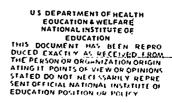ABSTRACT
        This paper suggests that new approaches are needed in
the study of language standardization. One such approach is the
consideration of standardization in terms of processes, i.e., in
terms of series of related events, rather than as a group of
unrelated discrete happenings. Borrowing is one recurring feature in
language standardization, and in studying language standardization
the main task is to determine how the process of borrowing operates
on the system that is selected as the base of a standard language,
and with what effect. Dialects, foreign languages, writing,
translation, and archaic languages are discussed as sources of
borrowing. Purism is discussed as a tendency contrary to borrowing.
(Author/AM)

Borrowing as a Process in the Standardization of Language[1]

Janet Byron

Among recent methodological innovations which have been suggested
for Linguistics as a result mainly of work in syntactic theory and in
sociolinguistics, two of them, despite their controversial nature, have
implications for the study of language standardization. The first concerns
the role of induction in Linguistics. Emmon Bach (1965) has characterized
Linguistics up to 1957 as largely inductive or Baconian in character, and
he suggests that if Linguistics is to continue to make significant progress
in the understanding of language, linguistic analysis will have to extricate
itself from the too rigorous dominance of empiricism and induction, and
allow freer scope for hypothesis and theory. The second innovation is the
principle of uniformitarianism, borrowed from geology and introduced by
Labov in his essay, "Some principles of linguistic methodology" (1972). In
geology, the principle of uniformitarianism is usually expressed figuratively
as the maxim, "The present is the key to the past."[2] It is Labov's
contention that because of the inevitable inadequacies of historical
records, presently observable linguistic processes will have to assist in

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[1]A shorter version of this paper was delivered at the Annual Meeting of
the Linguistic Society of America, December 1974.

[2]
The meaning of this simple statement is actually a matter of dispute
among geologists themselves. Several years ago the Geological Society of
America convened a symposium which was devoted to the question of the
meaning and pertinence of uniformitarianism in geology (see Albritton 1967).
That aspect of the principle on which there is maximum accord is that
natural observable processes can account for past geological change. What
is excluded from the principle is the mistaken notion that the actual
physical conditions of the past are identical to those of the present.

interpretation of the past. His application of uniformitarianism to Linguistics is expressed as follows: "the linguistic processes taking place around us are the same as those that have operated to produce the historical record."

While it would be a mistake to minimize the controversy surrounding the issues of induction, uniformitarianism, and related questions, as they are argued in the history and philosophy of science, the issues touched upon by Bach and Labov nevertheless have some relevance to the study of language standardization.

First of all, it has already been acknowledged that standardization of language is not a very well understood phenomenon, although we have several studies of the standardization of individual languages. Another fact of work in this field is that while the majority of recent studies are devoted to the newly developing standard languages of young nations (most of which are non-Western-European and have achieved independence in our own time), the notions we have developed about standard languages have their origin for the most part in the Western European context. There is thus a theoretical discontinuity in our investigations. We are now beginning to feel the pinch of two growing problems in standardization: on the one hand, many _unrelated_ studies, and on the other, no _relating_ studies. One way out of the impasse of over-induction, a way that might also lead first to some understanding of the relation between the separate facts that are already known about old and new standard languages, and secondly to some kind of framework for further research, is for us to begin to explain what we know, or what we want to find out, in terms of _processes_ instead of discrete happenings, and wherever possible, in terms of such

processes as are already familiar in Linguistics. Borrowing is a recurring feature in the standardization of languages. The principal task is to determine how this process operates upon the system that is selected as the base of a standard language (i.e. the "basic standard": Ansre 1971), and with what effect.

Every standard language originates in some pre-existing system; the theoretical tradition usually indicates a social or geographical dialect as the beginning point: Extra-linguistic reasons are often cited for the emergence of a particular dialect as a basic standard. Although the standard begins with some particular dialect, its subsequent history depends on its acquiring structural and stylistic properties which fit it for an expanding range of functions, far greater than those served by the original system from which it sprang. To use Prague School terminology, the system has to be intellectualized; in Ferguson's (1968) terms, "modernized". But since modernization is relative, it should be possible to speak of modernization at any period in the history of a standardizing language.

Modernization of a standard appears to be induced partly through cultural change, including changes in ideology and belief; such change is often stimulated through contact with another culture -- either a nation or a social group. Cultural change can be expressed linguistically as a change in the frequency of different types of discourse (Pande 1965:199-200), or, to use the terminology of British linguistics, in the frequency of certain registers.

In the light of cultural change, the basic system may be felt to be inadequate in one or more respects, and the sense of inadequacy often

motivates borrowing. The sources of borrowing usually distinguished in Linguistics are three: (1) an older stage of the language; (2) a spoken dialect of the same language, and (3) another language.[1] Obviously contact provides conditions for borrowing from another language; but contact is also involved in borrowing from other dialects. In addition, as Greenberg (1964) points out, the speakers of a language may be in contact with their past. This kind of contact will favor the borrowing not only of archaisms, but also of words from a classical tradition. Among the classical traditions affecting the Indo-European standard languages are Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, and Old Church Slavonic. Much language contact is, moreover, mediated through writing; this fact is clearest in the case of classical languages, but it also holds true for contemporaneously existing languages. For this reason, translation is often the context in which borrowing into a standard language occurs. The significance of writing therefore means that readers (including translators), as well as speakers, must be included within the class of possible agents of linguistic change, and hence of language standardization.

A language which enjoys enormous respect in the community will often serve as the source of learned words, or of words having connotations or denotations which are distinct from those of words already in use. In English, we are familiar with the historical role of Latin loans in providing

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[1] In this discussion I shall be concerned mainly with lexical borrowing which is direct; i.e. not mediated through a third language (indirect borrowing, for example, accounts for many Arabic loans in English, loans which entered English via Latin or another language). I shall also not deal with subtypes of lexical transfer; e.g. borrowings which are outright acquisitions, in distinction to loan translations. However, a fuller treatment of the role of borrowing in language standardization would certainly have to take these subtypes into account.

both learned words and formal lexicon. Sanskrit vocabulary as a similar source of formal words in Indian languages has been noted by Bright and others. Often, the Sanskrit partner in a doublet is a sign of respectful address (on the role of Sanskrit in Indian languages see Killingley 1967). Sometimes differences in denotation are indicated by members of a pair. We learn from R. H. Gower that in Swahili _chuo_ refers to a Koranic school, while the English loan _skule_ or _shule_ refers to a school where Latin characters are taught; and that _ngoma_ designates a traditional dance, while the loanword _dansi_ refers to the Western style of dancing (Gower 1952:154). Old Church Slavonic has provided several members of lexical doublets in Russian; e.g. _glava_ 'chapter' vs. _golova_ 'head'.

Borrowings from two foreign languages provide possibilities for further nuances. French and Latin loans in English are notable in this regard. Triplets consisting of English, French, and Latin words, each having a slightly different shade of meaning, are numerous in English; e.g. _goodness_, _virtue_, _probity_; _fire_, _flame_, _conflagration_ (Baugh 1957: 225-226).

The problem of such mates in a new standardizing language is that often they have not been around long enough for a solution to have been reached with respect to their final semantic use. This seems to be the case with English and French words borrowed into Hausa, where doublets like _komfanyii_ or _kompanyii_ (< French _compagnie_) co-exist with _kamfanii_ < English _company_ (examples cited in Zima 1964). Similarly, in Swahili, 'report' is denoted by both _taarifi_ (< Arabic) and _ripoti_ < English (Gower 1952:154). This situation would appear to be temporary, if we assume that in the normal course of development one member of the pair disappears, or else semantic specialization develops.

The role of classical Indo-European languages in the development of older European standard languages may be similar to that of world languages like English and French in the development of new standard languages. European languages have often drawn on Greek and Latin for nomenclature in areas of science, economics, philosophy, etc. We learn from Paden (1968) that European vocabulary is incorporated into Hausa for the lexicon that deals with modern areas such as administration and law. Many English words have also been borrowed into Swahili to denote distinctively Western concepts in government, medicine, education, and transport (Gower 1952). However, as Greenberg (1964) indicates, the influence of English and French on African languages has been little studied. Once this area has been adequately researched, it should then be possible to determine to what extent the function of classical languages and that of modern world languages are comparable in the history of standard languages.

Translations of scientific and technical words have promoted standardization of language. Erämetsä (1961) has examined the contribution which has been made to German economic vocabulary by German translators of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations (1776). Erämetsä does not, however, distinguish among the kinds of loan influences that appear in the translations; in many cases, there is no question of an outright loanword, but rather of semantic extension of ordinary German expressions into the economic sphere; i.e. of loanshifts, to use Haugen's (1950) term. The morphemes thus affected become homonymous. Among the economic expressions which entered German through translations were Alleinhandel 'monopoly', Nennwert 'nominal value', Kleinhandel 'retail trade', Handelspolitik,

'commercial policy'. Eighteenth-century English translators of Lavoisier's works on chemistry introduced into English a number of chemical terms; e.g. <u>oxygen</u>, <u>hydrogen</u>, <u>combustion</u>, <u>nitrogen</u>, <u>phosphate</u>, etc. (Mackenzie II, pp. 201, 245-246). Mackenzie (1939) contains a number of sections dealing with the role of English-to-French translations and French-to-English translations in the development of French and English vocabulary, respectively. In modern times, English-to-Swahili translations have introduced many grammatical changes in written Swahili (Harries 1961).

Original works are also a source of borrowing; in the course of presenting new ideas or novel interpretations a writer may introduce words from another speech community. A case in point is Edmund Burke. It was through his political writings, including those on the French Revolution, that a number of political and diplomatic terms entered the English language; e.g. <u>diplomatique</u> (= <u>diplomatic</u>), <u>diplomacy</u>; <u>revolution</u> and <u>revolutionary</u> (in their political senses); <u>democrat</u>; <u>aristocrat</u>; etc. (Mackenzie II, pp. 203-206). Burke knew French, but apparently his <u>speaking</u> knowledge of it was not exceptional (see Cone II, pp. 180-181).

The role of dialectal borrowing and of archaisms is less extensive in the development of a standard language than the role of foreign-language borrowing.

Typically the dialectalisms that enter a standard denote products and features of provincial life. In English, northern dialects have given <u>glen</u>, <u>kilt</u>, <u>clan</u>, and others. In French, the Midi has provided a number of terms such as <u>escargot</u>, <u>abeille</u> and others. Dialectalisms which become widely diffused eventually lose their unusual character, and speakers seem to take their existence for granted.

Dialectalisms may be motivated by structural needs, as the
development of Standard Albanian shows.[1] Standard Albanian is based on the
southern (i.e. Tosk) dialect of Albanian, but it has borrowed a number of
features of Geg. One of these is the Geg technique of forming adjectives
meaning, commonly, '-able'. For example, the Tosk form for 'believable' is
i besuar, the Geg form i besueshëm; it is the latter which is standardized,
for the meaning noted. The motivation of the borrowing lies in certain
semantic deficiencies of Tosk; a form like i besuar is actually ambiguous:
it means both 'believable' and 'believed' (past participial adjective); the
Geg form, in contrast, is unambiguous. As a result of standardization,
Tosk i besuar is prescribed for the meaning 'believed' and the Geg borrowing
i besueshëm for 'believable'. It is interesting that Hebrew has had a
similar problem with respect to ambiguous Hebrew expressions denoting
possibility (see Blanc 1957:406-407). Weinreich (1953:59) cites several
instances in which semantic under-differentiation motivated borrowing and
subsequently lexical specialization.

A common feature of dialectalisms and archaisms is that some negative
motivation sometimes underlies their use. Pressure to use these forms may
be the result of purism; i.e. reaction against excessive borrowing from
foreign languages. This is particularly noticeable in the development of
new standard languages, where it is not unusual for a hierarchy to be
established with respect to preferred sources of loans. The favored sources
of new words are, in order of preference, native dialects, including
non-standard and archaic ones; genetically related languages; and last of

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[1] This and other illustrations pertaining to Albanian are more fully
developed in Byron (in prep.).

all, foreign languages which are not genetically related to the receiving
language. However, it is often difficult to abide strictly by this
hierarchical criterion. All too often very little is known about the
dialects of the language or about its earlier stages, and this lack of
knowledge thwarts utilization of internal resources. A problem may even
be posed by the attempt to resort to genetically related languages. In
Swahili, for example, Bantu languages are preferred to non-Bantu languages
as sources of borrowings (Broomfield 1930, Weston 1965). But the difficulty
of relying on Bantu is that like Swahili, other Bantu languages are often
themselves not so well developed that they can be looked to for needed
words; or else it is not clear what contributions these other languages
can make, since they have not been thoroughly studied (cf. Weston 1965:8).
A language like Swahili is therefore obliged to borrow from non-related
languages -- among which Arabic has been a traditional source -- and
lastly, from other Western languages, especially English.

In older standard languages purism may also motivate dialectalisms or
archaisms; but in addition, the literary atmosphere may encourage such
borrowing. During the French Romantic Movement many writers, struck with
medieval nostalgia, revived a number of words and subjects which had become
obsolete. Many of these words became current in Standard French; e.g.
fabliau, geste ('heroic deed'), macabre, ménestrel ('minstral'), etc.
(Deroy 1956:116). Many other archaisms, however, are not generalized;
because of their ornamental character, they may remain the property of a
small literary class, and thus not greatly affect the standard language.
They may even be short-lived in the work of a particular author. For
example, in revising his work, Ronsard, who was remarkably tolerant of
linguistic innovations, eliminated many innovations, including archaisms,

from his revisions. The same was true of several of his literary contemporaries (Lebègue 1964; Rickard 1968:19).

When structural, as opposed to lexical archaisms are introduced into a standard language their effect is to arrest a spontaneous development. We learn from Lockwood (1956) that in spoken Faroese the genitive has nearly disappeared completely. But the preference of writers for the archaic led to an artificial revival of this case in written Faroese. In Estonian, according to Kurman (1968), the essive case had ceased to be productive by the mid-nineteenth century, but it was re-introduced into Literary Estonian under the influence of Finnish and with the support of two Estonian language reformers.

Borrowing from an older stage of the language ought, I think, to be regarded as a special instance of borrowing from another register of that language (cf. Ward 1971:174, where the archaic is defined as a feature of register). For example, the development of Hebrew as a standard language has necessitated not only borrowing from foreign languages, but also, of course, borrowing from older registers of the language; i.e. Biblical and post-Biblical literature (Blanc 1954). Other instances of registral borrowing include the numerous Standard French expressions which have come from thieves' slang; e.g. argot, fourbe 'sly', larbin 'flunky', etc. (Deroy 1956:128-129; Ewert 1943:301). Other such borrowings include hunting terms used figuratively (e.g. béjaune 'young bird; greenhorn'), terms from pre-modern medicine (e.g. bilieux, flegmatique), and from astrology: contrecarrer, lunatique, etc. (on special borrowings of this type, see Deroy 1956:117-121). There are numerous expressions in Standard Russian which derive from the argot of criminals (Unbégaun 1950:35).

. It is usually assumed that a standard language accepts only usage
which is typical of the social or intellectual élite of a speech community
and rejects all other dialectal influence. This is not always true. The
change of French /we/ to /wa/ in words which are now pronounced /wa/ as
in roi and the change of French /l̩/ to /j/ in words like fille are
believed to be due to popular Parisian influence. These changes were
fought by the grammarians, but without success (Hall 1974:201; Ewert 1943:
61-62, 87-88). In Standard Albanian, which is based on the Tosk dialect,
there are several traces of Geg dialectal influences in phonology and
morphology. In this case, however, the grammarians have been receptive of
the changes and have found reasons why they ought to be standardized. The
majority of Gegisms, however, are rejected.· For the influence of popular
London speech on Standard English, see Matthews (1937).

The problem of constraints on borrowing will be considered below,
after the following discussion concerning diffusion of a standard language.
Diffusion involves borrowing out of the standard language; it constitutes a
special instance of language learning.

The system in which a standard originates will remain simply a literary
dialect, as long as it does not enjoy widespread, usually national, use.
It becomes standard through diffusion into areas or functions in which some
other dialects were previously used, and through a corresponding narrowing
in the functional scope of the competing dialects. We are already aware of
standard-language learning as a phenomenon of the contemporary cultural
life of older nations. However, the learning of a preferred dialect is
also an aspect of the standardization of a language. Although indications
of the preferred status of a dialect are customarily sought in explicit

'historical statements, long before any such statements are made or attested, we may find evidence of dialectal preference in diffusion of the preferred dialect into geographical areas and into types of discourse where it had not previously been used, where another native dialect was the rule. The first unambiguous statement attesting to the acceptance of London English as standard dates from 1490, with Caxton. However, long before this, we find diffusion of London forms of speech (for example such forms as are found in Chaucer) used outside their customary territory. This diffusion required contact with educated speakers of London itself; sometimes contact was mediated through writing. Some of the conditions which led to it have been pointed out by Henry Cecil Wyld (1937). They include: (1) the study of official London documents by scribes, lawyers, and other officials, (2) the popularity of Chaucer, and (3) dissemination of London speech as a result of printing. Residence of other dialect speakers in the capital itself would also favor direct contact between dialects. All of these factors would create diglossia, if a writer of a different dialect area adopted the London form of speech in his writing. A case in point is provided by John Gower, a contemporary of Chaucer. Gower was a native of Kent who had spent some time in London. The custom of writing in a number of dialects was still well established in his time, but the use of London English by English writers was gradually increasing, as we find in Gower's case. Gower was trilingual, he wrote in English, French, and Latin; in his English work, Confessio Amantis, written around 1390, we do find indications of Gower's Kentish origin, but on the whole, the language of this work agrees with what has been observed in the London dialect of the time, with what is found, for example, in Chaucer. As a native of Kent, Gower would naturally have known such forms as an -eth

ending in the plural indicative of the present, where in London, and in Chaucer, forms in -en were the rule. The contrast would be between, e.g. bindeth and binden. In Kent, too, present participles ended in -ind(e) rather than -end(e) or the innovative one -ing(e); in Kent, people said heo, rather than she, for 'she'; hi instead of thei for 'they', and they often voiced initial f- and s-, saying for example vader instead of fader for 'father'. But in Confessio Amantis Gower chose all the London forms rather than the Kent ones. These facts about his language are all familiar, but it is only since Ferguson (1959) that such linguistic behavior can be given the name of diglossia.

Sometimes it is possible to find traces of the act of learning in the record. As is well known, the East Midlands adopted the northern form -es in place of its historical form -eth as the ending of the 3d sg. present indicative. In London people stopped saying cumeth for 'he comes' (cumeth was the normal form in Chaucer), and they began saying cumes. By the late 16th century, innovative forms like cumes became more common, in prose, at least, except in the case of the auxiliaries hath and doth, which survived a while longer (Wyld 1937; Bambas 1947). This means that there was a time when people were learning (borrowing) more and more -es and unlearning (abandoning) -eth. This is traceable in the lives of some individuals. We have it on Wyld's (1937) evidence, for instance, that in the correspondence of Queen Elizabeth I, the letters she wrote as a young girl show fewer instances of the innovation -es, while in letters she wrote during the last years of her life, instances of -es are more common. Evidence of the learning of Standard German appears in successive editions of the Zwingli Bible (the first version of which appeared in the early 16th

century), in which each succeeding version shows fewer marked dialectal

(Alemannic) and more standard characteristics (Langen 1952:1092-1093;

Henzen 1954:111 ff.). One of the most important replacements entailed

change of the old long vowels ī, ū, ǖ to the diphthongs ei, au, and eu,

respectively. Similar replacements have continued to attend the diffusion

of Standard German (see Moser 1954:91).

In ordinary language learning, it is recognized that the native

speech habits of the learner modify his performance. The individual's

mastery of the speech to be learned will depend to a large extent on the

degree of what is called interference. Historically, there are parallels

to this situation in textual criticism, where it is widely recognized that

a scribe, in copying down a text in a dialect which is different from his

own, will rarely copy it exactly as it is; traces of his own speech tend

to creep in. In standardization a similar phenomenon occurs in the course

of the diffusion of a standard, where it appears to contribute to regional

forms of a standard -- provided the modifications are widespread. There is

evidence that in the history of a standardizing language, the native dialect

modifies the learning of the standard, so that the standard is not learned

with the degree of assurance found among individuals whose geographical or

social origin is closer to the linguistic source of the standard. The

situation with respect to English (i.e. Received) has been touched on by a

number of scholars (e.g. Wyld 1934, 1937), although much remains to be

explained here. The situation with respect to Standard French is less well

investigated, although we have studies by Auguste Brun, Jean Séguy and a

few others. One conspicuous development in the modification of Standard

French, especially as it is diffused far from its northern source, is that

in many provincial dialects of the Midi, there are no nasal vowels, so that

in speaking French the inhabitants will substitute the sequence vowel + nasal for a nasalized vowel. In other places such as Toulouse, as reported by Séguy (1950), final stops are often articulated where they are lost in Standard French. For example, one might say <u>estomac</u> with final -<u>k</u>, instead of /estoma/. Standard French is based on a northern dialect as originally spoken in the Ile-de-France. The earliest shape of this dialect is not entirely clear, but by the 13th century many literate Frenchmen who were born outside the area were already feeling linguistically on the defensive. The establishment of diglossia as a result of the continued diffusion of Standard French has often been indicated, although it is customarily called bilingualism by earlier French scholars such as Brunot (VII, 1926:319-320).

Standard forms diffuse at the expense of marked (rejected) dialectal forms of speech. Spoken dialects show a noticeable decline, even though these dialects may, as earlier noted, contribute certain constituents to the standard language. Moreover, the social fate of dialects may be reflected in various ways in literature. The ways in which functional restriction or obsolescence of non-standard forms is evidenced include channel (e.g. confinement to oral, rather than written discourse); genre (e.g. poetry rather than prose; comedy, rather than tragedy); style (informal, rather than formal discourse); or social level (uneducated, rather than educated speakers). From the earliest period in the emergence of Standard German, dialect began to be used, in literary works, for the speech of the lower classes, while the upper classes spoke Standard German; or dialect would appear in comedies. Romance languages evidence a similar use of marked dialectal features to special genres, such as comedy and satire (Hall 1974). The Standard English verbal affix -<u>es</u> diffused at the expense of -<u>eth</u>, which became confined to poetry, elevated discourse (e.g. liturgical

writing), and to the auxiliaries <u>hath</u> and <u>doth</u>, before it finally became

obsolete. Moreover, during the transitional period during which the

change had not yet been completed, the alternation between -<u>eth</u> and -<u>es</u>

provided fresh possibilities for metrical and rhythmical variation (Bambas

1947). As a result of diffusion of Standard Albanian (based on Tosk),

Geg has become restricted to poetry and to the speech of northern Albanians;

in fictional works, dialectal use is sanctioned for the speech of the older

generation, while Standard Albanian is prescribed for younger characters.

When dialect speakers learn a standard language, it may even be difficult

for them to retain adequate competence in their original dialect. Labov

has observed this characteristic in American English. "We have not

encountered any non-standard speakers who gained good control of a standard

language and still retained control of the non-standard vernacular" (Labov

1970:52). This effect of standard-language learning may account, in part,

for the general decline of spoken dialects, which has been noted by several

observers (e.g. Martinet 1954:6, Haugen 1968:274).

Returning to the problem of borrowing into the standard: there are

constraints on the freedom with which one language borrows from another.

As we learn from historical linguistics, lexical borrowing is easier than

structural borrowing. Nothing in standardization contradicts this. This is

why the lexicon (particularly that sub-class of it which includes content

words, in distinction to function words) will loom large in any consideration

of the role of borrowing in standardization. In addition, as is pointed

out in some studies of borrowing (e.g. Deroy 1956:212), nouns are more

readily borrowed than adjectives and verbs. This fact suggests that the

development of adjectives and verbs, in distinction to nouns, might

necessitate greater (though not exclusive) reliance upon other processes

than borrowing -- for example, upon derivation, including back formation,
semantic change, and functional shift, but this hypothesis would have to
be substantiated. A large number of French nominal loans, for instance,
have been·functionally expanded to verbs in English, and this is the
source of such English verbs as to catalogue, to lecture, to silence, to
tutor, etc. (on functional change in English, see Lee 1948). Not only
should we consider the possible differences in the processes involved in
developing different categories within a given language, but we should
also take note of constraints which may differ across·languages. Functional
conversion, for instance, is probably much more likely to be common in the
lexical development of a language like English, which has lost so many
inflections, and comparatively rare in a language like German, which
remains highly inflectional.

Syntactic influence of one language on another (i.e. borrowing a
syntactic pattern from another language) has often been pointed out; e.g.
the influence of Latin syntax on European standard languages. However, it
is not always easy to be sure, in syntax, whether any given case is a true
case of borrowing or of convergent development. For example, many modern
European languages are evidencing an expansion of nominal constructions
at the partial expense of verbal ones; i.e. verbs are segmentalized. The
type is illustrated, for example, in German: er erklärte 'he explained' may
be replaced by er gab die Erklärung ab, lit. 'he offered an explanation'
(example from Moser 1954, which includes a general discussion of the
problem). Typological pressures may also make it difficult to attribute
some particular pattern to borrowing from a specific language. It is a well
known fact that one of the features of the Balkan Sprachbund is that the
languages in this linguistic area share a future-tense type formed by a

desiderative particle followed by a finite verbal form (Sandfeld 1930).
Albanian, as a Balkan language, possesses this type (e.g. <u>do</u> + <u>të shkruaj</u>
'I shall write'), but it also has two other future formations. Albanian
language authorities have standardized the future form which is shared by
other Balkan languages and have reserved the other future forms for
special stylistic use; standardization, in this instance, evidences
submission to typological pressures of the surrounding area.

How can we reconcile borrowing as a process in the standardization of
language with purism, which is an attempt to prescribe obsolescence? The
explanation lies in the fact that purism, like borrowing, is selective in
various ways.

Just as language cultivators are often more kindly disposed to some
loan sources than to others (cf. above, pp. 8-9), they may be more hostile
to some languages than to others, so that loans from less favored sources
may come under attack during periods of linguistic self-consciousness.
Neustupný (1965:90) has suggested that the degree of hostility towards loans
varies in proportion to the extent the borrowing society is culturally or
politically dependent on the lending society. This explanation is valid for
Albanian, in which there is less opposition to Slavic and Greek loans than
to Turkish loans: the cultural backwardness of Albania is often attributed
to centuries of Turkish domination. Turkish loans thus frequently bear
secondary connotations of inadequacy and cultural weakness. In the Turkish
language movement, on the other hand, there has been stronger opposition
to Arabic and Persian loans than to European (French, English) loans. The
latter are in general more consistent with the Turkish policy of moderniza-
tion; they are also considered less threatening from the linguistic point
of view, since they are fewer in number and thus do not compromise the

individuality of the language (Heyd 1954:77-78).

Purism may also be historically selective in the sense that at various periods in the history of a standardizing language, different languages, rather than the same ones, come under attack. In the 18th century, Spanish Academies objected mainly to French loanwords, but later they shifted their opposition to English loanwords (Guitarte and Quintero 1968).

Purism is also selective in that only known loanwords are singled out for special attention. In most languages there are loanwords which have become so thoroughly assimilated to the language that they are either unrecognized or are accepted as native. Some loans may also be indispensable to the receiving language for various reasons, among which semantic and stylistic enrichment must be included (cf. earlier discussion of this point). Despite anti-Turkish purist movements in the Balkans, the Balkan standard languages retain a number of Turkisms which carry stylistic values ranging over neutral, poetic, historical, colloquial, pejorative, etc. (Kazazis 1972).

Finally, selective purism may be evidenced in opposition to lexical rather than structural influences; it is generally upon the area of vocabulary that purists direct their attack, since it is primarily vocabulary rather than structure which evidences external influence. Even here, however, purists may object not to this influence as such, but rather to what they regard as excessive external influence.

Since borrowing and purism are contradictory tendencies, purism may indicate a disavowal of former attitudes. Thus, while borrowing may express a positive sense of indebtedness to another culture, the emergence of purism signifies that many individuals in the speech community have come to regard this indebtedness as a sign of unworthy dependence. Again, while borrowing may signal the receiving culture's ascription of prestige to the

lending culture, purism may indicate a re-affirmation of the receiving culture's own value. This is why nationalist movements, which are assertive of indigenous values, are frequently the historical context in which puristic campaigns are waged. But because purism is selective, it does not entirely negate contributions made by borrowing.

In Prague School theory (Garvin and Mathiot 1960, Havránek 1932, Mukarovský 1932), standard language is analyzed with respect to three linguistic and extralinguistic characteristics. On the one hand, we have the linguistically <u>intrinsic properties</u> of a standard language and, on the other, the extra-linguistic factors of standard-language <u>functions</u> (which are correlated with certain <u>attitudes</u> towards the standard language): standard language promotes unification of a speech community, and it also serves as the measure of correctness. These characteristics assist in further elucidation of the role of borrowing in standardization.

Borrowing into the standard develops intrinsic properties of a standard language; whereas borrowing out of it (i.e. diffusion of the standard language, standard-language learning) promotes standard-language functions and speech-community attitudes towards the standard (language loyalty, feeling of pride).

Intellectualization is the property which is most enhanced by borrowing into a standard language. This property refers to the capacity of a standard language to express all kinds of themes, ranging from conversational and familiar to technical and scientific: a standard language must be capable of appropriation to all registers. Since, however, folk speech (i.e. non-standard spoken dialects) lends itself as well as standard language to conversational and to some "workaday technical" registers, it is primarily in the area of scientific registers (including,

broadly, pure science, mathematics, philosophy, etc.) that we should

expect to find linguistic capabilities which are missing in folk speech;

here, according to Prague doctrine, the standard language must permit

accuracy of expression, in accordance with the rigor of scientific

thinking. Additional facets of intellectualization include refinement of

semantic and stylistic differentiation; increase in abstract and generic

terms; and development of word-forming techniques and complex syntactic

devices. Intellectualization affects primarily the lexicon, but to some

extent grammar too. The lexical examples previously cited (pp. 4-10)

suggest, in part, how lexical borrowing promotes the intellectual

capabilities of a standard language. With respect to science, the

contribution of Greek and Latin (words and affixes) to European scientific

scientific vocabulary has been amply documented. Greco-Latin borrowings

have been partly motivated by the search for terminological accuracy

and clarity. In English, the practice of drawing upon classical sources

for scientific terms became established in the 16th century. After

experimenting with archaisms, coupling (use of a loanword followed by an

explanatory synonym in the native language), and new creations, scientific

writers finally became convinced that formations derived or borrowed from

Greco-Latin were generally better than their alternatives. The alternatives

were often awkward, confusing, or -- in the case of Anglo-Saxon archaisms --

no longer intelligible (see Johnson 1944). To a certain extent, then,

classical borrowings were employed faute de mieux. In newer standard

languages, which draw on such older standards as English, French, and

Spanish for scientific terms, there is likewise a tendency for direct loans

from these languages to be used when other solutions fail (see, e.g. Del

Rosario 1968). However, other motives besides clarity may induce the

choice of Greco-Latin terms. Intellectual exclusivism sometimes underlies

the preference: it was argued by some proponents of classical loans that

if scientific or technical concepts were expressed in native terms, these

subjects would then become intelligible to the masses; individual language

cultivators in both England and France evinced this attitude (see Johnson

1944; Brunot I, 1924:516). Motives for borrowing may therefore be mixed,

and it remains to be determined how much weight is accorded some

legitimations over others, in particular cases. In considering the role

of any process, including borrowing, in promoting accuracy of scientific

language, one is necessarily faced with the problem of the meaning of

accuracy in science. Although accuracy or precision has theoretically

been prescribed for scientific language, in actuality, much vagueness

has often permeated scientific nomenclature. Moreover, it is even question-

able whether absolute accuracy is either possible or necessary in scientific

discourse (Kent 1958 examines this question). In evaluating the

appropriateness of various techniques of word development, one must

therefore distinguish between actual and possibly ideal properties of

scientific discourse. Some attitudes of language authorities may betray

naive or mistaken notions about the nature of scientific language.

If borrowing into a standard language promotes its inherent properties,

borrowing out of it promotes first its symbolic function of linguistically

unifying a speech community and secondly, its objective function as a frame

of reference for defining correctness and deviation. The first of these

functions -- standard language as an interdialectal medium of communication --

has often been indicated; all that need be added is the fact that diffusion

of the standard language is the way in which this unity is brought about.

The second function -- standard language as a yardstick of correctness and

deviation -- requires some elaboration. The notion of standard language as "the best language" actually implies a qualification: best for certain purposes, and in certain situations defined by the speech community itself. There is no instance of a speech community, or its language authorities, ·prescribing one system of communication as normative for all possible types or occasions of discourse. Nevertheless, it appears that once a language begins to develop a standard form, any usage which then contrasts with it may be re-interpreted as deviant, rather than neutrally different, and this deviant usage thus becomes available for aesthetic or poetic exploitation (Garvin and Mathiot 1960, Mukarovský 1932). The Prague notion of foregrounding is relevant here. Havránek defined foregrounding as "the use of the devices of the language in such a way that this use itself attracts attention and is perceived as uncommon ... (Havránek 1932:10). The retreat of marked dialectal forms as a result of language standardiza- tion thus makes these forms capable of foregrounding in certain ways (cf. Mukarovský 1932:25). A problem of research, however, arises here, and it is to determine the literary transformation of dialects, the modification of their aesthetic potentialities, before and after a language begins to standardize. I previously pointed to the literary constriction which marked dialectal features undergo as a result of standardization, but there is certainly more to be said on the subject. (For one treatment of the question, see Craigie 1938.)

The effect which borrowing has on the standard base is to modify the phonotactic properties and co-occurrence relations which formerly held for the base. Latin influence on French, via orthography, introduced (or re-introduced) a number of atypical consonant clusters into Standard French; e.g. /lpt/ as in sculpture; some Greek loans

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introduced the sequence /mn-/ (Hall 1974:149-150). Borrowing of the

Geg reflexive pronoun (i vetë) in Standard Albanian has made such a

formerly acceptable (and ambiguous) Tosk sequence as e pa nënën e tij

'he saw his mother' less acceptable than the now standard e pa nënën e vetë,

where 'his own' (e vetë) mother is meant. The reflexive pronoun, moreover,

is losing its dialectal and social distinctiveness as it is diffused across

dialect boundaries by way of the standard language. Disappearance of

such markedness is comparable to a more general sociolinguistic

phenomenon, in which a particular variant loses its social value, once it

has won out over its rival alternates and been adopted by the speech

community at large (cf. Labov 1970:77).

The question of the role of borrowing in standardization, and

particularly of borrowing from another language, can be reformulated as

an inquiry into the role of bilinguals, or of bilingualism, in the

standardization of language -- although there is still some disagreement

as to the degree of bilingualism which is required in order for certain

borrowings to occur. Language contact is thus the sociolinguistic context

in which language standardization ought to be studied: bilingualism

presupposes some degree of language contact, and so does diffusion of a

standard language. Moreover, contact may be mediated through the written

word.

It would be useful, in conclusion, to note some problems which arise

in an attempt to define the role of borrowing (into) the standard

language. We have noticed that some extraneous influences are rejected,

while others are accepted; this applies equally to foreign, archaic, and

dialectal borrowing. Thus the behavior or attitude towards language is

variable; in Fishman's terms: some instances of interference are viewed
as pernicious and unnecessary, while others are treated as acceptable
and desirable (cf. Fishman 1964:63-64). One of the major problems is to
try to establish, if possible, the reasons for this distinction in any
particular phase of language standardization. For older standard languages
much of the relevant historical data is undoubtedly irrecoverable. But for
newer standard languages, it is possible, to a certain extent, to study
the activities of language planners directly (see, e.g. Das Gupta et al,
1972). However, historical understanding of the motivations for borrowing
(as surveyed, e.g. by Weinreich 1953) should inform the study of borrowing
in language standardization. In addition, the effect of social change
should be taken into account: transformations of social structure may
induce a modification in the notions of correctness and may create an
environment favorable to influences which were previously repelled. Hall
indicates that the rise of a middle class after the French Revolution led to
relaxation of traditional linguistic standards and to a shift in the basis
of norms; features which were previously unacceptable began to penetrate
Standard French (Hall 1974:)1). Social changes created by the Russian
Revolution likewise intensified, for a time, the influence of rejected
idioms on Standard Russian (Unbegaun 1950:35).

It would also be useful to determine the relative weight accorded
borrowing vs. its alternatives (new creation, semantic extension, etc.),
and the relative weight accorded one type of borrowing over another, in
any particular phase of language standardization.

Finally, in evaluating the relative role of various processes in
language standardization, it is necessary to give attention not only to

extra-linguistic constraints such as purism, nationalistic tendencies,
the willingness to cultivate language, etc., but also to structural
properties and historical tendencies of the standardizing language, which
encourage or discourage certain types of linguistic manipulation. In
this way we will come to understand the extent to which language can be
deliberately changed. Nevertheless, there will probably always remain
room for debate with respect to individual developments in a standard
language. For example, there is a difference of opinion as to whether in
his translations Caxton borrowed words with the intention of enriching the
English language, or whether he was simply trying to do the best possible
job as a printer and translator (Blake 1969:140). I think, however, that
we should distinguish between intention and effect. Standardization of
language is an effect, which may or may not come about as a result of the
intention of a particular individual; his activities may, however, contribute
to the linguistic outcome.

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