

Researchers in Progress II

Languages in contact:
Languages with history

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Los sustantivos cuantificativos en español y los clasificadores nominales en chino: un estudio contrastivo

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RESUMEN

Realizamos el presente trabajo desde la perspectiva contrastiva de la lengua española y china sobre los sustantivos cuantificativos en español y los clasificadores numerales chinos. Los clasificadores son unidades léxicas empleadas para medir o clasificar tanto objetos como acciones y su uso es obligatorio, mientras que los sustantivos cuantificativos se suelen utilizar con referentes sustantivos y su uso es optativo. Si tomamos como ejemplo las construcciones cuantificativas *un ramo de rosas* y *dos pantalones* y su correspondencia china, comprobamos que en chino son necesarios los clasificadores 束(shù) (clasificador que significa ramo) y 条(tiáo) (clasificador para objetos alargados y flexibles) respectivamente, ya que en chino es obligatorio el uso de un clasificador entre el número y el sustantivo para formar una combinación cuantitativa. Desarrollamos nuestra investigación sobre las comparaciones sintácticas y semánticas de los clasificadores numerales chinos y los sustantivos cuantificativos españoles. Finalmente, hemos llegado a la conclusión de que, estas dos categorías gramaticales disponen de cierta similitud, tanto en los aspectos semánticos como en los aspectos sintácticos.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Sustantivo cuantificativo, clasificador numeral, español, chino, estudio contrastivo.

ABSTRACT

We perform the present work from the contrastive perspective of Spanish and Chinese language, which mainly focuses on the quantitative nouns in Spanish and the classifiers in Chinese. Chinese classifiers are lexical units used to measure or classify both objects and actions, and they are compulsory. However, quantitative nouns are often used with names, and their usages are optional. For example, it is mandatory to use a morpheme classifier between numeral and noun to form a quantitative combination in Chinese. Therefore, in order to quantify a suitable constructions a bouquet of roses, and two pants, the morphemes 束(shù) (classifier that means bouquet) and 条(tiáo) (classifier for detached and flexible objects) are needed. In this work, we develop our research on the syntactic and semantic to compare with the differences between Chinese numerical classifiers and Spanish quantitative nouns. We have concluded that, although Spanish language lacks of classifiers, quantitative expressions do not usually cause problems in both languages.

KEY WORDS

Quantitative noun, classifier numeral, Spanish, Chinese, contrastive study.

1. Introducción

El estudio actual es una síntesis de la parte teórica de nuestra tesis doctoral¹ que se centra en el estudio contrastivo de las colocaciones nominales en español y sus equivalentes en chino. El hecho de que los hablantes extranjeros siempre quieran buscar puntos comunes entre su lengua materna y la lengua extranjera nos motivó a realizar el presente estudio contrastivo entre las dos categorías gramaticales de ambas lenguas. Los clasificadores siempre se tratan como una categoría inexistente en la lengua española y su uso en la lengua china no es muy común, por lo que consideramos interesante plantear un estudio contrastivo con el fin de buscar las semejanzas y diferencias entre estos términos cuantificativos en ambas lenguas. El presente trabajo se divide en cuatro apartados principales. El primero de ellos se ocupa del estudio de los sustantivos cuantificativos en la lengua española, denominación aportada por Ignacio Bosque en 1999. Tras este primer apartado introductorio, nos centramos en su definición, rasgos generales, función y tipología de estos sustantivos; esta estructura empleada en el estudio de los sustantivos cuantificativos españoles se aplica posteriormente a los clasificadores numerales de la lengua china. En el tercer apartado, una vez analizadas ambas categorías separadamente, realizamos un estudio contrastivo confrontando los puntos en los que se asemejan o diferencian estas dos categorías gramaticales. Finalmente, extraemos conclusiones y corroboramos nuestra hipótesis de que los clasificadores chinos y los cuantificativos españoles pueden estudiarse en contraste y ayudar a los estudiantes a aprender mejor la L2.

2. Los sustantivos cuantificativos

Como hemos anticipado, la denominación de sustantivos cuantificativos aparece por primera vez en Bosque (1999: 18-22). Según manifiesta la *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (2009), los sustantivos cuantificativos son aquellos inherentemente relacionales y se distinguen de los sustantivos colectivos, los cuales no pueden formar construcciones pseudo-partitivas: *sustantivo cuantificativo+de+nominal escueto (sin determinante ni cuantificador)*. De acuerdo con Bosque (1999), estos sustantivos se subdividen en tres grupos: los *sustantivos acotadores o parceladores* (S.A. en adelante), que son aquellos que presentan la medida de un objeto –como *diente* en *un diente de ajo*– y también pueden indicar la medida de ciertas nociones abstractas –como *ciclo* en *un ciclo de conferencias*–; los *sustantivos de medida* (S.M. en adelante) –como *litro* en *un litro de leche*–; el último tipo está formado por los

sustantivos de grupo (S.G. en adelante), que indican la forma del conjunto –como *enjambre* en *un enjambre de abejas*–. Estos tres subgrupos de sustantivos cuantificativos poseen peculiaridades particulares relacionadas con sus funciones.

En primer lugar, estudiamos el tipo de *sustantivos acotadores* (SA en adelante), que son aquellos que denotan una cantidad acotada o seleccionada de los sustantivos de materia o sustancia; además, también pueden ser ciertas nociones abstractas que se expresan mediante sustantivos incontables como en *un atisbo de imaginación* (NGLE², 2009: 823). Este grupo de sustantivos se diferencia de los sustantivos meronímicos porque se refieren a una parte de una unidad mayor, como *brazo*, *pie* o *cabeza*, entre otros. Este último tipo de sustantivos está dotado de complementos referenciales como, por ejemplo: *el pie de la montaña*.

Entre los SA, se distinguen dos subgrupos. El primero incluye a aquellos que pueden emplearse con los sustantivos que funcionan o bien como continuos o bien como discontinuos: *pedazo/trozo de papel*, *palmo/pedazo de tela*, *loncha de melón*, *brizna de hierba*, etc. Conviene resaltar que existen SA que son contenedores o recipientes –como *plato*, *vaso*, *taza*, *jarra*, etc.–; por ello, pueden generar problemas de ambigüedad. Por ejemplo, el sintagma *una copa de champán* posee dos interpretaciones: la interpretación discontinua –en *Se ha roto una copa de champán*–, y la interpretación cuantificativa –en *Me pone una copa de champán*–.

En el segundo subgrupo, encontramos los sustantivos continuos, que requieren un sustantivo acotador para formar sintagmas discontinuos, característica esencial para distinguirlos del tipo anterior. Los sustantivos parceladores que se sitúan en este grupo son: *tableta de mantequilla*, *grano de café*, *bocanada de aire*, *hilo de azafrán*, etc. En comparación con estos dos tipos de sustantivos acotadores, por un lado, observamos que un nombre puede emplearse como sustantivo continuo y discontinuo y, al mismo tiempo, puede utilizarse también como acotador; como *hilo*, que aparece en la posición de sustantivo cuantificativo *hebra de hilo* y como sustantivo acotador en *hilo de azafrán*. Por otro lado, observamos que, aunque los SA coinciden –*brizna*, *grano*– en ambos tipos, estos poseen sentidos distintos. Podemos apreciar que los dos sintagmas nominales que contienen el sustantivo acotador *grano* remiten a interpretaciones distintas: *un grano de uva* (referente contable) y *un grano de café* (referente incontable), puesto que el primero hace referencia a *una uva*, pero el segundo no puede designar al referente sin una unidad que lo cuantifique –no podemos decir **un café* para hablar de *un grano de café*.

Al final de su estudio, el autor resalta la existencia de cierta relación entre los SA y los morfemas clasificadores: “los clasificadores son morfemas concordantes que no afectan sólo al género, el número o la persona, sino también a la forma, la consistencia, el tamaño o la visibilidad de los objetos” y “los clasificadores afectan a otras muchas relaciones léxicas además de las relativas a la mensurabilidad”, mientras que los SA no comparten estas peculiaridades (Bosque, 1999: 21).

A continuación, presentamos el segundo tipo de sustantivos cuantificativos, los *sustantivos de medida* (SM en adelante) son aquellos como *kilo, libra, tonelada, litro, galón, gramo, onza, metro, día, año*, etc. Entendemos que se consideran restrictores inherentes de cuantificadores y que aparecen impuestos según las características físicas poseídas por los objetos –peso, volumen, extensión, distancia o longitud, tiempo, temperatura, intensidad sonora, entre otros–, puesto que los complementos suelen ser entidades que se pesan y se miden, no se cuentan. Los SM son aquellos que aportan informaciones cuantificadoras, pero no denotan tipos de entidades (Bosque, 1998: 58-60; 1999: 22). Según la *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (2009), en ocasiones, algunos nombres de este grupo admiten dos construcciones: una es *unidad de medida+de+nombre de magnitud* como en *dos metros de profundidad* y la otra es *unidad de medida+de+entidad cuantificada*, como en *dos kilos de manzanas*.

En comparación con los SA, los sintagmas formados con este tipo de sustantivos aportan una información cuantitativa y se diferencian de los SA en que estos últimos pueden proporcionar la cantidad y el objeto físico, como en el ejemplo de *un trozo de cristal* y *un cristal*. También se diferencian en que los SM pueden llevar sustantivos discontinuos en plural y continuos en singular, como en *un kilo de manzanas/harina*, al contrario que los SA, que solo se pueden emplear con continuos en singular. Además, estas dos clases de sustantivos cuantificativos divergen en que los SM pueden funcionar como argumentos cuantitativos de ciertos verbos sin llevar complementos, por ejemplo, *pesa diez kilos*, en este caso, el complemento tácito se sobreentiende, puede ser *pesa diez kilos [de manzanas]*. En último lugar, los sustantivos de medida no suelen llevar adjetivo restrictivo, por ejemplo, no se puede decir **un metro lejos de distancia*. Sin embargo, los sustantivos de esta clase admiten adjetivos de relación para formar una nueva unidad de medida, como, por ejemplo: *diez dólares canadienses* (NGLE, 2009: 826 y 832).

En la última parte, detallamos las características de los *sustantivos de grupo* (SG en adelante). Este tipo de sustantivos se confunde habitualmente con los nombres colectivos, pero los SG comparten rasgos con los dos primeros tipos de sustantivos cuantificativos que los nombres colectivos no poseen. Por un lado, los SA, SM y SG requieren complementos, en cambio, los sustantivos colectivos no muestran esta necesidad. Es correcto decir *pasea con un grupo de personas* (SG) y *pasea por una arboleda* (sustantivo colectivo), pero no se puede decir **Pasea con un grupo*. Por otro lado, hay sustantivos que se emplean como SG y como sustantivos colectivos al mismo tiempo. En este caso, para distinguirlos, tenemos en cuenta que los sustantivos colectivos no son cuantificativos y permanecen en forma predicativa debido a su significado original, mientras que los SG no mantienen su sentido original, sino que construyen un sintagma cuantitativo. Es decir, en *un ejército de curiosos* no hay una interpretación colectiva sino cuantificativa, puesto que semánticamente no tiene ninguna relación con su significado primitivo que lo pone en relación con los soldados³; así pues, se entiende que existe una transformación de significado interno. Finalmente, desde el punto de vista sintáctico, los sustantivos colectivos concuerdan en singular, mientras que los SG lo hacen en plural. Bosque (1999) ejemplifica, entre otros, los siguientes: *ramo de flores, fajo de billetes, gavilla de espigas, ristra de cebollas, banco de peces*, etc. Respecto a la función de los SG, existe cierta restricción semántica de los complementos. Así pues, el sustantivo de grupo *ristra* selecciona ciertos objetos que están colocados uno tras otro y, por lo tanto, suena extraño decir **una ristra de billetes*, sin embargo, no suena extraño en objetos que utilizamos con este cuantificador: *una ristra de ajos*.

3. Los clasificadores chinos

Los clasificadores de la lengua china que constituyen una marca gramatical específica de las lenguas aislantes son aquellos morfemas que se correlacionan inherentemente con las características de los sustantivos. En la lengua china es obligatorio el uso de un clasificador para conectar un número o un demostrativo y un nombre. Puesto que la lengua china no tiene flexión morfológica, para remitir información numérica siempre hay que recurrir a una categoría gramatical que no existe en la lengua española: los clasificadores. En el chino, existen más de seiscientos clasificadores; por un lado, existen clasificadores que etimológicamente pertenecen a esta categoría, están permanentemente en una clase cerrada; por otro lado, son

los clasificadores de préstamos que pertenecen a una clase abierta, hecho que permite que, mediante el avance del tiempo, cada vez haya más palabras conceptuales (sustantivos, verbos, adjetivos, etc.) que adquieren las funciones de los clasificadores.

En cuanto al desempeño de esta categoría gramatical, pese a que sintácticamente solo funcionan para conectar dos componentes en un sintagma nominal, semánticamente, los clasificadores desempeñan varios papeles. De acuerdo con Marco (1988), los clasificadores no están vacíos semánticamente, sino que aportan información sobre los referentes o designan información añadida a los nombres cuantificados. Así pues, los clasificadores sirven para cuantificar las cantidades individuales, parciales o colectivas de los nombres. De este modo, esta función cuantificadora incluye dos subtipos, para la cantidad de forma individual –función individualizadora– y la colectiva –función generalizadora–.

En cuanto a la individualización, los referentes pueden omitirse después de haber sido mencionados. De esta forma se evita la redundancia innecesaria, por lo que los clasificadores pueden producir interpretaciones anafóricas y deícticas. Por ejemplo:

- (1) 这只猫是我的，那只是我哥哥的。 [Este/ clf. animal/gato/ser/mío, ese/ clf. animal/ser/ mi/ hermano/ clítico.]

Este gato es mío, aquel es de mi hermano.

Otra función fundamental es la categorizadora o clasificadora, la cual cuenta con la semántica y la percepción y funcionamiento humanos. Al mismo tiempo, los clasificadores disponen de otras funciones más avanzadas, ya que estos también son utilizados para designar información inusual de los elementos referentes a fin de aportar una interpretación metafórica u ofrecer información descriptiva sobre los nombres. En último lugar, los clasificadores pueden matizar sus referentes, puesto que pueden proporcionar una designación despectiva, positiva o neutra. Por ejemplo, los clasificadores colectivos 伙 (hatajo) tiende a referirse a un conjunto de gente en sentido negativo, como *ladrón*, *malvado* en 一伙小偷/歹徒 (un clf. hatajo de ladrones/malvados). Mientras que 班 (grupo) es aplicado a nombres positivos como 一班朋友 (un clf. grupo de amigos).

En relación con los rasgos funcionales y semánticos de los clasificadores, sintácticamente, van seguidos de un numeral o un demostrativo con el que forman un sintagma nominal y al que aportan información numeral; semánticamente, se resalta que los fenómenos de homonimia y polisemia de los clasificadores pueden explicarse porque un nombre puede seleccionar

varios clasificadores y viceversa. Por ejemplo, un mismo objeto *libro*, puede seleccionar clasificadores 本^{běn} que es el prototípico para este clase de objeto; 册^{cè} que se refiere a un volumen de una serie de libros; y el clasificador con sentido arcaico 函^{hán}. Al mismo tiempo, el clasificador polisémico, como el clasificador general 个^{gè}, puede combinarse con los referentes sustantivos que tienen la etiqueta semántica ser humano, animal, objeto material, concepto abstracto, etc. Por ejemplo, 那个医生^{nà gè yī shēng} (aquél clf. general médico), 两个酒杯^{liǎng gè jiǔ bēi} (dos clf. general copas), 三个因素^{sān gè yīn sù} (tres clf. general factores).

Asimismo, los clasificadores pueden tener sentidos metafóricos para describir sus referentes en un contexto específico o inusual; como, por ejemplo, el objeto *espejo* que, en principio, parece no tener ninguna relación con el nombre *luna*, pero, sin embargo, el primero se convierte en un clasificador para describir la Luna como brillante al igual que un espejo. En este sintagma nominal 一镜明月^{yī jìng míng yuè} (una /clf. espejo/ luna, la luna brillante como un espejo), ya no tiene una interpretación numeral sino descriptiva. Finalmente, conviene detallar que el uso de los clasificadores puede variar según las distintas regiones, es decir, pueden existir selecciones de clasificadores inusuales en un dialecto, pero comunes y habituales en otros dentro de una misma lengua. Como hemos apuntado, los clasificadores son una clase abierta, debido a la existencia de los clasificadores prestados de otras categorías gramaticales. A nuestro parecer, paulatinamente aparecerán más palabras gramaticalizadas que formarán parte de este grupo.

4. Los sustantivos cauntificativos y los clasificadores

La propuesta de que los clasificadores guardan cierta similitud con los sustantivos cuantificativos ha sido presentada ya en diversas investigaciones. En el estudio de Lyons (1977), el autor menciona que los sustantivos cuantificativos funcionan de forma similar a los clasificadores chinos, ya que clasifican la entidad denotada a partir de algunas de sus propiedades. Posteriormente, Climent (1999) también propuso que los nombres partitivos en español y los idiomas afines realizan funciones semánticas parecidas a las ejercidas por los clasificadores. En el mismo año, Bosque también señaló que los sustantivos cuantificativos tienen cierta relación con los morfemas clasificadores. Asimismo, el trabajo más reciente de Liu Liu (2013) confirmó esta coincidencia. Incluso el estudio de Nomoto (2013), que se centró en los clasificadores numerales en las lenguas clasificadoras, propone la ausencia de clasificadores en inglés; sin embargo, emplea dos tipos de palabras que se parecen a los

clasificadores: el primer grupo son las palabras *unidad (item)* y *pieza (piece)*; el otro tipo son las palabras *tipo (type)* y *clase (kind)*. No obstante, el autor no considera que estos sustantivos sean clasificadores, aunque confirma las similitudes de sus funciones. Los clasificadores de las lenguas aislantes –como el chino– se caracterizan por su enorme abundancia, por ello debemos poner en relieve que, a pesar de que los cuantificativos son semejantes a los clasificadores, no todos los clasificadores en chino encuentran equivalencias en los cuantificativos en español.

Para precisar las relaciones existentes entre los sustantivos cuantificativos en español y los clasificadores en chino, a continuación, estudiamos las principales convergencias y divergencias entre estos.

Respecto a las divergencias entre los dos grupos de palabras cuantificativas, en primer lugar, es necesario realizar una distinción fundamental: el uso de los clasificadores en chino es obligatorio, mientras que la aparición de estos es opcional en español. En chino, solamente se puede prescindir de los clasificadores en las locuciones, por ejemplo, la locución ^{yì mǎ dāng xiān} 一马当先 (literal: un/caballo/estar delante), que significa *persona que toma la delantera* o *marcha a la vanguardia*. En cuanto a los nombres de referencia que funcionan del mismo modo que el grupo de cuasi-clasificadores, como *provincia, condado* etc., son prestados del sustantivo y, por lo tanto, tienen significados plenos, esto es, se pueden conectar directamente con los números o determinantes. Existe una última opción: no aplicar el clasificador cuando los clasificadores se componen por un numeral y un clasificador simple, hablamos de los clasificadores ^{liǎ} 俩 (dos unidades) y ^{sān} 仨 (tres unidades), empleados siempre en un registro coloquial; por ejemplo, si decimos *dos muchachos*, en chino se entiende ^{liǎng shào nián} 俩少年 (dos unidades de muchachos) y no *^{liǎ gè shào nián} 俩个少年 (*dos unidades clf. genérico de muchachos), donde se comete un error tautológico.

A continuación, advertimos que los contextos en los que se utilizan clasificadores son mucho más diversos que los de los cuantificativos. En español, el uso de los partitivos tiende a convertir los nombres incontables en nombres con un sentido contable, es decir, se da una recategorización. De esta forma lo afirma Marco (1988): “en español cuando queremos emplear un nombre continuo en sentido individual (recategorización) acudimos a un clasificador, que varía según los nombres asociados”. Sin embargo, en chino, la aplicación de los clasificadores es necesariamente obligatoria y estos siempre transmiten información cuantificativa.

Los clasificadores en chino son más prolíferos en cantidad que los sustantivos partitivos en español y, por eso, no todos los clasificadores tienen su equivalencia en español; además, los primeros poseen más funciones que los últimos. Un uso que poseen exclusivamente los clasificadores consiste en que en los clasificadores nominales monosilábicos puede darse la reduplicación de su forma *Clf.Clf.*, — *Clf.Clf.* (*uno Clf.Clf.*), con el mismo sentido del cuantificador universal *cada* o *gran cantidad*. En ocasiones, la segunda forma también significa *uno tras uno*; no obstante, dicho uso resulta imposible en español. Estos usos se ilustran en los siguientes ejemplos:

- (2) a. 他品尝了瓶瓶红酒。 [Él/probar/partícula temporal/clf.botella clf. botella/vino.]
Él ha probado cada botella de vino.
- b. 他把一瓶瓶饮料放入冰箱。 [Él/preposición/uno/clf.botella
clf.botella/refresco/meter/nevera.]
Él mete botellas de refresco (una tras una) en la nevera.

La última diferencia que hemos notado se centra en que, en algunas ocasiones, los sustantivos cuantificativos están dotados de sentidos más precisos que los clasificadores, por ejemplo, los que indican grupo de animales, como *enjambre*, *jauría*, *rebaño*, *banda*, entre otros. De este modo, el significado de la entidad referencial ya está implícito en tal unidad léxica cuantificativa, por ejemplo, no se puede decir **una jauría de peces* ni **una banda de ovejas*, sino que lo correcto es decir *una jauría de perros* y *un rebaño de ovejas*. Por el contrario, en chino, el clasificador colectivo 群 —que significa grupo o conjunto de animales o de seres humanos— se puede decir mediante 一群学生 (un clf. grupo de estudiantes), 一群狼 (un clf. grupo de lobos), 几群鱼 (varios clf. grupo de peces: varios bancos de peces).

Con respecto a las funciones semejantes entre ambos grupos, en primer lugar, tanto los clasificadores como los cuantificativos pueden tener función anafórica o pronominal, con el fin de evitar la repetición. Es decir, una vez mencionado el nombre, la elipsis de la segunda mención no causa problema de comprensión para el oyente. En consecuencia, la forma anafórica suele aparecer en la repuesta de una pregunta o en la segunda parte de una oración compuesta.

En segundo lugar, el uso de los partitivos puede ser variable en distintas regiones geográficas, por ejemplo: en Argentina y Uruguay, utilizan *una feta de jamón*, mientras que en Cuba y otros países antillanos usan *una lasca de jamón* y en España interpretan *una loncha de jamón* (NGLE: 2009: 829). El uso de los clasificadores también tiene influencia regional, por

ejemplo: el clasificador 逮^{dài} (fila) que es aplicado en dialectos, mientras que el clasificador 列^{liè} (fila) se utiliza con generalidad en el chino mandarín.

En tercer lugar, como indica la NGLE (2009: 826), los sustantivos cuantificativos pueden admitir sufijos apreciativos como *platito*, *montonazo*, *grupito* y también ciertos adjetivos que expresan tamaño como *un pequeño grupo de amigos*. Este rasgo se muestra en clasificadores chinos, cuando estos son prestados del nombre o interpretan una cantidad indeterminada, como 两大瓶水^{liǎng dà píng shuǐ} (dos grandes clf. botellas de agua) y 一大群学生^{yī dà qún xué shēng} (un grande clf. grupo de alumnos).

En último lugar, semánticamente, los cuantificativos también pueden ser polisémicos y homónimos, por ejemplo, en español, las colocaciones *un racimo de uvas* y *una sarta de uvas* significan lo mismo, se refieren a un conjunto de uvas que están en forma de sarta.

5. Conclusión

A lo largo del presente trabajo, hemos estudiado los sustantivos cuantificativos en español y los clasificadores en chino con el fin de corroborar nuestra hipótesis de que las dos categorías poseen ciertas similitudes semánticas y funciones gramaticales. Como se observa en buena parte de bibliografía sobre el tema en cuestión, en la lengua española no existen clasificadores. Sin embargo, mediante la realización de comparaciones detalladas, hemos probado que, en la mayoría de las situaciones lingüísticas, los sustantivos cuantificativos en español y los clasificadores en chino, ejercen una misma función sintáctica, semántica y pragmática. Aun así, los clasificadores chinos poseen un mayor número de funciones y usos que no se dan en los cuantificativos españoles –como la existencia de la reduplicación del clasificador monosilábico– o el hecho de que los sustantivos cuantificativos españoles posean una mayor precisión semántica que los clasificadores.

Un aspecto complejo del uso de los clasificadores consiste en que, aunque ponemos de relieve que la selección del clasificador es predominantemente semántica, también es necesario tener en cuenta los factores socioculturales o el estatus social del hablante. Por ejemplo, los niños, tienden a utilizar el clasificador genérico 个^{gè} para todos los nombres en singular, aunque en algunas ocasiones, su empleo es cuestionable, si bien se entiende que quieren transmitir una información numeral. Asimismo, este uso también se encuentra frecuentemente entre los aprendices extranjeros de chino. De forma análoga, para los estudiantes chinos que aprenden español, la carencia de esta categoría gramatical en la lengua española no debería causar problema alguno. Consideramos también que los sustantivos cuantificativos conforman un grupo de unidades léxicas que se utilizan con una alta frecuencia en la vida cotidiana, por lo

que la enseñanza léxica de estas es un aspecto de gran importancia y que ha de enseñarse, quizás, incluso de forma prioritaria frente a otras unidades léxicas.

En definitiva, hemos corroborado que los sustantivos cuantificativos pueden ser tratados como los clasificadores chinos y esperamos que un futuro no muy lejano, se conviertan en una categoría gramatical nueva de la que dé cuenta la lingüística española.

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Notas

1. La tesis titulada *Las colocaciones nominales en español y en chino: un estudio contrastivo*, es inédita.
2. NGLÉ: Nueva gramática de la lengua española.
3. Véase <http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=ejército>.

Modern Icelandic basic linguistic terminology: A survey from a historico-puristic perspective

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ABSTRACT

The present article deals with the development of basic linguistic terminology in Icelandic. Such terminology pertains to five categories (general, graphematics, phonetics, morphology and lexicon) and has been collected from 19 different sources from the Middle Ages to 1920. After a short introduction (1), the corpus is outlined (2). Subsequently (3), each of the aforementioned categories will be analysed in separate paragraphs. In the last section (4), an evaluation of the development of the Icelandic linguistic terminology is given.

KEYWORDS

Linguistic terminology, linguistic purism, writing practices, history of linguistics.

1. Introduction

Linguistic discourse in Iceland can be traced back to the first half of the 12th century, when an unknown Icelander wrote the so-called *First Grammatical Treatise*. The author's aim was to propose a modified version of the Latin alphabet, which would suit writing in Icelandic the best. A history of the Icelandic linguistic terminology might well start from here: sometime in the decade 1130–1140. However, as already pointed out by Raschellà (1998, 2004), there is good evidence which suggests that the very core of the Icelandic linguistic terminology has its roots in writing practices prior to the adoption of the Latin alphabet, viz. in rune carving, whereas on the other hand it chiefly rests upon the Latin grammatical tradition. The aim of this paper, which strongly rests upon earlier scholarship (Tryggvi Gíslason 1968, Svavar Sigmundsson 1981, and Raschellà 2004), is to give a broad overview of the basic linguistic terminology in Modern Icelandic. This will be done from a historico-puristic perspective. The approach is twofold: on the one hand it is onomasiological, i.e. aimed at tracing the different words with which a given concept has been expressed throughout the centuries, while on the other it focuses on the sources of the terms themselves, which are in most cases foreign. As reference terms, I will use the terminology used in Icelandic today. Modern Icelandic spelling is used throughout the article, except when Old Icelandic terms are specifically addressed.

2. The corpus

Although surely objectionable, the rationale for the choice of what I call “basic linguistic terminology” rests upon the fact that the terms chosen constitute the foundations for linguistic discourse for each of the groups in which the corpus has been subdivided, namely GENERAL, GRAPHEMATICS, PHONOLOGY, MORPHOLOGY, and LEXICON. Terminology relative to syntax has not been included as it is very sparsely found in the Icelandic linguistic scholarship prior to the 19th century.¹ The corpus is as follows:

GENERAL: *orð* ‘word’, *mál*, *tunga*, *tungumál* ‘language’, *málfræði* ‘grammar, linguistics’.

GRAPHEMATICS: (*bók*)*stafur* ‘letter’, *stafróf* ‘alphabet’.

PHONETICS: **hljóð** ‘sound’: *samhljóð* ‘consonant’, *sérhljóð* ‘vowel’, *tvíhljóð* ‘diphthong’; *atkvæði* ‘syllable’.

MORPHOLOGY: **kyn** ‘gender’: *karlkyn* ‘masculine’, *kvenkyn* ‘feminine’, *hvorugkyn* ‘neuter’; **háttur** ‘mood’: *framsöguháttur* ‘indicative’, *viðtengingarháttur* ‘conjunctive’, *lýsingarháttur* ‘participle’, *boðháttur* ‘imperative’, *nafnháttur* ‘infinitive’, *sagnbót* ‘supine’; **tíð** ‘tense’: *nú tíð* ‘present’, *þá tíð* ‘(simple) past’, *fram tíð* ‘future’; **tala** ‘number’: *eintala* ‘singular’, *fleirtala* ‘plural’, *tvítala* ‘dual’; **fall** ‘case’: *nefnifall* ‘nominative’, *þolfall* ‘accusative’, *þágufall* ‘dative’, *eignarfall* ‘genitive’; *beyging* ‘declension, conjugation’; *persóna* ‘person’; **stigbreyting** ‘comparison’: *frumstig* ‘positive grade’, *miðstig* ‘comparative grade’, *efsta stig* ‘superlative grade’; **mynd** ‘diathesis’: *germynd* ‘active’, *miðmynd* ‘middle’, *þolmynd* ‘passive’.

LEXICON: **orðflokkur** ‘part of speech’: *nafnorð*, *nafn* ‘noun’, *sagnorð*, *sögn* ‘verb’, *fornafn* ‘pronoun’, *greinir* ‘article’, *lýsingarorð* ‘adjective’, *atviksorð* ‘adverb’, *forsetning* ‘preposition’, *samtenging* ‘conjunction’, *upphrópun* ‘interjection’, *töluorð* ‘numeral’.

The terms covering the above-listed meanings have been traced in a selection of nineteen Icelandic grammatical writings ranging from the 12th to the early 20th century: from the *First Grammatical Treatise* to Alexander Jóhannesson’s 1920 *Frumnorræn málfræði* (Proto-Norse grammar). The researched texts are as follows:

1. The *First Grammatical Treatise* (FGT, 1130–1140, ed. Hreinn Benediktsson, 1972)
2. The *Second Grammatical Treatise* (SGT, 1270–1300, ed. Raschellà, 1982)
3. The *Third Grammatical Treatise* (ThGT, 1240–1250, ed. Finnur Jónsson, 1927)
4. The *Fourth Grammatical Treatise* (FoGT, 1320–1340, ed. Clunies Ross/Wellendorf, 2014)
5. Ms. AM 921 III 4to (ca. 1400, The Árni Magnússon Institute, Reykjavík)
6. Ms. AM 413 fol. (ca. 1732, Rúnareidsla/Runologia, Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík, Arnamagnæan Collection, Copenhagen)
7. Ms. AM 1001 4to (ca. 1732, Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík, The Árni Magnússon Institute, Reykjavík)
8. Ms. AM 987 4to (1772–1779, Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík, The Árni Magnússon Institute, Reykjavík)
9. Ms. Lbs 104 8vo (1758, *Vocabula ex Grammatica*, Benjamín Sveinsson, Icelandic National Library)

10. Ms. Lbs 1238 8vo (ca. 1805, *Stuttur Leidarvijsir fyri Íslenska í þeirra eigin Móðurmaali*, Guttormur Pálsson, Icelandic National Library)
11. Ms. Lbs 456 4to (ca. 1835, *Ágrip af íslenskri málfræði*, Sveinbjörn Egilsson, Icelandic National Library)
12. Ms. Lbs 304 8vo (ca. 1835, Sveinbjörn Egilsson, Icelandic National Library)
13. *Um frumparta íslenzkrar tungu* (Konráð Gíslason, 1846)
14. Ms. Lbs 2021 8vo (ca. 1860, *Um parta ræðunnar*, Jens Sigurðsson, Icelandic National Library)
15. *Íslenzk málmyndalýsing* (Halldór Kr. Friðriksson, 1861)
16. *Stutt ágrip af íslenskri mállýsingu handa alþýðuskólum* (Halldór Briem Eggertsson, 1891)
17. *Málfræði íslenzkrar tungu og helstu atriði sögu hennar í ágrip* (Finnur Jónsson, 1908)
18. *Litla móðurmálsbókin handa börnum og byrjendum* (Jón Ólafsson ritstjóri, 1915)
19. *Frumnorraen málfræði* (Alexander Jóhannesson, 1920)

3. Analysis

3. 1. General and graphematic terminology

Under the category GENERAL fall terms meaning ‘word’, ‘language’, and ‘grammar’. Understandably, these terms are quite stable during the centuries. The lexeme for ‘word’, i.e. *orð*, is the most stable, as a variant *sögn* (calqued on Lat. *dictio*) is only attested in the *ThGT*. Two are the main terms for ‘language’, namely *mál* and *tunga*, which are both endogenous and attested as early as in the *FGT*. In addition, there appears another term, *tungumál*, which is however not attested before the 16th century (cf. *RitOH*, s.v. *tungumál*). The terms for ‘grammar’ show a significant bit of variation. They are at least four (in brackets the text in which they appear): *bókstafamennt* (7), *málmyndalýsing* (13, 15), *mállýsing* (16), and the currently used term *málfræði* (10, 11, 16, 17, 19). In addition, it is known that more terms have been coined, e.g. *málslist* and *tungnafræði* (Svavar Sigmundsson, 1981: 288). Whereas *orð*, *mál*, and *tunga* (together with the compound *tungumál*) are native terms, there appears to be no endogenous term for ‘grammar’, viz. all the Icelandic terms coined so far prove to be calques: *bókstafamennt* (calqued on Lat. *ars grammatica*, viz. AGr. *γραμματικὴ τέχνη* lit. ‘the science of the letters’), *málmyndalýsing* (probably with Ger. *Formenlehre* or Dan. *formlære* as model), *mállýsing* (probably with Ger. *deskriptive grammatik* or Dan. *deskriptiv grammatik* as model), *málfræði* (calqued on Dan. *sprogvidenskab* or Ger. *Sprachwissenschaft*). Modern Icelandic also uses the word *málvísindi* to convey the meaning ‘linguistics’ but not ‘grammar book’.

Among graphematic terms, I have chosen just two, namely *bókstafur* ‘letter’ and *stafróf* ‘alphabet’. These are both very early attested terms, as they are found from the *FGT* on. Apart from some variance in the *FGT* regarding the term for ‘letter’, where four different words are attested (*stafr*, *rún*, *málstafr*, *bókstafr*, cf. Raschellà, 2004: 9–10), *bókstafur* (with the

shortened variant *stafur*) and *stafróf* have early become canonic terms for their respective technical meanings. Except for *rún* ‘rune’, all the Icelandic terms for ‘letter’ contain the word *stafur* ‘stick’. Moreover, as duly noted by Raschellà (2004: 9), in the Germanic languages, with the remarkable exception of Modern English (but cf. OE *bōcstæf* and *stæf* ‘letter’), the terms for ‘letter’ are often to be linked to PGmc. **stab-*,² thing which strongly points to a writing tradition preceding the advent of book writing in the Germanic world (see also the discussion in Green, 1998: 255–256). This is indeed confirmed by runic evidence, f.ex. by the Gummarp runic inscription from the 7th century.³ The Icelandic word for ‘alphabet’, *stafróf*, appears instead to be a loanword, namely from OE *stæfrāw* (*ÍOb*, s.v. *stafróf*).

3. 2. Phonetic terminology

Under the label PHONOLOGY I have comprised a few terms relating to sounds (*hljóð*), namely *sérhljóð* ‘vowel’, *samhljóð* ‘consonant’, and *tvíhljóð* ‘diphthong’, together with the term for ‘syllable’, *atkvæði*. The terms for ‘vowel’ are: *raddarstafur* (1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 13, 17) and its variants *rødd* (1) and *raddstafur* (17, 18), *hljóðstafur* (1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17), and the currently used term *sérhljóð* (20). *Raddarstafur*, from which both *rødd* and *raddstafur* derive, is with all probability a calque of Lat. *littera vocalis* (cf. Raschellà, 2004: 16–17). As suggested by Raschellà (2004: 17), *hljóðstafur* appears instead to be an indigenous term tracing its roots back to the pre-literary, viz. runic, era. *Sérhljóð* is again an indigenous formation coined with the term for ‘consonant’ as model according to the following line of reasoning: since *samhljóð* (calqued on Lat. *consonans*, cf. below) “sounds with” something, the vowel is that element necessary to the consonant to sound and which has *ipso facto* “sound” as an intrinsic quality. Therefore the term designing it is *sérhljóð*, which infact can roughly be translated as ‘sound on its own’.

The terms for ‘consonant’ show very little variation. These are: *samhljóðandi* (1, 3, 7, 9, 11–16, 18) and its related terms *samhljóður* (17), *samhljóði* (1), and *samhljóð* (19); and *málstafur* (2, 18). *Samhljóðandi* and related terms are to be analysed as structural calques of Lat. *consonans*, being *samhljóðandi* a perfect calque. *Málstafur* is found in the *SGT* (see the discussion in Raschellà, 2004: 18) and *Litla móðurmálsbókin* (18), being the use in the latter work most likely an archaism as the author himself glosses the term with *samhljóðandi*. In the *SGT*, *málstafur* is the only term used to convey the meaning ‘consonant’. This has lead Raschellà to suggest that it was the term used by rune carvers to designate the consonantic runes. In fact, as *hljóðstafur* can be translated as ‘sound stave’, *málstafur* corresponds to ‘language (or discourse) stave’. The idea behind this, if I am not mistaken, is that the consonants are those “staves”, viz.

letters, which shape a discourse (or denote a language), whereas the vowels are instead those letters whose intrinsic quality is that of giving sound to a language.

The term for ‘diphthong’ is relatively stable during the centuries. *Tvíhljóður* (3, 11, 13, 17) and related terms (*tvíhljóðandi* (6, 7), *tvíhljóði* (16, 18), *tvíhljóð* (19)) are the most widespread, being calques of Lat. *diphthongus* < AGr. *δίφθογγος* ‘having two sounds’. Other terms encountered in this survey are as follows: *limingarstafur* (3), *tvöfalldur hljóðstafur* (9), *limingur* and *lausaklofi* (15). *Limingarstafur* and *limingur* are graphematic terms which actually mean ‘ligature’. So is *lausaklofi* ‘digraph’. In *Íslenzk málmyndalýsing* in fact, the graphematic plane overlaps the phonological plane as the author divides linguistic sound units according to graphematic distinctions, hence the terms *limingur* and *lausaklofi* under which fall the Icelandic diphthongs. For what concerns *tvöfalldur hljóðstafur* it is a mere descriptive term meaning ‘double vowel’.

The term for ‘syllable’ is quite stable during the Middle Ages but changes during the early modern period. The two terms are *samstafa* (1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 13, 15, 18, 19) (and its variant *samstöfun* (1, 17)), and *atkvæði* (7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16), which is the currently used term. *Samstafa* and *samstöfun* are both to be linked to the verb *að stafa saman* ‘to write together’ and have no connection with Lat. *syllaba* < AGr. *συλλαβή* (Raschellà 2004: 26). Whereas in the Middle Ages *atkvæði* denoted “sound as a basic linguistic entity, endowed with a linguistic function” (Hreinn Benediktsson, 1972: 58), viz. Lat. *potestas*, the word starts to mean ‘syllable’ only in the 18th century, and it was apparently a term used in vernacular, viz. not learned, speech as Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík in AM 1001 4to glosses the term as used by the *vulgus* beside the “official” Icelandic term, i.e. *samstafa*.

3. 3. Morphological terminology

Due to space limitations, it is not possible to provide a thorough analysis of every morphological category listed in Section 2. As a consequence, I will focus here on what I recall to be the most interesting among them: the case system.

Icelandic has a system of four cases: nominative, accusative, dative, and genitive. Moreover, I have comprised under the same category the terms for ‘declension’ and ‘conjugation’. The terminology related to this subfield of morphology shows a remarkable degree of variation, and the name of the single cases, with the exception of the genitive case, appear first in the *ThGT* and *FoGT* (3, 4).

	[3, 4] (1240–1250; 1320–1340)	[6, 7] (1732)	[10] (1805)	[11, 12] (1835)	[13–15] (1846–1861)	[16–19] (1891– 1920)
nominative	nefniligt fall [4]	nefningarniðurlag/- ending [6], nefningarbylting [7]	nafnfall	nefnandi	gjörandi [13, 15], nefnandi [14]	nefnifall
accusative	rógiligt fall [3, 4]	klögunarniðurlag/- ending [6], klögunarbylting [7]	áverkafall	þolandi	þolandi	þolfall
dative	gæfiligt fall [3]	gáfubylting [7]	þiggjandafall, viðtakandafall	fáandi, þiggjandi [just 12]	þiggjandi	þágufall
genitive		getnaðarniðurlag/- bylting [6], getnaðarbylting eignar [7]	eigandafall, getfall	eigandi	eigandi	eignarfall
declension conjugation	samokan 'conjugation' [3]	hneiging, tímaorðshneiging [7]	hneiging	hneiging [11], nafnahneiging, sagnahneiging [12]	breyting [13], beyging [14, 15]	beyging

Table 1: Some basic terms in inflectional morphology

Firstly, it should be noted that the word for ‘case’ is relatively stable in that *fall* is widely used from the Middle Ages on and it is moreover a calque of Lat. *casus*. However, in the analysed texts there appear three more terms, *niðurlag*, *ending*, and *bylting*, all of which are in the writings of Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík, scholar and last assistant to Árni Magnússon, the renowned manuscript collector. *Niðurlag* and *ending* are calques of Lat. *terminatio*. For what concerns the term *bylting*, it seems likely for it to be Jón Ólafsson’s own linguistic term, as it is not attested in other linguistic writings. Moreover, in his Icelandic dictionary (Ms AM 433 fol.), Jón Ólafsson defines *bylting* as “lapsus cum volutione quadam”. Lat. *casus* is given instead as a definition of *bylta*, a synonym of *bylting*. Thus, this term is a semantic calque of Lat. *casus*.

The nominative case is expressed in six ways: *nefniligt fall*, *nefningarniðurlag/-ending*, *nafnfall*, *nefnandi*, *gjörandi*, and *nefnifall*, which is the term used nowadays. Whereas the majority of the terms for ‘nominative’ is inspired by Latin terminology, i.e. *casus nominativus*, and thus calque it more or less precisely, *gjörandi* constitutes an exception in that it describes the nominative case by means of the semantic, viz. thematic, function it has, namely that of the agent.

The accusative case is expressed with five different terms: *rógiligt fall*, *klögunarniðurlag/-ending/-bylting*, *áverkafall*, *þolandi*, and *þolfall*, which is the current term. The most ancient term, *rógiligt fall*, appears to calque Lat. *casus accusativus*, which in turn is a notoriously mistaken structural calque from AGr. *ἀίτιατικὴ πῶσις*. The same holds true for the terms composed with *klögun* ‘accusation, charge’. *Áverkafall* describes instead the case from the point of view of its relationship with the verb, and it is possibly a loan translation closer to the

original Ancient Greek term. *Polandi* and *þolfall* describe the thematic function of the case in question, i.e. that of the patient.

The dative case is expressed in seven different ways: *gæfíligt fall*, *gáfubylting*, *þiggjandafall*, *viðtakandafall*, *fáandi*, *þiggjandi*, and *þágufall*, which is the term used nowadays. The most ancient term, *gæfíligt fall*, calques Lat. *casus datus*, as also does *gáfubylting*, albeit more freely. The rest of the terms variously describe the dative case from the point of view of its thematic role, that of the recipient: *viðtakandi* ‘recipient’, *að fá* ‘to receive’, *að þiggja* ‘to accept [to receive]’, *þága* ‘(one’s) interest, benefit’.

The name for the genitive case does not appear in Old Icelandic sources. Five different names are found in the corpus: *getnaðarniðurlag/-býlting* (*eignar*), *eigandafall*, *getfall*, *eigandi*, and *eignarfall*, which is the term used nowadays. Here, again, the terms may be divided into two groups: those that calque Lat. *casus genetivus*, i.e. *getnaðarniðurlag/-býlting* and *getfall* (*að geta* ‘to get, beget, engender’), and those that describe the thematic role of the case, that of the possessor (*eigandi* ‘possessor’, *eign* ‘property’), namely *eigandafall*, *eigandi*, and *eignarfall*.

The term that nowadays describes both declension and conjugation is *beyging*. Svavar Sigmundsson (1981: 292) claims that in Old Icelandic the concept of ‘declension’ was expressed by *hneiging*, whereas that of ‘conjugation’ by *samokan*. I was not able to find any instance of *hneiging* in Old Icelandic with the meaning ‘declension’.⁴ On the other hand, *samokan* ‘conjugation’ is attested in the *ThGT* and is a structural calque of Lat. *conjugatio*. In the other surveyed texts, the two concepts are always expressed with one main term (which is eventually further specified as referring to verb conjugation or noun declension): *hneiging* (7, 10, 11, 12), *breyting* (13), *beyging* (14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19).

Whereas the source for *breyting* lit. ‘change’ is unknown, although it may be said that it is highly probable that it is an endogenous creation, *hneiging* and *beyging* both derive from movement verbs which recall the idea of inflection. However, while *hneiging* is a calque of Lat. *declinatio*, *beyging* was most probably inspired by Dan. *bøjning*.

3. 4. Lexical terminology

The lexical category comprises terms for the parts of speech. These are first encountered in the *ThGT* where the Icelandic names are exact renderings of their Latin equivalents, e.g. *nomen substantivum* = *undirstóðiligt nafn* [undir-stóði-lig-t = sub-stant-iv-um, nafn = nomen]. The most terminologically stable parts of speech, according to my survey, are the noun (chiefly referred to as *nafn* or *nafnorð*), the verb (previously often referred to as *tímaorð*, from 1815 (11) on as *sögn* or *sagnorð*), and the pronoun (chiefly referred to as *fornafn*, calqued on Lat. *pronomem*).

Space limitations prevent me from going into any further detail here. However, it might be said that, as a general trend, the terms encountered in this survey either tend to variously render their Latin equivalents or are native creations.

4. Conclusions

Some discussion about Modern Icelandic basic linguistic terminology has been offered above. To sum up, it may be said that the very core of such terminology has its roots in scribal practices prior to the advent of parchment writing, viz. rune carving. Among these terms are e.g. *málstafur* and *hljóðstafur*. On the other hand, the Latin grammatical tradition has played a very important role in shaping the Icelandic linguistic terminology, as many of the terms encountered in this survey are renderings of the Latin terms. This does not apply only to medieval terminology, but also to early modern and modern terms. The pre-literary layer in the Icelandic linguistic terminology has nowadays almost disappeared completely, whereas influence from the terminology used by Latin grammarians is still quite appreciable, e.g. *samhljóð* ‘consonant’, *fornafn* ‘pronoun’, *samtenging* ‘conjunction’, etc. Other terms appear to be coined as a native response to foreign influences, viz. they are terms whose structure, either entirely or partially, does not calque a foreign term. Examples of such terms are *framsöguháttur* ‘indicative mood’ (11–19, cf. *ávisunarháttur* ‘s.m.’ (7), a calque of *modus indicativus*), and *lýsingarorð* (12, 14, 16, 17, 19, cf. *tillagsorð* ‘s.m.’ (7), a calque of Dan. *tillægsord*, and *viðrlegganligt nafn* (3), a calque of Lat. *nomen adjectivum*).

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Notes

1. Notably, only a work by Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík is known to me in this respect (cf. Jón Helgason 1926: 319).
2. Gothic uses the word *boka* to denote ‘letter’. Got. **stafs* is also attested, but whether it could also mean ‘letter’ is disputed (see the discussion in Lehmann, 1986, s.v. *boka*, and moreover Green, 1998: 256–257).
3. **(h)AþuwolAfA sAte (s)tA(b)A þr(i)a fff** ‘HaþuwulfR(Höðulfr) placed three staves fff’ (source: <http://runer.ku.dk>, retrieved 2 August 2017; cf. also Moltke, 1985: 78–79 and 103).
4. The term *hneiging* is not mentioned by Tryggvi Gíslason (1968: 113) as a technical linguistic term in Old Icelandic.

Chypre et les langues: le contexte sociolinguistique de Chypre

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RÉSUMÉ

A lors que, à première vue, l'on pourrait penser que de par sa petite taille, ce petit pays insulaire, avec moins d'un million d'habitants, pourrait paraître linguistiquement homogène, la réalité semble différente. En effet, d'une part, avec diverses communautés vivant sur son sol, et, d'autre part, avec deux langues officielles, deux dialectes (présence de diglossie) et deux langues régionales et/ou minoritaires, Chypre est, d'un point de vue linguistique un cas intéressant à étudier, surtout avant d'entreprendre le développement de programmes de recherche ou de curriculum. Cet article, qui est consacré au contexte sociolinguistique de Chypre, est le premier chapitre de mon mémoire de Master 2-Pro, complété et présenté en 2015, lorsque j'avais été assigné de mettre en place un programme curriculaire pour les étudiants du Département d'Études françaises et européennes de l'Université de Chypre. Plus précisément, l'article examine les différentes communautés qui vivent sur l'île ainsi que leurs langues et dialectes respectifs. En outre, cet article a un double objectif: d'abord, informer les personnes présentes au 2ème Forum international UCY-LC des jeunes chercheurs, et en particulier celles venant de l'étranger, sur les langues de Chypre et les aider à comprendre le contexte linguistique de ce pays. Et puis, encourager des études plus approfondies sur la situation linguistique de Chypre, qui aideraient, entre autres, à déterminer le statut des dialectes, à préserver et à développer les langues régionales/minoritaires, mais surtout, contribuer à transformer Chypre d'une société multiculturelle en une société interculturelle.

MOTS-CLÉS

Communautés de Chypre, langue(s) officielle(s), dialecte(s), diglossie, langue(s) régionale(s) et/ou minoritaire(s), société multiculturelle et/ou interculturelle.

ABSTRACT

While one would think that this small Mediterranean island-nation, with less than one million inhabitants, would be linguistically homogeneous, the reality seems to be different. Indeed, on the one hand, with various ethnic groups living on its soil, and on the other, with two official languages, two dialects (presence of diglossia) and two regional and/or minority languages, Cyprus is, from a linguistic point of view, an interesting case to study, especially before undertaking research or any other curriculum development programs. This article, which deals with the sociolinguistic context of Cyprus, is the first part of my Master's thesis, presented in 2015, when I was assigned a curriculum development project for the students of the Department of French and European studies of the University of Cyprus. More precisely, it examines the various communities that live on the island as well as their respective languages and dialects. Moreover, this article has a double objective: first, inform the people present at the 2nd UCY-LC International Forum of Young Researchers and, in particular, those from abroad, about the languages of Cyprus and help them understand the linguistic context of this country. And second, encourage further study of the linguistic situation of Cyprus that would help, among others, determine the status of the dialects, preserve and develop the regional/minority languages within the different communities, but most of all, contribute to the conversion of Cyprus from a multicultural into an intercultural society.

KEY WORDS

Communities of Cyprus, official language(s), dialect(s), diglossia, regional and/or minority language(s), multicultural and/or intercultural society.

1. Introduction

Île de la Méditerranée orientale, Chypre est située au carrefour entre l'Europe, l'Asie et l'Afrique. Cette position géographique, reliant le monde occidental au monde oriental, joua un rôle capital dans son histoire et par conséquent sur son paysage linguistique actuel.

Avec une superficie de 9 251 Km², elle est la 3^{ième} île de la Méditerranée après la Sicile et la Sardaigne. Bien que géographiquement Chypre soit plus près de l'Asie que de l'Europe, du point de vue politique et culturel, elle est considérée comme un pays européen, à caractère grec. En effet, malgré les quelque 380 Km qui la séparent de la terre grecque la plus proche (« La Grèce continentale est à 800 km à l'ouest de Chypre et les îles grecques les plus proches, comme Rhodes et Carpathes sont à une distance de 380 km à l'ouest de l'île » Université Laval, Canada), et alors qu'elle n'est située qu'à 75 Km des côtes turques au nord et à 105 Km des côtes moyen-orientales à l'est (Syrie, Liban), son histoire au cours des siècles ainsi que la présence à la fois d'un dialecte chypriote hellénique, constituant la première forme de langue grecque parlée sur l'île, et de la langue grecque elle-même, confirment, dès le XII^e siècle avant J.-C., son caractère grec qu'elle préserve jusqu'à aujourd'hui. En effet, suite à l'hellénisation commencée au XII^e siècle avant J.-C., Chypre fut successivement occupée par les Perses, les Syriens, les Ptolémées d'Égypte, les Romains, les Byzantins, les Arabes, les Francs, les Vénitiens, les Turcs et enfin, les Britanniques.

2. Langues officielles et variétés basses (dialectes)

Au cours de son histoire mouvementée des derniers mille ans, après trois siècles d'occupation franque (1192-1489), presque un siècle d'occupation vénitienne (1489-1571), trois siècles d'occupation ottomane (1571-1878), Chypre fut louée aux Anglais en 1878, puis, devint colonie de la couronne britannique (en 1925) jusqu'en 1960, année à laquelle elle gagna son indépendance et où la République de Chypre fut fondée. Dans l'article 3 de la Constitution du 16 août 1960, le grec moderne fut proclamé la langue officielle du pays. Toutefois, en raison de la présence d'une minorité musulmane turcophone importante (18% de la population), conséquence de l'occupation ottomane, le turc fut reconnu comme langue co-officielle avec le grec moderne, statut qu'il garde *de jure* aujourd'hui, depuis la séparation des deux communautés principales (hellénophone et turcophone), suite à l'intervention militaire turque du 20 juillet 1974.

Outre le grec moderne, les Chypriotes hellénophones parlent aussi un dialecte grec appelé « dialecte chypriote-grec » ou tout simplement « chypriote ». Il s'agit d'une variété du grec moderne, mais comparé à celui-ci, il présente des particularités linguistiques plus ou moins importantes qui le rendent parfois difficile à comprendre pour un Grec de la Grèce

métropolitaine, surtout si celui-ci n'y est pas habitué. Ces particularités concernent aussi bien sa morphologie et sa syntaxe que son vocabulaire et sa phonétique.

Suivent ci-dessous quelques exemples généraux concernant les particularités du dialecte chypriote grec, tous différents du grec moderne:

- Morphologie: modification de certains suffixes du grec moderne, conservation de suffixes archaïques (du grec ancien), emprunts de suffixes à d'autres langues, etc.;
- Syntaxe: des particularités concernant le verbe «être», modification des particules du futur et de la forme négative, l'ordre verbe-pronom personnel dans la phrase, forme de certains pronoms et déterminants (pronoms personnels, démonstratifs, etc.);
- Vocabulaire: présence de beaucoup d'emprunts, résultat du riche passé de dominations étrangères, lexique proche du grec ancien qui n'est plus d'usage dans le grec moderne aujourd'hui;
- Phonétique: accentuation des consonnes occlusives sourdes [p], [t], [k] et de la nasale [n] et conservation du {n} final des substantifs, toutes caractéristiques du grec ancien, présence de consonnes inconnues du grec moderne, comme les fricatives post alvéolaires sourde [ʃ] et sonore [ʒ], etc.

Nous tenons à noter sur ce point que le chypriote-grec n'est pas le seul dialecte de la langue grecque. D'autres dialectes sont parlés aussi bien dans les îles (Crête, Rhodes/Dodécanèse, îles Ioniennes, etc.) qu'en Grèce continentale (Péloponnèse), mais aussi dans d'autres régions (notamment dans la région du Pont-Euxin -Géorgie et Russie du sud- ce dialecte est appelé «grec pontique»). Le dialecte chypriote fait partie des dialectes grecs du sud-est.

Le dialecte chypriote s'écrit à l'aide de l'alphabet grec mais il a la particularité d'être surtout oral. Il est utilisé dans la conversation quotidienne informelle et spontanée. Il relève du domaine privé (familial et amical), voire identitaire, et il n'est presque plus jamais écrit de nos jours. Toutefois, il existe une littérature en chypriote mais, elle se limite à des chansons populaires et des poèmes. Les poèmes relèvent souvent du domaine privé et personnel, ce qui justifie le choix de certains poètes chypriotes d'écrire directement en chypriote. Il existe des poèmes écrits en chypriote datant du XVI^e siècle et deux des poètes chypriotes les plus importants ont vécu au XIX^e siècle. De plus, les assises du Royaume franc de Chypre (XIV^e siècle) et le *Chronique* racontant l'histoire de Chypre (XIV^e-XV^e siècles) de Léonce Machéras (chroniqueur chypriote) sont aussi rédigés en dialecte chypriote. On trouve aussi quelques dictionnaires sur le dialecte chypriote et des grammaires. Kyriakos Hadjiioannou, philologue et académicien chypriote, considéré comme «le maître du dialecte chypriote», est

l'auteur de deux ouvrages, le *Dictionnaire étymologique du dialecte chypriote parlé* (2000) et la *Grammaire du dialecte chypriote parlé* (1999) (parus aux éditions Tamassos, Nicosie).

Comme le dialecte chypriote n'est ni standardisé, ni codifié, certains sons qui lui sont propres ne peuvent pas se transcrire à l'aide de l'alphabet grec. C'est le cas notamment des sons [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], [dʒ] et [kʃ]. Parfois, des signes diacritiques sont ajoutés sur les lettres {s}, {z}, {k} et {ks} pour transcrire les mots contenant ces sons. Les plus jeunes utilisent très souvent l'alphabet latin, surtout lorsqu'ils envoient des messages téléphoniques ou écrivent sur les pages des réseaux sociaux. Le recours à l'alphabet latin pour transcrire le dialecte (mais aussi le grec plus généralement) s'appelle «Greeklish» et il est fortement critiqué par les défenseurs du dialecte, mais aussi ceux de la langue grecque.

Selon le philologue et linguiste chypriote Constantinos Yiangoullis, auteur du *Dictionnaire étymologique et interprétatif du dialecte chypriote* (Librairie des poètes populaires chypriotes n°54, 1994.) «basé sur le dialecte arcado-chypriote du grec ancien, le chypriote a été influencé par chacun des peuples qui ont occupé l'île au fil des siècles: les Latins, les Francs, les Vénitiens, les Ottomans et plus récemment les Anglais». De plus, toujours selon Yiangoullis, «le chypriote a forcément été influencé par la langue franque, c'est-à-dire par l'ancien français qui découle, soit du dialecte provençal, soit du dialecte catalan», autrement dit, la langue d'oc (*je précise*).

La situation linguistique des Chypriotes hellénophones est caractérisée par le phénomène de diglossie, c'est-à-dire que, «deux ou plusieurs variétés d'une même langue sont utilisées par certains locuteurs dans des conditions différentes» (Ferguson¹, 1959: 232, *je traduis*). Plus précisément, «deux variétés d'une langue existent côte à côte au sein de la communauté, ayant chacune un rôle précis à jouer» (*Idem.*). L'une des variétés, celle appelée superposée ou «variété haute ou simplement H», (le grec moderne, langue officielle de la République) est utilisée à l'écrit, dans l'expression orale formelle et elle est enseignée. Ferguson précise que la variété superposée «n'est pas la variété primaire, 'native' pour les locuteurs en question mais peut être apprise en plus de celle-ci» (*Idem*, p.233, *je traduis*). L'autre variété, celle appelée régionale ou «variété basse ou simplement B» (*Idem*, p. 234, *je traduis*) (le dialecte chypriote-grec) est la première apprise par les Chypriotes et comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné plus haut, elle est utilisée dans la conversation informelle et spontanée et elle est très peu utilisée à l'écrit. En effet, toujours selon Ferguson, la variété dite «basse», «est apprise par les enfants dans ce qui peut être considéré comme la façon 'naturelle' d'apprendre sa langue maternelle» (*Idem*, p. 239, *je traduis*). Toutefois, malgré son statut de variété basse, l'on remarque que, ces dernières années, le dialecte chypriote regagne du terrain et les situations dans lesquelles il est utilisé s'élargissent. En effet, il est de plus en plus présent à la télévision dans de nouveaux types d'émissions

(feuilletons et séries dramatiques, jeux télévisés sur le dialecte, publicité, etc.), sur les réseaux sociaux/messages téléphoniques et dans la presse écrite libre où les lecteurs (souvent jeunes) écrivent en chypriote. A l'instar du dialecte chypriote parlé par les hellénophones de Chypre, il existe un dialecte chypriote turc, parlé par la communauté turcophone et qui présente, lui aussi, ses particularités², si on le compare au turc de Turquie. Pour conclure ce point, il est intéressant de noter aussi que les Chypriotes hellénophones, majoritairement chrétiens orthodoxes, sont exposés régulièrement au grec ancien. D'une part, l'église l'utilise dans la messe (exposition passive) et d'autre part, toutes les prières récitées sont en grec ancien (et apprises par cœur). Egalement, le grec ancien³ est enseigné dans le secondaire, mais souvent les élèves le considèrent, comme une langue étrangère. Toutefois, le cours de grec ancien a pour objectif principal de faire comprendre aux élèves que la langue grecque telle qu'elle est parlée au 21^{ème} siècle n'est qu'une forme postérieure de la langue des Grecs anciens⁴.

3. Autres communautés avec ou sans langue(s) distincte(s)

Il existe à Chypre deux langues régionales ou minoritaires, reconnues officiellement comme telles depuis 2002, suite à la signature et la ratification de la *Charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires* par le gouvernement chypriote: l'arabe maronite de Chypre (forme dialectale de l'arabe, appartenant au groupe du Levant, famille afro-asiatique sémitique) et l'arménien, parlées respectivement par les communautés maronite et arménienne (également communautés chrétiennes). Considérant ces deux langues comme faisant partie intégrante de son histoire et patrimoine linguistique, Chypre a signé la *Charte* le 12/11/1992, puis l'a ratifiée le 26/8/2002. Enfin, elle est entrée en vigueur le 1^{er} décembre 2002.

Ici, nous tenons à apporter quelques précisions concernant ces deux communautés:

- Lors de la constitution de la République en 1960, les communautés maronite et arménienne de Chypre ont choisi de se rattacher à la communauté hellénophone (aux Chypriotes grecs). Par conséquent, depuis la partition de l'île en 1974, tous leurs membres vivent dans la partie sud, à l'exception d'un petit nombre de Maronites âgés qui vivent toujours dans la partie occupée;
- Les Maronites et Arméniens de Chypre sont (aussi) hellénophones, «à l'exception des immigrés (arméniens, *j'ajoute*) récents» (*Application de la Charte à Chypre*, 1^{er} Cycle de suivi, sept 2006: 6);

- L'arménien de Chypre est considéré comme langue «dépourvue de territoire» (*Deuxième Rapport périodique-Chypre*, 2008: 9), alors que les Maronites, avant 1974, vivaient essentiellement dans quatre villages de la partie nord de l'île;
- Le nombre de locuteurs maronites et arméniens recensés reste à ce jour approximatif et inexact. Ceci est dû en partie au fait qu'ils sont désormais «bien intégrés à la société» (*Idem.*) chypriote grecque ou qu'ils maîtrisent peu, voire mal leurs langues respectives. Les Maronites seraient entre 1500 et 3000 et les Arméniens 3000. Ces chiffres sont donnés par les trois rapports périodiques publiés par le Conseil de l'Europe concernant l'application de la *Charte* à Chypre. Publiés en 2006, 2008 et 2012, ils ont pour objectif de présenter la situation des langues régionales ou minoritaires à Chypre, d'apporter des précisions sur leurs locuteurs et d'évaluer l'avancement des travaux effectués et la mise en œuvre des plans d'action recommandés par le Comité des Ministres du Conseil de l'Europe concernant la promotion, la protection et l'emploi de ces langues. Selon un autre rapport, le *Rapport démographique annuel de 2012*, publié par le Service de statistique de la République en 2014, les Arméniens sont 2600 (0,4%) et les Maronites sont 5000 (0,7%) (2014: 12). L'Université Laval (Canada) estime les locuteurs de ces deux communautés à 4% de la population (information de 2010);
- L'arménien de Chypre appartient au groupe indo-européen et est identique à celui parlé «par la plupart des Arméniens de la diaspora» (*Application de la Charte à Chypre*, 1^{er} Cycle de suivi, sept 2006: 6);
- L'arabe maronite de Chypre, surtout oral, il est parlé plutôt par les personnes âgées. Il a été codifié récemment: «Un alphabet (a) été élaboré pour l'arabe maronite de Chypre et (que) la communauté maronite l'(a) adopté en décembre 2007», mais il n'est pas encore «reconnu officiellement par le ministère de l'Education et de la Culture» (*Application de la Charte à Chypre*, 3^{ième} Cycle de suivi, 2012: 11, parties entre parenthèses, *je modifie*). Toutefois, il est considéré comme une langue en danger qu'il faut protéger, promouvoir et dont il faut favoriser l'emploi au sein des membres de sa communauté. L'*Atlas UNESCO des langues en danger dans le monde* le classe dans la catégorie langues «sérieusement en danger».

Aux deux groupes religieux déjà présentés, il faut ajouter une petite communauté latine (des catholiques latins), dont l'origine remonte, selon leur Vicaire patriarcal, à «l'occupation de l'île par les Templiers à la fin du X^e siècle». Composée aujourd'hui de Chypriotes et d'étrangers vivant en permanence dans le pays, elle est aussi rattachée à la communauté hellénophone de l'île, mais à l'inverse des Maronites et des Arméniens, elle n'a pas de

«langue distincte» (*Application de la Charte à Chypre*, 1^{er} Cycle de suivi, sept 2006: 7). D'après le *Rapport démographique annuel de 2012*, les Latins de Chypre sont au nombre de 800 (0,1% de la communauté grecque). Cependant, d'après le Vicaire patriarcal de Chypre, ce nombre dépasserait les 10.000.

Pour terminer, il existe à Chypre une communauté Rom, présente sur l'île depuis le XIV^e siècle, dont le nombre est estimé à entre 1000 et 1500 personnes. Néanmoins, d'après le *Premier Rapport Périodique* sur l'application de la *Charte* à Chypre, la population Rom «serait moins nombreuse selon le ministre de l'intérieur (chypriote, *j'ajoute*)» (2006: 7). Les Rom, qui sont rattachés à la communauté turque de Chypre, parlent une langue qu'ils appellent «kurbetcha», mais, toujours d'après le *Premier Rapport*, il faudrait spécifier «si les Rom parlent toujours le kurbetcha ou une autre langue que le turc ou le grec» (*Idem*).

4. Conclusion et perspectives

Ainsi voyons-nous, qu'alors que, à première vue, l'on peut penser que de par sa petite taille, Chypre pourrait paraître comme un pays linguistiquement homogène, d'après le descriptif ci-dessus, et comme nous l'avons déjà annoncé dans le résumé de l'article, il en résulte que la société chypriote présente bel et bien un caractère multilingue et multiethnique⁵ que nous pouvons récapituler dans le tableau suivant:

Communauté		Locuteurs	Langue / dialecte parlé
1	Chypriotes-grecs	78%	grec moderne dialecte chypriote-grec grec ancien (exposition passive)
2	Chypriotes-turcs	18%	turc, dialecte chypriote-turc
Autres		4%	
3	Arméniens	3000+/-	arménien, grec moderne dialecte chypriote-grec
4	Maronites	1500-3000+/-	arabe-maronite grec moderne dialecte chypriote-grec
5	Latins	0.1%	pas de langue distincte
6	population Rom	1000-1500+/-	« kurbetcha » ou autre

Tableau 1: Situation linguistique de Chypre

La situation linguistique de Chypre mérite des études plus approfondies, surtout pour déterminer le statut du dialecte⁶ parlé par les hellénophones, mais aussi pour apporter des précisions concernant le nombre des locuteurs représentant les groupes minoritaires qui y vivent et qui reste, comme nous l'avons vu, à ce jour inexact. Ce travail serait également nécessaire pour mettre en œuvre des plans d'action, afin de protéger et promouvoir les deux langues minoritaires ou régionales parlées sur l'île et que la République de Chypre reconnaît officiellement depuis 2002, en ayant signé et ratifié la *Charte européenne des langues minoritaires ou régionales*. Notre opinion est que de grands efforts devront être faits pour transformer la société chypriote (au sens large) multiculturelle, en une société interculturelle⁷ où toutes les communautés de l'île pourront vivre ensemble et en paix.

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Notes

1. Ferguson explique dans son article que «Diglossia» est calqué sur le français «diglossie» à défaut de terme plus approprié en anglais (1959: 232-233). A Chypre, les linguistes et universitaires hellénophones préfèrent l'expression «dimorphisme linguistique» à «diglossie»; en effet, pour un natif hellénophone, «diglossie», mot grec, signifie «deux langues» (di = deux, glossa = langue), le terme peut alors, être interprété comme «l'utilisation de deux langues différentes».
2. En raison de la situation politique actuelle de Chypre, suite aux événements de 1974 qui ont eu comme résultat la séparation des deux communautés (hellénophone au sud, turcophone au nord) cet article ne traite que la partie sous le contrôle de la République de Chypre, c'est-à-dire, la partie sud hellénophone.
3. Le dialecte attique est aujourd'hui le plus connu des anciens dialectes grecs, parlé dans l'Attique, et plus particulièrement à Athènes. Parmi les anciens dialectes, il est le plus proche du grec moderne et est la forme standard de la langue qui est étudiée dans l'apprentissage du grec ancien.
4. Plus précisément, «La langue que nous parlons aujourd'hui, le grec moderne, est le résultat d'une évolution continue de la langue grecque à travers les siècles. La langue grecque, malgré la diversité qu'elle a connue de sa naissance jusqu'à aujourd'hui, reste une et unie. Par conséquent, que nous étudions les écrits de Thucydide, ou les écrits de l'Évangile, ou encore la poésie de Elytis, la langue grecque nous est familière et compréhensible» (Livre du professeur pour l'enseignement du grec ancien au collège, Ministère de l'éducation, 2014-2015: 1, *je traduis*).
5. Ces deux termes sont à utiliser avec prudence et précaution car la question de l'identité chypriote est délicate et complexe, pouvant provoquer des conflits. Malgré la présence de

plusieurs groupes religieux, «Chypre a fait partie du monde hellénique depuis le XV^e siècle avant J.C., avec les premiers Mycéniens qui s'installent dans l'île. Au XII^e siècle avant J.C., après la chute de Troie, les colons achéens s'y fixèrent en grand nombre et y demeurèrent. Ils apportèrent avec eux la civilisation hellénique qui va rester définitivement dans l'île jusqu'à nos jours. Depuis cette époque lointaine, l'île a connu un grand nombre d'occupations étrangères consécutives [...]. Malgré toutes ces vicissitudes, les Chypriotes grecs ont gardé, à travers trois millénaires, leur héritage, leurs traditions, leur culture et leur caractère hellénique. 'Chypre', selon son poète national, Basili Michaelides, 'a souvent changé de maîtres, mais elle n'a pas changé d'âme'». Talarides Kikes (1964: 74-91).

6. Depuis quelques années, à l'initiative de quelques linguistes, mais sans qu'aucune politique officielle ne soit décidée, des efforts sont faits pour renforcer le statut du dialecte chypriote grec et élargir davantage son utilisation dans d'autres domaines et situations (en quelque sorte, lui donner un statut haut). Les opposants craignent qu'il devienne, un jour, la langue officielle de Chypre, ce qui pourrait avoir comme conséquences, d'une part, l'isolement social et linguistique de la société chypriote (le grec moderne pourrait alors être réduit au statut de langue étrangère) et, d'autre part, la perte de l'identité grecque de l'île.
7. Selon le *Dictionnaire de didactique du français langue étrangère et seconde* (DDFLES) (Cuq, J.P., 2003: 136) «Une société (peut) être multiculturelle par simple juxtaposition des cultures qui (vivent) en son sein, sans qu'il y ait de communication entre celles-ci. [...] L'interculturalisme (affirme) que l'important (est) le préfixe inter-, qui (permet) de dépasser le multiculturel. L'interculturel, en effet, suppose l'échange entre les différentes cultures, l'articulation, les connexions, les enrichissements mutuels» (Parties entre parenthèses, *je modifie*).

From *jaguar* to *burger*: an historic comparison about Ghanaian migration terminology

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the current paper is to analyze the migration terminology used by the Ghanaian populations from the 1950s to the present. The comparison is based on the analysis of “Jaguar”, a movie shot between Ghana, Togo and Niger in the 1950s by the French filmmaker Jean Rouch. The film gives us access to some of the clichés related to the myth of journey, still present in the contemporary migrations of many people who move from West Africa to Europe. It shows the persistence of migrant's identification terminology: some terms are transformed or added as a result of routes' modification. In some cases, the encounter with the languages of the arrival contexts generates cross-cultural terms with a specific meaning. By following the path that appellations like Jaguar, Zabrama, Burger etc. have gone through till now, it is possible to retrace the history of a migratory rhetoric that absorbs change into a long tradition in which traveling is the cause of subsistence and social prestige.

KEY WORDS

Language, history, migration, social identity, Ghana, Italy, cross-cultural words.

This paper analyzes the narrative of migratory experience in its linguistic articulation, starting from the identification of some *clichés* related to the travel in contemporary migrations from West Africa to Europe. The group of specific terms considered here is an access key to the Ghanaian migratory tradition and is the result of hybridization or loans arising from European language contexts. The analysis mainly focuses on the language that Ghanaian migrants who arrived in Italy (in the specific case, in Sardinia Island) use to refer to themselves as people who travel. The ongoing ethnographic analysis is carried out through structured and semi-structured interviews with some members of the Ghanaian community in Sardinia. The screenings of Jean Rouch “Les Maîtres Fous” (1955) and “Jaguar” (1957) are used to sum up the similarities and differences between the migration told in the movies and the new paths of contemporaneity. The main references of this analysis are Stoller's (1992) monograph, a historical contextualization of Jean Rouch's work, and Nieswand's (2014) investigation on the Ghanaian *diaspora* in Germany. Starting from the ideas offered in “Jaguar” feature movie and through the evidence gathered among the Ghanaian immigrants present in Sardinia, some appellations related to the migrant person are analyzed. Subsequently, there is a comparison

between the terms that can be found in the film's testimony, in the memories of the collaborators involved in the research and appellations of the latest journeys. Finally, the similarities of terms, of use and significance are shown (Yankey & Siaka, 2007), explaining the peculiarities emerging from the current language influenced by recent events related to the Central Mediterranean route and the passage through Libya. Most people involved are male, between the ages of 18 and 40. The main carrier language is English, sometimes Italian. The terms analyzed refer to Twi's linguistic context, used throughout Ghana as the main foreign language together with English, to communicate between populations of different ethnicities.

1. Jaguar

“Jaguar” is an 88-minute movie made by the filmmaker Jean Rouch in 1957. It can be defined as a shared experiment of ethno-fiction and cinema, where the author and his Nigerien collaborators decided to film their trip to Ghana, adding a later off-field comment on their images (Marano, 2007). It is a film about social transformations through the repetition of a *cliché*: young men travelling beyond the borders of their cultural experience, and consequently their return back home while acquiring a new social prestige. This is a movie extension of the investigations that Rouch began in the mid-1950s, focusing mainly on the economic activities of immigrant groups in the Gold and Ivory Coast.¹ These migrants were called *Zabrama* and were mainly Nigeriens converging in the major cities of Kumasi and Accra (the term refers to a Ghana Muslim community descended from the *Zabarima* group, Djerma populations, Songhai linguistic group, descendants in the nineteenth century in the northern regions of Country). The *Zabrama* was the latest wave of a seasonal migratory pattern that had existed since the first half of the nineteenth century.

According to the testimonies gathered in this first phase of the investigation, *Zabrama* continues to be the name given to migrants moving to Ghana from Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger. Some areas covered in Rouch's film, such as the *Salaga* market, are still the meeting sites of the respective immigrant communities, although the economic activities to which they are devoted have changed from the past. Nowadays *Zabrama* men in Ghana are generally street vendors of leather fabrics and accessories (e.g.: handbags, wallets, shoes etc), while women sell traditional herbs and medicines. The film is able to frame the most important dimensions of migration: choice and preparation of departure, travel experience, placement and work in the context of arrival and coming back home (Amselle, 1999; Avallone & Torre, 2013). The route, indeed, becomes a ritual of passage: made of adventure, it enriches every man who returns home when he has to witness and share his change (Stoller, 1992). When travelers have to tell their experience,

they usually idealize their adventures, hiding difficulties in order not to dissatisfy family and friends. In this way the history of the trip is strengthened, becoming the foundation of a still-current model over time. This is the circle of migratory history, according to a script that Rouch considers the same for centuries and which provides a model for replicating these experiences and building the specific identity of the migrant.²

2. Tycoon, burger

The “Jaguar” movie's vision evokes, in some of the people involved in research, the memory of a way of saying that is now decayed. According to some collaborators, the term was used in Ghana until the 1970s and was inspired by?³ Due to its innovative performance, that car became a symbol of modernity and was used as an appellative to talk about an immigrant person who carried on his business and could afford to become a reference point for other compatriots. In the off-field commentary of the film, one of the protagonists tries to explain what *jaguar* means, while observing himself: “*jaguar* is a gallant man who has his head always engaged (...) that is marching, which is being watched by everyone, who makes a beautiful life, who smokes cigarettes” (translated from French by the author). *Jaguar* is, therefore, a brand-new important person who can flaunt his change, following a model and lifestyle that is affected by colonial influence and Hollywood cinema. From the collected evidence, it would appear that today something similar to *jaguar* remains in the use of the term *tycoon* (pronounce “taiku:n”) indicating a person resident abroad for a long time owning a business.

In general, the English term *tycoon* is used in Ghana to talk about a person in charge of something (an economic activity, a family, an area, a neighbourhood etc.) that can arouse a lot of respect and intercession for someone under his wing. The adjective or the term that sometimes precedes it helps to clarify the area on which this person exercises control, such as “family Tycoon” or “Italian Tycoon”. Comparing *tycoon* and *jaguar*, the origin of the two appellations dates back to foreign language loans (English), keeping an area of similar meaning. Among the testimonies gathered in this regard that have a particular value is that of Kofi, a Ghanaian cultural mediator who has been living in Sardinia for about 10 years.⁴ Kofi works as an interpreter, as a tour guide and is ultimately the chairman of an association that groups the Ghanaian immigrant community in Sardinia. In light of its migratory history, Kofi is nominated and recognized as *tycoon* by the resident community on the island. He himself states:

Tycoon is like a boss, he says, “tycoon business” or ... like ... one at the top, a boss ... as I'm here a lot, let's say, I have the chance that not everyone else has, they've just come, for that I am tycoon (Interview, Kofi S., of 06/08/2015, Cagliari, original Italian).

Zack, one of the members of the association, with a completely different migration path than Kofi's (arrived in Sardinia in 2015 as an asylum seeker after crossing the Sahara desert, having lived in Libya for several months and embarked to flee to Italy) speaks of the *tycoon* with these words: "Someone who invests his money, who is not dependent on others. A father is the head of a family, a family *tycoon*. Kofi is a *tycoon*, working alone, he is the head of the family, the president of the association" (Interview, Zack T., 05/06/2017, Cagliari, original English).

"But if *tycoon* comes home, then he becomes a *burger*" (pronounced "bɜːgə"). These words of Zack introduce another very important term in the narrative of the migratory experience among the Ghanaians. The term *burger* began to circulate in the 1980s among the protagonists of a new migration to Europe, especially in Germany (Nieswand, 2009). The origin of the term is not clear at all but, according to some Ghanaians, it seems to have a geographic root: most of the Ghanaian expatriates travelled to Hamburg, in Germany, where a large immigrant community has long been established. When these people returned home, they were often welcomed warmly and called "those in Hamburg." The pronunciation of the city in English is "hamˌbɜːrg" and hamburgers become "hæmbɜːgɜːz". In the common language, the term was broken, with the elimination of the initial morpheme that facilitated the diffusion and generalization of the use. The turnaround that the expansion of the migratory route has represented since those years has made the appellation a "social class" that begins to designate all those who have departed in Europe or North America to work (Nieswand, 2014). In this regard it is interesting to note that in German the term "burger" is used to indicate a citizen or middle-class city man. As in the use of the appellation *tycoon*, one can be *Italian burger*, *American burger*, *Canadian burger*, etc; for an in-depth explanation of the operation of semantic loans and language calques among the Anglo-African peoples of Ghana see the work of Yankey and Siaka (2007). However, getting to another continent is not enough to earn the *burger* appearance. Only once back home and after re-establishing relationships with the family and the social network, the role changes with the acquisition of the title *burger*.

The behaviours of a *burger* are however despised by Kofi:

Usually, most *burgers* make it clear to everyone that they did, which was successful even when it was not. They show this aspect of well-being ... for example, when one back tries to always dress brilliantly, always with new stuff, tries to buy beer for everyone, so far it costs a little because with 10 euro he can buy so many in Ghana, try to show the difference between those who live there and him (Interview, Kofi S., 06/08/2015, Cagliari, original Italian).

By making clear the social change of migration outcome with their behavior, the *burgers* make themselves recognizable and people change regard towards them. The system of social expectations built around migration is fuelled by the return phase, when the *burger* status

assigned by the community to the migrant is strengthened. However, he must show a series of attitudes to prove the outcome of the experience, among which the most important ones are the ostentation of wealth and the display of new body attitude, vehicles of the foreign cultural element that the *burger* acquired through his stay abroad. They are usually dressed in a flashy way, with luxury cars, jewelry, and accessories, traceable in many music videos by some singers who have managed to succeed in Ghana after becoming a *burger*. According to Zack, the aspect of money power becomes more explicit when they return home:

If you are a *burger* you can do many things, nice and ugly. So you can take advantage of why people respect you. You can conquer another's wife with the money and with the promise to bring her to Europe. If you are a bad person you can do many things (Interview, Zack T., 05/31/2017, Cagliari, original English).

The same term is also used in reference to the Ghanaian female migration, numerically lower than male's one but currently increasing.⁵

In line with Boris Nieswand's studies on *burgers* resident in Germany, public visibility and secrets coexist in their status (Nieswand, 2014). The definition of *burger*, in fact, brings with it some measure of ambiguity: often it describes people with a basic school level who, having no chance at home, decide to leave. The reasons for the migration are various, but there is always the awareness that the economic gap between the North and South of the world can be translated into an advantage for those who wish to increase their standard of living or to help economically their family conditions. The activities undertaken may also be barely legal or poorly qualified, but enough for a community economic redistribution, the figure of silence that even the *burger's* social network maintains (family, friends, acquaintances). Admitting the difficulties encountered on the journey to Europe can thus be interpreted as a personal failure by destroying the social recognition of the *burger* at home. This element emerges in the same way in the testimonies collected in Sardinia. According to Zack:

People in Ghana do not believe this is true because in the past many have left and have built large houses and brought family money. Old burgers migrations were different; it was easier to make money in Europe. It is no longer so easy now. Find yourself to eat, drink and sleep, but work is difficult. It is not easy for them to understand that things have changed; having a burger at home is important and useful. Better silence (Interview, Zack T., 05/31/2017, Cagliari, original English).

Kofi justifies his poor consideration of *burgers* for these reasons:

Let's say yes, in the 70's and 80's certainly any *burger* that came back had something, had some success, because in those days there was work, there was everything. They did not lie, they had money, they built homes ... but now it's all fake, even those who do not work here in Europe when they come home say they work in a supermarket, in the office or in the taxi driver even if that's not true. Twenty, thirty years ago, *burger* was a respectful title, but now a little less ... before you did not have to look for it, you were already when you came home and people called you that way. Now everyone is trying to be *burger* (Interview, Kofi S., 08/06/2015, Cagliari, original Italian).⁶

The historical passage to which Zack and Kofi relate would seem to shape a change regarding

the social consideration of the *burger*, which is affected by alterations related to the socio-economic context of the arrival sites. Until the 1990s prestige was secured, even the lies constructed so as not to dissatisfy the audience when they came back from the trip were still supported by a migratory route that, as a rule, was quite satisfactory (though tiring). At present, there are people who risk their life to cross the desert and the sea, passing into places not always hospitable, where sometimes it is very difficult to find livelihood. Ghana is still a destination for migration to West Africa today but has now become a country from which thousands of people emigrate each year. The situation that a migrant finds once arrived in Italy, a forced stage of their journey to Europe, or specifically in regions of the South like Sardinia, is a condition of general economic recession, with a high unemployment rate and a great difficulty in insertion working for the migrant, which often comes with other expectations.⁷

3. Bonsu, lampa

In relation to these latter aspects, there is a term that presents, linguistically, a similar dynamic to that of *jaguar*, that is, *bonsu*. "*Bonsu* is a big animal in the sea, it's a sad word for us" says Zack when he was trying to explain the meaning and use of this term (Interview, Zack T., 05/06/2017, Cagliari, original English). It is an Ashanti word, in the Twi language, that generally indicates large-scale marine animals, such as whales, sharks or dolphins. However, this word has become a specific appellation to indicate a person who has passed the sea and has managed to get to Europe. The 2011 Libyan crisis, with the fall of the regime and the civil war, forced thousands of refugees to leave the country running through the sea. Libya continues to be a difficult border to control and manage, where human trafficking and political instability allows the continuous influx of people from the desert. The human corridor leading to the sea is regularly crossed by thousands of migrants who want to reach Europe. Evidence indicates that only in 2016 some 5,098 people died in the Mediterranean Sea, many of whom were trying to reach the Italian coast. Nearly 20% of recorded deaths can be attributed to migrants from the sub-Saharan area.⁸ The traumatic experience that occurs in the Central Mediterranean route has over the years been so much in the imagination of Ghanaian migrants to translate the word *bonsu* into a metaphorical field, where a person who survives the sea seems to cross it "like a fish". Zack, for example, is called *bonsu* for this reason. But if Ghanaian people say that a person "has turned into *bonsu*", it means that someone unfortunately died on the sea trip. It is believed that their body will be eaten by a *bonsu* and, in this way, they become one of them. Talking about the deceased person using the term *bonsu* allows people to keep confidentiality because only travellers that know Twi can understand

the reference to death at sea; moreover, the term alludes to death by not naming it (Losi, 2000). Finally, *lampa* is another name derived from the reduction of the Italian toponym Lampedusa. It has a similar dynamic to that of *burger*, but it comes under different contexts. In Libya, when African migrants are waiting for favorable conditions for boarding, if you want to talk about the project to reach Italy, you have to argue by hiding the argument, so that the Libyan police cannot understand. Immigrants generally experience a climate of tension and inhumanity about their stay in Libya, and talk above all about the need to hide, even simply by speaking about their plans in public. Therefore, it is necessary to find terms that cannot be understood by everyone. Just saying that “there are people who want to leave” means, alluding to the wish to leave Libya for Italy. Lampedusa is the closest destination from the Libyan coasts and those who go to sea in the Canal of Sicily usually point to that island, hoping for the arrival of the rescue. Once in Europe, to introduce someone with a phrase like “this guy is a *lampa*” means that he managed to land in Lampedusa. It is not an exclusive word of the Ghanaians, unlike *bonsu*; *lampa* is an appellation that, according to testimonies collected so far, anyone who has gone to Libya before taking the sea can understand.

4. Conclusions

Among the words analyzed with reference to the Ghanaian migration, two main dynamics can be identified. In the first case, the formation of appellatives occurs through the caesura of part of the original terms and the generalization of the result, as in the case of *burgers* (Hamburg, hamburgers, *burgers*) and *lampa* (Lampedusa, *lampa*). In the second case, appellations can arise from semantic loans, drawing from different categories and proceeding similarly, as for *jaguar* and *bonsu* terms.

Finally, the use of *tycoon* presents the characteristics of the semantic loan as studied by Yankey and Siaka (2007). This English term, in fact, refers to a person of great success and power, especially in the economic field. Its use among Ghanaian migrants is extended to all those people with a long migratory history who, only because they have acquired foreign experience and have self-employment, automatically become *tycoons* for other fellow countrymen. Although the focus of this investigation is mainly in the history of the terminology used by the Ghanaian migrants, we can see the common *clichés* that connect the context studied by Jean Rouch in the past with the new migratory flows towards Europe.

This is certainly a different migration not only geographically but also socioeconomically, made possible by the opportunities offered by the globalization of markets, communications and information. In the last decade of the twentieth century, considerable accumulation of

money and a social rise directly proportional to the "economic value" of the reception context, facilitate the opportunity to move out from Africa.

The international migration of early *burgers* and the more recent ones, however, seem to be built by translating the oldest model of migration into the West African area. The rhetoric built around the narrative of travel experience, and the change that it represents, resembles the "Jaguar" movie and the testimonies of *tycoon* and *burger*. But the changing terms, like the emerging *bonsu*, emphasize the emergence of the difficulties encountered along their routes in the last decade. Even languages used only among young emigrants, and unknown in the communities of origin, point to the growing need to address those aspects of the most complex migration and which may be a personal failure, if expressed.

Summarizing, it is possible to evoke the value of social prestige that the migration experience retains, through the active contribution of those who continue to travel and the circuits of respect and approval that the communities of origin reserve. With his performativity the migrant shows, demonstrates and repeats the social prestige achieved through the journey, building specific social identities and roles. The pattern that begins to trace has a strong economic root, where the redistribution of goods that accompanies the return process is, recursively, effect and cause at the same time.

In view of these first results, a trans-historic cultural pattern appears to emerge. Some communities in Ghana have built a learning environment over time: they have regenerated contexts for acquiring behaviours or practices geared to specific migration paths such as livelihood and growth strategies. A pattern that can survive and adapt to the historical changes that these communities in relation to the world have to face from time to time (Lave & Wenger, 2006).

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Les Maitres Fous, Jean Rouch, Les Films de la Pléiade, France, 1955 (36 min).

Jaguar, Jean Rouch, Les Films de la Pléiade, France, 1957 (93 min).

Notes

1. Jean Rouch estimated that in the mid-1950s, referring only to West Africa, around 400,000 seasonal workers had migrated each year, moving from the edge of the Sahara desert to the coastal cities of Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Togo.
2. For a more in-depth study of Jean Rouch's investigations at that time, one can refer to his two main essays on *Migrations au Ghana* (Gold Coast): *Enquete 1953-1955* (1956) and *Problèmes relatifs à l'étude des migrations traditionnelles et des migrations actuelles en Afrique occidentale* (1960).
3. Interview with Kofi on 06/08/2015.
4. The names that follow and refer to the collaborators involved in the research work have been changed for privacy reasons.
5. On 01/01/2016, a total of Ghanaian presence in Italy of 48,637, women were about 18,887 –retrieved from: <http://www.tuttitalia.it/statistiche/cittadini-stranieri/ghana/> [14/04/2017]. In this article I refer only to male migration. For an explanation of the effects of migration on women, both on those who stay at home and on those who decide to leave, a specific detailed study is necessary.
6. The early Burgers migration and the current one, especially as a result of the 2012 Libyan crisis, certainly have considerable differences. In numerical terms, people who move from Ghana to Europe have increased; it is enough to think that in 2007 only 40,000 people of Ghanaian origin lived in Germany and in the last two years asylum flows and humanitarian reasons in Italy have taken on dimensions never reached in the last nine years, from 9,971 in 2007 to 67,271. According to estimates by UNHCR in 2016, approximately 362,753 people traveled to Europe. The African route we are referring to has changed, they are no longer moving by plane, but doing a long and very dangerous journey through the desert of

Sahara, Libya and the Mediterranean Sea. The economic situation in Europe today presents a different picture from the 1980s and 90s and the policies for reception and management of flows allow less freedom of movement and gains because they tend to cope with the humanitarian emergency at the disadvantage of permits of economic residence. Retrieved from: <https://www.unhcr.it/> [07/05/2017].

7. The proportion of non-employed people in the island is around 17.3%, ranking sixth in the ranking of the areas with the highest youth unemployment rate across Europe (56.3%). Labor absorption, in the face of a high demand, is not enough to ensure fair access to work for locals and foreigners. <https://ugeo.urbistat.com/AdminStat/it/it/classifiche/tasso-disoccupazione/province/sardegna/20/2> [07/05/2017].
8. Retrieved from: <http://missingmigrants.iom.int/mediterranean> [07/05/2017].

Diminutives in the Style of Science

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ABSTRACT

In this paper a corpus analysis is discussed. Forms of diminution are followed based on the preponderantly synchronic level, but the diachronic level is also taken into consideration in some cases. Which specific way of modification is represented by the diminutives and which language means are used to express diminution. The Digital Vocabulary of the German Language has been used for this analysis as well.

KEY WORDS

Diminutives, style of science, specialist language, corpus, specialis texts.

1. Introduction

This contribution focuses on diminution in the Style of Science in the German language. It is not a contrastive study as basic corpus specialist texts from botany were chosen and the diminution was followed from a morphologic and syntactic perspective. Several definitions of diminutives were presented and the construction of diminutives explained and the chosen corpus was analysed. Different linguists deal with this topic in their grammar books (Fleischer, Elsen & Scheidweiler, 1984/1985; Klimaszewska, 1983; Würstle, 1992; Koecke, 1994; Nekula, 2004; Dokulil, 1982; Šícha, 1978) but mostly on a contrastive basis.

The research questions are: how are diminutives in specialist texts style constructed? What frequency do they have in specialist texts? Which semantic meaning do they possess? Is correct and a fact that in the style of science and in specialist texts the occurrence of diminutives is rare?

The existence of diminutives in different stages of language development and the connected development of significance and function show that diminutives expressed smallness and later on emotional relations as well.

1. 2. The Basis of Diminution

There are several definitions of *Diminution*. In the German dictionary, Wahrig, the definition is explained in the following way:

Verkleinerung; Verminderung, lat. deminutio “Verringerung, Verminderung” (Wahrig, 2000: 353).

Ein Diminutiv ist die Verkleinerungsform eines Substantivs. In the German language the diminutive is built with the help of the suffixes -chen or -lein (Wahrig, 2010: 48).

In the Duden further definitions are found:

Diminutiv, (auch) *Deminutiv*, das; -s, e (Sprachw.): eine Verkleinerung eines Substantivs ausdrückende Ableitung; Verkleinerungsform, (z.B. *Öfchen, Gärtlein*). **Diminutivum**, das; -s ...va / lat. *diminutivum*/ (Sprachw.): Diminutiv (Duden, *Deutsches Universalwörterbuch 2007:404*). Der lateinische Terminus bedeutet auch deutsch “Wort mit Verkleinerungsbedeutung” (*Kleines Wörterbuch sprachwissenschaftlicher Termini 1975:65*).

In German the constructions with *-chen* und *-lein* usually indicate the small size of an object. This size does not correspond to the anticipated norm. This means that it differs from a certain standardized conception: *Hand – Händchen, Baum – Bäumchen, Lampe – Lämpchen*, etc. (compare Fleischer 1983: 178). At the same time, it can connect with such forms, which in relation to small children, familiar and trusted people can link the sensation that this subject evokes something loved, tender or evokes such a feeling in the speaker or writer. To limit the function of diminutives to an expression of smallness only is, therefore, inappropriate.

2. Analysis of the Material

In the framework of the Style of Science, diminutives from the Textbook of Botany for Higher Education Institutions and the Hand of the Teacher¹ (Schmeil, 1911) and the University Textbook of Botany by Strassburger (2012) were researched. All the examples from the examined corpus were divided into diminutives, built or constructed from simple nouns, und compound nouns, where the first constituent is built with a diminutive suffix and compound nouns and the second constituent is built with a diminutive suffix. These are called constructed substantive bases or compounds. Then there is the analytic (syntactic) diminution and double diminution with emotional component (synthetic und analytic).

2. 1. Diminutives as an Expression of Smallness

Diminutives which are preponderantly built from simple nouns are called *simplizia*. These are words, which contain only one morphem (compare: Elsen, 2014: 300). In the corpus, we can find *Fädchen, Härchen* built from the root word *Faden, Haar + chen*, where the root word with a, oder u always contain an umlaut. With the double vowel *-l Haar-* there is only one

umlaut written, with the unstressed *-en* the *-en* before the suffix *-chen* diminishes – *Faden - Fädchen* (Fleischer, 2012: 232).

Jeder von ihnen besteht aus einem kugeligen Fruchtknoten und jener 2 purpurroten Fädchen, in denen wir also die Narben vor uns haben (Schmeil, 1911: 3).²

Gelangen sie nämlich auf feuchten Untergrund, verkleben die Härchen mit ihm, so daß die bald eintretende Keimung sicher erfolgen kann (Schmeil, 1911: 21).

2. 2. Compounds with the First Constituent Diminutive Suffix

Compounds with the first constituent diminutive suffix are called constructed substantive bases or compounds. Wilmanns (1889: 514) holds that the occurrence of the first constituents with a diminutive suffix is not common which is not true today (compare Henzen, 1965: 48). There are many examples in specialist texts –demotivated diminutives like *Mädchenschule*, *Kaninchenfell* and termini like *Teilchenstrahlung...*– (Fleischer & Barz, 2012: 136). The following examples are terms in biology from the corpus:

Unter jeder dieser Kätzchenschuppen finden sich zwei Blättchen und unter diesen Staubblättern... (Schmeil, 1911: 1).

Kurz vor Beginn des Stäubens streckt sich die Kätzchenachse stark in die Länge und das anfänglich starre Kätzchen biegsam wird (Schmeil, 1911: 2).

Die hängende, dunkelviolette Blüte gleicht einem Glöckchen, worauf auch ihr Name hindeutet (statt Kühchenschellen wird die Pflanze aber irrtümlich Kühchenschelle genannt! (Schmeil, 1911: 56).

Der Begriff Kühchen ist in der Fachsprache nicht geläufig, der Recherche nach findet man diesen Ausdruck bei Adelung und Campe (1871): “kleine kuh Adelung, Campe, 'nur in den niedrigen sprecharten üblich' (s. kühlein), d. h. in md. mundarten, wo die form aber küwichen ist in alter form, oder kübchen, kībchen (kübechen Adelung)”.³

Aus dem Possessivkompositum Rotkehlchen wurde der Name der Speise gebildet. Die breiige Hülle des Samens, der Samenmantel, ist für das Rotkehlchen eine beliebte Speise “Rotkehlchenbrot” (Schmeil, 1911: 120).

2. 3. Compounds with the Second Constituent Diminutive Suffix

Compounds with the second constituent diminutive suffix example:

Die Nebenwurzel, die Gelbfeige, der Schaumklumpen, die Weintraube, der Himmelschlüssel. (Schmeil, 1911: 51).

In den Achseln der Hüllblätter entstehen schon sehr zeitig zahlreiche Knospen brechen aus den kurzen Stengeln anderer Nebenwürzelchen hervor... (Schmeil, 1911: 51).

Die Schaumklümpchen, die man vielfach am Stengel findet... (Schmeil, 1911: 144).

Daher wird sie auch treffend Schlüsselblume oder Himmelschlüsselchen genannt. Primel heißt sie, Weil sie ein Erstling unter den Blumen ist. (Schmeil, 1911: 180).

2. 4. Analytic (Syntactic) Diminution

Analytic diminution is a competitive construction. Attributes like *klein*, *winzig*, *jung*, *zierlich*, *kurz*, *minimal*, *gering* etc. are used. *Die Wortbildungsmittel der Diminution lassen sich grob als Stellvertretung für ein Attribut aus dem Umkreis des Adjektivs klein beschreiben [...], also je nach Basissubstantiv und Sprechereinstellung zart (Stimmchen), kurz (Röckchen), winzig (Stäubchen), niedlich (Kätzchen), fein (Härchen), knapp (Stündchen) o. ä.* (Würstle, 1992: 61). Instead of *klein* there can be used other adjectives as well as can be seen from the corpus. The syntactic diminutive forms are used as attribute mostly if there is only smallness without any emotion expressed. In the example *winzig* is added so that the expression contains an emotional component.

Denn es sind *winzig kleine*, plattgedrückte Gebilde (Schmeil, 1911: 8).

In den Achseln der Hüllblätter entstehen schon sehr zeitig zahlreiche Knospen brechen aus den *kurzen* Stengeln anderer Nebenwurzeln hervor... (Schmeil, 1911: 51).

There is a semantic closeness to diminutives of compounds with *klein-*, *Klein-/Kleinst-*, *Kurz-*, *Zwerg-* (compare Fleischer, 2012: 158). Examples of compounds from the corpus: *kleinblättrige Gewächse* (Schmeil, 1911: 210), *zahlreiche Kleinsporenkapseln* (Schmeil 1911: 219) und weiter z. B. *Zwergastern*, *Zwergbohnen*, *Zwergkiefer*, *Zwergpalme*, *Zwergschwertlilie*.

2. 4. 1. Double Diminution with Emotional Component

Double Diminution with Emotional Component is really rare, preponderantly the suffixes *-el* and *-chen* are used. In the following examples, there is synthetic and analytic diminution. Smallness is stressed together with an emotional component. In the following examples, there is double diminution with attribution with *zierlich* and the suffix *-lein* and the attribution with *klein* and the suffix *-chen*, both with emotional component.

Das Volk hat dem *zierlichen Pflänzlein* den Spotnamen "Männertreu" beigelegt (Schmeil, 1911: 211).

Ein *kleines Ährchen* des Roggens und sein Grundriß... (Schmeil, 1911: 268).

2. 4. 2. The Meaning of Diminutives from the Botany Textbook

For further research of the semantic meaning of diminutives the "Digital Vocabulary of the German Language" -*Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (DWDS)- was used. It is a project of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences (BBAW) and provides information about German vocabulary and enables to research five vocabulary resources, in which there

are more than 410.000 lexicographically verified entries stored. There are altogether 1.8 billion entries from 15 corpora to research, statistics show wordprofiles.⁴

All diminutives from the corpus were alphabetically listed and entered into the online Digital Vocabulary. So they appeared as Keyword in Context (KWIC). This research is very comprehensive. Not all diminutives are included or listed in the Digital Vocabulary, mostly terms are not shown: *Avenakeimling*, *Baumwollfäserchen*, *Fibrovasalbündel*, *Gallertstielchen*, *Gefäßbündel*, *Geißelbüschel*, *Geschlechtspflänzchen*, *Grenzhäutchen*, *Haftscheibchen*, *Kalkschüppchen*, *Karpelle*, *Keimstengelchen*, *Kleinkörner*, *Klemmkörperchen*, *Kohlrabiköpfchen*, *Köpfchenachse*, *Köpfchenhaare*, *Köpfchenzellen*, *Körnchenreihe*, *Kurzstäbchen*, *Leguminosenknöllchen*, *Mikrosporanen*, *Mikrosporokarp*, *Moosstämmchen*, *Planktoniella*, *Primansprößchen*, *Randbündel*, *Spermienbündel*, *Sporenkeimling*, *Steinfrüchtchen*.

Many diminutives have different meanings as the following examples show. *Bäumchen* denotes primarily a small tree. Examples in the corpus are *Rosenbäumchen*, which means a small tree of roses, rosebush, but also bronchial tubes (in the morphology of animals). In the German Text Archive (*Deutsches Textarchiv*), there are several examples mostly from specialist textbooks.

Bläschen in the Digital Vocabulary of the German Language there is *BLÄSCHEN*, *n. bullula, pustula, vesicula: ein bläschen im wasser, auf der zunge, auf der haut; kleines bläschen im fisch. mit kurzem ä, bläschen fulica, bläshuhn*. In the corpus *Kernkorpus* there is the meaning of smallness.

Deas Enzym ist Phenyl-N-Methyl-Transferase (PNMT). Die katalytischen Schritte finden entweder im Zytoplasma statt oder sind mit den synaptischen Bläschen assoziiert (Vegetatives Nervensystem bei Vertebraten und Invertebraten, Neurowissenschaft).

In the German Textarchive there are 1031 matches and the denotation for *Bläschen* is Graafian follicles (*Graafsche Folikel* or *Graafsche Bläschen*).

In the Textarchive there are two meanings for the German term *Bläschen*, one is the Latin expression *Vesiculum* and *Ampulle* which is used especially as in star fish as a term from zoology (*DWB (1854-1961) bündel Fundstelle: Lfg. 3 (1855), Bd. II (1860), Sp. 518, Z. 42*).

Däumling, a fairy tale figure, part of a glove: *Dieser Schutz wird von einem besonderen Organe aus parenchymatischen Dauerzeller, der Wurzelhaube oder Kalyptra, übernommen, die die Spitze der Wurzel wie ein Däumling den Finger umhüllt* (Schmeil, 1911: 113).

This is a parallel connection. There are even more meanings, where the young generation using smartphones all the time is called *Däumlinge*. *Däumling* is a family name as well. As an example: *Professor Däumling from the Institute in Bonn*.

Fädchen (a small thread) is the German term for the Latin *Mikrotubuli*. In the following example there are both variants: *Fädchen* and *Mikrotubuli*.

Zehn Jahre später konnten Forscher des Albert-Einstein-Kollegs für Medizin in New York klären, wie Taxol die Zellen angreift: Die Substanz verändert deren inneres "Skelet"; es besteht unter anderem aus einem veränderlichen Gerüst röhrenförmiger Fädchen, den Mikrotubuli, deren Wände aus Proteinbausteinen – dem "Tubulin" – aufgebaut sind. Taxol bewirkt, daß alle in der Zelle vorhandenen Bausteine zu Mikrotubuli zusammengesetzt werden.

Fetttröpfchen denote or mean small drops of grease; they express smallness. *Fetttröpfchen* are also denoted with the Latin term *Oleosomen* and this term is used in botany as well:

Auch das Fruchtfleisch der Olive ist fettreich. Die auch als Oleosomen bezeichneten Fetttröpfchen sind offenbar von einer einfachen Lipidschicht umgeben, deren hydrophile Seite außen liegt. Bei der Mobilisierung werden die Fette zunächst durch Lipasen an der Innenseite der Hülle in Fettsäuren und Glycerin gespalten, deren weitere Verarbeitung beschrieben ist (Nultsch, Wilhelm, Allgemeine Botanik, Stuttgart: Thieme, 1986).

Fetttröpfchen are also denoted as liposomes:

Nicht die Herstellung der Gene im Reagenzglas ist das Problem, sondern ihre Zuführung. So sollen winzige Fetttröpfchen (Liposome), die mit einem Spray in die Lunge gepustet werden, die Arbeit leisten. Auch mit einem harmlosen Stamm des Adenovirus versuchen amerikanische Wissenschaftler, kopierte Gene in die Lungenbläschen zu bringen (Die Zeit, 13.05.1994).

There is also the figurative meaning *Fetttröpfchen* as high social costs in economy:

Nur als ein Aktionär (Prof. Lützens) das Wort prägte: Bei den HEW schöpft der Staat durch Dividende und Konzessionsabgabe den Rahm ab, der Belegschaft stehen die Fetttröpfchen (sprich hohe Sozialaufwendungen) zu, für die Aktionäre bleibt die Magermilch! – da fühlte sich Max Bauer verpflichtet, die Verteidigung zu übernehmen (Die Zeit, 25.12.1998).

From the discussed examples, it is evident that, in these specialist textbooks, diminutive forms are often used, and they are used together with corresponding Latin termini as well.

3. Conclusion

Diminutives in specialist language are in comparison to the "current" or "real" diminutive forms words, which are built by diminutive suffixes, but there are more or less independent words with an expressive and emotional neutral meaning. There are numerous diminutive constructions which in biology describe preponderantly very small and finely structured objects. They can be described as diminutives but according to their character they are close to units which originated in the process of lexicalization. They present new lexical units independent from the motivated words, which were built by diminutive suffixes. With these diminutives, the signalled smallness is a characteristic objective of the denotation.

In biology, especially botany, there are numerous diminutive constructions which describe preponderantly very small and finely structured objects. Nevertheless, diminutives are often

used, and they are used together with corresponding Latin terms. We can state that there is a high frequency of diminutives in these texts and the diminutives used have a wider semantic meaning. When comparing textbooks, we can see tendencies of analytic (syntactic) diminution being used in contemporary textbooks.

Almost every plant name in the German language has a diminutive equivalent. These diminutives in the style of science, in specialist style can be divided into “lexicalised diminutives” and in “diminutives expressing smallness”. There is even double diminution, diminutives which express tenderness and emotion.

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El “must” del “new look”: un estudio cualitativo de los anglicismos en las revistas de moda españolas

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RESUMEN

El fenómeno lingüístico, derivado del contacto de lenguas, de los anglicismos y préstamos del inglés se ejemplifica de forma paradigmática en las revistas de moda dirigidas a un público eminentemente femenino, donde su número se ha incrementado exponencialmente en los últimos años. Este trabajo se propone realizar un estudio cualitativo para comprobar el grado de aceptabilidad de algunos de los anglicismos encontrados en las revistas de moda *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour* y *S Moda* del año 2017. Para ello se ha realizado una selección léxica en base a su frecuencia y a criterios gráficos, fónicos, gramaticales y léxicos. Posteriormente, se ha elaborado una encuesta a personas seleccionadas en función de las variables de sexo, edad, nivel de instrucción en inglés y consumo de revistas de moda. El objetivo del presente trabajo es ayudar a situar los anglicismos y préstamos en este sector tan delimitado, como parte de un proceso más amplio de cambio lingüístico en situación de contacto de lenguas.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Anglicismos, préstamos, revistas de moda, asimilación y uso.

ABSTRACT

The linguistic phenomenon derived from the contact of languages, English Anglicisms and borrowings is exemplified in a fashionable way in fashion magazines aimed at an eminently feminine public, where their number has increased exponentially in recent years. This work intends to carry out a qualitative study to verify the degree of acceptability of some of the Anglicisms found in fashion magazines *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour* and *S Moda* of the year 2017. For this a selection has been made lexical based on its frequency and criteria graphics, phonics, grammar and lexicon. Subsequently, a survey was carried out on people selected based on the variables of gender, age, level of education in English and consumption of fashion magazines. The aim of this paper is to help locate Anglicisms and loans in this very limited area, as part of a broader process of linguistic change in situation of language contact.

KEYWORDS

Anglicisms, loans, fashion magazines, assimilation and use.

1. Introducción

El fenómeno lingüístico, derivado del contacto de lenguas, de los anglicismos y préstamos del inglés se ejemplifica de forma paradigmática en las revistas de moda dirigidas a un público eminentemente femenino, donde su número se ha incrementado exponencialmente en los últimos años. El trabajo sobre el que se basa esta comunicación es un estudio cualitativo para comprobar el grado de aceptabilidad de algunos de los anglicismos encontrados en las revistas de moda *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour* y *S Moda* del mes de marzo del 2017. Para ello se realizó

una selección léxica de anglicismos en base a su frecuencia y a criterios gráficos, fónicos, gramaticales y léxicos. Posteriormente, se elaboró una encuesta a 38 personas seleccionadas en función de las variables de sexo, edad, nivel de instrucción en inglés y consumo de revistas de moda. El objetivo del trabajo es ayudar a situar los anglicismos y préstamos en este sector tan delimitado, como parte de un proceso más amplio de cambio lingüístico en situación de contacto de lenguas.

Del natural contacto entre sociedades —y por ende del de sus respectivas lenguas— se desprende el fenómeno lingüístico de transferencia denominado *préstamo*, entendido como el proceso de importación de voces de otras lenguas por parte de una lengua receptora. Asimismo, el término préstamo define no solo el proceso sino la voz o término recibido, que se integra con mayor o menor adaptación (ortográfica, morfológica, sintáctica, léxica, semántica o pragmática), grado denotativo o connotativo de nuevas realidades — es decir, su dimensión lingüística— y aceptación por parte de sus hablantes —en este caso nos referimos a su dimensión social—. ¹

Históricamente, la lengua española ha experimentado momentos relevantes, desde el punto de vista lingüístico, que han supuesto la inclusión de abundantes préstamos léxicos en su sistema. Los arabismos (s. VIII-XV), los indigenismos americanos (s. XVI-XVII) y los galicismos (desde la Edad Media, aunque más intensamente durante el s. XVIII y buena parte del s. XIX) —por mencionar los más importantes— han dejado paso a los anglicismos (desde finales del s. XIX hasta la actualidad) que predominan debido a la preeminencia del inglés como lengua universal en los ámbitos científico-tecnológico y económico. Durante y tras la segunda guerra mundial, la presencia militar norteamericana y su influencia socioeconómica se hizo patente en gran parte de los países europeos, excepto en España. Nuestro país, debido a su reciente guerra civil, quedó a un lado y su americanización se produjo con posterioridad y de manera distinta a la del resto de integrantes de la comunidad europea. La apertura progresiva al comercio internacional durante la segunda mitad del s. XX favoreció la transformación de la sociedad española en una sociedad de consumo.

Este hecho, junto con el incremento en la movilidad personal y profesional entre países, la mayor facilidad de acceso a los medios de comunicación y a la educación, así como la imitación del estilo de vida norteamericano, ha propiciado que el inglés sea la lengua que actualmente penetra más profunda y extensamente en nuestra lengua.

La integración social de un préstamo se evalúa sincrónicamente por su frecuencia y difusión en el habla de la comunidad y diacrónicamente por la fase del proceso de préstamos en el que se encuentra. En el caso de las terminologías técnicas que necesitan una mayor precisión

semántica, el empleo de préstamos se acepta con más facilidad por parte de los hablantes, lo que favorece su integración en la lengua.

El mundo de la moda es uno de los ámbitos que mayor influencia experimenta por parte de la lengua inglesa. El español ha integrado varios de los préstamos ingleses relacionados con la moda, previo paso por la lengua francesa (ej. *glamur*. Del fr. *glamour*, y este del ingl. *glamour*). A ello ha contribuido el incremento, tanto en el número de publicaciones como en su rotativa, que ha experimentado la industria de la prensa española, más concretamente las revistas de alta gama femeninas.² Estas publicaciones sirven de medio de difusión de los anglicismos empleados en el mundo de la moda entre su público objetivo, la población femenina de entre 18 y 50 años. Debido a esto, las revistas de moda se convierten en un medio más para investigar el grado de aceptación de varios de los anglicismos que utilizan los hablantes españoles.

2. Objetivo

Partiendo de estudios previos, como el de la doctora de la Universidad Católica de Valencia, María Estornell Pons, titulado *Préstamos de inglés en revistas femeninas: entre la necesidad denominativa y la estrategia pragmática*, o el de los doctores Francisco y María Victoria Gimeno Menéndez de la Universidad de Alicante, titulado *El desplazamiento lingüístico del español por el inglés*, el presente trabajo tiene por objeto específico analizar, a pequeña escala y de manera sincrónica, la integración lingüística en la lengua española de varios de los préstamos ingleses localizados en tres revistas femeninas de moda; con la finalidad de intuir si existe, o no, riesgo de desplazamiento de una lengua sobre otra.

3. Análisis de objeto de estudio / metodología

La metodología empleada en este trabajo se basa en el proceso inductivo consistente en la acumulación de ejemplos de los que, posteriormente, se infiere una conclusión final que afirma o niega las hipótesis iniciales.

La muestra elegida se conformó con los ejemplares del mes de marzo de 2017 de las revistas *Glamour*, *Cosmopolitan* y *S Moda*.³ Los requisitos que se establecieron para la selección de la muestra fueron, por un lado la pertenencia o no a un medio de comunicación nacional —caso de *S Moda*, revista que se vende un sábado al mes junto con el periódico de tirada nacional *El País*— y por otro, los datos de venta obtenidos en el último informe realizado por el organismo oficial OJD (Oficina de Justificación de la Difusión), quien se encarga del control de la tirada y difusión de diarios y revistas impresas en España —caso de *Glamour*, con un

promedio de tirada mensual de 263.186⁴ ejemplares, y *Cosmopolitan*, con un promedio de tirada mensual de 176.133⁵ ejemplares—.

Seguidamente, se seleccionaron una veintena de anglicismos, en función de su frecuencia de aparición en las revistas y de su tipología lingüística, diferenciando entre préstamos puros, que no presentan ningún morfema en español, — que pueden ser, no asimilados, parcialmente asimilados y asimilados— e híbridos, que presentan algún morfema en español, — que pueden ser con raíz híbrida, derivado híbrido y compuesto híbrido—.

Con posterioridad, se redactó una encuesta⁶ que rellenaron 38 personas de entre 18 y 50 años, en el mes de marzo de 2017. Con la finalidad de que la muestra fuese lo más representativa posible de la sociedad española, se seleccionaron encuestados de diferentes rangos de edad: 18-30 años (53%), 31-40 años (29%) y 41-50 años (18%); de ambos sexos: 20 mujeres (53%) y 18 hombres (47%).

Las hipótesis de trabajo, que se plantearon inicialmente, fueron las siguientes:

- 1) La integración de los préstamos ingleses relacionados con la moda se realiza con mayor profundidad en las mujeres que en los hombres.
- 2) La integración de los préstamos puros no asimilados se realiza con mayor profundidad que la de los préstamos puros parcialmente asimilados, los asimilados y los préstamos híbridos.
- 3) Los anglicismos que denotan realidades relacionadas con las compras que el hablante puede realizar, experimentan una mayor integración que los anglicismos que aluden a realidades más abstractas.

4. Resultados del trabajo de campo

A nivel sociológico, y con la finalidad de conocer mejor el perfil de las personas encuestadas, se les preguntó por su nivel de instrucción en inglés, así como por sus hábitos de consumo en revistas de moda. El 17% de los hombres declaró tener un nivel de inglés alto, tanto escrito como hablado, un 72% medio y un 11% bajo. Respecto a las mujeres, ellas distinguieron más entre inglés hablado e inglés escrito, siendo sus resultados los siguientes: nivel alto (25% hablado, 45% escrito), nivel medio (45% en ambos casos) y nivel bajo (30% hablado, 10% escrito). Tan solo dos hombres y tres mujeres afirmaron haber pasado más de seis meses de estancia en un país anglosajón.

En lo que respecta a los hábitos de consumo, el 72% de los hombres declaró no leer nunca revistas de moda, frente al 80% de mujeres que reconoce leer alguna vez este tipo de publicaciones. Sin embargo, preguntados sobre si hojean las revistas de moda en las

peluquerías, salas de espera, cafeterías, etc., el 70% de las mujeres afirmaron su respuesta, frente al 44% de los hombres que también lo hacen.

Los anglicismos seleccionados que se emplearon en la encuesta fueron los siguientes: *look, top, print, sexy, celebrity, clutch, cool, style, fashionista, glitter, vintage, shopping, glamour, trench, influencer, mules, leggings, outfit, oversized y skinny*. De todos ellos, solo uno es un préstamo híbrido que presenta algún morfema en español. En concreto se trata de un derivado híbrido con el afijo español –ista, *fashionista*. El resto son préstamos puros que no presentan ningún morfema en español. Algunos de ellos son no asimilados, y, por lo tanto, suponen un cambio de código, entre los que se encuentran *look, celebrity, print, leggings, glitter, shopping, influencer, sexy, clutch, oversized, trench, outfit y top*. Otros son parcialmente asimilados, ya que presentan grafías no tradicionales en español, es el caso de *glamour, style, skinny, vintage y cool*. Finalmente, el último de los anglicismos utilizados en la encuesta es un préstamo puro asimilado que presenta una grafía tradicional en español, se trata de *mules*.

Centrándonos en el análisis de cada uno de los préstamos ingleses, y como por motivos de espacio va a ser imposible analizarlos todos, se han seleccionado los cuatro o cinco más representativos del estudio para su análisis.

Look fue el anglicismo que mayor frecuencia de aparición presentó en las tres revistas seleccionadas. Es un préstamo inglés que sí está recogido en el diccionario de la Real Academia Española (RAE) como sustantivo masculino, bajo la siguiente denominación:

Voz ingl. 1. m. Imagen o aspecto de las personas o de las cosas, especialmente si responde a un propósito de distinción.

A continuación, se muestran algunos de los ejemplos de uso de este préstamo por parte de las revistas:

- (1) Tenemos ganas de primavera. Seleccionamos los accesorios y los *looks* de belleza que no podrás esperar a llevar (*S Moda*, marzo 2017, 26).
- (2) Prenda por prenda, *look* por *look*, pudimos ver y tocar la primera colección de Anthony Vaccarello para Saint Laurent. Puro Rock chic (*Glamour*, marzo 2017, 12).
- (3) Ese toque hará que tu camisa resulte perfecta tanto para los *looks* de día como los de noche. ¡Atrévete! (*Cosmopolitan*, marzo 2017, 48).

El total de encuestados, tanto hombres como mujeres, respondieron que entendían su significado. El 44% de los hombres lo tradujeron como aspecto, imagen, apariencia, mientras que el 33% lo hizo como estilo. Un 6% empleó el sinónimo conjunto o modelo, y el resto dejó en blanco la respuesta. Las mujeres repartieron más sus respuestas, el 20% tradujo su

significado como aspecto, imagen o forma de vestir, el 25% dijo que era un modelo, conjunto o atuendo, y el 15% un estilo o diseño.

El 50% de los hombres afirmó emplear más a menudo la palabra alternativa en español frente al anglicismo. En cambio, el 70% de las mujeres encuestadas admitieron usar el préstamo inglés en sus conversaciones de moda, en detrimento del español. En cuanto a su transcripción fonológica /lok/, el 100% de los encuestados pronunciaron el término al modo español, /luk/.

Celebrity es un anglicismo que ha llegado a España con el *boom* de las nuevas tecnologías y, por lo tanto, es relativamente reciente. Debido a ello no está recogido en el diccionario de la RAE, si bien el diccionario en línea de Oxford traduce el término como celebridad o famoso. El uso masivo de este término en los medios de comunicación —televisión e Internet, sobre todo— corrobora el dato de que el 100% de los encuestados afirmó conocer su significado.

La prensa escrita relacionada con el mundo de la moda también emplea este anglicismo. Los ejemplos encontrados en las revistas de muestra son los siguientes:

(1) Es un básico al que puedes sacarle mucho partido, ya sea en su versión masculina, ‘sexy’ o ‘folclórica’...Elige los complementos que mejor le van y aprende a llevarla como lo hace las ‘celebrities’ (*Cosmopolitan*, marzo 2017, 48).

(2) Esta temporada también cuenta con sus propias anécdotas y protagonistas detrás de un fashion show: desde la actriz y *celebrity* Ellie Bamber, que desfiló en el Pre-Fall 17 de Chaneel; a un nuevo rostro que abrió el espectacular momento de Gucci S/S 17, María Zakrzewska (*Glamour*, marzo 2017, 52).

Las palabras alternativas en español a este término inglés, que la totalidad de los encuestados, tanto hombres como mujeres, han sugerido son famoso, mediático, celebridad o estrella. Mayoritariamente han elegido los sinónimos españoles para denotar a una persona famosa, aunque un 25% de las mujeres encuestadas han reconocido que emplean el anglicismo *celebrity*. En cuanto a su pronunciación correcta, /sɪˈlebrɪti/ o incluso /səˈlebrədi/, prácticamente la totalidad de los encuestados han pronunciado /θeˈleβriti/, marcando bien la interdental fricativa sorda, o /seˈleβriti/, imitando con la alveolar /s-/ el sonido inglés.

La siguiente de las palabras seleccionadas fue *clutch*, un término que designa un nuevo referente, un bolso pequeño de fiesta rígido, normalmente cuadrado o rectangular, que no lleva asas y por tanto debe llevarse en la mano. No aparece recogido en el diccionario de la RAE, aunque el diccionario de Oxford lo traduce como bolso sin asas.

Los ejemplos encontrados en las revistas aparecen junto con la imagen de los bolsos indicando, asimismo, su precio:

(1) Mono en escote V y cinturón, de Primark (18€); *clutch* metalizado, de Bulgari (1850€); y collar bicolor con perlas y tul, de Teria Yabar (c. p. v.) (*Glamour*, marzo 2017, 65).

(2) En la foto de arriba, la ilustradora valenciana María Herreros nos recibe en su estudio de Barcelona con vestido batik, y a la derecha, *clutch* dorado a modo de estuche de pinceles, todo de BIMBA Y LOLA (*S Moda*, marzo 2017, 144).

El 94% de los hombres encuestados y el 60% de las mujeres no supieron su significado, por lo tanto, las palabras españolas alternativas que sugirieron fueron pocas. Tan solo el 35% de las mujeres que participaron en la encuesta acertaron diciendo bolso de mano o cartera. El desconocimiento de este anglicismo fue tal, que el 5% de las mujeres pensaron que se trataba de un abrigo. Este hecho se trasladó también a la pronunciación, /kɫɒtʃ/ o /kɫətʃ/, haciéndolo correctamente el 52% de los encuestados. El resto pronunció el término de múltiples maneras: /kɫutʃ/, /kɫantʃ/, /kuntʃ/, /klus/, /klotʃ/ e incluso /klu/.

Style gráficamente se asemeja a su homóloga española, estilo, por lo que el índice de conocimiento del término fue alto, a pesar de no estar recogido en el diccionario de la RAE. Por el contrario, la pronunciación que realizaron los encuestados, /estail/ o /estil/ fue muy diferente a la inglesa, /stail/ o /stɪl/, debido a la prótesis de la vocal /e-/ , a consecuencia de la dificultad que supone pronunciar dos consonantes —fricativa y oclusiva— al inicio de la palabra. El 67% de los hombres y el 90% de las mujeres tradujeron el término inglés como estilo, si bien más del 75% de ellos afirmaron utilizar la alternativa española en detrimento de la inglesa.

Las tres revistas tomadas como muestra recogen ejemplos de uso de dicho anglicismo.

(1) Sobre estas líneas la sección de *street style* de la web Zalando, que tiene en su haber un número importante de premios –incluido el de mejor webshop transfronteriza europea que le ganó a H&M, Asos y Amazon en 2012- (*S Moda*, marzo 2017, 66).

(2) ¡Fuera supersticiones! El color más temido se convierte en el rey de *street style*. ¿El resultado? *Looks* radiantes y llenos de luz (*Glamour*, marzo 2017, 69).

(3) *Demin style*. Básicos que se escriben con ‘v’ de vaquero (*Cosmopolitan*, marzo 2017, 6).

El último de los préstamos ingleses que se analiza es el préstamo puro parcialmente asimilado, *vintage*. Tan solo uno de los hombres encuestados reconoció desconocer el significado del vocablo, aunque a la hora de traducirlo al español, todos sabían qué significaba, pero no encontraban un sinónimo ajustado. Expresiones como algo clásico, antiguo pero moderno, retro, de época, etc., fueron las elegidas por los encuestados, quienes en su mayoría afirmaron emplear el anglicismo en lugar de las expresiones españolas. La confusión en cuanto a su significado tiene su reflejo en los diccionarios. La RAE no recoge

este término en su diccionario y Oxford tampoco aporta ningún sinónimo relacionado con el mundo de la moda. Sí lo hace, por el contrario, *Wordreference*, que lo traduce como atuendo retro. La pronunciación del término por parte de los españoles encuestados, /bɪntaʃ/ no tiene nada que ver con la inglesa /'vɪntɪdʒ/.

Las tres revistas aportan ejemplos del uso de este anglicismo —cada vez más en auge entre la sociedad española— no solo relacionado con el mundo de la moda, sino también con el diseño de interiores.

(1) «Es importantísimo que una pieza no sucumba al paso del tiempo, que puedas usarla ahora o dentro de diez años. ¿Por qué crees que el *vintage* gusta tanto a la gente?, ¿por qué crees que se gastan el dinero en piezas de los años 50, 60 y 70? Porque son clásicos» (*S Moda*, marzo 2017, 132).

(2) El colorido estampado que conquistó los 70 regresa para llenar tu armario de espíritu psicodélico. Inspírate en el papel pintado *vintage* y súmate al *mix & match* (*Glamour*, marzo 2017, 58).

(3) De sello español y estilo *vintage* es el lugar ideal para tomar unas tapas, un perrito con salchicha alemana *schara* picante o *frankfurt*, o su plato estrella (no apto para comidas ligeras (*Cosmopolitan*, marzo 2017, 165).

Para finalizar, ante la pregunta abierta que se realizó a la totalidad de los encuestados: ¿Qué piensas de la gente que emplea palabras inglesas cuando habla?, varios de los encuestados respondieron que les parecían pijos, guays, snobs, que lo hacen para parecer más modernos, más a la moda. Algunos afirmaron que mucha gente emplea anglicismos sin conocer bien su significado, de manera forzada. Este hecho puede ser debido a que están influidos por las redes sociales, donde todas las etiquetas se escriben en inglés para poder llegar a más gente. Varios encuestados respondieron que el uso de anglicismos es cada vez más habitual, y no lo ven mal si no existe una palabra sustitutiva en español. Sin embargo, la mayoría prefiere emplear el castellano a menos que sea totalmente imprescindible, y siempre con moderación para no parecer un pedante. A otros encuestados —de 41 a 50 años— les parece ridículo el uso de anglicismos e incluso de mala educación.

5. Conclusiones

A la vista de los datos analizados y teniendo en cuenta las hipótesis iniciales, se puede concluir que la primera de las hipótesis —La integración de los préstamos ingleses relacionados con la moda se realiza con mayor profundidad en las mujeres que en los

hombres— sí se verifica, puesto que, en la totalidad de los préstamos, el índice de uso de los anglicismos es significativamente superior al de los hombres.

La segunda de las hipótesis —La integración de los préstamos puros no asimilados se realiza con mayor profundidad que la de los préstamos puros parcialmente asimilados, los asimilados y los préstamos híbridos— no se verifica, ya que préstamos parcialmente asimilados como *vintage*, *cool* o *glamour* han obtenido índices superiores de uso por parte tanto de los hombres como de las mujeres, frente a préstamos puros como *trench*, *print* o *style*.

Finalmente, la tercera de las hipótesis planteadas en el inicio del trabajo —los anglicismos que denotan realidades relacionadas con las compras que el hablante puede realizar, experimentan una mayor integración que los anglicismos que aluden a realidades más abstractas— tampoco se verifica. Términos como *clutch*, *trench*, *mules*, *shopping*, *oversized* o *skinny* no son empleados por los encuestados. Solo existe una excepción que es el término *leggings*, usado por el 44% de los hombres y el 90% de las mujeres.

Para concluir, se puede decir que, actualmente, no existe riesgo de desplazamiento de una lengua —el español— por otra —el inglés—, aun con el incremento del empleo de los anglicismos por parte de los medios de comunicación. Si bien, sí se detecta una mayor aceptación por parte de las mujeres que de los hombres, al menos en los anglicismos relacionados con el mundo de la moda.

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ANEXO I

Imágenes 1, 2 y 3



Imagen 1 Imagen 2



Imagen 3

ANEXO 2

Ejemplo de encuesta

Nº de encuesta:

Las **respuestas** de esta encuesta son **anónimas** y **confidenciales**. ¡Gracias por participar!

Sexo: Hombre <input type="checkbox"/> Mujer <input type="checkbox"/>	Fecha de nacimiento (día/mes/año):
¿Qué nivel de inglés tienes?: Hablado: Alto <input type="checkbox"/> Medio <input type="checkbox"/> Bajo <input type="checkbox"/> Escrito: Alto <input type="checkbox"/> Medio <input type="checkbox"/> Bajo <input type="checkbox"/>	¿Lees revistas de moda?: Nunca <input type="checkbox"/> Alguna vez <input type="checkbox"/> Muchas veces <input type="checkbox"/>
¿Has estado más de seis meses en algún país de habla inglesa?: Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	¿Hojeeas las revistas de moda en las peluquerías, salas de espera, cafeterías, etc.?: Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

A continuación, aparecerán unas palabras en inglés extraídas de revistas de moda. Por favor, contesta con sinceridad.

	¿Entiendes su significado?	¿Conoces alguna palabra en español alternativa a estas palabras en inglés? Escríbela o déjalo en blanco.	¿Cuál de ellas empleas más a menudo?
Un look	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Un top	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Un print	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Algo sexy	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Una celebrity	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Un clutch	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Algo cool	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Un style	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Un fashionista	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Una glitter	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Algo vintage	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Hacer shopping	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Un glamour	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Un trench	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Un influencer	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Unos mules	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Unos leggings	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Un outfit	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Algo oversized	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>
Algo skinny	Sí <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		Inglesa <input type="checkbox"/> Española <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguna <input type="checkbox"/>

Para finalizar la encuesta, por favor pronuncia las palabras en inglés para que puedan ser grabadas y contesta a la siguiente pregunta: ¿Qué piensas de la gente que emplea palabras inglesas cuando habla?

¡Muchísimas gracias!

Notas

1. Cf. Gómez Capuz (1998: 21).
2. La prensa de alta gama se define como aquella que trata sobre todo de moda y belleza femenina (Torres: 2007:213).
3. Ver portadas en Anexo 1 – Imágenes 1, 2 y 3.
4. Periodo controlado del 7/2015 al 6/2016.
5. Periodo controlado del 4/2016 al 6/2016.
6. Ver Anexo 2 – Ejemplo de encuesta.
7. Según normas APA 6ª edición.

Latinismi in inglese: un'analisi dell'influenza lessicale latina sulla lingua di comunicazione globale

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ABSTRACT

L'inglese è una lingua germanica? Naturalmente. Le classificazioni linguistiche sono solite inserire l'inglese tra le lingue indoeuropee appartenenti al gruppo germanico, poiché la lingua franca del nuovo millennio affonda le proprie radici in quel defunto idioma denominato protogermanico.

Altrettanto chiara perfino ai non linguisti, però, è la presenza nel vocabolario inglese di moltissimi termini molto simili ai corrispettivi in lingua italiana, principalmente a causa di prestiti dalla lingua latina, avvenuti in modo diretto o attraverso la forte influenza che la lingua normanna, di origine latina, ha esercitato sulle isole britanniche.

Il presente articolo intende indagare l'antenato latino della lingua inglese moderna, ovvero la forte influenza latina, spesso ignorata dalle genealogie linguistiche, su questo idioma. L'anglosassone, infatti, a contatto diretto con il normanno, a seguito della conquista delle terre britanniche da parte della Normandia, e indiretto con il latino, la lingua del sapere, ha subito un processo di semplificazione grammaticale e di variazione, dando vita all'inglese medio.

L'obiettivo della presente ricerca è soprattutto l'analisi dell'arricchimento del glossario britannico dovuto all'ingresso di termini latini suddivisi per periodo storico-linguistico: partendo dai latinismi nell'antico anglosassone, si passa poi agli influssi latini e normanni nell'inglese medio; continuando con le influenze latine entrate nell'inglese moderno, si conclude con i vocaboli latini impostisi nel tardo inglese moderno.

PAROLE CHIAVE

Latinismi, Prestiti linguistici, Storia della lingua inglese, Influenza normanna in inglese, Anglosassone, Inglese medio, Inglese moderno, Tardo inglese moderno.

ABSTRACT

Is English a Germanic language? It certainly is. In fact, linguistic classifications usually insert English among the Indo-European languages belonging to the Germanic branch. This is because the new era's lingua franca has its roots in the extinct language, referred to as Proto-Germanic.

The existence of a vast amount of terms within the English vocabulary that are similar to their Italian equivalents is evident, even for non-linguists. The Romanic influence has been made possible as a result of loan words directly adopted from Latin or through the presence of the Norman language, a romance language, in the British Isles.

This article aims to examine the strong Latin impact within Modern English that has often been overlooked throughout the linguistic ancestry of this language. Following the Norman invasion of the British Isles, the Anglo-Saxon language experienced a process in which its grammar was simplified due to the direct contact under the Normans and indirect contact with Latin, which was referred to as the language of knowledge. This led to the creation of Middle English.

The purpose of this research is to analyze the incorporation of Latin terms into the English glossary across historic-linguistic periods: beginning with Latinisms during the Anglo-Saxon times, it passes to the Latin and Norman influences in Middle English, and continues with the Latin loanwords that have entered Modern English. This work concludes with the Latin terminology that has manifested within Late Modern English.

KEY WORDS

Latinisms, Loanwords, History of the English language, Norman influence in English, Anglo-Saxon, Middle English, Modern English, Late modern English

1. Il latino nella cultura inglese

Questo articolo intende presentare un approfondimento del processo che ha portato all'introduzione di lessico latino nell'inglese, scandito nei principali periodi storici che caratterizzano lo sviluppo di questa lingua. “Il *prestito* (o *forestierismo*) è una parola, una locuzione o una costruzione sintattica di una lingua straniera che entra nel lessico di un'altra lingua” (in *La grammatica italiana*; Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2012).

Perché si possa comprendere l'impatto del latino sulla lingua inglese è necessario dare una breve descrizione dell'importanza che il mondo latino ha avuto nel Regno Unito nel corso della storia. Nel periodo tra il XVI e il XVIII secolo la lingua latina era la principale forma di trasmissione del sapere antico ed era la lingua a cui si accompagnava una dimensione spirituale universalmente umana.

In tutta l'Inghilterra nacquero le *grammar schools*, che ponevano al centro del loro programma formativo l'insegnamento grammaticale del latino, sul modello della scuola umanistica fondata dal sacerdote John Colet presso la cattedrale di St. Paul di Londra nel 1509. Il loro grande successo si estese, nel secolo successivo, alle colonie americane, con l'inaugurazione della prima scuola basata su questo modello nel 1635, la *Boston Latin School*.

Se il latino, dunque, regnò dal Cinquecento al Settecento nelle scuole di cultura anglosassone, ancor più forte fu la sua posizione nel sistema universitario. Nella prestigiosa Università di Oxford, per esempio, si dava per scontato che studenti e docenti non solo fossero in grado di capire il latino, ma che lo parlassero tra loro correntemente, così come imposto dagli statuti, i quali rimasero in vigore fino al 1864.

Inoltre, il 10% della produzione totale dei libri inglesi, ovvero quella parte riservata alle pubblicazioni più importanti, di carattere dotto o scientifico, tra il 1530 ed il 1640, era scritta in latino. Questo dimostra l'uso del latino in tutti gli ambiti della cultura: la letteratura, la medicina, la matematica, la botanica, la zoologia, e così via. Il latino rimase fino al XVIII secolo la lingua ufficiale della diplomazia e dell'amministrazione.

Alla fine del Settecento l'influenza latina nel mondo anglosassone subì un calo, in seguito alla tendenza a dare più spazio ai moderni e a limitare il ruolo degli antichi. Le *grammar schools* vennero lentamente sostituite dai nuovi licei, nonostante l'insegnamento del latino continuasse ad essere di fondamentale importanza. È però a partire dal Novecento che il latino ha visto ridurre il suo peso in misura mai verificatasi precedentemente, sostanzialmente a causa del venir meno dell'obbligo della sua conoscenza per l'accesso alle sue più prestigiose università (Oniga, 2005).

Nei prossimi paragrafi verranno indicati gli apporti latini pervenuti nei vari periodi storici di formazione dell'inglese.

2. Influsso latino nell'anglosassone

Le isole britanniche erano abitate da popoli celtici chiamati britanni a partire dai secoli VIII – VI a. C. Già i greci conoscevano queste isole con il nome di *Cassiteridi*, ovvero “Isole dello stagno”, perché da esse importavano lo stagno (Welsh, 1963). Il navigatore cartaginese Imilcone disse di aver visitato la Gran Bretagna nel V secolo a.C.

Il primo contatto diretto tra il mondo latino e le Isole Britanniche avvenne per mezzo di missioni di carattere militare. Mentre l'Impero Romano era impegnato nella conquista della Gallia, si decise di estendere i confini dell'Impero oltre lo Stretto della Manica. Due spedizioni vennero quindi effettuate da Giulio Cesare, in Britannia. La prima campagna militare avvenne nel 55 a. C., quando le navi romane sbarcarono sulla costa del Kent, ma, a causa sia della scarsità della cavalleria romana sia di una tempesta che danneggiò la flotta, venne ordinata la ritirata nelle basi in Gallia. Si trattò quindi di una ricognizione, più che di una vera e propria invasione. Nonostante ciò, la missione venne considerata un grande successo, degno di venti giorni di festeggiamenti a Roma. L'anno seguente fu la volta della seconda spedizione, grazie alla quale Giulio Cesare riuscì a sottomettere alcune tribù britanniche o a invitarne altre a pagare tributi e a consegnare ostaggi in cambio della pace. Il risultato fu l'estensione dell'area di influenza romana all'Inghilterra. In seguito ad alcune altre spedizioni fallite, con la Britannia restarono rapporti di tipo diplomatico e commerciale. La vera e propria invasione romana della Britannia avvenne con l'imperatore Claudio nel 43 d.C.

A partire da questo periodo, ebbero accesso nel lessico delle lingue celtiche insulari alcune parole latine, che poi entrarono nel vocabolario inglese grazie all'opera dei missionari irlandesi. Ne sono esempi, per quanto molto limitati, non più di due dozzine, “stær” (*history*) e possibilmente “cross”.

Spostandoci invece in epoche successive, con l'arrivo germanico in terra inglese, agli inizi del V secolo, il latino fu fonte di prestiti entrati direttamente nell'anglosassone. L'esercito e i mercanti romani diedero nomi alternativi ad oggetti locali ed introdussero diversi concetti completamente nuovi. Circa la metà dei neologismi introdotti in quel periodo sono parole che appartengono ai campi semantici della natura (piante, animali), dell'alimentazione (cibi e bevande) e degli oggetti di uso domestico.

Per quanto riguarda la sfera religiosa, esistono diversi casi di prestito dal latino, a causa del forte impatto che i missionari ebbero nel mondo anglosassone. Va ricordato che il mondo monacale al tempo aveva la funzione di importante educatore, di conseguenza anche termini legati al mondo scolastico sono direttamente importati dalla Chiesa.

Un ultimo gruppo di prestiti è quello derivante dal mondo della musica.

Analizzando tutte le parole latine entrate nel lessico dell'antico inglese, si nota che il 92% dei prestiti diretti sono sostantivi, il 6% sono verbi, il 3% sono aggettivi mentre solo lo 0,2% sono semantemi (si tratta del prefisso latino *archi* -che ha assunto la forma *arce-* in alcuni titoli, tra i quali *arcebiscop*, che viene dal latino *archiepiscopis*, ora in inglese *archbishop* e in italiano *arcivescovo*). Una spiegazione di questa predominanza sostantivale e dell'assenza totale di avverbi o di classi minori (congiunzioni, preposizioni, pronomi, ecc.) potrebbe coincidere con l'impatto psicologico immediato di un nome, soprattutto quando esso accompagna l'incontro con un oggetto esotico o una nuova nozione.

In alcuni casi è possibile identificare una probabile data di ingresso di un certo prestito nella lingua inglese antica, nello specifico, stabilendo se corrisponde alle tre grandi fasi:

- Prima del 400: periodo in cui i popoli germanici ancora non avevano salpato le ancore in direzione delle Isole Britanniche. La trasmissione della lingua avviene soltanto per via orale.
- Dal 450 al 650: periodo insulare, con trasmissione di tipo solo orale.
- Dal 650 al 1050: la trasmissione avviene anche tramite lo scritto.

È possibile una datazione dei prestiti analizzando la forma che essi assumono. Indicatori del periodo in cui la parola latina è entrata nella lingua inglese antica sono la versione classica o popolare del vocabolo latino o la presenza o meno di effetti fonologici tipici dell'inglese preistorico. Questi non possono essere considerati, però, indicatori assolutamente attendibili, vista la tendenza degli ecclesiastici influenzati dal risveglio benedettino del X secolo ad ispirarsi al latino classico.

Occorre ora fare una precisazione, relativa all'effettiva origine dei prestiti latini trattati. Il 28% di essi sono infatti parole che il latino aveva a sua volta assunto in precedenza da altre lingue. Non sorprende che, di questo gruppo, l'83% sia costituito da lessico che il latino ha importato dal greco, soprattutto durante la terza fase, ovvero quella del periodo post-cristiano, a causa del legame del mondo ecclesiastico con quello classico.

Alcuni esempi sono:

- Antico inglese *ymen*, dal latino *hymnus*, dal greco *humnos*. Ora in inglese *hymn* e in italiano *inno*.
- Antico inglese *ancor*, dal latino *anchora*, dal greco *agkura*. Ora in inglese *anchor* e in italiano *ancora* (attrezzatura dell'imbarcazione).
- Antico inglese *pin*, dal latino popolare *pena*, dal latino classico *poena*, dal greco *poiné*. Ora in inglese *pain* e in italiano *pena* (Daniels, 2005).

Il numero totale di termini latini entrati nell'antico inglese è abbastanza limitato, non superando le due centinaia (Crystal, 2003).

Il motivo è riscontrabile nel carattere associativo che contraddistingue l'antico anglosassone. Una lingua dissociativa, come l'inglese contemporaneo, ovvero un idioma che permette l'esistenza di parole che condividono un legame semantico, pur non avendo in comune la stessa radice linguistica, accoglie molto più facilmente i prestiti di quanto non lo faccia una lingua di tipo associativo, la quale meno facilmente permetterà l'ingresso di elementi opachi ed estranei alle famiglie morfologiche preesistenti. Un esempio per comprendere l'associatività dell'anglosassone sono le seguenti parole: *broþor*, *broþorscipe*, *broþorsleg*, tutte facenti riferimento alla stessa radice germanica (di origine indoeuropea), quando i corrispettivi in inglese contemporaneo sono: *brother*, *brotherhood*, *fraternity*. In quest'ultimo caso i primi due esempi hanno radice germanica, ma l'ultimo proviene dal latino. Situazioni di questo tipo sono molto frequenti nell'inglese di oggi.

Non solo il tratto linguistico associativo, ma anche il relativo isolamento degli Inglesi dopo la migrazione verso la Britannia, spiega il perché di un così basso numero di prestiti, intorno al 3%, rispetto all'inglese contemporaneo, nel quale la proporzione di voci esotiche supera il 70% (Kastovsky, 1992).

Sebbene i volgari formati dal latino si siano sviluppati ed abbiano continuato ad essere parlati fino a diventare lingue riconosciute nazionalmente in diverse zone dell'Europa continentale, in Gran Bretagna questo non successe. Secondo alcuni, questo fatto rappresenta il primo segno della mentalità monolingue dei popoli anglosassoni.

Alla scarsità dei prestiti nell'anglosassone si aggiunge, durante il periodo della formazione dell'inglese medio, la scomparsa di un'alta percentuale di vocaboli latini precedentemente entrati in quella lingua. La perdita dell'aspetto conservatore della scrittura inglese nei secoli XI-XII, che portò gli inglesi all'incapacità di decifrare i testi antichi, di cui una quantità considerevole è probabilmente andata distrutta, unita alla forte influenza normanna del periodo portò infatti alla scomparsa di molti prestiti appena introdotti nell'inglese antico, soprattutto di quelli concernenti la vita spirituale ed intellettuale, appartenenti al terzo periodo (650 - 1050), non essendo mai penetrati nella lingua parlata. Di conseguenza, gli inglesi dei secoli XII, XIII e XIV presero in prestito nuove voci francesi, senza immaginare che i loro antenati avessero già fatto lo stesso pochi secoli prima (Daniels, 2005).

Un ulteriore importato apporto latino alla lingua inglese che avvenne già in età antica fu quello legato direttamente all'aspetto grafico. I popoli germanici che abitavano la Gran

Bretagna usavano, a partire dal V secolo, l'alfabeto runico chiamato *futhorc*, probabilmente derivato da quelli dell'Europa meridionale, come quello romano.

Solo in seguito all'arrivo dei missionari romani, nel Kent nel 597 prese avvio l'età letteraria in Inghilterra. La rapida crescita di centri monastici portò alla produzione di un grande numero di manoscritti latini, specialmente della Bibbia o di altri libri religiosi. A causa del clima letterario crescente, alcuni manoscritti iniziarono ad essere scritti anche in antico inglese. A partire dal IX secolo, in seguito alla nascita delle opere letterarie in antico inglese, si iniziò ad abbandonare le rune in favore dell'alfabeto latino, che vantava un'antica e consolidata tradizione letteraria. Di conseguenza le rune permasero più a lungo nell'uso quotidiano che in quello letterario.

Come è già stato introdotto precedentemente nei pochi accenni dati sulla storia inglese, il vocabolario inglese assumerà l'estrema varietà etimologica che presenta ora soprattutto nella sua fase di inglese medio, ovvero in seguito agli influssi normanni dell'XI secolo. Non si può tuttavia non osservare che prestiti francesi possono trovarsi anche nell'antico inglese. Infatti, il mondo ecclesiastico, che è già stato indicato come forte portatore di forestierismi, probabilmente formava i suoi monaci in Francia. Inoltre, uno degli ultimi re anglosassoni, Edoardo il Confessore, figlio della sorella del duca di Normandia, visse in quella regione francese per venticinque anni. Alla sua incoronazione, nel 1042, diversi nobili francesi vennero da lui scelti a formare la corte reale anglosassone. Alcuni esempi di termini francesi entrati nell'antico inglese sono:

- Antico inglese *capun*. Ora in inglese *capon*, in francese *chapon* e in italiano *cappone*.
- Antico inglese *prisun*. Ora in inglese *prison*, in francese *prison* e in italiano *prigione*.
- Antico inglese *castel*. Ora in inglese *castle*, in francese *château* e in italiano *castello*.
- Antico inglese *cancelere*. Ora in inglese *chancellor*, in francese *chancelier* e in italiano *cancelliere* (Crystal, 2003).

Grazie a queste poche informazioni si è potuto intuire quanto gli influssi di origine latina abbiano avuto il loro impatto già in epoca anglosassone, diversamente da quanto ci si potrebbe aspettare.

3. Influsso normanno e latino nel medio inglese

Verrà trattato nel presente paragrafo il lascito lessicale latino nel medio inglese. Come già accennato precedentemente, la battaglia di Hastings corrisponde al momento storico più importante che favorì il passaggio dall'anglosassone al medio inglese, avvenuto circa un secolo più tardi, a causa del forte apporto linguistico scaturito in seguito alla stabilizzazione della nobiltà normanna in Inghilterra. Si ritiene di conseguenza utile fornire degli accenni sui

normanni e sulla genealogia della lingua da loro parlata, per poi focalizzarsi sugli influssi che essa ebbe nell'inglese medio, i quali ancor oggi possono rappresentare un tratto facilitante dell'apprendimento della lingua italiana da parte di studenti anglofoni e viceversa.

La parola "normanni" originariamente indicava diverse popolazioni che abitavano la Scandinavia. Dopo essersi dedicati alle scorrerie per molto tempo, passarono, tra la fine del IX secolo e l'inizio del X a manifestare una preferenza per lo stanziamento in diverse aree d'Europa, prima fra tutte la penisola francese che si estende nel Canale della Manica e che prende da loro il nome: la Normandia. Insediatisi lì, i normanni divennero agricoltori e si fusero con la popolazione locale, adottando la religione cristiana e la lingua *gallo-romanza*, dando vita, così, ad una nuova identità culturale, diversa sia da quella scandinava, sia da quella franca.

Il normanno è una lingua romanza, derivante quindi dal latino, che appartiene al gruppo *gallo-romanzo* e che corrisponde attualmente ad una delle più importanti varietà della lingua d'*oïl*. Pur avendo assunto alcuni termini provenienti dalla lingua germanica parlata dagli scandinavi prima del loro arrivo in Normandia, la base linguistica di questo idioma è propriamente latina e, in quanto tale, presenta diverse affinità con le altre lingue romanze, come l'italiano (Lecco, 2011).

Analizziamo ora la forte influenza del normanno sull'anglosassone, tale da costituire la nascita dell'inglese moderno.

È stimato che circa 10.000 termini francesi siano stati adottati durante il periodo del medio inglese, il 75% dei quali sopravvive ancor oggi (Renouf).

È stato calcolato inoltre che circa l'85% del lessico anglosassone sia scomparso, sostituito da termini francesi o latini mediati dal francese.

È a partire dal XIII secolo che i manoscritti inglesi iniziarono ad assumere un'influenza francese sempre più evidente. Le aree maggiormente interessate dai prestiti normanni furono quelle legate ai meccanismi sottostanti il mondo della legge e dell'amministrazione, vista la presenza francese nei livelli alti della società, ma anche nei campi della medicina, dell'arte e della moda il normanno ebbe un considerevole impatto. La maggior parte delle nuove voci erano termini ordinari, parole di tutti i giorni e più del 70% erano sostantivi. Nonostante ciò, c'era anche un gran numero di nuovi vocaboli astratti, costruiti usando prefissi (*con-*, *trans-*, *pre-*) o suffissi (*-ance*, *-tion*, *-ment*) francesi.

Le aree semantiche di maggior influenza normanna nell'inglese medio sono le seguenti: amministrazione, legge, religione, esercito, cibo e bevande, moda, tempo libero e arti, scienza ed apprendimento e ambiente domestico (Crystal, 2003).

La presenza di prestiti di origine latina in inglese non significa necessariamente che il significato o la forma delle parole assunte in inglese siano identici ai loro corrispettivi nelle

lingue romanze. Ne è un esempio il fatto che, nonostante sia palese la stretta parentela linguistica tra gli idiomi appartenenti al gruppo *gallo-romanzo*, come il normanno, e quelli appartenenti al gruppo *italo-romanzo*, tra cui l'italiano, diverse parole entrate nell'inglese medio tramite prestiti francesi non hanno nulla a che vedere con i loro corrispettivi italiani attuali. In altri casi, invece, il prestito presenta un'effettiva somiglianza con una parola italiana, ma il significato non corrisponde esattamente ad essa. Ne sono esempi *evidence* (prova, testimonianza) e *rude* (maleducato). Un'ulteriore possibile situazione verificatasi è l'assunzione, da parte di un certo prestito, di un significato differente dall'originale, che si aggiunge ad esso. È il caso della parola *gay*, originariamente entrata dal normanno con il significato di "gaio", ha recentemente assunto anche il significato di "omosessuale", che risulta essere l'accezione che viene normalmente intesa dalla gente, quasi dimenticando il valore originario della parola. La particolarità è che questa parola è poi diventata a sua volta un prestito nella lingua italiana, ma con il senso più moderno del termine.

Parecchi prestiti hanno dato un nome a concetti che prima non lo avevano, mentre molti altri hanno costituito un'alternativa a nomi dalla radice germanica già esistenti in anglosassone, i quali sono stati presto o tardi abbandonati in favore degli equivalenti normanni.

Esiste però un'ulteriore situazione: la compresenza della parola anglosassone e del prestito francese in alcuni casi è rimasta fino ad oggi, creando una coppia di sinonimi dall'origine proveniente da due diversi gruppi linguistici: quello germanico e quello romanzo.

Ne sono esempi: *to begin* e *to commence* (cominciare), *child* e *infant* (bambino, infante), *doom* e *judgment* (giudizio), *freedom* e *liberty* (libertà), *happiness* e *felicity* (felicità), *hearty* e *cordial* (cordiale), *meal* e *repast* (pasto), *to sweat* e *to perspire* (sudare, traspirare), *wish* e *desire* (desiderio).

Una situazione con tre sinonimi, uno dei quali ha origine germanica e gli altri due sono prestiti normanni è: *wedding*, *marriage* e *matrimony* (matrimonio). Altri casi di triplette di sinonimi sono formati da una parola di origine germanica, una normanna ed una recuperata direttamente dal latino. Ne sono esempi: *to rise*, *to mount* e *to ascend* (montare, ascendere); *to ask*, *to question* e *to interrogate* (chiedere, questionare, interrogare); *to fasten*, *to firm* e *to secure* (fissare, assicurare); *kingly*, *royal* e *regal* (regale); *holy*, *sacred* e *consecrated* (sacro); *fire*, *flame* e *conflagration* (fuoco) (Crystal, 2003).

Un discorso separato meritano alcune coppie di parole che hanno assunto significati leggermente differenti, in quanto la versione germanica rappresenta un animale, mentre quella normanna indica la carne dello stesso, costituendo, quindi, il relativo termine culinario.

Gli esempi sono: *sheep* e *mutton* (pecora/montone), *calf* e *veal* (vitello), *pig* e *pork* (maiale/porco), *cow* e *beef* (bovino) (Crystal, 2003).

L'unione delle forme romanze a quelle germaniche non è mostrata solo dalla presenza delle coppie di sinonimi, ma anche dall'esistenza di parole composte da un termine anglosassone e uno normanno, quali *gentleman* (gentiluomo)¹

4. Influsso latino nell'inglese moderno

Durante il XVI secolo si assistette ad un fortissimo incremento delle pubblicazioni in inglese, favorito dal rinnovato interesse verso le lingue e le letterature classiche e dal rapido sviluppo nei campi delle scienze, della medicina e delle arti. Questo periodo storico verrà più avanti definito come Rinascimento e includerà la Riforma Protestante, l'eliocentrismo di Copernico e le esplorazioni europee dell'Africa e dell'America.

Immediati furono gli effetti di questa nuova situazione sociale, scientifica ed economica sulla lingua inglese. Come già avvenuto in precedenza, il lessico fu l'aspetto linguistico che subì una maggiore influenza dalle altre lingue. Tutte le nuove tecniche, le invenzioni, le scoperte avevano bisogno di un nome, di conseguenza iniziarono ad essere presi in prestito i termini che venivano assegnati ad esse nel resto d'Europa.

La maggior parte del nuovo vocabolario dell'epoca era di origine latina, con un buon numero di parole provenienti dal greco antico, dal francese, dall'italiano, dallo spagnolo e dal portoghese. Solo successivamente, con il sempre maggior contatto del Regno Unito con le terre extraeuropee, entrarono in inglese prestiti provenienti da oltre 50 lingue non europee, includendo quelle indigene di Africa, America Settentrionale ed Asia. Alcune parole entrarono direttamente nell'inglese, altre lo fecero grazie all'azione di una lingua intermediaria. I casi più evidenti sono i prestiti latini ed italiani, mediati dal francese.

Molte traduzioni di opere letterarie classiche vennero effettuate durante il XVI secolo, perciò, a causa della mancanza di un equivalente inglese a determinati concetti, i traduttori erano soliti modellare la parola originale classica per creare un nuovo termine inglese. In realtà, spesso l'inglese era considerato una lingua "della strada", che non si addiceva al mondo accademico o ai campi della medicina o della teologia, quindi i letterati preferivano i vocaboli classici nella formazione di un neologismo. Come è ben immaginabile, non tutti erano di questa idea; una minoranza di puristi, infatti, propose il recupero di antichi termini inglesi, che però non divennero mai effettivamente parte del vocabolario.

5. Influsso latino nel tardo inglese moderno

Nel XIX secolo si assistette ad uno sviluppo straordinario della ricerca scientifica che, unita alle nuove invenzioni che da essa derivarono, portò nella lingua inglese una nuova spinta “classica” nella formazione dei neologismi. Le nuove teorie e scoperte, come l’evoluzione di Darwin o l’elettricità di Faraday, richiesero una nomenclatura specifica che, visto l’impatto eccezionale che le suddette scoperte ebbero nella società occidentale dell’epoca, divennero presto ben note ad un ampio pubblico, sempre più interessato.

La maggior parte dei termini concernenti l’anatomia venne introdotta già alla fine del XVII secolo, ma solo alla fine del XVIII secolo ci fu un rapido progresso nei campi della chimica, della fisica e della biologia.

Il XX secolo accolse un’altra importante rivoluzione: quella informatica. Con l’invenzione del computer e con il progresso della scienza il mondo dell’informatica è diventato, nel giro di pochi decenni, un nodo centrale nei campi della finanza, dell’impresa, della comunicazione, della ricerca e dell’istruzione, oltre ad assumere un ruolo sempre più rilevante nella vita di tutti i giorni per molte persone.

Anche questa scienza ha introdotto un gran numero di neologismi recuperati dalle lingue classiche, prevalentemente dal latino. Molti di questi termini erano stati precedentemente introdotti nella lingua inglese sotto forma di prestito, a partire dal XV secolo, per poi essere riutilizzati successivamente in ambito informatico. Altri, invece, sono stati coniatati proprio nel momento in cui il mondo del computer ne ha avuto necessità.

Prendendo in esame ora il contributo che il latino apporta all’area informatica tramite i suffissi, ecco alcuni esempi:

- La categoria del *nomina actionis*, ovvero della categoria dei nomi che indicano lo svolgersi dell’azione implicita nella radice verbale del nome stesso, caratterizzati dal suffisso *-tion* (-zione): *application* (applicazione), *composition* (composizione), *connection* (connessione), *function* (funzione), *information* (informazione), *reduction* (riduzione), *selection* (selezione), *simulation* (simulazione), *transmission* (trasmissione).
- La categoria dei *nomina agentis*, cioè dei nomi che indicano l’esecutore della loro azione implicita nella loro radice verbale, caratterizzati dal suffisso *-tor* (-tore) o *-sor* (-sore): *calculator* (calcolatore), *cursor* (cursore), *divisor* (divisore), *duplicator* (duplicatore), *sensor* (sensore), *tabulator* (tabulatore), *vector* (vettore).

- La categoria dei *nomina qualitatis*, altresì l'insieme dei nomi indicanti qualità astratte tratte da aggettivi qualificativi, caratterizzate dal suffisso *-ity* (ità): *capacity* (capacità), *compatibility* (compatibilità), *connectivity* (connettività).
- La categoria dei *nomina deverbativa*, ossia i nomi la cui base è costituita da un verbo e sono caratterizzati da suffissi di vario genere: *access* (accesso), *decoding* (decodifica), *manufacturing* (manifattura), *ordering* (ordine), *release* (rilascio), *restructuring* (ristrutturazione), *scanning* (scansione).

Anche il greco antico dà il suo contributo al linguaggio informatico, per esempio con i prefissi *mega-*, *giga-* e *tele-*, invariati anche in italiano (Iodice, 2005).

In conclusione, con il presente articolo si sostiene che la base latina è di fatto a tutti gli effetti una colonna portante della lingua inglese, nonostante il latino non sia inteso come suo antenato dalla genealogia linguistica.

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Appendice

1. Alcuni esempi di influsso latino in anglosassone, appartenenti al mondo della natura, dell'alimentazione e degli oggetti casalinghi:

- Antico inglese *pise*, dal latino *pisum*. Ora in inglese *pea* e in italiano *pisello*.
- Antico inglese *finu(g)l*, dal latino *fenuculum*. Ora in inglese *fennel* e in italiano *finocchio*.
- Antico inglese *mealwe*, dal latino *malva*. Ora in inglese *mallow* e in italiano *malva*.
- Antico inglese *piper*, dal latino *piper*. Ora in inglese *pepper* e in italiano *pepe*.
- Antico inglese *persic*, dal latino *persicum*. Ora in inglese *peach* e in italiano *pesca*.
- Antico inglese *rosmarin*, dal latino *rosmarinus*. Ora in inglese *rosemary* e in italiano *rosmarino*.
- Antico inglese *plante*, dal latino *planta*. Ora in inglese *plant* e in italiano *pianta*.
- Antico inglese *pin*, dal latino *pinus*. Ora in inglese *pine* e in italiano *pino*.
- Antico inglese *rose*, dal latino *rosa*. Ora in inglese *rose* e in italiano *rosa*.
- Antico inglese *lilie*, dal latino *lilium*. Ora in inglese *lily* e in italiano *giglio*.
- Antico inglese *catte*, dal latino *cattus*. Ora in inglese *cat* e in italiano *gatto*.
- Antico inglese *mul*, dal latino *mulus*. Ora in inglese *mule* e in italiano *mulo*.
- Antico inglese *truht*, dal latino *tructa*. Ora in inglese *trout* e in italiano *trota*.
- Antico inglese *win*, dal latino *vinum*. Ora in inglese *wine* e in italiano *vino*.
- Antico inglese *cyse*, dal latino *caseus*. Ora in inglese *cheese* e in italiano *cacio* (più in uso il sostantivo *formaggio*).
- Antico inglese *oele*, dal latino *oleum*. Ora in inglese *oil* e in italiano *olio*.
- Antico inglese *disc*, dal latino *discus*. Ora in inglese *dish* (con il significato di piatto) e in italiano *disco*. In inglese è presente anche la versione *disc*, di origine più recente.
- Antico inglese *cyçene*, dal latino *coquina*. Ora in inglese *kitchen* e in italiano *cucina*.
- Antico inglese *candel*, dal latino *candela*. Ora in inglese *candle* e in italiano *candela*.
- Relativamente all'ambito dell'urbanistica o della costruzione troviamo:
 - Antico inglese *ceaster*, dal latino *civitas*. Ora in inglese *city* e in italiano *città*.
 - Antico inglese *stræt*, dal latino *strata*. Ora in inglese *street* e in italiano *strada*.
 - Antico inglese *tigle*, dal latino *tegula*. Ora in inglese *tile* e in italiano *tegola*.
 - Antico inglese *ynce*, dal latino *uncia*. Ora in inglese *ounce* e in italiano *oncia* (unità di misura). Daniels (2005).

2. Alcuni esempi di influsso latino in anglosassone, appartenenti al mondo della religione cristiana:

- Antico inglese *mæsse*, dal latino *missa*. Ora in inglese *Mass* e in italiano *messa*.
- Antico inglese *munuc*, dal latino *monachus*. Ora in inglese *monk* e in italiano *monaco*.
- Antico inglese *mynster*, dal latino *monasterium*. Ora in inglese *monastery* e in italiano *monastero*.
- Antico inglese *abudesse*, dal latino *abbadissa*. Ora in inglese *abbess* e in italiano *badessa*.
- Antico inglese *alter*, dal latino *altar*. Ora in inglese *altar* e in italiano *altare*.
- Antico inglese *apostol*, dal latino *apostolus*. Ora in inglese *apostle* e in italiano *apostolo*.
- Antico inglese *demon*, dal latino *daemon*. Ora in inglese *demon* e in italiano *demone*.
- Antico inglese *capitol(a)*, dal latino *capitolium*. Ora in inglese *chapter* e in italiano *capitolo*.
- Antico inglese *declinian*, dal latino *declinare*. Ora in inglese *to decline* e in italiano *declinare*.
- Antico inglese *predician*, dal latino *praedicare*. Ora in inglese *topreach* e in italiano *predicare*.
- Antico inglese *scol*, dal latino *scola*. Ora in inglese *school* e in italiano *scuola*. (Daniels, 2005).

3. Alcuni esempi di influsso latino in anglosassone, appartenenti al mondo della musica:

- Antico inglese *cantere*, dal latino *cantor*. Ora in inglese *cantor* e in italiano *cantore*.
- Antico inglese *chor*, dal latino *chorus*. Ora in inglese *choir* e in italiano *coro*.
- Antico inglese *citere*, dal latino *cithara*. Ora in inglese *zither* e in italiano *cetra*.
- Antico inglese *cymbal(a)*, dal latino *cymbalum*. Ora in inglese *cymbal* e in italiano *cembalo*.
- Antico inglese *orgel*, dal latino *organum*. Ora in inglese *organ* e in italiano *organo*. (Daniels, 2005).

4. Alcuni esempi di parole inglesi, entrate sotto forma di prestito nel medio inglese per mezzo del francese, suddivise per area semantica:

- Amministrazione: *authority* (autorità), *baron* (barone), *chamberlain* (ciambellano), *chancellor* (cancelliere), *council* (consiglio), *court* (corte), *crown* (corona), *duke* (duca), *empire* (impero), *government* (governo), *Majesty/majesty* (maestà/maestosità), *messenger* (messaggero), *minister* (ministro), *noble* (nobile), *palace* (palazzo),

parliament (parlamento), *prince* (principe), *royal* (reale), *servant* (servitore), *sovereign* (sovrano), *statute* (statuto), *tax* (tassa), *traitor* (traditore), *treaty* (trattato), *tyrant* (tiranno), *vassal* (vassallo), *warden* (guardiano).

- Legge: *to accuse* (accusare), *adultery* (adulterio), *to arrest* (arrestare), *assault* (assalto), *crime* (crimine), *decree* (decreto), *to depose* (deporre), *fraud* (frode), *heir* (erede), *inquest* (inchiesta), *judge* (giudice), *jury* (giuria), *justice* (giustizia), *pardon* (perdono), *perjury* (spergiurio), *punishment* (punizione), *verdict* (verdetto), *warrant* (garantire).
- Religione: *abbey* (abbazia), *baptism* (battesimo), *cardinal* (cardinale), *cathedral* (cattedrale), *chant* (canto), *chaplain* (cappellano), *charity* (carità), *clergy* (clero), *to confess* (confessarsi), *convent* (convento), *creator* (creatore), *crucifix* (crocifisso), *divine* (divino), *faith* (fede), *heresy* (eresia), *homily* (omelia), *incense* (incenso), *miracle* (miracolo), *novice* (novizio), *penance* (penitenza), *prayer* (preghiera), *prelate* (prelato), *religion* (religione), *sacrament* (sacramento), *sacrilege* (sacrilegio), *saint* (santo), *salvation* (salvezza), *temptation* (tentazione), *theology* (teologia), *trinity* (trinità), *virgin* (vergine), *virtue* (virtù).
- Esercito: *archer* (arciere), *battle* (battaglia), *captain* (capitano), *combat* (combattimento), *to defend* (difendere), *enemy* (nemico), *guard* (guardia), *peace* (pace), *sergeant* (sergente), *soldier* (soldato), *spy* (spia).
- Cibo e bevande: *appetite* (appetito), *biscuit* (biscotto), *cream* (crema), *date* (dattero), *fig* (fico), *fruit* (frutto), *to fry* (friggere), *jelly* (gelatina), *lemon* (limone), *lettuce* (lattuga), *olive* (oliva), *orange* (arancia), *oyster* (ostrica), *plate* (piatto), *roast* (arrosto), *salad* (insalata), *salmon* (salmone), *sardine* (sardina), *spice* (spezia), *sugar* (zucchero).
- Moda: *button* (bottone), *collar* (colletto), *diamond* (diamante), *emerald* (smeraldo), *jewel* (gioiello), *ornament* (ornamento), *pearl* (perla), *veil* (velo), *wardrobe* (guardaroba).
- Tempo libero e arti: *art* (arte), *colour* (colore), *conversation* (conversazione), *dance* (danzare), *falcon* (falcone), *image* (immagine), *literature* (letteratura), *lute* (liuto), *melody* (melodia), *music* (musica), *painting* (pittura), *park* (parco), *pavilion* (padiglione), *pen* (penna), *poet* (poeta), *prose* (prosa), *recreation* (ricreazione), *rhyme* (rima), *sculpture* (scultura), *stable* (stabile), *stallion* (stallone), *story* (storia), *title* (titolo), *tragedy* (tragedia), *volume* (volume).
- Scienza ed apprendimento: *anatomy* (anatomia), *arsenic* (arsenico), *calendar* (calendario), *copy* (copia), *gender* (genere), *geometry* (geometria), *logic* (logica), *medicine* (medicina), *metal* (metallo), *plague* (piaga), *sphere* (sfera), *stomach* (stomaco), *study* (studiare).

- Casa: *chamber* (camera), *chimney* (camino), *cushion* (cuscino), *lamp* (lampada), *lantern* (lanterna), *pillar* (pilastro), *porch* (portico), *tower* (torre), *turret* (torretta).
- Altri sostantivi: *action* (azione), *adventure* (avventura), *affection* (affetto), *air* (aria), *coast* (costa), *courage* (coraggio), *courtesy* (cortesia), *cruelty* (crudeltà), *debt* (debito), *dozen* (dozzina), *envy* (invidia), *error* (errore), *face* (faccia), *flower* (fiore), *forest* (foresta), *honour* (onore), *hour* (ora), *joy* (gioia), *manner* (modo), *mountain* (montagna), *number* (numero), *ocean* (oceano), *opinion* (opinione), *order* (ordine), *pair* (paio), *people* (popolo), *person* (persona), *piece* (pezzo), *point* (punto), *poverty* (povertà), *quality* (qualità), *reason* (ragione), *scandal* (scandalo), *sign* (segno), *sound* (suono), *spirit* (spirit), *substance* (sostanza), *tavern* (taverna), *unity* (unità), *vision* (visione).
- Altri verbi: *to close* (chiudere), *to continue* (continuare), *to enter* (entrare), *to form* (formare), *to inform* (informare), *to move* (muovere), *to obey* (obbedire), *to pass* (passare), *to prefer* (preferire), *to prove* (provare), *to receive* (ricevere), *to refuse* (rifiutare), *to satisfy* (soddisfare), *to save* (salvare), *to serve* (servire), *to suppose* (supporre).
- Altri aggettivi: *Active* (attivo), *blue* (blu), *calm* (calmo), *clear* (chiaro), *common* (comune), *cruel* (crudele), *curious* (curioso), *final* (finale), *gentle* (gentile), *honest* (onesto), *horrible* (orribile), *large* (largo), *natural* (naturale), *original* (originale), *perfect* (perfetto), *precious* (prezioso), *probable* (probabile), *real* (reale), *scarce* (scarso), *scarlet* (scarlatto), *second* (secondo), *simple* (semplice), *solid* (solido), *special* (special), *strange* (strano), *sure* (sicuro), *usual* (usuale). (Crystal, 2003).

5. Alcuni esempi di prestiti entrati nell'inglese moderno durante il Rinascimento:

- Dal latino e dal greco:

absurdity (assurdità), *to adapt* (adattare), *agile* (agile), *alienate* (alienare), *allusion* (allusione), *anachronism* (anacronismo), *anonymous* (anonimo), *appropriate* (appropriato), *to assassinate* (assassinare), *atmosphere* (atmosfera), *autograph* (autografo), *benefit* (beneficio), *capsule* (capsula), *catastrophe* (catastrofe), *chaos* (caos), *conspicuous* (cospicuo), *contradictory* (contraddittorio), *crisis* (crisi), *criterion* (criterio), *critic* (critico), *delirium* (delirio), *disability* (disabilità), *to emancipate* (emancipare), *emphasis* (enfasi), *encyclopedia* (enciclopedia), *enthusiasm* (entusiasmo), *epilepsy* (epilessia), *to eradicate* (sradicare), *exact* (esatto), *to exaggerate* (esagerare), *excavate* (scavare), *excursion* (escursione), *to exist* (esistere), *expectation* (aspettativa), *explain* (spiegare), *external* (esterno), *fact* (fatto), *glottis* (glottide), *habitual* (abituale), *idiosyncrasy* (idiosincrasia), *immaturity* (immaturità),

impersonal (impersonale), *larynx* (laringe), *lunar* (lunare), *malignant* (maligno), *monopoly* (monopolio), *monosyllable* (monosillabo), *to necessitate* (necessitare), *obstruction* (ostruzione), *pancreas* (pancreas), *parasite* (parassita), *parenthesis* (parentesi), *pathetic* (patetico), *relaxation* (rilassamento), *relevant* (rilevante), *scheme* (schema), *skeleton* (scheletro), *species* (specie), *tactics* (tattiche), *temperature* (temperatura), *tendon* (tendine), *thermometer* (termometro), *tibia* (tibia), *transcribe* (trascrivere), *ulna* (ulna), *virus* (virus).

- Dal francese o tramite esso:

anatomy (anatomia), *battery* (batteria), *bayonet* (baionetta), *bizarre* (bizzarro), *chocolate* (cioccolato), *colonel* (colonnello), *detail* (dettaglio), *docility* (docilità), *duel* (duello), *entrance* (entrata), *to explore* (esplorare), *grotesque* (grottesco), *to invite* (invitare), *moustache* (mustacchi), *muscle* (muscolo), *to naturalize* (naturalizzare), *passport* (passaporto), *pioneer* (pioniere), *probability* (probabilità), *progress* (progresso), *tosurpass* (sorpassare), *vase* (vaso), *vogue* (voga), *volunteer* (volontario). (Crystal, 2003)

6. Alcuni esempi di vocaboli entrati nel tardo inglese moderno derivanti dal latino e dal greco, suddivisi per area semantica:

- Nomi delle scienze:

biology (biologia), *embryology* (embriologia), *ethnology* (etnologia), *gynaecology* (ginecologia), *histology* (istologia), *morphology* (morfologia), *palaeontology* (paleontologia), *taxonomy* (tassonomia).

- Chimica:

caffeine (caffeina), *chloroform* (cloroformio), *cocaine* (cocaina), *platinum* (platino), *sodium* (sodio), *silicon* (silicone), *sucrose* (saccarosio).

- Fisica:

altimeter (altimetro), *centigrade* (centigrado), *electron* (elettrone), *voltmeter* (voltmetro, dall'italiano Alessandro Volta).

- Biologia:

bacterium (batterio), *chlorophyll* (clorofilla), *chromosome* (cromosoma), *leucocyte* (leucocita), *mitosis* (mitosi), *photosynthesis* (fotosintesi), *spermatozoon* (spermatozoo), *symbiosis* (simbiosi).

- Geologia:
apatite (apatite), *bauxite* (bauxite), *Cambrian* (cambriano), *cretaceous* (cretaceo), *Jurassic* (giurassico), *Mesozoic* (mesozoico), *Oligocene* (oligocene), *Ordovician* (ordoviciano), *Pliocene* (pliocene), *Triassic* (triassico).
- Medicina:
aphasia (afasia), *cirrhosis* (cirrosi), *claustrophobia* (claustrofobia), *gastritis* (gastrite), *haemophilia* (emofilia), *kleptomania* (cleptomania), *laryngitis* (laringite), *neuritis* (neurite). (Iodice, 2005).

7. Alcuni esempi di prestiti di origine latina che compongono il lessico informatico, divisi secondo il secolo di ingresso nella lingua inglese:

- XV secolo:
Abbreviation (abbreviazione), *alphabet* (alfabeto), *catalog* (catalogo), *character* (carattere), *column* (colonna), *comment* (commento), *duplication* (duplicazione), *instruction* (istruzione), *line* (linea), *page* (pagina), *public* (pubblico), *structure* (struttura).
- XVI secolo:
calculator (calcolatrice), *circuit* (circuito), *entity* (entità), *error* (errore), *function* (funzione), *logical* (logico), *map* (mappa), *matrix* (matrice), *numeral* (numero), *operator* (operatore), *section* (sezione), *sector* (settore), *segment* (segmento), *signal* (segnale), *symbol* (simbolo), *theory* (teoria), *transmission* (trasmissione).
- XVII secolo:
adaptability (adattabilità), *component* (componente), *data* (dato), *diagram* (diagramma), *fiber* (fibra), *heterogeneous* (eterogeneo), *homogeneous* (omogeneo), *logarithm* (logaritmo), *numeric* (numerico), *process* (processo), *prototype* (prototipo), *satellite* (satellite), *system* (sistema), *technology* (tecnologia), *virtual* (virtuale), *volatile* (volatile).
- XVIII secolo:
automatic (automatico), *execute* (eseguire), *exponent* (esponente), *graphic* (grafico), *operation* (operazione) e forse *unit* (unità) e *vector* (vettore).
- XIX secolo:
analog (analogico), *code* (codificare), *decode* (decodificare), *format* (formato), *manipulation* (manipolazione), *menu* (menù), *motor* (motore), *normal* (normale), *phase* (fase), *program* (programma), *terminal* (terminale), *to transfer* (trasferire).

- XX Secolo:

audio (audio), *bit*, *computer*, *database*, *demodulation* (demodulazione), *directory*, *editor*, *fax*, *informatics* (informatica), *media* (media), *modem*, *note[book]*, *scanner*, *sensor* (sensore), *server*, *transistor*, *video* (video). (Iodice, 2005). Non è stata fornita una traduzione delle parole che sono entrate in italiano come prestiti dall'inglese.

Notes

1. http://www.regnounito.net/storia_della_lingua_inglese.html

The Homeric scholia: from the text to hypertext (Presentation of the project on the scholia of the *Iliad* of the University of Nanterre, Paris X)¹

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Labex “The pasts in the present”

ABSTRACT

The objective of our paper is to present the project on the Homeric Scholia of the Labex ‘The pasts in the Present’ in the University of Nanterre, Paris X. The scholia of the *Iliad*- the marginal and interlinear annotations which accompany Homer’s text in medieval manuscripts- form a gigantic corpus unrivalled in its richness, to which specialists in Antiquity constantly refer. This corpus, which has never been translated, is the one which most lends itself to the invention of a new kind of online publishing, in conformity with its function, which is fundamentally that of the hypertext link. Indeed, it was the Alexandrians, from the third century B.C., who invented the concept of a commentary separate from the text. In the first part of our paper, we will present the philological aspect of this project and in the second part, we will attempt to demonstrate the applicability of XML-TEI on it and how this digital tool can be used practically in relation to the corpus of the Homeric Scholia.

KEYWORDS

Homeric Scholia, *Iliad*, Alexandrian scholarship, lexicographical scholia, commentaries, annotations, medieval manuscripts, XML-TEI, digital aspect.

The scholia to Homer’s *Iliad*² –marginal and interlinear annotations that accompany the text in medieval manuscripts– form a gigantic corpus of unparalleled richness.³ They preserve significant information on the Homeric text and on its ancient reception and commentary, inherited from the Alexandrians (3rd-2nd cent. BC) and their successors, and they constitute an encyclopedia of ancient knowledge on this most important of texts.

The objective of our paper is to present, in the first part, the philological project on the Homeric scholia of the University of Nanterre, Paris X (Labex ‘The pasts in the present’) and in the second part the digital and more technical aspect of this project, and particularly the applicability of XML TEI on it which could facilitate the research on this enormous corpus of ancient texts.

First of all, concerning the historical context of the project, we could say that the Ancient scholarship on Homer (6th century BC) was extensive and of high quality, for the best scholars of antiquity devoted much of their time and energy to the Homeric poems. Editing the text of Homer was one of the main tasks of the first Alexandrian scholars:⁴ Zenodotus (Greek grammarian, and Homeric scholar, who was also the first superintendent of the Library of Alexandria and the first critical editor of Homer) Aristophanes of Byzantium (a

grammarian particularly renowned for his work in Homeric scholarship, but also for his work on other classical authors) and Aristarchus whose critical revision of Homer is responsible for the excellent texts of Homer that survive. All of them produced editions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and Aristarchus wrote extensive commentaries, while Zenodotus and Aristophanes compiled glossaries of primarily Homeric words. None of the very early work on Homer survives in its original form, a surprising amount is preserved in various later compilations, so we often know, for example, the readings of several different Alexandrian scholars for a particular passage.⁵ One of the principal source for the ancient scholarship on Homer is the Homeric scholia which is a gigantic work, as we said, filling many volumes in modern editions. Most of the scholia to the *Iliad* fall into three basic groups:⁶

The A scholia⁷ are termed ‘critical’ and they come from the margins of the most famous *Iliad* manuscript, Venetus A, (10th century).⁸ The A scholia derive from the so-called "VMK" (*Viermännerkommentar*, “four-man commentary”), named for the four ancient scholars Aristonicus, Didymus, Herodian, and Nicanor.⁹ The main source for the A scholia was probably a compilation of their work.¹⁰ At the end of almost every book¹¹ the scribe added a subscription¹² indicating their source:

«παρακείται τὰ Ἀριστονίκου Σημεῖα καὶ τὰ Διδύμου Περὶ τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως, τινὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰλιακῆς προσωδίας Ἡρωδιανοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Νικάνορος Περὶ στιγμῆς»
«Written beside [the text] are Aristonicus ‘Signs’ and Didymus’ ‘On the Aristarchean edition’ and also some extracts from Herodian’s ‘Iliadic prosody’ and from Nicanor’s ‘On punctuation’».¹³

Because all of these scholars worked on the Aristarchean edition of the Homeric text, much of the A scholia can be traced back to Aristarchus himself. For this reason, this group of scholia constitutes a major source of information about the opinions of Aristarchus, and they are very important for our knowledge of the Homeric text, the methods of Alexandrian scholarship, the ancient systems of accentuation, punctuation, the critical signs, the textual variants, etc.

The critical signs¹⁴ which are attested near to the verses of the Homeric text in the manuscript Venetus A are the following:

- i) The plain dipole (>) which indicates some significant use of language in the line, such as an interesting use of diction, or a word of disputed meaning.
- ii) The obelus (÷ ou —) which demonstrates that Aristarchus athetized the line.
- iii) The dotted (or pointed) dipole (>) which indicates that Zenodotus’s text of the line in question differed from that of Aristarchus.

- iv) The asterisk (*) which is used to indicate that the same verse occurs elsewhere.
- v) The plain anstisigma (⊖) indicates that a verse is in wrong place and should be moved to a different location in the text.
- vi) The pointed antisigma (⊖) indicates that a line or group of lines is repeating something already said, consequently it is judged by Aristarchus to be redundant.
- vii) The point (.) is used to indicate that Aristarchus felt uneasy about the lines in question, but was not prepared to athetize them with the obelus.

These critical signs in the Homeric manuscript are very important for the correct comprehension of the Homeric text in relation to the Homeric scholia and consequently in relation to the modern translation, as we can confirm it in the following example:

Examples:

{ἔσκεν} ὑφηνίοχος: ὅτι παρέλκει ἢ πρόθεσις ὡς ἐν τῷ ‘Ποσειδάωνος ὑποδμῶς’ (δ 386) A (Erbse 134, 14-15).

The first phrase of this extract is a part of the Homeric verse ‘{ἔσκεν} ὑφηνίοχος= he was a charioteer’ and the scholion starts with the conjunction ‘ὅτι’ which means ‘because’. Consequently, if we translate the scholion by saying: ‘he was a charioteer because the preposition is redundant as in the [verse] ‘the servant of Poseidon’ we understand that there is not any correlation between the Homeric verse and its annotation. However, if we consult the manuscript, we see that near to this Homeric verse there is the critical sign of obelus, so we can translate it by saying: he was a charioteer: [the obelus is found] because the preposition is redundant as in [the verse] ‘the servant of Poseidon’. For this reason, for this special group of the Homeric scholia, it is important to consult systematically the manuscript in order to understand and translate correctly the text.

Then, we have the bT scholia.¹⁵ They are so named because they are found in the manuscript T (11th century) and in the descendants of the lost manuscript b (6th century). These scholia are also known as the exegetical scholia, because they are concerned primarily with the interpretation of the Homeric verses rather than textual criticism, as we can confirm it in the two following examples which explain the content of the Homeric verses.

Examples:

ἄνδρὸς ἔπειτ’ ὄφελλον ἀμείμονος: διδάσκει ὁ ποιητῆς τὰς ἐπιγαμίας πρὸς συνετοῦς ποιεῖσθαι. ἢ γοῦν Ἑλένη πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἔχουσα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ υἱὸν βασιλέως εὔχεται συνετοῦ γεγενῆσθαι γυνή bT (Erbse 191, 88-91).

γόν πάσῃσιν ἐνώρσεν: ἦ διηγησαμένη, ἦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων δακρύων. ἠύξησε δὲ τὸ συμπαθὲς διὰ τοῦ παρανόμου θρήνου θρηνοῦσι γὰρ ζῶντα. ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐνδείκνυται ὡς δεῖ οὕτω δεσπάζειν, ἵνα καὶ εὐνοῶνται **bT (Erbse 214, 79-82)**.

Finally, we have the D scholia which have been recently edited by Helmut van Thiel.¹⁶ The D scholia, which are erroneously named after Didymus,¹⁷ are also known as ‘scholia minora’ or ‘scholia vulgata’. They are the largest group of the Homeric scholia¹⁸ and our earliest manuscript evidence for them is older than that for the other types. Our sources are the manuscripts Z¹⁹ and Q²⁰, which date to the ninth and eleventh century respectively.²¹ The major component of the D scholia is lexicographical, consisting of short definitions or explanations of obscure words, mythological²² and allegorical explanations, plot summaries and paraphrases. This material can provide important evidence for the interpretation of Homeric language, and they give us an insight into some of the ways Homer was read and understood in antiquity, providing an essential avenue to an understanding of education systems in the ancient world and the history and evolution of scholarship.

Examples:

ἀτυζόμενοι: ταρασσόμενοι D (Van Thiel 257, Z 41/Zs). φοβέοντο: ἔφευγον **D (Van Thiel 257, Z 41/Ys)**. ἐκ δίφροιο: ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος **D (Van Thiel 257, Z 42/Zs)**.

A 611/Zs χρυσόθρονος: χρυσοῦν θρόνον ἔχουσα, βασιλῆς. μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρὸς τῷ αἰθέρι τοῦ ἀέρος γειννῶντα τῷ ἡλίῳ πυρώδη ἐστίν. ὁ γὰρ ποιητὴς ἀλληγορῶν τὸν χρυσὸν λαμβάνει ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός. **ZYQX(A)R**

Finally, the project on the Homeric scholia is completed with the Byzantine scholia of Eustathios of Thessalonica and particularly with the rewriting of the Homeric scholia by the most important scholar of the 12th century.²³ In this text, Eustathios²⁴ rewrites the Homeric scholia and other passages and he transforms them in a ‘commentary’ to which he gives the title Parekbolai. Eustathios’ Parekbolai consist of extracts from commentaries on Homer. On the one hand, he analyzes and explains the Homeric text based on the collections of the ancient scholia, on the other hand, he constantly enriches these Homeric scholia which always constitute his starting point, with extracts, quotations, or notes of other authors- such as poets, lexicographers, grammarians, historians, geographers, philosophers and rhetoricians, but also with personal and critical remarks which are innumerable in his work and do not always refer directly to the text of Homer itself. It is a selection and a compilation of extracts of commentaries on Homer which constitute a kind of anthology and compose an autonomous, personal and independent commentary on the Homeric text. In other words, for Eustathios, the Homeric text can be taught²⁵ and explained only by the accumulation of different information, that’s why his

commentary is considered as a mine of information on Homer. He has also in mind that *Iliad* belongs to a remote past, words have changed their meaning since Homer's time, and according to him, the reader must be alert to these semantic changes.²⁶ For this reason, he attempts to modernize constantly the Homeric text in the 12th century by giving synonyms, antonyms and contemporary examples of his era. We work on the monumental edition of Marchinus van der Valk.²⁷ This Byzantine commentary is found in the Codex Laurentianus Plut. LIX 2 et 3 -and according to M. van der Valk²⁸ and Wilson²⁹ it is considered as the autograph manuscript of Eustathius but we are always waiting for the article of the paleographer in Paris, Brigitte Mondrain, which can probably reject this supposition.

Consequently, the interest in these scholia is two-fold. Firstly, in terms of content, they preserve significant information on the Homeric text and on its commentary, inherited from the Alexandrians and their successors, and they constitute an encyclopedia of ancient knowledge.

Secondly, in terms of functionality, they provide the departure point for a larger and more ambitious investigation since these scholia are the forefather of our contemporary footnotes and hypertext links. For this reason, the object of this project is double:

The first consists of making this essential corpus available to the international scholarly community in an appropriate digital environment (open source web site).

The second is subdivided in two: a study of the functioning of scholia, heretofore only studied for their contents even though they are the first identifiable historic milestone in the implementation of hypertextual logic for transmitting significant information on the Greeks' fundamental text; and a reflection on the invention of a new form of online publishing conforming to this hypertextual logic.

This new form of online publishing conforming to this hypertextual logic is appeared basically in the first version of our website with the main thematic lists of our project.³⁰ In this first version of the site, we explain briefly the definition of the Homeric scholia, we demonstrate some Homeric manuscripts and particularly the form of the scholia attested in these manuscripts and we give the Greek text edited by H. Erbse and our French translation for the Homeric scholia of the first book of *Iliad*. Moreover, we have classified in four different lists the basic groups of the scholia (A, bT, D and Byzantine scholia) that we have already presented and this classification is based on the goals of the electronic edition of this enormous text.

Since we mention the goal of the electronic edition of our text, we pass now to the applicability of XML-TEI on the project. This digital tool contributes to a better understanding of the scholia surviving in the manuscripts and can make the information widely available to scholars and students. Precisely, it offers the possibility to students and researchers to search and consult

all the Homeric scholia classified in one file, to define the criteria of their research by choosing firstly only one category of the Homeric scholia (A, bT, D, or Byz.), and secondly the Homeric quotations, or the quotations of other poets, historians, lexicographers, geographers, philosophers etc. attested in the corpus of the scholia. Moreover, there are a lot of proper names (for persons or places) that can be searched directly in the Greek text or in the translated text and generally, this digital format is searchable in a better and more effective way than the printed volumes.

The XML is an extensive markup language (=language) and the TEI is a Text Encoding Initiative (=code). As the title mentions it, everything depends on our initiative for text encoding. In other words, everything depends on the textual elements that we want to encode and on the goals of our electronic edition.

The methodological applicability of XML-TEI on the texts is explained clearly in the website with the Guidelines of XML-TEI³¹ which is addressed to anyone who works with any kind of textual resource in digital form. This site of Guidelines is very useful because it contains the 24 chapters of the text body³² that explain clearly the stages of the electronic text encoding and interchange.

Concerning the applicability of this digital tool in relation to the corpus of the Homeric Scholia, we present simply some textual elements that can be encoded in order to permit to the researchers and students not only a better understanding of the *Iliad's* scholia in relation to the poetic text but also a better understanding of the Homeric scholia in relation to the scholia, commentaries and lexica of the posterior literary and scholarly works.

Following the anatomy of the XML-TEI, we always use one opening angle bracket and one closing angle bracket (or only one closing angle bracket) in order to encode the textual elements in relation to the goals of the electronic edition. In other words, each textual element has one start tag and one end tag and the data are always in the middle. In the following examples, we have chosen to encode three basic textual elements which can facilitate the research on this enormous corpus of the Homeric scholia.

Firstly, we encode some proper names repeated frequently in the text in different locations, secondly we translate in French the scholion on the first verse of *Iliad* and we encode the three poetic quotations (Hesiod, Pindar, Antimachus of Colophonius) in relation to this Homeric verse. In the third example, we encode also the French translation of the Greek quotation.

Example 1

```
<name type="person"> Achille</name>
<name type="person"> Hector</name>
<name type="person"> Andromaque </name>
<name type="place"> Troie</name>
<name type="place"> Thèbes</name>
<name type="place"> Ilion </name>
```

Example 2

ἄειδε «chante»: à savoir ici: assurément, c'est selon la licence poétique ou l'usage qu'il prend les formes impératives à la place des formes optatives; de fait, Hésiode dit (opp. 2)

```
<quote> venez et dites </quote>,
et Pindare (fr. 150 Sn.)
<quote> devine, Muse </quote>
AT et Antimaque de Colophon (fr. 1 W)
<quote> dites, filles du Grand Zeus, fils de Cronos </quote> A
```

Example 3

ἄειδε «chante»: à savoir ici: assurément, c'est selon la licence poétique ou l'usage qu'il prend les formes impératives à la place des formes optatives; de fait, Hésiode dit (opp. 2)

```
<quote> δεῦτε δὴ ἐννέπετε </quote>
< cit type="translation" xml:lang="fr">
<quote> venez et dites </quote>
</cit>
et Pindare (fr. 150 Sn.) <quote> μαντεύεο Μοῦσα </quote>
<cit type="translation" xml:lang="fr">
<quote> devine, Muse </quote>
</cit>
AT et Antimaque de Colophon (fr. 1 W)
<quote> ἐννέπετε Κρονίδαο Διὸς μέγαλοιο θύγατρεις </quote> <cit type="translation" xml:lang="fr">
<quote> dites, filles du Grand Zeus, fils de Cronos </quote>
</cit> A
```

Progressively, the official site of the project is created, since this digital format is variable, updatable and searchable in a way that a printed volume is not. Students and researchers can define the criteria of their research on this enormous text, examine separately some textual

elements of the scholia which are frequently incomprehensible in a simple lecture, and consult simultaneously the translation of the corpus of the Homeric scholia. There are innumerable textual elements that can be encoded and everything depends on the time that we have in our disposition and on the goal of the electronic edition that we prepare.

Finally, this project should be considered as a part of an eco-system in the fields of Classical Studies whose aim is to publish online ancient texts, translations and commentaries. The first project which is based on XML-TEI is the text of the scholia of Euripides edited by Donald Mastronard.³³ The goal of this project is to gain a better understanding of the scholia surviving in medieval manuscripts of Euripides and make the information widely available to scholars and students. Following the same method of encoding the scholia with XML-TEI, the editor divides the text in: scholia vetera, scholia vetera with translation and apparatus criticus, scholia of Manuel Moschopoulos, and Thomas Magister, Triclinian scholia, Triclinian Prefatory texts etc. The second project is the HyperDonat.³⁴ It is a collection of digital editions of ancient commentaries with a translation and apparatus criticus. The next project is the Historia Apostolica of Arator,³⁵ and then the Homer Multitext Project³⁶ of Christopher Blackwell and Neel Smith. This project seeks to present the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in a critical framework. The last one is the EPIdoc³⁷ (**E**pi**g**raphic **D**ocuments). It is an international, collaborative effort that provides guidelines and tools for encoding scholarly and educational editions of ancient documents.

Consequently, as a part of this eco system, the website of the Homeric scholia gives already access to the corpus of the scholia which is augmented progressively, their manuscripts, their translation, their commentary, the study of their functioning and their metamorphosis till their last stage: the hypertextual link.

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Notes

1. The scientific responsible of this project is Ch. Bréchet (Assistant Professor, University of Nanterre, Paris X).
2. For the Homeric Scholia, see: T.W. Allen (1931); id., (1920: 250-272); F. Chamoux (1992:11-16); W. Deeke (1953:1-38); id.,(1921:625-643); A. Henrichs (1971: 97- 149, 229-60); M. Hombert & C. Preaux (1951:162-168); E. Howald (1917: 403-425); R. Lambertson & J. Keane (1992); K. Lehrs (1882: 364-368); A. Ludwich (1884-1885); P. Mazon (1967); R.Meijering (1987); G. Nagy (1997:101-22); R.Nünlist (2003:61-71); G. Pasquali (1952:208); R. Pfeiffer (1968: 210-233); A. Severyns (1928); M. van der Valk (1963); id., (1971: 1-11); id., (1984: 39-49); id., (1970: 489-499); E. Howald (1928: 171-87); M. Neumann (1893: 145-340); J. B. Wace & F. H. Stubings (1963); N. G. Wilson (1967: 244-56).
3. The scholia to the *Odyssey* are much fewer and less well preserved than those to the *Iliad* (Filippomaria Pontani is now working on a new edition of the scholia on the *Odyssey*); see E. Dickey (2007).
4. E. Dickey (2007: 18).
5. *ibid.*18.
6. Most of the A scholia and bT scholia are found in the edition of H. Erbse (1969-1983). The seven volumes of this edition omit many scholia from important traditions. This omitted material includes the D scholia and the bT scholia derived from Porhyry (ed. 1882) and Heraclitus (ed. 1910). The D scholia omitted by Erbse can be found in Van Thiel's edition *Scholia in Iliadem*: <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/klassphil/vanthiel/index.html>. However these editions do not cover all the *Iliad* scholia, for this reason, one must consult

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- the older editions which cover the most important manuscripts separately: L.Bachmann (1835); G.Dindorf (1875-1877); E. Maass (1887-1888); J. Nicole (1891).
7. Marcianus Graecus Z.454(= 822), Venetus A.
 8. The A scholia (Venetus 454) are discovered in 1779 by Villoison; for this manuscript, see P. Mazon (1967: 10-14).
 9. G. Nagy (1997: 104-5).
 10. M. van der Valk (1963: 107).
 11. According to P. Mazon, at the end of the books XVII and XXIV this subscription is not indicated because the end of the book XVII is written by a second hand and the scholia of the book XXIV are completed to the verse 795, see : P. Mazon (1967: 75, n. 3.).
 12. E. Dickey (2007: 19).
 13. *ibid.*, p.19.
 14. For the critical signs in the manuscript Venetus A, see B. Graeme (2009: 98-115).
 15. *ibid.*, p.19.
 16. <http://www.unikoeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/klassphil/vanthiel/index.html>. (This edition is available only on Internet).
 17. A. Henrichs (1971: 99).
 18. *ibid.* (1971: 97-149).
 19. Z=Romanus Graecus 6, Biblioteca Nazionale+Matritensis 4629 (s.IX).
 20. Q=Vaticanus Graecus 33 (s.IX).
 21. For a completed presentation on the manuscripts of the scholia D, see H. Van Thiel (2000: 8-13).
 22. For a detailed presentation on the mythological scholia D, see M. van der Valk (1963: 303-413).

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23. On the social and intellectual world of the 12th century, see A.P. Kazhdan & A. Wh. Epstein (1985: 130-133; 220-230); P. Magdalino (1993: 339-352); F. Pontani (2005: 297-455).
24. On Eustathios' life and work, see M. Angold (1995: 179-196); R. Browning (1995: 83-90); A. Kazhdan (1991: 754); P. Magdalino (1993); *id.* (1996: 225-238); S. Schönauer (2004: 143-151); P. Wirth (1960); *id.* (1980).
25. For the educational system in Byzantium, see A. Markopoulos (2008: 785–795); *id.*, (2005: 183–200); *id.*, (2006: 85–89); B. Flusin (2006: 97–102); T. Morgan (1998: 308–309).
26. For the pedagogical development and the changes in Byzantine literary culture during the 11th and 12th century, see A.P. Kazhdan – A. Wh. Epstein (1985); A. Kazhdan (1984); P. Magdalino (2012: 19–36); P. Agapitos (1998: 170–190).
27. M. van der Valk (1971-1987).
28. M. van der Valk (1971-1987: vol. I, IX-XVI).
29. N. G. Wilson (1973: 226-228).
30. <http://scholia-homerica.u-paris10.fr/>
31. <http://www.tei-c.org/Guidelines/>
32. <http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/index.html>
33. <http://euripidesscholia.org/EurSchStructure.html>
34. <http://hyperdonat.huma-num.fr/>
35. <http://beta.bibliissima.fr/fr/ark:/43093/oedatacb122461935>
36. <http://www.homermultitext.org/>
37. <https://sourceforge.net/p/epidoc/wiki/Home/>

English discourse markers in Cypriot Greek

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ABSTRACT

Drawing from a dataset of 40 hours of recordings of informal naturally-occurring conversations among Greek Cypriots collected from 2008 to 2011 (Fotiou, 2015), this paper discusses the function of English discourse markers in the form of borrowing and codeswitching in CG informal discourse.

Discourse markers are lexical expressions which usually function to mark a relationship between a segment they introduce and a prior segment of talk (Fraser, 1999). A variety of English discourse markers is evident in the data, the most frequent being *anyway*, followed by *so* and *by the way*. The paper also discusses *sorry*, a borrowed politeness marker which, as Terkourafi (2011) claimed, is also used as a discourse marker in Cypriot Greek.

Following a conversational analytic approach (Auer, 2009), this paper shows the various functions these discourse markers have and claims that they by no means fill in a gap in the discourse marker repertoire of Cypriot Greek nor have they replaced the native discourse markers. Also, English discourse markers do not have a different function than the Cypriot Greek ones, but because they are usually “surrounded” by another language their function is enhanced (Maschler, 1994). Finally, the case of *sorry*, a borrowed politeness marker from English to CG is discussed in relation to its functions as a discourse marker.

KEY WORDS

Cypriot Greek, English, discourse markers, conversation analysis.

1. Introduction

Discourse Markers (henceforth DMs) are lexical expressions drawn from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbials, and prepositional phrases which usually function to mark a relationship between a segment they introduce and a prior segment of talk (Fraser, 1999). What makes DMs a linguistic category is that they share a functional status (de Rooij, 2000). DMs are structurally independent elements; they have a clause-peripheral status in terms of their position in the clause, and they have positional flexibility (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Matras, 2009; de Rooij, 2000). These characteristics make them easy to use in bilingual discourse (Matras, 2009). While this may be true, DMs in the dataset studied in this paper are infrequent. Switching of DMs is reported *inter alia* in Boumans (1998) with Moroccan Arabic-Dutch data, de Rooij (2000) with French-Shaba Swahili data, and Maschler (1994) with Hebrew-English-, but their frequency is not always (adequately) reported.

2. Data and Methods

The data of this study originate from a PhD project (Fotiou, 2015). The study was exploratory in nature and aimed to address claims for extensive and destructive use of English in the Cypriot Greek discourse. The data involves 40 hours of naturally-occurring informal conversations (36 recordings) recorded from 12/2008 to 09/2011. The ‘friend of a friend’ sampling procedure was adopted in order to find participants willing to record themselves and/or their friends. In total, 112 participants were recorded, all born and raised in Cyprus, aged 10-55 years old, and all living in urban settings. A subset of the recordings (N=7) was conducted in the UK and they involved people temporarily living there for study or work purposes. Pseudonyms are provided for all participants (Fotiou, 2015).

For the analysis of the conversational functions of DMs a conversational analytic approach is followed (Auer, 1995; 1998; 2009). Auer’s framework has moved codeswitching work one step forward by diverging from the norm of analyzing isolated sentences and providing tenuous lists of conversational loci, forms and functions with no sequential analysis showing *how* codeswitching is implemented in the conversation and how it brings about the effects it does at the conversational level (Auer, 1995).

Overall, the conversation analysis approach for bilingual data studies codeswitching as a conversational event (Auer, 1998) without taking for granted any associations of linguistic varieties with social values and specific situations. The starting point of the analysis is the “embeddedness of codeswitching in the sequential organization of interaction” (2009: 490) and whether or not a certain choice of language comes before or after the same or a different language (ibid.).

Auer makes a distinction between discourse-related and participant-related codeswitching. Participant-related codeswitching tells us something about the speaker; it indexes some trait of the speaker (1999), and it is not of interest in this paper. This paper will discuss examples of discourse-related codeswitching, which occurs when codeswitching acts as a contextualization cue for the organization of discourse (Auer, 1995). It relates to issues about turn-taking in conversation, holding or giving up the floor of the conversation, repair mechanisms, cohesion and coherence in discourse, emphasizing something and so on. In other words, it involves using codeswitching “to organize the conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance” (Auer, 1998: 4).

2. 1. What counts as codeswitching and what counts as borrowing?

This paper follows Thomason (2001: 132) and sees codeswitching as “the use of material from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation”. From the arena

of codeswitching *established borrowings* are excluded. Any DMs in this paper which are referred to as borrowings are regarded as established borrowings in the Greek Cypriot community. Anything that is not referred to as a borrowing is an instance of codeswitching.

3. Analysis and Results

3.1. The use of *anyway*

The most frequently used DM is *anyway* (N=34), arguably a borrowing in CG and the structural and functional equivalent of *telospandon* ‘anyway’ with which it co-occurs. In English, *anyway(s)* functions to “signal a return from digression” (Heeman, 1997: 56; Park, 2010: 3283) or as a sequence-closing device (Park, 2010). These are also the two functions evident here. *Anyway* takes the form of a Turn Constructional Unit (henceforth TCU) (N=2), occurs at the beginning of a speaker’s turn (N=7), or in the middle of a speaker’s turn but between clauses (N=25).

In (1) the speaker starts his turn with *anyway* to mark the end of a digression; *anyway* acts as a “resumption marker” (Park, 2010; Halliday & Hasan, 1976), as explicitly stated in a metalinguistic comment:

1. *anyway* (.) ksefiyame tʃe lali mu
‘*Anyway*, we digressed and she says to me...’

In (2) and (3) *anyway* occurs twice to mark a digression, at mid-turn and end-of-turn. Demetra and Ioli talk about a school competition regarding which girl made the most changes in her appearance in high school.

2. Ioli: itan ipopsifia eyo tʃini tʃe (2) en θimume pca al:i itan (.) *anyway* tʃe ul:i ekarterusan na fci i Maria
‘She and I were candidates and, I don’t remember who else, *anyway* and everyone expected Maria to win’.

Ioli digresses from her narration because she cannot remember who the third contestant is. After a 2-second pause, she explicitly says what the trouble is, and following another shorter pause she marks the end of the digression with *anyway* and continues with the story. In the next turn, Demetra wants to know the changes Maria underwent:

3. Demetra: inda al:aji ekame?
Ioli: taxa efkale jaʎ:a eforise fakus eni ksero *anyway*
Demetra: ne
Ioli: tʃe taxa efcika eyo
Demetra: ‘What kind of change did she make?’
Ioli: ‘Supposedly she took off her glasses, put on contact lenses, I don’t know *anyway*’.

Demetra: ‘Yes’.

Ioli: ‘And supposedly I was the winner’.

Ioli perceives this as another digression, comments briefly on some of Maria’s changes, remarks that she does not know of any other changes –thus she downgrades them– and marks the end of the digression with *anyway*. *Anyway* also functions as a marker of indifference and of those changes being unimportant. Demetra accepts the end of the digression, and then Ioli reaches the resolution of her narration.

In (4) both Despina and Eleana use *anyway* to mark the end of an “interactionally troublesome sequence” (Park, 2010). First Despina provides a TCU with *anyway* and Eleana agrees on changing the topic by saying *ne* (‘yes’) and by reiterating *anyway*. They both work together with the use of *anyway* to overcome an “interactional impasse” (ibid).

4. Despina: en psemata pu sas ipan telika oti?

Eleana: eni ksero

Despina: ndaksi

Eleana: eʃi mas ipan

Despina: *anyway*

Eleana: ne *anyway*

Despina: ‘Did they lie to you when they said that?’

Eleana: ‘I don’t know’.

Despina: ‘Ok’.

Eleana: ‘This is what they told us’.

Despina: *Anyway*.

Eleana: ‘Yes *anyway*’.

3. 2. The use of *by the way*

By the way, which is arguably the structural and functional equivalent of *en to metaksi* ‘by the way’ occurs three times and it marks the occurrence of a side comment which gives extra information after the side comment is produced. *By the way* is not triggered by the use of English and it does not trigger English either. For example:

5. Timotheos: to *transformers* iðete to ðio?

Aliki: ne ʃe itan para pol:a oreo

Revekka: mbori na to iða al:a en θimume ute titlus ute

Aliki: ʃe en ixa ði to ena *by the way*

Timotheos: ‘Have you watched *Transformers II*?’

Aliki: ‘Yes, and it was very good’.

Revekka: ‘I might have watched it but I don’t remember movie names’.

Aliki: ‘And I hadn’t watched the first one *by the way*’.

Timotheos asks if anyone has watched *Transformers II*. Aliki responds positively while Revekka is unsure. Aliki assesses the movie (line 2) and adds (line 4) that she had not even

watched *Transformers I*. In other words, she liked the movie despite not having watched the first part. *By the way* not only marks this side comment, but also highlights it.

3. 3. The use of *so* and *plus*

Ten tokens of English conjunctions function as DMs: *so* (N=7) and *plus* (N=3). Use of conjunctions in bilingual discourse is noted *inter alia* in Boumans (1998), Ben-Rafael (2001), and Myers-Scotton (1993) where it is also infrequent. In English *so* is a consequential marker (Schiffrin, 1987); it marks “inferential or causal connections” (Bolden, 2009: 974). In this dataset, it always conjoins two independent clauses. The former provides the cause/reason and the latter provides the effect/result. *So* seems to be a structural and functional equivalent of *ἀρα* /ara/ ‘so’. Example:

6. ixame milisi proti fora tin evðomaða prin (1) so emena en me ixan ynorisi akoma
‘We had talked for the first time the week before, *so* they hadn’t met me yet’.

In three cases an English insertion precedes *so*; possibly triggering its use as below.

7. exume sewage treatment plant so enen toso pol:a kalo
‘We have a *sewage treatment plant so* that isn’t very good’.

Plus is a coordinate conjunction which seems to be the structural and functional equivalent of *και* /ke/ ‘and’ as well as *επίσης* /episis/ ‘also’. In two cases *plus* conjoins independent clauses, such as in (8), and once it occurs at the beginning of a turn.

8. ute eyo mboro na kamo sta ikosieksi *plus* e mboro na kamo moro
‘I can’t have a baby either at 26 *plus* eh I can’t give birth to a baby’.

3. 4. Prepositional phrases as DMs

Besides the aforementioned English DMs, the English prepositional phrases below also function as DMs. In (9) the speaker explains why she did not really cheat on her boyfriend.

9. vasika *according to him* (.) ekama tu cerata (1) *according to me* (.) ife tfero pu tu elea
θelo na xorisume
‘Basically, *according to him*, I cheated on him. *According to me*, I had been telling him for quite some time I wanted to break up’.

The use of the DMs here, along with the use of pauses, not only structures her talk but also highlights the differences in her account of the breakup and that of her boyfriend’s.

In a different context, two friends, Ivi and Zenia, discuss the possibility of going to the gym after work. Zenia insists that they should first leave their laptops at home because they might get stolen at the gym:

10. Ivi: ne al:a eyo ksero oti an erto spiti en θa fio

Zenia: ne ne *I know* apla leo su an mi jenito klepsun mas to lapt^hop kapcos en:a su pi “*what the fuck* jati en to epires spiti?” extos an en ena prama pu en:a to kamnume te λ a *automatic along the lines of* (.) mbenis spiti (.) al:asis (.) as pume *in and out* en:en na [speaking slower] anikso l:i::o to la::ptop mu:: na mili::so sto telefono:: na skefto nambu n:a fao::

Ivi: ne ne

Zenia: en:oo su nan *literally in and out* e (3) eni ksero re

Ivi: ‘Yes but I know that if I come home I won’t leave’.

Zenia: ‘Yes yes *I know* I am just saying God forbid they steal our laptop someone will tell you “*what the fuck* why didn’t you bring it home?” Unless it is a procedure that we will do entirely *automatic along the lines of* (.) you enter the house (.) you change (.) let’s say in and out it won’t be [speaking slower] I switch on my:: la::ptop I ta::lk on the pho::ne I think of what to ea::t’.

Ivi: ‘yes, yes’.

Zenia: ‘I mean *literally in and out* eh (3) I don’t know, mate’.

Zenia uses English to build up her argument and convince Ivi that they need to go home first before going to the gym. Ivi highlights her point by expressing the first person pronoun in line 1 which, since CG is a ‘pro-drop’ language, is done overtly for emphasis. Zenia aligns herself with Ivi’s thinking and shows this by saying ‘yes, yes *I know*’. Insertion of *I know* is her way of emphasizing that she understands that it would be difficult to go home first before the gym. However, she then creates the scenario that their laptop is stolen in case they do not take it home. As an argumentative device, she constructs a remark by an imaginary person which she sets off with the insertion of an interjection in English (line 3). With impersonal quotations, codeswitching offers the possibility to say something while also detaching oneself from what you say (Alfonzetti, 1998). The use of *what the fuck* in English has a euphemistic function, since it is less offensive to swear in another language rather than one’s own; “there is less emotional attachment to words in a foreign language” (Backus, 2000: 131). The construction of someone’s hypothetical words, instead of directly telling her friend her thoughts, also depersonalizes Zenia’s view that it is absurd to leave their laptops at the gym’s lockers. Therefore she avoids having a strong argument with her friend, and at the same time she adds intersubjective weight to it.

Zenia proposes an alternative solution which has to be *automatic* (lines 4-6). The insertion of *automatic* –which should have been *automatically*– perhaps triggers the use of the English phrase *along the lines of* which functions as a DM that introduces the steps that need to be

followed for the ‘automatic’ solution to work. The steps are introduced in a staccato manner with small pauses between them, and they are then contrasted with the slower pace in which what they should not do is described. Ivi seems to agree and then Zenia repeats the description of her solution: *literally in and out*, to emphasize once more how fast and automatic the solution must be.

3. 5. *Sorry* as a DM

The rest of this paper focuses on *sorry*, pronounced as /'sori/, a borrowed politeness marker from English to CG which also functions as a DM. Even though one can hardly imagine a language with no means to express apology, *sorry* has been borrowed by various languages and is used alongside their native counterparts. In such cases there is “a division of labour between [the borrowed terms] and the corresponding inherited ones” (Terkourafi, 2011: 219). My data confirm Terkourafi’s attributed functions to borrowed *sorry* but perhaps show a much more frequent use of *sorry*; she noted 6 occurrences in 110 hours while here 23 occurrences were noted in 40 hours.¹ As Terkourafi (2011) explains, *sorry* is used in informal settings (a) as a token for apology; (b) to lexically mark the occurrence of self-repair; and (c) to lexically mark other-initiated repair. In the sections that follow I provide examples which confirm Terkourafi’s classification and I add a fourth function: (d) to mark/give an account/excuse for something.

3. 5. 1. *Sorry* as a token for apology

The first example (11) involves a sincere apology for being a few minutes late at a work meeting, which is a minor offence, while (12) involves an insincere apology for not being present when it was the speaker’s turn to play cards:

11. Elpiniki: *sorry* ya tin kaθisterisi
 Orestis: peθca *sorry* ya ti kaθisterisi en me kofti an perimenete (.) kserete (.) *you know*
 Elpiniki: ‘*sorry* for being late’.
 Orestis: ‘guys *sorry* for the delay I don’t care if you were waiting for me (.) you know (.) *you know*’.

The following examples show apologies articulated in the process of doing something, a function that English *sorry* also has (Kim, 2008, cited in Terkourafi, 2011). In such cases *sorry* also functions as an attention-getter (Coulmas, 1981, cited in Terkourafi, 2011). Below Mary apologizes to Zina for interrupting her while doing just that:

12. Zina: en:a pame tora sti vivliothiki pu ekamame//

Mary: //sa simera *sorry* pu se diakopto
 Zina: ‘we will go now to the library we made//’.
 Mary: ‘//for example today *sorry* for interrupting you’.

In (13) Natasa apologizes to Evagelia before doing something during a card game:

13. Natasa: *sorry* pu en:a to kamo tuto
 Natasa: ‘*sorry* for what I am about to do’.

In (14) Kiriaki apologizes to her interlocutor before saying something she deems inappropriate:

14. Kiriaki: mesa sto potamo zi ena iðos psari na to po? ðe ksero pos na to po (.) otan to
 (.) *sorry* pu en:a to po (.) ama katurisis mesa sto *Amazon* ine *attracted by the urine*
 Kiriaki: ‘in the river there is a kind of fish should I say it? I don’t know how to say
 it (.) when the *sorry* to say this (.) when you urinate in the *Amazon* it is
attracted by the urine’.

3. 5. 2. *Sorry* to lexically mark the occurrence of self-repair

Marking the occurrence of self-repair was the primary function of *sorry* in the data, as was also the case in Terkourafi (2011). Almost always prior to *sorry* there is a small pause (.)

15. Zina: na ine imerominia meyaliteri pu tudo *value* ara otan kseperasi tudo *value* tfe
 ine meyaliteri (.) *sorry* mikroteri
 Zina: taksinoma ta *by default* pu mono tu me to onoma tis formas (.) *sorry* ene se
forms tuto
 Sofia: 22 *sorry* 23 en i eryasimi pu irtame piso
 Zina: ‘[... it] would be a date higher than this *value*, thus when it surpasses this *value*
 and it is higher (.) *sorry* lower [...]’.
 Zina: ‘it sorts them by itself *by default* according to the name of the form (.) *sorry*
 this is not in *forms*’.
 Sofia: ‘22 *sorry* 23 was the working day we came back’.

Lastly, in (19) Anna is with three friends studying for an exam. Anna repairs her mistake by emphasizing the repaired part and then marking it with *sorry*.

16. Anna: en:a sas efi (.) en:a MAS efi *sorry*
 Anna: ‘in the test, you will have (.) eh WE will have, *sorry*’

3. 5. 3. *Sorry* to lexically mark other-initiated repair

The following was the only instance of other-initiated repair. Zina said something wrong and Elpiniki who realizes it requests a repair:

17. Zina: tus ipolipus ðiate tus anaynosi sto periexomeno

Elpiniki: emis?//

Zina: //tis ipi[resias] ts

Elpiniki: [emis?

Zina: [vasika ts

Elpiniki: tus ðiume?//

Zina: oi anaynosi exun (.) *sorry* anaynosi exun oli

Zina: ‘to the rest [of the people] you give [permission] to read the content’

Elpiniki: ‘we?//’

Zina: ‘//of the ser[vice] ts’

Elpiniki: ‘[we?’

Zina: ‘[basically ts’

Elpiniki: ‘give them?//’

Zina: ‘no, they have [permission] to read (.) *sorry* everybody has [permission] to read’

When Zina realises her mistake she offers a repair which midway through she marks with *sorry*. *Sorry* acts more like a discourse marker, to mark the repair rather than as a token of apology.

3. 5. 4. *Sorry* to mark an account

Another function of *sorry* is to mark an account or an excuse for something. I provide two examples here:

18. Artemis: exume mia tasi sti kipro yenikos tfe o monos topos pu exo en ðame prepina kamno yimnastiki pu to proi os ti nixta yia na men exo ðame

Katia: ne

Artemis: e *sorry* exo tfa:i zoi

Artemis: ‘generally, we have this tendency in Cyprus and the only place that I have [fat] is here [her rear], but I have to exercise from morning till night so as to not have [fat] here’

Katia: ‘yes’

Artemis: ‘eh *sorry* I have other things to do’

Understandably, apologizing for not exercising all day long cannot be a sincere apology as the exaggeration of “morning till night” suggests. Artemis’ *sorry* marks and introduces an account for not exercising: she has other things to do.

In the following example three friends are talking about a relationship Aliko had with a man that was revealed to another friend of theirs who did not like him. They are discussing how their friend reacted to the fact that she did not know about it:

19. Revekka: ipe tipote?

Aliko: oi to mono ife paraono

Erato: e ma *sorry* pu mas elale oti itan malakas

Revekka: ‘did she say anything?’
Alik: ‘no, she only complained about it’
Erato: ‘eh *sorry* but she was saying that he was an asshole’

Erato is not producing a sincere apology for not telling her friend about her relationship with that man, she produces an account for it: their friend did not like him.

4. Discussion and concluding remarks

All English DMs in this dataset have structural and functional CG equivalents which co-exist with them. They do not fill in a gap in the discourse marker repertoire of CG and they have not replaced the CG DMs as documented, for example, in Salmons (1990) where English DMs have replaced their German counterparts. English DMs do not have a different function than the CG ones. However, because English DMs are usually “surrounded” by another language their function is enhanced (Maschler, 1994; de Rooij, 2000). In most cases what precedes and follows a DM is in CG. There are few cases where what comes before the DM is in English but the contrast is still there since what comes after is in CG.

As far as *sorry* is concerned, overall, borrowed *sorry* has lost its original illocutionary force of producing a *sincere apology* for something important or serious, as also put forward by Terkourafi (2011). In other words, this paper reinforces Terkourafi’s claim that *sorry* has “gradually bleached of [... its] speech-act signaling potential and increasingly come to function as [... a DM], serving to locally manage sequential aspects of discourse structure” (2011: 218). Thus, while in English *sorry* is used for sincere apologies for serious offences as well as non-serious offences or no offences at all (Andersen 2014),² here it is not used for apologizing for serious offences since its CG counterpart(s) are responsible for this (see Terkourafi, 2011). Similar observations have been noted for borrowed *sorry* in Norwegian (Andersen, 2014) and Serbian (Mišić Ilić, 2017), for example.

This paper has shown and discussed the various functions that borrowed and codeswitched from English DMs have in CG informal discourse. I believe that future research should focus on a comparison of these DMs with their CG counterparts as well as on investigating whether their use is evident in formal discourse as well.

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Appendix 1: Transcription Conventions

I adapt Gail Jefferson's transcript conventions (cited in Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: x-xii) since these are usually used in works that use a CA or a CA-type of analysis.

(0.5)	the number in brackets shows the time gap in tenths of a second
(.)	marks a short pause in the talk of less than two-tenths of a second.
//	indicates latching between utterances
[shows overlap speech
[
[]	shows the onset and the end of overlap speech
.hhh	laughter
word?	a question mark indicates a question
WORD	louder speech compared to the surrounding one
wo::rd	colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or letter. The more colons the greater extent of stretching
[words]	transcriber's comments/additions
????	incomprehensible talk
[...]	shows that parts of the conversation are omitted
<i>word</i>	<i>conversation in English</i>
“”	indicate use of (in)direct speech

For the transcription of Cypriot Greek (CG), I follow the transcription conventions of Arvaniti (2010) since this is the latest comprehensive work on the phonology of CG. Semi-free translation is given for all examples.

Notes

1. Comparison of Terkourafi's data and mine is by no means possible. Her data include informal and formal settings, collected from all major cities of Cyprus and only from adults (2001: 30). She does not specify how many hours out of the 110 were conducted in formal settings where the use of *sorry* might not be expected.
2. This by no means implies that *sorry* does not have any other functions in English. For example, *sorry* acts as a repair initiator in English as well (Drew, 1997).

Multilingualism and rebellion in 2nd-Century Judaea

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ABSTRACT

During excavations in the areas of the Judaeen Desert where the Bar Kokhba revolt took place from 132 to 135 CE, fifteen letters were discovered together with several legal documents and two personal archives in the “Cave of Letters”, as the site was named after the findings. All sets of documents show evidence of multilingualism, consisting of items in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek. Especially one of the only two letters written in Greek has sparked particular interest among the scholars due to a sentence of justification for the use of Greek, although severe damages affect the papyrus and only partial conclusions can be reached.

KEYWORDS

Judaeen Desert, Jewish uprising, Multilingualism, Bar Kokhba.

The aim of this paper is to present some observations on the extent of attested multilingualism in 2nd-century Judaea.¹

In the early 1960s the *Israel Exploration Society* promoted four expeditions to the southeastern part of Judaea, which systematically explored the area close to the Dead Sea. Here, a few kilometers from the oasis of En Gedi, archaeologists found the caves where the Jewish rebels had taken refuge during the second revolt against the Roman Empire (132-135 CE).² Several objects, coins and pieces of clothing were discovered together with documents, including two relatively well-preserved personal archives, a sheaf of fifteen letters and various other fragments. The main archive belonged to a Jewish woman called Babatha, who lived in Maoza, a village in the neighboring province of Arabia, certainly up to 130 CE. Subsequently she moved to En Gedi, where she had some family connections. Whether she set out for the caves with all her documents to support the rebels or out of fear of some threat of reprisal against Jews, it is impossible to know. On the other hand, we are sure that the letters consist of exchanges of messages between the rebels distributed among probably up to three camps, during the years of the revolt. Both sets of documents show evidence of multilingualism: of the thirty-six items in Babatha's archive, twenty-six are written in Greek and the few others in Nabatean and in Aramaic, while the correspondence between associates in the revolt, the so-called “Bar Kokhba letters” after the name of the rebel leader, are written mainly in Aramaic, but also in Hebrew and Greek. I shall return later to this last category.

The coexistence of Greek, Aramaic, Nabatean and Hebrew is not surprising. Greek was the language of administration both in Judaea and in the recently-created province of Arabia, and was commonly used for official transactions, contracts and deeds. It is also probable that a basic familiarity with Greek was widespread and it may even have been a fundamental component of the *paideia* for more highly-educated élites. Aramaic was the first language of Jewish residents of the region, once it had become an essential means of communication under Persian rule, and Nabatean was a separate dialect of Aramaic used by Arab residents. The case of Hebrew is somewhat different, since scholars acknowledge that it was hardly ever spoken any more.³ However, the presence of Hebrew in the Bar Kokhba letters suggests that it may possibly have been deliberately used for explicitly ideological reasons during the revolt.⁴ As already indicated, the letters represented direct communications between the rebels, in other words primarily Jews fighting against the Roman Empire and his policies.⁵ The question then arises as to why Greek was chosen within such a nationalistic context.

Although the matter is undoubtedly complex, some conclusions may be reached. In particular one of only two letters in Greek, P.Yadin 52, has been the subject of considerable attention ever since its discovery.⁶ Apparently it is merely a message asking for palm fronds and citrons needed to arrange celebrations for the feast of the Tabernacles, but it contains a phrase justifying the use of Greek (ll. 11-14), thus indicating that the addressees would have found it unexpected.

The text is reproduced below with an English translation.⁷

- Κομμαί[ο]ς Ἰωναθῆι
 νου καὶ Μα-
 [ς]αβάλα[ι] χαίρειν.
 ἐπιδὴ ἔπεμσα πρὸς
 5 ὑμᾶς Ἀ[γ]ρίππαν σπου-
 δ[ά]ς ατε πέμψε μοι
 θ[ύ]ρσου[ς] καὶ κίτρια
 ὄσον δυνασθήσεται
 ἱς [π]αρεμβολὴν Ἰου-
 10 δ[αί]ων καὶ μὴ ἄλλως
 π[οι]ήσεται. ἐγράφη
 δ[ε] Ἑληνεστὶ διὰ
 τ[ὸ] ἡμᾶς μὴ εὐρη-
 κ[έ]ναι Ἑβραεστὶ.⁸
 15 σ[π] δάσεται⁹ αὐτὸν
 ἀπ[ο]λύσαι τάχιον
 δι[ὰ] τ[ὴ]ν ἑορτὴν
 κα[ὶ] μ[ὴ] ἄλλως ποιή-
 σῃ[ται].
 20 Κομμαῖος¹⁰
 ἔρρωσο

Transl.: Soumaios to Yehonathan / son of Ba'yan, and Ma-/sabala, greetings. / As I sent Agrippa to /you, hurry / to send me / palm fronds and citrons, / as much as you can, / to the camp of the Jews / and don't do / otherwise. This was written / in Greek because / there is no way of writing / in Hebrew (Aramaic?).¹¹ / Make sure you / release him as soon as possible / on account of the feast / and don't do otherwise. / Soumaios. / Be well!

Thanks to the contributions of H.M. Cotton, in recent years the text has reached an overall convincing sense even though some controversial issues are still to be restored, such as the the question of the identity of the sender, Soumaios. In fact, his name occurs nowhere else in the letters and it has been postulated that he could have been a Jew called Šimon, whose name appears here in a Greek rendition, but no other cases of such transliteration are known. On the other hand, the name Soumaios appears among the signatories of another document from the Judaeen Desert, this time in a Nabatean context.¹²

I shall now attempt to define and analyze the two main possibilities.

The first one points to a non-Jewish background, an opinion shared by several scholars for different reasons. In the first place, Yadin (1971: 130) believes that this person was a Gentile, given the choice of Greek over Semitic languages, either Aramaic or Hebrew, which might have been foreign to him. Moreover, in his view the expression *camp of the Jews* (ll. 9-10) would imply a sort of cultural distancing. Cotton (2002: 361) suggests instead that Soumaios was Nabatean, thus linking him to his namesake among the Nabatean signatories of the document referred to above. Soumaios would probably have been able to speak Aramaic but for letter-writing he would perhaps be competent only in Greek, if he had been trained for administrative employment, and also perhaps in his own language, which however used a different alphabet from the Jewish script. In this interpretation the sender, who is making his contribution for the cause, apologizes for the use of the language *of the Romans*, being unable to do otherwise due to his background. Furthermore, if one then attributes non-Jewish identities to Soumaios as well as to the bearer Agrippa (l. 5) and to Ailianos, sender of the other Greek letter (P.Yadin 59), this would mean implying evidence of a relevant non-Jewish participation in the uprising aimed at ending Roman rule, each of the groups having different reasons for joining.¹³

A second possibility has most recently been revisited by M.O. Wise (2015: 206ff), who tends to regard Soumaios as a Jew, who is asking for materials in preparation of a Jewish feast during a Jewish rebellion, instead of postulating a Nabatean involved in these preparations and having some degree of responsibility. From this perspective, no ideological implications would be attached to Greek, which would be merely a means of communication for practical purposes: Soumaios may have felt it necessary to justify his choice as against Bar Kokhba's decree on

Hebrew, because he may have employed a scribe with professional knowledge of Greek letter-writing. The Judaeans scribes were not necessarily trained in Aramaic before they studied Greek writing, so they may even have been nearly illiterate in Semitic languages.¹⁴ Without considering it as a definite sign of hellenization in the area, some knowledge of Greek at different levels among Jewish population should be also assumed, since the need to use the language for professional and/or administrative purposes and in the case of inevitable contacts with neighboring regions. This seems to be confirmed by the letters themselves, the recipients or bearers of which must have had a perfect understanding of the message.

In conclusion, there is little that can be asserted with absolute certainty. The lack of supporting literary sources makes historical reconstruction extremely difficult, as does the fragmentary state of preservation of the documentary evidence. Over many decades perhaps excessive focus has been placed on tiny clues, expanding them to become a springboard for discussion on wider topics. Nonetheless, the great interest this eighteen centuries-old treasure trove still arouses remains undeniable.

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Notes

1. The communication presented in occasion of the *2nd International Forum for Young Researchers* at the University of Cyprus originates from my BA thesis in Papyrology. To my supervisor, late professor John W.R. Lundon, who guided me with both rigor and politeness, I owe a never-ending debt of gratitude for his invaluable teaching. However, I take full responsibility for the contents expressed here.
2. Better known are the so-called “Cave of Letters” and “Cave of Horrors”, named after the major findings in them, respectively papyrus letters and human skeletons. An informative and engaging report on the expeditions written by Yigael Yadin was later published (1971).
3. The question concerning the use of Hebrew as a spoken language at that time is vexed. During the post-exilic phase of Jewish history, Aramaic language was believed to have gradually replaced Hebrew as vernacular, even though Hebrew undoubtedly continued to be the language of worship and religious literature. The discovery in the 1960s of documentary letters written in Hebrew eventually reopened the discussion, suggesting either that it never completely ceased to be spoken or that a revival of the language took place for some specific reason.
4. As Yadin early pointed out (1971: 124), it is possible that Bar Kokhba issued a decree to revive Hebrew during the years of the revolt, with a view to restoring the language of the Jews before the Persian domination.
5. Unlike the first Jewish war against Rome (66-70 CE), of which Flavius Josephus gives full report, this second uprising lacks of extensive literary sources. However, partial accounts are offered by Cassius Dio (*Hist. Rom.* 69, 12.1-14.3) and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 4, 6) in addition to some Jewish sources (*jTa'an* 4.68d-69b; *Lam r.* 2, 4).

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6. The other letter, P.Yadin 59, is consistently damaged and it barely allows understanding that, like P.Yadin 52, it contained requests of certain materials to the recipients. Again the sender's name, Αἰλιανός, is not Jewish but appears to be a Latin loanword transliterated into Greek. This has sometimes lead to consider him a non-Jew, but guessing origins on the basis of a personal name remains a risky operation. Certainly noteworthy is anyhow the sole occurrence this text offers of the Greek vocalized form of patronymic of Bar Kokhba, Κοσίβα.
 7. This revised text differs slightly from the most recent publication by H.M. Cotton (Yadin et al. 2002: 354).
 8. Unfortunately ll. 12-14 are affected by a major three-line *lacuna* in the papyrus, which has given rise to various speculations and interpretations. Nevertheless, since Cotton's integration of the verb εὐρη|κ[έ]ναι is generally acknowledged to be persuasive, I see no need to list the others here.
 9. This possibility was suggested to me by professor Lundon.
 10. The letter substantially adheres to the conventions of Graeco-Roman epistolography, except for the presence of the sender's name repeated at the bottom, a usage which is barely attested elsewhere in the tradition, although recurrent in the Semitic letters from the same set. On the other hand, it has been illustrated (cf. Wise 2015: 210) that these latter differed in terms of formal patterns (*i.e.* opening formulas) from earlier Semitic practice, thus suggesting a Greek influence upon them.
 11. The adverb Ἐβραετί is well-known in Jewish literature meaning both Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic, as the latter remained the only language still widely spoken (a hypothetical «aramaïsti» does not exist). It is difficult to decide how to translate it without first solving other textual issues.

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- 12.** P.Yadin 19, a legal act created in Petra (l. 34). This Soumaios is the only Nabatean witness to sign in Greek.
- 13.** It is not clear what specific reasons lead non-Jewish groups to join the revolt. There could be either members of the lower-classes seeking an improvement of their condition by overthrowing local aristocracy, or Nabateans participating to express their discontent with Roman rule, or even rebels looking for profit, as a difficult passage by Cassius Dio may suggest (*Hist. Aug.* LXIX 12, 2).
- 14.** It should be recalled that P.Yadin 52 presents two distinct hands, the first one being the author of the main text and the second one being the signatory, who repeats the sender's name followed by the farewell. The reasons why a writer may have used Greek even if he was Nabatean or Jew have been briefly discussed above. Whether the sender then signed in Greek due to illiteracy in Aramaic (either because he was Nabatean or Jew) or simply knowledge of the language of the main text still cannot be determined.

I significati di “sentire” in italiano antico: valori percettivi e cognitivi del verbo nei volgari del XIII secolo

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ABSTRACT

Lo studio indaga i significati del verbo *sentire* nei volgari italiani del XIII secolo e ne analizza il comportamento secondo i parametri delle principali teorie linguistiche in materia di verbi percettivi e polisemia sensoriale. La ricerca dei valori semantici è condotta su un corpus che raccoglie le attestazioni di *sentire* nei manoscritti italiani anteriori all’anno 1300. Le occorrenze sono state classificate per significato e i significati ordinati in macroclassi semantiche dedicate ai valori percettivi e cognitivi del verbo. L’analisi semantica è poi utilizzata per un confronto con i significati di *sentire* in latino. Constatata la differente estensione semantica del verbo nei volgari e in latino, si formulano ipotesi evolutive che ne diano spiegazione.

KEY WORDS

Sentire, significati percettivi, significati cognitivi, evoluzione semantica, gerarchie semantiche.

ABSTRACT

The study examines the meanings of the perceptual verb *sentire* in 13th century’s Italian vernaculars and analyses them according to guidelines drawn from the main semantic theories in the matter of perception verbs and perceptual polysemy. Semantic values have been collected using a corpus that contains all the occurrences of *sentire* attested in Italian manuscripts prior to 1300. The occurrences have been classified by meaning and the various meanings have then been grouped in semantic macro-classes representing the different perceptual and cognitive values of the verb. The semantic analysis is eventually used to carry out a comparison with the meanings of *sentire* in Latin. Once the different semantic extensions have been verified for the verb in vernacular and for the Latin one, some hypotheses are made to account for them.

KEY WORDS

Perceptual meanings, cognitive meanings, *sentire*, semantic evolution, semantic hierarchies.

1. Introduzione

In uno degli studi che hanno dato inizio alla ricerca semantica sui verbi di percezione Viberg (1984: pp. 123–162) sottolinea la particolarità del verbo *sentire* in italiano. L’autore indaga sulla base di un campione sincronico i processi di estensione semantica che interessano tali verbi. A questo scopo è necessario stabilire per ogni verbo preso in analisi il significato primitivo, vale a dire la modalità sensoriale (visiva, uditiva, tattile ecc.) che esso seleziona come principale e da cui

eventualmente possono essersi originati nuovi significati percettivi. Nel caso dell'italiano Viberg (1984: 149) segnala un pattern lessicale piuttosto raro fra le lingue del mondo. Secondo l'autore l'italiano contemporaneo, assieme al turco e ad alcune lingue africane occidentali (in maggioranza della famiglia bantu)¹ possiede un verbo il cui valore semantico prevalente è quello uditivo (*percepire con l'udito*), ma che al contempo può essere utilizzato per *experiences* percettive di tutte le modalità sensoriali, esclusa la vista (*sentire una carezza; sentire un profumo; sentire un sapore*). L'italiano eredita l'ampia polisemia di *sentire* dal latino, lingua in cui il verbo non sembra prediligere né escludere alcuna modalità, nemmeno quella visiva, oltre ad avere diffusi significati di tipo cognitivo (*credere, ritenere, capire, giudicare*). In italiano, come nelle restanti lingue romanze, sembra essersi verificato un riassetto delle tipologie percettive espresse dai verbi derivati da *sentire*. In spagnolo e portoghese esso può esprimere tutti i sensi ad eccezione della vista, ma il significato uditivo non è prominente quanto in italiano. In francese e romeno i verbi *sentir* e *simți* riguardano invece solo tatto, olfatto e gusto.

Viberg (1984) si limita solo a segnalare la problematicità posta dai derivati di *sentire* nelle lingue romanze. La difficoltà, anche per l'italiano, sta nell'individuare criteri per definire il significato del verbo in contesti particolarmente ambigui. Inoltre è utile verificare con metodo diverso da quello degli informatori linguistici se si possa stabilire la modalità uditiva come principale per i significati di *sentire*. Uno degli scopi del seguente lavoro è dunque quello di analizzare in una fase diacronicamente molto distante (XIII secolo), nelle prime attestazioni scritte dei volgari italiani, i valori percettivi di *sentire* ed i contesti in cui occorrono.

Il secondo filone di studi con cui il mio lavoro si relaziona è quello in merito allo sviluppo di valori cognitivi a partire da verbi dedicati alla percezione fisica. Un dibattito iniziato con Sweetser (1990: pp. 44-45) e proseguito con i contributi di Evans e Wilkins (2000: pp. 546-592) e Vanhove (2008: pp. 341-370), oppone verbi di percezione visiva e verbi di udito come universale punto di partenza per lo sviluppo di significati cognitivi. In latino *sentire* aveva già valori cognitivi ben sviluppati, forse anche più diffusi di quelli percettivi. L'analisi del verbo nella fase volgare serve dunque a verificare quali di questi siano stati trasmessi dal latino e se sviluppi semantici fra i valori percettivi dell'italiano abbiano avuto ripercussioni su tali significati cognitivi.

2. Teorie sui verbi di percezione ed evoluzione semantica

2. 1. Intrafield extensions: la gerarchia delle modalità sensoriali

In uno studio che ha suscitato interesse riguardo ai pattern di lessicalizzazione dei verbi percettivi, Viberg (1984) osserva la tendenza di questi ultimi alla polisemia. Nello specifico nota la frequenza con cui nel sistema lessicale di una lingua due o più modalità sensoriali siano indicate

da un medesimo verbo polisemico. Rimangono tuttavia indizi che permettono di stabilire quale sia il significato primitivo del verbo. È necessario verificare l'autonomia con cui il verbo di percezione richiama una modalità sensoriale: più esso necessita di integrazioni lessicali da parte dei complementi e meno primitivo sarà il suo significato per quella modalità; più il verbo è capace di comunicare anche in isolamento il canale sensoriale a cui si riferisce, più quella modalità sarà giudicabile come primitiva. Operando un confronto interlinguistico (53 lingue da 14 famiglie linguistiche diverse) lo studioso individua consistenti regolarità nei processi di evoluzione semantica.² Esistono insomma delle direzionalità preferenziali o addirittura obbligate che regolano l'estensione dei significati percettivi da una modalità all'altra; in un lavoro molto successivo a quello di Viberg (1984), Evans e Wilkins (2000) chiamano INTRAFIELD EXTENSIONS³ questo tipo di processi:

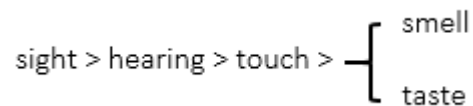


Figura 1: Gerarchia delle modalità sensoriali secondo Viberg (1984).

Lo schema⁴ è il risultato del confronto interlinguistico effettuato dallo studioso. La gerarchia va letta in questo modo: un verbo di percezione che esprima la modalità sensoriale X (e.g.: *hearing*), tenderà, in caso di estensione semantica, ad acquisire le modalità percettive inferiori di X, cioè quelle alla sua destra (e.g.: *touch>smell/taste*). Di converso, se una lingua non possiede un verbo specifico per esprimere la modalità sensoriale Y, allora utilizzerà quello originariamente dedicato alla modalità ad essa superiore, cioè alla sinistra di Y. Questo significa che un verbo avente come significato di base *udire*, ad esempio, potrà evolversi fino a significare *percepire al tatto*, ma non potrà mai voler dire *vedere*. Si noti inoltre che la vista, vertice della gerarchia, non può essere espressa da verbi che abbiano significati di base in altre modalità sensoriali, mentre i significati visivi hanno la possibilità estendersi a qualsiasi altro senso. La gerarchia è in qualche modo indebolita dal fatto che si possono talvolta verificare dei salti di posizione: in altre parole può accadere che un verbo presenti due significati a distanza, saltando una modalità sensoriale.

La gerarchia è verificabile anche guardando al grado di elaborazione lessicale delle diverse modalità sensoriali nelle lingue. Generalmente le modalità superiori come la vista sono espressi in una lingua da un numero maggiore di verbi sinonimi (e.g.: *vedere, guardare*) e iponimi (e.g.: *spiare, fissare, adocchiare, sbirciare, etc.*) rispetto alle modalità inferiori, come il tatto (*sentire, toccare*).

2. 2. Transfield extensions: lo sviluppo di valori cognitivi da verbi di percezione

Il dibattito sui valori cognitivi derivati da verbi di percezione ha inizio con un saggio di Sweetser (1990); trattando della metafora come dispositivo di mutamento semantico, la studiosa propone come universale il fatto che siano i verbi percettivi di tipo visivo a sviluppare significati cognitivi come *sapere* e *pensare*; il senso visivo, individuato come percezione superiore fra le cinque modalità, sarebbe dunque l'unico vero protagonista del processo di TRANSFIELD EXTENSIONS. Benché i verbi con modalità uditiva sviluppino significati come *obbedire*, i significati compiutamente cognitivi secondo Sweetser (1990) sarebbero prodotto esclusivo della modalità visiva. Non è certo difficile trovare per l'italiano contemporaneo e antico valori di questo tipo per il verbo *vedere*.

Più tardi altri studiosi si occupano del tema confutando questa teoria: Evans e Wilkins (2000) dimostrano come nelle lingue aborigene australiane sia di gran lunga più produttiva, quanto a letture cognitive, la sfera sensoriale uditiva; la loro trattazione non mette in discussione il primato della vista fra le modalità percettive secondo quanto individuato da Viberg (1984), ma confuta la tesi di Sweetser (1990) a proposito della TRANSFIELD EXTENSION. Se ne conclude che, mentre nel caso della INTRAFIELD EXTENSION è possibile compiere generalizzazioni sulla naturale "preminenza" di una modalità sulle altre, per la TRANSFIELD EXTENSION esistono invece implicazioni di tipo culturale che determinano la selezione della modalità sensoriale di partenza.

Infine Vanhove (2008) arriva a capovolgere le posizioni di Sweetser (1990); sulla base di un campione di 25 lingue appartenenti a 8 famiglie linguistiche differenti classifica i verbi uditivi come i più produttivi nella TRANSFIELD EXTENSION, seguiti nella gerarchia da quelli visivi, ed infine dai *prehension verbs* (verbi che indicano la manipolazione di oggetti, come *afferrare* o *cogliere*, spesso coinvolti in estensioni metaforiche verso significati cognitivi).

3. Raccolta dei dati

Per la raccolta dei dati ho consultato il *Corpus testuale della Lingua Italiana delle Origini*.⁵ La ricerca per lemma effettuata sul verbo *sentire* è stata estesa anche alle forme del verbo in composizione con clitici pronominali, in modo da elicitarne anche le occorrenze terminanti con *-me/-mi*, *-te/-ti*, *se/-si* etc., particolarmente importanti nella derivazione dei valori percettivi e cognitivi del verbo. Dalla lista di occorrenze generata ho poi selezionato e scaricato le attestazioni del verbo datate entro l'anno 1300.

L'operazione ha avuto come esito la creazione di un corpus di lavoro⁶ di dimensioni sufficienti a documentare con precisione i valori semantici di *sentire* nella prima fase di affioramento dei volgari italiani in forma scritta, un periodo compreso fra la prima metà del

XIII secolo e l'inizio del XV. Per la precisione i dati ottenuti coprono un periodo che va dal 1230/1250, datazione approssimativa di un manoscritto toscano delle *Rime* di Giacomo da Lentini, ad una versione anonima di area pisana del *Roman de Palamedés*, risalente all'incirca all'anno 1300. Dopo l'eliminazione di alcuni rari errori di annotazione la lista estratta comprendeva 239 occorrenze del verbo.⁷

La seconda fase dell'operazione è consistita nell'attribuzione di un significato ad ognuna delle forme contenuto nel corpus creato. Per sviluppare la lista di valori semantici utilizzata nell'annotazione, mi sono basato su alcuni fra i maggiori dizionari di lingua italiana antica e contemporanea: Vocabolario della Crusca (tutte le edizioni, versioni on-line), Grande dizionario della lingua italiana Battaglia (1962) e Dizionario Tommaseo-Bellini (1929 VIII ed.), GRADIT (1999), DISC Sabatini-Coletti (1997) e DELI Cortellazzo-Zolli (1988 e 1999).

3. 1. Significati attestati

Riporto di seguito la lista di tutti i significati individuabili nel corpus creato. Gli indici da 1 a 6 rappresentano le macroclassi in cui ho accorpato i singoli significati ai fini dell'analisi. Gli indici a due (e.g.: 1.1.) e tre cifre (e.g.: 5.2.1.) numerano invece gli effettivi valori semantici riscontrati. Al di sotto di ogni significato ho indicato il numero di occorrenze registrate per esso. La divisione in sei macroclassi è di natura esclusivamente concettuale. La gerarchia utilizzata nell'ordinamento dei valori semantici segue una logica di progressione che va dal significato più generico a quello più specifico, maggiormente dipendente dal contesto, o semplicemente meno diffuso nel corpus. Fra i significati di una categoria posti su un medesimo livello gerarchico non ho indicato, in questa fase, nessuna certa derivazione diacronica. Le necessità derivanti dall'accorpamento in categorie concettuali mi hanno portato infatti, in alcuni casi, a dover raccogliere sotto una medesima voce valori semantici evidentemente originatisi da differenti macroaree di significato. Fra due diversi livelli gerarchici indico invece la derivazione del significato di ordine inferiore da quello di ordine superiore.

SIGNIFICATI CONCRETI

1. Percezione fisica esterna	TOT: 50
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1.1. Provare percezioni che derivano dalla sfera fisica strettamente individuale o dall'ambiente circostante. Percepire con i sensi. **(tot:15)**

1.1.1. Percepire con l'udito rumori, suoni; udire il rumore prodotto da qualcosa o qualcuno. **(tot:16)**

- 1.1.2. Percepire con l'olfatto odori, profumi. **(tot: 8)**
- 1.1.3. Percepire con il tatto un contatto, una consistenza, un movimento, una temperatura. **(tot:7)**
- 1.1.4. Percepire con il gusto un sapore. **(tot: 1)**
- 1.1.5. Aver odore o sapore di qualcosa. **(tot: 1)**
- 1.1.6. Percepire con la vista (poet.). **(tot: 1)**
- 1.2. Essere dotato di facoltà sensibili, proprie degli esseri viventi animati. **(tot: 1)**

2. Acquisizione di informazioni	TOT: 30
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- 2.1. Sentir dire; udire le parole di qualcuno. **(tot: 3)**
- 2.2. Ascoltare qualcuno; accoglierne la testimonianza, il racconto, il parere. **(tot: 4)**
- 2.3. Venire a sapere qualcosa attraverso il racconto fattone di qualcuno o raccogliendone notizia indirettamente. **(tot: 23)**

3. Percezione fisica interna	TOT: 36
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- 3.1. Percepire un proprio stato fisico generale, averne coscienza. **(tot: 12)**
 - 3.1.1. Provare dolore fisico, pena, patimento, fatica. Soffrire di una ferita, di un colpo. **(tot: 23)**
 - 3.1.2. Svegliarsi, rinvenire, riaversi. **(tot: 1)**

SIGNIFICATI ASTRATTI

4. Percezione di entità astratte	TOT: 12
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- 4.1. Avere percezione di tipo estetico, trascendentale, mistico circa qualcosa. **(tot: 5)**
- 4.2. Patire una condizione sfavorevole, avversa. **(tot: 4)**
- 4.3. Richiamare nel comportamento, nell'atteggiamento un particolare modo di essere. **(tot: 3)**

5. Percezione psicologica	TOT: 74
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- 5.1. Percepire un proprio stato psicologico, averne coscienza. Provare sensazioni, sentimenti, emozioni, desideri, stati d'animo. **(tot: 42)**
 - 5.1.1. Patire sofferenze psicologiche. **(tot: 25)**
 - 5.1.2. Percepire stati psicologici, sentimenti, disposizioni d'animo altrui. **(tot: 4)**
 - 5.1.3. Avvertire emotivamente l'importanza o la gravità di un'azione, un evento; avvertire in modo profondo una circostanza, risentirne emotivamente. **(tot: 3)**

6. Acquisizione razionale e cognizione

TOT: 37

6.1. Avere presentimento di qualcosa; accorgersi di qualcosa; capire, conoscere. (tot: 24)

6.2. Pensare, ritenere, giudicare, avere un'opinione su qualcosa. (tot: 13)

4. Conclusioni

4. 1. Confronto fra macroclassi: i pattern semantici in latino e italiano antico

Terminato lo spoglio e la descrizione dei dati, è necessario concludere con uno sguardo alla distribuzione complessiva dei valori semantici raggruppati per macroclassi. La classificazione dei singoli significati è stata utile per aver precisa conoscenza dei significati attestati nei volgari del XIII secolo; ora, con una prospettiva più ampia, è possibile guardare alla differenziazione interna delle diverse aree semantiche. Il grafico di Fig. 2 rappresenta la distribuzione di tutte le 239 occorrenze del corpus divise per macroclassi.

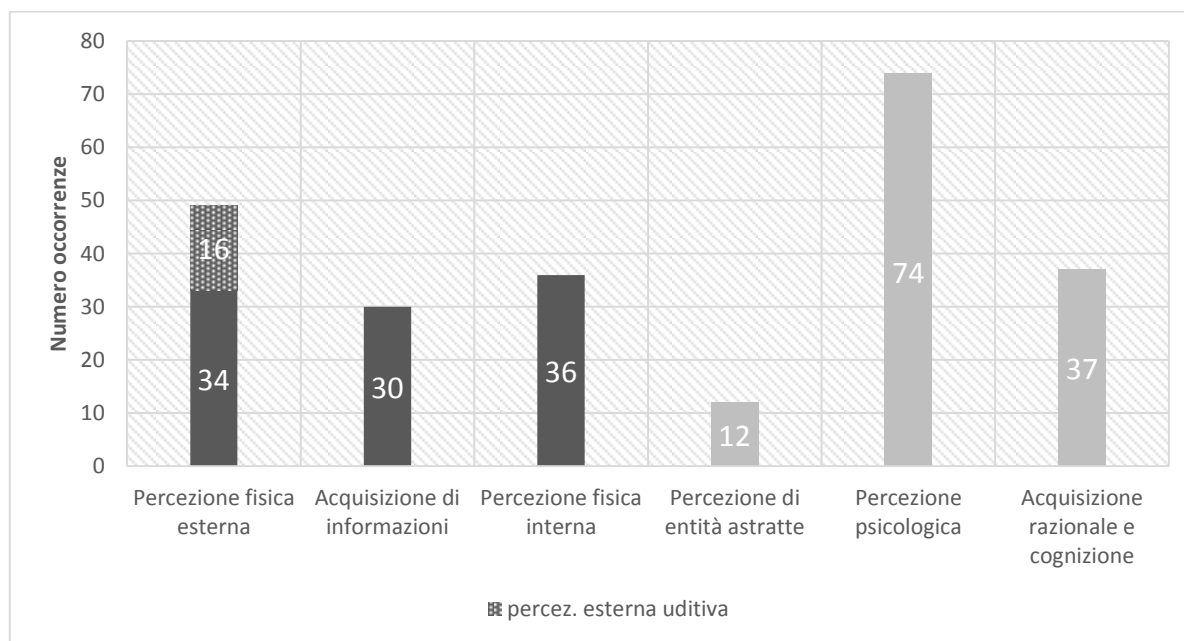


Figura 2: Distribuzione dei significati di sentire. In grigio scuro i significati concreti, in grigio chiaro i significati astratti. I significati di percezione esterna uditiva sono evidenziati dal motivo a puntini.

Anzitutto va notata la sostanziale omogeneità di frequenza del verbo, tanto nei significati percettivi fisici, quanto in quelli psicologici: si contano in totale 80 occorrenze nel dominio fisico (*Percezione fisica esterna* + *Percezione fisica interna*) e 74 nel dominio psicologico. L'espressione di sentimenti e stati d'animo rappresenta una vera innovazione nel confronto con il latino, i cui significati sembrano scavalcare in modo piuttosto netto questo dominio; dai valori percettivi (*sentire un suono; un colpo; un odore*) e genericamente esperienziali

(*patire/sperimentare la fame; il freddo; le conseguenze di una guerra*) il latino arriva senza soluzione di continuità ai valori cognitivi (*accorgersi; pensare; giudicare*).

Come si può notare ho scelto di evidenziare le 16 occorrenze di *sentire* nel significato di *percepire con l'udito*, in modo da tenere l'udito distinto dalle altre modalità sensoriali. Questo serve a far emergere un'evidente propensione del verbo nelle sue accezioni fisiche all'espressione della modalità uditiva. La lettura strettamente uditiva del verbo prevale sulle altre modalità sensoriali ed è avvicinata solo dall'accezione generica di [1.1.] *percepire con i sensi* (16 occorrenze contro 15). Si consideri poi il fatto che l'intera categoria *Acquisizione di informazioni* (30 occorrenze) deriva chiaramente da una lettura uditiva del verbo, decisamente trasparente in alcuni dei significati base di questa macroclasse ([2.1.] *sentir dire*; [2.2.] *ascoltare qualcuno*). In base a questo si può affermare che già nell'italiano del XIII secolo, o meglio, nei volgari allora diffusi, *sentire* aveva già occupato una posizione preferenziale all'interno dei significati percettivi, configurandosi come il più prominente dei valori sensoriali e supportando nuove categorie funzionali come quella di acquisizione informativa. Questo assetto non si è modificato nel corso del tempo: il valore uditivo (annotato a parte da qualunque dizionario moderno di lingua italiana) si è consolidato come significato principale fra le interpretazioni sensoriali del verbo. Il processo ha portato addirittura alla scomparsa pressoché totale di *udire*, soppiantato nell'italiano parlato standard da *sentire*.

Al secondo livello di frequenza si collocano invece *Acquisizione di informazioni* e *Acquisizione razionale e cognizione*.⁸ La seconda categoria, già viva e produttiva in latino, risulta in buona sostanza conservata nel XIII secolo e rimane tale nell'italiano contemporaneo. Forse solo il significato *giudicare* è andato attenuandosi nella lingua attuale ma è attestato nel corpus volgare. La categoria *Acquisizione di informazioni* invece rappresenta un uso totalmente innovativo rispetto ai significati del latino; essendo già diffuso a quest'altezza cronologica, il significato deve essersi sviluppato nella fase meno documentata nella storia dei volgari, quella anteriore al XIII secolo. Significati come *venire a sapere* o *sentir dire* non sono coperti dal verbo latino i cui valori sembrano limitati dal punto di vista funzionale a reggere costruzioni di I (e.g.: *sentire sonum; verbum*) e II tipo (e.g.: *sentire sonare*); i superiori significati di acquisizione informativa sono espressi più propriamente in latino con *audire*, il verbo specializzato nella percezione uditiva. Quando *sentire* in latino regge costruzioni concettuali complesse, strutture di III tipo costruite come intere proposizioni-complemento, ha piuttosto il valore del tutto cognitivo di *realizzare, capire, sapere*. È evidente che il passaggio delle strutture complesse da *audire* a *sentire* si è determinato dalla ristrutturazione lessicale del dominio percettivo in italiano e dalla graduale sostituzione del primo verbo con il secondo nella funzione di verbo-base della sfera uditiva.

I significati riconducibili ad acquisizione informativa come venire a sapere o sentir dire sono particolarmente frequenti ed importanti in ragione del loro valore modale/pragmatico di tipo evidenziale, prima ancora che di quello semantico: la predicazione del verbo in lingue come il latino e l'italiano, sprovviste di mezzi grammaticali per esprimere evidenzialità, serve appunto a comunicare all'ascoltatore la provenienza delle informazioni attivate nel discorso. In questo senso il verbo funge da marca evidenziale di tipo lessicale; allo stesso modo tutte le lingue che fanno uso di marche lessicali per l'evidenzialità, ricorrono normalmente al loro verbo uditivo più frequente.

4. 2. Cause dei mutamenti

È possibile tentare una spiegazione che giustifichi contemporaneamente tre aspetti rilevabili dai dati: la prominenza della lettura uditiva di *sentire*; il fatto che il verbo, nonostante questa preferenza, conservi in italiano antico e contemporaneo la capacità di esprimere tutte le modalità sensoriali (tranne la vista) e per alcune sia fra i più utilizzati; lo sviluppo nel volgare dell'espressione di percezione psicologica fra i significati di *sentire*.

La chiave sta in una proprietà lessicale comune a latino e greco, a lungo studiata da Talmy (1975, 1985, 2000) le cui ricerche sono state più recentemente riprese da Baldi (2006). Talmy si è concentrato su un altro settore tradizionale della ricerca semantica: i verbi di movimento e l'espressione di eventi di moto nelle lingue del mondo. A questo scopo ha elaborato due tipologie funzionali in cui è possibile classificare le lingue: le lingue di tipo VERB-FRAMED integrano nei valori semantici dei loro *motion-verbs* l'espressione del PATH, cioè del percorso effettuato da una figura in relazione ad un sistema di riferimento (e.g.: *The girl crossed the room dancing*); la tipologia del movimento (MANNER) è invece integrata attraverso un aggiunto (*dancing*). Nelle lingue di tipo SATELLITE-FRAMED è invece la MANNER ad essere integrata nella semantica del verbo, mentre il PATH è riportato sottoforma di complemento, o comunque attraverso un costituente esterno al predicato (e.g.: *The girl danced across the room*). Secondo Talmy (1985) il latino è una lingua SATELLITE-FRAMED, che tende quindi ad inglobare la modalità di esecuzione all'interno del verbo, mentre il gruppo romanzo sarebbe l'unico della famiglia indoeuropea ad aver mutato tipologia diventando VERB-FRAMED.

Il paragone fra due settori semanticamente distanti come eventi di movimento ed eventi di percezione regge solo fino ad un certo punto: nel caso della percezione non esiste ovviamente un corrispettivo della categoria che Talmy chiama *percorso*, PATH. Nel caso dei verbi di percezione è possibile invece trovare un equivalente per MANNER: la modalità percettiva. Dato che le categorie di Talmy (1975, 1985, 2000) sono incentrate sulla posizione in cui è espresso il PATH, è meglio

rinominare per maggiore chiarezza le due tipologie: chiamo lingue a *modalità interna* quelle che tendono ad inglobare nel significato del predicato il canale percettivo specifico con cui la percezione si realizza; con lingue a *modalità contestuale* indico invece quelle che utilizzano verbi generici, applicabili a più modalità sensoriali, e il contesto (spesso l'oggetto diretto) per disambiguare fra i significati percettivi.

Si osservi a questo punto la corrispondenza fra le strategie lessicali adottate dalle lingue nei due campi semantici. Tanto nell'ambito dei verbi percettivi come in quelli di movimento il latino si dimostra più preciso dell'italiano nell'indicare direttamente dal verbo le modalità con cui avviene l'evento motorio o percettivo. L'italiano è povero di verbi di percezione specifici; ha fatto di *sentire* un verbo polifunzionale, conservando pressoché intatta la polisemia del latino. I suoi significati variano dalle diverse tipologie di percezioni fisiche fino a quelle psicologiche: è dal contesto, spesso dal complemento che il verbo regge che viene derivata la tipologia di percezione intesa. La differenza fra le due lingue potrebbe essere quindi la seguente: in italiano, classificabile come lingua a *modalità contestuale*, *sentire* costituisce di fatto un verbo di riferimento per quattro delle cinque modalità sensoriali, oltre ad essere molto utilizzato per processi e stati psicologici e cognitivi; il latino (lingua a *modalità interna*) possedeva invece verbi semanticamente specifici che integravano le diverse tipologie percettive e le diverse modalità sensoriali. Ecco alcuni esempi:

Percezione fisica esterna	Percezione fisica interna	Percezione psicologica
- audire (<i>sentire un suono, una parola, un discorso</i>)	- aestuare (<i>avere / sentire caldo</i>)	- gaudere (<i>provare/sentire gioia</i>)
- gustare; gustari (<i>sentire un sapore</i>)	- algere (<i>avere / sentire freddo</i>)	- dolere (<i>provare/sentire dolore</i>)
- odorari; olfacere (<i>sentire un odore</i>)	- aegrotare (<i>essere / sentirsi malato</i>)	
	- valere (<i>stare / sentirsi bene</i>)	

Adottando questa prospettiva la posizione in latino di *sentire*, polisemico e dunque sensorialmente sottospecificato, è quella di un elemento eccentrico rispetto alla tendenza della lingua ad organizzare l'informazione secondo il pattern a *modalità interna*. Del resto anche le categorie elaborate da Talmy non sono esenti da eccezioni, come messo in luce dalla revisione di Baldi (2006).

Nel caso della *Percezione fisica interna* e di quella *psicologica* il successo di *sentire* italiano si deve anche al venir meno di costrutti sintagmatici come *se (bene, male etc.) haberi e affici*, verbi dal comportamento simile a quello di *sentire*, completamente soppiantati da

quest'ultimo in italiano. A loro volta *haberi* e *affici* rappresentavano infatti un'eccezione alla tipologia a *modalità interna* appena descritta per il latino, data la genericità del loro significato integrato semanticamente dall'avverbio o dal complemento con cui occorrono.

4. 3. Confronto con le teorie sulla polisemia dei perception-verbs

Guardando ora alle teorie descritte ai punti 2.1 e 2.2, è possibile fare delle considerazioni sul comportamento di *sentire* in relazione ad INTRAFIELD EXTENSIONS e TRANSFIELD EXTENSIONS. La gerarchia di Viberg (1984) trova conferma nel fatto che *sentire* (il cui significato percettivo principale, come ho verificato, è quello uditivo) già in italiano antico non può esprimere di fatto la modalità visiva (tranne che in un isolato uso poetico). La ricostruzione più verosimile, tenendo conto delle teorie di Viberg (1984), è che il significato percettivo principale attivato da *sentire* in latino fosse quello del tutto generico di *percepire*. Il verbo doveva avere perciò un ruolo molto più limitato se confrontato con tutte le funzioni e i significati sviluppati da quello italiano. La diffusione del verbo con valore percettivo doveva essere decisamente inferiore data la minore funzionalità: si applicava specialmente a contesti in cui fosse necessario sottospecificare la modalità sensoriale, o semplicemente non fosse essenziale esprimerla. Gli usi più diffusi erano probabilmente quelli esperienziali (*sperimentare, fare esperienza di qualcosa*) e quelli cognitivi. Ad un certo punto, durante la fase volgare preletteraria, la diffusione del verbo con valore percettivo deve essere aumentata in corrispondenza dell'indebolimento dei verbi a *modalità interna* utilizzati dal latino. Col tempo l'uso del generico *sentire* contestualmente arricchito deve aver soppiantato del tutto questi verbi a favore di una maggiore economia lessicale. Già nel corso della sua affermazione *sentire* si è però legato in modo privilegiato alla modalità uditiva; ha sviluppato i significati di *Acquisizione di informazioni* pressoché sconosciuti al latino e si è consolidato come verbo uditivo fino a portare, in tempi molto più recenti, alla scomparsa di *udire* dall'italiano orale contemporaneo.

Per quanto riguarda invece il dibattito sulla TRANSFIELD EXTENSION, il caso di *sentire* non permette di fare molte osservazioni: i significati cognitivi di questo verbo sono già pienamente formati in latino, lingua in cui, come ho sottolineato, non è possibile stabilire una modalità percettiva principale (*sentire = percepire*). In altri termini la prominenza appena discussa del valore uditivo già in italiano antico è certamente posteriore all'estensione cognitiva. Sarebbe dunque improprio citare *sentire* come esempio di TRANSFIELD EXTENSION originatasi da un verbo uditivo, come nel caso dei verbi delle lingue aborigene studiate da Evans e Wilkins (2002). Ciò che si può osservare è che il passaggio dal verbo latino a quello italiano antico e l'affermarsi del valore uditivo hanno lasciato pressoché intatti i valori

cognitivi; alcuni di essi si sono indeboliti in italiano contemporaneo (e.g.: *giudicare*) ma risultano ancora attivi nel XIII secolo. In questo senso si può concludere che almeno dal punto di vista sincronico il caso di *sentire* mostra come sia possibile la convivenza nello stesso verbo di significati cognitivi e una lettura percettiva principale di tipo uditivo.

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Database

Lessicografia della Crusca in rete. Dizionario della Crusca (ediz. I-V)

<http://www.lessicografia.it/>

Corpus TLIO

[http://tlioweb.ovi.cnr.it/\(S\(zbsbgkyilpfhkl45rrgav345\)\)/CatForm01.aspx](http://tlioweb.ovi.cnr.it/(S(zbsbgkyilpfhkl45rrgav345))/CatForm01.aspx)

Notes

1. Viberg (1984) individua questo pattern in *mambwe* (Zambia), *chibemba* (Zambia), *setswana* (Botswana) e parzialmente in *swahili*, tutte lingue di famiglia bantu. Le restanti sono *birom*, lingua del Plateau Niger-congolese, e *hausa*, lingua chadica occidentale, entrambe parlate in Nigeria.
2. Viberg (1984) si interessa in questo studio dei significati percettivi fisici/concreti.
3. Con Intrafield extensions Evans e Wilkins (2000) intendono che il mutamento di significato consiste soltanto nell'acquisizione di ulteriori modalità sensoriali, ma resta fermo il significato percettivo del verbo. Nel caso di Transfield extensions invece il verbo perde valore percettivo fisico e assume un significato cognitivo.
4. Figura 1, *Gerarchia delle modalità sensoriali*, tratta da Viberg (1984).
5. Il Corpus testuale del Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini è il maggior database oggi disponibile riguardante le prime fasi documentabili dei volgari italiani, arrivando fino all'anno 1375. Articolato in tre database, contiene attualmente 2318 testi (23.173.538 tokens) nel Corpus OVI; 1998 testi (21.868.415 tokens) costituiscono il Corpus TLIO, più un Corpus TLIO aggiuntivo di 320 testi, non ancora lemmatizzato. La parte lemmatizzata del Corpus testuale è interrogabile in rete tramite l'interfaccia GattoWeb.
6. Da ottobre 2017 il corpus sarà reso disponibile alla consultazione e al download sulla pagina personale dell'autore.
7. In totale il verbo occorre 2578 volte nel testo. Gli errori nella lemmatizzazione, valutando in base alla mia esperienza, sono piuttosto rari.
8. In quest'ultima parte del lavoro ho scelto di trascurare la categoria *Percezione di entità astratte*. Essa è individuata solo da un particolare gruppo di referenti e poco significativa per un quadro generale del pattern semantico di *sentire*.

