

Laqmijiet infamja ġewwa l-Furjana fid-dawl tal-bidu tas-Seklu Għoxrin

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Il-laqam huwa tabilhaqq 'l-iktar ġebbla tqila li tista' tixhet fuq individwu'.¹ Fil-maġġoranza tal-każijiet fejn insibu riferenza għal laqmijiet fid-diversi manuskritti li rajt wieħed jinduna kemm tassew il-laqam kien importanti. Meta laqam kien ikun infami, dan huwa meqjus tal-istess gravità daqs aggressjoni fiżika, jekk mhux aktar! Ġewwa l-Furjana, il-laqmijiet kienu komuni ħafna. Izda dan jgħodd ukoll għall-kumplement ta' pajjiżna u saħansitra anke fil-Mediterran. Il-laqam fil-fatt huwa meqjus minn bosta studjużi bħala mezz ta' kontroll soċjali fi hdan il-komunità, simili ħafna bħal fil-każ tal-*'għajdut fuq in-nies'*.²

Veru, il-laqam spiss kien iservi biex wieħed jidentifika t-tali individwu ġewwa r-raħal, izda qalb komunità xi ftit jew wisq ġellieda minħabba t-tbatija tal-ħajja, il-laqam kien iservi wkoll bħala forma ta' aggressjoni verbali, x'aktarx riżultat ta' xi kunflitt soċjali bejn individwi jew familji, fejn l-unur u r-reputazzjoni tagħhom kienu għalhekk ikunu fil-periklu. Mhux darba jew tnejn, li l-Furjanizi kienu jużaw il-laqmijiet bħala għodda biex jagħmlu ħsara, iċekknu jew saħansitra jiehdu xi vantaġġ fuq haddiehor billi propju jattakkawhom l-integrità tagħhom jew l-unur ta' familthom.³

Generalment il-laqmijiet kienu ta' żewġ tipi: 1. Laqmijiet tal-familja li x'aktarx kienu jintirtu. Dawn kienu jkunu distinti mill-oħrajn permezz tal-artiklu "tal-" quddiem il-laqam. 2. Jew inkella laqmijiet personali li kienu joriginaw waqt il-ħajja ta' dik il-persuna u li anke setgħu jiġu mogħtija lid-dixxidenti tagħha, u b'hekk setgħu jsiru anke laqmijiet familjari. Dawn it-tip ta' laqmijiet kienu magħrufa permezz tal-artiklu "il-" quddiem il-laqam.⁴

F'komunità żgħira bħal dik ġewwa l-Furjana, il-laqam kellu tabilhaqq implikazzjonijiet qawwija rigward iċ-ċensura soċjali, kif ukoll, fil-kuntest ta' kontroll soċjali.⁵ Mhux ta' b'xejn li l-laqmijiet infamja ġewwa l-Furjana kienu jissimbolizzaw affarijiet aktar serji minn sempliċi isem. Il-vittmi spiss setgħu ħassew l-integrità tagħhom taħt theddida meta kien jingħatalhom laqam ingurjuż, aktar u aktar meta f'komunitajiet żgħar kien aktar faċli li wieħed jibqa' mwaħħal b'dak il-laqam għal ħajtu kollha u saħansitra anke wara mewtu!

Ġewwa l-Furjana, insibu li l-laqmijiet⁶ ta' natura infama kienu preżenti permezz ta' laqmijiet fiżiċi. Dawn kienu pjuttost offensivi peress li kienu mmirati lejn xi aspekk tal-personalità sew fiżika jew esterna tal-bniedem.⁷ Dawn generalment kienu jinqas f'diversi kategoriji bħall-karnaġon, statura, ħxuna, mard u difetti fiżiċi oħra. Xi ċitazzjoni ta' dawn il-laqmijiet fiżiċi nsibuhom f'dawn li ġejjin⁸: tal-Xaħmia

¹ D. Gilmore, *Aggression and Community. Paradoxes of Andalusian Culture* (Yale University Press 1987), 84.

² G. Wettinger, 'Late Medieval Maltese Nicknames', *Journal of Maltese Studies*, vi (Malta 1971), 36-7; J. Davis, *People of the Mediterranean. An Essay in Comparative Social Anthropology* (Routledge and Kegan Paul 1977), 87; J. Pitt-Rivers, 'Honour and Social Status', in *Honour and Shame*, ed. J. G. Peristiany (London 1965), 45-53; J. Sharpe, 'Such Disagreement betwix Neighbours': Litigation and Human Relations in early Modern England', in *Disputes and Settlements. Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. J. Bossy (C.U.P 1983), 178.

³ A. Camenzuli, 'Maltese Social and Cultural Values in Perspective: Confessions, accusations and the

Inquisition Tribunal, 1771-1798' (Unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Malta 1999), 223-33.

⁴ G. Wettinger, 'Late Medieval Maltese Nicknames', 37.

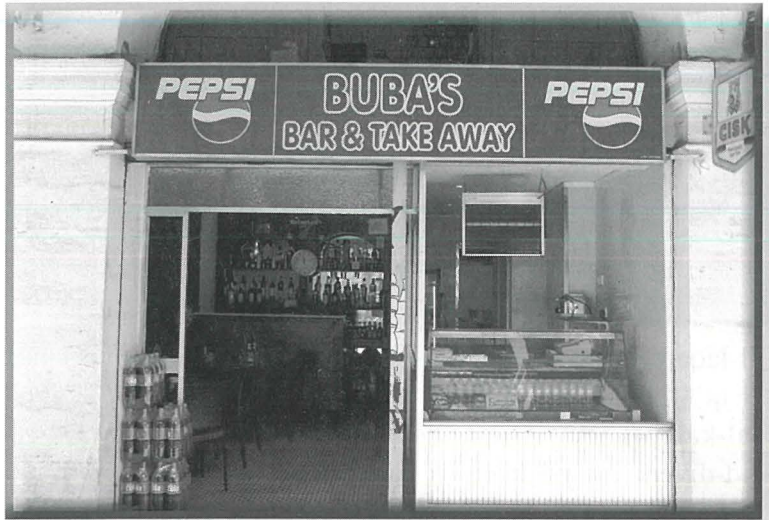
⁵ D. Gilmore, *Aggression and Community*, 87.

⁶ Il-laqmijiet li ser issir riferenza għalihom f'dan l-artiklu huma mnizzlin eżatt kif jinsabu fil-manuskritti.

⁷ J. Cassar Pullicino, 'Social Aspects of Maltese Nicknames', *Scientia*, xxii, 2 (Malta 1956), 75.

⁸ It-tifsira tal-laqmijiet qieghda tingħata skont id-

(fatty),⁹ ta' Pisellu (*pea; someone very tiny*),¹⁰ Ix-Xaħam (*fat*),¹¹ tal Xabbeb (*his appetite always satisfied*),¹² Lisfar (*of yellow complexion or pale*),¹³ ta Galluna (*gallon*),¹⁴ tal Punc' (*a thrusting blow*),¹⁵ Il-Bomba (*bomb, someone sensational in any sense*),¹⁶ tal Faħam (*someone having very dark complexion*),¹⁷ Liswed (*the blackest; of very dark skin*),¹⁸ ta' Carmnu Ittwil (*son of Carmel, the tall one*),¹⁹ tal Maħmaħun (*one who speaks*



Hanut li ismu huwa laqam

dizzjunarju ta' J. Aquilina, *Maltese-English Dictionary*, (Midsea 1987-1990), passim.

⁹ Verġinia Galea, ta' 24 sena, miżżewġa lil Carmelo, li kienet toqgħod fi *Strada *Botanico*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2768.

¹⁰ Nazzareno Xerri, ta' 13-il sena, bin Emmanuele, li kien joqgħod fi *Strada San Francesco*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2793.

¹¹ Antonio Defelice, ta' 50 sena, bin il-mejjet Giorgio, u kien vagabond: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2836.

¹² Nazzareno Xerri, ta' 13-il sena, bin Emmanuele, li kien joqgħod *Strada San Francesco*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2891.

¹³ Salvatore Chetcuti, ta' 32 sena, li joqgħod *Strada Magazzeni*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 3051.

¹⁴ Carmelo Portelli, ta' 35 sena, bin il-mejjet Emmanuele: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2947.

¹⁵ Paolo Dimech, ta' 24 sena, bin il-mejjet Carmelo, li joqgħod fi *Strada San Francesco*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2973.

¹⁶ Spiridione Mifsud, ta' 50 sena, bin il-mejjet Antonio, li joqgħod fi *Strada Magazzeni*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 3019.

¹⁷ Nazzareno Dingli, ta' 19-il sena, bin Giuseppe, li joqgħod fi *Strada Mercato*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 3083.

¹⁸ Carmelo Psaila, ta' 32 sena, bin il-mejjet Giovanni, li joqgħod fi *Strada Leone*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 3156.

¹⁹ Giuseppe Żammit, ta' 12-il sena, bin Carmelo: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 1930.

with a nasal voice),²⁰ ta' Ġilda (*skin*),²¹ ta' Ċiombu (*lead, someone heavy*),²² ta' Lgħama (*blind*),²³ ta' Carmine Issewda (*of Carmine, the black one*),²⁴ ta' Soda (*steady or firm*),²⁵ ta' Keili (*one who calculates everything*),²⁶ ta' Legliega (*heavy drinker*),²⁷ Il-Hallu (*unenergetic*),²⁸ it-Tapp (*Stopper, very short person*),²⁹ il-

²⁰ Giuseppa Mamo, ta' 21 sena, mart Francesco; kif ukoll Francesca Teuma, ta' 32 sena, bint il-mejjet Carmelo: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 1943.

²¹ Carlo Debono: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 1946.

²² Marcello Grech, ta' 32 sena, bin Carmelo: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 1951.

²³ Dolores Benn, ta' 22 sena, mart William, li toqgħod fi *Strada Conservatorio*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2014.

²⁴ Carmela Caruana, ta' 80 sena, armla ta' Giuseppe: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2129.

²⁵ Caterina Vella, ta' 50 sena, armla ta' Vincenzo, li toqgħod fi *Strada Nuova*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2150.

²⁶ Michele Angelo Borg, ta' 62 sena, bin il-mejjet Giovanni: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2182.

²⁷ Giuseppe Dimech, ta' 36 sena, bin Aurelio: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2099.

²⁸ Publio Vella, ta' 45 sena, bin Giuseppe: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2258.

²⁹ Emmanuele Ċefai, bin il-mejjet Vincenzo, li joqgħod fi *Strada San Pubblio*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 3007.

Babus (*mentally undeveloped*),³⁰ ta Andari (*messy person*),³¹ Ta Saffarilu (*one addicted to whistling*),³² il-Bus (*carronade; given to someone who is small but powerful*),³³ tal-Violin (*violin; someone long-faced*).³⁴

Kwalitajiet difettużi morali kienet sezzjoni oħra ta' laqmijiet infamja fejn ġewwa l-Furjana kienu tassew komuni. Dawn il-kwalitajiet spiss kienu jinstabu fost dawn il-kategoriji: qdusija u reliġjon, imġiba morali jew għemil ħazin, dispozizzjoni ġellidija u krudili, xeħta mistħija jew beżżiegħa, kburija, supervja, tferfix, bluha u oħrajn. Eżempji ta' dawn il-laqmijiet insibu fost l-oħrajn: ta' Limsella (*sea-needle, prick or stingy person*),³⁵ ta' Bisonin (*poor; in need*),³⁶ ta' Lazzarin (*Neapolitan Streetlounger, given by the Spaniards to the lower classes of Naples*),³⁷ ta' Ġelos (*jealous*),³⁸ Il Melħ (*salt; a busybody person, that is, someone who pokes his nose into*

everything),³⁹ tal Bidu (*beginning*),⁴⁰ ta Faconda (*talkative*),⁴¹ Il Kibes (*excited*),⁴² ta Curċifis (*Crucifix; someone in a terrible situation*),⁴³ tal Pastizzi (*cheesecakes; given to someone silly or good for nothing*),⁴⁴ iċ-Ċiaċċarun (*gossiper*),⁴⁵ ta' Ċiaċċaruna (*gossiper*),⁴⁶ ta' Tubi (*blockhead*),⁴⁷ tal-Kamar (*moon; has her head on the clouds or epileptic*),⁴⁸ ta' Pezzutu (*sheepshead bream; someone in a bad mood*),⁴⁹ tal-Forn (*oven; someone who indulges in malicious gossip*),⁵⁰ ta' Bisogniu (*the one in need*),⁵¹ tal Battala (*idle*

³⁰ Nicola Vella, ta' 60 sena, bin il-mejjet Nicola: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 3050.

³¹ Giovanna Pace, ta' 43 sena, mart Lorenzo: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 3058.

³² Giuseppe Żammit, ta' 20 sena, bin il-mejjet Vincenzo, li kien joqgħod fi *Strada Miratore*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2965.

³³ Pubblio Schembri, ta' 40 sena, bin il-mejjet Michele: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2117.

³⁴ Paola Aġius, ta' 34 sena, mart Giuseppe: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2198.

³⁵ Francesco Camilleri, ta' 14-il sena: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 3037.

³⁶ Rosina Busuttill, ta' 13-il sena, bint Antonio, li kienet toqgħod fi *Piazza Fosse*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2756.

³⁷ Giuseppe Dalli, ta' 21 sena, bin il-mejjet Antonio, li kien joqgħod fi *Strada Botanico*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2761.

³⁸ Carmelo Borġ, miżżewweġ lil Carmela, li kien joqgħod fi *Strada Leone*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2768.

³⁹ Carmelo Debattista, ta' 63 sena, bin Michele, li kien joqgħod fi *Strada Conservatorio*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2821.

⁴⁰ Robert Grech, ta' 15-il sena, bin Giovanni, li kien joqgħod fi *Strada Miratore*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2862.

⁴¹ Mary Żarb, ta' 22 sena, mart Romeo, li kienet toqgħod fi *Strada Cappuċcini*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2913.

⁴² Giuseppe Borġ, ta' 48 sena, bin Vincenzo, li kien joqgħod fi *Strada Conservatorio*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 2929.

⁴³ Dolores Ellul, ta' 56 sena, mart Antonio, li kienet toqgħod fi *Strada San Tommaso*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 3022.

⁴⁴ Emilda Borġ, ta' 30 sena, mart Emmanuele, li kienet toqgħod fi *Strada San Francesco*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, case 3148.

⁴⁵ Antonio Libreri, ta' 41 sena, bin Paolo: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 1931.

⁴⁶ Carmelo Portelli, ta' 17-il sena, bin il-mejjet Giuseppe: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 1931.

⁴⁷ Antonia Aġius, ta' 30 sena, mart Giuseppe, li toqgħod fi *Piazza Fosse*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 1962.

⁴⁸ Maria Vassallo, ta' 30 sena, mart Riccardo, li toqgħod fi *Strada San Pubblus*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 1969.

⁴⁹ Clara Giudice, ta' 45 sena, mart Giovanni: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2001.

⁵⁰ Antonio Ċilia, ta' 56 sena, bin il-mejjet Angelo: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2034.

⁵¹ Salvatore Vittellaro, ta' 13-il sena, bin Giuseppe: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2135.

or lazy person),⁵² tal Hawħu (*peach; a sodomite person*),⁵³ tal Cacces (*braggart, one who shows off*),⁵⁴ ta Faċenda (*someone busy*),⁵⁵ tal Gkesghiesa (*instigator, inciter*),⁵⁶ tal Carozzin (*horse-driven cab; said of a woman with loose morals*),⁵⁷ ta l'għarawni (*a blown-up person*).⁵⁸

Fl-aħħar nett, laqmijiet infamja oħra kienu jinstabu ma' dawġ li kellhom konnessjoni jew riferenza għal xi animal jew insett. Laqmijiet simili fil-Furjana kienu dawn: ta Ħarufa (*lamb; a very tame person*),⁵⁹ tal Nal (*horse-shoes*),⁶⁰ tal Werżiek (*cricket; screamer*),⁶¹ ta' Żiemel (*horse*),⁶² ta'



Ħanut li huwa magħruf bil-laqam tar-razza

Liuna (*lion; of great physical strength*),⁶³ Il-Barri (*bull; savage or wild*),⁶⁴ l'Asino (*donkey; a fool*),⁶⁵ tal-Ghawia (*little gull; said of someone who is so hungry that he eats anything*),⁶⁶ tal-Ħut (*fish*).⁶⁷

Mid-dehra l-Furjanizi ma kinux neqsin mil-laqmijiet infamja. Dan il-fatt jirrifletti kemm hawn fil-komunità Furjaniza kien hawn aktar forma ta' aggressività verbali milli dik fiżika. Din kienet xi haġa komuni f' bosta bliet u rħula Maltin.

Dawn huma ftit mit-trufijiet tal-ħajja soċjali u morali ġewwa l-Furjana fid-dawl tal-ewwel parti tas-Seklu Għoxrin. Dan il-perjodu partikolari kien jaħbat fl-għeqqel tat-tmexxija Ingliża f'pajjiżna, f'kuntest li jirrifletti wkoll il-ħajja inġenerali Maltija. Bosta minn dawn il-laqmijiet imsemmija nstabu waqt li l-Ewwel Gwerra

⁵² Antonio Balzan, ta' 36 sena, bin Giuseppe: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2218.

⁵³ Maria Reġina Attard, ta' 38 sena, bint Felice, li toqgħod fi *Strada Nuova*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2243.

⁵⁴ Antonio Chetcuti, ta' 17-il sena, bin Emmanuele: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2286.

⁵⁵ Dolores Micallef, ta' 29 sena, mart Guglielmo: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 3042.

⁵⁶ Giuseppe Buttigieg, ta' 13-il sena, bin Emanuele: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 3078.

⁵⁷ Antonia Formosa, ta' 50 sena, armla ta' Lorenzo, li kienet toqgħod fi *Strada Giardino*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 3141.

⁵⁸ Giuseppe Vella, ta' 8 snin, bin Giovanni, li kien joqgħod fi *Strada San Tommaso*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 3188.

⁵⁹ Felice Parnis, ta' 60 sena, bin il-mejjet Gaetano, li kien vagabond: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, 2832.

⁶⁰ Spiridione Debono, ta' 66 sena, bin il-mejjet Giuseppe, li kien joqgħod f' *St. John Ditch*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, 2874.

⁶¹ Rosina Galea, ta' 19-il sena, mart Carmelo, li kienet toqgħod fi *Strada Mercato*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, 2913.

⁶² Agostino Aġius, ta' 22 sena, bin Giuseppe, li kien joqgħod fi *Strada Miratore*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, 3015.

⁶³ Lorenzo Żahra, ta' 50 sena, bin Giovanni, li kien joqgħod fi *Piazza Fosse*: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 13 December 1935-13 February 1936, 3143.

⁶⁴ Giuseppe Muscat, ta' 50 sena, bin il-mejjet Giuseppe: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2053.

⁶⁵ Giorgio Cauchi, ta' 32 sena, bin Aloisio: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2249.

⁶⁶ Carmelo Pace, ta' 17-il sena, bin Gaetano: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2260.

⁶⁷ Giuseppe Vassallo, ta' 14-il sena, bin Carmelo: Floriana Commissioner's Occurrences, 20 November 1916-13 March 1917, case 2260.

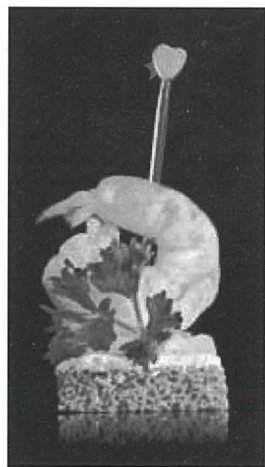
Dinjija kienet għaddejja madwar id-Dinja, fejn Malta, għalkemm ma kinitx attakkata, kienet involuta b'mod qawwi, speċjalment fit-tiswija tal-biċċiet tal-baħar u fil-kura kontinwa tal-midruba. Laqmijiet oħra nstabu qabel il-bidu tat-Tieni Gwerra Dinjija li għalhekk, ilkoll, jagħtu xejra estensiva ta' aspekk soċjali gewwa

I-Furjana fi żmien ta' tbatija kbira. Izda minkejja dan kollu, il-Furjana dejjem tqieset bhala Belt glorjuża fost l-iBliet ta' madwarha. Għalkemm kien hawn dawn in-nuqqasijiet, l-għemejjel kbar magħrufa għalihom il-Furjanizi, huma bil-wisq superjuri.

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