

Gottlieb, Henrik. 2020. *Echoes of English: Anglicisms in Minor Speech Communities – with Special Focus on Danish and Afrikaans*. Berlin: Peter Lang. 522 pages.

This recent monograph in the field of contact linguistics, authored by Henrik Gottlieb, brings into focus two somehow related languages which have long been under the influence of English, namely, Danish and Afrikaans. The book consists of ten chapters, the first two of which ('The notion of 'Anglicism': When definitions disagree' and 'Analyzing Anglicisms') provide an outline of the notion of 'Anglicisms', the approach held towards them and the taxonomy of Anglicisms. Gottlieb builds upon the definitions and views of several recognized scholars in the field, such as Rudolf Filipović and Knud Sørensen, to name but two, meticulously observing the pros and cons of each of the views provided and coming up with his own definition. The comprehensiveness of Gottlieb's 'Anglicisms' definition (p. 32) rests on emphasizing the individual as well as the systemic language features affected by the English language. Anglicisms as neologisms and the identification of typologies of language contact are some other Anglicism-related points addressed by Gottlieb in a language context encompassing not only the Danish speech community but also views from, for example, the Spanish, German, Swedish, and Croatian perspectives.

Chapter 3, 'Anglification through translation', adds another dimension to the discussion about the influence of English. Among the types of 'Cultural Exports' introduced via translated products are video games and their extensive use of English lingo, recognized by Gottlieb as a more recent development. The views and attitudes of several translation scholars are brought to the discussion of the long-favored source-culture-oriented macro-strategy of 'foreignization', confronting the 'domestication' strategy supported by Gottlieb as a more appropriate strategy for the minor speech communities (p. 104). With regard to dictionaries of Anglicisms in different languages such as German, Danish, French, Norwegian, and Swedish, Gottlieb is in favor of the inclusion of loan translations and semantic loans, thus aiming at establishing a common ground in interlingual lexicography.

In the spirit of finding a balanced approach between the way the data is collected and analyzed, Gottlieb introduces the metaphor for the especially 'young' Anglicisms, that of 'cod roe' or 'multiple births' (p.

97), which is different from the previous ‘cuckoo’ or the intruder, thus supporting not only the use of Anglicisms but also the ‘open favoritism’ of Danish (especially young) speakers towards all-English lexical items as well as English-inspired ones. The searches in Danish corpora and text archives outlined by Gottlieb reveal the necessity of Anglicisms, as they ‘fill connotational or pragmatic voids or expand or specialize existing semantic properties’. Another symptom of imbalance according to Gottlieb is ‘relay translations’. This is a process ‘filtered through English’ and involves considerable ‘linguistic, cultural and political implications’. Relay translations are not the only reason for producing impoverished texts and affected content and style of different works; ‘translationese’ stemming from direct translations from English may also include visible and invisible ‘target language features under the influence of the dominant language’ (p. 123). Micro-language items and macro-language items constitute a different and innovative perspective offered by Gottlieb, which includes a wide range of the Anglification-process inputs (via translations) like recombinations, neo-semanticizations, etc. Gottlieb’s ‘Echoes of English’ is among those very few sources that treats language contact on a large scale, covering different communication dimensions: the written, the audio, the visual and the spoken media. Subtitling and dubbing constitute important sources of increasing English impact on minor speech communities. Gottlieb continues by challenging the ‘common belief that the English language, in comparison to minor languages (not minor in lexical scope), is considered to be more expressive or contain more words than other languages’. According to him this is not an evidence-based statement and ‘the competition between English and most other languages will end in a draw’. What Gottlieb finds surprising is the fact that the English language lacks words in certain domains such as kinship. Gottlieb identifies and illustrates that it is not always the number of speakers a language has that determines its power and its prestige; ‘what keeps English so strong internationally is a delicate combination of facts and attitudes.’

Chapter 4, ‘The spread of Anglicisms in Danish’, and Chapter 5, ‘Danish Anglicisms: Invisible successes?’, provide an overview of the number of Anglicism items included in dictionaries of Anglicisms in several European languages, with a particular focus on the Danish language. A comparison with the German borrowings still in use in contemporary Danish is also provided. The density of Anglicisms is

mainly studied in text archives or corpora of written or spoken language and range from 0.01% in a literary studies book to 3% in magazines (p. 145). However, Gottlieb's study of three Danish newspapers aimed at different readers, comparing Anglicism types found in issues from 2000 and 2014, not only shows an increased number of Anglicisms but also provides evidence of the English influence spreading from lexis to semantics and phraseology. The 'concentric circles' which illustrate the shift of English from foreign language to second language are a reversion of Kachru's expanding circles (p.161). In the 21st century, Denmark is facing a diglossic situation with domain losses; this has been a concern for some scholars, but it is simply neglected by many others, perhaps because Anglicisms constitute less than 2% of all words in Danish. However, the author identifies six linguistic levels where 'invisible Anglification' occurs in Danish, beginning with orthography and even extending to pragmatics.

In Chapter 6, 'Are all Anglicisms pseudo-English? Quantifying pseudo-Anglicisms in Danish', we find an extensive treatment of pseudo-Anglicisms (PAs). Gottlieb considers that there is no exact line that can be drawn between these and the 'genuine' Anglicisms. The number and the frequency of pseudo-loans is relatively low. Still, they serve as 'spices' rather than 'ingredients' in a language and designate key concepts in the texts where they appear. Different studies conducted in Denmark, Germany, Italy and Norway on several issues of political magazines and youth magazines, cited by Gottlieb in this chapter, corroborate that the number of PAs makes up less than 1% of the total word count. Among the pseudo-Anglicisms found in the Danish language are pseudo-plurals, 'Neosemantizations', the 'mixed category', morphological PAs/clippings (common also in the Albanian language, although stated otherwise in Görlach's *Dictionary of European Anglicisms*) and 'vocal PAs'. The latter seem to be new PA candidates, and with reference to these Gottlieb finds that non-native English speakers give praise to English for loanwords which are not part of English lexis but are pronounced in a (mock) English fashion and sometimes even reinterpreted (p. 213). Unlike earlier researchers, who considered the English items 'transported' to a language via another language as pseudo-Anglicisms, Gottlieb holds the view that these so-called 'Relay Anglicisms' or 'Transmitted Anglicisms' constitute a separate class of English items/re-exported borrowings introduced into a given speech community through a language which is not English.

In Chapter 7, 'From Germanisms to Anglicisms: Shifting loyalties in Danish', Gottlieb delineates the Danish-English contact since the early 19th century. German 'remained in power' till the end of the Second World War 'granting' Danish language 20-25% of its vocabulary, both in terms of lexical density and lexical richness, while the number of Anglicisms is much lower, at about 1-2%. He underlines the factors that shifted the attention of the Danes and the Danish language away from German language towards the English language. Gottlieb highlights the risk of Danish only being used in the intimate sphere in the future and ending up, together with the other Scandinavian languages, as 'kitchen languages'. To avoid this he suggests 'advocating an empirical and unbiased approach towards the working of Anglicisms in general' (p. 254), a purpose his monograph does its best to serve.

Chapter 8, 'English-inspired naming habits in Denmark and beyond: Prestige lost & found', deals with another less visited domain when it comes to the history of English influence, that of 'the name-giving attitudes'. With Denmark having been influenced by Anglo-American names since the 19th century, Gottlieb outlines some of the meta-linguistic reasons for these name choices. The studies of most popular baby names show almost the same 'top names' in America, Britain and the Scandinavian countries, reaching a frequency of English baby names of about 40% (p. 291). An overview of the ranking of English names in other European countries and countries outside Europe is provided, countries that have experienced oscillations with native names taking English-sounding suffixes or resulting in different orthographic variants in the course of the 20th and 21st centuries. This changing trend was observed in South Africa too, with the rejection of English names before apartheid and English names becoming more fashionable or attractive afterwards. English-origin names have been of preference to different social classes in Denmark, at first recognized as having 'upper-class connotations' by the beginning of the 19th century, then associated more to 'lower classes' or defined as 'lacking social prestige' by the end of the 20th century. Gottlieb concludes that it is not so much these social factors that affect name-giving traditions in Scandinavia as is the 'subterranean' English influence on parents' choices of names for their babies. Gottlieb also mentions the naming of storms in Denmark, now following the American model, and the extension of the 'international-looking' spelling of different words or towns with 'a particular English-language-care in mind'.

Chapter 9, 'When English is seen as a threat: The case of South Africa', discusses the impact of English on Afrikaans, the Dutch-based Germanic language spoken in South Africa, dating back to the 19th century. Described as a complex linguistic community, South Africa has been an example of multilingualism for a long time, with no majority language. In this chapter Gottlieb provides a historical-facts-based overview of the rivalry between Afrikaans and English, with English always enjoying official status while at times co-existing with Afrikaans in a bilingual situation. Despite the disproportionate relationship in terms of the geographical territories that Afrikaans and English cover in South Africa, the latter spread to and now dominates 'all types of communication in the public sphere, including the media and the educational establishments'. The demographical facts about the number of Afrikaans speakers and English speakers have similarly shifted several times across history (p. 346). By some of its own speakers, Afrikaans is considered substandard due to 'the openness towards English and the habitual code-switching' found in this speech community. More colored South Africans and rural Blacks are turning to the English language as a useful resource for their life and work needs. Gottlieb provides a 'bewildering, yet fascinating array of definitions of Anglicisms' given by several South African linguists and outlines the position of the South African Academy for Science and Arts towards Anglicisms and English influence on Afrikaans. In addition, an analysis of the conditions the candidate English features have to meet prior to being considered as 'language change' agents is provided. Language contact phenomenon is seen as based on two parameters, directness and symmetry of contact, where Afrikaans and English contact is defined as non-symmetrical and direct, whereas English and Danish contact is defined as non-symmetrical and indirect (p. 381). Gottlieb estimates the degree of Anglification of Afrikaans to be very high and of Danish as medium-high. The prevalent responses towards this process are seen as defensive and prescriptive in Afrikaans and lenient and descriptive in Danish (p. 388).

The last chapter, Chapter 10, 'Different Echoes, same English song?', gives a final overview of the similarities and differences that Danish and Afrikaans have with regard to the impact the English language has on them, an impact 'documented in Afrikaans much earlier than in Danish'. Among other points, they do not share the same attitude towards 'bilingualism'. Both in the Danish and the South African context,

bilingualism has acquired sinister connotations, but this attitude has been adopted by them for different reasons. In the former, it is mostly related to 'non-Western' immigrants and the challenging implications this 'co-living' has in Danish society, while in the case of South Africa, 'bilingualism lends a hand to a language shift favoring English'. Thus, it has become a matter of opposing and impeding Anglification or supporting the 'ongoing convergence with English'. Gottlieb finds notions of linguistic inferiority to be the case in both Denmark and South Africa, partly due to history and partly due to 'the impression that things sound better in English'. Therefore, 'linguistic protectionism' has found common ground in both countries, but still not preventing their peoples from accepting diglossia.

In Gottlieb's monograph there is an extraordinary intertwining of a wide range of linguistic and social factors which describe the English language impact on Danish and Afrikaans. In this book, young researchers can find a model of how a multi-dimensional study on language contact and language change can be conducted, learn about diachronic and synchronic research conducted on online text corpora, magazines and other types of publications, and the techniques used in providing the basis for a detailed evaluation on a single borrowed item to multiple borrowed items from English, in periods of time extending from months to several decades. It is an empirical and balanced study which gives voice to scholars and researchers from different schools, countries and continents, thus making this book not only a top-item in the 'to-read list' of a wide range of language professionals, but also a fascinating read for many other readers who may find it useful.

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References

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