

CHAPTER 11. SUPPLEMENT

ENGLISH LOAN WORDS IN MODERN GREEK

SECTION 1. Introduction.

This chapter is an attempt to show what happens to English lexical items when they enter ModGreek. We will show that certain suffixes such as the verbal *-'aro* and the nominal *-'aðiko*, for instance, as well as the diminutives like *-'aki*, *-'ula*, etc. are extremely productive especially with loan words (e.g. *block* > *blokaro*, *risk* > *riskaro*, *drive* > *draivaro*, *fast food* > *fastfudaðiko*, *chip* > *tsipaki*, *test* > *testaki*, etc.). In particular, we will distinguish (a) those English loans that become assimilated to the phonological and morphological structure of ModGreek and (b) those that remain unintegrated (i.e. switches) as they expose a sheer lack of either phonological or morphological adaptation (e.g. *marketin* < *marketing*, *dizain* < *design*, *lizin* < *leasing*, *klab* < *club*, *yuoterland* < *\waterland*, *limitap* < *limit up*, *hai* < *high* (adv. cf. *sta hai tu*, etc.). Both types of English loans (the adapted and the non-adapted ones) will be investigated in terms of the major lexical categories in the host language (ModGreek). Moreover, particular attention will be paid on the gender of the loan word (Anastasiadi-Simeonidi, 1990) as well as the distinct prevalence of one gender over the other.

The world-wide dominance of business, commerce and the media led by the UK, the US and other English-driven economies is undoubtedly responsible for much of the social and concomitant linguistic change all over the world. "Where there is trade, there is language contact" and "large-scale borrowing of lexical items ... is one of its consequences" (Coulmas 1992: 273). The most blatant cases of English loans are to be found in the language of finance, computers, technology, sports, food and broadcasting the media. Of these, computers, technology and finance constitute areas where English is virtually omnipotent. As new programs

and applications come onto the market, there is practically no time to invent new Greek terms for the bits and pieces. For example, software, hardware, reboot, download, swap, forward, etc. have been imported wholesale. One could be alarmed to observe how many such terms are invading the ModGreek lexicon, but in practical terms this is a natural and unstoppable phenomenon, and at least the reasons for it are sensible.

As English has become the near-exclusive language of international meetings, conferences, and so on, due to its brevity and the rather easy coining of neologisms, anglicisms are often already in place by the time a ModGreek equivalent has been coined, and their succinctness makes them easy to absorb. Thus, English borrowings are used spontaneously in order to cover an immediate linguistic need, i.e. to fill a gap of a lexical item which does not exist in the host language and therefore the loan one is adopted. For example, loans such as marketing, leasing, camping, parking, as well as disco, enter, software and chip are very popular gap fillers. Apart from this immediate need, another reason for an English loan word or expression to enter ModGreek is an inadequate or bad translation of the English term needed in ModGreek, a process in which the translated word or expression standing for an instrument or concept is usually much longer than the English equivalent. In a situation like this the foreign word is preferable and more convenient. It is this type of spontaneous borrowings that remain intact and unintegrated to the phonological and morphological structure of ModGreek. To quote Hudson, "the completely unassimilated loan-word is at one end of a scale which has at the other end items bearing no formal resemblance to the foreign words on which they are based. Such items are called loan translations..." (Hudson 1980: 59). English loan words are often used for their linguistic prestige value as a result of linguistic fashion. Showing off, therefore, is another reason for the abundant use of English borrowings which are never to be returned! The ubiquitous nature

of English loans is illustrated by the fact that they are to be found in so many different social circumstances: sports broadcasting and commentaries, TV and newspaper journalistic writing, electronic media, product naming and advertising, teenage vocabulary, are all responsible for a plethora of literal transfers from English which are gaining currency in ModGreek. Now the question is if all these unintegrated loans imported into ModGreek will remain unintegrated or even survive for long. For instance, it didn't take long for the word computer to be substituted by the Greek equivalent *ilektronikos ipoloyistis* which eventually gained currency. Therefore, depending on their degree of integration into ModGreek, it will be possible to sort out all the borrowed words and expressions and classify them into two categories (a) the adapted ones, i.e. those that become assimilated to the morphophonological structure of ModGreek and (b) those that remain unintegrated (i.e. switches) as they expose no phonological or morphological adaptation.

The empirical investigations on English loans presented in this study are largely based on data extracted from dictionaries as well as newspapers, periodicals, brochures, advertisements and TV programmes. The whole corpus of material contained approximately 2000 words and expressions, all borrowings from English. Moreover, in our study we have excluded those English loans used by the Greeks living abroad (for more than two generations) (cf. Maniakas 1995, Zarpetea 1996).

SECTION II. The Assimilated English Loans.

Once accepted into the host language (here ModGreek) the English loans are subject not only to its phonetic changes, i.e. allomorphic modifications, a fact which helps us date the time of the borrowing (Bloomfield 1933: 451), but also subject to its morphological and grammatical patterns, such as derivation and inflection (e.g. gender, plurality markers, tense formation, etc.) In other words they become

integrated to the 'ModGreek morphological system as far as the categorical and the semantic effect of the Greek derivational suffix attaching to them is concerned.

To start with, there are derivational suffixes which prefer foreign stems. For instance, the verbal suffix -'aro will only attach to loan words of Italian, French and English origin such as *γusto* → *γustaro* 'like strongly', *traka* → *trakaro* 'collide', *arrive* → *arivaro* 'arrive', *drive* → *drivaro* 'drive', etc. (Joseph B. & Philippaki-Warbuton, I. 1987: 220, Mela-Athanasopoulou, E. 1999(a): 355, Balafuti, E. 1996). Likewise, the noun forming suffixes -istas and -adiko and the diminutive -aki are extremely productive with loan stems, e.g. *basketbolistas*, *ralistas*, *stylistas*, *fastfutadiko*, *rokadiko* and *tostaki*, *groupaki*, *baraki*, etc. It seems, however, that the suffix will attach to the English loan after the latter has been adopted and used as an unintegrated loan word first as is shown in Rule 1.

Rule 1. [X]_{N/Adj/Adv} - 'aro]_V 'make/do X'
 English > unintegrated Greek suffix > integrated loan
 loan in Greek

la.		
flirt	flert	verbal - 'aro > flertaro
shoot	sUt	sUtaro
drive	draiv (in)	draivaro
double	dUbl (fas)	dUblaro
spin	spin(in)	spiniaro
flit	flit	flitaro
flip	flip (aUt)	fliparo
filter	filtro	filtraro
park	park(in)	parkaro
rave	reiv	reivaro
control <It.	kontrol	kontrolaro

down	daUn{'-azo}	daUniazoz
	daUn{'azome}	daUniazome

Rule 2. $[[X]_N\text{'a}\delta\text{iko}]_N$ 'a place of X'

1b.

fastfood	fastfUt	fastfUtadiko
rock	rok	rokaδiko
ufo	Ufo	Ufadiko
computer	kompjuter	kompjuteradiko

Rule 3. $[[X]_N\text{'as}]_N$ 'a doer of X'

1c.

rock	rok	{- 'as}N > rokas
heavy metal	hevimetel	hevimetelas

Rule 4. $[[X]_N\text{'istas}]_N$ 'a doer of X'

1d.

rally	rali	{-'istas}N _{masc} {-'istria}N _{fem} > ralistas, ralistria
tennis	tenis	tenistas
humour	hiUmor	hiUmoristas
stylish	stil	stilistas

Rule 5. $[[X]_{Adj}\text{'i'o}]_{Adj}$ 'looking like X'

1e.

frik	frik	{-'i'o}Adj > frikio
pank	pank	pankio

Rule 6. $[[X]_{Adj}\text{'atos}]_{Adj}$ 'looking like X'

1f.

chic < Fsik		{-'atos}Adj > sikatos
refined	rafin(aro)	rafinatos
moustashe < F	mUsi	mUsatos
cool	kUl	kUlatos

The verb-forming {-'azo} in la and all the noun and adjective forming suffixes {-as}, {-istas}, {-io} and {-atos} attached to the English loan are normally used by teenagers and refer to sports, music, fashion, entertainment, sex, alcohol, cars, motorcycles, etc. (cf. Androutsopoulos 1997: 565).

Now in the whole process of integration of the borrowed English words, what is actually borrowed is the semantics of the loan word while its pronunciation is lost, i.e. it is adapted to the phonological system of ModGreek. "...Borrowing may involve the levels of syntax and semantics without involving pronunciation at all" (Hudson 1980: 59).

From all the above picture and as our findings have shown, the suffixes {-aro} and {-aḁiko} are the most productive. Moreover, all the {-aro} verbs combined with both inflectional and derivational suffixes may further produce adjectivals (i.e. past participles) and nominals as is shown in 2.

2.

Verb	Adjectival	Nominal
kontrolaro >	kontrolarismenos >	kontrolarisma
spiniaro >	spinarismenos >	spiniarisma
scaniario >	scaniarismenos >	scaniarisma
fliparo >	flipansmenos >	fliparisma
parkaro >	parkarismenos >	parkarisma

The inflectional suffix {-ismenos} is an allomorph of the passive participle suffix {-menos} (Idrima M. Triantafillidi, *Neoelliniki Grammatiki*, 1996:367). The nominal {-ma} (-isma) roughly denotes the result of an action (Mela-Athanasopoulou 1995(b): 190).

Consider now the full productivity of the diminutive {-aki}_{Ntr} combined with the unintegrated English loans, all of neuter gender.

3a

chip >	tsip >	tsipaki
film>	film>	filmaki
goal >	gol>	golaki
flash >	flas>	flasaki
jeans >	dʒin >	dʒinaki
toast >	tost>	tostaki
cake >	kek>	kekaki
taxi>	taxi>	taxaki

3b

poster>	poster>	posteraki
transistor>	transistor>	transistoraki
computer>	computer>	computeraki
sandwich>	sandʋits>	sandʋitsaki

Although the majority of the English loans used as bases to which —aki is attached are one-syllable nouns (3a), two-syllable or even three-syllable bases combined with -aki are also possible (3b).

Of the augmentative suffixes only the feminine -ara is reasonably productive with English loan bases:

4.

taxi >	taxi>	taxara
goal >	gol>	golara
toast >	tost>	tostara
sandwich >	sandʋits >	sandʋitsara

Once integrated, the English loans adapt to the ModGreek declension system. They acquire all the inflectional suffixes indicating number and case (for nouns), or tense, person and number (for verbs), as is shown in 5a-5e.

5a. spiniarisma_{NTR} Nom/Acc/Sing spiniarismata Nom/Acc/Pl
spiniarismatos Gen/Sing spiniarismaton Gen/Pl

5b. spiniaro 1st /Sing/Pres spiniarume 1st /Pl/Pres
spiniara 1st /Sing/Past spiniarame 1st /Pl/Past

5c. parkarismenos_M, -i_F, -o_{NTR} Nom/Sing/Past Part.
parkarismenu_M, -is_F, -u_{NTR} Gen/Sing/Past Part.
parkarismeni_M, -es_F, -a_{NTR} Nom/Pl/Past Part.
parkarismenon_{M, F, NTR} Gen/Pl/Past Part.

5d. filmaki_{NTR} Nom/Acc/Sing filmakia Nom/Acc/Pl
*flmakiu Gen/Sing *flmakion Gen/Pl

(Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton 1997: 65)

5e. tostara_F Nom/Acc/Sing tostaes Nom/Acc/Pl
tostaras Gen/Sing tostaron Gen/Pl

SECTION III. The Unassimilated English loans.

Of the old English loans that have resisted adaptation to the Greek declension system the vast majority of them are nouns associated semantically to areas such as clothing, food, sports and entertainment in general, as is shown in 6. Notice however, that despite their resistance to the ModGreek inflectional endings, they have lost their original pronunciation and adapted to the ModGreek phonological system, i.e. they are pronounced with purely Greek sounds.

6. English word	phonetically adapted in ModGreek
pullover >	pullover
shorts >	sorts
cake >	kek
toast >	tost
chips >	tsips
bar>	bar
transistor >	transistor
ferryboat >	feribot
match >	mats
tennis >	tenis
penalty >	penalti
goal >	gol
derby >	derbi
service >	servis
film>	film
western >	western
detective >	'dedektiv

With regard to proper names and place names, apart from a few cases which have suffered complete assimilation (7a), the most recent ones have remained intact, except, of course, for their Greek pronunciation (7b).

7a. complete assimilation		resistance to assimilation	
London >	Lonðino	Shakespeare >	Sekspir
Thames >	Tamesis	Churtchil >	Tsortsil
Byron >	Vironas	Washington >	Uasinkton
Richard >	Rixarðos	Fleming >	Flemink

Edinburg >	Eðivuryo	Cambridge >	Kembridz
Oxford >	Oksforði	Clinton >	Klinton
New York >	Nea Iorki	Times >	Taims
Cunning >	KaningosGen	Newsweek >	Niuswik
		National	Nasional
		Geographic >	dziografik

Notice now the deluge of English loans that have swarmed ModGreek (and all European languages, generally) in the last two or three decades. The data exposed in Table 1 are classified into semantic fields.

7b.

<u>Sports</u>	<u>Fashion & body</u>	<u>Technology & computers</u>
tennis	dizain	tsip
basket	jean	paswuerd
volei	anorak	microtsip
boulin	jaket	imeil
serfin	liftin	skaner
golf	siθru	modem
aerobic		kurier
		internet
		fax
		seiv

<u>Commerce</u>	<u>Entertainment & music</u>	<u>Other</u>
Logistics	toksou dramer	saspens
marketin	miuzikal	Qriler
forum	serial	sok
telex	album	interviu
manager	rok	daun
limit ap	pop	in
kas	disco	kul
katerin	club	hat
		laiv

Table 1. Unintegrated English loans.

All types of word classes are involved here, with the distinct prevalence of Nouns, of course. Consider now 8a-8c where the English borrowings are heavier, as they are; not only lexical, but also morphological and grammatical. The English loan has entered ModGreek not only as a simple, monophonemic word, but also as a derived or even compound word. The most prevalent suffixes English loans end into are the nominalizing derivational suffixes -ing and —er as well as compounds with -man or -land and —out as heads.

8a. ing (in)	8b. -er (person)	-er (instrument/other)
campin	golkiper	revolver
parkin	scorer	seiker
serfin	manager	skaner
liftin	dramer	blender
marketin	raper	poster
lizin		bestseller
modelin		θriler
jogin		greider

8c. compounds (masculine)	8d. compounds (feminine)
cameraman	beibisiter
superman	blakhumor
polisman	selfservis
souman	siθru
barman	flasbak
gentleman	centerbak
recordman	piknik
barwoman	livinrum
wokman	sexapil
wuoterland	bestseler
nokaut	blujin
blakaut	windsferfin

Despite their dynamic role in ModGreek especially in the language of teenagers (as mentioned already), they have entered as lexicalised lexemes rather than as derivatives and compounds, i.e. speaker entered as speaker not as a derivative of speak, as the latter has never entered the language. What is interesting, though, is the fact that in 8b, for example, {-er} is recognized as a suffix indicating an agent or an instrument.

Additionally, however, we should not ignore the fact that there are English loans (especially the ones referring to computers) that did not manage to sustain time and instead they are gradually being substituted by the equivalent Greek word. Thus we have loans interchangeably used with the Greek corresponding word.

9. computer	ipoloyistis
internet	διαδίκτιο
web page	istoselida
hard disc	skliros diskos
software	proyramma ipoloyisti
mouse	pontiki
store	apoθikevo
save	sozo
clear	svino

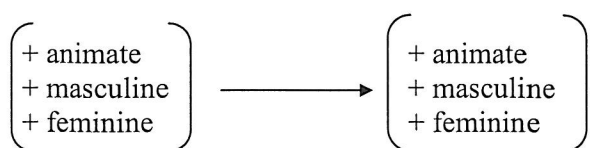
SECTION IV. The gender of the English loans.

With regard to the gender of the English loans and other foreign loans, in general, the relevant literature is quite vast, Anastasiadi-Simeonidi (1990), Corbett (1991), Androutsopoulos (1997), Aronoff (1994), Hatzisavvidis (1998), Apostolou-Panara (1999), to mention only a few.

To start with, the gender acquisition of the non-adapted English loan may be motivated by a variety of factors:

- (a) It may depend primarily on the grammatical categories of the borrowing language (here ModGreek) and less importantly on the semantic and morphophonological system of either ModGreek or English (Anastasiadi-Simeonidi 1990: 158).
- (b) For animates, gender is typically assigned by their sex, when sex is differentiated. "In this case gender appears to be fixed ... by sex-alignment for terms designating animate beings" (Beardmore 1971: 158). For example, an animate noun of masculine gender in English will be of the same gender in ModGreek marked only by the pronoun substituting them in both languages.

10. English loan noun integrated or unintegrated noun



reporter	reporter
show woman	souwuman
show man	souman
babysitter	bebisiter

(c) For inanimates, the gender of the integrated English loan word follows the grammatical gender of ModGreek; whereas the gender of the unintegrated word will acquire the gender of the corresponding word in ModGreek it is associated with semantically. This unintegrated English loan is always indeclinable (due to the absence of any Greek inflectional suffix attached to it) and its gender is marked on the article that precedes it.

11a. English	11b. Greek
rock	> rock music
Manchester United	> i_F rok _F musiki _F
Team	> i_F mantsester yiunaitid _F
Newsweek	> to_{NTR} niusyuik perioδiko _{NTR}

As a rule, however, the gender of the indeclinable inanimate noun loan is usually neuter (Cleris & Babiniotis 1998: 67), e.g. to poster, to sirial, to mats, to tennis, to taxi, to bar, etc.

(d) the gender of the unintegrated derived English loan entering ModGreek will be the so called abstract gender (Corbett 1991: 311) and it is feminine (Mela-Athanasopoulou 2001) e.g. demonstration_F, suspense_F, etc.

An interesting issue for future research with regard to English loans, is the extension of such loans not only at word level but also in Syntax. An abundant use of the 3rd person Singular "pistevete oti I atmospheriki ripansi tha liθi sto egis melon", or the passive "ola γινοντε yia na apofexθi i enxirisi" (Apostolou-Panara 1999: 340) is quite pervasive.

In conclusion, the present deluge of English loans in our language as was described in the first section of this study will continue its course as a global phenomenon in a multinationally integrated world economy. Time will show which of the loans mentioned in the data will eventually become assimilated to the ModGreek morphophonological system of the language.