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A LAYERED TAXONOMY OF LEXICAL ANGLICISMS

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Abstract

The article presents two ways in which the classification accuracy of describing Anglicisms could be improved. Firstly, by distinguishing two layers of Anglicisms, based on how they came into existence. Secondly, by revising the simplifying dichotomous division into discrete direct and indirect Anglicisms in view of their hybrid variants (found in both layers) which disrupt the dichotomy and allow Anglicisms to be seen as a continuum. Inasmuch as directness and indirectness of Anglicisms (i.e. their being either transferred or translated from English) correspond to their 'visibility', their being clearly of English origin or not, Anglicisms can be also arranged on a scale of 'in/visibility'. The article concludes with the proposal of an alternative taxonomy of Anglicisms.

Key words

Anglicisms; primary/secondary layer; in/directness continuum; in/visibility scale

1. Introduction

This article takes issue with two assumptions commonly made in classifications of loanwords, specifically Anglicisms, which are the main concern here. The first one is that the field of Anglicisms is one-dimensional (2.). The article argues that rather than all Anglicisms being on the same level, they can be divided into two layers (3.). Starting with the distinction between direct and indirect Anglicisms (3.1), the next step is to distinguish between primary and secondary Anglicisms (3.2) which make up the first and the second layer respectively. What sets the layers apart is how far removed Anglicisms in each layer are from English as the source language (SL). The varying distance is due to two processes (4.), adaptation (4.1) and neologization (4.2). Adaptation obscures the relationship between the loanword and the SL with regard to form (spoken, written, and grammatical) but preserves the meaning of the etymon, while neologization produces semantic (and formal) neologisms in the recipient language (RL). The focus of the article is on Anglicisms of the second layer (5.), that is secondary Anglicisms based on direct loans (5.1), both nonhybrid and hybrid (5.1.1, 5.1.2), and secondary Anglicisms based on indirect loans (5.2). These are created from primary loan translations and semantic loans (5.2.1, 5.2.2) and their hybrid variants (5.2.3).

The second latent assumption tackled in the article is that the two principal categories of Anglicisms, direct and indirect, are discrete. The article maintains (6.) that rather than discrete, they should be viewed as forming a continuum (6.1). This continuum is co-extensive with the recently introduced labelling of Anglicisms according to their recognizability as English loans, their ‘visibility’ or ‘invisibility’ to RL speakers. In keeping with the continuum view of Anglicisms, visible and invisible Anglicisms can also be arranged on a scale of in/visibility (6.2). The outcome of reconsidering these two assumptions is a two-layered taxonomy of Anglicisms (7.).

2. Current taxonomies of Anglicisms

Discussion of features arguably missing in current taxonomies of borrowings/Anglicisms takes as a model example of such taxonomies the influential classification in Pulcini, Furiassi and Rodríguez González (2012: 6), reprinted in Pulcini (2023: 53). This standard taxonomy is informed by Betz’s (1949, 1959) description of loanwords and is largely used by GLAD¹ members in the compilation of the global Anglicism database and in their studies of Anglicisms in their respective languages.

The taxonomy is based on the dichotomy of direct and indirect Anglicisms. Three features of this taxonomy that will be targeted below are the position it assigns to false borrowings or pseudo-Anglicisms (defined by Duckworth (1977: 54) for German as “Neubildungen der deutschen Sprache mit englischem Sprachmaterial”), the position (and role) of hybrids and, thirdly and less importantly, the restriction of adaptation to only direct loanwords. The first two features make the taxonomy undesirably linear or “flat” and the groups of borrowings/Anglicisms disconnected.

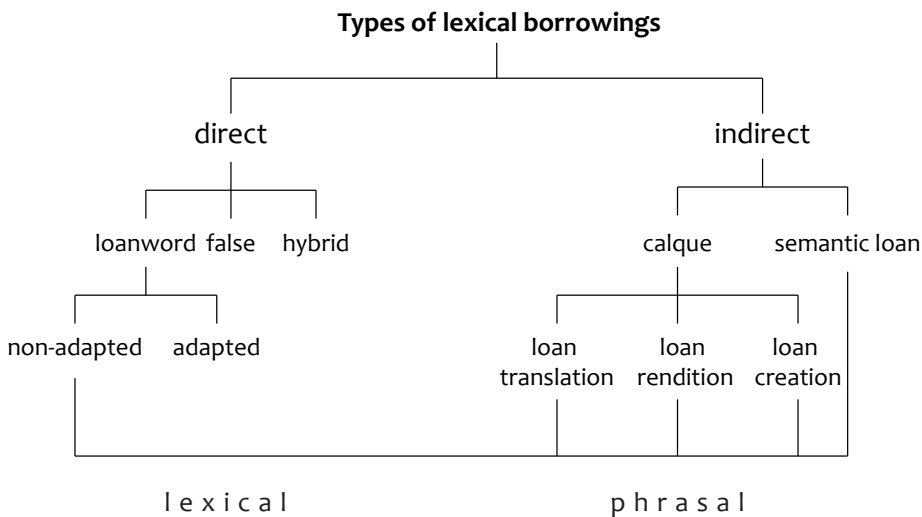


Figure 1. Types of lexical borrowings/Anglicisms (Pulcini et al. 2012: 6; Pulcini 2023: 53)

3. Layers of Anglicisms

The following proposal does not aim to completely rewrite the existing taxonomies of Anglicisms, such as that of Pulcini (2023, Pulcini et al. 2012). Rather it attempts to make them more precise and adequate. Instead of placing all Anglicisms in the same stratum, it enlarges on the accepted distinction of ‘false’ Anglicisms (or pseudo-Anglicisms) interpreted as the distinction between primary and secondary Anglicisms and their respective layers.

3.1 Direct and indirect Anglicisms

The fundamental principle of the Pulcini classification is the differentiation between direct and indirect borrowings. Words enter the recipient language from English either by transfer, or by translation. If transferred, i.e. imported (as they are), they are referred to as direct Anglicisms. If translated (unit for unit), they are called indirect Anglicisms. As both have their origin immediately in English as their source, they may be termed primary Anglicisms. However, the process of borrowing does not stop there; from then on RL speakers take over and make free with both direct and indirect primary loans as it suits them.

3.2 Primary and secondary Anglicisms

In contrast to direct and indirect primary Anglicisms, there are Anglicisms that are not the result of transference or translation from English, but are created in the recipient language as neologisms based on English material (see Duckworth above). In the Pulcini classification they are subsumed under direct Anglicisms as false borrowings (generally known as pseudo-Anglicisms). However, the idea of new words being created on the basis of English material has a wider application than the Pulcini classification allows for. It can be demonstrated (Klégr, Bozděchová 2024) that neologisms of this kind arise not only from direct Anglicisms, but also from indirect Anglicisms, i.e. calques and semantic loans.

No matter whether based on direct or indirect Anglicisms, these RL neologisms represent a new layer of Anglicisms distinct from Anglicisms on which they are based. Hence Anglicisms borrowed immediately from English are called primary, while neologisms based on primary Anglicisms and created in the RL by the RL speakers are called here secondary Anglicisms. The layer consisting of primary Anglicisms is called the first layer, the one composed of secondary Anglicisms is the second layer. Since Anglicisms of the second layer are RL neologisms feeding on primary Anglicisms, they are one step (or more) removed from English. It follows that secondary Anglicisms do not exist in English (only their English components do) and if they correspond to actual English words, they have a different meaning in the RL than they have in English.

To summarize, primary Anglicisms are words that have been borrowed or translated directly from English into the recipient language (preserving the meaning and form or structure of their English etymons) and, as first-order loans, constitute the first layer of Anglicisms. Secondary Anglicisms, on the other hand,

are RL neologisms based on primary direct or indirect Anglicisms and as such make up the second layer of borrowings.

4. Processes of integration in the RL lexicon

Transition from the first layer to the second – a change which can be regarded as progressive integration of Anglicisms in the RL lexicon – involves two processes, adaptation (4.1) and neologization (4.2). Adaptation disguises the English origin of a loan and thus closes the formal gap between the loan and the RL lexis, while neologization is the principal source of secondary Anglicisms. When adaptation goes on far and long enough, it may also result in a new meaning, i.e. it may produce a neologism.

It is generally accepted that integration of Anglicisms through adaptation is a default and inevitable process (with rare exceptions). Neologization, on the other hand, is an optional process dependent on the lexical need for a new, Anglicism-based, word. While most loanwords become adapted, a much smaller number of Anglicisms are neologized. The different operation of the two processes (inevitability on the one hand, and optionality on the other) follow from their functions: adaptation changes form, neologization creates (items with) new meaning (and mostly new form as well).

4.1 Adaptation

Adaptation is usually mentioned only in connection with direct Anglicisms. It is more appropriate to say, though, that while direct Anglicisms go through partial adaptation (and rarely no adaptation at all), indirect Anglicisms are borrowings that have undergone *complete* adaptation as the English material is replaced by the RL material.

Adaptation consists of the (progressive) formal change of a foreign word in keeping with the spoken, written and/or grammatical system and norms of the recipient language (e.g. the word *joint* is adapted only inflectionally in the phrase *Garfield s jointem* [Garfield with a joint], or both inflectionally and graphically in *Garfield s džointem*). In other words, English loans (sooner or later and to varying degrees) tend to be pronounced, spelled and/or inflected as the domestic words of the RL, and yet (and this has to be stressed) they normally retain the sense of the English original in which they were borrowed.

Since only a few direct Anglicisms remain unadapted (some authors dispute even this possibility), while a majority of them are adapted and so (only) partially, but not completely, different from the forms of their etymons, this makes them recognizable as foreign, i.e. English, loans. Görlach (1994, 2003)² uses this fact as the basis of his definition of an Anglicism.

On the other hand, with the passage of time the process of formal adaptation may in some cases progress so far that it bleaches the connection with the etymon. Eventually, this may affect the meaning of the loan (although its preservation is otherwise taken as the criterion distinguishing adaptation from neol-

ogization). Such words typically acquire new stylistic or pragmatic connotations (e.g. [sexually] *harass* turns into jocular slang *harašit*), or may start to be used in a different sense. For instance, the word *beefsteak* has become established in Czech in the adapted form *biftek*. The formal separation from the etymon gradually led to the recategorization of its meaning: connection with beef has been obscured, and *biftek* has come to mean simply ‘a thick slice of meat’. Now it can be used in combinations such as *krůtí biftek* (turkey beefsteak), *kuřecí biftek* (chicken beefsteak), or *vepřový biftek* (pork beefsteak). In other words, even adaptation in relatively rare and extreme cases may lead to neologization.

4.2 Neologization

Neologization, or the process of *making new words from, or creating new meanings for, existing words*, is another way in which a loanword can be embedded more deeply and start a new life in the RL lexis. In the approach adopted here, both direct and indirect loans can be subject to neologization, i.e. they may serve as the bases for new words, or acquire new meanings, in the recipient language. Previously, only neologisms based on direct Anglicisms were the focus of attention in the literature, and only one specific (nonhybrid) group of these neologisms was singled out under the name ‘false Anglicisms’ or ‘pseudo-Anglicisms’. The following description of secondary Anglicisms offers a more comprehensive concept of neologisms based on Anglicisms than has been the case so far.

5. Anglicisms of the second layer

As the aim of this article is to present a sketch of a layered taxonomy of Anglicisms, and secondary Anglicisms of which the newly added second layer is composed are crucial to the concept of layered taxonomy, they will be described in great detail here. Primary Anglicisms, on the other hand, are not immediately relevant to the purpose of the article and so will be omitted from the discussion.

Depending on whether they are based on primary direct or indirect Anglicisms, secondary Anglicisms are divided into two groups. Those based on direct Anglicisms are further subdivided according to whether they are hybrid or not, since only the nonhybrid type (pseudo-Anglicisms) is generally recognized, while the hybrid subgroup has been overlooked and its importance missed. Those based on indirect Anglicisms are subdivided according to whether they are based on loan translations or semantic loans, with hybrid variants also included. So-called loan creations (see Fig. 1; to give a Czech example, English feed translated as *kanál* [channel] or *zdroj* [source]) are left out of consideration as they are a sui generis subject.

5.1 Secondary Anglicisms based on direct loans

The idea of Anglicisms created from Anglicisms is not a new one. The phenomenon was probably first spotted by Barbara Strang (1962) when she reviewed

Filipović's (1960) monograph *The Phonemic Analysis of English Loan-Words in Croatian*. She noted that "some of the borrowed items, though composed of English elements, are not themselves English expressions (e.g. *best-runner*, *everglass*, *happy end*), others are suspect (e.g. *smoking*), others show vitality outside their native language that they have never achieved within it (e.g. *covert coat*, which the OED records once from a nineteenth-century advertisement for riding-wear)." She saw in them "an intriguing aspect of linguistic borrowing" which later Filipović (1966, 1982, and 1985) examined in several European languages under the name pseudo-Anglicisms using Strang's description as a guide (items composed of English elements, but not themselves English expressions). Since then, pseudo-Anglicisms have received a great deal of attention especially in Romance and Germanic languages (for instance, Furiassi 2010, Furiassi and Gottlieb 2015; for pseudo-Anglicisms in Czech see Bozděchová, Klégr 2022a, b, Klégr, Bozděchová 2024).

Filipović's pseudo-Anglicisms are clearly examples of secondary Anglicisms based on direct loans (and formed by RL speakers), but of a special kind in that they are monolingual, i.e. nonhybrid. They were noticed and singled out because, although they are composed of English elements, they are not known or used by native speakers of English, which makes them "pseudo-" and "false" and misleading to RL speakers. However, they are just one group of secondary Anglicisms based on direct loans. As a matter of fact, there is another, larger group of secondary Anglicisms attested in Czech using direct loans as a starting point. They combine the English element with a Czech component to form hybrid neologisms. Both nonhybrid and hybrid neologisms of this kind can be subsumed under the category of **pseudoloans**.

5.1.1 Nonhybrid pseudoloans

The literature on nonhybrid pseudoloans whose 'discovery' was described above, i.e. those composed of only English elements and widely known as pseudo-Anglicisms, typically recognizes the following main types: compounds (*recordman* instead of the English record holder, *hot wine* instead of mulled wine), derivations (*footing* formed by analogy with jogging in French), elliptic and abbreviated expressions (basketball > *basket*, relaxation > *relax*) and English words acquiring a new meaning in the RL (*mister* and *flipper* in Italian for coach and pinball machine respectively; *step* meaning tap dancing in Czech), and also proper-noun expressions: *carter* for crankcase and *new jersey* for median barrier in Italian). All of these are words that in the 'borrowing' language look perfectly English, but in shape or meaning are unknown to native speakers of English.

Not surprisingly, secondary Anglicisms of this kind are relatively infrequent as they represent isolated, idiosyncratic and nonsystemic cases of departure from their etymons. Many of them are of an earlier date and new ones tend to be thin on the ground probably because of RL speakers' increasingly frequent contact with, and better knowledge of, English which may act as a preventive to linguistic oddities.

5.1.2 Hybrid pseudoloans

The second group of pseudoloans, hybrid formations which combine English and RL elements, seems to have gone unnoticed so far. The potential of these Anglicisms for misleading RL speakers into believing that they represent authentic English expressions is of a different kind. They can be, and presumably mostly are, mistaken for adapted primary loans. This happens if the semantic criterion distinguishing neology from merely form-changing adaptation is ignored. Although hybrid adaptation is possible, once the loan-based word acquires a meaning which it does not have in English, we are dealing with neology rather than adaptation. It is probably true, though, that in some languages (depending on what structural type they belong to) hybrid neologisms may be rare, if not nonexistent.

On the other hand, in highly inflected languages such as Czech where especially derivation is a predominant word-formation process, hybrid neologisms of this kind are common (cf. Svobodová 1999). The number of nominal (and adjectival) suffixes whereby new forms are derived from English bases is quite high. Klégr, Bozděchová (2024) found 100 Czech suffixes altogether, most of which were used to derive hybrid neologisms, not to mention the frequent use of prefixes. The study found that a single base word can be combined with a host of different affixes, forming either synonymous sets (cool > *coolový*, *coolařský*, *coolní*, etc.) or family groups (Google > adj. *googlový*, noun *googlenka*, a thesis compiled from texts found on Google, verb *odgooglovat*, remove Google from a smart phone, etc.). One typical pattern of neologization involves what Bauer et al. (2013: 391) call ‘univerbation’: a multi-word (usually two-word) English expression is ellipitd and the remaining word is combined with a suffix (e.g. hockey stick > *hokejka*, security guard > *sekuriták*). The result is a new word which may, but usually does not, have a corresponding meaning in English.

The semantic change distinguishing neologization from adaptation comes in two forms. The hybrid neologism has a meaning for which there is not a word, or at least not a one-word expression, in English (*trendista*, someone following new trends, *gudík*, good person, *basketák*, basketball player). Or it acquires new semantic features, stylistic or pragmatic connotations (evaluative, emotional, gender-marking, etc.), e.g. *ajťák*, *lolec* (expressive forms for IT guy/worker and lol), *wrestlerka* (female wrestler), *dogýsek* and *poustrík* (hypocoristic diminutives for dog and poster respectively). These features prevent pseudoloans from being freely interchangeable with primary direct loans.

The recognition that primary direct English loans can turn into secondary Anglicisms either (i) by being used as components of new complex words (or by acquiring new meanings), or (ii) by being combined with an RL element to form neologisms (with a new meaning), is crucial for a balanced and coherent description of how loanwords become increasingly merged into the RL lexicon.

5.2 Secondary Anglicisms based on indirect loans

The concept of secondary Anglicisms inevitably extends also to primary indirect Anglicisms, i.e. loan translations³ and semantic loans. The principle is the same: once the Anglicism becomes established in the RL, it may serve as the base for a neologism formed by RL speakers. Although this possibility is not, as far as we know, mentioned in the literature, such examples do occur in Czech (cf. Chap. 4 Neviditelné anglicismy: pseudokalky [Invisible Anglicisms: pseudocalques] in Klégr, Bozděchová 2024) and presumably even in other languages once they are looked for. However, just as loan translations and semantic loans may be difficult to identify (unlike direct loans which signal their origin by form – see Görlach above and Note 2), secondary Anglicisms based on indirect loans are even harder to spot. Moreover, neologization (unlike adaptation), as was noted above, is an optional, not a matter-of-course, process and so secondary Anglicisms of this type appear to be relatively scarce. Both factors (very low recognizability and frequency) may have contributed to why they have been overlooked in the literature so far.

Since a loan translation (bull market > *býčí trh*) and a semantic loan ([computer] mouse > *mys*) are both translations of the etymon with the only difference being that semantic loans (mostly one-word but also, though exceptionally, multi-word) combine translation with the adoption of the SL (English) meaning, the two types will be coalesced here under the term calque. It is not rare for a loan translation and a semantic loan to be conjoined in one and the same expression, e.g. smart phone > *chytrý telefon*, carbon footprint > *uhlíková stopa*, where phone and carbon have Czech equivalents of the same meaning whereas *smart* and *footprint* require the meanings of their Czech equivalents to be extended. This also works in favour of treating loan translations and semantic loans as one group of calques. By analogy with pseudoloans, secondary Anglicisms based on calques will be referred to as **pseudocalques**. However, the two types of calque and their hybrid variants will be described separately.

5.2.1 Secondary Anglicisms based on loan translations

The sample of Czech primary loan translations (Klégr, Bozděchová 2022b, 2024) includes mainly nouns, a few adjectives and a negligible number of verbs; the majority of the loan translations are two-word expressions. This distribution is reflected in the neologisms derived from them. These neologisms are based on nouns and several adjectives subject to derivation combined, in several cases, with ellipsis (in the process known as univerbation). The resulting formations typically retain their denotative meaning but take on new semantic features (with stylistic and/or pragmatic relevance) which turn them into evaluative slang expressions: action film > *akční film* > *akčňák*, *akčňárna*, dystopian novel > *dystopický román* > *dystopka*, social network > *sociální síť* > *socka*, (its user) *sockař*. Some neologisms are formed by a hypocoristic diminutive suffix: barefoot shoes > *bosoboty* > *bosobotičky*. In other cases the neologism develops a new denotative meaning altogether (e.g. brainwashing > *vymývání mozků* > *vymývačka mozku*, *umyvárna*

mozků [a stultifying TV series, film, commercial, etc.], green revolution > zelená revoluce > *zelené revolucionářství* [attitude, activities of a green revolutionary]), carbon footprint > uhlíková stopa > *uhlíkový stopař* [male carbon tracker], or may additionally undergo a change of word class (mountain bike > horské kolo > *horák* [slang] > *horákovat* [to ride a mountain bike]). The change of word class is typical for neologisms created from adjectives: high-income (family) > vysokopříjmový > *vysokopříjmovost* (the condition of having a high income). The prevalence of suffixation is in keeping with the overall word-formation tendencies in Czech.

5.2.2 Secondary Anglicisms based on semantic loans

In contrast to loan translations, primary semantic loans in the Czech sample (Klégr, Bozděchová 2022b, 2024) show a much greater proportion of adjectives and verbs and practically all of them are single-word items (with six exceptions). Both these findings seem to account for a greater variety among the neologisms based on them. These neologisms typically depart from their respective semantic loans in a semantically more radical way than just connotations. In addition to cases where the word class is preserved ([leisure time] animator > *animátorství* [work of a leisure time animator], [language] corpus > korpus > *korpusář* [compiler of a language corpus]), neologization frequently results in a different word class, e.g. [electronic] avatar > avatar > *avatařit* [create avatars]; password [a sequence ensuring digital access] > heslo > *zaheslovat, odheslovat* [secure by a password, remove the password]; passive (building) > pasivní > *pasivnost* [“passiveness” of a building]. The semantic loan (computer) *virus* is particularly prolific, producing 11 neologisms, verbs (e.g. *zavirovat* [infect a computer with a virus], *odvirovat* [remove the virus from]) and deverbal adjectives (*zavirovaný* [virus infected], *zavirovatelný* [virus infectible]) and nouns (*zavirování* [virus infectedness], *odvirování* [virus removal]). All in all, the attested number of semantic-loan-based neologisms is smaller than that of loan-translation-based ones.

5.2.3 Hybrid variants

Like primary indirect Anglicisms, also secondary calques or pseudocalques may be hybrid in form. So, sci-fi novel/film translates as *sci-fi román/film* and these loan translations are the basis for the hypocoristic diminutive neologisms *sci-fi románek* and *sci-fi filmeček*. Similarly, chat room and chat window are translated as *chatovací místnost* and *chatovací okno*, and the two semantic loans *místnost* and *okno* (semantically extended in Czech by the new senses ‘an online platform’ and ‘electronic space for interaction’ respectively) become hypocoristic diminutive neologisms *chatovací místňstka* a *chatovací okénko*. Evidently, hybridity all down the line is an inherent possibility for indirect Anglicisms. It also seems that with hybrid variants the dividing line between neologisms based on direct and indirect Anglicisms may become blurred (cf. event [manager] > *eventový [manažer]* > *eventlák*).

As with pseudoloans, the acknowledgement that even primary indirect English loans are subject to neologization is necessary for an accurate description of the dynamic process of assimilating borrowings in the recipient language.

6. Interconnectedness of in/direct Anglicisms and in/visibility scale

An adequate perspective on Anglicisms must not only pay attention to the existence of two adjoining layers of primary and secondary Anglicisms (with different degrees of integration in the RL lexicon), but it also has to address the idea of strict dichotomy between direct and indirect Anglicisms implied by the Pulcini taxonomy. It is posited here that the gap between direct and indirect Anglicisms is actually closed by hybridity, a phenomenon occurring among all types of Anglicisms, direct and indirect, primary and secondary (cf. Klégr, Bozděchová 2022a, Bozděchová, Klégr 2023). Hybridity is defined here as the combination of the SL (English) *lexical* component with the RL (Czech) *lexical* component within a loan. It is also asserted (6.2) that in/directness of Anglicisms is at the same time the function of their visibility (discernibility of their English origin) and so the two are inextricable.

6.1 Interconnectedness of in/direct Anglicisms

The salient dichotomy between direct Anglicisms, i.e. English words imported from English, and indirect Anglicisms, Czech translations of English expressions, gives the impression of two discrete categories. In actual fact they are only the opposite poles of a continuum. In between, there are Anglicisms which are both direct and indirect: direct Anglicisms (primary and secondary) containing Czech lexical components and indirect Anglicisms (again both primary and secondary) with English lexical components. Thus the gap between English-worded direct and Czech-worded indirect Anglicisms is traversed from both directions.

Starting with primary direct Anglicisms, their morphological adaptation in Czech is achieved either by grammatical morphemes (inflection) or by lexical (derivational) morphemes (e.g. backstage [photographer] > *backstagový* [fotograf], a creative [“an artist”] > *kreativec*). Neologisms based on direct loans, i.e. secondary direct Anglicisms or pseudoloans, include both hybrid derivations (*píárština* [PR language, ‘Prese’]) and compounds (*steakobraní* [‘steak harvest’]).

Likewise primary indirect Anglicisms, i.e. calques, include hybrids. Hybrid loan translations are sometimes called semitranslations (fitness band > *fitness náramek*, cloud storage > *cloudové úložiště*, dead stop titration > *dead-stop titrace*). Less explored is the category of hybrid semantic loans. These are multi-word expressions in which the English component combines with a (Czech) semantic loan, e.g. cashback portal > *cashback portál*, email protocol > *emailový protokol*, spin doctor > *spin doktor*. The words *portál*, *protokol* and *doktor* are used in novel meanings loaned from English. For hybrid secondary indirect Anglicisms (pseudocalques) see 5.2.3.

Thus hybrids provide meeting points between direct and indirect Anglicisms, and together with neologisms the field of Anglicisms becomes an intertwined mesh of loans within each layer and between them, as represented in Fig. 2.

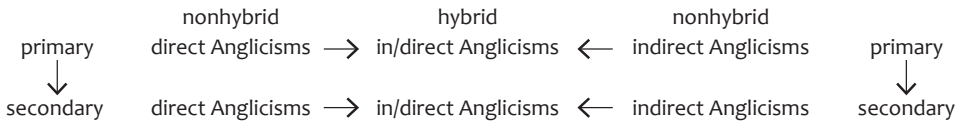


Figure 2. Interconnectedness of direct and indirect Anglicisms through hybridity in both layers

6.2 In/visibility scale

When Görlach’s definition of Anglicisms based on their being “recognizably English” (see Note 2) was replaced in Gottlieb (2005: 163), Pulcini et al (2012), and elsewhere, by a definition that includes also Anglicisms which are not recognizably English, i.e. calques (loan translations and semantic loans), it appropriately broadened the concept of what counts as an Anglicism. At the same time this introduced the problem of their identification.

As noted by Čermák (2010: 208), it is (often) difficult to tell whether a word is a calque or not, inasmuch as there is no support for this in the form of the word. Unless the RL speaker has a sufficient knowledge of English and actively seeks to trace the origin of the word, it is for all practical purposes an invisible Anglicism. The potential of invisible Anglicisms to influence recipient languages was flagged at the 17th ESSE Conference (2024) when a whole section entitled ‘The success of invisible Anglicisms: a global trend?’ was devoted to them.

Since visibility and invisibility are associated with direct and indirect Anglicisms respectively, and directness and indirectness have been shown to form a continuum, it is possible to arrange Anglicisms on a scale of relative visibility. One pole of the scale is represented by “completely visible” Anglicisms: unadapted direct loans and secondary nonhybrid false Anglicisms (*software*, *CzechRun*). Further on, still clearly visible, are direct adapted Anglicisms (both hybrid and nonhybrid, primary and secondary, *hokej*, *puzzle/pucle* [jigsaw], *ROMka*). As partially visible or semivisible can be described hybrid calques (especially multi-word items, both primary and secondary: *internetová kavárna* [internet café], *wow faktor*, *plážový volejbalista* [beach volleyball player]) in which one part is recognizably English, but the Czech component can be regarded by RL speakers simply as a domestic word and the fact that the whole expression is an Anglicism may be missed.

Next on the scale of in/visibility come primary nonhybrid lexical calques (loan translations, *chyba nohou* [foot-fault], *letní čas* [summer time]) and lexical-semantic calques (*krvní banka* [blood bank]) whose English origin is (almost) invisible but for occasional giveaway signs, such as morphological oddities, unusual collocation, etc. (due to literal or clumsy translation, *kultura rušení* [cancel culture]). Even further on the scale towards the invisibility pole are probably nonhybrid secondary lexical and semantic calques (*volnočasovka* [leisure activity], *vlajkovost* [flagship quality]) which have been coined by Czech speakers, a sign that they are becoming part of the RL lexis. Finally, most invisible are perhaps primary semantic calques (semantic loans, *adresa* [computer address], *stránka* [web page]) which,

being mostly domestic single words, go usually completely unnoticed by Czech speakers (unless the borrowed meaning is unusual and so conspicuous (*vlasové studio* [hair studio/salon])).

However, there is one group of English-parallel words which aspire to total invisibility. They are mentioned by Gottlieb et al. (2018: 8), who describe them as “[f]requency-boosted domestic words whose increased usage is due to a similarity with the English etymon”. Unlike semantic loans, i.e. new meanings of domestic words which are loaned from English words, these are domestic words whose meaning is not borrowed from English but which happen to have cognate English counterparts of the same meaning (e.g. the adjective *recent*, *recentní*). It seems that at least some semantic loans have contributed to the increase in frequency of such semantically expanded words. A case in point is the word *aplikace* (application) whose much-used new sense ‘computer program’ borrowed from English may account for the sharp rise in the word’s frequency. Similarly, some Czech words (infrequent to begin with) may have their frequency boosted due to their synonymous (and frequent) English cognates, especially when the English word occurs in a type of texts frequently translated into Czech. That is presumably why the frequency of occurrence of such Czech words has soared conspicuously within the last thirty years. These Czech words are, as it were, an “echo” of the English ones (like a semantic loan is an ‘echo’ of the English sense), and therefore they are tentatively called “echoic Anglicisms” here. This causal link, however, is

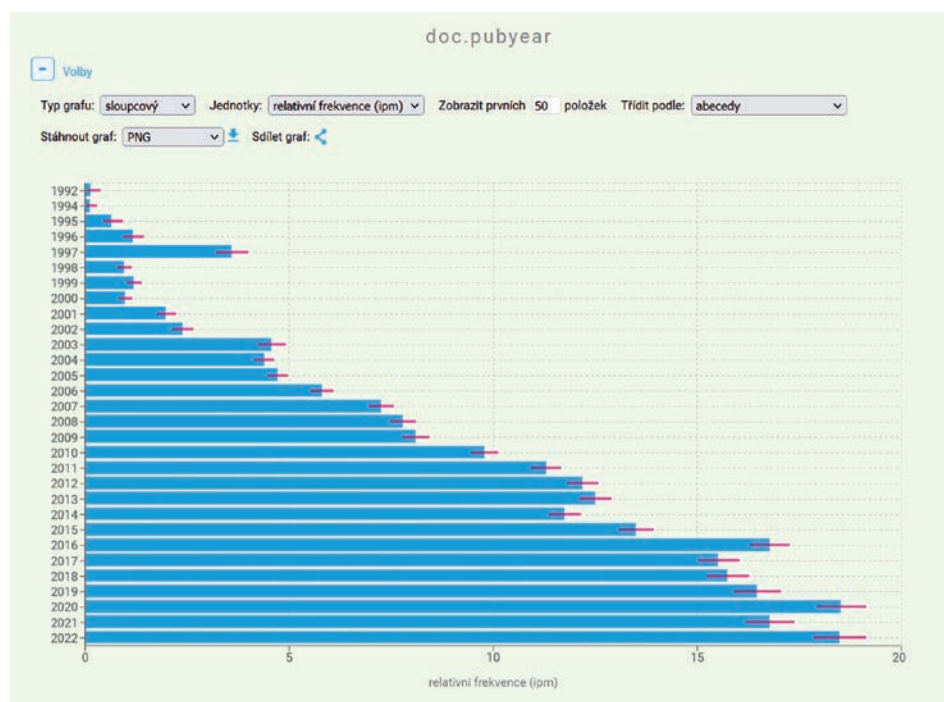


Figure 3. Occurrence frequencies of the word *destinace* (1992–2022, Czech National Corpus)

difficult to prove as there may be other factors at play (the composition of the corpus used to determine their frequency not least among them). One such example is the Czech word *destinace*⁴ (destination), whose rising frequencies in the Czech corpus⁵ for each year between 1992 and 2022 are shown in Fig. 3.

7. Conclusion: a layered taxonomy of Anglicisms

The starting point for this article was the scrutiny of two implicit assumptions on which standard classifications of Anglicisms appear to be founded. The first one (loanwords are a one-dimensional field) results in a “flat” representation of the domain of Anglicisms. The second one is that the two principal categories of Anglicisms, direct and indirect, are discrete. Both assumptions were reassessed in accordance with examples to the contrary. The result is an alternative taxonomy presented below. It aims to address the inadequacies caused by these assumptions. The first one can be remedied by introducing two layers in the taxonomy, one composed of (primary) Anglicisms that have found their way into the RL directly from English, the other consisting of (secondary) Anglicisms that have been additionally formed by the RL speakers from the primary ones. The diagram below also includes the two processes involved in the development of the two layers.

To fix the second problem, that of seeming discreteness of direct and indirect Anglicisms, is more difficult to achieve in a diagram. The interrelatedness of direct and indirect Anglicisms on both the primary and the secondary layer is indicated by arrows and the consistent marking of hybridity in each group. Hybridity, i.e. the co-occurrence of the SL and the RL lexical component, in an Anglicism (whether primary or secondary), allows the Anglicism to occupy the position in between the direct and indirect groups.

The cline of in/directness due to hybridity at the same time implies a scale of their visibility. Direct Anglicisms are ‘visible’ as loans since they preserve the English form; by contrast indirect Anglicisms composed completely of RL (Czech) components are ‘invisible’. It follows that hybrid Anglicisms composed of both English and RL components are halfway between visible and invisible as loans to RL speakers. Thus, hybridity is a bridge between direct and indirect and visible and invisible Anglicisms and creates degrees of in/visibility. The least visible is the suspected group of ‘echoic Anglicisms’, RL words whose frequencies of occurrence may have risen due to the influence of English.

There is at least one more phenomenon which might be considered for inclusion in the taxonomy. It has become fashionable among (teenage to middle-aged) Czech speakers to sprinkle their utterances liberally with isolated English words. This raises the question of (direct) borrowing versus code-switching. The issue is discussed by Gottlieb (2023: 1-5), who also reports on the views of other authors. He acknowledges that what with the Danish community becoming predominantly bilingual (ESL speakers), it is increasingly difficult to distinguish between borrowing and code-switching. As a solution he proposes a cline starting with embedded Anglicisms via code-switching to all-English discourse. The situation in Czech is peculiar in that these occasional, one-off English words often come with Czech

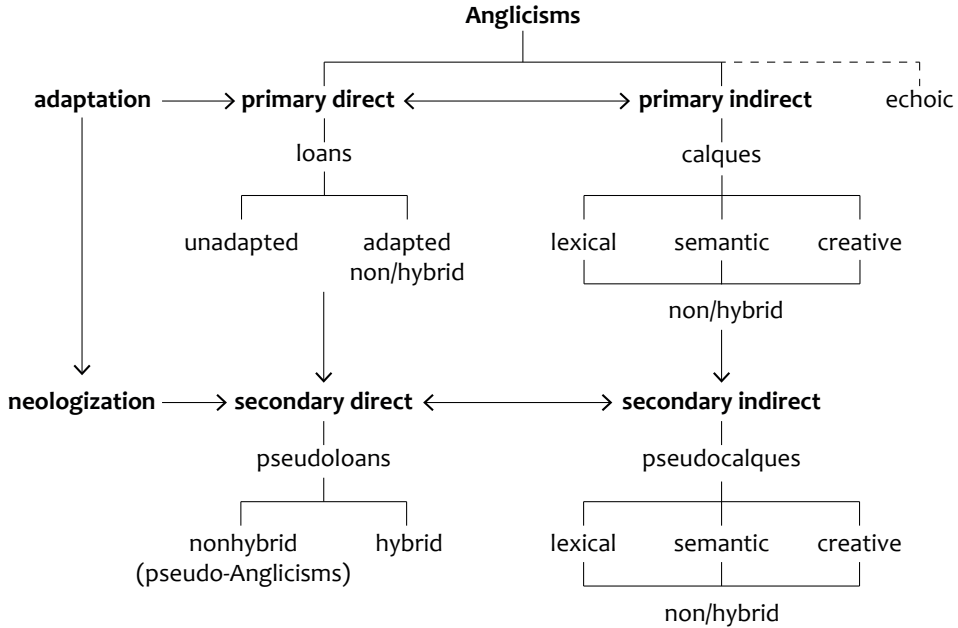


Figure 4. A two-layer taxonomy of lexical Anglicisms (in Czech)
 (Note: Non/hybrid stands for both hybrid and nonhybrid.)

inflections which presumably disqualifies them from the status of code-switches. One possibility is to view them as nonce Anglicisms.

The purpose of the proposed layered taxonomy is to make the RL community aware of the complexity and diversity of the English influence on their language. It should be noted that the influence is clearly recipient-language specific, i.e. typologically different languages can be expected to have and create specific types and forms of Anglicisms, and even the overall distribution of categories common to most languages may not be the same.

Notes

- ¹ GLAD (Global Anglicism Database Network) found at <https://www.nhh.no/en/research-centres/global-Anglicism-database-network/>
- ² Görlach (1994: 224, 2003: 1): “An Anglicism is a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language.”
- ³ We leave aside the question of the definition of loan translations on which there is not a complete consensus, cf. Klégr, Bozděchová 2024 and Witalisz 2015, because it is not relevant to the topic at hand.
- ⁴ The word *destinace* is a favourite term with Czech travel agencies whose vocabulary and overall discourse have been very much influenced by English. Source of the diagram: <https://www.korpus.cz/kontext/query?corpname=syn2020>

⁵ The corpus used is SYN version 12 compiled under the Czech National Corpus and found at <https://wiki.korpus.cz/doku.php/en:cnk:syn:verze12>.

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