Lexical alternatives and formal variance in borrowing: Pragmatic and lectal interpretations

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Introduction and Research Questions
E. *entertainment* $\rightarrow$ G. *Entertainment* besides G. *Unterhaltung* 
⇒ (close) synonyms

But subtle differences in meaning:

„*Entertainment* verspricht *ein pompöseres Ereignis* als der Begriff *Unterhaltung*. Es ist *fast eine Steigerung in Form eines neuen Wortes*.“

“*Entertainment* announces *a more grandiose event* than the term *Unterhaltung*. It is *almost an intensification in form of a new word*.“
⇒ Different pragmatic value of anglicism vs. native competitor

Research question 1
Why do certain anglicisms convey special pragmatic effects?

Research question 2
Can we describe the special effects in terms of lectal variation?
Research question 1
Why do certain anglicisms convey special pragmatic effects?

Assumptions:
The pragmatic effects represent stable additional meanings. These additional meanings are triggered by the relative markedness of the anglicisms (cf. Levinson 2000).

⇒ One source of markedness in loanwords:
Lexical alternation / onomasiological variation
(cf. Onysko & Winter-Froemel 2011)

   e.g.
G. Kids (← E. kids) besides native form G. Kinder CHILDREN
   +→ modern, emancipated children
G. Event (← E. event) besides native form G. Veranstaltung EVENT
   +→ big and interesting event
Research question 1
Why do certain anglicisms convey special pragmatic effects?

Hypothesis 1a:
Anglicisms which compete with near-equivalents in the recipient language are marked and can therefore convey special pragmatic or lectal effects.

⇒ Lexical alternation is a trigger for additional pragmatic or lectal meanings

Hypothesis 1b:
Speakers’ selection of marked (vs. unmarked) items depends on the context.

⇒ Possibility to distinguish between marked and unmarked contexts
⇒ Preferences towards …
    marked forms in marked contexts
⇒ No strong preferences for unmarked forms
Research question 2
Can we describe the special effects in terms of lectal variation?

Variation is interpreted as meaningful by the speakers.

- **Cognitive Sociolinguistics:**
  - a broad understanding of lectal variation, suitable to integrate the various types of markedness that are potentially relevant here

- Previous approaches to lectal variation:
  - **Variety according to the user – variety according to the use**
    (Halliday 1978)

  - The dimensions are not mutually exclusive.
  - More fine-grained approaches: 4 basic dimensions of lectal variation
    (Coseriu 1981; Koch & Oesterreicher 1990)
Research question 2
Can we describe the special effects in terms of lectal variation?

Hypothesis 2a:
Speakers may reinterpret the additional meaning conveyed by marked forms in terms of lectal variation.

Do speakers perceive the various dimensions of markedness?

Hypothesis 2b:
Variety according to the user is better perceived than variety according to the use.

Survey on the interpretation of anglicisms in German
Methodology
Methodology

Combination of various types of evidence:

- Corpus study ⇒ actual use
- Questionnaire study ⇒ reported use and judgments
Methodology

Test items:
14 pairs of anglicism + native equivalent in German

- Only nominal expressions
- Relatively recent anglicisms (first occurrence in 1949 or later)

- Highly frequent anglicisms: among the 100 most frequent anglicisms in German according to German newsmagazine Der Spiegel 2000 corpus (Onysko 2007; Onysko & Winter-Froemel 2011; Winter-Froemel, Onysko & Calude in press)
  ⇒ relatively established, so that participants might use the items themselves

- Only anglicisms which are still less frequently used than their competitors
  ⇒ items which are still to a certain extent marginal

- Control for polysemy (strongly polysemous items were discarded)
Methodology

List of test items (and relative frequencies):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anglicisms</th>
<th>Competitors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Airline (0.26)</td>
<td>Fluggesellschaft (0.74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Airport (0.08)</td>
<td>Flughafen (0.92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Boss (0.05)</td>
<td>Chef (0.95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Club (0.21)</td>
<td>Verein (0.79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Crash (0.05)</td>
<td>Unfall (0.95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Entertainment (0.06)</td>
<td>Unterhaltung (0.94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Event (0.07)</td>
<td>Veranstaltung (0.93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Gangster (0.36)</td>
<td>Verbrecher (0.64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kids (0.02)</td>
<td>Kinder (0.98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Killer (0.23)</td>
<td>Mörder (0.77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Lady (0.30)</td>
<td>Dame (0.70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Party (0.09)</td>
<td>Fest (0.91)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Song (0.31)</td>
<td>Lied (0.69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Teenager (0.04)</td>
<td>Jugendliche (0.96)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Methodology of the Corpus study

- For each anglicism and each competitor, randomized extraction of 50 results from Cosmas II

  Cosmas II: German; ~8.7 billion words (tokens); written language; mostly from newspapers and journals

- Analyze sentence contexts with respect to 9 binary parameters

  \[ 1 \iff \text{marked/subjective contexts} \quad 0 \iff \text{unmarked/neutral contexts} \]

  –M contexts \quad +M contexts
Methodology of the Corpus Study

Parameters for unmarked/marked contexts:

P1: Does the utterance context contain judgmental or subjective expressions?

P2: Is the sentence marked by expressivity? (e.g. use of rhetorical figures, wordplay)

P3: Does the sentence contain non-native items (loanwords) other than the item analyzed? (criterion: marked spelling/ pronunciation)

P4: Does the item designate a foreign person or object?

P5: Does the item appear in a declarative sentence? (y ⇒ unmarked ctxt)

P6: Does the sentence express a representative speech act? (y ⇒ unmarked ctxt)

P7: Does the sentence contain superlative or comparative expressions?

P8: Is the item used in a generic or a specific meaning? (generic ⇒ unmarked ctxt, specific ⇒ marked ctxt)

P9: Does the sentence contain numerals? (y ⇒ unmarked ctxt)
Methodology of the Corpus Study: Ex. sentences for Crash / Unfall

**S1:** Michael Schumacher hat in Monte Carlo bei seinem Crash in der ersten Runde nicht nur seinen Ferrari verbeult, sondern auch das eigene Image.
With his crash in the first round in Monte Carlo, Michael Schumacher has not only dented his Ferrari, but also his own image.

P1: Judgment $\Rightarrow 1$
P2: Expressivity $\Rightarrow 1$
P3: nni: M.C., Image $\Rightarrow 1$
P4: Foreign context $\Rightarrow 1$
P5: Declarative $\Rightarrow 0$
P6: Representative $\Rightarrow 0$
P7: No Sup/comp $\Rightarrow 0$
P8: Specific $\Rightarrow 0$
P9: No numerals $\Rightarrow 0$

⇒ **Total: 6**

**S2:** Zwei Schwerverletzte hat ein Unfall auf der Bundesstraße 49 bei Obertiefenbach gefordert.
A car crash on the federal highway 49 near Obertiefenbach has left two people severely injured.

P1: No judgment $\Rightarrow 0$
P2: No expressivity $\Rightarrow 0$
P3: No non-native it. $\Rightarrow 0$
P4: No foreign ctxt $\Rightarrow 0$
P5: Declarative $\Rightarrow 0$
P6: Representative $\Rightarrow 0$
P7: No Sup/comp $\Rightarrow 0$
P8: Specific $\Rightarrow 0$
P9: Numerals: 49 $\Rightarrow 0$

⇒ **Total: 1**
Methodology of the Questionnaire study

Participants:
All 25 or younger
Mostly students
17 male and 15 female participants

Mixed task:
- forced choice + rating + free comment
- 14 test sentences: questionnaires contained all item pairs either with marked or unmarked sentence context
- 14 fillers: close synonym pairs from the native lexicon
  one of the items marked according to different dimensions of lectal variation, e.g.  
  Jänner = diatopically marked compared to Januar;  
  Steine = diastratically marked compared to Euro;  
  or without clear difference, e.g. Bürgersteig – Gehweg
- Test sentences: taken from the corpus data, in some cases with slight adaptations to rule out potential interfering factors
- Randomized order of test sentences and fillers
Methodology of the Questionnaire study

**Judgments:**
Rating of non-selected forms

⇒ More objective judgments than about own usage (because dispreferred forms: judged as if used by others)

Free comment:
On non-selected forms (in comparison to the alternative items)

⇒ Qualitative judgments
⇒ What dimensions of lectal variation are referred to?
Methodology of the Questionnaire study: Sample

Which one of the following expressions would you preferably use in the following sentence?

Michael Schumacher hat in Monte Carlo bei seinem ________ in der ersten Runde nicht nur seinen Ferrari verbeult, sondern auch das eigene Image.

Unfall    Crash
Methodology of the Questionnaire study: Sample

Please judge the form that you did not select.

**Unfall**

Would you consider usage of this form to be restricted to certain *situations*?
(1 = not restricted, 4 = strongly restricted)

Would you consider usage of this form to be restricted to certain *speakers*?
(1 = not restricted, 4 = strongly restricted)

How would you judge the non-selected form compared to the form you selected?
Results
Preliminary Results of the Corpus study

- For some items, the context ratings differ for the anglicisms and their competitors, e.g. *Event* – *Veranstaltung*.
- For other items, however, no clear differences emerge, e.g. *Airline* – *Fluggesellschaft*.

**Hypothesis 1b:** There is a correlation between marked forms and marked contexts. *supported for some items, further investigation necessary*
Preliminary Results of the Corpus study

- Which parameters are the best predictors?
- How can we account for cases such as *Airline – Fluggesellschaft*?
Preliminary Results of the Questionnaire study: Reported use

Which one of the following expressions would you preferably use in the following sentence?

Choice of anglicism in unmarked vs. marked contexts

- **Reported use depends on contextual features**
- **Hypothesis 1b:** Speakers’ selection of marked (vs. unmarked) items depends on the context. ✓ **confirmed**
Preliminary Results of the Questionnaire study: Judgments

For the non-selected form: Would you consider usage of this form to be restricted to certain **situations**? (1 = not restricted, 4 = strongly restricted)

For the non-selected form: Would you consider usage of this form to be restricted to certain **speakers**? (1 = not restricted, 4 = strongly restricted)

**Hypothesis 1a:** Anglicisms which compete with near-equivalents in the recipient language are marked and can therefore convey special pragmatic or lectal effects. **confirmed**
Preliminary Results of the Questionnaire study: Judgments

For the non-selected form: Would you consider usage of this form to be restricted to certain situations? (1 = not restricted, 4 = strongly restricted)

For the non-selected form: Would you consider usage of this form to be restricted to certain speakers? (1 = not restricted, 4 = strongly restricted)

Hypothesis 2a: Speakers may reinterpret the additional meaning conveyed by my marked forms in terms of lectal variation.

✓ confirmed
Preliminary Results of the Questionnaire study: Judgments

For the non-selected form: Would you consider usage of this form to be restricted to certain situations? (1 = not restricted, 4 = strongly restricted)

Hypothesis 2b: Variety according to the user is better perceived than variety according to the use. (supported)

Further investigation required
Preliminary Results of the Questionnaire study: Judgments

Additonal evidence from free comments:

- **Evidence for pragmatic / lectal effects**

[Killer – Mörder]

Spricht man von einem Killer, dann geht es meiner Meinung nach um einen **grausamen** Menschen, der etwas vorsätzlich und mit vollem Bewusstsein macht. Ein Mörder hingegen **klingt weniger dramatisch** und ist **eher eine sachliche Bezeichnung**.

... [Killer] a cruel person .../ ... Mörder, in contrast, sounds less dramatic and is a rather neutral term

Mörder ist für mich ein **relativ neutraler Begriff** im Gegensatz zu Killer. Killer **macht etwas gleich noch viel schlimmer, wenn man es hört**

... a relatively neutral term compared to Killer / Killer makes it much worse only when hearing it

⇒ **cf. Hypothesis 1a**: Anglicisms which compete with near-equivalents in the recipient language are marked and can therefore convey special pragmatic or lectal effects.
Preliminary Results of the Questionnaire study: Judgments

Additonal evidence from free comments

➢ Evidence for the role of the sentence context
[Event – Veranstaltung]
Event hat besser mit Highlight und den anderen englischen Begriffen gepasst.
Event fitted better with Highlight and the other English terms.

Event wird eher gebraucht, wenn noch andere Anglizismen im Text auftauchen wohingegen Veranstaltung eher altmodischer klingt und langweiliger als Event.
Event is preferably used when other anglicisms appear in the text, whereas Veranstaltung sounds rather old-fashioned and more boring.

⇒ cf. Hypothesis 1b: Speakers’ selection of marked (vs. unmarked) items depends on the context.
Conclusions

- Sentence context matters,…

- … especially for the marked items (the anglicisms).

- Possibility to distinguish marked vs. unmarked contexts

- Speakers have clear intuitions and judgments about the forms they would not use themselves.

- Onomasiological variation as a source of pragmatic / lectal markedness
References

Cosmas II – https://cosmas2.ids-mannheim.de/


