

## Chapter 2

# *Icelandic: Phonosemantic Matching*

YAIR SAPIR and GHIL'AD ZUCKERMANN

In this chapter we will account for PSM (phono-semantic matching, see Zuckermann 2000, 2003a, 2004) in Icelandic. In §2, we will provide an overview of the Icelandic language, its structure, language planning and word-formation. In §3, we will introduce the mechanism of PSM in general. In §4, we will illustrate two aspects of Icelandic PSM: word-formation, as PSM is one of many Icelandic word-formation types, and typology, by demonstrating PSM in other languages. PSM is divided into two main categories: PSM through a preexistent form (§5) and PSM through a new form (§6). Finally, we will present the conclusions and theoretical implications of this chapter (§7).

Sapir (2003b: 61-62) suggests the following taxonomy of the sources used to form new words in the language. It will help us in tracing the position of PSM in the system:

1. ZERO SOURCE. Lexemes reproduced from this source are denoted by the established term *ex nihilo* (Latin 'from nothing'), implying that they are not based on any preexistent lexical material.
2. SOUND SOURCE. Lexemes reproduced from this source are denoted by the new term *ex sono* (Latin 'from sound') and are reproductions of sounds or sound symbolism.
3. THE FOREIGN VOCABULARY. Lexemes reproduced from this source are denoted by the new term *ex externo* (Latin 'from the outside').
4. THE NATIVE VOCABULARY. Lexemes reproduced from this source are denoted by the new term *ex interno* (Latin 'from the inside').

Sapir (2003b: 51) defines *reproduction* as a process "by which one or several bases retain their features and status in the system but are "copied" or "reduplicated" to form a new word". Hence, words are not "borrowed", "taken" or "imported" from one language to the other, but are rather reproduced *ex externo* (i.e. from the foreign vocabulary). Likewise, native words can be reproduced with a new sense to form a new word, or else by compounding, derivation etc, and can thus be defined as reproduced *ex interno* (i.e. from the native vocabulary). Using these terms not only renders a more realistic image of word-formation, but avoids conflicts when defining words, which were

“borrowed” into the lexis, but are at the same time considered “native”. Such words are defined as native words reproduced *ex externo*, i.e. from a lexis other than the native one.

Whereas the first two sources are considered to be productive in a language’s initial stages, the two latter are considered to be productive throughout any stage of its evolution. Moreover, these sources, especially the foreign and native vocabulary, may be inter-combined or bifurcated with each other in different ways. Calquing is based on a bifurcated source, since an *ex externo* pattern is rendered by an *ex interno* form. For instance, English *distance teaching* was calqued into Icelandic *ffjarkennsla* with identical meaning (*ffjar-* ‘distant’ + *kennsla* ‘teaching’). Back to phono-semantic matching, this is also a type of word-formation based on a bifurcated source, as *ex externo* senses and phonemes are inter-combined with similar *ex interno* senses and phonemes, this way camouflaging the *ex externo* dimension.

## The Icelandic language

### Icelandic – from Sagas to High-tech

Icelandic is spoken by approximately 300 000 people, 280 000 of whom live in Iceland, where Icelandic is the official language. From being a poor, chiefly agricultural society until approximately a hundred years ago, Icelanders have gradually established themselves among the world’s leading nations in the areas of economy, welfare, average life expectancy, as well as in the number of computers, Internet connections and cellular phones per capita (see also Sapir 2003a: 33–34). The Icelandic language, which around the end of the 18th century was best spoken in the rural areas of the island and inferior to Danish, the official language and likewise the language of culture and sciences, is today a full-fledged and stable language, functioning as the only official language of the Republic of Iceland. The language is rather consolidated, due to the fact that it lacks genuine dialects.

Genetically, Icelandic is a Scandinavian or North Germanic language. It emerged from the Old West Scandinavian dialects that were brought to Iceland with the chiefly Norwegian settlers between 870 and 930 AD. To begin with, the language varieties spoken in Iceland and South Western Norway did not differ remarkably from each other. However, a couple of hundreds years later, they began to evolve in separate directions. Today, Icelandic and the two Norwegian languages (*bokmål* and *nynorsk*) to their different varieties are no longer mutually intelligible. Moreover, Contemporary Norwegian, together with Danish and Norwegian, is often classified as a Continental Scandinavian language, whereas Icelandic and Faroese are considered Insular Scandinavian languages.

The canon of Icelandic Saga and Edda literature from the 12th and 13th century includes tales from the Scandinavian mythology, stories about the

colonisation of Iceland and likewise about the Norwegian kings. These resources constitute the cornerstone in the further development of both Icelandic literature and language and turned out to be a most useful resource for Icelandic, as it re-established itself as a full-fledged language.

Icelandic is considered the most conservative Scandinavian language. No other old Scandinavian language or dialect has preserved its morphological structure, highly complex inflectional system of Old Scandinavian and the original Scandinavian vocabulary as well as Icelandic has. With some training, Icelanders can today read and understand the old Sagas and Eddas. The situation could be compared to that of Israeli Hebrew (or ‘Israeli’ – see Zuckermann 1999, 2006a, 2006b, 2008, Yadin and Zuckermann 2009): as in the case of old Icelandic, classical Hebrew has also constituted an important lexical source during the revival and standardization of the language in modern times (see also Sapir 2003a: 33–36).

The influence of the Saga and Edda language and style is still notable today in lexical elements reproduced in the 19th and 20th century, either in a shifted or an expanded meaning. One classical example is the Icelandic word for ‘telephone’, *sími*. This word appears both in the form *sími* (masculine) and *síma* (neutrum) in Old Icelandic, probably in the meaning ‘thread, rope’. As an archaism, it was revived, or “recycled”, by language planners, providing it with the new sense ‘telephone’ (a so called *neo-archaism* (Sapir 2003b: 54)). *Sími*, allegedly reintroduced by Pálmi Pálsson in 1896, has, in turn, been productive in the formation of many derivations and compounds ever since.

### The Structure of the Language

Icelandic nouns and adjectives are either weak or strong. There are three genders (masculine, feminine and neutral), two numbers (singular and plural) and four grammatical cases (nominative, accusative, dative and genitive). The choice of case is dictated by the phrase’s function in the clause, or else by the preposition or verb requiring it. Grammatical cases are marked by zero, suffixes and/or umlaut. Icelandic does not mark indefiniteness. Thus, *hestur*, meaning ‘horse’ or ‘a horse’, is the nominative form and *hest* is the accusative. The definite article of a noun is marked by an enclitic suffix, as in *hesturinn* horse-DEF ‘the horse’.

Adjectives agree in number, gender, case and definiteness with the nouns they modify. Strong adjectives are indefinite, e.g. *stór hestur* ‘big horse’ or ‘a big horse’, whereas weak adjectives express definiteness, e.g. *stóri hesturinn* ‘big-DEF horse-DEF’ or *hinn stóri hestur* ‘the big-DEF horse’. Adjectives are likewise declined in grades. Adverbs often have an identical form as the neutral adjective form, e.g. *hraður* (basic form) ‘quick, speedy’, *hratt* (neutral form) and *hratt* (adverb) ‘quickly, speedily’ and may, like adjectives, be declined in grades.

Icelandic verbs follow to a large extent the Germanic verbal system, divided into weak and strong verbs, of which the strong verbs are, in turn, divided into

seven ablaut groups and characterized by the lack of a dental suffix in the imperfect and perfect tense. The weak verbs are characterized by a dental suffix in the imperfect and perfect. Verbs are conjugated in the indicative, conjunctive and imperative moods, active and passive voice, present, imperfect and perfect tense. Icelandic is a head-first language with the usual constituent order AVO/SV.

Within phonetics and phonology, Icelandic has been innovative. It thus differs greatly from that of e.g. Norwegian and Swedish. To name just a few features, it has the peculiarity of possessing both long and short diphthongs. Icelandic possesses both voiced and voiceless nasals and liquids. Stops are not divided into voiced and voiceless, but rather into fortes and lenes. However, voiced and voiceless dental fricatives are preserved and marked as <ð> /ð/ and <þ> /θ/, respectively. In common with most other Scandinavian languages and dialects Icelandic has the loss of /w/, nasal vowels, as well as the loss of the old system of syllable quantity, features still preserved in Elfdalian (or Älvdalska, spoken in Northern Dalecarlia, Sweden). On the prosodic level, Icelandic has lost the distinction between two tonal accents, but has preserved the stress on the first syllable, including in prefixes and words ex externo.

As Knútsson (1993) points out, Icelandic consists mainly of monosyllabic morphemes, as does Old English. Moreover, Icelandic tends to retain vowel-quantity in unstressed words. Hence, the Icelandic morphemic structure has remained largely explicit and most Icelandic compounds retain the identity of their components.

### **Icelandic Re-established**

Due to centuries of Danish rule, Icelandic has not only become highly influenced by the Danish language, but according to reports from the mid-18th to mid-19th century, the language in the harbours and in the capital Reykjavik, was a mixed Dano-Icelandic variety (Ottósson 1990: 29–52). Growing interest in the Old Icelandic manuscripts overseas and an increasing national awakening gave rise to calls for the preservation of the language and to its “cleansing” from its ex externo elements. These calls were embodied in the declaration made by *Hið íslenska lærdómslistafélag* (*The Icelandic Society for Learned Arts*), a group of Icelandic students in Copenhagen that formulated an official and puristically oriented language policy in 1780. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Danish linguist and Icelandophile Rasmus Rask predicted that Icelandic would vanish within a hundred years in Reykjavik and within two hundred years in the rest of the country, should nothing be done to save the language. In its statutes they write as follows:

‘5. Eininn skal félagið geyma og varðveita norræna tungu sem eitt fagurt aðalmál, er langa ævi hefir talað verið á Norðurlöndunum, og viðleitast að hreinsa hina sömu frá útlendum orðum og talsháttum, er nú taka henni að spilla. Skal því ei í félagsritum brúka útlend orð um íþróttir, verkfæri og annað, svo fremi menn finni önnur gömul eður miðaldra norræn heiti.

6. Því má og í stað slíkra útlendra orða smíða ný orð, samansett af öðrum norrænum, er vel útskýri náttúru hlutar þess, er þau þýða eigu; skulu þar við vel athugast reglur þær, er tungu þessi fylgja og brúkaðar eru í smíði góðra, gamallra orða; skal og gefast ljós útskýring og þýðing slíkra orða, svo að þau verði almenningi auðskilin.

7. Þó megu vel haldast slík orð, sem brúkuð hafa verið í ritum á þrettánda eður fjórtánda öld, þó ei hafa uppruna af norrænni tungu, heldur séu í fyrstu frá útlendum þjóðum, nær ei eru til önnur meir tíðkanleg eður betri og fegri að öðrum hætti.'

English translation:

'5. Likewise, the Society shall treasure and preserve the Norse tongue as a beautiful, noble language, which has been spoken in the Nordic countries for a long time, and seek to cleanse the same from foreign words and expressions which have now begun to corrupt it. Therefore, in the Society's publications, foreign words shall not be used about sports, tools or anything else, insofar as one may find other old or Mediaeval Norse terms.

6. Therefore, instead of such foreign words one may coin new words, compounded of other Norse [words], which explain well the nature of the object that they are to denote; in doing this, one should examine well the rules pertaining to and employed in this language as to the structure of good, old words; such words should be given a clear explanation and translation in order that they become easily comprehensible for the public.

7. However, such words that have been used in writings in the thirteenth or in the fourteenth century may be retained, even if they do not have their provenance in the Norse tongue, but be originally from foreign nations, when no other more customary or better and beautiful [words] exist otherwise.'

(Halldórsson 1971: 223, standardized orthography)

The declared puristic orientation that accompanied language planning at that period left its traces on the Icelandic language and vocabulary. Other noteworthy motives for conservative language planning are 18th and 19th century Enlightenment, a swift transformation from poverty and agricultural lifestyle into prosperity and industrialization in the 20th century and, finally, globalization and high-technology since the middle of the 20th century. An extended conceptual and material world has consequently demanded an extended Icelandic lexis. Moreover, reproduction *ex interno* helped strengthen national consciousness and pride, or at least what was conceived as elements *ex interno*, often at the cost of old formations *ex externo*, based on Danish. However, Icelandic language purism was not as radical as might be assumed. As mentioned in paragraph 7 in the Society's statutes, Medieval words that had no good substitute remained in the language. Lexemes such as *prestur* 'priest', *kirkja* 'church' and other were so enrooted and domesticated, that uprooting them would be conceived by the speech community as an extreme measure and could become contraproductive and alienate people from the mother-tongue. Although based *ex externo*, such old words have been and still are regarded as fully native.

The combination of a declared language policy and the need for new publications in Icelandic within scholarly and ideological domains have given rise to a large-scale formation *ex interno* (Icelandic *nýyrðasmíð*), or at least apparently

ex interno, neology that has slowly but surely become an important national sport in Iceland. Even though the work of preserving and “cleansing” the language has been applied to grammar and even pronunciation, its focus has nonetheless been undoubtedly the lexis. Danish, and for some decades also English, are often still present “behind” word-formation, i.e. as sources for calques and PSM, within phraseology, in the colloquial language and in some professional jargons.

Through Iceland’s political sovereignty in 1918, full independence in 1944 and the establishment of the Icelandic Language Council, *Íslensk málnefnd*, in 1964, the status of the Icelandic language has been reinforced and language planning has ever since been carried out through legislation. The Council works with language planning and language preservation, activities run on a daily basis by its secretariat, The Icelandic Language Institute, *Íslensk málstöð*, founded in 1985. The Language Institute offers instructions and consultation for the language users and works with neology and terminology. In the terminological work around thirty different committees within different specialized domains are engaged.

However, the language authorities have not been working on their own. Mass-media, specialists within different domains and laymen have all played an important role in applying the puristic language policy, not only by actively coining ex interno, but also through contemplations and public debates. Due to the obvious success of the Icelandic puristic language policy, the language can be regarded today as one of the most, if not the most, puristically oriented living language.

### **Language Contact and Linguistic Purism**

Due to centuries of Danish rule on Iceland, Danish has been the major immediate source language for reproductions ex externo in Icelandic. Conscious and puristically oriented language planning has not merely constituted an obstacle to the further expansion of Danish language use on the cost of Icelandic, but even led to minimizing the preexistent Danish interference in Icelandic. Albeit a diminished influence on Modern Icelandic, Danish can still be considered the major immediate source language for reproductions ex externo in Icelandic throughout time. However, diminished Danish interference should not be seen solely as the result of Icelandic puristic activity, but also a consequence of the political changes in Iceland.

Even though large-scale trade with Britain began already at the end of the 19th century (Karlsson 2000: 244), considerable English language influence delayed until the middle of the 20th century. British occupation in 1940 and full independence in 1944 exposed the Icelandic society to English and American culture, gradually placing English as the first SL for Icelandic and thus the primary source for reproduction ex externo on the cost of Danish (Sapir 2003b: 32).

But contacts with Britain and the English language are by no means new. Direct English influence on Icelandic, although minor, can be dated as far back as the 11th and 12th century, conveyed primarily by missionaries and Icelanders who studied in Britain, on the one hand, and through general religious spreading, on the other, often mediated by Norway. Additionally, cultural terms spreading between different European languages have reached Iceland, usually conveyed by Norwegian or Icelandic merchants. Although trade contacts between Iceland and England were intensive in the first half of the 15th century, Old and Middle English influence on Icelandic was minor. Due to the Danish trade monopoly imposed on Iceland in 1602, trade with Britain was kept marginal until the 20th century. English and international words that entered the Icelandic language between the 17th and the 19th century had usually been mediated by Danish. Notable English language influence on Icelandic began in the 1940s and has been growing ever since (Veturliði Óskarsson pc, Óskarsson 2003: 70–71, 86, Sapir 2003b: 29, 32). In 1999, English replaced Danish as the first foreign language in Icelandic elementary schools. Through television, movies, computers and Internet, English is ubiquitous in Icelandic everyday life. Most Icelanders subsequently leave school with a good active knowledge of English. Danish is slowly losing ground and many Icelanders today merely have a passive knowledge of that language, acquired as an obligatory subject at school.

Whereas such traditionally oriented languages as Finnish and Hebrew have become more receptive to influence *ex externo*, Icelandic language planning is still considered to have preserved its traditional puristic spirit. Thomas (1991) characterizes linguistic purism in Finnish and Hebrew as “evolutionary purism”, and in Icelandic as “consistent, stable purism” (1991: 159; Sapir 2003a: 41). To name a few examples, Icelandic has *ex interno* or apparent *ex interno* reproductions for such common internationalisms as ‘computer’ *tölva*, ‘president’ *forseti*, ‘psychology’ *sálfræði*, ‘telephone’ *sími* and ‘television’ *sjónvarp*. In comparison, Israeli Hebrew and Finnish have *makhshév* and *tietokone* for ‘computer’, *nasí* and *presidentti* for ‘president’, *psikhológia* and *psykologia* for ‘psychology’, *téléfon* and *puhelin* for ‘telephone’, *televízya* and *television* for ‘television’, respectively. In spite of its successfully persistent linguistic purism, Icelandic is confronting immense challenges posed by English. For instance, in the relatively new domain of computers, Icelandic speakers turn out to use more Englishisms than Swedish speakers do, although in general Swedish has rather liberal and outgoing language planning. This can be explained by the relatively scarce resources at the disposal of the authorities of an organized language community amounting to merely 280 000 persons, rendering it difficult to come up with Icelandic translations to frequently updated texts for operating systems, Internet and word-processing programs (Pálsson 2003: 245, Sapir 2003a: 42). Even though the traditional puristic language planning has been subject to open criticism and public debate in the 1970s and 1980s, it seems to enjoy a relatively

broad consensus among Icelanders today (Sandøy 1985: 16–17, Kristinsson 2001 [Internet, November 16 2001. Accessed on November 20 2004]).

### Word-formation

In most languages, word-formation often involves reproduction *ex interno*, *ex externo* or a combination of both sources. Nowadays, American English is the source for *ex externo* reproduction in many of the world's languages. However, when reproduction on purely *ex externo* source is rejected as a principle by the speech community, as is the case of Icelandic, what alternative types of word-formation are, then, employed? In some languages, camouflaging the foreign dimension may be one solution. This type of word-formation involves *ex interno cum ex externo* elements. One such “mixed” word-formation type that is at stake for the present chapter is ‘phono-semantic matching’ (henceforth, PSM; see Zuckermann 1999, 2000, 2003a, 2003b, 2005, 2006b; ‘echoing word-formation’ in Sapir 2003b: 47).

Sapir's (2003b) survey of current Icelandic word-formation in newspaper material shows that out of 625 lexemes that entered the lexis after 1780, approximately 51% were reproduced *ex interno*, containing new forms and senses, whereas 15% were a result of a semantic shift, i.e. merely 6% of the data were reproduced purely *ex externo*. Observing the bifurcated formation types, consisting of mixed *ex interno cum ex externo* reproductions, we find:

1. CALQUE to its different types, accounting for as much as 26% of the data. In calques, the form is reproduced *ex interno*, but the structure is reproduced *ex externo*, e.g. *hugmynd* < *hugur* ‘mind’ + *mynd* ‘picture’, calqued on older Danish *tankebillede* < *tanke* + *billede* with identical meaning.
2. FORMAL HYBRIDITY, accounting for one occurrence, i.e. 0.2% of the data. Here, formal *ex externo* and *ex interno* elements are reproduced simultaneously, e.g. *dulkóða* ‘to encrypt’ < *ex interno dul-* ‘secret’ + *ex externo kóði* ‘code’.
3. PSM, accounting for one occurrence, i.e. 0.2%, in the data. Here, *ex externo* and *ex interno* are combined both in form and content, i.e. on the phonological and semantic level, e.g. *tækni* ‘technology, technique’ are semantically and phonologically *ex interno*, reproduced from Icelandic *tæki* ‘tool’ and simultaneously *ex externo*, from Danish *teknik* ‘technology, technique’ (see §6).



## PSM and Previous Research

If you ever go to a supermarket in Iceland, ask for the low-fat margarine *Létt og laggott* ‘light and to-the-point’, just for your general knowledge! The name of this brand is a pun on the idiom *stutt og laggott* ‘short and to-the-point’. But besides the pun and the alliteration in *Létt og laggott*, there is another point here: The brand, imported from Sweden, is called *Lätt och lagom* ‘light and just enough’ there. By coming up with the Icelandic word *laggott*, which is phonetically similar to Swedish *lagom*, and by slightly changing the semantics of the whole phrase, the name *Létt og laggott* emerged, recognizable without difficulty to those who know the Swedish brand, with a semantic content that is very close to the Swedish one and that, moreover, makes sense to the Icelandic speaker. This is also how PSM works.

Similarly, Swedish *Pippi Långstrump* (cf. English *Pippi Longstocking*, the surname being a calque of the Swedish), the name of the protagonist of Astrid Lingren’s children’s stories, was phonetically matched in Israeli as בילבי לא-כלום *bílbi ló khlum*, lit. ‘Bilby Nothing’ (cf. Zuckermann 2003: 28).

PSM is widespread in two categories of language:

1. puristically oriented languages, in which language planners attempt to replace undesirable elements *ex externo*, e.g. Finnish, Icelandic, Israeli Hebrew and Revolutionized Turkish.
2. languages that use phono-logographic script, e.g. Chinese, as well as Japanese and Korean (the latter two when using *Kanji* or *Hanja* respectively), all of which are influenced by cultural superstratum languages, mainly English.

Thus, Icelandic *eyðni* ‘AIDS’ is a phono-semantic matching of English *AIDS*, using Icelandic *eyða* ‘to destroy’ and the nominal suffix *-ni*. This is but one example of what is, in fact, an important form of bifurcated reproduction, which can be observed in Icelandic, as well as in numerous other languages. This phenomenon, which we call PSM, can be defined as *a bifurcated reproduction ex externo and ex interno simultaneously, in which the element/s ex externo is matched with a phonetically and semantically similar preexistent autochthonous element/s ex interno*. Thus, PSM may alternatively be defined as *the entry of a neologism that preserves both the meaning and the approximate sound of the reproduced expression in the SL with the help of preexistent TL elements*. Here, as well as throughout this chapter, *neologism* is used in its broader meaning, i.e. either an entirely new lexeme or a preexistent word whose meaning has been altered, resulting in a new sense. The following figure is a general illustration of this process:



briefly by Heyd (1954: 90), who refers to *calques phonétiques*, by Hagège (1986: 257), who calls it *emprunt-calembour*, and by Toury (1990), who refers to *phonetic transposition*. Rabin offered the term תצלול *tatslúl* (see Kutscher 1965: 37, with no reference), fitted into the same noun-pattern of (Rabbinic Hebrew>>) Israeli *targúm* ‘translation’ but deriving from (Biblical Hebrew>>) Israeli צליל *tslil* ‘sound’. In the case of Chinese, Luó (1950) mentions 音兼意 MSC (Modern Standard Chinese) *yīnjiānyì*, lit. ‘sound + concurrent with + meaning’, while Lǐ (1990) describes MSC 音译兼意译 *yīnyìjiānyìyì* ‘phonetic translation along with semantic translation’. Whilst Hansell discusses *semanticized transcription* (1989) and *semanticized loans* (ms), Yáo (1992) refers to (Taiwan Mandarin) 音中有義 *yīnzhōngyǒuyì*, lit. ‘sound + middle + have + meaning’, i.e. ‘transcription, in which the meaning lies within the sound’ (see Zuckermann 2003a).

Also scholars of Icelandic word-formation seem to have left PSM unnoticed. Jónsson (2002b) presents the following taxonomy of contemporary Icelandic word-formation:

1. *innlend lán* ‘native borrowings’, accounting for formations ex interno with new senses.
2. *nýmyndanir* ‘new creations’, accounting for derivatives, compounds and new stems ex interno.
3. *erlend lán* ‘foreign borrowings’, accounting for formations ex externo (2002b: 183-200).

*Íslensk orðsifjabók*, the Icelandic etymological dictionary refers to the association between the ex interno and ex externo origin of PSMs, e.g. in *guðspjall* (Magnússon 1989: 286), but is not more specific than that.

Groenke (1983) refers in passing to PSM. However, his taxonomy is vague and when addressing true PSM, he ignores its semantic dimension. In his taxonomy of present-day Icelandic neologisation, Groenke sums up five methods of word-formation: derivation, compounding, meaning expansion, reintroduction of archaisms with a new meaning and finally *Lehnclipping* ‘loan-clipping’. The latter, relevant to our chapter, is defined as follows:

Ein fünftes Verfahren wird in jüngster Zeit häufiger angewandt, nämlich die Bildung von Kunstwörtern aus Segmenten Fremdsprachiger Vorlagen, die sich der graphisch-phonischen Struktur des Isländischen gut angleichen lassen. Bei den entlehnten Segmenten handelt es sich jedoch nicht um Segmente der Morphemanalyse der jeweiligen Sprache; wir ziehen daher den Terminus ‘clipping’ vor.

‘A fifth method has been applied quite often in recent times, that is the formation of artificial words from segments of foreign patterns that can be well adapted to the graphic-phonetic structure of Icelandic. In the case of borrowed segments, the segments cannot be analysed morphemically like in the source languages. Therefore, we prefer the term “clipping”’.

Groenke cites two examples. The first one is *berkill* ‘tuberculosis’, in which the initial syllable *tu-* was clipped and the final syllable adapted to Icelandic and the suffix *-ill*. This reportedly resulted in a new Icelandic formation, analysable as

*berk-ill*, in which the formative *berk* has no meaning whatsoever + the suffix *-ill*, otherwise denoting instrument or agent. Groenke's second example is *ratsjá* 'radar', ultimately based on the internationalism *radar*, in turn an acronym of *radio detecting and ranging*. Reproduced in Icelandic, *-ra* was, according to Groenke, clipped, and the Icelandic element *-sjá* added, resulting in the form *rat-sjá*, thus analysable as consisting of *rata* 'to find one's way', and *-sjá*, denoting 'something, which sees' (1983: 148–150). *Ratsjá*, coined shortly after World War II, is not only graphically-phonetically dual, as Groenke suggests, alluding to *radar* and *rata* + *sjá* simultaneously, but also semantically dual. Thus, it is a satisfying manifestation of PSM (see also §6).

The traditional classifications of borrowing ignore it altogether, and categorise borrowing into either substitution or importation. However, as this chapter demonstrates, PSM is a distinct phenomenon, which operates through simultaneous substitution and importation. Its recognition carries important implications not only for lexicology and comparative historical linguistics, but also for sociolinguistics and cultural studies.

Haugen, although written as long ago as 1950, is considered by some to have presented the most complex typology of lexical borrowing (cf. Appel and Muysken 1987: 164). He did indeed manage to create order within the earlier confusing terminology. However, his treatment has the following shortcomings with regard to PSM:

1. OMISSION: Despite the fact that PSM is a common source of lexical enrichment derived from language contact, it is hardly mentioned in Haugen (1950). He only briefly discusses 'semantic loan' (1950: 214), which is related to only one specific category of PSM, namely 'phono-semantic matching through a preexistent form' (see §5 below). Furthermore, he seems to have had in mind only one of many cases belonging to this category; namely that in which the semantically shifted TL lexical element is a (surface) cognate of the SL word (see §5.1).

Even the term 'semantic loan', as Haugen himself admits, is flawed, since according to his use of 'semantic', all the other loans are also semantic (the TL lexical item preserves the meaning of the SL lexical item), the only difference being that in the case of the so-called 'semantic loan', the only *detectable* evidence of borrowing is its new meaning.

2. INAPPROPRIATE CATEGORIZATION: A much more serious problem than the aforementioned neglect of PSM is the fact that PSM does not fall within Haugen's main types of reproduction *ex externo* or "borrowing" – substitution and importation – since PSM is a special case of simultaneous substitution and importation.

## PSM in Icelandic

As mentioned in §2, the original Icelandic morphemes are usually monosyllabic. Moreover, due to the conservative character of the language, the vast majority of complex formations are analysable. Thus, when reproducing polysyllabic words *ex externo*, Icelandic may resemble tonal languages in the sense that some of these words may not only be perceived as phonetically native, but may also be partially or totally reanalyzed semantically. Baldur Jónsson calls these polysyllabic words *sýndarsamsetningar* ‘pseudo-compounds’, as the speakers are assumed to divide it in two and treat it as a compound stem, in that both syllables bear accents. As examples, Jónsson cites Icelandic *abbadís* ‘abbess’, which could be conceived as some kind of *dís* ‘Goddess; fay’ and *krókóðill* ‘crocodile’ which could be conceived as some kind of *dill* ‘speckle, spot’ (2002a: 230). The first element can be identified as related to *krókur* ‘hook’. With no special semantic content we find Icelandic *harmonikka* ‘accordion, *kakkalakki* ‘cockroach’ and *rabbarbari* ‘rhubarb’. Knútsson (1993: 113) cites such examples as Icelandic *ábóti* ‘abbot’, which can be reanalyzed as a native formation reproduced of *á* ‘on’ + *bót* ‘remedy’ + *i* (inflectional suffix), and *kafteinn* ‘captain’, which can be reanalyzed as a native formation reproduced of *kaf* ‘submersion’ + *teinn* ‘rod’. Even though the semantic connection to the actual meanings of these *ex externo* formations is far-fetched, the next step is phonosemantic matching, as in *teknik* > Icelandic *tækni* ‘technology, technique’ and *bagel* > *beygla* ‘bagel’, where logical semantic association is involved.

In 1780 *Hið íslenska lærdómslistafélag* (*The Icelandic Society for Learned Arts*) presented its declaration of principles of the Icelandic language, formulating an official and puristic language policy. Although put down to writing in 1780, puristic language policy had been advocated and applied by many Icelanders before that. Demonstrations of PSMs in Icelandic predate puristic language planning.

For instance, the Icelandic PSM *guðspjall* ‘gospel’ was formed upon Icelanders’ acceptance of Christianity in the year 1000. It is attested in written Icelandic in the 13th century *Sturlunga Saga*. Its formation involved a reproduction (1) *ex externo* of Old English *gōd-spel* lit. ‘good tidings, good news’ on the one hand, and *ex interno* on Icelandic *guð* ‘God’ + *spjall* ‘speech’, lit. ‘God’s discourse’, on the other (Magnússon 1989: 286). This can be summed up by the formula: *ex externo* (phonology + semantics) + *ex interno* (phonology + semantics) = *ex externo cum ex interno* = PSM.

Old English *gōd-spel* is a calque of Greek εὐαγγέλιον *euangélion* (> Latin *euangelium*) ‘gospel’, lit. ‘glad tidings, good news; reward of good tidings, given to the messenger’, from *eû* ‘good’ + *ángelos* ‘messenger, envoy’ (only later did it come to refer to ‘divine messenger, angel’ – as in *Non angli sed angeli, si forent*

*Christiani*, attributed to Gregory the Great, who was shown English children reduced to slavery in Rome in 573 AD).

Juxtapose Icelandic *guðspjall* with the following PSMs, found in early, uncensored copies of the Babylonian Talmud, Sabbath Tractate, 116a:

1. און גליון *ǫ́awen gilyōn* ‘evil revelation-book’
2. עוון גליון *ǫ́awōn gilyōn* ‘sin revelation-book’
3. אבן גליון *ǫ́eben gilyōn* ‘stone revelation-book’

These terms all refer to the gospels and are adaptations of Greek εὐαγγέλιον. (Biblical) Hebrew גליון *gilyōn* / *gillāyōn*, which I translate as ‘revelation-book’, generally refers to ‘blank parchment, the margin of scrolls’, ‘writing tablet’ (cf. Syriac גליונא *gelayona* ‘volume’). However, the etymon of גליון *gilyōn* is the root ג.ל.י. (cf. ג.ל.ה. *g.l.h.*) ‘to uncover, reveal’. Thus, גליון is a good nativizer of *euangélion* since the latter was associated with Apocalypse (the revelation), cf. Latin *apocalypsis* and Greek ἀποκάλυψις *apokálupsis*, the latter being a noun of action from ἀποκαλύπτειν, the meaning of which is exactly the same ‘to uncover, disclose’ (< ἀπό ‘off’ + καλύπτειν ‘to cover’).

Note the *structural compromise* in the expressions above. For example, the quasi-hyperbaton construct-state און גליון *ǫ́awen gilyōn* literally means ‘evil of book’ rather than ‘book of evil’. Switching places between the *nomen rectum* and the *nomen regens* – resulting in און גליון \**gilyōn ǫ́awen* ‘book of evil’ – would have been much better semantically but not nearly as good phonetically. A similar ‘poetic licence’ occurs in Maskilic Hebrew עמוד פאר *péeyr ámud* (pronounced in Polish Ashkenazic Hebrew *péayr ámid*), lit. ‘glory of pillar’, an adaptation of European *pyramid*. עמוד פאר \**ámud péeyr*, lit. ‘pillar of glory’, would have been much better semantically.

Icelandic *páfagaukur* ‘parrot’ was first attested in the 1890s. Here, ex externo Danish *papegøje* was combined with ex interno Icelandic *páfi* (in genitive) ‘pope’ + *gaukur* ‘cuckoo’, lit. ‘the pope’s cuckoo’. PSM seems to have become much more productive in Icelandic appellatives after the turn of the 19th century.

Three basic steps are essential in the study of PSMs: The first is the collection of PSMs. During our field and library research we found a handful of PSMs in Icelandic. The second task, crucial to the analysis of the phenomenon, is the analytic classification of PSMs. The third step is the analysis itself. One of the classifications which can help answer vital questions concerning the nature and function of PSM is lexicopoietic:

- (a) *PSM through a Preexistent Form*: PSM produced by shifting the meaning of a preexistent TL form (thus casting a new sense into it) in order to restrict the word to the meaning of the semantically and phonetically related matched SL word, thus resulting in polysemy. Consider *skjár* ‘screen’, reproduced ex

interno from Icelandic *skjár* ‘membrane covering an opening in the roof’ and ex externo from Danish *skærm* ‘screen’. Thus, close senses and the phonemes of *skjár* and *skærm* were united into one PSM (See §5 below).

- (b) *PSM through a New Form*: PSM which is a new creation resulting from the reproduction of elements ex interno and ex externo, which are both phonetically and semantically similar or close, e.g. Icelandic *eyðni* ‘AIDS’, reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *eyða* ‘to destroy’ + suffix *-ni* and ex externo from English *AIDS* (see §3 above and §6 below).

## PSM through a Preexistent Form

Consider Icelandic *dalur* ‘dollar’, reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *dalur* ‘daler’, an old Danish monetary unit, which was once in use in Iceland, and ex externo from English *dollar*. Note that the suffix *-ur* is not radical, but inflectional (Sapir 2003b: 85).

Similarly, Icelandic *dapur* ‘depressed, dejected, low in spirits’ was reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *dapur* ‘sad, downcast, woeful, weak, joyless’. Through the influence of Danish *deprimeret* and English *depressed*, the etymologically unrelated *dapur* has acquired the sense ‘depressed’, and its derivatives *dapurleiki* and *depurð* the meanings ‘depression’. *Dapur* and its derivatives share the first three consonants *d*, *p*, *r* with English or international *depressed*.

Icelandic *ímynd* in the meaning ‘image, model, character being looked up to’ was reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *ímynd* ‘picture, image, symbol’. In the late 1960s this word seems to have acquired the additional sense ‘character being looked up to’ through ex externo English *image*. (Sapir 2003b: 103).

Icelandic *musl* ‘muesli’ was reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *musl* ‘snack, small crumbs of some material, mash’ and ex externo, ultimately from Swiss German *Müesli* ‘muesli’. *Müesli* is, in turn, a diminutive form of *Mus* or *Muos* ‘soft food, mush’. In 1990, Baldur Jónsson coined the neologism *mysla*, as a diminutive of *musl* (similarly to Swiss German *Muos* > *Müesli*), for *muesli* (Jónsson B. 1990: 31). In contrast to many other of Jónsson’s coinages, this one never gained foothold in Icelandic. Currently, both the PSM *musl* [mʏstl] and *musli* [mʏstli] are used for ‘muesli’ in Icelandic.

Icelandic *skjár* ‘screen’, reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *skjár* ‘membrane covering an opening in the roof (used in old Icelandic homes before the window came into use)’ and ex externo from Danish *skærm* ‘screen’, from which an older and short-lived Icelandic form *skermur* was reproduced. Note that *skermur* [skʰermʏr̥] and *skjár* [skʰaʷr̥] share the phonemes /s/, /kʰ/ and /r/ (or /r̥/), but whereas the first <r> in *skermur* is radical and the one in *skjár* is non-radical. Thus, close senses and the phonology of *skjár* and *skærm/skermur* were united into one PSM (see Sapir 2003b: 47).

Icelandic *setur* ‘centre’ was reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *setur* ‘seat; residence’ and ex externo from English *centre*. Through English influence, this noun seems to be used more and more frequently with the meaning ‘centre’, e.g. *rannsóknarsetur* ‘research centre’, *námskeiðasetur* ‘course centre’ and *læknasetrið* ‘medical centre’.

Icelandic *toga* ‘to trawl’ (method of fishing) was reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *toga* ‘to pull, draw’ and ex externo from English *trawl*, thus sharing the phonemes /t/ or /θ/ and /o/ and additionally a consonant with the English word. Likewise, the derivative *togari* ‘to trawl’ + agentive suffix was reproduced ex interno cum ex externo from English ‘trawler’. Both neologisms were coined by the director general of public health Guðmundir Björnson, thus substituting ex externo *trolla* and *trollari*, respectively (Halldórsson 1971: 233). They are first attested in the beginning of the 20th century. The English verb itself, *to trawl*, ultimately meant ‘to draw, drag’.

### Incestuous PSM by Semantic Shifting

PSM by semantic shifting is common in cases of cognates, i.e. the TL original word and the inducing SL word are semantically close. Consider the following:

- (American) Portuguese *humoroso* ‘capricious’ changed its referent to ‘humorous, funny’ owing to the English surface-cognate *humorous* (Haugen 1950: 214), cf. Portuguese *humorístico* ‘humorous’.
- French *réaliser* ‘actualize, make real’ is increasingly used to mean ‘realize, conceive, apprehend’ – induced by English *realize* (Deroy 1956: 59), which derives from Italian *realizzare* or from the original French *réaliser*.
- Israeli Hebrew פולמוס *pulmús/pulmós/púlmus* ‘polemic’ is a PSM – based on Mishnaic Hebrew פולמוס [pūl’mūs] (also פלמוס [pul’mūs]) ‘war’ (cf. *Mishnah*: Soṭah 9:14) – of the internationalism *polemic*, cf. Israeli פולמיקה *polémika*, German *Polemik*, Yiddish פּאָלעמיק *polémik*, Russian полемика *polémika*, Polish *polemika* and French *polémique*. Both Mishnaic Hebrew פולמוס and the internationalism *polemic* can be traced to Greek *pólemos* ‘battle, fight, war’ (cf. Kutscher 1965: 31). However, the Mishnaic meaning ‘war’ is obsolete today (Zuckermann 2003a: 95).

Incestuous PSMs in Icelandic have an ex interno element that is etymologically cognate with the ex externo element from an Indo-European or a common Germanic phrase.

Consider Icelandic *beygla*, which has acquired the additional sense ‘bagel’. It was thus reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *beygla* ‘dent’ (related to *begyja* ‘to bend, curve’ and *baugur* ‘ring’) and ex externo, it was reproduced



immediately from English *bagel*, but ultimately from Yiddish *בייגל* *beygl*. Thus, it can be reanalyzed both phonemically and semantically as a derivation of *baugur* ‘ring’ and as a reproduction of English *bagel*. Both ultimately go back to a common Germanic stem *baugian*.

Icelandic *heila* ‘to heal, restore to health’ and etymologically cognate with English *heal* has expanded its meaning to comprise ‘to heal, restore to a spiritual wholeness’ by reproducing ex interno Icelandic *heila* and ex externo, the cognate English *heal*. Both go back to a common Germanic root.

Icelandic *staða* ‘status’, a cognate of English *status*, was reproduced ex interno from Icelandic ‘stand, posture; position, post’ and ex externo on the internationalism *status*, by which it has expanded its meaning to embrace ‘status, position relative to others’ as in ‘social status’. They both go back to the Indo-European root *\*st(h)ā*, *\*st(h)ē* ‘to stand’.

Icelandic *stöð* ‘station’, a cognate of English *station*, was reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *stöð*. They both go back to the Indo-European root *\*st(h)ā*, *\*st(h)ē* ‘to stand’. Originally, *stöð* meant ‘place, position, place of landing’, but through meaning rapprochement it acquired the additional meaning ‘station’ and also ‘centre’ (currently often in the complex formation *miðstöð* lit. ‘middle-place’) in the nineteenth century. The meaning ‘station’ does not merely embrace concrete locations, such as train stations, but, as in English, also such establishments as radio and television stations.

## PSM Introducing a New Form

The proposed Icelandic *bifra* ‘to vibrate’ and *bifrari* ‘vibrator’ based ex interno on Icelandic *bifa* ‘to tremble, shake’ and ex externo on English *vibrate* and *vibrator*, respectively. These words have apparently never come into use in Icelandic. Ex interno *titra* and *titrari* are used to denote ‘vibratae’ and ‘vibrator’, respectively.

Icelandic *brokkál* ‘broccoli’, which was reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *brok* ‘cotton grass’ + *kál* ‘plant from the genus Brassica’, cf. *blómkál* ‘cauliflower’, *hvítkál* ‘cabbage’, *rauðkál* ‘red fairy’ and *spergilkál* also ‘broccoli’. Ex externo, the ultimate source of the word is Italian *broccoli*, which is the plural diminutive form of *brocco* ‘sprout, shoot’ and the immediate one is English *broccoli*. *Brokkál* is the least common of several competing synonyms in Icelandic. The most common one, reproduced ex interno, is *spergilkál*, from *spergill* ‘asparagus’ + *kál* ‘plant from the genus Brassica’. Note that ex interno Finnish *parsakaali* ‘broccoli’ also has the literal meaning ‘asparagus’ (*parsa*) + ‘plant from the genus Brassica’. *Broccoli* has two other synonyms, that are adaptations ex externo into Icelandic, i.e. *brokkolí* and *brokkólí* (Sapir 1983: 83).

PSM of vegetable and fruit names is very common. Consider *artichoke*. This lexical item has been subject to PSMs in various languages, for example: North Italian *articiocco*, *arciciocco* (>English *archychock*) < *arcicioffo* < Old Italian

\**alcarcioffo* (Modern Italian *carciofo*, *carcioffo*) – by association with the native Italian words *arci-* arch- ‘chief’, *cioffo* ‘horse-collar’ and *ciocco* ‘stump’. Consider also French *artichaut/chou/chaud/chault/chaut* – by assimilation to *chou* ‘cabbage’, *chaud* ‘warm’, *hault*, *haut* ‘high’.

The Italian and French forms were Latinized in the sixteenth century as *articoccus/coctus/cactus*. English *arti/horti/harty–choke/chock/choak* is explained by the fact that ‘it chokes the garden’, ‘it chokes the heart’ or ‘its heart causes one to choke’. Note, however, that English *choke* ‘the mass of immature florets in the centre of an artichoke’ might have emerged from reanalysing the existent *artichoke* as having in its heart a ‘choke’, cf. Zuckermann (2003: 213).

Compare this with the Arabic compound PSM أرضي شوكي [ʔarði ʔawki] ‘artichoke’, Vernacular Arabic [ʔarði ʔo:ki], cf. (Galilee) [ʔarði ʔo:k]. Arabic أرضي شوكي [ʔarði ʔawki] is used (*inter alia*) in Syria, Lebanon and Israel. It hybridizes (i) the internationalism *artichoke* and (ii) Arabic أرضي [ʔarði] ‘earthly, terrestrial, of ground’ (‘artichokes grow in earth’) + شوكي [ʔawki] ‘thorny, prickly’ (cf. شوك [ʔawk] ‘thorn’, شوكة [ʔawka] ‘id.’) (‘artichokes are thorny’). Intl *artichoke* ‘*Cynara Scolymus*’ goes back to Old Spanish *alcarchofa* (cf. Contemporary Spanish *alcachofa*, Portuguese *alcachofra*), from Spanish Arabic [ʔalχarʔofa], from Arabic الخرشوف [ʔalχarʔu:f] (cf. Vernacular Arabic [χorʔe:f]), the name of a thorny plant). Consequently, Arabic أرضي شوكي [ʔarði ʔawki] closes a circle which began in Arabic with the etymologically unrelated الخرشوف [ʔalχarʔu:f]:

**الخرشوف**

Arabic [ʔalχarʔu:f] > Spanish Arabic [ʔalχarʔofa] > Old Spanish *alcarchofa* >  
 > Italian *alcarcioffo* > North Italian *arcicioffo* > *arciciocco* > *articiocco* >>  
 > International/English **artichoke** > Arabic (e.g. in Syria, Lebanon and Israel)  
 [ʔarði ʔo:k(i)] < أرضي ‘earthly’ + شوكي ‘thorny’

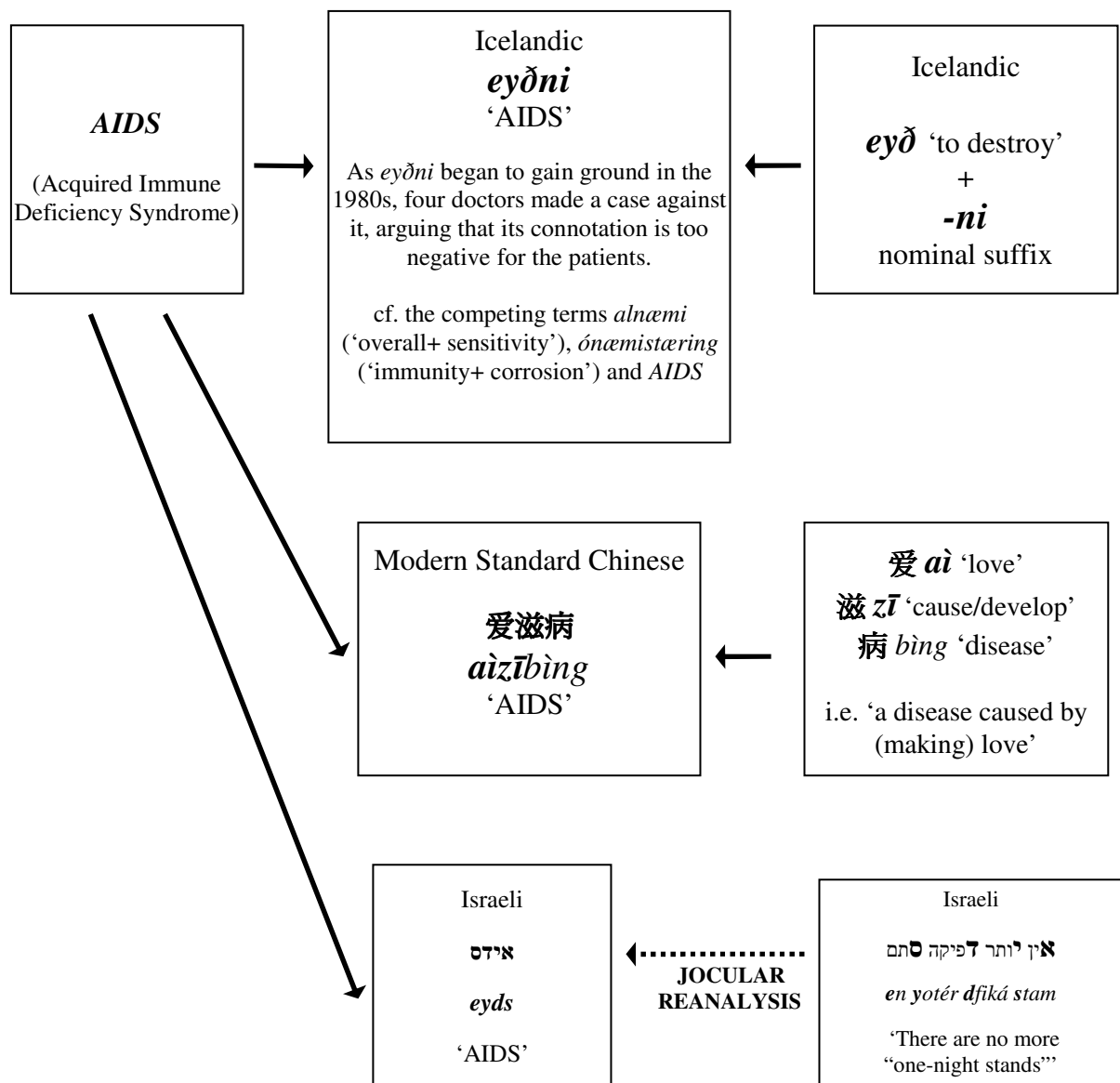
**أرضي شوكي**

**Figure 3:** *Artichoke*

Note that *Jerusalem artichoke*, the species of sunflower (*Helianthus tuberosus*) which tastes rather like an artichoke, is a lay phonetic matching of Italian *Girasole Articiocco* ‘sunflower artichoke’. It is said to have been distributed under this Italian name from the Farnese garden at Rome soon after its introduction to Europe in 1617.

Returning to Icelandic, *eyðni* [eʔðni] ‘AIDS’, coined by Páll Bergþórsson in 1985 (Jónsson B. 1987), is a reproduction ex interno of Icelandic *eyða* ‘to eliminate, devastate’ + nominal suffix *-ni* and ex externo on English *AIDS* (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), commonly rendered by Icelanders as [eʔts]. *Eyðni* is one of half a dozen Icelandic words suggested in the 1980s to denote *AIDS*, the acronym of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. Three

neologisms in particular competed with each other: *alnæmi* (from *al-* ‘all, overall’ + *næmi* ‘sensitivity’), *ónæmistæring* (from *ónæmi* ‘immunity’ + *tæring* ‘phthisis; corrosion’) and *eyðni*. As *eyðni* began to gain ground, four doctors made a case against it, arguing that a lexeme alluding to destruction may have too negative connotations for the patients (Jónsson B. 1987). Today, the formation *ex externo AIDS* and the formation *ex interno alnæmi* are most commonly used to denote *AIDS* in Icelandic. Interestingly, the same Englishism was phono-semantically matched in Modern Standard Chinese as 爱滋病 *aizhībìng*, lit. ‘love + cause/develop/neutralize/spread + disease’, i.e. ‘a disease caused by (making) love’. Consider also Israeli אידס *eyds*, jocularly reanalysed as an acronym for אין יותר דפיקה סתם *en yotér dfiká stam* ‘There are no more “one-night stands”’. The following figure summarizes these processes:



**Figure 4:** Phono-Semantic Matching of *AIDS* in Icelandic, Modern Standard Mandarin and Israeli

The proposed *júgurð* ‘yoghurt’ was reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *júgur* (*júg-* + inflectional suffix *-ur*) ‘udder; dug’ + *-urð* ‘result’ (lit. ‘becoming, coming into being’, of *verða* ‘to become’) (Heimir Pálsson pc). The element *-urð* occurs in a few lexemes, such as the old formations *afurð* ‘product’, *tilurð* ‘genesis, origin; fact’ and the 18th century formation *úrurð* ‘product’. Ex externo it was reproduced from Intl *yoghurt*, which, in turn, goes back to Turkish *yoğart*, *yoğurt* of *yoğur* ‘to knead’. However creative and phono-semantically matching this coinage may be, *júgurð* has never made its way into the Icelandic lexis. Rather, the variants *júgúrt* or *jógúrt* are used for ‘yoghurt’.

Icelandic *kórréttur* ‘absolutely, totally correct’ was reproduced ex interno from the Icelandic etymologically opaque element *kór-*, appearing merely in *kórvilla* ‘grave error, total mistake’ + *réttur* ‘right, correct’ (Heimir Pálsson pc) and ex externo from Intl *correct*. The first record of *kórréttur* is found in *Paradísarheimt* ‘Paradise Reclaimed’ from 1960, written by the Nobel Prize Winner for literature Halldór Laxnes. Within the collected data of our Icelandic PSMs, this is the only lexeme that is not totally assimilated semantically with the ex externo lexeme, as the intensifier *kór-* ‘totally, absolutely’ from *kórvilla* is reproduced.

Icelandic *ratsjá* ‘radar’ was reproduced ex interno from Old Icelandic *rata* ‘to find’ (> Modern Icelandic ‘to find one’s way’) + *-sjá* ‘-scope’ and ex externo from English *radar* (cf. §4). The element *-sjá*, reproduced from the verb *sjá* ‘see’ has become equivalent to the internationalism *-scope* in several neologisms, as in *hringsjá* ‘periscope’ (with *hring-* meaning ‘around, circum-, peri-’), *rafsjá* ‘electroscope’ (with *raf-* meaning ‘electrical, electro-’) and *smásjá* ‘microscope’ (with *smá-* meaning ‘little, small, micro-’). The meaning of *-sjá* ‘an instrument, which helps in seeing things’, probably goes back to a sole Old Icelandic word, i.e. *skuggsjá*, lit. ‘instrument, by whose means shadows are seen’, i.e. ‘mirror’. Interestingly, the very internationalism *radar* was domesticated in Modern Standard Chinese as 雷达 *léidá* (CED: 1540, Ramsey 1989: 60), lit. ‘thunder + reach’. As we shall see in §5, many Englishisms which are matched in Icelandic are also matched – independently – in other languages.

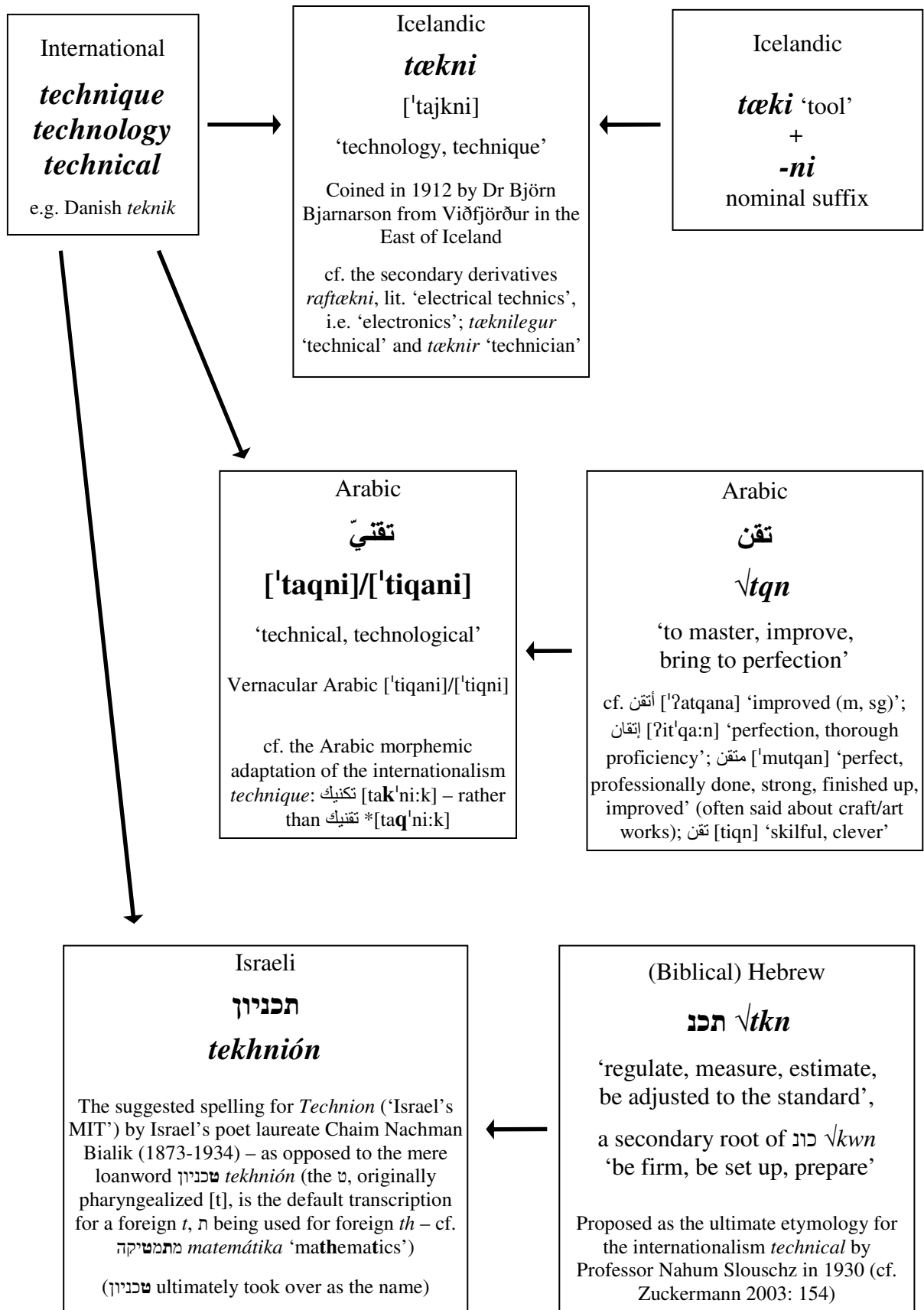
Icelandic *staðall* ‘standard’ was reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *staða* ‘stand, posture; position, post’ + instrumental suffix *-all* and ex interno from the internationalism *standard*. It was coined by Ólafur M. Ólafsson (Halldórsson 1971: 229) and is first recorded in 1955, together with the derivatives *staðlaður* (adjective) ‘standard, standardized’ and *stöðlun* ‘standardisation’. Interestingly, the early Germanic form of Latin *standardum*, probably from *externdere* ‘to stretch out’ + *-ard*, was the Middle High German PSM *stanthart*, lit. ‘stand hard’.

Similarly, Icelandic *tækni* ‘technology, technique’ derives ex interno from Icelandic *tæki* ‘tool’ and is reproduced ex externo from Danish (or international) *teknik* ‘technology, technique’. This neologism was coined in 1912 by Dr. Björn Bjarnarson from Viðfjörður in the East of Iceland. It had been little in use until the 1940s, but has ever since become highly common, as a lexeme and as an element in new formations, such as *raftækni* lit. ‘electrical technics’, i.e. ‘electronics’, *tæknilegur* ‘technical’ and *tæknir* ‘technician’ (Halldórsson 1987:

96; Halldórsson 1995a; Sapir 2003b: 131). The latter formation follows an ancient strong masculine pattern of *ir*-stem, formations denoting agent. The internationalism *technical* was phono-semantically matched in Arabic too, as *تقنيّ* [ʔaʔni]/[ʔiqani] ‘technical, technological’, cf. Vernacular Arabic [ʔiqani]/[ʔiqni], see also Arabic *تقنية* [taqʔnijja]/[tiqaʔnijja] ‘technology, technique’. These terms derive ex interno from Arabic *تقن*  $\sqrt{tqn}$  ‘to master, improve, bring to perfection’ – cf. Blau (1981: 171-2). The Arabic root  $\sqrt{tqn}$  can be found in *أَتَقَنَ* [ʔatqana] ‘improved (m, sg)’, *إِتْقَان* [ʔitʔqa:n] ‘perfection, thorough proficiency’, *مَتَقَنَ* [ʔmutqan] ‘perfect, professionally done, strong, finished up, improved’ (often said about craft/art works) and *تَقَنَ* [tiqn] ‘skilful, clever’. It seems certain that Arabic *تقن*  $\sqrt{tqn}$  played a role here (hence the PSM) for two reasons. First, there is a semantic link between technique and artistic mastery, as well as – in the information age – between technology and perfection. Second, the expected form in the case of a mere loanword in Modern Arabic would have used Arabic *ك* [k] rather than *ق* [q]. In fact, the Arabic morphemic adaptation of Intl *technique* is Arabic *تكنيك* [takʔni:k] rather than *\*تقنيك* \*[taqʔni:k]. Similarly, the Arabic form of Intl *technological* is *تكنولوجيا* [takno:ʔlo:dʒi] rather than *\*تقنولوجي* \*[taqno:ʔlo:dʒi]. See also Arabic *ميكانيكي* [mi:ka:ni:ki] ‘mechanic, mechanical’ and Arabic *إلكترون* [ʔilikʔtru:n] (Vernacular Arabic [ʔelekʔtro:n]) ‘electron’ (cf. Zuckermann 2003a: 70-72). The figure in the following page summarizes these processes, adding a relevant Israeli one.

Icelandic *uppi* ‘yuppie’ was reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *upp* ‘up’ and ex externo from English *yuppie*. This slang word can be reanalyzed as *upp* ‘up’ + the inflectional suffix *-i*. As *uppi* ‘yuppie’ is a homonym, not a polyseme of *uppi* ‘up, upstairs’, it is regarded here as a new form.

Icelandic *veira* ‘virus’ was reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *feyra* ‘mouldiness, mustiness; rottenness, decay’ and ex externo on the internationalism *virus*. It was coined by the Director General of public health Vilmundur Jónsson in 1955, who was conscious of both the phonemic and the semantic aspects of his creation. Besides the common phonemes /v/ and /r/, Vilmundur Jónsson was apparently aware of the possibility of alluding to the English diphthong [aj] in English *virus* by the diphthong *ei* [ej] in *veira*. Moreover, Icelandic has an internal phonological development of *i* > *ei*. Having coined the word, Jónsson learned that long *i* in Latin happens to correspond frequently to Icelandic *ei*. As if this wouldn’t be enough, the word *veira* itself, and some derivations, appears in Björn Halldórsson’s Icelandic dictionary from the end of the 18th century, with reference to *feyra* (see above). The derivation *veirulaus* (lit. *veira* + ‘-less’) is defined as ‘honest, straightforward’, which, according to Jónsson, enhances *veira* in its new meaning. However, *veira* in its old meaning is not attested in other written sources (Jónsson V. 1985). The PSM *veira* and the formation ex externo *virus* co-exist in Icelandic today. Whereas *virus* was first attested in 1945, *veira* was first attested in 1955. *Veira* is also used to denote ‘virus’ in the computer domain.



**Figure 5:** Phono-Semantic Matching of *technical* in Icelandic, Arabic and Israeli

## Partial PSM

The type of formation discussed in this chapter varies in its level of phonetic matching. Partial PSM is such a formation, whose phonetic matching is limited to no more than one morpheme of the ex externo element. In extreme cases, their very definition as PSMs can be questioned.

Consider Icelandic *fjárfeſta* lit. ‘to money + fasten’, i.e. ‘to invest’ and the derivative *fjárfeſting* lit. ‘money + fastening’, i.e. ‘investment’ that were introduced in Iceland in the 1940s, reportedly by Gylfi Þ. Gíslason. They were reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *fé* (in genitive) ‘money’ + *feſta* ‘fasten’ and ex externo partially from English *invest* (Knútsson 1993: 110). They are considered partial PSMs, as the first morph of *in-* was substituted by Icelandic *fjár* ‘money’ and the second one was reproduced phonetically and semantically as *-feſt-*. Note also the possible influence of Danish *investering*, in which *-ing* functions as a noun suffix. The element *-feſt-* occurs as the second element in other verbal formations, such as *kroſſfeſta* lit. ‘to cross-fasten’, i.e. ‘to crucify’, where it has a concrete meaning. In *lögfeſta* lit. ‘to law-fasten’, i.e. ‘to legalize’ and *staðfeſta* lit. ‘to place-fasten’, i.e. ‘to confirm’ the element *-feſt-* has an abstract meaning, just as in *fjárfeſta* and *fjárfeſting*. (Knútsson 1993: 110, Sapir 2003b: 90).

Icelandic *pallborðsumræður*, or shortly *pallborð*, ‘panel discussion’ was reproduced ex interno from Icelandic *pallborð* (in genitive) ‘place of honour’ + *umræða* (in pluralis tantum) ‘discussion’ and ex externo from English *panel discussions*. Phonemically, only the first syllable in Icelandic is equivalent to the two first syllables in English, sharing the phonemes /p/, /a/ and //l/. As Halldór Halldórsson writes, he coined it around 1976, as he was looking for a suitable native word for the English term (Halldórsson 1995b).

## Conclusions and Theoretical Implications

As this chapter makes clear, PSM seems to be so camouflaged, that coiners conscious of the ex externo aspect of the word, let alone naïve native speakers, may still identify it as native and, as for the language purists, as a “recognized” neologism in the language.

Whereas so-called popular etymology is often mocked and seen down upon due to lacking connection between the SL semantics and the TL semantics or to a sheer misunderstanding of the SL meaning, phono-semantic matching is by many considered an elegant and likewise sophisticated method of word-formation, succeeding in combining sound and meaning of both SL and TL and in awakening associations at the minds of the TL speakers. However, as we can see from the PSMs analysed throughout this chapter, the distinction between *création savante* and *création populaire* is not so categorical since many *créations*

*savantes* are in fact ‘*populaires*’ and many *créations populaires* are indeed ‘*savantes*’ (cf. Zuckermann 2003).

What at least at first glance seems like “good” ex interno reproduction is in many cases a bifurcated reproduction ex interno cum ex externo, where the ex externo element is sometimes camouflaged. This description is true about the standard written language. In other registers or genres, as within scientific and professional language in different domains or within the colloquial language, the ex externo share is probably even higher in Icelandic. This is probably true also in other languages.

PSM, a source of lexical enrichment distinct from guestwords, foreignisms, loanwords and calquing has had a vast impact across many languages. PSM, which usually goes unnoticed by speakers (especially those of generations following the original coinage), has introduced a substantial number of new senses and lexemes in Chinese, Finnish, Icelandic, Japanese, Israeli Hebrew, Turkish, pidgins, creoles, and other languages. In the case of Icelandic, PSM reinforces the view that Icelandic lexis has been covertly influenced by other Germanic languages such as English and Danish. The (polychronically analysed) examples presented in this chapter prove that PSM is an important method of Icelandic word-formation, resulting in a handful of Icelandic lexemes or suggestions for neologisms. Many of these suggested and lexicalized neologisms have been produced through conscious word-formation. This is remarkable, taking into account the fact that the majority of SL words do not have a parallel TL element which may coincide on phonetic and on semantic levels. Such a constraint does not usually apply to calquing, morpho-phonemic adaptation and mere neologization.

Discussing Turkish examples of PSM, Deny (1935: 246) claims that such neologisms are ‘without precedent in the annals of linguistics’. This chapter corrects that statement. As our data show, PSM is above all a means of disguising an ex externo lexical item by attaching ex interno elements that are both phonetically and semantically connected with the ex externo lexical item. This implies that even though the neologism consists of senses and phonemes, which are at the same time ex interno and ex externo, the sense ex externo is primary to the sense ex interno. After all, the sense ex externo is the one introduced in the TL. With *kórréttur* ‘totally correct’ as an exception (see §6), all our data show that the sense ex externo is the final meaning of the new PSM. The senses ex interno are just used, if one can say so, “to justify it”. As for the phonemes, our data witness a broad range of phonetic affinity, from partial PSMs that are phonetically distant from the SL, such as *fjárfesta* ‘to invest’, through phonetically somewhat related *ratsjá* ‘radar’, to the phonetically very similar *musl* ‘muesli’ and *uppi* ‘yuppie’.

Looking further at the semantic aspect of PSM, it has the advantage for language planners that apparently, differently from many other formations ex externo, a wide spectrum of senses ex externo follows with the PSM. English



lexemes such as *chat* and *mail* have been recently reproduced in a great many languages, but are usually semantically constricted to such a degree, that second language speakers of English might sometimes forget, or not even know, that the SL English *chat* can also mean ‘small talk’ or ‘to have a small talk’ and that, by just saying *mail* in English, it does not imply that it is electronic. Similarly, an Israeli who talks about *tránsfer* only refers to transfer of people. Israeli *buk* is not ‘book’ but rather ‘portfolio (for models)’, and *studént* is only a university student.

However, in PSMs a broader semantic range *ex externo* is reproduced, similarly to calques. For instance, Icelandic *stöð* does not only mean ‘station’ as a physical location, but also the establishment of a radio or television station. Icelandic *tækni* does not only mean ‘technique’ and ‘technology’ in the mechanical sense, but also when it comes to using different techniques in e.g. sports. Likewise, Icelandic *veira* does not only mean ‘virus’ in the medical sense, but also ‘virus’ that is present in computers (just like in English).

The two abortive coinages *bifra-bifrari* and *júgurð* both introduce new forms. However, it is impossible to conclude from only two data that it would be less likely for a coinage introducing a new form to be accepted by the speech community than for a coinage on a preexistent form.

PSM reflects cultural and social interactions and often manifests the attempt of a culture to preserve its identity when confronted with an overpowering alien environment, without segregating itself from potential influences. The result can be contempt (cf. Zuckermann 2002, 2006b) or ‘cultural flirting’ (being strongly influenced by the environment, as is the case of Icelandic, which is currently greatly influenced by English). PSM strengthens the idea that language is a major tool for cultures to maintain or form their identity. This chapter demonstrates the existence of concealed *ex externo* influences on Icelandic, mainly from English and Danish.

## ABSTRACT

Sapir, Yair and Zuckermann, Ghil'ad 2008. 'Icelandic: Phonosemantic Matching', pp. 19-43 (Chapter 2) (References: 296-325) of Judith Rosenhouse and Rotem Kowner (eds), *Globally Speaking: Motives for Adopting English Vocabulary in Other Languages*. Clevedon – Buffalo – Toronto: Multilingual Matters.

Icelandic is one of the most puristically oriented among living languages. This chapter analyses an important but hitherto neglected method of Icelandic word-formation. It introduces the term 'phono-semantic matching' (henceforth PSM) to describe the technique whereby a foreignism is reproduced in the target language, using preexistent native elements that are similar to the foreignism both in meaning and in sound.

PSM occurs in two key language groups: (1) puristically oriented languages, in which language-planners attempt to hinder undesirable foreignisms from entering the lexis or to get rid of existing foreignisms, e.g. Finnish, Icelandic, Israeli Hebrew ('Israeli') and Revolutionized Turkish; and (2) languages using 'phono-logographic' script e.g. Chinese and Japanese (to the extent that Kanji are used). Such multisourced neologization is an ideal means of lexical enrichment because it conceals foreign influence from the native speakers, ensuring lexicographic acceptability of the coinage, recycles obsolete autochthonous roots and words (a delight for purists) and aids initial learning among contemporary learners and speakers.

Linguists have not systematically studied such camouflaged hybridity. Traditional classifications of borrowing ignore it altogether, and categorize borrowing into either *substitution* or *importation* (of the foreign element). However, as the present chapter demonstrates, PSM is a distinct phenomenon, which operates through simultaneous substitution and importation. Its recognition carries important implications not only for lexicology and comparative historical linguistics, but also for sociolinguistics and cultural studies.

The present chapter focuses on the following Icelandic PSMs: *beygla*, *bifra* – *bifrari*, *brokkál*, *dapur* – *dapurleiki* - *depurð*, *eyðni*, *fjárfesta* - *fjárfesting*, *heila*, *guðspjall*, *ímynd*, *júgurð*, *korréttur*, *Létt og laggott*, *musl*, *pallborð* – *pallborðsumræður*, *páfagaukur*, *ratsjá*, *setur*, *staða*, *staðall* – *staðla* - *stöðlun*, *toga* – *togari*, *tækni*, *uppi* and *veira*.



## *Bibliography*

- Groenke, Ulrich** 1983. Diachrone Perdurabilität, Sprachpflege und Sprachplanung: Der Fall Isländisch. István Fodor und Claude Hagège (Hrsg.): *Language Reform: History and Future* [...] vol. 2. 137–55. Hamburg. Buske Verlag.
- Halldórsson, Halldór** 1971. Nýgervingar frá síðari öldum. *Íslensk málrækt. Erindi og ritgerðir*. 212–44. Jónsson, Baldur (ed.). Reykjavík. Hlaðbúð.
- Halldórsson, Halldór** 1987. Þörf á nýyrðum og sigurlíkur þeirra. *Móðurmálið*. Ólafur Halldórsson (ed.). 93–98. Reykjavík.
- Halldórsson, Halldór** 1995a. Tækni. *Sögur af nýyrðum*. Dagblaðið Vísir, June 10 1995: 16. Reykjavík.
- Halldórsson, Halldór** 1995b. Pallborðsumræður. *Sögur af nýyrðum*. Dagblaðið Vísir 4.3.1995: 16. Reykjavík.
- Jónsson, Baldur** 1987. Íslensk heiti fyrir AIDS. *Málfregni* 1 vol. 1: 25–26. Reykjavík.
- Jónsson, Baldur** 1990. Mysla. *Málfregni* 8: 31. Reykjavík.
- Jónsson, Baldur** 2002a [1990]. Aðlögun tökuorða í íslensku. *Málsgreinar. Afmælisrit Baldurs Jónssonar með úrvali greina eftir hann*. Rit Íslenskrar málnefndar 13: 219–32. Reykjavík. Íslensk málnefnd.
- Jónsson, Baldur** 2002b [1983]. Íslensk orðmyndun. *Málsgreinar. Afmælisrit Baldurs Jónssonar með úrvali greina eftir hann*. Rit Íslenskrar málnefndar 13: 183–99. Reykjavík.
- Jónsson, Vilmundur** 1985 [1955]. Vörn fyrir veiru. *Með hug og orði. Af blöðum Vilmundar Jónssonar landlæknis*. Þórhallur Vilmundarson (ed.). 325–339. Reykjavík. Iðunn.
- Karlsson, Gunnar** 2000. Iceland's 1100 Years. History of a Marginal Society. London. Hurst & Company.
- Knútsson, Pétur** 1993. Learned & Popular Etymology. Prescription vs. Intertextual Paronomasia. *Íslenskt mál* 15: 99–120. Reykjavík.
- Kristinsson, Ari Páll** 2001. Utredning om de nordiske språkernes domener og det siste tiårs språkpolitiske initiativ – Island – for Nordisk ministerråds språkpolitiske referansegruppe [Internet]. Available from <<http://www.ismal.hi.is/utredning.html>> [November 16 2001].
- Magnússon, Ásgeir Blöndal** 1989. *Íslensk orðsifjabók*. Reykjavík. Orðabók Háskólans.
- Óskarsson, Veturliði** 2003. *Middelnedertyske låneord i islandsk diplomsprog frem til år 1500*. Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 43. Finn Hansen & Jonna Louis-Jensen (eds.). Copenhagen. C. A. Reitzels Forlag.

- Ottósson, Kjartan** 1990. *Íslensk málhreinsun. Sögulegt yfirlit* (Icelandic Language Purism. Historical Synopsis). Rit Íslenskrar málnefndar (Periodical of the Icelandic Language Council), vol. 6. Reykjavík.
- Pálsson, Heimir** 2003. Moral och dubbelmoral – tankar om språknormering. *Krefter og motkrefter i språknormeringa*. Helge Omdal & Rune Røsstad (eds.). Vol. 33: 239–246. Kistiansand: Norwegian Academic Press.
- Sandøy, Helge** 1985. Ideologiar og argumentasjon i islandsk språkdebatt. Øyvind Halland et al. (eds) *Språklig samling* vol. 3. 14–17.
- Sapir, Yair** 2003a. Linguistic Purism in the Shadow of Satellites. In: *Útnorður. West Nordic Standardisation and Variation. Papers from a Symposium in Stockholm October 7<sup>th</sup> 2001*. Árnason, Kristján (ed.). 33–46. Reykjavík. Institute of Linguistics. University of Iceland Press.
- Sapir, Yair** 2003b. Modern Icelandic Word Formation. (unpublished). Uppsala. Institutionen för nordiska språk. Uppsala universitet.
- Yadin, Azzan and Zuckermann, Ghil'ad** 2009. 'Blorít: Pagans' Mohawk or Sabras' Forelock?: Ideologically Manipulative Secularization of Hebrew Terms in Socialist Zionist Israeli' in 'Tope Omoniyi (ed.), *The Sociology of Language and Religion: Change, Conflict and Accommodation. A Festschrift for Joshua A. Fishman on his 80th Birthday*. London – New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad** 1999. Review Article of Nakdimon Shabbethay Doniach and Ahuvia Kahane (eds). *The Oxford English-Hebrew Dictionary*. Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. *International Journal of Lexicography* 12: 325-46.
- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad** 2000. 'Camouflaged Borrowing: "Folk-Etymological Nativization" in the Service of Puristic Language Engineering'. D.Phil. Thesis. University of Oxford.
- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad** 2002. 'El original es infiel a la traducción: La manipulación etimológica como instrumento de rechazo hacia otras culturas' in L. Ruiz Miyares, C. E. Álvarez Moreno and M. R. Álvarez Silva (eds), *ACTAS II, VIII Simposio Internacional de Comunicacion Social*, Centro de Lingüística Aplicada, Santiago de Cuba, 896-900.
- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad** 2003a. *Language Contact and Lexical Enrichment in Israeli Hebrew*. London – New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad** 2003b. 'Language Contact and Globalisation: The Camouflaged Influence of English on the World's Languages – with special attention to Israeli (sic) and Mandarin'. *Cambridge Review of international Affairs* 16.2: 287-307.
- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad** 2004. 'Cultural Hybridity: Multisourced Neologization in "Reinvented" Languages and in Languages with "Phono-Logographic" Script'. *Languages in Contrast* 4.2: 281-318.

- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad** 2005. 'Phono-Semantische Abgleichung' in Stefan Langer and Daniel Schnorbusch (eds), *Semantik im Lexikon*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 223-67.
- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad** 2006a. 'A New Vision for Israeli Hebrew: Theoretical and Practical Implications of Analysing Israel's Main Language as a Semi-Engineered Semito-European Hybrid Language'. *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 5.1: 57-71.
- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad** 2006b. "'Etymythological Othering" and the Power of "Lexical Engineering" in Judaism, Islam and Christianity. A Socio-Philo(sopho)logical Perspective', pp. 237-58 (Chapter 16) of 'Tope Omoniyi and Joshua A. Fishman (eds), *Explorations in the Sociology of Language and Religion* (Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture series). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad** 2008. *Israelit Safa Yafa (Israeli, a Beautiful Language)*. Tel Aviv: Am Oved.

### Dictionaries and Databases

- Íslensk orðabók. Þriðja útgáfa, aukin og endurbætt.* 2002. Mörður Árnason (ed.). Reykjavík.
- Morgunblaðið* on the online database *Gagnasafnið* (Morgunblaðið [Internet], available from <<http://safn.mbl.is>>).
- OED on the online database (Oxford English Dictionary, available from <<http://dictionary.oed.com/entrance.dtl>>).
- Ritmálsskrá* database (Ritmálsskrá [Internet], available from <<http://www.-lexis.hi.is>>).