

Metaphor and Metonymy as a Source of False Friends in Spanish and Standard Modern Greek

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Abstract: The linguistic interference phenomenon of false friends has always been present in language as a process of divergence between two languages or linguistic varieties. It concerns cognates (either due to borrowing or a common origin) whose meanings have diverged over time. One of the main sources of semantic divergence are metaphor and metonymy that have brought about pairs of false friends such as *retirement* and *retiro*, or *retirada* in English and Spanish, respectively; and the pairs *αφουηρέτηση*, *σύνταξη*, and *συνταξιοδότηση*, in Standard Modern Greek (SMG, hereinafter) and Cypriot Standard Greek (CSG, hereinafter). These nouns are all partial semantic friends (they differ in relation to at least one of their meanings) and their emergence is seen in detail accompanied by examples clarifying their semantics and pragmatics.

Key words: Semantic (partial) false friends, retirement, jubilación, retiro, retirada, Standard Modern Greek, Cypriot Standard Greek, English, Spanish, *αφουηρέτηση*, *σύνταξη*, *συνταξιοδότηση*.

Introduction: Interlinguistic and intralinguistic false friends

The linguistic interference phenomenon known as *false friends* is usually seen in the abundant relevant bibliography on the topic as a process that occurs between

two (or more, according to case) specific languages and it is considered a clearly defined process between two communication systems, in which the speakers of one of those are not capable (without previous relevant teaching) of understanding the speakers of the other language and vice versa. The term *false friend* itself was created in order to refer to terms that are the same or very similar between two linguistic systems that no one would dare to claim that they are not two different languages: French and English (Koessler and Derocquigny, 1928).

This fact has had several consequences that ought to be emphasized: 1) That the phenomenon of false friends is usually studied from a synchronic perspective and it is assumed that it refers to two (or more languages, depending on each particular instance) totally different between them; 2) That this way the diachronic evolution that explains the reasons why a certain signifier has resulted in totally or partially different meanings in two or more given languages, is ignored; and 3) That the theoretical approaches and results thereof that have been reached in the course of the false friends investigation are not usually applied in the different dialectal varieties of any given language.

The existence of semantic false friends, or pairs of words that share signifiers but differ totally or partially in their meanings, has been possible due to linguistic change over time, since, when we go back in time, it is clear that this divergence in meaning did not exist (Chamizo Domínguez, 2006). For example, the Norwegian noun *fart* ('speed', 'haste', 'momentum', 'pace', to mention but a few of its meanings) and the French *fart* are semantic false friends as far as the latter is derived from the first, although its meaning is "Produit dont on enduit la semelle du ski pour en améliorer la glisse" (Product that is placed under the sole of the ski in order to improve sliding). The previous example is an example in which the false friend has come about as a product of borrowing from Norwegian into French and it is usually the case that the majority of borrowings

end up creating false friends. The false friends that originate from borrowing appear, because the meanings of a certain term are reduced in the target language in comparison to those it had in the source language or because meanings are added in the target language that did not exist in the source language (Chamizo-Domínguez, 2008: 61-90). Emblematic is the case of the Greek noun *τσικό* [tsi'kɔ], that is borrowed from the Spanish noun *chico*, but in Modern Greek it means what in Spanish would be expressed by the noun *alevín*, i.e. “joven principiante que se inicia en una disciplina o profesión” (DRAE) (beginner, novice that starts in a discipline or profession). Although, to make matters worse, it restricts the meaning exclusively to those participating in a sports activity, i.e. football, since, according to the Manolis Triandafyllides Foundation (MTF) online (http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/index.html Accessed 27 June 2016), it refers to the ‘junior football teams’, i.e. “παιδικές ομάδες ποδοσφαιρικού συλλόγου”, or the junior football teams and their players (young children and adolescents), “οι μικροί ποδοσφαιριστές μιας ομάδας, τα παιδικά κι εφηβικά τμήματά της” (Babiniotes 2002: 1832).

Meanwhile, when the semantic changes appear within one single language, the mechanism mainly utilized is linked to the use of a certain term that has been transferred, since the most frequently transferred uses are the metaphorical and metonymic ones. When a transferred use is lexicalized in such a manner that the transferred meaning is understood as the literal meaning (or one of the literal meanings, as may be the case) of that term on a certain regional linguistic environment, while this does not occur in another regional linguistic environment where the same language is spoken, we find ourselves at the source of the process that gives rise to a pair of semantic false friends within a given language. This is exactly what has happened with the Latin nouns *caput* and *testa* or *testum*. The literal meaning of *caput* in Latin was ‘head’, and this is the

meaning with which it passed to various Romanic languages, as in the case of the Spanish *cabeza*, the Catalan and Romanian *cap* and the Portuguese *cabeça*. On the other hand, *testa* or *testum*, that meant literally ‘tapadera de barro’ (clay lid) or ‘vasija de barro’ (clay pot or vessel) (Corominas and Pascual, 1984-87), begun being used in order to mean ‘head’ by means of a humorous metaphor (Bréal and Bailly, 1918). The lexicalization of this meaning, originally metaphoric, in some parts of the Latin-speaking world was understood as the literal meaning for signifier *testa*, which is what happened to the French *teste* (currently *tête*) or the Italian *testa*. On the contrary, where *caput* still meant ‘head’, *testa/testum* retained broadly/more or less the original literal meaning, producing the Castilian *tiesto*, “pedazo de cualquier vasija de barro” (piece of any clay vessel) and “maceta (| recipiente de barro para criar plantas)” (DRAE), the Portuguese *testo* “Vaso de barro onde se põe cal para caiar” (DPLP), and the Catalan *test*, “Vas de terrissa, i especialment el que serveix per a tenir-hi plantes vives” (DCVB) (all of which mean ‘flowerpot’). The end-result is none other than the fact that now, the Italian *testa* and the Catalan *test*, for example, are semantic false friends as the result of a divergent evolution originally from a common point of departure.

Having said that, if we take into account the fact that in the past all those Romanic languages were merely dialectal varieties of Latin, then we can reasonably postulate that the false friends originating due to the process of lexicalization of certain meanings from Latin are one of the phenomena that may help us to understand how they may be generated in the dialectal varieties of a given language. At the same time, the benefits of theoretical reflection on the matter of false friends in the linguistic varieties that are commonly accepted as different languages may help us understand how false friends also function within different dialects of the same language. Our goal in the present article will be to study certain examples of false friends between the standard linguistic variety of Modern Greek spoken in Greece (SMG) and the corresponding dialect

spoken in Cyprus (CSG), all of which are the result of lexicalization in certain meanings whose origin is a common source, mainly due to metaphor and metonymy.

An instance of (partial semantic) false friends in Spanish and English: Retirement (En.) versus jubilación, retiro or retirada (Sp.).

The phenomenon of false friends has brought about very interesting cases of semantic divergence in many languages and/or linguistic varieties. Two cases in point would be the situation that arises between English and Spanish, and between SMG and CSG themselves on the terms used to denote 'retirement'. In order to refer to the fact that someone discontinues his/her employment in an activity, in English the noun *retirement* is used. This noun is defined as 1) "the time when you stop working, especially because you have reached the age when you are officially too old to work, or the act of doing this"; and 2) "the time when you stop playing sport as a professional player because you are too old, or the act of doing this" (*Macmillan*). According to these definitions, the Spanish language uses three nouns in order to translate the English noun, so someone is obliged to choose among those depending on the context of the utterance and if it concerns a vocation or a profession of the person retiring: *retirada*, *retiro* and *jubilación*, although properly speaking the last noun is not a false friend. The *DRAE* defines the nouns *retirada*, *retiro* and *jubilación* as "Acción y efecto de retirar o retirarse" (The act and effect of removing or retiring), "Situación del militar, funcionario, obrero, etc., retirado" (Condition of military personnel, civil servant, worker, etc, that has retired) and "Acción y efecto de jubilar o jubilarse" (The act and effect of retiring or pensioning someone off), respectively. Given the fact that these definitions are not really clear, they would hardly be of any help to anyone who did not already know, as a native speaker, the concrete way in which they are used in Spanish.

The noun *retirada* is used specifically in order to make reference to actors, athletes or bullfighters leaving their profession. So, when the Spanish Raúl González Blanco announced his intention to stop being a professional football player, the Spanish press presented the decision in the following way: “El New York Cosmos ha hecho pública una noticia que había comenzado a sonar en las últimas horas: la *retirada* de Raúl González Blanco” (<http://www.abc.es/deportes/futbol/20151015/abci-raul-anuncia-retirada-201510151921.html> Accessed 15 October 2015. Italics ours) (The New York Cosmos has published the news that begun spreading in the last hours: the retirement of Raúl González Blanco). The Spanish noun *retirada* was the translation of the English noun *retirement* on the headlines of the story detailing the retirement on the web page of the *New York Cosmos* itself that announced it as follows: “Soccer legend Raúl announces *retirement*” (<http://www.nycosmos.com/news/2015/10/15/soccer-legend-ral-announces-retirement> Accessed 15 October 2015. Italics ours).

On the other hand, the noun *retiro* is used to refer especially to the military and the police, as is shown by the following headlines in a Colombian newspaper: “Murió el general *en retiro* Fernando Tapias, excomandante de las Fuerzas Militares” (<http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/murio-el-general-retiro-fernando-tapias-excomandante-de-articulo-589067> Accessed 30 October 2015. Italics ours) (Retired general Fernando Tapias, former chief of the Military Force, died). And, finally, the noun *jubilación* usually refers to any worker –either as an employed person or as self-employed– that does not belong to any of the categories discussed previously, as is shown by the following headline: “La edad de *jubilación* se retrasa hasta 65 años y tres meses a partir de enero” (<http://www.abc.es/economia/20141229/abci-retraso-edad-jubilacion-201412262147.html> Accessed 30 October 2015. Italics ours) (Retirement age to be delayed until the 65th year and one quarter starting January).

Given the state of affairs, the Spanish nouns *retirada* and *retiro* have the role of partial semantic false friends in connection to the English noun *retirement* as far as the English noun will have to be translated by one or the other of the Spanish nouns according to context. Furthermore, the English noun appears to be a superordinate term in comparison to the three mentioned Spanish nouns that are hyponyms. That means that, although it will always be possible to translate *salva veritate* any of the Spanish nouns by the English noun, the opposite will not be possible. Should someone attempt to translate *retirement* into Spanish, he would have to take into account very carefully the context of the utterance in order to select accordingly the most appropriate noun in every case. Let us consider four cases that demonstrate the matter clearly:

- (1) S/he announces her/his retirement after suffering an accident.
- (2) Professor X announces his retirement after suffering an accident.
- (3) General Z announces his retirement after suffering an accident.
- (4) Actress Y announces her retirement after suffering an accident.

Without any further information, any of the options we may use to translate (1) into Spanish entails the possibility of being a mistake, or at the very least, inadequate. The reason is that the text of the source language does not provide the necessary data for deducing which is the profession of the person in question and, therefore, does not facilitate the selection of one of the three competing Spanish nouns. On the contrary, (2), (3) and (4), where information is provided regarding the profession of the person that announces that will abandon his/her work activity, allow us to choose the appropriate Spanish noun for each of the cases. Therefore, the most apt translation for (2) would be “El profesor X anuncia su *jubilación* tras sufrir un accidente”, for (3) “El general Z anuncia su *retiro* tras sufrir un accidente”, and for (4) “La actriz Y anuncia su *retirada* tras sufrir un accidente”.

An instance of intralinguistic semantic false friends (i.e. in two different dialects of one language): σύνταξη ['sindɛksi], αφυπηρέτηση [ɛfipi'rɛtisi], συνταξιοδότηση [sindɛksio'ðɔtisi] (Gr.).

The other instance referred to above arises between two linguistic varieties of the same language, namely Standard Modern Greek (SMG), which is the official language of Greece, and the Modern Greek variety spoken in Cyprus, i.e. Cypriot Standard Greek (CSG). Although there is no commonly agreed term to denote it, researchers in general use some variance of this term. We follow the terminology of A. Arvaniti (2006, 2010), since there are many sub-varieties of Cypriot Greek, but we are comparing the two standards or urban varieties. The two varieties, due to historic reasons, exhibit differences on all linguistic levels (Terkourafi, 2003; Arvaniti, 2006 and 2010) that have led to the emergence of false friends. The linguistic situation in Cyprus is analyzed by researchers as either a case of diglossia according to the Fergusonian definition (Moschonas, 2002), or bidialectism with a linguistic continuum between two poles (Karyolemou, 1992), or levelling resulting in the emergence of a Cypriot koine (Tsiplakou et al., 2006), and every approach has its own merits. The two varieties are generally used in different domains, with the SMG used in the domains reserved for the High variety and CSG for the Low variety (the terms are used broadly without any intention to favor the Fergusonian diglossia approach over any of the others), but the situation is complicated by the fact the CSG may also be used as the H-variety, or in code-switching or code-mixing between the two (Tsiplakou, 2009; Tsiplakou et al., 2006).

There are three nouns in these varieties that can be used to signify *retirement*, i.e. *αφυπηρέτηση* [ɛfipi'rɛtisi], *σύνταξη* ['sindɛksi] and *συνταξιοδότηση* [sindɛksio'ðɔtisi]. In Greece *σύνταξη* is the generic noun used for 'pension' and 'retirement' and it appears in nearly all contexts. It is defined as "Το μηνιαίο χρηματικό ποσό που

καταβάλλεται ισόβια σε κπ. που έπαυσε να εργάζεται για λόγους ηλικίας ή υγείας ή στα προστατευόμενα μέλη του εργαζομένου” (the monthly sum of money paid to someone who has ceased to work for age or health related reasons, or paid to the dependents of the said person) (MTF online - Accessed 27 June 2016; Babiniotes 2002²: 1711) and is exemplified by the following: “Το ποσό των συντάξεων που καταβάλλει σήμερα το ΙΚΑ εξαρτάται σε γενικές γραμμές από τρεις παράγοντες” (<http://www.dikaiologitika.gr/eidhseis/asfalish/35804/posypologizetai-i-syntaksi-ti-allazei-apo-to-2015> Accessed 15 September 2016. Italics ours) ‘The amount of pension paid nowadays by the Social Security Institution depends generally on three factors’. The second meaning it has, “the state a worker finds him/herself in when he/she stops working and instead of a salary receives a pension” (η κατάσταση στην οποία βρίσκεται ένας εργαζόμενος, όταν σταματήσει να εργάζεται και αντί για μισθό παίρνει σύνταξη) (MTF online - Accessed 27 June 2016) is clear in “Σύνταξη στο Δημόσιο μόνο στα 67 έτη” (<http://www.kathimerini.gr/852738/article/epikairothta/ellada/synta3h-sto-dhmosio-mono-sta-67-eth> Accessed 15 September 2016. Italics ours) ‘Pension in the public sector only at 67 years of age’. It also appears in set phrases, such as *βγαίνω στη σύνταξη* [ˈvjenɔ sti ˈsindɛksi] (to go into retirement), (Babiniotes 2002²: 1711, MTF online): “Ο Τονυ Σερμπ, βοηθός σερίφη στο Ελ Πάσο του Τέξας, πήγε για τελευταίο φορά στο κτίριο της αστυνομίας να βγει και τυπικά στη σύνταξη” (<http://www.briefingnews.gr/video/vgike-stin-syntaxi-kai-arhise-toys-horoys> Accessed 15 September 2016. Italics ours), ‘Tony Scherb, a deputy sheriff at El Paso, Texas, went for the last time to the police building before he typically went into retirement’. This third meaning has been extended by metaphor to include non-humans, such as dogs in the example “Βγήκε στη σύνταξη...ο γηραιότερος σκύλος του ελληνικού στρατού ξηράς” (<http://www.kontranews.gr/koinonia/item/105510-suntaxi-skulos-stratou-xiras> Accessed 16 July 2016. Italics ours) (The oldest dog in the Greek army has gone into retirement), non-regular jobs or occupations not officially considered as

jobs, as in the case of “Η γυναίκα με τον τίτλο της πιο παραγωγικής παρένθετης μητέρας της Βρετανίας αναγκάστηκε να βγει στην σύνταξη.” (<http://www.newmoney.gr/diethni/269473-bgike-stin-sintaksi-i-pio-paragogiki-bretanida-parentheti-mitera-eixe-kanei-13-paidia-gia-eos-20-000-eiro-to-ena> Accessed 16 July 2016. Italics ours) (The woman with the title of the most productive surrogate mother in Britain was forced to go into retirement.) and abstract notions, such as innocence: “Για μια αθωότητα που βγήκε στη σύνταξη...” (http://www.mindthetrap.gr/no_fools_allowed/item903/%CE%93%CE%B9%CE%B1_%CE%BC%CE%B9%CE%B1_%CE%B1%CE%B8%CF%89%CF%8C%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%84%CE%B1_%CF%80%CE%BF%CF%85_%CE%B2%CE%B3%CE%AE%CE%BA%CE%B5_%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B7_%CF%83%CF%8D%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BE%CE%B7 Accessed 16 July 2016. Italics ours) (For an innocence that has gone into retirement). Metaphor is also the reason behind the evolution of the noun that has come to signify ‘retirement’. In ancient Greek the noun signified “εισοφορά” (monetary contribution) that, via the Hellenistic koine meaning of “μισθός στρατιωτικών” (salary of military personnel) (MTF online - Accessed 27 June 2016), evolved into the SMG meanings expounded

The three nouns we are interested in do not appear in any of the known dictionaries on the Cypriot variety (Yiangoullis 2014; Papaggelou 2001), because they are considered to belong to the SMG and these dictionaries present words that phonetically, morphologically or grammatically clearly belong to the Cypriot variety. Furthermore, even if they did, they would be explained via a reference to their SMG equivalent term. The only definition that we might use is the one found in the 2010 Social Security Law, i.e. “σύνταξη αφυπηρέτησης από οποιαδήποτε πηγή, το ύψος της οποίας δεν είναι χαμηλότερο του ετήσιου ποσού των βασικών ασφαλιστέων αποδοχών” (art. 33(a) of the 2010 Social Security Law) (retirement pension from any source, the sum of which may not be lower than the yearly sum of the basic insurable earnings).

In the examples that will follow we have retained the original's orthography. The CSG variety, although studied on an academic level, is not considered -for political reasons- a candidate for standardization and any studies regarding its grammar, syntax, orthography, are confined among linguists. Therefore, CSG does not have a generally accepted orthography and the only complete description of (just the phonological) part of its grammar is by Newton (1972). The first SMG meaning in CSG can be found in an example from the Greek Texts' Corpus database: "Πρώτα *συντάξεις* εν εισιεν, ριάλια εν τους θκιοόσαν" (<http://www.sek.edu.gr/search.php#doc1576> Accessed 15 September 2016. Italics ours) (Before there were no pensions, they would not give them any money). The second SMG meaning awppears in a blog entry, "Αλλά τζεινος είναι *κοντά* στην *σύνταξη*ν." (http://acerasanthropophorum.blogspot.com.cy/2011/04/blog-post_26.html Accessed 16 July 2016. Italics ours) (But he is nearing retirement). The periphrasis is also used in Cyprus, as can be seen from this magazine: "... η Χριστουγεννιάτικη διαφήμιση της ΣΠΕ Στροβόλου (ναι τζεινη που ένεν με τους τότε ροκόλους που εψάλλαν τα κάλαντα τζαι που τωρά *εφκήκαν* στη *σύνταξη*)" (<http://www.victusmag.com/magazine/stiles/mr-virus/%CE%9F-mr.-virus-%CE%B2%CE%AC%CE%B6%CE%B5%CE%B9-%CF%83%CF%84%CF%8C%CF%87%CE%BF%CF%85%CF%82> Accessed 15 September 2016. Italics ours) (... the Christmas advertisement of the Strovolos Cooperative Credit Institution (yeah, the one made with the youngsters singing Christmas carols, who have now gone into retirement). The extension meaning examples though, could not be paired with equivalent ones from Cyprus, probably because that meaning extension has not been adopted in the CSG, although certainty as to the reasons could not be claimed. With regards to Cyprus and the CSG, the noun is a partial semantic false friend, since the metaphorical third meaning does not appear in the CSG.

However, in Cyprus the norm is to use the noun *σύνταξη* in order to denote ‘pension’ and the term *αφυπηρέτηση* [ɛfipiˈretisi] for the meaning of ‘retirement’. *Αφυπηρέτηση* is considered to belong to a high register speech (oral or written) and nearly all of the Cypriot speakers are not aware of the fact that it is a noun with a limited scope of meaning and usage in the SMG. A relevant search in the Greek Texts’ Corpus database (www.sek.edu.gr) has yielded only Cypriot texts or Cyprus-related texts produced in Greece with terminology sourced from the Cypriot reality, except a novel extract the context of which we have no means of verifying, making it clear that the word has a significant higher occurrence in a Cypriot context than it has in a Greek one. At the same time, the Hellenic National Corpus by the Institute for Language and Speech Processing (*ILSP* at the <http://hnc.ilsp.gr/> website) does not provide any texts with this noun. In CSG *αφυπηρέτηση* is used in both formal and informal communication instances. The retirement law decree that “τα ωφέληματα *αφυπηρέτησης* υπαλλήλου υπολογίζονται *αθροιστικά*” (http://www.cylaw.org/nomoi/enop/non-ind/2012_1_216/full.html Accessed 15 September 2016. Italics ours) (benefits for the retirement of an employee are calculated cumulatively). In a free press magazine that combines both varieties and different register (the (considered) high-register noun is coupled with a morphologically CSG verb (*εβκήκε*) we read “Ήταν υψηλόβαθμος κυβερνητικός και *εβκήκε* με πρόωρη *αφυπηρέτηση* για να γλυτώσει το εφάπαξ του” (https://issuu.com/toutoukkinious/docs/issue_8_web Accessed 15 September 2016. Italics ours) (He was a high-ranking civil servant and he took early retirement in order to get full lump sum).

The two dictionaries of the SMG that we are using do not include in their lemmas a separate entry for this noun. It only appears if one is to conduct a combined search on all dictionaries included in the Greek language website (the MTF’s

Modern Greek Dictionary, a Compendium of the *Kriaras Medieval Greek Dictionary* and the *English-Greek bilingual Dictionary* by Georgakas). It is defined as the ‘act of retiring (from educational or military service, profession etc)’, ‘retirement’ ‘demobilization of military personnel’ (http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/search.html?lq=%CE%B1%CF%86%CF%85%CF%80%CE%B7%CF%81%CE%AD%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%83%CE%B7&sin=all). It is a neological creation according to Koumanoudis (1900: 195) from the verb *αφυπηρετώ* [ɛfipireˈtɔ]. Both the MTF online and the Babiniotes dictionaries provide definitions for the verb, but with significant differences. So, in the MTF online *αφυπηρετώ* means “απολύομαι από το στρατό” (discharged from the army) without clarifying whether this applies only to the professional military personnel retiring, to soldiers discharged or to both. We assume that it refers to permanent military personnel, since the term mainly used for soldiers in both Greece and Cyprus is *απόλυση* [eˈpɔlisi] that means ‘discharge’. A slightly different meaning is provided by the Babiniotes dictionary, (that nevertheless exhibits the same ambiguity): “απολύομαι από τις τάξεις του στρατού μετά την ολοκλήρωση της στρατιωτικής θητείας” (to be discharged from the army at the end of the military service). This dictionary also adds a second meaning: “συνταξιοδοτούμαι από θέση στο δημόσιο” (to retire from a position in the public sector). The second meaning does not appear to be in use to the same degree as the first that remains the core meaning, but the lemma has widened its semantic scope when it included this meaning. In this case, extension has occurred due to the influence that the regional linguistic variety of Cyprus exercises over the standard in Greece (Karyolemou 2010: 257). Nevertheless, it is obvious from a relevant search on the Internet that despite its inclusion in one of the major Modern Greek dictionaries, in Greece it is still largely unknown and only occasionally used to signify the retirement of (professional) military personnel: “Πήρε μέρος στους Βαλκανικούς Πολέμους ως έφεδρος ανθυπολοχαγός [...]. Μετά την *αφυπηρέτησή* του ανήλθε ταχέως τα κλιμάκια της Εθνικής Τράπεζας.”

(<https://www.sansimera.gr/biographies/334> Accessed 20 September 2016. Italics ours) (He took part in the Balkan Wars as a reservist sub-lieutenant [...]. After his retirement he rose quickly up the ladder in the National Bank structure). It used also for executives, “[...] κατόπιν της *αφυπηρέτησης* και αποχώρησης μετά από σχεδόν 40 χρόνια επιτυχούς διοίκησης των ιδρυτών της [Deloitte Ελλάδας]”.

(<http://www.accountancygreece.gr/%CE%BD%CE%AD%CE%B1-%CE%B4%CE%B9%CE%BF%CE%AF%CE%BA%CE%B7%CF%83%CE%B7-%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%B1-%CF%84%CE%B7%CE%BD-deloitte-%CE%B5%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%AC%CE%B4%CE%BF%CF%82/> Accessed 20 September 2016. Italics ours) ([...] after the retirement and exit of the founders [of Deloitte Greece], after almost 40 years of successful administration). For diplomats retiring their positions or service it is used, as follows: “Διετέλεσε, επίσης, πρεσβευτής της Ελλάδας στο Παρίσι, στο Λονδίνο και στο Βατικανό και, μετά την *αφυπηρέτησή* του, συμμετείχε σε επιτροπές υψηλού επιπέδου για τη θεσμική μεταρρύθμιση της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης.”

(<http://www.newsbomb.gr/ellada/news/story/318338/esvise-o-presvis-epi-timis-stefanos-stathatos#ixzz4KmfxfFNJ> Accessed 20 September 2016. Italics ours) (He was also ambassador of Greece in Paris, London and the Vatican and, after his retirement, he participated in many high level committees for the institutional reform of the European Union). The last category that it appears to be used for, are academics: “Ο Πρύτανης [...] καλωσόρισε στην τελετή '*αφυπηρέτησης*', τα μέλη Δ.Ε.Π. που ολοκλήρωσαν την υπηρεσία τους στο Πανεπιστήμιο μας την 31η Αυγούστου 2007.”

(http://kapodistriako.uoa.gr/stories/print.php?id=118_th_01 Accessed 20 September 2016. Italics ours) (The Dean welcomed to the retirement ceremony, all teaching staff who concluded their service to our University on the 31st August 2007). This, too, is a partial false friend, since the scope of the same noun in Cyprus supersedes by far the one in Greece, it actually encompasses it, since in

Greece, the role that *αφυπηρέτηση* plays in Cyprus, is played by the noun *συνταξιοδότηση* [sindɛksioˈðotisi]. In this case, the situation is reversed in relation to the case of *σύνταξη* that in the SMG has more meanings than in the CSG.

The last noun, *συνταξιοδότηση* [sindɛksioˈðotisi], i.e. “χορήγηση σύνταξης σε έναν εργαζόμενο ή σε προστατευόμενο μέλος του εργαζομένου” (act of granting pension to a worker or his dependent) (MTF online). The Babiniotes dictionary (2002²: 1731) includes among its lemmas the verb, *συνταξιοδοτώ* [sindɛksioðoˈto] (to grant pension) “παρέχω σε (κάποιον) χρηματικό ποσό σε μηνιαία βάση, όταν πλέον έχει πάψει να εργάζεται, ως συνέχεια του μισθού ή της αμοιβής που λάμβανε όσο εργαζόταν” (to grant to someone a sum of money on a monthly basis, when s/he no longer works, as a continuation of the salary or fee s/he was receiving when s/he was working), but not the noun, although mention to such a noun is made. In Greece, this is the main noun denoting ‘pension granting’. It is used in all cases, except in the ones covered by *αφυπηρέτηση*. The situation in Cyprus is the reverse in comparison to *αφυπηρέτηση*: *συνταξιοδότηση* is used only sporadically and it is connected to the financial component of receiving a pension more than the noun *αφυπηρέτηση*. It is used to signify the same as in Greece, except when native speakers of CSG are called upon to differentiate it from *αφυπηρέτηση*. A relevant Facebook group question (<https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=%CE%B1%CF%86%CF%85%CF%80%CE%B7%CF%81%CE%AD%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%83%CE%B7>, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/cypriot.greek.dialect/>) wielded confusing results regarding the opinion of native CSG speakers. There appears to be a certain amount of confusion among them what each word signifies and how they differ from one another. The confusion might be partly attributed to the fact that in the Cypriot pension system it is possible to grant two different pensions, one calculated according to the years a worker has worked and another according to his/her age (old-age pension). Generally, all workers, when they reach

retirement age (depending on the at any time valid legislation), are entitled to receive pension, thus talking about *αφυπηρέτηση*. When they reach a certain age (which varies depending on whether they worked in the public or in the private sector), usually at 65 years of age, they receive a separate pension (old-age) that is paid for by the Social Services and is calculated according to the fees they paid during their years of employment. That is generally considered to refer to *συνταξιοδότηση*. Some of the native CSG speakers consulted mention that to them, the term *αφυπηρέτηση* is focused on the fact that a person has stopped working and not on the possible pension the person might or not receive, while the term *συνταξιοδότηση* mainly refers to the fact that such a person, after retiring, will be granted a pension, focusing thus on the financial aspect of the term. That distinction is mainly based on the etymological information of each noun. Speakers also consider this noun to be 'kalamaristiko', i.e. reminiscent of the SMG variety spoken in Greece, thus pretentious in a Cypriot context (on the perception of CSG native speakers regarding the SMG variety as it is used in Cyprus and/or its speakers, see Papapavlou, A. & Pavlou, P. (1998). It appears mainly in the relevant retirement and pension laws of the Republic of Cyprus: "Για τους ανθρακωρύχους, η ηλικία συνταξιοδότησης είναι τα 63 έτη." (<http://www.mywage.org/cyprus/home/nomothesia/koinonike-asphalise> Accessed 20 September 2016. Italics ours) (For mine workers, 63 is the age of retirement). nevertheless, most speakers do not use the term. This is also a partial semantic false friend with the corresponding SMG *συνταξιοδότηση*, since its meaning is restricted compared to the meaning it has in Greece.

Conclusions

False friends appear between different languages, as in the case of English *retirement* when contrasted with the Spanish renderings of its meanings, *jubilación*, *retiro*, or *retirada*, or even between varieties or dialects of the same language, such as in the case of *αφυπηρέτηση* [ɛfipi'ɾetisi], *σύνταξη* ['sindɛksi] and

συνταξιοδότηση [sindɛksio'ðɔtisi] that cover the same meaning. In examining the cases at length, we can conclude that they are all partial semantic false friends, products of the processes of lexicalization mentioned above. In translating between English and Spanish, the only way to translate correctly the English noun, would be to have the context that would guide the translator to the correct rendering in choosing between the three Spanish nouns.

Between varieties of the same language, the problem that emerges is not one of correct translation, but of common understanding, that might not be so certain, although it is expected. The fact that the three nouns appear in both Modern Greek varieties and they are partial semantic false friends makes it all the more difficult to understand exactly what is meant by the use of each one, unless one is a native speaker of each variety (and even then it might not be so clear). The situation is further complicated by the belief of speakers of both varieties, that when words coincide morphological and/or phonologically, they are mutually understandable and they share the same meaning.

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