Weinreich, Otto (1971). *Die Suffixablösung bei den Nomina agentis während der althochdeutschen Periode.* Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

Werth, Ronald N. (1973). Die gotischen Bezeichnungen für 'Hoherpriester'. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 87: 248-268.

Werth, Ronald N. (1974). A Methodology for Reconstructing Patterns of Cross-Cultural Semantic Contact. In: Luigi Heilmann (ed.). *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Linguistics.* Bologna-Florence, Aug. 28 - Sept. 2, 1972. 2 vls. Bologna: Mulino. 1081-1091.

Wolf, Norbert Richard (1987). Verbalabstrakta in althochdeutschen Texten. In: Rolf Bergmann/Heinrich Tiefenbach/Lothar Voetz (eds.). Althochdeutsch. Band I: Grammatik. Glossen und Texte. Heidelberg: Winter. 305-319.

Wrede, Ferdinand (1891). *Über die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien.* Straßburg: Trübner.

Žepić, Stanko (1971). Gedanken zur Wortbildungslehre. *Linguistische Berichte* 11: 1-7.

# On Iranian Calques in Armenian

Daniel Kölligan

Department of Classical Languages and Literature, Oxford
und Institut für Linguistik – Historisch-Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, Köln

## 1  Calques of Iranian Origin in Classical Armenian

The study of Iranian loan words and calques in Armenian started after Hübschmann (1875) showed that the Armenian language, hitherto considered an Iranian language, was actually a separate branch of the Indo-European language family like e.g. Greek and Germanic.[1] Since then huge progress has been made in the identification of loanwords in Armenian of Iranian origin starting with Hübschmann's "Armenische Grammatik. I. Teil: Etymologie" (Hübschmann 1897) which lists some 686 loanwords. Meillet (1911/1912) showed that the bulk of them is of Parthian, i.e. north-west Iranian, origin, a lesser amount is Middle Persian, i.e. south-west Iranian, and there may be a few eastern Iranian (i.e. Sogdian) words, too. Some Iranian loanwords may even derive from pre-Arsacid times, as they were affected by the Armenian sound-shift which Middle Iranian loans generally do not show; thus *t'šnami* 'enemy' may derive from Old Iranian *\*duš-manyu-* 'evil spirited', cf. Av. *dušmainiiu-* 'hostile, adversarial', with the development of initial *\*d-* to Arm. *\*t-* by sound shift and *\*t > t'* as in *k'san < \*gisanti < \*wīkṃti-* '20'; Arm. *partêz* 'garden' may stem from Old Iranian *\*pari-daiza-*, cf. Av. *pairidaēza-* 'wall, rampart'.[2]

While loanwords in general are identifiable by their special phonological characteristics – although in some cases both the inherited and the borrowed word would have the same form, e.g. Arm. *naw* 'ship'[3] – cases of loan translations or calques may prove more difficult to argue for, since it is not always clear if a given compound or syntagm is based on a

---

[1] Already in 1840 Etienne Marc Quatremère had conjectured that the majority of the Armenian lexicon consists of Persian loanwords, but it was Hübschmann who actually showed this assumption to be true, cf. Schmitt (1986).

[2] Meillet (1911/12: 250), De Lamberterie (1978) for more detailed discussion.

[3] Hübschmann (1897: 16f.).

foreign model or an independent language-internal creation.[4] Still, a steadily growing number of calques has been identified, by scholars such as Bolognesi,[5] Benveniste,[6] De Lamberterie[7] and others. A huge number of these loan translations consists of syntagms combining nouns and auxiliary verbs like *aṙnel* 'to do, to make', *harkanel* 'to beat', *ownel* 'to have', *tal* 'to give', e.g. *azat aṙnel* 'to make [*aṙnel*] free [*azat*]', cf. Mod. Pers. *āzād kardan* 'id.', *howr harkanel* 'to strike [*harkanel*] fire [*howr*], i.e. to inflame', cf. Mod. Pers. *ātaš zadan* 'id.',[8] *akn ownel* 'to have [*ownel*] an eye [*akn*], i.e. to hope', cf. Mod. Pers. *čašm dāštan* 'id.', *hraman tal* 'to give [*tal*] order [*hraman*], i.e. to command', cf. Mod. Pers. *farmān dādan*, but also a number of compounds are based on Iranian models, e.g. *jerb-a-kal* 'prisoner, lit. caught [*kal*] by hand [*jerb*]', cf. Parth. Mid. Pers. *dast-graw*, and *arew-elk* 'east, lit. sun[*arew*]-rise[*elk*']', cf. Parth. Mid. Pers. *xwar-āsān* 'id.'[9] The huge amount of calques testifies to the long period of bilingualism in all layers of society.[10]

In the following remarks criteria for identifying loan translations and two possible candidates of Armenian calques of Iranian constructions will be discussed.

## 2 Criteria

2.1 If we start with some generally accepted cases of loan translations such as Germ. *den Hof machen* after Fr. *faire la cour* and Engl. *it goes without saying* after Fr. *il va sans dire* some typical characteristics of what Betz (1949: 23, 27f.) called "Lehnwendungen"[11] emerge:[12]

1. There is a 1:1-correspondence of elements: Each foreign element is represented by one element in the translation.

2. Each element of the giving language is translated by a semantically corresponding element in the borrowing language.[13]

This does not imply semantic identity, but only sufficient semantic overlap between the two items to serve as a possible translation.[14] The case of borrowed meanings ("Lehnbedeutung") will not be dealt with here.

3. The meanings of the syntagms are identical.

This might seem a superfluous stipulation, as this is what loan translations are all about. Still, this condition helps to discard "false friends" from the dossier, e.g. Germ. *in anderen Umständen* 'pregnant' ≠ Engl. *in different circumstances*, or Span. *tener en jaque* 'to pester with repeated small-scale attacks'[15] ≠ Engl. *to keep in check* 'to keep under restriction of freedom or movement, to keep under control'.[16]
These seem to be the necessary conditions for assuming a loan translation.

The following are optional criteria, increasing the probability:

4. The meaning of the syntagm is conventionalized / lexicalized in both languages in the same way.

The meaning of the syntagm thus does not follow immediately from the addition of the individual meanings of each of the elements, cf. Fr. *beau père* 'father-in-law; step-father' : Dutch *schoonvader* 'id.', both lit. 'beautiful father', Slov. *imeti smolo* after Germ. *Pech haben* 'to have bad luck', lit. 'to have pitch'.[17]

5. The conventionalized meaning is explainable historically only in the lending language.

---

[4] Schmitt (1982: 456): "It is of course much more difficult to detect instances of loan translations than loanwords."
[5] Bolognesi (1951); Bolognesi (1960); Bolognesi (1960/61); Bolognesi (1962); Bolognesi (1966); Bolognesi (1985); Bolognesi (1993).
[6] Benveniste (1964).
[7] De Lamberterie (1978).
[8] Bolognesi (1962: 237f.).
[9] Schmitt (1982: 456).
[10] Unbegaun (1932: 21).
[11] Betz (1949: 23): "Lehnwendung ist die Nachbildung einer fremdsprachlichen Redensart.", cf. also Haugen (1950: 212) who defines borrowing in general as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another." Cf. also Schumann (1958: 1, 1965: 80).
[12] For a similar discussion of criteria cf. Casaretto (2005: 28f).

[13] The same applies to translated compounds ("Lehnübersetzung" in Betz' terminology), cf. Fr. *gratte-ciel*, Sp. *rascacielos*, Germ. *Wolkenkratzer* after Engl. *skyscraper*, Germ. *Zufall* after Lat. *accidens*, cf. also Haugen (1950: 214), Zett (1970: 14).
[14] E.g. Hitt. *ēzzan taru* lit. 'mulch and wood' = 'trifle' after Akkad. *ḫāmu u ḫuṣābu* 'id.', lit. 'scraps of crop and wood (*ḫāmu*) and twigs, pegs (*ḫuṣābu*)', cf. Tischler (1998: 681).
[15] e.g. *Manuel Delgado Villegas, el Arropiero, fue detenido en 1971 tras tener en jaque a la policía durante una larga etapa.* "M. D. V., the syrup maker, was arrested in 1971 after having pestered the police for a long time."
[16] Deroy (1956: 58f.), e.g. on Fr. *bizarre* 'strange, odd' from It. *bizzarro* 'strange, odd; capricious, whimsical', not Sp. *bizarro* 'gallant, brave; generous'.
[17] Unbegaun (1932: 21).

A case in point is Arm. *erdowmn owtel* 'to swear', lit. 'to eat an oath', which is a calque of Mid. Pers. *sōkand xvartan* 'to swallow [*xvartan*] an oath = to swear', Mod. Pers. *saugand xurdan*, with Mid. Pers. *sōkand* < *\*saukanta-* 'sulphur', cf. Av. *saokəntavant-* 'containing sulphur' and *xvartan* 'to swallow'.[18] The underlying custom is explained in the Avestan text *Videvdat* IV.54f. which discusses how to find out if a person is lying when taking an oath. The test consists of drinking water containing, among other things, gold dust and sulphur, *āpəm* [water] *saokəntavaitīm* [containing sulphur] *zaranyāvaitīm* [containing gold], that was believed to magically bring out the truth, it was *vīθušavaitīm* ('die Ermittlung der Schuld bewirkend' according to Bartholomae 1904: 1447). The oath therefore consisted in drinking this specially prepared water, whence 'to drink the sulphur' came to mean 'to swear'.[19]

6. In addition to the syntagm in question a synonymous simple verb is attested.

In this case, the syntagm may be a functionally superfluous creation based on the foreign model, although a simple verb is already present in the borrowing language. A case in point is Arm. *azatel* 'to make free, to liberate' (Jh. 8.32 *čšmartowt'iwnn azatesc'ē zjez* 'the truth will liberate [*azatesc'ē*] you') beside *azat aṙnel* 'to make free' (Eznik 186 *oč' ordin ... karac' zna azat aṙnel i kaskacanac'* 'the son could not liberate [*azat aṙnel*] him from doubts') which is generally believed to be modeled on Iranian, cf. Mod. Pers. *āzād kardan* 'id.' (cf. section 1.1).

7. The syntagm or compound in question is exclusive to the languages known to have been in a contact situation.

This is, of course, a weak argument *ex silentio* and can only increase the probability of the assumption of a calque if other factors such as those described above are already present. However, it seems unlikely, though not impossible, that expressions identical in two languages were fashioned independently in an area of long-term bilingualism such as ancient Armenia. Furthermore, the converse of the argument of attestation does not hold: If a similar or identical expression is attested in a non-neighbouring language and if one can exclude the possibility of common inheritance in the case of genetically related languages, this does not imply that the expression cannot have been calqued in one of the neighbouring languages. The decreasing probability of a calque seems to be proportional to the increasing number of independent attestations of the identical expression in other language areas, but there does not seem to be an absolute zero ruling out the possibility of a calque.

8. The syntagm or compound in question is attested only as a hapax legomenon in a single text based on a translation.[20]

## 3 Examples

3.1 A good example of a calque conforming to the most important criteria set out above is the Arm. compound *č'arakn* 'envious', as discussed by Bolognesi (1993: 248), consisting of *č'ar* 'evil' and *akn* 'eye' forming an exocentric possessive compound 'having an evil eye'. This is most likely a loan translation of Mid. Pers. *duš-čašm* with the same meaning, lit. 'bad-eye(d)': there is a 1:1-correspondence of elements (1), that are sufficiently overlapping in meaning (2), the overall meaning of the compound is identical (3) and conventionalized (4).

3.2 The same is true of syntagms like Arm. *patasxani tal* 'to answer', lit. 'to give answer' corresponding to Parth. *pāsox dā-* 'to give answer',[21] and *akn ownel* 'to have an eye, i.e. to hope' corresponding to Mod. Pers. *čašm dāštan* 'id.' A similar expression is found in Mod. Ir. *tá súil agam* 'I hope', lit. 'is eye on-me' for which see the discussion in section 1.1 under 7.

3.3 A syntagm that to my knowledge has not yet been discussed as a probable calque from the Iranian is Arm. *y-aławt's kal* 'to pray', lit. 'to

---

[18] Cf. also Bactrian χοαρ-/χοαρδο 'to have, possess, take' and 'to drink', as in frg. al l. 14: οδο καλδο þαρολ ηργο μολο χοαρδο ταδομο [...] τογδο δραχμο β' 'and (οδο) when (καλδο) the governor of the city (þαρολ ηργο) wine (μολο) *drank (χοαρδο)* then-I (ταδο-μο) paid (τογδο) two dirhams', Sims-Williams (2000: 162, 232).

[19] Benveniste (1969: II.115): "L'expression est à comprendre littéralment. Le serment consistait en une ordalie: c'est l'absorption du soufre qui devait vérifier la sincérité du jurant." For further discussion cf. Bolognesi (1985) and Orengo (2002). A similar ordeal consisted in "liquified metal being poured on the breast of an accused person. If innocent, it was held, he would survive unscathed, if guilty, perish: The miracle expected of the divine powers was that they would intervene to save the righteous man, not to rescue the wicked, thereby confounding justice." (Boyce 1975-: I.243, cf. also Lommel 1930: 219ff.). For similar ideas in Mazdaist eschatology (GBd. 34.18f., Y. 44.15, 48.1, 51.9) cf. Anklesaria 1956: 288f., Stausberg (2005: 59), Boyce (1975 *loc.cit.*).

[20] Panagl (1986) shows that Latin compounds are more frequent in texts based on Greek models (tragedy, comedy, didactic poetry) than others.

[21] Arm. *patasxani* is itself a loan word from Iranian *\*pat(i)saxvan*, cf. Parth. *pswx* /pasox/, Mid. Pers. *passaxv*, Mod. Pers. *pāsux*, cf. Bolognesi (1960: 61). Armenian has petrified the older non-assimilated form while in the Middle Iranian languages *\*ts* went to *ss*, cf. Bolognesi (1966: 572).

stand in prayer', which consists of the preposition *i/y-*, the *plurale tantum* noun *aławt'k'* 'prayer'[22] in the locative case and a form of *kal* 'to stand, to be'. This is the normal expression for 'to pray' in the Bible translation (31x in the NT) beside the similar syntagms *aławt's ařnel* lit. 'to make prayer' (5x) and *aławt's matowcanel* 'to offer (a) prayer' (1x). The simple verb *aławt'el* with the same meaning, however, is not attested in the Bible.

(1)  *ew  yoržam  **yaławt's**  kayc'es  mi  linic'is*
     and  when  in-prayer.LOC  stand.2s:SUBJ  NEG  be.2s:SUBJ

    *orpēs  kełcawork'n zi*
    like  sinners  CONJ

    *siren  i  žołovowrds  ew  yankiwns  hraparakac'*
    love:3p  in  synagogues:LOC  and  in-corners:LOC  places:GEN

    ***kal  yaławt's***
    stand:INF  in-prayer:LOC

    *orpēs  zi  erewesc'in  mardkan*
    so.that  be  visible:SUBJ  to men
    'And when you **pray**, do not be like the hypocrites, for they love to **pray** in the synagogues and at the corners of the market places so that they be seen by men.' (Mt. 6.5)

The following passage shows that *kal yaławt's* is indeed lexicalized as 'to pray' and does not mean 'to (actually) stand in prayer', because the bodily posture described in connection with the prayer is different from standing:

(2)  *ankaw  i  very  eresac'  iwroc'  **kac' yaławt's***
     fall:3s:AOR  on  face  his  stand:3s:AOR  in-prayer:LOC

    *ew  asē  hayr  im  et'e  hnar  ē  anc'c'ē*
    and  say:3s  father  my  if  possible  is  pass:3s:SUBJ

*bažaks  ays  y-inēn*
cup.this  this  from-me
'He fell with his face to the ground and **prayed** and said: "My father, if it is possible, let this cup pass me by."' (Mt. 26.39)

3.4 An equivalent expression is attested in Parthian and Middle Persian, where we find *ištā- pad āfrīwan* and *ēstā- pad āfrīn* respectively, both meaning 'to pray', lit. 'to stand in prayer', consisting of an inflected form of *ištā-* 'to stand, to stay, to be', the preposition *pad* and Parth. *āfrīwan*, Mid. Pers. *āfrīn* 'prayer'. The two expressions are thus completely superimposable (criteria 1 to 3) and share a common conventionalized meaning (criterium 4):

(3)  Arm.  *y-  aławt's  kal*
     Parth.  *pad  āfrīwan  ištā-*
         PREP  prayer  to stand

The syntagm is attested in Parthian Manichaean texts, cf.

(4)  *paš kad  hamēw  ištād  pad  āfrīwan*
     as.soon.as  continuously  stand:PRET  PREP  prayer
    'as soon as he began standing continuously in prayer' (Belardi 2004 (2001): 57) or 'after he had prayed' (Henning 1977: I 291=Andreas 1932-1934: iii, 864 'nachdem er gebetet hatte', cf. Boyce 1975: 137.3).
    (M 5, d 57-64)

and in Middle Persian:

(5)  *pas  an  *ammō  pad  dō  rōzag*
     after  this  Amu  PREP  two  fast-days

    ***pad  āfrīn  ēstād  hēm  pēš  xwarxšēd***
    PREP  prayer  stand-PP  be.1s:PRES  before  sun
    'After that I, Amu, **prayed** (lit. **was in prayer**) for two fast-days before the sun.', Henning (1977: I 201): 'Darauf stand ich, Anu, zwei Tage lang fastend, **segensprechend** vor der Sonne.'
    (M 2 I Rii 30 (=h5; Henning 1977: I 201=Andreas 1932-1934: ii, 304))

3.5 In contrast to *yaławt's kal* the idiom *aławt's ařnel* lit. 'to make prayer, to pray' is always used together with *vasn* 'for' or *i veray* 'about, on behalf', cf.

---

[22] *aławt'k'* belongs to *ałač'em* 'ask': Klingenschmitt (1970: 75-88) reconstructs a pre-form *$sl_h{_2}$-ske/o- ~ gr. ἱλάσκομαι which may go back to a reduplicated present *si-$sl_h{_2}$-ske/o- or to the unreduplicated pre-form as in Armenian with subsequent remodelling after ἵλαμαι 'propitiate, make merciful'. *aławt'k'* < *$sl_h{_2}$-ti- with *-RHt > *-aRawt-, cf. *canawt'* 'known' < *$ǵn h_3$-ti-, cf. Ritter (1996: 30).

(6) bari **ararēk'** ateleac' jeroc' ew **aławt's**
good do:IMP:2p hate:PTC your and prayer:ACC:p

i veray aynoc'ik or llken zjez ew halacen
for those who abuse you and persecute
'Do good to those who hate you and **pray for** those who abuse and
persecute you.' (Mt. 5.44)

(7) amenayn inč' vasn oroy **aławt's** arareal
every- thing for which prayer:ACC:p do:PTC

xndrec'ēk' ew hawatayc'ēk
ask:SUBJ:2p and believe:2p:SUBJ

t'e ařnowc'owk' elic'i jez
that get:2p:SUBJ be:3s:SUBJ to.you
'Everything you **ask for in prayer** believing that you will get it,
shall be given to you.' (Mk. 11.24)

3.6 The case presented in 3.5 may be different from the one discussed in
3.4, as the seemingly corresponding western Iranian idiom āfrīn kard-
normally means 'to revere', not 'to pray', cf.

(8) dawān ō peš Šābūr mad pad rōy ōbast
running towards Shapuh went on face fell

ud āfrīn kard
and reverence made

ud guft ...
and said
'She ran up to Shapuh, fell with her face on the ground, **paid him
reverence** and said...' (Karnamag XVII.13)

(9) ka-šan mēnōg ī āb ud zamīg ud urwar
as-they spirit of water and earth and trees

ud gōspand peš ēstād ud āfrīn kard
and cattle eat stood and praise made

'(And I saw the souls of the farmers) as they stood in front of the
spirits of water, earth, trees and cattle and **praised them.**' (Arda
Viraz Namag 18.8)

The nominal compound āfrīn-kardār 'one who praises', also attested in
the Karnamag, may have been the trigger for the corresponding Arme-
nian form aławt'(a)-ke(a)r (cf. Hübschmann 1897: 171-2) which in fact
would only be a "semi-calque" of Parth. āfrīn kar-, since Arm. -ke(a)r is it-
self a loan of Parth. / Mid. Pers. -kār/kar- 'doing'. As aławt'(a)-ke(a)r does
not only mean 'someone who prays', but also 'suppliant' and 'messenger'
(the Nor Bargirk' (Awetik'ean et al. 1836-1837) translates 'orator, nuntius,
legatus; πρεσβευτής'), meanings that might all be traced back to āfrīn kar-
'to revere', it seems improbable that aławt'(a)-ke(a)r was built on aławt's
ařnel or vice versa, since in both cases the difference in meaning would
remain unexplained. It seems rather that in the simplex aławt'k' the
meaning was restricted to 'prayer' in the context of Christianization.

## 4    Summary

The numerous loanwords and calques in Armenian taken from Middle
Iranian languages (esp. Parthian and to a lesser extent Middle Persian)
make it not unlikely that cases like yaławt's kal and aławt's ařnel were
built on corresponding Iranian models, viz. pad āfrīn stā- and āfrīn kar-.
Further research will be needed both to corroborate these possibilities
and to identify more calques.

## 5    Bibliography

Andreas, Friedrich Carl (1932-1934). Mitteliranische Manichaica aus
Chinesisch-Turkestan. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Walter
Henning. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften in
Kommission bei W. de Gruyter u. Co.

Anklesaria, Behramgore Tehmuras (1956). Zand-Akasih: Iranian or Greater
Bundahišn / transliteration and translation in English. Bombay:
published for the Rahnumae Mazdayasnan Sabha by its Honorary
Secretary Dastur Framroze A. Bode.

Awetik'ean, Gabriel/Siwrmelean, Hatchatowr/Awgerean, Mkrtitch
(1836-1837). Nor bargirk' haykazean lezui. Venetik: i Tparani Srboyn
Ghazaru.

Bartholomae, Christian (1904). *Altiranisches Wörterbuch.* Strassburg: Trübner.

Belardi, Walter (2004 [2001]). The Morphosyntax of Manichaean Parthian Periphrastic Verbs: The Active of the Past, the Passive, and the Agentive. *General Linguistics* 41(1-4): 47-92.

Benveniste, Émile (1964). Éléments Parthes en Arménien. *RÉArm (N.S.)* 1: 1-39.

Benveniste, Émile (1969). *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes.* 2 vols. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.

Betz, Werner (1949). *Deutsch und Lateinisch.* Die Lehnbildungen der althochdeutschen Benediktinerregel. Bonn: Bouvier & Co.

Bolognesi, Giancarlo (1951). Sul vocalismo degli imprestiti iranici in Armeno. *Ricerche Linguistiche* 2: 141-162.

Bolognesi, Giancarlo (1960). *Le fonti dialettali degli imprestiti iranici in Armeno.* Milano: Società editrice "Vita e pensiero".

Bolognesi, Giancarlo (1960/61). Nuovi aspetti dell'influsso iranico in Armeno. *Handes Amsorya* 74: 657-684.

Bolognesi, Giancarlo (1962). Rapporti lessicali tra l'armeno e l'iranico. *Istituto Lombardo (Rend. Lett.)* 96: 235-258.

Bolognesi, Giancarlo (1966). La tradizione culturale Armena nelle sue relazioni col mondo Persiano e col mondo Greco-Romano. In: *La Persia e il mondo greco-romano.* Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. 567-603.

Bolognesi, Giancarlo (1985). Arm. *erdmnaker* e *erdumn utel. AAL* 6: 31-37.

Bolognesi, Giancarlo (1993). Calques iraniens en arménien. In: Bela Brogyanyi/Reiner Lipp (eds.). *Comparative-historical linguistics: Indo-European and Finno-Ugric: papers in honor of Oswald Szemerényi III.* Amsterdam: Benjamins. 247-255.

Boyce, Mary (1975). *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian, and Parthian: texts with notes.* Leiden: Diffusion E.J. Brill; Téhéran: Édition Bibliothéque Pahlavi.

Boyce, Mary (1975-). *A history of Zoroastrianism.* 3 vols. Leiden: Brill.

Casaretto, Antje (2005). Die Lehnbildungen der gotischen Bibel und der Skeireins. In: Gerhard Meiser/Olav Hackstein (eds.). *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel.* Akten der XI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, 17.-23. September 2000, Halle an der Saale. Wiesbaden: Reichert. 27-38.

De Lamberterie, Charles (1978). Armeniaca I-VIII : Études lexicales. *BSL* 73: 243-285.

Deroy, Louis (1956). *L'emprunt linguistique.* Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres".

GBd: cf. Anklesaria (1956).

Haugen, Einar (1950). The analysis of linguistic borrowing. *Language* 26: 210-231.

Henning, Walter Bruno (1977). *Selected Papers.* 2 voll. Leiden: Brill.

Hübschmann, Heinrich (1875). Ueber die stellung des armenischen im kreise der indogermanischen sprachen. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 23: 5-49.

Hübschmann, Heinrich (1897). *Armenische Grammatik.* Erster Teil. Armenische Etymologie. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel. (repr. 1992 Hildesheim: Olms).

Klingenschmitt, Gert (1970). Griechisch ἱλάσκεσθαι. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 28: 75-88.

Lommel, Herman (1930). *Die Religion Zarathustras nach dem Awesta dargestellt.* Tübingen: Mohr.

Meillet, Antoine (1911/1912). Sur les mots iraniens empruntés par l'arménien. *Mémoires de la Société de linguiqiste* 17: 242-250.

Orengo, Alessandro (2002). *"Mangiare il giuramento" = "giurare" in armeno, nella romani ed in lomavren.* Pisa: Edizioni ETS.

Panagl, Oswald (1986). Die Wiedergabe griechischer Komposita in der lateinischen Übersetzungsliteratur. In: A. Etter (ed.). *o-o-pe-ro-si. Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag.* Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. 574-582.

Ritter, Ralf-Peter (1996). *Introducción al armenio antiguo.* Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas.

Schmitt, Rüdiger (1982). Iranian influences in Armenian. In: E. Yarshater (ed.). *Encyclopedia Iranica.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 445-459.

Schmitt, Rüdiger (1986). Ein vergessener Pionier der Armenisch-Forschung. In: A. Etter (ed.). *o-o-pe-ro-si. Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag.* Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. 650-653.

Schumann, Kurt (1958). *Die griechischen Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altbulgarischen.* Berlin/Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Schumann, Kurt (1965). Zur Typologie und Gliederung der Lehnprägungen. *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 32: 61-90.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas (2000). *Bactrian documents from Northern Afghanistan: Pt. 1, Legal and economic documents.* Oxford: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press.

Stausberg, Michael (2005). *Zarathustra und seine Religion.* München: Beck.

Tischler, Johann. (1998). Calque-Erscheinungen im Anatolischen. In: Jay Jasonoff/ H. Craig Melchert/Lisi Oliver (eds.). *Mír curad: studies in*

*honor of Calvert Watkins*. Innsbruck : Institut für Sprachwissenschaft. 677-684.

Unbegaun, Boris (1932). Le calque dans les langues slaves littéraires. *Revue des Études Slaves* 12: 19-48.

Zett, Robert (1970). *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Nominalkomposita im Serbokroatischen: die altserbische Periode*. Köln: Böhlau.

# "downgeloaded" und "geforwardet"
## – Zur sprachlichen Integration mehrteiliger Verben

Dagmar Hausmann

Institut für Linguistik – Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Köln

## 1   Einleitung

Mit dem aktuellen Trend zur Internationalisierung, der auf allen Ebenen des gesellschaftlichen Zusammenlebens wahrnehmbar ist, gehen deutliche Veränderungen in der deutschen Sprache, vor allem auf lexikalischer Ebene, einher. Eine unübersehbare Menge neuer Anglizismen findet über Fach- und Gruppensprachen Eingang in die deutsche Alltagssprache, in der ein Teil von ihnen inzwischen seinen festen Platz hat.

Im Zentrum der hier vorliegenden Arbeit stehen mehrgliedrige Verben, die aus dem Englischen entlehnt wurden und überwiegend in Fach- und Gruppensprachen und/oder in informellen, vorwiegend mündlichen Texten auftreten.

Über eine empirische Untersuchung eines Korpus von knapp 200 Lexemen wird der Frage nachgegangen, ob Sprecher des Deutschen Anglizismen phonologisch, graphematisch oder morphologisch in die deutsche Sprache integrieren und als wie hoch der Grad der sprachlichen Integration anzusehen ist.

Im phonologischen und graphematischen Bereich variiert dieser zwischen den einzelnen Lexemen sehr stark, obwohl sich Tendenzen abzeichnen; zudem ist er dynamisch und sprecherabhängig. Für das Problemfeld der verbalen Wortbildung kann gezeigt werden, dass morphologische Integration nicht unsystematisch erfolgt, sondern dass die Sprecher sich an den Flexionsmustern deutscher komplexer Verben orientieren, zu denen sie mit den fremden Einheiten analoge Muster bilden.