

Borrowed non-morphemic processes of word formation as a counterexample against borrowing typologies

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This paper wants to show that the distinction between morphological MATTER borrowing and PATTERN borrowing (cf. Sakel 2007, Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015 and Gardani 2018) is not absolute. In addition, the results of the research presented here question the precise borrowing hierarchies (as proposed by a.o. Thomason and Kaufman 1988 and Thomason 2001).

Three processes of morphological borrowing from English into Dutch will be discussed: embellished clipping (*journo* < journalist), libfixing (*-topia*) and blends (*stagflation* < stagnation + inflation). All three processes are instances of non-morphemic word formation.

The Dutch data that will be discussed come from the newspaper corpus 'Delpher' that includes more than 12 million newspapers from the period 1618-1995, from the Dutch 'Etymologiebank', in which all Dutch etymological and major general dictionaries are included or are found through targeted internet searches.

Embellished clippings (Bauer & Huddleston 2002: 1636) appeared in American English for the first time recently (Hamans 2004). The data found in the Dutch corpus show that first a few English words were borrowed into Dutch by speakers with a certain, albeit limited, bilingual Anglo-Dutch competence. However, these first loans appeared in Dutch newspapers some years after their first attestation in English. Subsequently, speakers of Dutch recognised a certain similarity between these loanwords within a short period, discovered a pattern based on this similarity and used this pattern in their own language. The first attestations of new non-English forms are found only a few years after the first loans. Finally, the pattern became completely integrated into the recipient language by applying it to native bases as well.

A similar process occurred in the cases of libfixing (Zwicky 2010) and blending, although there are found a few older instances of both processes in Dutch. However, the popularity of both non-morphemic processes of word formation is very recent in Dutch. In addition, Renner (2018), claims that blends rarely appeared in languages other than English until recently. However, nowadays one finds blends not only in Dutch but also in Bulgarian, Latvian, Polish, Serbian, Slovak and Ukrainian.

The method of borrowing turns out to be the same in these three different processes: it starts with MATTER borrowing followed by PATTERN recognition and borrowing and finally resulting in integration into the recipient language. This makes it clear that the distinction between MATTER and PATTERN borrowing is not justified in the case of non-morphemic

word formation processes. Consequently, it demonstrates that these word formation processes can blur the hierarchical distance between lexical and morphological borrowing.

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