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Preface

The present volume contains a selection of papers prepared in con-
nection with the International Conference on Historical Linguistics
and Philology held at Błażejewko near Poznań from April 20 to 23,
1988. The papers cover a wide range of subjects from general (e. g. the
relationship between philology and historical linguistics, the use of
philology in historical linguistic investigations, etc.) to language and
topic specific ones, sometimes extremely narrow in scope.

The languages analyzed are not limited to the Indo-European stock
but also include members of other families, e. g. American Indian
languages.

Three papers included in the volume were not delivered since their
authors could not come to the conference. Several papers which were
presented, however, have not been printed below as their contents
have been felt to be too loosely connected with the conference theme.
Most of these will appear in *Folia Linguistica Historica* and other
linguistic journals.

The conference has once again revealed the need for a renewed
discussion of seemingly old issues which constantly come back, often
accompanied by misunderstandings and misconceptions. It is hoped
that the present volume and the conference have contributed to the
clarification of some of them.

The conference has been prepared and run competently by confer-
ence secretaries Miss Barbara Płocińska and Mrs. Danuta Trawczyń-
ska, who deserve a word of thanks here.

Poznań, August 1988

Jacek Fisiak

Philology in America: Nahuatl:
What loan words and the early descriptions of
Nahuatl show about stress, vowel length, and
glottal stop in sixteenth century Nahuatl and
Spanish

0. Introduction

In the introduction to his paper in the present volume, Lyle Campbell mentions the great number of grammars of American Indian languages from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nahuatl – also called Aztec – which was, and still is, spoken in Mexico, is one of these languages. It is probably the American Indian language which has been treated in the most grammatical descriptions, and it is undoubtedly the one from which we have the greatest fund of texts.

The first grammar of Nahuatl is from 1547; a comprehensive Nahuatl-Spanish, Spanish-Nahuatl dictionary was published in 1571 – it still is *the* dictionary of Nahuatl; by 1645 five different grammars had appeared; and they kept being produced. It seems that every religious order in the Nahuatl area had to have its own grammar:

- Olmos (Franciscan) 1547 (first printed edition, 1875) (200 pages)
- Molina (Franciscan) 1571 (second edition, 1576) (164 pages)
- Molina dictionary 1571
- Rincón (Jesuit) 1595 (50 pages)
- Galdo Guzman (Augustinian) 1642 (104 pages)
- Carochi (Jesuit) 1645 (264 pages)
- Vetancourt (Franciscan) 1673 (81 pages)
- Vázquez Gastelu (priest) 1689 (43 pages)
- Guerra (Franciscan) 1692 (96 pages)

- Aldama y Guevara (Jesuit) 1754 (168 pages)
 Cortés y Zedeño (priest) 1765 (184 pages)
 Pérez, Manuel (Augustinian) 1713 (100 pages)
 Tapia Zenteno ("colegial de un seminario") 1753 (82 pages)

The many early grammars of Nahuatl give a fairly precise description of the structure of the language, but they also tell us something about the structure of sixteenth century Spanish and more generally about how Europeans perceived and described language in that period. In this paper I shall concentrate on just one corner of the phonology.

Nahuatl is phonetically a simple language, so the Spanish had only few problems in writing it, and there are not many disagreements in the orthographies that they used. However, where certain sounds — like for example vowel length and glottal stop — do not correspond to the Spanish sounds or are unknown to Spanish, we find discrepancies.

John Bierhorst has recently introduced the terms "modernized Franciscan" and "modernized Jesuit" orthographies. His modernized Franciscan orthography includes no information about vowel length or glottal stop, whereas the modernized Jesuit one does — whenever such information is available.

These two terms refer primarily to a tradition upheld by the three Jesuit "linguists" in the field, Antonio del Rincón, Horacio Carochi, and Aldama y Guevara; their discussions of the pronunciation of short and long vowels and of glottal stop give the impression that they were good phoneticians, and the latter two in their examples systematically note long versus short vowels and the occurrences of glottal stop.

The Franciscans and the Augustinians do not appear to have been equally sharp phoneticians; they never indicate vowel length, and their notation of glottal stop — with an *h* — is not strictly phonetically based, and generally only sporadically indicated. Andrés de Olmos, who demonstrates an interest in the phonetics by rendering the devoicing of *l* and *w* with an *h* all through his grammar (*nocalh* [noka] 'my house' and *notlacauh* [noʎakaw] 'my slave'), does not seem to even hear the glottal stop; he says:

"Pero es de notar que en todos los plurales, que no se diferencian en la boz ni pronunciacion de sus singulares, pondremos una h, sino solamente para denotar esta diferencia del plural al singular ... tlaqua, aquel come; plural, tlaquah, aquellos comen." (p. 200)

[But it should be noted that in all the plurals, which do not differ in tone or pronunciation from their singulars, we write an *h*, but only to indicate this difference between the plural and the singular ... *tlaqua* he eats; plural, *tlaquah* they eat.]

In some verb tenses, present, imperfect, pluperfect, etc., the final glottal stop alone serves to differentiate singular and plural — as in the examples. In other tenses, plural is marked by a suffix which ends in a glottal stop, *-ke?*. In his verb paradigms, Olmos thus writes the glottal stop, *h*, only in the present, imperfect tenses, etc., and not in the plural suffix *-ke?*, which he simply writes *que*.

There is no doubt that someone must have heard the final glottal stops in the first place and therefore indicated them; Olmos's understanding of the glottal stop is confused by what had already been introduced formerly, namely the convention of spelling glottal stop with an *h*, and by the general mixing of letters and sounds; and since no one had yet (1547) given the glottal stop a name, it was probably still identified — by Olmos and others — with some *h*, aspiration, or devoicing.

At the very opening of his grammar (1642), the Augustinian Galdo Guzman has an important notice or warning accompanied by an interesting description of some dialectal differences in pronunciation. He tells us that in Tlaxcala and around Cholula people pronounced an aspiration corresponding to the glottal stop of the Valley of Mexico; and since he deems it improper not to pronounce the glottal stop, he prefers to mark it by an accent, writing *àmotzin* rather than *ahmotzin* — the accent for glottal stop was a convention used by the Jesuits. However, his examples show that he considers this to be an orthographic convention and not a written representation of the actual pronunciation: in the notice he substitutes an accent for *h* in all cases, also where the *h* in combination with *u* represents [w], he thus writes *ciuatl* for *cihuatl* [siwa:ʎ]. In the rest of the grammar, he completely ignores the glottal stop, but frequently indicates *w* — mostly when prevocallic — by *ù*, for example, *nicchiua* [nikci:wa], *ùetzi* [weçi], *yaliua* [ya:lwa], where others generally — and he himself sometimes — write *nicchihua*, *huetzi*, *yalhua* or *nicchiva*, *vetzi*, *yalva*.

To the Jesuits the problem of not keeping spelling and pronunciation separate does not seem to affect their understanding of the glottal stop, partly because by the time their first grammarian, Antonio del Rincón, wrote his *Arte*, someone had introduced a term for the glottal

stop, viz. *saltillo* 'little jump', and they note glottal stop with some diacritic mark. That Antonio de Rincón was not the inventor of the term is clear from a remark of his: "... y por esta causa con mucha raçon algunos han llamado, a este espíritu aspero el saltillo ..." (p. 264) — [...and for this reason some have very rightly called this spiritus asper (rough breathing) the little jump].

1. Accent, vowel length, and glottal stop

In all the early grammars, the description of vowel length and glottal stop is subsumed under "accent", because here — as with the segmental phonemes — the orthography is the point of departure, and if at all indicated, these features are written with diacritic marks which to the Spanish apparently were termed "acentos".

Word stress is generally not dealt with at all; one reason for this omission may be that both in Spanish and in Nahuatl it is penultimate and automatic. However, the Franciscan Alonso de Molina is an exception, he warns:

No hagas en alguna diction el acento notablemente agudo, alçando la boz en vna sillaba mas que en otra, saluo quando tuuieres certidumbre del tal acento (p. 217)

[Do not in any word make the accent notably acute by raising the voice in one syllable more than in another, except when you have certainty of that accent]

The sections on *acentos* in the Jesuits' descriptions inform us that:

- 1) Nahuatl distinguished between long and short vowels;
- 2) long vowels in word-final position had a falling or low tone (called *grave*);
- 3) other long vowels had a rising or high tone (called "acute");
- 4) glottal stop occurs only after short vowels — in fact long vowels are abbreviated when followed by a glottal stop;
- 5) glottal stop is pronounced as a jump (*salto*), a hiccup (*singulto*), a stop (*reparo*), or a suspension (*suspension*) in utterance-medial position;
- 6) in utterance-final position, glottal stop is pronounced "forcibly as though one wants to pronounce the aspiration *h*, although it is not

aspiration" [*con fuerça, como quien va a pronunciar la aspiracion h. aunq̃ no es aspiracion*] (Carochi f. 2r, 402)

El saltillo que no está al fin de la voz, es bien perceptible: como en dichas voces tilmàtli, y tilmàçolli; pero el salto, y el saltillo que está en la ultima letra de la voz, creo que pide mucho trato con los Indios, para que el oído lo perciba. (Aldama y Guevara # 21)

[The "saltillo" which is not at the end of the word is well perceptible, like in the words *tilmàtli* and *tilmàçolli*; but the "salto", or the "saltillo" which is at the end of the word, I believe, demands much intercourse with the Indians for the ear to perceive it].

7) In Tlaxcala and in the Cholula area (both east of Mexico City) the "saltillo" was pronounced *con mucha aspereça* with much roughness (Rincón p. 264, also Galdo Guzman p. 290).

The three Jesuits marked the vowels in the following ways for vowel length and glottal stop:

	Rincón	Carochi	Aldama y Guevara
long	{ V̇ agudo V̄ grave	V̄	V̇
	V̄ moderado		
short	{ V̇ saltillo (glottal stop) V breve	{ V̇ # V̇	V̇

From the grammatical descriptions we also learn that:

8) in utterance-final position, short vowels *se pronuncian de ordinario tan breues quando terminan el periodo, ... que a penas se tocan, quando se dexan* (Carochi f. 2v, 402) [are generally pronounced so briefly when they finish the utterance ... that they are hardly felt when they are left/finished];

9) medially, short vowels are pronounced like vowels in Spanish (Carochi f. 2v, 402).

10) Long vowels in word-final position — and in word-final syllables ending in a consonant — are pronounced longer than final vowels in Spanish words (Carochi f. 2v, 402).

In addition to the few examples of long final vowels, which Carochi marks and describes, there are also many final vowels which are only long in the underlying structure and which Carochi does not recognize as such, for example:

[lak ^w a]	/lak ^w a:/	'he eats'
[lak ^w a:s]	/lak ^w a:s/	'he will eat'

as opposed to:

[ki:sa]	'he leaves'
[ki:sas]	'he will leave'.

It seems to be a general rule that long vowels are shortened in word-final position, and in the case of the few examples where Carochi notes long – very long – final vowels, we must probably assume some segment which has protected the vowel from shortening before it has been dropped. I have suggested elsewhere that a final *i* is responsible for the long final vowel in the following words:

-V:i# > -V:#

<i>no-ma:</i>	'my hand'	from	<i>ma:iλ</i>	'hand'
<i>i:-lan-k^wa:</i>	'his knee'	from	<i>lan-k^wa:iλ</i>	'knee'
<i>i:-to:ka:</i>	'his name'	from	<i>to:ka:iλ</i>	'name'
<i>i:-k^we:</i>	'her skirt'	from	<i>k^we:iλ</i>	'skirt'

(Canger 1980, p. 41).

In the other cases, we do not find such obvious evidence for a protective segment.

11) If the vowels in a polysyllabic word are all short, they are perceived as neither short nor long, for example *çacamecatl* 'grassrope', but if the antepenultimate is long and the penultimate is short, the penultimate is perceived as shorter, e. g., *xicmotlātīli* [šikmoλa:tili] 'hide it!' versus *xicmotlātīli* [šikmoλatili] 'burn it!' (Carochi f. 3v, 403). The short penultimate *i* of the first word is thus perceived as shorter than the short penultimate *i* of the second word.

Molina seems to express a similar perception in saying

...comunmente. . estos naturales no alcan mas vna sillaba que otra en su hablar y platicas: saluo de quando en quando o ralmente, y en especial en algunas dictiones como la que se sigue: xictlati, ... tiene algunas vezes el accento agudo en la antepenultima. Exemplo: xictlati yn candela, que quiere dezir enciende la candela o la vela, alçando la primera sillaba, ... Y otras vezes tiene el accento en la penultima. Exemplo xictlāti yn amatl, que quiere dezir esconde el libro, alçando y pronunciado con accento agudo esta sillaba tla (Molina p. 217)

[generally . . these natives do not raise one syllable more than another in their speech and talks: except from time to time or rarely and

especially in some words like the following: *xictlati* ... has some times the acute accent in the antepenultimate. Example: *xictlati yn candela*, which means light the candle, raising the first syllable, ... At other times it has the accent in the penultimate. Example: *xictlāti yn amatl*, which means hide the book, raising the syllable *tla* and pronouncing it with acute accent.].

According to Carochi's description, these two words are distinguished by differences in vowel length, thus

Molina	Carochi	
<i>siklati</i>	<i>siklati</i>	light or burn it!
<i>siklāti</i>	<i>sikla:ti</i>	hide it!

12) When Spanish words which end in a vowel are borrowed they have a final "saltillo" in Nahuatl.

Pedròtze, l. Petolòtze, Pedro: sobre la vocal final destes nombres castellanos Pedro & c. pongo saltillo por que es regla general que la vltima vocal de qualquiera vocablo castellano, que acaba en vocal tiene saltillo final, como se verá en este exemplo. Pedròe, l. Pedròtze mā niqitta in mollauètzin. Pedro vea yo, idest, muestrame tu llaue. (Car f. 9r, 408)

[*Pedròtze*, or *Petolòtze*, Pedro: over the final vowel of these Spanish names Pedro, etc., I put a "saltillo" because it is a general rule that the final vowel in any Spanish word which ends in a vowel has a final "saltillo", as one can see in this example. *Pedròe* or *Pedròtze mā niqitta in mollauètzin*. Pedro, let me see, i. e., show me your key.]

(The word *mollauètzin* /mo-yawe?-cin/ contains the Spanish *llave* 'key'.)

We find ample evidence of this from the modern dialects – it should be noted that most modern dialects have *h* for Classical Nahuatl glottal stop:

Tetelcingo:

camisa [shirt] camixajtli [kami:šah̥tli] (Brewer – Brewer 1962: 20)

Tlaxcala:

Word-final vowels of Spanish correspond to Tlaxcaltec vowel plus /h/, e. g. CABALLO > *kawayoh* 'horse', JOSÉ > *hoseh* 'Joseph'. The only exception found, still unexplained, is CUCHILLO > *kocilo* 'knife'.

Footnote 10: Canfield, pp. 218–220, presents evidence from early writers to indicate that an aspirate /h/ has existed in the Tlaxcala dialect since the 16th century. The reason why this sound should be joined to Spanish loanwords remains unexplained, however. It is not characteristic of Hispanisms in the Tetelcingo dialect (thus *kabayo* ‘horse’), but is recorded in some of Law’s data (*peloh* ‘dog’ beside *kawayo* ‘horse’) and in the Sierra de Zacapoaxtla dialect, in northern Puebla (thus *kabayoh* ‘horse’); see H. and M. Key, *Vocabulario mejicano* (Mexico, 1953). (Bright–Thiel 1965: 448)

Isthmus:

2.1 Spanish loans: Spanish words ending in a vowel acquire *-h* in most cases. *mače:teh* < *machete*, *k^we:rah* < *afuera* ‘outside’, *moli:noh* < *molino* ‘grinder’, *kristia:noh* < *cristiano* ‘human being/Christian’, *pa:leh* < *padre* ‘priest’, *ko:lpah* < *culpa* ‘sin’, *sie:rtoh* < *cierto* ‘certain’. (Wolgemuth 1969: 3)

13) In the modern dialects, which clearly distinguish between long and short vowels, Spanish loanwords show that speakers of Nahuatl perceived Spanish stress as being automatically accompanied by vowel length. In loanwords, the stressed vowel is always borrowed as long, see examples from Tetelcingo and Isthmus above.

Finally:

14) I have already mentioned that the Jesuits did not comment on word stress; however, from descriptions of the modern Nahuatl dialects, we know that the penultimate syllable receives stress. But it may very well be that this is more marked today – possibly under influence from Spanish – than it was in the sixteenth century.

2. Conclusions

From the descriptions outlined above and from evidence from some general rules applied in borrowings from Spanish, we may now suggest the following conclusions and hypotheses:

Final vowels in Spanish words were, by the speakers of Nahuatl, perceived as, or identified with, their own final vowels + “saltillo”. Two factors seem to have been behind this identification:

A) The short utterance-final vowels in Nahuatl were shorter than final vowels in Spanish, and the phonetically long final vowels in Nahuatl were longer than the final Spanish vowels, thus only the words ending in a vowel + final “saltillo” seem to relate to the Spanish final vowels.

B) In most modern dialects, what corresponds to the “saltillo” in the sixteenth century is pronounced as [h], both medially and word-finally. What is also characteristic of the dialects that have this [h] is an utterance-final non-phonemic automatic glottal stop, which has confused a good many field workers, particularly since the phonemic final *h* is only barely perceptible. We thus find:

Zitlala		
[nemi ^ʔ]	/nemi/	‘he goes’
[nemi ^h]	/nemih/	‘they go’

William Bright (1967: 234) says “To the “saltillo” or glottal stop of Classical Nahuatl corresponds in Tlaxcalteco an aspiration which I write with *h*. In contrast with this, an automatic glottal stop appears after every vowel that occurs before a pause; we thus contrast *cochi* [ko^ʔi] ‘sleeps’ with *cochih* [ko^ʔih] ‘they sleep’.” [Translation mine, UC]. See also Wolgemuth (1969: 2).

Could it be that the difference between the medial and final “saltillo” in the sixteenth century was one of a glottal stop in medial position as opposed to some kind of slight aspiration in final position? Olmos could not hear it, and Aldama y Guevara says that one has to be with the Indians a lot for one’s ear to perceive it. And could it be that the very short utterance-final vowel which Carochi says “is hardly felt before they leave it” was actually snapped off with an automatic utterance-final glottal closure? If this were the case, then that would account for the final “saltillo” in the Spanish loan words. Thus:

Nahuatl -V # [Ṽ ^ʔ]
shorter than Spanish -V #
“so brief that they are hardly felt when left.”
Nahuatl -V: # [“grave”]
longer than Spanish -V #
Nahuatl -V ^ʔ # [V ^h]
closest in length to Spanish -V #

As to vowel length, the final Spanish vowels were more like the Nahuatl final vowels with a following “saltillo”, and the way the

Spanish finish a word would remind speakers of Nahuatl more of the slight final *h* than of the strong utterance-final glottal closure which we hear in most dialects today.

As a general conclusion we find that the two languages seem to have been prosodically very different:

Spanish had a very simple one-dimensional system in which strong stress was assigned automatically to one syllable, with the vowel at the same time automatically lengthened. The lengthening of the vowel we see in loan words where the vowel in the penultimate syllable is always long.

In Nahuatl, on the other hand, there was an interrelationship between length, tone, and stress, stress and tone being the least important features because they could be partially predicted if the number of syllables and the length of the vowels was known.

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ANTHONIJ DEES

Towards a dialectology of spoken Old French: the analysis of rhymes

Since the end of World War II, French dialectology has been profoundly influenced by the theory of scriptology. In the study which is the starting point of this orientation, Remacle (1948) maintains, on the strength of what he observes in the oldest Walloon charter, that the language found in this document has lost its pure Walloon character to become a mixture of Walloon forms and non-Walloon forms, these latter being explained, without further verification, as being due to a common written language of central provenance. The document in question, instead of reflecting the written Walloon dialect, is said to be a specimen of a regional scripta, a naturally hybrid type of language composed of the forms of a written *koine*, but interwoven with residues of the older local tradition. Thus, common written French is supposed to become general throughout the *domaine d'oil* since at least the first half of the thirteenth century, and the older written dialects are believed to be declining, abandoned as they were by copyists who were anxious — as if socio-linguistic conditions in the thirteenth century were comparable to those of the twentieth century — to conform to the norm of a standardized language.

This theory — a radical misinterpretation of the language situation in the thirteenth century as we think to have been able to prove (Dees 1980, 1985, 1987) — has had an astonishing success, and the vast majority of linguistic studies and philological commentaries of the last 30 years express themselves in terms of the Picard scripta, the Norman scripta, and so on. This success is hardly understandable, we think, if we do not take into account a kind of failure of classic medieval dialectology. The tradition of this discipline goes back to the nineteenth century and has survived until modern times in manuals consulted by linguists *in spe* and by text editors, not specialized in dialectology, but obliged to treat the question of the regional provenance of the edited text.