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# Languages and Linguistics in Today's World

## *A Symposium on EuroLinguistics*

The Berlin wall served as a barrier for nearly three decades, preventing contact between people and the languages they spoke. Such artificial hindrances to communication come and go, usually with few lasting effects. So it was for the wall now gone some seventeen years. Berlin, more particularly the old East Berlin, was the venue recently for a EuroLinguistics workshop where contact was the prevailing metaphor: languages in contact today and in the past, people from inside the European Union and out in contact, scholars from disparate fields reaching out to one another, nation-states in contact in an ever expanding European Union. As Leif Lagerstedt (Uppsala) pointed out the EU is not a federation but a union of independent states. One of the purposes of the EU is to overcome the nationalism of individual states that has been the cause of much grief in the past. One way to achieve this is through contact, through unity in diversity. It is the nature of a symposium with parallel sessions that one cannot attend every presentation.

One paper I did not hear but which I have read is particularly apt for these opening lines: Vincenzo Merolle's "A Case For European Dictionaries." In it Merolle makes a modest but impassioned plea that will help to overcome the very nationalism just mentioned. He laments the passing of Latin as the lingua franca of scholars, the language of learning, "the common cement of European and western civilization." Yet Latin has survived in the sense that it has influenced all of the European languages. Merolle sees dictionaries of today as mainly bilingual and, hence, a reflection of individual nations and their relationships with other nations. In his survey of current dictionaries Merolle, a historian of political thought, finds few to praise. What the Western world of today needs are multilingual dictionaries that would render mutual understanding easier and help to overcome the sepa-

ration between nations.

Sture Ureland (Mannheim) opened the workshop at the Humboldt University by referring to some of the titans of nineteenth century linguistics such as Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) who founded the university in 1810. And the Austrian Hugo Schuchardt (1842-1927) who made important contributions in language contact and Creole studies. As other pioneers in the study of languages in contact he mentioned Uriel Weinreich (1926-67) who wrote about contact between dialects of Yiddish in Vilnius and Einar Haugen (1906-94) who studied Norwegian-American bilingualism. That contact linguistics has been making a comeback recently should come as no surprise in an expanding world where communication is fostered by the technological advances of recent decades. At the EuroLinguistics symposium the majority of the papers involved contact in one form or another. Emblematic of this was the collaboration with La Sapienza and the large contingent from Rome.

### Language Contact Past and Present: Germanic

What form did contact between languages or language groups take, when did it occur and what was the outcome of this contact? In the past and even today, a number of scholars, while admitting that such contact existed, maintain(ed) a social Darwinian view that influence always proceeded from the "more advanced" societies to the less advanced. That certainly applied to the Sámi, the only indigenous

people in Europe, with a long history of contact with Indo-European groups at various stages,



Berlin, the Humboldt Universität

especially speakers of the North Germanic dialects. Recently, though, a number of scholars have challenged this view and shown that influences go in both directions (e.g., articles by Bull, Kusmenko, Mundal, Rießler and Scheller in Jurij Kusmenko (ed.) *The Sámi and the Scandinavians: Aspects of 2000 years of contact*, Hamburg, 2004 and articles by Kusmenko, Rießler and Svonni in Andrea Amft & Mikael Svonni (eds.) *Sápmi YIK – livet i samernas bosättningsområde för ett tusen år sedan*, Umeå, 2006). For example, at the recent ELA symposium Kusmenko (Berlin) demonstrated convincingly that there is a close relationship between, on the one hand, the Scandinavian suffixed definite article (Norw. *mannen*, *mann* + *en* "the man") and compound prepositions (adverb + preposition such as Swed. *framåt* "toward"), and on the other hand, Sámi dialects in the contact area. A close parallel can be found in the Balkans where suffixed articles have developed through contact with Turkic. My own presentation on Sámi time and indigeneity showed that the Sámi and their forebears have been in more or less continuous con-

tact with Indo-European groups, their trading partners, as far back as Proto-Indo-European times. This is apparent from the many words for time expressions borrowed by the Sámi languages from PIE and its descendants. See Lars Ivar Hansen and Bjørnar Olsen *Samenes historie fram til 1750*, Oslo, 2004 for a recent discussion of Sámi contact with outsiders (English edition coming).

Delving into Germanic substrate theory John Stewart (Heidelberg) examined the claims of some recent scholars that much of the Germanic lexicon (e.g., apple and Old Icelandic *skríva* "to ski"), as well as certain phonological features (Grimm's Law) and grammatical features (e.g., dental preterite) are not of Indo-European origin. Stewart then compared recent theories of Theo Vennemann and Kalevi Wiik, pointing out that Vennemann dealt primarily with lexical evidence whereas Wiik used phonological evidence. He concluded that the shift of stress to the first syllable had the most far-reaching impact on Germanic and that it was unlikely to have been a purely internal development. He added that a better theory is needed to distinguish internal change from externally induced change and that this theory must take into account archaeological and population genetic findings. Ludger Kremer (Antwerp) looked at dialects of the same language in contact: Low German and High German in Westphalia in the twentieth century. He illustrated that the shift of Low German to High German was not brought about

by the need for a lingua franca (High German); rather it was due to socio-psychological factors, viz. the decreasing prestige of Low German. A decisive role was played by "highly respected gentleman farmers (Großbauern, Schuldenbauern) in stigmatizing LG"; they imagined that they belonged to the rural upper classes. He also concluded that refugees from East Germany and Eastern Central Europe after 1945 and the traumatic events of the postwar years (1945-48) helped speed up the language shift.

### Language Contact Past and Present: Celtic

The recent history of the Celtic languages was Kenneth MacKinnon's subject. Contact and confrontation with English after the arrival of Anglo-Saxon in the fifth century generally meant a downward spiral for Celtic; however, rumors of the demise of these languages are greatly exaggerated as recent developments clearly show. MacKinnon (Scotland and SGRÜD Research) pointed to the successful reversal of language-shift for Welsh and for Manx of the Isle of Man. Cornish has been revived but its progress is uncertain. Prospects are much bleaker for the Irish of Northern Ireland and the Gaelic of Scotland, with both languages in an advanced stage of

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# The European Union: a change of heart

## Summary

After a brief history of the Union it is asked why there is widespread ignorance of its composition and its authority over our national governments. The Union is a partnership among sovereign nations which retain sovereignty in some areas and join in collective self-government in others. Its laws are decided by the Council of Ministers with the agreement of the European Parliament and the heads of government of the member countries. Disputes under

these laws are settled by the European Court or by national courts with its advice. Could the Union become a United States of Europe? No. Its structure prevents the election of a president who chooses the ministers of state and commands an army.

## Confusion and resentment

Many in the European Union are confused about what it is and how it works. Whatever it is they don't like it. They do not

understand how far their own national governments are free to decide their own policies and how far their policies and laws are determined by Brussels. There is growing resentment among some of the older member states, expressed in the French and the Dutch rejections of a constitution, which would have clarified national rights and had already been approved by the heads of government of the member countries. My country has not been of-

fered the chance to vote on the constitution. Had it been, I too would have voted against, in spite of my ignorance. Since reading two books<sup>1</sup> I now feel happy with the Union and I have changed my mind in favour of a constitution. I now think that it would be an important clarification of the Union and a great help to its citizens, its parliament, its councils, and its bureaucrats. It would replace a bulky succession of treaties and addenda

with one simplified document. And it would introduce continuity of changing leadership in the European Council over longer periods and at a time when it is expanding. I would like to review the European Union and its history to help readers to make up their own minds.

## The history of the Union

The Union results from a Franco-German initiative. A key figure was the Frenchman Jean Monnet. He had spent the war out of France coordinating the economic war effort of the Allies. After the war, as head of planning under de Gaulle, he wanted France and Germany to become reconciled and was instrumental in promoting the industrial integration of the two nations. He helped Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister, to formulate the idea of the coordinated management of the coal and steel industries of the two former enemies. With the agreement of other participating neighbours this led to the Treaty of Paris (1951) between France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, creating the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).

Monnet became the first president of the High Authority of the ECSC and encouraged the foreign ministers of the member countries to consider the possibility of creating a common market. Their report became the basis of the Treaty of Rome, founding in 1957 the European Economic Community.

This treaty replaced the former High Authority of the ECSC with the EEC Commission. It also created a Council of Ministers, each minister representing a different state. In 1973 other countries joined in. They were Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom. Norway decided against it by referendum. Later it was decided to create additionally a European Council consisting of the heads of government. It was also decided that from 1978 the European Parliament should be elected by direct universal suffrage.

## Why are we so ignorant about the EU?

In 1973, as a Scot and a nationalist living in Scotland, I shared the Scottish attitude to the European Economic Community. I was already the citizen of a small country under the benevolent dominance of England. I was now, I felt, to suffer the further domination of a more distant government based in Belgium and Strasbourg. My small-minded consolation was that

(continued from page 1)

language-shift to English. In the case of Gaelic MacKinnon suggests that the measures that comprise 'Plan A' for the revival of the language are "highly unlikely to succeed" and wonders whether there is political will for a backup plan. MacKinnon's 'Plan B' involves "new ways of thinking and relating to language in society and of building new language realities – in the 'ecology' of language, new 'ecological niches'" and it seems to offer a much better chance for Gaelic to survive in Scotland. George Broderick (Mannheim) dealt with a problem of language contact between Indo-European languages and non-Indo-European languages in the British Isles in the distant past. John Morris-Jones in an 1899 study attempted to discover what kind of language was spoken in Britain before Celtic arrived by looking for syntactic features in Welsh that were not Indo-European. He found parallels to many of these features in Berber and Coptic. In 1975 and 1980 G. B. Adams wrote about the Hamito-Semitic and pre-Celtic substratum in Ireland and Britain and came up with a chronological list of languages spoken in prehistoric times: "Larnian", followed by proto-Berber or proto-Basque, then a North-West Semitic language and finally pre-Celtic. Broderick then considered the work of more recent scholars on old place-names and other lexical items of Britain and Ireland. For example, many of the *p*-words such as Scottish Gaelic *partan* 'crab' have no satisfactory Indo-European etymology and, therefore, must have come from a non-Indo-European language that survived until 500 C.E., all in all a good demonstration of the prevalence of contact many centuries ago.

## Language Contact Past and Present: World

Desmond Fennell (Rome and Dublin) spoke about the linguistic conquest of the North Atlantic by English, the so-

called westward enterprise, and its rebound to Europe. Manifest destiny carried the English language across the North American continent, decimating the Native American languages and tribes on the way wherever they came into conflict. Though German was an important language in many American states it lost favor as a result of Germany's status as enemy of the US in WW I. According to Fennell Western Europe became a protectorate of the US after



Berlin, Charlottenburg Palace, The Library of Frederick the Great

WW II and its version of the English language, American English, became a major supplier of loan words for the European languages including British English.

Olga Voronkova (Mannheim) and Elena Guseva-Lozinski (Moscow, not in attendance) looked at contact between Russian and the non-Indo-European languages of Eurasia. In particular they focused on glaciological terminology and the borrowing of many words by Russian and their subsequent transfer into scientific English. Such expressions pertaining to various types of ice include snow cover, freezing of water, metamorphism of the ice, sea ice, firn and variants of glacial ice. The authors investigated two Russian glaciological dictionaries and found 2,070 expressions of various origins. Several of the more interesting items were Russian and English *zastrugi* "furrows formed in snow by the wind," Russ. *polynja*, Eng. *polynya*

"hole in the ice," Russ. and Eng. *pingo* "conical hill with a layer of soil covering a core of ice" and *nunatak* "used in Greenland for a hill surrounded by an ice sheet," of Inuit origin.

Phraseology was the subject of Elisabeth Piirainen's presentation. Piirainen (Steinfurt) described an extensive project to collect widespread idioms and to determine whether they spread through language contact or were spontaneous coinages in different languages.

For example, for the Eng. idiom *to take the bull by the horns*/Germ. *den Stier bei den Hörnen packen*/Ital. *prendere il toro per le corna*/Turk. *öküzü boynuzundan yakalamak* meaning "to grapple fearlessly or proactively with a problem" she provides nearly three score examples from the languages of Europe and neighboring language groups such as Finno-Ugric, Turkic, Caucasian, Semitic and even Esperanto. Most of them are quite similar; in Dutch, however, one can either take the bull or the cow by the horns. Piirainen welcomes interested collaborators.

Eric De Geer (Uppsala) talked about immigrants to Sweden from south of the Baltic. Using the results of extensive statistical surveys he was able to show in which areas immigrants tended to cluster and details of inter-language interference.

Some of the papers I was unable to hear involved languages in contact. They included Carmen

Kammerer (Lamsheim) on code switching between middle Latin on the one hand and Early New High German, Old Italian and Old Spanish on the other; Muslimov Mehmed (St. Petersburg) on language contact in Western Ingermanland; Mariapia D'Angelo (Giulianova) on German-speaking linguistic minorities in Italy; Lelija Sočanac (Zagreb) on Croatian in contact with European languages; and Francesca Rosati (Teramo) and Francesca Vaccarelli (Roma) on the migration of languages: English in Africa. Clearly research in contact linguistics has come to the fore of late.

## Conclusion

At the conclusion of the workshop Sture Ureland made a proposal to establish the Eurolinguistic Association (ELA), formerly ELAMA, to put this society of linguists from the EU and beyond on a more permanent basis. Already in 1999 when ELAMA activities began, the goals of the Pushkin Manifesto were formulated (involving such ideas as study of multilingualism, study of contacts between languages, study of European lesser-used languages in contact or conflict, European languages in a global context and promotion of multilingual programs for language learning and teaching). ELAMA aimed at a broad Europe-wide focus whereby researchers and institutes would cooperate on things of a linguistic, ethnic or cultural-historical nature. These aims have come to fruition and Ureland felt that the time was ripe to put a Eurolinguistic association on a firm footing as ELA. Those in attendance enthusiastically received this proposal. Ureland presented a formal proposal for statutes/by-laws including adherence to the Pushkin Theses. Over the course of the coming twelve months these statutes will be polished and the new ELA will perhaps formally come into being at the meeting in Spain next year.

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under the Union the English would suffer as the Scots had done. They would be told off and supervised in a way to which they were unaccustomed. In retrospect I realise that my feeling was based on ignorance and prejudice.

The English electorate had reacted to the suggestion of joining the EEC with suspicion which turned to anger when Britain did eventually join: 'Let others enjoy rule from Brussels: it is good for them but not for us.' It was obvious to the British that France, Germany, Italy, and the other founding members, which had once been at war, should become friends under a supra-national legislature with its own treaties, its own council of ministers, and its own parliament. But Britain had no need to subject itself to conditions imposed by Europeans. Britain was not European: it considered itself a world power whose special friend was the United States of America.

Much later a British referendum, fortunately held after joining the Union, produced a more favourable response. The change came about through gradual awareness of the economic benefits of membership. Imports and exports flowed more easily and travel also became easier. As important was the growing (yet still confused) understanding, that Britain is somehow an equal partner, or perhaps a less than equal partner with Germany and France, and shares in the making of the decisions in Brussels. Nevertheless it has not been clear to the public that regulations and directives result from British agreement, not from European diktat. It is not Brussels which governs, but the collective body of representatives from the member states. No country has to agree to everything proposed: although many countries joined the euro Britain did not.

Ignorance of the legislature and executive of the Union results from the fact that it has no public voice and no direct authority over the citizens of the member states. It does not have a direct relation with them, unlike their own governments, which write to them and daily speak to their newspapers and media. Things are not made easy for the curious. There is no regular source of public information, either in schools, in newspapers or in television. You have to find out for yourself by consulting the internet, going to a public library, or buying books. Whereas the British press and radio have a daily input from the British government, with daily interviews with ministers, there is no daily input from Brussels with interviews with ministers. Indeed there is no equivalent to a British minister; so how could there be? The nearest to a minister is a commissioner, responsible for overseeing a particular area such as transport, agriculture, trade, energy, competition,

and so on. There are twenty three areas. But there is only one British commissioner; *the other twenty two are foreigners*, who are not readily available for interview. There certainly ought to be better public sources of information about the structure and proceedings of the Union but in a form which is not wasteful. Why cannot newspapers publish a regular digest of proceedings of the Union? Why not have regular reports from correspondents on radio and television?

#### Sovereignty and collective government

The remarkable thing about the Union is that it is a partnership of nations based on treaties. It does not take government away from its members. On the contrary, it gives them the chance

## why europe will run the 21st century

MARK LEONARD

FOURTH ESTATE · London and New York

to share collective self-government while continuing to govern themselves nationally through their own parliaments. At the level of the Union they decide, through their own premiers, their own ministers, and their own members of the European parliament, what regulations they will apply either universally to themselves or selectively, but with universal agreement to that selection. It allows a nation to conduct its relations with all the other partners amicably and by agreement, not by bullying or bribing. Perhaps the closest to the Union in the public imagination is that tragicomic assembly the United Nations. But whereas the UN issues resolutions and protests to which no one pays any attention, the EU issues directives which its countries, and those buying and selling in them, must obey, on pain of being fined, or excluded. Even the mighty Microsoft has been cowed and fined by it.

Mark Leonard, one of the two authors who has so influenced me, says that the striking thing about the EU is not its power but the relative weakness of its decision-making powers.<sup>2</sup> It does not set levels of tax, provide healthcare, pensions, or unemployment benefits, nor does it oversee a police force or command an army. Its primary concern is freedom of movement of services, goods, and people across mutual borders. It is also concerned with uniformity of standards, including industrial and domestic standards

of health and safety. Another large concern is regional aid, together with protection of agriculture and the environment. It also requires countries to control their national debt.

Yet its structure is difficult to grasp, partly because of the similarity of names of the different institutions and the privacy of their activity. There is a Council of Ministers. There is a European Council. There are Commissioners. And there is the European Parliament. Of these the most powerful is the Council of Ministers. It does not have a fixed membership but draws from the national ministers of the different countries, responsible for different areas of national legislation and its supervision, such as agriculture and industry. They are supported by permanent officials of their own countries based in Brussels. The Commissioners also attend these meetings where the legislation falls within their care. The Council of Ministers meets in some form or other 80 or 90 times a year. It makes the most important regulations and does so by a voting system which gives countries votes proportional to their populations.

The European Council is a later institution which meets thrice yearly, and consists of the heads of government. They sit round a table without support from their own officials. They are concerned with the most general problems of the time.

The Commissioners, who are not representatives of their nations, are drawn one from each country and swear to be independent of their countries, having nothing to do with their own government policy. They form the spokespersons for the executive of the Community, each one being responsible for overseeing regulation within one area, such as energy, trade, agriculture, science and research, and so on.

The European Parliament is perhaps the most difficult to place, because it is not really legislative. It is not like a national parliament at all. It debates proposed legislation but does not enact it. It has supervisory powers over the Commission and the Council of Ministers. It can question them and censure them. It also has budgetary powers and its agreement must be secured. It has been critical of the perennial lack of proper financial accounts and of cronyism.

#### Law and the European Court

The Union has its own court, the European Court of Justice, based in Luxembourg. It has 25 judges, one from each member country. Its most important function is to assist national courts in applying Community law. But it also hears disputes between member states and between the EU and member

states. Its existence shows that the EU follows the ancient Roman and Greek initiatives of civic regulation by law, the settlement of disputes in courts of justice. This is its great basis, and is perhaps the European contribution to civilisation, measurement by justice, not by race, religion, or military supremacy. Yet the members of the Union are not all that law-abiding. They abuse its rules when it suits them. France, Spain, and Italy have been resistant to foreign ownership of vital industries and services such as those of steel, energy, and banking. They try to stop take-overs by foreign companies. Countries such as Italy, France, Germany, and the UK have regularly exceeded their budgetary allowances. They connive with each others' failures. The point is, however, that the EU is subject to its own laws and its own scrutiny. Failure to follow these results in fines or other punishment.

In fact it is no easy matter to frame regulations to fit every country's budget and industry. To cope with this problem there has to be thorough preparation between premiers, national ministers, commissioners, and MEPs. There is additionally a curious arrangement of double legislation, first by the Union and then by the constituent nations passing the legislation through their own parliaments. The Union relies on each country's parliament to enact its regulations as national laws which it applies to itself as if it had originated them for itself. Thus different countries can differ in the interpretation and application of rules whose origin is Brussels. The same rules and directives can be interpreted differently in different nations, sometimes with unfair consequences. In areas covered by legislation it is not always easy for one nation to compare itself with another. An obvious contrast is between UK and French agriculture. No one who has not lived in France can appreciate the importance of French

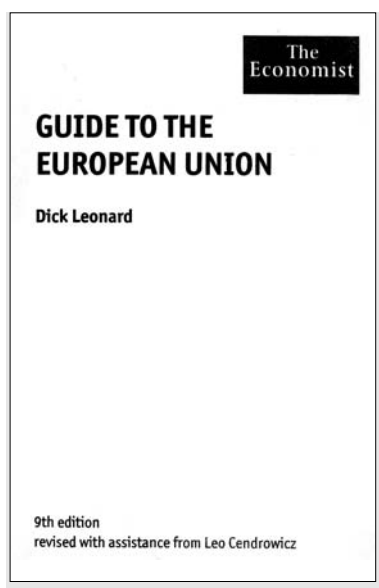
agriculture to the buyer, the producer, and the town markets where it is sold. Its produce is often grown by small farms or made by individual producers. Its orchards and vineyards are often owned and worked by individual families. Those, especially in Northern Europe, who

#### Could the Union become a United States of Europe?

My early worry about being ruled by Brussels took the more particular form of fearing that the Union might develop into a United States of Europe. Many still have this worry. The fear was of the emergence of a federal president with a national democratic majority, with ministers of his own choosing, and a federal army which he would command and could use, with democratic approval, to support or threaten foreign nations. This fear intensified with the Iraq war. A contributory cause of this tragic war is the nature of the presidential and prime ministerial offices, which allow leaders to stay unchecked in power, so long as they do not abuse their own people and so long as their decisions have democratic approval. They cannot be held to account by anyone, inside or outside their countries. These highest of political offices pose a dangerous threat both to other nations and to their own because there is no control on them other than local parliamentary control, which, in the UK is now being increased as a result of the Iraq war. Electoral disapproval of these officers of state may take years to occur, without any real punishment for their excesses other than loss of office. Fear of their leader's disapproval discourages parliamentary representatives from resigning or trying to replace him.

But there is no need to fear this eventuality with the European Union<sup>3</sup>. It cannot become another United States. There cannot be a European Union president with a cabinet of his own choosing and with a parliamentary majority to back him up. The President of the Council of Ministers is merely a chairman. The President of the Commission is a coordinator whose authority only extends over the commissioners, not over any army. The European Council, the council of premiers, which meets regularly, has no president, though it is suggested that there should be one. So there is no possibility of a leader with a democratic majority commanding an invasion of another country. Furthermore, should the Union ever decide to invade a country, it would only be with the agreement of all the member states.

All these nations, but not the United States of America, subscribe to the International Criminal Court. All of them therefore accept its jurisdiction over international crime. This is a constraint on their decisions,



ate the importance of French agriculture to the buyer, the producer, and the town markets where it is sold. Its produce is often grown by small farms or made by individual producers. Its orchards and vineyards are often owned and worked by individual families. Those, especially in Northern Europe, who

# Gibt es in Europa eine typisch „orthodoxe“ Geschichte?

## Summary

The author considers whether European history includes a specifically Orthodox element, observing, first of all, that the countries of Orthodox faith and tradition have until now been considered as the „other Europe“.

Regarding their integration in the European Union, a number of points need to be made.

Apparently, the Orthodox countries are the products of different traditions.

Russia enjoys continuity and an imperial tradition, while other countries, like Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Georgia, were for long time part of the Ottoman empire, and in their respective „national Renaissances“ of the 19th century the Orthodox church played no role.

Other countries, like Slovakia, Rumania, Poland, Bosnia-Herzegovina, only in part rest on an Orthodox tradition, while in Albania, Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, White Russia, from the beginning of their existence Orthodox forces have played no significant role.

Nevertheless the question must be answered in the affirmative, first of all because the countries of Orthodox culture live close to each other, and all of them claim their derivation from Constantinople, i.e. from the Roman Empire of the East („Moscow, the third Rome“).

Furthermore, while during the centuries communications and exchanges were frequent between countries like France, Great Britain, Germany, Spain and Italy, they were less so in Eastern Europe, which could preserve its own world and tradition.

Therefore, the main question is, whether in the future of Europe there will be a particular „Orthodox“ faith, or not. This depends, among other things, on a new Renaissance, in consequence of which people shall return to the culture of the ancient times, when

the differentiation between Orthodox and non-Orthodox did not exist.

Zu den Begleiterscheinungen der Postmoderne gehört der Widerspruch, einerseits die Europäische Union Richtung Osten bzw. Südosten erweitern zu wollen, während andererseits die Länder mit orthodoxer Glaubens- und Kulturtradition aus den Augen des europäischen Westens zur „Welt von Anderen“ stilisiert werden. Hinter einer derartigen Sichtweise verbirgt sich die Unkenntnis über die Vergangenheit und Gegenwart eines sehr beträchtlichen Anteils des europäischen Kontinents bzw. über das Ausmaß der Verbreitung christlicher Kultur, die neben dem Erbe der griechisch-römischen Antike und dem Menschenrechtsdenken des 18. Jahrhunderts bekanntlich

als eine der Grundlagen des europäischen Kollektivbewusstseins angesehen wird. Die Länder von Russland im Norden bis Zypern im Südosten als für den europäischen Gesichtskreis zweitrangig anzusehen, hat eine lange Tradition, ist aber mit Sicherheit keine solide Basis für eine echte Integration in Europa, wenn eine solche nicht mit egoistischer Okzidentalisation oder technisch-ökonomischer Globalisierung gleichgesetzt werden soll. Damit derartige gedankliche Grenzen überwunden werden, bedarf es vieler Maßnahmen, unter anderem auch der

Beschäftigung mit der Frage, ob es in Europa eine typisch „orthodoxe“ Geschichte gibt oder nicht.

## Der orthodoxe Blickwinkel

Auf den ersten Blick ist diese Frage mit Nein zu beantworten, weil jeder Staat mit orthodoxer Prägung in seiner Entwicklung Elemente aufweist, die ihn von



Orthodoxe Kirche in Curtea de Arges (Rumänien)

anderen unterscheidet: Russland als Staatsgebilde verfügt seit Jahrhunderten über Kontinuität und darüber hinaus über eine imperiale Tradition, bei der die orthodoxe Kirche keine geringe Rolle gespielt hat. Andere orthodox geprägte Länder gehörten über Jahrhunderte dem Osmanischen Reich an (Serbien, Griechenland, Bulgarien, Montenegro, teilweise Georgien), verfügen daher über keine oder nur eine schwache staatliche Kontinuität seit dem Mittelalter, und bei der jeweiligen „nationalen Wiedergeburt“ im 19. Jahrhundert haben die orthodoxen Kirchen keineswegs

überall die gleiche Rolle gespielt. Wieder andere Staaten verfügen nur teilweise über orthodoxe Sedimente (Slowakei, Rumänien, Polen, Bosnien-Herzegovina), weil sie, in der Übergangszone lateinisch und griechisch beeinflusster Kulturtradition gelegen, nur eingeschränkt in den Einzugsbereich der Orthodoxie hineinfallen. Schließlich gibt es Staaten, die überhaupt erst im 20. Jahrhundert entstanden sind (Albanien, Ukraine, Estland, Lettland, Litauen, Makedonien, Weißrussland), bei deren jeweiligem Entstehen das Mitwirken orthodoxer Kräfte allerdings keine namhafte Rolle gespielt hat. Am Rande sei daran vermerkt, dass allein Russland einst (15./16. Jahrhundert) den Anspruch auf das Erbe der Leitfunktion Konstantinopels erhoben hat, wodurch es zum Schlagwort „Moskau – das Dritte Rom“

gekommen ist. Ein weiteres Argument für eine typisch „orthodoxe“ Geschichte in Europa stellt das Faktum dar, dass es auf orthodoxer Seite im Gegensatz zu den Bemühungen der römisch-katholischen Kirche keinen Proselytismus gegeben hat, d.h. kein Bemühen – auch unter der Flagge der Wiederherstellung der Kircheneinheit – die Gläubigen anderer christlicher Kirchen zu gewinnen und hiermit die eigene Machtposition auszubauen. Betrachtet man ganz allgemein, wodurch der sogenannte europäische Fortschritt zustande gekommen ist, fällt der Blick hauptsächlich auf eine Fülle angehäufter Errungenschaften, die auf okzidentalem Boden entwickelt oder genutzt worden sind. Ursprünglich maßgeblich für das Profil „Europas“ (als Synonym für die Europäische Union) war die Kommunikation zwischen Ländern wie Frankreich, England, Deutschland, Spanien und Italien bzw. der wiederkehrende Austausch zwischen maritimen und kontinentalen Räumen und Interessen. An jener Entwicklung hatten die orthodoxen Länder nahezu keinen Anteil, weil sie entweder nicht konnten oder nicht wollten. Daraus folgt: Zu einer typischen „orthodoxen“ Geschichte in Europa gehört auch die Bevorzugung der Be-

wahrung der eigenen Welt im Gegensatz zur Gestaltung der übrigen Welt nach eigenen Maßstäben und Rhythmen.

## Der europäische Blickwinkel

Geht man bei der Betrachtung der Frage, ob es in Europa eine typisch „orthodoxe“ Geschichte geben kann, nicht vom einem die Welt der Orthodoxen betreffenden, sondern von einem gesamteuropäischen Blickwinkel aus, ist die Frage mit einem Ja zu beantworten. Sieht man davon ab, dass sich infolge Migration nicht wenige Menschen orthodoxer Konfession aus Ost- und Südosteuropa in west- und mitteleuropäischen Ländern niedergelassen haben (in Deutschland z.B. lebt knapp eine halbe Million Menschen orthodoxen Glaubensbekenntnisses, in Frankreich gibt es rund 200.000 Personen orthodoxer Konfession), liegen die Kernländer orthodoxer Kultur untereinander in Nachbarschaftslage, vor allem bedingt durch die missionarische Tätigkeit, die von Konstantinopel einst ausgegangen ist. Weist man kulturräumlichen Kriterien Bedeutung zu, fällt auf, dass gerade jene Länder, die man als mit orthodoxer Tradition behaftet bezeichnen kann, im Nahbereich des Europa östlich benachbarten asiatischen Kontinents liegen, von wo im Lauf der Jahrhunderte eine Fülle von Impulsen ausgegangen ist, die nicht allein, aber vor allem jene Peripherie des Kontinents nachhaltig betroffen haben (rund 200-jährige Herrschaft der Mongolen in Russland, rund 450-jährige Herrschaft der Osmanen am Balkan). Diese Nachbarschaft hat kulturell sehr befruchtend gewirkt, im Vergleich zu den Ländern des Okzidents jedoch auch beträchtliche Hindernisse für eine eigenständige und fortschrittsorientierte Entwicklung verursacht. Den trotz allen Wandels starken Kontinuitäten im europäischen Westen stehen im europäischen Osten und Südosten erhebliche Diskontinuitäten gegenüber, die Staatsbestand, aber auch Gesellschaftsgefüge und Kulturprofil betreffen.

An diesem Umstand hängt noch ein weiterer Faktor, der es rechtfertigt, von Varianten der Geschichte in Europa zu sprechen. Das Interesse in den okzidentalen Ländern, die eigene Sphäre zum Mittelpunkt der wahrgenommenen und beurteilten Welt zu machen, hat im 18. Jahrhundert die Enzyklopädien hervorgebracht. Maßgeblich für das, was darin aufgenommen wurde, war nicht, was sich damals in Europa (als Kontinent)

(continued from page 3)

though not on the decisions of the United States of America which refuses to recognise the right of any court to judge its commander in chief or those he commands. There are, therefore, two safeguards against the Union ever becoming another United States of America. One is the structural impossibility of its having a leader with a democratic majority. The other is the fact that the Union accepts the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court.

The European Union represents an economic ideal like that of the United States of America. The ideal is of a market without tariffs between the states which form it. But whereas the US formed itself

to protect its own economy against an external oppressor, the EU formed itself to heal and overcome the effects of internal aggression. The United States had to have a Commander-in-Chief and its own army to protect itself from British domination. It modelled its parliamentary system on the monarchical British constitution. Monarchy is not now a model for national leadership. Nor is preparedness to attack others a model for international relations, particularly when it ignores justice in favour of democracy, without appreciating their difference.

How many nations would like to be part of the United States of America? How many want to be part of the European Union?

How many would choose as their heraldic beast the predatory eagle, and how many a flock of sheep, a herd of cows, or a team of horses?

## Vincent Hope

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<sup>1</sup> The books are *A guide to the European Union* (2005), Dick Leonard, ISBN 1 86197 930 4 and *Why Europe will run the 21<sup>st</sup> century mark* (2005), Mark Leonard, ISBN 0-00-719531-1.

<sup>2</sup> P 88.

<sup>3</sup> Mark Leonard explains how different the European Union is to the United States of America in its structure and its attitude to the outside world.

# Europe as a linguistic unity.

## The legacy of Latin<sup>1</sup>

Let me express my warm thanks to the organisers of the 'Fourth International Symposium on EuroLinguistics', which is being held in this historic city of Tsadar, a city which preserves so many memories of the past: a past, which must become a 'present', in the context of European Union, where there are no more 'peoples', with ideas of 'nationality', but, to use the vocabulary of the French Revolution, *citizens*, conscious of their duties and of their rights; conscious, at the same time, that co-operation is the essential premise for the progress of mankind, towards a better destiny ('le umane sorti e progressive', as the Romantic poet Giacomo Leopardi called them, although with a railing intent, in 1836, in his *La Ginestra, o il fiore del deserto*).<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, let me start by repeating what I said in Mannheim, i.e., that I am not a professional linguist, but only an

historian, an historian of political thought. And, if I am not, '*je vous en demande pardon d'avance*', avec les paroles de mon vieil ami, Monsieur de Voltaire.<sup>3</sup>

### Political and 'cultural' reasons for the European Union

More and more, during a life in research, I have realized that, without the possibility of communication, peoples cannot know each other. The divisions of the past, which caused so many tragedies, were the consequence of the impossibility of communicating, and, consequently, of realizing that our nature as human beings is common to all of us.

We need to recapitulate here the main lines of European history. Under Roman rule, from Asia Minor to Northern Africa, from Scotland to Germany, at a certain stage of the conquest, or settlement, the status of *Roman citizen*<sup>4</sup> (the *civis Romanus sum*), was conferred on everybody.

Everybody was under Roman rule (the *pax Romana*) and submitted to the same duties, but also enjoyed the same rights. It was unthinkable, that the diverse peoples constituting the Roman Empire could fight against each other, in those civil wars, as we must call them,

which, for the next fifteen centuries, stained with blood the 'regions' of Europe, until the tragic devastations of two generations ago. Roman civil wars, it must be observed, were wars of factions, and not of peoples against each other. The common lan-

guage was then Latin, which allowed possibility of communication across the several parts of the Empire, although, in the Eastern Mediterranean, Greek was more largely spoken.

With the irruption of the Northern tribes, the unity of the Empire was shattered, the Eastern part of it surviving one thousand years more.

Along with political unity, cultural unity, the natural result of a common language, was torn apart. From that moment onwards, the peoples of Western Europe took the way of separation, of national distinctiveness,

had the right, even the duty, to speak in their own, 'national' languages; *the right of ignoring each other*, and also of considering as alien, as enemies, possibly as non-human, all those whom they could not understand. For this, Europe and the world are indebted to the Reformers, rabid men, who emphasized the religious element, just when science was appearing on the horizon, and religion was about to be reduced to no more than to a canon of *explanation* of the reality around us, a canon to be soon replaced by science, if I am allowed to borrow Hegelian concepts.

But while the *vulgar* element, or *populace* (so Machiavelli's vocabulary), were gratified in their passions, and the several regions of Europe were estranged, becoming, as the consequence of the difficulty of understanding, and of knowing each other, mutual enemies, the world of learning advanced towards science. And, to communicate the advancement of knowledge, the learned obviously had recourse to Latin, which was the only universal language, the only vehicle of transmission for new scientific discoveries.

It seems to be nonsense, but the eighteenth century, which the historians define as *cosmopolitan*, by contrast, from a cultural point of view saw the consolidation of the system of national states. And, consequently, in the universities teaching ceased to be held in Latin.<sup>5</sup> Authors began definitively to write in their national languages, a system of translation of their works into the principal European languages being soon established.<sup>6</sup> From a purely political point of view, *enlightened* philosophy justified the politics of the sovereigns, which often was no more than a dynastic politics, aiming at giving to each member of the principal dynasties a state, usually a minor state, or people, to rule, without any consideration for the will of the population.

But the Age of Enlightenment, as was obvious, because everything is obvious, in the sense of explainable, in history, carried the germs of its own dissolution, preparing the ground for the movements of the next century, the Age of Romanticism, called also the century of nationalities in opposition to the cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment.

It was the century of the great disturbances of nationalities, the century of the wars for the independence of Poland, Belgium, Italy, of the Balkans; the century of Byron and Manzoni, or of *liberty*, as the liberal historian Benedetto Croce defined it.



Goethe

befand, sondern, was man damals für die eigene Bildung als bedeutsam erachtete. Der Gruppe der damaligen orthodoxen Länder kam keine ebenbürtige Wichtigkeit zu, d.h. der okzidentale Horizont hat trotz aller Ausweitung auf die Welt der Kolonien dem Osten Europas vergleichsweise nur untergeordnete Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Obwohl sich in den darauffolgenden zwei Jahrhunderten das Wissen über „Gott und die Welt“ und auch die Abrufbarkeit dieses Wissens erheblich erweitert hat, hat sich am kognitiven Verhältnis zwischen der Welt der Orthodoxie und der Welt des christlich-lateinischen Westens bislang nichts Grundlegendes geändert. So merkwürdig es klingen mag, hat sich der europäische Okzident dem europäischen Orient in gewisser Weise sogar angepasst: Da „orthodox“ in der eigentlichen Bedeutung „rechtgläubig“ heißt und als Grundlage für das kollektive Selbstverständnis der „Eigenen“ herangezogen wird, kann der Standpunkt „Europas“ (im Sinne von Europäische Union) als „orthodoxer“ Standpunkt bezeichnet werden, denn die Norm, wer in die Union aufgenommen wird, hängt allein von den Mitgliedern ab, die den Kandidatenländern sogar Auflagen machen, damit jene überhaupt Kandidatenstatus erlangen dürfen.

### Probleme der Integration der orthodoxen und der 'europäischen' Welt

Eine Facette typisch „orthodoxer“ Geschichte ist die Abgabe kulturell relevanter Impulse,

deren „östliche“ Herkunft in den Empfangsländern jedoch nicht in allgemeiner Evidenz behalten werden. Dazu drei Beispiele: Hätte nicht der in der Gegend von Naissus (heute Ostserbien) geborene oströmische Kaiser Justinian das damalige römische Recht kodifizieren lassen (Codex Justinianus), wäre die Geschichte des römischen Rechts in Europa vermutlich andere Wege gegan-



Christus als Weltherrscher, orthodoxe Kirche in Arta (Griechenland)

gen. Obwohl es sein Name besagt, dürfte vielen Betrachtern der Bilder des berühmten Malers El Greco nicht bewusst sein, dass es sich tatsächlich um einen Künstler griechischer Herkunft handelt, der dank seiner Abwanderung in den Westen die abendländische Kunstgeschichte namhaft bereichert hat. Am augenscheinlichsten, wie originäre Elemente der Orthodoxie in internationalen Kontexten „verschwinden“, ersieht man an dem Computerbegriff „Icon“, der mit der theologischen Dimension der Ikone im orthodoxen Glaubensleben nicht mehr das Geringste zu tun hat.

Die zentrale Frage bleibt, ob es in der Zukunft Europas eine spezifisch „orthodoxe“ Schicksalsvariante geben wird oder nicht. Es

bedarf keiner Prophetie um festzustellen, dass allein das Zusammenrücken der Kirchen oder die verstärkte wirtschaftliche und politische Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Staaten inner- und außerhalb der Europäischen Union oder ein Druck von außen (Orient, USA, Fernost?) auf Europa insgesamt nicht reichen werden, um eine typisch „orthodoxe“ Zukunft zu verhindern.

Die Antwort wird allemal auch davon abhängen, inwieweit und wie der Mensch der Postmoderne auf das geistige Erbe der Antike zurückzugreifen gewillt und in der Lage ist. Wie die Fachleute wissen, hat es derartige „Renaissancen“ nämlich schon weit öfter gegeben als die Handbücher behaupten. Stets gab irgendeine Gegenwart mit ihren Problemen den Anstoß, zu den als eigene Wurzeln interpretierten Weisheiten zurückzukehren und deren Aussagen einer wiederkehrenden Nutzung zu unterziehen. Träfe dies ein, würde man feststellen, dass sich die bereits vor rund 2000 bis 2500 Jahren formulierten und reflektierten Grundfragen des menschlichen Daseins von jenen in der Jetztzeit nicht substantiell unterscheiden; lediglich die Rahmenbedingungen haben sich deutlich geändert. Dann erhielte jenes vorchristliche und christliche Erbe Orientierungscharakter, wodurch die historisch spätere Zuordnung in „orthodox“ und „nichtorthodox“ seine Bedeutung zwangsläufig verlore.

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## Irrational elements in European History

Nevertheless, irrational elements were in hiding, which were to explode in the twentieth century. This was the century of the great *oppositions*, which seemed to confirm the validity of the dialectic philosophy, but which marked also its end. By contrast, this age should have been considered in a larger context, in the context of *modern history*. From the *Magna Carta* onwards, or, as some prefer, from John Locke onwards, this saw, in fact, a progressive enlargement, and a definitive affirmation, of the liberal ideas, which are now conquering the planet, slowly, but inexorably, no human force being able to repel them.

In the second half of the twentieth century, we have been spectators of a great historical event, the virtual disappearance, at least in Western Europe, of national states, and of the concept, itself, of the *National State*.

It would be nevertheless erroneous, to say that these have been replaced, or are to be replaced, by a kind of supra-national authority. We are happy to leave such rambling talk to the politicians, who, no doubt, *perceive* the reality of the moment, but are mostly unable to see beyond their own noses.

In reality, the concept itself of state, or of 'authority', has been weakening, being progressively replaced by different ideas, by a self-consciousness of rights, and of duties, on the part of individuals.

We are, nevertheless, still largely prisoners of this, being conditioned by too many relics of the past.

All of us are the children of a *national* tradition, of a tradition which depicted our neighbours as no more and no less than as enemies. With what emotion I learned, as a school-boy, the lines by Alessandro Manzoni, in the ode *Marzo 1821*, on the concept of home-country, "una d'arme di lingua e d'altar/ di memorie di sangue e di cor".<sup>7</sup>

But the poets speak to the heart, not to the reason of man. Therefore, if 'passions are the elements of life',<sup>8</sup> reason is the rudder.

And reason tells us that both Romanticism and Enlightenment are part of the human spirit, that both have a right to citizenship in human society. This is, from a purely speculative point of view, the highest moment, or result, of what we call German classical philosophy, i.e., the philosophy of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. This is not purely a system, but the *consciousness* of all the systems,<sup>9</sup> in the sense that it *comprehends*, at the same time, *all* of them.

The consequence is, if one descends from heaven to earth,<sup>2</sup> that the *intellectual* (from Latin *intelligere*, to understand), must first of all *understand* politics, not really take part in it, as spectator, not as actor, on the stage of history. This is the highest lesson of Hegel, and of the phi-

losophy of historicism, in general.

What do we learn, concerning history and politics, when moving away from this attitude?

We learn, first of all, that the concept of a *nation*, of a national state, i.e., the philosophical category of *opposition*, has been too long, even dramatically, emphasized, to a recent past. Secondly, we learn that Aristotle was probably not wrong when he proclaimed that *in medio stat virtus*. This attitude, in fact, is the only one which gives a clue to a real understanding of what is new, and vital, in history and society, avoiding dramatic splits, which jeopardize progress, pushing mankind back for centuries.

Therefore, if romantic ideas have been too long emphasized, often giving vent to the irrational elements which were part of it, the opposite risk is to be avoided, that of emphasizing enlightened, rational ideas, which are no less dangerous, when they lose contact with reality, ending in actual violence against individuals and society.

The lesson of Immanuel Kant, in *Antwort auf die Frage: was ist die Aufklärung?*, is topical, at the present moment. The ideal of Kant was that of the philosopher who, with the help of reason, *enlightened* the prince, although in a context of social and political tolerance, such as Prussia at the time of Frederick the Great, which accepted all the religious credos, and even gave shelter to the Jesuits, when they were expelled from Spain and Portugal.

Therefore, the synthesis between the opposite tendencies of human spirit seems to be in a *new humanism*, i.e., in an ideal of man, liberated from the traditional beliefs, and led, in his pursuits, by science and philosophy. This is the supreme ideal which European Union, and Western Civilization, need, in the present moment, for the advancement of our continent, and of civilization. We need, at the same time, the consciousness that the ideals of today will not necessarily be valid tomorrow, and that sticking obstinately to determined credos, is the worst error which individuals, nations and, now, entire continents, which are replacing the idea of nation, can incur.

## The role of Eurolatin in contemporary European linguistics

Concerning the second part of this paper, on the linguistic unity of Europe, one will probably say that it can appear 'enlightened', and, therefore, *rational*. First of all, let me reassure all of you, and let me tell you that, according to the philosophical premises which lead my social and political convictions, it will not be either rational or romantic, or neo-romantic, if you prefer to call it so.

I will in reality outline a few considerations, from a purely *cultural* point of view, from the point of view of what I call the world of learning.

It is a fact that the Reformation tore to pieces the cultural unity of Europe, to such an extent that, from that moment onwards, even for the learned it became difficult to understand each other. Even today, for example, for a Spanish scholar it is difficult to understand German, and vice versa, if not superficially, simply because we don't really *understand* a language (the learned part of it, I mean), unless we are able to understand the etymology, i.e. the *history*, of the words. And Spanish and German come from different, dramatically different roots, the only common, although substantial, cement, being the Latin element in German language.<sup>11</sup>



Luther

As I have said above, the translation of the Bible into the principal languages, or *vernaculars* of Europe, emphasized definitively the *national* element. And, obviously, soon began the several battles for the *purity* of the national languages, well known to linguists and historians, with the foundation of *Academies*, *Sprachgesellschaften*, and so on.

## The 'Sprachreinigung' in Germany

Among them, deserving particular mention is the so called battle for the *Sprachreinigung* in Germany,<sup>12</sup> for its contents, and for the obsessive *cleaning* of the German language from any foreign influence. It largely affected the politics of that country, and, in return, was strongly influenced and boosted by it.

It was the product of the romantic movement, as the reaction to the influence of French, under Frederick the Great, or to the *Gallicomanie*, as Herder called it, although its roots go back to the age of Enlightenment. And let me repeat that Enlightenment was certainly cosmopolitan, but, paradoxically, saw also the *definitive*, if something is definitive in history, affirmation of the national states and of the national languages. One can say that cosmopolitanism was, in some

measure, the reaction to the emphasis which was then put on the national states and languages.

As a result of the *Sprachreinigung*, many words of Latin and French origin were replaced by German words. For example, owing to Joachim Heinrich Campe (after 1790), *Duett* became *Zweisang*, *Supplikant*/*Bittsteller*, *Revolution*/*Staatsumwälzung*, *konsequent*/*folgerichtig*, *Publizität*/*Öffentlichkeit*, *Tonsur*/*Haarschmür*, *Energie*/*Kraftfülle*, *Fanatismus*/*Glaubenswut*, and so on.

And a century later Heinrich von Stephan, *von Beruf* *Generalpostmeister*, replaced *Passagierbillet* with *Fahrschein*, *Poste Restante* with *Postlagernd*, *Notizbuch* with *Merkbuch*, *Recommandiert* with *Einschreiben*, and so on.

The result, sad to say, is that persons like Campe, von Stephan, and others, *definitively separated Germany from the rest of Europe*, severely damaging European civilization and mankind.

Certainly, the battle for purism in Germany attracted, in some measure, as was inevitable, the interest also of great men like Goethe, who, nevertheless, 'war kein Purist';<sup>13</sup> like Fichte, who, in his *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* in the besieged Berlin of 1807-8 based essentially on the language the love of the Germans for their homeland. But Fichte was essentially a socialist thinker, as appears particularly in his *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat*. And I wish to add G. W. Fr. Hegel who, in his

*Die Verfassung Deutschlands* explained the 'idea of Germany' as only great spirits, capable of seeing the reality not only in its particulars, but as a whole, are able to do.

Romantic ideas gave to mankind a great poetry, burning with love for the mother country, and with the idea of *Nation*. But we are, today, no more "in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honour and cavaliers .... The age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, oeconomists, and calculators, has succeeded", and "the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever".<sup>14</sup>

In France and in Italy academies were also founded, for the *purity* of the language, but it is difficult to maintain that they conveyed a nationalist aim. So Samuel Johnson was certainly far from any nationalist idea, when establishing, with his *Dictionary*, a vocabulary for the English language; or Manzoni, when choosing the *fiorentino parlato*, or *Florentine spoken*, as the language for his *The Betrothed*.

The historical phenomena, according with the philosophical premises which precede the above discourse, are not to be either approved or condemned, but simply *understood*, and *explained*.

And the question is: *what did*

*actually survive, of the linguistic unity of Europe*, after the operations of the *Sprachreiner*?

In the paper delivered at Mannheim, in October 2001, I examined the entries under letter A, in the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, new in 2000*, and I found that, out of 1690 words, just 130 are of *non Greek and Latin*, and of *non Romance* origin, and 151 of mixed origin. Setting aside the ones of mixed origin, the figures give 1409 words of Greek and Latin, and of Romance origin: 91,5%.

## The Duden Deutsches Wörterbuch

We need not consider at all French, Spanish, Italian languages, whose vocabulary is 98% of Latin origin, but let us consult a German dictionary, *Der Duden Deutsches Universal Wörterbuch A-Z*, ed. 1989.

Having examined only the main entries, setting aside the derivatives, but including the words of mixed origin, I have found that, out of 3,000 words, 766 are of Latin origin: 25,53%. These are:

A, à, ab, Abakus, Abandon, Abba, Abbaumethode, Abbé, Abbreviation, Abc, Abdikation, ab-dizieren, Abdomen, Abduktion, Abenteuer, Aberration, Abessiv, abformen, abfotografieren, Abgeordnete, Abitur, abkommandieren, Ablativ, Abmoderation, abmontieren, abnorm, Abolition, abominabel, Abonnement, abordnen, Abort, ab ovo, abpassen, abpassieren, abpatrouillieren, abphotografieren, abplatten, Abplattung, abpressen, Abprodukt, abpumpen, abqualifizieren, abrasieren, Abrasion, abreagieren, abrollen, abrunden, abrupt, Abseite, Absence, absent, abservieren, absolut, Absorbens, abstinent, abstrakt, abstrus, absurd, Abszeß, Abszisse, Abt, Abtakeln, abtasten, abtaxieren, Abtei, abtelefonieren, abtelegrafieren, Abtestat, Äbtissin, abtönen, Abtrag, Abtransport, abundant, ab urbe condita, Abusus, abzirkeln, accelerando, Accent aigu, Accessoire, Accompagnato, Accrochage, Acetat, Acromasie, acht, achtmal, Acidität, à condition, a conto, Acrolein, Actinium, Action, ad absurdum, ad acta, adagio, Adaptation, adäquat, a dato, ad calendae graecas, Addendum, Addition, addizieren, Adduktion, Adenom, Adept, Adessiv, à deux mains, adhärent, ad hoc, Adhörtativ, adiabatisch, adieu, Adikula, Ädil, ad infinitum, Adjektiv, Adjudikation, Adjunkt, adjustieren, Adjutant, Adlatus, ad libitum, Administration, Admiral, adnominal, ad notam, ad oculos, Adoleszent, adoptieren, adorabel, ad rem, Adrenalin, Adressant, adrett, adsorbieren, Adstringens, Adular, ad usum, Advantage, Advent, Adverb, adversativ, Advertising, Advocatus Dei, aerob, Affäre, Affekt, afferent, affettuoso, Affiche, Affidavit, Affiliation, affin, Affination, Affinität, Affirmation, Affix, affizieren, Affront, Aflatoxin, a fresco, Agape, Agave, Agenda, Agglomerat, Agglutination, Aggre-

gat, Aggression, Agio, Agitation, Agitprop, Agnat, Agnomen, Agnosie, Agnus Dei; Agogik, à gogo, Agon, Agora, Agoraphobie, Agraffe, Agrarbevölkerung, Agreement, Agrikultur, Agronom, Agrumen, ahistorisch, Aide, Aigrette, Air, Airbag, Airbus, Airedaleterrier, Airport, Aja, à jour, Akademie, Akanthus, akatalektisch, Akatholik, Akazie, Akelei, Akklamation, Akklimatisation, Akkolade, akkommodabel, Akkompagnement, Akkord, akkreditieren, Akkulturation, Akkumulat, akkurat, Akkusativ, Akme, Akoluth, Akonto, akquirieren, Acribie, akritisch, Akrobat, Akt, Aktion, Akupressur, Akustik, akut, Akzeleration, Akzent, Akzept, Akzeptabilität, Akzession, Akzise, à la, Alabaster, à la bonne heure, à la carte, à la hausse, à la jardinière, à la longue, à la meunière, à la mode, Alarm, à la suite, Alaun, Albatros, Albinismus, Album, Alchimie, alea iacta est, alert, Aleuron, Alexianer, Alexin, al fresco, Alge, Allologe, algorithmisch, Alia, Alibi, Alignement, alimentär, Alinea, aliphatisch, aliquant, aliquot, Aliud, alkälisch, Alcalde, Alkali, Alkoven, Alkyl, Alkyone, alla breve, alla marcia, alla polacca, alla prima, allargando, alla tedesca, Allativ, alla turca, alla zingarese, Allee, Allegorese, allegretto, Allemande, Allergen, allez, Alliance, Alligator, alliiren, Alliteration, allochton, Allod, Allogamie, Allograph, Allokation, Allokution, Allomorph, Allonge, allons!, Allopath, Allophon, Alloplastik, Allosem, Allotria, all'ottava, allozieren, Allparteienregierung, Allrounder, Allüre, alluvial, Alma mater, Almanach, Almosen, Aloe, alogisch, Alpaca, Alpakawolle, Alpha, alpin, al segno, Alt, Altan, Altar, Alteration, alterieren, Alternanz, Altee, Altist, Altklarinetten, Alumnat, Alveolar, amabile, Amalgam, Amant, Amarant, Amarelle, Amateur, Amazonas, Ambassade, Ambe, Amber, Ambiente, ambiguë, Ambition, ambivalent, Ambrosia, ambulat, Amelioration, amen, Amendement, amethodisch, Amethyst, Amitose, Amnestie, Amoral, Amorette, amorph, Amortisation, Amouren, Ampel, Amphibie, Amphibolie, Amphitheater, Amphora, amphoter, Amplifikation, Ampulle, Amputation, Amulett, amusant, Anabaptismus, Anabolikum, Anachoret, Anachronismus, anaerob, Anagramm, Anakoluth, Anakreontik, anal, Analekten, Analerotik, Analgetikum, analog, Alphabet, Analverkehr, Analysand, Anämie, Anamnese, Ananas, Anapäst, Anaphora, Anarchie, Anästhesie, Anastigmat, Anathem, Anatom, Anciennitätssprinzip, andante, Aneroid, androphil, Anekdotchen, Anemograph, Aneroid, Aneurisma, Angelica, Angelus, Angina, Angina Pectoris, Angiogramm, Anglikaner, Anhydrid, Änigma, animalisch, Animateur, Anis, Anker, Ankylose, annectieren, Anniversar, anno, Annonce, Annone, Annotation, annullieren, Anode, Anodenbatterie, anomal, Anomie, anonymer, Anopheles, anordnen, Anorexie, anorganisch, anormal, anpassen; Anprobe, an-

pumpen, anstatt, anstehen, antaillieren, antanzen, Antarktika, antasten, Antazidum, Ante, ante Christum natum, antelefonieren, ante meridiem, ante mortem, Antenne, Antentempel, Antepänultima, Antependium, ante portas, Antestat, Antezedens, Anthemion, Antologie, Anthracen, Antoalkoholiker, antiautoritär, Antibabypille, antibakteriell, Antibioikum, Antiblockiersystem, antichambrieren, Antichrist, antidemokratisch, Antidepressivum, Antidiabetikum, Antidot, Antifaschismus, Antigen, antik, antikerikal, Antiklimax, antikomunistisch, antikonzepcionell, Antikörper, Antikritik, Antilope, Antimaterie, Antimilitarismus, Antimon, antimonarchisch, Antineuralgikum, Antinomie, Antipathie, Antiphlogistikum, Antiphon, Antiphrase, Antipode, Antipyretikum, Antiqua, Antirheumatikum, Antisemit, Antisepsis, Antiserum, Antispasmodikum, Antistes, Antistrophe, Antiterrorinheit, Antitheater, Antithese, Antitoxin, Antitranspirant, Antizipation, antizyklisch, Antonym, antransportieren, Anus, anvisieren, Aon, Aorist, Aorta, Apache, Apanage, apart, Apathie, Aperçu, Aperitif, Apertur, Apex, Aphärese, Aphasie, Aphel, Aphelandra, Aphorismus, Aphrodisiakum, a piacere, apikal, Apis, Aplanat, Aplomb, Apochromat, apodiktisch, Apogäum, Apokalypse, Apokoinu, Apokope, apokryph, apolitisch, Apoll, Apologet, apophantisch, Apophthegma, Apophyse, Apoplektiker, Aporie, Apostasie, Apostel, a posteriori, Apostolat, Apostroph, Apotheke, Apotheose, apotropäisch, Apparat, Appartement, Appeal, Appeasement, Appell, Appendix, Apperzeption, Appetenz, applanieren, applaudieren, applikabel, apport, Apposition, Appreteur, Approach, Approbation, Approximation, Après-Ski, Aprikose, April, a prima vista, a priori, apropos, Ap-side, Aqua destillata, Äquator, a quatre mains, Aquavit, äquidistant, Äquilibrist, äquinoktial, äquivalent, äquivok, Ära, Araber, Arachniden, Arancini, Arazzo, Arbiter, Arboresum, Archaik, Arche, Archebakterie, Archidikon, archimedisch, Archipel, Archipresbyter, Architekt, Archiv, Archivvolte, Archon, areligiös, Arena, Areopag, Argentit, Argon, Argonaut, Argument, Arianer, arid, Arie, arios, Aristokrat, aristophanisch, Aristoteliker, Arithmetik, Arcade, Arkadien, arkadieren, Arkebuse, Arkose, Arkosol, Arktiker, Arkus, Armada, Armatur, Armee, Armenkasse, armerien, Aroma, Aronstab, Arpeggiatur, Arrangement, Arrest, Arrythmie, Arrival, arrogant, arrondieren, Ars antiqua, Arsen, Arsenal, arsenhaltig, Ars nova, Art, Art deco, Art-director, Artefakt, Artel, Arterie, Arthralgie, artifizuell, Artikel, Artillerie, Artischocke, Artist, Art nouveau, Artothek, As, Asbest, Ascorbinsäure, a secco, Asepsis, asexual/ell, Askese, äsopisch, asozial, Asparagin, Aspekt, Aspergill, Aspermatismus, Asphalt, Aspirant, assai, assanieren, assassine, Assaut, Assekurant, Assel, Assemblage, asserieren, Asservat, Assessor, Assibilation, Assiette,

Assignaten, Assimilation, Assisen, Assistent, Associated Press, Associé, Assoluta, Assonanz, assortieren, Assoziation, Assumption, Astat, Aster, Asthenie, Ästhet, Asthma, astigmatisch, Ästimation, Astragal, astral, Astrograph, astrophisch, Astrophysik, Ästuar, Asyl, Asymmetrie, Asymptote, asynchron, asyndetisch, Aszendend, Aszese, Aszites, Atavismus, Atelier, Äthan, Athanasie, Äthanol, Atheismus, athematisch, Äther, Athlet, Äthyl, Äthiologie, Atlant, Atmosphäre, Atom, Atrium, Atrophie, Atropin, Attaché, Attentat, Attentismus, Attest, Attitude, Attizismus, Attraktion, Attrappe, attribuieren, atypisch, Aubergine, au contraire, au courant, audiatur et altera pars, Audienz, aufklaren, aufklären. But let us consider, more particularly, a few words listed under letter A, and the etymology which the editors of *Der Duden* assign them: Airbus (engl. *airbus*); Airport (engl. *airport*); Anglikaner (engl. *anglican*); Annone (sp. *anona*); Arrival (engl. *arrival*, zu frz. *arriver*); Art (mhd *art*, weiter Herkunft ungeklärt); Associated Press (engl.); *assortieren* (frz. *assortir*). It is true that these words came to German via English, or French, or Spanish. Nevertheless, all of them stem ultimately from Latin, and this should have been indicated. They are words commonly in use, today, both in the Romance languages and in English. But, clearly, indicating their Latin origin was not the principal aim of the etymologists of *Der Duden*.

**A new consciousness**  
In recent years, nevertheless, particularly in Germany, a new consciousness has arisen, of the common origin of European languages. Significant of this tendency is the book *Eurolatein*, edited by Horst Haider Munske and Alan Kirkness.<sup>15</sup> The results of this research, without doubt, mark a step forward, towards a new idea of the history of Europe, and of its linguistic unity. The conclusions to which the authors come, can be summarized in the words of Helmut Henne, who writes that "die eurolateinische Forschung ist, soweit ich sehe, im Stadium der Inventarisierung";<sup>16</sup> or in the words of Alan Kirkness, who theorizes "ein multilinguales, paneuropäisches Lexicon, das von einem mehrsprachigen, internationalen und interdisziplinären Team/Kollektiv erarbeitet wird". Nevertheless, he adds, "eine solche Polyglotte ... ist jedoch auch im neuen Europa wohl noch eine Utopie".<sup>17</sup> These authors still think, and speak, from the point of view of a national tradition, from which it is difficult, no doubt to all of us, to depart. They wonder whether German is 'a mixed language',<sup>18</sup> and debate the subject of *Internationalismen*, expressing the desire "for a new direction of the teaching in the classical languages, not *dead*, but highly alive".<sup>19</sup> As Helmut Henne observes, in


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the research on *Eurolatein*, which is nevertheless "necessary and well-deserving", one should not follow the way of Joachim Heinrich Campe, who excluded the 'unserer Sprache aufgedrungenen fremden Ausdrücke'.<sup>20</sup> By contrast, "this vocabulary should not only be included, but also unified from a semantic point of view".<sup>21</sup> The most advanced point which linguistics, from a *European* point of view, has until now attained, is that on 'Internationalismen', or on the "multilinguales, paneuropäisches Lexicon", although this is still considered as 'eine Utopie'. *The next step, the decisive one, must be in considering European history*, or, at least, West-European history and, along with it, West-European languages, *as a unified, living entity*. The point is, in fact, that languages mostly change in consequence of historical events (e.g., the Norman conquest of England), and in no case can be considered as independent from politics. In Europe, today, we have an educational system which includes *all* the individuals, no one excepted, and communication is paramount, such that we cannot conceive contemporary civilization, and the daily life of each of us, without it. Therefore, the emphasis cannot be put on individual, local languages, although they have a role to play, along with particular reasons for being preserved. We are no more in the age of

Romanticism. The world, philosophically, is more *enlightened* than it ever was before, and residuals of nationalism are less and less admissible. The emphasis on the *popular* element has for so long postponed the moment in which we will begin to think of Europe as of a unified entity. This departed - culturally, I mean - with the Protestant Reformation, which must be considered as no more than a parenthesis in the history of our continent. *Only* five centuries later we dramatically feel the need for a re-unification, which is on the way, politically, but of which the cultural, linguistic part, will be achieved last. If going to the roots of twenty centuries of history, we will see that unity, and not separation, is the destiny of Europe, and that, in the history of our civilization, there are many reasons for unity, less for disunity. From the point of view of linguistics, it is now time to make the decisive step forward, towards this consciousness. The problem is whether we shall follow, also in this field, the *natural* trend, accepting that world civilization shall change *naturally*, without any active intervention on the part of human beings, who would be passive spectators of events; or whether we shall be masters of our own destiny. We cannot simply limit ourselves to recording what has undergone changes, in the field of languages. That of a 'multilin-

guals, paneuropäisches Lexicon' is highly commendable, in the present situation, but far from sufficient for the needs of a world subject to such rapid changes. It must be accompanied by a *political* consciousness, which goes beyond the mere recording, or *Inventarisierung*, of what exists. We should, in reality, select a *vocabulary understandable by all educated Europeans and Americans*, changing the way of studying European languages. This would be the premise towards fully recovering the unity of Western civilization. At the same time, there should arise a new consciousness that Europe has her own role to play, in the contemporary world, along with a cultural legacy to preserve, for the future generations. This is the task of our own generation, and of our own educational system. This is the challenge we have to face, if we don't want to pass unnoticed, on the stage of history. It would be unforgivable, should we fail in our commitment, and lose what previous generations have so far achieved.

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<sup>1</sup> Paper delivered at the University of Tsadar, on 19 September 2002.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., line 51.

<sup>3</sup> So Voltaire, in Adam Ferguson, *Correspondence*, in two vols., edited by V. Merolle (London, 1995), I, 116, letter 72, to William Robertson.

<sup>4</sup> Caracalla's Edict, or *Constitutio Antoniniana* (212 AD), extended citizenship to almost all the free inhabitants of the Empire.

<sup>5</sup> For example, in Edinburgh, in Professor Stevenson's class of Logic, in which prize essays

were entered from 1737 to 1751, about half were written in Latin, and the other half in English. Latin survived longest in the Faculty of Medicine, where theses were composed solely in that language until 1833: see D. B. Horn, *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh 1556-1889* (Edinburgh, 1967), 47. Similarly, in Germany, "in die Hörsäle der Universitäten drang das Deutsche erst seit 1687 durch Christian Thomasius in Leipzig. Noch bis in 19. Jh. mußten in einigen Fächern Doktordissertationen lateinisch verfaßt werden"; see P. von Polenz, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin-New York, 1978), 93.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., for the translation of Scottish authors in Germany, see particularly N. Waszek, *The Scottish Enlightenment and Hegel's Account of 'Civil Society'* (Dordrecht, 1988), p. 56 ff. For the translations of Ferguson's works, see F. Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment* (Oxford, 1995), 321-2.

<sup>7</sup> Strophe 4, ll. 31-2.

<sup>8</sup> Pope, *An Essay on Man*, Ep. 1, l. 170.

<sup>9</sup> "Tutte le filosofie (i sistemi filosofici) finora esistite sono state la manifestazione delle intime contraddizioni da cui la società è stata lacerata. Ma ogni sistema filosofico a sé preso non è stato l'espressione cosciente di queste contraddizioni, poiché tale espressione poteva essere data solo dall'insieme dei sistemi in lotta tra loro". In Hegel's system "si riesce a comprendere cosa è la realtà, cioè si ha, in un solo sistema e in un solo filosofo, quella coscienza delle contraddizioni che prima risultava dall'insieme dei sistemi, dall'insieme dei filosofi, in polemica tra loro, in contraddizione tra loro", Gramsci, *Il Materialismo Storico*, 93-4.

<sup>10</sup> As from Cicero, who writes that "Socrates autem primus philosophiam devocavit e caelo et in urbibus conlocavit et in domus etiam introduxit", *Tusc. Disp.*, V, 4, 10.

<sup>11</sup> As for English, see O. Jespersen, and the singular incomprehension which he had, of the role of Latin in that language.

In his *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (9<sup>th</sup> ed., repr., Oxford, 1982), & 130, he maintains, among other things, that "little by little English speakers lost the habit (sic!) of

looking first to their own language ... Mental laziness (sic!) and regard to their own momentary convenience (sic!) ... led them to retain the Latin word and give it only an English termination. Little did they care for the convenience of their readers ...".

He mentions (ibid., & 127) Aldous Huxley, who wrote: "My impression has been that the genius of the English Language is widely different from that of Latin; and that the worst and the most debased kinds of English style are those which ape Latinity. I know of no purer English prose than that of John Bunyan and Daniel Defoe ... Yet Latin literature and these masters of English had little to do with one another".

But Huxley refers to the vocabulary of narrative, of daily life, of what Machiavelli and, along with him, Gramsci, who modernized his vocabulary, call the *vulgar* element, as opposed to the *learned* one.

If considering, for example, the prose of Hume, Smith, Gibbon, one comes to the opposite conclusion, i.e. that, in the works of these eminent historians and philosophers, the role of Latin is fundamental, a language, without which they would never have been able to establish a model of English prose, as they did.

In reality, in contemporary world, if considering the role of the educational system, one comes to the conclusion that local, provincial peculiarities, are bygone.

As for what Britain was, under Roman rule, see P. Salway, *A History of Roman Britain* (Oxford, 2001). Archaeology proves that Britain became deeply Roman. The Romans, far from being occupiers, were settlers, and

mixed to local population. After all, Emperor Trajan (98-117) was a Spaniard. His successor Hadrian (117-138) "emphasized the oneness of the Empire ... Italy was no longer to be regarded as mistress of the Roman world, with the provinces as her inferiors". He conceived Rome's task "as the extension of the classical way of life to the whole empire, not the governing of the Roman world in terms of a multitude of nations with equally valid cultures" (&7, 128-9).

Salway's book successfully challenges the traditional picture of Roman rule in Britain. The role of Latin in that country, as for the origins of English, according to the present author, needs to be reappraised.

<sup>12</sup> See particularly Alan Kirkness, *Zur Sprachreinigung im Deutschen, 1789-1871. Eine historische Dokumentation* (Tübingen, 1975; Forschungsberichte des Instituts für die deutsche Sprache, Mannheim).

<sup>13</sup> Kirkness, op. cit., 267. Goethe wrote "daß eigentlich geistlose Menschen sind, welche auch die Sprachreinigung mit zu großen Eifer dringen ... Goethe konnte keine Sympathie für die Puristen aufbringen", ibid., 267 and 280.

<sup>14</sup> Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (ed. Oxford, 1999), 76.

<sup>15</sup> See bibliography.

<sup>16</sup> See H. Henne, 'Das Eigene im Fremden', in *Eurolatein*, 277.

<sup>17</sup> A. Kirkness, 'Zur lexicographischen Dokumentation eurolateinischer Wortbindungseinheiten', in *Eurolatein*, 255; see also 271. Italics mine.

<sup>18</sup> See H. H. Munske, 'Ist das Deutsche eine Mischsprache?', cited in *Eurolatein*, 89 n. 12.

<sup>19</sup>, 233.

F. L. van Holthoon

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