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Abstract

of a dissertation on the topic of:

Origin and development of words expressing the emotion anger in the Ibero-Romance languages

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Content:

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I.   Introduction
1.1.   Introduction to the topic and relevance of the research

Emotions and their essence are a topic that has been studied since ancient times and is still a subject of discussion in various scientific fields. The concept of emotion is among the central tasks of scholars who study how different cultures define, perceive, and express emotions. Gestures, facial expressions, actions, and words have been studied since the earliest times, ancient Greek poets and philosophers placed emotion at the center of their work, striving to better understand its nature, where it originates, what provokes it, and how it can be controlled. Defining the clear boundaries of the object of the current research becomes a difficult task due to the different viewpoints of those who study it. New questions arise - what are the features of the emotion that can be accepted as universal, regardless of culture, beliefs, and historical period within which we analyze the object of study; will the emotions that we define as positive or negative be defined the same way by someone else; if an emotion is considered to be negative, does that mean we can't find a way to use it as a tool for self-improvement by learning how to control it. These are just some of the many questions we face when we start studying emotions and their nature. Language is a valuable source of information, words do not just refer to an object or a concept, but they contain a history that reflects changes during different eras, and important cultural and historical events, in religion, politics, and other areas. It is important to first establish the origin of the words that refer to the analyzed emotion, then to trace the changes that have occurred in the semantics and to what extent the ways in which anger is expressed in Portuguese and Spanish differ.

1.2.   Aims and objectives

In the present study, an etymological analysis of the words meaning 'anger' in the Ibero-Romance languages is proposed, with attention to historical lexicology. Their origin and development from the earliest period in which they are attested are examined, as well as the initial meanings with which they are found. Based on examples from different literary genres, an attempt is made to establish the semantic development of these words, to compare their meanings, and to present some problematic etymologies and hypotheses related to the establishment of the certain origin of specific words.

For this purpose, it is necessary to complete the following tasks:
- to review theories of emotions from different scientific fields
- to present theories in which the emotion of anger is analyzed
- to present the semantic development of the words for *anger* within the Indo-European languages
- to collect a sufficient number of sources from different time periods in which the words are present

- to present the words in the Ibero-Romance languages which are later analysed in detail in the dissertation work
- to analyse the proposed etymology for each word, and then the specific lexemes in the two Ibero-Romance languages
- to draw conclusions from the conducted research – a summary and an analysis of the results

1.3.   Object and subject of the study

The object of this research is the Portuguese and Spanish languages, including other languages from the Ibero-Romance group such as Catalan and Galician. The subject of the study is the words meaning the emotion anger in the respective languages - cólera, fúria, furor, the Portuguese raiva, and Spanish rabia, the Portuguese sanha and Spanish saña, and the Spanish enfadar.

The main sources for the research were etymological dictionaries, in which the words are present and which contain information about their meanings as well as their form. Each of the analyzed words is accompanied by examples from different genres and on a variety of topics – poetry, prose, religion, politics, and chronicles. Providing quotes from these sources helps in establishing what the main meaning of a word is during a particular period and/or genre. The analysis of the synonyms allows us to determine the intensity of the emotion expressed by each of the words.

Theories of emotion from the fields of psychology, philosophy, sociology, and linguistics are presented in the dissertation work. It is essential to understand what an emotion is as well as its essence, because we need to have a clear definition of the concept, how it differs from a feeling, to establish if there are traits that could be considered universal for all emotions, etc. Once all of this is done, anger will be analyzed within the framework of these theories.

Among the challenges linguists face in the course of their work is the lack of a sufficient number of sources from a certain period, which is also presented in the dissertation. Such difficulties can become an obstacle to the complete reconstruction of the semantics of a word.

1.4.   Methodology

The research on the topic requires an interdisciplinary approach, and therefore methods from different scientific fields are presented and applied.

The use of the comparative and etymological method is combined with the study of lexical semantics in a synchronic perspective, as it is important to establish the values of individual words in relation to the other elements of the system. The subject of the study requires a comprehensive philological analysis of the linguistic material, which also includes data and studies from other scientific fields, primarily psychology, cultural anthropology, and history. First, an introduction to etymology is made with some of its key aspects presented – what is its object of study, what aims we can achieve in the study of the history of words,

and what are the problems that scientists may face in the course of their work. In the analysis of the words for the emotion anger, processes such as word formation are introduced, with which an attempt is made to analyze the individual elements of the word, and a comparison is made with the same or similar forms in other languages; semantic development, which helps to analyze the relationships between meanings both within a word and between two or more lexemes; an attempt is made to reconstruct the meanings of the words and to find what has led to the changes in semantics.

To examine the words for the emotion anger in the Ibero-Romance languages, it is necessary to first examine the concept of "emotion" and the definitions it is given in different theories. For this purpose, the criteria according to which emotions are divided into primary and secondary are presented, so that we can establish the place of anger within these categories.

Some of the earliest theories of emotion and basic questions that underlie much of the research on the topic are presented in the dissertation. To cover more viewpoints regarding the essence of emotions, it is necessary to introduce theories from different branches of science. Some of the most important works on the topic are mentioned such as Charles Darwin's The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals, the James-Lange theory, related to the relationship between physical reaction and emotion, the phenomenological theories of Denzin and De Rivera, and the linguistic theory of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) developed by Anna Wierzbicka.

An analysis of anger and its place among other emotions is made, as well as how it is expressed, and how and under what circumstance it arises. In this chapter of the dissertation psychological and linguistic theories of emotion, specifically on anger, will be revised.

The actual analysis of the words meaning 'anger' in Spanish and Portuguese begins in the next chapter. To examine the semantic changes that occurred in words, sources such as etymological dictionaries of both languages, dictionaries of Latin and Greek where the origin of the words is found, texts from fiction and non-fiction literature, from which quotes were extracted and presented, were used to analyze the use of each of the words in a certain context and period. Historical corpora and historical dictionaries were used to indicate the earliest attested sources.

The final part of the dissertation work summarizes the results of the research, and an attempt is made to arrange the words in chronological order according to their earliest use in written sources. Depending on the context in which they are used, as well as the definitions given in dictionaries and other sources, an attempt was made to grade them according to the intensity of the expressed emotion. In this chapter, it is important to review some of the proposed theories related to the distinction between anger and rage.

Based on information from historical works, we will take a look at some important cultural and historical events which have greatly influenced the development of the Iberian Peninsula and we will try to establish a relation between these events and the linguistic changes.

II.   Etymology – definition, aim and object of the study

2.1.   Etymology – basic concepts

At the beginning of the dissertation, an introduction is made to the field in which the research is conducted, namely etymology. Among the main goals of the etymological research is finding the meaning of a word when it was created, i.e. defining the start and endpoint of its development (Koleva-Zlateva 1998: 13). Etymology, and in particular semantic reconstruction, covers the study of aspects such as the different stages of semantic development as well as the reconstruction of the previous meaning (Koleva-Zlateva 1998: 14). It is important to note that the implementation of etymological research also involves methods from historical lexicology, which allow us to establish regularities in the semantic development and to try to establish the reasons for changes occurred in the meanings (Koleva-Zlateva 1998: 14). Lexicology is defined as the study of the lexicon of a language, i.e. its vocabulary. The morphology, the semantics of the words, and their etymology are analyzed (Jackson, Zé Amvela 2007: 2). Studying the history of words is a long process, which requires searching for data not only in historical and etymological dictionaries, but also in literary works and historical records, scientific sources, texts related to art, politics, religion, and others. Etymology is helpful not only in discovering the original form of the words but also in getting to know the history of the native speakers of the respective languages, the contact that may have been established between the individual societies, for which we can find information from borrowed words, about the way of life, religion, culture (Mailhammer 2014: 2).

2.2.   Reconstruction of meanings

In the process of reconstructing the semantics and their changes, we aim to find a root in the proto-language, the meaning of which is found in cognates in other branches of the linguistic family. In some Indo-European languages, the development of the words can be traced back to the proto-language due to the parallels found between those languages, and in such a way we can reconstruct the Proto-Indo-European forms (Durkin 2009: 252). We should not forget that the present forms have gone through many changes, some of these forms may have survived in one language while others have not, and the lack of sources from a long period may also prevent the complete reconstruction of the history of the words (Durkin 2009: 253).

2.3.   Polysemy

Polysemy is defined as the "natural condition of words" (Geeraerts 2009: 47), in which they change spontaneously and routinely when language is used in new circumstances and contexts. In some cases, it is not easy to establish the relations between two or more meanings expressed by a word, and this is why it is necessary to examine how one meaning changed to a second, third, fourth, etc. This means that probably in a certain period a word was used with meaning A while in another period it was used with meaning B, but supposedly the change was not abrupt, there was an intermediary period during which both meanings A and B were used (Durkin 2009:225). Many times, it is exactly this period that becomes the obstacle we have to deal with to better understand the history of words. In the process of studying their etymology, it is possible to establish that one of the meanings was not used between two historical periods. But we could not be sure whether it ceased to be a part of the semantics of the word, or due to the insufficient number of sources from that period we cannot confirm its use (Durkin 2009: 226).

2.4. Types of semantic change

There are classifications of semantic change based on different criteria, definitions of types of changes, number of analyzed mechanisms, and others. There are several main factors, which have a major role in defining the types of semantic change. A basic distinction is made between semasiological mechanisms, which are related to the creation of a new meaning in an existing lexical item, and onomasiological, with which a concept is expressed by a new or an alternative lexical item. Non-analogical changes of denotational meaning are specialization, generalization, metonymy, and metaphor, which constitute the majority of the classifications of semantic changes. Non-denotational meaning changes involve emotive meanings which can be distinguished as pejoration (a shift towards a (more) negative emotive meaning is made), and amelioration (a shift towards a (more) positive emotive meaning is made) and it is possible for the relation between the new meaning and the original one to be completely lost (Geeraerts 2009: 35). The analogical changes are related to a semantic borrowing of one word to another in the same language or between different ones.

2.5. Challenges of the etymological research

Unlike form, the changes of which can be traced and explained due to our knowledge of sound laws, the meaning of linguistic units cannot be categorized. Although there are proposed classifications for this type of change, the possibilities are numerous and we would not be able to pinpoint a precise moment when they took place. We must take into account the cultural and technological development, the influence of other languages, and the lack of attested sources when analysing the semantic changes of the words. In studying the semantic development of any word, we must pay attention to:
1) the relationships between the various meanings shown by a word;
2) the relationships between different words and their meanings;
3) the relationships between linguistic meaning and cultural, extralinguistic history.

III.   Emotion – basic concepts

The word *emotion* is derived from the Lat. *emovere* 'move out, remove, agitate', from assimilated form of *ex* 'out' + movere 'to move' (from PIE root **meue-* 'to push away') (OED). Extended definition 'to remove (people) from a place, expel (by physical or other means)'; '(fig.) to banish from the mind (thoughts, feelings, etc.)' (Glare 1968: 605).

In the majority of classifications, emotions are divided into two main groups – *primary*, or basic, and *secondary*. The primary ones are considered to be universal, biologically and neurologically innate, while the secondary ones are formed under social and cultural influences (Bericat 2012: 2). There is a variation when it comes to the classes of emotions given by different authors – some include fear, anger, depression, satisfaction (Kemper 1987: 268), others include enjoyment, anger, disgust, fear, sadness, surprise (Ekman 1992: 170), and some combine them into pairs: satisfaction-happiness, aversion-fear, assertion-anger, disappointment-sadness, startlement-surprise (Turner 2001: 145). In other categorizations emotions are divided into *global* and *specific* (Lawler 2001: 326–8), *structural, situational*, and *anticipatory* (Kemper 1978) or based on *bodily urges, reflex* emotions (anger, fear, joy), *moods*, and *reflexive* emotions (love, respect, trust) (Jasper 2011: 286–7).

Some of the earliest ideas regarding the nature of emotions can be found in Ancient Greece. In the *Art of Rhetoric* Aristotle defines emotions as something that has an influence over people's opinions regarding their judgments and are accompanied by pleasure or pain, anger, fear, or other emotions. In the same source we can read that anger can be a result of someone's actions towards ourselves or another person which are seen as undeserved. The emotion can arise due to an undesired outcome of a particular event or other circumstances that make us angry and cause us pain. At the same time, Aristotle considers that the same emotion can provoke the desire for vengeance, for seeking justice, which would lead to the feeling of pleasure (Plamper 2015: 12-13).

One of the main aspects of the questions related to emotions is who is capable of experiencing them. For many years it was believed that humans are the ones who have feelings, while animals have sensations, they are aware of what is happening in the present moment, but events are not processed through emotions (Plamper 2015: 26). During the second half of the 19th century, numerous laboratory studies on animals revealed that there were similarities between the human and animal brains when it comes to feelings and emotions.

3.1.   The difference between emotion and feeling

It is important to distinguish between the concepts of "emotion" and "feeling", as we must attempt to determine what underlies discussions about the relationship between

biology, language, and culture. Giving a clear definition of a term like "emotion" becomes a difficult task for scholars from various fields. According to a study, in the 20th century, more than 90 definitions for *emotion* were introduced, which shows that even for scholars it is difficult to accurately characterize the concept (Plutchik 2001). However, it is good to briefly present some perspectives on the definitions of *emotion* given in different scientific fields, such as psychology, anthropology, and linguistics.

3.2. Darwin and the psychology of emotions

In 1872 one of the most important works related to emotions was published - *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* by Charles Darwin. It has become the center of a conflict between social constructivists and universalists (Plamper 2015: 164). The author writes about 3 principles that are considered to be contained in every expression of emotions. The first principle is that of the serviceable associated habits, according to which some complex actions are taken under certain states after they were learned in similar situations in the past, to relieve or gratify certain sensations, and desires. The second principle is that of the antithesis, which supposes that for every emotion exists its opposite. The third principle is related to the direct action of the nervous system according to which the excess energy is directed to the extremities and other parts of the body and after that, the emotions are expressed in various ways, such as trembling of fear or the loss of color in the hair. (Plamper 2015: 168-169).

3.3. James-Lange Theory

In his essay *What is an Emotion?* (1884) William James wrote about the relationship between the physical changes that occur when a certain emotion is experienced, i.e. how the body reacts in a certain way to an external stimulus (Plamper 2015: 175-176). In 1885 the Danish psychologist Carl Lange published his research on the relationship between physical reaction and emotion, which is also found in James' work (Plamper 2015: 177). Based on the studies of the two scientists, it can be concluded that upon encountering an external stimulus, the human autonomic nervous system causes physiological processes to occur, such as sweating, muscle tension, or increased heart rate. This means that emotions are not a cause but a result of physiological changes.

3.4. Cannon-Bard theory

As an alternative to that of James and Lange, Walter Cannon and Philip Bard proposed their theory of emotions. According to them, body movements cannot be considered emotions in themselves, as they are too slow and even vague in some cases. The two scientists believe that these movements arise as a result of the emotions and factors unrelated to them (Plamper 2015: 179).

3.5. Phenomenological theories of emotion

Denzin's theory of emotions (1984: 56-57) is based on social interaction. He believes that an emotional experience may be directed at someone else in the particular situation we are in, but that experience will also affect ourselves, i.e. we communicate not only with others, but with ourselves as well.

De Rivera (1992: 2) develops three key concepts in the study of emotions - emotional climate, atmosphere, and culture. The emotional climate is defined as "an objective group phenomenon that can be palpably sensed - as when one enters a party or a city and feels an atmosphere of gaiety or depression", the emotional atmosphere is related to "the collective behavior that a group or society may manifest when it is focused on a common event", and the emotional culture is a part of the society's structure and its institutions (De Rivera 1992: 2). The author groups the dimensions of the emotional climate in 6 pairs (1992: 37):

- fear/security;
- hostility/solidarity;
- dissatisfaction /satisfaction;
- despair/hope;
- depression/confidence;
- instability/stability.

3.6. Emotions and sociology

In the 1980s, sociologists started actively studying emotions which became the central object of many research works. According to Turner (Plamper 2015: 122-124) 7 main areas comprise the sociology of emotions:

1) Evolutionary biology – emotions existed in the brain even before language arose and served for communication between people;

2) Symbolic interactionism – the maintenance of individual self part of which are emotions, plays a major role in communication between people;

3) Dramaturgy – the individual presents himself dramatically and strategically to others;

4) Interaction ritual – according to Randall Collins (Plamper 2015: 124) in face-to-face communication individuals use ritualized greetings and gestures, producing an emotionally loaded voice that changes in the course of the conversation;

5) Exchange theory – social interaction is seen as a kind of economic exchange, in which emotion can be either won or lost. Those who participate in the interaction invest time and win positive emotions or lose time once negative emotions appear;

6) Power and status – the role of the individual in the social hierarchy under certain circumstances and the way this role influences his emotional state.

7) Stratification – the sixth and seventh areas are related to the study of social stratification or the position an individual has in a society based on his age, gender, ethnicity, and other factors. The higher position one occupies, the more power and influence he has. The lower position provides less power and opportunities which is also a reason for 9social inequality in many countries.

3.7.   Behavioural theories of emotions

In their theory, Harlow and Stagner make a distinction between feelings and emotions, suggesting that emotions are not innate, and they contain cognition about outside situations. This means that we are born with the capacity to feel and have to learn different emotions, that way we are able to attach a label to an experience. (Strongman 2003: 42).

Millenson creates a three-dimensional model of emotional intensity with three primary emotions as vectors. The basic emotions are anxiety, elation and anger, all other emotions are compounds of these, and some differ from one another only in intensity (Strongman 2003: 42-43). At the end of each vector an extreme of each basic emotion is put – *terror*, marked by S- (unconditioned negative stimulus), followed by *anxiety* and *apprehension*; *rage*, marked by S+ (removal of negative stimulus) and followed by *anger* and *annoyance*; and *ecstasy* (increasing of positive stimulus and decreasing of negative stimulus), followed by *elation* and *pleasure*. The closer we get to the center where the vectors come together, the harder it is to distinguish emotions in terms of behaviour.
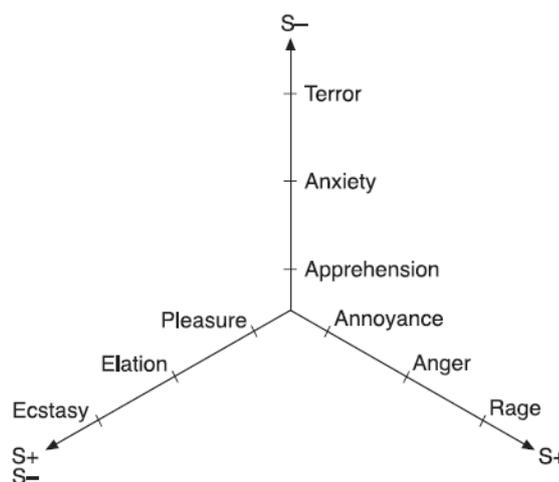
The three-dimensional model of emotional intensity, created by Millenson
(*The psychology of emotion: from everyday life to theory* (Strongman 2003: 43)

3.8.   Emotions and psychology

According to Paul Eckman's theory of the basic emotions (happiness, anger, disgust, fear, sadness, and surprise) all cultures are said to have them and the way by which they are expressed through language is not as important as the facial expressions are (Plamper 2015: 149). Ekman suggests that for every emotion there is a corresponding facial expression and in the cases in which someone tries to hide their emotions, the so-called "micro expressions" will give them away (Plamper 2015: 149). The facial expression, or the universal trait, is left unchanged in Ekman's theory, but the number of emotions varies over the years. If in 1992 there are six basic and five, which could be added at some point to this group, a few years later the author writes about five proven and three potential basic emotions. At a later stage of his research he argued that emotions could be called only the basic ones (Plamper 2015: 150). Over the years Ekman continued his experiments attempting to understand if we can really talk about universal emotions (Ekman 1998: 381-383).

3.9.   The Schachter-Singer Model

At the end of the 1950s, psychologists Stanley Schachter and Jerome Singer formulated the Two-Factor Model, also known as the Cognitive-Physiological Model, which shows how people who are in a state of physical arousal define it by using emotional descriptors according to circumstances. Both scientists concluded that physical signals find an appropriate emotion and its description after an evaluation procedure has taken place (Plamper 2015: 202).

3.10.   Emotions and linguistics

During the second half of the 20th century, emotions became the central topic of a lot of linguistic research. This strong interest in emotions in a field such as that of linguistics is sparked to a great extent by the cognitivists. However, their methodology will not be used in the present work as its main goal is related to the establishment of the semantic changes in the words, and not to the search of semantic primitives. In order to do that, methods of the historical lexicology and semantics and of the etymology will be applied. Although cognitivist theories do not occupy a central place in the present work, it is necessary understand their essence and the influence they had on the development of research on the semantics of emotions.

The first studies on the subject were made in the early seventies of the last century by Lidiya Yordanskaya and Anna Wierzbicka, and during this period the work on a Russian explanatory combinatorial dictionary, as well as on the so-called "integral dictionaries", has started (Petrova 2006: 14-15). The focus of many studies at this time was on lexicography and lexical semantics. Wierzbicka and Yordanskaya's research led to the creation of a model representing a typical picture (scenario) of the emotion composed of a cause, an emotion, and a consequence. In this period of in-depth research into the essence of emotions and the ways in which they can be described most accurately through the language, the need to create a system to describe the meaning of each linguistic unit

also arose (Petrova 2006: 22). This led to the development of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), created by Anna Wierzbicka (1999), which states that emotions can be expressed with any human language. According to NSM, all languages have a word for *feel*; in all languages, some feelings can be described as "good", some as "bad", neither "good" nor "bad"; in every culture people associate feelings with facial expressions; in all languages there are words relating to thoughts like 'something bad can happen to me', 'people can think something bad about me', etc. (Wierzbicka 1999: 275-276). Although the author strives to find universal feelings and emotions, she does not deny the differences between cultures, societies or eras and the changes that have occurred in them over time (Wierzbicka 1999: 306-307).

Zoltán Kövecses studies the metaphors related to the emotions and gives an example with anger. According to the author the emotion can be expressed not only by using the word 'anger', but also with metaphors in which it does not occur. We can't really talk about 'pure' emotional metaphors, instead, it is more appropriate to think of "common metaphors" which can be applied to an emotion at a given moment. For Kövecses the study of emotions is a combination between universalism and social constructivism, and the object of study should be analysed from physiological perspective which would provide us with a framework within which metaphors of anger will emerge (Plamper 2015: 134-135).

IV.   Anger – definition and development in the Indo-European languages

Matsumoto (2009: 308) defines anger as "one of the six basic emotions, in which a situation is perceived as strongly negative and someone or something else is to blame for that negative state. Anger is almost always preceded by real or imagined frustration. Anger is usually accompanied, at least momentarily, by a facial expression in which the lips tighten, jaw muscles tense, the lips are slightly parted, eyes are narrowed, and the forehead is furrowed." Anger and aggression are often linked and it is believed that the emotion prompts a person to act aggressively, but this does not necessarily always happen.

Since ancient times, scientists and philosophers have pondered over the meaning of emotions, their function and their manifestation in people. For the Stoics, anger was useless in a battle, in a competition it was wrong to give in to that emotion, and if unhappiness could not be borne, then suicide was the better choice than an angry outburst (Kemp, Strongman 1995: 398). Aristotle defined anger as the result of injustice, but he also assumed that at the same time this emotion could be used as a way to deal with anger. Philosophers such as Seneca and Galen witnessed the angry reactions of other people, whose behaviour revolted them and made them strive not to be overcome by such madness. Aristotle had the same attitude towards this emotion, although he admitted that in some cases anger could be useful (Kemp, Strongman 1995: 398).

For some scholars, the key to a better understanding of emotions and the way different cultures perceive and express them is found in language. Anna Wierzbicka believes that such research should be based on "universal semantic primitives", i.e. we have to analyse emotions independently of culture and language and try to define them as universal entities.

4.1. Etymology of the word *cólera*

The first word which is analysed in the present study is the noun *cólera*, from Grk. χολέρα 'cholera, nausea, vomiting' (from χολή 'bile, anger, disgust'). It was introduced in Spanish (García de Diego 1954: 174) and in Portuguese through the Lat. *cholera* 'biliary disease' (Nascentes[1] 1955: 127). Gómez de Silva [2] (1985: 126) writes that *cholera* (from χολή 'bile' from IE. **ghol-a* 'bile' < **ghol-* < **ghel-* 'to shine') was thought to provoke anger when it was in excess. The Spanish *cólera* means 'anger, rage, irritation'; 'bile fluid'; 'acute infectious disease' (DSL), and the Portuguese *cólera* means 'anger, rage, indignation' (Drenska 1996: 198).

Semantic ==development==: bilious fluid > anger

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[1] Antenor de Veras Nascentes (1886 - 1972) was a Brazilian philologist and author of the Portuguese dictionaries *Dicionário Etimológico* (Etymological dictionary) (first edition – 1932), *Dicionário de Dúvidas e Dificuldades do Idioma Nacional* (Dictionary of Questions and Difficulties of the National Language) (1949), *Dicionário Ilustrado da Língua Portuguesa e da Academia Brasileira de Letras* (Ilustrated Dictionary of the Portuguese Language and the Brazilian Academy of Letters) (1972).
[2] Guido Gómez de Silva (1925 – 2013) was a Mexican lexicographer, author of *Breve diccionario etimológico de la lengua española* (Brief etymological dictionary of the Spanish language) (1988), *Diccionario internacional de literatura y gramática* (International dictionary of literature and grammar) (1999) and *Diccionario breve de mexicanismos* (Brief dictionary of Mexicanisms) (2001).

4.1.1. The Portuguese word *cólera*

The word *cólera* appears for the first time in the Portuguese literature in *Lendas da Índia* (Legends from India), written by Gaspar Correia[3] (1492 – ca. 1553). In the second and third volumes of the work the author uses the adjective *colérico* 'choleric' describing a trait of some of the characters, and later in the same work a description of an outbreak of Asiatic cholera in the Indian state of Goa is given (De Resende 1997: 150). Around the middle of the 16th century, the word appears in literary works as 'anger'. *Cólera* also describes the rapid movements that animals make under the influence of anger (Vieira 1871 II: 271). In this chapter are included as well the adverb *colericamente* 'angrily, furiously' (Vieira 1871 II: 271), the adjective *colérico* 'furious, annoyed, angry' (Vieira 1871 II: 271), 'a choleric person' (Bluteau[4] 1712 I: 369) and the phrases *desafogar a sua cólera em* 'to take anger out on someone' and *em um transe/explosão de cólera* 'in a fit of anger' (Drenska 2003: 109). The verbs *colerisar-se* 'to get angry' (Vieira 1871 II: 271) and *encolerizar(-se)* 'to annoy, be annoyed; to get (someone) angry' (Bluteau 1713 III: 417), 'to be angry, to get angry' (Drenska 1996: 311) are also included in this chapter.

4.1.2. The Spanish word *cólera*

The word is first attested in 1251 in *Calila y Dimna*[5] and *Los libros de acedrex dados e tablas*[6] (The books of chess, dices and tables) (1283), in which *cólera* is used in the sense of 'bile, bile juice' (Corominas 1984: 136). In *Los libros de acedrex dados e tablas* King Alfonso X, author of the book, includes the four temperament (humours) theory and their traits, and relates each of them with a season, a colour, and one of the elements water, fire, air and earth (Golladay 2007: 1139). The idea of the relationship between the types of humours and the four elements is found in an earlier work, "Etymologies", also called "Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages", by Isidore of Seville[7]. In the Middle Ages, it was believed that there were four types of fluids in every person - bile (choler), blood, phlegm and black bile, which was believed to be the cause of the state of melancholy when it was in excess (from Grk. *melankholia* 'dark mood'; black bile', from

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[3] Gaspar Correia (1492 – ca. 1553) was a Portuguese historiographer, who has spent most of his live in in state of Goa, India and in the city of Diu, where he did military service. Author of *Crónicas dos reis de Portugal* (Chronicle of the Portuguese Monarchs) and *Lendas da India* (Legends from India), he was also painting portraits and landscapes of the places he visited.

[4] Rafael Bluteau (1638-1734) was a Portuguese priest, author of collections of sermons, dictionaries and economic texts.

[5] *Calila y Dimna* (Calila and Dimna) is a collection of parables and stories composed as far back as ancient India, believed to be closely related to texts such as the Panchatantra and the Mahabharata. It was translated into Arabic in the 8th century, and this version served as the primary source for many European translations, including the Castilian one of 1251 commissioned by King Alfonso X.

[6] *Los libros de acedrex dados e tablas* (The books of chess, dices and tables) is a collection of texts and miniatures presenting various problems that a chess, dice or backgammon player might encounter. King Alfonso X, who compiled the collection, arranged the parties in each game in a structure based on the astrologically important numbers 7 and 12 (seven planets and twelve zodiac signs) (Golladay 2007: 27). There is disagreement about the year work on the work began, but it is said to have been completed in 1283 in Seville. (Golladay 2007: 33).

melan-, a base of *mélas* 'black, dark', + *khole* 'bile, bile juice') (Gómez de Silva 1985: 343).

In this chapter are also presented the adjective *colérico* 'angry', through the Lat. *cholerĭcus* from the Grk. χολερικός (García de Diego 1954: 174) 'choleric, typical of the choleric personality (*Humor colérico*)', 'rabid, to have rabies (*Síntoma colérico. Fisonomía, frialdad colérica*)'; 'who can easily get angry', and the phrases *descargar la cólera en alguien* 'to take anger out on someone', *emborracharse de cólera* 'to be full of anger', *tomarse de la cólera* 'losing my mind under the influence of intense anger', and others (DSL).

4.2. Etymology of the word *fúria*

The Spanish and Portuguese word *furia* comes from the Lat. *furō, -ere* 'to be mad, to speak furiously' (Ennius), and from the verb are derived the nouns *furia* 'fury, frenzy'; 'the Furies' (Ennius) and *furor* 'furious madness' (Lucretius), and the adjective *furiōsus* 'mad' (Cicero). Various etymologies have been proposed for the word, but none of them can be stated as certain yet (De Vaan 2008: 252).

Covarrubias Orozco (1611: 419) defines the Lat. *furia* as 'a strong urge to do something', while Segura Munguía (2014: 238) defines it as 'a fit of rage, insanity, frenzy', 'furious outburst, delirium, furor, madness'. Glare (1968: 749) gives similar definitions, the first of which is 'the goddesses who torment those filled with guilt, the Furies (also in sg.)'. The idea of the demonic deities in Greek mythology, the Erinyes, who, in Roman mythology, are known as the Furies, can be found in other sources as well (Vieira 1873 III: 805).

Semantic <mark>development</mark>: insanity, madness > anger

4.2.1. The Portuguese word *fúria*

The noun *fúria* means 'anger' (Drenska 2003: 109), 'a fit of rage', 'an angry person' (Drenska 1996: 396). The word is attested in works from the 15th century such as *Chronica d'El-Rei D.Duarte* (Chronicle of the King D.Duarte) by Rui de Pina (1440-1521) and *Euangelhos e epistolas con suas exposições en romãce* (Gospels and epistolary texts with their explanations in Romance) (1497) translated by Rodrigo Álvares[8]. In both works the word *fúria* is used to describe the emotion anger (CPL).

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[8] In 1497 Rodrigo Álvares translated *Euangelhos e epistolas con suas exposições en romãce* (Gospels and epistolary texts with their explanations in Romance) from Castilian and printed the work himself the same year. The French theologian and Dominican priest Guillaume of Paris (1437-1485) is believed to be the author of the original text, whose title is *Postilla super epistolas et evangelia* (Commentaries on Epistolary Texts and Gospels*).* The work was translated into Castilian by Gonzalo García de Santa María and published in 1485 (Sobral 2001: 556).

The included phrases with *fúria* are *caminhar a toda a fúria* 'to walk hurriedly' (Vieira 1873 III: 806), *encher-se de fúria* 'to fly into rage' and *arremessar-se com fúria* 'to lash out in anger' (Drenska 2003: 109).

The adjectives *furibundo*, from the Lat. *furibundus* (Nascentes 1955: 230) 'full of anger, enraged' (cheio de *furor*), *furioso* 'stricken with anger' (atacado de *fúria*), *furente* 'angry, furious' (posto em *fúria*), *enfurecido* 'mad, furious' (tornado *furioso*) (Pombo 2011: 407) are derived from the synonyms *fúria* and *furor*. Drenska (1996: 397) adds two more meanings for *furioso* – 'impetuous, vehement' and 'enthusiastic'. Vieira (1873 III: 807) analyses the words in details and attempts to define in a precise way the differences between each of them and to put them in order based on the intensity of the expressed emotion.

Bluteau (1713 IV: 238) considers the first meaning given for *fúria* 'a great stirring in the soul, which fills it with anger', a synonym of *furor*. The next definitions given are 'the haste with which something is done without due consideration' and 'strong, violent commotion (for inanimate objects, natural phenomena, etc.)' (Bluteau 1713 IV: 238). In the same source we can find the phrases *levado da furia* 'lead by anger' and *lançar-se a alguem com furia* 'to direct one's anger towards someone' (Bluteau 1713 IV: 238).

The verb *enfurecer(-se)* is defined as 'to get full of rage', 'to get angry, mad; storming (sea)' (Drenska 2003: 315). The noun *enfurecimento* 'infuriation, enragement; wrath' is derived from the verb *enfurecer* (Drenska 2003: 315).

4.2.2. The Spanish word *furia*

The Spanish word *furia* 'intense anger, rage' (DSL) is attested in 1438 in *El Corbacho*[9] (The Whip) (Coromines [10] 1984 II: 979). In addition to the meaning of the emotion anger, *furia* also means 'fit of madness, insanity', 'very annoyed or angry person', 'violence, agression', which can refer to natural phenomena - *la furia del viento, del mar* 'violent wind, sea' (DSL). In Latin, as well as in Spanish, the word *furia* has become a collective noun of Alecto, Tisiphone and Megaera, the ancient Greek goddesses of vengeance, also known as *Erinyes* (DSL).

From Lat. *fŭrĭbŭndus,-a,-um* > Sp. *furibundo* 'furious, full of anger, easily angered', 'showing anger, rage', '(fig.). very excited; passionate' (Segura Munguía 2014: 238). When it comes to the earliest attestation of the adjective *furibundo*, there are differences in the years given in several sources: according to some, like Segura Munguía

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[9] Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, Archpriest of Talavera (1398 – 1468) was a Spanish clergyman and writer. In 1438, he wrote the work *El Corbacho*, also known as *Corbacho, Reprobación del amor mundano o Arcipreste de Talavera*, (The Whip, Denouncement of Worldly Love or Bishop of Talavera), which is considered a fundamental work in Castilian prose from the first half of 15th century.

[10] Joan Coromines i Vigneaux (1905 - 1997) was a Spanish linguist and philologist whose research was focused mainly on the Catalan language and, in particular, toponymy. Author of *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana (*Critical etymological dictionary of the Castilian language*)* (1955-1957), published in 4 volumes, *Estudis de toponímia catalana (*Study on Catalan toponymy*)* (1965-1970), *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* (Critical Etymological Dictionary of Castilian and Spanish) (1980 - 1991), published in 6 volumes, *Onomasticon Cataloniæ* (Catalan Onomasticon) (1989 – 1997).

(2014: 238), the word is found in works ca. 1440; others, like Luis de León (Corominas 1984 II: 979) think that it is around 1580; Corominas (*ibid.*) writes that the earliest attestation of *furibundo* is found in *Don Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes (1605).

The verb *enfurecer* is recorded in *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana*[11] (1570) (Corominas 1984 II: 979), in which the adjective *enfurecido* is also found (Casas 1570: 193). The adjective *furiente* is derived from the participle *furens, -ĕntis* of the verb *furĕre* (Corominas 1984 II: 979) and means 'possessed by anger' (DSL). The word is attested in the 15th century in the glossary of the anthology *Cancionero de Stúñiga* (Songbook of Stúñiga) (1460–1463), in which it is translated as *furibundo, airado, colérico* (Corominas 1984 II: 979). The Spanish *furioso* is first attested in 1438 and means 'angry, furious, showing anger', (fig.) 'violent, terrifying', 'very big; in excess' (Segura Munguía 2014: 238).

4.3.   Etymology of the word *furor*

The origin of the word *furor*, as well as the Sp. *furia* and Port. *fúria*, can be traced backto the Lat. *furō, -ere* 'to be mad, rave' (Ennius) and derivative of the verb are the noun *furor* 'violent madness' (Lucretius) and the adjective *furiōsus* 'furious' (Cicero) (De Vaan 2008: 252). The Lat. *furor* is attested in poem 64 of Catullus, in which the phrase *amentī caeca furōre* 'blinded with mindless rage' is used (Puhvel 1998: 607).

4.3.1.   The Portuguese word *furor*

The word *furor* is found in *Euangelhos e epistolas con suas exposições en romāce* (Gospels and epistolary texts with their explanations in Romance) (1497) and *Orto do Esposo* (The Garden of the Spouse)[12] (CPL).

Vieira (1871 III: 807) defines *furor* as 'an extremely strong emotion or passion of the soul that clouds the mind', 'a fit of anger, of rage' and 'a very violent and furious action'. The phrase *fazer furor* 'very fashionable, a craze, setting a trend' (Vieira 1871 III: 807) is recorded in sources from the 19th century and is still used nowadays. The word can refer to people and animals, but it is also found in religious texts, usually referring to the wrath of God (Vieira 1871 III: 807).

Derivatives of *furor* are the adjectives *furibundo* 'full of anger'; *furioso* 'to be overwhelmed with anger'; *furente* 'angry, enraged'; *enfurecido* 'furious'; *furial* 'typical of anger, in a fit of anger' (Pombo 2011: 407). Furious (*furioso*) are the man, the wind,

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[11] The author of *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana* (Vocabulary of the two languages, Tuscan and Castilian) (1570) is Cristóbal de Las Casas, a Spanish lexicographer and translator, whose life few facts are known about like the place of birth (Sevilla) and year of his death (1576).

[12] *Orto do Esposo* (The Garden of the Spouse) was composed at the end of the 14th century (other sources include the beginning of the 15th century (Sousa 2021: 9) by an anonymous author, probably a monk from the monastery of Alcobaça. Considered to be one of the most important medieval Portuguese doctrinal texts, the *Orto do Esposo* contains quotations from the Bible, historical narratives, fables, quotations from Christian and pagan authors (Ayres 2017: 17-18).

the sea, the storm and the dog, while angry (*furente*) are the soul, the look, the words, the gesture (Pombo 2011: 407).

The word *furor* also means 'insanity, mania' (Lat. *mania, insania,ae*) or 'an enthusiasm a person feels when he comes under the influence of divine powers' (Bluteau 1713 IV: 239). In *De Amore* (On the Nature of Love) Marsilio Ficino[13] analyses in details the ideas of insanity, enthusiasm and strong emotions, all of which are found in *Phaedrus* and specifically in the dialogue between Socrates and Phaedrus.

Ficino (1594: 112) writes about the divine frenzy, or madness, and its types: the poetic frenzy, which comes from the Muses; the mystical, from Dionysus; the prophetic, from Apollo; and the frenzy of love, from Venus. This madness (*furor divino*) can be also described as the power, with which the divine spirit takes over a man, who consequently has mysterious experiences (Bluteau 1713 IV: 239).

The prophetic frenzy (*furor prophetico*) is defined by Bluteau as (1713 IV: 239) 'that which has made the prophets and Pythias during Antiquity speak the words, dictated in their minds by a deity', the same power under the influence of which was Ocyrhoe in the second book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Bluteau 1713 IV: 239).

The poetic frenzy (*furor poético*) is defined as 'enthusiasm or excitement, which the poet feels when his imagination reaches its peak' and it is thought that such a state is inspired by Apollo (Bluteau 1713 IV: 239).

About *furor do amor prophano* 'the madness of worldly love' Bluteau (1713 IV: 239) writes that "those who are in love also have their own madnesses which make them lose their mind, overtake them and blind them, so that they don't see or hear the nonsense they say and do". The author (1713 IV: 239) adds *furor santo* translating it as 'fanaticism or excessive love of sacred things'.

4.3.2. The Spanish word *furor*

The word is attested ca. 1440 and in addition to 'anger, rage', the meaning 'violent movements and actions (referring to inanimate objects)'is added (Segura Munguía 2014: 238-239); 'a strong impulse or enthusiasm which arises in a creator' and 'the violent behavior (actions) of certain natural phenomena' (DSL). The earliest sources in which *furor* is attested are from the 13th-14th centuries such as *Libro de Alexandre* (The Book of Alexander) (1240 – 1250), *Fueros de Aragón* (Law Code of Aragon) (1247), *Libro de las tres creencias*[14] (Book of the Three Faiths) (1320) by Alfonso de Valladolid, as well as in

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[13] Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) was an Italian philosopher, commentator and translator. He contributed greatly to the revival of Platonism as well as to the translation of the Hermetic corpus and the texts of Plotinus and Plato.
[14] Author of *Libro de las tres creencias* (Book of the Three Faiths) is Alfonso de Valladolid (1270 - 1346), a name which Rabbi Abner (Amer or Alonso de Burgos) took after his conversion. His deep knowledge of both Judaism, which he originally professed, and Christianity, his command of Latin, Hebrew and Castilian helped him to write theological treatises.

the works of Juan Fernández de Heredia[15], Íñigo López de Mendoza[16] and *Vocabulario en latin y en romance* (Dictionary of Latin and Romance) (1490: 347) by Alfonso de Palencia (Corominas 1984 II: 979).

The verb *enfurecer(se)* is attested in 1570 and means 'to irritate, make someone angry', 'to be irritated, angry'; (fig.) 'to change oneself (the sea, the wind, etc.)' (Segura Munguía 2014: 238-239). The noun *enfurecimiento* 'irritation, infuriation' is derived from the verb (Segura Munguía 2014: 238-239). *Enfurecer(se)* is used in scientific and literary texts from the 17th-20th centuries (DCSL) such as *El pasajero* (The Passenger) (1617) by Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa (1571 – 1644) and *Anacreón castellano*[17] (Castilian Anacreon) (ca. 1609).

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[15] Juan Fernández de Heredia (ca. 1310 – 1394) was a Spanish knight, master of the Military Hospitaller Order of Saint John. He was born in Munébrega, but spent a large part of his life in Avignon, where he collected manuscripts and translated texts from different languages.

[16] Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana (1398 – 1458) was a Castilian poet, author of Refranes que dicen las viejas tras el fuego (The Proverbs that Old Women Say Behind the Fire), the first collection of proverbs written in the Castilian language.

[17] The work was written by Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1645), a Spanish writer, representative of the Golden Age.

4.4. Etymology of the word *ira*

In Spanish and in Portuguese the word *ira* is derived from the Lat. *īra* 'anger, ire' from the older *eira* (Plautus), from PIt. *eizā* < IE. *h_1eys- 'to move quickly, propel' (cf. Grk. οἶστρος 'hornet, (fig.) strong passion', Lith. *aistrà* 'strong passion', Av. *aēṧma* 'anger' (De Vaan 2008: 308-309). Glare (1968: 956) defines *īra* as 'anger, fury, indignation', which can refer to the gods as well as to the actions of animals, to battles, words, or conversations ('fierce').

Semantic development: fast movement > anger, ire

4.4.1. The Portuguese word *ira*

The noun *ira* is attested in works from the 13th century, such as *Cantigas de Escárnio e Maldizer* (Songs for Slander and Defamation) (1201-1300), *Documentos Portugueses da Chancelaria de D. Afonso III* (Portuguese Documents from the Chancellery of D. Afonso III) (1255-1279), *Vidas de Santos de um Manuscrito Alcobacense* (Lives of Saints from a Manuscript of Alcobaça) (1200-1300), and others (CPL). Vieira (1871 III: 1170) defines the word as 'anger, ire; (fig.) 'punishment, justice'.

The noun *iracundia* is derived from the Lat. *iracundia* and means 'a habit of getting angry' (Vieira 1871 III: 1170. *Irascibilidade* means 'a short temper, irritability' (Drenska 1996: 475) and is derived from the Lat. *irascibilis* (Vieira 1871 III: 1170).

Irado 'angry, furious, irate, wrathful' is derived from the Lat. *iratus* (Vieira 1871 III: 1170) and is used to describe actions, speech, forms of expression, natural phenomena, poetry, and gods (Glare 1968: 956). The adjective *iracundo* 'angry, irritated, irritable' is derived from the Latin word *iracundus* (Vieira 1871 III: 1170).

The verb *irar* means 'to enrage', *irar-se* 'getting angry, to be blinded by rage' and the phrase *descarregar as iras em alguém* is defined as 'to release one's anger, to aim it at someone' (Vieira 1871 III: 1170).

4.4.2. The Spanish word *ira*

The word means 'anger', 'a feeling of indignation, which causes anger', 'desire for vengeance, revenge, 'violence, aggression (natural phenomena)', and when used in the plural, it can mean 'repeating actions, which express rage' (DSL). Corominas (1984 III: 463) writes that *ira* is attested in 1100 and is found in the works of medieval authors like Diego de San Pedro[18], Sánchez de Arévalo[19] and in *Poema de Mio Cid* (*Poem of My Cid*)[20].

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[18] Diego de San Pedro was a Spanish novelist and poet who lived in the second half of the 15th - the first half of the 16th century. He was the author of the novels *Tractado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda* (Treaty of Love of Arnalte and Lucenda) (1491) and *Cárcel de amor* (Prison of Love) (1492). The poem *Desprecio de la fortuna* (Contempt of Fate) was written in 1506.

Among the expressions with *ira*, we find *ira de Dios*, which is used to describe something unusual, foreign, or that is too much, especially when we are worried that it might harm us (DSL). Other expressions with the word are *descargar la ira en alguien* 'to pour one's anger out on someone' and *llenarse alguien de ira* 'to be filled with anger' (DSL).

The noun *iracundia* 'tendency to experience anger; anger, rage' (DSL) is derived from the Lat. *iracundia* (García de Diego 1954: 337) and is attested ca. 1440 (Corominas 1984 I: 464). The adjective *irado* 'angry' < Lat. *irātus* (García de Diego 1954: 337), while *iracundo* 'angry, irritable' < Lat. *iracundus* (Gómez de Silva 1985: 297). *Iracundo* also means 'prone to anger' and 'violent, furious', the latter can refer to natural phenomena (DSL).

The verb *airar* is derived from *ira* and is attested in *Poem of My Cid*. During the Middle Ages *airar* and *irar* were used as synonyms, but in *Poem of My Cid* a distinction is made between the nuances in the meaning of both words (Corominas 1984 III: 465). *Airar* means 'to withdraw one's grace from the vassal', while *irar* is related to the emotional state – 'getting angry' (Corominas 1984 III: 465). The verb *airar* is also defined as 'to irritate, infuriate', 'to shake, move suddenly' (HDSL 1933-1936: 339), it is used for expressing anger, as well as a definition of natural phenomena. Derived from *airar* are the noun *airamiento* 'ire' (García de Diego 1954: 34), the adjective *airado* 'angry or very irritated', 'typical of an irritated, infuriated person'; 'angry expression' and the adverb *airadamente* 'angrily' (DSL). Phrases with the word *airado* are *muerte a mano airada* 'intentional death' and *vida airada* 'a turbulent, chaotic life' (DSL).

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[19] Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo (1404 – 1470) was a Spanish jurist, diplomat and clergyman. Central themes in his work are the defense of the papacy, humanism, and the history of Spain, the latter of which he wrote about four books entitled *Historia hispánica* (History of Spain) (1469-1470), in which some of the most important events in the Spanish history from the reign of King Fernando III to Enrique IV are presented.

[20] *Poema de Mio Cid* (Poem of my Cid), or *Cantar de Mio Cid* (Song of my Cid), is a Spanish epic poem which narrates the last years of the life of the Castilian nobleman Rodrigo Díaz, known as el Cid Campeador (El Cid Campeador, or Cid the Champion). There are different theories about the year of writing the work - according to Menéndez Pidal (Riaño Rodríguez, Gutiérrez Aja 2006: 8) it was created around 1140; Ubieto Arteta (ibid. 2006: 9) believes that it is a translation of an old Aragonese song; other theories exist (ibid. 2006: 10) according to which the text was written in 1207 by Per Abbat, a canon of Osma.

The noun *irecimiento* is derived from the verb *erecer* (attested in 1555) 'to infuriate, get someone angry', a changed form of *iracer from Lat. *īrascī* 'to get angry'. The change is a result of an influence from the Old Spanish *erzer* 'to raise' and the verbs, ending in *-ecer*; cf. OCat. *iréixer* or *iréixer-se* 'to get angry' (Corominas 1984 III: 464).

Irritar 'to irritate, make someone angry' is attested for the first time in 1607 in *Tesoro de las dos lenguas francesa y española* (Thesaurus of the two languages, French and Spanish) of César Oudin[21] (Fr. *irriter* – Sp. *irritar, açomar, proucar* 'to irritate, provoke'). A variant *erridar* or *enridar* existed (14th or 15th century) meaning 'to incite, excite' (Corominas 1984 III: 465). The verb is found in works like *Don Quixote* (1628) and the comedy *La amistad castigada* (*The Punished Friendship*) by Juan Ruiz de Alarcón[22] (1634).

4.5. Etymology of the words *raiva* and *rábia*

The Portuguese *raiva* and Spanish *rábia* are derived from the Lat. *rabiō, -ere* 'to be frenzied, rave' (Caecilius Statius) < PIt. **rab-/*raf-*, the derivatives are *rabiēs* 'savageness, passion' (Terentius), *rabidus* 'raging, mad' (Lucretius), and *rabiosus* 'rabid, mad' (Plautus) (De Vaan 2008: 511). The etymology of the Latin form is not clear. Schrijver (1991, see De Vaan 2008: 511) rejects the connection with Skt. *rabh-* 'to grab' and proposes a connection with ToA *rapurne* 'desire' and eventually Grk. ἐραμαι 'to desire, love'. According to De Vaan in terms of semantics, this etymology is uncertain. The Latin word could be related to the root **rab^h-* 'to be in violent commotion' (De Vaan 2008: 511). This etymology seems convincing semantically, but there are still some uncertainties in terms of phonetics.

Segura Munguía (2014: 605) writes that the Lat. *Rabiēs* means 'rabies [disease]: rabid'; 'anger, rage, violence'; 'violente, raging (natural phenomena)'- la furia de los vientos – violent winds; 'prophetic trance', in which the prophetesses in Ancient Greece, known as *sybils*, went into.

This prophetic frenzy, described also as mania, obsession, and excitement, is found in an excerpt from the Latin epic poem *The Aeneid*, in which the prophetess Sibyl goes into a trance, a state in which someone else seems to speak through her and deliver a fateful message.

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[21] César Oudin (ca. 1560 – 1625) was a French translator and Hispanist, author of grammars and dictionaries of the Spanish language, including *Grammaire et observations de la langue espagnolle recueilies et mises en François* (Grammar and observations on the Spanish language, collected and translated into French) (1597) and *Tesoro de las dos lenguas francesa y española* (Thesaurus of the two languages, French and Spanish) (1607).

[22] Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (1572 – 1639) was a Spanish playwright, and author of numerous comedies, some of which were collected and published in 2 parts, *Parte primera de las comedias de Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza, Relator del Real Consejo de las Indias* (First Part of the Comedies of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza, Clerk of the Royal Council of the Indies) (1628) and *Parte segunda de las comedias de Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza, Relator del Real Consejo de las Indias* (1634), which featured *La amistad castigada* (The Punished Friendship).

Semantic development: insanity > anger

4.5.1. The Portuguese word *raiva*

The noun *raiva* is attested the earliest in texts from the 15th-16th centuries like *Crónica troiana em linguagem portuguesa*[23] (Trojan Chronicle in Portuguese Language) (15th century) (CPL) and *Teatro* (Theatre) (1528) by António Ferreira[24] (HCPL), in which the word is used in the sense of 'anger, wrath'. Vieira (1871 V: 72) gives the same definition, while other authors include also 'rabies', a disease also known as hydrophobia (Pombo 2011: 408), 'rage, fury' and 'hatred' (Drenska 1996: 711). The adjective *raivoso* is used to describe 'a person who has rabies' or who is 'angry, raging' (Drenska 1996: 711). The adverb *raivosamente*, formed from the adjective *raivoso* and the suffix *-mente*, means 'angrily, furiously' (Vieira 1871 V: 72).

Raiva could be considered the highest grade of anger (*ira*) and refers not only to a really violent shake as a result of the emotion, but also to its duration and the even more burning and insatiable desire for vengeance, regardless of whom it is aimed at, like mad dogs that attack even their owners (cf. the proverb *cão com raiva seu dono morde* which literally means 'the rabid dog bites its owner') (Pombo 2011: 408).

In *Indiculo Universal. Contem distinctos em suas classes os nomes de quazi todas as cousas que ha no mundo, & os nomes de todas as Artes e Sciencias* (Universal Index. Containing the Classes of the Separate Names of Almost All Things in the World, and the Names of All the Arts and Sciences) (1716), translated to Portuguese by António Franco[25] and his students, we can find categories of words related to clothes, plants, animals, science, body parts, etc. Chapter 5 of the work contains the names of desires, vices, virtues, and passions such as **raiva (*rabies*)**, which is preceded by **ira (*ira*)** and **furor (*furor*)** (Franco 1716: 136), and those who are gripped by these passions are respectively **raivozo (*rabiosus*), colerico (*iracundus; iratus*)** and **furiozo (*furiosus*)** (Franco 1716: 137).

One of the most detailed descriptions of the meaning of *raiva* can be found in volume 7 of the Portuguese-Latin dictionary of Father Rafael Bluteau (VII 1720: 97). The author gives a detailed description of rabies which here is the first meaning of *rayva* (in the source the word and its derivatives are written with **y** instead of **i**), followed by 'great anger, rage' (*ira grande*). Like the preceding words, *raiva* is also used in religious texts and is often related to hell and sins, committed by humans.

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[23] *Crónica Troiana* ,Trojan Chronicl) is a translation of the poem *Roman de Troie* (Novel of Troy) от Benoît de Sainte-Maure, written in the 12th century. In the next centuries, the "Chronicle" was translated first into Catalan, Aragonese, Castilian, and Galician-Portuguese, and after that the work was published only in Portuguese as *Crónica troiana em linguagem portuguesa* (Trojan Chronicle in Portuguese) (Lorenzo 1985).

[24] António Ferreira (1528 – 1569) was a Portuguese poet and author of comedies and tragedies.

[25] António Vaz Franco (1662 – 1732) was a Portuguese biographer and priest, who actively participated in the activity of the Jesuit order, where he taught and together with his students translated *Indiculo Universal. Contem distinctos em suas classes os nomes de quazi todas as cousas que ha no mundo, & os nomes de todas as Artes e Sciencias* (Universal index. Containing the Classes of the Separate Names of Almost All Things in the World, and the Names of All the Arts and Science) (1716), authored by the French Jesuit, François-Antoine Pommet (1618-1673).

Derivatives of the noun *rayva* are the noun *rayvar* 'to be angry, get mad, enraged', the adverb *rayvosamente* 'angrily, furiously' and the adjective *rayvoso* 'angry, furious, enraged' (Bluteau 1720 VII: 97). The verb *enravecer* means 'to become enraged, to be seized by great anger' (Bluteau 1713 IV: 454).

Rayva is found in the expressions *Quem o seu cão quer matar, Rayva lhe põem nome; O cão com rayva, em seu dono trava* (Bluteau 1720 VII: 97) and *com rayva do asno, torna-se à albarda* 'to pour out one's anger or to take revenge on someone who has done no wrong' (Silva 1789: 86).

In volume 5 of *Grande diccionario Portuguez; ou, Thesouro da lingua Portugueza* (Grand Portuguese Dictionary, or Thesaurus of the Portuguese Language) Vieira (1871: 72) adds two more meanings – the first refers to the name of a dessert and the second is related to the expression of thirst or hunger.

4.5.2. The Spanish word *rabia*

The Spanish word *rabia* 'rage, wrath' (Gómez de Silva 1985: 446) is attested in 1220-50 and is found in the works of the Castillian poet Gonzalo de Berceo[26] (Corominas 1984 V: 743).

In some sources the first meaning of the word is 'a disease, usually found in dogs' (Nebrija 1495: 608), 'deadly disease, caused by a sick animal's bite. Also known as hydrophobia due to the fear of water' (Segura Munguía 2014: 605). Terreros y Pando (1787 III: 270) notes that *rabia* can be related to any disease or to a very intense pain a person suffers (Fr. *rage*. Lat. *dolor,cruciatus*. Ital. *rabbia, dolore acuto*. Eusk. *arrabia*). The word also means a strong desire to do, say, or have something (Fr. *rage*. Lat. *cacoethes*. Ital. *furore, granvoglia*). *Rabia* can be used as 'violence', 'chaos, disorder', but it can also refer to anything that incites rage, or anger (cf. Fr. *rage*. Lat. *debastatio, eversio*. It. *rabbia, disordine, rovina*).

Philosophers, scientists, and poets such as Hippocrates, Democritus, Aristotle, Pliny, and Ovid have written about the disease, while people such as the Assyrians, the Jews, and the Egyptians have not only searched for the source of the disease, but have also found and applied a variety of healing methods, in some cases through traditional medicine, and in others used supernatural forces to expel the demon from the patient's body (Santos-Burgoa, Schneider 1994: 455). The natural phenomena or the imbalance of elements in the human body were considered reasons for contracting a disease (*ibid.*).

During the Middle Ages, the cause of a person's poor health was still searched for in religion (Santos-Burgoa, Schneider 1994: 455). From the point of view of Christianity,

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[26] Gonzalo de Berceo is considered the first medieval Castilian poet. Little is known about his life, but it is assumed that he was born around 1195 and died at the beginning of the second half of the 13th century (1253 or 1260). Author of hagiographic texts, including *Vida de Santa Oria, Virgen* (The Life of Saint Oria, the Virgin), *Los Milagros de Nuestra Señora* (The Miracles of the Virgin), *Vida de Sancto Domingo de Silos* (The Life of Saint Dominic of Silos).

the disease was a result of a sin and because of this, the healing of the sick person involved praying, penances, or invocation of saints (*ibid.*).

In 1026 for the first time, a description of the disease is found in the United Kingdom, and three centuries later it is mentioned in *Libro de Montería de Alfonso XI* (The Large Animals Hunting Book of Alfonso XI), written in 1340-1350 (*ibid.*: 456).

The adjective *rabioso* is used to define someone as 'a person who has rabies', 'enraged, angry person' (Nebrija 1495: 608) and the meanings of the verb are respectively 'to get rabies; to get mad, angry' (Nebrija 1495: 608), 'to be angry (with someone), to someone (Segura Munguía 2014: 605).

The expression *con rabia* is used when we describe negative qualities and traits, but it can also mean 'too much', like *a rabiar* (DSL). Other expressions with the word *rabia*, are *de rabia mató la perra*, by which we allude to a person who cannot accept that someone has wronged him and takes revenge on the first thing he sees or the first person he meets (DSL); *tener rabia a alguien* 'to hate someone or to wish ill upon someone' (DSL); *tomar rabia* 'to feel anger, rage'; 'to get angry, be annoyed, be mad at someone' (DSL). The phrase *estar tocado de la rabia* describes someone who is in love (Terreros y Pando 1787 III: 270).

The verb *rabiar* is first attested in 1220-50 and means 'to get sick, to be rabid', 'to desire something passionately', 'to show anger, rage' (Segura Munguía 2014: 605). In DSL one more definition is found – 'too much, more than usual', as well as the expressions *estar a rabiar con alguien* 'to very angry with someone' and *rabiar de verse juntos* 'to be put in a worse position than others' (DSL). *Enrabiar(se), enrabiar* 'to become angry, furious with someone' is attested in 1617 (Segura Munguía 2014: 605). *Rabiar* is found in *El duelo que fizo la Virgen María el día de la pasión de su fijo Jesucristo* (The mourning into which the Virgin Mary went on the day of the crucifixion of her son, Jesus Chris) by Gonzalo de Berceo; *raviar* in the sense of 'to desire passionately' in *Confission del Amante*[27] (The Lover's Confession); *enrabiar* is attested in the 1884 edition of the Spanish Royal Academy dictionary (cf. Cat. *enrabiar*, Fr. *enrager*; Gal. (*arrabiar o*) *arrabear* 'to be enraged') (Corominas 1984 V: 743).

The adjectives *rábida*, and *rábido* 'angry' mean also 'cruel, enraged' (DSL), 'rabid', when they refer the the disease rabies (Segura Munguía 2014: 605). The adjective *rabioso* is attested in 1220-50 (Segura Munguía 2014: 605) and means 'rabid, sick

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[27] The poem *Confission del Amante (Confessio Amantis)* (The Lover's Confession) was written by the English poet John Gower (ca.1325 - 1403), at the behest of King Richard II. The work has an important place in literature and has been compared to *The Canterbury Tales*, the author of which, Geoffrey Chaucer, was a contemporary and friend of Gower. *Confission del Amante* has been translated into Portuguese and Castilian, the latter translation being done by Juan de Cuenca. There is still disagreement among scholars about the exact year of publication of the poem, but it was probably published in the period 1383 – 1390 (Macauley 1899). The quote is from the 1909 edition of the work, edited by Adolf Birch-Hirschfeld.

(rabies)' (García de Diego 1954: 459), 'short-tempered, angry' and 'wild, extreme, unbridled' (DSL).

4.6.   Etymology of the Portuguese *sanha* and Spanish *saña*

The Portuguese *sanha*, as well as the Spanish *saña*, are an object of discussion about their origin for which no definite answer has been given yet. In his etymological dictionary of the Portuguese language Antenor Nascentes (1955: 457) writes that *sanha* is derived from the Lat. *insania* 'insanity', while in Francisco de São Luís'[28] dictionary of the Portuguese words originating from the Eastern and African languages (see Pombo 2011: 409) it is proposed that *sanha* is derived from Hebrew – *sanah*, from the verb *sana* 'to hate', but according to Pombo (2011: 409) the Port. *sanha* can be derived from the Cast. *saña*. The author explains that in Portuguese it was precisely *sanha* which was used in the sense of 'anger', the emotion which was known in Latin as *ira*. King D. Duarte (1391 - 1438) also saw the relation between the two words and said that "the word in Portuguese corresponding to the sense of ira is precisely *sanha*, the feeling which arises from the burning heat in the heart, produced by a disappointment and a strong desire for revenge" (Pombo 2011: 409). During the reign of King D. Manuel (1495 - 1521), and even after that, *sanha* was used much more often than *ira*.

Malkiel (1974: 4) proposes three possible solutions to the problem:

1) *sānus* 'sound, healthy' and its opposite, *īnsānus* 'of unsound mind, mad, raving' and the two verbs *sānō, -āre* 'to heal' and *īnsāniō, -īre* 'to be mad, rage, rave';

2) *sanna* 'mocking grimace' and *sanniō, -ōnis* 'buffoon';

3) *saniēs* 'corrupted blood'.

In his works Corominas (Malkiel 1974: 5) dates the OSpan. *saña*, ca. 1140, and the OPort. *sanha* 1200, and writes that even though their origin is uncertain, supposedly their origin can be found in the Lat. *insanĭa* 'violent madness', respectively the verb *ensañar* attested in 1220-50 comes from VLat. *insaniare* (from *insania*) 'побеснявам', and the noun *saña* is derived from *ensañar*. García de Diego offers a different etymology of the word, distinguishing between three homonyms (Malkiel 1974: 5):

1) *saña* 'hatred' < *īnsānia*, which, according to the author, is also the origin of *asañarse* 'to fly into a rage', *ensañar, ensañamiento* and *sañudo* 'furious';

2) *saña* 'ugly gesture' < *sanna*, which the author connects with *sañudo* 'grimacing';

3) *saña* 'dirt' < *saniēs*, related to *asañarse* 'to be infected'.

In the 18th edition of the Spanish Royal Academy dictionary (1956) the noun *saña* and the adverbial phrase *a sañas* 'violently, furiously' are derived from *sanna*, while the

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[28]Francisco de São Luis (1766 - 1845), also known as Francisco Justiniano Saraiva, was a Portuguese cardinal, the eighth patriarch of Lisbon.

verb *ensañar* and its derivatives are related to *īnsānia* (Malkiel 1974: 5). The relation of *saña* and *ensañar*, alongside the Lat. *sānus* and *īnsānus*, and the verbs *sānō-, -āre* and *īnsāniō, -īre*, is an important aspect of the problem related to the establishment of the certain origin of *saña*. It is necessary as well to have a look at the homophonous prefixes: nominal *in-: un-, non-* (reversing), and verbal *in-: in-* (ingressive) (Malkiel 1974: 6).

Establishing the relationship between the Sp. *saña* and the Latin etymon is the subject of research by other scholars, among them Covarrubias Orozco (see Malkil 1974: 6), who, in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (1611: 21) indicates two possible variants of the origin of the word: *sanna* ('which means 'snoring, wheezing; hoarse sound' and 'grunting, snorting', which one who has become angry expresses with distinctive movements of the nostrils, which expand and expel the air loudly and furiously') and the Lat. *īnsānia* where *in-* is dropped, as in *sandío*. The latter is defined by the author (1611: 21) as 'mad, unreasonable, out of one's mind; an Old Spanish word, obsolete; derived from the word *insanus*, with the initial *in-* dropped'. According to Cornu (1881: 81), the origin of both Sp. *saña* and Port. *sanha* is to be sought in Lat. *sania, sanies*.

In 1888 in his historical phonology of the Portuguese language, Cornu (see Malkiel 1974: 8) writes that *sanha < (īn)sānia*, at a later stage, in Meyer-Lübke's dictionary, the Sp. *saña* is described as originating from the Lat. *īnsānia* (Malkiel 1974: 8-9). In Classical Latin there was a balance between the functions of the prefix *in-*, which, on the one hand, had a reversing or adversative function, as in *impār* 'unequal', *im-probus* 'bad, perverse, *im-pūrus* 'foul, unclean', *in-cautus* 'careless, unwary', *in-firmus* 'weak, feeble', and on the other hand, an ingressive function, which can be seen in *im-bibō* 'to drink in', *im-mittō* 'to send in, put in, work in', *im-primō* 'to press upon or into', *in-cidō* 'to fall in, upon, in with' (Malkiel 1974: 11-12). Due to the decreasing reversing function of *in-* in early Romance, especially in Old Spanish, the main negative prefix before adjectives and verbs became *des- < dis-*, as in the Sp. *desamable* 'unloveable', *deshonesto* 'immodest, dishonest', *desleal* 'disloyal'; the same process occurred with participles like *desocupado* 'unemployed, vacant' (Malkiel 1974: 11-12). In the cases in which *in-* kept its function as a negative prefix, there was a blurring of the clearly defined morphological borders which is seen in *enfermo < infirmu* and *firme*, *amigo* 'friend', *amiçt-ad, -ança* 'friendship', *amigoso* 'friendly' and *enemigo* 'enemy', *enemiçtad* 'hostility', etc. The prototype of the vocalic differentiation in the stem can be traced back to the parent language (*amicus* vs. *inimicus*).

The Classical Latin word *īnsānīre* 'to be mad, rage, rave' contains the adversative *in-*, which functions the same way as in *īn-salūbris* 'unhealthy', *īn-sānābilis* 'incurable', *īn-sānia* 'frenzy', *īn-sānitās* 'unsoundness', *īn-sānus* 'mad'. If we follow the model of the near-synonyms *furia: furiāre*, we can derive the verb **īnsāniāre* from *īnsānia* and after that *ensañar > saña*, where the prefix *en-* will be dropped. The verb *ensañar* is a good example demonstrating the change that occurred in the meaning of *en-*, which, at this

stage lost its reversing or adversative function, and this can be observed in pairs such as *amor* 'love': *enamorar, fuzia* 'confidence' (<*fiducia*): *enfuziar(se), lazo* 'ribbon, band': *enlazar*, etc. (Malkiel 1974: 12).

The verb *sannō, -āre* 'to mock' is also found with the prefixes *dē-* and *sub*, and from these groups there are two more derived, formed with c *-ātor* (agentives) and *-ātio* (abstracts), to which *sub-sann-ium* is added, following the model of *imperium* (Malkiel 1974: 10). It is important to point out the close relation of OSp. *so(n)sañar* 'to mock' and *subsannāre* 'to ridicule, make fun of'. The prefix *son-* was often used in Old Spanish (*sonreírse* 'to smile', *sonsacar* 'to deceive'; mod. *sompesar* 'to weight, heft') (Malkiel 1974: 10) and it is precisely *so(n)-* which became one of the most productive prefixes, as it can be seen in a great number of words in the vocabulary to which it was added – *correr: so-correr, jorn-al,-ada: so-jornar, judgar: so-judgar, meter: so-meter, portar: so-portar, sacar: so(n)-sacar, tierra: so-terraño* and *so-terrar* (Malkiel 1974: 11). In an extraction of an old Leonese text, *Elena y María*, v.8, the variation *sonsanar* is found, and it is possible that *-n-* is not correctly represented in the transcription, but, at the same time, it could be considered a western form, in which the Lat. *-nn-* > Gal.-Port.. *-n-* (Malkiel 1974: 10-11).

Although in his *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Meyer-Lübke rejects the idea that *saniēs* can be seen as a prototype of OSp. *saña*, at a later stage he decided to undertake the task of collecting words derived from the Lat. *saniēs* outside the peninsula, and then, together with the Sp. *saña*, to group them according to their meaning. Among these words are Sard. (Campid.) *saṅğa* 'running sore', Franche-Comté (Grand'-Combe) *señ*, Prov. *sanha* and SE Fr. *sañẹ, señẹ* 'reed, brush', OFr. *essangier* 'to soak laundry, roast hemp', which he derives from *saniēs, saniōsus*, and *exsaniāre* (Malkiel 1974: 13).

The problem that arises from this division is related to the absence of an essential element, which could link, on the one hand, the OSp. *saña* and its derivatives, and on the other hand, the words in French, spoken in the southern region, and in Sardinian which are concrete concepts referring to stagnant liquids and vegetation characteristic of swampy terrain, while the Spanish word group is related to abstract concepts: 'wrath, anger, fury' (Malkiel 1974: 13).

Possible semantic development: insanity > anger

mocking > anger

disease, sickness > malaise > anger

4.6.1. The Portuguese word *sanha*

The noun *sanha* is found in the Portuguese literature of 13th century and later in 16th and 17th centuries, in the dictionaries of Jeronimo Cardoso (1562: 95), Agostino Barbosa (1611: 970) and Bento Pereira (1647: 86). Vieira (1874 V: 404) translates *sanha*

as 'anger, wrath' and compares it to the same emotion animals experience and express by showing their teeth to scare someone. The adjectives *sanhudo* and *sanhoso* mean 'angry, furious'; 'full of hatred' (Drenska 1996: 786). Vieira notes that the use of *sanhado* is typical of more archaic texts, while *sanhudo* is used more in poetry in the sense of 'angry', as well as 'terrible, terrifying' (Vieira 1874 V: 404).

In his dictionary, Bento Pereira (1647: 15) translates the adjective *assanhada (coisa)* as the Lat. *irritatus, -a, -um. Assanhado* can be used for a person who is overcome with great rage, who becomes unreasonable and extremely uneasy under the influence of the emotion (Bluteau 1712 I: 597), but the word is also often used for enraged animals (Vieira 1871 I: 610).

The noun *assanhamento* means 'exasperation, fury, something that arouses anger or drives mad' (Vieira 1871 I: 610), while *assanho* is defined as 'irritation; anger, rage; provocation' (Vieira 1871 I: 610).

The verb *assanhar* means 'to irritate, to infuriate, to arouse anger in someone' (Vieira 1871 I: 610), 'to enrage, to drive someone mad; to get angry' (Drenska 1996: 88). The reflexive verb *assanhar-se* is used in the sense of 'to get angry, become fierce, to rage' (Vieira 1871 I: 610), 'to get angry; to rage' (Drenska 1996: 88) and is found in Portuguese-Latin dictionaries from the 16th-17th centuries.

Sanhudo can be used as a definition of a person who is prone to rage and whose temperament is characterized by the display of violent anger, while *assanhado* describes a person who is suddenly stricken with rage. In a certain context, *assanhado* also has the meaning of 'experiencing great excitement, great enthusiasm' (Pombo 2011: 409).

Like other words in Portuguese, *sanha* acquired the meaning of 'anger, fury' at a later stage of its development. Possibly it was initially used in the sense of 'madness', and later on more meanings were getting added to its semantics which are not related to the above-mentioned state, but still define strong emotions that a person experiences - hatred, loathing, passion. At some point, the word came to be used as a synonym for *furor* and *ira*, the meaning of which is also 'fury, anger', but *sanha* is defined by some authors as an even stronger expression of this emotion.

6.6.2. The Spanish word *saña*

In Spanish literature, the word is first attested in *Poem for my Cid* (ca. 1207), it is found frequently in the work of the Castilian poet Gonzalo de Berceo (ca. 1195-1253/1260?) and in Medieval literature works (Corominas 1984 V: 155). In the 1971 edition of the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy (Segura Munguía 2014: 657) the Lat. *sanna* 'grimace, gesture' is listed as the origin of the Sp. *saña*, while in other sources *saña* is derived from Lat. *īnsānĭa* 'insanity' (García de Diego 1954: 492) and Lat. *insanīre* (Segura Munguía 2014: 657). Friedrich Diez (Corominas 1984 V: 155) writes that there is a high probability that *saña* can be derived from the Latin *insānĭa* 'madness',

specifying that it is more appropriate to speak of a 'raging madness'. There is a possibility that the verb *ensañar* can be derived directly from the Lat. *insaniare*, documented by Cornu, and hence the noun *saña*, if the dropping of the prefix *in-* can be explained, as in the pairs *furia – enfurecer*, *locura – enloquecer*, *amor – enamorar* (Corominas 1984 V: 156).

Although in some sources the Sp. *saña* is derived from Latin meaning 'madness', 'anger, fury', there are studies that look for the origin in other languages such as Old French, Provençal and Sardinian, where the words carry the meaning of 'grimace', 'purulent wound' or ' to soak laundry'. Nettleship (see Corominas 1984 V: 156) gives an example of a passage from Varro in which the word *absanitas* 'insanity' (donde los mss. traen *adsanitas*) occurs, which can be changed with the familiar *insanitas*. The author clarifies that the word was formed similarly to *absurditas* and *abnormitas* and this could allow the use of **absania* instead of *insania*, like in Romance the first vowel after the definite article has been dropped (*l'asa-ña > la saña*). Due to the lack of other evidence for *absanitas* and for **absania*, at this point this origin remains hypothetical (Corominas 1984 V: 156).

If we accept that the origin of *saña* can be found in the Lat. *īnsānĭa*, as some scholars assume, we will see the proximity in the meanings of the words in the two languages as well as their development to 'anger, fury'. The Lat. *insānĭō* means 'to be outside oneself; to be unreasonable; to be crazy'; (fig.) 'to lose one's mind; to be delirious; to act unwisely' (Segura Munguía 2014: 657). Lat. *īnsānus* is used in the sense of 'mentally ill'; 'unreasonable, ridiculous, furious, insane, mad'; 'raging (sea, wind, etc.)'; 'monstrous, extreme'; 'who leads to madness, maddening' and respectively Sp. *insano* (cf. Fr. *insane*, Eng. *insane*, It. *insano*) 'unhealthy, harmful to health', 'crazy', 'lack of reason, reason' (Segura Munguía 2014: 658). Initially, these words referred to a mental state and reckless actions taken as a result of raging emotions in a person, which can turn into anger, rage, or 'intention or purpose filled with hatred and cruelty' (DSL).

4.7. Etymology of the Spanish word *enfadar*

The verb *enfadar* 'to get angry' is attested in 1495 and is derived from the Galician-Portuguese verb *enfadarse* (Segura Munguía 2014: 217-218). In the Middle Ages, *enfadar* meant 'to get discouraged', 'to get tired', 'to get bored' and its origin may be related to *fado* 'fate, faith' (from Lat. *fatum* 'fate'), especially that which is considered bad and unfavorable, which can also give a more specific meaning – 'to surrender to fatality' (Segura Munguía 2014: 217-218). Cast. *enfadar* was used only as 'to bore, to tire' and was attested around the 18th century (Segura Munguía 2014: 217-218).

The noun *enfado* is attested around the middle of the 16th century, an era when the genre of *enfado* was quite popular as a poetic form, originating from the troubadour *enueg*, in which the poet expressed disgust at some abuse, ridiculous and stupid act, and others (Corominas 1984 II: 613-614). The word has the meaning of 'unpleasant

impression that certain things leave on the soul', 'hard work', 'something boring or bothersome', 'anger' (Segura Munguía 2014: 217-218), and 'annoyance, irritation'.

The adjective *enfadoso*, attested in 1570, means 'causing anger'; 'who easily gets angry' (Segura Munguía 2014: 217-218), and the verb *enfadar* was attested in 1555 (Corominas 1984 II: 611). According to authors like Meyer-Lübke, Walther von Wartburg, Antenor Nascentes, and others (Corominas 1984 II: 611-612), *enfadar* is derived from the Lat. *fatŭus* 'stupid, foolish, insipid'. In their research, Meyer-Lübke and Wartburg (Corominas 1984 II: 612) concluded that the origin of *enfadar* might be found in the Gascon dialect, spoken in the southwestern region Béarn, France, deriving it from Fr. *fade*, or Oc. *fat* 'insipid; stupid'. Corominas (1984 II: 612) explains that neither the adjective **fado* existed in Castillian, nor the verb **enfadar* or **enfader* in Occitan and French.

Corominas (1984 II: 612) notes the Cast. *enfadar* as a late introduction to the literature, since its use is not found in the medieval works of authors like Gonzalo de Berceo, Juan Ruiz, Don Juan Manuel, and works such as *Poema de Mio Cid*, *Calila y Dimna*, *Libro de Apolonio*, *Celestina* and others. If we exclude the form *enhadar*, which is found in Nebrija and the poems of Hernán Núñez[29], the oldest example we find is from *Otas de Roma*[30] from the first half of the 14th century (Corominas 1984 II: 613).

For Corominas (1984 II: 613) the development in the semantics of the word is clear: from the initial 'to get tired' > 'to get bored, tired' > 'to get irritated, angry', in the same way in which the Fr. *fâcher* < Lat. *fastidire* 'to show aversion (to food or drink); to put on airs, to be disdainful, haughty; to treat with disdain or distaste; to feel aversion' (Glare 1968: 678) and Cast. *enojar*, which is borrowed from the Oc. *enojar* 'to annoy, to bore, to tire, to disgust' < VLat. *ĭnŏdiare* 'to cause loathing', derived from the expression *in odio esse alicui* 'to be hated by someone' (Corominas 1984 II: 635). Such words become a valuable source of folk psychology, which, according to Corominas (1984 II: 613), had remained in the background for etymology in the past.

Possible semantic development: to get bored, tired > to get annoyed > to get angry

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[29] Hernán Núñez de Guzmán (ca. 1478 - 1553) was a Spanish writer and Hellenist, who wrote a commentary on Juan de Mena's epic poem *Laberinto de Fortuna* (Labyrinth of Fate) and translated *A History of Bohemia* written by Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini (Pope Pius II).

[30] *El cuento muy fermoso del enperador Otas de Roma & de la infanta Florencia su fija, & del buen cauallero Esmeré* (The very beautiful tale of the emperor Otto of Rome and the infanta Florencia, his daughter, and of the good knight Esmere), also known as *Otas de Roma* or just *Roma*, is one of the nine texts contained in the Escorial manuscript h-I-13. The text is believed to be a translation of the French work *La Chanson de Florence de Rome*, although there are other hypotheses about the exact origin of the Castilian version (Rodas, Soria 2009: 16-17).

V.   Conclusion

The result of the etymological research on the words for anger in Spanish and Portuguese can be summarized as follows:

1. Five of the six examined words in Spanish and Portuguese are traced back to their Latin etymon. In one case the Latin form has a Greek origin.

2. Formally, words have undergone minimal changes related to the specific sound laws operating in both languages.

3. We establish that, semantically, the words for anger are associated with diseases or imbalances in the body, with madness, on the one hand, and the idea of fast movement, on the other.

4. Although they express the same emotion, certain differences are found in the semantics of the words related to the intensity of anger.

According to Millenson's three-dimensional model, presented on p. 24, one of the vectors represents the negative emotions that arise when the positive stimulus is removed. Initially, the irritation appears which very often can have a physical expression, albeit momentary, such as a frown or a clenched jaw (Matsumoto 2009: 308). This is the meaning of the Spanish word *enfado*, which describes boredom or annoyance that leads to the feeling of anger. The adjective *enfadadizo* also defines a state in which one feels intolerance of something or someone and is prone to the stronger emotion of anger. In a certain context, the Port. *cólera, colérico, encolerisar(-se)* are used with similar meanings, but they express a stronger expression of feeling, and imply a more rapid and sudden transition to anger.

If we assume that *enfado* is the mildest form of the emotion in question, i.e. irritation and boredom turning into anger, then the Port. *cólera* and the Sp. *colera* express the actual emotion of anger. We conclude this by the using the definition that Vieira (1871: 271) gives, according to whom "this emotion may be caused by an insult or irritation arising as a result of someone's action, but it may appear suddenly as a strong and violent stirring in the soul", which corresponds to the Spanish expression *exaltársele a alguien la cólera* 'to change the mood, to irritate'. *Cólera* is used primarily for anger caused by an insult, action, or event that has given rise to that emotion, and one who is described as *colérico* can easily become overwhelmed by it.

In both languages, the words *furia* and *furor* describe strong emotions that can be both negative and positive. They fall under the category of anger, but it is possible to move to an even more intense emotion: rage. In the words of Vieira (1873 III: 807) one who is prone to anger (*colérico*) can often become furious (*furioso*), and when this happens, "he becomes menacing, terrifying, even irrepressible and mad". To a great

extent, the intensity of the feelings that describe *furia* and *furor* is due to their association with the divine wrath and the mythological image of the Furies, who possess the power to punish those who have transgressed. *Furor* is also used to describe the state of ecstasy, delirium, and insanity, which turns into madness that blinds reason.

Like the last two words, *ira* refers to a strong feeling of hatred leading to violence, rage, or a state of madness. It is found in religious works, describing the wrath of God (*a ira de Deus*), one of the seven deadly sins, as well as punishment, and justice.

Ira can be considered as the accumulation of negative emotions such as irritation, strong indignation, or a desire for revenge, which at some point will reach their tipping point and will turn into true anger (Tatián 2015: 14-15).

Port. *sanha* and Sp. *saña* express the notion of insanity which takes over someone who is under the influence of anger. Despite the disagreements about the origin of the words, they are related to the hidden feelings of hatred or loathing, of a very strong irritation that turns into anger, or rage when provoked by something or someone. Once struck with this emotion, a person goes crazy and seems like he is out of his mind. Every goal he has or action he takes is filled with hate and is carried out furiously.

Raiva and *rabia* are some of the words expressing the highest degree of anger, or, according to Millenson's model, rage. The latter emotion describes the experience and expression of this emotion not only in man, but also in animals, and also attributes similar qualities to natural phenomena. It defines a strong shake-up from the feeling that has arisen, an insatiable desire for revenge, and an obsession with madness. This rage is not just a momentary outburst, but a prolonged state leading to wild and unbridled actions.

Different hypotheses have been presented regarding the origin of the Port. *sanha* and the Span. *saña*, some considered less likely than others. However, a more thorough analysis of each of these ideas would help to either refute or confirm them. This, in turn, could lead to a different reading of the history of the words with the context in which they are found. It is also necessary to pay attention to the development of the corresponding words in the rest of the Ibero-Romance languages, the dialectal forms, and the influence of other languages.

The following table presents the analyzed words for 'anger, rage' in Portuguese and Spanish put in chronological order according to their earliest attestation:

Portuguese	Spanish
Ira – first attested in the 13th century, meaning 'anger'.	**Ira** – first attested in 1100 meaning 'anger'.

Sanha – first attested in the 13th century meaning 'anger, wrath'.	**Saña** – first attested ca. 1207 meaning 'anger'.
Fúria – first attested in the second half of the 15th century, meaning 'anger'.	**Rábia** – attested in 1220-1250 meaning 'anger, fury'.
Furor – first attested in 1497 meaning 'fury'.	**Cólera** – first attested in works from 1251 and 1283 meaning 'bile, bilious fluid'.
Cólera – first attested in 1540 meaning 'choleric' as a trait of character; and in 1544 in the sense of the emotiona anger.	**Furor** – attested in works from the 13th-14th centuries, meaning 'anger, fury'.
Raiva – attested in the 15th-16th centuries, meaning 'fury, anger'.	**Furia** – attested in 1438 meaning 'fury'.
	Enfadar – attested in 1495.

The earliest attested words for the emotion in both languages are *ira* and *saña/sanha*, with an initial meaning of 'anger'. Increased use of the majority of the words in Spanish like *saña, rábia, cólera*, and *furor*, is observed in the 13th century, while the same ones in Portuguese, except for *sanha*, are found in texts from a later period, 15th-16th centuries, a time when *furia* and the Sp. *enfadar* were also used.

From the beginning of the 12th century, in Europe began the development of universities, as well as the study of disciplines such as law, theology, and philosophy. Towards the middle of the century, agriculture and trade in the cities and with other countries were developing in the Portuguese kingdom due to seafaring. Many changes were taking place in the economy, society, and culture of the country. During this period, the clergy played an important role in the development of Portuguese history and literature. Monasteries became cultural centers and until the 13th century, it was possible only there to create manuscripts, which was a long and slow process. This was the reason for their small number and rare distribution. Later on, groups were formed whose members were involved in the transcription of the texts, which was also the reason for differences in the individual manuscripts (Lopes, Saraiva 1996: 37). The literature of this era can be divided into oral and written, the first was aimed at the uneducated public, which was presented with stories related to people's everyday life and relevant topics for them; the second type of literature was reserved for the clergy, mainly for those who wished to devote themselves to religious service. The oldest schools in Portugal are precisely those where the future clergy was prepared for such service.

Songbooks with the oldest texts in Portuguese were compiled in the 13th century, with some of the works dating back to the 12th century. The three largest collections from this period contain a total of 1,680 poems written by 160 different authors who came from different places on the Iberian Peninsula but spent part of their lives at the royal court in León and Castile, where they created their work (Lopes, Saraiva 1996: 46-47).

The end of the 12th to the middle of the 16th century was the time of the so-called archaic period of the Portuguese language, which can be divided into two stages - the first which lasted approximately until 1385, a time considered to be the beginning of a literature strongly predominated by the Galician language; and the second, which began around 1385 and lasted until the middle of the 16th century, when the works of the first Portuguese grammarians were published, such as Fernão de Oliveira (1536) and João de Barros (1540) (Lopes, Saraiva 1996: 23-24). In the 13th century, the historiography on the Iberian Peninsula was developing, and it was influenced by Medieval Latin texts, works of Arab geographers and historians, and chronicles. Towards the middle of the next century, in 1344, the *Crónica Geral de Espanha* or *Crónica Geral de 1344* ("General Chronicle of Spain" or "General Chronicle of 1344") was edited and translated into Portuguese, but only the Castilian text was preserved. The narrative in the translated version is extended, and sources, some of which were absent from the *Crónica General de España*, the title of the original work written by Alfonso X (1252-1284), were used. During this period, some of the most important historical works were published, such as the *Crónica Geral de Espanha* (a Galician-Portuguese translation of Castilian texts), *Crónica Galego-Portuguesa de España y Portugal* (ca. 1342) (Galician-Portuguese Chronicle of Spain and Portugal), of which a fragment of *IV Crónica Breve de Santa Cruz* was preserved; 3 books called *Livros das Linhagens*; two versions of *Crónica Geral de 1344*, the second of which was edited in 1400 (Lopes, Saraiva 1996: 81-82).

One of the most important figures in medieval Portuguese literature was Fernão Lopes (1380/1390-1460), a chronicler who held a high position in the royal court and was close to several of the royal kings. He was given the task of writing and editing a general chronicle of the Portuguese kingdom. As a result of his long-term efforts, he managed to write *Crónica de El-Rei D. Pedro* (Chronicle of King D. Pedro), *Crónica de El-Rei D. Fernando* (Chronicle of King D. Fernando), first part of *Crónica de El-Rei D. João* (Chronicle of King D. João), which was completed by Gomes Eanes de Zurara (ca. 1420-1473/74), a student of Lopes, and second part of *Crónica de El-Rei D. João*, (Chronicle of King D. João). In addition to being a chronicler, Fernão Lopes also contributed to the writing of the first grammar of the Portuguese language (1534), which focused mainly on phonology, and a few years later, in 1540, João de Barros also published a grammar (Lopes, Saraiva 1996: 26). With these works began a period of intense studies of the native language, writing, and rules. In 1570 the Portuguese-Latin and Latin-Portuguese dictionary of Jeronimo Cardoso was published, followed by Duarte Nunes de Leão's *Origem da Língua Portuguesa* (Origin of the Portuguese Language) (1606), the Portuguese-Latine dictionaries (1611) of Agostinho Barbosa, Latin-Portugues prosodies (1634) by Bento Pereira (Lopes, Saraiva 1996: 26), the 8-volume dictionary of Portuguese and Latin, compiled by Rafael Bluteau and published in 1712-1721, and the Dictionary of the Portuguese Language (1789) of Morais and Silva.

In Spanish history, the second half of the 13th century, when Afonso X (1252-1284) was sitting on the throne, was a time of strong cultural development. The king

himself translated into Castilian works such as *Lapidario* (Lapidar) and *Calila y Dimna* (Calila and Dimna). There were more and more poets, musicians, historians, and people dedicated to science. Translations of various works in Latin were published, treatises on astronomy, mineralogy and astrology, legal texts, *Los libros de acedrex dados e tablas* (The Books of Chess, Dice, and Tables), *Primera Crónica General* (First General Chronicle) – a history of Spain, as well as the *General Estoria* (General History) (Lapesa 1981: 237-238).

During the second half of the 14th century, some individuals left a bright mark on Castilian literature – Don Juan Manuel (1282-1348), a nephew of Afonso X, rewrote some of his uncle's works, correcting the errors to convey texts with a clear message; Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita (ca. 1283 – 1350), author of *Libro de buen amor* (The Book of Good Love); and Pedro López de Ayala (1332-1407), historian, poet and statesman (Lapesa 1981: 249-253). In the 14th century, the Galician language was replaced by Castilian, in which many poets, as well as Afonso XI himself, began to write their poetry. With the introduction of translated literary works, the authors were facing difficulties in transferring words and phrases from a foreign language to their native one. This led to the search for models that could clearly express the meaning of the texts in the translated works. Thus appeared Enrique de Villena's (ca. 1384-1434) *Arte de trobar* (The Art of Verse Writing) (1433), which contained the first descriptions of Castilian phonetics and orthography, and also indicated less frequently used words accompanied by a more detailed description of their meaning (Lapesa 1981: 286-287). The quest to discover the nuances in meanings and study their etymology led to the writing of texts such as *Oracional* by Alonso de Cartagena and *Universal Vocabulario* (1490) by Alonso de Palencia. One of the most significant works on the Spanish language was published at a key moment in the country's history. In 1492, when Granada was surrendered, the Castilian grammar of Antonio de Nebrija was published. He aimed to describe the linguistic norm that would serve to study the rules of the native language, as well as to show those characteristics that distinguish Castilian from Latin.

The written literature of the Iberian Peninsula developed intensively in two main periods - the 13th-14th centuries and the 16th century. For centuries, the peninsula was ruled by the Arabs, who fought fierce battles with the local population over the territory. The long and difficult period of changes and foreign influence gave rise to the need to preserve the national history, culture, and language. Thus, the first steps were taken in the monasteries, which became the center of clerics' diligent work focused on writing and translating literary works, laws, legal documents, and religious texts. One of the most valuable things these sources provide is the authenticity of the language of a given period.

The cultural-historical conditions under which a given text was written or translated allow us to investigate not only current topics of the era but also the changes in the language, innovations, and influences from foreign cultures. For a long time, written sources were available only to the clergy and those who would devote themselves to the

service of the church, and although the compiled texts were reserved for a certain part of society, this activity gave impetus to the development of writing on the entire peninsula. As was already noted, the 13th-14th centuries were a key moment in the development of the culture of the Iberians. Literacy went beyond the borders of the monastery and in Portugal began the compilation of poetry collections, the translation of works from Latin, treatises, legal and scientific texts. The Spanish royal court became a place of feverish cultural activity, where poets and musicians created their art, and the king himself undertook the task of translating important scientific works.

Some of the words for anger are attested precisely in the period 13th-14th centuries and 16th century. One of the reasons for their frequent use at that time is due to a large extent to the Reconquest (Sp. *Reconquista*). Centuries of foreign influence and restrictions have bred anger that has grown over time in the peninsula's population. Its aims were directed towards pushing out the enemy, gaining their freedom back, and returning the lands. These goals were achieved in hard and prolonged battles, described in numerous works related to the history of the countries. If we take a look at the analyzed words for anger in both languages within the respective periods, we will see that *ira* was mainly present in monastic literature until the 13th century, the time when the clergy was tasked with written sources that were mainly reserved for its members. *Ira* started gradually giving way to other words describing the emotion. During the Renaissance era, with the appearance of more and more translations, the question of the exact transmission of the meaning of words from one language to another arose, as well as the need to know not only foreign words but also the mother tongue and its richness. The desire to know one's language, to study its structure and laws, its history and development, is born of the desire to shape the national spirit. We come to this conclusion by reading important scientific works in the field of linguistics, published in the 16th century. Thus, on the one hand, in the early stage of the creation of written works, we have the historiographical texts presenting important events and personalities who contributed to the development of the two countries, and on the other hand, we have works describing the languages and the rich speech that have survived over time, despite foreign influences. Through written sources, the people of the Iberian Peninsula could immortalize the important events of their history, telling the world about their heroes, about the strength and endurance they showed in the battles against the invaders, to gain their freedom back, and to reveal the greatness of their countries.

Contributions:

1. Linguistic contributions
   1.1. Presentation of different scientific theories of emotions and specifically of anger.
   1.2. Systematization of the words for the emotion *anger* and its definition within the Indo-European languages.

1.3. A detailed analysis of words meaning 'anger, fury' in the Ibero-Romance languages.

1.4. Collecting scientific and literary works from different periods, related to the words for anger in the analyzed languages. Analysis of the collected information.

1.5. Comparison of semantic nuances of the words and establishing the intensity of the emotion they refer to.

1.6. Tracing the history of words from the earliest attested sources and analysing possible reasons for increased use at a given time.

2. Interdisciplinary
2.1. Analysis of the use of the words in texts from different periods and genres, which refer to important cultural and historical events in Portugal and Spain.

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