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Chingduang Yurayong
University of Helsinki
chingduang.yurayong@helsinki.fi

AREAL-LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO THE DIVERSITY OF THE GENERIC TERM FOR 'MUSIC' IN THE WORLD'S LANGUAGES

This study uses an areal-linguistic approach to investigate etymologies and to illustrate the geographical distribution of generic terms for 'music' in 263 languages from around the world. Of main interest is the issue of borrowing, wherein words spread from certain source languages that are culturally dominant in specific areas. In the present study, six source languages with generic terms for 'music' in six musical areas are defined. In addition to these areas, there are also languages that do not borrow, but instead keep or invent native terms for 'music'. This shows the variation among the different degrees of positive and negative attitudes by language authorities toward internationalism and influence from certain cultural centres in the area, which are reflected in the diversity of the general terms for 'music'.

1. Introduction

Music is a cultural innovation that is prone to transmission from one more socio-culturally dominant culture to another. Therefore, the generic term 'music', in many languages, is a relatively recent borrowing, less than one millennium old, that has spread from certain centres of innovation. When it comes to the selection and normalisation of terms in individual languages, Haspelmath and Tadmor (2006: 48) state:

> "unless there are significant purist attitudes among the (influential) speakers, new concepts adopted from another culture are the more likely to be expressed by loanwords, the more widely the donor language is known."

Holding onto the hypothesis that the term *music*, as a modern abstract concept, is relatively new in the majority of the world's oral-based cultures, the present study approaches this research question in a quantitative fashion to gain a wider global perspective and to describe stories behind the individual terms for 'music' in each cultural area from which data are available.

2. Methods

The present study combines perspectives from two dimensions. First, the study takes a horizontal perspective of areal linguistics to describe the distribution of a language feature across a number of languages. Second, the study uses the vertical perspective of historical-comparative linguistics to investigate etymologies of the terms for 'music' and the possibility of borrowing.

2.1. Areal linguistics

Areal linguistics studies the diversity of the world's languages. Using typological features as primary data, this approach identifies interlanguage similarities and differences. It classifies the languages, often in the adjacent areas and regardless of their genealogical relations, into different 'linguistic areas' (e.g. Nichols 1992, Campbell 2006).

The idea of a 'linguistic area' (Russian *jazykovoj sojuz*, German *Sprachbund*) was introduced more than a century ago by, among others, the Russian linguist Nikolai Trubetzkoy. He captured the similarities among languages that are spoken in adjacent areas and share a long history of co-habitation (Trubetzkoy 1923: 116). In terms of language structures themselves, such structural correspondences among neighbouring languages may be concerned with any area of a language, from phonology to syntax (Trubetzkoy 1928: 18).

2.2. Etymology and loanword studies

Etymology, as a sub-field of historical linguistics, often has to deal with loanwords. In any language, it is not uncommon to have a great number of words that

have been adopted from foreign languages. For example, the lexicon of modern Korean consists of up to 74% borrowed words, the majority of which are of Chinese origin (Wang 2007, Bailblé 2015), while modern Finnic languages have only inherited roughly 200 word-roots from Proto-Uralic (cf. Janhunen 1982: 40), its ancestor language, but there are at least about 500 Germanic loanwords (Kallio 2015: 25).

The nature of lexical borrowings among the world's languages is directly connected to the sociocultural and sociopolitical setting of a speech community. For example, language speakers tend to borrow administrative terms from another politically dominant group's language, while seafaring population tends to provide marine vocabularies to speakers of a language spoken inland (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2006: 1–2).

Several principles are essential for identifying and investigating loanwords. According to Haspelmath and Tadmor (2006: 43–44), a word that looks similar to a word in another language, in terms of its phonological shape and meaning, may have been taken from that other language, provided that a language contact scenario between the languages exists. The probability of borrowing increases when no better alternative explanation, such as an inheritance from an earlier stage of the language or an internal innovation, can be postulated. More obvious is the case where a word is borrowed from language A to language B, even though the languages themselves are not genealogically related. In any case, it is important to keep in mind that borrowing between genealogically related languages also is possible and often takes place (see Section 4).

3. Previous studies

The present study is not the first to take an areal-linguistic approach to investigate the term 'music' in the world's languages. In 2009, the former Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig published *The World Loanword Database* (WOLD). This database includes 40 languages and illustrates the tendency of borrowing, the approximate age of attestation, potential source words and language contact scenarios for each individual word form. In the database, 'music' is listed among 1814 total entries. For example, the WOLD interface in Figure 1 gives the following description for the English word *music*:

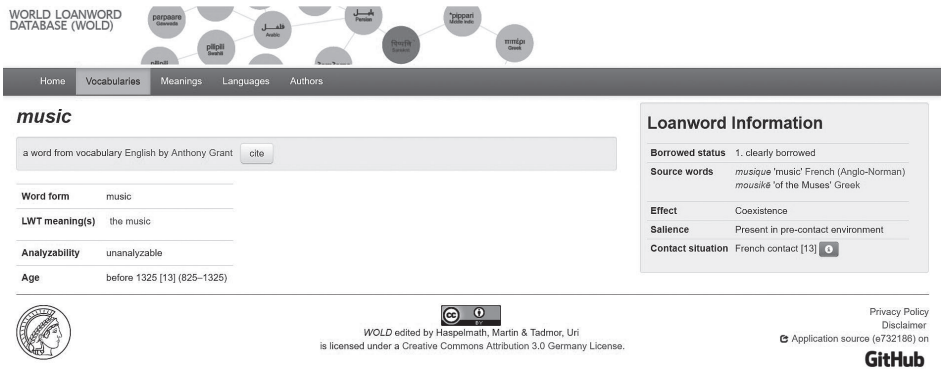


Figure 1. *The World Loanword Database* interface

As a general tendency, the languages in a similar cultural zone often show a unified areal trend. Namely, neighbouring languages tend to share words for the same or similar concepts that are derived from the same etymological sources in the form of a direct or indirect borrowing from the original language. Generic terms for 'music' are no exception. Based on WOLD, Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009) make the following statistical evaluation and global generalisation that the generic term 'music' in the world's languages is:

1) by tendency, 58% likely to be a borrowing;

2) by age, approximately came into a language by the early-18th century; and

3) by its morphological complexity, 91% unanalysable, that is, the word form is fairly difficult to segment morphologically.

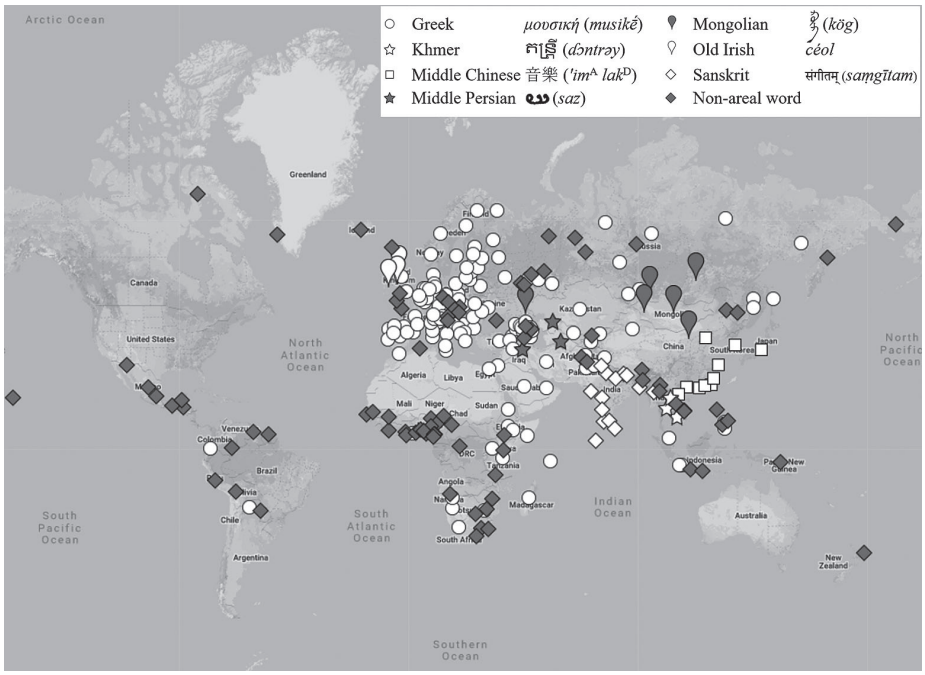
These criteria are re-evaluated in the present study, which is richer in terms of the geographical coverage of languages database.

4. Data

The present study includes more languages – a total of 263 modern languages – and re-evaluates the new dataset by repeating a similar method as used in WOLD. The sources are mainly dictionaries and language descriptions. To minimise areal bias, the investigation first looks at each cultural-linguistic area separately and then makes an interim description in order to understand the

area-particular contexts. Then, each area, as a common single unit, is compared to find an ultimate probability in a global context.

A survey in the present study yields more than 180 distinct music words. Map 1 illustrates the preliminary results; however, it was composed using remarkably insufficient (or null) data from certain areas and continents, namely inland China, northern Africa, the Americas and Australia.



Map 1. Geographical distribution of the generic term for 'music' in the world's languages

These results show that several source languages and unified musical-cultural spheres can be identified, e.g. in the following macro areas, when using certain sources of innovation: 1) Trans-Eurasia: < Greek *musikḗ*; 2) Former Persian Empire: < Middle Persian *saz*; 3) Central Asia: < Mongolian *kög*; 4) South and Southeast Asia: < Sanskrit *saṃgītam*; 5) Former Khmer Empire: < Khmer *ɗɔntrəy*; and 6) East Asia: < Middle Chinese *'im*^{A} *lak*^{D}.

This areal division can be compared to the following musical areas, as classified by *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (1988–2001): 1) Africa; 2) Europe; 3) the Middle East; 4) East Asia: China, Japan and Korea; 5) South Asia:

the Indian Subcontinent; 6) Southeast Asia; 7) South America, Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean; and 8) the United States and Canada. In any case, due to a lack of data from languages in Africa, the Americas and Australia in the present study, a complete comparison still cannot be performed.

In the following sections, we take an individual look at six of the aforementioned areas, which share common sources of the term for 'music'.

4.1. Greek *musikḗ*

It is undoubtedly true that the Greek term *musikḗ* has spread the most widely across the continents. However, based on its variation in different languages, we can still identify several intermediate source languages, from which variants of *musikḗ* have spread: 1) Latin *mūsica,* in southwest Europe; 2) High German *musik,* in central and northern Europe; 3) Polish *muzyka,* in central-eastern Europe and Russia; 4) Russian *muzyka,* in northern Eurasia; 5) Spanish *música,* in Spanish colonial areas; 6) French *musique,* in western Europe and French colonial areas; 7) English *music,* in British colonial areas; 8) Persian *musiqi,* in western Asia; and 9) Arabic *musiqā,* in the Middle East and northern Africa.

At the same time, these variation groups also create their own micro-areas. Some micro-areas can be considered subsets of another source language. For instance, the Russian *muzyka* that spread across northern Eurasia was originally a borrowing via Polish (Vasmer 1987: 6). An example scenario is a borrowing path from Greek to Yakut, a Turkic language spoken in the Sakha Republic of the Russia Federation (Pakendorf and Novgorodov 2009):

20th century Yakut *muzyka* ← Russian *muzyka*
19th century Russian *muzyka* (cf. Old Russian *musika*) ← Ukrainian *muzyka*
18th century Ukrainian *muzyka* ← Polish *muzyka*
16th century Old Polish *muzyka* ← Old Czech, Slovak *muzika*
– 15th century Old Czech, Slovak *muzika* ← Latin *mūsica* ← Ancient Greek *musikḗ*

Meanwhile, the English *music* that was borrowed into Austronesian languages was previously a Middle French loanword to English (Grant 2009), as illustrated

in the following scenario from Ancient Greek to Takia, an Austronesian language spoken in the Madang province of Papua New Guinea (Ross 2009):

20th century Takia *musik* ← Tok Pisin *musik*
Late 19th century Tok Pisin *musik* ← English *music* (or German *Musik*)
9 – 14th centuries English *music* ← (Norman) French *mousique*
– 1st millennium AD Old French < Latin *mūsica* ← Ancient Greek *musikḗ*

In all languages that have borrowed this Greek term, we can consider the morphological complexity to be high, because non-Greek speakers would not have recognised all the Greek morphological and inflectional elements.

4.2. Middle Persian *saz*

The verb root *saz-* is attested in Middle Persian to mean 'to be fitting, due' (Cheung 2007: 323–324). It is used in several modern Iranian languages as a stem root for the word 'music', such as Kurdish *saz-bendî* and *saz-unnawaz*. Several neighbouring Turkic languages also use this Middle Persian word in a generic sense for 'music', for example the bare root *saz* in Turkmen and Karakalpak, and the stem root with Turkic suffix *saz-çylyk* in Turkmen. This stem root is not present in Middle Turkic, which speaks in favour of *saz-* being borrowed from an Iranian language to the Turkic languages in the adjacent areas, the speakers of which adopted many cultural innovations (above all, religion and arts) through the Persian culture starting from the early second millennium (e.g. Canfield 1991). Morphological complexity can be considered high, as the Turkic borrower languages have a totally different morphological system than the Iranian donor language.

4.3. Mongolian *kög*

Classical Mongolian has a term, *kög*, which means 'tune, music' (Lessing 1960: 478). It is still used in most modern Mongolic languages as a generic term for music. It can appear either as part of a compound word, as in Oirat *köq dou(n)*, or as a stem root, such as Khalkha *högjim*, Buryat *hügjim*, Ordos *kögjim* or Kalmyk *högjm*/*hügjm*. At the same time, we also find a similar word, *högjim*, in

Tuvan, a Turkic neighbouring language. Being attested in Classical Mongolian, but not in Middle Turkic, makes it more likely that the word was borrowed from a certain Mongolic language to Tuvan in the first half of the second millennium. This assumption is also probable in terms of language, culture and folklore, as Tuvan shares common elements to Mongolian tribes in a significantly higher degree than the Turkic relatives do (e.g. Humphrey, Mongush and Telengi 1993, Levin and Süzükei 2006, Khabtagaeva 2009). Since the Turkic morphological elements are also different from the Mongolic one, the morphological complexity of the Mongolic term in Tuvan can be considered high.

4.4. Sanskrit *saṃgītam*

Since the early stage of Indic language development, the term *saṃgītam* 'sung together' (from the prefix *sam* 'together' + the past participle form of the root √*gai* 'to sing') was attested in Sanskrit. Today, the term is still used in the same phonological shape in modern Indic languages, including Hindi, Bhojpuri, Nepali, Newari, Marathi, Punjabi, Gujarati, Kannada and Bengali. Other variants are also observed among modern Indic languages, such as Sinhala *saṃgītaya* and Maldivian *sanaṁgīthu*, as well as in neighbouring Dravidian languages, such as the Malayalam *saṃgītaṃ*. However, several neighbouring languages use only the participle part '(being) sung' as a generic term for 'music', as is the case in Tamil and Burmese *gīta*. The etymology of *saṃgītam* clearly speaks in favour of its Indo-European origin (Yurayong 2013: 53–54) and a certain direction of borrowing into neighbouring agglutinative Dravidian and isolating Burmish languages, which cannot easily analyse the inflectional system of Indic morphology. This yields a high score for morphological complexity among these non-Indic languages. The time of borrowing to Dravidian languages must have been very soon after the spread of Indo-European culture to South India, while the Burmese speakers must have adopted the term through Buddhist literature later in the early second millennium.

4.5. Khmer *ɗɔntrəy*

The majority of present-day Southeast Asia belongs to the Indic cultural sphere. Music of this particular area also reflects its Indic heritage. Today, several mod-

ern languages share a generic term for 'music' that originated from the Sanskrit *tantrī* 'music', which was derived from the root √*tan* 'to stretch'. This is the case in the Old Javanese *tantri* and the Khmer *ɗɔntrəy*, which is later borrowed into the neighbouring Tai-Kadai languages as Thai *ɗontrii* and Lao *ɗontii*. As the term was originally Sanskrit, which is not genealogically related to any of these languages, the term in Khmer can be considered to have a high morphological complexity. This direction of borrowing is strongly supported by historical-phonological evidence - above all, the sound substitution of Sanskrit *t* to Thai and Lao *ɗ*, which must have taken place in Old Thai and Lao during the early second millennium (see Chaimano 2005). However, it remains unclear whether Khmer would have borrowed this term directly from a Sanskrit literary source, or through Old Javanese, the language that intensively interacted with Old Khmer (e.g. Coèdes 1964).

4.6. Middle Chinese *ʼim*^{A} *lak*^{D}

The Middle Chinese compound *ʼim*^{A} 'sound, tone' + *lak*^{D} 'joy, to enjoy' is still used in modern Sinitic languages in various phonological forms as a result of regular sound changes in each variety, such as Hakka *yîm ngo̍k*, Cantonese *yām ngohk*, Southern Min *im gā̍k*, Eastern Min *ĭng ngŏk*, Shanghainese *in*^{l} *hhiak* and Mandarin *yīn yuè*. Neighbouring languages that surround Sinitic today have also adopted this compound as a generic term for 'music', such as Korean *umak*, Japanese *ongaku*, Vietnamese *âm nhạc* and Wuming Zhuang *yinh yoz*. The time of borrowing must have been as early as the use of Middle Chinese, at the latest during the late first millennium, as it is widely accepted that Chinese vocabularies started flooding into literary Old Japanese, Old Korean and Old Vietnamese already in the early days of contacts (e.g. Sohn 1999: 103). Since the Middle Chinese term is a two-part compound, which is typical in such isolating languages like Chinese and which requires no knowledge of Chinese morphology to understand, the morphological complexity is null within these borrower languages.

Despite the above, this can also be a late generalisation. For instance, Old Japanese sources include several words for 'music', such as *gagaku* 'orchestral court music' and *shōmyō* 'Buddhist chanting', both of which contain Chinese vocabulary (Killick 2002). This shows that Japanese used to have no single generic term

for ‘music’, but instead distinguished between different types or genres of music. By contrast, today it follows the East Asian pattern of terminologising a generic concept ‘music’ based on the Middle Chinese model.

4.7. Overall results

Taking into account all 263 languages, scores of borrowability, age and morphological complexity are given in a means similar to WOLD, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Overall results

Source language and its area context	Borrowed score	Age score	Complexity score
Greek *musikḗ*	0.00	1.00	0.75
Latin *mūsica*	1.00	0.96	1.00
High German *musik*	1.00	0.78	1.00
Polish *muzyka*	1.00	0.80	1.00
Russian *muzyka*	1.00	0.60	1.00
Spanish *música*	1.00	0.79	1.00
French *musique*	1.00	0.81	1.00
English *music*	1.00	0.71	1.00
Persian *musiqi*	1.00	0.80	1.00
Arabic *musiqā*	1.00	0.81	1.00
Middle Persian *saz*	0.67	0.90	0.92
Mongolian *kög*	0.17	0.90	0.79
Sanskrit *saṃgītam*	0.21	1.00	0.80
Khmer *dɔntrəy*	1.00	0.93	1.0
Middle Chinese *'im^{A} lak^{D}*	0.40	1.00	0.50
Latin *sonus*	1.00	0.83	1.00
Other non-areal words	0.17	0.81	0.81
SUM	**0.74**	**0.85**	**0.92**

Borrowed score
1.00 clearly borrowed
0.75 probably borrowed
0.50 perhaps borrowed
0.25 very little evidence for borrowing
0.00 no evidence for borrowing

Age score
1.00 first attested/reconstructed earlier than 1000 AD
0.90 earlier than 1500 AD
0.80 earlier than 1800 AD
0.70 earlier than 1900 AD
0.60 earlier than 1950 AD
0.50 earlier than 2007 AD

Complexity score
1.00 unanalysable
0.75 semi-analysable
0.50 analysable

Considering the results in WOLD, the present study assigns a higher chance for borrowability, 74% (58% in WOLD). It also dates the average age of generic terms for music across the world’s languages to a half century earlier, the mid-17th century (as opposed to the early-18th century in WOLD). In terms of morphological complexity, the number in the present study slightly overlaps with WOLD, at 92%; that is, word forms are fairly difficult to segment morphologically.

5. Discussion

The generalisation given in Section 4 was an overview of several hundred cases. In investigating those cases individually, several issues worth discussing also emerge. This section examines in more detail four particularly interesting matters.

5.1. Geographic isolation

Within each macro-area, it is not unusual to find languages with archaisms or neologisms that do not adopt the internationally widespread terms for music. These languages are usually located in the marginal areas of a macro-area. Good examples are the islands of the Eastern Atlantic: Britain and Ireland, the Faroe Islands and Iceland. Despite the popularity of the Greek word *musikḗ* among continental European languages, the languages spoken in these isolated territories use terms that were built with (more) native lexical items.

Case 1

Celtic languages (Matasović 2009: 187–188)

Old Irish *céol* > Irish *ceol* ~ Scottish Gaelic *ceòl* ~ Manx *kiaull*

< Proto-Celtic **kantlo* 'song, singing', cf. Proto-Celtic **kan-o-* 'to sing' ~ Latin *cano*, Gothic *hana* 'cock'

Case 2

Insular Scandinavian languages (Kroonen 2013: 323, 339)

Icelandic *tónlist* < *tón* 'tone' + *list* 'art'

tón 'tone' ← French *ton* < Latin *tonus* ← Greek *tónos*

list < Old Norse *listi* 'art, craft' < Proto-Germanic **lis-ti-* 'skill' < **lisan* 'to know'

Faroese *tónleikur* < *tón* 'tone' + *leik-ur* 'play'

tón 'tone' ← French *ton* < Latin *tonus* ← Greek *tónos*

leik- < Old Norse *leika* 'to play, move, swing' < Proto-Germanic **laikan* 'to jump'

Other parts of the world, such as South America, Africa and the Pacific Rim, appear very diverse, as neighbouring languages tend not to share mutual terms for 'music', implying that the areal diversity among these musical cultures is respectively high. However, if we pay a closer attention to semantic changes, we can also observe such pattern that the concept 'dance' is used as a general term for 'music' in several African languages, e.g., Dan (Mande, Côte d'Ivoire) *''tan ''wɔsü* 'fast dance, music' and Manenguba (Bantu, Cameroon) *klɔb* 'dance, music'.

5.2. Attitudes toward internationalism

The factors that have blocked word borrowing can be group-internal patterns or tied to the attitudes of language authorities toward internationalism. Some languages might simply adopt international words, while others might prefer to terminologise their native words, or even neologisms created from native lexical elements.

Case 3

West Slavic languages (Rejzek 2001: 240, Králik 2016: 242)

Czech and Slovak *hudba* (first attested in the 14th century) ~ Upper Sorbian *hudźba*

but Czech and Slovak *musika* was also in use from the 15th century to the 19th century, while Polish cognate *gędźba* is now obsolete and has been replaced by the international term *muzyka*

housti < Proto-Slavic **gǫsti* 'to play a musical instrument'

**i̯ba* [action suffix]

cf. Slovene *gódba* (probably borrowed from Czech *hudba*)

Case 4

South Slavic languages (Matasović et al. 2016: 272)

Slovene *glâsba* ~ Croatian *glàzba* (first attested in the 19th century, B. Šulek)

but *mùzika* is a default generic term for 'music' in Serbian

glâs 'voice, tone; vote' (~ *glásiti* 'to read aloud') < Proto-Slavic **gôlsu̯*

'voice' ~ Swedish *kalla*, English *call*, Lithuanian *gãlsas* 'echo', Latin *gallus* 'cock'

**i̯ba* [action suffix]

cf. Slovak *glásba*

Case 3 and 4, in particular, show that even the closely related languages might have different preferences. Among modern West Slavic languages, Czech and Slovak prefer to switch back to native words, while Polish chose to terminologise the international word. A similar case can be applied to the South Slavic languages, as Slovene and Croatian prefer the 19th century neologisms to the international word commonly used in Serbian.

5.3. Co-existing multiple terms

One challenge in such a large-scale comparison is that of unequal semantic counterparts, as already pointed out by WOLD's editors, Haspelmath and Tadmor (2006: 3). In many cases, only one word for 'music' is selected, despite the fact that some languages might have different division degrees and classifications of 'music', resulting in multiple terms for 'music', such as

Javanese (Austronesian, Indonesia): *kroncong*, *lokananta*, *mares*, *musik*, etc.

Balinese (Austronesian, Indonesia): *kebyar*, *nyandetin*, *pelog*, *slendro*, etc.

Tswana (Bantu, Botswana): *mmino*, *kôpêlô*, *pina*, *pinô*

Burmese (Sino-Tibetan, Myanmar): *gīta* 'vocal music' vs. *turiya* 'instrumental music'

This issue leads to a methodological problem regarding the goal of terminology science to link de Saussure's *sign*, *concept* and *object* (e.g. Depecker 2014: 36–37).

Another issue related to multiple terms is the possibility that speakers may engage in code-switching, giving no obvious priority to any of the alternative words (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2006: 40–42). For example, speakers of languages in the former Soviet Union, such as Uralic and Turkic, might freely alternate between their native term for music and the Russian *muzyka*.

5.4. Lexical replacement

Over the course of time, the influential language in an area might have changed. Cases in which a language replaces the term 'music' with a newer form borrowed from another source language also exist. For example, the Turkish language shows in its writings on music theory (Doğrusöz 2015: 79) that variants of the Greek term *musikḗ* were borrowed through Persian and Arabic in the 15th century.

mûsîkî ← Persian *musiqi* e.g. *Risâle-i Mûsîkî* (Kadızade Mehmet Tirevî 1492)

mûsîka ← Arabic *musiqā* e.g. *Mecelletün fi'l-Mûsîka* (Fethullah Şirvanî 1453)

However, in the 19th century, following the *Tanzimat* administrative reform of 1839, roughly 5000 French loanwords were imported into the Turkish literary language. Unsurprisingly, 'music' is among those 5000 entries: Modern Turkish *müzik* ← French *musique.*

6. Conclusion

This areal-linguistic approach emphasises the diversity of the world's music cultures and provides probabilistic information on possible cultural interactions between neighbouring ethnic-linguistic groups and strangers from remote areas. The main factors that play a role in the terminologisation of the generic term 'music' can be due to regional history, or to the attitudes and preferences of the language authorities in charge of literary language maintenance. In practice, this information is helpful for (ethno)musicologists who may have an opportunity to work with previously unknown music cultures in certain areas that have not yet been discovered and described.

The present study covers just 263 languages, accounting for fewer than 5% of the more than 6000 languages of the world. Thus, the possibility of improvement is still very much open to future research and additional data collection, not only for the term 'music', but also for other music-related terminologies.

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Arealnolingvistički pristup raznolikosti generičkoga naziva za ‘glazbu’ u svjetskim jezicima

Sažetak

Ovaj rad primjenjuje arealnolingvistički pristup istraživanju etimologije generičkih naziva za ‘glazbu’ u 263 jezika iz cijeloga svijeta te njihovoj ilustraciji i zemljopisnoj rasprostranjenosti. Pitanje posuđivanja od temeljnoga je interesa, osobito riječi koje su se rasprostranile iz izvornih jezika koji su kulturno dominantni u određenim područjima. U radu se analizira šest izvornih jezika s generičkim nazivima za ‘glazbu’ u šest glazbenih područja. Osim njih također se navode jezici koji ne posuđuju, nego umjesto toga zadržavaju ili kuju izvorne nazive za ‘glazbu’. Time se pokazuje varijacija u različitim stupnjevima pozitivnih i negativnih stavova koje nadležna jezična tijela imaju prema internacionalizmima i utjecaju određenih kulturnih centara u tim područjima, što se odražava u raznolikosti općih naziva za ‘glazbu’.

Keywords: music, etymology, loanword, cultural geography, language diversity
Ključne riječi: glazba, etimologija, posuđenice, kulturna geografija, jezična raznolikost

Za nakladnika
Željko Jozić

Računalni slog
Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje

Tehnički urednik
Boris Rukavina

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