

THE NAMES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN: A LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL JOURNEY*

The Mediterranean Sea has been the subject of innumerable studies: biologists explain that it is not as rich in fish as the other seas, climatologists underline the fact that due to its waters, the summer and winter seasons show extremes, historians argue the focal position of the sea as a unifying or dividing force; economists mention the cool wet winters that permit the production of the “trinity of wheat, wine, oil” (Fiume 5), physicists analyze the particles that make up the color of its waters (Aitken 1882), ecologists warn us of rampant pollution, geneticists study the gene pools of the Mediterranean populations (Arnaiz-Villena et al.), and so on. Linguists have as yet to say the final word about the Sea’s name and about its role in the diffusion, convergence, innovation, and loss of linguistic features in the 40 or so languages and language varieties spoken around its shores. Historians keep searching for the elusive characteristics of Mediterranean-ness, without, however, taking account of the linguistic aspect of culture. According to R. King, “there is no single criterion which enables one to draw a line on a map which separates the Mediterranean from the non-Mediterranean. Mediterranean identity is a more nebulous, but powerful concept that derives from environmental characteristics, cultural features and, above all, from the spatial interactions between the two. The Mediterranean is a sea, a climate, a landscape, a way of life—all of these and much more” (2). And yet, “attempts to establish precise characteristics for defining what is Mediterranean have undesirable consequences”, as Purcell argues (10). Does the same hazy picture obtain when the Mediterranean is analyzed from a linguistic perspective? What follows attempts to take a first step in order to answer this question.

The names of the Mediterranean Sea in the languages of the peoples inhabiting its shores

Barring too fragmented an account, it is assumed here that the waters of the Mediterranean constitute a single entity (following one of the topics of Horden and Purcell 10). Therefore, the discussion presented

*This is a reworked version of a lecture presented to the Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Toronto chapter, on January 26, 2006.

below does not include a description of the names of specific gulfs, seas, or other internal divisions of the Mediterranean. The division of a sea into further seas is an interesting question (See Burr 1932). For example, the speakers of Slavic languages who go to warm up their bones on the shores of *Jadran*; which is the *Adriatic* to the English-speakers (and *Adriatico* to Italians), but which used to be called the *Gulf of Venice*, the name that appeared on medieval Arab and Renaissance European maps. Other Arabic and Renaissance maps show *Mare Africum* south west of Sicily, a name not present on Italian or English modern maps. Although these taxonomic aspects are not dealt with here, the topic is clearly worthy of attention.

Onomastics, the science of names and naming, has various branches: anthroponymy deals with personal names (first, last, nicknames); toponymy describes the names of geographical features, cities, etc.; hydronymy focuses on the names of bodies of waters; pelagonymy is concerned with the names of seas. Dorion has suggested a possible semantic and linguistic sequence of naming places: Speaker 1 sees a place which is connected in his/her mind to a referent (concept that stands for the place), Speaker 1 names the place according to this abstract referent: i.e., gives it a linguistic form, and then communicates this form, i.e., word, to speaker 2. Speaker 2 must understand that that linguistic form with that particular referent indicates the specific place. Often, the original meaning of the referent fades into oblivion in speakers' minds when the naming conditions and semantic motivation have been forgotten (see also Rutkowski 2001:26). This is supported both by my Hebrew and Finnish informants who expressed great surprise at the fact that the name of the Sea in their languages actually has a meaning, proving thus the theory that in the speaker's mind a name is not denoting anything.

Although the naming process seems logical and semantically transparent, the question remains as to when a name of a place becomes a toponym. In other words, the ancient Egyptians called the Mediterranean Sea the "Sea of the Philistines"—this is clearly a possessive attribute, but is it the name that everyone knew the sea by? Does it refer to the whole sea or just to the area inhabited by that tribe? Also, Homer's allusion to the same body of water, "wine colored sea" has a referent, but this referent is an epithet, it is hardly a place name in the scientific meaning of toponym. One answer to this can be the appearance of the name on maps; cartography should be of help here. Unfortunately, the oldest map of the Western world ever found does not refer to the Mediterranean sea, it does, however, indicate "Taras", i.e. the gulf of Taranto (See http://www.ultimapagina.it/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=355&Itemid=3). On many early maps, the name of the sea is not specified, for example, the 1561 map of

Southern Europe by the official Spanish royal cartographer Diego Holmen does not include a name for the Mediterranean. Secondly, rendering something official by publishing it on a map may not mean that everyone uses this name.

An engagement in onomastic work means fulfilling five requirements as follows:

- locating and consulting all available documentation
- taking into account all the available information
- ensuring that dates tally
- providing a plausible pathway by which the name could have got to where it is attested by the time it is attested
- being prepared to consider alternative accounts (Trask 1996:353).

The most obvious places to look for the names of the Mediterranean are old and newer maps (in all the present and ancient languages of the Mediterranean), ancient literary sources (first and foremost the Hebrew Bible), written monuments of ancient languages, Egyptian inscriptions, ancient Greek and Roman geographies, histories and travel accounts, portulan descriptions, Arabic geographies, histories and maps. As is often the case in history, innumerable sources were lost due to the material used for the visual representation of space, such as clay tablets, parchment, mosaic floors, ceramics, murals, papyrus, etc.

Furthermore, it seemed that ancient Greek, Sicilian, Arabic legends of the sea might convey information regarding etymologies, explanations or indeed names. Unfortunately, this trail was not successful as far as the names of the sea are concerned; it did, however, reaffirm the fact that the sea is a constant looming presence in the legends of the peoples inhabiting its shores. The well-known Greek myths will not be repeated here, suffice it to say that the waters of the “wine-dark sea” were often a negative force of an enemy for Odysseus and the Greek heroes, illustrating thus the inner dread of the Greeks for the sea (Rose 1934:15). There is a suggestion that the mysterious and violent portrayal of some of the sea’s particular areas, such as the Scylla and Charybdis (Strait of Messina), was an attempt on the part of the Phoenicians to dissuade the ancient Greeks from encroaching on the Phoenicians’ trade routes (Rose 1934:49). One Arab and one Sicilian legend will suffice to illustrate two possible popular views—among many—of the Mediterranean.

God and the Mediterranean – Arabic (Pinna 5; transl. from Italian mine)

It is narrated that God, the day after Creation, turned to the Mediterranean saying that, as it was a part of the newly created world, it would welcome faithful people who would sing praises to God. And God asked the sea: “How do you intend to treat them?”. The answer was: “Well, Lord, I will make them drown”. So God sent a curse against the waters, which ever since then have been poor in

fish. But the rebellious creature still rises up angry and full of tempests at dawn of each Friday, the sacred day of the Muslims.

This legend underscores the dread the Arabs showed towards the sea and the fear they had of its power, continuing thus the same feelings of the ancient Greeks and Romans.

The legend of Colapesce - Sicilian

This is the legend of Colapesce, a young man living in Messina, whose favourite activity was swimming: he was so good at it, his love of the water and the fish was so great, that his fame reached the emperor Frederick II. The emperor, wishing to test Colapesce's abilities, not once but three times threw a cup into the sea and asked Colapesce to retrieve it. The youth dove and emerged twice, illustrating his great abilities. The third time, however, he did not appear back on land: he saw that Sicily was supported by three columns, two of which were sturdy, but the third one, the one under Messina, cracked, could crumble and make Sicily plunge into the sea. So he stayed there and with his shoulder bears the weight of the island so that it does not disappear into the sea.

The versions of this legend are many; its meanings varied; it shows, however, that the power of the sea is much greater than the solidity of the earth.

The Names of the Mediterranean

In the Hebrew Bible, the sea is simply called "Sea" (*yam* or *hay-yam*) (Joshua 16:8), according to the process whereby a general term is used to indicate a particular geographical feature (a sort of reverse metonymy), much like when we ask today someone who has gone to the city (Toronto) whether they have seen the lake (Ontario); or present days Sicilians call Etna *a muntagna* "the mountain": an instance of a specifying semantic use of a general term, whose referent is taken for granted. The Bible also mentions "Great Sea" (*hay-yam hag-gadol*) (Gardner 1999:412), "Western Sea" (Deuteronomy 11:24) and "Sea of the Philistines" (Exodus 23:31). In Modern Hebrew, *yam tichon* (Middle Ocean) is the preferred name.

Any discussion of the Mediterranean Sea must mention the Sea Peoples, "Warriors of the ancient Mediterranean 1250-1150 BC" (as the subtitle of Sandar's 1985 book explains). History has not been generous with this group of diverse tribes that about 3200 years ago mounted what the Egyptians, in the inscriptions and carvings at Karnak and Luxor, called "the Great Sea and Land Raids". Although their appellation contains reference to a sea, Sanders suggests that "the trouble-makers were not 'a people' and only to a limited extent they were 'of the sea' (p. 10). Egyptian sources, describing the turmoil caused by these "raiders", name the sea "Great". Later documents indicate that the Egyptians used

the possessive attribute "Sea of the Philistines", but it is not clear whether they referred to the whole sea or just the eastern part of it.

In Assyrian, there seemed to have been three names for the Sea: *Tâmtu Rabġtu* ('Sea Great', i.e., "Great Sea"), *Tâmtu Elġtu* ('Sea Superior', i.e., "Superior Sea") and *Tâmtu ?a ?ulme ?am?i* ("sea of the setting sun", i.e. "Western Sea"); the first two current during the VI century BC (Parpola 407).

According to the common practice already described above for the ancient Hebrew name, "The [ancient] Greeks seem to have had no general name for the sea: Herodotus merely calls it 'the sea'. Strabo mentions the "sea within the columns", that is, within Calpe and Abyla [the columns of Hercules – Gibraltar]. By their present descendants it is called Aspri Thalassa (the White Sea)" (Smyth 1854:1-2). Modern spoken Greek (demotiki) relies on *Mesojos Thalassa* and formal Greek (katharevousa) uses *Mesochijakos Okjanos* (both "Middle Sea/Ocean).

The Romans, who, according to many writers, were not very fond of sea faring, used attributive appellations: *Mare Nostrum* used by [Pomponius] Mela (Smyth 2), i.e. 44 AD; *Mare Internum* (Bunson 2).

The Sea is a constant presence in Arabic sources and maps from the Xth century on (Pinna 5-7). A variety of names is used, probably according to whether the cartographers were of the Greek-Islamic, Iranian-Islamic or Turkish-Islamic schools. The names include "Sea of Damascus" (Smyth 1854: 342), "Syrian Sea" (*Bahr as-Sam*)—both names are present in the work of the greatest geographer of the XII century, al-Idrisi, "Egyptian Sea" (*Bahr Misr*), "Western Sea" (*al-Bahr al Garbi*), "Byzantine Sea" (*Bahr ar-Rum*). Ibn Khaldun prefers *al-Bahr-alAbyad* ("The White Sea"). In Modern Classical Arabic, the common term is *Al-bâhr al-âbyad al-Mutawâssit* ('the sea white middle', i.e., "Middle White Sea"); in modern colloquial Arabic the equivalents of both the "White Sea" and the "Middle Sea" are heard.

In Turkish, it is *Ak Deniz* ("White Sea").

In Albanian, the name is *Mesdheu Deti* ("Middle Earth Sea").

The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization suggests that "the name Mediterranean is not found before Isidorus of Seville" (s.v. Mediterranean). That would put the origin of this particular hydronym around the beginning of the VI century of our era (according to Matvejević, in *Orig.*, XIII, 16; according to Horden and Purcell 2000:12 in *Etymologies* 12.16.1). By the 1590s the name *Mare Mediterraneum* is a staple of all the maps of the region: it appears thus on Rumold Mercator's map (Tooley et al. 58).

Clearly, all cultures had some special reason to choose the name by which they refer to this body of water. Although linguists are not in agreement as to the grammatical and semantic status of proper names, Rutkowski (28-30) shows that toponyms are created in two ways, the

first being a strategy that seems universal:

“X is such” i.e., direct visible quality (characteristics)

“X is like Y” indirect description (metaphor).

The following table shows the denominations of the Mediterranean Sea in local languages according to chronology and semantics:

<i>time period</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>possession</i>	<i>color</i>	<i>location</i>
	<i>hay-yam hag-gadol</i> 'S. Great' Heb.Num. 34:7	"Sea of the Philistines' Heb. Ex.23:31		"Western Sea' Hebrew Deut. 11:24
1250-1150 BCE -	'Great' Egyptian	'Sea of the Philistines' Egyp.		
VI BCE	<i>Tâmtu Rab_tu</i> 'Sea Great' Assyrian			<i>Tâmtu El_tu</i> 'Sea Superior' <i>Tâmtu_a_ulme_am_i</i> 'S. of the setting sun' Assyrian
44 CE		<i>Mare Nostrum</i> 'Sea Our' Lat.		<i>Mare Internum</i> 'Sea Inside' Lat.
VI cent.				<i>Mare Mediterraneum</i> 'Middle Earth' Lat.
X cent.-		'Sea of Damascus' Arab. <i>Bahr Mîsr</i> 'Egyptian S.' Ar. <i>Al-Bahr al-Garbi</i> 'Western' Ar. <i>Bahr ar-Rum</i> 'Byzantian' Ar.	<i>Al-Bahr al-Abyd</i> 'White' Arab.	
2006			<i>al-Bahr al-Abyad al-Mutawassit</i> 'Sea White Middle' Cl. Ar.	
			<i>al-Bahr al-Abyad</i> 'White' Coll. Ar.	<i>al-Bahr al-Mutawassit</i> 'Middle' Coll. Ar.
			<i>Ak Deniz</i> 'White'' Turk.	<i>Mesdhe Deti</i> 'Middle Earth' Alb.
				<i>yam tikhon</i> 'Middle' Hebr.
				<i>Mesoios Thalassa Mesokiakos Okianos</i> 'Middle' Gr. Dem. + Kath.
				<i>Mediterraneo</i> 'Middle Earth' Romance lang.

In all the names listed in the table, it is the semantic motive "X is such" that points to the sea's features – be it color, size, location, or possession. As regards the feature <size>, the motivation is clear: a great expanse of water requires this name. Regarding <possession>, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the term refers simply to the area around the town/lands mentioned in the name or to the whole sea. Regarding <color>, much has to be said. Lyons suggests that "for whatever reason, though perceptually salient, [color] is not linguistically salient unless and until it is made so by particular languages as a consequence of cultural developments..." (73). The suggestion has been made that in Arabic the sea is white because that is the color of the West to those who come from the East (Matvejevic). The motivation for the feature <location> is also clear, although there seem to be questions around the meaning of "middle earth". Some claim that the meaning of this phrase indicates the extent or the strip of earth between the mountains and the water, rather than the water in-between- earth. Location is not only the preferred semantic feature used in translation of the name; the calques meaning "middle earth" or simply "middle" point to the meaning <sea in the middle of the earth> rather any other reading (for ex., *Stredozemné More* -Slovak; *Mitellandische See/Mittelmeer* - German; *Vali Meri* - Finnish).

The 14 different toponyms for the same place point to at least five considerations about the name of the Mediterranean:

Language and cognition

This variety of names of the Mediterranean is a window to the workings of the human mind: each culture has given or has accorded a special status to some feature of the place that underlies its naming. Although the naming process is universal, the instance of naming is not: there is a limit to which feature was selected in order to name the sea. For the Mediterranean, there seem to exist four such features, namely, size, possession, color, location.

Synonyms in toponymy

Despite the variety of names for the Mediterranean Sea, this situation is not exceptional in toponymy: for example, the capital of Slovakia is *Bratislava* (in Slovak), *Pressburg* (in German), *Poľon* (in Hungarian); the biggest volcano in Europe is *Etna* (in Italian and in other languages), *Mungibeddu* (in Sicilian); many other examples can be adduced to confirm this practice. The number of languages, their socioeconomic and cultural relationship to each other, borrowing processes, sociolinguistic and linguistic considerations, all play a role in keeping the variety of names alive. De Felice mentions that the coexistence of more than one

name for the same place is motivated or maintained on account of the presence of multilingual communities, local vs. official usage, speaker's perspective, from the sea vs. from the land (166).

Official naming practices

This common situation of a variety of place names indicating the same location has led to a number of formal UN meetings to decide on the actual official rendering of geographical names (HorÁanskyā 249-252). Two competing perspectives are at work: on the one hand, local cultural and linguistic usage must be preserved; on the other, a clear unambiguous toponym is desirable from an international standpoint (Kerfoot 202). As Wade put it, "International trends for all language communities are moving toward the use of local names for places or their accepted transliteration" (Wade 11); but the international community needs one unambiguous name. As regards the Mediterranean Sea, no official pronouncements have been made so far. And yet, the Getty Thesaurus of Geographical Names, a web site dedicated to toponymy, indicates as the default "preferred" name its English version (www.getty.edu/vow/_GNFullDisplay). Even though the document that lists the prospects for "The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership" accords a short paragraph to "Preserving and Using Cultural Heritage", nothing is said about toponyms (http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/euromed).

The hegemony of the English name

Although only Malta (among the languages spoken around the Mediterranean) has English as one of its official languages, the English name predominates in much of the global cultural discourse. The adjective Mediterranean is used for a variety of concepts whose meaning encompasses diverse cultural practices, such as gastronomy (Mediterranean diet), restaurant names; literary genres (*polar mediterranée*, *giallo mediterraneo*); the ubiquitous *Club Med*; EU official policies (cf. the "Barcelona Process" on EuroMed agreements); titles of films (*Méditerranée* 2001, Gabriele Salvatore's *Mediterraneo* 1991), etc. It is customary even in English academic texts regarding ancient history of the Mediterranean area to use maps with the sea designated as Mediterranean – one exception is Arnaiz-Villena et al. (890).

The meaning of <Mediterranean>

In English, "the expression the Mediterranean Sea originates at a learned, somewhat abstract level" (Holden and Purcell 10). The contention is that during and after the Enlightenment (Purcell 16), "when a

term that had applied to the sea was first deployed metonymically to refer to the adjacent lands and then to the collectivity of such lands it coincided with the birth of scientific geography and the deployment of its tools in the service of European geopolitics" (Purcell 13-14 quoting Nordman) and that "the idea of the Mediterranean is...predominantly a European concept" (ibid., 14). By semantic extension, the adjective "Mediterranean" came to mean much more than the Sea.

In the Introductory essay of the first volume of the journal *Mediterranean Language Review*, Henry and Renée Kahane (1983:7-9) suggested two meanings:

i. "Mediterranean" means an area which ties a group of countries together and as their common denominator it represents a maritime civilization, with a drift toward leveling. Linguistically, the sea, being both the medium and the content of diffusion..., turns into a creative force.

ii. "Mediterranean" means a set of countries around a body of water, each with its language, its long history and its linguistic dilemmas. This is the meaning that linguists give to the term.

The linguistic Mediterranean

It is legitimate to ask the following questions: Was there ever a language common to the Mediterranean area? Are there linguistic Mediterraneanisms? Although "The Mediterranean supplies us with the longest and fullest linguistic documentation existing in the world" (Erdal 183), this documentation refers to numerous ancient and modern languages, not to one single linguistic entity. The Mediterranean area is, however, the birthplace of the notion and of the first modern example of a *lingua franca*: the common trade language among Mediterranean sailors and the language used by Christian slaves and their Arabic—or Turkish—speaking owners. It is based on a simplified Romance grammar, with vocabulary drawn from Italian, Arabic, Turkish and other linguistic varieties; for example, *bisogno mi andar* "I have to go"; *Patron donar bona bastonada mucho mucho* "the boss will give me a really thorough beating" (Stolz 7). Some scholars believe that once Portuguese elements replaced the other existing varieties, this resulted in what are now called pidgin languages (Breton 18). Recent studies point to three stages of this language: the first period, 12th-16th centuries, indicates the origin of *lingua franca* – starting from the cultural and linguistic mixing of the Crusaders with speakers of Semitic and later Turkish languages; the second period, 17th century to 1830, indicates the pirates' hegemony; the third period, when the language came to be known as *sabir*, after the French colonization of Algiers (see Operstein 414). Henry and Renée Kahane, who first wrote about *lingua franca*, list 878 nautical terms in Turkish that

have Greek or other Western origins (1958). The *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean was, as far as can be ascertained, the only modern language that received the input from the various languages spoken around the Mediterranean Sea. (Wansbrough, though, uses the expression “lingua franca” with a different meaning: that of chancery practice common in the Mediterranean area between 1500BC and 1500 CE.)

In linguistics, the phrase ‘Mediterranean languages’ has two meanings. The first meaning, common to historical linguists and philologists, especially of Italian extraction, refers to pre-Latin, non-Indo-European languages of the Mediterranean area. Thus, in this sense, the list of Mediterranean languages includes Etruscan, Punic, Aramaic, paleo-Sardinian, paleo-Ligurian, Sicanian, Rhetic, Iberian. The Egyptian inscriptions mention the following sea peoples, whose languages can only be guessed at: Shardana, Ekwesh, Lukka, Shekelesh, Teresh, Denyen, Weshesh, Peleset, Tjeker (Sandars 114, 132, 161). These pre-Latin, non-Indo-European languages, it has been claimed, had had an effect of substrate on the latecomers to the Mediterranean area (Tagliavini 119). Some of the linguistic features in use down to the present day reputed to be remnants of the Mediterranean substrate are the following (see also Lausberg 91), especially as regards the Romance languages:

- the retroflex pronunciation in Sicilian and other Romance varieties of the equivalent of the Latin –LL–, for example, Sic. *cavaddu*; *cuteddu*; etc. (Gensini 35). This feature is present in a vast geographical area from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea (Silvestri 211);
- the so-called “gorgia toscana”: the aspirated pronunciation of the intervocalic /k/: *la hasa* – but this has been set straight by Izzo who showed the relatively recent appearance of this feature in Tuscan;
- Some lexemes in Spanish are thought to originate in indigenous Iberian: *cama* “bed”, *manteca* “lard” (Green 188; also Spaulding 5-9);
- “most non-Romance elements in Sardinian were either transmitted via other Romance languages or can be attributed to substratal influence” (Jones 1988: 315); there are also similarities with Berber – remnants of possibly an article in *th-*: *thilikerta* “lizard”, *thuruku* “neck” (Green, Sardinian, 345).

The second meaning of “Mediterranean languages” is due to modern developments in areal linguistics, and the expression refers to all the languages spoken today (or today and in the past) around the Mediterranean Sea. In 1996 the Italian National Research Council started a research program to study “the Mediterranean <system>: historical and cultural roots, national identities”: part of this program was dedicated to linguistic aspects: thus the MEDTYP project was born (Ramat 2002: ix). A number of questions were raised that indicated the same concerns as those of historians, two of which are relevant to our

topic: 1. is it possible to extend the notion of the Mediterranean as a cultural and historical area to linguistic facts? (Ramat 2002:xiii); 2. do coincidences and similarities we find among Mediterranean languages have to be ascribed to language contact or to general (universal?) tendencies which may develop independently in different languages? (Ramat ix). For example, the definite article is used in almost all the languages spoken around the Mediterranean: is the existence of this grammatical feature due to a universal tendency of languages to indicate definiteness in this manner, or did the article develop independently in each language, or still, was the article borrowed into a language that did not have it from another language because of a close contact by the speakers of the two? It turns out that the last two hypotheses seem correct (Ramat 2002:ix). Areal linguistics is the study of one geographical area from a linguistic perspective. Normally, areal studies select a grammatical or lexical feature or characteristics and study its areal dimension. The results are generally plotted on linguistic maps (or given other visual representation), where the lines (isoglosses) separate the territories where the element or structure are used from those that do not use it and thus delimit the area where a feature is present. Researchers have studied numerous linguistic elements in an attempt to tease out those that are common to the languages of the Mediterranean area. (The number of languages and features to be studied is so large, however, that there is a suggestion that an electronic database of linguistic features be used in research on Mediterranean languages [Sansó]).

Three examples of this type of research will suffice to give an indication of the scope and kind of results obtained:

- Da Milano studied yes/no questions in a number of Mediterranean languages. Her conclusion points to heterogeneous results without the possibility to establish a common *Sprachbund*;
- Grandi focused his attention on augmentative suffixes. According to him, there is no *Sprachbund*, but linguistic sub-areas can clearly be established. In his opinion, these sub-areas are due to ancient Greek and Latin influence;
- Stolz analyzed word iteration. His conclusion indicates a possibility of a Mediterranean *Sprachbund* with linguistic sub-areas. This common Mediterranean linguistic area is the result, according to Stolz, of a linguistic contact at the level of *parole*.

Therefore, just as there are various names of the Mediterranean that share some semantic features, there are also many languages around the Mediterranean that share some grammatical features. Perhaps this is the area's strength: its diversity is never so great that it does not include some measure of commonality – be it vegetation, character trait, cultural practices or linguistic features. Myres declared that "... short of a planetary convulsion, there will always be a Mediterranean, with

characteristic mode of life and outlook" (52), and, we can add, languages.

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