

**A Recollection of 11 Years of  
*Onomasiology Online* (2000-2010)**

**All Articles Re-Collected**

edited by Joachim Grzega

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## PREFACE

Onomasiology departs from an idea, a concept or a referent and looks for words that were, are, or could be, used for it. Many, if not all, linguists will every once in a while have heard a layperson ask “how should we express X?” and “why is X called this way?” Further, an important task of modern societies is knowledge management, which includes the question of how to transfer knowledge into language (including expert-layperson communication). Style guides sell well, too. Onomasiology is definitely at the heart of humans’ linguistic interest.

At the close of the 20th century, though, countless small articles were unfortunately scattered over the huge mass of linguistic and anthropological literature, not always easily detectable; in addition, onomasiological questions, though popular among laypersons, were not fashionable among linguists. Therefore, in March 2000, supported by Katholische Universität Eichstätt and some funding organizations, I started the experiment of *Onomasiology Online*—an Internet platform to serve as a central venue for this fascinating branch of linguistics. *Onomasiology Online*, accessible at <http://www.onomasiology.de>, was to offer a constantly updated bibliography of printed onomasiological works and sources, a list of Internet sources, a coursebook *English and Historical Lexicology* (by Marion Schöner and me) and—predominantly—a journal edited by myself as well as (from 2000 to 2007) Alfred Bammesberger and (from since 2006 to 2009) by Marion Schöner, under ISSN 1616-9484. Apart from the chief editors, an international group of scholars served as consulting editors: Peter Anreiter (Innsbruck), Isabel Balteiro Fernández (Alicante), Javier E. Díaz Vera (La Mancha/Ciudad Real), Heiner Eichner (Vienna), Otto Gsell (Eichstätt), Gert Klingenschmitt (Regensburg), Peter Koch (Tübingen), Thomas Kohnen (Cologne), Jorma Koivulehto (Helsinki), Frederik Kortlandt (Leiden), Peter Rolf Lutzeier (Hull), Heinz-Dieter Pohl (Klagenfurt), Pavol Štekauer (Košice), Alberto Zamboni (Padua). Contributors from various countries enriched *OnOn* with theoretical articles, diachronic and synchronic case studies and studies in applied onomasiology—in different languages, with English abstracts.

To our knowledge, *OnOn* was the first specialized linguistic on-line journal edited in Germany and the first online journal worldwide that consistently published its articles in PDF format, which avoided all problems of special fonts and could be read from all users worldwide. After initial hesitations and objections to this new way of publication, we received more and more positive feedback—also thanks to the quality-saving peer-review system. Nevertheless, after a decade and 11 volumes amounting to nearly 700 pages, I very regretfully had to terminate *OnOn* for reasons of time and money.

For the *OnOn* publications to be saved for and recollected by future generations, I have recollected all articles in this special edition (with the exception of a 150-page index that can be accessed at <http://www.grzega.de>). The articles are not ordered chronologically, but thematically. The first section covers the theoretical contributions. A second section embraces case studies from various Indo-European as well as non-Indo-European languages. The final section comprehends studies that could be termed applied onomasiology. At the beginning of each article, the original publication date and pagination is given. The original layout is kept—except for some minor space-saving measures. Consequently, as we made minor layout changes over the years, articles do not all adhere to the same layout. Some early files required a quite complicated conversion process; I am grateful to my student assistant Jonas Bodensohn for his valuable assistance here.

It was an enjoyable experience making *Onomasiology Online*.

JOACHIM GRZEGA<sup>1</sup>**SUMMARY, SUPPLEMENT AND INDEX FOR GRZEGA, *BEZEICHNUNGSWANDEL*, 2004**

## Abstract

This contribution refers to the author's 2004 book, *Bezeichnungswandel: Wie, Warum, Wozu? Ein Beitrag zur englischen und allgemeinen Onomasiologie* [E. *Lexemic Change: How, Why, What For? A Contribution to English and General Onomasiology*]. It comprehends a summary of the book, a supplement with comments on discussions about ideas in the book, and an index consisting of four parts: (1) an index ordered according to language and words, (2) an index ordered according to concepts (formulated in English), (3) an index ordered according to concepts (formulated in German), (4) an index ordered according to conceptual fields.

Summary<sup>2</sup>

Grzega (2004a) is a rather cognitive linguistic study on the forces of lexemic change and the formal and cognitive-associative processes involved. It discusses and revises works from all eras of linguistics (from Whitney to Paul to Betz and Ullmann, to Blank, Koch, Geeraerts, and Štekauer). Its goal is a careful combination of the benefits from structural and cognitive linguistics to draw a new joint onomasiological theory of lexemic change. Departing from the observations of several hundred examples from English, German, the Romance and other languages<sup>3</sup>, some of the ideas found in traditional and recent literature are dismissed, some are accepted in a revised shape and some are newly contributed. Since it integrates results from cognitive, pragmatic and sociolinguistic studies, it can be called *Cognitive and Social Model for Onomasiological Studies (CoSMOS)*.

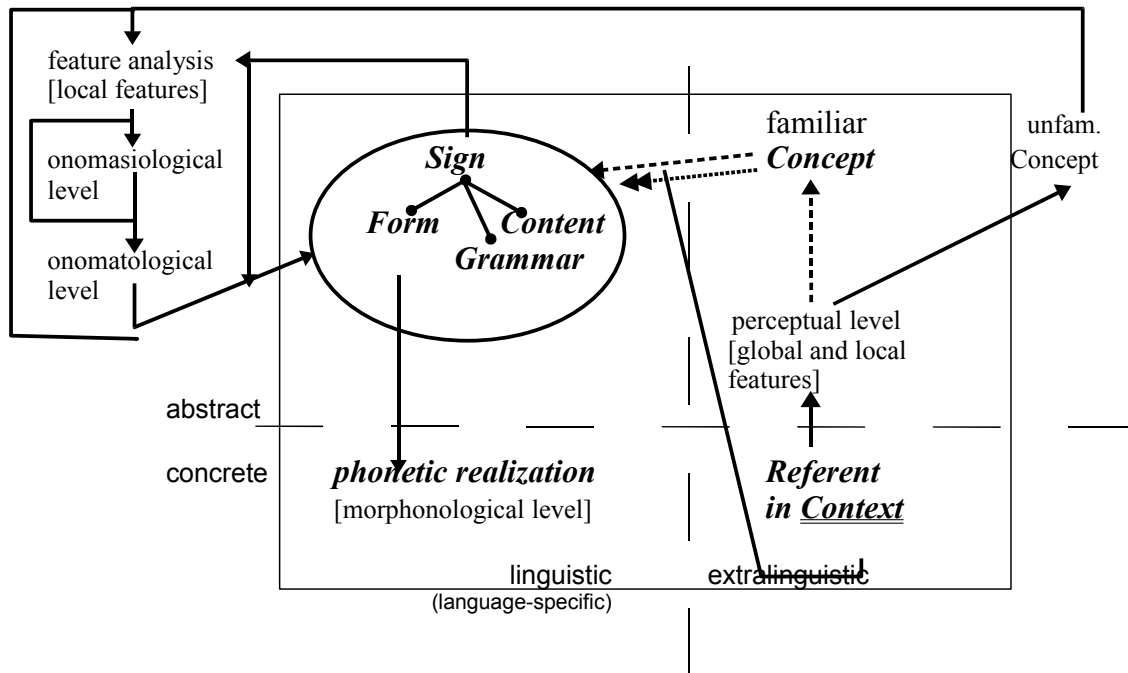
The basic onomasiological process is reflected in the following new scheme of the linguistic sign, which departs from a concrete Referent in Context:

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<sup>1</sup> The index was compiled with the help of my student assistant Daniela Wecker.

<sup>2</sup> Other summaries of Grzega (2004a) can be found in Grzega (2005a) and the didactic version in Grzega/Schöner (2007). They converge in part with following sections.

<sup>3</sup> The basic ideas of Grzega (2004a) are claimed to be universal and revise also ideas by Brent (e.g. 1992) or Brown (e.g. 2001). Therefore the study has included various languages.



The CoSMOS scheme combines ideas exposed in Blank (1997) and Štekauer (1998). The following sections show how to read the model illustrating the single steps with the creation of the terms for “the season after summer and before winter”.

- 1: At the start there is the specific Referent in Context, or a type of Referent. By *Context* we refer to the speaker-hearer situation, the type of discourse, the communicative goal, the syntactical context.  
Example: I need to refer to the season outside. My context is: We are in the 16th century. It is a day in September. I am addressing a general English-speaking audience (some of them speak French, some know some Latin). I want to inform the audience.
- 2: The speaker seeks to categorize the referent by processing its more basic, “global” and its more specific, “local” features. The speaker seeks to classify the thing by using some kind of mental checklist for absence and presence of specific traits (structural linguistics!) and by comparing the overall image of the referent with other images already in the mind (prototype linguistics!). This level is the **perceptual level**.  
Example: It’s no longer summer, but it’s not winter yet. - The temperature has generally fallen, days are shorter and nights are longer, precipitation gradually increases. Leaves have turned red, brown, yellow and are falling from the trees, many crops are harvested. It is the TRANSITORY PERIOD BETWEEN SUMMER AND WINTER.
- 3: If the (concrete) Referent can be classified as member of a familiar (abstract) Concept, the speaker may use an already existing designation or decide, more or less consciously, to create a new designation. The decision will be based on some sort of cost-benefit-analysis, i.e. the speaker has to reflect on what the goals of the designation and utterance should be: does the speaker want to sound like the hearer, does the speaker want to sound different from others, should the designation be precise or vague, does the speaker want to sound vulgar, sophisticated, boorish, polite? The cost-benefit-analysis can be described as “linguistic economy”. In the case of conscious innovation the speaker then has to pass several levels of a word-finding, or name-giving, process.  
Example: What can I call this period?

Further details: The causes of language change in general (not only lexemic changes) can be said to be of economic nature: Speakers connect a speech act with a certain goal, a certain target, a certain intention, or: a certain effect. Speakers like to achieve this effect with the best possible efficiency, they want to reach this by using the least possible motoric or cognitive effort, respecting—according to their needs—certain maxims such as “Make your contribution convincing/credible/emphatic etc.”, “Make clear what you mean.”, “Show yourself in the best possible light.”, “Be polite/dominant/obsequious etc.”, “Express yourself in a sophisticated/humorous/etc. manner.” and the like<sup>4</sup>. Maxims for dynamics may trigger linguistic changes, which may secondarily be conserved in the language through maxims for statics. In general, constant linguistic change is not planned, but simply occurs, as a by-product.

The (intentional or non-intentional) coinage of a new designation can be incited by various forces, which can also co-occur. A catalog of forces<sup>5</sup> contains the following items:

- onomasiological fuzziness (i.e. difficulties in classifying the referent or attributing the right word to the referent, thus mixing up designations)
- dominance of the prototype (i.e. fuzzy difference between superordinate and subordinate term due to the monopoly of the prototype of a category in the real world)
- social reasons (i.e. contact situation with “undemarcation” effects)
- institutional and non-institutional linguistic pre- and proscriptivism (i.e. legal and peer-group linguistic pre- and proscriptivism, aiming at “demarcation”)
- flattery
- insult
- disguising language (i.e. “misnomers”, which hide uncomfortable aspects of a concept by avoiding morphemes that trigger uncomfortable associations)
- taboo (i.e. avoidance of taboo words and words for taboo concepts)
- aesthetic-formal reasons (i.e. avoidance of words that are phonetically similar or identical to negatively associated words)
- communicative-formal reasons (i.e. abolition of the ambiguity of forms in context, keyword: “homonymic conflict and polysemic conflict”)
- word play/punning
- excessive length of words
- morphological misinterpretation (keyword: “folk-etymology”, creation of transparency by changes within a word)
- logical-formal reasons (keyword: “lexical regularization”, creation of consociation)
- desire for plasticity (creation of a salient motivation of a name)
- anthropological salience of a concept (i.e. anthropologically given emotionality of a concept, “natural salience”)
- culture-induced salience of a concept (“cultural importance”)
- changes in the referents (i.e. changes in the world)
- world view change (i.e. changes in the categorization of the world)
- prestige/fashion (based on the prestige of another language or variety, of certain word-formation patterns, or of certain semasiological centers of expansion)

These forces<sup>6</sup> can be linked with conversational maxims in the following way (a question mark before the force indicates that it can only potentially be placed here):

<sup>4</sup> On these maxims cf. Grice (1975) and Keller (1995).

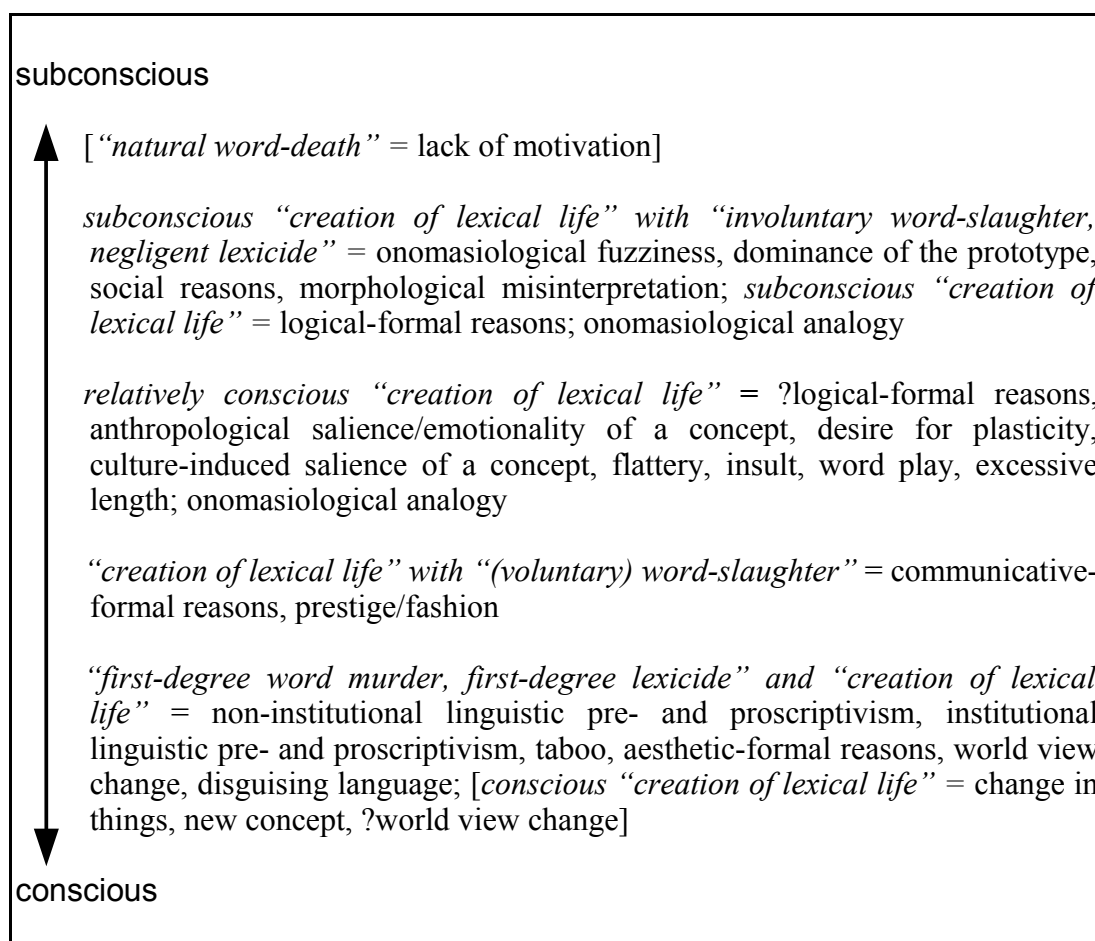
<sup>5</sup> A preliminary study in English was presented in Grzega (2000a).

<sup>6</sup> The following alleged motives found in previous works have been dismissed as invalid after a close look at the respective examples given in previous works: decrease in salience, reading errors, laziness, excessive phonetic shortness, difficult sound combinations, unclear stress patterns, cacophony.

<b>maxim</b>	<b>rather sub-conscious violation</b>	<b>rather conscious violation</b>	<b>conscious violation</b>	<b>rather sub-conscious observance</b>	<b>rather conscious observance</b>	<b>conscious observance</b>
<i>Quality (truth of content) (Persuasion)</i>	onomasiological fuzziness, dominance of the prototype	?flattery	word-play, disguising language			
<i>Quantity (appropriate quantity in content) (Persuasion)</i>		?anthropological salience of a concept	word-play, ?disguising language, ?flattery		desire for plasticity, culture-induced salience, recategorization, communicative-formal forces	
<i>Manner / Modality (order of utterance, appropriate quantity in form) (Representation)</i>	social reasons, dominance of the prototype	?anthropological salience of a concept	word-play, taboo, disguising language, ?flattery	logical-formal reasons, morphological misinterpretation, recategorization, length	desire for plasticity	communicative-formal forces, aesthetic-formal forces
<i>Image (of Speaker)</i>						disguising language, taboo, fashion, aesthetic-formal motives, word-play, pre- & proscriptivism
<i>Relation (between Speaker &amp; Hearer)</i>			word-play, ?insult	social reasons	insult	flattery, taboo, aesthetic-formal motives, pre- & proscriptivism
<i>Aesthetics (of form)</i>					anthropological salience of a concept	word-play, taboo, aesthetic-formal forces, fashion

Using the “word death” metaphor these factors could be positioned on a conscious-subconscious continuum, where the gradual subconscious loss of a word can be compared to “natural (designation) death” and where the conscious avoidance of a word can be compared to “(designation) murder” (these two extremes embrace several intermediate degrees; a question mark before a force indicates that the respective force, also occurring at another level, could potentially be located on this level of consciousness, too):





From the analysis of a random corpus of 281 lexemic innovations among 76 concepts<sup>7</sup> (cf. also Grzega 2004b) we can state that the most prominent forces are fashion/prestige (based on the prestige of another language or variety, of certain word-formation patterns, or of certain semasiological centers of expansion), anthropological salience (i.e. anthropologically given emotionality of a concept), social reasons (i.e. contact situation with “undemarcation” effects), and the desire for plasticity (creation of saliently and “noticeably” motivated name).<sup>8</sup>

- 4: The next step will again be an analysis of the specific traits of the concept (= **feature analysis**)—with a focus on the local traits. This step can be ignored if the speaker simply borrows a word from a foreign language or variety that corresponds with the concept in question; it can also be ignored if the speaker simply resorts to an already existing designation and shortens it somehow.  
Example: There is no clear-cut end of summer and no clear-cut beginning of winter, but the period in between typically shows a falling degree of temperature, days are shorter and nights are longer, precipitation gradually increases, leaves change their colors from green into brown, red and yellow and finally fall, most crops are harvested. In France they call it autumn.
- 5: The speaker will then select one or two features that shall form the basis for the designation. We could refer to this as “naming in a more abstract sense”. The

<sup>7</sup> The selection was based on Buck (1949), the analysis by Buck and a number of other dictionaries and corpora.

<sup>8</sup> Further statistical studies with the help of a random corpus are in the making (Schöner [in prep.]).

designation motives are called **iconemes**<sup>9</sup>. The iconemes are generally based on similarity, contrast, partiality and contiguity/contact relations. This level could be termed the **onomasiological level**. Here again, the speaker keeps in mind the context.

Example: I want to inform. I can only use a French or Latin term for a bilingual audience, but not for a general audience. I need to look for a transparent formation. Trees loose their leaves, leaves fall from the trees. This iconeme serves well for a general audience, as no specialist knowledge is needed for this.

Further details: The search for the motivations (iconemes) is based on one or several cognitive-associative relations. These relations<sup>10</sup> are:

- (1) identity
- (2) “figurative”, i.e. individually felt similarity of the concepts, partially in connection with contiguity of concepts
- (3) contiguity of concepts, partially in connection with “figurative” similarity of the concepts
- (4) partiality of concepts
- (5) contrast of concepts
- (6) “literal” or “figurative” similarity between the forms of a sign and the concept
- (7) strong relation between contents of signs and “literal” similarity of concepts
- (8) strong relation between contents of signs and contrast of concepts
- (9) strong relation between contents of signs and “literal” similarity of concepts and partially contiguity of the forms of signs
- (10) (“literal”) similarity of the forms of signs
- (11) contiguity of the forms of signs
- (12) “literal”, i.e. objectively visible, similarity and contiguity of concepts
- (13) “literal” similarity of referents and strong relation between contents of signs
- (14) multiple associations

The concrete associations can or cannot be incited by a model, which may be of Speaker’s own idiom or a foreign idiom.

- 6: The next step is made onto what could be called the **onomatological level**. Here concrete morphemes are selected (“naming in a more concrete sense”). If the speaker does not shorten an already existing word for the concept, but wants to create a new one, this can be done with the help of several types of processes. The creations may be based on a model from the speaker’s own idiom, on a model from a foreign idiom, or on no model at all.

Example: verb {fall} > transfer into, or use as, a noun; the French word *autumn*

Further details: If a speaker does not shorten an already existing designation, but creates a new one, the coinages may be based on a model from the speaker’s own idiom, on a model from a foreign idiom, or, with root creations, on no model:

<sup>9</sup> Alinei (1995) uses the term *iconym*, but since the phenomenon to be denoted is an abstract, cognitive one, not a concrete, linguistic one, a term ending in *-nym* seems less preferable than one ending in *-eme*.

<sup>10</sup> Most ideas for the suborganization of semantic change in Grzegą (2004) stem from the works by Blank (e.g. 1997, 1999, 2003) and Koch (e.g. 2002).

- (1) adoption of an already existing lexeme
- (a) of the speaker's own idiom (semantic change<sup>11</sup>)  
(N.B.: This includes the phenomenon traditionally known as *semantic loan*.<sup>12</sup>)
- (i) metaphor ("similar-to" relation)
  - (ii) metonymy ("neighbor-of" relation)
  - (iii) synecdoche ("part-of" relation)
  - (iv) generalization and specialization ("kind-of" relation)
  - (v) cohyponymic transfer ("sibling-of" relation)
  - (vi) antiphrasis and auto-antonymy ("contrast-to" relation)
  - (vii) conceptual recategorization
- (b) from a foreign idiom (loanword)<sup>13</sup>
- (i) "true loan"
  - (ii) "incomplete loan" (type traditionally called *morphological pseudo-loan*)
  - (iii) "mis-loan" (i.e. folk-etymological formal change of a loan, folk-etymological semantic extension due to an only phonetically similar loan)
  - (iv) "creative loan" (types traditionally called *lexical pseudo-loan*)
- (2) syntactical recategorization<sup>14</sup> (traditionally also known as *zero-derivation* and sometimes *conversion*)
- (3) composition<sup>15</sup> (*lato sensu*, i.e. the combination of existing morphemes) (N.B.: This includes the two phenomena traditionally referred to as *compounds* and *derivations*. This also includes the phenomena traditionally known as *loan translations* and *loan renditions*<sup>16</sup>.)
- (i) "complete complex structure" (complex composites, i.e. complete determinative composites with a base and a so-called mark, consisting of a determining component and a determined component)
  - (ii) "incomplete complex structure 1" (composites with absence of determining component of the mark)
  - (iii) "incomplete complex structure 2" (composites with absence of determined component of the mark)
  - (iv) "incomplete complex structure B" (composites with absence of the base)
  - (v) "simplex structure" (simplex composites, no determinative relationship between the elements)
  - (vi) "copulative structure" (copulatives composites)

<sup>11</sup> Many ideas for the suborganization of semantic change in Grzego (2004a) stem from the works by Blank (e.g. 1997, 1999, 2003) and Koch (e.g. 2002). A preliminary study in English was presented in Grzego (2000a).

<sup>12</sup> On this, cf. the terminologies by Betz (1949), Duckworth (1977) and the preliminary study in Grzego (2003). *Semantic loan*, or *loan meaning*, is understood as the copy of a certain polysemy found in a donor language (also called *analogous loan meaning*); the phenomenon referred to as *substituting loan meaning*, where a polysemy in the language in question does not go back to the same polysemy in another language, is not included here.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also the preliminary study in Grzego (2003) as well as the discussion in the preliminary chapter of Carstensen's AWB.

<sup>14</sup> Many ideas for the suborganization of word-formation in Grzego (2004a) stem from the works by Štekauer (e.g. 1998, 2001). A preliminary study in English was presented in Grzego (2000b).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. preceding footnote. This process is further elaborated in Grzego (in print).

<sup>16</sup> On this, cf. the terminologies by Betz (1949), Duckworth (1977) and the preliminary study in Grzego (2003). On semantic loans, cf. above. Designations known as *loan creations* are not linguistic loans; at best, it is the things that are loaned. Therefore this phenomenon is excluded from the list presented here.

- (4) blendings (i.e. overlapping of already existing lexemes) (N.B.: This include the phenomenon traditionally known as *folk-etymologies*, although these come up non-intentionally.)
- (5) back-derivation
- (6) reduplication (incl. rhyming and alliterating combinations)
- (7) morphological alteration (e.g. number change, gender change)
- (8) wordplaying (N.B.: This type must not to be mixed up with the force triggering the change; this item purely relates to a play with forms that cannot be subsumed to any of the other processes mentioned here, e.g. the back slang word *earth* ‘three’)
- (9) phonetic-prosodic alteration (e.g. stress shift in E. *import* vs. *impórt*)
- (10) graphic alteration (e.g. E. *discrete* vs. *discreet*)
- (11) phraseologism
- (12) root creation (including onomatopoetic and expressive words)
- (13) clarifying compounds (i.e. tautological compounds = lengthening of already existing designations)
- (14) formal shortening of already existing designations
  - (a) morpheme deletion (ellipsis)
  - (b) morpheme shortening (clipping)
  - (c) morpheme symbolization (acronyms, incl. alphabetisms, and short-forms)

These processes<sup>17</sup> may also be combined.

- 7: Then, the word is provided with a fixed form-content relation and certain grammatical traits—the **Sign** is completed.  
Example: *autumn*: /'ɔ:tʌm/, ‘season after summer and before winter’, noun, regular;  
*fall*: /fɔ:l/, ‘season after summer and before winter; action of falling’, noun, regular
- 8: Eventually, the Sign is **phonetically realized** in a concrete context. This may possibly be influenced by a foreign sound model.  
Example: [ɔ:tʌm], [fɔ:l]

## Supplement

The book just summarized (Grzega 2004a) has led to further discussions and studies (cf. Kelle 2006, Grzega 2005b, in print). I would therefore like to make a few comments.

(a) The word *milcian* that is given as an example for a derivation in Old English (Grzega 2006: 122) can or must be classified in Štekauer’s way, namely as a conversion/syntactic recategorization, if *-i-* is seen as a grammatical suffix—after all, the past tense does lack the *-i-* (*milcode*).

(b) Kelle (2006: 94) criticizes the words *intentional/non-intentional* in connection with designation processes (Grzega 2004a: 157ff.) and says that they must be replaced by *conscious/unconscious*. However, the words *intentional/non-intentional* are not used in the sense of speech act theory here; they are used as everyday words and are quite synonymous to *conscious/subconscious*. The speaker can produce a new designation intentionally, or consciously, or the speaker can produce a new designation non-intentionally, or subconsciously.

<sup>17</sup> Dismissed types of processes are the amelioration of meaning (elevation), deterioration of meaning (degeneration), strengthening of meaning (hyperbole), weakening of meaning (litotes). They are in part subjectively classified and can all be subsumed under other types of semantic change and differ from them only in their communicative goal.

(c) Kelle (2006: 95) says that the localizations of the forces on the conscious-subconscious scale (Grzega 2004a: 272f.) are not always transparent. As an example he gives the classification of taboo on the highest level of consciousness. He argues that if *Eskimo* falls into desuetude, while *Inuit* becomes more and more common this is completely subconscious and nevertheless taboo. However, this seems to be a definition of taboo. If taboo is defined as the avoidance of a word, then this is the most conscious form of word-killing. However, as it says in Grzega (2004a: 272f. and elsewhere), several forces may be at work at the same time —on different consciousness levels. If something becomes more and more common, then this rather seems to describe fashion, not taboo.

## Index (compiled by Joachim Grzega and Daniela Wecker)

If Grzega (2004a) had included a useful index, the book would have been about 200 pages larger (which would have caused a higher price). An internet venue like this gives readers the chance to print out the following index for free.

The index includes several subindices:

- (1) an index ordered according to language and words (beginning on p. 27)
- (2) an index ordered according to concepts (formulated in English) (beginning on p. 71)
- (3) an index ordered according to concepts (formulated in German) (beginning on p. 98)
- (4) an index ordered according to conceptual fields (beginning on p. 159)

***[The index in the original publication is not reproduced here, as it contains over 150 pages. It can be accessed through the author's website at <http://www.grzega.de/>]***

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PAVOL ŠTEKAUER

## FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF AN ONOMASIOLOGICAL THEORY OF ENGLISH WORD-FORMATION

### Abstract

This article presents an outline of the fundamental principles of an onomasiological theory of word-formation which departs from the existing theories of word-formation in English in a number of essential points. Word-formation is conceived of as an independent component interconnected with the lexical component and separated from syntax. Word-formation rules generate fully regular and predictable naming units. The conception of productivity as a cluster of word-formation types makes it possible to consider word-formation rules as productive as syntactic rules. The idea of the word-formation component that responds to naming needs of a speech community allows for elimination of the overgeneration principle in morphology. Introduction of the so-called Form-to-Meaning Assignment Principle makes it possible to put all the traditional word-formation processes on a unified basis. The advantages of the outlined theory are illustrated by a series of examples.

### Introduction

A look at the theories of word-formation (derivational morphology) which have dominated the field since 1960 (the year when two highly important works appeared: Marchand and Lees) shows that, surprisingly, there is hardly any theory which takes the naming demands of a speech community as its point of departure. The following is an outline of the fundamental principles of my **onomasiological theory** (OT) of word-formation the individual aspects of which have evolved since 1992 when my article on conversion and zero morphemes appeared in *Linguistica Pragensia*. A number of points have been changed, reconsidered, and refined, and new generalisations have been made. In its general framework, this outline is based on Štekauer (1998), however, it elaborates on some of the points only hinted in it.

The theory presented here was inspired by two main sources. First, the work of Miloš Dokulil (1962, 1966, 1968), a prominent representative of the Prague School of Linguistics. From him, I took over the idea of an onomasiological structure. While there are a number of points in which I have deviated from Dokulil's approach (perhaps due to my reaction to the generative word-formation of the post-1970 period) I find his 1962 book one of the most ingenious works on word-formation, and a constant source of valuable ideas.

My next source is my teacher and the most prominent Slovak morphologist, Ján Horecký, in particular his multilevel conception of the linguistic sign (1983, 1989). Furthermore, the theory presented here came into existence as a reaction to the predominant formalism of generative morphology. Having been a student of Josef Vachek, the most prominent personality of the Prague School of Linguistics in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, I find the form-meaning unity to be a fundamental premise of my onomasiological theory. Consequently, the conception proposed here differs in many respects from the mainstream generative theories of word-formation, introduces a new approach to word-**formation**, and demonstrates its advantages in treating some of the essential problems of word-formation in English.

It should be noted, however, that the onomasiological approach is not the only one to emphasize the necessity to examine both meaning and form of word-formation units and structures. A most valuable exception to the prevailing tendency in the generative word-formation is represented by Robert Beard's **Lexeme-Morpheme Base Morphology** (LMBM) elaborated in a series of works, with a comprehensive account being given in Beard (1995). With Beard I share the view that there exists a universal set of supralinguistic cognitive categories (Subjective [i.e. Agent], Objective, Instrumental, Locational, Diminution, Augmentation, etc.) from which the individual languages select, with the core of these categories appearing in all languages. Beard separates a deep, abstract, semantic process of the so-called Lexical derivation from affixation. The actual affixes (devoid of their independent meaning) articulate meaning indirectly, depending on the context, and are introduced by a separate, extralexical morphological spelling (MS) component.<sup>1</sup> While my OT may also be labelled as a 'separation hypothesis', with the cognitive processes preceding the affixation proper, my treatment of affixes significantly differs from that by Beard. In my theory, affixes are bilateral, meaning-form units, with their semantics playing an important role in the matching procedure at the onomatological level (see below for the details). While Beard "evicted" affixes from the "community" of major classes (N, V, A) by claiming that—like articles, adpositions, conjunctions, and some pronouns—they "bear no semantic content but reflect grammatical functions which are managed by other components, specifically by the lexicon and syntax" (Beard 1995: 20) I find affixes to be on a par with lexemes (both are form-meaning units). These general differences find their expression in our respective treatment of a number of more specific issues.<sup>2</sup>

**Cognitive grammar** (CG), in reaction to the formalism of generative grammar, also offered a highly attractive alternative. Onomasiological theory and cognitive grammar have some features in common, notably the emphasis on the semantic facet as an indispensable facet of any unit above the level of phonology. I share the view of the cognitive grammar that all units above the phonological level are bilateral form-meaning complexes, a view which was very strongly articulated in the structuralist theories of the Geneva School and the Prague School. To use the terminology of cognitive grammar, grammar is "symbolic", and each symbolic unit has its semantic pole and phonological pole. Both OT and CG maintain that the overall meaning of complex words is not equivalent to the compositional value of the constituents. Langacker (1988b: 49) puts it to the very point: "a description of grammatical structure that makes no reference to meaning is ultimately no more revealing than a dictionary providing only a list of undefined forms".

Nevertheless, these common features concern the most general principles. The two theories differ in their scope, goals pursued, methods employed, and their respective internal organisation. The **scope** and **goals** of cognitive grammar are much more ambitious than those of my onomasiological theory. While the former covers grammar as a whole the latter focuses on one part of the grammar, i.e. the word-formation component (and accounts for its relations to the other components of grammar). The former provides a description of the system of grammar as it is and as it functions in *parole*, i.e. how symbolic units come to mean what they mean. It gives a description of the existing system of symbolic units used for communication purposes. On the other hand, onomasiological theory gives a dynamic account of how complex words come into existence. Its **scope** is thus the generation of new **complex** naming units, in accordance with Marchand's (1960: 2) requirement that "[w]ord-formation can only treat of **composites** which are analyzable both formally and semantically".

The account of the semantic structures in cognitive grammar is interwoven with pragmatics;

<sup>1</sup> For a moderate version of this approach see Jan Don (1993).

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed analysis of Beard's theory see Štekauer (2000).



in other words, cognitive grammar does not separate semantics from pragmatics:

“Cognitive grammar explicitly equates meaning with ‘conceptualization’ (or ‘mental experience’), this term being interpreted quite broadly. It is meant to include not just fixed concepts, but also novel conceptions and experiences, even as they occur. It includes not just abstract, ‘intellectual’ conceptions, but also such phenomena as sensory, emotive, and kinesthetic sensations. It further embraces a person’s awareness of the physical, social, and linguistic context of speech events” (Langacker 1988a: 6).

Langacker (1988a: 16) maintains that the non-compositional aspects of an expression’s meaning are part of its contextual value (i.e. how it is actually understood) the very first time it occurs, and further become part of its conventional value when it is established as a unit in the grammar. On the other hand, OT proposes that the **original** meaning of a word is context-independent and is fully specified within the WF component, i.e. at the system level of language, in particular through the logical spectrum of the conceptual level.

Onomasiological theory in its fundamental focus is not concerned with pragmatic aspects, and concentrates on *langue*, on the system level of language. The principles of **internal organisation** of the two systems differ significantly. Langacker postulates different levels of abstraction both at the semantic level and phonological level. The higher level structures function as schemas for more specific symbolic units. Word classes such as Nouns, Verbs, etc. instantiate more abstract “things”, and “actions”, respectively. Thus, thing and action are schemas for the respective categories of word class. In OT, the parallel notions (SUBSTANCE, ACTION, CONCOMITANT CIRCUMSTANCE, QUALITY) represent the most general conceptual categories which are not instantiated as Nouns, Verbs, etc.; rather they range over word classes. Thus, for example, ACTION can be expressed by V and N, QUALITY by N, A, etc. Importantly, however, these conceptual categories operate in connection with what I call logico-semantic categories (i.e. theta roles, arguments, etc.) such as Agent, Instrument, Patient, Location, Temporal, Direction, Factitive, etc. The relation of these conceptual categories to word-classes is (unlike CG) indirect, mediated, depending on the logical spectrum, the specific onomasiological structure, and the FMAP principle, i.e. on which morphemes are selected to match the semes of the onomasiological structure. In other words, they do not function as schemas for the respective word-classes.

In CG, suffixes do not fall within the schemas like Thing, Action. In the OT, affixes are on a par with stem morphemes, and can represent respective conceptual categories. In CG, a compound like *pencil-sharpener* instantiates a complex schema THING - PROCESS - ER, which, as a complex symbolic structure, is constituted by a hierarchy of symbolic structures of ever-increasing complexity. The individual constituents of the individual levels of complexity reflect the order in which symbolic units are successively combined in formation of a complex expression. Every node of representation of such a complex symbolic structure is a symbolic structure per se, incorporating both semantics and phonology.

The OT generation of such a complex word does not rest on several levels of bilateral units of different level of complexity. Rather, it starts from the conceptual structure, proceeds through the semantic structure which is then expressed morphematically by matching the semantic primitives occurring in the onomasiological structure with the morphemes of the corresponding meaning. By implication, the “symbolic nature” is arrived at at the lowest but one level of the OT.

The CG schemas of various complexity level “capture generalisations by representing patterns observable across expressions” (Langacker 1988a: 30). In this respect they resemble Jackendoffean redundancy rules. OT works with Word-Formation Rules (WFR) which constitute/instantiate Onomasiological Types. Both WFRs and onomasiological types are

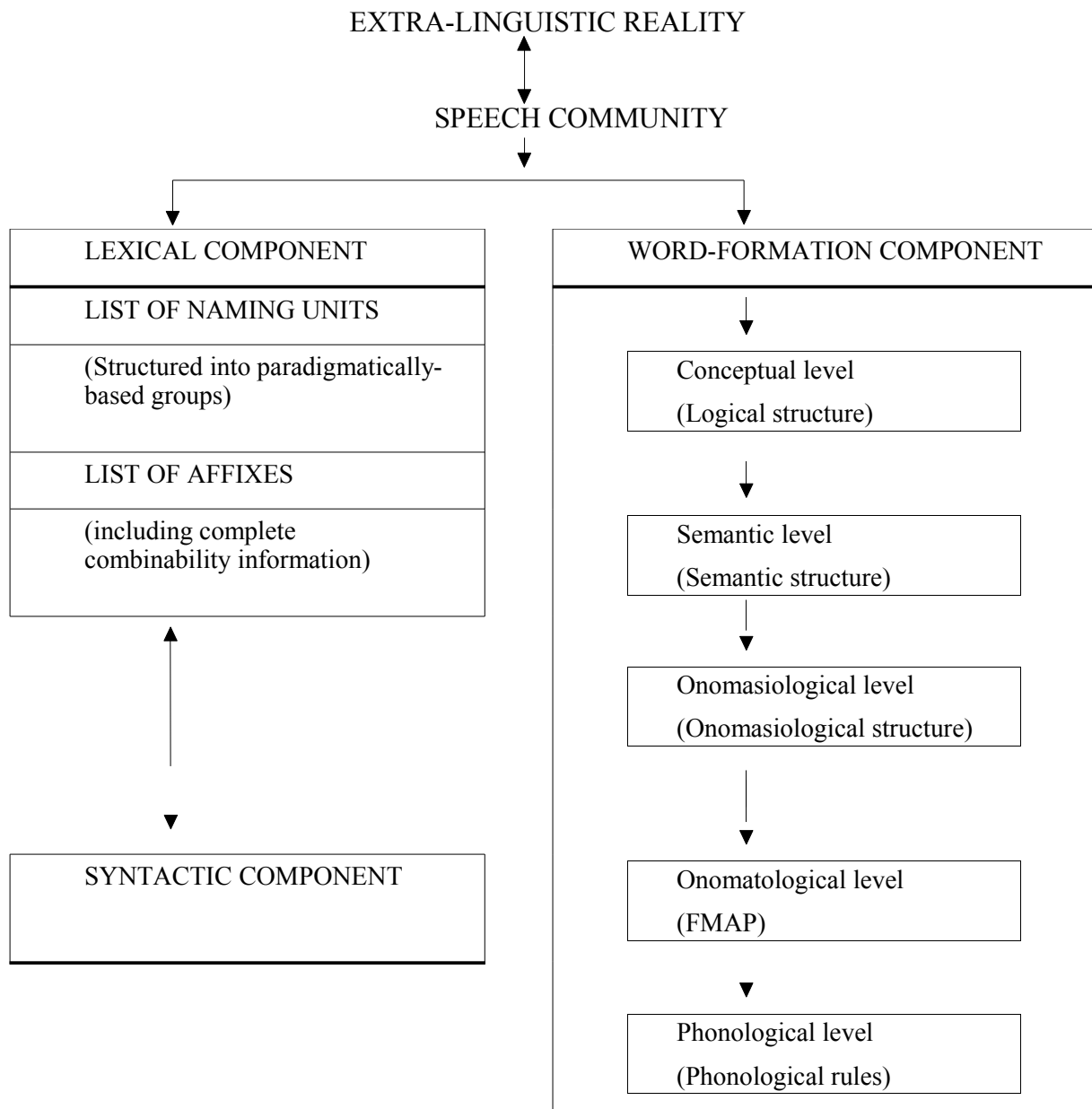
given by the interaction between the Onomasiological and the Onomatological levels.

Before proceeding to an outline of the theory, some terminological remarks are necessary. The fundamental **method** applied in my approach is called *onomasiological*. This term should be distinguished from the term *onomatology*. Vilém Mathesius (1975: 16), the founder of the Prague School of Linguistics distinguishes between *functional onomatology* as the study of naming units, i.e. complex words, on the one hand, and *functional syntax* defined as the study of the means by which naming units are brought into mutual relation. The term *onomasiology* is usually used as an antonym to *semasiology*. While the latter concentrates on the analysis of an existing lexis in order to identify any regularities in the lexicon, the former concentrates on the dynamic aspect of word-formation: it accounts for the generation of new complex naming units. By implication, like onomatology, it also refers to the process of naming. Nevertheless, as demonstrated below, it is useful to distinguish between the level of onomasiology (naming in a more abstract sense) and the level of onomatology (naming process in a more specific sense).

Another new term which requires explanation is *naming unit*. This term was first introduced by Mathesius (1975). In my approach, it substitutes for terms like *word*, *lexeme*, *lexical unit*, etc., because of their inconsistent use and varying connotations in linguistic literature. *Naming unit* refers here to a complex unit generated by the Word-Formation Component. From this it follows that an onomasiological theory of word-formation deals with coining new naming units.

## 1. Word-formation as an Independent Component

The place of the Word-Formation Component in the system of linguistic components is schematically represented in Figure 1. The scheme represents important interconnections between the individual components and subcomponents. It illustrates a direct relation between the Word-Formation and the Lexical Components, on the one hand, and between the extra-linguistic reality and the naming demands of a speech community, on the other. Each naming process responds to a specific demand of a speech community for assigning a name to an extra-linguistic object (in the broadest sense of the word). For obvious reasons, the two levels are mutually interconnected. The notion of speech community should not be taken absolutely, i.e., there is hardly any word-formation process which responds to the naming demand of all the speakers of a particular speech community. Rather, such a demand is closely connected with a limited number of “first-contact” users, and a coinage may or may not subsequently find a wider use. An extreme (nowadays quite common though) case of such a demand of a “speech community” is the coining of names for new products by (advertising) companies, branding consultants, etc. It is exactly this limited group of speech community that needs new names for new things for practical reasons of naming new products and improving their sales. The former reason for naming is shared by customers (it would be difficult to purchase “anonymous” products), and this means the extension of the primary demand to a larger range of language users. Importantly, however, not all new product names fall within the scope of the theory of word-formation because, many times, one encounters names resulting from an irregular process labelled by Marchand (1960) as word-manufacture.



*Figure 1: Word-Formation Component and its relation to other components*

Each naming process is preceded by scanning the Lexical Component on the part of a particular member of a speech community who is going to assign a name to the object to be named. The scanning operation determines further procedure. Either a completely new naming unit is coined by taking the path of the Word-Formation Component; or, if a naming unit is found in the Lexical Component which can serve as a basis for semantic formation, it is the path of the Lexical Component which is preferred (hence, two downward arrows from “Speech Community” in Figure 1).

The Word-Formation Component is considered to be an **independent component** of linguistic description. No natural language is a static system, fixed once and forever. Rather, every language must be (and is) able to comply with an ever-changing extra-linguistic reality and the related language requirements of the particular speech community. From this it follows that every language is in a position to produce new naming units designating new

“objects”, new-discovered phenomena, etc. It follows that every language needs a highly productive word-formation component. By implication, an independent word-formation component might qualify as language universal.

The Word-Formation Component is interconnected with the Lexical Component and separated from the Syntactic Component. There is no direct connection between word-formation and syntax. These two independent components are related through the Lexical Component. The link to the Syntactic Component is exclusively via the Lexical Component. The principle of separation of the Word-Formation and the Syntactic Components indicates that new naming units are not generated from syntactic structures. The rejection of productive syntactically based word-formation processes follows naturally from my onomasiological model, which relies on the vocabulary material, on the material of the system level of language as contained in its Lexicon. The grounds for this claim are closely related to the assumption that it is the Word-Formation Component (in co-operation with the Lexical Component) which supplies syntax with material for its sentence structures, and not vice versa. The process of word-formation is not that of asserting something. It is the process of naming. Hence, the basic unit of word-formation is the naming unit. It suffices to add that word-formation is about naming units in isolation, and not about their use (the latter being the matter of syntax). Word-formation is about naming units coined as **signs** and analysed as units existing in paradigmatic relations in the vocabulary. Here, the term *paradigmatic relations* refers (a) to structural relations among naming units (synonymy, homonymy, hyponymy, etc.), and (b) to word-internal relations among word-forms. In the latter case, the paradigm is conceived as a set of forms provided with morphosyntactic characteristics; any such form can be retrieved by the Syntactic Component and inserted in the particular sentence structure.

Word-formation is divided, though not separated, from inflectional morphology. The relation is unidirectional. The Word-Formation Component feeds the Lexicon with naming units which are provided with inflectional features in accordance with their respective paradigms. The basic difference between word-formation and inflection stems from the fact that the former, and not the latter, generates new naming units. While word-formation is directly connected with extra-linguistic reality, no such connection exists between inflection and extra-linguistic reality.

## 2. Productivity and Regularity of Word-Formation Rules

2.1. All naming units falling within the scope of the onomasiological theory, that is to say, all naming units coming into existence in the Word-Formation Component, are coined by **productive** and **regular** Word-Formation Rules (= WF Types). Hence, each immediate output of a Word-Formation Rule is **predictable**. In addition, each new naming unit produced by a Word-Formation Rule is passed to the Lexical Component. This approach makes it possible to simplify and regularize the Word-Formation Component because any idiosyncratic changes take place in the Lexicon by way of **semantic formation** or **formal modification**. As a result, Word-Formation Rules are no less productive than Syntactic Rules or Inflectional Rules. This conclusion is in accordance with Dokulil's (1962: 223) view:

“If a naming unit, already existing in the language, is applied to a new concept (on account of a metaphorical or metonymical connection of the new concept with the one primarily referred to by the concerned naming unit), this can be denoted as a case of ‘formation’ of a new naming unit only in a conditional sense. In this case (the so-called semantic formation), that is to say, only the number of the meanings of a naming unit is increased, not the number of the naming units themselves. It is true that the resulting polysemy of the concerned naming unit may consequently lead to dissolution of the naming unit into a number of homonyms, but such dissolution does not constitute an active process of word-formation. One has to do here with the result of the semantic development of a polysemous word in specific historical conditions.”

2.2. Productivity itself is approached in a new way. It is conceived of as the ability of a language to fully respond to naming needs of a speech community. Consequently, it is defined as a **Cluster of Word-Formation Types** satisfying naming needs in a specific conceptual-semantic field of a language, for example, that of naming units representing Agents or Instruments. Then, a cluster of Word-Formation Types “guarantees” the coining of a new naming unit in the particular conceptual-semantic field whenever the need arises. Each such cluster is 100% productive. Then, the share of individual options within a particular Word-Formation Type Cluster with regard to the total productivity may be computed internally. From this point of view, the individual Word-Formation Types do not block each other; rather, they compete, and are mutually complementary in meeting the demand of a language community within their corresponding scope of activity. It is postulated that the selection of one of the options at hand is always influenced by both linguistic (productivity, constraints, etc.) and sociolinguistic factors (education, profession, social background, influence of one’s former linguistic experience, etc.).

This approach makes it possible to overcome the limitations of those conceptions of productivity which are restricted to affixation. (Thus, for example, the cluster of Word-Formation Types generating Agent nouns, includes—to use the traditional terminology—suffixation (*driver, politician, pianist, etc.*), conversion (*cheat*), compounding (*oilman, bodyguard*)). In addition, the OT approach to productivity argues against the frequently adduced view claiming that word-formation is typically of low productivity, or regularity. On the contrary, I assume that

- (a) productivity of Word-Formation Type Clusters is always 100%,
- (b) Word-Formation Types employed by the Word-Formation Component are productive and regular.

2.3. Since each act of naming responds to the immediate naming need of a speech community, the output of Word-Formation Rules is an **actual word**, i.e. a naming unit which was coined to satisfy a linguistic demand, be it the demand of a single member of a speech community, be it a single-act one-off demand. It should be emphasized that the frequency of usage, or the “common (general) use”, or “common parlance” as a criterion for the status of existing (occurring) words is unacceptable not only because of the vagueness of the notion “common (general) use”, but also because the frequency of usage can only be applied to words that have already been coined, i.e. to actual (existing) words (or to nonce-formations). Therefore, for a word to qualify for the status of an actual word, it must have been coined. Whether its use will be spread over the whole speech community (implying frequent use), or whether it will be confined to a single use on the part of a single speaker, is insignificant. What is important is that the respective language has manifested its productive capacity to provide a new, well-formed linguistic sign by its productive Word-Formation Rules whenever need arises. By implication, the inclusion in my system of the extra-linguistic factor (speech community) enables me to eliminate the notion of overgeneration.

### 3. Lexicon-Based Theory

3.1. It follows from the above outlined tenets that my theory is built up on the postulate that all new naming units are coined on the basis of the material available in the system of the language, notably in the Lexicon, or the Lexical Component. No use is made either of the speech level (*parole*) or syntactic constructions (*langue*) as possible sources of new, productively coined naming units. It may be added that no naming unit can be generated from units smaller than the morpheme, with the morpheme being defined traditionally as the minimum bilateral sign, having its own specific form and specific meaning.

3.2. The Lexical Component is not a mere list. Given my paradigm-based approach to the Lexicon, I prefer to replace the term *list* with the term *component*, that is to say, the Lexical Component. It is subdivided into a number of groups (paradigms) reflecting manifold morphosyntactic, lexical, and semantic relations. The basic criterion is that of the category of word-class. In addition, each complex naming unit coined by a productive and regular Word-Formation Rule brings along the conceptual and the semantic structure and the phonological features as part of its “outfit”. The monemic part of the Lexical Component is specified for its features directly in the Lexical Component. And finally, any idiosyncrasies are, naturally, reflected in the changed location of a particular naming unit within the paradigmatic structure of the Lexicon.

3.3. Thus, the Lexical Component encompasses all monemes, all productively and regularly coined naming units, and irregular coinages as well as borrowings, plus a separate list including all productively used affixes, and finally phrase-based coinages which are apparently of syntactic origin and are characterized by a high degree of structural irregularity (see Point 11 for the discussion on these naming units).

3.4. It follows that (a) the Lexical Component contains both the regular naming units (products of Word-Formation Rules) and idiosyncratic coinages, and (b) a big part of the Lexicon is represented by all naming units which have been coined by regular and productive rules of word-formation in response to the naming needs of the particular speech community. The emphasis on the attributes productive and regular indicates that Word-Formation Rules do not generate idiosyncratic naming units. Any deviations from the fundamental regular and productive patterns take place in the Lexicon in connection with the process of lexicalization. Then, the irregular meanings of naming units such as *transmission* (a part of a car), *professor*, or to use Chomsky’s examples like *revolve* vs. *revolution* as in *the French revolution*, or *construct* vs. *construction* as in *the Anglo-Saxon genitive construction*, do not result from Word-Formation Rules. The idiosyncratic meanings of these and other regularly coined naming units are produced by operations of semantic formation (i.e., semantic shift—extension of meaning, specialisation of meaning, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, etc.) within the Lexicon. This is also the answer to the Chomskian claim that words which result from derivational processes often depart from their “expected meaning”. To sum it up, while the Word-Formation Component generates new naming units, the Lexical Component is designed for storing all naming units and affixes. The former are organised in external paradigms (the relationships of polysemy, hyponymy, synonymy, etc.) and internal paradigms (word classes, case paradigms, conjugation classes, etc.). This “store” feeds both of the components it is linked to. It feeds the Word-Formation Component with word-formation bases and affixes for the sake of generating new naming units, on the one hand, and the Syntactic Component with morphosyntactically specified word-forms from internal paradigms. In addition, since all naming units “spend their life” in the Lexical Component and since they are not absolutely resistant to the influence of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors they may undergo semantic and/or formal modifications traditionally labelled as lexicalization. This account overcomes the problem of semantically ‘irregular’ products of productive Word-Formation Rules by insisting on their absolute regularity, with any modifications and idiosyncratic changes taking place in the Lexicon.

3.5. By the same token, clippings (*ad*, *lab*, *maths*, etc.) cannot be included in the Word-Formation Component. First, word-formation deals with coining new naming units, new signs. Clipped words, however, are not new signs. They preserve the same meaning as their corresponding full forms. Hence, it is the mere process of **form-reduction** rather than the naming process which takes place. Wolfgang U. Dressler holds the same position; he does not

include the formation of abbreviations among synchronic WFRs by emphasizing that (a) these result from diachronic changes and (b) there is no change in word-formation meaning (Dressler et al. 1987: 106-107). Klaus Hansen refers to them as “bloße Umformungen bereits vorhandener Lexeme” and “stilistisch markierte Wortvariante” (Hansen et al. 1982: 146).

Secondly, clipping is a highly unpredictable and irregular process. As such, it cannot be considered a word-formation process. Any changes of this kind bear on the ready-made naming units, and therefore take place in the Lexicon. This is not to say that clippings—in the same way as other units stored in the Lexical Component—cannot function as WF bases. Examples are numerous: *flu-epidemic*, *phone-call*, *pre-fab structure*, *pop-art*, etc. This is, however, a different question which has no effect upon the conclusion that clippings do not result from word-formation processes.

#### 4. The Sign-Nature of Naming Units

4.1. This principle follows from de Saussure’s (1989) conception of sign and Ján Horecký’s (1983, 1989) model of linguistic sign. The basic tenet is that naming units are **bilateral signs**, including the meaning and the form. This determines the scope of word-formation: there are no naming units in the Word-Formation Component that are pure forms (formemes), i.e., formal elements without any meaning have no place in OT. Words like *perceive*, *conceive*, *contain*, *retain*, *receive*, *cranberry*, *vacant*, *paucity*, *possible*, *Monday*, etc., are treated as synchronically unanalysable units (monemes). “Bound morphemes” such as *per-*, *con-*, *re-*, *-ceive*, *-tain*, *pauc-*, *vac-*, *cran-*, etc., in no way comply with the traditional sign-based definition of the morpheme as a bilateral unit with two facets: the form and the meaning. They have form; however, they do not have any meaning that might take part in constituting the meaning of a new naming unit. Therefore, from the point of view of word-**formation**, words like those mentioned above should be conceived of as word-formation-irrelevant monemes. These segments resemble, in terms of their function, phonemes: the latter, too, are merely forms without any meaning. Their basic function is to distinguish the meaning of words. Hence, the function of *pauc-*, *vac-*, *cran-*, *Mon-*, etc., can be reduced to that of a phoneme, i.e., to the **meaning-distinctive function**, which cannot be confused with the **meaning-forming function**. The latter is bound to bilateral units, i.e., morphemes.

4.2. There is still one group of ambiguous naming units. It can be exemplified by *automatic*, *hierarchy*, *mechanism*, *friction*, *configuration*, etc. The analysis of these and similar naming units results in a suffix plus “another component” that, though not corresponding to any other root word, occurs in several formally and semantically related naming units (e.g. *automate* - *automatic* - *automation* - *automaton* - *automatics* - *automatism*). Obviously, the “another component” is not limited to single occurrence, and we can associate it with a distinct meaning. By implication, such a component functions as a word-formation base for the coining of all the related words. Therefore, it will be useful to consider this component as a word-formation base. In contrast with the former instances, one can apply the principle of double analogy (both constituents are bilateral and occur in other naming units, too).

#### 5. Speech-community-oriented theory

The theory presented here does not rest on the intuition of a native speaker. Rather, it attempts to describe word-formation processes resulting from the **naming needs** of a given speech community. As a result, the theory takes into account only **actual naming units**; therefore, the notion of possible word plays no role in this theory, which makes it possible to do away with the overgenerating capacity of word-formation rules.

## 6. Discarding Traditional Word-Formation Processes

The method outlined below allows for doing away with the traditional notions of “compounding”, “prefixation”, “suffixation”, “back-formation”, “blending”, etc. As a result, it is possible to put all naming acts on a common footing, this being a considerable advantage in discussing the issues of productivity, “bracketing paradoxes”, “back-formation”, “exocentric compounds”, “blends”, etc. (see below).

## 7. Word-Formation-Base-Based Word-Formation Theory

The OT model of word-formation is based on the notion of **word-formation base**. The word-formation base is defined as a bilateral unit introduced by the Form-to-Meaning-Assignment Principle (see below) into a new naming unit in accordance with the conceptual analysis and the subsequent semantic analysis of the object to be named. It can be neither a syntactic phrase nor a unit smaller than morpheme. This means that Word-Formation Rules make use of bilateral units stored in the Lexical Component. They are, in the great majority of cases, morphosyntactically unformed stems (without any inflectional affixes). Nonetheless, the existence of cases with a pluralized onomasiological mark indicates that it would be erroneous to confine oneself to a purely stem-based approach.

## 8. Scope of Word-Formation

Based on the principles stipulated in 1 through 7, and keeping in mind minor exceptions, such as phrase-based formations, the scope of word-formation within the onomasiological theory presented here can be defined as follows: Word-formation deals with productive, regular, and structurally predictable onomasiological and word-formation types producing motivated naming units in response to the naming needs of a speech community, by making use of word-formation bases of bilateral naming units and affixes stored in the Lexicon.

## 9. An Onomasiological Model of English Word-Formation

9.1. It follows from Figure 1 that the model of word-formation includes the following levels:

1. Speech community
2. Extra-linguistic reality
3. Conceptual level
4. Semantic level
5. Onomasiological level
6. Onomatological level
7. Phonological level

As indicated in the Introduction, it is surprising that despite the generally recognized interplay between language-external and language-internal factors the preponderance of word-formation theories restrict their attention to the language-internal phenomena. This is justified if the centre of gravity of a theory is on capturing the regularities and structural relations in the system of already existing naming units. However, if a theory is aimed at accounting for the processes, mechanisms, and reasons underlying the existence of naming units in the Lexical Component, one cannot but extend the scope of such a theory and integrate in it the respective language-external factors. Naming units do not come into existence in isolation from factors such as human knowledge, its cognitive abilities, experiences, discoveries of new things, processes, and qualities, human imagination, etc. An object to be named is not named on its own but is envisaged in relation to the existing objects. Thus, the structural relationships



in the lexicon are preceded (or dominated) by a network of “objective” relationships which, by implication, should be taken into consideration in the process of naming. This is the reason why I find it necessary—in defiance of the mainstream theories—to “shift” the starting-point of an onomasiological account of word-**formation** beyond the limits of language as such, and include in it a **speech community** and its **linguistic demand**, i.e., the need to name an object of the extra-linguistic reality, and the level of intellectual processing an object to be named. By implication, a speech-community through its manifold cognitive activities selects what is there in the extra-linguistic reality that deserves a name. This interrelation between the extra-linguistic reality and a speech community predetermines all the subsequent steps.

The primary task to be mastered is to analyze the object (in the broadest sense of the word) to be named (or better, a class of objects). This is the task of the **conceptual level** which, based on the processes of generalization and abstraction, reflects the complexity of the object in the form of a **logical spectrum** delimiting the object by means of **logical predicates** (noems), and by making use of the most general **conceptual categories** (SUBSTANCE, ACTION [with internal subdivision into ACTION PROPER, PROCESS, and STATE], QUALITY, and CONCOMITANT CIRCUMSTANCE [for example, that of Place, Time, Manner, etc.]).

Individual logical predicates of this **supralinguistic level** are captured by **semes** (the notion of “seme” is conceived of here in accordance with the notion of “semantic marker” used in the theory of componential analysis) constituting the **semantic structure** of the linguistic sign.

At the onomasiological level, one of the semes is selected to function as an **onomasiological base** denoting a class, gender, species, etc., to which the object belongs, and one of them is selected to function as an **onomasiological mark** which specifies the base. The mark can be divided into the **determining constituent** (which sometimes distinguishes the specifying and the specified elements) and the **determined constituent**. Both base and mark represent one of the above-mentioned conceptual categories. Moreover, they are connected by the so-called **onomasiological connective** which represents the **logical-semantic relations** between the onomasiological base and the onomasiological mark. The base, the mark, and the onomasiological connective constitute an **onomasiological structure** which represents the conceptual basis of the process of naming.

At the onomatological level, the onomasiological structure is assigned linguistic units based on the **Form-to-Meaning-Assignment Principle** (FMAP). Specifically, individual members of the onomasiological structure (selected semes) are linguistically expressed by word-formation bases of naming units, or affixes, stored in the Lexicon. The fact that all naming units are based on assigning linguistic units (word-formation bases and affixes) to semantic components constituting an onomasiological structure enables me to dispense with the traditional notions of word-formation processes, including compounding, affixation, back-formation, or blending. In other words, generation of all naming units is put on a uniform basis. The advantages of such an approach will be demonstrated below.

9.2. From the point of view of the final form of a naming unit it is important to determine what kind of onomasiological structure will be employed in the naming act.

9.2.1. The first possibility is that all three constituents are included in the new naming unit (NU), i.e., the onomasiological base, and the determined and the determining constituents of the onomasiological mark (*language teacher, truckdriver, housekeeping*, etc.). Since all the three fundamental onomasiological constituents are linguistically expressed this onomasiological type can be labelled as **Complete Complex Structure** (CCS) (Onomasiological type I - OT I), and naming units coined according to this onomasiological

type will be labelled as CCS naming units.

Example:

Let us suppose that we want to coin a naming unit denoting a person whose job is to drive a vehicle designed for transportation of goods.

*Conceptual level:*

It is SUBSTANCE<sub>1</sub>.  
 SUBSTANCE<sub>1</sub> is Human.  
 The Human performs ACTION.  
 ACTION is the Human's Profession.  
 ACTION concerns SUBSTANCE<sub>2</sub>.  
 SUBSTANCE<sub>2</sub> is a class of Vehicles.  
 The Vehicles are designed for Transporting various goods.  
 Etc.

*Semantic level:*

[+MATERIAL] [+ANIMATE] [+HUMAN] [+ADULT] [+PROFESSION];  
 [+MATERIAL] [-ANIMATE] [+VEHICLE] [+TRANSPORTATION], etc.

*Onomasiological level:*

The below representation indicates that—based on the conceptual analysis of the object to be named—the coiner identified the actional relation between the two SUBSTANCES as crucial for his naming intention. Therefore, in the process of naming, SUBSTANCE<sub>1</sub> and SUBSTANCE<sub>2</sub> were made the polar members of the onomasiological structure (the onomasiological base and the leftmost constituent of the onomasiological mark):

SUBSTANCE - SUBSTANCE

In addition, the CCS type (OT I) was selected. The onomasiological connective can be expressed as follows:

(Logical) Obj - Act - Ag

with *Ag(ent)* standing for SUBSTANCE<sub>1</sub> (onomasiological base), *Act(ion)* for ACTION (the determined constituent of the onomasiological mark), and *Obj(ect)* for SUBSTANCE<sub>2</sub> (the determining constituent of the onomasiological mark).

*Onomatological level:*

Based on the Form-to-Meaning-Assignment Principle, the onomasiological structure is assigned linguistic representation based on the material available in the Lexical Component (bilateral units included in the Lexicon, either in the form of naming units entering into new naming units as word-formation bases, or affixes). Here, there are several possibilities. Thus, *Ag(ent)* can be expressed by *man*, *-er*, *-ist*, *-ant* etc.; *Act(ion)* can be expressed by word-formation bases of naming units *drive*, *steer*, *operate*, etc., and (logical) *Obj(ect)* can be represented by *truck* or *lorry*. In general, selecting out of the available options partly represents the **creative aspect** within the productive process of coining a new naming unit and partly is controlled by the limitations of word-formation rules, affix subcategorization, specific constraints, sociolinguistic factors, etc.. The selected options in our particular case are as follows:

Obj - Act - Ag  
truck drive er

*Phonological level:*

Here, the new naming unit is assigned its stress pattern and undergoes relevant phonological rules.

An example of Onomasiological Type I with the specifying and the specified elements is as follows:

SUBSTANCE		-	SUBSTANCE	
Obj [+PLURAL]		Act		Ag
computer	systems	develop		er

where *computer* is the specifying and *systems* the specified elements of the onomasiological mark.

9.2.2. Another possible case is that the determining constituent of the onomasiological structure is left unexpressed. This type is labelled as **Incomplete Complex Structure R** (ICSR) (Onomasiological type II - OT II), and the respective naming units will be referred to as ICSR NUs (*writer, teacher, drive shaft*). Letter *R* refers to the expressed right-hand constituent, i.e., the determined constituent of the onomasiological mark.

*Example:*

Let us suppose that we want to coin a naming unit denoting a mechanical component used for securing other components.

*Conceptual level:*

It is SUBSTANCE<sub>1</sub>.

SUBSTANCE<sub>1</sub> is Inanimate.

The Inanimate SUBSTANCE<sub>1</sub> is Material.

SUBSTANCE<sub>1</sub> is designed for ACTION.

Its characteristic ACTION is securing **some other** SUBSTANCE<sub>2</sub> in place.

Etc.

*Semantic level:*

[+MATERIAL] [+INANIMATE] [+MECHANICAL COMPONENT]  
[+SECURING], etc.

*Onomasiological level:*

As indicated by the following onomasiological structure, the conceptual analysis led the coiner to put emphasis on SUBSTANCE<sub>1</sub> and ACTION, obviously for the reason that SUBSTANCE<sub>2</sub> cannot be precisely delimited, or its delimitation is insignificant. Hence, the onomasiological structure is as follows:

ACTION - SUBSTANCE

In addition, the ICSR type (OT II) has been chosen. The onomasiological connective can be expressed as follows:

Act - Instr(ument)

*Onomatological level:*

FMAP:        Act - Instr  
                 lock    pin

9.2.3. The third type covers those cases in which the determined (actional) element is not linguistically expressed. What is included is the onomasiological base and the determining constituent of the onomasiological mark (called “motive” by Miloš Dokulil [1962]). I shall refer to this onomasiological type as **Incomplete Complex Structure L** (ICSL) (Onomasiological type III - OT III), and the respective naming units will be referred to as ICSL NUs. Letter *L* refers to the expressed left-hand constituent, i.e., to the determining constituent of the onomasiological mark. This type roughly corresponds to traditional “primary” or “root” compounds, but also to some affixation types (*policeman, honeybee, hatter*). An important subtype of OT III is that with the determining constituent of the onomasiological mark structured into the specifying and the specified elements.

Example:

Let us suppose that we want to coin a naming unit denoting a person making hats.

*Conceptual level:*

It is SUBSTANCE<sub>1</sub>.

SUBSTANCE<sub>1</sub> is Human. The Human performs ACTION.

ACTION is the Human’s Profession.

ACTION produces SUBSTANCE<sub>2</sub>.

SUBSTANCE<sub>2</sub> is a class of coverings for the head.

Etc.

*Semantic level:*

[+MATERIAL] [+ANIMATE] [+HUMAN] [+ADULT] [+PROFESSION];

[+MATERIAL] [-ANIMATE] [+COVERING FOR A HEAD], etc.

*Onomasiological level:*

In the process of naming, the coiner decided that the polar members of the onomasiological structure become SUBSTANCE<sub>1</sub> and SUBSTANCE<sub>2</sub>, supposedly for the same reason as in the case of *truck-driver* above:

SUBSTANCE – SUBSTANCE

In addition, the ICSL type (OT III) has been selected. The onomasiological connective can be expressed as

Fact - (Act) - Ag

with *Ag* standing for SUBSTANCE<sub>1</sub> (onomasiological base), (*Act*) for formally unexpressed ACTION (the determined constituent of the onomasiological mark), and *Fact* for SUBSTANCE<sub>2</sub> (the determining constituent of the onomasiological mark).

*Onomatological level:*

FMAP:        Fact - (Act) -        Ag  
               hat                        er

9.2.4. Moreover, there is also a group of **simple structure NUs** in which the onomasiological mark cannot be analysed into the determining and the determined parts (*lionhearted, restart*). This onomasiological type will be designated as **Simple Structure type (SS)** (Onomasiological type IV - OT IV), and the corresponding naming units as SS Nus.

Example:

Let us consider, for example, the OT account of coining the word *lion-hearted*. It is coined on the basis of the following conceptual analysis:

He/she is very courageous  
This QUALITY resembles the general behaviour [(brave) heart] of the lion.  
Etc.

The corresponding semes include [+QUALITY], [+BEHAVIOUR], [+COURAGE], [+PATTERN], etc. The polar members of the onomasiological structure naturally follow from relating QUALITY to SUBSTANCE functioning as a symbol of this QUALITY:

SUBST - QUALITY

If the onomasiological Type IV is chosen for naming, the onomatological structure after application of the Form-to-Meaning-Assignment Principle will be as follows:

Pattern    -    Quality  
               |  
               |  
lion    heart   ed

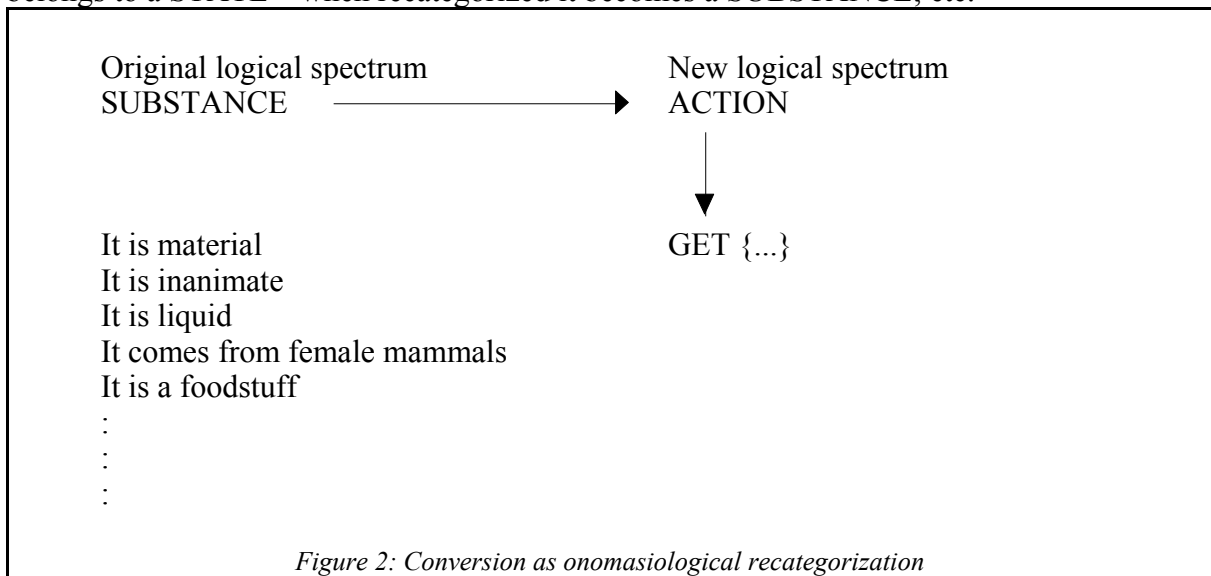
where *lion* is the specifying and *heart* the specified element (not the determining and the determined constituents!) of the onomasiological mark.

9.2.5. The last type is represented by what is traditionally called *conversion* or *zero-derivation* (OT V), and which is based on the so-called **Onomasiological Recategorization**. Since this onomasiological type differs in its nature from the other onomasiological types, notably by absence of an onomasiological structure, I will briefly sketch its basic principles. The basic features of conversion in English are as follows:

- (a) conceptual recategorization
- (b) unanalysable onomasiological level
- (c) change of word-class
- (d) close semantic affinity between conversion pair members
- (e) phonematic/orthographic identity of fundamental forms
- (f) change of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations at the system level (*langue*).

(a) In my approach to conversion, the first crucial point consists in the fact that each naming unit results from an intellectual analysis of an extra-linguistic object to be named. Within this analysis, the object is classed within one of the four above-mentioned conceptual categories: SUBSTANCE, ACTION (with subcategories ACTION PROPER, PROCESS, STATE),

QUALITY, or CONCOMITANT CIRCUMSTANCE. The individual aspects of the extra-linguistic reality do not, however, exist in isolation; on the contrary, they can be conceived of and subsequently linguistically expressed in various relationships, from different points of view. These different “angles of reflection” of the extra-linguistic reality can be cognitively brought into a close relation by re-evaluating the already existing logical spectrum and all the related lower levels. Then, the most striking feature of conversion is that it always linguistically expresses the conceptual recategorization of the extra-linguistic reality (see Figure 2). Thus, for example, *datbank* represents a SUBSTANCE. When, however, conceptually recategorized, it becomes an ACTION; *experiment* expresses a PROCESS—after recategorization it refers to an ACTION PROPER; *limit* is a CIRCUMSTANCE—after recategorization it obtains as an ACTION; *feature* is a QUALITY—its recategorization yields an ACTION; *insert* is an ACTION—when recategorized it becomes a SUBSTANCE; *stand* belongs to a STATE—when recategorized it becomes a SUBSTANCE; etc.



What is the mechanism of these changes? Individual logical predicates are of different levels of abstraction and generalisation, thus constituting a hierarchy. When a new, dominating, logical predicate is added to such a hierarchy or a former dominating logical predicate is removed, the hierarchy is changed, and becomes dominated by a new logical predicate which determines the conceptual category of a new extra-linguistic object to be named. The conceptual re-evaluation of the extra-linguistic reality precedes the linguistic processes proper. It is the conceptual recategorization which provides us with evidence that conversion cannot be identified with zero-suffixation: conceptual recategorization is vital for conversion while only possible for suffixation.

Let us illustrate the point. The naming unit *milk* belongs to the conceptual category of SUBSTANCE. It has its typical hierarchy of logical predicates (from the most general to the most specific one). When the hierarchy within the logical spectrum is changed, the recategorization from SUBSTANCE to ACTION takes place. Thus, a central position within the hierarchy of logical predicates in one of the converted meanings of *milk* (‘to obtain milk from a female mammal’) is assumed by a predicate focusing on the actional aspect of the extra-linguistic object (see the scheme above). The changed hierarchy within the logical spectrum is then reflected in the hierarchy of semes within the semantic structure of the converted naming unit.

(b) As opposed to Types I – IV, Type V is characterised by an unstructured onomasiological level mapping its onomasiological category from the conceptual level. Then, the

onomasiological connective, as an expression of logical-semantic relations, does not relate the base and the mark; rather, it relates the motivating and the motivated conceptual categories. The following are some examples, which, at the same time, illustrate the way of classification of various Word-Formation Types within the Onomasiological Recategorization type:

Fact

*bond<sub>N</sub> - bond<sub>V</sub>*: SUBSTANCE ————— ACTION  
 (in the meaning of a joint)  
 Interpretation: Substance as a Result of Action

Instr/Purp

*switch<sub>N</sub> - switch<sub>V</sub>*: SUBSTANCE ————— ACTION  
 (in the meaning of a device for completing or breaking an electric circuit)  
 Interpretation: Substance as an Instrument of Action

Temp

*time<sub>N</sub> - time<sub>V</sub>*: CIRCUMSTANCE ————— ACTION  
 Interpretation: Action in terms of Temporal dimension

Obj/Dir

*magazine<sub>N</sub> - magazine<sub>V</sub>*: SUBSTANCE ————— ACTION  
 (the verb is a technical term for placing parts into a magazine)  
 Interpretation: Substance specifies Object as well as Direction of Action

Fact

*drift<sub>N</sub> - drift<sub>V</sub>*: STATE ——— ACTION  
 Interpretation: Action results in State

Obj

*insert<sub>V</sub> - insert<sub>N</sub>*: ACTION ——— SUBSTANCE  
 Interpretation: Substance as an Object of Action

Abstr

*transport<sub>V</sub> - transport<sub>N</sub>*: ACTION ——— PROCESS  
 Interpretation: Abstraction of Action

Fact/Dir

*curve<sub>V</sub> - curve<sub>N</sub>*: ACTION ————— CIRCUMSTANCE  
 Interpretation: Circumstance of Directional nature as a Result of Action

Hypost/Inh

*terminal<sub>A</sub> - terminal<sub>N</sub>*: CIRCUMSTANCE ————— SUBSTANCE  
 Interpretation: Hypostasis of Circumstance, which becomes Inherent to Substance

Fact

*clear<sub>A</sub> - clear<sub>V</sub>*: QUALITY ——— ACTION  
 Interpretation: Action Resulting in a certain Quality

Instr/Purp

*switch<sub>N</sub> - switch<sub>V</sub>*: SUBSTANCE ——— ACTION  
 (in the meaning of a device for completing or breaking an electric circuit)  
 Interpretation: Substance as an Instrument of Action

Fact  
*correct<sub>V</sub> - correct<sub>A</sub>*: ACTION ——— QUALITY  
 Interpretation: Action Resulting in a certain Quality

It follows from this account that what was necessarily expressed by the second (zero) constituent in the zero-derivation theory, governed by the binary-structure principle, is, in the OT approach, first integrated into the logical spectrum and then correspondingly reflected at the lower levels of the onomasiological model.

(c) A different word-class of a converted naming unit relative to its motivating counterpart is another striking feature of English conversion. It also presents another very strong argument against the zero-derivation theory. While suffixation can be divided into class-changing and class-maintaining, all new converted coinages—irrespective of considerable semantic differences—behave equally in this respect: all types of conversion are class-changing.

(d) Phonematic/orthographic identity of a converted naming unit with its motivating counterpart results from the operation at the onomatological level which makes use of the morpheme(s) of the motivating naming unit. The final form of a converted naming unit, however, definitely takes shape at the phonological level, where certain deviations may occur (cases where the phonological shape of the motivated naming unit differs from that of the motivating one in terms of stress, or the full vowel:reduced vowel opposition).

(e) Obviously, all previous changes must be reflected in the paradigmatic and syntagmatic behaviour of new coinages. Thus, for example, the conversion of *display<sub>N</sub>* (meaning ‘a device for presentation of alphanumeric or graphic information’) to *display<sub>V</sub>* (meaning ‘to present on a display’) changes the position of the new coinage within the sign-external paradigmatics (different relations of synonymy, homonymy, hyponymy, etc.) and the internal paradigmatics (*of the display, to the display, display* (pl.) vs. *I display, you display, he displays, ..., displayed, displaying, ...*) as well as different syntagmatic relations (following from different syntagmatic functions within sentences). The same applies to conversion in the *display<sub>N→A</sub>* direction. Since this approach to conversion results from the application of the onomasiological theory, this onomasiological type is labelled as Onomasiological Recategorization.

9.2.6 Is conversion directional? The issue of directional nature of conversion has been discussed by a number of authors and would deserve a separate article. Therefore I will only briefly outline some of the existing proposals and then summarise the OT position as given in Štekauer (1996). Rochelle Lieber (1981) rejects the zero-morpheme theory of conversion and argues that no directional rules can account for the facts of conversion in English. In her view, conversion is a redundancy relation in the permanent lexicon. Individual items like *paint<sub>N</sub>* and *paint<sub>V</sub>* should therefore have separate lexical entries. Importantly, however, Lieber maintains that conversion is another field of word-formation which lacks isomorphy between the lexical structure and lexical semantics: while the “syntax” of conversion is non-directional, the semantics of conversion may be governed by directional rules.

Directionality is not entailed by Hockett’s approach (1958: 221) postulating clusters of word-classes like AV, NA, VN, and NAV, depending on whether the respective lexeme functions both as Adjective and Verb, Noun and Adjective, etc., nor by Nida’s approach (1948) who also admits the existence of classes of words that can function both as Verbs and Nouns. These views are difficult to accept because, as aptly pointed out by Arnol’d (1966: 32), it is inadmissible for a word to belong to several word-classes simultaneously, because it contradicts the basic definition of the word as a system of forms.



Zero-morpheme-based approaches to conversion inherently postulate a directional process. They, however, differ in identifying the criteria and/or methods of determining the direction of this word-formation process.

Marchand's "classical" account of zero-derivation rests on two sets of criteria determining the direction of zero-derivation. In 1963a, 1963b, and 1964 Marchand proposed two sets of criteria, the content-related and the form-related ones. None of his criteria, however, are of general validity, and even if they are taken as a whole they do not guarantee a conclusive answer. An extensive analysis of these criteria is provided in Štekauer (1996). Therefore, I will confine myself to illustrating the flaws of one of Marchand's criteria, the semantic dependence defined as follows: "The word that for its analysis is dependent on the content of the other pair member is necessarily the derivative" (Marchand 1964:12).

According to this criterion, the verb *saw* must be derived from the substantive *saw*. *Saw<sub>N</sub>* is defined by Marchand as 'a cutting instrument with a blade, having a continuous series of teeth on the edge'. That the instrument may be used for the action of *sawing* need not be included, in Marchand's view, in the definition. *Saw<sub>V</sub>* is defined by him as 'use a saw, cut with a saw', where the semantic features of the noun are included.

Marchand's criterion admits different interpretations, which allows us to adjust the definition of semantically related words in accordance with our intentions. A few examples will illustrate the point: the above-mentioned *saw* can be defined as follows: 'an instrument for sawing' and 'to cut with a toothed instrument'. These definitions are perfectly acceptable though they would indicate a reverse 'derivational' dependence. Moreover, Marchand analyzes *knife<sub>V</sub>* as 'wound with a knife' and notes that the "substantive *knife* does not lean on any content features of the verb *knife*, which does not exist in the vocabulary of many speakers who commonly use the noun". These words indicate that his analysis is influenced by the frequency of use, a criterion separately mentioned later in his paper. On the other hand, his analysis of *whistle* takes the opposite direction in spite of the fact that both *knife* and *whistle* **semantically** are 'instruments for performing some action'. In such a case, it is difficult to see any grounds for unequal semantic analyses of the relations between the members of the above-mentioned conversion pairs. Moreover, Marchand's definitions of *whistle<sub>V-N</sub>* 'forcing the breath through the teeth or compressed lips' vs. 'instrument used for whistling' do not appear to be more natural or obvious than the following pair: 'to use a whistle' vs. 'an instrument operated by air expelled from lungs'.

The flaws of Marchand's criterion were also noticed by Ljung (1977). Ljung (1977: 165) points out that "when we try to apply Marchand's criterion [i.e. of semantic dependence, P.Š.], it immediately becomes clear how elusive it is. The criterion of semantic dependence rests on the assumption that there are 'natural' definitions for the members of the pairs under consideration here. A case in point is *saw<sub>N</sub>:saw<sub>V</sub>*. Contrary to Marchand's assumption (1955: 172) it is possible to 'saw without a saw' just as it is possible to *hammer* without a *hammer*".

Representatives of level-ordering theories (e.g., Allen, Kiparsky) maintain that the direction of conversion can be determined according to phonological (mostly stress) and morphological (combinability of affixes) criteria. For illustration, Allen points out the existence of *condition<sub>A</sub>*, and the absence of \**condition-ive<sub>A</sub>* and other analogical cases. Both *-al* and *-ive* are Level 1 suffixes: *-al* attaches to nouns, *-ive* to verbs. The non-existence of \**condition-ive<sub>A</sub>* thus can be accounted for by the fact that *condition<sub>V</sub>* is not available at Level 1. By implication, the direction of conversion in the case of *condition* (and other analogical words) is N V.

In his highly interesting theory of conversion, Don (1993), who rejects zero-based accounts of conversion, derives the evidence of directionality from the analysis of morphosyntactic features of conversion pairs in Dutch. Thus, for example, conversion “determines gender if it is noun-forming, and mode of inflection when verb-forming. Furthermore, several distributional properties of conversion can only be explained if we assume that it is directional in nature” (Don 1993: 211).

What then is the OT approach to this issue? First, in view of the theory of onomasiological recategorization it is necessary to distinguish the word-formation process itself and its semantic aspect as expressed by the logico-semantic relation between the concepts interrelated by recategorization. The analysis of conversion pairs in Štekauer (1996) indicates that the logico-semantic relations between the related concepts do not depend on the direction of conversion. For example, based on the etymological data, the direction of conversion for *bond* is SUBSTANCE → ACTION (Noun → Verb) while that for *reject* is ACTION → SUBSTANCE (Verb → Noun). In both cases the concepts are related by the logical-semantic relation of Factitiveness.

On the other hand, the very fact that OT considers conversion to be the process of word-formation means that it is a directional process. Here it is worth returning to Marchand’s example of *saw*. The account of directionality can possibly be based on the extralinguistic reality, i.e., on the natural subsequence of emergence of the respective phenomena. In this particular case, first, there must have been an instrument permitting the performance of an action by means of that particular instrument. With *whistle*, the direction is reversed. This is quite obvious, because the primary ‘instrument’ for the given action is our lungs, lips, etc. They permit the action. Thus from the point of view of the **criterion of extralinguistic subsequence**, *whistle* (instrument) is secondary with regard to the action of our body organs. It follows that the directionality criterion can in some cases be shifted to the highest levels (extralinguistic reality) of the word-formation model.

Nevertheless, in the vast majority of cases, this way of determining the “derivational” relation resembles the familiar “chicken-or-egg” problem: for instance, (*computer*) *program*, *interface*, *link*, *design*. There does not seem to exist any generally applicable criterion. Therefore, the only way out seems to consist in the complementary effect of a multiplicity of criteria, including the criterion of extralinguistic subsequence, diachronic data, formal criteria (like stress pattern), morphosyntactic effects (like in Don’s approach), structural relations (combinability with affixes), etc.

## 10. Determining the Morphosyntactic Features

10.1. In the present model of word-formation, the onomasiological level is the place of determining the category of word-class and the related morphosyntactic features. The category of word-class is important because, among other things, there are some stress-assignment rules (phonological level of the model) which are word-class-dependent. For example, there are some conversion pairs (onomasiological type V) which depend for their stress upon the word-class of individual conversion pair members, for example, *construct*, *increase*, *replay*, *isolate*, *abstract*, *concrete*, *absent*, etc. These differences are not limited to the instances of the Onomasiological Recategorization type. Therefore, the phonological component must “know” the category of a naming unit to be assigned a stress.

10.2. A frequently discussed issue is how a new coinage is assigned its category of word-class and other related morphosyntactic characteristics. The majority of morphologists share the view that these features are inherited from the **head** (Marchand’s *determinatum*). Less

agreement obtains in regard of how the head should be identified. Allen (1978) formulated her principle under the label of IS A CONDITION, Williams (1981) introduced the Right-hand Head Rule (RHR) which defined *head* positionally as the right-hand member of the word, and Selkirk (1982) proposed a revised RHR because the original RHR appeared to suffer from many flaws. Williams himself accepted the criticism and, in his joint work with Di Sciullo (1987), modified the RHR in the form of a relativized head always defined as the rightmost element of the word marked for the particular feature. In any case, the number of various approaches to “headedness” indicates the overall uncertainty of morphologists concerning its identification and overall function. Zwicky criticized those feature percolation conceptions according to which morphosyntactic features percolate to the complex word from the head constituent of that word. In his view, “the location of inflectional marks is not to be managed via percolation, [...] category of determination resides not in constituents but in **rules** [my emphasis, P.Š.] performing morphological operations” (Zwicky 1985: 2).

The OT theory presented here takes an approach different from the existing conceptions. Štekauer (in print) gives arguments in favour of identifying the head with the onomasiological base. It should be emphasized once more that the latter always refers to a class of objects, a genus, etc. Consequently, rather than identifying head either positionally or morphologically (a particular morpheme of a naming unit) the proposed approach shifts the criterion of headedness to the extralinguistic level, in particular, to the conceptual level of coining new naming units. By implication, head can be a suffix, a prefix, or a word-formation base. Given this principle, *behead*, is analysed as follows:

ACTION	—————	SUBSTANCE
Act	→	Obj
be		head

where Act is the onomasiological base. It refers to a general class of FACTITIVE Actions directed at Objects. The Action is more general than the specific Object, in this case *head*. Similarly, the meaning of *re-* (REPETITION of an Action) in *restart* is more general than the Action specified. In other words, **any** particular Action can be repeated or returned to the original state. Another example, which is treated differently in the literature, concerns words like *greenish* (cf. Bauer 1990). Here, *-ish* is the onomasiological base because its meaning is much more general (APPROXIMATION) than that of *green*. Similar considerations apply to diminutives, such as *duckling*. *-ling* (DIMINUTIVE) is more general than *duck*. This assessment of evaluative affixes differs from that of Scalise (1988) who maintains that evaluative affixes violate the Unitary Output Hypothesis<sup>3</sup> and, therefore, cannot function as heads.

A question may be raised concerning the identification of head in structures containing both prefix and suffix. The onomasiological model of word-formation does not (advantageously) generate naming units by means of concatenation of the individual word-formation processes (binary principle), for example, (de + ((centre<sub>N</sub> + al<sub>A</sub>)<sub>A</sub> + ize<sub>V</sub>)<sub>V</sub>); rather new naming units are formed by the so-called FMAP principle which matches the morphemes stored in the Lexicon with the individual constituents of the onomasiological structure within a single act of assignment. Consequently, this theory may appear to be in a tight situation if it is required to determine which of the affixes stands for the onomasiological base (head) in words like *decentralize*, *ungrammatical* and a number of other similar prefix-suffix structures; that is to

<sup>3</sup> The Unitary Output Hypothesis assumes that the “output of a rule of suffixation is always the same independent of the base (1988: 232)”, which means, for example, that the form of a rule such as

[[ ]X +hood]<sub>N</sub>, <+abstract>, <-count><+common><...>

will have the same form irrespective of the content of X, that is, no matter whether X is a Noun or an Adjective (*wifehood/livelihood*) or whether X is a proper Noun or a common Noun (*Christhood/sisterhood*).

say, which of the affixes represents a more general class. The problem follows from the fact that it is hardly possible to classify various affixes in terms of more or less general semantic classes.

The OT model postulates that if a speech community needs a new naming unit, the object of the extra-linguistic reality is intellectually analyzed at the conceptual level by means of logical predicates. Thus the process of analysis which underlies, for example, the naming unit *decentralise*, is roughly ‘ACTION<sub>1</sub> of making something central which is Negated by ACTION<sub>2</sub>’. Clearly, the ‘Action of Negation’ is logically superordinate to ACTION<sub>1</sub>. This conceptual analysis is born out at the onomasiological level. The FMAP principle must observe the subcategorization of affixes stored in the Lexicon. Therefore, the operation of the FMAP principle is both vertical and horizontal. Vertically, the semantic facet of the morphemes must match the meaning of the semes of the onomasiological structure (in our example, *de-* stands for Negating Action; *central* corresponds to the specific Qual; and *-ize* to the specific Act); horizontally, the individual morphemes must be mutually compatible. Thus, *de-* requires verbal category on the right-hand side (no matter what the right-hand constituent’s internal structure is, i.e., whether it is a single morpheme or a combination of morphemes); on the other hand, *ize-* subcategorizes for both adjectival and substantival partners on its left-hand side, and is thus semantically less coherent (see Aronoff 1976). In addition, it does not combine with negated adjectives or nouns. The onomasiological structure delimited by its polar members

ACTION – ACTION

will thus be

Neg Act – Qual – Act.

The FMAP principle assigns the specific word-formation base and affixes. In addition, the FMAP evaluates the respective compatibilities of *de-* and *-ize*, and permits the combination:

Neg Act	-	Qual	-	Act
de		central		ize

Since it is the Negating Action which dominates the conceptual and onomasiological level analyses, the head is represented by the prefix *de*.

Štekauer (in print) demonstrates that all heads identified as onomasiological bases are in a position to transfer their features to the respective naming units. The morphosyntactic information need not, however, percolate directly from the head. Prefixes are envisaged to have a **decision-making capacity**—they either **determine** the category directly (class-changing prefixes) or indirectly (class-maintaining affixes); in the latter case, they **acknowledge** the category of the particular naming unit. While suffixes seemingly fulfil the same function, as it were, straightforwardly (inflectional morphemes as indicators of morphosyntactic features are simply attached to them), prefixes seem to do it as mediators.

10.3. Thus, the onomasiological base is postulated to determine the word-class category and the related morphosyntactic features of a new naming unit. Furnished with this information, each coined naming unit is passed to the phonological level where it can be specified in terms of stress, and other rules determining the phonological form of naming units, for instance, the Trisyllabic Laxing Rule. The phonological aspects of word-formation have been much discussed in literature under various labels (for example, Siegel’s Level Ordering Hypothesis,

Allen's Extended Ordering Hypothesis, Kiparsky's Cyclic Phonology, etc.), and a number of rules were aptly formulated.

10.4 These issues are closely related to the relation between the Word-Formation Component and the Lexical Component in terms of **restrictions** imposed on the combinability of individual word-formation constituents. It is generally known that not all combinations of morphemes are permissible. Generally, the permissibility is governed by specific properties of an affix, and can be expressed in its subcategorization frame. In my model, it is supposed that affixes represent a separate list in the Lexicon, with each affix (just like any other naming unit in the Lexicon) having its specific entry. While morphosyntactic properties of naming units, necessary for combining them to form sentences, follow from their membership in the respective paradigm (to which each naming unit is automatically integrated according to the features of the onomasiological base in regular cases; or by individual idiosyncrasy-capturing specifications if the feature(s) deviate(s)), affixal entries contain (in addition to the word-class specification where applicable) the information necessary for combining affixes with word-formation bases to form naming units. In addition, affixes may cause some phonological changes. It follows, then, that the onomasiological level and the phonological level of the Word-Formation Component must be directly interconnected with the affixal part of the Lexicon, too. The following are a few examples of treating restrictions within the present model:

10.4.1. Kiparsky (1982a) mentions the suffix *-al* which is only added to verbs stressed on the last syllable, e.g. *arrival*, *reversal* vs. *\*deposital*, *\*recoveryal*. In his view, the cyclic rule of stress assigning to verbs must precede the suffixation by *-al*, which is predicted by Kiparsky's scheme of lexical phonology. In my model, this condition would be specified in the entry of the suffix *-al*. Since the phonological level of the model has access both to the list of affixes and to the paradigmatically classified naming units in the Lexical Component, the condition (restriction) is simply applied by checking both the affix for the respective condition, and the naming unit (whose word-formation base is assigned to the respective logical-semantic unit by the FMAP) for its stress.

10.4.2. The frequently adduced (e.g. Halle 1973) example of restrictions imposed by the inchoative suffix *-en* can be explained in a similar way. It means that the condition according to which the affix attaches only to monosyllabic stems and, moreover, only if they end in an obstruent, optionally preceded by a sonorant (*blacken*, *whiten*, *toughen*, *dampen*, *harden*, *\*dryen*, *\*dimmen*, *\*greenen*, *\*laxen*) will be stated as a specification of the affix. Moreover, there are also examples in which this restriction appears to have been violated, for *-en* has attached to a stem ending in two obstruents /ft/ or /st/: *soften*, *fasten*, *moisten*. These examples illustrate an operation of the phonological rule which deletes the /t/. Then the *-en* is attached to a stem which complies with the phonological condition, namely *sof-*, *mois-*, or *fas-*. This form-adjusting rule is included in the phonological level of my model, and operates in close "co-operation" with the suffix because, thanks to the direct interconnection of the phonological level and the list of affixes, it can "see" the restriction specified in the affixal entry.

10.4.3. The entry for the suffix *-able* must contain the information that this suffix combines only with transitive verbs. In other words, the onomasiological level has access to the Lexicon. In this particular case, it has access to the paradigm containing the respective verb whose word-formation base is to be combined with the suffix *-able* by means of the FMAP. Logically, the onomasiological level does not "scan" all the verbs in the Lexicon. Its task is simplified by all transitive verbs being grouped in the "Transitive Verb Paradigm".

10.4.4. The suffix *un-* will be specified for stress assignment. In particular, it is provided with information that it carries a secondary stress when occurring in adjectives containing the suffix *-able*. As mentioned above, the word-class category of a naming unit being coined is specified at the onomatological level. Therefore, the phonological level at which stress changes occur can act based on the word-class specifications imposed by the onomatological level plus the stress condition specified for the suffix in its entry. Certainly, the entry of *un-* contains another condition, notably that it can be combined with word-formation bases of adjectives, and that the meaning of such adjectives should be positive. Therefore, the onomatological level automatically “retrieves” the “Adjectives with Positive Meaning Paradigm”.

10.4.5. The example of the ‘truncation rule’ (*nominate - nominee, evacuate - evacuee*) mentioned by Aronoff (1976) fits my scheme, too. The entry of the suffix *-ee* contains a condition stating that if the immediately preceding constituent (word-formation base of a verb) assigned by the FMAP ends in the *-ate* cluster, the latter will be deleted. The operation of form adjustment takes place at the onomatological level based on the information from the affixal entry. The same principle applies to Aronoff’s examples of allomorphy rules (*electrify - electrification*).

10.4.6. Certainly, selectional restrictions apply to word-formation bases, too. It is assumed that selectional restrictions are not changed by application of Word-Formation Rules. Therefore, if the verb *refuse* requires an animate subject, this restriction is also transferred to the noun *refusal* coined by employing the word-formation base of the naming unit *refuse*. As a result, *refusal* automatically takes over this feature in the Lexicon, and is classed in the paradigm containing all similar nouns. Any deviations are reflected in the changed place of the respective naming unit within the system of paradigms of the Lexical Component.

10.5. Let us illustrate the way the individual naming units are represented in the Lexicon. As already mentioned the Word-Formation Component forms new naming units by means of word-formation bases of naming units stored in the Lexicon, and it supplies the Lexicon with new naming units. Each new naming unit comes to the Lexical Component with its specific categorial features. Thus, for example, a new-coined noun is allocated to the respective class of regular or irregular nouns based on the nature of the naming unit/affix which enters into a new naming unit as its onomasiological base. Based on these features, the new naming unit is classed with a large group of naming units, each of them having the same paradigm (in inflectional languages, for example, identical noun case endings, or verbal person endings, etc.). Each such paradigm-based group can be further subdivided, for example, in terms of the transitive-intransitive opposition, etc. This approach can best be illustrated by inflectional languages like Slovak. Here, for example, agent nouns can be formed by the suffix *-el’* added to verbal stems: *riadiť-el’* (manage-er), *učiť-el’* (teach-er). Individual case-morphemes, specific for the seven cases of declension both in singular and plural, depend on the category of word-class (noun, in this particular case), gender (masculine), gender declension pattern (each formal gender (masculine, feminine, neuter - the latter is of formal nature in Slovak; therefore, for example, *dievča* (girl) is a neuter gender noun) distinguishes four patterns depending on a feature like [Animate], the vowel/consonant opposition with regard to the final phoneme, the nature of the immediately preceding phoneme, etc.). Syntax, then, has access to the individual paradigm-based groups, and retrieves those word-forms which correspond to its particular sentence-generation needs. The same principles can be applied to English in a fairly simplified way owing to the lack of inflectional morphemes in English. Moreover, the same principle holds for the argument structure of verbs. The constituent underlying the onomasiological base assigns a new naming unit the respective word-class and subcategory (e.g. intransitive/transitive). Based on this criterion, or any other criterion defining the argument structure, a new coinage is identified with a particular argument

structure subcategory in the Lexical Component, and is taken from the Lexicon when syntax requires it.

### 11. A Problematic Case: Syntax-Based Word-Formation

It was already mentioned above that not all naming units neatly fit the ideal onomasiological model (actually, is there any model without exceptions?!) of word-formation according to which all naming units are formed by productive WFRs and the linguistic material is taken by FMAP from the Lexical Component. An obvious exception to the rule is a group of syntax-based formations like *sit-around-and-do-nothing-ish*, *leave-it-where-it-is-er*, *son-in-law*, *lady-in-waiting*, *pain-in-stomach-gesture*, *what-do-you-think-movement*, *milk-and-water*, *save-the-whales campaign*, etc.). They make use of typical syntactic elements (synsemantic words like articles, prepositions, conjunctions, etc.) and are structurally unpredictable in the sense that the FMAP of the onomasiological level cannot make use of the stock of word-formation bases and affix morphemes stored in the Lexical Component. It must work with syntactic combinations of both autosemantic and synsemantic words, i.e., with typical syntactic structures. Consequently, the onomasiological approach to word-formation necessarily faces a problem because the linguistic material cannot be drawn from the Lexicon.

Admittedly, in the original version of my onomasiological theory (Štekauer 1998) the treatment of these naming units was superficial and simplistic. It was concluded that they were generated at the Lexicon-Syntax interface. This does not seem to be the whole truth. First of all, it must be taken into account that these naming units feature an internal structure, and thus they require the same kind of word-formation mechanism (including conceptual, semantic, and onomasiological analyses and the application of FMAP at the onomasiological level) as the naming units formed by regular and productive WFRs. If they were generated at the Lexicon-Syntax interface one would have to postulate another model of word-formation with all the individual levels. Rather than the naming function, the Syntactic Component fulfils the descriptive function. Therefore, it would be awkward to expect from syntax to use word-formation instruments. Equipping the Lexicon with another complex word-formation mechanism seems fallacious because (a) this would unnecessarily increase the complexity of this component, and (b) the Lexicon fulfils other, above mentioned, functions. Moreover, given the relative paucity of syntax-based naming units, such a word-formation mechanism would be rather underloaded. Therefore, it may be postulated that this type of naming units is also formed in the Word-Formation Component; they usually fall within Onomasiological Type II or III.

For illustration, naming units, such as *sit-around-and-do-nothing-ish*, *leave-it-where-it-is-er* can be—based on a conceptual analysis—represented as the onomasiological structures of ACTION - QUALITY and ACTION - SUBSTANCE, respectively. They can also be formed by the FMAP principle which, however, operates in view of the “explicitness instruction”. Otherwise, the latter naming unit might be something like *stuff-leaver*, or some other “standard product” of the WF Component. The “explicitness instruction”, however, means that the Lexical Component cannot fulfil its typical function of feeding the required word-formation bases to the WF Component for the simple reason of not having them in stock. Therefore, the Lexical Component mediates the required material from Syntax. In any case, I do not find it proper to represent this kind of units as (V + -er) structures because the first constituent is not a Verb as might perhaps be proposed by a generative, form-based approach. While Verbs are stored in the Lexicon, none of the structures in question can be found there.

A question may be raised at this place: Do these naming units comply with one of the basic tenets of the theory presented here, i.e., the premise that new naming units are coined by

productive and regular WFRs? The answer cannot be unambiguous. OT distinguishes between the onomasiological level and the onomatological level. The former generates a structure constituted by semes which come to be represented by morphemes. By implication, any WFR results from an interaction between the two levels. As indicated above, no problems concern either onomasiological structure or the application of FMAP to the onomasiological base. The pitfall concerns the application of FMAP to the onomasiological mark. Given these circumstances, it may be concluded that the basic principle is partly complied with: these naming units might be said to be generated by productive rules which result in a partly irregular structure.

## 12. Nonce-Formations

Hohenhaus (1998) defines nonce-formations as ad-hoc formations, the dominating characteristics of which are (a) context-dependence, (b) deviance (they are “not conforming to the language’s word-formation rules or well-formedness conditions” [Hohenhaus 1998: 240]), and, primarily, (c) non-lexicalizability (which means that they cannot become established [listed] items). Since nonce-formations are not listed, they are, by implication, “formed anew, put together actively, creatively” (Hohenhaus 1998: 238) each time they are used in speech. It follows naturally from these defining features that not all neologisms are nonce-formations. I will briefly comment on these statements.

(a) It goes without saying that from the point of view of a speaker (or better, a coiner), every nonce-formation is accurately delimited and well defined. Consequently, context-dependence is the matter of the listener/reader, and it takes the nature of degree: monosemous naming units are less context-dependent than polysemous naming units; morphologically transparent naming units are less context-dependent than the morphologically vague ones (compare the lower dependence of words with unambiguous word-class compared to converted naming units, or the context-dependence of lexicalized naming units [in Bauer’s sense of this term] vs. fully transparent naming units); naming units of the core part of the lexicon are less context-dependent than those at the periphery (compare the words of everyday use and those of any scientific terminology, or commonly known words vs. slang or argot expressions).

Context-dependence is a vague notion at least for the following reasons: (i) each naming unit, no matter how well it is integrated in the system, is used in its typical “context”, unless certain stylistic objectives require its use in the “context” of a different register; (ii) context-dependence is always the matter of speech (*parole*) and never that of system (*langue*): at the system level, every naming unit is accurately defined and has its distinct meaning and function; (iii) a closely related issue is the meaning of “context” based on which a naming unit may be context-free for a specific subset of a speech community (for those in the know, e.g. experts in a particular field of science) and fully context-dependent for another subset of a speech community; (iv) and finally, context-dependence (again at the speech level) may also result from the analytic nature of English (for example, the identical external form of conversion pairs; but the same holds of word-forms—because of the lack of inflectional morphemes it is only the specific context which determines the function of the respective form in a sentence—this is, however, not to say that such word-forms are not distinctly defined by their fixed place in the paradigmatic **system!**).

(b) Deviation from the regular patterns of word-formation is a frequent argument; it is as vague and inconclusive as the previous one though. One of the essential claims of OT is that all new naming units formed in the Word-Formation Component are coined in accordance with productive and regular WFRs. Štekauer (manuscript) demonstrates that examples presented as evidence of the idiosyncratic nature of “nonce-formations” (cases like *unmurder*,



*oid-y*, *ultra-alphabetically*, expletive infixation, etc.) are regular coinages.

(c) Since nonce-formations are, in Hohenhaus' view, not listed, they must be interpreted "in a constructive way". The interpretation of nonce-formations cannot rely on "genericness" considered by Hohenhaus to be a crucial factor conditioning the listing of a naming unit. In his view, genericness means "keeping a word in order to have it at hand ready-made for future use, which must be worth it. Listing something which is highly unlikely ever to be usable again would not make much sense" (Hohenhaus 1998: 263).

This account necessarily raises doubts. What does it mean "to be worth listing" and "highly unlikely to be usable again"? How can anybody know whether or not a particular new coinage is worth storing in the Lexicon? By exaggerating a little bit: should these decisions be taken by a special-purpose linguistic institution? And furthermore, how can we foretell the fate of the *apple-juice seat* type words, or any other "nonce-formation" types? How can one be sure about *apple-juice seat* not becoming one of the central items of household architecture or restaurant organisation sometimes in future (for example, conditioned by a new trend in nutrition, architecture, etc.)?

When coined each naming unit is an attempt, a very real word-formation attempt, i.e. an **actual naming unit**. It comes into existence as a response to a specific demand of (a certain number of members, or only one member of) a speech community, and it is this demand which justifies the existence of such a coinage. As such, it becomes an offer for the remaining part of the particular speech community. If accepted by (a specific group, i.e. subset of) the speech community, it becomes integrated for (possibly) long-term use, if not, it drops out of the system. In any way, however, the worthiness and the likeliness of use are terms upon which no theory of word-formation can be built.

In addition, it should be noted that the frequency of usage, or the "common (general) use", or "common parlance" as a criterion for the status of existing (occurring) words is unacceptable not only because of the vagueness of the notion "common (general) use", but also because the frequency of usage can only be applied to words that have already been coined, i.e. to actual (existing) words (or, to nonce-formations conceived of as the first stage in the "life" of any new naming unit).

By implication, the notion of nonce-formation in the onomasiological model just outlined differs from that proposed by Hohenhaus. Rather than being non-lexicalizable, deviant and "context-dependent" units representing a distinct group of coinages different from all the "listemes", OT conceives of nonce-formations - in accordance with Bauer (1983) - diachronically, as a certain specific stage in the "life" of naming units, the stage from the "birth" (the act of coining) to their dissemination in the target group of a speech community (which may be a small group of friends, a professionally, socially, culturally, etc., delimited group of different size, or an (almost) complete speech community), that is, to the stage of what is labelled as institutionalization by Bauer. Being products of the Word-Formation Component all "nonce-formations" pass to the Lexical Component where they "wait" for their destiny: they can become well-integrated in the system, remain at its periphery, or can simply be discarded from the system.

This issue, however, is not so unproblematic. There is a hitch in it. It concerns some syntax-based formations. The majority of "shorter" syntax-based formations fit well the conception of nonce-formations outlined above. They are productively coined (though feature partial structural irregularity) and some of them even survive the test of time (for example, *matter-of-factness*, *out-of-the way*, *son-in-law*, *lady-in-waiting*, *milk-and-water*, *save-the-whales*

*campaign*, etc.) and become integrated in the system of language; some “longer” units are no doubt disposable coinages. A case in point is Jerome K. Jerome’s “pearl” from his *Three Men in a Boat: There is a sort of Oh-what-a-wicked-world-this-is-and-how-I-wish-I-could-do-something-to-make-it-better-and-nobler expression about Montmorency...* It goes without saying that such a coinage has no chance to survive in the Lexicon. In principle, there is no structural difference from the other syntax-based units. It differs from the storable ones in extreme length which is obviously the main obstacle to memorizing and, therefore, to keeping this unit in the Lexical Component. Thus, rather than the structural factor, or the factor of context-dependence (this naming unit can be perfectly understood out of context) it is an utmost pragmatic factor of human memory capacity which makes this naming unit an ad-hoc coinage. A similar view is presented by Dressler (1982: 174): “If we take one of the (universally accepted) functions of WFRs, i.e. that of enlarging the lexicon [...] by the labelling of concepts, then clearly there is less pragmatic need to label concepts of such complexity that phrasal or even sentential bases must be used [...] Here the semiotic principle of the optimal size and sign may be invoked: Too big a sign(ans) is difficult to perceive for the hearer and to store for the speaker and hearer”. A question is whether, how, and to what degree this kind of factors should be incorporated (is incorporateable) in any theory of word-formation. For the time being, I must leave this question open.

### 13. Some Applications of the Theory

#### 13.1. “Bracketing paradoxes”

One of the advantages of the onomasiological theory proposed in Štekauer is that it eliminates the problem known in the literature under the heading of “bracketing paradoxes”. Thus, for example, *transformational grammarian* is said to have the following morphological structure:

[[transformational][grammarian]],

while semantic considerations require the structure

[[transformational grammar][ian]],

*Unhappier* must be analysed as

[un [happy er]]

in terms of morphology because the comparative affix *-er* only attaches to monosyllabic and some disyllabic words; however, the meaning of *unhappier* is ‘more unhappy’ rather than ‘not happier’. Therefore, semantically it must be bracketed as

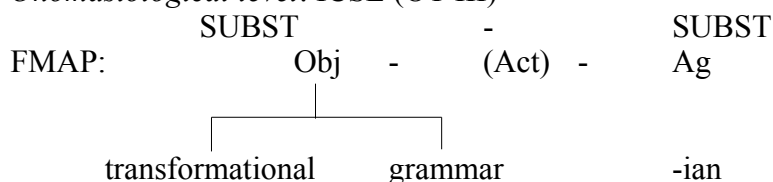
[[un happy] er].

This kind of paradox follows from the generally applied binary principle. Since the onomasiological theory with its FMAP does not rely on a binary word-formation structure, the problem of bracketing paradoxes is meaningless. Moreover, the proposed approach is based on the principle that the relations in question are not hierarchical. The members of the onomasiological structure (the base, the determining and determined constituents of the mark, and the specifying and specified elements of the determining constituent) function at the same level of description (onomasiological level) Thus, *transformational grammarian* can be analysed as follows:

*Conceptual level:*

‘a person dealing (professionally) with transformational grammar’

*Onomasiological level:* ICSL (OT III)



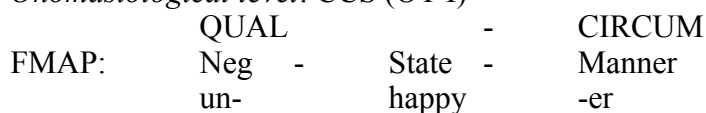
(where *transformational* is the specifying element and *grammar* the specified element of the onomasiological mark).

The latter of the above-mentioned examples, *unhappier*, is analysed as follows:

*Conceptual level:*

‘a state of not being happy; this state is characterised by a higher degree relative to the original state’

*Onomasiological level:* CCS (OT I)



## 13.2. Exocentric compounds

13.2.1. One of the traditional divisions of compounds in English is that into endocentric and exocentric compounds. While the former are characterised by the binary structure of *determinant - determinatum* with the compound being a hyponym of its *determinatum* (head), the latter (*redskin, pickpocket, hunchback, paleface, five-finger, scatterbrain*, etc). are said to have zero *determinatum*, i.e., one lying outside the compound (Marchand 1960: 11); therefore, the compound cannot be a hyponym of the *determinatum*. In this section, I will present a different approach and argue that these compounds are generated in the same way as endocentric compounds. The reasons for this assumption are as follows:

(i) The psychological reasons for this approach can be found in both classical structuralist and onomasiological approaches. Marchand (1960: 11) points out the general tendency of speakers “to see a thing identical with another already existing and at the same time different from it”. This principle, labelled by Kastovsky (1982: 152) as an “identification-specification scheme” is a key to one of the fundamental principles of Marchand’s and Kastovsky’s theories based on the binary, syntagmatic, structure of motivated words. Each word-formation syntagma is based on the *determinant/determinatum* relation, where the latter “identifies” and the former “specifies”. The same principle underlies the onomasiological conception. Dokulil (1962: 29) maintains the following:

“The phenomenon to be named is usually identified with a specific conceptual class having its categorial expression in the particular language and subsequently, within the limits of this class, it is determined by a mark. The conceptual class enters the onomasiological structure as a determined constituent—the onomasiological base, the mark as a determining constituent—the onomasiological mark. The onomasiological base may stand for a conceptual genus or a more general conceptual class”.

Finally, natural morphology claims the same, though in a different way. The most “natural” are those coinages which are most diagrammatic (a new meaning is accompanied by a new

form), for instance, *read-er* where there is “a diagrammatic analogy between semantic and morphotactic compositionality (or transparency)” (Dressler et al. 1987: 102).

(ii) There is no reason to surmise that there is any other cognitive process underlying a small group of “exocentric compounds” deviating from the identification-specification scheme because this way of conceptual analysis is the essence of naming in general.

13.2.2. I propose to explain “exocentric compounds” by a two-step process in which only the first has word-formation relevance. The first step consists in the formation of an **auxiliary, onomasiologically complete** (i.e. with both the base and the mark included), **naming unit**. The second step is based on mere **elliptical shortening**. Certainly, shortening is not a word-formation process (see above the comments on clippings). Therefore, this type of naming units can be analysed on a par with the underlying “full”, auxiliary, version, although the latter has not come to be used (institutionalised).

13.2.3. An important piece of evidence supporting the approach outlined here is the irregular plural. It is generally known that compound nouns are not pluralised by attaching a plural ending to the compound as a whole; rather, they take over its plural form from the right-hand constituent. Therefore, the plural of *milktooth* is not *\*milktooths*, but *milkteeth*, the plural of *postman* is not *\*postmans*, but *postmen*, etc. Now, taking the example mentioned by Sproat (1988: 349), the expected plural of the “exocentric” *sabertooth* is *\*saberteeth*, which is not the case. Implicitly, *tooth* is not the right-hand member. Since I—as opposed to Kiparsky (1982a) or Sproat (1988) (who accounts for exocentric compounds by applying the so-called Mapping Principle primarily used in his approach to “Bracketing Paradoxes”)—reject the notion of zero-morpheme in word-formation, a solution must be sought elsewhere. The “elsewhere” is provided by the above-given approach. Based on a conceptual analysis we can identify the onomasiological base as a SUBSTANCE representing a class of animals (or more specifically, a class of tigers). The onomasiological mark identifies its subclass. The FMAP then yields an auxiliary naming unit *saber-tooth tiger*, or more generally, *saber-tooth animal* (both the more general and the more specific forms fit our purpose; in other words, what matters here is the onomasiological structure, and not the onomatological structure). In any event, the actual onomasiological base, and—at the same time—the right-hand constituent of the naming unit forms its plural in a regular way (i.e., *tigers*, *animals*). Since it is the plural of the right-hand member (onomasiological base) of a complex naming unit, the plural of *sabertooth* is *sabertoosths*.

13.2.4. Let us illustrate this theory by presenting some more examples. The naming unit *redskin* has been traditionally identified as an “exocentric compound” because (as opposed to “endocentric compounds”) *redskin* is not a kind of skin. By applying the onomasiological model of word-formation we arrive at the following abridged analysis of *redskin*:

The object to be named is HUMAN

The HUMAN is characterised by the red colour of his/her skin.

Clearly, the object to be named is “identified” with a whole class of objects; in this case, these are “people”, “human beings”, or “persons”. It is this seme which becomes an onomasiological base in the new naming unit. The seme indicating the colour of skin is a specification seme. Hence, it becomes an onomasiological mark. Then, the onomasiological structure will be as follows:

SUBST - SUBST  
Stative - Patient

By applying the FMAP to this structure, we obtain:

Stative	-	Patient
redskin		person

The auxiliary naming unit obtained is an “endocentric compound”. The second step consists in elliptical shortening, which is reflected in the notation by bracketing the base member of the structure. As with all clippings, the lexical and grammatical features of a full naming unit are passed over to its clipped version (in this particular case, it is the word-class of Noun, and lexical class of Human Beings). This is indicated by an arrow:

redskin person	→	redskin	[person]
		▲	

Similarly:

*killjoy* is ‘a *person* who usually kills joy’ (*killjoy person*);  
*wagtail* is ‘a *bird* that characteristically wags its tail’ (*wagtail bird*);  
*turnstone* is ‘a *bird* that typically turns stones’ (*turnstone bird*);  
*catchfly* is ‘a *plant* that typically catches flies’ (*catchfly plant*); etc.

To sum it up, this account rests upon the principles of Marchandian structuralist theory, the onomasiological principles of the functional Prague School tradition, and on the principles of Natural Morphology. It should be stressed that the facts of naturalness should not be confined to the processing stage of language use, i.e. to *parole*. Naturalness is an indispensable feature of dynamic processes shaping the *langue*. Therefore, we may assess word-formation units in terms of what is the most natural way of their coming into existence.

It might be objected that “exocentric compounds” should be accounted for as metaphorical shifts. However, I believe that the previous account made it clear that the explanation proposed here is more “natural” in terms of word-**formation** principles and corresponding to the psychological reality of coining new naming units.

### 13.3. Back-formation

13.3.1. Back-formations are approached in the onomasiological theory in a similar way as exocentric compounds. What I claim is that the notion of “back-formation” has no place in the theory of word-formation as presented here. The conceptual fallacy in traditional accounts of back-formation is that they explain the origin of a “shorter” naming unit (e.g., *stage-manage*) without accounting for the way in which a “longer” (*stage-manager*) naming unit came into existence. “Longer” naming units must have been somehow coined, they could not merely have appeared “out of the blue”. Moreover, the suffixes included in “longer” naming units have all the features of “normal” suffixes. Therefore, I believe that both members of the “pairs” related by the notion of “back-formation” are generated separately, fully consistent with the onomasiological model and the Form-to-Meaning-Assignment Principle. This can be exemplified by *stage-manager* and *stage-manage*:

*Conceptual level*: ‘a person who manages a stage’  
*Onomasiological level*: CCS (OT I)

SUBSTANCE		-	SUBSTANCE
Obj	←	Act	- Ag
stage		manage	er

*Conceptual level:* ‘to manage a stage’

*Onomasiological level:* SS (OT IV)

Obj	←	Act
stage		manage

13.3.2. In the case of naming units of the *peddler* type only the “longer” word falls within the scope of word-formation: As indicated above, *peddler* must have come into existence in some way. Therefore, an auxiliary naming unit *peddle* is postulated for the sake of coining the “longer” word. Later on, it became “actualised” based on the demand of a speech community. However, being a moneme, it became actualised directly in the Lexicon.

#### 13.4. Blending

The process of “blending” can also be treated as a two-step process. The first step consists in coining an auxiliary “full version” naming unit consistent with the onomasiological model of word-formation. Such a naming unit is then formally reduced in an unpredictable (and hence, irregular) way which cannot be captured by a regular Word-Formation Type. Such a change then necessarily takes place in the Lexical Component.

### 14. Iconicity

14.1. In the following paragraphs I will attempt at outlining the OT approach to the much-discussed problem of iconicity (for example, Mayerthaler 1977, 1981, Dressler 1977, 1981, 1982, Dressler et al. 1987). An ideal case of constructional iconicity in word-formation is one in which a new meaning is represented by a specific morpheme: “An icon is established as in the sign *read-er*. There is a diagrammatic analogy between semantic and morphotactic compositionality (or transparency). Let us denote semantic compositionality with (A+B) and morphotactic compositionality with (a+b) [...] Then we can say that A, the meaning of *read*, is represented symbolically/conventionally by  $a = E[\text{nglish}] \textit{read-}$ , B, the meaning of agency, by  $b = \textit{suffix -er}$ ” (Dressler et al. 1987: 102). This account is based on the binary principle in describing complex naming units. Here, as already indicated above, one can see a substantial difference between the OT and the generative approaches. A complex word, such as *structuralization* has been traditionally generated in three steps, each including two constituents, which may be represented by labelled bracketing in:

$$(((\textit{structure}_N + -al_A)_A + -ize_V)_V + -ation_N)_N$$

All of the structural constituents are bilateral signs, thus representing an ideal case of constructional iconicity in word-formation. On the other hand, OT forms this naming unit in a different way. It proceeds from conceptual representation through semantic one towards formal representation, and the bilateral units are introduced by the FMAP principle at the onomasiological level. By implication, unlike the generative treatment, *structuralization* is formed within a single step by matching the morphemes (stored in the Lexicon) with the semes of the onomasiological structure. From this point of view, an ideal case of iconicity (diagrammaticity) is one in which all constituents of the onomasiological structure are matched with corresponding morphemes. It is Onomasiological Types I and IV which meet this requirement. For convenience, let us reintroduce the examples:

Obj	-	Act	-	Ag
truck		drive		er

Obj ← Act  
stage manage

Onomasiological Types II and III are less iconic because either the determining or the determined constituent is left unexpressed. No iconicity can be found in OT V, i.e., onomasiological recategorization (conversion). Interesting cases in terms of iconicity are represented by the so-called exocentric compounds, blends, and back-formations.

14.2. As envisaged above, exocentric compounds are generated in two steps, with the first step postulating the morphematic representation of the onomasiological base. From this point of view, these naming units mostly fall within Onomasiological Type III. What, however, one encounters in a language is a significantly curtailed naming unit stored in the Lexicon, with no morphemes representing the onomasiological base and the determined constituent of the onomasiological mark. Similar considerations apply to blends. While iconicity is fairly high at the word-formation stage, it disappears in the subsequent stage.

While conventional approaches to back-formation face anti-iconic subtraction, the OT treatment avoids the anti-diagrammatic coining technique, and works with full iconicity in cases like *stage-manage* (Type IV) and *stage manager* (Type I).

14.3. The traditional word-formation process of conversion deserves an extensive explication, in particular with regard to the conception of zero-derivation. Since the new, converted meaning is not represented by any surface morpheme one might speak of zero iconicity. Nevertheless, the postulate of theoretical zero might be interpreted as an attempt to introduce iconicity into this word-formation process. This kind of iconicity might be labelled as “phantom iconicity”. In the following, therefore, I will briefly discuss the adequacy of “phantom iconicity” introduced through a zero morpheme into English morphology. The notion of zero morpheme has primarily been used in inflectional morphology. Therefore, to understand the background of the introduction of a zero morpheme into conversion and its role in it, I find it useful to give an account of its position within English inflectional morphology. The conclusions I will arrive at are equally applicable to generative models of “phantom iconicity” of zero-derivation.

The plural of nouns will be used here as a case in point. The regular plural has three allomorphs /-s/, /-z/, and /-ɪz/. There are also other means of forming plural nouns, including -*en* (*oxen*), stem vowel alternation (*goose – geese*, *mouse – mice*), and identical forms for sg. and pl. (*sheep*, *fish*). The first group does not require any comments. The plural meaning is based on the *contrast* based on the absence of a formal element in sg. and its presence in pl. The second case does not pose any problems either if accounted for as internal modification, or vowel alternation. Which zero-based options are available to the case of *sheep-sheep*?

The first one is based on the contrast between sg. and pl. In this particular case it is the contrast between sg. without any morpheme expressing this grammatical meaning, on the one hand, and pl. which also lacks any overt representation. If we wish to contrast these two grammatical meanings, we can do it in the following way:

(i) We can assume that sg. has no inflectional morpheme while pl. is represented by zero, which would introduce a contrast between the absence of any inflectional morpheme and the presence of a zero form of an inflectional morpheme. This introduces a theoretical contrast between the presence and the absence of an abstract component. This option poses the question of the adequacy of introducing zero to basic forms I do not think this to be an

appropriate approach simply because the basic form (nominative sg. (N), present tense (V), positive (Adj), etc.) serves as a reference form, as a **contrast-establishing form**. It is the **unmarked member** of any contrastive relation. It embodies the grammatical meaning **via its status** of being a fundamental form. Hence, zero would be redundant, superfluous with respect both to the grammatical meaning (sg) and form (unmarked member). A similar position is taken by Haas (1974: 47) who emphasizes that the pl. suffix contrasts with its absence, and not with zero in sg.. Moreover, Haas maintains that “while an overt element may have its distinctive value established by contrasting either with overt elements or with zero, zero itself can contrast only with an overt element, never with acoustic zero. To suppose this would make nonsense of the notion of contrast”.

(ii) We can assume that sg. is represented by a zero morpheme. By implication, the contrast can be achieved by introducing another zero with the meaning of plurality. Or, possibly, we can postulate that sg. zero is replaced by the plural one.

Obviously, this theorizing, in effect a double zero morpheme, develops the binary structure principle to absurdity.

(iii) There is one more possibility to establish a contrast of zero plural, in particular, if pl. zero is contrasted with overt plural morphs /-s/, /-z/, /-ʌz/, /-ən/ rather than with the sg. form. This approach follows from the premise that zero is justified by its functional identity (synonymy) and formal contrast with other plural morphs or stem alternations. In fact, this conception is based on the **double-contrast** principle involving the contrast between sg. and pl. forms and that between synonymous formal elements expressing the meaning of plurality. This principle complies with two basic postulates set out by Bloch (1947) and Haas (1974), respectively:

- (a) one of the alternants of a given morpheme may be zero but no morpheme has zero as its only alternant;
- (b) zero itself can contrast with an overt element, never with acoustic zero.

By implication, the existence of zero is preconditioned by the existence of other elements with which it could enter into contrastive relations. These conditions seem to be correct, however, with certain reservations. The contrast of functionally synonymous means can be theoretically established without introducing a zero morpheme, in which case it would be based on the presence vs. absence of an inflectional morpheme: {-s, -z, -ʌz} – {ən} – {umlaut} – {zero morpheme} establish the same functional contrast as {-s, -z, -ʌz} – {ən} – {umlaut} – {absence of an inflectional morpheme}. Thus, this way of introducing zero does not seem to be acceptable either. It is not the contrast between functionally identical forms which is significant. Rather we need a **contrastive relation between the basic form and other forms of the respective paradigm**. One can draw an important conclusion from these considerations: In a two-member system, in which the basic element is unmarked, zero morpheme has no justification.

Another important implication is that this issue should be treated at the **system level** of a respective grammatical category. It cannot be reduced to the subsystem level (e.g., the relations between allomorphs, or synonymous grammatical morphemes expressing the particular category). Contrast is one of the universals of language: the articulatory-acoustic contrast between phonemes, the contrast between both formal and semantic facets of signs, the contrast between naming units, the contrast between various intonations, etc. Contrast delimits mutual positions of the individual elements in the structural relations within a system. Grammatical categories are also built up on contrast: sg. vs. pl., present tense vs. past tense, positive vs. comparative/superlative, case contrasts in synthetic languages, etc. Various possibilities of expressing a grammatical meaning, plural in our example, are—in regard to the fundamental contrast—irrelevant, or secondary. For illustration, let us take phonemes. The



contrast between, for example, /p/ and /b/ is primary, the relations between various allophones of /p/ and /b/, respectively, are secondary in view of the basic function of phonemes—their capacity to distinguish the meaning of words. While the contrast between sg. and pl. can be called **categorial contrast** (the category of number) the relations between the individual synonymous morphemes within one and the same category can be labeled as **allocategorial contrast**. It follows from the previous account that the latter is not relevant for our purpose.

To summarise, phantom iconicity introduced through a zero morpheme has no justification in a binary system the basic form of which is unmarked. This is the case of generative approach to word-formation. As soon as a theory of word-formation is proposed which does away with the binary structure the reasons for postulating zero-morpheme, and—consequently, for introducing the phantom iconicity—disappear.

### 15. Advantages of the Onomasiological Theory

The advantages of the proposed onomasiological method of research into word-formation can be briefly summarised as follows:

- (1) Word-formation is given the status of an independent, full-fledged component characterised by its independent field of activity and specific rules of operation. It is treated on a par with other language system components; i.e., with syntax, inflection, and phonology.
- (2) The method dispenses with the traditional word-formation processes (prefixation, suffixation, compounding, conversion, back-formation, and blending) by putting the generation of all naming units on a uniform basis. This makes it possible to avoid a number of serious problems connected with various versions of the Level Ordering Hypothesis (Siegel 1979, Kiparsky 1982a, 1982b, 1983, 1985, Mohanan 1982, Kaisse / Shaw 1985, etc.).
- (3) Morpheme is uniformly and consistently treated as a bilateral unit, as opposed to some other approaches in which it is an ambiguous unit of language: sometimes a pure form, sometimes a meaningful unit. This fact allows me to maintain the hierarchical structure of linguistic planes, with smaller units representing building blocks out of which higher level units are formed.
- (4) The theory refers to the pragmatic naming needs of a speech community within the theory of word-formation itself, which makes it possible to do without the principle of overgenerating morphology, and its related notions, like possible naming units, lexical gap, etc.
- (5) Word-Formation Rules (called Word-Formation Types here) are—unlike the previous linguistic tradition—considered to be as productive as the rules of syntax and inflection. They are regular and predictable.
- (6) Computation of word-formation productivity is not limited to affixation; it allows for relating various Word-Formation Types of any structural composition.
- (7) The theory is not bound by the Binary Branching Hypothesis.
- (8) The theory offers a new explanation of the so-called “exocentric compounds”, bracketing paradoxes, and other issues of word-formation.

I am far from pretending that the theory outlined here is a panacea for all the problems that

have emerged in word-formation since 1960. Rather, the onomasiological theory should be envisaged as a viable alternative to the prevailing mainstream generative theories. Moreover, I hope that this article will give rise to a fruitful discussion regarding various aspects of onomasiological theory, because discussion remains the main driving force in any field of research.

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**SOME THOUGHTS ON A COGNITIVE ONOMASIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO WORD-FORMATION  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ENGLISH<sup>1</sup>**

**Abstract**

Word-formation is seldom seen from a cognitive and onomasiological angle. Exceptions are the works by Pavol Štekauer and articles by Andreas Blank and Peter Koch. This paper evaluates these contributions and their most relevant points and suggests some further additions to the respective theories. As in Štekauer's theory, the approach presented here assumes that a speaker's mind passes five levels in the name-giving, or word-finding, process: (i) the conceptual level (analysis of the concept), (ii) the semantic level (structuring of the semantic markers), (iii) the onomasiological level ("naming in an abstract sense", i.e. selecting the iconyms), (iv) the onomatological level ("naming in a concrete sense", i.e. selecting the morphemes), (v) the morphonological level (concrete realization respecting a word's inherent morphonological rules). At the onomasiological and onomatological levels, speakers can select from 16 different word-formation types (Štekauer's 5 types have been supplemented here): conversion (syntactical recategorization), simplex composites (e.g. *lion-hearted*), complex composites (e.g. *truck driver*), mark-absence composites 1 (e.g. *driver*) and 2 (e.g. *hatter*), base-absence composites (e.g. *redskin*), copulative composites (e.g. *deaf-mute*), ellipsis, clipping, acronym, contamination (e.g. *brunch*), back-derivation, reduplication, morphological recategorization, word-formation in connection with borrowing (pseudo-loans like *telephone*, loan-translation like Fr. *gratte-ciel* from E. *skyscraper* or loan-renditions like G. *Wolkenkratzer*, literally "cloud-scraper", from E. *skyscraper*), clarifying (or post-classifying) composites (like *hound dog*), and folk-etymology. With some types formal-aesthetic aspects seem more relevant than salient conceptual aspects.

**1. Introduction**

At the beginning of each onomasiological approach is a concept that you want to name. You either (a) choose an already existing name for the concept or (b) you choose to create a new synonym or (c) it may also be that the concept is so new that it has not even been given a name yet. As to (a) and (b) two conversational principles that have been felt to be relevant for linguistic change have been playing an important role for a score of years now: the so-called efficiency principle and the so-called expressivity principle (cf., e.g., Geeraerts [1983] or the summarizing work by Blank [1997a]). At any rate, in cases (b) and (c) the speakers need find a suitable motivation, an iconym as Alinei (e.g. 1995, 1997) has called it, for the new coinage. This means that you have to analyze the concept (into salient aspects): you may see the elements it consists of (partiality), you may see what it looks like compared to other things (similarity), you may see what it does not look like compared to other things (contrast), you may see other concepts that the concept to be named is related with (contiguity) or you may see the relation to other words in the same conceptual field (taxonomic relations).<sup>2</sup> Koch

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to Pavol Štekauer for commenting on an earlier draft of this paper. I would also like to thank my colleague Miller Jones for his linguistic and stylistic comments.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these principles remind us of the terms *synecdoche/pars pro toto*, *metaphor*, *contrast* and *metonymy*, which, however, have to be placed into the realm of semantic changes only. The associative principles of "similarity" and "contiguity" in connection with semantic shifts were first investigated by Roudet (1921), whose assumptions are the basis for Blank's (1997a) model, in which the principle of "contrast" has been added. In recent literature (cf. Blank 1997a), *synecdoche/pars pro toto* has no longer been separated from *metonymy*, since the delimitation seems fraught with extreme difficulties. Koch (1999b), e.g., sees both as relations within a frame (on frame theory cf. Fillmore 1975, 1985). However, in some cases two concepts within a frame are mingled and in some cases the "frame heading", as it were, and a concept within this frame are mingled. I will see the first as contiguity/metonymy and the second as partiality/synecdoche, which is similar to Bredin's (1984) nomenclature that *synecdoches* have to do with structural relations, while

(2001) further subdivides these principles into seven cognitive-associative relations: contiguity (i.e. relations within a conceptual frame; he also calls these conceptual hierarchies *engnymies* in order to distinguish them from *taxonomies*), metaphorical similarity, taxonomic similarity, taxonomic superordination, cotaxonomic contrast, and conceptual contrast. When trying to find a name for a given concept the speaker not only has to select from cognitive possibilities, but s/he also has to select from formal possibilities to transfer these associations into actual sound: basically s/he may either (a) take an already existing word and give it a new meaning (i.e. semantic change), (b) borrow an already existing word with the same meaning from another dialect or language (loan-word), (c) coin an entirely new lexical item, or (d) form a new word from already existing material (word-formation); the speech community may also use a combination of these possibilities.<sup>3</sup> For illustration I will take Alinei's (1995, 1997) example of the terms for GLASSES in various languages and Dirven/Verspoor's<sup>4</sup> (1998: 54f.) example on the terms for the CELLULAR PHONE. For GLASSES we find the terms E. *glasses* (associative principle: partiality; formal type: semantic change), Fr. *lunettes* (literally "little moons"; similarity; word-formation), It. *occhiali* (literally "things belonging to the eyes"; contiguity; word-formation), G. *Brille* (from Fr. *briller* 'shine'; partiality; borrowing). For CELLULAR PHONE we find AmE *cellular (phone)* (partiality; word-formation); BrE *mobile phone* (partiality; word-formation) or *carphone* (contiguity; word-formation), Fr. *portable* (partiality; word-formation/semantic change?<sup>5</sup>), G. *Handy* (meaning "[portable in the] hand"; partiality; (pseudo-)loanword)<sup>6</sup>. While the topic of semantic change has been seeing a cognitive and onomasiological revival in recent years (cf. especially Blank 1997a), it is astonishing, though, that hardly any theoretical, general attempt has been made to view word-formation as a forming process, as an active process, in other words: as an onomasiologically and cognitively relevant phenomenon.<sup>7</sup>

Word-formation did not start to be considered a separate branch in English linguistics until the pace-setting work from the pen of Hans Marchand (1960, 2nd ed. 1969).<sup>8</sup> However, Marchand's book as well as other frequently cited basic works such as the ones by Lees (1960), Adams (1973), Halle (1973), Lieber (1981, 1992), Kastovsky (1982), Hansen et al. (1982), Bauer (1983) and Anderson (1992) share the feature of focussing primarily on the analysis aspect and neglect or exclude the synthesis aspect, i.e. the active process of forming proper. Exceptions are Jackendoff (1975) and Aronoff (1976). But in these (sometimes mathematics-laden) works from the realm of generative linguistics the extralinguistic concept is more or less ignored. All these theories and approaches<sup>9</sup> have in common that diachronic facts, i.e. historical processes, are not taken into account where this seems valuable. The same defaults can be observed within other philologies. It was only in 1998 that Pavol Štekauer rang in the cognitive, "onomasiological turn" in word-formation,<sup>10</sup> even though Andreas

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metonymy is based on extrinsic relations; but a more detailed discussion of this issue must be reserved for another occasion.

<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed survey on these various formal possibilities cf. Zgusta (1990). The variety of name-giving possibilities is already remarkably presented by Whitney (1867, Chapter 3, and 1875, Chapter 8).

<sup>4</sup> Dirven/Verspoor's book is a good introduction to linguistics from a cognitive and onomasiological viewpoint (cf. Grzega [forthcoming]).

<sup>5</sup> We will come back to this problem later.

<sup>6</sup> The comparison of such possibilities is not only relevant as to single new objects, but sometimes also as to the development of an entire lexicon, as can currently be demonstrated with the establishment of a standard variety for the five Dolomitic Ladin dialects in South Tyrol (cf., e.g., Grzega 2000b with a study of concrete problems).

<sup>7</sup> The onomasiological importance of word-formation within a specific word-field, namely trees and fruits, has been dealt with by Koch (1999a).

<sup>8</sup> despite the already very valuable early work by Koziol (1937)

<sup>9</sup> Except for Hansen et al. (1982) the theories of the authors mentioned are summarized and evaluated in the comprehensive survey by Štekauer (2000). A rich bibliography of works on English word-formation until 1972 is offered by Stein (1973).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also the preliminary works by Štekauer (1992, 1996). A concise illustration of his onomasiological theory



Blank (1997b) had lectured on word-formation from an onomasiological viewpoint on the occasion of the International Congress of Linguists one year earlier—with particular focus on Romance examples. These two linguists as well as a few thoughts of Dirven/Verspoor (1998) and Koch's (2001) three-dimensional grid for lexical diachrony shall be discussed in the following sections. Their ideas will be evaluated and, if need be, also be complemented in order to enable the integration of word-formation into a larger project of historical onomasiology that I am carrying out at present.

## 2. Approach by Pavol Štekauer

### 2.1. The Elements of Štekauer's Theory

For Štekauer<sup>11</sup> word-formation is about “**productive, regular, and predictable** onomasiological and word-formation types producing **motivated** naming units in response to the **naming needs** of a speech-community, by making use of **word-formation bases** of **bilateral namings units** and **affixes** stored in the lexicon” (Štekauer 1998: 33, his emphasis; similarly stated already in 1996: 113). These naming units, according to Štekauer, have a purely lexical function; in contrast to the generative grammatical claim, there is no link between word-formation and syntax.<sup>12</sup>

According to Štekauer a word-forming, or word-finding, process consists of five levels: (1) the conceptual level, where the concept to be named is analyzed and conceptually categorized in the most general way (i.e. “SUBSTANCE, ACTION (with internal subdivision into ACTION PROPER, PROCESS, and STATE), QUALITY, and CONCOMITANT CIRCUMSTANCE (for example, that of Place, Time, Manner, etc.)” [Štekauer 2001: 11]), (2) the semantic level, where the semantic markers or semantic components are structured,<sup>13</sup> (3) the onomasiological level, where one of the semantic components is selected as the onomasiological basis (representing a class like agent, object, instrument etc.<sup>14</sup>) and another as the so-called onomasiological mark of this basis (the mark can further be divided into a determining constituent—sometimes distinguishing between a specifying and a specified element—and a determined constituent),<sup>15</sup> (4) the so-called onomatological level (with the Form-to-Meaning Assignment Principle [FMAP]), where the concrete morphemes are selected,<sup>16</sup> (5) the phonological level, where the forms are actually combined, respecting morphological and suprasegmental rules.

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is presented in Štekauer (2001) and Štekauer (2000: 1-28).

<sup>11</sup> I will mostly quote from Štekauer (2001), since this article as a publication in an internet journal can be accessed very easily. The passages cited can also be found —partly in the same wording—in other contributions by Štekauer (cf. bibliography).

<sup>12</sup> Problematic cases such as *sit-around-and-do-nothing-ish* or *leave-it-where-it-is-er* are solved as follows: “the Lexical Component cannot fulfil its typical function of feeding the required word-formation bases to the WF Component for the simple reason of not having them in stock. Therefore, the Lexical Component mediates the required material from Syntax” (e.g. Štekauer 2001: 26). For a counter-view cf. Hansen (2000: 173f.).

<sup>13</sup> The structuring of semantic markers from an onomasiological point of view is also in the center of a recent article by Horecký (1999).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. also Beard's (1995) assumption that there exists a series of universal supralinguistic cognitive categories (such as “Subjective/Agent”, “Objective”, “Instrumental”, “Locational”, “Diminution”, “Augmentation” etc.). These categories, as Štekauer (e.g. 2001: 3) rightly underlines, must not be mixed up with the distinction between nouns, verbs etc. The category “action”, for instance, can be expressed by nouns as well as verbs, the category “quality” by nouns, adjectives, or verbs, etc.

<sup>15</sup> Štekauer (e.g. 2001: 4) paraphrases this as “naming in a more abstract sense”.

<sup>16</sup> Štekauer (e.g. 2001: 4) paraphrases this as “naming in a more concrete sense”. It means a selection from the possibilities of expressing, for example, “Agent”; in English this can be expressed by *man*, *-er*, *-ist*, *-ant* etc. This also means that synonymy, which can be explained through a diachronical approach, is also natural in word-formation.

Štekauer distinguishes five types of word-formation processes: (a) the “Complete Complex Structure (CCS)”, which formally shows all three constituents—onomasiological base, determining constituent, determined constituent—, e.g. *[[truck] [drive]]-[-er]*; (b) the “Incomplete Complex Structure R (ICSR)” (with *R* standing for ‘right’), where the determining constituent is not represented in the form, e.g. *[lock] [pin], [drive]-[-er]*; (c) the “Incomplete Complex Structure L (ISCL)” (with *L* standing for ‘left’), where the determined (actional) constituent is not represented in the form, e.g. *[hat(t)][-er]*; (d) the “Simplex Structure (SS)”, where the onomasiological mark cannot be split into a determining and a determined part, e.g. *[lion-heart][ed]* (*lion* and *heart* are the specifying and the specified element of the onomasiological mark, but not the determining and the determined constituent; cf. Štekauer [1998: 89]); (e) the “Onomasiological Recategorization (OR)”, which is called *conversion* or *zero-derivation* in the traditional terminology.

Since the terms *ICSL[eft]* and *ICSR[ight]* are very Anglocentric (and probably Slavocentric), I suggest speaking of “ICS2” (“Incomplete Complex Structure 2”) and “ICS1” (“Incomplete Complex Structure 1”). It may be added that not even in English is the “determinant” always in first position as shown by the type *pickpocket* (which may be influenced by French, e.g. *coupe-gorge*; cf. Marchand 1969: 381) or by a form like *center of attraction* (vs., e.g., *detention center*) with a formative element *of*<sup>17</sup>.

## 2.2. “Conversion”/“Onomasiological Recategorization”

The last type that was mentioned here, “Onomasiological Recategorization”, is especially important to Štekauer; he even dedicated an entire book to it (Štekauer 1996). Štekauer (cf. especially 1996: 23-43) views the process traditionally called *conversion* as a pure restructuring on the conceptual level and pronounces himself clearly against the theory of a zero-suffix, a theory that is often found in traditional literature (cf., e.g., Marchand 1969 and Bauer 1983). Cases like *e-mail*→*to e-mail* can thus *not* be explained on the formal level. The theory of a zero-suffix only makes sense, according to Štekauer (1996: 29, 38), when there are “true” suffixes with the same function. Otherwise we would also have to postulate a zero-suffix as a singular morpheme, and cases like *sheep*<sub>pl.</sub> would have to be interpreted as cases with a double zero-suffix or as cases where a singular zero-suffix is replaced by a plural zero-suffix. However, only with a minority of so-called conversions do we find variation with “true” suffixes; a good example is *cheat* (sb.), where a formation *cheater* is also imaginable (cf. the pattern *write*→*writer*). Other examples are less supportive of the zero-suffix theory. Thus, Štekauer writes that when we compare *clean* - *clean* and *legal* - *legalize* that a form *\*cleanize* is impossible, because *-ize* can only be attached to Latinate elements. But then, one could also reply that *in-* never precedes stems of Germanic origin (*un-* can be attached to both inherited and borrowed word-stems). Nevertheless, his argument must not be ignored in general. Štekauer (1996: 40) still adds further arguments against the zero-suffix theory: “derivational morphemes can occur in word-formation either as allomorphs (e.g. *-er*, *-or*, *-ar* for agent nouns), or as homonymous morphemes whose word-formation meaning differs (*-er*<sub>1</sub> meaning ‘Agent’, *-er*<sub>2</sub> meaning ‘Instrument’)”. But Štekauer (1996: 40) continues: “In the case of zero word-formation morpheme, the first, above mentioned, possibility must be rejected. A zero morpheme cannot be an allomorph of, e.g.[,] the suffix *-er* because it—if conceded—functions as a parallel meaningful unit to a number of other suffixes. Moreover, it lacks any formal relations to the would-be allomorphs”. To me, the similarity does not seem a pre-condition for allomorphic relationship (cf. *more* and *-er* as allomorphs of the comparative). As to the equivocal nature of a postulated zero-suffix one could object that there are simply several homonymous zero-suffixes. But Štekauer (1996: 40) writes:

<sup>17</sup> On this cf. also Section 6.1.

“this yields scores of homonymous zero morphemes because one and the same zero cannot cover all, semantically very different functions, e.g. Agent (*cheat*<sub>N-V</sub>), Quality as a result of Action (*clean*<sub>A-V</sub>)[,] Time of Action (*time*<sub>N-V</sub>), Object of Action (*insert*<sub>V-N</sub>), Objectification of Action (*experiment*<sub>N-V</sub>), Directional nature of the Object of Action (*contour*<sub>N-V</sub>), Instrument of Action (*switch*<sub>N-V</sub>), and dozens of others.”

Here we could reply, though, that some of the functions could surely be subsumed in a more general way. Nevertheless, we must not underestimate the polysemy of some suffixes (including their metonymical and metaphorical functions)—cf., e.g., the very different functions of *-er* in *teacher*, *villager*, *drawer*, *toaster*, *best-seller*. However, Štekauer’s arguments cannot be totally invalidated and all include aspects that, in sum, do indeed support his objection against the zero-suffix theory to a certain degree.

To Štekauer, the process of conversion is the following. The first basic feature is the conceptual recategorization: “Thus, for example, *databank* represents a SUBSTANCE. When, however, conceptually recategorized, it becomes an ACTION; *experiment* expresses a PROCESS—after recategorization it refers to an ACTION PROPER”. With *to dance* and *dancer* we could equally well speak of a recategorization (on the basis of the associative principle of contiguity) from ACTION to AGENT OF ACTION, of course in combination with a formal change. It seems as if Štekauer focusses too much on the word instead of the concept. Therefore, the basic feature of conceptual recategorization doesn’t suffice to characterize conversion. Štekauer’s second feature is the non-analyzable onomasiological level, which Štekauer (e.g. 2001: 17) explains as follows: “the onomasiological connective, as an expression of logical-semantic relations, does not relate the base and the mark; rather, it relates the motivating and the motivated conceptual categories” (similarly Štekauer 1996: 48). This is convincing and, once more, shows the similarity of this process with semantic changes, which also take place without formal changes. The third feature is the change of word-class, which, for Štekauer (e.g. 2001: 18) is a strong argument against the assumption of a zero-suffix: “While suffixation can be divided into class-changing and class-maintaining, all new converted coinages—irrespective of considerable semantic differences—behave equally in this respect: all types of conversion are class-changing” (similarly Štekauer 1996: 47). Here, one could argue that the zero-suffix simply belongs to those suffixes that change the word-class (just like synonymous “true” suffixes). Plus, we may ask whether the problem of a change of the word-class is not only a problem of languages that have word-classes. And we may then ask whether “conversion” should be distinguished from semantic change at all<sup>18</sup>. If Hockett’s (1976: 23) observation is true that all languages have at least a “major form-class distinction reminiscent of ‘noun’ versus ‘verb’ [...], though not always at the same size-level”, then we may keep the distinction between “conversion” and semantic change. It is then the only criterion so far. Another important feature according to Štekauer is the phonological/orthographical identity between the original form and the converted form (which, again, yields no basis for differentiation between “conversion” and semantic change). Štekauer (e.g. 2001: 20) criticizes Marchand for his alleged natural definitions: “Marchand’s definitions of *whistle*<sub>V-N</sub> ‘forcing the breath through the teeth or compressed lips’ vs. ‘instrument used for whistling’ do not appear to be more natural or obvious than the following pair: ‘to use a whistle’ vs. ‘an instrument operated by air expelled from lungs’.<sup>19</sup> Well, it seems logical, and therefore indeed natural, to suggest that ‘forcing the breath through the teeth or compressed lips’ must be the primary sense, whereas ‘wind instrument’ is secondary and ‘to use a whistle’ must be tertiary (no use of the instrument without the existence of the instrument). But I would argue that for an onomasiological approach

<sup>18</sup> Tournier (1985: 48) also groups conversion and semantic change (which he calls “métasémie”) under the same category of “semantic neologisms”.

<sup>19</sup> Similar criticism was already raised in Štekauer (1996: 130).

diachronic facts must be regarded as decisive<sup>20</sup>. Štekauer's (2001: 20) second point of criticism that "[c]ontrary to Marchand's assumption (1955: 172) it is possible to 'saw without a saw' just as it is possible to *hammer* without a *hammer*" can be refuted by the help of prototype theory. Sawing and hammering without a saw and a hammer seem just peripheral, or metaphorical, members of the respective categories. After all, even Štekauer (e.g. 2001: 21) admits:

"in the vast majority of cases, this way of determining the 'derivational' relations resembles the 'familiar' chicken-or-egg problem [...]. Therefore, the only way out seems to consist in the complementary effect of a multiplicity of criteria, including the criterion of extralinguistic subsequence, diachronic data, formal criteria (like stress pattern), morphosyntactic effects [...], structural relations (combinability with affixes), etc."

Nevertheless, diachrony is far too often neglected, and this seems to me the most vulnerable aspect in Štekauer's theory. This is plainly visible in his own example of *milk*, the evolution of which he sees as *milk* 'liquid substance given by a cow' → *milk* 'to obtain milk from a female mammal'. A look at the historical facts shows that we are not dealing with a case of conversion, but with one of derivation; from the noun *milc* (according to the OED recorded for the first time around 900) speakers derived a typical denominal weak verb of class 1, *milcian*, (according to the OED recorded for the first time around 1000). Besides, we may wonder whether today we would coin, for a still unnamed concept 'to get milk out of a cow's udder', a form *to milk* or whether a new form *to milk* would not rather serve to denote 'to give milk', 'to use milk', or 'to add milk'; many conversions—at least those between nouns and verbs—seem to express 'making', 'using', 'providing' or 'directional/locational' relations. Thus, we have "true" conversions of *milk* in *to milk the tea*, *to milk one's lamb* [of a cow], and *to milk the bottles*.<sup>21</sup> There are even cases of re-conversions, e.g. *handbag* [object] → *to handbag* [action] → *handbag* [process].

In Štekauer's theory a few cases are problematic, because they do not show total phonological identity, e.g. *ábstract* (sb.) vs. *abstráct* (adj.). Tournier (1985: 174) speaks of "quasi-conversions" here. In these instances Štekauer (1996) takes historical facts into account and comes to the following result:

"The employment of a diachronic method resulted in the division of examined material into two groups: genuine conversion pairs, on the one hand, and etymologically excluded pairs, on the other. [...] It is only the first of them which results from a word-formation process (conversion), while the identical orthography of the pairs of the latter group resulted from a historical convergence of two, originally independent, forms. [...] conclusion: there is basically no difference in the phonological behaviour, or properties, between the two groups in question. From this it follows that the phonological differences between the converting and the converted words of any conversion pair have not been predetermined by any specific word-formation (i.e. conversion-specific) rules. On the contrary, all these differences follow the general tendencies rooted in the word-class of the particular members of a conversion pair [...]: they are not meaning-constituting devices, but only devices that **may** function as meaning-distinctive ones" (Štekauer 1996: 93f.; his emphasis).<sup>22</sup>

This view, however, appears a little simplistic to me and seems to be thought of as an auxiliary contrivance to be able to defend the thesis of a hundred-percent regularity and

<sup>20</sup> As a matter of fact, according to the OED, 'instrument' is already recorded for ca. 950, 'breathing' only for '1050' (by accident?). The sense 'using a whistle' is not attested before 1530.

<sup>21</sup> It seems as if all of Štekauer's (1996: 104ff.) examples can equally be subsumed under these few major relations. Štekauer himself, however, refrains from such a narrow limitation and says: "The number of possible meanings of new converted meaning units is limited by the number of actual meanings of a potentially polysemantic motivating naming unit, and the number of potential onomasiological connectives (logical and semantic relations) between the motivating and the motivated naming unit" (Štekauer 1996: 106).

<sup>22</sup> Tournier (1985: 180), too, points out that there may be "pseudo-conversion" because of double borrowing.

predictability of word-formations. In general, I accept this thesis, but I don't consider Štekauer's wording very efficacious, since the consequence is that many word-formation processes are not viewed as such or are—as in this case—misinterpreted. I will delve into this problem in more detail below. First, a few more fundamental thoughts on conversion shall be added here. In an onomasiological approach, the starting-point should always be the concept to be named. The concept gets analyzed, and salient features and associations (similarity, contrast, contiguity, partiality, taxonomic relations) are activated in the mind. Then the speaker, or the speech community, selects from the repository of productive word-formation possibilities and discovers that, particularly with contigual associations, there is also the possibility of selecting, without any formal modification, a word that is used in a different syntactical position, but typically in a frequent paraphrase for the concept to be named. From the paraphrase *to write an e-mail* or *to use e-mail* the speaker “takes out” the rhematic, salient part and gets *to e-mail*. Out of the *instrument for whistling* the speaker makes a *whistle* and from *to use a whistle* s/he forms a new *to whistle*. The occasional shift in the stress pattern is explainable through the synchronically different model patterns (which, in return, are themselves explainable by a diachronic study, e.g. through the loss of inflectional suffixes with the borrowing of Gallicisms).

Besides, I do not want to ignore the fact that some words are certainly converted rather subconsciously, e.g. *fun*. The starting-point is the choice of saying *That's fun<sub>sb</sub>!* and *That's funny<sub>adj</sub>!* without a difference in meaning. The noun and the adjective take the same syntactical position here. Therefore it can happen that word-class boundaries are blurred and that in the formation of a comparative *fun* is treated like an adjective. At least in the US, *That's even funner!* or *That's a fun thing to do!* can be heard (at least in some regions), so that future lexicologists may add a new sub-entry *fun<sub>adj</sub>* to their dictionaries.

Štekauer (1996: 115ff.) also deals with the typically English feature of converting proper names. In Clark/Clark's (1979) standard sentence *My sister Houdini'd her way out of the locked closet*, for instance, the verb *to Houdini* has to be understood as ‘to escape by way of a trick’. A salient feature of the name-giving person serves to denote the same feature of other persons. In contrast to other denominal verbs, the hearer can only decode such sentences and forms when provided with the relevant encyclopaedic knowledge.

One particularity hasn't been mentioned so far. It may be that a word is obviously not fully converted, i.e. that it doesn't adopt all features of its new word-class, e.g. *the poor* (instead of *\*the poors*). Tournier (1985: 174) speaks of “partial conversion” here. I, on the contrary, would prefer to categorize these formations as ellipses (e.g. from *the poor* [*people*]).

In sum, we may still wonder whether semantic change and conversion should be kept apart. Cognitive-associative differences are absent, the formal differences are minimal and only become visible within the surroundings of a *text*. However, conversion allows stress shift, which semantic change does not (unless we newly define it that way). It is for these two differences that the distinction between conversion (or “syntactical recategorization”, as we may henceforth call it) and semantic change will be kept here.

### 2.3. “Exocentric Compounds,” “Back-Derivation,” and “Bracketing Paradoxes”

Štekauer also casts light on three other traditional “problems”, namely the problem of exocentric compounds (cf., e.g. Štekauer 1998: 147-154), that of back-derivation (cf., e.g. Štekauer 1998: 154-162) and the problem called “bracketing paradoxes” (cf., e.g., Štekauer 1998: 127-142).

As an example Štekauer mentions the form *unhappier*, which would have to be analyzed as *[un]-[[happy][er]]* from a morphological point of view, since the comparative suffix *-er* is only added to monosyllabic and some disyllabic words. However, from a semantic point of view, as Štekauer convincingly states, *unhappier* has to be interpreted as ‘more unhappy’ rather than ‘not happier’. Štekauer (e.g. 2001: 29) demonstrates how the problem can be solved with his approach:

“Since the onomasiological theory with its FMAP [i.e. Form-to-Meaning-Assignment Principle] does not rely on a binary word-formation structure, the problem of bracketing paradoxes is meaningless. Moreover, the proposed approach is based on the principle that the relations in question are not hierarchical. The members of the onomasiological structure (the base, the determining and determined constituents of the mark, and the specifying and specified elements of the determining constituent) function at the same level of description.”

Although the comparative form *unhappier* is actually a problem of morphology, not of word-formation, the Form-to-Meaning-Assignment Principle can nevertheless solve such problems due to the assumption that people simply select from the number of semantic markers given.

As regards the compounds that are traditionally called “exocentric”, “bahuvrihi” or simply “pseudo”-compounds Štekauer writes (e.g. 2001: 3; his emphasis):

“I propose to explain ‘exocentric compounds’ by a two-step process in which only the first has word-formation relevance. The first step consists in the formation of an **auxiliary, onomasiologically complete** (i.e. with both the base and the mark included), *naming unit*. The second step is based on mere **elliptical shortening**. [...]. Therefore, this type of naming units can be analysed on a par with the underlying ‘full’, auxiliary, version, although the latter has not come to be used (institutionalised).”

Štekauer substantiates his theory by claiming that the plural of *sabertooth* is not *\*saberteeth*, but *sabertooths*; therefore, we would have to depart from a shortened onomasiological base (e.g. *animal* or *tiger*). But the plurals of the plant-name *horsefoot* and of *tenderfoot* ‘newly arrived immigrant’ would have to be *\*horsefoots* and *\*tenderfoots* then, but this is not the case (in both instances we have *-feet*). Therefore, it seems more suitable to assume a combination of metonymy/pars pro toto and composition (or to say that not both elements of the contigual relation have to be expressed in a word-formation unit). Štekauer (2001: 32) says that his explanation “is more ‘natural’ in terms of word-formation principles and corresponding to the psychological reality of coining new naming units,” which includes the theory of the traditional identification-specification scheme. To me, it appears equally natural to say that, at first, a specific salient feature of the concept to be named is selected and then formally realized by way of compounding. Štekauer could solve the problem with his own approach if he added a sixth word-formation structure, which could be termed “Incomplete Complex Structure B (ICSB)”, where *B* stands for *base* and where the base is not represented in the form.<sup>23</sup> Then the type *killjoy*, *wagtail*, *catchfly* would easily fit into this category, too, even though with a reverse determination structure. This structure seems especially popular when the possible base is semantically very vague and general, a *passepartout* word such as *man*, *thing*, or *animal*. As regards the cognitive process, though, *catchfly* and *redskin* do not quite fall together: in the first case the object *is* a catching thing, whereas in the second case the object *has* a skin.<sup>24</sup>

Finally, there is the problem of back-derivation, e.g. *stage-manager* → *to stage-manage*. Štekauer (e.g. 2001: 32) writes:

“The conceptual fallacy in traditional accounts of back-formation is that they explain the origin of a

<sup>23</sup> I think that this is more apt than postulating an intermediate type ICSR (cf. also, e.g., Štekauer 2001: 34).

<sup>24</sup> In Blank’s (1997b) approach these two types are separated, as will be illustrated below.

‘shorter’ naming unit (e.g., *stage-manage*) without accounting for the way in which a ‘longer’ (*stage-manager*) naming unit came into existence. ‘Longer’ naming units must have been somehow coined, they could not merely have appeared ‘out of the blue’. Moreover, the suffixes included in ‘longer’ naming units have all the features of ‘normal’ suffixes. Therefore, I believe that both members of the ‘pairs’ related by the notion of ‘back-formation’ are generated separately.”

This, however, is not only against intuition, but also against the historical facts, which are, once again, excluded. Of course it is correct that the speaker first goes through the conceptual, the semantic and the onomasiological level. On the onomatological level, though, the “longer” form comes into play as a formal model and onomatological lure. It seems inept to assume totally separated formation filiations.

## 2.4. Morphemes and Morphs

A few more thoughts shall be added to Štekauer’s approach. Štekauer writes (e.g. 2001: 2): “While Beard ‘evicted’ affixes from the ‘community’ of majors classes (N, V, A) by claiming that—like articles, adpositions, conjunctions, and some pronouns—they ‘bear no semantic content but reflect grammatical function [...]’ I find affixes to be on a par with lexemes (both are form-meaning units)”. Here it could be replied that there are simply two types of affixes: one with semantic function (e.g. ModE *un-*), the other with grammatical function (e.g. ModE *-ness*). It also seems not right to say “that no naming unit can be generated from units smaller than the morpheme, with the morpheme being defined traditionally as the minimum bilateral sign, having its own specific form and specific meaning”. Certain expressive or onomatopoetic words are surely based on morphs, not morphemes. A word like *clash*, for instance, is on the one hand formally based on words like *cl-ather*, *cl-ack*, *cl-ap* etc., on the other hand on words like *d-ash*, *l-ash*, *cr-ash* etc. (in *clash* *cl-* could be regarded as the determinant and *-ash* as the determinatum [cf. Hansen et al. 1982: 141ff.]).

## 2.5. Blends and Acronyms

Since for Štekauer word-formation patterns are a hundred percent productive (and thus regular and predictive), he excludes blends and acronyms from word-formation.<sup>25</sup> My view is different. I see word-formations as neologisms out of material in one’s own dialect/language. Thus, blending and acronyming, although not traditional and central word-formation processes, fall perfectly well into this category. In any case, I do not really understand Štekauer’s view that acronyming cannot be seen as a word-formation process on the ground that acronyms have the same meaning as their long forms. At least, I cannot agree with this view—or at least not with the wording. When an American calls a black co-citizen not *Black* any longer, but *Afro-American* or *African American*, then a new meaning hasn’t been created either; nevertheless everybody would regard the two new terms as a result of word-formation. However, I do agree with Štekauer when he states (personal communication) that the two latter examples represent the result of a fully new and independent word-formation process passing all word-formation levels, whereas acronyms are formed on a formal level only. Another aspect that is a little unfortunate in my view is that Štekauer pursues only Modern English situations. For him *Monday* and *cranberry* are uninteresting for word-formation, because *Mon-* and *cran-* are not morphemes, but rather similar to phonemes (since they don’t **carry**, but only **distinguish** meaning). However, when these words were coined they were of course transparent compounds/syntagms; *Mōnan dæg* was absolutely transparent in Old English times. I would like to see the beginning of a word at the beginning of an onomasiological theory. On the other hand, the following allegations are fully convincing. Štekauer (2001: 8) answers to the “Chomskian claim that words which result from

<sup>25</sup> More bluntly, blending, to Štekauer, is a two-step process, the first step being identical with compounding, the second step (“shortening”) falling into the Lexical Component. (cf. also Štekauer 1997).

derivational processes often depart from their ‘expected’ meaning”—like *revolve* vs. [*French*] *revolution* or *construct* vs. [*genitive*] *construction*—that this is not part of a word-formation process, but takes place in the lexical component of the mind. We could also say that this is a case of semantic change, or even: collocational semantic change.

## 2.6. Analyzing a Few Problematic Word-Formations

At the end of the evaluation of Štekauer’s approach I want to contemplate a few concrete problematic cases.

(1) Let us have a look at the word *butterfly*. According to Štekauer’s model, we would have to view *fly* as the onomasiological base. The base is the element “denoting a class, gender, species, etc. to which the object belongs” (cf., e.g., Štekauer 2001: 11). In the first case we could at least speak of a metaphorical classification (with *butter* being the onomasiological mark), but in the second? It would in my opinion be wrong to put all such cases completely into the Lexical Component. I shall analyze *butterfly* as “mark + base” here.

(2) Let us now have a look at the term *brimstone butterfly*. Here we can’t assume a typical three-fold distinction *brimstone-butter-fly*, with *brimstone* being the determining constituent and *butter* the determined constituent. It is rather the case that *brimstone* specifies *butterfly* as a whole. In this case, it only makes sense to assume that *butterfly* is the onomasiological base and *brimstone* the onomasiological mark. This already seems to be covered by Štekauer’s model, but it seems important to me to show the difference between “bi-partite” compounds and “pluri-partite” compounds.

(3) We will now ask for the theoretical classification of *skyscraper*, which will also be analyzed in Blank’s approach (cf. below). Štekauer (personal communication, 1998: 89s.) places it, like *sword-swallower*, under “Complete Complex Structure”: *sky-scrap(e)-er*<sup>26</sup>; however, the reader should be reminded of the aspect of similarity again (the building doesn’t “really” scrape) and that word-formations can show the cognitive-associative relations of similarity. Štekauer (personal communication) suggests that *scrape* is first semantically shifted in the Lexical Component and then combined with *sky* in the Word-Formation Component. I, however, prefer Koch’s (2001) view that word-formations can also be triggered off by any kind of cognitive-associative relation, including similarity.

(4) After checking Štekauer’s examples there seems to be a certain “fuzziness” in the classification as a “simplex structure” and “incomplete complex structure 2”. Thus, *honeybee* and *policeman* are put into the latter category (cf. Štekauer 1998: 10). The classification of *honeybee* can of course be justified on the fact that a *honey-(making) bee* or *honey-(producing) bee* is indeed conceivable. But what should the determined constituent of *policeman* look like? Therefore, I would categorize *policeman* as a “simplex structure” as well. By accident, *blackbird* has fallen into the group of “simplex structures”, but should appear under “Incomplete Complex Structure Left” (Štekauer, personal communication).

(5) The group of “complete complex structures” encompasses, according to Štekauer (1998: 95), words like *speedometer* and *seismometer*. But how is it possible to recognize a three-part structure here? The words consist of two parts: *speedo-meter* (or *speed-ometer*) and *seismo-meter* (or *seism-ometer*); consequently, they seem to belong to the “simplex structures”. In a personal letter, Štekauer holds the view that the onomasiological structure of *speedometer* is “meter measuring speed”. Therefore, it would probably be best to put them into the group of

<sup>26</sup> It cannot belong to the complex structures, since there is no \**scrap(e)-er*. Cf. the descriptions in Štekauer (1998: 89ff.).



“Incomplete Complex Structures L” for the moment—a suggestion which I could also agree with.

(6) The terms *screwdriver*, *stone crusher*, *gear reducer*, *tape reader*, *rope-dancer* and *mine-worker* all have the same formal skeleton, and the first four terms also seem to go back to the same cognitive/semantic pattern. By accident, however, Štekauer (1998: 95) has put only the first two terms into the class of “complete complex structure”, whereas he (1998: 90) has listed the rest of them under “incomplete complex structure R [i.e. 1]”. Štekauer (personal communication) corrects that the latter should also be mentioned in the first group.

(7) Cases like *actor-manager* and *deaf-mute*, which are traditionally termed copulative compounds, don’t seem to be respected in Štekauer’s classification at all. They will have to be grouped as a separate entry.

(8) Štekauer doesn’t mention cases like *peacock*, *reindeer* or *hound dog*. These are remarkable, since the meaning of the second element is already included in the first, which becomes especially apparent in the compound *hound dog*. Gusmani (1973: 51f.), too, points out this tautology and suggests calling such formations “clarifying compounds” or “classifying compounds”. They more or less represent the opposite of shortening. The existence of the “shorter” word is prior to the existence of the compound. Here the five levels of the word-finding process were not passed in the normal way. At the beginning of the process is an unmotivated word: *pea*, *rein*, *hound*. If a speaker is familiar with the word he will then immediately go to the onomasiological level. If s/he’s not, s/he passes the conceptual and the semantic level first. On the onomasiological level, the speaker selects a base, but not a mark, since the mark is represented by the unmotivated original word. Therefore, on the onomatological level, only the morpheme for the base need be selected. On the morphonological level, the original word is then morphologically treated like a mark. That is why it appears in first position in English, for example (*hound dog*, not \**dog hound*). We may indeed call this group of lexemes *clarifying composites*, or, since the secondarily attached element tries to motivate and classify the word, *post-classifying composites*.

(9) The last type of word-formation I would like to mention are cases like *sparrow-grass* (from Lat. *asparagus*), *bridegroom* (from OE *brȳdguma* ‘literally: bride-man’), and *nick name* (from ME *eke name* ‘literally: additional name’). These cases are traditionally called *popular etymology* or *folk-etymology*. Definitions of *folk-etymology* may be broader or narrower, depending on the author(s). It seems largely accepted, though, that each folk-etymological change is triggered off by a similarity (possibly even a homonymy) of expressions<sup>27</sup>. There are folk-etymologies with conceptual/referential/denotational change, and folk-etymologies without conceptual/referential/denotational change. Only the latter are important for onomasiology. The speaker’s subconscious act—roughly spoken—is the morphological (partial) transparency of an opaque word<sup>28</sup>. S/he does not truly search for a name; therefore the levels of the word-finding process do not seem to be relevant. What the speaker does, is misinterpreting the original word-finding process. The speaker assumes a wrong selection on the onomatological and onomasiological level with the consequence that even the elements on the semantic level (connotation and some of the semantic markers) are newly ordered, or interpreted. Even though all this happens subconsciously, folk-etymology is nevertheless some type of word-formation, and unless we want to see the phenomenon of re-motivation as a separate word-coining process aside from “borrowing”, “semantic change”

<sup>27</sup> For a different view cf. Blank (1993: 48). A more thorough discussion of the problem will follow at another occasion (but cf. already Grzega 1998: 14f., 25ff.).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Mayer (1962: 50), Bebermeyer (1974), and Olschansky (1996: 107). Olschansky’s work is the most comprehensive and currently most important study on folk-etymology and includes an exhaustive bibliography.

and “word-formation proper”, we should in fact include it here.

I would like to stress that the points of criticism brought into discussion are certainly not to ignore the value of Štekauer’s theory. In fact, my own synthesis will very much be founded on his OT theory. However, I wanted to show that elaboration and supplementation of this theory are needed.

### 3. Approach by Andreas Blank

The late Andreas Blank has gained recognition for his cognitive approach on semantic change, which he presented in his landmark habilitation dissertation (1997a).<sup>29</sup> But he also tried to apply his theoretical framework to the field of word-formation (Blank 1997b). In his approach, too, speakers first analyze a concept to be named into various elements, i.e. into salient sub-concepts. The most salient sub-concept that is already associated with a word will then serve as a semantic basis for word-formation. The semantic difference between the basic concept and the concept to be named will then be bridged by adding an affix or a second sub-concept (“co-basis”). Blank says that these relations between basis, co-basis and the new concept are based on the associative principles of contiguity<sup>30</sup>, contrast, and similarity. As already said, I want to add a fourth principle to these three, namely the principle of partiality<sup>31</sup>.

In his article Blank covers compounds, affixations and conversions; acronyms, blends and clippings are neglected here as well. Suffixations, which, according to Blank, are based on similarity and contrast, are classified into four types: “In this case, speakers feel a noticeable contrast between the concept to be verbalized and the prototypical conception, by attaching it nevertheless to the prototype of the category it belongs to. Theoretically, four dimensions of deviation can be expressed: (a) SMALLER, (b) BIGGER, (c) WORSE and (d) BETTER/ENDEARING” (Blank 1997b). Blank mentions four examples from Italian: from *ragazzo* ‘boy’ we get (a) *ragazzino*, (b) *ragazzone*, (c) *ragazzaccio*, (d) *ragazzuccio*. Such word-formation programs practically do not exist for Middle English and Modern English and only to a limited extent for Old English.<sup>32</sup> Suffixation based on contiguity is easily conceivable and also present in English, e.g. ACTIVITY - PRODUCT: *write*→*writing*, ACTIVITY - PERSON: *write*→*writer*.

As to prefixation we find examples for all of Blank’s three associative principles also in English: (a) contiguity: *modern*→*post-modern* like Fr. *guerre* ‘war’→*après-guerre* ‘post-war period’, (b) similarity: *large*→*extralarge* like It. *vecchio* ‘old’→*stravecchio* ‘very old’, Sp. *falda* ‘skirt’→*minifalda* ‘mini-skirt’ or *carburant* ‘gasoline’→*supercarburant* ‘super gasoline’, (c) contrast: *happy*→*unhappy*. However, the view that the cases under (b) go back to a similarity between two concepts is slightly problematic. Not the prefix expresses the similarity, but the word-stem; the prefix rather is a marker for denoting that the concept is a peripheral member of a category. In other words, the prefix rather expresses **contrast** with regard to the prototype.

In Section 4 Blank (1997b) deals with what Štekauer calls “Onomasiological

<sup>29</sup> Blank’s comprehensive work is reviewed in Grzega (1999); his English examples are specifically discussed in Grzega (2000a).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. also the contribution by Koch (1999b: 157ff.), in which he also describes the process of motion as a word-formation process relevant to Romance languages. For English as a genderless language this process is of course irrelevant.

<sup>31</sup> Blank (1997a) and others see partiality as a sub-phenomenon of contiguity; however, I want to see partiality as a separate principle.

<sup>32</sup> Concerning diminutives in English cf. the studies by Höge (1901) and Rotzoll (1909).

Recategorization”:

“An important motivation for WORD-FORMATION is the need to have a word in another word class. In this case, the concept remains the same and there is no conceptual association at all. The change is on the level of the lexical information. In order to change word class, speakers can use derivation or, as an isolating device, conversion (comprising so-called ‘back-formation’ and ‘zero-derivation’).”

Blank recognizes that the cognitive phenomenon of “onomasiological recategorization” not only applies to conversion. However, his examples are not always well chosen. Thus, we can neither speak of conversion nor derivation in the following examples: Fr. *père* ‘father’ vs. *paternel* ‘fatherly; paternal’ (Latinism), Sp. *atacar* ‘to attack’ vs. *ataque* ‘attack’ (Gallicism).

In Section 5 Blank focusses on composition, within which he distinguishes five different Romance types. The first and most typical one is based on “similarity/contrast within a category + conceptual contiguity”, which Blank (1997b) comments on as follows:

“Traditionally speaking, we could say that one part determines the other, but I will plead here for a different interpretation: a double conceptual relation between the new concept expressed by the compound and the two concepts that form the compound. [...] this type of compounding is characterized by the similarity between a prototype and a peripheral member as well as by conceptual contiguity.”

However, from an onomasiological point of view the issue should be approached in a different way. On the one hand, the speaker classifies the concept to be named into a category, recognizing at the same time that the concept is not a central member of the category; on the other hand, a salient feature is extracted for the name-giving, or word-finding, process. In this instance I would prefer speaking of “contiguity/partiality”. Examples mentioned by Blank include: Fr. *wagon-lit* ‘sleeping car [literally: “bed-car”], It. *autostrada* ‘freeway’, Pg. *máquina de escrever* ‘type-writer’. The characteristic feature of the second type is a combination of “similarity/contrast within a category” plus “metaphorical similarity”, where the determinatum can be explained as in type 1, but the determinant goes back to metaphor, e.g. ModE *frogman*. Type 3, “double similarity/contrast (coordinated compounds)”, is explained as follows: “This type is characterized by the absence of determination. The concept to be expressed shows particular deviation from the prototype of two (or even more) categories, but doesn’t really fit into any of them” (Blank 1997b), e.g. ModE *deaf-mute*, Fr. *moissonneuse-batteuse-lieuse* ‘combine harvester’ or It. *portafinestra* ‘French window’. But why *deaf-mute* is said to fit neither into the category DEAF nor into the category MUTE is unclear to me. Besides, the expression “particular deviation from the prototype” seems exaggerated. Moreover, the first and second examples seem to be different from the third. In the former two we have an addition of concepts (contiguity of features). In the third example we are facing neither a typical door nor a typical window (contrast to the prototype of the category); here we are dealing with a conceptual blending as in *brunch*, with the difference that there is no formal blending. The fourth type consists in “integral metonymies and metaphors (called exocentric compounds)”. While Blank correctly says that none of the word-parts refers directly to the concept expressed nor a superordinate category, the statement that exocentric compounds show no determination is too superficial. There is at least determination of second degree: A salient feature of the concept is extracted and expressed by way of a determinative composite. Among Blank’s examples there is *skyscraper*, which in traditional works is not listed under exocentric compounds; in fact, a skyscraper really is an object that “scrapes” (even if only metaphorically). Thus, the term *exocentric compound* is not totally synonymous with Blank’s *integral metonymies/metaphors*. Integral metonymies are formalizations of a salient feature (partiality), integral metaphors are formalizations of a salient feature that is viewed in a metaphorical way. Blank’s last compound type, finally, is paraphrased as “double contiguity” and seems to apply predominantly to words consisting of a verbal element and a following noun like Fr. *chasse-neige* ‘snowplough’. Blank (1997b) writes: “Semantically

these Word-formations rely on frame-relations: there is contiguity between the concept SNOWPLOWH and the SNOW on one side, and between the ACTIVITY of a snow-plough and the concept TO CHASE on the other, showing a salient aspect of this activity”. But a snowplough’s activity and chasing seem to be based on similarity rather than on contiguity—a snowplough itself can’t “chase”. Another example listed is It. *cavatappi* ‘corkscrew (literally: “draw-corks”)’. Here too, the concept doesn’t “draw” by itself. Blank’s third example, Sp. *limpiabotas* ‘shoeshine boy (literally: “shine-shoes”)’, fits better, as would the classical English example of *pickpocket*. In sum, in Blank’s fifth type we can differentiate between at least two sub-types.

A general problem in Blank’s contribution seems to be the strict separation of affixation and composition—with the consequence that the underlying associations are described in a different way. However, I agree with Štekauer that words like *worker* and *workman* have undergone the same cognitive process and that *-er* and *-man* represent synonymous morphemes. Or why should we interpret Sp. *lavandería* as “contiguity between wash-house and washing” (cf. Blank 1997b), but E. *wash-house* as “similarity/contrast within a category + conceptual contiguity”? With *lavandería* too the speaker surely not only sees the contiguity between wash-house and washing, but also the similarity with other concepts whose names bear the suffix *-dería*, viz. buildings (cf. Sp. *panadería* ‘bakery’). Štekauer’s theory is more comprehensive here: certain salient relations are focussed on and can be expressed by various linguistic means. The AGENT OF AN ACTION, for instance, can be expressed by the morphemes *man*, *-er*, *-ist*, *-ant* etc. in English. It may be mentioned that there may occur formal affinities with certain morphemes. Thus, *-ist* and *-ant* are only attached to Latin-Greek word-stems.

By and large, notwithstanding the points of criticism mentioned here, Blank has definitely provided us with a valuable basic model for word-formation in an onomasiological and cognitive view, showing that the same associative principles hold true for both semantic change and word-formation.

#### 4. Approach by René Dirven and Marjolijn Verspoor

Although Dirven and Verspoor’s work is only an introductory book, it offers a number of valuable aspects for word-formation. In the section on compounds, for example, Dirven/Verspoor (1998: 57)—following Bauer (1983: 188; cf. above)—remark that our interpretation of compounds has to do with our cultural knowledge. From an onomasiological viewpoint it can be added that due to this it is possible to express such prototypical relations between two sub-concepts or sub-aspects by simply combining two stems. Moreover, the following observation can be made: “In *tennis shoes* the purpose relation is clear. In *horse shoes* and *snow shoes* the purpose relation is self-imposing, too, but the notion of ‘shoes’ has now been extended to that of ‘a protecting or supporting structure for the feet’” (Dirven/Verspoor 1998: 58). Once again, it becomes obvious that several processes of onomasiological/lexical creation can be combined, in this instance metaphor and composition.<sup>33</sup>

Dirven/Verspoor (1998: 60) also illustrate how important compounds are in the development

<sup>33</sup> The variety of associations and relations that can be expressed by just putting two word(stem)s together was already demonstrated by Whitney (1875: 121); his general idea, though, resembles rather the theory of generative grammar, when he writes: “Such a word [i.e. a compound] is logically an abbreviated descriptive phrase, with the signs of relation, the ordinary inflections or connectives, omitted; the two main ideas are put side by side, and the mind left to infer their relation to one another from the known circumstances of the case”.

of taxonomies, because: “If we invented a new simple form for each conceptual subcategory, we would overburden our memory capacity and no longer have a clearly hierarchically structured lexicon”. The author’s examples are convincing: *motorway* as a subtype of *way*, *miniskirt* as a subtype of *skirt*, *sportscar* as a subtype of *car* and *electronic mail* as a subtype of *mail*. However, it can be asked why there is a compound *motorway* as a subtype of *way*, whereas other subtypes are the non-derived *avenue*, *alley*, and *street*. And why is there a compound *sportscar*, but also *van*, which is formally independent of *car*.

Their next section is dedicated to derivation. Dirven/Verspoor (1998: 64) rightly emphasize the fact that some types of suffixation are accompanied by metaphor and metonymy. An example: “The agentive meaning of *-er* can also be extended to non-human forces and we then have an instrumental meaning as in *an eraser*, *a sharpener*, *an opener* or [...] more metonymical or metaphorical extensions of *-er* as in a *best-seller* or an *eye-opener*.” Another interesting observation which is onomasiologically relevant is that “an affix will only be applied to a particular word form if its abstract, generalized sense is compatible with any of the senses of the word stem” (Dirven/Verspoor 1998: 63). The use of *-able* serves for illustration:

“Since most things do not have inherent properties that make it possible to *buy* or to *cut* or to *paint* them, their derived forms with *-able* are not likely to occur. But in combination with the generalizing prefix *un-*, this construal becomes much more possible e.g. *unbuyable paintings* or *uncuttable meat*. Here again we are dealing with time-stable, salient properties, since the permanent absence of a given property is denoted” (Dirven/Verspoor 1998: 63).”

That this is not quite so simple is proven by the existence of *purchasable*; moreover, the OED lists records, even if low in number, of the following words: *buyable* (3 times), *cuttable* (2 times), and *paintable* (4 times). The non-existence or low frequency of certain forms therefore requires other explanations.

Dirven/Verspoor also delve into the question of the origin of affixes. Many affixes can be traced back to a process that has become known as *grammaticalization*. This refers to the process in which an originally free morpheme adopts the function (and form) of an affix. The suffix *-ful*, for instance, as in *beautiful* or *wonderful*, goes back to the adjective *full*. This is not anything new (cf. Whitney 1875: 122f., Paul 1920: 347ff.), but only for a few years has this phenomenon been dealt with in a more detailed and systematic way, for instance in the works of Elizabeth Closs Traugott (e.g. Traugott/König 1991, Traugott [forthcoming]). But whereas Paul only mentions “grammaticalization” as the source of affixes, Dirven/Verspoor seem to depart from several sources, although they don’t mention any other. I would like to add two others: (1) the borrowing of affixes (e.g. *non-*, *-able*), (2) the (folk-etymological and consciously playful) separation of part of a word and its use as a new affix. A good example for this type is *-aholic*. Its occurrence in words such as *workaholic* and *sexaholic* cannot simply be explained as the result of a blending with *alcoholic* (as done by Dirven/Verspoor [1998: 68]); since *-aholic* is very productive, it is entirely justified to regard it as a full suffix. A similar example is *-burger* (originally only in *hamburger*, which in fact is a derivate of the city name); *-wise*, too, has meanwhile become a very productive suffix in English, while for many centuries it had been playing only a subordinate role.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, English language history is characterized by a continuous extraction of “pseudo-suffixes” from Greek words to serve for new word-formations. Such word elements are on the threshold between lexical morphemes and derivational morphemes.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the relevant passage in Marchand (1969: 358). Marchand also comments on the fact that several combinations with *wise* are regarded as compounds since the bases also occur as simplexes: “This is correct. But the combinations are never substantial compounds as their substantial basis would require; they are only used as subjuncts and adjuncts. Moreover, *wise* is being used less and less as an independent word and may, as a semi-suffix, one day come to reach the of F[rench] *-ment*”.

Dirven/Verspoor (1998: 65s.) also analyze formations like *speedometer* and *odometer* and regard this *-o-* as “infix-like element” (some also speak of “interfixes”). It seems a wise decision not to classify *-o-* as a true infix. The word *infix* reminds us too much of *affix*, i.e. morphemes, by definition units carrying meaning; this *-o-*, however does not have meaning. It is better to speak of a “formative element” here. But in the second group of Dirven/Verspoor’s examples—*fan-bloody-tastic*, *a-bloody-mazing*, *kanga-fucking-roo* etc.—the elements *-bloody-* and *-fucking-* can indeed be regarded as having meaning (although not a very clear one); at least they have an effect on the **connotation** of the concept named.

The process of conversion is explained by Dirven/Verspoor in the traditional way, i.e. as zero-derivation, but they add: “Conceptually, each conversion process implies a metonymical extension from one element in an event to the whole event: thus in *to bank* the place where the transaction takes place, i.e. the bank, comes to stand for the whole of the transaction” (Dirven/Verspoor 1998: 66f.). This is important for the expositions above. Similarly, the authors write that back-formation is often combined with a widening of meaning.

The next paragraph is dedicated to clippings: “Clippings are forms from which a part has been cut off. They are not always semantic innovations, but often purely formal phenomena” (Dirven/Verspoor 1998: 67). Here it can be argued that other word-formations are not combined with semantic innovations either. Compounds, derivations etc. can also be created as synonyms to already existing words (e.g. *African American* beside *Afro-American*). Finally, as regards blends, Dirven/Verspoor recognize that this process not only encompasses a formal, but also conceptual blending: *brunch* is a combination of *breakfast* and *lunch*.

## 5. Koch’s Three-Dimensional Grid of Lexical Diachrony

Koch does not specifically deal with word-formation, but—as already indicated above—has established a valuable grid for systemizing word-finding processes, which looks as follows (cf. Koch 2001: 19):

	identity	contiguity	metaphorical similarity	taxonomic similarity	taxonomic superordin.	taxonomic subordin.	cotaxonomic contrast	conceptual contrast
'zero'	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
number change	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
:								
:								
:								
gender change	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
diathetical change	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
conversion	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47
mutation	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57
suffixation	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67
prefixation	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77
composition	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87
lexical	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97
syntagm								
phraseo- logism	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107
:								
:								

Although the role of the stratification axis seems to need some further discussion (which I will reserve for another occasion), one innovation is very convincing, namely that not only semantic shifts, but also all sorts of word-formations can be triggered off by any of the seven (or eight, if “identity” is included) cognitive-associative relations.

Of course, the grid seems rather centered on features of Indo-European, particularly Romance, languages. Thus, not every language has the number or gender distinction. The same holds true for diathetical change (active vs. passive). In a more general grid we could subsume these processes under the term “grammatical shift” in analogy to “semantic shift” or, maybe better, “morphological recategorization” as a counterpart of conversion as “syntactical recategorization”.

Likewise, the distinction between composition and lexical syntagm is unclear to me. Koch (2001: 21) gives E. *coffee break* as an example for the former and Fr. *vin rouge* ‘red wine, literally: “wine red”’ as an example for the latter. But apart from the sequences of determining and determined element, I don’t see any differences. The distinction therefore seems superfluous.

Mutation is defined as a change in the word-class by substitution of the word-class-specific bound morphemes (e.g. Fr. *manquer* ‘to lack’ → *(le) manque* ‘the lack’), while in conversions a change of the word-class-specific bound morphemes is absent (e.g. G. *essen* ‘eat’ → *(das) Essen* ‘food’) (cf. Koch 2001: 21). However, the case of Fr. *le manque* can easily be seen as an instance of back-derivation. The category of mutation, too, appears superfluous.

An important completion of the list of word-formation patterns is the process of phraseologism, which has been excluded in the other systems mentioned.

## 6. Synthesis

In this final section, I will attempt to draw a synthesis of a cognitive-onomasiological approach toward word-formation. I will once again shed light on the most important aspects of the works cited and add a few more ideas.

### 6.1. Process and Processes Revisited

The onomasiological starting-point is a concept to be named. Unless you don't decide to borrow a foreign term, the following phases are gone through. The concept is first analyzed and categorized. Various (salient) aspects and associations (similarity, contrast, contiguity, partiality) are activated in the speaker's mind (in Štekauer's terminology determining and determined constituents). It must be underlined that this does not involve a hierarchy of elements, though. Then the speaker has to choose the means to denote the concept or the activated prototypical association. In Štekauer's terminology this means that here the potentially expressible base as well as the mark are selected. Different subgroups of the speech community may highlight different associations/aspects and use different ways of expression.<sup>35</sup> Among the ways of expression is the combination of already existing linguistic material, commonly called *word-formation*. The speaker patterns his/her expression on already existing prototypical models, i.e. s/he must first have analyzed other linguistic units to coin a new unit (on the onomasiological level). S/he looks for models expressing similar semantic relations/associations as the focussed semantic relations/associations in the concept to be named. Again, I would like to stress that only salient aspects/reasons/associations are brought into linguistic form, since only these are expected and will be understood by the normal hearer. At the end there is the concrete realization respecting phonological and morphological rules inherent in the formal type.

The combination of already existing linguistic material can be grouped into four formal types:

- (A) the combination of lexical/free morphemes
- (B) the combination of a lexical morpheme and an affix
- (C) morphological or syntactical recategorization of an existing form
- (D) the shortening of an existing form

Ad (A) and (B): Type (A) is traditionally referred to as composition. Compounds express a variety of relations. These relations, however, as already mentioned, will always be prototypical/salient relations, since otherwise the speaker would risk not being understood. Type (A) may include a formative element, which is often neglected because such elements are rare in English, in contrast to German or the Romance languages: compare, for instance, Fr. *machine à écrire* (not *de*), Sp. *máquina de escribir* (not *a*), and It. *macchina da scrivere* (not *di* or *a*) 'type-writer'. English examples with formative elements are the already mentioned *center of attraction*, then also *lord's prayer*, *commander-in-chief* or AmE *driver's license* vs. BrE *driving license*. In contrast to (A) the variety of possible interpretations is smaller with type (B). Affixes trigger off relatively fixed associations between the word-stem and the concept named.

Ad (C) and (D): (C) unites gender change, number change, diathetic change and conversion; (D) is a generic term for clipping, blending, acronyming and back-derivation. I will come to these processes later.

<sup>35</sup> Pavol Štekauer (personal communication) informs me that he and Don Chapman are actually carrying out research on the hypothesis that the preference for various word-formation types is tied to the various sociolinguistic factors.



We have already seen that apart from this morphological classification it is also possible to renounce the distinction between affixes and free morphemes and ensue a cognitively more elementary classification<sup>36</sup>. This brings us back to Štekauer's model again, where he distinguishes five different word-formation processes, although we have favored a different interpretation for the process of conversion. Beside these five types, we had already added a sixth and a seventh type. Beyond that, there are seven other processes that have remained unmentioned so far, but have been supplemented here in a way that they can easily be integrated into Štekauer's approach. Since long-winded terms will have a hard time getting accepted by the public, I will offer alternative terms in parentheses.

- (1) the "syntactical recategorization" (conversion)
- (2) the "simplex structure" (simplex composites)
- (3) the "complete complex structure" (complex composites)
- (4) the "incomplete complex structure 1" (mark-absence composites 1)
- (5) the "incomplete complex structure 2" (mark-absence composites 2)
- (6) the "incomplete complex structure B" (base-absence composites)<sup>37</sup>
- (7) the "copulative structure" (copulatives, or determination-absence, composites)
- (8) "formal shortening" of morphemes (ellipsis)
- (9) "formal shortening" of morphs (clipping)
- (10) "formal shortening" to initials (acronym)
- (11) "formal blending" (blends, contaminations)
- (12) "back-derivation"
- (13) "reduplication"
- (14) "morphological recategorization" (gender, number or diathetic change etc.)
- (15) word-formation plus borrowing (pseudo-loans and calques)
- (16) phraseologism
- (17) "clarifying composites" / "post-classifying composites"
- (18) folk-etymology

Again, in order to arrive at these structures the speaker has to pass—at least as regards the first six structures—five mental levels unless s/he doesn't borrow the name from another language/dialect: (i) the conceptual level (analysis and categorization of the concept: substance, action, quality or concomitant circumstance), (ii) the semantic level (structuring of the semantic components/associations, which need not only be based on contiguity, taxonomic relations and partiality, but also on similarity and contrast!), (iii) the onomasiological level (selection of two or three semantic components for the name), (iv) the onomatological level (concrete selection of the structure), (v) the morphonological level (concrete realization of the structure)<sup>38</sup>. The passing of these mental stages can occur in various degrees of consciousness.<sup>39</sup> In addition, with types (2) to (6), the speaker has to decide

<sup>36</sup> See also Tournier (1985: 48ff.), who distinguishes between "morphosemantic neologisms" (which include constructed lexical units, i.e. derivation and composition, as well as onomatopoeic formations), "semantic neologisms" (which include conversion and metasemy, i.e. semantic change), and "morphological neologisms" (which include apheresis, apocope and acronymy).

<sup>37</sup> We may also speak of "incomplete complex structure and metonymy" or "word-formation metonymy" or "metonymy composition".

<sup>38</sup> Levels (iii) to (v) may be viewed differently when the speaker decides to choose an already existing word and give it a new meaning (semantic change).

<sup>39</sup> This was already acknowledged by Whitney (1867: 122): "processes of word-making, of name-giving, in all their variety, are not, in the fullest sense, consciously performed: that is to say, they are not, for the most part, premeditated and reflective. There may be found among them, indeed, every degree of reflection, sometimes rising even to full premeditation." Even if new objects have to be named for the first time, there is some degree of unconsciousness, according to Whitney (1867: 123): "namely, the manner in which their selection is guided and determined by the already subsisting usages and analogies of their speech, and by the limitations of their intelligence."

whether he wants to realize these structures by a combination of free morphemes (possibly with a formative element) or by a combination of a word-stem and an affix or an interplay of both types. Moreover, it seems that certain structures are favored with certain associations. In this respect, Štekauer (1998) offers a good survey; and Blank's (1997b) article should also be mentioned here again.

Types (7) to (16) are added to Štekauer's types. In traditional works, too, these processes live in the shadows. They have therefore been dwelled on in smaller works; in this respect, the names of John Algeo (1974, 1975, 1977) and Garland Cannon (1985, 1986, 1988, 1989) should be mentioned.<sup>40</sup> Štekauer did not include these because he didn't regard these processes as one-hundred percent productive, and thus regular and predictable. But this view is too "Anglocentric". If we have a look at German, which possesses many more formative elements than English, then the variation between *Adventkalender* and *Adventskalender* 'Advent calendar' illustrates that so-called determinative compounds are not one-hundred percent predictable either. Then it's easier to include blends, clippings and acronyms as well. In English, too, there are such elements or at least cases where we can surmise such elements. Thus we may ask whether the *-al* in *transformational grammar* can be considered a formative element, since a form *transformation grammar* is also possible. Likewise, it is not always predictable when a speaker will use *un-* and when *in-* (or one of its variants, i.e. *il-*, *ir-*, or *im-*) as a negation prefix (cf. the study by Baldi et al. [1985]). A general rule says that *un-* is connected with Germanic and foreign stems, *in-* only with Romance or Latinate stems. Therefore, there is the form *incredible* aside from an older *uncredible*. One solution to the problem may be that not every speaker will of course be able to determine the origin of a word-stem. The final level is the morphonological realization; this includes changes like stress shift, vowel reduction etc." Unpredictable word-formations are thus only awkward from the point of view of generative grammar (cf. Bauer 1983: 232). Of course, nobody doubts that the degree of predictability is lower with shortenings and blends, but it was important here to revise the requirements of word-formation that Štekauer has formulated in his works; in a personal letter Štekauer has underlined, though, that word-formation is not always predictable on the onomatological level and that the final word-shape is a combination of phonological, morphological, semantic and lexical restrictions and the creative approach of the "coiner". By the way, there is even the phenomenon of recursive shortening (e.g. *OK* [ou'keɪ]—whatever the origin may be—can be shortened to *oke* [ouk]). Types (8) through (10) are not only separated from types (1) through (7) as regards their formation, but also as regards their motivation. Their coinage is not at the end of the five mental levels described above. Here a long form is in the foreground, which becomes shortened for economical or aesthetic reasons. Such shortenings are the more frequent, the longer the full form and the more salient the concept in the speaker's world (cf. Zipf's law [1935: 142ff.]).

Some word-formation processes shall be analyzed in a still more thorough way, since the need for discussion seems to be greatest for them.

## 6.2. "Conversion/Syntactical Recategorization"

We have decided to keep conversion and semantic change apart, despite their large intersection. Once more, the reader shall be reminded that this process consists of a combination of the following features: recategorization on the conceptual level + non-analyzable onomasiological level + word-class change + phonological/phonetic and orthographical identity or near-identity (as there is sometimes a stress shift with vowel

<sup>40</sup> Cf. also the works of Devereux (1984), Kelly (1998) and Davy (2000); a very early work on blends is the one by Pound (1914). The same neglect is also present in basic and introductory works on word-formation in other philologies.

reduction). The question of unidirectionality doesn't really suggest itself in an onomasiological approach, it can only be asked in an analytical, structuralistic view, which is not at issue here. Again, I would like to recall that a syntactical recategorization does not always keep all semantic components of the original word.

### 6.3. Base-Absence Composites

This process, which leads to what is traditionally called *exocentric compounds*, doesn't seem to be a pure word-formation process, but is combined with metonymy or synecdoche/pars pro toto. A certain salient feature of the concept to be named is highlighted and then put into a linguistic form by combining (free) word-stems. Nevertheless, Štekauer's model could be extended and we could say that the onomasiological base is missing here. There is no need to postulate an auxiliary construction. The base is simply not salient enough for the speaker to include it in the expression. It seems as if the "having" association is the most prominent association with base-absence composites.

### 6.4. Copulative Composites

By *copulative composites* I understand two hierarchically equal morphemes, i.e. the lack of a determination pattern. The term subsumes both so-called copulative compounds (e.g. *German-French [border]*) and so-called additive compounds (e.g. *deaf-mute*).

### 6.5. Ellipsis

Ellipsis was defined by Ullmann (1962: 222) as semantic change based on a contiguity of forms. Blank (1997a: 281) correctly says that if a syntactical phrase is reduced to a single word and the meaning is kept, this cannot be called semantic change, but only lexical change. Nevertheless, in what follows he describes the processes involved in an ellipsis in a way that he can also classify ellipsis as a type of semantic change. I will only briefly add a few comments on that.

Basically there seem to be two very distinct types of ellipsis. On one side there are ellipses where the determining part was deleted, on the other there are ellipses where the determined part was deleted. The first type is represented by cases like *daily paper*→*daily*, the second by cases like *newspaper*→*paper*. While the latter can indeed be seen as some sort of semantic change (*paper* adopts a new meaning), the former is a true type of word-formation or, rather, word-shortening, since the process truly results in a new word, viz. *daily*<sub>sb.</sub>. Ellipsis is sometimes called the historical equivalent of clipping (cf. Marchand 1969: 448). In fact, ellipsis seems to be rather rare in Present-Day English. There is not a single example of ellipsis in the latest lists of "Among the New Words" (Glowka et al. 2000, Glowka et al. 2001). Relatively recent instances are *canine tooth*→*canine* and *jumbo jet*→*jumbo* (which Bauer [1983: 233] lists under clipping, but he doesn't even have a separate chapter for ellipses).

### 6.6. Clippings

In contrast to Blank, I think that clipping does not result from a contiguity of linguistic signs, but from a contiguity of parts of linguistic signs. The big difference between ellipsis and clipping is that the former requires a deletion of morphemes, the latter only a deletion of morphs. The oldest records of clippings in English language history are from the second half of the sixteenth century: *coz* for *cousin* 1559, *gent* for *gentleman* 1564, *mas* for *master* 1575, *chap* for *chapman* 1577 and *winkle* for *periwinkle* 1585 (cf. Marchand 1969: 448; cf. also

Biese 1941). Wermser (1976) unfortunately did not include clippings (or blendings) in his diachronic study, so that this is still a research gap to be filled; but for more recent decades the studies of Cannon (1987) and Algeo (1980) show that clippings play a rather minor role—at least in written English. The lists of “Among the New Words” show the same results. For the years 2000 and 2001 the lists include only two examples, namely *endo* from *end-over* ‘bicycling accident in which the rider flies over the handbars (among mountain-bikers)’ (Glowka et al. 2000: 76) and—with a diminutive ending—*Milly* ‘dance promoted and commissioned by Chicago city officials for the new-millennium fatigue syndrome’ (Glowka et al. 2000: 331). Commonly known are the following examples: (*tele*)*phone*, *mike* (< *mikrophone*), *porn*(*ographical film*), *op*(*tical*) *art*, (*py*)*jam*(*a*). The etymons are no longer generally known for *movie* (< *moving picture*), *deli*(*catessen*) and *sitcom* (< *situation comedy*<sup>41</sup>).

### 6.7. Acronyms

As already mentioned in the discussion on Dirven/Verspoor, acronyms play a paramount role in a highly modern society. For precision, I would like to underline that only spoken initialisms should be called acronyms; in my view it is not helpful that Algeo (1978, 1980) also defined cases like *Dr.* as acronyms. *Ph.D.* [ˌpi:ɪtʃˈdi:], on the other hand, is a true acronym. Some acronyms are pronounced letter by letter, others as syllables—with possible differences in different varieties: some pronounce <VAT> as [væt], some as [ˌvi:ɪˈti:].

Like clipping, acronymy is based on a contiguity of parts of a linguistic form, where only some sounds—or better: letters—are selected for the new coinage. It is a particularity of acronymy that the short form sometimes seems mentally prior to the long form or at least concurrent. Then it passes through the phases described by Štekauer. And also Bauer (1983: 237) observes:

“In some cases it seems that the name of a particular object is specially chosen to give a suitable acronym. This seems to be true of *BASIC* [Beginners’ All-purpose Symbolic Instruction Code] or, for example, the Federation of Inter-State Truckers, *FIST*. In other cases, the acronym spells something which seems to be appropriate in some metaphorical case, as for example with *WASP* [White Anglo-Saxon Protestant].”

### 6.8. Blending

This process occurs especially when there is a mixture of two categories so that an unequivocal classification of the concept to be named seems impossible. Yet Adams (1973) has shown that blends can be categorized into several subtypes: “expandable blends” (e.g. *Chunnel*), “conjunctive blends” (e.g. *smog*), “non-expandable blends” (e.g. *rockoon* ‘balloon rocket’), “derivational blends” (e.g. *beatnik*), and even “neo-Latin blends” (e.g. *aquacade*). I do not want to adopt this subtypology, but Adams’ system shows at least that blendings can represent all structures of the composites, type (2) to (7). There seem to be two kinds of blends: first, the type which I illustrated by way of the example of *clash*, second, the type where there are really two complete words at the beginning, e.g. *breakfast-lunch*→*brunch*. Aside from the (postulated) contiguity of linguistic expressions there is also—and this is much more important—the contiguity of concepts, which I’ve already mentioned above. For the speaker it is either difficult to decide whether *brunch* is a kind of *BREAKFAST* or a kind of *LUNCH* or s/he sees that a brunch combines elements of both: there’s contiguity between *BRUNCH* and *BREAKFAST* as well as between *BRUNCH* and *LUNCH*. In my opinion, the second interpretation is more useful, since it also covers cases like *motel*. If no long form has existed before, Štekauer’s onomatological level becomes relevant. This time it seems justified to assume an

<sup>41</sup> Some native speakers actually see a connection with *to sit* and *communication* here.

auxiliary “simplex structure” which immediately gives way to a shortened form for economical reasons or for reasons of prestige and fashion. Blending is a productive and prominent word-formation process in Modern English (at least in American English), only to be excelled by compounding and derivation (cf. the lists of “Among the New Words”).

If a word is frequently used for blending, then the clipped part might gradually serve as a new (pseudo-)affix, especially when combined with morphemes, not only morphs. This seems to be the case with *[X]-gate* (from *Watergate*), which can be glossed as ‘scandal in connection with [X]’. The latest list of “Among the New Words” include the entries *Skategate* (referring to the attack on scater Nancy Kerrigan, instigated by Tonya Harding) (Glowka et al. 2000: 190), *Kneepadgate* ‘sex scandal around President Clinton and Monica Lewinsky’ (Glowka et al. 2001: 81), also known as *Sexgate* (Glowka et al. 2001: 194), *Monasterygate* ‘scandal involving fund-raising by Vice President Al Gore in a California Buddhist temple’ (Glowka et al. 2000: 438). Another good example is the phoneme [i:], which can be considered a (pseudo-)prefix; in Glowka et al. (2001: 86) we find the lemmas *e-bucks* ‘electronic money’, *e-celebrity* ‘famous person promoting an Internet company’ and *e-entrepreneur* ‘person starting an Internet company’; besides, *e-mail* and *e-commerce* are now well-established words not only in English.

#### 6.9. Back-Derivation

Similar to blending, the process of back-derivation<sup>42</sup> combines both the usual cognitive process and the inclusion of an already existing word. As illustrated above, Štekauer regards cases like *to stage-manage* as merely alleged cases of back-derivation and holds the view that the “short” form (*stage-manage*) and the “long” form (*stage-manager*) have been generated separately. Again, I would like to stress that I don’t want to deny that the speaker passes through the conceptual, the semantic and the onomasiological levels. On the onomatological level, however, s/he now looks for linguistic models, not only for model structures, but for concrete model forms that are semantically important. It is interesting to see that the content of back-derivations is often narrower than that of the model form (cf. Dirven/Verspoor 1998: 67).

#### 6.10. Reduplication

Reduplications like *wishy-washy* (ablaut reduplication) or *willy-nilly* (rhyming reduplication) could of course be classified as copulative structures. But here too, it can’t be denied that formal reasons played a decisive role in the selection process on the onomasiological and onomatological levels. The current lists of “Among the New Words” have collected two examples: the drug *love dove* (Glowka et al. 2001: 180) and the compound *bite fight* referring to the boxing fight in which Mike Tyson bit off a part of Evander Holyfield’s ear (Glowka et al. 2000: 431).

#### 6.11. Lexical Pseudo-Loan and Calques

Last but not least, we should not ignore the mixed types of word-formation and borrowing. First of all, there are the so-called lexical pseudo-loans, i.e. words that look foreign, but never existed as such in the “giving language”. Since in Modern English these formations concern predominantly pseudo-loans with Latin and Greek elements they are often called *neoclassical compounds* (cf., e.g. Bauer [1983: 313; 1998]; there is no separate section reserved to them in Marchand 1969). In turn, the prestige of English attracts many nations to form pseudo-

<sup>42</sup> For an analysis of English cases of back-formation cf. Cannon/Bailey (1986).

Anglicisms.<sup>43</sup> It seems as if here the name-giving person arrives at the onomatological level and now resorts to some type of material from a foreign language, which then undergoes the usual integration changes on the morphological level.

As to neoclassical compounds, it must be mentioned that the classification of some of them<sup>44</sup> as compounds is problematic since the words don't consist of two free lexemes, e.g. *photograph*. Neither are they affixes, because then formations like *\*photoization* or *\*photoesque* would be possible (cf. also Bauer 1983: 213f.). So the term (*pseudo-*)*affix* already used above seems indeed well-chosen.

Second, there are words that have been termed loan-translations and loan-renderings (i.e. only part of the foreign expression is translated). Both are also called calques. A few examples will illustrate these types:

(a) loan-translations: OE *fore-setnys*→Lat. *prae-positio*, OE *ān-horn*→Lat. *uni-corn*, OE *hæl-end*→Lat. *salva-tor*, OE *gōd-spel*→Gk. *εἰ-αγγέλλιον*, ModE *super-man*→G. *Über-mensch*; Fr. *gratte-ciel*→E. *sky-scraper*;

(b) loan-rendering: G. *Wolken-kratzer*→E. *sky-scraper*; OE. *dune-stīgan*→Lat. *de-scendere*; ModE *brother-hood*→Lat. *frater-nitas*; OE *leorning-cniht*→Lat. *discip-ulus*.<sup>45</sup>

Here, the name-giving person appears to arrive at the semantic level, looks at a foreign language on the way to the onomatological level, and comes back to the native language on the onomatological level. However, with calques we have the problem that we cannot always decide whether the coinage was really modelled on a foreign term or whether it represents an independent, albeit parallel construction.

## 6.12. Varia

Two other phenomena shall briefly be mentioned at the end of this paper. The first is called *opaque compounds*. A number of works have dealt with English opaque compounds (cf. Faiß 1978, Götz 1971 as well as Mayer 1962). Of course, they are important neither in a structuralistic-analytical approach nor in an onomasiological approach, since speakers don't coin opaque compounds (they become opaque by accident). However, they sometimes keep their spelling and can then motivate the formation of a new lexical type, e.g. [ˈfɔrhed] vs. [ˈfɑrɪd] 'forehead' or the remotivation of [ˈhʌzɪf] toward [ˈhʌʊswaɪf] 'woman who manages the household', while 'sewing kit' is (archaically) still referred to with the first pronunciation.

The second phenomenon is folk-etymology, which is not a type of semantic change, although classified as such by many linguists (cf. Ullmann 1962 and the overview in Olschansky 1996); but it is exactly the change in form which is the most basic aspect of folk-etymology. In the realm of word-formation it should be noted that folk-etymology has often resulted in new compounds: e.g. *sparrow-grass* for *asparagus*, *nick-name* for ME *an eke name* 'an "also"-name', *bridegroom* for OE *brydguma* or *sandblind* for OE *\*samblind* 'halfblind'.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. the study by Filipović (1985). For German, cf. especially Carstensen (1980, 1981) and Grzega (2001). For French, cf. Cypionka (1994).

<sup>44</sup> This shows that the group of "neoclassical compounds" is not a consistent one. In order to respect this gradualness, Bauer (1998) suggests categorizing English compounds within a conceptual space defined by three dimensions: a simplex compound dimension, a native—foreign dimension and an abbreviated—nonabbreviated dimension.

<sup>45</sup> The terminology used here goes back to Duckworth (1977: 40), whose classification is based on Betz (1949, 1959).

## 7. Conclusion

In this paper I have strived to cover a large number of questions involved in an onomasiological and cognitive approach toward word-formation. Many ideas are based on recent models of word-formation. I have tried to further develop and coordinate them. The nomenclature that has been contrived is to cover all cases of word-formation, both central and peripheral ones. The approach presented here is part of a larger project dealing with motives for and types of onomasiological change.<sup>46</sup> I am aware that a number of questions could only be touched on the surface, but I hope they will attract other linguists to join the discussion.

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. also the preliminary study in Grzega (2002).

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## WORD-FORMATION AS CREATIVITY WITHIN PRODUCTIVITY CONSTRAINTS: SOCIOLINGUISTIC EVIDENCE\*

### Abstract

Productivity has been one of the central topics in the field of word-formation in recent decades. Heretofore, productivity has been mainly, if not solely, discussed in formal terms, such as which affixes can be used with which stems, the productivity of rival affixes, etc. Such a formal approach leaves out the speakers' needs for creating new words. Accounting for speakers' word-formation needs requires a re-evaluation of the notion of creativity. In our approach to word-formation, this notion emphasizes the active role of language users, reflecting the fact that, in each act of naming, there is more or less significant space for a coiner's individual selection out of the options. Since each individual has unequal experiences, knowledge, intellectual capacity, imagination, education, age, professional interests, and so on, one would expect speakers to bring considerable variation to the naming task. Therefore, this article examines the influence of education, profession, and language-background upon the act of naming and the related word-formation productivity. In addition, we will examine, whether and to what degree these factors exert any influence upon the resolution of the fundamental conflict in word-formation (and language in general), namely that between the explicitness of expression and the economy of expression.

### 1. Introduction

Productivity has been one of the central topics in the field of word-formation in recent decades. It was especially the 1990s and the turn of the millenium that brought new and comprehensive insights into this field, presented by, *inter alia*, H. Baayen,<sup>1</sup> I. Plag (1999), and L. Bauer (2001). Their excellent and seminal studies may be considered a culmination of a long-term effort by derivational morphologists to identify the nature of productivity in word-formation, especially with regard to the deep-rooted belief that productivity of word-formation processes is much lower than that of syntactic and inflectional processes (cf. Chomsky 1970). Gains in recent decades have shown that word-formation is more productive than first thought, when one is careful about the definition of productivity. But this paper argues that those refinements to the concept of productivity have not gone far enough. Heretofore, productivity has been mainly discussed in formal terms, such as which affixes can be used with which stems, the productivity of rival affixes, etc. Such a formal approach leaves out the speakers' needs for creating terms, and leaving out those needs has been precisely what has skewed evaluation of productivity in word-formation. When those needs are taken into account, word-formation seems to be as productive as syntax. It is that claim that this paper will argue.

Accounting for speakers' word-formation needs requires a re-evaluation of the notion of **creativity**. Traditionally, creativity within word-formation has usually referred to idiosyncrasies and deviations from rules. In contrast, the term **productivity** has been used to apply to regular, or rule-governed patterns. Word-formation theory has largely limited itself to productivity in this sense, as it has mainly considered productivity within a framework of

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<sup>1</sup> A series of articles. Cf. some of them in the References.

**rival affixes** (or, patterns of word-formation) used in generative morphology, such as *-ity* vs. *-ness*. In our approach to word-formation, however, the concept of creativity applies more generally to any **act of naming** by individual speakers of a language, whether idiosyncratic or regular. Of course a speaker's choices in the act of naming will be constrained by the speaker's language system (langue), but usually, there is more or less significant space for a coiner's individual selection out of the options available for the act of naming related to a particular object of extra-linguistic reality. Since each individual has unequal experiences, knowledge, intellectual capacity, imagination, education, age, professional interests, and so on, one would expect speakers to bring considerable variation to the naming task. Thus, the notion of **rivalry**, more prevalent in traditional, static views of word-formation, is just a part of a much more comprehensive concept of the act of naming, the concept whose focal point is the **active role of language users**.

An examination of **naming needs**, as opposed to the distribution of formal affixes, is accommodated within the onomasiological theory of word-formation developed by Štekauer (1998) and his subsequent publications. In this paper, we will extend Štekauer's notion of a Word-Formation Type cluster to cover three other levels, namely the Onomasiological Type cluster, Morphological Type cluster (see also Štekauer 2003), and Word-Formation Rule cluster. And if indeed speakers vary in their naming strategies according to their different experiences, we ought to find such variation correlating with social variables, such as education, profession, and language background.

A further aim of this paper is to test that assumption. In particular, the integrated theory of productivity presented in this paper will be tested and illustrated in a questionnaire-based evaluation of the influence of sociolinguistic factors upon acts of word-formation, and, by implication, of the word-formation productivity. In addition, we will examine, whether and to what degree these factors exert any influence upon the resolution of the **fundamental conflict** in word-formation (and language in general), that **between the explicitness of expression and the economy of expression**.<sup>2</sup>

In short, this paper aims to examine the larger notion of creativity that includes a speaker's naming needs within an onomasiological theory of word-formation, and to demonstrate the usefulness of such an examination with a sociolinguistic study of speakers' word-formation choices.

The purpose of Section 1 is to provide a brief introduction to the topic. For more profound analyses of the state-of-the-art in the field, the reader is referred to Plag (1999), and mainly Bauer (2001).

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<sup>2</sup> We are aware of a subtler classification in cognitive linguistics, such as that proposed by Geeraerts (1983) who – at the level of what we label as 'economy of expression' - distinguishes between conceptual efficiency (metaphor, metonymy) and formal efficiency (ellipsis, folk-etymology, avoidance of homonymic clash), and – at the level of our 'explicitness of expression' - between conceptual expressivity (word formation, borrowing, semantic change) and formal expressivity (creation of specific word-formation patterns). See also Grzegza (2002: 1029ff). However, the opposition economy : explicitness fits the purpose of our analysis.

### 1.1. At the Beginning...

The beginnings were gloomy, and the outlook poor. Noam Chomsky (1970) sentenced word-formation productivity to the inferior position, with the master being the productivity of syntax and inflectional morphology. Chomsky emphasized the idiosyncratic semantic and phonological character of nominals derived from verbs, and concluded that the accidental character of word-formation is more typical of lexical structure. According to Chomsky, word-formation processes, unlike syntactic and inflectional processes, cannot be accounted for with productive transformational rules. Not surprisingly, the transformationalist approach to word-formation (such as Lees 1960) gave way to the lexicalist position which unambiguously separates the issues of word-formation from the issues of syntax based on the recognition that “word structure and sentence structure were not governed by the same set of principles, and that they belonged to different modules of the grammar” (Mohan 1986: 4).

But many of Chomsky’s arguments are open to objection. To Chomsky’s argument that specific affixes do not attach to all possible bases, two possible directions of argumentation can be suggested (Štekauer 1998: 84ff). If we pursue the formal approach we can illustrate that the limitations on productivity operate over syntax as much as morphology (as suggested by Di Sciullo & Williams 1987), and these limitations are of the same nature. It is true, for instance, that the suffix *-ion* does not combine with all verbs. But it is equally true that not all verbs can be used in the sentence structure N – V – Object. The limitation permits only transitive verbs to be inserted. Both limitations (syntactic and morphological) are based on the same principle – they pertain to the **combinability** of structural units. For more examples, see Di Sciullo & Williams (1987). These authors seem to have been inspired by the following observation of S. R. Anderson:

It is true that different verbs take different formations (*describe/description, laugh/laughter, recite/recital*, etc.); but the point is that *some* action nominal formation is available for every verb (subject only to semantic limitations). One cannot really say that the diversity of the forms involved is a limitation on the productivity of the process, any more than the existence of varying conjugation classes constitutes a limitation on the productivity of verbal inflection in languages in which these are found (1982: 585-586).

In this connection, S. L. Strauss also maintains that “we cannot really claim that derivational morphology is any more idiosyncratic than the other structure-generating rules”; in addition, “rules of derivational morphology are as regular, both semantically and phonologically, as other generative rules” (1982: 23, 24).

A second line of argumentation is of pragmatic-generative nature. If we concentrate on the generation aspect, both syntax and word-formation respond to some **demand** of a language community, and they are capable of fully meeting the need. In that respect they are absolutely productive. This also applies to their subsystems. Thus, the systems of Word-Formation Types and Morphological Types are capable of providing a naming unit whenever a new item, such as Agent noun (or, more explicitly, a noun denoting a person performing some activity), is required. Then, the **clusters of Word-Formation Types** and **clusters of Morphological Types** (see below, Section 2.2.4) ‘guarantee’ the coining of a new naming unit of a specific semantics whenever such demand arises.

All in all, with the advancements in the theory of word-formation in recent decades, the view of low WF productivity has been gradually modified. As a result, I. Plag (1999: 2) could stress that “derivational processes are much more *regular* than previously conceived.”

Our claim that word-formation is absolutely productive because speakers can always provide a new naming unit when required is not simply a trivial evasion of the problems of productivity of word-formation that have engaged morphologists for decades. It is instead a recasting of the issues in terms that should lead to more insight as it brings the analysis of word-formation closer to the analysis of other linguistic phenomena, particularly syntax. The pragmatic level of analysis has always been implicit in syntax. That speakers can generate an infinite number of sentences that they have not previously heard acknowledges that speakers do indeed create sentences. There is no effort to keep track of actual sentences or to note all the sentences that could possibly occur but don't. Syntax is not held to be any less productive because some sentences do not occur. The communication needs of the speakers is taken as a given before the composition of sentences is analyzed.

Furthermore, the analysis of those sentences does not proceed on the word level; sentences are not regarded simply as strings of words. Instead sentences are considered to be made up of phrases, which would be another level of abstraction above words. The occurrence of particular strings of words, then, has little to do with productive patterns in syntax. Instead the issue is whether certain phrase types occur and how they combine together to create a sentence. A noun phrase, for example, must be present as the subject of nearly all sentences, yet the composition of that noun phrase – whether a single pronoun, a determiner and noun, a noun with a complement clause, or something else – is unimportant, so long as the phrase is well-formed. Much less do the individual words constituting the noun phrase matter.

In word-formation studies, however, the pragmatic needs of speakers for new words have largely been ignored. So too has an abstract level corresponding to the notion of a phrase. Instead, individual formants are considered as productive or not. By focusing on the naming needs of the speech community and by acknowledging a functional level of analysis comparable to phrase structures, a theory of word-formation ought to account for productivity in word-formation with more coherence.

It is for that reason that this paper proceeds with an onomasiological approach that accounts for speakers' naming needs.

## 1.2. Potential Words and Naming Needs

The attractiveness of focusing on the naming needs of speakers also comes up with regard to another sticking point of word-formation theory, namely the role of possible or potential words. Halle (1973) had introduced the notion of **overgeneralization** in his generative account of morphology and had called the non-existence of such words in English an **accidental gap**. We believe that the notion of 'accidental gap' is misleading, and is due to the purely formal point of view. If this issue is approached from the point of view of the naming demand of a speech community the non-existence of such words is expediently accountable – they are not needed by the speech community. But what about **potential words**? Should a theory of word-formation account for all words that could be generated or just those that have? Linguists from Allen to Aronoff to Kiparsky have grappled with this question. The most comprehensive analysis of the relevant problems is given in Bauer (2001) where the relations between actual, existing, established, possible, potential, and probable words are discussed in detail. Bauer's ideas may be succinctly summarized as follows:

The notion of **existing word** raises the fundamental problem of for whom and what such a word exists. We agree with Bauer that an existing word must exist for a **speech community** keeping in mind a number of problems connected with this approach that are pointed out by Bauer (the lower limit of speech community, non-occurrence of all existing words in

reference works, the identification of the date when a word comes into existence – the first coining or the establishment of the word?, etc.). Bauer (2001: 36) suggests the following definition:

...a word is an *existing* word from the moment it is first coined...The word may be *item-familiar* to individual speakers, without having become part of the norm of the language. A word is *established* once it becomes part of the norm, that is, once it is item-familiar to a large enough sub-set of the speech community to make it worth listing in reference works.

The notion of potential word is, in Bauer's view, closely related with the notion of lexical gap. Importantly, a coinage only occurs if there is a need, a real or perceived gap in the speaker's lexicon: "Productivity is all about potential. A process is productive if it has the potential to lead to new coinages, or to the extent to which it does lead to new coinages. We are aware of productivity only through the new coinages and the patterns of familiar and unfamiliar words coined by the relevant process" (2001: 41).

Bauer further treats the role of naming with his notion of probable words, which are words that are likely to occur. Bauer suggests that **possible word** be defined in terms of the linguistic system while **probable word** by extra-systemic factors (2001: 42).

The questions of potential words and actual words can be seen to hinge on the role of extra-linguistic reality in word-formation. Ignoring speakers' naming needs in favor of formal analysis of the *langue* gives more importance to potential words. Accounting for those naming needs gives more importance to actual words. In presenting our approach to productivity, we will argue in favour of including actual words in productivity computations.

The theory we propose for accounting for the naming needs of a community is a cognitive onomasiological theory. Its fundamental principles are presented in the next section.

## 2. A cognitive onomasiological theory of productivity

The following approach to word-formation productivity is based on a series of articles and a monograph chapter on this topic, including Štekauer (1994, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005a, 2005b), and attempts at providing a comprehensive theory of productivity within the cognitive onomasiological framework.

### 2.1. General

It goes without saying that productivity is one of the universal properties of language. It is most clearly manifested at the level of word-formation because the productivity of Word-Formation Types and Rules and Morphological Types makes it possible to generate a new naming unit whenever a speech community needs it. From this it follows that word-formation deals with Word-Formation/Morphological Types and Rules which are productive, that is to say, which, from the synchronic point of view, make it possible to form new naming units whenever need be. Obviously, productivity implies regularity: this enables language users to understand (in an appropriate context) and use new naming units they have never heard before. In the initial period of existence of a new naming unit, regularity can also be used as a kind of mnemotechnics.

### 2.2. Main Factors

There are several factors influencing an approach to productivity and the resulting shape of any theory of productivity:

- General theoretical framework. This affects answering the questions like ‘What is the place of word-formation in the system of linguistic disciplines?’, ‘Is word-formation a part of syntax (the transformationalist hypothesis), a part of morphology (‘classical’ structuralist theories), a part of the lexical module (lexicologist approach), or is it an independent module as proposed, for example, in Štekauer (1998)?’, ‘What is the relation between the individual modules?’
- Scope of word-formation: Do *cranberry* words, word series like *receive*, *perceive*, *conceive*, *pertain*, *retain*, clippings, and acronyms fall within the scope of word-formation? Is compounding the matter of word-formation or syntax?
- Productivity – of what? Productivity of affixes, WF rules, WF processes, the whole WF module?
- Attitude to possible, potential, actual and established words, and to the overgenerating morphology.
- Are Word-Formation Types/rules productive and regular or is their regularity much lower than that of syntactic and inflectional rules as assumed by Chomsky (1970)?
- Method of productivity assessment. Should productivity be assessed in abstract terms or is it possible to employ precise mathematical methods? In the latter case, what should the computation be based on? Can we employ absolute numbers or should we relate the computation to certain formal or semantic elements? Should the computation be based on the system level (langue) or speech level (parole)? Or, can these two levels be combined for the sake of productivity computation? Thus, should the calculation be based on dictionaries or corpora?

### 2.2.1. Theoretical Framework – the Place of Word-Formation within the System of Linguistic Disciplines

The cognitive onomasiological theory of word-formation identifies word-formation as an independent and fully-fledged component as illustrated in Figure 1.

The scheme reflects the relations between the individual linguistic components and within the word-formation component itself. It follows from the scheme that the word-formation component is an independent module on a par with any other linguistic module. The scheme represents the crucial triad of relations: extra-linguistic reality – speech community – word-formation component, thus emphasizing the fact which has been ignored by the vast majority of the mainstream word-formation theories, that is to say, that new words do not come into existence in void (as might follow from purely formal theories). Each act of naming responds to a very real and specific naming need (demand) on the part of a member (members) of a particular speech community.

Second, the scheme indicates a direct connection between the word-formation and the lexical components, and an ‘only’ mediated connection between the word-formation and the syntactic components. This makes this model different from those theories which consider word-formation as a part of Lexicon or a part of Syntax. The relation between the word-formation and the Lexical components is based on close ‘co-operation’. The Lexicon stores all naming units (monemes and complex words, borrowed words, clippings and acronyms) as well as affixes, and feeds the word-formation component with word-formation bases and affixes in accordance with its needs. On the other hand, the word-formation component supplies the Lexicon with new naming units formed in it.

By implication, no new words are generated either in the Lexicon (however, any semantic and/or formal modification of naming units formed in the word-formation component may

only take place in the Lexicon) or Syntax.<sup>3</sup>

It should be noted that word-formation concerns the formation of **isolated naming units** rather than their use (which is the matter of syntax). Word-formation treats naming units as linguistic signs stored in particular semantically and morpho-syntactically defined paradigms in the lexical component. The process of forming new naming units means that the new naming units can be subsequently retrieved from the lexicon for the purpose of sentence formation.

### 2.2.2. Productivity – O. K., But of What?

Productivity is a term frequently employed by linguists in general, and – like a number of other linguistic terms – it is quite vague, especially in view of the diversity of its ‘applications’. Bauer (2001) demonstrates the ambiguity of this term when he points out that for some scholars particular affixes (Fleischer) are productive, for others, it is morphological processes (Anderson) that are productive; for yet others, it is rules (Aronoff, Zwanenburg); for a very few it is words (Saussure); for some it is groups of processes (Al and Booij, Anderson). Bauer (1983) discusses the productivity of a complete module of grammar; for yet another group of scholars, productivity is a feature of the language system as a whole. Bauer (2001) himself prefers to define productivity as a **feature of individual morphological processes**.

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<sup>3</sup> For an account of constructions like *around-and-do-nothing-ish*, *leave-it-where-it-is-er lady-in-waiting*, *pain-in-stomach-gesture*, see Štekauer (2001).



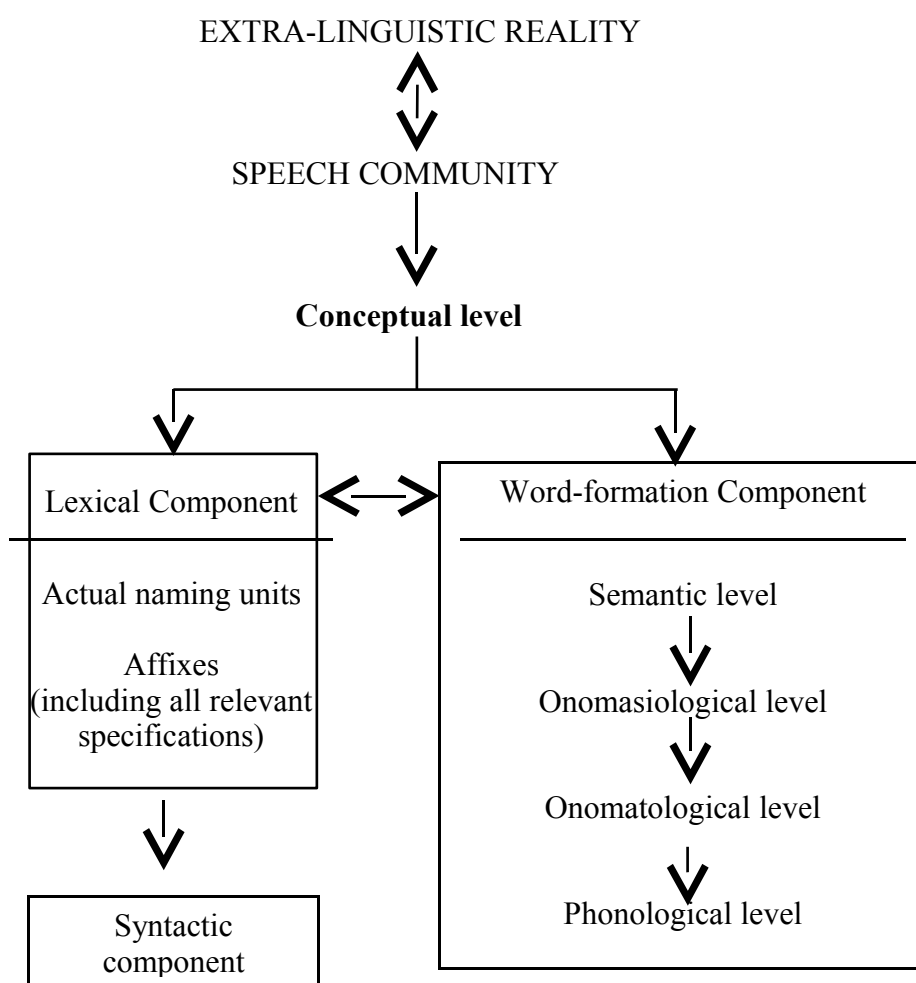


Figure 1: Word-Formation Component and its relation to other components

Dokulil (1962) also presents several possibilities of examining productivity in word-formation:

- (i) The productivity of a word-formation formant (affix). Here he distinguishes between
  - (a) an absolute productivity of a formant, i.e., its applicability in forming new words in general, irrespective of the particular Word-Formation Type it is used in, and
  - (b) relative productivity of a formant, i.e., its applicability in a specific semantic function and/or in a particular Word-Formation Type.
- (ii) The productivity of a Word-Formation Type, in which case a WFT functions as a pattern for forming new words.<sup>4</sup>
- (iii) The productivity of a word-formation base.<sup>5</sup>

Our approach outlined below discusses productivity at four different, and mutually

<sup>4</sup> Dokulil (1962: 72) defines Word-Formation Type as a unity of onomasiological structure (Agentive nouns, bearers of Quality, etc.), lexical-grammatical nature of WF base (deverbatives, desubstantives, deadjectives), and formant (words in *-er*).

<sup>5</sup> Dokulil notes that the productivity of WF base is usually relative: it can mostly be evaluated relative to a particular Word-Formation Type. As such, it is viewed as a condition promoting/reducing the productivity of a particular WF type (1962: 84).

complementary levels (see Section 2.3).

One of the major disadvantages of various computation methods employed for the evaluation of productivity in word-formation is their limited scope; they are usually restricted to the productivity of affixes. This contradicts the generally accepted scope of word-formation which also includes other word-formation processes. But even if the focus is laid on affixation the existing methods differ in defining the notion of affix, notably in terms of the polysemy – homonymy relation. Both of these facts may significantly distort the results of productivity computation. The prevailing restriction to affixation processes is also reflected in the methodology of computing productivity which seems to be tailor-made to this word-formation process.

It may be proposed (Štekauer 2003) that rather than an **affix-driven productivity** approach a conception is required which, instead of focussing on items (affixes), ranges over all word-formation processes (WFP) (compounding, prefixation, suffixation, conversion, blending, etc.), i.e., one which overcomes the limitations imposed by affixation in particular and by the individual word-formation processes in general. What is therefore needed is a general **WF-Rule-driven theory of productivity** covering the whole stock of complex naming units.

The latter approach forces us into the definition of the notion **Word-Formation Rule** (WFR). Unfortunately, this seems to be another strongly ambiguous term, which, on the one hand, heavily depends on the underlying theoretical background, and, on the other hand, crucially determines the results of productivity computation. Should a WFR be defined in Aronoffian (1976) terms as a combination of a base plus affix, or in accordance with Selkirkean (1982) system based on the maximum level of generalization, such as  $X^n \rightarrow Y^n X^a$  for suffixation, Allen's (1978) Primary Compound Formation Rule:  $[\#X\#]_N \dots [\#Y\#]_N \rightarrow [[\#X\#][\#Y\#]]$ , Kiparsky's (1982) generation of primary compounds by insertion of  $Y Z$  into a categorial frame  $X$ , i.e.,  $[Y Z]_X$ , or some other formally defined principles? What is the optimum level of generalization in this case? Can a formal definition of WFRs provide a base for covering all word-formation processes? The major trends in research do not favour a positive answer to this question.

Consequently, since the formal base for productivity computation seems to be unable to provide a unified footing for all complex naming units, attention should be, in our view, zeroed in on the **conceptual-semantic** facet. Is such a conceptually and semantically oriented theory of WFRs viable? Should it take the form of separation hypothesis proposed within the framework of Beard's (1995) lexeme-morpheme base theory, or is there any other way of treating WFRs?

### 2.3. Proposal

The present model departs from a form-based approach to productivity, and proposes to examine productivity within a particular unifying conceptual category (Agent, Patient, Instrument, Negation, Result of Action, Location, Quality, etc.). This approach follows from the onomasiological theory of word-formation: productivity is the matter of **formation** of new words. Each act of naming (as it follows from the scheme in Figure 1) starts at the conceptual level. It is at this level that the 'object' to be named is identified as one falling within the conceptual category of Agent, Patient, Instrument, etc. When the conceptual category of the named object is identified, the naming process proper starts within which the semantic and morphemic components are identified that will constitute the "naming structure" of the resulting complex word. Irrespective of the numerous variations in the 'naming structure', all words denoting 'persons performing (professionally) some activity' are words denoting

Agents. By implication, we may study the share of the various ‘naming structures’ from different points of view to identify their respective Productivity Rates (PRs). In the onomasiological approach, we can identify four different ‘levels’ of ‘naming structures’, and therefore four **levels of productivity**:

- (i) the productivity at the level of Onomasiological Types (OTs)
- (ii) the productivity at the level of Word-Formation Types (WFTs)
- (iii) the productivity at the level of Morphological Types (MTs)
- (iv) the productivity at the level of Word-Formation Rules (WFRs)

### 2.3.1. Productivity of Onomasiological Types

The onomasiological model of word-formation (Štekauer 1998, 2001) obliterates the differences between the traditional word-formation processes by proposing a unified basis for the description of word-**formation**. Such a unified basis makes it possible to objectify the computation of productivity. This **cognitively based model** of word-formation, taking the naming demand of **speech-community** as its starting point, distinguishes five **Onomasiological Types** ranging over the traditional word-formation processes. They are based on the criterion of which constituents of the **onomasiological** (logical-semantic) **structure** are linguistically expressed at the **onomatological (morphematic) level** (see Figure 1). In general, the onomasiological structure includes three basic constituents:

- (4) Determining constituent – Determined constituent – Onomasiological base  
of the onomasiological mark of the onomasiological mark

where Onomasiological base corresponds to the head of a complex word, and the determined constituent of the Onomasiological mark generally stands for the concept of ACTION. Then, the individual Onomasiological Types can be exemplified as follows:

In **Onomasiological Type 1**, all three onomasiological structure constituents, i.e., the base, the determining and the determined constituents of the mark, are linguistically expressed at the onomatological level by being assigned morphemes with the corresponding meaning. This operation is labeled as the **Meaning-to-Seme-Assignment principle** (MSAP):

- (5) *truck-driver* (A Person (Agent) operates (Action) a vehicle (Object))  
Object – Action – Agent  
truck drive er
- (6) *house-keeping* (The Process of performing some Action aimed at an Object):  
Object – Action – Process  
house keep ing
- (7) *signal-generator* (Instrument for an Action producing some Result)  
Result – Action – Instrument  
Signal generate or

In **Onomasiological Type 2**, the determining constituent of the onomasiological mark is left unexpressed:

- (8) Factitive – Action – Agent  
0 write er

- (9) Object – Action – Instrument  
0 spinning wheel

In **Onomasiological Type 3**, the determined constituent of onomasiological mark is left unexpressed:

- (10) Result – Action – Agent  
novel 0 ist
- (11) Patient – State – Evaluation (Diminutive)  
dog 0 ie
- (12) Temporal Stative – State – Patient  
summer 0 house

In **Onomasiological Type 4**, the onomasiological mark is simple and unstructured, i.e., it cannot be divided into the determining and the determined constituents.

- (13) Negation – Quality  
un happy
- (14) Quality – State  
blue-eye ed
- (15) Repetition Action  
re gain

**Onomasiological Type 5** (onomasiological recategorization) concerns conversion, and the method of representation of semantic relations between the members of conversion pairs is illustrated by the following examples:

- (16) *bond<sub>N</sub> – bond<sub>V</sub>*: SUBSTANCE<sup>Result</sup>ACTION  
(in the meaning of a joint)  
Interpretation: Substance as a Result of Action
- (17) *switch<sub>N</sub> – switch<sub>V</sub>*: SUBSTANCE<sup>Instrument/Result</sup>ACTION\_  
(in the meaning of a device for completing or breaking an electric circuit)  
Interpretation: Substance as an Instrument of Action
- (18) *insert<sub>V</sub> – insert<sub>N</sub>*: ACTION<sup>Object</sup>SUBSTANCE  
Interpretation: Substance as an Object of Action
- (19) *time<sub>N</sub> – time<sub>V</sub>*: CIRCUMSTANCE<sup>Temporal</sup>ACTION  
Interpretation: Action in terms of Temporal dimension
- (20) *clear<sub>A</sub> – clear<sub>V</sub>*: QUALITY<sup>Result</sup>ACTION  
Interpretation: Action Resulting in a certain Quality

As indicated above, the present model distinguishes five **Onomasiological Types** ranging over all productive methods of forming new complex words. Since they are based on the criterion of which constituents of the onomasiological structure are linguistically expressed at

the onomatological level, the determination of their respective productivities is an important indicator of the **preferences** of language users (or better, coiners) in terms of employing **different cognitive processes** underlying the act of naming, on the one hand, and the **different ways of their linguistic representation**, on the other. The productivity calculation at this level may indicate which of the two universal, contradictory tendencies, i.e., **economy of expression** and **explicitness of expression** (comprehensibility), dominates in a particular language (area). Here we face two gradual oppositions:

(i) Onomasiological level

- (a) Onomasiological Types 1–3 (complex onomasiological structure)
- (b) Onomasiological Type 4 (simplified onomasiological structure)
- (c) Onomasiological Type 5 (absence of onomasiological structure)

(ii) Onomatological level

- (a) Onomasiological Type 1 (complex morphematic representation of complex onomasiological structure)
- (b) Onomasiological Types 2 and 3 (economized morphematic representation of a complex onomasiological structure)
- (c) Onomasiological Type 4 (economy due to onomasiological structure)
- (d) Onomasiological Type 5 (absolute economy – no morphematic representation).

As indicated above, productivity of the individual Onomasiological Types is given by their respective share of all the complex words that belong to a particular conceptual category (e.g., Agent). From this it follows that the **Onomasiological Type Cluster** is 100% productive with regard to a particular conceptual category as it can ‘produce’ a word belonging to that particular conceptual category whenever a (member of a) speech community needs to give a name to an object belonging to this category.

### 2.3.2. Productivity of Word-Formation Types

A more specific level is represented by **WF Types**. The computation of productivity of WF Types is also related to a particular **conceptual category**. This makes it possible to include in the computation of the productivity of, for example, Agent names complex words of different onomasiological structures, hence different WF Types (for example, Object – Action – Agent (*woodcutter*); Action – Agent (*writer*); Location – Action – Agent (*street-fighter*); Factitive – Action – Agent (*novel writer*); Instrument – Action – Agent (*anthrax-killer*); Manner – Action – Agent (*slam-dunker*); and a number of other possible WF types).

All of these WF Types may be used to coin new complex words falling within one and the same conceptual category (Agent, in our example), and therefore represent a single **Word-Formation Type Cluster** (WFTC). Any WFTC is – with regard to the particular conceptual category – 100% productive. Therefore, the productivity of the individual WF Types may be computed internally, within the WFTC, as a share of the individual WF Types of the total number of complex words belonging to the given WFTC.

### 2.3.3. Productivity of Morphological Types

Any WF Type may have various *morphological representations* (*wood-cutter* (=N+V+er) – *novelist* (N+ist) – *writer* (V+er) – *cheat* (conversion) – *oarsman* (N+s+man) – *transformational grammarian* (A+N+ian) – *bodyguard* (N+N), etc.). All of these different morphological structures represent various **Morphological Types**. Since they are used to coin new complex words falling within one and the same conceptual category (Agent, in our

example), they represent a single **Morphological Type Cluster (MTC)**. Any MTC is – with regard to the particular conceptual category – 100% productive, and the productivity of the individual Morphological Types may be computed internally, within the particular MTC.

### 2.3.4. Productivity of Word-Formation Rules

Word-Formation Rules are constituted by the unity of WF Types and Morphological Types. Thus, the conceptual category of Agent category may be exemplified, inter alia, by the following WF Rules:

- (21)
- |    |                         |         |                          |
|----|-------------------------|---------|--------------------------|
| a. | Action – Agent          |         |                          |
|    | Verb                    | er      | ( <i>driver</i> )        |
| b. | Instrument – Agent      |         |                          |
|    | Noun                    | (s) man | ( <i>oarsman</i> )       |
| c. | Object – Action – Agent |         |                          |
|    | Noun                    | Verb    | er( <i>wood-cutter</i> ) |

From this it follows that the WFR is constituted by the unity of the onomasiological and onomatological structures.

### 2.3.5. Justification

The reason for preferring this approach to the calculation of Productivity Rate is that

- it makes it possible to examine productivity from different viewpoints reflecting both linguistic and supralinguistic levels;
- it takes into consideration all new words (not just some WF processes like affixation);
- it restricts itself to actual words (i.e. words coined in response to the needs of a particular speech community) in order to avoid the one-sided formalism of the mainstream discussion on word-formation.

From the previous discussion it follows that productivity is conceived as an **implemented capacity reflecting the naming needs of a particular speech community**. As suggested in Štekauer (1998, 2001), what seems to be crucial is that by coining a new word in response to the specific demand of a speech community the particular language manifests its productive capacity to provide a new, well-formed linguistic sign by employing its productive types/rules whenever need arises. By implication, inclusion in the model of the extra-linguistic factor (speech community) makes it possible to eliminate the notion of overgeneration.<sup>6</sup>

This approach is in accordance with Bauer who maintains that “[t]he fact remains ... that the production of new words may be the only evidence the observer has of this potential, and the lack of new words appears to deny the potential” (2001: 21) and that “...words are only formed as and when there is a need for them, and such a need cannot be reduced to formal terms” (2001: 143). In principle, the conception of productivity as implemented capacity corresponds with Bauer’s (2001) notion of ‘profitability’.

Obviously, the proposed model of computing the productivity takes **dictionaries** as its basic source of data. This is not viewed as its drawback. It is believed that the method can be advantageously applied to the determination of productivity in selected lexical fields (sciences, sports, culture, etc.) as captured – generally fairly well – in a number of special-

<sup>6</sup> Which means that ‘our’ word-formation component (unlike, for example Halle’s (1973) and Allen’s (1978) does not ‘generate’ possible, but ‘non-existing’ words, i.e., it does no more than is actually needed by a speech community.

purpose dictionaries. It can also be applied to identify the latest trends in coining new naming units thanks to the dictionaries of neologisms and/or lists of new words as published, for example, in *American Speech*. Since productivity changes are not the matter of weeks, months, nay even one or two years, the time lag of covering these trends by dictionaries does not seem to be a relevant objection against this method. Moreover, it may be proposed that studying the general productivity should be subordinated to the determination of the productivity in the individual spheres of life as captured by special-purpose dictionaries. Namely, it may be postulated that the situation and the trends in coining new words in the fields like, for example, medical research versus fashion pursue different trajectories. From this it follows that any generalizations based on unequal amount, structure, and range of data may be fairly misleading.

The model proposed can be illustrated by the results of a case study focussed on the names of INSTRUMENTS (including tools, devices, machines, equipment, appliances, implements, apparatus, etc.) in the *English-Slovak Technical Dictionary* by A. Caforio (1996) under the arbitrarily selected letter “S”. The analysis of 192 naming units indicates that – out of the five Onomasiological Types – the most productive is Onomasiological Type 3, with over 55% Productivity Rate, followed by Onomasiological Type 1 with 28% PR, Onomasiological Type 2 with 12.5% PR, and conversion (almost 5% PR). From this it follows that there is a very strong tendency to morphematic representation of the Actional semantic component of the onomasiological structure (over 80% of all naming units).

At the level of WF Types, the most productive is the [**Action<sup>Purpose</sup>Instrument**] type with more than 55% PR, followed by [**Object–Action<sup>Purpose</sup>Instrument**] with 15% PR. The limited sample indicates the tendency for Instrumental names to leave the determining constituent of the OM unexpressed, thus producing less specialized terms to the benefit of higher-level generalizations, and – by implication – broader applicability of the instrumental naming units.

At the level of Morphological Types, the [**Action<sup>Purpose</sup>Instrument**] type, for example, is dominated by the [**stem + -er/-or**] MT (e.g. *sensor, slipper, selector*) the productivity of which amounts to almost 72 %. The remainder is represented by the [**stem – stem**] MT with over 25 % productivity (e.g. *suction funnel, search coil, summation instrument*), and **conversion** (e.g. *slide, rule*). Again, important conclusions can also be drawn at this lowest productivity level, i.e., the most frequently employed Morphological Type for Instrumental names is one with the *-er/-or* suffix.

This outline indicates that the proposed model makes it possible to draw relevant conclusions by interrelating all word-formation processes at various levels of generalization, depending on the specific needs of analysis.

### 2.3.6. Word-Formation as Creativity within Productivity Constraints

The terms ‘creativity’ and ‘productivity’ are usually understood as mutually excluding principles in coining new words. While productivity is said to be rule-governed, creativity is conceived of as any deviation from the productive rules. In the present context, creativity is used in a different meaning in which it is complementary with productivity. First, the logical spectrum (conceptual level) does not necessarily lead to one single Onomasiological Structure. For illustration, if we try to form a naming unit for ‘a person who meets space aliens on behalf of the human race’ the logical spectrum may yield various word formation types, such as Theme – Action – Agent, Location/Theme– Action – Agent, Location – Action – Agent, Object/Location – Action – Agent, Object – Action – Agent. Second, these different Word-Formation Types may be assigned various morphological realizations by the MSAP

principle, for example,

- |      |    |  |                                       |
|------|----|--|---------------------------------------|
| (22) | a. | Theme – Action – Agent<br><i>human race representative</i>           | (Onomasiological Type 1)              |
|      |    | <i>homosapience representative</i>                                   | (Onomasiological Type 1)              |
|      | b. | Location/Theme – Action – Agent<br><i>earth-representative</i>       | (Onomasiological Type 1)              |
|      |    | <i>earth ambassador</i>  | (Onomasiological Type 2)              |
|      |    | <i>world ambassador</i>  | (Onomasiological Type 2)              |
|      | c. | Location – Action – Agent<br><i>intergalactic diplomat</i>           | (Onomasiological Type 2)              |
|      |    | <i>interstellar diplomat</i>   | (Onomasiological Type 2)              |
|      | e. | Object/Location – Action – Agent<br><i>extra-terrestrial greeter</i> | (Onomasiological Type 1)              |
|      |    | <i>space alien meeter</i>  | (Onomasiological Type 1)              |
|      |    | <i>outerspace wellcomist</i>   | (Onomasiological Type 1)              |
|      | f. | Object – Action – Agent<br><i>contactee</i>                          | (Onomasiological Type 3)              |
|      |    | <i>greeter</i>   | (Onomasiological Type 3) <sup>7</sup> |

Example (22) thus illustrates what can be labeled as **creativity within productivity constraints**. It illustrates, on the one hand, different onomasiological realizations of a particular logical spectrum, and, on the other hand, different onomatological realizations of various onomasiological structures. It is the interaction between the conceptual, onomasiological, and onomatological levels which – within the limits of productive types and rules and the relevant constraints – provides certain space for a **creative** approach to word-formation (as it follows from several options in our example). This meaning of creativity emerges from a cognitive onomasiological approach. The inclusion of speech community in the model and viewing each new naming unit as a result of a very specific and real act of naming by a coiner makes it possible to reflect in the present model individual preferences, the influence of one's age, education, and profession, as well as one's linguistic family background (in a bilingual setting), fashionable trends, etc., i.e., the sociolinguistic factors which may affect the application of the MSAP in those cases that provide more than one option. Thus, it is in this sense of 'creativity within productivity constraints' that the presented onomasiological approach treats word-formation, and in particular, the relation between productivity and creativity. This brings us to an experimental research aimed at the application of the 'multilevel' computation of productivity and at demonstrating the validity of the concept of word-formation as creativity within productivity constraints. For that purpose, we will present sociolinguistically oriented evidence.

### 3. Sociolinguistic Research into WF Productivity

#### 3.1. General

It is generally accepted that word-formation processes are never totally unrestricted, and even the most productive affixes seem to be subject to certain structural constraints (Plag 1999: 35). In the literature on word-formation, a number of restrictions upon productivity were mentioned. In addition to the 'traditionally' adduced systematic constraints,<sup>8</sup> including

<sup>7</sup> The examples in (22) were proposed by Native speakers.

<sup>8</sup> For a comprehensive review of various restrictions as well as blocking theories see Plag (1999), Bauer



phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and semantic ones, both Bauer (2001) and Plag (1999) list some other, extra-linguistic factors, including

- (a) **Pragmatics** (because of denotation and connotation of some WF patterns they are not in common use, e.g. suffix *-some* in words like *twosome*. In principle, *twenty-five-some* may be possible, but it is not usual because we do not usually operate with groups of 25 people);<sup>9</sup>
- (b) **Aesthetics**, e.g., word-length;
- (c) **‘Accidents of cultural history’**, e.g., a person whose job is to sell things happens not to be called *seller* since *salesman/saleswoman* is the established form. In these cases there is no linguistic reason for the current usage, it just so happens that a particular possible form has not become part of the norm;<sup>10</sup>
- (d) **Failure of hypostatisation**: Coining a new word presupposes that there is an entity to be denoted by the new word. If there is no such entity, there is no need for a word.<sup>11</sup>

It appears, however, that in spite of abundant literature on productivity constraints, there is at least one factor that has been neglected and that deserves attention of morphologists, in particular, the sociolinguistic factor. We believe that productivity of Onomasiological Types, Word-Formation Rules/Types, and Morphological Types is also affected by sociolinguistic factors which may be divided into two groups:

- (i) **Horizontal factors**, including the previous linguistic experience. This factor plays its role in multinational countries, such as the USA, Australia, Great Britain, and in fact, a number of other countries due to the growing migration. There are millions of people whose grandparents, parents, or they themselves were born and have lived in a linguistically different environment. Interestingly, while the factor of linguistic interference has been a topic of many treatises focussed on grammar, pronunciation, etc., the issues of interference in word-formation has not been – to our knowledge – studied yet.
- (ii) **Vertical factors**, including various social strata, education levels, professions, etc. It goes without saying that these factors affect the extent of actively and passively mastered vocabulary of a speaker, and hence influence his/her linguistic behaviour, which cannot – in our view - remain without effects upon the formation of new naming units.

Given these postulates, it may be proposed that any act of word-formation is a kind of intersection of three factors:

- (i) the pressure of the productivity of individual Onomasiological/Word-Formation/Morphological Types and Word-Formation Rules within the respective conceptual-semantic clusters;
- (ii) the extent of experience (including no experience) with a native language other than English;

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(2001), and Rainer (2005).

<sup>9</sup> For a review of pragmatic factors (fashionability, demand, attitudinal function, hypostatization, nameability) see Plag (1999).

<sup>10</sup> This is not to say that constraints on productivity of any type are absolute. In the case of ‘accidents of cultural history’, for example, the blocking principle can be ‘overpowered’ by a particular Word-Formation Type gaining in productivity (for any reasons, including, inter alia, those concerning voguish use).

<sup>11</sup> That the situation can change can be illustrated by *\*loather*. Bolinger (1975: 109) notes that this word is not an actual word of English not because it cannot be formed, but because “we have no use for it. What retinue of people would it designate?”. Bolinger’s view is also referred to by L. Bauer (2001: 43). However, Ingo Plag, (personal communication) drew our attention to “numerous nice attestations of this word on the internet (two even in dictionaries).”

(iii) vertical sociolinguistic factors.

As it follows from experimental data, the latter two factors have their say at the onomasiological and the onomatological levels of the word-formation model (Figure 1), that is, at the level of conceptually identified logical-semantic structure establishing the basis for the act of naming, and at the level of its linguistic expression (assignment of WF bases and affixes to semes). It is these two levels that provide – as we believe – sufficient space for the operation of extralinguistic factors. In other words, it is at these levels that one’s naming preferences may be implemented as the above-mentioned sociolinguistic factors may affect a coiner’s selection (influenced by his/her former mother language word-formation patterns, education, extent of his active vocabulary, the register used in his/her social stratum and occupation, etc.) of one or the other affixation type, a verbal compound type, a non-verbal (primary) compound type, a conversion, blending (to use traditional terminology), etc.

## **3.2. Experimental Research**

### **3.2.1. General**

Our experimental research was aimed at identifying the validity of our hypothesis concerning the influence of sociolinguistic factors upon the productivity in word-formation, in particular, the role played by linguistic background, education, and profession.

For the sake of our experiment, a questionnaire was developed (see Appendix 1). The basic task of the informants was to give names to ‘objects’ for which there did not exist any corresponding names in English at the time of our experiment. To avoid inconsistency, all the objects to be named were conceived of as Agents. Our decision to concentrate on Agents was motivated by a relatively large number of different rules that make it possible to coin Agent names.

To avoid any distortion of results due to one-sided/inappropriate formulation of the experimental task, we decided to provide our informants with a questionnaire consisting of two basic parts, with the first part including three differently formulated naming tasks. The first was a selection task. Each object to be named was briefly characterized, e.g., ‘a person who frequently interrupts other people when they are talking’. The characterization of the object of naming was followed by a set of options. In this particular case, they included *interrupter*, *interruptist*, *butt-in*, *butter-inner*, *cutter-in*, *cutman*, *interposer*, and a few others. In addition, the final option in each set was a blank line which could be filled in if an informant did not find any of the options offered to be a suitable way of naming the object.

Task 2 differed from Task 1 in not containing any options. The informants had to propose their own naming units based on a brief specification of the object to be named, for instance, ‘Suppose that space aliens were about to land on Earth for the first time. What would you call a person who was supposed to meet them as a representative of the human race?’

Task 3 replaced wording by a drawing of a situation in which an object performs some unusual activity, for example:

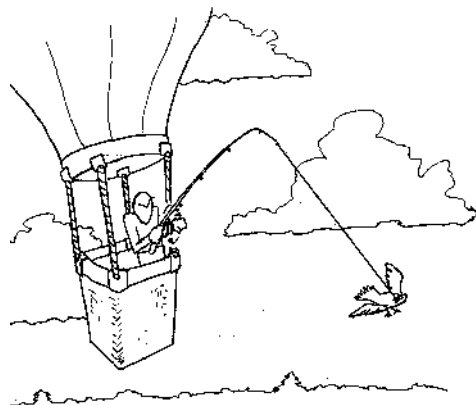


Figure 2

Part 2 was of a different nature. The purpose was to identify any possible differences in linguistic (naming) behaviour of various groups of language users with respect to unproductively coined naming units, i.e., naming units which were formed in defiance of relevant productivity constraints. For this purpose, five naming units were formed: *engroupment*, *thinnen*, *swimmee*, *sleepable*, and *satisfactority*. These naming units violate different productivity constraints.

The views of the suffix *-ment*, by means of which *engroupment* was formed, differ. While Bauer (1983: 49) maintains that this suffix does not seem to be productive any more, others like Plag (1999: 72-75) and Adams (2001: 28) demonstrate that *-ment* is low productive. It follows from Plag's analysis that the best candidates for *-ment* derivation are verbs ending in the suffix *-en*, having a disyllabic bases with stress on the second syllable, and with a prefix like *be-*, *en-*. As Plag notes, "[t]he preference for prefixed stems is especially obvious with stems containing the prefixes *eN-* and *be-*, which seem to take *-ment* obligatorily" (1999: 73). Thus, *engroupment* is possible as it meets the specified restrictions. On the other hand, the specific WF pattern is low productive. In addition, *engroupment* violates the 'Avoid Synonymy Principle' (Kiparsky 1982) because its place in the system has already been filled in with *group* and *grouping*.

For *thinnen* the constraint is different: the inchoative suffix *-en* only attaches to monosyllabic stems if and only if they end in an obstruent, optionally preceded by a sonorant (Halle 1973). Furthermore, the suffix *-en* does not seem to be productive any more (Lieber 2004: 76).

The selection of *swimmee* based on the  $[V+ -ee]_N$  pattern requires a more detailed explanation. As suggested by Barker (1998: 708), the suffix *-ee* can be viewed as a counterpart of *-er*, and "it is possible to entertain the hypothesis that the conditions for use of *-ee* are defined negatively, in contrast to those for *-er*: *-er* picks out subject participants, and *-ee* covers everything else." As he, however, notes this hypothesis faces the problem of the existence of a considerable number of *-ee* nouns referring to subject participants. This is confirmed by Lieber (2004, 2005), who points out that while *-er* nouns "most often form personal agent nouns, and *-ee* most often forms patient/theme nouns, not infrequently we find precisely the opposite situation, where *-er* and its cohort form patient nouns and *-ee* agent or at least subject-oriented nouns" (2005: 404).

Moreover there are instances of both *-ee* and *-er* attached to the same WF base having synonymous meaning (*escapree/escaper*, *absentee/absenter*, *arrivee/arriver*, etc.) (Barker 1998: 709). Based on the analysis of a large corpus, Barker arrives at a conclusion that there are at least three types of *-ee* derivations that are productive: direct object, indirect object, and subject. Our *swimmee* is the subject type. This possible naming unit safely meets two of three

of Barker's (1998) semantic conditions imposed on productive *-ee* derivation. First, it meets the condition of sentience<sup>12</sup> of the referent referred to by *swim mee*. Second, it meets the semantic constraint of 'episodic linking', according to which "the referent of a noun phrase headed by an *-ee* noun must have participated in an event of the type corresponding to the stem verb" (1998: 711). In this particular case, *swim mee* participates in a swimming event. Problematic is the third semantic constraint, defined as "a lack of volitional control on the part of its referent either over the occurrence or the duration of the qualifying event itself or (given a punctual qualifying event) over its immediate direct consequences" (1998: 717). Being a subject type *swim mee* refers to Agent, but the category of Agency implies volition. Thus, for a *swim mee* to preserve the 'lack-of-volition' constraint it would have to mean the action into which a swimming person is forced somehow – in contrast to *swimmer*, who, in principle, does his/her activity voluntarily, fully based on his will.<sup>13</sup>

It follows from the above discussion that *swim mee* is a possible naming unit that can be produced by a productive WF rule. What made us include this word in the 'unproductivity' test is the much more productive competitor, the *-er*-based pattern that underlies the existing and well-established Agent noun *swimmer*. Thus, while the *-ee* Agent noun is possible (other meanings of *-ee* nouns, such as Patient or Theme can hardly be expected as was also manifested by our subsequent experimental research) it is blocked on a general Agentive level by a much more productive WF rule that has already produced a firmly established (institutionalized) naming unit *swimmer*. On a fine-grained semantic level, the blocking is eliminated by the 'volition – lack of volition' opposition. The question behind the inclusion in the experimental 'unproductivity' research of *swimmer* was whether the informants (native speakers) will perceive this kind of semantic distinction.

As it will follow from the results of our experiment, while almost each of our native speaker informants was able to propose a sentence in which they used *swim mee*, the vast majority of them find *swim mee* to be 'extremely unlikely' or 'somewhat unlikely' just because the uses proposed were in the absolute majority of cases connected with the Agent-based interpretation that did not distinguish the 'volitional' constraint. In fact, **none** of our native speaker informants referred to the volitional aspect of the swimming action. As such the meaning of *swim mee* was to the vast majority of the informants blocked by *swimmer*.<sup>14</sup>

The suffix *-able*, which occurs in our naming unit *sleepable*, does not meet the traditionally adduced restrictions, summarised in Anderson (1992: 186):

- (23) WFR:  $[X]_V \rightarrow [X\text{ə}bl]_{Adj}$   
 Condition:  $[X]_V$  is transitive (i.e., [+NP])  
 Syntax: 'Object' argument of  $[X]_V$  corresponds to 'Subject' of  $[X\text{ə}bl]_{Adj}$   
 Semantics: '(VERB)' → 'capable of being VERBed'

*Sleepable* is intransitive and there is hardly any acceptable reading that would meet the syntactic condition. From the semantic point of view, it rather features a 'property meaning', to use Plag's (2004) term. Importantly, as noted by Plag (ibid), "the forms exhibiting the property meaning are in a clear minority. In fact, this pattern has ceased to be productive as

<sup>12</sup> Which means reference to an Animate entity.

<sup>13</sup> Even this is not quite so: a professional *swimmer* training is a hard drill under the control of a coach, and not always in accordance with the will of the *swimmer*.

<sup>14</sup> Instead of the volition-related constraint, proposed by Barker, some of the informants distinguished between *swim mee* and *swimmer* in terms of 'swimming skill', mostly in favour of *swimmer*. The unequal skill, ability, and capacity *per se* (in any activity) do not, however, seem to be a sufficient justification for a productive WF process. This would lead to an extremely high number of naming units and a considerable overload of a language user's memory.

early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century...” All these facts imply that *sleepable* is a good candidate for our unproductivity test.

Finally, *satisfactority* violates the constraint according to which *-ity* is only productive (is potentiated – Williams 1981) in combination with the productive *-able* function, which maps transitive verbs to adjectives. By implication, the domain of the *-ity* function  $f_{ity}$  is the function  $f_{able}$ , and its range is the composed function  $f_{ability}$  (Raffelsiefen 1992).

This task was thus aimed at recognizing the ‘sensitivity’ of different groups of speakers to productivity constraints and the ‘inappropriately’ coined words. The informants were given a five-degree scale, including the options of ‘extremely unlikely’, ‘somewhat unlikely’, ‘likely’, ‘very likely’, and ‘extremely likely’. In addition, they were asked to give an example of a sentence, including an ‘unproductively’ coined word.

The questionnaires were collected (and the informants were approached) in various ways, in particular through personal contacts, through our students and friends in English-speaking countries, through the Internet *LinguistList* service, and finally, through a special-purpose www.page. It follows that it was fairly difficult to meet the initial goal of having the individual subgroups per profession, occupation, and different linguistic background evenly distributed. In any case, we believe that the extent of the sample made it possible to accomplish the basic objectives of our experimental research and to draw relevant conclusions. The sample of informants was divided into two groups, the native speakers whose parents were born in an English-speaking country (language proficiency A in the questionnaire), i.e., those who were not influenced at home by immediate contact with a different language; and native speakers whose parents were not born in an English-speaking country plus non-native speakers living in an English-speaking country (language proficiency B and less in the questionnaire), i.e., those whose English competence had to cope with the influence of another language. The former group (speakers unconnected with another native language) has been subdivided accordingly into various subgroups by occupation (students, educators, ‘other’ professions), and by education (high school, college, graduate). The latter group (speakers connected with another language) has been divided into groups based on the morphology of noun, namely, synthetic/agglutinative, synthetic/fusional, analytic/isolating, and polysynthetic. Due to very low numbers of informants (three), the polysynthetic group was not taken into consideration.

### 3.2.2. General Analysis

#### 3.2.2.1. Native Speakers

The experiment encompassed 145 native speakers from various English-speaking countries, mostly from the USA. The total number of ‘responses’ amounts to 4 tasks times 5 subtasks per each, which gives 20 responses per informant, which, ideally, adds up to 2,900 ‘responses’ in total. However, the actual number of responses is smaller (1,531) for two major reasons:

1. Not all of the informants completed all sub-tasks.
2. Some informants did not specify all relevant data within the demographic information section of the questionnaire, and therefore their replies could not be taken into account in all parts of our analysis;

The number of 1531 responses was further reduced down to 1300 relevant responses that became an object of our analysis. The difference of 231 responses that were eventually

eliminated from consideration follows from the fact that our research was focused on the productivity in word-formation, and therefore all those naming units proposed by the informants which resulted from sources other than productive word-formation were eliminated from the scope of analysis:

- They were mostly proposals based on **semantic shift** of an already existing word – in which case no new naming unit comes into existence.
- In addition, only those naming units were taken into account that indicated the meaning specified by the descriptive wording or drawing. Therefore, we disregarded proposals like *ambassador*, *welcomer*, *ET*, and *President of the USA* for ‘a person meeting space visitors’; *risk-taker*, *show-off*, *crazy*, *mad*, *retard*, *daredevil*, *weirdie* for ‘a person riding on car-body top’; *comedian*, *platinum record*, *idiot*, *cruel*, and *joker* for ‘a person frequently joking about blondes’, *weird*, to denote ‘a person who dials a telephone number with a feather’, *zoologist* for ‘someone who does research about spider webs’; *perfectionist*, *fussy*, *meticulous gardener*, *biologist*, and *frowny face* for ‘a person cutting grass with a knife’; *show-off*, *Michael Jordan* and *monkey* for ‘a basketball player who always hangs onto the rim after a slam-dunk’, *macho* and *acrobat* for ‘a person lifting weights on a crane’; *time-killer* for ‘a person tying shoelaces to customers’, etc. They are either ‘mere’ extensions of the original meanings, or are too general to say anything relevant about the actual mission/activity of the individual objects to be named.
- We also eliminated those naming units that do not correspond with the productive WF types in English or are ungrammatical in any other way, for example, *arachologue*, *slam duckle*, *pedlacier*, *person flying over car*, *believer in miracles*, *researcher on spider webs*, etc.
- Finally, the following analysis does not take into consideration the names of Patients<sup>15</sup> that also occurred in the experiment. This leaves us with 1,300 responses.

Importantly, since the focus of our research is on WF productivity rather than on individual naming units the following analysis concentrates on types and rules. Brief comments on some interesting cases of individual naming units are given in 3.2.6.

### 3.2.2.2. Productivity of Onomasiological Types

As already suggested above, there are two contradictory tendencies in language, the tendency to the **economy of expression** and the **tendency to the explicitness of expression** (clarity of communication). If we analyse the results in view of scale (i) specified in Section 2.2.4.1, that is to say, in view of the complexity of onomasiological structure, we find out that the total number of responses for the onomasiologically ‘explicit’ types 1, 2 and 3 is 1,272 and that for the ‘non-explicit’ type 5 is 28 (Table 1). No naming units were based on Type 4. From the point of view of scale (ii), in particular, the explicitness of the onomatological level, it may be concluded that the number of explicit types (Type 1) roughly corresponds with the number of ‘economic’ types (51.54% : 48.46%).

Moreover, the central role is played by those Onomasiological Types (Types 1 and 2) whose determined constituent (i.e., the Action-representing constituent) is explicitly represented by a morpheme. In total, they represent 75% of all naming units. This result is not surprising because it is this constituent that is vital to the understanding of new naming units. The Actional constituent namely relates the onomasiological base with the determining constituent of the mark in Onomasiological Type 1 thus significantly contributing to the interpretability of such naming units. Also in type 2, the determined constituent clearly indicates the ‘Action’ of the Agent represented by the onomasiological base. Thus, for example, the determined

<sup>15</sup> Patient is here defined as ‘Bearer of State’. Examples from our experiment include *car-topped guy*, *obsessionist*, *clone*, etc.

constituent of the mark (*surf*) in *roof-surfer* clearly and unambiguously identifies the relation between the polar members of the onomasiological structure, i.e., *roof* and *-er*, and makes the interpretation of this naming unit easy. On the other hand, a naming unit falling within the scope of type 3, i.e., *roofer*, makes the process of meaning interpretation pretty demanding just because there is no Actional constituent that would appropriately identify the relation between the polar members of the onomasiological structure represented by the morphemes *roof* and *-er*. As a result, the number of possible interpretations of *roofer* is considerably high.<sup>16</sup>

The Onomasiological Type 2 variant of the same ‘object’, i.e., *surfer* is more valuable in terms of meaning predictability than the type 3 variant because it identifies the actual Action of the Agent.

There is no Agentive naming unit of Type 4. In general, however, this Onomasiological Type is highly valuable in terms of easy interpretation because the direct connection between the unstructured mark and the base at the onomasiological level gives no chances for multiple interpretations. This can be exemplified by a Patient name that occurred in our research, *sub-clone*, where the mark *sub-* directly specifies the Quality of Patient *clone*.

Given our results, however, type 4 does not seem to be a productive type for Agent names for the simple reason that it usually specifies the Quality rather the Action performed by Agent.

	No. of responses	PR (%)
OT1	670	51.54
OT2	299	23.00
OT3	303	23.31
OT4	0	0.00
OT5	28	2.15
Total	1300	

Table 1: Predictability Rate of Onomasiological Types (native speakers)

### 3.2.2.3. Productivity of Word-Formation Types

Since the experiment examined the naming preferences of English speakers in the field Agents (1300 responses), i.e., persons performing some Action, the dominant position of WFTs [**Object–Action–Agent**], [**Action–Agent**] and [**Theme–Action–Agent**] is not surprising: since Agents are human beings performing some Action, the presence of the determined constituent of the onomasiological mark (which, as we already know, stands for Action in general) is expected.

The most productive types in our research indicate two basic tendencies in the naming ‘behaviour’ of native language users. First, they select a more general naming unit because they either wish to increase its extension, for example, to avoid the exclusion of some unpredictable special-purpose cases, or, because the scope of Agent’s Action is vaguely defined. In our experiment, one such reason which contributes to the productivity of the [**Action–Agent**] WFT to the detriment of a more explicit type was the fact that some of our informants were not quite sure about the specific nature of the broadly conceived activity to be named – for example, the ‘grass-cutting’ and the ‘shoe-lacing’ drawings (cf. Appendix 1).

Second, in the majority of cases, there is an effort of native language users to be more specific

<sup>16</sup> For a theory of meaning predictability of naming units coming into existence by word-formation processes see Štekauer (2005a).

(circumstances-permitting) and express those categories which are inherently related to Action, such as Object of Action, Instrument of Action, Theme of Action, Location of Action, Time of Action, etc. Consequently, there is no wonder that the **[Object–Action–Agent]** WFT is the most productive in our sample, with 416 responses, yielding the Productivity Rate of 32.0%. The PR of the **[Theme–Action–Agent]** WFT is 17.3%, **[Instrument–Action–Agent]** 10.4%, and **[Location–Action–Agent]** 9.1%. The PR of the above commented, more general WFT **[Action–Agent]** is 23.4%. These five WFTs represent about 92% of all Agentive naming units in the native-speaker group of informants, which clearly indicates their high productivity, on the one hand, and a minor role played by the remaining WFTs.

	PR (%)
Object–Action–Agent	32.00
Action–Agent	23.38
Theme–Action–Agent	17.31
Instrument–Action–Agent	10.38
Location–Action–Agent	9.08

Table 2: Predictability Rate of Word-Formation Types (native speakers)

#### 3.2.2.4. Productivity of Morphological Types<sup>1</sup>

The number of options for Morphological Types is not large as it is limited by the combinability of stems and affixes, subdivided (in English) into prefixes and suffixes. Since Agentive functions are primarily expressed by suffixes in English, those Morphological Types are more productive which combine stems (S) with suffixes.<sup>2</sup> While the most productive Morphological Type **[S+S+suffix]** (PR=47%) corresponds with the expectations stipulated in 3.2.2.1.2 above, i.e., that a more explicit structure is preferred, the distribution of MTs in terms of implicit and explicit structures is roughly balanced, with the two most productive MTs being two-constituent structures **[S+suffix]** (37%) and **[S+S]** (11%), respectively. On the other hand, the MTs with a suffix in the role of onomasiological base clearly prevail with 85% PR.

	(PR%)
S + S + suffix	46.67
S + suffix	37.41
S + S	11.29

Table 3: Predictability Rate of Morphological Types (native speakers)

#### 3.2.2.5. Productivity of Word-Formation Rules

Word-Formation Rules result from the operation of the Morpheme-to-Seme-Assignment Principle, which means that they reflect the interrelation between the onomasiological and the onomatological levels. As such, they should reflect the basic tendencies in the domain of

<sup>1</sup> The cases of OT5 are not included for obvious reasons. Thus, the number of responses taken into consideration for Agents is 1 275, those for Patients is 165.

<sup>2</sup> The naming units with *man* in the position of onomasiological base are classified as stem-based units in spite of the fact that a number of authors treat this element as semiaffix.



Word-Formation Types (onomasiological level) and Morphological Types (onomatological level). Therefore, since the most productive WFT is [**Object–Action–Agent**], since the most productive MT is [**S+S+suffix**], since Objects of Action are usually expressed by nouns, and, finally, since it is generally known that the *-er* suffix is the most productive Agentive suffix in English (much more productive than its competitors, like *-ist*, *-ant*, *-ee*, *-ian*) one may expect the dominating position of the following WFR

- (24)      Object–Action–Agent  
           N        V        -er

And actually, the results bear out this postulate, as it follows from Table 4. The prominent position of the ‘-er-for-Agent’ structures is strengthened by the fact that the four most productive WFRs are of this sort, with their share of the total number of Agentive WFRs exceeding 50%. In addition, it can be concluded from Table 4 that WFRs with stems in the function of an onomasiological base are far from being high-productive in English.

	PR (%)
Object–Action–Agent (N V -er)	20.92
Action–Agent (V -er)	17.85
Theme–Action–Agent (N V -er)	10.62
Location–Action–Agent (N V -er)	7.08
Object–Action–Agent (N 0 -ist)	4.38
Instrument–Action–Agent (N 0 -ist)	4.23
Action–Agent (V N)	2.69
Instrument–Action–Agent (N V -er)	2.23

Table 4: Productivity Rate of Word-Formation Rules (native speakers) – Agents

### 3.2.3. Influence of Occupation

#### 3.2.3.1. Analysis of the Experimental Data

Taking the general picture, discussed in Section 3.2.2, as a reference point, we can proceed to the comparison of the data obtained for the individual groups of informants, based on their occupation. The available sample of informants necessitated their division into three groups, in particular, students, teachers, and ‘other’ professions. The sample included 60 students, 35 educators, and 50 ‘other’ professions who produced 1531 (1300 for Agents and 231 for Patients) responses in total. The latter group of occupations was originally subdivided into those of civil servants, natural scientists and engineers, managers, manual workers, and medical doctors, but the data of all these sub-groups had to be cumulated into one because of insufficient number of questionnaires per subgroups. As a result, we obtained three basic occupational groups of comparable sample size.

##### 3.2.3.1.1. Onomasiological Types

The data offered in Table 5 indicate that there are differences between the groups of students and teachers on one hand, and the ‘other’ professions, on the other. They mainly concern Onomasiological Type 1 where the respective Productivity Rates are 53.86% and 57.30%, for the first two informant groups, and much lower in the ‘other’ group (43.25%). This is, naturally, projected onto the situation in Onomasiological Types 2 and 3 where the PRs in the ‘other’ professions are the highest of all. Since the main difference seems to be between those who are in education professions and those who are not, the students and educators have been

grouped together in the statistical tests. (OT4 has been left out of the chi-square test because it was zero for all groups.)

The tendency emerging from the data outlined is that while the language speakers belonging in the education-oriented professions, including education-related major activity (study), tend to form more comprehensive naming units, aimed at maximum explicitness and accuracy of ‘labeling’ the objects of naming, the speakers belonging in the ‘other’ professions prefer morphematically reduced ways of expression (economy of expression) (Type 2), and/or vaguer naming units with broader extension, the meaning of which is more difficult to predict (Type 3). Thus, in this particular case, we witness a different treatment by the representatives of different groups of professions of the above-indicated conflict between the explicitness of expression and the economy of expression.

	Education Professions	Non-education Professions
No. of responses	900	400
OT1	497 (55.2%)	173 (43.3%)
OT2	193 (21.4%)	106 (26.5%)
OT3	193 (21.4%)	110 (27.5%)
OT4	0	0 (0%)
OT5	17 (1.9%)	11 (2.8%)

Chi-square = 16.089 p = .001 df = 3

Table 5: PR (%) of Onomasiological Types by occupation (native speakers)

### 3.2.3.1.2. Word-Formation Types

The five most productive WFTs follow the tendencies from the general discussion of Onomasiological Types. Also here, the PR values of more explicit Word-Formation Types in the education-oriented groups are higher than those in the non-education group, even if the differences are not significant by a chi-square test, and are distributed among the individual WFTs to give the indicated cumulative effect – the PRs of three-constituent WFTs are generally higher in the education-oriented occupations than in the third group of informants. The tendency observed for Onomasiological Types gets the most persuasive support from the **[Action-Agent]** type whose PR in the ‘non-education group’ (25.75%) clearly outscores those for the other two groups (22.61% and 21.35%, respectively).

The largest number of different WFTs has been found in the group of students (16). The other two groups proposed naming units belonging in 14 different WFTs. This high number of different WFTs used and the differences between the individual occupational groups provide unequivocal evidence of the validity of the concept of word-formation as ‘creativity within productivity constraints’.

	Education Professions	Non-education professions
Object–Action–Agent	283 (34.4%)	130 (32.5%)
Action–Agent	199 (24.2%)	103 (25.8%)
Theme–Action–Agent	158 (19.2%)	67 (16.8%)
Instrument–Action–Agent	97 (11.8%)	38 (9.5%)
Location–Action–Agent	86 (10.5%)	32 (8.0%)

chi-square = 2.907 p = 0.5735 df = 4

Table 6: PR (%) of the top five Word-Formation Types by occupations (native speakers)

### 3.2.3.1.3. Morphological Types

The explicitness-economy conflict and its occupation-based solution at the level of Onomasiological Types is unambiguously acknowledged at the level of Morphological Types by similar PR differences: while a three-constituent structure [**S+S+suffix**], in which all three constituents of the onomasiological structure are morphematically expressed, dominates the education-related groups (47.47% and 50.57%, respectively, versus 41.09% for the ‘other’ group), the highest PR in the ‘other’ professions is achieved by the [**S+suffix**] structure (42.12% versus 36.59% for students and 33.71% for educators), and the PR of another relatively productive two-constituent structure, [**S+S**], is also higher in this group of informants (13.18% versus 11.07% for students and 10.29% for educators).

	Education professions	Non-education professions
S + S + suffix	438 (51.3%)	164 (41.1%)
S + suffix	319 (37.4%)	168 (42.1%)
S + S	97 (11.4%)	53 (13.2%)
Other	46 (5.1%)	15 (3.6%)

chi-square = 9.252 p = 0.0261 df = 3

Table 7: PR (%) of the most productive Morphological Types by occupations (native speakers)

### 3.2.3.1.4. Word-Formation Rules

The above-mentioned results are weakly supported by the data of the domain of Word-Formation Rules. In principle, they detail the general results obtained for Onomasiological Types, and therefore the results cannot differ significantly. By implication, the most productive WFR for education-related professions in the field examined is (25):

(25)      Object–Action–Agent  
          N        V        -er

i.e. an explicit, three constituent structure both at the onomasiological and the onomatological levels. For non–education professions, this WFR is surpassed by a two constituent WFR

(26)      Action–Agent  
          V        -er

by one response. In the education fields, a slightly higher percentage of the WFRs are based on Onomasiological Type 1, while the WFRs without morphematic expression of the determining constituent of onomasiological structure play a more important role among the ‘other’ professions.

	Education	Other
	Professions	professions
Object–Action–Agent (N V –er)	198 (37.5%)	74 (18.5%)
Action–Agent (V –er)	157 (29.7%)	75 (18.8%)
Theme–Action–Agent (N V –er)	106 (20.1%)	36 (9.0%)
Location–Action–Agent (N V –er)	67 (12.7%)	25 (6.25%)

Chi-square = 2.663 p = .4465 df = 3

Table 8 PR (%) of the most productive Word-Formation Rules by occupations (native speakers)

### 3.2.3.2. Summary

In summarizing the observations based on the experimental data, the following may be concluded: There is an obvious tendency indicating different strategies in the naming acts in two different groups of language users. While the education-process-related English language users incline to those Onomasiological, Word-Formation, and Morphological Types and Word-Formation Rules that are more explicit, thus capturing the objects to be named in a more comprehensive way, the ‘other’ professions prefer brevity of expression, i.e., they favour economy of expression, simpler, more general, and therefore, less definite naming units. The first tendency is interpretation-friendly, because the meaning of a more explicit naming structure is more easily interpretable and predictable. The latter tendency favours the opposite universal feature of language, i.e., the effort for the maximum possible economy of speech to the detriment of clarity of expression.

### 3.2.3.3. Perception of ‘Unproductivity’

The data indicate that the perception of ‘unproductivity’ among native speakers in general is fairly strong. While almost all informants gave relevant examples of use of unproductive coinages in sentences they prevalingly reject these words as extremely unlikely. In particular, out of 708 responses, 397 (56.1%) fall within the ‘extremely unlikely’ class of answers, and 176 responses (24.9%) in the class of ‘somewhat unlikely’. Thus, the sample words are considered to be unlikely to over 80%. Yet, there are some differences among the individual naming units, with the greatest number of ‘likely-oriented’ responses being for *sleepable* – the only naming unit in this sample, for which there is more ‘somewhat unlikely’ votes than ‘extremely unlikely’ ones. In addition, the number of ‘likelys’ is fairly high. The great majority of the ‘likelys’ are connected with the meaning of ‘apt for sleeping’, mostly with the Location argument, in some cases also with the Temporal argument, for instance, ‘That bed looks very sleepable’, ‘This noise maked the room far from sleepable’, ‘The bears about to go to hibernation could be considered in a sleepable state’, etc.

The data indicate that the constraint, in particular, the subcategorization restriction permitting the suffix *-able* to combine with transitive verbs only, does not seem to be so strongly anchored in the minds of language users as the other restrictions covered in our experiment.

The differences among the individual occupation groups in terms of their respective perception of such naming units are not significant, with the exception of *sleepable*, in which case the ‘extremely unlikely’ votes are distributed with steps by about 10 per cent: 18.3% for students, 28.6% for educators, and 39.6% for other professions. With this naming unit, the percentage of ‘likely’ responses among the students is extraordinarily high – as much as 28.3%.

In general, the number of ‘very likely’ and especially ‘extremely likely’ responses approaches zero in the majority of cases, with the exceptions apparently being related to individual, idiosyncratic, usually stylistically motivated evaluation of a particular sample naming unit (as suggested by three of the informants who avoided classifying *swimmee* and *sleepable* as ‘extremely unlikely’ but emphasized that they could imagine the use of such words in ‘jocular’ context only).

The dominating prevalence of the ‘extremely unlikely’ and ‘somewhat unlikely’ responses suggests that the informants, irrespective of their occupation, have a strong awareness of ‘grammaticality’, hence of the relevant productivity constraints. On the other hand, the existence of a relatively high number of the ‘likely’ responses acknowledges their feeling for a creative approach to their language. This mainly applies to the group of students who most readily accept unconventional naming units and break the existing rules. This does not seem to be a surprise, and might be accounted for psychologically by the dynamism of the young generation compared to the more conservative generation of their parents.

Legend: EU – extremely unlikely  
SU – somewhat unlikely  
L – likely  
VL – very likely  
EL – extremely likely

	Students	Educators	Other professions
<i>Engroupment</i>			
EU	31 (52.5%)	18 (52.9%)	33 (67.3%)
SU	19 (32.3%)	13 (38.2%)	11 (22.4%)
L	8 (13.6%)	1 (2.9%)	5 (10.2%)
VL	1 (1.7%)	1 (2.9%)	0 (0%)
EL	0 (0%)	1 (2.9%)	0 (0%)

Chi-square = 3.910 p = 0.4183 df = 4 (L, VL, and EL were combined)

<i>Thinnen</i>			
EU	30 (50.8%)	26 (76.5%)	35 (72.9%)
SU	20 (33.9%)	5 (14.7%)	5 (10.4%)
L	8 (13.6%)	1 (2.9%)	4 (8.3%)
VL	1 (1.7%)	2 (5.9%)	3 (6.3%)
EL	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.1%)

Chi-square = 11.699 p = 0.0197 df = 4 (L, VL, and EL were combined)

<i>Swimmee</i>			
EU	32 (53.3%)	24 (70.6%)	35 (74.5%)
SU	18 (30.0%)	7 (20.6%)	6 (12.8%)
L	9 (15.0%)	2 (5.9%)	4 (8.5%)
VL	1 (1.7%)	1 (2.9%)	2 (4.3%)
EL	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Chi-square = 7.192 p = 0.1260 df = 4 (L, VL, and EL were combined)

<i>Sleepable</i>			
EU	11 (18.3%)	10 (28.6%)	19 (39.6%)
SU	17 (28.3%)	18 (51.4%)	13 (27.1%)
L	17 (28.3%)	5 (14.3%)	14 (29.2%)

VL	12 (20.0%)	2 (5.7%)	2 (4.2%)
EL	3 (5.0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Chi-square = 15.608 p = 0.0035 df = 4 (L, VL, and EL were combined)  
 Chi-square = 21.629 p = 0.0014 df = 6 (VL and EL were combined)

### *Satisfactority*

EU	35 (58.3%)	26 (78.8%)	32 (66.7%)
SU	11 (18.3%)	4 (12.1%)	9 (18.8%)
L	8 (13.3%)	2 (6.1%)	3 (6.3%)
VL	4 (6.7%)	1 (3.0%)	3 (6.3%)
EL	2 (3.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.1%)

Chi-square = 4.758 p = 0.3130 df = 4 (L, VL, and EL were combined)

Table 9: Perception of ‘unproductivity’ by native speakers<sup>1</sup>

### 3.2.4. Influence of Education

In reference to various incorrect interpretations of compounds, such as *house-bird glass*, Gleitman/Gleitman (1970) relate their misinterpretation to the educational level of language users. Their informants fell within three different educational groups: (a) graduate students and PhD’s in various fields; (b) undergraduates and college graduates; and (c) secretaries with high school degrees. In many cases, their informants from the group of secretaries proposed various ‘unacceptable’ readings which corresponded to the compound *glass house-bird*, *glass bird-house*, or a paraphrase like *a house-bird made of glass* (in contrast to PhD informants who avoided such errors). The analysis of their research results made Gleitman & Gleitman conclude that there were “very large and consistent differences among these subjects of differing educational background” (1970: 117) and that “[t]he less educated groups make more errors, and to a significant extent make different errors than the most-educated group” (ibid. 128). While the research of the Gleitmans concerns the predictability of meaning, i.e., the interpreter’s pole rather than the coiner’s pole, it indicates that the level of education may play a role in word-formation, in general, and in the productivity of word-formation, in particular. No wonder, productivity of Word-Formation Rules appears to be one of the factors influencing the predictability of novel complex words (cf. Štekauer 2005).

In analyzing the questionnaires, our native speaker informants was divided into three groups, including those with high school, college, and graduate education. The total number of responses taken into consideration in evaluating the research data was 1,276 for the category ‘Agents’ nouns.

#### 3.2.4.1. Analysis of the Experimental Data

##### 3.2.4.1.1. Onomasiological Types

The data for the Onomasiological Type 1 show a rising curve in the direction towards higher education level, though a chi-square test cannot establish significance. The Onomasiological Type 1 PR of the graduate group is noticeably higher than that of the high-school informants. This is compensated for by the higher PRs of the high-school and college informants for the other three Onomasiological Types. The highest PR in the Onomasiological Type 3 (one without the morphematic expression of the Actional constituent) is attributable to the informants with the lowest education-level, with the PR curve falling down towards the

<sup>1</sup> Note: Not all informants provided answers to all individual tasks. Hence the numbers may differ.

higher-educated speakers. The data indicate the preference of higher educated people for explicit way of expression, and the preference for more general way of expression in the lower educated language users.

	High school	College	Graduate
No. of responses	245	715	316
OT1	119 (48.6%)	358 (50.1)	176 (55.7%)
OT2	57 (23.3%)	171 (23.9)	69 (21.8%)
OT3	63 (25.7%)	169 (23.6)	68 (21.5%)
OT4	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
OT5	6 (2.5%)	17 (2.37%)	3 (1.0%)

Chi-square = 5.655 p = 0.4629 df = 6 (OT4 was excluded from calculations)

Table 10: PR (%) of Onomasiological Types by education (native speakers)

### 3.2.4.1.2. Word-Formation Types

Given the previous data, the downward-leading PR curve in the direction towards higher education for the [**Action-Agent**] WFT was expected. As with the majority of other tables, the ranking of the individual WFTs is the same for all three groups of informants.

	High school	College	Graduate
No. of responses	245	715	316
Object–Action–Agent	77 (31.5%)	212 (29.7%)	102 (32.3%)
Action–Agent	70 (28.5%)	188 (26.3%)	71 (22.4%)
Theme–Action–Agent	47 (19.2%)	125 (17.6%)	49 (15.4%)
Instrument–Action–Agent	24 (9.6%)	75 (10.5%)	33 (10.6%)
Location–Action–Agent	16 (6.5%)	44 (8.1%)	33 (10.6%)
Other	11 (4.6%)	57 (7.9%)	28 (8.8%)
Chi-square = 13.378 p = 0.2032 df = 10			

Table 11: PR (%) of top 5 Word-Formation Types by education (native speakers)

### 3.2.4.1.3. Morphological Types

The data for the [**S + S + Suffix**] structure in Table 12 acknowledge the growing importance of a more complex morphematic representation of complex onomasiological structure, i.e., more precise expression with the growing education of language users (even though the differences in PR between the high-school and college informants are minimal).

	High school	College	Graduate
No. of responses	245	715	316

S + S + suffix	107 (43.7%)	317 (44.4%)	151 (47.9%)
S + suffix	105 (42.9%)	290 (40.5%)	119 (37.8%)
S + S	24 (9.8%)	81 (11.2%)	25 (7.9%)

Chi-square = 8.690 p = 0.1917 df = 6

Table 12: PR (%) of the most productive Morphological Types by education (native speakers)

### 3.2.4.1.4. Word-Formation Rules

The level of Word-Formation Rules used for the coining of Agent names seemingly does not bear out the different naming strategies of the speakers of different education levels; this bears on the data obtained for the top PR WFRs. It goes without saying that the different strategies revealed at the levels of Word-Formation Types and Morphological Types must find their mapping also in the domain of WFRs. The differences, however, are not so conspicuous, because they are scattered among the numerous low PR WFRs. An indicator of such low PR range differences is the last WFT given in Table 13, showing a PR gap of about 3% between the graduate speakers, on one hand, and the other two groups, on the other. The PR gap of 3% in the low predictability level range is striking.

	High school	College	Graduate
Number of responses	245	715	316
Object–Action–Agent			
N V -er	56 (22.7%)	145 (20.3%)	71 (22.4%)
Action–Agent			
V -er	50 (20.4%)	146 (20.4%)	63 (19.9%)
Theme–Action–Agent			
N V -er	29 (11.9%)	78 (10.8%)	27 (8.5%)
Location–Action–Agent			
N V -er	15 (6.2%)	44 (6.2%)	29 (9.1%)

Chi-square = 6.3676 p = 0.6061 df = 8

Table 13: PR (%) of most productive Word-Formation Rules by education

### 3.2.4.2. Summary

Tables 10 - 13 suggest, albeit weakly, that education seems to exert influence upon the approach to word-**formation**. There is a noticeable inclination of higher educated people to label objects of extra-linguistic reality as precisely as possible and, for this purpose, to employ more extensive naming structures. Lower educated informants demonstrated their preference for more ‘economic’ expressions to the detriment of clarity and precision of new naming units.

### 3.2.4.3. Perception of ‘Unproductivity’



High school	College	Graduate	
Number of responses	34	92	34
<i>Engroupment</i>			
EU	21 (61.8%)	52 (56.5%)	24 (70.6%)
SU	11 (32.4%)	28 (30.4%)	8 (23.5%)
L	2 (5.9%)	9 (9.8%)	2 (5.9%)
VL	0 (0%)	2 (2.2%)	0 (0%)
EL	0 (0%)	1 (1.1%)	0 (0%)
Chi-square = 3.358 p = 0.4998 df = 4 (L, VL, and EL were combined)			

<i>Thinnen</i>			
EU	19 (55.9%)	25 (63.0%)	28 (82.4%)
SU	10 (29.4%)	22 (23.9%)	3 (8.8%)
L	2 (5.9%)	12 (13.0%)	1 (2.9%)
VL	3 (8.8%)	0 (0%)	2 (5.9%)
EL	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Chi-square = 5.7480 p = 0.2187 df = 4 (L, VL, and EL were combined)			

<i>Swimmee</i>			
EU	21 (61.8%)	57 (62.0%)	26 (76.5%)
SU	6 (17.7%)	23 (25.0%)	5 (14.7%)
L	6 (17.7%)	9 (9.8%)	1 (2.9%)
VL	1 (2.9%)	2 (2.2%)	2 (5.9%)
EL	0 (0%)	1 (1.1%)	0 (0%)
Chi-square = 4.1656 p = 0.3840 df = 4 (L, VL, and EL were combined)			

<i>Sleepable</i>			
EU	9 (26.5%)	25 (27.2%)	15 (44.1%)
SU	10 (29.4%)	27 (29.4%)	12 (35.3%)
L	9 (26.5%)	27 (29.4%)	5 (14.7%)
VL	5 (14.7%)	11 (12.0%)	1 (3.0%)
EL	1 (3.0%)	2 (2.2%)	1 (3.0%)
Chi-square = 6.556 p = 0.1613 df = 4 (L, VL, and EL were combined)			

<i>Satisfactority</i>			
EU	20 (58.8%)	59 (64.1%)	30 (88.2%)
SU	6 (17.7%)	14 (15.2%)	3 (8.8%)
L	5 (14.7%)	9 (9.8%)	0 (0%)
VL	3 (8.8%)	6 (6.5%)	1 (2.9%)
EL	0 (0.0%)	4 (4.4%)	0 (0%)
Chi-square = 9.040 p = 0.0601 df = 4 (L, VL, and EL were combined)			

Table 14: Perception of 'unproductivity' by native speakers

While none of these distributions can be shown to be significant by a chi-square test (though *satisfactority* comes close), the data still show some suggestive trends. Consistently, the 'extremely unlikely' assessment is higher for the 'graduate' group. This holds true of all five 'unproductively' formed sample naming units. These results suggest that people with more education make stronger judgments of grammaticality. People with more education could very likely be more committed to notions of correctness, including for Word-Formation Rules, and thus are more reluctant to accept words that appear 'ungrammatical.' The differences between college and graduate informants follow the same trend, though the

differences are smaller. In general, the negative attitude to the ungrammaticality of coinages grows with the education of native speakers, with the major leap in this attitude characterizes the graduate group of the informants.

To conclude, the unproductivity experiment data provide us with another piece of evidence of education-related differences in the naming strategies.

### **3.2.5. Influence of Other Languages**

#### **3.2.5.1. General**

The sample of informants encompasses 109 speakers<sup>1</sup> presently living in an English speaking country, but born to parents coming from non-English speaking countries. The data acquired from questionnaires indicate that while their parents are fluent in their mother tongue none of them can speak English with proficiency corresponding to a native speaker.

The expected total number of questionnaire responses (4 tasks with 5 sub-tasks each accounts for 20 responses per informant) provided by 109 informants is 2180. In fact, they provided 1012 relevant responses for the category of Agent nouns. The reasons why some of the responses have had to be excluded from the analysis are analogical to those in the native-speaker group of informants.

The sample includes some sociolinguistically complicated cases. Thus, for example, although an informant was born in Holland, his/her native language is Vietnamese and his/her parents were born in China and Vietnam. Another case is an informant born in Moldova with Romanian as a native language. One of his/her parents was born in Germany with Russian as a native language, and the other parent was born in Moldova with Romanian as a native language. Since the language most frequently spoken at home is also Romanian he is analyzed in the group of analytic/isolating languages. The same criterion is applied to an informant born in Switzerland one of whose parents was born in France with French as a native language.

The informants were divided into four groups based on the morphological typology of languages. It is generally known that there are hardly any morphologically pure languages. Given the focus of our experimental research on Agentive nouns, in classifying the languages the most important criterion was the prevailing morphological features of nouns. As a result we obtained the following groups

SYNTHETIC/AGLUTINATING (19 informants) – Korean, Japanese, Finnish, Hungarian, Estonian, Armenian, Swedish, Norwegian, Tagalog, Tonga

SYNTHETIC/FUSIONAL (17 informants) – German, Slovak, Russian, Polish, Croatian, Czech, Ukrainian, Arabic, Urdu

ANALYTIC/ISOLATING (73 informants) – French, Portuguese, Romanian, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Chinese, Bulgarian, Bangla, Samoan, Creol, Afrikaans, Mandarin, Chinese, Vietnamese, Cantonese

POLYSYNTHETIC (3 informants) – Indonesian, Laotian, Hmong

#### **3.2.5.2. Analysis of the Experimental Data**

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<sup>1</sup> The actual number of informants was 112. However, the group of polysynthetic language speakers was too small (3 informants). By implication, these informants were not included in our analysis.

### 3.2.5.2.1. Productivity of Onomasiological Types

The most noticeable difference between native speakers and non-native speakers as demonstrated in Table 15 is the respective roles played by Onomasiological Types 1 and 3 in these two groups of informants. With the other three Onomasiological Types featuring almost identical productivity, the PR for the Onomasiological Type 1 is higher by about 4 % in the non-native group, and the PR of the Onomasiological Type 3 is lower by the same value in the same group of informants.

We may surmise that one of the reasons for this difference is as follows: since the informants, falling within the non-native group, do not master English as fluently as native speakers (levels B and lower in the questionnaire) their linguistic uncertainty makes them try very hard in the naming act to make their ‘products’ as comprehensible as possible, and therefore, most explicit. For this reason, they prefer Onomasiological Type 1. Obviously, this is a possible psychological motivation behind this preference. The second reason may be connected with the structural characteristics of the non-English languages that were shaping the linguistic behaviour of the informants in the past.

Native speakers	Non-native speakers	
No. of responses	1300	1012
OT1	670 (51.5%)	561 (55.4%)
OT2	299 (23.0%)	236 (23.3.1%)
OT3	303 (23.3%)	193 (19.1%)
OT4	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
OT5	28 (2.2%)	22 (2.2%)
Chi-square 6.4094 p = 0.0933 df = 3 (OT4 was excluded from calculations)		

Table 15: PR (%) of Onomasiological Types (non-native speakers)

### 3.2.5.2.2. Productivity of Word-Formation Types

The differences discussed in the previous section cannot be, for obvious reasons, manifested at the level of WFTs. In spite of this fact, the agreement of the respective PRs is surprisingly high. While the top WFT ranking agreement was expected the PR differences are extraordinarily small (for the top five WFTs in succession: 0.19; 0.26; 0.61; 1.37; and 1.77 %, respectively).

	Native speakers	Non-native speakers
No. of responses	1300	1012
Object–Action–Agent	416 (32.0%)	322 (31.8%)
Action–Agent	304 (23.4%)	234 (23.1%)
Theme–Action–Agent	225 (17.3%)	169 (16.7%)
Instrument–Action–Agent	135 (10.4%)	119 (11.8%)
Location–Action–Agent	118 (9.1%)	74 (7.3%)

Chi-square = 4.6546 p = 0.4594 df = 5

Table 16 PR (%) of the top five Word-Formation Types (non-native speakers)

### 3.2.5.2.3. Productivity of Morphological Types

The suffix-based Morphological Types of **[S+S+suffix]** and **[S + Suffix]** for Agent names is understandable with respect to the large number of Agentive suffixes in English. When the central suffix-based Agent types are added up, they represent 84.08% for the native group and 77.67% for the non-native group. What makes the two groups of informants different is the much stronger role of the **[S + suffix]** MT in the native group of speakers (37.41% compared to 28.66% in the non-native group), and, on the other hand, a slightly higher PR of the **[S+S+suffix]** MT in the non-native group. These data correspond with the observations concerning the productivity of Onomasiological Types.

	Native speakers	Non-native speakers
No. of Responses	1300	1012
S + S + suffix	607 (46.7%)	496 (49.01%)
S + suffix	486 (37.4%)	290 (28.66%)
S + S	147 (11.3%)	163 (16.11%)

Chi-square = 26.1042 p < .0001 df = 3

Table 17: PR (%) of Morphological Types (non-native speakers)

#### 3.2.5.2.4. Productivity of Word-Formation Rules

The results for the Onomasiological Types are also mapped onto the level of Word-Formation Rules. First, while in the group of native speakers there is one WFR in the ‘top 5 chart’ in which the determined constituent of the onomasiological mark is not expressed, there is no such WFR among the top five in the non-native group. Second, the strong position of OT2 is supported by two WFRs among the top 5, in which the determining constituent is not expressed (ranks 2 and 5) as opposed to only one such WFR in the native speaker group.

	Native speakers	Non-native speakers
No. of Responses	1300	1012
Object–Action–Agent N      V      -er	272 (20.9%)	222 (21.9%)
Action–Agent V      -er	232 (17.9%)	159 (15.7%)
Theme–Action–Agent N      V      -er	138 (10.6%)	121 (11.96%)
Location–Action–Agent N      V      -er	92 (7.1%)	65 (6.4%)
Action–Agent V      N	35 (2.7%)	57 (5.6%)

Chi-square = 16.3394 p = 0.0059 df = 5

Table 18: PR (%) of Word-Formation Rules (non-native speakers)

#### 3.2.5.2.5. Summary

The comparison of the naming behaviour of the native and the non-native informants has shown considerable and significant differences. Their naming strategies appear to differ primarily in the non-native group of speakers laying much greater emphasis on the ‘accuracy of naming’, which implies explicitness especially in relation to the determined constituent of onomasiological mark.

### 3.2.5.3. Comparison of Three Cohorts of Influencing Languages

Given the non-existence of a word-formation typology of languages, the ‘background’ languages were divided into three groups, based on the morphological typology of noun, that is, the synthetic/agglutinative, synthetic/fusional, and analytic/isolating types. The fourth group, the polysynthetic type, was represented by only three informants, representing three languages (Indonesian, Laotian and Hmong), and therefore, it was not included in the analysis.<sup>1</sup>

#### 3.2.5.3.1. Onomasiological Types

An overview of the results for Onomasiological Types is given in Table 19.

No. of responses	Native speakers	Non-native linguistic background		
		Agglutinative	Fusional	Analytic
	1300	180	161	671
OT1	670 (51.5%)	109 (60.56%)	94 (58.39%)	358 (53.35%)
OT2	299 (23.0%)	38 (21.10%)	38 (23.60%)	160 (23.85%)
OT3	303 (23.3%)	28 (15.56%)	28 (17.40%)	137 (20.42%)
OT4	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
OT5	28 (2.2%)	5 (2.78%)	1 (0.62%)	16 (2.38%)

Chi-square = 12.6218 p = 0.1804 df = 9 (native v. all)

Chi-square = 7.21461 p = 0.0653 df = 3 (native v. agglutinative)

Chi-square = 5.21562 p = 0.1566 df = 3 (native v. fusional)

Chi-square = 2.17689 p = 0.5365 df = 3 (native v. analytic)

Table 19: PR (%) of Onomasiological Types by language background

A crucial observation following from Table 19 is that the hypothesis of the influence of the influence of language background seems to have been confirmed. English is predominantly an analytic language and therefore the results obtained from native speakers should be closest to those obtained from the isolating/analytic group of background languages. The data seem to suggest this, though the differences don’t rise to statistical significance. There is a striking similarity between the naming tendencies in these two groups of informants, while the agglutinative and the fusional background languages deviate from the ‘native’ data in a noticeable way, as reflected in their lower p-values in the chi-square test. This primarily concerns the role played by Onomasiological Types 1 and 3. Furthermore, it is no surprise that the agglutinative group’s PR for OT1 is the highest of all. This may be explained – in

<sup>1</sup> The classification of the languages in terms of the morphology of noun was based on Krupa/Genzor/Drozdík (1983), Comrie (1981), and the Internet sources, <http://www.paul-raedle.de/vtrain/db-xx-info.htm>, <http://www.geocities.com/indoeurop/tree/balk/armenian.html>, <http://www.cambridge.org/uk/catalogue/catalogue.asp?isbn=0521573785&ss=exc>, <http://www.linguistics.emory.edu/POLYGLOT/morphology.html>, and on personal communication. Therefore, we wish to express our gratitude for help to Jan Don, A. Olofsson, S. Valera, and M. Volpe.

addition to the psychological reasons relevant to all three groups of non-native language background – by the morphological characteristics of agglutinative languages, aiming at expressing complex morphological meanings within one word.

### 3.2.5.3.2. Word-Formation Types

An overview of the results for Word-Formation Types is given in Table 20.

No. of responses	Native speakers	Non-native linguistic background		
		Agglutinative	Fusional	Analytic
	1300	180	161	671
Object-Action-Agent	416 (32.0%)	62 (34.4%)	50 (31.1%)	210 (31.3%)
Action-Agent	304 (23.4%)	38 (21.1%)	38 (23.6%)	158 (23.6%)
Theme-Action-Agent	225 (17.3%)	26 (14.4%)	27 (16.8%)	116 (17.3%)
Instrument-Action-Agent	135 (10.4%)	22 (12.22)	20 (12.42)	77 (11.48)
Location-Action-Agent	118 (9.1%)	13 (7.22)	11 (6.83)	50 (7.46)

Chi-square = 11.201 p = 0.7382 df = 15 (native v. all)

Chi-square = 2.6524 p = 0.7533 df = 5 (native v. agglutinative)

Chi-square = 3.5797 p = 0.6113 df = 5 (native v. fusional)

Chi-square = 6.8404 p = 0.2327 df = 5 (native v. analytic)

Table 20: PR (%) of Word-Formation Types by language background

Table 20 gives support to the observations given in 3.2.5.3.1. In each of the top five Word-Formation Types the PRs of native speakers and the ‘analytic’ language background group of informants are closer to each other than the results obtained from the other two groups, even if the differences between the PRs are small in general. Nonetheless, the ‘native-analytic’ comparison features extraordinarily small differences: 0.7; 0.17; 0.03; 1.10; and 1.62 respectively, for the first five WF Types.

### 3.2.5.3.3. Morphological Types

An overview of the results for Morphological Types is given in Table 21.

No. of Responses	Native speakers	Non-native linguistic background		
	Native	Agglutinative	Fusional	Analytic
	1300	180	161	671
S+S+suffix	607 (46.7%)	99 (55.0%)	85 (52.8%)	312 (46.5%)
S+suffix	486 (37.4%)	47 (26.1%)	41 (25.5%)	202 (30.1%)
S+S	147 (11.3%)	22 (12.2%)	29 (18.0%)	112 (16.7%)
Other	60 (4.6%)	4 (2.2%)	5 (3.1%)	25 (3.7%)

Chi-square = 32.5464 p = 0.0001 df = 9 (agglutinative v. all)

Chi-square = 10.107 p = 0.0176 df = 3 (agglutinative v. native)

Chi-square = 2.1152 p = 0.5488 df = 3 (agglutinative v. fusional)

Chi-square = 5.6579 p = 0.1294 df = 3 (agglutinative v. analytic)

Table 21: PR (%) of Morphological Types by language background

Given the prevailing word-formation tendencies in the languages under evaluation, one might,

in general, expect major differences in Morphological Types and Word-Formation Rules. This follows from the purely formal nature of the traditional classification of word-formation processes. Thus, we might expect that the share of the suffix-based types and rules in agglutinative languages will be higher than that in the native group of speakers and in the other two groups of background language. These expectations have been confirmed to a considerable degree, especially with regard to the **[S+S+suffix]** Morphological Type where the dominance of the agglutinative background is dominant, especially with regard to the native speaker and the isolating background groups of informants. The only unexpected outcome is an even lower PR of the **[S+S]** MT in the native speaker group than the PR of the same type in the agglutinative group. A remarkable parallel between the Productivity Rates of the suffixed MTs in the native and the ‘isolating background’ groups can also be traced here, with the exception of the **[S+S]** type.

### 3.2.5.3.4. Word-Formation Rules

An overview of the results for Word-Formation Rules is given in Table 22.

No. of Responses	Native speakers		Non-native linguistic background		
		Agglutinative	Fusional	Analytic	
Object–Action–Agent					
N V -er	272 (20.9%)	49 (27.2%)	36 (22.4%)	137 (20.4%)	
Action–Agent					
V -er	232 (17.9%)	26 (14.4%)	24 (14.9%)	109 (16.3%)	
Theme–Action–Agent					
N V -er	138 (10.6%)	19 (10.6%)	22 (13.7%)	80 (11.9%)	
Location–Action–Agent					
N V -er	92 (7.1%)	12 (6.7%)	11 (6.8%)	42 (6.3%)	
Action–Agent					
V N	35 (2.7%)	8 (4.4%)	12 (7.4%)	37 (5.5%)	

Chi-square = 23.5232 p = 0.0736 df = 15 (native v. all)

Chi-square = 6.3357 p = 0.2749 df = 5 (native v. agglutinative)

Chi-square = 13.4806 p = 0.0192 df = 5 (native v. fusional)

Chi-square = 11.6355 p = 0.0401 df = 5 (native vs. analytic)

Table 22: PR (%) of Word-Formation Rules by language background

Table 22 also demonstrates a coincidence between the native speakers and those with the analytic language background. The PRs of the most productive WF Rule in the two groups of informants are almost identical, significantly differing from the agglutinating background PR, and the same situation may be observed for the second most productive WF Rule. For other WFRs the differences between the individual groups of informants are minimal.

### 3.2.5.4. Comparison of the ‘Unproductivity’ Results

#### 3.2.5.4.1. Native vs. Non-native Speakers (as a Whole)

If we concluded in Sections 3.2.3.3 that the perception of unproductivity in native speakers is very strong Table 23 shows us that a similar statement is applicable to the non-native informants. In spite of this general conclusion, there **are** certain differences between the two

groups of speakers of English. While the share of the ‘extremely unlikely’ responses in the native group is 56.1%, in the group of non-native speakers it is less (50.0%) which indicates that the pressure of productive WF rules is perceived by native speakers a little stronger. This tendency has been borne out in three of the five ‘unproductively’ coined naming units. Two gaps are significant: almost 16% for *satisfactority* and over 12% for *engroupment*. This difference is mostly compensated at the next lower level, the level of ‘somewhat unlikely’ answers. In one case (*thinnen*) we might speak of a draw because the percentages were almost identical (64.54% vs. 64.76%). The non-native speakers manifested about 3% higher distaste for *sleepable*.

The non-native speakers feature higher percentages at the medium assessment level, i.e., at the level of the ‘likely’ answers. The biggest assessment gap at this level is observed for *satisfactority* (10%); in two other cases, *swimmee* and *sleepable*, the gap is about 5% in favour of the non-native speakers.

The results are not very conclusive in one or the other direction. What may be assumed based on them is that native speakers are slightly more ‘aware’ of the productive WF processes. On the other hand, the differences are not significant. In both groups of respondents, we can observe certain will to creative ‘experimentation’ which depends on the nature of the constraint violated. Table 23 gives a comparison of the two groups of informants for the individual ‘non-words’.

	Native speakers	Non-native speakers
Number of responses	142	109

#### *Engroupment*

EU	82 (57.8%)	51 (46.8%)
SU	43 (30.3%)	41 (37.6%)
L	14 (9.9%)	9 (8.3%)
VL	2 (1.4%)	6 (5.5%)
EL	0 (0.0%)	2 (1.8%)

Chi-square = 3.2609 p = 0.20 df = 2

#### *Thinnen*

EU	92 (64.5%)	72 (66.1%)
SU	30 (21.3%)	26 (23.9%)
L	13 (9.2%)	9 (8.3%)
VL	6 (4.3%)	1 (0.9%)
EL	1 (0.7%)	1 (0.9%)

Chi-square = 1.0166 p = 0.60 df = 2

#### *Swimmee*

EU	91 (64.50%)	59 (54.1%)
SU	31 (22.00%)	32 (29.4%)
L	15 (10.60%)	14 (12.8%)
VL	4 (2.80%)	4 (3.7%)
EL	0 (0%)	0 (0.0%)

Chi-square = 2.8198 p = 0.24 df = 2

#### *Sleepable*

EU	40 (28.00%)	36 (33.0%)
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SU	48 (33.60%)	35 (32.1%)
L	36 (25.20%)	30 (27.5%)
VL	16 (11.20%)	7 (6.4%)
EL	3 (2.10%)	1 (0.9%)

Chi-square = 0.7811 p = 0.68 df = 2

*Satisfactority*

EU	93 (66.00%)	58 (53.2%)
SU	24 (17.00%)	23 (21.1%)
L	13 (9.20%)	17 (15.6%)
VL	8 (5.70%)	7 (6.4%)
EL	3 (2.10%)	4 (3.7%)

Chi-square = 4.4179 p = 0.11 df = 2

Table 23: Perception of ‘unproductivity’: Native vs. non-native informants

**3.2.5.4.2. Non-Native Speakers (Individual Types)**

As for the internal structure of the non-native informants, a clearly highest resistance to unproductively coined naming units is exercised by those with a fusional language background, much higher than the other two groups of informants. With the exception of *satisfactority*, the differences between the individual groups of informants are very high. For example, *thinnen*, the difference between agglutinative and the fusional groups is over 40%.

We have no explanation for these results. By all accounts, however, the acceptability/non-acceptability of a naming unit coined by violating a restriction on productivity is not influenced by the type of a background language.

	Native	Non-native		
		Agglutinative	Fusional	Analytic
Number of responses	142	(19)	(17)	(73)
<i>Engroupment</i>				
EU	82 (57.8%)	9 (47.4%)	10 (58.8%)	32 (43.8%)
SU	43 (30.3%)	7 (36.8%)	5 (29.4%)	29 (39.7%)
L	14 (9.9%)	2 (10.5%)	1 (5.9%)	6 (8.2%)
VL	2 (1.4%)	1 (5.3%)	0 (0%)	5 (6.9%)
EL	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (5.9%)	1 (1.4%)
Chi-square = 4.5140 p = .61 df = 6 (native vs. all types; L, VL, and EL combined)				
Chi-square = 0.8366 p = .66 df = 2 (native vs. agglutinative; ; L, VL, and EL combined)				
Chi-square = 0.0094 p = .99 df = 2 (native vs. fusional; ; L, VL, and EL combined)				
Chi-square = 4.0221 p = .13 df = 2 (native vs. analytic; ; L, VL, and EL combined)				
<i>Thinnen</i>				
EU	92 (64.5%)	9 (47.4%)	15 (88.2%)	48 (65.8%)
SU	30 (21.3%)	7 (36.8%)	1 (5.9%)	18 (24.7%)
L	13 (9.2%)	3 (15.8%)	1 (5.9%)	5 (6.9%)
VL	6 (4.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)
EL	1 (0.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)
Chi-square = 7.9900 p = .24 df = 6 (native vs. all types; L, VL, and EL combined)				
Chi-square = 2.6456 p = .27 df = 2 (native vs. agglutinative; ; L, VL, and EL combined)				
Chi-square = 3.8233 p = .15 df = 2 (native vs. fusional; ; L, VL, and EL combined)				

Chi-square = 1.0520 p = .59 df = 2 (native vs. analytic; ; L, VL, and EL combined)

#### *Swimmee*

EU	91 (64.5%)	11 (57.9%)	14 (82.4%)	34 (46.6%)
SU	31 (22.0%)	3 (15.8%)	3 (17.7%)	26 (35.6%)
L	15 (10.6%)	5 (26.3%)	0 (0%)	9 (12.3%)
VL	4 (2.8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (5.5%)
EL	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Chi-square = 13.7123 p = .03 df = 6 (native vs. all types; L, VL, and EL combined)

Chi-square = 7.12163 p = .03 df = 2 (native vs. agglutinative; ; L, VL, and EL combined)

Chi-square = 21.0597 p < .0001 df = 2 (native vs. fusional; ; L, VL, and EL combined)

Chi-square = 11.4897 p = .0031 df = 2 (native vs. analytic; ; L, VL, and EL combined)

#### *Sleepable*

EU	40 (28.0%)	7 (36.8%)	7 (41.2%)	22 (30.1%)
SU	48 (33.6%)	5 (26.3%)	7 (41.2%)	23 (31.5%)
L	36 (25.2%)	6 (31.6%)	3 (17.7%)	21 (28.8%)
VL	16 (11.2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (9.6%)
EL	3 (2.1%)	1 (5.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Chi-square = 3.7022 p = .7169 df = 6 (native vs. all types; L, VL, and EL combined)

Chi-square = 0.7358 p = .6921 df = 2 (native vs. agglutinative; ; L, VL, and EL combined)

Chi-square = 2.9737 p = .2260 df = 2 (native vs. fusional; ; L, VL, and EL combined)

Chi-square = 0.1414 p = .9317 df = 2 (native vs. analytic; ; L, VL, and EL combined)

#### *Satisfactority*

EU	93 (66.0%)	10 (52.6%)	9 (52.9%)	39 (53.4%)
SU	24 (17.0%)	5 (26.3%)	5 (29.4%)	13 (17.8%)
L	13 (9.2%)	4 (21.1%)	2 (11.8%)	11 (15.1%)
VL	8 (5.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (9.6%)
EL	3 (2.1%)	0 (0%)	1 (5.9%)	3 (4.1%)

Chi-square = 6.7976 p = .3399 df = 6 (native vs. all types; L, VL, and EL combined)

Chi-square = 1.4154 p = .4927 df = 2 (native vs. agglutinative; ; L, VL, and EL combined)

Chi-square = 1.8914 p = .3884 df = 2 (native vs. fusional; ; L, VL, and EL combined)

Chi-square = 4.3977 p = .1109 df = 2 (native vs. analytic; ; L, VL, and EL combined)

Table 24: Perception of 'unproductivity' (%): Native vs. Non-native informants

### 3.2.6. Additional Remarks

#### 3.2.6.1. Double Formal Indication of Agent – Redundancy in Word-Formation

Strangely, the questions of word-formation redundancy have been paid little attention in the relevant literature.<sup>1</sup> The redundancy phenomenon in word-formation is closely related to one of the central points of discussion of our research, in particular, the conflict between the explicitness of expression and the economy of expression.

Double indication of a single conceptual category runs counter to the very notion of the economy of expression, and counter to a linguistic notion that there should be one to one correspondence of conceptual and formal categories in word-formation. Certainly, the state of isomorphy is an ideal one in morphology in general. In practice, there are a number of cases where a single conceptual category is represented in a language by a number of

<sup>1</sup> Important exceptions to this rule are Plag (1999) and Lieber (2004).

allomorphs/synonymous morphemes (Agent nouns themselves are a case in point). What is rare in the English language, however, is the doubling of the same formal means within one naming unit, which introduces redundancy. This is captured by Lieber's **Redundancy Restriction** (2004: 161):

a) The Redundancy Principle

Affixed do not add semantic content that is already available within a base word (simplex or derived).

Therefore, it may be surprising to find relatively numerous cases of this sort in our research, including *butter-inner*, *hanger-onner*, *butter-innist*; *weberer*, *shoe-tier-upper*, *grass-cutter-upper*, on the one hand, and *bird-fisherman*, *shoe-tierman*, *hangerman*, on the other. The former type, characteristic of nonstandard and informal language and casual, perhaps jocular, speech, may be accounted for by language users feeling uncomfortable putting Agentive suffix on the particle of phrasal verbs. Yet, at the same time, they recognize that agentive suffixes go at the end, so they end up putting a suffix on the particle as well as the verb. With reference to the phrasal verb *butt in*, the American member of the evaluative team finds *butter inner* more 'natural' than *butt inner* or even *butter in*. This assumption has been experimentally acknowledged: the proportion between the occurrences of *butter inner* and *butter in* in our research is 17 to 8, with zero occurrence of *butt inner*. As for the internal structure of *butter inner*, students selected it most of all occupational categories – nine times, which is more than 50%. On the other hand, the situation with *hanger onner* is quite opposite. Its three occurrences represent just 50% of the occurrences of *hanger-on*. *Butter-innist* only occurred once, and its 'author' is a female manager from Great Britain.

*Weberer* is a different case because *to web* is not a phrasal web, and is difficult to explain. We suspect that it is related to double comparatives that show up – somehow speakers do not recognize the first suffix and end up putting another suffix on. Let us recall the fairly recent movie called *Dumb and Dumberer* which is a sequel to *Dumb and Dumber*. This naming unit only occurred once, and was proposed by a female informant in the category of 'Management'. The informant lives in Great Britain.<sup>2</sup>

### 3.2.6.2. Suffix *-sky* (*-insky*)

This suffix occurred in the naming unit *butinsky*, apparently attached to the verbal base *butt-in* in the meaning 'someone who has something to do with V'. It is certainly not a common suffix across varieties of English; rather, it seems to be an Eastern U.S. regionalism. There is definitely something playful or slangish about it. Its origin may be supposed to be in the *-sky* formative encountered in Polish names. Its connotations seem to be slightly pejorative, perhaps suggesting someone who is boorish in connection with an item or an action. It may be more popular among working class, and indeed, in our experimental results, three male and one female informants and all self-identified in the 'Manual Work' category chose this option. These four informants represent a third of all those identified in the 'Manual Work' occupation.

### 3.2.6.3. Blends

<sup>2</sup> All in all, the above-given cases are not mere experimental oddities, which is borne out by the existence of established words. Lieber (2004: 164) refers to OED citing a number of similar examples, such as *checkerist*, *consumerist*, *collegianer*, *musicianer*, etc. In addition, the Agent-related redundancy is not the only type of redundancy in English. A much more frequent type are the *-ic-al* adjectives. For further discussion see Plag (1999) and Lieber (2004).

Blends appear to be quite popular with coiners, supporting the economy of expression at the expense of meaning clarity. The experiment came up with several interesting blends:

*Persniskigardener* – a blend of *gardener* and *persnickety* ‘fastidious, overly attentive to details, excessively demanding’. Its single occurrence is related to a male manual worker from the USA.

*Blondoroniou* – there are two possible interpretations of this naming unit. Either it is a blend combining *blond* and *erroneous*, which gives the meaning ‘someone who is erroneous about blonds’. Another possible interpretation is one based on a pretentious (and therefore playful) suffix.

*Blonde-ogynist* – a blend of blonde + misogynist, proposed by an American female teacher. This is a fascinating formation, since it suggests that the blonds who are ridiculed are female. It also leaves out the part of *mysoginist* that explicitly marks ‘hatred’ and reinterprets the last part for that.

*Laceanomist* – a blend of lace + -onomist. -onomist shows up on a number of words indicating an expert at a (usually academic or professional) field, such as ‘economist’ or ‘agronomist’. This blend appears to be used to attach some prestige, or at least the notion of a profession, to someone who ties shoes.

#### 3.2.6.4. Other Interesting Cases

*Car-top boogieborder* – this naming unit, proposed by an American male teacher, is used to denote a person depicted in the picture on car-top, and makes use of figurative expression, i.e., someone who rides on the car top as they would a boogie board (a small surf board made to be ridden in the prone position, as in the picture).

*Anal-lawn maintenance worker*; *anal grass snipper* and *anal-retentive* – the basic term in this group, *anal-retentive*, comes from Freud’s notions of child development. Apparently, in Freud’s thought, the stages of toilet-training can lead some to become too preoccupied with structure and order and detail, and this is the general meaning of *anal*. Thus, for instance, when students think that some English usage rules are too picky, they might say something like ‘that rule is just anal’. The first two terms were used by American female teachers, the last one by an American natural scientist.

*Representor*, *race representor* – the creative aspect is manifested here very clearly; while there is a word *representative* in the meaning ‘a person duly authorized to act or speak for another or others’, the coiners (an American male young unemployed informant and an American female teacher, respectively) apparently wanted to emphasize the new role of a person who represents the whole mankind by having recourse to a fully grammatical coinage using the suffix *-er*.

## 4. Conclusions

1. The research has confirmed the concept of **word-formation conceived as creativity within productivity constraints**. While the effectiveness of ‘productivity constraints’ are manifested by the types and rules with high Productivity Rates and by the extensive coincidence of their ranking in the various experimental groups, the word-formation ‘creativity’ is borne out by the diversity of the types and rules fulfilling the same function within a particular conceptually defined cluster. The present research gives ample evidence in

favour of this approach to productivity, and shows that rather than excluding each other (as traditionally believed) **productivity and creativity co-exist**.

2. The proposed method of productivity calculation proved to be a feasible tool for an objective evaluation of the role of the individual types and rules without any unjustified preference for any particular word-formation process (as opposed to the mainstream affixation-oriented approaches). This method makes it possible to evaluate the productivity at different levels of generalization, to reflect its different aspects, including the most general onomasiological level; onomasiological structure (logico-semantic relations); onomatological structure (formal realization of coinages); and the interrelation of the onomasiological and the onomatological structures (established by the Morpheme-to-Seme Assignment principle). Importantly, each of these levels of productivity calculation encompasses any and all of the traditional formally defined word-formation processes. Furthermore, this method makes it possible to avoid the classification problems so characteristic of the generative approach to word-formation (compounding vs. affixation, bracketing paradoxes) thanks to the fact that all word-formation processes are treated in a consistent onomasiological manner, and therefore, defined on the basis of a single, unifying principle.

As far as the specific targets of our experimental research are concerned the following conclusions may be drawn:

(a) The conflict between the explicitness of expression and the economy of expression in the field of Agent names favours the **explicitness tendency**. Language users tend to make use of the types and rules which employ the crucial Actional constituent of the onomasiological, and mainly, onomatological structure. It is for this reason that the most productive Onomasiological Type is OT1, the most productive Word-Formation Types are **[Object–Action–Agent]** and **[Action–Agent]**, the most productive Morphological Types are **[S+S+suffix]** and **[S+suffix]**, and the most productive Word-Formation Rule is (28)

(28)      Object–Action–Agent  
          N            V            -er

(b) The research has borne out the hypothesis of **sociolinguistic conditioning of the individual acts of word-formation**. The analysis of the results by occupation has shown that there is a tendency indicating **different strategies taken by education-related and ‘other’ professions in the implementation of naming acts**. While the former group have a stronger preference for the explicit types and rules, the latter group more frequently favours the more ‘economic’ solutions. Furthermore, the level of education appears to have similar effects: while **native speakers with university education prefer more precise names, lower educated speakers are more frequently driven by the principle of economy of expression**.

The influence of language-background seems to be equally important. The preference for the ‘Action-expressed’ Onomasiological Types among non-native speakers is even much stronger than with native speakers, especially the role of Onomasiological Type 2 is extremely strong. This is, logically, projected onto the high Productivity Rate of the Morphological Type **[S + suffix]** in this group of speakers, and the absence among the top five Word-Formation Rules of a rule in which the determined constituent is not expressed. In general, the naming strategies of the two basic groups of speakers seem to differ because **non-native speakers seem to lay even greater emphasis on the explicitness of expression than native speakers**.

The influence of **linguistic background plays its role in the naming strategies of non-**

**naming speakers.** Although the limited sample of informants with ‘Germanic linguistic background’ does not enable us to draw any indisputable conclusions, the agreement of the results between them and the native English speakers in terms of almost identical preference for affixal types is remarkable.

(c) It has been shown that any assessment of the influence of any of the above-discussed sociolinguistic factors must be related to the specific **conceptually determined category** of the cluster (Agent, Patient, Instrument, etc.).

(d) Finally, the research into ‘unproductivity’ has demonstrated that the perception of ‘unproductivity’ among both native and non-native speakers in general is strong. On the other hand, the existence of a relatively high number of the ‘likely’ responses acknowledges their feeling for a **creative approach to naming**. This **mainly applies to the group of students** who most readily accept unconventional naming units and break the existing rules. This does not seem to be a surprise, and might be accounted for psychologically by the dynamism of the young generation compared to the more conservative generation of their parents. Moreover, the share of ‘extremely unlikely’ answers in the university-educated informants is much higher than in the lower-educated groups, which suggests that **the awareness of grammaticality of higher-educated speakers is stronger**. The tolerance to ‘creativity’ (even the creativity that trespasses grammaticality) characteristic of the young generation is also typical of speakers with lower education, even if the reasons underlying this fact may partly differ in these two groups of speakers.

The native–non-native comparison shows that while the both groups demonstrate the awareness of unproductivity, there are some differences between the two groups: the pressure of productive Word-Formation Rules is perceived by native speakers a little stronger.

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## Appendix

### Word Choices Survey

We are trying to learn more about the words people use for new or unusual situations. We would appreciate your taking a few minutes to fill out this questionnaire. Your participation is entirely voluntary.

**INSTRUCTIONS:** This questionnaire asks your *opinions* about words. This is NOT a test, and there are no "right" answers. We don't care whether you make up new words for the answers or whether you choose words that already exist in English. We just want to see what words you think will work best for a few situations.

**Task 1.** Choose the word that you think is the most suitable for the person described in the question.

1. A person whose smiling face is used for billboard advertisements:

- |             |                 |
|-------------|-----------------|
| a. smiler   | e. smile-person |
| b. smilist  | f. smile        |
| c. smilant  | g. other: _____ |
| d. smileman |                 |

2. A person who dials telephone numbers with a feather:

- |               |                 |
|---------------|-----------------|
| a. featherer  | d. featherman   |
| b. featherist | e. other: _____ |
| c. featherant |                 |

3. A person who frequently interrupts other people when they are talking:

- |                 |                 |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| a. interrupter  | f. butter-inner | i. cut-in       | n. interposer   |
| b. interruptist | g. butt-innist  | j. cutter-in    | o. interposist  |
| c. interruptant | h. butt-insky   | k. cutter-inner | p. other: _____ |
| d. butt-in      |                 | l. cutt-innist  |                 |
| e. butter-in    |                 | m. cutman       |                 |

4. A person who believes in miracles:

- |                            |                     |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| a. miraclist or miraculist | e. miracle-believer |
| b. miracler                | f. miracle-hoper    |
| c. miraclant or miraculant | g. miracle-hopist   |
| d. miracle-man             | h. miracle-hope     |
|                            | i. other: _____     |

5. A person who is obsessed by something:

- |                 |                     |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| a. an obsessee  | e. an obsess        |
| b. an obsessor  | f. an obsession-man |
| c. an obsessant | g. an obsessive     |
| d. an obsessist | h. other: _____     |

**Task 2.** Each question describes a person in an unusual situation. If you had to come up with a name or title for the person, what would it be? You may make up a word or choose a word that already exists in English.

1. Suppose that space aliens were about to land on Earth for the first time. What would you call a person who was supposed to meet them as a representative of the human race?
2. What would you call someone who does research about spider webs?
3. What name or title would you use for someone who always tells blond jokes?
4. What name or title would you give a basketball player who always hangs onto the rim after a slam-dunk?
5. Suppose that a woman has a clone made of herself. Then suppose that a man has a clone made of himself. Now suppose that the two clones marry each other and have a child. What would you call the child?

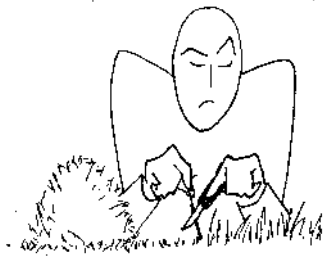
**Task 3.** Each picture below shows a person performing an unusual action. If you had to come up with a name or title for the person in each picture, what would it be? You may invent a word or choose a word that already exists in English.

1)



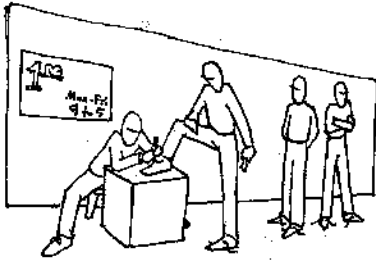
What name or title would you give to this person? \_\_\_\_\_

2)



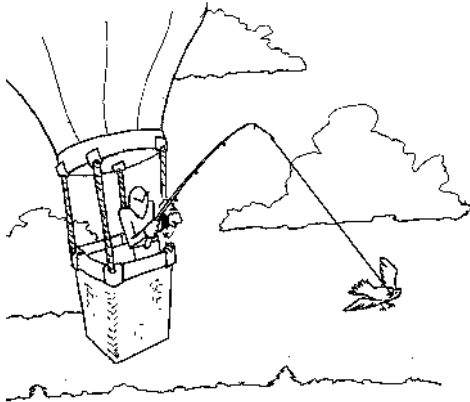
What name or title would you give to this person? \_\_\_\_\_

3)



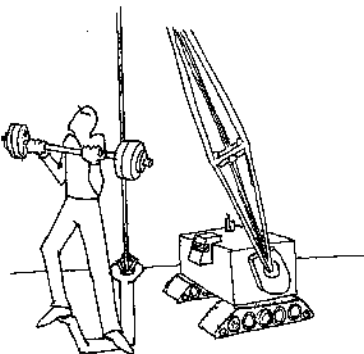
What name or title would you give to this person? \_\_\_\_\_

4)



What name or title would you give this person? \_\_\_\_\_

5)



What name or title would you give to this person? \_\_\_\_\_

**Task 4.** In this task, there are five words. Use each word in a sentence, even if you think it isn't

an English word. Then rate how likely you and other English speakers would be to use the word.

1. *engroupment*

a. Use this word in a sentence:

b. How likely would you use this word? Circle one.

Extremely Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely	Extremely Likely
-----------------------	----------------------	--------	----------------	---------------------

c. How likely would others use this word? Circle one.

Extremely Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely	Extremely Likely
-----------------------	----------------------	--------	----------------	---------------------

2. *thinnen*

a. Use this word in a sentence:

b. How likely would you use this word? Circle one.

Extremely Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely	Extremely Likely
-----------------------	----------------------	--------	----------------	---------------------

c. How likely would others use this word? Circle one.

Extremely Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely	Extremely Likely
-----------------------	----------------------	--------	----------------	---------------------

3. *swimnee*

a. Use this word in a sentence:

b. How likely would you use this word? Circle one.

Extremely Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely	Extremely Likely
-----------------------	----------------------	--------	----------------	---------------------

c. How likely would others use this word? Circle one.

Extremely Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely	Extremely Likely
-----------------------	----------------------	--------	----------------	---------------------

4. *sleepable*

a. Use this word in a sentence:

b. How likely would you use this word? Circle one.

Extremely Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely	Extremely Likely
-----------------------	----------------------	--------	----------------	---------------------

c. How likely would others use this word? Circle one.

Extremely Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely	Extremely Likely
-----------------------	----------------------	--------	----------------	---------------------

5. *satisfactority*

a. Use this word in a sentence:

b. How likely would you use this word? Circle one.

Extremely Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely	Extremely Likely
-----------------------	----------------------	--------	----------------	---------------------

c. How likely would others use this word? Circle one.

Extremely Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely	Extremely Likely
-----------------------	----------------------	--------	----------------	---------------------

## Demographic Information

This information will be used for statistics only; it won't be used to identify any individual. You don't have to finish this questionnaire if you don't want to, but the information is important for our study. If you don't want to participate, please just keep the questionnaire. If you don't mind participating, please give answers that are as complete as possible and return your questionnaire.

### A. PERSONAL INFORMATION

Age:

Sex:

Where born (state or country):

Occupation:

Spouse's Occupation:

Father's Occupation:

Where born (state or country):

Mother's Occupation:

Where born (state or country):

Your Education (circle highest level that applies):

Some High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate	Graduate School
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### B. LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

Please list the languages that you speak and rate your ability according to the following scale:

A. I am a native speaker.

B. I am not a native speaker, but native speakers usually think that I am. (near-native)

C. I speak the language fluently, but I have an accent or sometimes say things that do not sound natural to native speakers.

D. I can speak the language fairly well, but sometimes I have to hesitate to think of words or grammatical constructions.

E. I know a little bit, but I have a hard time conversing normally in the language.

Language

Ability (A, B, C, D, or E)

1. English

2.

3.

C. YOUR FATHER’S LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

Please list the languages that your father speaks and rate his ability according to the following scale:

- A. He is a native speaker.
- B. He is not a native speaker, but native speakers usually think that he is. (Near-native)
- C. He speaks the language fluently, but he has an accent or sometimes says things that do not sound natural to native speakers.
- D. He can speak the language fairly well, but sometimes he has to hesitate to think of words or grammatical constructions.
- E. He knows a little bit, but he has a hard time conversing normally in the language.

<u>Language</u>	<u>Ability</u> (A, B, C, D, or E)
-----------------	-----------------------------------

- 1. English
- 2.
- 3.

D. YOUR MOTHER’S LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

Please list the languages that your mother speaks and rate her ability according to the following scale:

- A. She is a native speaker.
- B. She is not a native speaker, but native speakers usually think that she is. (Near-native)
- C. She speaks the language fluently, but she has an accent or sometimes says things that do not sound natural to native speakers.
- D. She can speak the language fairly well, but sometimes she has to hesitate to think of words or grammatical constructions.
- E. She knows a little bit, but she has a hard time conversing normally in the language.

<u>Language</u>	<u>Ability</u> (A, B, C, D, or E)
-----------------	-----------------------------------

- 1. English
- 2.
- 3.

E. LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN YOUR HOME

- 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 a. always    b. frequently (daily or nearly so)    c. occasionally    d. almost never    e. never
- 2. \_\_\_\_\_  
 a. always    b. frequently (daily or nearly so)    c. occasionally    d. almost never    e. never
- 3. \_\_\_\_\_  
 a. always    b. frequently (daily or nearly so)    c. occasionally    d. almost never    e. never

May we contact you for help in locating other people who might be willing to complete this survey? Y / N

Your contact information (name, address, phone, e-mail):

LÍVIA KÖRTVÉLYESSY

## PRODUCTIVITY AND CREATIVITY IN WORD-FORMATION A SOCIOLINGUISTICS PERSPECTIVE

### Abstract

The paper deals with a sociolinguistic approach to productivity and creativity in word-formation. It presents research carried out to find a link between the user of a language and the language as a system; the research draws on Horecký's (2000) observation of a lack of attention paid to the relation between a language and a society, between a language as a system and language users. The paper focuses on sociolinguistic factors of gender, age, education, occupation, and language background, and their influence on productivity in word-formation in two groups of bilingual speakers (Hungarian-English and Hungarian-Slovak). The focal part of the paper is an analysis of the data gained through the questionnaire – correlations between productivity and the specific sociolinguistic factors are evaluated, with special emphasis on the correlation between productivity and language background because it turned out to be an independent and autonomous sociolinguistic factor. In general, the research has confirmed the hypothesis of the influence of sociolinguistic factors upon the naming strategies, while the strongest influence was observed for age and occupation.

### 1. Introduction

Productivity, one of the universal properties of language, manifests itself in word-formation whenever a speech community needs to give a name to an object of extra-linguistic reality. Productivity has become one of the central issues in research into word-formation (for example, Bauer 1983, 2001, Kastovsky 1986, Plag 1999, Baayen 1989, 1992, 1993, Baayen and Lieber 1991), and the same applies to linguistic factors which affect/restrict the productivity of word-formation rules (for example, van Marle 1986, Fabb 1988, Rainer 1993, 2005). Strangely, there has been hardly any discussion on extra-linguistic (sociolinguistic) factors influencing the productivity in word-formation. The only exception appears to be Štekauer et al. (2005). This paper examines the role of language background in the naming process. The paper provides a theoretical framework of the research (sections 2 and 3), presents an experimental research (section 4), and analyzes and comments on the research results (section 5).

### 2. Theoretical Framework

The hypothesis central to our research was that new complex words result from an interplay between sociolinguistic factors (the creative aspect of word-formation) and the pressure that word-formation rules impose on individual word-formation strategies (the productive aspect of word-formation). In other words, a particular object of extra-linguistic reality can usually be approached by various naming strategies the selection of which is determined by their respective productivity and also by the influence of one's naming preferences. Our informants were two groups of bilingual speakers – Hungarian-Slovak and Hungarian-English bilinguals. Our research was based on the following theoretical principles:

- an onomasiological theory of word-formation (Štekauer 1998, 2005)
- a theory of creativity within productivity constraints as developed by Štekauer, who maintains that, “[i]t is the interaction between the conceptual, the onomasiological, and the onomatological levels that – within the limits of productive types and rules and the relevant constraints – provides certain space for a *creative* approach to word-formation” (Štekauer





OT3: the determined constituent of the onomasiological mark is not expressed morphematically at the onomatological level:

- (4) Result – Action – Agent  
*novel* – – *ist*

OT4 the onomasiological mark cannot be analysed into the determining and the determined constituents:

- (5) Negation – Quality  
*un* – *happy*

OT5 corresponds to what has been traditionally labelled as conversion or zero-derivation.

This approach establishes a framework for an onomasiological approach to productivity (Štekauer 2005). Productivity of onomasiological types is related to a particular cognitive category (Agent, Patient, Instrument, Quality, Action, Location, Result, Object, etc.). For each cognitive category, there is a universal tendency in a particular language to prefer one of the five onomasiological types which, however, usually does not preclude the other types from being employed. This gives a considerable space for a language user's creative approach to the naming act. Then, the productivity of onomasiological types is calculated as the proportion of the individual onomasiological types of all complex words falling within a particular cognitive category.

In addition to the productivity at the level of onomasiological types, productivity can analogically be calculated for:

- **word-formation types** (such as [Object ← Action – Agent]; [Action – Agent]; [Location – Action – Agent]; [Result ← Action – Agent]; [Instrument – Action – Agent]; [Manner – Action – Agent] for the cognitive category of Agents);
- **morphological types** (such as [N+V+er] as in *wood-cutter*; [N+ist] as in *novelist*; [V+er] as in *writer*; [V→N] as in *cheat*; [N+s+man] as in *oarsman*; [A+N+ian] as in *transformational grammarian*; [N+N] as in *bodyguard*, etc.)

## 4. Research Description

### 4.1. Sample of Informants

The aim of the research was to analyse the influence of language background on the coining of new complex words. The data for two typologically different languages – Slovak and English – were obtained by means of a questionnaire (see the Appendix). The target groups of our research were bilingual Hungarian-English and Hungarian-Slovak speakers who had acquired both languages in natural environment from native speakers who used both languages for everyday communication. The language shared by both groups of informants was the Hungarian language.

The questionnaires were distributed via e-mail and surface mail communication as well as through personal contact. The most successful way of how to contact Hungarians living in English speaking countries turned out to be visits of Hungarian chatrooms on the Internet. Altogether 328 questionnaires were returned. Out of them, 146 English and 142 Slovak questionnaires were suitable for the subsequent analysis, amounting to a corpus of 1252 English and 1195 Slovak complex words.

For the purpose of our research, the following factors were taken into consideration:

- Sex
- Age – the age of the informants ranged from 15 to 65 and for the purpose of the statistical processing of the acquired data five categories were identified: <18, 19-24, 24-40, <40, <60.<sup>1</sup>
- Education – six categories were identified (the abbreviations refer to the graphs of the non-linear canonical analysis – see below): primary school (zs); some high school (gym), high school graduate, some college (ss); college graduate (bc); graduate school (vs).
- Occupation – the informants were grouped into four categories: 1 engineering, IT, health-care, scientific; 2 lawyers, journalists, teachers, administrative workers; 3 manual, artistic; 4 housewives, students, pensioners, unemployed.
- Language background – designing the categories within this factor proved rather complicated, which is why the typology cannot be presented within a few lines (as the factors above). Consequently, the following paragraphs describe the process of gaining, assessing and processing the data so that a typology could be established.

Each of the above-mentioned factors can raise many questions, yet that of the language background seems to present the most complex issue. The basic aim of the research was to compare the word-formation strategies in the Slovak and the English languages in those Slovak and English informants whose language background is Hungarian.

The analysis of the data showed a heterogeneous nature of the Hungarian-English group of informants. Most of them came from the families of Hungarian emigrants in English-speaking countries, in the majority of cases the USA or Australia. Two general tendencies were observed. First, the ancestors of the informants (or the informants themselves) mostly left their homes because of political persecution that was caused by their cultural background (e.g., they were of Jewish origin or Hungarians living in Romania). Consequently, their language background mostly included – in addition to English and Hungarian – also some other language. Secondly, the emigrants frequently found their life partners among other emigrants, very often of different origin, and in this way the language background of their children (our informants) consisted of English, Hungarian and some other language, e.g. Russian, Polish, Croatian, Rumanian, Spanish, Italian, etc.

On the other hand, the Hungarian-Slovak group of the informants was more homogeneous. They developed their bilingualism thanks to the historical background of the territory they came from – the majority of them had their roots in the southern part of Slovakia bordering on Hungary. This territory is well known for strong cultural and language bonds to the Hungarian language.

For the sake of statistical evaluation, Sapir's (1921) morphological typology was adopted. The reason for this was that the problems of word-formation typology and word-formation universals have been rather neglected in morphological/typological research. By implication, no word formation typology has been developed yet. In Sapir's typology, synthetic/inflective languages (e.g. Slovak) are characterised as languages in which grammatical relationships are expressed by inflection; synthetic/agglutinative languages (e.g. Hungarian) make use of agglutination, and analytic/isolating (e.g. English) express grammatical relations by word

<sup>1</sup> The grouping of informants according to age was consulted with a distinguished Slovak sociolinguist Slavomir Ondrejovic. The age limits were determined by the age of informants – the youngest were about 16, the oldest 70. These limits were caused especially by 2 factors. Firstly, the Internet skills – since the questionnaire was distributed mainly by means of e-mail communication; secondly the cognitive abilities of informants.

order. Therefore, in view of our research objectives, the following language typology was used:

- (6) synthetic/inflective (SF) – e.g. Slovak, German, Russian, Croatian, Czech;  
 synthetic/agglutinative (SAg) – e.g. Hungarian;  
 analytic/isolative (AI) – e.g. English, French, Romanian, Italian, Spanish.

Based on this information, the following language groups were established:

- (7) SAg+SF+AI  
 SAg+AI+SF  
 SF+AI+SAg  
 SF+SAg+AI  
 AI+SAg+SF  
 AI+SF+SAg  
 AI+SAg  
 SAg+AI  
 SF+SAg  
 SAg+SF.

The informants were grouped according to (a) their bilingualism, and (b) self-evaluation of their language skills. They were asked to evaluate

- (8)
- their own language skills
  - their parents' language skills
  - the language used in their household

Letters A – E were used to mark the specific level, with A indicating fluency, and E rather poor level of language skills.

The order of the languages in (5) indicates the level of the language skills of the individual informants. For example, Hungarian-Slovak informants were integrated into the group SF (synthetic/inflective) + SAg (synthetic/agglutinative) if they indicated the information about the language background in the following way:

- (9)
- | INFORMANT |       |
|-----------|-------|
| Language  | Level |
| Slovak    | A     |
| Hungarian | B     |
|           |       |
| FATHER    |       |
| Language  | Level |
| Hungarian | A     |
| Slovak    | D     |
|           |       |
| MOTHER    |       |
| Language  | Level |
| Slovak    | A     |
| Hungarian | B     |

LANGUAGES AT HOME

Language	Level
Slovak	A
Hungarian	B

Table 1 and Graph 1 provide the structure of informants for English questionnaires according to their language background, Table 2 and Graph 2 provide the same structure for Slovak questionnaires.

Language type	No. of informants
SAg+SF+A	4
SAg+AI+SF	27
SF+AI+SAG	3
SF+SAG+AI	2
AI+SAG+SF	8
AI+SF+SAG	3
AI+SAG	24
SAG+AI	75
Overall	146

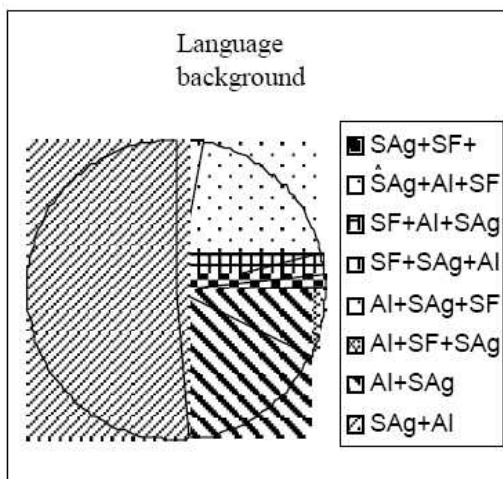


Table 1

Graph 1

Language type	No. of informants
SAG+SF+AI	37
SF+SAG	12
SAG+SF	93
Overall	142

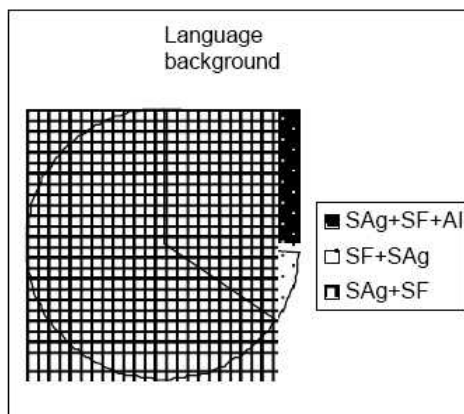


Table 2

Graph 2

Table 3 compares the data for English and Slovak questionnaires, and Table 4 gives the same data in percentages:

Type	JP 1	JP 2	JP 3	JP 4	JP 5	JP 6	JP 7	JP 8	JP 9	JP10	Total
AJ	4	27	3	2	8	3	24	75	0	0	146
SJ	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	93	142
Total	41	27	3	2	8	3	24	75	12	93	288

Table 3

Type	JP 1	JP 2	JP 3	JP 4	JP 5	JP 6	JP 7	JP 8	JP 9	JP10	Total
AJ	2,74%	19,49%	2,05%	1,37%	5,48%	2,05%	16,44%	51,37%	0,00%	0,00%	50,69%
SJ	26,06%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	8,45%	65,49%	49,31%
Total	14,24%	9,38%	1,04%	0,69%	2,78%	1,04%	8,33%	26,04%	4,17%	32,29%	100,00%

Table 4

Legend:<sup>2</sup>

JP – Language background

JP 1 – SAg+SF+AI

JP 2 – SAg+AI+SAg

JP 3 – SF+AI+SAg

JP 4 – SF+SAG+AI

JP 5 – AI+SAg+SF

JP 6 – AI+SF+SAg

JP 7 – AI+SAg

JP 8 – SAg+AI

JP 9 – SF+SAg

JP 10 – SAg+SF

It follows from Tables 1-3 and graphs 1-2 that the language background of English informants is more diverse than that of Slovak informants, which naturally follows from the country of their origin. If we add up all three possible combinations of three language types (AI+SAg+SF, AI+SF+SAg, SF+SAg+AI, ...) the number of English questionnaires is 48, while there are only 37 Slovak questionnaires falling within these combinations. A combination of two language types for English questionnaires (AI, SAg) occurs in 98 cases, and the corresponding combination of two language types for Slovak questionnaires occurs in 105 cases.

If English and Slovak informants are compared from the point of view of language background the Slovak sample is much more homogeneous. All Slovak informants adduce Slovak and Hungarian. The two languages are rarely completed with another language – in contrast to the situation in the English sample – mostly German, English, Russian and Czech occur as a third language. These are mostly languages taught at school, and thus not affecting the status of our informants as bilingual speakers. In spite of this fact, it is this sample of informants that frequently made use of English words and/or suffixes.

The questionnaires, designed in two languages (Slovak and English), consisted of two parts. The first part examined the naming strategies, the second part collected selected sociolinguistic data.

#### 4.2. Analysis of Word-Formation Strategies

The initial part of the questionnaire consisted of various tasks with one basic aim – the informants were supposed to coin new, potential complex words denoting Agents. The first task was based on motivation by words. The informants were provided with several possibilities of how to name a person, an Agent performing an action, e.g.:

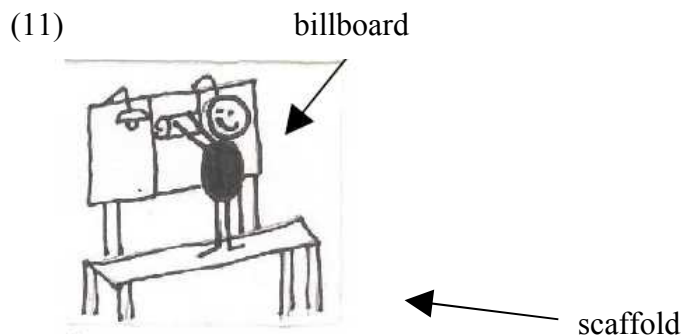
<sup>2</sup> The abbreviations (e.g. AJ, SJ, JP) are based on the Slovak language for the reason that the data were statistically processed by a Slovak software.

- (10) A person who produces yogurts:
- |                |                    |
|----------------|--------------------|
| a) yogurter    | i) yogurtie        |
| b) yougurtor   | j) yogurtman       |
| c) yogurtent   | k) yogurt-producer |
| d) yougurtier  | l) yogurt-person   |
| e) yougurtist  | m) yogie           |
| f) yougurtitor | n) yoducer         |
| g) yogurtnik   | o) other           |
| h) yogurster   |                    |

The informants' task was to select one of them, in their view the most appropriate name for such a person.

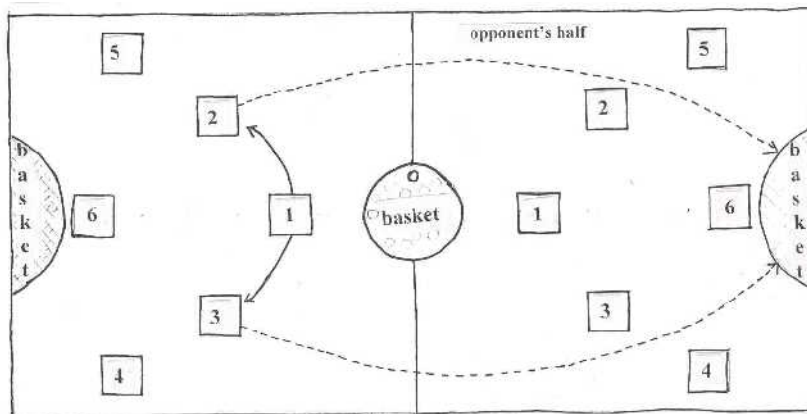
The second task made use of visual motivation. The informants were asked to name the Agent in the picture, for example:

How would you name this person?



The third task consisted of a description of a non-existing game and of its playground layout. Based on the given description the informants were asked to name the players involved in the game:

- (12) In the middle of the playground, there is a basket with tennis balls. The balls are in three colours and each ball has its value. Among them, there is a golden ball with the highest value. The playground is divided into two halves – one for each team. There is a basket at both ends of the playground. The baskets look like basketball baskets but they have a bottom. The aim of the game is to shoot the balls in the basket placed in the middle of the playground into the baskets placed at the end of the opponent's playground. The points are counted according to the colour of the shot balls. The game finishes in the moment when all balls from the basket in the middle are shot or when one team succeeds in shooting the golden ball in the opponent's basket.
- Each team has six players. Player 1 takes the balls out from the basket in the middle of the playground. Players 2 and 3 have tennis rackets and their task is to strike the ball passed by player 1 into the opponent's basket. Players 4 and 5 defend with tennis rackets the team's basket at the end of the playground. Player 6 picks up the balls passed by players 4 and 5 during the defence as well as the balls that get to his part of the playground from the opponent's playground and bats them to players 2 and 3.



The task consisted in giving names to the individual players

Not all questionnaires were filled out completely. This is illustrated in Table 5

	<b>English questionnaires</b>	<b>Slovak questionnaires</b>
<b>Total Number of questionnaires</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>158</b>
<b>Total number of questionnaires analysed</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>142</b>
<b>Ideal number of complex words</b>	<b>1606</b>	<b>1562</b>
<b>Actual Number of complex words</b>	<b>1252</b>	<b>1195</b>

Table 5

Complex words selected/proposed by the informants were analysed from the viewpoint of onomasiological types, morphological types and word-formation types. Their productivity was calculated, and correlations between the sociolinguistic factors and productivity were searched for. The primary aim was to find out the level of the influence of the sociolinguistic factors on productivity as reflected in the preferred naming strategies. The total productivity was compared to the productivity at individual levels in relation to each of the sociolinguistic factors. Furthermore, the two groups of bilingual informants were compared. The statistical programmes Statistica and SPSS, including non-linear canonical correlation, were applied.

## 5. Research Results

Various statistical methods (Statistica SPSS, canonical correlation, non-canonical correlation) were used in our research.

### 5.1. Results of the Non-Linear Canonical Analysis

In our research, two correlation methods were employed. In general, canonical correlation is used to study the relation between two sets of variables (e.g. age and language background). On the other hand, the non-canonical correlation enables to search for relations between more than two sets of variables. An important advantage of the non-linear canonical correlation is that individual variables can be nominal, ordinal and interval, as opposed to canonical correlation, which makes it impossible to work with more than one set of variables.

When evaluating the data, we searched for the strongest correlation among the individual sociolinguistic factors. The results showed that the sociolinguistic factors of education and occupation bore the required correlation; in further analysis, they were approached as one variable. At the same time, the factor of the language background proved to be fully independent of sex, age, education and occupation. At the beginning of our analysis, Excel tables were used. Since the non-linear canonical correlation works with a scope from one, it turned out that Excel tables were not suitable for the non-linear canonical correlation due to strong presence of zeroes. For this reason, each data was considered separately.

The results are provided in the following graphs, where the Slovak word *pohlavie* stands for sex; *vek* for age; the abbreviated form *vzdel* means occupation; *JP* language background. JP1 – JP8 are the language background categories that were identified based on the informants' self-evaluations:

- (13) JP1=SAg+SF+AI  
 JP2=SAg+AI+Sag  
 JP3=SF+AI+SAg  
 JP4=SF+SAg+AI  
 JP5=AI+SAg+SF  
 JP6=AI+SF+SAg  
 JP7=AI+SAg  
 JP8=SAg+AI  
 JP9=SF+SAg  
 JP10=SAg+SF

The abbreviations OT, WFT, and MT stand for the onomasiological type, word formation type, and morphological type, respectively. The characteristics of the onomasiological types (from OT1 to OT5) were briefly introduced in Chapter 3. Moreover, the original lists of onomasiological types and word-formation types were completed with OT6 and WFT6, representing borrowings. An overview of the WFTs and MTs is as follows:

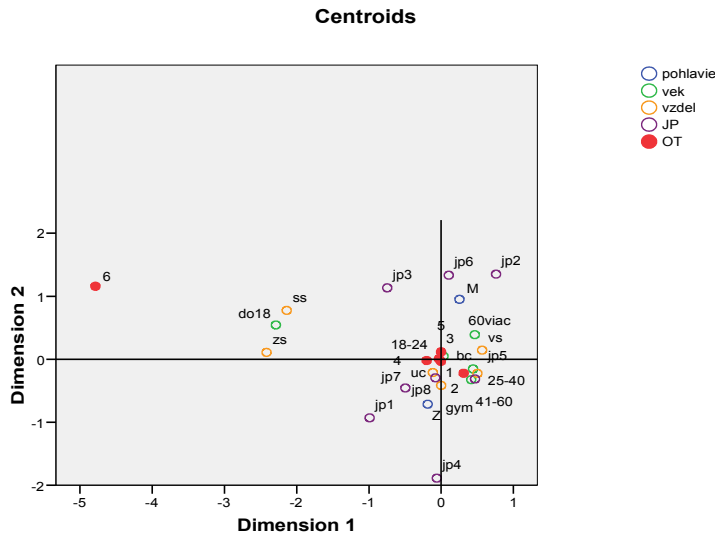
- (14) Word formation types:  
 WFT1: Object – /Action/ – Agent      WFT4: Object – Instrument – Agent  
 WFT2: Object – Action – Agent      WFT5: Others  
 WFT3: Action – Agent      WFT6: Result – /Action/ – Agent
- (15) Morphological types:  
 MT 1: S + suffix      MT 3: S + S + suffix      MT 5: Conversion  
 MT 2: S + S      MT 4: Others

The following comments mainly pay attention to the parameter of language background (JP),

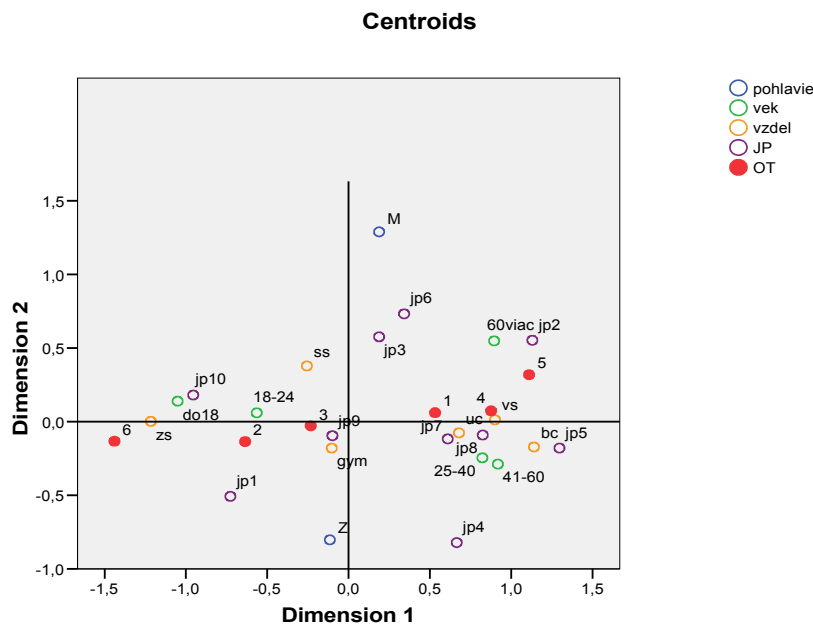


in particular, to JP1 because it was present in both groups of informants. It represents the language background with a stronger Hungarian language; one synthetic/inflective and one analytic/isolative language.

### 5.2. Non-Linear Canonical Correlation of the Onomasiological Types and Sociolinguistic Factors



Graph 3 *English questionnaires*



Graph 4 *Slovak questionnaires*

Centroids are intersections of Dimensions 1 and 2. These represent specific sociolinguistic factors and the productivity of onomasiological types. The graphs allow us to search for various correlations and the amount of possible information given in the graphs is considerable. For illustration, let us compare the influence of Hungarian language in both groups of informants (English-Hungarian and Slovak-Hungarian) on the productivity of

onomasiological types and word formation types (in the graphs, the productivity of OTs, WFTs and MTs are marked with red dots and numbers).

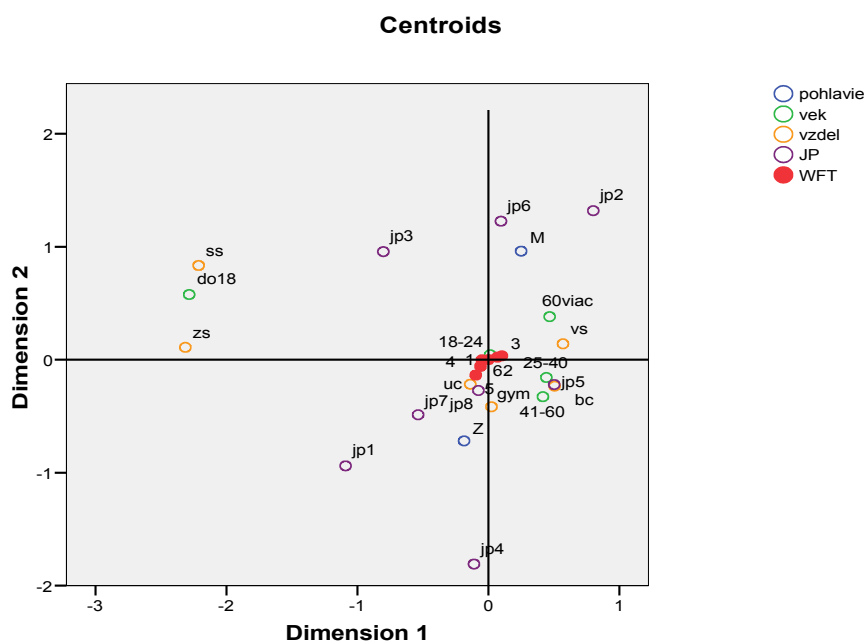
JP1 represents the language background with strongest Hungarian background (SAg+SF+AI). Since the red onomasiological type dots in the English graph are concentrated in a cluster, which causes some problems with the data interpretation, it will be more advantageous to start with Slovak graphs. For JP1 in graph 4 (Slovak questionnaires), the closest onomasiological type is Onomasiological Type 2, which means that the correlation between JP1 and Onomasiological Type 2 is the strongest of all. Similarly, for JP1 in graph 3 (English questionnaires), the closest onomasiological type is Onomasiological Type 1, closely followed by Onomasiological Type 2 and Onomasiological Type 4. This comparison enables us to assume that Hungarian as a background language increases the productivity of Onomasiological Type 2. Furthermore, in the English graph, Onomasiological Type 1 is closer to JP1. It means that the correlation between these two variables is stronger than that between JP1 and OT2/OT4. It can be caused by heterogeneous language background of the English-Hungarian group of informants. However, the same influence of the Hungarian language on Onomasiological Type 2 in both groups of informants is undisputable.

As a next step, let us compare the most frequent language background types in both language groups of informants – the language backgrounds JP8 (Hungarian + English) and JP10 (Hungarian + Slovak). In both language backgrounds, the Hungarian language is the stronger one. The Slovak informants with this background preferred borrowings and Onomasiological Type 2. The English informants made use of Onomasiological Type 1 (the most productive one in English complex words) or Onomasiological Type 4.

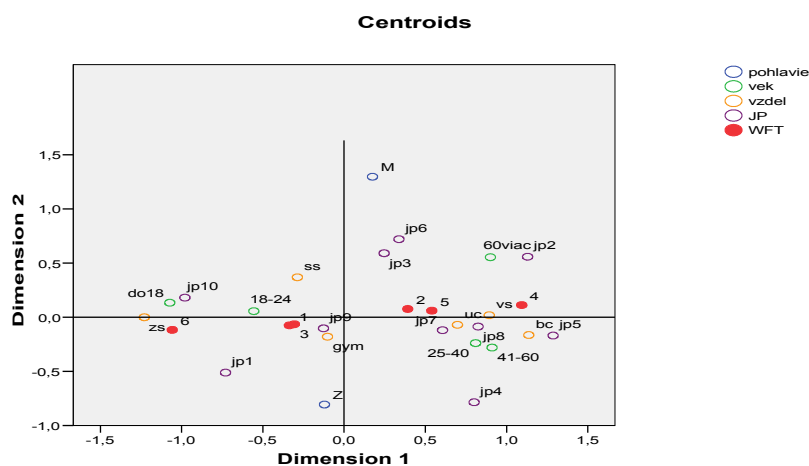
The correlations between the onomasiological types and sociolinguistic factors in Slovak complex words confirmed the previous results – borrowings were preferred by pupils and students under 18 years of age, with Hungarian as the stronger background language background, and Slovak as a weaker language. Informants aged 18-24, with a secondary grammar school education and the language background of SF + SAg (stronger Slovak, weaker Hungarian), used the most productive onomasiological type (OT3) in the Slovak language.

The graphs also offer the possibility to compare the influence of the individual language backgrounds on the productivity of onomasiological types, word-formation types, and morphological types. A good example is the language background JP1, since it was present in both groups of informants. It represents a combination of the Hungarian language, which is the strongest, and a synthetic/inflective language and an analytical/isolative language. In the Slovak complex words, it mainly influenced the productivity of Onomasiological Type 2. A similar tendency could be observed in the English complex words, although this language background also correlated with Onomasiological Type 4. It is assumed that Hungarian language influences the productivity of Onomasiological Type 2.

### 5.3. Non-Linear Canonical Correlation of the Word-Formation Types and Sociolinguistic Factors



Graph 5 *English questionnaires*



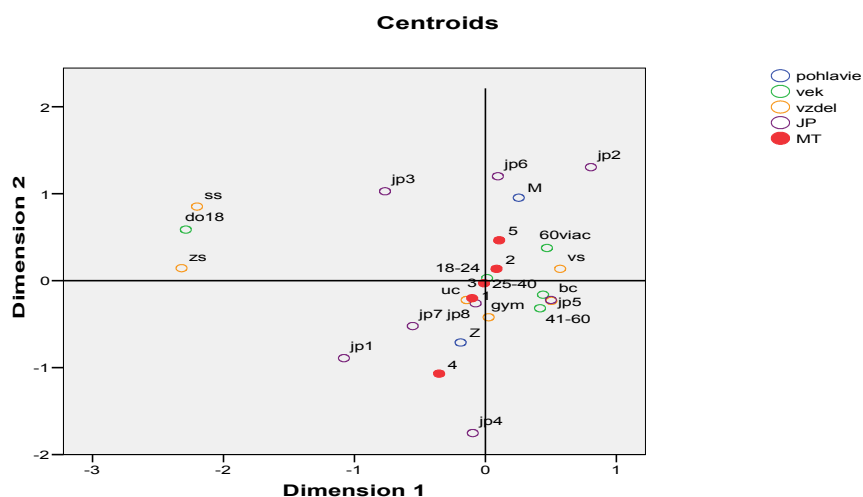
Graph 6 *Slovak questionnaires*

For JP1 in graph 6, the closest word-formation types are WFT1 and WFT3. It means that JP1 exerts pressure on WFT 1 and WFT 3. Even though the English graph is difficult to interpret due to the WFT cluster, it is obvious that WFT 1 is the closest of all word-formation types. By implication, Hungarian language increases the productivity of the same WFT in both groups of informants.

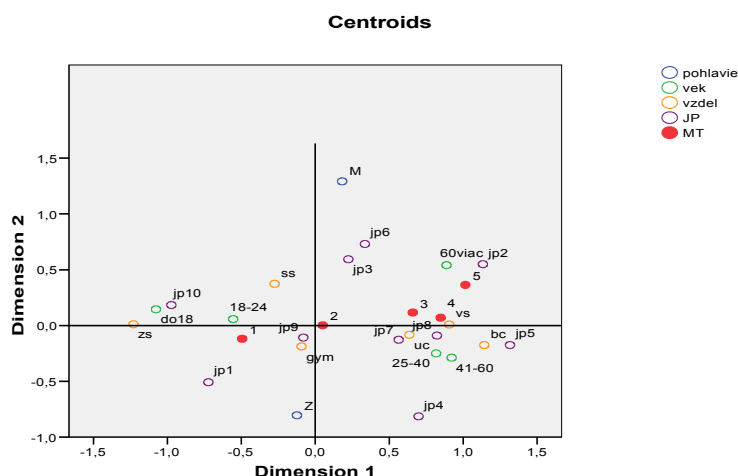
Graphs 5 and 6 show the correlation between the word-formation type and sociolinguistic factors in English and Slovak. In graph 5, the pressure of JP1 on Word-Formation Type 5 (the most productive word-formation type in English complex words) is visible. On the other hand, while in graph 4, JP1 is quite far from the central axis, its pressure on Word-Formation Type 1 and Word-Formation Type 3 (the most productive word-formation types in the Slovak

language) is noticeable.

#### 5.4. Non-Linear Canonical Correlation of the Morphological Types and Sociolinguistic Factors



Graph 7 *English questionnaires*



Graph 8 *Slovak questionnaires*

In the English complex words, the most productive morphological type was “Stem + Stem + Suffix”. It was preferably used by informants aged 18-24, of high school education, and with language background combining the Hungarian and the English languages. In the Slovak complex words, the most productive morphological type was “Stem + Suffix” that was used by those of the same age and education. As for the Slovak language the only difference concerns the language background – the change in the language background causes the change in the productivity of the morphological type.

#### 5.5. The Sociolinguistic Factors, New Complex Words and Productivity

Based on the results, it is possible to arrive at the following conclusions:

### 5.5.1. Sex

Neither English nor Slovak data showed significant influence of sex on the choice of the onomasiological type. Since this result was confirmed for both groups of informants it can be assumed that the influence of sex on productivity in word formation is not relevant, especially in comparison with the factors of age, education and occupation. The analysis of the influence of sex on word-formation types and morphological types brought the same result.

### 5.5.2. Age

The influence of age was unequivocal. The lower the age of the Hungarian-English informants the stronger the tendency towards complex words with simple onomasiological structure or non-transparent complex words. At the same time, the Slovak-Hungarian informants of a younger age preferred borrowings that are too non-transparent in the Slovak language. The influence of age was also observed at the level of word-formation type – the younger age categories prefer word-formation types that were not typical of the given conceptual category. It can be explained as their effort at originality. This phenomenon was observed in both groups of informants and it can be generalised as a phenomenon typical of the relationship between the word-formation type and age.

To sum up, the sociolinguistic factor of age influences the naming strategies in the process of coining new complex words. The most striking deviation from the norm is observable in the age category 18 – 24. These informants differ from other age categories especially in the preferred onomasiological type, word-formation type and morphological type. The types chosen by them are not very productive in other age categories.

### 5.5.3. Education

The non-linear canonical correlation showed strong association between the factors of age and education. By implication, the analysis of the relationship between the factors of education and productivity in word-formation displayed similar results. The influence of education was the most visible at the level of onomasiological types. The higher the education of the informants the stronger tendency towards a more transparent onomasiological structure of the coined complex words.

### 5.5.4. Occupation

The influence of occupation was in accordance with the influence of age and education, since the factor of occupation highly correlated with them. From the perspective of occupation, the most creative group in the field of word-formation seems to be the group of students. Both Slovak and English students' word-formation strategies tend to deviate from expected ones. Similar deviations can be observed in the category of manual workers and artists.

### 5.5.5. The Influence of the Language Background

The non-linear canonical correlation confirmed the fact that the language background is a completely independent sociolinguistic factor different from the rest of the sociolinguistic factors. While strong correlations were found between the factors of age and education, education and occupation, and occupation and age, no similar correlations were identified for the language background.

All statistical methods clearly confirmed the influence of the language background on naming strategies. While the productivity of onomasiological types for Slovak and English differed onomasiological types 1 and 3 appeared among the most productive onomasiological types in both languages. It is beyond dispute that the Hungarian language shared by both groups of our respondents may be held responsible for this similarity. The canonical correlation confirmed this observation, too. In addition, in both groups of informants the following tendency was observed: the stronger the influence of the Hungarian language the higher the productivity of Onomasiological Type 2, which indicates that the Hungarian language does not favour a more detailed motivation in the naming strategies; instead it appears to prefer the brevity of expression.

The pressure of the Hungarian language was more apparent at the level of word-formation types – the productivity results in both groups were nearly identical. The non-linear canonical correlation revealed the role of language background also for the level of morphological types. In summary, the influence of the language background is obvious especially at the level of the onomasiological and word-formation types. A low value of ‘p’ in the canonical correlation proves the statistical significance of the research. All in all, our results confirm the hypothesis of the influence of the language background on productivity in word formation.

## 6. Conclusions

The research results confirmed the hypothesis of the influence of sociolinguistics factors upon the naming strategies. No doubt, new complex words come into existence at the crossroads of the sociolinguistic factors and the pressure of productive onomasiological types, word formation types, and morphological types. This pressure was the most visible at the level of the onomasiological and word-formation types. The sociolinguistic factor of the language background turned out to be an independent and autonomous sociolinguistic factor.

The strongest influence of the sociolinguistic factors was observed for age and occupation. The least significant influence was identified for the factor of sex. The influence was the best observable at the level of onomasiological types and word-formation types. The strongest tendency was the correlation of students (aged 18-24) with some high school education and with the language background SF + AI (stronger Slovak, weaker Hungarian). This group of Hungarian-Slovak informants, instead of coining new complex words, preferred to use borrowings in the Slovak language.

The research suggests that the influence of the sociolinguistic factors is significant especially at the level of onomasiological types and word-formation types. The influence was less visible at the level of the morphological types. According to the canonical correlation the level of word-formation types seems to show great potential for further investigation in the field of word formation. In addition, a more homogeneous Slovak group of informants showed strong correlation between the language background, on the one hand, and onomasiological type and word-formation type, on the other.

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**BORROWING AS A WORD-FINDING PROCESS IN COGNITIVE HISTORICAL ONOMASIOLOGY**

## Abstract

Since recent findings of cognitive linguistics have already initiated new discussions on semantic change and word-formation, this study now wants to shed new light on the third type of name-giving processes, i.e. borrowing. After a brief look on the motives for borrowing and the problems involved with integrating loans into another language, the article first discusses the classical terminologies by Haugen, Weinreich and Betz. It excludes so-called “loan creations” and “substituting loan meanings,” but includes “pseudo-loans” and addresses the subject of folk-etymology in connection with foreign linguistic models. Then the article sheds light on the recent comprehensive name-giving model by Peter Koch and discusses the role of loan influences in this model. Whereas all these authors depart from a word-oriented theory (form and meaning), the article aims at going one step further and attempts a word-and-mind-oriented approach: on the basis of the recent and slightly modified word-finding model by Pavol Štekauer and on the basis of revised aspects of the other models mentioned, it tries to place the variant roles of foreign influence (i.e. Iconymic influences and formal influences) onto the various stages of the word-finding process.

**1. Introductory Remarks**

Historical onomasiology is the study of the history of words for a given concept. Since the baptism of the discipline by Zauner in 1902, studies have basically been concerned with the explanations of the internal and external side of words, i.e. their forms and (the motivations of) their meanings. In the wake of the new focus on cognitive aspects since the “foundation” of prototype linguistics by Rosch (1973) and Labov (1973), historical linguistics has slowly attracted historical linguists as well. In allusion to Jean Aitchison’s famous book, *Words in the Mind* (1994), I would like to define *cognitive historical onomasiology* as an approach that is not just word-oriented like the older onomasiological studies, but one that is word-and-mind-oriented. This is also alluded to by the word-finding aspect mentioned in the title. Works such as the ones by Dekeyser (1995), Gévaudan (forthcoming), Grzega (2002a, 2002b), Koch (1999a, 1999b), Krefeld (1999), Rastier (1999), or on a more a general basis of language change, Sweetser (1990), Lüdtke (1986), Traugott (e.g. 1991) and Geeraerts (e.g. 1983) show that onomasiology has begun to participate in the cognitive revival of diachronic branches of linguistics. One field of onomasiological study is studying the various ways of finding a new word for a given concept. The traditional literature basically lists three main types of name-giving: (a) taking an already existing word and applying it to a new referent (semantic change), (b) creating a new word with the material offered by the speaker’s language (word-formation), (c) adopting linguistic material from another language (borrowing, loans).<sup>1</sup> Historical semantics has already been attracting scholars for quite some years (cf. e.g. the landmark work by Blank [1997], which also encompasses an extensive bibliography, or Blank/Koch 1999a<sup>2</sup>). Cognitive word-formation is currently discussed by Štekauer (e.g. 2001) and also Grzega (2002b). It seems time that borrowing is also dedicated a few thoughts on how psychological aspects can supplement and revise the findings of older

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed survey on these various formal possibilities cf. Zgusta (1990). The variety of name-giving possibilities is already remarkably presented by Whitney (1867, Chapter 3, and 1875, Chapter 8, especially 114ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Some articles in this book are briefly reviewed in Grzega (2001b); the contents are well summarized in Blank/Koch (1999b).



studies.

The article will first give a brief survey of motives for lexical borrowing (section 2) and illustrate some of the linguistic problems involved with the integration of loanwords<sup>3</sup> (section 3). It will then review the classical views by Betz, Haugen and Weinreich (section 4) and cast light on a new model of lexical diachrony established by Peter Koch (section 5). Then I will present and revise a novel scheme of the word-finding process, namely Štekauer's word-finding model (section 6). On the basis of these revisions and further observations, I will finally develop a synthesis for a cognitive onomasiological model of borrowing (section 7). Examples will mainly be taken from English and German because the classical studies in the field of loans were on English and German. Nevertheless, I will also try to include material from other languages.

## 2. Motives for Borrowing

Apart from the very general distinction between “necessity borrowing” and “luxury borrowing” (cf., e.g., Tappolet 1913-1916, later also Öhmann 1924 and others) and the two frequently named motives “need to designate new (imported) things” (cf., e.g., Weinreich 1953: 56f., Bellmann 1971: 55, Oksaar 1972: 128f., Scheler 1977: 86, Tesch 1978: 201ff., Hock 1986: 408f., Hock/Joseph 1996: 271, Trask 1996: 18, Campbell 1998: 59, Fritz 1998: 1622) and “prestige” (cf., e.g. Bartoli 1945: 300, Weinreich 1953: 59, Baranow 1973: 139, Scheler 1977: 87f., Tesch 1978: 213f., Hock 1986: 385 & 409f., Hock/Joseph 1996: 271, Trask 1996: 19, Lipka 2001: 303), the following aspects, among others, have been mentioned as causes for lexical borrowing:

- (1) need to differentiate special nuances of expression, including stylistic variation (cf. Öhmann 1924: 284, Oksaar 1971, Baranow 1973: 283ff., Tesch 1978: 210f., Fritz 1998: 1622),
- (2) need to play with words (cf. Öhmann 1924: 284, Décsy 1973: 5),
- (3) homonymic clashes (cf. Weinreich 1953: 57),
- (4) loss of affectiveness of words (cf. Weinreich 1953: 58) or, seen from a juxtaposed viewpoint, emotionality of a specific concept (cf. Grzega 2002a: 1030),
- (5) feeling of insufficiently differentiated conceptual fields (cf. Weinreich 1953: 59) or rise of a specific conceptual field (cf. Grzega 2002a: 1030),
- (6) attraction of a borrowing due to an already borrowed word (consociation effects, analogy) (cf. Scheler 1977: 86ff.),
- (7) possibly general attraction of borrowing an etymological doublet (Scheler 1977: 87),
- (8) political or cultural dominion of one people by another (cf. Fritz 1998: 1622),
- (9) bilingual character of a society (cf. Tesch 1978: 199, Fritz 1998: 1622),
- (10) negative evaluation and aim of appearing derogatory or positive evaluation and need for a euphemistic expression (cf. Polenz 1972: 145, Tesch 1978: 212, Campbell 1998: 60)
- (11) laziness of the translator or lack of lexicographical means (cf. Baranow 1973: 127, Scheler 1977: 88, Tesch 1978: 207),
- (12) mere oversight or temporary lack of remembering the indigenous name (cf. Weinreich 1953: 60, Baranow 1973: 138, Tesch 1978: 209 & 214),
- (13) low frequency of indigenous words and instability of words within a region (cf. Weinreich 1953: 57, Scheler 1977: 88).

Most of these reasons (items 1-10) also occur, although not always in this wording, in the

<sup>3</sup> Borrowings of phonemes, morphemes, phonological rules, morphological rules, collocations and idioms as well as morphosyntactic processes are excluded from this article.

catalog of motives for lexemic change recently established in Grzega (2002a: 1030ff.). From this catalog other factors may also motivate the speaker to look for a borrowing, e.g. taboo and word-play. However, the laziness of a translator (item 11) and mere oversight (item 12), which have been brought up in the classical literature, can certainly yield to borrowing in the *parole*, but it is hardly imaginable how these can have a lasting effect on the *langue*. and as a matter of fact, those who list this reason don't give any concrete examples. It is also unclear how a low frequency rate of indigenous words (item 13) can motivate borrowing. First of all, what is a low frequency rate of a word? Does it mean that the concept is rarely talked of? Does this then include that infrequent concepts have a tendency to be named with a loanword? This is not convincing. And a borrowing doesn't render a concept more frequent. Or does low frequency rate mean that other synonyms are more frequent? But why should the rare synonym then be replaced by a borrowing and not simply by the other synonyms? This is equally little convincing.

### 3. Excursus: Integration of Borrowings

The integration, or nativization, of a word in a borrowing language's system is not really a genuine part of the word-finding process itself, but nevertheless important with regard to the first realization(s), once the speaker has decided to use a borrowing. Since the topic is dealt with in length in a number of works (cf., e.g., Haugen 1950, Deroy 1956, Tesch 1978: 128ff., Hock 1986: 390ff. & 400, Janda/Jacobs/Joseph 1994: 70ff., Hock/Joseph 1996: 259ff. & 274ff., Trask 1996: 24ff., Campbell 1998: 60ff.), I will only briefly dwell on the aspect of integration. A one-to-one-reflex of a foreign word can be hindered by diverging phonemes, sound combinations (i.e. divergent canonic syllable forms), stress patterns and inflection patterns. Finally, Bellmann (1971: 36) and Tesch (1978: 128) have also pointed out that a word also needs to be integrated semantically. What position does it take in a word-field? How does it denotationally, connotationally and collocationally differ from already existing words. Sometimes the foreign term is stylistically higher, especially when it comes from classical languages (e.g. E. *to interrogate* is more sophisticated than *to ask*, G. *illustrieren* 'illustrate' is more sophisticated than the synonymous inherited words *zeigen* or *darstellen*, AmE. *autumn* is more sophisticated than inherited *fall*), but it can also be the other way around (e.g. BrE. *autumn* is less sophisticated than inherited *fall*), or there can be register differences (cf. G. technical *Appendicitis* vs. everyday *Blinddarmenzündung* 'appendicitis' or, in contrary distribution, technical *Fernsprecher* vs. everyday *Telefon* 'telephone'. Besides, we have to state that the effects and roles of the aspects of integration mentioned not only vary from language to language, but they can also vary from region to region, social class to social class, and generation to generation. Moreover, proper nouns have their own rules. It can be observed, for instance, that Austrians are more eager to reproduce the exact foreign pronunciation of a place-name better than the Germans (cf. Grzega 2000: 57); Americans normally replace the [χ] of German words by [k], e.g., the *German Reich* [raɪk], but some of them keep it in the name of the famous composer family *Bach*, [baχ] (cf. Hock/Joseph 1996: 260).

### 4. Borrowing in the Classical Models

Already Hermann Paul (1920: 392f.) draws a rough classification of borrowings, distinguishing between the borrowing of actual foreign (external) forms and the borrowing of the internal structure of a foreign word—a classification that will later be known as importation vs. substitution (cf. also Stanforth [2002: 806f.]). However, it is the studies by Betz (1949, 1959), Haugen (1950, also 1956), and Weinreich (1953) that are regarded as the classical theoretical works on loan influence (cf. the two survey articles by Oksaar [1996: 4f.] and Stanforth [2002]). I would first like to juxtapose the respective nomenclatures and then

add a few comments.

#### 4.1. The Fundamental Classification(s) by Betz and His Successors

Weinreich (1953: 47ff.) differentiates between two mechanisms of lexical interference, namely those initiated by simple words and those initiated by compound words and phrase. Weinreich (1953: 47) defines *simple words* “from the point of view of the bilinguals who perform the transfer, rather than that of the descriptive linguist. Accordingly, the category ‘simple’ words also includes compounds that are transferred in unanalysed form.” Simple words can trigger off a transfer such as Am.Ital. *azzoraiti* < AmE. *that’s all right*, an extension of the use of an indigenous word of the influenced language in conformity with a foreign model such as Am.It. *libreria* ‘1. bookstore; 2. library’, with the second meaning effected by AmE. *library*, or a sign’s expression is changed on the model of a cognate in a language in contact (e.g. when *vakátsje* ‘vacation’ becomes *vekejšn* in Amer. Yiddish). Interference triggered off by composite items can also occur in three subtypes: either all the elements are transferred in analyzed form, or all elements are reproduced by semantic extensions of indigenous words, or there is a mixture of these two subtypes. After this general classification, Weinreich then resorts to Betz’s (1949) terminology, which will be illustrated below.

On the basis of his importation-substitution distinction<sup>4</sup>, Haugen (1950: 214f.) distinguishes three basic groups of borrowings: “(1) LOANWORDS show morphemic importation without substitution. [. . .]. (2) LOANBLENDs show morphemic substitution as well as importation. [. . .]. (3) LOANSHIFTS show morphemic substitution without importation.” Within *loanshifts* Haugen (1950: 219) further distinguishes between *loan homonymy*, “[i]f the new meaning has nothing in common with the old,” and *loan synonymy*, “[w]hen there is a certain amount of semantic overlapping between the new and old meanings”<sup>5</sup>. Hock/Joseph (1996: 275ff.) have also tried to determine the factors that make speakers decide adoption or adaptation: according to them, a high similarity of the structure of donor and target language as well as political dominion and prestige make speakers prefer adoption, whereas a low similarity of the structures of donor and target language as well as linguistic nationalism, or purism, make speakers prefer adaptation (cf. also Hock 1986: 409ff.). Haugen has later refined (1956) his model in a review of Gneuss’s (1955) book on Old English loan coinages, whose classification, in turn, is the one by Betz (1949) again. His suggestions are included in Table 1 and the following comments.

In sum, the basic theoretical statements evidently all depart from Betz’s nomenclature. Duckworth (1977) enlarges Betz’s scheme by the type “partial substitution” and supplements the system with English terms, so that for further discussions we should refer to the following terminological Betz-Duckworth-version for lexical borrowings (Haugen’s terms are added in square brackets):

<sup>4</sup> Hock/Joseph (1996) use the terms *adoption* and *adaptation*.

<sup>5</sup> Haugen’s terminology was recently updated by Cannon (1999: 328ff.). However, his suggestions are not very convincing, in my opinion. Thus, I can’t agree with Cannon (1999: 328), when he sees E. *loanword* a simple naturalization of G. *Lehnwort* to fit English phonetic and graphemic patterns. E. *loanword* is definitely a loan translation; a simple English loan of G. *loanword* would, for instance, be a form \*[’leɪnwɔrt] \*<lanewort>. Likewise, E. *activism* is not a formal adaptation of G. *Aktivism* ‘a philosophical theory’. Moreover, Cannon doesn’t seem familiar with Haugen’s (1956) further development of his own and the Betz-Gneuss system.

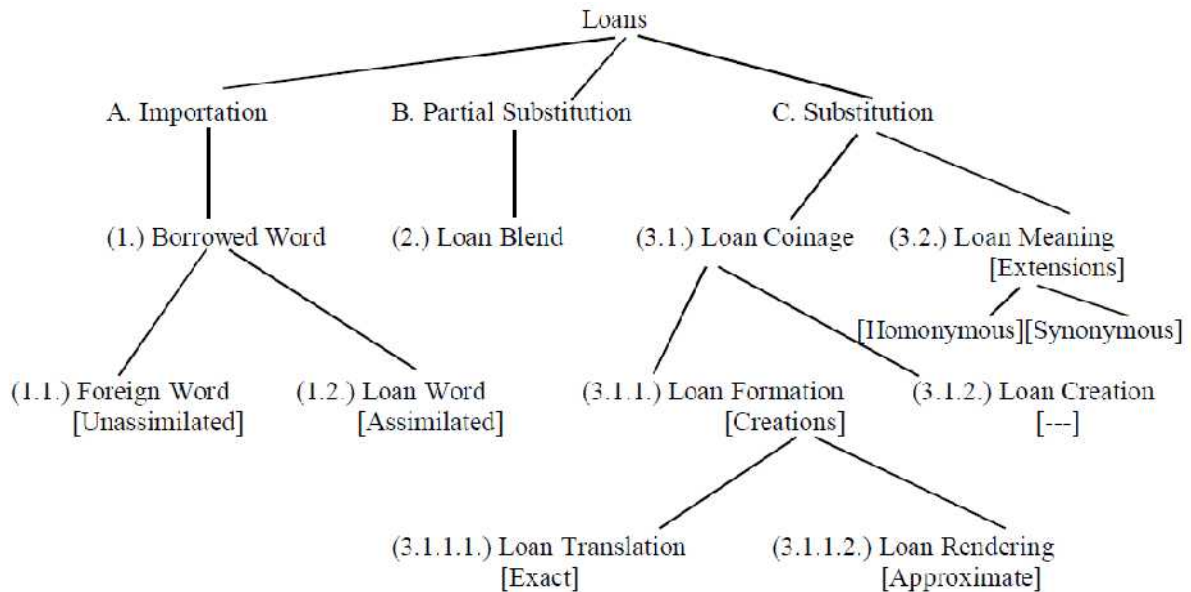


Figure 1:

Duckworth's revision of Betz's terminology for borrowings (together with Haugen's terminology)

Betz and Duckworth define these categories as follows:

- (1.1.): (non-integrated word from a foreign language, e.g. E. *café* [kæ'feɪ], *envelope* in the form ['ɑ:nvələʊp], *fiancé* in the form [fi'a:nseɪ] (all from French)<sup>6</sup>; Sp. *hippie* ['xipi], Sp. *whisk(e)y* (both from English); E. *weltanschauung* (< G. *Weltanschauung*), E. *sympathy* (Gk *sympatheia*, maybe via Fr. *sympathie*), E. (*Johann Sebastian*) *Bach* in the form [bax]; It. *mouse* 'computer device' (< E. *mouse* 'rodent; computer device');
- (1.2.): integrated word from a foreign language, e.g. E. *music* ['mju:zɪk], *envelope* in the form ['envələʊp], *fiancé* in the form [fi'ɒntseɪ] (all from French); Sp. *jipi* ['xipi] (a case of graphic integration), Sp. *güisqui* (both from English), E. (*Johann Sebastian*) *Bach* in the form [bak];
- (2.): composite words, in which one part is borrowed, another one substituted, e.g. OE. *Saturnes dæg* 'Saturday' (< Lat. *Saturnis dies*), G. *Showgeschäft* 'literally: show-business' (< E. *show business*), G. *Live-Sendung* 'literally: live-broadcast' (< E. *live broadcast*);
- (3.1.1.1.): translation of the elements of the foreign word, e.g. OE. *Mōnan dæg* 'Monday' (< Lat. *Lunae dies*), Fr. *gratte-ciel* and Sp. *rasca•cielos* 'both literally: scrape-sky' (< E. *skyscraper*)<sup>7</sup>, E. *world view* (< G. *Welt•anschauung*), G. *Mit•leid* 'sympathy' < Lat. *com•passio* (< Gk. *sym•patheia*), AmSp. *manzana de Adán* (< E. *Adam's apple*; vs. EurSp. *nuez [de la garganta]* 'literally: nut [of the throat]');
- (3.1.1.2.): translation of part of the elements of the foreign word, e.g. E. *brother•hood* (< Lat. *frater•nitas* [= Lat. *frater* 'brother' + suffix] [cf. comment below!]), G. *Wolken•kratzer* 'literally: clouds-scraper' (< E. *sky•scraper*);
- (3.1.2.): coinage independent of the foreign word, but created out of the desire to replace a foreign word, e.g. E. *brandy* (< Fr. *cognac*);

<sup>6</sup> The phonetic variants here and throughout the rest of the article are taken from the EPD15.

<sup>7</sup> This, of course, also includes the translations with respect to the word-formation patterns of the recipient language.

- (3.2.): indigenous word to which the meaning of the foreign word is transferred, e.g. OE. *cniht* ‘servant + disciple of Jesus’ (< Lat. *discipulus* ‘student, disciple of Jesus’), OE. *heofon* ‘sky, abode of the gods + Christian heaven’ (< Lat. *caelum* ‘sky, abode of the gods, Christian heaven’), G. *Fall* ‘action of falling + grammatical case’ (< Lat. *casus* ‘action of falling, grammatical case’), G. *Maus* and Fr *souris* ‘rodent + computer device’ (< E. *mouse* ‘rodent, computer device’).

## 4.2. Comments on the Classical Classification(s)

The scheme that I have just presented calls for a few comments.

4.2.1. **General Remarks:** First, it should be added that Betz also includes loan expressions (or loan collocations) and loan syntax on a par with loan meaning. However, as Haugen (1956: 763) rightly suggests, they rather belong, “if anywhere, under Lehnbildung. They differ from other loan formations, not in the principle of borrowing, but in their linguistic structure: the same thing happens when French *faire la cour* becomes German *den Hof machen* as when English *skyscraper* becomes German *Wolkenkratzer*. In either case a Lehnübersetzung has taken place with a substitution of native morphemes.”

4.2.2. **Importation:** Borrowings may stem not only from another language, but also from another variety of the same language. Thus, ModE. *uncouth*, as can be seen by the lack of diphthongization of ME. [u:], descends from a North English dialect<sup>8</sup>. This possibility is referred to in the works by Schöne (1951), Derooy (1956: 113f., 116) and Hock (1986: 380 & 388f.), but by and large, it is not seldom neglected in the literature. On the other hand, it must also be mentioned that some linguists consciously exclude this possibility from their definition of *borrowing*. Gusmani (1973: 7f.), for instance, says that otherwise nearly every word would be a borrowing—at least from another idiolect. In a way this would indeed be a correct description for the loan innovation in an idiolect and for the diffusion of the loan in a the dialect of a speech community, but this is, of course, not a valuable description of loan innovations in a speech community. Also of note, some of the categories are hard to delimitate, especially when it comes to the distinction between foreign word (G. *Fremdwort*) and loanword (G. *Lehnwort*)<sup>9</sup>. The decisive criterion for the separation of loanword and foreign word is supposed to be the degree of integration. But “integrated” in what respect? Linguistically (system) or sociolinguistically (acceptance by speech community)? And if linguistically, which aspects? Only spelling and pronunciation or also inflection? For Polenz (1967: 72f.) only the sociolinguistic, or sociolinguistic, aspect is worth pursuing. Cannon (1999: 330f.), too, favors this approach, and distinguishes four degrees of naturalization, the definitions of which, however, do not really become clear (cf. also Pfeffer/Cannon 1994: xxxiii). Weinreich (1953: 54f.) mentions the phonetic, the morphological as well as the stylistic integration. Gusmani (1973: 23f) suggests keeping formal aspects and usage aspects apart and terms the former *integration*, the latter *acclimatization*. Discussions show at least one thing, namely that with these categories we are confronted with “fuzzy edges,” to adopt a label from cognitive linguistics. In other words: there are prototypical, clearly foreign words such as E. *coup d’état* (< Fr.) and prototypical, loanwords that are clearly such like E. *wine* (< Lat. *vīnum*) and in between many intermediate stages along a continuum (cf. also Derooy [1956: 224]). It should be realized, though, that in an onomasiological approach, which looks at the birth, not the maturation of the word, the distinction between *loanword* and *foreign word* is rather of minor importance and only relevant at the very last “onomasiological stage,”

<sup>8</sup> Cannon (1999: 332f.) rightly remarks that sometimes the exact source variety or source language may not be determinable (any longer).

<sup>9</sup> Among German linguists the discussion between foreign word and loan word has a long tradition (cf. Duckworth [1977: 40ff.], Tesch [1978: 42ff.] and Braun [1979]).

the actual pronunciation of the word. In addition, differentiations are also not unproblematic when it comes to loan formations and loan meanings, as shall be seen later. Moreover, it is a general rule—and should not be treated as something peculiar in a model—that foreign words are not adopted with their complete meaning of the source language, but normally in only one sense (cf. also Stanforth [2002: 808]). This is clear as a speech community does not borrow an (isolated) *word*, but a designation for a specific *concept* (cf. also Schelper 1995: 241).<sup>10</sup> Rarely, terms are also adopted in a meaning broader than in the giving language (cf. Deroy 1956: 265, Pfeffer 1977: 523, Tournier 1985: 330).

**4.2.3. Loan Blends:** To the group of hybrid composites we may also add the phenomenon of those “tautological compounds” (cf. Gusmani 1973: 51, Glahn 2000: 46) where a native morpheme is added to a foreign morpheme, with the sense of the former being already encompassed in the latter. Examples are E. *peacock* (first element from Lat. *pavo* ‘peacock’), OE. *porlēac* ‘porridge’ (first element from Lat. *porrus* ‘porridge’ + OE. *lēac* ‘porridge’). It has been said that “tautological compounds” are coined because speakers don’t know the exact meaning of the foreign word (any longer) (Carstensen 1965: 265f., Fleischer 1974: 123, Tesch 1978: 127). This is well imaginable, but it can certainly not be the only reason. Does the choice between *crimson* and *crimson red*, e.g., depend on the knowledge of the exact meaning of *crimson*? Moreover, the formal extension of *pea* to *peacock* does not necessarily ease the identification of the corresponding concept, although there is nevertheless a rise in semantic transparency.

**4.2.4. Loan Formations:** As to “loan translations” and “loan renderings” it should first be noted that Betz’s example of *brotherhood* seems problematic, as here we may wonder whether *-hood* doesn’t simply represent the translation of Lat. *-itas*, which then makes it a “full” loan-translation. As a matter of fact loan translations and loan renditions have not always been separated consistently, as Tesch (1978: 114) rightly criticizes. As to an onomasiological theory it should be underscored that “loan formations,” which Haugen (1956) calls “creations,” are hard to detect anyhow. How do we know whether the inventor of a coinage had a foreign model in mind or whether s/he selected the same motive for the designation (the same *iconym* in Alinei’s [1997] terminology) by chance? It seems as if the more salient an iconym, the more difficult we can decide whether we have to do with an independent formation or a calque<sup>11</sup>. In addition, the existence of “loan renderings” shows that it is the iconym rather than the form that is the model for the coinage (cf. also Deroy 1956: 216). For “loan translations” the formal aspect may play an additional part, but this cannot be decided for sure; the criteria that the classification might additionally be founded on includes a cross-linguistic comparison (is a specific semantic broadening wide-spread or only singular?), dates of the first occurrence in the presumable donor and the presumable target language, and cultural contexts. Deroy (1956: 222) shows that calques can also occur with idiomatic expressions, e.g. OFr. *Coment le faites vous?* ‘literally: How it-object make-2pl. you?’ becomes *How do you faire?* in Middle English and later *How do you do?*

**4.2.5. Loan Meanings and Loan Creations:** As regards loan meanings, or semantic loans, (in Haugen’s [1956] terminology “extensions”) already Gneuss (1955: 21) observes that actually two different processes have been subsumed under this term. In one subprocess, which he calls “analogous loan meanings,” the polysemy of the foreign model is copied (e.g. G. *Fall* ‘action of falling + grammatical case’ < Lat. *casus* ‘action of falling, grammatical

<sup>10</sup> This way, Lipka’s (2001: 305) view that G. *Handout* shows semantic narrowing because it only carries the English sense ‘piece of printed information given out to an audience’, but not the sense ‘amount of money given to a needy person’ seems wrong to me.

<sup>11</sup> Also Lehmann (1972: 29), Schelper (1995: 326) and Glahn (2000: 37) note that latent loans are hard to detect. Betz (1972: 141f.) has tried to establish a catalog of criteria, but the general problem will remain unsolved.

case'), in the other subprocess, which he calls "substituting loan meanings," a word that has a "similar" meaning is extended to purvey the notion of the foreign model (e.g. OE. *cniht* 'servant + disciple of Jesus' < Lat. *discipulus* 'student, disciple of Jesus'). But here we face the same problem as with loan formations, namely: the question of whether cases of substituting loan meanings were really in any way influenced by a foreign language. This can be denied even more strictly than with loan formations (cf. also Glahn [2000: 42]). What is foreign is the concept, but there is no foreign linguistic import. The word is created just like any word out of indigenous material. Analogous loan meanings, on the other hand, seem to be a true mixture of semantic change and borrowing, where the foreign word serves as a model very early in the word-finding process. As for "analogous loan meanings" Gneuss (1955: 22f.) and Haugen (1956: 764) distinguish between those analogies that are triggered off by the semantic intersection of model and replica, e.g. OE. *tunga* 'tongue + language' due to Lat. *lingua* 'tongue, language', and those that are triggered off by the phonetic similarity between model and replica, e.g. Am.Norw. *brand* 'fire + bran [i.e. the outer covering of grain that is separated when making white flour]' due to E. *bran* 'the outer covering of grain that is separated when making white flour'<sup>12</sup>. Haugen speaks of "synonymous loan extensions" in the first and "homophonous loan extensions" in the second example, but since model and replica may not represent complete synonyms and homophones, I suggest speaking of [content-induced] "loan meanings" and [sound-induced] "loan designations." However, it seems doubtful whether these two phenomena are really subtypes of the same type. The genesis seems rather different to me and Haugen actually offers an alternative view of the second phenomenon which seems more apposite, namely "regard such homophonous extensions as LOANWORDS, in which the phonemic replica was not made phoneme-by-phoneme, but was mutated by influence of phonemically similar morphemes" (Haugen 1956: 764; my emphasis). Tesch (1978: 118) even mentions a third type of "semantic loan," viz. "homologous semantic loans." As an example he mentions G. *realisieren*, which, apart from 'to make, to carry out', has adopted the sense of 'to note' on the basis of E. *realize*. Such cases would then represent both content-induced and sound-induced loan phenomena. The boundaries of these three phenomena are, of course, fuzzy (cf. also Tesch 1978: 118). Moreover, also Betz's "loan creations" (not synonymous with Haugen's creations, which equal Betz's loan formations) come into existence, in contrast to what the model suggests and Kiesler (1993: 516) supports, without any influence from the foreign expression (as already shown by Betz's definition<sup>13</sup> and also propagated by Haugen [1950: 220f., 1956: 765], Schuhmann [1965: 66], Tesch [1978: 115] and Höfler [1981])<sup>14</sup>—similar to the so-called "substituting loan meanings." Both "loan creations" and "substituting loan meanings" should therefore be excluded from an onomasiological model of loans, since otherwise all types of word-formations would fall under this heading only because the concepts designated were imported. This can hardly make sense.

**4.2.6. Pseudo-Loans:** Hardly integrated in such models, but normally treated separately (if at all) are the so-called pseudo-loans<sup>15</sup>. Therefore, I shall delve into this category a little more thoroughly. Pseudo-loans are traditionally classified into three types (cf., e.g., Carstensen 1980a, 1980b, 1981—examples are taken from these works):

<sup>12</sup> Gneuss (1955: 23) gives another example: G. *irritieren* 'to irritate + to confuse' (< Lat. *irritare* or Fr. *irriter*, both 'to irritate') due to G. *irr* 'confused'. This, however, is not a good example, since the extension is not due to a foreign model, but due to the folk-etymological influence of a native (!) word. Also of note, as Urbanová (1966: 108) has rightly pointed out, it can sometimes be difficult to distinguish between the import of a foreign word and semantic change; besides, it is also difficult to separate these phenomena from loan translations (cf. Tesch 1978: 117).

<sup>13</sup> Betz' example of E. *brandy* is not a good one, since the word is possibly a true loan of the first element of Du. *brandewijn* (cf. Scheler 1977: 27).

<sup>14</sup> Haugen also refers to an article by Casagrande (1954: 217).

<sup>15</sup> There is a variety of other names for the same phenomenon, but I will refrain from listing and commenting on them. Cf. also Höfler (1990) and Gusmani (1979).

- (i) semantic pseudo-loans (i.e. a foreign word shows a meaning it didn't have in the original meaning, e.g. G. *Start* in the sense of 'take-off', G. *beaten* 'to play beat music' G. *Oldtimer* 'veteran car', G. *Musicbox* 'juke-box', G. *Dress* 'outfit (sports); shirt, or strip, of a sports team', G. *checken* 'understand'),
- (ii) lexical pseudo-loans (i.e. the word looks foreign or is coined with foreign morphemes, but the combination of the morphemes cannot be found in the foreign language, e.g. G. *Handy* 'cellular phone'<sup>16</sup>, G. *Showmaster* 'host'<sup>17</sup>),
- (iii) morphological pseudo-loans (combinations of lexical morphemes that do not quite correspond to the formations in the foreign language, e.g. G. *Happy-End* for E. *happy ending*<sup>18</sup>).

Pseudo-loans can be understood as a process of "borrowing" that is encouraged by the foreign language's prestige and rules (cf. Schottmann 1977: 27)<sup>19</sup>. Janda/Jacobs/Joseph (1994: 71ff.) and Hock/Joseph (1996: 270) point out the phenomenon of "hyper-foreignization" in pronunciation (or "emphatic foreignisation" in Campbell's terminology [1998: 76f.]), e.g. the pronunciation [ku:dəgra] for *coup de grâce*, which in French would have to be [kudəgras]. However, one type of pseudo-loans is very prominent in English, although they are never labeled as such, viz. the so-called "neo-classical compounds," i.e. terms for basically modern inventions consisting of Latin and Greek elements. It need be underlined that the above-given tripartite classification is understandable and valuable from a analytical, synchronic perspective, especially in the realm of foreign language teaching. A synthetical (i.e. onomasiological) perspective, however, must view the phenomenon of "pseudo"-loans in a different way. First, one must look at the source language at the time of the first attestation of the word in the target language and not into present-day dictionaries in order to discern whether a word is a "true" loan or a "pseudo"-loan. Höfler (1990: 100ff.) has already criticized the ahistorical view that is much too often found in dictionaries. This is especially relevant in an onomasiological approach and also includes the exact analysis of semantic pseudo-loans: was the aberrant sense already present at the very stage of borrowing (i.e. was the foreign word misunderstood or misused?) or is the aberrant sense a later, secondary, independent and conscious development in the target language (cf. also Carstensen 1965: 256f., Bellmann 1971, Höfler 1990: 99)? Personally, I don't see that aberrant uses of a loan, if they should ever happen in the *parole*, can have any lasting effects on the *langue*. We have no evidence that the first introduction of a loan is a wrong use of the foreign language<sup>20</sup>. What we

<sup>16</sup> The classification of G. *Handy* as a lexical pseudo-loan is due to the fact that a noun *handy* doesn't exist in English. For Glahn (2000: 37), however, *Handy* is a semantic pseudo-loan, as he just sees the form without its membership in a word-class (and so *handy* exists in English as an adjective).

<sup>17</sup> In contrast to G. *Handy*, which represents a combination of two foreign morphemes not in use in the German language before, the item G. *Showmaster* was coined of two foreign morphemes that had already been known by the German speech community. We may therefore speak of two subtypes of "lexical pseudo-loans."

<sup>18</sup> Meyer (1974: 123) has called such instances *loan shortenings*.

<sup>19</sup> Especially pseudo-anglicisms have been the focus of a number of studies on German (cf. e.g. Carstensen 1980a, 1980b, 1981, and Grzega 2001a), but also on other languages (cf. Filipović 1985, Cypionka 1994). As to English there doesn't seem to be a consciousness of pseudo-loans although they do exist (cf. Janda/Jacobs/Joseph 1994).

<sup>20</sup> Trask (1996: 18f.) lists a number of other examples: Ru. *vokzal* 'station' < E. *Vauxhall* 'very important London station', E. *kangaroo* 'kangaroo' < Austr. 'large black kangaroo', E. *cafeteria* 'cafeteria' < Sp. *cafetería* 'coffee shop', Fr. Sp. *footing* 'jogging' < E. *footing* 'act of walking, pacing, or stepping'. These examples can all be rejected as non-valid, though, after a look in relevant dictionaries. The story of Ru. *vokzal* is explained in Görlach (2001: 340): "This meaning was coined in Russian, when an English Vauxhall (amusement park) opened close to a station of the first railway line in Russia near St. Petersburg. In the course of time, the name for this fair was transferred to the station building close by and finally became a generic term." This is therefore a case of (secondary) semantic change. The etymology of *kangaroo* is still very unclear and debated. AmSp. *cafetería* included the sense of 'place where you can buy and drink [first coffee, later all kinds of other drinks]', from which AmE. developed still another sense (cf. OED s.v. *cafeteria*). Fr. Sp. *footing* 'jogging' (the type also occurs in other languages) may actually represent an independent, autonomous formation (that later spread over other European countries) (cf. also Görlach 2001: 123).



can suggest, however, from large corpuses of attestations such as the ones of the AWb, is that loans can easily undergo semantic extensions (and are finally no longer used in their original senses). As a consequence lexical pseudo-loans such as G. *Handy* or G. *Showmaster* are not (necessarily) thought to be renderings of actual foreign words. What counts is that they sound foreign and that they have been coined with foreign material (maybe to the prestige of the foreign language). Actually, we can observe that these are always compounds or derivations, in other words: morphosemantically motivated words. This is natural as a pseudo-loan only makes sense if it shows (at least partly) motivation. It is the entire contact language that serves as a model and not only the phonetic system (although this can also happen as will be shown in section 4.2.7.). What has been subsumed under morphological pseudo-loans can either be secondary developments or true slight changes in the morphological structure. Thus, in *happy ending* the derivational suffix *-ing* was probably not felt necessary for understanding and was thus suppressed in G. *Happy End* (aside from the more recent *Happy Ending*; cf. AWb). The same holds true for G. *Aerobic* ‘aerobics’ and G. *Gin Tonic* ‘gin and tonic’. As to semantic pseudo-loans, it seems sensible to have a more thorough look at the examples given above. G. *beaten* ‘to play beat music’ is most probably not at all based on E. *to beat* (as the AWb suggests), but on the earlier loan G. *Beat* ‘beat [music]’ and therefore represents an autochthonous derivation. Autochthonous word-formation, this time compounding, is also the process G. *Musicbox* ‘juke-box’. I do not agree with the AWb either, which claims that one American dictionary also lists *music-box* ‘jukebox’ and that therefore G. *Musicbox* is a true loan; I think that G. *Musicbox* is an independent, autochthonous formation. G. *Oldtimer* and G. *Start* both were borrowed in their original English uses, but show secondary semantic extensions based on similarity between the originally and the secondarily denoted concepts (cf. the dates given in the respective entries in the AWb). G. *checken* originally only had the sense ‘to check’, but later also included the sense ‘to understand’ (cf. AWb), which can be traced back to the contiguity relationship between these two concepts. G. *Dress* ‘outfit (sports)’, finally, does not seem to be based on the English noun *dress*, but rather on the compound *tennis dress* (for ladies) or on the more general (verbal) morpheme *dress*; in the latter case, we should see G. *Dress* on a par with G. *Handy* and G. *Showmaster*, i.e. it is an autochthonous formation with foreign material. In conclusion, the phenomenon of semantic pseudo-loans is very rare from an onomasiological point of view, if it exists at all. In sum, we could distinguish between morpho-lexical pseudo-loans if the word of the replica language does not exist in the model language (such as G. *Handy* ‘cellular phone’, G. *Showmaster* ‘host’), and sem(antic)o-lexical pseudo-loans if the (composite) word of the replica language does exist in the model language, but was “mis-used” in the replica language. In any case, one should only speak of semo-lexical pseudo-loans when the deviating meaning is already there with the “borrowing” process. When the deviating meaning is secondary then we are facing an instance of semantic change.

**4.2.7. Folk-Etymological Adaptations:** The force of folk-etymology in connection with borrowings can be illustrated by the German word *ausgepowert* ‘1. impoverished, 2. exhausted’. This word was originally only used in sense 1 and pronounced [‘aosgəpovət] well into the middle of the second half of the twentieth century; it represents a derivation of the German loan replica of Fr. *pauvre* [povr] ‘poor’. With the growing prestige of (American) English, however, the word was folk-etymologically put into the group of Anglicisms by pronouncing it more and more frequently [‘aosgəpauvət] (cf. E. *power*). This seems close to what Weinreich (1953: 50) terms a “mild type of lexical interference[, which] occurs when the expression of a sign is changed on the model of a cognate in a language in contact, without effect on the content, e.g. when *vakátsje* ‘vacation’ becomes *vekejšn* in Amer. Yiddish.” To what degree *vekejšn* was borrowed into American Yiddish due to its phonetic similarity with *vakátsje* remains to be seen: it seems that several motives had their effects here. G. *auspowern* is a different case: the spelling remains the same—but it is re-interpreted.

There are also cases of borrowing that obviously go parallel with folk-etymology. Thus E. *gooseberry* (from G. (dial.) *Krausbeere*, Du. *kruisbezie* or Fr. *grosseille*) seems to represent an apt example. The OED doesn't believe in an external influence from G. (dial.) *Krausbeere*, Du. *kruisbezie* or Fr. *grosseille*, viewing the huge impact of animal names on plant names. However, the weak motivation for naming this specific berry after the goose and the strong similarity of sounds between the English word and the foreign words are simply too striking to deny any relation. Another instance is Fr. *contredanse* (Fr. *contre* 'counter, opposite') from E. *country dance*. Mostly, however, folk-etymological adaptations are normally not triggered off by the name-giver and borrower, but by the speech community, which subsequently tries to adopt the word.

### 5. Borrowing in Koch's Three-Dimensional Model for Lexical Diachrony

In a recent article Koch (2001) has made the commendable attempt to provide us with a comprehensive model of lexical changes and established a three-dimensional diachronic lexicological grid which systemizes the possibilities provided to speakers for coining a new term for a given concept. Koch distinguishes between cognitive-associative relations (such as contiguity and similarity) on an horizontal axis and formal relations (such as suffixation, prefixation, and composition) on a vertical axis. In addition, there is a third axis for distinguishing between indigenous material and borrowed elements; we could term this the stratification axis. Koch's (2001: 19) table looks like this:

	identity	contiguity	metaphorical similarity	taxonomic similarity	taxonomic superordin.	taxonomic subordin.	taxonomic contrast	conceptual contrast
'zero'	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
conversion	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
:								
:								
suffixation	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
prefixation	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
composition	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47
:								
:								

Figure 2:  
Koch's three-dimensional grid for lexical diachrony

A few examples (cf. Koch 2001: 18ff.) for the indigenous material systematized in the front half of the grid shall illustrate some of the processes. Koch suggests noting lexical changes down in the form of triples <cognitive relation.formal relation.stratification>. An example for <taxonomic subordination.zero.stratum> is ModE. *meat* 'flesh of an animal when it is used for food' (from OE. *mete* 'victuals; food and drink'), an example for

<contiguity.composition.stratum< is ModE. *pear tree*, an example for <identity.suffixation.stratum< is E. *wandering* (from *wander*), an example for <metaphorical similarity.zero.stratum< is Fr. *chef* ‘person in the leading position’ (from Fr. *chef* ‘head’), an example for <taxonomic similarity.zero.stratum< is Pg. *rato* ‘mouse’ (from Lat. *\*ratt-* ‘rat’), an example for <cotaxonomic contrast.zero.stratum< is E. (slang) *bad* ‘good’, an example for <conceptual contrast.zero.stratum< is It. *brava donna* ‘prostitute’ (from *brava donna* ‘honorable woman’).

As to the stratification dimension, which is treated rather in passing, Koch (2001: 25) writes that very often borrowings are, as he says, neutral in their cognitive as well as in their formal dimension, i.e. they are simply adopted without formal and semantic change, and thus simply correspond to the type ‘00’ in the grid (e.g. E. *café* < Fr. *café*, It. *Mouse* ‘computer device’ < E. *mouse* ‘animal; computer device’). This has the advantage that the differentiation between foreign word and loan word and the differentiation between loan translation and loan rendering become irrelevant. The stratification axis in relation to the formal axis on the hand and in relation to the cognitive-associative axis on the other is also a reflex of the old distinction between importation (formal borrowing) and substitution (cognitive-associative borrowing).

But the models also triggers off new problems. Problems arise, for instance, with cases where either a word of the stratum is said to take over a new semantic function under the influence of a foreign word or where the borrowing itself is said to undergo semantic change. As an example for the former Koch quotes G. *Maus* ‘animal’, which, under the influence of E. *mouse*, also denotes the computer device; the latter is illustrated by G. *Sombrero* ‘Mexican hat with a broad brim’ from Sp. *sombrero* ‘hat’. However, while formal influence from another language or variety is easily detectable (e.g. E. *café*, It. *mouse*, G. *Sombrero*), foreign influence on the cognitive-associative level can hardly be made out for certain: how sure can we be that G. *Maus* ‘animal’ developed its secondary sense ‘computer device’ on the basis of E. *mouse* and does not represent an independent development? Again, the criteria that the classification might be based on includes a cross-linguistic view (is a specific semantic broadening wide-spread or only singular?), dates of the first occurrence in the presumable donor and the presumable target language, and cultural contexts.

Another point of criticism concerns cases like G. *Sombrero* ‘typical Mexican hat with a broad brim’. Is it really the case that the relation of taxonomic subordination plays a role in the borrowing of Sp. *sombrero* ‘hat’ into German? If German really got *Sombrero* directly from Spanish and not via English, it rather seems to be the case that German speakers, when importing the prototypical type of a Mexican hat and looking for a name, simply took over the word they had frequently heard among Mexicans denoting their prototypical member of the category HAT, namely the basic level term *sombrero*<sup>21</sup>. It may then be that either the speakers did not know that the word did not refer to a specific kind of hat, but any type of hat, or that they did know, but that they also knew that the typical Mexican hat is broad-brimmed. True, in a semasiological analysis, which departs from the word, the development of Sp. *sombrero* ‘hat’ to G. *sombrero* ‘specific kind of hat (viz. with a broad brim, as worn in Mexico)’ is an instance of specialization; an onomasiological analysis, which looks at the name-giving steps, suggests that this sense relation is never present in the German speech community’s minds. This is evidence, again, that people don’t adopt meanings, but references, in other words: not lexemes, but designations for a specific concept or referent. This is different from cases like E. *meat*, e.g., where the first users knew that *meat* is originally ‘food’; in other words there was a stage of polysemy that did not exist with the adoption of *sombrero* in German.

<sup>21</sup> subordinate level term is deducible from a number of studies (cf. Mangold-Allwinn 1995: 126ff., 153f.).

In conclusion, it may be doubted whether, aside from the cognitive and the formal relations, the stratification aspect should be adopted as a third equally working dimension, unless maybe in fully bilingual societies. This is not to deny that Koch's grid is otherwise very useful and illustrative.

## 6. The Word-Finding Process

At the beginning of each name-giving process is a concept that you want to name. You either choose an already existing name for the concept or you choose to create a new synonym or you even must create a new word because the concept is so new that it has not even been given a name yet. The cognitive consequences in cases (b) and (c) are the same then. In these instances speakers need find a suitable motive—an iconym, as Alinei (e.g. 1997) has called it—for the new coinage. This means that they have to analyze the concept (into salient aspects): you may see the elements it consists of (partiality), you may see what it looks like compared to other things (similarity), you may see what it does not look like compared to other things (contrast) or you may see other concepts (from adjacent frames) that the concept to be named is related to (contiguity). When trying to find a name for a given concept the speaker not only has to select from cognitive possibilities, but s/he also has to select from formal possibilities to bring these associations into actual sound: basically, as already said, s/he may either

- (a) take an already existing word and give it a new meaning (i.e. semantic change),
- (b) borrow an already existing word with the same meaning from another dialect or language,
- (c) coin a new word from already existing material (word-formation); the speech community may also use a combination of these possibilities.

In his onomasiological theory of word-formation Štekauer has established a valuable word-finding scheme that need not be narrowed down to word-formation only, but can serve us as a general basis for onomasiological processes. According to Štekauer a word-forming process consists of five levels<sup>22</sup>:

- (1) the conceptual level, where the concept to be named is analyzed and conceptually categorized in the most general way (i.e. “SUBSTANCE, ACTION (with internal subdivision into ACTION PROPER, PROCESS, and STATE), QUALITY, and CONCOMITANT CIRCUMSTANCE. (for example, that of Place, Time, Manner, etc.)” [Štekauer 2001: 11]),
- (2) the semantic level, where the semantic markers or semantic components are structured<sup>23</sup>,
- (3) the onomasiological level, where the semantic components for the naming units are selected (“naming in a more abstract sense”) (this level could also be labelled “iconymic” level),
- (4) the so-called onomatological level (with the Form-to-Meaning Assignment Principle [FMAP]), where the concrete morphemes are selected (“naming in a more concrete sense”),
- (5) the phonological level, where the forms are actually combined.

I prefer to call the last level “morphological level,” since it also respects morphological and suprasegmental rules. As to the first two levels the model is a little problematic because Štekauer provides with no evidence that these are the stages that the speaker's goes through. But what we know from psycholinguistic studies is that the various sensory features of an object are processed by the perceptual system at the same time, but in different speeds: so-

<sup>22</sup> The five levels are slightly supplemented in Grzega (2002b).

<sup>23</sup> Onomasiological relations are also in the center of a recent article by Horecký (1999).

called global features such as the contours or the color are processed more rapidly than so-called local features like interior features of an object (cf., e.g., Mangold-Allwinn 1995: 133ff., 260f., Kolb/Wishaw 1990, Navon 1977). Therefore, I suggest to combine Štekauer's conceptual and semantic level under a term "perceptual level." If the object, or concept, it will immediately trigger off a mental network of linguistic information, in other words: the linguistic sign (cf. Mangold-Allwinn 1995: 158ff., 261). But the speaker may prefer not to utter the usual form that has come to his mind, but to search for a new word (e.g. for reasons of prestige and modernity). This is, of course, automatically necessary with unnamed (new) objects or concepts. It is logical that the speaker will then have to look at the object and filter out one or more salient features that he wants to take as a basis for the new name, taking into account similarities, contiguities, the situational context etc. (onomasiological level). Dirven/Verspoor (1998: 55) speak of an "onomasiological struggle." For these features s/he will also have to find corresponding linguistic material in his/her mind (onomatological) before s/he finally produces the word with his articulatory apparatus (morphonological level). This approach seems to work very well as far as word-formation and semantic change are concerned. The following section will investigate to what extent this scheme can be applied to word-finding processes where borrowing is involved.

## 7. Synthesis: Loan Effects in the Word-Finding Process

In sum, borrowings can be categorized (a) according to the level where they come into effect in the word-finding process and from where the speaker jumps immediately to the morphonological level and (b) according to whether the formal (and iconymic) structure of a word is borrowed or merely its iconymic structure. The following figure illustrates my revised of Štekauer's model plus the various types of influences indicated by circled numbers, which are explained below<sup>24</sup>:

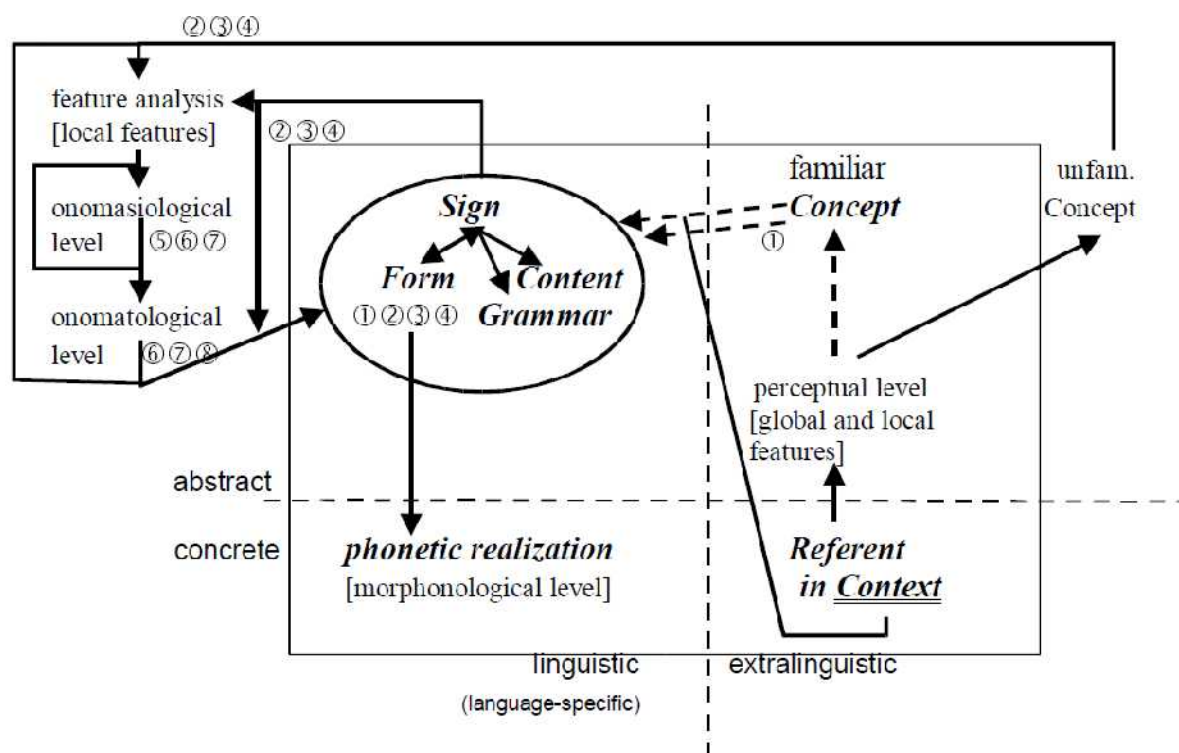


Figure 3: Suggestion for a new onomasiological scheme of borrowing processes

<sup>24</sup> In the terminology that I suggest, the names for the coinages showing an external model all end in *loan*, whereas those coinages where the internal structure has a foreign model show the morpheme *loan* in the first part of their names.

The word-finding process is as follows. On the perceptual level the speaker analyzes a Referent in Context and categorizes it either as a familiar or as an unfamiliar Concept. In the first case s/he then connects the Concept to the corresponding linguistic Sign. Here an accident, for which I propose the term **“phonetic loan”**①, may happen. An example of “phonetic loan” was G. *auspowern*, where the present German pronunciation was attracted by E. *power* (though this, as has been shown, is not the true etymon of the word). Furthermore, we can confront OE. *fers* with ModE. *verse* and OE. *Crēac* with ModE. *Greek*; in both instances the initial sound has been re-modeled on the Latin correspondent (and, as a matter of fact, etymon). In other words: we are virtually not facing an instance of word-finding, or name-giving. The name is already there, but the speaker is mistake as to the exact form and re-shapes it on the basis of a foreign, paronymous (i.e. Similarly sounding) name for the same concept. This is a specific case of folk-etymology then. Such instances first only occur in the parole, but may easily spread due to the lacking familiarity with a term or due to the prestige of a specific user of the new sound shape.

Apart from resorting to a familiar name for the Concept, the speaker may also choose to replace by creating a new name for it. If the Concept is unfamiliar, the the speaker is forced to create a name anyway. The steps following are equal in both cases. On the way of creation the speaker, before even analyzing the Concept, again may choose to take the respective name for the Concept from a foreign language or variety. This borrowing will usually not mean the borrowing of an entire sign including its semantic and morphological characteristics (Content and Grammar), but will only mean the borrowing of a Form. The speaker then proceeds immediately to the level of the Sign and the morphological level. The result may be termed a **“true loan”**②. Yet three accidents may occur at this level, which I term “incomplete loan,” “misloan,” and “phonetic loan.” An **“incomplete loan”**③ is created if not all morphemes of the foreign word are reproduced one-to-one. In the traditional terminology we speak of a morphological pseudo-loan (e.g. G. *Happy-End* and Fr. *happy end* from E. *happy ending* or G. *Aerobic* from E. *aerobics*). Under **“misloans”**④ I understand those words that undergo folk-etymological alterations during the borrowing process (e.g. *gooseberry* from G. [dial.] *Krausbeere*, Du. *kruisbezie*, or Fr. *grosseille*) and instances like Am.Norw. *brand* ‘fire + bran [i.e. the outer covering of grain that is separated when making white flour]’ (due to E. *bran* ‘the outer covering of grain that is separated when making white flour’) where an already existing indigenous morpheme is used because of the phonetic similarity between model and replica. However, such “misloans” will normally only occur in the *parole*, but will not primarily influence the *langue*. If a “misloan” enters the *langue*, then this usually happens for reasons of word-play or of fashionable copying of the creator of the “misloan.”

Instead of simply borrowing the form of a foreign word, the speaker may continue the word-coining process by analyzing at the iconymic structure of the corresponding expression in a foreign language or dialect on the onomatological level. If on the onomatological level the Speaker simply tries to find a way to express the iconymic structure by indigenous material, the result can be termed a **“loan rendering”**⑤. But the Speaker can also continue to take the foreign expression as a model on the onomatological level. This can be done in two ways: (a) the Speaker may copy a polysemy of a foreign expression by the semantic extension of an indigenous word (**“loan meaning”**⑥) or (b) the Speaker may copy the morphemic combination of the foreign word (**“loan translation”**⑦). As to the distinction between “loan translation” and “loan renderings”, I would like to stress, again, that it may not always be easy to determine when a parallel construction is influenced by a foreign model and when it is an independent coinage. Our classic example of a *loan meaning* (i.e. *stricto sensu*, “content-induced”) was G. *Fall* ‘action of falling + grammatical case’ (< Lat. *casus* ‘action of falling, grammatical case’). The influence of foreign words with such instances seems to be the following. On the perceptual level the concept (here: GRAMMATICAL\_CASE) is

semantically structured as ‘X’ (here: ‘grammatical case’) and the speaker now looks at words for the same reference and semantic structure ‘X’ in a foreign language and sees that a corresponding foreign word (here: Lat. *casus*) carries an additional meaning ‘Y’ (here: ‘action of falling’). So the speaker may in turn look for the corresponding native word that expresses this additional meaning ‘Y’ of the foreign word (here: G. *Fall*) and finally decides to extend the use of Y’s name to X, parallel to the foreign words semantic spectrum (here: ‘action of falling’ + ‘case’).

Of course, it may also appear that the Speaker has reached the onomatological level without any influence from a foreign language or dialect on the onomasiological level, in other that s/he has found an iconym without a foreign model. Nevertheless, s/he may now refrain from taking indigenous material to coin the word, but resort to foreign material. The results of such coinages has traditionally been termed “pseudo-loans,” and we can continue calling them so; alternatively, I suggest the term **“creative loans”**®. Among “creative loans” we can distinguish between (a) morpho-lexical pseudo-loans, (b) semo-lexical pseudo-loans, and (c) formations with loan material accidentally also exists in the foreign language. The process is as follows. When speakers reach the onomatological level (where the concrete morphemes are selected), they can draw from the set of indigenous morphemes or the word-stock of another language or indigenous morphemes and foreign words are intermingled. Here, the name-giver doesn’t care whether the coinage is a real foreign word; it is only important for the speaker that the morphemes of the new coinage are foreign-sounding (e.g. because of prestige). These types of loans can be further subdivided. The subtypes have already been mentioned: (a) morpho-lexical pseudo-loans (e.g. G. *Handy* ‘mobile phone’), (b) semo-lexical pseudo-loans (for which I have no safe example as far as the *langue* is concerned), and (c) formations with loan material that happens to exist also in the foreign language (e.g. G. *Musicbox*). This last type is to be distinguished from “loan translations” and “loan renderings”, which are formations that have been stimulated not only by a foreign formal model, but also by a foreign iconymic model. The actual classification is, as I have already said, difficult. But it seems as if “loan renderings” and “loan translations” suggest themselves more when the iconymic structures are based on similarity than when based on contiguity; it would be an amazing coincidence if two speech communities came up with the same similarity association, as similarity associations between two objects are not directly nature-given, but have to be construed in the mind, which allows infinite possibilities of comparing one object to another. Thus, the comparison between the rodent and the computer device is not obvious. If several languages like German and French show the same extension of the animal term with English, we can be pretty sure that there English, which was the first to show this use, must have influenced the other languages.

(P.S.: I would like to point out that this terminology can also be applied to cases of “loan blends”).

## 8. Conclusion

We have come to the following observation as regards the three basic name-giving processes, i.e. semantic change, word-formation and borrowing. Semantic change and word-formation are phenomena exclusively connected with the onomasiological and the onomatological levels of the word-finding process (except for the process of folk-etymology). On the onomasiological level speakers select from the cognitive-associative possibilities, on the onomatological level they select from various (in this case indigenous) formal possibility (cf. Koch’s distinction between the cognitive-associative axis and the formal axis). As far as borrowing is concerned, the synthetic and dynamic word-and-mind-oriented approach proposed in this article has shown that influence from a foreign tongue can occur at various

stages of the word-finding process. This approach has allowed us to detect a number of shortcomings in the classical terminologies, but it has also allowed us to keep the basic notions of these terminologies and refine their definitions by looking at the processes in the mind. A larger project will try to establish a comprehensive cognitive onomasiological model of processes and motives of lexical change (with special reference to English) and will have to take a word-and-mind-approach as suggested in this article.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. also the preliminary studies in Grzega (2002a) and Grzega (2002b).



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## A QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE PRESENTATION OF THE FORCES FOR LEXEMIC CHANGE IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

### Abstract

The following article summarizes the most important results of a habilitation dissertation project on the processes and forces of lexical, or lexemic, change (with special reference to English). It offers a comprehensive catalog of forces for lexical, or lexemic, change and places these forces on a conscious—subconscious continuum. It then establishes a frequency ranking of these forces. The ranking is based on a corpus of 281 lexical innovations in the history of formal English. The most salient forces turn out to be fashion/prestige (based on the prestige of another language or variety, of certain word-formation patterns, or of certain semasiological centers of expansion), anthropological salience (i.e. anthropologically given emotionality of a concept), social reasons (i.e. contact situation with “undemarcation” effects), and the desire for plasticity (creation of saliently and “noticeably” motivated name).

### 1. Introduction

My habilitation dissertation (cf. Grzega [in press a]) deals with historical onomasiology (with special, though not exclusive, reference to English) in the light of cognitive linguistics and consists of two main chapters. First, I try to give a survey of the various formal possibilities of coining a new term for a concept<sup>1</sup>. Second, I try to discuss the possible driving forces for giving a concept a new name, in other words: what the driving motives and causes (I will call them *forces*) for lexical change are. Such a discussion has seemed necessary because, despite current discussions on other aspects of lexical change, explanations on why lexemic change happens have not been shed light on in any satisfactory way; even the new comprehensive handbook of lexicology edited by Cruse et al. (2002-) does not include a section on the forces that trigger off designation changes (or lexemic changes). The following article delves into this second main aspect of my habilitation dissertation. It first epitomizes the main results of my discussion of traditional, classical, older views of lexical, or lexemic, change—a discussion which is based on an analysis of several hundred cases of lexemic change in the history of English and other languages. It then presents a random corpus of 76 concepts and the history of their designations, indicating the probable and possible forces of lexemic changes. Finally, a ranking of these forces will be established.

### 2. The (Proposed) Catalog of forces for Lexemic Change

In the following section I will give a synthesis of the findings in my habilitation dissertation, which result from a critical discussion of both classical and more recent views of the causes for lexemic change. The (intentional or non-intentional) coinage of a new designation can be incited by a variety of forces, which can also co-occur. A new catalog of forces should, in my view, read the following items with the attached definitions (some of which do not totally blend with traditional definitions):

- prestige/fashion/stylistic reasons (based on the prestige of another language or variety, of certain word-formation patterns, or of certain semasiological centers of expansion),
- aesthetic-formal reasons (i.e. avoidance of words that are phonetically similar or

<sup>1</sup> On this topic cf. also the respective preliminary studies (Grzega 2002b & 2003a).

- identical to negatively associated words),
- taboo (i.e. taboo concepts),
- disguising language (i.e. so-called “misnomers,” which express negative things in a seemingly positive way),
- insult,
- flattery,
- institutional and non-institutional linguistic pre- and proscriptivism (i.e. legal and peer-group linguistic pre- and proscriptivism, aiming at “demarcation” from other speech groups),
- social reasons (i.e. contact situation with “undemarcation” effects),
- anthropological salience of a concept (i.e. anthropologically given emotionality of a concept, “natural salience”),
- culture-induced salience of a concept (“cultural importance”),
- dominance of the prototype<sup>2</sup> (i.e. fuzzy difference between superordinate and subordinate term due to the monopoly of the prototypical member of a category in the real world, not to be mixed up with salience effects!),
- onomasiological fuzziness (i.e. difficulties in classifying the referent or attributing the right word to a given referent, thus mixing up designations<sup>3</sup>),
- morphological misinterpretation (keyword: “folk-etymology”, creation of transparency by changes within a word),
- communicative-formal reasons (i.e. abolition of the ambiguity of forms in context, keywords: “homonymic conflict”<sup>4</sup> and “polysemic conflict”),
- logical-formal reasons (i.e. “lexical regularization”, “deletion of suppletion”, creation of morphological consociation, deletion of dissociation),
- excessive length of words,
- word play/punning,
- desire for plasticity (creation of a saliently and “noticeably” motivated name),
- changes in things/changes in the referents (i.e. changes in the world),
- world view change (i.e. changes in the categorization of the world due to improved encyclopedic knowledge, a change in philosophies or cultural habits).

The following alleged forces found in previous works can be shown to be invalid (for arguments cf. Grzega [in press a]):

- decrease in salience,
- reading errors (this will only trigger off changes in the *parole* without consequences in the *langue*),
- laziness (dito),
- excessive phonetic shortness,
- difficult sound combinations,
- unclear stress patterns,
- cacophony.

By using the “word death” metaphor we can localize the valid forces on a conscious-subconscious continuum, where the gradual subconscious loss of a word can be compared to “natural (word) death” and where the conscious avoidance of a word can be compared to “(word) murder” (these two poles embrace several intermediate degrees; cf. also the preliminary study in Grzega [2002a]):

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the preliminary study in Grzega (in press b).

<sup>3</sup> On the preference of this term and this definition of Blank’s (1997: 388ff. & 1999) ideas cf. Grzega (in press a).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also the preliminary study in Grzega (2001a).

subconscious

[“*natural word-death*” = lack of motivation]

*subconscious “creation of lexical life”* with “*involuntary word-slaughter, negligent lexicide*” = onomasiological fuzziness, dominance of the prototype, social reasons, morphological misinterpretation; *subconscious “creation of lexical life”* = logical-formal reasons; analogy

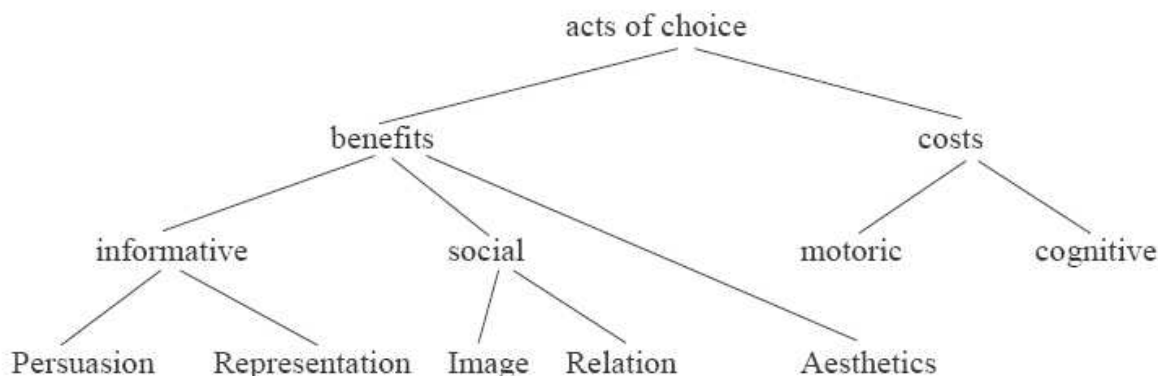
*relatively conscious “creation of lexical life”* = ?logical-formal reasons, anthropological salience of a concept, desire for plasticity, culture-induced salience of a concept, flattery, insult, word play, excessive length; analogy

“*creation of lexical life*” with “*(voluntary) word-slaughter*” = communicative-formal reasons, prestige/fashion

“*first-degree word murder, first-degree lexicide*” and “*creation of lexical life*” = non-institutional linguistic pre- and proscriptivism, institutional linguistic pre- and proscriptivism, taboo, aesthetic-formal reasons, disguising language, world view change; [*conscious “creation of lexical life”* = change in things, new concept, ?world view change]

conscious

These forces can also be linked with the various maxims of conversation as presented by Grice (1975) and, particularly, Keller (1995), who distinguishes the following seven maxims:



While the maxims on the costs-side seem to influence the choice of the word-coinage pattern, the benefits-side seem to be connected with the forces for lexemic change. These maxims can therefore be linked with the forces of lexemic change in the following way:

maxim	rather subconscious violation	rather conscious violation	conscious violation	rather subconscious observance	rather conscious observance	conscious observance
<i>Quality (truth of content) (Persuasion)</i>	onomasiological fuzziness, dominance of the prototype	?flattery	word-play, disguising language			

<i>Quantity (appropriate quantity in content) (Persuasion)</i>		?anthropological salience of a concept	word-play, ? disguising language, ? flattery		desire for plasticity, culture-induced salience, recategorization, communicative-formal forces	
<i>Manner / Modality (order of utterance, appropriate quantity in form) (Representation)</i>	social reasons, dominance of the prototype	?anthropological salience of a concept	word-play, taboo, disguising language, ?flattery	logical-formal reasons, morphological misinterpretation, recategorization, length	desire for plasticity	communicative-formal forces, aesthetic-formal forces
<i>Image (of Speaker)</i>						disguising language, taboo, fashion, aesthetic-formal motives, word-play, pre- & proscriptivism
<i>Relation (between Speaker &amp; Hearer)</i>			word-play, ? insult	social reasons	insult	flattery, taboo, aesthetic-formal motives, pre- & proscriptivism
<i>Aesthetics (of form)</i>					anthropological salience of a concept	word-play, taboo, aesthetic-formal forces, fashion

### 3. The JGKUE Corpus

3.1. In order to see whether certain forces from the catalog presented in section 2 would be particularly prominent I have collected a random corpus of the lexical changes in the history of formal<sup>5</sup> English. The corpus consists of all concepts, i.e. lemmas, with initial J, G, K, U and E in Buck's (1949) *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principle Indo-European Languages*<sup>6</sup>. The information listed in Buck had to be supplemented by additional information provided by other dictionaries and works for Old, Middle, Early Modern and Modern English<sup>7</sup>. While the discussion of entities, or "types," of forces is comparatively easy—their existence can be based on the analysis of a few clear cases of lexical changes—the

<sup>5</sup> This means that forms of primarily regional/local significance or stylistic markedness are not listed.

<sup>6</sup> I have chosen these letters for the reason that they are the initials of my name (Joachim Grzega) and my affiliation (Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt).

<sup>7</sup> In this article the periods of English language history are defined as follows: Old English from 449 (coming of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes) to 1066 (Norman Conquest), Middle English from 1066 to 1476 (Caxton's importation of the printing press), Early Modern English from 1476 to 1776 (America's official independence), and Modern English since 1776.

determination of concrete instances, or “tokens,” in a random corpus is much more difficult due to the scarce information we often have on the concrete path of lexical changes. For onomasiological studies, we can establish the following rules of thumb. All neutral, unmarked synonyms for a given concept have to be cross-checked with their semantic ranges, in other words: the onomasiological information had to be checked with the relevant semasiological, geographical and stylistic information for a better interpretation of the lexical histories. Furthermore, it is important that the onomasiologist not only looks at the history of individual words. In order to find out the forces for a lexical innovation, the linguist has to look at the entire conceptual and lexical fields. If the forces are tied to the peculiarity of a given concept, then the analysis should also encompass cross-linguistic data. Finally, it is also crucial whether a new word is simply added to already existing synonyms or whether it is basically coined to replace an older word. The general and still most universal source for all historical lexicologists is the OED. Apart from this landmark work in English lexicography, ample information for Old English is now provided by the TOE (onomasiological perspective) as well as the OEC and the classical dictionaries by Grein and Bosworth/Toller (semasiological perspective). For Middle English onomasiological information can be gathered through the MEC, semasiological data is provided by the MED and Stratmann/Bradley. For Early Modern English, which I felt necessary as a fourth stage, which was not included in Buck’s lists, onomasiological dictionaries or data files do not exist yet. We therefore have to recur to Early Modern English dictionaries that gloss foreign words with English terms. For my purpose I have chosen Cotgrave (1611) and Florio (1611). For Modern English I have chosen Roget and Eaton (1940) as onomasiological sources and cross-checked with the semasiological information given by the CIDE and the AHD. For additional dialect information I have consulted Wright’s EDD and the more recent SED. Concomitantly, a number of specific individual studies could be resorted to<sup>8</sup>.

In the end my analysis has yielded 281 lexical innovations in 76 of the 112 concepts under the letters J, G, K, U, E. The corpus will show the following relevance rate of the forces: (1) prestige has turned out to be the most prominent force, it is relevant in more than half of the innovations; (2) more than a third of the innovations is triggered off, at least in part, by the anthropological salience, or emotionality, of the respective concept; (3) about a quarter of the innovations are initiated, at least in part, for social reasons (in the sense of language contact zones) and the desire for plasticity. The rest of the forces have proven of minor importance.

The following paragraphs will list the 76 concepts from the JGKUE corpus that show lexical innovations<sup>9</sup>, preceded by a few general remarks. The entries are organized as follows. The entry line gives the concept (as precisely as possible) and its corresponding number in Buck (1949). The next lines list the respective (monolexematic) forms of “formal” Old, Middle, Early Modern and Modern English. Sometimes lines end in *etc.* This was necessary, where the dictionaries listed many more words for these concepts; it was my task to try to pick out what seemed the most general and stylistically neutral ones (i.e. those that are not clearly related to poetic or informal and slang language only and those that are not only recorded once or by one author or for a specific dialect zone only). Words that are an innovation are followed by two remarks in brackets. The first bracket indicates the origin of the coinage (loan, semantic change or word-formation) and the rough date of its coinage (the chronological determination is based on the first written recordings, which, however, are

<sup>8</sup> The individual studies, which are given in footnotes for the corresponding concepts in section 3.2, date from more recent decades and have been used as supplementary information to the standard dictionaries.

<sup>9</sup> The concepts from the JGKUE corpus that have constant designations throughout English language history are: “each,” “ear,” “early,” “east,” “eat,” “elbow,” “empty,” “end (spatial),” “enough,” “every,” “ewe,” “eye,” “gate,” “girdle,” “give,” “glass,” “glove,” “god,” “gold,” “good,” “goose,” “grass,” “green,” “grind,” “guest,” “kettle,” “key,” “kill,” “king,” “kiss,” “knead,” “knee,” “knife (general),” “knife (table-knife),” “knot,” “know,” “udder.”



mostly later than the use in spoken language). I have also added the approximate time when a word must have died out (based on the last written attestation). Of course, spoken usage may sometimes clearly diverge from written uses. Also of note, the semantic classification must be looked upon with a critical view. The exact (change of) meaning of a word cannot be automatically determined from a specific context. A specific context may at first sight suggest a restricted use of a word; but this is only corroborated if the word is exclusively found in this specific context at a given period/point of time. Thus, it is therefore not easy to decide, e.g., when *wench* started to end as a word for “child,” and when it started as a word for “girl.” Most helpful for the determination of the meaning of a word are glossaries (e.g. \**“puella – wenche”*) and intralingual juxtapositions in quotations (e.g. \**“he hadde oon son and two wenches”*). The second bracket in the listing gives the force(s) which were probably relevant in the respective cases. This has not always been an easy task, although I do not adopt Görlach’s (1987: 1) pessimistic view that “[t]he historical causes that led to the avoidance, and ultimately non-use, of a particular lexeme cannot be reconstructed with any certainty.” But the comparison with related words and concepts enables us to reach a certain degree of probability. If a certain force cannot be assumed with probability, but only with possibility, it is followed by a question mark. A fifth line is reserved for notes. Lexical losses are not commented on except when particularly necessary for explaining a lexical innovation.

3.2. General Remarks: In order to spare the listing of frequent annotations in every entry where necessary I would like to mention them in advance. These annotations link some of the forces with the characteristic features of specific concepts.

- Abstract concepts are often connected with the desire for plasticity, i.e. for plastic, motivated names (e.g. “emotion,” “jealousy,” “understand”). This does not exclude that also concrete concepts are provided with a new, more plastic name through (e.g. “edge”).
- The desire for plasticity is often met by way of metaphors or (metaphorical) composite forms; but it also is the basis of onomatopoeic and expressive words, which occur with certain body movements and their derivatives (“grasp,” “groan,” “gape,” “urinate,” “excrement”) and human qualities (“evil,” “ugly”); these may not seldom be taboo concepts.
- The effects triggered off by the desire of plasticity and those caused by logical-formal reasons are not always easy to distinguish, and they frequently go together. Here, stages before and after changes are of paramount importance. If it is just suffixes that changes (e.g. ME *jolines* instead of ME *jolitee*), we face an innovation caused by logical-formal reasons since the word’s motivation doesn’t change (cf. also ME *goed* instead of OE *eode*). If a coinage cannot be classified as going back to a productive formation pattern, then we face a case of desire for plasticity. This means that the desire for plasticity is connected with the relation between concept and form, whereas logical-formal reasons are connected with a given concept and its form plus neighboring concepts and their forms.
- Borrowings are basically connected with two forces, viz. social reasons, when the borrowing results from everyday contact (superstratum and substratum), and prestige, when the donor language is seen as a model language (adstratum). Since Old Norse did never represent a prestige language, loans from this tongue can clearly be traced back to social reasons (which may occasionally enter the “standard” dialect rather late via “lower” sociolects). On the other hand, Latin loans can always be tied to the force of prestige/fashion. With French loans in Middle English, the decision is more difficult. I have decided to apply the following general scheme: earlier loans, from Northern French, until 1300, are traced back to everyday contact plus prestige, loans between 1300 and 1400 are seen as possibly (!) due to everyday and probably (!) due to prestige, still later loans, all from Parisian French, must all go back to prestige. This will also

concern Latinisms that have more probably be transmitted to English via French. This scheme is based on the fact that by 1300 the traditionally natural English-French bilingualism was over even among the nobility. By 1400 French had even stopped as a salient foreign language and as a language at the court, schools and administrative institutions; Henry IV (1399-1413) was the first monolingual king.

- Borrowings from the classical languages as well as from French (mostly in Latinized form) are particularly prominent among abstract and psychological concepts (e.g. “emotion,” “explain,” “ghost,” “glory,” “grief,” “understand”) as well as philosophical concepts (e.g. “evil,” “evil spirit,” “guilt,” “guilty”).
- Fashion/prestige/stylistic reasons (I will only use the first word in the lists below) must not only be associated with borrowing, but can also be connected with specific word-formation patterns (e.g. the replacement of prefixed verbs by phrasal verbs between the 14th and 16th centuries<sup>10</sup>) or specific metaphoric and metonymic patterns.
- We must also pay attention to the question whether a foreign word was directly borrowed from another language or whether it was already in the language in another sense; in the latter case we should then speak of semantic change, not of borrowing.
- Anthropological salience, or emotionality, is connected with a number of concepts expressing very basic things in the human world or excessive qualities. Koch/Oesterreich (e.g. 1996: 73f. & 79ff.) mention the following conceptual fields: (a) “very basic concepts of life,” such as eating, drinking, sleeping, body-parts, sexuality, excrements, death, diseases, states of body, states of mind, the weather, working, money, malfunction, destruction, fighting, etc.; (b) emotions and evaluations, such as love, hatred, joy, annoyance, fear, beauty, ugliness, good luck, bad luck, harmony, solidarity, criticism, aggression, etc.; (c) salient intensities and quantities with respect to qualities, negation; (d) orientation with respect to space and time and the speaker (spatial, temporal and personal deixis).
- Taboo refers to the desire of avoiding a specific (growingly stigmatized) designation for a concept with “undesirable” aspects. We can distinguish between mystic-religious taboos, so-called *taboos of fear* (cf. “evil spirit,” “ghost”), taboos of intimate things, so-called *taboos of propriety* (cf. “ugly,” “urinate,” “urine), and taboos of moral misdeeds, so-called *taboos of delicacy* (cf. “evil”). Lexical replacements for taboo terms are called taboo-driven euphemisms. If a word does not refer to a taboo concept, but equals a word referring to a taboo concept, its replacement can be said to go back to aesthetic-formal forces (cf. “girl”).
- Insult, on the other hand, uses terms that underline the “undesirable” aspects that euphemisms tend to conceal (e.g. “ugly”).
- The naming of people has to conform to certain rules of politeness, even “exaggerated” politeness; therefore the designation for persons (in our list “general” as well as the kinship relations “grandfather,” “grandmother,” “grandson,” “granddaughter,” “uncle [paternal]” and “uncle [maternal]”) are combined with the force of flattery.
- “Onomasiological fuzziness” occurs especially with abstract concepts (“emotion,” “joyful/glad,” “joy/gladness,” “glory,” “grief”—which shows especially that emotions are very hard to differentiate). Buck (1949: 1101), e.g., desperately writes: “It is impossible to draw any sharp lines between the pleasurable emotions expressed by NE *pleasure, joy, delight, gladness, happiness*, etc., or by adjectives like *joyful, glad, merry, gay, happy*, etc.; and their differentiation in usage corresponds only in small measure to that in similar groups elsewhere.” But “fuzziness” may also characterize concrete concepts that are hard to delimitate from neighboring concepts (“equal,” “evening,” “eyebrow,” “jaw,” “ground,” “groan”); they also occur with lexical fields where, due to cultural changes, the exact places of certain elements in the field are no longer clear (“grain,” “jewel”).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Marchand (1969: 108f.).

- Analogy as a force must be kept apart from analogy as a process. Every word coinage is normally based on the pattern of already existing words; if the pattern is frequent we speak of a “productive” pattern. This is analogy as a process. However, analogy is a force only when a specific word or word-change triggers off a (second) word-change (e.g. “equal,” “give back,” “goat,” “granddaughter,” “grandmother,” “grandson”).

### 3.3. List of Annotated Entries (in alphabetical order):

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<b>Concept</b>	“easy, not difficult” (9.96)
OE	<i>īeþe, īeþelic, lēoht</i>
ME	<i>ethe, light, aisy</i> (< Fr., 12th c.) (social reasons, fashion)
EModE	<i>easy</i> (maybe the result of a confusion of <i>ethe</i> and <i>aisy</i> , the former still in dialects), <i>light</i>
ModE	<i>easy</i> , ( <i>light</i> now only with <i>task, work</i> )
Notes	In OE there was no lexical differentiation between “not difficult” and “not heavy.”

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<b>Concept</b>	“edge of a forest” <sup>11</sup> (12.353)
OE	<i>rand, mearc, mære, bre(o)rd</i>
ME	<i>mark, egge</i> (< ‘edge of a knife, a sword etc.’, late 14th c.) (desire for plasticity?) (vs. <i>mære</i> ‘artificial boundary’), <i>brērd</i>
EModE	<i>mark, edge</i>
ModE	<i>edge</i> , ( <i>mark</i> : today only dialectal and only in compounds)

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<b>Concept</b>	“egg” (4.48)
OE	<i>ǣg</i>
ME	<i>ey, egg</i> (< ON, 14th c.) (social reasons)
EModE	<i>egg, ey</i> (†16th c.)
ModE	<i>egg</i>
Notes	The replacement of <i>ey</i> by <i>egg</i> has sometimes also been traced back to the shortness of the OE word (cf., e.g., Scheler 1977: 119). However, this argument seems invalid, since [eg] and [ei] are of the same length; moreover, English does generally not show an aversion to short nouns at all (cf., e.g., <i>awe</i> [ɔ:], <i>eye</i> [aɪ], <i>ear</i> [i:ɹ], <i>air</i> [ɛ:ɹ]). However, it is surprising that no modern dialectal forms seem to go back to the OE type, although this has survived at least until the first half the 16th century.

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<b>Concept</b>	“elephant” (3.78)
OE	<i>elpend, ylp</i>
ME	<i>elp, olifant</i> (< Fr.-Lat., 1300) (fashion), <i>elefaunt</i> (< Fr.-Lat., 1398) (fashion)

<sup>11</sup> On the concept “border, edge” cf. also Grzega (2003b: 27ff.). Buck’s concept is actually “edge of a table, a forest etc.,” I have confined myself to “edge of a forest,” and there may be specific words for other collocations.

EModE	<i>elephant</i>
ModE	<i>elephant</i>
Notes	Already the OE words are loans; <i>elpend</i> from Lat. and <i>ylp</i> from Gk. Innovation was easy due to the fact that the animal does not occur in the Anglo-Saxon world.

<b>Concept</b>	“emotion” <sup>12</sup> (16.12)
OE	– (only periphrastic: <i>mōdes styrung</i> )
ME	<i>feeling</i> (< [‘physical sensation’] < <i>feel</i> , 14th c.) (new concept?, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), <i>passion</i> (< ‘suffering,’ 2nd half 14th c., < Fr.) (new concept?, desire for plasticity), <i>sentement</i> (< Fr., 2nd half 14th c.) (new concept?, desire for plasticity, fashion, social reasons?)
EMod	<i>feeling</i> , <i>sentiment</i> , <i>emotion</i> (< ‘moving out, political and social agitation’ [ultimately from Lat.], 2nd half 17th c.) (desire for plasticity, fashion)
ModE	<i>feeling</i> , <i>emotion</i> , ( <i>sentiment</i> , now chiefly applied to emotion involving an intellectual element)
Notes	The absence of a monolexematic term for “emotion” in OE can be termed “lexical gap” (but on this problem cf. Grzega 2004, ch. IV.1.2.). The need for a monolexematic expression in the 14th c. can be connected with the growing importance of science and philosophy not only in specialists’ circles. The oldest word, <i>feeling</i> , is coined on the same pattern as earlier <i>smelling</i> and <i>hearing</i> (and possibly <i>tasting</i> ).

<b>Concept</b>	“emperor” (19.34)
OE	<i>cāsere</i>
ME	<i>cāser</i> (†~1200), <i>emperere</i> (< Fr., ~1400) (fashion, social reasons?)
EModE	<i>emperor</i>
ModE	<i>emperor</i>
Notes	The conceptual field “titles” also includes the borrowing of other French words: <i>duke</i> , <i>count</i> , <i>viscount</i> , <i>baron</i> , <i>marquis</i> . On the other hand, a number of inherited terms have survived as well: <i>king</i> , <i>queen</i> , <i>lord</i> , <i>lady</i> , <i>earl</i> .

<b>Concept</b>	“end (temporal sense)” (14.26)
OE	<i>end</i>
ME	<i>end</i> , <i>close</i> (< vb., 14th c.) (desire for plasticity), <i>conclusioun</i> (< Lat.-Fr., 14th c.) (fashion), <i>fine</i> (< Fr., ~1200) (fashion, social reasons)
EModE	<i>end</i> , <i>close</i> , <i>conclusion</i> , <i>fine</i>
ModE	<i>end</i> , <i>close</i> , <i>conclusion</i> , ( <i>fine</i> †19th c.)
Notes	The formation of <i>close</i> is not also triggered off by logical-formal reasons, since (1) <i>end</i> is already well consociated with the corresponding verb, (2) the verb <i>close</i> comprehends many more referents than the substantive.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also Aitchison (1992), Fischer (1992), Nöth (1992), Diller (1994), Schneider (1998: 40ss.), Fabiszak (1999) und Gevaert (in press).

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<b>Concept</b>	“enemy” (19.52)
OE	<i>fēond, gefā</i>
ME	<i>fēnd, fō, enemi</i> (< Fr., ~1300) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience), <i>adversary</i> (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience)
EModE	<i>enemy, foe, adversary</i> , ( <i>fiend</i> restricted to the Devil since the late ME)
ModE	( <i>foe</i> ), <i>enemy</i> , ( <i>adversary</i> )
Notes	ModE <i>foe</i> is literary style; <i>fiend</i> is basically restricted to the Devil (cf. also “demon”); <i>adversary</i> is now basically used for ‘direct opponent’ or to refer to the Devil.

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<b>Concept</b>	“enter, go in” (10.57)
OE	<i>ingān, infaran</i>
ME	<i>ingangen</i> (†15th c.), <i>infaren</i> (†12th c.), <i>gō in</i> (< prefixation replaced by vb.+adv. construction, 14th c.) (fashion), <i>fare in</i> (< prefixation replaced by vb.+adv. construction, 14th c.; †1590) (fashion), <i>enter</i> (< Fr. or Lat., 1st half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons)
EModE	<i>go in, enter</i>
ModE	<i>go in, enter</i>

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<b>Concept</b>	“equal [not in the mathematical sense]” (12.91)
OE	<i>gelīc, efen</i>
ME	<i>even, ilike, alike</i> (< folk-etymological re-interpretation of <i>i-</i> or conscious replacement by a more frequent prefix) (fashion, analogy, misinterpretation?), <i>egall</i> (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons), <i>same</i> (< ON, ~1200) (social reasons), <i>indifferent</i> (< L. or Fr. or autochthonous coinage, late 14th c.) (fashion?, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons?)
EModE	<i>even, alike, equal</i> (< [‘mathemat.’], 16th c.) (onomasiological fuzziness, desire for plasticity?), <i>egall</i> (†17th c.), <i>identic</i> (< Lat., 17th c.) (fashion), <i>identical</i> (< Lat., 17th c.) (fashion), <i>indifferent</i> (†18th c.)
ModE	<i>even, alike, same, equal, identic, identical</i>
Notes	The distinction between the absolute “equal” and the similar “like, similar” is not made in all languages and/or not in all language periods (cf. the entries in Buck 1949). It is well imaginable that with the growing importance of scientific speakers attempted to find means to distinguish the two notions. In German there is a still more detailed distinction between <i>selb(ig)</i> ‘the same individual thing’ and <i>gleich</i> ‘a thing of the same type.’ The item <i>indifferent</i> does not clearly go back to fashion despite its Latin-Romance origin, since (1) other Latin-Romance words apply more naturally to the concept (e.g. Fr. <i>pareil</i> [which, as an adjective, was used only very rarely in the late 14th c. and still more rarely in the early 17th c. and is thus not a common word of “standard” speech], Lat. <i>equal</i> [which was used only in the mathematical sense in the late 14th c.] or <i>par</i> [borrowed only in the 17th c. as a noun]) or have already been borrowed (e.g. Fr. <i>égal</i> ), (2) there is already the adjective <i>different</i> .

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<b>Concept</b>	“error, mistake, moral wrongdoing” (16.77)
OE	<i>gedwyld, gedwola</i>
ME	<i>dwild</i> (†~1200), <i>dwole</i> (†1300), <i>dwele</i> (†1350), <i>errour</i> (< Fr./Lat., 1st half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience?), <i>fault</i> (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience?), ( <i>wrong</i> [< adj.?.])
EModE	<i>error</i> , ( <i>wrong</i> ), <i>mistake</i> (< ‘error in a more concrete, mathematical sense’ or directly from the vb. [but the vb. never has a moral denotation], 1st half 17th c.) (desire for plasticity?, anthropological salience?), <i>fault</i>
ModE	<i>error</i> , ( <i>wrong</i> ), <i>mistake</i>
Notes	<i>wrong</i> is put into parentheses, since we cannot tell—down to this very day—whether it can be regarded as a noun in some contexts/collocations (what would the criteria be?) or whether it must always be viewed as an adjective (which I would prefer). It is interesting to note that, according to the chronologies given in the OED, <i>dwild</i> died out ca. 1200 and <i>dwole/dwele</i> in the 14th c. The earliest record of <i>error</i> is 1300 (in a mathematical sense first). It is astonishing that there was no larger overlap in written sources; it was obviously possible to get along with <i>wrong</i> in various collocations. On “error” in the religious sense cf. Käsman (1961: 101ff.). The form <i>mistake</i> could also be directly from the verb, but the verb never has a moral connotation, and a derivation from it doesn’t bring more consociation, which is already well established through the pair <i>error—err</i> .

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<b>Concept</b>	“evening” (14.46)
OE	<i>ǣfen</i>
ME	<i>eve(n)</i> , <i>evening</i> (< ‘the process or fact of growing dusk,’ 15th c.) (onomasiological fuzziness)
EModE	<i>evening</i> , <i>eve</i>
ModE	<i>evening</i> , ( <i>eve</i> )
Notes	“Onomasiological fuzziness” here refers to the difficulty in delimitating the various times of the day, e.g. “afternoon”—(“transitory period”)—“evening”—“night.” The “fuzziness” must even be bigger with the period from “morning” to “noon” since there is no lexical distinction as with <i>evening</i> vs. <i>afternoon</i> . This type of fuzziness can also be observed for other languages, cf., e.g., Sp. <i>tarde</i> ‘afternoon, evening.’ ModE <i>eve</i> is now poetic or used in the sense of ‘day before an important event,’ <i>morn</i> is restricted to poetic and dialectal language; the ModE coinage <i>forenoon</i> was an attempt to verbalize the transitory period from morning to noon, which, however, was not accepted in standard speech.

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**Concept** “evil [moral sense]”<sup>13</sup> (16.72)

OE *yfel, earg, wōh*

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also Thornton (1988).

- ME *uvel, wough, ill* (< ON, ~1200) (anthropological salience, social reasons, fashion?), *badde* (< ‘hermaphrodite?’, ~1300) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), *ugly* (< ‘ugly,’ late 14th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), *wikke(d)* (probably < OE *wicca* ‘wizard,’ late 13th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), *wrongful* (< *wrong* [on the analogy of *rightful*], early 14th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), *vicious* (< Fr.-Lat., 1st half 14th c.) (social reasons?, fashion), *lewed* (< ‘lay, unlearned,’ 14th c.) (desire for plasticity) (vs. *arwe* ‘cowardly, idle, bad,’ still exists in northern dialects)
- EModE *evil, ill, bad, wicked, vicious, naughty* (< ‘poor, needy,’ 16th c., †~1700) (desire for plasticity), *lewd* (†early 18th c.)
- ModE *evil, ill, bad, wicked, vicious*

**Concept** “evil spirit, demon” (22.35)

- OE *dēoful, fēond, wārloga* (mostly referring to the Devil), \**unwiht*
- ME *unwight, devil, fēnd* (restricted to the Devil since late ME), *warlow* (†15th c.), *demon* (< Fr.-Lat., 13th c.) (taboo, fashion?, social reasons?), ?*gobelin* (< Fr., early 14th c.) (taboo, fashion?, social reasons?)
- EModE *demon, devil, goblin*
- ModE *demon, devil, (goblin)*
- Notes Cf. also “ghost.” On the designations for the biblical devil cf. especially Käsman (1961: 106ff.).

**Concept** “excrement” (4.66)

- OE *meox, cwēad, scearn, dung, tord, ūtgang, fylþ, \*adelep* (only the corresponding adjective *adel* is attested in OE)
- ME *mix, tord, filth, adeleth, ordure* (< ‘[–human],’ 14th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity) (vs. *quēd* only ‘bad wicked person’; vs. *dung* nearly exclusively ‘[–human]’; vs. *sharn* more and more restricted to dialectal use, especially ‘dung of cattle’)
- EModE *ordure, excrement* (< Lat., 16th c.) (taboo, anthropological salience, fashion), *stool* (< metonymy, 16th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo), *turd*
- ModE *ordure, excrement, stool, waste* (< metaphor, 20th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo), (vs. *turd* [‘slang!’]) etc.
- Notes There are naturally dozens of informal and slang expressions. Cf. also “urine,” “urinate.”

**Concept** “exist, be” (9.91)

- OE *wesan, bēon, (am—*is*—art—sindon)*
- ME *bē (am—*is*—are—was)*
- EModE *be (am—*is*—are—was), exist* (< Lat., 17th c.) (fashion)
- ModE *be, exist*

Notes It may be asked whether the introduction of *exist* was connected with a growing philosophical connotation of “being, exist,” but the noun *existence* had already been in the language since the late 14th c.

**Concept** “expense, cost” (11.72)

OE *andfengas, dægwine*

ME *expenche* (< Fr., late 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons), *cost* (< Fr., ca. 1300 [but only rarely attested, more frequent in 2nd half 14th c.]) (fashion, social reasons), *dispense* (< Fr., late 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons)

EModE *expense, cost, dispense* (†18th c.)

ModE *expense, cost, outlay* (< northern dial. < *lay out*, maybe on the analogy of *income*, late 18th c.) (desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons?, social reasons)

Notes Cf. also the next entry and the entry “gain.”

**Concept** “expensive, costly, dear” (11.91)

OE *dēore*

ME *dēre, costful* (< *cost*, 1st half 14th c.) (desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons, culture-induced salience?), *costious* (< *cost* or directly < Fr., 1st half 14th c., culture-induced salience?) (fashion?, social reasons?, desire for plasticity?, logical-formal reasons?), *costleve* (< *cost*, 2nd half 14th c.) (desire for plasticity, culture-induced salience?), *costly* (< *cost*, 2nd half 14th c.) (desire for plasticity?, culture-induced salience?)

EModE *dear, costly, expensive* (< *expense*, 1st half 17th c.) (fashion, desire for plasticity?, logical-formal reasons?)

ModE (*dear* today mostly not connoted with costs), *expensive, costly*

Notes Cf. also preceding entry. It is hard to account for the variety of forms with *cost-* (the sources encompass even further suffixations, which, however, haven't entered general, common speech). The late 12th c. seems to be the period where paying with money becomes gradually more widespread than paying with natural produce in more and more social groups (due to the foundation and growth of cities) (culture-induced salience!); besides, a “concrete” quality will certainly be more emotion-laden than an “abstract” nominal concept “expense:” therefore we can regard the quality “requiring a lot of money” a culturally salient concept. Attempts to form derivations with *cost-* certainly contribute to consociation and motivation, and synonyms are quite natural in the first phase. The coinages of *costleve* and *costly*, after *costful* and *costious* had already been established cannot be traced back to logical-formal reasons, but to the desire to draw attention by to the “high” costs of a product by unexpected and thus more plastic formations instead of already established (and thus less striking and, consequently, less plastic) formations (cf. also, e.g., G. *teuer, kostbar, kostspielig, kostenreich*).

**Concept** “explain” (17.38)

OE (*ā*)*reccan, (ā)tellan, unfealdan*



ME	<i>tellen, unfōlden, rechen</i> (†15th c.), <i>clāren</i> (< Fr., 2nd half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), <i>declāren</i> (< Lat.-Fr., 14th/15th c.) (fashion), <i>clēren</i> (< <i>clēr</i> , late 14th c.) (desire for plasticity), <i>explainen</i> (< Fr.-Lat., early 15th c.) (fashion), <i>expoun(d)en</i> (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion)
EModE	<i>tell, unfold, explain, expound, explicate</i> (< Pseudo-Latinism, 1st half 16th c.) (fashion), <i>elucidate</i> (< Pseudo-Latinism, 2nd half 16th c.) (fashion)
ModE	<i>explain, tell, unfold, clarify</i> (< Lat./Fr., 19th c.) (fashion), ( <i>explicate, elucidate, expound</i> today very formal)
Notes	According to the OED <i>explain</i> is first recorded in 1503; Wyclif uses the noun once (1382), the word does not occur again until 1532: therefore it can be assumed that <i>explain</i> is not a derivate of the noun <i>explanation</i> , but that <i>explain</i> entered the language from French-Latin and that the noun was reimported later or derived from the verb. The forms <i>explicate</i> and <i>elucidate</i> show the typical English derivation pattern of forming a present from the Latin participle or the noun (the more Latin form <i>explike</i> is recorded only once, according to the OED, and did not enter the <i>langue</i> ).

**Concept** “eyebrow” (4.206)<sup>14</sup>

OE *ofarbrū, ēagbrāw*

ME *uvere brey* (< “over-lid”) (desire for plasticity), *above brey* (< “above-lid”) (desire for plasticity), *eye browe* (< new compound) (desire for plasticity?), *browe* (< ‘lash’) (onomasiological fuzziness), *brew* (< ‘lid, lash,’ 15th c.) (onomasiological fuzziness)

EModE *eyebrow, brow*

ModE *eyebrow, brow*

Notes The same onomasiological insecurity between eyelid, eyebrow and eyelash is observed for other English dialects (cf. EDD s.v. *bree* sb.<sup>1</sup>) and other languages as well (cf. Buck 1949).

**Concept** “gain, profit [commercial sense]” (11.73)

OE *gestrēon, tilung, gewinn, gewyrce*, etc.

ME *winn* (†2nd half 15th c.), *strēn* (†1300, afterwards only ‘progeny’), *profit* (< Fr., 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons), *gayne* (< Fr., ~1300) (fashion, social reasons), *encrēs* (< *encrēsen* ‘to advance in wealth < to grow larger,’ 14th c.) (desire for plasticity), *lūcre* (< Lat. or Fr., 2nd half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)

EModE *profit, gain, increase* (†early 18th c., now only in related senses), *chevisance* (< ‘providing of funds,’ 16th c., †17th c.) (desire for plasticity), *lucre*

ModE *profit, gain* (vs. *lucre* dated, disapproving or humorous)

Notes Cf. also the entry “expense.” ME *winne* may have come out of use due to the occasionally unclear “polysemy” that may have arisen due to the phonetic collision with *wynne* ~ *winne* ‘joy, pleasure.’

<sup>14</sup> Cf. also Norri (1998).

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<b>Concept</b>	“gape, yawn, open the mouth wide” (4.52)
OE	<i>ginian, gānian, cīnan, cinnan</i> , etc.
ME	<i>yōnen~gōnen, gāpen</i> (< ON, 13th c.) (social reasons, anthropological salience?, desire for plasticity), <i>galpen</i> (< ?, maybe Du. <i>galpen</i> ‘yelp’ X <i>gāpen</i> , or onomatopoetic) (anthropological salience?, desire for plasticity)
EModE	<i>yawn</i> [jɑ:n] (< new, onomatopoetic word or irregular phonetic development of <i>yōne</i> , 16th c.) (anthropological salience?, desire for plasticity), <i>gape, galp</i> (†1st half 16th c.)
ModE	<i>yawn, gape</i>
Notes	<i>yawn</i> must be seen as a lexical innovation or a dialect borrowing, since a regular continuance of ME <i>yōnen</i> should have yielded [joʊn]; evidently, the innovation has to do with the relation between form and concept. Some of the OE words have survived into ModE dialects.

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<b>Concept</b>	“garden” (8.13)
OE	<i>ortgeard</i> (also ‘garden of fruit-trees’), <i>wyrttūn</i>
ME	<i>orchard, gardin</i> (< Fr., 14th c.; vs. <i>wortyerd</i> ‘garden of herbs’) (social reasons, fashion, world view change?)
EModE	<i>garden</i> (vs. <i>orchard</i> ‘garden of fruit-trees’)
ModE	<i>garden</i>
Notes	The import of <i>gardin</i> and the coinage of <i>wortyerd</i> can be traced back to the 14th c.; at the same time <i>orchard</i> seems to get more and more restricted to gardens of fruit-trees only. These developments may be seen as interrelated; therefore world view change may play a role in the borrowing of <i>gardin</i> as a generic term.

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<b>Concept</b>	“gather, collect” (12.21)
OE	<i>gad(e)rian, samnian, lesan</i> , etc.
ME	<i>gaderen, samnen, lēsen, aggregaten</i> (< Pseudo-Latinism, 1st half 15th c.) (fashion), <i>assemble</i> (< Fr., mid-13th c.) (social reasons, fashion)
EModE	<i>gather, assemble, aggregate, collect</i> (< Pseudo-Latinism, 2nd half 16th c.) (fashion)
ModE	<i>gather, collect, assemble, aggregate</i>
Notes	The types <i>samn</i> and <i>lease</i> are still present in dialects, the first often in a restricted sense, the latter exclusively in the sense of ‘pick out, glean.’

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<b>Concept</b>	“gelding” (3.43)
OE	<i>hengest</i>
ME	<i>geldyng</i> (< vb., 1380) (desire for plasticity, culture-induced salience?, onomasiological fuzziness) (vs. <i>hengest</i> ‘horse, steed,’ †1225)
EModE	<i>gelding</i>
ModE	<i>gelding</i>

Notes Ad ME: Horse-breeding can be seen as a culturally important conceptual field in most medieval (and modern) European cultures. There are specific terms for various kinds of horses in several European languages. The introduction of *gelding* is in part due to onomasiological fuzziness that had already existed since OE times: OE *hengest* could translate Lat. *equus* ‘horse,’ *caballus* ‘horse for working,’ *canterius* ‘gelding’ (cf. OEC), and also OE *stēda* was used as a generic term as well as a term for the male horse; one possibility to overcome this insecurity was the coining of a more motivated term. Obviously, *hengest* hasn’t even survived in dialects (cf. EDD).

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**Concept** “gender (natural), sex” (2.242)

OE *cynn*

ME *kynde* (14th c.) ~ *kin*, *sexe* (< Lat.-Fr.; 1382, still rare in ME) (fashion), *gender* (< ‘class or kind of individuals or things sharing certain traits,’ late 14th c.) (fashion)

EModE *sex* (vs. *kind* ‘[–animate],’ gradually only in the sense of ‘species’), *gender*

ModE *sex*, *gender*

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**Concept** “general [military], commander-in-chief” (20.18)

OE *heretoga*, *lādpēow*, etc.

ME *marshal* (< Fr., 15th c.) (social reasons?, fashion, flattery), *heretowe* (†13th c.), *lattow* (†13th c.), *capitan* (< Fr., 2nd half 14th c.) (social reasons?, fashion, flattery)

EModE *general* (< Fr., 16th/17th c.) (fashion, flattery), *commander(-in-chief)* (< *commander* ‘somebody who is in command of the army,’ 17th c.) (desire for plasticity, flattery) (vs. *marshal* vs. *captain*)

ModE *general*, *commander-in-chief*

Notes A rich synonymy can be observed for OE. In ME many terms denoting persons of (high) military or administrative rank are borrowed from French: *lieutenant*, *captain*, *officer*, *constable*; *mayor*, *chancellor*, *minister*, *chamberlain*, *treasurer*.

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**Concept** “gens, tribe, clan (in a wide sense)” (19.23)

OE *cynn*, *māgh*, *strȳnd*, *cynrēde* etc.

ME *kin*, *kinred*, *tribu* (< Fr.-Lat., 13th c.) (social reasons, fashion), *clan* (< Celt., 15th c.) (social reasons)

EModE *kin*, *kindred*, *tribe*, *clan*, *parentage* (Pseudo-Gallicism/Pseudo-Latinism, mid-16th c., †late 18th c.) (fashion)

ModE *kin*, *kindred*, *tribe*, *clan*

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**Concept** “get, obtain” (11.16)

OE *begietan*, *gebīdan*, *gefylgan*, *āwinnan* etc.

ME *awinnen*, *geten* (< prefixation replaced by the simplex plus ON influence, late 12th c.) (fashion, social reasons), *receiven* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), *obteinen* (< Fr., 1st half 15th c.) (fashion?)

- EModE *get, obtain, receive*  
 ModE *get, obtain, receive*  
 Notes OE *gietan* is just hapax legomenon in a gloss and therefore most probably not part of current formal speech at that time. The initial ME /g-/ instead of /j-/ makes us suppose that the word goes at least in part back to Old Norse influence. Looking at the citations in the MED, we may guess that Fr. *obtenir* was first borrowed in the context of politics or religion, not necessarily in everyday use.

**Concept** “ghost, specter, phantom” (22.45)

- OE *scīn, scīnlāc, gāst, etc.*  
 ME *gōst, fantome* (< ‘that which deludes the senses or imagination,’ 14th c., < Fr.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, fashion?), *spirit* (< Lat., 14th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo, fashion?), *scīnlāc* († 1150), *fantasm* (< Fr., early 15th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo, fashion?)  
 EModE *ghost, phantom, spirit, fantasm, spook* (< Du., 17th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo, social reasons), *specter* (< Fr., ~1600) (anthropological salience, taboo)  
 ModE *ghost, phantom, spirit, spook, specter, (phantasm now only poetic)*  
 Notes This concept is a classical taboo item. From the vast number of OE terms only *gāst* seems to survive into ME. The borrowing of *spook* seems connected with the every-day contact between the English-speaking and the Dutch-speaking communities in 17th-century New York (then New Amsterdam). Cf. also the entry “evil spirit.”

**Concept** “girl [non-adult female human being]” (2.26)<sup>15</sup>

- OE *mægden, fāemne, mægþ, \*mægdecild etc.*  
 ME *maid* (with growing negatively associated usages since the 14th c.), *wench(el)* (< ‘child,’ late 13th c., with growing negatively associated usages since the 2nd half of the 14th c.) (anthropological salience, aesthetic-formal reasons?), *?lasce* (< ON, 14th c.) (anthropological salience, social reasons, fashion, aesthetic-formal reasons?), *pucelle* (< Fr., early 15th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, taboo?), (vs. *maidechīld* ‘little girl’ vs. *maiden* with already negative connotations in OE)  
 EModE *pucelle* (†late 16th c., lives only on in the sense of ‘prostitute’), *girl* (< ‘child,’ early 16th c.) (anthropological salience, aesthetic-formal reasons), *tīt* (< ‘little horse’ or independent expressive coinage, ~1600) (desire for plasticity?, word-play?, anthropological salience), *woman-child* (< compound, on the analogy of the much older *man-child*, mid-16th c.) (desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons?), (vs. *maid* ‘young girl, female servant’ vs. *lass* ‘girl(ie), “darling”’)  
 ModE *girl, woman-child* (†2nd half 19th c.)

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also Diensberg (1985), Lenker (1999), Bammesberger/Grzega (2001) and especially Kleparski (1990, 1997), with good summaries of earlier literature.

Notes The concept is not easy to define: where does childhood end and adolescence begin (cf. Lenker 1999) (onomasiological fuzziness<sup>16</sup>)? As in the Middle Ages “adolescence” started much earlier than today, we can view the concept “girl” as a center of attraction (anthropological salience) due to its proximity to babyfacedness? Lenker (1999: 11s.) reports that a basic world view change occurred during the 17th c., when children were gradually perceived not just as smaller versions of adults, but as weak and innocent. But this change does not seem to be in part responsible for any of the lexical innovations. The semantic restrictions all seem secondary. It can be observed, recurrently, that the words for the concept undergo semantic deterioration, i.e. they gradually denote “taboo” words; as a consequence, new terms have to be found for the neutral concept “girl” to avoid unintended associations (this is meant by “aesthetic-formal reasons”). Whether ME *lasce* should be added here cannot be decided for sure. It seems as if a neutral term for “girl” *lasce* is rather northern, whereas in the south it is already mostly connected with affection (i.e. ‘darling’). A remarkable variety of terms has survived into the dialects (cf. SED item VIII.1.3.).

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**Concept** “give back” (11.22)

OE *agiefan, edgiefan, eft agiefan, ongiefan* etc.

ME *ayeven* (†13th c.), *give again* (< prefixation replaced by vb.+adv. construction; between the 13th/14th c. and the 16th c.) (fashion), *restore* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)

EModE *give back* (< because of the change in use of *again*, 16th c.) (analogy), *restore*, *return* (< Fr. *retourner* or < *turn*, 16th c.) (desire for plasticity?, fashion?)

ModE *give back, return, restore*

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**Concept** “glory” (16.41)

OE *wuldor*, etc.

ME *wulder* (†1st half 13th c.), *glorie* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness?), *honor* (< Fr., early 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons, onomasiological fuzziness?), *praise* (< Fr., ~1400) (fashion, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness?), *fame* (< Lat./Fr., 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons, onomasiological fuzziness?), *renown* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness?), *renomē* (< Fr., late 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness?)

EModE *glory, honor, praise, fame, renown*

ModE *glory, honor, praise, fame, renown*

Notes The distinctions between “glory,” “fame,” “renown,” “honor” and “praise” are certainly hard to draw (onomasiological fuzziness!). Also of note, the context or collocation often seems important for the choice of a specific synonym; for OE, e.g., the TOE distinguishes between “glory, splendour, magnificence” (p. 422), “glory [in religious contexts on earth]” (p. 649), “glory, majesty of heaven” (p. 653)—OE *wuldor* is the only word that appears in all three sections and therefore can be regarded as the most general term. The development in ME is a typical instance of the huge amount of Fr. borrowings to denote positive qualities.

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<sup>16</sup> Onomasiological fuzziness, however, doesn’t seem to be relevant in any of the innovations listed here.

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<b>Concept</b>	“go [generic: locomotion without necessary implication of direction or goal]” (10.47)
OE	<i>gān</i> - pt. <i>ēode</i> , <i>gangan</i> , <i>faran</i> , <i>racian</i> , <i>wadan</i> , etc.
ME	<i>gō</i> - <i>yēde</i> ~ <i>goed</i> (< new formation on weak inflection pattern) (logical-formal reasons), <i>gonge</i> , <i>fare</i> , <i>wenden</i> (< ‘turn’) - <i>went</i> (anthropological salience), <i>rāken</i>
EModE	<i>go</i> - <i>went</i> (< <i>wend</i> ‘turn’) (anthropological salience), <i>rake</i>
ModE	<i>go</i> – <i>went</i> , <i>rake</i> (†18th c., afterwards only dialectal)
Notes	Lexical innovations can of course only be found for the preterite forms here. The forms for “go” show (recurrently) suppletive paradigms also in other languages (cf., e.g., the Romance and Slavic languages as well as G. <i>gehen</i> (pres.) vs. <i>ging</i> (preterite, which must come from a present stem <i>gang-</i> ) (these and similar instances of suppletions were already illustrated by Osthoff [1899]).

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<b>Concept</b>	“goat (female) (domesticated)” (3.36)
OE	<i>gāt</i>
ME	<i>gōte</i> , <i>she-gōte</i> (< compound, late 14th c., on the analogy of <i>he-goat</i> [and other sex-based animal antonyms]) (desire of plasticity, logical-formal reasons, analogy?)
EModE	<i>goat</i> , <i>she-goat</i>
ModE	<i>goat</i> , <i>she-goat</i>
Notes	Viewing the TOE (p. 83 & 85) we see that no generic OE term for “goat (domesticated)” existed, but that there were distinctions of sex-related terms between wild and domesticated goats. The introduction of the compound <i>she-goat</i> should be seen in connection with the preference of <i>he-goat</i> over <i>buck/hēver</i> in the late 14th century, but it must also be seen that animal sex distinction through compounds with <i>he-</i> and <i>she-</i> had begun to be regular and productive in the second half of the 14th c. Cf. also the entry “kid.”

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<b>Concept</b>	“govern [in a political sense]” (19.31)
OE	( <i>a</i> ) <i>w(e)aldan</i> , <i>rīcsian</i> , <i>reccan</i> , <i>rihtan</i> , <i>stēoran</i> , <i>dihtan</i> , <i>h(e)aldan</i> , <i>wearden</i> etc.
ME	( <i>a</i> ) <i>welden</i> , <i>rixen</i> (†later 12th c., in the 13th c. only in collocation with God), <i>righten</i> (†14th c., afterwards only connoted with God), <i>stēren</i> , <i>warden</i> (†14th c.), <i>dighen</i> (†14th c., later not in a political sense, but also in the more general, unspecific sense ‘rule’), <i>reule</i> (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), <i>govern</i> (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?) (vs. <i>recchen</i> only ‘to care, to heed’), <i>gūen</i> (< Fr., 1st half 14th) (fashion, social reasons?), maybe also <i>hōlden</i>
EModE	<i>rule</i> , <i>govern</i> , <i>guy</i> (†early 16th c.), <i>steer</i> (†early 16th c., afterwards only in collocation with vessels) (vs. <i>wield</i> dial. ‘to manage successfully, to obtain by whatever means’)
ModE	<i>rule</i> , <i>govern</i>

Notes ME *reule* seems to be a pseudo-Gallicism in the sense of ‘to govern;’ Tobler/Lommatzsch (s.v. *riuler*) only list the sense ‘rule,’ but often in collocation with “God” and “nature” and “the world”—this might have caused the word’s use as “govern.” The field of administration shows an enormous amount of Gallicisms since ME times (cf., e.g., Scheler 1977: 55). The use of OE *haldan*, ME *holden* shows a certain fuzziness between possessing and ruling.

**Concept** “grain, cereal” (8.42)

OE *corn* (also ‘[orig.:] fruit or seed of corn’), *spelt*, *hwæte*

ME *corn*, *grain* (< ‘fruit or seed of corn’ or directly < Fr., early 14th c.) (fashion?, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness?) (vs. *spelt* ‘(grain of) *Triticum spelta*’ vs. *hwēte* ‘wheat’)

EModE *corn*, *grain*

ModE (*corn*: now mostly specialized: ‘wheat (EnglE), maize (AmE), oats (ScotE and IrE)’), *grain*, *cereal* (< Lat., 1832) (fashion?, onomasiological fuzziness?)

Notes We do not know whether ME *grain* ‘cereal’ was the result of a (subconscious) metonymic extension of *grain* ‘fruit/seed of corn’ (this sense is attested about a century earlier) (onomasiological fuzziness!) or whether it is a direct loan reflecting the same semantic range as in French/Latin (fashion!); in general, the exact meaning cannot always be determined for sure. At any rate, the borrowing of a French loan into the miller’s vocabulary is rather strange. Maybe speakers looked for a lexical possibility to distinguish between the seed (*grain*) and the entire plant (*corn*) (fuzziness!). Secondly, the terms lost their clear contents and references again (fuzziness!). At a third stage the term *cereal* became necessary, with the growing specialization of *corn* to ‘wheat,’ ‘corn,’ or ‘maize’ since the 18th/19th century (cf. also Grzega [in press b]) and, once again, with a growing need to clearly distinguish between the seed and the entire plant (fuzziness!). Similar shifts can also be observed for other European languages.

**Concept** “granddaughter” (2.48)

OE *nefe*, *nift* (or periphrastic designation)

ME *nift* (†1500 as ‘niece,’ the meaning ‘granddaughter’ had already died out in OE times), *nece* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, analogy)

EModE *granddaughter* (< *grandfather*, 1611) (fashion, logical-formal reasons?, analogy) (*niece* †17th c.)

ModE *granddaughter*

Notes The two OE terms also meant ‘niece’ (as *nefa* also referred to both “grandson” and nephew”); we can therefore assume a certain degree of fuzziness, which must have existed among the old extended families. This fuzziness, however, doesn’t seem responsible for these specific changes (in contrast to “uncle”). The “*grand-*” terms should not only be seen as patterned on *grandfather* (analogy), but they should also be seen in connection with the entire kinship terminology (logical-formal reasons, cf. also the entries “grandfather,” “grandmother,” “grandson,” and “uncle”).

**Concept** “grandfather” (2.46)

OE	<i>ieldafæder</i>
ME	<i>ēldefader</i> (†ca. 1500), <i>grauntsire</i> (< Fr., late 13th c.) (fashion, flattery, social reasons), <i>grandfather</i> (< partial influence from Fr., 1424) (fashion, flattery), <i>aiel</i> (< Fr., 2nd half 14th c., †ca. 1500) (fashion, flattery), <i>belsire</i> (< Pseudo-Gallicism, 15th c.) (fashion, flattery)
EModE	<i>grandfather</i> , <i>belsire</i> (†17th c.)
ModE	<i>grandfather</i>
Notes	Cf. the entry “granddaughter.”

**Concept** “grandmother” (2.47)

OE	<i>ealdemōdor</i>
ME	<i>ēldemōder/ōldmōder</i> (†15th c.), <i>graundame</i> (< Fr., 13th c.) (fashion, flattery, analogy, social reasons), <i>grandmother</i> (< partial influence from Fr., 1424, on the analogy of <i>grandfather</i> ) (fashion, flattery, analogy)
EModE	<i>grandmother</i>
ModE	<i>grandmother</i>
Notes	Cf. the entry “granddaughter.”

**Concept** “grandson” (2.48)

OE	<i>sunsunu</i> , <i>nefa</i> (or periphrastic designation; ‘also nephew’)
ME	<i>neve</i> (†15th c.), <i>neveu</i> (< Fr., late 13th c.) (fashion, analogy, social reasons), <i>cosīn</i> (< Fr., 14th c., †15th c.) (fashion, analogy, social reasons?)
EModE	<i>grandson</i> (< <i>grandfather</i> , 1586) (flattery, logical-formal reasons?, analogy) (vs. <i>neveu/nephew</i> †1700, now only ‘brother’s or sister’s son’)
ModE	<i>grandson</i>
Notes	Cf. the entry “granddaughter.”

**Concept** “grape” (5.76)

OE	<i>winber(i)ge</i> , <i>ber(i)ge</i> , <i>corn</i>
ME	<i>winberie</i> , <i>berie</i> , <i>corn</i> , <i>grape</i> (< Fr., ~1300) (fashion, social reasons?), <i>raysyn</i> (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)
EModE	<i>grape</i> , <i>berry</i> (vs. <i>raisin</i> [restricted sense since the 17th c.], <i>winberry</i> )
ModE	<i>grape</i> , <i>berry</i>
Notes	ModE dial. <i>winberry</i> means ‘red currant’ and ‘gooseberry’ (cf. EDD).

**Concept** “grasp, seize, take hold of [with the hand]” (11.14)

OE	( <i>tōge</i> ) <i>grīpan</i> , <i>grippan</i> , <i>beclyppan</i> , <i>befōn</i> , <i>gehentan</i> , ( <i>ā</i> ) <i>læccan</i> , ( <i>ā</i> ) <i>fōn</i> , <i>on hrīnan</i> , * <i>graspian</i> , <i>rāccan</i> etc.
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ME	<i>graspen, biclippen, ihenten, rēchen, fōn</i> (†15th c.), <i>bifōn</i> (†late 15th c.), <i>grīpen, grippen, lachen</i> (†15th c., today only intransitive), <i>tāken</i> (< ON, late 11th c.) (social reasons), <i>sēisen</i> (< Fr., ~1300) (fashion, social reasons?)
EModE	<i>grasp, seize, grip, gripe, beclip</i> (†16th c.), <i>hent</i> (†17th c.), <i>reach</i> (†17th c.), <i>clitch/clutch</i> (< ‘to incurve the fingers,’ 17th c.) (desire for plasticity)
ModE	<i>grasp, seize, grip, gripe</i> (arch.), <i>clutch</i> (now mostly connoted with fear)
Notes	It may be that <i>seize</i> was used in a military, political sense first, but the chronological proximity of the sense recorded does not allow us to tell for sure. <sup>17</sup>

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**Concept** “grave, burial place [without (necessarily) implying a precise form]” (4.79)

OE	<i>byrgen, græf, stede</i>
ME	<i>burien, grave, stēde</i> (†late 15th c.), <i>tumbe</i> (< Fr., 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons), <i>burial</i> (< <i>burien</i> + Fr. suffix, ~1250-1612) (fashion), <i>sepulture</i> (< Fr.-Lat., 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)
EModE	<i>grave, tomb, sepulture</i> , ( <i>burial</i> until the 17th c., afterwards only ‘funeral’)
ModE	<i>grave, tomb</i> , ( <i>sepulture</i> arch.)
Notes	The restricted use of <i>burial</i> is probably due to the suffix <i>-al</i> , which is mostly used as a suffix expressing the action of the verbal stem; <i>huri(en)</i> was probably too much associated with the activity of burying. The various terms may at first have been applied to different types of graves, but the recordings do not allow us any safe conclusions (the situation seems clearer in German and the Romance languages).

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**Concept** “great, large, big [size]” (12.55)

OE	<i>micel, grēat</i> (with the connotation ‘coarse, stout, thick’)
ME	<i>mikel/muchel, grēte, big</i> (< ‘strong, sturdy, robust’ / < ON; first rare recordings 14th c.) (social reasons, anthropological salience), <i>large</i> (< Fr., 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons, anthropological salience), <i>huge</i> (< Fr., 2nd half 13th c.) (social reasons, fashion), <i>immense</i> (< Fr., late 15th c.) (fashion)
EModE	<i>great, big, large, huge, immense</i>
ModE	<i>great</i> (only in peripheral use, e.g. in emotional speech, otherwise in the sense of ‘grand,’ i.e. quality instead of quantity/size), <i>big, large, huge</i> , ( <i>immense</i> now rather ‘very big’)
Notes	In ME <i>grēte</i> covers a wide semantic area ‘large in size or quantity, big, much, abundant; swollen, fat, pregnant; lumpy, coarse; powerful; intrinsically important;’ ME <i>large</i> means ‘inclined to give or spend freely, munificent, open-handed; generous; ample in quantity; ample in range or extent; big in overall size.’ This means that there have been shifts between semantic centers and semantic peripheries. One would also have liked to add <i>enormous</i> to this list, but this rather denoted any kind of extremeness, ‘very positive + very negative,’ until the late 19th c.; today it can be seen as a synonym of <i>immense</i> , meaning ‘very big.’ <sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Cf. also Schneider (1988) und Schneider (1998).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. also Dekeyser (1994).

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<b>Concept</b>	“grief, sorrow” (16.32)
OE	<i>sār</i> (also ‘pain, suffering’), <i>sorh</i> (also ‘care’), <i>hearm</i> , <i>gyrn</i> , <i>wā</i> , <i>bitterness</i> , <i>langung</i> , <i>trega</i> , <i>bealo</i> , <i>caru</i> , <i>grama</i> , <i>hefignes</i> , <i>tēona</i> etc.
ME	<i>sōr</i> , <i>sorwe</i> , <i>harm</i> , <i>wō</i> , <i>bāle</i> , <i>cāre</i> , <i>grāme</i> , <i>heaviness</i> , <i>tēne</i> , <i>anguish</i> (< Fr., 13th c.) (social reasons, fashion, anthropological salience?), <i>grēf</i> (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience?), <i>distress</i> (< Lat., early 14th c.) (disguising language?, onomasiological fuzziness, fashion, anthropological salience?), <i>discomfort</i> (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness, anthropological salience?), <i>dōl</i> (< Fr., 13th c.) (disguising language?, onomasiological fuzziness, fashion, social reasons, anthropological salience?), <i>reuthe</i> (< ON, 13th c.) (onomasiological fuzziness, social reasons, anthropological salience?)
EModE	<i>sorrow</i> , <i>grief</i> , <i>woe</i> , <i>heaviness</i> , <i>teene</i> , <i>ruth</i> , <i>bale</i> (†early 17th c.), <i>grame</i> (†17th c.), <i>care</i> (†18th c.), <i>harm</i> (†17th c.), ( <i>distress</i> ), <i>anguish</i> , <i>sore</i> , ( <i>discomfort</i> only rarely in this sense)
ModE	<i>sorrow</i> , <i>grief</i> , <i>heaviness</i> , ( <i>teene</i> arch., <i>ruth</i> †early 20th c., <i>woe</i> very formal)
Notes	The mass of OE (and also ME) words to express “grief, sorrow” is really astonishing, and it is unfortunately hard to say what the exact differences are (cf. TOE p. 443) as it is hard to define the concept “grief, sorrow” at all—an onomasiological fuzziness that seems to exist throughout the entire language history. <sup>19</sup>

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<b>Concept</b>	“groan [expressive of pain or grief]” (16.39)
OE	<i>grānian</i> , <i>stenan</i> , <i>þoterian</i> , <i>māēnan</i> , etc., <i>grymettan</i> , <i>grunnettan</i>
ME	<i>grinten</i> (†15th c.), <i>grunten</i> , <i>grōne</i> , <i>mēne</i> , <i>yowl</i> (< ON [onomatopoetic in nature], early 13th c.) (social reasons, desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), <i>wail</i> (< ON [onomatopoetic in nature], 14th c.) (social reasons, desire for plasticity?, anthropological salience?)
EModE	<i>groan</i> , <i>grunt</i> (†17th c.), <i>yowl</i> , <i>wail</i> , <i>ululate</i> (< Lat. [onomatopoetic in nature], 1623) (disguising language?, desire for plasticity?, prestige?, anthropological salience?), <i>moan</i> (< conscious irregular development <i>mēne</i> toward expressivity or separate onomatopoetic formation, 1548) (desire for plasticity, onomasiological fuzziness?, anthropological salience?), etc.
ModE	<i>groan</i> , <i>moan</i> , <i>yowl</i> , <i>wail</i> , <i>ululate</i>

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. also Kurath (1921), Aitchison (1992), Fischer (1992), Nöth (1992), Diller (1994), Schneider (1998: 40ss.), Fabiszak (1999) und Gevaert (in press).

Notes It may be asked whether still more Latinisms should be added to the ModE section of this list of general, neutral language: this must be denied since these cannot be regarded as neutral, but must be considered as markedly formal. ModE *moan* may ultimately go back to OE *mānan*, but the regular continuation should be [mi:n]; *moan* [moon] must therefore be regarded as a re-formation that aims at gaining an expressive shape in order to establish a better link between form and concept. Other languages also show a multitude of synonyms, but it is not always easy to decide whether the driving force for these innovations is fuzziness, anthropological salience, the desire for plasticity, the goal of disguising language or a mixture of them.

**Concept** “ground, earth, soil” (1.212)

OE *grund, molde, eorþe, land*

ME *ground, erth, land, soil* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion?, social reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness)

EModE *ground, soil, earth, land*

ModE *ground, soil, earth, land*

Notes Buck lists “ground, earth, soil” as a sub-entry of “earth, land,” which already shows how vaguely the differences between these concepts are made by the various Indo-European speech communities (“onomasiological fuzziness”).

**Concept** “grow, increase in size [of an object]” (12.53)

OE *weaxan, growan, grēatian*

ME *waxen, growen, grēten* (†15th c.), *encrēsen* (< Fr., late 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)

EModE *wax, grow, increase, amplify* (< Lat., 1580) (fashion)

ModE *grow, increase, (amplify now rare, wax is only used in connotation with moon)*

**Concept** “guilt, fault, moral responsibility for wrong doing, culpability” (16.76)

OE *scyld, gylt*, etc.

ME *shīld* (†1st half 13th c.), *gilt, guiltiness* (< *guilty*, ~1375) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), *faute* (< ‘physical or mental fault’ or directly < Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, world view change, anthropological salience), *error* (< Lat.-Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?), *coupe/culpe* (< Fr., late 14th c., †15th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, world view change, anthropological salience), *demerit* (< Lat.-Fr., 15th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience), *wīte* (< ‘fine imposed for certain offences or privileges; penalty,’ 1st half 13th c.) (desire for plasticity)

EModE *guilt, guiltiness, error, fault, demerit, wite* (since 18th c. only dial.), *culpability* (< Lat. or derived from *culpable*, 1675) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), *peccancy* (< Lat. or derived from *peccant*, 1656) (fashion, desire for plasticity?, anthropological salience, logical-formal reasons?), *culp* (†17th c. [maybe already before the creation of *culpability*])

- ModE *guilt, error, fault, culpability, (guiltiness now very rare, peccancy now very rare, demerit now only ‘disadvantage’)*
- Notes EModE *culpability* is either taken from Lat. or derived from the already existing adjective. With both assumptions it is clear that *culpability* can be related to the generally known *culpable*; therefore an underlying desire for plasticity and logical-formal reasons seem the probable impetus for this innovation. The same cannot be said for *peccancy*, though, since *peccant* has not yet been in the language for such a long period of time and was maybe not a generally known word yet, so that a desire for plasticity may be possible, but not clearly probable. In OE a separately lexicalized concept “moral responsibility for wrong doing” doesn’t seem to exist yet. ME *faute* covers the following semantic field: ‘1. lack, want, scarcity, deficiency; 2. blemish, flaw, fault, mistake, error with reference to belief; 3. failure to perform an obligation, neglect in duty, default; 4. moral defect or imperfection, wrong-doing, misdeed, offence, sin, crime; 5. culpability, blame, charge of blame or censure’ (cf. MED). ME designations for moral qualities are to a high degree from French. In ModE more Latinisms could be added, but these should be considered markedly formal. Cf. also next entry.<sup>20</sup>

**Concept** “guilty” (21.35)

- OE *scyldig, gyltig, sæc, synnig*
- ME *shīldi* (†1st half 13th c.), *gyly, fauti* (< *faute*, 14th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), *to blame* (< Fr., 1225) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), *blāmeworthy* (< comp., 14th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), *cou(l)pable* (< Fr.-Lat., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience), *defauty* (< *defaute*, 15th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience, logical-formal reasons), *defectif* (< Fr., ~1400) (fashion, social reasons?, anthropological salience), *guiltif* (< *guilt* or *guilty*, 14th c.) (fashion, morphological misinterpretation?)
- EModE *guilty, faulty* (†17th c.), *culpable, blameworthy, to blame, peccant* (< Lat., ~1600) (fashion, anthropological salience), *defective* (†2nd half 17th c.), *defaulty* (†16th c.) etc.
- ModE *guilty, culpable, blameworthy, to blame, at fault* (< periphrastic construction, 1876) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), (*peccant* now very rare)
- Notes Like ME *faute* (cf. the entry “guilt”) ME *fauti* (still in dialects) covers a wide range of meaning, viz. the corresponding adjectival meanings of the noun’s senses under (1) and (4) (cf. preceding entry).<sup>21</sup> The alternation of inherited -y and French -if can be observed for a limited number of adjectives (cf. OED s.v. -ive); this alternation may go back to a confusion of the two suffixes (cf. also “joyful”).

**Concept** “gulf” (1.34)

- OE *sæ-earm, flēot, healh* etc.
- ME *flēte, goulf* (< Fr./It., ~1400; vs. *baye*) (world view change, fashion?, social reasons?)

<sup>20</sup> Cf. also Richards (1998).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. also Richards (1998).

- EModE *gulf, inlet* (< compound, 2nd half 16th c., now primarily dialectal) (world view change, desire for plasticity) (vs. *fleet* mostly ‘creek, inlet’ and rarely connected with the sea [until the 18th c.])
- ModE *gulf, inlet*
- Notes OE does not yet make a lexical distinction between the more inclosed gulf and the more open bay; the distinction resulted from a new classification of the world, i.e. world view change, that must go back to French influence. ModE *fleet* still exists in many dialects in this sense.

**Concept** “gun [i.e. the small or hand gun of the soldier or sportsman]” (20.28)

OE —

ME *gunne* (1339)

EModE *gun, rifle* (< vb. ‘form the grooves,’ 2nd half 18th c.) (change in things?)

ModE *gun, rifle*

**Concept** “jaw” (4.207)

OE *cēace, ceafł, geaflas, gēagl, cēacbān, etc.*

ME *cheek* [also already in the sense of ‘cheek’], *chavel, jaw ~ jow(e)* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion?, social reasons?)

EModE *jaw ~ jawel* (< *chavel* × *jaw*) (morphological misinterpretation, onomasiological fuzziness?, 1598) (vs. *jowl*)

ModE *jaw*

Notes It is evidently hard to draw clear lines between cheek, jaw and chin. This fuzziness also make speakers/hearers mix up, or blend, the similar sounding words *chavel* (inherited) and *jaw* (borrowed). According to the TOE and the MED, OE *cēace* and OE *ceafł* ~ ME *chavel* could even be used in the sense of ‘throat.’<sup>22</sup>

**Concept** “jealousy, envy” (16.48)

OE *nīþ, æfest, anda*

ME *nithe* (†early 13th c.), *evest* (†~1300), *onde* (†2nd half 14th c.), *gelousy* (< Fr., ~1400) (anthropological salience, fashion, social reasons?), *gelousnes* (< Fr. + replacement of *-ie* by E. suffix or separate nominalization from the adj., 2nd half 14th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons, fashion, social reasons?)

EModE *jealousy, envy* (< ‘malignant or hostile feeling’ or directly < Fr., late 16th c.) (anthropological salience, fashion), *enviousness* (< *envious*, late 16th c.) (desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons, anthropological salience), *heartburn* (< *heart+burn*, 16th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), *heartburning* (< *heartburn*, 16th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity)

ModE *jealousy, envy, (enviousness, heartburn, heartburning now obsolete)*

<sup>22</sup> On this topic see the recent study by Krefeld (1999) on the names for the extremities in Romance language history (supplemented with a few comments in Grzega [2001b] and Grzega [in press a]). The wide-spread fuzziness of body-parts, especially as regards the extremities, is already observed by Buck (1949: 235ff.).

Notes Scheler (1977: 55) correctly writes that French loans were imported for all seven deadly sins in the 13th and 14th centuries (dates according to the OED): *gluttony* (1225), *lechery* (1230), *envy* (1300), *avarice* (1300), *ire* (1300), *fornication* (1300), *vainglory* (1340), *luxury* (1340), *jealousy* (1400). However, they don't seem to have been borrowed together, but separately; furthermore, they did not completely oust the older words (e.g. *lust*, *wrath*). Therefore, I refrain from listing analogy as a driving force. Another difficulty that arises: do ModE *jealousy* and *envy* really verbalize the same concept? As Buck seems to assume this, I have tried to assemble all words that express "a negative feeling toward a person because s/he has something that speaker doesn't have."

**Concept** "jewel" (6.72)

OE *gimm*, *gimstān*, *stān* etc.

ME *yim* (†after 1500), *yimstōne* (†ca. 1200), *gemme* (< probably from Fr. because of [dʒ-] and [e], ca. 1300) (fashion, social reasons?), *stōne*

EModE *gem*, *stone*, *jewel* (< 'ornament made of gold, silver or precious stones,' early 16th c. < Fr.) (onomasiological fuzziness, fashion?)

ModE *gem*, *gem-stone* (< compound, 1883) (desire for plasticity), *stone*, *jewel*

Notes Viewing the dates of records we can assume that ModE *gem-stone* is a new, separate formation that does not go back to ME *yimstone*.

**Concept** "join, unite" (12.22)

OE (*ge*)*fēgan*, *geðēdan*, *gesamnian*

ME *feien*, *joine* (< Fr., late 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons), *unyte* (< Fr., 15th c.) (fashion), *combīnen* (< Lat., ~1450) (fashion), *ōnen* (< *ōn* 'one,' 14th c.) (desire for plasticity)

EMod *join*, *unite*, *combine*, *one*

ModE *join*, *unite*, *combine*, *one*

Notes Although ME *feien*<sub>1</sub> 'join; combine, unite; go together, match in style; delay' was homonymous with *feien*<sub>2</sub> 'cleanse, clear; do away; make ready' and *feien*<sub>3</sub> 'put somebody on bad terms (with God)' I do not think that homonymic conflict was at work here, since the homonymy had already existed for two centuries before *join* was first attested in English (1297). Moreover, when *join* entered the language *feien*<sub>3</sub> had already come into disuse. Furthermore, there is also a form OE *ānen*, but it is attested only once (in Bede), so that ME *onen* should be considered a new formation.

**Concept** "joy" (16.22)

OE *gefēa*, *bliss*, *blīps*, *glædnes*, *glædscip*, *wynn*, *drēam*, *myrþ*, *sælþ* etc.

- ME *blisse/blith, gladness, gladship, wunne, mirth, sēlth* (†15th c.), *joy* (< Fr., early 13th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons), *drēm* (†13th c., afterwards only in the sense ‘dream’), *fē* (†12th c.), *chēre* (< ‘good mood, humor’, 2nd half 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, onomasiological fuzziness?), *deduit* (< Fr., ~1300, until the 15th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?), *delīce* (< Fr., early 13th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons), *delitabilitē* (< Fr.-Lat., 1st half 15th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience), *felicītē* (< Fr., 2nd half 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?), *jocunditē* (< Fr., 15th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience), *jolines* (< *joli*, early 15th c.) (fashion, logical-formal reasons?), *jolitē* (< Fr., late 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity?), *mirines* (< *merry/mirry*, late 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), *plēsaunce* (< Fr. or ‘satisfaction of a deity,’ 2nd half 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity?, social reasons?), *sōlās* (< Fr., 1st half 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?)
- EModE *joy, felicity, solace* (more and more restricted to ‘help and comfort’), *pleasance, joyance* (< *joy*, late 16th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience), *joyfulness* (< *joyful*, 15th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience, logical-formal reasons), (*jocundity, joliness, mirth*), (*jocundness*, †17th c.) (*gladness* no longer as strong as *joy*)
- ModE *joy, delight, joyfulness, (felicity poetic and formal, pleasance and joyance now obs.)*
- Notes Other languages also show great lexical variation for “joy,” e.g. MHG *vrōude, wonne, ginde, munst*. Cf. also next entry.<sup>23</sup>

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**Concept** “joyful, glad, merry” (16.23)

- OE *glæd, fægen, frēo, myrig, bliþ* etc.
- ME *glad, fayn, merry, blithe, blithful* (< *blith(e)*, 12th c.) (desire for plasticity?, fashion, anthropological salience, logical-formal reasons?), *joyful* (< *joy*, 13th c.) (desire for plasticity, fashion, anthropological salience, logical-formal reasons?), *gay* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?), *joyous* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?, logical-formal reasons?), *cheerful* (< vb., early 14th c.) (desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons, anthropological salience, onomasiological fuzziness?), *gladful* (< *glad*, early 13th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience, logical-formal reasons?), *gladsome* (< *glad*, 1st half 15th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), *jocound* (< Fr., early 15th c.) (anthropological salience, fashion), *jolif* (< Fr., ~1300) (anthropological salience, fashion, social reasons), *joly* (< *jolif* ‘joyful’, early 14th c.) (morphological misinterpretation?)
- EMod *glad, joyful, joyous, blithe, blithful, jolly, gladful, gladsome, jocund, gay, merry, happy* (< ‘lucky,’ 16th c. < *hap* ‘good luck’ < ON) (onomasiological fuzziness?)

<sup>23</sup> Cf. also Kurath (1921), Aitchison (1992), Fischer (1992), Nöth (1992), Diller (1994), Schneider (1998: 40ss.), Fabiszak (1999) und Gevaert (in press).

ModE *joyful, joyous, jolly, happy* (< ‘lucky,’ 16th c. < *hap* ‘good luck’ < ON) (onomasiological fuzziness?), (*glad* now less strong than ‘joyful’), *gladsome, gladful* (now arch.), (*blithful* †19th c.), *jocund* (arch. in the sense of ‘joyful’, today stronger ‘cheerful’) (vs. *gay* ‘[arch.] joyful; [now mostly:] homosexual’ vs. *merry* ‘[arch.] joyful; [now mostly:] drunken’)

Notes There may have been conceptual, onomasiological fuzziness between “joyful/joy, happy/happiness” and “lucky/luck.” It is also difficult to distinguish between shades of “joyful,” since these are rather subjective. It can also be noted that there are no complete correspondences between the commonest nouns and adjectives; the factor of logical-formal reasons must therefore be treated with care. A high amount of synonyms for (the different shades of) “joyful” can also be observed for other languages, e.g. It. *gioioso* ~ *liedo* ~ *allegro* ~ *contento* ~ *felice*, G. *freudig* ~ *froh* ~ *fröhlich* ~ *glücklich*. Cf. also the preceding entry.<sup>24</sup> On the alternation *joly* ~ *jolif* cf. the entry “guilty.”

**Concept** “judge [vb.]” (21.16)

OE *dēman*

ME *dēmen, jugen* (< Fr., transitive late 13th c., intransitive 2nd half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons, change in things)

EModE *deme* (†early 17th c.), *judge*

ModE *judge*, (*deem* only very arch.)

Notes Due to the introduction of French law, many legal have come into ME from French: *just, justice, crime, vice, trespass, felony, fraud, adultery, perjury, court, bar, jury, evidence, charge, plea, heir, heritage, attorney*, and many more. Cf. also the next two entries.

**Concept** “judge [sb.]” (21.18)

OE *dēma, dōmere, (dōmes man)*

ME *dēme* (†15th c.), *dōmere* (only once, in 1175, acc. to the MED, otherwise only in the sense ‘someone who is judging, “judger”’), *dēmere* (< *dēme*, 1225–1580) (fashion, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), *juge* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), (*dōmesman*)

EModE *judge, deemer* (†late 16th c.)

ModE *judge* (less technical: *doomsman*)

Notes OE *dēmere* appears only once, around 950, so that the 13th-century formation *demere* must be considered a separate innovation. There is also a hapax legomenon ME *juger* (1450, cf. MED), but it is doubtful whether it actually refers to ‘someone who judges as a profession.’ Cf. also the entries “judge [vb.]” and “judgement.”

**Concept** “judgement” (21.17)

OE *dōm*

<sup>24</sup> Cf. also Kurath (1921), Aitchison (1992), Fischer (1992), Nöth (1992), Diller (1994), Schneider (1998: 40ss.), Fabiszak (1999), Gevaert (in press) und Schneider (1998).



ME	<i>dōm, judgement</i> (< Fr., late 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons, desire for plasticity?, logical-formal reasons?, analogy?, change in things?)
EModE	<i>doom, judgement</i>
ModE	<i>judgement</i> (vs. <i>doom</i> , which is restricted to one of its ME peripheral, metonymic senses)
Notes	Cf. also the entries “judge [vb.]” and “judge [sb.]”

**Concept** “jug, pitcher” (5.34)

OE	<i>crōg, crocc(a), crūce</i> , etc.
ME	<i>crōgh</i> (†13th c.), <i>crock</i> (†14th c.); <i>pitcher</i> (< Fr., early 13th c.) (change in things, fashion, social reasons)
EModE	<i>pitcher, jug</i> (< ?, 1538) (change in things)
ModE	<i>pitcher, jug</i>
Notes	The origin of <i>jug</i> is not entirely clear. The OED’s explanation (s.v. <i>jug</i> n. <sup>2</sup> ) is cautious: “possibly, as suggested by Wedgwood, a transferred use of JUG n. <sup>1</sup> , the feminine name, for which there are analogies. But no actual evidence connecting the words has yet been found.” And under <i>jug</i> n.1: “A pet name or familiar substitute for the feminine name Joan, or Joanna; applied as a common noun to a homely woman, maid-servant, sweetheart, or mistress; or as a term of disparagement.” It is not possible to find out whether the OE and ME words are purely synonyms and refer to various sub-concepts; I have tried to gather the most general terms. Labov (1973) has shown that speakers find it difficult to draw delimitating lines between the various types of vessels. However, I refrain from adding “onomasiological fuzziness” as a force, since none of the two innovations were inherited names for vessels. The most probable reason for the introduction of the new words, apart from the reason of fashion, appears to be changes in the usual form and/or usual material of the “concept,” which can be observed for several vessels (e.g. “cup” and “mug”)—also in other languages/cultures.

**Concept** “jump, leap [vb.]” (16.73)

OE	<i>hlēapan, springen, steortan</i> etc.
ME	<i>lēpen, springen, sterten, skippen</i> (< ‘run, go, travel, hasten’, < ON?, late 14th c.) (onomasiological fuzziness?)
EModE	<i>start</i> (†16th c., afterwards only in derivable senses), <i>leap, spring, skip, jump</i> (< expressive, 1st half 16th c.) (desire for plasticity), <i>vault</i> (< Fr. <i>vou(l)ter</i> ‘jump, leap’ and/or [!] ‘to construct with a vault or arched roof’ [< OFr. <i>vou(l)ter</i> ‘dito’], 1st half 16th c.) (fashion, desire for plasticity?, morphological misinterpretation?)
ModE	<i>leap, spring, skip, jump, vault</i>
Notes	This is a good example for demonstrating that homonymic clash doesn’t automatically lead to homonymic conflict.

**Concept** “just, right [moral sense, of persons]” (10.43)

OE	<i>riht, rehtwis, trēowe, *rihtful</i>
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ME *right, true, rightful, righteous, just* (< Fr., 14th c.) (change in things?, social reasons?, fashion), *honest* (< Fr., early 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), *virtuous* (< Fr., 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)

EModE *right, true, righteous*

ModE (*right*), (*true* [now arch. and restricted to certain collocations only]), *upright* (< OE ME ‘sincere’) (desire for plasticity, onomasiological fuzziness?), (*just* [now arch.]), (*righteous* now very formal)

Notes Cf. the entry “judge [vb.]”

**Concept** “keep, retain” (11.17)

OE *gehealdan*

ME *hōlden, kēpen* (< ‘to lay hold with the hands,’ early 13th c. at the latest) (desire for plasticity), *retain* (< Fr., early 15th c.) (fashion), *reserven* (< Fr., 1st half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), *withhōlden* (< *with-* + *holden*, ~1200) (desire for plasticity)

EModE *keep, retain, reserve, withhold*

ModE *keep, retain, reserve, withhold* (now arch., but in the 19th c. still very frequent)

Notes According to the OED, OE *cēpan* has to be labeled vulgar/non-literary. Cf. also next entry.

**Concept** “keep safe, save, preserve” (11.24)

OE *beorgan, healdan*

ME *berwen, hōlden, kēpen* (< ‘to lay hold with the hands,’ ~1400) (desire for plasticity), *sāven* (< ‘to save someone from danger’ / Fr., early 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?), *preserven* (< Lat.-Fr., late 14th c.) (fashion), *reserven* (< Fr., 1st half 14th c.) (fashion, social reasons?)

EModE *save, preserve*, (*reserve* †17th c., afterwards only in restricted meaning)

ModE *save, preserve*

Notes Cf. also preceding entry.

**Concept** “kid, little goat” (3.38)

OE *ticcen, hēcen*

ME *ticche(n)* (†1400), *kid* (< ON, ~1200) (social reasons)

EModE *kid*

ModE *kid, goatling* (< diminutive form of *goat*, 1870, on the analogy of older *codling, duckling, gosling* and others) (desire for plasticity?, logical-formal reasons)

Notes Cf. also the entry “goat.”

**Concept** “kindle, light [fire]” (1.86)

OE *onāelan, (on)tendan*

- ME *lighten* (< sb., 14th c.) (desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), *kindlen* (< ON, ~1200) (social reasons)
- EModE *light, lighten, kindle*
- ModE *light* (~ *lighten* only in a figurative sense), *kindle*

**Concept** “ugly [in appearance]” (16.82)

OE *unwlitig, unfæger, fūl*

ME *unfair, foul, ugly* (< *ug* ‘fear’ < ON, ~1250) (social reasons, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult), *hideous* (< Fr., early 14th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo, fashion, social reasons?), *unlovely* (< opposite, late 14th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult), *unsightly* (< opposite, 1st half 15th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult), *grim* (< ‘cruel,’ 13th c.) (desire for plasticity, anthropological salience, insult), *uncomely* (< opposite, ~1400) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult), *unbeautiful* (<opposite, late 15th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult)

EModE *unfair* (†mid-17th c.), *ugly, foul, uncomely, unlovely, unsightly*

ModE *ugly, unsightly, hideous, unlovely, uncomely, grim, plain* (< ‘simple,’ 18th c.) (taboo, anthropological salience, disguising language?, taboo?), *homely* (< ‘simple’) (anthropological salience, disguising language?, taboo?), *unattractive* (< opposite) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult), *unhandsome* (< opposite) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult), *unpretty* (< opposite) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, insult)

Notes The concept “ugly” is a classical example of a center of attraction in Sperber’s (1923) sense. Some innovations include a blatant motivation between form and may thus spring from a desire for ridiculizing and insulting, whereas other innovations tend to conceal the negative aspect (here it is difficult to decide whether this is because of social etiquette [taboo] or for personal ends [disguising language]).

**Concept** “uncle, maternal” (2.51)

OE *ēam*

ME *ēme, uncle* (< Fr., late 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons, flattery)

EModE *uncle*

ModE *uncle*

Notes Cf. the entry “uncle, paternal.” As in Romance and in other Germanic languages, the distinction between maternal and paternal is (subconsciously) given up. Already in OE the distinction between *mōdri(g)e* ‘mother’s sister’ and *faðu* ‘father’s sister’ is rare (cf. OEC). The “uncle” distinction is given up toward the ME period. The type *eme* is still present in dialects (‘uncle [paternal and maternal]’). Cf. also the entry “granddaughter.”

**Concept** “uncle, paternal” (2.51)

OE *fædera*

ME	<i>ēme</i> (< ‘maternal uncle’) (communicative-formal reasons, logical-formal reasons?, onomasiological fuzziness?), <i>uncle</i> (< Fr., late 13th c.) (fashion, social reasons, flattery)
EModE	<i>uncle</i>
ModE	<i>uncle</i>
Notes	Cf. the entry “uncle, maternal.” The distinction between maternal relatives and paternal relatives is given up toward the ME period; additionally, the incipient homonymy of <i>fæder</i> and <i>fædera</i> will have played a role (both would have become ME <i>fader</i> ). The type <i>eme</i> is still present in dialects (‘uncle [paternal and maternal]’). Cf. also the entry “granddaughter.”

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**Concept** “understand” (17.16)

OE	<i>understandan, ongietan, (cnawan)</i>
ME	<i>understanden, ongeten, knowen, comprehend</i> (< ‘to contain’ or directly Fr.-Lat., late 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity?), <i>conceiven</i> (< ‘to experience, to feel’ or directly Fr.-Lat., late 14th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity?), <i>apprehenden</i> (< ‘grasp’ or directly Fr.-Lat., 15th c.) (fashion, anthropological salience, desire for plasticity?), <i>seen</i> (< metaphor/metonymy, 14th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), <i>undertaken</i> (< ‘to take note of,’ 1st half 15th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), <i>entenden</i> (< Lat.-Fr., ~1300) (fashion, anthropological salience, social reasons?)
EModE	<i>understand, comprehend, conceive, apprehend, see, fathom</i> (< Lat.-Gk., 17th c.) (anthropological salience), <i>grasp</i> (< metaphor/metonymy) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), <i>seize</i> (< ‘grasp’ [metaphor/metonymy]) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), <i>take (in)</i> (< [metaphor]) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), ( <i>know</i> ), ( <i>undertake</i> †16th c., <i>intend</i> †18th c.)
ModE	<i>understand, comprehend, conceive, apprehend, see, take (in), get</i> (< ‘receive,’ 2nd half 19th c.) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity), <i>fathom, sense, grasp, seize</i>
Notes	The motivations of ‘grasp,’ ‘hold,’ ‘see’ for “understand” are recurrent (also in other languages). Some cases of innovation are hard to classify as clear metaphors or as clear metonymies; both cognitive processes seem to blend in cases like ‘see’ > ‘understand’ (cf. also Grzega 2000: 241, Koch 1997: 232ff., Warren 1992); Goossens (1990) calls such cognitive blends <i>metaphthonymies</i> .

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**Concept** “urinate” (4.65)

OE	<i>mīgan</i>
ME	<i>migen</i> (†late 13th c.), <i>pissen</i> (< Fr. or autochthonous onomatopoetic formation?, 1290) (social reasons?, fashion?, desire for plasticity, anthropological salience), <i>wateren</i> (< sb., 14th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo, disguising language), <i>stālen</i> (< Fr., 1st half 15th c.) (anthropological salience, taboo, disguising language?, fashion)
EModE	<i>piss, water, stale, urinate</i> (< Lat., 1599) (taboo, anthropological salience, fashion), <i>urine</i> (< sb., 1605)

- ModE *piss, water, urinate, urine, micturate* (< Lat., 1842) (taboo, fashion, anthropological salience), *pee* (< onomatopoeic, 1879) (taboo, anthropological salience, disguising language?), (*stale* now very rare)
- Notes Whereas *piss(en)* is clearly connected with the desire for plasticity due to its expressivity, the much weaker *pee* can be connected with disguising language. Cf. also next entry. There are naturally many more expressions in informal and slang speech.

**Concept** “urine” (4.65)

OE *migoþa, mīgþa*

ME *migge, migethe* (†mid-12th c.), *pisse* (< vb., 1386) (anthropological salience, desire for plasticity, logical-formal reasons), *urine* (< Lat., ~1325) (taboo, fashion, anthropological salience), *water* (< metaphor, 1375) (disguising language?, anthropological salience, taboo)

EModE *urine, water, piss, stale*

ModE *urine, water, pee* (< vb., 1961) (taboo, anthropological salience, disguising language?, logical-formal reasons), (*mig* now mostly applied to animals, *piss* now slang)

Notes Cf. also previous entry. There are naturally many more expressions in informal and slang speech.

**Concept** “use, make use of” (9.423)

OE *brūcan, nyttian*

ME *brouken, nutten* (†13th c.), *usen* (< Fr., early 14th c.) (social reasons?, fashion)

EModE *use, employ* (< Fr., late 15th c.) (fashion) (vs. *browk* now dialectal in Scotland and archaic in literature)

ModE *use, employ*

#### 4. A Ranking of Forces for Lexemic Change

The effectivity of the various motives, reasons, causes on the 76 concepts and their roles in the 281 lexical innovations is illustrated in the following tables. The tables will be supplemented by a few general remarks and a few statistical comments on the significance of the numeric intervals between the entries<sup>25</sup>.

##### 4.1. Occurrence of Forces with All Instances of Innovations

(N.B.: Entries appear in numerical order. Percentages have been rounded.)

<sup>25</sup> For this purpose I have compared each pair of intervals between numerically neighboring factors (motives, reasons, causes) in a Chi Square test (respecting Yates correction, i.e. continuity correction) (cf. the calculator under <http://www.unc.edu/~preacher/chisq/chisq.htm>, March 2004). (On the statistical methods cf., e.g., Albert/Koster [2002: 118ff. & 139f.]).

fashion	152-169 <sup>26</sup> (ø 160.5)	ergo 54-60%
anthropological salience	102-117 (ø 119.5)	ergo 36-42%
desire for plasticity	77-98 (ø 87.5)	ergo 27-35%
social reasons	48-108 (ø 78)	ergo 17-38%
logical-formal reasons	16-31 (ø 23.5)	ergo 6-11%
taboo	19-22 (ø 20.5)	ergo 7-8%
onomasiological fuzziness	11-28 (ø 19.5)	ergo 4-10%
flattery	12-17 (ø 14.5)	ergo 4-6%
analogy	9-11 (ø 10)	ergo 3-4%
insult	9	ergo 3%
disguising language	0-10 (ø 5)	ergo 0-4%
world view change	4-5 (ø 4.5)	ergo 1-2%
change in things	3-6 (ø 4.5)	ergo 1-2%
morphological misinterpretation	1-5 (ø 3)	ergo 0-2%
culture-induced salience	0-5 (ø 2.5)	ergo 0-2%
new concept	0-3 (ø 1.5)	ergo 0-1%
aesthetic-formal reasons	1-3 (ø 2)	ergo 0-1%
communicative-formal reasons	1	ergo 0%

“Fashion” is relevant in more than half of the innovations. “Anthropological salience” and the “desire for plasticity” are relevant in less than half of the innovations, but still more than a quarter of the innovations. The high frequency range with “social reasons” is due to the already mentioned English-French bilingualism in England from the 12th to the 14th centuries. But it is certainly not amiss to say that “social reasons” played a role in at least a fifth of the innovations. The remaining explanatory forces in the table play a role in not more than 10 percent of the innovations, about half a dozen is very close to zero. The rest of the explanatory factors mentioned in section 2 do not even occur in the JGKUE Corpus. A Chi Square test yields the following important significances (i.e. probabilities that the differences do not go back to pure chance). The interval between “fashion” (lower fig.) and “anthropological salience” (higher fig.) is very significant ( $\chi^2=8.24$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0,004$ ). The interval between “desire for plasticity” (lower fig.) and “logical-formal reasons” is highly significant ( $\chi^2=23.21$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0,001$ ). The interval between “social reasons” and “logical-formal reasons” is close to being statistically significant ( $\chi^2=3.77$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0,053$ ).

#### 4.2. Occurrences of Forces with Concepts

(N.B.: Entries appear in numerical order. Percentages are rounded.)

<sup>26</sup> The lower figures give the number of probable instances; the higher figures give the number of probable plus possible instances.

fashion	58-64 (ø 61)	ergo 76-84%
social reasons	36-62 (ø 49)	ergo 47-82%
desire for plasticity	36-41 (ø 38.5)	ergo 47-54%
anthropological salience	17-20 (ø 18.5)	ergo 22-26%
logical-formal reasons	13-19 (ø 16)	ergo 17-25%
onomasiological fuzziness	7-16 (ø 12)	ergo 9-21%
taboo	6-7 (ø 6.5)	ergo 8-9%
analogy	5-7 (ø 6)	ergo 7-9%
flattery	5	ergo 7%
change in things	2-5 (ø 3.5)	ergo 3-7%
morphological misinterpretation	1-5 (ø 3)	ergo 1-7%
disguising language	0-5 (ø 2.5)	ergo 0-7%
world view change	2-3 (ø 2.5)	ergo 3-4%
culture-induced salience	0-2 (ø 1)	ergo 0-3%
insult	1	ergo 1%
aesthetic-formal reasons	1	ergo 1%
communicative-formal reasons	1	ergo 1%
new concept	0-1 (ø 0.5)	ergo 0-1%

“Fashion” gives rise to innovations with more than three quarters of the concepts. The “desire for plasticity” is relevant with half of the concepts. Again, the high frequency range with “social reasons” is due to the English-French bilingualism, but it can be said that “social reasons” affect at least half of the concepts, possibly three quarters. “Anthropological salience” and “logical-formal reasons” play a role in the history of about a fifth to a fourth of the concepts. “Onomasiological fuzziness” has also proven to be sometimes hard to determine, as is shown by the relatively high frequency range, but it appears that it (co-)triggers off innovations in the history of 10 to 20 percent of the concepts. The other forces listed occur with less than 10 percent of the concepts. The rest of the potential forces mentioned in section 2 do not occur in the JGKUE Corpus. Again, a Chi Square test has been carried out to determine statistically relevant significances: The interval between “fashion” (lower fig.) and the “desire of plasticity” (higher fig.) is very significant ( $\chi^2=7.42$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0,007$ ). The interval between “social reasons”/“desire for plasticity” (lower fig.) and “anthropological salience” (higher fig.) is significant ( $\chi^2=6.36$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0,012$ ).

## 5. Final Remarks

The rankings have shown that the most driving forces for lexemic innovations in the history of formal English are fashion, anthropological salience of a concept, the desire for plasticity, and social reasons (and to a lesser degree logical-formal reasons). Some explanatory forces, which are rather prominent in traditional works, such as homonymic conflict (i.e. communicative-formal reasons) or taboo, are comparatively rare.

Further studies may want to seek answers to the following questions:

— Why have other concepts from the corpus remained lexically constant?

- While the saliences of linguistic/language-internal forces can be expected to be similar in all languages, extra-linguistic/language-external/cultural forces will vary from culture to culture, from language to language, from variety to variety; therefore the following question should be asked: do the saliences of extra-linguistic forces like fashion or social reasons also hold true for other languages or is this specific to English with its large amount of French and Latin loans?
- What do the rankings look like for non-neutral, non-formal varieties of English (especially such forces as fashion and emotionality)?
- Are these rankings conducive to elucidating lexical innovations of unknown history and cause?

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JOACHIM GRZEGA

**ON THE NAMES FOR WEDNESDAY IN GERMANIC DIALECTS  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WEST GERMANIC**

## Abstract

The article first groups the clearly etymologized Germanic names for Wednesday according to their motive (their iconym) and tries to describe the origin, or motivation, of the names' motive. The motives are "Woden's day" (a calque from *Mercurii dies*), "mid-week (day)" (from Ecclesiastical Latin and/or Ecclesiastical Greek—with a polycasual explanation concerning its origin), "[day] after Tuesday" (which reflects the attempt to avoid the name of the heathen God *Woden*). In addition, light is shed on a few unclear cases as well: (1) Old Frisian *Wērendei* seems to include the tribal name *Wernas*; (2) dialectal Dutch *wonseldach* may have been influenced by other day-names including the morph *-el-*; (3) Modern Low German dialectal and Dutch dialectal forms with initial *g-* may be founded on a Latinized scribal habit; (4) the interpretation of Southern German *guotentag* as "good Wednesday" is rejected on phonetic and prosodic grounds; (5) the Modern English forms, all of which show *-e-*, and dialectal Dutch *waansdei* seem to encompass the verbal stem *wēd-* 'to be mad, to rage' (some English forms may also have been influenced by the verb *wendan* 'to turn'), and the same seems true for Du.dial. *weunsdag*. From a theoretical viewpoint, the article underlines the importance of regarding secondary, which are the product of a new iconym, as a true type of onomasiological change, as these may reflect human thinking and cultural conditions and are not only the result of phonetic aberrations. On the other hand, it also shows that a number of etymological problems still remains to be unsolved.

**1. Introduction**

Whereas the year, the month and the day are objective measurements based on astronomic phenomena, the week is an arbitrary unit. It is therefore possible to carry out cross-linguistic studies only to a limited extent—especially if we investigate more ancient times. The Romans knew a nine-day week before they adopted the seven-day system from Jewish culture (the ecclesiastical system), which was combined with a planetary system. The precise origin of the seven-day week is still not entirely clear; a recent discussion is offered by Zerubavel (1985).

The weekday system and its Latin-Greek names were adopted by the Germanic tribes in the third to fifth centuries, at the southern border of the *limes* (by Alemannic tribes) and at the lower Rhine regions and were later brought further to the north up to the Scandinavian areas, too (Moser 1957: 678; Hermodsson 1969/1970: 184f.).<sup>1</sup> The two paths of borrowing are reflected particularly in two names: Saturday, with northern forms going back to Latin *Saturnī dies* and southern forms going back to Greek, and Wednesday with northern forms originating in the Germanic *Wōdanes-dag* and southern forms originating in the Ecclesiastical Latin *media hebdomas* or the respective Greek equivalent.

A series of articles has discussed the names for the different days in the Indo-European and neighboring cultures, e.g. Greek (Thumb 1901), Roman (Gundermann 1901), Romance (Meyer-Lübke 1901, Bruppacher 1948), German (Kluge 1895, Gundel 1938), Bavarian (Kranzmayer 1929, Wiesinger 1999), Celtic (Thurneysen 1901, Ó Cróinín 1981), Babylonian (Jensen 1901), Semitic (Nöldeke 1901), and other languages around the world, which adopted the seven-day system from the European culture (Brown 1989). Normally the weekdays are

<sup>1</sup> Kranzmayer (1929: 85) even thinks that it is possible that the first borrowings could already have happened on the Rhine in the second century.

all treated together. This article, however, will exclusively be dedicated to Wednesday and its names in the Germanic language group. The reason for this is that some of its names, as was already shown in the preceding paragraph, show some interesting problems—linguistic-wise and extralinguistic-wise.

## 2. The various expressions for “Wednesday”

The standard expressions for Wednesday and the other week-day names in Germanic and other Indo-European languages are listed and commented on in Buck (1949: 1006ff.). The following sections will deal in more detail with both the standard and some dialect terms and the underlying motives of their formation. The Germanic forms will be grouped according to their iconym, as Alinei (e.g. 1997) calls it, i.e. their motive or their original semantic components. The notion of *iconym* must not be mixed up with the notion of *etymon*. The former groups OE *Wōd(e)nesdæg* and ON *Óðinsdagr* together, whereas the latter would not, since *Wōdan* and *Óðin* are different etymons. This does not mean, though, that the phonetic history will be neglected here. Just the contrary: the study of the phonetic developments will give a more profound insight in iconymic changes. In a second step, it will be asked what the cognitive basis for the selection of certain iconyms is, in other words: what the motivation for these motives is. This method does not only content itself to explaining the phonetic affiliation, but pays respect, more or less, to what the Austrian linguist Hugo Schuchardt called “la dame sémantique” at the beginning of the twentieth century. This will especially be crucial when the name of the new cultural gain (here: the seven days) is not simply adopted from the cultural community that serves as a model. The first four sections of this second chapter will deal with such questions. The last chapter will then go beyond the usual etymological and iconomastic studies. It concerns concrete forms that can be traced back to a certain etymon, but have not undergone the usual phonetic changes. As will be shown, some of these cannot be regarded simply as the result of mere irregular, deviant phonetic changes, but which reveal another, secondary iconym. In other words: they will have to be placed into the realm of what linguists call folk-etymology and (secondary) blends. Folk-etymological changes are normally not considered as onomasiological changes, since the etymon is said to stay the same. In my view, however, it is important to note that folk-etymology or the (secondary) crossing/blending of words shows that the iconym, which is essential in cross-linguistic onomasiological studies, changes. And these are processes which also need explanation.

### 2.1. Iconym: “Woden, name of the highest God” + “day”

MLG *Wōdensdach*<sup>2</sup>

Du. *Woensdag*<sup>3</sup>

OFris. *wōnsdei*<sup>4</sup>

OE *Wōd(e)nesdæg*<sup>5</sup>

Icel. *óðinsdagur*<sup>6</sup>

ON *Óðinsdagr*<sup>7</sup>

OSwed. *odensdag*<sup>8</sup>, *opinsdagher*, *ōnsdagh*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>2</sup> De Vries 1971: 844; Falk/Torp 1960: 793.

<sup>3</sup> De Vries 1962: 416; De Vries 1971: 844; Falk/Torp 1960: 793.

<sup>4</sup> De Vries 1971: 844; Holthausen 1934: 403.

<sup>5</sup> Holthausen 1934: 403

<sup>6</sup> De Vries 1962: 416.

<sup>7</sup> De Vries 1962: 416; Falk/Torp 1960: 793; Jóhannesson 1956: 1101.

<sup>8</sup> Hellquist 1980: 548f.

<sup>9</sup> Jóhannesson 1956: 1101.

Norw. Dan. Swed. *onsdag*<sup>10</sup>

OFris. *Wörnisdai*<sup>11</sup>

Du.dial. *Woenserdag*<sup>12</sup>; *Moensdag*<sup>13</sup>; *Wôngsdag*<sup>14</sup>

**Motivation:** Mercury was interpreted as Woden because they both share the feature of flying through the air and certain functions like the patronage for merchants and voyagers in the respective pantheons (cf. Betz 1962: 1568ff., particularly 1572f.; Hermodsson 1969/1970: 181f.; Strutynski 1975: 372 & 374f.; Eggers 1976: 137). The equation of the two gods already occurs in Tacitus' *Germania* (cf. Betz 1962: 1568ff.; Strutynski 1975: 364). The veneration of Woden is first attested in the seventh century in Southern Germany, but the god was obviously more venerated by the North Germanic tribes (cf. Betz 1962: 1568 & 1573ff.).

A number of forms cannot be the results of the regular sound processes. Nevertheless, they cannot be said to include other, new iconyms, but must be traced back to merely occasional sound changes or assimilation processes. The Old Frisian form *Wornisdai*, for instance, is the result of a frequently observed irregular change of *d* > *r* in intervocalic position (cf. Hermodsson 1969/1970: 181, Miedema 1971: 43). The Dutch dialect form *Moensdag* (in the regions of Alphen, Dreumel, and Hedel) is special because of its initial. Kloeke (1936: 150) only gives the description “overgang van *w* > *m*,” but no explanation. It may be possible that the nasal character of the /n/ was transferred to the initial, which however kept the place of articulation. Or is it due to a paradigmatic assimilation process of the initials: *M - D - W - D* > *M - D - M - D* (*maandag - dinsdag - moensdag - dondersdag*)? Another case of assimilation (triggered off by the term for Monday, again) can be suspected behind Fris.dial. *woansdei*, where the vocalism reminds one of *moandei* (cf. Miedema 1971: 44, 47f.).

As to *Woenserdag* and *Wôngsdag* Kloeke's interpretations can be shared. The first, attested in *Kuinre*, seems to be a hypercorrect spelling, since postvocal *r* is dropped in this dialect, as it is, for instance in *Zaterdag* (a good parallel!): “de *r* lijkt niet onverklaarbaar voor hen, die weten, hoe de *r* van *Zaterdag* in de mond der bewoners klinkt, of liever: niet klinkt” (Kloeke 1936: 150). For the latter Kloeke (1936: 151) asks, “analogie naar *Dingesdag*?” If we think of daynames being said in a row then assimilation processes like the one suggested occur in many languages, for instance in numerals: whilst for Indo-European we can postulate \**k<sup>w</sup>et<sup>w</sup>ores* ‘four’ and \**penk<sup>w</sup>e* ‘five,’ the Germanic languages show retrogressive assimilation (E. *four - five*, MHG *yier - vüin*), Latin progressive assimilation (*quattuor - quinque*); for IE \**néwn̥* and \**dek̥m̥* we have Russ. *девять* and *десять*, both with /d-/.

## 2.2. Iconym: “mid-week”

(a) primary formations

ModHG *Mittwoch*, (Late)OHG *mittawehha*, MHG *mittewoche*<sup>15</sup>

MLG *middeweke*<sup>16</sup>

Du.dial. *Midswiek*, *Mitswîk* (only Schiermonnikoog)<sup>17</sup>

Fris. [metsvik], [mæzvîk]<sup>18</sup>

<sup>10</sup> De Vries 1962: 416; Falk/Torp 1960: 793.

<sup>11</sup> Holthausen 1934: 403.

<sup>12</sup> Kloeke 1936: 150.

<sup>13</sup> Kloeke 1936: 150.

<sup>14</sup> Kloeke 1936: 151.

<sup>15</sup> Kluge/Seebold 1995: 563; Pfeiffer 1993: II,880; Ott 1994: 404ff.

<sup>16</sup> Kluge/Seebold 1995: 563.

<sup>17</sup> Kloeke 1936: 150.

<sup>18</sup> Miedema 1971: 40.

Engl.dial. (Quaker English) *Mid-week*<sup>19</sup>

(b) secondary formations

MHG *miteche*, ModHG dial. *Mittag*, *Micktag*, *Mirichen*<sup>20</sup>

Norw.dial. *mækedag*<sup>21</sup>

Before talking about the motivation of the coinage, I would briefly like to shed light on the items under (b). The form MHG *miteche* is the result of a slurred/weakened pronunciation of the original *-wehha* that is likely to have happened in other Germanic varieties as well. ModHG dial. *Mittag*, *Micktag*, Norw.dial. *mækedag* are thus only folk-etymological remotivations with a secondary attachment of the respective word for ‘day’ to the first syllable. The compound was originally a feminine noun, but in standard German as well as in most dialects the word has turned into a masculine in analogy to the other days of the week—except for a few dialects particularly in Switzerland (cf. Ott 1994: 404ff.). The development of *-tχ-* (in *mitche(n)*) > *-kt-* (*Micken*, *Micktag*) is not regular, but paralleled by other High German instances (e.g. MHG *dehein* < ModHG *kein* ‘not one’, cf. Kranzmayer 1929: 42, 48). *Mirichen* shows the frequent change of *-d-* > *-r-* in Bavarian dialects (cf. Kranzmayer 1929: 21f., 42).

Motivation of formation: Kluge/Seebold lacks an explanation in the case of the ModHG form and its cognates and merely describes that the expression “Woden’s day” was not borrowed the same way that most other names for the days were; the originally Jewish-Christian expression “middle of the week,” first attested as *mittewehha* in Notker (1022), was favored instead—according to Kluge/Seebold a loan translation from Greek to Mediaeval Latin to German:

“Bei der Übernahme der antiken Wochentagsnamen wurde der Tag des Jupiter oder in der germanischen Übertragung der Tag des Wotan [...] weithin vermieden zugunsten der ursprünglich jüdisch-christlichen Bezeichnung ‘Mitte der Woche’. So ml. *media hebdomas* nach griechischem Vorbild, und danach die deutschen Formen” (Kluge/Seebold 1995: 563).

What might be the explanation for this state, why does the name for Wednesday show a name that obviously belongs to a numeral naming system, but not the other day-names? And why should we depart from a mediaeval Latin or Greek form although such forms are not recorded in Latin nor Greek texts (cf. Bruppacher 1948: 131f.)? But some corrections and specifications are to be inserted here. First of all, other signs of a numeral system can be found in Germanic dialects too, though sometimes only rudimentary. In Modern Icelandic Tuesday and Thursday are *priðjudagur*, the “third day,” and *fimtudagur*, the “fifth day,” respectively. (The names for Sunday and Monday clearly go back to the planetary system. Friday is *föstudagur*, the “fastday,” and Saturday is *laugardagur*, “washday,” and the same iconym is born in the Old Icelandic synonym *þváttdagur*). As to German, the vast spread of a numeral term—*Mittwoch*—is unique; yet it should be underlined that some Bavarian dialects widely use the lexical type *Pfinztag* for ‘Thursday,’ surely a calque from Mediaeval Greek meaning ‘fifth day.’ A look across the borders of the Germanic dialects shows us that, albeit not recorded in Latin, a compound *media hebdomas* has to be reconstructed for some Rhaeto-Romance, Central Ladin, Corsican, Tuscan, Vegliotic, and Sardinic dialects (cf. Bruppacher 1948: 128, 133f.). For Greek, too, a name encompassing the morpheme for ‘mid, middle’ can be assumed from the fact that the Slavic languages as well as Hungarian have the lexical type *srěda* (originally ‘middle’), OCSl *srěda*. That this is a calque, and not an original formation,

<sup>19</sup> Schröpfer 1979ff.: 470, 478.

<sup>20</sup> Kranzmayer 1929: 41ff., 46; Ott 1994: 404ff.

<sup>21</sup> Hellquist 1980: 548f.; cf. a. Seip 1957: 614. The form is a borrowing from German missionaries (cf. Frings/Nießen 1927: 302).

can be seen from the fact that the Slavic week starts on Monday, not on Sunday (cf. OCSI *vŭ torŭnikŭ* ‘the second = Tuesday [!],’ *čtvrŭtŭkŭ* ‘the fourth = Thursday [!],’ *pentŭkŭ* ‘the fifth = Friday [!]). In such a 7-day-system not Wednesday, but only Thursday can be imagined as the middle day of a week (cf. Kranzmayer 1929: 76ff., Bruppacher 1948: 131).

As the existence of a coinage “mid-week” can thus be postulated in Cisalpine and Appeninic Romance dialects as well as in Ecclesiastical Greek, Bruppacher (1948: 132f.) rightly asks why such a compound was coined at all, since the common folk had *Mercurii dies* and the church *feria quarta*. Bruppacher proposes the hypothesis that a strong ecclesiastical personality feeling the unpopularity of *feria quarta* might have sought an alternative anti-heathen lexeme for the day of the capture of Christ; since the folk fancied the word *hebdomas* (which once had a much larger distribution, cf. Old Portuguese *doma* ‘week,’ Old Catalan *domeser* ‘weekly,’ Old French *domas* ‘weekly’), the construction *media hebdomas* seemed a good choice. Moreover, the reader shall be reminded again that the term might also have been incited by a Greek term. The problem of Bruppacher’s hypothesis, however, is that it lacks historical evidence. The peculiar distribution of *media hebdomas* may also suggest that *media hebdomas* even belongs to a very old layer.

Although the initial motivation for a coinage of the type “mid-week” remains beyond our knowledge, we now have to deal with the question why and how this formation was adopted in the neighboring Germanic dialects. Several hypotheses have been published on this matter:

1. Frings/Nießen (1927: 302) view the upcoming of *Mittwoch* together with the formation of *Samstag* ‘Saturday:’ according to them the areas of conquest and colonization at the Upper Rhine and south of the Danube altered the names of the days at the turning points of the week, viz. at the middle and at the end, adopting some form of Ecclesiastical Latin *media hebdomas* ‘mid-week’ and Ecclesiastical Greek *sámbaton* (σάμβατον). But why this should be he does not explain. Nor does he prove that there really ever was an alteration. Even today there has been brought no evidence that the southern regions ever knew a type *Wodenstag* (or *Satertag*).

2. Of course, it can easily be guessed that the name of the Germanic supreme god was avoided in the course of Christianization (e.g. Hermodsson 1969/1970: 185f.). This hypothesis is maybe the oldest explanation and has lately also been promoted by Bammesberger (1999: 5), who briefly comments that the Christian missionaries “took every means to push back the main god of the heathen pantheon.”

3. This view is not shared by Kluge though. Kluge (1895: 94) does not believe in the substitution of *Woden* because of its position in the Germanic pantheon, since in the Old High German baptismal pledge people had to renounce Woden, Tyr and Donar, and nevertheless Tuesday and Thursday have kept their heathen names, the Saxons have even kept the heathen name for Wednesday:

“Kaum dürfen wir glauben, daß die Missionare unsern alten Hauptgott Wôdan beseitigen wollten [...] Im altsächs. Taufgelöbniß mußten unsere Altvordern dem *Thuner endi Wôden endi Saxnôt* abschwören, aber trotzdem hat der Donnerstag seinen heidnischen Namen bewahrt, und so wird die Vermutung wohl nicht statthaft sein, daß man mit der Benennung *mittwoch* der Erinnerung an *Wôdan* hat vorbeugen wollen [...] das Christentum hat an dem Namen auf großen Gebiet keinen Anstoß genommen: obwohl der alte Sachse mit und in der Taufe dem Wôdan abschwören mußte, hielt sich der Name *Wôdanstag*.”

Bammesberger does not really delve into a discussion on the motivation for *Mittwoch*, but Kluge’s thoughts do not seem to be a good counter-argument to me. The Saxon situation only shows that the “replacement” was not necessary, the Southern situation rather confirms Bammesberger’s view: only Woden could not be dedicated a day because he was the highest

Germanic god.

4. Another hypothesis was established by Betz (1962: 1571f.). He cites an extract by Tacitus in which he describes a struggle between devotees of Woden and devotees of Tyr, who agreed on making sacrifices for the respective god of the counterparty. The latter, the Hermundurs, won. This seems a quite plausible explanation.

5. Strutynski (1975: 379f.) suggests some sort of polycasual development:

“First, an attested ‘mid-week day’ in Greek and Roman tradition could have been part of the hebdomadary transmission to Central and Northern Europe. Second, evidence suggests that in these areas Tyr and Wodan were, as far as their followers were concerned, rivals for supreme power rather than just sovereigns. [...] Finally, there is again the possibility of Catholic influence effecting the change from a hypothetical \*Wodanesday to ‘Mittwoch’, for the new religion could tolerate no competition from another sovereign god who had also survived, in a manner of speaking, the oldest of sacrifice off, and to, himself by hanging from a tree!”

6. To Strutynski’s points I would like to add that the “mid-week” formation was approaching the High German tribes from two sides: (1) from the Alps and (2) from the Gothic-Greek east. Actually, Kranzmayer (1929: 79f.) thinks that *Mittwoch* must be due to Greek rather than Romance influence, since all the other prototypical Bavarian names are also of Gothic-Greek origin: *Ergetag* ‘Tuesday’ < Go.-Gk. \**arjō-* ‘[day of] the Greek god Ares;’ *Pfinztag* ‘Thursday’ < Go. \**pinta-* < Gk. πεμπτη ‘five;’ *pheri(n)tag* < Go. \**pareinsdags/paraskaiwē* < Gk. παρασκευῆ ‘day of preparation.’ Two objections may be raised against Kranzmayer’s argumentation though: (1) *Ergetag*, *Pfinztag* and *Pherintag* differ from *Mittwoch* in so far as the former are loan-words, whereas the latter is only calqued; (2) the vast supraregional victory of *Mittwoch* can only have been possible due to the influx of the construction from two sides.

7. Last but not least, I would like to point an interesting observation that Brown made in his study of day-names in 148 languages around the world. Based on an argumentation of more salient and less salient days, Brown (1989: 542) has found out that “[m]oving through the week from Sunday to Saturday the number of loanwords steadily drops until Wednesday, following which it steadily increases again. [...] Wednesday shows the most innovated terms, Saturday the fewest.” Brown (1989: 543) further comments on the five weekdays:

“terms innovated during an initial phase of contact are subsequently replaced by loanwords in an order whereby a native term for Monday will be the first innovated weekday label to be replaced by a loan, a native term for Friday will be the second, and so on, with a native term for Wednesday being last to be replaced by a loan. This interpretation accords with evidence discussed above suggesting that in early contact situations languages typically innovate terms for introduced items and only later, when bilingualism develops, replace such labels with loanwords.”

In sum: since not one prominent cause for the formation seems to suggest itself, a polycasual hypothesis of the aforementioned aspects is most likely to be favored.

### 2.3. Iconym: “mid-week day”

ModIcel. *miðvigudagur*<sup>22</sup>

Motivation: cf. 2.2.

### 2.4. Iconym: “[day] after Tuesday”

<sup>22</sup> Hellquist 1980: 548f.



- (a) ModHG dial. *Afterdienstag*<sup>23</sup> (*after* + *Dienstag*, which shows the god-name *Thingsus*,<sup>24</sup>)  
 (b) ModHG dial. (Bavaria) *Aferertag*<sup>25</sup> (*after* + *Ertag*, a Bavarian synonym for ‘Tuesday’<sup>26</sup>)

Motivation: The formation is paralleled by the German dialectal word-types *Aftermontag* for ‘Tuesday’ and *Aftermittwoch* for ‘Thursday’ (Kranzmayer 1929: 40). A reason why exactly these week-day names show these “evasive forms” is not offered by Kranzmayer, but I would like to suggest the following. Whilst *Sonntag* “sun-day” and *Montag* “moon-day” were not really associated with gods, but rather with planets, this does not hold true for the three days following them. Therefore, the need to find non-heathen terms was only given in these. As to *Freitag* (OHG *frīatag*, MHG *vrītac*) the need was not as great either, since we may imagine an early folk-etymological association with the adjective *frei* ‘free’ (OHG *frī*, weak feminine form *frīa*, MHG *vrī*)

## 2.5. Unclear cases and cases worth discussing

### 2.5.1. OFris. *Wērnisdei*<sup>27</sup>, *Wērendei*<sup>28</sup>

*Wērendei* seems to comprehend the tribal morpheme *Wēren-* which also occurs in Germanic proper names (cf. G. *Wern(h)er*<sup>29</sup>) and is, according to Holthausen (1934: 389, 381), related to the Germanic tribal name of the *Wernas* or *Wærnas*. In addition, this type may have been promoted by the Old Frisian verb *wera* ‘to defend, to fight against.’ *Wernas* could then also be the cause for *Wērnisdei*, if this form is not just due to an umlaut (cf. 2.1.).

### 2.5.2. Du.dial. *wonseldach*<sup>30</sup>

The insertion of *-el-* is not purely phonetic either, but what could have triggered off this form? I will attempt to establish one hypothesis. If we ask ourselves which Wednesday is the most salient one in the annual circle, a good candidate will be Ash Wednesday. In Modern Dutch this day is called *aschwoensdach*. Interestingly, the *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* also lists the variant *aschelwoensdach* (MNW IX: 2745). In addition, the MNW (IX: 2735) also lists the items *Woedelmaendach* ‘Monday after Epiphany’ and *werkelday* ‘workday’. These forms may have motivated a morphonetic variant *woenseldach*.

### 2.5.3. ModLG dial. *Gudensdag*, Du.dial. *goensdag*<sup>31</sup>

The type *gudensdag* is worth discussing because of its initial. The eastern and southern borderline of LowG.dial. *Gudensdag* is constituted by a line running from the southern rim of the Rothaar mountains against the southern rim of the Teutoburg Forest and then down the River Weser, i.e. the old ecclesiastical province of Cologne, with a few records outside this

<sup>23</sup> Kranzmayer 1929: 40; Kluge 1895: 94f.

<sup>24</sup> This is a co-name of the god *Mercury*, instead of *Tiw*, which forms the first part in *Tuesday*.

<sup>25</sup> Kranzmayer 1929: 40.

<sup>26</sup> Instead of *Dienstag* some Bavarian dialects have *Ertag*, which is most probably a borrowing from Gothic which includes the Greek godname *Ares* (and at the same time the name of the most important Bavarian missionary, *Arius*).

<sup>27</sup> Holthausen 1934: 403; De Vries 1962: 416.

<sup>28</sup> Holthausen 1934: 403; De Vries 1962: 416.

<sup>29</sup> For the explanation of the name *Werner*, cf., e.g., Seibicke (1977: 328).

<sup>30</sup> Kloeke 1936: 150.

<sup>31</sup> Kloeke 1936: 150ff.

area, which can be interpreted as borrowings<sup>32</sup>. There are also variants with <J-><sup>33</sup>. Furthermore, two other forms can be detected: *chönsdach* (rarely)<sup>34</sup>, *husdach* (rarely)<sup>35</sup>, which may be considered folk-etymological remotivations. Du.dial. *goensdag* is found in East Flemish, Limburgish, Gelderlandish<sup>36</sup>. Frings/Nießen (1927: 304) regard the initial *g-* as learned/Romanized, which shall later become the popular variant. This view is adopted by De Vries (1962: 416). Frings/Nießen point at the attested forms *gvalterus* (Trier 1172) and *galterus* (Mosel 1183) for the name *Walter*, the Langobard form *gwodan* and allude to the transmission of *Paulus Diaconus*, where *g-*, *gw-* and *w-* exist side by side. The center of expansion, according to them, was Cologne. The *w/g*-isogloss runs from the southwest to the northeast, parallel to the coast, crossover the Netherlands (cf. Frings/Nießen 1927: 304 for a detailed description). Sturmfels/Bischof (1961: 93) illustrate the historical alternation between <G> and <W> or <V> in three Middle and Low German toponyms: *Godesberg*, *Guthmannshausen*, and *Gutenswegen*. To my knowledge, no better explanation has been found so far. Frings/Nießen (1927: 304 ann. 1) also state that an influence from the respective words for “good” is possible. This seems less convincing. The Dutch form *goensdag* also reminds one of the Dutch family-name *van Goens*, which seems to go back to a toponym as well (cf. Ebeling 1993: 115). But the further connection is obscure.

#### 2.5.4. ModHG dial. (Switzerland, Swabia) *guotentag*, *gütemtag*

Hermodsson (1969/1970: 183) claims that this form does not exist as a referent for Wednesday, only for Monday, but available records for both meanings are listed by Kluge (1895: 95). Kluge (1895: 91, 95) compares *guotentag* ‘Wednesday’ to *guotemtag* ‘Monday’ in South(west) German regions, first recorded in Swiss catechisms from the sixteenth century. Kluge derives it from the idiomatic expression (*der*) *guote montag* ‘the good Monday,’ attested in the works of Hans Sachs (1496-1576) and documents of the same time. Kluge (1895: 91) interprets the term as a coinage by people who wanted to prolong the weekend on Monday and compares the expression to the jocular expression *blauer Montag*, literally ‘blue [i.e. free] Monday.’ Kluge (1895: 95) proposes a similar explanation for the Alemannic *guotentag*, *guotemtag*. From this we can assume that Kluge postulated the following developments: (1) *güotemóntag* > *\*güotementag* > *güotemtag*; (2) *\*güote mittwēhha* ‘good Wednesday (“mid-week”)’ > *\*güote mittich(e)* > *\*güote mittag* (folk-etymological assimilation toward *-tag* ‘day’) > *\*güote m(it)tag* > *guotemtag* > *guotentag*. However, as Kluge himself admits, the collocation *\*guote mitt(a)wēhha* is not attested (it may be suggested that the phrase, if it really existed, originally may have referred to Ash Wednesday —cf. *supra*). But, moreover, phonetic doubts may be raised against both hypotheses, too. It is hardly understandable why the unstressed *-e* in *guote* should have survived, but not *-on-* or *-it-*, which would most probably have kept a secondary stress in the further development. Although from a theoretical viewpoint a phonetic development *güotemóntag* > *\*güotemòntag* > *\*güotmòntag* > *\*güotmontag* > *\*güotmentag* > *\*guotnemtag* (metathesis) > *guotemtag* (simplification) is possible, this would not fit with the unique supralocal and supraregional distribution and the chronological nearness or simultaneity with the supposed long form. Consequently, the explanation for *guotemtag* ‘Wednesday’ does not convince either so far. In addition, as already mentioned above, many Swiss dialects mostly still show feminine successors of an OHG *mitt(a)wēhha* (cf. Ott 1994: 404ff.). I cannot offer an alternative hypothesis, though.

<sup>32</sup> Moser 1957: 827; Frings/Nießen 1927: 297ff.

<sup>33</sup> Frings/Nießen 1927: 293.

<sup>34</sup> Frings/Nießen 1927: 294.

<sup>35</sup> Frings/Nießen 1927: 294.

<sup>36</sup> De Vries 1971: 844.

**2.5.5. ModE. *Wednesday* ['wenzd(e)ɪ]<sup>37</sup>, dial.<sup>38</sup> ['wɛdnzɪ], ['wɛn°zɪ], ['wɪnzɪ], ['wɛdnzɪ], ['wɛndɪ], ['wanzɪ]**

Traditionally the particularity of the vocalism in the modern standard form *Wednesday* from OE *Wōdenes dæg* is either not taken note of or explained as going back to an Old English variant with umlaut. In the latter case, such a postulated form is then occasionally viewed together with Dutch forms showing umlaut and termed an Ingvaeonism (cf., e.g. Kloeke 1936 and Miedema 1971). The problem is that there have been found no instances of a form *Wēdenes dæg* in Old English texts. Bammesberger has now been the first to revisit the phonetic problem and offer a completely new view.

According to Bammesberger (1999: 3), *Wednesday* cannot go back to a variant of *Wōden*, since “OE *Wōden* always exhibits the vowel *ō*. [...] nominal formations in *-en* of the type of *Wōden* either show *i*-umlaut or lack it.” It may be added that Old Norse, too, only has *Oðinn*, never *Øðinn*<sup>39</sup>. Bammesberger therefore suggests influence from the Old English verb *wēdan* ‘to be mad, to rage,’ or, more precisely, the already very early attested present participle *wēdende*:

“it is suggested that at a stage in the transition of Old English to Middle English the divine name *Wōdnes dæg* was replaced by *wēdendes*. Originally *wēdende* may have been used attributively together with the name *Wōden* [...] Present participle stems in *-nd-* were substantivized to a certain extent; the most obvious examples of this process are the nouns *friend* and *fiend* [...] It is particularly worth noting that a form *wendesday* is attested for the thirteenth century. [...] the starting-point is posited as *wēdendes* (*dæg*), then we can assume that syncope led to *wēdndes*; the further stages in the development were *wēdndes* > *wendes* > *wendez* > *wenz* > *wenz*” (Bammesberger 1999: 4f.).

This interpretation is also fully convincing for most dialectal forms listed above. Bammesberger’s interpretation is supported by the spelling as well, as the <d> from *wēdan* is still visible to the present day.

The interpretation does not fit equally well, however, for ['wɛdnzɪ] and ['wɛdnzɪ] (maybe also ['wɛn°zɪ]?). These dialectal forms, which still show *-dn-*, as well as the modern spelling allow us to postulate a phonetic filiation that slightly differs from the one given by Bammesberger, namely: *\*wēdndes-* > *\*wednes-* > *wednz-* > *wenz-*.

In addition, the verb *wendan* ‘to turn’ may have had its share in the evolution of some of the forms, too, if we assume that the English like other speech communities saw Wednesday as the middle-day of the week, where the week coming from Sunday turns toward Sunday again. This seems true for the dialectal form ['wɛndɪ] and it seems especially true for the form *wendesdei*, attested in c. 1275. Bammesberger sees *wendesdei* in the line of the development assumed by him. According to the OED (XX: 75), this is the oldest *e*-form attested. But seeing that the next record of a form without the first *d* does not occur before c. 1425, it may be discussed whether it can really already have reached the second phonetic stage by that time or whether another word, namely *wenden*, had some impact on the shape.

Although the etymologies now seem clear, two decisive onomasiological problem still remain. (1) The lists of dialect forms in the SED show us the astonishing situation that not one

<sup>37</sup> OED s.v. *Wednesday*.

<sup>38</sup> SED No. VII.4.2. (to be found in the third part of the respective volumes)

<sup>39</sup> The OHG and the OS form do not help us here since umlaut of *o* is not yet reflected in spelling (cf. Krahe 1969: 1,60).

single instance seems to go back to an Old English form with *-ō-* (save, perhaps, the form [ˈwanzdɪ]); on the other hand, the list of dialect forms in the OED show us the equally astonishing situation that there seems to be no single instance of *-ē-* in Old English. (2) If the “Christian missionaries [...] took every means to push back the main god of the heathen pantheon,” as Bammesberger (1999: 5) suggests, why did they not eliminate the name at all and use a totally different construction (as in G. *Mittwoch*), since, after all, it may really be wondered whether the replacement of *Woden* by *wēdend*, which was a possible epitheton of the god, really would have erased all memory of the heathen god? One suggestion for these two problems may be offered here: The omnipresence of *-e-* in the modern dialects seem only explainable if we assume that *-e-* occurred (much) earlier in spoken language than in written language. This, however, also means that the process was started among the common folk and not initiated by the literate missionaries. The motivation for this reformation may have lain in a taboo of referring to the highest Germanic god by its real name. A “euphemistic” term may therefore have been created. Since this results at first sight basically in a different vocalization of the original word, the process reminds us a bit of the well-known example *Jehovah* in lieu of *Yahweh*, which was a revocalized coinage for the same taboo reasons.

### 2.5.6. Du.dial. *waansdi*<sup>40</sup>

The Dutch dialect form *waansdi*, which is recorded for Tjummarum only, can to my knowledge not be accounted for on purely phonetic reasons. A folk-etymological reinterpretation or conscious reformation on the basis of *waan* ‘delusion, madness’ seems possible and would thus be similar to the evolution of *Wednesday* described above.

### 2.5.7. Du.dial. *weunsdag*<sup>41</sup>

The umlaut in the Dutch form *Weunsdag* is historically hard to explain. Long vowels do not normally undergo *i*-mutation in Dutch (cf. Goossens 1974: 36, Vekeman/Ecke 1992: 34), unless for Eastern and Limburg regions (cf. Vekeman/Ecke 1992: 80). Kloeke (1936) is basically only interested in the geographical distribution of this type and views it, together with *Wednesday*, as the example of an Ingvaeonism. That *Wednesday* and *Weunsdag* cannot be dealt with together has already been illustrated under 2.5.5. As to the umlaut, Kloeke only says that phonetic variation is just natural in words that may go back to the fifth century at least, possibly to the third century. But it is hard to follow his thought when he says that the umlaut forms seemed to have protested against the rule that long vowels exhibit *i*-mutation in order to survive: “Juist vóór hun dood schijnen de Hollandse *eu*-vormen nog even te willen protesteren tegen de regel, da ‘in het Nederlandsch [...] lange klinkers nooit *i*-wijziging ondergaan hebben” (Kloeke 1936: 148f.). Moreover, this does not explain their formation in the beginning. The second thought, namely to see *Weunsdag* in the same light as *veugel*, *weunen*, *zeumer* and others, where *eu* may possibly be ascribed to *i*-umlaut, does not convince either.

The regular development of pre-Dutch *Wōdanesdag* or *\*Wōdinesdag* can only yield ODu. *wuodensdag*, MDu. *woedensdag*, ModDu. *woensdag* (cf. Goossens 1974: 37, 47, 96). In the Modern Dutch form *weunsdag* the *-eu-* can, from a phonetic viewpoint, only be explained in the following ways:

- (1) ModDu. *ō* < MDu. *ō* < ODu. *ū*[ (i.e. stressed *ū* in free syllable; cf. Goossens 1974: 42f., 47) (we would have to look for a pre-Dutch root *\*wudin-* then);
- (2) ModDu. *ō* < MDu. *ō* < ODu. *ü* before *r* + dental (cf. Goossens 1974: 42, Vekeman/

<sup>40</sup> Kloeke 1936: 150.

<sup>41</sup> De Vries 1962: 416; Kloeke 1936.

Ecke 1992: 66f.) (we would have to look for a pre-Dutch root *wurd-*, *wurt-*, or *wurn-* plus *i*-umlaut, but then the loss of the consonant cluster would have to be explained);

(3) ModDu. *ō* < MDu. *ō* < ODu. *ē* (cf. Goossens 1974: 51) (we would have to look for a pre-Dutch root *\*we[d-* or *\*we[n-*).

As far as I see, however, no West-Germanic or Indo-European root seems to match with any of these three explanations. Therefore another hypothesis has to be searched for. Maybe one possible view is postulating an influence from MDu. *woeden* ‘to rage’ (MNW IX: 2735). It should be noted that in Middle Dutch *ō* is graphically represented as <o>, <oe>, <ue>, and, occasionally, <eu> (which later becomes the standard spelling for *ō*); MDu. *ō*, on the other hand, is graphically represented by <oo>, <oe>, or <oi> (cf. Vekeman/Ecke 1992: 85, Goossens 1974: 48). This means that the spelling <oe> was phonetically ambivalent. MDu. <woeden> could be read either as *wōden* (which would be the historically regular development) or as *wōden*. The MNW also lists the graphic variant <wueden>, which clearly indicates that the pronunciation *wōden* must have been current at least to some degree. The influence of the Middle Dutch verb *woeden* with *ō* on *Woedensdag* with *ō* can then be explained in the same way as OE *wēdan* ‘to rage’ influenced OE *Wōdenesdæg* (cf. 2.5.5.). It should be noted, however, that these influences took place independently and not in an Ingvaenic *Sprachbund*.

### 3. Final remarks

Not all problems presented here could be solved. However, it seems important to have mentioned them in connection with some theoretical implications for diachronic onomasiology. Many of the unclear cases show secondary iconyms in their biography, sometimes by way of a process commonly called folk-etymology, i.e. remotivation based on the sounds, not on the concept. Other reformations need not have developed subconsciously, due to the lack of motivation of a form, but can also have been triggered off consciously by some sort of taboo (shown by the cases in 2.5.5. through 2.5.7.). The type of lexical replacement is then motivated by the phonetic similarity of the lexical items participating in the etymological play. At any rate, it is necessary to underline that folk-etymological processes as well as processes of the second type should be regarded as true cases of onomasiological change, since they may give insights in cultural motives and motivations.

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## MODE *girl* AND OTHER TERMS FOR ‘YOUNG FEMALE PERSON’ IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE HISTORY

### Abstract

The article revisits the etymological explanations of a number of English names for ‘young female person’. The etymology of English *girl* has been dealt with repeatedly. It seems best to project the noun back to OE *gierela* ‘garment’. Even if the connection can be justified from the semantic point of view, the initial stop consonant of *girl* must be accounted for. The phonology of *girl* can be explained if we assume that the word was taken over from what may be called a “barn-dialect” in Old English. ModE *maid* is not just an elliptical form of *maiden*, but is the result of an influence by the latter on a ME pre-stage *maith*. ModE dial. *maw’r* and *mawther* may go back to OE *mágutūdor*. OE *ides* may be traced back to an IE form *\*(e)itē(n)os* ‘course of the world’, a derivate of *\*ei* ‘to go’ (an *ides* is then a ‘woman determining one’s fate’). OE *scielcen*, a feminine of *scealc*, may eventually originate in the IE root *\*(s)kel-* ‘bent, crooked’ (with a *-k(o)-*suffix).

### Introduction

The history of the word-fields “boy” and “girl” are characterized by a high degree of fluctuation in English as well as in other languages from both an onomasiological and semasiological stand<sup>1</sup>. Although the expressions for ‘female young person’ in English language history have already been analyzed by Bäck (1934) and Stibbe (1935)—for Old English—and Diensberg (1985)—for Middle English, these contributions did not answer all problems. Especially the Modern English *girl* has not been clarified to a sufficient degree yet. This article will therefore shed some new light on the biography of ModE *girl* as well as some other onomasiological types for ‘female young person’ in the history of English.

### 1. ModE *girl*

1.1. In the wake of Robinson’s seminal paper on ‘clothing names’ (Robinson 1967),<sup>2</sup> the etymology of *girl* has been investigated from various angles in recent years. Since no immediately obvious cognates in the meaning ‘girl’ are available in the related Germanic languages the search for the origin of *girl* is relatively wide open. Robinson’s proposal has found acceptance in several further discussions, but it has also been more or less vehemently rejected.

1.2. Robinson’s derivation takes its starting-point from OE *gierela*<sup>3</sup> ‘dress, apparel’, which by Middle English times had come to refer to ‘young person’ by metonymy, and finally the semantic range was narrowed down to ‘young female person’. The semantic development underlying this derivation has been reexamined on several occasions. Thus Diensberg (1984: 473) writes: “the author [i.e. Robinson] bases his hypothesis on *gerela*, *gierela*, *gyrela* ‘habit, robe’ which he takes as typical garments of girls and women, an assumption which is

<sup>1</sup> A first look into Buck (1949: 87ff.) already illustrates the many changes in different language groups.

<sup>2</sup> The essay was reprinted in Robinson (1993) together with an “Afterword 1992”.

<sup>3</sup> The preform of OE *gierela* may be reconstructed as Gmc. *\*garw-ilan-*; the phonology of *girl* will be discussed in more detail below.



unsupported by evidence”. But Diensberg’s objection is certainly not justified in the way he phrases it: At no stage in his presentation does Robinson define OE *gerela* as ‘typical garments of girls and women’; he clearly says that *gerela* is a general term “which has the meaning ‘dress, apparel (worn by either sex)’.” (Robinson 1993: 178). In a reevaluation of Robinson’s proposal Terasawa (1993: 341) concludes that the explanation is plausible:

“I would like to subscribe to Robinson’s ingenious and persuasive proposal of OE *gyrela* ‘apparel’ as the etymon of ME *girle*. There are, however, the phonological problem of *Anlaut* as well as some semantic problems left to be explored: when and why OE *gyrela* ‘dress, apparel in general’ came to be applied to a person of a particular age, i.e. a child or young person; and why ME *girle*, etc., originally indeterminate with respect to gender, came to be limited to the female sex.”

But in a very detailed examination of the supposed development of ‘apparel’ to ‘human being’ Moerdijk (1994) reaches the verdict that Robinson’s derivation is unwarranted from the semantic point of view.<sup>4</sup> Since, however, semantic change can lead to rather surprising innovations it would certainly be foolhardy to maintain immediately that Robinson’s etymology is impossible from the point of view of meaning, even if the assumed route may appear rather complicated.<sup>5</sup> But at least one instance may be mentioned, which seems to have undergone a parallel semantic development. ModE *brat* is attested from the sixteenth century onwards, and according to the OED the origin of the word is unknown. Phonologically there would be no problem at all to link *brat* with OE *bratt*, a hapax legomenon found in the interlinear gloss to Matthew 5.40 in the *Lindisfarne Gospels: remitte et pallium* is glossed by *forlet 7 hrægl 7 hæcla 7 bratt* (Skeat 1887: 51) The word is probably borrowed from Old Irish.<sup>6</sup> In Middle English *brat* means a piece of clothing. It would seem reasonable to identify the Early Modern English word *brat* ‘child’ with this term, because otherwise no etymological connection can be proposed for this noun.<sup>7</sup> A similar example from Swedish is *flicka* ‘girl’, which goes back to ON *flik* ‘patch, rag’ (Hellquist 1980). The specialization of meaning from ‘child’ to ‘girl’ is paralleled by OE *bearn* (now ‘girl’ in northern dialects), OE *cild* (now ‘girl’ in southern dialects), ModE *baby* (which in colloquial, slangy language is used to refer to (young) women<sup>8</sup>).

1.3. Even if thinkable from the semantic angle, an etymology must nevertheless obey the rules of sound development, and here Robinson’s account seems to face some obstacles. This issue will be dealt with in the following paragraphs.

1.4. The Old English word whose reflex Robinson wants to recognize in *girl* is “*gyrela* (also spelled, although less frequently, *gerela* and *gi(e)rela*), a noun of common occurrence” (Robinson 1993: 178).<sup>9</sup> The main steps in the sound development of Gmc. \**garw-ilan-* to Old English are as follows: *-a-* was ‘brightened’ to *æ*, *g-* /*γ-* was palatalized to *ǰ-* /*ʝ-*; and in the

<sup>4</sup> Moerdijk summed up his discussion as follows: “That his [i.e. Robinson’s] etymology will appear untenable, is an implicit result of my analysis” (Moerdijk 1994: 43). Moerdijk actually bases his discussion on Robinson’s 1967 text and does not seem to have been aware of the reissue (with update) in Robinson 1993. Neither Diensberg (1984) nor Terasawa (1993) are mentioned by Moerdijk.

<sup>5</sup> A particularly rich overview of past attempts at clarifying the etymology of *girl* is provided by Liberman 1998. Liberman himself favours a borrowing from Low German: “*Girl* is LG *Gör* ‘girl’, with a diminutive suffix, borrowed into English” (Liberman 1998: 160).

<sup>6</sup> OE *bratt* was interpreted as a borrowing from Celtic by Förster (1921: 125); but see further Ekwall (1922: 76).

<sup>7</sup> A further possible parallel can perhaps be recognized in *brogue* ‘strongly marked provincial accent’, although here the development would seem to be one step more complicated still. The word *brogue* ‘rough shoe of Ireland and the Scottish highlands’ is likely to be borrowed from Irish *bróg*. In order to explain the meaning ‘provincial accent’ we may have to assume that the word was used in the sense ‘person wearing a *brogue* (a rough shoe)’, and by a further metonymy the term for the person was transferred to another characteristic of the person, namely his way of speaking.

<sup>8</sup> This usage is attested as early as 1915 (cf. OED, s.v. *babe*).

<sup>9</sup> The word is indeed common to all dialects of Old English; see Wenisch (1979: 290).

sequence *gærw-* breaking led to *gearw-*;<sup>10</sup> then *-i-* of the suffixal element *-ilan-* caused *i-*umlaut resulting in *\*gierwila* at a prehistoric stage of West Saxon, whereas outside of West Saxon we would expect *\*gerwila*.<sup>11</sup> In both forms the medial *-i-* should undergo syncope, but the sequence *-rwl-* could develop a svarabhakti vowel, so that the result might indeed be *gierela* or *gerela* (with loss of *-w-*). With regard to the phonology of the word in question Robinson offered the following comment: “Although Old English spelling is not to be trusted in this respect, it should be mentioned that of the fifty-nine quotations in Bosworth-Toller’s *Dictionary and Supplement* containing the element *gyrela*, thirty are spelled with *y*, fifteen with *i(e)*, and fourteen with *e*. These spellings may well reflect *y* developed from “unstable *i*” in late Old English.” (Robinson 1993: 179, note 21). All the forms considered so far undoubtedly had palatal *ǵ /j̥-/* in initial position, their reflex could be *\*yirl* in Modern English: The */g-/* of *girl* requires an explanation.

1.5. Robinson was aware of the problem and suggested that */g-/* in *girl* could be due to “Northern dialect or foreign influence” (Robinson 1993: 179, note 21). The notion of “foreign influence” would probably entail the assumption that a borrowing from Scandinavian occurred, which is actually the approach Terasawa (1993: 341) adopted: “Robinson suggested that Northern, i.e. Scandinavian phonological influence may be responsible for the initial plosive”. But “Scandinavian influence” is hardly sufficient for explaining the initial of *girl*, because in the Scandinavian languages no really suitable word is available that could have exerted influence.

1.6. In his “Afterword 1992”, Robinson gave some further details and considered the possibility that *girl* was borrowed from a dialect of English into the standard language. I will try to follow up this suggestion with some further supporting material and show that Robinson’s etymology is phonologically tenable. If *girl* is ultimately projected back to Gmc. *\*garw-ilan-*, then we should be able to justify the initial consonant within the rules of the phonological development. A brief discussion of brightening and retraction in Old English is required in this context.

1.7. With the exception of the position before a following nasal, every West Germanic */a/* was generally ‘brightened’ in the period of pre-Old English.<sup>12</sup> But in the account of the phonological development in the sequence *\*garwi-* as given above in 4. one important modification must be made. It has to be stressed that in a limited area of the Old English territory, “retraction” of *æ > a* occurred before *r + consonant* in a labial environment before the processes of breaking and *i-*umlaut: The forms *uard* (WS *weard* ‘guardian’), *barnum* (WS [dat. pl.] *bearnum* ‘children’), *uarp* (WS *wearp* ‘warp’), *warþ* (WS *wearþ* ‘became’) etc. are found in the early Northumbrian documents, and “for what it is worth, the early Northumbrian evidence is consistent” in the sense that ‘retraction of *æ > a* before *r* plus cons. in a labial environment’ (Ball 1988: 111) occurred without exception. The phenomenon is also found in texts that are not immediately considered as Northumbrian: In the early glossaries we find both breaking of *æ > ea* (e.g. *spearuua*<sup>13</sup>) and retraction (e.g. *foe(s)tribarn*<sup>14</sup>). Even if it is not

<sup>10</sup> The question of whether palatal diphthongization occurred in the form we are concerned with need not detain us here, because the result would be the same as that of breaking.

<sup>11</sup> <ǵ> (= palatalized */j̥-/*) and <g> (= velar */g/*) will be consistently differentiated in this paper because the opposition is of vital importance. Old English manuscripts use one grapheme only to represent */j̥/* and */g/* and also inherited */j/*, which fell together with */j̥/*.

<sup>12</sup> Brightening is not found if the root vowel */a/* was followed by *a, o, u* (e.g. [plural] *dagas ~ dæg*), but it is usually assumed that */a/* had indeed been brightened to [æ] and then reverted to */a/* under the influence of the vowel in the following syllable.

<sup>13</sup> Epinal 435: *fenus spearuua* (Sweet 1885: 62, Pfeifer 1974: 24); the lemma of this gloss is unclear, but the interpretamentum is likely to represent the word for ‘sparrow’.

<sup>14</sup> Erfurt 108: *alumnae foetribarn* (Sweet 1885: 42, Pfeifer 1974: 8). The corresponding gloss in Epinal reads

possible to delimit precisely the area in which retraction of *æ* before a further consonant in a labial environment occurred, there is no doubt that this phenomenon is found in varieties of the Anglian dialect. It may be best to refer to the varieties that exhibit this feature as “*barn-dialects*”. At the stage of *i*-umlaut, the phoneme /a/ occurring in words of this type in the *barn-dialects* yielded /æ/ if *i/j* occurred in the following syllable.<sup>15</sup>

1.8. In the *barn-dialects* Gmc. \**garw-ilan-* would have led to \**gærw-ilan-* by brightening, but retraction of *æ* > *a* is to be expected. The immediate starting-point for the phonologically regular development in the *barn-dialects* is therefore \**garw-ilan-* (identical in shape with the Proto-Germanic reconstruction). The initial *g-* would have remained without palatalization and led to the voiced stop /g-/ just as in all other cases where *g-* was not followed by a palatal vowel. At the stage of *i*-umlaut /*garwila*/ yielded /*gærwila*/ > /*gærwla*/ (with syncope) > /*gærela*/ (svarabhakti vowel).<sup>16</sup>

1.9. It is particularly noteworthy that besides the forms noted in 4. the form *gærela* is in fact attested. In the gloss of the *Rushworth Gospels* we find 7 *gærwende hine gegærelum* rendering ‘et exuentes eum clamidem’ (Matthew 27, 28 [Skeat 1887: 233]). The present participle *gærwende*<sup>17</sup> shows the same phonological development: Gmc. \**garw-ij-and-ija-* > *gærwende* with initial /g-/ developed in the *barn-dialects*, whereas otherwise *gierwende* with initial /*ɣj-*/ is found. As Ball (1988: 113) briefly pointed out Modern English *gear* may well have been adopted from a *barn-dialect* and need not owe its initial /g-/ to Scandinavian influence.

1.10. From the phonological point of view the initial consonant /g-/ in *girl* is regularly to be expected in the *barn-dialects* of Old English. If we assume that *girl* adopted the consonant from the *barn-dialects*, then the form can be accounted for.

1.11. Finally, mention should be made of the variant *gal*. The form can be found in many dialects (cf. SED item VIII.1.3.) and is first attested in 1785 (cf. OED s.v. *gal*). The motive for this phonetic aberration is not really clear. Maybe the form is patterned on *pal*, which belongs to the same word-field and is first recorded already in 1681/82 (cf. OED, the term is said to go back to a Transilvanian Gypsy word *pçal* ‘brother’).

1.12. To sum up: Phonologically *girl* can be interpreted as the regular continuation of OE *gærela*, which answers to *gierela* in West Saxon and *gerela* in Anglian; *gærela* is to be expected in the *barn-dialects* of Old English. The semantic development of ‘garment’ > ‘human being (wearing this garment)’ by metonymy can be paralleled by *brat*. The meaning of ‘girl’ was further restricted from ‘young human being’ > ‘female young human being’.

## 2. ModE *maiden* and *maid*

2.1. The form *maiden* is the regular representative of OE *mægden* ‘girl, maiden; unmarried woman; nun; virgin; Virgin Mary; female servant’. The form can be traced back to IE *maghos* (cf. IEW 696; Bäck’s [1934: 200] reconstructed protoform IE \**mak<sup>u</sup>-* should be corrected here).

2.2. The form *maid* is seen as an elliptical variant of *maiden* by the OED and Diensberg

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*alumne fosturbearn.*

<sup>15</sup> Problems of Anglian vocalism were dealt with by Kuhn on several occasions; see Kuhn (1939) and Kuhn (1945). With regard to the glossaries Dieter (1885) is still a major source of information.

<sup>16</sup> The development of Gmc. \**garwidun* > OE *geredon* was dealt with by Chadwick (1899: 145).

<sup>17</sup> On both *æ* and *e* as the root vowel in this verb see further Toon (1983: 131).

(1985: 331). In the IEW *maid* is considered the continuant of *mægeb* ‘maiden; unmarried woman; daughter; virgin; servant; woman; Virgin Mary’. Neither of the views suffices entirely. But it does not seem impossible to regard this form more precisely as a folk-etymological continuant of OE *mægð*. The regular ME form should be *maith*, as it is still attested in *maithhōd* ‘maidenhood’ (1230), *meið* adj. ‘of a maiden’ (1225) and *meiðlure* ‘loss of virginity, fornication’ (1230) (cf. MED). The first record of *maid* dates from 1205 (Lay. 256) according to the OED. The first half of the thirteenth century thus seems to be a period of co-existence between forms ending in a dental spirant and those ending in a dental plosive. The latter maybe represents the result of seeing *maith* as directly connected with *maiden*, or of putting it into direct connection, in the shape of a short form.

### 3. ModE dial. [ˈmɑːðə] and [mɑː]

3.1. These rare forms are only recorded in the SED (item VIII.1.3. in Norfolk and Suffolk) and in the EDD (s.v. *maw’r* and *mawther*). The etymology of these words seems nowhere to be dealt with.

3.2. It seems possible that these forms are continuants of the OE *mágutūdor* ‘descendant, offspring’ (Grein 1912: 449, Hall 1960: 228). This form is labelled “poetic” by Hall, but it is not impossible that a poetic term in the standard dialect, or koiné, is nevertheless quite current in some dialects. Regularly expectable continuants of *mágutūdor* would be *mawder* or *mawter* (syncope of unstressed or weakly stressed syllables). If we depart from the former, then the ending /-dær/, in a second step, yielded /-ðær/, just like *togeder* became *together*; in addition this phonetic development may also have been incited by the endings in *father*, *brother* and *mother*.

### 4. OE *ides*

4.1. The basic meaning of OE *ides* is ‘woman, wife, virgin, lady, queen’, but it occasionally adopts the sense of ‘girl’ in some cases (cf. Bäck 1934: 234). The quantity of the *i-* is not clear. Brate lists reasons for both short and long *i*.

4.2. The origin of OE *ides* and formally and semantically similar forms, such as OHG *itis*, OS *idis*, ON *dís*, Go. *filu-deisei* in other Indo-European languages has been a hotly debated issue. Early theories (by J. Grimm, R. Kögel, F. Jostes, Th. von Grienberger, Uhlenbeck) are summarized in an article by Erik Brate (1911/12). Brate himself departs from ON *dis*, which he defines as ‘woman who comes from another world where she had gone to by her death and who now comes to our world to influence the life and fate of humans’ and reconstructs a Gmc. *\*ið-ī-s*, which he interprets as a compound of the Indo-European roots *\*ið-* ‘again’ and *\*i-* ‘to go’; for him, the *Dises* are ‘those who have returned’. But the combination of the roots for ‘again’ and ‘to go’ plus an *s*-suffix seem not entirely plausible for a meaning ‘those who have returned’. Holthausen (1935: 185) sees a connection with *ād* ‘stake, fire, flame’, itself related to Lat. *aedēs* ‘house; originally: stove’; but here, too, a semantic filiation seems hardly plausible.

4.3. An alternative hypothesis shall be ventured here—at least for the West Germanic forms. The forms also enable the reconstruction of an Indo-European origin *\*eité(n)os* (if we assume an OE *ī*) or *\*ité(n)os* (if we assume an OE *ī*). This leads us to the root *\*ei-* ‘to go’ (IEW 294) with *t(o)*-suffixed forms meaning ‘course [of the world]’, in other words ‘fate’. An *ides* was then originally a ‘[woman determining] one’s fate’.

## 5. OE *scielcen*

5.1. OE *scielcen* is the corresponding feminine form of OE *scealc*. Its proper meaning is 'female servant'. But Bäck (1934: 229) writes that the word denotes a 'girl, maiden' on some rare occasions.

5.2. So far, the form *scealc* has not yet really been etymologized (cf. Kluge/Seebold s.v. *Schalk*). Cognates of *scealc* are OHG *scalc*, OS *scalk*, Go. *skalks*, ON *skalkr* and OFris. *skalk*. The lexical type seems restricted to the Germanic languages. The original meaning must have been 'servant'. A possible root maybe IE *\*(s)kel-* 'to bend; bent, crooked' with some sort of *-k(o)*-suffix (cf. OE *sceolh* 'crooked'). A servant may metaphorically be seen as the one who bends to his master to demonstrate his inferior position.

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## RECONSTRUCTING THE ONOMASIOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF OLD ENGLISH VERBS: THE CASE OF TOUCHING, TASTING AND SMELLING

### Abstract

In this paper I analyse the internal structure of the OE verbal predicates that form the lexical dimensions of *touching*, *tasting* and *smelling*, as well as their extensions to other lexical domains. My starting point will be the semantic classification of these predicates given in the *Thesaurus of Old English*. This taxonomy, based on componential analysis, is implemented here by the introduction of Coseriu's distinction between semes and classemes. In order to do so, I propose: (1) a semantic definition of each OE predicate; (2) a reconstruction and analysis of all the combinatory possibilities of each lexical; (3) a semantic classification of these units. Finally, different connections with other lexical domains (especially COGNITION) will be established.

### 1. Functional Grammar and Lexematics in Historical Lexicography

The main aim of this paper is to expound the theoretical foundations of a historical-lexicographical model for the study of the OE verbal vocabulary.<sup>1</sup> This model is based on the Functional-Lexematic Model (FLM), elaborated by Martín Mingorance (1990) and further developed by Faber and Mairal Usón (1994, 1998abc). In the FLM lexicon, the word is considered the central unit of description, and it is presented along with all its pragmatic, semantic, syntactic, morphological and phonological information.

Starting from a careful and systematic analysis of the semantic entries in OE dictionaries and thesauri and of their syntactic complementation patterns, I have attempted to derive the internal hierarchical grading of the lexical subdimensions of TOUCHING, TASTING and SMELLING. Following Martín Mingorance (1990: 237-240), I will carry out the construction of a small section of a formalized grammatical lexicon organised onomasiologically in semantic hierarchies in four consecutive stages:

- (i) Distinction between the primary and derived lexicon.
- (ii) Organisation of this vocabulary in lexical domains.
- (iii) Analysis of the complementation and derivational patterns of each lexeme.
- (iv) Establishment of a hierarchy of semantic, syntactic, morphological prototypes for the lexical domain.

### 2. OE primary and derived lexicon

The FLM introduces a neat distinction between the primary lexicon (formed by those units which cannot be synchronically derived by word-formation rules) and the derived lexicon (formed by the set of productive derivational rules that exist in a language)<sup>2</sup>. Productive affixes are treated as independent predicates in the lexicon, and their representation is made by means of lexical frames (on the analogy with primary lexemes; Martín Mingorance 1990: 238).

When dealing with present states of language, the distinction between productive and

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations will be used here: IE = Indo-European; L = Latin; Gmc = Germanic; OE = Old English; ME = Middle English; NE = New English.

<sup>2</sup> Both compounding and affixation are included under this heading.

unproductive affixes (and, consequently, that between derived and primary lexicon) is clear. However, if we want to measure the indexes of productivity of OE affixes, we must necessarily take into account the fact that this label indicates a period of more than four centuries (c750-c1150), with the consequent fluctuation between the old affixes inherited from IE or Gmc and the newly created Anglo-Saxon ones. Broadly speaking, Gmc made use of suffixes in order to create new verbs from old nouns, adjectives or verbs. The suffix Gmc \*/-jα-/ was responsible for the creation of a new verbal class, the weak verbs, that came to complement the older strong verb classes, allowing the creation of a large number of new verbal lexemes. Differently to Gmc, OE shows a clear preference for prefixes, most of which are derived from IE adjectival or adverbial elements (Lass 1994: 203). However, as Hiltunen (1983) has shown, this system of OE prefixes was in a state of advanced decay already at the end of the tenth century, mainly because of the growing degree of opaqueness of most of its components. Therefore, it is not surprising that many of these particles had lost their productivity before the end of this period.

In my analysis of OE verbs of TOUCHING, TASTING and SMELLING, I will introduce a distinction between underived predicates (where I will distinguish between unprefixated strong verbs [marked for class with Arabic numerals] and unprefixated weak verbs [Roman numerals]) and derived predicates (including both prefixated strong and weak verbs; see Table 1). This lexical distinction between unprefixated strong and weak verbs is justified by the assumption that, as Faber and Fernández Sánchez (1996) state, the more central a member is within a category, the more likely it is to have been lexicalised in a former stage of the history of the language. Since prototypicality entails pre-existence in time, one should expect that verbs expressing actions related to TOUCHING, TASTING and SMELLING already in PGmc will occupy a higher position within this OE lexical hierarchy than those verbs that entered this dimension in a later stage (i.e. weak verbs, which corresponded to Gmc derived lexical units).

	PRIMARY LEXICON	DERIVED LEXICON
<b>TOUCHING</b>	<b>strong:</b> hrīnan <sup>1</sup> , strīcan <sup>1</sup> , tacan <sup>6</sup> <b>weak:</b> cyssan <sup>i</sup> , grāpian <sup>ii</sup> , handlian <sup>ii</sup> , hrepian/hreppan <sup>ii</sup> , liccian <sup>ii</sup> , smacian <sup>ii</sup> , strācian <sup>ii</sup> , tillan <sup>i</sup> , þaccian <sup>ii</sup>	āhrepian, āhrīnan, ātillan, æthrīnan, gecyssan, gefelan, gegrapian, gehrepian, gehrīnan, geliccian, gesmaccian, getillan, geþaccian, onhrīnan/andhrīnan, oþhrīnan
<b>TASTING</b>	<b>strong:</b> teran <sup>4</sup> <b>weak:</b> byrigan/birgan <sup>i</sup> , gesmæccan <sup>i</sup> , sealtan <sup>i</sup> , swētan <sup>i</sup>	asūrian, gebirgan, gefandian, gesmæccan, gewysrtian, inbirgan, onbirgan
<b>SMELLING</b>	<b>strong:</b> drincan <sup>1</sup> , reocan <sup>2</sup> , stincan <sup>3</sup> <b>weak:</b> æþmian <sup>ii</sup> , bladesian <sup>ii</sup> , ēþian <sup>ii</sup> , hrenian <sup>ii</sup> , recelsian <sup>ii</sup> , stēran <sup>i</sup> , stencan <sup>i</sup>	æsmocian, gestincan, geswæccan, gewyrhtian, tōstincan

Table 1: primary and derived OE predicates of TOUCHING, TASTING and SMELLING (a semantic interpretation of these predicates is given in Appendix I)

The resulting list of prefixes is composed of the following units: *ā-*, *æt-*, *be-*, *ge-*, *in-*, *on-/and-*, *op-* and *tō-*. Although the creation of fully specified lexical entries for these predicates remains out of the scope of this paper, I will present here a preliminary description of one of these units, OE *be-*, with special reference to its function as a verbal prefix:<sup>3</sup>

### AFFIX *BE-*

<sup>3</sup> For a full description of the analytical methodology for the study of word-formation within the FLM, see Martín Mingorance (1985, 1990) and Cortés Rodríguez (1996). The following signs and abbreviations are used here: [# #] *word limit*, [#] *syllable limit*, [(x<sub>n</sub>)] *participant*, [(y<sub>n</sub>)] *satellite*, [Ag] *agent*, [Fo] *focus*, [Aff] *affected*, [Go] *goal*.



1. a. Spelling alternants: BI- (early OE); BI-/BY- (early ME)
- b. Etymological specification: Gmc \*/bi/ <sub>prep</sub> ‘by, around’
- c. Phonological specification: \*/bi/ > /be/ > [bə]
- d. Stress location: [be]’base
- e. Affixal type: # # /X#/ <sub>pref</sub>
  
2. Input conditions:
  - a. Phonological: vacuous
  - b. Categorical:  $\sqrt{X}_v, \sqrt{X}_n, \sqrt{X}_{adj}, \sqrt{X}_{adv}, \sqrt{X}_{prep}$
  - c. Lexico-semantic:  $\sqrt{X}_v$ : [± trans] e.g. *begangan*, *besmocian*
  
3. Word-formation rules (*be*- verbs):
  - a. Lexical transformation:  $\sqrt{X}_v \Rightarrow \sqrt{[be \#]}_{pref} [\sqrt{X}_v]_{Base}]_v$
  - b. Morphosyntactic output: Deverbal verbs
  
4. Output restrictions (*be*- verbs):  $\sqrt{X}_v$ : [+trans]
  
5. Semantic specification (*be*- verbs):
  1. [surround<sub>v</sub> (x<sub>1</sub>)<sub>Ag/Fo</sub> (x<sub>2</sub>)<sub>Aff/Go</sub> (y<sub>1</sub>: <‘in all directions/with’> (y<sub>1</sub>))<sub>Loc/Instr</sub>]<sub>Proc</sub>  
e.g. *berīdan*: ‘to surround on horseback’: *besmocian* ‘to envelop with incense, to incense’; *besprecan* ‘to surround by speaking, to talk about’; *befyllan* ‘to surround with foulness, to befoul’
  2. [do<sub>v</sub> (x<sub>1</sub>)<sub>Ag/Fo</sub> (x<sub>2</sub>)<sub>Aff/Go</sub> (y<sub>1</sub>: <‘intensely’> (y<sub>1</sub>))<sub>Manner</sub>]<sub>Proc</sub>  
e.g. *becēasan* ‘to fight intensely’; *begnidan* ‘to rub thoroughly’; *bedrincan* ‘to drink exceedingly, to absorb’
  3. [deprive<sub>v</sub> (x<sub>1</sub>)<sub>Ag/Fo</sub> (x<sub>2</sub>)<sub>Aff/Go</sub>]<sub>Proc</sub>  
e.g. *beheafdian* ‘to deprive of the head, to behead’; *beniman* ‘to deprive’; *belifian* ‘to deprive of life, to kill’
  - d. vacuous (e.g. *besencan* ‘to sink’)

The semantic specifications corresponding to the remaining OE verbal prefixes can be summarised as follows (full lists of OE verbal prefixes appear in Lass 1994: 203-204, Kastovsky 1992: 377 and Mitchell/Robinson 1992: 58-59):

- OE *ā-* (*a-*)
1. [move<sub>v</sub> (x<sub>1</sub>)<sub>Ag/Fo</sub> (y<sub>1</sub>: <‘out’> (y<sub>1</sub>))<sub>Dir</sub>] (e.g. *berstan* ‘to burst’ > *aberstan* ‘to burst out’)
  2. [do<sub>v</sub> (x<sub>1</sub>)<sub>Ag/Fo</sub> (y<sub>1</sub>: <‘completely’> (y<sub>1</sub>))<sub>Manner</sub>] (e.g. *drygan* ‘to dry’ > *adrygan* ‘to dry up’)
  3. vacuous (e.g. *bacan* ‘to bake’ > *abacan* ‘to bake’)
- OE *æt-*
1. [be/move<sub>v</sub> (x<sub>1</sub>)<sub>Ag/Po</sub> (y<sub>1</sub>: <‘near/at’> (y<sub>1</sub>))<sub>Loc/Dir</sub>] (e.g. *standan* ‘to stand’ > *ætstandan* ‘to stand close to’)
- OE *ge-*
1. [reach<sub>v</sub> (x<sub>2</sub>)<sub>Ag</sub> (y<sub>1</sub>: <‘as a result of’> (y<sub>1</sub>))<sub>Manner</sub>] (e.g. *ridan* ‘to ride’ > *geridan* ‘to reach as by riding’)
  2. vacuous (e.g. *campian* ‘to fight’ > *gecampian* ‘to fight’)
- OE *in-*
1. [be/move<sub>v</sub> (x<sub>2</sub>)<sub>Ag/Po</sub> (y<sub>1</sub>: <‘inside’> (y<sub>1</sub>))<sub>Loc/Dir</sub>]

- OE *on-* 1. [ $\text{be/move}_v(x_1)_{\text{Go}}(y_1: \langle \text{'against'} \rangle (y_1))_{\text{Loc/Dir}}$ ] (e.g. *hweorfan* ‘to move’ > *andhweorfan* ‘to move against’)
- OE *op-* 1. [ $\text{move}_v(x_1)_{\text{Go/Fo}}(y_1: \langle \text{'away from'} \rangle (y_1))_{\text{Dir}}$ ] (e.g. *beran* ‘to bear’ > *opberan* ‘to bear away’)
- OE *tō-* 1. [ $\text{separate}_v(x_1)_{\text{Go/Fo}}(x_2)_{\text{Go/Aff}}$ ] (e.g. *brecan* ‘to break’ > *tōbrecan* ‘to break to pieces’)

### 3. Lexical domains

The classificatory method used by the FLM differs substantially from that found in more traditional dictionaries. In such thesauruses as the *TOE* and *Roget's* (1982), macro-areas of human experience are established *a priori* by the lexicographer, who then groups lexemes accordingly. Both dictionaries are based on a top-down (or concept-driven) type of processing, so that the inventories of lexical fields proposed by their compilers are at times vague and difficult to define. Following Kay and Chase (1990: 305):

”indeterminacy and overlapping, problems often associated with the meanings of individual lexical items, are also characteristic of lexical fields. Some constituents of a field are felt to be central, others peripheral, and the inclusion or exclusion of items at the periphery will perhaps seem arbitrary at times.”

This indeterminacy can be solved to a certain degree through the introduction of a bottom-up (or data-driven) type of analysis, such as the one proposed by Faber and Mairal (1999: 82). In their lexicographic approach, the tracing and construction of lexical hierarchies is based not on the lexicographer’s arbitrary choice (as in the case of the inclusion or exclusion of items at the periphery of a field), but rather on the analysis of dictionary definitions, by working upwards from words to concepts.

A first problem arises here, regarding the application of this procedure to the analysis of the OE lexicon: since dictionaries of OE are in fact bilingual dictionaries (from OE to NE or L), lexical entries do not always give complete definitions of the corresponding OE items, but rather rough translations of these into NE. Even the use of more complete dictionaries, such as the *OED*, is not free from difficulties. To start with, the *OED* does not include meanings that died out of the English language before the thirteenth century. Furthermore, the *OED* generally omits those lexical items that have dropped out of use by 1150, so that numerous OE verbal units are not analysed.

In spite of these difficulties, and by combining semantic information from every available source, building the skeleton of a lexical hierarchy is a relatively easy task. Table 2 is a list of dictionary definitions for eight underived OE verbs of TOUCHING:

	<i>OED</i>	<i>BT</i>	<i>Hall</i>
<b>fēlan</b>	To <i>handle</i> sth in order to experience a tactual sensation.	To <i>feel, perceive, touch.</i>	To <i>touch.</i>
<b>grāpian</b>	To <i>touch</i> with the hands; to <i>examine</i> by the touch; to <i>handle, feel.</i>	To <i>grope, touch, feel</i> with the hands.	To <i>touch, grope.</i>
<b>handlian</b>	To <i>touch</i> and <i>feel</i> with the hands, to <i>pass</i> the hand over, <i>stroke</i> with the hand.	To <i>handle, feel.</i>	To <i>handle, feel.</i>
<b>hrepian</b>	To <i>touch.</i>	To <i>touch.</i>	To <i>touch.</i>

<b>hrīnan</b>	To <i>touch</i> .	To <i>touch</i> .	To <i>touch</i> .
<b>strīcan</b>	To <i>stroke, rub</i> lightly	To <i>stroke, smooth, rub</i> .	To <i>pass</i> lightly over the surface, <i>strike, rub, wipe</i> .
<b>tacan on</b>	To <i>touch</i> .	-	To <i>touch</i> .
<b>(ge)tillan</b>	To <i>touch</i> .	To <i>touch</i> .	To <i>touch</i> .

Table 2: dictionary definitions of OE verbs of TOUCHING

Following these definitions, a preliminary lexical hierarchy can be established, consisting of four degrees of specification: (1) the archilexeme *fēlan* (a verb used to make reference to PHYSICAL PERCEPTION of any kind); (2-3) its two basic specifications, *handlian* and *grāpian*; and (4) the affixed predicate *gefēlan*, whose definition relies on the separate interpretation of its two members (i.e. *ge-* and *fēlan*) rather than on lexicographic evidence. As this hierarchy reflects, *fēlan* occupies a more general section of the semantic area (corresponding to the general action of *touching*), whereas *handlian* and *grāpian* are used to refer to more specific subareas within this dimension. According to our interpretation of these two verbs, OE *grāpian* refers to an act of *touching* which normally implies no tactile perception (unless otherwise stated in the sentence), whereas OE *handlian* is used with reference to both *touching* and *feeling*.<sup>4</sup>

LEVEL 1	<i>f<sub>e</sub>lan</i> : to PERCEIVE with the senses
LEVEL 2	<i>gr<sub>a</sub>pian</i> : to TOUCH sth with the hands
LEVEL 3	<i>handlian</i> : to TOUCH and <u>FEEL</u> sth with the hands
LEVEL 4	<i>gef<sub>e</sub>lan</i> : to TOUCH and FEEL <u>deliberately</u> sth with the hands

Table 3: from GENERAL PERCEPTION TO TACTILE PERCEPTION.

As Table 3 shows, the three OE predicates of TACTILE PERCEPTION are characterised by the occurrence of the verb TO TOUCH in their definitions; the semantic differences between these three predicates are expressed through the progressive introduction of new semantic and pragmatic features (underlined in Table 3), that tend to restrict their meanings into more specific areas of the semantic space (Jiménez Hurtado 1994: 69-74; Vázquez González 1999: 349-360).

#### 4. Complementation and derivational patterns

From a syntactic point of view, these verbs of TACTILE PERCEPTION share in common a same complementation pattern, characterised by the presence of a human experiencer in the role of Subject and a concrete entity with shape and form as Object. Here is a fully specified analysis of OE *grāpian* (where [df] is used to refer to the *definiens* or superordinate term):<sup>5</sup>

(1) OE *grāpian* ‘to touch sth with the hands’

$$df = (ge)fēlan_v (x_1)_{Exp} (x_2)_{Phen} (y_1: \text{with the hands})_{Instr}$$

SVO [Acc]:            S = prototyp. animate (Exp)  
                           O = prototyp. concrete with shape and form (Phen)

<sup>4</sup> According to the dictionary definitions presented in Table 2, perception is less central in the case of OE *grāpian* than in OE *handlian*.

<sup>5</sup> The examples and references used here have been extracted from *The complete corpus of Old English in electronic form* (Healey/Venezky 2000). For a complete list of abbreviations for Anglo-Saxon works see Cameron 1973.

e.g. *Se cuma his cneow **grapode** mid his halwendum handum* [ÆcHom II, 10: 82.39]  
lit. ‘The stranger **touched** his knee with his healing hands.’

But differently to the other two OE verbs of TOUCHING defined above, *grāpian* is also found in intransitive constructions, expressing the capacity of a human experiencer to use his or her hands in order to perceive, touch or grasp sth:

(2) OE *grāpian* ‘to use the hands in TOUCHING, FEELING OR GRASPING sth’

SV: S = prototyp. animate (Ag/Exp)

e.g. *He mægnes rof min costode, **grapode** gearofolm* [Beo: 2081]  
lit. ‘Proud of him strength, he made proof of me, **groped out** ready-handed.’

OE *grāpian* thus takes a greater number of complementation patterns than *handlian* and *gefēlan*, which supports our claim that this predicate is the most prototypical one within this small group. This idea can be formulated in terms of the ‘Lexical Iconic Principle’ (Faber/Mairal Usón 1994: 210-211):

LEXICAL ICONIC PRINCIPLE: The greater the semantic coverage of a lexeme is, the greater its syntactic variations.

A second difference between OE *grāpian* and its two hyperonyms has to do with its capacity to create new derived lexemes from the basic root (mainly by prefixation, as in OE *gegrāpian*). In fact, one could claim that as long as we move down the semantic scale, from the most general to the more specific term, the number of semantic specifications that can be expressed through lexical derivation from a single lexical root decreases (Díaz Vera 1999: 80). I will formulate this idea in terms of the following ‘Lexical Productivity Principle’, which acts as a morphological counterpart of the ‘Lexical Iconic Principle’ referred to above:

LEXICAL PRODUCTIVITY PRINCIPLE: The greater the semantic coverage of a lexeme is, the greater its morphological productivity.

Following these two principles, it is possible to determine the exact location in our hierarchy of the remaining OE verbs of TOUCHING, whose dictionary definitions do not allow a full lexical analysis: *hrepan*, *hrīnan*, *tacan on* and *getillan* (all of which are defined as ‘to touch’ in the three dictionaries used for this research; see Table 2). The results of my analysis of all the occurrences of these four lexical units in *DOEC* can be summarised as follows:

OE VERBS	UNPREFIXED COMPLEMENT. PATTERNS	LEXICAL PRODUCTIVITY		
		VERB	NOUN	ADJECTIVE
<b>Hrepian</b>	SVO[Acc]	<i>A hrepian</i> <i>gehrepian</i>	<i>Hrepung</i>	<i>ungehrepod</i>
<b>Hrīnan</b>	SV Adj	<i>A hrīnan</i>	<i>Hrine</i>	
	SVO[Acc]	<i>andhrīnan</i>	<i>Hrīning</i>	
	SVO[Dat]	<i>æthrīnan</i>	<i>Æthrine</i>	
	SVO [Gen]	<i>gehrīnan</i>	<i>Handhrine</i>	
			<i>onhrīnan</i>	<i>Hrinenes</i>
		<i>ophrīnan</i>	<i>Gehrinenes</i>	
			<i>Onhrine</i>	

<b>tacan [on]</b>	SVAdj			
<b>Tillan</b>	SVO			
		<i>Atillan</i>		
		<i>getillan</i>		

Table 4: morphosyntactic iconicity of four OE verbs of TOUCHING

As Table 4 shows, OE *hrīnan* is the most prototypical verb within this semantic category, so that it occupies the archilexematic position in our hierarchy of OE verbs of TOUCHING (immediately after OE *(ge)fēlan* ‘to perceive’ and before OE *grāpian* ‘to touch with the hands’). Consequently, the selection restrictions of its two arguments will be reduced to the minimum:

(3) OE *hrīnan* ‘to put a part of the body into contact with sth’

1. SV Adjunct: S = prototyp. animate (Exp)  
Adjunct = place (Loc)

e.g. *Oððæt deaðes wylm hran æt heortan* [Beo: 2267]  
lit. ‘Until the surging of death **touched** at the heart.’

2. SVO [Gen]: S = prototyp. animate (Exp)  
O = prototyp. concrete with shape and form (Phen)

e.g. *Ðu his hrinan meht* [Fates: 614]  
lit. ‘You may **touch** it.’

$gefēlan_v [(x_1: \text{prototyp. animate})_{Exp} (x_2: \text{prototyp. a part of sth})_{Phen}]_{Exp}$   
df =  $gefēlan_v (x_1)_{Exp} (x_2)_{Phen} (y_1: \text{with a part of the body})_{Instr}$

3. SVO [Acc]: S = prototyp. animate (Exp)  
O = prototyp. concrete with shape and form (Phen)

e.g. *Ne sceolon ge mine ða halgan hrinan* [PPs: 104.13]  
lit. ‘I should not **touch** my holy god.’

$gefēlan_v [(x_1: \text{prototyp. animate})_{Exp} (x_2: \text{prototyp. concrete})_{Phen}]_{Exp}$   
df =  $gefēlan_v (x_1)_{Exp} (x_2)_{Phen} (y_1: \text{with a part of the body})_{Instr}$

4. SVO [Dat]: S = prototyp. animate (Ag)  
O = prototyp. concrete with shape and form (Aff)

e.g. *Se hælend & hran egum heora* [MtGl (Ru): 20, 34]  
lit. ‘The Saviour **touched** their eyes.’

$gefēlan_v [(x_1: \text{prototyp. animate})_{Ag} (x_2: \text{prototyp. concrete})_{Aff}]_{Act}$   
df =  $gefēlan_v (x_1)_{Ag} (x_2)_{Aff} (y_1: \text{with a part of the body})_{Instr}$

A similar degree of syntactic variation can be calculated for the archilexeme of the subdimension of TASTING, OE *byrgan/birgan*, which can appear with either accusative or genitive objects, but with a clear preference for the first. All the other verbs in its subdimension show this same preference for the transitive pattern SVO[Acc], which had almost completely replaced the IE/Gmc genitival pattern that characterised verbs of PHYSICAL PERCEPTION (Mitchell 1985: 449).

(4) OE *byrgan/birgan* ‘to feel sth (esp. food or drink) with the mouth’

1. SVO [Gen]:           S = prototyp. animate (Exp)  
                               O = prototyp. (Phen) <food, drink>  
*gefēlan*<sub>v</sub> [(x<sub>1</sub>: prototyp. animate)<sub>Exp</sub> (x<sub>2</sub>: prototyp. a part of sth)<sub>Phen</sub>]<sub>Exp</sub>  
               df = *gefēlan*<sub>v</sub> (x<sub>1</sub>)<sub>Exp</sub> (x<sub>2</sub>)<sub>Phen</sub> (y<sub>1</sub>: with the mouth)<sub>Instr</sub>

e.g. *he him cydde & sægde þæt he ne moste deaðes byrgan ær he mid his eagam dryhten gesege* [LS 19 (PurifMaryVerc 17): 15]

lit. ‘He spoke to him and said that he wouldn’t **taste** death before he could see the lord with his own eyes.’

2. SVO [Acc]:           S = prototyp. animate (Exp)  
                               O = prototyp. concrete with shape and form (Phen)

e.g. *Du þines gewinnes wæstmæ byrgest* [PPs: 127.2]

lit. ‘You **taste** the fruits of your work.’

- gefēlan*<sub>v</sub> [(x<sub>1</sub>: prototyp. animate)<sub>Exp</sub> (x<sub>2</sub>: prototyp. concrete)<sub>Phen</sub>]<sub>Exp</sub>  
               df = *gefēlan*<sub>v</sub> (x<sub>1</sub>)<sub>Exp</sub> (x<sub>2</sub>)<sub>Phen</sub> (y<sub>1</sub>: with the mouth)<sub>Instr</sub>

Regarding verbs of SMELLING, the situation we find is very different. On the one hand, most of the verbs included in this group express the causative meaning ‘to cause sb to become aware of a smell’; this is the case the historically earlier strong verbs *rēocan* and *stincan*, and of the weak verbs *æþmian*, *bladesian*, *hrenian* and *stencan*. The expression of non-causative meanings (i.e. ‘to perceive by smell’) corresponds to prefixed verbs, especially *gestincan*, indicating a relatively recent lexicalization (*stincan* ‘to emit a smell’ > *gestincan* ‘to perceive sth as a result of its smell, to smell sth’). Consequently, the pattern SVO[Acc] is practically universal within this subdimension:

(5) OE *gestincan* ‘to feel sth because of the effect it has on your nose’

1. SVO [Acc]:           S = prototyp. animate (Exp)  
                               O = prototyp. concrete (Phen)

e.g. *Þonne ge þa swetan stencas gestincað* [Lch I (Herb) : 63.4]

lit. ‘When you **smell** the sweet odours.’

- gefēlan*<sub>v</sub> [(x<sub>1</sub>: prototyp. animate)<sub>Exp</sub> (x<sub>2</sub>: prototyp. concrete)<sub>Phen</sub>]<sub>Exp</sub>  
               df = *gefēlan*<sub>v</sub> (x<sub>1</sub>)<sub>Exp</sub> (x<sub>2</sub>)<sub>Phen</sub> (y<sub>1</sub>: with the nose)<sub>Instr</sub>

Special mention must be made now of the syntax of OE causative verbs of TASTING and SMELLING. Here, the semantic role of Phenomenon takes the syntactic function of Subject, whereas that of Experiencer appears as accusative Object:

(6) OE *teran* ‘to cause sb to become aware of a sour taste’

1. SVO [Acc]:           S = prototyp. concrete (Phen) <food, drink>  
                               O = prototyp. animate (Exp)

e.g. *He is swiðe biter on muðe and he þe tirð on ða þrotan þonne ðu his ærest fandast* [Bo:

22.,51.2]

lit. 'It is very bitter in the mouth and it **bites** you on the throat as you first sample it.'

(7) OE *stincan* 'to cause sb to become aware of a smell'

1. SV: S = prototyp. concrete (Phen)

e.g. *Ic **stince** swote* [ÆGram: 220.13]

lit. 'I **smell** sweetly.'

2. SVO [Acc]: S = prototyp. concrete (Phen)  
O = prototyp. animate (Exp)

e.g. *Ʒæt oreð **stincð** and afulað þe ær wæs swete on stence* [HomU 27 (Nap 30): 156]

lit. 'That breath **stinks** and fouds you with its sweet stench.'

## 5. Lexical hierarchies

Through the analysis of the semantic and syntactic data presented above, it is possible to give an almost complete reconstruction both of the meanings of the predicates that form these three lexical subdimensions and of the internal structure of each subdimension. However, there remains a small set of predicates whose exact position in the corresponding semantic area and lexical hierarchy cannot be confidently defined by using dictionary definitions and morphosyntactic analysis.

This is the case of OE *hrepian/hreppan*, *tacan*, *getillan* and their derivates, which according to etymological and comparative evidence are the result of relatively recent processes of semantic extension from the original semantic areas into that of PHYSICAL PERCEPTION. The mixed character of OE *hrepian/hreppan* is best seen from the analysis of its different definitions in the *TOE* (vol. 2), most of which represent metaphorical extensions from TOUCHING INTO CAUSING HARM:

(8)	OE (ge)hrepian:	02.05.06	Sense of touch
		02.08.04	Hurt, injury, damage
		05.06.04	Damage, injury, defect, hurt, loss
		07.05.01	Censure, reproof, rebuke
		11.07	Use, service
		13.02.03	An attack, assault

It is clear from these definitions that the different actions expressed by this verb focus on the negative effects on the second participant: TOUCHING is seen here as a means of laying hold on sth forcibly or against someone else's will, which frequently results in damage or even loss of the touched entity. This negativity is also instantiated by most occurrences of the predicate of PHYSICAL PERCEPTION OE *hrepian* 'to touch', which frequently appears in negative imperative statements, or accompanied by verbs expressing prohibition (e.g. OE *forbēodan* 'to forbid'). This implies that the type of physical contact expressed by this predicate was evaluated as negative by OE speakers, i.e. 'to touch sth against someone's will, against the law, by force'. The resulting cognitive schema can be reconstructed as:

(9) OE *hrepian* [var. *hreppan*] 'to touch sth forcibly'  
df =  $hrinan_v(x_1)_{Ag} (x_2)_{Go} (y_1: \text{forcibly})_{Action}$

SVO [Acc]: S = prototyp. animate (Ag)  
O = prototyp. concrete with shape and form (Go/Aff)

e.g. *Ne hrepa þu þæs treowes wæstm* [ÆCHom I.1: 181.70]  
lit. ‘**Touch** not the fruit of the tree.’

OE *getillan* focuses rather on the action of ‘touching sth briefly/lightly’, occupying the intersection between PHYSICAL PERCEPTION and MOVEMENT:

(10) OE *getillan* ‘to touch sth briefly/lightly’

SVO [Acc]: S = prototyp. animate (Exp)  
O = prototyp. concrete with shape and form (Phen)

e.g. *Weras bloda & facenfulle na healfe getillað* [OccGl 50.1.2 (Brock): 54.24]  
lit. ‘Cruel and deceitful men do not **touch** a half.’

Finally, OE *tacan* ‘to put the hands into contact with sth’ (*OED*) reflects perfectly the natural semantic advance from CONTACT (‘to put the hands on sth’) to TACTILE PERCEPTION (‘to touch sth’, the only known sense of Gothic *tēkan*), and from here to POSSESSION (‘to lay hold of sth’), especially in ME:

(11) OE *tacan* ‘to put the hands into contact with sth’ [CONTACT > PERCEPTION]

SVAdjunct S = prototyp. animate (Ag/Exp)  
A = prototyp. concrete, a surface (Loc/Phen)

e.g. *Sona swa þæt ele toc on þæt wæter, þa aras þær upp swiðe mycel fyr* [LS 29 (Nicholas): 273]  
lit. ‘As soon as the oil **touched** the water, there arose a great fire.’

(12) OE *tacan* ‘to get sth into one’s hands by force’ [PERCEPTION > POSSESSION]

SVO S = prototyp. animate (Ag)  
O = prototyp. concrete (Go)

e.g. *Se kyng nam heora scypa & wæpna... & þa menn ealle he toc, & dyde of heom þæt he wolde* [ChronD (Classen-Harm): 1072.11]  
lit. ‘The king took their ships and weapons...and then **captured** them all and did of them what he liked.’

## 6. Conclusions

This methodology for the study of the OE verbal vocabulary is based on the analysis and restructuring of different types of information (dictionary definitions, syntactic patterns, lexical productivity, and etymology). Broadly speaking, the more prototypical a verb is, the more prototypical effects it will show, so that verbs with a higher degree of prototypicality will tend to (i) admit more syntactic patterns, (ii) be synchronically underived (and preferably strong), and (iii) be more productive in processes of lexical derivation.

The FLM lexicon thus contains full descriptions of each word, which appears with all its semantic, pragmatic, syntactic, morphological and phonological properties. As a result of this



analysis, the full set of lexical entries has been created, corresponding to the OE subdomains of verbs of TOUCHING, TASTING and SMELLING (see Appendix I).

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## APPENDIX I:

### Internal structure of OE verbs of TOUCHING, TASTING and SMELLING

#### 0. GENERAL PERCEPTION:

**(ge)fēlan**<sup>1</sup>: to PERCEIVE sth<sub>[Gen, Acc]</sub> with the senses

#### 1. TACTUAL PERCEPTION:

**1. hrīnan**<sup>1</sup>: to put a part of the body into contact with sth<sub>[Gen, Acc, Dat]</sub>

**1.i. āhrīnan**: to TOUCH sth stretching out (a part of the body)

**1.ii. æthrīnan**: to TOUCH sth moving near

**1.iii. gehrīnan**: to get to sth TOUCHING it

**1.iv. onhrīnan/andhrīnan**: to TOUCH sth moving towards it

**1.v. ophrīnan**: to TOUCH sth moving away from the original position

**1.1. grāpian**<sup>ii1</sup>: to use the hands in TOUCHING

**1.2. hrepian/hreppan**<sup>ii</sup>: to TOUCH sth<sub>[Acc]</sub> forcibly

**1.2.i. āhrepian**: to TOUCH sth forcibly stretching out (a part of the body)

**1.2.ii. gehrepian**: to get to sth TOUCHING it forcibly

**1.3. strīcan**<sup>1</sup>: to TOUCH sth<sub>[Acc]</sub> softly

**1.3.i. gestrīcan**: to get to sth TOUCHING it gently

**1.4. grāpian**<sup>ii2</sup>: to TOUCH sth<sub>[Acc]</sub> with the hand

**1.4.i. gegrāpian**: to get to sth TOUCHING it with the hand

**1.4.1. handlian**<sup>ii</sup>: to TOUCH and FEEL sth with the hand

**1.4.1.1. gefēlan**<sup>i</sup>: to TOUCH and FEEL deliberately sth with the hand

**1.4.2. smacian**<sup>ii</sup>: to TOUCH sth softly with the hand

**1.4.2.i. gesmacian**: to get to sth TOUCHING it softly with the hand

**1.4.2.1. strācian**<sup>ii</sup>: to TOUCH sb (esp. sb's head, body or hair) softly in one direction with the hand, to express a positive emotion or as a method of healing

**1.4.2.2. þaccian**<sup>ii</sup>: to TOUCH sth softly and repeatedly with the hand, to express love or affection

**1.4.2.2.i. gepaccian**: to get to express sb love or affection by TOUCHING him or her softly with the hand

**1.5. cyssan**<sup>i</sup>: to TOUCH sth with the lips, to express affection or as a greeting, reverence or salutation

**1.5.i. gecyssan**: to get to express sb affection by TOUCHING him or her softly with the lips

**1.6. liccian<sup>ii</sup>:** to TOUCH sth/sb with the tongue, to taste it, to moisten a surface or to remove sth from it

**1.5.i. geliccian:** to get to taste sth, moisten its surface or remove sth from it by TOUCHING it softly with the tongue

**1.6. tillan<sup>i</sup>:** to TOUCH sth<sub>[Acc]</sub> briefly/lightly

**1.3.i. a tillan:** to TOUCH sth briefly/lightly stretching out (a part of the body)

**1.3.ii. getillan:** to get to sth TOUCHING it briefly/lightly

**1.7. tacan<sup>6</sup>:** to PUT the hands into contact with sth<sub>[on + Dat]</sub> so as to catch it

## 2. TASTE PERCEPTION:

**1. birgan/byrgan<sup>i</sup>:** to FEEL sth<sub>[Gen, Acc]</sub> (esp. food or drink) with the mouth

**1.i. gebirgan:** to get to TASTE sth<sub>[Gen, Acc, of/to + Dat]</sub>

**1.ii. inbirgan:** to TASTE sth by eating it

**1.iii. onbirgan:** to TASTE sth

**1.1. smæccan<sup>i</sup>:** to TASTE sth<sub>[Acc]</sub> purposively to appreciate its flavour

**1.1.i. gesmæccan:** to get to sth TASTING it purposively, appreciating its flavour

**1.2. gefandian<sup>2</sup>:** to TASTE a small amount of sth<sub>[Gen, Acc]</sub> to try its flavour

*To cause sb to become aware of the particular TASTE of sth*

**1.3. teran<sup>4</sup>:** to cause sb<sub>[Acc]</sub> to TASTE a pungent flavour

**1.4. āsūrian<sup>ii</sup>:** to cause sb<sub>[Acc]</sub> to TASTE a sour flavour

*To cause sth to TASTE in a particular way*

**1.5. swetan<sup>i</sup>:** to cause sth<sub>[Acc]</sub> to TASTE sweet

**1.6. sealtan<sup>i</sup>:** to cause sth<sub>[Acc]</sub> to TASTE salty

**1.7. gewyrtian<sup>i</sup>:** to cause sth<sub>[Acc]</sub> to TASTE in a particular way by using herbs or spice

## 3. OLFACTORY PERCEPTION:

**1. gestincan<sup>3</sup>:** to become aware of sth<sub>[Gen, Acc]</sub> because of the effect it has on your nose

**1.i. tōstincan:** to SMELL out, so as to find sth<sub>[Acc]</sub>

**1.1. geswæccan<sup>i</sup>:** to SMELL a particular odour of sth<sub>[Acc]</sub>

**1.2. ēpian<sup>ii</sup>:** to SMELL by inhaling sth<sub>[Acc]</sub>

**1.2.1. drincan<sup>1</sup>:** to smell by inhaling smoke of sth<sub>[Acc]</sub>

*To cause sb to become aware of the particular SMELL of sth*

**1.3. stincan**<sup>3</sup>: to cause sb<sub>[Acc]</sub> to become aware of the particular SMELL of sth (esp. unpleasant, unless otherwise stated)

**1.3.1. æþmian**<sup>i</sup>: to SMELL of the vapours of sth

**1.3.1.1. bladesian**<sup>i</sup>: to SMELL of the smoke of sth (esp. religious)

**1.3.2. stencan**<sup>i</sup>: to SMELL very unpleasantly

**1.3.2.1. rēocan**<sup>i</sup>: to SMELL very unpleasantly and strongly

**1.3.2.1.1. hrenian**<sup>i</sup>: to SMELL very unpleasantly and strongly (esp. of wine)

To cause sth to SMELL in a particular way

**1.5. gewyrtian**<sup>i</sup>: to cause sth/sb<sub>[Acc]</sub> to SMELL pleasantly by using herbs or spices

**1.5.1. besmocian**<sup>i</sup>: to cause sth/sb<sub>[Acc]</sub> to SMELL pleasantly by burning herbs

**1.5.1.1. rēcelsian**<sup>i</sup>: to cause sth/sb<sub>[Acc]</sub> to SMELL pleasantly by burning incense (esp. religious)

**1.5.1.1.1. stēran**<sup>2</sup>: to cause sb<sub>[Acc]</sub> to SMELL pleasantly by burning incense (esp. as a sign of purification)

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**NAMES FOR TUSSILAGO FARFARA L. IN ENGLISH DIALECTS**

## Abstract

The article sheds light on a few English names for ‘colt’s-foot; *Tussilago farfara* L.’ recorded in a number of traditional works and the SED, which offers a few names not to be found in older compilations. It focusses especially on the lexical triad *colt’s-foot*, *foalfoot*, *horsefoot* and the frequent name transfers between ‘*Tussilago farfara* L., colt’s-foot’ and ‘*Arctium lappa* L., burdock.’ The study points out a few practical problems involved in the historical investigation of plant-names.

**1. Introductory Remarks**

Plant-names have always been a popular subject for onomasiologists, although studying plant-names in a historical perspective is not always an easy task. Although many motives for a certain designation, so-called iconyms, are based on the appearance, use, location or time of blossom of a plant, the evolution of many designations are still unclear despite comprehensive and comparaistic analyses such as the ones by Heinrich Marzell (HM), whose dictionary of German plant-names is also a valuable source for English onomasiologists. The study will first present a few rather safe etymologies and on the background of these try to offer solutions for a few problematic cases. We will also see if we can draw some general conclusion for onomasiological studies. Our forms for *Tussilago farfara* L. have been taken from various sources: apart from the OED we can specifically refer to Bierbaumer (1975, 1976, 1979)<sup>1</sup> and the TOE for Old English and to BrittHoll (cf. the index on p. 615), the EDD and the SED<sup>2</sup> (item II.2.7.), which has so far hardly been used for onomasiological studies, for Modern English dialects. In addition, Majut (1998: 73ff.) has provided us with valuable information on some names for *Tussilago farfara* in English, German and other languages.

**2. Names with Clear Etymology and Iconymy**

2.1. According to Marzell (HM IV: 851) already Pliny, in his *Natural History*, noted the effect of the plant against cough. For this reason the Romans called the plant “cough-plant” (Lat. *tussis* ‘cough’ plus a suffix *-(l)ago*). The same iconymic structure is represented in English by *coughwort*, literally “cough-wort” (first attested in 1597) (OED s.v. *cough*, BrittHoll). Likewise, this medical use of the plant appears to hide behind the name *british tobacco* (HM IV: 381).

2.2. That the plant was also used to cover and cure boils and sores (cf. HM IV: 864s.) is verbalized in forms with an iconymic structure “canker (+ flower/weed)” (cf. SED E 21Nf [Norfolk]<sup>3</sup>).

2.3. Due to the plant’s hoof-shaped leaves a number of words represent an iconym “horse/ass/swine + foot = hoof”: *horse-foot* (first attested 1597) (OED, EDD, SED, BrittHoll, Majut

<sup>1</sup> However, only Bierbaumer (1979) has relevant information on *Tussilago farfara*.

<sup>2</sup> The further notation will indicate the region (N = Northern Counties, W = West Midland Counties etc.), the number and acronym for the county and finally the number for the locality, whose name I will add in brackets.

<sup>3</sup> Under *canker* and *canker-weed* the EDD (I: 505f.) already listed several plant-names, but not *Tussilago*.

1998: 84), *ass's-foot* (BrittHoll), and *sow-foot* (BrittHoll), *horse-hoof* (first identifiable as *Tussilago farfara* in 1562 [cf. sub 3.2.]) (OED, EDD, Majut 1998: 84) or simply *hoofs* (BrittHoll, Majut 1998: 84). The iconymic type “horse etc. + foot” is also visible in German and Medieval Latin names (cf. HM IV: 851ff.). Furthermore, the big size of the leaves is the basis for the iconym “battering leaves”, which is reflected in the type *batter-docks* (cf. SED W 12St [Staffordshire]<sup>4</sup>). In connection with *horse-hoof*, Majut (1998: 85) reports that the common folk views the name *horse-hooves* for ‘*caltha palustris*’ just as a variant of the former, since *Caltha palustris* and *Tussilago farfara* share also other names (e.g. E.dial. *foalfoot* and G.dial. *Fohlenfuß*). Majut (1998: 84f.), though, thinks that *hooves* represents a different etymon than *hoof*, as the plural of *hoof* is *hoofs*; according to him *hooves* is related to the verb *heave* and denotes a horse disease (ModE *heaves*). However, *hooves* is a frequent and also standard plural variant of *hoof* so that Majut’s hypothesis is unnecessary (cf. also Grzega 2001: 282)—especially since there is also a variant *horse-hove* for *Tussilago farfara* (BrittHoll).

2.4. Forms showing the structure “son-before-the-father” (BrittHoll) can be explained on the fact that the blossoms (“sons”) appear before the leaves (“father”) (cf. HM IV: 861). The type serves also as a name for *Petasites vulgaris*.

2.5. Moreover, there are a number of (in part folk-etymological) mis- and re-interpretations of the Latin *tussilago*: *dfilagi* (SED N 1Nb 2 [Embleton]); *dishalaga* (BrittHoll), *tushylucky gowan* (BrittHoll), *tushalan* (BrittHoll). Further variants are attested in the EDD (II: 89).

2.6. Finally, we can observe a rather large number of name transfers due to some similarity between *Tussilago farfara* and another plant. The hapax form *ka:kl* (SED E 21Nf 2 [Great Snoring]: <cockle>) is glossed in BrittHoll as ‘*Lychnis githago* L.; *Arctium lappa* L.; *Lolium temulentum*’. To me the transfer seems to have happened from *Arctium lappa* (burdock) to *Tussilago farfara* (colt’s-foot), as both plants served to lap butter (cf. HM IV: 851). This view is corroborated by some German dialect forms (cf. HM IV: 851). The shifts, or confusions, between *Arctium lappa* and *Tussilago farfala* are actually quite frequent, as shall be seen presently (cf. 3.1. and 3.2.). Some Southern dialectal instances of *mugwort* (SED S 36Co 4 & 6-7 [St. Ewe, St. Buryan, Mullion]: *mɔgwɛ:t ~ mɔgɛ:t*) show a transfer from ‘*Artemisia vulgaris* L.; *Artemisia Absinthium* L.’. The basis for the confusion is that the leaves are green on their upper sides and white on the other (due to the tiny hairs). The OED also mentions a form *hogweed*, but the identification as ‘*Tussilago farfara*’ does not suggest itself from the forms recorded. BrittHoll record it as the name for *Tussilago* in Yorkshire. It was originally reserved to *Heraclum Sphondylium* L., *Polygonum aviculare* L., *Sonchus arvensis* L., and *Torilis anthriscus* L. The motivation for this transfer is still to be resolved.

### 3. Names with Assumedly [!] Clear Etymology and/or Iconymy

3.1. The type *klīt* <cleat> (SED, EDD I: 687<sup>6</sup>), OE *clite* (TOE 110) is the oldest attested English name for *Tussilago farfara* (it is nowadays sometimes to *Petasites vulgaris* as well) (cf. also the parallel German developments listed in HM (IV: 851ff.). To this type the SED hapax forms *tlvəts* (SED N 6Y 15 [Pateley Bridge]) and *klɪəks* (SED N 6Y 27 [Carleton]) must belong; both northern forms, they can be seen as the results of assimilations. The AEW and the OED word relate the Old English word to Latv. *glīdēt*, but refrain from giving any

<sup>4</sup> The EDD (I: 188) notes that some dialects also have *butter-dock* “from its leaves being used for lapping butter”.

<sup>5</sup> The EDD (IV: 195) only gives ‘*Artemisia vulgaris*.’

<sup>6</sup> The EDD and the MED list several plants under *cleat* (and *clēte* respectively), among them *Arctium lappa*, but not *Tussilago farfara*.

further explanation. A root variant is said to hide behind the type *clot(e)* (OED s.v. *clote*, BrittHoll s.v. *clot*), which in Old English (OE *clāte*) refers to *Arctium lappa* L., a plant with which *Tussilago farfara* seems often confused with (cf. above and also HM IV: 851). Therefore the IEW attaches both Old English words, *clite* (probably not with the long *ī* that the IEW suggests, as only *ī* can explain ME <e>) and *clāte*, to the root *glei-d-* ‘to stick’.

3.2. Let us now turn to the most frequent forms for *Tussilago farfara* in modern English dialects. From a purely formal point of view the forms *colt's-foot* (first identifiable as *Tussilago farfara* in 1552) (OED, SED, BrittHoll), *foal-foot* (first identifiable as *Tussilago farfara* in 1578) (SED, Majut 1998: 2, BrittHoll, EDD II: 433)<sup>7</sup>, including the subtypes *coutfit* (BrittHoll) and *foilefoot* (BrittHoll) go back to an iconymic structure that appears to parallel the lexical typ *horse-foot*. And this is the current view (cf. OED, Majut 1998: 73). The view could indeed be supported by the Scandinavian forms Dan. *folefod* and Swed. *fålafötter* and by Low German forms (cf. Majut 1998: 87f., HM IV: 853). Nevertheless, one should ask (as Majut already did) why not the generic form, but the form for the young was selected by the speakers. Was there an additional motivation? As a general rule, plant-names motivated by a comparison to an animal or the body-part of an animal seem to take the generic animal term. If the specific name for the male, the castrate male, the female or the young is selected, it can be expected that the iconym is connected with the specific features of these members of the respective animal family. Thus male animals in plant-names often express that something in the plant looks like horns. Sometimes plant-names based on male animal terms stand in opposition to similarly looking plants based on female animal terms in order to express just size differences. This can easily be checked by comparing respective entries in BrittHoll. But what can be the motivation for choosing the young horse to denote *Tussilago*? Although the Scandinavian and Low German forms suggest that “foal-foot” is West Germanic heritage, we have no clue that the English type *foal-foot* existed before the 15th century. As to *colt*-forms we have a hapax form, which Kindschi (1955: 118), Bierbaumer (1979: 58) and the OEC give as *cologræig*, which glosses Lat. *caballopodia uel ungula caballi* and which Kindschi, Bierbaumer and the TOE interpret as *coltgræg*<sup>8</sup>. But we cannot be sure that these referred to *Tussilago*. As Majut (1998: 79) shows, Lat. *ungula caballina* referred to *Arctium lappa* in earlier times (at least until the middle of the 13th century), not to *Tussilago farfara*. Consequently, *foal-foot* and *colt's-foot* both seem to be lexical innovations for *Tussilago farfara* in the 16th century (just like *horse-foot* and *horse-hoof*, the latter of which originally referred to *Arctium lappa*, too). And they may both represent transfers from other plants, particularly *Arctium lappa*. It may well be that *horse-foot*, *colt's-foot*, *foal-foot* strengthened each other mutually. The history may have been roughly as follows:

(1) OE *clīte* ‘*Tussilago farfara*’ vs. OE *clāte* (aside from *foal-foot*, *horse-hoof*<sup>9</sup> and others)

<sup>7</sup> The earlier 1400 quotation from *Archaeologia* (cf. OED) reads: “Folesfoth & ye smale clote is all on.” From this an identification of the term as *Tussilago farfara* is not possible; the juxtaposition with the formally unrelated *clote* makes it even rather improbable. The formations *coltesfot* and *folesfot* may actually be still earlier, maybe earlier than 1373. But the quotation that the MED gives for both (and *horsehove*) doesn’t allow an entirely clear identification as *Tussilago farfara*: “pes pulli agrestis: Horshove, folefote, coltisfote; this erbe is grene in that on eside and white in that oþer.” The description would unfortunately also apply to *Arctium lappa*. As far as *pes pulli (agrestis)* is concerned, Grigson (1974: 55) says that this was the Medieval Latin term for *Tussilago farfara*, but he apparently the date he gives for the form *coltsfoot* is the 16th-century. Map 129 of the WGE shows that today *foal-foot* is basically current in the dialects of the extreme north and the north-eastern part of England; the rest of England uses *colt's-foot*.

<sup>8</sup> Bierbaumer thinks that it is possible that the form is a corruption of *coltmægl*, which then represented a loan translation (better: loan rendering) of *ungulla caballi*. This, however, forces us to assume too many misspellings of the original word.

<sup>9</sup> Majut says that explaining the formation of *foal-foot* by the appeal of alliteration cannot be substantiated by chronological facts. Nevertheless, the formation *horse-hoof* (coined two centuries prior to *horse-foot*, then still glossing ‘*ungula caballina*’) as well as the French dialect type *pied de poulain* and the Engadine type *pei pulein* (cf. HM IV: 853) corroborates the theory that euphony, or better: sound play, had its share in the

‘*Arctium lappa*’

- (2) onomasiological fuzziness: plants have similar features plus similar names
- (3) mixture not only of OE *clite* (ME *clēte*) and OE *clāte* (ME *clōte*), but also of other synonyms for the two plants
- (4) The term *foal-foot* triggers off an iconymically parallel construction *colt's-foot*. (It may be asked whether *colt-* was additionally motivated by the similar sounding *clote*, but so far I haven't found any metathesized form of *clote*.)

3.3. Since we said that generic animal names are selected for plant-names if no sex-specific feature is the underlying iconym we should also comment on *bullfoot* (first attested 1562) (OED s.v. *bull*, BrittHoll) and Scott. *cowheave* (first recorded in the 19th century) (BrittHoll, EDD I: 754). Obviously, the generic terms, ME *retheren* ~ *rotheren* and *catel* (a Northern French loan), were possibly not basic enough in everyday speech; the quotations in the MED (s.v. *catel* and *rother*) show that *catel* was a rather technical term (comparable to ModE *livestock*) and that *rother* was mostly used as a collective noun in the plural. Therefore speakers fell back on the male and female designations (not on the names for the castrate and the young though!). Maybe, *bullfoot* was created as a parallel coinage to *cowfoot* ‘*Senecio Jacobaea*’ (BrittHoll), which, as the EDD (I: 506) informs us, was also used as a “cankerweed” (cf. *supra*). According to Majut (1998: 86) the morpheme *-heave* may represent a corruption of *hoof*. It is hardly imaginable that *hoof* was replaced by *heave* without any gain or exchange in motivation. Maybe there is a folk-etymological connection with *heave* ‘to utter (a groan, sigh, or sob [...] with effort, or with a deep breath, which causes the chest to heave; [...] to make an effort to vomit, to retch’ (cf. OED s.v. *heave*), since it has been observed that, due to the gold-colored blossoms, *Tussilago farfara* is given the cows as fodder so that they produce better and more milk, but that they actually refuse to eat it (cf. HM IV: 859 & 866).

3.4. The form *colt-herb* (BrittHoll) is a hapax form and seems to be a derivate of *colt(s)foot*.

3.5. Forms of the iconym “cock/craw + foot” (SED, EDD I: 682 & 816, BrittHoll s.v. *Cock-foot* and *Cock's-foot* ‘*Chelidonium maius* L.; *Aquilegia vulgaris* L.; *Dactylis glomerata* L.’; s.v. *Craw-foot* ‘*Ranunculus acris* L.; *Ranunculus repens* L.’) clearly goes back to name transfers, since the leaves do not look like the foot of a cock or a craw. The confusion with the *Ranunculus* terms is clear as they share the yellow blossoms with *Tussilago farfara*. What the above-given referents of *cock's-foot* should have in common with *Tussilago farfara*, however, is unclear to me.

3.6. The second part in the form *clatter-clogs* (BrittHoll) can easily be understood as a metaphor (as with the items in *-foot* and *-hoof*). The first item may have been added because of the rather huge leaves (in relation to the rest of the plant) and the sound they may make in the wind on stony grounds where the plant frequently grows (cf. *supra* 2.3.: *batter docks*).

3.7. The form *pisbedz* (SED W 12St 2 [Mow Cop]) is originally a term for the dandelion (BrittHoll s.v. *Pissabed* ‘*Leontodon Taraxacum* L.; *Ranunculus bulbosus* L.’), coined after Fr. *pissenlit* (cf. OED s.v. *pissabed*, EDD IV: 523f.). The transfer to *Tussilago farfara* is not unexpected if one takes the many parallel developments in German dialects (cf. HM IV: 859 & 872f.) into account.

3.8. The plant's typical location is said to be the motivation behind the type *clayweed* (first attested 1878) (OED s.v. *clay*, BrittHoll s.v. *clayweed*, cf. also HM IV: 862), “[f]rom its partiality to clay soils,” as BrittHoll write. Unfortunately, neither the OED nor BrittHoll give

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development, since from a purely semantic-encyclopedic view the comparison with a cock's foot doesn't make sense.



any indications as to the geographical distribution of this type. If it belongs to the central dialects it is, in my view, equally imaginable that *clay* ‘hoof’ (cf. EDD) is the determining element of the compound, ergo “hoof-weed” (cf. the German dialect forms according to HM [IV: 851f.]). The entry *clayt*, which BrittHoll only link to *cleats*, should actually be seen as a folk-etymological blend of *cleat* and *clay(weed)* in my opinion.

3.9. For instance, there seems to be confusion between *Tussilago farfara* and *Rumex* plants because both are used to lap butter (cf. HM IV: 851, EDD I: 188). This can explain the formation *dove dock* (BrittHoll s.v. *Dove-dock*, OED s.v. *dock*), which is based on *dock* ‘*Rumex*’. The choice of *dove* as a determinant looks indeed striking at first, as nothing of *Tussilago farfara* reminds the speaker of a dove. The problem may be resolvable if depart from a euphony-induced formation (cf. supra ann. 9). But if we take into account the term seems to be Scottish English rather than English English, then one can image the Scottish stem *dove* ‘stupid, foolish’ as it occurs, e.g. in *dovened* ‘benumbed with cold’ (cf. Warrack/Grant s.v.), in it—then the word *dovened* may make us think of *Tussilago farfara* as a plant against cough. To proof this, however, we will have to wait for more profound knowledge of historical Scots.

#### 4. Names with Unclear Etymology and Iconymy

There remain a few hapax legomena listed in the SED, BrittHoll and/or the TOE, which we shall briefly comment on.

4.1. The form *skɔwlfɔt* (SED W 17Wa 1 [Nether Whitacre]) seems to be caused by a metathesis of the “genitive” *s* in *col[t]’s-foot* to the front of the word. The form *ka<sup>r</sup>.tʃfɔt* (SED W 11Sa 9 [Clun]) seems to be another purely phonetically aberrant variant of *colt’s-foot*, where the vocalization, or deletion, of pre-vocalic *l*, was followed by an erroneous insertion of an *r*.

4.2. The form *kəʊsɪl* (SED N 5La 12 [Harwood]), which the SED gives as <coosil> in the entry line, is etymologically very unclear. Does the first element represent *cow*? Is the second element an old diminutive suffix?

4.3. The form *kle:ps* (SED E 9Nt 2 [Chuckney]) can represent a variant of *cleats*, but it is unclear how the change from *-t(s)-* to *-p(s)-* can be accounted for. The editor of the SED view it as an error of the informant.

4.4. In the appendix BrittHoll list a form *dummy weed* (BrittHoll). This form may be related to *dunnies*, a name for *Petasites vulgaris* (BrittHoll), with which *Tussilago* is often confused (cf. HM IV: 851), as has already been shown above. The form *dummy* must be a later folk-etymological change.

4.5. The form *baki* (SED S 31So 9 [Brompton Regis]), which the SED transcribe as <backy> in the headline, must be the dialectal word *backy* ‘tobacco,’ which the EDD (I: 122) records for the same county (Somersetshire), as *Tussilago* served as a supplement for tobacco to heal cough problems.

#### 5. Final Remarks

The study has shown that the SED, which has not yet attracted the onomasiological interest it deserves, has contributed a number of interesting words for our concept. Due to a richer material and a cross-linguistic comparison of iconyms we have been able to shed better light on some of the names for the colt's-foot. But at the end we may wonder if, in a way, this brief article has not aroused more problems than it solved. We can at least state the following things, which have in part already been observed by other linguists, too. A list of clear iconyms (also from other languages!) can help to understand forms that have so far been unexplained (here *dummy weed* and *backy*). It has to be made sure, though, that the concrete forms really stand for the assumed iconyms. In onomasiological and iconymic studies, a "generic" horse can have the same value as a "generic" cow, but does frequently not have the same value as a "specific" colt. Huge problems are the many name transfers, which may happen even if the transfer is from an iconymic perspective visibly illogical (here *dove dock* and *crawfoot*). On the other hand, unless folk-etymology is involved, which happens not infrequently, such visibly illogical iconymies make it probable that a name transfer must have occurred. In many other instances the researcher can no longer be sure whether a name has been transferred (either non-intentionally by a lack of knowledge on behalf of the speakers [we could term this "onomasiological fuzziness"] or intentionally by speakers' classifying two plants as sub-variants of one and the same plant in their folk-taxonomy) or whether speakers came accidentally (and independently) up with the same iconym for two different plants. Moreover, historical onomasiologists have to face the problem that it is not always clear which plant a specific name in an historical document refers to, even if a definition is given (e.g. with *colt'sfoot*, *foalfoot*, *horsefoot*). All in all, this brief article has shown that etymological suggestions for plant-names must be given with more caution than for lexemes from many other conceptual fields.

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## COLOR TERMS IN ENGLISH: ONOMASIOLOGICAL AND SEMASIOLOGICAL ASPECTS

### Abstract

The following article is a master's thesis on color terms in English language history. Within Berlin and Kay's eleven basic color categories, and various non-basic, secondary, or specialized expressions are analyzed regarding their origin and underlying motives of formation: Inherited terms are described from an onomasiological point of view, thus starting from the respective concept or image, whereas loanwords are dealt with separately as their motivations are often unclear to the speaker. As the color systems of Old and Modern English are encoded differently, it is investigated how transitional stages and nuances of color are represented in the respective periods. Finally, interesting semasiological aspects are given as well.

The study shows that, resulting from a huge need of new color names due to economic and cultural changes, many color terms were borrowed from French and Latin, but even more are a product of metonymical extensions of entity senses. By means of this, all kinds of images and concepts (e.g. plants, animals, food etc.) can be utilized to designate color. However, they are often restricted, remain unknown to the layperson, and can disappear very quickly (e.g. fashion and car color terms).

### ABBREVIATIONS<sup>1</sup>

AN	Anglo-Norman
BCT	Basic Color Term
Da	Danish
Du	Dutch
EDD	<i>The English Dialect Dictionary</i>
F	French
FEW	<i>Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch</i>
G	German
Gmc	Germanic
Goth	Gothic
IE	Indo-European
IEW	<i>Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch</i>
It	Italian
L	Latin
Lith	Lithuanian
LL	Late Latin
ME	Middle English
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i>
MIr	Medieval Irish
ML	Medieval Latin
ModE	Modern English
ODEE	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology</i>
OE	Old English
OEC	<i>Dictionary of Old English Corpus</i>
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OF	Old French
OFris	Old Frisian
OHG	Old High German
OI	Old Icelandic
OIr	Old Irish
ON	Old Norse
ONhb	Old Northumbrian
OS	Old Saxon
Pg	Portuguese
Skr	Sanskrit
SED	<i>Survey of English Dialects</i>

<sup>1</sup> For full bibliographic details of published titles, see the Bibliography.

Sp Spanish  
 Sw Swedish  
 TOE *A Thesaurus of Old English*

## 1. Preliminary Remarks

### 1.1 Color Terms

"Begriffe für Farbnamen, Schattierungen und Kontraste von Farben sind ein wichtiger Bestandteil im Grundwortschatz jeder Sprache. Mit anderen Worten gehören Farbbezeichnungen zu den allgemeinen Eigenschaften und Merkmalen (= Universalien) von natürlichen Sprachen, da Farben zu den wichtigsten Informationsträgern für den Menschen zählen."<sup>2</sup>

The world we live in is a world of color. Everything our eyes can perceive, the environment we are confronted with and surrounded by, the diversity of objects, be it natural or man-made, and even human beings themselves are more or less marked by the appearance of color. The human eye is assumed to be so sensitive that it can distinguish between up to ten million different nuances (Methuen <sup>3</sup>1978: 7, Hope/Walch 1990: 286). However, most English people go through life with a basic color vocabulary of just eleven words. As Wyler (1992: 91) points out, the general tendency to subsume and classify color in everyday speech with a small, readily available set of terms (cf. Gipper's "sprachliche Farbordnung" (1955: 138)) may be due to the usefulness of basic terms which cover a wide area of shades, the fact that speakers do not require a finer distinction of shades, tints, and tones to identify objects or to form comprehensible oppositions, and, finally, that in people's early education colors are "learned" in such a way that a few names help children to recognize and name objects in their colorful surrounding.

"The purpose of a colour name is to communicate the appearance of a given colour or to enable us to 'think in colour'. Thus the colour name must be so characteristic of the colour's appearance that it is readily understood by others. Since our environment is the source of colours, it is here that we must look for objects of typical colours, objects for which we already have names and which can be used to designate a characteristic appearance."<sup>3</sup> Aside from the best illustration of a color sensation, additional factors such as the transfer of connotations and emotions are often important as well.

Much of the color vocabulary of a particular language is to a considerable degree the product of culture (McNeill 1972: 24, Lyons 1999: 55). Not only does the mother tongue determine how we see, observe, notice, and classify colors, but also the state of technology, industry, and economic growth influences the size of a color system as well as its function in practical life. As the nomenclature of color is extremely rich, particularly in the domain of art and fashion, the field is a remarkably complex one, featuring components which belong to poetic diction, the jargon of dyers, painters, or interior decorators, various kinds of contextual and collocational restrictions, and, furthermore, symbolic associations. But additionally, people's knowledge of, and interest in, color and color terms can vary enormously (e.g. depending on the culture they live in, their education, profession, experience, conventions, the availability of materials etc.) as well as the way in which they structure the field. The fact, however, that the number of readily available color terms is generally rather small and simple does not make color simple to understand. The best examples, or foci, of color concepts mostly are clear, whereas their boundaries or transitional stages between two concepts are indefinite and fuzzy. Color is a physical, psychological, and linguistic phenomenon, which, moreover, has to be observed from a diachronic perspective, since the color system can change over the centuries. Color terms are therefore impossible to investigate without reference to many other spheres

<sup>2</sup> Welsch/Liebmann 2003: 13.

<sup>3</sup> Methuen <sup>3</sup>1978: 138.

such as colorimetry, anthropology, philosophy, psychology, semiotics, literary criticism, etymology, ethnology, art history, physics, chemistry, and cognitive science.<sup>4</sup>

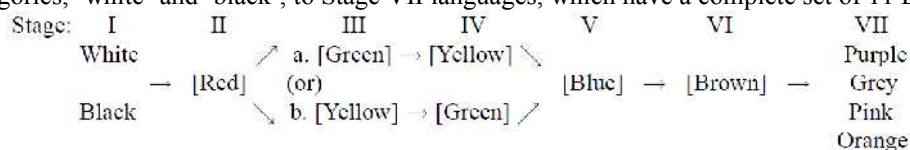
## 1.2 History of the Study of Color Terms

The study of color terms is an old and exciting field in which several academic disciplines overlap. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the prevailing view in anthropology, linguistics, and psycholinguistics with regard to the subject of color terminology changed from an originally evolutionary perception (following Gladstone and Geiger), through a relativistic view based on the Sapir-Whorf theory, back to an evolutionary and culturally universal perspective provided by Berlin and Kay's *Basic Color Terms* (1969). The latter view color categories as organized around best examples (i.e. foci) by means of which people classify the color space.<sup>5</sup> Although their theory has been intensively debated, revised, and refined several times in the past 40 years (e.g. Witkowski and Brown (1977), Kay and McDaniel (1978), Wierzbicka (1990), Dedrick (1998) etc.) and the over-all trend appears to be towards a generalization of theories, their work has had a great impact on the study of color terminology in general, as almost all recent research has been devoted to the basic terms and less to the non-basic, secondary, or, as Steinvall (2000: 403) calls them, 'elaborate color terms'.<sup>6</sup>

As far as English color terms are concerned, there have been surprisingly few studies. Many of the older works lack established methods, are often based on unreliable corpora, and, furthermore, merely present a collection of occurrences, sometimes even without paying attention to the contexts. They were often done from a hue-based color perception, which is

<sup>4</sup> It is of course not easy to distinguish between the linguistic, physical, and psychological factors when speaking of *primary* and *secondary* (and *tertiary*) colors. A more useful differentiation that is made is between *chromatic*, thus spectral colors (red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, violet), *non-chromatic* colors (brown, magenta, pink), and *achromatic* colors (black, gray, white). A further distinction within the chromatic set of colors is that, typically, *red*, *orange*, and *yellow* are considered 'warm' colors and *blue*, *green*, and, to a lesser extent, *violet* are the 'cold' colors. The former are more salient, stand out better and will, furthermore, appear to be larger if they are in a shape of the same size (Sahlins 1976: 5). Moreover, all colors have three distinct, fundamental parameters that account for their appearance: hue, value, and saturation. Hue is the aspect of color we refer to by the name (e.g. *red*), value signifies the admixture of white and black with a hue, thus its relative lightness or darkness (e.g. *dark*, *pale*), and saturation refers to the admixture of gray with a hue, thus its relative purity (e.g. *vivid*, *dull*). Possible differences in these parts are so numerous that they could not all be named separately. However, scientific knowledge of chromatology and wave lengths as well as color circles and color charts may be helpful in the investigation of the meaning of a color term, but they cannot automatically show its meaning (cf. Wierzbicka 1990).

<sup>5</sup> Four major criteria should ideally suffice to characterize a basic color term (BCT): 1) it is monolexemic, 2) its signification is not included in that of any other term (as that of *scarlet* is included in the meaning of *red*), 3) its application is not restricted to a narrow class of objects (as with *blond*), 4) must be "psychologically salient" for speakers – which would imply, for instance, that it tends to occur at the beginning of lists of elicited terms, occurs in the ideolect of all informants, and enjoys stability of reference and of use (Berlin/Kay 1969: 6). In doubtful cases the authors avoid recent foreign loans, names of objects, morphologically complex items, and terms with distributions similar to already established basic color terms (e.g. derivations in *-ish*). They found up to eleven basic color categories, *white*, *black*, *red*, *yellow*, *green*, *blue*, *brown*, *grey*, *purple*, *pink*, *orange*, of which they hypothesized that they evolve in more or less the same order in all languages, thus feature the same chronological and evolutionary sequence (p. 4), as it is conditioned by neurophysiological factors. The sequence ranges from Stage I languages which have only two color categories, 'white' and 'black', to Stage VII languages, which have a complete set of 11 BCT.



<sup>6</sup> According to him, elaborate color terms are subordinates and hyponyms of the basic terms, and, as a rule, they are derived through a metonymical process from objects (cf. Casson (1994)). Furthermore, they do not include adjectival derivations in *-ish* or compound terms (e.g. *olive green*) as secondary color terms usually do.

not adequate enough to understand and analyze the Old English brightness terminology. Lerner (1951) was the first one to mention that the Old English color vocabulary was encoded differently from Modern English and Barley (1974) put emphasize on the fact that our hue-oriented system is not comparable with the brightness-focused Anglo-Saxon color vocabulary. Moreover, many of them did not avail themselves of results of other disciplines, thus were seldom interdisciplinary. A detailed review of the research done on Old English color terminology (e.g. Mead 1899, Willms 1902, Lerner 1951, König 1957, Barley 1974, Krieg 1976, Bragg 1982, Wyler 1984) is given by Biggam (1997: 40-78) and Kerttula (2002: 45-69). Biggam's own thorough analyses, *Blue in Old English* (1997) and *Grey in Old English* (1998), are 'interdisciplinary semantic' as they take different factors (e.g. meaning relations, comparative literature, sociohistorical evidence, scientific evidence, and contextual evidence) into account. Based on collocations and referents, translations, contrasts and comparisons, cognates, related citations, sources represented, and categories of text she extracts and records several, albeit rare and contextually restricted, expressions and, furthermore, reconstructs a diachronic order of the development of Old English basic color terms. Studies concerning the Middle English period were even fewer and mainly written soon after the introduction of Berlin and Kay's theory (e.g. Barnickel 1975, Burnley 1976, Krieg 1976). The first two studies are reviewed by Kerttula in greater detail (2002: 69-79). Her dissertation, *English Colour Terms* (2002), is the most recent study. On the basis of the British National Corpus, various dictionaries, and the Historical Thesaurus of English, she gives historical and etymological data on 100 English color terms and 50 additional marginal and obsolete expressions, and lists them in chronological order and by different categories. Her aim is to clarify linguistic change, i.e. the different segmentation and naming of colors due to cultural influences (Norman Conquest, invention of printing, colonialization, industrialization, fashion, media), and to measure the relative basicness of terms by means of primacy, frequency, application, and derivational development. Her study supports the view that the development of a color terminology is conditioned by both cultural influences and universal tendencies.

### 1.3 Aims of this Study

The approach of the study at hand is mainly onomasiological as it tries to describe English color terms, starting from the respective concept or image.<sup>7</sup> The study will attempt to take as many terms as possible into account. However, as there exist up to 50.000 different expressions, only the most frequent and most interesting terms out of the number of color adjectives will be treated. Derivations of the *-ish*-type or expressions with intensifiers such as *deep*, *dark* will not be included. The following sections will deal with the standard expressions for colors in English, which are listed and commented on in Buck (cf. 1075f.), as well as with various lexical items given in *The Collins Thesaurus* (1995) and Maerz and Paul's *A Dictionary of Color* (<sup>2</sup>1950), and, wherever possible, dialectal terms. The latter will be analyzed according to their geographical extension, meaning, and possible survivors of older forms. The order chosen will first cover the spectral colors (red, orange, yellow, green, blue, purple), followed by the achromatic colors (white, gray, black), and finally the non-chromatic colors (brown, pink). The eleven categories coincide with the names of the eleven basic color terms.

After a short introduction to the respective color concept, the terms will be analyzed regarding their origin and underlying motivations of formation, or iconyms<sup>8</sup> as Alinei (1995, 1996) has

<sup>7</sup> As Wierzbicka (1990: 99) says, "[t]he link between the neural representation of color and the linguistic representation of color can only be indirect. The way leads via concepts. Sense data are "private" (even if they are rooted in pan-human neural responses), whereas concepts can be shared. To be able to talk with others about one's private sense data one must be able to translate them first into communicable concepts."

<sup>8</sup> As Grzegą (2002: 1039, endnote 6) points out, the term *iconym* must not be mixed up with *etymon*. The latter refers to the original form of the word, whereas the former is the original content, or reference, of a word.

called them, as far as etymological and dialect dictionaries help to make them transparent. Especially the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* and the *Middle English Dictionary (MED)* will be examined to discover the first records of occurrences and different applications of the terms. Inherited terms and loanwords will be described separately as the motivation of borrowed terms is often unclear to the speaker. Special emphasis will be put on the elaboration whether foreign elements were already loaned as color terms or whether they turned from entity terms to color terms on account of a phenomenon called metonymy. As the color systems of Old and Modern English are encoded differently, it will be investigated how transitional stages and nuances of color are represented in the respective periods. Furthermore, interesting semasiological aspects will be given as well. Finally, it will be summarized what kind of iconyms or motives of a coinage have been, were or are dominant and how they have changed in the course of English language history.

## 2. Onomasiological and Semasiological Aspects of the Basic Color Concepts

### 2.1 RED

#### 2.1.1 Cultural Background

Already in prehistoric times, man was accustomed to the color concept RED and used it as a magic and protecting color against disasters not only on their bodies but also in cave paintings (Rottmann 1967: 38). It was one of the first dyestuffs, obtained from earth pigments, minerals, or animal and plant sources. As red is often the color of small but important objects such as flowers, fruits, or animals (e.g. crabs, lobster, red ant etc.) contrasting with the background, it was, and still is, easy to be recognized and distinguished. Sometimes being regarded as "the color par excellence"<sup>9</sup>, its prototypical referent is the life-giving blood. In many cultures, however, fire is both visually more salient and culturally more important (Wierzbicka 1990: 126). Furthermore, it is attributed to the facial complexion, lips, to natural phenomena such as sunrise and sunset, and other natural objects such as cherries, roses, certain red gems etc. Due to its striking recognizability, the color is nowadays popular in advertisements and alarm symbols (e.g. traffic-lights, stop-signs, fire engine). Depending on culture and time, it can exhibit different symbolic meanings: it has a positive notion if linked to love or vigor and strength. The highest gods were therefore formerly thought of as being clad in red. On the contrary, red can also carry negative aspects, if associated with rage, fury, or violence (cf. the color of Mars, the Greek god of war, communism, revolution etc.). In the Middle Ages red hair was equated with witchcraft and evilness, but, at the same time, red represented the color of royalty and aristocracy, and, furthermore, was the symbol of love (Hope/Walch 1990: 62).

#### 2.1.2 Names

##### 1. Iconym: "red"

- OE *read*<sup>10</sup>, ME *red*, *reed*, ModE *red*  
Motivation of formation: The form goes back to the underlying IE color term *\*reudh-* 'red', which is widely reflected in the Germanic languages. The expression is used in several derivations and compounds and with various premodifiers (e.g. OE *healfread* 'reddish', ME *inred* 'very red'), and is especially applied if no creative use or specific nuance of the concept is needed, but the basic denotation is to be expressed. The RED basic color term is, furthermore, part of many fixed idioms (e.g. *a red carpet*) and can also function as a metaphor (e.g.

<sup>9</sup> Wood 1905: 227.

<sup>10</sup> TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 255, IEW 872



*red tape*). The fact that in Old English the term, as pointed out by Mead (1899: 195), only occurs in religious poems and riddles, but neither in *Beowulf* nor any other heroic poems nor the lyrics, seems to be worth mentioning. This might be attributed to the fact that the concept does not appear as such in these works or that terms with explicit and illustrative reference (e.g. *blodig*) were used instead. Denying that the expression has the status of a basic color term due to that seems a bit far-fetched. Beside its hue sense, which could be attributed to a variety of objects, it also conveyed a notion of reflectivity and luminosity in reference to fire and lightning, dawn and sunset, gold, and weapons in Old and Middle English (Burnley 1976: 41; cf. Schwentner 1915).

Aside from 'red' OE *reōd* could also denote colors such as 'red-brown', 'orange', 'purple', and 'gold'. This goes back to the fact that the color continuum of Old English was segmented very differently compared to the Modern English one. Colors were not as carefully and sharply distinguished, they had fuzzier boundaries and could cover a variety of shades. Of minor surprise is the usage of the term for reddish-brown and brownish-red sensations, because they cannot even be clearly differentiated in modern times (cf. *russet*). The color sensations nowadays represented by *orange* and *purple* were still considered to be hues of the concept RED in Old English and, therefore, named accordingly. As far as 'gold' is concerned, the phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the mineral in medieval times appeared redder than the modern one due to its high copper content (Barley 1974: 18). According to Anderson (2003: 137p.), OE *rēad* has two focal points – the color of fresh blood and the color of earthen, mineral, or metallic phenomena like ocher. For him, the latter is the reason why the modification 'red gold' is used more often than 'yellow gold', especially as OE *geolo* focuses on colors of vegetation, and resembles OE *grene* in this respect.

The focus and semantic range of the word changed due to the introduction of shellfish or plant-based dyes and advances in medical and metallurgical technologies. Furthermore, the transformation from a brilliance-based to a hue-based color vocabulary and the emergence of countless color terms in the course of the English language resulted in a more detailed, thus less applicable usage of the term.

- OE *reod*<sup>11</sup>, ME *reod*<sup>12</sup> 'red, ruddy, flushed'  
Motivation of formation: The expression represents a different grade of the underlying IE color term *\*reudh-* 'red', which is also represented by ON *rjoðr* 'red'. First recorded around 800 glossing *flavum* or *fulfum* 'yellow, yellow-brown' in the Erfurt Glossary, it was also applied to the face and the sea, and employed in a simile with<sup>2</sup> a draught of wine (cf. OED, OEC). It seems to have had fewer referents than the aforementioned term.
- OE *rudig*<sup>13</sup>, ME *rudī*, ModE *ruddy* 'reddish'  
Motivation of formation: The adjectival derivation of the OE noun *rudu* 'red color' by the suffix *-ig* refers to the healthy facial complexion, especially in the context of female beauty. It is also an epithet of light or fire, of the heavenly bodies, clouds, and the sky during sunrise and sunset (Barnickel 1975: 51). The expression, which is cognate with *red*, carries a notion of brightness and shininess as well.

## 2. Iconym: "shining"

<sup>11</sup> TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 257, IEW 872.

<sup>12</sup> MED X 464.

<sup>13</sup> TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 264.

- OE *brun*<sup>14</sup> 'dark red'  
Motivation of formation: Mostly denoting 'brown' or 'shiny' in connection with metal, the term can also indicate a dark red. This, as stated above, results from the fuzzy boundaries of the transitional stages between two concepts (cf. ModE *russet*). The expression can be traced back to the Germanic form *bruhād* and ultimately to the IE base *\*bher-* 'shining, light brown'.
- OE *basu*, *baso*<sup>15</sup> 'crimson, scarlet, purple'  
Motivation of formation: This rich and striking red is a specialized dye-term and probably goes back to an IE root *\*bhaǵhōǵhā-* 'gleaming, glittering, shining'. According to Barley (1974: 25), the expression was an Old English coinage representing a secondary formation from *baso* 'berry', since crushed blackberries were used to dye fabrics.  
As Schwentner (1915: 54) points out, the term is often found in Old English glosses in reference to cloth, but occurs only three times in poetry – as a description of the tail of the Phoenix, topaz, and letters written in that color –, and was probably, in the course of the English language, gradually ousted by *purple*.

### 3. Iconym: "red or a different color" + "red"

- OE *brunbasu*<sup>16</sup> 'dark red'
- OE *readbasu*<sup>17</sup> 'red, deep crimson, purple'  
Motivation of formation: Here we are concerned with two copulative compounds which consist of two color terms juxtaposed to indicate that the whole term does not exactly refer to one but rather to a mixture of them. It is not clear which of the elements is the grammatical head. The motive can be ascribed to the need of expressing variations of the respective colors. They are most frequently employed in the context of dyeing and clothing, as the former often glosses L *purpureus* and the latter is found in collocation with the Old English word for 'garment' (cf. OEC).

### 4. Iconym: "animal" + "red"

- OE *weolcenread*, *weolocread*<sup>18</sup>, ME *welk red* 'red, scarlet, purple'
- OE *weol(o)cbasu*<sup>19</sup> 'scarlet, vermilion',  
Motivation of formation: The determinant of both compounds refers to the animal, a whelk, from which a red pigment is obtained. The expressions are, therefore, restricted to the field of dyeing and clothing.  
Bosworth/Toller (1898: 1190) are the only ones to list OE *wioloc*, *weoloc* as simply denoting 'scarlet, purple', a fact which would then belong to the preceding iconym that combines 'red or a different color' and 'red'.
- OE *wyrmbasu*<sup>20</sup> 'bright red, scarlet'
- OE *wurmreō*<sup>21</sup> 'bright red, scarlet'  
Motivation of formation: Being confined to the context of fabrics and clothes, the terms exhibit a determinant 'worm', which refers to the kermes insect or shell-fish from which the pigment or dye was generally taken.

<sup>14</sup> Biggam 1999: 118, IEW 136.

<sup>15</sup> TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 16, Biggam 1999: 118, IEW 105.

<sup>16</sup> TOE 146, Pollington 1993: 155, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 129. Others translate it as and list it under PURPLE.

<sup>17</sup> TOE 146.

<sup>18</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1190, 1191.

<sup>19</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1191.

<sup>20</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1288.

<sup>21</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1285.

5. Iconym: "**madder**" + "**red**"

- OE *wrætreād*<sup>22</sup> 'bright red, scarlet'
- OE *wrætbasu*<sup>23</sup> 'bright red, scarlet'

Motivation of formation: The ease of combining color terms with a substantive referent, to yield a highly specific word, must have often led to such spontaneous one-time usages. Both color terms are again chiefly employed in reference to the coloring process, as the determinant turns out to be the Old English term *wræt* 'madder'.

6. Iconym: "**foreign**" + "**red**"

- OE *wealhbaso*<sup>24</sup> 'vermilion'

Motivation of formation: In my opinion, the determinant *wealh* 'foreign' refers to the fact that a particular process of dyeing was taken over from other cultures. The expression glosses L *vermiculo* 'vermilion, scarlet' (Wülcker I 1968: 491) and thus refers to the cochineal insect that produces red color. The Romans spread this way of color production all over the continent. However, it depends on the context whether the expression carries a positive notion, thus points to it as something prestigious, or whether it is considered foreign and strange.

Combinations with other color terms do not exist, probably because the English were able to produce these hues by means of indigenous material and thus did not have to import them.

7. Iconym: "**cloth imbued with a red dye**"

- ME *scarlat*, *scarlet*<sup>25</sup>, ModE *scarlet* 'bright red'

Motivation of formation: As Casson (1997: 234) points out, this was the first color term in English to develop from a former object (or entity) sense, here 'cloth of a rich, often red, color'. The motivation originates in metonymy, the figurative semantic relationship in which the resemblance between the literal primary referent 'red cloth' and the figurative secondary referent is based on contiguity, thus the characteristic or associated color. On the basis of the metonym stated as "entity stands for entity's color", colors are perceived as properties of objects and metonymically conceptualized as physical entities (cf. Casson 1994).

The name of the cloth was loaned into Middle English from OF (*e*)*scarlate*, (*e*)*scarlete*, ML *scarlatum*, *-letum*. Whereas the ODEE (795) excludes an ultimate Oriental source, others (e.g. OED s.v. *scarlet*) mention that OF *escarlate* might be an alteration of Persian *saqala* □ *siqala* □ *suqla* 'a kind of rich cloth dyed with kermes'. The independent adjective, first attested in 1386, is still connected with fabrics and dyes and is a popular term in fashion and cosmetics. Moreover, it is used to qualify other color terms, e.g. *scarlet-crimson*, *-red*, *-vermilion*. Depending on the context the term bears several associations, ranging from a signal of good mood, to sin or to dignity (Steinvall 2002: 414).

- ME *cremesin*, *crim(e)sin*<sup>26</sup>, ModE *crimson* 'deep red'

Motivation of formation: This expression historically refers to a valuable piece of fabric, which was usually dyed with a red pigment obtained from the kermes

<sup>22</sup> TOE 146, Kerttula 2002: 63.

<sup>23</sup> TOE 146, Kerttula 2002: 63.

<sup>24</sup> TOE 146, Pollington 1993: 156, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1173.

<sup>25</sup> MED X 173.

<sup>26</sup> MED II 719.

insect, in connection with which this shade of red was first distinguished. Being one of the various hyponyms of red, the term strengthens the importance of that specific color for the fashion of the time. The name of the dyed cloth was loaned from Sp *cremesin*, ML *cremesin*<sup>27</sup>, a metathetic variation of *kermesinus*, *carmesin*<sup>28</sup>, deriving from Arabic *quermazi*, *qirmazi*,<sup>29</sup> from *quirmiz* 'kermes insect'. Kerttula (2002: 131) traces it back even to Old Indian *\*krmija* 'produced by a worm'. André (1949) and Kristol (1978) do not mention a color sense for Spanish or Latin.

Since its first occurrence in 1440, the English color adjective is especially employed in the context of fashion, flowers, and literature, but also attributed to blood and sunset. Moreover, it functions as a qualifier of other colors, expressing blended shades such as *crimson-carmine*, *crimson-violet* etc.

#### 8. Iconym: "blood"

- OE *blōðe*<sup>27</sup>, ME *blōðre*<sup>28</sup> ModE *blood-red* 'deep red'
- OE *blōðig*<sup>28</sup>, ME *blōði* ModE *bloody* 'blood-red, deep red'

Motivation of formation: As blood is the prototypical representative of the concept RED, both expressions refer to the object with its salient color. Whereas the former is a determinative compound consisting of the object and the basic color term, the latter is an adjectival formation from the noun by means of the suffix *-ig*. As Mead (1899: 195) points out, the Old English terms imply redness but their color sense is only secondary. It was Shakespeare who first used the word as a color term, though rather figuratively (Turmann 1934: 25).

#### 9. Iconym: "rosen"

- OE *roſen*<sup>29</sup>, ME *roſon(e)*, ModE *rosen* 'rose-red, pink'

Motivation of formation: The adjectival derivation on the basis of the Old English noun-stem *roſa* 'rose' with the sense 'rose-colored, rosy, roseate' is employed by Ælfric as early as 1000. "From the most ancient times, the rose, by the marvelous beauty of its form, fragrance, and its colors, has so impressed mankind as to become, since ancient days, one of his leading symbols."<sup>30</sup> Due to its high prestige, the name was borrowed into Old English from L *rosa* 'rose' and was probably reinforced by F *rose* later on.

- ME *roſi*<sup>31</sup>, ModE *rosy* 'rose-red, pink'

Motivation of formation: Being a further adjectival derivation of the noun, the term denotes a certain nuance of red. However, it also conveys associations such as sweetness, happiness, and good health.

The extreme productivity of this motivation can be seen in several other adjectival derivations<sup>32</sup> such as ME *roſon(e)* 'rose-colored, rosy' or ME *roſeate* 'roseate, rosy', and in determinative compounds like OE *roſe*<sup>32</sup> (ME *roſe-red*, ModE *rose-red*) and ME *roſe-colour*, *roſe-hewed*, which all are motivated by the salient color of a rose.

ModE *rose* was, however, created very late in Modern English and will be dealt with in a more detailed way in the PINK section (see 2.11).

<sup>27</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 112.

<sup>28</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 112.

<sup>29</sup> TOE 146, Kerttula 2002: 63.

<sup>30</sup> Maerz/Paul<sup>2</sup>1950: 177.

<sup>31</sup> MED IX 818.

<sup>32</sup> cf. MED IX 816ff.

10. Iconym: "**cherry**"

- ME *cheri*<sup>33</sup>, ModE *cherry*

Motivation of formation: The motivator, an object or phenomenon of a typical coloring (cf. Peprník 1983, 1985), is the sweet fruit, whose name was loaned into Middle English from AN *cherise* 'cherry', which was mistaken as a plural form in -s, whereupon a secondary singular was created. It goes back to Vulgar Latin *ceresia*, from Classical Latin *cerasum*, from Greek *κεραστός* 'cherry', which possibly is, according to Kerttula (2002: 134), a derivation from Akkadian *karshu* 'stone fruit'. The color sense in English is first recorded in 1447, whereas the respective French word exhibited its color designation much later (FEW II 598). From this one-lexemic color term, some determinative compounds were formed (e.g. *cherry-red*, *cherry-coloured*). All of these expressions, which were originally rather figurative, are now especially applied to the human face, particularly to the lips, and are therefore popular terms in cosmetics.

11. Other Expressions:<sup>34</sup>

From the area of plants:

- ModE *damask* 'dark crimson'

Motivation of formation: The term, which was first employed by Shakespeare around 1600, refers to the salient color resembling that of the damask rose flower, a species or variety, supposed to have been originally brought from Damascus. The popular cosmetic term is especially applied to the face of women, which, in my opinion, might be to emphasize their beauty by attributing the salient characteristic of "the queen of flowers".

- ModE *henna*

Motivation of formation: The 20<sup>th</sup> century expression was created on the name of the tropical reddish plant, which was loaned from Arabic *hinna*. The red pigment obtained from its leaves thus gave rise to the color term that is especially used in connection with hair, nowadays also tattoos, adornments on the skin.

From locations:

- ME *tuly*, *toli*<sup>35</sup> 'deep red'

Motivation of formation: The nowadays obsolete name, which was first attested in 1398, was especially attributed to silk and tapestry. It may have originated in fabrics imported from Toulouse, the center of the fashion industry of those days.

- ModE *magenta*

Motivation of formation: The color received its name by a metaphorical transfer: in 1859, the Austrian army was defeated by the French and Sardinians at Magenta in northern Italy. The discovery of a brilliant crimson synthetic dye soon after caused the latter to be termed as *magenta*, probably due to its similarity with the bloody (i.e. "red") battle. Even if it is a fundamental part in the printing industry, it is of minor importance in colloquial language or poetry (cf. Welsch/Liebmann 2003: 84).

From liquids, especially wine:

<sup>33</sup> MED II 216, Collins 1995: 796.

<sup>34</sup> The selected items are taken from the list of color terms in Maerz/Paul (<sup>2</sup>1950: 188ff.) unless otherwise stated.

<sup>35</sup> Biggam 1993: 53, Stratmann 1974: 613.

- ModE *wine* 'dark red'  
Motivation of formation: The determinative compounds *wine-yellow* (1805), *wine-red* (1838), and *wine-black* (1863) were clearly motivated by a basic color category. The form without basic color term, first recorded in 1895 and especially employed with textiles, either represents a clipping of *wine-red* (cf. G *weinrot*) or a metonymic extension of the name of the alcoholic beverage. Its usage in the sense 'dark red' might be ascribed to the fact that this sort of wine is the most prototypical. The whole expression, however, appears to be somewhat unclear and unnecessary, as there exists a great number of wines of totally different colors. In order to avoid confusion about certain color concepts, more specific names have been used as color terms (e.g. *Champagne*, *Port*, *Burgundy*) that provide better and more appropriate names for specific color sensations.
- ModE *claret* 'dark purplish red'  
Motivation of formation: As the ODEE (179) and the OED (s.v.) point out, the term refers to the name originally given to wines of yellowish or light red color in order to distinguish them from 'red wines' and 'white wines'. After 1600 it was apparently used for red wines in general, and is now only applied to the red wines imported from Bordeaux. The product's name is formed after OF (*vin*) *claret* 'clear wine', the diminutive of *clair* 'clear, light, bright', from ML *claratum* 'clarified wine'. The French term is not used as a color term (FEW II 740). The English color adjective, however, can be employed with clothes, balloons, interior decorations as well as with dusk.
- ModE *burgundy* 'dark purplish red'
- ModE *bordeaux* 'dark purplish red'  
Motivation of formation: Here, we are concerned with two terms, in which the respective producing areas and merchandising centers – two provinces of France – have transferred their names to the beverage. Whereas Kristol (1978) and Kerttula (2002) do not mention a color sense for French, the English expressions were metonymically extended to describe other objects exhibiting the same semantic feature as early as 1881 respectively 1904. Both are very popular in fashion, cosmetics, and interior decoration.

From pigments:

- ME *vermilion*, *vermelyon*<sup>36</sup>, ModE *vermilion* 'bright red'  
Motivation of formation: The term represents a metonymical extension of the name of the pigment, which was loaned into Middle English from OF *vermeillon*, *vermillon* 'cinnabar', itself from L *vermiculus*, the diminutive of *vermis* 'worm', which refers to the cochineal insect that produces red color. In contrast to the French expression, which did not exhibit a color sense before 1530 (FEW XIV 290), the English term denoted a shade of red already around 1400-1450, a process which might have been influenced by ME *vermeil(e)*, the loan of OF *vermeil* 'bright red'. According to Barnickel (1975: 51), the term is, in addition to fashion and art, also widely applied in literature. It often qualifies other colors as well, e.g. *vermilion-crimson*, *-red*, *-scarlet*, *-tawny*.
- ModE *carmine*<sup>37</sup> 'deep red'  
Motivation of formation: This expression is created on the beautiful red or crimson pigment obtained from cochineal, a fact that explains its restricted use to painting and dyeing. The name of the dyestuff was loaned from French *carmin* or

<sup>36</sup> Stratmann 1974: 659.

<sup>37</sup> Collins 1995: 796.

Spanish *carmin*, itself from ML *carminus*, the contracted form of *carmesinus*, which ultimately goes back to the aforementioned Arabic origin. The ODEE (147) assumes it to be a conflation of L *carmesinūm* 'kermes' and *minium* 'cinnabar'. Its connection with *crimson* might have accelerated its usage as a color term.

- ModE *cinnabar* 'vermillion'

Motivation of formation: The motivator is "the brightest of red pigments known in the ancient world"<sup>38</sup>, whose name was borrowed into Middle English from OF *cinabre* or L *cinnabaris*, from Greek *κιννάβαρι*, which is of oriental origin (OED s.v.). It is said to go back to Arabic *zinjafr*, Persian *zinjifrah*, *shangraf*, and possibly Sanskrit *chinnavari* 'Chinese red' (Methuen 31978: 155).

From metals/minerals:

- ME *rubi*<sup>39</sup>, ModE *ruby* 'deep red'

Motivation of formation: The metonymic extension of the very rare and valuable precious stone, whose name was borrowed from OF *rubi*, which represents the Romanic stem *rubin-* and is related to L *rubeus*, *ruber* 'red', was used in its color sense in heraldry to describe the colors of coats of arms as early as 1508. It is a very popular term in cosmetics, as it also conveys a notion of luxury and value. The determinative compound ME *rubi*~~red~~<sup>40</sup> 'ruby red' was formed at a later date (1591).

- ModE *garnet* 'deep red'

Motivation of formation: The name of the mineral was loaned into Middle English from OF *grenat*, *gernat*, an adoption of ML *granātūs*, whose origin, as the OED (s.v. *garnet*) points out, is somewhat unclear: some consider it a metaphorical transfer of L *granātum* 'pomegranate', as the stone shows similarities with the pulp of the fruit. Others see it as a derivative of ML *granum*, *grana* 'grain, cochineal, red dye'. From the 18<sup>th</sup> century on, it was metonymically extended to describe other objects, especially clothes and valuable things with the same semantic feature.

Miscellaneous:

- ModE *hepatic*<sup>41</sup> 'brownish red'

Motivation of formation: The expression was motivated by the color of the liver, whose name was loaned from Latin *hepaticus*, ultimately Greek, 'of or belonging to the liver'. Being closely associated with biology, it seems to be very rare and of minor importance.

- ModE *blush* 'rosy red'

Motivation of formation: Going back to the verb *to blush*, from OE *blyscan* 'to glow red' which glosses L *rutilare*, the extremely figurative term refers to the reddening of the face caused by shame, anger, or other emotions. The independent color adjective is attested as early as 1633.

- ModE *terra cotta* 'brownish red'

Motivation of formation: The Italian loan *terra cotta*, literally 'baked earth', which denotes unglazed pottery of fine quality, was metonymically extended in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Now it does not only refer to the brownish red hue of the original products such as tiles, bricks, or statues, but is also attributed to the skin, clothes, interior decorations, and the horizon.

<sup>38</sup> Hope/Walch 1990: 61.

<sup>39</sup> MED IX 868.

<sup>40</sup> MED IX 868.

<sup>41</sup> Kerttula 2002: 75.

## 12. Loanwords:

As the motivation of words that were borrowed from another language is often not known to the speaker, the following items have to be listed without referring to specific iconyms.

- ME *sangwin(e)*, *sanguin(e)*<sup>42</sup>, ModE *sanguine* 'blood-red'  
The loan of the Old French color term *sanguin(e)*, which was adopted from L *sanguineus* 'blood-red, crimson', is applied as early as 1382, most often to clothes and the face. In Modern English, however, it is more of a literary term and collocationally restricted to complexion (Barnickel 1975: 106). Apart from that, it is found in natural history, chiefly in specific names of animals and plants, in which it usually represents a translation of the Latin term. Moreover, Hope/Walch (1990: 162) list it as a minor hue in heraldry denoting a reddish purple. Kerttula (2002: 238), however, counts it as nearly obsolete in its color sense, as it increasingly refers to character or mood.  
Based on the fact that it is a typical feature of the English language to integrate loanwords so well and fast, we, soon after the borrowing, come across ME *red sanguine*<sup>43</sup> 'blood-red, deep red, crimson', which consists of a loaned and an inherited element.
- ME *vermeil(e)*<sup>44</sup>, ModE *vermeil* 'bright red, scarlet'  
This chiefly poetic term was borrowed around 1400 from AN and OF *vermeil* 'bright red', deriving from L *vermiculus* 'little worm', the diminutive of *vermis* 'worm', and thus refers to the kermes insect that produces red color. It is frequently used of countenance and lips, and also functions as a qualifier of other colors (e.g. *vermeil red*, *vermeil white*).
- ME *murrei*<sup>45</sup>, ModE *murrey* 'dark red, purple red'  
The archaic expression, which is collocationally restricted to fashion and cloth, also refers to the name of a fabric dyed with the specific color. These names were later extended to cloth of other colors, but of the same weight, quality, or weave as the original fabric (Krieg 1976: 25). The expression represents a borrowing of OF *moré*, an adoption of ML *morātm* 'dark red or purple-red color, mulberry colored cloth', from L *moŕm* 'mulberry'. Whereas the English adjective is not mentioned before 1403, the French color adjective is recorded as early as 1280 (FEW XI,2 153). Hope/Walch (1990: 162) mention that it is used as a minor tincture in heraldry.
- ME *rufūs*<sup>46</sup>, ModE *rufous* 'red, reddish'  
The color term is directly borrowed from L *rufūs* 'red, red-haired', which is a dialect cognate of *ruber* – according to Kerttula (2002: 144) Osco-Umbrian. Its present-day form exhibits the English spelling of a Latin word, and it is almost exclusively applied to birds, since it is used in scientific Latin names of animals (e.g. *rufous fly-catcher*, *rufous bee*).
- ME *ruffine*<sup>47</sup> 'reddish'  
Krieg (1976: 73), following the MED, mentions that this represents the loan of OF *rufin* 'red, reddish' and AL *ruffūs*, whereby the Middle English spelling with *-ff-* is seen as a variation, as ML *ruffus* is one of *rufūs*.

<sup>42</sup> MED X 80.

<sup>43</sup> MED IX 266.

<sup>44</sup> Collins 1995: 796, Kerttula 2002: 75.

<sup>45</sup> MED VI 802, Barnickel 1975: 106.

<sup>46</sup> MED IX 876.

<sup>47</sup> MED IX 877.



- ME and ModE *russet*<sup>48</sup> 'brownish red'  
The name was loaned into Middle English from AN *russet* 'reddish' as a variation of OF *rousset*, *rosset*, the diminutive of *rous* 'red', which derived from L *ruscus* 'red'. As it goes back to IE *\*rudh-so-s* 'red', it is cognate with *red* as well. In its early usage it especially referred to a coarse homespun woolen cloth of reddish color which was formerly used as dress by peasants and country-folk.
- ME *pheniceus*, *phoeniceous*<sup>49</sup> 'scarlet'  
The term can be traced back to L *phoeniceus*, the Greek adjective *φοινίκεος*, from a base 'brilliant red, crimson', which further corroborates the former importance of cloth dyed in Tyrian purple.
- ME *rubicunde*<sup>50</sup>, ModE *rubicund* 'red'  
Either loaned from F *rubicond* or directly from L *rubicundus* 'red' in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the expression is collocationally restricted to the complexion. It denotes the red color of the face due to good living.
- ME *sinōple*, *sinoper*<sup>51</sup> 'red'  
The Old French heraldic term *sinople* 'red, the tincture red' and its variation *sinopre*, which were borrowed into Middle English in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, go back to L *Sinopis*, which itself is of Greek origin and denotes a red pigment found near Sinope, a colony in Paphlagonia. This color concept might also have been partly influenced by the confusion with *cinnabar*, a color of some shade of red. Its other meaning 'green' is dealt with in the respective section (see 2.4.2).
- ME *gules*<sup>52</sup> 'red, the tincture red'  
The term is loaned from OF *goles*, *gueules* 'the tincture red', which is, like ML *gulae* (pl.), applied to red-dyed pieces of fur used as neck-ornaments. The ultimate etymology is, however, disputed, as the word coincides in form with the plural of the OF and ML word for 'throat'. The allusion to red color of the open mouth of a heraldic beast is very improbable, as the heraldic sense is only secondary. The FEW (IV 321) and, in particular, Gamillscheg (1969: 506) mention that OF *gole* is a back formation of *engolé* 'adorned with red-dyed pieces of fur', which itself is a derivation of *gueule* 'throat', referring to the fact that these pieces were taken from the fur around the throat. The OED (s.v. *gules*) also states that it seems more likely that the heraldic use is transferred from the sense 'red ermine', in which case the word may represent some oriental name. The OED, however, refuses Wyler's assumption (1992: 61) that it is possibly derived from, or related to, Arabic *gule* 'a red rose'. Wyler also takes Hebrew *gulude* 'a piece of red cloth' into consideration.  
Originally it only denoted the heraldic color 'red'. This system with its own terminology, called *blazon*<sup>53</sup>, was an adaption and imitation of the French courtly habit regarded as prestigious in the Middle Ages. In order to copy the ideal, the terminology had to be borrowed as well. As far as the color symbols are concerned, the notions of heraldry still apply for national emblems. Later on, the term was used poetically and rhetorically to denote red in general. In most instances, it follows the word it qualifies.
- ME *coccin*<sup>54</sup> 'scarlet'

<sup>48</sup> MED IX 889. The OED (s.v. *russet*) and ODEE (778), however, list it as 'reddish brown'.

<sup>49</sup> Biggam 1993: 53, Maerz/Paul 1950: 208. The MED does not list it as a color term.

<sup>50</sup> MED IX 868.

<sup>51</sup> MED X 942.

<sup>52</sup> MED IV 269, Collins 1995: 796.

<sup>53</sup> Hope/Walch 1990: 162.

<sup>54</sup> MED II 362.

- ModE *coccineous*<sup>55</sup> 'scarlet'  
The loan of L *coccinus* 'scarlet' and its adjectival derivation *coccineus* 'scarlet-dyed' go back to Greek κόκκινος, from κόκκος 'kermes', and refer to the specific color obtained from the insect. As the Latin term is always used in connection with fabrics and clothes (André 1949: 117), the learned term may be confined to the field of clothing and dyeing as well.
- ModE *cerise*<sup>56</sup> 'light clear red'  
Although the concept had already been borrowed from Old French during Middle English times and had very well been integrated into the language, the adjectival use of F *cerise* 'cherry' (ODEE 158) was loaned again in the context of fashion. In my opinion, it came about probably in order to increase sales with the help of the seemingly more glamorous French color term. Since 1858, it has often been associated with both red and pink and is most often applied to clothes, the face, and flowers.
- ModE *cardinal*<sup>57</sup> 'scarlet'  
According to Kerttula (2002: 240), the color sense was probably taken over from French *cardinal*, which is an adoption of L *cardinalis* 'pertaining to a hinge, principal, chief' and an independent color term since 1779. The English expression, which is not attested before 1879, refers to the red wardrobe of the cardinal and thus carries prestige value. The fact that it is also widely used in its sense of 'major, main' somehow weakens the application of the color term. But Harder (1999: 246) states its reinforcement by the name of the bird that also features a plumage of the respective color.
- ModE *maroon* 'brownish crimson'  
The term was borrowed from the quasi-adjectival use of F (*couleur*) *marron* 'a particular kind of brownish-crimson or claret color' in 1791. It refers to the color resembling that of the sweet large Spanish chestnut, whereas the color of the smaller variety of this nut is referred to as *chestnut* (Maerz/Paul <sup>2</sup>1950: 166). The expression shows wide application and is very popular in the textile and painting industry.
- ModE *ponceau* 'brilliant red'
- ModE *coquelicot* 'brilliant red'  
Both terms refer to the color resembling that of the poppy flower and were taken over from French, probably in connection with the prestigious *haute couture*. The former represents F *ponceau* 'corn-poppy, the color of corn-poppy', which is used to describe clothes and flowers from 1835 onwards. The latter, first recorded in 1795, is the loan of F *coquelicot* 'red poppy', which itself originates in a metaphorical extension, as it was named due to the similarity of the flower with the cock's red comb.
- OE *purpuren*<sup>58</sup>, ME *purpure* 'deep red, crimson, purple'  
The term, which will be dealt with in more detail further down below (see 2.6.2), was used for the distinguishing color of the garments of emperors and kings. It represents the loan of L *purpura*, from Greek πορφύρα 'shellfish that yielded the Tyrian purple dye, dye itself, cloth dyed therewith'. Both terms already featured a secondary color sense (André 1949: 90). Variations of the term are ME *purpl*<sup>59</sup>, which may possibly be the heraldic term for 'red' (Krieg 1976: 66), and ME *purpurat(e)*<sup>60</sup>. That the expressions' early concept differed from ModE *purple* is

<sup>55</sup> Maerz/Paul <sup>2</sup>1950: 192.

<sup>56</sup> Maerz/Paul <sup>2</sup>1950: 152p.

<sup>57</sup> Collins 1995: 796, Maerz/Paul <sup>2</sup>1950: 191.

<sup>58</sup> Biggam 1993: 46.

<sup>59</sup> MED VII 1484, Kerttula 2002: 63.

<sup>60</sup> MED VII 1491.

emphasized by the term *royal purple*, which denotes a shade of red (cf. Lyons 1999: 68).

## 2.2 ORANGE

### 2.2.1 Cultural Background

Orange, which occupies the region between red and yellow in the spectrum, is still often described as a hyponym of either of the two in dictionaries. The notion of color is still closely connected with that of the prototypical referent, the fruit orange, but aside from it we find other things of the same color: carrots, flowers, and the color sensations of fire, sunrise and sunset. It is the salient characteristic of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, who made the wearing of orange ribbons, scarfs, or orange-lilies a symbol of attachment to William III, and of the Orangemen, the members of the ultra-Protestant party in Ireland, whose secret association was formed in 1795. Due to its luminosity, thus easy recognizability, the energetic color is especially used as a warning and safety color, as with equipments in road construction (trucks, coats etc.).

### 2.2.2 Names

#### 1. Iconym: "apple" + "yellow"

- OE *æppelfealu*<sup>61</sup> 'orange, apple fallow'

Motivation of formation: As the color vocabulary in Old English was largely based on brightness senses, this term was regarded as a hyponym of *yellow* before the semantic shift to almost exclusively hue senses occurred. As long as the research of Old English color categories does not include a thorough study of its brightness terms as well, it cannot unequivocally be decided whether this mainly poetic term is a genuine determinative compound denoting a distinct nuance of a certain hue, namely 'the reddish-yellow color of apples', or if it is just a variation of a seemingly unimaginative and simple expression which, however, is not applied very strictly to objects of the respective color.

Barnes (1960: 510) contradicts the then prevailing assumption by saying that the expression, which only appears in *Beowulf*, denotes a horse color to be translated 'dappled dun', suggesting that its first element refers to the shape of the spots rather than to the hue or brightness of the color.

#### 2. Iconym: "yellow" + "red"

- OE *geohuread*<sup>62</sup>

Motivation of formation: Here, we are concerned with a copulative compound consisting of the two neighboring colors of the spectrum, which are juxtaposed to indicate that the desired reference lies between the two. It appears that a need is felt for a more specific lexical representation in the borderline area between red and yellow. In the course of the English language, this lexical gap was filled by the basic color term *orange*. The expression glosses L *flavum rubeum* 'yellow-red' (cf. OEC) and L *croceus* 'saffron, saffron-colored' (Bosworth/Toller 1898: 425), which emphasizes the fact that a basic color term was insufficient to

<sup>61</sup> Pollington 1993: 156, Bosworth/Toller 17.

<sup>62</sup> Pollington 1993: 156. However, the TOE (146) and Kerttula (2002: 148) list it as 'reddish yellow' and Bosworth/Toller (1898: 425) as 'yellow-red'.

translate the Latin terms precisely.

### 3. Iconym: "**citrus fruit (obtained from a certain location)**"

- ModE *tangerine*<sup>63</sup> 'deep orange'

Motivation of formation: The form is an adjectival derivation of the name of a seaport in Morocco, *Tanger* (now *Tangier*), by the suffix *-ine*. It refers to the small variety of oranges originally received from that city. The term of both the object and the color, is, however, infrequently used and appears to be gradually supplanted as new terms such as *mandarin(e)*, *mango*, obtained from the name of citrus fruits as well, come to the market. This not only exemplifies the steady alteration but also the open-endedness of the color vocabulary.

### 4. Iconym: "**carrot**"

- ModE *carrot*

Motivation of formation: The term is a metonymical extension of the vegetable, whose name was loaned from F *carotte*, regularly deriving from L *carōta*, an adoption of Greek *καρωτόν* 'carrot'. Aside from its application in the field of fashion, it is a descriptive term of hair coloration, originally used rather humorously and derisively. The adjectival derivation *carroty* 'like a carrot in color, red, red-haired' was recorded only shortly after, in 1696 (OED s.v.).

### 5. Iconym: "**marmalade**"

- ModE *marmalade*<sup>64</sup> 'deep orange'

Motivation of formation: As pointed out by Kerttula (2002), this expression, which is presently especially applied to cats, will be one of the important representatives of the color concept ORANGE in the future. Evidently, the most prototypical variety of marmalade – the one made of oranges – gave rise to the development of the new orange-related color term. In my view it might, in the particular reference to the animal, even convey an allusion to sweetness as exhibited by both the food and a beloved pet.

### 6. Loanword

- ModE *orange*

The term refers to the peel of the fruit from which in both color and name it was originally derived. Until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the term was associated only with the citrus fruit, which had first been imported from India by the Arabs via Moorish Spain in the tenth century (Hope/Walch 1990: 225). ME *orenge*, *orange* is loaned from OF *orenge*, *orange*, deriving from Arabic *naʿanj*, Persian *naʿang*, *naʿng* 'orange'. The initial *n-* of the Arabic word was possibly dropped in French due to a coalescence with the preceding indefinite article, *une narange* becoming *une arange*. The initial *o-* may be ascribed to folk-etymology, an attempt to secondarily motivate an unmotivated sign in order to make non-analyzable words transparent again. The meaning of a foreign word is therefore reinterpreted and reformed on the basis of a similar sounding word with a similar meaning (cf. Bussmann 1996: 168). Here, two different processes of folk-etymology can be taken into account. Firstly, as the Middle Latin forms *arangia*, *arantia* 'orange'

<sup>63</sup> Methuen <sup>3</sup>1978: 187, Kerttula 2002: 226.

<sup>64</sup> Kerttula 2002: 228.

were associated with *aurum* 'gold', whence *aurantia*, the same process could have taken place in Old French as well: *arange* becoming *orange*, after *or* 'gold'. The other popular process might have been due to the strong association with the name of the town of Orange in south-eastern France (FEW XIX 139), which is still a center of trade. The latter assumption is further corroborated by the fact that the fruit was called *pomme d'orange* for many centuries.

The color use in French is first recorded in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (FEW XIX 138), whereas the English color adjective is mentioned not before 1620 (OED s.v.). It was probably borrowed as a fashion term. Even if the reference to the entity sense is still transparent, the color term is applied to all sorts of objects, hereby establishing its status as a basic color term.

- ModE *apricot*<sup>65</sup> 'yellowish orange'  
The term refers to the color resembling that of the ripe stone-fruit. It was originally borrowed from Pg *albricoque* or Sp *albaricoque*, going back to Arabic *al-burquq*, *-birquq*, in which *al* is the definite article and *burquq* the fruit. The English word was subsequently assimilated to the French cognate *abricot*, probably because the terminology of fashion, to which this term is more or less restricted, has often been influenced by, and borrowed from the prestigious *haute couture* of France. The alteration from *abr-* to *apr-* in English was conjectured to have arisen due to folk-etymology, on the basis of L *apriŏus* 'sunny', as seen in the now obsolete spelling ModE *abricoet*, which refers to the fruit ripened in a sunny place (OED s.v. *apricot*). This explanation, however, seems a bit far-fetched as the majority of the English speaking community was certainly not familiar with the proposed Latin term.
- ModE *tenné*<sup>66</sup> 'orange'  
This expression is a borrowing of F *tenné*, a variant of *tanné* 'tawny' (see 2.10.2). The minor hue in heraldic is, however, relatively rare and variously described as 'orange-brown' or 'bright chestnut'.

## 2.3 YELLOW

### 2.3.1 Cultural Background

Yellow is the most brilliant and shining of the primary colors and between green and orange in the spectrum. It belongs to the oldest color sensations known and used of mankind, if one considers natural objects such as the sun, various fruits and flowers, and dyestuffs or pigments like ocher or saffron. It is also the color of ripeness and harvest represented by ripe corn or leaves. The concept is, furthermore, attributed to wax, gold, and hair in the context of female beauty. It can, however, also convey a negative notion when referring to discolored paper, age and disease.<sup>67</sup> The prototypical association with this concept is the sun (Wierzbicka 1990: 125) – not only due to its global presence and good perceptibility, but also due to its importance and positive influence on human beings for thousands of years (e.g. its light makes plants and creatures grow).

As far as the figurative usage of the color concept is concerned, it seems very interesting that although *yellow* and *golden* are almost synonymous in their color sense, their symbolic meaning is rather different. Aside from its fairly positive color designation, *yellow* carries quite negative associations such as jealousy, suspicion, and cowardice. *Golden*, on the contrary, denotes happiness, richness, and perfection, as it represents the color of the highest

<sup>65</sup> Hope/Walch 1990: 15. However, the OED and Methuen (<sup>3</sup>1978: 146) list it as 'pinkish yellow'.

<sup>66</sup> Hope/Walch 1990: 162.

<sup>67</sup> As pointed out by Wyler (1992: 75), *yellow* does not appear as a color term for cosmetics. In my view a reason for this phenomenon may be that this branch of business is aware of the people's strong association of the hue with a person's yellow complexion during illness.

dignitary.

### 2.3.2 Names

#### 1. Iconym: "**gleaming, glimmering, shining, bright**"

- OE *geolo*, *geolu*<sup>68</sup>, ME *yelou*, *yelwe*, ModE *yellow*

Motivation of formation: The expression derives, together with its cognates in other Germanic languages, from WGmc \**gelwa*, IE \**ghelwo-*, and ultimately from \**ghel-*, *ghleoghlo*, *ghla-* 'to gleam, glimmer'. As a color adjective, the latter could denote different hues, especially 'yellow, green, gray, or blue', a fact which can be seen in related terms such as L *helvus* 'honey yellow', Greek *χλωρός* 'pallid, greenish-yellow', and Lith *želvas* 'green'. The motivation of the expression is therefore the reference to something bright and shining, thus a salient substance in man's environment.

The term does not occur very often in Old English and Middle English texts (cf. Mead 1899, Barnickel 1975), as it is merely applied to yolk, butter, and wax, thus things that are rarely mentioned in written documents. Sometimes it is also attributed to female hair and the color of gold. It is especially employed whenever no creative use or specific shade of the concept but the basic denotation is to be expressed. The YELLOW basic color term shows relatively developed derivation and it is used with various premodifiers and determinants (e.g. ModE *lemon-yellow*, *red-yellow*). It is, furthermore, part of idioms and is used metaphorically (e.g. *the yellow press*).

#### 2. Iconym: "**yellow**" + "**shining/white**"

- OE *geoloblac*<sup>69</sup> 'pale yellow'
- OE *geolohwit*<sup>70</sup> 'pale yellow'

Motivation of formation: Both expressions are copulative compounds, consisting of an element 'yellow' and an element 'shining/white', thus expressing that the desired reference is a mixture of, or lies between the two hues. The motivation of the last term, recorded as glossing L *gilvus* 'pale yellow, honey-yellow' (cf. OEC), is seen in the need of translating the Latin terms more precisely.

#### 3. Iconym: "**golden**"

- OE *gylden*<sup>71</sup>, ME *golden*<sup>72</sup>, ModE *golden*

Motivation of formation: The adjectival derivation of the OE noun *gold* very well attests the reference to the brilliant and bright color of the metal and mineral. The expression's strong association with YELLOW – often used as a synonym for *yellow* – is an ancient habit that can easily be explained by the fact that both go back to the same origin, *gold* being 'the yellow, shining metal'. Conveying a message of prestige and luxury, this formation might have represented the ideal, thus salient form of the concept YELLOW when referring to objects in their color sense. However, the material itself was modified by 'red'<sup>73</sup> and not by 'yellow'

<sup>68</sup> TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 127, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 424, IEW 430.

<sup>69</sup> Bosworth/Toller 1898: 424.

<sup>70</sup> TOE 146, Kerttula 2002: 148.

<sup>71</sup> TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 140.

<sup>72</sup> ODEE 405, MED IV 226, 228.

<sup>73</sup> The expression OE *ređel gold* is found up to twenty times in the DOE.

until later medieval times. As mentioned before (see 2.1.2), Anderson (2003: 137p.) ascribes it to the fact that in Old English a second focal point of 'red' were "earth tones", whereas 'yellow' rather focused on the colors of vegetation. The Old English form with i-umlaut was superseded by the form *golden* in around 1300.

#### 4. Iconym: "gold(en)" + "color, hue, complexion"

- OE *gold-bleoh*<sup>74</sup> 'golden yellow'
- OE *gylden-hiew(e)*<sup>75</sup> 'golden yellow'

Motivation of formation: These very rare terms are compositions consisting of a first element 'gold' or 'of gold' and a second element 'color, hue, complexion', thus referring to the color of the metal, a yellow hue with metallic reflection.

#### 5. Iconym: "citron, lemon"

- ModE *citron* 'pale yellow, greenish yellow'

Motivation of formation: This descriptive term refers to the object's color, its most striking particularity, which was metonymically extended to describe other objects exhibiting the same semantic feature as early as 1610. The name of the fruit or plant was loaned from F *citron* 'citron, lemon', deriving from L *citrus* 'citron-tree'.

- ModE *lemon* 'pale yellow'

Motivation of formation: The elliptical form of *lemon-coloured*, whose color sense is first recorded in 1796, is motivated by the color of the ripe fruit of the lemon-tree. The name of the plant is borrowed into Middle English, *lymon*, from OF *limon* and ultimately goes back to Arabic *limḥ*, collective *liḥ* 'fruits of the citron kind' (ODEE 523).

Of the same origin is ModE *lime*, another loanword from French, which, however, denotes a green hue. As Kerttula (2002: 158) points out, the first term can be traced back to Middle French *limon*, Turkish *limon*, and Persian *limūṣ* 'lemon, citron', whereas the latter has come into the English language via Arabic and Provençal. Kristol (1978) and Greimas (2001) do not mention a color sense for the French term. Beside its color designation, which can be applied to various objects, the term also carries associations of a sour taste and smell.

#### 6. Iconym: "saffron"

- OE *croged, croċed*<sup>76</sup> 'yellow'

Motivation of formation: Literally meaning 'saffroned', the term is formed on the basis of the Old English noun *croh*, which itself is a loan from L *crocus* 'saffron'. As the expression is collocationally restricted to the context of dyeing and clothing, the motive can be seen in the need to designate a specific color which originated in the production of clothes by the usage of these pigments.

- ME *saffroun*<sup>77</sup>, ModE *saffron* 'orange yellow'

Motivation of formation: The color term is created on the name of the dye obtained from a species of crocus used to color and flavor foods since ancient times. The name of food or spice itself is a loanword of OF *safran*, which derives from Arabic *zafaraṅ*, whose origin is unknown (OED s.v.). The underlying

<sup>74</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 484.

<sup>75</sup> TOE 146, Kerttula 2002: 65.

<sup>76</sup> TOE 146, Hall 1960: 75, Holthausen 1974: 61, Biggam 1999: 118.

<sup>77</sup> MED X 31.

concept refers to the color resembling that of the salient yellow pigment of the stigmas of the plant. Whereas the independent color adjective in English is mentioned as early as 1567, the French term does not exhibit a color sense before 1587 (Kerttula 2002: 153).

### 7. Iconym: "sun, sunny"

- ME *sonnish*, *sonnyssh*<sup>78</sup> 'resembling the sun in color or brightness, bright yellow or golden'
- ModE *sunny*<sup>79</sup> 'resembling the sun in color or brightness, bright yellow or golden'
- ModE *sunshine-yellow*<sup>80</sup>

Motivation of formation: All three expressions are motivated by the bright yellow color of the sun, which might be the prototypical association with the color concept YELLOW. The first expression is poetically applied to bright golden hair by Chaucer as early as 1374, and the second one is first attested with its color sense by Shakespeare in 1596. Whereas both are adjectival derivations of the designated object itself, the third term represents a determinative compound.

The twentieth-century composition consists of a determinant referring to the natural phenomenon exhibiting the characteristic color and a determinate, the basic color term.

### 8. Iconym: "dressed up, cheerful"

- OE *fæger*<sup>81</sup> 'blond(e)'

Motivation of formation: The expression is of common Germanic origin *\*fagra-* and probably goes back to an IE root *pōk* 'to dress up, be cheerful'. As the then catalog of beauty only regarded women with blond hair as beautiful, the equation of the two characteristics caused, in my view, a shift of the term's meaning to denote the special feature 'blond'.

### 9. Iconym: "honey"

- ModE *honey* 'golden yellow'

Motivation of formation: First mentioned in its color sense in 1814, the term refers to the color resembling that of the natural product, which is often applied to skin and hair. However, it primarily carries the connotation 'sweetness'.

### 10. Iconym: "gray, fallow, dirty"

- OE *fealu*, *fealwe*, *falu*<sup>82</sup>, ME *falow*, *falwe*<sup>83</sup>, ModE *fallow* 'reddish yellow'

Motivation of formation: The term can be traced back to Gmc *\*falwa-*, IE *\*poluo-*, and ultimately IE *\*pel-*, an expression for colors such as 'gray, fallow'. Whereas the Old English term primarily features a brightness sense apart from its hue sense, which ranges from pale yellow to reddish brown, the Middle English

<sup>78</sup> MED XI 203.

<sup>79</sup> OED s.v. *sunny*.

<sup>80</sup> OED s.v. *sunshine-yellow*

<sup>81</sup> Pollington 1993: 156. However, the majority of etymologists and researchers only mention its sense of beauty and 'light' in comparison to 'dark'.

<sup>82</sup> TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 99, IEW 270.

<sup>83</sup> MED III 395. However, Barnickel (1975: 92) lists the word under the concept BROWN and stresses the fact that the term not only refers to a specific hue, but also comprises a notion of withering and fading. This aspect leads him to conclude that its use might be confined to nature, especially to the fur of animals or to untilled land.



word had a somewhat narrower meaning omitting the former luminosity aspect. In Modern English the term, which is now used in few collocations (*fallow deer*, *fallow buck*), only denotes the reddish-yellow coat of an animal.

- ME *salu*<sup>84</sup>, ModE *sallow* 'sickly yellow, brownish yellow'  
Motivation of formation: The term stems from Gmc *\*salwaz* and ultimately from the suffixed form *\*saluþ* of the IE root *sal-* 'dirty, gray'. In the course of English language history, it underwent a shift of meaning from OE 'dark, blackish, discolored, dirty' (see 2.9.2) via ME 'discolored, sickly yellow or brownish-yellow' to ModE 'sickly yellow or brownish-yellow' and has therefore experienced a restriction in usage. Already in Middle English, the term especially refers to the unhealthy color of the human complexion affected by diseases or age. This shift might have occurred, because the face did not exhibit the deep pink color of a healthy person but rather a pale, thus discolored shade with a yellow tinge.

#### 11. Iconym: "weld"

- ME *gaudi*, *gaude*<sup>85</sup> 'yellowish'  
Motivation of formation: The attributive use of the loan of OF *gaude* 'weld', the herbaceous plant, which derives from Gmc *\*walda* and is cognate with the English word *weld*, refers to the color of plant's vegetable dyestuff. However, according to the OED, this term only appears in combinations, e.g. *gaudy green* 'yellowish green'.

#### 12. Other expressions<sup>86</sup>

From various yellow plants:

- ModE *maize* 'pale yellow'  
Motivation of formation: The name of the plant came into the English language from a Caribbean dialect, probably Haitian *mahiz*, via Spanish *maiz*, (formerly also *mahiz*, *mahis*, *mayz*). In 1838 the term was adopted as the name of one of the coal-tar colors, a pale yellow resembling that of maize, and has since then frequently been applied to cloth or dress-material.
- ModE *flaxen* 'bright, whitish yellow'  
Motivation of formation: The adjectival derivative of the noun *flax*, the mature plant of yellow color, serves to differentiate nuances in greater detail and thus to enrich and enlarge the field of hair-dressers and hair-stylists. Interesting to note is the one-time occurrence of the term in 1603, in which it meant 'blue, azure', a phenomenon which was due to the association with the blue color of the flax-flower (OED s.v.).
- ModE *straw* 'pale brownish yellow'  
Motivation of formation: This ellipsis of *straw-coloured* refers to the salient characteristic of the stalks of certain cereals, presenting a picture of yellow-gleaming fields full of dried and threshed hay. The term is especially found in the context of hair coloration.
- ModE *ginger*<sup>87</sup> 'reddish yellow'  
Motivation of formation: Referring to the color resembling that of ginger, the term

<sup>84</sup> MED XI 57.

<sup>85</sup> MED III 48.

<sup>86</sup> Unless otherwise stated, these items are taken from Maerz/Paul (1950: 188ff.).

<sup>87</sup> The term is listed as a synonym of *yellow* in Collins (1995: 127) and Biggam (2002: 159), but is also defined under BROWN and ORANGE in other dictionaries.

serves to denote a detailed nuance of human hair. It is, furthermore, employed to describe cats.

From animals/animal products:

- ModE *canary* 'bright yellow'  
Motivation of formation: The metonymical extension of the name of the canarybird, which refers to its salient yellow color, is first mentioned in 1854. The minor term is chiefly found in connection with cloth and liquids.
- ModE *buff* 'dull yellow'  
Motivation of formation: Referring to the light brownish yellow of buff-skin, the term, which is first recorded in 1762, represents the metonymic extension of the animal's color. As pointed out by the OED (s.v.), the early quotations might rather denote the material, leather, which was used for making soldier uniforms in those days. The name of the animal is an adoption of F *buffle*, a common Romance word deriving from Vulgar Latin *\*bufalus*, a variant of Latin *būbalus*, and, ultimately, from Greek *βούβαλος*, the common Old World ox. Kristol (1978) does not mention a color use in French.

From metals/minerals:

- ModE *amber* 'amber-colored, brownish yellow'  
Motivation of formation: The form, which is attested as early as 1500, goes back to ME *amber*, a loan from OF *ambre*, which is adopted from Arabic *anbar* 'ambergris', a wax-like ashy-colored substance. It was, through some confusion of the substances, afterwards extended to the gem, the fossil resin 'amber'. Kertulla (2002: 192) points out that the color sense in French did not come into existence before the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The motive can again be seen in the metonymic extension of the gem's characteristic color.
- ModE *topaz* 'dark yellow'  
Motivation of formation: The term refers to the color resembling that of the jewel, whose name was borrowed into Middle English from OF *topace*, *topaze*, *topase*, which derives from L *topazus* and Greek *τόπαζος* 'topaz'. The highly valued precious stone, which is often of yellow color, is, according to Pliny, named after an island in the Red or Arabian Sea, where it abounded. Others connect it with Sanskrit *tapas* 'heat, fire' (OED s.v.). The expression's first occurrence is recorded as early as 1782 in reference to the brilliant colors of a hummingbird, but a wider application, e.g. to eyes, cosmetics, clothes, does not appear before the beginning of the 20th century. The French term acquired its color sense in 1895 (Kertulla 2002: 157).

Miscellaneous:

- ModE *blake*<sup>88</sup> 'yellow, of a golden color'  
Motivation of formation: The direct descendant of OE *blaƷ* 'shining, white' is now obsolete – except in parts of northern England, e.g. Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, where it is still applied to butter and cheese (EDD I 287). In my opinion, the latter could be a result of a transfer from an original object exhibiting a rather white color with a tinge of yellow (e.g. sheep cheese) to the prototypical variety of it, butter or cheese with their striking yellow color.

<sup>88</sup> OED s.v. *blake*, EDD I 287.

The confusion of the term with the expression denoting 'black' will be dealt with in the WHITE section (see 2.7.2).

- ModE *sand* 'of the color of sand'  
Motivation of formation: This transparent term is a metonymic extension of the earlier entity sense and serves to denote a fashion shade from the 1920s on. The color term *sandy*, which is already attested in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, means 'yellowish-red' in collocation with hair (OED s.v. *sand*).
- ME and ModE *vitelline* 'yolk-colored, deep yellow'  
Motivation of formation: First mentioned in 1412, the term is based on the similarity with the color of a yolk. The primarily biological term was, its early use, specifically applied to the bile (OED s.v.). The object's name itself is loaned from ML *vitellinus*, from *vitellus* 'yolk of an egg', of which André (1949) does not record a color sense.
- ModE *Champagne* 'straw-pale'  
 The term, very popular with textiles, originates in the loan of the exquisite drink which was produced and merchandised in the province of France which transferred its name to it. In French, however, the term does not feature a color designation (cf. Kristol 1978).

### 13. Loanwords:

- ME *jaune*<sup>89</sup> 'yellow'  
 This term is a borrowing of the Old French color term *jalne* 'yellow', which derives from L *galbinum* 'greenish yellow'. Having the same origin as the English word *yellow*, this term was certainly borrowed during a time when French was considered the prestigious language that had to be imitated. The regularly developed form has become obsolete in Modern English, but the term was reborrowed from F *jaune* 'yellow', which is noticeable from its pronunciation.
- ME *gul*<sup>90</sup> 'yellow, pale'  
 This color term was loaned from ON *gulr*, *golr* 'yellow' in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. As a result of the close contact between the Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians in the Dane Law, even simple everyday terms were borrowed. A Modern English survivor of the term, which has not been referred to in studies hitherto, might be *gool* 'yellow', hence *gule-fittit* 'yellow footed, having legs of a yellow color', an adjective applied to fowl and the like, which is only found in Scotland (EDD II 684).
- ME *dorre*, *doŕi*<sup>91</sup> 'golden or reddish-yellow'  
 The expression, which is first recorded in 1398, represents a borrowing of OF *doré* 'golden, gilded', the past participle of *dorer*, which derives from L *deŕurare* 'to gild'. It once again corroborates the importance and salience of the precious material that features a yellow color with metallic reflection.
- ME *citrin*<sup>92</sup>, ModE *citrine* 'lemon-colored'  
 The expression is a borrowing of OF *citriŕ* from L *citriŕis* 'lemon-colored'. A slightly different view is held by Turmann (1934: 33), who considers the form to be of Italian origin, possibly brought from there by Chaucer, as he was the one who first applied it in 1386. According to Barnickel (1975: 98), the usage is confined to the context of science, and the term's concept in Modern English rather denotes ORANGE.<sup>93</sup> However, even if the term's meaning is not correct

<sup>89</sup> MED V 376.

<sup>90</sup> MED IV 416.

<sup>91</sup> MED II 1242.

<sup>92</sup> MED II 285.

<sup>93</sup> Maerz/Paul (1950: 154) explain that this change in the concept's designation has come about due to the

from a painter's or dyer's point of view, in my opinion, it might still be regarded as a yellow hue since there is a strong association with the name of the fruit.

- ME *auburn(e)*, *auborn(e)*<sup>94</sup> 'blond, yellowish white, brownish white'  
Already loaned as a color term from OF *auborne*, *alborne* 'blond', itself from ML *alburnus* 'nearly white, whitish', this term is collocationally restricted to hair color. In the course of the English language, however, it underwent a shift of meaning from 'blond' to 'golden-brown, ruddy-brown'. This change probably occurred in the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the term was often written *abron*, *abrune*, *abroun*, and thus thought to be a kind of brown. The motivation is therefore based on folk-etymology.
- ME *blayk(e)*, *bleik(e)*, *bleyke*<sup>95</sup> 'pale, yellow'  
The expression was loaned from ON *bleikr* 'shining, white, pale', which corresponds to OE *blæc* and can be traced back to the IE root *\*bhleǵ-* 'to shine'. The minor term was only applied to a sickly complexion and flowers, and it glossed L *pallidus* 'pallid' and *flavus* 'yellow, yellow-brown' (OED s.v. *blayk(e)*).
- ME *melin(e)*<sup>96</sup> 'quince-yellow'  
This rare and now obsolete term is a 14<sup>th</sup> borrowing of L *mellinus*, from Greek *μήλινος* 'of apples, quinces', from *μήλον* 'apple, quince' (OED s.v.). Krieg's explanation (1976: 60) that the Latin name meant 'honey-colored' might be due to a confusion with L *mellinus* 'of honey'.
- ModE *ochre*, *ocher* 'pale brownish yellow'  
The expression refers to the yellowish native earth, one of the oldest pigments known, which could, as ingredient in a painter's or dyer's coloring process, readily and naturally stand for its highly characteristic associated color. The name of the object is loaned into Late Middle English from F *ocre*, an adoption of L *ōcra*, Greek *ὄχρα* 'yellow ochre' from *ὄχρος* 'pale, pale yellow'.
- ModE *blond(e)* 'light yellow, reddish yellow'  
The color term is a loan of OF *blond*, *blonde* 'yellow-haired', from ML *blondus*, *blundus* 'yellow', and is ultimately of Germanic origin. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it was reintroduced from French and is still primarily used in connection with hair color. It can also be applied to beer, instruments, and furniture.

#### 14. Unclear Name:

- ModE *bisque*<sup>97</sup>  
Motivation of formation: The etymology of this term, which is first recorded in 1922 in collocation with 'dress', is not clear. According to Kerttula (2002: 240), it represents a loan of F *bisque*, a word of which she only says it does not exhibit a color sense. In my opinion it could be the French term for 'crayfish soup', thus denoting the specific reddish-yellow color of this meal. Contrarily, the OED (s.v. *bisque* 2) refers to it as 'light brown' due to its connection with biscuits.

## 2.4 GREEN

### 2.4.1 Cultural Background

Green – the intermediate between blue and yellow in the color spectrum – is,

influence of George Fields, the author of *Chromatography*, who used the term for a mixture of orange and green, and was followed in that use by all succeeding writers.

<sup>94</sup> MED I 512.

<sup>95</sup> MED I 961, ODEE 99.

<sup>96</sup> OED s.v. *meline* a1

<sup>97</sup> Collins 1995: 171.

neurophysiologically determined, not as eye-catching as other hues, thus less salient and more of a background color. As the color of vegetation, it has always confronted mankind with various shades appearing in leaves, herbs, plants, or vegetables. Not surprisingly, the notion of the concept is closely connected with its prototypical object, grass and other "things growing out of the ground" (Wierzbicka 1990: 117), but it is also attributed to certain gems such as the emerald or jasper and sometimes used in reference to water. In the fields of painting and fashion, it plays a minor role.

As far as its symbolical meaning is concerned, it exhibits an ambivalent character. On the one hand, it conveys a notion of vigorous growth and renewal, thus immortality, on the other hand, it exhibits the idea of inexperience, an immature state so to speak, ranging from unripe corn to persons. In the realm of Christianity it is associated with mercy and hope.

#### 2.4.2 Names

Compared to the number of terms representing other color concepts, the green-related expressions are rather few, which is explained by the fact that warm colors (red, yellow) are segmented and named more easily than cool colors (blue, green) (cf. MacLaury 1992).

##### 1. Iconym "grow"

- OE *grene*<sup>98</sup>, ME *green*, ModE *green*

Motivation of formation: The term and its cognates in other Germanic languages go back to IE \**gr̥h₂n̥s-*, from the root \**ghro-*, \**ghrə-* 'to grow, to green'. From this base derive OE *groƿan* 'to grow' and *gærs*, *græs* 'grass' as well.

The GREEN basic color term can denote every shade of the concept and can be attributed to several fields of objects. From it various derivations and compounds came into existence. Furthermore, it is used metaphorically (e.g. *green with envy*, *to be green at a job*). However, as Mead (1899: 200) points out, it does not occur in *Beowulf* or other heroic poems, but is nearly exclusively used in religious poems. This does not restrict its status as a basic color term since the concept is probably not found very often in these kinds of literature. In Middle English, the term was also used, for the first time by Chaucer, as an emphatic term for the pale face of a sick person (Barnickel 1975: 84).

##### 2. Iconym "gleaming, glittering, shining"

- OE *græg*<sup>99</sup> 'dull green, gray-green'

Motivation of formation: Even if the predominant semantic feature of this term is 'gray', it could also denote dull or grayish hues in general, thus 'gray-green'. The expression derives from Gmc \**græg-waz*, itself from IE \**ghreg-uiwo-s*, and ultimately from the root \**gher-*, \**ghre-*, \**gherə-* 'to gleam, glimmer, shine'. Consequently, as both terms can be traced back to the same origin, a considerable group of the words for 'green' are cognate with words for 'yellow'.

##### 3. Iconym "blue, (gray)" + "green"

- OE *hæwengrene*<sup>100</sup> 'bluish green, grayish green'

Motivation of formation: The copulative composition, which consists of the two neighboring colors 'blue, (gray)' and 'green', serves to indicate that the desired

<sup>98</sup> TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 138, IEW 454.

<sup>99</sup> Holthausen 1974: 135, IEW 441.

<sup>100</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1921: 501.

reference lies between the two concepts. It is not clear which of the elements is the grammatical head, especially as there exists a modification of the term, OE *gre[h]hāwen*. Both forms seem to occur only once glossing L *caeruleus* 'dark blue, dark green' (Biggam 1997: 244).

#### 4. Other Expressions:<sup>101</sup>

Most of the following expressions are determinative compounds, in which the first element determines the second one; they denote a special kind or shade of green. Several fields of "borrowing" or "object-relation" can be differentiated.

From the area of plants:

- OE *græs-gre[h]hā*, *gærs-gre[h]hā*<sup>102</sup>, ME *gras-gre[h]hā*, ModE *grass green*  
Motivation of formation: As the phenomenon of plant growth can be regarded as the origin of the concept GREEN, the term, which is "[o]ne of the oldest colour names"<sup>103</sup>, emphasizes the reference to the herbage by repeating the "color-bearer" 'grass'. The latter of the Old English expressions exhibits metathesis. Whereas in Old English, the term was primarily used in glosses and glossaries, in Modern English, it can be attributed to all objects in both spoken and written language. Of the same motivational sort is *moss green*, but it refers to a different kind of vegetation.
- ModE *forest-green*  
Motivation of formation: Referring to the salient color of the natural object 'forest', this term's concept was transferred when it was said to be the special costume of Robin Hood and his men in Scott's ballads (OED s.v.). Probably originating in this idea, it is used as the commercial name of a shade of green in dress-materials.  
 The motive of alluding to the salient characteristics (e.g. foliage, leaves etc.) of other trees or plants is also found in expressions such as *sage-green*, *myrtle green*, *beech-green*, or *pine green*.
- ModE *sap green*  
Motivation of formation: The original color term with its reference to the juiciness of plants is, according to the OED (s.v.), obsolete. The contemporary concept of the independent adjective, which is first mentioned in 1658, derives from the green pigment prepared from the juice of buckthorn berries and is probably shaped after Dutch *sapgroen*. Consequently, its usage is primarily found in arts and fashion.
- ModE *spring-green*  
Motivation of formation: In this case, the determinant exhibits an abstract idea: the association with an atmosphere or feeling and through that with the color of something typical of it – the greenness and freshness of growing vegetation during the first season of the year. As many other terms, the expression, which is first recorded in 1891, is very figurative.
- ME *gaudi[gr]eene*<sup>104</sup>, ModE *gaudy green* 'yellowish green'  
Motivation of formation: The first element is a derivation of the ME noun *gaude*□ loaned from OF *gaude* 'weld' (see 2.3.2), by the adjectival suffix *-i(g)*. Barnickel (1975: 106) accentuates its meaning 'green dyed with weld' and thus its restriction to the field of fashion.
- ModE *evergreen*

<sup>101</sup> The selected items are taken from the list of color terms in Maerz/Paul (<sup>2</sup>1950: 188ff.) unless otherwise stated.

<sup>102</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 357.

<sup>103</sup> Methuen <sup>3</sup>1978: 164.

<sup>104</sup> MED IV 48.

Motivation of formation: In this case, the compound is determined by the adverb 'ever, always'. This refers to the fact that there are plants, such as conifers, whose most salient feature is that they never change their leaves, thus are 'evergreen'. The expression is listed in the SED (I,2 557) as a Yorkshire variant for the color of reels of thread.

From the field of vegetables and fruits:

Next to names such as ModE *pea green*, *spinach-green*, and *leek green* with rather clear motivation, as all refer to the green color of the designated objects, we find:

- ModE *apple green*

Motivation of formation: Whereas usually, the association of an apple is with its ripeness, thus yellow, orange, or red color, we are here concerned with a different specimen, e.g. the color of 'Granny Smith' apples. The term is first attested in 1648 and is a popular name in the fashion industry.

- ModE *olive* 'yellowish green or yellowish brown'

Motivation of formation: The expression refers to the color resembling that of the fruit of the olive-tree, whose name was loaned into Middle English from OF *olive*, L *oliŭa*, from Greek *ἐλαία* 'olive, olive tree'. Kertulla (2002: 169) points out that the color sense in French did not come into existence before 1699, whereas the English expression is first recorded in 1657. The OED (s.v.) lists various meanings depending on the object to be designated:

- 'a dull somewhat yellowish green' (of the color of the unripe fruit)
- 'yellowish brown, brownish yellow' (of the complexion)
- 'dull ashy green with silvery sheen' (of the color of the olive's foliage).

It is especially applied to skin, cloth, hats, boots, and foliage. However, if it does not refer to the skin, it mostly requires the basic color term, e.g. *olive-green clothes*.

- ModE *lime* 'bright green'

Motivation of formation: The elliptical form of *lime-green*, which is chiefly applied to clothes, interior decorations, and leaves of various plants, is not mentioned before 1923. It is created on the green fruit of a citrus tree, whose name was borrowed into Modern English from French *lime*, going back to Provençal *limo*, and ultimately to Arabic *limāh* 'citrus fruit'. The term is etymologically related to *lemon*, which however, came into the English language via Middle French and Turkish (see 2.3.2).

From metals and minerals:

- ModE *emerald* 'bright green'

Motivation of formation: The term refers to the color resembling that of the precious stone, whose name was borrowed into ME *emeraude* from OF *e(s)meraude*, a derivate of common Romanic *\*smaralda*, *\*smaraldo*, which represents L *smaragdus* from Greek *σμάραγδος* 'smaragdus, emerald'. The English spelling with *-ld* may be due to the influence of Spanish *esmeralda*. The French term did not acquire a color sense before the 18<sup>th</sup> century, whereas the English word was used in heraldry as early as 1572 to designate 'green' (ordinarily called *vert*) if it occurred in the arms of nobility (OED s.v.). The term can be attributed to various referents, often conveying a notion of value and preciousness. Its good qualities also emphasize positive feelings, since something bright is usually linked to sunlight and, by metaphorical extension, to warm feelings (Steinvall 2000: 416). It is popular in painting as well, as it also

represents a pigment of vivid light-green color.

Miscellaneous:

- OE *hāewen*<sup>105</sup> 'pale green'  
Motivation of formation: Mostly denoting 'blue', the term can also indicate a pale green. It can ultimately be traced back to IE \**kei-(ro)* 'dark, gray, brown' and will be explained in more detail in the BLUE section (see 2.5.2).
- ModE *bottle green*  
Motivation of formation: The expression now refers to the color resembling that of glass bottles used for mineral water and beer, whereas it historically denoted a pale, bluish tint, dating from the ancient Egyptians and Romans, who perfected the art of glass-making (Hope/Walch 1990: 46). The object's name was borrowed into Middle English from OF *bouteille*, *botel*, from L *buticula*, the diminutive of LL *butis*, *buttis* 'vessel'.
- ModE *chartreuse* 'yellow green'  
Motivation of formation: The expression, which is first recorded in 1884, was motivated by the color of the liqueur of the same name, made by French Carthusian monks near Grenoble. The French female form of *chartreux* 'Carthusian', however, does not exhibit a color sense (cf. Kristol 1978).
- ModE *gosling-green* 'pale yellowish green'  
Motivation of formation: The term, which is first attested in 1756 and especially used in the context of textiles, features the determinant 'little goose'. Figuratively, the association of a little immature animal was transferred to a foolish, inexperienced person, one who is young and 'green'.
- ModE *Kendal green*  
Motivation of formation: This rather minor color term refers to the green color of woolen clothes produced in Kendal, Cumbria (formerly Westmorland). The fact that it is, furthermore, attributed to the plant Dyer's Greenweed, with which textiles were dyed, corroborates the expression's collocational restriction to dyeing and clothing.
- ModE *sea green*  
Motivation of formation: The term is formed around 1600 and denotes the pale bluish-green color resembling that of the ocean.
- ModE *Nile (green)*  
Motivation of formation: The 19<sup>th</sup> century name was created in analogy to the already existing expression *Nile blue*, itself an imitation of French *bleu de Nile*, in order to refer to a different shade of the water of the river. It is often found in connection with textiles and interior decorations.

5. Loanwords:

- ME *verd*, *vert*<sup>106</sup> 'green'  
 The loan of OF *verd*, *vert*, the regular development of L *viridis* 'green', is more or less confined to heraldry. In poetry, it is sometimes employed to denote the color green.
- ModE *verdigris*<sup>107</sup> 'bluish green'  
 This expression was already borrowed as a color term from OF *verte grez*, *vert de grice*, *vert-de-gris*, literally 'green of Greece', as ML *viridis graecus*. As the

<sup>105</sup> Holthausen 1974: 147, IEW 541.

<sup>106</sup> ODEE 977.

<sup>107</sup> Maerz/Paul <sup>2</sup>1950: 185.



whole expression at an early date was no longer transparent, it underwent various changes in spelling and pronunciation on account of folk-etymology. The loan was due to the usage of the substance as a pigment in dyeing, the arts, and medicine, fields to which it is still collocationally restricted.

- ME and ModE *verdure*<sup>108</sup> 'green'  
The term is a borrowing of OF *verdure* 'fresh green color', thus especially means 'rich or abounding in verdure, flourishing thick and green'.
- ModE *verdant*<sup>109</sup> 'green'  
The term, which is first recorded in 1581 and primarily applied when referring to vegetation and landscapes, is of obscure origin. It perhaps represents a loan of OF *verdeant*, the present participle of *verdoier*, derived from L *viridiāre* 'to become green', which is related to *viridis* 'green'. According to Kerttula (2002: 168), it is a blend of L *viridans*, the present participle of *viridiare*, and F *verdoyant*, the present participle of *verdoyer* 'to become green'. It might also be a pseudoloan coined from *verd-* (as in *verdure*) and a suffix *-ant*, the ending of the present participle in French.
- ME *sinōple*, *sinoper*<sup>110</sup> 'green'  
The usage of this term in heraldry was prominent in Old French and therefore borrowed as highly prestigious. How this term came to denote 'green', however, is unclear. The FEW (XI 650) records it in this color sense from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century on and assumes that the colors might have been mixed up in a coat of arms. In English, it is first attested in 1489, but has become obsolete in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. Its different meaning 'red' has already been explained above (see 2.1.2).
- ME *enker-grene*<sup>111</sup> 'very green, vivid green'  
The OED (s.v. *enker*) lists the adverb *enker* as a loan of OF *encre*, literally 'inked', and the Middle English expression *enker-grene*, which is only found twice in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, as an imitation of OF *vert encre* 'dark green'. Differently, the MED (s.v.) compares it with OI *einkar-fagr* 'very fair'.
- ModE *jade*  
Motivation of formation: The term is borrowed from F *le jade*, earlier *l'égjade*, which was an adoption of Sp (*pedra de la*) *ijada*, literally 'colic stone', 'a stone for the cure of pains in the side', which goes back to L *ilia* 'the flanks'. As pointed out by Kerttula (2002: 173), the French term was first used in a color sense in 1907, thus slightly earlier than the English one (1921), a fact which lets her conclude that it was probably taken over as a color term. As the gem exhibits a wide range of hues, the color term, which is often applied to paints and textiles, is rather fuzzy and alludes more to the preciousness and worthiness of an object than to its specific hue. In literature it is often found in connection with the sea, the sky, or the rainbow.
- ModE *reseda* 'pale green'  
Already borrowed as the scientific term of the flower, L *rese~~da~~*, the expression was influenced by the French color term *réséda*, which is especially found in connection with clothes (Kristol 1978: 283). The name for the flower's best known species, the mignonette, was also borrowed from French and came to be a color term as well (cf. OED s.v. *reseda*). Both 19<sup>th</sup>-century color terms became popular through fashion and advertising, but are more or less limited to these fields.

<sup>108</sup> Stratmann 1974: 659, Collins 1995: 428.

<sup>109</sup> Collins 1995: 428.

<sup>110</sup> MED XI 942, OED s.v. *sinople*, *sinoper*.

<sup>111</sup> MED III 159.

## 6. Unclear Cases:

- OE *walden*<sup>112</sup> 'greenish or hazel eyes'  
Motivation of formation: The term is only listed as a rare and highly specialized term by Biggam (1999: 118). In my opinion it might be related to OE *weald* 'forest' and its prominent color.

## 2.5 BLUE

### 2.5.1 Cultural Background

Despite its preponderance in the environment, especially in the sky and the sea, BLUE is not common in nature as far as mammals, land, or trees are concerned, but occurs in flowers and birds (e.g. peacock) and plays a considerable role in the description of textiles, dyes, and gems. Since natural pigments and dyestuffs of this color were scarce in the early days of mankind, they had to be imported and were, therefore, rather rare and expensive. It consequently represented only the color of kings, rich people, and high priests. In the course of time, on account of the invention of synthetic production, the color became more salient to the common people. "It is the sine qua non color of Western twentieth-century cultures, of their flags, of their conservative political parties, and even of the uniform of their youth, blue jeans."<sup>113</sup> On the basis of the most prototypical association with the concept, sky (Wierzbicka 1990: 119), it has most commonly been associated with depth and endlessness, but also tranquility, constancy and coolness. In the realm of Christian religion, where it represents the color of the Virgin Mary, it conveys a notion of spirituality, truth, heavenly love, and harmony. It exhibits, however, an ambivalent character, as it is also a sign of melancholy (e.g. *the blues*) and can be used to designate unskilled laborers, as in *blue-collar workers* (cf. Jacobs/Jacobs 1958).

As the color system of Old English was brilliance-orientated and segmented very differently in contrast to the Modern English one, the color sensations that are nowadays represented by *violet* or *purple* were still considered to be shades of the concept BLUE or RED and, therefore, named accordingly. Even in Middle English, some of the blue-related terms (e.g. *inde*) could also denote a purple shade. The transformation to a hue-based color vocabulary and the emergence of countless color terms in the course of English language history resulted in a more detailed and definite application of the terms.

### 2.5.2 Names

The prevailing view that blue was practically non-existent in Old English color terminology (cf. Mead 1899, Wyler 1984) is vitiated by Biggam (1995, 1997). Based on thorough study of collocations and referents, translations, contrasts and comparisons, cognates, related citations, sources represented, and categories of text, she lists various expressions regarding the concept. However, these proved largely unacceptable in Middle English, which resulted in various loans of words. It is the only category dominated by French terms (Biggam 1993: 43), as will be noticeable throughout this section. And as Anderson (2003: 180) puts it: "The lexicalization of blue in English is a linguistic by-product of the "discovery" of blue as a culturally significant color in art and design during the Middle Ages, beginning in France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and spreading to England and elsewhere in Europe by the thirteenth century."<sup>114</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Biggam 1999: 118.

<sup>113</sup> Hope/Walch 1990: 283.

<sup>114</sup> The author summarizes Michel Pastoreau's *Bleu: Histoire d'une couleur* (2000), who states that the standard European canon of colors expanded from three (black, white, red) to six colors (the former plus yellow, green, and blue) in the twelfth century. Blue itself became very popular in painting, stained glass windows,

## 1. Iconym "dark, gray, brown"

- OE *hæwen*<sup>115</sup> 'blue, livid'

Motivation of formation: The most frequent of the blue-related terms seems to be an Old-English innovation, as it does not have any equivalents in other Germanic languages. Being related to OE *haƿ* 'white, gray, old' and OE *hiew*, *hi(o)w* 'appearance, species, color', it can be traced back to *\*haiwina-* and ultimately to IE *\*kei-*, which is used in various adjectives of color, especially dark shades such as 'dark, gray, brown'. According to Biggam (1997: 213), it "evolved from a Germanic word meaning 'downy/hairy', until it came to indicate a pale appearance in cool colors, just as downy leaves appear pale green, rather than vivid green, because of their downy covering. [...] It is further suggested that *hæwen*, which had probably once covered the field of pale grey/pale blue/pale green, came gradually to specialise in pale blue, in the face of the establishment of *grene* as the green BCT, and the rise of *græg*. Finally, *hæwen* came to denote all types of blue as it evolved towards the status of blue BCT." It was not collocationally restricted and used with a variety of referents such as woad dye, clothes, sapphire, indigo, dill, hyacinths, and blue-black cinders. Its wide application can also be seen from the fact that it glosses Latin terms for different nuances of blue (e.g. *hyacinthinus*, *caeruleus*, *glaucus*, *viridis* etc.) (cf. OEC). However, Biggam states elsewhere (1995) that *hæwen* is not considered a full basic color term, as it was only known and used by a minority – craftsmen, monks, and educated people – and represented exclusively learned usage, and thus did not meet the fourth criterion of Berlin and Kay (see 1.2, footnote 4). She tries to back her case by stressing that the term was not well enough established to resist its replacement by the French loanword *bleu* in Middle English. However, in my opinion, there is no firm evidence that *hæwen* was only used by a small social group. The originally specialized application could have been extended into popular usage as it not only referred to dyes and gems but denoted everyday objects such as flowers, water, birds, textiles as well. Various hyponyms (e.g. *blæhæwen*, *swearthæwen*, *wannhæwen*) also point to a relatively established status.

- OE *hæwe*<sup>116</sup>, ME *haue*, *hawe*<sup>117</sup> 'blue, gray'

Motivation of formation: The variation of the term just analyzed is confined to glosses and glossaries. The term has become obsolete in its color sense and only survives in Scottish *haw* 'discolored, livid' (EDD III 96). According to Biggam (1995: 63, footnote 36), it might have survived in the Northumbrian dialect, which considerably contributed to Scots.

## 2. Iconym "woad-dyed"

- OE *wæden*<sup>118</sup> 'blue'

Motivation of formation: The term originally means 'woad-dyed', as it represents the adjectival derivation of OE *waƿ* 'a (blue) woad dye', a material which is an ancient source of strong and permanent blue (McNeill 1972: 28). As the rare expression glosses L *hyacinthinus*, *hyacinthus* 'blue, violet' and *indicus* 'blue dye'

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clothing and heraldry, and was often associated with the Virgin Mary.

<sup>115</sup> TOE 147, Holthausen 1974: 147, IEW 541.

<sup>116</sup> TOE 147, Pollington 1993: 155, Buck 1949: 1058.

<sup>117</sup> MED IV 524.

<sup>118</sup> Holthausen 1974: 379.

(cf. OEC) and is applied only to a tunic and the dye from the woad plant, it is assumed to be restricted to dyes and textiles (Barley 1974: 25). An exception to this is the one-time referent 'poison', which Biggam (1997: 276) tries to explain by the fact that woad dye is poisonous.

- OE *blāwen*<sup>119</sup> 'dark blue'

Motivation of formation: The rare expression represents an adjectival formation of OE *blāw* 'woad dye'. Together with its cognates, OI *blāw* 'blue, livid, black', OFris *blau* 'blue', OS *blao* 'blue, pale', OHG *blab* 'blue, dark', it ultimately goes back to IE *\*blewō-s*, which is used of pale colors such as 'blue, yellow, blond'. It is cognate with L *flāvus* 'yellow, yellow, yellow-brown' as well. Since the term glosses L *perseus* 'dark blue' in Ælfric's *Nomina Colorum* (Wülcker<sup>2</sup>1968: 163), which is usually employed in connection with cloth, and as it is also found in collocation with 'gown', it is suggested that it is part of a specialized vocabulary restricted to dyes and textiles (Biggam 1997: 99). In the course of English language history, the noun as well as the adjective were repressed and replaced by the adoption of ON *blā* 'livid' and of F *bleu* 'deep blue, dark blue'.

### 3. Iconym: "glass-colored"

- OE *glæsen*<sup>120</sup> 'shiny pale blue'

Motivation of formation: The adjectival derivation of OE *glæs* 'glass' literally means 'made of glass' and is cited only once in its color sense, in rendering L *glaucus...oculus* 'bluish/greenish-gray eye' into OE *glæseneage*. The technical term is probably contextually restricted to eyes, referring also to their glassy and glazed appearance (Biggam 1997: 111). In contrast to the present-day material, cheap glass of the Middle Ages exhibited a different shade of color, often greenblue, a fact that easily explains its motivation.

### 4. Iconym "color" + "blue"

- OE *blāhāwen*<sup>121</sup> 'dark blue'
- OE *swearthāwen*<sup>122</sup> 'dark blue'
- OE *wannhāwen*<sup>123</sup> 'dark blue'

Motivation of formation: All three compound terms are hyponyms of *hāwen* and employed to express nuances of the concept BLUE, especially to indicate darkness. They occur or originate in translations or glosses to Latin texts and appear to have been coined to cope with a perceived difference between the semantic of the Latin lexeme and the nearest Anglo-Saxon term (Biggam 1997: 292).

The first one, which glosses L *hyacinthinus* 'blue, violet', is especially found in connection with dyes and textiles, as it is applied to a costly garment, (woad) dye, and to the feathers of a peacock. The two others gloss L *caerulus* 'dark blue' (cf. OEC). Their one-time collocation with 'snake' might be explained by the fact that both terms rather refer to a dark tone than to a specific hue (Biggam 1997: 249, 253).

### 5. Iconym "precious stones of blue color"

<sup>119</sup> Holthausen 1974: 26, IEW 160.

<sup>120</sup> Bosworth/Toller 1898: 479.

<sup>121</sup> Bosworth/Toller 1898: 107, Biggam 1995: 57.

<sup>122</sup> Bosworth/Toller 1898: 945, Biggam 1995: 57.

<sup>123</sup> Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1167, Biggam 1995: 57.

- ME *saphir(e)*<sup>124</sup>, ModE *sapphire*<sup>125</sup> 'bright blue'  
Motivation of formation: Here we are concerned with a term, whose formation was caused by the respective gem. Its name was loaned into Middle English from OF *safir*, *saphir*, which was adopted from L *sappirus*, *saphirus*, itself from Greek *σάππειρος* 'lapis lazuli', which is probably a Semitic form. As pointed out by the OED (s.v.), the word, however, does not appear to be ultimately of Semitic origin, because Hebrew *sappir* may represent an earlier \**sampir* (cf. Jewish Aramaic *sampir* ܣܡܦܝܪܐ) whose source may be Skr *çanipriya*, literally 'dear to the planet Saturn', the name of some dark gem, perhaps sapphire or emerald. The metonymic extension is first recorded in 1433, whereas the French term did not exhibit its color sense before the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Kerttula 2002: 180). There is also no record of a color use in Latin (cf. André 1949). The expression denotes the tincture blue or azure in heraldry and is otherwise especially applied to the sky, the sea, and the eyes.
- ModE *turquoise* 'greenish blue'  
Motivation of formation: The expression refers to the shade of blue resembling that of the mineral whose name was loaned into Middle English from OF *turqueise*, *turquoise*, the feminine form of *turqueis*, *turquois* 'Turkish', as in *Pierre turquoise* 'Turkish stone'. The precious stone obtained its name, because it was first brought from Turkestan where it was first found or conveyed through the Turkish dominions (OED s.v.). The English color adjective began to be replaced through the adoption of the French spelling *turquoise* before 1600. The French term, however, did not exhibit a color use before 1867 (FEW XIX 190). It is especially applied to the sea and to the eyes, and is a popular fashion term.

## 6. Iconym "sky-colored, sky-blue"

- ModE *sky-coloured*<sup>126</sup>
- ModE *sky-tinctured*<sup>127</sup>
- ModE *sky-blue*  
Motivation of formation: All of these determinative compounds emphasize the reference to the sky, which might be the prototypical association with the color concept BLUE. As the sky can feature a variety of hues, these are more likely literary terms and do not denote a specific shade.
- ModE *heaven-hued*<sup>128</sup>
- ModE *horizon-blue*  
Motivation of formation: Both rather literary expressions stem from the same motive as well. The former was first employed by Shakespeare in 1597 and the latter is probably formed in analogy to F *bleu horizon*, which was the color of the French Army's uniform during and after World War I (Maerz/Paul <sup>2</sup>1950: 181).

## 7. Other Expressions:<sup>129</sup>

- ModE *cornflower* 'blue as a cornflower'  
Motivation of formation: This term is a metonymic extension of the earlier entity sense and serves to denote a fashion shade resembling that of the flower, from 1907 on.

<sup>124</sup> MED X 83.

<sup>125</sup> Collins 1995: 109.

<sup>126</sup> Pratt 1898: 112, Collins 1995: 109.

<sup>127</sup> Turmann 1934: 35.

<sup>128</sup> Pratt 1898: 112.

<sup>129</sup> All items are taken, unless otherwise mentioned, from Maerz/Paul (<sup>2</sup>1950: 188ff.).

- ModE *navy* 'dark blue'  
Motivation of formation: The elliptic form of *navy blue*, which was first recorded in 1884, refers to the color of the British naval uniform. The name of the object was loaned into Middle English from OF *navie* 'ship, fleet', which regularly derives from Vulgar Latin *nāvia* 'ship, boat', a colloquial formation on L *navis* 'ship'.
- ModE *ultramarine* 'deep blue'  
Motivation of formation: The expression, which is very popular in painting, is created on the name of the pigment originally obtained from the mineral lapis lazuli and named with reference to the foreign origin of this, 'beyond the sea', from ML *ultramariŋus*. Casson (1994: 16), however, points to a borrowing from Spanish *ultramarino* with both its pigment and hue senses in 1598.
- ModE *aqua* 'greenish blue'  
Motivation of formation: First mentioned in 1936, the word represents either a metonymical extension of the object's name, which was loaned from L *aqua* 'water', or the abbreviation of *aquamarine* 'bluish-green, sea-colored', which is a 19<sup>th</sup>-century adoption of L *aqua mariŋa* 'sea-water'. André (1949: 61-62) does not record a color sense of the two Latin terms, but lists *aquilus*, a derivative of *aqua*, which, however, seems to have hardly influenced the modern color use of the term.

#### 8. Loanwords:

- ME *bleu*, *blu(e)*, *blou(e)*<sup>130</sup>, ModE *blue*  
The term is a borrowing of OF *bleu*, *blo* 'blue, fallow, pale, faded', which goes back to Frankish \**blaŋ* 'blue, leaden', and ultimately to Gmc \**blēwaz*. It is therefore related to the Old English terms *blaŋ*, *blāw* and *blāwen* 'blue', which did, however, not survive into Middle English (cf. MED, EDD), probably because they were contextually restricted to the field of textiles. Nevertheless it has to be stated that the Old English terms would have yielded ME <blew>, a form which is in fact attested, but always given as a spelling variation of the French borrowing (ODEE 102, OED s.v.). In my view the latter might possibly be on account of the fact that it then rhymed with *hewe* 'hue, appearance', a characteristic of colors. Furthermore, the loan, which is first recorded around 1300, is applied to firmament/heaven and water in its early occurrences and therefore differs from the confined Old English term. Its present spelling *blue* became common only after 1700. It covers hues from pale blue to leaden (e.g. the color of the skin or complexion affected by a blow or severe cold), and thus combines the sense of L *caeruleus* with that of *lividus*. It has a variety of referents (e.g. sky, deep sea, flowers, pigment, dye, enamel, cloth) and is not collocationally restricted (Barnickel 1975: 84). It ultimately became the BLUE basic color term, presumably because the specialized Old English terms had never played such a role in the language of the Anglo-Saxon population as a whole (Biggam 1995: 63). Its importance as such is corroborated by the fact that already in Middle English it is the hyperonym to ME *asur*, *inde*, *perse* and *murrei*, that it shows an exceptionally developed word-formation, and that it mostly occurs on its own without any modifier or qualifier. Only if a particular shade is to be expressed, it is prefixed by words such as *dark*, *deep*, *azure*, *ultramarine*, *royal*, or *navy*. It is part of many idioms (e.g. *once in a blue moon*) and is used metaphorically in the sense 'sad'.

<sup>130</sup> MED I 972.

- ME *blo*<sup>131</sup> 'blackish blue, livid, leaden-colored'  
The Middle English loan of ON *bla* 'livid' around 1250 chiefly collocates with face and sea-water. It means 'dark, discolored, black-and-blue, livid', when applied to bodies, and 'bluish gray, lead- or ash-colored', when it is used with other objects. Moreover, it conveys a negative notion, as it usually is a sign of something repellent and ugly, almost hostile. The expression, however, died out in literary England during the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century due to the lexical replacement by *bleu*, which became more and more frequent in the specific collocations of *blo* e.g. when denoting the sickly appearance of the human body or in the comparison *bleu as led* (Barnickel 1975: 263, endnote 56, Burnley 1976: 41).  
The northern form of the word, ME *bla(a)*, is still preserved in Scotland, Ireland, and northern England – in parts of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Lincoln, and Northampton, as *blae*, *blea* 'of a blueish tinge, leadcolored, livid' (EDD I 285) and as *bloa* in Yorkshire (EDD I 303).
- ME *pers*<sup>132</sup> 'blue, purplish'  
The archaic expression was borrowed as a color term from OF *pers(e)* 'blue', which derives from LL *persus* 'Persian'. According to Barnickel (1975: 96), it was brought into English along with the *Romance of the Rose* and is only found in the works of Chaucer and Lydgate. In early writers it denotes the pale blue color of the sky, whereas later it was often taken, after Italian, as a dark obscure blue or purplish black. The combination ME *persebleu*<sup>133</sup> 'purplish blue', which was mentioned in 1490, stresses that fact that the term is only a hyponym of the generic term *blue*.
- ME *asur*, *azur(e)*<sup>134</sup>, ModE *azure*  
The term goes back to OF *asur*, *azur*, ML *azura*, and ultimately to Arabic (*al-*)*lāzward* and Persian *lāzward* 'lapis lazuli, blue'. The initial *l-* was dropped in the European languages, because it was mistaken as part of the Arabic definite article *al*. As the French term already exhibited a color sense at the time of the borrowing (FEW XIX 107), the name of the stone as well as the color term are likely to have been taken over simultaneously.  
In Middle English, it referred to the color of the stone, to glamorous clothing, and interior decorations, and was thus connected to fabrics and dyes. It furthermore represents the heraldic term for 'blue' from the 15<sup>th</sup> century on.  
In Modern English, it is chiefly a literary term (e.g. the stereotypical phrase *azure eyes*). "Because of the very frequent application of the term, in literature and poetry, to indicate the sky or its color, there seems to be an inclination by some people to believe that Azure means "Sky Blue," sometimes qualified as a deep tone, as in the zenith; but such a supposition is, unfortunately, erroneous."<sup>135</sup> The fact that we find the combination ME *asur bleu*, ModE *azure-blue* shows that it is only a hyponym of *blue*.
- ME *glauk*, *glawke*<sup>136</sup> 'blue, gray'  
The term was adopted from L *glaucus*, which derives from Greek *γλαυκός* 'bluish-green, gray', but has meanwhile become obsolete. Of the same origin, but loaned in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, is ModE *glaucous*, which is chiefly used in natural history, especially in botanics, and denotes a 'dull or pale green color passing into grayish blue'.

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<sup>131</sup> MED I 984.

<sup>132</sup> MED VIII 840.

<sup>133</sup> MED VII 840.

<sup>134</sup> MED I 475.

<sup>135</sup> Maerz/Paul <sup>2</sup>1950: 149.

<sup>136</sup> MED IV 152, Kerttula 2002: 77.

- ME *inde*<sup>137</sup> 'having a deep blue or indigo color'  
The term represents a borrowing from OF *inde* 'very dark purplish blue, indigo dye', which derives from L \**indium* for *indicum*, literally 'Indian', which goes back to Greek *ἰνδικόν* 'the blue Indian dye', literally 'the Indian (substance)', which represents the substantival use of *ἰνδικός* 'Indian'. The Latin word carried a hue sense and was especially applied in painting (André 1949: 292). The French form has been used as a color term since 1175 (Greimas <sup>2</sup>2001: 317), whereas the English color adjective is not mentioned before 1359/60. Barnickel (1975: 96) points out that the popular term in fashion and painting is a hyponym of ME *bleu*, as we come across the combination *inde bleu*. It is, however, not as restricted as *asur* and even extends to purple areas. The latter results from the fact that natural indigo – in contrast to synthetic one – can also produce a mixture of blue and red (Grierson 1986: 212). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the term was replaced by *indebaudias* 'indigo dye', which was in turn soon replaced by ModE *indigo* (OED s.v. *inde*).
- ModE *indigo* 'purple-blue'  
The term was loaned with its blue Indian dyestuff and hue sense into Early Modern English. The usual form in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century was *indico*, which was borrowed from Spanish, whereas *indigo*, which came into general use only after the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, is Portuguese. Both Romanic expressions go back to L *indicum* as well. The independent color adjective is first recorded in 1856 and has originally denoted a lighter and brighter color (Green-Armytage 1980: 169).
- ME *venet*<sup>138</sup> 'water color, grayish-blue'  
The rare and obsolete expression was loaned from L *venetus* 'Venice Blue' and is mentioned as the color of the sails of a spy-ship, serving for camouflage purposes (Maerz/Paul <sup>2</sup>1950: 185).
- ModE *ceruleous*<sup>139</sup> 'deep blue'  
The expression is a borrowing of the Latin color term *caeruleus* 'dark blue, dark green', from *caelum* 'sky', which was especially applied to the sky and the sea, but occasionally also to leaves and fields (André 1949: 162-171). The name, which again puts emphasis on the prototypical referent of the color concept, was replaced by *cerulean*, which is chiefly poetical and means 'deep blue'. Another poetical equivalent is *cerule*, which goes back to L *caerulus*, a variation of *caeruleus*, and was first applied by Spenser in 1591.
- ModE *cyan* 'greenish blue'  
The elliptic form of *cyan-blue* represents a combined form of Greek *κύανος* 'dark blue (mineral) and *κράνεος* 'dark blue'. First applied in 1879, it is especially used in the designations of certain bluish salts and minerals. Nowadays, it plays an important role in the printing industry, as it represents one of the shades in four-color printing. Of an earlier date, namely 1688, is ModE *cyaneous* 'dark blue, azure', which was directly borrowed from L *cyaneus* 'dark blue'.

#### 9. Unclear cases:

- ME *wa(t)chet*, *waget*<sup>140</sup> 'sort of blue cloth'  
Motivation of formation: The archaic expression refers to the name of a fabric dyed with the specific color that was borrowed from AN *wachet* 'watchet, blue cloth' (AND 886). However, as the OED (s.v. *watchet*) points out, it is not clear whether the term denotes a particular fabric or a color. Its first application by

<sup>137</sup> MED V 157.

<sup>138</sup> Krieg 1976: 80, OED s.v. *venet*

<sup>139</sup> Collins 1995: 109.

<sup>140</sup> Stratmann 1974: 662.



Chaucer in 1386 can denote both a light blue color or a garment of this particular shade. An independent adjective meaning 'light blue, sky-blue' that can also function as a qualifier if prefixed to blue is attested in 1496.

## 2.6 PURPLE

### 2.6.1 Cultural Background

The color was already known as a dye in the Bronze Age (around 1250 BC), before it became an important part in the textile trade of the Phoenicians and the imperial color in Rome (Hope/Walch 1990: 211). It was the first dye to be produced synthetically and, especially under the Victorians, turned into a color of aristocracy and snobbishness. It is also used as a mourning color for royalty and in religion. In daily life, it occurs in various flowers and fruits such as lavender, plums, and grapes. It carries a favorable connotation in the sense that a highly elaborate piece of prose is described as *purple* in English. However, as Clough (1930: 608) points out, the concept itself is not very common anywhere in literature.

### 2.6.2 Names

As far as this color concept is concerned, we come across various tints and a certain fuzziness regarding the exact definitions of the various expressions (cf. Kottinger (1979: 152): "Farbunschärfe des Purpurs"). "Americans fairly consistently use the term *purple* to designate the end of the spectrum that continues into *ultra-violet*, and which is generally known as *violet* on this side of the Atlantic."<sup>141</sup> It is, however, clear that their areas overlap and that in common language it is often not important to exactly differentiate the names in order to communicate.

#### 1. Iconym: "**gleaming, glittering, shining**"

- OE *basu*, *baso*<sup>142</sup> 'crimson, scarlet, purple'  
Motivation of formation: As mentioned earlier, the specialized dye-term probably stems from an IE root *\*bhaṛ̥bhoṛ̥bhə-* 'gleaming, glittering, shining'. In the course of English language history, it was gradually replaced by *purple*.

#### 2. Iconym: "**purple/red-dyed cloth**"

- OE *pællen*, *pellen*<sup>143</sup>, ME *pallen* 'made of valuable fabric, purple'  
Motivation of formation: The expression represents the adjectival derivation of OE *pæl*, *pell* 'costly cloak or robe, pall, covering', which is adopted from L *pallium* 'pall, coverlet, curtain, cloak'. It is especially applied to fine and rich material, especially as used for the robes of persons of high rank, which were often clad in purple or red. It was, therefore, a specialized term to denote the purple color of luxury garments (Biggam 1999: 118). In the course of time, however, it began to lose the specific sense of 'purple cloth' and came to be used in the more general sense of 'rich clothing'.

#### 3. Iconym: "**red or a different color**" + "**red**"

<sup>141</sup> Spence 1989: 472, footnote 2.

<sup>142</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 68. However, as Krieg (1979: 431) points out, it is likely to have denoted not 'violet' but 'imperial purple', a shade which is now considered 'red'.

<sup>143</sup> TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 245.

- OE *brunbasu*<sup>144</sup> 'dark purple'
- OE *read-basu*<sup>145</sup> 'reddish-purple'

Motivation of formation: Here, as mentioned before, we are concerned with copulative compounds. The motive can be ascribed to the need of expressing a hue that lacked a basic color term in Old English.

#### 4. Iconym: "blue" + "red"

- OE *bleo-rēad*<sup>146</sup> 'blue-red, purple'

Motivation of formation: The term also represents a copulative compound and consists of the two colors 'blue' and 'red', which are juxtaposed to indicate that the desired reference lies between the two. It appears that a need is felt for a more specific lexical representation in this borderline area. In the course of the English language, this lexical gap was filled by the basic color term *purple*.

#### 5. Iconym: "red" + "blue"

- OE *basu hāwen*<sup>147</sup> 'of purple color or hue'

The item glosses L *indicum* 'blue, blue pigment' (cf. OEC), which can be explained by the fact that, as mentioned before, natural indigo could produce a blend of blue and red as well. However, Biggam (1997: 83) points out that in the underlying Latin manuscript *rubeaque* 'and red, madder dye' occurs next to *indicum*, and *basu*, which may originally have glossed the former, might mistakenly have been transferred to a glossary as a translation of *indicum*.

#### 6. Iconym: "whelk" + "purple/red"

- OE *weolucbasu*<sup>148</sup> 'purple'
- OE *weolocen-rēad* 'scarlet, purple'
- OE *weoloc-reōd*, *wi(o)loc-rēad*, ME *welk red* 'scarlet, purple'

Motivation of formation: As stated earlier, the determinant of these three compounds refers to the shell-fish, from which a red or purple pigment is obtained. The expressions are likely to be restricted to the field of dyeing and clothing.

#### 7. Other Expressions:<sup>149</sup>

- ModE *amethyst* 'purple violet'

Motivation of formation: The term refers to the color resembling that of the stone whose name was loaned into Middle English from OF *ametiste*, *amatiste*, which was adopted from L *amethystus*, itself from Greek *ἀμέθυστος* 'remedy against intoxication', from *μέθυσ* 'wine', as the stone was thought to prevent drunkenness. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the spelling was refashioned after Latin. According to the FEW (XXIV 436), the French term did not acquire its color sense before 1817. The English term, however, was used as early as 1572 to describe the heraldic color of the amethyst, 'purple violet', and became an independent color adjective in 1601

<sup>144</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 129.

<sup>145</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 787.

<sup>146</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 109. However, the entry *blep* 'blue' is only to be found in Bosworth/Toller (1898: 109), whereas all other dictionaries display it as 'color, shape, appearance, form'.

<sup>147</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 68.

<sup>148</sup> TOE 146, Pollington 1993: 156.

<sup>149</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the items are again taken from the list in Maerz/Paul (?1950: 188ff.).

- (OED s.v.).
- ModE *hyacinth* 'blue or purple'  
Motivation of formation: The earliest forms in English, *jacincte*, *jacynct*, *jacynth*, were adopted from OF *jacincte*. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, however, the term was reintroduced, in the more classical form, from F *hyacinthe*, itself from L *hyacinthus* 'hyacinth', which stems from Greek ὑάκινθος 'purple or dark-red flower', 'precious stone', a word of pre-Hellenic, unclear origin. Neither Kristol (1978) nor Greimas (<sup>2</sup>2001) record a color sense for the French term. The metonymical extension, which is first mentioned in 1891, refers to the purplish blue color resembling that of a common variety of the flower. It is chiefly used as a poetic or rhetorical epithet of hair, after the Homeric model 'locks like the hyacinthine flower' (André 1949: 197). The development might have been influenced by *hyacinthine*, which was borrowed as a color term from L *hyacinthinus* 'of the color of a hyacinth' only a few years earlier.
  - ModE *modena*<sup>150</sup> 'intense purple'  
Motivation of formation: The term, which was first applied in 1822, refers to the name of an Italian city. It was a prominent color in Seljuk and Ottoman mural ceramics (Hope/Walch 1990: 271).
  - ModE *plum* 'dark reddish purple'  
Motivation of formation: The name of the fruit, which had been borrowed into Old English from ML *pruūd*, for L *pruūm* 'plum', and did not exhibit a color sense (cf. André 1949), was metonymically extended to describe other objects with the same semantic feature from 1872 on. It is often found in the context of clothes and cosmetics.
  - ModE *damson* 'dark purple'  
Motivation of formation: The expression also refers to the color resembling that of the fruit whose name is loaned into Middle English from L *Damasceñum*, short for *pruūm Damasceñum* 'plum of Damascus', a variety of the fruit that was introduced earlier into Greece and Italy from Syria. The color adjective is first mentioned in 1661 and is especially applied to clothes.

## 8. Loanwords:

- OE *purpuren*<sup>151</sup> 'purple', ME *purpre*, *purper*, *purpur*, ModE *purple*  
 As stated earlier, the term represents the adjectival derivation of the Old English noun *purpure* 'red/purple cloth', which was loaned into the English language from L *purpura*, itself from Greek 'shellfish that yielded the Tyrian purple dye, dye itself, cloth dyed therewith'. As pointed out by André (1949: 90), the Latin and Greek terms had a color sense. In its earliest use, around 900, OE *purpure* was only used as a noun referring to garments and to denote the distinguishing color of emperors' and kings' dresses, especially in the context of high status and wealth. The adjectival or attributive use was expressed by its oblique case *purpuran* 'of purple', or later by the derivational adjective *purpuren*. The loss of the final syllable of either of these gave the 12<sup>th</sup>-century term *purpre*, which coincided with OF *purpre*. According to Casson (1997: 231), the term was restricted to the clothing of royalty until late Middle English. In 1562 *purpure* was employed in heraldry, a field in which it survives to the present day. Various derivations that go back to L *purpureus* 'purple' are found as well, e.g. *purpureous*, *purpureal*, and *purpurean*, and furthermore *purpurate*, which is

<sup>150</sup> Hope/Walch 1990: 205.

<sup>151</sup> TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 779.

- loaned from L *purpurabis* 'clad in purple'.
- ONhb *purple*<sup>152</sup> 'purple, dark crimson', EME *purpel*, *purpul*, ModE *purple* 'color obtained by mixing red and blue'  
The expression is a dissimilated form of either OE *purpuren* or *purpuran* and appeared first in adjectival or attributive use. In Middle English times, the term is still vaguely applied to various shades of red and is thus a hyponym of *red*. However, a development towards independence is already noticeable, as the compound *purple-hewed*, which is recorded in 1475, is applied in a collocation other than with textiles (Barnickel 1975: 95). Nowadays it denotes a mixture of red and blue in various proportions (OED s.v.). The PURPLE basic color term is used with a variety of referents, features various derivations and compounds (e.g. *purpled*, *empurple*, *pansy-purple*), and is also used metaphorically, as in *purple passion*.
  - ME and ModE *violet* 'bluish-purple'  
The expression was already taken over as a color term from OF *violet* 'violet', the diminutive of *viole*, the flower, whose name derives from L *viola*. André (1949: 197) mentions a color use of the Latin term and Greimas (<sup>2</sup>2001: 621) records the first color sense in French for 1200. The independent English adjective is not listed before 1370, which was, in its early use, collocationally restricted to woven fabrics of this color (OED s.v.). According to Barnickel (1975: 97), it is first applied in Wyclif's 1380 Bible Translation, in which it translates L *hyacinthus* and presents itself as a hyponym of *bleu*. It is used in reference to veins and cloth only sporadically, since *purple* was still the dominating and more salient expression (Turmann 1934: 22). In the course of time it has become more prominent, in common language and especially in the field of fashion, as it can be applied to various objects and function as a qualifier of other colors (e.g. *violet blue*, *violet black*).
  - ModE *lilac* 'pale purple'  
The color, which is "slightly more intense than lavender, but less reddened than violet"<sup>153</sup> refers to the color of the blossom of the hardy shrub. Its name was borrowed into English from F *lilac*, Sp *lilac*, loaned from Arabic *liḷāk*, which is adopted from Persian *liḷāk*, a variation of *niḷāk* 'bluish', ultimately going back to Sanskrit *niḷāh* 'of a dark color, dyed with indigo'. The French term was used as a color adjective as early as 1763 (FEW XIX 108), whereas the English adjective is not mentioned before 1801. The borrowed color use might further be strengthened by the fashion-related first occurrences (Barnickel 1975: 51), a field in which it is still chiefly applied.  
The dialectal form ME *lelacke*, ModE *laylock* 'the color lilac', which appears in various spellings in some parts of England, chiefly Northumberland, Yorkshire, Cumberland, Lincoln, and Wiltshire, as well as in America (EDD III 546), is of the same origin, but came into the language via Turkish *leilaq*.
  - ModE *lavender* 'pale purple'  
The expression refers to the name of the flower, which was loaned into Middle English from AN *lavendre*, for \**lavendle*, deriving from ML *lavendula*, which is of obscure origin. According to the OED (s.v.), some connect it with It *lavanda* 'washing' from L *lavāre* 'lave, wash', the assumption being that the name refers to the use of the plant either for perfuming baths or as laid among freshly washed linen. Others see its variation, *livendula*, in connection with L *livēre* 'to be livid or bluish'.  
The independent color adjective in the sense 'of the color of lavender-flowers' is

<sup>152</sup> OED s. v. *purple*

<sup>153</sup> Hope/Walch 1990: 194.

first recorded in 1882, whereas the French term acquired its color sense already around 1600 (FEW V 219).

- ModE *mauve* 'reddish purple'  
The term was loaned as a color term from French *mauve* 'mallow, mallow-color', which derives from L *malva* 'mallow', in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It also refers to the color of a bright but delicate purple dye obtained from coal-tar aniline and is very popular in the field of textiles and interior decorations.
- ModE *Tyrian (Purple)* 'purple, crimson'  
The expression is especially used in reference or allusion to the purple or crimson dye anciently made from certain mollusks at Tyre, an ancient Phoenician city of the Mediterranean (in present-day Lebanon), which used to be the center of extensive commerce. It is loaned from L *Tyrius* 'of or belonging to, native of, or made in Tyre', the adjectival derivation of *Tyrus* 'Tyre', which already carries a color sense (André 1949: 103).

## 2.7 WHITE

### 2.7.1 Cultural Background

White, an achromatic color, reflects all light without absorption and is thus devoid of any distinctive hue. The antonym of black is the color of many natural phenomena such as snow, clouds, various flowers, and milk, as well as of man-made products like paper, refined sugar, spotless white linen etc. It mostly bears a positive connotation, an association of something good, pure, innocent, and clean. In application to hair it is equated with being old and wise. The white dove of peace is a symbol of transmutation. White dresses at celebrations such as communion or marriage are also the sign of a new beginning, as are the white mourning clothes in Japan (Hope/Walch 1990: 104). However, white can also refer to aggression, e.g. when one thinks of *Moby Dick*, white sharks, or the Ku-Klux Klan.

### 2.7.2 Names

As the color system in Old English was based on brightness and not on hue, it knew a vast amount of expressions for light and brightness (e.g. *bēorht*, *leōht*, *sciū*, *torht*, *sunne*), which are twice as numerous as those for darkness. It would, however, be impossible to take all of them into account, but, as Mead (1899: 175) states, it is difficult to decide where to draw the line of exclusion.

#### 1. Iconym: "shining"

- OE *hwit*<sup>154</sup>, ME *whit*, ModE *white*  
Motivation of formation: The term and its cognates OFris, OS *hwit*, OHG *(h)wi*, ON *hvitr*, Goth *hweits* go back to Gmc *χwiōz* and ultimately to IE *\*kueid-* 'shining, bright, white', an extension of IE *\*kuei-*, which itself is probably an extension of *\*keu-* 'shining, bright'. In Old English, the expression was used for white objects such as snow, hair, and feathers, but mostly suggested luminosity or reflectivity, e.g. when applied to light, roofs, helmets, gems, silver, and angels. The Middle English term already had a primary hue sense, but still conveyed a notion of brightness and brilliance (Casson 1994: 227). The major white-related term was used to describe pure white objects and was applied to white animal hair and bird plumage, several flowers (e.g. lilies, daisies), and marble as well. In connection with human beings it could refer to health, thus symbolically to

<sup>154</sup> TOE 145, Holthausen 1974: 182; IEW 629.

holiness, as well as to blond hair or hair whitened by old age. It was, however, as Barnickel (1975: 85) points out, not used to express the paleness of the human face as it is the case in Modern English.

Nowadays it can denote whiteness, paleness, and brightness and is again especially applied whenever the basic denotation is desired, which is one explanation for why it has become the basic color term. It is, furthermore, part of many fixed idioms and is used metaphorically (e.g. *a white lie*). The term exhibits exceptionally extensive derivation and it is used with various premodifiers and determinants, many of which have already been created in the Old English period, e.g. OE *eallhwīt mærehwīt þurhhwīt* 'pure white', *snaw hwi* 'snow-white', *meolchwi* 'milk-white', ME *lilīwhi* ModE *pearl-white, dead-white, off-white*.

- OE *blac*<sup>155</sup> 'shining, white'

Motivation of formation: The underlying IE term *\*bhlēǵ-*, *bhliǵ-* 'shining', an extension of *\*bhlēǵ-* and *bhel-* 'shining, white', is widely reflected in the Germanic languages. The expression is, according to Mead (1899: 177), merely an ablaut form of OE *blican* 'to shine' and with some probability hardly means white at all, but emphasizes brightness as it is applied to fire, fire-light, flame, lightning, or starlight. It is, however, also used to describe the dull color of the moon or the paleness of the skin in disturbed states of mind such as anxiety, shock, and fear.

The southern development of OE *blac* ME *blo* 'pale, wan, pallid', originally denoted a pale shade implying deficiency or loss of color, most frequently of the ruddy hue of health or of the full green of vegetation. It was almost collocationally restricted to complexion, a fact which probably caused its supplement by *pale*, which could be applied to a variety of things. However, soon it was transferred to its meaning 'black' maybe because both sensations are characterized by a loss or deficiency of color. As the terms for 'black' and 'white, pale' are homonymous in southern texts, it is, however, not always easy to differentiate which one is meant in a given context.

ME *blake*<sup>156</sup> 'pale, wan, pallid' represents the northern descendant of OE *blac* and is now obsolete except in parts of Northern England in its meaning 'yellow, of a golden color' (see 2.3.2).

- OE *blāc(e)*<sup>157</sup>, ME *bleche* 'pale, pallid, of fair complexion'

Motivation of formation: The minor expression is probably a variant form of OE *blac* 'shining, white' and is collocationally restricted to complexion.

The regularly developed form ModE *bleach* was displaced by ModE *bleak*, which is not recorded before the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The latter was synonymous with *bleche, bleike/blaike, blake, bloke* in earlier use, but its etymology cannot easily be determined. *Bleke* 'bleak' may have been the northern form of *bleche* 'bleach', a variation quite frequent in other Modern English words (cf. *church* vs. *kirk*). It is also possible that it was a 16<sup>th</sup> century spelling of ON *bleike, blaike*, or even of the northern dialectal form *blake*. It could have resulted from a blending of *bleach*, with *bleike* or *blake* as well (cf. OED s.v.). It is, however, obsolete in the sense 'pale, pallid, wan' except in parts of Lincoln, Leicester, Northampton, Warwick, Bedford, and Huntingdon (EDD I 295).

- OE *blanc*<sup>158</sup> 'blank, white, gray'

Motivation of formation: Deriving from IE *\*bheleg*, an extension of *\*bhel-* 'shining', Gmc *\*blanka-* 'shining white' occurs as OS *blanc*, OHG *blanch*, and OE *blanc*, which are almost exclusively used of horses. The corresponding noun

<sup>155</sup> Holthausen 1974: 25, IEW 156.

<sup>156</sup> EDD I 287.

<sup>157</sup> Holthausen 1974: 25.

<sup>158</sup> Bosworth/Toller 1898: 108, IEW 125.

is OE *blanca*, which denotes a steed that shines in the sun (Mead 1899: 177) and thus refers to the salient color of the animal. ME *blank(e)* no longer functions as a color adjective but is only employed as a noun meaning 'horse, steed', thus exhibiting a shift of meaning from 'a horse or steed of white color' to a 'horse or steed in general'.

## 2. Iconym "light, pale, colorless"

- OE *blat*<sup>159</sup> 'livid, pale, ghastly'  
Motivation of formation: The term and its cognate OHG *bleizza* 'paleness' go back to IE *\*bhlaido-s* 'light, pale'. It is used to describe a lack of color and brightness when applied to the face and wounds, but it is also attributed to tears and fire (cf. König 1957).

## 3. Iconym "dark, gray, brown"

- OE *ha*<sup>160</sup>, ME *hoor*, *hor*, ModE *hoar* 'white, grayish white, gray'  
Motivation of formation: The expression and its cognates OS, OHG *he* 'old' and ON *ha* 'hoary, old' can be traced back to Gmc *\*χairaz*, from the root *\*χai*, and ultimately to IE *\*kei-ro* 'dark, gray, brown', from the root *\*kei-*, which is particularly used in color terms to denote dark hues. In Old English, it is especially applied to hair and beards which are gray or white from age, but also to frost, withered trees, and mold-covered food. In the course of English language history it has become – in its color sense – collocationally restricted to hair.<sup>161</sup> It was gradually supplanted by ModE *hoary*, a derivation of *hoar* by the suffix *-y* first recorded in 1530 (OED s.v.).

## 4. Iconym "a certain white object" + "white"

- OE *snaw-hwi*<sup>162</sup>, ME *snou-whi*<sup>163</sup> ModE *snow-white*  
Motivation of formation: The determinative compound was motivated by the prototypical white object snow and denotes 'pure white'. It is attested as early as 1000 and is, aside from literature, found in specific fish or bird names (e.g. *snow-white salmon*).<sup>164</sup> The adjectival derivative ModE *snowy*<sup>165</sup> 'snow-white' came into existence in 1590 and is not only applied to cloth, birds, or clouds, but functions as a qualifier of *white* or *whiteness* as well.
- OE *meolchwi*<sup>164</sup>, ME *milk-whi*<sup>165</sup> ModE *milk-white*  
Motivation of formation: The expression, which was used in literature as early as 1000, refers to the salient color of milk. ME *milki*<sup>164</sup> ModE *milky* 'milk-white', the adjectival derivation from the noun, is mentioned at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Whereas in poetical use both expressions denote a pure white color, in prose and botanical descriptions they rather refer to white resembling the shade of milk diffused through water (OED s.v.). They are especially attributed to the body and show a parallel to the Latin term *lacteus*, which is used especially in reference to

<sup>159</sup> Holthausen 1974: 26, IEW 160.

<sup>160</sup> Holthausen 1974: 149, IEW 541.

<sup>161</sup> Barnickel 1975: 94. As Biggam (1993: 42) states, "Chaucer's restricted usage presaged the very narrow and archaic occurrences of *hoary* in Modern English. It may well be headed for extinction." However, the term survives in the natural phenomenon *hoar-frost* and in the plant *hoarhound/horehound*, which are fixed expressions, though, and do not refer to a specific color.

<sup>162</sup> TOE 145, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 891.

<sup>163</sup> Collins 1995: 1033.

<sup>164</sup> TOE 145, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 679.

<sup>165</sup> MED VI 474.

the body as well.

- ME *lilie-whi*<sup>166</sup>, ModE *lily-white*

Motivation of formation: The determinative compound was a part of the stock description of the beautiful lady in Middle English, as the lily was often regarded the prototypical or "standard exemplum of whiteness."<sup>167</sup> Pale beauty was therefore a sign of purity and innocence. The metonymical extension of the flower, ModE *lily* 'lily-white', is recorded as an independent color term at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and was primarily applied to the face, skin, and body of the lady-love. It is, however, of minor importance nowadays.

## 5. Iconym: "silver"

- ME and ModE *silver*<sup>168</sup>

Motivation of formation: The color adjective is motivated by the lustrous white color of the metal and is first recorded in 1386. It is chiefly poetical and applied to white hair or skin in order to emphasize the brilliance of the respective object. It always bears a pleasing effect (Clough 1930: 609).

- ModE *argent*<sup>169</sup> 'silvery white'

Motivation of formation: The entity sense 'silver, money', which represents a loan of F *argent*, a derivation of L *argentum* 'silver', was metonymically extended to denote a silvery white color. Whereas the English color adjective is first attested in 1590, the French word did not have a color sense before 1678/1679 (Kerttula 2002: 121). The Latin color term *argenteus* 'silvery white' (André 1949: 41), might have influenced this development. However, the archaic and chiefly poetic expression has gradually been replaced by the inherited English term *silver* and can only be found in heraldry denoting the silver or white color in armorial bearings.

## 6. Other Expressions:<sup>170</sup>

- OE *famig*<sup>171</sup> 'foamy'

Motivation of formation: As Mead (1899: 176) points out, the term certainly suggests color, but is more often used in a literal sense. The same is true of OE *fawig-heals* 'foamy-necked', which is applied to ships.

- OE *wederblaw*<sup>172</sup> 'bleached by exposure'

Motivation of formation: The rather infrequent glossary term represents a combination of the determinant that refers to the natural phenomenon 'weather' and the determinate 'white' and thus indicates a specific nuance of 'white', namely a shade 'bleached by exposure to the weather'.

- ModE *ivory*

Motivation of formation: The expression refers to the shade of white resembling that of the tusks of various animals (e.g. elephant, walrus), of which many very valuable ornaments and articles of use are made. The metonymical extension was first employed by Spenser in 1590 and is especially applied to denote the whiteness of the human skin. Only five years later *ivory-white* came into existence (OED s.v.). Aside from their color sense, both terms also convey a notion of

<sup>166</sup> MED V 1052.

<sup>167</sup> Biggam 1993: 48.

<sup>168</sup> MED X 894, Collins 1995: 1033.

<sup>169</sup> Pratt 1898: 112, IEW 64.

<sup>170</sup> The items are again taken from the list in Maerz/Paul (²1950: 188ff.) unless otherwise stated.

<sup>171</sup> Bosworth/Toller 1898: 270.

<sup>172</sup> TOE 145, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1182.



value.

The name of the material was borrowed into Middle English from OF *yvoire*, from L *eboreus*, the adjectival form of *ebu-*, *ebo-* 'ivory', which came into the language from Egyptian, probably through the Phoenicians. However, no color sense is attested for the Old French expression. According to Kerttula (2002: 119), it is possible that the Latin secondary derivations of 'ivory', *eburnus*, *eburneus* 'white as ivory', and the French comparison *blanc comme l'ivoire* 'white as ivory' (dating from 1165) stimulated the English color use.

- ModE *alabaster*

Motivation of formation: The independent color adjective, which is especially used to describe the excellent beauty of the body, is first mentioned in 1580. Before that, it was used attributively to denote the whiteness resembling that of the stone whose name was loaned from OF *alabastre*, deriving from L *alabaster*, -*trum* and Greek *ἀλάβαστρος*, *ἀλάβαστος*, which probably originated in an ancient Egyptian village (OED s.v.). Neither André (1949) nor the FEW record a color sense for Latin or Old French.

- ModE *cream* 'yellowish-white'

Motivation of formation: The elliptic form of *cream colour* is not recorded before 1861, although the color sense was already known to Shakespeare. It is particularly applied to the fur of animals such as horses and rabbits, and has become a popular textile term. The name of the substance was loaned into Middle English from OF *creme*, which is a blend of LL *crāma*, itself probably of Gaulish origin, and Ecclesiastical L *chrisma* 'chrism'. The FEW does not mention a color use for Old French.

## 7. Loanwords:

- ME *blaunk*, *bla(u)nche*<sup>173</sup> 'white'

The expression was loaned as a color term from OF *blanc*, *blanche* 'white, gray or white (horses)', which itself is from Frankish *\*blank* 'shining, bright' and ultimately from IE *bhleg-* 'shining, gleaming'. It is therefore cognate with the inherited English term OE *blanc*, which is collocationally restricted to horses. In Modern English, the expression is obsolete in the sense 'white', except in specific uses such as *blank plumb* 'white lead', *blank falcon* a 'white hawk', i.e. one in its third year (OED s.v. *blank*). The female form, which was only used in specific contexts (e.g. *blanch fever*, *blanch powder*, *blanch sauce*), only survives in heraldry and in historic forms such as *blanch farm*, *blench ferme*, *blanch duty* or *blanch holding*.

- ME *pa[le]*<sup>174</sup> 'pale, whitish, yellowish'

The loan of OF *pale*, deriving from L *pallidus* 'pale', from *pallere* 'to be pale', is mentioned as early as 1300 (OED s.v.) and has since then rapidly displaced inherited terms (e.g. ME *blok*) in the field of expressing the unhealthy state of the human face and body as affected by death, sickness, or passion. The Latin term might have been supportive as can be seen in various scientific texts (Barnickel 1975: 265, endnote 82). Whereas the term is still somehow confined to complexion in Middle English, it has become an important modifier and qualifier of other color terms in Modern English (e.g. *pale blue*). Several derivations point to its fast integration (e.g. *pale-faced*, *paling*, *straw-pale*).

The direct loan of L *pallidus* 'pale, pallid' is not recorded before 1590 and is, except in botany, chiefly poetical before 1800 (OED s.v.). We find derivations

<sup>173</sup> MED I 959.

<sup>174</sup> MED VII 567, Collins 1995: 1033.

- from the Latin term as well (e.g. *pallor*, *impallid*).
- ME *bleik*, *blaik*<sup>175</sup> 'pale, pallid, sallow, white'  
ON *bleik* 'shining, pale', which is cognate with OE *blāc* 'shining, white', was loaned into the English language in 1300. Chiefly referring to the face in a state of fear, illness, or envy, it has always borne negative connotations, which might have influenced its restricted usage and subsequent displacement by the word of French origin.
  - ModE *albescant*<sup>176</sup> 'growing or becoming white, shading or passing into white'  
The expression is loaned from the Latin color term *albescens*, *albescentem*, the present participle of *albescere* 'to grow white', from *albus* 'white'. As stated by André (1949: 228), the Latin word was used only in poetry. It is of minor importance in English as well.
  - ModE *marmorean*<sup>177</sup> 'of the color of marble'  
Adopted in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the term goes back to L *marmoreus*, from *marmor* 'marble', which was used especially with reference to the body. Beside its color designation it also conveys a notion of hardness and value.

## 2.8 GRAY

### 2.8.1 Cultural Background

Gray, the achromatic color between white and black, which is also a mixture of both, is the color of the hair of elderly people and of animal skin and fur (e.g. mouse, wolf, hound, goose, horse, falcon), often serving as protective mimicry. Ash, rocks and stones, lead, and iron are gray natural materials, whereas plants or flowers of this shade hardly ever occur. It is also attributed to fog and rainy weather, in which it conveys a notion of desolation, monotony, and misery. It can, however, also carry more positive connotations, e.g. if one thinks of the wisdom and dignity of age.

### 2.8.2 Names

As far as Old English is concerned, the color concept GRAY was thoroughly studied by Biggam (1998). As she points out, it is a salient color in *Beowulf*, especially applied to elderly men, rocks and stones, weapons and mail-coats. However, specialized vocabulary and compound color terms are rare due to the lack of this color sensation in crafts of dyeing or cloth-production and art of painting.

#### 1. Iconym "gleam, glimmer, shine"

- OE *græg*, *græg*<sup>178</sup>, ME *grei*, ModE *grey*, *gray*<sup>179</sup>  
Motivation of formation: The expression and its cognates ON *grār*, OFris *gre*, OHG *grab* 'gray' derive from Gmc *\*grāwaz*, itself from IE *\*ghreg-* *uiwo-s*, and stems ultimately from the root IE *\*gher-*, *ghre-* *gherə-* 'to gleam, glimmer, shine'.

<sup>175</sup> MED I 961.

<sup>176</sup> Kerttula 2002: 239.

<sup>177</sup> Kerttula 2002: 239.

<sup>178</sup> TOE 147, Holthausen 1974: 135, IEW 441.

<sup>179</sup> Despite the fact that some people used to consider differences between the two graphic forms, e.g. that *grey* denoted a more delicate or a lighter tint than *gray*, that *gray* was a 'warmer' color, or that it had a mixture of red or brown, the words are both etymologically and phonetically one, thus exhibit the same signification. In the twentieth century, *grey* has become the established spelling in the United Kingdom, whilst *gray* is standard in the United States (cf. OED).

In Old English, the term is applied to human hair, animal furs or feathers (e.g. geese, wolves, swans, horses), and stones. Aside from its hue sense, it also conveyed a reflective and luminous sense if used with reference to water, wave, iron, sword, spearhead, mail-coat, hoar-frost (Mead 1899: 189-199, Barley 1974). Biggam (1998: 83), however, denies that shininess was an essential semantic feature of the word and suggests that it expresses a dull rather than a shiny shade, as at an earlier date it denoted 'dirty colored' or 'dull colored' of any hue.<sup>180</sup> Compounds are found as well, but they are rather infrequent and contextually restricted (e.g. *flodgræg*, *flintgræg* 'dark gray' as a picturesque description of the sea, *deorcegræg*, *dungræg* 'dark gray', *æscgræg* 'ashy gray', *isengræg* 'iron gray')<sup>181</sup>. The Middle English term exhibits a primary hue sense, but may also describe glossy grayness, especially when it refers to marble (Barnickel 1975: 87). In analogy to the *splendor armorum* the term is also used for the *splendor oculorum*, the brightness of the eyes.<sup>182</sup> In Modern English, the GRAY basic color term can denote all the nuances from a dirty white to black and can be applied to various objects. It is, furthermore, a qualifier of other color terms (*gray-black*, *-brown*, *-green*) and is also used metaphorically (e.g. *gray eminence*, *gray market*).

## 2. Iconym "dark, gray, brown"

- OE *har*<sup>183</sup>, ME *hoor*, *hor*, ModE *hoar(y)* 'gray, white'  
Motivation of formation: As stated above the term ultimately goes back to IE *\*kei-ro* 'dark, gray, brown', from the root *\*kei-*, which is mostly used to indicate dark color. In Old English, it is especially employed with reference to hair, beard, stones, and iron. When applied to wolves, it also carries a notion of dreadfulness. And the mail-coat as a gray covering for warriors can be seen as a metaphor for the gray coat of the feared wolf (Biggam 1998: 223). Its popular occurrences with boundary markers also convey the semantic feature 'ancientness'. In its color sense it has become collocationally restricted to hair and was replaced by the adjectival derivation ModE *hoary*.
- OE *hāwen*<sup>184</sup> 'gray'  
Motivation of formation: Even if its predominant meaning is 'blue', it can also denote 'gray'. As mentioned earlier in the text, the term can ultimately be traced back to IE *\*kei-* as well.

## 3. Iconym: "gray"

- OE *hasu*<sup>185</sup> 'gray, gray-brown'  
Motivation of formation: Together with its cognates OI *hoīs* 'grey', OS *hasu*

<sup>180</sup> According to her, there is no firm evidence that the term meant 'shiny' in these collocations, as they all could refer to objects which can be gray in color as well. She follows Wood's argumentation (1902: 52, 74-75) that *græg* could also go back to an IE base *\*gher-* 'cut, scratched, marked (with a contrasting color)', which is represented in the sense 'colored, dyed' by Greek χρωρίζω 'color, dye, tint' and in the sense 'grease, smear, stain' by Welsh *gori* 'suppurate', OE *gor* 'dirt, dung', ON *gormr* 'filth', and Lith *greiðas* 'slimy sediment'. All these expressions rather refer to an unsaturated, dull hue.

<sup>181</sup> All expressions are listed in the TOE (147).

<sup>182</sup> As Ostheeren (1971: 33) points out, the "Epitheton *par excellence* für die Bezeichnung des Glanzes der Augen im Schönheitskatalog" and the comparison of the eyes with a falcon (e.g. in *Romance of the Rose*, 'Hir yen grey as is a faucoun') is a reference to Arabic poetry where the bird is compared to the shining stars (p. 30, footnote 84).

<sup>183</sup> Holthausen 1974: 149, IEW 541.

<sup>184</sup> Holthausen 1974: 147, IEW 541.

<sup>185</sup> TOE 147, Holthausen 1974: 149, IEW 533.

'grey', OHG *hasan* 'shiny' the term goes back to the IE root *kas-* 'gray'. According to Biggam (1995: 58), it is mostly found in poetry and riddles and is applied to birds such as the pigeon or the eagle, and to smoke. The small number of occurrences seems to point to the fact that it is confined to that genre and that it was not used in everyday spoken or written language.

#### 4. Iconym "**wolf**"

- OE *wylfen*<sup>186</sup> 'gray'  
Motivation of formation: The expression, especially applied to human hair, literally means 'wolf-colored' and refers to the salient color of the animal which was, up to the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, called 'the gray animal' (Biggam 1998: 79).

#### 5. Iconym: "**glass**"

- OE *glæsen*<sup>187</sup> 'pale shiny gray'  
Motivation of formation: As mentioned before, this glossary entry, which represents an adjectival derivation of OE *glæs* 'glass', refers to the glassy appearance of eyes.

#### 6. Iconym "**gray or blue**" + "**blue or gray**"

- OE *grāghæwe*<sup>188</sup> 'gray'  
Motivation of formation: The fact that the compound color term occurs only once in a collocation with iron and once in a translation of L *glaucus* 'gray' leads Biggam (1998: 89) to conclude that its exact denotation is 'gray', since both the elements can denote 'gray'. The expression represents a copulative compound as it is not clear which of the elements is the grammatical head.
- OE *blāhāwen*<sup>189</sup> 'dark gray'  
Motivation of formation: Beside its dominant meaning 'dark blue', the compound color term can also denote 'dark gray'. As mentioned above, the essential idea is that it refers to a dark notion, whereas the chromatic value is secondary.

#### 7. Iconym "**ash**"

- ME *asshen*<sup>190</sup>, ModE *ashen* 'ash-coloured, whitish-gray'
- ME *asshi*<sup>191</sup>, ModE *ashy* 'ash-coloured'  
Motivation of formation: Both terms are adjectival derivations of ME *asshe* 'ash' and are especially used with hair and facial coloring (Casson 1997: 233). The reference to the color resembling that of the powdery residue is also exhibited in the determinative compounds OE *æscgræg* and *æsc-fealu* 'ashy-gray', which consist of the determinant 'ash' and a color term as determinate.

#### 8. Other Expressions:<sup>192</sup>

<sup>186</sup> Biggam 1998: 312.

<sup>187</sup> Bosworth/Toller 1898: 479.

<sup>188</sup> Biggam 1998: 89.

<sup>189</sup> Bosworth/Toller 1898: 107.

<sup>190</sup> MED I 452.

<sup>191</sup> MED I 452.

<sup>192</sup> Unless otherwise stated, these terms are taken from Maerz/Paul (1950: 188ff.).

- OE *gamolfeax*<sup>193</sup> 'old-haired, gray-haired'  
Motivation of formation: The determinative compound consists of an element 'old, aged, advanced in age' and an element 'hair' and represents a metonymy, since elderly people usually have gray hair.
- OE *blonden-feax*<sup>194</sup> 'having mixed or grizzly hair, gray-haired, old'  
Motivation of formation: The combination of *blondan* 'mix, mingle, blend' and the Anglo-Saxon word for 'hair' originally is no specific color word (cf. Mead 1899: 192), but is often used in the same meaning as OE *haef* 'gray, white'.
- ME *leden, leaden*<sup>195</sup>, ModE *leaden* 'dull gray'  
Motivation of formation: Referring to the color resembling that of lead, the adjectival derivation of the metal was used by Chaucer as early as 1386. It is applied to the sea, the sky, and clouds, and can also carry a notion of heaviness.
- ME *haue, haue*<sup>196</sup> 'bluish or gray'  
Motivation of formation: As stated before, the obsolete term goes back to OE *hæwe, haew* and only survives in Scottish *haw* 'discolored, livid' (EDD III 96).
- ModE *slate* 'bluish-gray'  
Motivation of formation: The expression is motivated by the shade of gray resembling that of the stone whose name was loaned into Middle English from OF *esclate*, the feminine form of *esclat* 'splinter, fragment', which goes back to Frankish *\*slaitan* 'to rend, split' (FEW XVII 141). The metonymical extension is first recorded in 1813 and is especially applied to eyes, clothes, and the sea. Furthermore, it functions as a brightness and saturation qualifier (e.g. *slate-blue, -brown, -gray*) in order to denote a dull grayish tone of the respective color.
- ModE *puke*  
Motivation of formation: The name of an excellent kind of woolen cloth was borrowed into Late ME *peuke, puke* from Middle Dutch *puuc, puyck* (MED VII 885). Whereas its cognates Du *puik* 'excellent', Low German *pük*, as in *püke ware* 'ware of superior quality, as cloth or linen', still refer to fabrics, only the English term has developed into a color designation. Turmann (1934: 41) lists it under GRAY and mentions that it is variously described. Schneider (1978: 428) supposes it to be more of an inky color. However, in my opinion, it certainly is not a very popular term, as it is homonymous with the verb denoting 'to vomit', thus evoking relatively negative associations.

## 9. Loanwords:

From the field of hair or fur color:

- ME *gris, grize*<sup>197</sup> 'gray'  
The color term is taken over from OF *gris*, which stems from Frankish *\*grīs* 'gray', which is related to OS *grīs* 'gray'. The term is nowadays obsolete in English, as it was gradually repressed by the following:
- ME *grisel, griselle, gresel*<sup>198</sup>, ModE *grizzle* 'gray'  
A further specialized color term, chiefly applied to animal fur and human hair, is the loan of OF *grisel, grisle*, a variation of *gris* 'gray'. ModE *grizzly* and *grizzled*, which are now almost exclusively used of hair, are adjectival derivations of the term.

<sup>193</sup> Bosworth/Toller 1898: 360.

<sup>194</sup> Bosworth/Toller 1898: 112.

<sup>195</sup> MED V 752.

<sup>196</sup> MED IV 524.

<sup>197</sup> MED IV 379.

<sup>198</sup> MED IV 380.

- ME *liard, lyard*<sup>199</sup> 'gray, spotted with white or silver gray'  
The expression was borrowed as a specialized horse color term in the 14<sup>th</sup> century from OF *liart* 'gray, spotted gray', which itself was possibly loaned from Mfr *liath* 'gray' from the sphere of courtly poetry (Gamillscheg s.v. *liard*). The institution of chivalry and its emphasis on horses brought with it an elaborate set of words and names distinguishing different kinds of horses according to their coloration (Krieg 1976: 25). If used with reference to a horse, it means 'spotted with white or silver gray' and as an application of hair it simply means 'gray, silvery gray approaching white'.
- ME *ferra(u)nt, farant, forant*<sup>200</sup> 'iron-gray'  
As early as 1300 the term was loaned from OF *ferrant* 'iron gray', from *fer*, which regularly derived from L *ferrum* 'iron'. In line with the French term, it was a popular epithet of horses and human hair.

From the field of textiles:

- ME *cedrē*<sup>201</sup> 'ash-colored, gray',  
OF *cedré* 'ash-coloured', from *cedre* 'cinder, ash', which goes back to L *cinis, cinerem* 'cinder, ash', was taken over into the English language.
- ModE *beige*<sup>202</sup> 'yellowish gray'
- ModE *ecru* 'the color of unbleached linen'  
"With little idea of what the words mean, most people believe that they refer to different colors."<sup>203</sup> However, both terms were taken over as technical dye-house terms from French in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and originally meant 'raw, unbleached' and referred to the color of undyed and unbleached wool, thus a natural yellowish-gray color. After 1910 *ecru*, which goes back to F *écru* 'raw, unbleached', from *cru*, deriving from L *cruŕus* 'raw', has almost become obsolete as a modish term, whereas *beige* enjoys a greater popularity and is used for hosiery, shoes, and leather goods. It derives from OF *bege*, which goes back to L *baeticus*, a reference to the popular wool of the Province *Baetica* (Gamillscheg s.v. *beige*).

Miscellaneous:

- ME *columbine*<sup>204</sup> 'dove-colored',  
In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the expression was created on the loan of OF *colombinā* 'gentle or innocent as a dove, meek, demure', which derives from L *colombinus* 'pertaining to a dove or pigeon, dove-colored'. The French word did not have a color sense (Greimas <sup>2</sup>2001), but the English term was inspired by the Latin color sense (André 1949: 73). The minor term, which was merely used among painters or biologists, has become obsolete in its color sense, probably because it was replaced by other terms of the concept, which were gradually invented and seemed to fit better to certain purposes.
- ME *bis, bice, byse, bize*<sup>205</sup> 'dark, gray'  
The Old French color term *bis, bise* 'dark-gray' is of unknown origin, was adopted into the English language in 1330, and became popular in fashion. Nowadays, however, it is obsolete in its sense 'gray', because ModE *bice* was

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<sup>199</sup> MED V 958. □

<sup>200</sup> MED III 514.

<sup>201</sup> MED II 116.

<sup>202</sup> Collins 1995: 171.

<sup>203</sup> Maerz/Paul <sup>2</sup>1950: 119.

<sup>204</sup> Kerttula 2002: 238.

<sup>205</sup> MED I 887, Barnickel 1975: 106.

erroneously transferred to indicate blue or green pigments (and the shades they yield) on account of the combinations *blewe bis* 'dark blue' and *green bis* 'dark green'.

- ME *bleu*<sup>206</sup> 'bluish-gray, lead- or ash-colored'  
Apart from its primary meaning 'blue', the term also denotes a bluish gray and lead- or ash-color. As stated above, it is loaned from OF *bleu*, *blo* 'blue, pale, fallow, faded', which goes back to Frankish *blao* 'blue, lead-colored'.
- ModE *plumbeous* 'lead-colored'
- ModE *plumbean* 'lead-colored'  
Here we are concerned with two 17<sup>th</sup>-century terms going back to L *plumbeus* 'leadened', from *plumbum* 'lead'. The former is chiefly used in zoology, whereas the latter has meanwhile become obsolete. Of the same origin is ModE *plumbate*, which is especially applied to lead-colored pottery made in pre-Columbian Central America (OED s.v.).
- ModE *cinereous*<sup>207</sup> 'ash-gray'  
The expression is directly borrowed from L *cinereus* 'ash-colored' and since 1661 primarily applied to birds having ash-coloured feathers, e.g. *cinereous crow*, *cinereous eagle*.
- ModE *taupe*<sup>208</sup> 'brownish gray'  
As Kerttula (2002: 216) points out, the term was borrowed as a special term in advertisement from French *taupe*, which derives from L *talpa* 'mole' and refers to the brownish shade of gray resembling the color of moleskin. The minor term is applied to cosmetic, clothes, and walls.
- ModE *livid*<sup>209</sup> 'bluish gray'  
The term is an adoption of F *livide*, from L *lividus* 'bluish, livid' and is employed with eyes, face, skin, as well as with scars, trees, and bricks. It is also used as a qualifier of other adjectives or substantives of color (e.g. *livid white*, *livid blue*). As far as the botanical use is concerned, the form *livido-* has been employed in compound designations of color such as *livido-castaneous*, *-fuscous*, *-virescent* (OED s.v.).

## 2.9 BLACK

### 2.9.1 Cultural Background

Black, an achromatic color, is the darkest possible hue, absorbing all light. It is the color of soot, coal, pitch, ink, and various animals, especially birds such as the raven or the crow. As it passes into meanings that suggest darkness, it is also attributed to night and depth, chiefly conveying a notion of ominousness and the unknown dark.

It is used of the human appearance (e.g. hair, beard), of other natural phenomena (e.g. smoke, clouds), and of textiles. In western cultures black is often the color of mourning, thus referring to death, but it also stands for the dignity of the clergy and nobility, and to the social code of solemnity and elegance. Its widespread use as a means of communicating religious and political aims dates even back to the Middle Ages (Schneider 1978: 413). Black features an ambivalent symbolism as it often implies something negative or bad, fearful and terrible – whence it is often an epithet of the devil – but it can also show positive aspects and signs of strength, e.g. *to be in the black* or *black gold*.

A phenomenon called "simplification" or, in its extended form, "radicalization", is pointed out by Bennett (1982: 18-21). Especially *black* and its opposite, *white*, are often – although

<sup>206</sup> MED I 972.

<sup>207</sup> Pratt 1898: 112, Kerttula 2002: 239.

<sup>208</sup> Kerttula 2002: 216.

<sup>209</sup> Kerttula 2002: 216.

inappropriately – employed to refer to colors rather than to their lexical denotations. *Black coffee* and *white coffee*, for instance, are in fact dark brown and light brown. The exchange of the potential color adjective serves to indicate that the color of the noun's referent is darker or lighter than the average color of an abstract "typical" version of it as it were. Thus, it simplifies the linguistic effort. A combination with a chromatic color can be found as well, e.g. *black:green mint*, which both denote different shades of green, and *white:red wine* or *white:red meat*, which merely refer to the variety of the alcoholic beverage or food than its exact color.

## 2.9.2 Names

Old English with its brightness-based color vocabulary features a striking profusion of terms, which, however, cannot really be distinguished from expressions for dark, dull, and dingy (e.g. *niht*, *sceadu*, *scuwa*, *þēostre*, *heolstor*). It would be impossible even to roughly list all the expressions. What Mead (1899: 175) said about the terms denoting light and brightness holds true for expressions indicating darkness as well.

### 1. Iconym "black, dirt-colored"

- OE *swært*<sup>210</sup>, ME *swart*, ModE *swart* 'swarthy, black'  
Motivation of formation: Together with its cognates OS, OFris *swart*, OHG *swarz*, ON *svartr*, Goth *swarts* 'dark-colored, black' the term can be traced back to Gmc \**swartaz*, ultimately IE \**sub̥r̥do-s* 'black, dirt-colored'. It is cognate with L *sordes* 'filth, uncleanness' and *sordidus* 'dirty'. While surviving as the regular color-word in the continental languages (Du *zwart*, G *schwarz*, Sw *svart*, Da *sort* etc.), it has been superseded in ordinary usage in English by *black*.  
 "The most characteristic word [for 'black'] in Old English"<sup>211</sup> was applied to a variety of deep black objects (e.g. raven, ink, pitch, soot) and natural phenomena like shadows, thunder-clouds, and night, hereby conveying an eerie atmosphere, but it was often transferred to dark objects such as blood and water as well. In religious poems, it was often used figuratively and symbolically as an epithet of the devil, hell, black souls, and evil spirits to denote their badness and lack of morality (cf. Mead 1899, Schwentner 1915). As the term was not hue-orientated, but shaded into different degrees of darkness, it was in need of premodifiers (e.g. OE *eallswært*, ME *forswærted*) and determinants (OE *coðswært*, *hræfnsweart*, *fyðswært*)<sup>212</sup> to express intense blackness. In my opinion, this might be one reason why it was so easily displaced by *black* when the color vocabulary changed from a brightness-based to a hue-based system. As Kerttula (2002: 62) points out, "[i]t seems probable that when *blæc* had become the word denoting ultimate blackness, *swært* was left to compete with *deorc* in expressing darkness. If this happened *swært* must have lost the contest because it also conveyed blackness (e.g. *hræfnsweart*)". Its decreasing role is also corroborated by the fact that in Middle English, *swart* displays a collocational restriction to the face and other body parts, often bearing a negative connotation, as it certainly was not the color of the then beauty ideal. In the 16/17<sup>th</sup> century *swart*, which is nowadays only used

<sup>210</sup> TOE 145, Holthausen 1974: 334, IEW 1052.

<sup>211</sup> Mead 1899: 182.

<sup>212</sup> All items are mentioned by Kerttula (2002: 61). The use of OE *coðswært* 'black as coal' and *hræfnsweart* 'black as a raven' as a simile is self-explanatory. Only OE *fyðswært*, literally 'black as fire', seems quite surprising, as fire is usually associated with 'red'. The motivation of the expression, which is infrequently used in poetry, lies in the transference of the color of the rising smoke close to the fire (cf. Schwentner 1915) or burned objects, which turn black.



- rhetorically or poetically, gave way to *swarthy* (Barnickel 1975: 263, endnote 61).
- ModE *swarthy* 'dark, black, dusky'  
The obscure variant of *swarty*, the adjectival derivative of *swart*, is probably a dialect form. It is contextually restricted to complexion and mostly applied to male persons.

## 2. Iconym "ink"

- OE *blæc*, *blac*<sup>213</sup>, ME *blak*, ModE *black*  
Motivation of formation: Among OE *blæc* and its cognates OS *blak* and OHG *blah*, which meant 'ink', *blæc* was the only one to become a color term. Its etymology is disputed, though. The assumption that it goes back to Gmc *\*blakaz* 'burned' from IE *\*bhleg-* 'to shine, flash, burn' is widely accepted. Schwentner (1915: 17), however, does not accept the connection between 'dark liquid' and 'shining' and assumes the Germanic term to be related to *\*mlago-*, from IE *\*mel-*, *melə-*, which is particularly used to denote dark and dirty hues and is represented by Greek *μέλας* 'black', Skr *malinā* 'dirty, black', and Lith *melonas* 'blue'. As the Old English form often appears with a long vowel, occurring in numerous meters (OED s.v. *black*), it is confused with *blac* 'shining, white'. In some Middle English forms, both are often distinguishable only from their context, and sometimes not even that. In the course of language history it has gradually surpassed the original color-word *swart*, which has been retained in the other Germanic languages (e.g. G *schwarz*, Du *zwart*, Sw *svart*, Da *sort*).  
The term is used comparatively seldom in Old English, as it is only attributed to sea-roads, raven, adders, and evil spirits (Mead 1899: 181-182). Exhibiting a brightness and a hue sense 'burnt, scorched', which was carried over from Germanic, the expression could be attributed to shining (cf. L *niger* 'shining black') and dull (cf. L *āter* 'dull black') objects. On the one hand, it could therefore imply beauty when describing objects such as the gem jet, whereas on the other hand, it denoted the exact opposite, e.g. when referring to the ugly look of human, especially female complexion. From the latter, the figurative meaning 'dark being a symbol of sin' could easily arise. Gradually losing its luminous sense, the Middle English term has a primary hue sense and is employed with all sorts of objects (night, clouds, soot, coal, pitch, ink, hair, complexion, pupil, mourning garb), certain animals (raven, crow), and plants (sloe-berry) (cf. OED, MED). According to Barnickel (1975: 86), the Middle English term represents the darker nuance of the bad, unhealthy complexion – a sign of lacking brilliance. In the course of time it ousted the original expression for the color concept and became the BLACK basic color term. This might have been influenced by the fact that *swart* was limited in its application to face and body parts, often conveyed negative associations, and was more and more employed to indicate darkness. At the same time, *black* gradually became more prominent as it could express ultimate blackness without qualifiers, and could be attributed to a variety of referents. Moreover, the expression exhibits extensive derivation and is used with various premodifiers and determinants (e.g. ME *fore-blak*, ModE *night-black*, *sloe-black*, *blue-black*), particularly in order to convey the idea of absolute blackness (Bennett 1982: 20). It is especially applied whenever a basic denotation is to be expressed. The term is, furthermore, part of many idioms (e.g. ME *blak and blo* 'black and blue') and is also used in various metaphors (e.g. *black-hearted*) in which it usually bears a negative notion. It seems interesting, however, that it does not qualify other colors.

<sup>213</sup> TOE 145, Holthausen 1974: 25, IEW 125.

- ModE *inky*<sup>214</sup> 'black as ink'

Motivation of formation: Here, we are concerned with a term in which the color of the respective object, the black fluid used in writing with pens, caused the formation of an adjectival derivative. First recorded as an independent color adjective in 1593, it can be attributed to various things and can qualify other color terms (e.g. *inky-black*, *inky-purple*).

### 3. Iconym "**dark-red, brownish**"

- OE *earp*, *eorp*<sup>215</sup> 'dark, swarthy'

Motivation of formation: The term goes back to Gmc \**erpa-* and ultimately to the IE root *ēreb(h)-* in words for dark-red, brownish color terms, and is cognate with ON *jarpr* 'brown', OHG *erpf* 'fuscous, dark-colored'. It is chiefly used in connection with hair color, but is also applied to the dark complexion of Egyptians and to dark clouds (Schwentner 1915: 59-60).

### 4. Iconym "**dark**"

- OE *wann*, *wonn*<sup>216</sup> 'black; dark, pallid'

Motivation of formation: The Anglo-Saxon creation is not found in any other Germanic language. Its original sense appears to have been 'dark in hue', as it primarily refers not to hue but to dull colors (Lerner 1951: 248). In Old English, it is applied to a variety of objects (e.g. clouds, water, night, shadow, armor, raven), most frequently to things evoking gloomy, unpleasant associations. Sometimes it is also used for the sake of alliteration (e.g. *wann wealas* 'dark-haired slaves'). In the course of time, it underwent a shift of meaning from OE 'dark, black' to ModE 'pale', which is chiefly applied to the unusually or unhealthily pale human face, probably due to the association that the semantic feature 'lack of color' can be attributed to 'black' as well as to 'pale'.

As mentioned by Kerttula (2002: 49), Andrew Breeze suggests in an article that it was borrowed from Middle Welsh *gwann* 'weak, sad, gloomy'.

- OE *deorc*<sup>217</sup>, ME *derk*, ModE *dark*

Motivation of formation: Going back to IE \**dherg-*, from \**dher-*, *dherə-*, which was used to denote dark, dull hues, the term is cognate with Mlr *derg* 'red' and OHG *tarchannen*, *terchinen* 'to conceal, hide'. It is applied to objects that approach black in hue, that are not illuminated, or are devoid of or deficient in light. It is furthermore found in various derivations and compounds, often qualifying other color terms (e.g. OE *deorcegræg* 'dark gray', ModE *darksome*, *dark blue*).

### 5. Iconym "**dirty, gray**"

- OE *salu*, *salu*<sup>218</sup> 'dark, blackish, discolored, dirty'

Motivation of formation: As mentioned above, the expression derives ultimately from the IE root *sal-* 'dirty, gray' and underwent a shift of meaning from OE 'black, dark, discolored, dirty' to ModE 'sickly yellow or brownish-yellow'. The Old English word is often applied to ravens, once to an eagle and a starling, and, if used with other objects, chiefly denotes a dirty color. A few derivations and

<sup>214</sup> Collins 1995: 104.

<sup>215</sup> Holthausen 1974: 93, IEW 334.

<sup>216</sup> Pollington 1993: 155, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1167.

<sup>217</sup> Holthausen 1974: 72, IEW 252.

<sup>218</sup> Holthausen 1974: 269, IEW 879.

compounds such as OE *salwed* 'blackened with pitch', *salowigpad* 'dark-coated', and *salu-bruð* 'dull brown' can be found as well.

## 6. Iconym "lower world"

- ModE *hell-black*<sup>219</sup> □

- ModE *stygian*<sup>220</sup> 'black'

Motivation of formation: In my opinion, both terms originate in a metaphorical process since the region of the lower world is referred to as a dark place. The former is a determinative compound consisting of an element 'hell', denoting the place or state of punishment of the wicked after death, and of the basic color term. The latter is an adjectival derivation of *Styx*, the black river of the Hades, over which the shades of the deceased were ferried by Charon.

## 7. Other Expressions:<sup>221</sup>

- ME *col-blak*<sup>222</sup>, ModE *coal-black*

Motivation of formation: The simile *swa sweart swa coð* 'as black as coal', which refers to the shade of black resembling that of the coal, is already mentioned in Old English times (around 1000), but the first independent color adjective, ME *cōl-blak*, is not attested before 1250. It appears, however, that it originally was associated with a piece of burnt wood, whereas nowadays one usually thinks of the solid mineral found in seams or strata in the earth, which is largely used as fuel (OED s.v.).

- ModE *sooty*<sup>223</sup> 'dusky or brownish black'

Motivation of formation: Being used in its color sense as early as 1593, the adjectival derivation refers to the shade of black resembling that of the soot. As a brightness qualifier of other colors (e.g. *sooty brown*, *sooty red*), it alludes to their dark, dusky, blackish, or dirty tinge.

- ModE *jet*<sup>224</sup> 'the color of jet, glossy black'

Motivation of formation: The expression is motivated by the shade of black resembling that of the mineral whose name was loaned into Middle English from OF *jaiet*, *jayet*, the regular development of L *gagatēs*, which was borrowed from Greek *γαγάτης*, literally 'stone of Gagas', a town and river in Lycia, Asia Minor. The metonymical extension of the object is not mentioned before 1716. However, in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century it has gradually lost its role as a color term as it was displaced by other, probably more suitable and prominent expressions, maybe because it is homonymous with *jet* 'airplane', which is, in my opinion, more often associated with the word nowadays. The latter is more salient, because people are more in contact with that means of transportation than with the mineral. The French word did not become a color term before the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Kerttula 2002: 105).

However, earlier in time, we find the independent color adjective *jet-black* 'black as jet, absolutely black, glossy black', first recorded in 1475, and *jetty-black*<sup>225</sup> 'black as jet', attested only two years later. Marlowe employed *jetty* in 1586 for

<sup>219</sup> Pratt 1898: 112.

<sup>220</sup> Collins 1995: 104.

<sup>221</sup> The selected items are taken from the list of color terms in Maerz/Paul (<sup>2</sup>1950: 188ff.) unless otherwise stated.

<sup>222</sup> MED II 379, Kerttula 2002: 73.

<sup>223</sup> Pratt 1898: 112.

<sup>224</sup> Collins 1995: 104.

<sup>225</sup> Kerttula 2002: 74.

- the first time without the generic color term.
- ModE *raven* 'glossy black'  
Motivation of formation: Whereas OE *hræfnsweart* and Shakespeare's *Rauen blacke* 'as black as a raven' are used as similes and still require the generic color term, Milton was the first one to apply the independent color adjective *raven* 'of the color of a raven, glossy black, intensely dark or gloomy' in 1634. The term is still collocationally restricted to hair color.
  - ModE *pitch-black*
  - ModE *pitchy*<sup>226</sup> 'brownish-black'  
Motivation of formation: Both terms refer to the color resembling that of pitch. The first one is, however, almost entirely used in the vernacular or in literature to express an emphatic indication of complete blackness or absence of light (Maerz/Paul <sup>2</sup>1950: 174). The second expression is used in natural history and denotes the real nuance of the object, namely a brownish-black.
  - ModE *ebon, ebony* 'Of the color of ebony, black, dark, sombre'  
Motivation of formation: The mainly poetic and rhetoric expression is created on the name of the hard wood of a tree. Its name was loaned into English from OF *eban*, ML *ebanus*, a variation of L (*h*)*ebenus*, from Greek *ἔβερος* 'ebony tree', which goes back to a Semitic origin as it can be compared with Egyptian *hbnj* and Hebrew *hobni*<sup>227</sup> (ODEE 299). Kerttula (2002: 103) mentions that the Greek word is loaned from Egyptian and is probably of non-Semitic origin. The original form of the noun was superseded by *ebony*, perhaps in analogy to *ivory*. The color adjective, which is first recorded in 1607, denotes a type of intense blackness, whereas the French and Latin precursors do not exhibit a color sense. It is most frequently used in connection with the human appearance (e.g. *ebony complexion/skin/hair*), but also applied to furnishings.
  - ModE *obsidian*<sup>227</sup>  
Motivation of formation: The specialized color term, which is chiefly used in the field of natural history, is a metonymical extension of the name of a mineral. It was loaned from Latin *obsidianus*, an erroneous form of *obsidianus* in Pliny's *Natural History*, and was so called because of its resemblance to a stone found in Ethiopia by a certain *Obsius*. André (1949) does not record it as a color term in Latin.

## 8. Loanwords:

- ME *sable*<sup>228</sup>, ModE *sable* 'black'  
 The term was borrowed as the heraldic color term from Middle French *sable* 'black' and is commonly assumed to be identical with the color of the animal, although its fur, as now known, is not black but brown. This might have been due to the customary process to dye sable-fur black (as is now often done with sealskin), probably to increase its contrast with ermine, with which it was often worn in combination (OED s.v.). The name of the animal goes back to OF *sable* 'the sable, sable fur', ML *sabelum, sabellum* 'sable, sable fur', which is ultimately of Balto-Slavonic origin (cf. Russian *sóbol'*, Lith *sàbalas* 'sable'). Kerttula (2002: 98) states that the latter is probably a loan from an East-Asiatic language. The color term, originally confined to heraldry, has become a general, albeit poetical or rhetorical, term for the concept BLACK.

<sup>226</sup> Collins 1995: 104.

<sup>227</sup> Kerttula 2002: 239, OED s.v.

<sup>228</sup> MED X 4.

- ME *morel*, *morrel*<sup>229</sup> 'dark, dusky'  
The borrowing of a specialized horse color term from OF *morel* 'dark brown, black' has meanwhile become obsolete (Krieg 1976: 61). Some trace it back to L *moŕm* 'mulberry-colored', whereas others suggest an origin ML *Moŕds* 'dark', from L *Maurus*, from Late Greek *Μαῦρος* 'black'.
- ME *blae*<sup>230</sup> 'dark, black'  
The loan of ON *blā* 'dark blue, livid' is only found in the sense 'dark, black' in early combinations such as *blamon*, *bloman* 'a blackamoor', which were influenced by ON *blāfōdr* (Swaen 1936: 3).
- ME *negre*<sup>231</sup> 'black'
- ME *nere*<sup>232</sup> 'black'  
Both minor and meanwhile obsolete terms were borrowed from Old French – the former from *negre*, *nigre*, the latter from *ner*, *neir*, variations of *noir* -, which go back to L *niger*, *nigrum* 'black'. Of the same origin is *negro*, which came into the English language via Spanish or Portuguese. First employed in 1594, it refers to the black skin of colored people. On account of political correctness, however, it is practically no longer used.
- ModE *noir*<sup>233</sup> 'black'  
The color term, which sometimes also represents 'black' in heraldry, was introduced into the English language together with the typically French games of *Roulette* or *Rouge-et-noir*, in which the term denotes the black numbers or marks.
- ModE *piceous*<sup>234</sup> 'pitch-black; brownish or reddish black'  
The expression is directly borrowed from L *piceus* 'pitchy, black' and again emphasizes the salient color of the material.

## 2.10 BROWN

### 2.10.1 Cultural Background

"Brown is an indefinite color, which may shade through various degrees of duskiness into black or red."<sup>235</sup> As there are many nuances of the hue, the concept exhibits various expressions in order to allow speakers to specify certain shades in a more detailed way. A prototypical association with the concept might be the earth or ground (Wierzbicka 1990: 137), but it is also applied to hair, eyebrows, and complexion, to animal skin and leather. It is furthermore attributed to coffee, chocolate, wood etc. A chiefly positive connotation of the concept might be that people with tanned skin are often supposed to be extremely healthy and successful. However, in the context of history it carries negative associations since the Nazi uniforms during the Third Reich used to be brown.

### 2.10.2 Names

#### 1. Iconym: "shining, brown"

- OE *brun*<sup>236</sup> 'dark brown, shining', ME *broun*, ModE *brown*

<sup>229</sup> MED VI 683.

<sup>230</sup> Biggam 1993: 53.

<sup>231</sup> Biggam 1993: 53, Maerz/Paul 1950: 199. The MED (VI 986) only lists *nigrum* 'shiny gray or brown; dark'

<sup>232</sup> Biggam 1993: 53, Kerttula 2002: 74, OED s.v.

<sup>233</sup> OED s.v.

<sup>234</sup> OED s.v.

<sup>235</sup> Mead 1899: 193.

<sup>236</sup> Holthausen 1974: 36, IEW 136.

Motivation of formation: The expression, together with its cognates in other Germanic languages, derives from Gmc \*brunaz and ultimately goes back to the IE root \*bher- 'shining, brown'. In Middle English, it was reinforced by OF *brun* 'brown'.

As several researchers (cf. Schwentner 1914, Lerner 1951, Barley 1974, Barnickel 1975) have pointed out, the Old and Middle English term had, on the one hand, a hue sense denoting brown and dark colors, chiefly in connection with animals (especially horses), clothes, and the human complexion (e.g. of an Ethiopian). On the other hand, it featured a sense of reflectivity, 'shining, flashing in the sunlight', which was particularly employed with metallic objects like helmets, sword-edges, bronzed weapons, but also applied to water. In the course of English language history, it lost its shining notion, maybe due to the influence of the French term, which only exhibited the hue denotation. However, Tremain (1969: 145-150) denies the fact that the Old English term ever meant 'shiny, gleaming' as it is only due to unwarranted inferences from Middle High German evidence. He suggests that the collocations with polishable weapons go back to the technique of "browning", an artificial way to retard rust, which resulted in a brown and shiny appearance.

Whereas in Middle English, it was somehow confined to the dark range of the hue (e.g. used of roasted meat, dark ale, and antithetically to 'bright'), and often modified other color terms in composites not only with respect to hue but also to the degree of brightness, the Modern English form is neutral, can denote the entire range of the concept BROWN, and is not collocationally restricted (Barnickel 1975: 83). This might be a reason why it has become the basic color term. Several derivations and compounds (e.g. *browny*, *reddish-brown*, *orange-brown*, *toffee-brown*) further distinguish specific nuances.

Kutzelnigg (1983: 210-216) contradicts the prevailing assumption that the name of the bear or beaver evolved from the color term. According to him, color terms were developed from the animal names when people started to designate the color characteristic of the animal by a word resembling the animal name.

## 2. Iconym: "to rise in a cloud, as dust, vapor, or smoke"

- OE *dun(n)*<sup>237</sup>, ME *don*, ModE *dun* 'dull brown'

Motivation of formation: The term can be traced back to the IE root \*dheu- 'to rise in a cloud, as dust, vapor, or smoke' with the suffix *-no*, which was used to denote dusky shades. Gmc \**dunna-* occurs as OE *dunn* and OS *dun* 'nut-brown', which are probably related to OS *dosan*, OE *dosen* 'chestnut-brown' and OHG *dosan*, *tusin* 'pale yellow', all forms which are firmly associated with horses or other animals such as mice, cows, game, or donkeys. It is furthermore cognate with MIr *donn* 'dark', Irish and Gaelic *donn* 'brown, dark', and Welsh *dwn* 'brownish'. The ODEE (294) rejects the assumption that it is a Celtic loanword, whereas others suggest that. Ann Lazar-Meyn (as said by Kertulla 2002: 49) assumes that it was borrowed into Old English from Old Irish *donn* 'unsaturated brown through gray'.

In Old and Middle English, the term was collocationally restricted to animal furs and the plumage of birds and had both a hue and a darkness sense, thus indicating a lack of illumination. It also modified other color adjectives to describe a lack of brightness in a particular hue (Burnley 1976: 44). In Modern English, however, it has lost its senses in the systems of saturation and luminosity. Its relatively high potential regarding word formation can be seen in various compounds such as OE

<sup>237</sup> TOE 147, Pollington 1993: 155, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 218, IEW 270.

*assedun*, *dunfealu* 'dull brown', *dungræg* 'dark gray' and ME *mous-don* 'mouse-colored'.

### 3. Iconym: "gray, fallow, dusky"

- OE *fealo*, *fealu*, *falu*<sup>238</sup> 'pale brown, dull brown', ME *falow*, *falwe*  
Motivation of formation: The term goes back to Gmc *\*falwa-*, ultimately IE *\*poluǵ-*, from *\*pel-*, a root used for fuzzy colors such as 'gray, fallow'. In its full Germanic context – being cognate with OS *falu*, OHG *falo*, ON *fofǫr* – it was originally especially applied to horses (cf. Barley's "horse set" (1974: 22)), and is thus a specialized term for communicating fine distinctions in that field of interest. In Old English, it featured also a brightness sense beside its hue sense and was therefore attributed to weapons and in particular to water (Mead 1899: 198). The Middle English term had a somewhat narrower application, as the former luminosity aspect had been omitted. Barley (1974: 25) also mentions that it is increasingly used as the opposite of 'green', referring to brown leaves and dying vegetation. This notion of withering and fading leads Barnickel (1975: 92) to conclude that its usage might be restricted to nature, especially to the fur of animals and untilled land. ModE *fallow*, which only occurs in few collocations (e.g. *fallow deer*, *fallow buck*), exhibits further narrowing of meaning to 'reddish-yellow'.

### 4. Iconym: "red"

- OE *read*<sup>239</sup> 'red-brown'  
Motivation of formation: Mostly denoting 'red', the term can also indicate the reddish part of the neighboring color sensation BROWN in the context of horses (Biggam 1998: 60). This not only emphasizes the fact that the color continuum of Old English was segmented in a different way and colors were not as sharply distinguished, but also that some sensations were perceived differently with certain objects and collocations (cf. simplification/radicalization than today (see 2.9.1)). As mentioned above, the expression can be traced back to the IE color term *\*reudh-* 'red'.

### 5. Iconym: "gray"

- OE *hasu*<sup>240</sup> 'gray-brown'  
Motivation of formation: As stated earlier in the text, the term goes back to the IE root *\*kas-* 'gray'. It is often found in poetry and riddles, showing a significant connection with birds (Barley 1974: 27, Biggam 1995: 58).

### 6. Iconym: "a kind of animal" + "brown"

- OE *assedun*<sup>241</sup> 'dull brown'
- OE *musfealu*<sup>242</sup> 'grayish brown'
- ME *mous-don*<sup>243</sup>, ModE mouse-dun 'mouse-colored'

<sup>238</sup> Holthausen 1974: 99, Pollington 1993: 156, IEW 805.

<sup>239</sup> Holthausen 1974: 255.

<sup>240</sup> Holthausen 1974: 149, IEW 533.

<sup>241</sup> TOE 147, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 55.

<sup>242</sup> TOE 147, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 702.

<sup>243</sup> MED VI 758.

- ModE *donkey-brown*<sup>244</sup>

Motivation of formation: Here we are concerned with determinative compounds, which consist of the determinant 'a certain brown animal' and a determinate 'brown'. The motive can be ascribed to literary and stylistic reasons rather than to the need of expressing a distinct nuance of brown, because all of these animals can exhibit various shades of hues. However, they occur very rarely. OE *musfealu* once glosses L *myrteus* 'myrtle-colored, chestnut brown' (cf. OEC) and ME *mous-don* is recorded translating L *murinus* 'mouse-colored' (OED s.v. *Mouse-dun*).

#### 7. Iconym: "a color" + "a color"

- OE *brun-wann*<sup>245</sup> 'dark brown, dusky'
- OE *salu-bruū*<sup>246</sup> 'dark brown'
- OE *dun-fealu*<sup>247</sup> 'dull brown'

Motivation of formation: The combination of two color adjectives is a popular method to enrich the English color vocabulary. These expressions, however, are applied very infrequently.

#### 8. Iconym: "burnt"

- ME *brend*<sup>248</sup> 'brindled, brown color'
- ME *brinded*<sup>249</sup> 'tawny, brownish color, marked with bars or streaks of different hues'

Motivation of formation: Both expressions refer to the brown color resulting from burning. The former is the past participle of ME *brennen* 'to burn', the latter a variation of *brended* 'burnt', which is, according to the OED (s.v. *Brinded*), possibly a secondary verb derived of *brand* 'burning, brand'.

- ME *sonne-brent*<sup>250</sup>, ModE *sunburnt* 'brown'

Motivation of formation: The determinative compound, which specifies the "agent" of the burning process, denotes a special shade of brown color, namely as if sunburned.

#### 9. Iconym: "bronze"

- ModE *bronze(d)*<sup>251</sup>
- ModE *brazen*<sup>252</sup>

Motivation of formation: Both terms refer to the specific color resembling that of the alloy of copper and tin. The former is created on the basis of the noun loaned from F *bronze*, itself from It *bronzo* 'brass or bell-metal', and ultimately from Persian *birinj*, *pirinj* 'copper', which was introduced for the material of ancient works of art. The color sense in English existed earlier than in French (Kerttula 2002: 200). The latter goes back to the inherited term OE *bræsen* 'made of brass', which was transferred and figuratively used to signify 'resembling brass in color'

<sup>244</sup> Collins 1995: 127.

<sup>245</sup> Bosworth/Toller 1898: 129.

<sup>246</sup> Bosworth/Toller 1898: 813.

<sup>247</sup> TOE 147, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 218.

<sup>248</sup> MED I 1141.

<sup>249</sup> Krieg 1976: 39.

<sup>250</sup> MED X 198.

<sup>251</sup> Collins 1995: 127.

<sup>252</sup> Pratt 1898: 111, Turmann 1934: 31.



as early as 1596 (OED s.v. *Brazen*).

#### 10. Other Expressions:<sup>253</sup>

From the field of nature:

- ME *note-broun*<sup>254</sup>, ModE *nut-brown*  
Motivation of formation: The determinative compound, which consists of the determinant 'nut' and the basic color term, is first mentioned around 1300. As there exist various kinds of nuts, the term is rather indefinite and fuzzy, and is more of a literary term, especially attributed to hair, complexion, animals, and ale. In order to denote the distinct hues of different nuts, their respective names are used as color terms as well.
- ModE *walnut*  
Motivation of formation: Whereas the OED (s.v.) lists the first record of the expression for 1865, where it alludes to the brown color produced by the application of walnut-juice to the skin, Maerz/Paul (<sup>2</sup>1950: 186) state that it was used with reference to the color of the shell of the nut since at least 1654. Furthermore, it is said that its assignment to the color of the wood should be considered a highly specialized use, applicable only in the paint industry and for this special purpose.
- ModE *hazel*  
Motivation of formation: The color sense of the word was first recorded in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliette* and has, since then, especially been employed with the eyes (Turmann 1934: 331, OED s.v.). However, "when one speaks of *hazel eyes* [...], one generally does not intend to specify the actual shade of color. These elements are clichés, or ready-made expressions, in which the two elements merge into one global classificatory notion."<sup>255</sup> When attributed to other objects, it refers to the color of the shell of the ripe hazelnut.

From the field of animals:

- ME *beveren*<sup>256</sup>, ModE *beaver* 'beaver-colored, reddish-brown'  
Motivation of formation: Being employed in its color designation as early as the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the term refers to the shade of brown resembling that of a beaver's fur. The fashion term is more often found in expression such as *beaver-brown*, *beaver-coloured*, *beaver-hued*.

Other color terms based on the reference to the special hue of the fur, pelt, or skin of designated animals are ModE *fawn* and *seal*, two terms often applied to textiles and interior decoration.

From pigments/dyes:

- ModE *umber*<sup>257</sup>  
Motivation of formation: The pigment whose name was loaned either from F *ombre* or It *ombra* 'shadow', as in *terre d'ombre*, *terra di ombra*, literally 'shadow earth', serves as the basis for the English color term. Kristol (1978) does not record a color sense in French or Italian.
- ModE *sepia* 'rich brown'

<sup>253</sup> The items are again taken from the list in Maerz/Paul (<sup>2</sup>1950: 188ff.).

<sup>254</sup> MED VI 1096.

<sup>255</sup> Polubichenko 1985: 57.

<sup>256</sup> MED I 781.

<sup>257</sup> Collins 1995: 127.

Motivation of formation: This term originates in the rich brown pigment obtained from the cuttle-fish, which is primarily used in painting. Its name was loaned, probably via Italian *seppia*, from L *seppia* and Greek *σηπία*. The Latin term did not have a color sense (cf. André 1949).

From mineral/metals:

- ModE *copper*

Motivation of formation: The color term refers to the shade of brown resembling that of the metal whose name was loaned into OE from LL *cuper*, from L *cuprum* 'copper', earlier *cyprum*, which comes from *aes Cyprium* 'copper from Cyprus'. André (1949) does not mention a color sense in Latin.

From the field of nourishment:

- ModE *cinnamon*
- ModE *chocolate*

Motivation of formation: Both terms are metonymic extensions of the name of the respective objects, which were introduced as innovations a long time ago. The former was loaned from Latin, itself from Greek, goes back to Hebrew *ginnamōbn* 'cinnamon', and is, according to Methuen (<sup>3</sup>1978: 156), ultimately of Malayan origin. The latter came into the English language from Nahuatl *chocolatl* via Spanish, and did not exhibit a color sense (cf. Kristol 1978).

- ModE *coffee*

Motivation of formation: Here, we are concerned with a term whose usage was motivated by the respective beverage. The expression came into the English language from Arabic *qahwah* via Turkish *kahveh* 'coffee' and is applied to textiles and skin color.

Miscellaneous:

- ModE *drab* 'dull light brown or yellowish-brown'

Motivation of formation: The name of a kind of cloth was loaned into Middle English from OF *drap*, LL *drappus*, and, as Kerttula (2002: 199) points out, ultimately from Gaulish *\*drappo-*. The fact that the term was often applied to a hempen, linen, or woolen cloth of the natural undyed color resulted in its attributive use in *drap/drab color*, i.e. the color of this cloth. *Drab* has gradually become an independent adjective of color, employed with clothes, interior decorations, and various objects.

- ModE *toast(ed)*<sup>258</sup> 'light brown'

Motivation of formation: The color term, which is especially used for textiles, refers to the shade of brown resembling that of objects such as bread and cheese, after being exposed to the heat of a fire or a toaster.

## 11. Loanwords:

From the field of textiles:

- ME and ModE *russet* 'reddish-brown'

The term, which was especially used of cloth in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century, has already been dealt with in the RED sections (see 2.1.2).

<sup>258</sup> Collins 1995: 127.

- ModE *khaki*<sup>259</sup> 'yellowish-brown, drab'  
The color term is borrowed from Urdu (Persian) *khaki* 'dusty, dust-colored', from *khāk* 'dust', and was used for military uniforms. Worn by armies around the world, the fabrics had to be adapted for camouflage purposes to the green environment of more temperate climates. Therefore the term *khaki* underwent a shift of meaning to the exact opposite of 'dust-like', to a shade of 'olive-green'.

From the field of animal colors:

- ME *bai*, *bay(e)d*<sup>260</sup>, ModE *bay* 'reddish brown'  
The term was borrowed as a specialized horse color term from OF *bai*, going back to L *badius* 'reddish brown, chestnut-color'. The Latin term, which is cognate with Old Irish *buide* 'yellow', was also used as a horse color term (André 1949: 119).
- ME *baiard*, *bayard*<sup>261</sup>, ModE *bayard* 'bay coloured'  
OF *baiard*, *bayard* 'bay-coloured', another specialized horse color term and a derivation of the one just mentioned, was loaned into Middle English as well.
- ME *sor(e)*<sup>262</sup> 'reddish-brown'  
The specialized color term was borrowed from OF *sor*, *sore* 'of a golden blond or yellowish brown', from Frankish *\*saur* 'dry', and is particularly used of horse hide, but also applied to the skin, teeth, and hair of other animals or the feathers of young birds of prey.  
Of the same origin is OF *sorel* 'golden yellow (of horses), chestnut-color', which was also loaned into English: ME *sorel*, *soreld*<sup>263</sup>, ModE *sorrel* 'light reddish-brown, chestnut color'.

From the field of hair color:

- ModE *auburn*<sup>264</sup> 'golden brown, ruddy brown'  
As explained in a more detailed way above (see 2.3.2), the term, which was loaned from OF *alborne*, *auborne* 'blond' and features collocational restriction to hair color, underwent a shift of meaning from 'blond' to 'brown' due to folk-etymology.
- ModE *chestnut*<sup>265</sup> 'reddish brown'  
The term is a reduction of earlier *chesten nut*, from ME *chesteine*, *chasteine*, which was borrowed from OF *chastaigne*, *-aine*, the regular development of L *castanea*, from Greek *κάστανον* 'chestnut'. Whereas the French word already acquired a color sense in the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> century (FEW II,1 465), the color sense in English is first recorded in 1600, as a descriptive name for human hair in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (OED s.v.). It can be further attributed to horses of the same color.
- ME *burnēt*<sup>266</sup> 'brown'  
The meanwhile obsolete term was loaned from OF *burnete*, a diminutive of *brun* 'brown', which was especially attributed to clothes and garments.

<sup>259</sup> Maerz/Paul <sup>2</sup>1950: 163.

<sup>260</sup> MED I 606.

<sup>261</sup> Krieg 1976: 31. According to the MED (I 606), it is only used as a substantive in the sense of 'a bay-colored horse', 'a horse named Bayard'.

<sup>262</sup> MED X 215.

<sup>263</sup> MED X 226.

<sup>264</sup> Collins 1995: 127.

<sup>265</sup> Collins 1995: 127, Hope/Walch 1990: 57.

<sup>266</sup> MED I 1228.

- ModE *brunet, brunette*<sup>267</sup> 'of dark complexion, brown-haired, nut-brown'  
The loans of both, the French masculine and feminine noun, denoting a person of dark complexion and brown hair, are contextually restricted to complexion and hair color.

#### Miscellaneous:

- ModE *fuscous*<sup>268</sup> 'dusky, dull brown'  
Denoting a dark or sombre hue, the term, which is chiefly used in natural history, is loaned from L *fuscus* 'dark, dusky'.
- ME *tauni, tawne*<sup>269</sup>, ModE *tawny*<sup>270</sup> 'brown with a preponderance of yellow or orange'  
The term can be traced back to AN *tauné*, OF *tanné* 'of a color resembling that of oak bark, red brown, brownish'. According to Kerttula (2002: 152), it goes back to ML *tannare*, from *tannum*, which is of Celtic origin and related to Breton *tann* 'oak tree', thus exhibiting reference to a specific color. As an important pigment in dyeing, it was chiefly attributed to leather and clothes, but also used as a heraldic color variously described as 'orange-brown' or 'bright chestnut' (OED s.v. *tawny*). In Turmann's opinion (1934: 31), it was not confined to specific contexts and could denote a range of colors, anything from light brown to red brown, and black brown nuances, particularly in reference to the color of the earth.
- ModE *tan*<sup>271</sup>  
The borrowing of F *tan* 'the color of tan' derives from ML *tannum*, which is of Celtic origin and related to Breton *tann* 'oak tree', thus adverting a specific color. It is still often used with leather, shoes, boots as well as with skin exposed to the sun or the weather.
- ModE *puce*<sup>272</sup> 'purple brown'  
The elliptic form of *puce colour* goes back to F *couleur puce* 'flea-color', from L *pulex* 'flea', and is most frequently used to describe complexion.
- ME *blae*<sup>273</sup> 'yellowish brown, tawny'  
In its sense 'tawny', which is first recorded in 1400 glossing L *fulvus* 'yellow, yellow-brown', the term is obsolete (OED s.v. *blae*). How the loan of ON *bla* 'dark blue, livid' came to denote 'yellowish-brown, tawny' is unclear, though. In my view, it may be connected to the association of a livid, colorless landscape, which implies deficiency or loss of color, a color sensation changing from the full green of vegetation to a withering, thus yellowish-brown shade.
- ModE *feuille morte* 'yellowish brown'  
The color, which has been "one of the most popular, if not the most popular, colors and names in the history of fashion"<sup>274</sup> was loaned from F *feuille morte*, literally 'dead leaf'. It was, however, more commonly used in anglicized and corrupted forms such as *Philamort* or *filemot*.
- ME *bis*<sup>275</sup> 'brown'  
The Old French color term *bis, bise* 'gray-brown' was adopted into the English

<sup>267</sup> Collins 1995: 127.

<sup>268</sup> Collins 1995: 127.

<sup>269</sup> Stratmann 1974: 602.

<sup>270</sup> Collins 1995: 127. However, Kerttula (2002: 152) lists it as 'brownish yellow, tan-colored'.

<sup>271</sup> Collins 1995: 127.

<sup>272</sup> Kerttula 2002: 200.

<sup>273</sup> Kerttula 2002: 78.

<sup>274</sup> Maerz/Paul 1950: 157.

<sup>275</sup> Biggam 1993: 53. However, in the MED (I 887) it denotes 'dark, gray'.

anguage, but is obsolete as a color adjective, as *bice* was erroneously transferred to blue or green pigments as mentioned before.

## 12. Unclear cases

- ModE *mahogany* 'reddish brown'  
The name of the tropical tree with reddish-brown wood, which was written *mohogeney* in 1671, is of unknown origin. It is therefore not clear, whether the color sense was already taken over or whether it is due to metonymic extension of the tree's name in English. In my opinion, the latter seems more plausible as the expression only denoted the wood of the tree for nearly 70 years before it exhibited a color sense in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is used of furniture, textiles as well as hair coloration, eyes, and complexion.
- OE *walden*<sup>276</sup> 'greenish or hazel eyes'  
Motivation of formation: As mentioned before, the rare and highly specialized term might probably be related to OE *weald* 'forest' and thus refer to the color of it.

## 2.11 PINK

### 2.11.1 Cultural Background

Pink – representing a mixture of white and red – was long considered a certain nuance of the color concept RED and is still often listed as a hyponym of *red*. As there is no real prototype of the concept, it might be applied to various things such as the comic figure Pink Panther, to certain roses, swines, flamingos as well as to the human face. The latter association might have enforced the idiom *to be in the pink*, thus referring to a healthy appearance and condition.

### 2.11.2 Names

#### 1. Iconym: "rose"

- ModE *rose*<sup>277</sup>  
Motivation of formation: The independent color adjective, first recorded in 1812, is based on the metonymical extension of the flower of the genus *Rosa*, referring to its pink color. The name of the plant was loaned into Old English from L *rosa*, which is related to Greek *ῥόδον*, and, as mentioned by Kerttula (2002: 218), ultimately goes back to Old Iranian *\*wrda-*, which represents the IE root *\*wrdho-* 'thorn, bramble'. The influence of OF *rose* 'rose' and the Latin color term *roseus* 'rosy' might have stimulated the color usage in English.  
As stated earlier in the paper, the motive of the prototypical flower often served to create new color terms (*rosy*, *roseate*, *rosied* 'rose red, pink'). The fact that the flower exists in varying colors and often refers to its other salient characteristics such as its odor or thorniness somehow accounts for why this old expression has not become the basic color term of that concept.

#### 2. Iconym: "pink"

<sup>276</sup> Biggam 1999: 118.

<sup>277</sup> Collins 1995: 720.

- ModE *pink*

Motivation of formation: The color term goes back to the general name of the species of the *Dianthus* plant with its varicolored flowers, which came into the English language by 1573, but is of obscure origin. It was originally used attributively before it became a basic color term around 1720, most frequently applied to textiles and complexion. Although the term was and is used for various compounds and derivations (e.g. *rose-pink*, *flesh-pink*, *poppy-pink*, *pinky*, *pinkish*, *to pink*) and can be assigned to all sorts of objects, it is still often defined under the color concept RED in some dictionaries.

### 3. Iconym: "flesh"

- ModE *flesh*<sup>278</sup> 'yellowish pink'

Motivation of formation: The elliptic form of *flesh-coloured* is based on the reference to the color resembling that of the flesh of a human being of Caucasian race. The term is, however, of minor importance probably because it carries a somewhat negative notion.

- ModE *carnation*<sup>279</sup> 'pink, light red'

Motivation of formation: Of the same motivation – alluding to the color of flesh – is the metonymical extension of the name, which was originally loaned from L *carnatio(n-)* 'fleshiness, corpulence', from *carn-em* 'flesh'. As pointed out by Maerz/Paul (<sup>2</sup>1950: 152), it is obsolete in this sense, but was transferred to and used for the flower, which formerly was called *coronation*.

### 4. Iconym: "peach"

Y

- ModE *peach*<sup>280</sup> 'yellowish pink'

Motivation of formation: The term refers to the color resembling that of the stone-fruit whose name was borrowed into Middle English from OF *peche*, *pesche*, deriving from ML *pessica*, for Classical Latin *persicum*, elliptical for *Persicum malum*, literally 'Persian apple'.

The name of the sweet and soft fruit motivated several other formations<sup>281</sup>: ModE *peach-colour(ed)*, *peach blossom*, *peach bloom*, all denoting 'delicate rose, pink' and referring to the color of the ripe peach or its blossom. Whereas these compounds are restricted to the areas of textile, clothing, and cosmetics, another composite term, ModE *peach-blow*, is characteristic of the porcelain industry producing purplish pink glazes.

### 5. Other Expressions:<sup>282</sup>

From the field of flowers and fruits:

- ModE *apple blossom*
- ModE *watermelon*

Motivation of formation: Both are color terms popular for textiles. Always in search of fancy expressions that should inspire customers to buy the products, the fashion industry came up with two metonymical extensions of the respective entity senses, alluding to the pinkish flower of the apple blossom and to the pink

<sup>278</sup> Collins 1995: 720, Hope/Walch 1990: 132.

<sup>279</sup> ODEE 147.

<sup>280</sup> Collins 1995: 171. However, Hope/Walch (1990: 241) list it as 'a light, pinkish yellow'.

<sup>281</sup> All items are listed in Maerz/Paul <sup>2</sup>1950: 200.

<sup>282</sup> All expression are again taken from the list in Maerz/Paul (<sup>2</sup>1950: 188ff.) unless otherwise stated.

inside of the fruit. The former is also attributed to complexion as early as 1824.

From animals:

- ME *coral*<sup>283</sup>, ModE *coral* 'deep orangy pink'  
Motivation of formation: The name of the object, the skeletal structure of small sea animals, is a loan of OF *coral*, regularly deriving from L *corallum*, *coralium*, which is an adoption of Greek *κοράλλιον* 'red coral', which, as suggested by Kerttula (2002: 136), is probably a diminutive formation of Hebrew *goral* 'lot', originally in the sense 'a small stone for casting lots'. In earlier literature and folklore, the term denoted the red coral – thus it is still often listed as a synonym for *red* –, which was used for ornaments and often classed among precious stones. It is nowadays applied to things of bright pink or red color, e.g. blood, lips, cloth.
- ModE *prawn*
- ModE *shrimp*
- ModE *crevette*  
Motivation of formation: All three terms refer to the color resembling that of a cooked shrimp, a bright shade of pink, and are merely employed with clothes and textiles. *Crevette* represents the loan of the French term for 'shrimp', for which Kristol (1978) does not record a color sense, the other two are the inherited names. Whether there is any difference (size etc.) between the two species is not of importance here, for both exhibit the same color after being cooked. "The real truth concerning these names is that "prawn" is generally used in England, and is hardly known in America, where "shrimp" is the customary word."<sup>284</sup>
- ModE *flamingo* 'deep pink'  
Motivation of formation: The expression was motivated by the salient color of the bird. Since its first occurrence in 1897 it is most frequently used in the fashion industry.

Miscellaneous:

- ModE *flushed*<sup>285</sup>
- ModE *reddish*<sup>286</sup>  
Motivation of formation: Given as synonyms of 'pink', both terms denote the light nuances of 'red'. The former term is motivated by the reddening of the face caused by shame, modesty, or other emotions and is first employed in 1594. The latter is an adjectival derivation of the basic color term in *-ish*.

6. Loanword:

- ModE *salmon*<sup>287</sup> 'orange pink'  
 Kerttula (2002: 223) points out that this was already borrowed as a color term, as a word exhibiting a color sense existed in French as early as 1564. The majority of researchers, however, still regard it as an elliptic term of *salmon-coloured*, which refers to the color resembling that of the fish's meat. Its name was loaned into Middle English from AN *samoun*, *saumoun*, *salmun*, which derives from L *salmonem*, *salmo*. The latter is assumed to be connected with L *salire* 'to leap, jump', thus meaning 'a leaping fish'. The Modern English spelling is due to the

<sup>283</sup> MED II 596.

<sup>284</sup> Maerz/Paul 21950: 179p.

<sup>285</sup> Collins 1995: 720.

<sup>286</sup> Collins 1995: 720.

<sup>287</sup> Collins 1995: 720.

influence of the Latin form. The expression, which is applied to clothes, houses, rocks, and blossoms, seems to be vague, because even though boiled salmon is pink, raw salmon has a tinge of orange, and smoked salmon is orange.

### 3. Conclusions

#### 3.1 Iconyms

An iconym is a motive or conceptual component of a certain designation, thus motivation has an important role in the naming process. It should meet the basic requirement of referring to a concept in a way that can be understood by everybody. In the course of cultural and language history, however, motives as well as concepts can change and become opaque.

Several Old English expressions for lighter colors (e.g. *geolu*, *blāgræg*, *hwitblāce*, *blanc*, *basu*, *brun*) can be traced back to an Indo-European root 'gleaming, glittering, shining'. The names of darker colors are motivated by Indo-European bases such as 'gray, fallow, dirty' (e.g. *fealu*, *salu*, *hasu*), 'dark, brown' (e.g. *hāwe(n)*, *hār*, *earp*, *wann*, *deorc*), or 'black, dirt-colored' (e.g. *sweart*). A reason for this might be that, in earlier days, only the two opposite states lightness and darkness were differentiated (cf. elementary dualism of Stage 1 in Berlin and Kay's evolutionary sequence (see 1.2)). Aside from these numerous terms, which often carried both a brightness and a minor hue sense, we find expressions created on evident images such as 'ink' and 'grow'. These iconyms are based on prototypical referents in the world which have the specific feature of the desired concept. We also find many less well-defined concepts such as 'dress up' or 'to rise in a cloud'. **Red is the only basic color category that goes back to an underlying Indo-European color term.**

Intermediate colors and specific nuances are represented by various compounds and adjectival derivations. We come across various copulative compounds (e.g. *geoluread*, *reðbasu*, *geolohwit*, *greðhāwen*) which mostly consist of two, often neighboring colors of the spectrum which are juxtaposed to indicate that the desired reference lies between the two hues. It appears that a need is felt for a more specific lexical representation in the borderline area between them. It is often not clear which of the elements is regarded as the grammatical head and it depends on the context which of them is to be stressed. The majority of the composite terms are determinative compounds whose second element is usually a generic color term. Their determinants can comprise the name of an object which is a prototypical or popular representative of the respective color (e.g. blood, grass, snow, milk, sky, coal, nut). Compositions with an animal name as the first element can serve for poetic purposes (e.g. *assedun*, *hræfnsweart*), but can also refer to the dyeing process, especially to the fact that cloth is made from the pigment of certain animals (e.g. *weolocread*, *wurmreð*). A reference to the dyeing production can also be seen in *wrætreð* and *wrætbasu*. Adjectival derivations in *-ig* and *-en* are very popular, most frequently formations on familiar concepts such as 'blood', 'rose', 'gold', 'wolf' etc. Furthermore, specialized textile terms such as the names of dyes and clothes (e.g. *wað*, *blað*, *pæl*) serve as bases, as does the Anglo-Saxon word for 'saffron'.

In contrast to the large amount of brightness concepts in Old English, further language history is marked by a gradual alignment towards hues and by an increasing discrimination of certain shades and nuances. The transformation is particularly evident in Middle English, where inherited brightness-focused terms were still noticeable, while hue-based terms steadily entered the language. After the Norman Conquest, natives of English gradually and unconsciously absorbed the French way of analyzing and seeing color. Apart from borrowing



color terms, they created their own vocabulary by deriving color terms from names of objects or phenomena, which chiefly serve to encode numerous finely differentiated hues. Very important are the names of metals and minerals (e.g. *golden, silver, ruby, sapphire*), all concepts which featured brightness, a characteristic the English people were probably used to dealing with. Beside the names of clothes imbued with a certain color (e.g. *scarlet, crimson*), and of pigments and dyes (e.g. *vermilion*) that had already been used to refer to color in Old English, several other "spheres of borrowing" can be noticed after French influence. The names of animals (e.g. *mous-don, bēveren*), of plants and fruits (e.g. *rosi, gaudi, whi, note-broun*), and of natural phenomena (e.g. *sonnish, asshen, asshi, le, co, blak*) are employed, most of which, however, occur as compound terms or adjectival derivations. Very popular concepts are 'cherry' and 'burnt'. The introduction of the printing press in 1476 led to a standardized and widespread use of the various terms.

Modern English color terminology is characterized by countless metonymical extensions of entity senses. A color is typically named after an object, substance, or phenomenon that possesses the color quality in question. Particularly in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century we find many expressions concerning colors from minerals and metal (e.g. *amber, emerald, amethyst, argent, alabaster, turquoise, copper*). The names of fruits, vegetables, and plants are often used as well (e.g. *orange, hazel, peach, citron, olive, walnut, carrot, damson, saffron, flaxen, damask, ebony*). However, the concepts of textiles and pigments decrease and lose their importance, probably because they disappear from everyday context due to the industrial production on the basis of artificial dyestuffs. **The productivity of metonymy peaks in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which is a result of industrialization, colonialization, and the expansion of articles and advertisements in newspapers and magazines, the first mass media.** With the invention and import of new objects (e.g. *chocolate*) arises the demand of new color designations to identify with these new concepts, whereupon a wide variety of color names emerges. Aside from the already popular images of plants and fruits (e.g. *maize, straw, ginger, hyacinth, plum, tangerine*), the concepts of liquids, especially wine (e.g. *wine, claret, burgundy, chartreuse, coffee, champagne*), as well as food and spices such as *honey, toast, cream, shrimp, prawn* etc. give rise to new color terms. Many of these entity senses are of French origin, as the French cuisine is regarded as highly prestigious. Animal names and products are also often extended to refer to colors (e.g. *canary, flamingo, buff*). Other favored iconyms are the names of locations (e.g. *magenta, modena*), or natural phenomena such as 'sun' or 'sky/heaven/horizon'. The proliferation of color terms goes on in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, accelerated by the rapid development in technology and industry as well as by the quick changes in fashion. New color terms are required and all kinds of images and concepts can be utilized to designate color – there are virtually no limits to the productivity of metonymy.

### 3.2 Loanwords

Borrowed expressions do not only serve to fill in "lexical gaps" (e.g. *orange*), but also function to imitate the ideal, the terminology of a prestigious language. Furthermore, they allow people to communicate certain aspects of important innovations and imported products, for instance in the domain of fashion. Together with already existing terms, this can sometimes result in etymological doublets (e.g. ME *bla*: *bleik* and ModE *cherry* : *cerise*).

The majority of color terms borrowed into English was taken over from French and Latin, both prestigious languages with a rich color terminology. After the Norman Conquest, the import of French customs and manners led to an increased use of French color terminology, both via literature and daily life. Reaching a climax in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the English particularly loaned an elaborate set of terms to distinguish horses by their coloration (e.g. *gri, lyard, sore, sorel, grizzly, bay*) as well as specialized names for communicating fine

distinctions in the field of clothing (e.g. *sanguine, murrey, cendre*). Several textile expressions were taken over from Anglo-Norman (e.g. *vermeil, russet, wachet, lavendre, tauni*). The loan of many blue-related terms (e.g. *blue, azure, pers, inde*) is noticeable as well. Furthermore, the terminology of the courtly habit, heraldry, was adapted during the Middle Ages (e.g. *gules, azure, sinople, sable, argent, tenné* etc.). However, the amount of borrowings has very much decreased in the Modern English period. But French was still an important source in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, most frequently in the context of *haute couture*, advertisement, and art, probably to increase sales with the help of the seemingly more glamorous French terms (e.g. *cerise, maroon, beige, ecru, taupe*).

The influence of Latin color nomenclature on English is greater than it seems at first glance, as many of the French color terms ultimately go back to the Latin terminology. Direct loans of Latin color terms became popular during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Various specialized Latin color terms (e.g. *marmorean, cinereous, plumbeous, rufous, glaucous, albescent*) were borrowed, which, however, were often confined to specific scientific contexts such as natural history or zoology, and are meanwhile of minor importance or have become obsolete.

During late Old English times, Old Norse also contributed to enrich the lexicon (e.g. *gul, bleik, bloÖblae*). Other, albeit minor but relatively recent sources have been Spanish and Portuguese (e.g. *indigo*), Greek (e.g. *cyan*), and Urdu (e.g. *khaki*).

Despite their co-existence, Celtic languages left hardly any traces in the English language and *dun* and *wan* might be the only color terms directly borrowed from Old Irish and Middle Welsh respectively.

### 3.3 Collocational Restrictions

Collocational restriction refers to limits on the way words can be combined. They do not arise from differences in the basic meaning of each word, but rather from arbitrary idioms that have developed over time.

'Hair', 'animal fur', and 'complexion' are the three major collocations to which some of the color terms have been restricted in the course of English language history. OE *blanc* was exclusively used in connection with horses and OE *dun(n)* was collocationally restricted to animal furs and the plumage of birds. Many of the specialized horse color terms borrowed from Old French into Middle English also took over the collocational confinement to horses (e.g. *grisÖel, bay, bayard, mor(r)el, sore, sorel, liard*). *Blond* and *auburn* were only applied in the context of hair coloration and *sanguine* and *rubicunde* exhibited a restriction to complexion. As far as Modern English is concerned, *grizzly* and *hoary* are restricted to hair and animal fur, and *fallow* is only used with 'deer, buck'. Regarding human appearance, *raven* exclusively collocates with 'hair', *hazel* is employed with eyes, and *swarthy* mostly denotes the complexion of a male person.

Several inherited terms, among them *sallow, wan, fallow* and *swart*, undergo a shift of meaning from Old English to Modern English that is often accompanied by a restriction in usage. Already in Middle English, many of these terms no longer designate a distinct hue, but are characterized by a loss or lack of color, most frequently of the ruddy hue of health or of the full green of vegetation. This deficiency of color causes them to no longer exhibit brilliance, which often results in emotionally negative associations. In Modern English, they are even more restricted or have disappeared entirely (e.g. ME *bloke, blake*).

Literature, glosses and glossaries as well as the fields of dyeing and clothing, heraldry, and

science furthermore exhibit specialized vocabulary which might be somehow contextually confined to the respective domains.

#### 4. Final Remarks

Present-day English contains one of the most complex color terminologies in the world. Aside from the eleven basic color terms, which comprise nuances of the respective concepts, are used with a variety of referents by many speakers, and seem to be more stable, countless non-basic, elaborate, secondary, or specialized terms are employed, be it for poetic reasons or to denote distinct shades of a certain color. However, they are often restricted, remain unknown to the layperson, and can disappear after one season (most frequently fashion and car color terms). Fixed expressions, such as *hazel eyes*, may exist for a longer period of time.

The immense color vocabulary is due to intra-linguistic reasons (e.g. the morpho-syntactic change) and various extra-linguistic factors, among them major economic and cultural changes. The terminology evolved from a vast amount of brightness concepts in the Old English period, which were gradually ousted by hue-orientated concepts in Middle English. The accentuation of colors and the increasing discrimination of their nuances demanded more and more expressions. Apart from borrowing color terms, the speakers of English have been able to create their own vocabulary by deriving color terms from names of objects or phenomena that exhibit a good and distinct color quality and, if possible, do not carry different associations. In order to find the best illustration of a color, the images of textiles and dyestuffs were first used. Soon metonymical extensions of the domains of minerals, plants, animals, food, and manufactured goods were employed as well. Many of them were of foreign, especially of French origin. Countless terms were coined in the course of industrialization, through the expansion of newspapers and magazines, and the rapid change in technology and fashion. The possibilities for the formation of new names are almost unlimited. However, being the new *lingua franca* of the sciences, English has become a donor language that now influences other languages and cultures. The Internet has its share in disseminating these new expressions. How the development of color terms will turn out to be in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is still to be seen, but one is for sure: as history and cultures are not static but dynamic, also color vocabularies are subject to change.

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***ADIEU, BYE-BYE, CHEERIO:***  
**THE ABC OF LEAVE-TAKING TERMS IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE HISTORY**

## Abstract

The article gives a chronological overview of the leave-taking terms in English language history. In a second approach the leave-taking terms are classified according to the motivation that is the basis for a specific coinage. Expressive expressions, wishes for God's protection and wishes for a good time or health are shown to be especially prominent. Furthermore, there are a few loan expressions. The article also tries to explain words and phrases whose origin is unclear: *73* is shown to be an unmotivated, accidental Morse expression; *So long* is considered a Norwegian loan translation; evidence is given to see the origin *Good-bye* in the phrase *God buy you*. It also shows that many phrases become phonetically reduced (and opaque) and/or functionally "deprived", which forces the speech community (or particular groups) to invent new phrases.

## 1. Preliminary Remarks

In the past 30 years, historical linguists have discovered their growing interest in pragmatic questions—first in German, then in Romance linguistics. It is especially thanks to Andreas Jucker that this fascinating field has also been attracting more and more colleagues from English linguistics over the past ten years (cf. especially Jucker 1995 and Jucker/Fritz/Lebsanft 1999a and the *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, which Jucker edits together with Irma Taavitsainen). Andreas Jucker has also compiled an internet bibliography on historical pragmatics, which contains about 450 entries (<http://www.es.unizh.ch/ahjucker/HistPrag.htm>). This article shall be a small contribution to the field of Historical English Pragmatics, or, to be more blunt, Historical English Discourse Analysis. The two most salient parts of a conversation are its opening and its closing section. While I discuss opening phrases elsewhere (cf. Grzega [in print]), this paper shall shed light on leave-taking terms.

How do we find out about the ways people said good-bye in medieval Anglo-Saxon times? The difficulty of finding out about spoken language in medieval times has been discussed several times; for Old English there are virtually no records of or on spoken language, and most studies on historical pragmatics refrain from dwelling on Old English times (cf., e.g. the overview in Jucker et al. 1999b, Jucker 2000).

My sources are, as with the study of opening phrases, the OED, the OEC (where I looked especially for glosses), the TOE (which, however, included no relevant entry), the MEC (I inserted relevant definitions in the search engine), DigiBib59, the SED and the EDD, the study by Stroebe (1911) and an additional study by Arnovick (1999: 95-118). The TOE doesn't offer any relevant information. Records are only accepted here if they represent a clear parting phrase.

We cannot really judge the prominence of medieval phrases, but we can give a qualitative account with some indications of which phrases might have been more frequent and which less.

## 2. Chronology of Leave-Taking Terms

While it was already difficult to find out about closing phrases in Old English, it turned out to be even more difficult for leave-taking terms. The TOE has no relevant entry. Terasawa (s.v. *good-bye*) gives *welgā* as a leave-taking term (which the TOE gives as a greeting), but the two records of *welga* in the OEC doesn't support any of these interpretations. In CorpG12 we find *welga* as a gloss for Lat. *heia* (an expression of astonishment and an expression of request); in PsG1B we find *welga welga* as a gloss for Lat. *euge euge* (some sort of commendation): *welga* must therefore be excluded from the study. An OEC search with the Latin glosses 'vale/uale' led to no matches. The search for 'valete/ualete' yielded one entry, viz. *wesap hale* (1x CIGI). In Stroebe (1911: 14ff.) we find that in Old English there were practically only *wesap hale* and *wilcuma(n)* as a greeting term and the first also served as a leave-taking term.

The results were slightly more for the periods afterwards.

- *Habbeoð alle gode niht* 'lit.: Have all good night', (*Have you (all) good night*, first attested a1200 (MED, OED); later also the reduced type *good night* (since 1374), but the deletion of *have* occurs much later than with the greeting phrases *good morn(ing)* and *good even* (all quotes in the MED still contain *have* if the phrase is used in direct speech)
- (*Have*) (*well*) *good day*, first attested as a parting term 1205 (MED, OED)
- (*To*) *Christ/God I þe biteche* 'lit.: To Christ/God I commend you', first attested as a parting term c1314, for the last time c1440 (MED, OED)
- *Gode* (*give*) *you good day*, first attested as a parting term 1374 (MED, OED)
- *God* (*thee*) *speed* ~ *God speed* (*you*), first attested in 1375, last record of *God speed* in 1851 (Melville's *Moby Dick*) and of *God speed you* in 1918 (Harte's *M'Liss*) (MED, OED, DigiBib59)
- *Farewell*, *Fare* (*thou/thee/ye/you*) *well*, first attested in 1377, now poetic (MED, OED)
- *God save* (*you*), first attested as a leave-taking formula in 1385, only a sporadic phrase, after the classical ME attested for 1485 (*Le Morte d'Arthur*), 1595/96 ("God save your life", in *Love's Labor's Lost*), 1796/97 (Wordsworth's *The Borderers*) and 1907 (Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World*) (MED, OED, DigiBib59)
- *Adieu*, of French origin, first attested as a leave-taking formula in 1393 (MED, OED)
- (*His*) *pes be wit yow* ~ *Peace be with you*, first attested as a non-biblical leave-taking formula in a1400 (MED)
- *Wel ze be* 'lit.: Well you be', first attested as a clear leave-taking formula in a1475 (MED)
- *St. John to borgh* 'St. John be your protector/sponsor', c1482 (a1420) until c1500, but rare (still rarer *Venus to borgh*, a1425/c1385 (MED))
- *Good-bye*, as far as I see the first attestation as a clear leave-taking formula is in 1591 (Shk, *Henry VI*, III,2): "God b'uy my Lord". Later colloquial reductions are the forms *By* (first record 1709) and *By-by* (first record 1736). There is also the form *godbwyes* standing in opposition to *how-dyes* (1573-80, OED)
- *Vale*, Latin formula attested as a real leave-taking formula from 1550 till 1656 (cf. OED)
- *Hallo*, as a leave-taking term used in several of Dickens' works (cf. DigiBib59)
- *So long*, first attested in 1865 (OED)
- *Ciao*, first attested as a leave-taking formula in 1961 in I.T. Ross's *Requiem for Schoolgirl*. (cf. above as a form of greeting); this seems have especially popular in New York, since Birdwell writes in his *Amazons*: "When did New Yorkers stop saying ciao?" (OED)
- *Cheerie-bye*, first attested as Scottish English 1934 (OED)
- *Da-da*, only 1681 and 1733 (OED)
- *God bless you*, first attested in 1964 according to the OED, but actually already used in

Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), as *God bless* first in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759) as slang (DigiBib59)

- *Ta-ta*, first attested in 1823, and *tar-tar*, first attested in 1837 (OED, DigiBib59)
- *See you*, first attested in 1891 (OED)
- *Hooray*, first attested in 1898 (OED), Australian English
- *Cheero*, first attested in 1910, and *cheerio*, first attested in 1914 (OED)
- *T.T.F.N.*, attested in the 1940's on a BBC program (OED)
- *Ta-ra*, first attested in 1958 (OED)
- *Tatty-bye*, first attested in 1971 (OED)
- *Aroo ~ huroo*, 1945 or earlier (OED s.v. *hooray*)
- *Pip-pip!*, as a greeting phrase first attested in 1920 (OED)
- *Seventy-three(s)*, first attested in 1941 (OED)
- *Good sale (to you)*, attested in the EDD (s.v. *good*, section 3) for northern Yorkshire

### 3. Iconemes and Etymologies of Leave-Taking Terms

By *iconeme* I refer the motivation behind a term, its image (cf. Grzega 2004a: 29). I will list the various iconemes and discuss the etyma of the respective forms. In the final subsection I will discuss unclear and debatable cases.

#### (1) expressive phrases

A number of phrases are of expressive origin (some would also say onomatopoeic<sup>1</sup>):

- *Da-da*, *Ta(r)-ta(r)* – According to the OED, *da-da* is “the earlier form of *ta-ta*”.
- *Ta-ra* – OED: “Colloq. (mainly North.) alteration of *ta-ta*”.
- *Hooray* – OED explains the term as “var. of *hurrah*” and gives the following citation: “1898 *Bulletin* (Sydney) 4 June (*red page*), In many places the salutation ‘good-day’ or ‘good-night’ is simply ‘Hooray!’”. Based on the citations the phrase seems basically Australian.
- *Aroo ~ huroo*
- *Pip-pip!*

#### (2) wish for a good time of the day or a good time in general

- *((Have) a) good day/morning/afternoon/evening/night/time.*
- *Good sale (to you)* – The word *sale* must be understood as ‘time’ here—cf. EDD (s.v. *seal sb*<sub>2</sub>), where we also find the phrase *The seal of the day (to you)* ‘a friendly salutation’ in Norfolk and Suffolk.

#### (3) wish for health or peace

- *Wesap hale*
- *Wel ye be*
- *Farewell*
- *Peace to thee/you*

#### (4) wish for or leaving to God's or some other higher being's protection

- *God speed you* – ME *speed* is used in the sense of ‘protect’ (there is still the family name *Goodspeed*)
- *St. John to borgh* – ME *borgh* means ‘pledge; sponsor, guarantor’.

<sup>1</sup> For the distinction between *onomatopoeic* and *expressive* cf. Grzega (2004: 153).

- *Venus to borgh*
- *To Christ/God ich þe biteche*
- *God bless (you)*
- *God save you*

### (5) predicting seeing each other again

- *See you* – The OED says: “colloq. formula of farewell, often in weakened sense without reference to an anticipated meeting (in full *I’ll see you*). Also with advbs. and other extensions, as *around*, *soon*, etc. Also, (*I’ll*) *be seeing you*. Cf. F. *au revoir*, G. *auf Wiedersehen*”.

### (6) puns

- *T.T.F.N.* -- According to the OED this is the abbreviation of *ta-ta for now* and is “a catchphrase popularized by the 1940s BBC radio programme *Itma*”

### (7) blends

- *Cheerie-bye*
- *Tatty-bye*

### (8) loan expressions

- *Adieu* – French
- *Vale* – Latin
- *Ciao* – Italian

### (9) unclear and debatable origins

- *Seventy-three(s)* – The OED says: “(U.S. slang), best wishes, **good-bye**; also written 73” -- OED citations: “**1941** *Traffic World* LXVIII. 198/1 Morse code operators..used many arbitrary numbers to shorten their work..4 meaning ‘where’,..73 ‘best regards’ and 22 ‘kisses’.” and “**1976** *S9* (N.Y.) May/June 31/2 Seventy-threes, and ’bye.” Zook (2001: 4) quotes from the *Bulletin from the Navy Department Office of the Chief of Naval Operations* December 1934: “It appears from a research of telegraph histories that in 1859 the telegraph people held a convention, and one of its features was a discussion as to the saving of ‘line time’. A committee was appointed to devise a code to reduce standard expressions to symbols or figures. This committee worked out a figure code, from figure 1 to 92. Most of these figure symbols became obsolescent, but a few remain to this date, such as 4, which means: ‘Where shall I go ahead?’ Figure 9 means ‘wire’, the wire chief being on the wire and that everyone should close their keys. Symbol 13 means ‘I don’t understand’; 22 is ‘love and a kiss’; 30 means ‘good night’ or ‘the end’. The symbol most often used now is 73, which means ‘my compliments’ and 92 is for the word ‘deliver’. The other figures in between the forgoing have fallen into almost complete disuse.” Zook (2001: 4) further summarizes: “One of the chief telegraphers of the Navy Department of Communications, a J.L. Bishop, quoted from memory the signals that were in effect in 1905: [...] 73 My compliments, or Best Regards”. It seems that there is no logical link between the American Morse symbols and the concepts, so that the number choices are really arbitrary.
- *Cheer(i)o* – According to the OED the verb *cheer* was suffixed with the interjection *o* and later influenced by *cheery*. An influence of *Hello* instead of *Q* also seems possible.

- *So long* – The OED (s.v. *long*) vaguely writes in brackets: “Cf. G. *so lange*.” Mencken’s information (1919/1963: 192 & 258) is a little contradictory: at first he categorizes *So long* as a Germanism, later in the book he classifies it as “of English origin” (or does he want to say that the term is of German descent, but that it came to America via England?). According to Terasawa (s.v. *long*) we would have to postulate an imagined starting-form *\*(it will seem) so long (until we meet again)*. Under the entry *so long* itself this hypothesis is preceded by a question mark, and the hypotheses of a German origin (*So lange* ‘so long’) and an Arabic origin (*salám* ‘peace’) are also given. Also in Weekley (s.v. *so long*) we find the hypothesis: “? Corrupt. of *salaam*.” The German origin is also offered as one possible explanation for the expression with “origin unknown” by Chapman (s.v. *so long*); in addition, Chapman writes: “perhaps fr[om] Hebrew *shalom* and related Arabic *salaam*, both greetings meaning ‘peace’; perhaps fr Irish *slan* ‘health,’ used as a toast and a salutation”. Walt Whitman is among the first to use *So long* in written language, particularly several times in his parting song *So long!* in his collection of poems *Leaves of Grass* (version of before 1868). (The only earlier citation in the OED [s.v. *long*] stems from 1865, from F.H. Nixon—the source is given as “*P. Perfume* 8”, which, unfortunately, is not decoded in the bibliography, though). Kennedy, a friend of Whitman’s and connoisseur of his work, writes (1926: 110):

“The salutation of parting—‘So long!’—was, I believe, until recent years, unintelligible to the majority of persons in America, especially in the interior, and to members of the middle and professional classes. I had never heard of it until I read it in *Leaves of Grass*, but since then have quite often heard it used by the laboring class and other classes in New England cities. Walt wrote to me, defining ‘so long’ thus [also quoted in Whitman 1984: 1137] : ‘A salutation of departure, greatly used among sailors, sports, & prostitutes—the sense of it is ‘Till we meet again,’—conveying an inference that somehow they will doubtless so meet, sooner or later.’ This is interesting as comment on his use of the phrase in his *Songs of Parting*, conveying an intimation of his belief in personal immortality. The phrase is said by the etymologists to be probably a corruption by sailors of the Oriental ‘Salaam’ (‘saluting,’ ‘wishing you peace’). It is evidently about equivalent to our ‘See you later.’ The phrase is reported as used by farm laborers near Banff, Scotland. In Canada it is frequently heard; ‘and its use is not entirely confined to the vulgar.’ It is in common use among the working classes of Liverpool and among sailors at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and in Dorsetshire. [...]. The *London Globe* suggests that the expression is derived from the Norwegian ‘Saa laenge,’ a common form of ‘farewell,’ *au revoir*. If so, the phrase was picked up from the Norwegians in America, where ‘So long’ first was heard. The expression is now (1923) often used by the literary and artistic classes.”

I first consulted Fraser and Gibbon’s dictionary on sailor slang (1925); but the phrase wasn’t listed there. But if it is true that the term originates in sailor slang (and from there was first spread among other social groups in contact with them, e.g. soldiers and prostitutes), then we can give the following comments on the various suggestions.

- (1) Although the German hypothesis is formally possible, it must be underscored that there is no hint that a German leave-taking expression *So lange* ever existed (cf., e.g., DW).
- (2) A Hebrew (or Yiddish) origin seems unlikely for a sailor term.
- (3) The Arabic hypothesis seems possible for a sailor term. However, it has to be underlined that *Salaam* is used both as a greeting and a leave-taking term, while *So long* is only used as a leave-taking term.
- (4) The Norwegian hypothesis seems also possible for a sailor term. And indeed, in Norwegian leave-taking phrases such *Adjø så lenge! Farvel så lenge! Mor’n så lenge!*, literally ‘Bye so long! Farewell so long! Morning so long!’, the iconeme being something like “farewell for the (long) time being until we meet again”. The first part was clipped and the second represents a loan translation.

So in conclusion, the Norwegian origin, though not included in the modern etymological dictionaries, can be regarded as the most probable etymology.

- *Good-bye* – For Arnovick (1999: 95) “the derivation of *Good-bye* from *God be with you*

is well documented formally and semantically”. The first attestation of *God be with you* as part of a leave-taking formula is in Chaucer’s Pardoner’s Tale: “And god be with yow wher ye go or ryde”. However, the phrase is not listed in the MED as an isolated leave-taking term. In the OED we read (similarly also cf. ODEE, Klein, Terasawa, Weekley, Mayer [1962: 194]): “A contraction of the phrase *God be with you* (or *ye*); see [GOD](#) n. 8. The substitution of *good-* for *God* may have been due to association with such formulas of leave-taking as *good day*, *good night*, etc. It has been suggested that the phrase may have originated in *God buy you* = ‘God redeem you’, and that association with *God be with you* is of later date. This is not supported by the earliest forms, which as a rule show that the expression was known to be a clipped one [i.e. 1591 in Shakespeare’s *Henry VI*].” The change of *God* to *good* can be traced back to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, the change from *be with* to *buy* seem much less clear, as the following points should be taken into account:

- (a) It should be underlined that already in the last quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century we find non-apostrophed forms, e.g. *God buoye all* (Heywood, *2 Edw IV*), *God bwy ye*, *God bwy* (cf. Arnovick 1999: 99). Therefore, it is not for sure that the interpretation as clipped forms is prior. It might that this interpretation is later and maybe a form of “eye dialect”.
- (b) The late 16<sup>th</sup>-century forms *bwy*, *bwy* can easily be connected with the early 17<sup>th</sup>-century forms *God buy ye/you/thee*; for <bwy>, <bwy(e)> and <buy> could well be seen as graphic variants. (It must be admitted, though, that the MED lists no graphic variant <bwy> for *buy*.)
- (c) It can be shown that an utmost abbreviated form *Bye(-Bye)* already occurs in 1643 (or earlier) in Cartwright’s works in the form of *B’w’y’* (all forms given in the OED). Are half a century enough for a corruption from *God be with you* to *Bye*?
- (d) What none of the “chronologies” try to explain is the ModE vowel [ai]. Why should the part *be with (you)* get weaker and weaker and all of a sudden be strengthened by diphthongization again—without any gain in motivation? What sounds do etymologists see behind this phrase type?

If *God be with you* is at the start of *Go(o)d-bye*, then we would have to postulate the following intermediate stages:

- (1) [ˈɡɔd ˈbeː wið ˈjuː] >
- (2) [ˈɡɔd be wi ˈjuː] (loss of stress and weakening of verb plus weakening of preposition, attested as *God be wy you* in Shakespeare’s *Love Labor’s Lost*, 1588) >
- (3) (a) \*[ˈɡɔd b wi ˈjuː] (but strange, uncommon consonant cluster *dbw!*) or (b) \*[ˈɡɔd be i ˈjuː] (further reduction due to unstressed position and “reduced original meaning”) >
- (4) (a) \*[ˈɡɔd b wi je] (but strange, uncommon consonant cluster *dbw!*) or (b) \*[ˈɡɔd be i je] (loss of stress on pronoun) >
- (5) (a) \*[ˈɡɔd bwij(ə)] (but strange, uncommon consonant cluster *dbw!*) or (b) \*[ˈɡɔd be iə] (further reduction due to unstressed position) >
- (6) (a) \*[ˈɡɔd ˈbwij(ə)] (but strange, uncommon consonant cluster *dbw!*) or (b) \*[ˈɡɔd ˈbe iə] (new stress on second syllable—but why?) >
- (7) [ˈɡɔd ˈbaɪ] (reinterpretation as *God buy* ‘may God redeem’?) >
- (8) [ˈɡɔd ˈbaɪ (ˈ)juː]

As can be seen, many of the forms have to be constructed, for some there is a lack of explanation, for some strange consonant clusters have to be postulated—and according to the records all this must have happened within less than half a century. Even if stages 5 and 6 do not necessarily have to be postulated for a folk-etymological reinterpretation, there are still some postulations that would need more justification. My problem is also one of document chronology. The first “short” forms are *bwy (ye)* and *bwy* in the last



quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (results from the Chadwyck-Healey electronic corpus, cf. Arnovick [1999: 99])—if these really are short forms.... Apostrophized forms such as *b'uy*, *b'wee*, *b'wy*, *b'w'you*, *b'wi'you* don't occur earlier, rather up to a quarter-century later. The first instance—as indicated above—seems to be *God b'uy my Lord* in Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Act III.2, from 1591. Furthermore, we have the form *buy ye/you/thee* in the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It is also possible that the forms *bwy* and *bwey* also represent *buy*, not a short form of *be with* and that the interpretation as clipped form is later. These observations show that an etymon *God buy you* is possible from a phonetic and graphic point of view.

But if we want to discuss whether the theory of a *God buy you* is really possible, we also need to check the usage history of the lexeme *buy*. As a matter of fact, the MED lists quotations since Ormm where ME *bīen* is used in the sense of 'redeem, save, free' (s.v. *bīen* section 6). What I therefore propose is two separate origins: an older *God be with you* and a maybe younger, but still independent *God buy (you)* (as there is also *God save (you)*) with few phonetic reductions. Again, in the last quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century we find the first folk-etymological forms with *Good*.

No matter if *buy* or *be* is the original verb, this does not change Arnovick's general description that we once had an explicit blessing that then also functioned as an implicit greeting. Finally only its clipped, or slurred, form served as a (secular) greeting. However, I disagree with Arnovick's (1999: 112f.) explanation—again no matter what the original verb was—that the advent of the (secular) greeting *Good-bye* is connected with the epoch of Enlightenment. He says, "the derivation of *Good-bye* from *God be with you* [or: *God buy you*] with the attendant de-institutionalization of the common close should be correlated with secularization" (Arnovick 1999: 113). I doubt this explanation as no parallel cases can be found in other European languages. We still have Fr. *adieu* 'to God', It. *addio* 'dito', Sp. *adios* 'dito', G.dial. *Grüß Gott* 'may God greet [you]'. Moreover, even in English we have kept the phrase *God bless*, in 1809 we still find the quotation "profusion of farewells and God-be-with-you's" [Malkin quoted in the OED s.v. *God*], and the EDD records several instances where *God* and *good* are mixed up in phrases in **both** directions (s.v. *good*, *God*).

#### 4. Formal, Stylistic and Functional Developments

##### (1) formal changes

Over time phrases may become morphosyntactically reduced (e.g. *Have a good night/day* > *Good night/day* > *Night/Day*, *God bless/save/speed you* > *God bless/save/speed*, *Good-bye* > *Bye*). unless *Good-bye* goes back to *God be with you*, a morphonetic reduction does not seem to occur. It is interesting, though, that phrases are sometimes blended (e.g. *Cheerie-bye*, *Tatty-bye*).

##### (2) stylistic changes

Formal reductions or alterations are sometimes accompanied by stylistic or sociolectal changes (e.g. *Bye*, *Night*, *Tatty-bye*). But there might also be stylistic changes without formal changes (e.g. *Adieu*, *Farwell*).

##### (3) functional changes

Already Arnovick (1999: 95) has observed a development of phrases that represent explicit wishes and blessings and implicit partings into pure partings. This functional deprivation, or "discursive inflation", as Arnovick (1999: 2) puts it, can be confirmed by our analysis of the

data. An original wish may especially become opaque when there are formal reductions.

## 5. Final Remarks

Greeting and leave-taking phrases have to cope with (interrelated) polar forces. These can be illustrated as follows:

simple conversational marker	explicit wish
slurred/reduced phonetic form	complete phrase or sentence
opaque form	transparent form
avoiding excessive length	desire for plastic expressions
common conversational signs	specific in-group markers

Apart from this, we can say that conversational openings and endings are anthropologically, or naturally, salient concepts, which continually trigger off lexical innovations. Moreover, due to social reasons and prestige reasons such salutation terms may also easily be borrowed from other languages.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For a complete catalog of forces triggering off lexemic change cf. Grzega (2004a, 2004b).

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**MODERNE PROBLEME UND ERGEBNISSE EINER LEXIKALISCHEN DIALEKTSTUDIE:  
DIALEKTGEBRAUCH, DIALEKTKENNTNIS UND ONOMASILOGISCHE KENNTNIS BEI SCHÜLERN AUS  
TREUCHTLINGEN<sup>1</sup>**

## Abstract

The goal of this article [“Modern Problems and Results of a Lexical Dialect Study: Use of Dialect, Knowledge of Dialect and Onomasiological Knowledge of High-School Students from Treuchtlingen”] is to investigate the onomasiological knowledge and use of dialectal words among teenagers in a small town in Northern Bavaria. For this purpose both traditional methods and theories of cognitive linguistics have been combined. Thirty-two students have been interviewed by way of an onomasiological questionnaire consisting of thirty-seven lexical items and three conversational issues. The analysis shows that an above-average degree of **knowledge** can only be confirmed for concepts that are familiar to the informants or emotionally marked. An above-average degree of **use** is given for emotionally marked concepts only. Also of note is the observation that some concepts were no longer fully known to the students. Moreover, with some concepts the students were not sure about the correct corresponding designation; interestingly, students then often did not chose the term of the basic level, but an onomasiologically more salient, or the onomasiologically most salient, term from the subordinate level.

**1. Vorbemerkungen**

Die Variable “Alter” hat in der Dialektologie schon immer eine Rolle gespielt. Schon bei den frühesten Dialektbefragungen für Ortsgrammatiken und den Sprachatlanten ging man davon aus, dass ältere Sprecher den Dialekt besser beherrschten als jüngere. Onomasiologische Kenntnis in Abhängigkeit von der soziolinguistischen Variable “Alter” nun aber im Lichte der Dialektologie und Dialektsoziologie zu beleuchten, soll Kern des vorliegenden Beitrages sein. Empirisch eingehend untersucht hat die These von der verminderten Dialektkenntnis der jüngeren Generation in Deutschland als erster Ulrich Ammon (1973), doch gab es auch zuvor Arbeiten, die die Bedeutung der einzelnen soziolinguistischen Variablen einschließlich des Alters für das Varietätenspektrum einer Ortsmundart untersuchten, wie etwa jene von Richard Höh (1951), von Else Hofmann (1963), von Heinz Rosenkranz und Karl Spangenberg (1963) und von Heinz Wolfensberger (1967). Bei Ammon und andernorts werden dabei Informanten gefragt, ob sie denn ihren Ortsdialekt beherrschten, was aber selbstverständlich nur zu sehr subjektiven Einschätzungen seitens der Befragten führt. Mattheier (1994: 431ss.) hat daher vorgeschlagen, Paraphrasen zu verwenden, die folgendermaßen Aussehen könnten: “Stellen Sie sich ein zwangloses Gespräch unter Ihren Freunden und Nachbarn in Ihrem Wohnort vor. Diese Personen leben alle schon lange in diesem Ort und unterhalten sich in der ortsüblichen Sprache. Können Sie ein solches Gespräch verstehen? Können Sie in der gleichen Sprache mitreden?” Objektive Dialektalitätsmessungen zu dieser Problematik gibt es dagegen nach wie vor nur wenige. Auf diese Forschungslücke macht auch Gerritsen (1985: 85) aufmerksam, um diese dann ein wenig zu schließen.

Gerritsen stellt das biologische Alter in den Mittelpunkt. Zu berücksichtigen wäre jedoch auch, dass “Alter” unterschiedlich definiert werden kann<sup>2</sup>. Relevant ist in diesem

<sup>1</sup> Für wohlwollende und tatkräftige Unterstützung sei dem Leiter der Kooperativen Gesamtschule Senefelder-Schule Treuchtlingen, Herrn Oberstudiendirektor Raimund Karl, seinen Stellvertretern Herrn Realschulrektor Josef Bayer, Herrn Rektor Helmuth Hammer und Herrn Studiendirektor Hans Kuttner sowie Herrn Studiendirektor Adolf Hochmuth herzlich gedankt.

<sup>2</sup> Zu unterschiedlichen Definitionen von “Alter” in der Linguistik vergleiche man beispielsweise

Zusammenhang, dass "Alter" nicht nur als biologisches, sondern auch als soziologisches Phänomen verstanden werden kann. Mattheier (1980: 46ss.; 1994: 427s.) beschreibt die Abhängigkeit der Dialektverwendung vom sozialen Alter anhand des Ablaufs mehrerer Phasen:

1. primäre Spracherziehung (in städtischen Gegenden standardnah, in ländlichen Gegenden dialektnah)
2. "peer-group"-Verhalten (Betonung der dialektalen Komponente)
3. schulische Spracherziehung (Ausbau einer bidialektalen Kompetenz, mit Abnahme der Situationen, in denen Dialekt gesprochen wird)
4. Beruf (je nach Art des Berufes weiterer unterschiedlich starker Abbau der Dialektverwendung)
5. Eheschließung (je nach Partner unterschiedliche Anpassungsprozesse)
6. Kindererziehung (starke Abnahme der Dialektverwendung gerade bei Frauen)
7. Ausscheiden aus dem Berufsleben (Anstieg der Dialektverwendung)

Diese Übersicht zeigt, dass die Sprachentwicklung innerhalb einer Ortsgemeinschaft bis Phase 3 in etwa für jeden gleich abläuft, während die Auseinanderdifferenzierung ab Phase 4 sehr groß wird. Die jüngere und die ältere Generation **verwenden** somit mehr Dialekt als die mittlere Generation. Chambers/Trudgill (1980: 91) stellen in einer englischen Studie einen Anstieg der Dialektverwendung bereits zwischen 40-49 Jahren fest. Gerritsen (1985: 89) stellt dabei die These auf, dass es in ländlichen Gegenden möglicherweise keine altersspezifischen Unterschiede gebe, da sich gesellschaftliche Veränderungen hier im geringeren und langsameren Maße durchsetzten. Es stellt sich aber noch die Frage nach der **Kenntnis** des Dialektes im Generationenvergleich. Auch werden nicht alle Ebenen des Dialektsystems gleichermaßen berücksichtigt. Meist sind es Aussprache und Morphologie, die Untersuchungsgegenstand sind resp. über die Auskunft gegeben wird. Die Lexik dagegen ist vielfach im Hintertreffen. An dieser Stelle soll aber bereits auf eine lexikalische Studie von de Schutter (1980) hingewiesen werden, in welcher er für mehrere kleine Ortschaften im flämischen Belgien zeigt, dass keine Altersunterschiede bei neuen Konzepten, aber sehr große in Bezug auf altbekannte Konzepte nachgewiesen können.

Die nachstehende Untersuchung hat daher versucht, die Kenntnis von Dialektwörtern bei Schülern einer nordbayerischen/mittelfränkischen Kleinstadt zu untersuchen<sup>3</sup>. Welche Probleme und Ergebnisse sich dabei ergaben, soll im Folgenden gezeigt werden. So besteht schon ein erstes Problem darin, dass diese Untersuchung von einer einzelnen Person ohne finanzielle Unterstützung in einem sinnvollen Zeitrahmen durchgeführt werden musste. Ein Aufsatz von Dingeldein (1994: 396s.) zu Dialektbefragungen sei an dieser Stelle zitiert: "Sind schon bei der inhaltlichen Modellbildung Kompromisse zwischen dem sprachwissenschaftlich Wünschenswerten und dem vernünftigerweise Erreichbaren zu schließen, so trifft dies bei der technischen Umsetzung noch mehr zu. Hier spielen Faktoren wie der zur Beantwortung der Forschungsfrage gegebene Zeitrahmen, die zur Verfügung stehenden technischen und finanziellen Mittel und die einsetzbare menschliche Arbeitskraft eine wesentliche Rolle."

## 2. Untersuchungsort, Informanten sowie Aufbau des Fragebogens und der Befragung

Treuchtlingen ist eine Kleinstadt im bayerischen Regierungsbezirk Mittelfranken mit derzeit 7.500 Einwohnern (resp. 13.400 Einwohnern mit den umliegenden eingemeindeten Dörfern).

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Fiehler/Thimm (1998).

<sup>3</sup> Geplant ist eine Gesamtdarstellung des Dialektwortschatzes des Ortes. Die vorliegende Umfrage ist dabei nur ein Teil der soziolinguistischen Studie, die in allen Generationen durchgeführt werden soll. Doch ist die Ausführung dieses Projektes aufgrund der bislang ungeklärten Finanzierung nicht gesichert.

Dialektologisch gesehen liegt es am Südrand des Ostfränkischen in der sog. Dreistammesecke<sup>4</sup>, in der die Überschneidungen mit Dialektmerkmalen des Bairischen und Schwäbischen spürbar werden. Dialektunterschiede können in diesem Übergangsbereich deshalb schon von Ort zu Ort deutlich sein. Um eine möglichst genaue Entwicklung der „typischen“ Treuchtlinger Mundart unter dem Aspekt des „Alters“ zu geben, sollten daher 11- bis 17-jährige Schüler aus Treuchtlingen als Informanten dienen (i.e. Schüler der Klassen 5 bis 9/10 an Hauptschule, Realschule oder Gymnasium), deren beide Elternteile ebenfalls in Treuchtlingen aufgewachsen sein sollten – also Informanten der obengenannten Phase 3, und zwar bewusst aus allen drei Schularten, um einen möglichst neutralen Querschnitt zu erzielen. Hier zeigte sich bereits die erste Schwierigkeit, denn es fanden sich an der gesamten Schule gerade mal 32 Schüler resp. Schülerinnen, bei denen diese Voraussetzungen zutrafen<sup>5</sup>. (Dies ist ein Reflex der Mobilität der modernen Gesellschaft, die bewirkt, dass andere soziolinguistische Variablen wie Ortsloyalität oder das soziale Netz auf die Entwicklung des Varietätenspektrums der deutschen Sprache einen viel gewichtigeren Einfluss haben als die Herkunft). Die Informanten wurden während der Schulzeit vom Verfasser als Explorator in einer (bewusst) lockeren Atmosphäre befragt, um das sog. Interview-Paradoxon der herausgeforderten Künstlichkeit und Formalität zu vermeiden (cf. Labov 1972): die Schüler durften den Explorator duzen, er hat ihnen erzählt, dass auch er aus Treuchtlingen sei, und hat sich der typischen Treuchtlinger Umgangssprache bedient.

Von den in der Sprachgeographie üblichen sog. „offenen“ Fragestellungen wurde die Befragung mittels Fragebüchern mit lenkender (nicht streng fixierter) Struktur gewählt<sup>6</sup>. Der Fragebogen war onomasiologischer Natur und bestand aus zwei Hauptteilen, wobei der größere Teil I Einzelllexemen und der kleinere Teil II Konversationsformeln gewidmet war. Es wurden solche Einzelllexeme abgefragt, wo aufgrund von älteren lokalen Wortschatzsammlungen<sup>7</sup> und aufgrund der Belege des Deutschen Wortatlasses von Mitzka (1951-1980) für die Treuchtlinger Umgebung bestimmte Lexemvarianten zu erwarten waren, gemischt mit „Blindgängern“, bei denen keine Dialektlexeme bekannt waren, die aber als weiteres Mittel dienten, um nicht gleich auf nur Dialektales aufmerksam zu machen und damit die Spontaneität der Erstantworten zu steigern. Im Fragebogen war Teil I nochmals in 3 Unterabteilungen gegliedert, die in zwei Durchläufen abgefragt wurden. Dabei ist den Schülern gesagt worden, dass es zunächst um die Kenntnis von Pflanzen, Tieren und anderen Dingen ginge, erst in der zweiten Hälfte der Befragung um Treuchtlinger Dialekt. Damit sollte gewährleistet werden, dass die Antworten zunächst spontan und ohne bewusste Suche nach einem Dialektwort erfolgten. In Teil I.1 wurden den Informanten aus Lexika kopierte farbige Bilder von Pflanzen und Tieren vorgelegt, die sie benennen sollten (vgl. Anhang 2-12):

- (1) Anemone [*\*Buschrösle*, *\*weißes Veilchen*]<sup>8</sup>,
- (2) Hummel [*\*Bienenhummele*],
- (3) Maulwurf [*Moutwerfer*],

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nübling (1938).

<sup>5</sup> Hierzu sei angemerkt, dass einige Schüler/innen jedoch nicht wussten, ob ihre Eltern in Treuchtlingen geboren oder aufgewachsen waren oder nicht. (Dies gibt Einblick in die Art und Intensität der Kommunikation in der Familie und ist sicher eine interessante Thematik für die Soziologie.)

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dingeldein (1994: 397).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Guthmann (1994), Hammel (1984) und Rieger (1998). Sehr herzlich gedankt sei außerdem Frau Ingeborg Westphal für die freundliche Zusendung und Überlassung eines Manuskripts von Treuchtlinger Mundartwörtern.

<sup>8</sup> In eckigen Klammern sind hier und im Folgenden die zu erwartenden Dialektlexeme verzeichnet. Ist ein Asterisk vorangestellt, so handelt es sich lediglich um in der Umgebung belegte Typen; ohne Auszeichnung sind die Wörter in Dialektglossarien verzeichnet oder dem Verfasser aus eigener Erfahrung bekannt. Hier wie im gesamten Aufsatz verzichte ich auf phonetische Umschrift, da es in diesem Beitrag um lexikalische (oder allenfalls morphologische) Typen geht.

- (4) Laubfrosch [*Hietsch*],
- (5) Heuschrecke,
- (6) Erbsen,
- (7) Waldspitzmaus,
- (8) Weizen,
- (9) Gerste,
- (10) Roggen [*Korn*],
- (11) Hornisse [*\*Horneichsl*],
- (12) Libelle [*\*Wasserjungfer, \*Hüllhüter, \*Bachjäger*],
- (13) (Honig-)Biene [*\*Imme*],
- (14) Kartoffeln [*Erdbirnen*],
- (15) Gänseblümchen [*Margarite*],
- (16) Kiefer (Baum) [*Mandl*],
- (17) Löwenzahn,
- (18) Walderdbeere [*Bröschdling*],
- (19) Großer Schachtelhalm [*Zinnkraut/Ziekraut*],
- (20) Wacholder [*Grofat, Grametn/Granetn*],
- (21) Buschwindröschen [*Bettbrunzerla*],
- (22) Schlüsselblume,
- (23) Holunder [*Holler*<sup>9</sup>],
- (24) Himbeere [*Holber*],
- (25) Brombeere.

In Teil I.2 wurden sie gebeten, die Bezeichnungen für Vater [V], Mutter [M] und Kind [K] bei einigen Tieren zu nennen:

- (26a-c) Hühner [V: *Gieger, Gockel*; K: *Gaggerli, Zibberli*],
- (27a-c) Schweine [M: *Ranz*; K: *Suggerli*],
- (28a-c) Enten [K: *Schlickerli*],
- (29a-c) Gänse [V: *Ganser*; K: *Husserli*],
- (30a-c) Ziegen [K: *Hebberla*].

In Teil I.3 wurde mittels Umschreibungen (vgl. Anhang 1) nach Einzelbegriffen gefragt:

- (31) Schwiegersohn,
- (32) Schwiegervater/Schwiegermutter,
- (33) Pate/Patin [*Dudla*],
- (34) Patenkind [*Dudla*],
- (35) Dienstag [*Aftermontag*],
- (36) Glatze [*Platte*],
- (37) Sommersprossen [*Rossmucken*].

Insgesamt wurden hier also 37 Konzepte abgefragt. Der Vorteil von lexikalischen Dialektstudien ist, dass es im Gegensatz zu Lautung und Grammatik keine graduellen Dialekt-Standard-Kontinua gibt, sondern eher binäre, dichotomische Oppositionen und damit ohne große mathematische Operationen Unterschiede schnell anschaulich werden. In Teil II wurden dann die Begrüßungs- und Verabschiedungsformeln bei Freunden und Fremden erfragt. In einem zweiten Durchlauf wurden die Informanten dann bei denjenigen Einzelllexemen, wo spezifische Mundartlexeme zu erwarten waren, gefragt, ob sie denn

<sup>9</sup> Streng genommen handelt es sich hier nicht um einen eigenen lexikalischen Typ, sondern nur um eine phonetische Variante, die auf Erstbetonung (*Hólunder*) zurückgeht, während der Standardtyp Zweitbetonung hat.

Dialektwörter dafür kannten. Verneinten sie dies, wurde ihnen der Dialektausdruck genannt und sie wurden gefragt, ob sich dieser in ihrem aktiven oder passiven Wortschatz befände. Am Ende des Fragebogens wurden Geschlecht, Geburtsjahr, Wohngebiet, soziales Netz und Beruf der Eltern eingetragen. Eine Befragung dauerte 20 bis 30 Minuten.

### 3. Ergebnisse Teil I, 1. Durchlauf (Sachkenntnis und Dialektgebrauch)

Dialektlexeme wurden nur selten genannt. Bei (26a) gab es siebenmal die Antwort *Gockel* und einmal *Gockelhahn*, bei (27c) viermal *Suggerli/Suggerle/Suggln*, bei (15) viermal *Margarite* bei (26c) zweimal *Zibberle* und einmal *Gaggerli*, bei (1) einmal *Buschrösle*, bei (10) einmal *Korn*, und bei (23) einmal *Holler*. Spontan werden also wenige Dialektwörter gebraucht. Doch dieser erste Durchgang zeigte darüber hinaus in manchen Bereichen auch einen Mangel an Sachkenntnis, modern ausgedrückt: die Informanten konnten nicht auf alle abgefragten Konzepte gleich gut referieren. Von den 37 Konzepten wurde nur bei 27 von mehr als 50 Prozent<sup>10</sup> die richtige Bezeichnung der sog. Basisebene gefunden (der Rest bestand aus Bezeichnungen der sog. übergeordneten Ebene – wie *Insekt*, *Baum* oder *Blume* –, falschen Bezeichnungen oder gar keiner Bezeichnung):

Walderdbeere (32P<sup>11</sup>; davon 27P *Erdbeere*, 5P *Walderdbeere*), Glatze (32P<sup>12</sup>; davon 1P *Platte*),  
 Frosch (31P; davon 6P sogar mit *Laubfrosch*),  
 Kartoffeln (30P), Hahn (30P),  
 Maulwurf (29P), Libelle (29P), Henne (29P),  
 Küken [Hühner] (28P) Löwenzahn (28P), Gänseblümchen (28P),  
 Biene (27P), Schwiegervater/-mutter (27P),  
 Himbeere (25P), Pate/Patin (25P; davon einmal mit *Patentante*), Sommersprossen (25P),  
 Schwiegersohn (22P),  
 Brombeere (21P), Eber (21P),  
 Ferkel (20P), Ziege (20P; davon zweimal mit dem Ausdruck *Geiß*), Patenkind (20P),  
 Sau (19P), Ziegenbock (19P),  
 Heuschrecke (18P),  
 Gans (17P),  
 Hummel (15P; +3P, die mit *Insekt* antworten).

Sehr schlecht (von unter 25 Prozent der befragten Personen) wurden hingegen folgende Konzepte benannt: Schachtelhalm (0P), Anemone (1P), Weizen (2P), Hornisse (2P), Wacholder (2P), Buschwindröschen (3P), Kiefer (4P), Holunder (4P), Roggen (5P), Schlüsselblume (7P), Erpel (7P). Dabei darf bei einigen Konzepten angenommen werden, dass sie den Informant/innen schlichtweg unbekannt waren, e.g. der Schachtelhalm oder die Anemone; bei anderen herrschte lediglich Unsicherheit oder Unwissen um die korrekte Benennung. Näheres dazu im Abschnitt 5.

<sup>10</sup> Auch im Folgenden werden nur ähnliche grobe Aussagen gemacht. Eine statistische, genaue Auflistung sämtlicher Daten wird hier ausgespart, denn wie schon Dingeldein (1994: 408) zu Recht bemerkt, stellt sich hier "die Frage der Repräsentativität bei der personenbezogenen Modellbildung für eine sprachsoziologische Befragung [...]. Die Prozentzahlen deuten lediglich eine relationelle Größe an, deren Aussagekraft sich in erster Linie aus abweichenden Werten in anderen Beobachtungsklassen ergibt. Richtig interpretiert sind die Zahlenwerte dann, wenn sie in umgangssprachliche Wertkategorien wie 'etwa die Hälfte', 'fast alle', 'weniger als ein Viertel' usw. übersetzt werden. Als Basis für mathematisch-statistische Berechnungen sind sie u.E. nicht geeignet."

<sup>11</sup> P steht für *Personen*.

<sup>12</sup> Einem Informanten der fünften Klasse Gymnasium musste die Frage nach dem Konzept "Glatze" jedoch ein zweites Mal deutlicher gestellt werden, da er auf die Frage, "was hat einer, der keine Haare mehr auf dem Kopf hat", mit *Aids* antwortete.



#### 4. Ergebnisse Teil I, 2. Durchlauf (Dialektgebrauch und Dialektkenntnis)

Beim zweiten Durchlauf wurden die InformantInnen bei den einschlägigen Konzepten gefragt, ob sie einen Dialektausdruck nennen könnten. Verneinten sie dies, wurde ihnen der Dialektausdruck mitgeteilt und sie wurden gefragt, ob sie diesen auch selbst verwenden oder nur passiv kennen. Es wurde festgestellt, dass nur wenige mundartliche Wörter sich im aktiven Sprachgebrauch der Befragten befanden. Über ein Drittel gebrauchen zumindest gelegentlich *Gockel* (17P; neben den 7P aus dem Erstdurchlauf), *Platte* (22P; neben 1P aus dem Erstdurchlauf), *Gieger* (12P, wobei ein Informant dies nur für den ‘gebratenen Hahn’ verwendet), *Suggerli/Suggerle/Suggerl* (11P; neben 4P aus dem Erstdurchlauf), *Holler* (11P; neben 1P aus dem Erstdurchlauf) und *Margarite* (8P; neben 4P aus dem Erstdurchlauf).

Zählt man den passiven Wortschatz mit, so sind folgende Ausdrücke bei mindestens einem Drittel der InformantInnen bekannt: *Platte* (23P aktiv + 9P passive), *Suggerli* (11P aktiv + 9P passiv), *Gockel* (24P aktiv + 4P passiv), *Gieger* (12P aktiv + 15P passiv), *Margarite* (12P aktiv + 13P passiv), *Gaggerli* (5P aktiv + 16P passiv), *Holler* (12P aktiv + 9P passiv), *Buschröschen* (2P aktiv + 16P passiv), *Zibberli* (9P aktiv + 8P passiv), *Erdbirnen* (4P aktiv + 12P passiv), *Bettbrunzerla* (2P aktiv + 12P passiv), *Ganser* (5P aktiv + 7P passiv), *Bachjäger* (2P aktiv + 10P passiv) und *Zinnkraut* (2P aktiv + 10P passiv).

Gänzlich unbekannt ist *Dudla* im Sinne von ‘Patenkind’. Nur einmal als Bestandteil des passiven Wortschatzes werden *Dudla* im Sinne von ‘Patin’, *Laus* (falls keine Verwechslung mit dem Insektennamen vorliegt) und *Grofat* genannt; seltener Bestandteil des Wortschatzes sind auch *Bienhummel* (zweimal passiv), *Grametn* (zweimal aktiv und einmal passiv) sowie *Moutwerfer* und *Schlickerli* (je dreimal passiv).

Eine Korrelation zwischen Bekanntheit des Konzeptes und spontanem aktiven Gebrauch von Dialektwörtern scheint es mit Ausnahme von *Gockel/Gieger* und *Platte* nicht zu geben. Man darf sich aber nun fragen, warum ausgerechnet die eben aufgelisteten Dialektwörter am beständigsten geblieben sind. Ein Teil der Dialektwörter ist sicher aufgrund der Emotionalität resp. der Affektbeladenheit<sup>13</sup> des Konzeptes oder der Wortform im Sprachgebrauch fest verankert: *Platte*, *Suggerl(e)/Suggl* (das auch als Schimpfwort für eine unsaubere Person verwendet wird), *Gaggerli* und *Bettbrunzerla* (aufgrund seiner Form). Auch beim Hahn (*Gockel/Gieger*) handelt es sich um ein affektbeladenes Konzept bei den Treuchtlingern, die noch enge Kontakte zu den umliegenden Dörfern halten: der Hahn weckt, der Hahn ist der Herr der Tiere auf dem Bauernhof. *Margarite* wird gestützt durch seine Existenz in der Standardsprache als Bezeichnung für den größeren Pflanzenverwandten. Zwei Lexeme sind wohl deshalb noch immer sehr bekannt, weil die Schüler sie noch häufig hören: der Holunder wird nach Erfahrung des Verfassers zwar häufig mit *Holunder* bezeichnet, doch ist *Holler* häufig in der Zusammensetzung *Hollerstauden* zu hören (so auch die Aussagen einiger Informanten); *Erdbirnen* – oder [‘eɐ̯brɪɔ] in der ortsüblichen Aussprache – hört man vom Kartoffelbauern, der (noch) durch die Straßen fährt. Bei *Buschröschen* konnte festgestellt werden, dass zum Teil Verwechslungen mit *Buschwindröschen* vorliegen, so dass hier nichts Endgültiges gesagt werden kann.

#### 5. Lexikalische Einzelprobleme und Wortfeldprobleme

Bei den Konzepten ‘Hummel’, ‘Hornisse’ und ‘Biene’ fällt auf, dass sie nicht klar auseinander gehalten werden konnten, zumindest nicht ihre Bezeichnungen. Das Konzept ‘Biene’ wurde 27-mal mit *Biene* bezeichnet, nur dreimal mit *Wespe*. Das Konzept ‘Hummel’

<sup>13</sup> Zum Phänomen der Affektbeladenheit vergleiche man die Arbeit von Sperber (1923).

wurde nur 15-mal mit *Hummel* bezeichnet, elfmal mit dem Kohyponym *Biene*, achtmal mit dem Kohyponym *Wespe*, einmal mit *Brummer* und dreimal mit dem Hyperonym *Insekt*<sup>14</sup>. Das Konzept "Hornisse" wurde nur zweimal mit *Hornisse* bezeichnet, elfmal mit *Biene*, fünfmal *Wespe*, zweimal mit *Fliege*, je einmal mit *Hummel*, *Mücke* und *Brem(s)e*, fünfmal wurde wieder auf die Bezeichnung der übergeordneten Ebene zurückgegriffen<sup>15</sup>. Diese Zahlen zeigen dreierlei: zum einen zeigen sie, dass von der Minimaethnotaxonomie resp. vom dem Minimalkonzeptfeld {"Biene", "Wespe", "Hummel", "Hornisse"} das Konzept "Biene" am prominentesten/salientesten zu sein scheint; zum anderen scheint vom Minimalwortfeld {*Biene*, *Wespe*, *Hummel*, *Hornisse*} das Wort *Biene* am prominentesten/salientesten zu sein; und zum dritten ergaben sie, dass Sprecher nach Bezeichnungen auf der Basisebene besuchen und notfalls tendenziell lieber eine falsche Bezeichnung der Basisebene verwenden als auf die übergeordnete Ebene zurückzugreifen.

An dieser Stelle sei ein kurzer Exkurs eingeschoben, um zwei Terminologien vorzustellen. Zum einen handelt es sich dabei um Brent Berlins (1972) Terminologie der Ebenen einer Ethnotaxonomie: Ebene 1 (Berlin nennt sie UNIQUE BEGINNER, e.g. "Pflanze"), Ebene 2 (LIFE-FORM, e.g. "Baum"), Ebene 3 (GENERIC, e.g. "Tanne"), Ebene 4 (SPECIFIC, e.g. "Weißtanne") und Ebene 5 (VARIETAL, e.g. "deutsche Weißtanne")<sup>16</sup>. Brown (1986) hat dabei präzisiert, dass in Jäger-und-Sammler-Kulturen die Ebene 4 am frühesten versprachlicht wird und damit am salientesten/prominentesten ist, in späteren agrarischen-bäuerlichen Kulturen indes Ebene 3. Das zweite Modell ist jenes der Prototypenlinguisten, die zwischen einer Basisebene (d.i. die Ebene des mittleren Abstraktionsgrades, e.g. Baum), einer übergeordneten Ebene, dem "general level" (e.g. *Pflanze*), und einer untergeordneten Ebene, dem "specific level" (e.g. *Tanne*)<sup>17</sup>. Dieses Modell besagt unter anderem, dass bei Konzepten mit hohem Bekanntheitsgrad eher Ausdrücke der untergeordneten Ebene verwendet werden, bei solchen mit niedrigem Bekanntheitsgrad eher Ausdrücke der Basisebene. Geeraerts (1993) präzisiert demgegenüber, dass die Wahl für die Benennung von Konzepten innerhalb einer Ebene nicht gleich sei. Einige Konzepte werden eher mit einem Ausdruck der untergeordneten Ebene benannt (e.g. *Jeans* bei "Jeans"), andere Konzepte eher mit dem Terminus der Basisebene (e.g. *Hose* bei "Flanellhose"). Dieses Verhältnis von Konzept und jeweiliger Bezeichnungswahrscheinlichkeit nennt sich "onomasiologische Salienz".

Damit sollen wieder die konkreten Bereiche des Fragebogens besprochen werden. Das Konzeptfeld {"Biene", "Wespe", "Hummel", "Hornisse"} scheint sich – mit Ausnahme von "Biene" – keines allzu großen Bekanntheitsgrades zu erfreuen, doch wird hier wohl selten auf *Insekt* zurückgegriffen, weil es sich hier nicht um einen Basisausdruck handelt, sondern bereits um einen übergeordneten Ausdruck (Ebene 2 nach Berlin); ein Ausdruck der Basisebene (Ebene 3 nach Berlin) scheint für dieses Konzeptfeld zu fehlen. Ein wenig anders liegt der Fall beim Konzept "Erbsen", das zum Feld {"Erbsen", "Bohnen", "Linsen"} = "Hülsenfrüchte" gehört. Statt den Ausdruck *Hülsenfrüchte* zu verwenden, nehmen die Informanten lieber einen falschen Ausdruck der untergeordneten Ebene in Kauf: 16-mal wurden die Erbsen als *Bohnen* bezeichnet. Liegt dies daran, dass *Hülsenfrüchte* ein zu technischer Ausdruck und im Alltagswortschatz nicht fest genug verankert ist? Die Kiefer, die als Element des Konzeptfeldes "Nadelbäume" zu sehen ist, wurde dreimal als *Tanne*, zweimal

<sup>14</sup> Dabei gaben zwei Informanten zwei Synonyme an.

<sup>15</sup> Auch hier gaben zwei Informanten zwei Ausdrücke an.

<sup>16</sup> Dabei kann sich zwischen der Ebene 2 und der Ebene 3 gemäß Berlin noch eine Zwischenstufe schieben ("intermediate level").

<sup>17</sup> Man vergleiche e.g. Rosch et al. (1976) und Mangold-Allwinn et al. (1995). Mangold-Allwinn et al. (1995: 119) beschreiben in Anlehnung in Rosch die Basisebene als "diejenige kategoriale Ebene [...] auf der die in der Welt vorkommenden korrelativen Strukturen die größten Einschnitte aufweisen. Objekte, die in Basisebenenkategorien zusammengefaßt werden, weisen große **Ähnlichkeit untereinander** auf, während sie sich gleichzeitig von Mitgliedern **anderer Basisebenenkategorien** in hohem Maße **unterscheiden**." (Hervorhebung im Original).

als *Fichte*, einmal als *Nadelbaum*, dreimal aber auch als *Eiche*, einmal als *Ahorn* und ganze neunmal als *Baum* bezeichnet. *Baum* befindet sich auf der Basisebene, *Nadelbaum* wohl auf einer Art Zwischenebene unterhalb der Basisebene. Die Anemone wurde meist als *Blume* bezeichnet (15-mal), einmal sogar als *Pflanze*, sechsmal mit ähnlich aussehenden Kohyponymen der untergeordneten Ebene (*Gänseblümchen*, *Butterblume*, *Hahnenfuß*). Diese Beobachtungen und Fragen sind sicherlich weitere Studien wert – auch an anderen Minimalwort- und Minimalkonzeptfeldern.

Die Bilder für “Weizen”, “Gerste” und “Roggen” sind bewusst gemeinsam aufgedeckt worden, um die Längen der Grannen miteinander vergleichen zu können. Auch hier waren Verwechslungen auf der untergeordneten Ebene die Regel und nicht die Ausnahme, wobei dann sogar die Bezeichnungen *Hafer* (elfmal), *Mais* (zweimal) und *Reis* (einmal) mit ins Spiel kamen. Am häufigsten wurden jedoch die Ausdrücke *Weizen* (19-mal), *Gerste* (15-mal) und *Roggen* (zwölfmal) genannt. Davon wurde Gerste am häufigsten richtig bezeichnet (zwölfmal); bei der Gerste handelt es sich offenbar aufgrund der langen Grannen um die auffälligste, optisch salienteste/prominenteste der drei angegebenen Getreidesorten. Zum Teil gab es auch die etwas verzweifelte Antwort, dass alle drei Bilder Getreidesorten zeigten. Hier bedienten sich die Informanten also des Ausdruckes der Basisebene. Dies zeigt, dass diese Bereiche nicht mehr zur üblichen Expertise, zu den üblichen Vorerfahrungen, zum üblichen Bekanntheitsgrad bei Schülern gehören, m.a.W.: es mangelt vielen heutigen Schülern an der entsprechenden Objektvertrautheit. dass auf solche Konzepte eher mit einer Bezeichnung der Basisebene referiert wird, zeigen etwa Untersuchungen von Rosch et al. (1976) oder Kiefer (1995)<sup>18</sup>. Möglicherweise wären die Frequenzen von *Getreide* oder *Körner* höher gewesen, wenn nicht sofort alle Getreidesorten aufgedeckt worden wären und sich die meisten Informanten dadurch nicht zu einer Differenzierung gezwungen gefühlt hätten. Jedenfalls scheint es sich hier nicht mehr um saliente/prominente Kategorien zu handeln. Daher kommt es dann, um es mit Blank (1997) auszudrücken, zu referenzieller Unschärfe oder unscharfen Konzepten<sup>19</sup> und damit zu kohyponymischen Verwechslungen. Ähnliches beobachtet schon Jaberg (1917) unter Schweizer Mädchen, die sich über die korrekte Zuordnung der Termini für “Augenbrauen” und “Wimpern” nicht im Klaren waren und notgedrungen verdeutlichend auf den Referenten zeigten.

Referenzielle Unschärfe ließ sich auch beim Konzept “Heuschrecke” beobachten, wo immerhin 13-mal die Antwort *Grashüpfer* gegeben wurde. Dialektal regelgerecht ist dagegen die Übertragung von *Margarite* auf das Konzept “Gänseblümchen”. Dies war allerdings auch nicht allen Informanten bekannt, und so merkten sechs Schüler an – aus der Sicht des Standardsprechers korrekt –, dass es sich bei der *Margarite* doch “um die großen” handele. Auf die Waldspitzmaus schließlich wurde meist (16-mal) mit *Maus* referiert, obschon die Maus mit der Waldspitzmaus aus biologisch-zoologischer Sicht nicht verwandt ist. Doch die Verwechslung von Maus und Spitzmaus (und dann auch Ratte und Maulwurf<sup>20</sup>) findet aufgrund deren äußerer Ähnlichkeiten in vielen Sprachen ihren Niederschlag. So geht etwa das französische *souris* ‘Maus’ auf lat. *sorex* ‘Spitzmaus’ zurück. Die Probanden dieser Untersuchung greifen dagegen oft auf den Terminus der Basisebene zurück. Es ist zu beobachten, dass auf weniger vertraute Konzepte mit einem Ausdruck der Basisebene referiert wird<sup>21</sup>. *Maus* wird nun als Terminus der Basisebene angesehen, zu der (*Wald-*)*Spitzmaus* als Terminus der vermeintlich untergeordneten, spezifischen Ebene angehört. Doch kann die Wahl von *Maus* auch rein formale Gründe haben, ist es doch die Basis für den Ausdruck *Spitzmaus*.

<sup>18</sup> Beide Untersuchungen sind in dem anschaulichen und leserfreundlichen Band von Mangold-Allwinn u.a. (1995: 118ss. und 132s.), zusammengefasst.

<sup>19</sup> Zum Begriff der referenziellen Unschärfe und des unscharfen Konzepts vergleiche nun Grzega (im Druck).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. e.g. Blank (1998) für italienische Mundarten.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. die obigen Ausführungen.

Auch Himbeere und Brombeere konnten nicht immer korrekt bezeichnet werden. Für Himbeere wurde dreimal *Brombeere* genannt – wobei zwei Informant/innen sich verbesserten, als die Brombeere aufgedeckt wurde – und einmal *Johannisbeere*; die Brombeere wurde je einmal mit *Stachelbeere*, *Heidelbeere* und *Johannisbeere* bezeichnet und dreimal mit *Himbeere*, wobei stets das Adjektiv schwarz erklärend nachgesetzt wurde. Der Basisterminus *Beere* wurde nicht genannt. Für Kartoffel kennen 16 Personen den Treuchtlinger Mundartausdruck *Erdbirne*. Darüber hinaus ist sechs Personen der übliche Ausdruck der Treuchtlinger Umgebung, *Erdäpfel*, bekannt.

Auch die Nennungen bei den Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen förderten interessante Ergebnisse zu Tage. Der Schwiegersohn wurde 23-mal korrekt bezeichnet, viermal mit *Schwager*, zweimal mit *Stiefsohn* und einmal mit *Onkel*. Bei Schwiegervater ist die Trefferquote eigenartigerweise mit 28 richtigen Treffern höher, so dass offenbar die konverse Relation der beiden Konzepte nicht bei allen erkannt wurde (einmal wurde sogar *Großopa* genannt). Für “Pate/Patin” wurde 21-mal *Pate/Patin* genannt, fünfmal das pleonastische Synonym *Taufpate/Taufpatin* und dreimal das ebenso pleonastische *Patenonkel/Patentante*; auf der anderen Seite wird viermal *Onkel/Tante* genannt. Bemerkenswert ist, dass zwei Informanten sowohl *Pate* als auch *Onkel* angaben. Für das Patenkind liegt nur 20-mal die korrekte Bezeichnung *Patenkind* vor, die restlichen Bezeichnungen sind: sechsmal *Neffe/Nichte*, dreimal *Pate/Patin*, einmal *kleine Patin*, einmal *Enkel* und dreimal keine Antwort. Über das Konzept herrschte aufgrund der Fragestellung sicher Klarheit: “[wenn du bei der Taufe ein Kind hältst, was bist du dann zu dem Kind?] und was ist das Kind zu dir?” Es herrschte also wieder nur Unklarheit über die korrekte Bezeichnung. Die höhere Trefferquote bei “Pate/Patin” ist wohl darauf zurückzuführen, dass die Schüler zwar ihre Verwandten mit den dazugehörigen Bezeichnungen kennen, während sie selbst nur mit dem Vornamen angesprochen werden. Abermals ist bemerkenswert, dass zwei Informanten wieder *Patenkind* und *Neffe* gleichzeitig als Synonyme angaben.

Interessant sind die Ergebnisse bei den Viehbezeichnungen. Die einzelnen Konzepte dürften allen Informanten klar gewesen sein. Am besten benannt wurden der Hahn (30P), die Henne (29P) und das Küken (28P). Schon mit deutlichem Abstand fanden nur 21 Personen die richtige Bezeichnung für den Eber, je 20 Schüler die richtigen Bezeichnungen für Ferkel (Standard- oder Dialektausdruck) und die weibliche Ziege und je 19 Personen die richtigen Bezeichnungen für die Sau und den Ziegenbock. Die restlichen Zahlen sind: weibliche Gans (17P), Entenküken (15P), Gänseküken (14P), weibliche Ente (12P), Ganter (11P), Zicklein (10P), Erpel (7P). Bezeichnend ist die verhältnismäßig niedrige Zahl bei der weiblichen Ente und der weiblichen Gans. Hier war den Informanten entweder nicht mehr bewusst, dass sich hier Hyperonym und Hyponym die Bezeichnung teilen, oder sie glaubten einfach nur, dass es hier noch eine eigene weibliche Bezeichnung geben müsse. Welche Ergebnisse bringt der Dialektaspekt? Wie bereits erwähnt zeigte beim Erstdurchlauf der Dialektausdruck *Gockel* die höchste onomasiologische Salienz (7P; plus 1P *Gockelhahn*) im Vergleich zu den anderen Dialektwörtern; dahinter folgten *Suggl* (4P), *Zibberle* (2P) und *Gaggerli* (1P) (zusammen mit einigen anderen Konzepten, bei denen der Dialektausdruck einmal genannt wurde). Auch der zweite Durchlauf ergab, dass sich *Gockel* bei 24 Personen im Aktivwortschatz und bei vieren im Passivwortschatz befindet. *Suggl* resp. *Suggerle* befindet sich bei fast allen 32 Informanten im Aktiv- oder Passivwortschatz (15 aktiv; 16 passiv). Bei *Gaggerli* (5P aktiv, 16P passiv) und *Zibberli* (9P aktiv, 8 passiv) ist immerhin noch ein mittlerer Bekanntheitsgrad gegeben. Hervorzuheben ist dabei, dass 8 Schüler angaben, dass *Gaggerli* für sie eigentlich die Eier seien<sup>22</sup>. Bisweilen wurde statt *Suggl* der Terminus *Frischling* genannt, erneut eine bereits

<sup>22</sup> Diese sicher sekundäre, metonymische Bedeutung ist übrigens auch diejenige, die ich (Jahrgang 1971) von meiner Kindheit und Jugendzeit her kenne.

beschriebene Verwechslung der Lexeme (mit den Jungen des Wildschweins).

Zum Schluss sei noch ein Gedanke zur Bezeichnung *Husserli* angebracht. *Husserli* (8P Passivwortschatz) ist zwar weniger bekannt als die affektbeladenen Termini *Zibberli* und *Suggerli*, doch bekannter als *Schlickerli* (nur 3P Passivwortschatz); dies mag gestützt werden durch die – wenngleich für manchen unmotivierte – Redensart *schaun wia a Husserla wenn's blitzt* 'verstört schauen'.

## 6. Ergebnisse Teil II (Soziolinguistisches)

Bei der Abfrage zu Begrüßung- und Verabschiedungsformeln musste sinnvollerweise zwischen (A) Freunden (und Gleichaltrigen), (B) (erwachsenen) Bekannten und (C) (erwachsenen) Fremden unterschieden werden. Aufgelistet werden nur Antworten, die von über einem Drittel der Informanten geäußert wurden. Gegenüber Gruppe A wird am ehesten *Hi* (27P) verwendet, an zweiter Stelle *Hallo* (22P), an dritter *Servus* (18P). Gruppe B wird am ehesten mit *Grüß Gott* (20P) begrüßt, am zweithäufigsten mit *Hallo* (12P). Gruppe C wird am häufigsten mit *Grüß Gott* (25P) entgegnet. Bei der Verabschiedung sagt man zu Gruppe A meist *Tschüs* (23P) oder *Tschau* (15,5P). Sowohl gegenüber Gruppe B als auch gegenüber Gruppe C verabschiedet man sich am ehesten mit (*Auf*) *Wiedersehen* (20P resp. 25P).

Im Bereich Konversationsformeln sollte abschließend noch geklärt werden, inwieweit die Wendung *Wie schreibst du dich? Wie schreiben Sie sich?* für 'Wie heißt du? Wie heißen Sie?' noch in Gebrauch ist. Kein einziger Informant verwendet diese Wendung aktiv, doch gaben 13 von ihnen an, diese Wendung noch passiv zu kennen.

## 7. Ausblick

Der Beitrag hatte Dialektgebrauch, Dialektkenntnis und onomasiologische Kenntnis zum Thema. Bei letzterem war zu beobachten, dass einige Konzeptfelder bei den befragten Schülerinnen und Schülern nicht mehr voll bekannt waren, bei anderen Konzepten herrschte eher über die korrekte Bezeichnung Unklarheit ("referenzielle Unschärfe"). Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass einige Bezeichnungsprobleme mit dem Anschauungsmaterial (zweidimensionale Farbfotos statt natürlichen Objekten) zu tun haben. Jedenfalls war festzustellen, dass dann wider Erwarten oftmals nicht ein Terminus der Basisebene geäußert wurde, sondern – auf gut Glück – die onomasiologisch salienteste Bezeichnung der untergeordneten Ebene. Hängt dies mit der Interview-Situation oder gilt dies auch im spontanen Sprachgebrauch? Sagen Leute lieber *Baum*, *Nadelbaum* oder – auf gut Glück – einfach *Tanne*, wenn sie sich nicht sicher sind, ob es sich um eine Tanne, eine Föhre oder eine Fichte handelt? Hängt dies vom jeweiligen Gesprächspartner ab? Diese Fragen gilt es zu verfolgen.

Die Kenntnis von Dialektwörtern war hauptsächlich bei affektbeladenen und passiv vertrauten Konzepten gegeben. Der Gebrauch von Dialektwörtern beschränkte sich im Wesentlichen auf affektbeladene Konzepte. Ansonsten antworteten die Befragten mit dem Standardausdruck, wenngleich vielfach in ortsüblicher Umgangssprache. Die These, dass die Schülergeneration über eine gute dialektale onomasiologische Kompetenz verfüge, lässt sich also für den lexikalischen Bereich nur bedingt bestätigen. Im pragmalinguistischen Bereich konnte der Beitrag nur wenige Eindrücke vermitteln, die aber doch zeigten, dass es hier noch Forschungsfelder zu ernten gilt.

Zum Schluss sei noch auf eines hingewiesen. Obschon dieser Beitrag in den Bereich der synchronen Onomasiologie fällt, so hat er doch auch durch den Aspekt "Alter" eine

historische Komponente. Auf den genannten Gebieten wären sicherlich noch weitere onomasiologische Dialektstudien fruchtbringend, die wohl zunächst örtlich oder regional durchgeführt werden müssten, deren Ergebnisse dann aber überregionale oder gar übernationale Vergleiche ermöglichen sollten.

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**Anhänge (im Original farbig)***Anhang 1: Fragebogen Teil I.3.*

*Wie sagst du zum Mann deiner Tochter?*

*Wie sagst du zum Vater deines Mannes/deiner Frau?*

*Wenn du ein Kind bei der Taufe halten solltest, welches Verhältnis hast du dann zu dem Kind?*

*Und welches Verhältnis hat das Kind zu dir?*

*Kannst du mir die 7 Wochentage aufzählen?*

*Wie nennst du es, wenn ein Mann keine Haare mehr auf dem Kopf hat?*

*Wie nennst du braune, kleine Flecken im Gesicht, insbesondere auf der Nase?*

*Anhang 2: gezeigtes Foto "Anemone"*



*Anhang 3: gezeigtes Foto "Hummel"*



*Anhang 4: gezeigtes "Maulwurf"*



Anhang 5: gezeigtes Foto "Erbsen"



*Anhang 6: gezeigtes Foto "Waldspitzmaus"*



*Anhang 7: gezeigtes Foto "Weizen", "Gerste" und "Roggen" (wurden gleichzeitig gezeigt)*



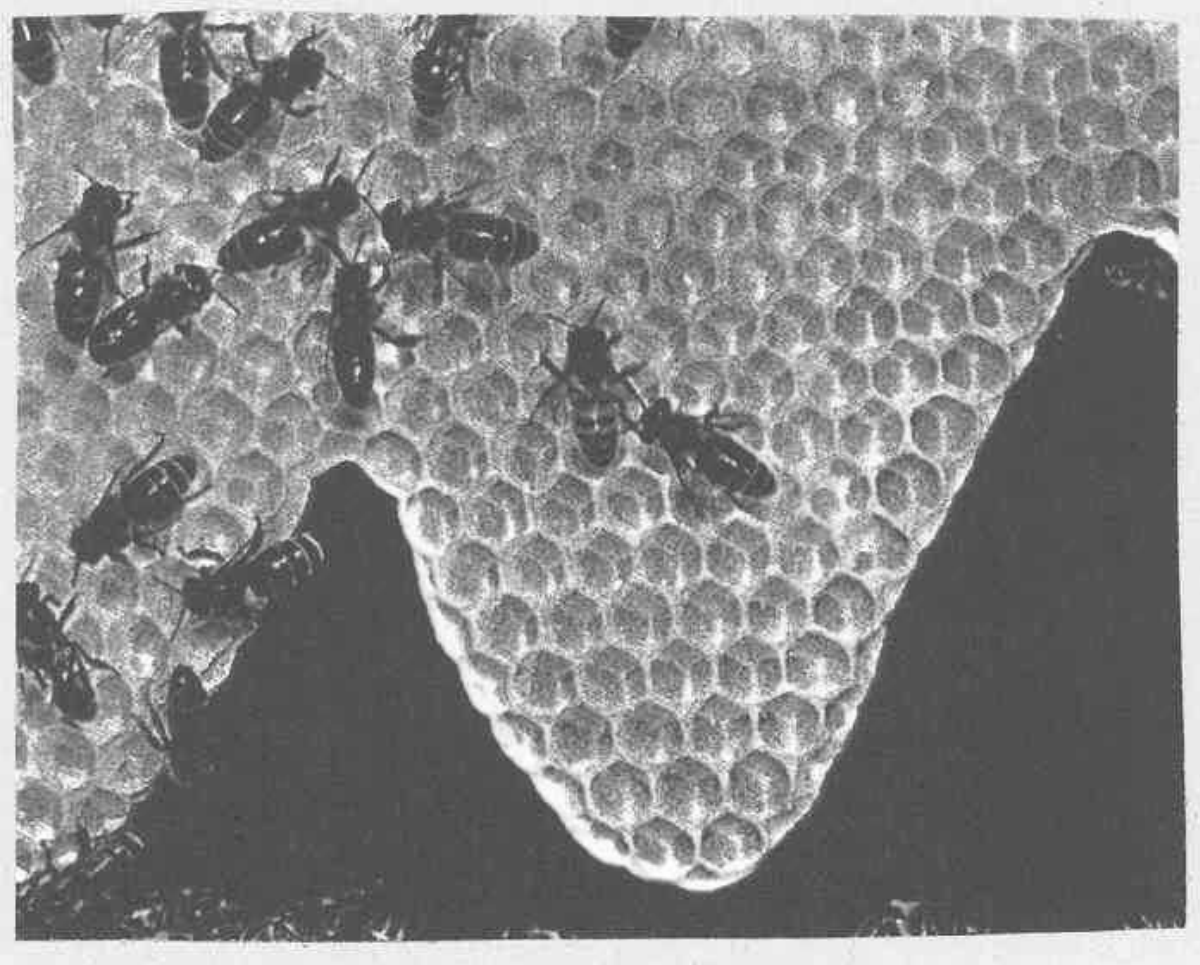




*Anhang 8: gezeigtes Foto "Hornisse"*



Anhang 9: gezeigtes Foto "(Honig-)Biene"

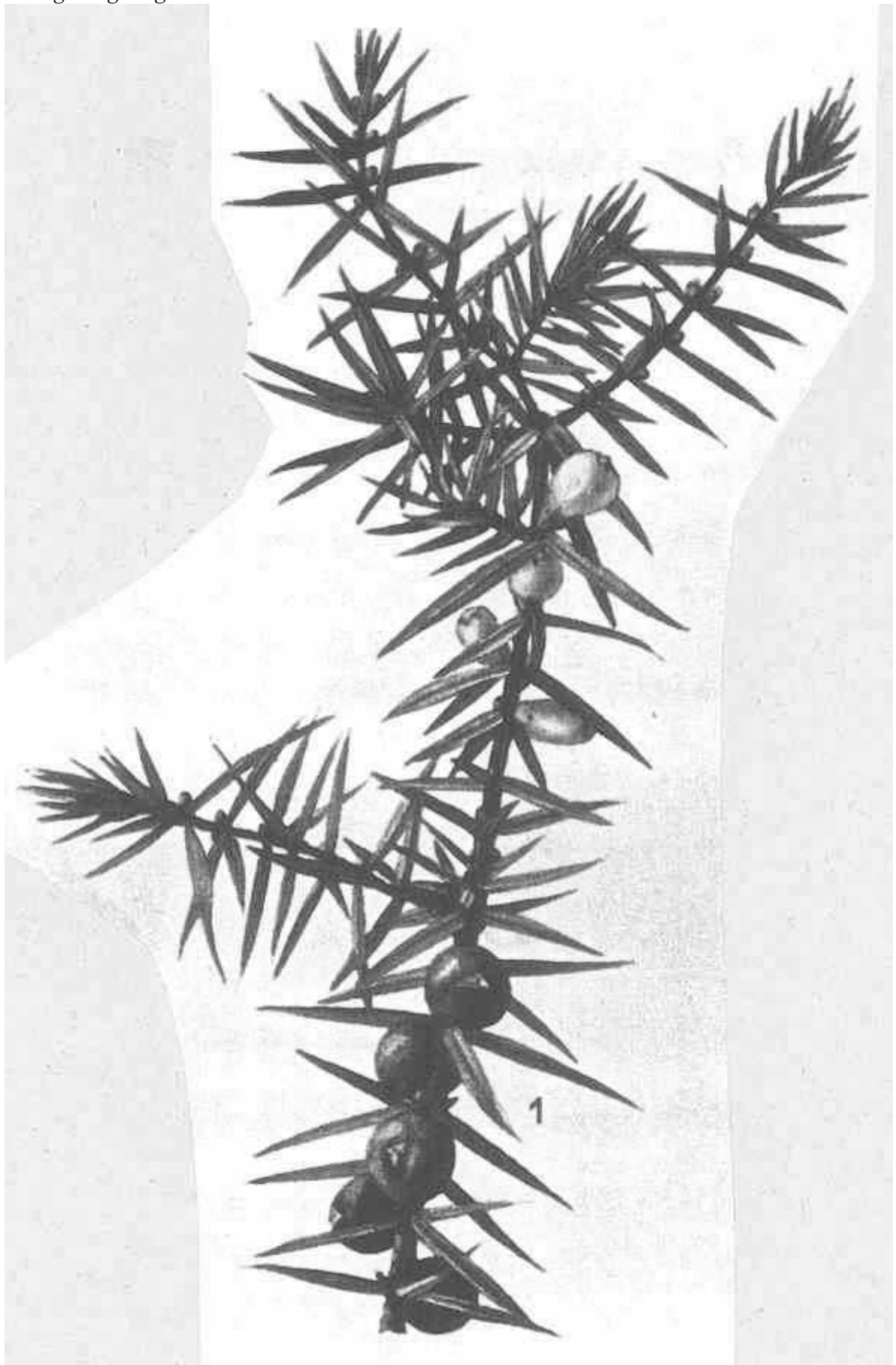


Anhang 10: gezeigtes Foto "Walderdbeere" (es wurde extra darauf hingewiesen, dass es um die Bezeichnung der roten Frucht links unten gehe)





Anhang 11: gezeigtes Foto "Wacholder"



*Anhang 12: gezeigtes Foto "Buschwindröschen"*



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JOACHIM GRZEGA

**VON KLAMMERAFFEN UND GÄNSEFÜSSCHEN:  
KULTUR UND KOGNITION IM SPIEGEL DER SATZ- UND SONDERZEICHEN**

## Abstract

The article [translatable as “Of *At*-Signs and Inverted Commas: Culture and Cognition in the Mirror of Punctuation Marks and Special Characters”] gives an overview of the German names for punctuation marks and some special characters in the present and in the past. The article also checks 30 hypotheses linked to the sociolinguistic variables of region, generation and education with the help of 76 informants from Germany in order to find out about the frequency and (proto)typicality of these names today. The major findings are the following: (1) Of the 89 names for punctuation marks in the history of the German language 32.6% are indigenous composite forms motivated by the function of the punctuation marks. (2) Today only one name for quotation marks bears a diminutive suffix, but altogether 20.2% of the names for punctuation marks in the history of the German language have shown a diminutive suffix (this avoidance might be connected to the colloquial character of many other diminutives). (3) The terms *Komma* and *Beistrich* have not always had clear reference (comma, semicolon, slash); today hyphen, apostrophe, slash and acute are sometimes referred to by an incorrect term (“onomasiological fuzziness”). (4) Among the informants’ nonce designations, some go back to onomasiological fuzziness, some to (conscious?) metaphoric usage (e.g. *Minus* for ‘hyphen’), some to folk-etymology (e.g. *flash* for ‘slash’), some to (conscious?) metonymic or metaphoric new coinages (e.g. *Hochkomma*, literally “high comma” for ‘apostrophe’), some to conservative language. (5) With the exception of quotation marks synonymy is rather small today; this was not at all the case in earlier periods—not even with the comma and the period. (6) Of the 30 hypotheses only a small number could be proven true: (a) the diatopic hypotheses were true and thus show that actual use of the terms runs counter the norm; (b) in contrast to the expectations there are no significant differences between the generations (apart from the names for the *at* sign and the acute); (c) in contrast to the expectations it is precisely the academic informants and not the non-academic informants who make a large number of errors because they use foreign terms—*slash*, *aigu*, *at*—without really knowing their correct spelling (an observation which calls for further investigation with respect to other lexical fields); (d) in contrast to the expectations the figurative formations were peripheral in all groups of informants. The development of the German names for punctuation marks and special characters also reflects the cultural developments of the past decades: internationalization (French and English terms) and computerization (e.g. *Minus* ‘minus’ for ‘hyphen’).

## 1. Vorbemerkungen

Der folgende Beitrag nährt sich aus der subjektiven Beobachtung, dass Vertreter unterschiedlicher Generationen bestimmte Satz- und Sonderzeichen verschieden benennen. Der Beitrag will nun zum einen in die Geschichte der Bezeichnungen für verschiedene Satz- und Sonderzeichen und die zugrundeliegenden Bezeichnungsmotive<sup>1</sup> einführen (Blick auf “types”); insbesondere soll untersucht werden, wie viele der Bezeichnungen sich auf die Form der Zeichen beziehen, wie viele auf die Funktion und wie viele entlehnt sind. Zum anderen will der Beitrag einige regionen-, bildungs- und generationenbezogene Hypothesen zur Frequenz bzw. zur (Proto)-Typikalität der heutigen Bezeichnungen aufstellen und diese anhand eines Fragebogens empirisch prüfen (Blick auf “tokens”)<sup>2</sup>.

Zur Geschichte der Bezeichnungen von Satzzeichen liegen bereits einige wertvolle Studien vor. Höchli (1981)<sup>3</sup> hat Primärwerke ausgewertet, deren Passagen zur Interpunktion er der

<sup>1</sup> Dafür finden wir bei Alinei (z.B. 1995) den Ausdruck *Ikonym* und bei Grzega (2004) den Ausdruck *Ikonom*.

<sup>2</sup> Zur Prototypikalität aus onomasiologischer Sicht vgl. Grzega (2003).

<sup>3</sup> Seine Arbeit war auch Grundlage für den Aufsatz von Rössler (2003), der sich eher an ein Laien-Publikum wendet.

Reihe nach analysiert. Im Anschluss finden sich Zusammenfassungen zu den Entwicklungen der einzelnen Satzzeichen. Am Ende steht eine Überblickstabelle (auf der jedoch manchmal einige Daten aus dem Hauptteil fehlen). An älteren Arbeiten werden Bieling (1880), Gloede (1894) und Michaelis (1877) von Höchli (1981) berücksichtigt. Nicht eingearbeitet sind Klenz (1901) und Leser (1914), so dass Höchli einige frühere Belege übersieht, die hier ergänzt werden konnten. Die Art des Bezeichnungsmotivs bzw. die fremdsprachliche Herkunft eines Wortes soll wie folgt in Kapitälchen kenntlich gemacht werden:

FuKOMP = funktionsbezogenes Bezeichnungsmotiv in kompositen Formen

FoKOMP = formbezogenes Bezeichnungsmotiv in kompositen Formen

FuMETO = funktionsbezogenes Bezeichnungsmotiv in einer Metonymie<sup>4</sup>

FoMETA = formbezogenes Bezeichnungsmotiv in einer Metapher<sup>5</sup>

Fw = Fremdwort

KONTKOMP = kontext-, registerbezogenes Bezeichnungsmotiv in kompositen Form

Für den empirischen Teil ist eine Fragebogenaktion durchgeführt worden. Der Fragebogen – ein Musterexemplar findet sich im Anhang – war so aufgebaut, dass sich damit 30 Hypothesen prüfen ließen, die sich für mich auf Grund der Lektüre von studentischen Arbeiten und von privaten Briefen ergeben hatten. Er bestand aus einem kurzen konstruierten Text, in den bestimmte Zeichen also bewusst eingebaut waren, die nun von den Lesern benannt werden sollten. Es konnten 76 Informanten aus ganz Deutschland<sup>6</sup>, vor allem Süddeutschland, gewonnen werden (Zusammensetzung: jüngste Gruppe [bis 30 Jahre] 31 P[ersonen], mittlere Gruppe [31-59 Jahre] 26 P., ältere Gruppe [ab 60 Jahre] 19 P.; männlich 35 P., weiblich 41 P.; Akademiker 18 P., mit Blau-Kragen-Beruf 21 P., mit Weiß-Kragen-Beruf 8 P., Student 19 P., Schüler 6 P., Hausfrau 4 P.; aus dem Süden [Bayern + Baden-Württemberg] 61 P., nicht aus dem Süden 15 P.).

## 2.1. Das Komma

Das Zeichen, das wir heute als *Komma* bezeichnen und in dieser Form zum ersten Mal bei Ratke 1629 bezeichnet wird, wurde in der deutschen Orthographiegeschichte mit folgenden Namen bezeichnet:

- *Abschneidungszeichen* 1629 bei Ratke (zitiert nach Höchli [1981]) [FuKOMP]
- *Beystrichlein* 1641 (Leser 1914: 38, DW s.v. *Strichpunkt*, Paul s.v. *Beistrich*), 1647 bei Harsdörffer (Höchli 1981) [FoKOMP]
- *Strichlein* 1641 bei Gueintz (zitiert nach Höchli [1981: 102]) [FoKOMP]
- *Semikomma* 1647 bei Harsdörffer (zitiert nach Leser [1914: 39]): “Wann man die Sache genau nennen wolte, so müste man einen unterscheid machen zwischen dem Zwergstrichlein, *comma* genannt (/) und das Beystrichlein, *semicomma* (,) genannt, welches die Hebreer unterscheiden, und bereit in den Druckereyen vorhanden ist.” [Fw]
- *Beistrich* 1735 bei Freyer (zitiert nach Höchli [1981: 162]) [FoKOMP]
- *Komma* 1735 bei Freyer (zitiert nach Höchli [1981: 162]); 1564 für Bezug auf </> bei Kolross, zitiert nach Höchli [1981: 52]; Kluge s.v. *Komma*: “als Satzzeichen seit dem 17. Jh., älter *Virgul*”) [Fw]
- *schlechtes Strichlein* 1687 (laut Leser 1914: 39) [FoKOMP]
- *Virgula* 1768 bei Bodmer (zitiert nach Höchli [1981: 221]); in früheren Jahrhunderten wurde damit nur auf </> referiert [Fw]

<sup>4</sup> *Metonymie* sei definiert im Sinne der kognitiven historischen Linguistik, als Bedeutungswandel auf Grund von Kontiguität der Konzepte (vgl. Grzega 2004).

<sup>5</sup> *Metapher* sei definiert im Sinne der kognitiven historischen Linguistik, als Bedeutungswandel auf Grund von Similarität der Konzepte (vgl. Grzega 2004).

<sup>6</sup> Die nachfolgend vorgestellten Ergebnisse machen also keine Aussagen zum gesamten deutschen Sprachraum.

Der Duden 2004 nennt nur noch den Ausdruck *Komma*. In Österreich ist dagegen *Beistrich* deutlich häufiger, in der Schule sogar die einzig vermittelte Bezeichnung<sup>7</sup> (vgl. Grzega 1997: 161). Auch in Deutschland war *Beistrich* früher ein nicht seltenes Synonym für *Komma*. Daher scheinen die folgenden Hypothesen prüfenswert:

- (1) *Komma* ist in allen Generationen die häufigste Bezeichnungen.
- (2) *Beistrich* wird von Informanten der ältesten Generation häufiger gegeben als von Informanten der mittleren Generation.
- (3) In der jüngsten Generation ist *Beistrich* nicht mehr bekannt.

Die Nennungen der Bezeichnung *Beistrich* ist jedoch äußerst gering: in der jüngeren Generation wird *Beistrich* kein einziges Mal genannt, was die Hypothese 3 bestätigt. Doch auch in der mittleren und in der älteren Generation wird *Beistrich* nur jeweils 1x genannt. Dies entspricht 3,8% und 5,3%. Der Unterschied ist jedoch nicht signifikant und erlaubt daher keine Verifizierung der Hypothese 2. Hypothese 1 konnte deutlich bestätigt werden (jüngere Generation: 100%; mittlere Generation: 96,1%; ältere Generation: 94,7%).

## 2.2. Der Strichpunkt

Zunächst wieder ein Überblick zur Bezeichnungsgeschichte des Strichpunkts:

- *Periodus* 1515 bei Pleningen und 1535 bei Riederer (zitiert nach Höchli 1981: 318) [Fw]
- *Periodus minor* nur 1527 im Schriftspiegel (im Unterschied zu *Periodus maior* für <.) (zitiert nach Höchli [1981: 318]) [Fw]
- *Semicolon* 1628 bei Walter (zitiert nach Höchli 1981: 94) [Fw]
- *Mittelzeichen* 1629 bei Ratke (zitiert nach Höchli [1981: 87], dessen onomasiologische Erklärung wie folgt lautet: “Mittelzeichen – media distinctio: die Verwandtschaft fällt auf. Der Name mittelzeichen ist jedoch aus seiner Stellung im System Ratkes hergeleitet.”) und 1744 bei einem Priester der Societas Iesu [FuKOMP]
- *Strichpünglein* 1651 bei Schottelius (zitiert nach Höchli 1981), 1663 (Paul s.v. *Strichpunkt*), zuletzt 1746 bei Wippel (laut Höchli 1981: 316) (laut Leser 1914 schon 1641 bei Schottel) [FoKOMP]
- *Beistrichlein* 1661 (Leser 1914: 39)
- *Semicomma* 1661 (Leser 1914: 39) [Fw]
- *punktiertes Strichlein* 1687 bei Prasch (zitiert nach Höchli [1981: 317] und Leser [1914: 40]), zuletzt 1754 bei Aichinger (zitiert nach Höchli [1981: 317]) [FoKOMP]
- *Strichpunkt* 1735 bei Freyer (zitiert nach Höchli [1981: 317]) [FoKOMP]
- *Commapunkt* nur 1768 bei Bodmer (zitiert nach Höchli [1981: 317]) [FoKOMP]

An dem Eintrag “Beistrichlein” von 1661 fällt auf, dass es bisweilen keine eindeutige Namensunterscheidung zwischen Komma und Semikolon gab. Bezüglich dem heutigen Gebrauch wollte ich auf Grund meiner Erfahrungen folgende Hypothese prüfen:

- (4) *Strichpunkt* ist in allen Generationen die häufigste Bezeichnung.
- (5) In der älteren Generation wird *Semikolon* häufiger genannt als in der mittleren und in dieser wiederum häufiger als in der jüngeren.

Die Ergebnisse ergaben insgesamt folgendes Bild: Hypothese 4 konnte bestätigt werden (jüngere Generation: 71,0%; mittlere Generation: 76,9%; ältere Generation: 63,2%). Zur Hypothese 5 lässt sich Folgendes beobachten. In der älteren Generation wurde *Semikolon* 5x genannt (26,3%), in der mittleren Generation 7x (26,9%) und einmal in der Form *Symokolon* (3,8%), in der jüngeren Generation 9x (29,0%). Das Ergebnis ist daher gerade konträr zu den

<sup>7</sup> In Österreich verwendet man *Komma* nur im Zusammenhang mit Zahlen, z.B. 1,50 oder 3,1457.

in Hypothese 5 formulierten Erwartungen. Dies kann nun damit zusammenhängen, dass der jüngeren Generation der Ausdruck *Semikolon* von den Computerprogrammen (wieder besser?) bekannt ist (z.B. aus dem Menüpunkt “Text in Tabelle umwandeln”, wo *Semikolon* in Word und bei OpenOffice direkt als Spaltenmarker angeboten wird).

### 2.3. Ausrufezeichen

Folgende Ausdrücke finden sich in der deutschen Sprachgeschichte für das Ausrufezeichen:

- *Virgel* nur 1478 bei Wyle (Höchli 1981: 320) [Fw]
- *Coma* 1473 bei Steinhöwel, zuletzt 1527 im Schriftspiegel (Höchli 1981: 320) [Fw]
- *exclamativus* nur 1535 bei Riederer (Höchli 1981: 287) [Fw]
- *admirativus* nur 1535 bei Riederer (Höchli 1981: 287) [Fw]
- *Bewegzeichen* nur 1628 bei Walter (Höchli 1981: 320) [FuKOMP]
- *Ausrufungszeichen* 1629 bei Ratke (Höchli 1981: 320) [FuKOMP]
- *Verwunderungszeichen* 1641 bei Gueintz (Höchli 1981: 320, Leser 1914: 40, Paul s.v. *Ausrufungszeichen*), zuletzt 1691 bei Stieler (Höchli 1981: 320) [FuKOMP]
- *Rufzeichen* 1657 bei Bellin (Höchli 1981: 320, Leser 1914: 40) [FuKOMP]
- *Ausrufzeichen* 1691 bei Stieler (Leser 1914: 40, Paul s.v. *Ausrufungszeichen*, Höchli 1981: 289) [FuKOMP]
- *Wunschzeichen* nur 1691 bei Stieler (Leser 1914: 40, Höchli 1981: 289) [FuKOMP]
- *Schmerzzeichen* nur 1691 bei Stieler (Leser 1914: 40) [FuKOMP]
- *Zuspruchzeichen* nur 1691 bei Stieler (Leser 1914: 40) [FuKOMP]
- *Schweigezeichen* nur 1691 bei Stieler (Leser 1914: 40) [FuKOMP]
- *Scheuchzeichen* nur 1691 bei Stieler (Leser 1914: 40) [FuKOMP]
- *Einhaltzeichen* nur 1691 bei Stieler (Leser 1914: 40) [FuKOMP]
- *Spottzeichen* nur 1691 bei Stieler (Leser 1914: 40) [FuKOMP]
- *Reizungszeichen* nur 1691 bei Stieler (Leser 1914: 40) [FuKOMP]
- *Anhetzzeichen* nur 1691 bei Stieler (Leser 1914: 40) [FuKOMP]
- *Ausrufungszeichen* 1698 (Leser 1914: 40, Paul s.v. *Ausrufungszeichen*) [FuKOMP]
- *signum exclamationis* 1698 (Leser 1914: 40) [Fw]
- *signum exclamandi* 1749 (Leser 1914: 40) [Fw]
- *Ausrufszeichen* 1762 bei Gottsched (Höchli 1981: 320) [FuKOMP]

Im Duden 2004 heißt es im Glossar “Ausrufezeichen, Ausrufungszeichen (selten), Ausrufzeichen (österr. für, schweiz. neben Ausrufezeichen)”. Es gibt auch ein Lemma *Rufzeichen*, doch ist unklar, ob damit auch das Satzzeichen gemeint ist (*Rufzeichen* fehlt jedenfalls als Eintrag)<sup>8</sup>. Meine Hypothesen bezogen sich diesmal auf die Wortbildung und ihre Gültigkeit für meine deutschen Informanten, denn neben *Ausrufezeichen* waren mir auch eine Reihe von anderen Bildungen vertraut. Es wurde angenommen,

- (6) dass *Ausrufezeichen* von über der Hälfte der Informanten genannt wird und
- (7) dass *Ausrufungszeichen* nicht seltener vorkommt als *Rufzeichen* und *Rufezeichen* und
- (8) dass *Ausrufzeichen* am seltensten vorkommt.

Hypothese 6 konnte voll bestätigt werden: 84,2% benutzten *Ausrufezeichen*. Hypothesen 7 konnte ebenfalls bestätigt werden, Hypothese 8 dagegen nicht: 8x wurde *Ausrufungszeichen* genannt (10,5%), 1x *Rufezeichen* (1,3%), 1x *Rufzeichen* (1,3%) und immerhin 2x *Ausrufzeichen* (2,6%).

<sup>8</sup> In Österreich ist *Rufzeichen* als Satzzeichennamen üblich. Es ist als Lemma im ÖWB eingetragen und wird dort mit den Synonymen *Ausrufzeichen* und *Ausrufungszeichen* versehen. *Ausrufzeichen* (ohne Fugen-e) ist dagegen in Deutschland absent.

## 2.4. Punkt, Doppelpunkt, Klammern und Fragezeichen

Zur Vervollständigung will ich noch kurz auf die Bezeichnungsgeschichte zweier weiterer Interpunktionszeichen eingehen, auch wenn sie nicht Gegenstand meines Fragebogens waren. Zunächst sei die Bezeichnungsgeschichte des Punktes dargestellt:

- *Periodus* 1473 bis 1564 (Höchli 1981: 318) [FW]
- *Colon* 1527 bis 1535 (Höchli 1981: 318) [FW – GRIECHISCH]
- *Punkt* im Sinne des Satzzeichens ab 1462 (Paul s.v. *Punkt*) [FoMETA]
- *Tiplein* 1641 (Leser 1914: 39, Höchli 1981: 318) [FoMETA]
- *Punctum* 1617 (Höchli 1981: 318), so noch bei Goethe, Mörike, Jean Paul; danach nur noch metaphorisch-metonymisch für “Ende, Schluss” (DW s.v. *punctum*) [FW]
- *Beschlusszeichen* 1629 (Höchli 1981: 318) [FuKOMP]
- *Endespunkt* nur 1653 (Leser 1914: 39, Höchli 1981: 318) [FuKOMP]
- *Tüppel* 1691 (Leser 1914: 39, Höchli 1981: 318) [FoMETA]
- *Tütlein* 1690 bis 1746 (Höchli 1981: 318) [FoMETA]
- *einziges Pünktlein* [im Gegensatz zu *Doppelpünktlein*] 1687 (Höchli 1981: 318), 1704 (Leser 1914: 39) [FoKOMP]
- *Endpunkt* 1729 (Leser 1914: 39) und 1746 (Höchli 1981: 318) [FuKOMP]
- *Schlusspunkt* 1730 (Leser 1914: 39) [FuKOMP]
- *Tüpfel* 1747/1749 (Leser 1914: 39, Höchli 1981: 318) [FoMETA]
- *Tüpflein* 1747/1749 (Leser 1914: 39) [FoMETA]

Ergänzend sei noch auf eine Volksetymologie hingewiesen, in der der Latinismus *Punctum* umgedeutet worden ist, und zwar in der Redensart *Und damit Punkt um* (quasi ... *um* im Sinne von ‘aus’).

Als zweites seien hier noch die Namen für den Doppelpunkt aufgelistet:

- *Colum* nur 1515 (Höchli 1981: 317) [FW – LATEINISCH]
- *Gemipunctus erectus* nur 1535 (Höchli 1981: 317) [FW]
- *Colon* 1564 (Höchli 1981: 317) [FW – GRIECHISCH]
- *Duopuncta* nur 1617 (Höchli 1981: 317) [FW]
- *Doppelpunkt* ab 1641 (Leser 1914: 40) [FoKOMP]
- *gedoppeltes Pünktlein* 1687 (Leser 1914: 40) [FoKOMP]
- *die beiden Punkte* 1746 (Leser 1914: 40) [FoKOMP]
- *Doppeltüpflein* nur 1747 (Höchli 1981: 317) [FoKOMP]

Drittens sollen die Bezeichnungen für die Klammern erwähnt sein (vgl. Leser 1914: 40f.). Dabei gilt es zu unterscheiden zwischen den runden Klammern <()> –

- *Einschluß* 1641 [FuMETO]
  - *Einschlußzeichen* 1641 [FuKOMP]
  - *Zirckel* 1642 [FoMETA]
  - *Parenthesis* 1698 [FW – GRIECHISCH]
  - *Einschiebsel* 1721 [FuMETO]
  - *Klammern* 1746 [FuMETO]
  - *Einschließungszeichen* 1749 [FuKOMP]
- und den eckigen Klammern <[]> –
- *Einschluß* 1641 [FuMETO]
  - *Einschlußzeichen* 1641 [FuKOMP]
  - *Einschiebsel* 1721 [FuMETO]
  - *Klammern* 1746 [FuMETO]
  - *Haken* 1746 [FuMETA]
  - *Ausschließungszeichen* 1749 [FuKOMP]

Schließlich seien noch die Namen für das Fragezeichen erwähnt:

- *Fragezeichen* 1522 (Pauli s.v. *Fragezeichen*) [FoKOMP]
- *Fragezeichen* 1641 (Leser 1914: 40) [FoKOMP]

## 2.5. Anführungszeichen und Schlusszeichen<sup>9</sup>

Ein Blick auf die Bezeichnungsgeschichte zeigt, dass dieses Satzzeichen schon zu mehreren metaphorischen bzw. metaphernartigen Ausdrücken bewogen hat:

- *Gänsaugen* 1634 (damals allerdings noch als Zierat, laut Klenz [1901: 75f.]) [FoMETA]
- *signum citationis* 1735 bei Freyer als echtes Interpunktionszeichen (Höchli 1981: 301, Leser 1914: 41) [Fw]
- *Hasenohren* 18. Jh. (Kluge s.v. *Gänsefüßchen*, DW s.v. *anführungszeichen*, *gänsefusz*) [FoMETA]
- *Hasenöhrchen* 18. Jh. (Kluge s.v. *Gänsefüßchen*) [FoMETA]
- *Hyphen* 1740 (Klenz 1901: 75) [sehr bemerkenswert!] [Fw]
- *Gänseaugen* 1743 (Klenz 1901: 75, Paul s.v. *Gänsefüßchen*, DW s.v. *anführungszeichen*, *gänsefusz*), 1762 bei Gottsched, zuletzt 1768 bei Bodmer (Höchli 1981: 302) [FoMETA]
- *Beziehungszeichen* 1744 (Leser 1914: 41) [FuKOMP]
- *Randstrichelchen* 1748 (Leser 1914: 41) [FoKOMP]
- *Gänsäuglein* 1748 (Klenz 1901: 75) [FoMETA]
- *Anführungszeichen* 1747 bei Antesperg (Höchli 1981: 302) [FuKOMP]
- *Gänsetritte* [*ganstritten*] nur 1768 bei Bodmer (Höchli 1982) [FoMETA]
- *Gänsefüße* 1795 (Paul s.v. *Gänsefüßchen*, DW s.v. *anführungszeichen*, *gänsefusz*) [FoMETA]
- *Gänsefüßchen* 1805 (“dürfte jetzt [= 1901] gebräuchlicher sein als die dasselbe bezeichnenden ‘Anführungszeichen’ und ‘Citationszeichen’”, schreibt Klenz [1901: 75]) [FoMETA]

Meine Hypothesen für die Gegenwart waren,

- (9) dass der metaphorische Ausdruck *Gänsefüßchen* mindestens halb so oft vorkommen würde wie die nicht-metaphorischen Termini *Anführungszeichen*, *Schlusszeichen*, *Anführungsstriche* etc. (mit Ausnahme der Akademiker),
- (10) dass der metaphorische Ausdruck *Gänsefüßchen* von Akademikern nicht verwendet wird und
- (11) dass zwischen Anführungszeichen “auf” und “zu” mehrheitlich durch ein zusätzliches Attribut unterscheiden wird und in weniger als einem Drittel der Fälle durch komposite Dichotomien (wie *Anführungszeichen* vs. *Abführungszeichen/Schlusszeichen*).

In der Tat hat kein Akademiker *Gänsefüßchen* verwendet; doch auch bei den übrigen Gruppen kommt *Gänsefüßchen* (*oben/auf/Anfang*) nicht so häufig vor. Hypothese 10 lässt sich also voll, Hypothese 9 nicht bzw. nur bedingt bestätigen. Insgesamt wird nur jeweils 11x der Begriff *Gänsefüßchen* für die Anführungszeichen “auf” und “zu” verwendet (also von nur 19,0% aller Nicht-Akademiker); neutrale Termini werden für die Anführungszeichen “auf” von 75,9% aller Nicht-Akademiker und für die Anführungszeichen “zu” von 81,0% aller Nicht-Akademiker verwendet. *offen*, *oben* [nachgestellt oder als normales attributives Adjektiv], *auf*, *Anfang*, *vorne* wechseln ebenso ab wie *oben* [nachgestellt oder als normales attributives Adjektiv], *zu*, *Ende*, *Schluss*. Hypothese 11 konnte voll bestätigt werden. Ergänzend sei noch erwähnt, dass *Abführungszeichen* nur 1x genannt wird, *Schlusszeichen* o.Ä. 14x – das sind 19,7% der Antworten.

<sup>9</sup> Dass es dafür verschiedene Symbole gibt – «...», »...«, „...“, “...” –, kann, weil es sich nur um Allographe handelt, vernachlässigt werden.



## 2.6. Gedankenstrich

Für den Gedankenstrich, einer recht jungen Erscheinung, finden wir in der Sprachgeschichte lediglich:

- *Pause* 1773 (Höchli 1981) [FuMeto]
- *Gedankenstrich* 1775 (DW s.v. Gedankenstrich) [FuKOMP]

(Druckersprachlich ist noch Halbgeviertstrich zu finden, das aber hier als Fachterminus nicht weiter beachtet werden soll). Die onomasiologischen Besonderheiten ergeben sich im Zusammenhang mit dem Bindestrich (vgl. nächster Abschnitt).

## 2.7. Bindestrich

Für den Bindestrich – kein **Satzzeichen** im engeren Sinn – habe ich folgende Liste an Ausdrücken erstellen können:

- *Mittelstrich* 1641 (Leser 1914: 37), 1653 bei Girbert, zuletzt 1691 bei Stieler (laut Höchli [1981: 321]) [FoKOMP]
- *Hyphen* 1642 (Leser 1914: 37), nur 1754 bei Aichinger (laut Höchli 1981: 321) [Fw]
- *Mittelstrichlein* 1647 bei Harsdörffer (zitiert nach Höchli [1981] und Leser [1914: 37]), zuletzt 1657 bei Bellin (laut Höchli [1981: 321]) [FoKOMP]
- *Vereinigungszeichen* 1657 (Leser 1914: 37) (fehlt bei Höchli 1981) [FuKOMP]
- *signum subunionis* 1657 (Leser 1914: 37) (fehlt bei Höchli 1981) [Fw]
- *Zwerchstrichlein* nur 1687 bei Prash (laut Höchli [1981: 317], Leser [1914: 37]) [FoKOMP]
- *Fügungszeichen* 1701 (Leser 1914: 37) (fehlt bei Höchli 1981) [FuKOMP]
- *Verknüpfungszeichen* 1701 (Leser 1914: 37) (fehlt bei Höchli 1981) [FuKOMP]
- *Bindezeichen* 1706 (Leser 1914: 37) 1782 bei Adlung (laut Höchli [1981: 321]) [FuKOMP]
- *Verbindungszeichen* 1706 (Leser 1914: 37), nur 1746 bei Frisch (laut Höchli [1981: 321]) [FuKOMP]
- *signum diuisionis* nur 1735 bei Freyer (zitiert nach Höchli [1981: 169]) [Fw]
- *Abkürzungszeichen* 1741 (Leser 1914: 37) [sehr bemerkenswert!] (fehlt bei Höchli 1981) [FuKOMP]
- *Teilungszeichen* nur 1747 bei Antesperg (zitiert nach Höchli 1981) [FuKOMP]
- *Querstrichlein* 1749 (Leser 1914: 37) (fehlt bei Höchli 1981) [FoKOMP]
- *Divisionszeichen* 1749 (Leser 1914: 37) (fehlt bei Höchli 1981) [FuKOMP]

Zum Teil wird noch der “Trennungsstrich” vom “Bindestrich” konzeptuell getrennt. Dazu listet Höchli (1981: 321) folgende Gegensatzpaare auf:

- Harsdörffer 1647: *Theilzeichen* (-) [FuKOMP] vs. *Mittelstrichlein* (=) [FoKOMP]
- Schottelius 1651: *Theilzeichen* (=) [FuKOMP] vs. *Mittelstrichlein* (= oder -) [FoKOMP]
- Bellin 1657: *Teilzeichen* (-) [FuKOMP] vs. *Mittelstrichlein* (=) [FoKOMP]
- Stieler 1691: *Teilstrichlein* (=) [FuKOMP] vs. *Mittelstrich* (- oder =) [FoKOMP]
- Adlung 1782: *Teilungszeichen* (- oder =) [FuKOMP] vs. *Bindezeichen* (=) [FuKOMP]

Offensichtlich hat es schon immer eine gewisse Unsicherheit (wiederum eine Art “onomasiologische Unschärfe”) bei der Trennung von Gedankenstrich, Bindestrich, Trennstrich und deren Benennungen gegeben. Auch in sehr vielen Seminararbeiten habe ich beobachtet, dass von den Studierenden kein typographischer Unterschied zwischen Gedankenstrich (länger oder mit Spatia) und Bindestrich (kurz und ohne Spatia) gemacht wird<sup>10</sup>. Daher lauteten meine Hypothesen:

- (12) Gedankenstrich und Bindestrich werden von einem Viertel der Informanten in ihrer Standardbenennung miteinander verwechselt.

<sup>10</sup> Ähnliches wird mir von einem Klagenfurter Kollegen für Österreich berichtet.

- (13) Gedankenstrich und Bindestrich werden von mindestens einem Viertel der Informanten nicht unterschieden.

Der Bindestrich ist von 69, d.h. 90,8%, aller Informanten als solcher bezeichnet worden; auch die Bezeichnung *Verbindungsstrich*, die 3x genannt worden ist, geht auf das gleiche Bezeichnungsmotiv zurück und kann als "richtige" Klassifizierung des Satzzeichens gewertet werden. Auch die Antwort *Trennstrich* darf noch als richtig angesehen werden, da es sich nach heutigen typographischen Gepflogenheiten um dasselbe Zeichen handelt und auch die Funktionen von Trennstrich und Bindestrich fast die gleich sind. Eigentlich nicht richtig ist der Ausdruck *Minus*, der 1x von einem jüngeren Informanten (einem Studenten) genannt wurde (das Minus-Zeichen ist nach der Norm länger, nämlich <-> statt <->, und seine Funktion ist eine gänzlich andere als jene des Bindestrichs). Dies entspricht einer häufig zu beobachtenden Ausdrucksweise bei der Nennung von eMail-Adressen und Web-Adressen (sog. URLs), z.B. *www.ku-eichstaett.de*. Da der Bindestrich in diesem Kontext recht häufig vorkommt, strebt man (im Sinne des Zipfschen Gesetzes<sup>11</sup>) nach einem kürzeren Wort als dem dreisilbigen *Bindestrich*; da *Strich* zu uneindeutig ist (es könnte mit *Schrägstrich* </> verwechselt werden), ist metaphorisches *Minus* wohl am passendsten. Der in URLs ebenfalls häufige Schrägstrich wird dementsprechend gleichfalls mit einem kürzeren Ausdruck bezeichnet – wiederum nicht mit einem uneindeutigen *Strich*, sondern dem englischen *Slash*. Eine echte Verwechslung mit dem Gedankenstrich liegt nur bei einem Informanten vor, der "Gedankenstrich/dash" zur Antwort gab. Insofern konnte Hypothese 12 für den Bindestrich falsifiziert werden.

Der Gedankenstrich wurde von nur 56x, also von 73,7% der Informanten, richtig bezeichnet. Das ist deutlich weniger als der Bindestrich – selbst wenn man den Ausdruck *Pausenstrich* noch als richtige Klassifikation ansehen will. 3x wurde überhaupt keine Antwort gegeben, einmal – von einer älteren Informantin – die Verlegenheitsantwort "anstelle von Beistrich". Von einer Studentin und einer Schülerin wurde der Terminus *Parenthese* genannt; da eine Parenthese das ist, was meist von zwei Gedankenstrichen umgeben wird, könnte man hier von einer metonymischen Übertragung sprechen. Insgesamt 11x, also von 14,5% aller Informanten, wurde der Ausdruck *Bindestrich* gebraucht. Der Ausdruck *Teilstrich* ist unklar; möglicherweise ist "Strich, der teilt" das Bezeichnungsmotiv; dann läge jedoch eine Fehlklassifizierung vor. In jedem Falle hat sich Hypothese 12 für den Gedankenstrich bestätigt.

Wie viele Informanten konkret machen nun keinen Unterschied zwischen Gedankenstrich und Bindestrich? 9 Informanten bezeichnen beide Satzzeichen als *Bindestrich* (darunter 2 Schüler), 1 Studentin beide als *Gedankenstrich*. Damit konnte Hypothese 13 nicht bestätigt werden. Allerdings ist noch anzumerken, dass 1 Student den Bindestrich als *Minus* und den Gedankenstrich als *Bindestrich*, 1 älterer Konstrukteur ersteres als *Verbindungsstrich* und zweiteres als *Teilungsstrich* bezeichnet hat.

## 2.8. Der Schrägstrich (</>)

Auch der Schrägstrich ist im heutigen Gebrauch kein Satzzeichen mehr, sondern ein Sonderzeichen, das für etwas anderes steht. In früheren Jahrhunderten diente es hingegen auch als Satzzeichen. Für den Schrägstrich finden wir in der deutschen Literatur:

- *virgula* 1473 bei Steinhöwel, zuletzt 1617 bei Sattler, wo es heißt: "Virgula wird im Lateinischen also (,) vnnd in Teutscher sprach in dieser form (/) gemacht." (zitiert nach Höchli 1981: 316f.) [Fw]
- *Strichlein* 1478 bei Wyle, zuletzt 1754 bei Aichinger (Höchli 1981: 316f.) [FoKOMP]

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. beispielsweise Zipf (1949).

- *Comma* 1564 bei Kolross, wo </> als deutsche Variante zum lateinischen <:> beschrieben wird (Höchli 1981: 52), zuletzt 1647 bei Harsdörffer (Leser 1914: 39)<sup>12</sup>, später nur für <,> [Fw]
- *Colon* nur 1564 bei Kolross, wo </> als deutsche Variante zum lateinischen <:~> beschrieben wird (Höchli 1981: 52), sonst ausschließlich für <:~> [Fw]
- *Zwergstrichlein* nur 1647 bei Harsdörffer (Höchli 1981: 316) [FoKOMP]
- *Schrägstrich* 1647 bei Harsdörffer (Leser 1914: 39) [FoKOMP]
- *Beistrichlein* 1651 bei Schottelius, zuletzt 1691 bei Stieler (Höchli 1981: 316) [FoKOMP]

Als Beleg, dass sich Comma in der Tat auch einmal auf das Zeichen </> beziehen konnte, hier die einschlägige Stelle bei Harsdörffer (1647, zitiert nach Leser [1914: 39]): “Wann man die Sache genau nennen wolte, so müste man einen unterscheid machen zwischen dem Zwergstrichlein, *comma* genannt (/) und das Beystrichlein, *semicomma* (,) genannt, welches die Hebreer unterscheiden, und bereit in den Druckereyen vorhanden ist.”

Auf Grund meiner eigenen Beobachtung stelle ich die folgende Hypothese auf:

- (14) Unter den jüngeren und mittleren Informanten lässt sich mehrfach die Antwort *Slash* [Fw] finden.

Interessanterweise fand sich *Slash* in allen Altersgruppen, was die Hypothese 14, so wie ich sie aufgestellt hatte, widerlegt; allerdings taucht *Slash* in der älteren Gruppe nur 1x auf (= 5,3%), in der mittleren Gruppe 4x (= 15,4%) und in der jüngeren Gruppe 10x (= 32,3%). 1x wurde von einer Studentin die Antwort *flash* gegeben (wohl entweder eine ideolektale oder eine *parole*-Volksetymologie). Die jeweils häufigsten Antworten sind jedoch *Schrägstrich*: 15x in der älteren Gruppe (= 78,9%), 21x in der mittleren Gruppe (= 80,8%), 22x in der jüngeren Gruppe (= 71,0%). Der bildlich gleiche Ausdruck *Querstrich* [FoKOMP] und der irriige Ausdruck *Trennstrich* (“onomasiologische Unschärfe”!) wurden jeweils 2x genannt. 2x wurde als Antwort auch “am” gegeben, 2x gar keine Antwort.

## 2.9. Der Apostroph (<’>)

Der Apostroph ist kein Satz-, sondern ein Sonderzeichen. “Der Gebrauch des Zeichens beginnt (unter Einfluss des Frz.) im 16. Jh. und wurde in Opitz’ *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624, Kap. 7) reguliert, ohne daß ein best. Terminus fällt” (Paul s.v. *Auslassungszeichen*). Die danach in der deutschen Orthographieterminologie verwendeten Ausdrücke für den Apostroph lauten:

- *Apostrophus* 1641 (Leser 1914: 36) [Fw]
- *Oberhäcklein* 1641 (Leser 1914: 36, Paul s.v. *Apostroph*) [FoKOMP]
- *Hinterstrich* 1641 (Leser 1914: 36, Paul s.v. *Apostroph*), gemäß Höchli (1981: 303f.) 1651 bei Schottelius bis 1775 bei Braun [FoKOMP]
- *Hinterstrichlein* nur 1647 bei Harsdörffer (Höchli 1981: 303) [FoKOMP]
- *Nachstrichlein* nur 1647 bei Harsdörffer (Höchli 1981: 303) [FoKOMP]
- *Oberbeistrichlein* 1657 bei Bellin (Höchli 1981: 303, Leser 1914: 36) [FoKOMP]
- *Oberstrichlein* 1679 (Leser 1914: 36) [FoKOMP]
- *Abgangszeichen* 1687 (Höchli 1981: 303, Leser 1914: 36) [FoKOMP?]~[FuKOMP?]
- *Endabkürzung* 1691 (Leser 1914: 36) [FuKOMP]
- *Endstrichlich* 1698 (Leser 1914: 36) [FoKOMP]
- *Häcklein* 1718 (Leser 1914: 36) [FoKOMP]
- *Abwerfungszeichen* 1720 (Leser 1914: 36) [FuKOMP]
- *Auslassungszeichen* 1729 (Leser 1914: 36, Paul s.v. *Apostroph*) [FuKOMP]

<sup>12</sup> Und nicht schon 1628 bei Walter, wie Höchli (1981: 316) schreibt.

- *Abkürzungszeichen* 1729 (Leser 1914: 36) [FuKOMP]
- *Kürzungszeichen* 1734 (Leser 1914: 36) [FuKOMP]
- *Apostroph* 1748 (Leser 1914: 36, Paul s.v. *Apostroph*) [Fw]
- *Oberstrich* 1762 bei Gottsched und 1775 bei Braun (Höchli 1981: 303f.) [FoKOMP]
- *Ausdrängung* nur 1768 bei Bodmer (Höchli 1981: 304) [FuKOMP]

Die mittlerweile vielfach gescholtene und beschriebene Apostrophitis (vgl. etwa Grzega 2001) dürfte zweierlei zur Folge haben – und dies sollen unsere Hypothesen sein:

- (15) Der Name *Apostroph* ist präsent (und es werden kaum “Verlegenheitslösungen” gebildet)
- (16) *Apostroph* wird deutlich häufiger genannt als der deutsche Ausdruck *Auslassungszeichen*.

In der Tat konnten Hypothese 15 und 16 bestätigt werden. Es ist *Apostroph* unter den Antworten sehr prominent (von 63,2% aller Informanten genannt); dabei wird allerdings einmal die Schreibweise *Appostrov* und einmal die Form *Abustrof* verwendet. Der Terminus *Auslassungszeichen* wird nur von 18,4% aller Informanten genannt. 6x wird keine Antwort angegeben (7,9%). Drei Informanten klassifizieren das Satzzeichen – offensichtlich wegen seiner Form – als eine Art Komma (*Komma* 1x genannt [1,3%], *Hochkomma* 2x, davon 1x von einem Akademiker, genannt [2,6%]). Weitere Ausdrücke gehen auf die Funktion des Satzzeichens zurück: *Ersetzungszeichen* 1x von einem älteren Akademiker, *Abkürzungszeichen* 1x von einem älteren Informanten mit Weißkragen-Beruf, “*es*” von einem älteren Informanten mit Blaukragen-Beruf; letzteres ist freilich eher als Erklärung, denn als Bezeichnung zu verstehen. Letztendlich dürfte auch *Gedankenstrich* von einer jüngeren Informantin mit Blaukragen-Beruf auf die Funktion zurückzuführen sein, weil man sich ja etwas “dazudenken” muss. Auf einer terminologischen Verwechslung (die ich mit meiner Terminologie als *onomasiologische Unschärfe* bezeichnen würde [vgl. Grzega 2004: 235ff.]) dürfte die Antwort *Semikolon* beruhen.

Nicht geprüft werden konnte mit diesem Fragebogen, wie häufig welches Genus verwendet wird. Es lässt sich nämlich beobachten, dass *Apostroph* nicht selten als Neutrum angesehen wird.

## 2.10. Der Akut (´)

Für den Akut finden sich folgende Ausdrücke in der deutschen Fachliteratur:

- *Accent* 1720 (Leser 1914: 36) [Fw]
- *Tonzeichen* 1671 (Leser 1914: 36) [FuKOMP]
- *schiefes Strichlein* ‘Acutus’ 1671 (Leser 1914: 36) [FoKOMP]
- *Schlänglein* ‘Zirkumflex’ 1706 (Leser 1914: 36) [FoMETA]
- *Häublein* ‘dito’ (Leser 1914: 36) [FoMETA]
- *niedriger Akzent* ‘Gravis’ (Leser 1914: 36) [Fw] (hier liegt gewissermaßen eine Verwechslung vor – onomasiologische Unschärfe!)

Auf Grund meiner persönlichen Beobachtungen formulierte ich folgende Hypothesen:

- (17) *Akut* wird kaum mehr verwendet.
- (18) Wenn *Akut* verwendet wird, dann nur von Akademikern.
- (19) Die häufigste Bezeichnung ist nicht *Akzent*, sondern *Accent* (ggf. mit französischer Spezifizierung).
- (20) Insbesondere unter den Jüngeren ist *Accent* üblich.
- (21) *aigu* wird bei etwa der Hälfte seiner Tokens falsch geschrieben
- (22) *aigu* wird insbesondere von Nicht-Akademikern falsch geschrieben.
- (23) Statt *aigu* wird irrtümlicherweise manchmal *grave* geschrieben.
- (24) Insbesondere von Nicht-Akademikern wird *grave* statt *aigu* verwendet.

Zu den Hypothesen 17 und 18: Tatsächlich wurde der Ausdruck *Akut* kein einziges Mal verwendet – Hypothese 17 bestätigt, Hypothese 18 nicht überprüfbar. Zu Hypothese 19: *Akzent* (und *Akzentzeichen*) wurde von 34, also 44,7% aller Informanten verwendet (davon 3x *Akzentzeichen*); *Accent* wurde von 24, also 31,6% aller Informanten genannt – Hypothese 19 falsifiziert. Zu Hypothese 20: Unter den 31 jüngeren Informanten allerdings wurde der deutsche Ausdruck *Akzent* nur 11x genannt (35,5%), das französische *Accent* dagegen 16x (51,6%) – Hypothese 20 bestätigt. Zu Hypothese 21: Der Typ (*accent*) *aigu* wird insgesamt 16x genannt, aber in der Tat nur 7x richtig geschrieben (43,8%) – Hypothese 21 bestätigt. Volksetymologie-artige Falschschreibungen sind *accent aiguë*, *Accent Degue*, *Akzent agu*, *accent de gue*, *Accent égu* (sogar 2x), *Accent degu*, *accent teigue*, *accent d'égu* – die Fehlschreibungen dürften durch die Liaison bedingt sein (man sagt zwar *accent* [aksã], aber *accent aigu* [aksãt\_egy]). Von den 9 Falschschreibungen sind 6 von Studierenden, 3 von Akademikern – Hypothese 22 nicht bestätigt. Zu Hypothese 23: Der Akut (´) wurde fälschlicherweise 2x mit *grave* bezeichnet, das eigentlich für den Gravis (˘) reserviert ist – Hypothese 23 bestätigt. Zu Hypothese 24: Die Verwechslung von Gravis und Akut war 1x bei einer Akademikerin, 1x bei einer Studentin zu finden – Hypothese 24 nicht bestätigt. Möglicherweise geht auch die Antwort *Orthograp* einer älteren Informantin mit Blau-Kragen-Beruf auf eine volksetymologische Umdeutung zu *Accent grave* zurück. 6x wurde der Akut als *Apostroph* bezeichnet, 1x als *Tilde*, 1x als *Buchstabenverdoppelung* (Verwechslung eines älteren Informanten mit Fällen wie <im̄er>, <iñen>), 1x als *Betonungszeichen* und 1x gar als *i-Punkt*. In all diesen Fällen liegt wohl “onomasiologische Unschärfe” zu Grunde. Von 8 Informanten wurde überhaupt keine Antwort gegeben, und zwar 5x aus der älteren Gruppe, 2x aus der mittleren Gruppe, 1x aus der jüngeren Gruppe.

## 2.11. Das scharfe S (<ß>)

Bei <ß> handelt es sich um einen jungen Buchstaben, der ist mit Aufgabe der Frakturschrift und des “langen s” (<ſ>) üblich geworden ist – historisch liegt tatsächlich ein <s>/<ſ> + <z>/<z> vor. Auf Grund der Beobachtungen zu *Eszet(t)* [FoKOMP] und *scharfes S* [FuKOMP] in meinen Seminaren stellte ich als Hypothese auf:

- (25) Der Ausdruck *Eszet(t)* wird von Personen, die nicht im Süden (Bayern und Baden-Württemberg) aufgewachsen sind, eher gebraucht als von Personen aus dem Süden (die eher *scharfes S* gebrauchen).

Dies galt es zu prüfen. In der Tat wurde von den 15 Informanten, die nicht im Süden Deutschlands aufgewachsen waren 9x *scharfes S* (= 60,0% der “nicht-südlichen Informanten”), 1x *Scharf-S* (6,7%) und 9x *Eszet* (60,0%) (einige gaben dabei mehr als einen Ausdruck an). Von den 61 Informanten, die im Süden aufgewachsen waren, nannten dagegen nur 4 den Ausdruck *Eszet* (= 6,6% der “südlichen Informanten”), *scharfes S* wurde von 59 genannt (= 96,7%), 1x gab es die Antwort *Scharf-S* (= 1,6%). Damit ist Hypothese 25 bestätigt.<sup>13</sup>

## 2.12. Das kaufmännische Und (<&>)

Für <&> habe ich keinen Hinweis auf weitere, ältere Namen gefunden. Für meine eigene Untersuchung war die Hypothese:

- (26) Von den jüngeren Informanten wird *Kaufmanns-Und* [KONTKOMP] oder *kaufmännisches Und* im Gegensatz zur mittleren und älteren Informantengruppe kaum mehr genannt.

<sup>13</sup> Im ÖWB ist *Eszett* als bundesdeutsch markiert. Allerdings habe ich es selbst schon von Österreichern gehört.

Hypothese 26 konnte jedoch nicht bestätigt werden: Von einem Schüler und einem Studenten wurde *kaufmännisches Und* genannt (= 6,5%); in der mittleren Generation wurde dieser Ausdruck dagegen nur 1x verwendet (= 3,8%); in der älteren Gruppe überhaupt nicht. Die häufigsten Ausdrücke insgesamt waren *und* (43x = 56,6%) und *und-Zeichen* [FuKOMP] (12x = 15,8%). Zweimal wurde das Symbol historisch korrekt *et-(Zeichen)* [Fw] genannt (1x von einem Akademiker der älteren Gruppe, 1x von einem Informanten der mittleren Gruppe mit Weiß-Kragen-Beruf).

### 2.13. Der Klammeraffe (<@>)

Das heute in eMail-Adressen verwendete Sonderzeichen <@> ist zwar schon seit dem Mittelalter bekannt und wurde im 18. Jh. beispielsweise in Gerichtsdokumenten im Sinne von 'gegen' verwendet, doch lebt es erst wieder im Computerzeitalter (mit Erfindung der eMail) aus Amerika kommend in der Allgemeinsprache auf. Unter dem Eintrag @ listet die deutsche Wikipedia folgende deutsche Bezeichnungen<sup>14</sup>:

- *At(-Zeichen)* [Fw – ENGLISCH]
- *Affenschwanz* [FoMETA]
- *Affenohr* [FoMETA]
- *Affenschaukel* [FoMETA]
- *Klammeraffe* [FoMETA]

Meine erfahrungsbasierten Hypothesen waren:

- (27) In der älteren Gruppe werden meistens keine Antwort oder nur Verlegenheitsantworten gegeben.
- (28) Der Ausdruck *Klammeraffe* wird etwa so häufig vorkommen wie *at*.
- (29) [æt] wird zu mindestens einem Fünftel der Antworten falsch geschrieben, weil es eben nicht mit der englischen Präposition *at* in Verbindung gebracht wird,
- (30) Die Falschschreibung von [æt] passiert insbesondere Leuten mit Blau-Kragen-Beruf.

Zu Hypothese 27: In der Tat geben die 19 älteren Informanten 9x keine Antwort und 1x die Verlegenheitsantwort *eMail* (= 52,6%); Hypothese 27 ist damit bestätigt. Zu Hypothese 28: Insgesamt wird der Ausdruck *Klammeraffe* [FoMETA] 10x gebraucht, der Bezeichnungstyp *at(-Zeichen)* 54x – Hypothese 28 ist damit falsifiziert. Zu Hypothese 29: Von den 54 Nennungen des Bezeichnungstyps *at(-Zeichen)* [Fw] wird [æt] 11x falsch geschrieben (= 20,4%); Hypothese 29 kann damit als bestätigt gelten. Unter den Informanten mit Blau-Kragen-Beruf wird der Typ *at* 10x genannt, davon 1x falsch geschrieben (= 10,0%); dagegen wird von den 16 Nennungen bei den Akademikern 4x eine falsche Schreibweise verwendet (= 25,0%), von den 6 Nennungen bei den Schülern 2x eine falsche Schreibweise (= 33,3%) und von den 17 Nennungen bei den Studierenden 6x eine falsche Schreibweise (= 35,3%). Die Hypothese 30 konnte damit nicht bestätigt werden.

### 3. Fazit

Um nicht Äpfel mit Birnen zu vergleichen, sollen die Beobachtungen für die Satzzeichen und jene für die Sonderzeichen im Folgenden meist getrennt ausgewiesen werden. Was können wir also festhalten?

1. Unter den 89 Satzzeichennamen sind die Bezeichnungstypen wie folgt verteilt:

<b>FuKOMP :</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>= 32,6 %</b>
FoKOMP :	16	= 18,0 %
FuMETO :	7	= 7,9 %
FoMETA :	15	= 16,9 %

<sup>14</sup> Darüber hinaus werden Benennungen aus zahlreichen anderen Sprachen präsentiert.

Fw : 23 = 25,8 %

Die deutlich prominenteste Gruppe sind also komposite Bezeichnungen, die von der Funktion des Zeichens her motiviert sind. Als zweite wichtige Gruppe ragen die Fremdwörter heraus; sie sind meist griechisch-lateinischer Herkunft, doch geben daneben französische und englische Wörter Zeugnis über die Bedeutung dieser Sprachen im heutigen Fremdsprachenunterricht und im Alltag.

2. Unter den 89 Satzzeichennamen der deutschen Sprachgeschichte befinden sich 18 Diminutiva, d.h. 20,2 % aller Satzzeichennamen bzw. 34,8 % aller indigenen Satzzeichennamen. Dies zeigt wieder einmal, dass die Diminutivsuffixe auch zur Markierung von metaphorischem oder metonymischen Gebrauch dienen (cf. Grzega 2004: 113f.). Heutzutage ist der Diminutiv aber nur noch bei *Gänsefüßchen* üblich. Dies könnte damit zu tun haben, dass Diminutive eher den Anschein des Umgangsprachlichen, zumindest des Nicht-Neutralen vermitteln.
3. Bei einigen Zeichen findet sich vereinzelt "onomasiologische Unschärfe", so einstmals bei der Bedeutung der Termini *Komma* und *Beistrich* und den Namen für den Bindestrich, heutzutage vereinzelt bei Bindestrich, Apostroph, Schrägstrich und Akut.
4. Wie bereits unter Punkt 4 herauszulesen, sind unter den Antworten meiner Informanten einige Hapaxlegomena. Diese gehen zurück auf:
  - (a) eindeutige Verwechslungen ("onomasiologische Unschärfe") (*Tilde*, *i-Punkt*, *Buchstabenverdopplung* für den Akut; *Gedankenstrich* für den Apostroph, *Parenthese* für den Gedankenstrich)
  - (b) bewusste(?) metaphorische Übertragungen (*Minus* für den Bindestrich, *Komma* für *Apostroph*)
  - (c) volksetymologische Neubildungen (*flash* statt *Slash* und die Fehlschreibungen für *aigu*)
  - (d) bewusste(?) metonymische oder metaphorische Neubildungen (*Hochkomma* und *Ersetzungszeichen* für den Apostroph, *Betonungszeichen* für den Akut)
  - (e) konservative Ausdrücke (wie *Abkürzungszeichen* für den Apostroph, *Abführungszeichen* für die Schlusszeichen)
5. Bei den Satzzeichen ist mit Ausnahme der Anfangs- und Schlusszeichen heute wenig Synonymenreichtum zu vermerken. Dies galt in früheren Epochen nicht – nicht einmal für Komma und Punkt, wo mehrere Synonyma in einer Epoche zu finden sind. Selbst wenn mehrere Synonyma existieren, gibt es stets eine deutlich präferierte Variante, die in mindestens 70 % der Fälle genannt wird; das Komma wird sogar von 97,4 % der Informanten als *Komma* bezeichnet. Ein ähnlich eindeutiges Bild für die Gegenwart ergibt sich bei den Sonderzeichen.
6. Von den 13 auf Grund meiner Erfahrungen mit studentischen Arbeiten aufgestellten Hypothesen zu Satzzeichen haben sich 6 bestätigen lassen; Von den 19 Hypothesen<sup>15</sup> zu den übrigen Zeichen haben sich 9 bestätigen lassen. Was ist besonders auffällig?
  - (a) Bestätigt wurden nur meine regionalen Hypothesen. Insbesondere bei den Bezeichnungen für das Ausrufezeichen ist der Gebrauch anders als die Duden-Norm vorgibt.
  - (b) Meine generationenbezogenen Hypothesen haben sich vielfach als verfehlt erwiesen. Mit Ausnahme der Bezeichnungen für den Akut und das *at*-Zeichen, die von der älteren Generation verhältnismäßig schlecht oder gar nicht bezeichnet werden, gibt es keine signifikanten Generationen-Unterschiede. Es ist also Vorsicht vor Stereotypenbildung geboten.
  - (c) Meine berufs- bzw. bildungsbezogenen Annahmen haben sich ebenfalls oftmals als verfehlt erwiesen, ja es hat sich sogar gezeigt, dass die Akademiker teilweise mehr Fehler bei der (auch orthographisch) korrekten Benennung machen als die Nicht-

<sup>15</sup> Hypothese 12 und 13 sind gleichermaßen für Satzzeichen wie für Sonderzeichen einschlägig (Bindestrich und Gedankenstrich).

Akademiker, weil sie auf Fremdwörter zurückgreifen, die sie gar nicht beherrschen (bei den Bezeichnungen *slash*, *aigu* und *at*). Diese Beobachtung des fehlerhaften Fremdwortgebrauchs unter Akademikern scheint mir weitere Studien wert.

- (d) Schließlich waren entgegen meinen Erwartungen die bildhaften Ausdrücke *Gänsefüßchen* und *Klammeraffe* in allen Teilgruppen sehr gering.

#### 4. Ausblick

Im großen und ganzen hat sich mit dieser Untersuchung gezeigt, dass die Namen für Satzzeichen und Sonderzeichen einen interessanten Einblick in die Denkweise von Sprechern geben, gerade wenn sie die Bezeichnung nicht sicher beherrschen. Die Bezeichnungen haben auch gezeigt, dass sich Kulturwandel in Bezeichnungswandel bzw. in Veränderungen von Bezeichnungspräferenzen niederschlagen kann. Der augenblickliche Kulturwandel besteht in einer Internationalisierung – vergleiche *Slash* für Schrägstrich – und Computerisierung – vergleiche *Minus* für Bindestrich. Die Studie hat aber auch gezeigt, dass sich in den augenblicklichen drei Generationen keine deutlichen Unterschiede in der prototypischen Bezeichnung zeigen. Der Klammeraffe ist hier eine Ausnahmeerscheinung – in *Gänsefüßchen*. Die Computerisierung hat es auch mit sich gebracht, dass manche Satzzeichen für Sonderzeichen anders verwendet werden. Das, was man heute als *Smiley*, früher als *Mondgesicht* bei uns bezeichnet hat, schrieb man früher Punkt, Punkt, Komma, Strich (und umrandete das Ganze noch mit einem Kreis). Manchmal wird das Komma – die Nase – auch weggelassen und/oder der Strich gerundet: ☺ oder ☺. Die Computer-Tastatur hat uns zu folgender Ersatzlösung gezwungen: Doppelpunkt, Strich, Klammer zu, ergo :-). Und genauso schreiben es manche sogar schon handschriftlich<sup>16</sup> – hier spiegelt sich Kulturwandel am deutlichsten in Satz- und Sonderzeichen wider.

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<sup>16</sup> Vgl. dazu die Beobachtungen in Grzega (1999: 9).



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**Die folgende kleine Umfrage ist Teil einer sprachwissenschaftlichen Studie und wird etwa 5 Minuten in Anspruch nehmen.**

Bitte benennen Sie die doppelt unterstrichenen Zeichen auf den rechts stehenden Linien:

- 1 Der Nestlé\_ Manager sprach: -----
- 2 “Hier ist meine Adresse: -----
- 3 Klaus Müller & Co. -----
- 4 Nestlé\_ -Manager -----
- 5 Floßweg 6 -----
- 6 60010 Frankfurt/Main -----
- 7 eMail: klaus.mueller@web.de -----
- 8 Telefonnummer gibt's nicht, -----
- 9 tut mir leid = das ist zu privat. -----
- 10 Tut mir leid.” -----
- 11 Herr Müller hat Angst\_ -----
- 12 dass man ihn abends belästigt\_ -----
- 13 aber das soll nicht sein! -----

=====

Zum Schluss bitte ich Sie noch um einige statistische Angaben:

Sind Sie männlich oder weiblich? \_\_\_\_\_

Wie alt sind Sie? \_\_\_\_\_

In welchem Ort sind Sie aufgewachsen? \_\_\_\_\_

In welchem Ort wohnen Sie jetzt? \_\_\_\_\_

Welchen Beruf üben Sie aus bzw. haben Sie zuletzt ausgeübt? \_\_\_\_\_

*Herzlichen Dank für Ihre Mitarbeit!*

HEINZ DIETER POHL

**ZUR BAIRISCH-ÖSTERREICHISCHEN KÜCHENSPRACHE\***

## Abstract

On the basis of cookbooks this contribution [English title: “On Bavarian-Austrian cuisine language”] shows some lexical developments of Austrian German in the field of meals. The so-called “Viennese cuisine” is originally a multiethnic cuisine, with influences from all parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. With the codification of the “Viennese cuisine” in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, many original terms of Slavic descent have gotten lost. After an illustration of the intersection of and the differences between Bavarian and Austrian cuisine terms, the ten most popular culinarian Austriacisms are discussed: (1) *Beiried* ‘roast beef’ (derived from *Rippe* ‘rib’), (2) *Faschiertes* ‘mincemeat’ (< Fr. *farce* ‘stuffing’), (3) *Gulasch* ‘goulash’ (< Hung. *gulyás*), (4) *Kaiserschmarren* ‘cut-up and sugared pancake with raisins’ (with an augmentative, or elative, prefix *Kaiser-* ‘emperor’), (5) *Lungenbraten* ‘sirloin roast’ (derived from *Lummel* ‘loin’), (6) *Palatschinken* ‘very thin pancakes’ (< Cz. *palačinka* or Slovak *palacinka*, itself from Hung. *palacsinta*), (7) *Sacher-Torte* ‘Sacher cake’ (produced by the *Sacher* Hotel), (8) *Tafelspitz* ‘prime boiled beef’ (compound of *Tafel* ‘table’ and *Spitz*, possibly in the sense of ‘peak [= of the highest quality]’), (9) *Teebutter* ‘tea-butter’, (10) *Wiener Schnitzel* ‘Viennese schnitzel, escalope’ (with *Schnitzel* being a diminutive derivative of *Schnitz* ‘cut’ and *Wiener* ‘from Vienna, of Viennese origin [like many other fried meals from the Viennese cuisine]’).

## 1. Allgemeines

In der internationalen Küche wird der Terminus “österreichische Küche” an sich nicht verwendet, dafür steht der Begriff “Wiener Küche”, die sich seit der Zeit des Wiener Kongresses als ernsthafte Konkurrentin zur französischen Küche etabliert hat.<sup>1</sup> Sie ist keine reine Stadtküche (im engeren Sinn des Wortes), sondern vielmehr eine Vielvölkerküche mit Einflüssen aus allen Kronländern der Monarchie.<sup>2</sup> Als “klassische” Gerichte gelten v.a. *Rindsuppen* mit zahlreichen Einlagen, *Wiener Schnitzel* (3.10), *Tafelspitz* (3.8), *Gulasch* (3.3), *Beuschel*, *Schweinsbraten* bzw. *Geselchtes* mit Sauerkraut und Knödeln, *gefüllte Kalbsbrust*, *Schinkenfleckerln* sowie *Brat-* und *Backhendl*. Eine große Bedeutung kommt dabei der Wiener Mehlspeisküche zu, die in enger Verbindung mit der böhmischen Küche entstanden ist. Als “Klassiker” der warmen Mehlspeisküche gelten u.a. *Kaiserschmarren* (3.4), *Milchrahmstrudel* in Vanillesauce, *Germknödel* und *Marillenknödel*, dazu kommen die beliebten, begehrten und berühmten Torten wie *Sacher-* (3.7), *Malakoff-*, *Dobos-*, *Linzer*, *Panama-*, *Eszterházy-Torte*, Backwaren wie *Ischler Krapferl*, *Faschingskrapfen*, *Gugelhupf*, *Punschkräpferl* usw.). Dazu gesellen sich zahlreiche typische Gerichte aus der Küche der einzelnen Bundesländer.<sup>3</sup>

Die erste Hälfte sowie die Mitte des 19. Jhdts. bietet in Bezug auf die Wiener Küche noch ein anderes Bild als die ersten traditionellen “Wiener” Kochbücher um 1900. Auch sprachlich bieten die Kochbücher wie Dorn (1827), Stöckel (1857/1833) und Seleskowitz (1896/1880) eine heute eher ungewöhnliche Terminologie. Dazu verweise ich weiter unten auf *Faschiertes*

\* Kurzfassung der im Literaturverzeichnis genannten Publikationen Pohl (2004a, 2006, im Druck a, im Druck b)

<sup>1</sup> So das “Österreich-Lexikon” (laut Internet-Seite <http://www.aeiou.at/>).

<sup>2</sup> Und auch in anderen Ländern. Eine gute Zusammenfassung bietet Etlstorfer (2006: 319ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Bearbeitet nach “Österreich-Lexikon”. – Christoph Wagner nennt (in Wagner/Sedlaczek 1997: 149ff.) “die dreißig besten österreichischen Gerichte”, darunter viele der oben genannten Speisen.

(3.2) und *Palatschinken* (3.6).

Wenn man die ersten Auflagen der beiden Standardwerke zur Wiener bzw. österreichischen Küche, Hess (1911) und Rokitansky (1897), mit denen des Jahres 2001 bzw. 2003 vergleicht, kann man die Veränderungen in rund 100 Jahren leicht feststellen. Ein Vergleich der Register in den älteren Auflagen dieser Kochbücher mit den jüngeren zeigt dies deutlich: So weist Rokitansky 1908 über 4000 Einträge auf, die Neubearbeitung 2003 nur mehr rund 1300, oder Hess 1911 ca. 3500 Einträge gegenüber 2001 nur mehr etwa 1500. Dies erklärt sich z.T. durch die Beschränkung des Repertoires auf Wien, was nicht nur das Fehlen von Speisen aus den (zwar heutigen, aber doch etwas entfernteren) Bundesländern nach sich zog, sondern auch den Rückgang von Bezeichnungen aus den Sprachen der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie bedeutet, insbesondere aus den Ländern der böhmischen Krone, Galizien und der Bukowina, z.B. polnische *Zrazy* (Art Schnitzel) und ukrainisch-rumänische *Mamaliga* (Art Polenta). Viele Ausdrücke sind heute nur mehr Fachleuten oder Liebhabern altösterreichischer Speisen vertraut, wie z.B. die tschechischen *Skubanki* oder *Liwanzen*. Mit der Kodifikation dessen, was man "Wiener Küche" nennt, ist also viel "Altösterreichisches" verloren gegangen. Von 47 untersuchten Speisenbezeichnungen slawischer Herkunft sind in heutigen Kochbüchern nur noch 12 bis 16 (also bestenfalls ein Drittel) geläufig, davon einige neuerdings wieder, d.h., die Schwundrate war einst stärker.<sup>4</sup>

Die Kodifikation dessen, was man "Wiener Küche" nennt, fällt in die Zeit des beginnenden 20. Jhdts.:

"Die Wiener Küche, die unter diesem Begriff gesammelten Speisen, das diesen Speisen zugeordnete ostösterreichische Lexikon erfuhren ihre volle Ausbildung in der Ersten Republik, ... als Souvenir ... der Monarchie und ihrer vielfältigen Ethno-Küchen, ... In den folgenden Jahrzehnten hat sich dieses Konstrukt einer Wiener Küche, die keinen geographischen Bereich, sondern einen psychohistorischen Raum abbildete, durch 'invention of tradition' immer weiter in die Vergangenheit verschoben und mit ihm auch die einzelnen Speisen."<sup>5</sup>

Dies erklärt auch manche Legenden, die sich rund um die Wiener Küche entwickelt haben, wie z.B. die Behauptung, diese sei eine ausgesprochene Rindfleischküche gewesen<sup>6</sup>, was selbst von jenen, die dies behaupten, relativiert wird, denn man könne sie keineswegs als klassische dieser Art bezeichnen.<sup>7</sup> In der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jhdts. wird sogar berichtet, "die Wiener Küche versteht nicht mit dem Rindfleisch umzugehen"<sup>8</sup>. Weiters heißt es im Appetit-Lexikon von 1894 (s.v. *Fleischbrühe*): "Wirklich gutes Suppenfleisch (d.h. gekochtes Rindfleisch) gibt es überhaupt nicht. Das Suppenfleisch gehört daher als solches unter keinen Umständen auf den Tisch". Daher muss es um 1900 zu einem Umdenken gekommen sein. Parallel dazu hat sich auch die Wiener Rindfleischteilung zu einer eigenen "Wissenschaft" entwickelt<sup>9</sup> und hatte um die Jahrhundertwende (1900) ein beachtliches Niveau erreicht, so gehört ja der "König des Wiener Rindfleisches", der *Tafelspitz* (3.8), zu den bekanntesten und beliebtesten Wiener Spezialitäten. Eine weitere Legende ist die Abkunft des *Wiener Schnitzels* (3.10) vom *Costoletta alla Milanese* – selbst in Spezialkochbüchern zur

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Pohl 2006.

<sup>5</sup> So Zahnhausen (2003: 93). Parallel dazu hat sich auch die typisch österreichische Küchensprache, wie wir sie heute kennen, herausgebildet.

<sup>6</sup> Wagner (1996: 186). Darob entbrannte sogar ein "Hausfrauenstreit" (vgl. Prato/Wagner 2006: 217).

<sup>7</sup> Wagner (1996), dazu vgl. auch Zahnhausen (2003). Vgl. *Tafelspitz* (3.8.).

<sup>8</sup> Zitiert nach Wagner (1996: 186), vgl. auch Wagner/Sedlaczek (1996: 116).

<sup>9</sup> Die beste Darstellung der in Österreich üblichen Teilung des Rindes (im Vergleich mit anderen Ländern) findet sich bei Duch (2002: 494ff.), ein linguistischer Kommentar bei Pohl (2004b: 185ff.) (mit Erklärungen der typisch österreichischen Ausdrücke im Internet unter der URL <http://members.chello.at/heinz.pohl/TeilungRind.htm> (mit Erklärungen der typisch österreichischen Ausdrücke wie Beiried, Hüferl usw.).

italienischen Küche ist dies zu lesen. Weitere typisch österreichische Bezeichnungen sind *Faschiertes* (3.2), *Palatschinken* (3.6) und *Teebutter* (3.9); diese werden zusammen mit einigen anderen Gerichten weiter unten (in Abschnitt 3) genauer erklärt.

## 2. Der bairisch-österreichische Küchenwortschatz

In meinem Beitrag “Die gemeinsame Grundlage des bayerisch-österreichischen Küchenwortschatzes” (Pohl 2004a) habe ich die Gemeinsamkeiten und die Unterschiede zwischen der in Österreich und Bayern gebräuchlichen Küchenterminologie dargestellt. In der zu diesem Zweck von mir eingerichteten Datenbank für die österreichischen Küchenausdrücke, die sich entweder von denen der anderen deutschsprachigen Länder unterscheiden bzw. auch innerhalb Österreichs nicht einheitlich sind, werden 24% als bairisch-österreichisch und 14% als süddeutsch (zusammen 38%) ausgewiesen – gegenüber 33% (spezifisch) gesamtösterreichischen und 19% regionalen österreichischen Küchenausdrücken<sup>10</sup>. In den folgenden Übersichten sind die in Frage kommenden Wörter aufgelistet.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.1. Übersicht 1: Gemeinsamkeiten Österreichs mit Bayern

(im Wortschatz:) *bähen* ‘Gebäck leicht rösten, aufbacken’, *Beuge(r)l* ‘hörnchenartiges Backwerk’<sup>12</sup>, *Beuschel* ‘Lunge und Herz’, *Blaukraut* ‘Rotkohl’, *Blunzen* ‘Blutwurst’, *Brösel* ‘Paniermehl’, *Dampfl* ‘Vorteig für Germ- bzw. Hefeteig’, *Einbrenn(e)* ‘Mehlschwitze’<sup>13</sup>, *Erdäpfel*, *Erdäpfel-(Kartoffel-)püree* ‘-brei’, *Fleck*<sup>14</sup>, *Fleckerl* ‘quadratische oder rautenartige Nudelform bzw. Teigware’<sup>15</sup>, *Geröstete* ‘Bratkartoffeln’, *Golatsche* ‘viereckiges, mit Marmelade oder Topfen gefülltes Hefegebäck’<sup>16</sup>, *Grammeln* ‘Grieben’, *Grießkoch* ‘Grießbrei’, *Gugelhupf* ‘Napfkuchen’<sup>17</sup>, *Häuptelsalat* ‘Kopfsalat’, *Hendl* ‘(Brat-)Hähnchen,

<sup>10</sup> jetzt im Druck vorliegend (Pohl [2004b: 154ff., leicht überarbeitet im Druck b: 147ff.]), im Internet unter der URL: <http://members.chello.at/heinz.pohl/KuecheDeutschOesterr.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> Näheres vgl. Pohl 2004a.

<sup>12</sup> *Beuge(r)l* ‘hörnchenartiges Backwerk mit süßer Füllung’ (Zehetner 2005: 70, Ebner 1998: 64), Herkunft: eigentlich *Bäugel*, Diminutiv zu altem mundartlichen *Baug* ‘Spange, Ring’, zu *biegen* (Schmeller I: 214), auch von Wagner mit *biegen* und weiters mit *Bügel* in Verbindung gebracht; davon auch die jiddische Form *bejgl* (Wagner 1996: 60f.). Eine andere Deutung schlägt Zehetner vor: Verschriftung von mundartlich [baigal], das eigentlich *Bälgl(ein)* repräsentiert, zu *Balg*, nach der aufgeblasen wirkenden Form des Gebäcks (Zehetner 2005: 70).

<sup>13</sup> *Einbrenn(e)* ‘(meist dunkle) Mehlschwitze’; süddt., meist *die Einbrenn*, in Bayern *das* (Zehetner 2005: 111, Ebner 1998: 91; in Österreich auch *Einmach* ‘helle Einbrenn, Mehlschwitze’). – Nach Eichhoff (II: 69) ist *Einbrenn(e)* gleich verbreitet wie *Mehlschwitze*, doch letzteres gilt als Standard (lt. Duden). Das Rheinland, der gesamte Süden sowie Sachsen und Teile des Ostens haben *Einbrenn(e)*.

<sup>14</sup> *-fleck* bezeichnet verschiedene Speisen, v.a. (Fladen-)Kuchen, z.B. *Zwetschkenfleck* (Ebner 1998: 110, Wagner 1996: 241), dieses in Bayern jedoch gewöhnlich *Zwetschgendatschi* (vgl. Zehetner 2005: 390), aber auch *Kutteln* bzw. *Kaldaunen*, *Kuttelfleck*. Gemeinsam ist v.a. das Wort an sich mit allen seinen Bedeutungen (vgl. Schmeller I: 786f.). – In der Wiener Küche sind *Fleck* v.a. *Kuttelfleck* ‘Kaldaunen’ (Wagner 1996: 93), aber auch eine Mehlspeise (Hornung 2002: 382, Pohl 2004a: 324 & 334).

<sup>15</sup> *Fleckerl* ‘eine quadratische oder rautenförmige Nudelform bzw. Teigware’ (Zehetner 2005: 128, Ebner 1998: 110f.), Diminutiv zu vorigem, in Bayern als Suppeneinlage (Zehetner 2005, 128), in Österreich als *Kraut-* oder *Schinkenfleckerl* (Wagner 1996: 93 & 135).

<sup>16</sup> in Bayern erst seit der Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts verbreitet (vgl. Zehetner 2005: 155), bessere Schreibung *Kolatsche* (da aus tschech. *koláč* ‘Kuchen’)

<sup>17</sup> *Gugelhupf* ‘Napfkuchen’ (süddt., in der Schweiz auch *-hopf*). Nach Zehetner (2005: 162) ein “Satzname” nach dem Wunsch *Gugel, hupf!* ‘Gugel (= gewölbt, gerundetes Ding [auch Bergname aus lat. *cuculus* ‘Kapuze’, worauf Kogel beruht]), spring heraus (aus der Form)’, nach Hornung (2002: 470) *-hupf* zu *hüpfen* ‘sich heben’ (wegen des Hebens vom Germteig, weitere Deutungen vgl. Wagner [1996: 106]). Die typische Gugelhupfform hat ein Loch in der Mitte, was den Backvorgang beschleunigt. Früher buk man diesen Hefeteigkuchen in einer Rein und nannte ihn *Rein(d)ling* (vgl. *Rein*).

Huhn<sup>18</sup>, *Holler* ‘Holunder’, *-jung(e)* (in *Hühner-*, *Enten-* usw. statt *-klein*)<sup>19</sup>, *Kaffée* (Endbetonung!)<sup>20</sup>, *Kälbernes* ‘Kalbfleisch’, *Karfiol* ‘Blumenkohl’, *Katzengeschrei* (eine Fleischspeise), *Kletzen* ‘gedörnte, getrocknete Birne’, *Knödel* ‘Kloß’, *Koch (das)* ‘Brei, Mus’ (s.u.), *Kracherl* ‘kohlenensäurehaltige Limonade’, *Krapfen* ‘ein Hefengebäck (Berliner Pfannkuchen)’<sup>21</sup>, *Kraut (-kopf, -wickel* statt *Kohl-)*, *Kren* ‘Meerrettich’<sup>22</sup>, *Kutteln (Kuttelfleck)* ‘Kaldaunen’<sup>23</sup>, *Leberkäse*<sup>24</sup>, *Leberknödel*<sup>25</sup>, *Lebzelten / -kuchen* ‘Pfefferkuchen’, *Maschansker* (eine Apfelsorte)<sup>26</sup>, *Mus* ‘Brei, gekochtes Obst’, *Nachspeise* ‘Nachtisch’, *Nockerl* (neben regional *Nocke*) ‘Klößchen, Spätzle’<sup>27</sup>, *Orange* ‘Apfelsine’, *Pafesen* ‘Weißbrotscheiben mit Füllung, Arme Ritter’, *Porree* ‘Lauch’, *Püree* ‘Brei’ (dazu *pürieren*), *Radi* ‘Rettich’, *Rahm* ‘Sahne’<sup>28</sup>, *Rein(e)* ‘Kasserolle’<sup>29</sup>, *Ribisel* ‘Johannesbeere’, *Rollgerste* ‘Gerstengraupen’, *Scherzel* ‘Randstück vom Brotlaib bzw. -wecken’, *Schlegel* ‘Keule’, *Schnitzel*, *Schmarren*

<sup>18</sup> Diminutiv zu *Henne* (Zehetner 2005: 177, Ebner 1998: 146). Bei diesem Geflügel sind im Bair. nur Ableitungen von *Huhn* oder *Henne* üblich (nicht *Hahn*), z.B. *Hühnersuppe* oder *Brathendl*.

<sup>19</sup> v.a. in der Zusammensetzung *Hühnerjunges* ‘(zum Braten bzw. Backen ungeeignete) Teile des Huhnes zur Herstellung von Hühnersuppe’ (auch von anderem Geflügel, z.B. *Gansljunges*, weiters vom Reh und Hasen: *Hasenjunges*, vgl. Zehetner [2005: 200], Ebner [1998: 163])

<sup>20</sup> *Kaffée* in Bayern und Österreich immer mit Endbetonung; die Aussprache *Káffee* wird als norddt. empfunden (Zehetner 2005, 201, Ebner 1998, 164) und in Österreich mitunter scherzhaft (neben anderen Ausdrücken) für dünnen, schlechten Kaffee, der sonst (u.a.) *Muckefuck* heißt, verwendet

<sup>21</sup> *Krapfen* sind in Schmalz bzw. Backfett gebackene, meist mit Marmelade gefüllte (auch belegte) Kuchen aus Germ- bzw. Hefeteig, in weiten Teilen Deutschlands *Berliner [Pfannkuchen]* genannt (Zehetner 2005: 216, Ebner 1998: 187); in den österreichischen Alpenländern auch aus Nudelteig (z.B. Lesachtaler Kräpfen oder Schlutzkrapfen), regional in Stadt und Land recht verschieden, jedenfalls im Hinblick auf die Zubereitung und/oder äußere Form ein bairisch-österreichisches Wort. – Unter einem *Krapfen* versteht man (auch in Bayern und überhaupt im süddeutschen Raum) heute in erster Linie ein Süßgebäck aus Germteig, meist mit Marmelade gefüllt, so als *Faschingskrapfen* oder als *Bauernkrapfen* (auch in Fladen- oder Radform) allgemein bekannt. Doch die alte Bedeutung des Wortes *Krapfen* war eine andere, dies zeigt schon die Etymologie, mhd. *krapfe* ‘Haken’. Waren die Vorläufer der heutigen Krapfen hakenförmig (wie die schwäbischen krummen Krapfen)? Oder wurden sie aus der Teigmasse mit hakenförmigem Gerät “ausgestochen”, bevor sie in die Pfanne kamen? Die etymologischen Wörterbücher geben leider keine genauere Auskunft (vgl. u.a. Kluge 2002: 535, Hornung 2002: 440f. [“unklar”], Hepp 1970: 200f.).

<sup>22</sup> *Kren* ‘Meerrettich’ (*Armoracia rusticana*), gemeinbairisches Lehnwort aus dem Slaw. (gemeinslaw. *xrěнь*, russ. *hren*, slow. *hren*, tschech. *křen*, sorb. *krěń*; wahrscheinlich ist es vom Sorbischen oder Tschechischen aus ins Deutsche gelangt [Kluge 2002: 537]), gilt im allgemeinen als Austriazismus, ist aber süddeutsch (Ebner 1998: 187f.), genauer ostfränkisch und bairisch-österreichisch (vgl. Eichhoff II: 90), scheint nahezu nur der Freistaat Bayern und die Republik Österreich [einschließlich Südtirol] als Verbreitungsgebiet von *Kren* auf; verfeinert *Apfelkren* oder *Obers-/Rahmkren* (v.a. Wien). *Kren* ist in der bayerischen und österreichischen Küche sehr beliebt, das Wort selbst gilt nur in Österreich als hochsprachlich und sinkt in Bayern auf die mundartliche Ebene ab (Zehetner 2005: 217). – Das Wort *Meerrettich* beruht vermutlich auf einem alten *armoracea* ‘aus der Bretagne, die Bretonische’ (weil die Pflanze dort besonders gut gedeiht) und wurde später umgebildet; im Althochdeutschen hieß sie *merratih* (> mhd. *merretich*), im Altsächsischen *merredik*, um 1490 *merrich*, *mirrich* (Hepp 1970: 201). Im Deutschen wurde der Name an *Meer*, im Englischen an *Mähre* (daher engl. heute *horse-radish* ‘Ross-Rettich’) angeglichen (Kluge 2002: 609).

<sup>23</sup> *Kuttelfleck* (meist statt *Kutteln*, pl., süddt. für ‘Kaldaunen’) ‘gereinigter, gekochter Rindermagen (in Streifen geschnitten)’; an sich steht das Grundwort *Kutteln* für die Innerei, *Kuttelfleck* für die fertige Speise (Zehetner 2005: 221, Ebner 1998: 192), demnach auch für die Suppe *Flecksuppe* (Wagner 1996: 137). – Fern bleibt das österr. *Kudelnkraut*, auch *Kuttelnkraut* ‘Thymian’, verballhornt aus *Quendelnkraut* (Hornung 2002: 552).

<sup>24</sup> *Leberkäse* ‘Fleischgericht aus feingehacktem Fleisch u.a., das in einer Form gekocht wird’ (die genaue Herstellungsart ist teils nach den Firmen, teils regional verschieden, jedenfalls ohne Leber). Der Leberkäse gehört zu den spezifisch süddeutschen Spezialitäten und somit den Gemeinsamkeiten der bayerisch-österreichischen Küche (Zehetner 2005: 1226). Er wird nirgendwo in Bayern und Österreich mit Leber hergestellt (nach Kluge [2002: 563] ursprünglich Leberbeimengung); er heißt übrigens in Teilen von Tirol und einigen angrenzenden Gebieten Südwestdeutschlands *Fleischkäse* (aus dem Schweizerischen nach Kluge [2002: 563], vgl. auch Ebner [1998: 111]). Beide Bezeichnungen haben weder etwas mit Leber noch mit Käse zu tun, beides hängt mit der Form zusammen und ist bloß ein Name (das mhd. Wort *lêwer* bedeutet übrigens ‘Hügel, Grenzhügel’, vgl. den Bergnamen *Leber* bei Graz; entweder dieses Wort hat der bayerisch-österreichischen Köstlichkeit, die man im gesamten süddeutschen Raum schätzt, m.W. bis Frankfurt am Main, den Namen verliehen oder die Leber selbst, die in ihrer runden Form recht ähnlich ist. Der mittelhochdeutsche Vorläufer der Leber lautete *lêbere* und bedeutete auch ‘gestockte Masse’, weiters gibt es in alten Dichtungen ein sagenhaftes *Lebermeer* ‘geronnenes Meer’ (Hornung 2002: 567, Schmeller I: 1410).

‘Art Pfannenkuchen’, *Schwammerl* ‘Pilz’<sup>30</sup>, *Schwarzbeere* ‘Heidelbeere’, *Schweinernes* ‘Schweinefleisch’, *selchen* ‘räuchern’ (dazu *Selch(e)* ‘Rauchkammer’, *Geselchtes* ‘Rauchfleisch’)<sup>31</sup>, *Semmel* ‘Brötchen’, *Staubzucker* ‘Puderzucker’, *Strizel* / *Stritzel* ‘längliches Hefengebäck in geflochtener Form, Zopf’, *Sur* ‘Pökellake’ (dazu *Sur-fleisch*, *-braten*), *Tafelspitz*<sup>32</sup>, *Tellerfleisch*<sup>33</sup>, *Topfen* ‘Quark’<sup>34</sup>, *Vögerl* ‘Fleischroulade’, *Wecken* ‘längliches Brot’, *Weckerl* ‘kleines längliches Brötchen’, *Weichsel* ‘Sauerkirsche’, *Weinbeere* ‘Rosine’, *Zibebe* ‘große Rosine’, *Zuckerl* ‘Bonbon’, *Zwetschge*<sup>35</sup> (eine Kulturform der Pflaume).

(in der Grammatik, v.a. Genus und Wortbildung:) *Dotter* (*der*), *Gerstl*, *Gulasch* (*das*, nicht *der*), *Hendl*, *Kaffée*, (*das*) *Marmelad*<sup>36</sup>, (*der*) *Petersil*, *Ripperl*, *Rinds-braten*<sup>37</sup>, *Schweins-*

– Das Wort *Leberkäse* ist so bairisch-österreichisch wie der Germ- oder Hefeteig, die Nockerln, die Knödel, der Gugelhupf, die Einbrenn(e) und viele andere.

<sup>25</sup> bayerisch-österreichische Spezialität (Suppeneinlage)

<sup>26</sup> bei Zehetner (2005: 237) (hyperkorrekt als Lemma) *Marschansker* geschrieben (neben *Maschanzker* usw.) ‘Borsdorfer Apfel’, der in Böhmen und Mähren *Meißnischer Apfel* hieß, tschech. *mišenské jablko* und so ins Südostdeutsche gelangt (vgl. Hornung 2002: 580)

<sup>27</sup> *Nockerl*, regional auch *Nocke(n)* (z.B. *Kasnocken* in Salzburg) ‘Klößchen’, ist eine typisch bairische Speise aus Mehl, Ei, Milch und Fett, stückweise in Salzwasser gekocht (entspricht den kleineren alemannischen bzw. schwäbischen *Spätzle*, in Tirol *Spatzln*, in größerer Form *Nocken*, u.a. auch in Fett gebacken, vgl. Ebner [1998: 223]). Von der Form her ist die Bezeichnung Salzburger *Nockerln* berechtigt, aber die Speise selbst ist eher unter die Kategorie der ‘Aufläufe’ zu rechnen. – Wohl deutscher Herkunft, ursprünglich etwa ‘(kleiner, gedrungener) Klumpen, Knopf, Klotz’, auch Bergappellativ (vgl. Hornung 2002: 609, Kluge 2002: 654). Die (von Zehetner [2005: 253] und Wagner [1996: 161] angesprochene) lautliche Ähnlichkeit mit den italienischen *gnocchi* ist wohl zufällig, wobei diese allerdings küchentechnisch eine Rolle gespielt haben können.

<sup>28</sup> *Rahm* ‘Obers, Sahne’ (Zehetner 2005: 275, Ebner 1998: 255) ist das im Deutschen am weitesten verbreitete Wort (u.a. in Bayern, West- und Südösterreich, hingegen im Osten Österreichs Obers); unter *Rahm* versteht man in weiten Teilen Österreichs (v.a. im Osten, meist als Produktbezeichnung) eher ‘Sauerrahm’; bayer., kärntner. und westösterr. *Schlagrahm* ist synonym mit ostösterr. *Schlagobers*. Vgl. Eichhoff IV: 28 & 29. – *Schlagsahne* gilt in Österreich als ‘Reizwort’, das nur bundesdeutschen Gästen zuliebe verwendet wird, ohne daran zu denken, dass dieses Wort norddeutsch ist und das ursprünglich viel weiter verbreitete Wort *Rahm* verdrängt.

<sup>29</sup> *Rein(e)* ‘Kasserolle’ (Zehetner 2005: 280, Ebner 1998: 260), Diminutiv dazu *Reindl* ‘kleiner, flacher Kochtopf’; süddt., ahd. *rīn*, im Oberdt. ‘flaches, rundes, auch eckiges Kochgeschirr (zum Braten und Backen von Fleisch und Kuchen), (heute aus Metall, früher auch aus Ton)’, vgl. Schmeller (II: 112). Davon *Rein(d)ling* ‘Napfkuchen (aus Hefeteig)’, besonders in Kärnten heute noch sehr beliebt (für Bayern belegt im Kochbuch von Horn (1999: 124), ist aber sonst größtenteils durch den Gugelhupf abgelöst worden.

<sup>30</sup> *Schwammerl* ‘Pilz, Speisepilze aller Art’ (Zehetner 2005: 311 [*der* neben *das*], Ebner 1998: 290), in dieser Bedeutung bair.-österr., auch als Speise wie *Schwammerlsauce* oder in der Redewendung *Schwammerl suchen*, doch als allgemeine Sachbezeichnung, auch als Krankheit, ist das Wort *Pilz* durchaus auch in Bayern und Österreich geläufig, auch bei bestimmten Pilzarten, z.B. *Herrenpilz*, *Fliegenpilz* und dergleichen.

<sup>31</sup> *Selch(e) (die)* ‘Räucherammer’ (Zehetner 2005: 315, Ebner 1998: 294), *selchen* ‘räuchern’ (Zehetner 2005: 315, Ebner 1998: 294), ‘mit ganz wenig Rauch und in leichtem Luftzug trocknen’ (zu einem alten Wort für ‘trocknen’, weitere Herkunft unklar), *Geselchtes* ‘geräuchertes Fleisch’, weiters *Selchspeck*, *-fleisch*. – Die Ableitungen *Selcher* (und *Selcherei*) sind nur in Österreich geläufig; im alten Wien verstand man unter *Selcher* v.a. den *Schweinemetzger* (Wagner 1996: 210), daher die alte Bezeichnung der Metzgereien in Wien (bis in die 70er Jahre des 20. Jhdts.) *Fleischhauer* und *-selcher*.

<sup>32</sup> bayerisch-österreichische Spezialität (gekochtes Rindfleisch), vgl. 3.8.

<sup>33</sup> bayerisch-österreichische Spezialität (gekochtes Rindfleisch, in Wien auch Schweinefleisch)

<sup>34</sup> *Topfen* ‘Quark’ (Zehetner 2005: 340, Ebner 1998: 325). – *Topfen* geht auf *Topfkäse* (Wagner 1996: 222) bzw. ‘in einem Topf hergestellter Käse’ (Hornung 2002: 250) zurück. Das standarddeutsche Wort *Quark* (mhd. *twarc*, *quarc*) ist ein Lehnwort aus slaw. (sorb.) *twarog* (Kluge 2002: 734). – Karte vgl. Eichhoff IV: 30. Im Alemannischen heißt der Topfen *Zieger* (Alpenwort unklarer Herkunft, vgl. Kluge [2002: 1011] mit Literaturangaben, seit dem Mittelalter bekannt, Hepp [1970: 223]).

<sup>35</sup> in Österreich normalerweise *Zwetschke* geschrieben

<sup>36</sup> so nur mundartlich und z.T. in der Umgangssprache, hochsprachlich nur *die Marmelade* (vgl. Zehetner 2005: 237)

<sup>37</sup> und andere Zusammensetzungen, z.B. *-roulade* (vgl. Zehetner 2005: 282)

*braten*<sup>38</sup>, *Sulz* (statt *Sülze*), *Würstel*.

(in Bayern eher mundartlich-umgangssprachlich, z.T. veraltend [=†], in Österreich auch standard- bzw. fachsprachlich:) *Beuschel*, *Blunzen*, *Erdäpfel*, *Karfiol* †, *Koch* (*das*) †, *Kren*, *Ribisel* †, *Staubzucker* †, *Zibebe* †.

## 2.2. Übersicht 2: Unterschiede zwischen Österreich und Bayern

(wohl gemeinbairisch, aber doch in Bayern und in Österreich Verschiedenes bezeichnend:) *Baunzerl* ‘kleines, längliches Weißbrot, mürbes Milchbrot’ in Österreich, aber in Bayern ‘Fingernudeln aus Mehl- bzw. Kartoffelteig, die in der Pfanne gebraten werden’; *-fleck* bezeichnet verschiedene Speisen, v.a. (Fladen-)Kuchen, z.B. *Zwetschkenfleck* (in Bayern jedoch gewöhnlich *Zwetschgendatschi*), aber auch Kutteln; *Kipfe(r)l* ‘mondsichelförmiges Gebäck’ (aus Weiß- oder Milchbrotteig, auch anderen Teigen, z.T. mit Bestreuung [v.a. Mohn] oder Füllung [Mohn oder Nuss]); in Bayern auch ‘Semmel in länglicher Form’, doch dem österreichischen *Kipferl* entspricht in Bayern eher das *Hörndl* ‘Hörnchen’.

(Abweichungen in den Küchenbezeichnungen:) österr. *Beiried* ‘Roastbeef, Lende’ (3.1); österr. *Brockerl* ‘Rosenkohl, Kohlsprossen, (neuerdings auch:) Broccoli’; *Brotzeit* ‘Jause, Vesper’; österr. *Eierschwammerl*, (auch) *-schwamm* ‘Pfifferling’, in Bayern meist *Reherl* oder *Rehling*<sup>39</sup>; bayerisch *Einlaufsuppe* gegenüber österreichisch *Eintropfsuppe* ‘klare Suppenbrühe, in die man verquirltes Ei mit Mehl einlaufen/eintropfen lässt’; in Bayern *Feldsalat* oder *Nisselsalat*, in Österreich meist *Vogersalat*, regional auch *Rapunzel* und *Nisselsalat*; bayer. *Fleischpflanz(e)l* ‘Bulette, Frikadelle’; bayer. *gelbe Rübe* ‘Karotte’ (süddeutsch), in weiten Teilen Österreichs *Möhrlein* (gesprochen etwa [mërle] o.ä. zu *Möhre*); bayer. *Hackbraten* und *-fleisch* ‘Faschiertes’<sup>40</sup>; österr. *Hax(en)* (*der*, von hochsprachlich *die Hachse*) ‘Bein (Fuß)’, in Bayern (*die*) *Hax(e)* ‘Schenkelteil von Schwein und Kalb, Eisbein’ bzw. umgangssprachlich in Österreich (*der*) *Haxen* ‘Bein (des Menschen)’ (bayer. *Hax(e)* = österr. *Stelze*); bayer. *Hörndl* ‘Hörnchen, Beugel, Kipferl’ (in Österreich nur *Beuge(r)l* oder *Kipfe(r)l*); bayer. *der Jog(h)urt* (in Österreich nur *das*<sup>41</sup>); österr. (*das*) *Limonad*<sup>42</sup>; *Nisselsalat* s.o. *Feldsalat*; bayer. *Obatzter* ‘ein Brotaufstrich aus Topfen bzw. Quark mit Camembert und Gewürzen’ (entfernt vergleichbar in Österreich der *Liptauer*); österr. *Obers* ‘Rahm’<sup>43</sup>; *Panier* (*die*) österreichisch für bayer. *das Panad* ‘(die) Panade’; *Pfann(en)kuchen* in Österreich *Palatschinken*; *Radieserl* in Österreich nur *Radieschen* (*Radi*); *Reiberdatschi* ‘Kartoffelpuffer’ in Österreich (neben *Kartoffelpuffer*, *Reibekuchen* oder *Erdäpfelblattl*); bayer. *Rose* ‘Keule’ (vom Rind), in Österreich meist *Hüferschwanzel*); österr. *Schorrippe* ‘Rostbraten, Ried, Hochrippe’; bayr. *der Schwammerl* (in Österreich nur *das*)<sup>44</sup>; bayer. *Schweinshaxe(n)*, in Österreich (*Schweins-*)*Stelze*; bayer. *Suppengrün* ‘Suppengemüse’, so auch in Österreich neben *Wurzelwerk*; bayer. *Wiener* (*Würstel*) für österreichisch *Frankfurter* (so auch in Teilen Deutschlands).<sup>45</sup>

<sup>38</sup> und andere Zusammensetzungen, z.B. *-ripperl* ‘Schweinerippchen’ (vgl. Zehetner 2005: 312)

<sup>39</sup> kommt auch in Österreich (neben *Füchsling*) regional vor (vgl. Pohl 2004b: 67)

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. 3.2.

<sup>41</sup> in Wien auch *die*

<sup>42</sup> Zehetner (2005: 231); in Österreich nur *die Limonade*

<sup>43</sup> *Obers* war ursprünglich auf Ober- und Niederösterreich sowie den Großraum Wien beschränkt, hauptsächlich für den süßen Rahm; in Österreich hat sich in der Gastronomie weitgehend *Schlagobers* und *Sauerrahm* durchgesetzt, doch jetzt ist *Sahne* im Vordringen, v.a. in der Zusammensetzung *Kaffeesahne*.

<sup>44</sup> Die regionale Grundform *Schwammer* (*der*) kommt auch in Österreich vor.

<sup>45</sup> Doch solche Unterschiede gibt es auch innerhalb Österreichs, z.B. *Fleischkäse* (Tirol, sonst meist *Leberkäse*); *Strankerl* (Kärnten, sonst meist *Fisole*); westösterr. *Lüngerl*, (*der/die*) *Sellerie*, ostösterr. *Beuschel*, (*der*) *Zeller* oder *Seller*; in Vorarlberg *Blumenkohl*, *Hackfleisch* usw., oder eine andere Schichtung z.B. *Karotte* neben *Möhre* und (*gelbe*) *Rübe* bzw. *Heidel-* vs. *Schwarzbeere* oder *Moosbeere* bzw. *Nachtmahl* vs. *Nacht-* bzw. *Abendessen*.



### 2.3. Zusammenfassung

Die Übersicht 1 zeigt eindeutig, dass der bayerische und österreichische Küchenwortschatz hinsichtlich seiner Besonderheiten gegenüber dem gesamtdeutschen auf eine gemeinsame Grundlage zurückgeht und die Sprache der süddeutschen Küche widerspiegelt<sup>46</sup>, die sich erst seit dem 19. Jhd. durch die in Bayern und Österreich verschieden verlaufene politische Entwicklung kontinuierlich auseinander entwickelt hat, was bis heute anhält. So haben sich auch Regionalismen wie z.B. *Rehling/Reherl* oder *Haxe* in Bayern, *Eierschwammerl* oder *Stelze* in Österreich komplementär verteilt. Außerdem ist Bayern stärker vom binnendeutschen Raum beeinflusst worden als Österreich, daher sind viele gemeinsame bairisch-österreichische Ausdrücke im Freistaat auf die Stufe der Mundart oder der Umgangssprache herabgesunken, während sie in Österreich Standard sind. Österreich ist auch durch die anderen Regionalküchen der alten Doppelmonarchie beeinflusst worden<sup>47</sup>, von Wien aus haben sich vielfach andere Bezeichnungen durchgesetzt, die z.T. zwar bairisch, aber für Österreich typisch sind (z.B. *Eintropfsuppe*, *Vogerlsalat*, *Beiried* (3.1) usw.), z.T. aber Lehngut aus anderen Sprachen repräsentieren (z.B. *Faschiertes* (3.2) 'Hackfleisch', *Jause* 'Brotzeit', *Palatschinken* (3.6) 'Eierkuchen bzw. dünner Pfannenkuchen' usw.). Die Geschichte der Küche ist nicht nur Kulturgeschichte, sie ist auch Sprachgeschichte mit allen ihren regionalen Bezügen, da die Sprache der Küche an der Grenze zwischen Standardsprache und Dialekt steht<sup>48</sup>.

Österreich hat durch seine eigenstaatliche Tradition eine ganze Reihe von sprachlichen Besonderheiten entwickelt. Daher ist das österreichische Deutsch nicht nur "süddeutsch", sondern gleichzeitig eine staatsräumlich zu definierende Varietät des "Süddeutschen". Einerseits teilt Österreich sehr viele sprachliche Erscheinungen mit Bayern, hat aber andererseits v.a. auf der Ebene des Wortschatzes, insbesondere auf dem Gebiet der Gastronomie und Verwaltung, durchaus eigene Züge entwickelt. Die Eigenstaatlichkeit bringt eben auch eine eigene administrative Terminologie mit sich<sup>49</sup>; die seinerzeitige Verflechtung der deutschen Gebiete der alten Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie mit slawischen, romanischen und ungarischen Gebieten hat zu mannigfachen gegenseitigen Einflüssen auf dem Gebiet der Kultur geführt. Ausdruck dieser Kultur ist auch die Kochkunst; mit dieser Bereicherung der Küche sind viele neue Wörter in die österreichische Verkehrssprache gelangt, die dem Bairischen ursprünglich fremd waren und heute als typisch "österreichisch" gelten wie z.B. *Palatschinken* (3.6) 'Eierkuchen bzw. dünne Pfannenkuchen', *Fogosch* 'Zander' (ein schmackhafter Fisch) oder *Golatsche* (auch *K-*) 'eine Mehlspeise'. Mitunter sind so bairische Wörter in Österreich verdrängt worden, die früher aber gang und gäbe waren wie z.B. das *Pflanzl*, älter *Pfanzel* (< *Pfanzelte*) (vgl. 3.2. und 3.6.). Die österreichische Küche ist in der Hauptsache die "Wiener Küche"; über Wien als alte kaiserliche Haupt- und Residenzstadt sind die Neuerungen in der Kochkunst nach Österreich gekommen und von dort aus haben sich mit ihr die neuen Wörter ausgebreitet. Wurden diese "amtlich", reichen sie bis zur Staatsgrenze, wie z.B. die *Jause* 'Brotzeit, Zwischenmahlzeit'. Dies ist auch bei der traditionellen Aufteilung des Fleisches von Rind und Schwein der Fall: auf dem Boden der Alpenrepublik werden nicht nur die Fleischsorten z.T. anders bezeichnet als in der

<sup>46</sup> Dass ein so berühmtes Kochbuch wie die "Prato" als Süddeutsche Küche in die Literaturgeschichte der Kochkunst eingegangen ist, zeigt dies ganz deutlich. Noch in der Ausgabe 1938 wird ein Bogen Graz – Wien – München gespannt (z.B. Prato 1938: 11).

<sup>47</sup> wie Rokitansky 1908 (und andere Auflagen) deutlich zeigt

<sup>48</sup> Vgl. Pohl 2005a.

<sup>49</sup> Siehe dazu die Beispiele bei Ebner 1998, und im ÖWB. Allgemein dazu Pohl 1999a-b. – In der österreichischen Bevölkerung ist das Wissen über diese Unterschiede eher gering und vielfach von Stereotypen geprägt, vgl. u.a. <http://members.chello.at/heinz.pohl/EU-Liste.htm>.

Bundesrepublik, auch die Teilung ist nicht ganz identisch<sup>50</sup>.

Das österreichische Deutsch ist in vieler Hinsicht mit dem ganzen oberdeutschen Raum verbunden, wobei es in Österreich selbst ein Nord-/Süd- bzw. Ost-/Westgefälle gibt (Wiesinger 1988, 25f. und Pohl 2004b, 153). Die Wörter aus der Übersicht 1 sind gleichzeitig *Austriazismen und Bavarismen*, da sie sowohl in Österreich als auch in Bayern (mehr oder weniger) allgemein üblich sind. Den tiefgreifenden Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen dem bayerischen und österreichischen Bairischen stehen allerdings auch Unterschiede gegenüber, was die Übersicht 2 zeigt (vgl. 2.2.).

### 3. Die zehn bekanntesten kulinarischen Austriazismen

#### 3.1. Beiried

Unter *Beiried* (*die* oder *das*) versteht man in Österreich eine Rindfleischsorte: ‘Rippenstück, Roastbeef (Rindfleisch vom Rücken), ausgelöstes und im Ganzen belassenes Rindsrippenstück (kann dann in Scheiben geschnitten werden)’. Nach traditioneller Ansicht abgeleitet von *Ried* (s.u.), doch Schmeller (II: 60) verweist auf *Rieb-* (Aussprache [riə(b)] neben [riə(d)]), eine Variante von *Rippe* (II: 9, vgl. mhd. *rippe, ribbe, ribe, riebe* ‘Rippe’), woraus folgt, dass unsere *Ried* eher eine umgeformte *Rippe* ist. Dies wurde schon von Popowitsch (2004: 507) deutlich aufgezeigt: “*Riêd* (*die*). Dieser Namen zeigt, ... unterschiedliche Stücke des Rindfleisches an. Die breite Ried; an diesem Stück hängt etwas von Ribben; es sollte vielleicht breite Ribb heißen; wie wenn dieses Stück in Schwaben wirklich so heißt”. Auch bei Grimm heißt es “wol mit der form rieb, rippenstück ... zusammenhängend”. Möglicherweise ist das Wort *Beiried* die Fortsetzung von *Pälried* bzw. *Beulrieth*<sup>51</sup> (in mundartnaher Aussprache). Bei Popowitsch wird darüber hinaus zwischen *breiter Ried* (mit “etwas von Ribben”), *Pälried*, *Zwerchried* und *Kernried* (“an diesem Stücke hängt viel hartes Fett”) unterschieden. – Das *Ried* (älter *die*) ‘Hochrippe, Schorrippe’ ist eigentlich die Hälfte eines geschlachteten Tieres, genau genommen das Rippenstück, das durch die Spaltung des Rückgrats gewonnen wird.<sup>52</sup>

#### 3.2. Faschiertes

Das Wort *Faschiertes* ist ein “primärer” Austriazismus, der erst um 1900 allgemein geworden ist. Davor kommt das Wort immer neben anderen Bezeichnungen vor. So spricht Dorn 1827 von *Farschirten Carbonaden* und nennt daneben auch *Fleischpfanzel*, Stöckel nennt 1857 einen *gefüllten oder farschirten Rostbraten* (die Fülle wird dabei *Farsch* [d.i. franz. *farce*] genannt, Synonym *Gehäck*), die “Fleischlaibchen” heißen bei ihr jedoch *Fricadellen*, für die bei Seleskowitz 1896 *Haché-Filets* gebraucht wird. Erst im Gastronomischen Lexikon von 1908 steht als Entsprechung für “Deutsches Beefsteak” *faschierter Lungenbraten* bzw. *Fasch* = *Farce*. Ab Rokitansky 1908 setzt sich *Faschiertes* neben *Farciertes* (letzteres bei Prato) endgültig durch.

*Faschiertes* ist also ‘Hackfleisch’, alt *Gehäck* oder *Geheck*<sup>53</sup>, durch die “Faschiermaschine”

<sup>50</sup> Vgl. dazu die Übersichten in Pohl (2004b: 182ff.) sowie (laufend verbessert und ergänzt) im Internet unter der URL <http://members.chello.at/heinz.pohl/TeilungSchweinKalb.htm> bzw. <http://members.chello.at/heinz.pohl/TeilungRind.htm>.

<sup>51</sup> Im Kochbuch der Marianna Wieser (1796) wird eine ähnliche Bezeichnung verwendet (in Band I, S. 30): “Man nehme ein Stück Beulrieth mit Lungenbratel”...

<sup>52</sup> Wagner (1996: 186); etymologisch traditionell zu die *Ried(e)* ‘Flurstück, Geländeteil’ ma. [riəd] gestellt (so Hornung 2002: 632 & 145f.), ist aber eher eine Variante von *Rippe* (s.o.), auch *Rostbratenried* genannt (so Hess 2001: 43).

<sup>53</sup> Hepp 1970: 206

(den Fleischwolf) gedrehtes Fleisch<sup>54</sup> ; unseren *Fleischlaibchen* (oder *Fleischlaberln*) entsprechen in Bayern die *Fleischpflanzeln* (im nördlichen Deutschland meist *Frikadellen* (aus niederländ. *frikadel* zu franz. *fricandeau* ‘Pastetenfülle’)<sup>55</sup>, in und um Berlin *Buletten* (aus franz. *boulette* ‘Kügelchen’)<sup>56</sup> genannt, im Südwesten *Fleischküchle*, neben weiteren Bezeichnungen<sup>57</sup>. Dem bayerischen *Pflanzel* liegt ein älteres *Pfanzel* zugrunde, das selbst ein gekürztes *Pfanzelte* ‘Pfann(en)kuchen, in der Pfanne Gebackenes u.dgl.’<sup>58</sup> ist, ähnlich auch Dorn 1827. In älteren Kärntner Kochbüchern kommt dieses Wort ebenfalls vor, so z.B. *Blutpfanzl* (Pfannengericht aus Blutwurstmasse) oder *Hadn-* bzw. *Türkenpfanzl* (aus Buchweizen- oder Maismehl)<sup>59</sup>.

Das Wort *Faschiertes* ist entlehnt aus franz. *farce* ‘Fülle (aus fein gehackten Zutaten wie Fisch, Fleisch, Wild, Geflügel, Pilze)’<sup>60</sup>, ursprünglich deutsch-mundartlich [farš], später umgeformt bzw. angepasst<sup>61</sup>.

### 3.3. Gulasch

Die Schreibung *Gulasch* findet sich so seit Stöckel (1857: 40 [ohne Zugabe von Paprika]), davor schreibt Dorn (1827: 162)<sup>62</sup> “Ungarisches bzw. Wiener Kolaschfleisch”, gegen Ende des 19. Jhdts. begegnen eher die Nebenformen *Gulyás* (ungar. Originalschreibung) und *Gollasch* (mundartnah, so im Gastronomischen Lexikon von 1908 und bei Seleskowitz 1896). Die Speise selbst ist seit Ende des 18. Jhdts. zunächst in Ungarn überliefert. Früher sagte man *türkischer Pfeffer* statt *Paprika*.

Dieses Gericht ist ein ‘Paprikafleisch’, genauer ein ‘mit Paprika gewürztes Rindsragout’, (laut Duden “*das*, auch *der*”, in Österreich und Bayern nur “*das Gulasch*”), in alten Kochbüchern auch *Gulaschfleisch*<sup>63</sup>, das im Gegensatz zu seinem ungarischen Vorbild nicht mit Kartoffeln und Paprikaschoten zubereitet wird, sondern v.a. mit rotem Paprikapulver (daher entspricht dem *Wiener Gulasch* in der ungarischen Küche eher ein *Pörkölt*). Es gilt als Wiener Spezialität mit vielen (altösterreichischen) Varianten. Das Wort selbst kommt von ungarisch *gulya* ‘Rinderherde’, *gulyás* ‘Rinderhirt’, kam im 19. Jhd. über Pressburg (Bratislava, Pozsony) nach Wien, wo man die Paprikaschoten durch Pulver ersetzte und kehrte schließlich als *Pörkölt* wieder nach Ungarn zurück, das im Gegensatz zum “Wiener Saftgulasch” auch mit Schweine- oder Kalbfleisch hergestellt werden kann. Im Laufe der Zeit haben sich zahlreiche Varianten dieser Speise herausgebildet. Das *Wiener Rindsgulasch* ist ein für die österreichische Hauptstadt typisches Gericht. Das traditionelle *Gulasch* auf Wiener Art (*Saftgulyás*) wird aus geschnittenem *Wadschinken* (etwa 1 kg) und ca. 800 g weißem Zwiebel unter Beigabe von Paprikapulver, Majoran, Kümmel, Salz, etwas Tomatenmark und einem Spritzer Essig hergestellt. Das (sogenannte) *Ungarische Gulyás* (auch *Kesselgulyás* oder *Bograczgulyás* [recte *Bogrács-*] genannt) wird in Wien zusätzlich mit roten und grünen Paprikaschoten hergestellt; dazu reicht man *Csipecke*<sup>64</sup>. Es gibt in der Wiener Küche mehrere Varianten des Rindsgulasch mit ungarischen Epitheta, wie *Debreziner Gulyás* (Zugabe von

<sup>54</sup> Vgl. auch Sedlaczek 2004: 98f.

<sup>55</sup> Kluge 1999: 286f. & 2002: 317

<sup>56</sup> Kluge 1999: 144 & 2002: 159

<sup>57</sup> Vgl. Karte bei Eichhoff II: 65.

<sup>58</sup> Zehetner 2005: 128 & 265

<sup>59</sup> Miklau 1984: 36 & 70f.

<sup>60</sup> Birle s.a.: 142, Gorys 2002: 148

<sup>61</sup> Hornung 2002: 340 & 2002: 364

<sup>62</sup> mit dem Hinweis, nicht allzu viel Paprika bzw. türkischen Pfeffer zu verwenden, da er “von dem Deutschen nicht so, wie von dem Ungarn, vertragen wird”

<sup>63</sup> So Stöckel (1857: 40) und Lagler (1884: 77).

<sup>64</sup> eine Art Spätzle (aus Nudelteig gezupfte Nockerln, vgl. Wagner [1996: 72])

Debreciner Würstchen), *Andrássy-Gulyás* (mit *Haluschka* als Beilage)<sup>65</sup>, *Eszterházy-Gulyás* (Rahmgulasch mit Wurzelwerk, Kapern und Erbsen)<sup>66</sup>, *Károly-Gulyás* (mit Tomaten und würfelig geschnittenen Kartoffeln, wie das vorige und folgende nach bedeutenden ungarischen Magnatenfamilien benannt)<sup>67</sup>, *Pálffy-Gulyás* (mit in Butter gedünstetem Wurzelwerk)<sup>68</sup>, *Pester Gulyás* (mit *Tarhonya* und grünem Paprika)<sup>69</sup>. Das Wort *Gulasch* kommt auch in einigen Gerichten vor, die mit Sauerkraut hergestellt werden: *Szegediner Gulasch* und *Szekely-Gulasch*<sup>70</sup>.

### 3.4. Kaiserschmarren

Der *Kaiserschmarren* ist ein ‘Schmarren aus gerissenem Eier-(Omeletten-)teig’, der mit Staubzucker und oft auch mit Rosinen bestreut wird. Er wird in mehreren Legenden mit dem österreichischen Kaiserhaus in Zusammenhang gebracht<sup>71</sup> und ist inzwischen gemeindeutsch geworden<sup>72</sup>. Er erfreut sich nach wie vor größter Beliebtheit und ist wohl zu *Kaiser-* zu stellen, was (nicht nur) in der Wiener Küche für alles steht, was vom Feinsten und Besten ist<sup>73</sup>, wie u.a. auch das *Kaiserwetter* ‘sehr schönes Wetter’.

### 3.5. Lungenbraten

Unter *Lungenbraten* (ein typischer Austriazismus) versteht man in Österreich das ‘Filet’ bzw. den ‘Lendenbraten’. Die mundartliche Vermengung von *Lummel* ‘Lunge, Eingeweide’ und *Lumpl* (*der*, auch *das*) bzw. *Lummel* (*der*) ‘Lende(n)fleisch’ (vgl. auch mhd. *lumbel*, *lummel* ‘Lendenfleisch’, entlehnt aus lat. *lumbus*)<sup>74</sup> führte zu dieser eigenartigen Bezeichnung. Demnach spricht man von *Rindslungenbraten* ‘Rinderfilet’ und *Schweinslungenbraten* = *Jungfernbraten* ‘Schweinelendchen’.

### 3.6. Palatschinken

Das Wort *Palatschinken* ‘Eier-, Pfann(en)kuchen’ ist eher ostösterreichisch<sup>75</sup>, denn in Westösterreich wird es neben *Omelett(e)* verwendet, in Vorarlberg ist es ungebräuchlich wie auch in alten Kochbüchern, so z.B. bei Dorn 1827; sie nennt zwar zahlreiche ‘Eyerspeisen’, aber kein Gericht, das den heutigen *Palatschinken* im engeren Sinne entspräche. Bei Stöckel 1857 heißt es *Eierkuchen* oder *Omelette*, Seleskowitz 1896 spricht nur von *Omelette* oder *Fridatten* (sic!), *Palatschinken* finden sich erst bei Rokitansky (1908: 319) und im Gastronomischen Lexikon von 1908.

<sup>65</sup> Wagner 1996: 50 (*Haluschka* sind Art Nockerln, das Wort selbst ist slowakischer Herkunft)

<sup>66</sup> Wagner 1996: 84

<sup>67</sup> Wagner 1996: 127

<sup>68</sup> Wagner 1996, 166

<sup>69</sup> Wagner 1996: 173 (*Tarhonya* ist eine Art Teigreis auf ungarische Art)

<sup>70</sup> Nach Wagner (1996: 219) werden beide Speisen miteinander verwechselt; vielmehr scheint es aber so zu sein, dass das *Szegediner* und das *Szekely-Gulyás* die gleiche Speise sind, hingegen das *Szegediner Krautfleisch* eine andere (wenn auch beide sehr ähnlich sind). Das *Szekely-Gulyás* stammt nicht aus dem Szekler-Land (heute Rumänien, daher auch fälschlich oft *Szekler-Gulasch* genannt), sondern geht auf den Namen eines Budapester Rechtsanwalts zurück, dem man diese Speise in seinem Stammlokal servierte (Wagner *ibid.*).

<sup>71</sup> Vgl. Wagner 1996: 122, Prato/Wagner 2006: 427.

<sup>72</sup> Ammon 2004: 381

<sup>73</sup> Vgl. Wagner 1996: 122, Sedlaczek 2004: 186f., Grüner/Sedlaczek 107f.

<sup>74</sup> Kluge 2002: 584

<sup>75</sup> Nach Eichhoff (IV: 24) ist das Wort nur in Österreich verbreitet, v.a. in Wien und in den östlichen und südlichen Bundesländern einschließlich Salzburg. Tirol und Vorarlberg haben (*das*) *Omelett* (vgl. Pohl 2004b: 60 & 177, Sedlaczek 2004: 275f.); sonst schwankt das Genus von letzterem (*die* neben *das*). Im Gegensatz zu seinem französischen Pendant wird das österreichische bzw. Wiener Omelette mit Mehl zubereitet (Wagner 1996: 164).

Das Wort ist übers Tschechische (*palačinka*) oder Slowakische (*palacinka*) im 19. Jhdt. nach Wien gelangt; geschrieben wird es erstmals um 1900, allgemein wurde es erst nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg, so u.a. bei Prato (1938: 530f.) und Hess (1935: 349f.); das Wort stammt letzten Endes aus ungar. *palacsinta* ‘Eierkuchen’, das seinerseits auf rumän. *plăcintă* ‘eine Art Pfannkuchen’ beruht. Der im Slawischen ungewöhnliche Wortausgang *-nt-* wurde durch das geläufigere *-nk-* ersetzt. Die *Palatschinken* – durchaus den französischen *Crêpes* vergleichbar – gehen auf einen Fladenteig zurück, der früher (u.a. in Siebenbürgen / Transsilvanien / Erdély) auf heißen Steinen ausgebacken wurde. Noch heute findet man den “Feuerfleck” in Niederösterreich auf Jahrmärkten und Kirchtagen, der der “Ur-Palatschinke” ähnlich ist. In die Wiener Kochbuchliteratur ist das Wort *Palatschinke* erst im 19. Jhdt. verpflanzt worden, davor sprach man von *Pfann(en)kuchen* oder *Pfannzelten* – so in Bayern noch heute<sup>76</sup>. Der Unterschied zwischen *Palatschinken* und *Omelette* (einschließlich *Pfannkuchen*) ist die Dünnpfannigkeit ersterer<sup>77</sup>.

### 3.7 Sacher-Torte

Die *Sacher-Torte* ist eine Schokoladetorte (Teig aus Mehl, Butter, Eiern, Schokolade, Zucker) mit Marillen(= Aprikosen-)marmelade und Schokoglasur. Diese Torte wurde im Hause Metternich im Jahre 1832 vom Kocheleven Franz Sacher “erfunden”, dürfte aber auf ältere Vorbilder zurückgehen. Die originale Sachertorte hat die Marillenmarmelade direkt *unter* der Glasur. Während der Sohn des Erfinders, Eduard Sacher, im Jahre 1888 “nur” 200 bis 400 Torten täglich verkaufte und auch schon ins Ausland verschickte, werden heute vom Hotel Sacher (weltweit) jährlich 270 000 “Original-Sachertorten” abgesetzt – das sind täglich 700 bis 800 Torten.

### 3.8. Tafelspitz

Unter *Tafelspitz* – dem “König des Wiener Rindfleisches” – versteht man gekochtes Rindfleisch von der Hüfte, dieser Terminus ist auch in Bayern bekannt und breitet sich neuerdings aus<sup>78</sup>. Das Wort fehlt im Appetit-Lexikon von 1894 und im Gastronomischen Lexikon von 1908 und vielen anderen Kochbüchern (u.a. Prato und Rokitsansky), m.W. kommt es erstmals bei Hess 1911 neben *Tafelstück* vor<sup>79</sup>.

Die Position des Rindfleisches in der Küche des alten Wien ist umstritten, nach Christoph Wagner<sup>80</sup> gab es rund 25 Jahre vor dem ersten Erscheinen der “Prato” einen regelrechten “Hausfrauenstreit” ums Wiener Rindfleisch: Anna Dorn (1827) stand dem Sieden und Dämpfen des Rindfleisches kritisch gegenüber, während eine andere Kochbuchautorin (Anna Hofbauer in ihrem 1825 erschienenen *Wiener Kochbuch*) vorschlug, pro Monat 21-mal gekochtes Rindfleisch mit Beilage als Hauptgang zu servieren und gebratenes Fleisch nur sonntags. Nach Maier-Bruck (1975: 207ff.) war das Rindfleisch eher in den städtischen Haushalten verbreitet und wurde offensichtlich meist gesotten, in der Küche des Adels aber eher gebraten (wie in England und nach diesem Vorbild auch in Amerika). Erst im Laufe des

<sup>76</sup> Zehetner 2005: 263 (korrekt sei nur *Pfannenkuchen*)

<sup>77</sup> Vgl. Wagner 1996: 166. – *Pfann(en)kuchen* ist in der Wiener Küche ein im Backrohr fertiggestellter Kuchen aus einer Masse, die den Palatschinken ähnelt, wobei aber Eischnee verwendet wird.

<sup>78</sup> Dazu vgl. auch Sedlaczek (2004: 389). Beim Tafelspitz vermerkt er dies nicht, doch bei einigen anderen Wörtern zeigt Sedlaczek, dass manchmal auch süddeutsch-österreichische Wörter “erfolgreich” sind und sich ausbreiten, wie z.B. *eh* (S. 84), *halt* (S. 157f.), *servus* (S. 361), *Knödel* (S. 202), *Karotte* (S. 189f.); es sind bereits in den Norden gewandert *Strudel* (S. 386 – es gibt dafür kein eigenes binnen- oder norddeutsches Wort), *Maut* (S. 244f.), *Traktor* (S. 397) usw.

<sup>79</sup> Das *Tafelstück* ist aber ein anderes Fleischstück, wenn auch dem Tafelspitz benachbart, aber von etwas geringerer Qualität.

<sup>80</sup> Prato/Wagner 2006: 217

19. Jhdts. wurde das gekochte Rindfleisch wie z.B. der *Tafelspitz* in den gehobenen Schichten als Spezialität betrachtet, endgültig nach 1900, wobei die Vorliebe des Kaisers Franz Joseph für Siedefleisch wohl mitgespielt haben mag (s.u.). Dies stimmt auch mit Zahnhausens Beobachtungen überein, dass in diese Zeit die Kodifikation dessen, was man “Wiener Küche” nennt, fällt (wie oben in *l* näher ausgeführt). Doch in der kaiserlichen Hofküche war schon in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jhdts. gekochtes Rindfleisch Standard, wie die Speisenliste der kaiserlichen Hofoffiziere aus dem Jahre 1836 zeigt; damals wurde täglich gesottenes Rindfleisch mit wechselnden Beilagen serviert. Wirklich populär wurde das Siedefleisch schließlich durch Kaiser Franz Joseph, der es täglich – außer an Fasttagen – auf den Tisch bekam, was schließlich seine Untertanen nachahmten, sofern sie sich es leisten konnten<sup>81</sup>.

Bei Prato heißt das zu kochende Rindfleisch “Gesottenes Rindfleisch”, die dafür geeigneten “schönsten Tafelstücke sind von den Hinterfüßen und dem Schlusstücke...”, wobei *Tafelstück* mehr allgemein als ‘für die Tafel geeignetes Stück Rindfleisch’ gebraucht wird. Prato gibt verschiedene Arten des gesottenen, gedämpften und gedünsteten Rindfleisches an, auch nach italienischer (“Stufato”), englischer und französischer (“Bœuf à la Mode”) Art.

### 3.9. Teebutter

Unter *Teebutter* versteht man in Österreich ‘Markenbutter, Butter höchster Qualität’. Weit verbreitet ist die Ansicht, der Name komme vom verwendeten Markenzeichen derjenigen österreichischen Firma (Schärdinger)<sup>82</sup>, die eine Teekanne als Symbol verwendete. Wahrscheinlich ist aber dieses Symbol nicht die Ursache, sondern die Folge der Benennung, die wohl von einem missverstandenen franz. *tête du beurre* ‘beste, feinste Tafelbutter’ kommen könnte. Diese Bezeichnung *Teebutter* kam um 1900 auf, wobei hier sicher auch die Marke “Teschener Erzherzogliche Butter” mitgespielt hat – als Abkürzung. Im Jahre 1904 orderte das britische Königshaus erstmals Butter aus Schärding, diese wurde dort zu Teegebäck weiter verarbeitet, das man zum 5-Uhr-Tee servierte, daher auch im Englischen *tea-butter*. Daraus dürfte dann die Bezeichnung *Teebutter* entstanden sein, die heute der Butter der Güteklasse I nach dem österreichischen Lebensmittelkodex entspricht. Doch in den mir zugänglichen Verzeichnissen ist der Begriff *Teebutter* schon früher überliefert<sup>83</sup> und war keineswegs auf Österreich beschränkt (also ursprünglich kein Austriazismus). Den Zusammenhang mit der altösterreich. “Teschener Erzherzoglichen Butter”, abgekürzt “Tee-Butter” hat Newerkla (2006) in einem sehr inhaltsreichen Beitrag aufgezeigt. Diese Firma hat übrigens auch den legendären *Brimsen* (ein Schafkäse aus den Karpaten) an den Wiener Hof geliefert.

Auch in den anderen Sprachen der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie wurde diese Buttersorte mit Lehnübersetzungen so genannt, z.B. tschech. *čajové máslo*, ung. *teavaj*. Diese Bezeichnung hat auch bei Entstehung der Margarine-Marke *Thea* eine Rolle gespielt. Da ung. *tej* zufällig ‘Milch’ bedeutet, ist auch ein Zusammenhang mit der ungar. Bezeichnung

<sup>81</sup> Prato/Wagner 2006: 218

<sup>82</sup> So WBÖ (III 1558 sub Butter). Im Jahr 1900 schlossen sich rührige Butter produzierende Landwirte im oberösterreichischen Schärding zusammen und gründeten die erste österreichische “Zentral Theebutter Verkaufsgenossenschaft”. Zu dieser Zeit interessierte sich auch das englische Königshaus erstmals für Butter aus Schärding und begann, sie regelmäßig zu importieren. Denn der Ruhm der Schärdinger Butterherstellung war über die Landesgrenzen bis auf die Insel gedrungen: Eine besonders hochwertige Sorte sollte den Royals als Zutat für das feine Teegebäck dienen, das man zum traditionellen Fünf-Uhr-Tee zu servieren pflegte. Das Teegebäck schmeckte offenbar köstlich, und so entstand die Bezeichnung *Theebutter*, später *Teebutter*, mit der sich die Verkaufsgenossenschaft rühmte und die sich allgemein einbürgerte. Die Teebutter erhielt 1901 auf Kochkunstausstellungen in Paris und London einen großen Preis und eine Goldmedaille. Heute gilt sie nach den Bestimmungen des österreichischen Lebensmittelgesetzes als Butter der Güteklasse I (vgl. Newerkla 2006).

<sup>83</sup> Erstmals ist er im *Appetit-Lexikon* (S. 80) und dann auch im *Gastronomischen Lexikon* (S. 476) enthalten.

vermutet worden, also ‘Milchbutter’. Es gibt eine Namensparallele zur *Teebutter*, die *Teewurst*: besonders bekannt ist die Rügenwalder, eine Streichmettwurst, die seit über hundert Jahren nach alten Rezepten hergestellt wird.<sup>84</sup>

### 3.10. Wiener Schnitzel

Das Wort *Schnitzel* ist etymologisch wohl aus *Schnitzelein* entstanden und von *der Schnitzel* in *Holz-*, *Papierschnitzel* zu trennen, denn fast alle Wörter auf *-el* von Verbalstamm sind maskulin (s.u.). Im 19. Jhd. begegnet es eher selten, es überwiegt noch der Gebrauch von *Schnitz* und *Schnitzchen* gegenüber *Schnitzel*, das sich erst im (frühen) 20. Jhd. endgültig durchgesetzt hat.<sup>85</sup> Das Wort *Schnitzel* gehört heute zum deutschen Standardwortschatz und wird – wie die meisten Wörterbucheinträge jüngerer Datums zeigen – in erster Linie als Speisenbezeichnung verwendet, doch die anderen Bedeutungen sind alle noch lebendig und greifbar. Allerdings zeigt ein Blick in ältere Kochbücher, dass die Spezialisierung auf die beliebte Fleischspeise erst jüngerer Datums ist, im 19. Jhd. waren die Synonyme *Schnitz* und *Schnitzchen* offensichtlich gebräuchlicher.<sup>86</sup> In den Kochbüchern, die älter als das 18. Jhd. sind, konnte ich das Wort überhaupt nicht finden, auch bei Wiswe (1970) nicht. Schmeller (II: 592) verzeichnet nur *Schnitz (der)* samt einigen Ableitungen, auch bei Popowitsch (2004), dem ersten Erforscher der deutschen Mundarten und damit auch des österreichisch-deutschen Sprachgutes, gibt es m.W. die erste Erwähnung als “Pfaffenschnizel (das). So heißen bei dem gebratenen Geflügel die Schnize, welche man im Vorschneiden von der Brust nach der Länge herabschneidet“, aber keine Eintragung *Schnitz* oder *Schnitzel* usw.<sup>87</sup>

Es entsteht somit der Eindruck, dass man das Wort *Schnitz* (sowie *Schnitzel*) damals in der österreichischen Küchensprache noch nicht verwendet hat, denn Popowitsch ist im Küchenbereich recht penibel. Auch in den “Kochbuchklassikern” des 19. Jhdts. kommt das Wort *Schnitzel* noch nicht häufig vor. Im Kochbuch Prato 1879 und 1907 überwiegt noch der Gebrauch von *Schnitz* und *Schnitzchen* gegenüber *Schnitzel*, das bei Rokitansky bereits geläufiger ist. Hess 1911 verwendet nur mehr *Schnitzel*, desgleichen alle jüngeren Kochbücher, nur Prato 1938 schreibt noch gelegentlich *Schnitzchen*. Das bekannteste *Schnitzel*, das *Wiener Schnitzel*, kommt bei Prato 1879 u. 1907 überhaupt nicht vor; es wird 1879/1907 als “eingebröselte Kalbschnitze” (sic! Plural) bezeichnet – ein Hinweis darauf, dass sich die Benennung “Wiener Schnitzel” erst im 20. Jhd. endgültig durchgesetzt hat. Dies stellt auch Maier-Bruck in seinem “Sacher-Kochbuch” fest, zunächst *Kälberne Schnitzel*, *Kalbsschnitzel*, im letzten Drittel des 19. Jhdts. *Panierte Schnitzel* und erst bei Rokitansky 1908 *Wiener Schnitzel*. Für Kretschmer (1918) war es aber offensichtlich bereits so geläufig, dass es in seine “Wortgeographie” nicht aufgenommen wurde, ein Hinweis darauf, dass es Anfang des 20. Jhdts. bereits fester Bestandteil der deutschen Sprache war. In diese Zeit fällt auch die Kodifikation dessen, was man “Wiener Küche” nennt, worauf ich beim *Tafelspitz* (3.8) hingewiesen habe. Man kann annehmen, dass die Grundbedeutung in der Küche ‘abgeschnittenes Stück Fleisch’ war, z.T. synonym mit *Cotelette* (auch *Steak*, *Karbonade* usw.). Wenn man bedenkt, dass *Schnitzel* Neutrum ist und daneben auch das alte Synonym *Schnitzchen* vorkommt, liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass *Schnitzel* auf einem bairisch-

<sup>84</sup> 1903 gab ihr der damalige Firmeninhaber, Metzgermeister Carl Müller in Rügenwalde in Pommern, den Namen *Teewurst* – ein Hinweis darauf, dass damals Tee etwas Besonderes war. Rügenwalde heißt heute Darłowo und liegt in Polen, die Rügenwalder Wurstfabrik stellt heute ihre Würste in Bad Zwischenahn (Niedersachsen) her, mit ihrem geschützten Markenzeichen, der Mühle; die Produktion floriert.

<sup>85</sup> Den frühesten Beleg als *Gebachene Schnitzeln* findet man im Kleinen Wiener Kochbuch von 1798, weiters als *Rindschnitzel* bei Dorn 1827, geläufig bei Prato spätestens ab 1879, weiters bei Rettigová 1867, erster Wörterbucheintrag 1873 (Hügel, Der Wiener Dialect), bei Grimm in Band IX (1899), aber nicht im Appetit-Lexikon von 1894. Als *Wiener Schnitzel* (vom Kalb) m.W. erstmals genannt in einem Böhmischem Kochbuch (Lagler 1884: 85f.) sowie bei Rokitansky 1908 und im Gastronomischen Lexikon von 1908.

<sup>86</sup> wie die Übersicht bei Pohl (2005b: 278ff.) zeigt

<sup>87</sup> Popowitsch (2004: 454), Näheres vgl. Pohl (2005b: 265, im Druck b: 106f. & 127f.)

österreichischen mundartlichen \**Schnitzelein* beruht. Daneben besteht ein Maskulinum *der Schnitzel*; es gibt in der deutschen Wortbildung eine ganze Reihe von Ableitungen auf *-el* mit maskulinem Genus, z.B. *Griffel, Hebel, Stößel, Ärmel, Knödel* usw. (selten als Femininum wie z.B. *Eichel*), also teils von Verben, teils von Substantiven abgeleitet.<sup>88</sup> *Der Schnitzel* könnte also von *Schnitz* abgeleitet sein nach dem Muster von *Ärmel* zu *Arm* oder *Stängel* zu *Stange*, hingegen ist *das Schnitzel* das realisierte bairische \**Schnitzelein*, das in der als gehobener geltenden Form *Schnitzchen* zunächst Eingang in die Sprache der Kochbücher gefunden hat, bis dann die umgangssprachliche Form *Schnitzel* gegen Ende des 19. Jhd. “nachgerückt” ist. Aus diesen wortgeschichtlichen Angaben geht hervor, dass *das Schnitzel*

- ein relativ junges Wort (zunächst für die zur Weiterverarbeitung vorgesehene Fleischscheibe) in der geschriebenen Fachsprache der Küche ist
- und als Küchenterminus von Österreich ausgegangen ist und zu einem “erfolgreichen” Austriazismus wurde, und zwar zu einem “unspezifischen Austriazismus” (im Sinne Ammons), was ja nicht zuletzt durch die Bezeichnung *Wiener Schnitzel* unterstrichen wird.

Von seiner soziokulturellen Struktur (Verzehr- und Produktionssituation) her, ist das “Wiener Schnitzel” ein frühbürgerliches Gericht – frühbürgerlich in dem Sinn, dass es vollständig in der Küche zubereitet wurde, d.h. nicht tranchiert oder auf einer Tafel “zwischenlagert” werden musste. Weiters ist es ein Gericht, das sich aus einer typischen bäuerlich-bürgerlichen Produktionssituation entwickelte: Vorhandensein von hoch erhitzbarem tierischen Fett, Weißbrot/Weißgebäck, Hühner- und Rinderhaltung. Die Art der Zubereitung, paniert und “schwimmend” im Fett gebacken, teilt es mit einer Vielzahl anderer Speisen, die es in dieser Form nur in der Wiener Küche gibt. Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts scheint dieses Gericht analog zum *Wiener Backhendel* den Namen *Wiener Schnitzel* bekommen zu haben. Diese Speisen sind alle deutsch benannt und somit autochthon, während die meisten typisch Wiener Speisen, die nachweislich “importiert” wurden, Lehnwörter sind, wie z.B. *Palatschinken* (3.6), *Gulasch* (3.3), *Buchteln, Pafesen, Frittaten, Powidl* usw.<sup>89</sup> Neue Bezeichnungen erscheinen in den Kochbüchern des 19. Jhdts. zunächst wie im Original zitiert, z.B. *Steak, Rumpsteak, Farce* (woraus *fasch-* in *Faschiertes* (3.2) usw.), *Boeuf à la Mode, Cotelette, Compote, Roastbeef, Tornedos, Entrecôte* usw. Die Grundlage der bodenständigen Speisen ist also sprachlich der bairisch-österreichische Dialekt.

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<sup>88</sup> Nach Kluge (2002: 238) ist *-el* ein Suffix zur Bildung von denominalen Substantiven (heute unproduktiv). In dieser Form erscheinen im Neuhochdeutschen Suffixe verschiedener Herkunft: (1) alte Diminutivbildungen, die im Genus ihrem Grundwort folgen, z.B. *Ärmel*; (2) alte Nomina agentis, z.B. *Büttel*; (3) mit diesen ursprungsgleich Nomina instrumenti (Gerätebezeichnungen), die maskulin oder feminin sein können, z.B. *Meißel*; (4) Adjektivbildungen (keine klaren Beispiele im Neuhochdeutschen).

<sup>89</sup> Daher ist die Behauptung, das Wiener Schnitzel sei eine Adaption des italienischen “costoletta alla milanese”, zurückzuweisen (dazu Pohl 2005b, besonders S. 271f. mit Literaturangaben).



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**OSSERVAZIONI ETIMOLOGICHE SULLE ESPRESSIONI PER IL LAMPONE  
NELLA ROMANIA GALLICA CISALPINA**

## Abstract

The article [title in English: “Etymological Observations on the Names for the Raspberry in Cisalpine Gallo-Romance”] first revises the etymology of a number of names for the raspberry in Northern Italian and Rhaeto-Romance dialects discussed in the *Lessico Etimologico Italiano* (LEI). This first group of names goes back to a root *\*amp-*. Apart from the four types given in the LEI—*\*amp* (1) with suffix, (2) with preceding sounds, (3) with both suffix and preceding sounds, and (4) crossed with Lat. POMUM ‘fruit’—some terms seem to be crossed with OHG. *peri* ‘berry,’ some with Lat. UVA ‘berry,’ and some with Celt. *\*agranio* ‘sloe.’ Current hypotheses for the type *f(r)ambós*, a type also known in French dialects, are criticized and a new etymology is suggested, which can be given as *\*for-amb-ēsia*, i.e. a Celtic word for ‘very’ + a Celtic or pre-Latin color term ‘red’ + a suffix frequently found attached to color terms of Celtic origin. Other lexical types, not including the stem *\*amp*, seem to originate in pre-Lat./Celt. *\*bulluk(e)a* ‘sloe,’ pre-Lat. *\*mani* ‘strawberry,’ Lat. MULLEA ‘reddish,’ pre-Lat. *\*matuθθa* ‘strawberry?,’ Lat. ROSSA ‘red.’ Finally, the Lombard form *dren*, classified as going back *\*dragenos* ‘thorn’ by the *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (FEW), is rather viewed as a derivate of Celt. *\*derkos* ‘berry’ or *\*dregos* ‘red.’

§1. Quando si consultano le bibliografie onomasiologiche di Quadri e di Corrà, si constata che manca ancora uno studio sulle espressioni cisalpine per il lampone (*Rubus idaeus* L.), mentre già ne esistono per altre bacche, come il mirtillo (AIS 613) o la mora (AIS 609)<sup>1</sup>: tre bacche che sono talvolta confuse l’una per l’altra dal popolo (ad es. in alcuni paesi grigionesi, ticinesi e lobardi). Questo contributo onomasiologico vuole illustrare la diversità delle espressioni per *Rubus idaeus* e proporre alcune nuove interpretazioni etimologiche.

§2. La carta 611 dell’AIS mostra le denominazioni per il lampone (cfr. anche Penzig 1924: 418f., Pellegrini/Zamboni 1982: 546f.). Si può osservare l’esistenza di una ricca serie di tipi lessicali, mentre altre bacche come, ad esempio, la mora e la fragola, sono designate in maniera chiaramente meno molteplice. La maggioranza delle espressioni per il lampone dall’est all’ovest della Cisalpina (incluse le regioni “retoromanze”) risalgono direttamente o indirettamente ad una radice prelatina *amp-*. Questa radice serve ugualmente a denominare altri frutti (e frutici) alpini come il mirtillo (specie rosso), l’uva orsina ed il rovo di montagna. Quindi è possibile che il significato originario fosse un termine designante un colore, cioè ‘rosso’. Le parole di questo tipo sono ampiamente illustrate e profondamente analizzate nel grande dizionario etimologico della cosiddetta Italo-romania, cioè il LEI (II: 919-934). Sono da distinguere vari sottotipi: (1) *amp-* con suffisso, (2) *-amp* con suoni precedenti, (3) *-amp-* con suoni precedenti e suffisso, (4) l’incrocio di *amp-* e lat. POMUM ‘frutto’ (una volta perfino in combinazione con lat. MORA ‘mora (di rovo)’): lomb.or. *morcampómα*).

§3. Tuttavia, mi pare necessario commentare alcune delle forme che il LEI enumera sotto il lemma *\*amp-/\*amb-*. Appaiono molto curiose le seguenti attestazioni liguri (LEI II: 920-922): *piele* (anche nel Piemonte, qui invece nel senso di ‘pera cervina’ o ‘mirtillo’), *piöe*, *puele*. I termini piemontesi con il significato ‘pera’ sembrano risalire piuttosto al lat. PIRUS ‘pera’ con lambdazismo di *r*. Il significato ‘mirtillo’ si esplica per via di trasferimento coiponimico ed afaresi della prima sillaba.

<sup>1</sup> Per questi concetti cfr. le note bibliografiche e gli studi in Grzega (in stampa), s.v. *\*agranio*, *\*altione*, *\*amp-*, *\*ätro-*, *\*brūk(k)os*, *\*ker-*, *\*dragenos*, *\*dregos*, *\*glas(t)-*, *\*maiosta*, *\*matuθθa*, particolarmente i lavori di Bertoldi 1924/1925, Sganzi 1933-1934 e Pellegrini 1976.

§4. Altre forme mostrano *r*: berg. *ämpér*, b.engad. *ampér*, lig.occ. *émpra* e fass. *ampieria* (EWD I: 97). Per la forma fassana il LEI (II: 921 ann. 5) suppone un'incrocio con lad. *piéria* 'fragola'. Questa *piéria* viene dal a.ted.a. *peri* 'baca', che si ritrova anche nelle forme engadine e bergamasche.

§5. Altri casi di trasferimento coiponimico sono i tipi friulani *fráule*, originariamente 'fragola', i *sdróge*, originariamente 'mirtillo rosso' ("niente altro che droga, 'perché con le sue bacche molto acide si fanno conserve che in qualche luogo si servono come contorno alla carne' [...] (e il mirtillo dà pure un sapore agro al vino)" [Pellegrini/Zamboni 1982: 546]).

§6. Sotto la parte 1.c.α. del LEI, tipo *ampólla*, sono enumerate le forme Calizzano *ampǽve*, petr. *αμπόα*, savon. *ampóe* e Masone *anpúe* (LEI II: 922). Ma cosa ne è stato di *-ll-*? Mi pare che qui si tratti di continuatori da un lat. *uva* 'bacca'.

§7. Accanto a *lampone*, con l'afaresi della *l-* dall'articolo determinativo, esistono anche le forme Prosito *rampún*, emil.occ. *mampón* e lunig. *vampún*. La prima di queste forme mostra probabilmente un semplice rotacismo della *l-* iniziale. Per quanto concerne la seconda, sono più o meno d'accordo con il LEI (II: 923), che scrive in un'annotazione: "Prodotto da reduplicazione assimilatoria: più difficile un eco di prelat. \**mani* ['lampone, fragola']"<sup>2</sup>. La terza forma è difficile da spiegare: forse si tratta di una dissimilazione di *mampón* (anche se, naturalmente, *v* è labiodentale e non bilabiale). Si devono aggiungere a questo etimo le forme grigionesi *ampa* e (am)*puauna* (cfr. DRG I: 243sgg., HWR I: 53sg., HWR II: 622).

§8. Un'altra espressione, lomb.alp. *grignapon*, risale probabilmente al celtico \**agrano*/\**agrino*, originariamente 'prugnola' (e questo è infatti il significato principale dei continuatori romanzi). La seconda parte della parola lombarda suggerisce che si tratti di un incrocio sia con \**amp(on)*, sia con il lat. *POMUM* (cfr. LEI II: 928 ann. 25).

§9. La sezione 2.b. nel LEI è riservata al tipo *ambros* (lomb.or.). "Il radicale *ambr-* [...] si connette con le forme gallorom. [...]; *ambros* [...] non si può staccare dal tipo *fambros* 'lampone', diffuso dalla Francia nell'it.sett. ma forse avvicinato per etimologia popolare a *ambrosia/ambrosina* 'il cibo degli Dei'." L'etimologia di *fambrós*, *farambós*, *frambós* – tipo che si trova naturalmente anche nel fr. *framboise*, nel sp. *frambuesa* (dal francese) – è infatti molto discussa. Sono d'accordo con il LEI (II: 932sg.), il quale non crede ad un etimo germanico *bram-basi* 'baca di pruno, mora', che era la tesi di Horning e che è sempre difesa per esempio da Bloch/Wartburg (1994: 274), almeno per quanto riguarda il francese. Le mie obiezioni sono le seguenti:

(1) *fr-* è molto più distribuito che *br-* nella Transalpina e nella Cisalpina, infatti l'ALF (No. 609) non registra nessun caso con *br-*, nella Cisalpina l' AIS solo il P. 356 [= San Stino di Livenza, prov. Venezia] mostra *br-*; dunque, è molto più probabile che *fr-* sia più antico, e quindi anche la variante originale;

(2) anche per quanto concerne il suffisso, quasi tutta la Transalpina (cfr. ALF 609) ed una grande parte delle rispettive zone cisalpine mostrano un tipo *frãmbwáz*, un tipo che, dal punto di vista fonetico (compreso l'accento), deve risalire ad un etimo \**frãmbésia* e non ad un germanico \**bram-basi*, che, del resto, non significa mai la mora nella Cisalpina e solo molto raramente nella Transalpina;

(3) non mi pare chiaro perché le espressioni per il lampone debbano provenire dal germanico, poiché i termini per le bacche (ed altre piante) sono più spesso di origine prelatina. Nella Cisalpina le varianti suddette – insieme con i sottotipi *frámbole*, *frámboe* e *brámboe* – si

<sup>2</sup> Il tipo lombardo alpino e prealpino *mampómola* rappresenta invece un incrocio di \**mani-* e \**amp-*.

trovano in una zona continua dal Piemonte nordorientale attraverso la Lombardia centrale, la Lombardia meridionale, l'Emilia settentrionale, il Veneto, fino ai Friuli (e forme eriditarie e forme prestate). Inoltre, si è conservato un continuatore isolato nella Liguria occidentale (*frambōḻe*), che può essere prestato al francese. Il LEI non dà una spiegazione etimologica. Come analizzare allora questo tipo che dovrebbe provenire da un *\*frambēsia*? È interessante notare che *-ēsia* è un suffisso che appare frequentemente in parole di origine celtica/gallica, ad es. *ardēsia* 'ardesia' (FEW XXV: 152sgg.), *belisia* 'scintilla' (FEW I: 322, REW 1027a), *cervēsia* 'birra gallica' (FEW II,1: 612sg., DRG VII: 90, REW 1830), *\*yindēsia* 'donna bianca [mitologica]; pesce bianco' (FEW XIV: 471)<sup>3</sup>. Però non riesco a trovare una base *\*framb-* nel LEIA, neanche in altri dizionari celtici. Se si guarda la semantica delle basi di questi etimi, si constata che si tratta (probabilmente tutte) di termini di colori: *\*ard-/art-/atr-* 'nero' (cfr. cimr. *arddu* 'nerissimo' [Anreiter 1992: 67])<sup>4</sup>, *\*bel-* 'luminoso' (FEW I: 322), *\*yind-* 'bianco' (cfr. irl. *find* [FEW XIV: 471, Lambert 1994: 199]). Per quanto riguarda la radice *cerv-* non è completamente chiara l'origine. Ma Pokorny (1948/49: 259) considera una parentela con lat. *cervus* 'cervo' e la interpreta come 'bevanda di colore dei cervi'. Quindi, anche qui subentra un termine che si riferisce ad un colore. Con questa considerazione non mi pare erroneo vedere nella radice *\*framb-* una formazione più antica *\*for-amb-*, con la radice già conosciuta *amb-/amp-*, che potrebbe significare, come ho già detto, 'rosso'. Se questa interpretazione venisse accettata, il prefisso dovrebbe essere l'avverbio celtico per 'molto'. Questa tesi viene dedotta dall'esistenza del parallelismo morfologico nel cimr.m. *for-derg* 'molto rosso', con la vera parola celtica per 'rosso'. Penso che quest'etimo gallico (o meglio: diagallico) soddisfi le esigenze fonetiche, morfologiche, semantiche e geografiche date dai continuatori romanzi.

§10. Tuttavia restano ancora inspiegate alcune forme. Colpisce che a qualche espressione manchi la *-l-*. Credo che qui si debba cercare un'altra etimologia. A mio parere, questo tipo deve essere segmentato in *(fr)amb-* + *-oe*. Mi sembra che la seconda parte continui un lat. *UVA* 'bacca', che si nasconde anche nel frl. *úe di frámbole* 'lampone' (ASLEF 3756).

§11. Una nota sulla formazione delle parole con *POMUM*, *peri* o *UVA* quale secondo elemento. Normalmente per l'italiano – come per le altre lingue romanze – la successione "sostantivo - aggettivo" in composizioni è piuttosto insolita, ma non inimmaginabile. Si vede ad esempio *biancospino* (un'altra pianta con un termine di colore in prima posizione). Inoltre, non si deve dimenticare la possibilità di un influsso dalle altre lingue: al nord il germanico/tedesco, in tutta la Cisalpina in generale il gallico/celtico (nel quale l'ordine "sostantivo - aggettivo" non è così rara nelle composizioni [cfr. Pedersen 1909-1913: II,113f.]).

§12. Abbiamo già visto che *amp-* si incrocia talvolta con il lat. *POMUM* 'frutto', e talvolta con il lat. *MŌRA/MŌRUM* 'mora (di rovo)'<sup>5</sup>. Però, questi due etimi si sono conservati anche senza *amp-*. Il P. 216 dell' AIS (Vetto, prov. Sondrio) mostra la forma *pumét* (con morfema diminutivo, allora 'piccolo frutto'<sup>6</sup>), il P. 326 (Claut, prov. Udine) *mōra de bōlīga*, il P. 336 (Ponte nelle Alpi, prov. Belluno) *mōre orayōlę* e il P. 133 (Vico Canavese, prov. Torino) *mūrę pume* (incrocio dei due etimi latini). La seconda parte del composito *mōra de bōlīga* deriva forse da

<sup>3</sup> Per i continuatori di questi ed altri etimi celtiche nelle due Gallie cfr. anche Grzega (in stampa).

<sup>4</sup> Lambert (1994:187) invece crede che si deve costruire di un etimo *\*aritisia* che è "apparenté au lat. *paries*, *parietis* ['parete']". Possibile, ma secondo me meno probabile.

<sup>5</sup> Le denominazioni per la mora e il lampone vanno insieme per causa della similarità delle bacche. Questo fenomeno è spesso da osservare nei dialetti tedeschi (cfr. Marzell 1943sgg.: III,1470sgg.).

<sup>6</sup> Mi pare un po' straordinario lo sviluppo di 'frutto' a 'lampone'. Perché la parola latina generica si restringe proprio al lampone? Posso immaginare lo seguente sviluppo: lat. *POMUM* 'frutto' > (con suffisso diminutivo:) *\*pomettum* 'piccolo frutto' > 'bacca' > 'lampone' (trasferimento dal iperonimo al iponimo prototipico – il lampone è prototipico, perché la sua colore lo fa spiccare lo meglio dal verde delle piante).

un prelatino/celtico *\*bulluk(e)a* ‘prugnola’ (FEW I: 623sgg., REW 1390, REW 1390a, Faré 1390, Bolelli 1941: 171), voce che tuttavia sembra essere limitata, almeno secondo le mie fonti, al transalpino ed al grigionese. Ma una formazione semantica parallela si troverebbe nel lomb.alp. *grignapon*. Come voce semplice la parola è presente nel friulano, *moltǵe* ‘id.’ con sviluppo irregolare di  $b > m$ , forse incrociato con lat. MULLEUS. (Pellegrini/Zamboni [1982: 541] menzionano solo MULLEUS, ma l’influsso di *\*bulluk(e)a* mi pare ovvio.)

§13. Nella Lombardia settentrionale sono conosciute alcune forme del tipo *māna*. L’etimo corrispondente mi pare essere il già menzionato prelat. *\*mani* ‘fragole, lampone ecc.’<sup>7</sup>. (Forse questa radice si cela anche nell’equivalente friulana *kománfič*? O si tratta di un tipo d’origine slavo?)

§14. Un tipo *muia* è distribuito soprattutto negli idiomi ladini centrali e può essere attribuito al lat. MULLEA ‘rossiccio’ (cfr. LEI II: 932 ann. 36; Gsell 1992: 183). A questa base si potrebbe anche aggiungere, a mio parere, la forma *muñǵe* (AIS 611 P. 319 [Cedarchis, prov. Udine]), ma resta curioso l’accento e resta anche poco chiaro il suffisso (-*ariu*?)<sup>8</sup>. Inoltre, c’è la forma carnica *morèe*, che forse rappresenta lo stesso tipo lessicale (con rotazismo). Secondo Pellegrini/Zamboni (1982: 540) invece, l’origine di questo tipo è “prob. *\*mōrīlia* o un der. di ‘mora’ sulla falsariga di *mujèe*, *mugnèe*” (cfr. anche Pellegrini/Zamboni 1982: 546).

§15. La forma *matū* (pl.) rappresenta un tipo isolato (AIS 611 P. 244 [Sant’Omobono, prov. Bergamo]). Questa voce potrebbe venire dall’etimo (prelatino/preindoeuropeo?) *\*matuθθa* (FEW XXI: 95), che ha prodotto espressioni per la fragola in un’area ristretta nella Gallia transalpina (Murat, Dienne, Vinz, Corrèze) e potrebbe essere indirettamente legato a *maiosta* ‘fragola’ (FEW VI,1: 19sgg., REW 5249a). Si tratta ovviamente di bacche diverse, ma tutte e due di colore rosso. Tuttavia la forma altoitaliana richiede un etimo con -*t*- geminato. Una tale variante, invece, non sarebbe del tutto anormale con etimi prelatini (cfr. *mataris*/*\*mattaris* ‘giavellotto’ [REW 5402, Faré 5402, FEW VI,1: 463sgg., EWD VI: 275sgg.], *\*latta* accanto a *\*ambi-latium* ‘chiovolo’ [REW 408b, LEI II: 545sgg., FEW XXIV: 406sgg., FEW I: 83s.], anche *brūcus*/*\*brūkkos* ‘nero; mirtillo’ [REW 1333, Faré 1333, FEW I: 557sgg., DRG II: 539sgg.] ecc.). È anche strana la desinenza. Lo sviluppo seguente è immaginabile: prelat. *\*mattuθθa* > prelat. *\*mattūfa* (come nel gallico tardo; cf. FEW XXI: 95, Hubschmid 1965: 157sg.) > prerom. *\*mattūfo* (cambiamento del genere) > protocisalpino *\*matūf* > *\*matū* (sonorizzazione di -*f* finale in alcuni dialetti locali dell’Italia settentrionale; cfr. Rohlfs 1966: 423).

§16. I lemmi 3755 e 3756 nell’ASLEF presentano ancora altre forme per il friulano: *rúsa*, che è una formazione parallela a quella di MULLEA (cfr. supra), ma che risale a ROSSA; *hímpe(r)* prestito al tedesco *Himbeere* ‘lampone’; *fráule* dal lat. FRAGULA ‘fragole’ rappresentante un trasferimento fra coiponimi.

§17. In conclusione, voglio analizzare un tipo che non occorre sulla carta dell’AIS e neanche su quella dell’ASLEF, ma che è menzionato dal FEW. Si tratta della forma *dren* (Val Maggio, Como, Bergamo). Il FEW (I: 153) crede ad un etimo *\*dragenos* ‘spina’ (cfr. a.irl. *draigen* ‘épine noire, prunellier; prunelle’ [LEIA D-189sg.], cimr. *draen* ‘buisson épineux’). Altri continuatori non esistono. Però, a me pare abbastanza strano il presunto sviluppo semantico della forma cisalpina. Non vedo nessun motivo per un trasferimento di ‘spina’ a ‘lampone’. Perciò, mi pare necessario cercare un’altra tesi. La si può trovare in un etimo *\*derkos* ‘bacca’

<sup>7</sup> Pellegrini/Zamboni (1982: 547) ci ricordano la relazione possibile con l’alban. *man(d)* ‘rovo’, traco-dac. *mant(e)ia*.

<sup>8</sup> Per altre denominazioni simili cfr. la breve discussione in Pellegrini/Zamboni (1982: 540sg.).

(REW 2580a, Bolelli 1941: 188) oppure in un etimo *\*dregos* ‘rosso’ (REW 2582a, Bolelli 1941: 188), con un suffisso in *-n-*. Tutti e due sono di origine celtica e forse direttamente legate. La relazione fra *\*derkos* e *\*dregos* non è invece molto chiara tra gli specialisti:

“Pokorny a d’abord cru le mot [*derc* ‘baie’] issu de *derg* ‘rouge’ [...]. Mais l’écossais *dearcag* ayant un *-k-*, cette comparaison a été abandonnée [...] et Pokorny a tenté de tirer *derc* ‘baie’ de *derucc*, réanalysé (sous les formes *dercu*, *dercan*) comme un dérivé de *\*derc*. Pourrait être, plutôt, un emploi particulier de *derc* ‘œil’” (LEIA D-56).

Però mi sembrano giustificate alcune annotazioni. Una relazione fra i due termini non deve assolutamente essere esclusa. Forse la direzione della derivazione è inversa a quella postulata nel LEIA, cioè ‘rosso’ è secondario nel senso di ‘colore di bacca’. Non mi pare errato che bacche prototipiche sono rosse perché spiccano meglio dal verde delle piante.

§18. Questa breve presentazione ha dimostrato, primo, che c’è una notevole varietà di termini per il lampone (perché la bacca non era originariamente conosciuta fra i Romani), secondo, che le origini di molti tipi lessicali si sottraggono alla nostra conoscenza perché molti cambiamenti allontanano le parole dalle loro forme originarie (assimilazioni, incroci, rimotivazioni secondarie/etimologie popolari).

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**SULL'ETIMOLOGIA DELL'EMILIANO *bega* ED ALTRE DENOMINAZIONI CISALPINE PER L'APE:  
UNA NOTA SULL'EREDITÀ CELTICA NEL LESSICO DELL'APICULTURA**

## Abstract

The article [title in English: "On the Etymology of Emilian *bega* and Other Cisalpine Names for the Bee: A Note on the Celtic Heritage in the Vocabulary of Bee-Keeping"] first presents the two common etymological hypotheses for the Emilian type *bega* 'bee': (1) a Celtic etymon *\*bikos/\*bekos* (by Meyer-Lübke), (2) an onomatopoeic stem *\*bek-* (by the LEI). These hypotheses are criticized for not being convincing because of the geographical distribution of *bega* (thesis 1), because of morphological reasons (theses 1 and 2), and because of the lack in the semantic motivation (thesis 2). On the basis of the West and Central Cisalpine type *beġa* it is suggested that there existed a Vulgar Latin derivation *\*apica* (< Lat. *apes* 'bee'), which could serve as a starting-point: *\*ÁPICA* > *\*ÁBEGA* > *\*ABÉGA* > *\*BÉGA*. In addition, etymologies for other Cisalpine forms are suggested. Here the etymons *APICULA* 'bee (diminutive)', *VESPA* 'wasp' (sometimes in the combination "honey wasp"), *MOSCA* 'fly,' *EXAMEN* 'swarm,' and the onomatopoeic stem *\*bīs-*. Besides, the Brescian type *amvīda* is analyzed as a compound of Celt. *ande-* 'around' and Lat. *BĪTĀRE* 'go.'

§1. È noto che le aree romanze fra i Pirenei e l'Appennino erano occupate dalla grande tribù dei Celti. È anche noto che il filone etnico celtico ha lasciato tracce linguistiche negli idiomi transalpini e cisalpini<sup>1</sup>. E l'impronta celtica di questi dialetti romanzi si mostra soprattutto in alcuni campi linguistici specifici, come ad es. qualche espressione per 'carro', vestiti, l'allevamento dei cavalli, il mondo delle piante, il mondo del contadino.

§2. Nel Wartburg (1934: 17sg.) leggiamo che uno dei campi dove l'influenza celtica era percettibile sarebbe l'apicoltura. Un'analisi del REW e del FEW porta alla luce le seguenti parole trans- e cisalpine, le quali possono essere attribuite con grande probabilità al celtico/gallico: *benna* 'alveare' (oggi normalmente 'cestone' negli idiomi alto-italici, cfr. REW 1035, LEI V: 1171sgg., FEW I: 325sgg.), *\*briska* per espressioni del favo (cfr. emil. *bresca* e *bēscā*<sup>2</sup> secondo il REW 1309), *\*bunia* 'tronco' > 'alveare; sciame' (REW 1396, FEW I: 628sgg.), e forse *\*botuska* 'cera' nel galloromanzo al di là delle Alpi (cfr. REW 1242 e FEW I: 471: occ.a. *bodosca* 'marc de cire'). Sono anche stati attribuiti al celtico gli etimi seguenti: (1) *\*besēna* 'alveare' (REW 1058, ad es. fr.a. *besaine* 'id.'). ma una teoria più recente vede le rispettive parole come continuatori di un a.ted.a. *bī-zeina* 'id.' (cfr. Legros 1969: 43sgg. ann. 69); (2) *\*borna* 'buco' > 'alveare' (ad es. Vienne *borna*) o 'ape selvatica' (sav. *borneta*) (REW 1221, FEW I: 569sgg.), ma non c'è nessun indicatore sufficiente per supporre un'origine gallica). Dunque, tutto sommato, non sembrano molte le tracce lessicali celtiche nel campo dell'apicoltura. Tuttavia, conviene occuparsi di un altro caso più a fondo.

§3. Sotto il numero 1014 del REW troviamo il lemma celtico *\*bekos* 'ape', che, secondo il Meyer-Lübke, deve essere all'origine delle parole transalpine Creuse *beko*, *bieko*, *abieko* (e

<sup>1</sup> Si può più precisamente distinguere fra Galli, Leponzi e Carni del punto di vista etnico e geografico. Non è invece facile separare queste tribù su base linguistica per mancanza di fonti primarie. Non è del tutto semplice definire i tratti caratteristici del gallico cisalpino a confronto del gallico transalpino (cfr. Uhlich 1999). Vista la minoranza di differenze conosciute fino al presente, il lepontico ed il carnico possono essere considerati, a mio parere, solo dialetti del gallico e non possono essere separati da esso.

<sup>2</sup> A ragione il Faré (1972) si chiede: "perchè manca il [sic!] r?" Forse si tratta di un errore di stampa nella fonte originaria.

anche Charente, H.-Vienne, Dordogne, Limousin *bek(o)* secondo il Bolelli [1941: 151]) e della forma cisalpina *bega* che il Salvioni aveva attestato per Mirandola e Modena. Per quanto mi è stato dato di vedere, le forme occitane citate mancano nel FEW. Lì non si trova un etimo *\*bekos*, e nemmeno appaiono sotto il lemma latino *apicula* ‘piccola ape; ape (con suffisso diminutivo)’. Il REW spiega la vocale iniziale di *abieko* mediante un incrocio con *APICULA*. Tuttavia, mi pare anche possibile che la *a* risalga all’articolo determinativo *la*. Heiermeier (1960: 130sg.) scrive che l’origine non si trova in un ipotetico etimo celtico *\*bekos*, perché le forme celtiche insulari, irl. *bech* ‘ape’ (cfr. LEIA B-25sg.), cimr. *beg-egyr* ‘vespa’, richiederebbero una forma originaria *\*bikos*. Di conseguenza, Heiermeier riprende una proposta di Antoine Thomas e ipotizza una filiazione *bek(o)* < *\*becs* < *\*bèsca* < *\*guesca* < lat. *vespa*. Però non può dare esempi paralleli: ci sono altri casi dove lat. *-sp-* diventa *-sk-*? Ci sono altri casi dove *gu-* diventa *b-*? Quest’interpretazione etimologica non convince totalmente. Ma dedichiamoci adesso al tipo emiliano.

§4. In quanto all’origine di *bega* esistono due tesi principali. (1) la tesi celtica, (2) la tesi onomatopoeica. La tesi celtica viene formulata per la prima volta dallo stesso Meyer-Lübke nel 1905 ed entra più tardi nel REW. Come ho già detto, Antoine Thomas impugna questa tesi, però soltanto per quanto concerne le forme occitane. Heiermeier (1960) vuole dimostrare che sulla base delle forme celtiche insulari si può solo ricostruire un etimo *\*bikos* invece di *\*bekos*. Ma Hubschmid (1960) sottolinea che un etimo *\*bikos* sarebbe in ogni caso sufficiente, almeno per quel che riguarda la forma emiliana<sup>3</sup>. Inoltre, e vi ho già alluso, la nostra conoscenza del gallico e delle sue varietà è minimale e non si può escludere che sia *\*bekos* sia *\*bikos* esistessero nel lessico gallico.

§5. Una seconda tesi è sostenuta dal dizionario etimologico più importante dell’Italo-romania: il LEI, il thesaurus edito da Max Pfister. Nel LEI (V: 887sgg.) la forma suddetta è considerata continuatore di una radice onomatopoeica *\*bek-* ed è giunta ad altri significati del tipo lessicale *be(i)ga* nella Cisalpina, cioè ‘bruco’ (lomb., lig.), ‘grillotalpa’ (lomb., lig.), ‘tonchio’ (lig.), ‘tarma’ (lig.), ‘calabrone’ (lig.), ‘filugello’ (lig.). Accanto a *bega*, c’è anche un tipo *beg(o)* (lig. or., lomb., emil., veron., lad. anaun.) che serve a designare vari generi di vermi e altri animaletti repellenti. Tuttavia, mi paiono giustificati due punti di critica a ciascuna delle tesi.

(1a) La distribuzione geografica: ricerche quantitative che io stesso ho eseguito (cfr. Grzega [in stampa]) mostrano che la quota di celtismi nell’emiliano è più bassa che nel lombardo (con il trentino), nel piemontese, nel grigionese, nel bellunese, nel genovese e nel friulano; dunque la presenza di un celtismo soltanto nell’Emilia sarebbe decisamente straordinaria.

(1b) Il genere grammaticale: anche se un cambiamento sporadico del genere grammaticale non è raro fra le lingue romanze, è nonostante strano che il tipo *bega* per designare l’ape ed altri insetti volanti (oppure almeno dotati di ali), cioè ‘calabrone’, ‘tonchio’, ‘tarma’ e ‘grilloalpa’ è sempre femminile, mentre i lessemi celtici (insulari) sono maschili.

(2a) Il genere grammaticale: tutte le designazioni sotto il lemma *\*bek-* sono maschili salvo le espressioni per l’ape ed alcuni altri insetti (cfr. 1b), che sono femminili e allora da separare da quest’etimo.

(2b) Il motivo: Rispetto alla radice *bek-*, ci si chiede se non sia più prevedibile denominare l’ape da una radice onomatopoeica *\*bes-*?

§6. Se non si vuole pensare ad un’influenza dal lat. *APIS*, *APICULA* su *\*bikos*, si deve cercare un’altra soluzione per il genere grammaticale di *bega*. In una piccola parte dei dialetti liguri orientali, nel piemontese orientale, nel lombardo orientale e nell’emiliano occidentale si trova

<sup>3</sup> Ammette invece i problemi fonetici storici rispetto alle forme transalpine.

un tipo *àvia*, che il LEI (III,1: 60) interpreta come retroformazione del plurale *avi* < lat. APES. Ma se si vede il piemontese come centro di estensione di questa forma nei dialetti limitrofi, potrebbe anche risalire ad un etimo latino \*APICA (già postulato dalla Benincà [1987: 60] per il frl. *àia*), poiché nel piemontese *k* intervocalica va perduta vicino ad una *i*: cfr. ad es. *spia* (< SPICA ‘spiga’) o *fürmia* (< FORMICA) (cfr. Rohlfs 1966: 269). Questa formazione \**apica* non è attestata e non conosce forme corrispondenti nella Transalpina, ma è applicabile anche all’ossol. *avéga*, al tic.alp.cent. *véga*, al piem. *avía*, al tic. (*a*)*vigia*, al lomb.or. *avíza* (che il LEI [III,1:29, 31] spiega come descendenti di *apicula*), forse anche al tipo padano *à(v)ia*, che il Bottigliani (1919: 13sgg.) aveva invece visto come derivato da plurali metafonetici (\**àivi*) con metatesi successiva. La suffigazione in questione non è “molto comune, ma con puntuali confronti in parole vicine sia per fonetica che per classe semantica come *muris* <topo> < \**murica*; *avis* <uccello> < *avica*” (Benincà 1987: 60). \**apica* dovrebbe anche essere l’origine di un *bega* per quanto riguarda la fonetica, la semantica e la distribuzione areale. Possiamo partire dallo sviluppo seguente: \**ápica* > \**ábega* (sonorizzazione dei occlusivi intervocalici) > \**abéga* (trasferimento dell’accento in un proparossitono latino, non infrequente in dialetti nord-orientali<sup>4</sup>) > *bega* (afaresi dell’*a*, reinterpretata come parte dell’articolo determinativo)<sup>5</sup>. Questo significherebbe che *bega* non rappresenta un celtismo nel campo dell’apicoltura.

§7. Prima di concludere, diamo ancora un’occhiata alle altre espressioni per l’ape nella Cisalpina. La maggioranza delle parole risalgono al lat. APIS o il suo diminutivo APICULA e sono già ampiamente discusse nel LEI (III,1:29-34 e 36-61). A questa lista si aggiunge anche la parola *avayóttα* (AIS 1152 P. 158: Ottiglio/Prov. Alessandria), senza dubbio da un \*APICULATTA/\*APICULITTA. Inoltre, troviamo sporadicamente il tipo *vespa* (nel veneto orientale, nel friulano, e nell’istrico) ed il tipo *vespra/vrespa* nell’emiliano (da dove la *r*?). Questi due tipi risalgono al lat. *vespa* ‘vespa’ e sono stati trasferiti semanticamente al fine di rappresentare il coiponimo ‘ape’, in parte con il complemento *de miel* (ad es. nel friulano, cfr. ASLEF 1148)<sup>6</sup>. Lo stesso fenomeno lo mostra anche l’evoluzione del lat. MOSCA al punto 259 dell’AIS (Toscolano/Prov. Brescia)<sup>7</sup>. Nell’ASLEF (No. 1148) si trovano, accanto a continuatori di APIS, il tipo *sáa* che risale sia al lat. EXAMEN con un trasferimento metonimico di ‘sciame’ a ‘ape’ (anche presente in alcuni dialetti francesi [cfr. Guilliéron 1918: 47sgg.], sia al lat. ILLAS APES (riderivazione dal plurale). Due altri tipi, di nuovo rintracciabili nell’Emilia, sono *bizia* e *büzín*. L’origine di queste parole deve forse essere cercata in una radice onomatopoeica *bīs*-<sup>8</sup>; un’altra possibilità sarebbe una connessione metonimica con \**besēna* ‘alveare’ (cf. supra). Infine, la carta dell’AIS conserva le parole *envidē* (P. 249: Bagolina/Prov. Brescia) e *amvída* (P. 258: Mosnoga/Prov. Brescia), il LEI (III,1: 29-34) enumera anche bresc. *anvia*, trent.occ. *anvida*, valvest. *amvídō*, *amvígō*. Da dove questo tipo? Il LEI lo colloca sotto il lemma *apicula*. Non mi pare errato postulare qui un etimo \**ande-bīta*. Il lat. BĪTĀRE significa ‘andare’, il prefisso *ande-*, invece, è un morfema celtico significando ‘intorno a’. Avevamo dunque all’inizio una formazione motivata: l’ape è l’insetto che gira intorno alla sua meta, alla testa ecc. Quindi, in conclusione, abbiamo trovato

<sup>4</sup> Rohlfs (1966: 440) nota ad es. emil. romagn. *anàdra* (< lat. *anitra*), venez. *segála* (< lat. *secale*). Il professor Otto Gsell (Eichstätt) mi ricorda un’esempio ladino dolomitico che mostra e la conservazione dell’accento originale e il suo spostamento: Val Badia *mēda* vs. Val Gardena *anda* (dal lat. *amita* ‘zia’).

<sup>5</sup> Questa supposizione non è facilmente applicabile al tipo *bek(a)* occidentale, ma un supposto etimo \**bikos* è ugualmente insufficiente perché nei due casi, il risultato dovrebbe mostrare una -g-. Si spiega con un influsso secondario da BECCARE (< BECCUS) che serve, in molti idiomi romanzi, a esprimere ‘[pungere]’.

<sup>6</sup> Per il fenomeno di trasferimento coiponimico si vedano i lavori di Andreas Blank (1997 e soprattutto 1998).

<sup>7</sup> Anche nel galloromanzo transalpino MOSCA funge talvolta da termine per l’ape – spesso con il complemento *de miel* ‘di miele’.

<sup>8</sup> Per l’origine di una radice *bi-* ‘ape’ si veda adesso il contributo del Vennemann (1998), che vuole attribuirlo a idiomi semitici.

una parola almeno in parte d'origine celtica.

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## THE TERMS FOR “FLOWER” FROM THE ALPS TO THE APPENNINES

### Abstract

The Romanic (or Romance) area from the Alps to the Appennines shows five lexical types for “flower (i.e. the plant):” (1) Lat. *flōs, flōrem* ‘flower,’ (2) Lat. *rōsa* ‘rose’ (possibly due to the high occurrence in metaphorical expressions and in compound expressions and/or due to the dominance of the prototype and/or due to communicative-formal reasons), (3) Tyrolean (*tschopf* ‘mop, tuft’ (due to social reasons in the form of everyday contact), (4) a derivate of Lat. *\*mattea* ‘cube, mace’ (cf. It. *mazzo* ‘bunch’) (due to the introduction of a new intermediate level in the taxonomic hierarchy), (5) pre-Latin/Celtic *\*bugion-* ‘blue flower’ (possibly due to the high occurrence in metaphorical expressions and in compound expressions and/or due to the dominance of the prototype and/or communicative-formal reasons).

### 1. Preliminary Remarks

1.1. I have chosen the zones which are traditionally known as Rhaeto-Romanic (or Rhaeto-Romance) and Upper Italian for a common study, because this area, albeit now (from a synchronic point of view) seen as comprehending linguistically individual zones, can be seen as an historical unit, with a higher degree of proximity in the regional idioms of earlier stages, which, among other things, is also due to a common Celtic influence (cf. Grzega 2001).

1.2. The reason for studying the terms for “flower (i.e. the plant)” is the fact that the etymologies of generic terms (in contrast to specific concepts) have so far seldom been studied.

### 2. Terms for “Flower”

2.1. Like all Romanic languages, the Cisalpine and Alpine dialects show daughter forms of Lat. *flōs* ‘flower, bloom,’ e.g. Val Badia *flu* ‘flower, bloom; the best,’ Livinallongo (Fodom) *flo* ‘flower, bloom,’ Gardena *flëura* ‘flower, bloom’ vs. *flëur* ‘bloom, prime (in a metaphoric sense) [only in *te l flëur di ani* ‘in the prime of life’]’ (according to Martini [1952: 430] vs. *floura* ‘flora, flower, bloom’ (at least according to Martini [1952. 430]), Fassa *fior* ‘flower, bloom, the best, white frost on fruit,’ Ampezzo *fior* ‘flower,’ Comelico *fióru*, Cadore *fiór*, Belluno *fiór*, Trentino *fiór*, Venetian *fiór*, Friulan *flôr, flòur, flùar* (EWD s.v. *flù*, AIS 1357, REW 3382, Faré, FEW III: 630-638). Some Ligurian dialects show initial *š-*, which is the local regular continuant of Lat. *fl-* (cf. Rohlfs 1966: 247). For the present-day use in Val Badia, Gardena and Livinallongo the ALD-I (Map 303) notes: “i tipi ‘*ciof*’ (ecc.) and ‘*flur*’ (ecc.) significano rispettivamente la “*pianta*” (ted. “*Blume*”) and la “*parte fiorita*” di essa (ted. “*Blüte*”).” Thus, we could already assume that some of the restrictions of the Latin word into the (Cis-)Alpine Romanic regions have to do with an influence from the neighboring Germanic dialects (cf. also *infra*).

2.2. The AIS map 1357 shows a number of instances in Friulan dialects, where *róze* or *róže*

means ‘flower in general.’ So does the ALD-I (Map 303), which has the type *róza* ‘flower’ for Forni Avoltri, Pesàriis and Ampezzo. However, for the Friulan dialects Pirona/Carletti/Corgnali (1977: 898f.) give as the semantic range of *róse*: “Fiore, in genere, in senso piuttosto estetico che funzionale [...] rosa.” On the other hand, under the entry *flôr* Pirona/Carletti/Corgnali (1977: 325) note the following remark: “= Fiore. In senso pr[oprio] piú com[mune] *Rose*. Spesso le due voci si usano insieme: *Rosis e flôrs*.” Another instant of this generalization is listed in the AIS for Point 305 (Mareo). It should be mentioned, however, that the AIS dates from the first quarter of the twentieth century; in present-day Mareo *resa* means exclusively ‘rose;’ only in compound forms do we still find the generic meaning, e.g. *resa ghela* ‘marsh marigold,’ *resa dai capezineri* (aside from *flu dai capezineri* and *aster* ‘aster’ (Videsott/Plangg [1998], ALD-I: map 303, cf. also EWD s.v. *rōsa*). Tests with my German and foreign students (mostly from Romanic countries) suggest that in several, maybe many parts of western Europe the rose is named as the prototypical flower. Can this have played any role in the designations for ‘rose’ and ‘flower’? The Indo-European names for the rose almost uniformly go back to one source, namely Lat. *rosa*, which was subsequently borrowed from one European language to another with the gradual cultivation of the plant. This means that the rose, although now the prototype of a flower, is comparatively young in Europe and could not have served for representing the entire category in ancient names. But extension from the names of other specific flowers seems rare, too. Buck (1949: 526f.) regards NGk. *λουλοῶδι* as a loan from Albanian, which itself could descend from Lat. *lilium* ‘lily.’ For Lithuanian *gėlė* Buck cautiously writes (1949: 527) “orig. applied to a particular flower?” [with a question mark]. A more exhaustive study on the names for ‘flower’ was written by Weijnen (1986). He observes that some generic terms stem from the names for the rose in Danish dialects (aside from *blomst*) and northern Finnish dialects and that the generic terms of the French Picardy go back to the violet (cf. also FEW XIV: 483). We may wonder whether such extensions (e.g. the same term for “roses” and “non-roses” or the same term for “violets” and “non-violets”) didn’t cause any dangers of miscommunication. First, it must be emphasized that Weijnen doubts that Dan. *rose* and Dan. *blomst* are really total synonyms anywhere, as *rose* rather connotes ‘cultivated plant;’ in other words: the extension must then also be seen under the influence of the introduction of a new, intermediate taxonomic level. The DW quotes a number of instances where G. *Rose* is applied to other kinds of flower. Marzell (IV, 1156) lists cases of extension of ‘violet’ to denote other cultivated plants with a pleasant scent. This holds true for the Picardy, too (cf. Weijnen 1986). Thus, it is primarily a conceptual recategorization by accident that brings the prototype into play secondarily and it is not the prototype *per se* that triggers off the lexical and conceptual change (cf. Grzega [in press b], where we also find a series of other instances connected with prototypicality). In other words: what has happened in the eastern Cisalpine regions is the following: (a) *rosa* is used metaphorically and in compounds to denote various kinds of flower resembling roses in one way or another (color, scent, form etc.) (triggered off by the aim to achieve expressivity or by onomasiological fuzziness?), (b) *rosa* has subconsciously become a term on a new intermediate level and finally on the generic level (the intermediate level being expressed by composite forms then), (c) the real, original rose(s) (the wild rose and the garden rose) must be named in new ways (e.g. “wild rose,” “garden rose,” “real rose;” AIS map 605 shows, amongst others, the types *rosa selvatica*, *rosulas*, *córñaras* and *spin(a)* for the wild rose). Due to the influence of Standard Italian and other European languages, however, the simplex *rosa* is nowadays used as a usual term for the rose again.

2.3. A third type is connected with some of the Dolomitic Ladin valleys: Val Badia *ciüf* ‘flower, bunch, mop’ (vs. *ciüfa* ‘mop of hair’), Livinallongo (Fodom) *čof* ‘flower’ (vs. *čuf*

‘mop of hair, tuft of hair, tuft of grass’), Gardena *ciuf* ‘flower, bunch of flowers’ (vs. *ciuf* ‘mop, tuft’), (Upper Fassa *ciuf* ‘bunch of herbs or leaves, tuft of cotton,’ Lower Fassa *čuf* ‘mop of hair, plait, tuft of hair, bunch, flowering plant,’ North-East Italian type *ciuf(o)* ‘mop, tuft’). According to the EWD the Ladin forms meaning ‘mop’ are variants of It. *ciuffo* (also known in southern French regions), which is said to go back either to Langobard. *zupffa* ‘plait’ (REW 9632a, Faré, DELI s.v.) or to an expressive stem (FEW XIII: 377f., DEI s.v., Prati 1968: 288), the latter hypothesis being favored by the EWD. Another possible etymon is a pre-Latin, probably Celtic, *\*tūsta*, or *tūffa* (from late Celtic *\*tūθθa*), ‘mop, tuft’ (Grzega 2001: 249). According to the EWD the meaning ‘flower’ can be explained via the meaning ‘tuft, bunch.’ The distinction between two forms for the semantic range ‘mop, tuft; flower, bunch’ in all dialects except for Val Badia is noted, but not further dwelled on. Gsell (1989: 147), pointing at the formal distinction between ‘mop, tuft’ and ‘flower, bunch,’ rightly says that not all forms can go back to Tyrolean (*t*)*schopf* ‘tuft of hair, tuft of grass’ (Schatz 642) (a loan which resulted from the everyday contact with the Tyroleans) (apart from (*t*)*schopf*, there is also the similar sounding form (*t*)*schupp*). The semantic extension from ‘bunch’ to ‘flower’ is not as peculiar as Gsell thinks. It is also attested for French *bouquet* (FEW XV: 199), for Rhaeto-Romance (cf. below) and for Tyrolean *pusch* and its diminutive *puschl* (Schatz 122); actually, the semantic range in Ladin might then be viewed as a semantic loan from Tyrolean. The semantic development may be postulated as follows: (a) ‘tuft, mop’ > (b) ‘the [salient] bloom of a flower or the [salient] blooms of a bunch of flowers’ (metaphor) > (c) ‘bunch of blooms = bunch of flowers’ (synecdoche, i.e. a “part-of” relation [cf. Grzega in press a]; see also the parallel semantic range ‘flower [the entire plant]; upper part of the flower/plant’ in Lat. *flōs*, Fr. *fleur*, E. *flower* etc.) > (d) ‘flower [the entire plant]’ (synecdoche) (it is also imaginable that stage (c) was reached before (b)). The introduction of a formal distinction between the entire plant and the upper part of the plant will in part also go back to a conceptual loan from the adjacent Germanic dialect areas (this shows that apart from forms and semantic ranges, also world categorizations can be borrowed, as is also elaborated in Grzega [in press a]). Further on, in some Ladin valleys there was a secondary, folk-etymological blend of the Tyrolean type and the already mentioned North-East Italian *ciuffo*, which comprehended related senses (‘mop, tuft’).

2.4. Apart from *flūr*, AIS map 1357 records the isolated term *māć* for Point 5 (Domat/Ems in the Grisons), which today means exclusively ‘bunch of flowers.’ The HWR traces the word back to Lat. *māium* ‘May.’ Although there are no problems in formal respects, there seems no motivation for using the name of one particular month for flowers in general (many of which grow and bloom in other months). The Rhaeto-Romance word must rather be seen in connection with It. *mazzo* ‘bunch (of flowers),’ which is usually said to descend from Lat. *\*mattea* ‘club, mace’ (REW 5425) (cf., e.g., DELI). To understand the onomasiological innovation the AIS’s note that *māć* predominantly refers to garden flowers seems vital. Obviously, there was a communicative need to introduce a new intermediate level between the generic “flower” and the species “rose, violet, carnation etc.” (cf. also 2.2.). It may also be that speakers wanted to differentiate between “flower” and “bloom.” In the dialects of France it is a quite widespread phenomenon that “(garden) flower” and a specialized meaning are differentiated by the opposition between an inherited form of Lat. *flōs* and the standard or re-Latinized form. However, it is easily conceivable that the differentiation is also drawn by choosing entirely different word-types.

2.5. Another isolated term for flower is recorded for Point 222 (Germasino, in the province of Como) of AIS map 1357: *bōž*. This term may go back to a pre-Latin, probably Celtic *\*bū*

*gion-* ‘blue flower’ (REW 1375a, Faré, Grzega 2001: 118, not listed in the LEI). (For the various possible results of Lat. *-gi-* in Upper Italian cf. Rohlfs [1966: 395]). The daughter forms of *\*bugion-* usually refer to the blue labiate and various variants of *Salvia silvatica*. But, considering that the name of the violet is used as a generic term in several dialects of Northern France and Germany (cf. 2.3.), the generalization of the names of other blue-colored flowers becomes less strange. One cause for the replacement of *fiór* by *bōž* may be that the former was too much associated with ‘fine flour’ (cf. AIS 256 P. 222: *fiór de hadīna*). And so the original “flower” term was more and more avoided, so that a prototypical flower could subconsciously, or semi-consciously, acquire more and more general meaning by accident (dominance of the prototype, onomasiological fuzziness). Prototypical flowers will be those that bloom in one prominent eye-catching color (red, blue/violet, yellow).

### 3. Conclusion

To conclude, we can make the following observations:

3.1. New names for “flower” in the areas from the Alps to the Appennines are reached through generalization of meaning/use (2.2., 2.5.), synecdoche (*pars pro toto*, *totum pro parte*) (2.3., 2.4.) and borrowing (including the phenomena of semantic and conceptual borrowing) (2.3.).

3.2. Possible forces for the lexical innovations are: a linguistic accident due to the prominence of a prototype (2.2., 2.5.) and/or onomasiological fuzziness (2.2., 2.5.), communicative-formal reasons (2.3., 2.5.), the creation of a new concept through a change in the taxonomy (2.4., 2.2.) (i.e. certain speech communities introduce intermediate (folk-)taxonomic levels between the generic name and the species, “cultivated” vs. “wild”—a distinction which can be found for other plants as well—or “with salient pleasant scent” vs. “non-salient scent, unmarked as to scent”), social reasons (everyday contact) (2.3.).

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**THE LIZARD OFF LAWS:  
DOLOMITIC LADIN DESIGNATIONS WITH IRREGULAR DEVELOPMENTS<sup>1</sup>**

**Abstract**

The article offers etymological suggestions for the Dolomitic Ladin names for the lizard: (1) *égadeks* < South German *eichdech*s ‘lizard’ plus folk-etymology (*ega* ‘water’!); (2) *niñóla* < Lat. *\*raniola* ‘little frog;’ (3) *lingóla* < Lat. *\*ang(u)iola* ‘little snake’ (plus agglutination of definite article); (4) *lužérp* < Lat. *lacerta* ‘lizard’ X Lat. *\*serpem* ‘snake;’ (5) *orbežigola* < Lat. *orbisicula* ‘slowworm;’ (6) *forfežigola* < Lat. *orbisicula* X *forfežigola* ‘earwig’ (< *forfex* ‘scissors’); (7) *arp(e)žěia* < Lat. *\*serpem* ‘snake’ + Lat. *caecilia* ‘slowworm’ (or Lat. *orba* ‘blind’ + Lat. *caecilia* ‘slowworm’, or Lat. *\*orbisilia* X Lad. *orp*).

**Introductory Remarks**

While working on a compilation of Dolomitic, or Central, Ladin words not included in the EWD (cf. Grzega [in prep.]), I’ve experienced a relatively rich variety of names for the lizard over the relatively limited area of the so-called Sella valleys. The AIS (no. 449 for the small, gray lizard and no. 450 for the bigger, green lizard<sup>2</sup>) shows that this lexemic richness extends over all regions of Italy and Switzerland. The little animal obviously truly incited the linguistic creativity and imagination of the speech communities in these areas (cf. the lemma *Eidechse* in the REW’s onomasiological index). In the heyday of onomasiological dissertations in the early twentieth century, Eugen Klett (1929) already devoted himself to the huge amount of forms in Romance dialects. In an earlier article Giulio Bertoni (1913) had carried out a similar study for the Appenninic peninsula. The examples that both list abound in blendings, folk-etymologies and other “irregularities” on the way from Latin to the Romance dialects of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, down to the present day many of the very interesting forms of the Central Ladin<sup>3</sup> dialects have not been in the spot or have, in my view, not been explained to a sufficient degree. Therefore, this brief article wants to draw attention to these very forms although, admittedly, not every problem will be solved.

**1. Type ‘égadèkš’**

The form *egadecs*, or *eghedecs*, is attested for Mareo (AIS 449 P. 305 = San Vigilio di Marebbe; Videsott/Plangg 1997). It is indisputable that the ultimate basis here is German, or better: Tyrolean, *ájxdeks* ‘lizard,’ which was borrowed into this most northern Central Ladin region here. But in a second step the form was then folk-etymologically reshaped, which was motivated by the noun *ega* ‘water.’ An encyclopaedic, semantic basis need not be searched for, since this is generally not necessarily given for folk-etymologies.

<sup>1</sup> This paper is an extended version of part of a talk I gave at the Deutscher Romanistentag in Munich on 8 October 2001. For valuable comments I thank Professor Otto Gsell (Eichstätt).

<sup>2</sup> The fact that “lizard” is represented by two words in Italian confirms Wartburg’s (1911: 402f.) view that onomasiology cannot always depart from a concept without taking psychological, mental facts into account, since concepts may not be viewed and subcategorized the same way all over the idioms to be studied. I am well aware of this problem, but it shall not be our concern in this study and it need not be since the Dolomitic Ladin dialects all treat the green and the gray species as one concept “lizard.”

<sup>3</sup> Under *Central Ladin* or *Dolomitic Ladin* I understand the Sella valleys of Mareo, Badia (or Gadera), Gardena, Fassa and Livinalongo (or Fodom); like the EWD I exclude Ampezzo and Cadore.

## 2. Type “lingiōa”

The forms *lingiola* and *ringiola* are recorded for the Val Gardena (cf. AIS 449 P. 312 = Selva, and Lardschneider-Ciampac s.v. *lingiola*). Otherwise, the form is not attested. Klett (1929: 13) had seen the AIS form—together with the form under Section 3—as a metathesized output of an etymon *\*langurola*, from *\*langurus*, a word regarded as of Celtic origin (Klett 1929: 10). However, a Celtic form *\*langurus* has otherwise not been confirmed yet. But the FEW (V: 163f.) cites the lemma *languria* ‘lizard’ from Plinius. The derivation from Lat. *lacerta* ‘lizard,’ as proposed by the REW (4820), is no more convincing either and is rightly rejected by Lardschneider-Ciampac (1933: s.v. *lingiola*). In return, Lardschneider-Ciampac is not convincing in grouping the form with the Val Badia variant *arbjaia* (cf. Section 7). At first sight, we could assume the same etymon as in the type under Section 2, viz. *\*raniola* ‘little frog,’ but in the Val Gardena, too, we would expect a middle consonant *-ñ-*. Another possible etymon that suggests itself when reading Klett’s dissertation is a derivation of *lancea* ‘lance, spear,’ namely *\*lanceola*. A derivate *lanceotto* is mentioned by Klett (1929: 56). But he detects such forms only for South Italy; moreover, a *\*lanceola* would at best yield a form *\*linciola* in the Val Gardena<sup>4</sup>. Consequently, another theory must be searched for. Klett (1929) did not only find cohyponymic transfers from names for the frog, but also from names for the snake. One of the Latin lexemes for “snake” is *anguis*, which appears considerably wide-spread in the Cisalpine region (cf. REW 462). Griera (1928: 27) and Klett (1929: 60) defend this etymon (plus a suffix *-itta*) for the form *an̄gwēta* (AIS 449 P. 193 = Borgomaro). If *anguis* is the correct etymon, then we would have to postulate the following development: *\*anguis* + *-ola* > *\*anguiola* > *\*angiola* (simplification of the triphthong, as in many eastern Cisalpine words from a secondary form *\*angia*, e.g. Emil. *besanzola* ‘slowworm’ [cf. LEI s.v. *anguis*, REW 462, Faré 462]) > *\*anžóla*/*\*andžóla* (the latter with a svarabhakti consonant or an alternative development due to the rareness of the combination *-ngi-*) > *\*landžóla* (agglutination of definite article *l(a)*) > *lindžóla* (raising of *-a-* before nasal, cf. Section 2).

## 3. Type “niñola”

In the Fassa Valley we find the forms *nignola* (cf. Rossi 1999, Mazzel 1995) and *gnignola* (Mazzel 1995). In addition, the AIS records *nignola* for Penia (Canazei). As with the form mentioned under Section 2, Klett (1929: 13) had categorized the AIS form, which he erroneously gives as *ringōla*, under *\*langurola*. The weaknesses of such a hypothesis have just been pointed out. But in every instance, the cluster *-ngū-* should normally yield *-ng-* in Dolomitic Ladin (in contrast to Venetian, where Lat. *-ng-* can become *-ñ-*, e.g. Lat. *angelum* > Ven. *agnol*, which was then borrowed into some Ladin idioms [EWD s.v. *angel*]). Therefore, it seems much easier to view the type *nignola* as a daughter form of a reconstructed Latin *\*raniola* ‘little frog,’ from *rana* ‘frog.’ Already Klett (1929: 37, 63) himself had observed confusions and blends with names for the frog. The initial consonants must then be explained as assimilations toward the middle consonant. The vowel *-i-* agrees with other cases where *-a-* is raised to *-i-* before nasals (cf., e.g., Lat. *lanterna* > Val Gardena *lintierna* ‘lantern,’ Lat. *laminella* > Gardena *limbela* ‘knife blade’).<sup>5</sup>

## 4. Type “lužerp”

The form *lujerp* is another name for the lizard in the Fassa Valley. In addition, the AIS records the form *ližerp* for Location 323 (= Predazzo [Trento]); the REW lists still more instances in various Romance areas. The REW (4821)—quite convincingly—sees this type as a blending of *lacerta*

<sup>4</sup> Unless we suggest another irregular sound development, by which *-č-* was sonorized to *-g-* for better distinction from *linciola* ‘(fruit of) Swiss pine, *Pinus cembra*.’ But then—how should such a homonymic clash be problematic?

<sup>5</sup> Taking type 2 into account, Professor Gsell points out to me that another development is also imaginable: *\*ang(u)iola* > *\*añola* (Venetian development) > *\*na-n-añola* (indefinite article plus euphonic *n* as a form of hiatus deletion) > *\*na niñola*. However, so far no hints have been found that would prove the existence of this morphological type in Venetian.

‘lizard’ and *serp(ent)em* ‘snake,’ with the usual variation in initial, prestressed syllables. In addition, Lat. *lux* ‘light’ might also have its share in the development.

### 5. Type “òrbežígola”

The lexeme *orbejigola* originally denoted the slowworm (Lat. *orbisicula*). By way of cohyponymic transfer it was also used to designate the lizard in Arabba (Livinallongo). Transfers from names for the slowworm are already observed in Klett (1929: 64). But not even *orbejigola* is a regular Dolomitic Latin development from Lat. *orbisicula*. The regular result should be *orbesógla* in Livinallongo (cf. Lat. *soliculus* ‘sun’ > *sorógle*). The word must therefore have been borrowed from adjacent (Venetian) dialects.

### 6. Type “forfežígola”

The two forms *forfejigola* and *ferfejigola* are recorded for Livinallongo (cf. Pellegrini 1985, Tagliavini 1934) and are also listed by the EWD under the lemma *forfejìa* ‘earwig.’ The EWD adopts Tagliavini’s (1934: 138) hypothesis that *orbejigola* (cf. 5.) was confused with the word for the earwig, which goes back to VLat. *forfex* ‘scissors’ + *-icula* (or in Badia *-ilia*; for this suffix alteration see also Section 7), due to the similar sound chains.

### 7. Type “arp□žáia”

The last type of this study, the isolated form of the Val Badia (cf. AIS, EWD, Videsott/Plangg 1997: s.v. *arbejìa*<sup>6</sup>), is doubtlessly the most problematic one. In the EWD the lemma *arp(e)jèia* is equated with the type *orbejígola* ‘slowworm; lizard’ from the other Ladin valleys and the first one is explained as the regularly Ladin development of Lat. *\*orbisicula*, while the latter type is interpreted as a borrowing from neighboring Veneto. This view, however, seems a bit too simplistic. The form normally to be expected from an etymon *\*orbisicula* in the Val Badia would be *\*or(b(e))sèdla*. This means that there are four irregularities that would have to be clarified:

- (a) the ending *-èia*;
- (b) the alteration of *-p-* and *-b-*;
- (c) the initial *a-* instead of the *o-*;
- (d) the *-ž-* instead of *-s-*.

Ad (a): The ending may be explained as a simple change of suffixes. A suffix *-èia* goes back to Lat. *-ilia*.

Ad (b): The *-p-* reminds one of some form of *auslautverhärtung*, especially since some dictionaries also list a variant with *-b-*. But an *auslautverhärtung* would only make sense, if there were an influence from an adjective *orp* or if *arp(e)jèia* is a clearly felt compound. The latter is certainly not the case. As to the first thought, the lexemes *orp* ‘blind’ in the Gardena Valley and *orbu* in the Comelico (FEW s.v. *orbus*) support this view. A form *orp* ‘blind’ is not attested for the Val Badia, though; the usual word for ‘blind’ is *verc*.

Ad (c): The *a-* can only be accounted for if we find parallel cases of secondarily stressed *o* or *o* before *r* turning into *a*. Such examples seem almost absent in Badiot (exception: *scarpión* ‘scorpion’). Moreover, such a change would consciously demotivate the word, as the relation with *orp* would no longer be transparent.

Ad (d): A sound *-ž-* from *-s-* (before *ř*) also requires parallel examples for explanation. The best explanation seems to be influence from Venetian, as Ven. *z* is reflected as *ž* in Ladin (as with the other valley variants).

We might therefore attempt a second theory for the evolution of *arp(e)jèia*. Since we know that the lizard was often called after the slowworm and since Klett (1929: 60f.) also observed that the lizard is occasionally seen as some sort of snake, we may suggest two other etymons, namely a

<sup>6</sup> In Mareo the type still serves as a name for the slowworm. Aside from *arp(e)jèia* there is also a masculine variant *arp(e)jèi*.

tautological *orba caecilia* and a genus-plus-species-patterned *serpe(nt)em caecilia*<sup>7</sup>. Professor Gsell suggests a third hypothesis, viz. Lat. *\*orbisilia*, secondarily blended with Lad. *orp* ‘blind.’

Lat. *caecilia* is a frequently attested form for the slowworm (and the lizard) in the Romance area (cf. Klett 1929: 64; FEW II,1: 32; REW 1459; Faré 1459). There are daughter forms also in marginal areas such as the Grisons, but, unfortunately, there are no direct descendents in the marginal zone of Central Ladin idioms. The continuance of Lat. *caecus* in Central Ladin is debated. In general, the distribution of the competing Latin synonyms *orbis* and *caecus* in the Romance languages doesn’t reflect any rules (cf. Wartburg 1911: 411). As regards the forms Badiot *ciodlé* ‘blinzeln’ (3rd sg. *ciodleia* ~ *ciodlaia* ~ *ciödla*), Gardena *ciudlé* (3rd sg. *ciüedla* ~ *ciudela* ~ *ciudléa*) and Badiot *ciödl* ‘schielend’ some see them as daughter forms of a Latin etymon *\*caeculus* (Lardschneider-Ciampac 1933: s.v. *tšudlè*; EWD s.v. *ciödl*; REW 1460; Faré 1460), Plangg (1997: 176ff.), on the other hand, regards the Ladin forms as borrowings from a South German form *schiegeln* ~ *schilchen* ‘be cross-eyed’ (cf. MHG *schelch* ‘not straight, oblique’). From a semantic viewpoint the Germanic hypothesis is unproblematic, the phonetic aspect is more troublesome. Plangg (1997: 177f.) thinks that the initial *š-* was replaced by the presumably more frequent initial *c-*, which does not seem to be a very strong argument. He therefore had better refer to Tyrolean *tschegg*. But a *\*tscheggelen* doesn’t easily lead to *ciudlé* either. In order to explain *-dl-* < *-gl-* Plangg himself rather supports a Middle High German loanword in the end (Tyrolean *-gl-* normally remains *-dl-* in Badiot). But even from a MHG *schiegeln* it is hard to explain the stem vowel. Plangg (1997: 178) assumes a development (3rd sg.) *schiegelt* > *\*cüegla* > *čuedla* > *čudlé/ciödl*, but a so-called “verdämpfung” in the diphthong *-ie-* lacks parallel instances. Moreover, concepts denoting physical defects are hardly taken from Middle High German, but rather from Tyrolean—or they are of Romance descent. Therefore, I shall depart from an etymon *caeculus* for *ciödl* etc. and explain the stem vowel—like Lardschneider-Ciampac (1933: s.v. *tšudlè*)—as a blend with Lat. *oculus* ‘eye’ or *ab-oculis* ‘blind.’ Since the adjective is restricted to Val Badia only, the verb actually seems to be older (cf. also Plangg 1997: 176); *ciödl* might therefore be a back-derivation. This would also comply with Wartburg’s observation (1911: 413) that in *orbis*-zones *caecus* has been conserved in a long list of derivations. A Tyrolean hypothesis, on the other hand, seems more convincing for the type *cech* ‘oblique’ [cf. EWD s.v. *céch* (present in Badia, Gardena and Livinallongo)], however, for which the meaning ‘cross-eyed’ is recorded for Badia and Livinallongo until the first half of the 20th century. But we also may suggest that *caecus* ‘blind’ survived in Central Ladin as *ček* ‘cross-eyed’ (*e* can be regular result of Lat. *é* in the three valleys concerned [cf. Kramer 1977: 62f.]).<sup>8</sup> In sum, the survival of Lat. *caecus* and derivatives in Dolomitic Ladin cannot automatically be excluded.

Less debated among scholars is the existence of Lat. *orbis* ‘deprived [of eyesight]’ for Val Badia; nevertheless, a safe continuant of *orbis* is not guaranteed for Val Badia (incl. Mareo) unless *órp* ‘boil’ is one<sup>9</sup>. A concept such as “blind,” a flaw of the face, is likely to be center of attraction in Sperber’s (1923) sense and it is also a concept where confusion with similar flaws like “shortsighted” and “cross-eyed” may arise (cf. Wartburg [1911-1912] and also the respective maps of the AIS and the ALF). Therefore it should not surprise that we might find another, new expression for “blind” here. As a matter of fact *orbis* is the major lexical type for “blind” north of the Appennines (cf. Wartburg 1911: 411ff.).

The third term that has been brought into discussion is *serpentem*, or rather its frequent short

<sup>7</sup> Faré (462) lists the parallelly formed type *anguis caeca* ‘slowworm.’

<sup>8</sup> Surselv. *ček* ‘blind’ is traced back to Lat. *caecus* by Faré (1461).

<sup>9</sup> The Badiot and Mareo word *órp* ‘boil’ is regarded as a relic of Lat. *herpes* ‘sore, boil, ulcer’ by the EWD. Gsell (1990: 136; 1994: 327), however, traces it back to Lat. *orbis* ‘blind.’ Phonetically, there is no reason for objecting Gsell’s proposal; the semantic development is paralleled by daughter forms of Lat. *caecus*, e.g. Surselv. *čiek*, and Lat. *caeculus*, e.g. Tuscan *čekkyo*, (REW 1460, 1461; Faré 1460, 1461). Of Lat. *herpes*, on the other hand, no other known traces have been detected in Romance dialects. This does not change the fact, however, that there are no hints for an adjective *órp* ‘blind’ in Val Badia and Mareo.

form, *serpem*, which is found as a simplex or in combinations (e.g. with *lacerta* and *lux*) in Occitan, Engadine, Cisalpine, Transappenninnic and Sicilian regions (cf. Klett 1929: 32, 60). The most common etymon for “snake” to have left traces in the Central Ladin valleys seems to be Lat. *bīstia* < *bēstia* ‘animal’ in the form of Lad. *biscia* and *bisca* (in the latter the *-k-* still needs explanation) (cf. EWD s.v. *bisca*). But there are also hints that the concept of “snake” is a center of attraction as well (cf. also AIS 452), since in the EWD we also find the lemma *serpēnt*, which, however, is labeled as a borrowing from Italian, stylistically elevated and not an everyday term. However, the Fassa form *serp* ‘big snake’ (cf. also Rossi 1999: s.v. *serp*) looks definitely older and not borrowed, which suggests that the Latin *serpem* was known at least in parts of Central Ladin.

A hypothesis *orba caecilia*, which can easily explain a second word-part *-jēia* (*\*-a-caecilia* > *-(cae)cilia* or *-(a-c)aecilia* > *a-gilia* [*-c-* in intervocalic position] > *(e)-jēia* [cf. *mīrābilia* > *morvēia* ‘wonder,’ *ervīlia* > *arbēia* ‘pea’]), would still have to explain the following sounds of the Badia form *arpejēia*:

- (a) *-p-* (~ *-b-*);
- (b) *a-*.

*-p-* is now much better explainable than in an etymon *orbisicula*, since now the speakers could feel the morphemic boundaries. As has been shown, it cannot be excluded that secondarily stressed *a* before *r* goes back to an original *o*. But such a change would render the assumed relation with *orp* opaque, and would thus require further reasonable explanations. This difficulty also arises with the hypothesis “*\*orbisilia* ? *orp*.”

A hypothesis *serpem caecilia* requires explanations of the following irregularities:

- (a) *(-p-)* ~ *-b-*;
- (b) *-e-* > *-a-*;
- (c) the loss of *s-*.

The result *-p-* is natural if the compound is still recognized as such; the result *-b-* is natural if the word is seen as one unit and if *-p-* is then treated as a normal intervocalic plosive. The alternation between *e* and *a* is paralleled by cases like Lat. *circāre* > Badiot *ćiarćé* ‘try a meal,’ *cippus* > *ćiap* ‘sole of plough,’ *harpa* > *erpa* ~ *arpa* ‘harp’, or *ervīlia* > *arbēia* ‘pea.’ The loss of *s-* is the most complicated feature to be explained. The only parallel case where initial *s-* is dropped in Val Badia seems to be *anгрōna* from G. *Sinngrün* ‘evergreen, Vinca minor L.’ It may be argued, though, that in the phrase *las sarpejēies* the *s-* was dropped due to the lack of motivation and due to a confusion with the homophonous combination of article and initial syllable in the singular, i.e. *la sarpejēia*; in the singular deglutinations and agglutinations of the definite and indefinite articles are not rare (e.g. Lat. *lamella* ‘blade’ > Badiot *andela* ‘dito’, Lat. *ava* ‘grandmother’ > Badiot *lā* ‘dito’, Lat. *ursu* ‘bear’ > Badiot *laurz* ‘dito’ [Kramer 1977: 174]).

It cannot be denied that both hypotheses bear at least one apparently inextricable phonetic difficulty. My personally preferred version is *serpem caecilia*, particularly since there is also a masculine form *arpejēi*, which would reflect the insecurities concerning the gender of *serpes/serpem*. In a combination *orba caecilia* this difficulty would not come up, since *caecilia* is the regular substantive here and *orba* the corresponding form of an adjective.

### Conclusionary Remarks

The words examined have illustrated how the lizard and other reptiles stirred people’s imagination, creativity and desire for (re-)motivation. They have also shown that people have a hard time in keeping apart the various reptiles (lizards, frogs, slowworms, snakes) due to similarities in their body movements, their movements of the tongue, their body colors etc., and are thus perfect examples of what some linguists call “blurred concepts,” or in this case better: “unclear reference” (cf. Grzega [in print]). Also of note, in such instances irregularities seem more “normal” than regular developments.

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**DENOMINAZIONI DIALETTALI DELLA LUCERTOLA IN LIGURIA**

## Abstract

The article [title in English: “Dialectal Terms for the Lizard in Liguria”] discusses 21 designation types for the lizard in a North-Italian dialect group, Ligurian. The majority of terms descends from Latin (most of them are originally terms for other animals, e.g. the scorpion, the slowworm, the mouse, or the salamander, some refer to the animal’s appearance, e.g. ‘being flat [like a shoe]’ or ‘having warts’). The variety of names has also caused a number of blends. The different types are mostly of local nature, save *sgrívura*, one of the terms of Genova, Liguria’s capital, (apart from two older names and one more recent term). The borrowed type *mesancula* is due to the presence of Roman military during the second Punic War. Other external influences are rare, except for border areas.

**Premessa**

La Liguria, nonostante la ridotta estensione territoriale, possiede una grande varietà di denominazioni dialettali per la lucertola comune (*lacerta agilis*). Ho cercato, pertanto, utilizzando varie fonti: atlanti linguistici, VPL, vocabolari e dizionari di singole località, studi di altri autori, ricerche personali (privilegiando, in caso di dubbio, queste ultime<sup>1</sup>), di raccogliere materiale nel maggior numero di località possibile. L’indagine non è limitata alla Liguria nei suoi limiti amministrativi attuali, ma è estesa anche a tutte quelle zone nelle quali si parlano dialetti liguri (es. Monaco, Carloforte) o in cui i caratteri liguri sono prevalenti (es. Alta Val Roia, Alta Val di Taro) o, comunque, rilevanti (es. Garessio). Elencherò, seguendo un criterio geografico (da occidente a oriente), i vari tipi che ho potuto rilevare, servendomi generalmente della forma fonetica più arcaica, indicando le diverse varianti lessicali e le proposte etimologiche avanzate per spiegare l’origine dei tipi stessi. A fianco delle varie forme, indico la fonte di provenienza, servendomi delle seguenti abbreviazioni:

r.p. = ricerche personali, da me effettuate;

m.c. = ricerche dal Dott. Marco Cuneo, messe gentilmente a mia disposizione.

Per gli atlanti linguistici, vocabolari, dizionari di singole località e studi di altri autori, faccio riferimento alla Bibliografia.

**Trascrizione fonetica**

*a, b, d, f, l, m, n, p, r, t, v* come in italiano

$\tilde{a}$  = a nasale

$\tilde{e}$  = e nasale

$\grave{e}$  = e aperta tonica

$\acute{e}$  = e chiusa tonica

$\acute{e}$  = e lunga chiusa tonica

$\tilde{e}$  = e lunga aperta tonica

$i$  = i vocale

$\tilde{i}$  = i lunga tonica

$\grave{o}$  = o aperta tonica

$\acute{o}$  = o chiusa tonica

$\ddot{o}$  = o anteriore con articolazione palatale

$\bar{o}$  = come sopra lunga

$\ddot{u}$  = u anteriore con articolazione apicale

$\underset{\cdot}{j}$  = i semiconsonante

$u$  = u vocale

$\underset{\cdot}{u}$  = u semivocale

$\check{c}$  = affricata palatale sorda

$\check{d}$  = fricativa interdentale sonora

$g$  = occlusiva dorsale velare sonora

$\check{g}$  = affricata palatale sonora

<sup>1</sup> Per esempio, nel caso di Borgomaro, *angúeta* (AIS)/*anguéta* (ricerca personale).



<i>k</i> = occlusiva dorsale velare sorda	<i>s</i> = fricativa apicale alveolo-dentale sorda
<i>l̥</i> = laterale semipalatale	<i>ʃ</i> = fricativa palatale sorda
<i>lʲ</i> = laterale palatale	<i>ʃ̣</i> = fricativa apicale alveolo-dentale sonora
<i>ŋ</i> = nasale velare	<i>ʒ</i> = fricativa palatale sonora
<i>ɲ</i> = nasale palatale	<i>z</i> = affricata dentale sorda
<i>ʀ</i> = r non vibrante palato-velare, di articolazione più o meno intensa; in quest'ultimo caso viene racchiusa da ( )	<i>ʒ̣</i> = fricativa sorda di articolazione intermedia palatale anteriore
<i>R</i> = rotata uvulare	<i>ə</i> = vocale indistinta
	<i>h</i> = spirante velare intensa

Il sistema è stato adottato anche per le voci dialettali riprese da atlanti linguistici, dizionari, ecc. Quando non è stato possibile, ho riportato le voci nella grafia originale.

### Elenco delle abbreviazioni

b. lat. = basso latino	pref. = prefisso
cfr. = confronta	prov. = provenzale
dim. = diminutivo	prov. a. = provenzale antico
es. = esempio	sec. = secolo
fasc. = fascicolo	suff. = suffisso
franc. = francese	s.v. = sotto la voce
franc. a. = francese antico	v. = vedi
franc. med. = medio francese	vent. = ventimigliese
franc. mod. = francese moderno	vs. = versus (contro)
franco-prov. = franco-provenzale	→ = in relazione con
fraz. = frazione	< = proveniente da
gal. rom. = gallo-romanzo	> = passa a
gen. = genovese	° = etimologia proposta dall'autore
germ. = germanico	* = forma non documentata
p.es. = per esempio	√ = dalla radice
pl. = plurale	

### 1. *lūsabèrt*

Fontan (ALF p. 990)

< *lacerta*<sup>2</sup> 'lucertola' + *viridis* 'verde' (REW 4821 e REW 9368a). Tipo della Francia Meridionale e Hautes-Alpes, con esiti diversi arriva fino al Poitou (ALF 766 B, ALP 1003). Il significato oscilla fra 'lucertola' e 'ramarro' senza riscontri nell'area italiana (Scarsi 1993: 71). In realtà, nel secondo significato, il tipo è presente, sia pure sporadicamente, nell'estremo Ponente Ligure: *oužibèrtu* (Apricale; m.c.); inoltre, *ažibèrtu* (Monaco; Arveiller 1967: 113), *ladübèřt* (Libri; Azaretti 1989: 85).

### 2. *labrèna*

Mentone (ALF p. 899)

(ALP p. 111 – 1004: *abrèna*)

prov. *alabreno* < *salamandra* (REW 7525a). Azaretti (1989: 200) per spiegare l'evoluzione fonetica propone una contaminazione con prov.a. *alabre* < *arabes* (Mistral, Frédéric [1932], *Lou tresor du Felibrige* Edition du centenaire, Paris: Librairie Delagrave [I: 63]). Tipo

<sup>2</sup> O, meglio, *lucerta*.

provenzale per ‘salamandra’ (ALP 1002), si trova anche in diversi centri del Piemonte sud-occidentale, nella Provincia di Cuneo (AIS carta 56: punti 170 = Pietraporzio; 175 = Fiamenga di Vicoforte; 181 = Valdieri; 182 = Limone Piemonte. Inoltre a Viola: *alabrán* [r.p.]). In molte località della Liguria occidentale (p. es. Soldano [VPL; r.p.]; Vallecrosia [r.p.]; Camporosso [r.p.]; Ventimiglia [Scarsi 1993: 71; Azaretti 1977: 45 e 77; r.p.]: *labréna*), il termine è usato per indicare il ‘geco’, ma non la ‘lucertola’<sup>3</sup>.

### 3. *ratabrúna*

Monaco (Arveiller 1967: 98)

< *ratu* ‘topo’ di etimo incerto, forse di origine onomatopeica (REW 7089a, FEW X 125b-126a, DEI V 3212) o da *raptus*, nome verbale attivo da *rapere* ‘l’atto di strappare, rapina’ (Pettracco Sicardi 2002 s.v. *ratu*), + *brúna* ‘bruna’ < franco *brun* (REW 1340, FEW I 562b-564a). Il determinante *brúna* ha reso femminile il sostantivo determinato *ratu*. Cfr. *ratapiñáta* (Arveiller 1967: 24 e 96) ‘pipistrello’ < \**ratta* + \**pinneata* ‘pennuta’ con influsso di *piñáta* ‘pentola’, etimologia proposta per l’analoga forma di Libri da Azaretti (1989: 202-203). Tipo isolato.

### 4. *šgúrbja*<sup>4</sup>

Grimaldi, Latte, Torri, Trucco, Vallecrosia Alta, San Biagio della Cima, Vallebona, Borghetto S. Nicolò, Airole, Camporosso Mare (r.p.), Soldano, Ventimiglia, Camporosso, Vallecrosia (r.p.; VPL), Bordighera (m.c.)

Klett (1929: 17) considera la forma ventimigliese (che riprende da Garbini 1925: 605), in pratica, una variante di *šgrívuša/ grīgūa* e la riconduce ad una radice *lig-* (vedi n.12). Azaretti (1977: 87) propone una derivazione da \**scorpius* ‘scorpione’ (REW 7741a), ripresa anche da Scarsi (1993: 70: < \**scorpi* variante morfologica di \**scorpius*, da confrontare con l’italiano *sgorbio*<sup>5</sup>, di senso metaforico, per la sonorizzazione di *-k-*) e da Pettracco Sicardi (2002 s.v. *šgurbja*), che, però, fa presente l’incertezza dell’ipotesi. Ritengo più probabile che sia un

<sup>3</sup> Per ‘salamandra’ abbiamo *kaŋ senéstru* (Vallebona; m.c.), *kaŋ sinístru* (Soldano; r.p.), *kaŋ fežèstru* (Buggio; Pastor 1990; r.p. In questa località la *n* intervocalica passa a *ř*, conservandosi solo dopo *i* primario o secondario da *ü* < *ū*: *fežulu* < *fēñuculum* ‘finocchio’ [REW 3246], *fařina* < *farīna* ‘farina’, *lina* < *lūna* ‘luna’; lo stesso fenomeno è presente a Pigna, ma qui, dopo *i*, la *n* palattizza: *galiña* < *gallīna* ‘gallina’ [Azaretti 1990: 21; Pettracco Sicardi 1989: 35-36]), *kañéř fežèstri* ‘salamandre’ (Pigna; r.p.), *can fenestru* (Sanremo; Carli 1973); queste forme composte, tipiche dell’estremo ponente ligure, hanno in comune, come primo elemento, *cane*; il secondo elemento può presentare un incrocio o un’influenza reciproca di vari termini: *senéstru/siništru* < *šinister*; *fežèstru/fenestru* < *šinister* + *fēnestra* (la spiegazione potrebbe essere questa: le chiazze che ricoprono il corpo della salamandra possono ricordare delle piccole finestre). In altre zone della Liguria, dove mancano le forme composte, abbiamo le forme semplici *sevèstru* (Erli, Arenzano; VPL), *silvèstru* (Varazze; VPL) < *silvestris* (voce semidotta; Pettracco Sicardi 2002), *snèstru* (Sassello; VPL) < *šinister*, *šinèstru* (Urbe [m.c.]) < *šinister* + *genēsta* (REW 3733).

<sup>4</sup> In molte località la *s* davanti alle occlusive gutturali sorde *p*, *t*, *k* e alla spirante sorda *f*, è resa con una fricativa palatale sorda, più o meno intensamente articolata. Davanti alle consonanti sonore *v*, *b*, *d*, *g*, *m*, è resa con una fricativa palatale sonora. La tendenza, anche se non generalizzata, specialmente presso le generazioni più giovani, è verso la sostituzione, nel primo caso, con *s* sorda, nel secondo con *s* sonora (*š*). Trattandosi di varianti fonetiche che non hanno importanza ai fini della ricostruzione etimologica e considerato che il presente articolo tratta essenzialmente temi lessicali, non ho ritenuto opportuno riportarle.

<sup>5</sup> *sgorbio* ‘macchia provocata da una goccia di inchiostro; scarabocchio’, con doppia sonorizzazione, generalmente viene fatto risalire a \**scorpius* < greco *skorpíos* ‘scorpione’, in quanto la macchia d’inchiostro richiama l’immagine dello scorpione (Devoto 2000). Ritengo che, comunque, non sia da escludere una derivazione da *sgorbia* (o, perlomeno, un accostamento): *sgorbio* ‘segno, incisione eseguita con la sgorbia’ → ‘scarabocchio’.

significato secondario assunto dal termine dialettale °*sgúr̥bja* ‘sgorbia, scalpello a lama concava’, usato inizialmente in maniera scherzosa, in quanto la forma stretta e allungata dell’utensile ricorda quella del rettile. L’analogia voce italiana ‘sgorbia’ risale al tardo latino *gulbia* ‘bulino’ (REW 3911, FEW IV 322b-323b, DEI III 1846) + pref. *s-* che Devoto (2000) definisce durativo-intensivo. Non escluderei, comunque, un possibile incrocio °\**scorpia* + *gulbia* (che spiegherebbe la *s-* iniziale). Diretta continuatrice di \**scorpia* è la forma di Bussana (vedi n. 11). E’ probabile che questo tipo si sia diffuso da Ventimiglia, in quanto l’attuale distribuzione geografica coincide quasi perfettamente con l’antico territorio comunale della città, che comprendeva, oltre le attuali frazioni di Ventimiglia (Grimaldi, Latte, Torri, Trucco), anche le ‘ville’ di Camporosso, Vallecrosia, Bordighera, San Biagio della Cima, Soldano, Vallebona, Borghetto San Nicolò e Sasso (Le ultime due sono ora frazioni di Bordighera)<sup>6</sup>.

### 5. *lagrāmīha*

Olivetta San Michele (Azaretti 1989: 81 e 113)  
*gramūs* Breil (ALP p. 96)

< *lacrimūsa* ‘sorta di rettile’ (REW 4826, FEW V 122b-123a), forma attestata nell’opera dello scrittore del V sec. d.C. di origine lionese Polemus Silvius (Tuailon 1993: 187-188). Secondo l’Alessio (DEI s.v. *lagramusa*), variante dialettale osca del latino *lacrimosus*, da mettere in relazione alla leggenda delle ‘lacrime di cocodrillo’; l’ipotesi è respinta dalla Marcato (Cortelazzo/Marcato 1998 s.v. *gramūsa*) che propone \**lacrimusia* con accostamento paretimologico a *lacrima*. Tipo di area francese, franco-provenzale e provenzale (ALF 766B, ALP 1004), è presente, in Italia, nell’arco alpino occidentale, in Piemonte e in Val d’Aosta (AIS III 449)<sup>7</sup>. Olivetta S.M. rappresenta l’unico punto in Liguria. Ad Olivetta la *-s-* intervocalica, anche dopo dittongo, se conserva un appoggio vocalico passa a *-h-*; quando invece, a causa della caduta delle postoniche finali *-e, -u*, è rimasta priva di appoggio, subisce una lenizione completa, con la perdita dell’intera sillaba: *fū* ‘fuso per filare’ < *fūsus* (REW 3620), pl. *fūhi* (Azaretti 1989: 132).

### 6. *skurp̥iúŋ*

Lingueglietta (r.p.), Dolceacqua<sup>8</sup>  
*skurp̥iúŋ* Airole (AIS p. 190)

< *scorpiōne* (REW 7741, FEW XI 327a-327b, DEI V 3418-3419). Nell’area italiana, oltre che per lo scorpione, il termine è utilizzato a volte per denominare la salamandra (AIS III 456, esempi piemontesi) e vari tipi di anfibi (Garbini: 910-911, Piemonte, Calabria, Sicilia). Tipo scarsamente rappresentato per ‘lucertola’, secondo i dati del VPL (in cui non è presente come ‘lucertola’) è molto più diffuso in Liguria per ‘scorpione’ (ad Albenga, Varazze, Arenzano, Chiavari, Calasetta [VPL], Terzorio, Ne [r.p] ‘geco’; Bardino e Calice ‘ramarro’ [VPL]). Per Airole (con metatesi di *-r*) è registrato nell’AIS (P. 190); i miei informatori oscillano tra *sgúr̥bja* (una donna di 54 anni) e *skurp̥iúŋ* (un uomo di 90 anni), senza metatesi di *-r-*. A

<sup>6</sup> Le ‘ville’, stanche di sopportare le angherie di Ventimiglia, con l’approvazione della Repubblica di Genova, si separarono dalla città nel 1686, costituendo la cosiddetta ‘Magnifica Comunità degli Otto Luoghi’, destinata a durare formalmente fino al 1848.

<sup>7</sup> Forme derivate da *lacrimūsa* si trovano anche in diverse località dell’Italia meridionale (le cosiddette ‘colonie gallo-italiche’), dove si sono insediate popolazioni provenienti dall’Italia settentrionale: *karamūsa* (Lagonegro, Spinoso; Rohlf 1925: 289-292), *laramusa* (Potenza; Cortelazzo-Marcato 1998 s.v. *gramūsa*).

<sup>8</sup> Il termine mi è stato comunicato dall’amico Prof. Andrea Capano.

Dolceacqua è stato fornito unicamente da una donna anziana. Sembra vitale solo a Lingueglietta.

### 7. *mešénguŕu*

Pieve di Teco, Alassio (VPL), Aurigo (Lagom.), Lenzari, Aquila d'Arroscia, Alto (r.p.)

*mešéguŕu* Castelvittorio (r.p.), Apricale (r.p.; VPL)

meʔéguʔa Rocchetta Nervina, Baiardo (r.p.), Pigna (r.p.; Merlo 1956: 9), Sanremo (VPL; Carli 1973), Albenga, Campochiesa fraz. di Albenga (m.c.), Salea fraz. di Albenga<sup>9</sup>(r.p.)

*mešéguŕu* Buggio (r.p.; Pastor 1990)

*meségua* Cosio (r.p.)

*mešéguŕa* frazioni di Cogoleto<sup>10</sup>

*mešéguŕa* Ceriale (VPL)

*mešinguŕéta* Borghetto d'Arroscia (r.p.)

*mašéguŕu* Saorgio (ALP p. 86)

*mišégua* Triora, Agaggio (r.p.)

*mišénguŕu* Armo e frazioni (r.p.)

*bišénguŕu* Cenova (r.p.)

Nel Klett (1929) non è presente questo tipo e neppure in Petracco Sicardi (2002). Merlo (1956: 9) non riporta alcuna etimologia per la forma di Pigna. La Scarsi (1993: 70-71) afferma che l'etimo è oscuro ma propone un possibile rapporto con forme settentrionali come *marasangola* 'salamandra'; aggiunge, inoltre, che, foneticamente, potrebbe dipendere, come derivato in *-ičula* di origine secondaria (in quanto ci si attenderebbe un esito *-elá* o *-ilá*) da *mensa* o *mensis*, con connessione semantica però, sulla base dei dati disponibili, impossibile<sup>11</sup>. Secondo il LEI (II, fasc.13: 812 s.v. *amicus*), alla base del ligure occidentale (Porto Maurizio) *miségura*<sup>12</sup> vi sarebbe la voce dialettale *amis* 'amico' + suff. *-ičula* (Garbini 1925: 606). Il LEI fa un confronto con il franco-prov. (aostano) *ami de l'homme* 'lezard' (ALF 766 p. 986) e riporta una credenza popolare secondo cui la lucertola avviserebbe l'uomo addormentato della presenza di una vipera. La proposta è simpatica, ma senza fondamento: *amicus* dà, nei dialetti liguri (per lo meno in quelli dove il tipo è presente), *amigu* e non *amis*, senza considerare che sembra strano unire una voce già decisamente romanza con un suffisso ancora latino. L'etimologia del LEI è ripresa anche da Cortelazzo/Marcato 1998 (s.v. *misegura*). Escludendo il celtico *\*mesigu* 'siero, latticello' (REW 5537, FEW VI 2 43b-44a) a causa del significato, non facilmente rapportabile alla lucertola, propendo per una probabile derivazione da *°mēsancūla*<sup>13</sup>, attestata in Gellio (10.25), 'genus teli in medio amentum habens' (LTL III: 250), '(inter telorum vocabula) frameae-ae, cateia eqs.' (ThLL VIII: 852)<sup>14</sup>, con una semplice assimilazione vocalica per accostamento al suff. *-engo*<sup>15</sup>. Un'altra ipotesi potrebbe essere una metatesi vocalica e successiva armonizzazione: *mesancula* > *\*masencula*<sup>16</sup> > *\*mesencula* e dato che, generalmente, il gruppo *-nc* + voc. si conserva (*hanc hora* > *aŕkú* 'ancora'; germ. *banka* > *baŕka* 'panca'), per spiegare *nc* > *ng* si può pensare ad un influsso di *anguiölu* o

<sup>9</sup> Voce sentita come più antica rispetto a *briguŕéta*.

<sup>10</sup> Segnalatami dall'amico Dott. Fiorenzo Toso.

<sup>11</sup> Possibile potrebbe essere la connessione semantica con *me(n)sa* nel significato di 'tavola' + suff. dim. *-icula* → *me(n)sicula* 'tavoletta' da cui 'lucertola' per la forma stretta ed allungata.

<sup>12</sup> In realtà deve intendersi Sanremo: "Miségura, con la e gutturale (Porto-Maur.: a S.Remo [in com. dott. Maggio])" (Garbini 1925: 606).

<sup>13</sup> Greco *μεσσηγκυλον* 'proiettile munito di coreggia' Eu. Andr. 1133, Ph. 1141, Men., Pol. 23,1,9 (Rocci 1968).

<sup>14</sup> Inoltre *mesancylum-i* n. 'i.q. genus teli amento in media parte prediti. Paul. Fest. p. 125, 2' (ThLL VIII: 852).

<sup>15</sup> Come mi suggerisce l'amico Dott. Marco Cuneo.

<sup>16</sup> Vedi la forma di Saorgio.

\**langölu* (vedi n.8). A questo punto è necessario, però, ricordare che esistono forme che presentano la caduta di *-ŋ*. Per queste ultime non è da escludere la possibilità di un incrocio °*mēsancūla* + \**caecīcula* (> *sešéguřa* ‘orbettino’, Albenga [VPL]<sup>17</sup>). Per quanto riguarda la forma di Borghetto d’Arroschia (*mešinguřeta*), si potrebbe ricorrere ad un incrocio con il franco \**meisinga* ‘cincia’ (REW 5467, FEW XVI 546b-548b)/ \**mēsinga* (Dict. étym. 1987) > franc. *mesange* ‘cincia’, vicino da un punto di vista semantico (si tratta di animali: uccello/rettile). Vi è, però, un problema di carattere fonetico, in quanto, considerato l’esito francese<sup>18</sup>, la *-i-* di \**meisinga* dovrebbe essere breve e, quindi, dare nei dialetti liguri *-é-* non *-i-*. Questa forma, come anche quelle di Triora, Agaggio, Cenova e Armo, possono forse spiegarsi mediante un indebolimento della *e* in posizione pretonica, caratteristico del ligure ‘alpino’<sup>19</sup>. Castelvittorio, Apricale e Buggio presentano l’inserzione di *-ř-* palatale (Castelvittorio-Apricale) e *-ř-* semipalatale (Buggio) fra una vocale che non sia *i* primaria o derivata da *ü* e *s* sonora. Questo, ed altri fenomeni caratteristici dell’Alta Val Nervia, sono stati ampiamente trattati da Azaretti (1983: 37-44). La forma di Cenova è forse incrociata con *biřa* ‘biscia’ < lat. tardo *břstia* < *břstia* (REW 1061, DEI I 530). Un passaggio semantico parallelo si ritrova nel celtismo latino *mataris* ‘giavellotto’ (REW 5402)<sup>20</sup>, da cui l’italiano *marasso* ‘vipera berus’, veneto e istriano *madraso*, emiliano e lombardo *maràs* ‘serpente’, identificato variamente come ‘saettono’ o ‘vipera’ (Cortelazzo/Marcato 1998 s.v. *maraso*). A Cavarzere *maraso* (AIS p. 385) è il ‘ramarro’ e a Strassoldo di Gorizia *madracc* (Klett 1929: 62; da Garbini 1925: 264) significa ‘lucertola’. Abbiamo, inoltre, da *sagřtta* ‘freccia’ (REW 7568, FEW XI 59a), l’italiano *saettono* ‘grosso serpente dei Colubridi’<sup>21</sup>. Se la mia ipotesi è corretta, ci troviamo di fronte all’unico esito romanzo di *mesancula*.

## 8. a) *argö*

Dolceacqua, Bordighera, Cesio, Cartari fraz. di Cesio (r.p.)  
*argéu* Torria<sup>22</sup>

Nella maggior parte dei dialetti liguri (vedi VPL) indica la lucertola verde, il ramarro. L’etimologia di questo termine e di quelli simili diffusi nell’Italia settentrionale (AIS III 450) è piuttosto controversa e numerose sono le ipotesi avanzate, che riporto qui sinteticamente. Nigra (1896-1898: 369-370) fa derivare le forme piemontesi *lařöl/ařöl* e il genovese *lagö* da \**ab-oculu* ‘cieco’. Garbini (1925: 807) prospetta un riflesso o un’influsso di *legare*, opinione condivisa da Carlo Salvioni, che, però, intende *legare* nel senso di ‘affascinare, incantare’ (lettera a Garbini del 25 agosto 1919). Bertoni (1913: 166-167) propone \**laguru*. Merlo (1929: 310) ipotizza \**ligorio*/\**logorio*. Meyer-Lübke riconduce senz’altro le varie forme romanze a *lacerta* (REW 4821). Dauzat (1915: 248-251), resosi conto dell’impossibilità di far derivare le forme italiane settentrionali *languro/linguro* e provenzali (femminili) *langrolo/ringloro* da *lacerta*, ricorre a \**langurus -a*, basi derivate dalla glossa di Plinio

<sup>17</sup> Dalla stessa base *caecus*, con suffissi diversi, gen. *saguřęřa*, Zoagli (AIS p. 187) *seguřęřa* ‘orbettino’ < \**caeculicula* (Parodi 1902-05: 143-144)/ \**caeculilia* (Nigra 1896-98: 378).

<sup>18</sup> *ř* + *n* davanti a consonante > b.lat./gal.rom.(I-IX sec.) *en* > franc. a. (X sec.) *ēn* > franc. a./franc. medio *ān* (XI-XV sec.) > franc. med. *ā(n)* (XVI sec.) > franc. mod. *ā* (dal sec. XVII) [Dict. étym.- Introduction: XVI-XVII].

<sup>19</sup> Werner Forner, comunicazione personale, lettera del 12.08.2001.

<sup>20</sup> Anche *matarā* ‘giavellotto gallico’ (Cesare “De bello gallico” 1,26,3 [Castiglioni/Mariotti 1970]).

<sup>21</sup> Inoltre napoletano e irpino *sajettone* ‘ramarro’, valsassina *saitun* ‘serpente’ (Faré 1972: 363).

<sup>22</sup> Bordighera presenta una certa oscillazione fra *řgurbřa* e *argö* nel significato di ‘lucertola’. Per Miele 1971, *řgurbřa* ‘geco’; *angheu* ‘lucertola’ (eu = ö). A Dolceacqua per ‘ramarro’ si usa *argö véřdu*. A Cesio, Cartari e Torria, secondo i miei informatori, *argö/argéu* indicherebbe sia la lucertola che il ramarro.

(*bestias languros*<sup>23</sup>, pur ammettendo l'intervento dell'etimologia popolare per accostamento a *lingua* (cfr. Borghetto Vara *lengüö* [m.c.]; Cicagna, Montebruno, Vallebona *lengō* 'ramarro' [m.c.]), necessario per spiegare alcune forme<sup>24</sup>. La sua proposta è stata ripresa da von Wartburg, nel FEW, alla voce *languria*, 'eidechse' (lucertola). Battisti, nel DEI, riconduce la voce *liguro* al latino *langa* e *langurus* 'lucertola', probabile relitto di origine mediterranea. Anche Rohlf (1988: 59-60) ritiene possibile una relazione fra *languria* e i termini in uso nelle colonie gallo-italiche della Lucania per indicare il ramarro, derivanti da forme settentrionali che presupporrebbero *\*lagorū*/*\*ligorū*. Per Azaretti (1977: 101) da *anguiölu*, che ritiene essere alla base delle varie forme liguri per 'ramarro'. Petracco Sicardi (2002: s.v. *angö*) risale a un tipo *\*la(n)gorio* o *\*langolo*, deformazione del latino *lacerta*. Olivieri (1985: 200) ha ipotizzato *\*la(n)ga* + suff. romanzo *-ölu* (tonico) per spiegare il genovese *lagō*, il ventimigliese *angö*, il pignasco *angòř*, il monegasco *angéñu* 'orbettino' e *\*langölacëu* o *\*languracëu* per il sanremasco *langurasu*<sup>25</sup>. Il termine *\*langurus* viene fatto risalire al celtico (E. Klett, G. Rohlf) o al ligure prelatino (W. von Wartburg, C. Battisti, R. Olivieri). Interessanti connessioni possono trovarsi con le lingue dell'India. CDIL (11009) elenca una serie di forme (p.es.: Pali *langula*; Pashai *langün*; Hindi *langūr* rispettivamente 'coda', 'pene', 'scimmia dalla lunga coda'), per le quali propone un'origine non indoeuropea ("Variety of form attests non-Aryan origin"). In CDIL/ADD (11009) viene invece riportata l'ipotesi di T. Burrow, BSOAS XXXVIII 65, di una derivazione da IE. *\*longulo* (?*leng* 'bend, swing' IEW 676). Indipendentemente dall'origine indoeuropea o meno (lascio il problema in mano agli specialisti della materia), è importante notare come il significato di 'coda', da cui discendono tutti gli altri, ben si adatti alla lucertola, per varie ragioni: è un elemento del corpo visibile e caratterizzante; rientra nel concetto di 'oggetto di forma stretta ed allungata' passato, in molti casi, a denominare la lucertola (cfr. *sgorbia/lesina*); colpisce la fantasia popolare in quanto la coda, se tagliata, ricresce.

### 8. b) *luggō*

Isolabona (r.p.)

< *longus* 'lungo' + *anguiölu* o *\*langölu*

Vedi la voce precedente e la nota 24.

### 8. c) *anguřéta*

Carpasio, Prelà (VPL), Rezzo, Tavole di Prelà (m.c.), Seborga, Sasso fraz. di Bordighera, Pietrabruna, Aurigo, Caravonica (r.p.)

*anguřeta* Bestagno (Lagom.)

*anguřeta* Pontedassio, Civezza, Dolcedo, Borgomaro (r.p.)

*languřeta* Sanremo (r.p.)<sup>26</sup>

*langu(ř)řeta* Pompeiana, Riva Ligure (r.p.)

*languřeta* Taggia, Castellaro, San Bartolomeo al Mare (r.p.), Arma di Taggia (m.c.; r.p.)

Stranamente il LEI non riporta questo lessema sotto la voce *anguis* 'serpente', neanche il termine di Borgomaro che pure è presente nell' AIS. Griera (1928: 27)<sup>27</sup> e Klett (1929: 60)

<sup>23</sup> "...alios id dicere *langurium* et esse in Italia *bestias languros*. Zenothemis *langas* vocat easdem et circa Padum iis vitam adsignat" (Nat. Hist. 37,34).

<sup>24</sup> E, aggiungerei, a *lōngus* per *luggō* 'ramarro' (Cosio, Montegrosso Pian Latte; r.p.).

<sup>25</sup> Il VPL per Sanremo riporta *aguřasu*, Carli 1973 *lagurassu*, entrambi 'ramarro'.

<sup>26</sup> Carli (1973): *lagureta* 'tarantola' ('geco')

<sup>27</sup> Griera Antoni (1928), "Entorn de l'Atlas Linguistique de l'Italie et de la Suisse Méridionale de K. Jaberg i J.

propongono, per quest'ultimo, una derivazione diretta da *anguis* (+ *itta*), sulla base di *anġuġéta* riportata nell' AIS (III 449 p. 193). In realtà la forma corretta è *anġuġéta*, come ho potuto accertare personalmente. Quindi, più precisamente, tenendo conto delle forme che mantengono *-ř-*, si dovrebbe partire da *anguis* + *ŭla* + *itta*, con doppio suffisso diminutivo. E' comunque possibile, come per *anġö*, una derivazione da *langa*/\**langurus* -a. La caduta di *-ŋ* in diversi punti<sup>28</sup>, secondo Olivieri (1985: 200), non è spiegabile su basi esclusivamente fonetiche, ma è probabilmente dovuta all'influsso di altre voci. Olivieri, però, non specifica quali possano essere queste voci. Si potrebbe ipotizzare un \**aculitta* < *acus* 'ago' (oggetto di forma stretta ed allungata)<sup>29</sup>, con doppio suff. dim. *ŭla* + *itta*. Dato che nei dialetti liguri è più facile una eventuale inserzione che una caduta di *-ŋ* (cfr. Vallecrosia, Ventimiglia [r.p.] *niŋsöřa* 'nocciola' < \**nŭceöřa* [REW 5980]; *iŋbriágu* 'ubriaco' < *ebriacus* [REW 2818, FEW III 199b-200b]) si potrebbe anche pensare ad un ipercorrettismo, forse di origine urbana (le forme con caduta di *-ŋ* sono presenti a Sanremo, a Taggia e lungo la costa), restauratore di una presunta situazione originaria \*(*l*)*agulitta*/\**laguritta*. Ritengo che gli etimi possibili per spiegare l'origine delle varie forme (non solo liguri) per 'ramarro' (*anġö*) e 'lucertola' (*anġuřéta*) siano solo due: *anguis* e *langa*/\**langurus*, senza necessariamente dover operare una scelta drastica. Il latino *anguis*, portato dai colonizzatori romani, ha incontrato (nell'Italia settentrionale) l'indigeno *langa*/\**langurus*. I due termini, foneticamente simili e dal significato affine, possono aver interagito influenzandosi e/o incrociandosi reciprocamente, subendo, in alcuni casi, come abbiamo già visto, accostamenti paretimologici a *lingua* o *longus*.

## 9. *raskása*

Perinaldo (r.p.), Sanremo (VPL; Carli 1973<sup>30</sup>; r.p.), Ospedaletti (r.p.)

Deverbale da \**rasĭcäre* 'raschiare' (REW 7074), su *rasäre* + suffisso *-ācea* (Azaretti 1992: 51). A Sanremo e Perinaldo il termine è utilizzato sia per 'lucertola' che per 'geco' anche se, normalmente, nel Ponente Ligure, serve per denominare solo il 'geco' (p. es. San Biagio della Cima, Apricale [*raskása*]; Castelvittorio [*raskáza*]; r.p.). A Perinaldo, per indicare più specificamente il gecko, quando vi sia possibilità di confusione, si dice '*raskása grósa*'<sup>31</sup>.

## 10. *fuřmėġuřa*

Realdo (r.p.)

*fuřmėġura* Briga (ALP p.76)

*fėrmegiura* Briga, Verdeggia, Upega, Carnino, Viozene (Massajoli-Moriani 1991), Realdo (Massajoli-Moriani 1991; Bologna 1991)

*fuřmegiura* Piaggia (Massajoli-Moriani 1991)

Tipo marginale nella Liguria propriamente detta, ma presente in maniera compatta nei dialetti

Jud", *Anuari de l'Oficina Románica* 1: 1-18. Non ho potuto, purtroppo, consultare direttamente quest'opera. La citazione è tratta da Grzega (2002: 2).

<sup>28</sup> Lo stesso fenomeno si verifica anche nelle denominazioni per il ramarro (vedi alla voce *anġö* del VPL).

<sup>29</sup> Da *acus*, con l'aggiunta di vari suffissi, derivano numerosi ittonimi che denominano, nei dialetti liguri, diverse varietà di pesci dalla forma allungata e sottile. Vedi VPL/LS 2-1, sotto le voci *agũgia* (< *acũcũla*); *agugĩou* (< *acũcũlatus*); *agugliàn* (< *acũcula* + suff. *ānus*); *agũn* (< *acus* + suff. *ōne*).

<sup>30</sup> Anche 'tarantola' (da intendersi 'gecko').

<sup>31</sup> A Sanremo, secondo la documentazione disponibile, sarebbero in uso ben tre termini diversi per la lucertola. Di fatto, però, gli informatori a cui mi sono rivolto non conoscono *meřėġuřa* ma solo *laguřėta* e *raskása*, forme che vengono usate abbastanza indifferentemente.

‘brigaschi’ dell’alta Val Roja, per il quale non mi risulta che siano state avanzate proposte etimologiche. E’ da escludere, per motivi fonetici, una derivazione diretta da *formūcula* (REW 3448), che dà, in quei dialetti, *furnigura/fěrniguřa* (Massajoli/Moriani 1991; Bologna 1991) ‘formica’. Se non si tratta di un termine prelatino si potrebbe pensare a °*forfex/forfice* (REW 3425) ‘forbice’ + *media* ‘mezza’ + suff. dim. *-ŭla* (*-di-* nei dialetti brigaschi > ġ; Petracco Sicardi [1989: 21-22]). Un passaggio semantico parallelo ‘forbici’ ? ‘animale’ si ha nell’italiano *forfecchia*, ‘forficula auricularia, insetto’ < *forficula* (REW 3437), nel ligure (Vallecrosia, Ventimiglia [r.p.], Sanremo [VPL]) *tešujřeta* ‘forfecchia’ < *tešujře*<sup>32</sup> ‘forbici’ < *tonserie* ‘forbici’ + \**caesoria* ‘cesoie’ [Azaretti 1977: 295]) e nel dialetto del Livinallongo *forfejigola/ferfejigola* ‘lucertola’ < *forfex*<sup>33</sup>.

## 11. *skúrpĩa*

Bussana (VPL)

< \**scorpia* variante morfologica di \**scorpius* (REW 7741a).

## 12. *šgr ívuřu*

Ceriana, Montalto, Ormea, Prale, Garessio (r.p.), Viozene (Bologna 1991)

*šgrívura* Carbuta (Lagom.)

*šgr ívura* Boissano, Finalmarina (VPL), Verezzi (Nari 1986)

*šgrígura* Carbuta (m.c.)

*šgr ívua* Badalucco (r.p.)

*šgrívua* Varigotti (VPL)

*šgríguřa* Porto Maurizio (VPL), Cisano sul Neva (r.p.)

*šgrígua* Savona, Vobbia, Celle, Ronco Scrivia, Arenzano, Albisola, Loano (m.c.; VPL), Crocefieschi, Santa Margherita, Tovo San Giacomo (m.c.), Borgio (Nari 1984), Isola del Cantone, Sciarborasca (r.p.)

*šgríuřa* Erli, Bardino, Pornassio, Castelvecchio (VPL)

*šgríura* Calice (VPL)

*šgrígua* Voltaggio, Ronco Scrivia (m.c.)

*šgrívua* Loano (VPL)

*šgrígua* Cogoleto (VPL)

*šgríña* Pietra Ligure (Accame-Petracco 1981)

*gríguã*<sup>34</sup> Carasco, Tribogna, Rapallo, Busalla, Casella, Coreglia (m.c.), Oneglia (m.c.; VPL), Montebruno, Varazze, Genova, Camogli, Lavagna, Carro, Calasetta (VPL), Zoagli (AIS p. 187), S. Stefano al Mare, Riva Ligure, Diano Marina, Diano Arentino, Villa Faraldi, Sarola, Vasia (r.p.), Carloforte (Vallebona 1987)<sup>35</sup>

*grívja* Tiglieto (m.c.)

<sup>32</sup> *forfex* sopravvive in Liguria nel senso di ‘cesoie per tondere’ a Zerli *fróbiše* (Plomteux 1975), Borghetto di Vara e Castelnuovo di Magra *fórbeša* (AIS p.189 e 199), Buggio *fòfjiže* (Pastor 1990), Verdeggia *fòRvže* (Capano 1983: 51).

<sup>33</sup> Per queste forme, Carlo Tagliavini (“Il dialetto del Livinallongo” [1934] in *Archivio per l’Alto Adige* 29: 134) ipotizza che *orbejigola* < *orbisicula* ‘orbettino’ (‘lucertola’ ad Arabba) sia stata confusa con il termine che indica la ‘forfecchia’ *forfežigola* < *forfex* + suff. *-icula*, a causa della sequenza di suono simile (in Grzega 2002: 3).

<sup>34</sup> A Monteghirfi (Val Fontanabuona) *grígua* ‘geco’ (Cuneo 1992: 46). A La Spezia *grigojñ* ‘lucertolina’ (Lena 1992).

<sup>35</sup> Garbini (1925: 605) riporta *grigua* per Oneglia, Genova, Sori, Busalla, Fegina, Camogli, Chiavari, Rapallo, Varazze, Carloforte; *sgríura* per Oneglia; *sgrívura* per Finalborgo d’Albenga e Finalmarina; *sgrígua* per Albenga, Savona e Garessio.



**gríguřu** Ranzo, Ortovero, Villanova d'Albenga (r.p.)

L'etimologia è abbastanza oscura. Apro시오 (2002: 256 s.v. *grigua*) riporta la proposta di Parodi E.G. (Giornale Ligustico 12 [1885]: 256) *\*languria* (Plinio) > *\*languricula* > *\*liguricula* > *grigura* (*la/li* interpretati come articoli) > *grīgura*. Klett (1929: 17) riconduce il tipo ad una radice *lig-*, e propone un accostamento, per paraetimologia, al lombardo antico *grigora*, lombardo *grigola* 'briciola' che il REW connette per dissimilazione al tipo *frigula* (*frégola* + *micula*, 3501 v. *fricare*) che significa 'cosa piccola' (anche Scarsi 1993: 70-71). Petracco Sicardi (2002 s.v. *šgríguřa*), considerando la presenza di molte varianti fonetiche (prefisso *-ex* oscillante, alternanza tra *g* e *v*, *ǵ* e *i*) indipendenti dall'evoluzione storica, propone un'origine onomatopeica. Non escluderei, per alcune varianti, la possibilità di un influsso o un incrocio di *griva* 'tordella' < franc. *grive* < *\*graeca avis* (REW 3832)<sup>36</sup>.

### 13. *skarpjèla*

S. Lorenzo al Mare (r.p.)

Tipo isolato. Probabile incrocio tra *\*scorpiā* e germ. *\*skarpa* 'scarpa' (REW 7981c, FEW XVII 101b) + suff. dim. *-èlla*.

### 14. *grila*

Cosio d'Arroscia (r.p.)

< *grilu* 'grillo' < *gryllus* (REW 3900, FEW IV 268a-270a).

Per il genere femminile, cfr. Vallecrosia (r.p.) e Arenzano (VPL): *grilása* 'cavalletta'. La voce è sentita come più recente rispetto a *meségua*. Tipo isolato.

### 15. *ǵera*

Montegrosso Pian Latte (r.p.)

Tipo isolato e di etimo sconosciuto. Una connessione con le forme latine *gerres* (masch.) 'specie di acciuga' (REW 3746, Walde/Hofmann 596)<sup>37</sup> e *gerricula* 'piccola acciuga' (Walde/Hofmann 596)<sup>38</sup>, ipotizzando *\*gerra*<sup>39</sup>, variante morfologica di *gerres* (favorita dalla presenza di *gerricula*), è difficile per motivi di natura fonetica più che semantica<sup>40</sup>. A Montegrosso, infatti, *g* + *e* > *ś*: *gelu* > *śeu*; *ǵ* in posizione iniziale può derivare da *bl-* o *gl-*. Dato che *-r-* <

<sup>36</sup> L'ipotesi che si potrebbe avanzare, di una derivazione da *\*scripula*, variante morfologica di *scripulus* 'sassolino aguzzo, a punta' (Castiglioni-Mariotti 1970; LTL IV: 265) che, foneticamente, potrebbe spiegare la maggior parte delle forme liguri (Per *cr* > *gr* vedi *grita* 'granchio' < *krypta* e *kangrégu* 'paguro' < *cancri cūlu* [Azaretti 1977: 88]; *-p-* > *-v-* [Azaretti 1977: 74-75] e, in parte > *0* [Cuneo 1992: 31-32], con successivo inserimento di consonante eufonica *-g-* al fine di evitare il iato [cfr. gen./vent. *ūga* 'uva']), incontra alcune difficoltà. Le forme romanze riportate dal FEW s.v. *scripulus* sono palesemente di origine dotta e, inoltre, non ho trovato riscontri per un'evoluzione semantica parallela 'sasso, pietra' → 'rettile'. Cfr., però, *katrepjǵr* 'lucertola' (ALF p. 270) < *\*quattorpedia* + *petra* (Klett 1929: 45-46).

<sup>37</sup> Da *gerres* > vent. (e panligure) *śeru* 'zerro (Spicara vulgaris), pesce' con passaggio di declinazione (Azaretti 1992: 38; VPL/LS 2-I).

<sup>38</sup> Le definizioni sono tratte da Castiglioni/Mariotti 1970.

<sup>39</sup> *gerra* è attestato in Varrone (Walde/Hofmann: 596), ma nel significato di 'graticcio', che non saprei come rapportare alla lucertola.

<sup>40</sup> Per il passaggio 'pesce' → 'rettile', cfr. *raskása*, deverbale da *\*rasicāre*, che, dal significato di 'scorpena' (Vallecrosia, Ventimiglia; VPL/LS 2-I) è passato a 'geco' in diverse località del Ponente Ligure (p. es. San Biagio della Cima; r.p.) e 'lucertola' a Perinaldo, Ospedaletti e Sanremo.

-rr- (-r- e -l- > ř > 0), con tutte le cautele del caso, si potrebbe pensare ad un incrocio *glis* ‘ghiro’ (REW 3787 > [ratu] *ģi* [Borghetto San Nicolò; r.p.]) + *vīverra* ‘furetto, donnola’ (REW 9412 > *vèra* ‘scoiattolo’ [Pontedassio, Pornassio, Pieve di Teco; VPL]). L’accostamento semantico ‘ghiro’/‘lucertola’ sarebbe dovuto al fatto che entrambi, d’inverno, vanno in letargo. Il furetto e la donnola sono animali di forma allungata e stretta, di piccola taglia (in particolare la donnola) e agili. Il paragone con la lucertola non è certamente impossibile. *Vīverra* è all’origine di varie forme liguri (v. VPL) per denominare lo scoiattolo; quindi il termine che indicava un predatore è passato, addirittura, ad indicare una sua possibile preda. In alternativa non resta che pensare ad un oscuro etimo prelatino.

## 16. *briguřéta*

Albenga (VPL), Salea fraz. di Albenga, Garlenda<sup>41</sup> (r.p.)

< *verrūca* ‘porro, verruca’ (REW 9241) + suff. -ulo- con ulteriore aggiunta del suff. -etto; l’esito -i- da *ü* < *ū* (delabializzazione) è spiegabile con -ř-, elemento palatalizzante (Petracco Sicardi 2002 s.v. *briguřéta*). E’ possibile anche la derivazione da (*ś*)*griguřa* accostato a *briguřa* ‘foruncolo’ < *verrūca* + suff. -řtta, per paraetimologia.

## 17. *čáta*

Noli (AIS p. 185)

Femminile da *čátu* ‘piatto’ < *\*plattus* (REW 6586, FEW IX 51a-b). Tipo isolato<sup>42</sup>.

## 18. *ratuéja*

Noli (m.c.)

Il termine indica anche il pipistrello. Da *\*ratta* + *\*volatoria* (Petracco Sicardi 2002 s.v. *ratu* ? *rata vueira*), con evoluzione semantica particolare, forse ‘pipistrello’ ? ‘animale brutto’ ? ‘lucertola’. Tipo isolato.

## 19. a) *lažërta*

Millesimo, Campoligure (VPL), Carcare (m.c.)

*lažárta* Rossiglione (VPL)

*lažërda* Calizzano (AIS p.184; VPL; m.c.), *Rialto* (m.c.)

*laņžërta* Masone (r.p.)

*lašárta* Viola (r.p.)

*lešërta* Gavi Ligure (AIS p. 169)

< *lacerta* (REW 4821, FEW V 115b-118b). E’ il tipo del latino classico<sup>43</sup>, diffuso, con le varianti *lucerta/lucertula* e anche con incroci con altre voci, in tutto il territorio italiano (AIS III 449). La forma di Masone potrebbe essere incrociata con *lancea*.

<sup>41</sup> Anche *briguřa*.

<sup>42</sup> Cfr. a Monaco *ratabrūna d é čate* ‘geco’ (Arveiller 1967: 98).

<sup>43</sup> Da *lacertus* (REW 4821a) derivano, con leggere varianti fonetiche, i termini liguri per indicare lo ‘sgombro’ (VPL/LS 2-I s.v. *laxertu*).

**19. b) lüžerta**

Torriglia, Tiglieto, Urbe, Stella, Mioglia (m.c.) Pontinvrea, (VPL; m.c.), Sassello (VPL; AIS p. 177), Terzorio (r.p.)

*lüšerta* Borzonasca, Cicagna (VPL; m.c.)<sup>44</sup>

*lüšerta* Serravalle Scrivia, Vignole Borbera, Novi Ligure (m.c.)

*ližerta* Dego (VPL; r.p.)

< *lūcerta* (*lacerta* con influsso di *luce* ‘luce’ [REW 4821 2, FEW 116b-117a]).

**19. c) lüžertua**

Chiavari (VPL; m.c.), Montebruno (VPL), Ne (r.p.)

*lišertua* Carasco (m.c.)

*ližertua* Murialdo (r.p.)

*ližertra* Rovegno (AIS p. 179)

*lužertura* Bonifacio (Corsica; ALEIC)

*lüžertu(ř)a* Chiusanico

< *lūcerta* + *-ūla*. E’ anche il tipo dell’italiano. Il passaggio *ü* > *i* è normale a Rovegno<sup>45</sup>. Nelle altre località si è avuto un processo di delabializzazione, favorito dalla presenza delle consonanti fricative palatali *š* e *ž*. La forma di Chiusanico e quella di Terzorio (v. sopra al n. 19.b), uniche attestazioni nel Ponente Ligure, potrebbero essere l’ultima testimonianza di un’antica area di *lucerta/lucertula* nella Liguria occidentale.

**19. d) ližertena**

Fontanigorda (m.c.)

< *lucerta* incrociata con *lésena*?

**20. a) léšuču**

S.Maria di Taro fraz. di Tornolo (m.c.)

*léšua* Sesta Godano (m.c.), Levanto, Moneglia (VPL; m.c.), Voltri (Lagom.), Lavagna, Sestri Levante (VPL)

*lēšua* Camogli (m.c.)

*lēšua* Casarza (m.c.)

*löšua* Val Graveglia (Plomteux 1975), Comuneglia (m.c.), Chiavari (m.c.)<sup>46</sup>, Casarza (m.c.), Maissana, Varese Ligure (VPL)

*lēžua* Borghetto Vara, Vernazza (m.c.)

*lésoa* La Spezia (VPL; Lena 1992), Calice Cornoviglio (VPL)

*léžua* Carro, Campiglia fraz. di Spezia (VPL)

*lēžoa* Biassa (m.c.)

*li éžua* Rocchetta Vara, Pignone (VPL)

*lēšuča* Calice Cornoviglio (VPL; m.c.)

*léšera* Bedonia (m.c.)

*lésra* Borgotaro (m.c.)

*lésera* Borgotaro, Tornolo, Bedonia (Petroli 1983: 238)

<sup>44</sup> A Borzonasca e Cicagna -ž- intervocalico < -CI-, -CE-, -SI-, -TJ-, -PS- viene desonorizzato in -š-.

<sup>45</sup> La stessa evoluzione fonetica è presente anche a Pigna e Buggio nella Liguria occidentale.

<sup>46</sup> Garbini (1925: 606): *löscina* per Chiavari.

*lěšura* Albareto (Petrolini 1983: 238)

*lěsura* Compiano, Casale fraz. di Tornolo, Alpe fraz. di Bedonia, Santa Maria di Taro fraz. di Tornolo (Petrolini 1983: 238)

## 20. b) *lěšena*

Castelnuovo Magra (AIS p.199)

*lěšna* Mulazzo, Nicola (m.c.)

*lěšna* Cassano fraz. di Borghetto di Vara (AIS p.189)

*lěšona* Sarzana (VPL)

*lěšena* Lerici (VPL)

*lěj žina* Riomaggiore (VPL)

Klett (1929: 80-81) pone entrambi i tipi nei termini di incerta provenienza (“Wörter unsicherer herkunft”). Plomteux (1975) ipotizza, per 20.a), una probabile origine preromana, forse di sostrato alpino-ligure, da connettere con il tipo ticinese ‘*lòsola, lòsora*’, studiato da Merlo (1929: 308). Per Petracco Sicardi (2002 s.v. *lěšua*) il presupposto di 20.a) sono forme del tipo *\*lecina/\*lociula* che il Merlo attribuisce al sostrato preromano. Petrolini (1983: 238) riconduce la forma di S. Maria di Taro e altre della Val di Taro al tipo *lěšena*. Il LEI riunisce i due tipi sotto la voce *\*alisna* ‘lesina’ (Germanismi I, fasc.1: 34), proponendo per alcune voci (Da intendersi, presumo, *lěšuiša* e simili) un incrocio con gli esiti fonetici di *lacerta*<sup>47</sup>. L’eventuale ipotesi, per 20.a), di un deverbale *līxa* da *līxare* ‘sdruciolare, scivolare’ (FEW 381a-384b) + suff. dim. *-īla*, è vanificata dalla forma di Rocchetta Vara e Pignone (*lěžua*), perchè il dittongo *-īé-* presuppone *e* breve. I due tipi sono probabilmente collegati: per 20.b), diffuso nell’orlo orientale della Liguria, nell’area lunigianese (*lěšna* ad Arzengio, AIS p.500) e apuano-garfagnina (LEI: 34), vi è stato un accostamento semantico a ‘lesina’ < germ. *\*alisonō/ \*alisna* ‘lesina’ (REW 346, FEW XV, 1, 16a-17b, LEI - Germanismi I, fasc. 1: 35-36)<sup>48</sup>. A favore di questa tesi vi è, da un lato, la contiguità territoriale, dall’altro la presenza di *lěsoa* (LEI – Germanismi I, fasc. 1: 34) a Camporgiano in Garfagnana.

## 21. *tarántua*

Monterosso (m.c.)

*tarantola* < *\*Tarantum* ‘Taranto’ (REW 8569). Voce isolata in Liguria per ‘lucertola’, è più diffusa nei dialetti liguri per ‘scorpione’ (VPL). Nell’area italiana spesso indica anche la salamandra (AIS III 456). Secondo Garbini (: 836), ‘ramarro’ a Cologna a Montepagano (Teramo): *tarandell* e ‘lucertola’ a Spalato: *taràntela* (: 604).

## Conclusioni

- I numerosi tipi presenti nel territorio ligure sono prevalentemente di origine latina, in parte risalenti a termini che indicavano più o meno genericamente rettili o animali affini (*lacerta/lucerta, scorpione/\*scorpia, anguis, lacrimusa, tarantola* < *\*tarantum*) e in parte a termini che individuavano oggetti che, per le loro caratteristiche (forma stretta e allungata), si prestavano ad essere paragonati alla lucertola (*mesancula, gulbia, forfex*). Non mancano nuove creazioni, utilizzando materiale latino (*\*plattus, \*ratta volatoria, \*rasicare, gryllus*) e incroci (*\*scorpia* + germ. *\*skarpa*;

<sup>47</sup> Il LEI fa un po’ di confusione e attribuisce erroneamente il significato di ‘lucertola’ anche a forme che indicano semplicemente la ‘lesina’ per Varazze, Sassello, Rossiglione (cfr. VPL).

<sup>48</sup> Cfr. n. 4.

\**ratta* + franco *brun*; *léšuča* + franco \**alisna*; *griguča* + *briguča*); dal provenzale proviene *alabreno*. Ad un sostrato prelatino risalgono *langa*/\**langurus* e *léšuča*. Incerta è la posizione di *šgrivuča*/*griguča* e *ğera*.

- L'evidente frammentazione lessicale porta con sé la conseguenza che non esiste un tipo che si possa definire panligure, neanche *šgrivuča*, che è anche il tipo di Genova (*griguča*) ed è, comunque, il più diffuso, per lo meno geograficamente. A questo proposito, si può rilevare che la maggiore distribuzione di questo termine sembrerebbe dovuta al fatto che sia il tipo del capoluogo. Se si dà un'occhiata ad una carta della Liguria, però, possiamo notare come esso presenti la maggior concentrazione nella zona compresa tra la parte orientale della Provincia di Imperia e quella occidentale della Provincia di Savona, in cui penetra anche profondamente nell'entroterra, arrivando perfino a Mendatica, Ormea e Garessio (queste ultime due già in Piemonte). Nel resto della Provincia di Savona e in quella di Genova stessa, il tipo rimane confinato lungo la costa, risalendo solo la Val Polcevera, la Val Bisagno e le immediate adiacenze. Se *griguča* fosse stato il tipo originario di Genova, dovrebbe aver avuto tutto il tempo per imporsi completamente, per lo meno nelle zone relativamente vicine alla città. Ritengo probabile, quindi, che Genova abbia ricevuto il suo attuale tipo dalla Riviera di Ponente, e non viceversa<sup>49</sup>, e lo abbia a sua volta successivamente esportato senza riuscire, però, ad eliminare, se non in maniera parziale, le altre forme concorrenti. A questo punto ci si chiede quale fosse il termine originario. La presenza di un prezioso relitto come *léšuča* a Voltri, potrebbe rendere possibile l'ipotesi che questa fosse la forma originaria e non *griguča*. Si rende pertanto necessario, a questo punto, verificare anche la situazione di Bonifacio, colonia ligure in Corsica (XII sec.), che ha il tipo '*lucertola*' (*lužertura*), il quale non è un corsismo<sup>50</sup> perchè presenta l'evoluzione fonetica decisamente 'ligure' *-l-* > *-r-* e *-c* + *e* > *ž* (Bottiglioni 1928: 132 e 140), non condivisa dal corso; manca, invece, *-ū-* > *-ü-*, che è l'esito normale nel dialetto bonifacino (Bottiglioni 1928: 55)<sup>51</sup>, ma è del tutto assente nel corso. Dunque, nel sec. XIII, il genovesato apparteneva all'area di '*lucertola/lucerta*', che doveva essere, in passato, molto più estesa di quella attuale. Si profila, quindi, uno scenario di questo tipo: '*lucertola*' si è sovrapposta a *léšuča*<sup>52</sup> ed è stata, a sua volta, sostituita, lungo la costa e a Genova, da *šgrivuča*/*griguča*, in un periodo che, cronologicamente, può essere situato tra il XIII e il XVI sec., tenendo conto che Carloforte e Calasetta, (paesi fondati dai discendenti di abitanti di Pegli<sup>53</sup> che si erano stabiliti, a partire dalla fine del XVI sec., nell'isola di Tabarca, situata di fronte a Tunisi, e successivamente, dal 1737, nelle sedi attuali nell'isola di San Pietro e Sant'Antioco in Sardegna, grazie all'intervento di Carlo Emanuele III di Savoia) hanno *griguča*.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Ciò non deve stupire. E' molto probabile, p. es., che la palatalizzazione avanzata dei nessi consonantici latini PL > č, BL > ě, FL > š, considerata la principale caratteristica dei dialetti liguri, sia un'innovazione la cui origine è da ricercarsi nella parte centro-occidentale della Liguria (Albenga). L'innovazione non ha, comunque, raggiunto alcune zone periferiche dell'area ligure come l'Alta Val Trebbia, Fontanigorda, Rovegno (AIS p. 179), Gorreto che hanno gli esiti 'italiani' *pj* – *bj* – *fj*. Nella stessa Genova *piŋ* 'pieno' < *plenus* vs. ligure occidentale *čeŋ* (Petraico Sicardi 1992: 19-20; Toso 1995: 31-32).

<sup>50</sup> La Corsica ha il tipo '*lucertola*' come risulta dalla carta 1341 dell'ALEIC.

<sup>51</sup> In Internet, all'indirizzo '[http://perso.club-internet.fr/gcompa/site\\_b\\_dialecte/b\\_lexique\\_bf.html](http://perso.club-internet.fr/gcompa/site_b_dialecte/b_lexique_bf.html)' ho trovato un "Essai d'un lexique bonifacien-français" che riporta *ligertura* 'lézard'. Questa forma presenta, oltre ai passaggi già indicati nel testo, anche una delabializzazione *ü* > *i*, il che la renderebbe completamente 'ligure'. Non so, però, quale sia l'attendibilità di questa fonte.

<sup>52</sup> Ciò confermerebbe la probabile origine preromana di *léšuča*.

<sup>53</sup> Voltri e Pegli, località molto vicine fra loro, un tempo erano comuni autonomi; attualmente fanno parte della città di Genova.

<sup>54</sup> Il processo di sostituzione deve essere stato, comunque, lungo. Aprozio (2002: 644 s.v. *luxaerta*) riporta il

- La presenza militare romana, che deve essere stata notevole, specialmente nell'attuale Liguria Occidentale, in un primo tempo per combattere le tribù liguri che si erano alleate con i Cartaginesi nel corso della II guerra punica e, in seguito, per difendere i collegamenti con la Gallia Transalpina (non bisogna dimenticare, infatti, che i territori dell'arco alpino occidentale furono definitivamente sottomessi solo poco prima della nascita di Cristo) ha favorito la diffusione del tipo *mesancula*. Le popolazioni autoctone, a contatto quasi quotidiano con i soldati, hanno dovuto, per necessità, apprendere un latino che, inevitabilmente, era ricco di termini gergali sorti negli ambienti militari. Per quanto riguarda il caso specifico della lucertola, queste popolazioni, accanto al termine indigeno (*langa*/\**langurus*), hanno iniziato ad usare, quando dovevano utilizzare il latino, il termine del 'sermo castrensis' *mesancula*. Il termine indigeno, come abbiamo visto, è comunque in parte sopravvissuto, probabilmente favorito dalla presenza del quasi omofono latino *anguis*<sup>55</sup>.
  
- La Liguria appare, nel suo complesso, poco aperta a influssi lessicali esterni (nel caso della lucertola); anzi, si caratterizza per l'adozione di tipi propri: *šgurbja*, *mešéguša*, *ğera*, *fušméguša*, *škarpièla*, *grila*, *ratabruša*, *čata*, *ratuèja*, *šgrivuša*/*grigusa*, *brigušeta* non hanno sicuro riscontro, nel significato di 'lucertola' o affini, al di fuori del territorio ligure (da intendere come in premessa). I tipi provenzali sono presenti solo marginalmente, nella parte più occidentale dell'area oggetto della mia ricerca, e praticamente assenti nella Liguria propriamente detta. La zona dell'Oltregiogo savonese e dell'Appennino emiliano-ligure condivide, con i confinanti dialetti piemontesi ed emiliani, *lacerta/lucerta/lucertola* (v. AIS carta 449); trattandosi, però, in questo caso, del tipo originario del latino classico, è difficile pensare ad un prestito da parte di quei dialetti al ligure. Per quanto concerne la parte orientale, *léšušā* sembra risalire ad epoca preromana.
  
- Alcuni tipi sono attualmente in espansione ed altri in regresso. E' il caso di *grigusa* che, nella Riviera di Levante, tende a soppiantare *léšušā*, mentre nell'estremo Ponente ligure *angušeta*, da un lato, nell'entroterra, avanza a spese di *mešéguša*<sup>56</sup>, dall'altro cede terreno, sulla costa, nei confronti di *šgrivuša*/*grigusa*<sup>57</sup>.

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seguinte verso della 'Ra Gerusalemme deliverà' ("La Gerusalemme liberata", un poemetto genovese da datarsi, probabilmente, 1755): ...*atro che grilli, grigore e luxaerte...*, che testimonierebbe la presenza di *ližèrta*, a fianco di *grigusa*, ancora in pieno XVIII secolo.

<sup>55</sup> Sarebbe interessante verificare se *mesancula* (+ *salamandra* ? + *mataris* ?) sia alla base anche delle forme settentrionali del tipo *marasangola* cui accennava la Scarsi.

<sup>56</sup> Nei materiali inediti di Lagomaggiore, per Aurigo compare *mešéguša*; a me è stato indicato *angušeta* come termine attuale.

<sup>57</sup> In varie località convivono tipi diversi.

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BERND GLIWA

**NUODINGŲ AUGALŲ *nuokana* ‘Cicuta virosa L.’ BEI *nuokanis* ‘TOKS GRYBAS, LACTARIUS TURPIS WEINM.’ PAVADINIMAI LIETUVIŲ KALBOJE**

## Abstract

[The Lithuanian names of *nuokana* ‘Cicuta virosa L.’ and *nuokanis* ‘a poisonous mushroom, Lactarius turpis Weinm.’].

There are a number of names for ‘Cicuta virosa L.’ with quite clear motivation: *morkeles*, *morkiukai*, *-ropė*, *-ridikai* refer to the habitus of the root, *balazolė*, *vandens-* is motivated by its usual location near water; *garlė*, *gerdukulis*, *gerdokliai* are names common for other similar plants; *kvynis*, *-builiai*, *-maudas* underline the similarity to other herbs; *durna-*, *smert-*, *proto-*, *grabutis*, *mirštamasis*, *mirštamukai*, *šelmis tručyzninkas* give evidence of the fact that the plant is deadly poisonous and may have huge influence on a person’s psychical behaviour. *Čert-* or *velnias-* are names of the devil, who was thought to be responsible for the effort of poison.

The mushroom ‘Lactarius turpis Weinm.’ belongs to the *piengrybai* ‘milk-mushrooms’. Other names are *gruzas* and *guodkartėlė*. *Gruzas*, *gruzdas*, *gruzdė* are common names of different mushroom species which have to be well roasted (*gruzdėti*, *grūzdinti* ‘to roast’) before eating, otherwise they are poisonous, hot or bitter. *Guodkartėlė* refers to the bitter taste (*kartėlė*) and (likely) to the mushrooms’ feature of growing in groups (*guōtas* ‘group, cluster’).

The main body of the paper deals with *nuokana* and *nuokanis*. At first, *nuo-* could be understood as a prefix. Thus, the root Lith. *\*kan-* is seen in correlation with *kančią* ‘ache, pain’, *kentėti* ‘suffer’, *kanoti* ‘to cause pain, destroy, kill’ etc. or with *kįsti* ‘to bit’. Based on the root IE. *\*kon-* ‘to cause pain, destroy, kill’, particularly extended with *\*-t-* or *\*-k-*, Lith. *\*kan-* is related to Old Greek *κῶνκος* ‘flammable, dried up’, Old Ind. *kāṅksati* ‘want, expect, wait’, German *Hunger* ‘hunger’, Old Prussian *kānxtin* ‘discipline’ etc. Old Greek *κόνειον* names ‘hemlock, Conium maculatum L.’ = Lith. *mauda*, a very similar herb, which Sokrates was poisoned by. The comparison with *nuokandėlė* ‘Succisa pratensis’, German *Teufelsabbiss* lacks a semantic basis and is rejected.

On the other hand the possibility of a derivation from a root Lith. *\*nuok-/nuk-/nauk-* is discussed. Lith. *njukoti* ‘torture, torment’, *<sup>1</sup>niūkti* ‘to grow cloudy, gloom; snarl’, *<sup>2</sup>niūkti* ‘to weaken; grow mad’ < IE. *\*nōuk-* ‘torture, weaken’. Lith. *nōvis* ‘death’, *nōvyti* ‘to kill, cause pain, destroy’ is of the same structure as *dōvis* ‘gift’ < IE. *\*dō-* ‘id.’. Thus the possibility of *nuokana* as a derivate from the root IE. *\*nō-* ‘trouble’ is discussed. As Latvian *nāve* ‘death’, Old Prussian *nautei* (sing. *\*nauts*) ‘trouble’ < West Balt. *\*nautis* ‘(deadly) fatigue’ < verb. Balt.-Sl. *\*nau-* ‘id.’ < IE. *\*nāu-/nəu-* ‘id.’ are compared with *nōvis* ‘death’, *nōvyti* ‘to kill, cause pain’, this seems rather unlikely. Reflexes of the same root IE. *\*nāu-/nəu-* ‘id.’ are German *Not* ‘trouble’, Russian *навь* ‘corpse’, Toch. A *nut-*, B *naut-* ‘to decay, wither, cease’ etc.

Thus *nuokana*, no matter what the actual derivation was, either *\*NUOK-an-a* or *\*nuo-KAN-a*, is motivated by the meaning ‘by whom/which pain is caused’. On this stage it is not possible to reject neither *\*NUOK-an-a* nor *\*nuo-KAN-a*. Both hypotheses can account for for *nuokanis*.

*Garlė*, *gerdukulis* etc. name a group of poisonous, narcotic, hot or bitter herbs. They may be derived from IE. *\*g<sup>h</sup>her-* ‘hot, bitter, narcotic, poisonous’. Comparable daughter-forms of this root are Old Pr. *garkity* ‘Sinapis’, Old Ind. *gharmjvat* ‘hot’, *gharmāśu* ‘sun’ and may be German *gar* ‘cooked; ready’.

**Įžanga**

§1. *Nuokana* ‘Cicuta virosa L.’ yra skėtinių šeimos daugiametinis, labai nuodingas augalas. Jo lietuviški pavadinimai literatūroje (LBŽ, LF) yra sugrupuoti pagal gentį ir rūšį. Toks grupavimas neturi gilios prasmės, kadangi ‘Cicuta virosa’ yra vienintelė genties rūšis auganti Lietuvoje. Tad galima visus pavadinimus nagrinėti lygiaverčiai. Pavadinimai štai tokie: *balazolė*, *čertaplakė*, *čertaropė*, *durnaropė*, *garlė*, *gerdakulis*, *gerdokliai*, *grabutis*, *mirštamasis*, *mirštamukai*, *morkeles*, *morkiukai*, *nuodingoji nuokana* (botanikų naujadaras, skiriant gentį *nuokana* ‘Cicuta’ nuo rūšies *nuodingoji nuokana* ‘Cicuta virosa L.’), *proto ropė*,

*smertkvynis, smertkvynis tručiznuotas, šelmis tručyzninkas, šunbuiliai, vandens gerdokliai, vandens maudas, velnio ridikai* (LBŽ: 89; LF V: 52). Augalas auga prie vandens. Tai byloja pavadinimai *balažolė, vandens gerdokliai, vandens maudas*. Augalo, ypač jo šakniastiebio, išvaizdą nusako įvardijimai *morkes, morkiukai, čertaropė, durnaropė, proto ropė, velnio ridikai*, lygindami jį su kultūriniais augalais *morka* (*Daucus carota*), *ropė* (*Brassica rapa*) ar *ridikas* (*Raphanus sativus*). Nuodingumas, nuo kurio žmogaus *prōtas* susimaišo, atsispindi pavadinimuose *durnaropė, proto ropė, šelmis tručyzninkas. Ėlmis* – germanizmas, čia suprantamas kaip ‘apgavikas, apsimetėlis’ (LKŽ XIV: 622), nes apsinuodijimai pasitaiko dėl panašumo į kitus valgomus augalus (VA: 204). *Tručyzninkas, tručiznuotas* – hibridai iš lenk. *trucizna* ‘nuodai’ (SLA: 283). Pavojų mirtinai apsinuodyti išreiškia *grabutis (grābas* ‘kapas, karstas’), *mirštamasis, mirštamukai, smertkvynis* (slavizmas *smeřtis* ‘mirtis’ [SLA: 260]). Velnio sąsajos su nuodingais augalais aiškios – jis pasitaiko liaudies tikėjime. Dialektuose vartojamas ir sl. kilmės *čėrtas* (SLA: 113): *čertaplakė (pląkti* ‘mušti, pliekti; kultu...’), *čertaropė, velnio ridikai*, lat. *velnarutks* ‘nuodingoji nuokana’ (LLKŽ: 701) pažodžiui ‘velnio ridikas’. *Garlė, gerdukliis, gerdokliai* ir kiti panašūs vardai yra bendri keliems panašioms augalams. Jų kilmė bus toliau nagrinėjama. *Smertkvynio* antras sandas *kvynis* ‘kmynas, Carum carvi’ – panašus augalas, prieskonis. *Ėnbuiliai* reiškia ‘netikri builiai’. Sandas *šun-* suteikia reikšmę ‘panašus, bet menkesnis’ ne tik augalams pvz. *šūnvyšnė* ‘Atropa belladonna ir kt.’ bet ir daiktams *šūnkėlis* ‘prastas kelias’ ar žmonėms *šūndaktaris* ‘prastas ar apsišaukėlis gydytojas’. *Builiu* vadinti augalai ‘*Anthriscus*’ ir ‘*Allium schoenoprasum*’. Pastarasis, galbūt, sutrumpintas *cibulaitis* ‘t.p.’ (LBŽ: 15), liaudies etimologija prilyginamas *builiui*. Žodis *builis* laikomas slavizmu < brus. бѣль ‘žolė, kietis’ (LEW: 63).

§2. *Grybas* ‘*Lactarius turpis* Weinm. (arba *Lactarius necator* Pers.)’ nagrinėjamas kartu su *niūkana* ‘*Cicuta virosa*’, kadangi pavadinimai beveik tapatūs: *niūkanis, ruduokė nuokanis* (LKŽ VIII: 931). Sinonimai yra *biaurusis piengrybis* (botaninis pavadinimas), *gruzas, guodkartėlė* (LBŽ: 187). *Gruzas* ir panašūs pavadinimai *grūzdas* ‘*Lactarius piperatus*’, *grūzdas*, ‘t.p.’ *grūzdė* ‘toks piengrybis, *Lactarius*?’ (LKŽ III: 681), *pagrūzdis* ‘*Lactarius scrobiculatus*’ (LBŽ: 186) yra bendri keliems grybams “*Grūzdai kartūs, reikia gerai išvirti*”, “*Grūzdės yra kaip pienės, tik viršai kerši*” (LKŽ III: 681). Tie grybai valgomi gerai (ilgai) iškepti ar virti (arba sūdyti), nes tada praranda kartumą, aštrumą bei nuodingumą. Tad nieko nuostabaus juos lyginti su *grūzdinti* ‘pamažu deginti, kaitinti, kepinti’, *grūzdėti* ‘degti be liepsnos, rusėti, smilkti...’, *grūzti* ‘grūzdėti, smilkti’ bei *grūzdas* ‘taukuose virtas pyragaitis’ (LKŽ III: 681-685). *Grūzdas* ir kt. kartais laikomi skoliniais iš rusų (LEW: 174) *гpузль* ‘*Lactarius resimus, Lactarius piperatus*’ (RL I: 424). *Guodkartėlė* – antra sanda aiški – *kartėlė*, atspindi kartų skonį. *Guod-* ne taip aišku. Viena vertus, galima lyginti su *guōdas* ‘protas, išmanymas; garbė’; gal tai nusakytų poveikį protui. Problematiška *guod-* pagrindinė reikšmė ‘guosti, užjausti, branginti’ (LKŽ III: 737-738; plg. Karaliūnas 1987: 45-47). Kita vertus, dažni augalų vardai sudaryti su šaknim arba priesaga *god-*: *gōdas* ‘*Arctium*’, ‘*Rumex*’, ‘*Anchusa*’, ‘*Echium*’ *gōdalapis* ‘*Artium*’, ir kt. (LKŽ III: 472). *Guod-* galėtų būti fonetinis *god-* variantas, nors pastarojo etimologija taip pat neaiški. Trečias variantas: *guotė* ‘toks grybas, *Hygrophorus (gentis)*’, žinomi variantai *guočė* ‘toks grybas’ (LKŽ III: 737) bei *guodė* (LBŽ: 174). Gentyje ‘*Hygrophorus*’ esama valgomos bei nuodingos rūšies (LBŽ: 174), nors teigiama, kad tik valgomas taip pavadintas (LKŽ III: 740). Toliau – *guočia*? ‘*Armillaria mellea*’ arba ‘*Lactarius deliciosus*’ (LKŽ III: 737). Atrodo, grybai auga tiltais “*Guotės auga tiltais*” arba krūvoje kaip ‘*Armillaria mellea*’. Tai leidžia gretinti *guod-* su *guōtas* ‘banda, būrys; medžių, grybų, krūmų nedidelė grupė, kuokštas’ (LKŽ III: 740, Karaliūnas 1987: 188-189). Įtikinamiausias variantas *guodkartėlė* ‘\*kartus grybas, augantis grupėmis’.

### *Núokana bei núokanis*

§3. Galima manyti esą *nuo-* priesaga, kaip pvz. žodžiuose *núolauža*, *núosėdos*, *núolydis*. Tai suponuoja šaknį liet. *\*-kan-*. Turint omenyje, kad augalai labai nuodingi (ir nuodingumas yra vieninteli reikšminga bendra savybė) potencialiomis giminėmis tampa *kančią* ‘kentėjimas, skausmas’, apofoniškai *kentėti* ‘kęsti, jausti skausmą, nemalonumą...’ (LKŽ V: 569), *kęsti* ‘jausti, patirti skausmą, nemalonumą...’ (LKŽ V: 640), *kanóti* ‘kamuoti, varginti, naikinti, žudyti’ (LKŽ V: 218), *kankinti* ‘kamuoti, varginti’ (LKŽ V: 213). Sugretinimas su *kįsti* ‘griebti, spausti, žėisti dantimis, piauti...’ (LKŽ V: 389), *núokandos* ‘kas atkąsta’ (LKŽ VIII: 931) suteikia kitą reikšmę.

§4. Reikšmė ‘kas kenčia’ dėl semantikos atkrenta. Vargu ar taip galėtų būti motyvuotas augalo vardas. Ėiuo atveju augalas gali būti priežastis ar priemonė, bet ne veiksmo objektas. Dauguma tokios daiktavardžio darybos – priesaga *nuo-* + kamienas – žodžiai turi veiksmo rezultato charakterį: *núolauža* ‘kas nulaužta’, *núosėdos* ‘kas nusėdę’, *núobiros* ‘kas nubirę’, *núobėgos* ‘kas nubėgę’. Bet esama ir priešingų atvejų: *núolydis* ‘nuolaidi vieta, kuria nubėga (vanduo)’, *núobėgis* ‘t.p.’. Problematiška, kad *kentėti*, *kančią*, *kantrybė* ir *kęsti* suponuoja šaknį *kant-* (plg. LEW: 246). Kita vertus, *kankinti* turi šaknį *kank-*, kaip ide. giminę žodžiai: s. gr. *κᾶγκανοφ* ‘degus, sudžiūvęs’, s. ind. *kāṅkṣati* ‘trokšta, laukia’, vok. *Hunger* ‘alkis’ ir t. t. (LEW: 240). Ir *kanóti* ‘kamuoti, varginti, naikinti, žudyti’ turi tik šaknį *kan-*. Dėl žodžių reikšmės artumo čia, rodos, esama vienos šaknies ide. *\*kon-* ‘t.p.’ variantai, išplėtoti su formantais *\*-t-*, *\*-k-* ar be formanto. Tad reikšmė *núokana* ‘nuo ko kenčia’ ar ‘kas nukankina’ visai įmanoma. Formaliai atitinka *nuožudis* ‘Aethusia cynapium’. Augalas nuodingas (LBŽ: 10)– galima manyti, vardas skaitytinas ‘kas nužudo’.

§5. Fraenkelis lygina liet. *kanóti* ‘kamuoti, varginti, naikinti, žudyti’ su rus. *копать* ‘nusmaugti, prispausti, žudyti’ bei lenk. *konać* ‘būti mirštant’ (LEW: 216). S. pr. *kanxta* ‘feine; gera’, *kānxtin* ‘Zucht; padorumą’, *kanxtisna* ‘zucht; padorumas’, *kanxtisku* ‘t.p.’ (vokiškas žodis yra iš 1561 m. originalo teksto dviem kalbomis) kildinami iš verb. ide. *\*kenk-/kṅk-* ‘veržti(s)’, semantikos raidoje pakopa ‘padorumas iš drausminimo’ įterpta (PKEŽ II: 110-113). Toporovas žodžiui *kānxtin* tiesiog vartoja sąvoką ‘disciplina’ ir lygina su liet. *keñkti*, *kañkaroti* ‘sunkiai dirbti, mažai uždirbant’, got. *hūhrus* ‘alkis’ ir kt. (PJ III: 207) Tai *kānxtin* ‘Zucht’ būtų ne tik ‘padorumas dėl drausminimo’ bet ‘padorumas dėl žiaurių bausmių’ ir labiau atitiktų vok. (vva./vvž.) originalo *Zucht* ‘disciplina,...’, *züchtigen* ‘bausti, plakti, mušti’, nors *züchtig* reiškia ‘drovus, kuklus’. Bažnyčios tarnautojams s. pr. *kānxtin* galėjo būti suprantamas kaip ‘disciplina dėl gresiančios bausmės’ (ne tik ‘padorumas’). Pateikiu ištrauką iš 1426 m. Sembos vyskupo įsako: “*Taip pat ateityje nė vienas vyras nė moteris teneatlieka siaubingų apeigų kapinėse ant mirusių draugų bei artimųjų kapo – tegu nerauda, nevaitoja, kaip ligi šiol dar yra įpratę daryti; už šį nusidėjimo bausmę – žiaurus nuplakimas ir trys markės Bažnyčiai ir teisėjui.*” (vertė L. Valkūnas; BRMĐ: 481-485).

§6. *Kįsti* (*kįndu*, *kįndo*) ir *nuokandos* dėl šaknies *kand-* ne visai artima kalbamajam žodžiui *nuokana*. Bet, kaip teigia Kazlauskas, šaknies galo priebalsis *d* galėjo atsirasti baltų kalbų dirvoje, atematiniams veiksmožodžiams virstant tematinėmis (Kazlauskas 1968: 314). Tada *nuokana* turėtų būti gan senyvos kilmės, kadangi įvedant į paradigmą formantą *-d-*, pastarasis nebuvo įtrauktas į jau savarankišką *núokana*, ir šis nevirto *nuokanda*. Jeigu tačiau *kįsti* kilo iš šaknies ide. *\*kon-*, šis variantas iš esmės sutampa su §4 aptartuoju. Ir, rodos, reikšmė *kįsti* ‘griebti, žėisti dantimis, piauti...’ gan artima *\*kan-* ‘kamuoti, varginti, naikinti, žudyti’. Kita vertus s. ind. *khaṅḍay* ‘išardyti į gabalus, žėisti, pašalinti...’, *khan* ‘kasti, rausti’ (MSD: 132 t.) nurodo galimą kilmę iš *\*-khan-*. Tuomet semantika būtų gerokai nutolusi, ir pastarasis

variantas kalbamam augalui atkrenta.

§7. Yra augalas, vardu *nuokandėlė*, arba *velnio nuokandėlė* ‘tokia gėlė: *Velnio nuokandėlė yra su mėlynu žiedu gėlė*’ (LKŽ VIII: 931) kuris greičiausiai – dėl panašių pavadinimų kitose kalbose – žymi pievinę miegalę ‘*Succisa pratensis*’, dar liaudiškai vadinama *velniagraužis* (LBŽ: 337), vok. *Teufelsabbiss*, lot. (15.a.) *morsus demonis*. Bet čia motyvacijai pagrindo duoda šaknies pavidas: šaknis rudenį džūsta ir atrodo lyg nukąsta, be to, augalas – vaistažolė. Atseit, velnias jos žmonėms pagailėjo ir vis nukandinėja (WDPN IV: 526). Augalui *nuokanai* tokia motyvacija, kad šaknis ar kita dalis būtų nukąsta netaikoma, kadangi jo šaknis sveika, nors ir tuščiavidurė. Kalbamo grybo *nuokanis* išvaizda taip pat nesuteikia pagrindo manyti, jog jis ar jo gabalas būtų nukąstas.

§8. Kitokia situacija, jeigu *nuokana* traktuojama su šaknimi *\*nuok-*. Diftongas liet., lat. *-uo-* gali būti kilmės iš ide. *\*ō*, arba iš ide. *\*ōu*, tada baltų kalbose kaitaliojosi apofoniškai su *au* ir *u* (Mažiulis 1970: 43). Jei *uo* < *\*ōu*, tada galima palyginti *\*nuok-* su tokiais žodžiais kaip *naukoti* ‘kankinti, kamuoti’ (LKŽ VIII: 592), <sup>1</sup>*niukti* ‘trauktis debesimis ar migla, niauktis; niurti, blaustis’, <sup>2</sup>*niukti* ‘silpti, geibti; kriksti, mišti’ (LKŽ VIII: 826). Dažnas dubletes su šaknies vokalizmo *-au-* bei *-uo-* yra nagrinėjęs Karaliūnas (1987: 196 t. t.). Išvadose jis teigia, kad ‘lietuvių ir latvių kalbų dvibalsis *-uo-* žodžių šaknyje gali būti kilęs tiek iš ide. *\*ō*, tiek iš *\*ōu* ir rečiau iš ide. *\*ōi* (Karaliūnas 1987: 217). Svarbu konstatuoti, kad egzistuoja apofoninė eilė *-uo-* / *-au-* / *-(i)u-* arba/ir *-(i)ū-* (BūgaRR II: 349-365; Karaliūnas 1987: 196 t. t.), leidžianti minėtus sugretinimus. Kad ‘kankinti, kamuoti’ ir ‘silpti, geibti; kriksti, mišti’ susiję su apsinuodijimu nekelia abejonių. Reikšmės ‘trauktis debesimis ar migla, niauktis; niurti, blaustis’ nuodų sąvokai irgi nesvetimos, kadangi įvairūs nuodai pasižymi haliucinogeniniais poveikiais. Ypač *nuokanos* sudėtyje yra medžiagos ‘padidinančios reflektorinį dirglumą ir sukeliančios traukulius’ (LF V: 53). Marzell pabrėžia į epilepsiją panašius augalo poveikius, kurie pasireiškia mėšlungiais, pasiutimu, riksmas. Augalo vardai aiškiai byloja apie tai: vok. dial. *Wütrich* ‘itūžęs, siaubūnas’, *Dülwurtel* ‘durnašaknis’ (WDPN I: 999 tt.), liet. *durnaropė*, *proto ropė* (LBŽ: 89; LF V: 52). Pavadinimas *vandens maudas* rodo panašumą į botaniškai giminą, taip pat labai nuodingą augalą *maudą* (*demėtoji mauda*) ‘*Conium maculatum* L.’ (plg. vok. *Schierling* ‘mauda’ ir *Wasserschierling* ‘vandens mauda, nuokana’) kuriuo buvo nuteistas nusinuodyti Sokrates (BGD: 768). Mokslinis vardas *Conium* išvestas iš s. gr. to augalo vardo *κόνηλον* ‘mauda, nuodingas gėrimas iš maudos’ (BGD: 467) ide.<*\*kōn-*. Ide. *\*kōn*, yra prailgintas laipsnis nuo ide. *\*kon-*, iš kurio galėjo išsirutulioti *nuokana*. (Dar vienas ‘*Cicuta*’ bei ‘*Conium*’ gretinimas: rus. вех [ядовитый] ‘*Cicuta virosa*’ [RL I: 179, LBŽ: 89] iš dalies atitinka hindi *višailā paudā* ‘*Conium maculatum*’ [Raheja (be metų): 341] < s. ind. *viṣi* ‘nuodingas; nuodas’ [MSD: 451]).

§9. Koks yra šaknies *\*nuo-(k)-* santykis su liet. *nōvyti* ‘naikinti, žudyti; kamuoti, kankinti; niokoti’, *nōvis* ‘mirtis, galas’ (LKŽ VIII: 877)? Pastarieji įtraukiami į etimologinę giminystę su s. pr. *nautei* (sing. *\*nauts*) ‘bėdai, vargui’, s. sl. *nuditi* ‘priversti’, ček. *nutiti* ‘t.p.’, germ. *\*naudi-* ‘prievara, bėda’, vok. *Not* ‘bėda’ < ide. *\*nāw* (Kluge 1999: 592). Mažiulis veda s. pr. *nautei* (sing. *\*nauts*) ‘bėdai, vargui’ < vak balt.-sl. *\*nautis* ‘mirtinas nuvargi(ni)mas’ < verb. balt.-sl. *\*nāu-* ‘mirtinai nuvarg(in)ti’ < ide. *\*nāu* / *\*nəu-* ‘t.p.’ (PKEŽ III: 171). Čia priskiria ir s. pr. *nowis* ‘rump; \*numirėlis’ (Karaliūnas traktuoja s. pr. *nowis* kaip ‘\*kūnas’ < *\*nōyis* < *\*nōu-s* (1987: 188)), lat. *nāve* ‘mirtis’, rus. навь ‘numirėlis’ (PKEŽ III: 201-202), bei toch. A *nut-*, B *naut-* ‘nusibaigti’ (LEW: 509). Formaliai *nōvis* ‘mirtis, galas’ visiškai atitinka *dōvis* ‘davimas, dalis’ (LKŽ II: 617), kuris neabejotinai kilo iš ide. *\*dō-* ‘duoti’ (LEW: 112). Raidė *-v-* čia arba formantas *\*-u*, plečiantis šaknį *\*dō-*, arba procese ide. *\*dō-* > ryt. balt. *duo-* reikėtų suponuoti tarpinę padėtį *\*dōu-*, kur *\*-u* ne formantas, o šaknies dalis (tokia tarpinė

grandis sulygintų ide. \*ō- > ryt. balt. *uo-* ir ide. \*ōu- > ryt. balt. *uo-*, ir reikalautų tik vieno mechanizmo abiems procesams). Jei \**u* formantas, ir dėl ide. \*ō sugebėjimo virsti ryt. balt. *uo*, būtų galima laukti lyčių \**duovana* ‘dovana’, \**duovis* ‘dovis’. Tačiau tik vienas toks žodis liet. *dúovoti* ‘siūlyti, duoti’ (LKŽ II: 896) – silpnas argumentas, nes jis tarminis ir laikomas hibridu (LŽT: 66) iš liet. *duoti* ir brus. *давать* ‘duoti’.

Jeigu šaknis \**nuo-(k)*-būtų kilusi iš ide. \**nō(k)*, nors tam maža tikimybė, atsivertų galimybė lyginti \**nuo-(k)* dar su *niōkti* ‘jaukti, griozti...’, *niōkoti* ‘siaubti, naikinti; varginti, kamuoti’ (LKŽ VIII: 806).

### **Garlė, gerdakulis, gerdokliai**

§10. Panašūs pavadinimai kaip *gerdakulis*, *gerdokliai* taikomi keliems panašioms augalams: *garduoklė* ‘Myrrhis odorata’ (LF V: 43), *gardokulis*, *gerdakulis*, *garsdoklė*, *gerždoklė* ir kt. ‘Anthriscus (ex Chaerifolium)’ (LBŽ: 81). Čia, manau, matosi žodžių *garđus* ‘skanus, kvapnus’ bei *kūlti* ‘sėklas išblokti’ įtaka. ‘Myrrhis odorata’ bei ‘Anthriscus cerefolium’ įvežtiniai augalai, auginami prieskoniams, pasižymintys maloniu kvapu (LF V: 43-44). Tokia prasmė augalui ‘Cicuta virosa’ netaikoma, jis nuodingas ir jo kvapas nemalonus. Dėl vardo *garlė*, galimas dalykas *gerdokliū* – raidė – *d-* yra liaudies etimologijos priedas ir pradinė lytis būtų liet. *ger-(d)-oklė*. Daryba kaip *karčiōklė* ‘toks grybas’, *tarpėklis* ‘tarpas’ su priesaga – (*o*)*klė* < ide. \**-tlo-* (DDR II: 183). *Garlai* vadinamas augalas ‘Stratiodes aloides’. Jo liet. sinonimai – *aštrys*, *agarys*, *agaris*, *peiliai* ir kt. (LF II: 112). Jo lapai labai aštrūs kaip *peiliai*, gal dėl to s. gr. *σπρατιχδης* ‘kareivis (=kas su kardais)’ (WDPN IV: 517). *Germenės* ‘Peucedanum oreoselinum’ (LBŽ: 420), *grinuvas* ‘Peucedanum’, s. gr. *πενκεδώνιφ* ‘kartu, nelaimės nešantis; apie karą’ (BGD: 629), liet. sin. *karteinis*, rus. *горичник* ‘t.p.’, lenk. *gorysz* ‘t.p.’ (LBŽ: 252) yra kartūs augalai (visa gentis). (LF V: 84). *Gertukliai*, *girduoklė*, *girtės* ir kt. sinonimai ‘Lolium temulentum’ – nuodingas augalas (dėl jame parazituojančių grybų), javinė piktžolė (LF II: 278). Suponuojant, kad reikšmės (i) ‘aštrus, deginantis, kartus, aitrus (skonis)’, liet. *aštrus*, angl. *hot* ‘aštrus’, vok. *scharf* ‘aštrus’, (ii) ‘aštrus, gerai pjaunantis’, liet. *aštrus*, vok. *scharf* ‘aštrus’, (iii) ‘karštas, svilinantys’, angl. *hot* ‘karštas’, (iv) ‘nuodingas, narkotinis’ artimos, kildinu kalbamus pavadinimus *gerdakulis*, *gerdokliai*, *germenės*, *gertukliai*, *girduoklė*, *garliai* iš ide. \**g<sup>h</sup>hor-/\*g<sup>h</sup>her-/\*g<sup>h</sup>hr-* ‘karštas, aštrus, kartus, nuodingas’ (IEW: 493-495). Liet. *kįrštas* turi dar tokias reikšmes ‘aštrus, stiprus, kartus, deginantis...’: “*Visokių karštų gėrimų ligoniams drausti, kaip tai: arielkos, vyno, midaus, macno alaus*”, “*Grūdas garstyčios yra karštas ir degina gomurį kremtamas*” (LKŽ V: 320). Reikia dar pridurti, kad ‘nuodingumas’ ne svetimas dalykas sąvokams ‘karštas, aštrus, kartus’. Riba tarp vaistažolės, prieskonio ir nuodo sunkiai apibrėžiama. Dažna vaistažolė – nuodinga. Prieskoniai pavojingi didelėmis dozėmis: etanolis, nikotinas, kofeinas (visi augalinės kilmės).

§11. Tad galima *garlė*, *gerdakulis*, *gerdokliai* palyginti su liet. *garstyčios*, *garstytiš*, *garsvyčia* ‘Sinapis’ (LBŽ: 323), s. pr. *garkity* ‘t.p.’, rus. *горчица* ‘t.p.’, lenk. *garczyca* ‘t.p.’ lat. *garot* ‘garoti’, (LLKŽ: 197) liet. *garas* ‘karštas vandens garas’, vok. *gar* ‘išvirtas’, *gerben* ‘apdoroti kailį raugine rūgštimi’, s. ind. *gharmāśu* ‘saulė’, *gharmī* ‘žarijos, vasara’, *gharmīvat* ‘karšta’, *gharmīn* ‘verdant’ (MSD: 149), rus. *горячий* ‘karštas, kaitrus’, *горькушка*, -уха ‘Lactarius rufus’ nuodingas grybas (LBŽ: 186, RL I: 409), *горечавка* ‘Gentiana, kartus augalas’ (LF V: 174). Dėl liet. *agarys*, *agaris* ‘Stratiodes aloides’, s. ind. *āghrñi* ‘žėruojant’, *āghārī* ‘taukų lašinimas į aukos ugnį’ (MSD: 61) reikėtų gal suponuoti (senesni) ide. \*(*H*<sub>2</sub>)\**g<sup>h</sup>hor-* ‘karštas, aštrus...’. Nematau reikalo kildinti liet. *garstyčia* ‘Sinapis’, s. pr. *garkity* ‘t.p.’ iš rus. *горчица* ‘t.p.’ ar lenk. *garczyca* ‘t.p.’ (LEW: 138, PKEŽ I: 328) < ide. \**g<sup>h</sup>hork?*- (\**g<sup>h</sup>hork*) ‘toks aštrus augalas’ (liet. –*s(t)*- nedėsningas, bet esama variantas *garšyčia* ‘Sinapis’ (LKŽ III: 145)), nors dabartinis kultūrinis augalas ‘Sinapis alba’ yra atvežtinis, Lietuvoje

natūraliai yra paplitęs 'Sinapis arvensis', iš kurio sėklų taip pat galima spausti aliejų, kuris prilygsta 'Sinapis alba' aliejui (LBŽ: 324). *Garstyčia* turbūt buvo pastarojo pavadinimas, vėliau perkeltas 'Sinapis alba'. *Garstyčia*, s. pr. *garkity* yra *-ī/-jā*-kamienu vardažodžiai kaip liet. *marti* 'sunaus žmona' < '\*nuotaka, jaunoji' (nykstant *-ī/-jā*-kamienui atsirado ir lytis *marčia*) kuris – gan senas žodis, kaip rodo skoliniai fin. kalbose: suom. *morsian*, estų *mõrsja*, karelių *moršien* 't.p.' ir kt. (Buivydienė 1997: 133-140). Panašaus amžio gali būti ir liet. *garstyčia* 'Sinapis', s. pr. *garkity* 't.p.'. Kadangi daugelių aptartų žodžių turi semantinę ryšį su skoniu ir valgiais galima iškelti klausimą ar lat. *garša* 'skonis', (LLKŽ: 197), liet. *gardūs* 'skanus' nepriklauso < ide. \**g<sup>h</sup>*- or-, nors jie tikėtų ir prie liet. *gerklė*, *gurklys* < ide. \**g<sup>h</sup>*or-/\**g<sup>h</sup>*er- 'ėsti, ryti, gerti' (LEW: 149). Yra daugiau augalų pavadinimų su *gar-*, *ger-*, *gir-*, *gur-*, kurių santykiai su *garlė*, *gerdakulis*, *gerdokliai* nenagrinėta: *germuolė* 'morka, Daucus carota', *garšva* 'Aegopodium podagraria', *gurgždas* 'Angelica silvestris'. Jų kilmė kol kas neaiški.

## Išvados

§12. Sunku spręsti ar žolės *nuokana* ir grybo *nuokanis* pavadinimai yra išvesti iš šaknies \**kan-* 'kamuoti, varginti, naikinti' arba \**nuok-* 'kankinti, kamuoti; kriksti, mišti'. Dėl s. gr. *κώνειον* įtikinamesnę laikyčiau kilmę iš ide. \**kon-*. Motyvacija būtų aiški: *nuokana* / *nuokanis* 'kuo, kas kankina'. Taip galima apriori manyti, kadangi nuodingumas yra ryškiausias šių augalų bruožas kultūriniame kontekste.

*Garlė*, *gerdakulis*, *gerdokliai* gali būti kilę iš < ide. \**g<sup>h</sup>*hor-/\**g<sup>h</sup>*her- 'karštas, aštrus, kartus, nuodingas'.

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**WITCHES IN BALTIC FAIRY TALES****Abstract**

The following article discusses names for witches in Lithuanian and Latvian fairy tales. For Lith. *rāgana*, Latv. *ragana* the common etymological reconstruction \*‘seeress’ is rejected. Instead, Balt. \**ragana* is derived from Balt. \**rag-* ‘to raise, rise’ < I.-E. \**reǵ-*, \**roǵ-* ‘to move straight, rule’ leading to Balt. \**ragana* ‘who is raised (from death) and has seen, e.g. a ghost’. An alternative interpretation suggests I.-E. *rog-* ‘to rule’ and asks whether Lith. *rāgana* can be compared straightforwardly to Lat. *rēgīna* ‘queen’, Ol. *rājñi* ‘id.’. In any case, *ragana* holds a key position in the semantic transformation from ‘to rise’ to ‘to see’, which sheds light on the origin of Lith. *regėti* ‘to see’. Lith. *laūmė* Latv. *lauma* ‘fairy’ has often been seen as representing I.-E. \**loudh-mā* : *loudh-* ‘to grow’. The fairy is related to fertility and child-bearing. Lith. *žiezūla* and Latv. *spīgana* can be explained on the fact that the witch partially appears with light, i.e. as ‘phantom; ignis fatuus’. Lith. *viėdmā*, which commonly seen as a loan from Sl., can be explained purely on Baltic material. Thus, it is to a certain degree a matter of belief whether Lith. *viėdmā* is seen as a borrowed or inherited word. In either way an initial meaning \*‘who is seen, ghost’ can be assumed.

**0. Introduction**

Investigating the witch is rather difficult because the witch’s image has been influenced by demonology and inquisition. But it is now clear that the influence of folklore, custom and belief towards the demonology has not been smaller than the influence of demonology towards folklore (cf. Vėlius 2001: 429). This implicates that demonology and Baltic tales lead back to similar or even the same sources. When we discuss witches’ names we have to consider the semantic side of the problem too, e.g. the role of witches in tales, legends and superstition. The main scope of this paper is not only of onomasiological nature: how the witch—a malicious female person—is named in tales and why, but also of semasiological character because the nature of the witch itself experienced a conceptual change.

One difference between tale and legend is that the tale is not believed in, while legends have been believed in until recent times (on the classification of fairy tales cf. Lüthi [1996: 6-15]). Thus, the contents of fairy tales do not have to be proven or verified, while legends are influenced much more strongly by real facts, e.g. the burning of witches, and show a greater variety of witches’ names, which are omitted here, however.

**1. *Ragana*****1.1. Traditional Hypotheses**

The most common etymology for Lith. *rāgana*, *raganā*, Latv. *ragana* ‘witch’ claims a former meaning \*‘clairvoyante, seeress’ relating the type to Lith. *regėti* ‘to see’ (LEW II: 684, LEV II: 98-99). The argumentation of Fraenkel (LEW II: 684) may be summarized in a set of statements, beginning with the most general one and leading to the most concrete one:

- (i) *rāgana* and *regėti* belong to the same root, just in different ablaut grades,
- (ii) since Lith. *regėti* means ‘to see’, *rāgana* must be related to seeing, too,
- (iii) Lith. *rāgana* : *regėti* = Pol. *wiedźma* : *widzieć/wiedzieć* = Russ. *ведьма* : *видеть/ведать* ~ Lith. *žynỹs* ‘wise man’ : *žinoti* ‘to know’,
- (iv) *rāgana* can therefore be easily interpreted as \*‘clairvoyante, seeress’.
- (v) Pokorny (1994: 854) proposes a hypothetical relation between *rāgana* ‘witch’ and *regėti* ‘to see’: Lith. *regėti* ‘to see’, *rāgana* ‘witch’ (cf. evil eyes).



The comparison with Alb. *ruaj* ‘sehe an, schaue’ (Pokorny 1994: 854) should be taken in consideration only after a discussion of the Baltic substance.

A different view was offered by Otkupščikov (1977), who proposed that Balt.-Sl. *Rog-* ‘horn’, Lith. *rāgas* ‘id.’ were the base of formation: *rāgana* \*‘with horns’:

- (vi) *rāgana* ‘horned’ : *rāgas* ‘horn’ = *vařganas* ‘miserable, poor’ : *vařgas* ‘misery’,
- (vii) *rāgana* is a mythic being with horns like the devil.

A new etymology on Lith. *rāgana* has recently been published (Gliwa 2002a) and will briefly be outlined below.

## 1.2. Discussion of the above mentioned statements (i) – (vii)

Unfortunately, neither etymology, the one of Fraenkel (and predecessors) nor the one of Otkupščikov, can be supported by data from Baltic folklore and ethnography (e.g. Greimas 1990: 142-143).

Opinion (i) seems plausible.

Opinion (ii) offers more difficulties, since neither the direction of derivation nor details of word formation are known. As *regėti* is already a secondary verb (with the formans *-ė-*) and of different ablaut grade it is hardly the basis for *rāgana*. Additionally, there are only a few Lith. derivations with *-a-na* belonging to the category of agent nouns (nomina agentis). Urbutis pointed out that the majority of derived nouns in *-ana* belongs to the category of results (nomina acti). However, this only holds for nouns made of primary verbs (LKG I: 374). Examples for actual agent nouns in *-ana* are:

- (1) *burzdana* ‘fidget’ : *bruzdėti* ‘to fidget, be disturbed’, *burzdėti* ‘id.’
- (2) *dārgana* ‘shameless creature’ and ‘bad, rainy, cold weather’: *darga* ‘rainy weather; retting (of flax); slander’, *dargti* ‘to become wet; to become corrupted’, *dėrgti* ‘to snow and rain together; to soil; to slander’, *dėrgėti* ‘to spoil, soil’,
- (3) *dỹkana* ‘idler’, *dỹkas* ‘naughty...’, *dỹkti* ‘to choke, to desire; to become pure, plain’, *dỹkti* ‘to become corrupted, get out of hand’,
- (4) *draskana* ‘ragamuffin; vagabond; a pugnacious person’ and ‘rag’,
- (5) *draiskana*, *draiskana* ‘ragamuffin; who tears clothes fast’, *draiskanos*, *draiskanos* ‘rag’,
- (6) *driskana* ‘ragamuffin, sloven’,
- (7) *gargana* ‘lean, withered person or animal’,
- (8) *lingana* ‘who walks swinging’,
- (9) *lupana*, *lupena* ‘ragamuffin; trickster’ and ‘peels’,
- (10) *luzgana* ‘ragamuffin’,
- (11) *rukana* ‘spitfire’,
- (12) *traškana* ‘unfortunate, squalid person’ and ‘pus from the eyes’.

In all cases there is a negative flair and the words look like nicknames for which a property is used to name the bearer of it, cf. NHG. *Lumpen* ‘rag’: *Lump* ‘who is clothed with rags’ > ‘bad person’. Thus, derivations in *-ana* are not expected to be nomina agentis by origin.

Another question is raised by the etymology of *regėti* ‘to see’. As *regėti* is related to *rāgas* (LEW II: 713) the detour *rāgas* > *regėti* > *rāgana* with *a* > *e* > *a* seems needless. Fraenkel writes, “Die Grundbedeutung von *regėti*, lett. *redzēt* ist, wie Jēgers [1949: 157] annimmt, ‘aufgerichtet sein’; vgl. die mit diesem Verbum ablt. lett. *rēguoties* ‘sich (im Dunklen unklar) zeigen, sich drohend erheben’, *rēgs*, meist Pl. *rēgi* ‘Gespenst, Gesicht, Erscheinung’” (LEW II: 713). This means that *regėti*, lett. *redzēt* originates from \*‘to show oneself, exhibit;

to be seen'. The idiom Lith. *ant rāgo* 'to be at a visible, well seen place' (LKŽ XI: 25) and Latv. *ragā* 'visible' confirm this. In the subdialect of Zietela *regėti* means (among other things) 'to be visible'. The same sense can be demonstrated for *rag-*: *nieko neragēt pro langa* (Vidugiris 1998: 540). A fairy tale tells us *anas nuėjo už kalno ir nereginičiai žiūri: žmonės kad pjauna...* 'he has gone the hill and now he sees, without being visible: people cut...' (LTt III: 357). *Nereginičiai* means 'invisible, secret' (also LKŽ VIII: 673). Therefore it seems possible to claim an opposite pair *regėti* 'to see': verb. Balt. \**rag-* 'to exhibit, to be seen' (as the pair Lith. *láužti* 'to break': *lūžti* 'to be breaking, to crack') where the relics of \**rag-* now are ascribed to *reg-*. Thus, a transformation of the meaning 'to exhibit' > 'to be seen' is implicitly assumed and it is not clear whether *ragana* is based on the first or on the second meaning.

The equation (iii) Lith. *rāgana* : *regėti* = Pol. *wiedźma* : *widzieć/wiedzieć* = Russ. *ведьма* : *видеть/ведать* is problematic because there are at least two unknown aspects. It is not evident that *ведьма* in the relation *ведьма* : *ведать* meant 'seeress'. Moreover, the word formation differs: Lith. *-ana* : Russ. *-ьма* and it is a priori not clear why different suffixes should result in the same meaning or semantic category respectively.

Vasmer doesn't mention that, because of *ведьма* : *ведать*, the first could be a \*'seeress' (Vasmer 1996: I 284-285). The Polish example is equally unclear. And the example Lith. *žynys* 'wise man, sorcerer' : *žinoti* 'to know' doesn't help to explain anything, since the word-formation is completely different.

As (ii) and (iii) do not allow any clear conclusions, one can not claim that (iv) *rāgana* referred to a \*'clairvoyante, seeress'. This is corroborated by the fact that ethnographic data, even tales, legends, folk songs, and superstition don't give us any evidence. It is said that in the wide field of ethnography and folklore one can find every detail to support or negotiate any hypothesis (Beresnevičius 1998: 30). This means that it is not possible to prove anything with folklore material only, I agree with that. But how can we deal with this lack of data? Due to the tendency of folklore to collect arbitrary details, a lack of data for proving a hypothesis should be understood as a falsification of the hypothesis.

To support the etymology *ragana* 'witch' < \*'seeress' Būga (1959: II,257f.) mentions Latv. *paragana*, *pareguone*, *paraguone* 'seeress', and *paredzet* 'to foresee, prophesy', which equals Lith. *aiškiarėgė* 'seeress' (probably a neologism). It has to be remarked that the meaning 'seeress' is beyond doubt here but the word formation (*pareguone* < *pa-* + *-reg-*) shows that the words are rather new, which lowers their importance for the question of the etymology of *ragana*. Since *paragana* means 'seeress', a possible conclusion is that the basis *ragana* must have the same meaning. I doubt this since the formal change is accompanied by a semantic change.

Pokorny's remark (v) about evil eyes is unsuitable because he misunderstands Lith. *regėti*, which doesn't mean 'to look at' but refers to the cognitive side of seeing 'to see, understand', even 'to experience sth. in a dream or vision', while Lith. *nužiūrėti blogomis akimis* 'hurt sb. with evil eyes' uses *žiūrėti* 'to look (at)'. It is known that evil eyes may harm only while looking at someone.

If *rāgas*, *regėti*, *rāgana* are seen as members of one family, Otkupščikov's approach, statement (vi), seems plausible. But the question remains: is *rāgas* the base which *rāgana* was made from? Is *rāgana* really a derivation from a noun? Some standard phrases seem to support a process noun > adjective > noun: *darga* 'bad rainy weather' > *darganas* 'rainy, windy' > *dargana* 'bad rainy weather'. However, Ambrazas ascribes them to the category

deverbative nomina actionis (DDR I: 59).

On the other hand it maybe asked whether words having *-ana* can be mixed with those showing *-anas* in all cases. To illustrate the problem: one may feel the nearness of words in *-sena* and *-ena*, which corresponds to *-ana* via ablaut (DDR I: 62), but neither Lith. *-sena* nor Latv. *-šana* there don't exist any corresponding forms *\*-senas* or *\*-šans*. Additionally, if the *-s-* is the marker of the future tense (DDR I: 61), it will be expected in a verbal paradigm only, where, consequently, *-ana*, *-ena* should belong to. Furthermore, most nouns in *-ana* are derivations from a verb (DDR I: 59, 95, 126), whereas only few examples are given for nouns in *-ana* (exclusively attributive nouns) based on nouns (DDR II: 166-167).

If *ragana* would be \*‘horned’ the comparison to the horned devil is just a small step (vii). Usual terms are Latv. *ragains*, Lith. *raguotas*, *ragingas* ‘horned’. A number of Lith. terms name the devil: *raginis*, *ragius*, *ragotinis*, *raguočius*, *raguotas* (LKŽ XI: 33-41). Of course, the relationship of devil and witch are older than medieval demonology. So the idea of horns inherited from the devil seems plausible. But where did the devil get the horns from? In I.-E. mythology the figure of a horned god is well known; and there are reasons to suppose that they are mainly chthonic deities taking care of the deceased in cattle or sheep behaviour (Vèlius 1987: 81-89, 276). From a formal perspective it seems possible to argue that way. But there are no horned witches either in fairy tales or in legends. However the Lith. *ragana* is able to metamorph into animals which are usually not horned: cat, pig, certain fishes, birds (Vèlius 1977: 222).

### 1.3. Historical use of *ragana*

Before coming back to the linguistic side of the problem I would like to remark that in legal documents on witches' processes (written in Polish, Slavonic ducal chancery style, Latin) from Lithuania the terms *czarownica* ‘magician, sorceress’, *чародеуцтва* ‘magic, sorcery’ (RagTeis: 202, 337 et passim) can be found, but never the terms *wiedźma*, *jaga* or *jaga* ‘witch’ or the like, which one could expect. That the translators write *ragana* ‘witch’, *raganavimas* ‘witchcraft’ is inexact (and may mislead researchers if they don't consult the original); e.g. *kerėtoja*, *kerėjimas* would fit better. The *Dictionarium trium linguarum* by Szyrwid (leading member of the Jesuitic academy of Vilnius) omits *ragana* in the 3rd edition (Szyrwid 1642), but had listed it in the first edition (about 1620) (Lyberis et al. 1979: 833). Note that the term in question, Pol. *czarownica*, is translated as Lot. *saga*, *venefica*, *praefigiatrix*, Lith. *čiustininkie*, *nuodininke* and Pol. *czarownik* as Lot. *Praefigiator*, *Magus*, *incantator*, Lith. *čiustininkas*, *nuodinkas* (Szyrwid 1642: 40). Two relevant items are given with Polish synonyms, but without a Latin or Lithuanian translation: *Widz / Dozorca / Szpieg* (Szyrwid 1642: 476) and *Wiedma / Wieszcza / wroźka* (1642: 477). I suppose that the renunciation of such translations and the term *ragana* was a result of reforming the terminology of demonology (in which the Jesuit Order was involved) and the knowledge that a mistake in this field could be dangerous.

It is noteworthy that in German legal texts referring to witches *Hexe* ‘witch’ date back to the 16th century; before that only Latin terms had been used (Gerlach 1990: 962). The first attestation of Latv. *ragge* in Latvian legal documents is reported for 1576 (LEV II: 98). In conclusion, both Germ. *Hexe* and Lith. *ragana* did not denote a living human being before the influence of demonology, but a being of folklore, pagan religion and myth.

### 1.4. New etymology

It has become common opinion that the Baltic languages are not pure satem-type languages

(e.g. Dini 2000: 84-85). So we are allowed to see *rāgas* to I.-E. *reg-* ‘to move in a straight line, lead, rule’ as a centum reflex (LEV II: 99, Mažiulis 1997: 8).

The same seems true of Lith. *rāgana*, *regėti* because they are related to *rāgas*. As there is no direct way either from *rāgas* or from *regėti* to *ragana* I suppose a verb (intrans.) Balt. *\*rag-* ‘to stand up, to exhibit oneself’ < I.-E. *\*rog-* ‘to move straight...’, from which a transitive partner was derived > *regėti* ‘to see (who stood up), cognize’.

Since *rāgana* didn’t refer to a living human (in legal documents) and as the witch in tales is particularly identified with death (Toporov 2000: 207-208, Gliwa 2003) and as *regėti* ‘to see, cognize’ means also ‘to see sth. in a vision, dream’, I suppose that the initial meaning of *ragana* was ‘what is exhibited, raised (resurrected) and therefore seen (in a dream)’ i.e. a ‘haunting ghost’. The following fragment of a legend illustrates this: *Naktį ta merga atėjo gnaibyti. Kai tas senis sužinojo, kas čia yra, pasikvietė du vyrus, nuėjo ant kapų iškasė jos lavoną, sudegino, o pelenus išbarstė.* ‘At night the girl came and pinched him. When the old man learned what the reason for it was, he went with two men to the cemetery, exhumed her corpse, cremated it and scattered the ashes away.’ (LTR 1770(20)). It is a main aspect of funeral rites to ensure peace between the dead and the living, and in this example one sees not only the ability of the dead to come and be dreamed of (thus, dreaming is an action of the one dreamed of, not of the one dreaming—cf. Gliwa 2002a) but also that suitable burying may avoid such unwelcome visits.

From a semasiological viewpoint, one may compare NHG. *Hexe* ‘witch’ < OHG. *Hagzussa* < WGmc. *\*haga-tusjo*. The first element is *\*haga* ‘fence, ridge; area around the farmstead, beyond the borders’. The second element *\*tusjo* goes back to I.-E. *\*dhwes* ‘ghost, soul’, which yielded Lith. *dvasia* ‘ghost, soul’, MHG. *ge-twas* ‘ghost, phantom’, maybe Germ. dial. *dus* ‘devil’ (Kluge 1999: 348, 373).

The semasiological relation of Latv. *rēgs*, pl. *rēgi* ‘ghost, vision, spectre’ and Lith. *rāgana* ‘witch’ seems to be paralleled by G. *Geist* ‘ghost’ and its connotation ‘witch’.

It is noteworthy that the Latin term *resurgere* ‘to resurrect’ and the loan NE. *resurrection* use the same I.-E. root (just in a different grade and with prefixes) *\*reg-* ‘to move straight, rule, lead’ for that meaning.

From what was said above it follows that *ragana* may be derived from a verb. What does *-ana* mean here? If the hypothesis is correct, Balt. *\*rāgana* ‘who is resurrected and thus seen’ could be the result (nomen actium) in relation to *regėti* ‘to see’. But the base of the derivation should be *\*rag-* ‘exhibit, resurrect, rise’ and it should be asked whether *ragana* is ‘who is raised, rising’ or ‘who is raising’? Usually ghosts (of the dead) are not visible (they are seen by dying people only, *dvasregiai* ‘ghostseers’, dogs and horses) (Basanavičius 1998: 161-188), so they have to be made visible, but it is exactly the dead person that makes himself visible. Thus *ragana* can be both ‘who is raised’ and ‘who is raising’. To express such a complex meaning the Lithuanian language uses reflexive verbs in *-si-*: *kas prisikelė* ‘who is resurrecting himself’, which mainly has a medio-passive meaning.

To reconsider the comparison with Russ. *ведьма*, Pol. *wiedźma* have a look at these short sentences: Lith. *Ragana regima.*, Pol. *Wiedźma widziana.*, Russ. *Ведьма видена.* (which have the same meaning differ only in tense). Morphologically, Lith. *regima* equals Pol. *wiedźma* and Russ. *ведьма*, and in the same way Lith. *rāgana* equals Pol. *widziana*, Russ. *видена*. But the current meanings are *ведьма* ‘witch’ and *видена* ‘has been seen’. So the development of meaning in relation to morphemes happened in Baltic contrarily to that in

Slavonic languages. It must therefore be concluded that the meanings of *regima*, *ragana*, *ведьма* and *видена* have to be very close and the morphemes Sl. *-(i)ma* and Balt. *-(a)na* had to be removed from verbal paradigms (if they had been incorporated at all).

Ambrazas (citing Liukonnen 1987) writes that Slavic nouns (nomina agentis) with *-ma* could represent nouns derived from adjectives formed with I.-E. *\*-mo-* from which present tense passive participles were developed in Baltic and Slavonic (DDR II: 161). As the root vocalism is the same as in the words for ‘to know’ Russ. *ведьма*, Pol. *wiedźma* should originate from *\*‘who is known, recognized’*, which clearly speaks in favour of the meaning ‘to know’ and not of the meaning ‘to see’. Thus, application to vision and dreaming seem possible.

When we return to equation (iii) Lith. *rāgana* : *regėti* = Pol. *wiedźma* : (*widzieć*)/*wiedzieć* = Russ. *ведьма* : (*видеть*)/*ведать* we understand both *rāgana* and *ведьма* as *\*‘who is recognized’*.

I have mentioned that Balt. *ragana* and Sl. *\*vėdima* are expected to have similar meanings. As the bases Balt. *\*rag-* ‘to raise, exhibit’ and Sl. *\*vėd-* ‘to know’ differ in their meanings, the suffixes Balt. *\*-ana*, Sl. *\*-ima* have to differ in their meanings, too, so that the first difference can be levelled out. Sl. *\*-ima* seems to be a passive marker, so *-ana* may be interpreted as a medium participle. Unfortunately, in the Baltic languages there are no traces of a medium voice. So it can hardly be claimed that *-(a-)na* is a relic of such a form.

Most nouns with *-ana* are deverbal and express results: Lith. *dovanà* ‘gift’ : *duoti* ‘to give’, *liėkana* ‘remainder, rest’ : *likti* ‘to remain, stay’, *trāškana* ‘pus from the eyes’ : *trekšti* ‘to squeeze out’, *kišana* ‘soft material pushed between the horses’ neck and the collars’ : *kišti* ‘to push, shove’ (cf. DDR I: 95), *lupana* ‘peel, bast’ : *lupti* ‘to peel, bark’.

But the Baltic suffixes *\*-ana* and *\*-ena* have been used in deverbal nouns leading to abstract nouns like Lith. *eisena* ‘walk, step, procession’ : *eiti* ‘to go’ too (cf. DDR I: 60-62). Thus, it is not completely impossible that the suffix of *ragana* Balt. *-(a)na* < I.-E. *\*-no* could originate from the same source which yielded passive participles in Sl., Gmc. and partly Indo-Iran. languages (Ambrazas 2001: 13) and medium participles in *-āna* in OI. (Morgenroth 1989: 197). It should also be noted that the accent is always on the final vowel or on the root. The question arises whether there are more words supposing such an origin for *-ana*. I would mention *dirbana* (*Ateis wel dirbana diena* Bretkūnas Postille I 97,14 cit. Būga) which is usually corrected (misprint) to *\*dirbama* (Būga 1959: II 118). The collocation *\*dirbama diena*, literally ‘worked day’, seems rather artificial because one uses *dirbamas laukas* ‘field which is ploughed’. Another candidate could be Lith. *kāmanos* ‘bridle’, which has recently been interpreted as a derivate from Balt. *\*kam-* ‘to bend, subdue’ (Gliwa 2002b). To develop that thought further I would suggest a close relationship to neuter participles (for Lith. *-ena*, *-ana*, *-sena*, Latv. *-šana*) of Sl. languages as used in the short example above Russ. *Ведьма видена*. (Ambrazas 2001: 27-28).

What is the *medium*? The medium is said to be the diathetic category between active and passive. In the medium we express actions which are started by the subject and directed towards it (Conrad 1978: 164). Such actions are usually described by reflexive verbs like Lith. *praustis* ‘to have a wash’, NHG. *sich waschen* ‘id.’, OGr. *λούομαι* ‘I have a wash’. These construction simply express both active ‘I wash’ and passive ‘I am washed’.

The medium category may also be supposed behind the forms *ragana* *\*‘who is raising and raised’*, *kamanos* *\*‘what is benched (around the head of the horse) and benching (subduing the horse)’*. The phrases *dirbana diena* *\*‘the day is decided to be a working day, on this day*

one has to work' is more difficult to interpret because *dirbti* 'to work' stands neither in active nor in passive relation to *diena* 'day', where it would also be necessary that we assume a causative meaning.

### 1.5. Alternative etymology

Lith. *rāgana*, *rāgas* and *regėti* rose from the same origin as Latin *rēx* 'king', *regere* 'to rule, erect, straighten' < I.-E. *\*rēg-/reg-/rog-* 'id.'. Is it possible to compare Balt. *\*ragana* to OI. *rājni* 'queen', OIr. *rigain* 'id.', Cymr. *rhiain* 'queen, lady', Lat. *regina* 'queen' (cf. Pokorny 1994: 854-856)? Could this be the origin of Lith. *Ragainė* 'goddess of the forest'? However, the meaning 'queen' is usually derived from the grade I.-E. *\*rēg-*, while Lith. *ragana* should originate from *\*rog-*. But let us have a look at possible semantic developments.

Using the argumentation from section 1.3. I would assume that *\*ragana* 'ruling goddess, ancestress' or 'any ancestor' is asked for her orders etc. in visions (a common process in religions). Then, especially if the deity is dethroned by masculine gods, she undergoes a process of change for the worse. And it would then be possible to denote not the divine being but the vision. Of course in that case *-ana* has to be explained in a different way than above.

It has to be remarked that elements of necrocultus are omnipresent in the unofficial religion of Baltic peasants. The departed is remembered and worshipped on any of the religious holidays (cf. Balys 1993).

How did the terms *ragana*, *Hexe* become a matter of demonology and court? One aspect are the negative characteristic features ascribed to the witches, such as their evil influence on childbearing, fertility, and weather. The influence of witches on weather, childbearing and fertility can be seen both in a positive and in a negative way. If, with religious reforms, the positive sides are transferred to other deities, the negative sides remain. On the other hand, a person dreamed of will be expected to be a witch if one accepts the claim that a dream is an action of people dreamed of, not of people dreaming.

### 1.6. Conclusion

I cannot decide at present whether 1.4. or 1.5. is more preferable. In any case, *ragana* holds a key position in the transformation of *\*rag-* 'rise, raise' into Lith. *regėti*, Latv. *redzēt* 'to see, cognize'. The transformation probably happened earlier or while satemization happened, as the meaning 'to move straight' was kept in Lith. *ražytis* to 'stretch oneself'.

The interpretation of *ragana* as *\*seeress* took part in a 'rehabilitation' of witches allowing to found a witches' association (*raganų sąjunga*) in Lithuania and allowing healers to name themselves *ragana*, *raganius* (e.g. Giedraitis et al. 2001: 1-2). Thus, here we have an instance of formation usually called folk-etymology. I completely agree with Grzega (2002: 12) that folk-etymology should be considered as a type of word formation too. As folk-etymology results from associations of any level, a term "associative word formation" could be taken into consideration.

## 2. Lith. *Laumė-Ragana*, *laūmė*, Latv. *lauma*

There are numerous remarks on the phonology and morphology of *laūmė*, (e.g. LEW I: 345-346, LEV I: 509, Hamp 1998: 58 and references) in which a pre-form I.-E. *\*loudh-mā* < *\*leudh-* 'to grow' is constructed and related to Venetian *Louderai*, Gr. Ἐλευθερος, an epithet of Dionysos and Zeus (Hamp 1998: 58), or to Lith. *lavonas*, OPr. *aulāut* 'to die' (cf. LEV I:

509). Thus, Jasiunaitė (2000: 177) points out that it seems strange that the origin of such a popular mythic being is rather unclear.

Usually the Lith. *laūmė* would be more similar to fairies than to witches. But in a considerable number of cases she substitutes the *rāgana* in fairy tales. Or both names can be used together *laumė-ragana*. Principle functions of *laūmė* in belief and legends are to substitute children with changelings (Lith. *laumiukas* ‘changeling’) or to protect lost children and provide them with clothes (Vėlius 1977: 100-104). Furthermore, they may come as nightmares, help or harm weaveresses, spinneresses (as they carry out any work related to flax and textiles very fast and very well), or wish to approach men in either dangerous or amorous ways (Vėlius 1977: 96-100, 104-108). The close relation between *ragana* and *laumė* is also shown by a considerable number of plants, animals or natural phenomena named either *raganos spjaudalai* ‘fungus, *Merulis lacrimans*’, *raganos tiltas* ‘ensemble of mushrooms’, *raganos papas* ‘belemnite’, *raganos šluota* ‘witches’ broom’, *raganos kaulai, taukai* ‘glittering snow’ or *laumės spjaudalas* ‘fungus, *Merulis lacrimans*’, *laumatilčiai* ‘line of mushrooms’, *laumarykštis, -šluotė* ‘witches’ broom’, *laumės papas* ‘belemnite’, *laumės taukai* ‘glittering snow’ (LKŽ).

The majority of Lithuanian tales where *laumė* substitutes *ragana* are related to children, especially where children are kidnapped. This is the only distinct function (of the above mentioned) of *laumė* in tales (the other functions appear mainly in legends and superstition). In an approach of cultural anthropology *ragana* and *laumė* are related to the process of death, funeral, reincarnation and birth (Gliwa 2003). From this investigation, if we keep in mind that dolls were made to influence (in either way) procreation and childbearing, it is a very small step to suppose that the change of the real child into the changeling originates from the change of the lucky charm doll into the real child after birth. That is one aspect of *laumė* only which will be discussed in a more comprehensive study (Gliwa/Šeškauskaitė 2003). Of course, it doesn’t explain all aspects of the complex nature of *laumė*.

Consequently, the comparison with I.-E. *\*leudh-* ‘to grow’ and goddesses of birth and vegetation seems correct. But the question remains: does *laumė* refer to a deity of fertility and/or birth as the comparison with Venetian *Louderai* (dat.) suggests? At this stage it cannot be decided whether this is true. An alternative interpretation for *laumė* could be *\*‘pregnant woman’* or *\*‘mother after delivering’*. This would correspond with the fact that *laumė* can’t enter a field of flax (in a number of legends; this is unexpected of a goddess of fertility but well known of women six weeks after delivering) or—as Jasiunaitė (2000: 178) suggests—with Lith. *laūmas* ‘who walks clumsily’ etc. I don’t agree, however, when Jasiunaitė relates Lith. *laumė* via *laūmas* with I.-E. *\*lou-* ‘to bench’. Instead, I could imagine some connections with the behaviour and kind of walking of a pregnant woman. *Laumė* is also a character in nuptial plays (Urbanavičienė 2000: 169-171). *Lauminėtis* means ‘to play blind man’s buff’, which is reported for Lithuania as an adults’ game of the winter cycle (cult usually dedicated to ancestors); in Latvia and elsewhere the game was directly related to the rites of burying (Urbanavičienė 2000: 47-50, 254-255).

### 3. *Žiežula-Ragana*

*Žiežula* is an exclusively Lithuanian witch and mostly appears together with *ragana*: *žiežula-ragana*. Fraenkel sees *žiežula* and *žiežara* as derivations from a probably onomatopoeic verb *žiežti* ‘brummen, murren, böse sein’ (LEW II: 1308). Vanagas, dealing with a number of Lithuanian hydronyms as *Žiežmuo* (a lake), *Žiežmojus* (a river), *Žiežmara* (a river) etc., adds that they could be derived directly from the witch’s name or from *žiežti* ‘brummen, murren, böse sein’ and thus mean evil waters (Vanagas 1981: 402). If *žiežti* were an onomatopoeic

word, it should have originated from the related acoustic notion ‘to hum, buss, drone’, not from ‘to be bad’ itself. In that case a direct derivation of the hydronyms from the sound could be taken into consideration (cf. Petėraitis 1992: 226).

Beside *žiezūla* ‘witch, evil person’ one finds homonyms from *žiezūla*, *žiezulė*, *žiežaškė* ‘Scardinius erythropthalmus’, a fish with silver flanks and reddish fins and eyes. As the synonym *raudė* ‘id.’ suggests (*raudonas* ‘red’) that the fish may have been named on the basis of the red fins or eyes (Urbutis 1981: 169-172), we may connect *žiezūla* to Lith. *žaižara* ‘aurora, dawn’, *žaižaras* ‘red’. Taking into consideration phenomena of light, colour, and glimmering, which are quite common bases for hydronyms, we should also take into account Lith. *žiezara* ‘spitfire’, *žiežebė* ‘spark’, *žiežilba*, *žiežirba* ‘id.’, *žaižaringas* ‘gleaming’, *žaišas* ‘lightning’, *žiėbti* ‘to light, set fire’, *žibti* ‘id.’, *žibutė* ‘a flower, *Hepatica nobilis*...’, *žibirktis* ‘spark’... (LKŽ XX).

The words *žižėti* ‘to flame; to grumble, mutter’, *žižti* ‘pykti’, *žižė* ‘spark, fire, spitfire’ and others can be compared to Lith. *žaižarinė* ‘very energetic girl or woman’, *žaižarėkas* ‘energetic person’ (LKŽ XX), as there are quite a lot of words referring to both light and sound impressions, e.g. NHG. *grell* ‘bright; shrill’ (more examples in Urbutis 1972: 58) so that parallel formations in Lithuanian cannot be excluded completely. The meaning ‘angry, mad’ can be derived from ‘sparkling’ via the a context ‘with sparkling eyes’ (without taking acoustics into account). If we look at the words for the witch, associations with *žiburinė* ‘fatuus ignis’, *žiburinis* ‘spectre’, *žyželka* ‘baidyklė, šmekla’, *žižilpa* ‘spark; ghost, phantom’, *žižilpos*, *vos pamatytos*, *tujaus išnyksta* ‘a ghost immediately disappears after being noticed’, *Pasirodė nabakštikikės žižilpa* ‘the ghost of the departed showed itself to oneself’ (LKŽ XX: 829) are triggered off, which resembles the discussion on *ragana*. Thus, it seems reasonable to explain *žiezūla-ragana* as \*(shining) ghost’. Nevertheless, the influence of derivations of *ži(e)ž-* ‘spitfire’ is also conceivable for a later stage of the development.

Some remarks on the word formation shall be added here. While *žiezūla* and *žaižara* show the common suffixes *-ūla*, *-ara*, *žiežirba* has often been seen as the result of reduplication (LEW II: 1307). However, as Smoczyński (1994: 484-54) pointed out, words like these are more likely to be compounds.

The words *žiezūla* and *žiežti* show an extended root I.-E. \**g'(h)ei-g'(h)-*, and ablaut grades also show meanings related to ‘scolding’ as shown above. Hence the root I.-E. \**g'(h)eig'(h)-* is limited to light and colour and their derivations. The root \**g'(h)er-/g'(h)or-* appear to be very semantically and formally close to \**g'(h)ei-g'(h)-*, as it is the basis of Lith. *žara* ‘aurora, dawn’, *žerėti* ‘to shine, sparkle, burn’, \**g'(h)el-* > Lith. *žilpti* ‘to be dazzled; glame, shine’. Even more related roots are offered by Karulis (LEV II: 556). The form *žaižara* could be either a derivation with *-ara* from *žaiž-* like *kaukara* ‘hill’ or a compound of *žai-* ‘shine’ and *žara-* ‘dawn’.

#### 4. Latv. *spīgana*

Karulis traces *spīgana* ‘witch, ignis fatuus’, *spīgaia* ‘ignis fatuus’ back to Balt. \**sping-* < I.-E. \**sp(h)ng-* (zero grade of \**sp(h)eng-* ‘glitter, shine’) (LEV: II 263; Pokorny 1994: 989). There is no doubt that *spīgana* and *spīgot*, *spīguiot* ‘to twinkle, shimmer, sparkle’ bear a meaning related to visual impressions, as do Lith. *spingėti* ‘to shimmer, sparkle’, *spingulys* ‘sparkle’.

Besides, there are a number of related words concerning acoustic effects: Latv. *spindzēt* ‘to hum, buzz’ *spiegt* ‘to whistle, pipe’, Lith. *spīngti*, *spėngti*, *spiegti* ‘squeal, shriek’—a usual



coexistence of meanings for sound and light (cf. Urbutis 1972: 58, LEV II: 261-265).

Pokorny (1994: 990) discusses how NHG. *Spuk* ‘apparition, ghost’ may be related to the root mentioned and asks whether MLG. *spakeren* ‘spit, sparkle, drizzle’ could be related to this family as well. Because of the parallel forms from I.-E. \**spend-* and \**speng-* he says that it is difficult to suppose a nasal-free root I.-E. \**spēg-* / \**spog-* > NHG. *Spuk*. However, Lith. *speigas*, *spiegti* shows a nasal-free version (LEV II: 869, Urbutis 1972: 58) and Latv. *spogāt* ‘to shine’ requires the *ō*-grade of the root which *Spuk* goes back to (LEV II: 268). Latv. *spalgs* completes the set of expanded roots from I.-E. \**sp(h)e-* ‘to shine, sparkle’ bearing very similar meanings (cf. Urbutis 1972: 57-61).

Note that *spīgana* is again a derivation with the suffix *-ana*. Both interpretations, \*‘who is lighted up’ and \*‘who is glimmering’, are possible. If we take into account the common belief that will-o’-the-wisps are ghosts of dead people (cf. Vēlius 1979: 203-207) (especially of those who were drowned) and that the circumstance that it is not the corpse itself, *spīgana* could be interpreted as medium voice from a semantic point of view.

Due to the tradition of Latvian linguistics, who frequently use folk texts, Karulis adds some remarks about the function of Latv. *lauma* and notes that differences between *lauma*, *ragana*, *spīgana* and female ghosts are extinct. They figure as mythic beings, as well as magicians or healers (LEV I: 509).

### 5. Lith. *viedma*, *viedzma*

It is asserted that *viedmà*, *viedzmà* are loan words from W.-Russ. *ведьма* or Russ. *ведьма*. This seems plausible, especially because these names appear usually in East and South Lithuania. Russ. *ведьма* belongs to I.-E. *u(e)di-* ‘to see; knowledge’ etc. (Pokorny 1994: 1125) like Lith. *vaizdas* ‘view, sight, image’, *vėidas* ‘face, look, cheeks’, *veizėti* ‘to look’, *vydėlė* ‘pupil (of the eye)’, *vy(z)dỹs* ‘id.’ (LKŽ XVII-XIX).

Excluding discussions of origin of details like varying root extensions *-z-*, *-zd-*, *-d-*, we can suggest a basic word *viedmà* from the root Balt. \**veid-* > Lith. *vied-* (like Lith. *deive* ‘goddess’: *dievas* ‘god’). That derivations in *-mà* are a common type of word-formation is shown by the following examples: *brūkšmà* ‘line’, *glėima* ‘slime’, *retmà* ‘gap’ as action nouns (cf. DDR I: 91). We can also propose that *viedmà* \*‘phantom, spectre’ belongs to Lith. *vidmà* ‘phantom’. According to the LKŽ the latter is a loan from Pol. *widmo* ‘ghost’ (LKŽ XIX: 85) and shows the same suffixation, only from the zero-grade. However, we cannot decide from these data, whether *viedmà*, *viedzmà*, *vidmà* are loanwords or Baltic heritage. Their frequency in South and East Lithuania could be explained by a similar use of the Slavonic words in neighbouring areas. In East Lithuania, for example, where *viedmà* is used for the witch, the term *rāgana* frequently denotes the *laumė* ‘fairy’ (Vēlius 1977: 90). This shows that *rāgana* and *viedmà* are not synonyms here. On the other hand, if we assume that, in manner and age, *viedma* is similar to Lith. *laumė* < I.-E. \**loudh-mā* a form \**veima*/\**viema* could be expected, which is actually not attested. The form *viedzmà*, which looks like W.-Russ. *ведзьма*, could get the *-z-* from either *-zd-* as in *vaizdas* (e.g. *māzgas* ‘knot’, *mazgỹti* ‘to make knots’: *mėgzti* ‘to knot’). Another explanation is dialectal variability: in South Lithuania the Dzukai replace *-d-* regularly with *-dz-*.

However, at this stage there are no proofs for either variant. It is a matter of belief to prefer “loan view” or the “heritage view”. Only *veidlauma* (Daukantas, cit. in LKŽ XVIII: 507) speaks for the Baltic origin, because *veid-* cannot be a result of any Sl. loan. But *veid-* and *laume-* are of different origin and the blending of the two appears rather unexpected. So, was

*veidlauma* a creation of Daukantas?

## 6. Conclusion

The semantic filiations of *žiežula*, *spīgana* and *viedma* seem very close to each other. They originally denote the visual aspect ('what is seen, vision, phantom') of the being (with only minor differences in meaning). Usually they appear without any special purpose at any time, but preferably at places and times where and when people were killed, where and when they died or where they spent their lifetimes.

*Ragana* does not denote the result (a glimmering being) but the origin (who is resurrected, raised), which is connected with a complaint about an incorrect funeral. On the other hand, *raganos* 'witches' are active during calendar festivals: Easter, Whitsuntide, St. John, All Saints, Christmas, when they can be seen after special preparation. These events are related (in a peasant's belief) with both fertility and ancestry cult (cf. Beresnevicius 2001: 145-155). The interpretation of the word formation of *ragana* seems to be the key to understand the development of Lith. *regėti* 'to see' from the root I.-E. \**reg-* 'to move straight, rule'.

*Laumė* is of a completely different character. The term is by origin related to fertility. *Laumė* is mixed up with witches because of their partial similarities of functions.

Mixing up these mythical beings with living persons occurred—at the latest—with the outbreak of demonology. At this stage, it is possible to use all these malicious names to denote people, especially old women, midwives. This means that *žiežula* 'bad woman', *ragana* 'id.' have probably existed not earlier than the 17th century.

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**BALTIŠKIEJI PIRTIES PAVADINIMAI**

## Abstract

[Title: The Baltic names of the bathhouse]. (I) The origin of Lith. *pirtis* 'bathhouse, sauna', dial. *perėnė, pertuvė* 'id.', Latv. *pirts* 'id.' is commonly traced back to I.-E. *\*per-* 'to beat, lash, birch'. The Baltic loans Finn. *pirtti* 'villager's hut' and Lith. dial. *pirtis* 'drying-kiln, barn; flax breaking room' show different meanings. It has been claimed (e.g. Skardžius) that the *pirtis* was a building where people lived and took baths. This view is criticized with respect to a number of technical and social hinderings. No parallels of a development 'to beat, birch' > 'living house' have been found so far. The new etymology suggested in this article starts from I.-E. (dial.?) *\*per-* 'to heat'. The semantic development 'heat' > 'bath; heating room; house' is not unusual: e.g. NHG. *Bad* 'bath', *Stube* 'room', Russ. *изба* 'hut, bath', *комната* 'room'. The article discusses the Baltic relationship with *\*per-* 'to heat'. (a) Lith. *pirkià, pirkčià* 'hut, cottage' show an additional *-k-* as does *pirkšnis* 'hot ashes; live coal'. (b) The usual approach that Lith. *pāras* 'steam' is a loan from Russ: *nap* 'id.' or the like is rejected, due to Lith. dial. *pōrinti* 'to steam, scald', *paròs* (gen.) 'steam'. Especially *paròs* is used only in phrases concerning the sauna and must be considered an archaism. Russ. *париться* 'to steam, birch, scald', *парение* 'steaming, scalding, birching', *парилка, паруха, парунья* 'sweating shelf in the sauna' belong to the sauna vocabulary, too. (c) Lith. *peršūs* 'sore, painful', *peršėti* 'to bite, itch, smart, be ardent' etc. refers to "burning" pains. Therefore, the usual comparison with *perša, prōperša* 'break in the ice; glade' requires a prior meaning *\*open wound*. However, an attempt *\*burning pain* would much better fit with the material, especially as the concept of open wounds is named after terms for fire, e.g. Lith. *uždegimas* 'ignition' : *degti* 'to burn'. (d) Furthermore, there is a line *Liemenėlių pirtelį...a pirtis made of corpses* that appears in a folksong about war. *Liemenėlių pirtelį* should be understood as *\*crematory fire* and *pirtelį* as *'bonfire'*. (e) Lith. *perėti* 'to hatch, brood' may be considered a derivation from either I.-E. *\*per-* 'to give birth to, create' (*\*perh<sub>3</sub>-* 'to procure, get') or *\*per-* 'to heat'. (f) Regarding the importance of the sauna in the villagers' customs we can claim that OPr. *perōni* and *pjrin* (acc. sg.) 'community; parish' is a derivation from a term *\*per-* or *\*pir-* 'bathhouse' > *\*the community of a village, i.e. of one bathhouse*. (II) Lith. *spagta*, OPr. (EV) *spec̃te* 'bathhouse' are related to a word field of the type *spVRg-* 'hot; cold; sprinkle; harsh, shrill; pale, bright'. The article discusses semasiological relations between those words. The word field may originate in a contamination of several different roots. Expressive influence must also be taken into account. As a consequence, Lith. *spagta*, OPr. *spec̃te* 'bathhouse' are regarded as concerning the heat in the sauna. From its contexts it is clear that OPr. *spagtas* (gen.), *spigsna* means 'baptism with water'. Baptising may be done with sprinkling water. So the comparison with Lith. *spagčioti* 'to sprinkle, drop' etc. is not to be rejected. But the bathhouse is a popular place for birth and celebrations like name-giving in pre-Christian times, cf. Latv. *pirtīžas* 'ceremony immediately after birth'. Therefore we may assume a derivation of OPr. *spagtas* (gen.), *spigsna* *\*ceremony of birth and name-giving* from a term for the sauna, like Lith. *spagta*, OPr. *spec̃te* 'bathhouse'. (III) OPr. (EV) *Stobe* means 'bathhouse' because of OPr. (EV) *Stubonikis* 'bath attendant' and is of Germ. origin. Probably, it only named public saunas in towns.

I. Liet. *Pirtis, Pertuvė, Perenė*, Latv. *Pirts*.

§ 1. Sąvokas lit. *pirtis*, latv. *pirts* dauguma kalbininkų sieja su pagrindiniu veiksmu *pirtyje*, pėrimusi < verb. balt. *\*per-* 'perti, mušti, plakti', (pvz. Skardžius 1934: 74-75; LEW: 578, LEV: II 56, Būga 1959: 516, Skardžius 1996: 327, 579-580). Suom. *pirtti* 'dūminė pirkia' – dažnai nurodomas skolinys iš baltų kalbų (pvz. Zinkevičius 1984: 168, LEW: 578, Dini 2000: 157). Dėl to aiškinama, kad "skolinimosi metu *pirtis* dar yra buvusi dūminė, su krosnimi troba, kurioje lietuviai su latviais senovėje ne tik perdavosi, bet ir gyvendavo" (Skardžius 1934: 74; Skardžius 1996: 580; tam pritarianti Jasiūnaitė 2000: 40). Tačiau pastarasis aiškinimas kelia abejones.

Teiginys, suom. *pirtti* 'dūminė pirkia' paimta iš tos pačios reikšmės balt. *\*pirtis* 't.p.' o ne iš *\*pirtis* 'statinys pėrimuisi, maudymuisi', atrodo, nekelia prieštaravimų. Tad, klausimas apsiriboja tuo, kodėl žodžio reikšmė *\*pirtis* 'statinys maudymuisi' < *\*kur perimasi* pasikeitė arba išsiplėtė į *\*pirtis* 'dūminė pirkia'.

Nėra tiksliai žinoma, kada žodis paskolintas. Chronologijos ribos būtų nuo pat (pra)baltų atvykimo į jų dabartinį gyvenamą kraštą II tūkst. pr. Kr. iki 100 po Kr. (plg. Vanagas 1987: 47-52; Dini 2000: 155-160). Šiame laikotarpyje ir regione pasikeitė ir architektūra (plg. Grigalavičienė 1995: 40-55), todėl neaišku, kodėl skolintasi terminas, ir kaip tas pastatas atrodo.

§ 2. Teigti, kad gyvenamojoje dūminėje pirkioje būtų perimasi, trukdo kai kurie techniniai bei socialiniai prieštaravimai. Pėrimasis prasmingas tik gerai iškūrentoje, uždaroje patalpoje. Tarkime, gyvenamoji patalpa būtų buvusi naudojama pėrimuisi. Tuomet, gyventojai turėjo iš pirkios išeiti kol ją kūrendavo, kol maudydavosi (jei maudydavosi tik vienos lyties žmonės vienu metu; nėra pagrindo manyti kitaip). Pasimaudžius patalpa liks karšta, bet drėgna. Tokia patalpa nelabai tinka miegoti, kai žemė (asla, grindys) šlapia. Prielaida, kad maudydavosi vakare, yra pagrįsta tiek etnografiniais, tiek universaliais fiziologiniais duomenimis, nes po pirties žmogus tampa mieguistas, tiek noras išsimaudyti po sunkaus darbo, o ne prieš.

Jeigu tokiam atskiram statiniui žemės lopinėlių ir medžiagą galėjo rasti, o konstrukcija buvo nesudėtinga, kodėl nepasistačius tam tikslui atskirą pirtelę? Ar bent atskirą patalpą name? Ankstyvojo žalvario amžiaus gyvenvietėse aptikta pastatai su keliomis patalpomis, kuriose buvo židiniai. Kretuono gyvenvietės pastate vienas židinytis buvo ovalus, 50 – 70 cm skersmens, viršuje apdėtas akmenimis, tuo tarpu, kiti židiniai, šiek tiek įgilinti, be akmenų (Grigalavičienė 1995: 41). Gal tai buvo name integruota pirtelė, bet tai įrodyti – neįmanoma.

Pirtį, kaip ir jaują, kūrendavo karštai, tad buvo pavojinga ją įrengti tame pačiame pastate, kuriame gyvenama. Tai viena iš priežasčių, kodėl pirtis statoma atokiau nuo sodybos. Be to, pirtis buvo statoma prie vandens, nes maudymuisi reikalingas vanduo. Pirtis buvo apeiginė vieta, o maudymasis traktuojamas kaip ritualinis veiksmas, universalus daugelyje religijų. Pirtis žinoma kaip gimdymo vieta (dėl pirties etnografijos pvz. Daunys 1992; Daunys 1991; Bugailiškis 1934; Slonimskis 1928: 518).

Nors Daunys (1992: 92) teigia, kad nuo "16 -17 a., taip pat ir vėlesniais šimtmečiais, kaimuose pirtys buvo įrengiamos po vienu stogu su gyvenamosiomis patalpomis (numais)", tačiau neabejoja, kad anksčiau pirtis buvo atskiras pastatas (93). Tokia pirties integracija į namą, matyt, atsirado kartu su baudžiava ir žemės nuosavybės ribojimais kaimiečiams. Vis dėl to, nors po vienu stogu, patalpa liko atskira. Atskirą pirties pastatą, datuojamą 13 -14 a., archeologai rado Kernavėje (Luchtanas 1988: 141-142).

Yra žinomi atvejai (Sargelių km., Lietuvoje), kai buvusioje pirtyje gyventa, nes po karo gyvenamoji pirkia buvo sudegusi. Tačiau neaptikta duomenų, kad patalpoje būtų ir perimasi, ir gyvenama.

Įtikinama, kad homonimai balt. *\*pirtis* 'pirkia' ir *\*pirtis* 'patalpa maudymuisi', būtų etimologiškai giminingi. Toks ryšys turėtų būti tarp sinonimų *\*pirtis* 'pirkia' ir *pirkià*.

§ 3. Bendra pirties ir dūminės pirkios savybė, kaip pavadinimo motyvacija yra tai, kad pirkia ir pirtis – šildomi pastatai, pvz., vok. *Bad* 'patalpa maudymuisi' < sva. *bad* 't.p.' "vermutlich to- Bildung zu *bähen* 'erwärmen', doch ist die Bildung kaum unabhängig von dem Mittelmeerwort *\*bal-* 'warmes Bad'... " (EWD: 72). Iš to, lot. *balneum* ar gr. βαλανείον, turbūt vėl. lot. *\*bāneum*, atsirado rus. баня 'maudykla, vonia' (Skardžius 1934: 75; REW: I 121). Neaišku *Stube* 'svetainė', vok. *Stövchen* 'prietaisas išlaikyti šiltą arbatą', angl. *stove* 'šildoma patalpa, šildymo prietaisas, vieta kur kūrenasi' : s. angl. *stufa* 'patalpa maudymuisi'. Diskutuojamos dvi versijos: (a) < vid. lot. *\*stufa* (> it. *stufa*, pran. *étuve* 'patalpa maudymuisi') < lot. *\*tūfus* < gr. τῦφος 'dūmai, garai', (b) < lot. *aestuāre* 'šildyti, kūrenti' (EWD: 804; Hoad 1996: 464). Sva. *stuba* ar pan. laikomas šaltiniu rus. узба 'namukas, maudykla' (REW: II 120). Dar plg. rus. комната 'kambarys' < sva. *chemināta* < lot. *camīnāta* 'šildomas kambarys' (LEW: 873).

Skardžius perteikia apaštalo Andriejaus informaciją (be šaltinio ir datos), "kad jie, rusai, nusiplaudavę drungnu vandeniu ir pildami vandenį ant krosnies, taip išsiplakdavę rykštėmis

arba švelniomis medžių šakelėmis (t.y. vantomis), kad vos gyvi išeidavę" (1934: 75). Susidaro įspūdis, kad jie sumušti ir dėl to vos gyvi bešeidavę. Tačiau vanojimasis suprastinas kaip tam tikras masažo būdas, poilsis, mėgavimasis gaivinančiu pėrimusi (bent taip yra Lietuvoje), o ne mušimasis rykštėmis. O vanotis yra sunku dėl karščio, ypač vanotojui, nes perimasi tada, kai yra vos vos pakenčiamas karštis. Sugebėjimas pakelti karštį, išbūti pirtyje kuo ilgiau vanojantis, kaimo pirties bendruomenėje reiškė aukščiausią įvertinimą (prestižą), kaip šiandien sportininkų laimėjimai. Jeigu kas išeina iš pirties vos gyvas, tai tik dėl karščio. Kol tokie etnografiniai ir fiziologiniai faktai nebus deramai įvertinti, kalbos apie pirties etimologiją liks bergždžios.

§ 4. Su šia prielaida grįžkime prie kalbamos sąvokos *pirtis*, kuri reiškia ne tik 'patalpa maudymuisi' bet ir *pirtis* 'maudymasis; jauja linams ar javams džiovinti; prastas namas' (LKŽ: X 33-34).

Rečiau vartojami veiksmožodiniai abstraktai *perėnė* (LKŽ: IX 821), dial. žem. *perenė* 'specialus pastatas praustis' (Jasiūnaitė 2000: 40), *pertuvė* 'pirtis' (LKŽ: IX 862) pirčiai įvardinti, kaip ir *pirktis* 'pirtis; jauja linams džiovinti' (LKŽ: IX 1106-7). Kalbant apie *pertuvė*, žodis – galimas naujadaras iš *perti* 'vanotis pirtyje'. Kitaip *perėnė* 'pirtis; pėrimasis pirtyje', nes tokia daryba nebeproduktyvi, be to, abstrakti reikšmė 'pėrimasis pirtyje', atrodo, yra senesnė (dėl darybos su *-enė* plg. Skardžius 1996: 236). Labiau tikų pamatas *\*per-* 'kaitinti' ar pan. O transformacija nuo *\*buvimas* ar maudymasis karštyje' > 'pėrimasis karštyje' lengvai paaiškinama. Iš pirmo žvilgsnio net jauja galėtų būti siejama su *perti* 'mušti, plakti, trenkti...' kaip artimas veiksmui *kulti* 'javus ar linus kultti', vykstančiam jaujoje, tačiau tokia *perti* (LKŽ: IX 858-860) reikšmė dabar nežinoma.

O tik tokia sąlyga galėtų reikšmės kitimą nuo *pirtis* 'patalpa maudymuisi' į žem. *pirtis* 'jauja' ir vak. aukšt. *pirtis* 'Flachsbrachstube' pateisinti, jeigu pastarosios būtų "vėlesnių laikų padaras" kaip teigia Skardžius (1934: 74). Reikia prisiminti, kad jaujoje javai džiovinami specialiai tam kūrenant ugnį. Dėl to ištakos verb. balt. *\*per-* 'kaisti, kaitinti' ar pan. visai prasmingos, o nepaaiškinamas "vėlesnių laikų padaras" nesvarstyti.

Giminingi žodžiai *pirkià* 'gyvenamas valstiečių namas, troba; patalpa žmonėms gyventi; viralinė, maisto sandėlis' *pirkià*, *pirkàitė*, *pirkė*, *pirkyna*, *pirktàitė*, *pirktėlė* patyrė tam tikrą reikšmės pakitimą link 'svetainė', 'sandėlis' ar 'prasta troba', pastarasis su iš dalies menkinamuju atspalviu (LKŽ: IX 1088-1097).

Kaip *pirktis* 'pirtis; kūrenama jauja linams džiovinti' (LKŽ: IX 1106-7), taip turi *pirkià* 'troba' papildomą formantą *-k-*. Pastebėtina, kad "priesaga *-ti-* iš senovės visų pirma yra vartojama moteriškosios giminės, daugiausia veiksmožodiniams, abstraktams sudaryti pvz. *apgautis*, *-iēs* 'apgavimas', *būtis*, *-iēs* 'buvimas, būvis' [...] *mintis*, *-iēs* 'Gedanke', *mirtis*, *-iēs* 'mirimas' ... " (Skardžius 1996: 326). Jeigu pamatas būtų *\*per-* : *\*pir-* 'kaisti' : 'kaitinti' (dėl apofonijos bei darybos plg. *virti* : *vērda* : *virtis* 'vandens verpetas, vyrius', *vėrti* : *virtinė* : *virtis* 'vėrinys', *versti* : *virtis* 'griuvimas' LKŽ: IX, X), tada pradinė reikšmė *pirtis* būtų buvusi maždaug *\*kaitinimas*'. Tačiau toks veiksmožodis *\*per-* nežinomas. Dėl to reikėtų nagrinėti sąsajas su kita balt. leksika ir svarstyti rekonstravimo galimybes.

§ 5. Liet. *peršėti* 'griausiančiai skaudėti odą, žaizdą; patirti nerimą, sielvartą, *perštėti*, *peršti* 't.p.' (LKŽ: IX 854-856) paprastai aiškinami bendrai su *perša* 'neužšalus vieta lede, properša; šaltiniuota vieta raiste', *próperša* 't.p.': tai būtų atviros žaizdos skausmas (LEW: 578), plg. *kiaurāžaidė* 'gili pūlinė žaizda; fistulė' (LKŽ: V 706). Rix et al., rekonstruoja atskirą ide. *\*perk-* 'graben, aufreißen' (LIV: 475). Tačiau čia kalbama apie degantį skausmą, ar niežėjimą, apie perštėjimą gerklėje sušalus, ne apie atvirą žaizdą, plg. dar *peršulys* 'brennender Schmerz', *peršus* 'brennenden Schmerz verursachend' (LEW: 578). Pan. eigą rodo dar liet. *uždegimas* (apie žaizdą, pūlinį) : *dėgti*. Galimybė, kad esama sąsajų su balt. *\*per-* 'kaisti, degti', neatmetama.

§ 6. Lit. *peršatis* 'žvarba' siejasi arba su *perša* 'neužšalusi vieta lede, properša; šaltiniuota vieta raiste' (LKŽ IX 853; LEW: 578), kaip \*'kiaurai praeinantis vėjas', plg. *kiáurvéjis* 'žvarbus vėjas; kiauropūtis', *kiaurāvéjis*, *kiaurāpūtis* 't.p.' (LKŽ: V 704-710), arba su kalbama balt. \**per-* 'kaisti, degti', turint omenyje, kad dažnos sąvokos šalčiui ir karščiui išreikšti išsiriti iš tos pačios šaknies arba vartojamos tolygiai priklausomai nuo konteksto (pvz. Urbutis 1972: 58). Žodžio *peršatis* daryba (plg. Skardžius 1996: 337) neprieštarauja nei vienam nei kitam variantui. Pastaroji interpretacija leistų svarstyti tolimą giminybę su got. *frius* 'šalna', vok. *frieren* 'šalti', lot. *prūna* 'žarijos; glühende Kohlen', *prūrīre* 'peršti, niežti; jucken' < ide. \**preus-* 'frieren; brennen' (IEW: 846).

§ 7. Lit. *perėti* '(paukščiams) ant kiaušinių tūpti, juos šildant' yra iteratyvinis ar duratyvinis veiksmazodis. Minėtini dar pan. reikšmės *perėdinti*, *perédinti*, *perėdyti* 'perinti' (LKŽ: IX 818). O pamatinis verb. \**perti* neišliko. Neatsiejama yra liet. dial. (Zietela) *pirtėlė* 'inkilas' (Vidugiris 1998: 488). Įprasta etimologija šiuos žodžius gretina su paveldu iš ide. \**per-* 'gebären, hervorbringen' (\**perh<sub>3</sub>-* 'verschaffen' LIV: 474) > lot. *pariō*, *parere* 'gebären'; gr. *πóρις* 'Kalb, junge Kuh', vok. *Färse* 'junge Kuh', vž. *vōr* 'Schweinchen' ir kt. (LEW: 573, IEW: 818). Taip pat tiktų pamatas \**per-* 'šildyti, kaisti'. Liet. *peraĩ*, *periaĩ* 'bičių lervai' (LKŽ: IX 813, 826), byloja už pirmąją versiją, juk čia niekas tiesiogiai nešildo. Kita vertus, avilyje (ar atitinkamoje vietoje, drevėje) temperatūra reguliuojama, pvz. žiemos pabaigoje, kai bitės ruošiasi pavasariui, tarp perų temperatūrą bitės pakelia iki 32-35°C (Straigis 1994: 104). *Perėti* taip pat vartojama 'vesti jauniklius, veistis' arba 'gimdyti', tačiau pastaroji, aiškiai pajuokianti, perkeltinė reikšmė (LKŽ: IX 822-823). Be to, susiduriame su mitologiniais dalykais, su tikėjimu apie sielos ar naujagimių atkeliavimu paukščių pavidalu ar bent jų pagalba (plg. Gliwa 2003a: 284-288). Todėl eiga *peraĩ* < \**per-* 'šildyti, kaisti', neatmestina. Nurodytina, kad *pėras* ne tik 'bičių lervutė' bet ir *pėras* 'perimi kiaušiniai; neužperėtas, neverstas kiaušinis; perėjimas; išperėtas paukščiukas; jaunos bitės; augalo atžala, atauga' ir *pėralas* 'kas perima, išpera' (LKŽ: IX 813). Tai neprieštarauja nei kilmei iš ide. \**per-* 'gebären, hervorbringen', nei galimybei, kad reikšmė išsiplėtė 'šildyti' > '(iš)perėti' > 'veistis, daugintis'. Semasiologiškai palygintina vok. *brüten* 'perėti (apie paukščius)', s. air. *guird* 'išperia' < ide. \**g<sup>wh</sup>er-* 'brennen, wärmen'; vok. *Brut* taip pat vadina 'bičių perai, paukščių perai' (EWD: 140).

§ 8. Jasiūnaitė (2000), nagrinėdama pirties nusistovėjusius apeiginius posakius, nepateikia dviejų man gerai žinomų frazių: *Ar dar liko paròs?* 'ar liko karščio?', kai vyrai grįžta iš pirties ir moterys išsiruošia antrai pamainai bei raginimas: *Duok paròs!*, visiems susėdus ant plautų. Kadangi ir LKŽ nepateikia nei \**para*, nei *paròs* ir man neteko girdėti kitokių linksnių nei minėto kilmininko, reikėtų žodį laikyti siaura tarmybe (Sargeliai, Žaiginyš, Raseinių raj.). Jei LKŽ būtų pateikę žodį \**para*, tai su kryžiuoku (x dabartineje kalboje nevertotinas žodis) ir su nuoroda į rus. *nap*, kaip tai daroma su \**pāras* 'garai' (LKŽ: IX 404). Kadangi pirties tradicija šioje aplinkoje gan sena ir dar apie 1940, prieš karą, Sargelių kaimas turėjo bendrą pirtį, vargu tai galėtų būti skolinys, ypač turint omenyje, kad tai nusistovėję frazeologizmai. Norėtuši suabejoti ar *pāras* iš tikrųjų slavizmas, jis vartojamas tame pačiame kontekste ir atokiausiame nuo slavų Lietuvos kampe: *Mažai pāro, užliek andens ant krosnies*. (Papilė, Akmenės raj.), *Šiandien pirtyje geras pāras* (Ramygala, Panevežio raj.) (LKŽ: IX 404).

Liet. *pōrinti* 'plikyti, svilinti, šutinti' pasitaiko tik Suvalkijoje, yra įtariamasis slavizmas ir gavo kryžiuoką (LKŽ: X 447), tačiau ribotas paplitimo arealas bylotų labiau už tarminį relikvą, o ne sl. skolinį. LKŽ nepateikia numanomo sl. šaltinio. Fraenkel aptaria tik paveldėtą homonimą *pōrinti* 'quatschen, erzählen' (LEW: 639), bet kalbamą žodį bei *pāras*, nemini. Savaime aišku, kad morfema *-inti*, nepaaiškinamas sl. šaltiniu.

Žinoma, rus. *парно* 'tvanku, trošku, dusnu', *парной* 'šiltas; tvankus; drungnas', *парить* 'garuoti' (RL: III 16-17) yra giminingi kalbamajam *pōrinti* 'plikyti, svilinti, šutinti'. Kad tai būtų skolinimasis su papildomu morfemos keitimu, mažiau tikėtina. O rus. *a* atitinka liet. *O*



ne tik skoliniuose, bet ir bendrai paveldėtoje leksikoje. Tad, reikėtų atkreipti dėmesį į rus. *пар* : liet. *paròs, pãras*, kurie turėtų būti labai nauji skoliniai, kur išlaikomas šaknies vokalizmas.

Įdomi rusiška pirties terminija *париться* 'šutintis, kaitintis; vanotis, pertis; garuoti', *парение* 'šutinimas; plikymas; pėrimasis pirtyje', *парилка* 'šutintuvė; vanotuvė, plautai (pirtyje)', *парильщик* 'pėrėjas, vanotojas; šutintojas' (RL: III 16-17), argumentuojanti už sąsajas su karščiu, bet ne su plakimu, mušimu. Vasmer (REW: III 207) lygina rus. *парить* 'garuoti' su liet. *perėti*, taip pat *паруха, парунья* 'plautai' (210). Čia pridera brus. *парня* 'vieta, trobesys kur šutina ir lenkia lankus, pavažas, kamantus' (Vanagas 1981: 255).

Jeigu liet. *paròs, pãras* 'garai', *põrinti* 'plikyti, svilinti, šutinti' baltiškumas neatmetamas, ir atmetimui rimtų argumentų nėra, tada nematau, kodėl pr. *pore – brodim* 'garas' (E 40; Mažiulis 1996: 327 ir lit.) turėtų būti slavizmas < l. *para* 'garas', kaip įprasta manyti, nors Fraenkel tai teigia tik "evtl." (plg. LEW: 573). Prūsišką žodį *pore* ir Mažiulis numanė esant baltišku (1996: 327-328, 361-363).

§ 9. Prūsų katekizmuose pasitaiko *perōni* – *gemeine* 'Gemeinde' (Mažiulis 1996: 267-268), rečiau *pjirin* (acc. sg.) – *Gemein[d]e* (Mažiulis 1981: 199-202). Endzelyno teiginį: "Varbūt rada ar kr. *непеть* 'drücken, drängen' un sensl. *p̄rati* '(nieder-)treten' (sal. nozīmes ziņā lei. *mynià* 'Gedränge; Haufe' : *minti* 'mīt')" (Endzelīns SV 224, cit. Mažiulis 1996: 267), Mažiulis perinterpretuoja, tiesa, esmės nekeisdamas: verb. pr. *\*per-* 'mušimu spausti, spaudimu mušti' : *\*pēr-* (praet. šaknies vok.) > pr. *\*pērā* (f.) ar *\*pēra* (m.) '(susi)spaudimas (mušimu)' > *\*spūstis* > *\*būrys* > *perōni* 'bendrija' Mažiulis 1996: 267). Smoczyński (2000: 65, išn. 78) teigia, kad Mažiulis (1996: 267tt.) "bringt *perōni* mit lit. *periù, perti* '(im Dampfbad) mit dem Badequast schlagen; schlagen, prügeln' in Verbindung, was aus semantischer Sicht nicht einleuchtet." Mažiulio numatyta eiga ir manęs neįtikina, vargu kaimo bendruomenė buvo tokia gausi, kad spūstį sudarytų. Smoczyński požiūris įdomus ir krikščionų tekstų atžvilgiu suprantamas: "für das in Rede stehende Lexem ein zugrunde liegendes *\*/paru:ni/* angesetzt werden muß. Angenommen, daß das mnd. *parre* (f.) oder mhd. *pfarre* (f.) 'Pfarre, Pfarrgemeinde' ins Altpreußische als *\*/pare:/* bzw. *\*/pari/* (f.) übernommen wurde, erscheint die Annahme plausibel, daß zu diesem Grundwort auf preußischem Boden eine Weiterbildung auf *-ūni* erfolgt ist..." (Smoczyński 2000: 65). Tačiau tai fonologiškai perinterpretuota, be to, neįtikino pr. "Weiterbildung auf *-ūni*" nekeičiant reikšmės, nes *\*/pare:/* ar *\*/pari/* tenkintų gramatinius reikalavimus skolintam žodžiui. Norėčiau grįžti prie Mažiulio versijos, kurią paskatino Smoczyński su "bringt *perōni* mit lit. *periù, perti* '(im Dampfbad) mit dem Badequast schlagen...' ". Dar dabar Lietuvoje įprastas metas kūrėti pirtį ir išsimaudyti šeštadienio vakare, prieš sekmadienio mišias (jei lankosi). Be to, kaimuose egzistavo labai reikšmingos pirties bendruomenės, daug kur kaimas turėjo savo bendrą pirtį.

Apie prūsus žinoma, kad maudymasis pirtyje turėjo sąsajų su dievų garbinimu: "Iš pagarbos savo dievams kurie ne kurie kasdien maudosi pirtyse, kiti pirties tiesiog kėste nekenčia." (Peter von Dusburg, Chronicon terrae prussia, 1326, in: BRMŠ: I 335, 345). Šitą teiginį, rodos, kartoja von Jeroschin "*Etsliche Prúzin vlizzin sich, daz sí battin tegelich zu lobe irn abgotin. Sô wârin in den rotin sumeliche ouch gesat, di nimmir quâmen in ein bat.*" (Nicolaus von Jeroschin, Kronike von Pruzinlant, 1335, eilės 4247-4252, in: BRMŠ: I 364). Dažnas maudymasis pirtyse žinomas ir Dlugošui "Balneorum quotidianus tam viris, quam mulieribus usus, quibus hesternae diei ebrietatem astruunt ex corporibus depelli et vitam produci." (Jan Długosz, Historia Polonica, XV a., in: BRMŠ: I 547). Tad, siūlyčiau, pr. *perōni* '\*vienos pirties bendrija' = '\*religinė, paprotinė bendruomenė'. Tuo, manyčiau, būtų semantinė eiga visiškai suprantama. O tendencijai religinę terminiją laikyti paskolinta, norėčiau priešpastatyti centrinės sąvokas, kaip antai liet. *dievas, viešpats, dangus, velnias*.

§ 10. Daukantas pabrėžė: *senowie wissódidiausia góda buo swetį i pirtį nuwesti ir iszperdinti* (cit. Jasiūnaitė 2000: 39). LKŽ (IX 817) pateikia *išpėrdinti* 'išperti' ir nurodo, kad tai yra parūpinamasis veiksmožodis. Bet jeigu tariamas pamatas būtų *išperti*, kaip tada gali

parūpinamoji derivacija turėti tą pačią reikšmę kaip pamatas? Iš Daukanto pavyzdžio galima suprasti, kad šeimininkas nuvedė svetį į pirtį ir parūpino, kad kas nors kitas jį išpertų. Tačiau tai vargu atitinka tikrovę ir iki šiol daug kur galiojančius papročius. Kaip jau pastebėta, Daukanto teiginio esmė neslypi pėrimesi, o karštyje ir prausimesi. Dėl to manyčiau, kad *perdinti* yra padaryta iš *\*perti* 'kaisti, šildyti', ir savo reikšme ir daryba atitinka *kaisti* > *kaitinti*, pvz. sakoma *ėję į pirtį kaitintis* (Daukantas, cit. LKŽ: V 80).

Frazeologizmas *pirtį pakurti* ir pan. 'ką nors mušti, bausti' (LKŽ: X 34) negali būti argumentu, kad pirtis pavadinta pagal pėrimą. Nes tai įprastas reiškinys – kaitinimo reikšmė dažnai perkeliama mušimui, pliekimui nusakyti, pvz. liet. *kaĩtinti* 'mušti, pliekti...' (LKŽ: V 81), *šũtinti* 'smarkiai mušti; trenkti...' (LKŽ: XV 415), *plĩekti* 'mušti; varginti; smarkiai ką daryti' : *plĩeksti* 'smarkiai degti, akinamai šviesti...' : *plĩkũyti* 'valyti, pilant karštu vandeniu; tvilkant šutinti; spieginėti, deginti...' (LKŽ: X 215-229), plg. dar vok. *Jemandem einheizen* 'ką nors mušti...!'.

§ 11. Šeškauskaitė (2001: 107-108), nagrinėdama sutartinę:

1. Išjojo išjojo,

Išjos brolis karely.

Sidir vidir iš kiečių,

Kalne žalios rūtos. (refrenas toliau kartojamas po kiekvieno posmo)

2. Iškirto, iškirto,

Iškirs brolis vaiskelį...

3. Surėme, surėme

Liemenėlių pirtelį...

4. Sukrove, sukrove

Galvelių krosnelį...

5. Sulauže, sulauže

Erškietėlių untelį...

6. Užlėjo, užlėjo

Kraujelio garelį... (Slaviūnas 1959: 77)

teigia, tekstas kalbą apie kremaciją: "posakiai: *surėme liemenėlių pirtelį, sukrove galvelių krosnelį*, – galbūt, išreiškia deginimą, taip pat metaforinį pirties vaizdą" gerai paliudyta istorijos dokumentuose (Šeškauskaitė 2001: 108). Tokiai interpretacijai iš esmės neprieštarauju, bet manyčiau, tai ne metaforinis pirties vaizdas, o žodis *pirtelį* čia reiškia tiesiog *\*laužą* < *\*kaitra*, kūrenama vieta', lygiai kaip ir *galvelių krosnelį* reiškias ne *\*pečių* o *\*krūsnį, krūvą*'. Ar iš to išeina, kad galvas atskirai degindavo, ar tai iš pelenu išrinktų kaulų liekanų krūva – atskiras klausimas.

§ 12. Po šios apžvalgos galima grįžti prie *pirtis* ištakų.

(a) Galima inkorporuoti kalbamus žodžius į numatomą ide. bendriją *\*per-*, *\*preu-* 'sprühen, spritzen...' (IEW: 809), kaip tam tikrą specifinę leksikalizaciją 'karštis' link. Eiga įmanoma nuo ugnies gavimo titnagu kibirkščiuojant, purškiant, arba gręžiant kietu mediniu stiebu ant medinio pamato, kur prieš ugnies pasirodymą pirmiausia atsiranda dūmai. Iš *\*per-* 'kibirkščiuoti ar dūminti kuriant ugnį', nesunku pereiti prie reikšmės 'ugnis' ir 'karštis'. Šiuo atveju vargu galima atskirti *\*preus-* 'brennen; frieren' (IEW: 846), taip pat *\*(s)p(h)er-* 'sprühen...' kurį Pokorny jau neatskiria nuo *\*per-* 'purkšti, lašnoti...!'.

(b) Galima rekonstruoti ide. dial. arba balt.-sl. *\*per-* 'kaisti'. Nemažai žodžių bylotų už pagrindinę reikšmę *\*per-* 'garinti', tačiau kas buvo pasakyta apie *perdinti* ir *pirtį kurti*, *peršėti* 'griaužiančiai skaudėti; patirti nerimą, sielvartą', tam prieštarauja. Namų pavadinimai *pirkià* 'gyvenamas valstiečių namas, troba; patalpa žmonėms gyventi; viralinė, maisto sandėlis', *pirkčià, pirkaitė, pirkė, pirkýna, pirkítaitė, pirkítėlė* 't.p.' su garu nesusiję, greičiau su dūmu. Nei su dūmu, nei su garu nesisieja liet. *pirkšnė, pirkšnìs* 'smulkutė žarijėlė įkaitusiuose pelenuose; kibirkštis, žiežirba' (LKŽ: IX 1097). Tuo liečiame variantą (a): ide. *\*per-*

'kibirškščiuoti kuriant ugnies'.

*Pirkšnė, pirkšnis* 'žarijos...!', šalia *pirkia, pirktis*, turi formantą *-k-*, *pirkšnis* < \**prkšni-*, kur daryba kaip pvz., *krūsnis* 'krūsnis, akmeninis pirties pečius', *krūsnis* 'akmenų krūva' (plg. Skardžius 1996: 221). Galimas dalykas, kad \**per-* 'kaisti' ir \**per-* 'garinti' jau baltų prokalbėje egzistavo lygiagrečiai, nepriklausomai vienas nuo kito.

II. Liet. *Spagta*, Pr. *Spagtas* (kilm.), *Specte*, *Spigsna*.

§ 13. Dėl liet. *spagta* 'pirtis' reikšmės didesnės abejonės nekilo: *Pirtis, arba spagta, buvo visu didžiausia jų vaiste, kurią lankė, vesdami tenai su savimi lygiai ir svečių bei keleivį* (Daukantas, cit. LKŽ: XIII 308). Tačiau žodis tik vieną kartą minėtas. Pr. *specte – bat* (E 555) suprantama kaip \*'prausimas' (Mažiulis 1997: 144). Taip pat įmanoma \*'patalpa maudymuisi' = 'pirtis' vietoj 'prausimas'. Elbingo žodynyje nėra daug abstraičių veiksmy pavadinimų, didžiausia žodžių dalis – realijos. Matyt, tokia reikšmė spėjama dėl trečio katekizmo *spagtas* (gen. sg. fem.; 119<sub>4</sub>) – *den ewigen Segen deines himlischen Bades erlange* (119<sub>3-4</sub>), *vndas spagtun* (acc. sg.; 103<sub>9-10</sub>) – *hat sie gereiniget durch das Wasserbad im Wort* (103<sub>8</sub>), *spagtun* (acc. sg.; 119<sub>19</sub>) – *damit diß Badt deiner Heiligen Tauff* (119<sub>15-16</sub>), *spigsna* (63<sub>2</sub>) – *ein Bad der newen geburt im heyligen Geyst* (63<sub>2</sub>) (Mažiulis 1997: 141; III katekizmas cit. pagal Mažiulis 1981: 143, 199, 225, 227). Vadinasi, *specte* (E 555) bei liet. *spagta* byloja už realiją 'patalpa maudymuisi', tuo tarpu katekizmo sakiniai duoda pirmenybę 'prausimas, numazgojimas; apšlakstymas'. Mažiulis (1997: 141-146) išžiūri visuose žodžiuose reikšmę 'prausimas' ir mėgino juos sieti su liet. *spagas* 'lašas, truputį' bei *spóginti* 'išplėsti, išversti (akis)'. Pastarasis žodis, *spóginti* nelabai tinkamas, tačiau minėtini *spagčióti* 'lašnoti, purkšti (apie lietu)', *spagsnóti* 't.p.', *spagėti* 'labai verkti' (LKŽ: XIII 308) < \*'ašaroms lašėti', *spiguolúotas* 'taškuotas, lašuotas' (LKŽ: XIII 402).

§ 14. Tačiau diskusijoje praleistas kontekstas. Katekizme kalbama apie krikštą. Dėl to nederėtų kalbamas sąvokas suprasti kaip 'prausimas', o verčiau kaip 'krikštas vandeniui' ar net 'krikštas šv. dvasia'. Iš to kyla klausimas, kaip krikštydavo. Evangelijų krikštijimas įvyko upėje Jordane (pvz. Matth. 3.6). Palyginus su tuo, bet koks bažnytinis krikštas – stilizuota apeiga. Šiaip krikštas – kaip ritualinis apšlakstymas ar maudymasis – žinomas daugeliui tautų (Becker 1998: 300), tai ne krikščioniškas išradimas. Įdomu, kad prūsai perkrikštydavo vaiką upėje ar kitur, nuplaudami bažnytinį krikštą, ir suteikdami kitą vardą. Matyt, tai jiems nebuvo nauja apeiga. Už tokį elgesį jie buvo Sembos vyskupo (ca. 1426) išpeikti, uždėtos griežtos bausmės (BRMŠ: I 481, 479). Bažnytinis krikštas – prausimas specialiam dubenyje bažnyčioje arba apšlakstymas vandeniui. Kadangi bažnyčia krikštydama pagonis, susidūrė su užduotimi krikštyti ne tik vaikus, bet ir suaugusius ir ne po vieno, o daug iš karto, suprantama, kad buvo teikiamas dar labiau stilizuotas modelis apšlakstyti vandeniui nei prausti dubenyje. Kaip žinia, iki šiol kat. bažnyčia Lietuvoje krikštija vaiką būtent taip: vaiką, tiksliau, jo galvą, apšlaksto vandeniui. Tačiau vokiečių ordino 1249 m. taikos sutartyje su prūsais reglamentuojama, kad tris kartus, įleisdamas kūdikį į vandenį, sakys "Kūdikiai, aš tave krikštiju vardan..." (BRMŠ, I 241). Mažiulio požiūris (žr. § 13) galimas, jei šalia tokio krikšto egzistavo ir krikštas šlakstant. Vertėjas šiuo atveju turėjo ne tekstą pažodžiu išversti, o elgesio modelį perteikti.

Palyginimas su liet. katekizmu (Mažiulis 1997: 141, 145) klaidingas. Tenai rašomas *apmazgojimas* leidžia spėti apie liet. krikšto modelį, bet ne daugiau.

Su tokia prielaida galima paaiškinti katekizmo žodžius, bet pr. *specte – bat* bei liet. *Spagta* 'pirtis' sunkiai telpa į tokius rėmus.

§ 15. Smoczyński (2000: 164-166) irgi nepaiso konteksto ir teigia, kad ligi šiol pr. Žodžiai yra etimologiškai "dunkel". Po jo kritikos (2000: 165): "der Versuch von Mažiulis (1997: 144),

hier den Nachweis für die baltische Verbgrundlage zu erbringen, ist eine auf Sternchenformen aufgebaute Konstruktion, und kann somit zur Problemlösung kaum beitragen", stebina, kad autorius išsiskyręs pereina prie "Sternchenformen": "Mir erscheint die Annahme vertretbar, daß *spag-t-* bzw. *spig-sn-* von einem verschollenen Verb abgeleitet sind, dessen Präsensbildung auf zweierlei Weise gestaltet war, einerseits *\*spag-a* bzw. *\*spag-ai*, andererseits *\*spig-a* bzw. *\*spig-ai*." (2000: 165). Toliau jis argumentuoja, kad šie veiksmožodžiai yra skoliniai iš vok. (ankst. nva. !) *zwäget* 'maudo, plauna' (2000: 165). Ar *zwäget* 'maudo, plauna' < *\*skalbia*' (plg. EWD: 918)? Tačiau nėra reikalo posakiuose apie krikštą skolinis vok. sąvoką *zwäget*, kuris vok. kalboje, kiek man žinoma, neturi sąsajų su krikštu.

§ 16. Nelabai įtikinama, kad prūsai būtų skolinęsi triviasias leksemas, kas rodytų toli pažengusią mišrią kalbą (tokia Smoczyński prielaida), ir tuo pačiu metu prūsišką morfologiją išlaikytų, kuriant iš vok. (ankst. nva.) *zwäget* 'maudo' ne tik du skirtingus veiksmožodžius, bet ir jų pamatu skirtingus abstrakčius daiktavardžius. O tai negalėjo padaryti vokiečiai, juk jiems pr. morfologija sunkiau suprantama. Atvirkščiai, sintaksėje ir morfologijoje prasiskverbė vokiečių kalbos struktūra, tuo tarpu, pr. leksika – lengviausiai svetimtaučiams išmokstama kalbos dalis – galėjo išlikti prūsiška. Verčiant į prūsų kalbą, nesupratus gramatinių formų, reikėjo bent žodžių šaknis išversti.

Atkreiptinas dėmesys į kombinatoriką. Sakysim, kad vok. *-ä-* gali atitikti *-i-*, ar *-a-*, ir *zw-* perteikti pr. *sp-*, šalia daugybės kitų korektūrų (plg. Smoczyński 2000: 249-253 ir kt.), tuomet kiekviena raidė turi mažiausiai du interpretacijos variantus, vadinasi, žodis kaip *spig-* su keturiomis raidėmis turi  $2^4 = 16$  interpretacijų. Jeigu tai būtų trys variantai kiekvienai raidei, tai turėtume  $3^4 = 81$  interpretacijų. Su tokia daugybe variantų neturėtų tyrinėtojas problemų, bet kokiam vokiečių, lenkų ar lietuvių kalbų korpuse, – pagal iš anksto nustatytą nuomonę, pasirinkti tinkamą žodį skolinimo šaltiniu.

Abejotina, kad raidė *-g-* vok. dial. *zwäget* duotų pr. *-g-*, verčiau tai fonologinis *-j-*. Interpretuojant pr. žodžius germanizmais, neatsižvelgta į liet. *spagta* 'pirtis'. Ar Smoczyński manytų, kad tai – per prūsus gautas germanizmas ar net pačio Daukanto iš literatūros paimtas žodis?

§ 17. Palyginimas pr. *spagtas* su liet. *spagas* 'lašas, truputis', *spagčióti* 'lašnoti, purkšti (apie lietu)', *spagsnóti* 't.p.', *spagėti* 'labai verkti' gali paaiškinti *spagtas*. Semasiologinė eiga, kad iš 'lašinimas, varvėjimas' atsirastų 'pirtis' (Mažiulis 1997: 141) ne itin įtikinama, bet ne falsifikuojama. Prielaida, kad *spigsna* ir *spagtas* neklaidingi šaknies vokalizmu, rodytų, kad tai ne apofoninės vienos šaknies variantai. Tačiau dėl tapačios reikšmės, artimos giminytės sunku paneigti.

Išeities tašku galėtų būti fonetiškai artimi žodžiai su šaknimis *speng-*, *spang-*, *sping-*; *speig-*, *spig-*; *spag-*; *spalg-*, *spilg-* ir t.t., reikšmėmis susiję su stipria šviesa, blizgėjimu, šaižiu garsu ar šalčiu bei karščiu, tiek lietuvių, tiek latvių kalboje (LKŽ: XIII 307-559; LEV: II 261-268; Urbutis 1972: 57-61; Gliwa 2003: 10-11). Kartais vietoj *-g-* pasitaikęs *-k-* tik fonetinis, ne (morfo)fonologinis variantas. Taip įprasta traktuoti pr. *specte* – *bat* (E 555) (Mažiulis 1997: 144).

	'šviesa'	'garsas'	'purkšti, lašnoti, taškyti'	'šaltis'	'karštis'
spag-	? <i>spoktė</i> 'spingsulė, maža lemputė'	<i>spégčioti</i> 'dainuoti' <i>spógčioti</i> 'piepsėti; šūkčioti' <i>spōgti</i> 'skambėti'	<i>spāgas</i> 'lašas', <i>spagčióti</i> 'lašnoti' <i>spuoginis</i> 'susijęs su spuogais; taškuotas, šlakuotas'	<i>spógti</i> 'mėlti (nuo šalčio)'	<i>*spagta</i> 'pirtis' pr. <i>*specte</i> 'pirtis'

	'šviesa'	'garsas'	'purkšti, lašnoti, taškyti'	'šaltis'	'karštis'
speig-	<i>spaigliuoti</i> 'pradėti želti; kibirkščiuoti' <i>spiginti</i> 'labai stipriai šviesti' <i>spigčioti</i> 'žibsentis, blyksinti'	<i>spięgti</i> 'rėkti cypiamu, plonu balsu' <i>spýgauti</i> 'postoviai spiegti' <i>spaiglėti</i> 'įkyriai plonu balsu kalbėti'	<i>Spaigliuoti</i> 'kibirkščiuoti'	<i>spiginti</i> 'labai šalti' <i>spéigas</i> 'didelis, spiginamas šaltis'	<i>spigūs</i> 'karštas, kaitrus' <i>spiginti</i> 'labai kaitinti; kepinti, spirginti' pr. * <i>spigsna</i> 'pirtis; maudymasis'
spelg-	latv. <i>spalģš</i> 'akinamas, ryškus' <i>spēģti</i> 'stelbti, gožti' <i>spīģti</i> 'skursti be saulės' <i>spalginti</i> 't.p.' <i>spēģena</i> , <i>spāģena</i> , <i>spolģena</i> 'Moosbeere'	latv. <i>spalģš</i> 'spiegiamas, šaižus, skardus'	? <i>spūlginti</i> 'sproginti'	latv. <i>spalģš</i> 'labai šaltas, pagelus, spiginamas'	latv. <i>spelguoņa</i> 'kaitra'
speng-	<i>spaņguolē</i> , <i>spaņģē</i> , <i>spaņģena</i> , <i>speņģelis</i> 'Moosbeere' <i>spaņģē</i> 'akis' <i>spangālis</i> 'neregys' <i>spangaloti</i> 'blizgėti, žibėti' <i>spingē</i> 'saulė' <i>spingsūlē</i> 'maža lemputė'	<i>spangēti</i> 'spengti, skambėti' <i>spangýš</i> 'uodas' <i>speņģti</i> 'ūžti, cypiti' <i>spangūs</i> 'skambus, spengiantis'	<i>spiņguolē</i> 'burbulėlis; žiezirbos (akyse)' <i>spungē</i> 'spuogas; taškas, dėmelė' pr. * <i>spanxti</i> / <i>soanxti</i> – vuncke 'kibirkštis' (E 35)	<i>spiņguolē</i> 'šarmos kristalėlis'	
sperg-		<i>spirgēti</i> 'kepamam čirškėti; nuo šalčio traškėti' <i>spirginti</i> 'smarkiai, garsiai griežti'	<i>spirgis</i> 'žiezirba' <i>spūrga</i> , <i>spūrgas</i> , <i>spūrgana</i> 'apynio vaisius; pumpuras; žirginys; burbulas, pūslė; riebalų lašas, akis sriuboje' <i>spūrgē</i> 'smulkus gabalėlis, kruopelė'	<i>spirgà</i> 'speigas' <i>spirgti</i> 'labai šalti'	<i>sparginti</i> , <i>spirginti</i> , <i>spirgti</i> 'kepinti, šutinti' <i>spirgà</i> 'kaitra' <i>spirgēti</i> 'būti labai karštam'
spreg-	<i>spragčioti</i> 'blykčioti' <i>sprāgē</i> 'melynė' <i>spragē</i> 'sprogelė, žiezirba'	<i>spragatis</i> 'spragėjimas' <i>spragsėti</i> , <i>spragčioti</i> , <i>spragėti</i> 'traškėti (nuo karščio ar šalčio)'	<i>spragē</i> 'sprogelė, žiezirba; skeveldra' <i>spragioti</i> 'tarpais kristi, lašnoti' <i>sprygti</i> 'ašaroti'	<i>spragatis</i> 'speigas' <i>sprāginti</i> 'šalti, spiginti'	<i>spragatis</i> 'kaitra' <i>sprāginti</i> 'kaitinti, kepinti'

§ 18. Keletas semasiologinių pastabų, kodėl šios reikšmės pasitaiko bendrai:

- (a) 'karštas' : 'šaltas' : 'šaižus' : 'blyškus' yra stiprus jausminis patyrimas, latv. *spalgs* ėgavo reikšmę 'smarkus, stiprus' (Urbutis 1981: 180-184; plg. Gliwa 2002: 5-6), ar net per stiprus latv. *spīdzināt* 'kankinti' (latv. *dzi*- dėsningai iš ryt. balt. *g'*-, plg. liet. *giesmė* : latv. *dziesma*).
- (b) 'karštas' : 'šaltas' gali sukelti tam tikrą garsą, plg. posakį: *šalta, net tvora braška*, ar *spirgėti* 'kepamam čirškėti',
- (c) kalbant apie žiežirbas pasitaiko reikšmės 'karštas' : 'šviesus' : 'purkšti' bendrai (LEW: 809 ir lit.),
- (d) o žiežirbos akyse nuo smūgio, ligos, sujungia kartu 'šviesus' : 'purkšti',
- (e) 'karštas' > 'garsas' : *spirgelė* 'karštakošis, nenuorama', *karštakošis*, vok. *Hitzkopf*, rus. dial. *парь, парневые слова* 'neapgalvota kalba' (REW: III 206) – *spirginti* 'tankiai, karščiuojant šnekėti', vok. *hetzen* 'apkalbėti, siundyti' < kauz. \*'medžiojant kaitinti auką', plg. *erhitzen, heizen* 'kaitinti, šildyti' : *Hatz* 'medžioklė, skubėjimas' (kitaip EWD: 372).
- Ribos tarp atskirų šaknų nėra ryškios, tačiau kartais pasitaiko skirtingo laipsnio griežta leksikalizacija, pvz. *speig-* 'šaltas', tuo tarpu iš *speig-* išsivystęs ryt. balt. *spieg-* 'rėkti, cypiti', pažymi tik garsus.

§ 19. Semasiologinės pastabos paaiškina, kodėl reikšmės susimaišė ar kaip jos atsirado. Bet jos nepaaiškina daugybės fonetinių variacijų. Indoeuropeistikoje įprastas šaknies determinantų konceptas "Wurzelerweiterung" čia netaikytinas. Norint taikyti šią sistemą, reikėtų atskirti -g- nuo šaknies, ir numanyti morfemą su -g-, identišką žodžiuose *žmo-gus*, ar *ei-ga* (Bammesberger 1999: 91). Nors tai įmanoma, suponuojant šaknį ide. \**sp(h)e-* 'purkšti, dūmti', determinantais būtų nebūdingi -i-, -r-, -l-, -n-.

Todėl kalbama apie kontaminaciją, pvz. tokių šaknų \**(s)p(h)el-* 'baltas, pilkas; blizgėti', \**sp(h)end-* 'šviesti' ir kt. (LEW: 871-874), arba apskritai apie ekspresyvinius darinius, pvz. šaknies *spVg-* su ekspresyviniais intarpais *n, l, r, i*. Dėl *sprVg-* : *spVrg-*, Fraenkel nurodo santykį su metateze *sprogti, sproginti, spragėti* : *sparginti, spirgti*, prilygstantį *pirkti*: *prekė* ar *piršti* : *prašyti* (LEW: 882, 861), su antrine apofonija (-ar- : -ir-) sukurta nulinio laipsnio *spirg-* (-ir- < -r- : -ra-) pagrindu. Kiek tai liečia garsus, tai gali būti ir onomatopoetinės variacijos, plg. *barškėti* : *braškėti, čirškėti* : *tarškėti* : *traškėti*.

Panašus reiškinytis būtų vok. *glänzen, glimmen, gleißen, glitzern* 'blizgėti, žerėti': "Daneben eine Reihe weiterer 'Glanz'-wörter mit Anlaut *gl-*, ohne daß es sinnvoll wäre, daraus eine besondere Wurzel o.ä. zu konstruieren. Der Anlaut *gl-* ist im Deutschen ein Phonasthem für 'leuchten.'" (EWD: 326). Čia reikšmės nėra taip plačiai išsiskleidusios kaip baltų kalbų pavyzdyje.

Bet nagrinėti šio reiškinytis kilmę šiame straipsnyje ne itin svarbu. Gana konstatuoti, kad jis toks egzistuoja ir kad galima paaiškinti, kodėl žodžiams liet. *spagta*, pr. *spigsna, spagtas, specte* nebūtina tilpti į vienos šaknies apofoniją.

§ 20. Kaip matyti, lentelėje visus pirties pavadinimus įrašiau į skyrių 'karštis', nors dėl *spagtas, spigsna* buvo kalbėta apie krikštą su galima sąsaja 'purškimas, apšlakstymas'.

Tarkime, pirties pavadinimus pr. *specte*, liet. *spagta* 'karštis', galima paaiškinti. Tada kyla klausimas, ar pr. *spagtas, spigsna* galėtų būti artimos giminės šioms pirties sąvokoms. Šilta pirtis yra žinoma kaip gimdymo vieta (Daunys 1991: 152; Daunys 1992: 93-94; Paukštytė 1999: 51, 53), ir galima manyti, kad (naminis) krikštas, atliekamas bobutės-priėmėjos, iš dalies identiškas pirmajam kūdikio nuplovimui, po gimdymo, dar pirtyje. Toks nuplovimas, kartais traktuojamas kaip "ano pasaulio" liekanų nuvalymas, turėjo religinę reikšmę (Paukštytė 1999: 58). Pirmo plovimo vanduo reikšmingas liaudiškame tikėjime: tose kūdikio kūno vietose, kur nenuprausta, vėliau išaugs apgamos (Paukštytė 1999: 58-59).

Senas tokios šventės pavadinimas – *radynos*, (Paukštytė 1999: 64, Šeškauskaitė 2001: 75-83), latv. *pirtīžas* 'mazgāšanās pirtī pirms dzemdībām; raugos iešana, mielasts pēc bērna piedzimšanas' (LEV: II 56). Fraenkelio (LEW: 683) teiginys, kad lit. *radynos* – skolinys iš rus. *rodiny* 'Entbindung, Niederkunft, Feier derselben' yra bereikalingas (nors paplitęs tik rytų

Aukštaitijoje, Paukštytė 1999: 65). Pats Fraenkelis (LEW: 701) liet. *rasti* lygina su s. sl. *roditi* 'gebären, erzeugen', latv. *radīt* 'gebären, hervorbringen', *rads* 'Verwandter, Geschlecht, Stamm'. Pribuvēja turėjo religines kompetencijas; naujagimiui esant silpnam, turėjo teisę suteikti bažnyčios pripažintą krikštą (Paukštytė 1999: 57, 61, 70). Pabrėžiama bobutės svarba iki krikšto, tik pakrikštytas vaikas perduodamas kūmams bei tėvams (Paukštytė 1999: 61). Tai rodytų, kad senas palaiminimas, dar vadinamas krikštas *iš vandens* ar *naminis* krikštas (Paukštytė 1999: 64, 70; atitinkamai Ukrainoje *z vody*: Boriak 2002: 37), suteiktas kūdikiui po gimdymo, buvo perkeltas į krikštą bažnyčioje.

Tad, galima visas sąvokas priskirti pirties pavadinimams ar su ja susijusiems reiškiniams ar liet. *spagta*, pr. *specte* priskirti pirčiai, o kitas – pr. *spigsna*, *spagtas*, – krikštui apšlakstant.

Manychiau, krikštas šlakstant yra vėlyvas ir susimbolintas reiškinys, ir toks elgesys negalėjęs prisidėti prie žodžio darybos. Todėl pirmą versiją laikau labiau pagrįstą.

### III. Pr. *Stubo*

§ 21. Dėl pilnumo dar minėtinas skolinys pr. *Stobe* – *Stubo* (E 220), reiškias 'pirtis' dėl pr. *Stubonikis* – *Beder* (E 550), plg. § 3. Matyt, tai miestietiška pirtis, kur mokama už paslaugas ar valdiška pirtis, priklausanti vok. diduomenei. Aptarnaujantis personalas galėjo būti vietiniai prūsai: *stubonikis*.

### IV. Išvados

§ 22. Iki šiol paplitusi *pirties* etimologija iš *\*per-* 'mušti, vanoti' atmestina, kaip ir teiginys "skolinimosi metu *pirtis* ... kurioje lietuviai su latviais senovėje ne tik perdavosi, bet ir gyvendavo". Rekonstruota ide. *\*per-* 'kaisti' ir svarstytos sąsajos su *paròs* (kilm.) 'garo', *pōrinti* 'šutinti', *perėti* 'paukščiui tūpti ant kiaušinių', *peršūs* 'degančiai skaudus'. Dėl *paròs* bei sinon. *pāras* ir *pōrinti* iškelta mintis, kad tai ne skoliniai iš slavų, o dialektizmai, paveldėti reliktais < *\*per-* 'kaisti'. Ar *perėti* priskiriame *\*per-* 'kaisti' arba *\*per-* 'gimdyti, sukurti' negalima spręsti, bet šiai diskusijai didelės reikšmės neturi. Pokornio (IEW: 818) pateikiami terminai apima žmogų ir žinduolius, todėl baltiškoji medžiaga atskirta ir reikalauja labai abstrakčios rekonstrukcijos. Įdomi semasiologinė lygtis vok. *Bad*, *brüten*, *brühen*, *Brand*, *Brodem* : liet. *pirtis*, *perėti*, *pōrinti*, *pirkšnīs*, *paròs*.

Tos pačios šaknies, bet skirtingos darybos žodžiai *pirtis* ir *pirkià*, galbūt iš pradžių skirtingų dialektų sinonimai, vėliau, įgydami skirtingas reikšmes, patyrė leksikalizaciją.

Liet. *spagta*, pr. *specte* 'pirtis' sietini su daugiareikšme ekspresyvine, kontaminacijos būdu atsiradusia, paderme *spVRg-* 'karštas; šaltas; purškias; šaižus; blyškus', būtent dėl esančio karščio pirtyje. Apžvelgiant į pr. *spagtas* (kilm.), *spigsna* 'krikštas vandeniui' krikšto kontekstą, įmanoma eiga, kad tai gimininga liet. *spagčioti* 'lašėti' ir kt. ir reiškė *\*'krikštyti apšlakstant' < \*'apšlakstyti'*. Senesnė, nei krikščioniškas krikštas, yra atitinkama numanoma pagoniška apeiga, kuri vyko pirtyje. Dėl to sąsaja su pirties pavadinimais taip pat įmanoma.

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## FICTIVE KINSHIP NAMES IN JORDANIAN ARABIC

### Abstract

Kinship names in Jordanian society are either real or fictive, both of which may be used reciprocally. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the fictive extension of blood kinship names and the fictive use of reciprocal kinship names in Jordanian Arabic. Reference is made to affect control theory to explain the fact that blood relations are fictively extended to non-relatives to promote solidarity and show respect, while reciprocal kinship names are used fictively to promote emotiveness. The paper proposes an extension of the definition of fictive kinship relations to include blood relations that are used reciprocally. Accordingly, any kinship term that is semantically invalid is being used fictively.

### 1. Introduction

Kinship terms are defined as “category words by means of which an individual is taught to recognize the significant groupings in the social structure into which [the individual] belongs” (Leach 1958: 143). In most societies, kinship terms are not only an important part of communication, but also a very important strategy for establishing and maintaining social relationships. These terms, furthermore, are important for social recognition as they function in a way similar to the act of naming which carries considerable social significance for social actors (Trenholm/Jensen 1992). In addition, fundamental affective meanings are attached to kinship roles and an important component of feelings toward kin is influenced by convention (Malone 2004: 203). These social roles of kinship terms, however, differ from one social grouping to another, depending on the social, cultural, and religious assumptions of each society. Each society has different expectations for a particular kinship term, and such expectations are influenced by these assumptions. Accordingly, studying kinship terms in a particular society provides insights into that society’s power structure, interpersonal communication patterns, and normative elements of family system (Huang/Jia 2000).

Kinship terms may further reveal underlying cultural meanings and values. According to Romney and D’Andrade (1964: 168), social actors “respond to kinship terms as if each term contained a bundle of distinct meanings”. These meanings are largely influenced by the particular culture in which the kinship term is used. As Holmes (2001: 331) points out, kinship terms “illustrate the complexities of the relationship between language and culture” and reflect “important cultural relationships”. For example, the kinship system may reflect the importance of the extended family as an important social unit and the mutual rights and obligations of different members of the family toward each other (Holmes 2001: 331).

Kinship terms, as Bonvillain (2003: 55) points out, “reflect societal attitudes toward one’s relatives. Individuals called by each kin term are understood by speakers to stand in particular social relationships and to have certain rights and obligations vis-à-vis speakers”. However, kinship terms are characterized by their metaphoric extension when they are used to refer metaphorically to non-relatives to express “informality and intimacy of a relationship without being rude” (Bonvillain 2003: 66). Their use can also be extended to signal social meanings of solidarity or deference toward co-participants, to demonstrate and manipulate status and attitudinal relations, and to accomplish acts of either flattering and honoring or insulting and

denigrating (Bonvillain 2003: 86). This metaphoric extension, or fictive use, of kinship terms across different cultures and languages has attracted the attention of researchers in fields like linguistics, anthropology, sociology, and social psychology (Witherspoon 1975; Bean 1975; Casson 1981; Hong 1985; Malone 2004; Mashiri 2004).

Despite the social significance and stratification of kinship terms in Arab society, they have received relatively little attention. An early study of Arabic kinship terms (Khuri 1981) examined the meaning and usage of Arabic status and kinship terms in daily face-to-face interaction. Khuri concluded that kinship terms in the Arab world are essentially “corporational”, that is, they focus on group formation, the collective action of groups, and with group alignment, recruitment, or opposition. In another study, Shimizu (1989) examined the vocative use of kinship terms among Arab Muslims through a case study of a village in the northern part of Jordan. Therefore, the present study attempts to shed more light on the social meanings and functions of Arabic kinship terms by studying how kin terms are used and manipulated in Jordanian society.

The study is a result of several brainstorming sessions by the authors who sought the help of friends and family<sup>1</sup>. A qualitative approach is thus followed rather than a quantitative one.

## 2. Theoretical Background

The distribution and use of kinship terms depends on the *role* assigned by society to each individual kin term. As Malone (2004: 203) points out, such roles “are part of a social grammar that makes action predictable and meaningful. Just as people use words and rules shared by their language community, they act in the context of roles and conventionally defined situations that provide choices and meanings”. An important component of these roles is affect, which refers to the feelings and sentiments displayed by social actors. The importance of affect in social interaction is captured by what is known as affect control theory, which is based on the idea that social roles and situated actions are influenced by emotion (Heise 1979, 1985, 1988, 2002). A basic assumption of this theory is that “particular interaction sequences are routinized in a role relationship, becoming the standard events that characterize the relationship” and that the standard events lead to “the formation of sentiments that could generate those events” (Heise 1979: 140, also cited by Malone 2004). Furthermore, affect control theory claims that “social action is designed to maintain fundamental sentiments about selves and others. When these sentiments prove incongruous, people engage in re-identifications” (Malone 2004: 205).

Affect, then, works side by side with cognition in language use. As Verschueren (1999: 90) argues, “the mental world activated in language use contains cognitive and emotive elements.” For Verschueren, the cognitive element “provides a bridge between the mental and the social in the form of conceptualizations in terms of which social interaction is interpreted”. The emotive element, in contrast, provides a bridge in the form of “affect and involvement, the attitudinal prerequisites for engaging in, sustaining and ‘coloring’ interaction” (Verschueren 1999: 90). The affective dimension of communication is patently relevant to the study of kinship terms as using one term rather than the other will be strongly motivated by affect, that is, speaker’s emotions and sentiments toward the addressee in a particular kinship relation. Malone’s (2004) discussion of American kinship terms illustrates this interaction between cognitive and affective elements. Malone found that the cognitive distinctions employed in American kinship terminology correspond closely to sentiments held toward those social locations.

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### 3. Real and Fictive Kinship

Real kinship relations are defined in terms of biology and marriage. Such relations often involve social and legal obligations for the two parties involved in the relationship. Accordingly, one is born into a family without conscious choice. However, real kinship only establishes the base of what individuals think of as family. Family relations are often extended to include people who are not related by blood or marriage. Such fictive kin relationships have a basis different from bonds of blood and marriage.

Briefly defined, fictive kinship involves the extension of kinship obligations and relationships to individuals specifically not otherwise included in the kinship universe. Godparenthood is the most commonly cited illustration (Foster 1967; Kemper 1982). Similar relationships exist in many other societies (Halpern 1967; Hammel 1968; Magnarella/Turkdogan 1973). In many societies, people have “aunts” or “uncles” who are merely their parents’ closest friends. Members of religious groups often refer to each other as “brother” or “sister”. Nontraditional family forms such as gay and lesbian unions may be defined in traditional kinship terms (Wagner 1995). Fictive kin ties among U.S. African-American urban communities and their effects on everything from child care to educational achievement have been increasingly attracting the attention of researchers (Fordham/Ogbu 1986; Johnson/Barer 1990). Some researchers even describe ethnicity as being an elaborated form of fictive kinship (Yelvington/Bentley 1991).

### 4. Real Kinship Terms in Jordan

Social life and identity in Jordan are centered on the family. The household is composed of people related to one another by kinship, either through descent or marriage, and family ties extend into the structure of clans and tribes. The rapid socio-economic developments in the country do not necessarily conflict with existing family affiliations. Jordanians rely on extended kin relations for a variety of purposes, which can be described as exchanges. Exchanges might include financial support, job information, social connections, access to strategic resources, marital partners, protection and support in the event of conflict, child care and domestic services, and emotional sustenance (Metz 1989).

Like most Arab societies, the Jordanian kinship system is highly descriptive assigning a separate kinship term for each distinct relative based on gender, lineage, and side of the family, i.e., patrilineal vs. matrilineal. This is known as the Sudanese kinship system where the words for father and mother are reserved not only for parents, but also for patrilineal and matrilineal uncles and aunts and their male and female offspring each have their own kinship term. Other kinship systems include the Hawaiian system, which is the least descriptive and merges many different relatives into a small number of categories. Relatives are distinguished only on the basis of sex and generation. Thus there is no “uncle” term; (mother’s and father’s brothers are included in the same category as father). All cousins are classified in the same group as brothers and sisters. The Eskimo system is marked by a bilateral emphasis—no distinction is made between patrilineal and matrilineal relatives—and by recognition of differences in kinship distance - close relatives are distinguished from more distant ones. The Iroquois system is based on a principle of bifurcate merging. Relatives are distinguished on the mother’s side of the family and those on the father’s side (bifurcation) and merges father with father’s brother and mother with mother’s sister. Accordingly, father’s brother’s children and mother’s sister’s children (parallel cousins) are merged with brother and sister. The Omaha system is similar to the Iroquois and is in fact a bifurcate merging system. The same categorizations for father, father’s brother and mother’s brother are used as in an Iroquois terminology. However, there is a significant difference in cousin terminology. Parallel cousins

are merged with siblings; however cross-cousin terms are quite peculiar and cut across generational divisions. Finally the Crow system is a mirror image of the Omaha. A bifurcate merging pattern is used but relatives within the father's matrilineage are lumped together. Thus father's sister's son gets the same term as father and father's sister's daughter, the same term as father's sister. This system is generally found in societies with strong matrilineal kinship emphasis<sup>2</sup>.

Use of blood kinship terms as address forms in Jordan is a social requirement governed by type of kinship relation and social context. In private or in social events where only close relatives are present, brothers and sisters use their personal names and so do cousins. The word *cousin* in English corresponds to eight different kinship phrases in JA depending on gender and side of the family, i.e., paternal vs. maternal. Accordingly, the Arabic word for E. *cousin* may refer to any of the following kinship relations:

1. 'son of my paternal uncle'	<i>?ibin ?ammi</i>	إبن عمي
2. 'son of my paternal aunt'	<i>?ibin ?amti</i>	إبن عمتي
3. 'daughter of my paternal uncle'	<i>bint ?ammi</i>	بنت عمي
4. 'daughter of paternal aunt'	<i>bint ?amti</i>	بنت عمي
5. 'son of my maternal uncle'	<i>?ibin xaali</i>	إبن خالي
6. 'son of my maternal aunt'	<i>?ibin xaalti</i>	إبن خالتي
7. 'daughter of my maternal uncle'	<i>bint xaali</i>	بنت خالي
8. 'daughter of my maternal aunt'	<i>bint xaalti</i>	بنت خالتي

Older brothers and sisters and older cousins tend to use the relevant kinship term or, if married with children, then the use of *?abu* \_\_ أبو 'father of \_\_' or *?um* \_\_ أم 'mother of \_\_' plus the name of their eldest son or daughter<sup>3</sup>. Parents, grandparents and uncles and aunts use their children's, grandchildren's, and nephews' and nieces' personal names respectively or, otherwise, a special type of fictive kinship terms is used (section 6). The terms for uncle and aunt may be patrilineal or matrilineal and thus:

1. 'brother of my father'	<i>?ammi</i>	عمي
2. 'sister of my father'	<i>?amti</i>	عمتي
3. 'brother of my mother'	<i>xaali</i>	خالي
4. 'sister of my mother'	<i>xaalti</i>	خالتي

On the other hand, if non-relatives are present there is a strong tendency to avoid addressing females using their personal names. In such situations, the relevant kinship term is used instead (Shimizu 1989) or the speaker makes a conscious effort to avoid using his sister's or female cousin's personal name. The strategies that may be employed in such situations vary depending on the type of kinship relation and type of the non-relatives present. An investigation into these strategies is not the main concern in this paper.

## 5. Fictive Kinship Terms in Jordan

Though often described as a voluntary relationship (Blickenstaff 2005, Kastenbaum 1993, Malina 1993), use of fictive kinship terms in Jordanian society is a social requirement. Based

<sup>2</sup> Cf. <http://www.umanitoba.ca/anthropology/tutor/kinterms/>

<sup>3</sup> Name of the daughter is used only if there are no male children in the family.

on age and gender, blood relations may be extended to show respect and/or promote solidarity (cf. Sections 5.1 & 5.2).

Some kinship terms lend themselves to fictive use while others resist this extension. All kinship terms referring to ‘father’, ‘mother’, ‘grandfather’, and ‘grandmother’ are rarely fictively extended. These terms have multiple expressions in JA. The choice among these expressions depends on various gender, age, and social factors the details of which are irrelevant for the purposes of this research. Generally, these terms have the following Arabic vocative equivalents:

1. ‘father’	<i>yaaba</i> يابا	<i>baaba</i> بابا	<i>?abi</i> أبي
2. ‘mother’	<i>yumma</i> يوما	<i>maama</i> ماما	<i>?ummi</i> أمي
3. ‘grandfather’	<i>d?iddi</i> جدي	<i>d?idduu</i> جدو	<i>siidi</i> سيدي
4. ‘grandmother’	<i>d?idde</i> جدة	<i>sitti</i> ستي	<i>teita</i> تيتا

All ‘cousin’ terms resist extension as well except for *?ibin xaalti* ابن خالتي ‘son of my maternal aunt’ which is frequently used among friends. In rural areas, however, *?ibin ?ammi* ابن عمي ‘son of my paternal uncle’ and *bint ?ammi* بنت عمي ‘daughter of paternal uncle’ are often used as fictive kinship terms among young members of the same kinsfolk who have weak blood relationships on the father’s side. The basic function of this strategy is to intensify solidarity between the interlocutors and between their families. That is, rural Jordanians often promote friendships that are built on blood relations or marriage ties more than those which have other bases such as work, study, interests, and neighborhood. Therefore, when one uses the expression *?ibin ?ammi* ابن عمي ‘son of my paternal uncle’ in addressing a person who is not his cousin, but only has a weak blood relationship with him, he makes an attempt to strengthen his blood relation with the addressee, hence further or maintain friendship with him.

### 5.1. Showing Respect

Various address forms may be used in Jordanian Arabic to show respect for the addressee. These expressions include but are not limited to the following:

1. <i>?ustaað</i>	أستاذ	a term typically used to address school teachers
2. <i>saijid</i>	سيدي	literally means ‘master’ and is used as an equivalent to <i>Mr.</i> or <i>gentleman</i>
3. <i>hadži</i>	حجي	a term reserved for a man who has performed pilgrimage
4. <i>madam</i>	مدام	borrowed from English <i>madam</i> and a rather prestigious form of address used with older women of a seemingly upper class with the intention to avoid hinting to the age difference
5. <i>sitt</i>	ست	a short form of <i>saijida</i> ‘lady’
6. <i>hadže</i>	حجة	the female equivalent of <i>hadži</i> .

These expressions are irrelevant for the purposes of this paper since they are not kinship terms. From this point on, the discussion will only consider kinship terms used as address forms.

Based primarily on age differences<sup>4</sup>, a non-blood-related older male is addressed *ṣammi* عمي ‘brother of my father’. Of interest here is the fact that *xaali* خالي ‘brother of my mother’ is not used to refer to unfamiliar older men. A semantic explanation of this phenomenon can be made based on the gender of the addressee. *ṣammi* is by definition a male-related kinship term that involves the words ‘brother’ and ‘father’ both referring to males. This makes the potential use of *ṣammi* as a fictive kinship term that refers to unknown older males plausible. In other words, real *ṣammi* refers to a male who is a sibling of another male (my father), and that brotherhood relationship is naturally extended to a fictive use of the term where fraternity is established between my father and another male like my uncle. *xaali*, on the other hand, has a feminine lexical association because it establishes fraternity between a woman and a man. Because the semantic feature ‘female’ is essential in defining the term *xaali*, the possibility of extending this term to refer to unfamiliar older males is reduced. Establishing fictive brotherhood between one’s mother and an older stranger where he is called *xaali* is less natural based on the difference in genders between the stranger and the woman.

Fictive kinship terms in Jordanian Arabic are thus used to express respect and politeness. They help to achieve this goal in relation to two parameters: social power and social distance. This type of politeness is oriented to the “positive face” of the addressee. As described by Brown and Levinson (1987: 13), “positive face” refers to a person’s wish to be respected and well thought of by others. Addressing someone with fictive kinship terms like *ṣammi* or *xaalti* gives the sense that the addressee is being respected as a real paternal uncle or a real maternal aunt, respectively. When the speaker is younger than the addressee, focus is on the parameter of social power while when the speaker is older than the addressee, focus is on social distance.

Thus, when the speaker is younger than the addressee, *ṣammi* and *xaalti* suggest that the speaker sees the addressee as having more social power than the speaker. This power stems from the fact that these two kinship terms acknowledge that the addressee is superior in terms of age. Consequently, *ṣammi* and *xaalti* indicate respect since the speaker using them is acknowledging an element of social power in relation to the addressee.

## 5.2. Promoting Solidarity

In a society where status may be measured by the number of people in the family be it the immediate or the extended family, and where social favors or exchanges are typical among family members, extending kinship terms to refer to strangers is a typical social practice in Jordan. The major intention is to promote solidarity when the two parties involved belong to the same age group.

Typical among young male friends in particular is the reciprocal use of *ʔibin xaalti* ابن خالتي ‘son of my maternal aunt’. This is not unexpected especially since the term *xaalti* خالتي ‘my maternal aunt’ is the expected form of address for a friend’s mother as explained in Section 5.1. It is of interest that female friends do not use any kinship term as a form of address nor do males when addressing their female friends. Personal names are more often used. This might beg the question whether friendship between male friends is closer than that

<sup>4</sup> The exact age difference that warrants the use of this and other respect-marking kinship terms is not documented. I’m estimating a twenty year difference which may vary based on the overall appearance of the addressee. Some people look much older than they really are and vice versa.

between female friends. Older male friends and older female friends on the other hand are not addressed by any kinship terms. They are typically married with children and thus it is more socially appropriate to address them with *?abu* \_\_\_ أبو ‘father of \_\_\_’ or *?um* \_\_\_ أم ‘mother of \_\_\_’ as explained in Section 4 above.

With the use of *?ibin xaalti*, the speaker intends to minimize social distance since this kinship term indicates that the speaker is treated as a relative or confidant. This expression is used when the speaker wants to indicate that he perceives the addressee as an equal in terms of power and as an intimate relative in case of the social distance parameter. In reality, speaker and addressee might not be equal or familiar at all.

Of more interest is the use of the terms for ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ to address strangers belonging to the same age group. Younger people use *?ax* أخ ‘brother’ and *?axt* أخت ‘sister’ to refer to guys and girls respectively<sup>5</sup>, while older people use the variants of the same terms namely, *xajjuu* خيو ‘brother’ and *xajja* خيه or *xajta* خيتي ‘sister’. To understand the rationale behind this fictive extension of the kinship terms in Jordanian Arabic, it is important to note that this sociolinguistic phenomenon is related to both age and gender. It is an attempt by the speaker to show or seek good intentions from the addressee and thus promotes solidarity between the two parties. Despite the sense of brotherhood which *?ax* carries as a fictive kinship term, it is usually used in formal situations between new acquaintances who haven’t met each other before. That is why this address form can function as a distancing device when one employs it in speaking to an intimate person who used to be addressed by using solidarity-related expressions such as first name, nick name, family name, or *?ibin xaalti*. This strategy is considered an indirect announcement by the addresser that the intimacy politeness system we used in the past has just changed into a deference politeness system where we may communicate using more formal expressions and structures.

When the speaker and addressee are both either male or female, the message intended behind the use of the words for ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ respectively is something along the lines of ‘It is true that I do not know you and you do not know me, nevertheless try to help me or withstand me as you would help or withstand your brother or sister. I’m trying to be as nice as possible to avoid a confrontation’. This is particularly why such fictive extension is most typically used when the addressee seems irritated or at least not friendly. On the other hand, if the speaker and addressee belong to different genders, the fictive extension of ‘brother’ ‘sister’ is intended to deliver the following message if the speaker is male and the addressee is female: “Do not be afraid of me. I’m like your brother”. But if the speaker is female and the addressee is male, then the fictive extension is intended to deliver the following message: “Treat me like a sister. Let me feel safe talking to you”.

## 6. Reciprocal Kinship Terms in Jordan

Certain blood relations are naturally reciprocal. Siblings of the same gender enjoy a naturally reciprocal relation. They address one another by ‘brother’ or ‘sister’ depending on gender. In English, the term ‘cousin’ is reciprocal irrespective of gender or side of the family involved. In Arabic however, not all ‘cousin’ terms are reciprocal. Reciprocal ‘cousin’ relations hold under two conditions. On the one hand, gender of the speaker and address must be the same

<sup>5</sup> When calling for someone, the vocative /ja/ is added before the word and the possessive suffix /\_i/ may be added as well; for example *ja ?axi* يا اخي means ‘hey, my brother’ and *ja ?axti* يا أختي means ‘hey, my sister’.



and, on the other hand, father of the addressee must be either a paternal uncle *ʕammi* or his mother a maternal aunt *xaalti*. Accordingly, the only reciprocal ‘cousin’ kinship phrases in Jordanian Arabic are the following, noting that gender must be the same:

- |                                    |                     |           |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| 1. ‘son of my paternal uncle’      | <i>ʕibin ʕammi</i>  | إبن عمي   |
| 2. ‘son of my maternal aunt’       | <i>ʕibin xaalti</i> | إبن خالتي |
| 3. ‘daughter of my paternal uncle’ | <i>bint ʕammi</i>   | بنت عمي   |
| 4. ‘daughter of my maternal aunt’  | <i>bint xaalti</i>  | بنت خالتي |

Other than the above, no natural reciprocal blood relations hold among members of the society. However, a rather interesting fictive extension of blood relations is commonly practiced by Jordanians. A term for a non-reciprocal blood relation such as that between a father and his son is used reciprocally. The kinship terms used by children to address their parents, by grandchildren to address their grandparents, and by nephews and nieces to address their uncles and aunts are reciprocated by the parents, grandparents, and uncles and aunts respectively. This reciprocal extension of blood relations is intended to show affection precisely because of the direction of reciprocation. The older member of the relation reciprocates the kinship term used by the younger member.

The semantic validity of the kinship term is lost and replaced by a pragmatic usage of the term. Accordingly, when my son or my daughter calls me ‘dad’, I call them ‘dad’ as well. This rather affectionate reciprocal extension of blood relations is also used by strangers when they are addressed by a kinship term for respect as explained in Section 5.1 earlier. Thus if I call an older unfamiliar woman *xaalti* as a sign of respect, she would also reciprocate and call me *xaalti* to show affection. This reciprocal use of the terms still retains the power indications related to age previously discussed in Section 5.1, but their dominant function now is that they are intended to minimize social distance between speaker and addressee and promote affection; that the speaker looks at the addressee as a nephew when *ʕammi* is uttered by an older male or as a niece in the case of *xaalti* uttered by an older female.

If real kinship relations are defined in terms of biology and marriage and fictive kinship involves the extension of kinship obligations and relationships to individuals specifically not otherwise included in the kinship universe, then the affectionate reciprocal extension of blood relations discussed above is real and fictive at the same time. The blood relation between a father and his son is real while the reciprocal extension is not. Accordingly, this paper proposes an extension of the definition of fictive kinship relations to include such reciprocal blood relations. As such, fictive kin is a term used to refer to any false relation between individuals. The false relation may be due to the absence of a relation through birth or marriage, or because the birth relation is not valid.

## 7. Conclusion

This paper has provided a descriptive view of the use of kinship terms in Jordanian society. Use of fictive kinship terms in this society is a social requirement rather than a choice. Kinship terms are extended to older strangers to show respect and to strangers within the same generation to promote solidarity. A new type of fictive kinship is introduced whereby a blood relation is extended fictively. Such extensions are intended to show affection towards the addressee and thus they are typically used by older people when addressing younger blood relatives. This extension of the fictive term is also used by older strangers reciprocally when they are addressed by a kinship term.

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**THE STRUCTURE OF MEANING:  
SEMASIOLOGICAL AND ONOMASIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT**

**Abstract**

The present work is a plea for a cognitive-based view of lexical meaning. Traditional, usually taxonomically based descriptions such as trees or feature bundles are rather reductive and abstract and often cannot thoroughly represent reality. They lack a psychological foundation. This has been criticized repeatedly as a serious flaw in recent years.

This article investigates how the meaning of words might be represented in a neurobiologically plausible way. To this end, the development of early word acquisition is described with several recurring phenomena, such as early underextensions, later overextensions, the interplay of linguistic and non-linguistic aspects and variable word-referent-mappings. The data are then explained in the light of network processing. In such an approach, the development of a category is seen to be influenced by intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Lexical acquisition means building a pattern of nodes and connections that represents a cognitive concept, building a pattern that represents a linguistic form and connecting these patterns. This might happen in parallel. The framework offers the possibility of integrating structuralistic feature analysis with psychologically based prototype theory and cognitive grammar. It enables us to understand the gradedness of the relevance of examples and exceptions, the possibility of change, context-dependent categorization, shifts of the decisive features, family resemblances and the relevance of the lexical field. It shows that these are crucial aspects of linguistic organization. Finally, some consequences for our conception of universals are sketched. A universal conceptual foundation is the consequence of many factors and no given precondition.

**1. Introduction**

The idea of extending the static description of semantic systems by a procedural account which depends on context (Eco 1985: 437), or, more specifically, of combining traditional field theory with cognitive semantics (e.g., Grandy 1987, Lutzeier 1992, Lehrer 1993) or fields with frames (e.g., Lehrer 1993) or both, not only for single lexemes but also for idioms (e.g., Dobrovol'skij 1995) and diachronic data (Kazzazi in press), is not exactly new. Cognitive grammar has long been criticizing a strict criterial attribute model (e.g., Langacker 1987). But in this article, the emphasis is not on the possibilities of description or modes of operation and application, but on development and on actual child language data. However, growth, structure and process are dynamically interrelated, with the growth of structure starting prior to birth and leading to certain functions of the structure well after birth. It is even claimed that from the fine-grained functional organization finally conscious experience arises (Chalmers 1996: 248). The early acquisition of words in young children will be described<sup>1</sup> in order to motivate the necessity of a dynamic model which integrates the concepts of features, events/frames and prototypes<sup>2</sup>. Accordingly, this investigation deals with language acquisition data, neurocognitive correlates of language as well as some aspects of semantic theory.

**2. Strategies of acquisition**

There seem to be several strategies which help children to build concepts and to map words

<sup>1</sup> For evidence in adults and aphasics cf. the overviews in Aitchison (1987), Obler/Gjerlow (1999).

<sup>2</sup> Modern naming policies call for a label like *FEP approach*. But I cannot make myself like this term.

on them, which must finally be congruent with the adult word-meaning pairs. In the beginning, the child slowly discovers some stable moments in his/her life. There are the same daily routines for meals, for being changed and cleaned, for being put to bed. There are always the same one or two care-givers, primarily the mother, who participate in these complex social rituals together with the child. The child experiences recurring objects, persons and actions. These are the basis of concepts—cognitively organized information about objects, persons etc.

Language is an integral part of the routines. While the child singles out parts of an event, such as a cup, a bed, a ball, s/he hears the relevant names. At the age of around nine months, a child has developed some basic event representations (Nelson 1996: 96) and at least some concepts of objects (Clark 1983: 793). At around one year many children produce their first words. These words are used for the most familiar persons and objects (*mummy, daddy, car, ball*). Others are situationally bound interjections with communicative-expressive rather than semantic function (*hi!, there!, no!*). Routines and interactions with the care-givers are thus the ultimate source for the first concepts and—related to that—for words (Bruner 1983, Gipper 1985, Nelson 1996, Elsen 1999c).

The child's task is not only to map a linguistic form to a mental concept, but to map his/her form and his/her concept to the adults' form and concept. In the beginning, concept and word formation are closely related. One cannot be investigated without the other. So usually, both developments are treated together.

Markman (1989) discusses some principles which help the child to learn concepts and words. Early conceptual and lexical development is characterized by the problem of inducing concepts. Certain principles help to narrow down the hypothesis space and guide the child towards categorization and language. For example, the *taxonomic assumption* enables children to organize objects taxonomically instead of thematically (Markman 1989: 26). That is, children group dogs together with cats and not with bones. The *whole object assumption* leads them to name whole objects instead of properties like colour or size (Markman 1989: 27). *Mutual exclusivity* refers to the finding that children at an early age assume category terms to be mutually exclusive (Markman 1989: 186), so that they refuse to call a dog both *dog* and *animal*. Similarly, Clark (1983, 1993) points to the *contrastive principle*, meaning that every form contrasts with every other form in meaning (Markman 1989: 190f., Clark 1993: 69). Even more far-reaching is the *principle of conventionality*, which states that speakers use conventional forms in their language community (Clark 1993: 67).

Bloom (2000) rejects special constraints. Children have abilities at their disposal which they happen also to use for lexical acquisition. There are no separate constraints for word learning, such as the whole object assumption (Bloom 2000: 10f.). Instead, children have cognitive capacities, capacities of induction, to understand the way others think (Bloom 2000: 55) and communicate (Bloom 2000: 70), to assume that a word is a sign in Saussurian terms (Bloom 2000: 75). And all these are consequences of children's intuitive expectations about others. All constraints on word learning as proposed by Clark, Markman and others are seen as a product of the theory of mind (Bloom 2000: 67), the idea that a child has or develops the necessary intuition about how much the others know and understand (Oblen/Gjerlow 1999: 86).

Yet another approach important for the acquisition of words, unfortunately neglected by Bloom (2000), is Nelson's (1996) treatment of the role of context information, the relevance of the acting within events for the development of both cognition and language. According to Nelson, children do not need special constraints or principles to decode the meaning of words

(Nelson 1996: 133), but use the situational and cognitive context information to interpret language and to infer relevant information (Nelson 1996: 140). Of course, the aforementioned principles may be of help here and they might as well arise from or might be general probabilistic assumptions for information processing in general. But what exactly do children do when they learn words? One way to explore how this might be achieved is to look at objects and ask “how do children learn the meaning of object names?”

### 3. The building of structure

In an early paper, Clark (1973) assumed that a child acquires the meaning of a word gradually by adding features to the lexical entry (Clark 1973: 109). In the beginning, children do not know the complete meaning of a word when they use it, but only a few semantic cues. They use the word for all the objects which show these features. The more general attributes are learned first, e.g., *FOUR-LEGGED* for animals. They are acquired on the basis of perceptual properties of objects, e.g., *dog: FOUR-LEGGED*, *bell: RINGS*. By and by, the child discriminates more features which serve to distinguish a referent from others and can narrow down the meaning (Clark 1973: 84). Gradually, the target range of objects can be assigned when the child adds all semantic features to his/her lexical entry of his/her word.

This approach can easily deal with a mis-mapping found in all young children: overextension. An overextension is an extension of a word which is too wide compared to the adult language. Calling a cat, a dog and a sheep *dog* is an example of the overextension of *dog*. Clark can explain this by assuming that not all necessary features have been acquired to single out cats and sheep from dogs. However, she developed her ideas from the viewpoint of language, equating semantic features of words with perceptual properties of things, and neglected an intermediate cognitive level.

An alternative hypothesis, but from a cognitive perspective, was offered by Nelson (1974), who suggested an initially flexible organisation of information about objects and relations. She distinguished lexical-semantic from encyclopaedic-conceptual knowledge, which need not be adapted to language. In Nelson’s view, the child starts with an abstract conceptual whole which is analyzed into its relevant parts in relation to other concepts (Nelson 1974: 278). That is, Nelson focused on intensional aspects of meaning in contrast to Clark, who concentrated on extensional aspects. A concept is formed through the child’s interaction with his/her surroundings, not necessarily with the help of words (Nelson 1974: 272). Then, an object is assigned to the mental concept on the basis of functional, dynamic properties or on the basis of the relationship between the object and the child, e.g., *ball: ROLLS*. All of the objects which belong to the concept and which show the same relevant properties are analyzed functionally. The child creates a hierarchy of attributes. This simplifies the task of identifying further objects belonging to the concept, as all objects must show the same relation to the concept. The top of the hierarchy consists of the functional core. It defines the functionally motivated features of an object, e.g., *ball: ROLLS, BOUNCES*. Further down the hierarchy there are perceptual features, e.g., *ball: ROUND, RED*. Afterwards, a word form is mapped to the concept.

Nelson’s approach can explain why early words tend to be things from the child’s immediate surroundings, as these are handled by the child him-/herself. Nelson criticized Clark because of her linguistic focus and the neglect of a conceptual level. She stressed that children distinguish whole objects. These are not seen as sets of features. Thus, a concept can be built on the basis of one single referent. Further, Nelson does not agree with the predominance of perceptual cues. However, some perceptually motivated overextensions, like *ball* for balls and round lamps, do in fact exist, but do not go well with Nelson’s proposal, because, according to her, functional reasons should be favoured when calling several objects by the same name.

The idea that a concept can emerge from a single referent is yet central for another approach, offered by Bowerman (1978), who criticized the reduction to either a functional or perceptual basis for classifying.<sup>3</sup> This was said to lead to a too restrictive range of application. Bowerman noticed that, initially, children hear words in relation to one single object or a few highly similar ones. For example, *duck* is always the same yellow toy duck in the bath tub. The very first words are only produced in connection with these prototypical objects (no living ducks or pictures are called *duck*). Later, the child uses the words also for new, regularly similar objects which have at least one feature in common with their prototype<sup>4</sup>. Bowerman even allowed several prototypes.

This approach can explain another common mis-mapping in children: underextension. This is an extension which is too narrow in comparison to the adult language, such as calling your dog *dog*, but not the neighbours' dog, nor the dogs in the street. This is Bowerman's initial stage. Furthermore, the formation of associative and chain complexes (Bowerman 1978: 271) becomes plausible—sometimes an early and a late referent of a word do not show common properties, although they have at least one feature in common with one other referent, having been named in between. Now, the reader will be reminded of Wittgenstein's family resemblances (Wittgenstein 1984), where some family members share the shape of the mouth, others the shape of the nose, but no element need be common to all family members. This may result from an internal structure of a concept, a typical central instance with varying peripheral instances (Bowerman 1978: 278): a prototype, a typical example and other examples assimilated to the category because of their resemblance with the prototype. This results in degrees of membership. That means that not all of the features have to be criterial/central. Of course, there are categories based on several shared features. The representation of a word as a best example does not exclude feature lists (Bowerman 1978: 279).

Taken together, the three presented views lead to the idea that concepts may be created on functional grounds, but objects may well be named for of other reasons, probably because they are important and/or salient to the child in shape, colour etc.

#### 4. Restructuring

Barrett (1982) attempted to link the view that semantic features must contrast (cf. Barrett 1978) with the prototype model. He combined previous insights with his observation of systematic shifts in word-fields.<sup>5, 6</sup> According to Barrett, semantic fields are systematically divided by the extensions of related words, without overlap, in the early phase of acquisition (Barrett 1982: 317). The child first acquires the meaning of an object word from a prototypical object, and the word meaning is represented by this prototypical referent. Then s/he realizes some important cues. Now, the word meaning is stored in form of a prototype and some basic features. Next, the child compares the word with other, already acquired words which have prototypes with similar attributes. Those attributes common to all referents serve as the defining features of the semantic field to which the word now belongs. The child

<sup>3</sup> However, both Clark and Nelson soon modified their original views in allowing functional as well as perceptual features as being decisive, c.f. Barrett (1982) for a review.

<sup>4</sup> For *prototype theory* cf. Rosch (1973ff.), Lakoff (1987a, b) or cf. *stereotypes*, Lutzeier (1981ff.).

<sup>5</sup> Barrett (1982) used the term *semantic field*. *Bedeutungsfeld* was initiated by Ipsen (1924), later, *Wortfeld* by Trier (1931ff.). Dobrovolskij (1995) suggests abandoning the difference between conceptual, semantic and lexical differentiation, as linguistic and conceptual structures are closely related. Instead, he speaks of *relations* between lexical and conceptual structures (Dobrovolskij 1995: 103).

<sup>6</sup> The idea of systematic restructuring of word meanings when new related words are acquired was already discussed in Clark (1973), who referred to the work of Pavlovitch (1920). Clark used the term *semantic domain*. An example from Clark (1973) will be given below.

compares the prototypes and identifies the contrasting features. Now, the word meaning is represented in the lexicon as a prototype, a set of features that define the semantic field and another set of features which serves to distinguish the referent from other items in the field. Overextensions may be found when some words still have to be learned and the referents are labelled with the already acquired words. This process is repeated each time a new word enters the field. One result is a constant shift of the range of the meanings. As Trier already wrote “die [inhaltliche] Bestimmtheit entsteht durch Abgrenzung gegen Nachbarn” (Trier 1931a: 42), and later “Außerhalb eines Feldganzen kann es ein Bedeuten überhaupt nicht geben” (Trier 1931a: 44). Meaning cannot exist in isolation. The meaning of a word depends on neighbouring words in the field. Trier also found shifts in the structure of a field when he investigated diachronic change. As a psychological result, this meant “Soll der Hörer verstehn, so muß Zahl und Lagerung der sprachlichen Zeichen dieses Begriffsfeldes ihm unausgesprochen gegenwärtig sein.” (Trier 1931a: 46). Another result of Barrett’s view is that an overextension can be repaired when new words are acquired. You can call a sheep *dog* only as long as you do not know the word *sheep*. Then you diminish your primary, overextended meaning of *dog* by exactly the range of meaning which is covered by *sheep*.

To demonstrate how Barrett sees the acquisition of early words, some examples from the literature on language acquisition will be presented in the following. The first is from Clark (1973), who worked with Pavlovitch’ diary data (cf. Pavlovitch 1920 in Clark 1973).

The child Pavlovitch observed used *bébé* ‘baby’ initially for a) the reflection of self in the mirror, for b) photos of self, for c) all photos, for d) all pictures, for e) books with pictures and for f) all books. Then the child produced *deda* ‘granddad’, which was used for all photos. Now, *bébé* referred to a) the reflection of self in the mirror, to b) photos of self, to d) all pictures, to e) books with pictures. The next step was the acquisition of *ka’ta* ‘card’ for all pictures of landscapes and views. *Deda* still meant all photos. But *bébé* was now used for a) the reflection of self in the mirror, for b) photos of self, for e) books with pictures and for f) all books. The fourth stage began with the new word *kiga* ‘book’ for all books. *Ka’ta* still referred to pictures (not of people). *Deda* still referred to all photos, but *bébé* now referred to a) the reflection of self in the mirror and b) the photo of self. That is, the first word was used for quite a range of objects. With each new word, this range of reference was narrowed down, with the new word taking over part of the original range and diminishing the overextension (cf. Clark 1973: 87).

The second example is from Barrett (1982), using diary data from Lewis (1951). In the beginning, the child K. said *tee* to cats, cows, horses, large dogs, small dogs, and toy dogs, that is, to four-legged animals. This was probably the feature shared by the referents and thus counted as the defining characteristic of the semantic field. When the word *goggy* was learned in relation to a toy dog, the child probably compared the prototypes of the two animal terms and found contrasting cues, so that *tee* was no longer used for small dogs. Then *hosh* was introduced and used for horses and large dogs, presumably due to a featural analysis which contrasted +HOOVES with –HOOVES and LARGE with SMALL. *Goggy* still referred to small dogs and toy dogs. But *tee* was now used for cats and cows. With the form *pushy*, the child labeled cats. *Hosh* remained for horses and large dogs, *goggy* for small dogs and toy dogs. But *tee* referred to cows only. Barrett hypothesized that the child acquired a prototypical referent for *pushy*, realized decisive attributes and added the word to the semantic field because of the feature FOUR-LEGGED. Then the child compared the prototypes of the words, identified the contrastive features of cats and stored the meaning of this new word in form of the prototype, the features defining the field and the features distinguishing it from the other words in the field. Accordingly, the word *tee* could no longer be used for cats (cf. Barrett 1982: 329)<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Barrett used the transcribed forms [ti:] *tee*, [gŋgi] *goggy*, [hŋŋ] *hosh*, [pŋŋi] *pushy*.



Barrett's model explains why the child initially only names objects from his/her immediate surroundings. These catch the child's attention early and are good candidates for prototypical referents. The fact that children often need only one prototypical object was already mentioned by Bowerman (1978). This may result in underextensions, when a child fails to generalize from the prototype to related objects. Thus, underextensions are equally well explained by Barrett. Overextensions are found when not all contrasting features are recognized, when incorrect ones are used, and when not all words in a field are acquired. That is, not all early words should show overextended use. It should be mentioned here that, indeed, overextension is not found for all words. That was a problem for the previous hypotheses of Clark and Nelson, which predicted quite a large number of overextended words. In this respect, Barrett's model is an improvement. Still another important fact can be explained, namely, that at first underextensions appear, then overextensions, both towards the beginning of the acquisition process. The mis-matches disappear with time, with the acquisition of more words and with the recognition of more contrasting features. Finally, an important idea is that word meanings can only exist in relation to other, related ones within a field and that this helps children on their way to acquire object names. Trier's 'omnipresence' (*Allgegenwärtigkeit*) is obviously something which develops in children over time as an automatic consequence of the way they process information.

However, Barrett sometimes ignores that children might have different views on concepts and features from adults when he concludes that not all features that the child uses have to be criterial (Barrett 1982: 318). If the child uses *ROUND* to label both ball and round lamps then this feature is criterial for the child. He misses the possibility that mis-mappings might result from other than cognitive re-shifts. Furthermore, there are meanings which overlap with others. And finally, his hypothesis predicts that overextensions only occur when the target name for an object has not been acquired. Names for objects are overextended to referents for which the child lacks the proper name (Barrett 1982: 320f.). But this is not always the case. Even Barrett discussed three exceptions. But he interpreted the first two names as an adjective and a request resp., concluding that they are not true counterexamples. The third case was left open.<sup>8</sup> Thus Barrett's approach is in need of refinement, too.

## 5. Influences of phonology, lexicon and cognition on the naming of concepts/referents

The analysis of continuous diary data on a German-speaking girl, A., (Elsen 1991) yielded several phenomena which were not congruent with Barrett's model. In Elsen (1994, 1995) several kinds of overextension are described. Semantic overextensions were distinguished from lexical overextensions and phonological overextensions.

*Semantic overextensions* emerge because of an immature conceptual system as described by Clark, Nelson, Bowerman, Barrett and others. When words are used deliberately for objects whose names are not yet established in the lexicon, this is called *lexical overextension* (Elsen 1994: 306). That is, the child tries to fill a lexical gap. Finally, when an articulatorily difficult word is avoided and a more easily pronounceable substitute is chosen which happens to refer to another, related word, this kind of 'mis'-use is called *phonological overextension*. In Elsen (1994), the overextended use of [vava] for dogs and ducks for articulatory reasons was

<sup>8</sup> He mentions one word, *ball*, which was overextended to a referent for which the target term had been acquired before, namely the word *beads*, from Leopold's diary of his daughter Hildegard. Barrett interprets her use of *ball* for the beads as an attempt to point out the similarity of shape. The second example is from his own data. The child Tina used *Mummy* for two people for whom she had already learned the names. This is interpreted by Barrett not as an example of (overextended) naming, but as a request for an action. The third example is from Lewis' (1951) data on K., who produced *tee* for a horse one day after the more appropriate form *hosh* had been used (Barrett 1982: 321).

described.

A.'s concept of ducks was well developed by the middle of 0;11<sup>9</sup>, as the child correctly applied her private form [bagba] correctly and daily in different situations. The target word *Ente* 'duck' seemed to be too difficult. The structure V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>2</sub> needed for the correct pronunciation of the word was not present in the child's productive phonological system. She tried to pronounce it several times towards the end of 0;11. But she did not produce these forms spontaneously, nor did she use them afterwards. Her self-constructed substitute does not exist in the target language and the child was not encouraged in its use. As neither forms for ducks satisfied the girl's needs—[bagba] was not used in the target language, and *Ente* was too difficult to produce—she applied a semantically related and well-established form which was consistent with her phonetic ability: [vava]. This happened to be the word for dogs. The result was a phonologically motivated overextension.

In Elsen (1995) the acquisition of A.'s first animal terms was described. The development showed some phenomena which the presented models cannot account for. An early term was used *after* some time of understanding it—the word for dogs. In Elsen (1994) it was argued that the child deliberately refused to pronounce *Hund* 'dog' for articulatory reasons. Only when the simpler form /vauvau/ was offered, did she start to talk about all kinds of dogs. That means, even when a concept is built, some difficulties with the form of the target expressions may prevent an early use. As in *Ente*, phonology interfered with word learning (cf. also Elsen 1999a, b). In other cases, A. did not wait for the target terms, but invented her own expressions, e.g., for ducks, hares and crows ([bagba], a sniff, [bɫa], resp.). Obviously, some concepts were developed before the articulatory capacities allowed for the correct words. Thus, when some words in the lexicon of a child are missing, we cannot always be sure that the relevant concept has yet to be formed. A. invented words to fill lexical gaps. The concepts were there, but the words were lacking. Obviously, several linguistic and non-linguistic aspects interact. The acquisition of (object) words cannot be analyzed in exclusively cognitive-semantic terms. A model for the acquisition of words must be able to integrate cognitive and various linguistic aspects in order to explain the data.

Other examples from A.'s corpus, presented in Elsen (1995), were words for objects like eggs, potatoes, apples, etc. From 0;9 on, the girl used the term *Ei* 'egg' for eggs—a boiled egg being the prototype. From 1;0, she also used it for tomatoes, *Negerküsse* 'chocolate marshmallows' and potatoes. Up to 1;2,25, tomatoes were called *eggs*. Then, A. used the word for tomatoes. From 1;3,1, on she used a form of *Apfel* 'apple' for apples, for tomatoes (once with 1;3,15) and when she saw apple peels (1;3,14), further for peaches, nectarines, potatoes, oranges etc. At 1;3,27, the word for potatoes entered her lexicon and was used for whole potatoes, for boiled and peeled ones and for cut potatoes.

We might argue that the child learned *Ei* 'egg' in the context of a prototypical referent and realized some important attributes (TASTES FINE, form, size). A new word diminished the range of referents of established words. When she acquired the word for tomatoes, A. no longer called them *Ei* 'egg'. However, the child not only used her words for prototypes and similar referents, apples, peaches, oranges, but also for non-prototypical referents of the category apple and for the category potato, namely boiled and peeled potatoes and cut potatoes. In the case of apple peels she perhaps wanted to say 'belongs to apple'. But her regular use of the word for potatoes in various manifestations showed that her concept of potatoes became complex within two weeks, with a prototypical centre and less prototypical examples. The early attributes served as a working definition. She either used several prototypes, or she structured her concept. No matter how this may be, we need a model that allows for a flexible,

<sup>9</sup> Numbers like 1;2,3 refer to a child's age in years; months, days.

dynamic representation of concepts.

In an earlier article (Elsen 1995), I argued in favour of an integration of prototypes and features within a word-field. A name is learned in relation to a prototype—the prototypical centre of the concept which is defined by some relevant features. The concept is gradually specified in contrast to related objects and new words. This was already described in the presented literature. Additionally, neighbouring lexemes not only restrict the range of referents of established words, but the concept will become more structured when peripheral examples are integrated. This happens in interaction with the immediate surroundings. For example, the mother peels and mashes a potato and calls the result *potato*. The original definition can be refined according to situation and use. We need a dynamic model of prototypes with structured representations of more and less important features for centre and periphery. But this structure must be flexible so that it can be changed according to the situation and in case of errors. In some situations, some central features must be dropped and only some peripheral ones must be used for the decision which object is to name. On the one hand, this will result in the aforementioned associative or chain complexes. On the other hand, some extremely peripheral examples can be named, e.g., a potato cut into the figure of a dog. Furthermore, the representation must work even when information is missing. Here, the integration within a word-field is an important support, because it provides additional information and helps to consider overlapping and borderline areas. Finally, it is possible that a child tries to label an object such as a peach, knowing that it is *not* an egg (when eggs are already called *egg*) and it is *not* a tomato (when tomatoes are already called *tomato*). The child chooses the most probable third term, perhaps *apple*, because s/he knows that all referents belong together (and because s/he wants to communicate). Either eggs, apples and tomatoes are sufficiently specified and the peach has more in common with apples than with eggs and tomatoes. Or apples are defined by not being eggs nor tomatoes, but belonging to the same semantic field and thus are grouped together with peaches. This leads us to the next aspect which must be accounted for by a good model—the relevance of script and frame information.

In several studies children were observed to produce certain words only in certain situations (Elsen 1999c: 92, cf. literature in Clark 1993: 33). In most cases these words were used adequately. For example, A. said *Berge* ‘mountains’ only when looking out of the window. However, once she was discovered to produce it when no mountains were visible due to of bad weather. The child had probably stored the one and only prototypical situation in which the adults uttered the word: Under certain weather conditions the Alps can be seen from the living-room window. The parents then usually go to the window and say admiringly “the mountains!”. The child learned the word in a stable situational context, without knowing the semantic content (cf. Elsen 1999c: 92). She had probably not understood the meaning of *Berge*, but wanted to act correctly in a given situation (*situationsadäquat*), which meant for her: go to the window and say *Berge*. This means, first, that for children the context is important for the acquisition of words and meanings, as it provides decisive cues, even when they are misinterpreted. Perhaps children turn to this context information when they have no access to object information. For Nelson (1996) the most important process of the acquisition of words is to derive meaning from discourse context (Nelson 1996: 143). Second, the context can be of use when the exact meaning of a word is not known, but the child nevertheless wants to communicate. That is a matter of temperament, of course. Some children will only talk when they are very sure of themselves. Others don’t really care whether what they say is right or wrong as long as the grown-ups listen.

Context (communicational situation, event, structured event, frame, script) are thus the next important factors for the acquisition of words which have to be integrated in a model.

In sum, the relevant aspects to be included in a model are a prototype and prototypical structure of a concept/word meaning, features, lexical field information and context information, where the term context covers situational, event, frame and script context. All of it joins up in the meaning of a word. All of it has to grow together in the process of acquisition. Children make flexible use of those aspects according to cognitive, linguistic and motor maturity, situation and individual condition. We cannot assume a rigid temporal order in the acquisition sequence or a strict linear order of these sources of information as components in a model. These aspects work simultaneously, but with varying allocation of relevance.<sup>10</sup>

## 6. Networks and the brain

In the following, some basic principles of networks will be described. The aim is not to create a new model, but to see whether the processing phenomena found in simulations are consistent with the real-life data. This should lead us to assume an explanatory relationship, which should further help in reformulating linguistic models of description. In this case, the integration of feature analysis and prototype theory, which is demanded by the acquisition data (and by cognitive linguists), receives a neurological foundation.

The structure and the mode of operation of a network are adopted from the brain in imitation of the neurocognitive facts—the architecture and the mode of operation of the brain. The idea of network-like processing of information can be found in several ‘schools’ of network-users, which are more or less close to neurobiological facts (e.g., Smith/Thelen 1993, Thelen/Smith 1994, Elman et al. 1996, Lamb 1999, Kochendörfer 2000). They may differ in their architectures, some processing aspects and the way information is represented. For example, in some models there are varying activation strengths, in others this is represented by varying degrees of the frequency with which stable action potentials are transmitted. In localist models one node may represent one linguistic unit. In distributed processing, a node complex serves this function. The difference is less serious when you consider that the local unit itself, at least in recent architectures, can only be activated when a connected pattern of further units is activated, too. Thus, the “local” representation is in fact a bundle of nodes plus a “head” node (a “mother” node), comparable to phonetic features united in a phonological “head” node. Of course, the patterns leading to various “head” nodes may overlap.

In a network, information is processed in (nodes and) connections. Like the nervous system, a computer model is built of hierarchies of functional units of increasing scope and complexity. In the brain, a cell body receives signals directly or through connections, its dendrites. The exit-connection of a cell is called axon. It ends in a synapse. This is the point of connection to the next cell or its dendrites. The nerve impulses are of stable size. Input means the induction of a postsynaptical potential which may be excitatory or inhibitory and which is graded. Although in computer models all information has to be transmitted via connections (axons) and nodes, in the brain some nerve cells communicate directly through their dendrites, probably some kind of economizing effect (Shepherd 1978: 96). There even seem to be interactions without direct contact (Shepherd 1978: 100, Pribram 1991: 11). In the brain, changes in neurodensity are variable across regions (Campell/Whitaker 1986: 61). There are different cell structures and microcircuits in different regions of the brain (Shepherd 1978: 102) with specific properties (Blakemore 1989), whereas artificial networks are more homogenous. Therefore, we should always keep in mind that network models are abstractions.

<sup>10</sup> Langacker (1987) suggests a similar framework, which is—true—not based on acquisition data, but nonetheless sketches the hypothetical evolution of lexical categories in a comparable way. Kazzazi (in press) combines these aspects in her diachronic analyses.

In the models, the use of internal symbols and rules is avoided. All areas in the brain, in the computer network—and let us not forget that there are many varieties—or in the hypothetical model are interconnected. Activation spreads quasi-simultaneously via parallel routes through the system, creating a pattern of activated nodes and connections. The current flows bi-directionally.

## 6.1 Acquisition

Learning means that the machinery is altered by individual experience. The acquisition process is characterized by constructing structure and, via connected patterns, data. Nodes and connections are supposed to be given, in imitation of the fact that by far the greatest number of neurons<sup>11</sup> and connections are present at birth, but the thickness of myelination<sup>12</sup> keeps growing for a while. Thus, nodes and connections must be brought into use. Learning means changing—changing the connection strength and threshold values<sup>13</sup>. The more connections are used, the stronger they get. When they are not used, they become weak: a connection or a whole pattern of nodes and connections can fade when it is not used regularly. Nodes may change in their threshold value. With more use, with more activation energy, the threshold rises (Lamb 1999: 213). Initially, nodes and connections are weak. They are laid out in the architecture, i.e. they are available, but not yet accessible. When information flows through the system, learning starts and the amount of energy rises. A node receives some minimal activation via few connections, but the sum is too low to activate the node, which still has a low threshold value. Next time, either more connections to a node transport activation or few connections transport more activation (activation potentials of a stable size at a higher frequency). The threshold is reached, the node is activated. Each time, the connections can carry more information and the threshold value of the node rises, allowing the node to pass on more and more activation. Thus, the existing connections and nodes are strengthened with repeated activation. Their initial state changes from neutral or latent to ‘occupied’, as they are now assigned to a node or a complex pattern. With each activation, several paths are activated simultaneously. Over time, a main path, region or pattern emerges as the winner over the more weakly activated fellow paths, regions or patterns through the processes of competition and selection, because the development is enhanced by the blocking of the losers through inhibitory connections. Connections which become useless fade. In the brain, nerve cells are not connected randomly, but in a special configuration with rather sparse connection patterns (Pribram 1991: 5), due to the loss of unnecessary material. This evolutionary process (‘survival of the fittest’) also leads to specialization of large areas and modular organization.

We see that on the one hand, information from various domains is gradually integrated. Linguistic aspects grow together over time. Complex structures emerge. There is always variation in the activation of different areas. On the other hand, each item such as a feature, a sound, or a word exhibits an individual pattern of activated connections. These items do not exist as entities or objects, but must be understood to be a characteristic pattern at a characteristic position in the system. We can use names like /p/ or *dog* or *noun* to refer to items or categories. But that only facilitates communication and reasoning. It does not mean that they are sounds or categories *per se*. They are only generalizations. A member of such a group can show a more or less prototypical structure, more or less similarity to the activation pattern of the prototype. An early and repeatedly activated area or sound is stronger than a later one. Thus, frequent sounds, words, patterns of the target language are learned earlier. In

<sup>11</sup> Of course, biological neurons have a complex internal structure (cf. Shepherd 1978).

<sup>12</sup> Myelin is the insulation around the axons which enables electrical activity to be conducted at a high speed (Willis/ Widerstom 1986: 29, Lamb 1999: 346). Local (short) connections are not myelinated (Lamb 1999: 323).

<sup>13</sup> Threshold refers to the fact that a node will only be activated when there is enough incoming activation to satisfy the threshold. It is still not clear how far the details correspond to neurological facts.

young children, frequent patterns often replace infrequent ones. When too much information is processed, only a part will survive.

## 6.2 Simulations

How are child language data and networks related? How can the observations on the acquisition of words be explained and reconciled with neurocognitive facts?

There are several computational models of associative word learning (e.g., Gasser/Smith 1998, Richards/Goldfarb 1986). In simulations of mapping meaning to sound for verbs, several phenomena typical of small children resulted, such as problems with synonyms and overextensions (Cottrell/Plunkett 1994). In simulations of image-label-mapping, the models showed prototype effects, early underextensions and later overextensions (Plunkett et al. 1992). The representations which developed in acquisition were contextually embedded (Plunkett/Sinha 1992).

In Kochendörfer (2000: 93ff.), the simulation of concept formation was described by the example of various containers for drinking, following Labov (1973). The experiment was conducted as a means of exploring the procedure, not of imitating the acquisition process. The input to the network model consisted of several good examples which were determined by [+ CONTAINER FOR DRINKING, + HANDLE, + SAUCER, + LOW, sometimes [+ COFFEE], sometimes [- COFFEE] as a “good” cup, the same except for [+ HIGH] as a “good” tumbler/*Becher*. The results have to be interpreted as general principles of processing. They are quite revealing for our understanding of concept and word-formation.

Kochendörfer explicitly tried to keep very close to neural facts. As exact imitation is not possible, one level of abstraction is to use a node as a neural unit without giving it complex structure (Kochendörfer 2000: 19). In his simulation, some higher-level nodes emerged which represented concepts and could be activated by one or two cells that represent features. In some cases, any combination of two features was sufficient. That means, these higher level nodes show exactly the variability of feature assignment which is claimed for many concepts by prototype theory (Kochendörfer 2000: 98). Network modelers repeatedly stress that the prototypical organisation of concepts and structures is the automatic result of neural processing (Elman et al. 1996: 127ff., Lamb 1999: 226, 336ff., Kochendörfer 2000: 98). Saliency and frequency lead to higher strengths for the more important features. But a sufficient number of peripheral ones will do as well for less typical examples of a category.

Another result was the emergence of complex hierarchies of concepts. A concept was represented by a feature bundle (and a head node). A feature itself could be represented by yet another feature complex, resulting in a complex but structured organization of meaning (Kochendörfer 2000: 100).

A further simulation included “bad” examples with incomplete feature complexes. Processing yielded more activated cells for good examples. The more units were activated, the higher the chances were for further processing. This might be related to a quick and easy judgement of good examples by speakers in experiments (Kochendörfer 2000: 101). When there were insufficient features, a node (complex) representing a bad example was not activated. In the worst case, only one (weakly activated) feature may be involved, so that the sum of activation energy is too low. However, this can be compensated by including context information (Kochendörfer 2000: 102).

### 6.3 The acquisition process of building lexical meaning

The development of a category is influenced by intrinsic and extrinsic factors. For our words, learning means building a pattern of nodes and connections that represents a cognitive concept with connections to auditory, visual etc. areas, building a pattern that represents a linguistic form and connecting these patterns. This might happen in parallel. In several models, all information is united in, and coordinated by, a “head” node (Lamb: *central coordinating nection*, Kochendörfer and others: *grandmother node*, *Großmutterzelle*) which can only be activated when sufficient activation arrives and which represents a word (or a concept, morpheme, phoneme, etc.). We might assume that an early concept is represented by a concept-head-node and only a few feature nodes with connections to visual and/or auditory etc. areas. They are activated simultaneously as an early, quite meagre pattern. On the surface, this may be understood as a *Gestalt*<sup>14</sup> which was learned via one example, perhaps the child’s dog, the prototype, and which results in underextensions when other dogs are not called *dog* and the child has not yet abstracted the cultural entity (Eco 1985: 74) *dog*. In situations of acting and communicating, related concepts and words are experienced and compared. Similar concepts share features. Two not yet fully analyzed concepts, say a sheep and a dog, share all features in this state. When they are attached to one word, say *dog*, overextended use of this word results. Another reason for overextension might be that the correct connections for a new word (*sheep*) are still too weak as they are relatively new and the older ones attached to the former word (*dog*) win. This might be enhanced by articulatory problems (Cottrell/Plunkett 1994: 385). Common areas of patterns are strengthened due to higher frequency of activation. Cognitively, several similar examples might be abstracted to a unit of certain cognitive autonomy, something which Langacker (1987: 374) called a *schema* of a category, abstracted from specific properties like COLOUR (WHITE, GREY, BROWN, but not GREEN OR RED for dogs). Further areas emerge which belong to one concept only (perhaps BARKING and BLEATING OR +/- WOOL) and are found contrasting. New feature nodes are integrated. More relevant features develop stronger connections. Information on context (typical and temporarily typical situations, events, frames etc.) are part of the pattern as well as special features of meaning and form. The amount of digested information increases. When information of central features is missing (some animal of a certain size, but it doesn’t make any noise), situational information can help and compensate (it’s in the kitchen, sheep don’t belong there, so it’s a dog). As related representations share activated areas, other members in a field are activated together with the target word (cf. *Mitmeinen*, Trier 1934b: 446). Thus, another case of compensation is when a child has difficulties with a word *form* and chooses a related word with an easier form instead. The network of connections and the overlap of activated areas will lead the way to the substitute in situations of communicational need. Finally, connections to related concepts that leave out central aspects might lead to metaphorical use, and ultimately, change (e.g., *fox* +/- HUMAN, +/- BROWN-RED, etc.). A metaphor might develop into a new category with a clear distance to the original concept (e.g., *star*). Such developments and differences are of course gradual.

In the child language corpora, we found several recurring phenomena such as early underextensions, later overextensions, linguistic and non-linguistic influences (by, e.g., articulation, co-members in a lexical field, situation), flexibility of categories and the dynamic, context-dependent, graded structure of a concept/word meaning. We saw that the

<sup>14</sup> The recognition of *gestalts* preceded the analysis of features in studies that investigated the identification of objects (faces) (Brown 1996: 299). Neurologically, there seems to be a general shift from holistic to analytic perception. “This shift coincides with increasing selectivity and awareness of spatial detail, discrimination, and orientation. [...] The process corresponding to this shift has been described as an emergence of adult patterns of connectivity through refinement of an initially diffuse set of connections.” (Brown 1996: 299). But in detail, *Gestalt* or holistic processing is not quite clear.

observations on the acquisition of early words could be explained by facts on neural processing. This should lead us to a cognitive-based model which tries to provide linguistic structure with psychological reality and relates growth, process and structure, and thus, function. This complex internal as well as external development cannot be simulated by models, but it requires the neural plasticity which enables continuous change.

## 7. Vista: universals

The idea that our neurobiological basis leads to certain developmental and processing phenomena has consequences for our understanding of universals.

The peripheral nervous system prestructures the nature of perception and production. The neural architecture and mode of operation is responsible for many system-internal, automatic “facts” about language and cognition. As the functional organization of the brain determines behavioural capacities and gives rise to conscious experience (Chalmers 1996: 248), there is a lot of common ground on the bio-genetic level that may lead to universals in cognition and language. Of course, there are further determining factors. There are the living conditions, and we definitely have constants throughout mankind. We live on land, not in water nor on trees nor under ground. We live in groups. To survive, we manipulate our surroundings and grow corn, go hunting or build supermarkets. On the psychological level, all humans need communication with other humans. They are afraid of the unknown, think beyond the *hic et nunc*, want to gain knowledge, develop religions. Thus, there is a common ground of interacting biological, environmental and psychological constants which lead to identical processing architectures, identical experiences and identical solutions. These are influenced and superposed by socio-cultural, linguistic, individual and situational conditions. A culture subdivides the continuum of experience and structures the concepts—“there is no way to predict from the [...] prototype alone precisely which array of instantiations or extensions—out of all the conceivable ones—happen to be conventionally exploited within a speech community” (Langacker 1987: 370). In the acquisition process, children are led to adapt this subdivision, these structures, guided by language. The possibility to switch to alternatives found in the neighbouring cultures always remains open. At the same time, a category is always individually structured because it reflects the experience, situation and processing activity of the individual language user. It is highly probable that no two persons share exactly the same structuring.

With the help of network models we may one day disentangle intrinsic from extrinsic factors and know more about which aspects of linguistic universals result directly from our neurocognitive equipment. We will understand that universals have probabilistic rather than absolute occurrence rates and that a universal conceptual foundation is the consequence of many factors and no given precondition.

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## HOW TO DO THINGS WITH ENGLISH WORDS—IN INTERCULTURAL SITUATIONS ON BASIC GLOBAL ENGLISH (BGE) AND BEYOND\*

### Abstract

The article dwells on requirements of English when used as a lingua franca, predominantly on the concept of Basic Global English (BGE). It shows that the use of English words and phrases does and must differ from standard English when English is used in intercultural situations. It shows how BGE and Advanced Global English can be prepared for such situations. It also illustrates issues that still require more research and shows ways to address these issues: the acceptability of communicative strategies (by using text creation tasks and meta-pragmatic judgements tasks), the differences of connotative meanings (by using semantic differentials), and the creation of self-study material, the assessment of transcultural competence in lingua franca English.

### 1. Introductory Remarks: Communication in a Globalized World

2008 has been the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. On this occasion the recently published volume of the *Journal for EuroLinguistiX* (<http://www.eurolinguistix.com>) was a special issue shedding light on speech acts realizations in different European countries. According to some futurologists and economists (cf., e.g., Nefiodow 1996, Pincas 2001, Händeler 2003, Rifkin 2004, Spiegel 2005, and the contributions in Harrison/Huntington 2000) one of the biggest economic problems in a knowledge-based society is to channel the flood of information, to extract relevant knowledge and to apply it in a productive way—all within well-balanced financial limits. In today's world companies no longer must improve the flow of information between man and machine, they rather need to focus on improving the flow of information between and among humans. People rather have to learn how to communicate with colleagues, customers, providers and partners in an atmosphere of trust, tolerance, empathy and efficiency so that information can flow without obstacles. And in a globalized world this also requires a global means of communication (cf. also my ideas of socioeconomic linguistics in Grzega 2005a, 2005b & 2006a: 275ff.). Some of the objectives supported by the UN, too, can only be realized if we know how to communicate<sup>1</sup>. The question of how to behave in an intercultural situation is a clearly onomasiological one.

Therefore, *Onomasiology Online* seems a justified venue to say a few lines about function-to-form mapping in intercultural situations. Since the currently most prominent language for intercultural communication seems to be English, this article will dwell on English as a lingua franca.

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<sup>1</sup> Take into account the goals “to promote greater harmony and tolerance in all societies”, “allowing genuine participation by all citizens in all our countries” and “the right of the public to have access to information” in the UN Millennium Declaration and “the right to education”, that “Education [...] shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations” in the UN Declaration of Human Rights Art. 26 and “the right freely [...] to share in scientific advancement and its benefits” in the UN Declaration of Human Rights Art. 27.

## 2. English as a Tool of Global Communication

English seems currently the most widely accepted candidate and used lingua franca—however, looking at the biography of other *linguae francae* in the past, it is recommendable that English is not promoted as language of the US or the UK: “If English is to be considered a world language, it should not be restricted to any single culture. English as an international language should be able to accommodate different cultural elements and thoughts” (Poon 2006: 25ff.). As a first step toward a “natural” form of Global English I have proposed the concept of Basic Global English (BGE).

## 3. A New Concept of English as a Tool of Global Communication

Several studies on communication between non-natives argue that non-native forms are actually sometimes quite intelligible and are not an obstacle to communicative success, while other non-native forms may cause communicative breakdown. Given these empirical results on English Lingua Franca, I thought about a more effective way of teaching and learning English as a lingua franca—particularly since interviews with employers and trainees, surveys of the Council of Europe (cf., e.g., TNS Opinion & Social 2006), observations of how teachers deal with learners’ utterances deviating from standard English and the critique that can be raised against curricula and widespread language textbooks corroborate this search for a new way of Teaching English as a Foreign Language for both socioeconomic and didactic reasons. To be more blunt, here are a few concrete examples:

- (a) According to the quoted publication by the Council of Europe the majority of the citizens in the following European countries do not feel that they have sufficient knowledge of English for participating in a conversation in English: the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia and Spain as well as the immigrant population in Ireland and the UK.
- (b) Short answers like *Yes, it is/No, it isn't* are highlighted in some German curricula. But how important are they for lingua-franca situations? Some curricula include etaphorical/idiomatic expressions already at a low level, too. But how helpful and successful are expressions that cannot be interpreted word-for-word in lingua-franca communication? Some curricula do not cover communicative, or politeness, strategies at all, e.g. the curriculum for Bavarian Hauptschulen.
- (c) In the German curricula the communicative aspect is generally not focussed on before Year 2 of learning English (e.g. the speech acts “explaining games”, “giving information about oneself, one’s hobbies, one’s school”, “writing a profile”, “asking about one’s family” in the Bavarian curriculum’s second year of English), while the first year is characterized by a lot of fossilized phrases in games, rhymes and songs.
- (d) Concepts of “simplified English” up to 2004/05 respected only some principles that seemed important to me: BASIC English (cf., e.g. Ogden 1934, Templer 2005), Essential World English (Hogben 1963), Threshold Level English (cf. van Ek/Alexander 1980). Nevertheless, it has to be highlighted as positive that these concepts are based on well reflected principles, while Globish (Nerrière/Dufresne/Bourgon 2005) is rather based on intuition and ignores all kind of theoretical and empirical linguistic knowledge (for a more expanded critique see Grzega 2006b and 2008b).

With these observations, I have attempted to create an alternative concept of (teaching) English to beginners that shall allow students to acquire communicative competence in a comparatively fast way: Basic Global English (BGE). For a complete description of BGE and information on current projects with BGE readers are referred to the respective Internet site (<http://www.basicglobalenglish.com>, cf. also the first illustration of the model in Grzega 2005c). This article focusses on onomasiological aspects. Didactic aspects and experiences

are more elaborated elsewhere (Grzega 2008a & 2008b and Grzega/Schöner 2007).

## 4. Basic Global English

Empirical studies have revealed that communicative breakdowns are mostly caused by lexical or phonetic obstacles; concerning pragmatic misinterpretations, studies have not yet led to any clear conclusions (cf. James [1998], Jenkins [2003] and Seidlhofer [2004] for states of the art). Consequently, the core goals of BGE are an essential pronunciation of phonemes and the command of a generally useful vocabulary plus vocabulary-extension tools. In addition, learners should acquire a few general pragmatic skills for international communication.

### 4.1. Vocabulary and Vocabulary-Extension Techniques

Words are the fundament of communication. There are three major problematic lexical areas: (a) lexical gaps, (b) “serious false friends”, (c) metaphorical expressions (that cannot be interpreted word-for-word or are not very obvious). To enable learners to master situations where they don’t know a designation, BGE includes the evolution of a basic vocabulary with word-formation and paraphrasing techniques plus an individual word-stock at the same time.

Since BGE is meant as an offer for a rapid acquisition of both active and passive communication skills, word selection was not guided by purely notion-based and morphosemantic principles. The aspect of passive communication called for the inclusion of word frequency principles and encyclopedic-transcultural principles. As Bauman and Culligan’s General Service List was, at the time when I first thought about creating BGE, the most recent frequency list (1995), I first collected all types with more than 500 tokens in their corpus—unfortunately only words, not designations. This resulted in 208 words (including pronouns, conjunctions and prepositions). I then eliminated the function words and put these into the grammar section where they are treated as grammatical morphemes. The stock was then supplemented by lexemes that appeared vital for conversation: I checked “basic vocabulary” books for learners of English of different mother tongues as well as the basic word list of the DCE and accepted those words that were free from clear bonds with any specific, individual nation or culture. Then I had my students discuss this list in class and on the *EuroLinguistiX* discussion forum. Eventually, I could reduce the list to 750 words. For the words from Bauman and Culligan’s list I only accepted salient meanings (based on my check of “basic vocabulary” dictionaries). Thus, *court* designates only “courthouse”, but not “royal home”, *juice* only “drink out of fruits”, but not “electric power”, *game* only “play”, but not “deer”. With some words describing the exact denotation or reference might be difficult due to cultural divergence in prototypicality. Thus *football* in Europe differs from *football* in North America and *football* in Australia. Such peculiarities should be pointed out to the learner.

In addition, BGE encourages learners to apply word-formation patterns to words from the basic vocabulary if they do not have the proper word at hand. Here are two examples of BGE word-formation methods:

- Combine two words (sequence: in English the first word determines the second), e.g. *main street*, *birthday*, *home country*, *front door*, *computer program*, *mother tongue* [already listed in the Basic Vocabulary]
- Attach *ment* to a verb to express the action in the form of a noun or the result of the action, e.g. *judgement*, *development*, *payment*

Finally, BGE also lists techniques of paraphrasing to overcome lexical gaps, e.g. “Use the sequence “superordinate term – particular feature”, e.g. *a cat is an animal that eats mice; a*

*piano is an instrument with white and black keys; a piano is the instrument that Duke Ellington and Arthur Rubenstein played.*” Moreover, learners should get to know the use of hedges such as *kind of* and *somehow*. Metaphorical expressions are often problematic and speakers, including native speakers, are advised to abstain from them.

In BGE, each learner should also, from the very beginning, gather an individual set of 250 words for talking about themselves or things they are interested in. This concept guarantees learners a comparatively high degree of autonomy. The teacher merely suggests a good (bilingual) dictionary to the learners (a list of links to on-line dictionaries is provided at <http://www.onomasiology.de> under “Helpful Internet Sources”).

#### 4.2. Politeness Strategies and Further Conversational Strategies

In actual communication, speakers will quickly discover that knowledge of linguistic forms alone does not guarantee successful communication, it is also of paramount importance to know *when* to use which form, i.e. to know politeness strategies, since politeness strategies can vary decisively from civilization to civilization. No other concept of “simplified English” really addresses this issue, but “over-politeness” can be as irritating for an interlocutor as “under-politeness”. Therefore, BGE votes for a compromise. Based on own experiences and on others’ studies and views (e.g. Berns 1990, Bromme 2000, Clark 1996, Hall 1976, Hofstede 2000, House 1999, Hunfeld 2004, Lesznyák 2004, Meierkord 1996, Meierkord/Knapp 2002, Pincas 2001, Rosenberg 2003, Smith/Rafiqzad 1983, Sneyd 2001, Thomas 1983, Varonis/Gass 1985, Yule 1990) the following conversational strategies are part and parcel of the BGE system:

- (1) The first fundamental principle is: Mindful and respectful listening, mindful and respectful speaking.
- (2) As a “saver”, a sentence like *That’s how we say (in my country)* can be inserted or added. This signals the interlocutor that the speaker is just transferring his or her own conventions into Global English. Another way is to say directly: *I think there is a misunderstanding*.
- (3) A positive atmosphere is created if positive words are used. This holds even true for complaints. If you want to stay polite, then it is advisable that you use the positive element of antonymic word-pairs. Instead of *good—bad* it is better to use *good—not good* or (still more polite) *good—not so good*.
- (4) Terms of address: In the field of personal pronouns, English (in contrast to many other languages in the world) only has *you*, both as a formal and as an informal pronoun, both for one addressee and for several addressees. Apart from this, there are a number of “neutral titles”, e.g. *sir*, *Mr.* (when addressing male adults), *madam* or *mam*, *Ms.* (when addressing female adults). *Mr.* and *Ms.* can also be used in connection with the family names. Besides, there are professional titles like *President* and academic titles like *Professor*. If you introduce yourself for the first time you should say your full given and family name as well as your title and then say (indirectly or directly) if the interlocutor can or should neglect the title (e.g. “I am the president. My name is Dr. Paul Miller. You can call me Paul.” in contrast to “I am President Dr. Paul Miller.”; in the latter instance the interlocutor will use a very formal term of address like “President”). If you are not sure about how to address someone else you can ask this person: “So what would be the right way to call you?”. A neutral greeting term is *Hello* (informally also *Hi*), a neutral leave-taking term is *Good-bye* (informally also *Bye*). After *Hello* it would be polite to ask the other person *How are you?*; but in general you just expect the answer *Fine* and not an extended “honest” account. Letters can be opened with *Dear* + name (or + *madam/sir*, if the name is not known). Informal letters can also be opened with *Hi* + name. A letter can be closed with *Best wishes* or, if the letter is formal, with *Yours truly*, + signature.
- (5) Especially with critical topics you need to make sure that you have understood an utterance by your interlocutor. This may be done with the following phrases: *So do I understand you correctly that you want me to do the following: ...* or *So do I understand you correctly that we should do the following: ...* With criticals topics you also want to make sure that your interlocutor has understood your utterance. This can be done the following way: *I am not sure if my explanation was good enough. Could you tell me in your words what you think I wanted to say?* If you use words that are unknown to your interlocutor, be ready to paraphrase words with the techniques

- given in the Vocabulary section under point 5 (2). Normally you should not use figurative language, because some cultures may not understand your images. However, if you want to use figurative language for explanation, say: *This is like...* or *This is similar to ...*
- (6) Questions and requests should not just be formed as simple interrogative or imperative sentences. The word *please* should always be added at the end. Moreover, a request should be formulated as an interrogative, not as an imperative sentence. Example: Instead of *Open the window!* it is more polite to say *Could you open the window, please?* If need be, you have to state explicitly that you're not uttering an order, but a request: *I wanted to say a request, not an order.* Besides, a conversation that is started in order to ask something from the other person should be started with the words *Excuse me, ...*. The same holds true if you want to complain or express that you disagree. In the former case, you can say: *When you do this, I feel sad, because my need for autonomy/health/beauty/leisure is not satisfied. Would you be ready to do the following?*. In the latter case, this can be done with the words *I don't think so* or *I don't agree* (instead of *don't* the form *do not* is also possible).
  - (7) With the words *Sorry* or *I am sorry* you apologize for a small and big "offense" you have committed. It is already a small offense if you come too close to somebody. You respond to the phrase (*I am*) *sorry* with the words *That is* [or *That's*] *OK* or *No problem*. If you feel that there was a true offense, then you may want to ask: *Please tell me if I have hurt you in any way. This was not what I wanted. I am sorry that this has hurt you.*
  - (8) Offers should be accepted with *Yes, please. (Thank you.)* or refused with *No, thank you.* For all positive things that others do to you you should say *Thank you* or—for relatively big positive things—*Thank you very much.*
  - (9) In a case of emergency you should shout *Help!* or *Fire!*.
  - (10) Small Talk: Safe topics for international small talk are the weather, (positive) travel experiences and sports. You should avoid religion, politics, sexuality and questions that are too private (asking for the professional position is okay, though). You should also avoid jokes. Humor differs a lot between countries. If you have made a joke or a funny remark, you can add the phrase *as we say in my country* or *as we could say in my country* as a "saver". You should also watch out when paying compliments: you can compliment a gift or the meal of your host; other things should only be complimented if you know that this is common in the host country. For international settings, you should say thank you for a compliment (and give back a similar one). (But in general, reactions to compliments vary from culture to culture.)
  - (11) You should seek that you and your interlocutor's share of talking should be roughly equal. If the interlocutor says too little, this may be due to the fact that you've given him/her not enough chances, e.g. because the pauses after your contribution was too short (in some cultures pauses after a conversational turn can be comparatively long).
  - (12) Finally, a remark on non-verbal conversational elements: Rules for body distance and eye contact can differ very much from culture to culture. Trained "international" speakers should make sure that the interlocutor does not feel uneasy.

Again, speakers must see that metaphorical politeness expressions, such as a Zambian's *I see you've put on weight* as a phrase expressing 'You're looking well' (cf. Berns 1990), are not misinterpreted. Further research in cross-cultural and intercultural speech-act analysis is needed to render these "rules" more precisely and offer more advice for intercultural communication at a more advanced level (cf. below).

## 5. Beyond Basic Global English

When they have mastered the level of Basic Global English, learners can develop their skills toward the level they strive for. This can be a near-native level or a focus on the development of the skills for international contexts. We may therefore also elaborate concepts of Advanced Global English, especially the following concepts: (1) Global English for Academic Contexts (GE-A), (2) Global English for Business Contexts (GE-B), (3) Global English for Casual Contexts (GE-C). For this advanced level the same basic pronunciation and grammar rules may be accepted as long as the focus is on spoken language; for written contexts, grammar needs to receive focus as everyone knows by experience that people's aesthetic expectations of native standard language are higher than. But the main focus on the level of Advanced Global English should still be on the expansion of a general and individual word-stock and also of communicative strategies for a larger set of situations.

### Rules for GE-A may look like this:

- Be aware that there are differences in the teacher-student relationship (in some cultures the teacher's word is taken for granted). Say that being a good teacher is very important to you and that in order to be a good teacher you need honest feedback from the students and active participation that you can see where you can still contribute to make students feel more comfortable.
- As an instructor be as concrete as possible when referring to requirements (precise date of handing in paper etc.: the more precise your information, the more literal students will take the information). Make sure that everybody understands when assignments are due; state the specific place, day and time, e.g. *Please give this to my secretary, Maria Colo, by February 12, 11 o'clock in the morning*). Abstain from saying *by the end of the week* (students may wonder: does this mean Friday, Saturday, Sunday, or Monday, or at some time in the near future?) or saying *in five days* (does this mean calendar or business days?).
- For technical terms, use multi-part definitions with rephrasing of the same content. Concerning definitions, we can, in principle, distinguish between the following types<sup>2</sup>:

(a) Aristotelian definitions	i.e. genus proximum plus differentia specifica (= generic term + differentiating specification)	e.g. "A blend is type of word-formation that is the result of crossing two words."
(b) explicatory definition	i.e. enumeration of [stereo-]typical features	e.g. "Blends are crossings of words; they are a modern type of word-formation often used for modern phenomena."
(c) exemplary definition	i.e. enumeration of particularly typical examples	e.g. "Blends are, for example, <i>smog</i> (< <i>smoke</i> + <i>fog</i> ) and <i>brunch</i> (< <i>breakfast</i> + <i>lunch</i> )."
(d) synonymic definition	i.e. giving synonyms	e.g. "Blends are also known as <i>word contaminations</i> ."
(e) operational/genetic definition	i.e. description of the process of how the definiendum can be produced or found out	e.g. "You create a blend by sticking the initial section of one word and the final section of another word together."

As for definition type (c) we may especially think of prototypical members; actually, however, there is a better understanding of a category if peripheral members are included as well (provided they are marked as such). Thus, an exemplary definition of *bird* could read: "Typical examples of birds, in North America and Europe, are the robin and the sparrow; a less typical example is the penguin." Such aspects can also be integrated in explicatory definition, e.g. "Birds lay eggs and they normally fly (although this is not a necessary feature)."

- With every aspect (content-wise or procedure-wise) ask international students to compare things to how these are in their countries. This way you show the students that they are valued in your class and you can again focus on the different habits in your country. Find a midway that both the teacher and the students feel comfortable with (some sort of "contract" may be agreed on at the beginning of a course). However, keep this in mind: whenever you give students options and you hear a "yes", check whether it is actually a "yes, but...", because this means "no" in many societies).

### Rules for GE-B may look like this:

- If you are asked for your opinion on a political topic concerning the country of your business partner, say that you don't know enough about the other country to judge the situation.
- In group discussions where you finally have to make decisions use an integrative style, i.e. a style where group members clearly value objects higher than personal objectives, where group members eliminate personal tensions, and where all group members are allowed to have their ideas and opinions discussed and respected.
- Before writing a job application make sure (a) you include the elements this commonly consists of in your target country, (b) you use a form for these elements that is common in your target country, (c) you present the elements in the correct order. The website <http://www.jobera.com> may be helpful.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grzego 2006c.



## 6. Some Questions to Be Answered

### 6.1. How Do I Get More Knowledge on the Acceptability of Communicative Strategies?

As already said, the pragmatic side of lingua-franca communication still requires more attention. So far, studies have been predominantly based on the observation of naturally occurring corpora (cf., e.g., House 1999, Lesznyák 2004, Meierkord 1996, Thomas 1983, Varonis/Gass 1985, Yule 1990) and on discourse completion tasks (DCT's) (cf., e.g., Kraft/Geluykens 2006). For the 2008 special issue of the *Journal for EuroLinguistiX* I have designed a new ethnographic method (SICS = semi-expert interview on communicative strategies) and shown the conclusions one can draw for lingua-franca teaching (Grzega/Schöner 2008, Grzega 2008b, Grzega 2008c). We should not forget to expand DCT's to written contexts (we could then speak of text creation tasks, TCT's) and subsequent meta-pragmatic judgement tasks (MPJT's) (cf. Hinkel 1997) with international groups of informants. In the frame of a methodology session in a seminar "Language Structure and Language Use" I had my students (consisting of German, Italian and Russian native speakers) carry out the following task via e-mail:

*You want to spend your Christmas vacation in X together with a friend. You have chosen an inexpensive hotel that also offers rooms without breakfast. Write to the e-mail indicated above and make a reservation for such a double room at this hotel.*

X was Florence (Italy) for one half of the German informants, St. Petersburg (Russia) for the other half of the German informants and Munich (Germany) for the Italian and Russian informants. All informants were given the text in their mother tongue.

I have then converted some answers into an MPJT, i.e. informants are to judge the appropriateness of utterances on a Likert scale. Such a test, as developed, for instance, by Olshtain/Blum-Kulka (1984), Chen (1996) or Hinkel (1997), aims at finding out whether certain national prototype answers are actually more or less advisable in lingua franca communication, in other words: we want to see which strategies may work transculturally. Informants shall be gathered from a broad range of European countries. Evaluating sentences on an "appropriate—inappropriate" scale may not be meaningful enough, especially since different things can be understood by *appropriate*, e.g. 'grammatically correct' or 'polite'. This scale should therefore be replaced by a set of evaluation parameters (parameter A: "very appropriate/rather appropriate/rather inappropriate/very appropriate" [+2/+1/-1/-2], parameter B: "overpolite/polite/impolite" [+1/0/-1], parameter C: "rather common phrasing/uncommon phrasing [+1/-1]", parameter D: "meaning clear/meaning unclear [+1/-1]"). In addition, with lingua-franca situations and non-native source material such a MPJT has to be designed in a way that deviates from the usual MPJT also in another way. This is rooted in the fact that a prior DCT will not only yield different pragmatic variants, but also several lexical and grammatical variants that may not be standard English. It will be interesting, though, to find out whether such non-native forms will be interpretable by other non-native speakers. Therefore I collected the most frequent type(s) of answers as well as rare, but standard English answers as well as rare, but very eye-catching answers. Then I had my students answer the MPJT. In addition, I handed out a reduced form of the MPJT to a group of international (mostly Austrian) students on the occasion of a guest lecture in Innsbruck. I will now reproduce the reduced MPJT, give the figures for the German informants (20), the Austrian informants (29) and the Italian informants (5)<sup>3</sup> and add some comments:

<sup>3</sup> All other nationalities were represented by less than 5 informants. The German informants' major is English (most of them want to become teachers of English), the Austrians' major is Interpreting and Translating (Translation Studies), four of the Italian informants major in English, one informant majors in Translation Studies.

You are temporarily working for a hotel in your home region. On its website the hotel offers different types of rooms and even gives the choice between stays with breakfast and stays without breakfast. Your specific job at the hotel is to answer all kinds of e-mails. Most of the e-mails are reservations. In the following questionnaire it is your task to evaluate the forms of the single parts of such e-mails (salutation, preliminary remark, actual reservation, thanking formula, closing formula, signature) with respect to the categories A, B and C.

### (1) Salutation

Formulation	A				B		C	
	very appropriate	rather appropriate	rather inappropriate	very inappropriate	rather common phrasing	uncommon phrasing	meaning clear	meaning unclear
<i>Dear Sir or Madam,</i>	DE: 1.78 AT: 1.59 IT: 1.60				DE: 1.00 AT: 0.93 IT: 1.00		DE: 1.00 AT: 1.00 IT: 1.00	
<i>Hello,</i>		DE: 0.55	AT: -0.17 IT: -1.00		DE: 0.44 AT: 0.23	IT: -0.50	DE: 0.89 AT: 0.62 IT: 1.00	
<i>To whom of the Hotel XYZ it may concern,</i>			DE: -0.72 AT: -0.15 IT: 0.00		DE: 0.33 IT: 0.00	AT: -0.50	DE: 0.05 AT: 0.00 IT: 0.00	

The phrase *To whom of the Hotel XYZ it may concern* was obviously based on the standard English phrase *To whom it may concern*. An expansion of the phrase which includes the addressed entity is uncommon in English, which Germans and Italians are averagely not aware of. The meaning of the phrase is obviously not clear to all informants. *Hello* is seen as rather inappropriate by Austrians and Italians, but rather appropriate by Germans. In standard English, *Hello* is definitely appropriate in the context given.

### (2.1) Actual booking request, Part 1: Reservation phrase

Formulation	A				B	
	very appropriate	rather appropriate	rather inappropriate	very inappropriate	rather common phrasing	uncommon phrasing
<i>I would like to book ...</i>		DE: 1.42 AT: 1.37 IT: 1.40			DE: 0.89 AT: 0.74 IT: 0.50	
<i>I would like to reservate ...</i>		AT: 0.74	DE: -0.52 IT: -0.25		AT: 0.13	DE: -0.37 IT: -0.20
<i>I would like to request a booking for ...</i>		DE: 1.32 AT: 1.29 IT: 0.40			DE: 0.78 AT: 0.48 IT: 1.00	

It is interesting to note that, although the word does not exist in standard English, Austrians consider the use of *reservate* as rather appropriate and rather common and by far not all Germans and Italians regard the word as inappropriate or uncommon. Furthermore, the phrase *request a booking for*, which must sound rather clumsy and unidiomatic in standard English, is seen as rather appropriate and (wrongly) considered common by all three national groups of informants.

### (2.2) Actual booking request, Part 2: Room type and date

Formulation	A				B		C	
	very appropriate	rather appropriate	rather inappropriate	very inappropriate	rather common phrasing	uncommon phrasing	meaning clear	meaning unclear

Formulation	A				B		C	
... a double room from December 25 to 27, without breakfast.	AT: 1.77	DE: 1.28 IT: 0.60			DE: 0.78 AT: 0.90 IT: 0.00		DE: 0.53 AT: 0.78 IT: 0.00	
... a double room with 2 sigles, from December 25 to 27, without breakfast.		DE: 0.24 AT: 0.37	IT: -0.75			DE: -0.65 AT: -0.41 IT: -0.00	DE: 0.06 IT: 0.60	AT: -0.06
... a twin room , from December 25 to 27, without breakfast.		DE: 0.06 AT: 0.90 IT: 0.00			AT: 0.30	DE: -0.33 IT: -1.00	DE: 0.16 AT: 0.76 IT: 0.50	

The typo in *si[n]gles* obviously does not lead a majority of the German and Austrian informants to evaluate the form as inappropriate. The word *twin room*, a standard English word for ‘room with two single beds’, is considered uncommon by all Italians and by a majority of the German informants.

### (3) Confirmation request

Formulation	A				B	
	very appropriate	rather appropriate	rather inappropriate	very inappropriate	rather common phrasing	un-common phrasing
<i>Please be so kind to confirm my reservation.</i>	IT: 1.60	DE: 0.16 AT: 0.68			IT: 0.50	DE: -0.05 AT: -0.18
<i>Please be so kind and confirm my reservation.</i>		AT: 0.22	DE: -0.26 IT: -1.00			DE: -0.47 AT: -0.22 IT: -0.50
<i>Please be so kind as to confirm my reservation.</i>		AT: 1.30 IT: 0.40	DE: -0.83		AT: 0.70	DE: -0.53 IT: -0.60
<i>I look forward to hearing from you.</i>		AT: 0.04	DE: -0.68 IT: -1.00		DE: 0.47 IT: 0.20	AT: -0.10
<i>I'm looking forward to hearing from you.</i>		AT: 0.83	DE: -0.32 IT: -0.60		DE: 0.53 AT: 0.40 IT: 0.00	
<i>I'm looking forward to hear from you.</i>			DE: -0.44 AT: -0.21 IT: -1.50		DE: 0.68	AT: -0.20 IT: -0.60

This part looks at variants of two types of phrases expressing that you expect a confirmation of your booking. The standard English expression is not *be so kind to* nor *be so kind and*, but *be so kind as to*. This, however, is considered the most appropriate only by the average Austrian informant. The average Italian considers it less appropriate than *be so kind to*, the average German even judges it as rather inappropriate. Both Italians and Germans, on the average, consider the standard English phrase as the most uncommon of the three variants. As to the second expression, the standard English variant would be *I'm looking forward to hearing...* Among the variants of this phrase, it is interesting to note that it is considered the least inappropriate by Germans and Italians, but that it is not considered the most common by Germans and Italians. The average German thinks it that *I'm looking forward to hear...* is more common, Italians think that *I look forward to hearing...* is more common; half of the Italian informants who answered this question even think that the actual standard phrase is uncommon.

### (4) Closing formula

Formulation	A				B	
	very appropriate	rather appropriate	rather inappropriate	very inappropriate	rather common phrasing	un-common phrasing
<i>Thanks in advance. Yours faithfully, ...</i>		DE: 0.06 AT: 0.73 IT: 0.60			DE: 1.00 AT: 0.26 IT: 0.33	
<i>Thanks in advance. Sincerely yours, ...</i>		DE: 0.89 AT: 0.57 IT: 1.20			DE: 1.00 AT: 0.10 IT: 0.00	
<i>Thanks in advance. Best regards, ...</i>	AT: 1.62	DE: 0.82 IT: 0.80			DE: 1.00 AT: 0.80 IT: 1.00	

In many dictionaries and style books you will find that *Yours faithfully* is used as a British valediction in formal letters where you don't know the addressee's name, *Yours sincerely* as a valediction in formal letters where you do know the addressee's name (with *Sincerely yours* as a variant in the US), and *Best regards* as a semi-formal valediction. Applied to our example, it would mean that *Sincerely yours* is the least appropriate. This is reflected by the results of the Austrian informants. However, it gets the highest rating of appropriateness by both the Italian and the German group of informants (although half of the Italian informants consider the phrase uncommon).

In sum: although more groups of informants are to be collected, this model study has already indicated that rules for communication in English differ among natives and non-natives—even if the non-natives are in highly frequent contact with English due to their profession. This difference does not only mean that non-natives may allow more variants than standard English (e.g. *be so kind to...*), but they may also regard standard native English forms as inappropriate (e.g. *be so kind as to...*). These facts should be integrated when you teach non-natives English as an international lingua franca; this should also be respected when you prepare natives to using English as a lingua franca.

## 6.2. How Do I Get More Information About Connotative Meaning?

Some of the limitations, or at least obstacles, of lingua franca communication are “hidden”. One form of hidden misunderstandings may come up due to different connotations with words of the same denotation. Learners need to be aware that different nations or social groups categorize the world in different ways. It should not surprise that the word *family*, for example, is interpreted by Americans as ‘parents + children’, by Europeans as ‘grandparents + parents + children’ and by Arabs as ‘everyone that is only remotely related to him/her’. Likewise, *old* will have positive connotation in Chinese and other Asian cultures (due to their orientation toward ancient authorities), while it will have mostly negative connotation among North Americans and Europeans (due to their orientation toward innovation). I am therefore preparing, together with colleagues from different countries, a study that is to find out, by way of a semantic differential (a method developed by Osgood/Suci/Tannenbaum 1957), to what extent selected English words, which are considered to be “hot” words, or key words, for self-identification of Europeans, trigger the same connotations among people from different European countries. Osgood/Suci/Tannenbaum had performed an analysis of many semantic differential scales and found three recurring aspects that people use to evaluate words: evaluation, potency, and activity. Evaluation loads highest on the adjective pair ‘good—bad’. The ‘strong—weak’ adjective pair defines the potency factor. The adjective pair ‘active—passive’ defines the activity factor. These three dimensions of affective meaning were found to be cross-cultural universals in a study of dozens of cultures. In addition to this, the semantic differential shall consist of a list of four opposites that go back to the universal

anthropological model by Jean-Pol Martin (1994) (“chaos-order”, “freedom-restrictions”, “individuality-community”, “emotion-reason”). All these opposites shall be designed as four-step scales (“Do you associate the word *democracy* ‘strongly with chaos’, ‘rather with chaos’, ‘rather with order’, ‘strongly with order’?” etc.). An entry looks like this:

	(1) I connect/associate ...		... <b>democracy</b> ...		
	strongly with	rather with	rather with	strongly with	
good	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	bad
strong	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	weak
active	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	passive
chaos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	order
freedom	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	restrictions
individuality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	community
emotion	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	reason

Tests with preliminary questionnaire designs (cf. Grzega in print and [http://de.wikiversity.org/wiki/Projekt:European\\_Sociolinguistics/Connotations](http://de.wikiversity.org/wiki/Projekt:European_Sociolinguistics/Connotations)) have shown that, for instance, a Hungarian informant group associated *democracy* “rather with chaos”, a Spanish informant group associated *work* “rather with emotion”, an Australian informant group associated *taxes* “rather with emotion” and “rather with individuality”. Also a group of Brazilian informants also associated *taxes* “rather with individuality”. In a questionnaire study where informants could freely fill in associations, a third of the Danish informants had positive associations with taxes (this was a much higher degree than among other nations). When I did the test with a group of 18 German informants and a group of 28 Austrian informants, there were no very prominent results, but we can mention that the Austrian group associated *democracy* “strongly with democracy”, the German group “rather with democracy” and that the Austrian group associated *work* “strongly with good” and “strongly with strong”, the German group “rather with good” and “rather with strong”. It is, of course, the juxtaposing differences that a concept of lingua franca should prepare learners for.

### 6.3. How Should We Design Self-Study Material?

The composition of material for self-educated BGE is maybe the most challenging task. Since the goal is to provide all people around the world with a tool for a relatively rapid acquisition of BGE, it may be suggested that the material consist of (1) an English book as a “necessary and sufficient” basis and (2) a book with the metalinguistic explanations of the basic book in various the learner’s language, an audio CD and an exercise CD-Rom as “luxury equipments”. The material should respect learner autonomy, the combination of transcultural and cultural information, reasonable pronunciation training, “interactivity” and “feedback”.

Marion Schöner and I try to combine transcultural words and knowledge with cultural examples through presenting the BGE words both in an isolated way and in a few cultural contexts. The section on breakfast is therefore presented like this:

### Drinks and Food



**water**



**coffee**



**tea**



**milk**



**juice**



**bread**



**sandwiches**



**eggs**



**fruits**



**vegetables**









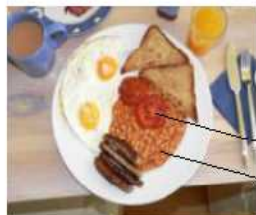


**cheese**



**honey**



This is then followed by a list of examples from various cultures (we consciously do not start with the example from a country where English is official language):

Breakfast		
 (J)		☪ tea, (coffee) ☉ soup, rice, fish, egg, vegetable
 (EU)		☪ tea, coffee, juice ☉ fruit, bread, cheese, honey, ...
 (UK)  (AUS)		☪ tea, coffee, juice ☉ bread, eggs, sausages, tomatoes, beans
 (IND)		☪ tea, milk ☉ bread, vegetables, rice

In the accompanying material for different mother tongues each English utterance shall be supplemented by a literal-formal translation and an idiomatic translation. An example for German, French and Italian

*Can I help you?*

“Kann ich helfen dich?”

‘Kann ich Ihnen helfen?’

*Can I help you?*

“Pouvoir je aider te?”

‘Puis-je t’aider?’

*Can I help you?*

“Potere io aiutare te?”

“Posso aiutarti?”

#### 6.4. How Can We Assess Intercultural and/or Transcultural Competence in English?

In 2007/08 I gave two optional courses “International Business English” at a German senior high-school (Gymnasium) in Bavaria. Participants came from grades 10 to 13, i.e. they were between 15 and 19 years old. In the first session, each group decided which countries they want to get to know in more detail. Both groups chose the US, Canada, China and Russia; in addition Group A chose Australia and Japan, Group B the UK and India. After four lessons for training basic pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary and politeness items, we started to deal with business-specific issues:

- What is the elementary business vocabulary?

- How do we greet and address people?
- How do we apply for a job?
- Why do we have to know about gestures and other forms of body-language?
- How is small talk done in business situations?
- How is “big talk” done in business situations?

In each lesson we had a look at the conversational patterns in the selected countries and tried to define conversational strategies that may work transculturally. In these summaries, the strategy of raising people’s awareness that they are in an intercultural situation and that this may cause some irritations played a salient role. But how could the competences be tested? I would like to suggest a dialog completion task, which worked pretty well for me.

The text of the test on the session on “big talk” (face-threatening acts) was as follows<sup>4</sup>:

**Complete the following dialogs in the way that seems most appropriate for you.**

1. You work for a German company that is specialized in language trips for teenagers and is now looking for a Czech language institute for cooperation. Your company has sent you to Prague. The flight was okay and so was the trip from the airport to the hotel. The food in the hotel restaurant was fine and the bed in the hotel room is comfortable, but the water in the shower is only iccold and two of the three lamps don’t work. You’ve told the hotel receptionist, but he didn’t fix it neither the evening of your arrival nor during breakfast the next morning. After breakfast, you meet your business partner, Pavel Smetana, in the hotel lobby. You introduce yourselves. Pavel seems to be a very nice guy:

Pavel: *Nice to meet you. So how was your trip? Are you satisfied with the hotel?*

You: .....

2. You work for a German company that is specialized in language trips for teenagers. You meet in Ingolstadt with representatives from other companies specializing in language trips for teenagers. Your group consists of a boy from Helsinki/Finland, a girl from Madrid/Spain, a boy from Geneva/Switzerland, a girl from Amsterdam/Netherlands and a boy from Rio/Brazil—all about five years older than you. The plan of which all participants were informed is to use the afternoon from 2 to 6 to discuss how the various companies might work together; for the evening you have organized some entertainment for the international guests. When you meet, everybody introduces themselves first. You ask your partners how their trips were; the girls from Madrid and Amsterdam, María and Mareike, as well as the boy from Rio, Paolo, have quite a lot of funny anecdotes to tell from the trip. You see that the boy from Geneva, Pierre, and the boy from Helsinki, Ville, are rather quiet, look very serious or disinterested or feel a little uncomfortable. You want them to get better involved in the conversation and so you address them directly.

You: *So your trips seemed to have been rather without any problems.*

Ville: *Yes.*

Pierre: *Yes. But I think I have some interesting ideas for teenager language trips we may want to discuss.*

María: *Hey, don’t get nervous, guys, cheer up!*

You: .....

3. You work for a German company that is specialized in language trips for teenagers. Your company is now looking for a cooperation with a Chinese company that has specialized in the same field. You meet your Chinese partner, Lili, in Eichstätt. It seems that you understand each other quite well, but the plans that your Chinese partner describes are not all what your company wants: the Chinese company wants to use your network, but doesn’t want to reveal its own network in China; the Chinese company asks for financial support in Germany, but says that it doesn’t have the financial means to support you in China. At the end, Lili offers you an exclusive way to get to know Chinese aspects that foreigners normally don’t get to know, but still it is clear that you can’t make a deal because the potential profit for your company is much too small.

Lili: *So my company thinks that this could be a fair way to start a cooperation.*

You: .....

4. You work for Berlitz, the oldest German company that is specialized in language trips for teenagers. You and a colleague, Hans, have to meet with John, the representative of a US company working in the

<sup>4</sup> For the results of the test in my own classes cf. Grzego (2008b).



same business, to see how you can start a cooperation. Hans, longer a Berlitz employee than you, does the talking and tries to illustrate John, with many details, the many successful projects in the 1960's, in the 1930's and that Berlitz' success story goes back even to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

John: *Oh, only to the nineteenth century?*

You: .....

5. You work for a German company that is specialized in language trips for teenagers. You and a colleague, Hans, have to meet with Ivan, the representative of a Russian company working in the same business, to see how you can start a cooperation. Ivan likes your presentation and would be willing to sign a contract with you, but only a very vague one. Hans fears that the Russians will not be willing to fulfil the contract if things are not written down in detail and suggests a few more concrete elements.

Ivan: *So you think these details are necessary for our cooperation contract?*

You: .....

For the evaluation of the solutions, violations against standard grammar and standard spelling affect the number of points only when empirical studies have suggested that a specific type of mistake endangers the communicative success. Apart from this, I had determined the followed grid:

Situation 1:

3p. = very good (VG) = (1) meta-cultural comment (2) positive sides as well as negative sides mentioned, but clearly without blaming the host, rather stating that the problems will surely be fixed or meta-cultural comment > gives the host the chance to take the next step himself and you a perspective to see the problem solved;

2p. = good (G) = no negative sides mentioned;

1p. = less good (LG) = (1) positive sides and negative sides mentioned, without blaming host explicitly, but also without seeing the problem being solved (> the blame is on the host implicitly, because he was the one who chose the hotel), (2) positive sides, but also negative sides mentioned, without stating explicitly what the problems are > unclear to host to what degree he is to blame for that, (3) positive sides and negatives sides mentioned explicitly, without taking the blame from the host at all, (4) positive sides and negative sides mentioned, without stating explicitly what the problems are, which leaves it unclear to the host to what degree he is to blame for that;

0p. = not good (G) = unintelligible utterance

Situation 2:

VG = giving a meta-level comment, raising awareness; giving the plan, but allowing alternatives; starting a soft transfer from small talk to big talk;

G = giving a compromise plan; have Pierre make suggestions if in the sense of having Pierre verbalize his problems more concretely;

LG = rejecting one person, although you give alternatives or although you say that the person's utterance was interesting/justified, or siding with one person;

B = (1) rejecting one person and siding with the other person, (2) unintelligible utterance

Situation 3:

VG = "thank you" + decision delegated to another person, openness/possibility for a change in conditions;

G = decision delegated to another person; "sorry", "but"; need for further discussion announced;

LG = yes/positive things + "but not this way", yes/positive things + "but we will HAVE TO change this";

NG = "I don't think so", "I disagree"

Situation 4:

VG = meta-cultural explanation of time concepts + talking about recent successes and further ideas for the future;

G = talking about recent successes, future with US company;

LG = (1) saying that future is also important without concrete facts, focussing of the profit over that long period without reference to the present/future, (2) saying that the past is not so important > face-threatening for Hans, (3) focus on the circumstances of past's success;

NG = (1) asking for US company's past, (2) unintelligible utterance

Situation 5:

VG = meta-level comment + putting the blame on the company/law + showing openness for suggestions;

G = putting the blame on oneself or on one's company; showing openness for suggestions; emphasizing that the contract should show the Russians' rights;

LG = it's my boss's wish/the tradition/important – period!;

NG = to avoid problems/to avoid quarrels/past has taught us > indicates the relationship (or a relationship with Russians) can't be trusted; this or that may be left out > face-threatening for colleague

Teachers may then define three levels of competence:

- high = 15-10 points
- medium = 9-5 points
- low = 4-0 points

## 7. Summary and Outlook

It has been shown that English as a lingua franca is more than thinking about the construction of a vocabulary. It has its own rules also in the use of words. The idea of Basic Global English and still unsatisfied desires related to transcultural and intercultural communication shows that onomasiology and linguistics in general can help improve the quality and quantity of the flow of information and the formation of knowledge. That is what I understand by socioeconomic linguistics and by applied eurolinguistics (cf. Grzega in print).

Every teacher of English as a foreign language is warmly invited to try out BGE and my concepts of Advanced Global English, to participate in one of the projects (<http://www.basicglobalenglish.com>) and to ask questions and discuss experiences on the discussion forum of *EuroLinguistiX* (ELiX) at <http://www.eurolinguistix.com>.

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## HOW ONOMASIOLOGISTS CAN HELP WITH CONTRIBUTING TO WIKIPEDIA

### Abstract

In this article Wikipedia is presented as the most important everyday venue for knowledge management. The three different main styles are described: namely the ones of articles, article talk pages and user pages. Then several aspects are commented on from an onomasiologist's perspective: (1) content management on talk pages (e.g. thematic structures should be preferred over linear structures), (2) evaluation of cited sources (e.g. authors should be experts, results should have appeared in acknowledged venues, facts and opinions should be distinguished), (3) expert-layperson communication (e.g. different types of definitions including the use of examples should be used, jargon can be used if explained, contents should be structured from the general to the specific, description instead of evaluation should be used), (4) linking (including setting links to one's own article in other articles) and (5) categorizing into conceptual fields. Examples are taken from the English version of Wikipedia, but generalizable to other versions as well. The final section of the paper gives a few ideas for integrating the observations of the article into high-school and university education: In every subject students should be encouraged to practice expert-novice communication through collaborating in Wikipedia; students are offered guidelines on contributing (to) articles (e.g. concerning the creation and understanding of definitions, text structure, jargon, neutral point of view, linking and categorizing) and guidelines on contributing to talk pages (e.g. the use of an "integrative style", which aims at achieving consensus between contributors and not at having administrators decide on the content of articles).

### 1. Introductory Remarks

Although the 16<sup>th</sup> volume of the internationally renowned series *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* (Brinker et al. 2000-2001) offers a broad-ranged overview of aspects of text and discourse analysis, one specific context could not be covered as it didn't exist yet in the volume's publishing year: the Internet encyclopedia Wikipedia (<http://www.wikipedia.org>)<sup>1</sup>. *Wikipedia* is a blend of Hawaiian *wiki* 'fast' and the English *encyclopedia* and is the name of the largest and most popular encyclopedia with free on-line access for both contributors<sup>3</sup> and readers (<http://www.wikipedia.org>). It was initiated by Jimbo Wales and Larry Sanger on 15 January 2001 as a parallel on-line encyclopedia to Nupedia, which was to feature articles written and reviewed by academic experts. While the idea of Nupedia failed due to the slowness of the process the experts were traditionally used to, Wikipedia has become more and more increasing in size and in popularity. Today there are Wikipedia versions in over 200 languages and dialects, with the English version being the largest one (with over 1,087,000 articles on 19 April 2006). More and more people find

<sup>1</sup> All internet pages referred to in this article were visited on April 19, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Studies that deal specifically with Wikipedia are listed and continually updated on <http://wikibib.pbwiki.com> and [http://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Wiki\\_Research\\_Bibliography](http://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Wiki_Research_Bibliography) or <http://bibliography.wikimedia.de/index.php>.

<sup>3</sup> The basic concept is called a wiki technology, which was developed by Ward Cunningham (Cunningham/Leuf 2001). This server-side technology allows users to produce instant updates of a web page via a web interface. All pages (except for a few administrator-protected ones) have an "edit" view with a text field containing the page's contents. The user can edit this text and submit a new version that immediately replaces the older one. The older one, in turn, is still stored on a "history" subpage. This protects a page from permanent harm. Users have the option of registering, and their contributions will then be served under their profiles. On a discussion subpage you can add comments; the structure of the discussion subpage resembles the thread of a discussion forum and is mostly used in a linear and chronological manner (although it would be possible to delete and supplement any part of this subpage as in editing the main page).

interest in contributing to Wikipedia and thus become experts who want to present, and have to think about how to present, their knowledge to a large audience. Moreover, several offspring projects have developed, such as Wiktionary, Wikibooks and Wikisources.

In this article I would like to show the various styles requested when contributing to Wikipedia, the respective hints and instructions that Wikipedia offers and a few remarks from an onomasiologist's perspective as language is the most basic tool for knowledge management<sup>4</sup>. Since Wikipedia means, as I have already said, that more and more people, as Wikipedia authors, become experts who want to offer their knowledge to an audience that also consists of non-experts, this kind of expert-layperson communication should also be trained at school and university—a few curricular suggestions are listed in the final section of the paper. Again, everything quoted or observed concretely refers to the English Wikipedia, but can well be generalized for every language version of Wikipedia.

## 2. The General Features of Wikipedia

The features of Wikipedia partly differ in the single language versions. But here are some of the Wikipedia minimum features offered to the **reader**:

- search for an article
- search for a keyword (in articles or article headlines)
- random article search
- history of article versions
- listing of articles in alphabetical order
- link to all articles, ordered according to categories, subcategories and alphabet, automatically generated if an editor has written the respective Category<sup>5</sup> label into an article
- Portals (= pages intended to serve as superordinate pages for specific topic areas which normally list article links in a structured way)
- list of pages that have put a link to the article currently selected
- thematically ordered help areas where readers could ask any question they may not find answered in an article (called Reference Desks)
- possibility of getting to know something about a contributor if s/he's put up a user page
- Wikipedia-internal links within an article
- Wikipedia-external links and list of printed works within an article
- links to the corresponding article in other language versions of Wikipedia
- list of awarded articles (excellent articles and good articles)
- note within an article page that shows that the page has been elected as an excellent article (feature article) or a good article
- a printable version of each page
- a news box
- the possibility of setting up a user page

Practically, anybody from anywhere in the world can participate in any Wikipedia version. In other words, Wikipedia is built by people who may be accustomed to very different conversational rules. This means that certain conversational agreements have to be set for Wikipedia. In the context of Wikipedia—we might even speak of Wikipedia culture—there are three basic subcontexts, which also require three different styles:

- Article pages
- article discussion pages (also called Talk pages)

<sup>4</sup> The aspects influencing the efficiency of language as a tool for referential goals has been illustrated in a state-of-the-art article by Schnotz/Heiss (2004).

<sup>5</sup> Whenever I use non-standard capitalization with *Category* etc., I refer to Wikipedia entities.

- User pages (including the User talk pages)

### 3. Remarks and Recommendations from an Onomasiologist's Perspective

Reagle (2004) states: “Wikipedia, either purposefully or accidentally, reflects many findings in the literature on how to encourage productive interdependent collaboration”. This is because the guidelines themselves are the result of collective discussions. Indeed, Wikipedia gives a lot of advice on aspects to be respected when contributing to Wikipedia. Unfortunately, they are a bit scattered over various pages: “Wikipedia:List of guidelines”, “Wikipedia:Five pillars”, “Wikipedia:Policies and guidelines”, “Wikipedia:List of policies”, “Wikipedia:Manual of Style”, “Wikipedia:Guide to writing better articles”, and “Wikipedia:User page”.

I will try to collect and epitomize the most important linguistic aspects, by beginning with the style advisable for User pages, as they are the easiest ones to master, and continuing with the styles for articles and for discussion pages.

#### 3.1. The Style of User pages

Wikipedia administrators give users a lot of freedom to create their “public private” pages as long as they present things that are relevant to their Wikipedia work and don't misuse it as homepages and as long as they don't violate copyright rules and politeness rules. Although technically possible, it is expected that others don't edit one's user page.

Indeed, if you select a number of user pages by random choice, you will find a high degree of stylistic variation, ranging from very formal user pages illustrating the user's different experiences, interests and goals to cryptic user pages that only include the main contact data to user pages that are sometimes in part very informal and even include humor and irony. This variety is encouraged and there are no stylistic requirements that would be difficult to achieve by an author. But, in my view, it is advisable that you make clear on your user page what your fields of expertise are since, according to a study, “[a] small sample of frequent Wikipedia users said that they rely on authorship information when browsing the RecentChanges page or the history page of a specific Wikipedia article” (Viégas/Wattenberg/Dave 2004: 580).

#### 3.2. The Style of Articles

Every Wikipedia article resembles an article from an encyclopedia, every article has a reader-friendly layout and every article looks the same, features that actually contribute to its reader-friendliness (cf. Bucher 2002: 13<sup>6</sup>). It seems that Internet articles have to be organized with more care than printed articles in order to achieve credibility. Wittwer/Bromme/Jucks (2004), in a contrastive study on medical information, have found out that information presented in a printed magazine, independent of the form, was rated significantly more credible than the same information on the Internet. Surprising result: while magazine information with illustrations were judged still more credible, the addition of hyperlinks to the Internet information had no influence on their evaluation—which stands in contrast to Morkes and Nielsen's findings (1997). With two contradictory results, the safer side is to incorporate links.

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<sup>6</sup> Bucher writes: “For most of the users the new media is full of surprise so that it is more economical [sic! instead of: economic] to meet their ‘scripts’ than to present them another surprise. The more similar a website is to this prototype the higher the usability rating by the audience in the reported test.”

Apart from a number of lay-out conventions, we can list the following guidelines that include the use of language and text organization. The content-focussed guidelines include these policies:

- Avoid statements that die quickly (which includes wordings such as *this year*).
- Check your facts. Include only verifiable information. Cite acknowledged sources.
- “Avoid blanket terms unless you have verified them. For example, the Montgomery County article states that of the 18 Montgomery Counties in the United States, **most** are named after Richard Montgomery. This is a blanket statement. It may very well be, but is it reliable?”<sup>7</sup> and “Avoid peacock terms that show off the subject of the article without containing any real information [e.g. *an important...*, *the most influential...*]. Similarly, avoid weasel words that offer an opinion without really backing it up, and which are really used to express a non-neutral point of view [e.g. *Some people say...*, *...is widely regarded as...*].” Authors should not **say** that something is important, but **show** that something is important. And if “you wish to refer to an opinion, first make sure it is given by someone who holds some standing in that subject.”
- Neutral-Point-of-View policy: “A misunderstood notion about Wikipedia is that much contention arises from its Neutral Point of View (NPOV) policy [...]: that debates arise from this seemingly impossible requirement to remain objectively neutral. Yet, the NPOV policy is quite the opposite and instead recognizes the multitude of viewpoints and provides an epistemic stance in which they all can be recognized as instances of human knowledge—right or wrong. The NPOV policy seeks to achieve the ‘fair’ representation of all sides of the dispute such that all can feel well represented” (Reagle 2004). This particular policy, together with the requirement for indicating sources, actually better promotes transparency of academic research than selectively working mass media, which is also emphasized by Kohl/Liebert (e.g. 2004).
- No-Original-Research policy<sup>8</sup>

The linguistic aspects are covered by the following guidelines:

- Avoid inappropriate expressions.
- “Where varieties of English differ over a certain word or phrase, try to find an alternative that is common to both”.
- “spell out the acronym or abbreviation on the first reference (wikilinked if appropriate) and then show the acronym or abbreviation after it”.
- “Where possible, avoid using jargon. But again, consider the reader. An article entitled ‘Use of chromatic scales in early Baroque music’ is likely to be read by musicians, and so technical details and metalanguage, linked to articles explaining the metalanguage, are appropriate. [...] If any jargon is used, a brief explanation should be given the article itself.” Indeed, it seems appropriate to distinguish between articles for experts and articles for novices. But even with experts you have to reflect on whether technical terms and concepts might be different in other “schools”.
- “Use short sentences and lists.”

As far as text structure is concerned, the following items are relevant:

- “An article should begin with a good definition or a clear description of the topic.” (However: what is a good definition? On this see Section 4.2).
- For the structure of an article summary style is advised: “some readers need just a quick summary (lead section); more people need a moderate amount of info (a set of multi-paragraph section); and yet others need a lot of detail (links to full-sized separate articles)”. Thus starting with a conclusion is a very reader-friendly element: Morkes/Nielsen (1997)

<sup>7</sup> This quote and all others from Wikipedia [i.e. those quotes that are not supplemented by a specific source from the list of references] date from April 19, 2006.

<sup>8</sup> This policy appears strange with respect to knowledge distribution. What’s the danger as long as a neutral point of view is respected and as long as the original research is also published in an academic venue?



call this the “inverted pyramid style”.

- Lead section: “It should establish significances, large implications and *why we should care*.” The first sentence: “If the subject is amenable to definition, the first sentence should give a concise, conceptually sound definition that puts the article in context.” The rest: “Then proceed with a description. The definition should be as clear to the nonspecialist as the subject matter allows. If the article is long (more than one page), the remainder of the opening paragraph should summarize it.”
- Paragraphs should contain one main idea.
- Build the web: Link articles sideways to other articles, and upwards to Categories (i.e. thematic fields that you can create by using the tag “[[Category:...]]”; they are similar to links: however, they don’t lead to other articles, but to a list of all elements provided with the same Category tag). Choose appropriate grouping techniques: categories, lists, series boxes.
- It is also recommended to avoid profanity. (We should admit, though, that profanity is a subjective notion).
- At the end: “Consider the legibility of what you are writing. Make your entry easy to read on a screen. Make judicious use of devices such as bulleted lists and bolding.”
- “Make omissions explicit.”

Morkes/Nielsen (1997) also state that meaningful subheadings should be used in web-publishing, not “clever” ones—a style that Wikipedians prefer, too. As a matter of fact, they say that a text for the web should be concise (with regard to the contents), scannable (with regard to the layout) and objective (with regard to the tone).

### 3.3. The Style on Discussion Pages

On various general pages readers are encouraged to respect the “Wikipetiquette”, which means:

- to sign posts on Talk pages
- to state a point, but not to prove it by spamming Wikipedia
- to avoid sweeping generalizations
- to concede a point when there is no response to it
- to admit when something has been based on intuition or taste
- to respect fellow Wikipedians’ opinions
- to be careful to avoid offending people unintentionally
- to avoid personal attacks, especially to refrain from wiki-stalking people
- to assume good faith of others and to refrain from biting newcomers
- to be prepared to apologize, to forgive and to forget
- to discourage others from being uncivil
- to stay cool when the editing gets hot
- to resolve disputes on Talk pages

If there are any problems, especially with the last two items, mediation is available if needed and asked for. If such serious conflicts occur, they are predominantly connected with questions of content. Sometimes some editors/authors may feel that an entire article should be deleted. This can only be done by an administrator, but it is a rule that the deletion of an article is preceded by a consensus-forming process consisting of three steps and a waiting period of a week. There is also an undeletion policy that allows a deleted articles to be undeleted by any administrator. If this is controversial (or if a non-administrator wishes something undeleted) this is discussed at the Deletion review board.

All in all, these are very unusual rules of communication compared to other communicative styles in the world. In his classical work on communicative styles, Hall (1976) makes a basic

distinction between “low context” communication (i.e. direct style, person-oriented, self-projection, loquacity) and “high context” communication (i.e. indirect style, status-oriented, reservation, silence). Others, such as Oetzel (1995) and Slembek (1998: 32ff.), have added a third type, namely the “integrative conflict style”, i.e. a strategy where members value group goals higher than private goals, where they ban personal conflicts and where every participant in a conversation can equally utter his or her ideas and opinions—an integration of both topic and person. The style agreed on for Wikipedia Talk pages mainly resembles this integrative conflict style. However, if a conflict can simply not be resolved, an administrator will block an article or decide on an issue.

As regards text structure, Talk pages are often continued in a linear way like many discussion forums. This has one criticizable aspect that we know from discussion forums, where “it is common that the same topics are discussed repeatedly, with long-time members complaining about newbies never reading the archives” (Wagner/Bolloju [in print]). The same can be observed in Wikipedia.

#### 4. Onomasiological Views on Contributing to Knowledge Presentation and Management

##### 4.1. Debating Articles: Content Management on Talk Pages

Let us briefly come back to the observation that the Talk pages are often written in a linear way instead of a thematical way. It is certainly not entirely avoidable that people simply add their question or comment on the bottom of a talk page without checking whether the topic was already dealt with before and then simply wait and see if others reply. Nevertheless, it might be advisable to encourage users to look at the rest of the talk page first and make additions where the relevant issue is already mentioned—the “search” function for a webpage, the “table of contents” feature of structured pages and the fact that users are informed of changes when the talk page is on their personal watchlists, whose versions are directly contrastable, facilitate this way of knowledge management for both writers and readers.

As I have said above, the “integrative conflict style” has been revealed to be the most successful practice for groups, or communities and it is blatantly the favored strategy in Wikipedia even if there is a voting process if consensus cannot be reached otherwise. However, such a voting process is really seen as the last possible means. On the Talk page of the article “Frank Sinatra”, for instance, a discussion on whether remarks on Sinatra’s alleged connection with organized crime should be included in a section has already been going on since 9 May 2005 when on 26 July 2005 contributor Mike suggests, “I think the proper process would be to initiate a vote for deletion for that section”. Another contributor, however, says: “a vote is not a satisfactory way of resolving these kinds of issues because it does not work towards achieving consensus”. The vast majority of Wikipedia editors is really interested in respectful collaborative writing and willing to help out people. Thus, apart from the conversational rule “be prepared to apologize, to forgive and to forget”, there should also be a rule “thank others for their help”. This will also keep others willing to support you in the future.

##### 4.2. The Evaluation of Cited Sources

Two quite frequent problems that I’ve detected as a source for debate on Talk pages are the confusion of facts and opinions and the value of cited sources in general. A perfect instance is the discussion on the Talk page of the article on the 19<sup>th</sup> century philologist and Sanskrit

expert Max Müller. The question discussed is whether Müller was a racist (postulating a supreme Aryan race) or not. The debate is going on between an Indian and two westerners. Maybe due to cultural difference, the Indian contributor, Shivraj Singh, does not seem to understand the type of source that is required for labelling a person a racist. He writes (18 January 2006), “Majority Indians believe”, which Lukas (19 January 2006) comments with “Irrelevant. I asked you whether some **reputed historian** writes somewhere in the **scholarly literature**”; Shivraj Singh adds a bunch of other sources, among them Stephen Krapp and Ivanka Kovacevic, which Lukas (19 and 31 January 2006) comments as follows: “Who is Stephen Krapp? [...] This is not a peer-reviewed or otherwise reputable academic source” and “Kovacevic is not an expert; she is an entirely unnotable literary critic who once wrote a dissertation or something about English novels and now seems to be teaching Croatian literature somewhere”. In addition to that, Shivraj Singh, does not simply summarize the assertions in the sources he cites, but interprets them. Lukas explains: “what you write above, about Oppenheimer and DNA and whatnot [sic!], again concerns the question whether Muller [sic!] was, in hindsight, factually right; not the question of why he wrote what he wrote at the time” and “You claimed Klostermüller [i.e. one of Shivraj Singh’s sources] said that Müller was a racist; I showed you that Klostermüller does not say that Müller **was** a racist. Get it, finally? Whether Müller in fact was a racist is an entirely different question.” [all emphasis in the original]. Also on the Talk page of the article on “Frank Sinatra” we can read (comment by Aucociscokid, no date), “Most of the sources you cite are news reports of one sort or another which are well known for more often reporting innuendo rather than facts. Another way of putting is: Just ‘cause its in a newspaper or on TV, don’t make it a fact.” From an onomasiologist’s viewpoint, the safest way in all these instances is to include a phrase such as “According to Source S, A is Z” in the sentence itself instead of writing “A is Z (Source S)”, since the first rendition makes the declarative sentence rather an opinion or Source S’s perspective than a statement that also appears in source S.

### 4.3. Expert-Layperson Communication

Unfortunately, the Wikipedia guideline pages do not really dwell on a number of specific linguistic requirements in connection with expert-layperson communication. One fundamental fact that contributors should be aware of is that language is actually just a tool to represent the extralinguistic world. Like in traditional encyclopedias, many definitions begin with “x is Z” instead of, more appropriately, “x denotes Z”, “x refers to Z” “x is a word for Z” or “x is a designation for Z”. Even if you see “x is Z” is an abbreviation for the longer renditions, the latter may still lead to a better sensitivity for the average contributor and reader, e.g. “*dialect* is a designation for (a) a regional variety of language, (b) a non-standard variety of a language, (c) a (standard or non-standard) variety of a language”. Also of note, it is vital to keep in mind that words may be used differently: first, in contrasting expert language and everyday language, second, in contrasting expert languages, or varieties with each other. Example: In some linguistic schools *morpheme* is used to denote ‘smallest linguistic unit carrying meaning, in others it is used to denote ‘smallest linguistic unit carrying grammatical meaning’.

Moreover, the different uses reflect the differences in “framing” the world. Different speech groups categorize the world differently. Experts should anticipate these differences between expert and lay concepts. For improving knowledge representation and the comprehension of expert concepts, experts should attempt to resort to generally understandable words and telling metaphors, good examples and relations to everyday knowledge, everyday concepts and everyday life<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> The improvement of expert-layperson communication has been the focus of several recent works by psychologist Rainer Bromme and his team, some of which are listed in the References section. Among

In the case that someone adds something to an already existing article, they should first check the definition to see whether they refer to the same concept. Such a hint, essential for collaborative writing, should be included in the guidelines, as this brief definition check seems not always be done by collaborators—and this neglect may even go unnoticed. If we have a look at the beginning section of the entry “dialect”, we read: “A dialect (from the Greek word *διάλεκτος*, *dialektos*) is a variety of a language used by people from a particular geographic area. [...]. The concept of dialects can be distinguished from sociolects [...], standard languages [...], jargons [...] and slang.” Although *dialect* is explicitly separated from *standard languages* in this last sentence, the second sentence after this one puts them together by saying: “Standard and non-standard dialects: A standard dialect [...] is a dialect that is supported by institutions.” This should be resolved by listing, at the beginning of an entry, the various wider and narrower definitions and then stating what the basic definition for the article should be. Again, all contributors should know what concept they are adding information to.

Concerning definitions, we can, in principle, distinguish between the following types (cf. Roelcke 2001):

(a) Aristotelian definitions	i.e. genus proximum plus differentia specifica	e.g. “A blend is type of word-formation that is the result of crossing two words.”
(b) explicatory definition	i.e. enumeration of [stereo-]typical features	e.g. “Blends are crossings of words; they are a modern type of word-formation often used for modern phenomena.”
(c) exemplary definition	i.e. enumeration of particularly typical examples	e.g. “Blends are, for example, <i>smog</i> (< <i>smoke</i> + <i>fog</i> ) and <i>brunch</i> (< <i>breakfast</i> + <i>lunch</i> ).”
(d) synonymic definition	i.e. giving synonyms	e.g. “Blends are also known as <i>word contaminations</i> .”
(e) operational/genetic definition	i.e. description of the process of how the definiendum can be produced or found out	e.g. “You create a blend by sticking the initial section of one word and the final section of another word together.”

The incorporation of prototype, frame and script semantic aspects in definitions may also be helpful in expert-novice communication (cf. Roelcke 2001: 61). As for definition type (c) we may especially think of prototypical members; actually, however, there is a better understanding of a category if peripheral members are included as well (provided they are marked as such). Thus, an exemplary definition of *bird* could read: “Typical examples of birds, in North America and Europe, are the robin and the sparrow; a less typical example is the penguin.” Such aspects can also be integrated in explicatory definition, e.g. “Birds lay eggs and they normally fly (also this is not a necessary feature).”

Another rule that calls for a comment is that users are encouraged to avoid jargon. But we could take another stand: it is not necessary to avoid jargon, but it is necessary to explain jargon. This stands in contrast to one of Wikipedia’s guidelines. But avoiding jargon actually means to keep the novice away from (technical) knowledge instead of making him or her

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linguists, Gerd Antos and Sigurd Wichter have initiated a specific sub-branch of linguistics which focusses on knowledge transfer and which they therefore term *transfer science* (see the book series, initiated by Antos/Wichter in 2001 with its recent volume by Antos/Weber 2005).

familiar with it (cf. also Kalverkämper 1996, Göpferich 1998: 895f.). Furthermore, contributors must see that not only the term in question is understood, but also that other technical terms are sufficiently clear (cf. Jahr 2001: 247).

In addition to that, contributors must pay attention to another problem. Schnotz (1984: 106; 2000) found out that in the description of complex subjects authors tend to proceed from the general aspects to the details without explaining the overall frame on the general, superordinate level. This makes the formation of coherence more difficult. Besides, Jahr (2001: 249) underlines that examples should not be given exaggerated space in comparison to generalizing descriptions.

With respect to text comprehensibility in general, there have meanwhile been carried out a number of studies (cf. Göpferich [1998] for a research overview of the English-speaking and the German-speaking world, Nelson [1989] for an overview of research in America, and Kintsch [1998] for a language-independent concept of text comprehension). Nelson (1989) observes that about fifty readability formulas have been developed, but: “Current knowledge about the reading process has not had a great impact on readability formulas, which do not consider such important aspects of the text as organization connectedness, and density of content; nor do they consider the actual processing demands on readers”. And she continues: “Studies show that shortening sentences does not necessarily improve comprehension [...] and can even make reading more difficult [...]. When a sentence is divided, the connective words may be omitted and the inferencing burden increased. Substituting short words for longer, more precise words can result in a less informative text [...], thereby possibly causing the reader more difficulty in constructing meaning”. And she concludes: “Because of the complexity of the reading process, valid measures of readability may never be simple.” But it can at least be attempted to pay attention to as many aspects as possible. According to Groeben (1982), who does include connectedness in his model, a medium redundancy serves comprehension best<sup>10</sup>.

#### 4.4. Links

Wikipedia wants collaborators to build a web and therefore encourages everybody to set internal links, i.e. links to other Wikipedia articles. But is every link really necessary? Is it really necessary to link the words *journalist* and *author* when the author of a book and his profession are mentioned? Doesn't a reader know what journalists and authors are? And is it really necessary to link *wife* (the link actually leads to the entry *marriage*)? Tests will have to show whether we can sometimes even speak of “over-linking”, with negative impressions on the reader.

Some Wikipedians have specialized on setting links in articles. But another element of building the web has been overlooked so far by Wikipedia. Even if they are “link-setting specialists”, what these specialists do not do and what authors themselves are responsible for is that they should see that their article is linked in the entries that are entered as links in their article. I myself, for instance, started the Wikipedia entries for “onomasiology” and “eurolinguistics”. Within a few minutes only somebody had added links to other Wikipedia entries and “Onomasiology is a branch of lexicology” was changed into “Onomasiology is a branch of lexicology” and “Eurolinguistics deals with the languages of Europe” was changed into “Eurolinguistics deals with the languages of Europe”. However, what I had to do myself

<sup>10</sup> Here mention should be made of Groeben's observation that maximization of text comprehensibility does not automatically lead to optimal memorization of the contents; memorization is rather increased (together with curiosity) if a medium degree of comprehensibility is reached.

—and this is part of building a web, too—was to enter a linked remark on onomasiology in the entry “lexicology” and a linked remark on eurolinguistics in the entry “Europe”.

#### 4.5. Categories

As I’ve already pointed out, a Wikipedia Category tag is similar to a link, with the difference that it doesn’t lead to other articles, but to a list of all elements that have been marked with the same Category tag. The Category tags appear at the end of an article. The way categorizing is carried out also calls for some remarks. I’ve selected 12 random articles as a mini-corpus (in order of appearance in the selection process, all viewed on 19 April 2006):

- Jolanta Dičkutė
- 99 Precepts for Opening Hearts, Minds and Doors in the Muslim World
- Rokushko
- Norlane, Victoria
- Hagecius (crater)
- Index calculus algorithm
- Billy Strange
- Pierre Mauroy
- Julius Scriba
- List of Hungarian language radio stations
- Au, Austria
- Eugénie de Montijo

I then checked their attribution to Categories. There were 65 categorizations.

Sometimes Categories already exist when a new article is being created. In this case, articles are linked to already existing Categories in their second version on the average (including the fact that in 14 instances, a Category was attached to an article in its very first version). In other words: a categorization was carried out after 43 days, 8 hours and 59 minutes on the average. Quite fast, one might say—and indeed some Wikipedians have specialized on categorizing articles. On the other hand the slowest attributions to a Category that had already existed at the creation of an article happened after 7 months, 5 days, 13 hours and 11 minutes (three times).

Sometimes Categories are younger than the creation of an article. Then the attribution in our corpus follows, on the average, 59 days, 4 hours and 52 minutes after the Category’s creation. The fastest one was with the creation of the Category (cases of 0, 3, 4 and 7 minutes), the slowest was after 1 year, 17 days, 11 hours and 45 minutes. One entry, “Rokusho”, is still not labelled with a Category at all nearly eleven months after its creation (possible Categories would have been Chemistry, Chemical compounds or Japan). In 8 instances, an article was attributed to a non-existent Category. And many entries still lack the classification into relevant existent Categories, e.g. “Jolanta Dičkutė” into the Category “Living people” or “Rokushko” into the Category “Chemical compounds”—“Rokushko”, as I’ve already mentioned, isn’t categorized into anything at all.

As a consequence, it should be more highlighted that every initiator of an article should feel responsible for assigning his or her article to already existing Categories (or, if applicable, create a new Category). This should become some sort of automatism. At best, a separate category-blank or a reminder is reserved below the editing screen of the “Edit” modus.

From an onomasiological viewpoint, it is also advisable that authors/editors do not delete superordinate Categories when they enter a Subcategory. Thus, we have the strange fact that “Billy Strange” is listed in the Subcategory “American actors”, but not in the Category

“Actors”, while “Pat Corley” is listed only in the Category “Actors”, but not in the Subcategory “American actors”. After “Billy Strange” was classified into the Category “People from Long Beach, California” the Category “People from California” should not have been deleted; and adding the Category “American male singers” should not have detained editors from adding also the Categories “American singers” and “Singers”. The reason is that a Category page does not automatically process the entries from its Subcategories into the actual alphabetical list of elements of the main Category. Something that the Wiki technicians might still add is some type of Subcategory-into-Category generator. But while the alphabetical list of a superordinate Category could still be supplemented by checking the Subcategories, it is even more reader-unfriendly if some items are only in the more general Category, but are not listed in a corresponding Subcategory. For instance, “Leibnitz”, a city in the Austrian region of Styria, is put into the Subcategory “Cities and towns in Styria”. When you click this Subcategory, however, you don’t find Styria’s capital, Graz. The page “Cities and towns in Styria” refer the user to two other Categories: first, “Styria”, where you don’t find “Graz” either, second, “Cities and towns in Austria”, where you finally do find “Graz”. Therefore, if you’re looking for cities and towns in Styria you concomitantly have to check every single item from the larger Category “Cities and towns in Austria”.

Contributors should also make sure that they create reasonable Categories: Instead of “all comedies by Shakespeare” these items should better be put under the article “Shakespeare” or a Category “Shakespeare”. However, it would really be tough and endless work to create Categories for all comedies from the 17<sup>th</sup> century by English authors and the like. Here an automatic intersection finder would be helpful that would enable to find all items with the features: “Category: Comedy”  $\cap$  “Category: 17<sup>th</sup> century”  $\cap$  “Category: works by English authors”.

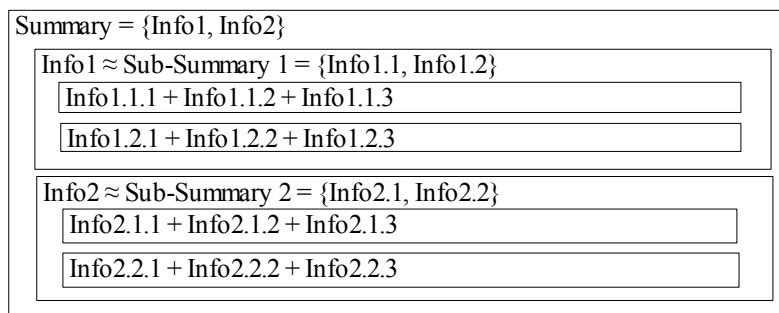
There is another problem with Categories, the problem of which Portal (or major category) to put Categories or disciplines into. Let us take linguistics as an example: Linguistics fits equally well into the History, Culture, Society, and Science portals. It seems unfortunate to put it only into one Portal (or major category). Either “linguistics” is put in various portals—or the linguistic subdisciplines (e.g. Syntax under Science, Sociolinguistics under Society and History) and so on.

## 5. Summary: Practising Knowledge Management in Wikipedia

Since Wikipedia becomes more and more important as a source of information, it should also play a role in education. To prepare new Wikipedia contributors they might of course be referred to articles elected as “excellent” and “good”. Yet the best way to acquire Wikipedia competence is to have learners practice writing articles themselves, to have them try out how they could best explain something they consider themselves experts for to a lay audience<sup>11</sup>. If someone wants to occupy fields, i.e. a specific article, in the Wikipedia, he or she might of course start the article with an unelaborate explanation (called *stub*), but, as Viégas/Wattenberg/Dave’s study suggests, a more expanded article should quickly be worked out: “One pattern we call *first-mover advantage*. The initial text of a page tends to survive longer and tends to suffer fewer modifications than later contributions to the same page. Our hypothesis is that the first person to create a page generally sets the tone of the article on that page and, therefore, their text usually has the highest survival rate” (Viégas/Wattenberg/Dave 2004: 580f.). Therefore, a few guidelines on how to write articles may be given to the Wikipedia novice. As for the onomasiological aspects, these elements may be:

<sup>11</sup> On this cf. also the didactic model *Learning by Teaching* (e.g. Grzegza 2005).

- (1) **Start your article with a definition** of the term. Remember that terms only stand for things<sub>a</sub>, but are not the things themselves. Therefore, a term may be used in different ways by different people. If there are several definitions<sub>b</sub>, you should include them. If applicable and possible, the definition should include an explanation of the concept a term stands for by connecting it to a superordinate term/concept and given the features that separate your concept from other concept belonging to the same superordinate one<sub>c</sub>, (stereo)typical features<sub>d</sub>, typical examples<sub>e</sub> and less typical examples<sub>f</sub>, the method for determining or creating the concept<sub>g</sub> and synonyms<sub>h</sub> beside the term in question. Example of a definition that encompasses all these aspects: “*Blend* is the term for<sub>a</sub> a type of word-formation<sub>b</sub> that is a crossing of two words; you normally get a blend by sticking an initial section of one word and a final section of another word together<sub>g</sub>. Examples are *smog<sub>e</sub>* (< *smoke* + *fog*), *brunch<sub>e</sub>* (*breakfast* + *lunch*) or, less typically, *motel<sub>f</sub>* (*motor* + *hotel*, with an “overlapping” element o). This type of word-formation is comparatively new and mostly, though not always, used with modern phenomena or events<sub>d</sub>. Some linguists use *blend* also to include coinages such as *Monicagate*, where the second part is not the final section of a word, but an entire word<sub>b</sub>. Synonyms are: *blending* and *contamination<sub>h</sub>*.”
- (2) You should structure your article in a way that you lead the reader **from the general to the specific**, so that you reach a structure like this:



This from-general-to-specific structure should be reflected in the layout, too: Article > Sections > Paragraphs > Sentences.

- (3) Don't be afraid of using jargon, but make sure that you also **explain all the technical terms and the concepts** they stand for.
- (4) Use images, bulleted lists and examples to support your explanations. But **don't write entire passages or sections on just one example**—no matter whether it is a typical or an atypical example; this would shift the focus too much away from the article term itself.
- (5) If there are several stands on an issue, **don't quote just one side, but quote all sides** (“**Neutral Point of View Policy (NPOV)**”). If you quote statements, use a phrase such as “According to X, ...”. For academic issues you should quote only studies by professionals which are articles in peer-reviewed journals, doctoral or post-doctoral dissertations or monographs from an academic book series. Don't present opinions as facts.
- (6) **Describe**, don't evaluate or judge. Don't say that something is important. **Show that something is important.**
- (7) Put a **link** on important words. At the end classify your article into relevant existent (**sub**)categories and/or create a new (sub)category.
- (8) **Incorporate your term into thematically connected articles** and put a link



on your term. Only this way your article becomes connected in other articles and more people will find the way to your contribution.

- (9) Whenever you add something to an already existing article, **make sure that your additional piece of information conforms with the definition given.** If need be, supplement the already existing definition with an additional definition.
- (10) Whenever you change something in an already existing article or delete from it, **make sure that the original contribution's author doesn't feel offended.**

Comments on articles should be made on the corresponding Talk page. When you communicate on a talk page you should respect the following rules:

- (1) State a point, but do not to prove it by spamming Wikipedia. Try to reach a consensus.
- (2) Assume good faith of others. Respect fellow Wikipedians and their opinions. Be careful to avoid (unintentional) offense.
- (3) Admit when something has been based on intuition or taste.
- (4) Be prepared to apologize, to forgive and to forget.
- (5) Discourage others from being uncivil.
- (6) Thank people for help and cooperation.
- (7) Sign posts on Talk pages

In cases of emergency, you can still ask other Wikipedians, particularly the Wikipedia administrators, for help.

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I would like to stress that although these ideas are presented in a linguistic journal, Wikipedia contributions and expert-layperson communication in general should be practiced not only in language classes, but in any subject—and already at high-school level, but continued into university education. Every class member could be responsible for one article and all others and the teacher can help and comment. Only this will prepare students for a society where knowledge management plays a big part in private and professional life. And the primary tool with which create and express knowledge is language.

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