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A corpus-based analysis of anglicisms in the Catalan used in Minorca

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Abstract

The island of Minorca was invaded up to three times by England during the 18th century but, its main interest being its strategic location, English language was not imposed. Instead, some English words were adopted by the Minorcan inhabitants. Some of these anglicisms are still widely used nowadays, for instance, the word ‘xoc’, which derives from (< CHALK), whereas others have been almost lost. This corpus-based analysis aims at presenting some selected anglicisms in the Catalan used in Minorca. A set of texts from the local newspaper containing the target terms have been collected. Using AntConc, a corpus-query software (Anthony, 2019), these target lexical items have been analysed in context. A semantic and morphological analysis has been drawn, looking at the meaning and form of these anglicisms in the Catalan used in Minorca.

Keywords

Anglicisms, language contact, corpus-based analysis, lexicogrammatical approach.

Resum

L'illa de Menorca va ser envaïda pels anglesos fins a tres vegades en el segle XVIII. Però com que l'interès principal era la posició estratègica de l'illa, la llengua anglesa no va ser imposada. En comptes d'això, algunes paraules angleses van ser adoptades pels menorquins. Alguns d'aquests anglicismes encara són molt coneguts i utilitzats avui dia, com per exemple ‘xoc’, que deriva de (< CHALK), però d'altres s'han perdut. Aquesta anàlisi basada en un corpus lingüístic té com a objectiu presentar alguns anglicismes utilitzats en el català parlat a Menorca. El primer pas va ser seleccionar texts del diari local de Menorca que contenen els anglicismes i, així, els termes seleccionats s'han pogut analitzar en context utilitzant el programa de gestió textual AntConc (Anthony, 2019). L'anàlisi ha estat semàntic i morfològic, tenint en compte el significat i la forma dels anglicismes.

Paraules clau

Anglicismes, llengües en contacte, anàlisi basada en un corpus lingüístic, enfocament lexicogramatical.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation and aims

When choosing the topic for this End of Degree Paper (EDP), I realized that it had to be a topic I really enjoyed and was interested in. As a Minorcan speaker, it is almost inevitable to think about the island on a daily basis when living in another part of the world. And, as a philology student, I am eager to know more about linguistics and, more specifically, about English language. Therefore, the topic of anglicisms is the perfect combination of these two ingredients, Minorca and English language. Moreover, given the little amount of research done on this topic, I decided to work on it. I had always known some anglicisms, sometimes even not knowing they were so, and they caught my attention specially, as I have been interested in English from an early age.

With this EDP, I intend to give an account of the usage of nine selected anglicisms I have always known and used in Minorcan. These anglicisms are: *boi* (< BOY), *blèc* (< BLACK), *boinder* (< BOW WINDOW), *gin* (< GIN), *jan* (< JOHN), *mèrvels* (< MARBLES), *pinxa* (< PILCHARD), *púdin* (< PUDDING) and *xoc* (< CHALK).

The aim, then, is to analyse the context in which these anglicisms appear in written data, specifically in the Minorcan local newspaper *Menorca.info*. Thus, the usage the Minorcan speakers make of these anglicisms can be seen. Using a software called AntConc (Anthony, 2019), the contexts in which these anglicisms appear have been analysed.

The present EDP consists of the following sections: a Historical background (also known as literature review), in which the British occupations of the island of Minorca are briefly explained together with some linguistic traces of the island's dialect. Following, in the Methodology, the methodological decisions taken for the present paper are explained; such as, for example, the sources in which this EDP is based on and the steps that were followed in the process of writing it. Then, in the Results section, there is a descriptive account of the results obtained from the data collected. Next, in the Discussion section, these results are interpreted and discussed. Finally, in the Conclusions section, some conclusions have been drawn for the whole EDP.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

As some scholars argue (Ortells & Campos, 1983; Ruiz i Pablo, 1908; Mata, 1984), Minorca is a strategic point in the middle of the Mediterranean and, for this reason, whereas Mallorca and Valencia had been Catalan for a long time, Minorca was considered to be different, as it was Catalan, Spanish, French and, occasionally, English. The British invaded the island up to three times from 1708 to 1802, although with various interruptions, mainly as a military domination. These dominations left cultural and linguistic traces in Minorca, such as gastronomy and anglicisms. As Badia Margarit (1953) explains, during this period, contact between the English officials and the Minorcan inhabitants was friendly and close and resulted in the adoption of numerous anglicisms in the Catalan spoken at the island.

Thus, Minorca's history is much different from that of the Iberian Peninsula. It was the last one of the Balearic Islands being reconquered from the Arabians by the Corona d'Aragó when, at the end of the XIII century, the Catalan settlers arrived. In the XVIII century, with the arrival of the Borbón dynasty in Spain, the Minorcan inhabitants were forced to defend the Austriac pretender in the War of the Spanish Succession. As Ortells & Campos (1983) explain, this war started with the death without direct succession of Carles II, who was the last Spanish king from the Austria's dynasty. Felip (V), grandson of the French king Lluís XIV, was his successor, according to Carles's will. This fact meant an advantage for the French candidate, against the hopes of the archduke Carles d'Àustria. Thus, the civil war broke out and, with the internationalisation of the conflict, there was an European confrontation. Although the first English attempt to conquer Minorca took place in 1701 and the second one in 1704, it was not until 1706 when Minorca took side in favour of the archduke, who was proclaimed king of Spain in 1705. Later on, given the abandonment they suffered from their king, the Minorcans were hostile to the British settlers and kept defending their catholicism. Caught in the middle of an unstable political situation in Europe and with the only concern of maintaining their autonomy, the Minorcans accepted a short French occupation. As the English, this settlement benefited the island although Minorca maintained its autonomy (Ortells & Campos, 1983; Mata, 1984).

As for the first British occupation (1713-1756), Ortells & Campos (1983) state that an Anglo-Dutch fleet arrived in Minorca on September 19th 1708. The Gallic-Spanish soldiers were defeated at Sant Felip's castle. The English, thus, stayed on the island as king-archduke allies. Minorca, diplomatically and officially, was not yet English, despite the presence of the British troops. Before the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), which publicly claimed the British control over Minorca, the Catholic king and the queen Anne of England signed a private deal in Madrid (1712) in which the possession was already acknowledged. On October 1712, the Union Jack replaced the archduke's flag.

Thus, the official occupation in Minorca starts with the Treaty of Utrecht. The first governor was Lord Carpenter, although Richard Kane was so meaningfully. Kane was an excellent administrator and politician who changed many arrangements. He ordered many constructions that helped improve the island's connections. He did also construct bridges and military roads. Gilbert (1936) explains that Colonel Richard Kane became Lieutenant-Governor of the island and that he was one of the earliest English examples of an enlightened colonial administrator whose actions for the island are worth considering. Nevertheless, the island continued having its old laws and the free exercise of religion. This first occupation ended in 1756 due to the hostilities between France and England in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). On April 1756 France declared war against England: Duke de Richelieu arrived at Minorca's coasts and took control of the island for the king Lluís XIV (Ortells & Campos, 1983).

According to Ortells & Campos (1983), Minorca remained under French domination (1756-1763) during the war, but, shortly after the peace of Paris was signed on February 1763, the English disembarked on the island again in June. In general, although there were some difficulties and some governors abused from their power, this long period of English occupation benefitted the island. For instance, printing was exported from London; schools were open to all social classes; prosperity spread out even in the countryside; new constructions were made; and the administrative harmony was achieved. This huge commercial rebirth and the possibility of cultural progress made the island a blooming nucleus under English protection and political freedom. Nevertheless, the Minorcan inhabitants wanted to keep their culture and took their time to appreciate the improvement that the English had introduced. Moreover, the Minorcans lastly realized that the English settlers made the island prosper from the Medieval period to the Modern

Age. The first years of this decade supposed a great diplomatic and military display of the king of Spain. This period of Spanish victories coincided with the English misfortunes (as the War of Independence of the United States of America). In 1782, the island was re-occupied by the Gallic-Spanish forces. Mata (1984) argues that after this second English occupation, the Spanish governing was not much compromising with the Minorcan individualism (Ortells & Campos, 1983, Mata, 1984).

As for the third (and last) British occupation (1798-1802), Ortells & Campos (1983) explain that France stopped being monarchical (1789), Lluís XVI was executed (1793) and the monarchical and legitimate Europe fought against the revolutionary France. This new war was known as the Great War (1793-1795). After the peace of Basilea (1795), the Spanish king Carles IV saw the French dilemma: politically and ideologically contraries, the revolutionary French leaders were still allied with the absolutists in Madrid, all together against George III of England. Thus, Spain entered a war against England from 1797 to 1801. For this reason, in 1789, an English disembarking in Minorca started the third and last British occupation. This lasted until 1802, when the Treaty of Amiens was signed, for which Minorca became part of the Spanish Crown and has ever since been so. Mata (1984) states that these last four years can be considered as the most harmonious of the six long decades that the English settlement lasted. During this last occupation, the Minorcan inhabitants showed respect and sympathy for their invaders. This could be attributed as a reaction to the 16 years of Spanish incompetent administration or as a consequence of the facilities that the English offered them. In the same line, Gilbert (1936) does also consider that the British Occupation was the most prosperous period in the island's history.

As Mata (1984) explains, when, for the third time, the English troops arrived, the island embraced them, as it had been shaken for almost a century by the different European powers. The unusual international history of Minorca ends with the peace of Amiens, being definitely incorporated in Spain in 1802. Mata (1984) advocates that these multiple events, far from destroying the island's peculiar personality, helped to strengthen its essence. From the first occupation, the English made some efforts to make the island prosper and to achieve a peaceful coexistence with its inhabitants.

As a matter of fact, Ortells & Campos (1983) state that the English soldiers occupying Minorca had relationships and even married local women. Thus, these mixed marriages may be a reason for anglicisms to become ingrained. For this reason, they both think that the children of these marriages could be a factor in the transferring of anglicisms. As these children were bilinguals, they could possibly pass on the anglicisms that were assimilated into the Minorcan dialect. As a conclusion, the authors believe that these marriages were not numerous, but they still have to be taken into account, as the English never achieved a favorable integration with the Minorcan inhabitants and, in addition, the Catholic church was not favourable for their relationship with the local people either.

As Ortells & Campos advocate (1983), from a linguistic point of view, Minorca is Catalan, as Alfons III of Aragón conquered the island from the Arabians and repopulated it. But in the Minorcan dialect there are some linguistic remains of the cultures that occupied it. Thus, the Minorcan dialect has Arabian, French and English words, among others, which are totally assimilated by its speakers and that enrich its lexicon.

In relation to anglicisms, Ortells & Campos (1983) state that as a consequence of the predominance of English-speaking countries, the English language exerts a great influence in many languages of the world, making some of its words international. Nevertheless, the authors consider the anglicisms in Minorca as words that remained on the island as an effect of the three English dominations during the XVIII century rather than simple globalization. For this reason, these anglicisms are exclusive to the island, as they have been assimilated and transformed by the Minorcan population.

In this line, Mata (1984) explains that the English words left on the island are numerous and were incorporated to the Minorcan dialect. In addition, the English provided the island with architectonic styles, gastronomy, children's games, and, therefore, with terms related to these fields. For example, the *boinders*¹ (< BOW WINDOWS) decorate still nowadays many Minorcan houses and children continue playing with *mèrvels* (< MARBLES). (See Appendix I).

¹ The anglicisms are going to be written in italics (*xoc*) and the original English words in brackets and in capital letters (< CHALK).

Moreover, Ortells & Campos (1983) state that these anglicisms are much known in urban areas, as Alaior, Ciutadella, Maó and Villacarlos, whereas in the interior of the island they are less known due to the little contact they had with the English invaders. In addition, in the countryside, the anglicisms are less used, due to the fact that the domination was purely military. As the officers worked in the cities and military bases, they did not have much contact with farmers. Instead, the English officers had much more contact with the people living in the cities.

In relation to the professions in which anglicisms can be found, Ortells & Campos (1983) state that the occupation of carpenter is the one in which more anglicisms are used. In addition, age is another factor related to usage and knowledge of said anglicisms. Evidently, the elderly people are those who know more anglicisms, whereas children know those words related to games. For instance, *mèrvels*, which derives from (<MARBLES), and *xoc*, which derives from (<CHALK).

In this line, Badia Margarit (1953) explains that these anglicisms were adapted to the Catalan phonetics and had curious semantic developments, particularly in specialized language as in professional language, children's games, among others. He comments on the fact that Minorcans named the English with the generic name of *jan* (plural *jans*), which derives from (<JOHN), or *boi*, which derives from (<BOY). These names are still used nowadays in many locutions and phrases. One of which is *quatre jans i un boi*, which is used when someone goes to a place in which there are not many people. In addition, Badia Margarit (1953) indicates the principal phonetic characteristics of these semantic borrowings and their developments. So, he makes a classification of the anglicisms in different semantic fields, as for example gastronomy and beverages: *pepelmén* (<PEPPERMINT), *pudin* (<PUDDING), *pinxa* (<PILCHARD), *grevi* (<GRAVY), *xenc* (<SHANK), *gin* (<GIN).

Badia Margarit (1953) explains the phonetic character of these anglicisms, explaining that they have oral naturalness. For this reason, the Minorcan people imitate the original pronunciation and these anglicisms are not graphic like some modern anglicisms in Catalan. As the author exemplifies, the word *xoc* comes from (<CHALK), and the word *mèrvels* comes from (<MARBLES). He also enumerates the fixed norms that the phonetics of these anglicisms follow. The first one being that English 'a' is generally

Catalan ‘e’, as for example in *xumèquer*, which derives from ‘shoemaker’. The second one, before initial ‘s’ stop there is an ‘e’, as in *escrús*, (< SCREW). The third one, due to articulatory necessity, there appears an epenthetic vowel sometimes, as in *turnescrús*, (< TURNSCREW). But, in other cases, the new word causes a syncope of an atonic interior vowel. For instance, *sèngri*, (< SANGAREE). Moreover, there are exchanges and dissimilations between liquids (especially l and r), as in *pepelmen*, derived from (< PEPPERMINT). In addition, there is a tendency to simplify the articulation, mainly in complex groups as (< BOW WINDOW), from which *boinder* derived, and in articulations that Catalan does not have, as aspirated “h”, *xaquèns* derived from (< SHAKE HANDS). Finally, there is a phonetic simplification due to popular etymology, for example (< MIDSHIPMAN) was adopted as *mitjamèn*, reminding of the Catalan ‘mitja’, Latin ‘media’, which has influenced its phonetic adaptation (Badia Margarit, 1953).

In relation to semantics, Badia Margarit (1953) argues that many anglicisms of Minorca were obtained by transfer of sense so that they have not undertaken a semantic modification. As for example, *boinder* (< BOW-WINDOW), *xaquèns* (< SHAKE HANDS), *mèrvels* (< MARBLES), which have the same meaning as in English. Although there is restriction of sense in some instances, as (MAN >) *men*, ‘very capable person, very intelligent’; (BLACK >) ull *blèc*, ‘an eye blackened by a blow’. But the most relevant restriction is to be found in the games of children, who are thought, according to Badia Margarit (1953), to assimilate more easily the foreign linguistic elements. For instance, the anglicism *mèrvels* (<MARBLES) is much relevant in the children’s game.

Finally, to prove that the assimilation in children’s language is greater than in that of adults, Badia Margarit (1953) explains that there exist two words simultaneously, *xoc* (< English CHALK) and ‘guix’ (< Latin GYPSU). The first one demonstrates the influence of English in schools, as it means ‘chalk for writing’, but ‘guix’ has a more general signification.

Gilbert (1936) states that the number of English words still in use, most of them in a corrupt form, is over one hundred and that many of them are related to beverages, gastronomy, carpentry and games. In this line, Ruiz i Pablo (1908) considers the anglicisms left by the British occupations as unique and peculiar to the island. He states that the English language left words, fixed expressions and even sayings that were

introduced and became ingrained into the Minorcan language. As for instance, *estar com a pinxes*, which means being in a crowd, like pilchards are.

Finally, Ruiz i Pablo (1908) provides a list of anglicisms and an explanation of each one. For instance, he explains that *tenir un ull blèc* is having a black eye and that there is a children's game called *mèrvels* (< MARBLES) in which there are plenty of anglicisms that refer to the terms used to play this game. He concludes by saying that these words have been so assimilated that the Minorcan speakers consider them Minorcan words, although they know these are semantic borrowings.

3. METHODOLOGY

As far as the methodology is concerned, the first step was to select a number of anglicisms from *Els Anglicismes de Menorca* (Ortells & Campos, 1983). The lexical items selected were those anglicisms that I, as a Minorcan speaker, was more familiar with and, by extension, I used the most. Also, these were more widely used in the newspaper.

The selected anglicisms are: *boi* (< BOY), *blèc* (< BLACK), *boinder* (< BOW WINDOW), *gin* (< GIN), *jan* (< JOHN), *mèrvils* (< MARBLES), *pinxa* (< PILCHARD), *púdin* (< PUDDING) and *xoc* (< CHALK).

The next step was to look for texts containing the target anglicisms. The chosen source in which to look for texts was the local newspaper, *Menorca.info*. For practical reasons, the online version was chosen. In addition, another source was used to look for texts in which the target lexical items appeared, the book *Scripta Menorquina*, by Joan Veny i Clar and Àngels Massip Bonet. It is a recollection of texts written in the Minorcan dialect from the 14th century to the 21st. This source was selected due to its texts written 100% in the Minorcan dialect. Thus, it was an interesting source to look at.

The minimum of entries found in the newspaper for each anglicism to be analysed was six. Nevertheless, there were more than six tokens of that word in those texts. Thus, for *blèc* the sample is eight; for *boinder*, 17; for *jan* and *boi*, 10; for *mèrvils*, 17; for *pinxa*, 17; for *puding*, six; for *xoc*, 19; for *gin*, 107. This could suggest which words are more used in the Minorcan speaking community or, at least, in the newspaper.

Following, the next step was to copy those texts from the newspaper and save them in txt format for the corpus programme, AntConc, to recognize them. Therefore, the corpus this EDP is based on was created from scratch and edited for corpus-query purposes. It is worth highlighting that some challenges came up while working with the texts and the software. The main problem was that AntConc did not recognise some spelling features of Catalan, as for instance accent marks. Thus, a lot of time was spent getting rid of the accents and other features as apostrophes.

Given the difficulty in getting access to corpus data written 100% in the Minorcan dialect, the majority of the texts used for this project are written in standard Catalan although they

are published in the Minorcan newspaper. Nevertheless, it has to be taken into account that drawing a line between standard Catalan and Minorcan is challenging. Thus, there are some texts for which no clear label can be given, so they were labelled as “Mixture” (Catalan/Minorcan). Texts written in Spanish have also been considered, as they appeared in the online newspaper and contained the target words or expressions. In this sense, the terms or expressions were spelled in the same way as in Catalan and with the same sense. This suggests that the authors of these texts written in Spanish are Minorcan speakers, as they used the anglicisms and wrote those texts for the local newspaper.

As a next step, the target lexical items were grouped according to semantic fields. In this line, Blas Arroyo, Porcar Miralles, Fortuño Llorens and Casanova Avalos (2002) made a classification that has been considered. They classify *boinder* as belonging to carpentry and *gin* and *mèrvels* as belonging to sports and entertainment (p. 204). On the other hand, the classification I suggest would include *gin*, *puding* and *pinxa* in the food field. For *xoc*, I would say it belongs to entertainment as well. Finally, for *blèc* I would argue it belongs to body parts as it refers to having a black eye.

Finally, the last step was to decide on the linguistic analysis that could be undertaken. After looking at the data collected, a morphological and semantic analysis was carried out, looking at the meaning and morphological form of these anglicisms in the Catalan used in Minorca.

4. RESULTS

After analysing the data, the following results have been collected. Below is a descriptive account of these results², which will be interpreted and discussed further in section 5, “Discussion”.

The number of selected terms to work with is nine; namely, *boi* (< BOY), *blèc* (< BLACK), *boinder* (< BOW WINDOW), *gin* (< GIN), *jan* (< JOHN), *mèrvèls* (< MARBLES), *pinxa* (< PILCHARD), *púding* (< PUDDING) and *xoc* (< CHALK).

On the other hand, the overall number of occurrences is 201, whereas the corpus size is 98.265. The following table contains the number of tokens in the corpus for each anglicism, the overall number of words in the corpus for each anglicism, too, and the number of texts for every anglicism.

Anglicism	Number of tokens in the corpus	Overall number of words in the corpus	Number of texts
<i>Blèc</i>	8	3.108	6
<i>Boinder/boínder</i>	17	13.053	14
<i>Jan and boi</i>	10	5.610	7
<i>Mèrvèls/mèrvils/mèrvols</i>	17	13.434	16
<i>Pinxa</i>	17	7.877	13
<i>Puding/púding</i>	6	2.090	6
<i>Xoc</i>	19	8.052	14
<i>Gin</i> (Catalan)	53	20.069	36
<i>Gin</i> (Spanish)	16	1.764 words	4
<i>Gin</i> (Minorcan)	12	6.965	11
<i>Gin</i> (Mixture)	26	16.243	22

² The results for each anglicism are listed, classified and numbered in Appendix II.

For *blèc*, it is almost always preceded by “ull”, in the recurrent expression “un ull *blèc*”. It is sometimes explained in brackets, “un blau a l’ull li diuen que el tenen *blèc* (de black)” (Blèc.3). In terms of sense, this word is monosemous. It is always used in singular, there are no instances of it in plural. In Spanish and Catalan it has the same usage. As for the verbs that collocate with this expression, “tenir” (to have) and “deixar” (to give) are recurrently used. It is always spelled with an accent mark on the vowel, *blèc*, so it is adapted to the Catalan spelling norms. It is an adjective and used as such in all instances.

For *boinder/boínder*, it is preceded by “un”, “el”, “el meu” or “des del”, as for example, “llavors mon pare feia el *boínder* del casat de Roberto Vivó” (Boínder.5). It is sometimes explained between brackets, “en l’arquitectura, un *boinder* (balcó tancat de vidrieres pels tres costats)” (Boinder.2). Its sense is always the same. It is spelled with an accent on the “i” in nine instances. It has the same usage in Spanish and Catalan. It is a noun and it is always used in the singular form.

For *jan* and *boi*, out of 10 instances, it appears nine times in the expression “*quatre jans i un boi*”. Thus, *jan* is always in the plural form, *jans*; whereas *boi* is in the singular. The expression is sometimes explained between brackets, “l’expressió *quatre jans i un boi* (quatre soldats anglesos i un fillet)” (Jan/boi.4). In Spanish and Catalan is used in the same way. Its sense is always the same too. Preceding the expression, recurrently, there appear verbs as “hi havia *quatre jans i un boi*” (Jan/boi.8) meaning “there were”, “som *quatre jans i un boi*” (Jan/boi.10) meaning “we are”. *Jan* and *boi* are nouns and used as such in all instances; *jan* alone is used as a noun in the example “la resta eren *jans* ben granadets” (Jan/boi.1). Ortells & Campos (1983, p. 57) state that the oral tradition made the expression *quatre jans i un boi* idiomatic with the sense of “there are few people”.

For *mèrvels/mèrvils/mèrvols*, there are three possible spellings due to regional variety in pronunciation, i.e. the island of Minorca has several towns and, thus, several accents and pronunciations. It is always accented in the “e”, in all 17 instances, and used in the plural form. It is sometimes explained afterwards: “el que trobo més meravellós es *mèrvels* (o *mèrvils*), que prové de l’anglès *marbles*” (Mèrvels.11). It is almost always preceded by the verb “jugar” (to play), which demonstrates its relationship with children’s games. It is a noun and it is used always as such. In relation to sense, there are three possibilities: 1. Marbles as such (in 13 instances); 2. A drunk person (“van todos siempre *mèrvels*”)

(Mèrvils.13) in two examples (both in Spanish); 3. Related to genitalia (“no els agrada que els toquin els *mèrvils*” (Mèrvils.14)) in two instances. It has the same usage in Spanish and Catalan. Ortells & Campos (1983) state that this word has a multi-semantic nature (p. 61):

1. Ball made of stone, soil, glass, ivory or iron, for children to play.
2. Testicle (in Ciutadella³).
3. A drunk person (in Alaior).

For *pinxa*, it is a noun used eight times in the singular and nine in the plural. The singular form is preceded five times by “coca”, in the expression “coca amb *pinxa*”. The plural form is preceded three times by the verb “estrènyer” (tighten). It is used twice in the recurrent expression “estar com a *pinxes*” (being in a crowd) and twice in “coca amb *pinxes*” (cake with pilchards). In Spanish and Catalan: same usage. There are two possible senses: 1. Literal sense: food (in 10 instances), as for example “un cistell amb *pinxes* i bacallà” (Pinxa.6) (a basket with pilchards and cod); 2. Metaphorical: being in a crowd (in 7 instances), as for example “estrènyer com a *pinxes* els alumnes” (Pinxa.2) (to tighten the students as pilchards).

For *puding/púding*, it is a noun used in the singular form in all the instances collected. There are no instances in the plural form. It is always followed by the type of pudding it is: “de patata” (Puding.6) (potato), “de brossat” (Puding.3) (cheese), and preceded by “un” or “el”. It has always the same sense and it is used similarly in Spanish and Catalan. It is accented twice, *púding*, out of six instances.

For *xoc*, out of 19 instances, it was used in the singular form 16 times, whereas in the plural it was used three times. In the plural form, it is preceded by the verb “emprar” (to use); by “capça” (box); and followed by “de colors” (of colors). In the singular, it is preceded or followed by the word “pissarra” (blackboard) three times, as in the example “paraules escrites en *xoc* a la pissarra” (Xoc.1); it is explained as being an English word in three instances, as for example “*xoc* és una paraula de procedència anglesa” (Xoc.19); it is preceded by the verb “dibuixar” in the example “després de dibuixar-hi una diana amb un *xoc*” (Xoc.15); it is preceded by the verb “escriure” in three instances, as for

³ See Appendix III.

example “emocions i pors escrites en xoc” (Xoc.17). There are no instances in Spanish. It is always preceded by “un”, “el”, “els”, “de” or “amb”. It is a noun whose sense is always the same, i.e. chalk.

In the case of *gin* (<GIN), it appears in texts written in Spanish, Catalan and Minorcan. Moreover, there are texts that are difficult to classify as standard Catalan or Minorcan dialect and, therefore, they have been labelled as “Mixture”. Given the amount of texts in which this lexical item appears and, consequently, the number of tokens, the results have been divided in languages. Although some texts are written in Spanish, the anglicism *per se* and the expressions in which it appears are written as in Catalan and Minorcan. For instance, “*gin* amb llimonada” (gin with lemonade) appears in texts written in Spanish.

For *gin* in the Catalan instances, it is a noun and it is always used as such. It is always used in the singular. It is preceded by “del” (six times); “de” (nine times); “amb” (twice); “el” (seven); “típic” (twice); “famós” (twice); “un” (eight). It appears in phrases as: “primer *gin*” (three instances); “volem *gin*” (twice); “*gin* xoriguer” (six); “*ginet*” (three); “no és *gin* amb llimonada” (twice); and “*gin* amb llimonada” (21 instances out of 53). As for the verbs used, “convidar” (to invite) is used six times, as for example “convidava tothom a un *ginet*” (Gin.Catalan.29); “compartir” (to share), three; “provar” (to taste), once; “començar” (to start), once; “beure” (to drink), once; “tastar” (to taste), twice; “preparar” (to prepare), once. Its sense is always the same as well as its spelling.

For *gin*, in the Spanish instances, it is a noun that is used in the singular 15 times (out of 16) and once in the plural, “se servian *gins* amb llimonada” (Gin.Spanish.4). Out of 16 instances, in six of them, it appears as “*gin* amb llimonada”, and once as “*gin* con llimonada”. It appears as “gin de Mahón” in four instances. It is preceded by “el”, three times; “es”, twice; “entre”, twice; and “del”, once. As for the verbs used, there are verbs as “servir” (to serve), “emprar (per fer net)” (use to clean), “distinguir” (to distinguish) and “pedir” (to ask for) appear just once; the verb “ser” (to be) appears twice. As an example, “pomada y *gin* amb llimonada no es lo mismo” (Gin.Spanish.2). Its sense is always the same as well as its spelling.

For *gin*, in the Minorcan examples, it is a noun and it is always used in the singular form. It is preceded by “bòtil de (*gin*)” in two instances (out of 12); “un (*ginet*)”, once; “de (*gin*)”, in four instances; “es” (Catalan article “el”), once; “el”, once; and “massa”, once.

It appears in the expression “*gin* amb llimonada” in three instances. In relation to the verbs that are used, “ser” (to be) is used twice; “beure” (to drink), once; “fer” (to do), once; and “dur” (“portar”/to carry), once. Its sense and spelling are always the same.

In the “Mixture” texts, *gin* is used as a noun in the singular form in 25 instances (out of 26) and once in the plural form and diminutive, *ginets* (Gin.Mixture.13). In the singular, it is preceded by “bòtil de (*gin*)” in seven instances; by “un” in five; “de” in ten; “el” in eight. It is also used in the phrase “*gin* amb llimonada” in ten instances. In the plural form, it is not preceded by any article, “compartir berenetes i *ginets*” (Gin.Mixture.13). The verbs used with this anglicism are “dur” (“portar”/to carry), “comprar” (to buy), “pagar” (to pay), “convidar” (to invite), “preparar” (to prepare), “fer un glop” (to drink), “prendre” (to drink), “compartir” (to share), “agradar” (to like), “anar a fer” (to go for a drink), “repartir” (to share out), and “omplir” (to fill up). They all appear in once instance. Following this anglicism, “de Menorca” appears up to four times in the different languages, for instance “s’interessa per un bòtil de *gin* de Menorca” (Gin.Mixture.14). As for the sense and spelling of this word, they are always the same.

These results have been objectively described in the present section. Following, in the Discussion section, they will be interpreted and discussed further in order to draw some generalizations and reach some conclusions.

5. DISCUSSION

After analysing the results obtained, some generalizations have been drawn. To start with, results seem to suggest that the fact that some anglicisms have been adapted to the Catalan spelling norms means that these have been more lexicalised and, therefore, assimilated by the Minorcan dialect speakers. For example, those words that have accent marks: *blèc*, *boínder*, *mèrvèls*, *púding*; and those whose spelling has been adapted to the Catalan phonotactics: *boi*, *boínder*, *jan*, *pinxa* and *xoc*.

In relation to the usage of these anglicisms in Spanish, the texts written in Spanish in which the anglicisms appear use them in the same way (meaning and spelling) as those texts written in Catalan. This could be due to the fact that the authors of these texts are Minorcan L1 speakers or Minorcan inhabitants whose L1 is not Minorcan but have adopted the anglicisms too.

The fact that some anglicisms are explained between brackets or with a relative clause may suggest that some readers of the local newspaper are not expected to be familiar with their meaning. As for example *blèc*, *boínder*, *jan*, *boi*, *mèrvèls* and *xoc*.

As far as meaning is concerned, as Badia Margarit (1953) argues, the majority of the anglicisms have not undergone a semantic modification. Thus, they have the same meaning as the original English words, as they were obtained by transfer of sense.

For *blèc*:

To begin with, we could say that the adoption of this anglicism is due to the usage of the expression “black eye”. Minorcan speakers do not use the Catalan expression “un ull blau”, instead, they seem to be more used to the anglicism “ull *blèc*”. As this anglicism was adopted in the singular form, the plural does not exist. It could be due to the fact that English adjectives do not take plural forms. Related to the fact that *blèc* was adopted in the expression “black eye”, it is found to be monosemous, meaning having a black eye.

As far as its usage in Spanish is concerned, as mentioned before, the Spanish texts make the same usage of this anglicism as the texts written in Catalan.

As for the verbs that collocate with this anglicism, they are clearly related to the action of having or giving somebody a black eye, as for example “deixar” (to give someone a black eye).

In relation to its spelling, we could say that it has been adapted to the Catalan spelling norms due to the accent mark it has on the vowel. So, this means that this anglicism has been more lexicalised and assimilated to the Minorcan vocabulary.

For *boinder/boínder*:

As it is a noun, it is preceded by Catalan determiners that modify it and express different aspects of this anglicism. *Boinder/boínder* is always used in the singular form, at least in the collected data, but it could also be used in the plural form, as it is a noun which could take the inflectional suffix ‘-s’.

Regarding its sense, it is found to be monosemous, meaning a bow window.

As far as spelling is concerned, its spelling with an accent mark on the ‘i’ suggests that this anglicism was adapted to the Catalan spelling norms and, thus, that it was more lexicalised. Nevertheless, it is not always accented, which may reflect the oral naturalness of these anglicisms.

For *jan* and *boi*:

These anglicisms were adopted through the expression “*quatre jans i un boi*”. Thus, *jan* is always in the plural form, *jans*, whereas *boi* is in the singular. It is known that the singular form of *jans* could be used as it derives from John, a singular proper name. For *boi*, a plural form may exist, too, adding a plural inflectional suffix ‘-s’, as it is a noun.

In relation to sense, these anglicisms are monosemous, which could be due to the fact that these anglicisms were acquired through the expression “*quatre jans i un boi*”, meaning “there are few people”, from “four Johns and one boy”.

As for the verbs that collocate with this expression, there recurrently appear verbs as “*hi havia quatre jans i un boi*” (Jan/boi.8) meaning “there were” and “*som quatre jans i un boi*” (Jan/boi.10) meaning “we are”.

For *mèrvels/mèrvils/mèrvols*:

This anglicism can be spelled in three ways: *mèrvels*, *mèrvils* or *mèrvols*. This is due to the different pronunciations this word has in different parts of the island. So, in relation to its spelling, we could say that it has been adapted to the Catalan spelling norms due to the accent mark in the vowel. This means that this anglicism has been more lexicalised and assimilated to the Minorcan vocabulary.

It is always used in the plural form, although the singular form may exist. The reason why it is always inflected for the plural could be the fact that in the children's game of marbles this word is always used in its plural form.

As far as the verbs that collocate with it are concerned, it is almost always preceded by the verb "jugar" (to play), which demonstrates its relationship with children's games.

In relation to sense, there are three possibilities: 1. *Marbles* as such (in 13 instances); 2. A drunk person ("van todos siempre *mèrvels*") (Mèrvels.13) in two examples (both in Spanish); 3. Related to genitalia ("no els agrada que els toquin els *mèrvils*" (Mèrvils.14)) in two instances. In this line, Ortells & Campos (1983) state that this word has a multi-semantic nature (p. 61):

1. Ball made of stone, soil, glass, ivory or iron, for children to play.
2. Testicle (in Ciutadella).
3. A drunk person (in Alaior).

A possible reason for its multi-semantic nature is the specialization of meaning determined by different dialectal uses. Thus, as its spelling and pronunciation, its sense varies depending on the town it is used in.

For *pinxa*:

This anglicism can take the singular and the plural forms, as it is a countable noun. Its plural form is done by adding a Catalan inflectional suffix '-es', which demonstrates its adaptation to the Catalan language.

On the one hand, the singular form is preceded five times by "coca", in the expression "coca amb *pinxa*". Its plural form, on the other hand, is preceded three times by the verb "estrènyer" (tighten). It is used twice in the recurrent expression "estar com a *pinxes*" (being in a crowd) and twice in "coca amb *pinxes*" (cake with pilchards). This may suggest that it was not adopted through the expression "coca amb *pinxa*" or "estar com a *pinxes*", but, instead, it was adopted and then used in these expressions.

In relation to its sense, the literal one (pilchard as such) can be argued to be taken from the original English word. As far as its metaphorical sense is concerned, it was probably taken by extension of meaning in a metaphorical comparison between a crowd and how they are presented.

For *puding/púding*:

This anglicism is a noun and it is preceded by Catalan determiners that modify it and express different aspects of this anglicism. It is always used in the singular form, at least in the data collected. Nevertheless, the plural form may exist as it is a countable noun that could take the Catalan inflectional suffix ‘-s’.

As for the words that collocate with it, *púding* is always followed by the type of pudding it is: “de patata” (Pudin.6) (potato), “de brossat” (Pudin.3) (cheese).

This word is monosemous, meaning a sweet dish.

As far as its spelling is concerned, it has been adapted to the Catalan spelling norms as it has been reduced from pudding to *puding*, and it is sometimes (twice, out of six instances) accented (*púding*) following the accentual system of Catalan. This suggests that this word has been more lexicalised and adapted to Catalan.

For *xoc*:

This anglicism has both a singular and plural forms. Its singular form can be due to analogy, by adding a Catalan inflectional suffix ‘-s’, as the English word it comes from is uncountable.

Regarding the words that collocate with this anglicism, they are: “emprar” (to use); “capça” (box); “de colors” (of colors); “pissarra” (blackboard); “dibuixar” (to draw); “escriure” (to write). Thus, this suggests that *xoc* has the same meaning as the original English word “chalk”. Therefore, it is monosemous.

As mentioned before, the fact that it is, at times, explained as being an English word may suggest that some readers of the local newspaper may not know its meaning. As for example “*xoc* és una paraula de procedència anglesa” (Xoc.19).

As far as its spelling is concerned, as it is preceded by Catalan determiners and it is spelled with an “x” instead of “ch”, we could argue that this anglicism has been adapted to the Catalan spelling and, therefore, it has been more lexicalised.

For *gin*:

Some generalizations can be drawn for all three languages in which *gin* appears. We could argue that it is a noun and it is always used as such. Moreover, it can take both singular and plural forms. In this line, the plural form coincides with the English one (gins), although the anglicism’s plural form is probably constructed by analogy with a Catalan

plural inflectional suffix ‘-s’. It is a monosemous word, meaning a kind of alcohol, gin. Regarding its spelling, it is always the same, as the original English word, gin, so it may not be adapted to the Catalan spelling norms.

For *gin* in the Catalan instances:

In this language, *gin* is always used in the singular form and it is preceded by Catalan determiners and adjectives, which demonstrates its adaptation to this language.

It appears in phrases which are widely known and used by Minorcan dialect speakers as “primer *gin*” (the first gin), “volem *gin*” (we want gin), “*gin* Xoriguer” (a gin’s brand), “*ginet*” (gin in the diminutive form), “no és *gin* amb llimonada” (it is not gin with lemonade) and “*gin* amb llimonada” (gin with lemonade), which is the one more widely used, as it appears in 21 instances out of 53. These phrases are much related to the local festivities in which this kind of alcoholic beverage is consumed.

Regarding the verbs used with this anglicism, they are related to inviting, sharing, tasting and drinking.

For *gin*, in the Spanish instances:

It is used in both the singular and the plural forms, as for example “se servían *gins* amb llimonada” (Gin.Spanish.4).

As for the expressions that collocate with it, “*gin* amb llimonada” and “*gin* con llimonada” are used, which demonstrates that, even when the text is written in Spanish, the Catalan preposition “*amb*” is used. On the contrary, in the case of the phrase “gin de Mahón”, the anglicism is followed by a prepositional phrase written in Spanish, which demonstrates its adaptation to Spanish. Regarding the determiners that precede it, they are Spanish determiners as “el”, “entre” and “del”, but there appears the Minorcan determiner “*es*” (the) in two instances. So, the texts written in Spanish make the same usage of this anglicism as the texts written in Catalan.

In relation to the verbs that collocate with *gin*, they are similar to those used in the Catalan examples, as for example to serve (*servir*) or to ask for a gin.

For *gin*, in the Minorcan examples:

It is always used in the singular form and it is preceded by “bòtil de (*gin*)”, meaning a bottle of gin. This word, “bòtil”, has been considered as an anglicism by the Minorcan inhabitants, but Ortells and Campos (1983, pg. 43) state that there are two theories about

it. The first supporting that it is an anglicism derived from *bottle*. As for the second one, Timoner Petrus (as stated in Ortells and Campos, 1983) claims that it is not an anglicism as it also exists in Mallorca, where no English occupation occurred.

Gin is used in the diminutive form, *ginet*, which demonstrates its assimilation to the Catalan language and its adaptation to it. Thus, this anglicism has been lexicalised.

Regarding the determiners used with it, the Minorcan determiner “es” (the) appears once, which may demonstrate this anglicism’s adaptation to this dialect. It is also determined by the standard Catalan determiner “el” and “massa” (too much).

As for the verbs used with *gin*, they are related to the semantic fields of drinking, carrying, and doing.

For *gin* in the “Mixture” texts, that is, those texts that are difficult to classify as standard Catalan or Minorcan dialect and, therefore, they have been labelled as “Mixture”.

The term *gin* is used both in the singular and the plural forms, even in the diminutive plural, *ginets* (Gin.Mixture.13). In the singular form, it is preceded by “bòtil de (*gin*)”, which is very recurrent, and by Catalan determiners as “un”, “de” and “el”. In contrast, in the plural form, it is not determined.

As for the verbs that collocate with this anglicism, they are related to the semantic fields of carrying, buying, paying, inviting, drinking, preparing, sharing, among others.

Following this anglicism, “de Menorca” appears up to four times in the different languages, for instance “s’interessa per un bòtil de *gin* de Menorca” (Gin.Mixture.14).

As to sum up, it could be concluded that the anglicisms’ oral naturalness has made their spelling and pronunciation different from the original English word. Nevertheless, their meaning has remained the same, even deriving to multi-semantic nature in some cases. So, these anglicisms have been adapted to the Minorcan dialect as its adaptation to the Catalan spelling norms and its lexicalisation demonstrate so. They have been ingrained in the Catalan spoken in Minorca and they are part of its dialect.

6. CONCLUSIONS

After having analysed the results of this EDP, we can conclude that the target anglicisms used in this paper have been highly assimilated in the Minorcan dialect. For example, those words that are accented according to Catalan norms have been adapted to the Catalan phonotactics and, therefore, they have been more assimilated and lexicalised into the Minorcan dialect. As an example, *blèc*, *boínder*, *mèrvels*, *púding*. Moreover, the fact that some anglicisms have a multi-semantic nature does also demonstrate their assimilation in the Minorcan dialect, as their meanings have been specialised by different dialectal uses. Thus, their spelling and pronunciation, as well as their sense, vary depending on the part of the island they are used in. As mentioned in the discussion, *mèrvels/mèrvils/mèrvols* is an example of this phenomenon. In this sense, we could say that the majority of the anglicisms' meaning (those analysed in this EDP) has remained the same as the English original word, except for *mèrvels/mèrvils/mèrvols* and *pinxa*, which have developed a multi-semantic nature. Also, it could be concluded that the oral naturalness of these anglicisms has made their spelling and pronunciation different from the English original word. Therefore, the target lexical items have been adapted to the Catalan spelling norms and they have been lexicalised.

As Ortells and Campos (1983) point out, the Minorcan idiomacism and vocabulary have changed in quality and quantity during the 19th and 20th century. In a way, English in the island was substituted by Spanish, which became the official language with the last Spanish invasion. With this fact, some anglicisms were lost. They also state that there are around 60 anglicisms in the Minorcan dialect nowadays, but some are exclusive to some professions. They claim that almost all anglicisms in Minorca are nouns and that around five or six are adjectives. In fact, no verbs are found. Regarding the semantic fields, the one which has more anglicisms is that of food and beverages, as for example *gin* and *pinxa*. In addition, the Minorcan children have been transmitting the English game of marbles, in Minorcan *mèrvels*. As for anglicisms related to the home, as Ortells and Campos state, we find *boínder* and *xoc*. In terms of adjectives, the most common is *blèc* (ull blèc). Nevertheless, they claim that the Minorcan anglicisms have a great contextual restriction. Moreover, depending on the rural or urban area, the profession and the age, the knowledge of the anglicisms vary accordingly. They conclude that people over 50 years old and those living in urban areas know more anglicisms than the rest.

As it has been explained in the Discussion section, the texts written in Spanish in which the target anglicisms appear make the same usage (meaning and spelling) as those texts written in Catalan. A possible explanation for this could be the fact that their authors are Minorcan L1 speakers or Minorcan inhabitants whose L1 is not Minorcan but have adopted the anglicisms too. Nevertheless, in order to make further statements, further research may be needed.

Also, the fact that some anglicisms are explained between brackets or with a relative clause may suggest that some readers of the local newspaper are not expected to be familiar with their meaning. As for example *blèc*, *boínder*, *jan*, *boi*, *mèrvèls* and *xoc*. In this line, we could argue that the intended readership of the local newspaper includes, obviously, Minorcan speakers, Catalan speakers (who may not know the anglicisms) and Spanish speakers (who may not know the anglicisms, too).

However, it must be emphasized that, as they have been so ingrained in the Catalan spoken in Minorca for centuries, we could say that it is improbable that they would fall into disuse. Thus, for this reason, they are unlikely to be lost. But, in order to make further generalizations, more research would be needed. Nevertheless, Minorcan anglicisms, or at least the ones used for this EDP, are part of the island's culture and language.

In this line, for further research, a survey could be undertaken to see the anglicisms' usage in the Minorcan community in order to compare the younger speakers' and the elder ones' usage. In relation to this, young Minorcan inhabitants and speakers should be aware of the legacy these anglicisms represent. So, they should keep them alive by using and, therefore, transmitting them to the next generations.

In conclusion, the British linguistic legacy left on the island of Minorca, i.e., the use of anglicisms, has enriched both the Minorcan dialect vocabulary and culture. As Ortells and Campos (1983) state, these anglicisms have not substituted any Minorcan word, but they are new contributions. As they state, the living anglicisms that Minorcan has nowadays should be preserved, as they are cultural heritage and the remembrance of an especial historical moment for the history of the island.

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Appendix I

Boínder: from *bow window*, traditional Minorcan window (Ortells & Campos, 1983, p. 42).



Figure 1. Photograph of a boínder. Taken from:
<https://enmenorca.wordpress.com/2013/05/26/petjades-anglases/>

Mèrvels/mèrvils/mèrvols: from *marbles* (Ortells & Campos, 1983, p. 61).



Figure 2. Photograph of mèrvels. Taken from:
https://www.sapiens.cat/epoca-historica/historia-moderna/quan-menorca-era-britanica_17802_102.html



*Figure 3. Photograph of children playing with mervels. Taken from:
<http://menorcaimatgesdenprimer.blogspot.com/2015/04/ciutadella-joc-de-mervols-anys-60.html>*

Appendix II

BLÈC

1. ha deixat un ull blèc al xumeca
2. paraules com ara un ull blèc (black) per indicar el color de l'ull ...
3. un blau a l'ull li diuen que el tenen blèc (de black)
4. un ull blèc i es cap madur
5. menorquinismes com 'ull blèc'
6. blèc
7. ull blèc por black eye
8. amb un ull blèc que es veu d'enfora

BOINDER/BOÍNDER

1. d'un boinder a Maó
2. en l'arquitectura, un boinder (balcó tancat de vidrieres pels tres costats)
3. mira el boínder de Can Damià, vidrieres d'una casa preciosa
4. las vigas de hormigón que soportan el boinder de una vivienda
5. llavors mon pare feia el boínder del casat de Roberto Vivó
6. se desprende la parte inferior de un boinder en la calle Orient de Ciutadella
7. pel boínder entra el solet
8. desayunando en mi boinder preferido
9. boinder, que deriva de bow window
10. l'atractiu era i és encara avui l'original boínder que dóna a la costa de ses voltes
11. boínder
12. la seva mare ja no el pot veure des del boínder
13. las características del boínder y de la Iglesia
14. derribar otras partes de la pared y el boinder ya muy deterioradas
15. Ha encès el llum del boínder
16. incluso se sienta en el boinder da la casa señorial de Ca n'Olives
17. Tras el boínder de casa

JAN/BOI

1. la resta eren jans ben granadets
2. quatre jans i un boi
3. només hi vam anar quatre jans i un boi
4. l'expressió quatre jans i un boi (quatre soldats anglesos i un fillet)

5. procés en es qui participen quatre jans i un boi
6. como decimos en menorquín quatre jans i un boi
7. tan sols ho llegirien quatre jans i un boi
8. a tal banda hi havia quatre jans i un boi
9. arreplega quatre jans i un boi
10. aquí som quatre jans i un boi

MÈRVELS/MÈRVOLS/MÈRVILS

1. jugar a mèrvols
2. jugar a l'aire lliure a mèrvols
3. els nens jugaven al carrer a mèrvols
4. anar a jugar a sa plaça, des mèrvols
5. jugar a mèrvols
6. mèrvols, el català de Menorca té una riquesa excepcional
7. amb l'asfalt, no hi ha mèrvols
8. el joc dels mèrvols
9. construïts allà on els sortia dels mèrvols
10. menys carrer i menys jocs tradicionals, mèrvols.
11. el que trobo més meravellós es mèrvols (o mèrvils), que prové de l'anglès marbles
12. los grandes mèrvols (o tomàtigues)
13. van todos siempre mèrvols
14. no els agrada que els toquin els mèrvils
15. no juguen a bales, sinó a mèrvols, un calc de marbles
16. els nens continuen jugant a bales amb els mèrvols
17. terme utilitzat per el joc dels mèrvols

PINXA

1. el que deu sentir una pinxa dins una roda de sardines salades
2. estrènyer com a pinxes els alumnes
3. una pinxa és un anglicisme molt viu a Menorca
4. una coca de pinxa
5. i el fet d'estar com a pinxes
6. un cistell amb pinxes i bacallà

7. estrenyen els al·lots com a pinxes
8. coques amb pinxa i formatjades
9. coca amb pinxes
10. coca amb pinxes
11. estar com a pinxes
12. o anar estrets com a pinxes
13. fer-ne pinxes
14. el deixen sec com una pinxa
15. bereneta de coca amb pinxa per a tots
16. repartiment de coca amb pinxa que degustaren tots
17. preparando en casa sa coca amb pinxa

PUDING

1. un puding d'ensaimada
2. puding de brosat amb mel
3. púding de brosat
4. per postres el puding de brosat
5. puding de formatge
6. púding de patata

XOC

1. paraules escrites en xoc a la pissarra
2. paraules específiques de Menorca com per exemple xoc.
3. arreplega els xocs de colors escampats
4. el darrer xoc del curs
5. reunim el llapis o el xoc, els llibres
6. xoc és una paraula menorquina d'origen anglès
7. a la porteria a cercar un parell de barres de xoc
8. el xoc i la pissarra
9. les seves mans son destres amb el xoc i les tisores
10. s'omplen de xoc les pissarres
11. números que anava escrivint amb xoc
12. capça de xocs
13. s'ha jubilat del xoc
14. el xoc que xiscla

15. després de dibuixar-hi una diana amb un xoc
16. els xocs tampoc s'empraran
17. emocions i pors escrites en xoc
18. les seves bromes i pel seu xoc volador
19. xoc és una paraula de procedència anglesa

GIN

Catalan

1. volem gin
2. sempre acompanyats de gin amb llimonada
3. no és gin amb llimonada
4. el gin amb llimonada
5. un gin amb llimonada
6. del gin amb llimonada
7. convidar a gin amb llimonada
8. no és gin amb llimonada
9. convidats a un gin amb llimonada
10. compartir el primer gin amb llimonada
11. provar els primers gotets de gin amb llimonada
12. començar a fer el gin amb llimonada
13. de gin amb llimonada
14. bevent gin amb llimonada
15. mescla de gin amb llimonada
16. preparant el gin amb llimonada
17. pomada (i gin amb llimonada per als ciutadellencs)
18. gin amb llimonada
19. el tradicional tast del gin amb llimonada
20. els conviden a gin amb llimonada
21. els pastissets i el gin amb llimonada van passant
22. convida al popular gin amb llimonada
23. es fa la compra del gin, de la llimonada
24. amics que havien fet llarg amb el fantàstic gin de Menorca
25. pomada, típica beguda feta amb gin
26. compartien un cafè, les dones i un gin, els homes

27. entenem que gin és una forma molt lligada a la història de Menorca
28. el gin es venia ahir com si fos aigua
29. convidava tothom a un ginet
30. tornar a recórrer al gin i agafar un bon gat o una bona moixa
31. barreja ja tradicional de gin i llimonada
32. et convidaran a un gin
33. el convidaven a un gin
34. una part de gin per tres de llimona
35. semblant al gin però més suau
36. pomada feta amb crema de llimona i gin que havia preparat
37. unes ampolles de gin
38. el primer gin servits amb cares ulleroses i somrients
39. oferia un ginet suau
40. el gin típic menorquí
41. sempre hi ha un ginet
42. tastar el meu primer got de gin
43. el primer gin
44. volem gin
45. ingredients necessaris són el gin Xoriguer
46. sorbet de gin Xoriguer
47. Ambrosia i gin Xoriguer
48. del famós gin Xoriguer
49. el famós gin Xoriguer
50. amb gin Xoriguer
51. identitat dels menorquins és el gin
52. el sabor anglès del gin menorquí
53. l'elaboració del gin menorquí

Spanish

1. no es pomada, es gin amb llimonada
2. pomada y gin amb llimonada no es lo mismo
3. denominar gin amb llimonada lo que siempre ha sido una pallofa
4. se servían gins amb llimonada
5. es más del gin amb llimonada

6. pomada o gin amb llimonada?
7. si un ciutadellenc pide un gin con llimonada en Gràcia
8. es gin de Maó de tota sa vida
9. gin de Mahón
10. el gin de Mahón
11. gin de Menorca
12. sa vida es allò que passa entre gin i gin
13. debo admitir que el gin me traicionó por instantes
14. que m'entemi jo que emprau es gin per fer net sa campana de sa cuina
15. nuestros tópicos, como el gin
16. los entendidos distinguen perfectamente entre gin y ginebra

Minorcan

1. hi ha un bòtil de gin a sa taula
2. ni el gin amb llimonada fet de llimones del pati de casa
3. es gin amb llimonada no és pomada
4. es gin amb llimonada no és pomada
5. cavalls i gin, avarques i formatges
6. hem fet un ginnet en record seu
7. sa sobrassada i es formatge, es gin, es calçat
8. la famosa mescla de gin i llimonada
9. hi ha algú que duu massa gin
10. no hi volia ni una gota de gin
11. m'he comprat un bòtil de gin
12. i no vam beure tampoc gin

Mixture

1. amb el bòtil de gin amb llimonada as Pla
2. del gin amb llimonada
3. convidada de pastissets i gin amb llimonada dels vesins
4. una gangaria per pagar el gin amb llimonada
5. el gin amb llimonada, la companyia
6. un bòtil de 1'5 litres de gin amb llimonada
7. aroma de gin amb llimonada, moltes vegades casolà, amb menta
8. mentre el gin amb llimonada no aturava d'omplir gotets

9. la família té previst preparar uns cent litres de gin amb llimonada, per tal d'espessar la set
10. anar a prendre un gin amb llimonada
11. anem a fer un gin amb oliva al bar
12. les teves lletres i un gin amb oliva
13. compartir berenetes i ginets
14. s'interessa per un bòtil de gin de Menorca
15. un gran bòtil de gin
16. ha repartit l'anomenat gin des poble amb un envàs de plàstic
17. el gin des poble, més segur
18. fent un glopet de gin i fumant
19. m'agrada més el gin i l'aigua del Carme
20. avui ja hem comprat el gin i la llimonada per fer el compost
21. amb un bòtil de gin i pastissets
22. entre el gin, la sobrassada i el formatge anava gros
23. ha estat aquest el gin més bo
24. un bon vi, un gin o qualsevol destil·lat
25. un bòtil de gin per oblidar
26. el bòtil de gin que havia duit per a na Paula

Appendix III

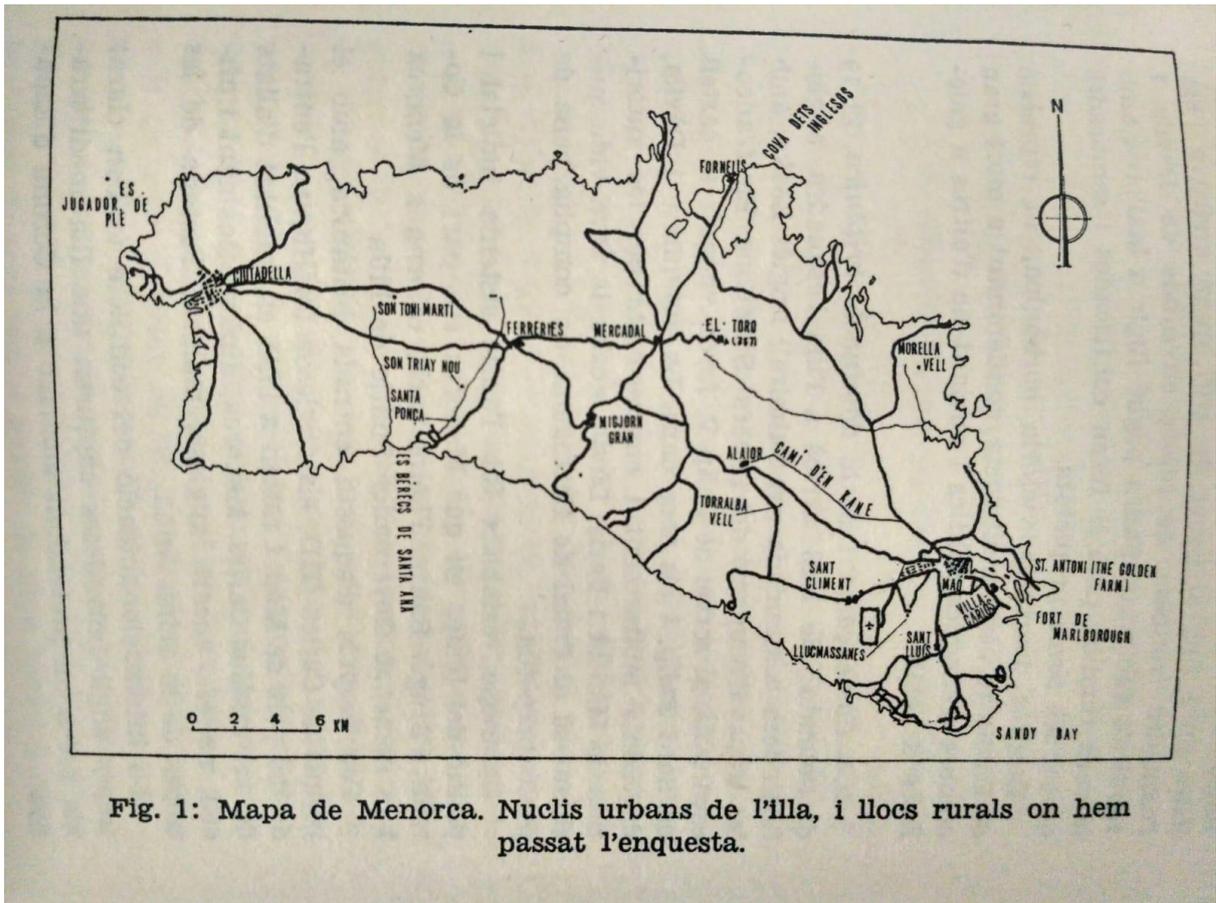


Fig. 1: Mapa de Menorca. Nuclis urbans de l'illa, i llocs rurals on hem passat l'enquesta.

Figure 1. Map of Minorca. Taken from: Ortells & Campos, 1983, p. 13.