

## ANGLICISMS IN RECENT SORBIAN DICTIONARIES

**Abstract:** The article discusses Anglicisms in selected contemporary dictionaries of Upper and Lower Sorbian. It shows the numerical presence of Anglicisms in the selected dictionaries. It focuses on the information that can be obtained from the lexicons concerning the phonetics, spelling, morphology, grammar and semantics of Anglicisms.

**Keywords:** Anglicisms, Upper Sorbian, Lower Sorbian, lexicography

Anglicisms in the Sorbian languages have not yet been thoroughly described. English lexical elements have been discussed only in a few works concerned with the development of and changes in the contemporary Sorbian languages (in particular Upper-Sorbian), for example, by Faska (1998) and Völke (2006). Due to the lack of analyses of the influence of English upon the Sorbian languages, it is imperative to study each and every aspect of the penetration of the two languages by English lexis, especially that the presence of English borrowings in the Sorbian languages is conspicuous in, for instance, the language of the press, literature and the media (radio and television) and it is in consequence reflected in one way or another in the Sorbian dictionaries of the relatively recent decades, which provide useful information concerning the nature of Anglicisms in the two Slavonic languages. Although there is an apparent presence of Anglicisms in modern dictionaries, English words can be also found in earlier dictionaries but it has to be noted that the recent lexicons demonstrate best the changes in the lexis of the Sorbian languages, which, as for foreign influences, have undergone most significant changes after World War II, and most importantly after the political changes in the 80s and 90s of the previous century. The changes in the Sorbian languages, lexiswise, have taken place parallelly to the lexical changes in German, under whose influence the Sorbian languages have been for ages. The language contacts between the Slavonic languages and the Germanic language have also been manifest in the field of foreign borrowings. That is to say, foreign loans, including English lexis, have been taken over primarily from the intermediary source, that is German, with many consequences of the process.

In the present article I would like to comment, by no means exhaustively, on the presence and presentation of English borrowings, Anglicisms, in the selected dictionaries of both Lower and Upper Sorbian. For the sake of this brief presentation I have selected the following five dictionaries:

Jentsch: Jentsch, R. (ed.). *Deutsch-Obesorsorbisch Wörterbuch*. Bautzen, 1989.

Starosta: Starosta, M. *Dolnosorbisko-nimski słownik*. Budyšin, 1999.

Völkel: Völkel, P. *Prawopisny słownik hornjoserbskeje řeče*. Budyšin, 2005.

Jentsch 2: Jentsch, H., Pohontsch, A., Schulz, J. *Deutsch-obesorsorbisch Wörterbuch neuer Lexik*. Bautzen, 2006.

Hannush: Hannusch, E., Pohontsch, A., Starosta, M. *Deutsch-niedersorbisch Schulwörterbuch*. Bautzen, 2012.

There are two reasons for choosing the dictionaries enumerated above. Firstly, there are not many dictionaries of the Sorbian languages (there is no monolingual dictionary of either language) and the vast majority are bilingual Lower/Upper Sorbian-German dictionaries. Hence the obvious limitation in selecting the lexicographic material. Secondly, I have decided to include the dictionaries published after 1989 hoping to discern some tendencies in the process of incorporating more and more Anglicisms into lexicons as loans enter the two West-Slavonic languages more freely. Using the dictionaries as an illustrative material, I would like to see if the language contacts between German and the two Sorbian languages are reflected in dictionaries in the form of foreign lexis. It is common knowledge that since the dissolution of GDR the influence of English upon the Sorbian languages has been extremely strong although earlier dictionaries of both Upper and Lower Sorbian also register some English borrowings. The Sorbian languages are under the influence of English in a twofold manner. Firstly, they, being in direct contact with English, may borrow from that language directly. Secondly and more importantly, the Slavonic languages spoken in Germany are first of all in contact with and under very strong influence of German and consequently English loanwords appear in them via the latter source. German itself has been under strong influence of English since World War II (Barbe 1994: 147, Onysko 2004: 59) and English is believed to be the major source of borrowings in German (Carstensen 1984: 43). Speaking of German-Sorbian dictionaries, they can be considered repositories of Germanized English words having been assimilated also in the two Slavonic languages.

The presence of English words in Upper and Lower Sorbian can be measured by and reflected in the statistical data obtained from the dictionaries. The numerical presence of English loanwords registered in the dictionaries under scrutiny is shown in the table below:

**Table 1.** English loanwords registered in the dictionaries

Dictionary	Number of English borrowings	Percentage out of the headwords
<i>Deutsch-Obersorbisch Wörterbuch</i>	273	0.7% (circa 40,000 words)
<i>Dolnosorbisko-nimski słownik</i>	221	0.5 (circa 45,000 words)
<i>Prawopisny słownik hornjoserbskeje řeče</i>	632	1,2 % (circa 52,000 words)
<i>Deutsch-obersorbisch Wörterbuch neuer Lexik</i>	1,233	10% (circa 12,000 words)
<i>Deutsch-niedersorbisch Schulwörterbuch</i>	229	0.3% (circa 70,000 words)

The table reveals two striking facts regarding the presence of English lexis in both languages. First of all, the number of English words in Upper Sorbian has been growing considerably since the publication of the great German-Upper Sorbian dictionaries in 1989. The number has increased by almost 100% in a decade and in the most recent *Deutsch-obersorbisch Wörterbuch neuer Lexik* about 10% of all lemmas (and equivalents) are words of English origin, which in this connection is interesting as the aim of the lexicon was to register the most recent words in Upper Sorbian, of which, as it turns out, a considerably number are English loans. On the other hand, according to the figures, the number of English lexical elements in Lower Sorbian has not really grown, nor is the percentage of the English words presented in the dictionaries different. The latter fact can be explained either by the omission of a large number of English borrowings, by their infrequent occurrence in Lower Sorbian or by the tenets followed by the dictionary makers, although the dictionaries do not provide any information about the lexicographic treatment of foreign lexis.

The corpus comprises examples of both headwords and their equivalents (in Lower and Upper Sorbian), considering that the lexicons in question are bilingual dictionaries. Alternative spelling presented as separated lemmas/equivalents in one and the same lexicon are treated as one borrowing, for instance: *dres/dress, cool/zoo, fitness/fitness, jokej/jockey, kwisowy/quizowy, overall/oweral, juice/džus, ketchup/ketsup*. Words regarded as Anglicisms in the dictionaries are lexemes which are either borrowed in their original morphological form or lexemes which are morphologically adapted or derived (either in German or Upper or Lower Sorbian): *baby/babyjowy, background/backgroundowy, baseball/baseballowy, beachvolleyball/beachvolleyballowy; beach volleyballnišćo*. English borrowings are also, but to a smaller degree, represented by neosemanticisms: *myška, syć*; calques: *kulojte blido*; semicalques: *zejpowa opera*; and pseudoanglicisms: *handy, profi, dressman, happyend, smoking, jobticket*.

When we look at the microstructure of the dictionaries in question more closely we notice that the lexicons register simplex and complex lexemes, such as *blues, ranch, sprint* and *hostess, scanner, trawler* (all in Starosta) as well as a significant number of compound words, such as *actionplanning, babysitter, background* (Völkel), *baseball, beefsteak, evergreen* (Starosta), *bodybuilding, laptop, volleyball* (Hannusch), *aftershave, bestseller, blackout* (Jentsch 2). Of course, compound words are represented also by calques or semicalques, such as *zejpowa opera* (Eng. *soap opera*) or *laserowy šišćak* (Eng. *laser printer*) (Hannusch). Only very rarely do we find multiword expressions as headwords, for example: *Catch as catch can* (Jentsch).

The overwhelming majority of English headwords and equivalents are nouns, followed by a small group of verbs and two marginally important groups of adjectives and adverbs, for example:

nouns: *aftershave, airport, knockout, kriket, oweral, pulower, ragtime, ranger, ranch, rif, squash, squaw, tackling,*

verbs: *scannować, sponserować, updateować, zoomować, zappować, so zalogować, zacheckować/začekować,*  
adjectives: *cool, easy, fair, fit,*  
adverbs: *live, offline, online.*

I would like now to show how Anglicisms are lexicographically described in the selected dictionaries from the perspective of the four major adaptation processes which regulate the assimilation of foreign words into a target language. Linguists studying the process(es) of borrowing usually distinguish the following types: phonetic, graphic, morphological and semantic adaptation. It should be remembered that words are adapted gradually and do not undergo all the processes while being accommodated in the system of the target language. Dictionaries may give us only some information concerning the degree of adaptation, especially as they are not specialized but general or learner's dictionaries. More precise and exhaustive information could be perhaps obtained from dictionaries of borrowings, which would focus more on the aspects of assimilation, including as well, for instance, etymological information, which is conspicuously absent from the Sorbian dictionaries discussed here; however, no dictionary of English borrowings exists for Upper and Lower Sorbian. Therefore, in this situation, studying Anglicisms in any lexicographic material we have to rely only on the information that is available in the description of a dictionary's headwords.

### **Pronunciation**

It is impossible to establish the way English words are pronounced by native speakers of the Sorbian languages just by analysing the Anglicisms in the dictionaries as they do not contain information about the pronunciation of words in either language analysed. The only information pertaining to the issue of phonetic assimilation may be obtained from the spellings of the English words, which in some cases reflect their pronunciation. The spelling of certain well-established Anglicisms informs us about their pronunciation, for example: *bojkot, kontejner, kompjuter, ketčup, krawl, kwis, hokej, pulower, skener, skawt, šampun* (Völkel), *kawč, ketšup, pamflet, šiling, tiket* (Starosta) and demonstrates the possible substitution of the English phonemes by the native phonemes in Lower and Upper Sorbian. It has to be said that because the spelling is not consistent (cf., for instance, *ketchup* and *container*) we cannot be sure if the pronunciation changes alongside the change in spelling and, if it does, to what extent. In other cases we have to assume that bilingual speakers of German and either Sorbian language will follow the German pronunciation of English loanwords.

### **Spelling**

As far as the spelling of Anglicisms is concerned, we observe that English loanwords retain their original spelling (a vast majority) or change and are spelled

according to the spelling rules of Upper and Lower Sorbian, in which case the graphic adaptation arguably reflects the adaptation on the phonetic level, for instance: *džungel*, *džus*, *faks*, *skeč*, *šok*, *šiling*, *šampun*, *finiš* (Starosta) and *klawn*, *kuter*, *maršal*, *skeč*, *šerif* (Völkel). The following shows the most typical spelling changes noticed in the lexical material.

Elimination of double letters: *stres* < stress, *dolar* < dollar, *puding* < pudding (Hannusch),

Elimination of clusters of letters: *tiket* < ticket (Starosta), *jokej* < jockey, *klik* < click (Völkel), *piknik* < picknick (Hannusch),

Lower case spelling: *aids* < Aids (Hannusch),

Elimination of hyphenation or spaced-off spelling: *greencard* < green card, *happyhour* < happy hour knowhow < know-how, *lastminute* < last minute, *lowbudgetowa* < low-budget, *midlifecrisis* < midlife-crisis, *walkietalkie* < walkie-talkie (Jentsch 2).

As mentioned earlier, we should note at this point that the dictionaries discussed sometimes give two orthographic forms of an English borrowing: *kwisowy/quizowy*, *overall/oweral* (Völkel) or *ketsup/ketchup* (Hannusch), in which case the retention of the original spelling may reflect the original or approximated (near-native-like) pronunciation, or Germanized pronunciations.

## Morphology

The dictionaries under discussion do not provide much information regarding the grammatical features of the loans. The grammatical section of an entry is significantly reduced; the only information obtainable in some cases is that of grammatical gender and inflectional paradigm. The grammatical information is provided for nouns and occasionally for other parts of speech such as adjectives and adverbs. Most exhaustive in this respect are *Deutsch-niedersorbisch Schulwörterbuch* and Starosta's *Dolnoserbsko-němski słownik*, as they contain an extended grammatical section to which headwords/equivalents are referred as regards their grammatical (inflectional) aspects. Hence in Starosta we learn that *fan* and *bikini* are both masculine nouns and inflect like *dub* and *kij*, respectively, and that *kawč* is feminine and follows the paradigm of *rěč*. Similarly, Hannusch describes *steak* as a masculine noun that follows the inflectional pattern of *buk* and classifies *aids* as an uninflected noun. What is more, the latter dictionary provides example sentences which further illustrate the grammatical features of loanwords.

The entries in the Upper Sorbian dictionaries do not have any grammatical section; however, they also refer to inflection and gender of nouns. For example, in Völkel's dictionary the entry of the headword *talkshow* fully explains that the noun is masculine and not inflected in the singular, providing the dual and plural forms as well. Such cases are not frequent, though nouns are always assigned gender in Upper Sorbian (for instance, *webcam*, fem., *wellness*, fem., *polo*, neut./masc., *kwis*, mac. *gangway*, fem.). Unfortunately, not all words are assigned part of speech

and gender, for instance, *out* and *online*, which are not assigned either. The least consistent are both of Jentsch's dictionaries which randomly provide grammatical information, for example, *callboy* is classified as a masculine noun but *designer* is not assigned any (Jentsch). Similarly, in Jentsch 2 *championsleague* is defined as feminine and uninflected while *check-in* and *check-out* remain genderless. It is not my intention to criticise the lexicons but it has to be said that such inconsistent and random treatment of words, including Anglicisms, does not contribute to the reliable lexicographic description of lexemes in Upper Sorbian. Fortunately, a lot of information is implicitly present in the morphemic forms as parts of speech and gender are assigned in Upper and Lower Sorbian on the basis on the shape of words; additionally, some grammatical features are assigned under the influence of German.

### Semantics

The dictionaries under discussion being bilingual lexicons provide only contextless equivalents for the headwords. The only dictionary that goes beyond listing possible equivalents is Hannusch's *Deutsch-niedersorbisches Schulwörterbuch*, which provides the user with examples sentences in German and their translations with Anglicisms in Lower Sorbian, for example:

*Mein Freund spielt in einer tollen Band – Mój pšijašel grajo we wjelicnej band.*

*Über Cowboys have ich viel gelesen – Wó cowboyach som wjele cytal/a.*

This strategy allows the user to understand the headword cognitively and see how it functions in sentence contexts as well. In the other four dictionaries, the user encounters equivalents alone. Obviously, Anglicisms appear as either headwords or equivalents, most frequently as single equivalents of Anglicisms in German or they are given single equivalents in German:

*manager – Manager, girl – Girl, golf – Golf, hobby – Hobby, tweed – Tweed, skinhead – Skinhead, train – Train; pudding – Pudding, šampun – Schampun (Völkel)*

*Bodybuilder – bodybuilder, Bodycheck – bodycheck, Master – master; Stunt – stunt; Sweatshirt – sweatshirt (Jentsch 2),*

*Computer – kompjuter, Container – kontejner, fair – fair, Puzzle – puzzle (Hannusch),*

*camping – Camping, dress – Dress, džus – Juice, Fax – Fax (Starosta),*

*Baby – baby, Badminton – badminton, Cockpit – cockpit, Couch – kawč (Jentsch).*

Dictionaries provide occasionally more equivalents for Anglicisms in German or Upper or Lower Sorbian, especially when an Anglicism is polysemous: *Feedback – feedback, reakcija, wołhlós, wróćokoplowanje; Frisbee – frisbee, mjetanka tačel, tačel za mjetanje; Feeling – začuće, feeling; Medley – medley, potpurij, potpourri; scannen – skenować, scannować; začitać; zappen – zepować, zappować,*

*po programach skakać, pikać* (Jentsch 2); *Basketball* – 1. *basketball*, 2. *basketowe balo, basketbalo* (Hannusch). In very infrequent cases are English headwords paired with native words: *Stapler* – *spinkowak* (but in Jentsch *staplowak*); *Tower* – *wěžza* (Jentsch 2).

We can assume that the bilingual user will totally equate the meaning of Anglicisms in Upper or Lower Sorbian with their German counterparts, in the case of more equivalents he or she is given a wider choice of equivalents alongside the explication or confirmation of the sense of the English loanword as well as its alternative spellings. However, it is not possible to know the senses of Anglicisms in Upper and Lower Sorbian *vis à vis* their English counterparts without a knowledge of German, from which the two Slavonic languages borrow the meanings. To establish or verify the senses of Anglicisms in Upper and Lower Sorbian it is necessary to consult, for example, other dictionaries, including Upper Sorbian-English lexicons (no Lower-English dictionaries) or authentic sources.

### Conclusions

We can draw the following conclusions regarding the Anglicisms in the dictionaries analysed in this paper:

- The dictionaries show the presence of English loanwords in the vocabulary of Upper and Lower Sorbian and the steady growth of their numerical representation in Sorbian-German/German-Sorbian dictionaries.
- English-loanwords function as headwords and equivalents (alongside native counterparts).
- The dictionaries do not include phonetic information about English borrowings.
- The dictionaries allow us to find out the established orthography of English loanwords and speculate about their pronunciation.
- The dictionaries provide also grammatical information (gender, inflection, number) for some Anglicisms.
- Their semantics is established *vis à vis* their German equivalents.
- Analyses of English loan words in Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian dictionaries allow us to ascertain the number of Anglicisms in the two Slavonic languages, observe the processes of adaptation and their diachronic development, as well as comparing the lexicographic description of Anglicisms with their actual use in the languages.

Lexicographic analyses allow us to contrast the presence of Anglicisms in Upper and Lower Sorbian with English borrowings in other Slavonic languages, and of course to compare the assimilation of English lexis in the two closely related West-Slavonic languages.

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