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For the authors,

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# Trends in Linguistics

## Studies and Monographs 12

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# Trends in Romance Linguistics and Philology

Volume 1: Romance Comparative  
and Historical Linguistics

*edited by*

Rebecca Posner

John N. Green

Mouton Publishers

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## Romance etymology

### 1. Introduction

In the last few decades, a number of crucially important etymological dictionaries have been composed or brought to completion (for bibliography cf. Appendix I). Among these the *FEW* (for Gallo-Romance) is most important (Wartburg 1922-); it lacks only portions of the volumes [21-23] devoted to words of unknown origin, while a new and thoroughly revised edition of the first volume is in progress. Also important are the *DES* ([Sardinian] Wagner 1957-64), the *DCE* ([Spanish] Corominas 1954-57), and, on a somewhat more modest scale, the *DER* ([Rumanian] Cioranescu 1958-66). Other important dictionaries have undergone new editions, for instance the *EWFS* (Gamillscheg 1966-69, 1st 1928), the *DELF* (Bloch – Wartburg 1968 [5th], 1st 1932) and Dautzat (1964 with Dubois and Mitterand, 1st 1938) in the Gallo-Romance domain; a whole spate of Italian etymological dictionaries of somewhat lesser calibre has appeared (the *DEI* by Battisti – Alessio 1948-54; Prati 1951; Olivieri 1953, 2nd edition 1961; Migliorini – Duro 1950, 4th 1964 and, most recently, Devoto 1966, 2nd 1968); last, and very much the least, are Machado (1952-59) for Portuguese and the *DEEH* (García de Diego 1955) for Spanish.

In the major and minor learned journals etymological literature continues to pour off the presses. Whether by design or by coincidence, 1968 turned out to be, as it were, the valedictory year for an earlier generation of etymologists; Wartburg, Gamillscheg and Rohlf's were all honored with impressive homage volumes. H. and R. Kahane, Meier, Piel and Tovar have since been similarly honored, just to name a few of

the stellar figures (cf. the bibliography under these names). Finally, new and very ambitious dictionary projects have been commenced (cf. Appendix I): Vårvaro 1975 [Sicilian], Pfister 1973 [Italian], Baldinger – Gendron – Straka 1971- [Old French], and Kramer 1970- [Rhaeto-Romance, i. e., Gadertal, a dialect of “Dolomitenladinisch”], Baldinger 1975 [Old Occitan, Gascon].

The foregoing makes it abundantly clear that in the Romance field the amount of etymological information available to the erudite public has reached truly awesome proportions since World War II, an abundance that perhaps explains the apparent abandonment of all attempts to bring the *REW* (Meyer-Lübke 1935 [3rd]) up to date (see Piel 1961) or to initiate a new comparative Romance etymological dictionary (cf. in Appendix I Alsdorf-Bollée – Burr 1969, Schwake 1970). In any case, it seems unlikely that any other language family can boast such extensive coverage of its lexicon, nor such a large group of first rank scholars who continue to cultivate a linguistic discipline that in some quarters is one of the least glamorous (besides those already mentioned, Aebischer, Graur, Guiraud, Hubschmid, Malkiel [for his bibliography see in Appendix II Malkiel – Rico 1969(-71)] and Tilander (1973) stand out among very many others).

## 2. *The genres*

Much of our presentation will be given over to the discussion of dictionaries. Besides being the best known and most easily accessible form of etymological publication, they have, in the Romance domain, reached such outstanding levels of methodological sophistication that they represent, far better than was the case before World War II, the current state of the art. The truly outstanding examples provide a landmark from which further progress can be conveniently measured and, in most instances, have themselves been a spur and incentive to further etymological efforts. Still one must bear in mind that the dictionary entry must of necessity contain no more than a distillate of the relevant documentation and argumentation.

The highest form of the etymologist's art is no doubt the monograph or article dealing with a single word or word family. The author is under no compulsion to stint either his presentation of sources or his discussion of previous conjectures, and can paint for the reader a leisurely mural of deduction and proof that the vast scope of etymological

dictionaries can ill afford. We have attempted to survey the most salient specimens that have come to our attention, but, despairing of anything like exhaustive coverage, have opted for presenting a brief anthology of recent etymological essays in order to give some idea of the intense activity that continues to flourish outside the specific compilation of lexica.

If the sheer number of titles were the decisive criterion, one would have to concede that the dominant form of etymological publication is the brief note, sometimes as little as a paragraph in length. Since these notes characteristically present little more than a bare conjecture, one which would no doubt require detailed investigation in any case before gaining general acceptance among etymologists, I sometimes wonder if they are really worthwhile. I suppose that many scholars, having been struck by some unpredictable intuition analogous to the Newtonian apple of legend, make haste to publish forthwith their etymological brainstorm in order to stake claim, as it were, to the discovery in the fear that some other sleuth might happen upon it before the "no trespassing" signs are posted. But unless the author at a later juncture or someone else performs the necessary corroboration, these brief and often schematic conjectures risk becoming an exercise in futility.

The literature that is self-consciously etymological in nature falls far short of exhausting the sources one must consult in search of etymological information. Nearly all diachronic linguistic studies tend to touch on etymology in some way, either because new solutions are proposed within the framework of, say, a complex phonological issue, or because in the course of such work previous etymologies are refurbished or shown to be impossible or at least unlikely. Our original intention was to survey such contributions as well, but it soon became apparent that any account aspiring to such a degree of inclusiveness would assume monographic proportions. Regrettably we have had to trim our sails, and will take up only self-confessed etymological investigations. However, I must mention the genre that impinges most immediately on etymology proper, that is, diachronic lexicology; only the exceptional onomasiological study would entirely disdain etymological considerations. Usually such works are chock full of speculations on word origins. Fortunately, we can refer the reader to an excellent, and recent, bibliography of general Romance and Gallo-Romance onomasiology (Gorog 1973-4 in Appendix II; for good recent examples of the genre



cf. Söll 1967 and Hubschmid 1970, a monograph-length critique, also Baldinger 1975 a, b).

### 3. *Theory and method*

Etymology is a discipline that involves little theory and much method. There is no point in repeating here what can be found in any general treatment of the subject (for instance, Anttila 1972: 322-334, Baldinger 1958-59, Guiraud 1964, Jordan 1972, Malkiel 1968 a: 175-256, Palmer 1972: 300-340, Pisani 1967, Ross 1958, 1965, Ullmann 1958-59, or Wartburg 1970: 114-121). The entirely pointless dispute between the 'phoneticians' and 'semanticists' (nicely summarized by Roques 1905) subsided well before the period that interests us here (since World War II). It is now recognized on all sides, if not always put into practice, that the ideal etymological study should take full account of every linguistic and extra-linguistic fact that might buttress the solution proposed, including not only phonological and semantic data, but also all relevant morphological and syntactic details. Even a brief perusal of recent literature makes it evident that scholars do indeed strive more energetically than before to provide plausible explanations of the semantic shifts experienced by a form in its transmission from one language to another (excellent remarks on this score in Benveniste 1954). However, in favor of the residual 'phoneticians' among us, it must be said that there still is no unimpeachable theory of regular diachronic semantic laws to which one may appeal (for an attempt along these lines consult Ullmann 1959: 236-298); the investigator is perforce limited to establishing semantic connections that are intuitively satisfying.

One controversy of long standing has endured into the contemporary scene, though the two opposing positions seem a bit old hat by modern standards; I refer to the strenuous polemics between 'substratists' like Hubschmid and 'reconstructionists' like Meier. Neither extreme represents what is most admirable in the field for reasons that are not far to seek. Both operate almost entirely within the realm of the hypothetical, the former preferring to term their reconstructions 'pre-Roman, pre-Indo-European, Mediterranean,' or the like, while the latter would have us attribute to 'Vulgar' or 'Spoken Latin' their often bizarre concoctions. The soi-disant etyma thus "discovered" are far too often mere abstractions derived from the phonological and semantic properties of the words under study.

There are two basic considerations whose import, if taken seriously by practising etymologists, would provide a salutary element of restraint. Let us start from the presupposition, which few would dispute, that the discipline is far better served by well documented and solidly argued hypotheses than by hasty conjectures. That premise accepted, the first axiom is: nothing is more worthless than an erroneous etymology. This is not to say that the erudite vehicle, i. e., the article, monograph or dictionary that contains the unfortunate etymology is necessarily valueless, for after all much interesting material may have been presented in the pursuit of a misconceived goal, but rather that the irreducible core of the etymology, that is, that word  $x < \text{etymon } y$ , is, I repeat, worthless if erroneous. The important feature of this quite obvious point is the corollary one must draw from it: authors who fail in their etymological essays to strive to the utmost to piece together a convincing or compelling case are indulging in a frightful waste of time and effort.

Before about 1950 it would have been unnecessary and presumptuous to write the foregoing. Since that time, however, beginning, more or less, with his article "Mirages . . ." (1952), Meier has strung together an enormous number of conjectures, some of which are in the last analysis not bad; for a bibliography, cf. Meier 1971: 575-586, in Appendix II. Besides directing the journal *ASNS* since 1962, Meier has founded two monograph series, the *RVV* (since 1956) and, more pertinent to my present concerns, *Romanische Etymologien*, of which I have seen the first three numbers: Meier – Roth (eds) 1968, Bork 1969 and Greive 1970 (cf. Genaust 1972 for a review of the latter). Meier 1975 a, b are two recent monographs. Yet even his occasional bright idea (I am thinking, for instance, of his suggestion Sp. *conchabar(se)* 'to gang up' < *confābulāri* 'to converse together' [1972]) is all but useless to other researchers since he offends so drastically against the corollary to my first axiom. He seems to believe that suggesting an etymon is the same as proving one, or making it appear plausible, even though the latter part of the etymologist's task, i. e. the work of proof and confirmation, is far and away the more difficult and is, in fact, what tests an etymologist's mettle. More important, it is incumbent on the etymologist to bring some really new elements into the discussion other than his conjecture pure and simple. Only well established, or at the very least compellingly plausible, etymologies represent an advancement of

knowledge and can be put to other linguistic (e. g., as a datum for historical grammar) and non-linguistic uses. Trivial and transparent cases aside, it is often agonizingly difficult to establish convincing etymologies, and the chances of failure are very great indeed. Surely, then, it is only reasonable to expect that the practitioner reveal original findings about the word (family) under analysis so that something will nevertheless be gained, in the likely event that his conjecture proves to be mistaken. The new material frequently constitutes the key to his solution, so that this requirement is no more than standard operating-procedure for all competent etymologists.

Meier relies on standard reference works, dictionaries and historical grammars; little, if any, of the conscientious perusal of archival material, little, if any, of the broad practical experience or 'Sachkenntnis' that have made Romance etymology renowned. The only salvageable part of his essays are usually the analyses of previous conjectures where telling criticisms are made against other points of view.

Meier in general starts off with the perception of a semantic similarity between Romance and Latin forms. The morphological and phonological distance between them usually remains very great, so he brings into play two assumptions: 1) that one may extrapolate on the basis of almost unlimited productivity derivational affixes that do indeed exist, especially the verbal types *-icāre*, *-itāre*, *-ināre*, and the like, the nominal types *-ul-*, *-ell-*, *-ill-*, etc., the prefixes *re-*, *ob-*, *de-*, *dis-*, etc., or, at last, any combination of them (*-iculāre*, *-iitillāre*, etc.); and 2) that one may extend any diachronic irregularity (in phonology, normally) observed elsewhere to the case at hand, say syncope before voicing, assimilations, metatheses, etc. Then one selects an apposite combination of morphological and phonological hypotheses to form the diachronic bridge between the Romance forms and the putative Latin basis. Needless to say, all this allows one to prove just about anything, and the delightfully cockeyed formula *haricot* < *faba* would seem perfectly at home in this schema. The modus operandi just outlined strikes one as a rather mechanical process that requires but a very modest degree of ingenuity. Meier never seems to take the vast number of hypothetical intermediaries he posits seriously enough to attempt to establish in some fashion their reality; it suffices him to quote one or two allegedly parallel cases in unrelated word families.

The second axiom I would like to advance is the following: there is

no philosophically perceptible difference between saying that a word is of unknown origin and saying that a word comes from an unknown language. If one claims that the cognate set  $x = y = z$  descends from a prototype  $*a$  belonging to a pre-Latin language for which there exists no independent evidence, then he might just as well say that the cognate set derives from prototype  $*a$  of unknown origin. There simply is no empirical difference between the two statements. It follows from this that the most important part of the substratists' work is not the attribution of a given form or set of forms to some more or less chimerical stratum, but rather the identification of the cognate set in the first place. It is very interesting to know that forms  $x$ ,  $y$  and  $z$  of dialects X, Y and Z must be related and that there can be found no convincing Latin base, nor a base in any extant or recorded language, to explain their relationship. The further allegation that the prototype of the forms involved belongs to a "Hispano-Caucasian" layer or the like seems gratuitous and transfers the whole issue from the pure radiance of science to the misty fumes of hocus-pocus. Scientific probity would be much better served by a formula such as  $x = y = z < *a < ?$ .

Hubschmid is the most obvious example of the 'substratist' group: cf. Malkiel 1962, 1971 and Craddock 1969: 29-47.

Philosophically the two sides of the issue under discussion (substratists vs. reconstructionists) are not as far apart as the individual combatants may imagine. They both operate almost purely on reconstructed etyma; no reconstructed etymon is stronger than the cognate set that supports it. In the absence of further corroborative data to tip the balance one way or the other, it matters not a whit whether an etymon, once reconstructed, is labeled 'spoken Latin' or 'substratum' (except that it would be better, of course, to maintain a prudent silence on the matter). All one ends up knowing for certain is that a group of words is no doubt related by way of a common ancestor, which is exactly what he knew before bothering to set up the hypothetical etymon. In fact, the writings of extremists of both camps bear unmistakable resemblances. Veritable constellations of asterisks sparkle on the pages written by these earnest souls; the letters of the alleged bases are so scrambled, shuffled about and rearranged as to convince the bemused observer that skill at anagrams is the ideal intellectual equipment of the etymologist.

In the last analysis, this controversy is no longer very current. Each

side has gone its own way, while a pervasive laissez-faire attitude seems to prevail among editors of journals. I miss very much the sort of severe yet even-handed criticism that much contemporary etymological literature would have elicited in the past, especially between the two world wars. Though I don't approve of the way some American linguists prowl around the groves of academe forever ready to leap at the jugular vein of their adversaries, the remarkable critical passivity that now dominates the field of Romance etymology carries with it a graver danger: that the debased coinage will drive out the hard currency.

The dominant model of etymological research in the Romance domain has been established by Wartburg's *FEW* where the primary emphasis is laid on careful and exhaustive attestation of every form in every dialect attributable to a given etymon throughout the entire historical span of Gallo-Romance. The concretely etymological considerations bring up the rear of each entry, almost as an afterthought. It is this dictionary, above all, that best reveals the fabric of Romance etymology, where the originally disparate strands of phonologically based correspondences, Wörter and Sachen realia, dialect study, both geographic and monographic, and diachronic semantics are woven together. (Though I will ignore as belonging to an earlier epoch Wagner 1943, Wartburg 1931 and Spitzer 1925, I do not at all wish to suggest that those excellent papers lack relevance at the present time.)

Wartburg's most brilliant disciple Baldinger now represents, more than any other single scholar, that mode of lexical research. So much so that he has become an advocate of "étymologie-histoire du mot" as opposed to "étymologie-origine" (1958-59). He accordingly places much greater emphasis on the chiefly semantic vicissitudes that words and word families experience within a given language rather than on their points of origin. His chief operating principle is two-sided: semantically similar words tend to become more alike formally, and formally similar words tend to coalesce semantically (for a concise statement see Baldinger 1965; at greater length 1973). This can, in the long run, lead to frightfully tangled skeins of interlocking word families that require the ultimate in etymological expertise to unravel. Baldinger's curiosity has led him into some fascinating areas (for instance, the terminology of the tobacco industry [1969]), while his collaboration in the *FEW*, his new venture on Old French (with Gendron and Straka 1971), and his numerous etymological articles bear ample testimony to the fact that he

continues to honor 'étymologie-origine' as well. See Schwake's bibliography (Baldinger 1969), in Appendix II. I would only quibble with Baldinger's terminology, while recognizing the legitimacy of his approach. First of all, word history may be attempted, is in fact just as necessary for diachronic description, when the etymon is unknown as when it has been established to everyone's satisfaction (*pace* Szemerényi 1962: 178). On the other hand, it is by now all but truistic to affirm that the pursuit of difficult etyma requires the pursuer to investigate in great detail the history of the words at issue. Secondly, the contrasting binomial 'étymologie-origine' (on this notion see Sandmann 1973: 17-33), besides being tautological, in reality represents something of a polemical straw man since so few contemporary etymologists actually cleave to the outdated 'phoneticist' line advocated by Thomas in his well known debate with Schuchardt (see Roques 1905).

All the methodological innovators, Baldinger included, that have come forth since World War II share a common striving: to allow far greater scope to the analysis of the semantic elements in a given etymological equation. Vendryès (1953) envisioned a species of synchronic etymology, or 'étymologie statique' whose fundamental task would be (I translate) "to define the place each word occupies in the mind (*esprit*), circumscribing its meaning and usage, calculating its frequency, estimating its evocative force and noting the relationships that link it to other words". Though absolutely essential as a preliminary operation, I fail to see how it can be considered part of etymology *per se* rather than of synchronic semantics (cf. Malkiel 1968a: 175).

Quite independently of Vendryès a species of synchronic etymology has cropped up in descriptive linguistics under the guise of 'synchronic cognates'. Generative phonologists feel obliged to provide synchronic phonological rules that relate such pairs as Sp. *anexar* 'to annex' / *anejo* 'supplement', *octavo* 'eighth' / *ocho* 'eight', and so on (see, e.g., J.W. Harris 1969: 169 and Craddock 1973). I consider the utilization of such cognates to form synchronic rules in a descriptive grammar an ephemeral aberration. In any case, since each pair's relationship must necessarily be transparent, the whole tendency can be of little interest to serious etymologists. The coexistence of *octavo* and *ocho* proves exactly the opposite of what generative phonologists would deduce, i. e., that in Modern Spanish there is in fact no synchronic rule that

converts [kt] into [č]. Bakel (1968) uses the phrase “transformational etymology” in a sense unrelated to what is here under discussion. For a view equating a word’s etymon with its transformational deep structure see H. Kahane (1975).

That part of Vendryès’ program dealing with the relationships among words can take on a diachronic dimension as demonstrated by Maher (1971), who attempts to reconstruct the original semantic bonds linking putative, and certainly no longer transparent, derivatives of Lat. *aqua* ‘water’: *aquila* ‘eagle’, *aquilus* ‘dark’ and *aquilo* ‘northwind’. He has distinguished methodological predecessors in Ernout (1956) and Trier (1952) (cf. Malkiel 1968:209, 217). His originality lies in his insistence that any thoroughgoing linguistic description must include this particular chapter of diachronic lexicology.

Under the label ‘*étymologie organique*’ Vidos (esp. 1957 and 1965a) has launched a minor methodological innovation based on the supposition that terms pertaining to a tightly integrated semantic field may very well betray a like or similar origin; his most convincing illustrations have to do with French nautical terminology of Italian and Dutch provenience. Words associated with certain cultural complexes tend to migrate along with the objects, artifacts or conceptual structures they designate, so that one often finds clusters of loanwords in specific semantic fields, like Gallicisms in English legal jargon, Arabisms in Medieval Spanish military parlance, and the like. So as a working hypothesis Vidos’ notion offers some advantages, unless the researcher falls into the trap of assuming aprioristically a given word must stem from a given source because the former occurs among a set of forms safely attributable to the latter (see Colón 1962 and Höfler 1966a). ‘Organic’ etymology in no way frees one from the task of proving the etymology of each individual word on its own terms.

The interaction of form and meaning, likewise an operating hypothesis in Baldinger’s recent work as noted above, has received its greatest theoretical development as a linguistic principle in Guiraud’s concept of ‘morpho-semantic fields’, i. e., formal and semantic matrices within a language that tend to integrate words of heterogeneous origins into paradigms, that is, clusters of forms sharing formal and semantic properties. The task of identifying such paradigms belongs to what he calls ‘internal’ etymology as opposed to traditional ‘external’ etymol-

ogy that concentrates on extralinguistic criteria (chronology, geographic distribution, and the like).

The importance of these paradigms for etymology is twofold. First, they are to a certain extent productive insofar as they motivate new forms based on familiar patterns. One cannot help recalling at this point Şăineanu's 'sources indigènes' (1925-30, 1935), however superior Guiraud's methods may be to his predecessor's. Second, and perhaps more important, the paradigms may help explain just why a particular loan word was adopted and why it subsequently prospered in the borrowing language. Guiraud's views (see especially 1956, 1964:88-125, 1967) bear strong resemblance to certain notions developed in the study of word formation, especially derivation. Note, for instance, Malkiel's suggestion that suffixal gamuts may generate structurally parallel suffixal types (1970:58, 77-78).

Guiraud regards his 'internal' etymology as complementary to, rather than a substitute for, Wartburg's traditional approach (see their gentlemanly exchange [Guiraud 1960, 1967:125-141, Wartburg 1964] about Gallo-Romance forms containing the sequence *chic-*). The phenomenon in question was hardly beyond the ken of most skilful etymologists. Guiraud's contribution perhaps lies more in having systematized the study of morpho-semantic fields than in having discovered them: cf. Posner 1970:447-451 and, for criticism, Meier 1969 and Höfler 1968.

Most, if not all, of the scholars heretofore mentioned accept without reserve the legitimacy of etymological study, apparently unconcerned with the impact their particular interest may have on the progress of linguistics in general. Conversely, they seem very slow to take advantage of new insights gained in the broader field. One investigator who has consistently striven to affirm and illustrate the necessary interdependence of etymology and general diachronic linguistics is Malkiel. Three of his most pertinent essays are now available in his recent miscellany (1968a:175-256); rather than summarize those earlier pieces, I can refer the reader to his recent paper (1975a) where he warns that "a reconciliation between spatio-temporal linguistics and etymology must occur because without it, either discipline is doomed to slow extinction." Malkiel also brought out a typology of etymological dictionaries, not limited to Romance (1976). Compare Kiparsky (1959) and Picoche (1970, 1971b).



In sum, the imposing edifice of Romance etymology has admitted only gradual and measured shifts in theory and method in contrast to the somewhat frenetic vicissitudes of descriptive linguistics. The most recent movements in the latter domain, focusing as they do on meaning and word structure, may, however, prove to have far greater implications for etymology than its immediate predecessors. Let us hope that the work of 'onomatologists' and semanticists may soon permit the development of canons of semantic change analogous to diachronic phonological rules; such a result would represent an immense gain in scientific rigor for a discipline that despite its brilliant achievements still too often falls into erudite frippery. We might here mention one minor current that is now enjoying a certain vogue: the rehabilitation, or at least the assessment of the contributions pioneers have made to the field. On Diez we have Sykorra 1973; Poghiric 1968a memorializes Hasdeu; and there is a recent dissertation on the etymological research of Gilliéron and Şăineanu (Hillen 1973). Medieval and Renaissance etymological activity is analyzed by Klinck 1970 (12th c. Latin Renaissance), Niederehe 1968, 1969, 1974 (Leomarte, Boccaccio, Alfonso el Sabio, resp.), Burke 1968 (*Libro del cauallero Cifar*), Coseriu 1972 (Giambullari), and Sánchez Regueira 1971 (anonymous 16th c. Spanish etymologist). Here at Berkeley the work of Gilles Ménage will receive searching scrutiny (Holtzmann in preparation).

#### 4. Critical anthology

Most introductory treatments (e. g. most recently Kiparsky 1966, Lohmann 1966, Sanders 1967, Kohler 1970, and for Indo-European Szemerényi 1962), for all their intrinsic interest, leave the beginner rather unprepared for what he will actually find in recent etymological literature. Their somewhat abstract disquisitions frequently operate with words or word families whose origin is hardly a matter of controversy, e. g., Fr. *cuisse* 'thigh' < *coxa* 'hip', while the very essence of etymological work is the attack on the unknown. It is, for instance, far more instructive to observe Malkiel the etymologist at work (say, 1974 and 1967-68) than Malkiel the theorist and historian of etymological research (1968a:175-256) though the latter triad of refurbished essays makes for very agreeable reading. Consequently, I would like to survey some recent etymological papers, commenting on the methodological problems they present and the cogency of the solutions proffered.

H. and R. Kahane (1968) study the origin of Fr. *risque* (> Eng. *risk*), It. *rischio*, Cat. *risc*, Ptg. *risco*, Sp. *riesgo*, It. *risico*, Prov. *rezegue*, OCat. *reec* (< \**rezec*) and Medieval Lat. *ris(i)cum*. To all appearances this is a typical Romance cognate set ('panromain sauf roumain'). The principal authorities (*REW*, *FEW* and *DCE*) accept, with some misgivings, a reconstructed \**resecum* 'cliff', allegedly derived from the verb *resecāre* 'to cut off', whose chief or only Romance descendant, other than the words meaning 'danger', is OSp. *riesco* 'cliff' (> *risco*). Cliffs are dangerous places for ships and sailing boats, to say nothing of unwary hikers, so a metaphoric transfer is envisaged: 'cliff' > 'danger'. The obvious semantic model is, of course, *scopulus* 'rock, cliff, crag' > 'difficulty, danger, harm, evil', one of Cicero's favorite clichés.

I note, first of all, that the base is reconstructed and that the meaning is simply extrapolated from Sp. *risco*. The problems the Kahanes perceive are the following: 1 (phonology) – the [z] of Prov. *rezegue* clashes with the [s] of the putative source verb *ressegar*; 2 (morphology) – the Sp. verb *arriesgar* 'to risk' is certainly secondary, observe in particular the failure of the root vowel to alternate, whereas the head of the word family, if it does indeed stem from *resecāre*, should have been OSp. *resgar* 'to tear, rip' (> *rasgar* × *rascar* 'to scratch'), yet there is no evidence of the slightest contact between *riesco/riesgo* and that verb within the history of Spanish; 3 (semantics) – outside Spanish there seems to remain no vestige of the meaning 'cliff'.

The first two of those objections could be somewhat allayed by arguing that Prov. *ressegar* and Sp. *arriesgar* are in fact irrelevant to the problem of origins, being relatively modern 'recompositions' rather than organic descendants of *resecāre*, and assuming, in addition, that as the metaphoric meaning of \**resecum* came to predominate it became irretrievably isolated from its source well before the appearance of the earliest Romance documents. The third, on the other hand, seems to weigh very heavily against this etymology, since there is no evidence that the other Romance forms are borrowed from Spanish, a most awkward theory in any case, since Sp. *ri(e)sco*, as opposed to *riesgo*, is not known ever to have meant 'danger'.

After considering numerous rival hypotheses, the Kahanes eventually support Arab. *rizq* 'military pay, anything given to you by God and profitable to you, good luck'. Here we have a known word offered as putative etymon, and one which can be etymologized in Arabic (<

Pers. *roġik* 'daily ration, maintenance'). This, I presume, peremptorily eliminates the possibility of a Romance loan in Arabic. It is nevertheless apparent that the phonological and semantic gaps that must be bridged are formidable, but the Kahanes succeed brilliantly in my judgement by bringing into play an expertly constructed word biography. They prove that Arab. *rizq* passed into Byzantine Greek as *rízikon*, especially in the notion 'soldier of fortune', and that from there it appears in Latin documents (first attestation of *risicum*: Venice, 1158, in a document from Constantinople) dealing in particular with seafaring and most often allied to the near synonym *fortuna*: "ad risicum et fortunam Dei maris et gentium". A century later a paroxytonic variant appeared, radiating, it seems, from Pisa (first noted 1264), and it is surely this doublet *risicum/riscum* that gave rise to the Romance cognate set under consideration. The Kahanes are admirably scrupulous in solving the phonological and semantic details of each step in the long journey; their paper is a classic example of the importance of documentary expertise allied to thoroughgoing background information in etymological research.

Baldinger (1968) again demonstrates how crucial hitherto unknown and earlier documentation can be in resolving an etymological dilemma. Fr. *laie* 'ride, a road or way made for riding on horseback, especially through a wood' has been attributed to a Frankish \**laida* 'path', whose alleged Germanic cognates include Eng. *lead* and Germ. *leiten* 'to lead' (*FEW* 16:438 [1957]), or, alternatively, to the OFr. verb *lai(i)er* 'to let, allow' < Galloroman \**laggāre* based on Gaulish \**laggos* = Irish *lag* 'feeble, slack, lazy' (*EWFS*, cf. App. I). The latter lexicographer's objection to his colleague's etymon is that a Germanic *-d* should not have disappeared; in his own conjecture, the semantic difficulties seem very great, though one could perhaps arrive at 'path' from the notion 'to let, allow (a way [be opened?]) through the woods'.

However, Baldinger came up with what is no doubt the correct answer by tracing the word's history not only in vernacular texts but in Medieval Latin documents as well. First he verifies what was evidently the original meaning 'mark or incision made on trees reserved for some purpose, especially those selected for firewood'; from there to 'path through the woods marked by blazing, i. e., nicking the bark of trees along the way' and finally 'path cut through the woods' constitutes an intuitively satisfying sequence. In the Latin material he studied, the

frequent form *laya* represents no more than a Latinization of the vernacular term; but he also discovered the decisive forms *lachus/laha* in documents reaching back to Carolingian times (770 A.D.), they too merely Latinized versions of, in this instance, Germanic vernacular designations. As the author gleefully puts it, "Damit . . . fällt die Etymologie wie eine reife Frucht vom Baum", i. e., Frankish \**lākan* 'to blaze', a form with abundant Germanic cognates, including Germ. *Lache* 'notch (made in a tree), blaze', and which provides an exceptionally neat semantic and phonological fit to Fr. *laie*. Though in this case we must still deal with a reconstructed etymon, the gain in overall plausibility is very great indeed; improved documentation provided the essential key to the solution.

Phonological criteria can become entirely inoperative for etymology in certain unusual circumstances, for instance when two bases in the source language present unexceptionable phonological fits to presumptive descendants. Malkiel (1974) considers just such a case, i. e., the sequence *sañ-* in Sp. *saña* 'wrath, ire', *ensañar(se)* 'to become wrathful', and *sañudo* 'wrathful', which from the strictly phonological point of view, may match either *insānia* 'madness' or *saniēs* 'bad blood'. Semantically either form likewise constitutes a plausible starting point, but Malkiel proves quite convincingly that the latter must have played a central, though not necessarily exclusive, role in the *saña* family by analyzing in thorough fashion the morphological, in this case, derivational, aspects of the problem.

First, and perhaps most important, is the demonstration that the meaning of *saniēs* (var. *sania*) seems far more compatible with the semantic ambit of the suffix *-udo*, indicative so often of remarkable anatomical traits in the person or animal referred to. From 'full of bad blood' to 'wrathful' strikes me as an eminently plausible step, one in fact present in the English phrase *bad blood*. When beside this argument Malkiel adduces the OSp. adj. *sañoso* 'wrathful' which corresponds to Lat. *saniōsus* (← *saniēs*) so perfectly that, as he deftly puts it, they "fit together like matching parts of a broken object", I think the case must be considered closed, though secondary influence of *insānia* (as well as *sanna* 'mocking grimace') should be reckoned with.

Ast. *cabruñar* 'to sharpen (scythes and sickles by beating the blade with a hammer on a special anvil driven into the ground for that purpose)' has been explained (DCE 1.265b), on the basis of the variant

(Cespedosa de Tormes) *enclavuñar*, as a derivative of *clavo* 'nail'. Piel (1968) raises two objections to this derivation, first, that the sequence *-uñ-* is left unaccounted for, and, second, that the semantic relationship between base and presumed derivative is unconvincing. One might have added that the phonological process envisaged is also difficult, i. e., that an occidental cognate *\*cravuñar* (← *cravo* = *clavo*) became *cabruñar* through a hypercorrection triggered by the shift *cabra* > *craba*. Piel fails to note that the shift *cabra* > *craba* seems never to have occurred in Colunga (cf. Vigón 1955 in Appendix I), likewise well to the east of the *cr-/cl-* isogloss. Hence DCE's explanation requires that Colunga *cabruñar* be a western loanword, an assumption that clashes with the fact that *clabuñar* (perhaps a hypercorrect recoil from *crabuñar*) is the western Asturian version of this word, so the geographic pattern also militates against Corominas' reconstruction. Now secondary association with *clavo* 'nail' motivated by the hammering operation involved seems far more likely than a blend with *cabra* 'she-goat' (see on this point Malkiel 1970:42); in sum, this reader finds it easy to acquiesce to Piel's skepticism.

His own conjecture starts from a metaphoric application of the name for the billy goat, *\*capr-o, -ōnis*, to the allegedly two-horned shape of the anvil in question (the author notes the parallels *\*bicornia* 'anvil', lit. 'two-horned[object]' and It. *capruggine* 'chimb-notch, notch in a stave for fixing the bottom of the cask' < *\*caprōne* × *\*incūgine* < *incūdine* 'anvil' [but cf. *DEIs*. v.]), which would have given rise to a verb *\*caprō-neāre*. This hypothetical verb would indeed explain the suffixoid *-uñ-*, compare the Asturian toponym *Cabruñana* < *\*Caprōniāna*, no doubt inseparable from the attested anthroponym *Caprōnius*.

One misses, in this brief note, any mention of the current designations of the anvil in question, a crucial point, since Piel alleges its name to have been at one time *\*caprōne*, if I understand him correctly. The object actually resembles a large nail, i. e., *clavón*, and I believe that W.-Ast. *clabuñar* could correspond to a Cast. *\*clavonear*. In any case, Piel's is an interesting suggestion, but it suffers from excessively exiguous documentation and confirmation.

Cat. *rost* (adj.) 'steep' and congeners attracted Meier's attention (1968:225-227). The prevailing explanation of this word as originally belonging to the family of Cat. *rostir* = Fr. *rôtir* 'to roast' through the semantic chain 'roasted' > 'fast, swift' > 'steep' (cf. *FEW* 16.685

[1959]) he finds “eine zwar reizvolle, aber übermäßig künstliche Konstruktion”. He offers instead a VLat. \**reobstitu/a*, presumptive derivative of *obstitus* ‘oblique’. At this point it becomes evident that the reader has seen all the documentation Meier cared to consult: the *DCVB*, *FEW*, *REW* and Georges’ *Handwörterbuch* (1913). Nevertheless he falls short of reporting all he found in those sources, passing conveniently over the archaic Cat. adj. *rost* ‘roasted’, given as a synonym of *rostit* by the authors of the *DCVB*. This last point, is, of course, not decisive. We may perfectly well be dealing with a case of secondary homonymy. But how many etymologists of, say, Piel’s calibre, would have broached the problem at all with so little in their dossier? Surely it would have been worthwhile to sort out this homonymy, if that is what it is, by a careful examination of Old Catalan texts, to say nothing of Old Provençal, where an identical situation prevails, i. e., *raust* ‘steep’/‘roasted’. Perhaps this investigation would have revealed some missing link in the conjectural chain Meier sets up.

Now about *obstitus* and its derivative *obstitum* ‘oblique direction’; is it sufficient to quote Georges’ definitions? The two forms are given as hapax legomena from Apuleius’ treatise *De deo Socratis*, hence the meanings attributed to them may (but, of course, need not) be hasty conclusions of the lexicographer. As past participles of *obsistere* ‘to stand against, oppose’ one would expect *obstitus* to mean ‘opposed, opposing’; in Georges, s. v. *obsistere*, one finds that the past-participial adjective can mean ‘thunder-struck’, i. e., ‘subjected to violent heavenly opposition in the form of a thunderbolt’, I presume. The reader requires a reasoned account of the semantic changes from ‘opposed’ > ‘oblique’ > ‘steep’. Neither step seems impossible, but there is no reason to take them for granted (one speaks, for instance, of “opposing” slopes, hills, etc.). There is, as far as I can tell, no hint of the meaning ‘oblique’ in the Catalan forms; Germ. *schräg*, the word Georges uses to define *obstitus*, unfortunately means both ‘oblique’ and ‘sloping’. One wonders whether Meier hasn’t been victimized by some purely lexicographical imprecision.

As for the morphology of the reconstructed etymon, the etymologist should motivate the prefixation with *re-*; what Meier offers is no more than the fatuous statement that “nach ihrer Bedeutung waren [*obstitus* and *obstitum*] zu einer Präfigierung mit *re-* ‘entgegen’ geradezu prädestiniert”. Readers are prepared to accept all sorts of possibilities; the

whole point is to move from what is possible to what is probable. Now neither Georges, Souter (1964; App. I), the *FEW* nor the *REW* contain any entry beginning with the sequence of prefixes *re-ob-*. This circumstance alone demands particularly thoroughgoing investigation, rather than reliance on predestination.

The VLat. bases *\*reobstitu/a*, according to Meier, explain effortlessly (mühelos) the Romance forms. Let us see what he means by that. First one must assume a contracted variant *\*robstitu* to account for monophthongal forms like Cat. *rost*, while the uncontracted base is needed to account for OProv. *raust*, since *eo/eu* > *au* in that language. Naturally, one would expect Meier to provide a set of correspondences Cat. *o* = Prov. *au* < *eo/eu* to shore up his argument, but not a single further example is adduced. For the contraction the reader is referred laconically to *FEW* 7.288 [1953], s. v. *obstāre*; there he finds OFr. *roster*, Mid. Fr. *reosté* (p. ptc.) ‘to take away again’, the almost perfect model for the *re-ob-* sequence I was curious about. Why didn’t Meier make more of this apparent support for his notion? The answer may lie in this same *FEW* article where Provençal descendants of *obstāre* showing prefixation with *de-* are listed. Though both uncontracted and contracted forms occur (*dehostar/dostar*) not a single one contains the *au* one might expect if Meier’s claim were genuinely tenable. The whole matter suggests a strong disinclination to consider negative evidence, perhaps the most serious single failing that one could attribute to a scientist. It turns out that the Provençal descendants of *\*deobstāre* are a powerful, not to say conclusive, argument against *\*reobstitu* > *raust*.

It would no doubt be better to ignore, like Corominas, these “ocurrencias poco serias” (*DCE* 4.1060) of Meier, were it not the case that he and his students have been generating a bibliographic blizzard in the European journals, much to the discredit of the entire field of Romance studies. It is a waste of time and energy to dissect such trivial and ill-founded notions, but unless serious workers take this disagreeable task in hand, the infection appears likely to spread. For other somewhat less pessimistic appraisals of this school, see Dworkin (in press) and Kahane (1977); in the latter, some flattering generalities paradoxically introduce a devastating critique.

## 5. *Language-by-language survey*

### 5.1 Gallo-Romance

#### 5.1.1 Etymological dictionaries

Students of French etymology have at their disposal the *FEW*, the most extensive and detailed etymological dictionary of any Romance language – conceived, directed, and largely written by the Swiss scholar Walther von Wartburg. Its subtitle clearly indicates his aim, a diachronically slanted thesaurus of all Gallo-Romance dialects. It is the first Romance dictionary to regard etymology as the study of a given word's complete history from the time it entered the language to the present or to the moment of its extinction, with careful attention to all semantic shifts.

The origins of the *FEW* antedate the First World War. After disagreements over method and approach led Wartburg and Jakob Jud to abandon their project of a jointly authored Romance etymological dictionary, Wartburg began planning a similar work restricted in scope to Gallo-Romance. He spent the years 1910–1918 copying and cataloguing according to semantic criteria all the material available in French dialect and patois dictionaries. This emphasis on rural speech, which reflects the influence of his teacher Jules Gilliéron, shows through clearly in the opening fascicles (1922-) of the *FEW* where the modern literary language is all but ignored. However, he quickly realized the importance of tracing the evolution of the literary language as well, so adjusted accordingly the design of the remaining volumes (see Wartburg 1929). At the same time the work of Gilliéron, Jaberg and Jud made the author of the *FEW* keenly aware of the interdependence of words belonging to the same semantic sphere; individual lexical items and entire word families could no longer be studied profitably in isolation. Consequently, starting with the 4th volume, Wartburg decided to compose, though not publish, the *FEW* according to semantic groups; for illustrations of this technique, see Wartburg 1952a and 1954.

136 fascicles, comprising nearly all of the *FEW*'s first 25 volumes, appeared before Wartburg's death in 1971 (fascicles 137 and 138 were published in 1973). The first 20 volumes, now complete, contain all formations for which Wartburg felt he could safely establish etymologies. Volumes 1-14 treat principally the Latin and Greek components of the Gallo-Romance lexicon; the Germanic element is



examined in volumes 15-17 (which include revised versions of the Germanic entries in volumes 1 and 3); volumes 18, 19 and 20 deal with Anglicisms, Orientalisms, and borrowings from all other languages, respectively. The entries are ordered alphabetically according to the etymon, which serves as the head-word and is glossed in German. The first part of each entry presents all Gallo-Romance lexical items derived directly or indirectly from the head-word. Morphologically related forms belonging to the same semantic field are grouped together and glossed in French. Meanings are arranged chronologically and a date is provided for initial, and when necessary, final documentation. Dialect formations are localized as precisely as possible. The second segment of each *FEW* article offers an analysis and discussion in German of the data, with special attention to semantic developments as well as to the competition from, and the influence of semantically akin but genetically distinct formations. Appropriate footnotes conclude each entry.

Volumes 21-23 (volume 22, though already complete in draft, still awaits publication) gather together the numerous dialect and slang formations for which no plausible origin has been suggested. The entries, arranged according to the conceptual categories drawn up in Wartburg – Hallig 1952 consist of a presentation of the pertinent data carefully glossed and localized. Only rarely did Wartburg attempt to analyze historically this material. He intended volumes 24 and 25 to serve as a completely new edition of the first half (A) of volume 1, from which he had excluded consideration of the history of the literary language. Three fascicles pertaining to volumes 21-25 have appeared since 1969; cf. also Wartburg 1969 in Appendix I.

According to the statistics in Wartburg 1971:26 (App.I), the 136 fascicles published in Wartburg's lifetime contain 19,844 entries, of which Wartburg personally edited 17,380. Responsibility for the remainder lay with 26 scholars, the most prolific being Hans-Erich Keller, Marianne Müller and Paul Zumthor, who each prepared over 300 articles. Readers can find a complete critical bibliography in App. II (Wartburg 1971:94-101). Observations on the external and internal history of the *FEW* are offered in Zumthor 1955, Wartburg 1961 (App. I) and in Baldinger 1974; for a penetrating analysis of the *FEW*'s structure written from the viewpoint of modern lexicological theory and techniques, see Rey 1970.

Most of Wartburg's scholarly output derives from his work on the *FEW*. In 1957 he abandoned his plan to write a multi-volume history of the French lexicon based upon the research undertaken for the *FEW*; his earlier studies on the names of the days of the week (1949) and the linguistic impact of the Greek colonization of southern Gaul (1952b) represent contributions to this aborted synthesis. At least two book-length ventures can trace their ultimate origins to the *FEW*: Wartburg 1934 in Appendix II, and Wartburg – Hallig 1952. Needless to say, many of Wartburg's etymological articles and notes afforded scholars advance glimpses into the unpublished portions of the *FEW*; for titles, see the bibliography (Wartburg 1971 : 53-94) in Appendix II.

Two other etymological dictionaries stem directly from the *FEW*. After Wartburg had completed the first volume of his magnum opus, a French publishing house asked him to prepare an abridged etymological dictionary designed for the non-specialist. When Wartburg's many commitments threatened to delay excessively this venture, the collaboration of Oscar Bloch was secured. Bloch singlehandedly prepared both volumes of the *DELFL*, which Wartburg revised prior to publication (1932), assisted by Vendryès for the Celtic etymologies. The *DELFL* restricted its scope to the lexicon of contemporary Standard French. Each entry is a miniature word history, indicating the etymology, the date of entry into the language, the semantic evolution, and the linguistic and non-linguistic factors which influenced the growth of the lexical item at issue. The *DELFL* omits all discussion of previous etymological hypotheses.

After Bloch's untimely death in 1937, Wartburg assumed responsibility for the four subsequent editions (1950, 1960, 1964 and 1968). Financial pressures necessitated the compression of the *DELFL* into a single volume. Wartburg revised many entries on the basis of the material prepared for eventual publication in the *FEW*, thus using the *DELFL* to preview some of the findings destined to appear in the larger dictionary. In the absence of a complete index to the *FEW*, the *DELFL* enables scholars and non-specialists to determine which entry to consult in the *FEW* for a more elaborate presentation of data and analysis: cf. in Appendix I Baldinger 1961 and Pfister 1966, 1971.

The *DEAF* can be classed as a direct outgrowth of, and a supplement to the *FEW*. Five fascicles have appeared to date, three devoted to the letter G, an index and a bibliography. The *DEAF* proposes to examine

more than could the *FEW* the history of those word families which constituted the French vocabulary from the *Serments de Strasbourg* (A. D. 843) to the middle of the 14th century. Since the *DEAF* relies heavily on material collected in the *FEW*, Baldinger chose to initiate publication with the letter G while awaiting the revision and updating of the first three volumes of the *FEW* (A-F). The internal structure of the *DEAF* differs in several important respects from the *FEW*. The main word of the Old French family under discussion, not the etymon, heads each entry. As the Medieval language knew no fixed orthographic system, the spelling used in the Francien dialect, which evolved into the literary standard, was chosen whenever possible. Each article begins with a discussion of the head-word's origin and history, as well as a list of orthographic variants accompanied by precise indications of primary and secondary sources. Unlike the *FEW*, the *DEAF* gathers together all meanings of the particular formation under study with copious references to Medieval texts. The same pattern is followed in presenting pertinent derivatives and compounds (see the appraisals by Pfister 1975 in App. I and by Vârvaro 1974).

Two other etymological dictionaries that still render good service to scholars merit discussion here. Ernst Gamillscheg made his first mark as an etymologist by publishing a series of notes entitled "Französische Etymologien" (1919-20, 1921-22), and by reviewing the opening fascicle of the *FEW* (1923). These early ventures, probably designed as a prelude to a future etymological dictionary, aroused the opposition of his former collaborator Leo Spitzer (1922) who heaped scorn upon Gamillscheg's ultraconservative, neogrammatical conception of etymology as the search for word origins. Conceivably the appearance of the *FEW* caused Gamillscheg to rush into print sooner than he had intended his *EWFS*, which appeared in fascicles from 1926 to 1928.

Gamillscheg chose as his guide to the French lexicon Darmesteter – Hatzfeld – Thomas 1890-1900 (in Appendix I), thereby omitting any neologisms, dialectalisms, or slang formations excluded from that compilation. Certain Old French terms were considered under the corresponding modern word. The concise entries of the *EWFS* concentrate on establishing word origins rather than on sketching compact word histories; the semantic evolution of each form is ignored. Gamillscheg indicates the century in which each lexical item included in the *EWFS* is first attested. The bibliographic references to previous etymological

conjectures constitute perhaps the most valuable feature of this dictionary. Its author's unwillingness to declare the origin of a word as obscure or unknown led him to reconstruct numerous implausible hypothetical bases. Rohlfs (1957) took Gamillscheg to task for positing many unjustified Celtic etyma. In a series of articles Brück (1926-29, in Appendix I) subjected a host of *EWFS* entries to detailed examination. The *EWFS* provoked a strident critique from Spitzer (1926, in Appendix I), to which Gamillscheg acrimoniously responded at length in 1927; for a further assessment, balanced in tone and perspective, of the *EWFS*' deficiencies, see Meillet (1927-29).

The bibliography appended to Gamillscheg 1968 (649-670) discloses that the study of individual etymological problems represented only a small portion of that scholar's output since 1928 (see also Malkiel's necrology (1973-74), esp. at pp. 176f.). In his final years Gamillscheg authored a revised and expanded two volume edition of the *EWFS* (1966-68). Despite many changes of detail, the new version of the *EWFS* brought with it no innovations in Gamillscheg's approach to etymological research (cf. Pfister 1972, in Appendix I).

Dauzat 1938 (in Appendix I) is essentially a commercial venture sponsored by the Larousse publishing house. It includes more technical neologisms, rural and slang formations than the *DELFL*. Dauzat claims no originality in matters etymological; for cruxes, Dauzat indicates (without bibliographical references) the most plausible hypotheses, or wisely states that the word's origin is unknown. No attempt is made to trace word histories; the century and the author of the text in which each word appears for the first time is indicated. Dauzat prefaces the etymological component of his dictionary with an introduction to problems of historical change written for the layman. Each edition of the *Dictionnaire* contains a *Supplément lexicologique* with corrected etymologies and references to lexical items omitted from the body of the dictionary, and a *Supplément chronologique* with revised datings.

Dauzat's *Dictionnaire* went through many printings before his death in 1955. It served as the foundation for Dauzat – Dubois – Mitterrand 1964 (in Appendix I), with an increase in information provided, even though less regionalisms are discussed. In addition to the etymon, each article traces the semantic evolution of the head-word, provides a date for the first attestation for every meaning and for every derivative listed, and documents more secondary formations than Dauzat (1938).

The forematter contains a sketch of the internal and external history of the French language, a list of learned Latin and Greek prefixes and suffixes employed in French word-formation, and the sources used to establish the date of a given word's initial appearance: cf. Pfister (1966) and Höfler (1970) in Appendix I. Picoche (1971, in Appendix I) has introduced a new, and not very successful, wrinkle by organizing her etymological information on the basis of the most remote, usually Indo-European, root form (compare Devoto's like concern for ultra-Romanic origins [1966]). For a crushing appraisal of her effort, see Genaust (1972, in Appendix I).

### 5.1.2 Monographic endeavors

The period under consideration in this survey has seen the publication of scores of monographs, articles and notes devoted to single Gallo-Romance lexical items and word families. The traditional concept of etymology as the search for word origins continues to flourish; in the last thirty years several long-standing cruxes have been thoroughly investigated (though not necessarily resolved) by competent, well trained scholars (e. g., Deutschmann 1947, Corréard 1958, Tilander 1955). Several specialists in French etymology have further developed and refined the tradition laid down by Schuchardt, Gilliéron and Wartburg by envisaging their discipline as the study of complete word histories in which the establishment of a given formation's genealogy received less attention than its semantic evolution or the means and reasons for its entry into the Gallo-Romance lexicon. The leading practitioners of this approach today are Baldinger and his disciple Höfler. The former's contribution to etymology has been analyzed above; see also his bibliography, (1969) in Appendix II. Höfler (1967b) has concerned himself primarily with textile names based on toponyms and with the transformation of toponyms into common nouns, a theme reminiscent of Migliorini (1927; cf. Craddock 1971-72).

One facet of word history has grown into an autonomous subdiscipline – the dating of a given formation's first documented appearance in French. Such investigations, which demand the careful scrutiny of hundreds of non-literary and literary texts and documents, have been carried out with vigor and enthusiasm by such lexicologists as Quemada, Arveiller and Rey; for further discussion and useful bibliographical hints see Höfler 1969, Schwake 1968 and Gebhardt forth-

coming. Straddling the hazy border between etymology proper and diachronic lexicology are the numerous onomasiological studies devoted to French, many of which discuss and take a stand on controversial etymological problems. Onomasiology has enjoyed tremendous popularity, especially among European scholars. Gorog's bibliography (1973) of Gallo-Romance onomasiological studies, which claims to be exhaustive, lists 364 titles (cf. Appendix II). For one example, rich in etymological analyses, prepared by a North American scholar, see Livingston's monograph on the designations of skein-winding reels in Gallo-Romance (1957) and Malkiel's detailed commentary (1958–59).

Since the pioneering investigations of Gilliéron and Sainéan (Șăineanu), etymologists have displayed considerable interest in the spontaneous creation of lexical items within French, i. e., in the process which Guiraud (1967) labeled 'étymologie interne'. Most work in this domain focuses on colloquial, slang, scabrous, metaphoric and onomatopoeic formations usually coined in rural or dialect speech. Guiraud's hypothesis of the role played by 'morpho-semantic' fields in the genesis of lexical items represents the most important (though not necessarily convincing or successful) attempt to systematize this approach to the study of word origins; for discussion and analysis, see the latter part of section 3 above.

This aspect of etymology has given rise to the notion 'étymologie populaire' (Ger. Volksetymologie), a process by which a word's phonetic or semantic development could be altered in unexpected ways through (genetically unjustified) association in the minds of speakers with phonetically or referentially similar formations. Some scholars have deemed the term 'étymologie populaire' inaccurate. The incorrect association of unrelated words is not limited to the untutored masses. Such mistakes, when committed by the learned and semi-learned, deserve Gougenheim's (1948) derisory label 'fausse étymologie savante'. Although Orr spoke of 'associative etymology' in 1939 (see Orr 1953:96), that designation did not appear in a later paper (1954) devoted to, and entitled "L'étymologie populaire". The semanticist Ullmann (1966:34) cited the phenomenon at issue as a prime example of synchronic or 'static' etymology, a qualifier first used by Vendryès (1953, see above, section 3) and criticized as paradoxical by Malkiel (1968:175). Compare now also Baldinger 1973.

## 5.2 Hispano-Romance

### 5.2.1 Spanish

Juan Corominas' monumental *DCE* (Appendix I) stands out, in its scope and coverage, as the most ambitious individual project in Hispanic etymology. The appearance of its four volumes between 1954 and 1957 marked the culmination of more than twenty-five years of study, research and writing by its author, a direct disciple of Menéndez Pidal and Jud. In 1929, Corominas began to collect material for an etymological dictionary of Catalan (his native language); a few early fruits of this venture appeared during the thirties in Griera's *Butlletí de dialectologia catalana*. Ten years later, Corominas decided to concentrate on the preparation of a Spanish etymological dictionary. Throughout the forties and early fifties, he offered his fellow scholars a preview of his magnum opus in a string of articles and etymologically slanted book reviews (partial list in *DCE* 1.xxxix). These papers sought to pinpoint the origin of a given lexical item, viewed in isolation. Corominas was a pure etymologist; relevant side issues of historical grammar entered the discussion only to strengthen a new hypothesis or disprove an earlier conjecture. At no time did Corominas commit to print the theoretical and methodological assumptions underlying his etymological investigations.

The years 1947-51 were devoted to the uninterrupted writing of the *DCE*, avowedly to endow this work with a high degree of homogeneity (see *DCE* 1.xvii and xxvii; for a severe assessment of Corominas' failure to attain this goal, see Malkiel 1956:39-41). Breaking with the practice followed in the *LRW*, *REW* and *FEW*, Corominas arranged the entries alphabetically according to the word studied, rather than according to the suggested etymon, thus skirting the difficulties of classifying formations of doubtful or unknown origin. Many entries also included discussion of other members of the head-word's family, as well as genetically distinct but semantically akin items and formations from other Romance and non-Romance languages whose history might shed light on the particular Hispanic problem at issue. To a large extent, the *DCE* is pan-Romantic in scope and merits consultation by scholars working outside the domain of Spanish etymology. Indeed, it is still the most reliable tool available to students of Catalan and Portuguese word origins. Within the confines of Hispano-Romance, the

*DCE* extends beyond the modern literary language to include numerous Medieval, Classical, dialect and modern technical formations.

Each article in the *DCE* assumed the same basic shape, offering the reader:

1. Corominas' suggested etymon and the date of the word's first-known appearance in a written text. In many difficult cases, the author realistically qualified the etymon as probable, uncertain, or admitted that no plausible solution had yet been proposed. Corominas also indicated the vernacular, semi-learned or learned status of native Hispanic formations (an oversimplified division assailed by Malkiel 1956:42);

2. a discussion, often sarcastic and acrimonious in tone, of the merits and weaknesses of earlier conjectures and the presentation and interpretation of data extracted from texts and dialects. Unlike the author of the *FEW*, Corominas failed to separate rigorously facts from analysis;

3. a list, with minimal, if any, discussion of derivatives and compounds;

4. footnotes, in which certain points receive further elaboration, and additional bibliographic material is cited and evaluated.

Corominas displayed a balanced attitude in assessing the various layers of the Spanish lexicon. Although he perhaps exaggerated the contribution of Catalan, he refrained from rashly assigning genetically obscure items to one favorite source such as substratum or superstratum languages, reconstructed Vulgar Latin etyma, or onomatopoeic formations. The richness of the documentation and discussion, and consequently the length of each entry, varied according to the etymological opacity of the word at issue. Those of transparent or learned background received little attention, despite the light they might throw on broad phonological, morphological, and especially semantic trends in the development of Hispano-Romance. Corominas espoused the segregation of etymology from historical grammar, evincing no interest in applying his lexical findings to broader questions of diachronic Hispanic or Romance linguistics.

The appearance of such an important reference and research tool provoked a large number of detailed critical assessments and reactions (see *DCE* 4.897-898), the most original being Spitzer 1956-59 (Appendix I). Amidst the general acclaim, I note only that Corominas' excursions into the domains of Sardinian and Gallo-Romance met with



harsh criticism in the reviews by Wagner (1957) and Wartburg (1959, Appendix I), the leading experts in those respective fields. The latter's closing statement represents one of the severest judgments passed upon the *DCE*: "Quant à la partie purement hispanique du livre, je n'oserai pas me prononcer ne disposant pas du temps nécessaire pour l'examiner. Mais ma confiance est fortement ébranlée par les expériences faites par rapport aux excursions de M. C[orominas] dans le domaine galloroman."

Several scholars devoted their analyses of the *DCE* to revising the dates of initial documentation provided by Corominas or to adding Spanish formations (usually derivatives) absent from the *DCE*; for pertinent bibliographic clues see *BDE*: 10 (Appendix I) and Malkiel 1968b: 206 n. 101. These workers made no attempt to show how their earlier datings might further clarify the origin or history of the chosen lexical item.

Three experts in lexico-etymological research dwelled upon the structure of the *DCE*: cf. (in Appendix I) Baldinger (1956-58), Colón (1962) and Malkiel (1956). Their criticisms touched upon the polemic tone of many of its entries, the excessive discussion of previous conjectures, the author's discursive style, scanty documentation provided for etymologically transparent formations, and failure to exploit recent etymological literature. Malkiel also reproached Corominas for his cavalier dismissal of the relationship between etymology and historical grammar, particularly with regard to such problems of word-formation as anomalous derivational patterns and the formation of diminutives. The Berkeley scholar likewise voiced his dismay at Corominas' indifference to the phenomenon of lexical extinction.

As a sequel to his *DCE*, Corominas prepared for a wider audience a single-volume abridgement (1961 = *BDE*) from which he deleted most regionalisms, obsolete or rare technical terms, and words peculiar to the Medieval language. Each entry provides the date of the chosen word's first appearance and a summary of its origin. Unlike the *DCE*, the *BDE* furnishes a date of initial documentation for most derivatives listed, while all discussion of earlier conjectures, textual citations, and the bibliographic apparatus were eliminated. The *BDE* often represents an advance vis-à-vis the parent publication; Corominas was able to cite (*BDE*:15) 38 entries that had undergone major changes. Significantly, almost all these items are of non-Latin origin; cf. in Appen-

dix I Hubschmid 1962. Apparently Corominas does not intend to issue a revised edition of the *DCE*; the 1971 reprint contains no up-dating of any sort.

Of considerably less importance and value is *DEEH*. The work epitomizes almost forty years of etymological research devoted primarily to the rural Castilian lexicon. García de Diego can be characterized as the Spanish representative of the idealistic school, which stressed word meanings and the association of ideas by speakers, over the workings of sound laws in the search for word origins. Underlying most of this scholar's etymological writings is the assumption that those numerous lexical items which fail to obey the so-called sound laws reflect blends of semantically associated formations: note especially García de Diego 1920, 1922, 1928; the brief introduction to García de Diego 1923, originally designed as a Spanish supplement of the *REW*; and his inaugural address to the Royal Spanish Academy (1926).

The *DEEH* falls into two parts: an alphabetic repertory of Spanish formations with an etymon and a reference number to the second part, in which the etyma are arranged alphabetically and numbered. Each entry in this second section gathers together the alleged progeny – extracted from the literary language, dialects, Galician-Portuguese, and Catalan – of the base at issue. The wealth of dialect material is one of the positive features of this work, although the author often fails to localize and specify the source of many of these formations. Few references, if any, are supplied to earlier discussions of controversial etymological problems; almost no illustrative passages are provided from literary texts. Essentially the *DEEH* is a species of etymological checklist.

García de Diego treated at greater length some of the entries from the *DEEH* and criticized the corresponding *DCE* articles in a series of papers entitled “Notas etimológicas” (collected in book form in 1964). Corominas' devastating and vituperative assessment of the *DEEH* (*DCE* 4.898 and 899-1092, *passim*) prompted García de Diego's bitter rebuttal (1958). He attempted to defend many of his etymologies on the grounds that they had been first suggested by such venerated masters as Diez, Gamillscheg and Meyer-Lübke. Between 1963 and 1967, García de Diego published several articles dealing with ‘etimologías naturales’ – expressive and onomatopoeic lexical formations created within Spanish – an interest that culminated in García de Diego 1968

(in Appendix I), concerned with sound symbolism not only in the author's native tongue, but also in many other languages. He thus ranks as the chief intellectual heir of Șăineanu still active at present. This last compilation, like all the author's production since the '20's and '30's, betrays the same slipshod methods and trivial conclusions that drew forth Corominas' barbs.

Of the numerous scholars who channeled their entire etymological production into monographs, articles and notes, one of the most prolific, thorough and innovative has been Yakov Malkiel. Although this scholar has by no means restricted the scope of his lexico-etymological investigations to Hispano-Romance, we shall here refer only to those studies which deal directly with this linguistic domain. His most recent theoretical and methodological papers, outgrowths of his work in Hispano-Romance, have been alluded to above.

For Malkiel, etymology encompasses the history of word families as well as the search for individual word origins. Several features of his method and approach to this field distinguish him from the bulk of his predecessors and contemporaries. Each paper characteristically offers: (a) a careful presentation of all previous opinions stated on the origin of the formation(s) at issue, with a discussion of the weaknesses and merits of each hypothesis; (b) abundant documentation and semantic analysis of all pertinent formations and variants in order to segregate primary, original meanings from secondary developments; (c) consideration of the chronological, geographical and social stratification of the lexical item(s) under study; (d) examination of the linguistic, cultural and social factors which may have contributed to the genesis or extinction of a given word; (e) discussion, with numerous examples localized as to source, of all points of historical phonology, morphology, word-formation and syntax relevant to the elucidation of the chosen problem(s); (f) a statement of the theoretical and methodological lessons which Romance and general linguistics can derive from the particular word history. A similar approach to etymology can be seen in the writings of several of Malkiel's students: see Craddock 1967-68, 1974; Dworkin 1971-72, 1973-74, 1974-75; Harris 1969-70, 1971; J.F. Levy 1973-74 and López Morillas 1973-74.

Most of Malkiel's contributions to Hispanic etymology treated some facet of the documented Latinity of the Iberian Peninsula (for a partial balance sheet, see Malkiel 1955b:63-68), with occasional ventures

into the realms of hybrids involving non-Latin stems and Romance formatives (1946, 1947). Entire word families were subjected to close scrutiny in an effort to highlight the effects of the regional distribution and multi-leveled transmission of genetically akin lexical items, and of the rapprochement of historically related and unrelated formations. Illustrative of this approach to word history are the monographs, articles and notes devoted to those Hispanic formations traceable to the family of Lat. *pes, pedis* 'foot', see Malkiel 1954 and the related studies therein cited, p. iv. Malkiel did not strive in every paper to establish new Latin-Spanish etymological equations; often he presented new data or a fresh analysis to confirm an earlier worker's conjectures (1952b, 1966, 1974), to reconcile divergent yet plausible hypotheses (1955a), or to clarify some linguistically important aspect of an etymologically transparent formation's development (1973a). In addition to the resolution of etymological cruxes, many of Malkiel's studies were designed to illustrate the workings of certain factors capable of altering the straightforward evolution of individual lexical items and whole word families, such as lexical polarization (1951, 1952a), lexical blends (1953a, 1961), homonymic conflict (1952c, 1953b), diachronic hyper-characterization (1957-58), as well as novel methods and techniques of etymological analysis (1950a, 1958, 1968-9, 1973a, 1974).

As noted above, Malkiel has been keenly aware of the indifference to etymology displayed by linguistic theoreticians and methodological innovators. He has striven to revitalize and rejuvenate Hispanic (and Romance) etymology by elaborating new methods and links to the mainstream of linguistic thought. Since the turn of the century, scholars have debated the relative weight to be assigned to form and meaning in the resolution of an etymological puzzle; for Malkiel's view, see 1966: 182f. He has added a new dimension to the discussion by suggesting that greater attention be paid to patterns of derivation, inflection and composition in etymological investigations. He labeled this technique 'morpho-etymology'; for two examples of its application to Luso-Hispanic material, see 1973d and 1974.

Limitations of space preclude a detailed survey of the monographs, articles and notes of varying scope and quality on problems of Hispanic etymology authored by several dozen other scholars of the past three decades. Their ranks include such veteran Romanists committed to the study of word origins and history as Aebischer, Colón, Hubschmid, H.

and R. Kahane, Meier, Menéndez Pidal, Oliver Asín, Rohlf, Spitzer, Steiger and Wagner. I shall attempt here to characterize succinctly the contributions of some of these experts to Hispanic etymology and to pinpoint whatever trends may be observable in the diachronic analysis of the Spanish lexicon.

Not all the specialists named in the preceding paragraph have devoted the bulk of their output to Spanish. That language played a subordinate role to Catalan, Southern Italian, and Sardinian in the etymological investigations of Colón, Rohlf and Wagner, respectively. Most focused the greater part of their attention on a chosen stratum or strain of the Spanish lexicon: substratal languages (Hubschmid, Menéndez Pidal, Rohlf), documented Latinity (Aebischer), reconstructed spoken Latinity (Meier), Arabic or Arabized elements (Oliver Asín, Steiger and Wagner, who also examined the Gypsy component of Spanish slang), Hellenisms, especially those transmitted from Byzantium, and migratory Mediterranean nautical terms of Romance and non-Romance origin (H. and R. Kahane).

Scholars have not recently formulated many new plausible correspondences between genetically obscure Spanish formations and documented Latin bases. At least one specialist asserted that there remained few Latin-Romance etymological equations to be established (Wagner 1953: 358). In that portion of his output devoted to Spanish, Aebischer traced the path followed into or within Hispano-Romance by selected lexical items, usually of Latin origin, without suggesting novel etymologies; for examples, see Aebischer 1948a, 1948b, 1951. A careful study of conservative rural dialects may yet yield new information on the composition of the Hispano-Latin lexicon. No competent etymologist has investigated this domain in a systematic fashion. One of the most active explorers of this field was Wagner, who examined some of the Latin and Arabic elements observable in the rural speech of Spain (Wagner 1941, 1948, 1952, 1953); for one assessment of Wagner's performance as a practitioner of Hispanic etymology, see Malkiel 1955-56 and Wagner's bitter riposte (1956).

Despite the inherent dangers (cf. Malkiel 1950b), a few workers continued to operate with hypothetical Latin etyma of dubious validity (Alessio 1953, Janner 1949, Lüdtke 1956a, Lecoy 1953-54, Tilander 1958). This practice has been carried to an extreme by Meier, as noted above. Several young German workers have followed in Meier's foot-

steps by substituting highly suspect Latin bases for non-Latin etyma; for examples see the studies in Meier–Roth 1968.

Various Romanists have devoted considerable effort to unearthing those elements of the Hispanic lexicon directly traceable to the pre-Indo-European and Indo-European languages spoken in the Iberian Peninsula prior to the Roman conquest and settlement. The most prolific investigator of these archaic strata has been Johannes Hubschmid, one of Meier's severest critics. He seeks to establish genetic links between Hispanic formations that often denote configurations and features of the terrain, flora and fauna, and referentially similar items allegedly of pre-Indo-European origin, scattered throughout Europe and Northern Africa. An analytic bibliography of more than thirty studies by Hubschmid which treat Hispanic material appears in Baldinger 1958 (1972:339-349). Hubschmid's three contributions to the *Enciclopedia lingüística hispánica 1* (1960), synthesize his probings into pre-Latin relics preserved in the Hispanic lexicon and onomasticon. Other individual Hispanic words of pre-Roman origin have been discussed over the last three decades by, among others, Cocco, Corominas, Rohlf's and Tovar (Baldinger 1958 [1972:326-385]). One American worker (M. R. Harris 1970, 1971) has recently devoted two lengthy papers to such formations.

Arabisms have continued to interest practitioners of Hispanic etymology since 1945. Besides the scholars identified by Baldinger 1958 (1972:62-91), see Skelton (1970a, 1970b, 1971) and Walsh (1967). One particular aspect of the Hispano-Arabic lexical symbiosis – the alleged influence of Semitic models on the semantic development of Romance formations – has sparked a lively debate. The examples first adduced by Lombard (1936) and Castro (1948, 1950-51) were dissected by Coseriu (1961), Lapesa (1949), Spitzer (1949) and Wagner (1950). Additional instances of such calques have been suggested by Aebischer, Giese, Tovar and van Wijk (Baldinger 1958 [1972:82-85]) and recently by Latham (1968) and Kontzi (1970, 1976).

Three other experienced etymologists deserve brief mention here. Although the husband-and-wife team of Henry R. and Renée Kahane cannot be accurately classified as Hispanists, they have devoted a fair share of their scholarly activity to many of the nautical terms diffused throughout the Mediterranean basin, and to Hellenisms – especially the Byzantine layer – that entered Hispano-Romance. In these studies

the Kahanes succinctly described the historical and cultural conditions which led to the spread of the lexical items in question; for samples of their work treating Hispanic material, see the bibliography in Kahane 1973. In addition to dealing with problems of Catalan etymology, Colón concentrated on intra-Romance lexical relations, especially Spanish loans from southern Gallo-Romance and Catalan (Colón 1958, 1962b, [anent Vidos 1957], 1966, 1967a, 1967b).

### 5.2.2 Galician-Portuguese

Galician-Portuguese remains among the least favored Romance domains in terms of major etymological projects. Machado's inexpert compilation (1952-59, in Appendix I) is very disappointing, though one of its most glaring defects, entirely inadequate dating of first attestations, has been to a large extent remedied by Lorenzo (1969); still useful are the U. S. dissertations of Ruiz y Ruiz (1964) and Clemens (1949), cf. App. I; note also Messner's 'lexicochronological' analysis of Portuguese (1974-75) and Nascentes (1932). Machado's dictionary has attracted only a modest amount of criticism; see in Appendix I the "anotações" of Cunha (1956-60) and Pico (1961-67), alongside the deservedly severe reactions of Wagner (1953-55), Piel (1960) and Lorenzo (1968:i-vii). The author himself brought out a collection of emendations (1965-66) and a second edition of the dictionary has been launched or at least announced, though I have yet to see the result.

Buschmann 1965 (in Appendix I), a student of Meier, is the initial portion (A-F) of a planned etymological dictionary of Galician. Modeled on the *REW*, the entries are an alphabetical list of etyma, among which one will recognize not a few of the reconstructed bases so beloved of her mentor (e. g., 2052a \**collugicāre* [sic; the -u- should be marked long] 'afligirse juntos' > ? *calucar* 'impacientarse'). The author includes a good sampling of derivatives with a reasonable quantity of references to relevant literature. Datings and word history are omitted, while etymological explanation is held to the barest minimum. The present version lacks indices; no doubt the complete work will contain this indispensable aid to the general reader and the specialized researcher (see Colón 1967, in Appendix I).

The safest guide to Galician-Portuguese etymology remains unfortunately Corominas' *DCE* (an index of Galician and Portuguese forms occupy pp. 4.1117-1134); much less reliable, but occasionally useful, is

García de Diego's *DEEH*. From there one must move to the specialized literature, for which we have Gorog's handy bibliography (1967, in Appendix II), for the years 1950-65 (includes reviews and boasts a word index [2:102-110]) and Santos' more discursive account (1966, especially section 8 "Lexicología", pp. 75-100) covering the period 1945-60. Among foreigners, Piel must be regarded as the doyen of etymologists operating on Luso-Romance, cf. in particular his 1953 miscellany beside scores of articles (e. g. 1958, 1963, 1965, 1967; see the bibliography to Piel 1969). Though they concentrate more often on Spanish or some other Romance language, the roster of important contributors must include Hubschmid, Malkiel, Meier, Tilander and Wagner. Machado's dictionary and reactions to it aside, the etymological discipline has not flourished among Portuguese scholars since World War II. Some recent work by native sons on Galician seems very promising, for instance Pensado Tomé (1965) and Lorenzo (1969). The less said about the nonsensical conglomerations that Otero Álvarez jumbles together (1967, 1949-71), the better.

### 5.2.3 Catalan

There exists as yet no etymological dictionary of Catalan (as opposed to dictionaries with etymologies), though Corominas in his *DCE* (1.xl) went so far as to employ an abbreviation (*DECat*) for a *Diccionari Etimològic i Complementari de la Llengua Catalana* "que el autor . . . tiene en preparación avanzada". I am unaware of the reasons that may have deflected him from his evident intention to follow up the *DCE* more or less immediately with the *DECat*. Criticism of the former has been occasionally severe, but no one could argue that the general reception it obtained was unfavorable. As is true for Portuguese, the first and best available source for Catalan etymologies is the *DCE* (see the index of Catalan forms, 4.1135-1154). Beyond this, scholars possess one of the finest descriptive and historical dictionaries of any Romance language in the monumental *DCVB* (Alcover-Moll 1930-62, in Appendix I). Since it includes a rich harvest of historical (with verifiable citations) and dialectal material as well as brief etymological indications, the *DCVB* renders essential assistance to the professional etymologist and the layman alike.

For individual work in Catalan one may consult Badía Margarit (et al.)'s survey of the field (1970:52-55); from there it appears that one of



the most active investigators of Catalan vocabulary, since Corominas has of late concentrated more and more on Catalan toponymy, is Colón: see his recent discovery of vernacular descendants of Lat. *indā-gāre* 'to search, explore' in Catalan (1973), as well as the other essays collected in his recent book (1976).

### 5.3 Italo-Romance

As noted above, five etymological dictionaries of Italian have come out since World War II. None, however, was designed to meet the needs of specialists; the authors were infected by an unjustifiable bias in favor of the layman and amateur. Dictionaries conceived for a broader public than linguistic technicians remain, no doubt, necessary and useful, but only those based on a specialized dictionary genuinely fulfill the purpose they are meant to achieve, as, for instance, the *DELFI* (in close rapport with the *FEW*) or Corominas' *BDE* (abstracted from his *DCE*). The Italianists' own best interests have so far been defeated by their strange refusal to face up to the essential task at hand.

Of the five, the least pretentious is Migliorini–Duro 1950 (in Appendix I), whose very title *Prontuario* leaves no doubt as to their fundamentally pedagogical intent, i. e., to present to non-specialists the results achieved by specialists. Consequently, their lexicon provides very little beyond a bare listing of etyma. Olivieri 1953 (Appendix I) was more ambitious than the afore-mentioned team in that he includes considerable dialectal material, Romance and Indo-European cognates and numerous references to toponomastic reflexes. Still, the strictly etymological portion of each entry is nearly as laconic as in the *Prontuario*. Prati 1951 (Appendix I) differs from both the preceding in offering his readers allusions both to literary sources and to some linguistic literature. By consulting the index of cited authorities, one can derive from the former a rough dating, but the references are not otherwise verifiable; the latter are exiguous indeed. Devoto 1966 (Appendix I) avers he felt "imprisoned" by the infra-Romantic limitations observed by his competitors (this, however, is not always the case with Olivieri 1953 or the *DEI*), so his chief innovation is to pursue etyma beyond the immediate source languages. He has, nevertheless, been extremely selective in this effort, so that the reader in no way feels relieved of the burden of tracing these etyma on his own in the etymological dictionaries of the languages in question.

The most complete, as regards the sheer number of entries, is the *DEI* (Battisti-Alessio 1950-51, in Appendix I); it is also the most disappointing. Following the fatal inclination to remain accessible to non-specialists (p. 1.xx), the compilers have produced a dictionary all but useless to the specialist, indeed, yet so voluminous as to stand beyond the economic means of all but the most devoted non-specialists. Dating of head-words and derivatives is exhaustively attempted, but the information cannot be verified. Again, as so often, the etymological portion of their work involves nothing but the stark presentation of likely source forms (for an advance sample of the *DEI*, see Battisti 1949-50).

Let us see what can be learned from each of them concerning a randomly selected word, *gromma*. Olivieri (1953) defines the word as 'tartar (in a wine cask)' and mentions two derivatives, *grommare* and *grommoso*, left undefined. Tacitly adopting the information provided by *REW* § 3884, he hesitatingly refers the base word to Swiss Germ. *grummele* 'ciccio' ('greaves, the sediment formed when animal fat is melted down for tallow'); he compares the cognate Germanic base *griubo* 'greaves' (source of Eng. *greaves* and Germ. *Grieben*) that apparently gave rise to OIt. *gréppola* and Veron. *griopo* 'tartar' (as per *REW*, loc. cit.).

This is about the barest minimum one could demand of an etymological dictionary, yet Devoto (1966) provides still less, since he omits definitions, other members of the word family, and possible cognates. His conjecture, on the other hand, seems original: a VLat. \**grumma*, fem. form of *grum(m)us* 'piccolo tumulo ('little grave, burrow, sand hill')' taken as a collective 'insieme di grumoli ('collection of small clots or lumps [in a liquid]')'. He sees no further etymological connections, but refers the reader to *gruma* 'incrustation, tartar of a wine cask' < \**grūma*, a collective of the selfsame *grumus* we met before, except that it has shed its optional geminate consonant, hence *gromma/gruma* are clearly variants of the same base. The comparison immediately causes one to wonder why Olivieri failed even to mention the synonym and near homonym *gruma* apropos of *gromma*. Upon returning to his dictionary, one finds, astonishingly enough, that neither form appears s. v. *grumo*.

At this point the reader is left to guess at a reasonable semantic progression, since Devoto's indications are quite informal. The starting

point, Lat. *grūmus* ‘mound of earth’, was evidently applied to ‘clots, lumps (in a liquid)’, then a derived feminine collective became the term for ‘wine tartar’. Devoto does not seek to account for the *gromma/gruma* duality. Neither author offers the slightest hint to the word’s history nor to any etymological literature that may have been devoted to the words in question.

Migliorini–Duro (1950) remain faithful to the *REW*’s etymon, though referring the reader to *gruma*, described as “lo stesso che *gromma*”. Apparently they believe both forms unrelated to *grumo*. The only new material here provided are slightly longer lists of undefined derivatives.

Prati (1951) omits *gromma/gruma* but has an entry for *grumo*; he gives datable literary references and several allusions to linguistic literature, as well as various members of the word family. There is a 16th century attestation of *grumo* in the meaning ‘flower bud’ and one in the 17th as ‘blood clot, milk curd’. The diminutive *grumetto* is on record in the same century, while *grúmolo* occurs in a 16th c. agricultural treatise as ‘heart of lettuce, cabbage’. He also notes the toponym *Grumo*, used, he claims, for places located on hills. It should be observed that Olivieri provides cognate forms both in the Italian dialects and in the other Romance languages, a richer harvest of derivatives (some have blended semantically with offshoots of *rūmināre*), and several vaguely localized toponyms.

In the process of consulting these authorities, our attention has been diverted from the original goal: *gromma* ‘wine tartar’. Now the *DEI* dates this word already in the 14th century. The author (in this case, De Felice) adds a small set of derivatives with their corresponding chronological notes and attribute to the base word the Swiss German etymon discussed above, without referring to *grumo* (was Olivieri a tacit source for the *DEI* in this case?). *gruma*, however, is explained as a blend of *gromma* and *grumo*. The compilers are led to this conclusion, without saying exactly why, by the meaning ‘blood clot’ attested in the 16th c. (Olivieri’s reference is repeated) for the latter.

As for *grumo* the *DEI* also claims it for the 14th c., deriving it from Lat. *grūmus*, tentatively identified as a “Mediterranean relic” cognate with Gk. *krōmax* ‘heap of stones’. They believe the diminutive *grumolo* learned, though Lat. *grūmulus* has survived in some Romance vernaculars. They allude to Romance cognates without citing them, but do list a

few Italo-Romance congeners. Their most interesting contribution is the very early dating (1003) of *grumello* 'fine wine (from Valtellina)', originally a toponym.

It would be inaccurate to say that the reader is left no wiser than when he began this multiple consultation; however, he not only fails to receive a firm answer, something that frequently happens in the best of dictionaries, but much worse, if he wishes to pursue the issue, he must start almost from scratch since so few of the data provided by these dictionaries can be traced to their sources. Datings cannot be verified, since even in Prati no page references appear. Meanings are given in an entirely helter-skelter fashion. The etyma are simply announced with no attempt to justify them. Devoto, the distinguished Classical scholar, by carelessly omitting macrons, manages to convey the impression that \**grūma* has the aberrant vowel quantity rather than \**grumma*. He alone seems to be aware that alongside *grūmus* there occur in mss. variants containing geminate *-mm-*, a fact of considerable potential relevance available to scholars in the 1st volume of the *LEW* (Walde – Hofmann 1938-56): The *gromma/gruma* dichotomy could be explained by Weinrich's theory of inversely proportional vowel and consonant length (1958); this particular case, however, he fails to consider. Devoto ignores the possible Indo-European connections (to say nothing of the *DEI*'s substratal suggestion) the last-mentioned authority perceives (including Eng. *crumb*), cf. also the *GEW* (Frisk 1960-72), s. v. *gruméa* 'bag or chest (for old clothes)'.

None of the five dictionaries here sampled bears comparison with the other major etymological dictionaries in the Romance domain, i. e., the *DES*, *DCE*, *FEW* and *DER*. A swift perusal of these four failed to reveal any immediate solution to the *gromma/gruma* problem, but they do present, always with verifiable references, a host of further reflexes of Lat. *grūmus*, some of which happen to have an *-o-* root vowel and feminine gender (Ast. *gromo* 'branch of furze, gorse', Ptg. *gomo* 'bud, sprout', dial. *goma* 'rebentos novos do mato' [Figueiredo]). The Germanic section of the *FEW* (16:87-88 [1955]) unfortunately does not go into any possible relationship between Swiss Germ. *grummele* and It. *gromma*, but it would on the surface seem just as likely that the former is an intruder from the south rather than the source of the Italian words, if the two forms are indeed genetically related.

I am happy to report that there is a silver lining to this gloomy

assessment (similar appraisal in Lurati 1972). Pfister (1973, Appendix I) has recently announced a massive new *Italienisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* planned along the lines of the *FEW*. His announcement contains ample entries (*abiēs* 'fir tree', *apis* 'bee', and related bases) and they are all the most demanding linguist could desire. I would, however, question the wisdom of using German as the medium of communication. Romance specialists normally read German, but there would, I assume, be real advantages, both economic and intellectual, in reaching a wider audience in Italy.

Pfister's *IEW*, like the *FEW*, may require 50 years or more for its completion, so what can one do in the meantime? If Italian lacks a serviceable etymological dictionary, it possesses, on the other hand, far and away the best linguistic bibliography of any Romance language (Hall 1941, 1958, 1969 and 1973, in Appendix II). The lexical portions of Hall's superb efforts provide a scope and depth of information that cannot be matched in any other Romance domain; it is, in fact, indispensable for work outside Italo-Romance, since he systematically includes all relevant material dealing with the Romance languages in general that happens to touch in any way on Italian linguistic problems. Italian also boasts the finest historical dictionary (Battaglia, 1961-) available for any Romance language. It is progressing at a reasonable rate (7 vols., A-Ing, at last count) and bids fair to equal the monumental *OED*. All references are retrievable, and the bibliography of authors cited, besides constituting an indispensable research tool in itself, provides both chronological and geographical data about each author or text. Hence the interested etymologist can piece together the beginnings of a word history and the record of previous conjectures by consulting Battaglia and Hall as supplements to the available dictionaries. For instance, though Hall records no study of *gromma/gruma*, Battaglia (7.56-57, 82-83) provides a crucial datum: alongside every form in *grum-*, one in *gromm-* is extant, i. e., *grommo/grumo*, *grommolo/grumolo*, etc., a fact that surely militates in favor of those who regard the two stems as variants.

The writer's hand trembles as he broaches the subject of etymology with regard to the Italo-Romance dialects; the field is so rich, so much has been done, so much remains to be done, that what he says here can have only a fleeting resemblance to the actual state of the art. Overall, one of the most important events since World War II must be the

appearance of Jaberg–Jud’s 1960 etymological *Index* to their linguistic atlas of Italy and southern Switzerland (*AIS*, Jaberg–Jud 1928–40). It is, of course, an instrument that only specialists can make full use of; no explanatory material is provided. Rohlf’s excellent *EWuG* (1930) has appeared in a second, and much enlarged edition (1964) with a high-falutin Latin title; the text, mercifully, remains in German. Though ostensibly a lexicon of non-Romance – Hellenic – forms extant in the dialects of southern Italy, it is nevertheless central to the linguistic study of that region (cf. in Appendix I, H. and R. Kahane 1966–67 and Hubschmid 1971). A posthumous collection of Prati’s Venetian etymologies made its debut in 1968. Beyond those high points, I must refer the reader to Hall’s bibliographies.

As for individual work, the chief clearing-house for etymological conjectures has for a long time been the journal *Lingua nostra*. Each year scores of new “noterelle” grace its pages, often as little as a paragraph in length. My own preference is for longer and fewer etymological papers, but I must confess my amazement at Alessio’s production (including 2 sets of “apostille” to his own *DEI* [1957–58 and 1962]); the man is a veritable machine à etymologies. The most distinguished current practitioners include Pellegrini, witness his two-volume venture on Arabisms in Romance and Italian (1972; cf. Contini 1973), and Cortelazzo (Byzantine influence in Venice; see H. and R. Kahane 1973–74).

#### 5.4 Rhaeto-Friulian

The Romansh sector of Rhaeto-Friulian boasts one of the most ambitious lexicographical projects ever undertaken in the Romance field: the *Dicziunari rumantsch grischun* (Pult et al. 1938– in Appendix I; 1972 saw the completion of vol. 5, D–E). No other dictionary, not even the *FEW*, offers the expert so much: preliminaries containing a list of dialect abbreviations with a map showing their location, as well as an exhaustive bibliography; entries that provide careful phonetic transcriptions of variant forms, enormously detailed semantic descriptions with each subentry supported by verifiable literary citations (which are translated into German), concise etymological discussion with careful attention to the linguistic literature; finally, truly remarkable indices that cover etyma, concepts (onomasiological and semasiological), and historical grammar (phonology, morphology, syntax, derivations, lex-

icology [words categorized as to origin, i. e., substratum, Germanic, etc.]). I know of no other lexical work that attempts so thoroughly and successfully to integrate its findings into the broad spectrum of linguistic research. For other lexical projects in Romansh, Widmer 1966 and 1968 are useful guides; cf. also Kramer 1970 (App. I) and Francescato on Rhaeto-Friulian in Volume 3.

### 5.5 Sardinian

The completion of Wagner's *DES* (1957-64) was a signal event not just for Sardinian linguistics but for the entire Romance field, since few would dispute that this culmination of his life-long devotion to one of the most out-of-the-way dialect groups stands among the very finest results obtained in Romance etymology; for his bibliography, cf. Appendix II. Particularly useful to the Romanist is the volume of indices (edited by Urciolo) that bring together 1) Sardinian variants, 2) a sort of Italian-Sardinian thesaurus, i. e., an alignment of Italian and Sardinian (near)synonyms, extremely useful for onomasiological ventures, and 3) more traditional lists of words in other languages discussed à propos of a Sardinian form, including under "Latin" a massive list of attested and reconstructed etyma (Wagner 1957-64:3.411-454). Of course, like any such vast undertaking, the *DES* is not without its faults; these have been most sensitively appraised by my late good friend Jonathan Butler (1970-71). Wagner closed the second volume of his magnum opus with his own addenda et corrigenda together with vigorous responses to his critics (2.604-618; see also his presentation of the *DES* in 1958), while the excellent lexicologist and bibliographer Atzori (cf. 1953, in Appendix II) has published numerous "apostille" (most recently, I believe, in 1964-65; for a convenient list of other reactions see, in Appendix II, Butler 1967-68:535).

Before his tragic death, Butler was engaged in preparing an inverse index to the *DES*; as a useful innovation he had planned to include words treated in Wagner's previous work but omitted from the *DES*. The project has been taken over by Edward Tuttle of UCLA.

Recent periodical bibliographies seem to indicate a considerable slackening of activity in Sardinian etymology, whereas the appearance of the *DCE* and the long progress of the *FEW*, if anything, quickened interest in etymological research in the domains they surveyed. Of course, one must reckon with the vastly greater number of scholars that

concern themselves with Gallo- and Hispano-Romance as opposed to Sardinian, one of the most esoteric subdisciplines within Romance linguistics.

## 5.6 Balkan Romance

### 5.6.1 Dalmatian

Elmendorf's unpublished etymological dictionary of Dalmatian (cf. Appendix I) has had little resonance, not only because of its inaccessibility, but also because its entries are most often trivial and unoriginal. Muljačić 1969 (Appendix II) is an excellent guide to what has been published on this corner of the Romance world between Bartoli's 1906 description of the dialect of Veglia and the year 1966. However, the sole active etymologist specializing in this domain that I am able to cite is Vinja (1957, 1959, 1967 and 1972-73, in Appendix I). His efforts are directed toward recovering Romance relics in the present-day Serbo-Croatian dialects of the Dalmatian coast. In the first three articles just mentioned (the third contains a word index for all three) the proposed etymological connections are brief to the point of laconism. They are organized in the form of entries that supplement those of the *REW*. It is my guess that a careful sifting of this material would be required, in particular a thorough investigation of possible alternative Slavic sources, before they could be adopted for the purposes of comparative research.

### 5.6.2 Rumanian

[I have adapted and translated freely Professor Poghirc's account of Rumanian etymological research, attempting never to betray his thought. I was, however, compelled to trim some parts of his excellent exposé when it became apparent that the original outline agreed upon would produce far too extensive a text. For an unadulterated sample of his research in Rumanian etymology see Poghirc 1968b as well as his mimeographed bibliography cf. 1969 listed in Appendix II. J.R.C.]

The motley sources of the Rumanian lexicon (vernacular descendants from spoken Latin, recent loanwords from literary Latin or from the other Romance languages, substratum elements, borrowings from Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greek, from ancient Germanic tongues [Goths and Gepids] and modern literary German as well as the 'Saxon' dialects spoken in Transylvania, numerous Slavic borrowings of



varying date and provenience, beside Hungarian, Turkish and other Oriental words) and the quite late appearance of the language in written form (2nd half of the 16th century) give rise to particularly difficult problems that do not crop up in the other Romance domains to the same extent and explain why it is that approx. 10-15% of the Rumanian vocabulary is of uncertain or unknown origin (Poghirc 1968b: 206).

These peculiar circumstances also seem to be responsible for the special attention that was accorded to methodology even by pioneers such as B. P. Hasdeu (1836-1907; for a description of his admirable statement of principles see Poghirc 1968b:203). The dispute over reconstructed vs. attested bases, a chief concern of Hasdeu in his statement of principles just mentioned, continues to attract the interest of Rumanian etymologists, witness Mihăescu's recent contribution (1965) à propos of Graur's judicious treatment of the question (1934). Widespread abuse of reconstructed bases provoked Şăineanu into formulating his famous concept of the 'sources indigènes' (1925-30, 1935); his example, insofar as it constitutes a healthy corrective to overly narrow concentration on external etymology, has found contemporary adepts in Hristea (1971) and Király (1973).

Rumanian scholars have been predominantly responsible for two innovations in etymological theory that have proven quite fruitful. First is the notion of word currency ('circulația cuvintelor') expressed in the last century by Hasdeu (1887-98:1.xlvi-lix) and taken up recently by a series of investigators (Graur 1954, Macrea 1941-43, Maneca 1966 and Schroeder 1965, among others). By word currency we allude to the greater fundamental importance of living etymological structures as opposed to lexical statistics in determining the basic typology of a language. The recent interest in this problem arose as a reaction against researches that tended to exaggerate the relative importance of the non-Latin elements in Rumanian.

Secondly, exclusive concentration on the most immediate and obvious sources of Rumanian vocabulary at the expense of a genuinely sensitive comprehension of the manifold possibilities of lexical transmission has received an effective antidote in Graur's extremely useful theory of 'multiple etymology' (1950). Alongside such well-known phenomena as lexical contamination, popular etymology, linguistic calques, and the like, Graur has observed that a given word may have

entered the language from various, in this case, convergent, sources either at the same time or in different periods. For instance, in the eighteenth century a word may have been borrowed from Greek, later the etymologically identical form may have penetrated from Italian, but at last the final victor may turn out to have been the cognate French word. Other words, after careful inspection, reveal successive Greek, German or Russian strains in their pedigree. Thoroughgoing phonological and morphological adaptation often obscures any isolable traits of these various starting points, so that only the most delicate historical research succeeds in fully elucidating this remarkable phenomenon.

Before World War II, Rumanian lacked an etymological dictionary that was both complete and reliable (cf. Appendix I for references to dictionaries). The pioneering work of Cihac (1870-79) preserves only historical interest; Hasdeu's *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae* (1887-98), after almost 4,000 pages, remained incomplete at the word *bărbat*. Pușcariu (1905) and Candrea-Densusianu (1907-14) surveyed exclusively the Latin elements surviving in Rumanian; the latter effort was broken off at the word *putea*. Consequently the appearance of Cioranescu's *DER* (1958-66) was most welcome. Though not exhaustive, neither as to the number of forms treated nor to the linguistic literature cited, it nevertheless constitutes a convenient guide to the most important etymological conjectures regarding a very large number of Rumanian words.

Cioranescu's original etymological contributions are, however, relatively few and at times insufficiently substantiated though interesting suggestions are not lacking. For instance, he systematically replaces substratum conjectures with Slavic or Romance hypotheses that are often anything but convincing, a result of his belief, correct in principle, but which leads to errors through injudicious and excessively absolute application, that "ce substratum cher aux philologues ... semble appelé à dissimuler complaisamment toutes nos ignorances" (Cioranescu 1959:199). This reservation aside, the *DER* constitutes a useful instrument, especially for investigators located outside Rumania who are unable to consult original sources.

Excellent both with regard to method and to wealth of documentation, since the author has utilized a full chronological gamut of texts that extend back to the earliest known and has analyzed exhaustively earlier linguistic literature, is Tamás' historical and etymological dictio-

nary of the Hungarian elements in Rumanian (1967). As some reviewers have noted, this book practically renders the consultation of the earlier bibliography useless. I would only have wished for a stricter delimitation between words of Hungarian origin that have become quite generally accepted in the language and those that are dialectal or limited to the speech of Transylvanian bilinguals.

I understand that a team of West German researchers, in collaboration with Rumanian experts, has undertaken the preparation of a new etymological dictionary of Rumanian, destined to take its place alongside to *FEW*, *DCE*, and the like.

Finally I should mention that in order to form a well rounded etymological picture of Balkan Romance one can consult with profit Elmendorf 1951 (mentioned above) and in particular the results of Çabej's systematic investigation of Albanian etymology (for instance, 1962a) as well as his (1962b) and Mihăescu's (1966) work on the Latin elements of Albanian, sometimes labeled a 'quasi-Romance' language.

Among older Rumanian dictionaries with etymologies the best and most complete is Tiktin (1903-1925). As for more recent dictionaries, *Dicționarul limbii române moderne* (Academia R. P. R. 1958) indicates too often merely the language of origin without specifying the precise etymon. It has received well deserved criticism (Brîncuși 1961, Hristea 1960, among others) not only for erroneous etymologies but above all for the considerable number of words left unetymologized, sometimes with no apparent justification. Later printings, in which Hristea revised the etymological information, show marked improvement.

The dictionary-thesaurus of the Rumanian language (*DLR*), directed by Pușcariu until 1949 (Academia Română 1913-), has been continued from the letter M since 1965. In its earlier form the *DLR* offered abundant etymological discussion; the fascicles printed in the new series, however, limit themselves to brief etymological indications with various laconic estimates of the paths followed by words on their way to becoming part of the Rumanian lexicon as well as comments on the degree of certainty attributable to the etyma suggested, including only rarely references to solutions proposed elsewhere. Apparently obeying a desire to avoid detailed analysis the editors have declared the "origin unknown" for more words than is strictly appropriate. One quality that confers a decided advantage to this dictionary over its

predecessors stems from the adoption by the collective entrusted with elucidating word origins (*Colectivul de etimologie*) of the theory of 'multiple etymology' (see above), so fruitful for the analysis of Rumanian etymological sources. Consequently, in appropriate cases the etymological statement includes all foreign words that have constituted the basis of the Rumanian word at different times and on varying socio-economic levels, ranged chronologically or according to their intrinsic importance for the history of the word at issue. It would be desirable, for that reason, upon revising the earlier portions of the dictionary with a view to correcting some of the outdated etymologies on the basis of more modern information, not to impoverish excessively the discussions mentioned above, which often retain even today great interest for etymological research. In any case, the renewal of this great lexicographical project has revived both lay and scholarly fascination with etymology, dormant for so long after World War II. The appearance of each fascicle stimulates the publication of numerous additions and corrections, usually in the journal *Limba română* (*LbR*).

The useful dictionary of the Arumanian dialect brought out by Papahagi (1963) regularly provides etymologies, often superior to those supplied in Pascu's etymological lexicon (1925).

Two books of a general character have been devoted specifically to Rumanian etymological problems since World War II. Following his interesting work on the basic nucleus of the Rumanian vocabulary (1954), which touches on several important etymological cruxes, Graur (1963) begins on a methodological note, rounding out his theory of multiple etymology mentioned above, then takes up certain curious forms occurring in rhymed formulae, various rather complex prefixes and suffixes, the elucidation of whose origin and structure clarifies the provenience of an entire series of words. The second part comprises a long alphabetical list of etymological notes that bring together additional documentation, emendations or explanations of previous etymologies as well as novel etymological conjectures. Hristea's (1968) suggestions about word origins are grouped around, and interwoven with, significant methodological discussions concerning, for instance, internal etymology, lexical borrowing, linguistic calques, popular etymology, hypercorrection, etc. The two works highlight the methodological superiority of monographic investigations compared with the concentration on isolated etyma inherent in dictionary projects.

The best studied portion of the Rumanian vocabulary is, as one might expect, that of Latin ancestry. Besides general works, two etymological dictionaries (Pușcariu 1905, Candrea–Densusianu 1907-14) have concerned themselves exclusively with the Latin elements in Rumanian; the same is true of Candrea 1902, 1932, Domaschke 1919, Giuglea 1909 and Graur 1937. In the last thirty years, these researches have been carried forward in a more profound and nuanced fashion. The importance and specific nature of the Rumanian vocabulary derived from Latin has received close attention in various essays dealing with the place of Rumanian in the Romance family of languages, among which Bonfante 1959-60 and Macrea 1954 are the most interesting from the lexical point of view.

Research into Balkan Latin (Mihăescu 1960, Stati 1961) has failed to lay bare essential lexical cleavages from western Latinity. More revealing in this regard have been recent works on the Latin elements in Albanian (Çabej 1962b, Mihăescu 1966a). The outstanding contemporary work on the lexical peculiarities of eastern Romance is without doubt Bahner 1971 (see also Şiadbei 1957). Unusually important are likewise the chapters on the vocabulary of Balkan Latin (Fischer) and Proto-Rumanian (Coteanu), based on the comparison of dialects lying both to the north and south of the Danube, to be found in the 2nd volume of the Academy's history of the Rumanian language (Academia R. P. R. 1965-69). Finally, among works that treat the subject under discussion with a certain amplitude I should mention Teodorescu (1946) and Buescu (1953-58), though neither effort is entirely free of exaggeration and errors of method.

After the promising investigations into the pre-Latin substrata of Rumanian carried out by Hasdeu in the last century, the first half of the twentieth century witnessed the predominance of an almost absolute scepticism about the validity of such work, a point of view associated most directly with Densusianu. In the last forty years, however, the successes of Rumanian archaeologists in ferreting out the autochthonous cultural heritage coupled with the significant progress realized in the study of the ancient languages of the Balkans have revolutionized the field. For a long time the lone paladin in this difficult domain, I. I. Russu (see among recent items 1959 and 1962) has been followed by an entire generation of younger followers; we can mention, as regards the more general problems inhering in the study of substratal

vocabulary, Brîncuși (1963, 1966), Çabej (1965), Giuglea (1944), Poghirc (1967, 1973), and Vraciu (1963-64). Major, and strictly etymological investigations include: Reichenkron (1966), criticized, justifiably, for his hazardous reconstructions and for his exaggeration of the role Armenian is supposed to have played in the substratal configuration of Rumanian; Poghirc (1968b), who attempts to classify Rumanian substratal elements according to whether a) they are attested in the ancient languages of the Balkans, b) they are shared exclusively by Rumanian and Albanian, or c) they are deduced through comparison with other Indo-European languages (Armenian, Balto-Slavic, Indo-Iranian); and Russu (1970), the second part of which (pp. 131-216) constitutes an etymological dictionary of substratum elements that offers numerous and interesting original contributions by the author, though some have aroused opposition on the grounds that they represent an abuse of 'root etymology' ('Wurzeletymologien'). [For a useful critical bibliography of this subdomain, see Russu 1970:14-47. J. R. C.]

The importance of pre-Indo-European (Mediterranean) strata in the Balkans, no doubt overstated by some scholars, has been, particularly in the light of the decipherment of Linear B and the demonstration that numerous pre-Hellenic survivals in Greek are nevertheless Indo-European, almost entirely denied by Georgiev (1961). The post-war period has seen, on the other hand, an extreme exaggeration of allegedly Mediterranean material in the Balkan languages by Lahovary (1954-55), whose work, though occasionally offering useful lexical comparisons, is methodologically dilettantish and fanciful. That pre-Indo-European elements must exist among Rumanian substratum survivals has been demonstrated by Hubschmid (1964).

Much of the etymological work in Rumanian is devoted to tracing the source and chronology of borrowings from other languages: as Hope's article in this volume is devoted to a discussion of this question, here only a summary account will be attempted, with reference made only to recent work. On Germanic, we have Bahner 1963, Coterlan 1965, Arvinte 1965, 1967, 1968, Isbășescu 1969; for Greek, Poghirc 1971:8-9, Mihăescu 1966b; for Slavic, Petrovici 1938, 1965, 1966, Mihăilă 1960, 1965, Pătruț 1970, 1971; for Turkish, Șăineanu 1900 has not been supplanted by Wendt 1960 (cf. Drimba 1950, 1957, 1964); on Hungarian, Tamás' dictionary (1967) remains fundamental, though we should mention contributions by Király (1964, 1967, 1973)

and Kelemen (1971). A large proportion of the modern Rumanian vocabulary (about 40%) has been borrowed from Western Romance, most often from French; the topic of 're-Romanicization' of Rumanian has been usefully reviewed by Sădeanu (1973).

#### Note

- \* The authors' division of labor is as follows: Dworkin undertook the survey of the French and Spanish sections of this paper, and Poghirc's illuminating description of the etymological field in Rumania was translated, edited and, alas, abbreviated by myself. It is important to emphasize that each party is responsible for the statements made in his portion only. This refers particularly to the polemical portions of the introduction, which neither my colleagues Dworkin and Poghirc nor the editors necessarily support and for which they bear no responsibility whatsoever. We are extremely grateful to Ruth Holzmann for an excellent critical appraisal of the manuscript and to Keith Karlsson for catching several typographical slips. [J. R. C.]

## Appendix I: Selected dictionaries

### Abbreviations

References are to items in this Appendix

- AIS* = *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz* Jaberg – Jud 1928-40.  
*BDE* = *Breve diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana* Corominas 1961.  
*DAG* = *Dictionnaire onomasiologique de l'ancien gascon* Baldinger 1975 a.  
*DAO* = *Dictionnaire onomasiologique de l'ancien occitan* Baldinger 1975 b.  
*DCE* = *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* Corominas 1954-57.  
*DCVB* = *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* Alcover – Moll 1930-62.  
*DEAF* = *Dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien français* Baldinger – Gendron – Straka 1971.  
*DEEH* = *Diccionario etimológico español e hispánico* García de Diego 1955.  
*DEI* = *Dizionario etimologico italiano* Battisti – Alessio 1948-54.  
*DEL F* = *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* Bloch – Wartburg 1932.  
*DER* = *Diccionario etimologico rumano* Cioranescu 1958-66.  
*DES* = *Dizionario etimologico sardo* Wagner 1957-64.  
*DLR* = *Dicționarul limbii române* Academia Română 1913.  
*EWFS* = *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache* Gamillscheg 1926-28.  
*EWuG* = *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Gräzität* Rohlf's 1930.  
*FEW* = *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Wartburg 1922-.  
*GEW* = *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Frisk 1960-72.  
*IEW* = *Italianisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Pfister 1973-.  
*LEW* = *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Walde – Hofmann 1938-56.  
*LRW* = *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch* Körting 1901.  
*OED* = *Oxford English Dictionary*  
*REW* = *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Meyer-Lübke 1911.



## Selected dictionaries (and reviews of them)

Academia Republicii Populare Române

1958 *Dicționarul limbii române moderne* (București: Ed. Acad.).

Academia Română

1913- *Dicționarul limbii române* (București: Socec/Sfetea). [Continued by the Academia R.P.R. in 1965.]

Alcover, A. M. – F. de B. Moll.

1930-62 *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* 10 vols. (Palma de Mallorca: Gráficas Miramar).

Alessio, G.

1957-58 *Postille al Dizionario Etimologico Italiano* (= *Quaderni linguistici* 3-4) (Napoli: U.P., Istituto di Glottologia).

1962 "Nuove postille al Dizionario Etimologico Italiano", *BCSS* 6: 59-110 (= *Saggi e ricerche in memoria di E. Li Gotti* 1).

Alfaro, R. J.

1964 *Diccionario de Anglicismos* (2nd edition) (Madrid).

Alsdorf-Bollée, A. – I. Burr

1969 *Rückläufiger Stichwortindex zum Romanischen etymologischen Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Winter).

Amaral, Vasco B. de

1944 *Novo dicionário de dificuldades da lingua portuguesa* (2nd edition) (Lisboa).

Atzori, M. T.

1964-65 "Aggiunte al *Dizionario etimologico sardo* di M. L. Wagner", *RPF* 13: 263-278.

Baldinger, Kurt

1956-58 Review of Corominas 1954-57, *DLZ* 77: 353-357; 80: 316-320.

1961 "Der neue Bloch – Wartburg (Lexikologischer Forschungsbericht 1950-60)", *ZRPh* 77: 85-137.

1964 Review of Bloch – Wartburg 1964, *ZRPh* 80: 517-524.

1975a- *Dictionnaire onomasiologique de l'ancien gascon* (Tübingen: Niemeyer).

1975b- *Dictionnaire onomasiologique de l'ancien occitan* (Tübingen: Niemeyer).

Baldinger, K. – J. D. Gendron – G. Straka

1971- *Dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien français* (Tübingen: Niemeyer/Québec: P. U. Laval).

Baralt, R. M.

1874 *Diccionario de galicismos, o sea de las voces, locuciones y frases de la lengua francesa que se han introducido en el habla castellana moderna* (2nd edition) (Madrid).

Battaglia, S. (ed.)

1961- *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese).

Battisti, C.

1949-50 "Presentazione del *Dizionario etimologico italiano*", *RomPh* 3: 227-238.

Battisti, C. – G. Alessio

1948-54 *Dizionario etimologico italiano* 5 vols. (Firenze: G. Barbèra).

Bloch, O. – W. von Wartburg

1932 *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (Paris: P.U.F.). [2nd edition 1950, 3rd 1960, 4th 1964, 5th 1968.]

- Brîncuși, G.  
1961 "Observații asupra etimonurilor albaneze din DLRM", *SCL* 12: 193-201.
- Brüch, J.  
1926-29 "Bemerkungen zum Französischen Etymologischen Wörterbuch E. Gamillschegs", *ZFSL* 49: 290-318, 50: 299-355, 52: 393-483.
- Buschmann, S.  
1965 *Beiträge zum etymologischen Wörterbuch des Galizischen* (Bonn: Rom. Sem.) (= *RVV* 15).
- Butler, J. L.  
1970-71 "Wagner's Etymological Dictionary of Sardinian", *RomPh* 24: 108-119.
- Candrea, I. A.  
1931 *Dicționarul limbii române di trecut și de astăzi* (București: Cartea Românească).
- Candrea, I. A. – O. Densusianu  
1907-14 *Dicționarul etimologic al limbii române. Elementele latine* 4 fasc. (București: Socec).
- Cihac, A.  
1870-79 *Dictionnaire d'étymologie daco-romane, I. Éléments latins comparés avec les autres langues romanes, II. Éléments slaves, magyars, turcs, grecs-moderne et albanais* 2 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: L. St.-Goar).
- Cioranescu, A.  
1958-66 *Diccionario etimológico rumano* (Tenerife: Biblioteca filológica).
- Clemens, G. B.  
1949 *A tentative Portuguese dictionary of dated first occurrences to the year 1350* (unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Univ. Pennsylvania).
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1962a "El Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana de Corominas. Notas de lexicografía y etimología hispánicas", *ZRPh* 78: 59-96.  
1967 Review of Buschmann 1965, *VR* 26: 376-378.
- Corominas, J.  
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