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The pragmatic necessity of borrowing

Euphemism, dysphemism, playfulness – and naming

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Abstract

In traditional research, necessary and luxury loanwords have often been opposed to each other as representing two fundamentally different types of borrowing. However, the terms of necessity and luxury have been shown to be problematic, as necessary loanwords can be avoided by choosing alternative types of contact-induced innovations in the recipient language, and from a usage-based perspective, speakers also perceive a certain 'need' for luxury borrowings. In my paper, I will thus rephrase the distinction in terms of catachrestic (~necessary) vs. non-catachrestic (~luxury) borrowings (Winter-Froemel, 2011; Onysko and Winter-Froemel, 2011) and focus on the latter group in order to investigate basic principles motivating the introduction of the loanwords in the recipient language. More specifically, I will discuss euphemism, dysphemism, and playfulness, which have been proposed in previous research as basic functions of borrowings (see, e.g. Carstensen, 1965; Galinsky, 1967), and I will explore how these concepts can be refined from a usage-based perspective. Finally, I will turn to the function of naming, which is traditionally considered to be fundamentally different from the pragmatically based factors listed above. Contrary to this belief, I will argue that naming also has a pragmatic dimension by virtue of speakers' intentions to (re)conceptualize the objects in question. The broad variety of pragmatic motives identified underpins the necessity to adopt a usage-based approach to linguistic borrowing, and the potential of analyzing borrowings according to their cognitive and communicative value.

Keywords: borrowing, necessary borrowings or catachrestic borrowings, luxury borrowings or non-catachrestic borrowings, pragmatic factors, playfulness, euphemism, dysphemism, naming, catachrestic reinterpretation

1 The paradox of linguistic borrowing

Languages are constantly evolving, and linguistic borrowing represents a major domain where this inherent dynamics becomes manifest. However, previous research on language change has pointed out that the ubiquity of language change can be seen as a surprising fact, as there seems to be no obvious 'necessity' for change. Building upon Coseriu's (1958) reflections on explaining language change from the perspective of the speakers, Detges and Waltereit describe this 'paradox of linguistic change' as follows:

> [...] if synchronically, languages can be viewed as perfectly running systems, then there is no reason why they should change in the first place. And yet, as everyone knows, languages are changing constantly. (Detges and Waltereit, 2008, p. 1)

Starting from this observation, the present paper aims to reflect on what we could call 'the paradox of linguistic borrowing', i.e. the question why languages should borrow items from other languages at all, in spite of the fact that the recipient languages can be viewed as fully functioning 'system(s) of spoken or written communication used by a particular country, people, community, etc.' (OED, language 1.a). First, let us formulate the question in a more adequate way, putting forward the real agents of change, i.e. the speakers: why should the speakers of language B borrow linguistic items from another language A? In order to answer this question, this paper will investigate the attractiveness of borrowings from the perspective of the speakers and analyze pragmatic factors that motivate the borrowing of elements of other linguistic systems.

The paper is organized as follows: I will first give an overview of traditional research on the motives of borrowing and then focus on the distinction between 'necessary' and 'luxury loanwords / borrowings'. These categories can be illustrated by the French loanword *internet*, which was introduced together with the concept designated, and French *news*, which coexists with the native item *actualité*, respectively. The distinction between the two categories identifies a basic aspect of linguistic innovation in general. However, I will argue that the distinction needs to be reformulated in more neutral and descriptive terms (catachrestic vs. non-catachrestic innovations). I will then investigate specific pragmatic effects of borrowings, which favour their introduction into the recipient language. More specifically, I will discuss the notions of euphemism, dysphemism and playfulness, and link these to particular patterns of linguistic innovation, which

are inserted into specific pragmatic and semiotic settings. Finally, I will turn to the function of naming, which has traditionally been approached as being triggered by other motives (see e.g. Deroy, 1956; Öhmann, 1961; Carstensen, 1965; Tesch, 1978; Langer, 1996; Winford, 2003). Based on analyses of cases where new names are intentionally introduced for specific argumentative purposes, and on transitions between non-catachrestic and catachrestic innovations, I will argue that naming has a pragmatic dimension as well. The conclusion will finally give a summary of the main arguments presented and propose some perspectives to be explored in further research.

2 Motives of borrowing

2.1 Stylistic effects of Anglicisms in German according to Galinsky

To start, let us briefly recall the list of stylistic effects of borrowings proposed by Galinsky, which still represents a key reference in our domain of investigation:

> […] (1) providing *national American color* of settings, actions, and characters, (2) establishing or enhancing *precision*, (3) offering or facilitating *intentional disguise*, (4) effecting *brevity* to the point of terseness, (5) producing *vividness*, often by way of metaphor, (6) conveying *tone*, its gamut ranging from humorous *playfulness* to sneering *parody* on America and 'Americanized' Germany, (7) creating or increasing *variation of expression*. (Galinsky, 1967, p. 71, italics added)

Galinsky defines these effects or functions based on analyses of various kinds of written and spoken language, and in order to illustrate the first function, he refers to Ingeborg Bachmann's radio play *Der gute Gott von Manhattan*, where various degrees of interference between American English and German items are used to create an American atmosphere in the hearer's or reader's mind (e.g. loanblends such as *Barmädchen* for *barmaid*, and transfers such as *cafeteria* and *Village*). In addition, Galinsky cites Bertolt Brecht's poem *Kohlen für Mike*, where the transfer and repetition of proper names (Mike, McCoy, Ohio, Wheeling Railroad, etc.) equally creates an American colour (Galinsky, pp. 37-42). The effect of establishing or enhancing precision is realized, according to Galinsky (pp. 42-47), by the introduction of loan translations, loanblends, and loan creations, as well as

by transfers, i.e. by the importation of loanwords, the basic feature of the innovations being the restructuring of the semantic field in the recipient language by adding a new concept. For instance, the introduction of the Anglicism *clever* into German adds a new meaning to the lexical field of 'intelligence', and at the same time conveys an impression of its reality by virtue of its American 'flavour'. Intentional disguise, in turn, is presented as the basic principle motivating borrowings such as *Callgirl-Betriebe* and *Strip-tease*, which are used in order to avoid the alternative items *Bordell*, and *Nackttanz* or *Entkleidungsnummer*, respectively (Galinsky, pp. 47-48). The basic function of brevity is illustrated by Anglicisms such as *Trend* and *Sex-Appeal* compared to possible alternatives such as *Richtung, Tendenz*, or *Strömung*, and *geschlechtliche Anziehung* or *geschlechtliche Anziehungskraft* (Galinsky, pp. 48-58). For the fifth aspect, Galinsky (pp. 58-59) refers to various metaphorical innovations and mentions cases such as German *hinausfeuern* (English *to fire*), *Gehirnwäsche* (*brainwashing*), and *Gipfelkonferenz* (*summit conference*), which can all be analyzed as analogical innovations imitating a source language model.[1] The sixth aspect represents again a factor of key importance according to Galinsky, which is illustrated by analyses of texts accumulating loanwords such as *Public-Relations-Chief, General-Manager, Industrial-Contact-Man, Recreation-Center*, etc. The texts in which these accumulations occur thereby exhibit a clear tone of mockery. Another example is taken from political poetry by Bertolt Brecht, where Anglicisms such as *Gentlemen* appear in citational uses with a critical undertone (Galinsky, pp. 59-69). For the last aspect, Galinsky (pp. 69-71) presents stylistic analyses of texts where a borrowing is used alongside an alternative designation to avoid its repetition (for instance *Stahlmühle*, which translates American English *steel mill*, is used alongside the German item *Stahlwerk* in order to avoid a repetition of the latter form), and texts where the use of borrowings permits to avoid other repetitions in the German text. In contrast to the other aspects listed above, however, this factor remains to a certain extent vague, as it does not specify to which borrowings it applies in particular. In fact, this aspect can be interpreted as a factor motivating not only the borrowing of Anglicisms or borrowings in general, but as a basic principle favouring the creation of lexical alternatives, by borrowing or by other lexical means (semantic change, word formation).

From Galinsky's other examples, it becomes clear that the stylistic effects identified by him apply to different subtypes of Anglicisms, including not only loanwords, but also recipient language innovations which imitate a source language model form, and contact-induced, but otherwise inde-

pendent innovations (cf. the traditional category of loan creations). While the latter group of innovations is not considered here to be part of lexical borrowings (for a discussion of this issue, see Winter, 2005, and Winter-Froemel, 2008b, and 2011), I will include in this category both loanwords and analogical innovations. For the group of loanwords, their degree of integration and conformity to the recipient language system will prove to be of key importance; for the analogical innovations, in turn, we can distinguish between two main groups of innovations, which are realized by semantic change and by word formation, respectively (see Winter, 2005; Winter-Froemel, 2008b, and 2011).

Galinsky's enumeration of stylistic effects is linked to his analysis of Anglicisms in German, with particular focus on recent Anglicisms introduced after World War II, i.e. in a specific historical and political context, characterized among others by the Allied occupation, a situation with a concrete presence of the source language in the region where the recipient language is spoken, and a situation with specific hierarchical relations between the countries (and languages and cultures) involved. Moreover, Galinsky's study strongly focuses on Anglicisms in literary texts, i.e. on the specific domain of literary communication, where we can assume that using an Anglicism is a conscious stylistic choice made by the author. Despite this relatively narrow focus of analysis, Galinsky's enumeration of stylistic effects has been taken up by many other authors, and has often been used in order to describe stylistic effects of Anglicisms in other contexts as well (see e.g. Carstensen, 1965; Pfitzner, 1978; Rodríguez González, 1996; Nettmann-Multanowska, 2003; Plümer, 2000, pp. 258-269).

It also provides a good starting point for our analysis, as the stylistic effects identified by Galinsky can immediately be linked to the speakers' intentions to convey these effects, and thus, they can be interpreted as indicating possible motives of borrowing. At the same time, however, the question can be raised if these aspects can be formulated in a more systematic way, and if they can be linked to more general principles guiding linguistic innovation and language change.

2.2 Systematizing motives for borrowing at different levels of investigation

A first approach to which we can refer in this context is Coseriu's distinction between three basic levels of investigation of linguistic facts (Coseriu, 1958, pp. 25-28): 1) the universal level, which deals with facts pertaining to the faculty of speech, i.e. with general principles shared by all languages (cf. Saussure's [1916 / 1960] concept of *langage*), 2) the historical level, which

deals with facts pertaining to particular languages at a certain point in time (e.g. current French, Old French, etc.; cf. Saussure's concept of *langue*), and 3) the individual or actual level (cf. Winter-Froemel, 2008a, and 2011), which deals with facts pertaining to particular acts of communication (cf. Saussure's concept of *parole*).

Coseriu's distinction permits us to split our opening question into three more specific questions: 1) at the universal level, we can ask why elements of other linguistic systems should be borrowed at all, 2) at the historical level, we can ask why a particular language B should borrow elements from another language A, and 3) at the actual level, we can ask why a particular item from language A is borrowed by language B.

At this point, however, it is important to stress another basic methodological principle put forward by Coseriu (1958). He claims that language change can only be explained from the perspective of the speakers, which means that all processes and subprocesses of language change need to be traced back to the speakers' linguistic behaviour in concrete situations of communication. In other words, explanatory factors need to be rephrased from the perspective of the speakers who innovate. This principle has also been discussed under the label of methodological individualism (see e.g. Keller, 1994) and it corresponds to the basic principle underlying usage-based approaches to language and language change (see e.g. Croft, 2000). Although this principle may appear to be uncontroversial for many readers, its far-reaching theoretical and methodological implications have frequently been overlooked. This is also the case for research in linguistic borrowing, which has often focused on lexicological and lexicographic aspects (i.e. on abstract descriptions at the level of the historical languages involved, in particular historical scenarios of language contact and cultural contact), neglecting the question whether the descriptions and explanations proposed can be meaningfully interpreted from the perspective of the speakers who introduce and diffuse the borrowings (cf. also Alexieva, 2008, pp. 48-49, who emphasizes that speaking of borrowing between different languages can only be meaningfully interpreted in a figurative sense). It is only quite recently that the specificities – and also the challenges – of a genuinely usage-based approach to linguistic borrowing have been investigated (see e.g. Zenner, Speelman, and Geeraerts, 2012; 2014).

Turning back to the three questions mentioned above, it could thus be assumed that our starting point of analysis should be individual aspects and motives for borrowing. However, once that we try to identify and systematize factors motivating borrowing, the perspective switches to a more abstract level, as we investigate general principles motivating a par-

ticular act of borrowing. More specifically, from this perspective, universal aspects of borrowing can be understood as general characteristics of linguistic items from another language that may be perceived by the speakers of the recipient language as potentially beneficial. Historical aspects, in contrast, are concerned with particular scenarios of contact between two (or more) historical languages, and with potential benefits attributed by the speakers of the recipient language to the linguistic items from a particular language A (e.g. by virtue of a certain prestige of language A compared to language B in a particular technical domain). Finally, it becomes necessary to also take into account the extra-linguistic dimension and extra-linguistic factors (e.g. the occurrence of technical innovations) that favour or hinder lexical innovation by borrowing.

The main aim of this paper is to present general reflections on the pragmatic dimension of linguistic borrowing, so that I will mainly focus on (potentially) universal factors. However, we will see that in spite of the distinction between the three dimensions being perfectly clear on a theoretical level, it can be difficult to decide whether a particular motive of borrowing represents a universal feature, or whether it is restricted to specific historical contact scenarios or even to individual communicative settings. The following reflections will thus also occasionally refer to the other dimensions.

The intersections and interactions between the different levels of investigation can also be observed in the stylistic effects of Anglicisms put forward by Galinsky. The last aspect (creating or increasing variation of expression) presupposes a particular text, where possible alternatives to the borrowed item occur in the linguistic context. At the same time, however, this aspect can also be interpreted as a potential advantage of borrowing and linguistic innovation in general (i.e. at the universal level): they enrich the linguistic repertoire and thus potentially offer the speaker additional choices to adapt his / her message to the specific communicative setting. In this sense, borrowings are motivated by the fact that they introduce semantic equivalents which can be communicatively useful for the recipient language speakers; this aspect thus describes a feature of borrowings in general.

For the first and sixth aspect mentioned by Galinsky, in contrast, there is a clear orientation towards the specific context of language contact in post-war Germany (parody on America / 'Americanized' Germany) or at least to contact scenarios where American English represents the source language (providing local American colour). Yet parody and prestige represent of course aspects of more general value, so that the factors could also

be formulated in a more general way, abstracting from the historical context of post-war Germany.

The remaining four aspects are formulated by Galinsky in a general way (precision, intentional disguise, brevity, vividness), so that we might suspect potentially universal effects and communicative benefits of borrowings here. However, these aspects could also be restricted to the introduction of Anglicisms in German, as studied by the author. For example, brevity has been described as a feature that specifically characterizes Anglicisms. However, even if many Anglicisms are shorter than the semantic equivalents in the recipient language, it should be stressed that this tendency will of course not apply to all Anglicisms borrowed by a particular language B. Alternatively, brevity could also be understood in the sense of an advantage resulting from the use of a one-word borrowing for a specific (new) concept instead of a longer paraphrase to express that meaning. This latter aspect describes a general feature which does not depend on particular source and recipient languages (lexical items are generally shorter than paraphrases), and concerns again universal aspects of borrowing. The effect of brevity thus also potentially includes both historical and universal aspects. At the same time, this aspect points to basic distinctions of more general scope, most importantly the question whether the concept designated by the borrowed form is newly introduced into the recipient language. In the following sections, let us investigate if the effects mentioned by Galinsky can be linked to more general principles guiding the speakers in their communicative behaviour by distinguishing two basic types of innovations.

3 Necessity vs. luxury? Catachrestic vs. non-catachrestic innovations

Our discussion has already revealed one basic aspect that is involved in several of Galinsky's stylistic effects: borrowings introduce new ways of expressing a specific content, either by providing an alternative choice to a lexical item of the recipient language (cf. the stylistic effect of 'creating or increasing variation of expression') or by introducing a new lexical item that can be used instead of a paraphrase in the recipient language. In the latter case a new concept is introduced along with the new lexical item, and there is no 'real' alternative in the sense of a lexicalized equivalent in the recipient language.

This leads us to the distinction between 'necessary' borrowings and

'luxury' borrowings.[2] This distinction goes back to Hermann Paul and Ernst Tappolet, and it has been widely used in previous research in order to describe subtypes of loanwords, or to oppose two basic patterns and motives of borrowing, see e.g. Öhmann (1961), Carstensen (1965), Tesch (1978), Langer (1996), and Rodríguez González (1996). Some authors use different labels for the two categories, e.g. 'nécéssité pratique' vs. 'raisons de cœur' (Deroy, 1956), 'need' vs. 'prestige' (Winford, 2003), 'gaps' vs. 'prestige' (Matras, 2009), but the definitions of these categories are very similar in the different approaches.[3]

Yet the notions of necessity and luxury have a strong judgmental component, which is highly problematic (for a more extensive discussion see Winter-Froemel, 2011, pp. 295-319; Onysko and Winter-Froemel, 2011). The distinction between the two groups of borrowings has often been made in puristic contexts, where the first group of borrowings is tolerated as a sort of necessary evil, while the latter group is severely condemned for not being 'strictly necessary', as a semantic equivalent exists in the recipient language (see e.g. Weisgerber, 1960; Castellani, 1987; *Office québecois de la langue française*, 2007). It can easily be shown, however, that luxury borrowings also arise from a communicative need, and that, from the perspective of the recipient language speakers, their use is motivated by affective, emotional, or stylistic needs (see Deroy, 1956, p. 172; Tesch, 1978, pp. 203-204; Plümer, 2000, p. 258; Carstensen, 1965, p. 266; Haugen, 1957, p. 588). Conversely, necessary borrowings are not strictly necessary, as the concepts concerned could also be designated by other linguistic means. For example, in order to designate a new concept, the recipient language speaker could equally choose a paraphrase or a contact-induced innovation which is etymologically independent from the source language form, i.e. an innovation which represents neither a loanword nor a borrowing that imitates a source language word formation or semantic change (cf. Winter, 2005; Winter-Froemel, 2008b).

Discarding these problematic labels, however, the distinction can also be drawn in more neutral terms, and it turns out to be indeed a very basic parameter that identifies not only two groups of borrowings, but that can also be applied to other kinds of linguistic innovations. Referring to Levinson's (2000) theory of *Presumptive Meanings*, it can be argued that the fundamental distinction between the two lexicological patterns (innovations with / without a semantic equivalent) involves a systematic difference with respect to the interpretation of the innovations, as the two types of innovations generate different implicatures (Winter-Froemel, 2011, pp. 295-319; Onysko and Winter-Froemel, 2011). The innovations having a se-

mantic equivalent represent expressions which are (to a certain extent) marked choices compared to the conventional way of referring to the concept in question, and they will therefore generally convey M-implicatures in the sense of expressing a somehow marked content. These implicatures are communicatively relatively strong, i.e. the speaker and hearer will normally perceive a specific pragmatic effect conveyed by the items chosen.[4] For the innovations having no semantic equivalent, in contrast, there will be only generalized I-implicatures towards a stereotypical interpretation.

From a methodological point of view, the distinction between the two lexicological patterns introduces a new perspective to the analysis of the innovations examined here by combining semasiological and onomasiological aspects, and by being ultimately based on an onomasiological criterion (cf. Zenner, Speelman, and Geeraerts, 2012; 2014; Winter-Froemel, 2014).[5] This becomes clear if we consider the examples of the borrowings of English *quidditch* and *news* into French and German, in order to determine into which group of innovations they belong. In a first step, we need to identify the concept designated in the specific contact situation by the source language form (semasiological perspective: form → concept designated in the specific context of use), e.g. English *quidditch* designates the sport QUIDDITCH, English *news* designates NEWSCAST.[6] Then, adopting an onomasiological perspective, we need to determine the linguistic item(s) available in the recipient language in order to designate the concept → concept (form(s)). For example, for QUIDDITCH, there is no linguistic item available in French and German besides the borrowing. For NEWSCAST, in contrast, there is also French *actualité* and *informations*, and German *Nachrichten*, respectively. It is thus the onomasiological criterion which helps us to classify French *quidditch* and German *Quidditch* as borrowings of the first type, and French *news* and German *News* as borrowings of the second type.

In order to rephrase the distinction and designate the two categories in more neutral terms, the notion of catachresis proposed in the rhetorical tradition provides a good starting point. Catachresis is traditionally defined as a metaphor that is used to fill a lexical gap (Cicero, *Orator*, XXVI, 92), but later authors also include catachrestic metonymies (Du Marsais, *Traité des tropes*, II, 1), i.e. further types of innovation. Adopting a still broader view, the notion can be expanded to lexical innovations in general (Winter-Froemel, 2011; Onysko and Winter-Froemel, 2011), so that we can distinguish between catachrestic and non-catachrestic innovations, and define these concepts as follows:

> *catachrestic innovation*: an innovation that simultaneously introduces a new linguistic item and new concept into a particular language (or: a linguistic innovation that has no conventionalized semantic equivalent in the language analyzed) and thereby generally conveys implicatures towards a stereotypical interpretation
> *non-catachrestic innovation*: an innovation that introduces a new linguistic item to designate a concept for which there exists already another expression (or: a linguistic innovation for which there is conventionalized semantic equivalent that designates the concept in question), so that the innovation will generally convey implicatures towards a marked interpretation

For each of the categories, two definitions are given in order to account for the possibility of diachronic changes. For example, for borrowings introduced as catachrestic forms (e.g. French *cloud* borrowed from English *cloud*), semantic equivalents are sometimes proposed in the recipient language (e.g. French *nuage*, see Gouvernement.fr [2016]: 'on ne dit plus cloud mais nuage'). If these equivalents become widely diffused, the loanwords may at a later stage be perceived as being non-catachrestic by the speakers who are not aware of the diachronic development that has taken place. Conversely, borrowings introduced as non-catachrestic innovations (e.g. the Anglicism *O.K.* introduced alongside German *richtig, in Ordnung*, and French *d'accord, bien, ça va*) may widely diffuse in the recipient language and thereby lose their relative markedness compared to the recipient language alternatives (the Anglicism *O.K. / o.k.* is today highly frequent in French and German, so that for many speakers it represents the 'first choice' item and does no longer convey strong pragmatic effects). Moreover, originally non-catachrestic borrowings can be semantically reinterpreted as being catachrestic forms in the recipient language (I will return to this frequent pattern of catachrestic reinterpretation in section 5 below).

The two options (catachrestic vs. non-catachrestic) not only represent two basic types of loanwords, but also correspond to two basic motives of linguistic borrowing, and more generally, to two types of lexical innovation. This can be illustrated by Figure 1, which shows different subtypes of lexical innovations. For each of the categories, examples for catachrestic and non-catachrestic innovations are given; for the non-catachrestic innovations, the semantic equivalents are also indicated.[7]

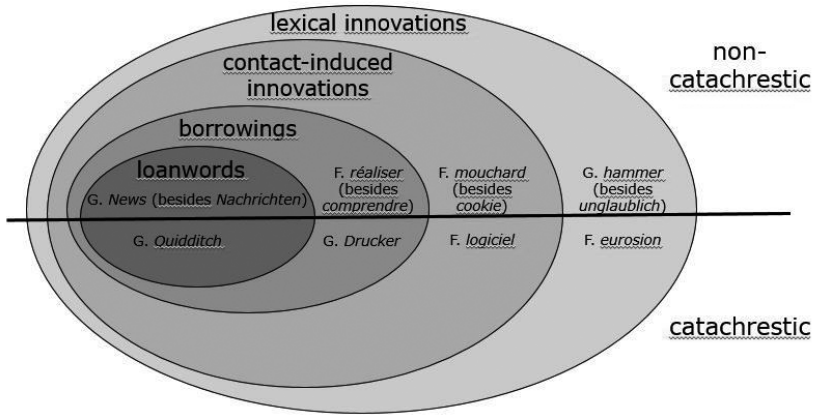

Figure 1 Application of the distinction of catachrestic vs. non-catachrestic innovations to various subtypes of lexical innovations

The subtypes are interleaved, and the most inner category are loanwords, i.e. lexical innovations imported from a source language into a recipient language (e.g. German *News* and *Quidditch*, borrowed from English *news* and *quidditch*, respectively). Moreover, the category of borrowings also includes innovations by analogy to a foreign-language model (by semantic change or by word formation). For example, French *réaliser* has developed the meaning of 'understand' in analogy to the polysemy of the source language form (English *to realize* 'make real', 'understand'). Similarly, German *Drucker* has been derived from *drucken* in analogy to English *printer* derived from (*to*) *print*. Moreover, we can distinguish another subgroup of innovations which, like loanwords and innovations by analogy to a source language model, are induced by situations of contact, but which differ from these two groups by not being directly influenced by the source language forms. These innovations are represented by the traditional category of loan creations (see the example of French *logiciel*, introduced as an equivalent for English *software*, but being created from different source items, French *logique* + *-iel* vs. English *soft* + *ware*), and furthermore include innovations by (independent) semantic change of a linguistic item of the recipient language (see the example of French *mouchard* with the original meaning of 'snitch', introduced as an equivalent for English *cookie* 'HTTP cookie', created from *cookie* 'biscuit' by semantic change).[8] Finally, the outmost category is represented by the large group of lexical innovations that occur independently from situations of language contact (e.g. uses of Ger-

man *hammer* as an adjective meaning 'incredible', or French *eurosion*, which represents a blend from French *euro* and *érosion*).

As Figure 1 shows, the distinction between catachrestic and non-catachrestic innovations can be applied to the various subtypes of lexical innovations. As we have seen above, Levinson's (2000) approach predicts that non-catachrestic borrowings generally convey certain pragmatic effects, while catachrestic borrowings have a more neutral value. The following section will focus on the first group of borrowings in order to specify typical kinds of pragmatic effects by reviewing Galinsky's list to identify potentially universal factors and to refer them to general principles guiding language change, i.e. to the notions of euphemism, dysphemism and playfulness, which represent basic factors and motives for linguistic innovation according to previous research.

4 Pragmatic effects and motives of non-catachrestic borrowings

As we have seen above, the stylistic effects mentioned by Galinsky differ in their abstractness and universality. The aspect of creating or increasing variation of expression can be interpreted as a general factor motivating the introduction of lexical alternatives, that is, as a factor motivating non-catachrestic borrowings. A factor which appears to describe certain specificities of contact situations where English is the source language is the fourth aspect ('effecting brevity to the point of terseness'). Previous research on Anglicisms has pointed out numerous examples that illustrate the relative brevity of the borrowed items compared to possible recipient language alternatives, e.g. German *Trend* vs. *Strömung, Sex-Appeal* vs. *geschlechtliche Anziehungskraft*, etc. However, this observation does not hold for all Anglicisms (i.e. there are cases where the recipient language alternative is shorter than the Anglicism, or where both expressions are of similar length), and it seems questionable to compare the Anglicism *Sex-Appeal* with what rather seems to be a paraphrase than a realistic alternative expression. Independently from these restrictions, we can see that the evaluation of this potential communicative benefit is based on a comparison of the borrowed items and potential translations / recipient language alternatives, so that the distinction between non-catachrestic and catachrestic innovations proves useful to describe the basic pattern that can be observed here. For cases in which there is only a recipient language paraphrase to refer to the concept designated, i.e. cases where the loan-

word will function as a catachrestic innovation, the relative length of the paraphrase may impede its conventionalization and favour the diffusion of the loanword. This tendency is also confirmed by the study conducted by Zenner, Speelman and Geeraerts (2012).

The fifth factor mentioned by Galinsky ('producing vividness, often by way of metaphor'), in contrast, applies to borrowings by analogical innovation to a source language model, and focuses on a specific subtype of innovations, namely innovations where the source and target concepts are semantically related by metaphorical similarity. This may concern innovations by word formation (e.g. German *Gipfelkonferenz* in analogy to English *summit conference*, or French *gratte-ciel* in analogy to English *skyscraper*) or by semantic change (e.g. German *feuern* in analogy to English (*to*) *fire*). As the examples show, the innovations can have very different communicative effects.

This also becomes visible for other lexical innovations designating the concept DISMISS S.O. The face-threatening meaning of the action expressed constantly motivates the introduction of new designations, and we can thus observe a strong dynamic potential here. The English designations *make redundant, displace, eject, decapitate, discard, can, sack*, etc. illustrate a lexical richness which has originated from the speakers' wish to introduce new, creative ways of designating this concept. However, the new expressions tend to lose their pragmatic effect and communicative strength as soon as they become more widely diffused. Moreover, the examples show that different functions of the innovations are involved: they can generally be analysed as euphemistic or dysphemistic expressions (*make redundant, displace* vs. *eject, decapitate*, etc.); moreover, some expressions are motivated by a desire to appear as creative and inventive (cf. the images conveyed by the expressions *discard, can* and *sack*, as well as the articulatorily and cognitively relatively costly expression *make redundant*). This leads us to euphemism, dysphemism, and playfulness, which will be discussed below.

4.1 Euphemism and dysphemism

Euphemisms and dysphemisms represent a 'classical' group of lexical innovations. They are motivated by a desire to choose a 'better' or a more polite way to express a given content (euphemisms), and by a desire to express a given content in an unusually drastic and potentially offensive way (dysphemisms), respectively (Allan and Burridge, 1991). These descriptions make it clear that the choice of euphemisms and dysphemisms implies that a more usual designation is avoided, and we can thus describe

these lexical innovations in a more precise way by adding the feature of being subtypes of non-catachrestic lexical innovation.

We find a trace of the euphemistic motivation of borrowings in Galinsky's (1967) third factor, which describes the potential advantage of 'offering or facilitating intentional disguise'. Galinsky illustrates this aspect by the German loanword *Striptease* compared to possible recipient-language equivalents such as *Nackttanz* or *Entkleidungsnummer* (cf. *Duden*). The advantage of the loanword lies in its unmotivatedness or lack of semantic transparency in the recipient language compared to the potential equivalents, which contain the (more) explicit items *nackt* NAKED and *entkleiden* UNDRESS that directly point to certain taboos. The example makes it clear that this potential advantage only holds for loanwords, but not for other types of borrowings such as calques and semantic borrowings, i.e. for borrowings by analogical innovation, as these are also semantically transparent in the recipient language.

A disguising function can also be assumed for the use of German *Callgirl* instead of *Prostituierte*, where the equivalent itself is of non-native origin and thus not semantically transparent. In this case, however, the communicative advantage of the Anglicism lies in its being not only less transparent, but also less conventionalized than the equivalent which is strongly linked to the concept designated. For the innovation *Callgirl*, the hearers may thus less immediately identify the exact concept designated. However, this potential advantage of loanwords disappears if the speakers of the recipient language have a good knowledge of the source language, so that they will immediately identify the concept designated by the loanword.

As we have seen, lexical borrowings that function as euphemisms are characterized by being non-catachrestic, as the speaker chooses a cognitively more costly, less direct alternative to the usual designation. The same general principle holds for dysphemisms. Dysphemisms are also frequently used to designate taboo concepts and face-threatening contents, but in contrast to euphemisms, they play on these taboos in a different way, by choosing an (even more) offensive way of designating the concept in question. This leads to a certain asymmetry between euphemisms and dysphemisms in the domain of borrowing. Dysphemisms are motivated by a desire to convey a negative or offensive image of a certain concept or referent, typically by way of choosing a semantically transparent word formation or semantic innovation. Thus, while non-transparent loanwords used to disguise a certain negative content or taboo will function as euphemisms and be favoured by intermediate or limited knowledge of the source language, loanwords can only be used as dysphemisms in contexts where

the recipient language speakers will have a relatively good knowledge of the source language and recognize the dysphemistic character of the expression chosen (see e.g. dysphemistic uses of the Anglicism *bitch* in French or German to designate a PERT YOUNG WOMAN). Moreover, as the examples show, euphemistic loanwords need not be euphemistic in the source language, whereas dysphemistic loanwords often have a similar effect already in the source language (cf. the example of English *bitch* in most contexts of use). Euphemism therefore appears to be a factor motivating the borrowing of loanwords of more general value, while dysphemism appears to be of more restricted importance for the borrowing of loanwords. In addition, the attitudes of the recipient language speakers towards the source language play a key role in determining the communicative value of potentially euphemistic loanwords, as a euphemistic effect can only be obtained if the source language has a certain prestige. For innovations by analogy to a foreign-language model, in contrast, a parallel functioning of euphemisms and dysphemisms can be assumed, as the innovations will be transparent in the source language and in the recipient language. However, further research is required to test the crosslinguistic validity of these observations, especially by comparing scenarios of language contact in different cultural and historical contexts.

Moreover, it seems important to take into account the strong dynamics that can be observed here. Wise (1997, p. 170) points out that for certain concepts, 'no really neutral term is available; one must choose between a euphemism and a dysphemism, that is, a term which is intentionally offensive.' At first sight, this analysis could be seen as contradicting what has been said above about euphemistic and dysphemistic innovations generally being non-catachrestic. However, the apparent contradiction disappears if we distinguish between the etymological motivation of the innovations and their communicative value, which is continuously renegotiated in the speech community of the recipient language. If euphemisms and dysphemisms are communicatively successful and spread in the speech community, they generally tend to undergo semantic change and become the unmarked option of expressing a given concept. This pathway of diachronic evolution is pointed out very clearly in Keller's (1994) description of processes of language change that exhibit a sort of Mandeville's paradox. In these cases, the speakers choose for instance a euphemistic or more polite expression in order to deviate from the usual expression (e.g. by designating a WOMAN by an expression designating a SOCIALLY SUPERIOR WOMAN, see German *vrouwe*), but thereby initiate a change that will result in the euphemistic expression becoming unmarked and losing its special

polite meaning; this will in turn create a need for new euphemistic and more polite expressions (e.g. German *Dame*; cf. Keller, 1994, and Winter-Froemel, 2013-2014). Thus, in spite of their etymologically euphemistic or dysphemistic character, these successful innovations will no longer function as euphemisms or dysphemisms once they have become widely diffused in the speech community. The example given by Keller further illustrates that euphemisms and dysphemisms are not restricted to the domain of borrowing. Nevertheless, loanwords lend themselves to euphemistic use precisely because of their general unmotivatedness in the recipient language (cf. the example of the borrowing *Striptease* compared to *Nackttanz*, formed from German *nackt* 'naked' and *Tanz* 'dance'). For dysphemisms, in contrast, the use of loanwords is generally impeded because of their unmotivatedness in the recipient language. Exceptions may be observed for instance for closely related languages or for contact situations where the average recipient language speaker has a good or very good knowledge of the source language. In these scenarios, euphemistic loanwords generally seem to be impeded, while dysphemistic loanwords are facilitated.

4.2 Playfulness

Playfulness appears in Galinksy's (1967) list as the sixth factor which motivates linguistic borrowing ('conveying tone, its gamut ranging from humorous playfulness to sneering parody on America and 'Americanized' Germany'). Again, it can easily be shown that this aspect is not restricted to borrowings from American English in post-war Germany, but that a ludic dimension can also be observed in other situations of borrowing, and, more generally, in lexical innovation.

In order to explain why playfulness motivates linguistic innovation, we need to consider play as an inherently social notion, implying a joint action between a speaker and a hearer (or several hearers or groups of hearers). More specifically, we can identify two basic scenarios that function differently for the speakers and hearers involved (see also Winter-Froemel, 2016b, and Onysko and Winter-Froemel, 2011). In a first group of cases, the speaker poses a kind of riddle to the hearer, namely the riddle of determining what is meant by the unusual way chosen to express a certain content. If the hearer succeeds in decoding the riddle, this will be rewarding for the hearer and create a positive in-group effect for the speaker and hearer who are both successfully engaged in a playful linguistic exchange requiring linguistic competence and creativity. We can therefore describe this scenario as a case of predominantly in-group aimed humour. Nevertheless, this scenario may also involve further hearers who are unable to

solve the riddle and who are therefore excluded from the game (e.g. in cases of innovations based on irony that is understood only by part of the hearers).

This scenario can be illustrated by lexical items like French *flémingite* 'illness of being lazy / acute state of laziness' (from French *flemme* LAZINESS), German *Telefonitis* 'inclination to heavily make phone calls', and German *Stahlross* for BICYCLE (literally 'steel steed').[9] All these items are marked as 'ludic' or 'playful' (German *spielerisch*, French *plaisant* / *par plaisanterie*, etc.) by standard lexicographic sources such as *Duden* or *Petit Robert*.[10] The humorous effect of the innovations is often linked to the concept designated, which is frequently a taboo concept or a concept with a face-threatening meaning. This leads us back to the categories of euphemism and dysphemism discussed above, and we can easily find examples that function as playful euphemisms or dysphemisms, for instance German *Flitzeritis* for DIARRHEA (from *flitzen* DASH), *Kehrseite* (lit. 'flipside') for BUTTOCKS, or the various expressions to designate the concept DISMISS S.O. cited in 4.1 above. Moreover, taboo may not only play a role for the target concept, but also for the source concepts, as illustrated by playful dysphemisms like German *Eierschaukel* for BICYCLE (literally 'nuts-swing'). In a general way, the ludic dimension of these lexical innovations results from a new and creative way of designating a particular concept and referent, and by creating a riddle in which the speaker and hearer participate (see also German *Nasenfahrrad* for GLASSES, lit. 'nose bicycle'). As we can see from the examples, some of the items contain metaphors (*Stahlross, Nasenfahrrad*), but metonymy and taxonomic relations equally play an important role in the creation of playful innovations (see for instance the relation of contiguity between the modifiers *Stahl* (STEEL), *Nase* (NOSE) and the target concepts of the compounds *Stahlross* (BICYCLE), *Nasenfahrrad* (GLASSES) as well as the suffixations of French *flemme* LAZINESS and German *flitz*(*en*) DASH).

In addition, the examples cited show that ludic innovations frequently contain non-native structural patterns (e.g. *-itis*) or represent integral borrowings or pseudo-loans (e.g. German *Lokus*, borrowed from Latin *locus necessitatis*, for TOILET, and French *capillotracté* FAR-FETCHED, pseudo-Latin translation of the figurative expression *tiré par les cheveux*). We can observe here a further source of verbal humour, which is based on (stereotypical) structural features of non-native lexical items.[11]

This leads us to a second group of playful innovations, where the speaker uses a variant of a certain linguistic item that can be described as a playful deformation. In these cases, the playful character of the utterance can be

explained by the fact that the deformed variant appears in a (pseudo-) citational use, that is, the speaker intentionally uses a specific linguistic item to parody other (real or imagined) speakers who exhibit this kind of use. Here we can thus observe a case of out-group aimed humour (involving however an in-group of speaker and hearer(s) who do *not* share this usage, but only cite it in a marked way). Again, this scenario is not restricted to borrowings, but loanwords that partly deviate from the structures of the recipient language lend themselves to this kind of playful use precisely because of their potentially marked structural features.

Galinksy observes that unusually weak loanword integration may convey humorous effects, and he explains these effects by a parody of the source language and culture, or by a parody of recipient language speakers aiming to follow the source language and culture as close as possible even when using the recipient language, that is, in contexts where a certain degree of loanword adaptation is generally considered to be adequate. For current uses of loanwords borrowed from English into French or German, this kind of playful use mainly concerns the phonetic level, where a pronunciation of loanwords imitating the source language pronunciation instead of the established recipient language pronunciation (e.g. German [snæk] instead of [snɛk], or French [pɒləʊvə(r)] instead of [pylovɛʁ]) will create a certain pragmatic effect. Similarly, uses of source language pluralization patterns instead of the established recipient language patterns for the loanwords concerned (e.g. French *pizze* / German *Pizze* instead of *pizzas* / *Pizzas* or *Pizzen*) can convey similar effects. On the level of spelling, in contrast, unusually weak loanword integration is of very limited importance for recent borrowings from English or Italian into French and German, as recent borrowings are most often introduced in their original spelling (with the possibility of minor changes with respect to hyphenation, to capitalization of nouns in German, etc.).

Interestingly, however, examples such as French *niouses* (instead of the conventional spelling *news*) documented in the internet show that unusually strong loanword integration, although not mentioned by Galinsky, can equally have a humorous effect and be used in contexts of playfulness. Here, the levels of pronunciation and spelling can both be concerned. 'Distortions' of the established orthography can for instance be found in Queneau's novels (e.g. *ouisqui* for *whisky, touide* for *tweed*, and *ouaterproufe* for *waterproof*; Queneau, 1962), and they can also be observed in French internet communication, as illustrated by spellings such as *ouique ainede* for *week-end*, or *touite* / *touitte* for *tweet, fèreplaie* for *fair-play*. These playful distortions are not restricted to borrowings, and they can also appear for

native items. In these uses, however, they frequently exhibit patterns and segments of non-native origin, see e.g. French *ki, koa*, etc. instead of *qui, quoi*, where the non-native grapheme <k> is used to substitute for <qu>.

In both cases – unusually strong and unusually weak loanword integration –, the speaker who deliberately chooses an unusual degree of loanword integration for playful purposes performs a sort of parody of other speakers who would realize these variants being unaware of their communicative inadequacy (as perceived by the speaker). By choosing an unusual degree of loanword integration for ludic purposes, the speaker thus aims to create an in-group humour excluding an out-group of thirds whose linguistic usage is parodied.

Moreover, the potentially ludic character of unusual degrees of loanword integration also strongly depends on the conventions of the recipient languages, as what is perceived as 'usual' loanword integration with respect to pronunciation, spelling, and morphological features may crosslinguistically vary and may change over time (see e.g. Roudet, 1908, and Meisenburg, 1993 and 1996 on the writing systems of Spanish, Italian and French and the different conventions with respect to loanword integration on the graphematic level). In this way, the ludic potential of deformations is also subject to diachronic change.

To sum up, both subgroups of playful innovations are characterized by the use of relatively marked expressions, and this leads us back to non-catachrestic innovation, as the innovations are all based on choosing an unexpected alternative to the conventional expression. At the same time, the markedness stems from different origins in both cases. While the first scenario is based on an unusual way of designating a certain concept or an unusual way of conceptualizing a certain referent, the second scenario is based on the use of variants that deviate from the more conventional items in specific structural features, e.g. with respect to pronunciation, spelling, or morphological features. In both cases, however, the special pragmatic effects conveyed by the linguistic items depend on their relative markedness, and may undergo diachronic change.

5 … and naming

The principles discussed above have illustrated possible factors that motivate non-catachrestic borrowings. Summing up, these innovations are characterized by systematically having certain pragmatic effects, and following Levinson (2000), we should expect that similar effects are absent

from catachrestic borrowings, the basic function of which is to name a new object or concept. This description is confirmed by the borrowings of German *Computer, E-Mail*, and *Drucker* PRINTER, or French *internet*, and *imprimante* PRINTER, which are borrowed along with the new concepts and objects and which, apart from their novelty, are pragmatically 'innocent' choices that do not convey special pragmatic effects. Their introduction and use is instead motivated by their designational function. This aspect can be linked to the second effect of Anglicisms mentioned by Galinsky (1967), i.e. 'establishing or enhancing precision', as the catachrestic borrowings function as exact labels for the (new) concepts to be designated. Moreover, Galinsky stresses the close relation between this factor and the function of effecting brevity. According to him, 'brevity is a natural concomitant of precision' (Galinsky, 1967, p. 50). This seems especially true for borrowings for which no real lexical alternative exists in the recipient language, so that the borrowings could only be replaced by a longer paraphrase. Pragmatic motivations thus essentially seem to motivate the introduction of non-catachrestic loanwords, but not of catachrestic borrowings, which, in contrast, seem to be motivated by pragmatically neutral designational factors.

However, at closer inspection, this view appears to be simplistic. We have already seen that the pragmatic values of particular expressions are subject to diachronic changes. This can be illustrated by the examples of French *e-mail* and *cloud*, which designate new concepts and could thus appear to be catachrestic. However, they compete with other expressions that have been introduced as substitutes – French *courriel* and *nuage*.[12] These examples show that external factors may intervene here, as the introduction of the substitutes is part of a specific language policy with respect to lexical items of foreign origin (for a general overview of language policy and purism in France, see e.g. Beinke, 1990; Schmitt, 1990; 1998; Plümer, 2000; Schweickard, 2005). If the semantic equivalents become established, originally catachrestic borrowings may thus be reinterpreted as non-catachrestic expressions. This can also be illustrated by French *ordinateur*, an independent innovation which has been successfully introduced in order to avoid the loanword *computer* in order to designate this concept in French. The loanword *computer* is therefore strongly marginal today. It is not registered in standard lexicographic sources such as *Petit Robert*, and its uses documented in the internet are frequently cases where *computer* is used as a code-switch or citation of an English speaker[13], or uses in contexts where there is evidence that the speaker deliberately chooses the form *computer* to produce a certain communicative effect.[14]

Moreover, in spite of the formula 'new word – new concept / object' being intuitively very clear, it is methodologically not easy to decide whether a certain borrowing functions as an additional designation for a concept for which there is already an alternative designation, or whether the concept designated is 'new'. It must be stressed that the evaluation of this parameter needs to be based on the perspective of the recipient language speakers. And in fact, there is the possibility of semantic changes occurring in the situation of borrowing proper, which result in the source and recipient language expressions being not synonymous. Previous research has shown that there are two basic types of semantic change that can be observed here (cf. Winter-Froemel, 2011; 2012a; 2014, pp. 72-75, 87-92; see also Pulcini, 2002): taxonomic subordinations, as illustrated by French *sombrero* / German *Sombrero* designating a BROAD-BRIMMED HAT COMMON IN SPANISH AMERICA (borrowed from Spanish *sombrero* HAT), and metonymic changes, as illustrated by French *flipper* / German *Flipper* designating the PINBALL GAME and PINBALL MACHINE (borrowed from English *flipper* PLAYER-CONTROLLED PLASTIC BAT IN THE PINBALL GAME). Both examples can be analyzed as semantic reanalyses that originate from language contact situations where the source language speaker and the recipient language speaker attribute divergent interpretations to the item borrowed, but nevertheless both identify the same referent, by choosing slightly different conceptualizations (on the notion of semantic reanalysis, see also Detges and Waltereit, 2002; Winter-Froemel, 2012b, pp. 159-164).

Metonymic changes are relatively exceptional in situations of borrowing, and I will not comment on these changes in more detail here (for further discussion, see e.g. Winter-Froemel, 2011, pp. 291-292; 2012a; 2014, pp. 72-75, 87-92). Taxonomic subordinations, in contrast, represent the more common pattern in situations of borrowing. This pattern consists in the speaker and hearer choosing different levels of abstraction, a tendency which can, again, be explained in a straightforward way by referring to the distinction between catachrestic and non-catachrestic innovations. For example, in the source language, the Spanish expression *sombrero* represents a neutral expression to designate the basic level concept HAT. In French and German, however, there are already other designations for this basic-level concept, and for a borrowing of the form *sombrero* into French or German in order to designate this concept (which would thus be a non-catachrestic borrowing), we should expect certain pragmatic effects. We can for instance imagine utterances like French *Tu peux garder ton sombrero* ('you can leave your hat on') pronounced by the speaker with the intention of making a funny statement. Yet this is not the conventio-

nalized use of *sombrero* in French and German, where the borrowing is generally used to designate a special kind of hat (cf. the meaning of English *sombrero*). The concept designated by *sombrero* in the various recipient languages is thus a new concept which is taxonomically subordinated to the concept designated by the expression *sombrero* in the source language. We can thus classify this semantic change as a *catachrestic reinterpretation* (Winter-Froemel, 2011, p. 314) to a taxonomically subordinated meaning.

Numerous examples of similar cases of catachrestic reinterpretation show that we are dealing here with a widespread pattern in situations of language contact (see e.g. the borrowings Italian *grappa* GRAPE-BASED POMACE BRANDY → French *grappa* ITALIAN GRAPE-BASED POMACE BRANDY, English *dealer* TRADER → French *dealer* / German *dealer* DRUG DEALER, Italian *ballerina* FEMALE DANCER → English *ballerina* / German *Ballerina* FEMALE BALLET DANCER, etc.).[15] These examples show that there are two basic aspects which are important here: on the one hand, the catachrestic reinterpretations originate in situations of language contact where the forms are used in specific semantic contexts (e.g. the context of drug traffic or the context of ballet dance). On the other hand, a typical pattern illustrated by the examples consists in semantic changes where a certain object or product specializes its meaning by integrating a reference to the source language culture (cf. the examples of *sombrero* and *grappa*). This pattern immediately evokes the first stylistic effect of Anglicisms mentioned by Galinsky, which can be reformulated in a more general way as 'providing local colour' (cf. section 2.1 above). In a general way, the semantic reanalyses thus confirm the necessity of adopting a usage-based approach to linguistic borrowing and of explaining the changes by tracing them back to individual usage in discourse.

According to Galinsky, providing local colour corresponds to 'the most obvious of its [the anglicism's] stylistic uses' (Galinsky, 1967, p. 38), and he shows that this pattern can also be motivated by speaker strategies of exoticization, i.e. of insisting on the 'otherness' by choosing loanwords (or pseudo-loans) which are (re)interpreted as being catachrestic. In this sense, catachrestic innovations are not always pragmatically neutral.

A context in which this pattern appears in a clearly strategic kind of use is the domain of advertising. Catachrestic reinterpretation can be exploited for marketing strategies in order to stress the novelty of a particular product: if the product is designated by a new lexical item, the speaker suggests that the new word corresponds to a new object, that is, a new and probably better product. For example, the new expressions *Flip-Flops* and *Kickboard* introduced in German suggest that the referents are somehow

different from what was traditionally designated by the expressions *Badelatschen* or *Badeschlappen*, and *Roller* / *Tretroller*, respectively. In that sense, the function of naming can also have a pragmatic dimension.

Moreover, the structural markedness of 'foreign' forms or non-native structural patterns can add to the communicative effect by alluding to the prestige of the source language. For instance, due to the prestige of English in the technical domain, the designation *Kickboard* potentially suggests a technically more sophisticated product than the alternative expressions. For *Flip-Flops*, in contrast, the designation combines the formally close items *flip* and *flop* and thereby illustrates another type of playfulness based on sound similarities (cf. Winter-Froemel, 2016b). At the same time, semantic transparency intervenes as an additional factor, as the expression *Badelatschen* is semantically transparent, as it is formed from German *baden* BATHE and *Latschen* CASUAL / WORN-OUT SHOES, while the new designation is semantically non-transparent and leaves open the possibility to include into this category also high-fashion footwear (which seems hardly conceivable for *Badelatschen*). In this sense, a stereotypical interpretation of *Badelatschen* and *Tretroller* will be different from the stereotypes of *Flip-Flops* and *Kickboard* due to the interaction of form and meaning.

To sum up, the examples of catachrestic reinterpretation in borrowing show that pragmatic factors may also intervene for loanwords with a primarily designational function. However, this does not contradict the general hypothesis following Levinson, according to which catachrestic borrowings will basically convey I-implicatures towards a stereotypical interpretation: if the stereotype is closely linked to the source language and culture, aspects such as foreign flavour and prestige additionally come into play. Moreover, catachrestic and non-catachrestic innovation need to be understood not in the sense of a clear-cut and stable opposition, but as a dynamically evolving system that is constantly renegotiated in the speech community, stressing the importance of the pragmatic dimension of language usage and the necessity to adopt a usage-based approach to linguistic borrowing.

6 Conclusion

Our discussion has shown that the ubiquity of linguistic borrowing can be explained by a broad range of factors that potentially motivate the introduction of items of foreign origin into a recipient language. However, the

lists of potential communicative effects and advantages of borrowings proposed in previous research do not provide a comprehensive systematization and an explanation why these effects occur. At the same time, the examples discussed above have revealed the heterogeneity of borrowings: this category includes loanwords which are imported into the recipient language as well as innovations in analogy to a source-language model (calques and semantic borrowings), and unintegrated loanwords exhibiting formally marked structures as well as loanwords that fully correspond to the structures of the recipient language system. It has been shown that the factors motivating the introduction and use of borrowings apply to specific subtypes of borrowings differently, and that the factors describe very different aspects to be taken into account. In order to systematize main functions and communicative effects, the borrowings have been discussed in the wider context of further types of lexical innovation. The distinction between catachrestic and non-catachrestic innovations has provided a parameter which permits us to identify two key patterns and communicative functions. Non-catachrestic innovations are generally characterized by being pragmatically marked, and within this group of innovations, we can range more specific types of lexical innovations and factors motivating lexical innovation (euphemism, dysphemism, and playfulness). The main function of catachrestic innovations consists in designating a new concept in an efficient way, but we have seen that these innovations are equally motivated by usage. Applying the concepts of non-catachrestic and catachrestic innovation to the domain of borrowing has permitted us to explain certain motives of borrowing in a more straightforward way and to describe more precisely to which subcategories of borrowings specific factors apply. At the same time, our discussion has revealed that there are transitions between the two groups of innovations. This illustrates the overall importance of the pragmatic dimension of borrowing, its complexity and its inherent dynamics, which opens up rich perspectives for further research. A first issue to be discussed in more detail would be the distinction between linguistic usage which is mainly motivated by designational functions and propositional meaning on the one hand, and usage motivated by other, interactional functions, on the other hand. Other important issues to be explored in further studies concern the diachronic evolution of pragmatic effects of borrowings and transitions between catachrestic and non-catachrestic innovations. Moreover, the previous reflections suggest that euphemism, dysphemism, and playfulness represent basic factors motivating lexical innovation that are far from being marginal. It would therefore seem interesting to investigate in more

detail the importance of these principles for lexical innovation in general and for specific subtypes of lexical innovation, such as borrowings and contact-induced innovations as opposed to language-internal innovations.

Notes

1. Galinsky elides other types of semantic associations and innovations, such as metonymy and taxonomic relations, which could equally be integrated here.
2. In previous research, the two categories are often discussed only for loanwords, which represent one basic subtype of borrowings. However, as I will argue below, the distinction can also be applied to other subtypes of borrowings and to lexical innovation in general, and I will therefore use the labels of 'catachrestic' and 'non-catachrestic' borrowings or innovations.
3. We could also cite here Myers-Scotton's (2002) distinction between 'core borrowings' and 'cultural borrowings', which emphasizes the relative centrality or universality of the concepts designated (cf. the notion of 'core'), but defines these two categories in a way that exactly matches the definitions in the other approaches cited above: according to Myers-Scotton, core borrowings are 'words that duplicate elements that the recipient language already has in its word store'; cultural borrowings are 'forms are words for objects new to the culture (e.g. *CD* or *compact disk, espresso*), but also for new concepts (e.g. *overtime*)' (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 215, and p. 239; see also Haspelmath, 2008; 2009; Zenner and Kristiansen, 2014, p. 7).
4. However, as we will see below, these implicatures can be cancelled in particular contexts of use, and the pragmatic effect generally weakens in the diachronic evolution of the linguistic items involved.
5. See also Zenner, Speelman, and Geeraerts (2012; 2014), who demonstrate that the distinction between the two groups of borrowings co-determines their success, catachrestic borrowings having greater chances of surviving in the recipient language.
6. Small caps are used here to express the concepts designated.
7. French *logiciel* is considered to be catachrestic here, as the potential alternative *software* is not documented in lexicographic sources and occurs only very marginally in internet sources. The neologism *eurosion*, in contrast, is documented in the database of neologisms *Logoscope* (http://logoscope.unistra.fr/dbLogoscope.html, accessed 27.07.2016), which lists recent neologisms found in French newspapers; it can be assumed that it has been created from F. *euro* and F. *érosion*. The German form *hammer* represents a very recent innovation: the *Duden* only gives expressions like *Das ist ein Hammer / Das ist der Hammer!*, literally 'That is a / the hammer!', where the form still functions as a noun, but we can also find recent occurrences without a determiner, where the form functions as an adjective: *Das ist hammer*. These latter uses probably have originated from compound forms such as *hammergeil, hammercool, hammerstark* etc., where the item *hammer* serves to reinforce the meaning of the head element.
8. For many of the subtypes of contact-induced innovations there have been controversial debates in previous research as to their definition and inclusion / exclusion from the domain of borrowing. For a detailed discussion see Winter (2005), and Winter-Froemel (2008b; 2011).

9. As the examples indicate, the suffix *-itis* / French *-ite*, of Greek origin, is highly productive (see also Feine, 2003; Lüdeling and Evert, 2005).
10. On lexicographic and interactional perspectives on ludic innovations, see also Winter-Froemel (2016a).
11. The fact that structural differences between languages as well as specific features of foreign languages can be exploited for comic effects is confirmed by specific traditions of verbal humour (e.g. ludic translations and 'translation conundrums'; see Winter-Froemel, 2016b).
12. The neologism *courriel* has been introduced in Quebec, where it is widely diffused, whereas it is less frequently used in Metropolitan France.
13. See e.g. the following occurrence: 'Bonjour à tous, je suis harcelée depuis qqes jours par un n° étranger. Au bout du fil, on me parle en anglais en me disant que j'ai une sorte de virus dans mon "computer"' (https://communaute.orange.fr/t5/mon-t%C3%A9l%C3%A9phone-par-internet-et/harc%C3%A8lement-t%C3%A9l%C3%A9phonique-Pacitel-ne-sert-%C3%A0-rien/td-p/516295, accessed 05.08.2016).
14. See e.g. the use of the Anglicism in the following utterances which exhibit certain rhetoric techniques (deprecatory comparison, final clipping / apocope of *ordinateur* with ludic intentions): 'Mon computer est slow comme un escargot' (http://copains-davant.linternaute.com/question-reponse/328801/mon-computer-est-slow-comme-un-escargot/, accessed 05.08.2016, see also the use of English *slow* instead of French *lent*, which would be the unmarked way of expressing this concept), 'Malgré mon changement d'ordi mon computer est toujours aussi encombré.' (http://www.yaronet.com/topics/112885-spore-se-devoile, accessed 05.08.2016).
15. Concerning this latter example, it also seems interesting to observe that only the female form has been introduced into the recipient languages, whereas the masculine form *ballerino* (MALE) DANCER has not been borrowed by French, English, German, etc.

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