Università degli Studi di Padova

Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Letterari

Corso di Laurea Triennale Interclasse in
Lingue, Letterature e Mediazione Culturale (LTLLM)
Classe LT-11

Tesina di Laurea

Grammaticalization and loanwords: the processes that characterize them and what differentiates the two linguistic phenomena

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Anno Accademico 2023 / 2024

Acknowledgments

I sincerely thank Professor Davide Bertocci for his discernment in assisting me with choosing the right topic, his expert guidance, and his constant support throughout the development of my thesis.

To all the friends I had the fortune to meet in Padua (I will mention Sofia, Alessandro, Silvia, Maria Chiara, Marco, Niccolò, and Giacomo, but the list is longer): your friendship has been an unexpected and wonderful surprise. I am grateful for all the moments we shared, both of study and fun. I also extend my gratitude to my long-time friends -particularly Erica, Karen, Luca, Francesca, and Devis-, you have been a reliable presence, a source of encouragement and cheer; thank you also for all the times you listened to me discuss my favorite course topics or engage in academic and existential musings during the preparation for the most challenging exams.

Finally, I want to thank my brother Alberto, my parents Angela and Ezio, and my grandmother Lina for their affection, valuable advice, and unwavering support throughout this journey.

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Introduction

Exploring how we hone our language abilities reveals a fascinating and complex topic. Methods to enhance these skills include expanding one's vocabulary, paying attention to grammatical structures, pursuing effective communication, and ensuring appropriate terminology and register. Yet, these methods may differ significantly across languages due to their unique characteristics. While studying different languages, I observed linguistic features that are difficult to explore, or even perceive, through the understanding of a single language. One phenomenon that repeatedly caught my attention is the use of loanwords: how they are employed by speakers, regardless of their familiarity with the source language, and their presence in media such as advertising and news. Additionally, exploring the etymology of terms has always fascinated me and proved useful for mnemonic purposes. This interest is natural given my exposure to various university subjects like literature, philology, and linguistics, which often take a diachronic approach to language. While in my experience investigating the etymology of lexemes is common, reflecting on the historical development of purely grammatical elements is less frequent. Upon consulting with my supervisor, curiosity on this matter led me to focus on grammaticalization, as the topic of my bachelor's thesis.

While delving into the literature on grammaticalization, I noticed parallels with linguistic borrowings. These foreign words are sometimes used as they are by the speakers of the language that adopts them, while in other cases they undergo morphological or semantic changes, involving linguistic processes similar to those of grammaticalization. However, it is important to emphasize how the two phenomena operate on different levels. Grammaticalization concerns the evolution of linguistic

elements to fulfill grammatical functions. Linguistic borrowings, on the other hand, are relevant for their lexical and semantic value. They are adopted when the borrowing language lacks equally effective words or benefits from a term with a particular connotation. Despite these substantial differences, the two phenomena sometimes exhibit similar processes. This paper aims to compare them by analyzing their distinguishing features. Although the phenomena to be described are widespread across languages and have cross-linguistic applicability, this analysis will focus primarily on English. With this purpose in mind, this dissertation will preferably adopt examples of grammaticalization within the English language, and examples of borrowing adopted in English from French and Latin. To enhance understanding, however, occasional references to French as a target language or to other languages in general will also be included when particularly relevant.

In the first chapter, the concept of grammaticalization is described, defining its main theoretical aspects. The challenge in this chapter lies in understanding and describing the complexity of the phenomenon, which never operates in the exact same manner. Although common trends can be outlined, grammaticalization involves various processes that may or may not occur, and they can affect phonetic, morphological, and syntactic elements in diverse ways. Once a definition is provided, the theorization and development of the phenomenon in historical linguistics are explored, particularly focusing on the theories of Gabelentz. For comprehensiveness, some relevant processes involved are also examined, as they seemed fundamental for investigating the points of contact with linguistic borrowing. These processes are decategorialization, generalization, reduction, and above all reanalysis and analogy.

In the chapter addressing linguistic borrowing, the discussion starts again from a definition of the phenomenon. I realized that I used to conceive as linguistic borrowings mainly those that could be easily identified as such because of their foreign-sounding pronunciation. However, I quickly discovered through the diachronic approach of manuals that the subject is much broader. The chapter begins by addressing the most evident aspects of borrowing (even for those without any expertise on the topic), such as the phonetic implications in pronunciation and the socio-cultural dynamics involved in the phenomenon today. The following sections focus on the case study of French borrowings in the English language. This course proved to be interesting as it revealed a greater presence of French in English than I initially expected. The historical reasons for this are further explored, focusing on the period following the Norman Conquest of 1066, with significant attention given to the lexical impacts on modern English. The chapter concludes by focusing on the semantic changes involved in borrowing, addressing semantic and morphological calques. This discussion is relevant as it highlights how linguistic borrowing can sometimes correspond to a change, which can be semantic, morphological, or syntactic. The mechanisms of language change are pivotal for this discourse, as they act as a link for the comparison between borrowing and grammaticalization in the third chapter.

The third chapter begins by highlighting the distinctions between grammaticalization and borrowing through a parallel with Saussure's concepts of *langue* and *parole*. Subsequently, the chapter primarily focuses on three aspects: an in-depth analysis of the theoretical processes that structurally and cognitively seem to connect the

two phenomena (subjectification, layering, specialization, reanalysis, and analogy), hypothesizing whether the same linguistic element could be modified by both phenomena and finally discussing the duration of both phenomena, with the support of well-documented examples.

The aim is to delineate as comprehensively as possible the points of contact between the two phenomena. From a theoretical perspective, the dynamics of the processes involved are analyzed in detail, especially from syntactic and cognitive viewpoints, constructing parallels between grammaticalization and borrowing where possible. Following, the dissertation delineates which linguistic elements could indeed be influenced by both grammaticalization and linguistic borrowing—though not simultaneously as it is impossible, but in succession.

Chapter 1 Grammaticalization

1.1 Definition

"In any domain of meaning the number of lexical items will vastly exceed the number of grammatical morphemes. Moreover, lexical items form an open class, which can be added to indefinitely, while the inventory of grammatical morphemes is added to only very sparingly, by items originated in the lexical class." (Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 114)

Grammaticalization is a phenomenon that explains the existence and development of linguistic elements categorized as "grammatical". This chapter aims to define this process, albeit vast (as it concerns different kinds of syntactic and morphological structures), and describe some of the underlying steps that are identifiable along the transformation.

According to the broad-gauge definition offered by Hopper and Traugott (2003: 1), grammaticalization consists of lexical items and constructions occurring within particular linguistic contexts to fulfill grammatical roles, or alternatively, in grammatical items developing new grammatical functions. Lehman (2002: 11) describes it as a gradual process of change, emphasizing how its products may show distinct degrees of grammaticality. Lastly, Bybee (2003: 603) provides a definition that lays stress on frequency: "the process by which a frequently used sequence of words or morphemes becomes automated as a single processing unit".

Despite these definitions, one may still wonder: which lexical elements are prone to assume grammatical functions? Is there a criterion? Bybee et al. (1994: 9), argue that

"the lexical units entering grammaticization[1] have already undergone considerable generalization of meaning and usually represent, in the purest fashion, the basic semantic features of their domains. Thus 'come' and 'go' are the motion verbs chosen most often for grammaticization, 'do' is the dynamic transitive verb, and 'have' and 'be' are the stative verbs".

In other words, among a group of words of similar meaning or function, only those that developed a broad use and multiple definitions can enter grammaticalization. Nevertheless, this is not always the case, as there are exceptions, particularly when considering verbs associated with motion. In these instances semantic properties linked to the manner of movement are observable, that is they tend to undergo grammaticalization and become semantically lighter. An example is the Italian verb "servire", originally meaning only "to serve, to work for", currently used in modern Italian also as a necessity modal verb.

A fascinating instance of grammaticalization is that of the negative construction in the French language (Hopper & Traugott, 2003: pp.58, 116):

negative particle *ne* + verb + negative adverbial (often: *pas*).

In Old French the negative particle ne (from the Latin *non*) was sufficient to express negation, *pas* being an optional reinforcing form used with movement verbs (the meaning of *pas* is "pace, step").

Tu ne vas (pas).

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[1] Please note that in the literature there are two competing ways to refer to the same phenomenon: "grammaticalization" or "grammaticization"; while there are fair reasonings brought on both sides (Lehmann, 2002: pp.8-10), this paper will adopt the former and more established option, "grammaticalization". Nonetheless, the phrasing of some quotations may employ the latter.

You not go (step).

You don't go (a step).

Other variations in Old French were for example *mie* ("crumb") and *gote* ("drop"). *Pas* became the only form fully grammaticalized, while others have fallen out of use. It also became a negative morpheme in sentences such as *pas moi* (not me). Interestingly enough, in current spoken French *ne* can be omitted, leaving *pas* as the only negative particle in the sentence (e.g. *Je crois pas*, meaning I don't think so).

Please note that the use of negation implies a certain complexity in structure, as it involves syntactic constraints (for further exploration: the Jespersen Cycle), therefore grammaticalization serves to elucidate only a portion of this complexity.

Scholars in the field do not unanimously agree on whether grammaticalization occurs through a shift in meaning of "semantic" or "pragmatic" nature (Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 75). Recent studies in generative grammar, however, show that many phenomena of grammaticalization operate on syntactic bases: the grammaticalized elements generally seem to fix into new functions through processes of syntactic movement (from a head position to a higher-level position in the tree structure). For example, auxiliaries such as 'have' move from a head position in the verb phrase (VP) to the head of inflection when they grammaticalize as auxiliaries (Van Gelderen, 2008).

1.2 Gabelentz's metaphor of spiral and renewal

Contrary to what a transformation may intuitively consist of, grammaticalization does not operate in a linear way (from an original and old version to a modern and

definitive one); instead, it follows a spiral process. This idea is presented by Georg von der Gabelentz in his Die Sprachwissenschaft (1891: 251).

Historically, the study of grammaticalization is linked to typology studies, a branch of linguistics that focuses on the structural features of languages (in contrast to genealogical linguistics). The first typology studies, like those of Wilhelm von Humboldt in the nineteenth century, deal with the formation of grammatical signs through a theory known as "Agglutinationstheorie". Gabelentz was inspired by Humboldt in his writing on agglutination theory, through which he elaborates an explanation for grammaticalization, in that it would be "the result of two competing forces, the tendency towards ease of articulation and the tendency towards distinctness". Gabelentz's studies highlight how the tendency toward ease of articulation prompts the affixes -created through agglutination, earlier mentioned- to disappear. On the other hand, the tendency towards clarity leads to the use of new clarifying words to express the same -or similar- functions of the disappeared elements. These will be reduced once again, becoming affixes or part of compound words, and so on. Finally, the result will not be identical to the original one, but similar: that is why Gabelentz hints that a spiral fits the metaphor better, in comparison to a circle (Lehmann, 2002: 2-3).

On these conceptual premises, Hopper and Traugott introduce the concept of renewal, describing it as a factor that renders grammaticalization "a continuous occurring phenomenon" (Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 123). They argue that a model in which the cycle of grammaticalization acts fully in its reduction part "is extremely problematic, because it suggests that a stage of language can exist when it is difficult or even impossible to express some concept". Therefore, through renewal, the old element begins

to compete with a new element, rather than replacing a distinction that has been lost or is on the verge of being lost. The periphrasis allows for new and more effective expressions, overriding the old ones (Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 123).

To exemplify this, Hopper and Traugott argue that:

"Textual evidence provides strong support for this view of coexisting competing forms and constructions, rather than a cycle of loss and renewal. The perifrastic future form existed in Late Latin long before the eventual loss of future -b- and its replacement by -r-. In contemporary French and other Romance languages, the inflectional -r- future is itself in competition with aller, cf. j'irai 'I will go,' and je vais aller 'I will/plan to go'."

1.3 Decategorialization, generalization, and reduction

To be methodologically defined as an example of grammaticalization, the newly formed grammatical structure should preferably be established through repeated usage and spread across many speakers. Furthermore, it must be available in new linguistic environments - without lingering restraints from the former one (Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 38). This is due to a shift in category affiliation, to which Hopper (1991) refers as decategorialization. This is also supported by Bybee (2011: 3, in Narrog & Heine, 2011), who claims that in the context of grammaticalization, it is a typical occurrence for nouns and verbs -as lexical elements- to undergo changes in their category within constructions, transitioning into or establishing new, more grammaticalized categories.

While it is true that a grammaticalized element generally undergoes a change in category membership, and besides, in semantic and phonetic aspects, certain remnants of the initial significance persist, potentially imposing limitations on the application of the grammaticalized structure: a process known as "persistence" (Killie, 2015: 201).

Concerning the semantic changes that occur during grammaticalization, a trend opposite to that of "persistence" is evident in the case of "generalization" (mentioned in section 1.1 of this dissertation) and "reduction". Semantic generalization, as the name suggests, correlates with a generalization of the word's applicable context (Bybee and Pagliuca, 1985): the meaning weakens by losing particular features and acquires broadness in the form of contexts in which it is accepted.

"An elegant example of generalization can be found in the development of verbs signaling mental or physical ability into markers of general ability and root possibility. The meaning changes at each stage can be described as the loss of one feature of meaning (Bybee, 1988b).

can

mental ability

(i) mental enabling conditions exist in an agent for the completion of the predicate situation

general ability

(ii) enabling conditions exist in an agent for the completion of the predicate situation

root possibility

(iii) enabling conditions exist for the completion of the predicate situation"

(Bybee et al., 1994: 290)

The abovementioned loss of features, or components of meaning, is called semantic reduction. According to Bybee et al. (1994: 6), it is in "explicit parallel to the phonological reduction which grammaticizing material undergoes. Other terms used for this process are bleaching (Givón 1975) and erosion (Lehmann 1982; Heine and Reh 1984)".

Lehman (2002; 114) features as bleaching the evolution of the Latin preposition "dē," originally denoting a delative motion, where "delative" designates a movement "down from (the top)". In the development of Romance languages, the delative

component was lost, leaving the ablative meaning 'from.' The transformation into French "de" further saw the attrition of the motion component, resulting in the reduction of ablative to the genitive 'of.' This process illustrates the gradual loss of specific semantic elements, moving from a concrete indication of motion to a more abstract notion of a relation between entities.

It is crucial to emphasize that parallel to semantic reduction, there is an acquisition of new traits of a functional kind. This is consistent with the increased 'generality' of the grammaticalized element, which can be applied in a greater number of contexts precisely because it is 'elevated' to a higher functional level. Bybee (1985) states that morphological elements in the inflectional domain exhibit lower prominence in contrast to lexical morphemes. However, they possess greater 'generalizability,' expressing more grammatical and contextual properties, thereby enabling their combination with entire classes of lexemes.

In brief, semantic erosion refers to the gradual narrowing or reduction of meanings associated with a word over time, resulting in a more specialized semantic scope; in contrast, phonetic erosion involves the gradual loss or alteration of sounds within a language, often leading to the simplification of pronunciation.

It is important to observe that phonetic erosion (or phonetic reduction) and semantic bleaching (or semantic reduction) can manifest independently of each other. Joseph (2011: 2, in Narrog & Heine, 2011) stresses this aspect and presents the following examples: "Old English scīrgerēfa 'shire-reeve' ⟩ Modern English sheriff" in which only the former occurs, and "kind of/sort of", in which only the latter occurs:

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"[O]riginally (a) kind/sort of, a noun + preposition modifier, originally with other nouns (e.g. John is (a) kind/sort of a fool), but now with all kinds of words, e.g. I only kind of (sort of) believe you; importantly, even though reduced forms kinda/sorta occur, the more grammatical use occurs with the unreduced form (kind of/sort of) and the reduced form, so reduction does not correlate directly with grammatical use."

Finally, Heine et al. (1991: 214), present two possible factors accountable for phonetic erosion:

"One is described by Givon (1990) as the quantity principle, a principle of iconic coding according to which a larger chunk of information will be given a larger chunk of code: since lexical forms contain more information than grammatical forms, the chunk of code employed for their expression is likely to be reduced when they are grammaticalized. The second factor relates to relative frequency of use: the higher frequency of use of grammatical morphemes favors what Gabelentz ([1891] 1901) has called the Abnutzung (abrasion) of their phonetic substance (Heine 1990)."

This passage bears relevance as it underscores the impact of frequency on both the triggering and the automatization of modification to words (a concept previously discussed in Chapter 1.1 within the framework of grammaticalization and its definitions).

In addition to the principle of quantity and the frequency of use proposed by Heine et al., another factor that should be taken into account is the position occupied by grammaticalized elements within the morpho-syntactic structure. This can, in fact, be linked to processes of cliticization which are, in turn, connected to phonetic reduction.

1.4 The unidirectionality hypothesis

Having discussed the concept of spiral, with an account of its origin in historical literature, and some of the key processes intrinsic to grammaticalization, it is now necessary to discuss another element that suggests a "tendency" or a "direction" in this transformation.

"The unidirectionality hypothesis is fundamentally an assertion about the orderliness and tractability of semantic change. Our conception of grammaticization in terms of the evolution of semantic and

phonetic substance is the result of repeated observations about what does and does not seem to occur in languages throughout the world." (Bybee et al., 1994: 31)

Hopper & Traugott (2003: 103) describe unidirectionality as a cline of structural properties: a transition from a "heavier" morphological unit to a lighter one, in which reduction and decategorialization play a fundamental role.

The morphological transition is accompanied by a phonological change, in which the sound tends to undergo a reduction in both distinctness and length. Frequency has an important role in this process (Bybee, 2003: 603): the repetition of an expression, together with the depletion of speech act and automatization as a chunk, leads to phonological reduction (Haiman, 1994), e.g. be going to > be gonna, isn't it > innit (Traugott, 2011: 6, in Narrog & Heine, 2011).

Decategorialization, as a change in category, does not indicate per se a decay or deterioration of form. Hopper & Traugott (2003: 104) illustrate it as a "functional shift from one kind of role to another" that when occurs, follows a passage from major to minor categories. The major categories consist of nouns and verbs (described as lexically "open"), halfway of the cline of categoriality are adjectives and adverbs, whereas the minor categories include for example conjunction and auxiliary verbs (described as relatively "closed"). They hypothesize that, diachronically, minor categories originated from major ones.

The conjunction *while* is mentioned to exemplify this point: the noun *while* (meaning a length of time, still used in expressions like "Give me a while") underwent grammaticalization. As conjunction, *while* has lost some "prerogatives" of nouns -like taking articles and quantifiers or serving as a subject-, concurrently it obtained "an ability to link clauses and indicate temporal relationship in discourse".

1.5 Reanalysis and analogy

Reanalysis, involving the cognitive process of reinterpreting and restructuring linguistic elements, leads to a shift in their syntactic or morphological roles. Langacker (1977: 58) defines it as "change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation". In semantic reanalysis, an old message undergoes restructuring. An example of this phenomenon is the emergence of the noun phrase "the premises" to refer to houses and buildings. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), the term "premise" originally served as an anaphoric element, denoting matters or things mentioned previously, particularly in legal contexts. In stereotypical advertising, this anaphoric element was adapted to refer to houses. (Eckardt, 2011).

Grammaticalization and reanalysis often accompany one another, and they can both operate by raising the abstraction of a concept (Heine et al. 1991: 217), however, they are distinct phenomena. In this passage, Traugott discusses what differentiates the two:

> "Grammaticalization and reanalysis intersect but are independent. Arguments put forward for their independence include the fact that: (a) grammaticalization is unidirectional but reanalysis is not, (b) reanalysis does not imply loss of autonomy or of information, (c) reanalysis consists of two stages, whereas grammaticalization is a sequence S1, S2...Sn, and (d) reanalysis is not gradual (C. Lehmann 2004). [...] Grammaticalization is a subtype of reanalysis (i.e. an epiphenomenon of it), and reanalysis itself is an epiphenomenon of child language acquisition: 'the notion of Diachronic Reanalysis is derivative of aspects of the process of language acquisition."
>
> (Traugott, 2011: 3, in Narrog & Heine, 2011)

Let us now consider some practical examples of reanalysis. Hopper & Traugott (2003: pp.40-41) claim that a very frequent case is fusion: "the merge of two or more forms across word or morphological boundaries". A particular case of fusion is compounding, it includes the development of many highly productive derivational affixes in present-day English like –hood, -doom, and -ly. These affixes (respectively derived

from the nouns "condition", "realm", and "likeness") were compounded with other nouns. Therefore, Hopper & Traugott offer as an example of reanalysis the development of nouns like "childhood", "freedom" and "manly", originated in the following manner:

> "cild-had 'condition of a child' > childhood
>
> freo-dom 'realm of freedom' > freedom
>
> man-lic '[...]likeness of a man > manly'"

Many morphologists, however, conceive of reanalysis in a broader sense, encompassing all processes in which an opaque sequence is reinterpreted to ensure transparency in the relationship between forms and meanings. This results in the 'extraction' of innovative morphological sequences, for instance, the Italian first person plural ending -iamo being reanalyzed from the sequence -(i)a- (thematic vowel) + -mo (first person plural), becoming the first person plural ending for all verb classes. According to this approach, therefore, instances such as those previously cited (where there is no issue of opacity in form/function) can be regarded, overall, as examples of grammaticalization.

Analogy represents a specific category within the framework of renalysis. It refers to the extension of a linguistic pattern or structure from one context to another based on perceived similarity, simplifying language systems and aiding in the regularization of grammatical forms. According to Hopper & Traugott (2003: 61), "analogy essentially involves pragmatic organization, change in surface collocation, and in patterns of use. Analogy makes the unobservable changes of reanalysis observable". Fischer (2011: 03, in Narrog & Heine, 2011) stresses that "analogy is used to categorize, and that categorization involves both concrete and abstract linguistic signs. [...] [I]t is an important

mechanism in language acquisition (cf. Slobin 1985; Tomasello 2003) and in the processing of language in general (cf. Berg 1998)."

A notable example of analogy in American English is seen in the transformation of the phrase "a napron" to "an apron." Originating from the Old French term "naperon," meaning a small cloth, a misinterpretation occurred in Middle English, prompting a reanalysis of the phrase and subsequently leading to an adjustment in the accompanying indefinite article. Please note that this is a case of reanalysis that does not cooccur with grammaticalization.

The most typical form of analogy, however, is one that modifies a sequence by establishing a regular relationship with a paradigm serving as a model. As an example, children may occasionally produce a form such as "foots" instead of "feet" (Esper, 1973: 184). This involves two essential elements: firstly, the inclination to identify regular and uniform segments, and secondly, the presence not of isolated elements but of those integrated into a paradigm (Dressler; Anttila).

In the context of grammaticalization, analogy contributes to the regularization and simplification of emerging grammatical forms. As language users analogically extend patterns from more established elements to less established ones, a cohesive and systematic grammatical system gradually emerges. Fischer discusses how analogy operates by creating new forms, through a process called analogical extension that is observable in incorrect forms of the English verb paradigm. In this particular instance, the result is brought by both analogical extension and reanalysis.

"[L]ike grammaticalization and conversion it [(i.e. analogical extension)] is also based on pattern recognition and categorization. When a speaker uses brung rather than brought, or shaked rather

than shook, there is no question of reanalysis. He uses past tense brung because it fits another past tense pattern: rung, stung, etc., which happens to be far more frequent than the pattern of brought. The important point about analogical extension is that it occurs proportionally." (Fischer, 2011: 03, in Narrog & Heine, 2011)

Chapter 2 Borrowing

2.1 Definition

> "Many of the new words have been taken over ready-made from the people from whom the idea or the thing designated has been obtained. Thus from French come àperitif, chauffeur, chiffon, consommé and garage; from Italian come ciao, confetti and vendetta" (Baugh & Cable, 2013: 296)

The topic discussed in this second chapter is "borrowing" (or "loan"). While the term borrowing points to the general phenomenon, the expressions it refers to are called "loan words". Both terms are self-explanatory, suggesting a relationship with the verbs "loan" and "borrow". To be borrowed are foreign words: a term acquires relevance in use across language and becomes commonly accepted or established in one or more other languages than the one it originally stems from. Treffers-Daller defines borrowing as "the incorporation of features of one language into another" (Fried et al., 2010: 17).

This chapter aims to introduce borrowing, elucidating its pertaining characteristics, and to explore some of the contexts and causes leading to it, such as social dynamics, geographic proximity, or situations of bilingualism.

2.2 Borrowing and phonology

Given the inherent variation in pronunciation across languages, it is conceivable that the process of borrowing may be impacted by this factor. More specifically, the realization of a particular phoneme may change while transitioning from one language to another. "Thus, when speakers of English pronounce the French expression *déjà vu*, they may or may not be successful in realizing the French front rounded vowel [ü], which does not belong to the inventory of English phonemes. Many speakers will substitute [ü] with native [u]" (Fried et al., 2010: 24).

Treffers-Daller (Fried et al., 2010: 4) mentions that many authors[2] acknowledge a significant variability in loanwords pronunciation, depending on the characteristics of the speaker (e.g. age, bilingual ability). They further state that the pronunciation of extensively utilized loanwords, assimilated into the borrowing language at an early stage, frequently reflects the phonetic characteristics of the borrowing language. In contrast, loanwords of a more recent origin and less commonly encountered often exhibit a pronunciation more closely aligned with that of the source language.

2.3 Contemporary public controversy on borrowing

This subchapter shares some reflections on how the most recent cases of borrowing can influence the perception we have of language. It is important to stress however, that loanwords are not only relevant to contemporary language: as a matter of fact, borrowing has always acted as a tool for the creation of new vocabulary, just as compounding (mentioned in Chapter 1) or affixation.

Impactful and long-lasting borrowings are those that stay in use long enough to be unanimously accepted (becoming an entry in dictionaries could not be enough to fall in this category, but it is a starting point) and finally be confused with endemic vocabulary by non-experts. Spontaneous awareness of the use of borrowing is therefore not always granted. Loans can be introduced and circulate for practical reasons. Loanwords are frequent in scholarly or specialized fields, as they are able to convey succinctly specific concepts or technical notions. This is the case of Scientific English (Bynon, 1999: 229), which in many cases uses a "Neo-Latin" basis as a means to create new terminology from Latin lexical resources (e.g. to dehydrate, to chlorinate, to encapsulate).

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[2] Haugen (1950: 222), Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) and Thomanson and Kaufman (1988)

In some cases, however, borrowing can be enhanced or challenged by conscious choices of the speaker or by external factors that encourage certain linguistic behavior, this helps terms to enter use or die out in relatively short periods of time. That is often the case for loanwords that are perceived by the speaker as foreign or exotic, therefore - depending on the case- they may be considered emphatic but out of place in a consultative or a formal register, or on the contrary, be used to refine someone's speech or make it more appealing. An example of the former is agrammatical and slang expressions that combine foreign terms and native grammatical structures (e.g. *bruncher* in French, or *ghostare* in Italian, using respectively the English nouns *brunch* and *ghost* with French and Italian infinitive form), an example of the latter is the use of well-known foreign aphorisms like the Latin "De gustibus non disputandum est" or the use of English expressions in non-English advertising slogans.

Fried et al. (2010: 205) analyze language mixing in conversation and point out "code-mixing" and "code-switching" as established terms for mixing in adult language, they also refer to the term "insertion" for such distinctions, in particular when employing lexical material from L2 in a L1 sentence framework. Moreover, they emphasize how "[s]peech situation and topic are important factors influencing the choices of code that speakers make. It is accepted that speakers' choices may involve complex strategies of accommodation to a variety of factors, including the identity and relative prestige of the interlocutor as well as the setting and topic (Gardner-Chloros 1991)".

A common occurrence of "insertion" is the adoption of English words in other languages because of its widespread use as lingua franca. This is cause for debate and it is frowned upon by those who consider it to be too frequent and pervasive.

The French policy on this matter is an interesting case of how active approaches have been taken in contemporary times. The aim is to withstand the risk of an uncontrolled growth of the use of foreign terms. An example of this policy is the Toubon Law from 1994, which regulates the use of the French language in an official context. A second example is the creation in 1966 of the "Haut Comité" for the defense and expansion of the French language, which name and functions evolved through the years until its most recent -and current- version in 2011: the "Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France". Its organisms have various missions, including establishing terminology commissions in each ministry; these commissions are tasked with proposing terms to replace anglicisms that become established in their respective sectors (Depecker, 2001). Efficacy of such measures asides, John Humbley, author of "La politique francophone à l'égard des anglicismes" (Marazzini & Petralli, 2015), suggests focusing not on the result of contrasting anglicisms, but on promoting the ability to form neologisms inside of the national language (with a focus on words linked to modernity).

Notwithstanding the foregoing, French uses anglicisms, including curious terms like "footing" (meaning "jogging", the expression "jogging" is now predominant also in French). In the original English expression "jogging", the verb "jog" undergoes nominalization (through the addition of –ing). By analogy, "footing" seems to have undergone a similar process of nominalization, the problem being that in English the verb "foot" does not mean to jog or run, if anything, to go on foot.
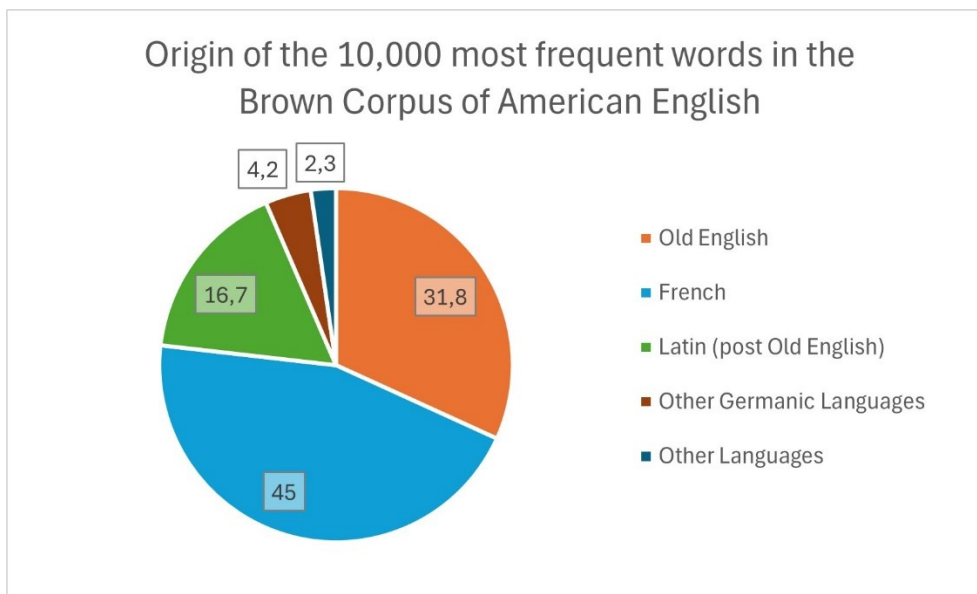
2.4 French loanwords in the English language

In the next sections, the focus will not be on English as the source, but as the recipient of loanwords. English has absorbed, directly or indirectly, many Latin words and now shares much in common with Romance languages, despite classifying as a Germanic language (Baugh & Cable, 2013: 9). Furthermore, English exhibits borrowings from numerous languages. According to Baugh & Cable (2013: 9):

> "Instead of making new words chiefly by the combination of existing elements, as German does, English has shown a marked tendency to go outside its linguistic resources and borrow from other languages. In the course of centuries of this practice, English has built up an unusual capacity for assimilating outside elements. We do not feel that there is anything "foreign" about the words *chipmunk*, *hominy*, *moose*, *raccoon*, and *skunk*, all of which we have borrowed from the native american. We are not conscious that the words *brandy*, *cruller*, *landscape*, *measles*, *uproar*, and *wagon* are from Dutch. And so it is with many other words in daily use."

Among the various languages that influenced the English vocabulary, however, French has had a strikingly meaningful impact, if compared to others. According to Aarts & McMahon (2006: 467), the origin of the 10,000 most frequent words in the Brown Corpus (the first text corpus of American English), can be delineated as follows:

Old English	31.8 %
French	45 %
Latin (post Old English)	16.7 %
Other Germanic languages	4.2 %
Other Languages	2.3 %

Origin of the 10,000 most frequent words in the Brown Corpus of American English

- Old English — 31,8
- French — 45
- Latin (post Old English) — 16,7
- Other Germanic Languages — 4,2
- Other Languages — 2,3

The relevance of phonology on loans was addressed in section 2.2. In this regard, it is relevant to provide further clarification on the specific circumstances surrounding the incorporation of French vocabulary into the English language: despite its profound impact on the lexicon, English exhibits minimal structural interference from French (Fried et al., 2010: 24). This, as asserted by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 124), demonstrates that the influx of a substantial number of loanwords does not necessarily significantly affect the phonological system of the language receiving the loans.

> "French loanwords did not introduce any new phone at all into English, according to Thomanson and Kaufman, even though formerly allophonic distinctions, such as the distinctions between [f] and [v], were phonemicized in Middle English under the influence of French. In other language contact situations the phonological system of the borrowing language can be changed dramatically, as the case of Asia Minor Greek (Dawkins 1916, in Thomason & Kaufman 1988) illustrates." (Fried et al., 2010: 24)

2.5 The Norman conquest as a cause of borrowing from French to English

The factors contributing to the substantial presence of French remnants in contemporary English are rooted in historical events. Particularly significant among these factors is the manner in which French and English languages came into contact in England, as summarised by Blake (1992: 5):

> "French at both the spoken and written level existed at first in England in that variety known today as Anglo-Norman. It was used in literary works, official documents and religious writings. Anglo-Norman, the aristocratic vernacular used in England, gave way during the early thirteenth century to Anglo-French, which was essentially an administrative language which had to be acquired as a foreign language by the English."

The decision to concentrate upon these specific events in this chapter is linked first and foremost to the impact they left on the English vocabulary (analyzed in section 2.7), secondly, they serve as illustrative examples of sociolinguistic dynamics (analyzed in section 2.8), within the context of language change arising from contact between languages and/or situations of bilingualism. In both instances, the focus will be on borrowing and on its role in shaping linguistic outcomes.

Integral to the formation of Anglo-Norman is the Norman Conquest in 1066, marking the arrival of an influential French-speaking cluster of people in England at the onset of the 11th century. This is how Baugh & Cable (2013: 104) effectively describe its relevance:

> "Toward the close of the Old English period, an event occurred that had a greater effect on the English language than any other in the course of history. This event was the Norman Conquest in 1066. What the language would have been like if William the Conqueror had not succeeded in making good his claim to the English throne can only be a matter of conjecture. It would probably have pursued much the same course as the other Germanic languages, retaining perhaps more of its inflections and preserving a predominantly Germanic vocabulary, adding to its word-stock by the characteristic methods of word formation [...] and incorporating words from other languages much

less freely. In particular, it would have lacked the greater part of that enormous number of French words that today make English seem, on the side of vocabulary, almost as much a Romance as a Germanic language."

The stage for the Norman Conquest was set by the death of Edward the Confessor in 1066, triggering a succession crisis. Edward had no direct heirs, leading to competing claims to the English throne. One contender was Harold Godwinson, an English nobleman, and the other was William, Duke of Normandy in northern France.

The toponym Normandy originates from the communities of Northmen settling along the northern coastline of France, opposite England, in the 9th and 10th centuries. The Normans, leveraged their distinctive Scandinavian trait of adaptability by promptly assimilating the customs and language of the communities in which they settled. They profited from their interactions with the French military, learning new tactics and enhancing their own army; they also incorporated significant aspects of Frankish law (Baugh & Cable, 2013: pp.104-105). Normandy and England had a fairly close relationship in the years before the Norman Conquest:

> "In 1002, Æthelred the Unready had married a Norman wife and, when driven into exile by the Danes, took refuge with his brother-in-law, the duke of Normandy. His son Edward, who had thus been brought up in France, was almost more French than England. At all events, when in 1042 the Danish line died out and Edward, known as the Confessor, was restored to the throne from which his father had been driven, he brought with him a number of his Norman friends, enriched them, and gave them important places in the government. A strong French atmosphere pervaded the English court during the twenty-four years of his reign." (Baugh & Cable, 2013: 105)

Prior to the Conquest, England had been shaped by the Old English language, a Germanic tongue spoken by the Anglo-Saxons. In contrast, the Normans spoke a variety of Old French known as Norman French. William and his Norman followers, victorious at the Battle of Hastings in 1066, ascended to power. They entered the ruling elite and enforced their language, influencing the language of the court, administration, and higher tiers of society.

The utilisation of the Norman ruling class's native language in England persisted for an extended period, spanning approximately 200 years subsequent to the Norman Conquest. While the initial reliance on their native language was rooted in their unfamiliarity with English, the ruling class exhibited a sustained preference for French without a deliberate policy to acquire proficiency in English. This linguistic preference endured despite a gradual acquisition of some knowledge of English over time. In the early years post-conquest, those who spoke French were predominantly of Norman origin. However, through intermarriage and increased association with the ruling class, individuals of English extraction soon recognized the advantages of acquiring proficiency in the new language. As a result, the linguistic distinction between French and English speakers shifted from being primarily ethnic to largely social. This transformation highlighted a notable social dynamic, where language proficiency became a marker of status and association with the ruling class. While French remained the language of choice among the upper class, English persisted as the language of the mass (Baugh & Cable, 2013: 110).

Functional bilingualism in French and English existed to some extent in everyday interactions. However, within the broader social framework of the Norman settlement, a comprehensive proficiency in both languages was only essential at specific junctures involving interactions between the ruling elite and the general population. Consequently, such bilingualism may not have been widely prevalent. One notable point of contact likely occurred between landowners and the labourers tending to the land (Blake, 1992: 424).

English has eventually reasserted its position as the predominant language in England and the parliament reinstated its use in 1362 (Luraghi, 2011: 275). The cessation

of the use of French, however, was not abrupt. This is how Blake (1992: 427) delineates the diminishing presence of French as a vernacular language:

> "All that can be stated with certainty is that the decline of French as a vernacular language was a gradual process, commencing in some quarters within two or three generations of the Conquest, being hastened by the loss of Normandy in 1204, and its progress being marked by the appearance of grammar books and word lists, as well as by the hiring of French tutors by gentlemen in the mid-thirteenth century. By the end of that century very few families remained who could claim to have maintained their tradition of French speaking from earliest days, and indeed during the latter half of the thirteenth century, the domination of the French of Paris over all other regional forms of French established a newly prestigious variety which had to be consciously learned by any born outside of the francien area. This co-existed with that Anglo-French which had developed as a technical language in administrative and legal circles."

The 13th century witnessed a shift in the use of French and English. It is in this century that the extensive knowledge of both languages facilitated increased linguistic borrowing. Baugh & Cable (2013: 129) explain that the upper class largely retained the use of French (consistently with the preceding century), but the rationale behind this choice changed: as the century progressed, French transitioned into a refined language endorsed by social norms, business practices, and administrative conventions. Simultaneously, English steadily gained ground. Subsequently, they argue: "It is at this time [...] that the adoption of French words into the English language assumes large proportions. The transference of words occurs when those who know French and have been accustomed to use it try to express themselves in English."

By the close of the century the custom to speak English was growing stronger, even in conservative institutions such as Universities and Church, and attempts to arrest the decline of French were made. During the last decades of the 13th century Benedictine monasteries implemented regulations to encourage novices to converse in French or Latin, while forbidding the use of English; this was also the case in universities such as Oxford, where a fourteenth-century statute prescribed students to provide a translation of their work in both English and French, with the explicit intent to keep the latter in use.

English was generally adopted in the fourteenth century: by the beginning of the century it was spoken by most people, with a continued decline in the use of French, even by nobility. The fifteenth century saw an increase in the ignorance of French: in this century the ability to speak it was in fact considered an accomplishment (Baugh & Cable, 2013: pp.122-151).

2.6 French semantic influence on Modern English vocabulary

This section aims to explore the wide-ranging semantic areas influenced by French and provide lists of English words of present use to concretely illustrate its influence.

To enhance contextual understanding, it is useful to state that the language in use at the time is what we currently refer to as Middle English. Middle English marks the English Language adopted in the time period ranging from 1066 to 1485[3]:

> "Traditionally, the start of Middle English is dated in 1066 with the Norman Conquest and its finish in 1485 with the accession of Henry VII, the first Tudor monarch. Both dates are political and historical, and the events they represent may have an impact on the development of the English language in the longer term but they are hardly appropriate as guides to the dating of periods in it. [...] The period is called "Middle" English because it falls between Old and Modern English." (Blake, 1992: 1)

Blake (1992: 429) mentions the presence of loan words from French in pre-Conquest documents: terms like "castel" (castle) or "prūd" (valiant), that mirror the taste of aristocratic speakers. However, Blake (1992: 431) points out that "it is apparent that the density of French loans increases with the passage of time, the rate of new adoptions into English reaching a peak in the second half of the fourteenth century as the uses of French were eroded by English."

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[3] Scholarly opinions vary. Other sources like Baugh & Cable (2013: 152), or the Oxford English Dictionary chronologically place Middle English in the time period ranging from 1150 to 1500.

Baugh & Cable (2013: pp.163-169) list different semantic areas showing French influence on Modern English vocabulary: governmental and administrative words, ecclesiastical words, law, army and navy, continuing with fashion, meals and social life, and finally art, learning and medicine. Following is a list of some of these terms, categorized into the previously mentioned semantic areas:

Governmental and administrative words	Government, crown, state, empire, authority, treaty, chancellor, mayor, noble, peer, prince, queen, lord, count, countess, baron, squire, vassal, peasant, slave, tyrant, etc.
Ecclesiastical words	Religion, theology, sermon, confession, prayer, lesson, passion, clergy, pastor, abbess, novice, hermit, sacrilege, redemption, immortality, virgin, saint, miracle, preach, pray, chant, etc.
Law	Plea, suit, defendant, judge, felon, evidence, proof, accuse, condemn, convict, award, perjury, fine, adultery, property, estate, tenant, dower, legacy, patrimony, heritage, etc.
Army and navy	Army, navy, peace, enemy, battle, ambush, stratagem, retreat, soldier, garrison, guard, captain, lieutenant, dart, lance, archer, chieftain, brandish, vanquish, besiege, defend, etc.
Fashion, meals, and social life	Attire, robe, vermilion, dinner, supper, feast, salmon, toast, herb, vinegar, plate, solace, leisure, dance, melody, chess, minstrel, falcon, heron, covert, warren, etc.

Art, learning, and medicine	Art, music, beauty, image, porch, bay, column, pillar, study, logic, geometry, grammar, chapter, parchment, ague, pain, palsy, anatomy, pulse, balm, pellet, etc.

After listing a greatly long list of loanwords referring to table delicacies, Blake (1992: 167) sardonically remarks "It is melancholy to think what the English dinner table would have been like had there been no Norman Conquest".

It is meaningful to highlight how among the loans occurring in the depicted period two stages can be observed, with the year 1250 as the approximate dividing line. Roughly 900 words appear before that date, "many of them were such as the lower class would become familiar with through contact with a French-speaking nobility" (e.g. baron, noble, messenger). After 1250 borrowing was encouraged by a powerful factor: the increasing use of English by French speakers. Whether because of deficiencies in English terminology or due to familiarity with French vocabulary, the upper classes incorporated a remarkable quantity of common French words into the English language (Blake,1992: 167).

2.7 Borrowing and sociolinguistic conditions in historical linguistics

"Borrowing goes predominantly from the upper language to the lower language, that is from the culturally politically or economically dominant language speakers to the speakers of the less prestigious language" (Fried et al., 2010: 21)

As aforementioned, French emerged as the language spoken by a relatively small yet politically and economically dominant segment of the population for a span of three centuries. Subsequently, English regained its status as the primary language. This resurgence of English was facilitated by its sustained usage within the broader population

(who finally also regained political relevance), as French remained confined to a limited number of individuals, predominantly employed in specific semantic domains. Lehman (1998: 309) offers an example of this by listing the terms, still currently in use, used to refer to animals and their meat. They reflect the relationship between the Normans and the English subjugated population: on one hand, the nouns of the domesticated animal are german originated terminology ("ox", "calf", "sheep" and "swine"), on the other hand, the terms used to refer to their meat stem from French ("beef", "veal", "mutton" and "pork"). According to Lehmann (1998: pp. 308-310), the English language of the 11th century falls within a certain dynamic observed by sociolinguistics, in which French is the "superstratum" (the language of prestige), opposed to English, the "substratum" (the language of lesser prestige, gradually replaced). Loans are a byproduct of the simultaneous presence of a language of prestige and the indigenous language. Another possible outcome is the demise of the substratum. Lehmann illustrates the case of Celtic languages, present in England before English. English replaced the Celtic substratum varieties, with remnants now primarily discernable in toponyms (e.g. Thames, London).

After illustrating the case of loans resulting from the contact between languages of different statuses, let us consider a third case: borrowing between languages of similar prestige. They are to be referred to as "adstratum". Lehman exemplifies this third scenario with the coexistence of the English and Nordic languages between the 9th and 11th centuries. Eventually, the Nordic disappeared, albeit not before exerting a considerable influence on the English language in terms of borrowing (especially if compared to Celtic). Borrowing, in this case, is not limited to terminology related to the dominant class but presents words of everyday use, among which nouns (e.g. "gift", "husband", "root", "skill", "skin", "sky", "wing"), adjectives (e.g. "happy", "low", "same", "loose",

"wrong") and verbs (e.g. "call", "hit", "take", "want"). Lehman also stresses the presence among these loans of grammatical words, for instance, pronouns "they", "them" and "their" (which substituted older forms), and given the modification of such central elements of the vocabulary, he further hypotheses that Nordic may be among the causes of morphological simplification of English.

2.8 Borrowing and semantic change

Borrowing can reproduce terminology based on foreign native material. This is the case for semantic calques and morphological calques (Lehmann, 1998: pp.305-306). In the former case, the target language replicates the syntactic functions or constructions of the source language. An example of semantic calque is the English word "skyscraper", which translates as "Wolkenkratzer" in German and as "grattacielo" in Italian. In the latter case, the word already exists in the vocabulary and gains a new meaning due to the semantic influence of a similar word in another language. An example of semantic calque is the word "mouse", used first in English to refer to the computer device for its resemblance to the small animal, and later imitated in other languages like French ("souris") or Spanish ("ratón"). Interestingly, the English word "mouse" distinguishes the mammal from the device in its plural form (respectively "mice" and "mouses"), while French and Spanish do not.

Similarly to semantic calques, phraseological calques translate idiomatic expressions or sets of lexical items. An example is the English expression "to take leave", translated from the French expression "prendre congé". There are many English expressions influenced by the French language: "*to draw near*, *to hold one's peace*, *to*

come to a head, *to do justice*, or *make believe*, *hand to hand*, *on the point of*, *according to*, *subject to*, *at large*, *by heart*, *in vain*, and *without fail*" (Baugh & Cable, 2013: 169).

Finally, Lehmann (1998: 306) suggests that to understand various types of borrowing it is relevant to know the extent of fluency wielded by speakers of the receiving language in regard to the language from which the loanword originates. This is because the phonological adaptation of the loan is largely determined by the knowledge that speakers have acquired from a second language, particularly in cases where no specific conventions for borrowing have been established. In this context, an instance of phonological modification is the word *menu*, from the French *menu*, in which the final /y/ sound is expressed with /u:/ in English.

Chapter 3 Comparison between grammaticalization and borrowing

3.1 *Langue* and *parole*

Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) was a Swiss linguist and semiotician. He is best known for his influential work "Course in General Linguistics," which was published posthumously by his students. The concepts he introduced (e.g. the distinction between synchronic and diachronic analysis; the linguistic sign, consisting of the "signifier" and the "signified") had a lasting impact on the study of language and communication. This chapter, however, will focus on his definition of *langue* and *parole*. According to Lehmann (1998: 59) "Saussure viewed language as a social construct entrusted to the community of speakers. He categorized the linguistic phenomenon itself as "langage," the underlying abstract structure as "langue," and the concrete linguistic act as "parole"." Therefore, *parole* represents the concrete and the individual, while *langue* represents the social and the abstract as a collective system on which the singular acts of speech are based. The distinction operated by these definitions is relevant to the general discourse of this dissertation if we compare it to the different ways in which grammaticalization and borrowing operate.

Grammaticalization originates within the system, as it involves considerable semantics and syntax, and to a lesser extent, phonological changes as output. Therefore, it is inherently systemic in nature. Grammaticalization operates endogenously and it is closely tied to the concept of *langue*. To be recognized as grammaticalized, an element needs to be noticeable across different stages of its development (otherwise, it might just be a case of reanalysis. See Chapter 1.5). These stages involve alterations arising from

systematic interactions with syntactically analogous co-text. Such observations underscore the profound relevance between grammaticalization and syntactic elements.

> "Diewald argues that what characterizes grammatical elements is that they are 'relational', i.e. they point to something outside themselves" (Killie, 2015).

Borrowing could be associated with Saussure's concept of *parole* if we consider a loanword as an entity that influences the linguistic act, pertaining to how someone expresses themselves. Regardless, for an individual loanword to be part of the collective lexicon, it has to become a shared sign, hence, a fact of *langue*.

Thereafter, it may undergo varying degrees of morphologization; for instance, a verb borrowed from another language can acquire inflections and give rise to new words. As further proof of its systemic nature, however, borrowing is often a semantically autonomous or concrete element, not necessarily integrated into the system (thus, not necessarily establishing syntagmatic or paradigmatic relationships).

English verbs borrowed from other languages offer many examples of acquired inflections and similar mechanisms: in informal Italian, the verb *to scroll (the screen)* becomes *scrollare* in the infinitive form, while *to log in* becomes a reflexive form: *loggarsi*; they are conjugated with regular Italian verb endings. In the German sentence *Ich verscrolle mich* (meaning: I make a mistake while scrolling), the English verb *to scroll* becomes reflexive in German and acquires the prefix *ver-* (which adds the act of making a mistake to the original verb meaning). Another example in German is the sentence *Er ist abtörnend* (meaning: he is off-putting), where we can observe the borrowing of the

English verb *to turn off*[4]. The verbal root transforms from *turn* to *törn* (see Chapter 2.2 on phonology) and follows the regular conjugation of the German gerund, while the preposition *off* translates to the prefix *ab-*.

3.2 Similar processes of grammaticalization and borrowing

The adoption of foreign words is motivated by communicative advantages (see Chapter 2), whether it allows for summarizing a longer expression into a single word, adding a particular connotation to a traditional term, or aligning the use of lexicon with what is socially perceived as appropriate to the chosen register. Therefore, from the point of view of the speaker, a loan word acquires a value that justify its use. This value is the result of a cognitive shift, a dissociation between the conceptual representation that the speaker has of the traditional term and the conceptual representation of the borrowed term. For instance, the French expression *haute couture* (Landmann, 2023: 74) is a loanword used in many languages and it translates to English as "high dressmaking" or "high sewing". The expression refers to the creation of exclusive and quality fashion, and it retains so much meaning from its historical use in design and fashion, that nowadays the term holds legal significance in France. In this case, the value previously mentioned consists of a traditional and cultural connotation closely tied to the French terminology, that the English counterpart could not retain through literal translation. However, this is not always the case: if the amount of dissociation previously mentioned is negligible, the borrowing and the traditional term may develop into two perfectly interchangeable synonyms (e.g. in Italian: weekend and *fine settimana*).

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[4] The German verb *abtörnen*, resulting from the borrowing of the English phrasal verb *to turn off*, means "making someone feel that they are not attracted to you sexually" and it does not preserve the meaning of "making electrical equipment stop operating".

The more a loanword is widespread, the more it is established. For instance, *rosé wine* (a gallicism) is an established expression, preferred over *pink wine* in English. Similarly, the anglicism *joystick* is preferred over the preposterous alternative *telecomando da gioco* in Italian.

Therefore using a loanword (after choosing it for its specific value or connotation), allows the speaker to grow a sense of personal perception of the term (especially in an informal register), if compared to the endemic counterpart or the original use of the term in its source language. That is the case for the earlier stages of pseudo-anglicisms, when the expression is yet not established in the target language (and therefore the difference from English is conspicuous, without the interference of acquired familiarity with the "wrong" alternative). Onysko (2007) defines pseudo-anglicisms as "neologisms derived from English language material". Some instances in Italian are *agility dog*, *video clip* and *happy end* (in English they translate, respectively, as dog agility, music video, and happy ending). Arguably, in Italian informal language allows the impromptu creation by analogy of compound nouns that use common structures such as "x-friendly" (e.g. pet-friendly, family-friendly) as long as the added word is a loanword already established in the target language. Accordingly, the introduction of loanwords with structure/meaning that does not align perfectly with that of the source language, but becomes established in the target language allows "an increased grounding in the speaker perspective over time". This is, however, the definition of *subjectification* (Killie, 2015), a process involved in grammaticalization.

> "Subjectification is more likely to occur in primary grammaticalization (the shift from lexical/constructional to grammatical) […]. This is because primary grammaticalization often requires prior strengthening of pragmatic inferences that arise in very specific linguistics contexts prior to their semanticization and reanalysis as grammatical elements" (Killie, 2015)

A similar position is assumed by Hopper & Traugott (2003: 88):

"There is no doubt that over time, meanings tend to become weakened during the process of grammaticalization. Nevertheless, all the evidence for early stages is that initially there is a redistribution or shift, not a loss, of meaning. [...] In speaking of the subjectification of *be going to*, Langacker draws attention to the loss of objective locational reference points that movement entails, and suggests that this loss is replaced by the speaker temporal perspective (1990: 23). In other words, one meaning is demoted, another is promoted."

Both extracts explain subjectification as a process characteristic of the beginnings of grammaticalization, where a discernible shift occurs. It may be a shift in meaning (such as the one explained above), or a reorganization associated with reanalysis[5]. In any case, a cognitive change in the semantic or syntactic perception of the elements involved is evident. Despite both grammaticalization and the cases previously illustrated in the context of borrowing undergo a transformation in how they are perceived, the cognitive shifts operated by grammaticalization are more predictable, universal, and systematic (time > space, detail > general, tangible > abstract, ownership > aspect, ...).

Another process relevant to grammaticalization is "specialization: the increased preference for a specific form within a functional domain" (Killie, 2015). Considering a functional domain as a specific area or aspect of language use characterized by its particular communicative function or purpose, this definition aptly applies to the concept of "borrowing" as well. For instance, *Fauvisme*, denoting a French art movement from the early 20th century, is retained as is in other languages such as English (rather than using a translation related to the French word *fauves,* "wild beasts"). It has acquired a specialized usage, particularly within the realm of art.

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[5] Mind that reanalysis is also not observable on the surface: following the case of "going to", reanalysis suggests a shift from progressive (be) + directional verb (go) + purposive clause (to visit them), to future auxiliary (be going to) + verb of activity (visit them). Followed by analogy, with the extension of the directional class of verbs to all verbs, stative ones included (Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 61).

Moving on, "layering" is another process associated with grammaticalization, describing "the existence of more than one technique to serve similar or near-identical functions" (Killie, 2015). As discussed in Chapter 2, grammaticalization can bring about competing elements with similar functions, which stay in use together for a certain amount of time, until one eventually achieves prevalence. This is a similar situation to the competition occurring between a traditional term and its borrowed counterpart (e.g. in Italian *disco rigido* and the English translation *hard disk drive*; in English *kneaded butter* and the French translation *beurre manié*). Nevertheless, let us keep in mind that competition between archaic and new forms is a common dynamic in all areas of language change (e.g. phonologic evolution).

Finally, the process of analogy is also related to both grammaticalization (see Chapter 1) and borrowing. Kiparsky defines analogy as the process of extending a rule from a relatively narrow scope to a much wider application Hopper & Traugott (2003: 57). When a word is borrowed from another language, the inherent foreign morphologic system can hinder the use of the said word. Analogy facilitates the reanalysis and reinterpretation of loanwords and affixes, enabling them to fit into the borrowing language's morphological and syntactic frameworks. An example, which will be further contextualized in Chapter 3.5, is that of English borrowing Latin suffixes like "-ment" and "-ate" in English; these suffixes were analogically applied to native bases, thereby becoming productive parts of English morphology.

Considering the role of analogy in both phenomena, the main difference lies in its influence. In the case of borrowings, analogy typically affects morphological structures,

allowing elements like lexical morphemes, declensions, and affixes to integrate seamlessly without foreign language elements posing obstacles. In grammaticalization, however, analogy manifests primarily at the syntactic level, leading to changes that alter sentence structure. It is important to note that morphological changes due to analogy can also occur in grammaticalization, and syntactic changes due to analogy can occur in borrowings.

"Analogy is "psychological," "grammatical," and dependent on meaning." Esper (1973: 177)

3.3 Possible contacts between the two phenomena in morphologic and syntactic contexts

As clarified in previous chapters, linguistic borrowing pertains to lexical elements, while, by definition, grammaticalized elements serve a grammatical function and develop accordingly. Therefore, an exact and simultaneous overlap of these two phenomena is inherently impossible. It is possible, however, for these two phenomena to occur subsequently.

May borrowing concern grammatical elements? Loans often pertain to lexical elements. However, they can also involve grammatical elements in linguistic contact contexts, albeit more infrequently. Generally, when a substantial number of loans with a sufficiently identifiable and analyzable structure x exist, this structure can be perceived as a genuine morphological element. Consequently, it may be extended to native words, thus becoming an integral part of the linguistic competence. Examples include Latin (and later Italian) verbs ending in -izo, derived from Greek verbs using that suffix; the Italian suffix -aggio, originating from French; and the English affixes -ment and -ity (mentioned in Chapter 3.5). Additionally, in Cimbrian (a Germanic variety spoken in Veneto and

Trentino), the Romance complementizer "che" has been borrowed and is used alongside the native "az". For an in-depth examination of the morphological productivity of noun classes in Latin and Italian, see Gardani (2013).

Fried et al. (2010: 208) claim that "There are [...] some tendencies and regularities of borrowing that cannot be ignored, even if counterexamples may often be found. Some of the universals proposed by Moravcisk (1978) suggest for example that referential autonomy of the structure is a factor promoting borrowability". Moreover, they explain that, along what could be described as a borrowability scale, lexical items tend to be borrowed earlier than non-lexical items, and among lexical items, nouns are more readily borrowed than non-nouns. Additionally, free morphemes are more easily borrowed than bound morphemes, and derivational elements are more readily borrowed than inflectional elements. An example of borrowing of a non-lexical item is the Romance complementizer "che", borrowed in Cimbrian.

> "[I]t is [not] impossible to borrow categories such as person and tense inflection on the verb, definite and indefinite articles, or personal pronouns. Borrowings in these domains are indeed attested. However, they remain rare in contact situations, even where "heavy" borrowing[6] is involved, which suggests that grammatical categories do indeed differ in their universal susceptibility to contact-induced change" (Fried et al., 2010: 209).

However, if a grammaticalized element is part of a cluster of linguistic elements that becomes the subject of linguistic borrowing, the result is that the grammaticalized element in the source language will find a counterpart in the target language. It is also possible for a borrowing to become grammaticalized after entering the target language. Numerous examples of this phenomenon can be found in Creole languages. For instance,

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[6] "Languages with heavy borrowing show alongside extensive lexical borrowing also significant influence of the contact language on grammatical categories." An example is the adoption of many Turkish grammatical categories in Asia Minor Greek (Fried et al., 2010: 209).

in Tok Pisin, the borrowed preposition "blong" (from the English "belong") has undergone grammaticalization, acquiring various syntactic functions.

Let us consider the transferring from one language to another through borrowing, when to be borrowed is an idiom. An idiom consists of multiple units interrelated with each other; it may encapsulate lexical collocations or require the use of specific complements. In such cases, the transfer and translation to the target language involves syntax.

It is pertinent at this juncture to recall as examples the idioms presented by Baugh and Cable (2013: 169), which English acquired from the French following the Norman Conquest (as discussed in Chapter 2): "*to take leave*, *to draw near*, *to hold one's peace*, *to come to a head*, *to do justice*, *or make believe*, *hand to hand*, *on the point of*, *according to*, *subject to*, *at large*, *by heart*, *in vain*, and *without fail*".

In these examples, we can appreciate how new and specialized phraseological collocations became established in English. For instance, the French expression "*par cœur*" translates as "*by* heart" (often accompanied by "know", "learn", "get", and "have"), rather than as "*through* [the] heart". Additionally, when the meaning of "memory" (characteristic of this expression) is not strictly pertinent, the translation differs: "connaître quelqu'un *par cœur*" in English becomes "to know somebody *inside out*".

3.4 Conventionality and compositionality

Let us focus on idioms:

"[I]diomatic phrases are associated with syntactic structures, but their meaning is not composed from parts of it. Rather, they are associated with clusters of information that include conventionalized meaning and specific pragmatic meanings that can be represented by means of conceptual structures." (Espinal & Mateu, 2019)

Idiomatic phrases are notably characterized by "conventionality" and "(lack of) compositionality". By referring to Nunberg et al. (1994), Espinal & Mateu (2019) explain that "expressions can be defined as conventional when their meaning or use can't be predicted, or at least entirely predicted, on the basis of a knowledge of the independent conventions that determine the use of their constituents when they appear in isolation from one another". In this narrow sense, the conventionality of idioms pertains to the gap between their figurative meaning and the anticipated literal interpretation. For instance, idioms such as "spill the beans" and "kick the bucket" are deemed conventional because their meanings ("to divulge secret information" and "to die suddenly", respectively) are not predictable based on their literal definitions. Similarly, lack of compositionality highlights that the meaning of idioms cannot be entirely derived from the meanings of their constituent words and their syntactic arrangement. "Compositionality refers to the degree to which the phrasal meaning, once known, can be analyzed in terms of how it is distributed among the individual parts of the expression." (Espinal & Mateu, 2019). To sum up, "conventionality" and "lack of compositionality" underscore the non-literal and often unpredictable nature of idiomatic expressions in communication. Further, the authors operate a distinction by claiming that "the meaning of idioms is non-compositional, whereas the meaning of collocations is compositional."

Many recent theories assert that idioms fundamentally form part of syntactic competence. When attempting to regularly process a syntactic constituent, our mind may spontaneously direct us toward the use of an idiom (if available for the concept we wish

to articulate). A similar process is involved with the use of grammaticalized forms: that is the case for an English-speaking child that, instead of persisting in autonomously forming and using "goed" (utilizing the regular -ed formation to conjugate the verb "go" in the past), begins to use a suppletive form. They become accustomed to using these "learned" elements, often at the expense of other more regular morphological or syntactic structures, due to their high frequency and communicative advantage.

3.5 Borrowing of grammaticalized affixes

Another scenario relevant to both borrowing and grammaticalization involves the utilization of affixes originating from another language. This occurs as a term, or many similar terms, initially enter usage among speakers as mere loanwords. Subsequently, however, their usage becomes so widespread that certain morphological components, namely affixes, are isolated and analogically applied autonomously to indigenous terms. This progression represents a shift from individual lexical borrowings to the integration of these borrowings into the language's morphological system. The process occurring here is one of linguistic reanalysis, where the suffix becomes an autonomous and enduring element, ultimately becoming part of the language's structure.

An illustrative case is the adoption of affixes from Old French into other European languages. For example, the suffixes "-age" from "courage" and "-(i)er" from nouns of professions like "charpentier" or "fauconnier" entered Old Italian as "-agio" and "-(i)ere," respectively. These suffixes are now common in contemporary Italian (e.g., "contagio," "mestiere"). Additional examples include the Latin-derived suffix "-ment.". This suffix was applied to Anglo-Saxon bases , not Latin-origin words. Similarly, the English suffix

"-ate," derived from Latin participles ending in "-atum," was reconstructed from verbs with the ending "-are" (e.g., "donate"), leading to back-formation.

Baugh & Cable observe cases of what they call "adaptation": predominantly during the Renaissance, where borrowings from Latin were systematically integrated into English by altering their suffix. Some of them, interestingly, employed suffixes that had come into use because of French influence:

> "The adaptation of other [words] to English was affected by the simple process of cutting off the Latin ending. [...] Latin nouns ending in -tas were changed into English to -ty (brevity < brevitas) because English had so many words of this kind borrowed from French where the Latin -tatem regularly became -té. For the same reason, nouns ending in -antia or -entia appear in English with the ending -ance, -ence, or -ancy, -ency, while adjectives ending in -bilis take the usual English (or French) ending -ble. Examples are consonance, occurrence, constancy, frequency, considerable, and susceptible." (Baugh & Cable, 2013: 222)

As the previous discussion mentions morphological integrations of affixes from Latin into French, it is also important to briefly consider the historical contexts that facilitated such borrowings. Key moments highlighting the impact of Latin and Romance loanwords in the English language include:

- The Carolingian Renaissance (8th-9th centuries): England saw increased interest in Latin studies, largely influenced by monastic cultural and educational activities.

- Norman Control (post-1066): Extensively discussed in Chapter 2, this period saw the prominence of French literature in the 1200s. Terms related to high-status symbols in French literature, such as those associated with war, chivalry, and courtly life, were borrowed into English.

- 14th-Century Renaissance: This cultural and intellectual revival, inspired by the broader European Renaissance, saw the rediscovery of classical works and a renewed interest in authors like Virgil and Cicero.

> "[T]he importance of literature has not to be underestimated as a means of transfer. So much of Middle English literature was based directly on French originals that it would have been rather exceptional if English writers had consistently resisted the temptation to carry French words over into their adaptations." (Baugh & Cable, 2013: 172)

3.6 Timespan

In "Fairly pretty or pretty fair? On the development of and grammaticalization of English downtoners", Navalainen & Rissanen (2002) tackle the comparison between "fairly" and "pretty", both belonging to a group of adverbial modifiers called "compromisers" -according to Quirk-, or "moderators" -according to Paradis-. As the authors of the paper explain,

> "[t]he partial synonymy of the adjectives fair and pretty may suggest, if not identical, at least similar source domains, and hence historically parallel paths of adverbialization for the two central members of the moderator class, fairly and pretty. This was in fact not the case. The two adverbs differ not only morphologically (-ly v. zero derivation), but also with regard to the polysemy of their source domains, both of adjectives and adverbs, and to the time courses of their adverbialization."
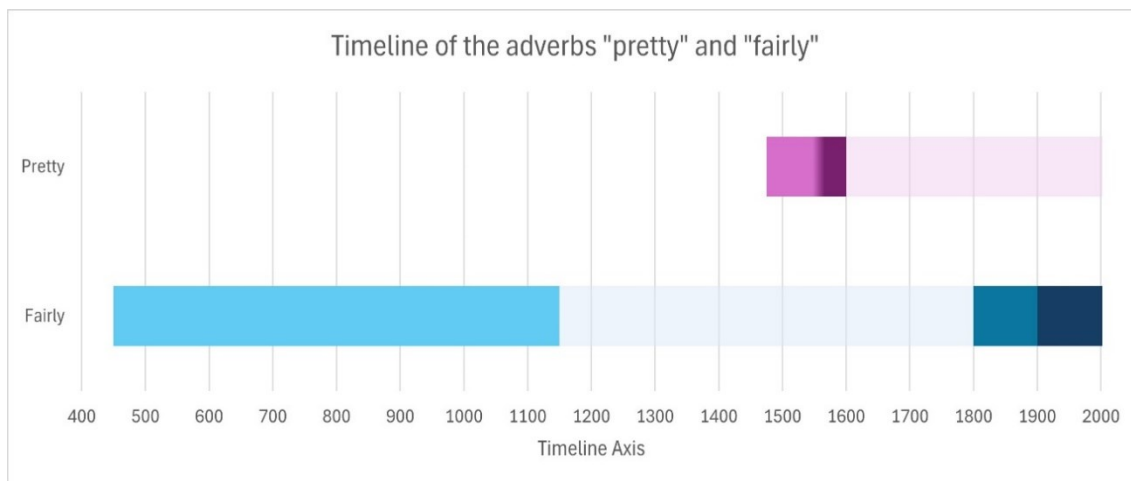
As described in the first chapter, the process of grammaticalization is varied and complex. It unfolds through speakers' spontaneous use of terms, with the contributing processes occurring in an indeterminate number and order, sometimes over very extended periods. Consequently, identifying the exact initiation and culmination of grammaticalization proves to be a daunting task, given the extensive documentation and rigorous philological research it necessitates. This challenge is underscored by the case study conducted by Navalainen & Rissanen, which scrutinizes two ostensibly similar instances of grammaticalization, tracing their evolution from Old English to contemporary usage, thus providing insights into their overall duration.

According to the authors, "fairly" emerged in Old English, predating the appearance of "pretty." Throughout the transition to Middle English, "fairly" maintained its prevalence, while "pretty" slowly began to gain usage in negative contexts indicating

cunning or cleverness. By the Early Modern English period, "pretty" emerged as a premodifying intensifier through zero derivation. In Modern English, "pretty" solidified its role as an intensifier much earlier than "fairly." The latter underwent a slower transformation, gradually becoming less common as a manner adjunct and more prevalent as an intensifier. As for their use in contemporary English, Navalainen & Rissanen assert that

> "[t]oday, fairly and pretty exist side by side as modifiers. [...] It seems that pretty, as an older and more established modifier can be used more freely along the whole semantic spectrum of intensification, while fairly, whose history as a modifier/intensifier is barely 200 years old, has more of its original lexical meaning left. The grammaticalization of both pretty and fairly is probably still ongoing, but with pretty the process is more advanced than with fairly. Fairly is much more common as a downtoning modifier than as an emphasizer or manner adjunct". (Nevalainen & Rissanen, 2002)

Briefly, in terms of centuries, the adverb "fairly" was derived from the adjective "fair" as early as Old English (which spans from the mid-5th to the mid-12th century). However, its premodifying intensifier use emerged only in the nineteenth century and became common in the twentieth century. On the other hand, "pretty" evolved from its corresponding adjective during the Early Modern English period (which encompasses the late 15th to late 17th centuries), acquiring a premodifying intensifier use by the sixteenth century. Overall, the evolution of "fairly" and "pretty" illustrates a lengthy process spanning centuries, characterized by shifts in usage and semantic development.

Timeline of the adverbs "pretty" and "fairly"

Legend
- Development of 'Pretty' (Early Modern English Period)
- Emergence of 'Pretty' as Intensifier (16th Century)
- Early Development of 'Fairly'
- Emergence of 'Fairly' as Intensifier (19th Century)
- Common Use of 'Fairly' as Intensifier (20th Century)

Two cases are clearly insufficient to estimate a duration of the phenomenon. Nonetheless, this case study serves as a tangible example illustrating that, as outlined in the first chapter, grammaticalization leads to substantial changes over centuries, across several generations of speakers. In contrast, linguistic borrowing can occur much more rapidly as it does not necessarily involve any transformation. Thus, the minimum timeframe to consider for borrowing is merely the period required for its adoption into the language.

From a historical perspective, we can contextualize the adoption period of a particular linguistic borrowing. This is the case for terms of French origin such as "lieutenant" and "sergeant." As discussed in subsection 2.5, these and other military-related terms became more prevalent in the English language during the 14th century,

potentially entering as early as the 13th century. In other instances, however, we can identify the dates of borrowing with greater accuracy. In her comprehensive study on loanwords in the English lexicon, Julia Landmann (2023) highlights, among others, two expressions that entered usage due to their presence in literary works. This exposure facilitated their swift dissemination to a broader audience. One is the word *fractal,* "a type of mathematical curve", that as Landmann explains (2023: pp.55-56) "was first used in this sense by the French mathematician Benoît Mandelbrot in his study Les Objects Fractals from 1975"; the other is the expression *rite of passage*: "it was translated from French *rite de passage* in 1909. The French source term first occurred in 1908 or earlier in the work of the French anthropologist Arnold van Gennep. He wrote a book entitled *Les rites de passage*" (Landmann, 2023: pp.55). These are two cases where the date of the borrowing can be pinpointed with relative precision. Naturally, the more recent the borrowing, the easier it generally is to identify when it occurred, due to the greater availability of evidence documenting it.

Conclusions

The study begins by defining grammaticalization and exploring its complexity, emphasizing various processes like decategorialization and reanalysis. It then examines linguistic borrowing, using French influence on English as a case study, highlighting phonetic, lexical, and semantic impacts. The final chapter compares grammaticalization and borrowing, analyzing theoretical processes such as subjectification and analogy, and discussing their duration and interaction.

Both phenomena exhibit subjectification, where elements gain subjective significance from the speaker's perspective. Additionally, specialization and layering in both borrowing and grammaticalization show how specific forms gain prominence and coexist until one prevails. Analogy plays a key role in both, aiding the integration of borrowed elements and facilitating systemic changes during grammaticalization.

During the development of the third chapter, it became apparent that introducing the element of idiomatic expressions and some related theories into the discussion would be useful. The reason is that idioms have a unique relationship between semantics and syntax, somewhat reminiscent of the mental process involved when foreign words are introduced into a speaker's language (see section 3.4). Furthermore, if we consider an idiomatic expression as a cluster of linguistic elements, it carries with it any grammaticalized components into the target language when it becomes a subject of linguistic borrowing. Ultimately, for identifying linguistic elements that can be influenced by both grammaticalization and linguistic borrowing, idiomatic expressions and borrowed affixes have proven to be valid cases for investigation.

Section 3.6 provides an intriguing perspective on examining the duration of the two phenomena. Although it was predictable that grammaticalization would take much longer than linguistic borrowing (given how it develops), the subsection offers important insights to consider regarding the immediacy involved in the use of a linguistic loan. While the initiation of a linguistic loan can be traced back to a specific year, this is hardly the case with grammaticalization. Additionally, the case study concerning the grammaticalization of "pretty" and "fairly" clearly demonstrates how two similar elements can undergo grammaticalization at markedly different rates, a conclusion that is not intuitive. Consequently, we can outline that over two centuries, both a process of grammaticalization and the implementation of a linguistic loan can occur. However, while the former appears to be particularly "rapid," the latter spans this timeframe due to a lack of essential documentation for more precise dating.

Regarding the areas of this thesis that warrant further exploration, it would be valuable to identify and analyze multiple instances of grammaticalization that have been borrowed into other languages. This analysis should determine whether such borrowings occur arbitrarily or if they share common features or exhibit any predominant characteristics. Additionally, from a standpoint of linguistic pragmatics, it would be interesting to further investigate similarities and contact points between a) the pragmatic aspects concerning the adoption of foreign words as motivated by communicative advantages; b) the theory of pragmatic inferencing in grammaticalization (Hopper & Traugott, 2003: pp.75-77). Both involve a cognitive shift in semantic aspects, possibly linked to pragmatic elements.

Abstract

La tesi si propone di esaminare in modo approfondito due importanti fenomeni linguistici: la grammaticalizzazione e i prestiti linguistici. Attraverso un approccio multidisciplinare che integra aspetti grammaticali, fonetici, semantici, sintattici, nonché contributi dalla linguistica storica e dalla sociolinguistica, la tesi esplora cosa siano la grammaticalizzazione e i prestiti linguistici, cosa abbiano in comune, ma anche se possano interagire o influenzarsi reciprocamente. Per maggior chiarezza, vengono forniti esempi o casi di studio per illustrare i concetti discussi.

Nel primo capitolo si delinea lo sviluppo di elementi lessicali con funzione grammaticale, ovvero il concetto di grammaticalizzazione. Si esplorano i suoi processi chiave e si forniscono esempi concreti. Dopo aver discusso quali elementi lessicali siano più inclini ad assumere funzioni grammaticali, si introduce il concetto di "spirale", suggerendo che il processo di grammaticalizzazione non segua una direzione lineare, ma piuttosto una progressione a spirale, figura introdotta da Gabelentz. Secondo la sua teoria, la grammaticalizzazione coinvolge due forze opposte: la tendenza alla facilità di articolazione e la tendenza alla chiarezza. Questi meccanismi portano alla sostituzione di strutture linguistiche con altre simili, ma mai identiche alle precedenti. Il concetto di "rinnovamento" linguistico, introdotto da Hopper & Traugott, afferma che la grammaticalizzazione non implichi solo una perdita di significato, ma che possa comportare anche la competizione tra elementi vecchi e nuovi.

Il capitolo discute quindi l'ipotesi dell'unidirezionalità, evidenziando una tendenza generale verso la riduzione morfologica e la decategorizzazione, per poi proseguire esaminando come la frequenza abbia un ruolo importante nella riduzione fonologica.

Rianalisi e analogia vengono infine esaminate come fenomeni particolarmente rilevanti, poiché spesso accompagnano la grammaticalizzazione. La rianalisi coinvolge il processo cognitivo di reinterpretare e di ristrutturare elementi linguistici. L'analogia, d'altra parte, rappresenta l'estensione di un modello linguistico da un contesto a un altro, a partire da una percezione di somiglianza intuitiva, contribuendo alla regolarizzazione e semplificazione delle forme grammaticali emergenti.

Il secondo capitolo si concentra sui prestiti linguistici, ponendo particolare attenzione alla dinamica tra la lingua inglese come "lingua ricevente" e il francese come "lingua donatrice". In primo luogo, si esamina come il francese abbia influenzato semanticamente il vocabolario dell'inglese moderno durante il periodo dell'inglese medio (1066-1485). Nel quadro storico che si delinea, il francese emerge come lingua dominante per oltre due secoli, prima che l'inglese riacquisti la sua centralità grazie alla sua ininterrotta diffusione tra la popolazione. Da una prospettiva sociolinguistica, questo ricalca una tendenza riconosciuta: il prestito linguistico tende ad originarsi da una lingua culturalmente, politicamente ed economicamente dominante e trasferirsi ad una meno prestigiosa mentre le due entrano in contatto. Nella dinamica appena descritta, l'episodio storico della conquista normanna dell'Inghilterra nel 1066 ha giocato un ruolo fondamentale per l'introduzione di nuovi elementi linguistici. L'aumento dei prestiti dal francese ha raggiunto il suo apice nella seconda metà del XIV secolo, portando a una notevole presenza di parole francesi nel lessico inglese odierno. Le influenze semantiche si manifestano in diverse aree, tra cui termini governativi, ecclesiastici, giuridici, militari, di moda, sociali, artistici, educativi e medici. Esempi includono parole come "impero", "religione", "accusare", "esercito", oltre a molti altri. Interessante è l'osservazione di due

fasi distinte di prestito, con un aumento significativo dopo il 1250, legato all'uso crescente dell'inglese da parte dei parlanti francesi. Nel tracciare l'evoluzione della lingua inglese, l'elaborato si sofferma brevemente anche su altri periodi storici di interesse (questo nel terzo capitolo), per evidenziare i momenti di contaminazione più intensi con le lingue romanze (latino e francese, in particolare).

Per concludere la trattazione del prestito linguistico nei suoi vari aspetti, la tesi esplora anche i principali cambiamenti che esso può determinare a livello semantico o morfologico; vengono dunque presentati i "calchi", sia il calco semantico che quello morfologico, sottolineando come il prestito possa riprodurre costrutti sintattici stranieri o dare nuovi significati a parole esistenti.

Nel terzo capitolo, i due fenomeni vengono confrontati, con l'obiettivo di analizzare le differenze e le possibili sovrapposizioni. Il capitolo inizia delineando un parallelismo con la distinzione saussuriana tra *parole* e *langue*.

Vengono poi trattati alcuni processi che accomunano la grammaticalizzazione ed i prestiti lingustici: "subjectification", "specialization", "layering" e "analogy", fornendo alcuni esempi attinenti. Nell'ottica di esplorare possibili contatti tra i due fenomeni, si discute di come pur non potendo verificarsi assieme, un elemento grammaticalizzato potrebbe ipoteticamente diventare oggetto di prestito. Secondo Fried et al. infatti, il prestito di elementi grammaticali, sebbene raro, è possibile. Gli elementi lessicali tendono ad essere presi in prestito prima di quelli grammaticali, e tra questi, i sostantivi e i morfemi liberi sono più facilmente trasferibili rispetto agli elementi derivazionali e flessivi. Si osserva inoltre come, se un elemento grammaticalizzato fa parte di un insieme di elementi linguistici soggetti a prestito, esso può trovare un corrispettivo nella lingua di

destinazione. Ad esempio, gli "idioms" (o frasi idiomatiche) trasferiti da una lingua all'altra coinvolgono non solo il lessico ma anche la sintassi. Un esempio significativo è l'acquisizione di frasi idiomatiche francesi nell'inglese dopo la Conquista Normanna, come "to take leave" e "to draw near". Le forme idiomatiche sono associate a strutture sintattiche specifiche, tuttavia, il loro significato non può essere completamente predetto basandosi sulle singole parole o sulla struttura sintattica della frase. Recentemente, molte teorie sostengono che gli idiomi siano parte fondamentale della competenza sintattica, poiché il parlante tende a ricorrervi automaticamente durante l'elaborazione di una costruzione sintattica. Lo stesso processo avviene con le forme grammaticalizzate, che i parlanti adottano per la loro frequenza d'uso e il vantaggio comunicativo che comportano.

Un altro scenario rilevante per il prestito e la grammaticalizzazione coinvolge l'utilizzo di affissi provenienti da un'altra lingua. Questo avviene quando un termine, entra in uso tra come semplici prestito linguistico e successivamente una sua componente morfologica (un affisso), viene isolata e applicata autonomamente a termini indigeni.

Il capitolo si sofferma infine sulla durata della grammaticalizzazione e del prestito linguistico. Si evidenzia la complessità del processo di grammaticalizzazione nel tempo e si illustra un caso di studio che analizza l'evoluzione di due avverbi ("fairly" e "pretty") nel corso dei secoli. Viene dunque discusso la tempistica necessaria per l'adozione di prestiti linguistici, generalmente più breve, prendendo in esame singoli casi documentati che riescono a fornire una datazione relativamente precisa e circoscritta (con un margine che va da due secoli ad un anno, e che dipende dalla difficoltà di reperire prove precise a riguardo).

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