



On the Integration of Anglicisms Into Present-Day Georgian

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Abstract

The paper aims to consider the flow of English loan words into present-day Georgian for the last twenty-five years after the country gained its independence as a result of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Georgia (*Sakartvelo* – in the Georgian language) is a small picturesque country with ancient culture located at the crossroads of Eastern Europe and Western Asia in the Caucasus region of Eurasia. The change of the country’s political orientation, as well as the democratisation of the society and its aspiration towards NATO and EU integration, have replaced the use of the Russian language by English due to the growth of American influence as well as the prestigious role of English as a lingua franca in almost every aspect of life at a global level. Therefore, in the present paper the term *anglicism* is used in its wide sense referring to English loans originating both from England and the USA.

The research has shown that, like many European languages, present-day Georgian distinguishes three main groups of anglicisms that are differentiated from each other on the basis of the linguistic strategies of their borrowing: lexical, transliterated and semantic borrowings. The increasing flow of English words into Georgian confirms that the country and its people respond to the changing needs of communication, following changes in the world and ways of living in general.

Key words: Anglicisms; Flow of English loan words; Global process; Linguistic strategies of borrowing

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INTRODUCTION

It is a natural phenomenon in the life of languages that words and expressions are taken from one language into another. These days we can witness a considerable spread of anglicisms in almost all languages and Georgian is no exception. As defined in the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2001), “an anglicism is an English word or expression that is used in another language”. However, nowadays this term has broadened its meaning referring to the words and expressions borrowed from both British and American English. It is unanimously acknowledged that up until World War II British English was the primary source of influence. Afterwards, the emergence of the United States as a global power led to the simultaneous rise in significance of American English and this resulted in a huge increase of anglicisms entering different languages with more coming from American English than British English, though it is often difficult to distinguish between the two since such words as *Star, Party, Quiz, Jazz, Beat, Hit, Song, Jeans, Make-up, Job, Trend, Manager, Boss, Interview* and many others are equally used in both variants of English.

1. SOCIO-CULTURAL AND PRAGMATIC FACTORS OF THE PHENOMENON OF ANGLICISATION IN GEORGIA

At the end of the 20th century, various events brought English and Georgian into close contact with one another. On the one hand, the political, industrial, technical, military, scientific predominance of the United States, the spread of American culture and lifestyle as well as the formation of the European Union and the advances in technology, such as the invention of the computer and the Internet have increased the international role of English. Today computers are used for a multitude of purposes and in practically every area of life. More

recently, the World Wide Web, the Internet, e-mails have also led to the increased contact between languages of the world including English and Georgian. On the other hand, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Georgia gained its independence that brought the change in the country's political orientation. Democratisation of the Georgian society and its aspiration towards NATO and EU integration, have replaced the use of the Russian language by English due to the latter's prestigious role as a lingua franca in almost every sphere of life. Besides, being the language of international communication, English is the most dominant among foreign languages taught at schools in Georgia.

Researches, conducted by the Georgian scholars N. Kirvalidze (2017), M. Megrelishvili et al. (2014), have shown that anglicisms are integrated into the vocabulary of the Georgian language in a peculiar way. Therefore, I will first give a brief methodological and theoretical overview of borrowing and related terms, and then investigate what types of anglicisms we meet and how they are integrated into the system of the Georgian language with respect to their orthographic, phonological, morphological and semantic properties.

2. METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH: BORROWING AND RELATED TERMS

Language contact is regarded to be one of the main reasons of linguistic borrowing. According to David Crystal, this phenomenon (i.e., language contact) is defined as "a term used in sociolinguistics to refer to a situation of geographical continuity or close social proximity (and thus of mutual influence) between languages and dialects. The result of contact situations can be seen linguistically, in the growth of loan words, patterns of phonological and grammatical change, mixed forms of language (such as creoles and pidgins), and a general increase of bilingualisms of various kind" (Crystal, 2004, p.102).

Researches on anglicisms concentrate on several main areas pertaining to borrowing, assimilation and integration processes, as well as on the criteria that account for the cognitive processes involved in the introduction of new contact-induced lexical items. Linguists focus on the main strategies concerning contact-induced lexical innovations, such as importation of a word from the source language, analogical innovation and independent innovation, and their further subdivisions based on the degree of adaptation and the presence of word-formation processes or semantic change. The fundamental issues widely discussed are the contexts of use which promote these different strategies, the speaker-related and hearer-

related cognitive operations involved in each of them and the cognitive and communicative aspects which determine later uses of the resulting contact-induced items, etc. (Winter-Froemel, 2008, pp.16-14; Alexieva, 2008, pp.42-511; Dunn, 2008, pp.52-71).

But what exactly is a borrowing? Though phonological, morphological and syntactic borrowings also exist, the term is usually applied to words and their meanings. In this context, borrowing can be defined as a process whereby a word which is used in one language begins to be used in another language. Crystal defines borrowing as follows: "A term used in comparative and historical linguistics to refer to a linguistic form taken from one language or dialect from another; such borrowings are usually known as 'loan-words' and several types have been recognized" (Crystal, 2003, p.96).

Borrowing denotes the process as well as the object. As a process, it typically refers to the importation of a word or its meaning from one language into another. As an object, it denotes the form and/or the meaning of the item that originally was not part of the vocabulary of the recipient language but was adopted from some other language and made part of the borrowing language's vocabulary.

A second cause for the fuzziness of the term *borrowing* is its use for a subgroup of borrowing, namely *lexical borrowing*, in contrast to *semantic borrowing*. Lexical borrowings are also called *loan words* or *loans*. Both the form and the meaning of a foreign word become imported, and not only the meaning as is the case with semantic borrowing. Lexical borrowing is equated with *direct borrowing*, i.e. a borrowing whose form is transferred directly from the source language, and not via another language, the latter case being usually called *indirect borrowing*.

A mixture of lexical and semantic borrowing results in hybrid formations, also called *mixed compounds*, *semi-calques* or *loan blends*, denoting a word or word combination that consists of elements of both source and receiver languages. Sometimes the expression *total substitution* is used for semantic loans, and *partial substitution* for hybrid formations. However, lexical borrowings in this terminology are not substitutions but importations.

Finally, there are *pseudo-borrowings*, or *pseudo-loans*. These are words or word elements in languages other than English that were borrowed from English but are used in such a way that native English speakers would not recognize them (Görlach, 2002, pp.29-30; Onysko, 2007, pp.53). Pseudo-anglicisms often take the form of blends, combining elements of multiple English words to create a new word. An example of such pseudo-anglicism in Georgian is *klip-meikeri* (*clip-maker*), which is used to refer to a *music video director*. Another example of a pseudo-anglicism is *rekordsmeni* (*recordsman*) which

corresponds to English *record-holder in sport*. Pseudo-borrowing can occur both on the formal and semantic level. For instance, the Georgian word *zumeri* (*zoomer*) is a lexical pseudo-loan, used to denote a continuous low-pitched signal, usually of a telephone. The word was coined on the basis of the English word *to zoom* and *-er* word-building suffix, though this lexeme does not exist in English.

Scholars often differentiate between “foreign words” and “loan words”, describing how they differ from each other with regard to various levels of their integration. According to Yang, “Foreign words are lexemes or connecting lexemes which are borrowed from a foreign language and are assimilated into the receptor language without any orthographical, morphological or semantic change and whose foreign origin is clearly and easily recognisable” (Yang, 1990, p.11). In Onysko’s interpretation (Onysko, 2007, p.14), these are the so called direct borrowings which have kept their foreign spelling and pronunciation, or their pronunciation is slightly changed complying with the sound system of the German language, for example *Business, Boom, Computer, Designer, Detail, Jeans, Laptop, Manager, Meeting, Notebook, Shop, Team, T- Shirt, Talkshow, Ticket*, etc.

Whether a word is perceived as foreign or not is also related to its degree of *adaptation* or *nativization*. Both terms refer to the adjustment of spelling, pronunciation and/or morphology of loan words to the structure of the receptor language. The degree of adaptation reflects the closeness of the contact and attitudes of the affected speech community. *Adaptation* is distinguished from *adoption*, which is defined as unmodified borrowing. However in practice, many scholars use them synonymously, since few completely non-adjusted borrowings exist.

Having discussed some universal terms and concepts of borrowing that form a methodological framework for linguistic classification of anglicisms in any language, I will focus on the most typical groups of English loan words, imported into present-day Georgian, and reveal those linguistic strategies that underlie their classification.

3. RESULTS: LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF ANGLICISMS IN PRESENT-DAY GEORGIAN

The research has shown that, like many European languages, present-day Georgian distinguishes three main groups of anglicisms that are differentiated from each other on the basis of the linguistic strategies of their borrowing.

- *lexical, i.e. direct borrowings*, when an English word is imported into Georgian together with its form and meaning /or part of the meaning;

- *transliterated, i.e. indirect borrowings*, which refer to loan formations in the Georgian language coined by analogy with their English etymons’ structure and meaning;

- *semantic borrowings*, i.e. when the borrowed meaning of an English etymon extends the meaning of a Georgian word broadening thus its referential field.

3.1 Lexical or Direct Borrowings

The analysis of anglicisms has revealed that there are two main groups of directly imported loan words in Georgian:

(a) loan words, that maintain English pronunciation and form. This group of anglicisms comprises terminological lexis, mostly word-combinations denoting different items and concepts of politics, technology, science, art, mass-media, etc. For instance: *egzit-poli* (*exit poll*); *beibi-siTeri* (*baby-sitter*); *konsaltingi* (*consulting*); *fabi* (*pub*); *isTebliSmenTi* (*establishment*); *ofis-menejeri* (*office manager*); *dajjesti* (*digest*); *bilbordi* (*billboard*); *masmedia* (*mass-media*), etc.

(b) loan acronyms that have similar pronunciation and form in Georgian as their English etymons. For instance: *nato* (*NATO*), *iunesko* (*UNESCO*), *unisefi* (*UNICEF*), *esemesi* (*SMS*), *ikao* (*ICAO*), *biseki* (*BSEC*), *piari* (*PR*), *dijei* (*DJ*), *opeki* (*OPEC*), *mapi* (*MAP*), *bibisi* (*BBC*), *sieneni* (*CNN*), *nasa* (*NASA*), *lazeri* (*LASER*), etc.

There are also some early borrowed anglicisms, that are phonetically and morphologically integrated into the Georgian language to such extent that it is difficult to recognise them as English. For instance, the word *title* has developed a whole set of derivatives constituting a separate word-family in the Georgian language with the help of Georgian word-building suffixes: *tituli, titulovani, satitulo*. The English word *irony* is also fully integrated into Georgian, having built its own word-family: *ironia, ironiuli, ironiulad, ironizireba*.

It is almost a truism that “when a country adopts a language it adapts it in different ways” (Crystal, 2003, p.16). In other words, when an English word is directly imported into another language, it undergoes some orthographic, phonological and morphological changes until it becomes integrated into the receiver language. Georgian distinguishes four possible variants of spelling of directly imported anglicisms:

(a) anglicisms are spelt by analogy with their English etymons’ pronunciation (e.g.: *bumi* < *boom*; *barmeni* < *barman*; *ragbi* < *rugby*; *imiji* < *image*, etc.);

(b) the spelling of an anglicism fully coincides with the spelling of its English etymon (e.g.: *bardi* < *bard*; *gangsteri* < *gangster*; *monitori* < *monitor*; *interneti* < *Internet*, etc.);

(c) the spelling of an anglicism coincides partly with the pronunciation and partly with the spelling of its English etymon (e.g.: *overTaimi* < *overtime*; *spidometri* < *speedometer*; *matCpointi* < *match point*, etc.);

(d) the spelling of an anglicism is formed under the

influence of the mediator language, mostly Russian, through which it was imported into Georgian (e.g.: *Jiuri* < *jury*; *biujeti* < *budget*; *partniori* < *partner*, etc.).

Pronunciation of directly imported anglicisms is influenced by the similarity-dissimilarity of the phonological systems of both source and receiver languages. The research has shown that, due to these factors, anglicisms of this group undergo three types of phonological adaptation in the Georgian language:

(a) zero transphonemization, i.e. when an anglicism is pronounced very close to its etymon due to the fact that both languages possess similar sounds (e.g.: *zumi* [zum I] < *zoom*; *dedlaini* [dedla I n I] < *deadline*; *lideri* [lIderI] < *leader*, etc.). Most anglicisms take the Georgian ending *-i* [I] as a morphological marker of adaptation;

(b) partial transphonemization, i.e. when the pronunciation of an anglicism only partly coincides with the pronunciation of its etymon due to some elements differing phonologically in them. For instance: *televizia* [televIzIa] < *television*; *sporti* [sportI] < *sport*; *kompania* [kompanIa] < *company*.

(c) full transphonemization, i.e. when some English phonetical elements, that have no equivalents in the Georgian phonetical system, are substituted freely in an anglicism. Free transphonemization refers mainly to English etymons with [w] and [f] in their pronunciation (e.g.: *uikendi* [ulkendI] < *weekend*; *forvardi* [porvardI] < *forward*, *flirti* [plIrtI] < *flirt*, etc.).

By analogy with the phonological changes discussed above, I have singled out three main variants of morphological adaptation of directly imported anglicisms in Georgian:

(a) levelling transmorphemization, i.e. when most imported anglicism take the Georgian suffixal inflexion of the nominative case *-i* [I], which is considered to be a universal morphological marker of their adaptation to the Georgian language. For instance: *blefi* < *bluff*; *testi* < *test*; *starti* < *start*, etc.;

(b) partial transmorphemization, i.e. when an anglicism retains the suffix of its English etymon in some morphological form, while it adds a Georgian suffixal inflexion in its oppositional form. For instance, most anglicisms represented by nouns retain the English suffix *-er* in the singular, while their plural forms are coined with the help of the Georgian suffixal inflection *-ebi* (*ebi*). E.g.:

(sing.) *spikeri* [spIkerI] < *speaker*; (pl.) *spikerebi* [spIkerebI] < *speakers*;

(sing.) *testeri* [testerI] < *tester*; (pl.) *testerebi* [testerebI] < *testers*;

(sing.) *skaneri* [skanerI] < *scanner*; (pl.) *skanerebi* [skanerebI] < *scanners*,

There are cases when an anglicism retains its etymon's suffix and, at the same time, additionally takes a Georgian

suffix *-eli/-uli*, which is synonymous with the English one in its meaning. For instance: *vegetarianeli* [vegetarIaneli] < *vegetarian*; *ekstravagantuli* [ekstravagantuli] < *extravagant*, etc..

(c) full transmorphemization, i.e. when the suffix of an English etymon can be substituted by a Georgian suffix with the same meaning and function. For instance, the English adjectival suffix *-ic* is frequently substituted by the Georgian adjectival suffixal allomorphs *-eli* /*-uli* /*-uri*: *sarkastuli* [sarkastull] < *sarcastic*; *ironiuli* [ironiul□] < *ironic*; *analizuri* [analizur□] < *analytic*; *fantastiuri* [fantastiur□] < *fantastic*, etc.

The majority of directly imported anglicisms are represented by nouns, since people usually borrow new concepts and things with their names, and most of them take the suffixal inflexion of the nominative case *-i* [i], which is considered, as mentioned above, to be a universal morphological marker of their adaptation to the Georgian language.

As for verbal and adjectival anglicisms, they are also coined according to the Georgian word-building rules. Hence, verbs are formed via Georgian verbal suffixes *-reba* (*-reba*) /*-roba* (*-roba*): *boikotireba* [bolkotIreba] < *boycott*; *investireba* [InvestIreba] < *invest*, *adaptireba* [adaptIreba] < *adapt*; *testireba* [testIreba] < *test*; etc.). Adjectives are also modelled by analogy with Georgian forms via suffixation or prefix-suffixation (e.g.: *klasikuri* [klasIkuri] < *classic*; *dinamiuri* [dInamIurI] < *dynamic*; *aqtiuri* [aktIurI] < *active*; *saskolo avtobusi* [saskolo avtobusI] < *school bus*, *sagazeTo statia* [sagazeto statIa] < *newspaper article*, etc.).

3.2 Transliterated or Indirect Borrowings

Anglicisms of this type are represented by loan formations, mainly Georgian word-combinations that are coined by analogy with their English etymons with the help of translation. Many linguists give preference to the use of transliterated anglicisms over their direct importation into a receptor language. Degree of closeness of transliterated anglicisms to their etymons varies and this makes it possible to subdivide them into the following groups:

(a) *loan translations* or *calques*, which imply complete translation of a borrowing. This group of transliterated anglicisms is quite numerous and most frequently used in Georgian. For instance:

- i. Georgian *adamianis uflebebi* < English *Human rights*
- ii. Georgian *pirveli ledi* < English *First lady*
- iii. Georgian *rkinis farda* < English *Iron Curtain*
- iv. Georgian *sisxlis banki* < English *Blood bank*
- v. Georgian *savaWro niSani* < English *trademark*

(b) *loan rendering* or *semi-calques*, which imply

partial translation of a borrowing retaining the meaning of its English etymon. Such transliterated anglicisms are:

- i. Georgian *caTambjeni* < English *skyscraper*
- ii. Georgian *piradi mcveli* < English *bodyguard*
- iii. Georgian *maRviZara saaTi* < English *alarm clock*
- iv. Georgian *aviafosta* < English *airmail*

(c) *loan blends or mixed compounds*, represented by a hybrid word or word-combination that consists of elements of both source and receiver languages.

- i. Georgian *vebgverdi* < English *website*
- ii. Georgian *esemes mdivani* < English *SMS Secretary*
- iii. Georgian *avtomopasuxe* < English *autoresponder*
- iv. Georgian *sim-baraTi* < English *SIM-card*
- v. Georgian *maRali-riski* < English *high-risk*

(d) *loan doublets*, when an English word is borrowed by the Georgian language in two forms: directly, retaining the English etymon’s pronunciation and meaning; and indirectly via transliteration. Consider the following table:

Table 1
English Loan Doublets in Georgian

English etymons	Direct borrowings	Transliterated borrowings
Public relations	fabliq rileiSenzi	sazogadoebasTan urTierToba
fast food	fast fudi	swrafi kvebis obieqti
babysitter	bebisiteri	bavSvis momvleli
second hand	seqondhendi	meoradi saqoneli
mass-media	masmedia	masobrivi informaciis saSualebebi
cameraman	kamerameni	operatori

3.3 Semantic Borrowings

When an English word finds its way into another language, mostly only one or a couple of its individual meanings are borrowed. Linguists often employ the term *loan meaning* to refer to the borrowing of a meaning through meaning extension of a word in the recipient language. An example of loan meaning is Georgian *Tagvi* (*mouse*): by analogy with the English word *mouse* in computer science, denoting “a small hand-held input device used to move a cursor on the computer screen”, this new meaning of the word *mouse* was extended to Georgian *kompiuteris Tagvi* (*computer mouse*). The same can be said about the Georgian word *mexsiereba* (*memory*), that has also received a new technical meaning in connection with a computer. Once a French borrowing *menu* (*menu*) has extended its semantic structure by acquiring the new meaning again from the English computer domain – *a list of options, usu. displayed on-screen showing the commands or facilities available*. New additional meanings of these and other words, for example, *resume* are classical examples of semantic borrowing.

Sometimes semantic borrowing gives a new life

to a word of old Georgian origin in combination with an English word, denoting some modern concept. For instance, a hybrid loan blend – *hit aRlumi* (*Hit Parade*), which belongs to music terminological lexis. thus, a loan meaning of an English etymon is added to a Georgian word extending its semantic structure.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, I have discussed the reasons for borrowing anglicisms and their integration into the system of present-day Georgian with special emphasis on their orthographic, phonological, morphological, and semantic properties that underlie their classification into the main types of English loan words. Similar to other languages, the main reason for the appearance of anglicisms in Georgian is language contact. Nowadays due to globalization, anglicisms are found in different fields of life, and in most cases the appearance of loan words is predetermined by a mere necessity of communication as a language needs new words for new things.

The research has shown that anglicisms get integrated into the system of Georgian at different levels. We can observe various degrees of their assimilation, ranging from partial to full assimilation in terms of their orthography, phonology, morphology and semantics. It is worth mentioning that the majority of directly imported anglicisms are represented by nouns, since people usually borrow new concepts and things with their names, and most of them take the Georgian suffixal inflexion of the nominative case *-i* [i], which is considered to be a universal morphological marker of their adaptation and integration into the Georgian language. No doubt the integration of anglicisms into present-day Georgian is most dominant in the field of lexis. In fact, they have an important gap-filling function, thus contributing considerably to the enrichment of the lexicon of the Georgian language.

Anglicisms have stirred intense debates in Georgia. Some people depict the flow of new loans from the Anglo-American world as a menace to the native language whereas others look on them as a normal phenomenon which confirms that the country and its people respond to the changing needs of communication, following changes in the world and ways of living in general.

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