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## ON FOREIGNISMS AND BORROWINGS IN SLOVENE

The article presents the linguistic criteria that allow loanwords to be grouped into two sub-groups, i.e., into foreignisms and borrowings. The exact distinction is necessary particularly for practical reasons, as only an accurate comprehension of the terms foreignism and borrowing paves the way for the compilation of a good dictionary of foreignisms.

Članek prinaša jezikoslovna merila, s katerimi je mogoče prevzete besede deliti na dve podskupini, na tujke in izposojenke. Eksaktna razmejitev med obema podskupinama je potrebna predvsem iz praktičnih razlogov, saj le ustrezno pojmovanje izrazov tujka in izposojenka omogoča izdelavo dobrega slovarja tujk.

**Key words:** Slovene language, etymology, textology, loanwords, terminology

**Ključne besede:** slovenščina, etimologija, besediloslovje, prevzete besede, terminologija

**1** Words, morphemes, and collocations, i.e., everything that is the object of etymological study, are by their provenience of either native or foreign origin. In Slovene, all those words (morphemes, collocations) are native that were formed and were at least at the time of their conception semantically motivated in the continuum of Slovene, i.e., in the continued linguistic development from Proto-Indo-European (and even earlier) times, through Common Slavic to modern times. Hence, the words of native origin are those that were formed from the known morphemes (regardless of origin) by our more or less ancient linguistic (not necessarily genetic) ancestors and were inherited by us. Such a word is, for instance, the word *brat*, which developed from Proto-Indo-European *\*bhraHtōr* and for which we do not know the original meaning; such words are also the word *nebo*, for which the comparative linguistics has helped us to determine the original meaning 'cloud, fog', or the word *plavica*, derived from the adjective *plav* 'blue', which is not of native origin, since it was borrowed from the neighboring Bavarian, where the dialectal equivalent of the High-German adjective *blau* is still *plau*.

**1.1** Words<sup>1</sup> of foreign origin are all those that were not conceived in the linguistic continuum of Slovene, but, rather, in the linguistic continuum of any other living or dead language. If a word of foreign origin enters Slovene, i.e., Slovene speakers began to use it, we say that we borrowed that word (it was loaned to us). Words of foreign origin can therefore be more concisely called *loanwords*.<sup>2</sup> Loanwords are, for instance, the aforementioned *plav*, the noun *šporget*, borrowed from the Bavarian-German variant of the standard German word *Sparherd*. Such words are also the word *plin*, bor-

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<sup>1</sup> The article is limited to the treatment of appellatives.

<sup>2</sup> Toporišič 1992: 218.

rowed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century from Czech (Czech, in turn, borrowed it from Polish); the word *recesija*, originating from Lat. *recessiō* 'return, retreat, regression'; and the word *ful*, which was borrowed from Eng. *full* by the teenage generation of the 1990s.

1.2 Both groups of words, the ones of native and the ones of foreign origin, are, as needed, further divided into various subgroups. The topic of the present article is a further division of loanwords, which is mainly need in lexicographic practice. Because of the heterogeneity of loanwords in terms of register and style it would not be prudent to compile a dictionary that would include all words of foreign origin. Instead, there has been a tradition among Slovenes of compiling dictionaries with the word *tujka* 'foreignism' in the title; these dictionaries from the aforementioned words *plav*, *šporget*, *plin*, *ful*, and *recesija* treat only the last one. The word *plav* and much more recent word *plin* are already adapted to such a degree that they belong to the Slovene core word stock, hence they are included in general dictionaries like the *Dictionary of Standard Slovene* (SSKJ). The word *šporget* was banished from the literary language (and was replaced by *štedilnik*, which is native formation from the originally Croatian verb *štediti*), therefore it belongs to dictionaries that (also) include dialectal and colloquial material, while *ful*, which is a decidedly slang word, would belong only to a slang dictionary.

2 Since Slovene dictionaries of foreignisms (supposedly) treat among all foreignisms only the ones of the type *recesija*, it seems justified to call this type of borrowings *foreignisms i.e.*<sup>3</sup> Dictionaries of foreignisms, particularly Verbinc's, affected the Slovene linguistic instinct, which grants the status of a foreignism to words like *recesija*, but not to the words like *plav*, *plin*, *šporget*, or *ful*, although the two latter ones are recognized as non-native. However, for compiling the list of entry words to be included in the dictionary of foreignisms, linguistic instinct is insufficient. One has to find linguistic criteria as exact as possible, with which to distinguish foreignisms from the rest of loanwords.

2.1 In Toporišič's *Enciklopedija slovenskega jezika* loanwords are divided into foreignisms and borrowings. A foreignism is defined as »1. loanword that is not entirely adapted to Slovene, e.g., *jazz* (as a borrowing *džez*)«*1...1* »2. in an older interpretation, a word borrowed from West-European or classical languages, e.g., *avto*, *kros* *1...1*«<sup>4</sup> Toporišič's first definition is valuable because, referring to foreignisms, it underscores written language, however, one could not accept the notion that *džez* is not the same word as *jazz*, as they are only two allographs of the same word, in the same way as *trikrat* and *3-krat* are allographs. Similarly, *weekend* (pronounced with bilabial *w*) and *vikend* are not two separate words, but, rather, *vikend* is the adapted continuant of the word *weekend*, from which it developed in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> c., in the same way as the native word *miš* is a continuant of the Common Slavic word *\*myšь*.

<sup>3</sup> The term is a calque from Germ. *Fremdwort*.

<sup>4</sup> Toporišič 1992: 334.

**2.1.1** According to the first definition from *Enciklopedija slovenskega jezika*, foreignisms are only the words that did not adapt to Slovene, according to the second definition, these are all words borrowed from West-European and classical languages. If one relied on the first definition in compiling the list of entry words for the dictionary of foreignisms, this dictionary would include only a very few words of the type *jazz*, *weekend*, *wehrmacht*, while words like *recesija*, *nevma*, *kloramfenikol*, which are adapted to Slovene, would be excluded. If one relied on the second definition, the dictionary would include not only *recesija*, *nevma*, *kloramfenikol*, but also *malha*, *hiša*, *žlemprga*, *fajmošter*, which were borrowed from West-European languages, but would not include words like *černožjom*, *hazena*, *hatišerif*, *sarafan*, *karaoke*, which were borrowed from East-European or Oriental languages. Since a Slovene user expects to find in a dictionary of foreignisms words like *džez* (with an obsolete allograph *jazz*), *vikend* (with an obsolete allograph *weekend*), *recesija*, *nevma*, *kloramfenikol*, *černožjom*, *hazena*, *hatišerif*, and *sarafan*, but does not expect words like *malha*, *hiša*, *žlemprga*, and *fajmošter*, one could not compile the list of entry words for a serviceable dictionary of foreignisms relying on these two definitions.

**2.2** The originally non-Slovene words were already divided into borrowings and foreignisms by Breznik. He considered borrowings »all the words that common people borrowed while dealing with their neighbors, and adopted them after they had changed foreign sounding sounds into native sounds«. Foreignisms are, in his view, »all those words which are usually used in science, technology, and in the sophisticated world in general, and are only known to people who learned them through education, regardless of the type«. <sup>5</sup>

**2.2.1** The division of loanwords into borrowings and foreignisms is certainly appropriate, but it only partially corresponds to Breznik's definition. A borrowing is, more precisely, a word that common people borrowed from one of the neighboring languages. That means that a borrowing is a word that was from one of the neighboring dialects (Venetian Italian, Tergestian, Friulian, Bavarian and Tyrolian German, Western Hungarian, Kajkavian and Čakavian Croatian, Romany) borrowed into one of the neighboring Slovene dialects and from there, possibly, into other Slovene dialects and into standard language. Slovene adapted such a word only as necessary, i.e., (1) if the foreign-language source word included sound or sound cluster foreign to Slovene, most commonly a geminate, e.g., *bakla* from Old High German [OHG] *vackel* (Slovene at the time did not have the sound *f* nor the spirant *β*, which was in OHG recorded as *v*), *cimet* from OG *Zimmet*, from which is the modern word *Zimt*; (2) if the word needed morphological adaptation, e.g., *ponev* from OHG *pfanna*,<sup>6</sup> *coprati* from Bavarian Middle High German [BavMHG] *zoupern*, which corresponds to the broader MHG *zoubern*, *frajla* from BavG *Frailein*, which corresponds to Standard [St] G *Fräulein*, *lajbič* from BavG *Leiblein* »vest«; (3) for other, harder to define, rea-

<sup>5</sup> Breznik 1906: 149.

<sup>6</sup> OHG *pfanna* was pronounced with the final back vowel, which was in Sln. substituted by the reflex for CSI -y, thus the word was placed into the continuant of the \**buky*, -*zve* declension.

sons, e.g., *marajon* through *majaron* from Friul. *majaron*. The unexpected metathesis of consonants occurred in some Slovene dialects because the loanwords in the receiving language are not motivated. Some people simply did not memorize the word well and from the original *majaron* »by mistake« formed *marajon*. (4) In addition, many words only seemingly underwent changes, as one cannot proceed from the neighboring standard language, but, rather, from the dialect. To say that *pavola* is a borrowing from G *Baumwolle* is only partially true and certainly not precise. *Pavola* is borrowed from the dialectal Austrian-Bavarian *pa(um)wolle* 'cotton', which corresponds to StG *Baumwolle*. Similarly, *ponk* is not from G word *Bank*, but from Bav *ponk*, which developed according to Bavarian-German rules from MHG *bank* 'bench, table'.

**2.3** In foreignisms foreign sounds are replaced with Slovene approximates and the word is adapted to Slovene morphological system. In the word *recesija*, borrowed from Lat. *recessiō*, the foreign geminate consonant was replaced by the Slovene single consonant. The word preserved Latin grammatical gender, was thus placed into the productive feminine declension, which prompted the replacement of Lat. suffix *-ion-* with Sln. suffix *-ija*. A foreignism adapts to Slovene for the aforementioned reasons (1) and (2), i.e., foreign sounds and sound clusters unknown to Slovene are replaced by Slovene approximates, and a foreignism sooner or later becomes integrated into the Slovene morphological system. Foreignisms do not undergo unexpected phonological developments like *marajon* and as a rule they do not reflect dialectal peculiarities of the foreign language. While Breznik is correct in saying that foreignisms are usually used in science, technology, in the sophisticated world and that they are a product of education, this is not a closed definition and particularly not sufficient for the modern world, where foreignisms like, for instance, *avto*, are among the first ten words of every child's vocabulary. Foreignisms are thus better defined as words introduced into Slovene standard language by educated people from foreign standard languages. Some were already introduced by the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Protestant writers, e.g., *cedra*, *element*, but the great majority was borrowed in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. and later. Because of this the majority of people intuitively think that foreignisms in Slovene are recent words, which does injustice to the lexicon that has in Slovene an already three- or four-hundred-year literary tradition. Janez Svetokriški, for instance, has the sentence *S. Joannes Apostel njega la shilo, ali puls prime*, which shows that the foreignism *pulz* has been in Slovene for at least 300 years.

**2.3.1** The basic difference between the borrowing and foreignism is that the borrowing was borrowed from a neighboring dialect of a foreign language into a Slovene dialect by common people, while a foreignism is a borrowed word that was introduced into Slovene standard language from a foreign language by educated people. In other words, a borrowing is a common word, a foreignism is an educated word; a borrowing is borrowed from spoken foreign language into the Slovene spoken language, while a foreignism is borrowed from a foreign written language into the Slovene written language. Foreignisms thus include examples pronounced under the influence of the spelling in the source language, e.g., *embalaža* (from Fr. *emballage*), *detergent* (from



Fr. *détergent*), *punč* (from Eng. *punch*), *mulčiti* (from Eng. *mulch*), *klub* (from Eng. *club*) instead of *ombalaža*, *deteržon*, *panč*, *malčiti*, and *klab*, as the words would have been pronounced if they were borrowed through spoken language.<sup>7</sup>

**2.3.2** Borrowings first come to life in spoken language, as a rule in a dialect, while foreignisms are first used in written, as a rule, in standard language, often in technical language. From the original position a loanword may or may not move into other varieties of language, e.g., *majaron* as an original borrowing, made its way into standard language and *avto* as an original foreignism is used in colloquial language and dialects.<sup>8</sup> The motivation for borrowing is the same in borrowings and foreignisms. Common people and educated people used the word that they had heard or seen written down in a foreign language, in their own language because they wanted to name a thing, concept, or action for which they did not find an appropriate word in their own lexicon; they either did not know about the appropriate word in their own language, or the word really did not exist.

**2.3.3** A good dictionary of foreignisms should therefore include only those Slovene words of foreign origin that were introduced into Slovene standard language by Slovene educated people from the 16<sup>th</sup> c. until today from foreign standard languages.

**2.3.4** The following table is intended to assist us in differentiating foreignisms from borrowings.

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<sup>7</sup> In some cases we have a loan word and a borrowed word from the same source, e.g., from Fr. *reine-claude* common people borrowed through AustrG *Ringlotte* the word *ringlo* (someone as a French hyper-correction dropped final *-t*, the same way as common people drop it now in the word *pomfri*, despite the fact that the French pronounce it very clearly in the collocation *pommes frites*), while learned pomologists borrowed *renkload* directly from French. Similar situation is with the words *misijon* and *misija*. The former is a borrowing from G word *Mission*, which was borrowed from Lat. *missiō* 'mission', the latter is a foreign word, borrowed (possibly through German) from the same Latin source.

<sup>8</sup> Foreignisms that spread into colloquial language and dialects become more open to change, i.e., they follow the same rules as lay borrowings. Their semantic field may change or widen, e.g., *vikend* does not mean only 'end of the week', which is the only English meaning of this word, but also a 'vacation house', i.e., 'smaller house in the countryside, to be used during spare time', which was originally during weekends. Since the morpheme system of loanwords is not motivated in Slovenian, it can uncontrollably change. Semantically related original foreign words *pasterizirati* and *sterilizirati*, which are used in the domestic kitchen jargon, overlapped and resulted in the word *pasterilizirati*.

	Foreignism	Borrowing
The word was borrowed from/through a non-neighboring language	yes	no
The word was borrowed from/through (at the time of borrowing) a dead language	yes	no
The word is pronounced under the influence of foreign spelling	yes	no
The word includes unpredictable sound changes	no	yes
The word has dialectal features	no	yes
The word is semantically developing independently in Slovene	no	yes

**2.3.5** Difficult examples that cannot be decided based on this table should be solved with a meticulous philological analysis, i.e., a study that will find out whether a particular word was borrowed into Slovene through spoken or written language. Among all the dictionaries of foreignisms, Verbinc's dictionary came closest to this kind of selection of entry words, as his work only on rare occasions includes entry words that do not satisfy the given criteria, and only lacks very few foreignisms that were in at least moderately common use at the time of its publication in 1968.<sup>9</sup>

**2.3.6** A large majority of foreignisms, defined by the stated criteria, corresponds to the notion of foreignism (*tujka*) as well-developed linguistic intuition (based on the tradition of compiling dictionaries of foreignisms) would dictate. There are very few individual exceptions that require special treatment. Such an example is the word *univerza*. Regardless of the language-mediator (G *Universität*, It. *università*), one would expect from MLat original *universitas* Sln. *\*univerziteteta*<sup>10</sup> (as is preserved in the adjective *univerziteten*), since the Lat. word-final segment *-itas* (gen. *-itatis*) is adapted in Slovene to *-iteta*; the vowel *e* is the result of the German substitute *-ität*. The only exception is *univerza*. If the word *univerza* is the result of student contraction from *\*univerziteteta*, similar to the modern slang word *faks* instead of *fakulteta*, the word contains unexpected phonological changes and therefore does not satisfy all of the conditions to be a considered a foreignism.

**3** The experience from lexicographic practice shows that theoretical definitions usually cannot be strictly carried out without diminishing the applicative value of the dictionary.

**3.1** The word *plin*, for instance, was borrowed by Slovene intellectuals in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. from Czech, therefore it is a foreignism, yet nobody would expect it to be included in a dictionary of foreignisms. The list of entry words for a dictionary of foreignisms

<sup>9</sup> *Veliki slovar tujk* has, despite fairly good theoretical basic principles, laid out in the introduction, an inferior list of entry words, as it includes quite a few loan words, e.g., *birsa*, *birmati*, and even native words, e.g., *hržica*, *lazar*, *pretin*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *identiteta* from MLat *identitas*, *kvaliteta* from Lat. *quālītās*, etc.

should therefore be rid of all those words that were introduced into Slovene from other Slavic languages in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. by Slovene intellectuals, mostly with the express purpose of replacing »inappropriate, unsightly corrupted words«, lay borrowings from German, less commonly from Italian, Friulian, and Hungarian. For those reasons was the lay word *fajmošter* replaced by Croatian *župnik*, instead of lay borrowing *gas* there is Czech word *plin* (borrowed from Polish, where it means 'liquid'), lay *fasada* is being replaced by Croatian *pročelje*, lay *viža* was replaced by Croatian *način* (to Alasia in the 17<sup>th</sup> c. Slovene word *način* means »comfort«), lay *žajfa* was replaced by Russian *milo*. These, originally foreign, words have become through more than hundred years of school training so familiar to Slovenes that they are no longer considered foreign. They became part of educated language, which is, despite the fact that is less motivated or not motivated at all, subconsciously recognized as Slovene. This is a sufficient reason that these words are not included in the dictionary of foreignisms, but into a more scholarly conceived project (for which there are no plans yet), which would treat from historical and etymological points of view the entire lexicon borrowed from other Slavic languages and more or less adapted to Slovene. However, this does not mean that no words borrowed from Slavic languages belong into a good dictionary of foreignisms. Excluded are only puristic replacements of older German and Romance borrowings, which became part of general educated language. A good dictionary of foreignisms should by all means include originally Russian *černožjom*, Russian and Ukrainian *duma*, Polish *zlot*, Czech *haček*, Croatian *sabor*, Macedonian *sobranje*, etc., as these words name new objects and concepts.

**3.2** Secondly, one needs to mention slang words, which are being introduced mainly by the younger, teen, generation, and when this generation grows up, these words spread to the middle-age speakers, e.g., *ful* 'very', *džanki* 'heroin addict'. Since these words are borrowed from non-neighboring English, they cannot be considered classical borrowings; neither they can be considered foreignisms, as they do not originate in standard or at least written language. Despite the reservation, these words are borrowings, since Slovene youth, i.e., not fully educated common people, borrowed them into slang. Slang is speech that is normally not written down and, in terms of register, closer to dialect than to standard language. The borrowing did not occur in the border or linguistically mixed area, but rather at home, in front of television, or in some summer school in Britain. Since English surrounds us not only in electronic media, and the knowledge of this language does not suffice only within British Isles, USA, and Australia, but is also nearly sufficient in Trieste and Klagenfurt, this language (or whatever developed from it) became so-to-speak neighboring to Slovene, i.e., one of those languages from which common Slovene people borrow. This type of words therefore does not belong into a dictionary of foreignisms, regardless of how they are spelled, either the recommended way *džanki* or still as a quotation word *junkyljunkie*. They should be collected and lexicographically treated in a dictionary of slang, which Slovenes unfortunately will not have for quite some time.

V angleščino prevedla  
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#### POVZETEK

Prevzete besede se v slovenščini delijo na dve podskupini, na izposojenke in tujke. Izposojenke so tiste besede, ki jih je slovensko ljudstvo prevzelo iz narečja sosednjega jezika (italijanščine, furlanščine, nemščine, madžarščine, hrvaščine, romščine) v svoje narečje in so se od tod razširile – ali pa tudi ne – v druga slovenska narečja, knjižni jezik in ostale zvrsti. Medtem ko se prevzem izposojenke izvrši iz tujega govorjenega jezika v govorjeno slovenščino, se prevzem tujke izvrši iz tujega pisanega v slovenski pisani jezik. Ločevanje med obema podskupinama je predmet filološke analize, katere cilj je ugotoviti, ali je posamezna beseda prišla v slovenščino prek govorjenega ali prek pisanega jezika. Pri tem si lahko pomagamo z naslednjimi jezikoslovnimi merili. Prevzeta beseda je izposojenka, če vsebuje nepredvidljive glasovne spremembe, npr. premet v primeru *marajon*, ali če vsebuje narečne posebnosti jezika dajalca, npr. *pavola* < avstr.-bav. *pa(um)wolle*. Prevzeta beseda je tujka, če je prevzeta iz/prek nesolednjega jezika, npr. *renkloda* < frc. *reine-claude*, iz/prek mrtvega jezika, npr. *recesija* < lat. *recessiō*, ali če se izgovarja pod vplivom tuje pisave, npr. *klub* < agl. *club*.

Dober slovar tujk naj bi torej vseboval vse tiste slovenske besede, ki so v slovenski pisani jezik prevzete iz tujih pisanih jezikov. Izjema so le tiste besede, ki so jih slovenski izobraženci v drugi polovici 19. stoletja in kasneje prevzeli iz drugih slovanskih jezikov, predvsem z namenom, da bi v knjižnem jeziku z njimi zamenjali nezaželene nemške, redkeje romanske ali madžarske izposojenke, npr. *župnik* < hrv. *župnik*, ki je v knjižnem jeziku izpodrinil nemško izposojenko *fajmošter*. Razlog, da te besede ne sodijo v slovar tujk, je, da so se te besede več kot sto letih šolske vzgoje tako udomačile, da jih ne občutimo več kot tuje. Druga izjema k naštetim merilom so slengizmi, ki jih zlasti najstniška generacija uvaja iz nesosednje angleščine, npr. *ful* < agl. *full*. Te besede ne sodijo v slovar tujk zato, ker njihovo izhodišče ni v slovenskem pisanem jeziku, temveč v slengu, ki je po zvrsti bližje narečju kot knjižni normi.