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Catalan Notes

Author(s): Edwin H. Tuttle

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It may be mentioned here that, conversely, a few Gaelic words are to be found in the different native dialects, presumably having entered the language from constant use in trading with the Scottish factors of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The progress northward from Mexico of cattle and horse-ranching has given to this industry a great many Mexican terms. We have 'chaparejos' or 'chaps,' the fringed leather riding-trousers; 'cinch' or 'latigo' for surcingle (a word never used); 'broncho' for the wild unbroken horse; 'corral'; 'lariat'; and 'pinto,' the term applied to a piebald or blotched animal.

The long occupation of Eastern Canada by the French, and their hold of the fur and timber industries, have naturally had their effects upon the phraseology of men engaged in these pursuits.

'Mush' or 'Mush-on' (marchons) or simply 'Marse' (marchez) is the order of a driver to his dog-team. Still the half-breeds call their smoking mixture 'tabac,' and a hiding-place for furs or for eatables out of reach of wild animals is a 'cache.' Throughout the Western territory every narrow decline or cañon is a 'coulée' (pronounced without the accent) and to the lumberman a marsh is always a 'bayou.' In the country dances throughout the Western provinces many French terms have survived and been formally adopted, even to their appearance in 'call-books,' and everywhere dancers go through such figures as 'à la main left,' 'doux-ci-doux,' and 'recherchez,' without in the least understanding their real significance.

E. L. CHICANOT.

LACOMBE, ALBERTA, CANADA.

CATALAN NOTES.

Special symbols used in the following notes are λ = Portuguese *l* in *algum*; λ = Portuguese *lh*; j = Dutch *j* in *jaar*, English *y* in *year*; \tilde{n} = Spanish *ñ*, Portuguese *nh*; \check{s} = Bohemian *š*, English *sh*; \check{z} = Bohemian *ž*, French *j*; θ = *th* in *thin*; δ = *th* in *then*; ε = *e* in *bakery*; ε = French *œu*, German *ö*. A grave accent means a stressed open vowel, an acute a stressed close one. In ordinary Catalan spelling, *tj* represents *tš* at the end of a word and *dž* otherwise; but there is a tendency to use medial *tš* instead of *dž*. It seems probable that this unvoicing is due to Castilian influence, as there is no *dž* in ordinary Castilian. Similarly in Valencian the influence of Castilian has caused a general formation of *tš* from an older *dž* that corresponds to northern Catalan $\check{z} < d\check{z}$.

ABROTONU.

In popular Latin, *abrotanu* seems to have commonly replaced the form with stressless *o*. But since Catalan has *altre* < *alteru* and *orfe* < *orphanu*, it could have developed **avròde* from either form. The stressless *e* of Provençal is like Castilian *e*¹, even where it is derived from *o*, as in *autre* < **altro*. It is probable that the stressless *e* of written Catalan formerly had this quality, though in Barcelona it is now usually the neutral vowel *ə*. The older sound has however been kept before *a*, as in *peañə* (*peanya* < *pedānea*) beside *pəó* (*peó* < *pedōne*), *bəi* (*veí* < **vedín* < **vedzino* < **vedžino* < *uicīnu*).

By misdivision *l* **avròde* became *la* **vròde*, and the change of gender produced *la* **vròdea*, as nouns ending in *e* were generally masculine. **Vròdea* developed through **vròdia* or **bròdia* to *broida*, parallel with the early book-word *ailè* < *alienu*. In most forms of spoken Catalan, *b* and *v* are now confused, so that the *b* of *broida* is perhaps only graphic. But it is also possible that a sound-change took place, initial *v* before a consonant being unusual in early Catalan. Another development from *la* **vròdia* is *la botja*, without displacement of *i*. The loss of *r* was perhaps due to the neighbouring *l*; other developments of a similar kind are *abre* for *arbre* and *atre*² for *altre*.

ALIENU.

Catalan *ailè* and *aliè* are lacking in Meyer-Lübke's Romanic dictionary. Both forms are bookish, but the endings have been treated as in *frè* < *frēnu*. The displacement seen in *ailè* was apparently connected with the general Catalan treatment of *l*: at the end of a syllable *l* has become the *u*-like sound *ɫ*³. *Alienus* was pronounced *alʝénus*, and for this reason did not develop the palatal sound *ɲ*, which at an earlier time was regularly formed from *lj*.

CRUCE.

It has been customary to call French *puiz* irregular because it has a diphthong different from that of *croiz* < *cruce* and *voiz* < *uōce*. But if *croiz* and *puiz* do not rime, there is a good reason for it: the *c* of *cruce* was not the same as the *t* of *puteu*. If we leave all the vowels out of account, rimes would not be formed by *croce* and *pozzo* in Italian, nor

¹ Koschwitz, *Gram. hist. de la langue des félibres*, Greifswald, 1894, p. 9.

² Fabra, *Gram. de la llengua catalana*, Barcelona, 1898, p. 36.

³ Schädel, *Fonètica catalana*, Cöthen, 1908, p. 56.

by *vozes* and *poços* in Portuguese. Thus there is nothing to justify the common idea that *croiz* ought to rime with a derivative of *puteu*. Neither is there any ground for assuming, as Nyrop does¹, that *puteu* had a variant with \bar{u} . It is easy to say that Latin vowels were sometimes not fixed in regard to quantity or quality; but that only displaces the problem without solving it, for in this case there is no real evidence of such variation.

It is well known that Rumanian and Sardinian distinguish stressed $u < \bar{u}$ and $o < \bar{o}$, but the natural deduction has generally been ignored. The 'vulgar' Latin that levelled every \grave{u} and \acute{o} is a myth: Italian and the western Romanic tongues contain words representing the earlier time in which \grave{u} and \acute{o} were kept separate². Logudorian Sardinian has *kentu* < *centu* beside *puttu* < *puteu*, with $tt < \theta\theta < tts < tt\acute{s} < ttj$ ³ indicating that the Romanic affricates derived from *tj* were much earlier than the similar derivatives of *k* (not *kj*). This is why *puiz* does not rime with *croiz*. In northern France the palatal sound formed from *tj* was an earlier development than the change of \grave{u} to \acute{o} , while the corresponding sound formed from *k* was a later development. Open *u* could be changed to close *u* by a palatal-contact, but close *o* was not subject to such change: thus *fūgio* makes *fui*, but *pūgnu* makes **pōñño* > *poïn* because French $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$ was developed later than $\acute{o} < \grave{u}$, whereas in Catalan and Hispanic a relatively earlier development of $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$ caused the derivatives of *fugio* and *pugnu* to assonate⁴. We may assume that in northern France something like **pūidzo*, with a stressed vowel of the same quality as the derivative of \bar{u} , was contemporary with **króidže*; afterward this *dž* became *dz*, thus remaining distinct from the later *dž* in *charge*.

Catalan *creu* < *cruce* rimes with *veu* < *uōce*, but not with *pou* < *puteu*. The final *u* of these words arose from a normal change of *dz* through δ to *v*. In *veí* < *uicīnu*, δ was lost as in *peanya* < *pedānea*; but final δ made *u* in *creu* as in *nīdu* > **nīdo* > **nīδ* > **niv* > *niu*, *sēde* > *seu*, *uidet* > *veu*. The difference between *creu* and *pou* shows that in Catalan,

¹ Nyrop, *Gram. hist. de la langue française*, I, Copenhagen, 1904, § 204.

² *Modern Philology*, XI, p. 347.

³ The fricative θ and the intermediate affricates are found in other Sardinian dialects; for details see Wagner's *Lautehre der südsard. Mundarten* (Halle, 1907). The curious development of *tt* may be compared with the change of θ (< *t*) back to *t* in Swedish *tre* = English *three* = Italian *tre*.

⁴ Modern Catalan has *fujo* beside *futj* < *fugit*, *vetj* < *uideo*, *veu* < *uidet*. The *o* of *fujo* was presumably due to Castilian influence, helped by conflict with the third-personal *futj*. A native analogic formation would have produced final *e*, such as is found in Valencian *cante* = *canto* (*Bulletin hispanique*, VII, p. 132) and in modern Provençal *cante* for older *cant* < *canto*.

conversely to what is found in French, the derivative of *k* produced a sound that could affect a preceding *ó*, while the derivative of *tj* did not develop this palatal sound or else lost it before the derivative of *k* formed it. The *e* of *creu* is open; Meyer-Lübke is wrong in saying that the written *eu* represents a simple vowel¹. Catalan *è* ordinarily corresponds to Italian *é*: this remarkable development was perhaps indirectly due to the influence of Spanish. Apparently Catalan came into contact with Spanish at the time when the latter was changing *è* to a diphthong. Bilingual speakers were so numerous that *è* usually became *ie* in Catalan. Afterward the Catalan diphthong contracted to *é*, and this contraction forced historic *é* to become open.

In the Catalan derivatives of *cruce* and *uōce*, *ó* developed through *á* and *é* to *è*. Probably *ó* became *ói*, as in Spanish **lóĩne* < **lónĩne* < *longe*², **vergóĩna* < **vergónĩna* < **vergóndea*. Apparently no Catalan word now contains *ói*, except as the result of borrowing from Spanish, so we may assume that in early Catalan, as in French, the derivative of *cruce* developed *ói*. It should be noted that Spanish has *lueñe* < **lóĩne* < **lónĩne* beside *tañe* < **taiñe* < **tañĩne*: the *ai* of **taiñe*, contemporary with the *ei* of **eira* (< **aira* < *ārea*), changed back to *a* after *ói* had become *ué*. Similarly Catalan *pau* may represent **paidže* < *pāce* corresponding to **króidže* < *cruce*. In French and Spanish, *ói* produced *ué*; in Catalan it changed through *éi* to *é*. A parallel development, due to *ñ*, is seen in Genoese *bezœugno* (*bezœñu*), *çigœugna* (*sigœña*), *ver-gœugna* (*vergœña*)³, with *œ* instead of the *u* that normally represents older close *o*, as in *có* (*kū*) < *colōre*, *core* (*kūre*) < *currīt*, *croæ* (*krūže*) < *cruce*, *voæ* (*vūže*) < *uōce*.

DUCE.

Early Provençal *dotz* and Catalan *deu*, meaning 'spring,' are lacking in Meyer-Lübke's Romanic dictionary. Their development corresponds to that of *crotz* = *creu* < *cruce*.

EDWIN H. TUTTLE.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., U.S.A.

¹ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. des langues romanes*, I, Paris, 1890, § 121.

² *Modern Philology*, XII, p. 192.

³ *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XVI, p. 118.