✓	
**windoping*	'gelatine capsule impregnated with LSD'			✓	
*windsurfing (**windsurf) = surfing (**surf)*			✓	✓	✓
zap(p)ing			✓	✓	✓

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Lucilla Lopriore and Cristiano Furiassi[1]

9 The influence of English and French on the Italian language of fashion: Focus on false Anglicisms and false Gallicisms

Abstract: Fashion language is a multilingual specialised language, shared and enriched by a wide number of users and including a variety of areas, each one consisting of different semantic fields. It has a complex inner stratification, ranging from the more specialised language regarding textiles and materials to the less specialised language of fashion media. While the language of textiles and materials is highly technical, denotative and monosemous, fashion media use a very creative and diversified language by mixing more specific fashion-related items with general language and foreign borrowings. This contribution attempts to describe the linguistic preference for English and French in the Italian lexicon of fashion. The analysis focuses on borrowings and false borrowings as used in one of the major fashion magazines published in Italy, i.e. *ELLE*. Corpus data were drawn from twelve issues of the Italian edition of the magazine, collected over a period of three years. Examples of Anglicisms and Gallicisms – both genuine and false ones – were identified, collected and analysed. The findings show the creative potential of both genuine and false Anglicisms and Gallicisms in the Italian language when used to describe fashion.

Keywords: Anglicisms, borrowings, compounds, creativity, false Anglicisms, false borrowings, false Galllicisms, fashion language, fashion media, Gallicisms, hybrids, integrated borrowings, morphological integration, non-integrated borrowings, phraseological borrowings, specialised language, syntactic integration

1 Introduction

This article, which is part of a wider research project aimed at describing the English and Italian language of fashion as used in specialised and non-specialised magazines and newspapers (Fiasco 2012; Lopriore forthcoming), attempts to describe the functionality of English and French borrowings in

1 Both authors contributed to the overall drafting of the article: Lucilla Lopriore conceived and designed the article and is responsible for the acquisition, analysis and interpretation of data; Cristiano Furiassi revised the methodological implant and is also responsible for the editing of data.

the Italian lexicon of fashion. The analysis indeed focuses on borrowings and false borrowings from English and French as used in one of the major fashion magazines published in Italy, i.e. *ELLE*.

The fields of fashion and clothing have been explored in several studies which focussed on fashion as a social process (Simmel 1957; Polhemus 1994; Damhorst, Miller-Spillman and Michelman 1999), on its psychological implications (Flügel 1930) and on its semiotic perspectives (Barthes 1983; Ceriani and Grandi 1995). Some works have also specifically focused on textiles (O'Hara 1986; Franchini 2002; Catricalà 2004; Lopriore 2007; Balteiro 2011b).

In his book *The Fashion System*, Barthes (1983) refers to "system" as a way of mapping the different components and identities of fashion. Fashion is, like any other social condition, a system itself with many different phases and dimensions. Barthes identifies the numerous registers at work within the fashion system and draws a distinction between the "real" garment, i.e. a prototype, the actual garment produced but never encountered by consumers, and the "represented" garment, i.e. the garment distributed, or the "semantic" object that reaches the consumer already translated into the garment of representation. Barthes (1983: 3) also draws a distinction between image-clothing and written clothing:

> I open a fashion magazine; I see that two different garments are being dealt with here. The first is the one presented to me as photographed or drawn – it is image-clothing. The second is the same garment, but described, transformed into language; this dress, photographed on the right, becomes on the left: *a leather belt, with a rose stuck in it, worn above the waist, on a soft Shetland dress*; this is a written garment. [. . .] in one the substances are forms, lines, surfaces, colors, and the relation is spatial; in the other the substance is words, and the relation is, if not logical, at least syntactic; the first structure is plastic, the second verbal.

In other words, consumers never actually see the real garment that is produced because what they are led to look for is the represented garment as shown and described in a magazine, whereas, when they end up purchasing and wearing that garment, they become consumers.

2 Fashion language

The language of fashion is to some extent similar to the language of advertising, predominantly used by specialists when speaking to non-specialists for informative and persuasive purposes (Dyer 1982). Although the language of textiles and fashion may be ascribed to the field of languages for specific purposes, i.e. LSP (Lopriore 2007; Balteiro 2011a), its specific features are in some way different from the three main LSP uses as identified by Gotti (1991: 10), that is a) when specialists speak to other specialists as, for example, in the garment factories,

b) when specialists provide information to a non-specialist audience, as in manuals or in vocational schools for fashion designers, and c) when specialists speak to non-specialists, as often happens in the mass media, where fashion is popularised. While the first and the second uses may be predominantly associated with the field of textile and tailoring lexicon, the third one might be related to the language of fashion in magazines and TV shows, almost always geared at reaching an international readership. However, fashion language, because of the highly versatile nature of fashion itself, may also be regarded as a genre made up of a cluster of multiple language sub-genres, a sort of "super-genres" or "genre colonies" (Bhatia 2004: 59), since their members are not strictly confined to a single area.

As a result of the increasing globalisation of the fashion industry, garments have lost part of their original social meaning and are less representative of local circumstances. In order to gain a wider audience, fashion media have transformed the language used in the field into a set of standardised textual models shared and understood by an ever-growing global audience with the conative function of inducing the reader to buy the product described (Hamilton 1997; Damhorst, Miller-Spillman and Michelman 1999).

In fashion media, the language used is influenced by the highly creative context of the garment industry, thus reaching a wider use and, as a consequence, larger and more diversified categories of people. It is definitely polysemous, connotative, emotional and persuasive, almost like the language of advertising. Fashion media language is an integral part of the fashion industry, which is in turn characterised by the plurilingual and multicultural codes of influential stylists and designers. It is represented on catwalks and popularised by best-selling trendy magazines, journals, newspapers and TV channels.

In the language of fashion media there is a continuous connection to the iconic aspect, with a semiotic system that speaks through symbols and drawings that become clothing and accessories. This connection is made via the captions that accompany the photographs, where language highlights the images. The caption, whose function is primarily denotative and descriptive, expresses the essence of a garment. Captions focus on the details of a garment or an accessory, thus adding new information to the image while guiding the reader's eyes through the use of modal interrogatives and rhetorical questions which influence potential customers. In order to attract the attention of the audience, fashion magazines make frequent use, in titles as well as in texts, of rhetorical devices such as nominal and verbal thematic metaphors and similes, personifications, puns and repetitions. Because of the very nature of fashion, creativity is inevitably embedded in its language.

There are numerous types of specialised and non-specialised publications in the field of fashion, foremost perhaps internationally acknowledged fashion magazines such as *VOGUE* or women's magazines such as *ELLE* or *COSMOPOLITAN*, where most pages are dedicated to fashion. In addition, there are sections on fashion that are published weekly by international newspapers, usually in their weekend editions, like, for example, *The Times*, *The Independent*, *The Guardian Fashion* or *The Observer* in Great Britain, *The New York Times Style* in the USA, and *La Repubblica D Stile* or *Corriere della Sera Moda* in Italy. Fashion-dedicated TV channels and websites have recently been launched all over the world attracting a wider multilingual audience. In fashion magazines the language used in photo captions, in fashion shootings or in fashion advertisements fulfils the same communicative objective but employs different linguistic strategies.

3 Fashion lexicon

Fashion language is a multilingual specialised language, shared and enriched at an international level by a wide number of users and including a variety of areas, each one consisting of different semantic fields and contexts of use. It has a complex inner stratification, ranging from the more specialised language of textiles and materials to the less specialised language of fashion media. On the one hand, the field of textiles and materials is highly technical, referential, exact, denotative and monosemous, with a limited communicative cycle. It is marked by borrowings from other languages and by the use of "metonymic devices in naming fabrics, fibres, products or materials made from plants and animals" (Balteiro 2011b: 68). On the other hand, fashion media use a very creative and diversified language by mixing more specific fashion-related items with general language and foreign borrowings.

While some of the features of most languages for specific purposes, i.e. conciseness, inherent referentiality, denotative function of terms, omission of phrasal elements, lexical density, absence of synonyms and of emotive language, a tendency to nominalise (Gotti 1991, 2003, 2005; Sager 1990), may also apply to specialised fashion terms when used in couture-houses, fabric firms or materials catalogues, they only partly apply to the language used in fashion magazines. In fact, the function of lexis in fashion magazines is mostly conative and emotive as its main purpose is to encourage their readers to adjust to fashion trends.

Because of its global reach, the lexicon of fashion magazines is characterised by a variety of borrowings, whatever language the magazines are published in. Traditional terms are recycled and slightly changed in fashion in order to best highlight novelties and represent the continuous changes fashion undergoes (O'Hara 1986; Ceriani and Grandi 1995; Catricalà 2004; Balteiro 2011a).

In the case of fashion magazines, fashion lexicon in English is characterised by being less technically marked than the language of textiles and by the presence of genuine and false borrowings, hybrids and calques mainly from French and Italian (Pinnavaia 2001). Neologisms are very frequently used, while mono-referentiality is seldom respected and traditional terms are often creatively modified through multiple inter-linguistic contacts.

The lexicon of fashion permeates everyday language and is in turn continuously permeated by it, thus spreading over ever-changing glocal scenarios (Sager 1990; Simmel 1997; Lopriore 2007). Fashion lexicon mirrors the creativity of its field, its meaning potential and its changes over time, as well as the context where it is used. It is characterised by two parallel tendencies: productivity (Renouf 2007: 63) and creativity (Renouf 2007: 70), which continuously cross-feed each other. The context where fashion lexicon is used may enhance its creativity, having a pivotal role in determining lexical productivity, since fashion is shaped by its own nature and its main functions (Balteiro 2011a; Munat 2007).

Munat (2007: xiii), reporting on the relevance of the context in order to set the wheels in motion and stimulate artistic construction, indeed writes the following:

> The role of context in lexical creativity is no less significant, and only by considering the specific (written or spoken) [and visual] environments in which these novel formations appear can we fully comprehend the meanings intended by the speaker [...]. Close observation of the context in which new lexical items occur will allow us to capture the clues that serve to interpret these unfamiliar and often semantically opaque words and expressions, and discover how these novel formations both reflect and implement the surrounding co(n)text.

4 Research questions

As previously indicated, this article is part of a wider project aimed at identifying the characterizing features of fashion language in the English and Italian media and exploring the linguistic influence of English and French on the Italian fashion lexicon. This study specifically analyses English and French borrowings and false borrowings as used in one of the major fashion magazines published in Italy, i.e. *ELLE*. The research questions that guided the study are as follows:

- Do specialised Italian fashion magazines make consistent use of borrowings, specifically Anglicisms and Gallicisms?
- How are Anglicisms and Gallicisms integrated into Italian?
- Are there examples of false Anglicisms and false Gallicisms?
- Are genuine and false borrowings used creatively? If so, how?

In order to investigate these issues, an *ad hoc* corpus of approximately 300,000 words was compiled. Corpus data were drawn from twelve issues of the Italian edition of the fashion magazine *ELLE* collected over a period of three years, i.e. 2007, 2008 and 2009. The selection was composed of all articles dealing with fashion – usually two thirds of each issue – and of those sections on fashion shows or products where texts are traditionally accompanied by pictures, technically referred to as *shootings* or *shoots*.

Since the electronic files of the magazine were not available at the time of the study, the analysis was carried out manually. In the section of the magazines mainly composed of shootings, descriptions of garments or comments on fashion shows, specific attention was paid to the association of words with pictures in order to check whether the captions were just guiding the readers' eyes or also adding elements to their perception. The manual retrieval – although necessary to contextualise images and words – highly limited the potential of the search since calculations available through the use of software would have been more accurate and would have provided far more opportunities to better investigate type/token ratio, sentence length, collocations and keywords in context.[2]

Initially, the research design was aimed at identifying the main semantic fields of the corpus, i.e. textiles and materials, clothes and accessories, and general fashion-related notions. At a later stage, within these fields, examples of Anglicisms and Gallicisms – both genuine and false – and their creative uses were identified, collected and analysed.

5 Borrowings in Italian fashion magazines: Anglicisms and Gallicisms

Fashion magazines, which first originated in France in the 1780s, gradually developed all over the world and, by the end of the nineteenth century, with the birth of *VOGUE*, they spread to the rest of Europe and the USA. For most of the twentieth century, the language of English and Italian fashion media was relentlessly permeated by French terms, i.e. Gallicisms, usually related to

2 A sample analysis of the type/token ratio carried out automatically by means of *WordSmith Tools* on one of the twelve issues of *ELLE*, i.e. April 2009, revealed that the section made of shootings showed a higher type/token ratio (12.46) than the section devoted to articles (9.23). The type/token ratio measures lexical density, i.e. the proportion of lexical units to grammatical units, which is indeed larger in shootings than in articles.

textiles and materials, clothes or trends. French was the language traditionally associated with fashion and most frequently borrowed by fashion journalists until the 1980s. With the global spread of English and the widespread development of fashion magazines, TV channels and social networks, English became the language more frequently used to talk about fashion and textiles. This shift to English is well represented, for example, in the growing number of Anglicisms found in the Italian language of fashion from the 1990s onwards, sometimes at the expense of Gallicisms (Cella 2010).

The corpus collected indeed shows a consistent use of borrowings: there are 182 Anglicisms, with a total frequency of 4,817, and 141 Gallicisms, with a total frequency of 4,073. There are more Anglicisms – and their frequency is also higher – with reference to clothes, accessories and general fashion-related notions, whereas the situation looks more balanced in the case of textiles and materials, as shown in Table 1 below, where only a sample of Anglicisms and Gallicisms, i.e. those occurring more than fifty times, is included; the frequency of each borrowing is indicated in brackets.

Table 1: Samples of Anglicisms and Gallicisms in the corpus of the Italian fashion magazine *ELLE* (2007–2009)

semantic fields	Anglicisms	Gallicisms
clothes	*jeans* (198), *top* (191), *t-shirt* (173), *cardigan* (88), *leggings* (85), *blazer* (69)	*gilet* (141), *collant* (121), *tailleur* (72)
accessories	*clutch* (133), *tie* (109), *bag* (84), *charms* (83), *sneakers* (77), *zip* (75), *bangles* (62)	*décolleté* (365), *pochette* (293), *collier* (182), *foulard* (61)
textiles	*jersey* (129), *denim* (66), *stretch* (56), *patchwork* (53)	*suède* (154), *tulle* (108), *pois* (85)
materials	*metal* (73), *gold* (59)	*paillettes* (171)
general fashion-related notions	*look* (160), *vintage* (150), *design* (144), *shop* (143), *sexy* (103), *oversize* (92), *fashion* (81), *designer* (76), *style* (62), *rock* (58), *street* (57), *trend* (56), *stylist* (55), *multicolor* (52)	*chic* (90), *bon ton* (89), *couture* (79), *maison* (60), *griffe* (54)

Fashion changes quickly over time reflecting social and cultural changes and adjusting to local contexts, and so does fashion language. For instance, in the Italian corpus under scrutiny some of the borrowings used in 2007 to define clothes and accessories were Gallicisms such as *fuseaux* (13 occurrences) and

pochette (293 occurrences), but after only two years, in 2009, the Anglicisms *leggings* (85 occurrences) and *clutch* (133 occurrences) – terms most commonly used in the international fashion media – were preferred. However, other French terms have been preserved, as in the case of *tulle* (108 occurrences) and *paillettes* (171 occurrences), since the habit of referring to materials and textiles by means of French lexical items never seems to go out of fashion.

5.1 Non-integrated borrowings

The whole list of manually selected borrowings was subdivided into integrated and non-integrated ones. Non-integrated borrowings maintain their original form at all linguistic levels – with the exception of phonetics – and are thus perceived and recognised by an Italian speaker as foreign (Furiassi 2008). Most technical borrowings in the field of fashion are non-integrated because of their specific status and function: indeed, they are rarely present in Italian dictionaries (*Devoto-Oli*, *GDU*, *Zingarelli*) as, for instance, the Anglicisms *open toe*, *pump* and *stone washed* or the Gallicisms *peau d'ange* and *sautoir*.

5.1.1 Single lexical units

The following, (1) and (2), are examples of non-integrated single-word Anglicisms in the corpus:

(1) *Street jeans. Tutte le vite del* ***denim*** (*ELLE* March 2009)
'Street jeans. All the lives of **denim**'

(2) *Scolapasta usato come cappello* ***vintage*** *[…]*. (*ELLE* October 2009)
'A colander used as a **vintage** hat […].'

An interesting case is the Anglicism *boho*, the abbreviation of *bohemian* (*OED*), that is used to define both accessories, example (3), and styles, example (4):

(3) *[…] la tracolla* ***boho*** *con nappine*. (*ELLE* April 2008)
'[…] the **boho** shoulder bag with small tassels.'

(4) *[…] un po'* ***boho***. (*ELLE* September 2009)
'[…] a bit **boho**.'

Non-integrated borrowings usually preserve the same gender as the Italian equivalent, as the Anglicisms *clutch* and *top-model*, examples (5) and (6), or the Gallicisms *boutique* and *trousse*, examples (7) and (8):

(5) *[…] cristalli sulla **clutch** da sera.* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'[…] crystals on the evening **clutch**.'

(6) *A 33 anni, la vita dell'ex-**top model** è stata decisamente stravolta.*
(*ELLE* April 2009)
'The former **top-model**'s life was totally disrupted when she turned 33.'

(7) *La **boutique**? È nomade: ti raggiunge anche in ufficio*
(*ELLE* November 2007)
'The **boutique**? It's nomadic: it reaches you even in the office'

(8) *Super soft la **trousse** di nappa* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'Super soft napa-leather **trousse**'

Even in the more specialised case of textiles, both Anglicisms, e.g. *tartan*, example (9), and Gallicisms, e.g. *teint*, example (10), tend to remain non-integrated:

(9) *[…] le collezioni sono autentiche odi al **tartan*** (*ELLE* September 2008)
'[…] the collections are authentic odes to **tartan**.'

(10) *[…] **teint** pallido con punti luce dorati, blush pesca ramato e gloss metal.*
(*ELLE* September 2008)
'[…] pale **teint** with golden highlights, auburn peach blush and metallic gloss.'

5.1.2 Compounds

Not only are single lexical units from English or French widespread in the Italian language of fashion; borrowings may also be constituted by compounds, with or without a hyphen. The use of compound Anglicisms in the corpus is shown in examples (11) to (14):

(11) ***Total white** orologio con cassa tonda e datario* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'**Total white** round watch and calendar'

(12) ***Jap-style*** *la mantella e i pantaloni di seta extra large*
(*ELLE* September 2008)
'**Jap-style** cape and extra-large silk trousers'

(13) *Mi piacciono sia le donne* ***fashion hit*** *che* ***fashion flop****.* (*ELLE* April 2008)
'I like both **fashion hit** and **fashion flop** women.'

(14) *Nel mondo della moda è scoppiata la* ***carpet-mania*** (*ELLE* April 2009)
'**Carpet-mania** has exploded in the fashion world'

Example (15) is a very creative combination of English lexical items in which the play on the words *gin* and *gym* is apparent:

(15) ***Gym tonic*** *per gli shorts* (*ELLE* April 2007)
'**Gym tonic** shorts'

Another peculiar type of compound Anglicism is reduplication, as in example (16):

(16) *[…]* ***minimal-minimal*** *o minimal-rich?* (*ELLE* September 2009)
'[…] **minimal-minimal** or minimal-rich?'

In the corpus there are several instances of Gallicisms formed by two French words, usually united by a hyphen (*trait d'union*), as in examples (17) and (18):

(17) *[…] la* ***bleue-soirée*** *Acne e Lanvin.* (*ELLE* September 2008)
'[…] the Acne and Lanvin **blue soirée**.'

(18) *[…] viste sulle passerelle dei designer più* ***avant-garde***. (*ELLE* April 2009)
'[…] seen on the catwalks of the most **avant-garde** designers.'

There are also some creative combinations of French lexical items, e.g. *robe-manteau* and *greige bourgeois*, as shown in examples (19) and (20):

(19) *Un* ***robe-manteau*** *firmato dalla stilista Tanique Coburn* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'A **robe-manteau** designed by the stylist Tanique Coburn'

(20) ***Greige bourgeois*** (*ELLE* April 2009)
'**Bourgeois** beige-grey'

5.1.3 Phraseology

In the corpus there are several instances of phraseological borrowings from English, examples (21) to (25), and French, examples (26) to (30). Some unexpected phrases are included, as in example (21), where the Anglicism *bye* is substituted by its homophone *buy*, in example (24), where *coat-to-coat* echoes the English phrase *coast-to-coast*, or in example (28), *bouquet-à-porter*, where there is an evident wordplay on French *prêt-à-porter*. It is worth mentioning that most phraseological borrowings are found in the titles of articles rather than in articles proper, photo captions or shootings, as testified by examples (21), (22), (25), (27), (28), (29) and (30):

(21) ***Good Buy**! Ora l'instant shopping è più facile* (*ELLE* October 2007)
'Good buy! Now instant shopping is easier'

(22) *L'arte del **mix and match*** (*ELLE* October 2007)
'The art of **mix and match**'

(23) *[…] giovanissime, ma esigenti, **fashion victim**, cominciano presto […].*
(*ELLE* November 2007)
'[…] very young, but demanding, **fashion victims**, they start early […].'

(24) *[…] in un **coat-to-coat** tra modelli robe de chambre.* (*ELLE* March 2007)
'[…] in a **coat-to-coat** among robe de chambre models.'

(25) ***Black & blue** orologio con cinturino stampa cocco* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'**Black & blue** watch with coconut pattern strap'

(26) *[…] ci parlano della loro moda in un **tête-à-tête**.* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'[…] they talk to us about their fashion design in a **tête-à-tête**.'

(27) *Tre outfit del **prêt-à-porter*** (*ELLE* September 2008)
'Three **prêt-à-porter** outfits'

(28) ***Bouquet-à-porter*** (*ELLE* April 2009)
'**A ready-to-wear bunch of flowers**'

(29) ***Fille en fleur*** (*ELLE* April 2009)
'**Blossoming girl**'

(30) ***En plein air*** (*ELLE* November 2007)
'**In the open air**'

5.1.4 Hybrids

Hybrid Anglicisms are "the outcome of a combination of an Italian free morpheme and an English free morpheme" (Furiassi 2010: 54). Italian-English hybrid compounds are indeed present in the corpus, as in examples (31), (32) and (33):

(31) *Day look. […] la* ***giacca-gadget*** *di velluto e viscosa […] e jeans effetto vintage della stessa collezione.* (*ELLE* April 2007)
'Day look. […] the velvet and viscose **gadget-jacket** […] and the vintage-like jeans from the same collection.'

(32) *[…] gli* ***etno-bangles*** *un po' tribali.* (*ELLE* March 2007)
'[…] somewhat tribal **ethno-bangles**.'

(33) *[…] dopo aver rivoluzionato la conceria di famiglia, vende le sue cinture "****cocco-rock****".* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'[…] after revolutionising the family tannery, he sells his "**coconut-rock**" belts.'

A special case of hybrid creativity is that of *con-fusion*, example (34), where the Italian preposition *con*, meaning 'with', is combined with English *fusion*:

(34) ***Con-fusion****!* (*ELLE* November 2007)

Hybrid compounds may also be formed by one French and one Italian word united by a hyphen, as in examples (35), (36) and (37):

(35) *Camicette di seta a stampe Seventies, salopette di denim e sandali platform. In stile* ***bucolico-chic*** *[…].* (*ELLE* November 2007)
'Silk shirts with Seventies patterns, denim overalls and platform sandals. In **country-chic** style […].'

(36) *Clutch con fiocchi. Sembra una caramella la* ***pochette-fiocco*** *di pelle.* (*ELLE* November 2007)
'Bow clutch. The leather **bow-pochette** looks like a candy.'

(37) *Collier di* ***perle-bijou*** *con particelle d'oro* (*ELLE* November 2007)
'**Faux-pearl** necklace with gold particles'

A curious case of hybridity worth mentioning is that of compounds formed by the combination of an English and a French word – the Anglicism always preceding the Gallicism – within a text written in Italian, as in examples (38) to

(45). Such Anglo-Gallic hybrids, spelled with or without a hyphen, are quite productive, especially those containing the Gallicism *chic*, as shown in examples (38) to (43):

(38) *[…] tutte di sapore **boho chic**.* (*ELLE* October 2008)
'[…] all with **a boho chic** taste.'

(39) *[…] la stylist Donna Wallace converte tre donne in carriera allo stile **casual-chic**.* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'[…] the stylist Donna Wallace converts three career women to the **casual-chic** style.'

(40) *[…] **clergy-chic**. L'abito fa il monaco e la moda.* (*ELLE* September 2007)
'[…] **clergy-chic**. You can judge its look and its cover.'

(41) *Giacchina grigia **clerical-chic*** (*ELLE* September 2008)
'Grey **clerical-chic** jacket'

(42) *[…] ha combinato denim-western e pelle **fetish-chic**.* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'[…] he combined denim-western and **fetish-chic** leather.'

(43) *Ora attraverso una fase un po' **minimal-chic**: camicia e pantalone.*
(*ELLE* November 2007)
'I'm now undergoing a somehow **minimal-chic** phase: blouse and trousers.'

(44) *In passerella **cyber couture** "zippata" Gaultier* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'Zipped Gaultier **cyber couture** on the catwalk'

(45) *Sono diventati fenomeni cult, tanto che anche la boutique online, da **Net-à-porter** a La Garçonne […].* (*ELLE* September 2008)
'They have become cult phenomena to such a degree that also online boutiques, from **Net-à-porter** to La Garçonne […].'

5.2 Integrated borrowings

Integration of borrowings in the recipient language framework takes place at all levels (Gusmani 1986): orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. For instance, the integration of Anglicisms into Italian is apparent by looking at verbs; the English gerund ending *-ing* is substituted by Italian *-ando*, first conjugation, in example (46), and the English past participle ending *-ed* is substituted by Italian *-ato*, masculine, in example (47), and *-ata*, feminine, in example (48):

(46) *La Jovovich [...]* ***mixando*** *i suoi abiti con quelli degli stilisti.*
(*ELLE* April 2009)
'Jovovich [...] **mixing** her clothes with the stylists'.'

(47) *Casual chic il bauletto di pitone* ***zippato*** (*ELLE* March 2009)
'Casual chic, the small **zipped** python trunk'

(48) *Scatti rock 'n' roll con la digitale nera* ***customizzata*** *da un nome culto della moda* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'Rock 'n' roll shoots with the black digital camera **customised** by a cult fashion name'

In the case of Gallicisms, integration is shown in examples (49) to (52). However, it is worth mentioning that the integration of fashion-related French terms into Italian has a longer tradition, as testified by *babbuccia* (Fr. *babouche*), first attested in 1799 (*GDU*), *blusa* (originally from Fr. *blouse*, now also Fr. *chemisier*), first attested in 1846 (*GDU*), and *corsetto* (Fr. *corset*), first attested in 1278 (*GDU*):

(49) ***Blusa*** *di seta con collo a sciarpa* (*ELLE* November 2007)
'A silk **blouse** with a scarf-like collar'

(50) *Stringate le* ***babbucce*** *di velluto a costine* (*ELLE* November 2007)
'Corduroy **slippers** with strings'

(51) *[...] abito a bustier di seta a fiori con cintura coordinata e baschina* ***plissettata***. (*ELLE* March 2009)
'[...] a flowery silk bustier dress with matching belt and a **pleated** basque.'

(52) *Gilet e gonna di pelle* ***goffrata*** (*ELLE* November 2007)
'**Embossed** leather waistcoat and skirt'

5.2.1 Morphological integration

As for plural marking, Anglicisms in the corpus may be invariable, as in *must have*, examples (53) and (54), may show both singular and plural form, as in *charm/charms*, examples (55) and (56), and *sneaker/sneakers*, examples (57) and (58), or may only be used in the singular, as in *trend*, example (59):

(53) *Il* ***must have****. Questa stagione credo che il pezzo fondamentale sia il trench declinato in chiave moderna e glamour [...].* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'The **must have**. I think that the most important piece of this season is the trench coat tailored in a modern and glamorous way [...].'

(54) *I **must have** di Andrea* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'Andrea's **must haves**'

(55) *Collana a catena con **charm** a cuore* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'Chain necklace with heart-shaped **charm**'

(56) *Borsina di pelle con coulisse e **charms** di plexi* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'Leather clutch with coulisse and plexiglas **charms**'

(57) ***Sneaker** di pelle con scritte e bande metallizzate* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'Leather **sneakers** with metallic writings and stripes'

(58) ***Sneakers** di tela* (*ELLE* November 2007)
'Canvas **sneakers**'

(59) *Nuovi **trend**. Elegante come Amelia Earhart, lo stile aviatrice prende il volo* (*ELLE* October 2009)
'New **trends**. Elegant as Amelia Earhart, the aviator style takes off'

In the case of Gallicisms, plurality can be either marked, as in examples (60) and (61), or unmarked – as happens in most cases, probably because plural formation in French is more problematic, as in examples (62), (63) and (64):

(60) *Due celebri "**blondes**" d'oltreoceano* (*ELLE* November 2007)
'Two famous "**blondes**" from the other side of the ocean'

(61) *Le uniche armi (di seduzione) consentite sono colbacchi, **cuissardes**, guanti e borsette frou frou.* (*ELLE* September 2008)
'The only allowed (seduction) tools are fur hats, **thigh-high boots**, gloves and frou frou clutches.'

(62) *Per capi easy, **décontracté**, sempre sexy e cool.* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'For easy-to-wear garments, **casual**, always sexy and cool.'

(63) *Collier a festoni di boules **laqué*** (*ELLE* April 2009)
'Festoon necklace made of **lacquered** balls'

(64) *Tutte le **nuance** del marrone* (*ELLE* September 2008)
'All the **nuances** of brown'

Borrowings are rarely preceded by the article, as happens to the Anglicisms *checks* and *pump*, examples (65) and (66), or to the Gallicism *pavé*, example (67):

(65) *[…] **checks** fluorescenti sulla giacca con cintura.* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'[…] fluorescent **checks** on the belted jacket.'

(66) *Soggetto, le scarpe: dalle stringate maschili alla zeppa di sughero, passando per i sandalini di cuoio e* ***pump*** *di vernice* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'Object, shoes: from male shoes with laces to cork-wedge heels, through leather sandals and patent leather **pumps**'

(67) *Bracciale d'acciaio con* ***pavè*** *di strass* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'Steel bracelet with diamanté **bands**'

In very few cases borrowings may be preceded by the article, as the Anglicisms *it-bag* and *must*, examples (68) and (69), or the Gallicisms *fil rouge* and *prêtresse de la mode*, examples (70) and (71):

(68) *Le protagoniste. Le* ***it-bag*** *del momento* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'The protagonists. The **it-bags** of the moment'

(69) *Accessori. Borse e scarpe: i* ***must*** *di stagione* (*ELLE* November 2007)
'Accessories. Bags and shoes: the season's **musts**'

(70) *[…]* ***un fil rouge*** *un po' dark.* (*ELLE* September 2008)
'[…] a slightly dark **leitmotif**.'

(71) *Sarà per le forme morbide – finalmente una* ***prêtresse de la mode*** *non anoressica […].* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'Probably because of the soft shapes – finally a non-anorexic **prêtresse de la mode** […].'

A particular type of morphological integration is "cross-linguistic conversion" (Furiassi 2010: 53). In the corpus there are indeed instances of conversion where English nouns or noun phrases are used as adjectives in Italian, as in examples (72), (73) and (74):

(72) *Giallo* ***men at work*** (*ELLE* April 2009)
'**Men-at-work** yellow'

(73) *Broccato* ***sunrise*** (*ELLE* October 2009)
'**Sunrise** brocade'

(74) *Gilet* ***touchdown*** (*ELLE* September 2009)
'A waistcoat with **American football** prints'

5.2.2 Syntactic integration

A common tendency in the position of borrowings is the prevailing use of left-dislocation, that is fronting, aimed at highlighting the most relevant trait – colour, material, trend, etc. – in the information structure. Fronted Anglicisms

are shown in examples (75), (76) and (77); fronted Gallicisms are shown in examples (78) to (81):

(75) ***Yellow & black*** *la pochette a busta* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'**Yellow & black** the envelope-like clutch bag'

(76) ***Country*** *la gonna a balze e quadrettini* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'**Country** the chequered skirt with flounces'

(77) ***Wild*** *la giacca con collo-gioiello* (*ELLE* November 2007)
'**Wild** the jacket with a jewelled-collar'

(78) ***Rétro*** *il cappello con banda a contrasto* (*ELLE* November 2007)
'**Rétro** the hat with a band in a contrasting colour'

(79) ***Chic*** *l'abitino plissé da sfilata* (*ELLE* April 2007)
'**Chic** the pleated dress for the fashion show'

(80) ***Art déco*** *la cintura con pietre dure* (*ELLE* April 2008)
'**Art Deco** the belt with precious stones'

(81) ***Noisette*** *la scarpa con tacco a fiore* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'**Noisette** the flower-shaped heel shoe'

6 False Anglicisms and false Gallicisms in Italian fashion magazines

False borrowings – whether false Anglicisms or false Gallicisms – are quite frequent in the corpus analysed. It is likely that they are consciously used by journalists in order to reflect their use among Italian readers. In his book *False Anglicisms in Italian*, Furiassi (2010) draws on an extensive literature to analyse and discuss various definitions of false borrowings and false Anglicisms. All in all, the definition of false borrowings that best fits this study is the one put forward by Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodríguez González (2012: 7): "A false or pseudo-loan or Anglicism is a word or multi-word unit in the RL made up of English lexical elements but unknown or used with a conspicuously different meaning in English.".

The reason for the widespread use of false borrowings – particularly false Anglicisms – in Italian fashion magazines can be ascribed to their popularity and to "the stylistic choices of many journalists whose final aim is not accuracy but the impact they want to make on the audience" (Furiassi 2010: 62). False

borrowings in fashion magazines are often extremely creative, most probably because they are prompted by the very nature of fashion, by journalists' stylistic purposes when associating short texts with pictures of innovative clothes, or by the Italian readers' high degree of acceptance of foreign borrowings, whether genuine or false. According to Furiassi (2010: 63):

> Psychologically, the use of false Anglicisms gives Italian speakers the status, the authority, and the allure they crave. From a sociological perspective, the taste for the exotic, the charm of a foreign language, and the glamorous quirk of being creative and playing with language are the core motivations for the birth of false Anglicisms, which then become socially acceptable.

6.1 False Anglicisms

The false Anglicisms in the corpus were classified, according to Furiassi's (2010: 38–52) typology, into AC (autonomous compounds), e.g. *beauty case*, *dark lady*, *nude look*; AD (autonomous derivatives), e.g. *restyling*; CE (compound ellipses), e.g. *baby doll*, *bomber*, *boxer*, *jolly*, *regimental*, *shopping*, *smoking*, *tight*, *trench*, *trolley*; C (clippings), e.g. *balloon*; SS (semantic shifts), e.g. *dark*, *gadget*, *miss*, *pile*, *plaid*, *slip*; E (eponyms), e.g. *liberty*, *montgomery*; T (toponyms), e.g. *bermuda*; GT (generic trademarks), e.g. *K-way*®.

Their identification as false was supported by data found in monolingual English dictionaries (*COBUILD*, *LDOCE*, *Merriam-Webster*, *OED*), bilingual Italian-English dictionaries (*Oxford-Paravia*, *Ragazzini*), monolingual Italian dictionaries (De Mauro and Mancini 2003, *Devoto-Oli*, *GDU*), English corpora (*BNC*, *COCA*) and fashion magazines (the British and American editions of *ELLE* and *VOGUE*).

The total occurrences, i.e. 662, of the 35 false Anglicisms in the corpus outnumber those of the corresponding English equivalents used in the corpus, some false Anglicisms occurring nearly or over 100 times, such as *shopping* (83), *pull* (88), and *plexi* (106). This highlights journalists' stylistic preferences for using creatively modified English terms while developing a special fashion language shared with the readers. Table 2 below summarises the frequency of occurrence of each false Anglicism in the corpus – accompanied by a typological label – and, in the last column, that of the corresponding English equivalent, if present in the corpus.[3]

3 Hapax legomena, i.e. false Anglicisms appearing only once in the whole corpus, are *dark milady*, *K-way*®, *montgomery* and *restyling*.

English equivalents are taken from the *Dictionary of False Anglicisms in Italian* (*DFAI*), included in Furiassi (2010: 137–214), except for the ones corresponding to *ball dress*, *balloon*, *cargo*, *dark milady*, *open-toe*, *plexi*, *polo*, *shopping* and *total look*, which are in fact brand-new false Anglicisms found in this study – not recorded in the *DFAI*. It must be noticed that the only English equivalent that is not provided, i.e. labelled as 'not found' in the table, is the one corresponding to the false Anglicism *total look*, which in Italian refers either to a person's well-groomed outer appearance, carefully refined in every detail – make-up, hairstyle, clothes and accessories – or to the whole production of a fashion manufacturer, which is not limited to one type of items but includes a wide variety of clothes and accessories within its lines.

Table 2: Occurrences of false Anglicisms and their English equivalents

false Anglicisms	frequency	English equivalents	frequency
baby doll (CE)	3	*babydoll nightdress*	0
		babydoll pajamas/pyjamas	0
backstage (SS)	25	*making of*	0
ball dress (AC)	2	*ball gown*	0
balloon (C)	13	*ballooned*	0
beauty case (AC)	6	*cosmetic bag/box/case*	0
		dressing case	0
		make-up case	0
		toilet kit	0
		vanity bag/box/case	0
bermuda (T, C, CE)	3	*bermuda shorts*	0
		bermudas	0
bomber (CE)	24	*bomber jacket*	0
boxer (CE, C)	7	*boxer shorts*	0
		boxers	0
cargo (CE)	9	*cargo pants*	1
dark (SS)	34	*Goth*	0
dark lady (AC)	3	*femme fatale*	2
		vamp	0

false Anglicisms	frequency	English equivalents	frequency
dark milady (AC)	1	*femme fatale*	2
		vamp	0
gadget (SS)	4	*giveaway*	0
golf (CE)	6	*jersey*	0
		jumper	0
		pullover	9
		sweater	2
jolly (CE)	3	*all-round substitute*	0
		factotum	0
		jack-of-all-trades	0
K-way® (GT)	1	*cagoule*	3
		Pac-a-Mac™	0
		Windbreaker™	0
		windcheater	0
liberty (E)	2	*art nouveau*	0
		modern style	0
miss (SS)	17	*glamour girl*	0
		it-girl	9
		showgirl	0
montgomery (E)	1	*duffel (coat)*	0
nude look (AC)	11	*see-through clothing*	0
		sheer clothing	0
		transparent clothing	0
open-toe (C)	34	*open-toed*	0
pile (SS)	2	*fleece*	0
plaid (SS)	5	*blanket*	0
		cover	0
plexi (CE)	106	*Plexiglas®*	16
polo (CE)	14	*polo shirt*	0

false Anglicisms	frequency	English equivalents	frequency
pull (CE)	88	*jersey*	0
		jumper	0
		pullover	9
		sweater	2
regimental (CE)	3	*regimental tie*	0
restyling (AD)	1	*restyle*	0
shopping (CE)	83	*shopper*	18
		shopping bag	22
slip (SS)	13	*briefs*	0
		knickers	0
		panties	0
		(under)pants	0
smoking (CE)	50	*dinner jacket*	1
		tuxedo	9
tight (CE)	2	*morning suit*	0
		tailcoat	0
total look (AC)	13	not found	Ø
trench (CE)	67	*mac/mack*	0
		mac(k)intosh	0
		raincoat	0
		trench coat	0
trolley (CE)	6	*spinner bag/case/suitcase*	0
		trolley bag/case/suitcase	0

6.1.1 *plexi*

Plexi (106 occurrences) is the compound ellipsis of *plexiglas*, a type of hard plastic material derived from a commercial trademark, *Plexiglas*®, via genericness (Furiassi 2012: 97–98). *Plexiglas* also occurs in the corpus, but with fewer occurrences, i.e. 16. Some instances of *plexi* in the corpus are reported in examples (82), (83) and (84):

(82) *Sandali con zeppa design di **plexi*** (*ELLE* March 2007)
'Sandals with a **plexiglas** designed wedge heel'

(83) *Mini abito di pizzo con ricami di paillettes e inserti di lana e **plexi***
(*ELLE* October 2007)
'A short lace dress with sequinned embroidery and wool and **plexiglas** insertions'

(84) *Clutch di raso con bracciale di **plexi*** (*ELLE* March 2009)
'A satin clutch with a **plexiglas** strap'

6.1.2 *pull*

Pull (88 occurrences) is the compound ellipsis of *pullover*: its genuine English equivalents are, besides *pullover*, also *jersey*, *jumper* and *sweater*. *Pull* is used in the corpus to indicate a woollen or cotton sweater, as in examples (85) and (86):

(85) *Micro **pull** di cashmere con maniche di volpe* (*ELLE* October 2007)
'A very small cashmere **pullover** with fox sleeves'

(86) *Jersey per il **pull** dal taglio maschile* (*ELLE* October 2008)
'Jersey for the male-cut **pullover**'

As pointed out by Görlach (2001: 245), *pull*, meaning "a knitted garment put on over the head", is a false Anglicism that is quite frequent in numerous languages. The distribution of this word is almost universal, the pronunciation largely following national conventions. However, a number of languages opt for orthographical integration, i.e. *Pulli* (German) and *pulczi* (Hungarian). New coinages based on *pull* are *minipull* (Spanish) and *Pullunder* (German), i.e. "light sleeveless pullover worn over a shirt".

6.1.3 *shopping*

Among the false Anglicisms that occur more frequently, some are interestingly productive, as in the case of *shopping* (83 occurrences), used to refer to a type of fashionable bag, usually quite large and carried over the shoulder, often made of high quality leather. Genuine English equivalents are *shopping bag* or *shopper* (*OED*). This false Anglicism is often accompanied by the description of materials or patterns that decorate the bag, as shown in examples (87) and (88):

(87) ***Shopping** di vitello con impunture a contrasto* (*ELLE* October 2009)
'A large calf leather **shopping bag** with contrasting stitching'

(88) ***Shopping** glitterata* (*ELLE* March 2008)
'A glittery **shopper**'

6.2 False Gallicisms

The 7 false Gallicisms included in the corpus are one-fifth of the 35 false Anglicisms, most probably due to the reduced use of Gallicisms and the growing diffusion of Anglicisms, whether genuine or false, in the world of fashion. However, it is interesting to notice that between the total frequency of false Gallicisms, i.e. 453, and false Anglicisms, i.e. 662, the distance is not too great and shows that false Gallicisms, on average more dated than false Anglicisms, are fewer but used with a higher frequency.

Their classification as false was confirmed by consulting monolingual French dictionaries (*CNRTL*, *Larousse 1*, *PLI*, *PR*, *TLFi*), bilingual Italian-French dictionaries (*Boch*, *Hoepli*, *Larousse 2*, *Zanichelli*) and monolingual Italian dictionaries (De Mauro and Mancini 2003, *Devoto-Oli*, *GDU*). The false Gallicisms in the corpus were also checked in the French corpus *Discours sur la ville. Corpus de français parlé parisien des années 2000* (*CFPP2000*). In addition, French fashion magazines (the French editions of *ELLE* and *VOGUE*) were consulted. Table 3 below summarises the frequency of occurrence of each of the 7 false Gallicisms in the corpus – accompanied by a typological label. As shown in the last column, no corresponding French equivalents are present in the corpus.[4]

Table 3: Occurrences of false Gallicisms and their French equivalents

false Gallicisms	frequency	French equivalents	frequency
animalier (SS)	36	*tissu imprimé léopard*	0
		tissu imprimé tigre	0
		tissu imprimé zèbre	0
chiffon (SS)[5]	188	*crêpe*	0
		mousseline	0
duvet (CE)	8	*veste en duvet*	0
oblò (SS)	29	*décolleté*	0
		ouverture	0
plateau (CE, SS)	164	*chaussures (à) plateau*	0
		semelles compensées	0
		talons compensés	0
sabot (SS)	24	*mule*	0
torchon (SS)	4	*entrelacé*	0

4 Furiassi's (2010: 38–52) typology of false Anglicisms may be successfully applied to false Gallicisms and also to most false borrowings in general. For other typologies, see Gottlieb and Furiassi (in this volume).

5 First attested in Italian in 1875 (*GDU*), *chiffon* was labeled as a false Gallicism since in none of the monolingual French dictionaries consulted it is related to fabrics and materials. In fact,

6.2.1 *animalier*

Animalier (36 occurrences) originates from a semantic shift that occurred when *animalier* acquired in Italian the new meaning of cloth, leather or fur material printed with a pattern that imitates the skin of leopards, tigers or zebras. This shift has been highly productive and the term has been associated with a variety of objects and materials, as in examples (89) to (95):

(89) *Borse **animalier** con dettagli di metallo dorato* (*ELLE* September 2008)
'**Animal patterned** bags with gold metal details'

(90) *Green & **animalier*** (*ELLE* October 2007)
'Green and **animal patterned**'

(91) *Giacca oversize in panno di lana a stampa **animalier*** (*ELLE* March 2009)
'Extra-large wool jacket with **animal patterns**'

(92) *Décolletées open toe di vernice **animalier*** (*ELLE* September 2009)
'Open toed patent leather shoes with **animal patterns**'

(93) *Io sono più per le borchie, la vernice, gli **animalier**, il tacco, il metallo, l'hi-tech.* (*ELLE* April 2008)
'I prefer studs, patent leather, **animal patterns**, heels, metal, hi-tech.'

(94) ***Animalier** il cappotto di pelliccia* (*ELLE* October 2008)
'**Animal patterns** in the fur coat'

(95) ***Animalier** in volo* (*ELLE* April 2009)
'Flying **animal patterns**'

6.2.2 *oblò*

The false Gallicism *oblò* (29 occurrences) is traditionally used in Italian to refer to the small round window in ship cabins or airplanes, while *oblò* in the corpus is used to refer to a round-shaped pattern in clothes and accessories. *Oblò*, from French *hublot*, first attested in Italian in 1923 (*GDU*), is a rare instance of "graphically adapted" (Furiassi 2010: 35) false Gallicism, as evident in the change of the final *-t* through "accomodation suffixale" (Deroy 1967: 252). The use of *oblò* is quite widespread in the Italian language of fashion, thus being associated with different objects, e.g. clothes, glasses or shoes, as in examples (96) to (100):

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chiffon is mostly used in French to mean En. *rag*. However, in sporadic cases, *chiffon* seems to be used in Canadian French to refer to a fabric, a fact which may lead linguists to consider it a borderline case.

(96) *Abito di lino con **oblò*** (*ELLE* October 2009)
'A linen dress with **portholes**'

(97) ***Oblò** davanti per il sandalo con tacco a stiletto e charm*
(*ELLE* March 2007)
'Front **porthole** and charm for the stiletto-heeled sandal'

(98) *[…] occhiali a maxi **oblò** con montatura in acetato bianco e lenti fumé.*
(*ELLE* October 2008)
'[…] very large **porthole**-like eyeglasses with white acetate frames and fumé lenses.'

(99) ***Oblò** stranianti* (*ELLE* October 2009)
'Eye-catching **portholes**'

(100) *Pull di cashmere con **oblò** sulla schiena* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'A cashmere pullover with **porthole**-like round openings down the back'

6.2.3 *sabot*

In Italian *sabot* (24 occurrences) has undergone a semantic shift from its original French etymon, as shown in examples (101), (102) and (103). In fact, in French *sabot* means 'clogs' and can be used as a synonym of *babouche*. In Italian *sabot*, first attested in 1970 (*GDU*), is now used to define a female shoe, closed in the front and open at the back – referred to in French as *mule*. It is worth considering that, whereas *animalier* and *oblò* are typically Italian false Gallicisms, the false Gallicism *sabot* is also widespread in English – first attested in 1840 (*OED*). Probably, English itself acted as the "mediating language" that contributed to introduce *sabot* into Italian (Furiassi 2010: 58–59):

(101) *[…] **sabot** di suede.*[6] (*ELLE* April 2007)
'[…] suede **sabots**.'

(102) ***Sabot** di pelle lucida con fiocco* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'Glossy leather **sabots** with a bow'

(103) ***Sabot** piatti di gomma colorata* (*ELLE* October 2009)
'Flat plastic **sabots** in colours'

6 In the entire *ELLE* corpus the form *suede* is found only twice whereas all other occurrences display the form *suède*, which first appeared in Italian in 1960 (*GDU*) as a genuine Gallicism (*Larousse 1*). In French *suédé* (*Hoepli*, *Zanichelli*), *suédine* (*Larousse 1*) and *(en) daim* (*Larousse 1*) may also be used to refer to En. *suede*.

6.2.4 *torchon*

In French *torchon* (4 occurrences) traditionally indicates a tea towel or cloth. Via semantic shift, this false Gallicism is used in the Italian language of fashion to indicate a twisted effect created in materials of different types, as in examples (104), (105) and (106):

(104) *[…] di vitello spazzolato con manico* ***torchon****.* (*ELLE* March 2009)
'[…] made of brushed calf-leather with a **twisted** handle.'

(105) *Shopping di pvc stampato con manici a* ***torchon*** *di corda*
(*ELLE* October 2009)
'Printed PVC bag with **twisted** rope handles'

(106) *Collana a* ***torchon*** *di perle bijoux* (*ELLE* April 2007)
'**Twisted** faux-pearl necklace'

7 Creative use of film and song titles

A special case of creativity in the language of Italian fashion magazines is represented by the use of famous film and song titles – with varying degrees of integration, as in … *and the city* or *Who's that …?*, where suspension dots can be freely substituted by any noun or noun phrase. Film and song titles are used for various purposes: to define a garment or an accessory, to label a fashion design collection or to headline an article or an interview. Here follows a sample list of films, TV series, operas and songs creatively exploited in the corpus under scrutiny: *Basic Instinct*, *Goldfinger*, *Lady Hawke*, *Lipstick Jungle*, *London Calling*, *Lord of the Rings*, *Madama Butterfly*, *Material Girl*, *Miami's Angels*, *Prints & the City*, *Purple Rain*, *Red & the City*, *Singin' in the Rain*, *Space Oddity*, *Style & the City*, *Who's that boy?*, *Who's that girl?*, *Wild Wild West*, *Yellow Mellow*.

8 Conclusion

The corpus analysed demonstrates the conscious integration of borrowings from English and French into Italian fashion magazines as well as the creative potential of the Anglicisms and Gallicisms, both genuine and false, used to describe fashion. In the entire corpus there are numerous Anglicisms (182/4,817) and Gallicisms (141/4,073), a considerable number of false Anglicisms (35/662) but

fewer false Gallicisms (7/453).[7] The abundance of false Anglicisms is not only linked to the latest fashion trends and to the high degree of familiarity of fashion magazine readers with these terms, but it is also representative of the high productivity of those false Anglicisms that can be adapted to different fashion contexts and associated with a variety of materials, garments and accessories.

In a pilot study carried out on a corpus of the American and British editions of *ELLE*, a higher number of Gallicisms and a more limited number of Italianisms were identified (Lopriore forthcoming). Therefore, French seems to affect the English language of fashion more than Italian, whereas Italian fashion language seems to be affected more by English than French. Undoubtedly, these findings testify in favour of the bi-directionality of borrowings and false borrowings (see Gottlieb and Furiassi in this volume).

The study presented investigates a small but homogeneous Italian corpus of fashion language. Although manual counting was always double-checked in order to prove the validity and reliability of the emerging figures of both genuine and false Anglicisms and Gallicisms, the lack of software undoubtedly limited the potential of the analysis.

The now available online version of the Italian fashion magazine *ELLE* may help compile a larger electronic corpus which could be accurately queried by means of software, thus enabling both quantitative and qualitative analyses while providing more insights into the use of English and French lexical items in the Italian language of fashion.

A new investigation carried out by means of multi-modal software is also needed in order to investigate the relationship between texts and images. It would then be interesting to study borrowings in spoken texts, as used in fashion shows, on TV fashion channels, fashion websites and blogs. Another area worth researching is the spread of fashion language and fashion-related borrowings to everyday language.

All in all, the potential for creativity in fashion language, and of its lexicon in particular, is certainly ascribable to the very nature of fashion itself, to its ever-changing trends and to the consistent fluidity of the glocalisation processes it has recently undergone. However, it is also made possible by its permeability to social and linguistic phenomena across all social classes that allows constant manipulation of genuine borrowings and the spread of false ones.

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7 The number of items detected, i.e. Anglicisms, Gallicisms, false Anglicisms and false Gallicisms respectively, is specified on the left of the slash-mark while the total number of occurrences is indicated on the right of the slash-mark.

In his book *Streetstyle*, Polhemus (1994: 9) describes the so-called "trickle down, bubble up phenomenon". The traditional tendency of fashion, "its celebration of the New, its singularity and its diffusion from high society to mass market" caused the new look to "trickle down" from fashion designers to the department stores. However, this is now changing, and in many cases fashion is "bubbling up" from the streets to be represented on prestigious catwalks. The same might be applied to the productivity of its language.

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IV English

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10 Drawing a distinction between false Gallicisms and adapted French borrowings in English

Abstract: English abounds with borrowings from French but a number of them are considered pseudo-borrowings (or false Gallicisms) as they do not correspond either morphologically or semantically to the original French etymons. Morphological false Gallicisms include *bon viveur* or *coup*, the original French phrases being *bon vivant* and *coup d'état*, respectively. These examples should be distinguished from other borrowings that have been orthographically adapted to the regular English spelling, as with *maisonette* or *pannier*, or that have been integrated into the grammatical system and have been converted into verbs, as with *compere* or *sauté*. However, most false Gallicisms are semantic, in the sense that the meaning of the loanword does not coincide with the meaning of the original word in French. In some cases, the borrowing designates a different object, entity, situation or place from the same semantic field, as with *crayon*, *chandelier*, *foyer* or *entrée*. In other cases, these words or phrases are used in English with a distinct and unheard-of meaning that bears no apparent connection with the meaning of the French word or phrase, as is the case with *à la mode* or *pompadour*.

Keywords: adapted borrowing, affixation, amelioration, American English, British English, compound ellipsis, conversion, false Gallicism, gender, genuine Gallicism, inflection, paronymy, pejoration, pluralisation, portmanteau morph, semantic narrowing, semantic shift

1 Introduction

False borrowings, also known as pseudo-borrowings, are not easy to classify as their definition may vary significantly from one scholar to another. Here follows the definition of false borrowing by the French lexicologist Jean Tournier (1991: 75): "Il arrive exceptionnellement qu'un mot perçu comme un emprunt à une langue étrangère n'existe pas dans cette langue, ou existe sous une autre forme.

On a alors affaire à un faux emprunt. Exemples : *bon viveur*,[1] *folie de grandeur*. (Les mots français sont *bon vivant*, *folie des grandeurs*).” [Exceptionally a word that is perceived as being borrowed from another language may not actually exist in that language, or not in an identical form; such words can be considered pseudo-borrowings, e.g. *bon viveur*, *folie de grandeur* (the original French words being *bon vivant*, *folie des grandeurs*).].[2]

Tournier’s narrow definition of false borrowing is strictly applied to words which either do not exist in French (*bon viveur*) or have a slightly different form (*folie de grandeur*), which in the examples provided is a matter of derivational and inflectional morphology respectively. According to this definition, the classic examples of false Anglicisms in French, namely *smoking* ‘dinner jacket’, *parking* ‘car park’ or *footing* ‘jogging’, would not fit in as all these words exist in the English language with exactly the same form, but with different senses.[3] In any case, no occurrences of *bon viveur* or of *folie de grandeur* have been found in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (*COCA*). The former is an undisputed Briticism whereas the latter has its native counterpart in the phrase *delusions of grandeur* which is found 71 times in the *COCA*.

When investigating false borrowings one cannot skirt round the notion of the different levels of mastery of the orthographical and grammatical intricacies of a foreign language. It is obvious that the presence of the “right” and the “wrong” forms of a French word in a dictionary entry, e.g. *bon vivant* and *bon viveur* respectively, clearly accounts for the differences in foreign language skills among speakers of English. The *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (*CALD*) registers *bon vivant* but also supplies *bon viveur* between brackets with the label *also UK*. It is my intention to distinguish the whole range of phenomena regarding adapted French loanwords in English as well as setting them against false Gallicisms.

The words analysed in this study are but a sample of French borrowings and false Gallicisms in English. Words have been searched for and selected manually in *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (*AHD*) and in three dictionaries of foreign words and phrases (Ayto 1991; Bliss 1966;

1 This seems to be one of the most clear-cut and classic examples of false Gallicisms. As Ayto (1991: xii) puts it: “Nor does English stop at reinterpreting the pronunciation of foreign words. Sometimes it even invents new ‘foreign’ words. The best-known is the pseudo-French *bon viveur*.”

2 I would like to thank Dr Hélène Chuquet for the translation of this quotation.

3 *Parking* and *footing* are mentioned as “pseudo-loans” by Humbley (2002: 121–122). Thogmartin (1984: 452) classifies *parking*, *footing* and *smoking* as “pseudo-borrowing ending in -ing”. Otman (1989: 121) describes *parking* and *smoking* as *productions françaises à partir de ce suffixe [-ing]* [French products made from that suffix [*-ing*]].

Speake 1998). I have also carried out a search by means of wildcards in the *British National Corpus* (*BNC*), the *COCA* and in the CD-ROM version of the *CALD*. In order to detect potential French borrowings, the following wildcard combinations were used: **age*, **ante*, **eau*, **erie*, **esse*, **et*, **ette*, **eur*, **euse*, **ier*, **ière*, **our*.

2 A definition of false Gallicism

When compared with false Anglicisms, false Gallicisms seem to conform to a slightly different type of classification. The three fundamental types of false Anglicisms in Italian, namely *autonomous compounds*, *compound ellipsis* and *semantic shifts* (Furiassi 2006: 274) cannot be exactly applied to false Gallicisms. As a matter of fact, I have not found any instances of false Gallicisms that could be assigned to the first group, in which false Anglicisms such as Fr. *tennisman* 'tennis player' or It. *autostop* 'hitch-hiking' are included (Furiassi 2010: 141). Conversely, I have found some instances of the second category and a plentiful supply of false Gallicims for the third category.

As a starting point I will consider one of the classic examples of supposedly false Gallicisms in English, i.e. *rendezvous*. To the tutored eye the first minor, though noticeable, difference is typographical – the word is hyphenated in French whereas in English it is a solid compound.[4] So far it could be argued that the English word does not exist in French as no such fluctuation in form is allowed in this language (the word is always hyphenated as it retains the spelling of the second person plural of the imperative mood of the pronominal verb *se rendre* 'to go to', from which it derives). The second and much more striking feature is the conversion process of this noun in English, thus becoming a verb that, once inflected, produces forms such as *rendezvoused* or *rendezvousing*. Conversely, the semantic narrowing (a secret meeting place for lovers) and the metonymic shift (the word designating a place or a venue) are common both in French and in English: it is precisely these features of semantic specialization that have traditionally been put forward as the main arguments for the classification of this type of loanwords as false borrowings. It is consequently a matter of the utmost importance to verify both in authoritative lexicographic sources and in large general corpora all the possible senses of a word in the donor language (DL) so as not to act with precipitation over these issues. Thus, the

4 A search in the *BNC* has yielded the following results: 262 tokens of *rendezvous* against 10 of *rendez-vous*. The *CALD* only registers the unhyphenated form.

French borrowing *rendezvous* will not be classified as a false Gallicism for the above-mentioned reasons.

In what follows I will be using a much broader definition of false borrowings than that advanced by Tournier (1991: 75) in order to include not only the formal component but also the semantic one. So, partially following and adapting the definition of pseudo-Anglicisms by Sørensen (1997: 18) – but also in agreement with Furiassi's (2003: 123) and Fischer's (2008: 7) standpoint on false Anglicisms – false Gallicisms will be defined as words that look French, but which deviate from genuine French words either morphologically, lexically or semantically.

The approach to false Gallicisms is totally different depending on whether these are examined from a diachronic or a synchronic perspective. When looking at the English word *courier*, i.e. "a person who carries important messages or documents for someone else" (*CALD*), one can notice that this is both an adapted French loan (the corresponding French word is *courrier*, with a double *r*) and a semantic false Gallicism as the meaning of the English word *courier* is conveyed in contemporary French by the word *coursier*.[5] On the other hand, and from a diachronic point of view, English adopted the French word in the early 18th century[6] with the regular spelling at that time, so it could be said that the English word corresponds exactly to the French one. Besides, and from a semantic perspective, the word *courrier* is also used in French to designate a *courier*, especially in compounds such as *courrier d'ambassade* or *courrier diplomatique* whose equivalent in English is *diplomatic courier*.

Finally, a distinction should be drawn between false Gallicisms and false friends. These two concepts are occasionally mixed as false friends can sometimes become a sort of catch-all category that encompasses everything from cognates, false friends and false loanwords (see Furiassi 2010: 55–58). For instance, Kirk-Green (1995: 193) categorises *venue* as a false friend when this loanword should be more properly analysed as a false Gallicism since the meaning of the word in English is different from the meaning of the exact same word in French.[7]

3 Formal adaptation of French borrowings

The main mechanisms of formal adaptation of French loanwords and phrases will be outlined taking into consideration all possible typographical, diacritical,

5 See Table 1 in section 6 for a list of false Gallicisms, their definitions in English and translations into French.

6 The first recorded example in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) of the word *courier* with the spelling *courrier* is from 1718.

7 The En. loan *venue* is 'the place where a public event or meeting happens' whereas in French this same word simply means 'arrival or coming'.

orthographical, morphological, lexical and semantic changes when benchmarked against the corresponding native forms in the French language.

The English word *connoisseur* (Fr. *connaisseur*) could exemplify the French loanword in English that has preserved an ancient spelling, currently obsolete in Modern French according to *The Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*). However, the only ancient form of the word provided by the *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* (*DHLF*) is *connoiseor* and not *connoisseur*. One could hypothesise that the unorthodox Old and Middle French ending *-eor* was changed into a more suitable and French-looking *-eur* in English. In any case this item will not be considered a false Gallicism as, depending on the source, the word has either preserved a former foreign spelling or has been orthographically adapted in the RL.

3.1 Typographical, diacritical and orthographical adaptations

Words can be borrowed by an RL exactly as they are written in the DL but sometimes these borrowings can take a somewhat different form in the RL. These formal changes or adaptations are certainly the product of the assimilation and usage of the actual borrowing in the DL as speakers are often unfamiliar with and unaware of the orthographical and grammatical rules applied to foreign loans. When the original French phrase *de luxe* is spelled as one word in English, i.e. *deluxe* (Otman 1989: 122), this simply reflects the linguistic unawareness of dealing with a combination of preposition and noun in French by English-language speakers. However, most of the formal differences mainly concern the use of accents and other diacritics. A remarkable example of this lack of accentual rigour is the loan *papier mâché*. No tokens have been found in the *BNC* of the original French spelling either with one or both diacritics. However, there are 16 tokens of this compound without diacritics in the *BNC*.

As regards spelling, one should differentiate between long-established adapted spelling, as is the case of *maisonette*[8] (Fr. *maisonnette*) and lexicalised variants as with *sobriquet/soubriquet* (Fr. *sobriquet*) and *ambience/ambiance* (Fr. *ambiance*). These variant forms merely reflect the maintenance in contemporary English of a former spelling of the French word as explained by Ayto (1991: 288): "Defying chronology, English actually borrowed the word's original form *soubriquet* (now superseded in French), in the 19th century, and this is now if anything commoner than *sobriquet*.". These examples are to be distinguished, in their

8 The *OED* adds the following commentary in the dictionary entry: "The correct spelling with *-nn-* is rarely found."

turn, from the somewhat erratic orthography reflected in forms such as *de rigeur* instead of the common *de rigueur*: the cluster of vowels is especially difficult to retain, which could partially explain the uncommon spelling.[9] *Portmanteau* (Fr. *portemanteau*) and *apartment* (Fr. *appartement*) illustrate another spelling feature of formal adaptation of French loans into English. The elision of the vowel *e* from the original French words reflects the level of phonological assimilation of the loans as well as the lexical association with such English words as *port* and *apart*.

As observed in the case of *apartment*, there seems to be a tendency towards orthographical adaptation of French loans concerning double and single consonants. Some double consonants in the DL are reduced to one as in *maisonette* and *courier* whereas some single consonants in the DL are doubled in English, as can be seen in such loans as *pannier* (Fr. *panier*) and *fillet* (Fr. *filet*).[10]

3.2 Morphological adaptations

However, it is in morphology, and more precisely in inflection and affixation, where the most prominent examples abound. The epitome of English false French suffixation is *arbitrageur*, a derived noun from the specialised word *arbitrage*.[11] The corresponding French noun is *arbitragiste* and not *arbitrageur*. The latter is an English-derived word that looks entirely French but which does not exist as a word in this language, which automatically makes of this derivative a genuine false Gallicism.

Other instances of morphology are related to the use of the French inflectional endings for the plural and the feminine gender. The lexicalised phrase *the nouveau riche* in English has as its counterpart the French *les nouveaux riches*, in which all three constituents take the appropriate plural ending, *-s*, *-x* and *-s* respectively. Similarly the English adjective *sauté* as used, for instance, in *sauté potatoes* is, as all adjectives in English, invariable, whereas French has four different forms: the masculine singular *sauté*, the masculine plural *sautés*, the feminine singular *sautée* and the feminine plural *sautées*. The latter would

9 5 tokens of the uncommon form against 40 of the common form have been found in the *BNC*.
10 Even though the *CALD* specifies that the form *fillet* is used in British English and the form *filet* in American English, I have found 455 tokens of *filet* and 621 tokens of *fillet* in the *COCA*, which contradicts the information supplied in the dictionary and shows the vacillation over the spelling of French loans.
11 Here is the definition of *arbitrage* included in the *CALD*: "the method on the stock exchange of buying something in one place and selling it in another place at the same time, in order to make a profit from the difference in price in the two places."

be used to translate the example *sauté potatoes* (Fr. *pommes de terre sautées*). It is worth remembering that native inflected forms of French adjectives and nouns can sometimes be found in English texts, but this remains exceptional as these loans tend to be registered in dictionaries – and used in examples – in their invariable form, which clearly accounts for their level of integration in the morphological system of the English language.

A special formal case is represented by the widespread use in English of the feminine ending of a number of French nouns and adjectives used both for male and female referents. The classic example is *blonde* (the feminine form of *blond* in French) used also for men (Bliss 1966: 10). Other instances include the English words *confidante*, *naïve* and *debutante* as illustrated in example (1):

(1) Lord Falconer, who is also the lord chancellor and a close **confidante** of Tony Blair, said a move to proportional representation would mean politicians were preoccupied with establishing coalitions. (*The Guardian* 20 May 2005)

The word in bold in example (1) would be interpreted by a French speaker as having a female referent due to the inflectional ending *-e*. Endings notwithstanding, the referent in the English sentence is Lord Falconer, undoubtedly a man. Obviously the form *confidant* is generally used with a male referent in English, which makes of *confidante* a typical example of masculine/feminine suffix fluctuation depending greatly on the grammatical competence of the speaker. Finally, the adjective *naïve* has supplanted the masculine French adjective *naïf* both in lexicographical entries and in texts. The non-correspondence between grammatical gender in French and actual forms in English does not constitute a criterion for classifying a given French loan as a false Gallicism.

As concerns pluralisation, it is interesting to note the adaptation of some French loanwords to the English morphological pattern present in the lexical paradigm that includes words such as *trousers*, *shorts*, *pants, knickers, dungarees, leggings*, etc. This is exactly the case of the French loan *fatigue* whose origin is to be found in the French phrases *habit de fatigue* or *vêtement de fatigue* that are defined as *réservé pour les tâches pénibles* [especially worn when doing tough jobs] but which are not exclusively used in the field of soldiering, contrary to the English word *fatigues*, as shown in example (2):

(2) Asked recently what he would do when the war ended in Croatia, Arkan said he would sell his six captured tanks, hang up his combat **fatigues** and return to his ice cream parlour business in Belgrade. (*BNC*)

The French loan in bold in example (2) constitutes then a false Gallicism as the word has been semantically reanalysed in English and is translated in French by *treillis*. The case of the English word *culottes*, En. *knee-breeches* "breeches reaching down to, or just below, the knee" (*OED*), is rather complex as it involves several mechanisms, both formal and semantic. On the one hand, the corresponding French word is *jupe-culotte*, which makes of the English word an adaptation by compound ellipsis and pluralisation. On the other hand, there is a word in French, *culottes*, whose meaning does not coincide with its English counterpart as it is used in French to designate underpants or underwear in general.

3.3 Conversion of nouns or adjectives into verbs

Loanwords are subject to conversion or zero derivation as much as words of Anglo-Saxon origin. *Finesse*, *valet*, *rendezvous*, *compere*, *sabotage*, *chauffeur*, *julienne*, *massage*, *sauté*, *début* and many more other nouns and adjectives can be converted into verbs as illustrated in examples (3) and (4):

(3) She worked with Cyril Stapleton's BBC Showband and featured on the Goon Show. For a decade from the late 1970s, she **compered** a highly successful BBC Radio 2 show. (*The Guardian* 29 May 2000)

(4) I have recently been through a bit of a root vegetable phase [. . .] thinly sliced or **julienned**, dressed with a tasty little vinaigrette and tossed with dried fruit or pulses or crisp winter leaves – or all of the above. (*The Guardian* 18 January 2012)

The conjugated forms in bold in examples (3) and (4) are to be regarded as native English adaptations of the French loans and not as false Gallicisms. The same criterion should be applied to other fairly common French loans from the semantic field of food and cookery when they are used as verbs, for instance *to fillet* or *to purée* as there is no semantic change involved in the conversion process.

3.4 Lexical adaptations

This section will be dealing with cases of compound ellipsis, by which one or more words in a compound or a noun phrase are elided, and that is unquestionably one of the commonest mechanisms of creating pseudo-borrowings in many

European languages (Alexieva 2002: 257; Busse & Görlach 2002: 29; Graedler 2002: 77; Humbley 2002: 121; Maximova 2002: 208; Pulcini 2002: 163; Rodríguez González 2002: 147). Sometimes the elision is possible in the DL, as happens with Fr. *tableau vivant*, or simply Fr. *tableau*, whereas in other cases the elision in English, which is optional, is not possible in French if the same meaning is to be conveyed, as with *coup d'état*[12] and *haute couture*. It is only in their non-canonical, single-word form that these loans are considered false Gallicisms. However, these loans can be used with exactly the same meaning in English in their abbreviated forms, *coup* and *couture* respectively, as shown in examples (5) and (6):

(5) At first, he accepted military rule by Mr. Musharraf, who as head of the armed forces had seized power in a **coup** in 1999. (*COCA*)

(6) But if you want to understand why **couture** still matters, look inside a Valentino ballgown, a YSL Le Smoking, a Chanel suit. (*COCA*)

Contrary to the above examples, the loan *séance*, whose French counterpart is *séance de spiritisme*, is only found in English as a single word and as such it is attested in dictionary entries.[13] Otman (1989: 119) analyses *séance* as an instance of semantic narrowing in the RL and puts it on a par with French loanwords such as *ensemble* or *bouquet*. I would rather look at it as a case of compound ellipsis and therefore as a false Gallicism.

One could think that it is the head of the compound or the noun phrase that is retained as the shortened version in English. However, this is not always the case as other procedures may come into play. The English *au pair* is a shortened version of the original French noun phrase *jeune fille au pair*, literally 'young girl on equal terms', in which the elided constituent is precisely the head of the noun phrase. As my aim is to investigate the current state of affairs concerning false Gallicisms in English, this example will be considered as such and hence will be included in the list of false Gallicisms provided in Table 1 (see section 6).

Thogmartin (1984: 454) mentions four cases of French pseudo-borrowings in English, namely *brassiere*, *au gratin*, *au jus* and *à la mode*. The use of the portmanteau morph *au* – whose corresponding feminine form is *à la* – can be compared, although not in the same proportion, to the use of the *-ing* form in false

12 Other compounds having as head the French word *coup* attested in the *OED* are *coup de force, coup de foudre, coup de glotte, coup de grâce, coup de main, coup d'œil, coup de poing, coup de soleil, coup de théâtre* and *coup de vent*. It goes without saying that only *coup d'état* does allow the elision of the complement of the head noun.

13 I have checked this entry in a monolingual dictionary, the *CALD*, as well as in a bilingual dictionary, the *Oxford-Hachette French Dictionary* (*OHFD*).

Anglicisms. This morph is regarded as typically French by English speakers and sometimes can be added to any French loan from the semantic field of food, regardless of the fact that the resulting combination is not lexically or grammatically possible in the source language. For instance, the English phrase *potatoes au gratin* would be translated into French as *gratin de pommes de terre*. 5 tokens of *au gratin* have been found in the *BNC* and a total number of 53 in the *COCA*. Used mainly in combination with the word *potatoes*, the phrase can be placed both before and after the noun: *potatoes au gratin* or *au gratin potatoes*. However, it can also be used as the head of a noun phrase, as in *au gratin of potatoes* and even as a single noun in itself which functions as the subject of the sentence as in *The au gratin* + predicate. This is undeniably a false Gallicism – the actual combination *au gratin* simply does not exist in French.

Other word-relation processes can be observed, as for instance paronymy, which is certainly responsible for the existence of the English compound *double entendre*, a typical example of pseudo-Gallicism. There is a similar phrase in French, *à double entente*, which means exactly the same although the sexual innuendo of the English phrase is not necessarily present in the French one. The two French words, *entendre* and *entente*, are etymologically related and phonologically close, which makes them paronymous. According to Renouf (2004: 533) "[t]he modern French semantic equivalent of *double entendre* is *mot à double sens* or *mot en sous-entendu*".

4 Semantic false Gallicisms

Different types of semantic mechanisms are underway in the lexical borrowing process of languages in contact and especially between French and English. These are extremely varied and can go from semantic extension or reduction and metonymic, metaphoric or meronymic shifts to connotational changes such as amelioration or pejoration. Two common examples are the English words *chandelier* and *crayon* which refer to slightly different objects if compared to their French counterparts *chandelier* 'candlestick' and *crayon* 'pencil'. As Winford (2010: 175) points out, "many borrowings do not represent complete adoption of a foreign item with both its form and meaning" and this is especially true of semantic false Gallicisms.

There may even be non-native word creations such as *papier mâché* and *nom de plume*.[14] The *OED* clearly specifies in a special note in the entry of *papier*

14 Only *nom de plume* is included in Görlach (2003: 146) and is described as "pseudo-French".

mâché that "[a]lthough composed of French words, the name *papier mâché* appears not to be of French origin. It is not recognised in the French Dictionaries of the Académie, Littré or Hatz-Darm, except in its literal sense of 'chewed paper'." I do not concur with the above statement since both nouns are attested in the *Trésor de la langue française informatisé* (*TLFi*). Moreover, the French general corpus *Frantext* registers its first appearance in 1736 (there are 111 tokens in *Frantext* where the noun is used to complement the head noun *figure*, *visage* or *mine*, the three of them meaning 'face') and its use as "pieces of paper mixed with glue or with flour and water and used to make decorative objects or models" (*CALD*) is very common, as shown in example (7), from 1938:

(7) Laforgue ne retrouvait que des cheveux familiers, comme ces cheveux naturels plantés sur les masques chinois de **papier mâché**. (*Frantext*)

According to Ayto (1991: 211) *nom de plume* "gives every indication of being a French expression, but in fact it is quite uncommon in French, and it could well be that it was coined in English as a pseudo-Frenchism, perhaps modelled on the long-established *nom de guerre* (it is first recorded in the 1820s, in the works of Thomas de Quincey)." As regards *papier mâché* Ayto (1991: 225) adds that "*[p]apier* 'paper' and *mâché* 'chewed' are of course French words, but the term *papier mâché* appears to have been concocted in English in the mid-18th century: the usual French expression for what we call *papier mâché* is *carton-pâte*." If the synchronic criterion should be applied here, *nom de plume* and *papier mâché* are not to be considered false Gallicisms as they are used in French in exactly the same sense as in English, irrespective of the fact that they were created in English.

It should be noted as well that some words can be at the same time a genuine Gallicism and a false Gallicism: the word *charade*, when used in the plural, describes a sort of team game both in French and in English. However, the semantic extension that the word has developed in English is unknown in French. Example (8) shows the use of the English word *charade* for which the French translation would be *comédie*:

(8) The wounds Giles had inflicted were only just beginning to heal. Had she ever really meant anything to him? Or had all his compliments and charm, so convincing at the time, been just a **charade** to get him what he wanted? (*BNC*)

The same situation applies to the English word *fracas* as used in example (9). In English the word is synonymous with 'brawl' or 'fight', whereas in French

the word is associated with strong, unpleasant noise and could be translated as 'crash', 'din' or even 'roar':

(9) In Tascosa he had encountered a brother of the dead Natchez gambler accompanied by two of the irate companions. He had killed two of his enemies and wounded the other, coming out of the **fracas** with a bullet in his leg. (*COCA*)

A special use of the French prepositional phrase *en suite* – also spelled as a solid or as a hyphenated compound – has developed in English to designate "a bathroom which is directly connected to a bedroom or a bedroom which is connected to a bathroom" (*CALD*). Although the phrase is mainly used as an adjective, *an en suite bathroom*, it can also be found as a noun. The loan is much more common and widespread in British English than in American English where it is primarily used to describe a type of compact bathroom in the specialized context of motor boating and yachting.

Negligee is sometimes given as an example of an English word creation (Ayto 1991: 206). However, the French word *negligé* designates, as well as *déshabillé*, "a woman's decorative dressing gown made of light material" (*CALD*). At times the search in the *Oxford-Hachette French Dictionary* (*OHFD*) can bring about the most puzzling and indiscernible situation since Fr. *négligé* is translated as En. *negligee* whereas En. *negligee* is translated as Fr. *déshabillé*. Moreover, the existence of the English word *dishabille* (and its variant *deshabille*[15]) turns the whole issue into a sort of lexical mélange. Consequently, this loan will not be classified as a false Gallicism for the same reasons as for *papier mâché* or *nom de plume*, namely that the word is used in contemporary French with exactly the same meaning – although not the same form – as the English loan.

The English word *cortege* designates "a slowly moving line of people, or cars at a funeral" (*CALD*). This is a case of semantic restriction and of formal truncation from the original French *cortège funèbre*. The French *cortège* is not only used for various types of ceremonies, but also for demonstrations or to refer to groups of students or workers. Once more, the bilingual dictionary supplies contradictory information: the translation of Fr. *cortège funèbre* is En. *cortege* whereas the translation of En. *cortege* is Fr. *cortège*. Regarded fundamentally as a case of compound ellipsis, this loan will be categorised as a false Gallicism.

15 This information is taken from the *AHD* that defines *dishabille* as "the state of being partially or very casually dressed; a state of undress" and as "casual or lounging attire".

Finally, the English words *exposé* and *dossier* have been borrowed from French and have both undergone a semantic pejoration process. The corresponding French words are connotatively neutral whereas their English counterparts are usually associated with criminals or criminal acts and contexts. Connotational processes such as pejoration or amelioration will not be regarded as valid semantic mechanisms to label French loans as false Gallicisms as they represent a special type of semantic narrowing – in the cases above there are no morphological, lexical or semantic differences and both words are translated into French by their homonyms.

5 False Gallicisms and English language varieties

Some false Gallicisms are not of general use in English but are restricted to a certain geographical area. In what follows a few instances of false Gallicisms that are either Briticisms or Americanisms will be examined. Furthermore, some false Gallicisms can be classified according not to regional varieties but to different types of technical or specialised languages.

5.1 False Gallicisms peculiar to British English

Words or phrases that are especially used in Great Britain are known as Briticisms. Well-known Briticisms are *flat* (*apartment*), *bloke* (*guy*) or *central reservation* (*median strip*), meaning "a strip of ground which divides the carriageways of a road" (*OED*), to mention just a few. The English Gallicism *cagoule* is labelled "UK" in the *CALD* and means "a light jacket with a hood which protects the wearer against wet and windy weather"[16] as illustrated in example (10):

(10) If you can imagine being on a steep, snow-covered slope, below which there is a 1000 m (3,500 ft) sheer drop, would you prefer to be wearing a shiny nylon **cagoule** or a rough old woollen jumper? (*BNC*)

16 Something which corroborates the fact that *cagoule* is a Briticism is that no entry of this word has been found in the *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (*WTNID*). However, the derivative *cagoulard*, "a member of a secret reactionary revolutionary French organization suppressed in 1937-38", is included, as this refers to a historically relevant event in French history, which is obviously beyond any varietal distinction.

The French word *cagoule* has historically been used to designate a cowl, i.e. "a large loose covering for the head and sometimes shoulders, but not the face, which is worn especially by monks" (*CALD*). In modern times the word has taken on a second sense in French which corresponds exactly to the English word *balaclava*, in its turn a borrowing from a toponym in the Ukraine.

The word *courier* in English has the general meaning of "a person who carries important messages or documents for someone else" (*CALD*) and is a quasi-synonym of *messenger*. However, this French loanword has taken on a specialised meaning in British English in the field of tourism as "a person who looks after a group of people on holiday especially by giving them advice on what to do, what to see, etc" (*CALD*).

5.2 False Gallicisms peculiar to American English

Words or phrases associated with the variety of the English language spoken in the United States are known as Americanisms. Well-known Americanisms include *cookie* (*biscuit*), *rooster* (*cock*) or *scallion* (*spring onion*) among many others.

Valet is a clearly identifiable French loan which is phonologically marked as the final *t* is silent, thus imitating the original French pronunciation. This word, which is currently used to designate "someone in a hotel who cleans clothes" (*CALD*), has taken on a special meaning in American English and is applied to refer to "someone at a hotel or restaurant that puts your car in a parking space for you" (*CALD*) as shown in example (11):

(11) The paparazzi were busy snapping photos of the solo Olsen twin as she waited for the **valet** to fetch her car. (*COCA*)

It is well established that a great number of French words and phrases related to food and wine have made their way into English and many other languages worldwide. However, some of these loans have taken on a special sense in British or American English, as is the case with *hors d'oeuvres*.[17] Another rather conspicuous false Gallicism peculiar to American English is *entrée* which means *main course* as illustrated in example (12):

(12) The cooks are given offbeat ingredients and just 20-30 minutes to make an appetizer, **entree** and dessert, resulting in such offerings as sea urchin French toast. (*COCA*)

17 *Hors d'oeuvres* means "a small savoury dish eaten at the start of a meal" in British English whereas in American English it means "small pieces of food eaten at a party" (*CALD*).

A very well-known example of semantic shift is represented by the French loan *bureau* and the sense that the word has taken on in American English. A *bureau* in Great Britain is a writing desk whereas in the United States the word is used to refer to a chest of drawers,[18] as shown in example (13):

(13) Helen walked to a **bureau** and searched the drawers, one filled with scarves and nylons, the next with panties neatly folded and separated by color. (*COCA*)

Foyer is another case of a false Gallicism exclusively in the sense that this word has developed in American English as "the room in a house or apartment leading from the front door to other rooms, where things like coats and hats are kept" (*CALD*). The loan is synonymous with *hall* or *hallway* as illustrated in example (14):

(14) The main entrance leads to a small **foyer**, beyond which is a spacious living room with original hardwood floors, a wood-burning stove and glass doors that open to a back patio and bathe the space in natural light. (*COCA*)

So far I have dealt with words that are common to both language varieties but which have developed a special and distinct sense in American English. This is simply part of a larger linguistic phenomenon which is common and well-attested in the different varieties of the four main European languages spoken in the American continent, i.e. English, Spanish, Portuguese and French. On the contrary, there are French loans that are only found in American English, and that is precisely the case of *pompadour*, example (15), a word that designates a type of hairdo that the British call *quiff* and the French call *banane*:

(15) The other was younger, maybe a couple years older than I was. He was brown-haired; he had a big **pompadour** and he combed his hair back into a duck's ass, a popular style at the time. (*COCA*)

Au jus seems to be in use only in American English as 16 tokens of the phrase have been found in the *COCA* and none in the *BNC*. The phrase has an entry in the *WTNID* and is defined as "served in the meat juice obtained from

18 Not only in American English does this French loan acquire a new sense. The Swedish formally-adapted French loan *byrå* (Fr. bureau) has exactly the same meaning as its American counterpart, which automatically makes of it a false Gallicism in Swedish.

roasting (roast beef au jus)". In order to express the same idea French would need a more complex structure to translate the example provided at the end of the definition, but in any case the combination of the portmanteau morph *au* and the noun *jus* does not make any sense in French.

Finally, the phrase *à la mode* represents another instance of a false Gallicism peculiar to American English since it is used to designate a scoop of vanilla ice-cream accompanying a dessert as shown in example (16):

(16) I've long been amused by diners who choose a dessert like apple pie **a la mode**, at about 600 calories a serving, and sprinkle artificial sweetener in their coffee or tea to replace the 16 calories in a teaspoon of sugar. (*COCA*)

5.3 Technical or specialised languages

The very few examples of false Gallicisms in this section are representative of a certain type of borrowings that have made their way into terminology or are restricted to a specialised area or technical field. It is a well-known fact that English has borrowed an important number of French words and phrases along centuries of mutual lexical contact and that cookery, fashion, law and the military have been particularly receptive to French lexis. As a general rule, the large majority of French loans in these and other specialised areas have retained their original sense in English although some particular terms related to traditional trades or artisan professional activities could be catalogued in the list of false Gallicisms.

In the specialised field of the leather industry I have found the French-looking word, *surcingle*. The *AHD* defines it as "[a] girth that binds a saddle, pack, or blanket to the body of a horse". The word as such does not exist in French which uses the terms *surfaix* or *sous-ventrière* to refer to the same object. The English word is etymologically and semantically related to contemporary French *sangle*, which has exactly the same meaning but which is non-specialised and therefore is part of the French core vocabulary, contrary to the word *surcingle* in English, completely unknown to the non-specialists.

In the technical language of sewing or needlework, mention should be made of the English term *appliqué*, whose French translation is *application*. The word *appliqué* means "[a] decoration or ornament, as in needlework, made by cutting pieces of one material and applying them to the surface of another" (*AHD*), and clearly constitutes a case of technical false Gallicism as the French word *appliqué* 'applied' is the past participle of the verb *appliquer*, 'to apply', and is used exclusively as an adjective in combinations such as *linguistique*

appliquée, 'applied linguistics', or *mathématiques appliqués*, 'applied mathematics'.

Lastly, I would like to point out the use of the French loan *rosette* in architecture to designate "a circular ornament, carved, painted or moulded resembling a formalised rose" (*GDT*). The equivalent specialised term in French is *rosace*.

6 False Gallicisms in the English language

Items included in Table 1 below represent a selection of false Gallicisms in the English language; they were retrieved manually from the sources mentioned in the introduction as no automatic way of retrieving false Gallicisms is yet available for language researchers. The words analysed as false Gallicisms in this article are listed in the first column; their definitions, as found in the *CALD*, are included in the second column; the third column provides the translation into French given by the *OHFD*. This selection constitutes a representative cross-section of the different morphological and semantic phenomena related to false Gallicisms in English. It should be noted that when a given item does not have an entry in either of the two dictionaries mentioned above, other monolingual lexicographic sources have been consulted, namely *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (*AHD*), *Le Grand Dictionnaire Terminologique* (*GDT*) and the *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (*WTNID*). False Gallicisms specific to the American variety are labelled *US* and those mainly used in the British Isles are labelled *UK*.

Table 1: A selection of false Gallicisms in the English language

false Gallicisms	**definitions (*CALD*)**	**translations into French (*OHFD*)**
à la mode (*US*)	Served with ice cream.	*avec une glace à la vanille*
appliqué	Decorative work in which one piece of cloth is sewn or fixed onto another, or the activity of decorating cloth in this way.	*application*
au gratin	Cooked with a covering of cheese or small pieces of bread mixed with butter.	*gratin*
au jus (*US*)	Served in the meat juice obtained from roasting. (*WTNID*)	*servi dans le jus de cuisson*

false Gallicisms	**definitions (*CALD*)**	**translations into French (*OHFD*)**
au pair	A foreign person, usually a young woman, who lives with a family in order to learn their language and who looks after the children or cleans the house in return for meals, a room and a small payment.	*jeune fille au pair*
arbitrageur	A person who makes money from arbitrage.	*arbitragiste*
bon viveur (*UK*)	A person who enjoys good food and wines and likes going to restaurants and parties.	*bon vivant*
brassiere	A piece of women's underwear that supports the breasts.	*soutien-gorge*
bureau (*US*)	A piece of furniture with drawers in which you keep things such as clothes.	*commode*
cagoule (*UK*)	A light jacket with a hood which protects the wearer against wet and windy weather.	*anorak, K-Way®*
chandelier	A decorative light which hangs from the ceiling and has several parts like branches for holding bulbs or, especially in the past, candles.	*lustre*
charade	An act or event which is clearly false.	*comédie*
cortege	A slowly moving line of people, or cars at a funeral.	*cortège funèbre*
coup (d'état)	Sudden illegal, often violent, taking of government power, especially by (part of) an army.	*coup d'état*
courier	A person who carries important messages or documents for someone else.	*coursier*
courier (*UK*)	Person who looks after a group of people on holiday especially by giving them advice on what to do, what to see, etc.	*guide*
crayon	A small stick of coloured wax used for drawing or writing.	*craie grasse*

false Gallicisms	**definitions (*CALD*)**	**translations into French (*OHFD*)**
culottes	Women's short trousers which look like a skirt.	*jupe-culotte*
double entendre	A word or phrase that might be understood in two ways, one of which is usually sexual.	*sous-entendu (grivois)*
en suite, *en-suite*, *ensuite*	Describes a bathroom which is directly connected to a bedroom or a bedroom which is connected to a bathroom.	*salle de bain attenante*
entrée (*US*)	The main dish of a meal.	*plat principal*
fatigues	A loose brownish green uniform worn by soldiers.	*treillis*
folie de grandeur[19]	Delusions of grandeur	*folie des grandeurs*
foyer (*US*)	The room in a house or apartment leading from the front door to other rooms, where things like coats and hats are kept.	*entrée*
fracas	A noisy argument or fight.	*altercation, accrochage*
(haute) couture	The designing, making and selling of expensive fashionable clothing, or the clothes themselves.	*haute couture*
pannier	A bag or similar container, especially one of a pair that hangs on either side of a bicycle, motorcycle, or animal such as a horse or donkey.	*sacoche*
pompadour (*US*)	A hairstyle, worn usually by men, in which the hair at the front of the head is brushed up.	*banane*
résumé (*US*)	A short written description of your education, qualifications, previous jobs and sometimes also your personal interests, which you send to an employer when you are trying to get a job.	*CV, curriculum (vitae)*

19 No definitions or translations have been found in the *CALD* and in the *OHFD*. However, the phrase is attested in Ayto's *Dictionaries of Foreign Words and Phrases*.

false Gallicisms	definitions (*CALD*)	translations into French (*OHFD*)
rosette	A circular ornament, carved, painted or moulded resembling a formalised rose; also a rose-shaped patera. (*GDT*)	*rosace* (*GDT*)
surcingle	A girth that binds a saddle, pack, or blanket to the body of a horse. (*AHD*)	*surfaix, sous-ventrière* (*GDT*)
valet (*US*)	Someone at a hotel or restaurant who puts your car in a parking space for you.	*voiturier*
venue	The place where a public event or meeting happens.	*lieu*

7 Conclusion

It is essential to subscribe to a synchronic or to a diachronic perspective in the analysis of false borrowings in general, and of false Gallicisms in English in particular: borrowings such as *nom de plume* and *papier mâché* have exactly the same meaning in contemporary French and in contemporary English, regardless of the fact that, according to highly reputable sources, they were not coined in France. A sharp distinction should also be drawn between a) genuine Gallicisms, that have been adapted orthographically and remain formally stable in contemporary English (*maisonette*) or that fluctuate as far as gender and plural agreement is concerned (*confidant/e*, *the nouveau/x riche/s*), and b) false Gallicisms, which either do not exist as such in French (*arbitrageur*) or have been truncated or clipped (*couture*) or if they do, have a completely different semantic referent (*chandelier*). As with native Anglo-Saxon words, some French loanwords do not necessarily mean the same thing on both shores of the Atlantic (*bureau*) and some others may have acquired a specific meaning in a certain technical or specialised language (*appliqué*).

Other studies of false Gallicisms (and of false borrowings in general) would be necessary so as to contrast items, analyses and results that will eventually pave the way for the publication of a dictionary of false borrowings in English.

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Appendix

Cristiano Furiassi

11 False borrowings and false Anglicisms: Issues in terminology

Abstract: The worldwide phenomenon of false borrowings mirrors the creative potential of languages in contact. However, despite the fact that studies on false borrowings in general and false Anglicisms in particular have been growing in number, their specific treatment has not received adequate attention yet; in fact, it is not possible to find univocal and unambiguous terminology in the existing literature since many different terms are used for their identification. At present, the bulk of the literature has been written in English, but terminological ambiguity is also evident in non-English linguistic traditions. This appendix aims at presenting a survey of the literature on false borrowings from a supposed donor language into a likewise supposed recipient language; terminological issues are highlighted by analysing 269 academic publications from 1929 to 2014.

Keywords: false borrowings, false Anglicisms, false Gallicisms, false Germanisms, false Hispanisms, false Italianisms, pseudo-borrowings, pseudo-Anglicisms, pseudo-Gallicisms, pseudo-Germanisms, pseudo-Hispanisms, pseudo-Italianisms

1 Introduction

Despite being usually disregarded by linguists and lexicographers – probably due to their reduced quantitative impact on the lexicon – false borrowings undoubtedly bear witness to the creative potential of language contact. More exactly, false borrowings have not been extensively analyzed as a phenomenon *per se*: on the contrary, they have been only hinted at in the scholarly literature as ancillary to "real" borrowings, thus creating confusion between what is really borrowed, directly or indirectly, and what is autonomously coined by supposed recipient languages. Although it is undeniable that studies on false Anglicisms have been growing in number in the very recent past, the specific treatment of false borrowings in general and false Anglicisms in particular has not received adequate attention yet. In fact, few comprehensive monographs on the topic have been published so far, namely Cypionka (1994), on false Anglicisms in

French – written in German – and Furiassi (2010), on false Anglicisms in Italian – written in English.[1]

As often seen in newly-developing academic fields, diverging – or even imprecise – terminology concerning language-contact phenomena is likely to be related to disagreement on the very nature of the topic studied. On the whole, it is not possible to find univocal and unambiguous terminology in the existing literature – and even in this volume.

Indeed, many different terms are used to refer to this linguistic phenomenon, even by the same scholar over the years. Despite the fact that, at present, the bulk of the literature has been written in English, terminological ambiguity is also evident in non-English linguistic traditions, namely the Italian, German, French and Spanish academias.[2]

Terminological issues aside, the term chosen in this appendix – starting from the title itself – is *false*, instead of *pseudo-*, without differentiating between the various labels provided by the scholars surveyed. The reason for this preference, somehow idiolectal, has to be traced back to the meaning of the adjective *false* and the head to which it is related. With regard to false borrowings – hence any type of false -isms, *false* indeed contrasts with something real, true and authentic. False Anglicisms are in fact the opposite of "real" Anglicisms, i.e. loanwords directly borrowed from English, thus revealing their deceptive and misleading nature to eavesdropping native speakers.

In order to report on the high degree of variability in the labels applied, this appendix presents a survey of the literature on false borrowings in general as well as false borrowings from English, i.e. false Anglicisms, and into English, i.e. false Italianisms, false Germanisms, false Gallicisms and false Hispanisms. The labels/terms used to refer to this multi-faceted phenomenon, retrieved from 269 scholarly works – all featuring in the reference section – published between 1929 and 2014, are reported throughout this appendix.[3]

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1 It is worth mentioning that only few of the sources included in the reference section are specifically devoted to false -isms: most sources simply mention the existence of the phenomenon within the wider framework of "real" -isms.

2 Throughout this appendix the labels used to refer to false borrowings and/or false Anglicisms in works published in languages other than English, Italian, German, French and Spanish will only be mentioned when essential.

3 Labels are listed in alphabetical order in all sections and sub-sections; different authors using the same label are quoted first in chronological order – from the least recent publication to the most recent one – and then in alphabetical order by surname.

2 False borrowings

It is readily perceptible from the introductory section that the terms employed by scholars are of considerable variety. The following sub-sections include the numerous labels used to refer to false borrowings in the literature written in English, Italian, German, French and Spanish.

2.1 False borrowings in the literature written in English

With regard to false borrowings, the following labels have been used in the literature written in English: *allogenisms* (Winter-Froemel 2010: 70), *'fabricated words'* (J. Miller 2003), *fake borrowings* (Pinnavaia 2001: 54), *false borrowings* (López-Morillas 1990: 117; Pirooz 2003: 123; Balteiro 2011a: 288; Furiassi 2012b: 772, 2014: 47), *false loans* (Hope 1971: 619; Pulcini 1994: 51; Rosati 2004: 19; Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodríguez González 2012: 7), *heterolexical words* (Fradin 2000: 14), *loan-based creations* (Haspelmath 2009: 39), *native creations* (Haugen 1950: 221; Winford 2003: 45),[4] *non-loans* (Miura 1979: 15; McCreary 1990: 62), *pseudo-borrowings* or *pseudoborrowings* (Pilch 1976: 152; Thogmartin 1984: 447; Kirkness 2001: 320; Fischer 2008: 7; Harris and Cardoso 2009: 74, 2011: 6; Heinz and Gärtig 2014: 1103), *pseudo-formations* (Fischer 2008: 10), *pseudo-foreignisms* (Tosi 2001: 178), *pseudo-hybrids* (Graedler 1998: 50); *pseudo-loans* or *pseudo loans* (McCreary 1990: 66; Sanniti di Baja 1992: 158; Graedler 1998: 50; Pulcini 1999: 362, 2002: 163; Alexieva 2002: 257; Berteloot and Van der Sijs 2002: 53; Busse and Görlach 2002: 29; Costantinescu, Popovici and Ştefănescu 2002: 190; Farkas and Kniezsa 2002: 287; Filipović 2002: 238; Graedler 2002: 77; Humbley 2002: 121; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2002: 226; Maximova 2002: 208; Rodríguez González 2002: 147; Stathi 2002: 325; Grzega 2003: 30; Preisler 2003: 115; Graedler 2004: 9; Rosati 2004: 19; Stålhammar 2004: 96; Fischer 2008: 7; Greavu 2011: 38; Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodríguez González 2012: 7; Koll-Stobbe and Knospe 2014: x; Zenner and Kristiansen 2014: 3), *pseudo-loanwords* or *pseudo loanwords* (Miura 1979: 15, 1985: 16; McCreary 1990: 66; Janda and Joseph 2003: 154), *pseudo-transfers* (Hedderich 2003: 49) and *semi-borrowed forms* (Matras 2009: 175).[5]

4 Winford (2010: 175) describes *native creations* as "innovations that have no counterpart in the SL, [. . .] created out of foreign materials".

5 Posthumus (1991: 11) refers to false borrowings in Dutch as *namaak-buitenlands*, lit. 'forged foreignisms' As far as false borrowings in Japanese are concerned, the native term *wasei eigo*, meaning 'English made in Japan', is used when referring to foreign lexemes manipulated or invented in Japan (Kay 1995: 70; Miller 1997: 123; Warren 2008: 19). As for the Slavic languages, see Ajdukovich (2009: 92–93) on the notions of *contactemes* and *contact-lexemes*, partly contrasting with the concepts of borrowings and/or loanwords.

2.2 False borrowings in the literature written in Italian

Various terms are used to refer to the phenomenon of false borrowings in the literature written in Italian: *falsi esotismi* (Gusmani 1986: 109; Cardona 1988; Bombi 1991: 87, 2005: 157; De Mauro and Mancini 2003: ix), *falsi prestiti* (Klajn 1972: 101; Dardano 1978: 84; Pulcini 1997b: 155; Iamartino 2001: 122; Torretta 2002: 11; Rosati 2004: 19; Bombi 2005: 147), *finti prestiti* (Marello 1996: 36), *prestiti apparenti* (Gusmani 1986: 100; Fanfani 1991: 13; Torretta 2002: 11; Bombi 2005: 157; Rogato 2008: 36), *prestiti fittizi* (La Rana 1989: 307) and *pseudoprestiti* (De Mauro and Mancini 2003: iii).

2.3 False borrowings in the literature written in German

Several labels are assigned to false borrowings in the literature written in German: *Allogenismen* (Winter-Froemel 2011: 58), *Eigenwege* (Carstensen 1979: 90, 1980: 77, 1981: 175; Carstensen and Busse 2001: 63), *Lehnveränderungen* (Yang 1990: 13), *Pseudoentlehnungen* (Zürn 2001: 34), *Pseudo-Fremdwörter* (Busse 1993: 11), *Pseudotransferenzen* (Lilienkamp 2001: 67), *Quasientlehnungen* (Zürn 2001: 34), *Scheinentlehnungen* (Carstensen 1980: 77, 1981: 175, 1986: 192; Bohmann 1996: 25; Ferrer Mora 2000: 116; Busse 2001: 138; Carstensen and Busse 2001: 61; Kettemann 2002: 68; Muhr 2002: 32; D. Miller 2003: 50; Burmasova 2010: 41) and *Sekundärentlehnungen* (Carstensen 1965: 252; Carstensen and Galinsky 1975: 24).[6]

2.4 False borrowings in the literature written in French

The phrases *construction allogène* (Humbley 2008: 230), *faux emprunts* (Tournier 1991: 75; Pruvost and Sablayrolles 2003: 17; Humbley 2008: 221; Loubier 2011: 14) and *pseudo-emprunts* (Chadelat 2000: 19) are employed to refer to false borrowings in the literature written in French.

2.5 False borrowings in the literature written in Spanish

A few terms are used to identify false borrowings in the literature written in Spanish: *falsos préstamos* (Sánchez-Martín 2011: 146), *neologismos inventados* (Riquelme 1998: 87) and *pseudopréstamos* (Ferrer Mora 2000: 116).[7]

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6 See Winter-Froemel (2011: 44–52) for a detailed treatment of false -isms in German.

7 In the literature written in Dutch, false borrowings are labeled *pseudo-ontleningen* (Van der Sijs 1994a: 99, 1994b: 228). In Danish, false borrowings are labeled *falske lån* (Szubert 1999a: 10) and *pseudolån* (Sørensen 1973: 94, 1995: 21; Jarvad 1995: 82, 1998: 164; Szubert 2006: 7), while false Anglicisms appear as *pseudoanglicismer* (Axelsen 1997: 8; Sørensen 1995: 104, 1997: 3) and *pseudoengelske ord* (Sørensen 1973: 95; Jarvad 1999: 110). The label *pseudolån* is also used to name false borrowings in Norwegian (Graedler and Johansson 1997: 26; Lea 2010) and Swedish (Edlund and Hene 1992: 36).

3 False Anglicisms

While the focus of the previous sections was on false borrowings in general, the following sub-sections specifically deal with terminological variation as far as false Anglicisms, i.e. false borrowings from English, are concerned. The various labels applied to false Anglicisms in the literature written in English, Italian, German, French and Spanish are included.

3.1 False Anglicisms in the literature written in English

As to false Anglicisms in the literature written in English, the following set of labels has been employed: *"English-inspired" creations* (Pulcini and Andreani 2014: 1190), *English-inspired vocabulary items* (Stanlaw 1988: 522, 2004: 36), *English-looking terms* (Ben-Rafael 2008: 54), *false Anglicisms* or *false anglicisms* (Bantaş 1977: 124; Moss 1995: 124; Grigg 1997: 376; Pratt 1997: 286; Pulcini 1997a: 79, 2010: 327, 2011a: 443; Furiassi 2003: 123, 2004: 55, 2006b: 273, 2010: 34, 2012a: 107, 2012b: 772, 2014: 50; Nicholls 2003d; Furiassi and Hofland 2007: 347; Ben-Rafael 2008: 54; Warren 2008: 19; Harris and Cardoso 2009: 74, 2011: 6; Balteiro 2011a: 281, 2011b: 28; Dunn 2011: 5; Balteiro and Campos 2012: 233; Fusari 2012: 324; MacKenzie 2012: 33, 2013: 48; Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodríguez González 2012: 7; Pulcini and Andreani 2014: 1190), *invented English words* (Nicholls 2003c, 2003d; Stålhammar 2007), *"non-English" anglicisms* (Bailey 2003: 256), *pseudo-Anglicisms*, *pseudo-anglicisms*, *pseudo anglicisms* or *pseudoanglicisms* (Hastings 1984: 94; Filipović 1985: 249, 2000: 207; Danchev 1986: 20; Dardano 1986: 244; Pratt 1986: 348; Sørensen 1986: 41, 2003: 346; Spence 1987: 181; Hannah 1988: 60; Moss 1995: 124; Picone 1996: 5; Pulcini 1997b: 155; Filipović and Antunović 1999: 16; Walter 2000b: 53; Rodríguez González 2002: 144; Görlach 2003: 62; Grzega 2003: 30; Nicholls 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2003d; Gottlieb 2004: 45, 2005: 164, 2009: 79, 2012: 173; Brazaitis 2006: 444; Onysko 2007a: 52, 2007b: 221, 2009: 26; Dunn 2008: 62; Fischer 2008: 7; Harris and Cardoso 2009: 74, 2011: 6; Balteiro 2011b: 28; Greavu 2011: 39; Nowocień 2011: 12; Galstyan 2012: 164; Graedler 2012: 95; MacKenzie 2012: 27, 2013: 48; Prćić 2012: 140; Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodríguez González 2012: 7; Winter-Froemel and Onysko 2012: 51; Koll-Stobbe and Zieseler 2014: 99; Winter-Froemel, Onysko and Calude 2014: 138), *pseudo-English* or *pseudo English* (Rothenberg 1969: 151; Quackenbush 1974: 66; Thogmartin 1984: 449; Stålhammar 2007), *pseudo-English compounds* (Thogmartin 1984: 449), *pseudo-English innovations* (Loveday 1996: 80), *pseudo-English lexical borrowings* (Rot 1986: 216), *pseudo-English loans* (Hope 1971: 619), *pseudo-English terms* (Ben-Rafael 2008: 54), *pseudo-English*

words or *pseudo English words* (Görlach 2003: 62; Onysko 2007b: 221), *quasi-English words* (Görlach 2003: 62; Onysko 2007b: 221) and *secondary anglicisms* (Filipović 1986: 342, 2000: 207).[8]

3.2 False Anglicisms in the literature written in Italian

Various terms have been employed to refer to false Anglicisms in the literature written in Italian: *anglicismi apparenti* (Serianni 1987: ix; Rosati 2004: 19), *falsi anglicismi* (Bombi 1991: 87; 2003: 111, 2005: 147; Fanfani 1991: 14; Furiassi 2005: 279, 2006a: 129, 2007: 225; Pulcini 2012: 865), *falsi anglismi* (Beccaria 1992: 241, 2006: 160), *pseudoanglicismi* or *pseudo-anglicismi* (Klajn 1972: 101; Bruni 1984: 109; Dardano 1987: 26, 1993: 52, 1998: 356; Rando 1987: xxii; Serianni 1987: ix; Brownlees 1989: 14; Fanfani 1991: 14, 2002: 222; Dardano, Frenguelli, and Perna 2000: 32; Iamartino 2001: 122; Serafini 2002: 603; Rosati 2004: 19; Giovanardi 2007: 251; Gualdo 2008: 108) and *pseudoanglismi* (Beccaria 2006: 78).

3.3 False Anglicisms in the literature written in German

Only three labels are applied to false Anglicisms in the literature written in German: *anglisierende Bildungen* (Carstensen 1986: 190), *Pseudoanglizismen* or *Pseudo-Anglizismen* (Breitkreutz 1976: 5, 1978: 9; Carstensen 1979: 90; Cypionka 1994: 8; Schweickard 1998: 298; Szubert 1999b: 131; Busse 2001: 138; Kettemann 2002: 68; Koll-Stobbe 2009: 26) and *Scheinanglizismen* (Pulcini 2011b: 39).

3.4 False Anglicisms in the literature written in French

Quite a few terms are used to refer to false Anglicisms in the literature written in French: *faux anglicismes* (Deroy 1956: 63; Humbley 1974: 55, 2008: 228; Höfler 1982: vi; Spence 1987: 169, 1989: 323; Rey-Debove 1990: ix; Kocourek 1991: 155; Thody 1995: 104; Walter 2000a: 27; Bogaards 2008: 29; Boccuzzi 2010: 67), *pseudo-anglais* (Pergnier 1989: 109), *pseudo-anglicismes* (Trescases 1982: 28, 1983:

8 Japanese lexical creations modeled on English, i.e. false Anglicisms in Japanese, are labeled *compound words made in Japan* (Ishiwata 1986: 465), *English-based Japanese creations* (Warren 2008: 19), *Japanese English* (Higgins 1984: 29; Stanlaw 2004: 4), *Japan-made loan words* (Park 1987: 52), *made-in-Japan English* (Stanlaw 2004: 22), *Japan-made English* (Quackenbush 1974: 66; Higgins 1984: 29; Miller 1997: 124, 2006: 179; Loveday 1996: 82), *made-in-Japan loanwords* (Stanlaw 1988: 522) and *non(-standard) English compound words* (Ishiwata 1986: 465).

87; Rey-Debove 1990: ix; Lenoble-Pinson 1991: 6; Walter 2000a: 27; Bogaards 2008: 23; Humbley 2008: 229; Boccuzzi 2010: 67), *pseudo-mots anglais* (Rey-Debove 1990: vi; Boccuzzi 2010: 69), *superaméricanisings* (Étiemble 1980: 216) and *sur-anglicismes* (Guiraud 1971: 40).[9]

3.5 False Anglicisms in the literature written in Spanish

A great number of terms refer to false Anglicisms in the literature written in Spanish: *anglicismos aparentes* (Flórez 1965: 150), *falsas voces inglesas* (Lázaro Carreter 1987: 38), *falsos anglicismos* (Pratt 1980: 185; Lorenzo 1996: 177; Balteiro 2011b: 23; Balteiro and Campos 2012: 233; Rodríguez González 2013: 124), *pseudoanglicismos* or *pseudo-anglicismos* (Alfaro 1948: 118; Pratt 1980: 92; Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades 1997: 12; Rodríguez Segura 1999: 28; Gómez Capuz 2000: 62, 2001: 54; Capanaga 2002: 69; Medina López 2004: 23; Rodríguez González 2012: 338, 2013: 124), *seudoanglicismos* (Lorenzo 1996: 223; Moreno de Alba 1996: 314; Navarro 2008: 225), *seudoinglés* (Lorenzo 1995: 263) and *vocablos seudoingleses* (Moreno de Alba 2003: 437).[10]

4 False Italianisms, false Germanisms, false Gallicisms and false Hispanisms

Having stated that false borrowings are bidirectional (Gottlieb and Furiassi in this volume, section 7), it is now time to shift perspective and move from the terminological analysis of false Anglicisms, i.e. false borrowings from English, to the examination of false borrowings – from Italian, German, French and Spanish – into English (and other languages). The following sub-sections include the various labels used to refer to false Italianisms, false Germanisms, false Gallicisms and false Hispanisms in the literature written in English, Italian, German, French and Spanish.

9 Analyzing false Anglicisms in the French language, Harris and Cardoso (2009: 74, 2011: 6) refer to them as *French inventions and modifications* while Otman (1989: 121) calls them *productions françaises*.

10 For a critical overview of the literature on Anglicisms (and false Anglicisms) in Spanish, see Rodríguez Medina (2000).

4.1 False Italianisms

In order to refer to the phenomenon of false Italianisms in the literature written in English, only two terms are used: *false Italianisms* (Furiassi 2010: 67, 2011: 454, 2012b: 771, 2014: 47) and *pseudo-Italianisms* (Birken-Silverman 2004: 97; Heinz and Gärtig 2014: 1105).[11] Two labels are used to refer to the phenomenon of false Italianisms in the literature written in Italian: *italianismi falsi* (Samardžić 2008: 648) and *pseudoitalianismi* or *pseudo-italianismi* (Francescato 1968: 76; Marcato 1996: 76; Rovere 2009: 161; Stammerjohann 2008: xi; 2011, Rescaglio 2012: 104).

4.2 False Germanisms

Only two labels are applied to false Germanisms in the literature written in English: *false Germanisms* (Furiassi 2014: 69) and *pseudo-Germanisms* (Baldunčiks 1991: 17). Two terms are used to refer to false Germanisms in the literature written in German: *Pseudogermanismen* or *Pseudo-Germanismen* (Schlosser 2003: 467; Morlicchio 2008: 412; Elsen 2011: 7) and *Scheingermanismen* (Ivanetić 1997: 109).

4.3 False Gallicisms

With regard to false Gallicisms in the literature written in English, the following labels have been employed: *false Gallicisms* or *false-gallicisms* (Partridge 2009: 3921; Furiassi 2014: 69), *pseudo-French* (Ayto 1991: xii), *pseudo-Frenchism* (Ayto 1991: 211) and *pseudo-Gallicisms* or *pseudo-gallicisms* (Geeraerts and Grondelaers 1999: 5; Janda and Joseph 2003: 154; Rollason 2003: 21, 2005: 39; Grzega 2004: 31).[12] The only label assigned to false Gallicisms in the literature written in French is *faux gallicismes* (Deroy 1956: 64; Vankov 1967: 109).

4.4 False Hispanisms

False Hispanisms – or Hispanicisms (Rodríguez González 1996: 4) – in the literature written in English are labeled *false Hispanisms* (Furiassi 2014: 69), *pseudo-hispanisms* (Tosi 2001: 200) and *pseudo-Spanish words* (Jespersen 1929: 92).

11 Winter-Froemel (2011: 45) uses the phrase *pseudo-italienische Form* to refer to false Italianisms in German.

12 Renouf (2004: 533) generally refers to the phenomenon as "discrepancies between Gallicisms and French source terms" and adds that, in English, "[i]t is rather the exception than the rule that a Gallicism has retained its original French meaning and use".

The only label assigned to false Hispanisms in the literature written in Spanish is *falsos hispanismos* (Calvi 1999: 45, 2004a).[13]

5 Terminological labels: a timeline

The diagram included in Figure 1 shows a timeline representing the chronological distribution of the 269 publications surveyed thus far. Sources are divided into 10-year time spans, from the 1920s, when the phenomenon was first mentioned, to the present: time spans are listed on the x-axis; on the y-axis an approximate scale is provided – exact figures regarding sources are shown at the peak of each time span within the diagram, i.e. 1 in the 1920s, 0 in the 1930s, 1 in the 1940s, 2 in the 1950s, 5 in the 1960s, 14 in the 1970s, 36 in the 1980s, 58 in the 1990s, 108 in the 2000s, 110 in the 2010s.[14]

Figure 1 proves the increasing interest of scholars in the investigation of false -isms, from sporadic mention until the 1960s to a considerable increase in the 2000s. Obviously, the 2000s peak would have been followed by a sharp decrease if only the first five years of the last decade, 2010-2014, had been considered – including only 44 sources. In order to bring the 2010-2014 five-year span in line with the previous ten-year intervals, an estimate was calculated.[15] Although it is hard to make predictions about the future, the 110 estimate in the 2010-2019 decade in fact shows a further though slight increase in the number of publications regarding false -isms.

13 Analyzing false Hispanisms in Italian, Calvi (2004b: 68) labels them *falsi ispanismi*.

14 The details for each year are as follows: 1929 (1), 1948 (1), 1950 (1), 1956 (1), 1965 (2), 1967 (1), 1968 (1), 1969 (1), 1971 (2), 1972 (1), 1973 (1), 1974 (2), 1975 (1), 1976 (2), 1977 (1), 1978 (2), 1979 (2), 1980 (3), 1981 (1), 1982 (2), 1983 (1), 1984 (4), 1985 (2), 1986 (9), 1987 (6), 1988 (3), 1989 (5), 1990 (4), 1991 (8), 1992 (3), 1993 (2), 1994 (4), 1995 (6), 1996 (8), 1997 (10), 1998 (5), 1999 (8), 2000 (9), 2001 (9), 2002 (19), 2003 (22), 2004 (12), 2005 (4), 2006 (6), 2007 (6), 2008 (12), 2009 (9), 2010 (7), 2011 (14), 2012 (14), 2013 (2), 2014 (7). Missing years in the list imply that no source was found.

15 Before calculating the 2010–2019 estimate, in addition to the 44 publications belonging to the 2010–2014 span, the 11 articles included in this volume were also taken into account. Therefore, the estimate, namely x in the following equation, was computed by multiplying 55 (44+11), the number of publications in the 2010–2014 span plus the number of articles appearing in this volume, by 2, i.e. 55 (publications) : 5 (years) = x (publications) : 10 (years).

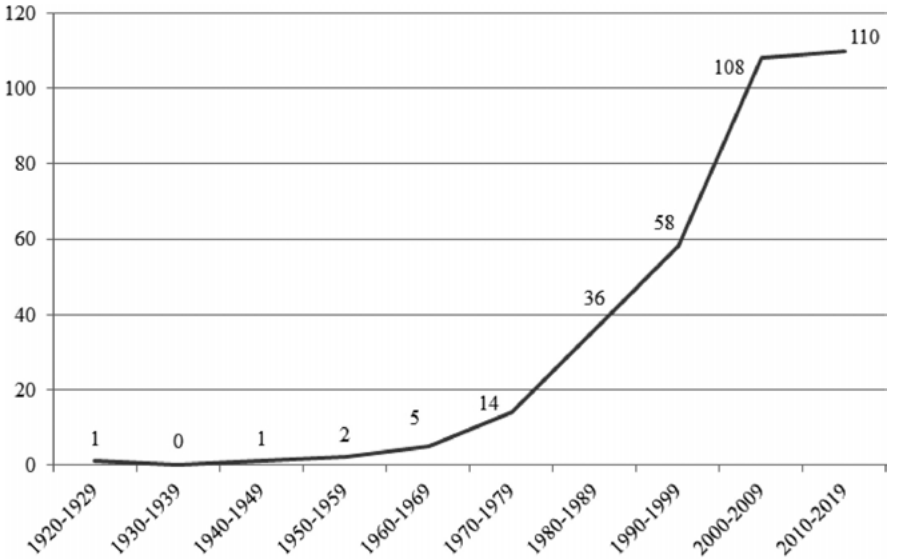

Figure 1: A timeline of publications regarding false -isms in the multilingual literature surveyed

6 Conclusion

Considering that the extreme heterogeneity of the labels adopted to refer to the phenomenon of false -isms is present both within and across different country-specific linguistic traditions over a considerable time span and that a multiplicity of terms are used – at times even by the same scholar – terminological issues can hardly be settled. Trying to reach consensus on the ideal label that would provide terminological coherence and uniformity – if at all feasible – seems unrealistic.

All in all, a twofold picture emerges from the analysis. On the one hand, the indisputable alternation between *false* and *pseudo-* in the literature consulted may lead to assume, quite impressionistically, that a rather normative approach lies behind the term *false* whereas the label *pseudo-* conceals a more descriptive attitude towards the phenomenon. However, this is not always the case. In addition, *false* appears to be widely used in studies on the Romance languages whereas *pseudo-* is preferred in most scholarly publications by authors from Germanic speech communities. On the other hand, a striking difference characterizes the far lower amount of labels employed to describe false -isms into English compared to the extraordinary number of terms adopted to name false Anglicisms: this is a symptom of the fact that false borrowings into English have

not been sufficiently investigated yet and, consequently, it should be taken as a stimulus to further scholarly research.

The fact that false -isms, despite being limited in number, are a worldwide phenomenon and that deception stands at their core justifies the claim made by Görlach (2003: 125–162), who acknowledges the importance of compiling dictionaries of -isms based on languages other than English. Likewise, lexical inventories of false -isms from and into all languages would deserve equal treatment.

It is hoped that this appendix has succeeded in providing scholars with an extensive bibliography on false (and "real") -isms – with special reference to the literature written in English, Italian, German, French and Spanish – that can be exploited to inspire and stimulate further research on a topic which is still mostly *terra incognita* within the lexical landscape of language contact.

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Subject index

Language index

Author index