



Borrowing, restoration, and morphological implication:

the case of Romance
locative prefixes (*extra-* and *intra-*)



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Conditions, types and modalities of affixal borrowing

1.

«high intensity of **contact** to be necessary for morphological borrowing to occur» (a.o. Gardani 2015)

good amount of lexical borrowing as necessary for the borrowing of an affix

INDIRECT BORROWING

(also morpheme's induction:
«**induzione di morfemi**»
(Gusmani 1987)

Unidirectional:

- **from one to one**
- **from one to more than one**

FR. *-age* (*carriage, coinage, etc.*) > ENG. *-age* (*stoppage, steerage, etc.*);
(from Gusmani 1987: 105)

GERM. *-isk* > FR. *-ais* & IT. *-esco* > SP. & PO. *-esco*
(from Lüdtkke 2011: 333)

2.

**Knowledge of the donor language-
No mediation of complex loanwords
needed**
(Seifart 2015)

DIRECT BORROWING

Generally unidirectional
(from one to one)

- Rainer (2008) on the prefix *Neo-* ('newly' + PP, v. LAT. *neoelectus*) highlights the possibility for this prefix to have been borrowed *directly* from Ancient Greek *νεός* to Neo-Latin: *neoelectus* 'newly elected' > IT. *neostudenti* ENG. 'freshmen' *neodottore* ENG. 'recent graduates'
- the CL.LAT. prefix *ex-* ('out of', *excludere*) has been borrowed directly from humanists who attached it to Neo-Latin bases with a new ('negative'/'temporal') meaning: see *exiesuita* (1628); later *ex-catholicus*, *ex-monachus* etc.



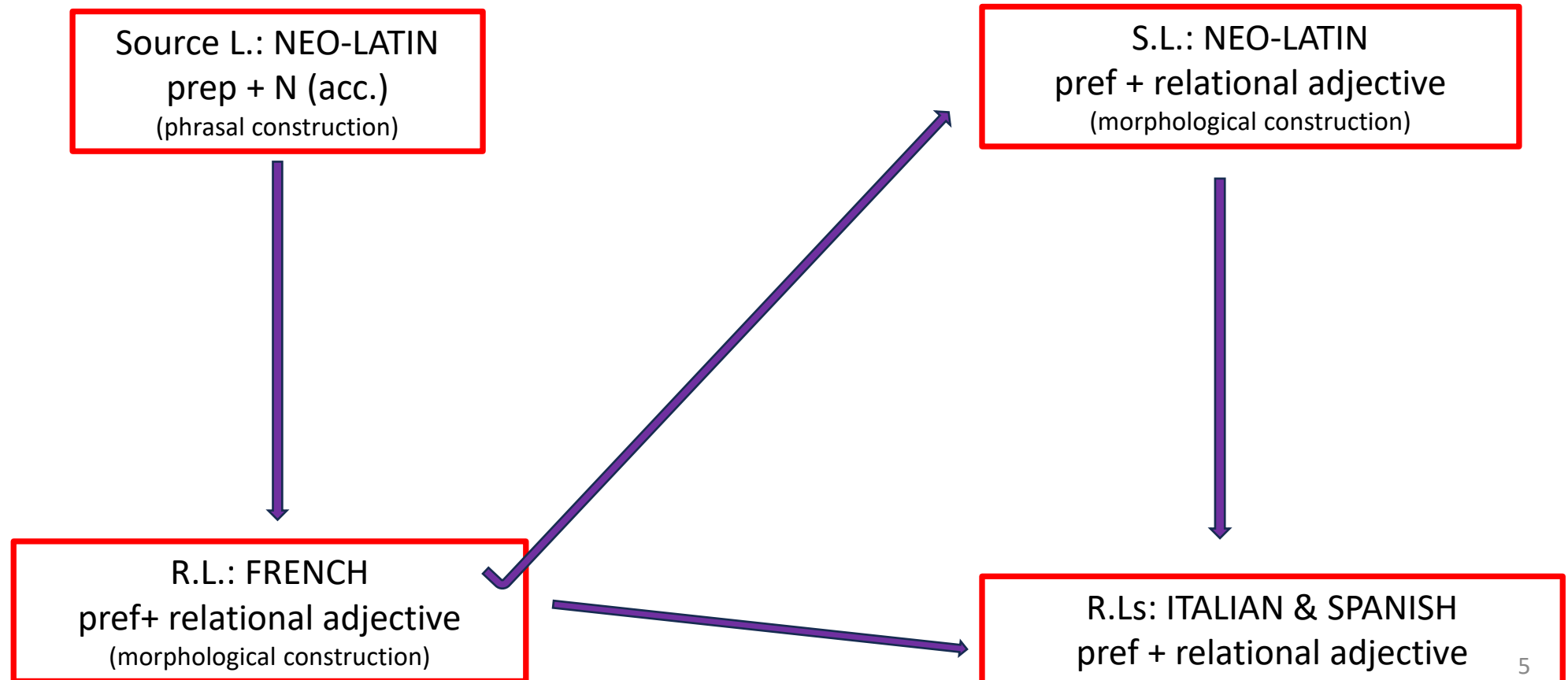
Neo-Latin is the style of written Latin used in original literary, scholarly, and scientific works, first in Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries' Italian Renaissance, and then across northern Europe after about 1500.

Our case study: a bidirectional borrowing

1. NEO-LAT. **extra renis** *carne* > FR. *extrarénale* > LAT. *extrarenalis* > IT. *extrarenale* & SP. *extrarrenal*
(LIT. 'flesh' out of the kidneys')

2. NEO-LAT. **extra Solis** *discum* > FR. *extrasolaire* > LAT. *extrasolaris* > IT. *extrasolare* & SP. *extrasolar*
(LIT. 'disk out of the sun')

3. NEO-LAT. **intra scapulas** *pendulum* > FR. *extrascapulaire* > LAT. *extrascapularis* > IT. *extrascapolare* & SP. *extraescapulario*
(LIT. 'pendulum between the shoulder blades').





cavallo di ritorno: ovvero una di quelle parole che mutuate da una lingua fonte a una lingua ricevente finiscono per tornare nella prima, generalmente con una forma e puntualmente con un significato differenti rispetto a quelli della parola originaria (Santilli 2020: 339)

Return horse:

«one of those words which, borrowed from a source language to a receiving language, ends up being borrowed back into the former, generally with a different form and meaning compared to the original word»

(Santilli 2020: 339, our translation)

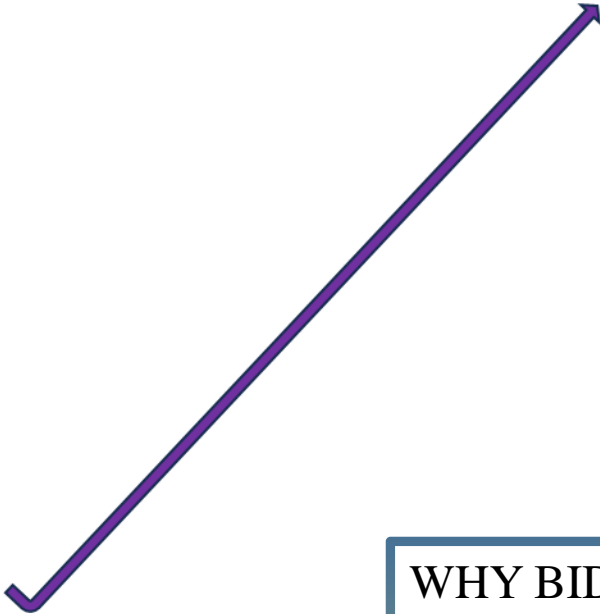
Ex. **IT.** *burlesco* > **FR.** *burlesque* > **EN.** *burlesque* > **IT.** *burlesque*
IT. *casino* > **FR.** *casinò* > **IT.** *casinò*

Source L.: NEO-LATIN
prep + N (acc.)
(phrasal construction)



R.L.: FRENCH
pref+ relational adjective
(morphological construction)

S.L.: NEO-LATIN
pref + relational adjective
(morphological construction)



WHY BIDIRECTIONAL (not re-borrowing):
because it does not concern a semantic shift rather a structural change occurring in the source language after a passage through the receiving language.

Premises: the locative prefixes *extra-* and *intra-*

1. Latin locative prefixes disappeared in the passage from Latin to Romance:

Extra- ‘out of’ (*extraclusus* ‘shut out’/‘excluded’; *extramuranus* ‘dwelling outside the walls’)

Intra- ‘within, inside’ (*intramuranus* ‘dwelling within the walls’)

2. They are currently attested and productive in all major Romance languages with relational adjectives:

SP. *extracardíaco* (ENG. *extracardiac*) IT. *extraoculare* (ENG. *extraocular*); FR. *intramusculaire* (ENG. *intramuscular*)

RESEARCH QUESTIONS: where did these prefixes come about in Romance? how did the morphological structure prefix+relational adjective emerge?

Data presentation and discussion

1. *Intra(-)* in Botanical and Medical texts

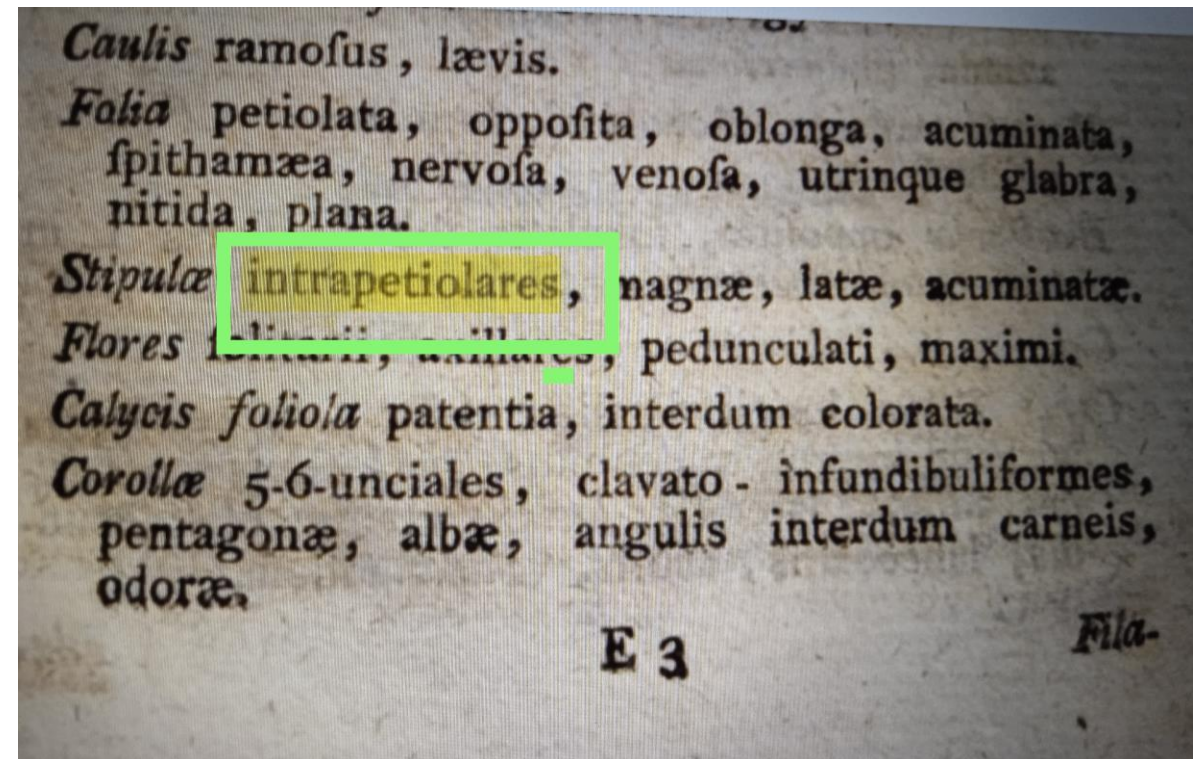
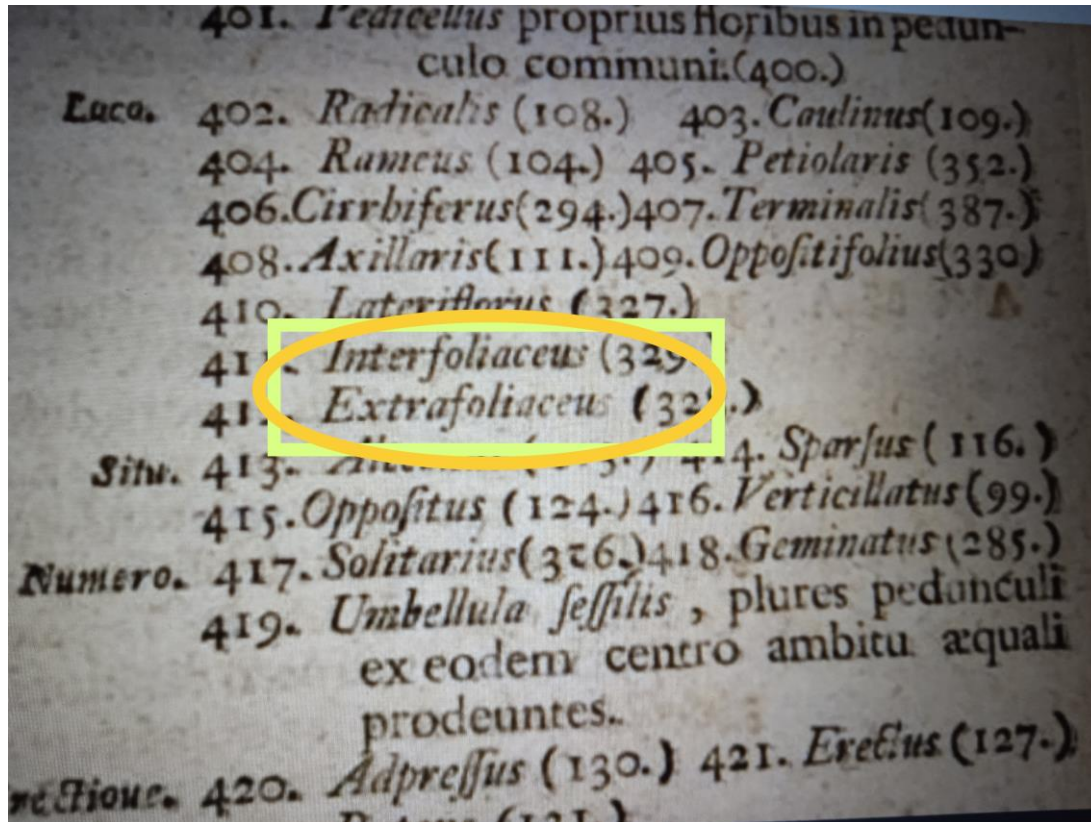
<i>Termini Botanici</i> (Linné 1781 etc.)	FRENCH	NEO-LATIN
<i>intra alas</i>	<i>intraalaire</i> 1835	<i>intraalaris</i> 1914
<i>intra segmentum</i>	<i>intrasegmentaire</i> 1849	<i>intrasegmentalis</i> 1937
<i>intra corollam</i>	<i>intracorollaire</i> 1863	<i>intracorollaris</i> 1937
<i>intra gemmam</i>	<i>intragemmale</i> 1899	<i>intragemmalis</i> 1903
<i>Historia Foetus</i> (X, 1669)		
<i>intra scapulas</i>	<i>intrascapulaire</i> 1800	<i>intrascapularis</i> 1808
<i>intra umbilicum</i>	<i>intraombilicale</i> 1836	<i>intraumbilicalis</i> 1904
<i>intra uterum</i>	<i>intrautérim</i> 1838	<i>intrauterinus</i> 1839
<i>intra folliculum</i>	<i>intrafolliculaire</i> 1850	<i>intrafollicularis</i> 1864
<i>intra abdominis</i> <i>extra abdomen</i>	<i>intraabdominale</i> 1834 <i>extraabdominale</i> 1810	<i>intraabdominalis</i> 1835 <i>extraabdominalis</i> 1835

2. Extra(-) in Medical texts

<i>Bibliotheca chirurgica</i> 1721	FRENCH	NEO-LATIN
<i>extra peritoneum</i>	<i>extrapéritonéal</i> 1812	<i>extraperitonealis</i> 1875
<i>extra abdomen</i>	<i>extraabdominale</i> 1810	<i>extraabdominalis</i> 1835
<i>extra cranium</i>	<i>extracranien</i> 1827	<i>extracranialis</i> 1872
<i>extra anum</i>	<i>extraanale</i> 1832	<i>extraanalis</i> 1840
<i>extra cutem</i>	<i>extracutané</i> 1835	<i>extracutané</i> 1835
OTHERS		
<i>extra thoracem</i>	<i>extrathoracique</i> 1834	<i>extrathoracicus</i> 1867
<i>extra alveolum</i> <i>Intra alveolum</i>	<i>extraalvéolaire</i> 1837	<i>extraalveolaris</i> 1894
<i>extra cordis</i>	<i>extracardiaque</i> 1838	<i>extracardiacus</i> 1888
<i>extra pleuram</i>	<i>extrapleurique</i> 1839	<i>extrapleuralis</i> 1861
<i>extra ventriculos</i>	<i>extraventriculaire</i> 1841	<i>extraventricularis</i> 1878

...one exception is represented by the words *extrafoliaceus* ('out of the leaf') and *intrapetiolares* ('between the petals')

which are attested respectively in 1763 (Carl Linné, *Termini Botanici*) and 1791 (Olavo Swartz, *Observationes Botanicae*) before the French *extrafoliacé/ extrafoliaire* (19th c.) and *intrapétiolaire* (1827)



About the texts...

1. the French texts in which we found the prefixed words are not necessarily translations from Neo-Latin texts. The texts by Linnaeus (a.o. *Systema Naturae*, *Termini Botanici* etc.) are the reference point for this subject especially in France but also in other European countries; many texts are written on his model but not necessarily translated: the French re-use of Latin prepositions as prefixes is due to the existence of similar structures, see *antichrétien* (*anticristian*) in the 16th century;
2. Starting from the 19th century the French technical and scientific texts circulated in all Europe. They had a strong influence on the other Romance languages which had not yet developed their own scientific terminology in a systematic manner (i.e. Italian, Spanish, Portuguese)
3. The prefixed words in Neo-Latin are attested above all in texts published in Germany, or in texts written by German authors in Neo-Latin) between the 19th and the 20th century. In many German Universities they studied on Latin texts (esp. in the field of medicine) until the beginning of the 20th century
4. Often we found the Latin transliterations in Romance dictionaries in the form of a gloss or a note, even if it is not attested in any text. We believe that this was done especially to make the terms recognisable at an international level

quand l'âge augmente; 3° que leur élasticité, au contraire, augmente avec l'âge et devient de plus en plus parfaite. [T.]

EXTÉRIEUR. Le côté extérieur (ou antérieur) de la fleur est celui qui est le plus éloigné de l'axe. Le micropyle d'un ovule est extérieur ou dorsal quand il est tourné du côté opposé au placenta. (Voy. FLEUR, OUVRIÈRE.)

EXTRA-AXILLAIRE (*extra-axillaris*, *intra-axillaris*). En dehors ou au-dessous de l'aisselle. Se dit d'une fleur ou d'une inflorescence dont le pédoncule, entraîné avec l'axe, ne devient libre qu'à une certaine distance au-dessus de l'aisselle de sa feuille. [T.]

EXTRAIRE (*extrarius*, RICH.). Se dit de l'embryon extérieur à l'albumen : celui des Graminées, par exemple. [T.]

EXTRATROPICAL (*extratropicus*). Plante qui croît en dehors de la région des tropiques.

de l'ovule, de la graine, du pollen, etc.
INTERCELLULAIRE. Situé dans l'intervalle des phytocystes : matière intercellulaire, espaces intercellulaires, etc. La matière ou substance intercellulaire, à proprement parler, n'existe pas, sinon dans les travaux de quelques chimistes ignorants des choses de la botanique.

INTERFOLIAIRE (*interfoliaris*), **INTERFOLIACÉ.** Organes situés dans l'intervalle de deux feuilles opposées : stipules, fleurs, inflorescences, etc., interfoliales. Les fleurs et les inflorescences interfoliales, répondant à l'aisselle d'une feuille inférieure, ont été entraînées ou soulevées jusqu'à l'espace interfoliaire qu'elles occupent, comme dans les Asclépiades, etc. [H. Bx.]

INTERNODIUM. Entre-nœud; d'où *internodiaire* : qui occupe un entre-nœud, appartient à l'entre-nœud.

INTERRUPTIPENNÉE (feuille). Celle qui, étant composée-pennée, présente çà et là des folioles plus petites, interposées à de plus grandes; elles peuvent même manquer totalement.

INTERTEXTUS. Echevêtré, intriqué sans ordre apparent.

INTERVENIUM. Les portions de parenchyme interposées aux

Morphological implication

- Re-vitalization of prefixation as a productive process of word-formation;
- Restoration of relational adjectives ...
- ...and of the specific construction **pref + Rel. Adj.** :

« |...| **los adjetivos relacionales aparecían rara vez en los textos románicos.** Resulta esclarecedor al respecto el proceder del poeta de la Vida de san Alejo escrita en francés antiguo: mientras que en la leyenda latina aparecen no pocos adjetivos relacionales, en el texto francés figura solamente alguno que otro, como celeste, terrestre |...|. **Pero en cuanto se comenzaron a redactar textos especializados en las lenguas románicas, inmediatamente se requirieron adjetivos relacionales, los cuales se formaron con una diversidad de nuevos sufijos o simplemente tomándose prestados del latín»** (Lüdtke 2011: 327)

Semantic combinations: **negation** (IT. *antireligioso* ENG. *antireligious*); **time** (IT. *preistorico, postbellico, interannuale*: ENG. *prehistoric, postwar, interannual* (Iacobini 2017);

- gradual change from right to left determination (Iacobini 2023);
- Convergence: the current morphological convergence between Romance languages does not come as much from their common origin (as demonstrated by Iacobini 2023) but from a continuous process of re-Latinization started in the Humanistic period. Today we talk of Euromorphology or EuroLatin (cfr. Munske 1996, Raible 1996, Rainer 2002).

To conclude...

we showed that:

the current use of Romance nominal and adjectival prefixes is the result of a complex interchange which cannot be reduced to a case of direct or indirect borrowing of affixes, but which rather depends on the re-use of Latin elements

(i) first used in phrasal structures

(ii) later employed as prefixes in Romance morphological structures and

(iii) re-borrowed in Latin as morphological structures

(iv) finally, in current Romance word-formation they are productive not only in technical and scientific texts, but also in words of common use

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For these reasons, we believe that the history of the diffusion and integration of *intra-* and *extra-* into Romance word-formation can be considered as a case of bidirectional borrowing, a phenomenon that we believe needs to be further investigated and deserves to be integrated into the list of the types of affixal borrowing.

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An aerial photograph of a city during autumn. The foreground and middle ground are filled with trees showing vibrant yellow, orange, and red foliage. In the background, a dense urban landscape with various buildings and structures is visible under a clear blue sky. The overall scene is bright and colorful.

Kiitos!!!

Thank you!!!

Grazie!!!