



(ATINER)



(ATINER)

Volume 8, Issue 1, March 2021

Articles

Front Pages

D PUGAZHENDHI

Greek, Tamil and Sanskrit: Comparison between the Myths of Herakles (related with Iole and Deianira) and Rama in Hinduism

OSEI YAW AKOTO & JOSEPH BENJAMIN A. AFFUL

What Languages are in Names? Exploring the Languages in Church Names in Ghana

JOHN M. RYAN & VÍCTOR PARRA-GUINALDO

Spanish and Italian Diminutives Compared: Two Alternatives of a Single Diasystem

JUSTINE BAKUURO & DAMASUS TUUROSONG

On the Nature of Talk-in-Interaction: A Pragmatic Study of Informal Conversations



(ATINER)

**ATHENS INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATION AND
RESEARCH**
A World Association of Academics and Researchers
8 Valaoritou Str., Kolonaki, 10671 Athens, Greece.
Tel.: 210-36.34.210 Fax: 210-36.34.209
Email: info@atiner.gr URL: www.atiner.gr
Established in 1995



(ATINER)

Mission

ATINER is an Athens-based World Association of Academics and Researchers based in Athens. ATINER is an independent and non-profit **Association** with a **Mission** to become a forum where Academics and Researchers from all over the world can meet in Athens, exchange ideas on their research and discuss future developments in their disciplines, **as well as engage with professionals from other fields**. Athens was chosen because of its long history of academic gatherings, which go back thousands of years to *Plato's Academy* and *Aristotle's Lyceum*. Both these historic places are within walking distance from ATINER's downtown offices. Since antiquity, Athens was an open city. In the words of Pericles, *Athens "... is open to the world, we never expel a foreigner from learning or seeing"*. ("Pericles' Funeral Oration", in Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*). It is ATINER's **mission** to revive the glory of Ancient Athens by inviting the World Academic Community to the city, to learn from each other in an environment of freedom and respect for other people's opinions and beliefs. After all, the free expression of one's opinion formed the basis for the development of democracy, and Athens was its cradle. As it turned out, the Golden Age of Athens was in fact, the Golden Age of the Western Civilization. *Education* and *(Re)searching* for the 'truth' are the pillars of any free (democratic) society. This is the reason why *Education* and *Research* are the two core words in ATINER's name.

Athens Journal of Philology

ISSN NUMBER: 2241-8385

DOI: 10.30958/ajp

Volume 8, Issue 1, March 2021

Download the entire issue ([PDF](#))

<u>Front Pages</u>	i-viii
<u>Greek, Tamil and Sanskrit: Comparison between the Myths of Herakles (related with Iole and Deianira) and Rama in Hinduism</u>	9
<i>D Pugazhendhi</i>	
<u>What Languages are in Names? Exploring the Languages in Church Names in Ghana</u>	37
<i>Osei Yaw Akoto & Joseph Benjamin A. Afful</i>	
<u>Spanish and Italian Diminutives Compared: Two Alternatives of a Single Diasystem</u>	53
<i>John M. Ryan & Víctor Parra-Guinaldo</i>	
<u>On the Nature of Talk-in-Interaction: A Pragmatic Study of Informal Conversations</u>	79
<i>Justine Bakuuro & Damasus Tuurosong</i>	

Athens Journal of Philology

Editorial and Reviewers' Board

Editors

- **Dr. Stamos Metzidakis**, Head, Literature Research Unit & Emeritus Professor of French and Comparative Literature, Washington University in Saint Louis, USA.

Co-Editor

- **Dr. Paola Partenza**, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, "G. d'Annunzio" University, Italy.

Editorial Board

- Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice President of Academic Membership, ATINER & Professor of History, Sam Houston University, USA.
- Dr. David Philip Wick, Director, Arts and Humanities Research Division, ATINER & Professor of History, Gordon College, USA.
- Dr. Patricia Hanna, Head, Philosophy Research Unit, ATINER & Professor of Philosophy & Linguistics, University of Utah, USA.
- Dr. Juliane House, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor Emeritus/Distinguished Professor, Hamburg University/Hellenic American University, Germany/USA/Greece.
- Dr. Galina Bakhtiarova, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor and Chairperson, World Languages and Literature, Western Connecticut State University, USA.
- Dr. Ioannis Christodoulou, Professor, Hellenic Open University, Greece & Lecturer, Department of Classics and Philosophy, University of Cyprus, Cyprus.
- Dr. Michael M. Eisman, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor, Temple University, USA.
- Dr. Abraham Panavelil Abraham, Professor, Department of Foreign Languages, University of Nizwa, Oman.
- Dr. Jean-Paul Kouega, Professor of English Language and Linguistics, University of Yaounde I, Cameroon.
- Dr. Nicholas Meihuizen, Professor, School of Languages, English Department, North-West University, South Africa.
- Dr. Suresh Frederick, Associate Professor & UG Head, Department of English, Bishop Heber College, India.
- Dr. Ma Elena Gomez Parra, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, University of Cordoba, Spain.
- Dr. Ana Pelosi, Associate Professor, Federal University of Cear, Brazil.
- Dr. Ramun Kasperaviien, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, Head of Study Programmes in Translation and Linguistics, Department of Modern Languages and Intercultural Communication, Faculty of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities, Kaunas University of Technology, Lithuania.
- Dr. Victoria Tuzlukova, Academic Member, ATINER & Head of Professional Development and Research Unit, Language Centre, Sultan Qaboos University, Sultanate of Oman.
- Dr. Roger S. Fisher, Academic Member, ATINER & Assistant Professor, York University-Toronto-Ontario, Canada.
- Dr. H. Simour, Assistant Professor of English and Cultural Studies, Hassan II University, Casablanca, Morocco.
- Dr. Mary Ellis, Academic Member, ATINER & Senior Lecturer, National Institute of Education (Nanyang Technological University), Singapore.

- **Vice President of all ATINER's Publications:** Dr. Zoe Boutsioli
- **General Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications:** Ms. Afrodete Papanikou
- **ICT Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications:** Mr. Kostas Spyropoulos
- **Managing Editor of this Journal:** Ms. Despina Katzoli ([bio](#))

Reviewers' Board

[Click Here](#)

President's Message

All ATINER's publications including its e-journals are open access without any costs (submission, processing, publishing, open access paid by authors, open access paid by readers etc.) and is independent of presentations at any of the many small events (conferences, symposiums, forums, colloquiums, courses, roundtable discussions) organized by ATINER throughout the year and entail significant costs of participating. The intellectual property rights of the submitting papers remain with the author. Before you submit, please make sure your paper meets the [basic academic standards](#), which includes proper English. Some articles will be selected from the numerous papers that have been presented at the various annual international academic conferences organized by the different divisions and units of the Athens Institute for Education and Research. The plethora of papers presented every year will enable the editorial board of each journal to select the best, and in so doing produce a top-quality academic journal. In addition to papers presented, ATINER will encourage the independent submission of papers to be evaluated for publication.

The current issue is the first of the eighth volume of the *Athens Journal of Philology (AJP)*, published by the published by the [Languages & Linguistics Unit](#) and the [Literature Unit](#) of ATINER

Gregory T. Papanikos
President
ATINER



Athens Institute for Education and Research

A World Association of Academics and Researchers

14th Annual International Conference on Languages & Linguistics 5-8 July 2021, Athens, Greece

The [Languages and Linguistics Unit](#) of ATINER, will hold its 14th Annual International Conference on Languages & Linguistics, 5-8 July 2021, Athens, Greece sponsored by the [Athens Journal of Philology](#). The conference is soliciting papers (in English only) from all areas of languages, linguistics and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream organizer, presenter of one paper, chair a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (<https://www.atiner.gr/2021/FORM-LNG.doc>).

Academic Members Responsible for the Conference

- **Dr. Valia Spiliotopoulos**, Head, [Languages & Linguistics Unit](#), ATINER and Associate Professor of Professional Practice & Academic Director Centre for English Language Learning, Teaching, and Research (CELLTR), Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University, Canada

Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **8 March 2021**
- Acceptance of Abstract: **4 Weeks after Submission**
- Submission of Paper: **7 June 2021**

Social and Educational Program

The Social Program Emphasizes the Educational Aspect of the Academic Meetings of Atiner.

- Greek Night Entertainment (This is the official dinner of the conference)
- Athens Sightseeing: Old and New-An Educational Urban Walk
- Social Dinner
- Mycenae Visit
- Exploration of the Aegean Islands
- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion
- More information can be found here: <https://www.atiner.gr/social-program>

Conference Fees

Conference fees vary from 400€ to 2000€
Details can be found at: <https://www.atiner.gr/2021fees>



Athens Institute for Education and Research

A World Association of Academics and Researchers

14th Annual International Conference on Literature 31 May & 1-3 June 2021, Athens, Greece

The [Literature Unit](#) of ATINER is organizing its 14th Annual International Conference on Literature, 31 May & 1-3 June 2021, Athens, Greece sponsored by the [Athens Journal of Philology](#). The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers from all areas of literature and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (<https://www.atiner.gr/2021/FORM-LIT.doc>).

Academic Member Responsible for the Conference

- **Dr. Stamos Metzidakis**, Head, [Literature Research Unit](#), ATINER & Emeritus Professor of French and Comparative Literature, Washington University in Saint Louis, USA.

Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **19 April 2020**
- Acceptance of Abstract: **4 Weeks after Submission**
- Submission of Paper: **2 May 2021**

Social and Educational Program

The Social Program Emphasizes the Educational Aspect of the Academic Meetings of Atiner.

- Greek Night Entertainment (This is the official dinner of the conference)
- Athens Sightseeing: Old and New-An Educational Urban Walk
- Social Dinner
- Mycenae Visit
- Exploration of the Aegean Islands
- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion
- More information can be found here: <https://www.atiner.gr/social-program>

Conference Fees

Conference fees vary from 400€ to 2000€
Details can be found at: <https://www.atiner.gr/2021fees>

Greek, Tamil and Sanskrit: Comparison between the Myths of Herakles (related with Iole and Deianira) and Rama in Hinduism

By D Pugazhendhi*

The Greek Historian Arrian has said that the Indians worshipped Greek Herakles. So the myths related with Greek Herakles need to be compared with the myths of the Indian Gods. There are many myths related with Herakles. The myth related with Iole and Deianira has resemblance with the myth of Rama in Hinduism and Buddhism. The word Rama which is connected with sea is mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. This word came into existence in the ancient Tamil literature called Sanga Ilakkiam through the trade that happened among the people of Greek, Hebrew and Tamil. The myths of Rama that occurred in the Tamil Sangam literature later developed as epics in Sanskrit, Tamil and other languages. Further the myths of Rama also found place in religions such as the Hinduism and the Buddhism. The resemblance between Herakles, in connection with Iole and Deianira, and Rama are synonymous. Hence the Greek Herakles is portrayed as Rama in Hinduism and Buddhism.

Keywords: Arrian, Buddhism, Herakles, Rama, Tamil Sangam

Introduction

Herakles is portrayed in diverse forms: God and hero across the globe¹. The Greek historian Arrian had mentioned that Herakles was worshipped as God in Methora of India.

Methora and Herakles

[4] Ἡρακλέα δέ, ὄντινα ἐς Ἰνδοῦς ἀπικέσθαι λόγος κατέχει, παρ' αὐτοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσι γηγενέα λέγεσθαι.

[5] τοῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα πρὸς Σουρασηνῶν γεραίρεσθαι, Ἰνδικοῦ ἔθνεος, ἵνα δύο πόλεις μεγάλαι, Μέθορά τε καὶ Κλεισόβορα: καὶ ποταμὸς Ἰωβάρης πλωτὸς διαρρέει τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν.

[6] τὴν σκευὴν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἦντινα ἐφόρει Μεγασθένης λέγει ὅτι ὁμοίην τῷ Θηβαίῳ Ἡρακλεῖ, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπηγέονται (Arr. Ind.) (Eberhard 1885).

"The Hercules who penetrated so far, the Indians tell us, was a native of their country. He is particularly worshipped by the Suraseni, who have two great cities, Methora and Cleisoborus, and the navigable river Jobares, passes through their territories. This

* Associate Professor, Government Arts College, India.

¹Herakles moreover provides a conduit for international religious exchange. Non Greeks worshipped him, often in conjunction with one of their own deities. The Lydians adopted Herakles and the Phoenicians shared his cult with Melqart (Padilla 1998, p. 3).

Hercules, as Megasthenes asserts, and the Indians themselves assure us, uses the same habit with the Theban Hercules" (Arrian, Indica, Chapter viii) (Eberhard 1885).

In Tamil, Methora is Mathurai. A poet from Mathurai has spoken of a name Rama that had found a place in the ancient Tamil literature has resemblance with Herakles.

Methora and Rama

Tamil language is one of the classical languages that of Greek. It has a vast literary heritage. Connect between diverse nations and multiple lands are established in this literature. The first available literature called Sangam literature contains some poems that belonged to 1200 BC (Pugazhendhi 2020b, p. 188). In this literature one of the poets is Mathurai Tamil Koothanār Kaduvan Mallanār. He had mentioned a foreigner named Rama in his poem.

the sounds of birds on banyan
trees with aerial roots, which died down
when *Raman* who wins wars was planning
strategies, in the ancient, roaring Kōdikarai
port town.

Lines 13 – 18,

Akanānūru Poem No.70,

Mathurai Tamil Koothanār Kaduvan Mallanār

Sanga Ilakkiam (Tamil Virtual University 1995).

This myth has a resemblance with the myth of Heracles.

But in the case of Heracles his piety was such that the opposite happened to him. For when he had arrived at the border between Rheginê and Locris and lay down to rest after his wearying journey, they say that he was disturbed by the crickets and that he prayed to the gods that the creatures which were disturbing him might disappear; whereupon the gods granted his petition, and not only did his prayer cause the insects to disappear for the moment, but in all late times as well not a cricket has ever been seen in the land.

Diod. 4.22.5

Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica (Bekker 1890)

Greek history, 480-431 BC

This Rama, in one of the instances, is depicted as a man with the lion head.

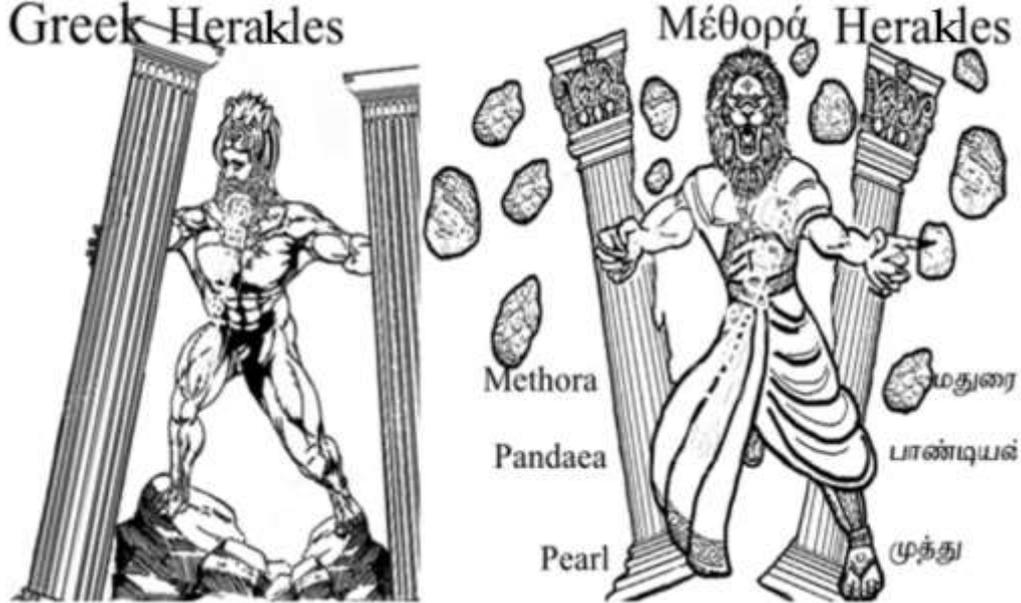
1042. You, the god of the tall majestic Thiruvēnkaṭam hills,
took the form of a pillar, split it open,
emerged from it in the form of a man-lion
and killed the Asuran Hiranyan.
Your arrows never fail to hit their targets.

10. Thiruvēnkaṭam,
Periya Thirumozhi,

Thirumangai Azhvar (Kausalya 2018).

The above thoughts are figuratively compared with Greek Herakles in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Greek and Methora Herakles



Thus, the myths related with Rama have resemblance with the myths of Herakles. So the root of the word Rama should be researched.

Rama in Hebrew

Ancient Tamilians had sea trade relation with many foreign countries (Pugazhendhi 2020a, 2020b). Because of this, several foreign words occurred in ancient Tamil language. One such word is Raman is also seen in the strong Hebrew No.7484 Ramah or Rama.

"And the sons of Cush Seba and Havilah and Sabtah and Raamah and Sabtecha and the sons of Raamah Sheba and Dedan" (Genesis 10:7, Hebrew Bible) (NASB 1981, Briggs 2006).

"The merchants of Sheba and Raamah they were thy merchants they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices and with all precious stones and gold" (Ezekiel 27:22, Hebrew Bible) (NASB 1981, Briggs 2006).

The word Ramah indicates height in the strong Hebrew No. 7414. This word is also has several other indications - name of the person, son of God and people involved in sea trade. In strong Greek, the same word signifies the name of a place.

Rama in Greek

The word Rhama Ῥαμά is listed in the strong Greek No. 4471.

GRK: Φωνή ἐν Ῥαμὰ ἠκούσθη κλαυθμὸς

NAS: was heard in ramah, weeping (Matthew 2:18 N) (NASB 1981, Briggs 2006).

Thus, through sea trade, the Tamil literature might have borrowed the word Rama from Hebrew or Greek. The word Rama that represents a name of a person in Hebrew and Greek, seem to have undergone some changes in Tamil because of its usage as to represent a man of higher stature.

In the same way Rama was mentioned as a noble who was related with the trade of horse in the foremost Sanskrit literature called Rig Veda.

"This to Duḥśīma Pṛthavāna have I sung, to Vena, *Rama*, to the nobles, and the King. They yoked five hundred, and their love of us was famed upon their way. Besides, they showed us seven-and-seventy horses here" (Rig Veda² 10.93.14.) (Griffith 1896)

Rama in Hinduism and Buddhism

The myth of Rama was then developed at the level of an epic. In Sanga Ilakkiam, Puranānūru poem number 358 was penned by Tamil poet Vānmeekiyār. This poet or some one of his lineage had made use of the myth Rama and wrote the epic Ramayana in Sanskrit (Ralph 1874)³. It consists of nearly 24,000 verses divided into five parts (kāṇḍas). Another poet Kamban also authored an epic in Tamil, using the same myth. This book has 6 chapters (KAndam), each KAndam is divided into a number of sections; there are 118 sections which collectively contain approximately 12,000 poems. This expanded work of art gave rise to the elaboration of the myth of Rama. This expanded version is not seen in the myth of Herakles and hence the details are not found. The Buddhist literature also has the myth of Rama in song no. 461. In Dasharatha Jataka it is mentioned that he was the former birth of Buddha (Rouse 1901).

Myth of the Herakles related with Iole and Deianira

There are many myths related with Herakles in Greek. The myth of Herakles related with Iole and Deianira has resemblance⁴ with the myth of Rama. Iole and

²Mentioned about Tamilians

tamīlata prathamam yajñasādham viśa ārīrahutam ṛñjasānam |

ūrjaḥ putram bharatam sṛpradānum devā ...(Rig Veda 1.96.3)

Praise him, ye Tamil तमीळ folk, as chief performer of sacrifice adored and ever toiling,

Well-tended, Son of Strength, the Constant Giver. The Gods possessed the wealth bestowing Agni. (Griffith 1896)

³Ramayana written by Valmiki in the Sanskrit mentioning the historical kings who were mentioned in the Tamil Sangam literatures.

Colān(चौलान) pāṇḍyān(पाण्ड्यान) sakeralān(सकेरलान). This Pandion was also sea contact with ancient Greek people (Pugazhendhi 2020c).

⁴One myth influence on the other myth is called influence. Without the influence of one another the resemblances seems between two myths and it is merely coincidence is called Parallels.

Deianira were two women. The myths of Iole and Deianira related with Herakles, though originate separately; at the end get connected. The myth of Rama seems to be a combination of the myths of Iole and Deianira. The resemblances can be categorised under several heads.

Archery and Receiving Celestial Arms

There are numerous developments in the history of war weapons. Stones and bones were first stage, metal sword were the second stage. The sword can attack the enemy nearby. The third stage in the development of the war weapon was the invention of bow and arrow. It can attack even enemies far off. The development of war weapons such as archery is reflected in the myths of Herakles. Herakles is depicted with a weapon, club in general. In this myth Herakles learned the art of archery and then received many celestial arms.

Having first learned from Eurytus the art of archery, Hercules received a sword from Hermes, a bow and arrows from Apollo, a golden breastplate from Hephaestus, and a robe from Athena; for he had himself cut a club at Nemea.

Apollod. 2.4.11

Apollodorus, Library and Epitome (George Frazer 1921)

Thus this myth mentions about the art of learning archery from Eurytus followed by receiving varied arms. This myth also relates Herakles with Eurytus and does not clarify the age of the Herakles. Learning archery and receiving varied arms are also seen in the myth of Rama.

"Ráma, the world's dear paragon.

He best the elephant could guide.

Urge the fleet car, the charger ride;

A master he of bowman's skill" (Canto XIX: The Birth of the Princes, Book I, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

In the myth of Rama, Rama learned archery at his very young age. Then he received celestial arms.

"Accept this mighty bow, divine.

Whereon red gold and diamonds shine;

'Twas by the Heavenly Artist planned" (Canto XII: The Heavenly Bow. Book III, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

Thus in both the myths, there are similarities of learning archery followed by receiving arms. When archery was invented, the skill of using the same was portrayed as a mark of bravery, since it plays a vital role in winning the enemies all around.

On the contrary, archery was also looked as an act of cowardness in that era.

"[160] who never buckled shield to arm nor faced the spear, but with a bow, that coward's weapon, was ever ready to run away. Archery is no test of manly bravery;

no! he is a man who keeps his post in the ranks and steadily faces the swift wound the spear may plough [165]" (Heracles, Euripides) (Coleridge 1938).

Similarly, when Rama used his archery he was blamed for his cowardness to use the same to fight against enemies.

"The wounded Báli, when he saw
Ráma and Lakshman nearer draw.
Keen words to Raghu's son, impressed
With justice' holy stamp, addressed:
'What fame, from one thou hast not slain
In front of battle, canst thou gain,
Whose secret hand has laid me low
When madly fighting with my foe?" (Canto XVII, Báli's Speech, Book IV, Rámáyan
of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

Though philosophically, archery was considered as coward's weapon, it was also looked upon as a symbol of bravery. So, in those days brides choose life partner who mastered archery.

Archery Competition and Marriage

After learning archery, Herakles participated in an archery competition that was conducted to choose a life partner for Iole.

After his labours Hercules went to Thebes and gave Megara to Iolaus, and, wishing himself to wed, he ascertained that Eurytus, prince of Oechalia, had proposed the hand of his daughter Iole as a prize to him who should vanquish himself and his sons in archery. So he came to Oechalia, and though he proved himself better than them at archery, yet he did not get the bride; for while Iphitus, the elder of Eurytus's sons, said that Iole should be given to Hercules, Eurytus and the others refused, and said they feared that, if he got children, he would again kill his offspring. (Apollod. 2.6.1) (George Frazer 1921).

Finally, Herakles won the archery competition. This myth is also related to Eurytus who was the father of Iole. Though Herakles won the competition, Eurytus refused to have his daughter marry Herakles. This situation is discussed in this myth. Similarly, a king participated in the archery competition to win the heart of the bride is also seen in Rama.

Rama

In the myth of Rama, the man who could operate the big bow shall marry Princess Sita. The Prince of different countries participated in this competition failed in their attempt. Rama participated in the competition and got victory.

"Then Raghu's son, as if in sport,
Before the thousands of the court,
The weapon by the middle raised

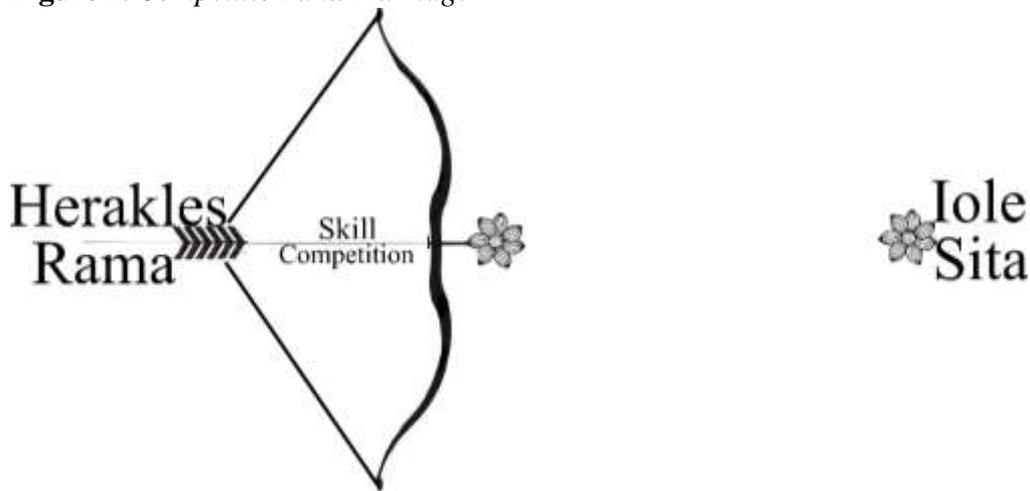
That all the crowd in wonder gazed.
 With steady arm the string he drew
 Till burst the mighty bow in two" (Canto LXVII: The Breaking of the Bow, Book I, Rámáyan of Válmiiki) (Ralph 1874).

The father of the bride agreed to have his daughter marry to the winner.

"My child, to royal Ráma wed,
 New glory on our line will shed:
 And true my promise will remain" (Canto LXVII: The Breaking of the Bow, Book I, Rámáyan of Válmiiki) (Ralph 1874).

Instances such as attaining excellence in the art archery, winning the heart of the princess and getting married resemble in both the myths. The above thoughts are figuratively compared in Figure 2.

Figure 2. *Competition and Marriage*



This clearly shows that both the myths belonged to the era of archery. In both the myth the archery competition determines the life partner. At this point of the myth there seems to be a main difference between them. Even though Herakles emerged victorious, Eurytus did not keep up his word and refused to give his daughter to Herakles as a prize, whereas in the myth of Rama, the father of the bride accepted to give her daughter as a prize for the winner in the archery competition. This difference shows a variation between these two myths. In the myth of Herakles, another woman Deianira also appeared. In the myth of Rama, even after marriage, Sita continues throughout the myth. The myth of Sita split itself into two namely Iole and Deianira in the Herakles myth.

Unintentional Killing of a Boy with Water

In the myth of Herakles related to Deianira, the incidence of unintentional killing of a boy has an important place.

Three years after his marriage to Deianeira Heracles was dining in the home of Oeneus and Eurynomus, and the son of Architeles, who was still lad in years, was serving him, and when the boy made some slip in the service Heracles gave him a blow with his fist, and striking him too hard he unintentionally killed the lad. (Diod. 4.36.2, Bibliotheca Historica) (Bekker 1890)

In this myth, Herakles showed his anger by slapping the boy who served the water to him. This action of Herakles led to the death of the boy. This unintentional killing of boy is also present in the myth of Rama. Here it was the father of Rama who killed the boy. In this myth the father of Rama, well versed in archery, attack the enemies through the sound produced by them.

"Kaus'alyá, In My Youthful Prime
Armed With My Bow I Wrought The Crime,
Proud Of My Skill, My Name Renowned,
An Archer Prince Who Shoots By Sound" (Canto LXIII: The Hermit's Son. Book II, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

One day he chased an animal in the forest. He heard a sound as if a living being drinking water. He assumed the sound to be the noise of the chased animal. He immediately shot his arrow, towards that direction. Surprisingly he heard a murmuring human voice suffering with pain.

"I heard a pitcher slowly fill,
And thought, obscured in deepest shade,
An elephant the sound had made.
I drew a shaft that glittered bright,
Fell as a serpent's venom'd bite;
I longed to lay the monster dead,
And to the mark my arrow sped.
Then in the calm of morning, clear
A hermit's wailing smote my ear:
'Ah me, ah me,' he cried, and sank,
Pierced by my arrow, on the bank.
E'en as the weapon smote his side,
I heard a human voice that cried" (Canto LXIII: The Hermit's Son. Book II, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

Thus the father of Rama mistakenly killed a boy, who fetched water in the pond, assuming it to be a wild animal. Here it is important to know about the boy. Thus a water fetching boy was mistakenly killed by Rama's father in the myth of Rama, whereas, in the myth of Herakles he himself mistakenly killed the boy who slipped in serving water to him. Both these myths have the incident of mistakenly killing a boy with water. The action of Rama's father represents the era of archery.

Fate and Exile

After this incident Herakles exiled himself has a penalty for his wrong deed.

Seeing that it was an accident, the lad's father pardoned Hercules; but Hercules wished, in accordance with the law, to suffer the penalty of exile, and resolved to depart to Ceyx at Trachis. And taking Deianira with him, he came to the river Evenus,
Apollod. 2.7
Apollodorus, *The Library* (George Frazer 1921).

In the myth of Herakles, it is stated that 'accordance with the law to suffer the penalty of the exile'. This statement did not clearly explain about the law in detail.

Myth of Rama

Myth of Rama describes a boy who was mistakenly killed.

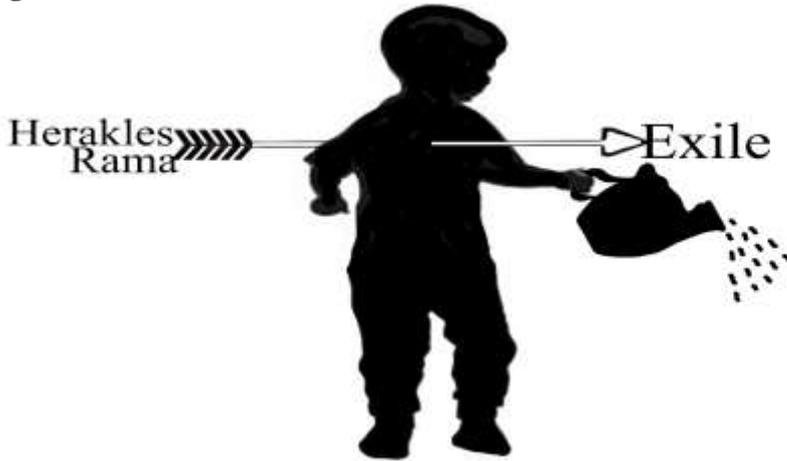
"And distant, therefore, is the time
When thou shalt suffer for the crime.
The hour shall come when, crushed by woes
Like these I feel, thy life shall close:
A debt to pay in after days
Like his the priestly fee who pays.
This curse on me the hermit laid,
Nor yet his tears and groans were stayed" (Canto LXIV: Dasaratha's Death. Book II, *Rámáyan of Válmíki*) (Ralph 1874).

According to the reference, the curse of the fate was clearly described in the myth of Rama. Also, the duration of exile is clearly explained.

"Of him I claim the ancient debt,
That Bharat on the throne be set,
And thou, O Ráma, go this day
To Dandak forest far away.
.....
Till nine long years and five shall end" (Canto XVIII: The Sentence. Book II, *Rámáyan of Válmíki*) (Ralph 1874).

The above situation is figuratively compared in Figure 3.

The context of mistaken killing, followed by the power of curse and its duration are minutely detailed in the myth of Rama, but the same are not found in the myth of Herakles.

Figure 3. *Death and Exile**Exile and the Number of Persons*

Herakles took an exile as a penalty for mistakenly killing an innocent boy who served him water. He did not undertake the exile all alone.

Overcome with grief at this misfortune he went again into voluntary exile from Calydonia along with his wife Deianeira and Hyllus, his son by her, who was still a boy in years. And when in his journeying he arrived at the Euenus River he found there the Centaur Nessus who was conveying travellers across the river for a fee. (Diod. 4.36.3, Bibliotheca Historica) (Bekker 1890).

His wife Deianira and his son Hyllus accompany Herakles on his exile. Thus the exile of these three resembles the myth of Rama.

"The hero ceased: and Lakshman led
Obedient to the words he said:
And Sítá followed him, and then
Came Raghu's pride, the lord of men.
With Sítá walking o'er the sand
They sought the forest, bow in hand" (Canto LII: The Crossing of Gangá. Book II, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

In the myth of Rama, Rama along with his wife Sita and brother Lakshman exiled. In another myth Sita is mentioned as the sister of Rama.

"Once upon a time, at Benares, a great king named Dasaratha renounced the ways of evil, and reigned in righteousness. Of his sixteen thousand wives, the eldest and queen-consort bore him two sons and a daughter; the elder son was named Rama-panḍita, or Rama the Wise, the second was named Prince Lakkhaṇa, or Lucky, and the daughter's name was the Lady Sītā".
No. 461, Dasaratha-Jātaka
The Jataka (Rouse 1901).

Hence there are two variations in the myths – both Sita as wife and sister. The son who is mentioned in the myth of Herakles is mentioned as brother in the myth of Rama. Besides these differences in the relationship among the three who went on exile, the count of persons remain the same in both the myths.

Crossing the River

The main incident in the exile is crossing the river.

at which the centaur Nessus sat and ferried passengers across for hire, alleging that he had received the ferry from the gods for his righteousness. So Hercules crossed the river by himself, but on being asked to pay the fare he entrusted Deianira to Nessus to carry over.

Apollod. 2.7

Apollodorus, *The Library* (George Frazer 1921).

While crossing the river, Herakles is left his wife alone.

Myth of Rama

"With reverence thus to Ráma cried:

The boat is ready by the shore:

How, tell me, can I aid thee more?

O lord of men, it waits for thee

To cross the flood that seeks the sea,

O godlike keeper of thy vow,

Embark: the boat is ready now" (Canto LII: The Crossing of Gangá. Book II, *Rámáyan of Válmíki*) (Ralph 1874).

In the myth of Rama, husband and the wife were not separated while crossing the river, but the separation happened at the later point of time. Hence, the separation of husband and wife is seen in both the myths.

Attempt of Harassment

Herakles took the help of a ferry man Nessus to cross the river along with his wife. When Herakles was on the other bank of the river the ferry man made an attempt to harass the wife of Herakles.

But he, in ferrying her across, attempted to violate her. She cried out, Hercules heard her, and shot Nessus to the heart when he emerged from the river.

(Apollod. 2.7., *The Library*) (George Frazer 1921).

Nessus carried Deianeira across first, and becoming enamored of her, because of her beauty he tried to assault her. But when she called to her husband for help Heracles shot the Centaur with an arrow, and Nessus, struck even while he was having intercourse with her and because of the sharpness of the blow being at once on the point of death, told Deianeira that he would give her a love-charm to the end that Heracles should never desire to approach any other woman.

(Diod. 4.36.4., *Bibliotheca Historica*) (George Frazer 1921).

In a similar way in the myth of Rama his wife Sita was harassed by a sea monster.

"Rávan urged the lady meet
 For love, whose words were soft and sweet.
 Near and more near the giant pressed
 As love's hot fire inflamed his breast.
 The leader of the giant crew
 His arm around the lady threw:
 Thus Budha 1 with ill-omened might
 Steals Rohini's delicious light.
 One hand her glorious tresses grasped,
 One with its ruthless pressure clasped" (Canto XLIX: The Rape of Sitá. Book III, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

Thus Deianeira, the wife of Herakles and Sita, the wife of Rama both underwent harassment. This harassment occurred while crossing the river in the myth of Herakles and after crossing the river in the myth of Rama.

Love Charm

Love charm is a lotion mentioned in the myth of Herakles. Herakles killed Nessus who tried to misbehave with his wife. At the time of the death Nessus gave this lotion to the wife of Herakles. Love charm is a lotion made of a special type of seed mixed with blood of Nessus. The use of the love charm is also mentioned.

Being at the point of death, Nessus called Deianira to him and said that if she would have a love charm to operate on Hercules she should mix the seed he had dropped on the ground with the blood that flowed from the wound inflicted by the barb. She did so and kept it by her.
 (Apollod. 2.7., The Library) (George Frazer 1921).

This love charm makes to fall in love with the opposite - gender. On hearing that Herakles is in love with Iole, his wife Deianeira used the love charm to make him be with her always.

At Ceneon Heracles, wishing to perform a sacrifice, dispatched his attendant Lichas to Deianeira his wife, commanding him to ask her for the shirt and robe which he customarily wore in the celebration of sacrifices. But when Deianeira learned from Lichas of the love which Heracles had for Iolê, she wished him to have a greater affection for herself and so anointed the shirt with the love-charm which had been given her by the Centaur, whose intention was to bring about the death of Heracles.
 (Diod. 4.38.1., Bibliotheca Historica) (Bekker 1890).

Thus Deianeira anointed the love charm on a shirt and gave to Herakles through the messenger to attract her husband towards her. The success of this effort will be discussed at the end of the article. Here it is to be noted that this idea of using love charm to attract the opposite sex is not present in the myth of Rama.

Ring

A ring is an ornament mentioned in the myth of Herakles.

Take him the seal stamped on this signet ring
as token - he will quickly recognize it.
615, Sophocles, Trachiniai (Jebb 1892).

Here the ring is used for the purpose of identification. This ring was sent by Deianeira to her husband Herakles through the messenger. The same is seen in the myth of Rama.

"He gave the ring that bore his name,
A token for the captive dame,
That the sad lady in her woe
The missive of her lord might know.
'This ring', he said, my wife will see,
Nor fear an envoy sent by me" (Canto XLIV: The Ring. Book IV, Rámáyan of Válmiki) (Ralph 1874).

Sítá knows nothing about Ráma, since the time she was separated by Rávan. This ring played an important role to recollect the memories and whereabouts of Rama to Sita.

"She ceased; and from her glorious hair
She took a gem that sparkled there
A token which her husband's eyes
With eager love would recognize" (Canto XXXVIII: Sítá's Gem. Book V, Rámáyan of Válmiki) (Ralph 1874).

Thus ring played an important role of identification between life partners in both the myths. In the myth of Herakles, the wife send the ring to her husband whereas in the myth of Rama, husband send the ring to wife in return, Sita send back the gem to the husband. More over the ring is also used to communicate the present state of mind along with identification of a person forgotten.

Sea War for Iole

Herakles won the archery competition to marry Iole. After winning the competition, Iole's father refused to give his daughter to Herakles. So Herakles took a war against Iole's father.

I will no longer hide the truth from you:
everything is as this man has declared.
A dreadful craving for the girl came over
Heracles; and for her sake he destroyed
and sacked Oechalia, her father's city.
He, in all fairness to him, never told me

480 to hide these facts from you, never denied them;
Sophocles, Trachiniae (Jebb 1892).

It was mentioned that this war was related with sea.

750 After he plundered Eurytus's city
he carried off the choicest spoils of battle;
and, by a wave-washed headland of Euboea,
Sophocles, Trachiniae (Jebb 1892).

Thus in the myth of Herakles a war took place for a woman and it was related with sea. Similar incidents are also seen in the myth of Rama.

Myth of Rama

Sita, the wife of Rama was abducted by the enemy Ravana. Rama sent the envoys in all directions in search of his wife. Then one of the envoys found the wife of Rama in a place surrounded by sea.

"Then why should Ráma's hand be slow
To free his consort from her woe?
Why spare to burn, in search of me,
The land encircled by the sea?" (Canto XXXVI: Ráma's Ring. Book V, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

Thus in the myth of Rama the sea war plays an important role in relieving Sita from the enemy. Here it is to be noted that both Iole, in the myth of Herakles and Sita, in the myth of Rama were supposed to marry the champion in the archery competition. This led to the sea war for the sake of achieving the goal of attaining the woman. From the above there are instances of similarities could be seen present in both the myths.

Time Duration and Sea War

The sea war is mentioned in the myth of Herakles. Because of sea war Herakles got separated from his wife for twelve months.

He was gone far away from our city
at sea, while we waited for him
649 twelve long months, and heard nothing.
Sophocles, Trachiniae (Jebb 1892).

In the myth of Rama, Rama got separated from his wife Sita that led to the sea war. It was said that ten months have gone by since Sita's separation.

"Go, bid him speed to smite his foes
Before the year shall reach its close.

Ten months are fled but two remain" (Canto XXXVII: Sítá's Speech, Book V, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

Further it can be observed that there is a close resemblance between the myths in terms of time duration.

Sea War with a Foreign Army

Herakles conducted a sea war against Eurytus with the help of foreign army.

When he had purged himself
he raised a foreign army and advanced
260 on Eurytus's city,
Sophocles, Trachiniae (Jebb 1892).

There is no mention about his own army. In the same way in the myth of Rama, Rama did not possess an army for his own, he sought the help of a foreign army.

Foreign Army of Rama

Rama left everything such as his country, army and kingdom to lead a life in exile. During his exile his wife Sita was abducted by a strong king. So, Rama needed a strong army to fight against the enemy. For this, Rama made an agreement with the king named Sugrívá. The army of Sugrívá was called 'Vánar'. With the help of this Vánar army, Rama searched his wife.

"Sugrívá will his succours bring,
And all our Vánar hosts combined
Will trace the dame you long to find" (Canto IV: Lakshman's Reply. Book IV, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

In Tamil 'van' means 'sky'. The monkeys are called as vanar because they live on tall trees that touch skies. Here, the army of the Sugrívá is described as the army of monkeys.

Army of Monkeys

Even today fishes like dolphin, birds like eagle are used in the army for the sake of locating and spying enemies. In this way Sugrívá might have trained monkeys for war. Also it is possible to understand the army of monkeys in a metaphorical sense.

Role of Monkey in the Myth of Rama

The wife of Rama was cheated by a water related monster who abducted her. In order to indicate her route Sita thought of a plan and dropped her jewels along the way.

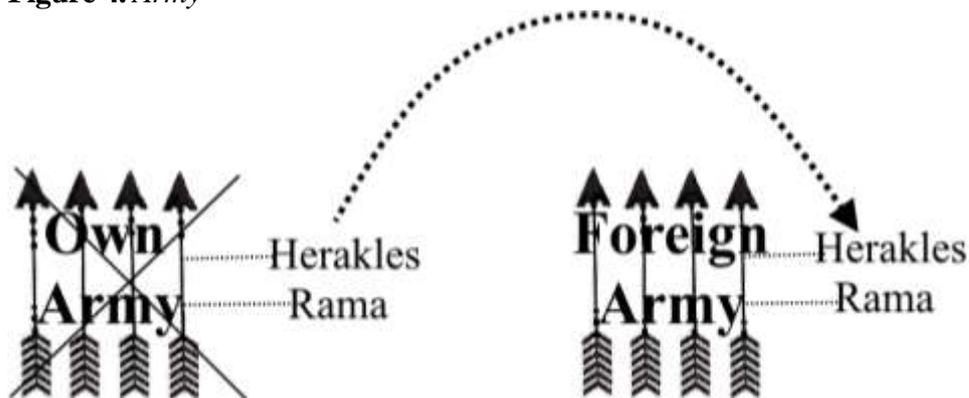
"He gave
me many splendid precious jewels that awed me.
When my large family saw that, they took the finger
ornaments and put them on their ears, put the ear jewels
on their fingers, those meant for the waist on their
necks, and those meant for the necks on their waists.
They were like a huge family of monkeys with gaping red
mouths scooping up the beautiful ornaments that fell to
the ground, when the mighty demon snatched away enraged
Raman's wife Seethai" (Puranānūru 378, Poet Oonpothi Pasunkudaiyār, Sanga
Ilakkiam) (Tamil Virtual University 1995).

Sita did this with the belief that it would help someone to trace the route and understand her whereabouts. The wandered monkeys found the jewels and played with them.

"With earring, necklet, chain, and gem,
Descending in the midst of them:
*'For these, 'she thought, 'my path may show,
And tell my lord the way I go.'*
Nor did the fiend, in wild alarm,
Mark when she drew from neck and arm
And foot the gems and gold, and sent
To earth each gleaming ornament" (Canto LIV: Lankā. Book III, Rāmāyan of
Vālmīki) (Ralph 1874).

These ornaments of Sita given to Rama provided him a better understanding of Sita's plight. In a metaphoric sense, this indicates that the monkeys have found the hidden place of Sita. The above events suggest the possibility of depicting the monkeys as metaphorized or trained one. In both the myths foreign armies are used in the war. The above thoughts are figuratively compared in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Army



Victory over the Lady

In the myth of Herakles, with the help of a foreign army, Herakles emerged victorious by freeing a woman in the sea war.

Messenger
Why, I heard this man say - and there were many
witnesses there - that for the girl's sake only
did Heracles slay Eurytus and conquer
Oechalia's high towers. Love alone,
Sophocles, *Trachiniae* (Jebb 1892).

By this, Herakles won the heart of lady Iole.

Myth of Rama

In the myth of Rama, in order to rescue his wife safely, Rama raised a foreign army and conducted a sea war. He emerged victorious and got united with his wife.

"He looked upon that archer chief
Whose full eye mocked the lotus leaf,
Arid thus the noble Vánar spake:
Now meet the queen for whose dear sake
Thy mighty task was first begun,
And now the glorious fruit is won" (Canto CXVI: The Meeting. Book VI, *Rámáyan*
of *Válmiki*) (Ralph 1874).

As an outcome of the war, Rama got united with his wife Sita, were as Herakles got back his lover.

Second Wife

In the myth of Herakles, he captured lady Iole, his second wife.

Messenger
.....
Well, when Heracles could not persuade him whose seed produced the child [360] to give him the girl for his secret concubine, he devised some petty complaint as a pretext, and made war upon her fatherland, in which, as the herald said, that Eurytus ruled. He killed the king, her father, and [365] sacked her city.
Sophocles, *Trachiniae* (Jebb 1892).

The above action is the main plot in the myth of Herakles. Later in the same myth, lady Iole became the wife of Herakles's son Hyllus.

Heracles
You know the daughter of king Eurytus?
Hyllus
1220 Iole? Do I understand your meaning?
Heracles
Yes, child. This is the charge I lay upon you:
if you revere my memory when I
have died, remembering the oath you swore,

make her your wife,
Sophocles, Trachiniae (Jebb 1892).

There are two different plots with reference to second wife in the myth of Rama. In the main plot, in the myth of Rama, Ravana tried to make Sita his second wife. Therefore, Rama waged a war and won him. In the sub plot of the same myth, Báli, the brother of Sugriva, had Sugriva's wife as his second wife. Rama and Sugriva exchanged a mutual support to each other. The former supported the later to rescue Sugriva's wife. On the other hand Sugriva extend his army to Rama for rescuing Sita, as a mark of his gratitude.

"By Báli's conquering might oppressed,
Of power and kingship dispossessed,
Loaded with taunts of scorn and hate
I (Sugriva) left my realm and royal state.
He tore away my consort: she
Was dearer than my life to me" (Canto VIII: Ráma's Promise. Book IV, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

Second Wife and Blood Relationship

In the myth of Herakles, the second wife Herakles became the wife of his son. This comes under blood relationship. The acceptability of Iole becoming the wife of Herakles's son is questionable. A similar relationship is also questioned in the play Hippolytus or Hippolytos by Euripides in 480 BC.

In the myth of Rama, Báli's second wife is the wife of his brother. This aspect of blood relationship is seen in Herakles.

"Thou, Báli, in thy brother's life
Hast robbed him of his wedded wife,
And keepest, scorning ancient right,
His Rumá for thine own delight.
Thy son's own wife should scarcely be
More sacred in thine eyes than she.
All duty thou hast scorned, and hence
Comes punishment for dire offence" (Canto XVIII: Ráma's Reply. Book IV, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

In both the myths, events related with the same women who being announced as prizes for the winner in the archery competition, becomes second wife. The sea war occurred for the sake of releasing them from enemies. In both these myths the second wife happened within the same blood relationship.

Suspicion on Love Sharing

Herakles won the country of Eurytus and made Iole as a second wife. The first wife of Herakles, Deianeira was worried in sharing her love with Herakles along with Iole.

Deianeira

.....

540 under one blanket; this is the reward
Heracles, whom we call the good and faithful,
has given me for waiting all this time!
Sophocles, *Trachiniae* (Jebb 1892).

This type of relationship is also seen in the myth of Rama.

Myth of Rama

Rama won the country of Ravana for rescuing his wife. After saving his wife Sita from the enemy, Rama doubts her chastity. Sita told that she is faultless.

"If, when the giant seized his prey,
Within his hated arms I lay,
And felt the grasp I dreaded, blame
Fate and the robber, not thy dame.
What could a helpless woman do?
My heart was mine and still was true" (Canto CXVIII: Sítá's Reply. Book VI, *Rámáyan of Válímiki*) (Ralph 1874).

"How should my home receive again
A mistress soiled with deathless stain?
How should I brook the foul disgrace,
Scorned by my friends and all my race?
For Rávan bore thee through the sky,
And fixed on thine his evil eye.
About thy waist his arms he threw,
Close to his breast his captive drew,
And kept thee, vassal of his power,
An inmate of his ladies' bower" (Canto CXVII: Sítá's Disgrace. Book VI, *Rámáyan of Válímiki*) (Ralph 1874).

Rama did not accept Sita as his wife again.

The world is all before thee: flee:
Go where thou wilt, but not with me" (Canto CXVII: Sítá's Disgrace. Book VI, *Rámáyan of Válímiki*) (Ralph 1874).

For glory, honour and goodness, Rama rescued his wife from the enemy, but did not live with her, doubting her chastity.

Thus both the myths deal with husband and wife relationship. In the myth of Herakles, wife suspects the husband and in the myth of Rama, husband suspects the wife.

Pyre

A fire bed is called as pyre. In the myth of Herakles, at one point of time, he asked to prepare a pyre for him.

Heracles

And will you build the pyre, as I have told you?
1213, Sophocles, Trachiniae (Jebb 1892).

This happened because of his love sharing. The same is seen in the myth of Rama.

Pyre in the Myth of Rama

Rama won the country by defeating his enemy Ravana and liberated his wife Sita. In the myth of Herakles, the two women Iole and Deianira were related with Herakles. His wife Deianira alleged Herakles on sharing of love with Iole. In the myth of Rama, it is only one woman. Hence there is no allegation against Rama. Since the wife of Rama was under the custody of Ravana, his enemy, Rama doubted her chastity. Sita in order to prove her chastity requested to build a pyre.

"To Lakshman then she turned and spoke
While sobs and sighs her utterance broke:
Sumitrá's son, a pile prepare,
My refuge in my dark despair.
I will not live to bear this weight
Of shame, forlorn and desolate.
The kindled fire my woes shall end
And be my best and surest friend" (Canto CXVIII: Sítá's Reply. Book VI, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

Accordingly Sita entered the pyre.
"Within the flame's wild fury passed.
Then rose a piercing cry from all
Dames, children, men, who saw her fall
Adorned with gems and gay attire
Beneath the fury of the fire" (Canto CXVIII: Sítá's Reply. Book VI, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

Though Sita was in the custody of the enemy, she retained her chastity. The quality of chastity protected her and so she came out of the fire unharmed.

"Receive, O King, thy queen again,
Pure, ever pure from spot and stain" (Canto CXX: Sítá Restored. Book VI, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

At the end the fire God appeared and assured the chastity of Sita. Then Rama explained that he did not have any doubt on the chastity of Sita, but she was made

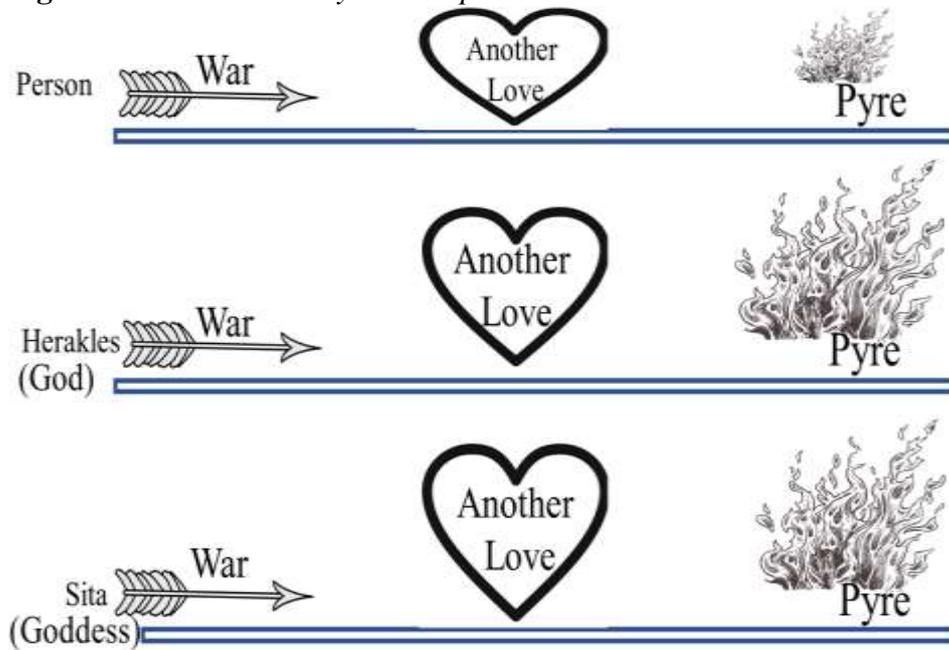
to undergo this test to prove herself chastised to the society. Thus pyre played an important role in the test for chastity related with the husband and wife relationship. The above thoughts are visualized in Figure 5.

Figure 5. War Love and Pyre



In the myth of Herakles, the doubt was on Herakles and he entered the pyre. In the myth of Rama, Sita was doubted and so she entered the pyre. The above thoughts are figuratively compared in Figure 6.

Figure 6. War Love and Pyre - Comparison



In the myth of Herakles, the concept of love charm is present. The same is absent in the myth of Rama. These variations need to be researched.

Influence of other Myths

In the myth of Herakles, the concept of love charm was used to control one of the life partners from loving the other. The same is mentioned in the Greek epic Medea.

the beast said, "Daughter of old Oeneus, listen
570 to me, and you will profit from this voyage,
for I will never carry any other.

Take in your hands the clotted blood around
my wound, in which the monstrous beast of Lerna,
Hydra, once dipped his arrows of black gall;
and this will be a love-charm for the heart
of Heracles, so that he will not ever
love anyone he looks on more than you.
Sophocles, *Trachiniae* (Jebb 1892).

[780] I shall ask that the children be allowed to stay, not with the thought that I might
leave my children behind on hostile soil for my enemies to insult, but so that I may
kill the princess by guile. I shall send them bearing gifts
[785] [bearing them to the bride so as not to be exiled,] a finely-woven gown and a
diadem of beaten gold. If she takes this finery and puts it on, she will die a painful
death, and likewise anyone who touches her: with such poisons will I smear these
gifts.
Eur. *Med* (Kovacs 1994)

Thus the love charm present in the myth of Herakles is also present in the
myth of Medea. The effect of the love charm was also same in both the myths,
Herakles and Medea.

but when the gory flame began to blaze
up from the offerings on the sappy pine,
sweat covered all his body, and the robe
clung to his sides as if glued by a craftsman
to every joint; and from his very bones
770 shot up spasmodic, stinging pangs: the poison,
like some detested, bloody snake's, devoured him.
Then he cried out aloud for ill-starred Lichas,
who was in no way guilty of your crime,
to ask what treachery made him bring the robe;
but he, unlucky man! knew not, and answered
he had but brought the gift which you had given.
When Heracles heard this a penetrating
convulsive spasm clutched his lungs, and he
seized Lichas where the ankle joins the foot
780and dashed him on a rock swept by the sea
so that the white brain seeped among his hairs,
and all his shattered skull was bloodied over.
Sophocles, *Trachiniae* (Jebb 1892)

[1185] For she was being attacked with a double pain. The golden circlet about her
head shot forth a terrible stream of consuming fire, and the fine-spun gown, gift of
your sons, was eating into the wretched girl's white flesh. [1190]
Eur. *Med* (Kovacs 1994).

So the concept of love charm present in the myth of Herakles which was not
in the myth of Rama, might be present due to the influence of the myth of Medea.
In the same way the woman entering the pyre in the myth of Rama which varies

from the myth of Herakles might be the influence of the other myths. This could be an influence of Tamil literature.

"The funeral pyre of black twigs might be fearful to you.
It is not fearful to me
who has lost my broad-shouldered husband.
A pond with thick-petaled, blooming lotus blossoms
and a fire are both same to me!" (Puranānūru 246, Queen Perunkōpendu, Sanga Ilakkiam) (Tamil Virtual University 1995).
(wife of Ollaiyūr Thantha Pāndiyan PoothaPāndiyan sang this after the death of her husband)

Here the wife of the king, entered the pyre without any fear during her husband's cremation. This is seen as a mark of affection of a wife towards the husband. This myth might have influenced the variation in the myth of Rama and the myth of Herakles.

Immortality

In the myth of Herakles, after entering the pyre Herakles attained immortality.

proceeded to Mount Oeta, in the Trachinian territory, and there constructed a pyre, mounted it, and gave orders to kindle it. When no one would do so, Poeas, passing by to look for his flocks, set a light to it. On him Hercules bestowed his bow. While the pyre was burning, it is said that a cloud passed under Hercules and with a peal of thunder wafted him up to heaven. Thereafter he obtained immortality, Apollod. 2.
Apollodorus, The Library (George Frazer 1921).

A similar event also occurs in the myth of Rama.

Immortality of Rama

As the wife of Rama entered the fire lit pyre to prove her chastity, the fire God appeared and testified the purity of Sita. After this incident everyone depicted Rama and Sita as God and Goddess. In the myth of Herakles, after entering the pyre, Herakles alone was considered to be a God. On the other hand in the myth of Rama though Sita alone went into the pyre and came out successfully, both Rama and Sita are seen God and Goddess.

"Couldst thou, the Lord of all, couldst thou,
Creator of the worlds, allow
Thy queen, thy spouse to brave the fire
And give her body to the pyre?
.....
Thou Krishna of unequalled might.
Thy hand, O Lord, the hills and plains,
And earth with all her life sustains;

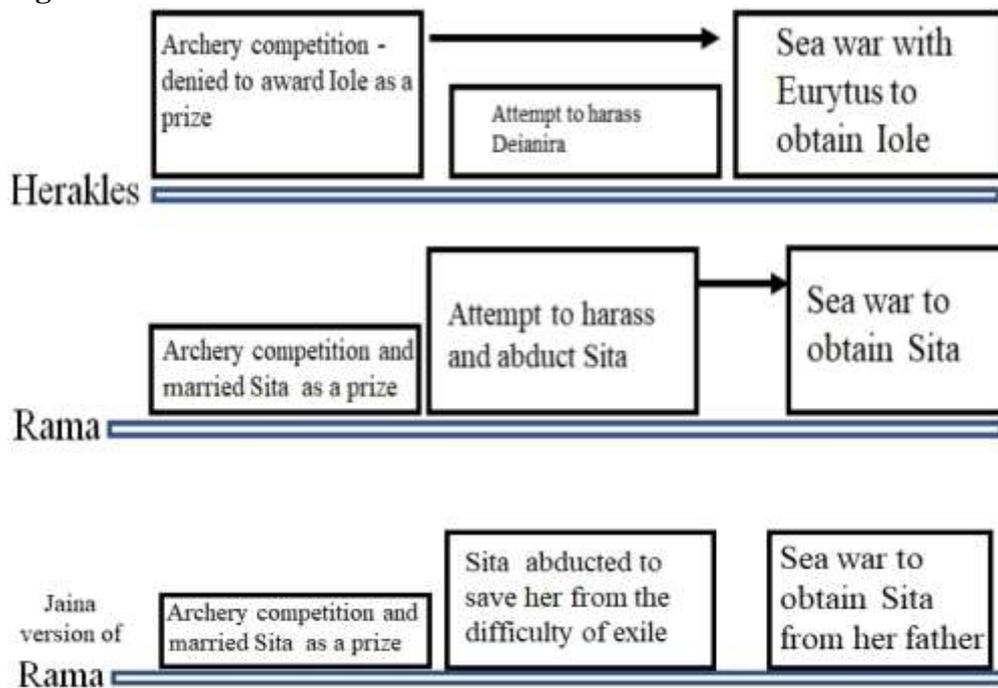
Thou wilt appear in serpent form
 When sinks the earth in fire and storm.
 Queen Sítá of the lovely brows
 Is Lakshmí thy celestial spouse" (Canto CXIX: Glory to Vishnu. Book VI, Rámáyan of Válmíki) (Ralph 1874).

In the myth of Rama, male only is considered to be important. In Tamil religion there is already an existence of worship of a chastised woman. The pyre which is related to male in Greek, is connected as female in Indian myth. Hence the female portrayed as Goddess. These Gods and Goddesses find a place in Buddhism.

"The Master having ended this discourse, declared the Truths, and identified the Birth: (now at the conclusion of the Truths, the land-owner was established in the fruit of the First Path:) "At that time the king Suddhodana was king Dasaratha, Mahāmāyā was the mother, Rāhulā's mother was Sītā, Ānanda was Bharata, and I (Buddha) myself was Rāma-pañḍita"" (No. 461, Dasaratha-Jātaka, Jataka (Buddha's former birth) (Rouse 1901).

Thus Rama entered Buddhism. The myth of Herakles, though initially seen as two different myths, later became a single myth. The myth of Rama starts and ends with only one woman. The variations of the myths are compared in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Variation



According to the Jaina version of Ramayana, Sita was born as the daughter of Ravana. However the astrologers predicted that the first child of Ravana would

destroy his lineage. Therefore Ravana ordered his servants to take his child to some distant place and bury her. Hence, that child was found and adopted by Janaka. In Sanghadasa's Jaina version of Ramayana, and also in Adbhuta Ramayana, Sita titled Vasudevahindi born as the daughter of Ravana. According to this version, astrologers predict that first child of Vidyadhara Maya (Ravana's wife) will destroy his lineage.

On comparison, these two myths have more resemblances than dissimilarities. All the above said aspects are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Comparison of Myths

	Herakles and Iole	Rama and Sita	variation
1.	Learned archery for first time	Learned archery for first time	
2.	Received celestial arms	Received celestial arms	
3.	Took part in archery competition with an expectation to win over Iole as prize	Took part in archery competition with an expectation to win over Sita as prize	
4.	Herakles won the archery competition	Rama won the archery competition	
5.	Eurytus refused to grant the competition prize		Rama won Sita as prize and married her
6.	Herakles unintentionally killed the boy who was pouring water	Rama's father unintentionally killed the boy who was pouring water	1. The mistake of the father impacted the life of Rama 2. The mistake made by Herakles affects his own life
7.	Unintentional act of killing was forgiven		Not forgiven and cursed
8.	Exile voluntary	Curse and exile	
9.	Exile with two persons – wife and son	Exile with two persons – 1. Brother and Wife 2. Brother and Sister	
10.	Crossing the river	Crossing the river	
11.	The river water separated husband and wife	The water separated husband and wife	1. River and sea water separated the life of Herakles 2. Sea water separated the life of Rama
12.	The person related with water attempted to misbehave with woman	The person related with water attempted to misbehave with woman	1. The ferry man of the river attempted to misbehave with the wife of Herakles 2. The person who belonged to other end of the sea attempted to misbehave with the wife of Rama
13.	Attempted person was a monster	Attempted person was a monster	
14.	Attempted person was killed by the hero	Attempted person was killed by the hero	
15.	Killed person gave a love		

	charm to Deianira		
16.	Sea war	Sea war	
17.	Sea war happened to capture Iole		Sea war was conducted by Rama for his one and only wife
18.	Husband and wife got separated during the sea war	Husband and wife got separated during the sea war	1. Deianira was in a separate place during the war. And Iole was in the midst of war location. 2. Sita was in the custody of the enemy and in the war location.
19.	Herakles won the sea war and got Iole	Rama won the sea war and got Sita	
20.	At the end of sea war wife (Deianira) suspected the chastity of her husband (Herakles)		At the end of sea war Rama suspected the chastity of Sita
21.	Love charm was used by wife		
22.	Ring was used for identification	Ring was used for identification	
23.	A pyre was made for the suspected husband		A pyre was made for the suspected wife
24.	After the pyre bones were not available		The pyre did not affect the wife. So no bone is available.
25.	After the pyre the hero became immortal		After the pyre husband and wife are portrayed as immortals.
26.	The myth begins with fate and ends with chastity	The myth begins with fate and end with chastity	
27.	Main theme of the myth: A man loving someone's wife or other than his own will be punished	Main theme of the myth: A man loving someone's wife will be punished	
28.	The hero is worshipped as god in many parts of the world	The hero is worshipped as god in Hinduism, Buddhism and in South Asian countries	

Thus there are many resemblances seen in the myth of Herakles and Rama. The myth of Rama evolved as a great epic. So the obscure elements seen in the myth of Herakles were elaborated in the epic of Rama.

The Greek Historian mentions that the Indians portrayed the Herakles as their own. The resemblances seen between Herakles and Rama prove that both are same. The same person can be seen in Greek religion, Hinduism and Buddhism. There are many sacred places called temples for Rama in Tamil Nadu and all over India. In Thailand the Temple of the Emerald Buddha or Wat Phra Kaew has the story of Phra Rama, the hero of Ramakien, as the Thai Ramayana. Further, in Sri Lanka Kelaniya is a Buddhist Temple related to Rama. Thus the Greek Herakles is worshipped in the name of Rama in many parts of the world.

References

- Bekker I (1890) *Diodorus Siculus bibliotheca historica*. Leipzig.
- Briggs BD (2006) *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, Unabridged, Biblesoft, Inc.
- Coleridge EP (1938) *Euripides Heracles*. New York: Random House.
- Eberhard ABG (1885) *Indica Arrian*. Leipzig.
- George Frazer J (1921) *Apollodorus the Library*. London: William Heinemann Ltd., Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Griffith. Ralph T.H. (1896) *The Rig Veda*. India: sacred-texts.com.
- Jebb R (1892) *Sophocles Trachiniae*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kausalya H (2018) *Nālāyira divya prabhandam paśurams by Azhvārs* (Four thousands sacred songs). Madurai, Tamil Nadu, India.
- Kovacs D (1994) *Euripides Medea*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- NASB (1981) *NAS Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible with Hebrew – Aramaic and Greek Dictionaries*. The Lockman Foundation.
- Padilla MW (1998) *The myths of Herakles in ancient Greece*. University Press of America.
- Pugazhendhi D (2020a) The ancient sea trade of the Hebrews with Tamil Nadu, India with reference to the biblical word ‘Thukkiyyim’ [Peacock]. *Global Journal of Human-Social Science Research* S.1.(Jul): 23–33.
- Pugazhendhi D (2020b) The Greek root word ‘Kos’ and the trade of ancient Greek with Tamil Nadu, India. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 14(3): 185–192.
- Pugazhendhi D (2020c) Comparison between the grammar of Greek Sapphic and Tamil Seppal songs. *Athens Journal of Philology* 7(3): 147–170.
- Ralph GTH (1874) *Rámāyan of Vālmiki*. India: sacred-texts.com.
- Rouse WHD (1901) *The Jataka - Buddha's former birth*. India: sacred-texts.com.
- Tamil Virtual University (1995) *Sangam literature*. Tamil Nadu, India: Government of Tamil Nadu.

What Languages are in Names? Exploring the Languages in Church Names in Ghana

By Osei Yaw Akoto* & Joseph Benjamin A. Afful[‡]

Several studies over the years have employed the rhetorical question "What is in a name?" to uncover the semantic-pragmatic imports of names. This paper examines church names (ecclesionyms) which constitute part of the religio-onomastic landscape of Ghana to discover the various languages embedded in them. To achieve this task, we gathered names of churches from 'online' (websites of associations of Christian churches) and 'offline' sources (posters, signages and billboards). We manually searched the data and identified all languages embedded in the church names. Guided by Akoto's (2018) global-local model of language choice, the analysis showed that churches in Ghana generally adopt three global languages (Hebrew, Greek and Latin), a glocal language (English) and three local languages (Akan, Ewe and Ga). It is argued that the status of the global, glocal and local languages as canonical/biblical languages, an 'ethnically neutral' language and 'Ghanaian majority' languages respectively enable the churches to foreground their uniqueness. Implications for language planning in religion are discussed.

Keywords: church names, ecclesionym, glocal language, identity, language choice

Introduction

The *church* is central in Christianity, hence, Pan (2018) describes it as an icon in the Christian faith. It has a number of connotations or meanings. It is thus used to refer to the assembly of believers, the building in which the believers worship, and the Christian organization with distinct administrative and ecclesiastical polity (Goheen 2000, Koduah 2004). Therefore, it has narrow and broad imports, which respectively concerns either one or more than one of the meanings outlined. The meaning preferred is informed by one's purpose and the context of use. In this study, we subscribe to the broad which encompasses all the three imports. Church, is therefore, a Christian organization with distinct doctrine, leadership, liturgical practices and identity markers such as name, logo and colours with a designated place of worship. Goheen (2000, p. 228) asserts that "in ecclesiological understanding and formulation, the institutional aspect of the church has dominated throughout the history of the western church" and this understanding has become pervasive globally. Therefore, para-church organizations that are inter-denominational in nature and lack the aforementioned qualities are not regarded as *churches* (see Koduah 2004). One thing common to the various understandings of church is name. Church founders and planters have the

*Lecturer, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science & Technology, Ghana.

[‡]Associate Professor, University of Cape Coast, Ghana.

onomastic right to name their churches to suit their vision and mission, culminating into varied synonyms as temple, centre, ministry, cathedral and the likes (Zelinsky 2002).

Since the 20th century, scholars in onomastics in general and *ecclesionomastics* (the study of church names) in particular have taken keen interest in church names. Several studies over the years have employed the rhetorical question "What is in a name?" (Adjah 2011) to uncover the semantic-pragmatic imports of names. Interestingly, Van Zijl and Yadav (2011) used a 'coordinated and contrasted' version "What is in a name and what isn't?" These questions have been used across multidisciplinary fields to explore the concepts of name, name change, branding and advertisement. Inspired by these questions, we decided to explore the languages that are embedded in church names. The study of church names, *ecclesionymy* or *ecclesionomastics* remains an "onomastic terra incognita" (Fairclough 1960, p. 75), although "church names themselves are full of interest" (Stronks 1962, p. 203). While Fairclough's (1960) view was the state of the art 60 years ago, not much has changed since then compared to personal names (Adjah 2011, Huang and Ke 2016), corporate names (Muzellec 2006, Delattre 2002) and place names (Albury and Carter 2017, Mireku-Gyimah and Mensah 2015). There are a few papers on church names, which are data-based (Zelinsky 2002) or non-data-based (Stronks 1962, 1963, 1964). Stronks' earliest papers were merely a catalogue of church names. Stronks' (1962, 1963, 1964) papers were preceded by Fairclough's (1960) data-based study in which he examined the "congregational name(s)" (p. 76) of Baptist denominations to ascertain the similarities and differences in the naming patterns of Negro and White Baptist churches in America. Related to Fairclough's study are Ferguson (1966), Rogers (1963), Stump (1986, 1988) and Zelinsky (2002) who explored church-naming patterns and practices in the United States of America.

In multilingual contexts, people are always confronted with names in varied languages. Indeed, the choice of the languages does not only reveal information about the language user, but the audience, the place where it is used and even the language itself. The effect and of a church name is most likely going to be influenced by several factors among which is the language embedded in them. Consequently, Pan (2018) investigated the translation of some multi-national churches into Chinese. This thus makes it crucial for languages in church names to be examined in order to help us establish the correlation between the languages in church names and language diversity in a country. Africa has contributed significantly to Christianity and its sustainability and spread (Koduah 2004). Consequently, the study focuses on Africa, particularly Ghana, to explore the languages embedded in the names in this multi-church country. The study seeks to explore the choice of immigrated languages and the hosted languages (Pan 2018), which can be considered the *lingua ekklesia onomastica* (i.e. the languages that are used in church names). The paper is guided by Akoto's (2018) classification of languages into global, glocal and local.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. The first section provides an overview of the general linguistic landscape in Ghana. This is followed by the methods which details the data source, data collection and analysis procedures. It

is immediately followed by the discussion of results, and concludes with implications of the paper.

Overview of the General Linguistic Landscape in Ghana

Ghana is a multilingual country which boasts approximately 80 indigenous languages usually presented in a language map (Eberhard et al. 2019). Ghana's current language repertoire makes it possible to distinguish between the maps of the languages OF and IN. The map of the languages IN Ghana is broader and more comprehensive than the map of the languages OF Ghana. The OF map shows languages that are indigenous to Ghana and Yevudey and Agbozo (2019) classify them into dominant and minority languages. It should be noted that this classification is not fixed as the status of can easily change since it is possible for a minority language to gain a 'dominant' status. Again, dominance or minority can be measured in degrees. For example, the Akan language which hitherto was described as the dominant language in southern Ghana (Obeng 1997) is now considered a local lingua franca (Yankson 2018). The OF map certainly does not mirror the current language contact situation in Ghana. The colonial and post-colonial eras witnessed an influx of some foreign languages in Ghana. Some typologies since then have been provided to explain the linguistic landscape in Ghana. Ellis and Ure (1982) suggested a high-low model of languages, where high, middle and low correlates with English only, English-Ghanaian language mixed and Ghanaian language only (Owusu-Ansah 1997). Akoto (2018) classified languages in Ghana into global, glocal and local, depending on the extent to which a language identifies itself with the Ghanaian sociocultural/linguistic context.

Unlike the IN Ghana map which remains relatively monolithic or unchanging, the OF Ghana one keeps increasing as a result of globalization, which among other things has resulted in increasing internationalization of some languages such as Chinese and Spanish. In recent times, it is common to find Chinese as part of the linguistic landscape of Ghana in both official and non-official inscriptions.

Methods

The Data

This study is part of a larger project which focuses on the religio-onomastic geography or landscape of Ghana. It is a common practice in Ghana to have main churches having varied names for their branches. Interestingly, the name of a branch of a main church can also be a name of another main Church. In Figure 1, the main church is *Assemblies of God, Ghana* with a branch named *Higher Life Assembly*. The present study is thus limited to only main churches but not the branches, contrary to previous studies such as Fairclough (1960), Ferguson (1966), Stump (1988) and Zelinsky (2002). The churches in Ghana gathered for the study are from "various national origins and diverse liturgical and theological traditions"

(Ferguson 1966, p. 76). This justifies the representativeness of the data since these factors, among others, influence language choice in the names of churches (Crystal 1966).

Figure 1. Church Poster with 'Main Church' and Branch Names



Currently, there is no central registry or directory for churches in Ghana. However, there are official umbrella bodies (Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council, Ghana Christian Council and National Association of Charismatic and Christian Churches) for churches in Ghana; not many of the churches are registered members. Besides, there are no laws in Ghana that require churches to register, unlike countries such as United States of America (Stronks 1962, 1963, 1964, Zelinsky 2002). The relative absence of "complete central registries for churches" (Zelinsky 2002, p. 85) makes it an arduous task to build a data on church names in Ghana. We, therefore, collected church names from multiple sources, which included signboards, funeral posters/brochures, newspapers and the websites of church councils such as Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council, Ghana Christian Council, Association of Charismatic and Christian Churches and the directory of "spiritual churches" by Opoku (1962). The data collection for the non-directory churches spans a period of ten years (2009-2019). The number of church names gathered for this study is one thousand three hundred and twenty-one (1321). In spite of the vast coverage of the data, it is in no way exhaustive of the churches in Ghana. Notwithstanding, the present data can be said to be representative particularly regarding language choice in church names in Ghana, and thus lend credence to the arguments presented in the paper. The data can be described as a 'monitor data' since we continue to add new church names.

Few challenges were encountered during the data collection procedure through to the analysis. Obtaining data from official websites of the Christian groups in Ghana came with its own challenges. The membership of some associations involved para-church organizations such as *Young Men's Christian Association*, *Young Women's Christian Association* and *Youth For Christ*

International Africa. These were excluded from the data. Next, it was sometimes uneasy identifying the language in some church names as a number of words have been borrowed into English from some languages. It was, therefore, difficult to ascertain whether such words were to be considered English or non-English. Two criteria were followed: foreign words (e.g., El Shaddai and Zoe) that have been anglicized in terms of orthography were considered non-English. Foreign words orthographically anglicized but have been absorbed into the English lexicon were considered English as well. Finally, we assumed that church names belong to the public domain and we thus freely took photos of relevant signages. However, there were instances when some people questioned why their permissions were not sought before taking the photographs. This, however, was resolved by apologizing, and in subsequent instances permissions were sought from the occupants of such structures.

Procedure of Analysis

The study generally focused on the kind of languages embedded in church names, and the classification of such languages (Akoto 2018). Specifically, it was interested in the identification, quantification and interpretation of the languages and language ‘groups’ (Akoto 2018). We read through the data and coded the church names, based on the identified languages. We adopted two strategies when we had difficulties. We used the language identification software for foreign languages (Akoto 2018) and contacted a ‘multilingual Ghanaian’ for the indigenous languages. One lecturer in the Department of Language and Communication Sciences, KNUST, who was very instrumental in this regard could speak all the local languages found in the church names (Akan, Ewe and Ga). Such ‘human language identifiers’ are crucial in linguistic landscape and language choice research since it is difficult to have a software that can identify all known human languages worldwide, particularly the minority languages. The identified languages were subsequently tagged as “‘En’ for English”, “‘A’ for Akan”, “‘E’ for Ewe”, “‘G’ for Ga”, etc. After the tagging, we manually counted all the languages found and classified them based on Akoto’s (2018) classification of languages (i.e., global, glocal and local). Finally, the various types whether unilingual or multilingual were also determined. The steps followed are outlined as follows:

1. Read the names one by one.
2. Consider the words in each name.
3. Identify the language source of the words.
4. Determine the degree of integration of the word into English. For example, words are considered English "on the assumption that the words in question form part of the lexicon of well-educated Anglophones [Ghanaians]" (Zelinsky 2002, p. 80) and are thus included in the English language lexicon.
5. Identify and label the languages in the church name.
6. Label the languages in the church name (e.g., ‘En’ for English).

7. Count all the occurrences of a particular language in the data.

At this point, it is important to outline some observations about church names in Ghana, which also necessitated some decisions. First, name change of churches is a common practice in Ghana. In this study, we included both the ‘old’ and ‘new’ names such as *World Miracle Church International* and *Perez Chapel International*. Second, some of the churches officially have the translated version of their names as *The True Worshipers’ Church (Nokware Asorefo Asore)*. In this case, we considered the name as one but countered the languages in each case separately. Some of the churches are registered; others are not. The registration of the churches prevents the occurrences of same names for different main churches. However, a number of the churches are not officially registered and so similarity in the church names is commonplace. Some church names are distinguished based on the addition of geographical markers such as *worldwide, international, global, Ghana* and *Africa* as in *The Word of Christ Chapel* and *The Word of Christ Chapel International* –which is also the focus of another paper. Some also differed based on *generics* which include ‘*church*’, *temple* and *mission*, as in *The Word of God Mission* and *The Word of God Temple*. We counted each occurrence separately. Notwithstanding, for some of the names, we verified their ‘sameness’ or otherwise from such identity indexes as logo, motto and colours.

Analysis and Discussion

Languages in Church Names in Ghana

The paper sought to find out the languages that were employed in church names in Ghana. The analysis revealed eight languages in the data: English, Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Sanskrit, Akan, Ewe and Ga. It must be noted that all the *global languages* (Akoto 2018) were written in English orthography. Unsurprisingly, this finding differs from Zelinsky (2002) who observed languages such as Arabic, Hebrew, Slavic, Chinese and Hindu in the church names in America. In the present study, except English and Hebrew, all the other languages in Zelinsky were absent. This points to cross-national variation in linguistic churchscape largely influenced by linguistic and non-linguistic factors such as the linguistic diversity and the history of Christianity in the country respectively. Most crucially, the language ecology of the people is also responsible. Thus, if one has a greater number of French or Hindu community, there is a high probability that there may be names of churches in that language. For example, when the Church of Pentecost, headquartered in Ghana, established branches in francophone countries, the name was translated into French as *Église de Pentecôte* to identify with the dominant language in the country.

The multiple languages employed in the church names from our data set support the claim that Christianity accommodates linguistic diversity (Pennycook 2005, Karmani 2005). The quantitative profiling of the languages (as shown in Table 1) is important as it shows the value, prestige and the recognition accorded

the languages. Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 26) assert that "the predominance of one language on public signs [church names] relative to other languages can reflect the relative power and status of competing language groups". The "larger or smaller presence" (Coluzzi and Kitade 2015, p. 251) of any of the languages reveals the degree of attachment the people have for the language.

Table 1. *Languages in Church Names in Ghana*

S/N	Language	Frequency	%
1.	English	1160	88.41
2.	Hebrew	83	6.32
3.	Greek	24	1.83
4.	Akan	19	1.43
5.	Latin	16	1.22
6.	Ewe	6	0.46
7.	Ga	3	0.23
8.	Sanskrit	1	0.08
TOTAL		1312	

The languages employed in the church names "...manifest the influence of economic, social, cultural, ethnical(sic), and historical and globalization development" (Guihang and Bingjie 2017, p. 1) in the religious linguistic landscape in Ghana. The 'configuration of languages' (Landry and Bourhis 1997, p. 26) in the church names mirrors the multilingual environment in Ghana. It thus correlates with Ghana's linguistic diversity, as a country which accommodates multiple local and foreign languages (Dseagu 1996). This largely affirms the assertion that there is a direct correspondence between linguistic landscape and a country's linguistic composition (Landry and Bourhis 1997, Coluzzi and Kitade 2015). While Table 1 points to a diversified or multilingual linguistic landscape in the Ghanaian ecclesionymy, we noticed that English massively dominates.

Drawing on Akoto's (2018), we classified the languages found in the data into global (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Aramaic and Sanskrit); glocal (English) and local (Akan, Ga and Ewe). In this study, we used Akan as a name of a language (Obeng 1977, Yankson 2018) rather than of an ethnic group (Appah 2003). In the ensuing sections, we discuss, first, the global languages in the church names, and then the glocal and local languages.

Global Languages in Church Names

Eberhard et al. (2019) posit that there are seven thousand one hundred and eleven (7, 111) languages in the world. Akoto (2018) argues that these languages can be classified into global, glocal and local depending on the degree of a language's association to a country's sociocultural context. He thus classified all indigenous Ghanaian languages as local; English and all the remaining ones as glocal and global respectively. His classification of languages is greatly influenced by the concepts of *context* and *perspective* (Brunyé et al. 2009) and the theory of social positioning (Davies and Harré, 1990) such that the language he considers as global may be considered by another person as local (Jolayemi 2015). For,

instance, while Jolayemi (2015) and Akoto (2018) consider Hebrew as a global language, somebody in Israel will categorize it as local.

Out of the diverse global languages, only four (i.e., Greek, Hebrew, Latin and Sanskrit) were employed in church names in Ghana. Interestingly, three of the identified global languages were employed in the multilingual inscription placed on the cross of Jesus on the day of his crucifixion, as reported in John 19: 19-20⁵.

And Pilate wrote a title, and put it on the cross. And the writing was JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS. This title then read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was written in **Hebrew**, and **Greek**, and **Latin** (King James Version, Bold ours).

This suggests that the languages are employed in the church names to stress the centrality of the cross in Christianity (Stott 2012). The historical affinity between Christianity and the western world also largely explains the choice of the above-stated languages in the church names. Sawyer (2001) affirms that "language and religion share a very long and a very close history ..." as classical Arabic is linked to Islam, Hebrew for Judaism and Sanskrit for Buddhism (Pennycook 2005). *Christianity*, however, is said to have lost such a connection (Pennycook 2005). Pennycook (2005) suggests that language-religion mapping is not universal, although Inya (2019) thinks otherwise. More so, such a nexus is evolving where religions that resisted the use of some languages are now beginning to adopt and allow the use of other ones based on the sociocultural milieu. It is reported that Islam is beginning to welcome the use of other languages for some Islamic rituals (Karmani 2005, Mahboob 2009). We note from the data of church names that Sanskrit, a Buddhism-oriented language, has been introduced into Christianity. This is quite difficult to justify; however, it can be said to be a relative evidence of "linguistic ecumenism" (Ellos 1983, p. 1).

Christianity came to Ghana through the people of European origin. It, therefore, justifies the presence of the Indo-European languages and the absence of African languages in the global languages adopted in church names in Ghana. Crystal (1987) notes that the Indo-European languages are widespread across the globe as a result of colonialism. Furthermore, all the identified global languages are described as religious and 'old' (Crystal 1987). Although the views that certain languages are considered to be the 'language of God' and as prototypical are considered as part of linguistic myth, church namers can capitalize on that as part of their onomastic strategies for pragma-rhetorical effects. It may position such churches as the "true churches" since they are named in the language perceived to have been spoken by God and also used historically for canonical purposes. The ideologies, powers and identities ascribed to a language directly or indirectly can be associated with the users of such language.

Biblical languages may have been employed in the church names for historical links as Crystal (1987, p. 34) argues that "language provides a particular clear link with the past...This link exists even after the ability in the language has been lost..." Churches with such languages may reminisce the past records and statuses of these languages since "names with a touch of nostalgia have an appeal" (Rogers 1960, p. 51). Arguably, the church names with words from any of the biblical

⁵Holy Bible: King James Version.

languages (e.g., Hebrew and Greek) may not have been written for Hebrew or Greek readers since active and/or passive speakers of these languages are uncommon in Ghana. The presence of such languages probably is in tandem with Rainer's (2018) advice that church namers should consider Greek or Latin words they remember from seminary in order to appear appealing.

It is not surprising to find Hebrew and Greek languages employed in the Ghanaian ecclesionymy. On the contrary, we are surprised about the relatively low use of these languages in church names in Ghana given that the educated youth who dominate the Christian landscape in Ghana have a knack for these languages. They feel that these two languages must surface in a preacher's sermon such that they introduced the terms *HWPS* and *GWPS* which respectively refer to *Hebrew Words Per Sermon* and *Greek Words Per Sermon*. To them, the extent to which one is able to intersperse their sermon with Greek and Hebrew expressions marks their deepness in the Word of God. The two languages are regarded sacred as "the sacredness of the language" (Crystal 1987, p. 384) may be conferred on the churches.

Glocal Language in Church Names

English is considered a glocal language in Ghana because of its peculiar status in the Ghanaian socio-linguistic landscape (Akoto 2018, Owusu-Ansah 1995, Obeng 1997) The glocal status of English in Ghana is supported by Schneider's (2007) dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes. English in Ghana has gone through all the first four phases (i.e., foundation, exonormative stabilization, nativization and endonormative stabilization) and is currently at the final stage – the differentiation stage (Nkwain, 2019, Owusu-Ansah 2012). Dseagu (1996) contends that English has been indigenized to become a national language in Ghana. He notes that English in Ghana as "an imperial and colonial language of conquest and domination has been transformed into a national language acceptable and accessible to all sections of the nation and identified with peace, progress and development" (p. 57). It is, therefore, not surprising to find it as a dominant church-naming language in the Ghanaian ecclesionymic linguistic landscape.

Given its 'dual' or bridging position as occurring in both global and local spheres (Akoto 2018), English is regarded more powerful and persuasive as it projects an enviable identity of the churches (Inya 2019). It is common to hear some Ghanaians pride themselves as belonging to an English-medium church. In fact, there are some people who lack competence in English but desire to attend English-medium churches. Moreover, there are some churches in Ghana that conduct services at separate periods on Sunday, one in English and another in a local language. Arguably, the rights of the local Ghanaian languages seem to have been ceded to the English language such that the Ghanaian linguistic landscape is markedly English. It is, therefore, not surprising that church names are considered to be part of the "sphere of influence" (Dseagu 1996, p. 58) of the English Language. In fact, literacy is construed to be "Engliacy" such that competence/proficiency in the English language is considered synonymous to academic intelligence (Obeng 1997). This perception underscores the use of English for domestic/informal communication between parents and their children, especially

among the educated folks (Dseagu 1996, Obeng 1997). English-oriented churches may enjoy some advantages, given that the English language in Ghana is ethnically-neutral (Dseagu 1996, Saah 1986). Dseagu (1996, pp. 59–60), therefore, acknowledges: "As a neutral language, English enjoys the unique status of being nobody's language and therefore the least associated with native traditional negative sentiments".

English has thus attained a *superstar* in the *linguistidom* particularly in Ghana, and to a large extent, the world. English church names, therefore, seek to associate themselves with this recognition that the English language has attained among all competing languages globally and locally. The status of English among the languages in church names is akin to St Paul among the saints in church names (see Ferguson 1966). Ferguson (1966), drawing on the dominance of St. Paul in the Lutheran church names in America, describes him as the "inner circle of the Apostles, and the Evangelists" (p. 82). Similarly, the English Language can be described as the *inner circle of languages in church names* in Ghana. As a glocal language (Akoto, 2018), English has broken through linguistic stardom. In Ghana, the superior status of English is indisputable, in terms of number of users and domains of use.

The English Language occurred as the most frequent language in the church names, supporting the increasingly global interconnection between Christianity and English (Coluzzi and Kitade 2015). Pennycook and Makoni (2005, p. 145), therefore, argue that "English is widely promoted as a modern, Christian and democratic language that can counter the despotisms of alternative worldviews". The dominance of English in the ecclesionymic linguistic landscape in Ghana can be attributed, among other things, to the fact that Christianity was introduced in Ghana by the English-speaking European missionaries (Ansong et al. 2014, Koduah 2004). The earliest churches to be established in Ghana were, therefore, named in English. It can be argued that these churches, in terms of language choice, became exemplars to the Ghanaian churches that were established later.

In Ghana, English language can be described as the religious lingua franca, which bridges the linguistic gap among Ghanaians and non-Ghanaian of different linguistic backgrounds in the Christian fraternity. In fact, some churches have English-medium services, culminating into English Services and "International Worship Centres". The choice of English can be ascribed to the 'glocal' prestige accorded the language in the religious cycles in Ghana. Some people pride themselves of belonging to an English-medium church. Hence, in recent times founders of the leading penteco-charismatic/prophetic churches who hitherto were "English language illiterate" have all learnt the language. Two phenomena now exist. The preachers either 'operate' through a local language and an interpreter translates it into English, or vice versa. All these result from the positive attitude people have towards English, which to them also enhances one's self-image. As a glocal language (Akoto 2018), English intersects both the national and international spheres. Therefore, employing English in a church's name makes it appealing to Ghanaians and other nationals both within and outside Ghana. English makes it easier for an individual who does not speak any of the Ghanaians local languages employed in the church names to appreciate the English-medium

church names to have a sense of what is in the name –the theology and doctrines. The desire to position churches ‘intersectionally’ is evident in the use of ‘space markers’ such as ‘international’, ‘worldwide’ ‘world’ and ‘global’ in a significant number of the church names. Indeed, English language wields power and this has entrenched its superiority among languages in the world. The *power*, therefore, in the language attracts people to such churches, given that the language one identifies with directly affects one’s identity (Akoto 2018). Guihang and Bingjie (2017) assert that "in a multilingual setting, the dominance of one language over others usually displays the higher status of its language group than other language groups. Thus, languages presented in shop signs [church names] can be informational by delivering information to attract readers’ attention and are symbolic in the way of indicating status and value of such languages compared to other languages" (p. 2).

Further, the use of the English in the church names in Ghana projects such churches as cross-ethnic ones. English language is employed as an interethnic lingua franca for inter-ethnic communication among the educated Ghanaians. The preeminence of English in the ecclesionyms may be attributed to the multiethnic composition of Ghana. Suggestive in some church names ‘All Nations Christian Centre’, ‘All Nations Full Gospel Church’ and ‘All Nations Pentecostal Church’, English-medium church names probably indicate that they are churches for all ethnolinguistic groups locally and globally.

Local Languages in Church Names

Ghana is described as a multilingual and multiethnic state (Ansah 2014, Opoku-Amankwa 2009). Although there is lack of consensus on the total number of languages in Ghana, there seems to be an agreement among scholars on the ‘majority’ and minority division of the local languages (Yevudey and Agbozo 2019, Obeng 1997). Table 1 shows that three Ghanaian local languages are employed in church names in Ghana. The presence of these Ghanaian indigenous languages can be described as a mark of Ghanaianism, or Ghanaian exceptionalism in ecclesionymy which is "indicative of linguistic loyalty" (Inya 2019, p. 1157). These languages enact local identities of the churches (Fairclough 1960, Akoto 2018). Interestingly, all the churches that employed local languages are Independent African Churches with Ghanaian founder(s). For example, the churches *Twer Nyame (Divine Fellowship)*, that is Akan and *Apostoiowo Pe Dedefia Habobo (Apostolic Revelation Society)* that is Ewe were founded by Ghanaians Rev. Joe Mensah Budu Colemari and Prophet Wovenu respectively (Opoku 1970). This supports the assertion that national origin of church founders influences the naming of churches (Ferguson 1966, Stump 1986, 1988, Zelinsky, 2002).

All the three local languages are majority languages in Ghana, and thus are part of the eleven government-sponsored languages taught as subjects and used as mediums of instruction in Ghanaian educational institutions (Yevudey and Agbozo 2019, Yankson 2018). Another common denominator to these three church-naming indigenous languages is that they are the only Ghanaian languages captured by Google for internet communication, which are potential linguistic

candidates for online discourses or communication. The *internet status* of these languages enhances their global visibility and image. These attributes can invariably be conferred on the churches that adopt them in their names. The internationalized personae or ethos of the languages can also positively influence the corporate images of the churches that employ them. Among the local languages, these languages can be said to have attained *celebrity statuses*.

Therefore, adopting these local languages in church names has a number of implications. The people will have some emotional attachment (Dewaele 2008, 2010, 2015) to such churches since they are named in the languages of their "spirits" and "souls". The relationship between language and soul has been discussed by several scholars (Dewaele 2008, 2010, 2015, Ożańska-Ponikwia 2012). Further, the members of such churches are likely to identify themselves with such churches since the churches are named in a language known to them. People who are not conversant with English language will, therefore, be attracted to such churches rather than the English-medium ones since such churches echo their ethnolinguistic identities; thereby invariably corresponding with the natural linguistic identity of the members in the respective speech communities. This resonates with the view that local languages are "emblems of group identity" (Crystal 1987, p. 42).

Conclusion and Implications

The paper which generally bothers on the religio-linguistic landscape examined language choice in church names in Ghana. Guided by Akoto's (2018) classification of languages in Ghana, the paper used data set of church names in Ghana, and classified the identified languages into global, glocal and local. The global, glocal and local languages identified were Greek, Hebrew, Latin and Sanskrit; English; and Akan, Ewe and Ga respectively.

The study has implication for policy on language choice for religious purposes in general and church naming in particular. As far back as 1960, Rogers asserted that "among the major Protestant denomination in America today almost none have rules or regulations governing selection of church names" (p. 44). Stump (1988) notes that some churches such as the Roman Catholic, Seventh-Day Adventist, Baptist churches, Jehovah's Witnesses and the Latter-Day Saints have "policies and practices in naming churches of the respective denominations" (Rogers 1960, p. 44). However, there is no policy on language choice. In Ghana, there are no "fixed onomastic principles and policies" (Rogers 1960, p. 45) on language choice. It may be argued that the liberty to choose a language in a church name is part of the freedom of worship enshrined in the 1992 constitution of Ghana. The general Christian bodies may in their own way provide principles to guide church planters on language choice in church names since that has implications for the members' theological orientation.

Language planning and policy in Ghana has mainly focused on education. Language-in-education policy in Ghana has, therefore, engendered the attention of scholars (Yevudey and Agbozo 2019, Opoku-Amankwa 2009, Owu-Ewie 2017)

at the expense of the other domains of language use, which are equally important for the politico-socio-economic development. This study, therefore, calls for a language-in-religion policy in Ghana. It proposes that language advocates, government agencies, educators and religious actors must legislate the use of language use for religious purposes. The policy must advocate a multilingual language policy where some languages in the country will by law be employed in religious communication in order not to violate the fundamental religio-linguistic human rights of the indigenes. Over the years, Ghana Bible Society and Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation have tried to translate the Bible into indigenous Ghanaian languages. This is a step in the right direction, except that the act is not enforced by a language policy. It is the initiative of the local Christian missionaries and gospel propagators desire to communicate God's word into all languages of Ghana for people to understand God themselves. This issue has been tackled in mother tongue hermeneutics by such scholars as Aryeh (2016) and Kuwornu-Adjaottor (2012). We suggest that this must be legislated so that it will be binding on all religious bodies in Ghana to do same.

This study is limited to the languages in the church names. Explanations for the choice for the languages were from 'emic perspective', hence, another study can adopt an 'etic approach' by interviewing both the founders of the churches to find out from them the motivation for the choice of the languages in the church names. Again, it can also interview both members and non-members to find out their perceptions on the church names, and the impact of it on them.

Acknowledgments

We thank Dr. Melvin Djobuah Nartey of the Department of Language and Communication Sciences, Kwame Nkrumah University of Sciences and Technology, Ghana, for helping in identifying the indigenous Ghanaian languages in the data.

References

- Adjah OA (2011) What is in a name? Ghanaian personal names as information sources. *African Research & Documentation* 11(7): 3–17.
- Akoto OY (2018) Language choice and institutional identity: a study of the mottos of Ghanaian educational institutions. *WORD* 64(3): 177–190.
- Albury NJ, Carter L (2017) A typology of arguments for and against bilingual place-naming in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 38(9): 831–842.
- Ansah MA (2014) Language choice in multilingual communities: the case of Larteh, Ghana. *Legon Journal of the Humanities* 25(1): 37–57.
- Ansong KD, Asante EA, Kquofi S (2014) Eulogising God in Christian worship through Akan traditional appellations: a case of Kumasi. *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal* 1(8): 1–15.
- Appah CKI (2003) *Nominal derivation in Akan: a descriptive analysis*. Unpublished MPhil Thesis. Trondheim: Norwegian University of Science and Technology.

- Aryeh DNA (2016) Inductive biblical interpretation and mother-tongue biblical hermeneutics: a proposal for Pentecostal/charismatic ministries in Ghana today. *The Journal of Inductive Biblical Studies* 3(2): 140–160.
- Brunyé TT, Ditman T, Mahoney CR, Augustyn JS, Taylor HA (2009) When you and I share perspectives: pronouns modulate perspective taking during narrative comprehension. *Psychological Science* 20(1): 27–32.
- Coluzzi P, Kitade R (2015) The languages of places of worship in the Kuala Lumpur area: a study on the "religious" linguistic landscape in Malaysia. *Linguistic Landscape* 1(3): 243–267.
- Crystal D (1966) Language and religion. In S Lancelot (ed.), *Twentieth Century Catholicism*, 11–28. New York: Hawthorn Books.
- Crystal D (1987) *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davies B, Harré R (1990) Positioning: the discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 20(1): 43–63.
- Delattre E (2002) Business name changes: the French experience. *Journal of Small Business Management* 40(4): 360–367.
- Dewaele JM (2008) The emotional weight of I love you in multilinguals' languages. *Journal of Pragmatics* 40(10): 1753–1780.
- Dewaele JM (2010) *Emotions in multiple languages*. Springer.
- Dewaele JM (2015) From obscure echo to language of the heart: multilinguals' language choices for (emotional) inner speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* 87(2): 1–17.
- Eberhard DM, Simons GF, Fennig CD (Eds.) (2019) *Ethnologue: languages of the world*. Twenty-second Edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.
- Ellis J, Ure JN (1982) Register range and change. *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 35(3): 5–23.
- Ellos WJ (1983) *Linguistic ecumenism: a Barthian road back from Babel*. University Press of America.
- Fairclough GT (1960) "New light" on "old Zion": a study of the names of white and Negro Baptist churches in New Orleans. *Names* 8(2): 75–86.
- Ferguson CA (1966) Saints names in American Lutheran church dedications. *Names* 14(2): 76–82.
- Goheen MW (2000) *"As the Father has sent me, i am sending you": JE Lesslie Newbiggin's missionary ecclesiology*. Utrecht: Boekencentrum.
- Guihang GUO, Bingjie LI (2017) Linguistic landscape of China: a case study of the language use of shop signs in Wuhan. *Studies in Literature and Language* 15(1): 1–9.
- Huang CY, Ke IC (2016) Parents' perspectives on adopting English names in Taiwan. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 37(8): 849–861.
- Inya BT (2019) Linguistic landscape of religious signboards in Ado Ekiti, Nigeria: culture, identity and globalisation. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 9(9): 1146–1159.
- Jolayemi D (2015) Language, literature and communication: a centenary appraisal. *Journal of the School Languages* 7(2): 1–10.
- Karmani S (2005) Petro-linguistics: the emerging nexus between oil, English, and Islam. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 4(2): 87–102.
- Koduah A (2004) *Christianity in Ghana today*. Accra: Advocate Publishing.
- Kuwornu-Adjaottor JET (2012) Mother-tongue biblical hermeneutics: a current trend in biblical studies in Ghana. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies* 3(4): 575–579.
- Landry R, Bourhis RY (1997) Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: an empirical study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 16(1): 23–49.

- Mahboob A (2009) English as an Islamic language: a case study of Pakistani English. *World Englishes* 28(2): 175–189.
- Mireku-Gyimah PB, Mensah AA (2015) Anglicized place names in Ghana: the case of towns in the Tarkwa mining area. *The Extractive Industries and Society* 2(1): 19–23.
- Muzellec L (2006) What is in a name change? Re-joycing corporate names to create corporate brands. *Corporate Reputation Review* 8(4): 305–316.
- Nkwain J (2019) Evidence of the indigenization of English in Cameroon: pitting the norm against localized forms in dissertation. In MT Mbuh, EN Samba (eds.), *Bordered Identities in Language, Literature and Culture: Readings on Cameroon and the Global Space*, 76-96. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Obeng G (1997) An analysis of the linguistic situation in Ghana. *African Languages and Cultures* 10(1): 63–81.
- Opoku KA (1970) A directory of spiritual churches in Ghana. *Research Review, Legon* 7(1): 98–115.
- Opoku-Amankwa K (2009) English-only language-in-education policy in multilingual classrooms in Ghana. *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 22(2): 121–135.
- Owu-Ewie C (2017) Language, education and linguistic human rights in Ghana. *Legon Journal of the Humanities* 28(2): 151–172.
- Owusu-Ansah L (1997) Nativization and the maintenance of standards in non-native varieties of English. In MEK Dakubu (ed.), *English in Ghana*, 23–33. Accra: Black Mask Publishers.
- Owusu-Ansah LK (2012) Three proofs of the existence of Ghanaian English. In DF Edu-Buandoh, AB Appartaim (eds.), *Between Language and Literature: A Festschrift for Professor Kofi Edu Yankson*, 1–19. Cape Coast: University Printing Press.
- Ożańska-Ponikwia K (2012) What has personality and emotional intelligence to do with ‘feeling different’ while using a foreign language? *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 15(2): 217–234.
- Pan H (2018) The immigration of key cultural icons: a case study of church name translation in Macao. In K Malmkjær, A Şerban, F Louwagie (eds.), *Key Cultural Texts in Translation*, 185–200. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Pennycook A (2005) The modern mission: the language effects of Christianity. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 4(2): 137–155.
- Pennycook A, Makoni S (2005) The modern mission: the language effects of Christianity. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 4(2): 137–155.
- Rainer TS (2018) *Becoming a welcoming church*. B&H Publishing Group.
- Rogers PB (1963) Naming protestant churches in America. *Names* 11(1): 44–51.
- Saah KK (1986) Language use and attitudes in Ghana. *Anthropological Linguistics* 28(3): 367–377.
- Sawyer J (2001) Christianity in Europe. In JFA Sawyer, JMY Simpson (eds.), *Concise Encyclopedia of Language and Religion*, 33–35. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Schneider EW (2007) *Postcolonial English: varieties around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stott J (2012) *The cross of Christ*. InterVarsity Press.
- Stronks JB (1962) Names of store-front churches in Chicago. *Names* 10(3): 203–205.
- Stronks JB (1963) New store-front churches in Chicago. *Names* 12(2): 127–129.
- Stronks JB (1964) Chicago store-front churches: 1964. *Names* 12(2): 127–129.
- Stump RW (1986) *Pluralism in the American place-name cover: ethnic variations in catholic church names*. *North American Culture* 2(1): 126–140.
- Stump RW (1988) Church-naming practices among Eastern Rite Catholics in the United States. *Names* 36(1-2): 85–90.

- Van Zijl PC, Yadav NN (2011) Chemical exchange saturation transfer (CEST): what is in a name and what isn't? *Magnetic Resonance in Medicine* 65(4): 927–948.
- Yankson SA (2018) *Language contact and change in linguistically heterogeneous urban communities: the case of Akan in Accra*. LOT: The Netherlands.
- Yevudey E, Agbozo GE (2019) Teacher trainee sociolinguistic backgrounds and attitudes to language-in-education policy in Ghana: a preliminary survey. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 20(4): 338–364.
- Zelinsky W (2002) The names of Chicago's churches: a tale of at least two cultures. *Names* 50(2): 83–103.

Spanish and Italian Diminutives Compared: Two Alternatives of a Single Diasystem

By John M. Ryan* & Víctor Parra-Guinaldo[†]

The relexification of diminutives has been one of the most productive ways to create new words in the Romance languages. The phenomenon is defined as the historical reanalysis of a lexical item composed of root plus diminutive suffix, whereby the original semantic value of the suffix is bleached over time and its combined form is subsequently reanalyzed as part of a new single morphological root carrying new meaning. This study provides a quantitative lexicographic analysis of the entirety of diminutives that have relexified in the history of Italian. When compared to results for Spanish by Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016), data of this study suggest that Italian followed a very different trajectory of diminutive relexification from Latin than that for Spanish. Specifically, Italian appears to have developed a preference for the alternate ad hoc diminutive suffixes -ino/a and -etto/a (based on non-diminutive Latin forms) at a much earlier period than did Spanish, allowing for greater absorption and the time necessary for relexification. Contrastively, lexicographic data for Spanish suggest that Spanish instead continued to favor reflexes of the original Latin diminutive suffixes. The reasons proposed for this divergence is the relatively early colonization of the Iberian Peninsula and continued preference for traditional Latin diminutive endings over innovative endings that were being adopted Empire-wide, beyond Castile, including other regions of Hispania

Keywords: morphology, lexicon, diminutives, Italian, Spanish

Introduction

According to Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016), diminutives come in two forms: 1) the *ad hoc* diminutive, transparent in meaning and formed by simply combining a root (e.g., Italian *ragazzo* ‘boy’) with a diminutive suffix (-ino ‘little’) to form a derived word that means the combination of its constituent parts (e.g., *ragazzino* ‘little boy’); and 2) the relexified diminutive, less transparent in meaning and initially formed like the *ad hoc* type, but over time has come to be reanalyzed to mean something other than the combination of its constituent parts, (e.g., Italian *occhiello* ‘eyelet’ or ‘buttonhole’, formed historically from the combination of *occhio* ‘eye’ plus the diminutive suffix -ello ‘little’. The resultant word no longer means ‘little eye’, but instead, has evolved to mean a specialized type of hole, reminiscent in shape of the human eye. Further evidence of the relexification process lies in the fact that *occhiello* has earned its own entry in the dictionary, not as a subcategory of *occhio*. Even more important is the fact that the original base word *occhio* is not mentioned in any of the six definitions that are

* Associate Professor, Department of World Languages and Cultures, University of Northern Colorado, USA.

[†] Assistant Professor, Department of English, American University of Sharjah, UAE.

listed for this word⁶. Not all *ad hoc* diminutives relexify, but many, particularly those with the *-ino/a*, *-etto/a*, and *-ello/a* endings in Italian, have done so because they are older and have had the extended time necessary for the meaning of the root plus suffix combination to shift from greater to less transparency.

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to conduct a comprehensive lexicographic analysis of diminutive relexification in Italian that draws on data compiled from three dictionaries: 1) Merz's online *Dizionario inverso dell'italiano moderno* (2004) for isolation of potential diminutive forms; 2) the state-of-the-art digital online *Grande dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* (2018) (hereafter abbreviated as *Dizionario Garzanti*) to examine the semantic variation of each entry and to eliminate from the count words that do not originate in diminutives (e.g., *clandestino* 'clandestine' or *benedetto* 'blessed'); and 3) Pharies's *Diccionario etimológico de los sufijos españoles y otros elementos finales* (2002), supplemented by Rohlfs's *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Sintassi e formazione delle parole* (1969), to assess the approximate timing of entry of the variety of diminutive forms, both *ad hoc* and relexified, into the Italian lexicon. This study is the second phase of a much larger ongoing project that examines relexification across the Romance languages more generally.⁷ Objectives of this paper are: 1) to analyze lexical data (i.e., definitions, usage and etymologies) for 7,308 words that were identified as forms to have potentially undergone the relexification process, utilizing as a corpus the *Dizionario Garzanti* (2019); 2) to identify from the data collected, relative timing, forms and frequency distribution of relexified and *ad hoc* diminutive words in Italian; and 3) to compare findings of the Italian data collected for this study with those previously collected and reported for Spanish in Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016) for phase one. These comparisons provide a better understanding of the nuances behind how both languages have evolved in terms of relexification. Moreover, both Italian and the Spanish studies demonstrate how and why dictionaries are arguably the best concrete representations of the current state of our mental lexicons, and that these can and should be used as reliable corpora for projects that analyze forms which bridge morphology and the lexicon.

Prior Research

Previous Work on Italian and Post Latin Diminutivization

Research on diminutive suffixation in Italian has been approached from varying viewpoints, including a more traditional functional/semantic approach,

⁶*Grande dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* 2018.

⁷The first phase focused on the relexification of diminutives in Spanish and was funded by a 2014 University of Northern Colorado New Project Program award and a 2015 Summer Support Initiative award.

morphopragmatic analysis, diachronic studies based on corpus data, and generative theory. Work such as that of Rohlfs (1969) or Maiden (1995) during the 20th century focused on categorizations at the level of the word, typical of structural analysis of the time, yielding traditional categorizations of smallness (e.g., *casetta* ‘little house’), endearment (e.g., *nonnina* ‘grandma’), or political correctness/politeness (e.g., *grossetto* ‘chubby’). Dressler and Barbaresi (1994) would expand the analysis of these suffixes beyond the level of the word with their theory of morphopragmatics, namely, an account of diminutive use that incorporates the role of context in addition to meaning. Contexts studied included playfulness, pet-centered situations, emotion, sympathy and empathy, sarcasm, downgrading of illocutionary strength, euphemism and understatement. In the course of this work, certain observations were made about *ad hoc* diminutive suffixation, particularly in regard to the suffix *-ino/a*. Napoli and Reynolds (1994) asserted that *-ino/a* is much more productive than *-etto/a*, and that *-ino/a* appears to have a default value as opposed to *-etto/a* in terms of freedom of distribution, number of neologisms, and frequency of use. Dressler and Barbaresi observed that *-ino/a* allows recursiveness and is the diminutive which is most preferred by children. Moreover, Dardano (1978) observed that *-ino/a* conveys more affection than do the other suffixes.

Other work like that of Butler (1971) has had less to do with the functional/semantic use of diminutives like those previously mentioned and more with their historical origins or development. Mayerthaler (1981) suggests that *-ino/a* was the most adopted during Italian medieval times because of the sound-iconic vowel [i], and in that sense it is more natural as compared to others. Also worth noting is the work by Rainer (1994) on *-etto/a*, Weidhase (1967) on reflexes of Latin *-(C)ULU/A*, as well as Meyer-Lubke (1895), Leumann (1977), Kühner and Holzweissig (1912), Väänänen (1967), and Ettinger (1980) on reflexes of *-ELLU/A*. Also, although studies by Pharies (2002) and González Ollé (1962) focused on Spanish, their compendious nature makes them suitable for consultation for Italo Romance as well. Moreover, Rohlfs (1969), though now dated, also serves as an excellent review of dialectal usage of the different forms throughout the Italian peninsula.

Despite the value of the studies mentioned heretofore in contributing to the overall knowledge base of the usage and history of diminutives in Italian, as well as those enumerated in Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016) for Spanish, one of the criticisms that inspired Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo to conduct their study of Spanish was the surprising lack of quantitative studies with regard to the phenomenon of relexification, particularly because of the advent and availability of reverse dictionaries that isolate words by their endings, many of which are now electronic and searchable. This, coupled with the notion that relexified diminutive words are entirely new lexemes that have earned their own entry in dictionaries, appeared to be the perfect incentive to undertake such a project⁸. Hence, phase one of the Romance Relexified Diminutive Project was born.

⁸Although Gaeta and Ricca (2003) have conducted some lexicographic work on frequency and productivity in Italian derivation, they did not include diminutive forms in their analysis.

Results of Phase I: Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016)

Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016) explored the distribution and history of diminutive forms in Spanish as identified in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (hereafter abbreviated as *DRAE*). The forms analyzed were those previously identified by Lázaro Mora (1999), namely, *-(V)jo/a*, *-ulo/a*, *-uelo/a*, *-illo/a*, *-ete/a*, *-in/a*, *-ito/a*, *-ín/a*, and *-ico/a*. Table 1 illustrates the resultant frequencies of these forms observed for Spanish:

Table 1. *Percentage Distribution of Relexified Diminutives as Found in the DRAE for Spanish by Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016)*

Source	<i>-(V)jo/a</i>		<i>-ulo/a</i>		<i>-uelo/a</i>		<i>-illo/a</i>		<i>-ete/a</i>		<i>-ito/a</i>		<i>-in/a</i>		<i>-ico/a</i>		Totals	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Spanish:	36	4.31%	50	5.99%	80	9.58%	469	56.17%	100	11.98%	52	6.23%	36	4.31%	12	1.44%	835	100.00%
Latin:	27	10.84%	124	49.80%	20	8.03%	78	31.32%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	249	100.00%
Other:	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	91	98.91%	0	0.00%	1	1.09%	0	0.00%	92	100.00%
	63	5.36%	174	14.79%	100	8.50%	547	46.51%	191	16.25%	52	4.42%	37	3.15%	12	1.02%	1,176	100.00%

Source: Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo 2016.

Table 1 shows that, according to the *DRAE*, the Spanish diminutive endings *-illo/a* were found to significantly dominate all relexified diminutives (n = 1,176) at a rate of 46.51% (n = 547/1,176). Following in decreasing order were *-ete/a* at 16.5% (n = 191/1,176); *-ulo/a* at 14.79% (n = 174/1,176); *-uelo/a* at 8.5% (n = 100/1,176); *-(V)jo/a* at 5.36% (n = 63); *-ito/a* at 4.42% (n = 52/1,176) and *-ín/a* at 3.15% (n = 37/1,176). These quantitative results corroborate both Pharies (2002) and González Ollé (1962) in that *-illo/a*'s Latin predecessor, *-ELLU/A*, was the preferred *ad hoc* diminutive during Latin's post-classical period, having replaced the previously predominant *-(C)ULU/A*. It would make sense that during that time, starting in Classical Latin with relexified words like *PUELLA* 'girl' from *PUER* 'boy,' throughout the post Classical period with words like *CASTELLU* 'castle' from *CASTR*A 'camp', and into Medieval Spanish with *hiermaniella* 'little sister' from *hermana* 'sister', that *-ELLU/A*, along with its historically derived forms *-iello* and *-illo*, all continued to be used very productively up until the fifteenth century when *-ito* began ousting *-illo* as an *ad hoc* diminutive, much in the same way *-ELLU/A* began to replace *-(C)ULU/A* in post Classical Latin (Pharies 2002). Another noteworthy observation includes maintenance of *-(V)jo/a* *-(C)ULU/A* and a slight increase in forms ending in *-uelo/a* (reflex of *-EOLO/A*) into the Spanish period, but loss of *-ULO/A* entirely. Another important factor is the introduction of *-ete/a*, *-ito/a*, *-in/a* and *-ico/a* as new *ad hoc* diminutivizing forms in Spanish in the fifteenth century. Of these, *-ete/a* was the one that has been relexified the most, followed by *-ito/a*, then *-ín/a*, and *-ico/a*. Furthermore, a Latin non-diminutive, *-ITTU/A*, would produce both *-ete/a* and *-ito/a* suffixes in Spanish. According to the *DRAE*, almost as many relexified *-ete/a* forms (n = 91) were borrowed from other languages, which included French, Catalan, and Italian, as were relexified in Spanish itself.

Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo concluded that, historically, present-day relexified diminutives in Spanish have witnessed multiple origins: Classical Latin, Post-

Classical Latin, other Romance languages, with the process continuing into Spanish today. Another important observation was that not all present-day diminutive forms in Spanish, particularly the extremely productive *ad hoc* suffix *-ito/a*, have originated in other historically diminutive forms, as was the case of hypocoristic *-ITTU*. These findings suggest that the future of relexified diminutivization will continue the recycling path, perhaps at first with words ending in *-ito/a*, becoming the very next common relexified diminutive in the near future (already evident in such forms as *burrito*), much like *-illo/a* and *-ELLU/A* were previously, and as *V-(C)ULU/A* had been before that.

Methodology

Source of Project Data

After careful consideration of several possible data sources, the *Grande Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* was chosen as this project's corpus because of its comparably abundant digitized lexical information. It is one of the five *dizionari dell'uso* recognized by the *Accademia della Crusca*, and unlike the two separate dictionaries that were required for the previous Spanish component of the project⁹, it includes all necessary information within a single resource, necessitating half the search time that was required for the Spanish component. Another benefit to using the online version was that it is revised in real time, ensuring access to the latest updates at the time of data collection and analysis.

Project Design and Methodology

In order to remain consistent with the overall goals of the larger project, all work conducted on this Italian component of the project employed the same methodology that was used for the previously completed Spanish component in Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016), consisting of the following four steps.

Step 1: Identification of Potential Forms with Use of a Reverse Dictionary

A critical precursory step was the employment of the *Dizionario inverso del italiano moderno* (Merz 2004), an online reverse dictionary of Italian¹⁰, in order to isolate all possible Italian words whose endings correspond to all 24 known Italian diminutive endings¹¹. This yielded a total of 7,308 words that the authors pasted

⁹Online *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (2016) and Corominas and Pascual (1980–1991).

¹⁰Reverse dictionaries are a useful tool for linguists interested in word formation because they list words alphabetically according to the ending of a word (instead of the beginning, as is done in "regular" dictionaries), thus, providing easy access to all words that end with the same suffix (Merz 2004, Guerrero Salazar 2002). For the Spanish component Stahl and Scavnický (1973) was employed for this task.

¹¹The 24 Italian diminutive suffixes of this study are *-ello/a*, *-etto/a*, *-ino/a*, *-olo/a*, *-otto/a*, *-ulo/a*, *-uccio/a* and *(V)cchio/a*, where (V) represents any of the five vowels (e.g., *-acchio/a*, *-icchio/a*, etc.).

into 24 individual spreadsheets of an Excel[®] workbook, and with which they employed the AutoSum[®] function to create a preliminary frequency distribution report of tokens found to correspond to all potential diminutive suffixes, as provided in Table 2¹².

Table 2. *Frequency Distribution of Words with Diminutive-Like Endings before Data Cleaning*

	totals	
	n	%
1) <i>-ino/a</i>	2,822	38.62%
2) <i>-olo/a</i>	1,724	23.59%
3) <i>-etto/a</i>	996	13.63%
4) <i>-ello/a</i>	938	12.84%
5) <i>-otto/a</i>	353	4.83%
6) <i>-ulo/a</i>	250	3.42%
7) <i>-(V)cchio/a</i>	164	2.24%
8) <i>-uccio/a</i>	61	0.83%
	7,308	100.00%

Source: Merz 2004.

The "totals" columns of Table 2 show that prior to cleaning of the data, among the 7,308 words in the reverse dictionary, those ending in *-ino/a* and *-olo/a* were the two largest groups, making up over 62% of the total. These were subsequently followed by the two groups ending in *-etto/a* and *-ello/a* for a combined total of over 26%. Finally, the last group, consisting of the remaining four endings (i.e., *-otto/a*, *-ulo/a*, *-(V)cchio/a* and *-uccio/a*) totaled to under 12% of all occurrences.

Step 2: Data Retrieval, Entry, Sorting and Removal of Non-diminutive Forms

All 7,308 words produced in Step 1 were searched using the *Dizionario Garzanti* to determine which did and did not originate in diminutive combinations, enabling removal of the latter from the overall count. One such example of an ineligible word is *benedetto* 'blessed', the *-etto* of which is not based on a diminutive but rather the morpheme *detto* meaning 'said'. After removal of all non-diminutive words, Table 2 was revised to reflect the more accurate frequency distribution of "true" diminutives, as in Table 3.

¹²It is understood that this preliminary step isolates all known Italian words whose endings are homophonous with diminutive suffixes, whether originating in diminutive forms or not. Step 2 is necessary to eliminate any such words that are in fact not of diminutive origin.

Table 3. Revised Diminutive Frequency Distribution after Data Cleaning

	totals	
	n	%
1) <i>-ino/a</i>	514	31.85%
3) <i>-etto/a</i>	455	28.19%
4) <i>-ello/a</i>	324	20.07%
2) <i>-olo/a</i>	181	11.21%
5) <i>-otto/a</i>	48	2.97%
6) <i>-ulo/a</i>	40	2.48%
7) <i>-uccio/a</i>	27	1.67%
8) <i>-(V)cchio/a</i>	25	1.55%
	1,614	100.00%

Source: *Dizionario Garzanti* 2018.

Step 3: Further Disambiguation of Data According to Diminutive Category

Reduced to 1,614 words based on true diminutive forms, Table 3 still does not differentiate between *ad hoc* and relexified types. Step 3 is the point at which we draw on usage, definitional and etymological information from the *Dizionario Garzanti* to further disambiguate the data into *ad hoc* or relexified categories according to the information retrieved. To illustrate how this was done, one must explain the different ways the dictionary specifies diminutive information. Consider how each word entry within the *Dizionario Garzanti* includes a series of definitions as well as etymological information at the end of each entry.

Ad Hoc Diminutive Information

The *Dizionario Garzanti* has three ways of providing information related to *ad hoc* diminutive use, all of which appear within the definition section of a word's entry: 1) If the entry word is itself a diminutive form (e.g., *gattino* 'kitten'), the dictionary will usually state in the very first definition for the word that it is a diminutive of some other base word (e.g., "1. diminutivo di *gatto*." or '1. Diminutive of *cat*.'); 2) If the entry word is not a diminutive form (e.g., *cane* 'dog'), the dictionary may specify at the end of a particular definition and preceded by the abbreviation "dim.": one or more diminutive forms that correspond to that particular definition of the word (e.g., "dim.: *cagnetto*, *cagnolino*", i.e., 'small dog' or 'puppy'); and 3) If the entry word is itself a diminutive form (e.g., *cartoncino* 'thin cardboard/poster board') and in its definition expresses "smallness" or a diminished state of the base word (e.g., *cartone* 'cardboard') that is specified within the definition (e.g., "tipo di cartone leggero e sottile" or 'a type of light and thin cardboard').

Relexified Diminutive Information

The *Dizionario Garzanti* also specifies diminutive use of the relexified type for a given word; however, since the diminutive meaning in such cases is not

transparent but rather historical and needs to be pointed out as such, relexified diminutive information is instead indicated within the "etimologia" or etymological information section that typically follows the definition section at the very end of a word's overall entry within the dictionary. The fact that this information appears in the "etimologia" section and NOT in the definition section of the entry confirms that the modern Italian word itself no longer has a diminutive meaning but rather has relexified as a new single root word whose overall meaning is no longer simply the sum of its original parts.

In all such cases, the etymology specifies that the word originated in a former diminutive combination, whether this is in Italian, Latin, or other languages. As such, etymologies appear as follows: 1. Words relexified in Latin (e.g., *castello* 'castle') whose etymology specifies, "Lat. Castellu(m), dim. di castrum 'fortezza, luogo fortificato,'" or 'Latin Castellu(m) diminutive of castrum 'fortress, fortification.' In some cases, an etymology will specify the Latin variety (e.g., Vulgar Latin, Scientific Latin, etc.); 2. Words relexified in Italian (e.g., *santino* 'holy card') whose etymology specifies, "Propr. dim. di santo" or 'diminutive proper of santo'; and 3. Words relexified in other languages and subsequently borrowed into Italian (e.g., *gabinetto* 'toilette' whose etymology specifies "Dal fr. *cabinet*, dim. di *cabine* 'cabina'" or 'from the French *cabinet* diminutive of *cabine* 'booth.').

One final note on words that are reported to have relexified from Italian words, The *Dizionario Garzanti* does not specify the relative point in Italian history at which a given diminutivized word relexified, so we do not get a sense whether the combination was an earlier or later process historically; however, as will be pointed out in the conclusions of this study, this becomes less important when considering the overall comparative situation between Italian and Spanish.

Step 4: Data Analysis, Interpretation and Comparison to Previously Analyzed Spanish Data

Once the data were sorted among the different categories, frequency, distribution and historical analyses were conducted, and subsequently compared with those for Spanish in Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016).

Research Questions

- 1) What do lexicographic data reveal in terms of the distribution, frequency and history of relexified diminutives in Italian?
- 2) How do lexicographic data for Italian compare to those found for Spanish in terms of timing, usage and frequency of both *ad hoc* and relexified diminutive forms?
- 3) What might the reasons be for variation (big or small) in timing, usage or frequency between Italian and Spanish results? and
- 4) What do the lexicographic data of both studies suggest more generally about the process of diminutive relexification across the Romance languages?

Results

Frequency Distribution of Diminutive Forms

This section of the paper presents the data of this study. Table 4 shows the individual frequencies of the 1,614 words and their origins according to *ad hoc* and diminutive classification based on definitional and etymological information retrieved in the *Dizionario Garzanti*.

Frequencies and Distribution of Italian Ad hoc Diminutives¹³

Table 4 suggests that words ending in *-etto/a* (44%) and *-ino/a* (38%) combined (82%) are the most productive of all Italian *ad hoc* diminutive endings. All other endings, totaling together a mere 18% in frequency, appeared in the data in the following order, from highest to lowest: 1) *-ello/a* (13%); 2) *-otto/a* (2%); 3) *-olo/a* (2%); and 4) *-uccio/a* (1%). No cases of either *-(V)cchio/a* or *-ulo/a* were found among suffixes used for *ad hoc* diminutivization.

Predominance of *-etto/a* and *-ino/a* among other *ad hoc* suffixes in the dictionary data confirms Rohlfs's (1969) anecdotal observations that these are the most used for purposes of *ad hoc* diminutivization in modern Italian. The third most used suffix *-ello/a*, as suggested by Pharies (2002) and as will be seen in the historical analysis later in this paper, owes its continued use to its previous predominance as the *ad hoc* suffix stemming back to Latin times. *-uccio/a* (1%), *-otto/a* (2%) and *-olo/a* (2%) are the least used *ad hoc* forms for purposes of diminutivization, but according to the *Dizionario Garzanti*, *-uccio/a* and *-otto/a* are those most used for other appreciative purposes, with *-otto/a* used for augmentatives (50%) and *-uccio/a* (30%) split almost equally between meanings of pejoration and endearment.

¹³The authors remind the reader to exercise caution when interpreting the frequency and percentage of *ad hoc* diminutives as reported by any dictionary since by their very nature, *ad hoc* diminutive endings are productive and therefore, at least theoretically, most can be used in free variation. Following this logic, it is assumed that not all possible *ad hoc* diminutive forms are counted here. Rather the number of *ad hoc* diminutives here are those that are listed as lemmas or headwords in the *Dizionario Garzanti*. One of the reasons an *ad hoc* diminutive may be listed as a headword is that the particular base word in question is only diminutivized with a particular ending and so, as with our mental lexicons, the form may appear as its own entry or as a subentry to a particular lemma.

Table 4. Distribution of All 1,614 Words Identified as Diminutives

	<u>-ino/a</u>		<u>-etto/a</u>		<u>-ello/a</u>		<u>-olo/a</u>		<u>-otto/a</u>		<u>-ulo/a</u>		<u>-uccio/a</u>		<u>-(V)cchio/a</u>		<u>Totals</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
ad hoc																		
indicated as diminutive	37	21.76%	95	55.88%	26	15.29%	2	1.18%	7	4.12%	0	0.00%	3	1.76%	0	0.00%	170	100.00%
diminutive as definition	218	42.91%	208	40.94%	59	11.61%	11	2.17%	5	0.98%	0	0.00%	7	1.38%	0	0.00%	508	100.00%
smallness in definition	18	48.65%	10	27.03%	5	13.51%	1	2.70%	3	8.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	37	100.00%
subtotal ad hoc	273	38.18%	313	43.78%	90	12.59%	14	1.96%	15	2.10%	0	0.00%	10	1.40%	0	0.00%	715	100.00%
relexified																		
historical diminutive (Italian)	237	42.25%	126	22.46%	132	23.53%	45	8.02%	12	2.14%	1	0.18%	8	1.43%	0	0.00%	561	100.00%
historical diminutive (Latin)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	93	33.82%	121	44.00%	0	0.00%	39	14.18%	0	0.00%	22	8.00%	275	100.00%
historical diminutive (other)	4	12.12%	16	48.48%	6	18.18%	1	3.03%	6	18.18%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	33	100.00%
subtotal relexified	241	27.73%	142	16.34%	231	26.58%	167	19.22%	18	2.07%	40	4.60%	8	0.92%	22	2.53%	869	100.00%
other appreciative meaning																		
pejorative	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5	83.33%	1	16.67%	6	100.00%
endearment	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	42.86%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	57.14%	0	0.00%	7	100.00%
augmentative	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	15	88.24%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	11.76%	17	100.00%
subtotal other appreciative	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	10.00%	0	0.00%	15	50.00%	0	0.00%	9	30.00%	3	10.00%	30	100.00%
Grand totals	514	31.85%	455	28.19%	324	20.07%	181	11.21%	48	2.97%	40	2.48%	27	1.67%	25	1.55%	1,614	100.00%

Source: *Dizionario Garzanti* 2018.

Frequencies and Distribution of Italian Relexified Diminutives

In terms of frequencies among relexified diminutives, Table 4 shows that *-ino/a* once again takes the lead at 28% of all forms. This is followed closely by *-ello/a* (26%), *-olo/-ola* (19%), and *-etto/a* (16%). The remaining forms make up a mere 11% of relexified words, these being *-ulo/a* (5%); *-(V)cchio/a* (3%); *-otto/a* (2%) and *-uccio/a* (1%). The data in Table 4 also show the variety of origins among relexified forms, suggesting the relative period in which relexification took place, allowing for an overall roadmap indicating the timing of entry into the Italian lexicon. For example, Table 4 shows that all words that in the present end in the *-(V)cchio/a* suffix in Italian had endured relexification in Latin in their previous state as *-(V)CULU/A*. Also, words ending in *-ulo/a* almost exclusively relexified in Latin as well. Other suffixes, however, were found to have relexified during an intermediate period spanning both Latin and Italian, these being *-ello/a* and *-olo/a*, which are observed to be divided between Latin and Italian. Finally, a large number of words were found to relexify more recently, i.e., post Latin. The largest category, bearing the *-ino/a* suffix, was observed to have relexified almost exclusively in Italian, while those in *-etto/a* was more diverse, in that many of these have either relexified from earlier Italian words, but a small number of these words were also borrowed from already diminutivized forms in other languages.

Historical Trajectories of Latin Forms into Modern Italian

This section of the paper charts the origins and ultimate trajectories of each of the Italian diminutive forms by taking into account: 1) the trends and frequencies drawn from the *Dizionario Garzanti* as reported in the previous section; and 2) the additional insights provided by collective work of Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016), Rohlf's (1969) and Pharies (2002). Research suggests that there were two possible origins for modern-day diminutive forms in Italian, all of which were inherited from Latin, however, from two very different source types: 1) previously existing Latin diminutive forms; and 2) previously existing Latin non-diminutive forms, further specified by categories I and II below, respectively.

Category I. Latin diminutive (L-form) suffixes:'

- A. *-(C)ULU/A* > Italian *-(c)chio/a*, *-(c)olo/a*, or *-(c)ulo/a*
- B. *-ELLU/A* > Italian *-ello/a*
- C. *-EOLU/A* or *-IOLU/A* > Italian *-iolo/a*

Category II. Latin non-diminutive (non-L form) hypocoristic or adjectival suffixes, later adopted as diminutives:'

- A. *-INU/A* > Italian *-ino/a*
- B. *-ITTU/A* > Italian *-etto/a*
- C. *-UCEU/A* > Italian *-uccio/a* or *-uzzo/a*

Category I. Latin Diminutive (L form) Suffixes: -(C)ULU/A, -ELLU/A, and -EOLU/A or -IOLU/A

Throughout the period of the Roman Republic and into the early days of the Empire, there were three primary operational diminutive suffixes in Latin that appeared in complementary distribution with each other, depending on the endings of the word roots to which they combined (Pharies 2002 and González Ollé 1962). These were -(C)ULU/A, -ELLU/A and -EOLU/A or IOLU/A, among which -(C)ULU/A was the predominant form. Eventually, however, in the later Latin period, -ELLU/A began to replace -(C)ULU/A, as the primary diminutivizing ending, especially as a way to diminutivize forms that had already diminutivized and relexified from -(C)ULU/A. An example is the form OCELLU ‘little eye’ from the earlier combination OCULU ‘eye’. This would lead to -(C)ULU/A falling out of disuse and replaced by -ELLU/A entirely into early Italian. Following are descriptions of how these early diminutive endings further evolved into Italian:

A. Latin -(C)ULU/A > Italian -(c)chio/a, -(C)olo/a, or -(C)ulo/a

Throughout the early part of the Empire, -(C)ULU/A was the most productive Latin diminutive suffix. Because of its relatively early timing in terms of usage during the Empire, according to the frequency data in Table 3, -(C)ULU/A was the suffix that contributed to the largest number of relexified forms from that period (n = 188), and because it would soon be replaced in Latin by -(C)ELLU/A as the preferred diminutive form (see the following section), the data of this study indicate that all existing Italian reflexes of -(C)ULU/A are words that relexified during the Latin period. This form would eventually give rise to two possible reflexes in modern Italian, depending on the preceding consonant (indicated by (C)¹⁴), namely: 1) the -(c)chio/a type where if the preceding consonant (c) was an intervocalic voiceless velar stop [k], as in AURICULU ‘ear,’ the velar stop would geminate, as in *orecchio* ‘ear,’ or if the velar stop was not intervocalic, but preceded by some other consonant, such as -S- (as in MASCULU *maschio* ‘male’) or -N- (as in CARBUNCULU *carbonchio* ‘carbuncle’), it would not geminate; or conversely, 2) the -olo/a type in all other environments in which the preceding (C) was some consonant other than [k], as in CAPITULU > *capitolo* ‘chapter’, or GLANDULA > *ghiandola* ‘gland’. The -ulo variant of -olo is found in only a handful of words, such as OVULU > *ovulo* ‘ovum’.

B. Latin -ELLU/A > Italian -ello/a

According to the frequency data in Table 3, -ELLU/A would be the suffix that would eventually produce one of the largest groups of relexified diminutives (second only to -olo) during the Latin period. At first -ELLU/A had a limited sphere of influence, combining specifically with those words that possessed an -R in the root such as LIBER ‘book,’ PUER ‘boy,’ SOROR ‘sister, and FRATRE

¹⁴In this paper, upper case (C) represents any consonant and upper case (V) represents any vowel. Lower case (c) represents the letter "c".

'brother,' and removing the -R in the resultant form, yielding: LIBELLU 'little book,' PUELLU 'little boy,' SORELLA 'sister' and FRATELLU 'brother'. Many of these root-plus-suffix combinations already relexified in Latin and therefore already appeared in modern Italian as single roots, such as the case of CASTELLU from CASTRU > *castello* 'castle.' Into the late Classical period, -ELLU/A gained enough momentum so that it grew to be the most productive diminutive suffix even to the point of surpassing -(C)ULU/A. In addition to the many already relexified forms, -ELLU/A would continue to be employed as an *ad hoc* diminutive suffix during the post Classical period and then continue into Italo Romance and Italian, in the form of -ello/a. As further indicated in Table 3, -ello/a would eventually reach its highest degree of relexification in Italian, reportedly with a total of 132 words.

C. Latin -EOLU/A or -IOLU/A > Italian -(i)olo/a

Another diminutive suffix in Latin was -EOLU/A or -IOLU/A, which would give rise to -iolo/a in Italian. According to Pharies (2002) and González Ollé and Casado-Velarde (1992), -IOLU/A, -EOLU/A were the suffixes used in complementary distribution when the root word ended in I- or E-. Most of the Italian reflexes of these words have resulted in palatalized root endings, such as -gl- (e.g., *famigliola* 'little family'), -gn- (e.g., *castagnola* 'little chestnut'), or -ggi- (e.g., *seggiola* 'little chair') that were created by the effects of yod in Vulgar Latin.

Table 5 shows the historical trajectory of original Latin diminutive forms into modern Italian.

Category II: Latin Non-Diminutive (non-L) Hypocoristic or Adjectival Suffixes, Later Adopted as Diminutives

According to Pharies (2002), González Ollé (1962), Rohlfs (1969), a second important source of diminutive forms in early Romance had their origins in adjectivizing suffixes of Latin, including -INU/A, -ITTU/A, and -UCEU/A.

A. Latin -INU/A > Italian -ino/a

According to Pharies (2002) and Butler (1971), -in(o)/a entered Romance languages directly from the Classical Latin non-diminutive, categorial adjectivizing suffix -INU, -INA, meaning 'of or belonging to' (e.g., CAPITOLINUS, DIVINUS). González Ollé (1962) suggests that -INU/A might have developed into a diminutive in early Romance by extension of the idea of "belonging to XX" to that of "son or daughter of XX", and in turn "little XX" (e.g., AGRIPPINA, SECONDINUS). This assertion is supported by the relatively high frequencies of both *ad hoc* and relexified diminutives found for -ino/a in the *Dizionario Garzanti* and reported in Table 3. Making up a full 28% of all relexified diminutives in Italian, the table also shows that the great majority of these were formed in Italian, and not in Latin.

Table 5. Historical Trajectory of Modern Italian Diminutives Derived from Original Latin Diminutive (L form) Suffixes

		← Period of relexification →				
Latin form	Italian reflex	Classical Latin	Vulgar Latin	Late Latin	Scientific Latin	Italian of unspecified period
A. -(C)ULU/A	1) -(V)cchio/a:	-(V)CULU/A (e.g., AURICULA > orecchia 'dog ear')				
	2) -(C)chio/a:	-(C)CULU/A (e.g., MASCULU > maschio 'male,' or CARBUNCULU > carbonchio 'carbuncle')				
	3) -(C)olo/a:	-(C)ULU/A (e.g., CAPITULU > capitolo 'chapter', or GLANDULA > ghiandola 'gland')		-(C)ULU/A (e.g., MATRICULA > matricola 'register')		
	4) -(C)ulo/a:				-(C)ULO/A (e.g., OVULU > ovulo 'ovum')	
B. -(C)ELLU/A	A) -ello/a	-ELLU/A (e.g., CASTELLU > castello 'castle')	-ELLU/A (e.g., FRATELLU > fratello 'brother')			-ello/a (e.g., porcinello 'non-venomous mushroom')
	B) -(C)ello/a	-(C)ELLU/A (e.g., FABICELLA > favagello 'celandine')	-(C)ELLU/A (e.g., RAMOSCELLU > ramoscello 'twig')	-(C)ELLU/A (e.g., AVICELLU > uccello 'bird')		-(c)ello/a (e.g., latticello 'buttermilk')
C. -EOLU/A	-iolo/a	-EOLU/A (e.g., PHASEOLU > fagiolo 'bean,' or -IOLU/A (e.g., GLADIOLU > gladiolo 'gladiolus')	-IOLU/A (e.g., OSTIOLU > uscio 'trap door')			-iolo/a (e.g., sedio 'two-wheeled cart')

Source: Dizionario Garzanti 2018.

B. Latin *-ITTU/A* > Italian *-etto/a*, *-otto/a* and *-atto/a*

Another relatively recent, yet highly productive suffix that was added to Italian's repertoire of diminutive suffixes is *-etto/a*, which is believed to have its origin in the Latin forms *-ITTU/A* and likely not diminutive at all, but rather hypocoristic in function. Hypocoristic suffixes attach to names to form nicknames as a means of endearment (e.g., *JULLITTA* or *CARLITTU*). It is said that the Italian ending *-etto/a* and its variants *-otto/a* and *-atto/a* may indeed come from *-ITTU*, used originally in a strict hypocoristic sense, but later spreading to a more generalized diminutive meaning. Another more circuitous way in which *-etto/a* entered Italo Romance and early Italian was not directly from Latin, but rather through other Romance languages such as French (e.g., *gabinetto* 'toilet') and even other Italo Romance languages such as Sicilian (*picciotto* 'little').

In many cases, either *-etto* or *-ino* can be used indiscriminately to form *ad hoc* diminutives, as in *ometto* or *omino*, both forms meaning 'little man'. However, not all Italian base words may allow such an arbitrary selection, being that one of the two forms may have relexified and acquired a more figurative, or particular meaning. Maiden (1995) provides an excellent example of this phenomenon with the pair *poverino* and *poveretto*. Although both words could be translated loosely as meaning 'poor (dear) guy' in English, the first case would only refer to a person who is figuratively "poor", in other words, deserving our sympathy, while the second case refers to the person who is financially insolvent. Still in other cases, neither of the two preeminent *ad hoc* suffixes serves to diminutivize the base word, as found in the case of the pair *fiorino* and *fioretto*. According to the online *Dizionario Garzanti*, *fiorino* is defined as the currency used in Florence in the Middle Ages, i.e., 'florin;' while *fioretto* is a "small devotional act" (our translation). The preferred word for 'little flower' is *fiorellino*.

C. Latin *-UCEU/A* > Italian *-uccio/a* or *-uzzo/a*

Another Latin adjectivizing suffix that made its way into the modern Italian diminutive repertoire was *-UCEU/A*, yielding *-uccio/a* or *-uzzo/a* in modern Italian. According to Table 3, the *Dizionario Garzanti* shows that it is the least common diminutive suffix in standard Italian in both *ad hoc* (1%) and relexified (1%) senses, but according to Rohlf's (1969) it is used more regularly among some of the southern dialects.

Table 6 shows the historical trajectory of original Latin non-diminutive into modern Italian.

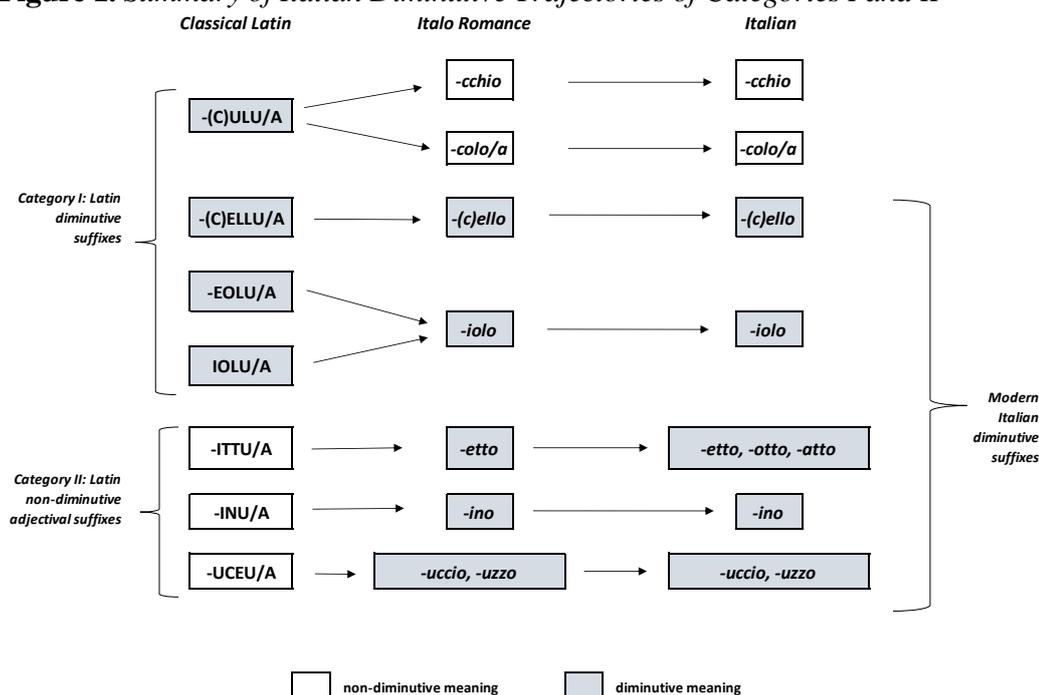
Table 6. Historical Trajectory of Modern Italian Diminutives Derived from Latin Non-Diminutive (Non-L Form) Suffixes

		← Period/origin of relexification →			
Latin form	Italian reflex	Original Latin use	Italian of unspecified period		Borrowed from other languages
A. -INU/A	-ino/a:	-INU/A (categorical--non-diminutive--adjectival suffix) (e.g., DIVINA 'of or relating to a god')	-ino/a (e.g., <i>bianchino</i> 'glass for white wine')	-ino/a (e.g., <i>gattina</i> 'small cat')	-ino/a (e.g., <i>manichino</i> 'mannequin' from French <i>mannequin</i>)
	B. -ITTU/A	1) -etto/a:	-ITTU/A (anthroponymous suffix) (e.g., BONITTU anthroponym of the male name <i>BONU</i> or JULITTA anthroponym of the female name <i>JULIA</i>)	-etto/a (e.g., <i>vaporetto</i> 'steamship')	-etto/a (e.g., <i>nuvoletta</i> 'small cloud')
2) -otto/a:		(See preceding)	-otto/a (e.g., <i>barilotto</i> 'bullseye')	-otto/a (e.g., <i>cucinotto</i> 'small kitchen')	-otto/a (e.g., <i>picciotto</i> from Sicilian <i>picciottu</i> 'small')
3) -atto/a:		(See preceding)			
C. -UCEU/A	-uccio/a	-UCEU/A (non diminutive--adjectival suffix) (e.g., PANNUCEU 'ragged')	-uccio/a (e.g., <i>quartuccio</i> '1/4 liter of wine')	-uccio/a (e.g., <i>castelluccio</i> 'little castle')	

Source: *Dizionario Garzanti* 2018.

To summarize, the two categories of Latin forms essentially correspond to earlier and later periods respectively, with Category I: Latin diminutive forms corresponding to an earlier period in which the oldest Latin diminutive endings fell into disuse while others continued into early Italian. Those of the second category, although these too drew upon Latin forms, they were not diminutives originally and were not adopted as diminutives themselves until a diminutive "renaissance" that began around the fifteenth century. New forms such as *-ino/a* and *-etto/a* began replacing older Latin *ad hoc* diminutive forms, and furthermore, would become highly productive as new *ad hoc* varieties. Figure 1 summarizes the trajectories of both categories.

Figure 1. Summary of Italian Diminutive Trajectories of Categories I and II



Discussion

Italian and Spanish Relexification of Diminutives. What's the Same? What's Different?

Relexification of Diminutives in Latin

In terms of its diminutives, it is no surprise that Italian would have shared a similar early historical trajectory with that of Spanish in the sense that both would inherit and continue to implement in a similar fashion, at least early on, the **-(C)ULU/A**, **-ELLU/A** and **-EOLU/A** system from Latin. Figure 2 shows how words that were relexified during the Latin period (e.g., CASTELLU 'castle' > *castillo* (Sp)/*castello* (It)) evolved into both languages.

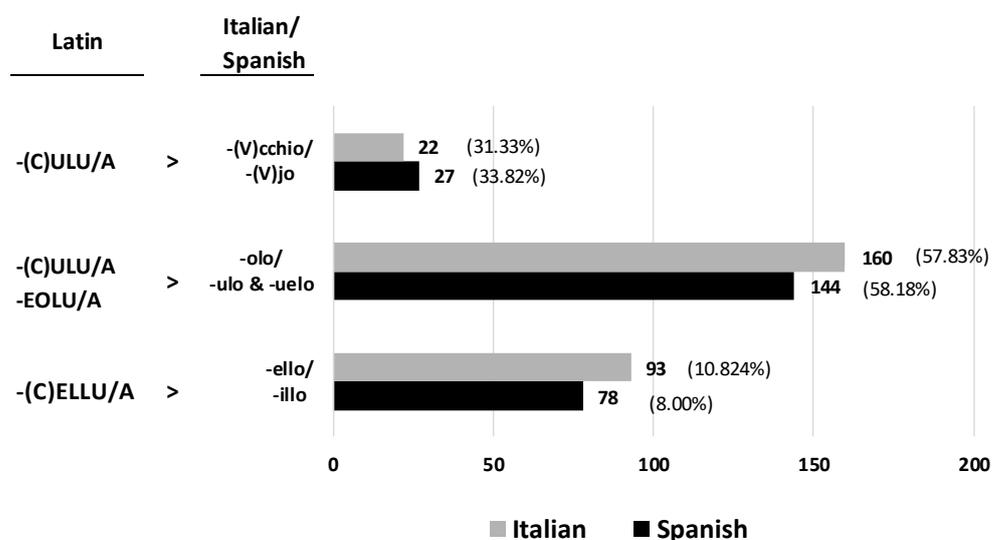


Figure 2. Italian and Spanish Words that were Diminutives but Relexified in Latin
Source: *Dizionario Garzanti* 2018 and *DRAE* 2016.

Figure 2 shows that according to the *Dizionario Garzanti* for Italian and the *DRAE* for Spanish, the total number of words that were originally diminutive forms but were relexified during the Latin period was 275 for Italian and 249 for Spanish, respectively. It makes perfect sense that these totals are not equal given the large distance between Tuscany (upon which standard Italian is based) and the Iberian Peninsula, as well as the unlikelihood that the same relexified words would persist into both languages at the same rate over two millennia. However, what in fact is surprising about these data, as Figure 2 further illustrates, is the proximity in percentage distribution for both languages. For Latin words ending in -(C)ULU/A and evolving into -(V)cchio or -(V)jo, both languages relexified between 31 and 34%. For those ending in -(C)ULU/A or -EOLU/A and evolving into -olo or -ulo and -uelo, both languages relexified at a rate of around 58%. Words ending in -ELLU/A relexified between 8 and 11%. The similarity in rates between the two languages in terms of words that had relexified during the Latin era makes sense if one considers the notion that such words would have been common to both regions

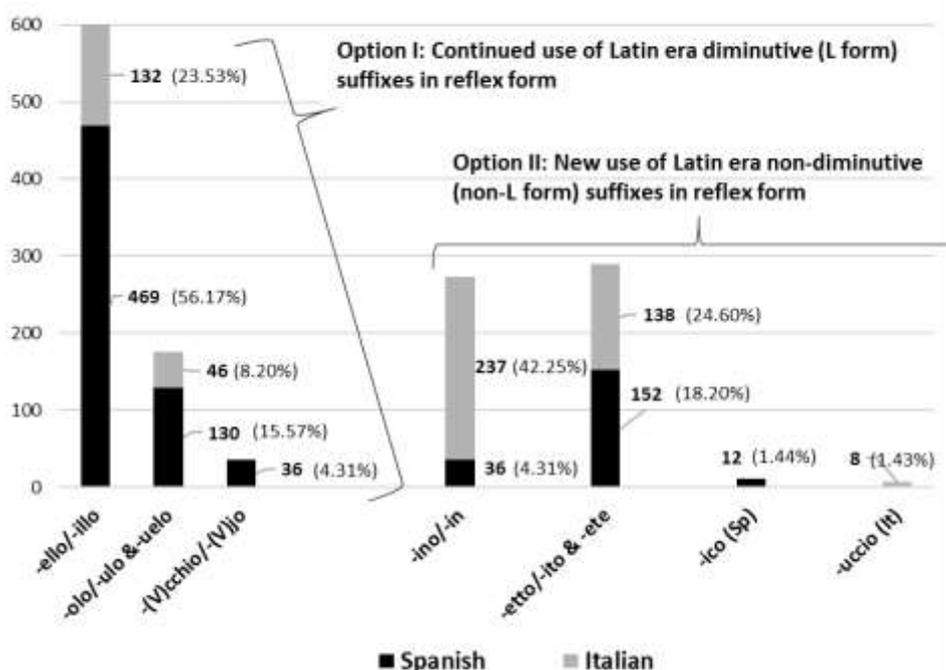
Post Latin Diminutive Relexification

As the data of the previous section show, both diminutivization and relexification were common during the Latin period, and as the data of this section will also show, such processes would continue to be productive into both Spanish and Italian. Figure 3 compares the trends for diminutive suffixes in Italian and Spanish that according to the *Dizionario Garzanti* and the *DRAE* have been relexified in those languages beyond the Latin era. In other words, both dictionaries indicate that these were forms resulting from diminutives of Italian, and not Latin. Hence, unlike Figure 2 whose words relexified when a given form

was in the -(C)ULU/A, -ELLU/-A or -EOLU)/-A form, by the time words were diminutivized and relexified during the period of Figure 3, modern continuant forms such as -(V)*cchio* for Italian and -(V)*jo* for Spanish, were now in use.

The data in Figure 3 are grouped according to one of two possible Latin origins: 1) the first (on the left-hand side of the figure) corresponds to modern reflexes of Latin era diminutive suffixes that continued to be used for diminutivization and subsequently, relexification. The second type (on the right-hand side of the figure) corresponds to modern reflexes of Latin NON-diminutive forms that began to supplement those of the first category, for purposes of diminutivization and relexification, such as *-ino/a*, *-etto/a*, etc.¹⁵

Figure 3. Italian and Spanish Words that were Relexified in the Post Latin Era



So

urce: *Dizionario Garzanti* 2018 and *DRAE* 2016.

Figure 3 suggests a more complicated array and distribution among diminutive suffixes during the post Latin period. Unlike the case of Latin-era relexification of diminutives that showed strikingly similar patterns for Italian and Spanish in terms of both forms and percentage frequencies, the comparison of Italian and Spanish relexification data for the post Latin period shows quite a different scenario.

¹⁵The purpose of this paper is not to specify precisely when *ad hoc* diminutive words in Spanish or Italian relexified within the language. Although both the *Garzanti* and *DRAE* dictionaries do specify older forms among some of their entries (e.g., *castella* ‘castles’ as a former feminine plural form of *castello* ‘castle’), such information is not consistently provided and neither dictionary specifies such information for diminutives.

Option 1: Continued Use of Latin-Era Diminutive Suffixes in Modern Reflex Form

The most striking difference one observes between the two languages is the extent to which Spanish and Italian continued to relexify words beyond the Latin period using continuants of the Latin diminutive suffixes. As Figure 3 suggests, Spanish continued to use these beyond the Latin period in a much more overwhelming fashion (total n = 635), making up a total of 76.5% of all relexified diminutives in the language, as compared to Italian (total n = 178) for which only 31.73% of all relexified words are based on these forms.

As might be expected, Spanish *-illo/a* and Italian *-ello/a*, continuants of Latin (C)ELLU/A, respectively, were the most relexified of the continued Latin era diminutives, in part due to the long period of time during which *-ELLU/A* was preferred as both *ad hoc* and relexified suffix, stretching all throughout later Latin and into Romance. A particularly interesting observation here is that Spanish continued to relexify with *-illo/a* (n = 469), a full 56.17% of all post Latin era relexified diminutives in Spanish, to a much greater extent than Italian would (n = 132) with *-ello/a*, a mere 23.53% of all post Latin era relexified diminutives for that language. The larger extent to which Spanish relexified using *-illo/a* than did Italian is supported by both Pharies (2002) and González Ollé (1962) who asserted that it would not be until the fifteenth century when *-ito/a* began ousting *-illo/a* as an *ad hoc* diminutive in Spanish, much in the same way *-ELLU/A* replaced *-V-(C)ULU/A* in post Classical Latin.

One finds a similar pattern in distribution when one compares the relexification of words ending in *-olo* (It) and *-ulo/-uelo* (Sp), for which Spanish (n = 130) again outpaces Italian (n = 46) as with the Italian non-diminutivized form *avi* ‘grandparents’ versus Spanish diminutivized form *abuelos* ‘grandparents.’ Finally, only Spanish has continued to relexify with the *-(V)jo/a* suffix, during the post Latin era, albeit to a small extent (n = 36), while no words ending in its *-(V)cchio/a* Italian counterpart relexified during this time.

Option 2: New Use of Latin Era Non-Diminutive Suffixes in Modern Reflex Form

The fact that Italian did not relexify to the same extent as Spanish in drawing upon reflexes of Latin diminutive suffixes does not mean that it did not relexify in its own right. Instead, according to the data of this study, Italian would depend to a much greater extent (total n = 383) on reflexes of Latin era non-diminutive suffixes, making up a total of 68.27% of all post-Latin era relexified diminutives in the language, as compared to Spanish (n = 200) for which only 23.95% of all relexified words are based on these new suffixes.

Another way in which Italian’s system diverged from that of Spanish was that *-etto/a* (the reflex of Spanish *-ito/a*, both from *-ITTU/A*) is only one of two productive endings used for *ad hoc* diminutivization, with Italian speakers also using *-ino/a*, the reflex of *-INU/A*. Moreover, although *-ino/a* and *-etto/a* are found in many cases to be interchangeable, *-ino/a* would eventually become what some have observed to be a primary *ad hoc* form over *-etto/a* in terms of achieving

default status and greater overall productivity (Napoli and Reynolds 1994) or being the suffix that allows recursiveness and is most preferred by children (Dressler and Barbaresi 1994). In similar fashion, the data of this study also indicate the prominence of *-ino/a* over *-etto/a* in terms of historically relexified forms. This correlation between *ad hoc* and relexified forms would stand to reason from a historical point of view in that only an *ad hoc* form with preferred status, such as that which *-ino/a* is suggested to have had, would have been able to generate the sheer quantity of relexified forms necessary (42.25% of all historically relexified diminutives according to Figure 3) in order to achieve the substantial lead of 17.65% that it has attained over its *-etto/a* competitor (24.60% of all historically relexified diminutives according to the same figure). Another observable difference between the two languages is that both *-etto/a* and *-ino/a* already appear to have been relexifying to a much larger degree in Italian to the point of exceeding those of the -(C)ELLU/A type, while Spanish *-ito/a* has relexified so only minimally.

Unlike Spanish, Italian appears to not have incorporated -ICCU/A as part of its diminutive repertoire, lending support to the theories of either Celtic or African origins of this suffix (González Ollé 1962). Italian has also undergone a similar replacement of -ELLU/A with new primary *ad hoc* forms. Yet another modern Italian diminutive form that is not very productive is the suffix *-uccio/a*. According to Rohlfs (1969), this form originates in the Latin adjectival suffix -UCEU/A more or less meaning ‘made from’. According to Pharies (2002) the reflex *-uzo/a* does not exist in modern Spanish except in a few rare cases, and in some dialects such as Aragonese.

Historical Reasons for Differences between Italian and Spanish Diminutives and the Case for a Pan-Romance Diminutive Diasystem

Now that Italian data have been collected, analyzed and compared to those of Spanish, some additional insights can be drawn from both historical and linguistic records that might help elucidate reasons for why the two languages would have diverged in the ways of diminutive relexification as they did. Two important historical and geographical facts to consider were the relatively early timing of the colonial settlement of Hispania in 218 BCE, along with its considerable distance from the Italian mainland. These two factors have been cited previously by scholars as what has been suggested to be the more archaic nature of the Iberian Latin lexicon (Tovar 1968).

Latin, being a dynamic language in its own right, would undergo changes, before, throughout, and after the imperial era. It follows that the variety of Latin arriving on Iberian shores in 218 BCE, would take hold and begin its own gestation, one that would eventually be separate from the evolution that took place in Italy, France, Romania, etc. Scholars have pointed out that the Spanish lexicon exhibits a variety of lexemes that have derived from a Latin that was spoken at the time of colonization. Words like *comer* ‘to eat’ (from COMEDERE) correspond to words that would later be replaced in Italy *mangiare* ‘to eat’ (from MANDUCARE). Along these same lines, it would make sense that Latin diminutive endings such as -ELLU/A, -IOLU/A, and -(V)CULU/A, popular at the

time, would likewise arrive on Iberian shores and be utilized just as productively as they were in other parts of the empire, including Italy. However, the Latin of Italy would have started to use other suffixes, such as *-ITTU/A* or *-INU/A*, in order to diminutivize as well. Given the large discrepancy in numbers between Italian and Spanish, it appears that although both regions drew on these new endings, it was the Latin of Italy, again, evolving in its own separate way from that of Castile, would prefer the newer forms, with Spanish maintaining in an overwhelming fashion the original forms. Additional evidence that the newer suffixes were also taking hold in Iberia is the preferences by other regions for other forms over *-ito/a*, such as *-ino/a* in the western side of the Peninsula in such places as Extremadura, and *-ico/a* in the east.

These facts taken together suggest a universal process taking place within an overall Pan-Romance diminutive diasystem. Wright (2002) proposes that early Romance was actually quite uniform in the sense that all Roman colonies drew upon the same repertoire of possibilities of expression, hence the Pan Romance approach, and would only eventually adopt the variation specific to that locality. To illustrate this very notion, one such example of the wide variety of options available to speakers is that of Romance plurals, which would ultimately differ in two possible ways across the empire, either of which depending upon the particular tolerance for final consonants. Depending on the declension to which a particular noun or adjective belonged, as well as the case form it embodied for a particular function in the sentence, the pluralization of nouns in Classical Latin could occur in three possible ways, namely, via the final vowels *-A* or *-I*, the diphthong *-AE*, or word-final *-S*.

It has been suggested that over time the overall degradation of the CL case system contributed to the adoption across the empire of what appears to have been the accusative form as the single case form that would be used thereafter for all functions within the sentence, with some limited variation. Relevant to the discussion here is the fact that the ending of the plural accusative was almost always with final *-S*, except in the case of neuters, which was final *-A*. Because the type of Romance that was developing in the Italian Peninsula exhibited a strong intolerance for word final consonants, including *-S*, Italian and other Italic varieties would retain the final *-S* for the plural accusative, but, as has been proposed by Rolfs (1966) and others, would eventually vocalize this *-S*, which would then cause further phonological change to the forms we have today, all of which are final vowels. In contrast, Ibero and Gallo Romance exhibited greater tolerance for final consonants and therefore retained the final *-S* for plurals and would even extend this form for words that formerly ended in *-A* as well. In either case, the point is that both forms were available in Classical Latin, but only one of the two would be adopted system-wide by and for particular languages.

Aside for two minor outlier suffixes (such as the cases of *-uccio/a* for Italian or *-ico/a* for Spanish), neither of which was common to both languages, nor which became productive in either language, the data illustrate that both languages drew upon the same panoply of endings, but in different distributions. Rather, two important themes that are repeated in the histories of both languages are: 1) A direct cause-and-effect relationship between only certain preferred *ad hoc*

diminutive suffixes and resultant relexified forms; and 2) a process of eventual replacement of earlier preferred *ad hoc* diminutives by newer ones. Furthermore, in the diminutive histories of both languages, not all *ad hoc* suffixes ended up having the same popularity, and only one or two over time became "preferred" over all others for purposes of relexification.

Conclusion

This lexicographic study has revealed important patterns among present-day Italian words that have relexified from previous *ad hoc* diminutive combinations over the last two millennia. The first is that these have done so at different times, either earlier on in either Classical or Post-Classical Latin, or more recently in Italian, or borrowed from other Romance languages. Also important was the finding that not all current Italian *ad hoc* diminutive suffixes, particularly the extremely productive *-etto/a* and *-ino/a*, have originated in what were historically diminutive forms, these being derived instead from the hypocoristic *-ITTU/A* or categorial/adjectivizing suffix *-INU/A*. This study also revealed that Italian continued relexification of diminutive forms beyond Latin in ways differing greatly from Spanish. For example, whereas Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016) observed that Spanish favored the continued application of all three Latin era diminutive suffixes in modern reflex form (*-illo/a*, *-(V)jo/a*, and *-uelo/a*) for purposes of relexification, Italian instead turned to innovation, with the application of the two newly adopted suffixes above. Although both languages were observed to exercise both options to some degree, a marked difference was found to exist in the extent to which either language preferred a given method.

The results of this study also shed light on the timing and transition of *ad hoc* and relexification processes of diminutives. As stated earlier in this paper, neither Spanish nor Italian dictionaries specified at what point during the history of these languages did relexification take place, making it difficult to gauge whether words evolving from one type to another did so at a relatively earlier or later time. However, since relexification as a process in and of itself requires the passage of time in order for it to take place (i.e., a root word plus *ad hoc* diminutive suffix combination must theoretically first be utilized with more transparent meaning during a period of sufficient length to allow for its meaning to eventually shift), this leads to the logical conclusion that relexified words are necessarily older than words that are mere combinations of roots plus *ad hoc* suffixes. As the data of this study show, Italian words ending in *-ino/a* and *-etto/a* are not only those which have relexified the most out of all possible historically diminutive combinations in Italian, but both suffixes continue to be used overwhelmingly today to diminutivize words in the *ad hoc* sense as well. These facts suggest that for Italian, *-ino/a* and *-etto/a* are still at the midpoint of a long period of innovation, one that began with replacement of *-ello/a* by two new suffixes, and for which both processes are still very much alive.

On the other hand, Spanish data from Ryan and Parra-Guinaldo (2016) suggest that *-illo/a*, because of its comparably large number of relexified forms,

sustained a much longer presence and use in the Iberian Peninsula than its *-ello/a* counterpart had in Italy. And although Spanish has also innovated by using other diminutive forms over time, including both *-ito/a* and *-ete/a*, both of which evolved from the same Latin *-ITTU/A* suffix that would render *-etto/a* in Italian, in time *-ito/a* alone has become the favored modern variant for *ad hoc* diminutivization, and according to the data, unlike its Italian *-etto/a* reflex, appears to be only in the incipient stages of relexification, based on *DRAE* data. Further support for this claim is that the large number of relexified words ending *-ete/a*, in fact, have not relexified in Spanish, but rather were first relexified in other such languages as French, Old French, or Catalan, and only subsequently, borrowed into Spanish.

In terms of the Pan-Romance diminutive diasystem proposed in this paper, one might extrapolate from both language trajectories a common path for the process of Romance diminutivization consisting of three phases; the first was that which corresponded to the later days of the empire up until the early fifteenth century, during which some of the Latin-era diminutive suffixes remained in play and others were either retired or in the process of being retired. A second phase begins around the mid-fifteenth century and continues until the seventeenth, when both languages of the study witness widespread integration of new suffixes into the previously existing repertoire of possible diminutive endings, thereby creating a virtual panoply of potential *ad hoc* diminutive suffixes, a virtual diminutive renaissance, if you will. The last phase, resuming with the seventeenth century, involves a type of replacement of longstanding previously productive *ad hoc* suffixes with new ones, along with the relegation of those previous suffixes to only relexified words or as the diminutive of choice in certain dialects.

Acknowledgments

This project has been supported with a 2018 University of Northern Colorado Summer Support Initiative award.

References

- Butler JL (1971) *Latin -INUS, -INA, -INUS and -INEUS: from Proto-Indo-European to the romance languages*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Corominas J, Pascual JA (1980–1991) *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*. (Etymological dictionary critical Castilian and Hispanic). 6 Volumes. Madrid: Gredos.
- Dardano M (1978) *La formazione delle parole nell'italiano di oggi*. (The formation of words in today's Italian). Roma: Bulzoni.
- De Agostini Scuola S.p.A. - Garzanti Linguistica (2018) *Il grande dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana*. (The great Garzanti dictionary of the Italian language). Milano.
- Dressler WU, Barbaresi ML (1994) *Morphopragmatics: diminutives and intensifiers in Italian, German and other languages*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Ettinger S (1980) *Form und Funktion in der Wortbildung. Die Diminutiv- und Augmentativmodification im Lateinischen, Deutschen und Romanischen. Ein kritischer Forschungsbericht (1900-1975)*. (Form and function in word formation. The diminutive and augmentative modification in Latin, German and Romansh. A critical research report (1900-1975)). 2nd Edition. Tübingen: Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik.
- Gaeta L, Ricca D (2003) Frequency and productivity in Italian derivation: a comparison between corpus-based and lexicographical data. *Rivista di Linguistica* (Jan): 63–98.
- González Ollé F (1962) *Los sufijos diminutivos en castellano medieval*. (The diminutive suffixes in medieval Spanish). Madrid: Editorial Gómez.
- González Ollé F, Casado-Velarde M (1992) *Spanisch: Wortbildungslehre*. (Spanish: word formation). *Lexikon der romanistischen Linguistik: LRL*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 91–109.
- Guerrero Salazar S (2002) Los diccionarios inversos de la lengua española: descripción del repertorio bibliográfico. (The reverse dictionaries of the Spanish language: description of the bibliographic repertoire). *Revista de Lexicografía* 8(Dec): 26–295.
- Kühner R, Holzweissig F (1912) *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Erster Teil: Elementar-, Formen-, und Wortlehre*. (Detailed grammar of the Latin language. First part: elementary, form and word theory). Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung.
- Lázaro Mora FA (1999) La derivación apreciativa. (The appreciative derivation). In I Bosque, V Demonte (eds.), *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*, Volume 3, 4645–4682. Madrid: Editorial Espasa Calpe, S. A.
- Leumann M (1977) *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre, Neuauflage*. (Latin phonetics and forms, new edition). München: C.H. Beck Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Maiden M (1995) *A linguistic history of Italian*. London: Longman Linguistics Library Series, Routledge.
- Mayerthaler W (1981) *Morphologische Natürlichkeit*. (Morphological naturalness). Frankfurt: Athenaeon.
- Merz G (2004) *Dizionario inverso dell'italiano moderno*. (Reverse dictionary of modern Italian). Retrieved from: http://www.culturitalia.info/wb1/WB_it.asp [Accessed 5 January 2018].
- Meyer-Lubke W (1895) *Grammaire des langues romanes* (Grammar of romance languages). Volume 2: Morphologie. Paris: Welter.
- Napoli D, Reynolds B (1994) Evaluative affixes in Italian. In *Yearbook of Morphology*, 151–178.
- Pharies D (2002) *Diccionario etimológico de sufijos españoles y otros elementos finales*. (Etymological dictionary of Spanish suffixes and other final elements). Madrid: Editorial Gredos.
- Rainer F (1994) *Spanische Worthildungslehre*. (Spanish word education). Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Real Academia Española (2016) *DIRAE: diccionario inverso basado en el diccionario de la lengua española de la Real Academia Española*. (DIRAE: reverse dictionary based on the dictionary of the Spanish language of the Royal Spanish Academy). Retrieved from: <http://dirae.es/>. [Accessed 14 April 16]
- Rohlf G (1969) *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Sintassi e formazione delle parole*. Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi.
- Ryan J, Parra-Guinaldo V (2016) Classification and history of relexified diminutives in modern Spanish: a lexicographic approach. In MV Rodríguez Domínguez et al. (eds.), *Words across History. Advances in Historical Lexicography and Lexicology*, 364–380. Las Palmas de Gran Canarias: Servicio de Publicaciones y Difusión Científica de la ULPGC.

- Stahl FA, Scavnicky GEA (1973) *A reverse dictionary of the Spanish language*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Tovar A (1968) *Latín de España: aspectos léxicos de la romanización: discurso leído el día 31 de marzo de 1968 en su recepción pública*. (Latin of Spain: lexical aspects of romanization: speech read on March 31, 1968 at its public reception). Madrid: Real Academia Española.
- Väänänen V (1967) *Introduction au latin vulgaire*. (Introduction to vulgar Latin). New Edition. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Weidhase R (1967) *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Spanischen Suffixe* (Contributions to the knowledge of Spanish suffixes). Tesis. Tübingen.
- Wright R (2002) *A sociophilological study of late Latin*. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy. Belgium: Brepols Publishers.

On the Nature of Talk-in-Interaction: A Pragmatic Study of Informal Conversations

By Justine Bakuuro* & Damasus Tuurosong⁺

This study attempts to uncover what the recurring patterns of interaction in informal conversations are. It is also interested in finding out which recurring patterns of interaction dominate in informal conversations and how these recurring patterns of interaction play out in informal conversations. Data used in the study includes only recordings of naturally occurring conversations of close friends in informal settings. The researcher meticulously transcribed the data using the conventions proposed in the Jefferson Notation System. In Conversation Analysis (CA), transcription is part of data analysis. The transcription/analysis reveals that four main recurring patterns characterize informal conversations among friends: Adjacency Pairs, Topic Change, Figurative Language and Dysfluency. The study further reveals the fact that Adjacency pairs is a very dominant recurring pattern in friendly informal conversations. As a form of turn-taking, Adjacency pairs largely characterized the conversations compared to the other three recurring patterns. Finally, the study underscores the fact that friendly informal conversations stay focused on selected topics with very little or no change of topic. Mid-way between the little or no topic change and the dominance of Adjacency pairs are dysfluencies and rhetorical questions.

Keywords: *conversation analysis, recurring patterns, informal conversations, Jefferson notation system*

Background

Language use in social interaction is the crust of the matter in typical Conversation Analysis studies. Havey Sacks is a pioneering scholar in this field of discourse studies as CA traces its roots to him (Wooffitt 2001). Sacks recorded and analysed how people actually converse in typically ethnographic manner. It must be stated that a myriad of studies have been done in this area since the 1960's by Havey Sacks and Gail Jefferson among other Discourse scholars. However, different concepts and assumptions on conversation analysis (CA) have been used. Hutchby and Wooffitt have defined CA as "...the systematic analysis of the talk produced in everyday situations of human interaction: talk-in-interaction" (1998, p. 13). In the same way, Havey (1999) points out that CA is generally referred as "...the analysis of utterances produced in daily communication..." CA focuses not only on language produced by people in talk-in-interaction, but also on the understanding and interpretation of the speakers of each other's utterances during

*PhD Candidate & Lecturer, Department of African and General Studies, SD Dombo University of Business and Integrated Development Studies, Ghana.

⁺Senior Lecturer & Head, Department of African and General Studies, SD Dombo University of Business and Integrated Development Studies, Ghana.

the talk itself (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998). Additionally, when analysing data, characteristics like culture, gender and social background have to be considered (Sacks 1992). Indeed, these factors are what make every CA study unique despite the commonality of applying transcription conventions laid down by lead scholars in the field, notably Gail Jefferson. These factors have been briefly touched on as the social milieu, age, economic status and ethnic backgrounds of the participants have been described to put the findings and conclusions in proper perspective.

Regarding data analysis, Atkinson and Heritage note that analysts are not expected to interpret the participants understanding in utterances or to restrict them during the recording of the data interaction. They are, instead, required to present the data based on their own observation of the participants' ordinary behaviour throughout the interaction (Atkinson and Heritage 1984).

The first section looks at the methodology of collecting data such as participants, context, and the recording itself. The second section looks at several points in transcription procedure and system used in analysing the record data and brief definitions of CA elements discussed in the data analysis. Moreover, a range of symbols that exists in transcription will be introduced as well. The third section is data analysis of a series of actions within utterances. However, this paper tends to limit the discussion to particular aspects in conversation analysis. The aspects consist of turn-taking, topic change, preference organization, listing, use of figurative language, face saving, breakdowns and repairs and dysfluency. The focus is on these aspects as they are the commonly associated parameters in doing pragmatic CA studies such as this.

Problem/Justification

In conducting a scientific study on conversation analysis, the researcher usually begins by setting up a problem connected with a preliminary hypothesis. Generally, many language users, including us, believe that patterns usually recur in both formal and non-formal conversational interactions. It is also believed that recurring patterns of interaction vary between formal and informal conversations when it comes to their dominance in speech. Language users also hold the view that the manner of manifestation of recurring interactional patterns vary between formal and informal conversations. It is against the backdrop of these assumptions that this study is conducted to investigate the extent of accuracy and veracity of these ground assumptions. Whilst many studies may have been conducted in this regard, the socio-economic and cultural demographics that have been spelled out in the Methodology clearly sets out the gap in this study to be filled. That is to say, how does the manner of manifestation of recurring interactional patterns of informal conversations of employed, married adult-male graduates (educated) of the Dagaare ethnic extraction of northern Ghana play out? Admittedly, many studies in CA have been conducted on informal conversations just like this study as has been stated in the introduction above. However, the hypotheses laid down for investigation, the setting, as well as the research participants always vary, giving each a touch of uniqueness (in this case, as in the socio-economic

demographics outlined above) and hence a gap to fill up in this research area. Simply put therefore, the problem under investigation here is to find out the veracity and or accuracy of these assumptions as it pertains to the unique subjects in this study. The study would thus provide for contrastive comparisons between and among similar studies and that may occasion the basis for further studies in this regard.

Questions

1. What are the recurring patterns of interaction in informal conversations?
2. Which recurring patterns of interaction dominate in informal conversations?
3. How do recurring patterns of interaction play out in informal conversations?

Assumptions

This study operates on the following hypothetical assumptions:

- a. That interactional patterns usually recur in non-formal interactions;
- b. That particular recurring patterns usually dominate in informal conversations;
- c. That recurring interactional patterns manifest themselves in particular ways in informal conversations.

Theory

This is fundamentally a descriptive qualitative study, employing the use of quantitative methods. It therefore lends itself to a number of theories in language study including theories in the field of pragmatics, Conversational studies, ethnography and content analysis, among others.

It is however anchored strongly by the Discourse theory within the larger field of Pragmatics and Discourse Studies. Indeed, as earlier indicated, a central focus of discourse analysis is Conversation Analysis. CA is therefore at the centre of oral discourse analysis (Hoey and Kendrick 2017). In general, discourse theory is concerned with human expressions, often in the form of language. It highlights how such expressions are linked to human knowledge. In other words, discourse theory is concerned with questions of power and often with questions of institutional hierarchies. In this study, the exchanges between speakers reveal to us the question of power and human relations among the speakers by way of the expressions used. Under very normal circumstances, this is not the case in informal conversations among friends in an informal setting such as we have in this study. But the reason for this may be due to the socio-cultural background of the research participants. Among the Dagaaba of northern Ghana (as it is with many other northern Ghana ethnic groups), age and position is highly respected, to the extent that even in typically informal situations, respect for the elderly and authority is marked. This is conveyed by the four main identifiable patterns which characterise the three conversations: adjacency pairs, topic change, figurative

language and dysfluency. To this extent therefore, the study is anchored theoretically by the Discourse theory in general but with a narrowed focus on Critical Discourse studies.

Literature Review

By the nature and character of this study, relevant literature hinges around the following key CA dimensions: turn-taking, topic change, preference organization, listing, use of figurative language, face saving, breakdowns and repairs, and dysfluency. The study will thus focus on these aspects in the analysis. As indicated earlier (see end of Background), the focus is on these aspects as they are the commonly associated parameters in doing pragmatic CA studies such as this.

Turn-Taking

Turn-taking is fundamentally the driving force of every conversation event. Based on Sacks's work in collaboration with two of his colleagues in the 1960s on turn-taking, Beattie (1983) categorizes three techniques in indicating the turn-taking system in CA. First is the technique called 'previous speaker select next' which happens if the previous speaker addresses a question directly to someone to be answered and being a next speaker. It could be either by straight calling his/her name or using a nonverbal sign such as gaze or gesture toward the person who is selected to be the next speaker. Second is the "self-select" technique which means that people gain their own turns by initiating utterance in a talk. Lastly, the utterances are continued by the current person because the next speaker is not selected and no one tries to gain the right to speak, according to Beattie (1983). Have then explains that one of these categories comes before another systematically. It means that the select-next speaker is followed by self-selection and self-continuation techniques respectively (Havey 1999).

Preference Organisation

The structure of preference is signed by a first part in utterances that consist of several action sequence pairs such as assessment, invitation, offer, proposal and request. The adjacency pairs discussed in CA is involved within sequences to examine the coherence of actions between utterances (Nur 2014). In one chapter of her discourse analysis book, Wooffitt (2001) states, for example, that it is understood that a question from the previous speaker should be followed by an answer, an offer could be accepted or declined, an invitation could be possible followed by an acceptance or a refusal, etc.

Use of Figurative Language

Only few specific studies have been done on the use of figurative language in conversation (Fussel and Kreuz 1998). The common figurative expressions used by people in a conversation are rhetorical questions, idioms, metaphor and irony.

Topic Change

Conversations are controlled by changing from one topic to another naturally. It often cannot fully be predicted when the topic will be changed. The topic change, however, appears when one of the speakers introduces a new topic which is then agreed by the interlocutors (Seedhouse 2004).

Face Saving and Listing

Face saving is often defined as an action done by people to save theirs or others' position, idea, or assumption (Yun 2006). Face-saving in conversation has a strong relationship with politeness (Holtgraves 1992). This is categorized in two terms by Brown and Levinson; positive and negative faces. Negative face is defined as a personality of someone who protects and prevents his right and freedom to do something on his own willingness. Positive face is an action done by speaker in attempting positive self-image without contrasting with others (Brown and Levinson 1978).

As regard listing, it is a common thing occurs in a conversation. It happens very often when the speaker left the last item of the list in the blank way. The listing, however, is more specific when it is used in formal political speech in order to attract people's attention (Heritage and Greatbatch 1986).

Scholars such as Wardhaugh (2006), Mey (2001), Leech (1981) and Yule (2010), among others, identify two types of face: positive face and negative face. Simply put, positive face is the desire to win the approval of others; while negative face is the desire to be unimpeded by others in one's actions.

Breakdown and Repair

Breakdown is linked to misunderstanding, obvious mistake in interaction, or just an expression of doubtfulness. Breakdowns are often followed by repairs which are divided into several categories; "self-initiated self-repair, other-initiated self-repair, self-initiated other-repair and other-initiated other-repair" (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998, p. 61). Repair is a crucial part in a conversation in avoiding and correcting misunderstanding. As the name suggests, repair is the mechanism by which broken down conversations are restored to avoid misunderstanding.

Dysfluency

Dysfluency often takes place in an informal situation in social interaction. The more informal the conversation, the more frequently it happens. It could be

symbolized by providing unfinished sentences, repeating words, or even repeating parts of sentences. The dysfluency appears more often in two situations; when someone or a group of people speaks in another language and when someone speaks to people they are close to in their mother tongue (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998).

Methodology

As mentioned earlier, a good conversation analysis begins by setting up a problem connected with a preliminary hypothesis. The problem under investigation in this study is linked to three generally prevailing hypothetical assumptions in the field of CA (see assumptions above). Also, the data used in CA is usually in the form of video or audio recorded conversations, collected with or without researchers' involvement, typically from a video camera or other recording devices in the space where the conversation takes place (e.g., a living room, picnic, or doctor's office). We collected our data using the Voice Recorder on an Infinix Hot 8 (Pro) Mobile phone. This device has very high voice recording quality as we tested it ahead of the data collection.

The research subjects in this study comprised four regular friends including one of us the researchers (corresponding author), all of whom are of the Dagaare ethnic extraction of northern Ghana. As Davis (1984) puts it, ethnicity is "...a critical socio-demographic factor in conversation studies..." The recording however does not include his utterances as he carefully avoided being part. In order that my not being part would not affect the interactions, I deliberately engaged myself doing other things such as walking to the waitress to order meat and drinks, going to urinate and greeting some people on other tables in the pub. This took away all possible suspicions by the participants against me, thereby making room for the collection of a truly naturally occurring data in the nature of conversation. Indeed, this was confirmed as participants expressed surprise when I told them I had recorded them, despite having told them earlier on and having had their permission to do so. We are all male adults, aged between 29 and 42 years with educational backgrounds of at least first degree. Big as this demographic range may be, the findings can conveniently be generalized since other demographics (socio-economic and cultural), are largely common to all participants. This bridges the age demographic gap substantially. As indicated earlier (Background), these social, cultural, gender and economic demographics are crucial in every CA study to better situate the study and clearly establish the gap that is to be filled by this study. We do meet quite regularly for purposes of socialization and sometimes to discuss pressing socio-economic or political issues. Our interactions are thus usually informal. We took a total of three recordings. One of the recordings was on current economic hardship in Ghana (3 minutes, 28 seconds); the other on marital issues (lasting 4 minutes, 13 seconds); and the third on political issues (lasting 3 minutes, 41 seconds). All three conversations were set in pubs at different locations at different times during the day. We managed in

various ways not to be part of the conversations to avoid any possible personal biases on the data. How did we do this, being part of the group?

Our aim was to collect data of naturally occurring speech (Sacks 1972). To meet ethical standards, we discussed the impending research project with them two weeks earlier before commencement of the series of recordings. They gave us approval to use their conversations as data. On each occasion of recording the conversations, we usually put on the Infinix Phone voice recording device, put it somehow on the middle of the round table (occupying most of the frontal of my side of the table with my bottle of drinks, glass and a rubber file, deliberately to avoid suspicion arising from the position of my phone on the table) and leave the table to do some other activity such as urinating or requesting meat for our consumption. This we do, praying that incoming calls should not interrupt the recording process. Fortunately, on all three occasions, no incoming call interrupted the process. We consciously ensured that we sat away from noise in the pubs, so the recordings are all very clear. Find attached the audio recordings.

After the secret recordings, we told them about them and played the tapes to their hearing. They were shocked, saying they thought we were going to inform them at the point of recording and that we may be using a very conspicuous recording gadget like those used by Journalist and musicians. They however gave us approval to use to the recording as data of the study. This therefore validates the originality, reliability and empirical nature of this study.

We therefore went on to construct detailed transcriptions from the recordings, capturing as much detail as is possible (Jefferson 1972, Hepburn and Bolden 2017, Mondada 2019). After transcription, I performed an inductive data-driven analysis aiming to find recurring patterns of interaction as well as their manifestation and dominance in the conversation. Based on the analysis, we identified regularities, rules or models to describe these patterns, enhancing, modifying or replacing initial hypotheses as it were. While this kind of inductive analysis based on data exhibits is basic to fundamental work in CA (Frohlich and Luff 1989), this method is often supported by statistical analysis in applications of CA in some studies. This study applied this statistical dimension in the analysis. It therefore makes the study a descriptive semi-qualitative one as it employs both quantitative and qualitative analysis (mixed methods). Some tables and charts have been used to aid analysis. Data analysis in this study has been done in two phases: Phase I is the Transcription of recorded data; Phase II is the analysis of Research Questions based on transcribed data.

Transcription Procedure

In CA, data transcription is considered an integral part of the data analysis process (Levinson 1983). This process is cumbersome. There are several ways that are adopted by analysts in transcribing CA data. Havey (1999) states that while a number of analysts usually pick out only the clear utterances spoken by participants during interaction in a transcription in order to avoid confusion to the readers, best practice in CA demands that analysts capture every detail of sounds

produced in the recording, whether it is audible, meaningful or meaningless, etc., without changing or correcting them. In other words, several analysts emphasize on the content of the conversation to the neglect of how the language has been used in its natural state. This compromises the quality of such studies as they become less empirical and ethnographic.

In this paper, the recorded data was transcribed based on dictionary spelling of English words as they are heard on the audio. Particular transcription conventions are used in conversation analysis. The transcription procedure adopted in this paper is a conventional one as propounded by Gail Jefferson, which has come to be known as the Jefferson Notation System. The Jefferson Notation System is a set of symbols, developed by Gail Jefferson, which is used for transcribing talk.

Before explaining some examples of sequences in the conversation, I will clarify the transcription convention I have chosen and adopted in my transcription. A range of these symbols is employed from Havey's book which were devised by Gail Jefferson and commonly used by analysts in current CA publications.

Pauses are notated by their length in seconds that is shown in brackets and the stressed words are underlined. Parts of the transcript that are symbolized by single left square bracket indicate the point of overlap. Equal sign is the symbol for indicating no gap between two lines. The arrows represent the higher or lower pitches in the utterances. Some non-verbal features such as laughter are shown within the square bracket. The colon indicates a long sound in a word. The angle bracket is employed to indicate fast speech. Moreover, small degree sign is used to indicate the part which is quieter than other parts in utterances (Havey 1999). The use of feedback is also added as the transcript notation, for example "yeah", "mm", "ok", and "well". In addition, commas and full stops are used in the transcription to reflect their normal function in written language only.

Data Analysis

The analysis of data in this study is done in two phases. Phase I shall be the transcription and coding of data. As mentioned earlier, transcription and coding of recorded conversations are an integral and arguably the most important part of the analysis process in any conversation study. Phase II shall respond to the research questions in the study by applying appropriate data from the coded transcription.

Phase I: Transcription and Coding of Data

Transcription of First Conversation (Economy) (Lasting 3 Minutes, 28 Seconds)

- 1P Cheap↑are you not in Gha:na?
 2S Hmm....
 3P ↑Only big grammar=
 4A =↑Yea:h=
 5S Ya↓
 6A I don't know (.) if they believe in God. That's my problem (3)
 7S <me I don't even know what to say>

- 8P Oh↑ [laugh]
 9S Tweaaa (.) [laugh] ≠
 10A I bought mine n:4200 Ghana plus number plate ↑problem [laugh] Together[laugh]
 11A Then you are even better. Do you know (.) the cost of mine ↑?...stop.
 12A Around this time of the year?
 13S Because [
 14A [We're ↑dead]
 15P [Let's just thank God for ability to feed and clothe [↑that's most important
 16S [↑Yes ooo≠
 17P Yeah↓
 18P °God save us°
 19A I think (.) we must all go into farming [
 20P [I bet you ooo↑, to supplement our meager salaries (1) with n:plenty responsibilities if not,n:hmmm
 21S <n:Because last time > [
 22A [I have come to believe that salary alone (.) cannot change one's life
 23A Right?
 24S Sure↓
 25A My↓ rent will be expiring in December, just ima:gine≠
 26S Just paid mine two months ago↓
 27A That's another ↑problem...I don't ↓know (4) when I will complete my building
 28S Ahaa, have you resolved your plot issue?
 29P Where?=but me I'm building, they should come demolish it
 30P We are tired with landlords=
 31P =↓Abaaa!
 32P n:Today this, tomorrow that [
 33A [As if a tenant is always a homeless person [oh nooo
 34S [Oh↓
 35P (unclear) we all have homes(.) somewhere ≠
 36A But who cares? (2)
 37P No, but a few landlords are reasonable
 38S Ah have we paid all our drinks?=
 39P =↑No!
 40S How much is left?=
 41P =↑Yes!emmm
 42S Please add this...↑!
 43P You returned from funeral yesterday, so relax
 44A Oh yea, please ↑pick your money↓
 45P [↓Yeah, yeah↑
 46P I↑ know you are fucking loaded but another day
 47S Oh really? hahahah, [you ↓know
 48P [We even needed to a:company you, [because of the WASSCE invigilation
 49S Sure[
 50P n: hello...seller...
 51S Well, can't really say any:thing again (collecting back money from table)=
 52P =relax bro↓
 53S [God con:tinue to bless our friendship[
 54A Amen= ↓
 55S =Yeah
 56A °God dey° (3)
 57S [laugh]

58S Sure= it shall be well≠

59A =small, small=

Transcription of Second Conversation (Marriage) (Lasting 4 Minutes, 13 Seconds)

60S =...school fees (2) meanwhile she is also working hmmh..why?

61A n:hahahahaahahaha↑hmmm...≠

62S °Is that how they are° everywhere↑?

63P <me I just ignore them some:times> why? (2) unfortunate[man °always to blame°

64S [As for my wife(.) it's too much (2) I don't get it↑ [too many demands

65A [↑Don't go there my brother [laugh]

66P Freedom [laugh]that's what they call it

67S [laugh] ↑interesting≠

68P Yeah [end of laugh] freedom

69A ↑Freedom now means spousal ex:ploitation..

70P Sure↑Together[laugh]

71S Well...° <we will manage them like that>°,

72P Problems everywhere=

73A =And problems of their fa:milies become your pro:blems too

74S Oh yeah↑but problems of your family are not her problems, nooo↑

75P The good thing is that(.) you are not obliged...do what you can

76S n:Exactly my philosophy too..let them talk≠

77P Last year I asked mine to add just GHC 200 to pay our rent.

78A Hmmm...≠

79P She told me that her fa:ther has many houses↑

80S Whaaa...t! (hands on head)

81P ↑Only God=

82A =↑Yea:h=

83S Ya

84A So just do what you can that's all (3)

85S <we are in for trouble>

86P Yeah [laugh]

87S Ooh! (.) mine [laugh]

88A That's the ↑problem [laugh] Together[laugh] (2)

89A So (3) we have to be very patient. But for how ↑lo:ng?

90A How much is enough? The more you tolerate(.) the more they mis:behave

91S Because [

92A [It's ↑difficult [

93P [So just keep your ba:lance [↑blow hot and cold

94S [↑Aha...so try to be firm and a bit loose(.) at the same time

95P Yeah

96P °So you must look funny↑ as a hus:band° [laugh]

97A But you will have the [

98P [The children suffer sadly (1) nawaoo.....

99S <Because last time > [

100A [Noo,chil:dren will get to under:stand

101A ↑Right?

102S °Right°

103A Because as they grow(.) they get to understand that Daddy was not being wicked≠

104S Yeah,..problem here is that they try to change their minds too↓ against you..

105A That's the ↑problem...I don't ↓know (4)

- 106S You get it?..and we men are not good at that kind of thing=
 107P =No
 108P =To tell a child to dislike the mother≠
 109P =↑No!
 110P And we do not have the [
 111A [We have that sym:paty for them [eii,but they don't know
 112S [Ok.I thought I was the on:ly one....
 113 P (unclear) the pains of child birth↓
 114A n:Yeessss....i respect and sympathise with them for that (2)

Transcription of Third Conversation (Politics) (Lasting 3 Minutes, 41 Seconds)

- 115P ...this year dieee.....
 116S So is NDC can:celling FREE SHS ?=
 117P =↑No!
 118S They will maintain it?=
 119P =↑Yes!
 120S Oh..that's ↑interesting!
 121P Extending it to even private schools
 122A ...and vo:cational institutions=
 123P [↓ Yeah, yeah
 124P I know↓
 125S But we can judge (.) from our own experiences,[you ↓know
 126P [But who↑ do we trust now? NDC or NPP? ↑
 127S mm..well (2) debatable! What's exactly their aim? Getting votes?
 128P Ultimately so↑
 129S And then how (.) can they achieve these plenty pro:mises? [
 130A [The manifesto itself=
 131P =Exa:ggerated promises? But I like NPP's a:ggressive nature ooo...
 132 At least man must dream big![Over 600 promises in 2016
 133A [And even more this time around↓= [laugh]
 134S =Yeah≠
 135A °eiii power...° (3) [
 136S As for FREE SHS it's a good thing= Mahama dare not touch it... ehm
 ↑scrap it and see... °wo be ti bobolibobo°= [laugh]
 137A =in:fact I admire that party (.) for their brave policies=
 138S =Yeah sure (2) just look at health in:surance who plays with health?
 139A Their main cha:llenge as a party...(unclear)... ≠
 140P [NDC too has done well on infras.....
 141A ...the control by some few people at the top. That's NPP problem
 142S °power struggle° [
 143P <Gha:naians are now wise ooo> they want results [about °not mere promises°
 144S [Sure (2) poli:ticians must know this....the [
 145A [↑Independence
 146P Freedom [laugh]
 147S [laugh] ↑interes:ting
 148P Yeah↓ [you can:not force peo:ple to follow you≠
 149A ↑Freedom!...[laugh] (3)
 150P Gone are the days... To:gether [laugh]
 151S Well...°<fear dele:gates [laugh]>°, oh my God! ..Sir John!
 152P Hmmm↓= one fine poli:tician ooo.
 153A =n:Oh yeah=he doesn't insult(.) opponents.. but full of hu:mour

- 154S What can we do? God knows best...
 155P Yah↓, now that there is n:plenty food on the table,he is gone[
 156S =That's God for you↓ [He says our ways are not his ways≠

Phase II: Responding to Research Questions based on Transcribed Data

Research Question 1: What are the Recurring Patterns of Interaction in Informal Conversations?
 &
 Research Question 3: How do Recurring Patterns of Interaction Play out in Informal Conversations?

NB: The two Research Questions above are analysed and discussed together due to their closely related nature. We find it more convenient and appropriate to identify the occurrences of recurring patterns and indicate thereof, how those recurring patterns manifest themselves in the transcribed conversations, rather than separate the two. Research question 2 is not so closely related, hence the isolated analysis of it.

Analysis

The ensuing discussion provides answers to the two research questions above. There is no conversation without turn-taking. Ochs (1979) defines a turn as "...an utterance bounded by significant pause or by utterance of other participants". In other words, a turn is the speech of one person continued until another takes the floor. An adjacency pair is a sequence of two related utterances by two different speakers. The second utterance is a response to the first. It is a particular type of turn taking structure. Throughout the three conversational pieces, turn-taking inevitably exists as a recurring pattern. Adjacency pairs, as can be seen in Table 1, play a very great role in terms of turn-taking in these series of conversations. This spans from the pairs of utterances 1P/2S through 23A/24S, 40S/42P, 66P/67S, 81P/83S, 118S/119P, etc., to 155P/156S (just to mention a few). As explained already, an adjacency pair is a sequence of two related utterances by two different speakers. The second utterance is a response to the first. In all these pairs therefore, a first turn-taker usually says something which is reacted to somehow by a second turn-taker. In 1P/2S for instance, the second turn-taker 2S's expression "Hmmm..." is a reaction or response to 1P's utterance "Cheap↑are you not in Gha:na?" Moving on, 79P's utterance "She told me that her fa:ther has many houses↑" is reacted to or relates with 80S's response "Whaaa...t! (hands on head)". The same can be said of the remaining 42 pairs of utterances as shown in Table 1.

Secondly, one recurring pattern in the series is topic change. Though not very regularly recurrent relative to the other tenets under consideration, this major tenet of CA occurs in utterances 38S, 50P and 151S, across the three recordings. In utterance 38S, the change in topic was from the Economy to the question of whether all the drinks on the table had been paid. These are two unrelated matters to the extent that the speaker deflected from the main subject of discussion which was the Economy to enquire if they owed the pub as of the time of the enquiry. In 50P, the speaker again deflected from the Economy into calling the pub attendant. And finally in 151S, the speaker changes topic from Politics in general to talk about a personality in Ghanaian Politics (known as Sir John).It must be noted that,

much as there seem to be some relatedness, the conversation took a totally different dimension after this particular utterance. The conversation dived from general political issues to the personality traits of a deceased politician. So the change is one from politics to the character.

The third recurring pattern revealed in this analysis is Figurative Language. In 155P, the expression "...plenty food on the table.." depicts symbolism within the context. The speaker means to underscore the fact that the deceased's party is currently in power and therefore, if he was alive he would have enjoyed power too. Therefore, food is used to represent power symbolically. The second figurative device used in the recordings is rhetorical question. This is a question that does not really demand an answer or is meant to emphasise a point. This is manifest in 1P, 29P, 60S, 62S, 89A, 90A and 127S.

Fourth and finally, dysfluency is another recurrent pattern in the conversations. From the review of literature earlier in this work, Dysfluency often takes place in an informal situation in social interaction. The more informal the conversation is, the more frequently it happens. It could be symbolized by providing unfinished sentences, repeating words, or even repeating parts of sentences. This scenario is clearly manifested in 2S, 50P, 60S, 61A, 78A, 115P, 135A, 139A and 140P. Among the variables listed above which determine dysfluency in a conversational piece, unfinished sentences is the predominant variable as far as the three recordings are concerned. It occurs in all the utterances listed above as in "Hmmm...", "infrs...", etc. They generally do not really express complete thoughts within the contexts in which they occur.

Research Question 2: Which recurring patterns of interaction dominate in informal conversations?

Analysis

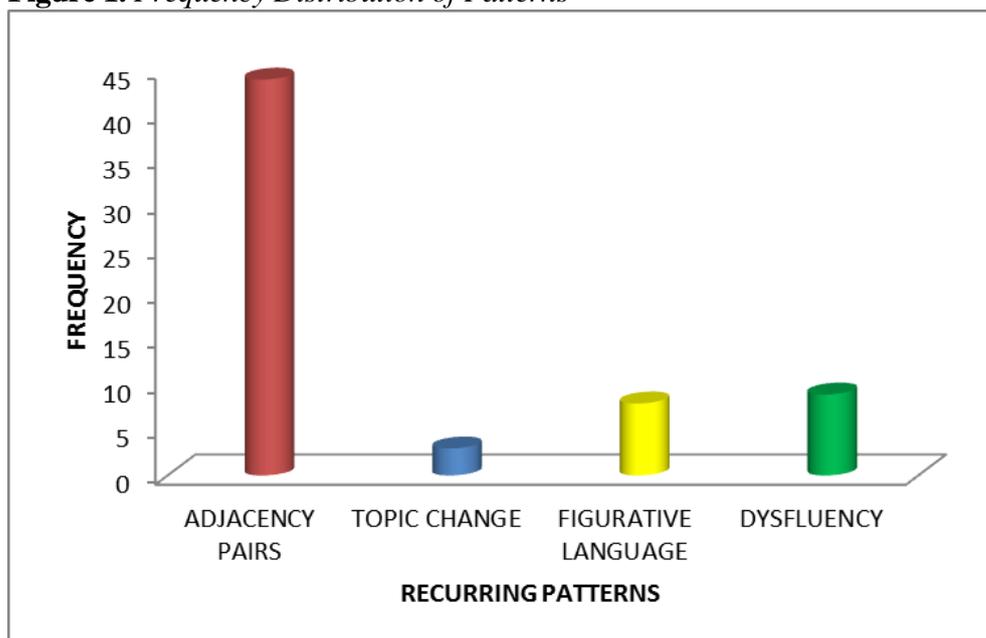
From the analysis of data in Phase 1 of Data analysis above, the frequency tallies for the four recurrent patterns in these conversations have been summarised in Table 1. Clearly, Adjacency pairs is the most dominant with a total tally of 44 pairs across the three conversations. This is followed distantly by Dysfluency with a tally ratio of 9. Dysfluency is closely followed by Figurative Language with total tally of 8 and finally Topic Change with a total tally of 3 (see Table 1).

Table 2. Frequency Distribution of Recurring Patterns

	Adjacency Pairs		Topic Change	Figurative Language	Dysfluency	
	1P/25	94S/95P	38S	1P	2S	
	3P/4A	98P/100A	50P	60S	50P	
	3P/5S	101A/102S	151S	62S	60S	
	10A/11A	104/105A		29P	61A	
	15P/16S	116A/112S		89A	78A	
	15P/17P	113P/114A		90A	115P	
	23A/24S	116S/117P		127S	135A	
	35P/36A	118S/117P		155P	139A	
	38S/39P	119P/120S			140P	
	40S/43P	121P/122A				
	46P/47S	121SS/123P				
	48P/49S	127S/128P				
	53S/54A	132S/133A				
	60S/61A	133A/134S				
	64S/65A	137A/138S				
	66P/67S	143P/144S				
	69A/70P	151S/152P				
	73A/74S	152P/153A				
	75P/76S	154S/155P				
	79P/80S	155P/156S				
	81P/82A					
	81P/83S					
	85S/86P					
	93P/94S					
Total	44		3	8	9	64
	68.8		4.7	12.5	14.0	100

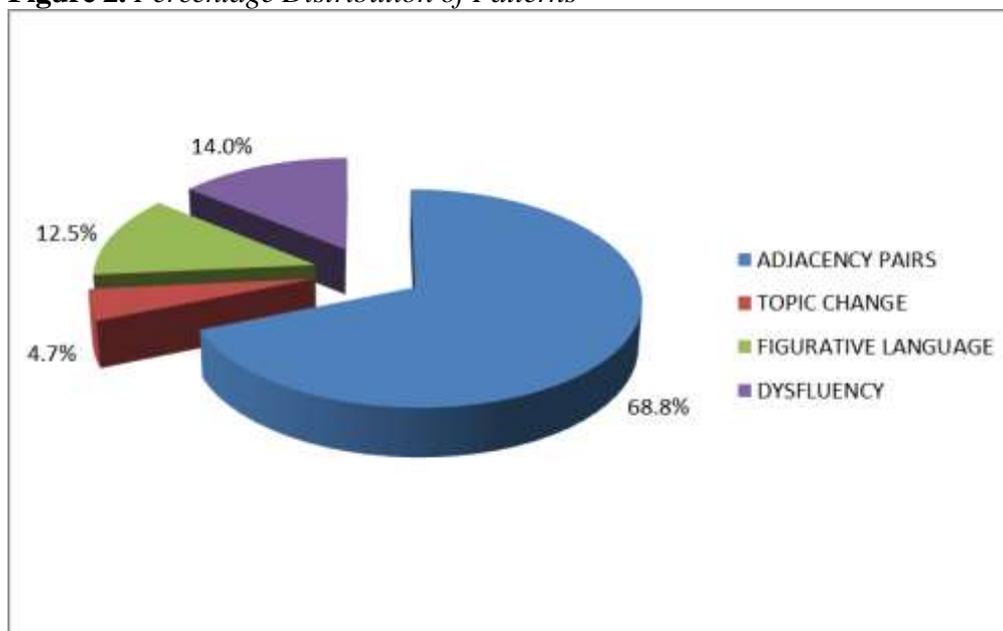
The tallies in Table 1 are graphically represented in the Bar Chart in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Frequency Distribution of Patterns



In terms of percentage distribution, the tallies are further represented in the Pie Chart in Figure 2.

Figure 2. *Percentage Distribution of Patterns*



Discussion

It is worthy of note that the nature and procedure of the analysis of data in this study embodies both the analysis and discussion of the results concurrently. Any further attempts to discuss findings may result in mere duplications, repetitions and redundancies. We therefore take you straight to the conclusions drawn from the study.

Conclusion

From the foregoing analysis and discussion of results, three conclusions can be drawn based on the three research questions in this study. The analysis reveals that four main recurring patterns characterize informal conversations among friends: Adjacency Pairs, Topic Change, Figurative Language and Dysfluency. This answers Research Question 1. For Research Question 2, Table 1 clearly outlines the overwhelming dominance of Adjacency pairs as a form of turn-taking over the other three recurring patterns. One may thus conclude that adjacency pairs dominate in informal conversations among participants who are friends. It may also be concluded, for Research Question 3, that friendly informal conversations stay focused on selected topics, driven by close adjacency pairs, riddled with dysfluencies and tied together by rhetorical questions with very little propensity towards topic change.

References

- Atkinson M, Heritage J (1984) *Structures of social action: studies in conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beattie G (1983) *Talk: an analysis of speech and non-verbal behavior in conversation*. London: Open University Press.
- Brown P, Levinson SC (1978) *Politeness: some universals in language use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davis LE (1984) *Ethnicity in social group work practice*. New York: Haworth Press.
- Frohlich DM, Luff P (1989) Conversational resources for situated action. In *Wings for the Mind. Proceedings of the SIGHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing System* (pp. 253–258).
- Fussel SR, Kreuz RJ (1998) *Social and cognitive approaches to interpersonal communication*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Havey PT (1999) *Doing conversation analysis: a practical guide*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Hepburn A, Bolden GB (2017) *Transcribing for social research*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Heritage J, Greatbatch D (1986) Generating applause: a study of rhetoric and response at party political conferences. *American Journal of Sociology* 92(1): 110–157.
- Hoey ME, Kendrick KH (2017) Conversation Analysis. In AMB De Groot, P Hagoort (eds.), *Research Methods in Psycholinguistics and the Neurobiology of Language: A Practical Guide*, 151–173.
- Holtgraves T (1992) Language and face-work. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 5(2): 141–159.
- Hutchby I, Wooffitt R (1998) *Conversation analysis: principles, practices and application*. Cambridge: Polity Press in Association with Blackwell Publishing.
- Jefferson G (1972) *Side Sequencers*. In DN Sudnow (Ed.) *Studies in Social Interaction*, 294–333. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Leech G (1981) *Semantics: the study of meaning*. 2nd Edition. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Levinson CS (1983) *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mey J (2001) *Pragmatics: an introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Mondada L (2019) Contemporary issues in conversation analysis: embodiment and materiality, multimodality and multisensoriality in social interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 145: 47–62.
- Nur A (2014) Classroom Related Talk: Conversation Analysis of Asian EFL Learners. *Journal of Language, Education, and Humanities* 2(1).
- Ochs E (1979) Planned and unplanned discourse. In T. Givon (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics*. New York: Academic Press.
- Sacks H (1972) *On the analyzability of stories by children*. In JJ Gumperz, D Hymes (eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, 325–345. New York: Rinehart & Winston.
- Sacks H (1992) *Lectures on Conversation*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Seedhouse P (2004) *The interactional architecture of the language classroom: a conversation analysis perspective*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell.
- Wardhaugh R (2006) *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. 5th Edition. Blackwell Publishing.
- Wooffitt R (2001) *Discourse as data: a guide for analysis*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Yule G (2010) *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yun CC (2006) Preserving students' face in foreign language teaching. *Sino-US English Teaching* 3(12): 45–47.

Appendix

Symbols

(.)	Short pause
:	Prolonged pronunciation/sound
(≠)	Longer pause
(2), (3), etc.	Repeated action

<u>Sounds</u>	Stressed words
┌	Overlap (point when the next utterance interrupts)
=	No gap between two utterances
↑	Higher voice pitch
↓	Lower voice pitch
[laugh]	Nonverbal feature
n:	Long sound
<speech>	Fast speech
°speech°	Quiet speech
....	Elliptical expressions
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc.	Numbering/labelling of utterances
P, S, A	Participants in the conversation

NB: The numeral-letter tags are meant to give unique identification to each utterance for ease of reference.

