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SUMMARY

The parasynthetic formations in modern Spanish (1726-1904). The paradigmatic morphology and lexical motivation from the diachronic perspective

The main aim of the work is to identify new parasynthetic forms coined in modern Spanish, i. e. in the 18th and 19th centuries. The importance of the study is based on two fundamental reasons: first, the lack of linguistic research on the researched period, not to mention lexicogenetic analyses; and second, the number of diachronic studies dedicated to the words formed by the parasynthesis in the Spanish language, compared to the already abundant synchronic and atemporary observations of the subject, is even smaller. In modern Spanish it presents an almost virgin territory that still remains to be explored.

On the other hand, if a curious reader is interested in etymology or history of voices such as *embotellar*, *enfocar*, *descarrilar*, *desmonetizar*, *transbordar*, *exclaustrar*, *transpirenaico*, those that our study revealed as neologisms of modern Spanish, he or she basically has two options: to consult either the *Diccionario crítico-etimológico castellano e hispánico* by Joan Corominas or the *Nuevo Diccionario Histórico del Español*. However, he or she will notice that the dictionary of Corominas hardly provides any information about it and the *Nuevo Diccionario Histórico* is still under construction and does not incorporate all the voices that are analyzed here¹⁷³.

The main issues of the present study are therefore focused on examining new parasynthetic formations that were configured in —and thus enriched— modern Spanish. Another fundamental aim of the research is to provide a modest list of the (first) documentation of "modern" parasynthetic derivatives and thus to complete historical data.

The eighteenth century represents a fundamental rupture as far as textual testimony is concerned. Journalism and the press increasingly permeated social life and became a mass phenomenon in the nineteenth century. That is why we support our investigation fundamentally on the historical press. We complement these records with the data of the *Corpus diacrónico del español (CORDE)*, Google Books and the lexicographic works of the time,

¹⁷³ We note that we have developed our research between 2012–2015.

which are historical-etymological, together with the foreign ones, according to the contrastive analysis that is also part of our research.

The repertoire that we submit to the analysis is based, in principle, on the registers examined by Serrano Dolader (1995) and by Lavale Ortiz (2013) that incorporate exhaustive lists of the parasynthetic derivatives. From these we select all the voices that begin to be documented in the XVIII and XIX centuries according to the queries of *CORDE* and the Digital Periodical Library of the National Library of Spain (Press).

We frame the study in the terms of paradigmatic morphology and lexical motivation, in order to take into account the possible influence of intra, inter and extralinguistic models and elements.

Within the paradigmatic morphological approaches, which have been developed since the 1970s, the primacy of the paradigmatic organization of units based on phonological, semantic and syntactic analogies plays a central role. The Full Listening Hypothesis has been assumed, that is, the Lexicon comprises all the words both complex and simple. The Lexicon must be organized in interior structures so the speaker could access each of the words stored in it. In some considerations the role of this lexical organization plays the role of word formation rules (RFPs); in other words, they are perceived as mechanisms that describe and systematize the connections between paradigms and through which the speaker is able to access all the units contained in the Lexicon.

One of the advantages of the paradigmatic approach is the solution of the problem of the correspondence between form and content, which is often distorted from a syntagmatic perspective. The question of the form-content correlation has caused several controversies regarding the parasynthesis and its derivatives, provoking various solutions. By virtue of the paradigmatic morphology we interpret the parasynthetic formations as the members of certain paradigms. As an example, verbs such as acanallar, afrancesar, apayasar enter into the [A-N-AR] paradigm and the verbs abrillantar, adecentar, arranciar present the members of the paradigm [A-Adj-AR]. The two paradigms can be conceived under a general and acategorial paradigm [A-X-AR]. We understand this paradigm as a prototypical paradigm, called superparadigm, which presents a semantic value also prototypical, (to) acquire qualities of X, where X is a noun or an adjective.

According to our model, the superparadigm is updated by means of subparadigms of two types, categorial (for example, desvaloración, desvaloramiento, desvalorado present updates of different lexical category of DESVALORAR) and derivative (for example, desvalorado, desilusionado, destornillado respond to the subparadigm [des-X-ado]). A derivative subparadigm can, in turn, enter a macroparadigm. That is, desvaloramiento is associated with florecimiento, atrevimiento, levantamiento, et cetera, which can also stimulate – or be one of the impulses in its creation. By virtue of this we define the formation of a voice as the result of a complex network of intra and interparadigmatic relations.

On the other hand, a greater lexical-semantic determination is given above all by the adherent motivation that includes a whole series of factors such as the attitude and intention of the sender, his or her linguistic (morphological) competence, historical context, and others. Nor should we forget the role that interlingual motivation can play.

We support ideas about different types of motivations in works by Furdík (2008) and Ološtiak (2007, 2011). The two Slovak linguists introduce and develop a complex network of seventeen motivations that according to their thesis govern and organize the whole lexicon.

According to the theoretical background together with the fact that the analysis comprises the period between 1726–1904, it is essential to know the situation of previous epochs. The Spanish linguistic bibliography lacks a complete and exhaustive study which would analyze the parasynthesis in diachrony. Even so, from the partial investigations that have been carried out, it appears that in classical Spanish—a stage preceding modern Spanish—paradigms [A-X-AR], [EN-X-AR] and [DES-X-AR] are shown to be vital together with some or other less frequent paradigms. It is also necessary to take into account the issue of the lexems sharing the same root, which has been constant and varied in the evolution of the parasynthetic formations. For our period, at least some correlates of [A-X-AR] and [EN-X-AR] are expected, since these have also been observed in classical Spanish.

Taking into account the geographical and genealogical proximity of the neighboring languages together with the historical and socio-political circumstances in the analyzed period, we also carry out the contrastive analysis. It is well known that French was the language that most affected Peninsular life in (almost) all its aspects, including the lexicon. The presence of Italianism is scarce and has influence over the artistic language (theater, opera, music) and architecture. Regarding Portuguese and Catalan, which affected Spanish in earlier times, they hardly exert any influence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although we cannot completely rule out its presence.

In the analyzed period, the paradigms [A-X-AR], [EN-X-AR] —although the analysis has revealed only the productivity of the nominal variant [EN-N-AR]—, [DES-X-AR], [DES-X-IZAR], [TRA(N)S-X-AR] and [EX-X-AR] are shown to be productive. In the cases of [A-X-AR], [EN-N-AR] and [DES-X-AR] we can certainly speak of continuous productivity, since the diachronic studies on the parasynthetic formations document their vitality since ancient times. On the other hand, for [DES-X-IZAR] we do not have a study that confirms its previous productivity. However the voices provided by CORDE highlight some productivity, although apparently quite reduced. According to our observations, a greater productivity of this paradigm occurs since the nineteenth century and its most intense propagation in the Spanish system is due to the French model, since all the lexemes of [DES-X-IZAR] that entered Spanish in the first half of the century were motivated by the French paradigm [DÉ(S)-X-ISER]. We have supported this conclusion in the fact that the first coinage of [DES-X-IZAR] is linked to the ideas and / or the epoch of the French Revolution which was succeeded by the Napoleonic era. An opposite situation occurs in the case of [TRA(N)S-X-AR]; the lexemes of this paradigm located between 1726-1904 were generated as autochthonous creations on the previous models. Here again we have not had an investigation that would have studied the forms of structure [TRA(N)S-X-AR], and again we have been forced to consult CORDE to establish possible models of origin. [EX-X-AR] has manifested itself in an even more complicated situation. It is a rather small paradigm with respect to the number of its corresponding lexemes, so that it is difficult to observe its historical evolution. Indeed, we have had few lexemes that could be considered as points of reference for new coinage. In the epochs before 1726 we located only exhumar, in which the morpho-semantic relationship remains more or less clear and could therefore be taken as a starting model. On the other hand, we detected in the examined period four lexemes with a transparent base and intraparadigmatic relations, which could indicate some fixation of the paradigm from the nineteenth century, despite the fact that we have defined only exclaustrar as a product of intralinguistic motivation.

The correlates of [A-X-AR] and [EN-X-AR] underscore the relevance and timeliness of the approach in the present study, since some differences between the same root couples have been highlighted, many of them synonymous, especially, in the present time. We have observed that in the configuration of the lexemes within the paradigm [A-X-AR] intervened several factors, that is, lexical motivations. It is worth noting, first, the strong roots of the paradigm itself that is revealed in the high productivity and therefore in a greater attraction of the paradigm. In fact, records have shown that the new coinages of [A-X-AR] are results of intralinguistic lexicogenetic motivation. To this must be added the semantic motivation. Because of this, the need to name new facts and realities, instead of being carried out through semantic extension in existing lexemes, the lexemes of the paradigm [EN-X-AR], has led to the coining of new voices in *a*-, both morphologically and semantically. In addition to the major attraction, it also played an important role a greater ability of [A-X-AR] to conform to —or reflect— a wide range of semantic nuances.

On the other hand, in the contemporary doublets, such as *acanallar – encanallar* and *amurallar – enmurallar*, the function of the distinctive feature takes the interlinguistic motivation. Speaking of the foreign influence, and first of all, the French influence, if we look at the dates of the introduction of lexemes motivated interlinguistically, whether partial or integral, we realize that the entry of these lexemes occurred mostly in the second half of the eighteenth century and in the first half of the nineteenth century; dates that coincide with the greatest influence of the French due to historical-cultural and political-social events (the reign of Charles III, the French Revolution, the era of Joseph Bonaparte, the hegemony of French culture throughout Europe and the popularity and prestige linked to language, both in high social strata and in scientific circles).

The contrastive analysis corroborates the close genealogical proximity of the Romance languages. In the four examined languages, we detect semantically equivalent forms that correspond to an identical paradigm: aclimatar, descentrar, desimpresionar, despistar, descapitalizar, descentralizar, deshumanizar, desmonetizar, desnacionalizar, despersonalizar, embotellar, englobar, engranar, expatriar, expropiar, extraterritorial, precolombino, prerrafaelita, transbordar and transoceánico. Lexemes point to the same paradigm in the five languages analyzed, since almost all are direct or indirect, partial or integral loans, induced by the French model, except for embotellar and transbordar, which, at least in Spanish, were created by Spanish itself.

The same analysis has also revealed the greater lexicogenic strength of the paradigms [AX-AR] and [EN-X-AR] in Spanish compared to the other languages observed. For the forms such as acastorado, achampañado, achorizado, amariposado, aquijotado, apizarrado, asalmonado, achular, adecentar, afilosofar, arrequesonar, encizañar, encarpetar, embaldosar or emborronar, we find no equivalent in any of these languages.

In other cases, especially in the [A-X-AR] paradigm, Portuguese is shown to be the closest to Spanish, since we detected a greater number of formal and semantically identical equivalents, while Italian and French chose in these cases the paradigms without prefix: acarnerado – port. acarneirado (without equivalents), acastañado – port. acastanhado (without equiv.), achocolatado – port. achocolatado (fr. chocolat, it. cioccolato), afrancesar – port. afrancesar (fr. franciser, it. francesizzato), anacarado – port. anacarado (fr. nacré), enfocar – port. enfocar, (fr. focaliser, it. focalizzare), submarino – port. submarino (fr. sous-marin, it. sottomarino), transpirenaico (fr. transpyrénéen), to name a few.

Our study also shows the importance and usefulness of the consulted corpus, especially of Google Books and Press, which, in our opinion, play a very significant role for any type of linguistic analysis, both from the diachronic perspective as from the synchronic.

Summary

The data provided by Google Books, in most cases, advance the records provided by Press or *CORDE*. Likewise, the records of Google Books have given us the first clues about a possible foreign origin, thanks to access to the entire work, including the cover, which often carried between subtitles "translated into Spanish".

On the other hand, the main advantage of the Press consists in the wealth of the records that is due, first, to the heterogeneity of the incorporated newspapers, which supposes, therefore, a variety of authors and usages; second, to the very character that newspapers acquired, especially in the nineteenth century. They contained, apart from the news, fragments of novels, advertisements, critical comments, letters, and so on, that is, types of texts that require a different style and uses.

If we want to evaluate the contribution of the analyzed lexemes in relation to the enrichment of the modern lexical flow, the one hundred and forty-one units clearly show this fact. Among them are the formations such as the *acorazar*, *abrillantar*, *amayorazgar*, *achampañado*, *embotellar*, *enlatar*, *exclaustrar*, *expatriar*, *expropiar*, *transatlántico*, *transpacífico*, *transiberiano*, together with the voices of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era, which are linked to new milestones, historical-social ideas or events of the time.