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Purism and the UDASEL

These alternatives exist as a reaction to the lexical impact of English (or other languages) on Continental languages — to borrow the foreign word (with whatever formal changes), to use an existing native word and extend its meaning, and to render the English word by translating it. The paper explores the evidence for the latter policy in meeting the English challenge in sixteen European languages, distinguishing between three types of calquing: (loan) translation, rendition and creation.

The data are taken from the new *Usage Dictionary of Anglicisms in Selected European Languages* (to be published by Oxford University Press in 1998), and the limitations of this source with regard to the problem in question are explored. Structural and political/attitudinal reasons are adduced to explain differences of purism apparent in the languages investigated. Selective provisional entries, with experimental grids, are printed in the appendix to detail the arguments and to visualize the geographic representation.

1 Introduction[1]

All European nations have experienced various periods of puristic tendencies directed at what was felt to be an excessive, threatening borrowing of foreign words (and fashions and ideas), often because a national culture or an emerging standard language was seen as endangered by a too indiscriminate adoption of loanwords, many of which were felt as not really needed. English is no exception to this, although such tendencies were never widespread and had no official or general popular support. Thus, there are a few 16th–century authors who more or less inconsistently worked against foreign adoptions, but Prein (1909) is certainly wrong when he sees this as a puristic 'movement' (cf.

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1   This paper has greatly profited from the help of colleagues cooperallity in the UDASEL project. The data used come from the collaborative effort of all the contributors to *UDASEL* and are here gratefully acknowledged.

Görlach 1991: 163–6). In the 17th century there were some activities by 'Saxonizers' devoted to the same aim, and after 1660 there was widespread discontent with fashionable French loanwords, attitudes which culminated in S. Johnson's much–quoted statement:

> Our language, for almost a century, has, by the concurrence of many causes, been gradually departing from its original *Teutonick* character, and deviating towards a *Gallick* structure and phraseology, from which it ought to be our endeavour to recal it (1755: Introduction)

However, it is quite clear that a return to an exclusively or even predominantly Germanic lexis was impossible after the 14th century when the ratio of Latin– and French–derived words had reached 60% of the total vocabulary. It is also significant to note that purism in England was normally onesided in different periods — there were very few objections against French influence in the 16th century, but Johnson who lashed out against gallicisms was one of the greatest Latinizers in the history of English (cf. Görlach 1995).

Similar unevenness is reflected in the history of other European languages — there are periods of increasingly allergic reactions against foreign loans contrasting with periods of more relaxed attitudes, and the language particularly criticised for its unwholesome impact may be Latin, French, English or German — as the political or cultural situation and the awareness, official or public, may be.[2] The history of German (cf. Kirkness 1982) provides especially telling examples. In the 18th century, the rejection (or better curbing) or the ubiquitous French influence was rightly seen as a national responsibility in order to create and implement a standard language and not let it be reduced to the speech of the less educated. In the 19th century the unification in 1871 sparked off ideas of Germany's greatness which were connected with a certain degree of xenophobia — and, in due course, parts of the vocabularies in easy reach of official language measures such as the railway and post office terminologies were germanized. The latest bout of activity came under Nazi rule which stressed the Germanic character of the nation and its language — a period which is important for the present–day situation because part of the extreme openness of the German language to English influences can be explained as an attitude correcting earlier misguided behaviour.

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2   A contrastive study of how puristic tendencies affected the development of European standard languages is a great desideratum. Such an investigation should attempt to distinguish a) the language felt as a threat (in particular, Latin, French, German, or English), b) the period in which the purification was attempted, c) the specific measures taken to stem the tide and d) the long–term effectiveness of the language planning directed against loanwords. While only a facet of the vast problem area is here touched, I believe that *contrastive* evidence has never been produced that could compare in size and quality with what will be available through the *UDASEL*. For various but incoherent features of puristic tendencies cf. Viereck & Bald (1986: *passim*; the volume has no index). The standard work for German is Kirkness (1982).

The effects of puristic traditions can be seen from the number of foreign concepts expressed by native means, whether extending the content of an existing word or coining a new lexical item (loan translation, rendition and creation if arranged in a sequence of formal equivalence). Languages whose word–formational creativity is intact tend to use calques with great ease, although the success of an individual coinage is impossible to predict. Icelandic, Russian, Greek (and in more recent times, French) have been noteworthy among European languages for their tendencies to calque rather than borrow — but even in these languages recent trends have quite conspicuously shifted towards the easy takeover of an English word rather than the more cumbersome search for a replacement.[3]

The present–day situation in Europe is, then, characterized by two contradictory tendencies: there is, on the one hand, an openness to anglicisms as there has never been before. This is most conspicuous in Eastern European countries: their societies apparently wish to keep up, after a long period of relative isolation and state–decreed westernophobia, and one expression of the desired westernization is the massive import of English words. The reaction to all this, mainly among intellectuals, is concern, or disgust, which can result in measures ranging from letters to the editor and newspaper articles to puristic language legislation.

Many writers aim at toning down the concern by pointing out, often in an indirect and ironic way, that the danger is not as great as some people make it and that there is no real reason for worry. Here is an extract from a German newspaper article making fun of the topic:[4]

Wear ist Wear

Was wären wir ohne "Wear"? Nackt und bloß! Den täglich hereinflatternden bunten Prospekten der großen Bekleidungsunternehmen entnehmen wir seit geraumer Zeit, daß all das, was wir zu tragen haben, eben nicht mehr altmodisch Jacke wie Hose ist, sondern zum Beispiel Sportswear. Auch wenn wir eigentlich mit Sport gar nichts am Hut haben.

Normalwear gibt es sowieso nicht mehr. Dafür, weil die Badesaison unerbittlich verlockend näherrückt, jede Menge Beachwear. Da kann wohl selbst der eingefleischte FKKler nicht widerstehen. Skinwear ist out.

Was mag uns noch erwarten in nächster Zukunft? Wenn Modeschöpfer die zunehmende Bedeutung des Militärischen trendmäßig umsetzen, schlüpfen wir ver-

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3   This general statement has to be qualified in various ways as individual languages are concerned. In Icelandic, mainly informal registers are affected by loanwords. By contrast, formal language (and written in general) is still characterized by purism, a tendency widely accepted and actively supported by the speakers. This attitude is likely to have been assisted by the long purist tradition of Icelandic and by the fact that many Icelanders see their language threatened by English; the fact that so many more Icelanders now know English has not affected their intention to keep the two apart — in formal registers.

4   The German here used is punning on three homophones: *wer ist wer* ('who is who') in the title; *–wehr* 'defence' in *Bundeswehr* and *Feuerwehr* and *–ware* in *Software/Hardware*. The terms *Sports–*, *Beach–*, *Homewear* are current anglicisms.

mutlich in Bundeswear. Soll der letzte Softie Cashmere–Softwear tragen, der Mode-bewußte verlangt Hardwear. Wie die Jungs von der Hardthöhe.

Zum gemütlichen Grillabend erscheinen wir selbstverständlich in lässig bis pep-pig gestylter Grillwear, die auch ein paar Fettspritzer verträgt. Es darf auch Fire-wear sein. Für daheim steht eine breite Palette von Homewear zur Verfügung, die je nach der bevorzugten Aktivität Hobbywear, TVwear oder Sleepwear heißt.

Und wer nach Neuem Ausschau hält, tut dies beim Einkaufsbummel natürlich in bequemer Shoppingwear. Fußfreundliche Shoewear könnte nicht schaden.

(Joachim Schwedhelm, in *Frankfurter Rundschau,* 12. 6. 1993)

In a similar vein, there were a number of ironic comments on French legis-lation on *franglais*. Spanish concerns were glossed by the *Independent*:

Spanish takes el futbol in its stride
OUT OF SPAIN

Madrid——The French seem to have got their *culottes* in a twist over the invasion of English words into the language of Baudelaire.

You might be fascinated to know to what extent the language of Shakespeare, or of his offspring, the lager lout, has penetrated Spanish. We've been flocking to Ma-jorca, Tenerife, the Costa Brava and the Costa del Sol for three decades now so some of it must have rubbed off.

And after serious, in–depth research by your correspondent in the sun–starved, cobweb–draped libraries and *tapas bars* (mostly in the libraries, of course) of Iberia, I can offer you the following results: unlike Franglais to French, Spanglish is not yet a threat to the language of Cervantes.

That is the good news. The bad news is that bad Spanglish, that is, gross misuse of imported words, could be a serious threat to both English and Spanish.

Football is *el futbol* here, although the t and the b tend to get dropped to create a monosyllabic *fu–ol*. *El friqui* (the free kick) is one of the Spanglish words that undoubtedly looks better than the original when written down.

The most common Spanglish word these days is "light", which has gone far be-yond its original English connotations and causes the Spanish all sorts of problems with its spelling. Often spelt "lait", or more often "ligth" (sic!), it has come to mean something more akin to "semi". For example: a radio presenter recently introduced a guest as "*de la derecha light*" (from the light right), apparently intended as a dis-tinction from the far right.

The danger to both mother tongues comes in the blatant misuse of Spanglish, with the anarchic adding of our "ing" ending in all the wrong places.

Examples: *de alto standing* (of high standing) is used as the equivalent of "lux-ury" in advertisements for apartments. *Puenting* is the word for bungee jumping, taken from the Spanish word *puente* (bridge). *El footing* means jogging, *El pressing* means something between hard tackling and attacking football, *El lifting*, is the ac-cepted word here for a facelift (or breast adjustment) and, therefore, of the words most commonly used.

Getting back to football the accepted Spanish word for the team manager is *el mister*, pronounced, of course, *el meester*. Spanish sports commentators use an Eng-lish word for the forehand, but, oddly enough, not ours. *El drive* is the accepted term.

Unlike in France, where the Academie Française is *tres faché* over the English invasion, its Spanish counterpart, the Spanish Royal Academy, appears to be taking a suitably *mañana* view.

After all, Spanish is spoken by around 300 million people throughout the world, so why should they worry about the odd introduction of such phrases as "full English breakfast" in remote areas such as Benidorm? Perhaps when *nap* begins to take the place of *siesta* the Royal Academy will wake up and take notice.

(Ph. Davison, 3 Jan. 1995)

2 Calques and the *UDASEL*

2.1 Preliminary considerations

Entries in the forthcoming *UDASEL* will comprise the normal lexicographic information, as illustrated by the specimen entries below; cf. Görlach 1996 — headword, part of speech, sense(s), and for the individual language information on spelling, pronunciation, morphology, date of acceptance, style value, derivations and (where applicable) calques. Some 20% of the entries are accompanied by 'grids' in which the currency of the word throughout Europe is visualized as iconically as possible: the four language groups are in their proper geographic places (NW = Germanic, SW = Romance, NE = Slavic, SE = others, mainly Balkanic), as is the internal arrangement, with left indicating 'West', and up 'North'. Black, as would be expected, indicates the absence of an anglicism, grey/hazed having marginal or restricted use, white the accepted and frequent anglicism widely known in the speech community.

The condition for the provision of an entry in the dictionary is that the anglicism must be available as a *loanword* in one of the sixteen languages. Calques are only listed where at least one of the languages has the loanword and others have a translation either in competition with the anglicism or as the only alternative. An obvious case is *weekend*, where **Fr It Po** etc. have the English item, and the presence of **Ge** *Wochenende* is noted as "**Ge** — < ct *Wochenende*" (grid 1).[5] How far does such evidence assembled in the *UDASEL*, then, permit us to make any more general statements on the degree of purism in a particular language? A look at four *brain* compounds (grids 2–5) will be a useful starting–point:

a) There is in all four cases at least one language for which the loanword is attested, in fact there are 9–10–5–2 instances, which gives us the reassuring feeling that *brain–storming* and *brain–drain* widely outdistance *brainwashing*.

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5 For typographical reasons — and to permit better comparisons — all the grids are assembled at the end of the paper as Appendix A; they are repeated, with the provisional *UDASEL* entries in order to provide the data on which the grids are based, as Appendix B.

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b)   However, it might well be asked, how far is the absence due to the avoidance of the loanword rather than the total absence of the concept? I have tried to indicate the difference in the experimental grids — a feature not to be repeated in the *UDASEL* in its published form because the space available is too small and the patterns are too complicated to take in for the average dictionary user. In my provisional grids below, a superimposed T/R/C/M stands for four different types of 'calque', which leaves the possible distributions:

1)   A white letter on black ground indicates the exclusive use of the calque, and absence of the loanword; we can here assume with a certain degree of plausibility that the calque blocks the acceptance of the English word — or pushed it out some time ago. This is the case in the native renderings in **Ic Po Bg** of *brain–drain*, **Fi** *brain–storming*, **Nw Bg Fi Hu** *brain(s) trust* — and all but three languages in the case of *brainwashing*.[6]

2)   The calque coexists with the English word and is more or less equivalent in frequency and acceptability in the cases of a black letter on hazed ground. (This situation is attested in four instances each of *brain–drain*, and *brain–storming*, and also in **Du Ge** *brain(s) trust*, and **Du** *brainwashing*.)

3)   The rarer case of a black T/R/C on white ground can normally be taken to mean that an accepted loanword coexists with a less successful calque — not found among the four 'brain' words.

These specifications indicate that languages left entirely black in the grid have neither the loanword nor a calque. Does this also mean that they lack the respective concepts? It will be clear that a reliable answer is impossible to give at least for abstract concepts. How can we prove notional identity where a language has a word with a similar meaning which was not prompted by the English term? The blackness of many Albanian fields can confidently be interpreted as the absence of the respective concepts, which may not have been allowed before 1990 and therefore went unnamed, but for other languages the conclusion should just be interpreted as "Neither the loanword nor a calque is recorded — but there may well be an unrelated word."

In fact there is another case for the possible absence which is quite unrelated to the question of calques — and therefore to our topic — *viz.* that of a genetically related word borrowed from a language other than English. A typi-

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6   It proved impossible to accommodate another distinction suggested by N. Alexieva, viz. the 'semicalque' — compare the evidence for *brains trust* where all translations retain the anglicism *trust* with *brainwashing* where both elements are regularly translated, as in **Fi** *aivo* **trusti** vs. *aivopesu* or **Hu** *agy* **tröszt** vs. *agy* **mosás**. Whereas a distinction could easily be made in the entries (using 'cs' or 'semi' to indicate compounds with one English element retained), it would result in a too complex representation if the square in the grid were split into a left and right half for cp[1] and cp[2].

cal case is *cashew (nut)* which is clearly marked by the 'English relation of spelling and pronunciation in many languages (cf. grid 6). However, the word was independently borrowed into Portugese (which may in fact have been the mediating source for English). The absence here means only "not an anglicism in our language." Parallel to the T/R/C markings above, a superimposed '5' can here serve to indicate *why* the anglicism is absent.

2.2 Statistics and expectations

Our hypothesis leads us to expect that a low number of loanwords and a correspondingly high number of absences confirms the puristic status of a language. In fact, the matter is much more complicated. Should we not rather count, among the absences, the calques blocking the import — or count all the instances marked T/R/C/M?. The evidence of the four *brain* words can warn us not to expect clear and easy statistical solutions. Why does the number of blocking calques differ from item to item as it does (3–1–4–13) and why does the number of all calques vary considerably (7–5–5–14)? It appears that we would have to go into the individual story of each word and find explanations from their etymologies and later histories, including connotational factors that may have influenced people's attitudes and affected their usage.

No clear language profile (of, say, 'puristic' vs. 'open' languages) arises from our minisample of four words. Perhaps it cannot, but it may serve as a warning all the same not to expect too much from highly generalizing statistic figures. However, when I started this investigation I had hoped that there was at least (some) safety in numbers. A count based on the pre–final data assembled for letters A–H and concentrating on the words for which I had drawn a 'grid' because these represent items for which the distribution of anglicisms and calques is fullest and most interesting. I then grouped the evidence according to individual languages and to the following linguistic categories:

Oa total absence (black),
Ob absence with a genetically related word (5) available,
Oc absence with a calque (C) available;
1a restricted currency,
1b restricted currency with a calque competing;
2a full acceptability,
2b with a calque available.

This classification I hoped would allow me to get as close to an interpretation of purism as the limitation of the data in general, and the restriction to much reduced information in the *UDASEL* entries in particular, permitted.

The results of my provisional analysis proved to be disappointing. A count of the loanwords documented in eight selected languages yielded more or less the figures that I expected (and those that were somewhat surprising permitted at least a plausible interpretation):
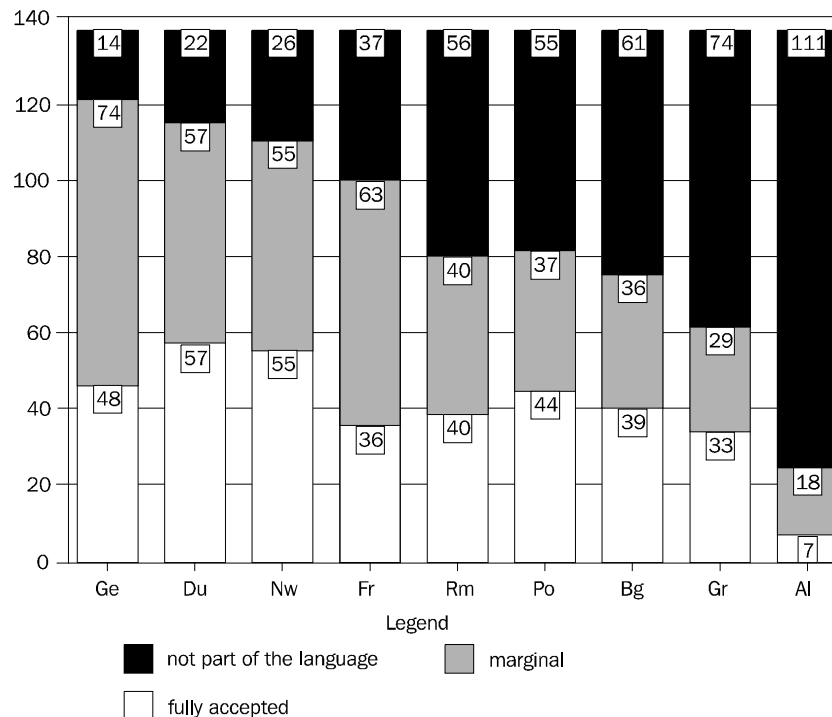
The intake of English loanwords — nine languages compared.
Data: Letters A — G, 136 selected entries.

However, counting the occurrences even on the refined pattern described above did not 'make sense': there was no sufficient correlation with the degrees of purism of individual languages known to be 'xenophobic' from other sources, nor was there a clear correlation with the number of loanwords attested. This is clear reflex of the fact that *UDASEL* focuses on anglicisms — and not on replacements, or on lexical items which existed before the language contact and which may have delayed or altogether blocked the acceptance of the English word.

An analysis of how purism is reflected in the *UDASEL* data must therefore return to individual items and must interpret the evidence with great caution, supplementing the data where necessary to take account of the new focus. I will here discuss the procedure using selected items whose distribution appears to be illustrative of more general patterns and thus to allow generalizations.[7]

The case of AIDS (grid 7) is a particular one since the four constituents of which the acronym is made up can be translated — and then new acronyms

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7   Note that the information in the grids is necessarily reduced and does not provide any detail, nor does it cover a few types of integration as the following: Germanic items in English may have straightforward equivalents in **Ic Nw Du** and **Ge**, or at least one part of a component may have (*back**hand***, grid 12, *corn**flakes***, grid 14).

be formed. It does not come as a surprise to find three Romance languages offering the same solution, SIDA — with the component letters arranged in a different sequence, according to Romance word order — and only Italian adopting the English term, but as a written loan pronounced with the four letters as distinct sounds. It is more striking to find **Rs**, **Bg**, **Al**, **Gr** all coming up with different solutions, but among the other languages only **Ic** opting for a (less close) translation.

The reaction is quite different with modern *airbag* (grid 8). All languages need to have an expression for the object and there is no alternative but to adopt the word (three Romance languages and three Slavic ones!) or to translate it. Whatever the reason, renderings here dominate over translations (4:3); a possible explanation being that a literal translation would be too close to existing native compounds with negative or otherwise detracting associations.

The swim style *butterfly* (grid 9) is the only example from my selection where semantic loans predominate over other renderings. The reason is obvious: the metaphor that made the English term so plausible, and therefore acceptable to English users, made sense to speakers of other languages regardless of whether there was any morphological similarity. Rather than translating the word into, say, **Ge** *Butterfliege* (which could only be interpreted as a fly descending on your butter on the breakfast table) the very positive connotations of *Schmetterling* were employed.

So what conditions would lead to predominantly literal translations? If the translated compound did not conflict with existing words, did not strike users as funny or otherwise inappropriate — and was descriptively adequate, there was no reason why a close translation should not be tried. This was the case with *brainwashing* (grid 5, itself calqued on Chinese, as mentioned above), but also with *body–guard* (grid 10) — where in fact it is difficult to establish whether native equivalents did not exist before the language contact (and whether in consequence we have to do with a meaning added to a native word rather than a new compound).

It was even easier to translate the fixed collocation *Big Brother* (grid 11) — although native equivalents existed before Orwell's coinage, I here take it that the phrase was felt as a new translation rather than as an added meaning.

It remains to ask why so few translations were obviously ever attempted in the case of other English words although they would have been easy to do. For *backhand* as a tennis term (grid 12), native terms for 'back of the hand' must be available (but are so used only in **Fr** and **Sp**); **Ge** uses a translation,[8] explained as part of a concerted effort of the early 20th century which purged the standard language of sports terms, and of football and tennis words in particular. Likewise, it is difficult to explain why only **Ge** and **Sp** have loose renderings of *cross–country* (grid 13), and why *cornflakes* (grid 14) is only translated in the 'puristic' languages **Ic**[9] and **Fi**, and rendered more freely in **Bg**

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8   In *backhand* only the first part had to be translated in **Ge** *Rückhand*; **Ic** *bakhönd* shares both components — and may a) be from Danish and b) represent an extension of the meaning of an earlier term from card playing.

9   In **Ic**, again, only the second part had to be translated (*–flögur*), unless a phonological adaptation was felt sufficient.

and **Rm** (Are there any political reasons for not admitting the typically western product together with its designation, at least until recently?).

However, no easy explanation comes to mind why the number of calques is as low as it is in the case of the transparent compound *babysitter* (grid 15). Although native renderings are scarce for *aquaplaning*, too (grid 16) this may have to do with the partly 'Latinate' look of the word — which made it possible for **Fr** to produce an item looking perfectly French by just replacing the derivational morpheme. By contrast, opaque words appear to be less open to calquing; this does not come as a surprise, since the obvious solution of translating the foreign word is not possible in such cases. A term like *badminton* (coined in 1874 after the country seat of the Duke of Beaufort to render Indic *poona*) is therefore expressed by creations only in a few languages.

Structural considerations are, however, only part of the story; attitudes are much more important — to return to the title of my paper. The fashionable attraction of the individual word is often the *raison d'être* for the borrowing. As a consequence, there is little chance for anglicisms relating to dances, dresses, drugs, pop music and other domains of youth culture to be replaced — even in societies with language academies, language laws and prescriptive schools.

3 Outlook

Any more detailed study of purism, interpreting the lexical evidence on the background of social and cultural history will have to start anew, using but expanding the data contained in the *UDASEL*. The following parameters in particular are not sufficiently reflected in my type of analysis:

1. Style. It will often be the case that purification is part of official language planning, leaving colloquial, informal, spoken varieties less affected. (Note that French legislation aims at anglicisms in formal, technical, written language). The opposite can also be the case: recent *mountain bike* has had a calque *rower górski* mainly in spoken usage although it has made its way into some shop windows (E. Mańczak, p. c.).

2. Chronological. A loanword may have been replaced by a calque so that this is found in more recent language, but the loanword retained in the speech of older people, or older texts. The reverse can also happen, and there are of course various interconnections with 'style' and 'region'. 19th century German dictionaries give *maiden speech* and *wirepuller* where the translations *Jungfernrede* and *Drahtzieher* are exclusively used today — German speakers are not even aware of the fact that the loanwords were once available. In tennis terminology, there is in German an early layer of anglicisms, pushed out by German equivalents; however, many English words have recently been re–imported as colloquial alternatives, mainly in TV reporting.

It is obvious that a subclassification of calques and loanwords according to the period when they became/were current would be helpful, but for that *UDASEL* data are not specific enough.

3.   Omissions. Words not found as loanwords in any of the 16 languages are not included in the *UDASEL*; if, then, *maiden speech* and *wirepuller* are not recorded, the fact that calques exist for these (exclusively) in **Ge** will not be captured.

There is another aspect which can admittedly not be analysed with *UDASEL* material: that of closely related languages and dialects which have seen different periods of language planning, often under different types of governments. However, a close analysis of loanwords and calques would seem very promising as a follow–up investigation for the following sets of varieties:

1   Are French attitudes towards anglicisms, including the effects of modern legislation, fully reflected in Wallony and in the Suisse Romande? How do French and German attitudes mix in Alsace and Luxemburg? Are there any parallels in the effects of purism between Paris and Québec?

2   Are the traditional differences between German in Germany (puristic tendencies) and Switzerland/Austria (greater openness to loans even if only to be different from Germans) continuing into the present time?
The fleeting evidence as a consequence of political change is another topic of interest. I was probably just in time when I made a very limited test of the acceptability of anglicisms among students at Köln and Rostock in March 1991, half a year after unification (reported in Görlach 1994).

3   Are languages that are deliberately moved apart from each other also notably different as anglicisms are concerned? Is Croatian more 'western' in this aspect than Serbian? If Slovak was traditionally more open (less puristic) that Czech, is this trend reversed under the impact of new language laws which — allegedly — impose fines on the use of English words, almost as in France?

4   Are the differences between a greater number of anglicisms in Kosovo Albanian than in the 'motherland' being levelled out under the impact of recent westernization?

At our present state of knowledge, even with the provisional collections of *UDASEL* available, much must remain speculative, even if there is some hope that a wider data basis may give us some insights that have even statistical significance. However, we may have to admit that in the case of calques, each word has its own history (as it had for the dialectologist Gilliéron many years ago) and that purism is a phenomenon that can be documented by language laws and users (often xenophobic) attitudes, but which is difficult to illustrate with statistical means, especially if we wish to show convincingly that one lan-

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guage is more purist than another — in many ways probably 'proving' that our preconceptions are correct and that statistics confirm what we have known all the time.

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Appendix A:

Germanic / Slavic / Romance / Others key grid:

Ic	Nw	Po	Rs
Du	Ge	Cr	Bg
Fr	It	Fi	Hu
Sp	Rm	Al	Gr

1 weekend, 2 brain drain, 3 brainstorming, 4 brain trust, 5 brainwashing, 6 cashew nut, 7 AIDS, 8 airbag, 9 butterfly, 10 bodyguard, 11 Big Brother, 12 backhand, 13 cross-c., 14 cornflakes, 15 babysitter, 16 aquaplaning, 17 badminton

Appendix B: Provisional entries

AIDS   n. 1 (acronym of) 'acquired immune deficiency syndrome'

AIDS was identified, and became immediately known, in the early 1980s (first attestation in English in 1982). The threat of the disease and world–wide coverage in the media made a name for it necessary within a very short time. This can be the borrowed acronym pronounced as a word (**Ge Du Nw Po Cr Hu Gr**) or as individual letters (**It**), or a replacement of an acronym based on a translation (**Fr Sp Rm Rs Bg Al Gr**). The phonology and 'morphology' of *AIDS* has not allowed any derivations to be made from it as are recorded for new acronyms as in **Fr**; **Bg**.

> **Ge** [eidz/e:ts] N [U] 1983 (2) **Du** [e:ts] C [U] 1980s (2) **Nw** <=E>/*aids* [eids/ æids] M [U] 1980s (2) **Ic** [ei:ts] N [U] 1980s (2) < c c *eyđni, alnœmi* **Fr** –/(Ø) < c t *sida* **Sp** — < c t *SIDA*/*sida*/*Sida*(rare), *sidoso* n. /adj. 'Aids–sufferer', 'suffering from Aids' **It** [a̲idz/a̲idi̲esse] M [U] 1980s (3) **Rm** (0) < ct *SIDA, si̲da* **Rs** (0) < ct *SPID sindro̲m priobretë̲nogo immu̲no–defisitnosti* **Po** [eits] M (2) **Cr** [=E] M [U] 1980s (2) > ct SIDA **Bg** — < ct *SPIN 'sindrom na pridobita imunna nedostatŭchnost'* M [U] 1980s → *–ozen* adj. **Fi** [aIds] (2) **Hu** [e̲idz] [U] 1980s (2) → *–es* adj. **Al** *AIDS* M [U] > ct *SIDI/SIDA* **Gr** <=E> /*eitz* N [U] (2) > ct *SEAA (sindhromo epiktitis anosologhikis aneparkias)*

airbag   n. 'inflatable cushion in car accidents'

Although the object was developed in the early 1970s it became better known only in the late 1980s when it became a regular feature in private cars. The linguistic consequences are diverse, and partly unsettled: the E. term only (**Du Sp It Rm**), E. with a less common native equivalent (**Ge Nw Fr Gr**) and with the equivalent more common (**Bg Fi Hu**) — or a native solution used exclusively (**Ic**).

> **Ge** [e̲:rbek] M, pl. *–s*, 1970s (2m) > cr *Prallsack* **Du** [E̲:rbEk] C, 1990s (1t) **Nw** [e̲:rbæg] M, 1990s (1t) > cr *kollisjonspute* **Ic** — < cc *loftpúđi*; cr *öryggispúđi, líknarbelgur* **Fr** [ ] M, 1990s (1tx) > cr *coussin gonflable, sac gonflable* **Sp** [e̲irbag/e̲abag/erba̲g] M, pl. ø/*–s,* 1990s (2) **It** [⊆rb∈g] M, pl. Ø(2) **Rm** [erbe̲g] N, 1990s (1t) **Rs** (0) < cr *vozdushnaĭ podushka* **Po** — < cr *poduszka powietrzna* **Cr** [=E] > ct zrǎcni jastuk **Bg** e̲ŭrbag M, pl. *–a/–ove*, 1990s (1t) < ct *ŭazdushna ŭazglavnitsa* **Fi** [aIrbæg] 1980s (2) < *turvatyyny* **Hu** [e̲: rbe̲g] [U] end20c (1t) < ct *légzsák* **Al** — **Gr** <=E>_*airbag* N, end20c (2t) > ct *aerosakos* M

aquaplaning   n. 'skid caused by rain'

The hybrid compound made the acceptance in various languages easy (note morphological adaption in **Fr** (x)

> **Ge** [akvapla̱:nink] N [U] 1970s (3) > cr *Wasserglätte* **Du** [akwaplaning] N [U] 1970s (2) **Nw** [a̱kvapla̱:ning] M [U] 1960s (1o) < ct *vannplaning* **Ic** — **Fr** [ ] M, 1970s (1t/x) > *aquaplanage* **Sp** [akwapla̱nin] M [U] 1980s (1t) > *hidroplaneo* **It** [akwapl⊆ni̱ng] M [U] 1980s (2) **Rm** — **Rs** — **Po** — **Cr** *akvaple̱ning* M, end20c (1t) **Bg** *akvapla̱ning* M [U] 1980s (1t) **Fi** — **Hu** *a̱kvaplán̠ing* [a̱kvapla̱:niη] [U] end20c (1t) **Al** — **Gr** –

babysitter   n. 1 'a person looking after children when parents are out', +2 'electronic device for listening to baby while in another room', +3 'chair for babies'

The compound came with a new lifestyle after 1950, prepared by the earlier adoption of *baby*; metaphorical senses, the noun *babysitting* — and the back-derived verb were to follow later. The delay in East European languages is unmistakable. Note the scarcity of calques.

> **Ge** [be̱:bisi̱ta] M, 1950s, 1(2) → *babysitten* v. **Du** *babysit(ter)* [be̱:bisIt(dr)] C, mid20c (2) → v. **Nw** [=E] M, mid20c, +2(1t) +3(1) < cr *barnevakt* **Ic** — < cr 1: *barnapía*; +2: cc *barnagaumi* **Fr** [ ] M, mid20c, 1(2) → *babysitting* (though prob. an independent loan) **Sp** — [beibisi̱ter] M/F, end 20c (1i) < *canguro* **It** [be̱⊆bisi̱tter] F, pl. Ø, 1950s (2) **Rm** [=E] F [U] end20c, 1(0) **Rs** *be̱bisitter* M, pl. –*y*, end20c (1j) **Po** [beibisiter] M, end20c (2) → –*ka* F **Cr** *bebisi̱ter* M/F, pl. –*i*, mid20c (2) → –*ica*/–*ka* F **Bg** — **Fi** [=E] 1(1m>0); *beibisitteri* +3(1m>0) **Hu** [=E] pl. –*ek*, end20c, 1(2m) **Al** — **Gr** *bebisi̱ter* M/F, end20c, 1(2)

backhand   n. 1 '(in tennis) a stroke played with the back of the hand'

One of the various tennis terms accepted with the game in the 19th century, but affected by purist measures, in Western Europe; introduced much later (no calquing!) in Eastern Europe.

> **Ge** [be̱khent] F [U] end19c (1ro) < ct *Rückhand* **Du** [bE̱khEnt] C [U] 1970s (1t) **Nw** [–hæ:n(d)] M, mid20c (1t) **Ic** *bakhönd* F [U] mid/end20c (4t) = *bakhandarhögg* **Fr** — < cm *revers* **Sp** — < cm *revés* **It** — < cm *rovescio* **Rm** *backhand/bechend* [=E] N, beg20c (2t) = *lovitură de stîngâ* **Rs** *bȩ́kkhend* [U] M, mid20c (1t) **Po** *bekhend* [–nt] M, mid20c (1t) **Cr** *be̱kend* M, pl. –*i*, beg20c (1t) **Bg** *be̱khend* M usu. [U] pl. —*a*, mid20c (1t); *be̱thend* (1tc) **Fi** — **Hu** [=E] [U] end19c/beg20c (1t) < *fo̱nákü̱tés* **Al** — **Gr** *bakha̱nt* N [U] (1t)

badminton   n. 1 'game played with rackets'

Adopted with the game in the early to mid–20c; the **Ge** calque (borrowed into **Bg**) now means a more leisurely form (cf. *basketball/korbball*).

> **Ge** [bɛdmintn] N [U] 1930— (1t) > cc *Federball* **Du** [=E] N [U] mid20c (2t) → *–er* n. C; *–en* v. **Nw** [=E] M [U] beg20c (2) **Ic** [pat-minton/papminton] N [U] 1930s (2) > cc *fja raknattleikur*, *hnit* **Fr** [ ] M, 1930s (2) **Sp** [bɑdminton] M [U] 1980s (mid20c?) (2t) **It** [bɛdminton] M [U] 1950s (1t)   cm *vol no* **Rm** [=E/bedmintɔn] N [U] 1970s (2) **Rs** *badmintɔn* M [U] mid20c (2) **Po** [betminton] M [U] mid20c (2) → *–ista* M; *–istka* F; *–owy* adj. **Cr** [=E] M [U] mid20c (2) → *–ski* adj. **Bg** *badminton* M [U] mid20c (1t) < *federbal* **Fi** — < *sulkapallo* **Hu** 0 < *tɔllaslɑbda* **Al** *badminton* M [U] (1r) **Gr** *bɑdminton* N [U] (1t)

Big Brother   n. 1 'all powerful dictator (often upper case)', +2 'the USSR'

Based on Orwell's *1984*, in which the term personifies the power of a totalitarian regime, **BB** has come to designate a great number of uneven power relations; frequently modified, sometimes playfully. Unsurprisingly, the term is not so common in E Europe — where the book was not available.

> **Ge** [bik brɑza] M [U] 1980s 1(1c) = ct *der große Bruder* **Du** [=E] C [U] 1980s 1(1cjl) **Nw** (0) < ct *storebror* **Ic** — < ct *stóri bróđir* **Fr** 1(0) **Sp** [=E] M (1j) < ct *Gran Hermano/Hermano Mayor* **It** — < ct *Grande Fratello* M **Rm** — **Rs** — < ct *starshiǐ brat* **Po** — < ct *Wielki Brat* **Cr** < ct Veliki brat **Bg** — < ct *golemiya brat*, via Rs, +2 **Fi** — **Hu** — **Al** — **Gr** — < ct *meghalos adhelfos*

bodyguard   n. 1 'person responsible for safety of politician, mafioso etc.', +1a 'a stout and strong–looking fellow', +1c 'a special device for personal safety'

The word is still marginal, the concept being covered by native terms; where *b.* occurs, mostly in journalese, it is often slightly negative.

> **Ge** [=E] M, pl. *–s*, end20c, 1(1m) = ct *Leibwächter* **Du** [=E] C, end20c, 1(1m) < ct *lijfwacht* **Nw** [=E] M, pl. *–er*, *–s*, mid20c, 1(2) > ct *livvakt* **Ic** [=E] M [U] end20c, 1(1c) +1a(1s) < ct *lífvörđur* **Fr** 1(–) < ct *garde de corps*, *gorille* **Sp** 1 (–) < cr *guardaespaldas* **It** — < 1: ct *guardia del corpo*; *gorilla* **Rm** [bɔdigard] M, end20c, 1(1m) = ct *gardă de corp* F, *gorilă* **Rs** *bodigard* M, pl. *–y*, 1990s 1(1im)   ct < *telokhranitel'*; +1c(1im) **Po** — **Cr** [E] > ct *tjelohranitelj* **Bg** *bɔdigard/gard* M, pl. *–a*, *–ove*, 1990s, 1(2) **Fi** [=E] 1(0) **Hu** 1(0) < *testor* **Al** — **Gr** 1(0) < *somatofylakas*

brain–drain   n. 'loss of skilled personnel by emigration'

The term became popular from the late 1960s onwards, languages being neatly divided between borrowers and calquers. Initially coined for the loss of scientists to America, it now refers to migrations to wherever another industrialized nation has better jobs to offer.

> **Ge** [=E] M [U] 1960s (1t) **Du** [=E] C, 1970s (1t) **Nw** [=E] M, 1960s (1t) **Ic** —   cr *atgervisflótti* **Fr** *brain drain* [ ] M (1jo) < *fuite des cerveaux* **Sp** M [U] 1970s (1tji) < *fuga de cerebros* **It** [br<u>e</u>in drein] M [U] 1970s (1j) < cr *fuga dei cervelli* F **Rm** [=E] N [U] 1970s (1j) **Rs** *br<u>e</u>ĭn dr<u>e</u>ĭn* M, 1960s (1j) < cr *utechka mozgov* **Po** — < cr *drenaż mózgów* **Cr** [E] > ct *odljev mozgova* **Bg** — < cr *izt<u>i</u>chane na moztsi*, mid20c **Fi** — **Hu** [=E] [U] mid20c (1t) **Al** — **Gr** –

brainstorming   n. 'collected intellectual treatment of a problem'

The term appears to have been popularized in advertising circles. It is interesting to see that its restricted currency is divided between 'colloquial' and 'technical' uses, with few calques available.

> **Ge** [=E] N [U] 1960s (1c) **Du** [br<u>e</u>:nstOrming] C [U] 1960s (2) → *brainstormen* v. **Nw** [=E] M, 1970s (1t) **Ic** [=E] or *brainstormur* M [U] 1970s (1ts) > cc *heilarok* **Fr** [ ] M, mid20c (1tx) = cr *remue–méninges* **Sp** [breinst<u>o</u>rmin] M, end20c (1t) > *tormenta de ideas, tormenta de cerebros* (rare) **It** [br<u>e</u>inst<u>o</u>rmi g] M [U] 1960s (1t) **Rm** [=E] N [U] 1970s (1t) **Rs** (0) **Po** [–or–] M [U] end20c (1t) **Cr** — **Bg** — **Fi** — < *aivoriiki* **Hu** [=E] [U] mid20c (1t) < ct *ötletgyártás* **Al** — **Gr** –

brain(s) trust n. 'group of expert advisers'

Coined for the group of economic experts to advise President Roosevelt, the word soon came to designate any advisory group of specialists; this general meaning was borrowed as a technical term (with a journalistic flavour) from the 1960s onwards. There are only few calques, since the content can be covered by existing words with a similar meaning.

> **Ge** [bre:ntrast] M, pl. *–s*, 1960s (1t) > ct *Gehirntrust*; → *–er* M (1i) **Du** [=E] C, 1960s (1t) = *vertrouwensraad* **Nw** — < ct *hjernetrust* [–trøst] M, mid20c (5+1t) **Ic** — **Fr** *brain–trust* [ ] M, mid20c (1t, o) **Sp** 1970s (øtj) **It** [brein tr△st] M [U] 1930s (1t) < ct *trust dei cervelli* **Rm** [=E] N, end20c (0>1t) **Rs** — **Po** — **Cr** [=E] M, mid20c (1t) > ct *trust mozgova* **Bg** — < ct *m<u>o</u>z<u>ŭ</u>chen tr<u>ŭ</u>st* M, mid20c (5+2) **Fi** — < *aivotrusti* (1t) **Hu** — < ct *agytröszt* **Al** — **Gr** –

brainwashing n. 'process by which ideas other than and at variance with those already held are implanted in the mind'

The concept has world–wide currency as a form of treatment of political prisoners (and is rarely and metaphorically used outside this context). The E. term is said to be a calque on a Chinese expression (1950) which provided the source for further calquing in individual languages — apparently much preferred to straightforward borrowing.

> **Ge** — < ct *Gehirnwäsche* **Du** [=E] C, 1970s (1t) < ct *hersenspoeling* **Nw** (0) < ct *hjernevask* **Ic** — < ct *heila p̄ vottur* **Fr** — < ct *lavage de cerveau* **Sp** — < *lavado de cerebro* **It** [brein wǪ̇iŋg] M [U] mid20c (1t) < ct *lavaggio del cervello* **Rm** (0) < ct *spălarea creierelor* **Rs** — < cr *promyva̲nie mozgov* **Po** — < ct *pranie mózgu* **Cr** [=E] M, mid20c (1t) > ct *pranje mozga* **Bg** — < cr *promi̲vane na mo̲zŭtsi* **Fi** — < ct *aivopesu* **Hu** [=E] [U] mid20c (0) < ct *agymosás* **Al** — **Gr** — < ct *physi egefalon*

butterfly n. +4 'style in swimming', +5 'split jump (in figure skating)', +6 'somersault (in gymnastics)'

The swimming style was developed from the breast stroke (1935), the term derived from the movement of the arms. The uses in skating and gymnastics are highly technical and known to experts only.

> **Ge** [=E] M [U] 1950s, +4(2t) = *Schmetterling(sstil);* 1970s, +5, +6 (1ti) **Du** — *vlinderslag* **Nw** [bø̲teflai] M [U] mid20c, +4(2t) **Ic** — < +4: cr *flugsund* **Fr** — < cm *papillon* M, *brasse papillon* F **Sp** — < ct *mariposa* **It** — < cm *farfalla, stile (a) farfalla* M **Rm** — < cm *fluture* **Rs** *batterflya̲ǐ* M [U] mid20c, +4(2t); end20c +5, +6, +7(1ti) **Po** *baterflaj* [baterflaj] M, end20c, +4, +5, +6(1t) **Cr** *ba̲terflaj* M, end20c, +4(1t) > ct *leptir* **Bg** *bŭ̲terfla* M [U] mid20c 2(1t) **Fi** — < ct *perhosuinti* **Hu** — **Al** *baterflaj* M [U] (1r) **Gr** — < ct *petalouda*

cashew– n, cp1 'the edible nut of a cashew tree'

Although the word dates to 1703 in E., the word (and the thing?) appear to have been adopted very late in Continental languages

> **Ge** *Cashewnuß* [ke̲shu:] 20c (1 > 2+5) **Du** *cashewnoot* [kE̲shju:–] 1970s (2t+5) **Nw** *cashewn tt* [kæ̲sju–] 1980s (1t+5) **Ic** *kasjúhneta* [kʰa: sju–] F, 1980s (1c+5) **Fr** *cachou* (5) **Sp** — **It** — **Rm** [=E] 1990s (0) **Rs** *ke̲shju* uninfl., 1990s (1t) **Po** — **Cr** — **Bg** *kashu̲* N [U] end20c (5Pt) **Fi** [=E] (0) **Hu** *ke̲su* [ke̲shu] [U] 20c (1t) **Al** — **Gr** –

cornflakes   n. pl. 1 'a breakfast cereals'

Recorded from the 1930s (but rare; cf. earlier *quaker oats* with a similar meaning) the item became well–known from the 1960s onwards; it is remarkable how few calques have been tried (or have successfully competed against the loanword).

> **Ge** [kornfle:ks] pl., 1960s (2) **Du** [kOrnfle: ks] pl., mid20c (2) **Nw** ['kårnfle(i)ks] M [U] sg., mid20c (2) **Ic** *kornfleks* [kʰo(r)tnfl∈xs] N, sg., [U] 1960s, 1(2c) > ct *kornflögur* **Fr** *corn–flakes* [ ] M, pl., mid20c (2) **Sp** [konfleks/korfleks] M, pl. (2) **It** [kOrnfl∈iks] M, pl., 1960s (2) **Rm** [kornfleks] N [U] 1970s (1o) < *fulgi (de porumb)* **Rs** *kornfieks* M, pl., end20c (1m) ct *kukuruznye khlop'ya* **Po** *cornfleksy*, <=E> [kornfleksi/=E] pl., end20c (1m) **Cr** *kornflejks* M sg. pl. –i, end20c (1) **Bg** — < cr *zŭrneni yadki* **Fi** <=E> /*cornflakesit* [=E] mid20c (2) > ct *maissihiutaleet* **Hu** [=E] [U] end20c (2) **Al** — **Gr** *kornflëïks* N, pl., end20c (2)

cross   n. 8b '(football) pass of the ball across the direction of play', 8c (boxing) 'a blow with a crosswise movement of the fist', +8d 'a stroke in tennis', +10 'cross–country (race)'

The word is widespread only as a shortened form of cross(–country race) which can refer to athletics, cycling, motor–cycling or cars (the reference is often identified by compounding); note comparatively few calques and verbal uses.

> **Ge** [=E] M, pl. –*e*/–*es*, 1980s, +8d(1ti); 1960s, +10(1t) < *Querfeldein (–lauf, –rennen)* **Du** *crossbal* 8b(1t+5) only in tennis; [krOs] C, pl. –*es*, –*en*, 1970s, +10(1t) **Nw** usu. cp¹ [=E] also *crossball*, 1980s, 8b(2+5); M [U] mid20c, +10(2) **Ic** — **Fr** — **Sp** [kros] M, pl. Ø, 1920s, 8c(2) > *campo a través* **It** [kros] M, pl. Ø, 1920s, 8b(3) = cr *traversone* M; 8c(1t) < *gancio* M; +8d(1t) < *colpo incrociato* M **Rm** *cros* [=E] N, mid20c, 8c(1t) +8d(1i); +10(3) → *crosist, –ă* [krosist, –d] M/F, mid20c (3) **Rs** *kross* M [U] mid20c, +8d(1t) +10(3) → –*ovki* pl. **Po** *kros*/ M uninfl., mid20c, 8b, +10(1t) → –*owiec* M; –*owy* adj. **Cr** [kros] M, mid20c, +10(1t) → –*ist* M **Bg** *kros* M, pl. –*a*/–*ove*, mid20c, +10(3t) → –*ov* adj.; –*che* N, dim. **Fi** *krossi* +10(2) **Hu** –*country*, +10(1t) **Al** *kros* M, po. –*e*, +10(t) **Gr** *kros* N [U] usu. cp², +10 (1t)

cross–country n. /cp¹ 1, 2 'across fields etc., not keeping to main roads' /?! transfer data to *cross* where applicable! /

> **Ge** [=E] cp¹, beg20c (1t) < cr *Querfeldein* **Du** [=E] C, pl. –*s*, 1940s (1t) = *veldrit* **Nw** (0) **Ic** — **Fr** *cross(–country)* [krOs] M, end19c (2); also *cyclo–cross, moto–cross* **Sp** [kros kountri] M, beg20c (1t) < *campo a través* **It** [kros kauntri] M, pl. Ø, 1910s (1o) **Rm** — **Rs**

— **Po** N, uninfl., mid20c, 1, 2(1t) **Cr** [kros kantri] — **Bg** — **Fi** — **Hu** [=E] end19/beg20c (1t: athletics only) **Al** — < cr *kros në natyrë* **Gr** –

weekend   n. 1 'Saturday and Sunday'

The word is surprisingly widespread (and appears still to be spreading). A few languages (**Ge**, **Sp**, **Fi**) practically use calques only which have so far barred the adoption of the E. word, even though this is occasionally found in advertising, youth language and facetious uses.

Ge [vi̯:kent] N, pl. *–s*, 1930s (0) < ct *Wochenende* **Du** [vi̯:kEnt] N, pl. *–s/–en*, 1940s (2) → *–en* v. = *weekeind(e)* (5) **Nw** [=E] M, pl. *–er/–s*, mid20c (2) < *helg*, > ct *ukeslutt* Ic — **Fr** *week–end* [ ] M, beg20c (2) **Sp** [wi̯ken(d)] M, beg20c (0>1ji) < ct *fin de semana* **It** [wikE̲nd] M [U] 1900s (2) = ct *fine settimana* **Rm** [=E] N, mid20c (2) **Rs** *uike̲nd* M, pl. *–y*, mid20c (1c) **Po** [wikent] M, beg20c (2) → *–owanie* N [U]; *–owiec* M; *–owicz* M; v.; *–owy* adj. **Cr** *vi̯kend* M, pl. *–i*, mid20c (3) **Bg** *ui̯kend* M, pl. *–a/–i*, end20c (2m) = *krayat na sedmitsata* **Fi** — **Hu** *víkend* [vi̯:kend] pl. *–ek*, 1920s (3) → *–ez* v.; cp[1] **Al** *vike̲nd* M, pl. *–e*, 1(r) **Gr** [=E] N, also pl. *–s* (1m)

Purizam i UDASEL

Postoje tri mogućnosti kao reakcija na leksički utjecaj engleskoga (ili drugih jezika) na jezike europskoga kontinenta: da se posudi strana riječ (s raznim formalnim promjenama), da se upotrijebi postojeća domaća riječ i proširi njezino značenje ili da se engleska riječ prevede. Prilog istražuje primjere potonje politike u odgovoru na engleski izazov u šesnaest europskih jezika, razlikujući pritom tri tipa kalkiranja: prevedenicu, djelomičnu prevedenicu i formalno nezavisni neologizam. Podaci su uzeti iz novoga rječnika koji pod naslovom *Usage Dictionary of Anglicisms in Selected European Languages* u 1998. namjerava objaviti Oxford University Press, a istražuju se mogućnosti i ograničenja toga izvora u odnosu na problem o kojemu je ovdje riječ. Navode se strukturni i politički razlozi kako bi se objasnile razlike u purizmu koji se javlja u ispitivanim jezicima. U dodatku su otisnute odabrane privremene natuknice s pokusnim »križaljkama« kako bi se i vizualno prikazala geografska raspodjela.