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Erica F. McClure

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# ethnoanatomy in a multilingual community: an analysis of semantic change<sup>1</sup>

ERICA F. McCLURE—University of Illinois, at Urbana-Champaign

## introduction

Even a brief survey of the literature in historical linguistics reveals the remarkable progress which has been made in the description of language change. In the face of such progress, the failure of historical linguists to present a convincing account of the causes of language change is striking. Moreover, as Durbin (1973:1290) points out, "there prevails a considerable confusion between a mechanism (i.e., the process that transmits the change) and a cause (i.e., the conditions that are necessary in the development of change)." Thus we find such diverse phenomena as analogy, geographical isolation of speech communities, and language acquisition listed together as possible causes of language change. In general we find that historical linguists have tended to emphasize structural factors<sup>2</sup> (mechanisms) to the neglect of nonstructural factors (causes).

In contrast, within the burgeoning field of sociolinguistics emphasis is placed on an integrated approach. Linguists such as Hymes (1964, 1966), Gumperz (1964), Gumperz and Wilson (1971), Labov (1966, 1970) and Weinreich, et al. (1968) seek an explanation for language change in the context of language use. Hymes states that to make progress in understanding linguistic change we must (1) accumulate relevant cases, (2) reinterpret our information in terms of new theoretical insights of the nature and functioning of the linguistic code, and (3) integrate language-internal with language-external changes. In doing this, he emphasizes the necessity of the synchronic analysis of the dynamic and the diachronic analysis of the stable or static as well as the more usual static synchronic and dynamic diachronic analyses (Hymes 1964:449-451).

Case studies of language change based on Hymes' perspective are few. The following are representative: in phonology, Labov (1963, 1966), Trudgill (1973); in syntax, Gumperz (1967), Gumperz and Wilson (1971), Durbin (1973); in semantics, Casagrande (1954-1955), Dozier (1956), and Scotton and Okeju (1973).

Even though sociolinguistics is a relatively new field, the limited number of case studies of semantic change from that perspective is somewhat surprising in light of the fact that there have been many case studies in ethnographic semantics, an approach which

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*Several languages and dialects have been in intimate contact in Romania over a long period of time. An ethnographic semantic analysis of anatomical terms in a Romanian multiethnic community sheds light on the extent to which the internal structure of words and the nature of the contact between languages influences the degree and nature of borrowing among those languages.*

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developed from the same roots. Ethnographic semantic studies, unlike those in sociolinguistics, have tended to ignore variation. They have regarded semantic structures as static entities and have paid little attention to the dynamic processes affecting them. Moreover, in the few cases in which semantic change has been considered, attention has focused on structural rather than nonstructural factors (e.g., Basso 1967; Frake 1971; Lindenfeld 1971; Berlin 1972).

This paper represents an attempt to combine the techniques of sociolinguistics with those of ethnographic semantics in the study of change within a semantic domain, that of anatomy. Anatomy was selected because it appears to be both universally salient and relatively easily delimited. Research was conducted in central Transylvania (Siebenbürgen), an area with a long history of language contact which is today a part of Romania. The fieldsite, Vingard, is a multiethnic village of over 1200 inhabitants, approximately 55 percent of whom are Romanian and 40 percent Saxon. The Romanians speak only Romanian, while the Saxons speak Saxon, German, and Romanian. All three of these languages, which have been in contact in this village for some 800 years, were investigated.

Data on Romanian were collected from thirty-seven Romanians and thirty-three Saxons. Data on Saxon and German were collected from the same thirty-three Saxons. Besides ethnicity, the variables controlled for were age (both Romanians and Saxons ranged from eight to seventy), sex, and degree of exposure to influences from outside Vingard. (See McClure [1972:17-25] for methodology.)

### **theoretical perspective**

The broad perspective on language change employed here is based on general sociolinguistic theory. However, a more specific framework for data collection and analysis was provided by the following hypotheses, which are presented informally here. The exact form of each hypothesis, with which we operated, is presented below.

The structural hypotheses are: (A1) The length of a term (in both syllables and morphemes) affects the probability and the form of borrowing. (A2) Terms for highly salient categories are more exposed to loan phenomena. Terms for low salience categories are more exposed to simple loss. (A3) Homologous semantic domains in languages which are in intimate contact will tend to converge in structure.

The social hypotheses are: (B1) Borrowing at the community level is maximized by (a) absorption of a socially significant population, (b) amicable intimate contact with another language, and (c) national identification with an extranational intellectual tradition. (B2) The more contact an individual has with a second language, (a) the more semantic borrowing his use of his native language will show and (b) the less interference his use of the second language will show. (B3) Labels for previously unlabeled categories are more likely to be borrowed directly or as calques if contact is more extensive and are more likely to be generated internally by coinage or meaning extension if contact is less extensive.

### **the social situation**

**a diachronic view: a synopsis of Transylvanian history** Romania, unfortunately for its inhabitants, is strategically situated between Asia and Europe and has consequently suffered the burden of numerous invasions. The earliest existing records show it to have been the home of the Dacians, the forebears of the Romanians.

In A.D. 101 to 107 the Romans, annoyed by Dacian interference with trade, invaded and conquered the area. In A.D. 271, in response to internal disruption (revolts of slaves and colonials) and external attack (invasion of migratory populations), the Romans withdrew from Dacia, leaving behind a population which in a period of only 170 years had been so Romanized as to have adopted the Latin language.

After the departure of the Romans, Goths and other migratory populations took possession of the area north of the Danube. The Slavs were the last of these groups to arrive. In the fifth and sixth centuries, the Slavs occupied the region to the north of the Black Sea, Moldavia, the Black Sea coast, the Muntenean plains, and spread into Hungary across the Tesa and the Danube. Archeological sites attest their presence in the northern Danube region, beginning in the second half of the sixth century, and in Transylvania, at the beginning of the seventh century. When the Hungarians arrived (tenth to eleventh centuries), Transylvania was occupied by a mixed Slavo-Romanian peasant population with Slavic *voivodas*. By the thirteenth century the Romanians had completely assimilated the Slavic element.<sup>3</sup>

Contact between the Romanian population to the north of the Danube and the Hungarians postdates Hungarian migration through the Tisa valley in A.D. 896. By the early part of the eleventh century, the Hungarians had penetrated the Someș valley, and they conquered all the southern part of Transylvania in the course of the twelfth century.

The period between A.D. 1150 and 1322 witnessed a Saxon migration to Transylvania. The "Saxons," who were actually Rhine Franconians from the area of Germany near Cologne, arrived in Transylvania at the invitation of the Hungarian kings. This invitation was prompted both by the kings' desire for a middle class to counterbalance the nobles (who had recently revolted) and by the need for a frontier guard to repulse invading barbarians. The Saxons were granted extensive holdings in the Mureș, Tîrnava, and Olt valleys, as well as privileged status. By the charter of A.D. 1224 the Saxons held their lands direct from the king and were granted complete self-government under an elected count, the right to elect their own judges and clergy, the exclusive right to ownership of land within their territory (the *Fundus Regius*), and the freedom of their merchants from all tolls and dues throughout the country.

By the fifteenth century there were recognized constitutionally in Transylvania three privileged ("received") nations—Magyars, Szekels, and Saxons. The others—Romanians, Vlachs, Greeks, Jews, Moravians, Poles, Russians, Serbs, Sclavi, and Zingari—were only "tolerated" nations without rights of citizenship. The Romanians were numerically by far the greatest of these "tolerated nations," probably constituting the majority of the total Transylvanian population.

From 1526, when central Hungary was taken by the Turks and Transylvania became independent, through the periods of native rule (1540-1690), Hapsburg rule (1691-1867), and Austro-Hungarian rule (1868-1918) until Transylvania was united with the Regat (Romania south of the Carpathians) after World War I, the position of the tolerated nations continuously worsened. Thus, we see that from the time the Hungarians first came into contact with the Romanians until the recent past, a period of approximately 1,000 years, the status of the Romanians steadily deteriorated, the Hungarians first seeking to subordinate them, then to assimilate them completely. That the latter was the ultimate goal is amply demonstrated by legislation enacted in the 1800s by which Magyar was to become the sole language of government, public notices, and the schools. Romanian societies, songs, and national colors were prohibited. At the same time there was constant pressure to Magyarize family names.

Although the Saxons, as one of the "received" nations, were not subject to the same

degree of harassment as the “tolerated” nations, following the inauguration of Hapsburg rule in Transylvania relations between the Magyars and the Saxons slowly deteriorated. “There were constant efforts to undermine Saxon holdings in land, and especially to reduce the standing of those who had settled outside the Fundus Regius” (Seton-Watson 1934:172). Nevertheless, the Saxons retained a separate corporate existence and accompanying privileged legal status until 1868. In 1868 Transylvania and Hungary were united under the dual monarchies. This union dealt a strong blow to the Saxons, meaning, for them, a loss of traditional privileges in exchange for a bill of rights whose provisions were never honored. Although, in general, they retained a superior economic position, they became subject to the same Magyarization pressures as confronted the Romanians. Such assaults on ethnic identity ended with the unification of Transylvania and the Regat.

**a synchronic view: the modern period in transylvania** Although sovereignty over Transylvania passed to Romania at the end of World War I, and there was a concomitant alteration in the balance of power among the coresident ethnic groups, the way of life of the majority of the population, the peasants, did not change much. Such change awaited the advent of World War II. Romania entered World War II allied with the Axis powers. Many of her Saxon citizens, who were considered by the Germans to be Volksdeutsch, were recruited directly into German regiments. Romania ended the war on the side of the Allies, but her early participation in the Axis had enduring consequences; the Saxon population was perhaps the most profoundly affected. The end of the war found many Saxon soldiers in Germany, some of whom made new lives there. Other Saxon soldiers remained in forced labor camps in Russia. In 1945 they were joined by an influx of Saxons<sup>4</sup> from Romania sent in response to Russia’s demand for labor as part of the reparations to be paid by Romania for the destruction she had wrought during her participation in the Axis. Many of these Saxons remained in Russia until 1951. When they returned to Romania they found their homes and lands occupied by others.<sup>5</sup>

However, the Saxons were just the first to lose their land. The end of the war brought with it the gradual communization of the country, which resulted in an almost complete removal of the means of production from private hands by 1961. The proletarianization of the peasant had begun. It has been accelerated by the linking of village and town through improved transportation and communication networks.

**Vingard today** Vingard is a multiethnic village of over 1,200 individuals, about 650 of whom are Romanian, 450 Saxons, and 100 Gypsies.<sup>6</sup> This ethnic division is reflected in language, residence patterns, social interaction networks, schooling, and religion.<sup>7</sup> Everyone speaks at least some Romanian, but the Saxons also speak German and Saxon, and many of the Gypsies speak Romanian. Vingard is essentially a line village, with Romanians settled in the North, Saxons in the South, and Gypsies in the East central area (see Figure 1). Interaction in work brigades tends to follow ethnic divisions, as does socializing (which generally involves neighbors).<sup>8</sup> The first four grades in the village school have double classes, a class theoretically conducted in German (but actually in Saxon) for the Saxons and one conducted in Romanian for the Romanians and Gypsies. Religion is also a dividing factor. Most Romanians and Gypsies are Orthodox, most Saxons, Lutherans (however, there is a mixed Romanian and Saxon Evangelical congregation whose services are conducted in both Romanian and German).

Also noteworthy about Vingard’s population is its distribution by age. The middle-aged and old are overrepresented in the population, while young adults are

underrepresented; the skewing is most pronounced among the Romanians. This population shift is one result of a nationwide trend away from rural, agrarian life to urban, industrial life, which is manifested even among those who continue to reside in villages.

The inhabitants of Vingard are particularly susceptible to this reorientation both because collective agriculture has not been a success there and because Vingard serves as a link between the surrounding villages and urban centers. Vingard is a focal center for the surrounding villages because it alone has a state farm (which offers salaried agricultural employment in contrast to the collective farms which exist in each of the villages),<sup>9</sup> a

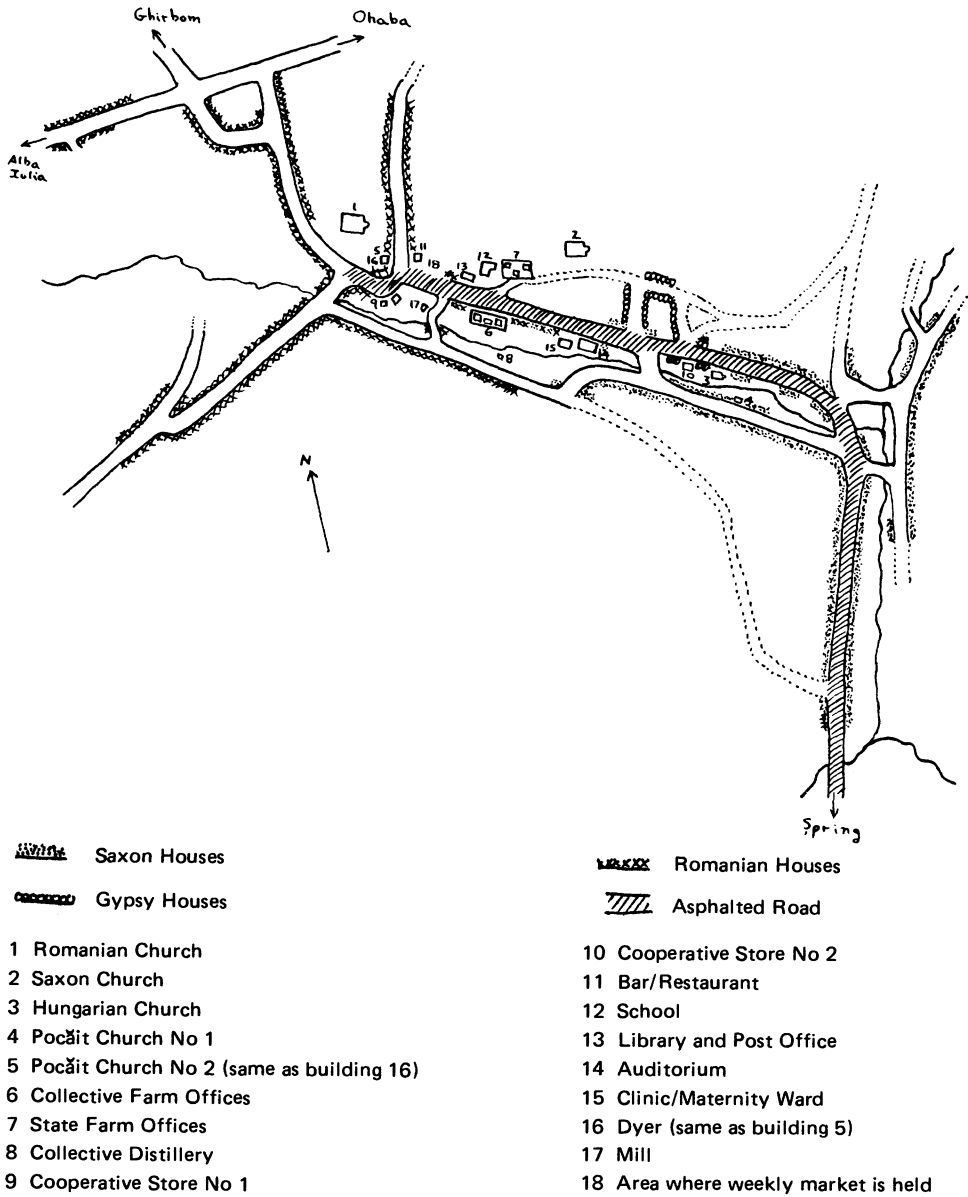


Figure 1. Vingard.

small weekly fair, and a large thrice-yearly fair. Moreover, it is situated on the only paved road connecting these villages to the larger towns of the area.

The existence of this road which joins a major national and international highway fifteen kilometers from Vingard has meant that Sibiu (population 115,156 in 1968), fifty-five kilometers distant, Alba Iulia (population 23,031 in 1968), forty-eight kilometers distant, and Sebeş (population 13,300 in 1964), thirty-three kilometers distant, have become increasingly important to the inhabitants of Vingard. Not only are their commercial, governmental, educational, and health facilities used, but a number of village men commute to work within their confines.

The improved transportation network also strengthened other previously existing ties to the outside world. Even before World War II, some individuals left the village for extended periods of time, returning either at retirement or after they had earned sufficient capital to return profitably to agriculture. Others left permanently but maintained contact with the village by visiting it<sup>10</sup> or receiving the visits of villagers. In these ways Vingard was linked not only to other areas within Romania, both rural and urban, but also to the world outside Romania, particularly the United States, Canada, and Germany.

The outside world also has permanent outposts in Vingard. There is a village school (grades 1-8 in 1970, since increased to 1-10), attendance at which is compulsory. The mass media, radio, television, motion pictures, and printed matter, are also represented. Almost every household has a radio, and in 1970 twenty-eight had television sets. Two movies are shown each week. They are well attended, but the audience consists primarily of young people and Gypsies because adults believe that "serious" people do not go to them. The printed word is also widely disseminated. Many villagers subscribe to newspapers and magazines, there is a free public library, and one of the two general stores handles books.

The language of the mass media is predominately Romanian. Only a few hours of radio broadcasting per day are conducted in German. Television broadcasting and motion pictures are entirely in Romanian, with the exception of films of foreign origin which have Romanian subtitles. Daily newspapers, magazines, and books are available in German, but the selection is not nearly as broad as that which exists in Romanian.

### **language contact phenomena**

**a diachronic analysis** The Romanian anatomical lexicon has been heavily influenced by a number of languages. The nontechnical vocabulary shares some elements with Albanian and Hungarian and even more with the Slavic languages—especially Bulgarian and Serbian—while the technical vocabulary is replete with French terms. Romanian is thus obviously receptive to loans. However, despite the long presence in Romania of a Saxon community speaking both German and Saxon, standard Romanian shows little influence from German and none from Saxon. Even the speech of Romanian peasants living in multiethnic villages with large Saxon populations shows very little Saxon influence.

It is not possible to make generalizations about loan phenomena in Saxon because dialects vary widely from village to village. However, in Vingard the Saxon anatomical lexicon has been influenced by Romanian, German, and Hungarian—most strongly by Romanian and least strongly by Hungarian. German influence has been recent. Thus, while individuals speaking Saxon often utilize German technical terms where no equivalent Saxon term exists, they do not consider most of these terms to be part of the Saxon lexicon.

German is not the first language of any Transylvanian ethnic group. It is, however, spoken by almost all Saxons. In Vingard the German anatomical lexicon has been strongly influenced by Saxon and, through Saxon, by Romanian and Hungarian.

Calques and semantic shifts exist in both Romanian and Saxon. However, the great majority of loan phenomena in Romanian and Saxon are loan words—phonological sequences of foreign origin. The foreign terms on which these loan words are based are all monomorphemic. Many are terms of relatively high salience. They include in Romanian such terms as *gît* (salience 1.9) Old Slavic *glŭtŭ* 'neck,' *obraz* (4.3) 'cheek, face' Old Slavic *obrazŭ* 'face,' *zgîrci* (5.3) 'cartilage' Old Slavic *sŭgrŭčiti*, *mandulă* (4.9) 'tonsil' Hungarian *mandula* 'tonsil,' *talpă* (3.8) 'sole' Hungarian *talp* 'sole,' *şold* (4.1) 'hip' German *Schulter* 'shoulder' through Polish *szoldra* 'shoulder of a pig'; in Saxon: *burik* (4.9) 'navel' Romanian *buric* 'navel,' *flawar* (5.4) 'shin' Romanian *fluier* 'shin,' *ba:l* (4.4) 'intestine' Hungarian *bél* 'intestine.'<sup>11</sup>

High salience terms are also involved in the semantic shifts observable in both Saxon and Romanian. In both Latin and Old and Middle High German, the ancestors of Romanian and Saxon respectively, there were separate terms for arm (Latin *brachium*, OHG and MHG *arm*) and hand (Latin *manus*, OHG and MHG *hant*) and for leg (Latin *crŭs*, OHG and MHG *bein* 'bone,' secondarily 'leg') and foot (Latin *pēs*, OHG *fuoz* MHG *vuoz*). In Romanian, *mînă* derived from *manus* refers primarily to the arm inclusive of the hand (1.7) and secondarily to the hand alone (7.1), while *braţ*, (6.0) derived from *brachium*, is a secondary term for the arm inclusive of the hand, and an abstruse (8.3) term for the upper arm. Likewise, *picior* derived from *pēs* refers primarily to the leg inclusive of the foot (1.9), and only very secondarily to the foot alone (8.4). There is no modern Romanian anatomical derivative of Latin *crŭs* 'leg,' although there are loan words referring to the leg (*crac* (7.8) from Bulgarian *krak* 'leg') and to the foot (*labă* (6.3) primary meaning 'paw' from Hungarian *lab* 'leg, foot'). The same situation exists in Saxon. *Hont* refers primarily to the arm inclusive of the hand (1.4) and only secondarily to the hand (7.1), while *arm* (7.4) is a secondary term for the arm. *Fwas* refers primarily to the leg inclusive of the foot (1.2) and only secondarily to the foot (7.5). There are no additional terms referring to either leg or foot. Thus OHG *bein* 'leg' has no derivative in Vingard Saxon. The source of the semantic shift described above is most likely Slavic, for polysemous terms with the joint meanings of hand and arm and of foot and leg occur in Old Bulgarian, Bulgarian, Russian, and Serbo-Croatian, but Romanian was probably the proximate cause of the shift in Saxon since the Slavic population in Transylvania was assimilated before the arrival of the Saxons.

Although they, too, may be categorized as phonological sequences of foreign origin, calques, and semantic shifts, the contact phenomena observable in Vingard German have a different character from those observable in Romanian and Saxon. First, their origin is different. German is not the first language of the Saxons but is very closely related to their first language, Saxon. Consequently, there is reason for a Saxon speaker to believe that a Saxon word will have a German cognate with an identical meaning. The result is that some words which do not exist in standard High German are created on Saxon models (see McClure and McClure 1976), while the meanings of others which do exist are modified. Second, while certain contact phenomena are characteristic of Vingard German, there is more variation within the speech community than exists in Saxon or Romanian. This variation is due to the fact that Vingard does not set its own standard for German. The standard is High German as spoken in Germany. Consequently, those who have more contact with spoken and written standard High German have less Saxon influence in their speech. Despite the two differences noted above, contact phenomena in



German (as in Romanian and Saxon) tend to involve highly salient terms. For example, the primary meanings of Saxon *hont* (salience 1.4) and *fwās* (1.2) have been transferred to German *Hand* (1.5) and *Fuss* (1.2) by virtually all Saxons.

**a synchronic analysis** The Romanian anatomical vocabulary can be divided into four categories of terms: medical, urban, peasant, and general (those used by all segments of the population). Data collected from my informants indicate that with respect to the domain of anatomy, semantic change in Vingard Romanian consists primarily in the incorporation of increasing numbers of medical and urban lexical items and the loss of peasant lexical items.

In most cases the addition and loss of lexical items simply involves a shift of label. Label shifts involve dyads composed of an urban term and a peasant term. The following dyads (urban terms listed first, peasant terms second) are included: *gît* (salience 1.9) *grumaz* (4.6) 'neck,' *stomac* (3.2) *rînză* (6.1) 'stomach,' *burtă* (3.6) *foale* (4.6) 'abdomen,' *apenticită* (4.6) *mațul orb* (7.1) 'appendix,' *tîmplă* (5.9) *ochiul orb* (9.0) 'temple,' *mărul lui Adam* (7.3) *nodul gîtului* (7.5) 'Adam's apple,' *intestin* (4.6) *maț* (4.1) 'intestine,' *rinichi* (5.3) *rărunchi* (4.7) 'kidney,' *amigdalită* (5.6) *mandulă* (4.9) 'tonsil,' *bărbie* (6.6) *barbă* (3.6) 'beard,' *sîn* (6.9) *țîță* (3.4) 'breast,' *sfîrc* (8.4) *muc* (6.2) 'nipple,' *gleznă* (8.4) *nodul piciorului* (7.2) 'ankle,' *omușor* (9.1) *limburuș* (5.8) 'uvula,' *craniu* (8.6) *oala (capului)* (6.7) 'cranium.'

There are, however, a few cases in which medical or urban terms are being added, apparently without creating any pressure on already existing terms to drop out of the lexicon. This situation obtains only where synonymous terms existing in the village lexicon belong to the general vocabulary, and no peasant term exists. Examples are *popo* 'bottom' and *trunchi* 'trunk.' Urban and medical terms are also being added where no synonymous term exists in the village lexicon. Examples are *antebraț* 'forearm,' *bazin* 'pelvis,' *coapsă* 'thigh,' *diafragmă* 'diaphragm,' *glandă* 'gland,' *ovar* 'ovary,' *por* 'pore,' and *timpan* 'tympaanum.' Finally, in a few cases the nonreplacive loss of peasant terms for peripheral (low salience) categories is taking place. Included here are: *băierile burții* 'connective tissue holding the ovaries in place,' *flămînzări* 'fleshy part of the sides under the ribs,' *floarea urechii* 'pinna,' *pe sub foale* 'low abdomen and pelvic region,' *purcică* 'biceps,' *șaua nasului* 'bridge of the nose.'

Not only is it the case that age is associated with knowledge of the particular subsets of peasant, urban, and medical terms cited above, but it may also be correlated with knowledge and especially use of all the items in each of these corpora. In general, the older the person is, the more peasant terms he knows, and the greater is their salience for him. Moreover, there exists a group of apparently obsolete or obsolescent terms which are known only to those thirty-five or older. For Romanian informants these include: *băieră de la inimă* 'connective tissue holding the heart in place,' *băierile burții* 'connective tissue holding the ovaries in place,' *boarșe* 'testicles,' *ochiul orb* 'temple,' *purcică* 'biceps,' *șaua nasului* 'bridge of the nose,' *dricul șelelor* 'small of the back,' *furca pieptului* 'sternum,' (of these, all but the first are unknown to all Saxons); and for Saxons: *băieră de la inimă*, 'connective tissue holding the heart in place,' *crucea șelelor* 'small of the back,' *flămînzări* 'fleshy part of the sides under the ribs,' *găvălie* 'crown of the head,' *pe sub foale* 'lower abdomen and pelvic region,' *rînză* 'stomach.'

Although it is not possible precisely to distinguish a group of urban or medical terms known only to the young, here, too, a general trend may be discerned. By virtue of increased schooling and more extensive urban contacts, informants under thirty are familiar with greater numbers of medical and urban terms than older individuals (for the

same reasons males tend to know more such terms [other than those referring to female anatomy] than women do). In addition, urban or medical terms known to both groups have higher salience for the young than for the old.

Where referentially synonymous pairs consisting of an urban and a peasant term exist, older individuals most commonly use the peasant term, while younger individuals use the urban term. This preferential use is exhibited both in formal interviewing sessions, where peasant terms were given spontaneously by older informants and urban forms only after prodding—the reverse occurring with young informants—and in the course of normal village interactions.

On the basis of data collected from thirty-three Saxons of ages eight to seventy it seems that the main change taking place in Saxon in the domain of anatomy is a reduction in the lexicon. If individuals are ranked on the basis of their knowledge of the total Saxon anatomical vocabulary, those in the top half are over twenty-five, and those in the bottom under twenty-five. The following terms are unknown to anyone under twenty-five: *əwxɔpəl* 'eyeball,' *bwələn* 'heel of the hand,' *gəlɪŋk* 'joint,' *gleyf* 'gum,' *glatvɔsər* 'articulatory fluid,' *hartseyr* 'auricle,' *larəʃpats* 'tip of the lung,' *gərast* 'instep,' *myəm* 'nipple,' *ʃlarŋ* 'esophagus.' These terms all label categories of low salience to both Saxons and Romanians. None have any Saxon synonyms. Moreover, despite the fact that most Saxons know Romanian equivalents and that there are many recognized Romanian loans in Saxon, these Romanian equivalents are not being borrowed. If they occur in Saxon speech they are considered by all informants to be examples of interference.

In general, knowledge of the German anatomical lexicon is correlated with knowledge of the Saxon anatomical lexicon. Thus, although the correlation is not as strong as it is in the case of Saxon, knowledge of German anatomical terms also appears to be associated with age. Individuals with high competence tend to be over thirty (the one glaring exception to the rule is a twenty-six-year-old woman who has close contact with Germany and has visited her father there). Consequently, despite the fact that it is not possible to define a corpus of terms known only to those above a certain age, it appears that Vingard German is suffering the same slow attrition of its anatomical lexicon as is Vingard Saxon.

## evaluation of hypotheses

In this section we shall return to the hypotheses set forth at the beginning of this paper, examining them one by one in the light of the data presented above.

The first structural hypothesis (A1) is that lexical length<sup>12</sup> will affect borrowing. Specifically: (a) Given a term, the probability and rapidity of its loss are correlated directly with its length. (b) Given a term, the probability and rapidity of its introduction are correlated directly with its brevity. (c) A multimorphemic compound lexeme will be less apt to be borrowed directly than as a calque provided that the structure of the borrowing language is hospitable to compounding and that knowledge of the source (donor) language among speakers of the borrowing (recipient) language has not been limited to a few interpreters.<sup>13</sup> (d) A multimorphemic compound lexeme will be more apt to be borrowed directly than as a calque in a language which is inhospitable to compounding. (e) As a corollary to (c) and (d), given identical contact situations between languages *X* and *Y* and languages *X* and *Z*, where *Y* is hospitable to compounding and *Z* is not, and where a multimorphemic compound lexeme *l* in *X* has been borrowed into both *Y* and *Z*, *l* is more apt to appear as a calque in *Y* than in *Z* (and therefore more apt to appear as a direct borrowing in *Z* than in *Y*). (f) A noncompound multimorphemic

lexeme will be less apt to be borrowed directly than as a calque.

Since it is impossible to determine precisely the Latin anatomical lexicon of the Romanians' forbears, the Old High German lexicon of the Saxons' forbears, or the anatomical lexica of the peoples with whom the Romanians and Saxons came in contact, the percentages of Latin and Old High German terms of various length which were lost and the percentages in the total corpora of the donor languages of terms of various length which were borrowed in Romanian or Saxon cannot be computed. However, of the seven terms Romanian shares with Albanian, for which the explanation given by Rosetti (1968:260) is that they represent a common Thracian ancestral substratum,<sup>14</sup> all are monomorphemic—one monosyllabic, five bisyllabic, and one trisyllabic (but probably derived from a bisyllabic Thracian word). If we look now at the loss of terms in modern Vingard Romanian, we find that of the thirteen terms classified as obsolete, two are polylexemic, six polymorphemic, and only five monomorphemic, while of the latter, three are trisyllabic and two bisyllabic. This distribution is greatly at variance with that found in the total vocabulary. The same situation obtains in Saxon. Of the ten Saxon terms unknown to anyone under twenty-five, two are polylexemic, two polymorphemic, and six monomorphemic. Finally, let us consider the label shifts taking place in modern Vingard Romanian. Looking at the relative salience of the two members of each dyad, it appears that urban terms are replacing peasant terms most quickly where the length of the urban term is less than that of the peasant term.

The data presented above support hypotheses A1a and A1b. The ethnoanatomy of Vingard affords us no other data pertaining to these hypotheses and unfortunately no data at all pertaining to hypotheses A1c, A1d, A1e, and A1f.

The second structural hypothesis (A2) is that the salience<sup>15</sup> of a category will affect the degree to which its label participates in change.<sup>16</sup> Specifically: (a) Terms for low salience categories will be more subject to nonreplacive loss than terms for high salience categories. (b) Terms for high salience categories will be more apt to be borrowed than terms for low salience categories. (c) Terms for high salience categories will be more subject to semantic shift than terms for low salience categories.

The discussion of this hypothesis is based on three assumptions: (1) where a category has but one label, the salience of the label is an accurate reflection of the salience of the category; (2) where a category has multiple labels, the most salient of these has a salience equal to or only slightly less than that of the category; (3) the relative salience of anatomical categories has changed very little if at all for the Romanians and Saxons within the period with which we are concerned. Granted the above, we may consider the salience scores referred to in this paper as evidence with respect to: (1) hypothesis A2a, since salience scores based on the responses of adults are very low for obsolete Saxon and Romanian terms, (2) hypothesis A2b, since, if we eliminate medical terms, of the twenty-four remaining loan words in Romanian, twenty-one label categories with a salience score of 6.1 or less (of over 500 categories in Romanian, only ninety-eight have a salience score of 5.7 or less), while of the fifteen loan words in Saxon, six label categories whose salience score is 5.4 or less, and five label parts of the sexual anatomy whose salience is indeterminable but probably high (of over 400 Saxon terms only ninety-nine have a salience score of 5.6 or less), and (3) hypothesis A2c, since the only available evidence for semantic shift in the ethnoanatomy of Vingard involves the categories, hand and foot, in Romanian, Saxon, and German (where they are among the five most salient) and vein (salience 4.4) in Romanian.

The third structural hypothesis (A3) is that where two languages *X* and *Y* are in intimate contact, homologous semantic domains will tend to converge in structure.<sup>17</sup>

Specifically: (a) If there exists a situation, concept, or object which is common to speakers of *X* and *Y* but for which a term exists only in *X*, this term will be borrowed into *Y* or else a new word will be coined. (b) The semantic ranges of homologous lexemes will converge.

Very little evidence bearing on this hypothesis exists in the data collected. The structure of the domain of anatomy seems to have been quite similar in Saxon and Romanian for the entire period in which the languages have been in contact. However, with respect to hypothesis A3a we may note that all five of the categories for which nonmedical terms exist in Romanian but for which terms do not exist in Saxon are of relatively low salience to Romanians, and all but one of the five categories for which terms exist in Saxon but not in Romanian are of low salience to Saxons (German has not been considered because of its unusual position in the Saxons' verbal repertoire). Perhaps hypothesis A3a should be modified to refer only to high salience categories. Categories which exist in both Saxon and Romanian have the same boundaries, and the semantic ranges of homologous lexemes are the same. In the only case in which there is evidence that the situation was ever different, that involving the categories, arm and hand and foot and leg, the Saxon system changed to conform to the Romanian.

The first social (nonstructural) hypothesis (B1) is that at the community level the probability of lexical and semantic borrowing is maximized under the following conditions:<sup>18</sup> (a) absorption of a socially significant population; (b) close proximity of a linguistically distinct population given that: (i) intergroup social interaction has been frequent and prolonged; (ii) the social situation has meant that intergroup communication has involved the second language; (iii) no element of coercion has entered the relationship;<sup>19</sup> (c) national identification with an extra-national intellectual tradition.

The majority of the borrowing in Romanian ethnoanatomy has taken place under the conditions listed in B1a and B1c. The major Slavic impact on Romanian (approximately 40 percent of the basic Romanian vocabulary is Slavic in origin [Grauer 1967:8]) is explained by Rosetti (1968:290) by the fact that the Slavs who established feudal states in the Balkans in the seventh to ninth centuries were absorbed and Romanized by the indigenous population in Transylvania, introducing into the now common language many elements of their Slavic tongue in the process.<sup>20</sup> French is the other major source of loans in Romanian. The medical vocabulary is replete with French loan words. They seem to result not only from the international prestige of the French language but also from Romania's identification with her Latin origins. French has until very recently been the second language of the Romanian intellectual, and Paris his Mecca.

Hungarian has also been a source of loans in Romanian. However, considering the length of time during which the two languages have been in contact and the fact that there has been widespread and continuing Romanian bilingualism involving Hungarian, these loans are few in number. There has been considerable resistance to the incorporation of Hungarian loans in Romanian, presumably because the Hungarians attempted to Magyarize the Romanian population forcibly.

Saxon has had almost no influence on Romanian, despite some 800 to 900 years of contact. The Saxons have always been a very small minority of the Transylvanian population, and the position they have held in Transylvanian society as an autonomous group of land owners, merchants, and craftsmen has not created any pressure on the Romanian population to learn Saxon. Rather, it has usually been the Saxons who have learned Romanian for commercial reasons.

Loans in Vingard Saxon result mainly from the conditions listed under B1b above. The key to the situation lies in the fact that Vingard was outside the *Fundus Regius*, the land

in which the Saxons were granted autonomy.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, during the period of the Hapsburg reign in Transylvania, the Vingard Saxons were essentially reduced to the status of serfs, thus joining the Romanian population in subjugation to the Magyar nobles. The Romanians and Saxons of Vingard were consequently thrown into much closer contact than was the norm, and today the relations between them are unusually close and amicable; they are not restricted to the economic sphere, the school, official meetings, etc., but extend to religion (in the case of the village Evangelical congregation) and to personal interactions. Interaction takes place in Romanian, and we find that Vingard Saxon has numerous Romanian loans, far more than is usual among Saxon dialects (Giselle Richter, personal communication). Hungarian loans in Saxon are minimal. The explanation again seems to be the negative character of interactions involving Hungarians and other Transylvanian ethnic groups. For although Hungarian kings invited the Saxons to come to Transylvania and granted them special privileges, the deterioration of relations between the Hungarians and the Saxons, beginning under Hapsburg rule, resulted in attempts to enforce Magyarization of the Saxons and in Saxon resistance to Hungarian loans.

German influence on Vingard Saxon is also minimal, although German has had a strong impact on other Saxon dialects (in accord with B1c) because Germany was the intellectual center of the Saxons, and the wealthy sent their sons there to be educated. However, the Saxons of Vingard, who were outside the *Fundus Regius*, were too poor to observe the fashion. Their contacts with the world outside their village were very restricted.

Slavic has had no direct impact on Saxon, for the Slavic population of Transylvania had already been Romanized before the Saxon immigration.

The second social hypothesis (B2) is that at the individual level, given a bilingual (or bidialectal), bicultural community with constituent subcommunities *A* and *B*, where language *a* is the primary or first language of *A* and *b* is the primary or first language of *B*, but where members of *A* have at least basic communication skills in *b* (as members of *B* may have in *a*) then: (a) the degree of semantic borrowing from *b* exhibited in *a* by a member of *A* is directly proportional to: (i) the degree of identification with *B* exhibited by that member of *A*, (ii) the frequency of interaction between that member of *A* and members of *B*,<sup>22</sup> (iii) the number of distinct social situations in which contact between that member of *A* and members of *B* takes place; (b) the degree of semantic transfer (interference) from *a* to *b* by a member of *A* is inversely proportional to (i), (ii), (iii) immediately above.

Because of the great similarity of ethnoanatomy in Romanian and Saxon, no evidence based on this study can be adduced with respect to hypothesis B2b. However, there is evidence from the synchronic analysis of ethnoanatomy in Vingard which bears on hypothesis B2a.

The Romanian spoken by both our Romanian and Saxon informants has been differentially affected by standard Romanian. Due to the Communist government's efforts to tie rural areas more closely into urban networks, all of Vingard's inhabitants have been exposed to standard Romanian. All are conscious of the fact that there are differences between the village dialect and the standard language, but the speech of individuals differs in the degree to which urban terms are incorporated and peasant terms discarded. Although part of this variation may be accounted for by differential schooling, mobility, use of the mass media, etc., the major factor influencing it (and perhaps underlying the factors already mentioned) is the degree to which an individual wishes to portray himself as "mai ridicat" or "mai domnesc" (more cultivated, urbanized). For the

inhabitants of Vingard, one of the basic features of self-identification derives from the opposition *domn* 'gentleman' versus *țaran* 'peasant' (in Vingard this distinction is based on a consideration of education, residence—urban versus rural—and the type of work performed). Language is an important marker of this status; the use of a particular linguistic pattern is viewed as appropriate to a particular position in society, so the choice of standard or peasant Romanian is an affirmation of group membership. Use of an inappropriate pattern is considered deceitful—an attempt to portray oneself as being other than one is. It implies renunciation and thus denigration of one's group, and the group is pleased to note that such efforts are doomed to failure. This perspective may be demonstrated by the following two incidents which become part of the folklore of the village. The first concerns the president of the collective farm, who slipped while getting out of his cart in the fields and fell heavily on his back. Picking himself up he groaned *Vai bazinul meu* 'Oh, my pelvis.' This choice of words, though not incorrect, is hardly appropriate, creating about the same impression as would the use of 'Oh, my coccyx' instead of 'Oh, my tailbone' by an American farmer in a similar situation. The second incident concerns an anonymous peasant woman who went to a pharmacy in a nearby town and intending to ask for pills asked, instead, for buttons, to the great amusement of those in the pharmacy. The village term *bunghi* is polysemous meaning both 'buttons' and 'pills.' The woman, wishing to appear more educated, used the city equivalent for 'buttons'—*nasturi*. This term, however, does not also have the meaning 'pills.' The mirth occasioned by the recitation of these incidents indicates that a peasant using an urban term with another peasant or in another peasant's presence risks ridicule. Moreover, although the peasant's use of the city term in the presence of city interlocutors and/or audiences alone does not *ipso facto* (as in the case of peasant interlocutors and/or audiences) subject the speaker to ridicule, the above story does point out the fact that imperfect use of urban terms is likely to result in ridicule by urbanites. Since use of peasant terms is generally no serious barrier to communication with city dwellers, one must desire strongly to identify with this group to use an unfamiliar speech pattern. Consequently, although a few older individuals, such as the village collective president, who hold official positions may feel obliged, despite continuous residence in the village, continuous agricultural labor, and lack of higher education, to attempt to use urban Romanian at least when dealing with officials, educated individuals, etc., most older individuals are firm in their self-identification as peasants and use a peasant vocabulary. Most of the young people, however, hope to escape the agricultural round. The few who intend to remain as tillers of the soil continue to use peasant terms and are less familiar with urban and medical terms, but for most young people, peasant vocabulary symbolizes something they wish to escape, and they have abandoned it while borrowing intensively from the urban vocabulary.

That frequency of interaction and the diversity of situations in which interaction takes place affect borrowing is indicated by the fact that among those Romanian adults who strongly identify themselves as peasants it is the speech of the men (who spend two years in the army as draftees) rather than that of the women, of those who have lived in town rather than those who have always lived in the village, and of the politically active rather than the inactive, etc., in which borrowings from standard Romanian are most prevalent.

We find too that it is only in the speech of those Romanians who have lived in the Saxon part of Vingard or who have had close personal ties with Saxons that a slight Saxon influence consisting of a few calques may be found.

Finally, it is also the case that it is the speech of those Saxons who have had the most contacts with Romanians (in school or while living with them as servants) that the

greatest amount of Romanian influence exists.

The third social hypothesis (B3) is that where a term *t* whose referent was previously unlabeled is established in language *a* as a result of contact with language *b*, the likelihood that this term will involve a calque or direct borrowing (secondary accommodations) rather than a meaning extension or new coinage (primary accommodations) increases with:<sup>23</sup> (a) the degree of identification with the community of speakers of *b* felt by the speakers of *a*; (b) the frequency of interaction between speakers of *b* and speakers of *a*; (c) the number of distinct social situations involving the use of *t* in which interaction takes place between speakers of *a* and speakers of *b*.

Since only in the case of medical terminology is there evidence for the introduction of new labeled segregates due to contact situations, little may be said with respect to this hypothesis. However, it is the case that no peasant Romanian analogues have been coined for Romanian medical terms whose referents were previously unlabeled by villagers, while in Saxon a few analogues of German medical terms labeling newly introduced segregates have been created. Thus in view of the nature of the previously discussed social and geographical ties between peasant and standard Romanian as opposed to those between Saxon and German, we see that the little evidence we have tends to support hypothesis B3.

## conclusion

This paper utilizes an ethnographic semantic analysis of the domain of anatomy to study several general hypotheses about lexical and semantic change. In general our results were in accord with intuitive expectations. We found evidence which supported the following hypotheses: (1) that longer terms are less likely to be borrowed and more likely to be replaced than shorter terms; (2) that high salience terms are more likely to be borrowed than low, while low salience categories are likely to be lost entirely; (3) that homologous semantic domains in languages in close contact will tend to converge in structure; (4) that community-wide borrowing is more likely under conditions of amicable intimate contact; and (5) that individual borrowing is more likely under conditions of extensive contact.

Due to the nature of the contact situation or of the domain examined we found little or no evidence bearing on the following hypotheses: (1) that a multimorphemic compound lexeme is more likely to be calqued into a language which is hospitable to compounding and is more likely to be borrowed directly into a language which is inhospitable to compounding; (2) that the semantic ranges of homologous lexemes will converge; (3) that the degree of interference from a speaker's native language in his use of a non-native language is inversely proportional to: his degree of identification with speakers of the second language, his frequency of interaction with them, and the number of social situations in which he interacts with them. We would like to suggest that analyses of other semantic domains in other contact situations be carried out so that these hypotheses may be investigated productively and the first set further tested.

It would also be useful to refine further the quantitative measures used in this paper. "Salience," in particular, is derived by assigning ordinal scale values to responses of various types and then treating them mathematically as if they were ratio scale. The results seem to be satisfactory, but a more rigorous approach would be desirable.

## notes

<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this paper, "Lexical and Semantic Change as a Function of Social Change,"

was presented at the 72nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, 1973.

Field research for this paper was carried out in 1969 and 1970 under a grant from the NIMH and Fulbright-Hays and IREX fellowships.

<sup>2</sup>The distinction between structural and nonstructural factors in linguistic change was drawn by Weinreich:

The structural factors are those which stem from the organization of linguistic forms into a definite system, different for every language and to a considerable degree independent of nonlinguistic experience and behavior. The nonstructural factors are derived from the contact of the system with the outer world, from given individuals' familiarity with the system, and from the symbolic value which the system as a whole is capable of acquiring and the emotions it can evoke (Weinreich 1953:5).

<sup>3</sup>The outline of Transylvanian history presented here agrees with the Romanian view. In general, Hungarians and Germans contend that Aurelian's withdrawal from Dacia was complete, that the Roman colonists were not Romans, that Romanization could not have been very complete in 170 years, and, moreover, that whatever was left of the population of Dacia after Roman withdrawal was subsequently pushed out of the Northern Region and restricted to the Southern Region until the thirteenth century, when it was invited back by the Hungarian kings. The Slavic viewpoint coincides with the Romanian—namely, that Transylvania, the center of their homeland, has been continuously inhabited by the Romanians, who are the descendants of a Romanized Dacian population, Roman colonials, and an admixture of Slavs.

<sup>4</sup>Beginning on January 8, 1945, all healthy men seventeen to forty-five years in age and women eighteen to thirty-five years in age were sent to Russian forced labor camps. Only pregnant women and women with children under one year of age were exempt (Hartl 1958:120).

<sup>5</sup>Decree number 187 of March 23, 1945, expropriated without compensation all lands and equipment of those who had aided Nazi Germany in any way. By careful wording this included 98 percent of the population of German ancestry in Romania (Hartl 1958:128-130).

Vingard Saxon informants (although not Hartl's informants) state that they were able to buy back their houses in installments and that after the first year they were granted title free.

Land expropriated from Vingard Saxons was used to form the Vingard collective farm. Recently, Saxon collective members have been granted pension rights as if they had donated their land directly to the collective.

<sup>6</sup>The three elderly people who are the remnants of a pre-World War II Hungarian population of about forty families may be ignored for the purpose of this discussion.

<sup>7</sup>These distinctions are not absolute. Some Gypsies do not speak Gypsy, and at least one speaks Saxon and associates mostly with Saxons. Some Romanians live among the Saxons, and a few speak some Saxon. An evangelical religion has made converts among both Romanians and Saxons. Moreover, while intermarriage is very rare, one Gypsy is married to a Saxon, and one Romanian claims to have a Saxon grandfather.

<sup>8</sup>Neighborhoods are formally organized into *vecinetăți* for religious purposes. Their principal functions involve funerals and weddings. There are six Romanian *vecinetăți* and four Saxon *vecinetăți*.

<sup>9</sup>A collective farm is owned by its members who receive a share of its profits and produce in accordance with the amount of work and time they contribute. A state farm employs workers at a daily wage which varies according to the type of work performed.

<sup>10</sup>Vingard, of course, also receives the visits of friends and relatives of its inhabitants as well as of government officials.

<sup>11</sup>Five Romanian loanwords denoting parts of the sexual anatomy also exist in Saxon. They are: *flwăč* Romanian *floci* 'pubic hair,' *kwəy* Romanian *coi* 'testis,' *lindik* Romanian *lindic* 'clitoris,' *pul* Romanian *pulă* 'penis,' *puts* Romanian *puță* 'penis.' It was impossible to calculate salience scores for these terms because of the Saxons' extreme reluctance to utter terms referring to sexual anatomy in general as well as in the interview setting. This reluctance may account for the extensive borrowing of terms in this area; foreign terms are considered euphemistic.

<sup>12</sup>Length in terms of number of morphemes takes precedence over length in terms of number of syllables which in turn takes precedence over length in phonemes. Note that morphemes marking case, number, and gender are to be ignored.

<sup>13</sup>Haugen (1950:224) raises the question of the existence of structural resistance to borrowing, citing Otakar Vočadlo's *scale of receptivity* among languages. There he states that "the differences brought out by Vočadlo are not differences in actual borrowing but in the relationship between importation and substitution, as here defined. Some languages import the whole morpheme, others substitute their own morphemes; but all borrow if there is any social reason for doing so." Haugen also states that the basic question is "whether structural or social forces are more important." This view is restated in Casagrande (1954-1955), "the extent to which any given language uses primary or



secondary linguistic accommodation, and the several devices subsumed under these terms, in handling new cultural acquisitions depends upon both social, cultural and historical factors and upon the structural characteristics of the language." Haugen (1956:66), paraphrasing Sapir (1927:220), suggests that "loanwords are easily accepted by languages with unified, unanalyzed words, but not by languages with active methods of compounding." Here Haugen appears to have lost sight of the possible influence of social factors; but as Dozier (1956), Bright (1960), and Diebold (1962, 1964), among others, have pointed out, the social situation in which language contact takes place seems to be at least as important as the structure of the recipient language in determining whether and in what form borrowing takes place.

Hypothesis A1c above is offered as a refinement of the hypothesis propounded in Haugen (1956). The importance of the social situation is made explicit here (for a more detailed consideration of the effects of the social situation upon borrowing see the hypotheses listed under B above). Moreover, the structural scope of the hypothesis has been narrowed as the author can see no reason to assume that a short, monomorphemic lexeme would be less easily accepted by languages with active methods of word compounding than by others.

<sup>14</sup>Others (e.g., *Colectivul de Etimologii de Dicționarul Limbii Române Moderne*) have suggested Albanian origins for some or all of these words in Romanian.

<sup>15</sup>An operational salience score intended to give a measure of the relative availability of anatomical terms was derived by assigning numbers from one (highest salience) to ten (lowest salience) to the elicitation techniques used in obtaining a term (see McClure [1972:136-137] for details). Because thirty-seven Romanian and thirty-three Saxon informants were used, an average salience score was computed. Ranking the over 500 Romanian terms elicited by salience scores we find that only the first ninety-eight had scores of 5.7 or less. Of the over 400 Saxon terms, the first ninety-nine had scores of 5.6 or less. Of the less than 300 German terms, the first ninety-seven had scores of 6.5 or less.

<sup>16</sup>Berlin's discussion in "The Growth of Ethnobotanical Nomenclature" (1972) presents evidence which supports subhypothesis a.

In general, in the literature, it is assumed that borrowing tends not to affect the core vocabulary (for example, this assumption is at the heart of lexicostatistics—cf. Swadesh [1951], Gudschinsky [1956]). Scotton and Okeju (1973) present evidence to the contrary, thus supporting subhypothesis b.

<sup>17</sup>The work of Gumperz (1967), Gumperz and Wilson (1971), and Durbin (1973) has demonstrated that convergence does occur in phonology and syntax under conditions of intimate language contact.

<sup>18</sup>For other general discussions of the social factors involved in language changes see, for example, Weinreich (1953), Casagrande (1954-1955), and Ferguson and Gumperz (1960).

<sup>19</sup>Studies by Dozier (1956), Diebold (1962), and Bright (1960) indicate that where a contact situation between two cultures is coercive, there is less linguistic borrowing than where the contact situation is permissive.

<sup>20</sup>Absorption of a socially significant population also accounts for the extensive French influence in Old and Early Middle English.

<sup>21</sup>The first reference to Vingard occurs in a Saxon law suit of 1417 (Thomas Nägler, personal communication). It was at that time a multiethnic village.

<sup>22</sup>A related hypothesis is presented by Ferguson and Gumperz (1960). "Other things being equal the more frequently speakers A and B of language X communicate with each other by means of X the more the varieties of X spoken by them will tend to become identical."

<sup>23</sup>Casagrande (1954-1955) proposes the following hypotheses:

Other things being equal, the greater the proportion of loanwords and loan-translations in a language as opposed to meaning extensions and new coinages, the more intense, intimate, or lasting the culture contact has been . . . . Since loan-translation requires the borrowing of a foreign mode of thought, description, or expression, rather than the incorporation of a foreign word, it reflects a more subtle influence than the borrowing of loanwords. The use of loan-translations in any number may be indicative of a deeper and more thorough going acculturation.

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