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Semantic Change in Words Loaned to Swedish

A Comparison of Metonymy and Metaphor

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Abstract

This thesis examines the diachronic semantic development in terms of metonymization and metaphorization for 30 nouns loaned into the Swedish language between the 13th and 20th centuries from a cognitive-semantic point of view.

Through the framework of Lexical Meaning as Ontologies and Construals (LOC) combined with a study of the occurrence of metaphorization, metonymization, widening and narrowing in semantic development, it examines to what extent metonymization can be said to be a more common mechanism of lexical semantic change than metaphorization, and to what extent words lose semantic width initially after the loaning period and then regain it over time. The results indicate that metonymization is the more frequent mechanism and that an initial narrowing occurs directly after loaning in most cases. However, the results also reveal that in order to reach a satisfactory understanding of this matter, the socio-cultural context of the loans must be considered to a greater extent than has been done in this thesis.

Key words: Cognitive semantics, Lexical Meaning as Ontologies and Construals (LOC), metaphorization, metonymization, loanwords, diachrony, Swedish, Middle Low German, French, English

1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to examine the relative frequency of metonymizations and metaphorizations over time in a constrained set of words and to examine how the semantic width of loanwords changes over time. The aim is to make a comparison between loanwords and native words along these parameters, though this study deals with the loan word part only. Barcelona (2000) states that "Metonymy has received much less attention from cognitive linguists than metaphor, although it is probably even more basic to language and cognition", although very little empirical evidence for this can be found throughout the literature.

It has been noticed by many researchers within the cognitive semantics field, amongst others by Allan (2010) that "[...] there has been relatively little examination of diachronic data within cognitive semantics". In my experience, even less examination has taken place in this field concerning loanwords as opposed to words native to the examined language.

Therefore, I have chosen to do this investigation on nouns loaned into Swedish at several different times in history, and to describe different mechanisms of semantic development as being of different frequency historically. As a beginning, I have chosen to examine the two most well-described mechanisms: *metonymization* and *metaphorization* as defined by Paradis (2004, 2011, in press), and *widening* and *narrowing* as defined by Geeraerts (2010).

In the cases of metonymization and metaphorization, the works by Paradis and the framework they propose (Lexical meaning as Ontologies and Construals or LOC) were chosen over the work by Geeraerts since they provide a clearer definition of the mentioned processes.

I have chosen to investigate Swedish as a recipient language for this study, the loan-giving languages concerned being Middle Low German (MLG), French and English. These choices are due to the large cultural influence these languages have had on the Swedish language through history, and the large amount of loanwords with which they have provided Swedish (Edlund & Hene 1992). The research questions considered in this thesis are:

- ⊠ Is there a general tendency of which mechanisms are present in semantic change among loaned nouns?
- ⊠ When a noun is transferred from one language to another, does its meaning remain stable?

A possible scenario when nouns are loaned is that they are loaned due to that a new phenomenon has entered the cultural sphere, and that there is a lack of a proper term for it, i.e., the noun is loaned due to lack of a properly referring term for that very phenomenon, and nothing else. If this be the case, the new term would be tailored to have a rather narrow meaning, denoting only the new phenomenon. The result of such a scenario would be that the loanword goes through a *narrowing* when loaned, given that the term had more than one single use in the original language. If the noun does not fall out of use, but prevails in the new language and becomes an integrated part of the everyday vocabulary, it is possible that it will be used in more and more different expressions and situations, which in itself makes the word gain more and more connotations and thereby become usable in an even greater number of situations.

The result of this scenario would be that the noun goes through a *widening* over time after the loaning.

On the other hand, these scenarios may not be common at all; the meanings of the loaned nouns may remain stable through the loaning and long after. In order to evaluate whether nouns may mostly be loaned out of necessity, as in the first scenario, the occurrences of narrowings in the act of loaning will be monitored in the analysis of this study. In order to evaluate whether the use of these loaned nouns then may spread beyond that of the first time in the new language, the occurrences of widening will be monitored.

On the assumption that metonymy and metonymization is a smaller cognitive leap than is metaphor and metaphorization, it would be reasonable to think that most people, when reconsidering the meaning of an already existing word, would do so by the least challenging means. If this be the case, it should show through metonymy being a more common means of semantic shift than is metaphor. Therefore, the numbers of occurrences of metaphorizations and metonymizations are monitored and compared in the analysis. As I am working with loan-words, the question of socio-cultural factors (such as foreign languages being fashionable or different social groups being exposed to a new language to different degrees) becomes an issue. Though, as this study works within a cognitive-linguistic framework, such issues fall outside the scope of the study. Therefore, an assumption is made that loan-words will develop in the same way regardless of which loan-giving language they come from, and if the results indicate that this is not the case, the importance of socio-cultural factors will be confirmed. The semantic changes over time are examined exclusively through lexica, and the method applies the mostly synchronically used definitions of metaphor and metonymy from Lexical semantics as Ontologies and Construals (LOC) to a diachronic material. The study concerns nouns only (a limitation more argued for in section 3.1 under the headline “Theory”), and an investigation of to what extent the presented results can be applied to other word classes is beyond the scope of the study.

Firstly, I will present my hypothesis. I will then present my theoretical background, which is based on Lexical Meaning as Ontologies and Construals as presented by Paradis (2004). This is followed by a presentation of the used material, the method of applying this to the given material and the results of the study. Thereafter I will discuss the results and, lastly, present the conclusion of the work.

2. Hypothesis

According to my hypothesis, metonymization is a more basic and therefore more frequently occurring mechanism of semantic change than metaphorization. This hypothesis gives the following two assumptions, which are to be tried in the analysis:

- ⌘ The words gain new senses mainly through metonymization, since I assume it to be a more basic cognitive-linguistic process than metaphorization.
- ⌘ The number of senses will mainly be diminished when the loan takes place, but then will grow over time at the same rate, regardless of what loan-giving language they come from.

If the first assumption cannot be proven to be true, metonymization cannot be argued to be a more basic cognitive process than metaphorization by means of the given material.

If the second assumption cannot be proven to be true, I must make the assumption that other factors, like the relative statuses of different loan-giving languages and their paths through different social strata of the recipient language-community, play an important role in the semantic development of loanwords, and that these need to be taken into consideration in future research. I intend to investigate which means of semantic change is the most common, metonymy or metaphor, assuming that a smaller cognitive leap would be preferred over, and be more historically common, than a larger leap. Given this assumption, the historically most common means of semantic change would be considered to be the most basic to human cognition, as described by Barcelona (2000). All in all, this work is not primarily meant to come to a final conclusion, but is to be seen as an indication for future research.

3. Theory

In this section, the theoretical framework and constraints of the thesis will be presented. First, there will be a brief presentation of Lexical meaning as Ontologies and Construals, the framework from which I have derived my definitions of metonymization and metaphorization. Second, there will be a brief presentation of loanword typology and what constraints it puts on the examined material.

3.1 Lexical Meaning as Ontologies and Construals (LOC)

As it is the main goal of this work to analyze the mechanisms of semantic change within lexical items, a framework that offers clear definitions of these mechanisms is required. Therefore, I have chosen to work within the model of Lexical Meaning as Ontologies and Construals (LOC) as presented by Paradis (2004), a framework which makes clear definitions of metonymy and metaphor.

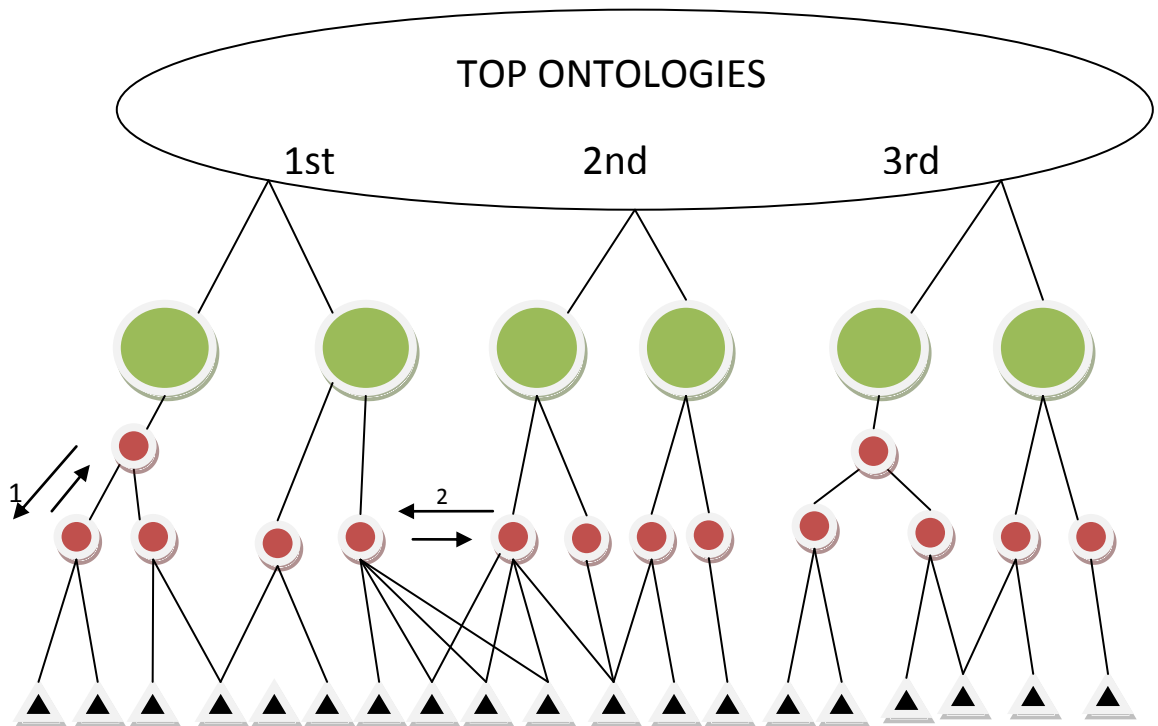
LOC is a proposal of an order in which the human cognition may be organizing mental representations of perceived phenomena, and in what ways these conceptualizations can be said to be interrelated judging from linguistic material. LOC separates the notions of *ontologies*, i.e. the very concepts that work as cognitive representations of the world, or pre-

meanings, and function as a basis for labeling phenomena, from *construals*, which profile and interrelate these concepts in online communication, e.g., salience and comparison. The ontologies, on their side, are divided into *configurations* and *contentful ontologies*. Configurations are described as denoting "part/whole", "relation", "thing", "boundedness", "scale", "degree" and other rather adjective/adverb-like phenomena that are shaping the structures of the contentful ontologies. The contentful pre-meanings, on the other hand, are described as pertaining to concrete phenomena, processes, events, states and abstract phenomena. The construals are, so to speak, the means by which the contentful ontologies and configurations may be put in relation to one another in meaning-making through language. An analysis of configurations, i.e., constructions with functions like those of adverbs and adjectives, would have to take into consideration not only the particular lexical items that fill these functions, but also the lexical items they determine, e.g. adjectives *and* the nouns they describe in order to provide a fair description of their possible semantic development. Therefore, this study is concerned only with simple nouns, in order to secure the words' statuses as fully loaned words (see section *Introduction to loan typology*) and to secure the validity of the result without having to handle unfathomable data sets. Simple nouns as a word group correspond to the contentful ontologies, and therefore, this study will be concerned only with the contentful ontologies.






LOC considers metaphor and metonymy not only to be linguistic ornaments, but processes of comparison and assignments of salience. This mapping, i.e. the interrelation between the cognitive concepts (ontologies), is therefore thought of as present and observable in both the cognitive and linguistic realms. By utilizing the LOC framework, this thesis considers the meaning-shifts observable in *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok* (SAOB) and other dictionaries as symptoms of changes in the socio-cognitive collective world-mapping, possible to be described by cognitive-linguistic tools such as the LOC framework. In the section below, an introduction to the LOC's view on the interrelation between contentful ontologies will follow.

3.2 Mapping the contentful ontologies

According to Paradis (2004, in press), the contentful ontologies are distributed over three *top ontologies*: 1st order (CONCRETE SPATIAL PHENOMENA), 2nd order (SPATIO-TEMPORAL PHENOMENA) and 3rd order (ABSTRACT PHENOMENA) ontologies. These are divided into *subcategories*, e.g., ANIMALS, MOVEMENTS and THOUGHT PATTERNS, examples belonging to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd orders respectively. These are in turn divided into what is simply called *ontologies*, e.g., CAR, RUNNING and STOICISM, somewhat confusingly labeled with the same name as the *ontologies* of which the above discussed *contentful ontologies* are a subset. These ontologies have certain sets of *qualia*, i.e. qualities that are thought of as more or less prototypical for the ontologies. These could be, e.g., "petrol-driven", "fast" and "thoughtful" respectively. Although not clearly stated in the above mentioned works, these concepts can be arranged in a certain hierarchy whereby some are thought of as parts of others: top ontologies being divided into subcategories, which in themselves are divided into ontologies, which in their turn have certain sets of *qualia*.



LEGEND:

-  Sub-Categories
-  Ontologies
-  Qualia
-  Contiguity
-  "Base" used to denote "Point"
- 1=Metonymy Proper
- 2=Metaphor

The vertical axis represents the denotational width of the ontologies/subdivisions, from the widest at the top to the narrowest at the bottom. Connecting lines between the concepts represent contiguity, qualia seen here as prototypical for their ontologies and therefore as in a relationship of contiguity with them. With the arrows, I try to represent the conventional lexical unit for denoting the ontology at the base of the arrow being used as a means of denoting the ontology at the point of the arrow.

Figure 1: Ontologies and Contiguity

Figure 1 is an illustration of a cognitive-semantic hierarchy, based on the descriptions of *metonymy*, *facetization* and *zone activation* presented by Paradis (2004) and the description of *metaphor* in Croft and Cruse (2004). That is, the entities represented here are not necessarily represented as lexical units in the mental lexicon, but are rather concepts in the individual's mapping of the world.

Paradis (2004) presents the concepts metonymy proper and metaphor, which are described below, and thereto zone activation and facetization which are all processes by which a reader may interpret different possible readings of one lexical item. Thereby, these processes are mechanisms of semantic change, and therefore useful tools in understanding the meaning-shifts concerned in this study. As they are presented as processes functioning in the cognitive realm, they can be described as relations between not only different words, but also between different ontologies and qualia. Though, the two processes zone-activation and facetization will not be taken up in this study, due to the following:

Zone-activations are only activations or highlighting of certain properties within one sense, and are therefore not useable as tools for describing semantic shifts from one sense to another. Facetizations are described as a situation where one lexical item conventionally evokes several senses, which are often in a metonymic relation to one another. As this study concerns items in lexica, cases where several entries for one word are in a metonymic relation to one another are indeed facetizations, but I see them as a result of a previous metonymization. The processes concerned in this study, metonymy proper and metaphorization (illustrated with arrows in fig 1.), as well as widening and narrowing, are presented below.

3.2.1 Metonymy proper

In cases of metonymy proper, as described by Paradis (2004), one lexical unit may denote several different ontologies, and is temporarily used to denote one ontology in the conventional lexical terms of another (e.g., a football player in a certain team being referred to as “the red shirt” instead of “the player in the red shirt”). The real-world contiguity between the two ontologies is highly temporal and prompted entirely by the context. The term metonymization is used in this thesis for the conventionalization of a metonymic use of a lexical item, i.e., the transition of a metonymy into a case of facetization.

The fact that metonymy is largely based on a real-world contiguity between the base concept and the target concept, gives that this process can perhaps be argued to be a less far-fetched process than metaphorization, as in the statement by Barcelona (2000).

3.2.2 Metaphor

In the case of metaphor, according to Paradis (2004, in press), the conventional lexical unit for evoking a conceptual structure (ontology) is indeed used to evoke another, but there is no contiguity between the two ontologies as in the case with metonymy. The mechanism of metaphorization lies in that the two ontologies share a certain set of qualia and/or configurations. In fig 1., this relation is illustrated by a line of contiguity between the two ontologies and their respective qualia, some of which they share, but not between the

ontologies themselves. As this process does not involve any real-world contiguity but is based on a limited set of qualia only, this can be an argument for Barcelona's idea (2000) that metaphorization be a more far-fetched process than metonymization.

3.2.3 Widening/Narrowing

As new senses acquired by metonymization or metaphorization become conventionally evoked by a word, they will most likely coexist for some time as conventional senses with senses already conventionally connected with that word. This will cause what is described by Geeraerts (2010) as a *widening*. Either of the coexisting senses may fall out of use later, which, correspondingly, is then a case of *narrowing*.

Some changes have not been describable as either of the above, but are cases of *amelioration* or *pejoration*, i.e. changes to having more positive or negative connotations respectively. The definitions of these rely on the description found in Theories of Lexical Semantics (Geeraerts 2010). This definition follows Geeraerts' reasoning in that amelioration and pejoration are non-denotational diachronic changes in the word. Therefore, they are classified as lesser semantic processes than all the above mechanisms.

Homonyms have been regarded not to be related by any semantic means to the loaned noun in question, and have therefore been ruled out of the material (see section 5.1).

3.3 Introduction to Loan Typology

Here, I will specify what types of loans are studied in this thesis, and explain why I exclude other types of loans.

Haugen (1950) presents that loans may be defined and divided into groups on basis of what has actually been loaned, in terms of morphemes and semantic fields. These groups are, *loanshifts*, *loanblends*, and *Word Loans*. Haugen classes loanblends as a subcategory of Loanwords in a later work on American Norwegian (Haugen 1953), but in this work, the definitions presented by Haugen (1950) and further used by Edlund & Hene (1992) are used, i.e., that word loans, loanshifts and loanblends be separate, hierarchically equal loan-strategies.

3.3.1 Loanshifts

A loanshift is a loaning process where a native word loans the meaning of a cognate from a foreign language. Below, I will give an example.

The Swedish word *seriös* has previously had the meaning of “dedicated”, “with serious intentions”, but the meaning of the word has changed in the last few years. The word has more and more taken the semantic shape of its English cognate *serious*, which includes meanings in the likes of “grave” as in “he was seriously injured”, or “serious” as in the sentence “are you serious?”, semantic concepts that were earlier more connected with the word *allvarlig*. Here, one can say that the use of the Swedish word has been calqued off the use of an English cognate, or that the English semantic concept has been loaned. This phenomenon is called loanshift by Haugen (1950).

3.3.2 Loanblends

Loanblends are loaning processes where a foreign root is put in a compound with a native one, creating a new lexical item. In the case of *maillista*, we have a compound made from one English (mail) and one Swedish (lista) root. These are called Loanblends. In order to keep to this selection, the blended compounds have been avoided by an exclusion of all compounds from the material.

3.3.3 Word loans

Word loans are occasions when a word has been loaned as a whole, for example *mail* (sometimes spelled *mej* in Swedish). The form of the word has not been changed, possibly except through the addition of grammatical affixes making them easier to use in the receiving language.

What cases in the two first categories have in common is that none of them, when borrowed, have preserved both form and function. The two loan types contain connotations and/or roots native to the recipient language, present in the recipient language before the new part of the term was loaned. These native parts would have to be analyzed, in order to reveal what has actually been loaned. I will therefore only examine what is called Loanword by Haugen (1950) and Edlund and Hene (1992).

4. Material

In this section, I will present my words and how I have extracted them.

The thesis examines 30 loanwords that have entered Swedish at between the 15th and the 20th centuries. For loan-giving languages, Middle Low German (MLG), French and English have been chosen due to their large lexical influence on Swedish (Moberg 1989, Hannesdottir 2002). In terms of time of loans, Middle Low German words loaned during the 15th and 16th centuries, French words loaned during the 17th and 18th centuries and English words loaned during the 19th and 20th centuries have been analyzed. These periods have been chosen due to them being the peak-periods of influence on Swedish of the respective languages. This matter is more thoroughly discussed in section 4.2.

4.1 The sources

Here I will present the literature from which I have acquired the words in the analysis.

The words were acquired from *Lågtyskt och svenskt i Stockholms medeltida tänkeböcker* (Moberg 1989), *Svenska Ordförrådets Ålder och Ursprung* (Hellquist 1929) and *Nyord i Svenskan från 40-tal till 80-tal* (Svenska Språknämnden 2001). These are all works that satisfactorily note when and from where words have been loaned, which is why they were chosen as an initial source for loanwords. As their material is derived from written sources only, they do not cover the Swedish *language* as a whole but the documented use of Swedish, i.e., the *doculect*. Though, the use of loanwords in the Swedish doculect provides good evidence that these words are and have been present in the language as a whole. Below I will give a description of these works.

Svenska språkets ålder och ursprung (Hellquist 1929) is an etymological lexicon over the Swedish language, where the second part lists loanwords in sections based on the language of origin. Every entry is completed by a dating of the first noted use in Swedish, which gives me a good basis for comparing the Swedish use of the word with the original, native use of the word in the loan-giving language. Though Hellquist defines "lånord" (loanword) as words having entered Swedish from another language after the stages of old Norse, Proto-Germanic or Proto Indo-European or any of their dialects (Hellquist 1929, p.479), very few words in his work that were loaned before 1500 are listed. Here, *Lågtyskt och Svenskt I Stockholms medeltida tänkeböcker* by Moberg (1989) provided a good completion. As Hellquist's work was written as early as 1929, a more thorough list of loanwords loaned in the 20th century was needed. Therefore, *Nyord i svenskan från 40-tal till 80-tal* was used in finding lexical items that are confirmed to have been loaned in the 20th century.

Lågtyskt och svenskt i Stockholms medeltidatänkeböcker (Moberg 1989) is a study trying to describe the situation of relative bilingualism in Stockholm during the heydays of the Hanseatic League in the 15th and 16th centuries. The author examines the use of Swedish and Middle Low German words and phrases in the chronicles of Stockholm, at the time written by Ingevald Stadsskrivare, a native Swede, and Helmik van Nörden, a bilingual German. In her work, Moberg has a list of Middle Low German words marked for whether they have been used by the respective authors (Moberg 1989, p. 38-39). I have chosen to only examine words that are marked by Moberg as having been used by Ingevald and as being Middle Low German, (Moberg 1989, p. 29), as these words thereby are confirmed to have been part of the Swedish dialect of that time. As Ingevald Stadsskrivare died in 1487, these MLG words were present in the Swedish dialect at the time and have been used by at least one native Swede during the 15th century.

Nyord i svenskan från 40-tal till 80-tal is a dictionary over words that have entered the Swedish lexicon between 1945 and 1985. For every word, the year of the first noted use in Swedish texts is stated.

4.2 The Selection of Lexical Items

In the selection of lexical items for this study, nouns that were confirmed to have been loaned during the given centuries from the respective languages were selected from the above mentioned books. In these books, the first 5 words in alphabetical order from every language and accordingly assigned century were selected. These were then controlled for time of loan according to the above mentioned source books, and nouns that were not loaned during the periods assigned to the loan-giving language were ruled out and replaced with words that were. Also, words that according to Svenska Akademiens Ordlista (SAOL) are no longer understood and used in Swedish were ruled out and replaced, in order to acquire the maximum amount of data for every word. In some cases, SAOB seems to disagree regarding the time of loan, and in these cases the words have been analyzed as being loaned at the time stated by SAOB. The material examined in this thesis consists of loans from Middle Low German loaned in the 15th and 16th centuries, from French in the 17th and 18th centuries and from English in the 19th and 20th centuries. These languages and respective periods have been

chosen due to that the languages have been regarded as the three most important lexical influences on Swedish, each one being clearly dominant during the respective given periods (Edlund & Hene 1992 pp. 42-59).

5. Method

In my analysis, the semantic change in 30 loanwords has analyzed according to whether the change is a metonymization, a metaphorization or an amelioration/pejoration. It has also been noted whether the polysemy of the word has increased or decreased. In order to make this analysis possible, the meaning of the loanwords in the source language as they were at the time of the loaning process have been collected from *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, *Dictionnaire historique de la langue Française* and *The Oxford English Dictionary*. These works are presented below. Thereafter I will present my method of examining these meanings, as well as the semantic development of the words in Swedish.

The still ongoing completion of SAOB, my source for tracing the semantic development in Swedish, has forced some limitations on the material. This issue will be addressed under Limitation in Data Collection. For clarity, I want to state that I below use the term *sense* as being a direct and conventional reference to an ontology as described by Paradis (2011).

5.1 Search and Systematization

In this section, I will present the dictionaries used to trace the semantic development of the words, and how this search has been conducted. I have examined the semantic development of 30 loaned words that are today fully accepted parts of the Swedish vocabulary, i.e. they exist as entries in SAOB and are still in use today according to SAOL. When choosing my words, loaned between 1400 AD and 2000 AD, I have picked out five words per century. The words were selected and extracted according to the method mentioned in the previous chapter.

When controlling the semantic status of the words in the giving language at the time of the loan, I have consulted a number of native dictionaries. For the Middle Low German words, I have consulted an online version of *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (MNDH). This is an extensive dictionary, translating from Middle Low German to modern German. Unfortunately, I have found no dating of the documented usage of different senses of the words, wherefore I cannot draw any firm conclusions about exactly what senses of the words were active in Middle Low German when they were loaned into Swedish. Middle Low German was spoken until about 1600, which gives the possibility that some senses mentioned in MNDH may have come to be in active use in Middle Low German after the words were loaned, which regrettably opens up for possibly erroneous analysis of the initial meaning-change associated with the loan. It also gives the possibility that some senses may have developed analogously in Swedish and Middle Low German, but as mentioned above I will not take this into consideration in the analysis.

For the French words, I have consulted *Dictionnaire Historique de la Langue Française* (DHLF), which has provided me with dating of what senses of the words that are documented as active (or were active in the French *doculect*) at the time of the loan into Swedish. This excludes the possibility of an erroneous analysis of the initial meaning-change prompted by the loaning process.

For the English words, I have consulted mainly the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (SOED). According to the presentation of SOED in Oxford University Press' webpage¹, it contains all the vocabulary present in English *doculects* since 1700, as well as the vocabularies of major literary works before that. The sentences used as examples for the different senses of the words are carefully dated, which has provided me with a basis for estimating what senses of the words that were present in English at the time of the loan into Swedish.

After identifying the semantic status of the words in their respective *doculects* of origin at the time of the loans, these have been compared with the entries in SAOB. First the oldest possible uses of the words have been examined, to reveal what senses of the words that were active in the contemporary Swedish *doculect* immediately after the word was loaned. Then the different senses have been sorted into a table (a summary of which is presented in table 2) according to when their first noted appearance took place in Swedish according to SAOB. In cases where a sense of a word seems to have ceased being used, this has been noted in the table as well. In cases where one word has several articles in SAOB, the etymologies of the articles have been examined in order to rule out homonyms. Because of the long time-span over which SAOB has been written, different entries seem to have different standards regarding how to divide the words' meanings into sub-meanings. Therefore, some parts of the entries have been excluded from this study in the following cases:

- ☒ When a certain use of a word is marked as occurring/being understood only in compounds
 - ☒ When a certain use of a word is marked as occurring/being understood only in expressions
- This exclusion is motivated by the understanding of these uses being dependent on context, and that the use in question cannot be said to occur/be understood in its own right.

¹<http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/>, search: Shorter Oxford English Dictionary

5.2 Limitation in Data Collection

Here I would like to address the problematic status of SAOB.

SAOB is the most thorough dictionary available for the Swedish language, and it is the only dictionary where the semantic development of words over time is clearly tracable.

Though, the thoroughness of this dictionary is a problem.

The construction of the dictionary was started in the late 19th century, and it is only completed up to the letter "T". This means that many of the definitions are somewhat out of date, and many do not exist yet.

For the loans which entered the Swedish-speaking community during the 20th century, I have had to choose words located closely before to the letter "T" in SAOB, since the section in SAOB concerning words with initial letters in the beginning of the alphabet were written in the late 19th century and have not been revised since. This entails that later 20th century words with initial letters early in the alphabet have no entries in SAOB, and cannot be controlled for semantic change. Moreover, no uses of words before 1500 were registered in SAOB. This has made an analysis of the first century of Swedish use of the 15th century loans from MLG impossible.

For most of the words, identifying proper loanwords and telling them from other loan types was a rather easy task, but this was not the case with the Middle Low German words. Many words that were mentioned in Moberg (1989) as being loans from Middle Low German were later found to be rather dubious, as they had closely related cognates in Old Norse according to SAOB. In further analysis, it rather seemed that it was the use of the words descending from Old Norse that had changed to one like the Middle Low German use, making the loans loan shifts and therefore useless in this work according to the discussion above. They were therefore replaced by words with no attested genetic relation to Swedish or Icelandic and thereby, hopefully, Old Norse neither.

There was indeed a great difference among the dictionaries in to what extent they mentioned metaphoric uses of words, for example the French word *fée*, which was very elaborate in the description of the different possibilities of using the word metaphorically. The Swedish source mentioned much fewer metaphoric uses, and it was not clear whether this difference was actually due to a different uses of the word in metaphors or a difference in *modus operandi* between the editors of the respective dictionaries. As mentioned in the Method section, the non-conventional uses have been cleared out in favor of the conventional ones. The semantic development is described in table 2.

5.3 Method of Analysis of the Lexical Items

In the dictionaries used for the analysis, metaphoric and even metonymical uses of the terms are often listed and/or given as examples as an addition to the definition. Although this work does study metonymizations and metaphorizations, these have not been taken into consideration; they cannot fully be seen as *senses*, since they are not conventional according to the dictionaries. In the dictionaries consulted for this work, the conventional uses of the entry are always given by numbers and the non-conventional uses are marked as being unconventional. Only the uses clearly being stated as conventional have been taken into

consideration. In MNDH, no such division into conventional and unconventional is present. Therefore, in MNDH, every modern German translation has been used in the analysis. Then, senses that cannot be derived from an earlier meaning by metonymization or metaphorization have been sorted out, as they have not been perceived to be semantically related to the former senses, but separate homonymous lexical items. Thereafter, senses that have not been confirmed as being used at the time of the loan have been ruled out, as described above.

When the semantic status of the words in their loan-giving languages has been confirmed, their semantic development has been traced in SAOB. In this, the same method as was described above has been used, except that instead of filtering out senses depending on their first noted uses, these first uses have been noted in a table in order to visualize a development over time. In this process, it has been examined whether new senses are connected to older ones via amelioration, pejoration, metonymy or metaphor and noted this in the table. If this has not been the case, the senses have been regarded homonyms.

In the marking of the semantic changes, the mechanisms of change that have taken place have been noted for every century as is shown in the table below. The mechanism by which a new conventional use has been acquired is marked “1”, “2” or “3”, and a widening or narrowing of the conventional use is marked “A” or “B”, as is described in table 1. Please note that the combination 0A has been left out, since a widening requires mechanism of change to provide uses, unless they be homonyms and thereby outside the scope of this study (see the last paragraph of section 3.2). 0B, which may seem odd, is a case where the semantic width of a word has been narrowed to indicate a smaller set of possible referents within the range of the previous semantic range.

	No change	Amelioration/ Pejoration	Metonymization	Metaphorization
No Wid./Nar.	0	1	2	3
Widening	-	1A	2A	3A
Narrowing	0B	1B	2B	3B

Table 1: Legend for coding of semantic change

In some cases, it seems that the Swedish use of a loanword has gained and/or lost several senses rapidly within the time-span of a century. This will be noted with two or more of the “change numbers” listed above within one box in table 2.

6. Results

I will here present the results of the analysis.

First, a few examples of how the analysis has been conducted will be presented, in order to give an illustration of the figures in the tables.

Then, I will present the total percentages of the cases of amelioration/pejoration, metonymization and metaphorization, in order to answer the first part of my hypothesis.

Lastly, I will present the development in terms of widening and narrowing, in order to answer the second part.

Original Language	Century	Loaned acc. To source book	Semantic change per century					
			15 th	16 th	17 th	18 th	19 th	20 th
MLG	15 th C.	Behov	???	1A	0	3A	0	0
		Hast	???	1B	0	2A	0	0
		Fel	???	0	0B	2A	0	0
		Lycka (som glädje)	???	1B,2A	2A	0	0	0
		Tvivel	???	0	0	0	0	0
	16 th C.	Fröken	-	2B	2B, 3A	2A	2A	0
		Anor	-	0		2A		
		Adel	-	0	2A	2A	0	0
		Bricka	-	0B	3A	3A	0	3A
		Konstnär	-	0B	2A	3A	3A	0B
French	17 th C.	Favorit	-	-	0	0	0	3A
		Ingenjör	-	-	0	3A	0	0
		Betong	-	-	0	0	0	0
		Patrull	-	-	2A	0	0	3A
		Offert	-	-	0	0	0	0
	18 th C.	Pionjär	-	-	-	0	3A	2A
		Alkov	-	-	-	0	0	0
		Mask	-	-	0	0	3A	0
		Debatt	-	-	0	0	0	0
		Fé	-	-	-	0	0	0
English	19 th C.	Snobb	-	-	-	-	0 (2B)	0
		Box	-	-	-	-	0B	0
		Tunnel	-	-	-	-	0B	2A
		Ton	-	-	-	0B	0	0
		Paj	-	-	-	-	0B	0
	20 th C.	Stretching	-	-	-	-		0B
		Trend	-	-	-	-		0B
		Kick	-	-	-	-		0&3B
		Sex	-	-	-	0	0	2B
		Tajming	-	-	-	-		2A

Table 2: Analysis of semantic change. For legend, see table 1.

6.1 The Analysis

In order to clarify how the analysis has been conducted, a few examples of the *modus operandi* are presented below. The material has seldom been unambiguous, but has often required that the writer in some way take a stance. Therefore, some samples are here shown as examples. Firstly, the complete story of all semantic shifts having occurred for the word *fröken* will be shown, followed by a few samples of single issues and how they were tackled.

Fröken

According to Hellquist (1929), the MLG word *vrouken* (now spelled “*fröken*” in Swedish) was loaned into Swedish in **1502**. According to MNDH, the MLG meaning of *vrouken* was “young woman”, “lady”, “unmarried woman”, “princess”. The first Swedish use of the term noted by SAOB is in 1526, with the meaning “non married duchess or princess”, “daughter of a prince or duke” (the Swedish terms *furstinna* and *furste* are here translated to the respective female and male versions of “princess” or “duchess”). This has been analyzed as a case of whole-for-part metonymization and narrowing, as there has been a transition from (preferably young) women, both potentially married and non-noble, to noble women only, preferably non-married. In 1609, a new definition is taken up by SAOB, which is “unmarried woman, first used for the daughters of counts, later for daughters of all nobilities, and yet later about all non-married women”. This, too, has been analyzed as a metonymization and narrowing during the 17th century. The later widening is hard to determine in time, but judging from the example sentences, it is at least clear that the term is used for all un-married women in the 19th century. The reason why the initial developments in the 16th and 17th centuries have been analyzed as part metonymization, and not only narrowing, is the whole-part relationship of the old and new meanings, as opposed to cases where one of two senses, once in a part-whole relationship but later developed beyond this relation, falls out of use. The later kind of development has simply been analyzed as a narrowing.

In 1638, *fröken* is noted to refer to the plant *Imperatoria Ostruthium*, which must be a case of metaphorization. This use is marked by SAOB as not used anymore, and only noted from two instances in the 17th century, but it has not been possible to determine when this use of the term died. Therefore, no consequent narrowing has been noted in the analysis.

In 1889, the term is noted as being used both as an informal title or term of address and as part of kinship terms. This, together with that the term at this time is evidentially used for all non-married women, has been analyzed as a part-for-whole metonymic widening. In 1904, *fröken* is also noted to be used for non-married *and* married women practicing a profession, which has been analyzed as a metonymic widening.

Masque, débat and ton

The words *masque* (*mask* in modern Swedish), *débat* (*debatt* in modern Swedish) and *ton*, loaned in 1716, 1788 and 1821 respectively according to Hellquist (1929), occurred in Swedish in 1650, 1690 and 1760 respectively according to SAOB. These have been analyzed as having come into Swedish earlier than noted by Hellquist, in concordance with SAOB.

Béton

Though noted by Hellquist (1929) as having been loaned in 1656, there is no noted use of the word *béton/betong* in SAOB until 1856. Since no change from the original French meaning or within Swedish was found in the definition in SAOB, and Hellquist's suggestion for time of loan cannot be proven wrong by means of the SAOB article, Hellquist's time of loan has been considered correct and has been used in the analysis.

Anen

When examining the semantic development of the Low Middle German loan *anen* (ancestors, *anor* in modern Swedish), I encountered a development which I could not really determine what it was.

Originally, the word means "ancestors", but later came to be used as "ancestry" in Swedish. The shift from denoting several separate individuals to denoting also ancestry as a non-individual group of people is indeed interesting. In table 2, this is analyzed as a part-for-whole metonymization.

Sex

In the case of "Sex", an interesting feature was found. According to Nyord i Svenskan från 40-tal till 80-tal, the word was loaned from English in 1946, but according to SAOB, it was present in Swedish already in 1687. According to SAOB, the word was first loaned with the meaning of "either of the two sexes" ([SEX.sbst1] in SAOB, writer's translation and summarization), and acquired the denotation of sexual activities in 1946 ([SEX.sbst2] in SAOB, writer's translation and summarization). The former meaning is marked as extinct in SAOB (the actual article in SAOB was published in 1967). I find it likely that the lexical unit as re-borrowed in the sexual activity-sense, or that the former sense of the unit was used to a very limited extent when the newer sense appeared in Swedish. Since the first sense is described in SAOB as having been loaned from French, only the later loaned sense has been considered in the analysis of the loaned English word.

Behov

The Middle Low German loan *behov* is another peculiar case. Seemingly immediately upon being loaned, it went from denoting "need", "necessity" to also denote "benefit". This could not be clearly stated as being a case of metaphorization or metonymization but seemed more like a shift to a more positive, or less negative, meaning. The change was therefore analyzed as a case of amelioration.

Fel

In the case of "Fel", I noticed an interesting development in the 18th century. The word, initially denoting an error or faultiness, came to denote also an aspect of responsibility for the error, seemingly in analogy with the English word "Fault". In the analysis, this is seen as a kind of metonymy, based on the notion that there be a temporal and contextual contiguity between an unwanted event or feature and the responsibility (or person responsible) for it. Thereto, SAOB lists the definition "linguistic or stylistic error" (definition [FEL I.3.c] in SAOB, writer's translation and summarization) as subordinate to, but distinct from, "deviation from the correct" (definition [FEL I.3] in SAOB, writer's translation and

summarization). In the analysis, [FEL I.3.c] was considered a special case of [FEL I.3], since no semantic development in terms of metaphORIZATION, metonymization, amelioration or pejoration could be seen between the two definitions.

6.2 Mechanisms of Change

In figure 2, all registered semantic changes are seen as three bars, divided into ameliorations/pejorations, metonymizations and metaphORIZATIONS.

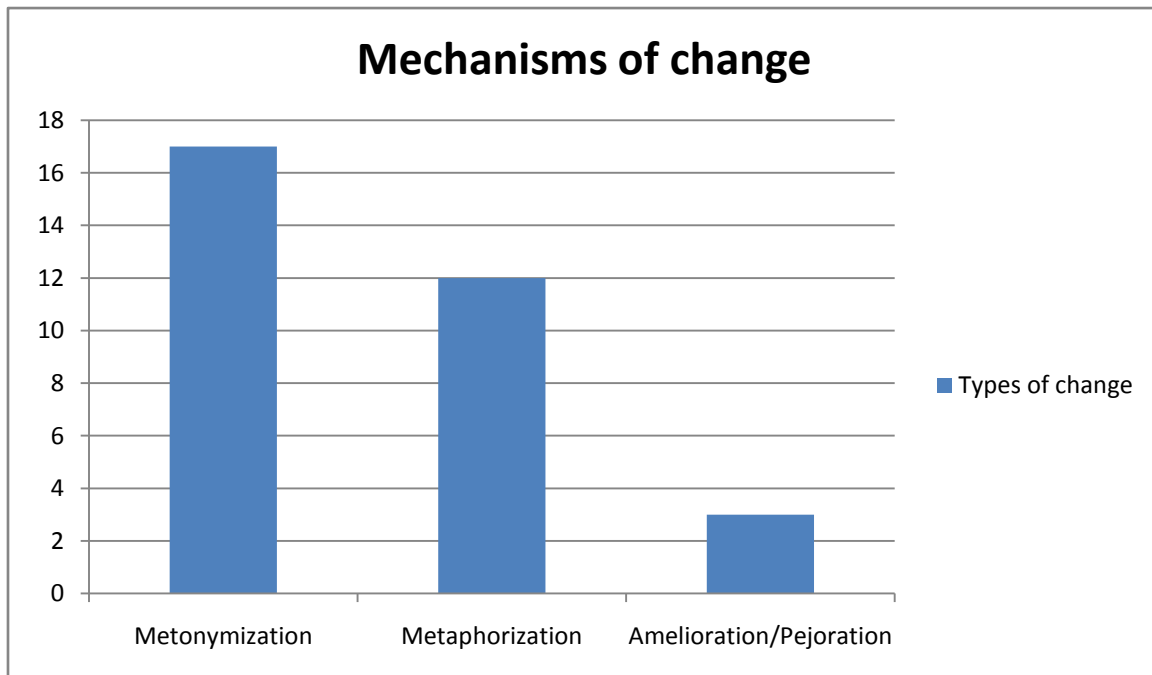


Figure 2: Overall distribution of semantic changes in the data sets, summarizing the changes in the MLG, French and English loanwords

As predicted, the largest group is the metonymizations, with 17 instances out of totally 32 semantic changes. Though, the relatively high number of metaphORIZATIONS (12) indicates that this mechanism is not to be underestimated. The low number of ameliorations and pejorations is notable, but will not be discussed further. There was, though, a notable difference in the proportions metonymizations and metaphORIZATIONS between the three periods/loangiving languages, as the French loanwords had a higher frequency of metaphORIZATIONS than that of metonymizations. This tendency is the opposite of what was expected, and will be discussed further under Discussion.

6.3 Widening and Narrowing

Figure 3 describes the first four centuries of the lexical items' use in Swedish in terms of widening, narrowing and, for comparison, status quo. In order to compare what happens in the beginning of the words' uses in Swedish, this histogram describes the development of the lexical items century by century from their first registered use in Swedish, regardless of when they were loaned.

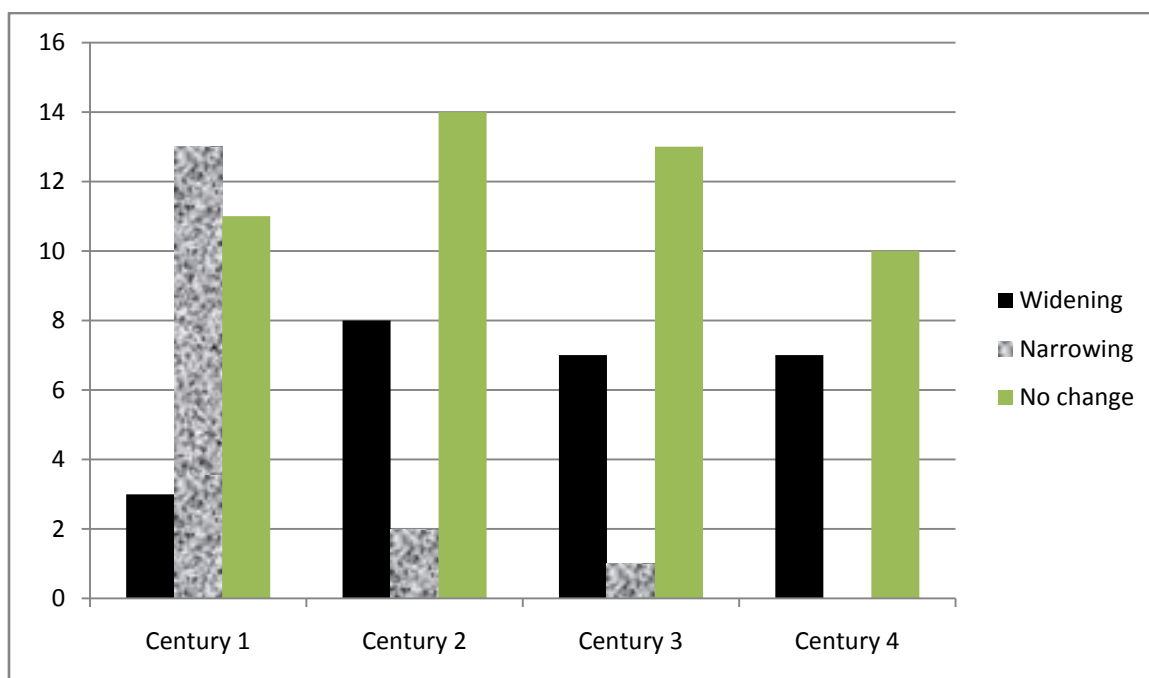


Figure 3: Distribution of narrowings and widenings versus no change per century from the century of the loaning, summarizing all occasions in the MLG, French and English loanwords

Due to the different times of loaning, the newer words have only been present in the Swedish vocabulary for a few centuries, so that for every century considered in figure 3, the lexical items decrease in number. Therefore, only the four first centuries of the words' development are counted in order to provide a basis for any conclusions. In general, we can here see that most words undergo a narrowing upon their entrance into Swedish. In the following two centuries, though, the complete opposite happens; widening becomes more common than narrowing. Though, after the first century, a status quo is the most common, i.e., it is most likely that no change happens after the first century in Swedish. As widening becomes more common than narrowing after the first century, this development seems to go according to the hypothesis apart from the widespread status quo-phenomenon. Once again the French loanwords seem to behave somewhat differently, with no initial narrowing at all. As this development is the opposite of what was predicted in the hypothesis, it will be addressed in the Discussion section.

7. Discussion

In this section I will discuss the results in general in terms of mechanisms of change and widening/narrowing respectively, followed by a discussion concerning the different development of the French words.

Generally, the assumptions made in the hypothesis seem to be correct. Though, because of the discrepancy between the French loanwords from the 15th and 16th centuries, the assumptions are not generally applicable and therefore cannot be seen as fulfilled. Therefore, a conclusion must be drawn that:

✕ The results of this study cannot fully argue for metonymization being a more basic cognitive process than metaphorization under all given circumstances, and

✧ I must make the assumption that social factors, like the relative statuses of different loan-giving languages and their paths through different social strata of the recipient language-community, are important factors in the semantic development of loanwords, and that these need to be taken into consideration in future research.

7.1 General discussion on the mechanisms of change

The general result of the comparison between the occurrences of metonymization and metaphorization indicates that the hypothesis is fulfilled; that metonymization is a more common mechanism of change than metaphorization. Following the reasoning from the introduction, that the human cognition be more prone to use the new methods of linguistic expression that require the least cognitive effort, the result also suggests that metonymy may very well be “[...] even more basic to language and cognition” than metaphor, as expressed by Barcelona (2000), at least seen from a diachronic perspective in the examined doculect. Reasoning further along the LOC framework, this would also suggest that contiguity, the base principle of metonymy, may be more basic to human language and cognition than comparison, the basic principle of metaphor in understanding and using already existing lexical items for other concepts than the conventional ones. Though, the discrepancy among the French words when it comes to the proportions of metonymization and metaphorization prevents this study to draw any firm conclusions about this, and thereto raises the question of what factors outside the reach of a cognitive linguistics framework may explain the results.

7.2 General discussion on widening and narrowing

The general results show a clear tendency to a narrowing upon loaning, and then a number of widenings within the recipient language. This, in terms of the introduction, implies that words be loaned first and foremost in lack of a convenient term for the concept denoted by the loanword, but are then widened to be used for numerous other things as the loanword grows to be a more and more accepted part of the recipient language’s vocabulary.

Though, the French portion of the words shows another tendency; there seems to be no initial narrowing upon loaning. This prevents this study from drawing any firm conclusions in this matter, and will be discussed under the section “The problematic French words”. The Middle Low German and English words are the ones behaving most in accordance with the hypothesis, i.e. have undergone an initial narrowing and, in the case of the Middle Low German words, a following widening.

Among the English words, the widening doesn’t seem to have taken place, but this may be due to the words being loaned so recently, and it is just a matter of time before they do.

Though, the common status quo shown in figure 3 indicates that the expected widening after the first century is not as universal as stated in the hypothesis. One may draw the conclusion that there is a tendency for widening rather than narrowing after the first century in the loan-taking language, although not as strong as the tendency for initial narrowing.

One weakness in my study is that many of the entries in SAOB are not all up to date; many entries were defined in the first half of the 20th century. A more up-to-date dictionary could possibly reveal a starting generalization among the English loans, not unlike the one that is visible among the Middle Low German words, but this is only speculation. My best hope for determining whether this be the case would be to find a more up to date dictionary, as

elaborate as SAOB. Though, no such work is available at the time writing. The fact that the Middle Low German words seem to have undergone the most semantic changes is not surprising, since they are the ones that were loaned first and thereby have been used by the Swedish-speaking community for the longest time.

7.3 The Problematic French Words

The difference in change between the French and the other words is quite interesting. Firstly, the percentages of mechanisms of change among the French words differ from the Middle Low German and English words, as is shown in figure 4:

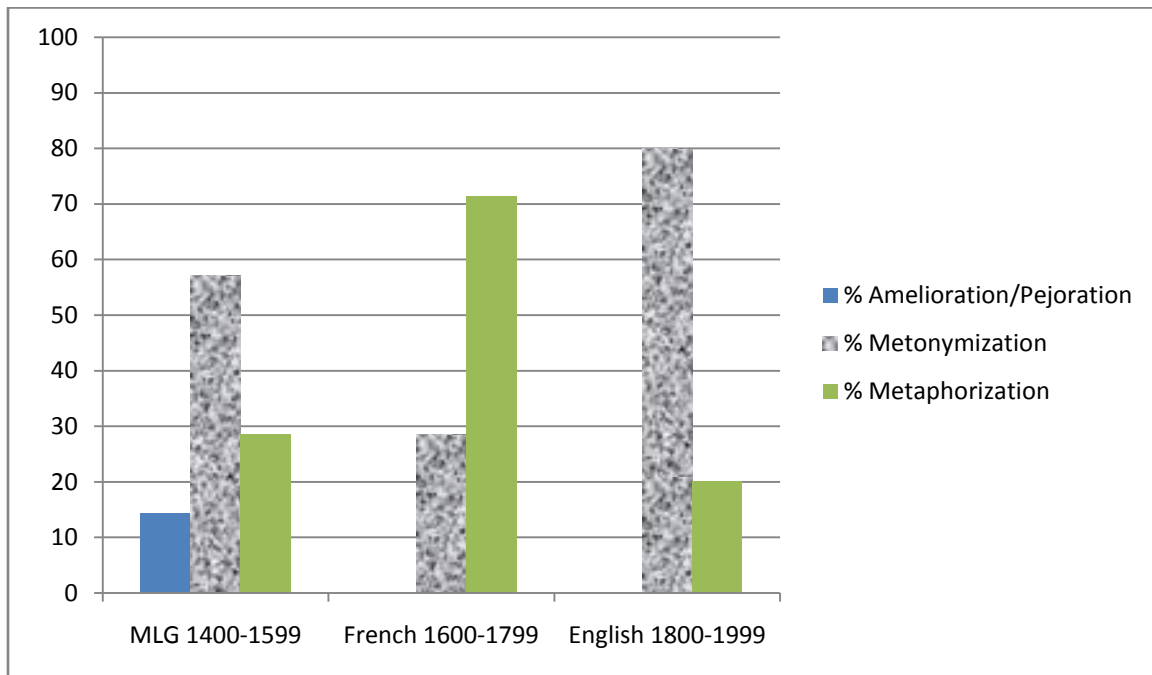


Figure 4: Proportions of mechanisms of change from the time of loaning until today in loaned MLG, French and English lexical items marked with their respective periods of loaning

Here, one can see that the MLG words, which were loaned in the 15th and 16th centuries, and English words, which were loaned in the 19th and 20th centuries, show a greater share of metonymizations than that of metaphorizations just as is the case in the total sum of all the analyzed words, while the French words, which were loaned in the 17th and 18th centuries, show the opposite proportions. Thereto, the French words seem to have lost almost none of their conventional uses in or after the process of being loaned by Swedish, as is shown in figure 5.

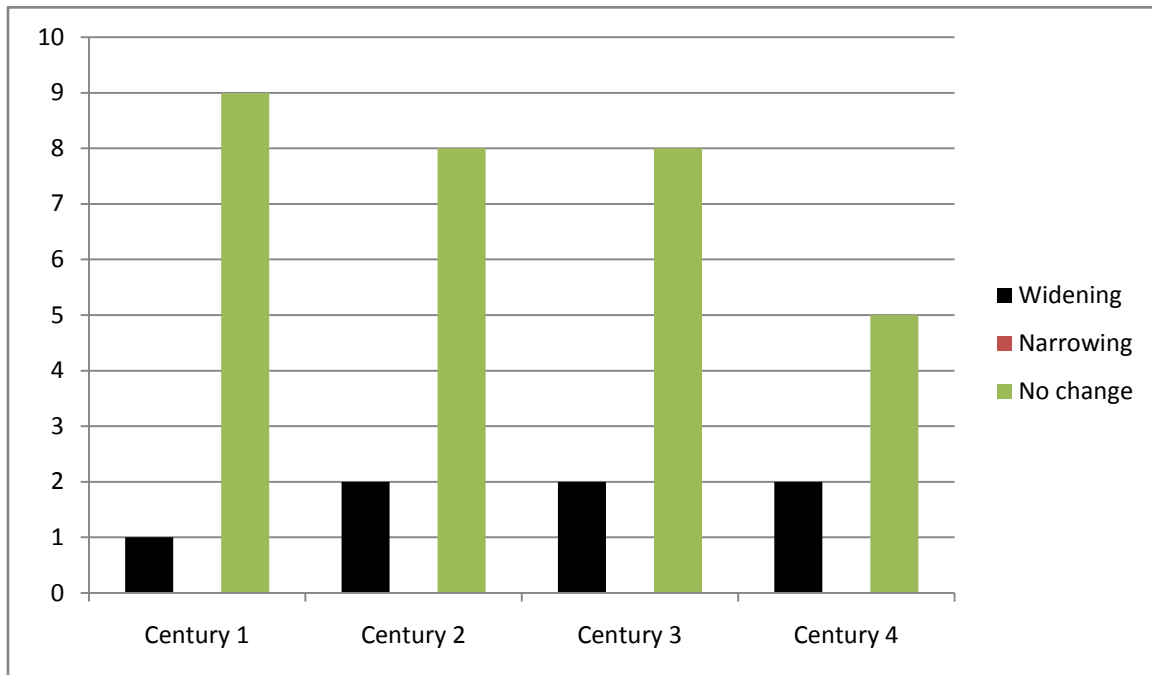


Figure 5: Occasions of widenings and narrowings versus no change in French words, per century from the century of the loaning

In this respect, the French words go against the predictions of the hypothesis.

The possible causes for this different behavior are many:

The first thing that comes to mind is whether there may be any difference in what kind of phenomena the words refer to, in terms of top ontologies in the LOC framework (Paradis 2004) presented in the theory-section of this thesis, and whether this may correlate with the different behavior of the French words. Seemingly, though, no such correlation is to be found, as is shown in table 3.

Original Language	Century of loan		Top ontology	Widening (A) and Narrowing (B)	
MLG	15th C.	Behov	2	???	
		Hast	2	???	
		Fel	3	???	
		Lycka	2	???	
		Tvivel	2	???	
	16th C.	Fröken	1	B	
		Anor	1		0
		Adel	1&2		0
		Bricka	1	B	
		Konstnär	1	B	
French	17th. C	Favorit	1		0
		Ingenjör	1		0
		Betong	1		0
		Patrull	1	A	
		Offert	3&1		0
	18th C.	Pionjär	1		0
		Alkov	1		0
		Mask	1		0
		Debatt	2		0
		Fé	1		0
English	19th C.	Snobb	1	0 (2B)	
		Box	1	B	
		Tunnel	1	B	
		Ton	1	B	
		Paj	1	B	
	20th C.	Stretching	2	B	
		Trend	3	B	
		Kick	2	B	
		Sex	2	B	
		Tajming	3	A	

Table 3: Search for correlation between initial semantic change and top ontologies

Looking at table 2, we can also see that the French words have gone through a smaller total of changes than the more recently loaned English words. This indicates that there be a large difference between the two groups, although it is still not obvious what that difference may be. Another possible reason for the apart development of the French words is a possible difference between the socio-cultural contexts in which the words were loaned, but this is, regrettfully, beyond the scope of this thesis.

8. Conclusion

The goal of this thesis was to investigate if and how the meaning of loaned nouns changes upon and after loaning in the recipient language. The thesis was driven by the hypothesis that the denotational width of the words would be narrowed at first and then widened again, and that metonymization would be a more common mechanism of change than metaphorization.

The material of the study was lexical items loaned into Swedish, from Middle Low German, French and English in the periods of the 15th-16th centuries, 17th-18th centuries, and 19th-20th centuries respectively. The assumptions of the hypothesis were fulfilled within the investigated material as a whole, and thereby the conclusion may be drawn that metonymization/metonymy can be argued to be more basic to human cognition than metaphorization/metaphor, in support of Barcelona's statement (2000), and that the patterns of widening and narrowing support that most of these words can be argued to have been loaned out of necessity, as is reasoned in the introduction.

Though, these same assumptions were disproven for the lexical items loaned from French in the 15th and 16th centuries as a separate group. This discrepancy indicates that factors outside the scope of this thesis, such as socio-cultural or historical factors, may play an important role in the semantic development among loanwords.

The theoretical framework of this thesis (LOC) is not able to explain the sharp borders in the words' development between the French words and the other words, which therefore may be better explained by socio-cultural models. The results of this study show that the distribution of mechanisms of semantic change among loanwords to some degree must rely not only factors described by cognitive-linguistic frameworks in the likes of LOC, but also on the context in which they are loaned. Metonymy may very well be more basic than metaphor to human cognition, but this is obscured *under certain socio-cultural circumstances*. Since there are two general patterns in the material of this study (one with relatively much semantic change and a preference for metonymization, and one with relatively little semantic change and a preference for metaphorization), present simultaneously among their respective groups of loaned nouns during the 17th and 18th centuries, the preference of mechanism of semantic change does not seem to fluctuate over time as part of a "zeitgeist" where a certain pattern is the most frequent among all words. The preference of pattern could instead depend on socio-cultural differences in the circumstances under which the words were loaned, and/or socio-cultural differences between the groups of people who have used the words most frequently.

Thus, metonymy is likely to be more basic to human cognition than metaphor, but in the French part of my material, certain socio-cultural circumstances may have overruled this preference, and have caused the meaning of the nouns not to be narrowed upon loaning. In order to reveal which these circumstances may be, future studies with the aim of understanding historical semantic change among loanwords can take several factors into consideration. These factors could be what differences in socio-cultural circumstances are present between the respective *times* of loaning, what social *groups* the words were primarily used by among the speakers of the loaning language and what the *attitudes* towards the loan giving language were, to see if there may be a correlation between the preferred mechanism of change and socio-cultural factors. These are all factors which have been outside the scope

of this study. Another possibility, which would aim more for the cognitive-linguistic statuses of metonymy and metaphor, is to perform a synchronic psycho-linguistic study where the reaction- or recognition-times of the participants are measured upon encountering novel metonymic and metaphoric uses of familiar words. If both these kinds of studies could be performed in parallel, the cognitive and socio-cultural triggers and inhibitors for metonymization, metaphorization, widening and narrowing in semantic development could be accurately defined.

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