Accentuation of the oldest Romance borrowings in Serbo-Croatian

Predictors of paradigmatic affiliation?

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Romance loans in Serbo-Croatian

1. stratum (approx. 7-9 c.)

Vulgar Latin = Late Latin = Early Romance

2. stratum (approx. 9-13 c.)

Old Dalmatian

3. stratum (approx. 13-19 c.)

Venetian

3b. stratum: Romanian, Friulan, Old Tuscan...

Tekavčić (1976: 37sqq.):[1]

Razgraničenje najstarijeg od dalmatskog sloja nije uvijek moguće.

[1] Tekavčić 1976 = Tekavčić, P. O kriterijima stratifikacije i regionalne diferencijacije jugoslavenskog romanstva. *Onomastica Jugoslavica* 1976/6, 35–56.

Romance loans in Serbo-Croatian

1. stratum: VLat. -ĒTU > Rom. *-ẹto > SCr.-*it*

E.g. *Kanitalj* < CANNETULU

2a. stratum: VLat. -ĒTU > SDalm. -*etu* > SCr. -*et*

E.g. *Lovret* < LAURETU

2b. stratum: VLat. -ĒTU > NDalm. -*ait* > SCr. -*ajt*

E.g. *Kanajt* < CANNETU

3. stratum: Lat. -ĒTU > Ven. -*ido* > SCr. -*id*

E.g. *Kobarid* < CAPORETU

Stratum 1. accentuation

Matasović (2007:112sq.):[2]

> *The distribution of nouns and toponyms between the paradigms A and B seems to be rather clear-cut, and the best predicator of the AP appears to be gender. Namely, nearly all the feminine nouns belong to AP A, while masculines mostly belong to AP B.*
>
> *Although the majority of masculine nouns belong to AP B, there are some that are accentuated according to AP A. [...] The only conditioning factor that could explain the difference in accentuation seems to be the gender they have in Slavic.*
>
> *There don't appear to be any early loanwords belonging to AP C.*

[2] Matasović 2007 = Matasović, R. On the Accentuation of the Earliest Latin and Romance Loanwords in Slavic. *Tones and Theories*, 2007, 105-119.

Stratum 1. accentuation

	A	B	C
masculina	-	+	-
feminina	+	-	-

Stratum 1. accentuation: Matasović's evidence

Feminina:

✓ *kòleda* 'carol' < CALENDAE (A)
✓ *kònoba* 'tavern' < CANABAE (A)
✓ *lòćika* 'lettuce' < LACTŪCA (A)

...

Masculina:

✓ *kolòbār* 'ring' < *COLUMBARE (B)
✓ *òltār* 'altar' < ALTARE (B)
✓ *ràčūn* 'bill' < RATIONE (B)

...

✗ *žäkan* 'deacon' < DIACONU (A)
✗ *vr̈tal* 'garden' < HORTULU (A)
✗ *Süsak* < SANSACU (A)

...

Stratum 2. accentuation

Feminina:

✓ *dûmna* 'nun' < DOMINA (A)
✓ *gâjba* 'cage' < CAVEA (A)
✓ *jävra* 'mullet' < AUREA (A)

...

Masculina:

✓ *lukjèrnār* 'lamp' < LUCERNARIU (B)
✓ *mȑnār* 'sailor' < MARINARIU (B)
✓ *pìnjuo* 'pine cone' < PINEOLU (B)

...

✗ *jästog* 'lobser' < ASTACU (A)
✗ *ôrhan 'amberjack'* < ORPHANU (A)
✗ *óliganj* 'squid' < LOLLIGINE (A)

...

Stratum 3. accentuation

Feminina:

✓ *đòrnāta* 'day' < *giornata* (A)
✓ *gvârdia* 'watch' < *guardia* (A)
✓ *räca* 'rase' < *razza* (A)

...

Masculina:

✓ *dòtūr* 'doctor' < *dottore* (B)
✓ *đàrdīn* 'garden' < *giardino* (B)
✓ *fortùnō* 'storm' < *fortunale* (B)

...

✗ *cükar* 'sugar' < *zuccaro* (A)
✗ *kônsuo 'consul'* < *console* (A)
✗ *lümer* 'number' < *numero* (A)

...

Stratum 1. (Matasović)

	A	B	C
masculina	-	+	-
feminina	+	-	-

Stratum 1.

	A	B	C
masculina	+	+	-
feminina	+	-	-

Stratum 2.

	A	B	C
masculina	+	+	-
feminina	+	-	-

Stratum 3.

	A	B	C
masculina	+	+	-
feminina	+	-	-

Claim

Matasović argues that o-stems were borrowed either prior to Dybo's law or posterior to retraction of the stress from final jers.

Falsification:

stratum 1. *dùpīn* 'dolphin' (B) $<$ DELPHINU
stratum 3. *dòlfīn* 'dolphin' (B) $<$ *dolfino* ($<$ DELPHINU)

stratum 1. *plàkīr* 'pleasure' (B) $<$ PLACERE
stratum 3. *pjàćēr* 'pleasure' (B) $<$ *piacere* ($<$ PLACERE)

O-stems

AP A

jäjer 'air' < AËRE
jârbuo 'mast' < ARBULU
jästog 'lobster' < ASTACU
kântor 'seabream' < CANTHARU
òliganj 'squid' < LOLLIGINE
ôrxan 'amberjack' < ORPHANU
spärog 'asparagus' < ASPARAGU
vřtal 'garden' < HORTULU
žäkan 'deacon' < DIACONU
...

AP B

dùpīn,-ína 'dolphin' < DELPHINU
mŕnār 'sailor' < MARINARIU
òltār,-ára 'altar' < ALTARE
òrmār,-ára 'closet' < ARMARIU
pìnjuo,-úla 'cone' < PINEOLU
pìžuo,-úla 'seat' < PODIOLU
ràčūn,-úna 'bill' < RATIONE
saljàtūr 'lock' < SERATORIU
žmùo,-úla 'jug' < MODIOLU
...

O-stems

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spärog 'asparagus' < ASPARAG
vřtal 'garden' < HORTUL
žäkan 'deacon' < DIACON
etc.

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etc.

O-stems

AP A	AP B
žäkan 'deacon' < DIACONU	*kolòbār* 'ring' < *COLUMBARE
vřtal 'garden' < HORTULU	*òltār* 'altar' < ALTARE
Süsak < SANSACU	*ràčūn* 'bill' < RATIONE
etc.	etc.
jäjer 'air' < AËRE	*dùpīn,-ína* 'dolphin' < DELPHINU
jârbuo 'mast' < ARBULU	*mŕnār* 'sailor' < MARINARIU
jästog 'lobster' < ASTACU	*pìnjuo,-úla* 'cone' < PINEOLU
etc.	etc.
cükar 'sugar' < *zuccaro*	*dòtūr* 'doctor' < *dottore*
kônsuo 'consul' < *console*	*đàrdīn* 'garden' < *giardino*
lümer 'number' < *numero*	*fortùnō* 'storm' < *fortunale*
etc.	etc.

O-stems

AP A	AP B
žäkan 'deacon' < DIACON	*kolòbār* 'ring' < *COLUMBAR
vřtal 'garden' < HORTUL	*òltār* 'altar' < ALTAR
Süsak < SANSAC	*ràčūn* 'bill' < RATION
etc.	etc.
jäjer 'air' < AËR	*dùpīn,-ína* 'dolphin' < DELPHIN
jârbuo 'mast' < ARBUL	*mȑnār* 'sailor' < MARINAR
jästog 'lobster' < ASTAC	*pìnjuo,-úla* 'cone' < PINEOL
etc.	etc.
cükar 'sugar' < *zuccar*	*dòtūr* 'doctor' < *dottor*
kônsuo 'consul' < *consol*	*đàrdīn* 'garden' < *giardin*
lümer 'number' < *numer*	*fortùnō* 'storm' < *fortunal*
etc.	etc.

Conclusion

A-stems are all AP A

type *žĭla* (A) et sim.

O-stems are partly AP A and partly AP B

type *žĕlud, žĕluda* (A)
type *jezĭk, jezĭka* = *jèzik, jèzika* (A)

type *junãk, junākă̆* = *jùnāk, junáka* (B)

Additionally, CARSU > *krä̆s* also (A) and ARCA > *rä̆ka* also (A)