

**OBSOLETE OCCITAN LOANWORDS
OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE**

by

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**A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of French Language and Literature
University of Toronto**

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines Occitan words that were used in French but are now obsolete. I show which factors have led to the disappearance of these words and which of these factors are the most important for lexical obsolescence.

In the first chapter the problematic is exposed. During the course of its history, the French language has borrowed words from other languages, including the Occitan language. This language is still spoken in the south of France, but in the Middle Ages a thriving culture and literature supported it. After the Albigensian Crusade in the early 13th century, the French language came to dominate in the south. Today Occitan is a minority language, still spoken by about two million people. Many foreign words in French have been studied extensively. There have, however, not been many studies on the Occitan words borrowed into French. Karl Gebhardt (1974) made an extensive study of Occitan loanwords in French, and he left the door open for further research by

including a list of obsolete Occitanisms of the French language in his book *Das Okzitanische Lehngut im Französischen*. This thesis examines those obsolete words.

The second chapter is devoted to background information. Neologisms are examined first. Loanwords are like neologisms in that both are creations: the former come from outside the language; the later are created internally. Next, bilingualism is examined. The presence of loanwords from language B in language A usually implies a certain number of bilingual speakers who are able to bridge the two languages. The bulk of this chapter is devoted to lexical borrowing and word loss. Definitions of lexical borrowing are presented, as well as the typology of lexical borrowing. The section on word loss looks at the life and death of words. Why do some words become obsolete? The section of the mental lexicon will look at how words are stored in the minds of speakers, both monolingual and bilingual.

Chapter three contains a list of the obsolete words and biographies of the obsolete words. Each word is examined individually. A number of dictionaries are used, both historic and current, to shed light on each word's history in the language. The words are classified according to semantic category.

Chapter Four is the analysis. Most of this chapter is devoted to the causes of obsolescence. There are nine causes of obsolescence -- five external reasons, three internal reasons plus one category called Other. Next, my hypotheses are tested. Do the following have any bearing on lexical obsolescence: the scale of intimacy, pejoration, abstract versus concrete vocabulary and semantic fields and the core periphery distinction? Scale of intimacy means that each word can be placed on a scale going from

least intimate to most intimate, from public life to social life to private life. In theory, the more intimate a loanword is, the more likely it will be retained. By core/periphery distinction, I am referring to the extent to which each word functions in the centre or on the surface of the language. Words that are common to all human societies, such as *fire*, *hand* and *daughter*, are considered a part of the core vocabulary. Words that are part of the specific culture of a society, such as *lawyer* and *lawnmower* are part of the periphery. Loanwords are usually a part of the periphery, but may work their way towards the core.

Chapter Five is the conclusion. I show that even though each word has its own history, it is possible to group the causes of obsolescence according to patterns. On the one hand, it seems that the external categories of obsolescence are more important in determining a word's fate than the internal categories. On the other hand, as far as the individual categories of obsolescence are concerned, there is a balance between external and internal reasons.

Acknowledgments and Dedication

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Problematic

During the course of its more than one thousand years of existence, the French language has borrowed words from other languages and has integrated these foreign words into its lexicon. Among the languages from which French has borrowed is Occitan, a language spoken in the south of France. Over a thousand words have been borrowed from this language since the twelfth century; some have survived, some have become well integrated into the French lexicon, others have disappeared. The process of borrowing elements from other languages -- be they lexical, syntactic or grammatical -- is called linguistic borrowing. When lexical elements are involved it is called lexical borrowing. In this thesis, I will study those Occitan loanwords that have disappeared from the French language.¹ What can the disappearance of these words tell us about lexical borrowing and about lexical obsolescence? In the next section (1.2) I will sketch an outline of the Occitan language. In section 1.3 I will present my proposal and in section 1.4 I will present an outline of the thesis.

Karl Gebhardt (1974) has already made an extensive study of Occitan loanwords in French. His book, *Das Okzitanische Lehngut im Französischen*, provides a list of current words and extinct words. I will be using his list of obsolete words as the basis of

¹ Here the term *French language* refers to standard French.

my study. This list is not necessarily exhaustive. In fact, I know of another study of slang words of foreign origin in French which includes a list of Occitan words, some of which do not appear in Gebhardt (Noll, 1991). Nevertheless, Gebhardt's is as definitive a work as one can hope to find on the subject. As he points out, not much research is available concerning Occitan words in French; twenty-five years later that still seems to be the case. In order to limit my corpus to a manageable number of words, I have chosen the words from A-C. For more information, see section 1.3.

1.2 The Occitan Language

What is this language out of which the French language has borrowed so many words? Occitan is a Romance language spoken in the south of France in a territory sometimes called Occitania. About two million people² still speak this language in the daily course of their lives. Occitan is one of the territorial minority³ languages spoken in France. Salvi (1973) called Occitania the most nation-like of forbidden nations and at the same time the most forbidden. He is referring to the fact that an original language, culture and economy have been present in this territory for more than ten centuries and that Occitania comprises a third of French national territory. Unlike France's other territorial minority languages, which are on the periphery of the nation -- both literally

² Estimates of the number of native speakers of Occitan vary from author to author. One can obtain vastly different figures depending on the criteria one uses. Some authors lump passive knowledge and active knowledge together, in which case there would be about 10 million speakers. According to Haarmann (1993), Gruber (1976) and Stephens (1976) there are about 2 million speakers with an active knowledge of the language (quoted in Haarmann, 1993).

³ Bec (1963) coined the term ethnic language. He finds the terms minority language and regional language to have negative associations.

and figuratively -- Occitan has been present near the heart of the nation. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that the France of today resulted from the fusing of two nations, the French and the Occitan (Zumthor, 1995). In this section, I will present an outline of this language by answering such questions as: Where is this language spoken? Who speaks it? What is its status in France? and What is its history?

Like many modern nation-states, France has, in addition to its official national language, French, a number of minority languages spoken within its boundaries. In Flanders, Flemish is still spoken; in Alsace and Lorraine, Alsatian and Franconian⁴ are spoken; in Corsica, Corsican is spoken. These languages are usually considered dialects of major languages. Flemish, as spoken in France and Belgium, is usually considered a dialect of Dutch.⁵ Alsatian and Franconian are dialects of German and Corsican is a dialect of Italian, although Corsican nationalists consider Corsican to be a language in its own right. A Celtic language, Breton, is still spoken in Brittany by an ever dwindling minority. Basque, a language isolate,⁶ is spoken in south-west France, on the border with Spain; however, the majority of Basque speakers are in Spain. As for the minority Romance languages in France, there is Catalan which is spoken in Roussillon (North Catalonia). Like Basque, there are many more speakers of Catalan in Spain, mostly in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands. In addition, Catalan is an official language

⁴ Called *francique* in French, this Germanic dialect is not readily understandable to speakers of Alsatian. This language is, along with French and German, one of the official languages of Luxembourg.

⁵ Flemish speaking French people have regarded their language as separate from the Dutch spoken in the Netherlands and in Belgium. Their Flemish is not easily comprehensible to Dutch speakers in those countries.

⁶ Basque is not known to be related to any other language in the world. However, Ruhlen (1994) does not agree.

in Andorra. Finally there is Occitan, a language spoken in pockets throughout the south of France.

As I have stated, Occitan is a Romance language, related to Italian and Spanish. More specifically it belongs to the Gallo-Romance branch, along with French, Catalan⁷ and Franco-Provençal.⁸ Occitan is spoken throughout the south of France by mostly older rural people. The border between Occitan and French starts from the confluence of the Garonne and Dordogne rivers, follows the course of the Gironde north where it curves around the “Croissant”, joins the apex of the Franco-Provençal language near Lyon, passes south of Grenoble and then joins the Italian border.⁹ There are enclaves of Occitan speakers in Italy, in north-western Italy near the French border, but also in the south of Italy.¹⁰ The southern boundary of Occitan follows roughly the Pyrénées. Catalan, spoken in Roussillon, is usually considered a separate language from Occitan and there is an enclave of Occitan speakers in Catalonia, in the Aran Valley (Ronjat, 1932-32-37-41, in Bec, 1963). Although it is true that Occitan is still a daily language of communication in the south of France, it would be more accurate to think of Occitan as being spoken in numerous “islands” in the south of France, rather than a language occupying the southern third of the country (Noll, 1991).

⁷ Catalan is considered a bridge language between Gallo-Romance and Iberian-Romance and is usually classified with the latter.

⁸ Franco-Provençal was identified only recently. As its name would suggest, it is an intermediary language between French and Provençal and is spoken in a triangle whose apex is roughly at Lyon and which includes Savoy, the Aosta Valley in Italy, French Speaking Switzerland, and a large part of the Dauphiné. Except for some charters, and some public and private acts, Franco-Provençal has no literature.

⁹ In earlier times, around the year 600, the Oc/Oïl border was further north. It started at the mouth of the Loire and wended its way east to the southern Vosges (Wartburg, 1934). By the 11th century the border was still north of Poitiers.

¹⁰ These are descendants of Vaudois who fled France in the 14th and 15th centuries. According to Swiggers (1998) they fled less for religious reasons than for demographic reasons.

French is sometimes called the *langue d'oïl* and Occitan the *langue d'oc*, after the words for “yes” in both languages. The *langue d'oïl* has dialects, some of which had thriving literatures in the Middle Ages. Norman, Picard and Champenois are examples of *langue d'oïl* dialects. One of these dialects, Francien, spoken in the Ile-de-France, became the basis for standard French. Occitan also has dialects. There are three major dialect divisions: 1) North Occitan, 2) Middle Occitan and 3) Gascon. North Occitan comprises 1) Limousin, spoken in Limousin, whose name was sometimes used in the Middle Ages by Catalans for all of the Occitan dialects; 2) Auvergnat, spoken in the Auvergne and 3) Provençal Alpine, spoken in northern Provence and in the Dauphiné. Middle Occitan is divided into two branches: Languedocien and Provençal. This group is the most conservative of the Occitan dialects. Gascon is sometimes considered a separate language, for it presents very distinct traits compared with the other dialects.

A brief history of the Occitan language is in order here. The Romans founded a province, *Provincia*, from 125-121 B.C. Under Julius Caesar they began their conquest of the rest of Gaul, which lasted from 58-51 B.C. Although the Romans had no active policy of Latinizing the peoples they conquered, their language quickly spread, first among the elite, for whom speaking Latin was a way of advancing socially, and then among the people, for whom knowing Latin became more and more a necessity. Roman colonists, many of whom were former soldiers, helped spread the language in Gaul.

The Latin spoken in Gaul eventually became French in the north and Occitan in the south. How does one account for this split between the north and the south? Geography had a part to play. The south of France is more mountainous than the north.

This kind of terrain encourages isolation, which in turn encourages linguistic archaism. The north experienced a stronger Germanic influence than the south. Both of these factors explain the sharp differences between French and Occitan. Occitan is more conservative than French; it is closer to Spanish and Italian than it is to French.

By the Middle Ages, people from the south were quite well aware that they were not “Northerners” (Paterson, 1993). It was during this period that the troubadours began composing their poetry, beginning with Guilhem IX, Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine (1071-1127), the first known troubadour. The troubadours inspired poets throughout France and throughout Europe. In the early 13th century Simon de Montfort led the crusade against the heretical Albigensians, a Manichean sect that had found refuge and support in the south. That was the beginning of the end of Occitan civilization. It was in about 1270 that Guiraut Riquier, a poet from Narbonne, was called the last of the troubadours. Although the language continued to be used for official and unofficial purposes after the crusade, its literature began a slow decline and produced few works of note¹¹ until the 19th century. In 1539 the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts mandated the use of French in all public acts. According to Brun (1923), French quickly became the preferred language for documents of all kinds. Of course, the people continued speaking Occitan, by then considered nothing more than a *patois*. In the 19th century, Frédéric Mistral and a circle of poets founded the *Félibrige*, a society dedicated to the preservation and illustration of their language. He won a Nobel prize in 1904 for his epic poem *Mirèio*.

¹¹ One notable exception was the novel *Joan -- l'an pres (Jean -- l'ont pris)* by the abbot Jean-Baptiste Castor Fabre (1756), in which the theories of Rousseau were ridiculed.

However, the language continued to decline. Due to public, secular, compulsory schooling and military service, the French language triumphed throughout France.

The name of this language is somewhat controversial.¹² Throughout the centuries it has had quite a few names. The name for the territory, *Occitania*, was first used in 1290; it was modeled after *Aquitania*. The name appears again at the beginning of the 19th century by Rochaguda and Fabre d'Olivet. It was rejected by the *Félibristes* and was eventually picked up again in the 20th century. The name of the language, Occitan, was not used in French until the 20th century,¹³ from [*lingua*] *occitana*, a Latinization of *langue d'oc*. Although it had its origins in the early 14th century, where, in the form (*lingua*) *occitana*, it was first used in the chancellery until Latin was abandoned.¹⁴ This form was preferred to the incorrect Latin expression *Lingua de Hoc* (Barthes, 1987, *Petit Robert*, 1984).¹⁵ The name *roman* was used in the Middle Ages to distinguish this language from Latin and from French. *Provençal* was the name traditionally given to all of the *dialectes d'oc*, although this is properly the name of a dialect of Occitan. Likewise, *Limousin*, another Occitan dialect, was used by Catalans to designate Occitan; in fact, early Catalan poetry was written in Occitan. In 1802 Fabre d'Olivet used the term *occitanique* in his collection of poems, “Le Troubadour, Poésies Occitaniques”; in reality these were poems he had written (Barthes, 1987).

¹² See Barthes (1987) and Salvat (1954) for further details.

¹³ Mistral used the term *oucitan* in 1886 (*Trésor de la langue française*); in 1899, the review *Mount-Segur*, used *Renaishensa Occitana* as the title for issue n. 9 (Salvat, 1954, p. 238).

¹⁴ According to the *Trésor de la langue française*, the term *lingua occitana* first appeared in 1315, in the *Ordonnances des rois de France*.

¹⁵ The term *occitanien* was in use for a while in the 19th century. There is also the term *occitanique*, used most notably by Fabre d'Olivet.

Occitan-speaking lands never were politically united, unlike the north of France which had a cultural and political centre from an early date in Paris. Today there is a division between Occitanists and *Félibrigistes*. The *Félibrigistes* follow the spelling used by Mistral, called *mistralien*, although it was devised by Romanille. They are considered old-fashioned and conservative by the Occitanists. The Occitanists, who follow the Occitan spelling as used by the *Institut d'Études Occitanes*,¹⁶ are considered too radical and politicized by the *Félibrigistes*.

The future does not look good for Occitan or indeed for many minority languages. In spite of the post-war revival, which is more politicized than before, young people are by and large not learning the language nor are they passing it on to the next generation.¹⁷ However, a number of *Méridionaux* are learning Occitan as a second language and Occitan is being taught in the schools. In addition, a supraregional Occitan is developing.

1.3 Proposal

As I have mentioned, *Das Okzitanische Lehngut im Französischen*, a book by Karl Gebhardt (1974), forms the basis of my thesis. In his work, Gebhardt makes an extensive study of the Occitanisms of the French language. In the first part of the book,

¹⁶ In the late 19th century Abbé Roux was publishing his works in Limousin, using a spelling of his own. Around the same time, Antonin Perbosc and Prosper Estieu devised a spelling system, based as closely as possible on the language of the Troubadours. In 1935, Louis Alibert devised his own spelling system again using the traditional spellings, so as not to favour any one dialect. These same principles were adopted and improved upon by the Institut d'Études Occitanes in 1945. In 1951, Robert Lafont applied this spelling system to Provençal (Barthes, 1987, Walter, 1988).

¹⁷ According to a survey carried out by Tabouret-Keller in 1962, Occitan is being passed on from father to son, when the son is around twelve years old (Sauzet, in Vermes, 1988)

he starts off by reviewing previous studies of the phenomenon, beginning with Lanusse (1893). He finds that most studies have not been thorough and that a lack of works on the history of the Occitan language is a serious impediment to further studies. He then goes on to define his terms: what French is, what the “*langue commune*” is, the problem of defining what a word is and the terminological confusion surrounding Occitan and Provençal. The second part of the book is devoted to background information. He examines loanwords, the term Occitanism, how to identify Occitanisms, how to tell an Occitanism from an Italianism and a Hispanism and the problem of dating and multiple borrowings. He looks at the various types of loanwords (see section 2.4 for more details). He looks at external and internal factors that affect borrowing. The third part of the book is devoted to statistics. The tables of Occitanisms in French form the fourth part. There are 1612 current words. The fifth part is bibliography.

On page 288 Gebhardt mentions the *untergegangene Okzitanismen* of the French language. These are the extinct Occitanisms of French. According to Gebhardt, lexicographers have traditionally concentrated on the living words of a language, instead of words that a language has lost. He has made a list of these obsolete words, 879 in total, as an appendix to his main list. He has not, however, examined them very closely. He states, “Wir führen diese Vokabeln im Anhang auf: Ihre sprachwissenschaftliche Interpretation bleibt einer späteren Untersuchung vorbehalten.”(p. 288)¹⁸ It is my intention to examine these words more closely. As Gebhardt has pointed out, this type of

¹⁸ We list these words in an appendix: their linguistic interpretation remains reserved for later research.

research has been neglected in the past. I will show that there are patterns in the phenomenon of lexical obsolescence.

My corpus will consist of Gebhardt's (1974) list of Occitanisms in French, from A-C. Although this choice of vocabulary items is arbitrary, I thought it necessary to limit the corpus, considering the number of words involved (1612 current words, 656 from A-C; 879 extinct words, 249 extinct words from A-C).

I will attempt to trace the story of the words in the "extinct" list by using a number of dictionaries (See section 3.2 for a complete list). For each word, all of these dictionaries will be consulted, when appropriate, to determine first of all, whether or not the word was listed, second of all, if the word is listed, whether or not it has the same meaning as in the list. For many of these extinct words, the only dictionary that lists them is the *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (FEW)*. What will these word histories show? Firstly, they should show how viable the extinct words were. These words that have been lost to the language may not ever have really been a part of it. Secondly, following the trajectory of a word may bring to light changes in meaning and show a word's ties to other words.

The main part of my analysis will be concerned with the causes of obsolescence of the words of my corpus of 249 words. How many causes are there? Do certain types predominate? Although each word will be given its own biography, this thesis will take a statistical approach. Each word does have its own story, but can one discern patterns among a seemingly amorphous collection of words? I believe that one can. I believe that one can articulate and integrate the data.

The failure of a loanword to integrate itself is really its failure to establish any kind of relationship, either to other words in the borrowing language or to the foreign sources of the words. If a language is to be considered a system, then any additions to it must affect the other elements in the system. To quote Vogt (1949): “every enrichment or impoverishment of a system involves necessarily the reorganization of all the old distinctive oppositions of the system. To admit that a given element is simply added to the system which receives it without consequences for this system would ruin the very concept of system.” (quoted in Weinreich, 1963, p. 1)

1.4 Organization of the Thesis

The next chapter will provide background information for the thesis. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 will deal with neologisms and bilingualism. Loanwords are a kind of neologism, a new element in the language. How do speakers react to this new element? Is it adopted by some members of the community or by all members of the community? How long does it last in the language -- many years, or just briefly? Bilingualism is another topic related to lexical borrowing. In order for words to pass from one language to another there has to be some link between the two. That link is provided by bilingual people. Bilingual people may use words from one language while speaking in another when they are speaking to other bilingual people. Sometimes these foreign words enter the language of monolinguals. The section on bilingualism will look at the role bilinguals play in lexical borrowing.

The next section (2.4) will provide background information on lexical borrowing. How does one define lexical borrowing? What kinds of lexical borrowing are there? How does one describe the process of borrowing? Since this thesis is about obsolete Occitan words in French, the following section (2.5) will deal with word loss. What are the factors that cause words, borrowed and native, to become obsolete? Section 2.6 will deal with the mental lexicon -- how words are stored in the mind of native speakers of a particular language and how words from two languages are stored in the minds of bilinguals.

In Chapter Three, I will be presenting the corpus. First I will present a list of the words being studied. Then I will provide biographies for each of the obsolete words. I will classify them according to semantic category. In Chapter Four, I will proceed to the enumeration of and the analysis of the causes of obsolescence. The causes of obsolescence of all 249 words will be given in the first table of this chapter. Each of the causes will be examined separately and their relative importance will be evaluated. I shall be looking at the scale of intimacy and whether or not this has any relevance to the causes of obsolescence. In another table I will be looking at abstract words and concrete words. I will also be looking at semantic fields and the core/periphery distinction. Chapter Five will be the conclusion.

In Chapters One, Two and Five translations will be provided. In the word biographies section of Chapters Three, however, because I will be quoting extensively from the *FEW*, and from Gebhardt, translations from French and German will not be

provided, except for the etymons listed in the *FEW*. In this thesis the “main list” refers to Gebhardt’s list of successful Occitan words.

1.5 Abbreviations

The following table presents a list of the most common abbreviations and symbols used in the thesis. Many of the abbreviations are taken from the *FEW* or from Gebhardt, which is why they are in German. This list does not include abbreviations for source documents in Chapter 3.

A	abstract	Ger.	Germanic	nfr.	Modern French
adj.	adjective	Gk.	Greek	npr.	Modern Provençal
adv.	adverb	it.	Italian	occit.	Occitan
afr.	Old French	kat.	Catalan	périg.	Périgoudien
aokz.	Old Occitan	lang.	Languedocien	pl	plural
Ar.	Arabic	lim.	Limousin	poit.	Poitevin
beam.	Béarnais	lb	loanblend	prov.	Provençal
Bord.	Bordeaux	ls	loanshift	rouerg.	Rouergat
C	Concrete	Lt	Latin	v.	verb
dauph.	Dauphinois	lw	loanword	?	origin unknown or used to mark doubt
f.	feminine	m.	masculine	<	comes from
Gal.	Gaulish	mars.	Marseillais	>	gives rise to
gask.	Gascon	mfr.	Middle French		

List of abbreviations for the *Français Parlé en Occitanie* Dictionary

C	courant: CC, CCC, CCCC (très courant)				
PF	peu fréquent: PFF, PFFF, PFFF (très peu fréquent)				
R	emploi régulier				
auv.	auvergnat	lang.	languedocien	prov	provençal
bord.	bordelais	lim.	limousin	rgt.	rouergat
gasc.	gascon	oc.	occitan		

SFT J. Séguy, *Le français parlé à Toulouse*.

TF *Loù trésor doù Felibrige de F. Mistral*

VPF Abbé Vayssier, *Dictionnaire patois-français du département de l’Aveyron*.

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

In part of this chapter, I will be looking at phenomena that are related to but not central to linguistic borrowing. I will be looking at neologisms (2.2), for in one sense borrowings are like neologisms, in that they both involve the creative use of words. I will also look at bilingualism (2.3). The phenomenon of linguistic borrowing presupposes bilingualism on the part of at least some members of the community. The next sections of this chapter (2.4 - 2.4.5) will be devoted to providing some background information on lexical borrowing. How does one define lexical borrowing? What kinds of linguistic borrowings are there? Section 2.5 will be devoted to word loss. What are the causes of lexical obsolescence, not only of borrowed words but also of "native" words? Section 2.6 will deal with the mental lexicon. How are words stored in the minds of monolingual and bilingual people?

2.2 Neologisms

According to Matoré (1952) lexical borrowing may be considered a form of neologism. Both borrowing and neologizing are creative processes. Let us begin with a

definition: What is a neologism? According to the *Petit Robert* (1979) a neologism is an “(e)mpl*o*i d’un mot nouveau (soit créé, soit obtenu par déformation, dérivation, composition, emprunt, etc.) ou empl*o*i d’un mot dans un sens nouveau (*néologisme de sens*).”¹⁹ Neologisms are in opposition to native vocabulary in that the former are (seemingly) spontaneous creations. Words of the native vocabulary are not made -- they are born. Neologism can refer to the giving of a new name to an already existent idea (Hakulinen, 1961). Languages are constantly renewing their lexical resources. At any given time, this process may be slowed down or speeded up, as the speakers of the language encounter new situations or create or import new techniques, ideas or objects. In order to designate new things, words may be created internally or borrowed. A foreign word may be borrowed with its meaning, or a foreign meaning may be attached to a native word. New words are not only coined for practical reasons; a neologism may be created for stylistic reasons. As Guilbert (1975) puts it: “Il existe une autre forme de création lexicale fondée sur la recherche de l’expressivité du mot en lui-même ou de la phrase par le mot pour traduire des idées non originales d’une manière nouvelle, pour exprimer d’une façon inédite une certaine vision personnelle du monde.” (p. 41)²⁰

What determines the success of a neologism? According to Hagège (1993), “A new term must meet two requirements, if it is to be accepted by the community: first, it must conform to the word-formation habits of the language; second, it must fill the gap that appears where a concept is in search of a form.” (p. 26) That last point is somewhat

¹⁹ (u)se of a new word (either created or obtained by deformation, derivation, composition, borrowing etc.) or the use of a word with a new meaning (neologism of meaning.)

²⁰ There is another form of lexical creation founded on the research of the expressivity of the word in itself or of the sentence by the word in order to translate unoriginal ideas in a new way, in order to express in an original fashion a certain personal vision of the world.

controversial, for it may be that the form “leads” the meaning. As an example there is the Finnish word for “red”, *punainen*. Researchers believe that the current abstract meaning of “redness” developed from concrete meanings. It originally meant “hairy, furry”; later it was restricted to animals of a certain colour, such as the fox (Hakulinen, 1961). In other words, the ancient Finns did not first realize that there was a gap in their system of meaning and then proceed to fill it. Here, a concrete meaning gradually led to an abstract meaning.

How are neologisms created? A word may be created *ex-nihilo*, which is a rare occurrence.²¹ A word may be created using the internal resources of a language, through derivation, of which suffixing and prefixing are categories. For example, the Occitan loanword *orange* (“orange”) gave rise to *oranger* (“orange tree”) and *orangeade* (“orangeade”). A new word may be created from an onomatopoeia (*cuckoo*) or from a proper name (*poubelle*).²² Compounding is a way some languages create new words; Germanic languages favour this device (Mellenius, 1997). New words may be obtained by back-formation, that is to say, the derivation of new words from existing words: for example *to sculpt*, from *sculptor*. A new meaning may be attributed to an already existing word -- the *néologisme sémantique*. For example, the word *magasin* (“store”) has been around since Old French (<Ar. *makhâzin*, pl. of *makhzin* “depot, office”), but it was not until the early 19th century that it acquired the meaning “(department) store”.

²¹ The word *gas* was allegedly created *ex-nihilo*, although its Dutch originator said he based it on the Greek chaos. Terry Nation created the word *Dalek* as name for his mechanical creatures which debuted on the BBC series *Doctor Who* in December of 1963. In Great Britain, the expression *to talk like a Dalek* is used to describe someone talking in a grinding, monotonous way. Strangely enough, the word *dalek* means “far off, distant” in Serbo-Croatian, something that Mr. Nation did not know when he coined the word.

²² A *poubelle* is a garbage can and was named after the prefect of the Seine who mandated the use of garbage cans in 1884.

As was stated at the beginning of this section, neologisms and lexical borrowings represent creative processes. Gusmani (1973) is of the opinion that there is some degree of creativity in both straightforward borrowing and in semantic borrowing. According to him, both kinds of loan, loanwords properly speaking and loan creations, require a certain amount of creativity on the part of the borrowers. This transfer of words is not a passive act but a creative act. For Gusmani, Haugen's definition of a loan as a reproduction would be better formulated as a recreation: "...dovremo dunque intendere il termine in causa nel senso etimologico di riproduzione, quindi di ri-creazione." (p. 13)²³ He goes on to say (in agreement with Kaufmann, 1939) that we may also speak of imitation, which implies that this reproduction is not passive, but rather is a force of acquisition ("sforzo di acquisizione", *ibid.* p. 13).

Here, I would like to point out the difference between neologisms and loanwords. Neologisms are created from the internal resources of a language; loanwords come from other languages or dialects. Lexical borrowing presupposes bilingualism among at least some members of the language community. For that reason, the next section will deal with bilingualism.

2.3 Bilingualism

Linguistic change starts with the individual. According to Bréal (1897): "Each onward step of a language is the work first of an individual, then of a more or less large

²³ ...we must therefore understand the term in question in the etymological sense of reproduction, therefore as recreation.

minority.’’ (p. 267) The borrowing of words implies a certain degree of bilingualism among at least some speakers of the borrowing language.²⁴ The nature of this bilingualism determines the nature and quality of the borrowing. Fluently bilingual speakers can imitate the foreign word accurately, but this word will in turn be imitated by others who may know the source language less well. The transmission process is like a game of telephone. Each person who hears the word may change its pronunciation or its meaning slightly. As an example of how a foreign word can become deformed, I offer this example from the *Toronto Star*: the French expression *fait accompli* was turned into *feta compli* by one speaker of English. This example shows how easy it is to ‘‘deform’’ the pronunciation of a foreign word in these days of instantaneous mass communication; it must have been much easier to reinterpret words in earlier times. If a word or phrase is improperly heard, it will be improperly reproduced. The fact that a word contains foreign sounds would tend to make a misinterpretation more likely. A speaker with little or no knowledge of the source language will interpret the word according to the patterns of his own language, substituting native sounds for foreign sounds.

People who are familiar with the source language and can speak it reasonably well will not only be able to pronounce words from that language accurately; they are also more likely to know how to manipulate them more accurately than those with less familiarity with the source language. They will know what the word means in the source language and hence will be less likely to make semantic errors. These errors, from the point of view of a monolingual speaker of the borrowing language, might also be called

²⁴ It is possible for a speaker to imitate a foreign word in his own language without knowing the source language.

reinterpretations. Native speakers of the borrowing language are not required to respect the rules of the original language; they are not likely to know them. Once a word of foreign origin is accepted into the language, it becomes subjected to the same rules of semantic and phonetic change as any other word. There is also the question of how to discover the boundaries of foreign words. For example, many words of Arabic origin such as *alcohol* and *algebra* have retained the definite article *al* prefixed to the word because speakers of the borrowing languages interpreted it as part of the word, rather than as the definite article. A loanword may change its meaning because the people who speak its language of origin are stereotyped in a certain way. The Spanish word *hablar* “to speak” became in French *hâbler* “to boast” because Spaniards of the 17th century were thought of as being boastful.

Who are these bilingual speakers? Are they an elite who speak a foreign language because of the prestige it affords them, like the French-speaking aristocracy of czarist Russia? Are the bilinguals members of the people, who had to learn another language, either because they are immigrants or because the foreign language was imposed on them by a dominant group in their own country? One could say that the first kind of bilingual speakers borrow because they want to, whereas the second kind borrow because they have to. That would, however, be an oversimplification. Nevertheless, as a general rule, the elite who have learned a foreign language to complete their education can indulge in borrowing as a sort of game. The Italianizing court of 16th century France provides a good example of this, although this is in no way meant to imply that they may not also borrow out of necessity. On the other end of the social ladder, those who were forced to

become bilingual often end up borrowing words out of necessity. Either the word does not exist in their native language or it does exist but has been forgotten. However, these speakers are also capable of borrowing “just for fun”.²⁵

Does the individual bilingual person have a good command of only the written language, only the spoken language or both? Is this individual a scientist who needs to be able to read a foreign language, but not speak it? Is this individual a merchant who needs to be able to speak the language of his clients, but not necessarily read it? Or does he need both skills? Does the bilingual merchant or salesperson have a minority language as a native tongue and is therefore obliged to speak the language of the majority, or does this individual know one or more foreign languages because he is in frequent contact with foreigners, either in business or in tourism? On the one hand, the scientist who acquires a second language for reading knowledge is not likely to borrow from it. On the other hand, the merchant who needs to speak several languages in order to conduct business may borrow profusely.

Moving from the individual to the society, there are, according to Appel and Muysken (1987), three kinds of bilingual situations. In the first kind the two languages occupy separate parts of one territory, as in Belgium. The speakers of each are mostly monolingual; a minority of bilingual speakers assures communication between the two. In the second kind, everybody in the territory is bilingual, as in many countries in Africa. In the third kind, one group is (mostly) monolingual, the other one largely bilingual. The last situation is characteristic of dominant/dominated languages, as for example French in

²⁵ In Finnish, English loanwords often have a humorous or slangy feel. (Orešnik, 1982)

Canada. There is a greater proportion of francophones who speak English than anglophones who speak French. As a general rule members of the dominant group do not trouble themselves to learn the language of the dominated. It is this last situation that seems to be the most conducive to borrowing by the dominated group.

Swiggers (1998) identifies four types of language contact. 1) The situation of diglossia or prolonged and generalized bilingualism. In this situation the two lexicons intermix. 2) The situation in which one of the languages exercises its control at a distance, either in time or in space. The influence of Latin on Western European languages is an example of the former and the influence of French on German and Russian is an example of the latter. In the latter case the influence did not extend beyond an elite. 3) The situation in which a substrate language exercises its influence without there being a prolonged period of diglossia or bilingualism and 4) situations in which two languages are spoken in territories that border each other. This situation does not imply diglossia or bilingualism, but on the border between languages there is often a considerable number of bilingual people.

How does a bilingual person organize his lexical stock? Does he keep the vocabularies of both languages separate or are they merged, and if so, to what degree? There are several models that have attempted to answer this question. This merging would apply to all of the sub-systems of language: phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. However, not all of these sub-systems are affected equally: some may not be affected at all. It would seem that for phonology and syntax speakers are conscious of possessing two systems. To use Weinreich's (1963) example, "... the English-Russian

bilingual has a stock of morphemes in which [t-], [t'-] and [th-] all occur in identical environments.” (p. 8) It may well be that such a speaker may regard these sounds as forming part of one system (Swadesh, 1941, in Weinreich 1963), but it seems more likely that each phoneme is regarded as belonging to one or the other language.

To cite another example, this one from the lexicon, does a French-English bilingual have, to use Saussurean terms, separate *signifiants* and *signifiés* for each word *livre* and *book*, or does he have two *signifiants* and only one *signifié*? The latter method would require less effort than keeping two systems separate, but there are other things to consider. Quite often there is no absolute correspondence between signs in different languages. Does the word *pain* have the same denotations and connotations for a French-speaking person as the word *bread* does for an English-speaking person? For an English-speaking North American, bread comes wrapped in plastic and is used mostly for sandwiches. For a French person, bread is crusty, comes in many shapes and sizes and is usually eaten at every meal. The bilingual speaker will have to take differences like this into consideration when moving from one language to another. In other words, the perfect bilingual speaker will also be bicultural. It could very well be that bilingual speakers partially merge words such as *pain* and *bread*. Such a merger could be represented by two intersecting circles. The various meanings and connotations that the words have in common would be in the intersection of the circles. (See section 2.6 for more information on bilingualism and the lexicon.)

When two languages come into contact, interference may be the result. That is to say, for bilingual speakers, the speech habits of their primary language²⁶ are transposed onto their second. This interference can occur at all levels. The bilingual person may, for example, identify a sound in his primary language with a sound in his secondary language. Sometimes this has no serious consequences as far as comprehension is concerned, as for example when an English-French bilingual substitutes an English *r* for a French *r*. Sometimes it does affect comprehension, as when the same bilingual substitutes a [u] for a [y]. On the lexical level, one can find similar examples. The English-French bilingual who identifies the French word *déception* (“disappointment”) with the English word *deception* will be making a considerable error. The two words resemble each other formally but they have rather different meanings. The semantic change that the verb *réaliser* is undergoing would seem to be a different kind of “mistake”. Here a French word, which originally meant “rendre réel” (“to make real”) has acquired the English meaning “to realize” because the English word formally resembles the French word. In the first example, the primary language interferes with the secondary language; in the second example the secondary language interferes with the primary. However, these kinds of “mistakes” may, in the long run, result in permanent semantic shifts.

It may be possible to describe the nature of linguistic contact in terms of a scale of intimacy. The least intimate kind of contact would be between people who wish to conduct trade with each other. People in this kind of situation need to communicate with

²⁶ Weinreich avoids using the term *mother tongue* in the first part of his book *Languages in Contact*, but instead talks about primary and secondary languages. As he explains, “many bilinguals exceed their mother-tongue proficiency in the second language under certain circumstances. Many immigrants in the United States, for example, have a greater facility in English than in their native language.”

each other in order to conduct business, but they are not usually interested in establishing social contacts with each other. Often what happens is that a lingua franca is used between them, supposing that their languages are so different from each other as to make mutual understanding impossible. This lingua franca may be a neutral third language or a pidgin may arise. English is becoming the third language of choice in many parts of the world. The sabir that developed in the Mediterranean was a mixture of French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, Arabic as well as Catalan and Occitan elements. It survived as a contact language well into the 19th century. A pidgin (from the Chinese pronunciation of the English word *business*) is structurally more complicated than a sabir. It results from a similar contact situation. One pidgin, Tok Pisin, is the official language of Papua-New Guinea. In fact, Tok Pisin is now considered a creole (see below for definition), not a pidgin.

Two (or more) languages may coexist in the same territory with little contact between their speakers, as in Switzerland. There is the situation in which two (or more) languages are more or less equally mixed, as in India.²⁷ Then there is the linguistic situation which gives rise to creoles. When African slaves were brought to the New World they were thrown together with other slaves whose languages they could not understand. Gradually, a language developed with elements from the slave owners' language and African languages. Eventually this new language became the native tongue of children born into slavery; this language is called a creole.

²⁷ The Indian situation is complex, as bi-, tri- and multilingualism are quite common. The census of 1981 lists 107 languages, including Sanskrit. (Helfrich, Riehl, 1994, pp. 95-98).

Finally, there is the situation in which one language is the dominant language and the other the dominated language. This is the situation in which speakers of immigrant languages find themselves as well as members of linguistic minorities, as, for example, Occitan speakers in relation to French speakers in France.²⁸ In this type of situation, one language is in a dominant position over the other. This last kind of contact situation may represent the most intimate kind of borrowing, depending on the individual situation. Over a period of several generations, the speakers of the dominated language become bilingual; eventually they may cease to speak the dominated language altogether. In this kind of contact situation it is more usual for the dominated language to borrow massively from the dominant language. As for the dominant language, this kind of contact seems to result in the borrowing of more slang and words of the familiar and popular register than any other kind. This is true of Occitan words in French, and as far as I can tell, of Irish words in English.²⁹ Is there a direct correlation between intimacy of language contact and intimacy of linguistic borrowing? This would seem to be a reasonable assumption to make. Minority languages have a tendency to borrow massively from majority languages. In fact, the majority languages often act as a transmitter between the minority

²⁸ In some colonial situations, like the British in India, there are also dominant language and dominated language(s); however, this situation rarely results in the dominant language replacing the dominated language(s) since the language of the colonizers is normally used by only a minority of the colony. Sometimes the colonial language does succeed in imposing itself, such as in the Americas. In this colonial situation large numbers of settlers from the homelands brought their languages with them.

²⁹ Many Irish words in modern English have a "slangy" feel to them, and it would appear that many of these words were borrowed into the English of the United States, as for example, *phony* from *fáinne* "ring". Most of the rings of the Irish immigrants were undoubtedly considered worthless by the Americans. There is also *smithereens* from *smidirini* "pieces", *galore* from *go leor* "enough" and *slew* from *sluagh*.

language and the rest of the world. So, for example, we find that many European words entered Finnish through Swedish.³⁰

The French/Occitan situation can be compared to that of Finnish and Swedish before Finnish independence, in that we are again dealing with a dominating and a dominated language. What this means for borrowing is that there should be many more French words in Occitan than Occitan words in French. The study of French words in Occitan would be the subject of another paper. As for Occitan words in French, there should be quite a few hapaxes. In this type of contact situation it is normal to find foreign words being used once (Hartweg in Vermes, 1991). There seem to be many slang Occitan words in French. Since the purpose of slang is to exclude those not in the “in” group, then foreign words, such as Occitanisms in French, would be particularly appealing.

These last two sections (2.2 and 2.3) dealt with topics that are important to the study of lexical borrowing, but not of central importance. The next two sections (2.4 and 2.5) of this chapter deal with lexical borrowing and word loss, topics of more importance.

2.4 Lexical Borrowing

2.4.1 Introduction

Just as there is no culture on Earth so isolated that it has not been influenced by other cultures, there is no language that is so self-sufficient or so isolated that it has not

³⁰ This was certainly true from the time of Swedish takeover of Finland to the end of the Second World War. Now Swedish has assumed a supporting role. (Oresnik, 1982)

borrowed elements from neighbouring languages.³¹ These elements have been phonetic, morphological and lexical. However, the borrowing of lexical items has been far the most frequent, since vocabulary is the most easily transferable element of language. Obviously, languages whose speakers are geographically closer to each other have a better chance of exchanging vocabulary. This is why there are more English words in French than Persian words. However, with today's rapid communications, languages and in particular the major world languages can have a much wider reach. Some words travel over great distances. These are the *mots-voyageurs* ("traveller words"), words that travel from country to country, language to language, across time and space.³²

Let us begin with a discussion of the terms *loanword* and *borrowing*. These are the terms currently in use among English-speaking linguists: *borrowing* describes the process and *loanwords* in a language are the result. Yet the choice of these terms was by no means obvious. Just how should one refer to foreign words in one's native language? One could call the results of such borrowing a language mixture. Reputable scholars, such as Hermann Paul³³, Whitney and Schuchard have used this term. However, speakers rarely mix two languages indiscriminately, and in any case the term *language*

³¹ It seems that some languages are more resistant to borrowing than others. According to Sapir (in Dixon, 1997) the Athabaskan languages seem highly resistant to borrowing words from other languages in spite of the fact that Athabaskan speaking peoples have come into contact with many other cultures. This could be partly due to the structure of these languages. They have mostly bound forms making assimilation of foreign forms difficult. It could also be due to the attitude of the speakers. They do not want to borrow from other languages. They prefer to use the internal resources of their own languages. In Europe German speakers have had similar puristic attitudes towards borrowing foreign words, although today English is omnipresent.

³² The word *orange* is a good example of a *mot-voyageur*. The word entered French from Arabic via Occitan. The Arabs picked up the word from the Persians where it may be traced back to a Sanskrit word meaning "loves of the elephant".

³³ In his *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (1886), Paul entitled one of his chapters "Sprachmischung" (Language Mixture), but he felt he had to warn against the misunderstanding that it was possible to mix languages.

mixture could more properly be applied to code-switching, that is, switching to language B while speaking language A and switching back again. A mixture implies that the original elements have become a third; this is not what happens when languages mix. As Haugen (1950) points out “...speakers of e.g. Am[erican] N[orwegian] continue to speak a recognizably Norwegian language distinct from their English down to the time when they switch to the latter for good.” (p. 211) We could talk about the adoption of words, which would presumably make the words themselves adoptees, or adoptives. Although the latter term is in use and L. J. Louwrens mentions it in an article,³⁴ it is not widespread. Besides, the word *adoption* has certain emotional connotations that should perhaps be avoided in a linguistic context. Roberts (1939) uses the term the term *infusion* to describe “the entrance into a language, letter by letter and sound by sound, of the actual words of another language” (p. 32) In his opinion, infusion is more accurate than borrowing since “something has been poured in from the outside”. (ibid) However, this implies that the source language is taking an active role in the borrowing process, whereas it would seem to me that the receiving language plays the active role in the borrowing process. The terms *loanword* and *borrowing* may seem as imprecise as the others. However, as Haugen (1950) has pointed out, borrowing is the generally accepted term because “(t)he real advantage of the term ‘borrowing’ is the fact that it is not applied to language by laymen.” (p. 211)

Lexical borrowing and lexical loss are situated at the opposite ends of a continuum. On the one end there is borrowing, a creative process involving a bilingual

³⁴ Louwrens, L. J. “Semantic Change in Loan-Words” *South African Journal of African Languages*, 1993.

individual or individuals who import foreign words or expressions into their native language and other individuals (not necessarily bilingual) who propagate the new words or expressions in the borrowing language. On the other end of the scale is word loss. One could speak about word death or, as the Germans do, of *untergegangene Wörter* (lit. gone-under words). These are words that have fallen out of the language. Some words live for thousands of years. These are the inherited words of the lexicon. They not only may survive for generations, but also may outlive their original language, as is the case with Latin words which were carried over into French.

Let us examine the creative end of this continuum. Whether a lexical innovation is of internal creation or is of foreign origin, it is up to the speakers of the borrowing language to determine whether or not they will accept it. If the word is accepted into the language, how far will it go? Will it undergo a change in form or meaning, or will it retain its original form or meaning? If the new word in question is of foreign origin, will it be completely assimilated or will it forever “float on the surface”, never to be completely accepted but never rejected either? Gusmani (1973) distinguishes between the acclimatization and the integration of loanwords. According to him acclimatized words in Italian are words like *flirt* and *stop*; integrated words are words like *tranvia* (“streetcar”) and *rosbiffe* (“roast beef”, all four from English). As the first example shows, an acclimatized form shows little or no formal integration. An integrated word like *tranvia* does show substantial phonetic, morphological and semantic adaptation.³⁵ Scholars in the 19th century believed that it was important to distinguish between these

³⁵ *Tranvia*, from the English *tramway*, is a loan blend. The first element has been adapted; the second element, *via*, is a translation of *way*.

two types of loanwords and coined terms such as *Fremdwörter* (“foreign words”) and *Lehnwörter* (“loanwords”). Please see section 2.4.2 for further information.

At the other end of the continuum, there is word loss. When we say that a word in a given language “dies” or is lost or goes under, we mean that the speakers of that language have, for one reason or another, stopped using it. They have either forgotten it, or else the word was never transmitted to the next generation. If a word were to die out completely, we would not know about its existence at all, assuming of course that it was never recorded. More often than not, these “dead” words may be said to be archaic, existing only in documents and certain dictionaries and known only to scholars. These “dead” words may in fact still be alive to certain groups within the large group of speakers of that language, either because these words are part of a technical vocabulary, or they survive in regional varieties of the language; for example, the various *français régionaux* have preserved a number of “patois” words. There are also archaic words that are used in special circumstances, in songs or prayers for example. Twentieth century people do not as a general rule talk about going hither and thither any more, but these archaic words are still to be found in the well known Christmas carol, “Good King Wenceslas”.³⁶ Similarly, in “The Lord’s Prayer”, the archaic pronoun *thy* and the verbal form *art*, the archaic form of the second person singular present indicative of the verb *to be*, are used.

Just as some words are more current than others, it may be possible to speak of degrees of lexical death. Some words form a part of one’s active vocabulary; some form

³⁶ This song, which was written in the 19th century, is deliberately archaizing.

a part of one's passive vocabulary. Some obsolete words may, in fact, still be used by one generation, but less used by the next and still less used by the next, until no one remembers them. Even then, widely read works of literature may preserve these words and an author may try to revive some of these old words.³⁷

Why do some borrowed words die out while others live, indeed thrive in the host language? To answer that question one need look at why some words are borrowed to begin with. We might just as well ask why some words are borrowed but not others, and furthermore, why are some words of foreign origin rejected after being a part of the vocabulary for a considerable length of time, whereas some last for only a short period of time? Another way of approaching this problem would be to ask ourselves the following: Why are some words more stable than others? Please see sections 2.4.4, 2.5.1 and 2.5.2 for information on the reasons for lexical obsolescence. I will devote the next sections to definitions of lexical borrowing and classifications of loanwords.

2.4.2 Definitions of Lexical Borrowing

Here a discussion of terminology is in order. Haugen (1950) discusses borrowing in his article "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing". According to Haugen, borrowing is "...THE ATTEMPTED REPRODUCTION IN ONE LANGUAGE OF PATTERNS PREVIOUSLY FOUND IN ANOTHER." (p. 212, capitalization in original) Pisani (1946) provides another definition: "*l'emprunt est une forme*

³⁷ See Wise, 1997, Chapter 9, for a discussion of the terms *vieux*, *archaïque*, *littéraire*, *soutenu*, *soigné* etc.

d'expression qu'une communauté linguistique reçoit d'une autre communauté”³⁸

(quoted in Deroy, 1956, p. 18, italics in the original). Deroy (1956) provides his own definition: “Quand un groupe d'hommes parlant une langue définie se trouve en relations avec un autre groupe utilisant une langue distincte, il arrive presque toujours que des mots, des éléments grammaticaux, des significations s'introduisent d'un parler dans l'autre.”³⁹ (p. 18)

I wish to look at each definition in turn. Haugen's definition makes it clear that we are dealing with an imperfect reproduction. The speakers of the borrowing language imitate the word within the context of their native language. Hence, the need to qualify this imitation as imperfect. This imitation can vary from something approaching the native pronunciation of the lending language to something no native speaker of that language would recognize. It is usually this imperfect pronunciation that becomes the normal pronunciation in the borrowing language.⁴⁰ An additional imitation is involved in the process of borrowing. In order for the borrowed word to pass from the social group into which it was borrowed into the larger linguistic community, other speakers must imitate that word, speakers who may not know the source language at all.

Deroy's definition points to the fact that not only words are borrowed, but also meaning and grammatical forms. However, words are the most susceptible to being

³⁸ Borrowing is a form of expression that one linguistic community receives from another community.

³⁹ When a group of men speaking a given language finds itself in relations with another group using a distinct language, it almost always happens that words, grammatical elements or meanings are introduced from one language to the other.

Deroy borrowed this definition from Pisani, *Sull'imprestito linguistico in Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* (1939-40) (Nasser, 1966).

⁴⁰ Sometimes a pronunciation closer to the one in the source language is reintroduced by speakers who know this language well.

borrowed because, as I have already stated, vocabulary is the most malleable component of language. Pisani and Deroy also make reference to groups of humans coming into contact. Borrowing does not occur in a vacuum. The borrowing of lexical elements implies contact between speakers of languages A and B. The nature of this contact (i.e., intimate, business-like) may have some bearing on the kinds of words borrowed.

How do words get from one language to another? Let us use Occitan and French contact as an example of one kind of transfer. In the south of France, Occitan speakers gradually became bilingual as they learned French, a language which was imposed on them. It would seem only natural that from time to time they would resort to using Occitan words while speaking French if the French word was unknown to them or if no equivalent existed.⁴¹ Since most speakers were bilingual, the Occitan terms would be readily understood. From there the word either spread out into the monolingual French speaking community, or else the word remained a vocabulary item in regional French. Similarly, speakers of immigrant languages often import large numbers of words from the language of the majority. Either the word has no equivalent in their native language or the equivalent word is unknown to them.

⁴¹ Brunot in his *Histoire de la langue française* (1933) reports how he does not know the names of some things in standard French. Even after twenty years of absence from his home province, except for visits, he still uses more than a hundred Lotharingisms. (p. 32, footnote 4)

2.4.3 The Typology of Lexical Borrowing

Even the lay person recognizes that there are different kinds of loanwords. Take this sentence from *Le Figaro*, May 18, 1922: “Le match Carpentier-Dempsey sera ... le grand event pugilistique de la saison.” (quoted in Deroy, 1956, p. 17)⁴² Each of the loanwords *saison*, *match* and *event* comes from a different category of loan. *Saison*, although a native French word, is being used here with a different meaning, a meaning borrowed from the English (*sporting*)-*season*. This is an example of a semantic loan. The word *match* is a loan from English, but it has been in French for so long (frequent since 1869, *Petit Robert*), that for most speakers it is as native a word as *saison*. This kind of loan is a straightforward loanword. The word *event* is obviously an English word. It might have become a synonym of *événement*, but it did not, and it has not found a place in the *Petit Robert*, unlike *match*. The word *event* is an example of a hapax,⁴³ or what Klajn (1972) calls a casual (see Gusmani, 1973, p. 16). The word *event* was used once in a French sentence (or perhaps in more than one sentence), but never was admitted into the standard language. There is another category: *pérégrinismes* (Pergnier, 1989). These are words with a distinct foreign flavour that are nevertheless a part of the language. These words are like Gusmani’s (1972) acclimatized words in that they retain their foreign look, but are used by even monolingual speakers of the borrowing language.

⁴² The Carpentier-Dempsey match will be ... the big boxing event of the season.

⁴³ Here, the expression *grand event* could be a loan blend: it could represent a partial translation of the English *main event*.

There are a number of terms used to classify loanwords, depending on the school one belongs to, and the language one is using. I would like to look at two methods of classification, namely, the terminologies proposed by Haugen and Betz.⁴⁴

Haugen (1950) proposes three ways to classify loanwords based on the substitution of their elements for native elements. The categories none, partial or complete correspond to loanword, loanblend and loanshift. Here is what he says about each of them, followed by examples.

“(1) LOANWORDS show morphemic importation without substitution. Any morphemic importation can be further classified according to the degree of its phonemic substitution: none, partial, or complete.” (p. 214) The loanword may be a faithful imitation of the word in the source language, or it may be unrecognizable to native speakers. We have already seen *match*, which is a good example of the first kind of imitation. As for the second, the Taos Indians borrowed the Spanish word *virgen*, which they reproduce according to the sound rules in their language as [m’ilxina].

“(2) LOANBLENDS show morphemic substitution as well as importation. All substitution involves a certain degree of analysis by the speaker of the model that he is imitating; only such ‘hybrids’ as involve a discoverable foreign model are included here.” (p. 215) For example, Pennsylvanian German borrowed the American English *plum pie* and turned it into [blaum pai]. The morpheme *pai* was imported but the German

⁴⁴ In his book, *Les mots étrangers* (1965), Guiraud proposes five categories of borrowing: 1) Borrowing of the name and the thing; 2) Borrowing of the name without the thing; 3) Borrowing of the thing without the name; 4) Gallicizing of the name and 5) Gallicizing of the thing.

Blaum was substituted for *plum*. Here part of the foreign term *plum pie* has been analyzed, and part of it translated.

“(3) LOANSHIFTS show morphemic substitution without importation. These include what are usually called ‘loan translations’ and ‘semantic loans’; the term ‘shift’ is suggested because they appear in the borrowing language only as functional shifts of native morphemes.” (p. 215) As an example of a loan translation or calque there is the well known example of the English word *skyscraper*, which was not directly imported into German (*Wolkenkratzer*), French (*gratte-ciel*) and Spanish (*rascacielos*), but rather the English word served as a model. As an example of a semantic loan there is French *réaliser* (“to make real”), which has come under the influence of the English *to realize* and has now taken on the latter meaning. This foreign meaning may even come to replace the native meaning.

Haugen distinguishes between different kinds of loanshifts. Firstly, there are loan homonyms. With this type of loan the old meaning has nothing in common with the new. For example, American Portuguese borrowed the English *grocery* as *grosseria*, a word which means “rude remark” in Portuguese. This word would be listed as two separate entries in the dictionary, as we are dealing not with polysemy, but with homophony. Secondly, if there is some semantic overlapping between the native word and the borrowed word, we may speak of loan synonyms. Haugen divides these loan synonyms into semantic displacements and semantic confusion. With semantic displacements, native terms are applied to novel cultural phenomena from the foreign culture, as when American Portuguese uses *péso* “weight” to mean dollar. Semantic confusion is the

result when *livreria* “book store” is used to mean library, modeled on the English *library*, instead of the native *biblioteca*.

It is not always easy to determine what kind of loan we are dealing with. Would that last example be considered an example of semantic confusion or of loan homonymy? According to Haugen, the American Portuguese borrowing *crismas* “Christmas”, provides a case in point. At first glance this word would appear to be a straightforward loan. There is, however, a Portuguese word *crisma*, meaning “sacramental oil”. *Christmas* is therefore a loanshift, but is it a loan homonym or a loan synonym? Both *Christmas* and *crisma* have to do with religion, but otherwise these words have little to do with each other, so they might be considered loan homonyms. One distinction to keep in mind is the one between homophones and homologues. In the context of loanword studies, homophones are words in two languages that sound alike. Homologues are words whose meanings are similar. Haugen (1949) calls both of these analogues “... since they occupy an analogical position within the structures of the two languages being compared. Those that are similar in sound and not in meaning might be called ‘homophones’, defined as ‘interlingual homonyms or near-homonyms’; those that are similar in meaning and not in sound might be called ‘homologues’, defined as ‘interlingual synonyms or near-synonyms.’” (p. 283) These analogues may have had an important role to play in the borrowing and retention of foreign words.

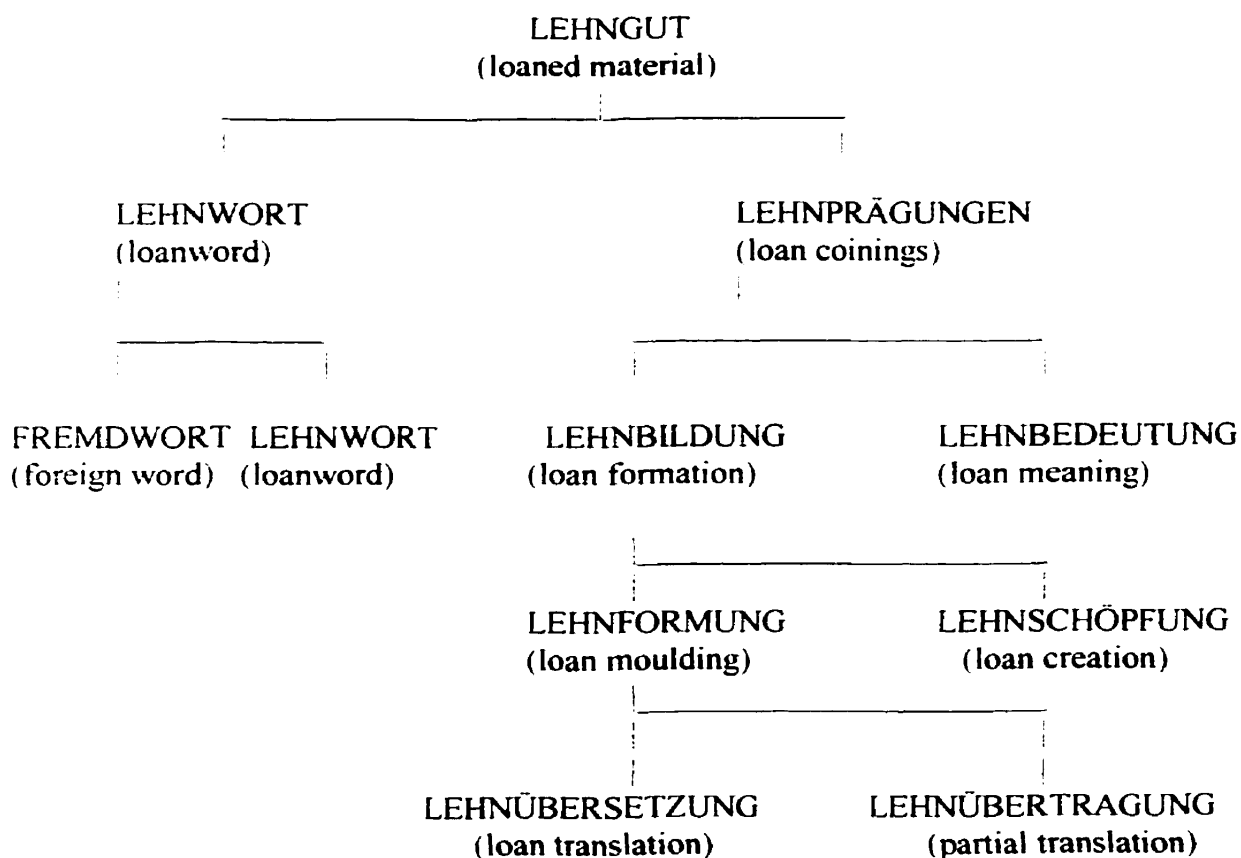
The Germans mostly follow Betz’s (1965) terminology. The *Lehngut* (loaned material) is divided into *Lehnwörter* (loanwords) and *Lehnprägungen* (loan coinings). There are two kinds of loanwords: assimilated *Lehnwörter*, the loanwords properly

speaking, and *Fremdwörter* (“foreign words”). *Fremdwörter* are words that retain their foreign look. Examples of *Fremdwörter* are the French *saison* and the Italian *pizza* used in German. Many of them are not, properly speaking, loanwords. Some of them are only temporary visitors in the language (hapax). Foreign words used in quotations come under this category as well. Although these *Fremdwörter* may not be assimilated, in the sense that they still may have their foreign appearance, they may be accepted as vocabulary items like any other. *Lehnwörter* are more or less assimilated loanwords; they correspond to Haugen’s loanwords. Examples of *Lehnwörter* in German are *Bischof* (“bishop”) from the Greek *episkopos* and *pfeifen* (“to whistle”) from the Latin *pipare*.

The *Lehnprägungen* (loan coinings) can be further divided and sub-divided. There are two kinds of *Lehnprägungen*: *Lehnbildungen* (loan formations) and *Lehnbedeutungen* (loan meanings). A *Lehnbedeutung* is an *emprunt de sens* or an *emprunt sémantique*. An already existing native word takes on another meaning due to the influence of a foreign model, such as when the Anglo-Saxon *taufen* (“to submerge”) took on the meaning “to baptize” due to the influence of the Greek *baptizo*. A *Lehnbildung* is the adoption of a meaning and at the same time the “modeling” of a new word. Here there are two distinctions to be made, between *Lehnschöpfung* (loan creation) and *Lehnformung* (loan moulding). The *Lehnschöpfung* is a minted word which is formally independent of the foreign model. As an example of this there is the French *cognac* which became *Kognac* in German and then was replaced by *Weinbrand* (lit. wine burning). On the other hand, with a *Lehnformung* one has a formal dependence on the foreign model. The *Lehnformung* is divided into two types: *Lehnübersetzung* (loan

translation) and *Lehnübertragung* (partial translation, lit. loan taking-over). A *Lehnübersetzung* is a word for word translation of the foreign model and a *Lehnübertragung* is a partial translation. An example of the first would be English *pocket-book* which was translated word for word into German as *Taschenbuch*. An example of the second would be English *air-lift* which became *Luftbrücke* (lit. air bridge) in German. The *air* part was kept but the *lift* was replaced by *bridge* (*brücke*). (from Röntgen, 1992 and Stedje, 1989)

Here is a chart summarizing the above mentioned terms:



I propose to follow Haugen's terminology for the most part. It would seem to me that the distinction between loanwords properly speaking and loanshifts (semantic loans or calques) is the most important one. However, when it becomes necessary, I will make other terminological distinctions. For example, I find that Betz's distinction between *Fremdwörter* (foreign words) and *Lehnwörter* (loanwords) to be a useful one. It would seem that a number of Occitanisms on the extinct list come under the category of *Fremdwörter*.

There is another factor that should be considered when trying to classify loanwords: the amount of "cultural distance" between the loanword and its source language. Is the word used only in contexts where the foreign culture is referred to? Does the word still have strong associations with the source culture? Or is it used in contexts that have nothing to do with the source culture? Let me illustrate this with examples. In an article in the *Toronto Star* (Feb. 10, 1998) the Japanese word *sampen* was used to describe how a Japanese skier "choked" during his run. The word *sampen* literally means "war crime" but figuratively it means "blowing big game". The article describes how a Japanese ski jumper finished fifth in an event, in spite of his lead. This word was put in italics in the article and required an explanation. On the other hand, the Japanese word *sumo*, *samurai*, *hara-kari* and *kamikaze* are fairly well known among English speakers and *kamikaze* may be used in contexts that have nothing to do with Japan. As an example of a French cultural word in English, there is *baguette*. Most English speakers know that this word designates a kind of French bread, yet they most probably do not know the words for the other kinds of French bread. A word may

become almost completely detached from its source culture: the word *casseroles* in French is no longer associated with the south of France. There are those loanwords that are not particularly cultural to begin with, such as *travailler* (in its modern sense of “to work”), *guide* (“guide”) and *police* (“policy”). These are all borrowings from the south of France, yet they would not strike modern French speakers as particularly southern.

Gebhardt operates with 7 distinctions: 1) words that have ties to the region while being part of regional French: *pétarelle* (“motorcycle”); 2) infrequently used words that are nevertheless attested in dictionaries, most notably Cotgrave (1611) who included many Occitan words in his dictionary; 3) “technical” words (“mots de métier”); 4) words confined to literary works; 5) words that entered through slang; 6) idiomatic Occitanisms: *ribon-ribaine* “bon gré, mal gré” (“whether we like it or not”; “willy-nilly”) and 7) fully integrated words (source: Swiggers, p. 72, 1998).

Based on what has been written above, I would like to propose my own classification of loanwords for the purposes of this dissertation. Firstly, there are the foreign words (*Fremdwörter*). These may be further sub-divided into 1) foreign words used in quotations; 2) foreign words used to add local colour to a piece of writing, as with *sampen* above; 3) foreign words that have retained ties with their culture of origin, but may also be used in more neutral contexts and 4) foreign words used in a text or conversation because the native term is unknown to the writer/speaker.

Secondly there are the loanwords properly speaking. These are the assimilated and acclimatized loanwords. The former group can be divided into 1) words that were

borrowed with their meanings; 2) foreign words whose meanings influenced a native word, as with *réaliser*; 3) words partially influenced by foreign words as with [blaum pai] and 4) words that were calqued from other languages, as with *sky-scraper*. With this scheme the “foreignness” of a word would be like the degrees on a scale. In addition, I will take into consideration Haugen’s distinction between loan homonyms and loan synonyms.

One other point is worth making here. The degree of bilingualism will determine the kind of words borrowed. The presence of *emprunts de sens* implies that the speakers of the borrowing language are more familiar with the source language than the presence of loanshifts or loanblends would imply. Loanwords require less analysis on the part of the borrowers than loanblends and loanshifts. A great number of *emprunts de sens* implies a more intimate contact between speakers of the two languages in question.

2.4.4 The Process of Borrowing

To begin with, there is the actual transfer of words from one language to another; then there is what happens to that word once it is in its new home. The first question to ask would be: How was the word borrowed, orally or in writing? If the word was borrowed orally, chances are that the pronunciation of the word will more accurately reflect the pronunciation of the source language. It may also receive a spelling based on its pronunciation, although that is not necessarily the case. If the word was borrowed in writing, chances are that the pronunciation of the word will reflect its spelling. During

the Second World War in France the press was an instrument of the Vichy government, and as a result was heavily censored. The French people came to know of the American word *jeep* by means of radio broadcasts, and the announcers on the radio pronounced it [ʒi:p]. If that word had been transmitted in writing, chances are that most French people would have pronounced it [ʒɛp]. (Schöne, 1951)

Hope (1971) provides a scheme that describes the path that loanwords take when they enter a language. He mentions three stages: 1) an act of transfer, 2) an interim period and 3) a period of stability. The act of transfer involves “... *loss of morphemic and semantic transparency...*” (p. 611, italics in original). Once the word is in the borrowing language it is no longer as analyzable as in its language of origin. This act of transfer may involve one author using a foreign term (as with Monluc, de Staël and de Serres, all of whom used Occitan words in French) or it may involve one whole social class using a foreign term because of it is fashionable to do so. The interim period could be said to begin when a wider group of speakers begins to use the new word. This interim period is undoubtedly the most crucial period as far as the acceptance of a word is concerned. Hope states: “This preliminary stage is one of fluctuation and experiment, qualified success and temporary rejection, during which the incoming word is subjected to the environment of the recipient language and measured against the template of formal conventions in the new idiom.” (p. 610) It is during this period that a word may experience fluctuations in pronunciation and spelling. Sometimes an unfamiliar, foreign word is reinforced with a native word; for example, when the Italian word *pizza* was first used in English, it appeared in the compound *pizza-pie*. The word *pie* provided an

explanation for those unfamiliar with this dish.⁴⁵ As a general rule, the earliest attestations of a loan are closer to the model than later ones. Over time the receiving language reworks the foreign word until it loses its foreign features. Foreign sounds will be replaced by native ones, etc. This process does not always take place; there are words that retain their foreign spelling and/or pronunciation, yet continue to “live” in the language. During the final stage, the period of stability, “(t)he borrowed material becomes less malleable; the impact of random analogy diminishes and convention begins to protect the authenticated form from further modification.” (Hope, 1971, pp. 610-611)

A word may undergo semantic change during the interim period. The word *costaud* provides a good example. In Occitan the word *costo* means “rib”. Another meaning developed in French, that of “strong”, more literally, “man who has strong ribs”.⁴⁶ Let us look at the different kinds of semantic change. I will be using an article by Pavlos Pavlou entitled “The Semantic Adaptation of Turkish Loan-Words in the Greek Cypriot Dialect” (*Themes in Greek Linguistics*, 1993, pp. 443-448).

To begin with, there is zero change. The word is borrowed with its meaning. This is especially true of cultural words, words that are closely associated with the lending culture. Some examples of this from Occitan words in French would be: *bouillabaisse* (although this word has lost some of its associations with the Midi) and *calanque* (“inlet surrounded by cliffs”). In English words like *Koran* and *hooka* are closely associated with the cultures that gave rise to them. Sometimes a word that

⁴⁵ North American Italian reborrowed the word as *pizzapaia*.

⁴⁶ According to the Petit Robert, *costaud* comes from the Romany *cochto*, meaning “solid”. It may be that *costeau* was formed in French form *côte* + *-eau*; the *-s-* is due to Provençal influence and the suffix *-eau* became confused with *-aud*. The word *costel* meant “pimp” in the 19th century.

already has an equivalent in the target language is borrowed. In this situation doublets are created. In the Middle Ages, many Latin words were borrowed that already had native equivalents, which were themselves the descendants of the same Latin words: French *froid* and gallicized Latin *frigide* (from Latin FRIGIDUS “cold”), French *raide* and gallicized Latin *rigide* (from Latin RIGIDUS “stiff”), etc. However, these words were imported in an attempt to relatinize the vulgar languages. Later they came to develop nuances of meaning that the native words did not provide. There is a tendency for these borrowings from Latin to be scientific words, words that have few of the emotional connotations that the native words do. Pavlou provides examples of Turkish loanwords in Cypriot Greek that formed doublets without any apparent change in meaning. For example, Turkish *sokak* “street” became *sokaki* in Cypriot Greek, whereas a word for “street” already exists in Standard Greek, namely *δromos*.⁴⁷

There is semantic narrowing and semantic broadening. One can distinguish two kinds of semantic narrowing. A word with multiple meanings in the source language may lose most of them in the borrowing language. The second kind of semantic narrowing occurs when the meaning of a word becomes more specific. As an example of the former there is the English word *bar*, which has 14 meanings according to *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*; in Finnish the word *baari* has two: “a room where food and drinks are served” and “the counter where food and drinks are served”. (Oresnik, 1982) As an example of the latter, there is Turkish *çorba* “(generic name for) soup”, which became in Greek Cypriot *tsiorvas* “a (specific) kind of soup”. Semantic

⁴⁷ It would be interesting to do a follow up study a generation or so later, to see if any of these doublets have undergone semantic change.

broadening is the opposite of semantic narrowing. By semantic broadening we mean that a word becomes more general in its meaning. Pavlou can find no examples in his corpus. To use an example from Occitan-French contact, there is the French word *truc*. This all-purpose word originally meant in Occitan ‘‘blow (of a fist etc.)’’. In French it acquired its meaning of ‘‘chose quelconque, qu’on ne peut ou ne veut désigner.’’ (*Petit Robert*)⁴⁸

There are the opposite forces of pejoration and amelioration. If the people who speak the source language are not highly regarded by the speakers of the borrowing language, then some borrowed words may take on negative connotations, as for example the previously cited words *hâbler* (‘‘to talk boastfully’’) and *reître* (‘‘brutal soldier’’). The example of the word family of *cambríoler* (‘‘to burglarize’’) shows a borrowed word can have its status raised in the host language. The word *cambríoleur* (‘‘burglar’’) was a derivative of the Occitan *cambríole*, (‘‘little room’’); it was originally a slang expression. Today this argotic word has a relatively high frequency in modern French and has no particular ‘‘slangy’’ flavour. Robert Beekes (1995) does not speak about pejoration and amelioration; instead he includes these two categories under broadening and narrowing.

There is a category represented by the word *costaud*. As we have seen, this word comes from an Occitan word meaning ‘‘rib’’. This change in meaning resulted from a transfer, a synecdoche. Strong ribs are seen as characteristic of muscular men. The ribs came to stand in for the man. Then it turned into an adjective describing a quality of that man, ‘‘strong’’. As this example shows, figurative language can influence the semantic

⁴⁸ A thing that one cannot or does not wish to designate.

evolution of words. A figurative expression can become literal, as it were. This does not only affect loanwords, but native words as well. Other examples of semantic change resulting from figurative use of language are (from English): metaphor, *bitter* once meant “biting”; metonymy, *jaw* once meant “cheek”; hyperbole, *astound* had a stronger meaning “strike with thunder”; and litotes, *kill* which once meant “torment”. (Palmer, 1976, p.9)

Sometimes the semantic properties of the loanword are reinterpreted and reclassified; sometimes the results are quite surprising. The Turkish word *şeftali* “peach” appears in Cypriot Greek as *sieftali* meaning “meatball”. A peach is edible, it is a fruit and it is round. A meatball is edible, it is round, but it is not a fruit. For the borrowers of that particular word, the properties +edible +round were more important than +fruit. Sometimes loanwords acquire meanings in the borrowing language not present in the source language. For example, in Finnish *jumppa* from the English *jump* means “gymnastics” and the verb *jumpata* means “to do gymnastics” (Orešnik, 1982).

Sometimes a word will go from an abstract to a concrete meaning or from a concrete to an abstract meaning. As an example of the first, the English word *youth*: it originally meant “the period of life where one is not an adult”, now it may also mean “young man”. As an example of the second, there is the Latin word *anima* “soul”, which originally meant “breath” (Beekes, 1995). Sometimes the transformation a word undergoes is not easy to follow. The English words *thank* and *think* provide a good example of this. *Think* is the origin of *thank* but how did the first word lead to the

second? Beekes (1995) proposes the following: “‘thought’ > ‘insight’ > ‘recognition’ > ‘sense of obligation’ > ‘thanks’” (p. 87)

In his article “Semantic change in loan words” L. J. Louwrens (1993) makes a distinction between the causes of semantic change and the consequences. What follows is a summary of the main points of the article, as well as some additional examples.

First of all there are five causes of semantic change.

1) Shortening or ellipsis is the omission of a word or words from a phrase which is readily understood. This applies as much to words of the native vocabulary as to borrowed words. In time the remaining word undergoes a semantic change. *Private* comes from private *soldier*. The word *private* is all that is necessary now. Originally the negative in French was *ne*. Words such as *pas*, *point* and *rien* served to enforce it. In time the helping words became the bearers of the “negativity”. In the popular speech of today the *ne* is left out. The English loanword *smoking jacket* provides an example of an ellipse occurring during borrowing. In a number of European languages such as French and Italian only *smoking* is used to designate this kind of jacket. Louwrens gives an example from Northern Sotho. The word *swiri* (“lemon”) is an adaptation of the Afrikaans word *suurlemoen* (lit. “sour orange”). When it was borrowed the word *lemoen* was elided and the word *swiri* now contains its meaning.

2) Analogical transfer is another cause of meaning change. According to Louwrens, “When some kind of identity or resemblance can be observed between a referent to which a word originally referred and another referent which appeared on the scene at a later stage, the original meaning can be changed to include that of the new

referent as well.” (p. 10) The word *lemonade* was borrowed into Northern Sotho where it became *namonêiti*. Now this word not only refers to lemonade but to any kind of cold drink.

3) Metonymic transfer. Metonymy involves naming the referent as a whole after one of its characteristic features or component parts. In Northern Sotho the loan *setôpôlatêê* (“red light”) means “robot”. A red light is seen as a characteristic feature of robots.

4) Metaphoric transfer. This is like analogical transfer in that both rely on similarities. However, with analogy the similarities between the things being compared are more important than the differences, with metaphor it is the opposite. In addition, the similarities between analogical comparisons are concrete, but with metaphor they are imaginary. Examples of metaphor appear rare. In Southern Sotho, “the word *serôntabola* refers to a hooped petticoat worn during festive occasions, the shape of which resembles the roof of a rondavel.” (Louwrens, p. 12)

5) Popular or folk etymology can change a word’s meaning. This occurs when two words are associated with each other because of their similarities in form, even though their meanings are different. To give an example from French, the English *country-dance* was reinterpreted as *contredanse* lit. “counter dance”. To use an example from Louwrens, English *stock fair* “livestock fair” was adopted in Northern Sotho as *setôkôfêê* and Zulu as *isitokifela* through the process of popular etymology. The meaning of the English word is different in the African languages. In Northern Sotho and Zulu the respective words refer to a practice by which each person in a group is paid on a

monthly basis. When the payments are made, food and drinks are served and music is provided.

6) This last category is somewhat vaguer than the others. Sometimes the attitudes of the speakers play a prominent role in the change of meaning. The Casspir armoured vehicles which began patrolling areas of unrest in South Africa were painted a bright yellow. At the same time, a soft drink called *Mello-Yello* was marketed in that country. The names *mêlôyêlô* (Northern Sotho) and *imeloyelo* (Zulu and Xhosa) were applied to the patrol vehicles. This was undoubtedly an attempt to make a frightening object less fearful by giving it a comical name. Similarly, in the Second World War machine guns became known as coffee mills or sewing machines (Ullman, 1970 in Louwrens, 1992).

As far as the consequences of semantic change are concerned, we have already looked at them. There are restrictions in meaning and generalizations in meaning; as well, there are radical shifts in meaning. The example Louwrens gives is that of *lijakane* from the Afrikaans *diaken* ‘‘deacon’’ The word in Northern Sotho means ‘‘a person who has adopted the Christian faith’’.

Words may change their emotive content by passing into another language. As has been observed, amelioration and pejoration are often the result. Then there is the attitude of French speakers towards certain Occitan words. This belongs under neither category. Many Occitan words are seen as quaint, folksy or comical, without necessarily being seen as pejorative. (Gebhardt, 1974) Dupré (1972) in his *Encyclopédie du bon français* writes about the word *escagasser* [‘‘to give (someone) a pounding’’]: ‘‘Le mot sent bon les herbes de Provence, la bourride et l’aïoli. On imagine Raimu le lançant au

visage de son fils ou de M. Brun dans une pièce de Marcel Pagnol. Il est expressif et pittoresque. Il n'est pas d'un emploi facile mais, placé à l'endroit voulu et lorsque le contexte s'y prête, sa saveur est inimitable... ” (quoted in Gebhardt, 1974, p. 230).

After having talked about semantic change and adaptation, I would like to mention other kinds of integration that a loanword may undergo. A foreign word is usually adapted phonologically, morphologically or syntactically to the patterns of the host language. As more and more people use a loanword, it will acquire a phonetic structure in keeping with the receiving language in order to make it easier to pronounce. For example, English words borrowed into Japanese are brought into line with Japanese sound patterns. Which is why *violin* became *batorin*. Occitan words borrowed into French have their tonic accents displaced to the last syllable, in conformity with French prosody. Final pronounced *a*'s are turned into mute *e*'s. Thus we have Occ. *abelha* > Fr. *abeille* and Occ. *aigreta* > Fr. *aigrette*.

A word has to be adapted to the grammatical system of the receiving language. If a language with grammatical gender, like French, borrows words from a language without such a grammatical category, like English, then the words will have to be assigned to a gender. If parallel suffixes are involved then the loan will take the gender of the group of words with the corresponding suffix. Thus *promotion* will be feminine and *isolationism* will be masculine. However, it seems that masculine is the default gender (Wise, 1997). Sometimes the gender of a word is determined on the basis of analogy with other words in the language. *Star* is feminine in French undoubtedly due to the influence of *vedette*. There might be a period of hesitation between genders, and

sometimes different communities will make different choices. For instance, there are differences between Canada and France regarding words borrowed from English. The word *gang* is masculine in France and feminine in Canada. (Pergnier, 1989) As far as morphological adaptation is concerned, English verbs are given the suffix *-yar* or more rarely *-ar* in the Spanish of Texas, for example, *parkyar* (“to park”), *kukyar* (“to cook”), *wachar* (“to watch”). (Sobin, 1982) As an example of a syntactic adaptation there is the English *sky-scraper*, which became *gratte-ciel* in French on the pattern of other words such as *tire-bouchon*. A word like **ciel-gratteur* would have gone against the patterns of French.

2.4.5 The Scale of Intimacy

In the early part of this century, some scholars classified loanwords in terms of all possible areas of human experience, a daunting task, and one not without its pitfalls as we shall see. This method has been especially characteristic of what Hope (1962) calls the Dutch school. Noted scholars such as B. Wind, J. J. Salverda de Grave and B. E. Vidos have used such a classification system. Loanwords are classified according to where they fit on a scale of intimacy. There are Public Life, Social Life and Private Life; each of these is in turn divided into sub-categories. Public Life, for example, is divided into arts and sciences, literature, music, architecture, theatre, medicine and veterinary art, war words, sailing, court life, church, courts of law and galleys, administration, monies. Hope (1962) points out that these categories are arbitrary. “The classification draws

some distinctions which are hard to defend on logical grounds. *Monnaies*⁴⁹ (placed beneath the rubric “vie publique”⁵⁰) and *commerce* (“vie sociale”⁵¹) are closely similar both in kind and in respect of their value as cultural criteria. They might well be taken together. It may be felt misleading to separate *noms d'étoffes*⁵² and terms of the textile industry from *vêtements et toilette*⁵³ and the rich vocabulary of fashion; while the distinction drawn between words relating *art vétérinaire*⁵⁴ (“vie publique”), *vie des champs*⁵⁵ (“vie sociale”) and *chevaux*⁵⁶ (“vie privée”: presumably considering the horse as man’s best friend) is perhaps over-subtle.” (p. 113) In spite of the limitations of this kind of classification system, classifying the lost Occitan words into categories could turn out to be illuminating. Gebhardt (1974) has already classified the current Occitan words in French using different categories from those of Wind (1928) et al. The single biggest category is slang words. What would a classification of the lost words show?

2.5 Word Loss

2.5.1 The Life and Death of Words

The vocabulary of any given language is not static. The inherited words of a language, such as Latin words in French and Anglo-Saxon words in English, undergo

⁴⁹ monies

⁵⁰ public life

⁵¹ social life

⁵² names of fabrics

⁵³ clothing and toilette

⁵⁴ veterinary art

⁵⁵ life of the fields

⁵⁶ horses

modifications in the course of time. Phonemes become altered or lost; words change meaning. New words enter a language, either as loans or as internal creations; other words, both native and of foreign origin die out; that is to say, they cease to be viable. Yet it is next to impossible to observe this process of life and death directly. Unlike human beings, who are born on a definite date and die on a definite date, the outline of a word's existence in a language is not cut and dried. Dictionaries give a word's first attested appearance in a language, but a word may have been used for years, decades or even centuries before its first written appearance. There is always the possibility of backdating a word, that is, of finding out, for example, that a word that had been thought to have been borrowed in the late 16th century, actually came into the language three centuries earlier.

Trying to determine the terminal phase of a word can be equally fraught with peril. A word thought to be "dying" may in fact still be vital, and continue to exist. Brunot and Bruneau in their *Précis de Grammaire historique de la langue française* (1933, in Schöne, 1951), used three dictionaries, the *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* by Godefroy, the *Dictionnaire du XVIe siècle* by M. Huguet and the *Dictionnaire Général de la langue française* to compile a list of words "...qu'a possédés, à une quelconque des époques de son histoire, la langue française."⁵⁷ (Schöne, 1951, p. 128) One of the words they marked with an asterisk, meaning "... ne paraît pas appartenir à la langue française d'aujourd'hui..."⁵⁸ (ibid., 129) was *abat* (singular).⁵⁹ Maurice Schöne

⁵⁷ that the French language possessed at any one period in its history.

⁵⁸ does not appear to belong to the French language of today

⁵⁹ In the plural *abats* means "giblets".

recalls first learning of that word (in the plural) in Brittany in 1942. Clearly, the word was still alive in regional French.

This is true of borrowed words as well. To take an example from Gebhardt's list of extinct Occitanisms, there is the word *carbonade* "étuvée de viande" ("braised meat"). This word, although no longer present in standard French with that meaning,⁶⁰ still continues to exist in some French dialects, most notably in the North of France and in Belgium. (Anne-Marie Brousseau, personal communication). It is not easy, nor particularly useful, to guess which words will survive and which words will be cast out of the language. Most of the Italianisms that Estienne lambasted are no longer in French. Perhaps the same will be true of the anglicisms that Estienne decried in his *Parlez-vous franglais?* Let us examine some reasons why words die out, both borrowed and native.

Before beginning this examination, I wish to elaborate on something I mentioned earlier. I mentioned that words die out when people forget them, or do not pass them on to the next generation. What does memory have to do with the loss of vocabulary? It would seem that some words, though not in current use, still reside in the collective memory of speakers. Take the word *pupil*. It has been a long time since I heard that word used, but I believe I still know what it means: a pupil is a child attending elementary school. One day I passed by an elementary school and a sign outside referred to students. It would seem that the meaning of the word *student* has been enlarged to include pupils, whereas before *student* referred only to high school and university

⁶⁰ The *Petit Robert* lists *carbonnade* (variation *carbonade*) as being of Italian origin and with the meanings "Method of grilling meat on coals – *Tranches de jambon à la carbonnade* and The meat thus cooked -- *Manger une carbonnade*."

students. Here an extension of one word's meaning may lead to the disappearance of another word.

One obvious reason why a word ceases to be used is that the thing that it designated is no longer in use. The nomenclature of medieval armour is no longer current because the whole feudal system is now obsolete. This is, however, not always what happens. A old word may take on a new meaning, as with the word *boulevard* in French. This word comes from the middle Dutch (or possibly German) *bolwerc*, meaning "rampart". Most medieval towns had ramparts to protect them from marauding armies. Later, after the techniques of war rendered the ramparts obsolete, they were demolished and the spaces they left were made into grand thoroughfares, but the name *boulevard* was kept.

Taboo can sometimes play a role in a word's extinction. The Germanic and Slavic languages lost the Indo-European reflex for *bear* because the name of this much feared animal had become taboo. (Lehmann, 1992) The English word *bear* means "the brown one". In Russian, a word meaning "honey-eater", *medved*, was adopted. The Indo-European word was kept in areas where the bear was not a danger: Greek *árktos*, Latin *ursus*, Sanskrit *rksas*. A sort of taboo resulted in the loss of a word for "streetcar motorman" in German. One word in use before the Second World War was *Führer*. For obvious reasons it stopped being used after the war. (Gragt, 1968, p.9)⁶¹

A word may acquire pejorative connotations which may lead to its disuse. Take the word *spinster*. Gunnar Persson (1994) examines the history of this word in an article

⁶¹ For examples of other kinds of taboo words, see Ullman 1965.

“Social Change, Prototypes and Word Meaning”. In the 14th century a spinster was a woman (or more rarely a man) who spun for a living. The term came to be used as a designation for unmarried women, since spinning was considered a typical profession for such women. Later it came to acquire negative connotations: prudish, frumpish, unmarriageable. This word is no longer as current as it used to be for that reason, although most native speakers know what a spinster is.⁶²

One factor that may determine a word’s life span is its ability to lend itself to polysemy. Words like *faire* (“to do”) and *aller* (“to go”) have many meanings, and in some ways can be said to be grammatical words. In some contexts their semantic content is empty. Does the fact that a loanword has only one meaning make it more vulnerable to being rejected from the language, as opposed to a word with multiple meanings? Does the fact that it has only one meaning prevent it from descending closer to the core vocabulary? (See 2.4.3 for a definition of core vocabulary) The answer to the first question is not necessarily. A word with a highly specialized meaning may be preserved in a technical vocabulary; although unknown by the majority of speakers of the language, it would still be “alive”. The answer to the second question will depend on the results of this study. Related to this point is the question of semantic development in the recipient language. (See the previous section.) The fact that a loanword has gone on to develop other meanings once it has been borrowed would seem to indicate that the word has been accepted by the native speakers of the borrowing language.

⁶² Some speakers use *bachelorette* as an alternative to *spinster*.

Competition from other words may also play a role in a word's demise. If there are already synonyms in a language for a particular *signifié*, then the borrowing of a word with the same meaning may seem superfluous. One of three things may happen: 1) The word will come to acquire a specialized meaning or connotation to distinguish it from the native synonym, or else the native word may change meaning; 2) it will be rejected or 3) it will replace the native term. An example of the first would be the Occitan word *aiguail* "dew" which became a specialized hunting term⁶³ instead of replacing the native *rosée* "dew". An example of the second would be the Italian *acconche* ("trim, elegant, arrayed, groomed"), which though very current among the upper classes in 16th century France is no longer in use in modern French. There were a few synonyms available in French to replace it such as *élégant* ("elegant") and *bien vêtu* ("well dressed"). An example of the third would be the word *amour* ("love"). This Occitan form eventually displaced the native northern form *ameur*, which survives in certain northern dialects with the meaning "rut des animaux" ("rutting of animals").⁶⁴

A conflict between two homonyms may lead to the disappearance of one of them, but this is not necessarily so. Philologists often cite the example of *gat*. In Gascony the words for "rooster" and for "cat", respectively from the Latin GALLUS and CATTUS, turned into the same word, *gat*. On a farm there is an important difference between the exclamations "The rooster is in the henhouse!" and "The cat is in the henhouse!"; hence another word had to be found for at least one of them. Depending on the region,

⁶³ This hunting term was current from the 16th c. until at least the middle of the 19th c. (*TLF*). It is also considered literary and regional.

⁶⁴ The story of *amour* is a lot more complicated than that. It would seem that the influence of Provençal lyrical poetry influenced the choice of the western French form *amur* as opposed to *ameur*.

pout, pouille, faisán or even *vicaire* ("vicar") were substituted for *gat* "rooster". This substitution did not happen overnight. All of those competitors had coexisted for quite some time with *gat*, and each region chose one. That is why they say that in the south of France the cat has killed the rooster. On the other hand, a homophonic collision does not always result in the replacement of one of the words. The French language still abounds in homophones, for example: *saint* ("saint"), *sein* ("breast"), *sain* ("healthy"), *ceint* ("girded"). Context plays an important role in determining if a homophone will be rejected. If there is no possibility that the homophones will be used in the same context, hence leading to ambiguity, as with *gat* above, then it is likely that the words will continue to coexist.

Another reason for a word's demise is capricious usage by the speakers of the language in question. Sometimes there seems to be no other explanation for a word's loss or retention other than that. As Schöne (1951) says: "L'«usager moyen» est à la fois routinier et capricieux. Il faut, je crois, tenir compte de cette attitude contradictoire pour résoudre le problème assez peu étudié, jusqu'ici, de la mort des mots."⁶⁵ (p. 134)

⁶⁵ The average user is at once set in his ways and capricious. It is necessary, I think, to take into consideration this contradictory attitude in order to resolve the problem that has until now been little studied of the death of words.

2.5.2 Linguistic Borrowing and Word Death

Let us begin with two questions. Why are some foreign words borrowed but not others? Why do some of these loans become stable items of the borrowing language while others are discarded? I shall look at each question in turn.

Why do languages borrow some words but not others? Or to put it another way, why do speakers of language A borrow certain words from language B but not others? A number of reasons have been given as to why a word is borrowed. It has been customary to divide loanwords into two categories: loans of luxury and loans of necessity. A loan might be defined as a luxury loan if there already exists an equivalent or equivalents for that word in the borrowing language; hence the borrowing of the foreign word may seem superfluous, if not downright perverse. A loan of necessity either closes a gap in the borrowing language or else it is a word designating a newly imported foreign object or idea. Hope (1971) thinks that this distinction is not valid and that all loans are loans of necessity (pp. 720-722). According to him, concern for the distinction between loans of luxury and necessity stems more from linguistic purism than from lexicology.

Why are some words borrowed? The reasons for borrowing may be compared with the reasons for a word going out of existence; one process is the opposite of the other. Some words are borrowed with a new concept or idea. The foreign word is used to designate the new thing instead of inventing a new word. Sometimes however the latter option is preferred. Claude Hagege (1993) relates how he witnessed the creation of a new word. "In 1966, while I was doing fieldwork on Mbum, an African language

spoken in North Cameroon (Adamawa-Eastern in Greenberg's (1963) classification), my elderly informant, having to designate in the course of conversation my tape-recorder, invented at once the compound *náw-Bè*, lit. "calabash-(for) speech." (p. 26) This new term was then accepted by the community. Writes Hagège: "Everybody was perfectly aware of the newness of the term, and public rumor ascribed it to its inventor, recalling the circumstances of this invention, which I had myself witnessed." (ibid) What will happen to this neologism? If tape recorders become more familiar to the Mbum people, then it may well become a part of the lexicon. If not, then the neologism may disappear. Similarly, an Irish speaker seeing an escalator for the first time in the London Underground, created the word *staighre beo* (lit. "living stairs").

A word may be borrowed because the language and the culture it represents are prestigious in the eyes of at least some members of the borrowing community. The people who speak a certain language may become known for excellence in a certain area; hence their language will come to dominate in that field. As examples one can cite the dominance of French in cooking, the dominance of Italian in the field of music and the dominance of English in technology and science. If the community should lose its prestige, the words borrowed from that language may lose their prestige and disappear. Conversely, a prestigious foreign word may drive out a native word. During the Renaissance, Italian exerted a strong influence of French vocabulary. Towards the end of that period French nationalism began to assert itself and the tide of Italian loanwords slowed down and many Italianisms in French fell into disuse.

An author may use a foreign word to add local colour to a story, as is often the case with *Méridional* authors writing in French. A word may be borrowed out of snobbery: a certain class of speakers may wish to show off a superior education, either to their underlings or to members of their own group; or it may well be that in certain circles it is considered fashionable to use foreign words. Foreign words used to add colour to a story may catch on with the public, but they may appear only once in print. Similarly, fashionable loanwords have a tendency to disappear quickly. For a time it was fashionable to use *fashionable* in French, but this English loanword remained on the margins of the language.

A word may be borrowed in order to correct deficiencies in the borrowing language. The use of the word *deficiencies* may be somewhat misleading. There are no such things as holes in a language. Monolingual native speakers of any given language are not usually aware that there are any deficiencies in their way of speaking, although contact with another language may reveal to bilingual speakers deficiencies in their native language where none were perceived before. (See Weinreich's definition below.) The passage of time may give one the necessary distance to look back at a previous state of a language and see "holes" whereas none were perceived at the time.

Let me give an example. The word *manquer* ("to miss") was borrowed from the Italian into French in the 16th century. There was already a word in the language for *manquer*, namely *faillir*. Now this word *faillir* came to acquire negative connotations during the Reformation: it came to mean "fall from grace". The bilingual courtesans began to use *manquer* as a neutral substitute for *faillir* and it spread from there. There

was certainly no conscious decision to replace *faillir* with *manquer*. It just so happened that the conditions were favourable for a substitution. Four hundred years later, we can see how a gap seemed to have opened up when the word *faillir* started acquiring negative connotations. This in turn led the speakers of French to find a substitute for the word. To the speakers of the time, though, no gap was apparent. *Manquer* would be considered an example of a borrowing of necessity.

As another example, let us consider the word *réaliser*. The French word *réaliser*, “to make real” has come under the influence of the similar-sounding English verb *to realize*, and has acquired the latter’s meaning. Although condemned as a “faute de français” in some quarters, it has come to replace the French equivalent, *se rendre compte de*, even in prestigious newspapers like Montreal’s *Le Devoir*. At first glance this would appear to be a luxury borrowing; after all, there already was an expression for “to realize” in French. Nevertheless, if we take into consideration the requirements of economy, i.e., the native French expression is longer than the English one, then we have one possible explanation for this substitution.

Words may be borrowed to fill “gaps” in a language. What if there are no such gaps? It would seem that if a loanword already has an exact or near-exact equivalent in the borrowing language then it may develop nuances to differentiate it from its native equivalent. The words may coexist for a time and eventually one will triumph.

Weinreich (1953) gives additional reasons as to why words are borrowed. He mentions internal and external factors. Among the internal factors he mentions the low frequency of words. If a word is not readily available to the speakers of a given language,

then a more readily available foreign word may be substituted for it. As an example he cites the use of Finnish terms for the parts of tools used in the Russian spoken near the Finnish border. These foreign words may remain in the language, or native words may be substituted for them, as for example the names for the parts of the car in Quebec French, which were almost exclusively English at one time. Now their French equivalents are widely used. Sometimes a word is borrowed from another language in order to resolve the clash of homonyms. Weinreich calls this class pernicious homonymy. “For example, it is alleged that because of the clash between the words for ‘cart’ (<CARUM) and ‘meat’ (<CARNEM), the Vosges patois borrowed *voiture* and *viande* from French.” (pp. 57-58) Yet the fact that there are already homophones for the borrowed word present in the borrowing language does not seem to prevent borrowing. American Portuguese has borrowed the English *pinch* in spite of the homophone *pinchar* (“jump”) already in Portuguese. Among the external reasons for borrowing there is the need for lexical innovation. Expressive words lose their force and have to be replaced. Foreign words provide a ready made source of new material. Sometimes a foreign word is borrowed for its comic effect; sometimes it is borrowed to provide a euphemism; sometimes it is borrowed for the opposite reason; Weinreich calls these words cacophemisms. Foreign words borrowed to provide lexical innovation may themselves be discarded in favour of new words, either foreign or native.

In addition to these reasons, Weinreich gives three other reasons specific to bilingual individuals. Firstly, the bilingual may feel his language is lexically insufficient, compared with the other language. For example, Italian speakers in Switzerland, who

have only one word for “crown” and “wreath”, namely *corona*, have borrowed *Kranz* from German to designate “wreath”.⁶⁶ To give a different kind of example, French speakers in Quebec have adopted the English word *fun*. French has the noun *amusement* and the verb *s’amuser*, but perhaps it was felt that French lacked a short, snappy word for “fun”.

A second consideration is one of prestige. This explains Latin borrowings in English as well as majority language borrowings in minority languages, although these are examples of different kinds of prestige. Latin held sway in Europe centuries after it ceased to be a spoken language. It was the language of learning and of the Church. It seemed only natural that Latin (and Greek) should serve as models for the vernacular languages of Europe as well as sources for new vocabulary items. There is a sort of love-hate relationship between speakers of a low-prestige language and the dominant and prestigious language. The dominant is at once admired and detested. Admired because it represents modernity and progress, and detested because it threatens the very existence of the low-prestige language.

A third factor that determines borrowing among bilingual people is oversight. The speaker may forget a native word and use a better-known foreign word. This is frequently the case among immigrants. Sometimes it is not a question of forgetting a word, but of not knowing it in the first place. This is exemplified by the nomenclature of the parts of the car in Quebec French. At one time the names for the parts of the car were

⁶⁶ The French language has only one word for “crown” and “wreath”: *couronne*.

mostly in English, because automobile technology became known to French speakers in Quebec through English-speaking sources.

Why are some loanwords eventually rejected? Based on what we have so far, here are some reasons. If the foreign thing or idea is rejected, its designation may disappear as well. The source language may lose its prestige in the eyes of the speakers of the borrowing language and the words from that language may fall into disuse. Trendy foreign words may disappear as new words are found. If the foreign word does not fulfill any ‘‘gaps’’ in the language, it will either disappear or develop other shades of meaning. Native words may eventually be substituted for the foreign words, as with the parts of the car in Quebec French. Finally, words borrowed to provide lexical innovation may themselves become worn out.

Let us go back to Hope’s (1971) scheme. He talks about an initial borrowing period, an interim period and a period of stability. A word may be rejected during the first stage; in other words, it may have belonged to the language only superficially, if at all. If a word is rejected during the interim stage, then the reasons for its demise have already been outlined (see 2.4.4 above). It is my contention that the rejection of a word during the interim period would be for internal reasons (i.e., conflict of synonyms), whereas the rejection of a word during the period of stability would be for external reasons (i.e., the word goes out with the object it designates). The reasons for a borrowed word’s demise are the same as for any word. Nevertheless, there is at least one reason specific to loanwords why a loanword is rejected. Some languages undergo periods of purism during which foreign words are targeted for elimination. Of course these

campaigns are more often than not unsuccessful; people will go on speaking the way they want to, regardless of official decrees.⁶⁷

2.5.3 The Progress of Loanwords

Let me expose a few of my ideas on why some words stay in a language while others die out. Let me begin by presenting my views on the organization of the vocabulary of a language. It has been said that any given language possesses a core vocabulary of relatively stable words. These words are, for example, grammatical words, numbers, names for family relations and parts of the body. “Core vocabulary refers to items basic to a human society, such as ‘fire’, ‘hands’, ‘two’, ‘daughter’. Non-core items are elements of the very specific material and non-material culture and organization of a group: ‘lawnmower’, ‘dictionary’, ‘psychiatry’.” (Appel and Muysken, 1987, p. 165)

The core items are the words that are the most resistant to borrowing.⁶⁸ I envision these core words as forming the central circle inside a larger circle; as one progresses outwards, the words become more peripheral, less important to the language, hence more

⁶⁷ Not all foreign words are targets for elimination by purists. As George Thomas (1991) explains in *Linguistic Purism*, foreign words are exempted if “1. Their integration into the phonological and morphological system is so complete that their foreign origin could be revealed only by etymological analysis 2. They have long been accepted as occupying an important niche in the lexico-semantic system. 3. They are represented in a wide variety of languages. 4. They are not borrowed from neighbouring or competing languages. 5. They are borrowed from languages of the same language family particularly at a time of pan-national solidarity. 6. There is no native synonym to replace them. (p. 68)

⁶⁸ For a counter argument see Haarmann, 1990.

expendable, more likely to be lost. There is no absolute division between the layers of vocabulary. Each word represents a degree on a scale, or to continue with my analogy, a ring in the circle. A word is either closer to or farther away from the centre. The position of every word is relative, not absolute. It would be difficult to assign a numeric value to each word in the vocabulary to represent its degree of stability. It would be more accurate to say that every word is more or less stable relative to every other word. The words farther out are more prone to loss than the ones closer to the centre. It should be noted that this “core” vocabulary is also subject to loss, as well as subject to borrowing, but it appears to be more resistant than the outer vocabulary. This representation of the vocabulary of a language is not original. Weinreich outlines a similar model in *On Semantics*.⁶⁹

A loanword’s stability may also be determined by the quantity and quality of ties it has to other words, both native and adopted, in the receiving language. How many derivatives does the word have? Are there homonyms or synonyms for the word already existing in the language? Does the word have ties to specific cultural phenomena in the source language?

Let me mention briefly the “crossing” of vocabulary items. According to Hope (1971) “... a word’s ability to survive is reduced when it is not fully integrated into a formal system or a lexical group.” (p. 610) Pisani (1967) refers to the crossing of words: “... ogni nuova parola è in qualche modo il risultato dell’incrocio di due o più parole

⁶⁹ Wise (1997) uses a similar image: “What emerges then, from the lexis as a whole and probably for the lexical competence of the individual, both synchronically and diachronically, is a kind of cosmological image of a lexis which consists of a dense, stable core, surrounded by layers of progressively more rarefied, volatile material.” (p. 17)

preesistenti”.⁷⁰ (quoted in Gusmani, 1973, p. 12) The opposite of Hope’s statement, that a word needs to be integrated into a formal system or lexical group in order to survive, leads into Pisani’s statement. Such a crossing of words is one way for loanwords to be “hooked” into the borrowing language. Sometimes the crossing of a word may result in a hybrid. This is what Gebhardt (1974) means by a *Wortkreuzung*. The French word *école* and the Turkish word *oku-* “to read” crossed to give *okul* “school” (Lewis, 1953). Sometimes the foreign word may get help from a native word in entering the language. At this point I would like to make a distinction between a loanword and a native word “crossing” producing a third, and a loanword “helped” into the borrowing language by a native word; the latter type of helping word is what Haugen (1949) called analogues. As I have previously stated (p. 38), these analogues can be divided into homophones and homologues. Once again, here is most of the quote from that page: “Those [analogues] that are similar in sound and not in meaning might be called ‘homophones’, defined as ‘interlingual homonyms or near homonyms’; those that are similar in meaning and not in sound might be called ‘homologues’, defined as ‘interlingual synonyms or near-synonyms.’” (p. 283)

A foreign word that enters into the vocabulary of a language is classified somehow. Native speakers of that language have a tendency to want to bring it in line with the native words, with other sound patterns or semantic classes in their language. A foreign word may be considered too foreign to be admitted any further into the language. It may stay “on the surface” of the language (*Fremdwörter*) or may retain its foreign

⁷⁰ each new word is in some way the result of the crossing of two or more pre-existing words.

form, but still find a place in the language among certain groups of speakers. If a word is admitted, it may undergo modifications in order to fit into its new surroundings. These modifications may be phonetic, semantic or both. For example, the English word *violin* is adapted in Japanese as *baiorin*. Speakers who know how to produce the phoneme [v] will do so, but nobody bothers to produce an English [l]. As is well known, [l] and [r] are perceived as variations on the same phoneme by Japanese speakers. As another example of the adaptation of foreign words to native sound patterns there is the deformation that some place names in Berlin undergo in the mouths of Turkish immigrants. For example, the name of the Görlitzer Bahnhof (“train station”) becomes Gülizer Bahnhof, as Gülizer is a Turkish woman’s name. (*PZ Wir in Europa*, September 1995. p. 36) This is an example of people deliberately identifying a foreign place name with a more familiar word, in order to feel more at home in their new surroundings. The most subtle kind of loan, the semantic loan, requires little or no adaptation of form.

Let us look at factors that may determine a loanword’s retention in a language. There are factors internal and factors external to the language. The most important external factor determining a word’s acceptance is related to how well the foreign thing it designates is received. If the foreign object or idea becomes a part of the receiving culture, then chances are that the word that it is known by will become accepted as well.

There are a few internal factors to consider. If the borrowing language has a word or words already existing in its lexical stock which are similar in form, or form and meaning to the foreign word then this may help the foreign word’s retention. Sometimes, however, the unfamiliar foreign word crosses with a native word producing a false

etymology. Hence English *country-dance* became *contredanse* in French. Homonyms or quasi-homonyms may help in a word's acceptance but synonyms may not necessarily be a help: in fact they may be a hindrance. The native synonyms may act as competitors for the foreign word and "drive it out". If the loanword has an analogue (see Haugen's (1949) definition above) in the borrowing language and if this analogue has a similar meaning to the loanword, then this may be another factor contributing to its eventual rejection.

The foreign word may develop a specialized meaning or meanings, if in fact it did not already have one upon entering the language. Semantic loans and calques by their very nature would appear to have a better chance of being accepted than loanwords; the form of semantic loans is already familiar. A word's ability to give rise to derivatives may be a sign of its full acceptance into a language. So too would any change in meaning that a word undergoes after its borrowing.

Borrowing is a process, the result of which is a number of foreign words in the lexicon of a language. How are these words stored in the minds of the speakers in question? In the next sections I will be looking at the mental lexicon in monolinguals and bilinguals.

2.6 The Mental Lexicon

2.6.1 Introduction

How are words stored in the mind? This question is not an easy one to answer but it is important to the subject at hand. Since this thesis is concerned with the borrowing of words from one language to another, it would be useful to look at how individual speakers organize their mental lexicons. The question “How is one’s native vocabulary organized - alphabetically or according to sound and meaning associations?” leads to another “How do bilinguals organize two mental lexicons?” As I mentioned in section 2.3, there are at least two main ways of describing a bilingual’s mental lexicon. It either forms two distinct entities, or the vocabularies of both languages somehow merge. If the vocabularies of both languages merge, to what degree are they merged? How does the organization of his mental lexicon affect the way a bilingual person uses words from one of his languages in the other language? The existence of similar words in both languages may help in this transfer, but will these words help in the retention of words? How does a monolingual integrate foreign words into his vocabulary? In this chapter I will take a look at some theories of how the mental lexicon is organized for both monolingual and bilingual people.

Let us return to the original question. How do individuals organize their mental lexicons? There are many questions that flow from this one. Are words stored in the brain in alphabetical order like a dictionary or does the mind have another way of storing the words of its speaker’s native language? How are words retrieved? How do people make the connection between words and meaning?

The mind must have some way of storing its vast stock of words.⁷¹ It is not sufficient that speakers have many thousands of words at their disposal. A library would not be much good if all of its books were placed haphazardly about. Similarly, a dictionary would be difficult to consult if all of its entries were arranged according to the whim of the editor. However, it would seem that words are not stored in the mind in alphabetical order. This way of storing words works quite well for dictionaries and encyclopedias, but is not very efficient for the mental lexicon. Whereas an alphabetical arrangement of words in a dictionary is quite efficient for finding words quickly, our minds are not books. An alphabetic arrangement of the mental lexicon has been rejected partly on empirical grounds. When people make slips of the tongue, the word mistakenly selected does not usually follow or precede the desired word in alphabetical order. (Aitchison, 1994) Inevitably it is either the form of a word, or the meaning of a word that determines its selection. Sometimes both of these factors may play a role. The connotations and associations of a word may also play a role.

Let us keep in mind that in order to use a word in the mental lexicon a speaker needs two types of information: 1) conceptual: this is roughly equivalent to its semantic definition and 2) functional: how the word is used in relation to other words, how it is used in sentences. This applies to the words of one's native language, to the words of a

⁷¹ How big is the average person's vocabulary? Dean Farrar (1865) concluded that the average peasant had a vocabulary of some 100 words. Max Müller (no date given, in Hakulinen, 1961) estimated that the average English worker had a vocabulary of only 300 words. Yet surely these must be a gross underestimation. Jespersen (no date given, in Hakulinen, 1961) pointed out that the average Danish schoolboy can learn about 700 words of English during his first year of studying the language. The average Swedish farmer knows about 26, 000. (Hakulinen, 1961) The difference between active and passive vocabulary should be taken into consideration. According to one estimate (Seashore and Eckerson, 1940) the average educated adult may know more than 150, 000 words and be able to use actively 90 per cent of them. (Aitchison, 1994)

foreign language one may be learning, as well as to foreign words and loanwords in one's native language. The words of one's native language are acquired naturally; children do not set out to learn vocabulary items consciously. As children get older the number of words in their vocabularies increases and they gain more knowledge of the world. The meaning of any given word and how it is used will be picked up by listening to how others use it. Older children can expand their vocabularies through reading. Words of foreign origin that are a part of one's native vocabulary may be acquired naturally. Foreign words in the process of being accepted may confuse people as to their meaning and function. Take the Yiddish word *schmooze*, which has become more frequently used these last five years or so. When I first read it in a newspaper article I had no idea what it meant. It seemed from context that it had something to do with talking. In Yiddish it refers to talking affectionately. It seems I was not the only one who was confused. A guest on a CFRB talk show ⁷² lamented the fact that *schmooze* has taken on a negative meaning in some quarters. It may mean "to bamboozle", "to suck up to". An unfortunate turn of events for lovers of Yiddish, but it does illustrate how once a language starts using a foreign word, its native speakers are free to use it as they see fit. The foreign word may acquire another meaning and function different from that found in the source language. Furthermore, the English language has a number of synonyms for "talk" and "talk affectionately": *talk, speak, converse, chat, gab, chit-chat, gossip, etc.* Along comes another word, *schmooze*, that belongs in this semantic field. Where does it fit in? True enough, English does not have an exact equivalent of *schmooze*, but there

⁷² The guest in question was A. J., author of *The Golden Art of Schmoozing* who was interviewed by Paul and Carol Mott.

may have been no need to name this particular kind of talking. The new word intrudes into the semantic field, but may not necessarily find a permanent home there. Speakers of the receiving language may accept the word with the nuance of meaning found in its source language. Conversely, the word could develop other meanings, as with *schmooze*.

Semantic changes may also happen to native words of the vocabulary. Very young children who are learning how to speak do not learn the meanings of words in their own language by consulting dictionaries. They learn the meaning of words by listening to them being used. Sometimes the meaning of a word is imperfectly learned. This mistake in semantic interpretation will either be corrected as the child gets older or if it goes undetected and if enough people start making the same mistake, it will become a permanent part of the semantic information of the word in question. This mistake may be passed on to the next generation. In time, the word's meaning might change completely.

So if words are not stored alphabetically, then how are they stored? According to Aitchison (1994): "Words cannot be treated as if they were a swarm of bees -- a bundle of separate items attached to one another in a fairly random way. They are clearly interdependent. In some cases it is difficult to understand a word without knowing the words around it: *orange* is best understood by looking at it in relation to *red* and *yellow*, or *warm* by considering it as the area between *hot* and *cold*." (p. 73) In this chapter of her book *Words in the Mind*, she describes two models: the atomic globular model and the cobweb model. Each of these models represents a number of others, but most models of lexical storage that have been suggested fall into these two broad categories. As fascinating as this topic is, a discussion of these two models would be a digression. I

refer the reader to Aitchison's book *Words in the Mind* and to this footnote.⁷³ I would, however, like to discuss superordination, as that does have some bearing on my thesis.

Superordination will be the topic of the next section (2.6.2). The next three sections will

⁷³ Proponents of atomic globular models claim that speakers analyze words by breaking them up into simpler words where possible. This is the case with many semantic and semiotic theories, for example those of Greimas. These basic words are called primitives. The word *kill*, for example, may be analyzed as CAUSE DIE and the word *bachelor* may be analyzed as NOT MARRIED MAN. Complicated words such as *kill* and *bachelor* are broken up into their component parts for storage. In order to interpret these kinds of words upon hearing them, speakers must reassemble their parts.

Proponents of the cobweb model envision the words of a language positioned at nodules of a giant multi-dimensional cobweb, each of which is connected to the others by "strands". These "strands" represent phonetic and semantic connections between words. What is the nature of the links between the words? Do the sounds of the words provide a more solid link than the meanings? What about association? Are some words "filed" together in the mind because they are normally used together, such as *pen*, *pencil* and *paper*?

The kind of word relationships involved in classification experiments can be divided into four categories: 1) coordination 2) collocation 3) superordination and 4) synonymy. Words in coordination are words of the same semantic field; in Saussurean terms these are words apt to form a paradigmatic relationship. Collocated words are words that are commonly found together in speech; again in Saussurean terms they are in a syntagmatic relationship. Superordination has to do with word hierarchy. For example, *bird* is the superordinate term for *owl*, *chicken* and *robin*. Superordinates are also called hyperonyms and the words under them are hyponyms. Synonyms are of course words with similar meaning. It would seem that none of these methods of classification is sufficient by itself to explain how the mental lexicon is organized. It is probably safe to say that all four classification methods play a part in organizing the vocabulary. In much the same way, libraries classify their books according to different headings such as author, title and subject. Just as library users may look up a particular work under a variety of headings, so too may users of language may be able to access their lexicons using a variety of methods.

For the purpose of this thesis, it would seem that the cobweb model offers a better approach for understanding how the mental lexicon is organized than the atomic globular model. This model, in which all the words of one's mental lexicon are linked to all of the other words through meaning and sound, is a way of connecting the words of a language without resorting to a detailed analysis of the words. It is not always possible to analyze a loanword, in fact often it is impossible, which is why foreign words are sometimes analyzed incorrectly. After a word becomes acclimatized, it is no longer necessary to analyze it. It will take its position with other words of the vocabulary, linking itself to them through sound or meaning or both. However, I would not completely disregard the globular model. The cobweb model and the globular model are not mutually exclusive. Most speakers of a language are capable of breaking up complex words into simpler words. The globular model may have a place, although not so much as a model of how words are stored in the mind, but rather a model of how words can be manipulated. It may be that words are not analyzed every time they are used. I do not have to break the word *dog* up in order to analyze it, but I could if I had to. Furthermore, these primitives may be one of the ways that words are tied to other words. It may be that primitives are the hooks that bind words to other words. As far as the cobweb model is concerned, it remains to be shown which of the four models presented -- coordination, collocation, superordination or compounding -- predominate. It may very well be that all of them play a role in the organization of the mental lexicon.

deal with topics more relevant to the thesis: semantic fields (2.6.3), the bilingual lexicon (2.6.4) and bilingualism and linguistic borrowing (2.6.5).

2.6.2 Superordination

As far as superordination is concerned, it appears to be a counterpart to coordination. Words in a semantic field are grouped under a label which may itself form part of another semantic field. Thus *robin*, *chicken*, *pigeon* and *sparrow* are all kinds of 'birds', and *bird*, *fish*, *mammal* are kinds of 'animals'. However not all groups have an obvious label and some words may belong to several groups. Is *knife* to be classified under 'weapon' or under 'utensil'? *Sword* could be classified under 'weapon', which would put it in the same category as *knife* and *gun*, or it could be classified under 'sharp objects', which would put it in the same category as *needle* and *stick*. This latter category does not have a word to describe it, at least not in English. In fact there are quite a few categories that lack superordinate terms. As Aitchison (1997) asks 'What are baths and basins? Are they bathroom fixtures? or sanitary fittings? What are coughs and sneezes? Are these 'noises indicating respiratory distress'? And what about tin-openers and cork-screws which are sometimes confused in slips of the tongue? No single English term covers 'kitchen gadgets for opening things'.' (pp. 69-70) The absence of a label for the category does not mean that the category does not exist in the minds of the speakers. If some categories lack a label that may mean that speakers of the language do not see any reason to give such objects a collective name. Other categories do have

labels, but these labels are hardly ever used. *Siblings* is the term that covers *brothers and sisters*, yet it is hardly ever used in casual conversation. The term is too scientific.

It is reasonable to assume that this system of superordination will vary from individual to individual. Entomologists know that spiders are not insects, yet most people would tend to classify them together with insects, or perhaps not as insects, that term sounds a little too scientific, but rather as crawling creatures or perhaps bugs. For the entomologist, a true bug has sucking mouth parts. For most people such a distinction is not important.

2.6.3 Semantic Fields

Let us consider semantic fields. They present an implicit atomic model by which the primitives define the fields. Jost Trier has been especially associated with this notion.⁷⁴ According to him, the vocabulary of a language can be divided into fields of words associated with each other by their meaning. All the elements of the fields delimit themselves reciprocally; each element depends on the other elements for its value. There is no room for “holes” in these fields. All the vocabulary of a language can be so divided. According to Trier (1934), the modification of one element will affect the others. Over time, a field may undergo considerable modifications. Some words may be

⁷⁴ Trier was not the first linguist to talk about word fields. Ipsen (1924) was the first. Later Porzig and Jolles (1934) and Ipsen himself proposed slightly different definitions. Öhman (1951) also worked on word fields (Osswald, 1977). Around the same time, Georges Matoré worked on a structural analysis of the lexicon, *Le vocabulaire et la société sous Louis-Philippe*. His later works have included analyses of the vocabulary of Medieval French (1985) and 16th century French (1988).

dropped, some may be added and the words remaining may share their semantic “duties” differently.

The by now well-known example that Trier gives is his comparison of the German fields of knowledge in 1200 and 1300. In 1200 there were three words in the field: *wisheit*, *kunst* and *list*, which may be loosely translated as “wisdom”, “art” and “artifice” respectively. There was no generic word for “intelligence”. The qualities of a knight or a person of noble birth were *kunst*. The word *list* was reserved for specialized techniques and for ruse, a meaning which it still has in modern German. *Wisheit* could be a synonym for *kunst* and *list*; it could also include personal and divine wisdom. In 1300, in Master Eckhart’s vocabulary, *list* has disappeared; in its place we have *wizzen*. However, the latter word did not really replace the former. The meaning of *wisheit* narrowed to mean “religious experience”, *kunst* came to mean “(earthly) knowledge” and *wizzen* “art”. (Palmer, 1976).

Instead of tracing the history of individual words, Trier has traced the history of word fields. In his own words: “Man kann nichts aussagen über das Verhältnis der einzelnen mittelhochdeutschen Wörter *wise*, *witzec*, *sinnec*, *bescheiden*, *listec*, *kündec*, *karc* u. a. zu den einzelnen neuhochdeutschen *weise*, *klug*, *gescheit*, *begrabt*, *intelligent*, *schlau*, *gerissen*, *listig* u. a. Hier ist nicht irgendein Glied der mittelhochdeutschen Gruppe durch ein bestimmtes Glied der neuhochdeutschen Gruppe ersetzt worden (wie *winster* durch *links*), sondern die neuere Gruppe als Ganzes ist an die Stelle der älteren Gruppe getreten und mit und in ihr ein neues, Gedanken lenkendes Gefüge.” (Trier, 1968, p.

13)⁷⁵ Trier, and later his disciples, engaged in structural history. As far as the above outlined field of knowledge is concerned, it was not so much that the words changed position, but that the values of the words were arranged differently in 1300 as opposed to 1200.

As can be seen, the words in these fields are not fixed in the same position forever. Techniques change, as do attitudes and social organization, all of which may have an effect on how semantic fields are organized. It remains to be seen which influence is stronger: that of the outside world on vocabulary or that of vocabulary on the shaping of the view of the outside world. The change in the semantic field of knowledge would seem to show that medieval German society's change in its views and attitudes about what constitutes knowledge changed that semantic field, rather than the other way around.

Trier's fields theory has been criticized. For one thing, it has been pointed out that not every semantic field is as well organized as the field of knowledge. (Öhman, 1953). Some areas of vocabulary appear not to be well organized at all; in fact, there appear to be "holes" in the fields. Some of the words appear to overlap each other. Of course, each individual will have a different way of organizing these fields. What is important for a farmer will not be important to a blacksmith and vice versa. No one person possesses all of the vocabulary of his own language. In order to get a complete picture of all the semantic fields of any given language, one would have to combine the

⁷⁵ One can state nothing about the relationship of the isolated Middle High German words *wise*, *witzec*, *sinnec*, *bescheiden*, *listec*, *kündec*, *karc* u. a. to the isolated Modern High German *weise*, *klug*, *gescheit*, *begabt*, *intelligent*, *schlau*, *gerissen*, *listig* etc. Here the individual member of the Middle High German group was not replaced by a definite member of the New High German group; rather the new group as a whole is in the place of the older group and formed with it a new structure linking thoughts.

fields of all of the speakers of that language, a daunting task, to say the least. It is also not clear how the words are organized within any given field. It is true that some vocabulary lends itself well to being structured, such as kinship terms, colours, days of the week, etc., but other areas are not as well ordered and there is no obvious way of ordering them. How would one organize the field of fear for example?

Nevertheless, Trier's field theory has proven itself to be quite useful, in spite of some flaws. As Ullman (1953) points out: "Ces réserves faites, la méthode trierienne se révèle fructueuse à plusieurs égards. Sur le plan synchronique, elle permet d'entrevoir la structure intime du vocabulaire à une époque donnée. Une deuxième application consistera à comparer l'organisation du même champ dans des langues différentes. Enfin, en opposant les uns aux autres des états successifs de la même langue, on pourra amorcer l'histoire structurale du lexique." (p. 305)⁷⁶ Semantic fields offer one way of organizing the vocabulary of a language. Each field may then be organized as the subset of a larger field, thus following the principles of subordination as outlined in footnote 73, although, not all of these fields have a name, which may in itself be significant. Whatever a language does not name may be considered unimportant by the culture that the language represents. The connection between these fields and loanwords will be explained in Chapter Three.

⁷⁶ These reservations made, the Trierean method reveals itself to be fruitful in many ways. On the synchronic plane, it allows one to see the intimate structure of vocabulary at any given time. A second application will consist in comparing the organization of the same field in different languages. Finally, in opposing successive stages of the same language to each other, one will be able to begin the structural history of the lexicon.

2.6.4 The Bilingual Lexicon

Let us return to the question of how a bilingual organizes his lexicon. Weinreich (1963) proposes three models. The coordinate bilingual keeps the lexicons of both languages entirely separate. With this type of bilingualism there is no interference from one language to the other. The compound bilingual has separate *signifiants* but the *signifiés* of both languages are fused. There is some interference possible with this type of bilingualism. The subordinate bilingual also has two *signifiants* but only one *signifié*. The difference between this bilingualism and the compound type is that the bilingual is fully competent in his mother tongue, but not in the second language. The bilingual may interpret the *signifiants* of his second language through the meanings of the corresponding *signifiants* of the first. There is a great deal of interference with this bilingualism. In fact some have gone so far as to say that this is not real bilingualism because one of the languages has been imperfectly mastered.

In addition to bilingualism there is also “semilingualism”, in which the speaker can speak neither language very well. This seems to apply particularly to immigrant children who, besides having to cope with a foreign language, have the disadvantage of not having mastered fully their mother tongue (Sarter, 1991). In Sweden the term *halvspråkighet* is used to describe Swedish-Finnish bilinguals who have difficulties with both languages. The term *semilingual* has also been used to describe the linguistic competence of a North American Indian. (Edwards, 1994) It seemed as if the man in question could speak neither his own language, Menomini, or English very well. Even the coordinate bilingual may speak one language like an educated native speaker and the other like a speaker with little formal education. (Paradis, 1987) The whole question of

semi-lingualism raises questions which have little to do with linguistics. Often bilingual speakers are handicapped not by their two languages, but by their social situation.

Immigrant and minority language children may be under great pressure to conform to the majority. If both languages are equally valued, then there appear to be no negative effects on the children's mental development.

It should be pointed out that the theoretical classification outlined above is not immutable. During the course of one's life one may belong to all three types of bilingualism. Furthermore, these three categories apply to all levels of language, phonetic, morphologic, syntactic, lexical and semantic, so that a person may be coordinate on one or more of the levels but not on others. For example, a person could have perfectly mastered the vocabulary and grammar of the language, but still speak with a noticeable foreign accent.

How the languages have been learned may determine the type of bilingual one is. Is the language acquired in childhood in a natural way, by playing with other children, by attending the school where all of the subjects are taught in this language, or is the language acquired later in life as a school subject? The age at which one acquires a language is important. Before the age of six, one's native language has not been fully acquired yet, so that learning a second language at that time would coincide with the acquisition of one's native language.

Were the languages acquired at the same time or one after another? If they are acquired at the same time, then each language may be acquired by speaking to a different set of individuals. For example, the mother may speak one language to the child and the

father speak the other language. One language may be associated with one group of friends the other with another group. This type of acquisition, according to some, produces a coordinate bilingual. On the other hand an indiscriminate use of the two languages may lead to compound or subordinate bilingualism.

Where are the languages learned and used? This too will help determine the type of bilingualism. In a city like Moncton (New Brunswick), where it is common to mix languages in one's utterances, a compound type of bilingualism is more evident. In other situations, let us say Swedish-Vietnamese bilingualism, the languages are not usually in extensive contact. Each of the languages may be associated with a particular domain, such as school, church, family, business etc. It follows that if, for example, French is used for religion and at home whereas English is used to conduct business, one's English will be better at handling business than one's French.

Let us get back to the organization of vocabulary in the bilingual. Aitchison's (1994) model of the electric circuit would apply equally well to the bilingual. In this model, the current starts in the semantic component and lights up a number of words. Eventually all but the desired word is eliminated. Each circuit would then trigger associations in two languages. There would need to be some sort of control that would suppress words from language A when language B was being used and vice versa. Even so, slip-ups may occur. Even a perfectly coordinated bilingual (if such a person exists) must have some connection between the two languages; otherwise, as Macnamara (1967 in Paradis, 1987) postulated, the speaker would not be able to understand in one of his languages an utterance he made in his other language. This is obviously not the case.

Michel Paradis (1987) in his article “Bilinguisme” postulates the existence of what he calls concepts. This word may mean different things. For Paradis concepts are not to be confused with *signifiés*. For him concepts are pre-linguistic. Writes Paradis: “Le concept dont parle généralement le linguiste se réfère à une unité de sens dans la langue (de Saussure, 1968), ce que Nelson (1977) appelle le concept linguistique au sens étroit du terme (narrow linguistic concept). Ces concepts, ou unités de sens des deux langues sont reliés, à la périphérie du réseau, aux mêmes concepts (ceux dont parlent les psychologues, Clark, 1977; Nelson, 1977 par exemple), concepts non-linguistiques, ou mieux encore *alinguistiques* (Carroll, 1964: 201). C’est ainsi qu’en psycholinguistique génétique on est amené à parler de concepts qui, au cours de développement du langage, précèdent chez le tout jeune enfant les moyens d’encodage linguistique (Slobin, 1973; Clark, 1974, 1977; Bloom, 1974; Macnamara, 1977; Nelson, 1977; Pylyshyn, 1977).” (p. 442)⁷⁷

2.6.5 Bilingualism and Linguistic Borrowing

What does all of this have to do with linguistic borrowing? First of all, linguistic borrowing usually presupposes bilingualism either among individuals or society as a

⁷⁷ The concept that the linguist generally speaks about refers to a unity of meaning in the language (de Saussure, 1968), which Nelson (1977) calls the narrow linguistic concept. These concepts or units of meaning differ from one language to another. On the other hand, the units of sense of the two languages are tied together, at the edge of the network, to the same concepts (those that psychologists talk about, Clark, 1977; Nelson, 1977 for example), non linguistic concepts or better still a linguistic concepts (Carroll, 1964: 201). That is the reason that in genetic psychology one is led to talk about concepts that, in the course of development of language, present to the very young child the means of linguistic encoding (Slobin, 1973; Clark, 1974;, 1977; Bloom, 1974; Macnamara, 1977; Nelson, 1977; Pylyshyn, 1977).

whole. Secondly, foreign words may be introduced into a language either deliberately or accidentally. As with slips of the tongue among monolingual speakers, bilingual speakers may slip up and introduce words from one language while they are speaking another, although such slip-ups do not usually go on to become borrowings, much less well integrated vocabulary items. Bilinguals may also perceive a word in one of their languages as a word in the other, at least temporarily.

The pertinent question for this study is not so much why and how linguistic borrowing is accomplished but what happens to the words after they are borrowed? How do monolingual speakers of the borrowing language react to these foreign words? In order for foreign words to be considered as truly accepted, native monolingual speakers of the borrowing language have to use them. The bilingual speaker may or may not have two entirely separate lexicons, but of course the monolingual speaker has only one. In order for the foreign words to be integrated into the monolingual's lexicon they must be fitted into the pattern of previous words. If the foreign word resembles the form of one or more native words then integration will be made easier. This does leave room for the misinterpretation of a foreign word, as with *country-dance/contredanse*. If a foreign word contains phonemes that are unpronounceable for native speakers of the borrowing language, then it will be adapted to the sounds of the receiving language. It is unlikely that a word is rejected because its sounds are too foreign; if necessary a language can always find a way of adapting a word. For example, the Taos adapted the Spanish *virgen* [birxen] as [m'ixina] even though it presented a number of phonetic complications. Presumably they needed the word to refer to the Virgin Mary. Instead of adapting a

native word, they chose to borrow the Spanish word, since Catholicism was introduced by the Spaniards and that religion was strongly associated with the Spanish language.

What applies on the phonetic level usually applies on the semantic level. As I have already stated, foreign words sometimes undergo a change in meaning. This change, however, is not the same as a phonetic adaptation. In order for a foreign word to be pronounceable for the native speakers of the adopting language, difficult sounds are replaced by more familiar sounds. However, a foreign word does not necessarily have to undergo a change in meaning. In the first place, the foreign word, if it has multiple meanings in the original language, is usually borrowed with only one of these meanings. In the second place, a monosemic word may be perfectly well adapted to its task. For example, a word may be borrowed because it designates something in the source language that has no equivalent in the borrowing language.

2.7 Conclusion

To summarize, a neologism is any new word that enters a language, either through internal creation or borrowing. A lexical item borrowed from another language is called a loanword. The borrowing of lexical items supposes some degree of bilingualism among at least some members of the community. A word may be borrowed with its meaning directly from a foreign language, or else only the meaning may be borrowed. Sometimes these borrowed words become assimilated; they lose whatever foreign features they may have had and become indistinguishable from the native vocabulary. Sometimes they

retain their foreign look but are nevertheless accepted in the host language. Sometimes they are accepted for a while and then are lost, like any other native word, and sometimes they never really become a part of the language in the first place.

To summarize the main causes of the death of words: 1) A word may disappear because the thing it designates is no longer in use; 2) taboo may play a part in a word's demise; 3) a word may acquire pejorative connotations which lead to its demise; 4) competition from other words may lead to a word's extinction; 5) a conflict of homonyms may lead to the disappearance of a word; 6) a foreign word may be substituted for the native word; 7) the language the word was borrowed from loses prestige and the word in question may thereby fall into disuse; 8) trendy words may disappear; 9) novel loanwords may lose their novelty and 10) the capricious speakers of a language may decide not to use a word.

What are the reasons for a word being borrowed in the first place? 1) A word is borrowed with a new concept or idea, although sometimes a native word is used or a word is coined using the resources of the borrowing language; 2) the source language is prestigious in the eyes of the speakers of the borrowing language or the speakers of the source language are experts in a particular area and 3) a word is borrowed to correct deficiencies in the borrowing language.

Why are some words retained in the borrowing language? A foreign word may fulfill a need in the borrowing language, in which case it will be retained. A foreign word may undergo phonetic and semantic change, in which case it will come to resemble native words. It will then be considered a full member of the vocabulary.

Each speaker possesses a large stock of vocabulary items that form a part of what we have called the mental lexicon. How the words in this lexicon are organized remains to be shown conclusively. It may be easier to say how the mental lexicon is not organized. It is not organized in alphabetical order. The words of the lexicon are not stored in the mind randomly. Words are connected to other words of similar sound and meaning. The way this mental lexicon is organized will vary from individual to individual. Bilingualism complicates this picture even further. The bilingual has two lexicons which may overlap to a certain degree. How the words of both languages interfere with each other still has not been fully explained. One language, usually the dominant one, may interfere with the other. Such interference may take the form of code-switching or borrowing or accidental interference. It is through such interference that foreign words may enter a language.

Whereas these last two chapters have dealt with general aspects of linguistic borrowing, the next chapter will deal with the corpus of words I have chosen for this study. This chapter will include a list of the words used, as well as individual biographies for each word.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CORPUS

3.1 Introduction

In Chapters One and Two, I was mainly concerned with theory; here, I will turn my attention to the borrowed words being studied. In what way can collocation, coordination, synonymy and hyperonymy be used to examine the words of the corpus? More to the point, can they tell us anything about why these words became obsolete? I will be using Gebhardt's list of obsolete Occitanisms from A-C and, when necessary using examples from the list of current Occitanisms.

In this chapter I will be looking at the words of the corpus. First I will "introduce" them in alphabetical order in the next section (3.2). Next I will divide the words up into categories, some of which will correspond to semantic fields. By way of comparison, I have selected another 250 words from P-Z and divided them into categories, in order to show that the first list from A-C is sufficiently random. A table following these categories will compare both the A-C and P-Z lists to each other as well as to the main list of current Occitan words. In the next section, I have postulated nine reasons for the words becoming extinct and have distributed the 249 A-C words into

these categories. Some words belong to more than one category because quite often there is more than one possible reason why a word becomes obsolete.

3.2 The List of Obsolete Words

Here is an alphabetical list of the obsolete Occitanisms in French from A-C. Each word is followed by the year or years it was attested in writing or by the name of the author who introduced the word. The region of Occitania from where the word originated is given when that information is known. Variant forms for some of the words are given. The grammatical category of each word and gender of each noun are listed after it.

<u>Word</u>	<u>Period</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>
ABELIR v. “plaïre”	afr.	aokz. Lyrik
ACANTONNER (S') v. “se retirer dans un coin”	Monluc	gask.
ACARATION f. “confrontation”	1546-1771	Law courts
ACAREMENT m. “confrontation”	1611-1771	of the South
AC(C)ARER v. “confronter”	16th-1771	of France
ACASEMENT m. “action de donner en fief”	1583-1771	gask.
ACAZER v. “pourvoir d'un fief”	1583-1771	gask.
ACCOUCHADE f. “femme qui vient d'accoucher”	Sévigné	
ACCOUCHER DE (S') v. “enfanter”	Daudet	prov.
ADOUBERIE f. “tannerie”	15th-18th	poit. gask.
AGANNIR v. “consommer, fanner”	16th-1611	lang.
AGOURMANDIR v. “affriander”	Daudet 1890	gask.
AGRADER v. “plaïre”	Daudet 1897	prov.
AGUASSIÈRE f. “merle d'eau”	1829-1866	bearn.
AGUILLE BASTERESSE f. “carrelet”	13th	
AIGUADIÈRE f. “sorte de vase”	1480-1580	
ALAN m. “espèce de chien”	15th-1676	gask.
ALLAGANT adj. “arrosant avec de l'eau”	16th-1611	
ALOUMÈRE f. “agaric”	1845-1866	gask.
ANCOEUR, ENCUEUR m. “tumeur du cheval”	1583-1782	

ANER v. "aller"	afr.?	
ANGUILLE f. "sorte de bateau"	15th-16th	Bordeaux
APPORT m. "profit d'un capital"	1771	auv.
APPROPINQUER v. "approcher"	Rabelais 1546	
AQUITRANNER v. "goudronner"	16th	prov. ports
ARAMBER v. "accrocher un bâtiment"	1665-1836	prov. it.
ARAP m. "arrachement"	mfr.	
ARBOLADE f. "esp. de ragoût" (s. HERBOLADE)	1721-1866	prov.
ARBOLASTE f. "esp. de mets"	1393	
ARCAVOT m. "tromperie"	1881-1896	
ARCHIVAIRES m. "archiviste"	15th	
AREIGNOL m. "tramail"	1873	
ARGALOU m. "paliure"	1768-1866	prov.
ARGANEAU m. "anneau de fer"	1678-1878	Mediterranean
ARGILIER m. "arbre épineux"	1549-1660	lang.
ARNAUDENS m. "esp. de monnaie"	afr.	
ARRAPER v. "empoigner"	Daudet	prov.
ASNETON m. "ânon"	mfr.	prov.
ASSIETTE f. "assemblée pour le règlement des tailles"	1721-1771	lang.
ASTE f. "manche (d'un faubert)"	1834-1866	in the south of France
ATAINER, ATINER v. "agacer"	13th-1636	Troubadors
ATTRAQUER v. "accoster un quai"	1834-1866	gask.
AUBERGADE f. "droit de gîte"	16th-17th	
AUBICON m. "figue longue"	Ol de Serres	
AUJUBINE f. "raisin qu'on fait sécher"	1768-1791	prov.
AUMADE f. "tumeur sous l'aisselle"	1866	périg.
AUTRE-TEMPS adv. "autrefois"	Daudet 1869	prov.
AUVIER m. "esp. de pin"	1877	dauph.
AVALADES, bragues ~ f. pl. "chausses abattues"	Rabelais	
AVALISQUE! "disparais en bas (à Satan)!"	Rabelais	
AVAOUSSÉ, AVAUX m. "quercus coccifera"	1845-1866	prov.
AVECCA f. "chevêche"	1650-1694	gask.
AVEILLE f. "abeille"	15th-16th	south-east
AVELANCQUE f. "fruit de l'amélanquier"	1591	
AVEN m. "biens, fortune"	16th	
AVEN m. "pêche qu'on pratique en Provence"	1778	prov.
BALANÇONS m. pl. "petites pièces de bois de sapin débitées"	1740-1873	lang.
BANQUAL m. "pièce d'étoffe"	mfr.	in the south of France
BANQUE f. "banc sur lequel travaille l'ouvrier en peignes"	1751-1898	
BARATE f. "tromperie"	afr	
BARGER v. "tiller le chanvre"	mfr.	

BAR(R)ICAVE f. "fondrière" (VARICAVE f. "précipice")	1561-1677 Montluc	beam.
BARIS m. "barrière, rempart"	afr.	
BARROT m. "chariot"	1877	auv.
BARTAS m. "buisson"	1694-1750	lang.
BASSAGUE f. "paillasse"	1574-1585	prov.
BASTANGUE f. "raja pastinaca"	1640-1660	
BASTIDAN m. "campagnard"	1867	
BATUM m. "mastic"	16th	
BECCADE f. "béquée du faucon"	1751-1873	
BEDEL m. "bloc d'hématite (dans les Pyrénées franç.)"	1866	gask.
BEDEL m. "milice urbaine (au Midi)"	afr.	
BÉDOUIDE f. "alouette des prés"	1791-1867	prov.
BEDOUZE f. "chaîne de monticules"	1868	
BELLICANT m. "esp. de poisson"	1803-1867	prov.
BENARRIC, BENARIS m. "ortolan"	1584-1885	lang.
BEQUERUT m. "esp. d'olivier"	Ol de Serres	prov.
BERNÈDE f. "aunaie"	1604-1746	gask.
BESAGRE f. "esp. de canard"	1610	lim.
BESAL m. "bief d'un moulin"	mfr.	
BESIAT adj. "douillet, paresseux"	BPériers	
BESSE f. "vesce"	1838-1867	
BIGARRAT m. "oranger qui produit la bigarade"	Ol de Serres	prov.
BIGOTER v. "se dépiter"	17th	
BIGOURELLE f. "couture ronde (d'une voile)"	1836-1867	prov.
BISE f. "bonite (poisson)"	1636-1867	lang.
BITERNE f. "enfer"	Rabelais 1532	lang.
BLADIER m. "blatier"	17th	
BLAI m. "érable"	Ol de Serres	
BLAMARÉE f. "maïs (dans le Midi)" (BLAMAZÉE 1845)	1867	lang.
BLANQUET m. "vin blanc"	Ol de Serres- 1660	lang.
BLASTEMER v. "blasphémer"	afr.	
BLAVETE f. "figue violette"	Ol de Serres	
BOCCABREVÉ m. "variété de pomme"	Ol de Serres	
BOISSE f. "canard sauvage"	mfr.	lang.
BOLADE f. "massue"	1409	
BOLUME f. "ourlet du bas de la voile latine"	17th	
BONNE ROBE f. "femme appétissante"	Rabelais 1552-1771	
BORIE (?) f. "métairie"	afr.	
BORTOULAGE m. "pourpier"	afr.	
BOUBAX m. "esp. d'olive"	Ol de Serres	prov.

BOURGADIER m. "habitant d'un bourg"	Daudet 1879	
BOURRAQUIN m. "vase à boire"	mfr.	
BOUSCATIÈRE f. "serpe pour couper le bois"	1791	prov.
BOUSCHASSE f. "marron d'Inde"	Ol de Serres	
(BOUSSADE f. "the rot or plague among sheepe")	1611 [Cotgr]	lang.
BOUSSETE f. "tonneau"	mfr.	gask.
BOUTANE f. "étoffe, toile"	1578	prov.
BRAME-LA-FAIM m. "individu affamé"	Daudet 1895	prov.
BRASSAL m. "partie de l'armure"	Pléiade-1677	
BRASSIER m. "homme de peine"	1614-1650	
BRIF m. "impétuosité, etc.."	1165	
BRONDEL m. "rameau"	Colin Muset	prov. Lyrik
	12th 13th	
BUCIOCHE, BUCHIOCHE m. "sorte de drap de Prov. et de Languedoc"	1723-1836	
BUCOUBLE m. "attelage de 2 boeufs"	Marg. de Navarre	
BUDELIER m. "entrailles"	mfr.	southern text
BUISSONNADE f. "buissons"	16th	
CABAL m. "capital"	Rabelais	gask.
CABASSON m. "poisson"	16th-1611	
CABIROT m. "chevreau"	Rabelais	
CABOTE f. "grondin (poisson)"	1611-1851	
CABRIAU m. "chevreau"	Mist 1485	
CABRIL m. "chevreau qui n'a pas encore un mois"	1611-1822	prov.
CACHER v. "fouler, écraser"	D'Aubigné	
CACHER en la mer v. "appesantir le bateau"	1573-1637	
CAFFETIN m. "sucre raffiné"	1359-1555	occit. < it.
CAGADE f. "reculade honteuse"	16th, Brantôme, d'Aubigné	
CAGOUILLE f. "têt du colimaçon"	16th-1611	gask.
CAHORS m. "raisin noir"	1867	lang.
CALER v. "(se) taire"	Brantôme	
CÂLINEUR m. "amoureux, fiancé"	Daudet	lang.
CALLIQUE f. "célerin (poisson)"	1554-1775	lang.
CAMBIER v. "changer"	Rabelais	gask.
CAMBRADE f. "chambrée"	1636-1675	
CAMISADE f. "fine membrane de l'enfant après la naissance"	16th-1611	
CANDANT m. "position de l'aviron"	1783-1867	prov.
CANONADE f. "embrasure pour une pièce d'artillerie"	1562	gask.
CANTHÈNE m. "sorte de spare (poisson)"	1581-1867	

CANTONNIÈRE f. "prostituée"	1520-1752	prov.
CANUT m. "variété de raisin"	1832-1867	rouerg.
CAPDEULH m. "principale maison d'un domaine"	16th-1771	only south of France
CAPER v. "recouvrir les formes de poterie (raff. de sucre)"	1771	
CAPITE f. "cabine dans un bateau"	1611-1771	Brought through Rhône ship travel to the north
CAPOSER v. "amarrer le gouvernail"	1690-1759	
CAPOT m. "lépreux"	1407-1867	gask.
CAPOT m. "chapeau de femme"	Daudet 1885	lang.
CAQUEROLE f. "limace"	Rabelais	lang.
CARABASSE f. "crabe (poisson)"	1552-1611	prov.
CARASSE f. "grande figure"	16th-1611	
CARAVIRÉE f. "femme qui a la face de travers"	16th-1611	
CARONADE f. "étuvée de viande"	Daudet	
CARBONAL m. "carie"	1845-1867	lang.
CARBONAT m. "carie"	1845	rouerg.
CARCAGNER, (SE) v. "inquiéter"	Daudet 1897	mars.
CARCHIOPHE, CHARCHIOPHE f. "artichaut"	1542-1638	lang.<kat.
CARDELLE f. "laiteron"	MRust 1837	
CARE f. "mine, air"	Pléiade, Brantôme	
CAREILLADE f. "jusquiamé"	Lar 1866	lang. thr. Uni Mont.
CARESTRE, CARESTIE f. "disette"	1542	
CARGADE f. "cargaison"	16th-1611	prov.
CARNALAGE m. "droit dû en viande au seigneur"	16th-1771	gask. law, custom
CARNICIER m. "boucher"	15th	gask.
CARNILLET m. "esp. de champignon"	1787-1867	prov.
CAROUS m. "char"	Papon 1565	
CARRAS m. "bois de forme carrée"	1730-1771	lang.
CARTHAGÈNE f. "esp. de liqueur"	Daudet 1880	lang.
CARTON m. "conducteur d'une charrette"	16th	
CASCARET m. "forte marée sur la côte"	16th-1611	gask.
CASQUILLON m. "coquille"	1845-1867	
CASSOTTE f. "casserole"	1523-1607	gask.
CASTAGNEAU m. "petit poisson"	1816-1873	prov.
CASTAGNOT m. "petit poisson"	1581	
CASTELLAN m. "seigneur d'un manoir"	Brantôme	
CATALANE f. "petite coiffe"	Daudet 1884	prov.
CAVALLET adv. "à dos d'âne"	16th-1611	lang.
CAVALO m. "croupière"	1741	
CAVESSANE f. "caveçon"	16th-1611	
CAVETTE f. "pot à liqueurs"	1723-1793	
CAYLANIE f. "droit de guet"	16th-1704	lang.

CAYON m. "variété d'olivier"	1836	prov.
CAYREUX adj. "vermoulu"	16th-1611	Bord.
CÈDE f. "bord d'un canal"	1769	prov.
CERO f. "esp. de labre (poisson)"	1554-1845	prov.
CERATEUR m. "gladiateur"	1542	
CHAMPART m. "enclos pour le pâturage"	1675	south-east
CHARETE f. "masque"	Rabelais 1544	lang.
	Baldinger RLiR 20,90: 'emprunt	
	gasc./	
CHARIOLLE, CARRIOLE f. "couchette basse et roulante"	1449-Montaigne	
CHASTELLANE f. "femme du propriétaire du château"	D'Aubigné	north Occit.
CHATILLON m. "esp de poisson"	1611-1890	lang.
CHATLOUP m. "lynx"	15th	gask.
CHATONNIÈRE f. "ouverture dans la porte pour les chats"	Brantôme	only south of France
CHAUDE, sur la ~ adv. "en hâte"	16th	
CHAUMENY adj. "moisi"	Rabelais-1611	
CHEMISADE f. "camisade"	1578	
CHEVROLLE f. "femelle du chevreuil"	14th	gask. lim.
CHIEFMES m. "habitation principale du domaine"	1393-1564	
CHUGUETTE f. "mâche"	1873	
CIBOREE f. "ragoût à la ciboule"	afr.	gask.
CINDRER v. "disposer en voûte"	16th-1611	south-west
CITRE f. "esp. de pastèque verte"	Daudet	lang.
CLARANT, CLAIRAN m. "sonnette du mulet"	15th-1869	
CLAVA f. "canne ou perche"	1832-1869	
CLAVAISSON f. "clous et chevilles"	16th-1628	
CLAVELADE f. "esp. de raie"	1611-1777	prov.
CLEDAT m. "fermeture"	1590	
CLOSSER v. "troncher, grossir" (blé)	Ol de Serres -1611	
COCATIER m. "coquetier"	1732-1771	
CODRE f. "branche de châtaignier pour cercler les futailles"	1796-1869	gask.
COGNIOL m. "maquereau (poisson)"	1553-1771	mars.
COHEQUER v. "répartir les impôts"	1466-1611	
	(from Occ. in Fr. administrative language)	
COLLE f. "mur de soutien dans une vigne"	Ol de Serres -1611	
COLOMBADE f. "fauvette"	1834-1869	
COMPAGNISER à v. "accompagner"	1589	
COMPIERRE f. "lichen pulmonaire"	ca. 1300	

COMPORTE f. "seau profond pour la vendange"	1469	gask.
COMPORTE f. "porte d'écluse"	1660	gask.<kat.
CONADON f. "fosse où l'on met les pieds de chanvre"	1869	
CONFLE m. "foule de gens"	1538	prov.
CONQUISTER v. "conquérir"	Brantôme	
CONRIGE, CONSIVE f. "registre; somme"	1723-1771	prov.
CONSUL m. "magistrat municipal"	1311-1789	('Midi')
CONSULAT m. "corps des consuls"	1478-1789	esp. auv.
CONTRAT À ARRÈGES m. "lougage de bétail de labourage"	1771	prov.
COQUE f. "plateau d'osier"	Daudet 1881	prov.
COQUERELLE f. "nombril de Vénus (plante)"	1623	lang.
CORAU, COURAU m. "petit bateau sur la Garonne"	16th-1877	gask.
CORDOEUIL m. "chagrin"	mfr.	
CORNIAT m. "suc de la cornouille"	Ol de Serres	
CORNUDEAU m. "petite miche"	1408	lang.
COUCHINE f. "variété de pomme"	Ol de Serres -1852	(regional Fr.)
COUDERLE m. "esp. de champignon"	1845-1869	gask.
COUGOURDIER m. "plante de courge"	Daudet	prov.
COULAC m. "alose"	1547-1611	
COUP, SI UN ~ adv. "lorsque"	Daudet 1888	
COUPLE, un ~ m. "deux"	1787	('south of France')
COURBU m. "cépage rouge"	1863	gask.
COURONNE f. "gâteau rond"	Daudet	
COURSIE f. "couloir sur les galères"	1495-1771	prov.<it.
COURTE f. "bécassine"	Rabelais	lang. ?
COUSTIÈRE f. "grosse manoeuvre sur les galères"	1525-1829	mars.
COUTOIRE m. "clovisse"	1754-1869	gask.
CRÉAC, CRAT m. "esturgeon"	1514-1863	gask.
CRETE f. "petit bateau sur la Gironde"	mfr.	gask.
CRIME D'AUCIS m. "coups portés à une femme enceinte"	1621	
CROISADE f. "diagonale"	Ol de Serres	
CROS m. "silo creusé dans le sol"	Ol de Serres	
CROUSTEAU m. "gâteau de cire"	1539-1660	dauph. lim. ?
CUISINAT m. "esp. de mets"	afr.	prov.
CUISSIN m. "coussin"	13th-1671	lang.
CURADE f. "entre-deux des sillons"	1877	gask.

3.3 Biographies of the Obsolete Words

The following section contains the same 249 Occitan words listed above as they appear in Gebhardt's book *Das Okzitanische Lehngut im Französischen*. Like the words in the above list, each word will be listed with its part of speech, a translation into French, the period during which it was alive and where possible, the region of Occitania from where it originates. However, unlike the above list, the entry from the *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* will be given in its entirety for each word. Following this entry will be a survey of several selected dictionaries. Here is a list along with abbreviations used in the corpus:

Authors	Title and Abbreviation	Year
Frédéric Godefroy	<i>Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française</i> (G)	1881
La Curne de Saint-Palaye	<i>Dictionnaire Historique de l'ancien langage françois</i> (DALF)	1783 (not published until the 19th century)
Adolf Tobler and Erhard Lommatzsch	<i>Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch</i> (AW)	1925 not completed until 19--
Robert Estienne	<i>Dictionnaire françois-latin</i> (E)	1549
Jean Nicot	<i>Thresor de la langue francoise</i> (N)	1606
Randle Cotgrave	<i>A Dictionary of the French and English Tongues</i> (C)	1611
Pierre Richelet	<i>Dictionnaire françois</i> (F)	1680
Antoine Furetière	<i>Le Dictionnaire universel</i> (F)	1690
Académie Française	<i>Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française</i>	1695 (1st ed.)
	“ ” (AFa)	1778 (4th ed.)
	“ ” (AFb)	1799 (5th ed.)
	“ ” (AFc)	1835 (6th ed.)
	“ ” (AFd)	1884 (7th ed.)
	“ ” (AFe)	

Napoléon Landais	<i>Grand dictionnaire des dictionnaires</i> (Lan)	1857 (12th ed.)
Émile Littré	<i>Dictionnaire de la langue française</i> (L)	1883
Larive and Fleury	<i>Dictionnaire français illustré des mots et des choses</i> (L&F)	1888
Adolphe Hatzfeld, Arsène Darmesteter & M. Antoine Thomas	<i>Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française</i> (DG)	1902
Paul Robert	<i>Le Petit Robert</i> (PR)	1984
Paul Imbs	<i>Le Trésor de la langue française</i> (TLF)	1971
Alain Nouvel	<i>Le Français parlé en Occitanie</i> (FPO)	1978
Louis Alibert	<i>Dictionnaire occitan-français</i> (DOF)	1965

I consulted *Le Petit Robert* and the *Trésor de la langue française* only occasionally. I consulted Nouvel's dictionary in order to find out if the word is still in use in the French of the south of France and Alibert's dictionary in order to find out if the word in question is still in use in Occitan. Following all of the dictionary entries will be, wherever possible, several categories included here to shed light on the word's viability. These categories will be as follows: 1) variations, 2) derivatives and -- following Haugen (1949) -- 3) analogues, which can be further divided into 3a) homophones (interlingual homonyms or near-homonyms) and 3b) homologues (interlingual synonyms or near-synonyms). Then there will be a category called 4) cognates. This category will be comprised of French equivalents whose form and meaning resemble the Occitan word in question. These cognates are not necessarily cognate words in the two languages. I have adopted the term cognate out of convenience. Following these categories will be a bibliography of each word, and an attempt to explain why the word is no longer current in French.

A

1) **ABELIR**

v. "plaire" Old Fr. Old Occ. lyric

FEW

bellus schön. [beautiful] 1, 320a + Wbg Evolution 111 [p. 97, 1934]

Afr. *abelir* „plaire, être agréable; embellir“; apr. „plaire“¹³⁾, wallon. *abeli* „gagner la bienveillance de qn par des caresses; embellir“ BWall 1, 52, norm. *abelir* „plaire, être agréable“, Orne *abélir* „trouver beau, plaire“, loch. *abellir* „embellir“, mouz. *abéli* „flatter, caresser; plaire“. Gren. *abelli* „charmer, réjouir, sourire à“, npr. *abeli* „embellir; flatter“, lim. *abelir* „embellir; plaire“. Davon Bar. *e, blā, -t* „beau parleur qui fait l'aimable pour amuser le monde“; mfr. *abilissement* „action de plaire“ Millet 37; apr. *abelimen* „agrément“; *abelirol* „agréable“; afr. *abeloier* „prendre son plaisir“; awallon. *rabelir* „réparer“, wallon. *rabeli* „rapaiser“. nam. *rabêli* „radoucir“, havr. *rabelie* „embellie“; afr. *desabelir* „ne pas convenir, déplaire“, apr. *dezabelir*; mit aphärese des *a-* afr. *belir* „plaire“, *belissement* „plaisir“. -- Schweiz. *abela* „plaire“, Blon. *abe.lâ*, npr. *abela* „embellir“.

13) Auch kat. *abellir, aballir* Dicc Aguiló.

Evolution et structure de la langue française p. 111 [p. 97, 1934]: L'influence du Midi sur la littérature française a été accompagnée d'une influence sur la langue. Citons seulement quelques mots provençaux introduits en français par la poésie courtoise: *abelir* 'plaire' (pr. *m'es bel* 'cela me plaît'), *ballade, jaloux* (< pr. *gelos*), *amour* (contre *ameur*, qui subit une déchéance sémantique et finit par désigner le rut des animaux). Plus tard, du reste, l'influence du provençal devient de plus en plus forte. La défaite des Albigeois a conduit à l'annexion du Languedoc, et à partir de cette date, de nombreux mots ont pénétré en français. C'est surtout à travers la Provence et le Languedoc que le français s'est enrichi des termes concernant la vie méditerranéenne (*asperge, artichaut, ciboule, yeuse, orange*, etc.).

G OldFr

ABELIR. *abellir, abbellir, abielir, habelir*, verbe

-- Neutre. plaire, être agréable, agréer, charmer :

Le cheval prent qui moult li *abeli*.

(*Garin le Loh.*, XV, P. Paris.)

(...)

-- Impers., dans le même sens :

Ysore garde, cui pas n'en *abeli*.

(*Les Loh.*, ms. Montp. H 243, fo 33b.)

(...)

-- Il m'abelist de ce que, je suis satisfait de ce que :

Dant Timer. de çou m'abelist
 Que vos tos jours portes le blé,
 Ne ja nient plus c'on l'ait emblé
 Li cors de vos n'en goustera

(*Li couronnemens Renart*, 274, Méon.)

-- Act., embellir :

Il noz aorne et abelist.

(*L'arbre de la palme*, Ars. 3167, fo 55a.)

(...)

-- Réfl., s'adoucir :

Par qui le feu de douleur mainte
 Se radoulcist et abelist.

(*Louenge et beauté des Dam.*, Poés. fr. des VXe et XVIe s., t. VII.)

Wall., *abeli*, *abeli one saki*, gagner la bienveillance de quelqu'un par des caresses. Poit., *s'abeli*, *s'abelzi*, s'embellir, devenir serein en parlant du temps. Suisse romande, *abela*, plaire, convenir, surprendre, *ç'ein ne m'abelave vouère*, cela ne me plaisait guère; *abéliser*, en vieux style.

ABELISSANT, *abellissant*, adj., agréable :

. ... Couleurs *abellissans*.

(G. DE MACHAUT, *Poés.*, Richel. 9221, fo 81a.)

ABELOIER, *abelaier*, *abelaer*, *abaloier*, verbe.

-- Réfl., prendre son plaisir :

Por l'amor a la dame ne sarez vos tochiez,
 Car je me voel .I. pou o lui *abelaier*;
 Mon depor an ferai desoz cel olivier.

(*Floov.*, 364, A. P.)

(...)

-- Neut., dans le même sens :

Lai nos aler en l'ost *abaloier*.

(*De Charlem. et des Pairs*, Vat. Chr. 1360, fo 7b.)

De vos faucons pansez d'*abaloier*.

(*Ib.*)

DALF OldFr

Abelir, verbe. Plaire, être agréable, charmer. Parer. Colorer, justifier.

On a employé dans le premier sens toutes les orthographes de ce mot.

Les Italiens et les Provençaux disent en ce même sens, *abellire*.

Li dous chant tant m'*abeli* (1),

Jus (2) de mon cheval salli (3),

Maintenant là ù (4) le Rousignol vi.

Vill. li. Viniers, Anc. Poët. Fr. MSS. avant 1300, p. 822.

Un mari trouve sa femme avec son galant :

Quant vi la Dame et son ami,
Sçachiez, point ne li *abeli* (5).

Fabl. MS. de S. Germ. p. 189.

Ung mot luy nuit, l'autre luy *abellit*.

Al. Chartier, Poës. p. 557.

Une Dame fait préparer un bain pour son amant, et dit à sa Chambrière :

Queur tost (6) le Seigneur deschaucier,
Je vueil qu'il se voist (7) baigner

.....
Si m'*embelira* plus (8) son estre.

Fabl. MS. de S. G. fol. 78, Vo col. 3.

«Tant avoit de beau parler en soy, qu'il plaisoit moult, et *embellissoit* aux Chevaliers.»
(Hist. de Du Guesclin, par Ménard. p. 204.)

L'aim tant vraiment.

Que riens, fors li, ne m'*enbelist* (9).

Jean de Nueville, Anc. Poët. Fr. MSS. avant 1300, T. IV, p. 1446.

Nous n'avons trouvé que les trois dernières orthographes employées dans les autres sens. On dit encore *embellir*, pour orner, parer. Froissart a dit en ce sens, pris au figuré: «Jà maintenant avez avec vous les plus beaux et les plus notables du país. .. et c'est une chose qui moult grandement *embellit* et réjouit votre guerre.» Et plus figurément encore. «*embellir* l'âme et la sépulture de quelqu'un. » pour faire honneur à la mémoire de quelqu'un. (Liv. IV, p. 77.)

En étendant l'acception précédente, *embellir* s'est pris dans le sens de donner des couleurs favorables; au figuré, justifier. Ainsi le même Froissart a dit «pour en guerre *embellir* et colorer, » (Liv. I, p. 356.)

(...)

VARIANTES: ABBELIR, ABELISER, ABELLIR, ABIELIR, EMBELIR, EMBELLIR, ENBELIR

(1) tant me plut. - (2) à bas. - (3) je sautai. - (4) là où. - (5) point ne lui plut. - (6) courre vite. - (7) aille. - (8) il me plaira davantage. - (9) ne me plaît.

AW OldFR

abelir vb.

intr. gefallen: a toz plot et abeli (*la reine*), *Guil. d'A.* 1056. Oevres font qui mout m'abelissent, *Ch. lyon* 5230. A cui la parole abielist, *Mahom.* 28. *unpers.*: Et mout li plot

et abeli Quant il la (*la pucele*) vit, *Ch. Lyon* 5927. N'onc a prodome n'abeli, N'il n'est drois qu'el li abelisse, Quant por si poi chiet en esclipse (*l'amors de Fortune*), *Rose* 6076.
schön werden: Si grant joie a en son corage .. C'outre biauté en abelist (*über das Maß der Schönheit*), *Amad.* 1457.

trans. schön, angenehm machen: Et savez qui mout l'abeli? Qu'el ot descovert son visage, *GDole* 4523. Et quant plus de ce mal me grief, Plus m'est biel, car moi l'abelist Li grans biens ki de la biele ist, *BCond.* 144, 329.

refl. sich schmücken, putzen: Qui s'abelissent, qui se paignent, *Méon* II 39, 1204.

[The *Dictionnaire d'ancien français* (1949) lists *abelir*:

abelir v. (XIIe-XVe s.). 1o Embellir. - 2o Paraître beau; plaire: *Bel chanter abelist mont.* (XIIIe s., *Rose.*) || ETYM. A, bel.]

Lan 1857

ABÉLIR, v. act. (*abélir*), orner. parer. *Abélir quelqu'un*, le flatter; s'efforcer de lui plaire. Vieux et inusité.

DOF

abelir, v. *tr.* et *intr.* Embellir, flatter, devenir beau, plaire. *Dér.* **abeliment**, embelissement, charme. **abelit**, **-ida**, *adj.*, agréable. alerte. *Éty.* L. **ad** + **bellus** + **ire**. *Cat.* **abellir**.

Variations: abbelir, abelí, abellir, abeliser, abeloier, abielir, belir, [belissement "plaisir"]

Derivatives: abelissant, abilissement, desabelir

Homologues: plaire à

Cognates: embelir, embellir, enbelir

It is not easy to determine the exact history of Occitan words, since there is a lack of works on the history of the Occitan language. It would seem to me that *abelir* meant only "plaire" in old Occitan and that its other meanings in modern Occitan developed later, but not too much later. *Abelir* gave rise to quite a few derivatives in the Oc and Oïl domains. The word is still alive in Occitan. Apparently, the word is still alive in the south of France, and was alive in the 19th century in Swiss and Belgian French dialects,

as well as in some northern French dialects, but it has disappeared from standard French. There is no trace of it in any of the dictionaries of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Abelir underwent semantic change in Old French; it came to mean “embellir” and “s’adoucir” as well as “to make something or someone beautiful” and “to bejewel or clean oneself” (AEW). It may be that a “crossing” with *embellir* (attested since the XIIth century) resulted in *abelir* taking on these meanings, or it may be that the meanings developed independently in Occitan and French. This could also be influence from Occitan, but it is hard to say. It would seem that the word underwent semantic change in regional French as well. None of the changes are all that radical, not even in Walloon where *rabelir* means “réparer”. Making something pleasing again would be an apt definition of *réparer*. Competition from *embellir* may have played a role in its demise. In the Middle Ages *embellir* also meant “plaire”. There was also competition from *plaire*, which had a similar syntactic construction: *cela me plaît - m’abeli*.

Curiously enough, the *DALF* does not distinguish between *abelir* and *embellir*, implying that these words are variations on each other. It would seem unlikely that *abelir* gave rise to *embellir*. For nasalization of a vowel to occur, a nasal consonant must follow, or precede a vowel. However, both prefixes, *a-* and *en-*, are causative prefixes in French. They are similar enough in form and function that speakers could confuse them. There is no mention in the *Trésor de la Langue Française* or in the *Petit Robert* that *embellir* arose from *abelir*.

The *Dictionnaire de patois normand* (1887) lists the word *abelir* and it appears to have a long history in Normandy. Here is the entry:

Abelir, v.n., plaire, être agréable. L.D.

Hues le voit, pas ne li *abeli*,
 Bien le connut, sitost com il le vist.

Gar. le Lohér.

Ung mot luy nuit, l'autre lui *abellit*.

AL. CHART., *Le Déb. des Deux Fort.*, p. 557.

Enbelir, avec la même acception, se rencontre en ancien dialecte normand:

L'aveir que chascun d'eus amasse.

Lor *enbelist*.

BÉN., *Chron. de Norm.*, v. 22737.

L'on trouve aussi dans l'ancienne langue *desabelir*, pour déplaire:

... onques ne *desabeli*

Largesce à gentil bacheler.

Fabl. *mss.*, dans Lacurne

Of the six French-Norman dictionaries I consulted, only two, the one above and the *Dictionnaire du patois norman* (1849) list *abelir*. The others, *Dictionnaire du patois norman* (1882), *Glossaire du vendomois* (1893), *Dictionnaire du français régional de Basse-Normandie* (1989) and the *Dictionnaire norman-français* (1993) do not list it. Conclusion: the word did survive well into the 19th century, but is either now extinct or restricted in its extension to regional French.

As far as Wallonia is concerned, the word may still be alive. Of the six French-Walloon dictionaries I consulted, only one, the *Lexique namurois* (1969) lists *abèli* (''apaisement'') and *rabèli* or **rabiazi* (''embellir à nouveau''). *Rabèli* can also mean ''se rapprocher bassement''. None of the others, *Dictionnaire wallon-français* (1839), *Patois de la Flandre Française ou Wallonie* (1867), *Dictionnaire français liégeois* (1948), *Dictionnaire wallon-français* (1981) *Essai d'un glossaire wallon* (1981) lists the word.

The word *abelir* was borrowed by a certain kind of literary French in the Middle Ages from Occitan and either spread to the dialects, or what seems to be more likely,

each of the dialects developed the word independently from the Latin A + BELLUS + verb ending. In fact, *abelir*, may have followed a similar development as that of *amour* and *jaloux*. According to Pope (1934), these words were not strictly speaking borrowed from Occitan: “... the vogue of Provençal poetry contributed to the acceptance of the west French pronunciation of the words *amour* (**amur**) and *jaloux* (**dzalus**), in lieu of **ameur** and **dzaleus**.” (p. 30) It could be that the use of *abelir* in Provençal poetry added to the prestige of a word already found in some northern dialects. The word disappeared from standard French however. It may have been condemned as a regionalism or, because its meanings were covered by *plaire* and *embellir*, it may have been deemed redundant. Although *abelir* seems to have found a place in the semantic field of pleasure in Old French, its place was not solid. Its prefix *a-*, may also have played a role in its demise. In modern French, the prefix *a-* is not as frequent as *en-i-em*. It may be that *embellir* was preferred to *abelir* because *em-* was becoming the preferred prefix.

The word *abelir* underwent pejoration. The *Landais* lists *abelir* as an old word with the meaning “to flatter, to force oneself to please someone.” This is no longer a neutral pleasing, but a pleasing in order to gain something. This is another reason why the word stopped being used to mean “to please” in standard French.

2) ACANTONNER (S')

v. “se retirer dans un coin” Monluc Gascon

FEW

canthus eiserner radreifen; augenwinkel. [iron tire, corner of one's eye] 2,23 Ia + n 27

Aix *cantouná* „acculer qn“ P, mars. *cantounar* A. Mars. *acantounar* A, lang. Agen *acantouná*; pr. v. r. „garder le coin du feu“, Péz. v. r. „se blottir dans un coin“, Tarn *s'acantouná* „se retirer dans un coin“ mfr. *s'acantonner* 27).
27) Nur Monluc, also franzöisierung eines gask. wortes.

FPO

ACANTOUNER (S') (Se) mettre dans un coin, CC ; se blottir dans un coin, CCC ; *acantoune-le ici ton charreton et suis-moi ; je vais m'acantouner ici, je dérangerai pas* ; de l'oc. (s') **acantonar** «id.». Non cité par VPF, TF 18.

DOF

acantonar, v. tr. Rencoigner, mettre au pied du mur. Cantonner. Écoinçonner. v. r. S'acculer, se réfugier dans un coin. *Étym. Occ. canton de canthus.*

Homophones: canton

Cognates: cantonner, se cantonner

Sometimes it is difficult to tell an Occitanism from a native French word; since both languages come from the same source many French words look like Occitan words. Such is the case with *s'acantonner*. The word was used only by Monluc, a soldier from the south of France. He had no literary aspirations; he wanted to write his life story for posterity. Monluc may have thought he was using a French form. There were already *cantonner* and *se cantonner* in French, which covered the meaning of the Occitan word, hence there was no motive for adopting the latter. The word *s'acantonner* did not provide another shade of meaning.

3) **ACARATION**

f. "confrontation" 1546-1771

4) **ACAREMENT**

m. "confrontation" 1611-1771

5) **AC(C)ARER**

v. "confronter" (jur.) 16th-1771

from the law courts of the south of France

FEW**cara** *haupt.* [head] 2.349a/b

Apr. *acarar* „confronter (les témoins et les criminels)" *s*), npr. id., Aix id. P, mars. *acarrar* A. castr. lang. bearn. *acará*. dann übergegangen in das französisch der gerichtshöfe Südfrankreichs mfr. nfr. *ac(c)arer* (16. jh.--Trév 1771; ebenso *acarement* „confrontation" Cotgr. 1611 -- Trév. 1771; *acaration* Rab 1546 -- Trév 1771), aus der juristischen bed. verallgemeinert lim. *acarar* „viser"; mfr. *s'achairer* „se mettre en face" (Budé); poit. *achariae* „faire attention". Gers *acarat* „équilibré, bien placé". Argvs. *acari-s-ne* „s'en apercevoir" AGI 3,59.

DALF OldFr**Acaration.** *subst. fém.* Confrontation.

Du mot *cara*, *care*, face, visage. On trouve *Accaratio* au même sens, dans Du Cange, Gloss. Lat. (Voy. l'art. suivant ACAREMENT.)

VARIANTE: ACCARATION

Acarement, *subst. masc.* Confrontation.

(Voy. Du Cange, Gloss. Lat. au mot *Acaratio*.) On reconnoit dans ce mot, de même que dans ACARER, et peut-être ACARIASRE ci-après, la même origine que celle d'ACARATION ci-dessus.

VARIANTE: ACCAREMENT

Acarer. *verbe.* Confronter.

Proprement mettre face-à-face, de l'ancien mot *care*. (Voy. Borel, Dict. au mot *Chere*. - - Ménage, Dict. étym. au mot *Accarer*. -- Laur. Gloss. du Dr. fr. -- Brant. Cap. fr. T. III, p. 109, etc.)

VARIANTES: ACCARER, ACCAROER

AW OldFr**acaracion** *s. f.*

Confrontation, Gegenüberstellung vor Gericht: Urk. 15. Jahrh. von Toulouse, Carp. accarratio.

acarier *vb.*

(*Etym. Diez Wb. cara*)

trans. confrontieren: von Carp. nur aus der Gerichtssprache seiner Zeit angeführt.

C 1611

Acaré: m. ée: f. *Affronted, confronted; set before, presented unto, the face of.*

Acarement: m. *An affronting, or confronting.*

Acarer. *To affront, confront, set face to face, or before the face of; bring neere unto, or, together.*

Il luy acara son Arquebuse à l'estomac: *He presented his Peece unto the others stomach.*

Lan 1857

ACARÉ, E. part. pass. de *acarar*.

ACARER ou **ACCARER**, *v. act.* (*akarê*) (vieux mot formé de la prép. lat. *ad*, à ou vers, et du grec *χαρη*, tête, visage). Il signifiait confronter, mettre en face. Il n'est plus usité: on dit aujourd'hui *confronter*.

ACARIATION ou **ACCARIATION**, *subst. fém* (*akariâcion*), vieux mot formé d'*acarar*. Il est inusité; aujourd'hui on dit *confrontation*.

DOF

acarar, *v. tr.* Confronter. *v. intr.* Être face à face, faire face. *v. r.* Se confronter. *Dér.*

acarement, confrontation. *Étym. Occ. a + cara + ar. Cat. acarar.*

Variations: acarier, acarar, accarar; acaration, accaration

Homologues: confronter, confrontation

Cognates: [care (Old Fr.)]

These three words will be examined together; they were all borrowed around the same time. In the south of France, up until the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts (1539), the language of the law courts was Latin. After the edict, French began to appear in official records, but Occitan was undoubtedly used as well. Inevitably, the French used would have contained some Occitanisms. If we examine the three words, *acarar*, *acarement* and *acaration*, it would appear that the first was a gallicized Occitan word, and the last was given the French/Latin ending *-tion*. The ending *-ment* existed in both the north and the

south. There is also an attested form, *acaratio*, which may be a latinized form of *acaration*, *acarement*. One possible explanation for the disappearance of these three words would be the progress the French language was making in invading all areas of the south. As soon as knowledge of French became general enough among the Méridionaux, these Occitan words could be replaced by their French equivalents, *confrontation* and *confronter*. The words *acarar*, *acarement* and *acaration* were undoubtedly not very widespread in the north of France, as their absence from Estienne, Nicot, Richelet and Furetière would seem to indicate. Cotgrave does list the words *acarement* and *acarar*, but he does not mark them as being connected to the law courts. They may have had a more general use in the north, or else Cotgrave is indicating southern usage. The 19th century *Landais* also lists *acarar* and *acaration* as old words. It may be that they had a certain currency outside the law courts. In the dictionary of Trévoux, (1753) *accarement* is given as an example of a word less used than *confrontation*. *Acarar* took on the more general meaning of *viser* ‘‘to aim’’. The *FEW* lists modern French *s'achairer* ‘‘se mettre en face’’, although this has nothing to do with the Occitan loans. It may be a development from *care*. Old French for ‘‘visage’’. In fact, the *DALF* derives these words from *care*. The *FEW* does not agree. I concur; the dates of the words are wrong. In any case, *care* would have made *acaration*, *acarement* and *ac(c)arar* more transparent. In Occitan these words are not confined to the law courts and are still current in the south of France. In Poitou the word *achariae* ‘‘faire attention’’ is attested and in Gascony *acarat*, meaning ‘‘équilibré, bien placé’’ is attested. Nevertheless, as far as standard French is

concerned, they were largely confined to the law courts and were not widely used in other kinds of French.

6) ACASEMENT

m. "action de donner en fief" 1583-1771 Gascon

FEW

casa hütte. [hut] 2. 450a/b

(...) Apr. *casament* „fief, tenure“ (B Alpes 1469. Meyer Doc), mfr. nfr. *acasement* „action de donner en fief“; *sous-acaser* „donner en fief ce qu'on a reçu d'un autre seigneur: *sous-acasement* „action de sous-acaser“ (alle drei Gaskogne. Rag 1583 -- Trév 1771).

G OldFr

ACASEMENT. s.m., inféodation, action de donner à fief ou à rentes :

L'on distingue l'*acasement* fait par le seigneur direct, de l'*acasement* fait par le tenancier, ou le *sous-acasement*. L'*acasement* fait par le seigneur foncier et direct, est vif, pour ainsi dire, et emporte lods et ventes, comme première vente foncière et seigneuriale, au lieu que de l'*acasement* fait par le tenancier, ou du *sous-acasement*, il n'est point de lods et ventes, d'où il est appelé quelquefois rente seiche. (LAURIÈRE. *Gloss. du droit franç.*)

ACASIE. s.f. trône :

Li soldans se seoit desor .I. *acasia*

Qui toute est faite d'or et d'oeuvre salatrie.

(*Chev. au cygne*, Richel. 795. fo 232vo.)

DALF Old French

Acasement. *subst. masc.* Inféodation. Calme, assoupissement.

Du mot ACASER, qu'on verra ci-après, dans le sens de donner en fief; l'on a dit *acasement* pour inféodation. [same quote as in Godefroy]

Ce mot, au second sens, paroît changer d'étymologie, et s'être formé d'*accoiser*, apaiser, calmer. «Le venin avoit desja gagné si avant ... que sa mortelle opération ne peut plus être empêchée, mais elle fut bien un peu retardée par un *acasement* de ceste violente douleur.» (Printemps d'Yver, fol. 124, Vo. -- Voy. ACCOISER.)

VARIANTE: ACCASEMENT.

C 1611

Accasement. *as* Accoisement.

Accoisement. *A quieting, pacifieng, appeasing, qualifying, easing, assuaging, abatement of paine or passion.*

Lan 1857

ACASEMENT, subst. mas. (*akazeman*), t. de féod., action d'*acaser*. Vieux

Variations: accasement

Derivatives: [acasia, perhaps from other meaning of *acazer* "s'établir"]

For biography see ACAZER.

7) ACAZER

v. "pourvoir d'un fief" 1583-1771 Gascon

FEW

casa hütte. 2, 450a

Apr. *acazar* „pourvoir (un chevalier) d'un fief" (ca. 1200), mfr. nfr. *acazer* (Gaskogne. Rag 1583 -- Trév 1771). (...) *sous-acaser* „donner en fief ce qu'on a reçu d'un autre seigneur": (...)

G OldFr

ACASER, *acaxer*, *acc.*, verbe.

-- Réfl.. établir domicile, se fixer, s'établir :

(...)

Desloger une infinité de gentilshommes françois qui s'étoient comme *accasez* en Italie. (1581. *Négoc. de la France dans le Lev.*, IV, 68.)

(...)

-- Neutre, dans le même sens :

Troublent ton iugement et te font, miserable.

Acaser au milieu d'un peuple abbominable.

(DU BARTAS, *La Vocation*, II, 441, éd. 1611.)

DALF OldFr

Acaser, *verbe*. Inféoder. Établir domicile.

Ce mot formé de *case*, maison, manoir, et par excellence manoir féodal, a signifié proprement donner en fief, inféoder. (Laur. Gloss. du Dr. fr.) Dans quelques Coutumes, comme celle de Bordeaux, c'est aussi *bailler à rente*. (Id. *ibid.*)

De là, *s'accaser*, pour s'établir dans un lieu, proprement y prendre un domicile à rente, et en étendant l'acception, s'y domicilier. «Le Roi ... de Sicille, Duc de Lorraine et d'Anjou. aimoit fort les Gascons et Gentilhommes de ce païs là-bas, et s'en servit fort. si bien qu'il y en eut quelques-uns qui s'y *accazerent*, dont en est sorti depuis d'honnêtes gens.» (Brant. sur les Duels, p. 3.)

VARIANTES: ACAZER, ACCAZER, AKASSER (ACCASER)

C 1611

Acaser. *To inhabit, sojourne, lodge, dwell, or house himselfe, in.*

Acazer. To rent, or let out upon a yearly rent.

Lan 1857

ACASER, v. act. (*acazê*), vieux mot inusité, qui signifiait donner en fief: *acaser une terre*.

DOF

acasar ~ **acasir**, v. tr. Enfermer, loger, caser. Établir, marier. *Étym. Occ. casa. Cat. casa.*

Variations: *acazer, accazer, accaser, akasser*

Homologues: *accaser* "to establish oneself in a place"

These two words are both simple and complicated. They are simple in that the reason why they disappeared from French is because they were no longer needed. When feudal institutions were abolished, the words used in connection with them fell out of use. Things get complicated when we try to determine if *acaser* owed its meaning, but not its form to southern influence. The word *travailler* has a similar history. The present meaning "to work" comes from the south of France. The word *travailler* already existed in the north with the meaning "to torture". It would seem that the feudal meaning of *acaser* "donner en fief" came from the south, but that the form *accaser* was already present in the north. On the other hand, the *DALF* gives the meaning "donner en fief" as central and according to this dictionary the second meaning of "établir" developed from it. *The Dictionnaire d'ancien français* lists *accaser* with only one meaning:

accaser v. tr. (XVIe s.). Etablir: *Ces pauvres Anglois qui s'etoient accasé... dans la ville de Calais.* (Mont.) || ETYM. Ad, caser.

It is more probable that (*s*) *acaser* came to mean "s'établir, s'installer" independently of the influence of *acaser* "action de donner en fief". It may be that the feudal meaning of *acacement* and *acaser* were only known in the south as the *FEW*

indicates. In any case, these words would have been lost after the Revolution, when feudal institutions were abolished. Cotgrave gives a meaning for *acazer* not found in the other dictionaries, that of “to rent, or to let out on a yearly rent”.

8) ACCOUCHADE

f. “femme qui vient d’accoucher: accouchée” Sévigné

FEW

collocare hinlegen, aufstellen. [to lay down, to install] 2, 909a

(...) -- Fr. *accouchée* „femme qui vient d’accoucher“ (seit 1321, RhLitt 1, 185), apr. *acochade* Pans, nfr. *accouchade* (Sév. < pr.), (...)

Cognates: *accouchée*

Accouchade was used only by Mme de Sévigné. This use of a Provençal form would appear to have been deliberate. In her letter to the Count of Guitaut, governor of the Îles de Lérins, whose wife had given birth, Mme de Sévigné used a Provençal word to add a note of intimacy. The lady had spent some time in Provence visiting her daughter, who had married a nobleman from Provence, which is where Mme de Sévigné may have had occasion to hear the Provençal language. It seems likely that the French speakers living in Provence would have acquired some Provençal words in their French. The word *accouchade* provides no shades of meaning not already covered by *accouchée*, although the Provençal word adds a note of familiarity to Mme de Sévigné’s letter.

9) ACCOUCHER DE (S’)

v. “enfanter” Daudet Provençal

FEW

collocare hinlegen, aufstellen. [to lay down, to install] 2, 908b

(...) Fr. *accoucher de* „enfanter, mettre au monde“¹¹⁾ (seit Chrestien), *s'accoucher de* (13. jh. -- Malherbe; wieder. aus pr., Daudet), (...)

11) Daneben auch afr. *agesir*. Die präp. *de* dient zum ausdrück des grundes, vgl. bei Villehardouin *s'acouchier de maladie* § 29. *accoucher d'un enfant* bedeutet also „s'aliter à propos d'un enfant“. Die alte bed. lebt viel länger als Wagner R 63, 246 meint.

L 1883

ACCOUCHER (a-kou-ché). || 1. Mettre au monde (...)

-- HIST XIIIe s. (...) La comtesse Marie si acoucha d'une fille, ID. 180. (...)

ÉTYM. Bourguig. *écouchai*; picard, *acouker*. On voit par l'historique que *accoucher* ou *s'accoucher* signifie proprement se coucher, s'aliter; ce n'est que peu à peu qu'il a pris le sens exclusif de se mettre au lit pour enfanter. De *à* et *coucher*.

Cognates: *accoucher de*

The use of the reflexive pronoun is what makes *s'accoucher de* an Occitanism.

Daudet used it in the 19th century, so it counts as an author's single use. This form is also attested from the 13th century to the time of Malherbe. This may have been one of the words condemned as a Gasconism by Malherbe, which is not to imply that it really was a Gasconism. It may have been a native French construction mistaken for an Occitanism.

10) ADOUBERIE

f. „tannerie“ 15th - 18th Poitevin, Gascon

FEW

dubban (anfrk.) schlagen. [to strike] 15 II, 79a

g. **Gerben**. - Nfr. *addouber* cuir „façonner avec le tan“ Mon 1636, alyon. *cuier adobá* „cuir tanné“, apr. *cuier adobat* (Albi 1200, RLR 44, 497), npr. lang. bearn. *adoubá* „tanner“. -- Apr. *dobaria* f. „tannerie“ (BAlpes, MeyerDoc), mfr. *adouberie* (poit. gask. 15. - 18. jh.). - Sav. *adoubë* 6).

6) Hierher auch *Adbó*, der name des quartiers, wo sich in Thônes früher die gerbereien befanden.

G OldFr

ADOUBEOR. *-oubeur, -obeur, -ubur, add., s.m., celui qui répare, qui arrange. qui raccommode :*

(...)

-- Tanneur :

Ne en maisun a fulun, ne en maison a teinturier, ne en maison a *adobeur*. (*Lois de la cité de Lond., Brit. Mus. add. 14252.*)

En Poitou, Vienne, Deux-Sèvres, on appelle encore *adoubeur*, l'empirique qui remet les membres cassés ou démis.

ADOUBER. *-ober, -uber, -ubber, -oubber, -obber, -oubler, add., verbe.*

(...)

-- Tanner :

L'un comande multes choses pour teindre, pur *aduber*. (*Lois de la cité de Lond., Brit. Mus. add. 14252.*)

(...)

ADOUBERIE *-oberie, -obarie, s. f., tannerie ou teinturerie :*

Vergier pres la Vienne ouquel a une *adouberie*. (1492, Prieuré de S.-Rom. de Chatelleraut. Arch. Vienne.)

(...)

Ce terme a continué de s'employer dans le Poitou et dans la Gascogne au dix-septième et au dix-huitième siècle :

Etat des *adouberies* situees sur la riviere du Pré l'abbesse. (1660, Ste-Croix, liasse 13. Arch. Vienne.)

(...)

Il y avait à Bordeaux la rue des *adouberies* des tanneurs. (*Fiefs de Bordeaux, no 87, Arch. Gir., terrier no 87.*) Elle s'appelle aujourd'hui impasse des Tanneurs.

Homophones: adouber (to dub a knight); adouberie (dubbing of a knight)

Homologues: tannerie

Most of the dictionaries list *adouber* with its feudal meaning "to dub a knight". only Godefroy lists *adouberie* "tannerie". *Adouber* had other meanings: there was "réparer, raccommoder" (mar.) and "toucher une pièce au Trictrac et aux Échecs". I have no reason to suppose that *adouberie* was used outside of the Midi, where it persisted until the 18th century. The word *adouberie* was a part of the French of the south and of

areas bordering the south,⁷⁸ but not of the north. As the use of French increased in the south, *adouberie* was dropped in favour of *tannerie*.

11) AGANNIR

v. "consommer, fanner" 16th - 1611 Languedocien

FEW

***gainôn** (got.) das maul aufsperrn. [to open wide one's mouth] 16, 9b, 10a

Lang. *agani* „retrait, mal nourri (blé versé, trop mûri)“ S (daher mfr. *agannir* v. a. „consommer, faner, devenir stérile, perdre toute force“ Cotgr 1611). (...)

C 1611

Aganni: m. ie: f. *Withered, faded, consumed, grown fruitless, deprived of force.*

Agannir. *to consume, wither, vade, faile, grow fruitless, loose all vigour, and force.*

DOF

aganir. v. tr. et r. Exténuer, excéder, épuiser. *Dér. aganiment, épuisement, exténuation.*

Étym. Occ. avanir. Mistral : a + can + ir. Cat. esvanir.

I can see no obvious reason why this word should have become obsolete. The fact that only Cotgrave lists it may indicate that it was not all that widespread. There is nothing cultural about this word. It would seem to me that French already had an adequate number of synonyms to express this concept, such as *consommer, fanner, rendre stérile*. This word *agannir* is a cognate with the French *s'évanouir*. The same German etymon gave rise to *gana* "pleasure, joy, inclination" in Portuguese, Spanish and Catalan.

⁷⁸ Poitou was Oc speaking sometime before the High Middle Ages, so the presence of *adouberie* could be the result of this ancient presence of Occitan.

12) **AGOURMANDIR**

v. "affriander" Daudet 1890 Gascon

FEW

grom (ae.) bursche. [fellow, guy] 16, 92b

(...) Agen, bearn. *agourmandi* (> nfr. *agourmandir* Daud 1890).

Homologues: affriander

It seems that only Daudet used *agourmandir* in French and there was an equivalent, *affriander*.

13) **AGRADER**

v. "plaire" Daudet 1897 Provençal

FEW

gratus dankbar. [grateful] 4, 251a

(...) HAAlpes, Queyr. Lallé, Pietrap. Barc. *agradar* „plaire“, pr. Nice *agradá* (> *agrader* Daud 1897), (...)

see Sp. *agradecer*

DOF

agradar, v. *tr.* et *intr.* Agréer, plaire, trouver à son gré, prendre à gré. v. *r.* Se plaire, se convenir, s'aimer. (...) *Étym. Occ.* a + **grat** + **ar**. *Cat.* **agradar**.

Homologues: plaire

It would appear that *agrader* was used only by Daudet in French and there was an equivalent in French, *plaire*.

14) **AGUASSIÈRE**

f. "merle d'eau" 1829-1866 Gascon

FEW

aqua wasser. [water] 25, 65b

(...) Vd'Aure *aygassé* m. „évier“, Arrens *agassé* P 49, bearn. *aigassè*, *aygassè* „porteur d'eau“, *aygassière* f. „merle d'eau“, nfr. *aguassière* (régional, Boiste 1829 - Lar 1866).

Lan 1857

AGUASSIÈRE, subst. fém. (*aguacière*), t. d'hist. nat., espèce d'oiseaux silvains et chanteurs. -- Merle d'eau.

This word is one of many "natural" words, that is to say names of plants and animals, borrowed into French from Occitan,. The *FEW* lists it as a regionalism. It was recorded in the *Larousse* of 1866, but not in the *Littré* of 1883. It seems likely that *aguassière* remained a regional expression. There was already a designation for this bird in standard French. *merle d'eau*.

15) AGUILLE BASTERESSE

f. "carrelet" 13th

FEW

***bastjan** (germ.) mit bast flechten. [to plait with rafia] 15, I. 75a + n 3
 (...) - Afr. *aguille basteresse* „carrelet, aiguille à coudre les toiles d'emballage“ (ca. 1240) 3). (...)

3) Der einzige beleg stammt aus dem Livre de Sidrac, das wahrscheinlich einen Südfranzosen zum autor hat, Thomas NEss 74; ThomasMél 29. Thomas möchte das wort zu *BASTUM „saumsattel“ stellen. Doch wird diese art nadel zu sehr verschiedenen arbeiten gebraucht, vgl. im DG die definition von *carrelet*. Das charakteristische sind die langen stiche. Darum gehört das wort hierher.

Homophones: *aguille* (Old Fr. *aiguille*); *baster* (Old Fr. *remuer, trimballer*), *basteler* (*Faire des tours d'adresse.. Faire le sot*)

Homologues: *carrelet*

It would seem that the combination *aguille basteresse* is of southern influence. It looks like a calque. *Aguille* is the northern form of the word, the Old Occitan form is (*a*)*gulha* from Lat. ACUCULA. The word *basteresse* appears to be the northern form as

well. Since there is only one recorded use of this combination, it would appear to be a hapax. Furthermore, there was already a French designation for this instrument, *carrelet*.

16) AIGUADIÈRE

f. "sorte de vase" 1480-1580

FEW

aqua wasser. [water] 25, 65a

(...) Apr. *aiguadiera* f. „aiguière, burette“ (1380, Pans), *eigadiera* (1450, Pans). *aygadiera* (1511, MeyerDoc), mfr. *eiguediere* f. „sorte de vase qui a une anse et un bec“ (1480, Hav), *aiguadière* (1580), mars. *aigadiero* A; *eiguadier* m. 1587. Hav).

Cognates: aiguière; aigue (Old Fr. “eau”)

It would seem that competition from *aiguière*, another Occitan word, prevented *aiguadière* from becoming established in French. Now, *aiguière* comes from Prov. *aiguiera*, which is in turn from Popular Latin *aquaria*. It was borrowed into French in the 14th century when Old French *aigue* “water” was still in use. This would have made the meaning of *aiguière* more transparent to French speakers. There is the possibility that *aiguière* helped *aiguadière* into French. They both have similar forms and apparently describe the same type of vase. It could be that the two words became confused in the minds of some speakers. The other words with the root *aigu-*, such as *aiguade* (1552) and *aigue-marine* (1578), that were borrowed from Occitan, were borrowed later than *aiguadière*. The *aiguière* was in use from the Middle Ages until the 18th c. This container was not only used to hold drinking water but washing water. It was replaced by *pot à eau* (early 18th c.) and *carafe* (1558, from It.). It seems that this type of vase is

no longer in use. When people started using forks regularly it was no longer necessary to wash after meals. Hence, there was less need for this type of container. (Havard)

17) ALAN

m. "esp. de chien" 15th - 1676 Gascon

FEW

***alanus** dogge. [mastiff] l. 57a/b

Afr. apr. npr. *alan* 1), rouerg. *aran*: in übertragener bed. npr. „goinfre; bavard“. -- Der Ursprung des Wortes ist ganz unklar. Die von ML 309 ausgesprochene Vermutung, es möchte sich um das part. präs. von *aller* handeln, wird zwar durch den veralteten Jägerterminus *chiens allants* „chiens courants“ gestützt, muß aber doch fallen gelassen werden, da das *-t* des part. präs. auch in den afr. Formen nirgends auftritt und da sich durch nichts Nordfrankreich gegenüber den anderen rom. Ländern als Heimat des Wortes erweisen läßt. Es ist im Gegenteil wahrscheinlich, daß es von Süden nach Norden gewandert und daß Spanien seine eigentliche Heimat ist. Schon die Fori Aragoneses kennen das Wort, während es in Frankreich auf literarischem Wege Eingang gefunden zu haben scheint. Der erste, der es braucht, ist der Verfasser des im Anfang des 14. Jh. vielleicht sogar von einem Katalanen geschriebenen Abenteuerromans *Blandin de Cornouailles*. Wie ein provenzalisch schreibender Spanier das Wort nach Südfrankreich brachte, so die französisch schreibenden Südfranzosen Raimon Vidal (1338) in seiner „*Chace aus mesdisans*“ und der Graf Gaston Phebus von Foix und Bearn in seinem Jagdbuch (ca. 1390) nach Nordfrankreich. Hier erscheint es nur in literarischen Texten (15. -- 16. Jh.). Zum letzten Mal wird es noch verzeichnet im *Dict. Royal* (1676) Diez 10.
1) Aus dem fr. bret. *alanig* „renard“.

DALF Old Fr

Alan, *subst. masc.* Espèce de Dogue.

En Espagnol, *alano*. L'origine de ce nom sera indiquée au mot *Alanye* (Voy. ALANYE ci-après.) On distingue trois sortes d'*Alans*. Le *bon alan*, celui sans doute qu'on a nommé *alan gentil*, est de la taille du lévrier. (Voy. Nicot, Dict.) «Bon *alant* doit courre sitost comme un lévrier.» (Chasse de Gast. Phébus, MS. p. 115.)

Amour déteste
La pesant teste
Du nonchalant ;
Et admoneste
Qu'on soit honneste,
Gentil, galland,
Sougie, volant
Comme un *allant*,

Et qu'au besoin tost on s'appreste.

Blason des faulces amours, p. 241.

Il paroît qu'on tiroit d'Espagne les *bons alans*, les *alans gentils*, et qu'ils étoient fort estimés. (Voyez Chasse de Gast. Phébus, MS. p. 131.) Louis XI, «envoya querir ... en Espagne, des *allans*: de petites levrettes, en Bretagne.... et les achetoit cher.» (Mém. de Comines, T. I, p. 491.) Le Duc de Bourbon à qui le Roi d'Espagne «feist présenter.... or, argent et vaisselle.... ne vout rien prendre sinon, chiens nommez *allands*, etc.» (Hist. de Loys III, Duc de Bourbon, p. 134. -- Voy. Froissart, Vol. III, p. 254. -- Id. ibid. p. 22.)

Les *alanz veautres* avec lesquels on chasse aux ours et aux sangliers, tirent sur le matin. (Voy. Nicot, Dict.) «Si sont auques tailliez comme laide taille de levriers, mais ilz ont grosses testes, grosses lèvres et granz oreilles..... S'ilz meurent d'un ours, ou d'un sanglier, ce n'est mie trop grant perte.» (Chasse de Gast. Phébus, MS. p. 116.)

Quant aux *alans de boucherie*, ils servent à garder les maisons et à conduire les boeufs. (Nicot, Dict. -- Chasse de Gast. Phébus, MS. p. 116.)

VARIANTES: ALANT, ALLAN, ALLAND, ALLANT, HILLAND

Alanye, *subst. fém.* Nom de pays.

La Sarmatie Européenne. On l'a nommée *Alanie*, et les différens peuples qui l'habitoient Alains, parce que le premier de ces peuples inconnus, qui se répandit dans la Germanie, les Gaules et l'Espagne étoit sorti des environs d'une chaîne de montagnes, appelée *Alanos*, en latin *Alaunus mons*.

(...)

Un *Roi d'Alanye* a donc pu faire présent d'un chien rare au roi de Macédoine, à Alexandre fils de Philippe.

Fluvinus l'excellent acteur,
Racompte encoires ung greigneur
De la hardiesse et puissance
Et subtilité et vaillance
D'ung chien que le Roy d'*Alanye*
Envoya, de sa courtoisie,
Au Roy Alexandre le grant...
En sa court avoit ung Lyon;
Grant estoit et fier et félon.

.....
... le chien par le gavyon (3)
Si roidement print le Lyon
Que le froissa quant l'ala prendre
Si que puis ne se peut deffendre.

Gace de la Bigne, des Déduits, MS. fol. 73, Vo.

Il est probable qu'un chien de ce courage et de cette vigueur étoit de même nature que le molossus des Latins, espèce de dogue venue de la *Molosside*, ou d'Épire en Italie; que l'Épire l'avoit tirée d'*Alanye*, et que les Alains qui s'établirent dans l'Espagne y portèrent cette même espèce de dogue, qu'en Espagnol on nomme *alano*, *alan* en François; nom

qui indique leur première origine. (Voy. ALAN ci-dessus.)

VARIANTE: ALENIE

(3) gorge, gosier.

AW Old Fr

alan (*it. alano*) *s. m.*

eine Art Hund: en laisse mainnent levriers, Alans d'Espaigne et chiens mestis, Chace as mesdis. 61.

N 1606

Alan, C'est vne espece de chien fort corpulent & furieux comme le Dogue d'Angleterre, de teste grosse & courte, qui vient d'une contrée d'Epire, autrement dite Albanie, qui s'appelle Molosse. Aucuns le distinguent en Alan gentil, qu'ils disent estre comme leurier, & de la taille dessus dite: en Alan vautre, qu'ils disent estre, de laide taille de leurier, & comme mastin, ayant grosse teste, grosses leures, & grandes oreilles, bon à coupler aux Ours & aux Sangliers, & Alan de boucherie, dont les bouchers se seruent à mener les boeufs farouches, & à garder leurs estaux & maisons.

C 1611

Allan: m. A kind of big, strong, thicke headed, and short snowted dog; the brood whereof came first out of Albania, (old Epirus.)

Allan de boucherie. Is like our Mastiue, and serues Butchers, to bring in fierce oxen, and to keepe their stalls.

Allan gentil. Is like a Grayhound in all properties, and parts, his thicke and short head excepted.

Allan vautre. A great, & ougly curre of that kind (hauing a big head, hanging lips, and slowching eares) kept onely to bait the Beare, and wild Boare.

F 1690

ALAN. *s.m.* Terme de Venerie. C'est un gros chien, espece de dogue qui est venu originairement d'Epire. Il y en a de trois sortes: *Alan gentil*, celui qui est de la taille de levrier: *Alan vautre*, qui tire sur le mastin, qui est bon à chasser aux ours & aux sangliers: & *Alan de boucherie*, qui sert à garder les maisons, & à conduire des boeufs. Ce mot est venu de l'Espagnol *Alano*. Les Anciens disoient aussi *alanus*. Nebricensis l'appelle *molossus*.

Afb 1778

ALAN. *s. m.* Terme de Vénerie. Gros chien.

Lan 1857

ALAN, subst. masc. (*alan*), chien propre à chasser le sanglier.

DOF

alan, *s.* et *adj.* Goulu, goinfre, vorace, ogre ; chien courant. *Var. arand, arandàs, Rgt.*
Étym. L. alanus.

Homophones: [allant]

Homologues: dogue, chien courant, chien de chasse

The *FEW* alleges that *alan* was only used in literary texts. If the word was known only to an elite, then that would explain how it could so easily disappear. In spite of what the *FEW* says, there are attested forms with *-t* and even *-d*. The term *chien allant(t)* may have crossed with *alan*. Although it supposedly died out in 1676, Furetière (1690) and the *Academy Dictionary* (1778) both list it as a “terme de vénerie”. The word did not die out; it may have become a specialized hunting term. In fact, it may have become the generic term for hunting dog rather than designating a particular breed of dog. The *Academy Dictionary* of 1835 does not list *alan*, but the *Landais* dictionary of 1857 does. Perhaps *alan* was considered to be too technical to be included in later Academy dictionaries. The *Landais*, on the other hand, aimed to be a universal dictionary by including technical and scientific, poetic, proverbial, familiar and popular words, as well as neologisms. This is perhaps why it includes *alan*. It could be that *alan* was on its way out in the mid 19th century and the entry in the *Landais* represents a “last gasp”. It could be that this breed of dog was given a different name. It seems likely to me that *molosse* (1555: lat. molossus, mot gr. «chien du pays des Molosses», en Épire) (*PR*) replaced *alan*. The two words were undoubtedly in competition for a time. Furthermore, these two words have the same origin, both are from a country now called Albania.

18) **ALLAGANT**

adj. "arrosant avec de l'eau" 16th - 1611

FEW

lacus kufe; see. [vat, tub, barrel; runner, skid (of a sledge); lake, sea] 5, 126b + n 5
 (...) Nice *alagá* „inonder“ RF 9, 521, Ariège id. Am. Mfr. *allagant* „arrosant avec de l'eau“ Cotgr 1611) s).

s) Zweifellos aus einem aus Südfrankreich stammenden autor exzerpiert.

C 1611

Allagant. *Washing, watering.*

This appears to be another case of hapax, even though the word was (apparently) attested in the Midi for over a century. Cotgrave might have copied the word from an author of southern origin.

19) **ALOUMÈRE**

f. "agaric" 1845 - 1866 Gascon

FEW

champignon. 21, 167a

Nice *aloumere* m. „agaric paillet, qui vient par touffes aux pieds des ormeaux“. -- Land. *aloumère* f. „id.. aux pieds des sureaux“ (Besch 1845 - Lar 1866).

L 1883

ALOUMÈRE (a-lou-mê-r'), s. f. Genre d'agaric d'une saveur douceâtre, qui croît au pied des sureaux.

It seems likely that *aloumère* was a local designation for *agaric*. The Littré calls it a kind of agaric. The superordinate term *agaric* replaced *aloumère*.

20) **ANCOEUR, ENCUEUR**

m. "tumeur du cheval" (veterin.) 1583 - 1782

FEW

cor herz. [heart] 2. 1176a

II. 1. Apr. *ancor* „tumeur à la poitrine du cheval“ (13. jh., R 40, 367), mfr. *encueur* (EstL 1583, 56 a; Ol de Serres), nfr. *ancoeur* (NMrust 1, 189; EncMA 1, 532), Troyes *encoieur* „maladie inflammatoire des vaches“ Gr. Aube *herbe à l'encoieur* „hellébore“ RIF1 1, 79³⁵).

2. Nfr. *anticoeur* „tumeur à la poitrine du cheval“ (Miege 1688 -- EncMA 1, 573).

3. Nfr. *avant-coeur* (seit Miege 1688), pr. *avancur*.

35) Die wurzel von helleborus erzeugt beim reiben diesen tumor.

C 1611

Encueur: m. *The Stithie: (a disease of horses, and cattell.)*

F 1690

AVANT-COEUR. Voyez *anticoeur*, c'est la même chose.

ANTICOEUR. s. m. Maladie de cheval. C'est une tumeur qui se forme à sa poitrine vis à vis du coeur. On l'appelle aussi, *avant-coeur*.

Lan 1857

AVANT-COEUR, subst. mas. (*avankeur*), t. de méd. vét., espèce de maladie des chevaux. C'est une tumeur qui se forme à la poitrine, vis-à-vis du coeur. -- Creux de l'estomac -- Au plur.. des *avant-coeurs*.

L 1883

ANCOEUR (an-keur), s. m. Voy. AVANT-COEUR.

-- ÉTYM. An pour *avant*, et *coeur*.

AVANT-COEUR (a-van-keur) ou **ANTICOEUR** (an-ti-keur), s. m. || 1. En hippiatrice, toute tumeur qui naît au poitrail du cheval, et, plus généralement, tumeur charbonneuse qui occupe la pointe du sternum. || 2. En termes de boucherie, avant-coeur, anticoeur ou veine, chez les bêtes à cornes, maniement pair ou double commun aux deux sexes. Ce maniement est placé dans un endroit très-rapproché de celui qu'on connaît sous le nom de poitrine. || *Au plur.* Des avant-coeurs.

-- ÉTYM. *Avant* ou *anti*, en avant, et *coeur*.

Note: the *TLF* lists *avant-coeur* with the meaning "(m)aladie particulière du boeuf et du cheval, ainsi nommée parce qu'elle se manifeste par une tumeur qui survient au poitrail, au-devant du coeur. (Cf. NYSTEN 1814, Lar. encyclop.)". It could also mean "woman's breasts", (quote from *Le Père Goriot*).

Homologues: tumeur

Cognates: avant-coeur

The word *ancoeur* did not die out in the 18th century, but rather another form was borrowed from Occitan in the 17th c., *avant-coeur*, from Prov. *avancur*, both forms continued in the language until the 19th c. This later form was more transparent than *ancoeur*. There was also *anticoeur*, borrowed the same year, 1688. The forms may have “crossed”. The forms *ancoeur* and *anticoeur* were still in use in the 19th century, as the *Littré* would seem to indicate. The Gallicized forms were preferred, perhaps because they were easier to analyze. The *Dictionnaire Général* and the *Petit Robert* do not list either *avant-coeur*, *anticoeur* or *ancoeur*. It may be that the more general term *tumeur* is now used for all three.

21) ANER

v. “aller” Old Fr.?

FEW

ambitare herumgehen. [to wander around] 1, 84a + n 1

Apr. awald. *anar*, afr. *aner* 1), (...)

1) Aus dem apr. entlehnt; doch ist das wort durchaus nicht gesichert. Gdf. verzeichnet nur 3 stellen (wovon 2 Diez 20 entlehnt sind). Alle stammen aus ausgedehnten texten, die sonst durchaus nur *aller* kennen. Daher wird wohl irgend ein lesefehler vorliegen.

G OldFr

ANER. verbe.

-- Neutr, aller :

A Rome lo que nos *anium*.

(BEN., *D. de Norm.*, I, 1249, Michel.)

Imprimé, *avium*.

Que vos *anez* por moi fors terre.

(*Tristan*, ap. Diez, *Dict. ét.*, Andare.)

-- Réfl., s'en *aner*, s'en aller :

Si qu'en exil nos en *anium*.

(BEN., *D. de Norm.*, ap. Diez, *Dict. étym.*, Andare.)

FPO

ANEN. Allons (évite aux Occitans l'emploi du français **go**), CC; verbe employé uniquement à l'impératif en français d'Occitanie; *anen, pitchou, c'est l'heure de partir*; de l'oc. **anem** «id.» de **anar** «aller». VPF 428, TF 93.

DOF

anar. v. *intr.* Aller, marcher. Être content. Convenir. Être contenu, entrer. (...) *Étym. douteuse* L. **ad** + **nare**, nager vers. *Cat. anar.*

Homologues: aller

Although the verb *aner* is used in the imperative in the French of the south of France, it appears to have had only limited use in standard French. According to the *FEW*, it might even be a scribal error. The forms of the verbs *aller* in Old French and Old Occitan were similar enough for this to have been an understandable error to make.

22) **ANGUILLE**

f. "sorte de bateau" 15th - 16th Bordeaux

FEW

anguilla aal. [eel] l. 95b, 96a

Fr. *anguille*, apr. *anguila*. (...) in sekundärer bed. mfr. *anguille* „sorte de bateau allongé“ (daher *anguillier* „patron d'un tel bateau“. beide wörter im 15. bis 16. jh. und nur in dokumenten aus der gegend von Bordeaux); (...)

G OldFr

ANGUILLE. *eng.*, s. f., sorte de bateau allongé, qui mesurait d'ordinaire de 40 à 45 pieds de long :

Une nef appelee *anguille* fut gectee par fortune de mer en la couste de Gironde. (XVe s., *Enq. s. les lim. de la jurisd. de Soulac*, Arch. Gir.)

Une *anguille* de 40 pieds de long. (11 oct. 1510, Notaires, Bontemps, 51-1 fo 56. *ib.*)

Une *enguille* de quarante piedz a environ de quilhe, avec un bon tilhac. (8 janv. 1515, Notaires, Laurent, 345-1, *ib.*)

Depuis l'estey du pont saint Jehan jusques a l'estey des *anguilles*. (1557, *Mém. au roi de Nav.*, Arch. comm. Bord.)

Certains petitz vaisseaulx, comme *anguilles*, gaillons. (3 déc. 1568, *Arr. du parl. de Bord.*, Arch. Gir., B 214.)

ANGUILLIER, *anguylier*, s. m., patron d'un bateau appelé *anguille*:
Olivier de Lacloche *anguylier*. (Avril 1516, Notaires, Guill. Payron, 419-1, Arch. Gironde.)

C 1611

Anguille: f. *An Eele*.

L'Anguille. *The name of the tyde-boat which passes betweene Blaye, and Bourdeaux.*
(...)

Derivatives: *anguillier* (may have been borrowed from Occitan)

Homophones: *anguille* "eel"

This is a case of the word becoming obsolete with the thing it designated. The word's absence from Alibert's dictionary seems to indicate that this type of boat is no longer in use. It is also likely that this word was used mainly in the south of France, in particular in the area around Bordeaux, since it designates a kind of boat particular to the south.

23) **APPORT**

m. "profit d'un capital" 1771 Auvergnat

FEW

apportare bringen. [to bring] 25, 46a

Ablt. -- Fr. *apport* m. „action d'apporter“ (12. jh.- SSimon), „lieu d'une ville où l'on apporte les denrées“ (1424 - Ac 1798), *l'apport Paris* (...) „profit provenant d'un capital“ (Rag 1583 - Pom 1700; „en Auvergne“ Trév 1771), (...)

C 1611

Apport: m. (...) *also, the reuenuw, gaine, or profit which a thing brings in to its owner.*
(...)

Homophones: *apport* "le fait d'apporter des profits"

This would be just another hapax, if it were not for the fact that it appears to have been in use even before 1771. In fact, two reference works list it: the *Glossaire du droit*

françois by François Ragueau (1583) and the *Grand dictionnaire royal françois-latin-alleman, latin-allemand-françois, alleman-françois-latin* (1700) by Pomai. Ragueau lists the word as being from Auvergne. Cotgrave is the only one of my dictionaries to list *apport* with the meaning “profit d’un capital”. It may well be that the meaning changed from “profit d’un capital” to “le fait d’apporter des profits, des intérêts. As the *FEW* and Ragueau’s glossary suggest, this word was confined to the French of the south of France. In any case, *revenu* was available in the north of France.

24) APPROPINQUER

v. “approcher” Rabelais 1546

FEW

appropinquare sich nähern. [to bring or place near; to approach] 25, 55a

I. Apr. *aprobencar* v. r. „s’approcher“ (13.-14. jh.). -- Ablt. Apr. *aprobencamen* m. „rapprochement“ (13.-14. jh.).

II. 1. Apr. *apropinquare* v.n. „approcher“ (ca. 1350), mfr. *appropinquer* (1546, Rab).

2. Apr. *apropincacio* f. „proximité“ (hap. 14. jh.), mfr. *apropinquation* „action de s’approcher“ (hap. 15. jh.).

Lt. APPROPINQUARE lebt nur im apr. weiter und ist auch dort bald geschwunden (oben I). Vereinzelt wurde es später entlehnt (II 1), wie auch das zugehörige subst. *appropinquatio* „annäherung“ (2).

Homologues: approcher

It appears that this word was used in French only by Rabelais. There was already *approcher* in French. Two nouns also appear as hapaxes: *apropincacio* “proximité” and *apropinquation* “action de s’approcher”. This word survived only in Provençal, and even there, no longer appears to be current. There is also the possibility that this word is a Latinism created by Rabelais on the basis of the Latin form *appropinquare*.

25) **AQUITRANNER**

v. "goudronner" 16th c. Provençal ports

FEW**qatran** (ar.) teer. [tar] 19, 90a

II. 1. Apr. *alquitran* „goudron“ (gask. ca. 1210; Narbonne 13. jh., Fagniez 1, 332), mfr. id. (hap. leg. 1586).

2. Apr. *quitran* „goudron“ (1376, Pans), npr. pr. Barc. id., Aix id. P, mars. id. A, Nice *chitran* [*kitran*] Pl, Péz. *quitran*. Grau id. R 14.

Ablt. Pr. *quitraná* „goudronner“, Aix id. P.

Zuss. Nfr. *enquitraner* (1641, in einem text aus der Provence, Jal), npr. pr. *enquitraná*, Nice id., Aix id. P, mars. *enquitranar* A; Barc. „engorger“. Nfr. *anquitranade* „toile goudronnée“ (17. jh., text aus der Provence, Jal; EncMMar).

- Mfr. *acquitraner* „goudronner“ (16. jh.; text aus der Provence).

3. Nfr. *guitran* „goudron dont on enduit les navires“ (seit Pom. 1671).

4. Nfr. *aguitran* „poix molle“ (SavBr 1723 - Trév 1771).

5. Mfr. *kitre* „poix liquide“ Cotgr 1611.

Homologues: goudronner

It appears that both *aquitraner* and *aquitranade* were confined to texts from the south of France. They may have been used in the French of the south of France for a time, although I can find no trace of them in any of the dictionaries I consulted. There was *goudronner* in the north.

26) **ARAMBER**

v. "accrocher un bâtiment" (mar.) 1665 - 1836

FEW***rammôn** (lgb.) rammen. [to ram] 16, 657b, 658a

1. Mfr. nfr. *rambade* f. „construction élevée à la proue d'une galère. d'où les combattants dominaient la galère ennemie“ (1546 - Trév 1771, Rab), *rembade* (1627; Jal), *rambarde* (seit Bourdé, 1773), *rembarde* (1805, Corresp. de Napoléon avec le ministre de la marine 1, 362; 1932, Céline Voyage 298, Bb), mars. *rambado* A.

2. Nfr. *aramber* v. a. „accrocher un bâtiment pour venir à l'abordage“ (1665- AcC 1836, Fr Mod 21. 137), Nice *arrambá*, mars. *arambar* „id.; accoster qn (fam.)“ A, daupha. *arābar* „rapprocher, appuyer contre“, Puiss. *arambá* „v. a. attaquer; v. r. s'approcher“, Béz. *arrambá* „ramasser“. -- Ablt. Nfr. *arambage* m. „action d'aramber“ (EncMMar 1783 - AcC 1836), (...)

Note: Hope lists *rambade* as an italianism (p. 218)

F 1690

ARAMBER. v. act. Terme de Marine. C'est. Accrocher un bastiment pour venir à l'abordage.

AFb 1778

ARAMBER. v. a. Terme de Marine. Accrocher un vaisseau pour venir à l'abordage.

Lan 1857

ARAMBER, v. act. (*aranbé*), t. de mar., accrocher un bâtiment pour venir à l'abordage.

Derivatives: arambage

It seems that *aramber* was confined to the vocabulary of sailors. This word was associated with violence, either war or piracy, and it could be that as pirates disappeared from the Mediterranean during the course of the 19th century, the word became less and less used.

27) **ARAP**

m. „arrachement“ mfr.
(c.f. ARAPPER)

FEW

rapôn (germ.) reissen, raffén. [to snatch, to catch on to] 16, 665a
(...) -- Apr. *arap* „arrachement, ravissement“ (Lv; KolsenBeitr, > mfr. *arap*, hap.), (...)

G OldFr

ARAP, s.m., action de dérober, rapt, vol :
Apiau de murtre ou d'omecide ou d'*arap*. (*Liv. de J. d'Ibelin*, ch. CV, var., Beugnot.)

ARAPEMENT, *arr.*, s.m., action d'arracher, de prendre par force, et fig., ravissement, action de l'âme qui semble s'arracher par moments à la servitude du corps:

Lesquelles choses ne pourroient a l'omme souvenir ne scavoit clerement, se son ame ne avoit dedens son corps aulcun interval et aulcuns *arrapemens* qui le retient franc et le absout des paines qu'il seuffre au corps. (EXIMINES, *Livre des sains anges*. fo 155 ro, éd. 1478.)

DALF OldFr

Arap, *subst. masc.* Acte de violence; rapt, vol. On fait violence à la femme ou à la fille qu'on ravit, à l'homme dont on ravit le bien. Ainsi, *arap* peut avoir signifié rapt, vol, en général acte de violence. (Voy. Gloss. sur les Cout. de Beauvoisis. -- Du Cange, Gloss. lat. T. I. col. 623.) «Qui veaut appeller homme d'*arap* ou de brisseure du chemin, ou de force quel qu'elle soit, ou d'un marc d'argent ou de plus, ou d'autre chose de quoi l'on pert vie ou membre qui en est atteint ou prové, il doit, etc. » (Assises de Jérusalem. chap. CV. p. 84.) «Se feme qui ait baron veaut faire apeau de murtre, ou d'omecide. ou d'*arap*. ou de brisseure de chemin. ou de chose en que ait bataille, etc.» (Ibid. chap. CVI. -- Voyez ARAPER.)

Variations: arapement

Homologues: arrachement

According to the *FEW*, *arap* with the meaning "arrachement" is a hapax in French. However, there are at least two attestations (see above). Perhaps its use was confined to these texts. The native French *arrachement* is now the preferred form.

28) ARBOLADE

f. "esp. de ragoût" (s. HERBOLADE) 1721-1866 Provençal

FEW

herba gras. [grass] 4, 408a

(...) Lallé *herbouláda* „gratin fait avec les légumes de la soupe, avec lait, beurre, crème et oeuf battu, et mêlé presque au moment de servir“ (> nfr. *herbolade* „tourte d'herbes“ Oud 1660, Cuis 1746, 333, *arbolade* „esp. de ragoût“, Trév. 1721 -- Lar 1866).

Lan 1857

ARBOLADE, *subst. fém.* (*arbolade*), t. de cuisine, espèce de flan fait avec du beurre, de la crème, des jaunes d'oeuf, du poiré, du sucre et du sel.

Perhaps this cooking term was confined to the south of France. The *Landais*, however, does not mark this term as being particularly southern. Perhaps this dish went out of fashion, or another name was found for it. As the *Landais* calls *arbolade* a kind of flan, the word *flan* might have been substituted for *arbolade*. In the Bourbonnais, *arboulade* is an omelette.

29) ARBOLASTE

f. "esp. de mets" 1393

FEW

herba gras. [grass] 4. 408a + n 28

(...) -- Mfr. *arbolaste* 28) f. „esp. de mets d’oeufs ou de viande“ (1393), (...)

28) Wohl mit suffixvertauschung aus dem süden entlehnt.

AW OldFr

arbolaste, *arbolastre* s. f.

(= *nfz.* *arbolade* *Birnmostkuchen* ? = *it.* *erbolato* ?): *une arboulastre .. d’oeufs* (= *nfz.* *omelette aux fines herbes*), *Ménag.* II 206 (*Anweisung zur Bereitung*). *une arboulaste de char pour quatre personnes*, *eb.* II 227.

Although *arbolaste* did not succeed in implanting itself in French, another Occitan term used to designate the same kind of dish, namely *omelette*, did succeed. *Arbolaste* appears to have been a hapax.

30) ARCAVOT

m. "tromperie" (Argot) 1881-1896

FEW

qawwad (ar.) kuppler. [procurer] 19, 92a

1. Apr. *alcavot* m. „maquereau“ (lang. 14. jh.), *arcabot* (1297, R 34, 197), *arquabot* (Béz. 1461, Gdf), *alcaot* (ca. 1350, Z 17, 305), lang. *arcabot* m. „libertin“ M, bearn. „coquin, fripon, débauché“ (vieux); *Vaucl. fan sis arcavot* loc. „ils font des leurs, ils font des embarras“ M, argot *arcavot* „tromperie, mensonge“ (jargon des marchands juifs)

Rig 1881-Ds 1896); Tarn *argaout* f. „dévergondée“; beam. *arcabote* „fripon“. --
-Ablt. Bearn. *arcaboutade* f. „friponnerie“.

2. Afr. *caouote* „entremetteuse“ (agn. ca. 1280), mfr. *cahuote* (Côte d’Or 1461. Festg Gam 1, 2). -- Ablt. Afr. *caoterie* f. „prostitution“ BrunLat, *caveterie* (var., Brun Lat, R 77, 491).

3. Mfr. *alchaüete* f. „entremetteuse“ D’Aubigné. [loan from Spanish]

Homologues: tromperie

Like a number of slang words, *arcavot* proved to be ephemeral. Its life span in French may not correspond to the dates given. Nevertheless, the word does not appear to be current. It is likely that this word never made it to standard French. There were a number of competitors, *tromperie*, *fraude* etc. It is interesting to note that this word’s Arabic etymon gave rise to a number of words in French.

31) ARCHIVAIRE

m. “archiviste” 15th

FEW

archivum archiv. [archives] 1, 128b

Mfr. *archif*, *archil* (16. jh.), mfr. nfr. *archive*, apr. *archieu* (Seyne, B Alpes 1410, Meyer Doc: Narbonne 1476, RLR 42, 95), abearn. *archieu*. -- Ablt. Mfr. *archiver* „déposer dans les archives“; *archivaire* „, archiviste“ (in texten aus Südfrankreich ende des 15. jh.); nfr. *archiviste* (seit anfang des 18. jh.). -- Im 16. jh. in die schriftsprache aufgenommen, jedoch im mlt. durchaus gebräuchlich. Im afr. nannte man die zum aufbewahren von urkunden bestimmten behälter *arche* (s. ARCA).

arca kiste. 1, 126b

Sodann bezeichnet es einen schrank 3): afr. *arche* „,archives“ (besonders lothr.), Reims, Troyes: „,id.; armoire“ (...)

3) Vgl. auch schwäb. *arch* „,kleiderschrank“.

G OldFr

ARCHIVAIRE, *archevaire*, s. m., garde des archives, archiviste :

Maistres rationaux et *archivaires* de nostre chambre et archifves d’Aix. (1486, *Ord.*, XIX, 680.)

Nos amez et feaux president, maistres rationaux et *archevaires* de nostre dicte chambre des comptes, et archifs de nosdits pays et comtez. (1501, *Ord.*, XXI, 286.)

ARCHIVER, v.a., déposer dans les archives:

Ce qui *est archivé* entre les monumens de la ville. (NOGUIER, *Hist. Tolos.*, p. 5.)

Nous lisons es monumens *archives* de la maison de la ville. (ID., *ib.*, p. 56.)

DALF OldFr

Archivair, *subst. masc.* Garde des archives. (Voy. ARCHIF.)

Archif, *subst. masc. et fém.* Chartrier ; dépôt public. Il y a différentes opinions sur l'étymologie de ce mot (1), qui n'est plus usité qu'au pluriel et dans le genre féminin. (Voy. Ménage, Dict. Etym. etc.) S'il est de même origine que le mot arche, c'est par la même raison que tous deux ont signifié coffre, armoire, lieu public où l'on dépose les chartes, les anciens titres d'une ville, d'une abbaye, etc. Borel définit *archifve*, coffres à tenir papiers. (Voy. ARCHE.)

Anciennement, on écrivoit *archif* pour archives.(...)

(1) *Archivum*, qu'on trouve dans Tertullien, vient du grec ἀρχεῖον, proprement demeure des magistrats supérieurs, puis dépôt des pièces officielles. Il fut singulier et masculin au XVIe siècle, à cause de l'étymologie. (N. E.)

Lan 1857

ARCHIVAIRE, *subst. masc. (archivère)*. Inus. Voy. ARCHIVISTE.

ARCHIVISTE, *subst. masc. (archivicete)*, celui qui garde les archives. -- On le dit aussi de l'homme de lettres qui compulse des *archives*.

PR 1984

Archives: (1416: bas latin *archivum*, gk. *arkheion* «ce qui est ancien»).

Archiviste: (1701: *archivair*, 1486 de *archives*).

DOF

archius, *m. pl.* Archives. *Dér.* **archivair**, archiviste. **archivista**, id. *Éty.* B. L.

archivum, du *Gr.* **arkheion**. *Cat.* **arxiu**.

Note: *archiviste* is absent from the Académie dictionary of 1695

The word *archivair* was confined to texts from the south of France. It could be that the suffix *-iste*, which was becoming increasingly more common, replaced the southern suffix *-aire*, as *the Petit Robert* suggests. The inclusion of *archivair* in the *Landais* would seem to indicate that the word survived for a time, although the dictionary calls it *inusité*.

32) AREIGNOL

m. "tramail" 1873

FEW

aranea spinne. [spider] 1, 121b

6. Auf vergleich mit dem spinnewebe beruhen: Apr. *aranh* „filet“, mfr. *érignée* „filet pour prendre les oiseaux“ (bei Belon, 1555, s. Millet 67), nfr. *araignée* „nom de plusieurs filets“ (vgl. auch Jal 155), boul. *irangne* „filet à larges mailles, fermé en forme de sac. servant à porter ou à suspendre divers objets. par exemple du linge. dans un grenier“, ang. *arigné* „filet à prendre des oiseaux“, dauph. *aragnie* „filet à prendre de petits oiseaux“. npr. *aragno*, bearn. *aranhou*, npr. *aragnòu* „id.; tramail“ (als *areignol* bei Littré), gask. *iragnous* M; bord. *iragnon* „filet pour la chasse des oiseaux“ Littré.

Lan 1857

AREIGNOL, subst. masc.. ou **BATTADE**, subst. fém. (*arègniol*), t. de pêche, sorte de filet.

L 1883

AREIGNOL (a-rè-gnol). *s.m.* Terme de pêche. Sorte de filet.

DOF

aranha, *f.* (...) Filet pour les oiseaux. (...)

Dér. (...) **aranhòl**, *m.*, filet pour les oiseaux ; filet pour les poissons. (...) *Éty.* *L.*

araneus, **aranea**, *cl.* **arachnea**. *Cat.* **aranya**.

Homophones: araignée

Homologues: tramail

This word appears to be more than a hapax, as its inclusion in two 19th century dictionaries would seem to indicate. It did not survive into the 20th century, at least not in standard French. It is still used in the south of France to designate a net for catching birds or fish. It would seem that this word never left its specialized area. It is interesting to note that Middle French and Modern French had similar words, *érignée*, *iragné* and *araignée*, so the use of *areignol* to mean “net” would not have been so unusual; this

metaphor, spider's web to net, was already present in French. There was a French equivalent to this word, *travail*.

33) ARGALOU

m. "paliure" 1768-1866 Provençal

FEW

paliure 21, 114a

Pr. *argaloou* RIF1 4, 13 (>nfr. *argalou* (1768 - Lar 1866, Valm 4, 411, s. v. *paliure*), périg. *argalou*.

Lan 1857

ARGALOU, subst. mas. (*argualou*), t. de bot. On désigne par ce mot le paliure, et quelquefois le liciet.

DOF

argalon, m. Lyciet (*Lycium europaeum*). Paliure (*Paliurus australis*), *Toul*.

Homologues: paliure

It would seem that this southern designation for a particular plant was replaced by its northern designation(s).

34) ARGANEAU

m. "anneau de fer" (mar.) 1678-1878 Mediterranean

FEW

organum werkzeug. [tool] 7, 409a

I. 1. a. Mfr. *argrenel* „anneau de fer auquel est attaché un câble“ (Rouen 1382), nfr. *arganeau* (Guillet 1678 -- Ac 1878) 1), „anneau de l'ancre“ (Ozan 1691 -- Ac 1878), npr. *araganèou*, mars. id. A. Grau id.; nfr. *arganeau* „petite chaîne que l'on met aux galériens seulement pour la forme“ (Trév 1721 -- 1771), argot „organeau de forçat“ (1837). -- Mit suffw. Nfr. *arganet* „anneau de l'ancre“ (1636 -- Termes 1693, s. Jal). -- Mit schwund des suff. Nfr. *argan* (1636 -- Termes 1693, s. Fourn 1643; Jal). -- Ablt. Airtip *argañase* * f. pl. „mauvaises nippes“. Daupha. *arganear* „v. n. s'agiter pour se débarrasser d'une étreinte; v. a. „attaquer“.

b. Mfr. *orgueneaul* m. „anneau de fer auquel est attaché un câble“ (Rouen, 1382), *orgreneau* (Rouen 1382), nfr. *organeau* (seit Trév 1752), „anneau de l'ancre“ (seit Ozan 1691), npr. *ourganèou*. mars. id. A, argot *organeau* „anneau de fer placé au milieu de la chaîne qui joint entre eux les forçats suspects“ (1837 -- Delv. 1867, Sain Sourc).

Note: p. 411b: (...) Die ablt. auf *-ellu* (*a*) erscheint ende 14. jh. auch in Rouen. wohin es mit so vielen andern marineausdrücken von der küste der Provence verschleppt worden ist. (...)

1) Bei Li dafür durch druckfehler auch *argapeau*.

F 1690

ARGANEAU. subst. masc. Terme de Marine. C'est un gros anneau de fer où on attache des manoeuvres & des cordages. Il y a des *arganeaux* aux platbords, aux batteries, aux ancres, &c.

AFb 1778

ORGANEAU, ou ARGANEAU, s. m. Terme de Marine. Anneau de fer où l'on attache un câble. (L'organeau d'une ancre.)

AFc 1799

ARGANEAU. sub. mas. Terme de Marine. Gros anneau de fer où l'on attache des cordages. *V.* ORGANEAU.

ORGANEAU, ou ARGANEAU. s. m. Terme de marine. Anneau de fer où l'on attache un câble. *L'organeau d'une ancre.*

AFd 1835

ARGANEAU. s. m. *Voyez* ORGANEAU.

ORGANEAU. s.m. T. de Marine. Anneau de fer où l'on attache un câble. *L'organeau d'une ancre.* On a dit aussi, *Arganeau*.

Lan 1857

ARGANEAU subst. mas. (*arguanô*), t. de marine, gros anneau de fer où l'on attache des cordages. -- L'Académie semble préférer ORGANEAU, car elle renvoie de celui-là à celui-ci.

ORGANEAU, subst. mas. (*orguanô*). Voy. ARGANEAU, qui se dit aussi souvent.

L 1883

ARGANEAU (ar-ga-nô), s.m. Voy. ORGANEAU.

-- ÉTYM. Bas-latin, *argana*, espèce de corbeille, *arganella*, espèce de machine de guerre, *arganum*, espèce de grue pour lever les fardeaux, *arganum*, toute espèce d'engin, *argata*, gros anneau. Tous ces mots dérivent, par corruption, du mot grec ὀργάνον, instrument (voy. ORGANEAU).

ORGANEAU (or-ga-nô), s. m. Terme de marine. Anneau de fer auquel on attache un câble.

-- ÉTYM. Diminutif de *organe*, dans le sens d'instrument, et le même que *arganeau*.

AFe 1884

ARGANEAU. s. m. Voyez **ORGANEAU**.

ORGANEAU. s.m. T. de Marine. Anneau de fer où l'on attache un câble.

L'organeau d'une ancre. On a dit aussi, *Arganeau*.

L&F 1888

ARGANEAU ou **ORGANEAU** (g. οργάνον, instrument), *sm*. Gros anneau de fer scellé dans le mur d'un quai et servant à attacher les bateaux.

ORGANEAU (*organe*), *sm*. Anneau auquel on attache un câble ou une chaîne :

L'organeau ou la cigale d'une ancre.

DG 1902

ARGANEAU [âr-gâ-nó]. *V.* organeau.

ORGANEAU [ôr-gâ-nó] *s. m.*

[ÉTYM. Dérivé de **organe**, § 126. Souvent altéré en **arganeau**. (*Cf. argue.*) || 1382.

Orgueneaulx a soustenir les ancrs, dans DELB. *Rec. Admis ACAD.* 1762.]

|| (Marine.) Anneau de fer auquel est attaché un câble. *Spécialt. L' -- de l'ancre.*

PR 1984

ORGANEAU (1382: de *organe*). *Mar.* Anneau de fer à l'extrémité de la verge d'une ancre pour l'amarrer. [*Arganeau* not listed]

Variations: argan, argrenel

Derivatives: arganet

Homophones: organe

Cognates: organeau

The word *organeau* comes from *organe*, which comes from the Latin *organum*, which is in turn of Greek origin. It would seem that the southern form *arganeau* was eventually replaced by *organeau*, but both forms coexisted for centuries. The Occitan form may have been originally preferred due to dominance of the south of France in the arts and techniques of sailing. For a time, the words competed, but eventually *organeau* won out. In any case, there is not much formal difference between *arganeau* and *organeau*.

35) **ARGILIER**

m. "arbre épineux" 1549-1660 Languedocien

FEW

ajonc 21, 105b

Mfr. nfr. *argilier* m. „sorte d`arbre épineux” (Est 1549 - Oud 1660: , dans le Languedoc` Voul 1613).

E 1549

Argilier, *Aspalathus*. Inuenitur in Gallia Narbonensi. Spina est ad paruam arborem assurgens. folio rutae. sed deciduo.

N 1606

Argilier, *Aspalatus*. Inuenitur in Gallia Narbonensi. Spina est ad paruam arborem assurgens. folio rutae. sed deciduo.

C 1611

Argilier: m. *The Ponticke Acatia* : (*a Thornie shrub.*)

Homophones: argile

The Occitan name for this tree was used for a time. It may be that the word never made it very far in standard French because this particular tree was found only in the South, as indicated by Estienne and Nicot. It seems that the word was confined to the French of the south of France.

36) **ARNAUDENS**

m. "esp. de monnaie" Old Fr.

FEW

Arnold P[roper] N[ame]. 1, 143 + n 1

Afr. *arnould* „mari trompé se résignant à l`être et tirant parti de sa situation”, apr. *arnaut* „imbécile”, Yonne: *arnois* „mauvais garnement”, Reims: *arnoud* „mari trompé: hanneton”, ard. *arnaud* „débauché; querelleur”. -- Ablt. Afr. *arnaudens* „esp. de monnaie connue dans les provinces méridionales” 1); afr. *arnauder* „chercher noise, maltraiter” (15. jh.), pik. *arnauder*, bmanç. *arnaode*. „se fâcher”, centr. *arnauder*

„chercher noise“. -- Auch in Italien hat dieser PN ähnliche pejorative bed. angenommen und findet sich so als appellativ schon in mlt texten, s. Du Cange, *arnaldus*. Schulze Z 18, 131; ML 662.

1) Vielleicht nach dem bischof Arnaud von Agen. Vgl. auch *arnulfius* (a. 1465).

G OldFr

ARNAUDENS, adj. et s. m. pl., espèce de monnaie connue dans les provinces méridionales de la France ; peut-être, suivant Sainte-Palaye, une monnaie des vicomtes de Lomagne, à qui le nom d'Arnaud était familier ; peut-être aussi une monnaie des comtes de Carcassonne ou de Comminges. Selon M. Chéruef (*Dict. des Instit.*), dont nous adoptons l'avis, l'*arnaudens* était une monnaie épiscopale d'Agen, et elle tirait son nom d'Arnaud, évêque de cette ville, au XIIe⁷⁹ siècle:

L'homme ou femme pris en adultere doivent courir la ville, leurs mains liees toutes deux avec une corde; et le seigneur doit avoir cinq sols *arnaudens*. (*Cout. d'Agen*, *Nouv. Cout. gén.*, IV, 903.)

DALF OldFr

Arnaudens, *adj. et subst. masc. plur.* Nom d'une espèce de monnaie. Les *sols Arnaudens* ou les *Arnaudens*, en latin *Arnaldenses* (2), étoient une espèce de monnaie connue dans les provinces méridionales de la France; peut-être une monnaie des vicomtes de Lomagne à qui le nom d'*Arnaud* étoit familier; peut-être aussi, une monnaie des comtes de Carcassonne ou de Comminge. (Voy. Du Cange, *Gloss. lat.* T. I, col. 716.-- D. Carpentier, *Suppl. Gloss. lat. de Du Cange*, T. I, col. 300.) «L'homme ou femme pris en adultère. doivent courir la ville, leurs mains liées toutes deux avec une corde ; et le Seigneur doit avoir cinq sols *Arnaudens*. (*Cout. D'Agen*, au *Nouv. Cout. gén.* T. IV, p. 903. col. 1. -- Voy *ARNULFINS*.)

VARIANTE: ARNAUDENX

(2) Monnaie épiscopale d'Agen, frappée par *Arnaud* de Rovinham, évêque de cette ville de 1209-1228. (N.E.)

Homophones: arnould, Arnauld

This looks like another case of the word disappearing with the thing. After arnaudens stopped being minted, the word went out of use. Furthermore, both the object and the word appear to have been confined to the French of the south of France.

⁷⁹ According to the *DALF* the XIIIe century.

37) **ARRAPER**

v. "empoigner" Daudet Provençal
(c.f. ARAP)

FEW

rapôn (germ.) reissen, raffén. [to snatch, to catch on to] 16, 664b

Apr. *arapar* „arracher, enlever; v. r. donner dans un piège“, mfr. *arraper* „saisir, enlever de force, attraper: v. r. s'accrocher“ (1382-Widerh 1675, meist texte aus dem süden, Gdf; D'Aubigné), (...) pr. *arrapá* „saisir; attraper. tromper; tendre la main à qn pour l'aider à marcher, etc.; v.r. s'attacher à, coller à; en venir aux mains; prendre racine de nouveau (d'arbres qu'on a transplantés)“ (> nfr. *arraper* „empoigner“ Daudet), mars. *arrapar* „prendre“ A. Barc. „empoigner“, (...)

G OldFr

ARAPER, *arr.*, *verbe*.

-- Act., saisir avec force et avidité :

Le suppliant *arapa* ledit Pierre au col et lui donna de la canivette ou coustel qu'il tenoit en sa main (1456. Arch. JJ 189, pièce 114.)

(...)

-- Réfl., se prendre avec force, s'accrocher :

Guillaumes *s'arrapa* à l'un des bras de la ditte femme, en tirant à soy. (1382, Arch. JJ 121, pièce 231.)

-- Neutr., dans le même sens:

(...)

Berry, Saintonge, *arraper*, saisir. Lyonnais, *araper*, *arraper*, s'attacher, se coller, s'agglutiner. Forez, Dauph., Suisse rom., *arrapa*. Dans la Bourg. et le Morvan, on dit *s'arraper* à, pour signifier s'acharner à: «*S'arraper* à un ouvrage. Je vais *m'arraper* à ma vigne.»

DALF OldFr

Araper, *verbe*. Prendre avec violence, avec force. Tenir, se tenir avec force et violence. Il est évident qu'*araper* est un verbe tel qu'est en latin *arripere*, composé du verbe simple *rapere*. en français ravir; qu'en le prononçant on exprime autant qu'on le peut avec l'organe de la voix, une idée de violence, de force, etc. «Le Suppliant *arapa* ledit Pierre au col et lui donna de la canivette ou coustel qu'il tenoit en sa main.» (D. Carpentier, Suppl. Gloss. lat. de Du Cange, au mot *Arrapare*; tit. de 1456.)

De là, «*s'arraper* à une chose» signifioit tenir fortement une chose, s'y tenir avec force et violence. «Guillaume ... *s'arrapa* à l'un des bras de la ditte femme, en tirant à soy.» (Id. ibid. tit. de 1382.)

L'analogie de la signification de ce verbe *araper* avec celle d'agrapper, agraffer (2), est d'autant plus naturelle, que l'expression vocale et imitative des choses et des idées est le principe général de la formation d'une infinité de mots communs à différentes langues. (Voy AGRAFFER.)

VARIANTES: ARRAPER

(2) *Arapper* a le sens et l'étymologie d'*agrapper*, *agripper*, *agrafer*: on avait déjà en bas-latin *grappa* (Voir L. Quicherat, *Addenda lexicis latinis*), qui sans doute vient du celte ou du haut allemand. (N.E.)

AW OldFr

araper *vb. s. Godefroy I 376a.*

Variations: araper, arapiner (?)

Homologues: empoigner

This word was borrowed by Daudet for stylistic effect. It never made it into standard French. It is interesting to note that like *s'enfanter de*, *arraper* was attested for centuries, from 1382-1675, although mostly in texts from the south. This may be another case of a word being borrowed twice. Another verb, *arapiner*, is attested in Godefroy. All of these words have the same Germanic etymon, *rapôn*. This family is no longer alive in standard French, although it is attested in some dialects in Berry, Saintonge and Switzerland. Apparently, *arraper* survived in Occitan, with less violent meanings, that of *empoigner*: "to shake hands, to quarrel, to move, to interest greatly", until the 19th century, when Daudet borrowed it. The fact that its French equivalent, *empoigner*, has several meanings may have prevented *arraper* from taking hold.

38) ASNETON

m. ``ânon`` MidFr Provençal

FEW

asinus esel. [donkey] 1, 154b

Ablt. Afr. *asnel* „petit âne; imbécile“; *asnele* „ânesse“; apr. *azenet* „petit âne“, npr. Barc. *asenet*, mars. *ainet* M (davon mfr. *asneton* „ânon“, centr. *âneton*); (...)

G OldFr

ASNETON, - *etton*, s. m., ânon :

Voilà des gens volages, des gens dissolus, et desbordez, ou il n'y a non plus de prudence qu'en des *asnettons*. (CALV., *Serm. s. le Deuter.*, p. 593b.)

Car aux plus vilz, et maigres *asnetons*
Les plus gros fais l'on impose sans pause.

(J. PARRADIN, *Micropoedie*, p. 86.)

Cognates: ânon, âne

It seems that *ainet* (Occitan) and *ason* (French) crossed producing *asneton*, but *ason/ânon* still remained in the language. The northern form, *ânon*, eventually won out over the southern form. Although *-on* is considered an Occitan suffix, it developed in the north as well. It comes from the Latin *-onem*, the accusative of feminine nouns in *-o*. It can be an augmentative or a diminutive. It seems that the southern diminutive suffix *-eton* was replaced by *-on*. The word *asneton* was used as a pejorative term to describe people, as Calvin's sermon would indicate.

39) ASSIETTE

f. "assemblée pour le règlement des tailles" 1721-1771 Languedocien

FEW

sedere sitzen. [to sit] 11, 400a

b'. Mfr. nfr. *assiette* f. (...) "assemblée qui se tient dans quelques diocèses pour le règlement des tailles" (.en Languedoc' Trév 1721-1771); (...)

Homophones: assiette "plate"

The word *assiette* with this particular meaning appears to have been confined to the French of the Languedoc. However, *assiette* with a closely related meaning, "the

fixing of taxes'' (See Furetière) was known in the north of France in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁸⁰

40) ASTE

f. ''manche (d'un faubert)'' 1834-1866 in the south of France

FEW

hasta spiess. [spear, spit, skewer] 4, 391a

γ. **Stiel, Griff.** (...) *aste* ..manche (d'un faubert, etc.)'' (Südfrankreich, Land 1834 -- Lar 1866).

Lan 1857

ASTE. subst. mas. (*acete*), t. de mar., un manche, un gros bâton, tels que *l'aste de graffe, de fauber, etc.*

FPO

AST[É]. Broche à rôtir, CC ; à *l'ast, c'est bien meilleur ; si tu le vires pas plus vite ton asté, tu vas le cramer (brûler) ton poulet ; de l'oc. ast[e] «id.». VPF 5, TF 158..*

DOF

ast. m. Broche, tige, hampe. *a mièg ast*, a mi-chemin, au milieu de la hampe. *Virar l'ast*, tourner la broche à rôtir.

asta. f. Hampe, manche, timon de charrette ou de charrue, grande broche, courson de vigne. (...) *Éty. L. hasta, hastum. Cat. ast, asta.*

This word was confined to marine terminology and probably to the French of the south of France, as the *FEW* indicates, although the *Landais* does not mark it as being southern. The superordinate term *manche* was available to replace it.

⁸⁰ *Assiette* also meant position of an encampment, manner of placing a thing on another to make it more secure, the terrain on which one builds a fort, a building. One could also speak about a horseman being in a *bonne assiette*, in a good position on the saddle. One could also talk about the *assiette* of one's soul, which would translate as state.

41) **ATAINER, ATINER**

v. "agacer" 13th - 1636 Troubadors

FEW(dis-) **taheins** (got.) zerstreung. [scattering] 17, 291b, 292a

β. Afr. *atainer* v.a. „agacer, quereller (Charroi; 13. jh., Gdf, TL, Cont Perc), afr. mfr. *atainer* (Ys-Guill Al), „affliger, nuire en paroles“ Villon, *atteiner* „agacer, quereller; irriter; exciter“ (1515), *attayner* „discuter (un problème juridique)“ (agn. ca. 1270), v. r. „se fâcher“ (Ys: 1380), *atteiner* (1515), *attiner* „provoquer“ (Th 1564 - Cresp 1636), *atteyner un chien sur qn* „lâcher un chien après qn“ Cotgr 1611, (...)

G OldFr

ATAINE. *atayne, attaine, attayne, athaine, hattayne, atene, ataingne, athine, atine, attine*, s.f., chicane, querelle, noise, débat, animosité, provocation, défi, injure:

(...)

-- Agacement, vexation, ennui :

(...)

ATAINEMENT. *att., atteyn.*, s.m., vexation :

(...)

-- Provocation, défi :

(...)

-- Ajournement, citation :

(...)

ATAINER, *atahyner, ateiner, attainer, atteiner, atteinner, ataignier, ataingner, attiner, attigner, atiner, atigner, actainer, estainer*, verbe.

-- Act., chicaner, agacer, quereller, fâcher, harceler, chagriner :

Ceste robe cousteuse et chiere

Qui tant me grieve et *ataine*.

Tant est longue et tant vous traine.

(Rose, Vat. Chr. 1522, fo 57c.)

(...)

-- Neutr., s'attaquer à :

Ilz *attignent* a leurs voisins et ont guerre a eulx. (ORESME, *Politiq.*, fo 129b, éd.1489.)

-- Act., irriter :

Valerien, oublieur de la pugnition divine, *atteinna* tant Dieu que il amena la peine contre le peché de luy. (BOCCACE, *Des nobles malh.*, VIII, 11, fo 191 vo.)

(...)

-- Exciter, piquer :

Les hommes a qui Dieu et nature ont donné raison osent non pas seulement *atteiner* et esmouvoir les couraiges de leurs freres, mais... (BOCCACE, *Des nobles malh.*, VII, 3, fo 173 ro.)

(...)

-- Toucher, discuter, traiter :

Volons *attayner* en party par queles accions et par queux brefs et comment un parcener doit chacer ses parcenemens.

(BRITTON, *Loix d'Angleterre*, fo 183 ro.)

(...)

-- *Atainer de*, assaillir de :

(...)

Car desir sans cesse m'*actaine*

De mainte pensee soubdaine.

(*Débat de deux Demois.*, Poés. fr. des XVe et XVIe s., t. V.)

-- Réfl., se fâcher, prendre des sentiments hostiles:

Les membres ramposnerent

Le ventre et s'*atainerent*

Que il li ont tant fait.

(*Ysop. II. fab. XXXVI*, Robert.)

(...)

-- Neutr., être irrité :

Jehane la Gaaigne vint *atignant*

Ke maint serjant

Y amena.

(HUES D'OISY, ap. Dinaux, *Trouv. Cambrés.*, p. 133.)

-- *Atainé*, part. passé, excité, provoqué, irrité :

Icelle amoureuse ainsi *attainnee* et esmeue par ledit Picart l'appella ribaut touchin.

(1397, Arch. JJ 152, pièce 177.)

(...)

-- Affligé:

Actainé suis en tous lieux ou n'a ame.

(*Poés. attribuées à Ch. d'Orléans*, I, 214, d'Héricault.)

Bressan, *atainer*, ennuyer, provoquer. En Bourgogne, et surtout à Châtillon, on dit: *tu m'étaines*, c.-à-d., tu me casses la tête, tu m'ennuies. C.-du-N., arr. de Matignon *atainer*, *éténé*, irriter, exciter, provoquer, chicaner. Dans les Côtes-du-Nord, on dit aussi *atainé* pour entêté.

ATAINERIE, *ast.*, s.f., haine, colère, défi, provocation :

(...)

ATAINISEMENT, s.m., mot douteux exprimant l'idée de tempérament :

(...)

ATAINOS, *-eux*, *atayn.*, *atein.*, *ataign.*, *att.*, *act.*, adj., querelleur, fâcheux, méchant, hostile, acharné :

(...)

-- violemment désireux :

(...)

-- Avec un nom de chose, en proie aux querelles, désagréable :

(...)

-- On a dit encore, par imitation du latin *infestus* :

(...)

ATAINOSEMENT, *-eusement, atayn., hatayn., attaingn., atin., adv.*, avec importunité, d'une manière fâcheuse, hostile, méchante, acharnée :

(...)

DALF OldFr

Atainement, *subst. masc.* Persécution, querelle. «Par estrif d'atinement, et d'ennui que l'en lor faisoit.» (Cont. de G. de Tyr Martene, T. V, col. 732. -- Voy AATIE.) Le mot *Atahin* est du Breton. (Voy. Du Cange, Gloss. lat. au mot *Atia* (1).)

(1) Les formes *aatie* (Ph. Mouskes), *ahatie* (G. Guiart), *hastie* (Cuvelier), viennent de l'allemand *haet*, haine; de là le dérivé *atine*, que donne aussi G. Guiart, les verbes *aatir* et *atainer*, le substantif verbal *attaine* (JJ. 178. p. 69), allongé dans *attaynement* (JJ. 108, p. 56). (N.E.)

VARIANTE: ATAHIR

AW OldFr

atäine *s. f.*

Kränkung, Angriff: (...)

atäiner *vb.*

trans. reizen : moult le gabent et l'ont atäiné, *Nymes* 1296. Pour le courrous de son ami. Dont ma dame l'atäina, Et d'un chienet la rampona, *Barb. u. M.* IV 323. Tant l'atäina et esmut (*der Teufel*), *Méon* II 398, 120. Certes, mout te puet atainner (*dreis.*) Ta cœe per les chans trainner, *Lyon. Ys.* 3041. *Rose* 7811. *Joinv.* 282d. *Urk. 14 Jahrh. Carp. atia, atine.* le dit charpentier en aressant et attainnant et esmouvant le dit Guillot, *Urk. 14. Jahrh. Carp. agressus.* quant Clovis s'äire, Il forcene .. Comme un lion bien attené <: de mere né>, *Th. frç au m. ä.* 625. Corrociez et bien atainnés (*dreis.*), *Myst. SAdr.* 5860.

schädigen, angreifen : Li mineur (*l. mineeur* devant se tiennent, Qui pour Anglois atäiner Commencent le mur a miner, *GGui.* I 4121. Vers Gravelingues sus la mer Qu'autrefois ot atäinee, Chevaucha une matinee, *eb.* II 7359.

refl. gereizt werden : *Urk. 14. Jahrh. Carp. atia, atine.* J'en tueray plus d'une douzenne. - Sy feray je, se je m'atäinne, *Myst. SAdr.* 2508.

atäiné pc. pf : Li ribaus, li atäinez (*Böswicht*), *Ren.* 18873.

atäinos *adj.*

(...)

atäineusement *adv.*: *GGui.* I 1272.

DOF

ataïnar, *v. tr.* Inquiéter, préoccuper. *v. r.* S'inquiéter, se donner du souci. *Étyim. V. H. All.*

tahjan > **taïna**. *Cat. taina*, joie.

Variations: ataïner, atteiner, attiner, atahyner, ateiner, attainer, atteinner, ataignier, ataignner, attigner, attigner, actainer, estainer, attayner, atteyner, estainer, étiner, étaïner

Backformations: ataine, atâine, atayner, attaine, attayne, athaine, hattayne, atene, ataingne, athine, atine, attine

Derivatives: atainement, atainerie, atainissement, (attainement, atteynment), atainos, (ataynos, ateinos, ataignos, attainos, atâinos, ataineux, atayneux, ateineux, ataigneux, attaineux), atainosement, (atayneusement, hatayneusement, ataigneusement, atineusement, ataynosement, hataynosement, ataignosement, atinosement, atâineusement)

Like *abelir*, *atainer* appears in French dialects. There were quite a few derivatives as well. This would seem to indicate that the word was fairly well established, although in Standard French perhaps it may have been mostly confined to literary usage as well as legal documents. There were synonyms for *atainer* in French, such as *agacer*, *irriter* and *exciter*.

42) ATTRAQUER

v. "accoster un quai" 1834-1866

FEW

trak-. 13 II. 189b

h. Npr. *atracá* ..accoster un quai pour charger ou décharger les marchandises" (> nfr. *attraquer*, Land 1834 - Lar 1866); gask. *entracá* M; Bordeaux *tracá* M.

Lan 1857

ATTRAQUER, v. neut. (*atraké*), t. de mar., s'approcher, expression dont se servent les marins du Levant, en parlant d'un navire qui accoste un quai pour charger ou décharger avec facilité.

DOF

atracar, v. *tr.* et *intr.* Empiler, entasser. Accoster un navire à quai. Tracer un chemin dans la neige. *Aur. Dér.* **atracada**, tas, pile. *Éty.* *Néerl.* **trekken**. *Cat.* **atracar**.

This word appears to have been confined to marine terminology, and then, as the *Landais* suggests, primarily to the Levant.

43) **AUBERGADE**

f. "droit de gîte" 16th - 17th

FEW***haribergôn** (westgerm.) beherbergen. [to give shelter to] 16, 158a/b

(...) -- Apr. *albergue* m. „droit de gîte“. -- Afrcomt. *haberge* f. „camp“ JPriorat, abourg. *aberge* „tente“ Floov, mfr. „habitation“ GaceB, apr. *alberga* „logement, tente; droit de gîte, converti en redevance annuelle“ (seit 12. jh., s. auch MeyerDoc; Bonis), mfr. *auberge* „droit de gîte, redevance“ (1477, Bartsch), *alberge* Heidel Finanz, Guienne *albergue* (1652, Leip). (...)

(...) -- Apr. *albergada* „logis; campement; droit de gîte“, abearn. *aubergada* „droit de gîte“ (noch Laur 1704), Riom *alberjada* Laur 1704; mfr. *aubergade* „droit de gîte pour le roi et certains seigneurs, chez des vassaux, dans des couvents“ (wohl nur Südfrankreich, Cotgr 1611); bearn. *aubergade* „gîte“ (...)

C 1611Aubergade. *as* Queste.

Queste: f. *A quest, inquirie, search, inquisition, seeking; also, a demaunding, begging, desiring; also, an Aide giuen, or contribution made, by tenants unto their Landlords, upon occasions putting him to an extraordinairie charge (as, for his ransome; towards the marriage of his eldest daughter, &c; tearmed thus, because he is in person to demand it of the; also (within the Jurisdiction of Acs) a generall rent, or fine, payed in common, and at once, by all the inhabitants of a Parish, ratably, and according to the iust quantitie of euerie mans land.)*

(...)

DOF

aubèrga ~ **aubèrja**. *f.* Auberge, *Quer., Cév.*; *albergue* (ancien droit de gîte des seigneurs féodaux). (...) *Étym.* Germ. **hari**, armée + **berga**, protection. *Cat.* **albergar**.

Cognates: auberge

Auberge certainly caught on in French, but not *aubergade*. This word was mostly confined to the south of France. This feudal right may have been confined to the south of France, or else there was a different term for it in the north. The right and the word would have disappeared when the feudal system was abolished. According to the TLF, before *auberge* was borrowed from Provençal (early 17th c. in its present meaning), the

notion of "place of lodging" was rendered by words ending in *-erie* or *-age*. *Auberge* meant "droit de gîte" in the 15th c, although this was not a borrowing from Provençal, but from a Germanic language.

44) AUBICON

m. "figue longue" Ol de Serres

FEW

figuier; figue 21, 91b

Pr. *figo ooubico* f. „figue violette“, Aix *aoubico* „variété de figue, grosse, violette et longue“ (1715). – Ablt. AlpesM. *labicol* m., Nice *abico* *negre figa* „esp. de figue“, *abico* *blanc* „figue bouche-barrique“, lang. *aoubicou* „figue longue et noire de la St-Jean“ S 2, mfr. *aubicon* Ol de Serres. – Übertragen Castell. *aubicoun* „prunes flétries sur l'arbre par excès de maturité“ Honnorat. – RIF1 10, 75.

C 1611

Aubicon : m. *A kind of great fig ; which, being sooner ripe, is more esteemed, than any other.*

It seems that Olivier de Serres was the only one to have used *aubicon* in French.

45) AUJUBINE

f. "raisin qu'on fait sécher" 1768-1791 Provençal

FEW

zabib (ar.) zibebe. [sultana] 19, 201b

(...) A. Nfr. *aujubine* f. „raisin qu'on fait sécher“ (,en Provence“ Valm 1768-1791, s. v. *vigne*).

Das ar. wort ist, wohl durch den handel, in die europäischen sprachen übergegangen: it. *zibebbo*, siz. *zibibbu*, *zibbibbu*, akat. *atzebib* (seit 1249), sp. *acebibe* „leckerei“ (seit 1729), pg. *acepipe* (seit 17. jh.), d. *zibebe*. Im gallorom. gehört es nur dem süden an. -- ML 9608; Lokotsch 2214; Corom 17.

This word was confined to the French of the south of France.

46) **AUMADE**

f. "tumeur sous l'aisselle" 1866 Périgord

FEW***helm** (anfrk.) helm. [helmet] 16, 193a

(...) périg. *aumado* „anthrax“ (> nfr. *aumade* „tumeur sous l'aisselle“ Lar. 1866); Poitiers, DSèvres *oméé* „carie de l[']os maxillaire des animaux, surtout du boeuf“, *ouméé*. ChefB. „grosseur qui vient à cause de cette carie“, centr. *aumée* „tumeur particulière aux bêtes à corne“ (dazu rückbildung *aume*); Nice *aumada* „tumeur qui vient au cou des animaux“. blim. *aumado* M, bearn. *aumade* „tumeur des bovins, actinomyose“.

There is only one recorded use of this word in French: it would appear to have been a hapax. There were forms of this word found in Poitou, *oméé* or *ouméé*, which may indicate a crossing between northern and southern forms.

47) **AUTRE-TEMPS**

adv. "autrefois" Daudet 1869 Provençal

FEW**tempus** zeit. [time] 13 I, 188a

Albertv. *âtrètè* adv. „autrefois“, mdauph. *awtre.te~*, npr. *autre-tèms* (> nfr. *autre-temps*, 1869, Daudet).

DOF**autre. -a, adj. ind.** Autre. (...) **autre temps, adv.** Autrefois. (...)Homophones: autre; tempsHomologues: autrefois

Daudet used *autre-temps* to add local colour to his story. The word is a partial calque. There is already *autrefois* in French.

48) **AUVIER**

m. "espèce de pin" 1877 Dauphinois

FEW 24, 84b

unable to locate word in the *FEW* in volume 24. However, there is in volume 25 this entry:

***arawo-** (gall.) arve, zirbelkiefer [Swiss or stone pine] 25, 84b

3. Dauph. *auvia* f. „pinus cembra“ (1587, RIF1 11, 218), St-Véran *arviès* „fruit du pin cembro“ 10), *árve.o.*

10) Offenbar pl. obschon Berge in der definition den sg. braucht.

Homophones: aubier

I am unable to locate this word in the *FEW* in the volume indicated by Gebhardt.

It could be that the Dauphinois word *auvia* gave rise to *auvier* in French. The ending *-ier*, which can indicate the name of a tree (*pommier*, *poirier* etc.) may have been substituted for the similar sounding *-ia* ending. It could be that *auvier* is a variation of *aubier*.⁸¹ In Occitan dialects *v* is pronounced as *b*. Nevertheless, since there appears to be only one recorded use of the word, it appears to have been a hapax.

49) **AVALADES, bragues ~**

f. pl. "chausses abattues" Rabelais

FEW

vallis tal. [valley] 14, 140b + n 26

(...) fr. *avalier* v. a. „faire descendre (p. ex. du vin à la cave)“ (...) „enlever en faisant tomber, abaisser (des vêtements)“ (16. jh.) 26); (...)

26) Dazu, mit occit. endung, *bragues avalades* „chausses abattues“ bei Rab (von Tabourot und Marnix aus Rab übernommen).

This word was used only by Rabelais and two other authors, who borrowed it from Rabelais.

⁸¹ *Aubier* is found in the *FEW* under **alburnum** splint [cotter pin, split pin] 1, 62a

50) **AVALISQUE!**

„disparais en bas (à Satan)! Rabelais

FEW

vallis tal. [valley] 14, 147a

γ. Apr. *avalir* v.n. „disparaître“ 44) (Arles, Béz. ca. 1300; 1370, Pans), (...) -- Mars. *avalisque* „exclamation de dégoût“ A 45). lang. id. S. Toulouse „qu'il périsse“ G, Tarn id., castr. *abaliscos* „imprécation par laquelle on exprime le désir d'être débarrassé de qn. de qch“; aveyr. *obolisco* „interjection qui exprime la malédiction, la colère“, Mauricac *balisko* „exclamation de répugnance“, Agen *abalisco* „au diable!“ C. blim. *obolisco* (> mfr. *avalisque* „disparais en bas (à satan)“ Rab, for. *avalisquo!* „fi donc“, stéph. *avalisqua!*; *s'avalisqué* „disparaître, se retirer“); apr. *s'avaliscar* „disparaître“ (Avignon 16. jh., Pans), npr. *s'avaliscá*; mars. *malavalisco!* „fi donc“. (...)

44) Das semantisch nahe stehende kat. *abalir* ist wohl parallel zum occit. von *vall* abgeleitet, hat aber *-l-* statt *-ll-* unter dem einfluss von *abolir* (< ABOLERE), das im kat. reichlich vertreten ist. Etwas anders SpitzerLex 1; Bruch MiscSchuch 26. -- S. weiter unten noch den typus *esvalir*.

45) Eigentlich imper. von *avali*, also = „disparais“!

C 1611

Avalisque. *Auant, be gone; fie upon it* : ¶ Langued.

DOF

avalir, v. tr. Détruire, dissiper, anéantir, supprimer, maudire. v. r. S'évanouir, s'anéantir.

v. intr. Disparaître, avorter. *Dér.* (...) **avalisca**, *interj.*, au diable, le diable t'emporte!

Littéralement : qu'il disparaisse! *Étyim. L. ad + vallem + ire.*

Of the historical dictionaries consulted, only Cotgrave lists *avalisque*, and he marks it as a Languedoc word. It would appear that only Rabelais used it in French.

51) **AVAOUSSÉ, AVAUX**

m. „quercus coccifera“ 1845-1886 Provençal

FEW

chêne 21, 64a

Apr. *avals* m. „quercus coccifera“ (StatMarseille 172, 254), pr. *avaux* (1605, RLR 37, 439; EncSuppl 2, 386 b), *avaoux*, Var *avaousses* pl., mars. *avaux* (pl. *avausses*) A (daher nfr. *avaux* Besch 1845 - Lar 1866), *avausse* M (daher nfr. *avaoussé* Besch 1845 - Lar 1866), Aix *avaux* 1), (...)

1) Pellas definiert „*ilex aculeata*“, meint damit aber wohl den gleichen busch.

L 1883

AVAOUSSÉ (a-va-ou-sé) ou **AVAUX** (a-vô), *s.m.* Nom vulgaire du chêne à kermès (*quercus coccifera*, L.).

DOF

avaus ~ **avals**, *m.* Chêne-kermès (*Quercus coccifera*). *Var. agaus. Syn. garrus, garrolha.*
Dér. avaussièr, chêne-kermès.

Homologues: chêne à kermès, chêne-kermès

The name for this plant did not become widespread in standard French.

According to the *Littéré*, there was already a name for it in French, *chêne à kermès*. There was also *chêne-kermès*, both of which may have prevented the Occitan word from becoming widespread.

52) **AVECCA**

f. "chevêche" 1650-1694 Gascon

FEW

chouette, chevêche --> auch hibou 21. 239b

Gask. *avecca* f. "chevêche" (Mén 1650 - Mén 1694). -- Entstellt aus **caveca*?

Homophones: avec

Homologues: chevêche

This bird already had a name in the north of France, *chevêche*, which may have prevented the southern form from taking hold. The word *avecca* still looks foreign, which may also have prevented its ready adoption into French. A gallicized version might have been **avèque*, which would have made it a homophone of *avec* (prep.). Although other prepositions have full word homonyms in French (*sur* for example), this homophonic clash would have been another strike against the word.

53) AVEILLE

f. "abeille" 15th - 16th south-east

FEW

apicula biene. [bee] 25, 10b

(...) Lautgerecht entwickeltes mfr. *aveille* scheint aus westlichen ²¹⁾ oder südöstlichen dialekten in die schriftsprache des 15. und 16. jh. eingedrungen zu sein. Die im 14.- 16. jh. bezeugten (*a*)*veille*-formen im Poitou, Anjou und Touraine wurden seit dem 16. jh. durch *mouche à miel* oder *abeille* verdrängt. Mfr. *aville* ist aus dem frpr. entlehnt, da nur der südosten mit einschluss piem. ²²⁾ und lomb. gebiete auf *-i_* - zurückgeht und lautgerechtes *-v-* aufweist (bereits adauhp. *aviles*).

²¹⁾ Estienne 1549 und Stoer 1625 vermerken s. v. *aveille* ‚en Touraine et en Anjou‘ : vgl. auch in der Coutume d’Anjou et du Maine (Beautemps-Beaupré 1, 216) aus dem jahre 1385: ‚cil qui emble *avettes*, que l’on appelle *eps* en France et *veilles* en Poitou, l’en li doit crever les oeilz‘ (DatLex 1, 18). Die angabe Gam ‚im 15. jh. zuerst als poitev. verzeichnet‘ ist somit ungenau. Seit dem 17. jh. sind lautgerecht entwickelte *aveille*-formen in den westlichen dialekten verschwunden und nur noch im frpr. sprachraum bekannt. Gilliéron Abeille 174 beurteilt lyon. *aveille* als eingedrungene form.

²²⁾ Vgl. z. B. Castelnovo d’Asti *aviya* ‚ape‘ (AIS 1152 p 156: R 47, 364 ss.).

DALF OldFr

Aveillette. *subst. fém.* Petite abeille. Ce sont les diminutifs d’*aveille* sous abeille. (Voyez Bourgoing, *ubi supra*.) Ils ont la même étymologie. (Id. ibid. Dict. de Nicot, au mot *aveille*.) La signification même d’*avette* ne différoit point de celle d’*aveille*, surtout dans la Touraine et l’Anjou, comme l’observe Nicot. Nous appuierons sa remarque par le passage de la Coutume du Bailliage de Tours: «Le bas justicier est fondé d’avoir espaves d’*avettes* qui sont mouches à miel.» (Cout. gén. T. II, p.2.) Un de nos poètes du XVIe siècle a dit:

Desjà la diligente *avette*
Boit la marjolaine et le thin
Et revient riche du butin
Qu’elle a pris sur le mont Hymette.

Oeuv. de Théophile, 1re partie, p. 148.

VARIANTE: AVETTE (1)

(1) Le peuple emploie encore la forme *apette*. La forme *avette* se rencontre aussi dans Ronsard: «Ni la rosée aux prez ni les blondes *avettes*.» (Berg. Ecl. 1.) (N. E.)

E 1549

Aueille & aurette pour mousche a miel, mot duquel on use en Touraine & Aniou. Semble qu’il uienne de Auicula, ou Apicula

N 1606

Aueille, & Aurette, Pour mousche à miel, mot duquel on vse en Touraine & Aniou.

Semble qu'il vienne de Auicula, ou Apicula. Aucuns prononcent Abeille.

C 1611

Aveille : f. *The hiue-Bee, or hony-Bee.*

Avette. *A little Bee.*

F 1690

AVETTE. s. f. Vieux mot qui signifie la même chose qu'*Abeille*. Ce mot vient de *apicula*.

AFa 1695

AVETTE. s.f. Mouche à miel , Abeille. Il est vieux.

DOF

abelha. f. Abeille. (...) *Étym. L. apicula. Cat. abella.*

Cognates: abeille

Aveille appears to be a variation of *abeille* and that is how it may have appeared to the people of the 15th and 16th centuries. It would seem that this word was largely confined to the written language. In the south of France *b* and *v* are pronounced alike. *Aveille*, for reasons that are unclear, did not catch on. *Abeille*, also from Occitan, had been firmly established in the French language since the 13th century. Perhaps *abeille* was so firmly established in Standard French that *aveille* eventually gave way.

54) AVELANCQUE

f. "fruit de l'amélanquier" 1591

FEW

***aballinca** (gall.) alpenmispel. 24, 1b

1. Daupha. *abelenco* f. "fruit de l'amélanquier", pr. *avalancho*, Forcalquier *avarancho*, Nice *aberlenca*, lang. *aberlénco* S. Alais *aberlenque*, aveyr. *oblonco* (> mfr. *avelancque*, 1591). (...)

It is likely that this word is a hapax. There were other forms, *avelane*, *aveline* and *avelaine*, which have the same origin. Gebhardt mentions *aveline* in his main list. It may be that of the forms available. *aveline* was the one chosen and the others were cast aside. In addition, there is also *amélanche* in French, with the same meaning as *avelancque*. *Amélanche* was borrowed later, (1732), undoubtedly from the same source. The name of the tree, *amélanchier*, was borrowed in the 16th century (1549). The change from -b- to -m- may have been due to influence from AMYGDALA “almond”, according to A. Thomas (*Mélanges d'étymologie françaises*). However the FEW disputes this; there is a semantic difference between the almond and the medlar. It seems that *aveline* is the more current of the two.

55) AVEN

m. “biens, fortune” 16th

FEW

habere haben. [to have] 4, 362a + n 10

Ablt. (...) -- Mfr. *aven* m. „biens, fortune” Cotgr 1611 10).

10) Wohl aus einem text aus Südfrankreich aufgenommen.

C 1611

Aven. as Avoir. Wealth, substance, goods, riches.

DOF

aver, v. tr. Avoir, posséder. Atteindre, aveindre. Attraper, voler. Lasser, mettre sur les dents. (...) *Var. aguen, agen. m. Avoir, possession, richesse, troupeau, bêtes à laine.*

Étym. L. habere. Cat. haver.

Cognates: avoir

It seems that Cotgrave took the word from a southern French text. The word was undoubtedly not current in French, as its absence from most of the dictionaries would indicate. The Occitan *aven* had its counterpart in the French *avoir*.

56) AVEN

m. ``pêche qu'on pratique en Provence'' 1778 Provençal

FEW

***abinko-** (gall.). 24, 33a

(...) pr. *aven* „pêche qu'on pratique en Provence“ (1778, Duh 3, 118).

This word is undoubtedly a hapax. It appears not to be current in Occitan.

B

57) BALANÇONS

m. pl. ``petites pièces de bois de sapin débitées'' 1740-1873 Langudocien

FEW

bilanx wage. [scale?] 1, 362b + n 9

(...) lang. *balançons* „petites pièces de bois de sapin débitées“ 9), (...)

9) SavBr 1740, aus dem dann Enc, Trév 1752--1771, Lar 1867, Littré übernommen haben.

Lan 1857

BALANÇONS. subst. mas. plur. (*balançon*), t. de comm.. bois de sapin débité en petites parties.

L 1883

BALANÇON (ba-lan-son). s. m. Bois de sapin débité en petites pièces.

Homophones: balance, balancement, balancer, balancier, balançoire etc.

This is another example of a specialized word that did not enter standard French.

It did not develop other meanings. It remained in its own area for a while and then disappeared. Perhaps this word's meaning was too specific.

58) BANQUAL

m. "pièce d'étoffe" Mid. Fr. in south of France

FEW

***bank** (germ.) bank. 15, I, 58a

Abt. - Apr. *banca* m. „pièce d'étoffe servant à recouvrir un banc“ (12.-14. jh., Rn: Lbl 11, 310 7), abearn. *bancau*, mfr. *banqual* (in texten aus Südfrankreich), (...)

7) Bereits in It. glossen belegt. so *bancales sunt stratoria* ThGloss 5, 624, 14, auch im Capitulare de Villis (ca. 800), bei Mortet. In dieser bed. auch kat. sp.pg. *banca*, aven. *bancale*, ait. *pancale*, Campobasso *bban|gale* „tovaglia“ AGI 4, 171. Muss Beitr 31; ML 925; WSt 25, 92; ItDial 5, 101.

G OldFr

BANQUAL, s.m., housse placée sur un banc, tapis, couverture de banc :

Les *banqualz* sont mis sur les chaeres et sur les sieges. (G. DURANT, *Ration.*, Richel. 437, fo 18a.)

Ira metre le *banqual* et tapisserie au banc desdicts consulz. (1543, *Liv. des Serm.*, fo 167. Arch. Montauban.)

Homophones: banque

It seems that this word was confined to texts from the south of France.

59) BANQUE

f. "banc sur lequel travaille l'ouvrier en peignes" 1751-1898

FEW

***bank** (germ.) bank. [bench] 15, I, 57b + n 6

Mfr. *banque* f. „banc“ (1379, DC; igné) D'Aub. afrb. „escabeau“ s) (1466), adauph. *banchi* „banc“, apr. *banca*, nfr. *banque* „banc sur lequel travaille l'ouvrier en peignes“ (Enc 1751 - Lar 1898) 6), „plateau qui sert à reposer les navettes, dans les manufactures de soieries, quand l'ouvrier cesse de travailler“ (Enc 1751 - Lar 1898), (...)

5) Auch mfr. *banche* bei Calvin; doch ist die bed. nicht recht klar.

6) In dieser und den nächsten bed. offenbar aus dem occit. entlehnt.

Lan 1857

BANQUE, subst. fém. (*banke*), (...) -- T. d'arts et mét., banc triangulaire sur lequel l'ouvrier en peignes travaille à califourchon. (...)

L 1883

BANQUE (ban-k'), *s.f.* (...) || Banc sur lequel travaille l'ouvrier en peignes. (...)

DG 1902

BANQUE [bānk'] *s.f.* (...)

IV. Sorte de table, de billot sur lequel travaillent l'épinglier, l'ouvrier en peignes, etc.

Homophones: banque

This word first appeared around the start of the Industrial Revolution and disappeared in 1898. By that time manufacturing techniques were beginning to change, which may have hastened the disappearance of this word. This word may have been confined to the vocabulary of manufacturing.

60) **BARATE**

f. "tromperie" Old Fr. south of France or Normandy

FEW

tuber wurzelknollen. [tuber] 13., II, 387a/b + n 15: 'aus Südfrankreich'

(...) In der bed. „trüffel“ ist das wort offenbar im fr. nicht einheimisch, da es erst in der 2. hälfte des 14. jhs. auftritt. Es muss als kulinarischer ausdruck aus dem occit. entlehnt sein. wie dieses auch vom sp. pg. als *trufa* entlehnt worden ist. Aus fr. *trufle* auch entlehnt d. *trüffel*. ndl. *truffel*. e. *truffle*. Im occit. ist auch die übertragene bed. „spöterei“ entstanden (b α), die sich wohl dadurch erklärt, dass das finden der trüffel im erdboden nur solchen gelingt, die darin viel erfahrung haben; die trüffel scheint den unerfahrenen zu verspotten. Diese bed. geht auch gleich ins fr. über, wo also *truffe* während fast 3 jh. nur in der bed. „trug“ lebt, noch nicht in der konkreten bed. 15). (...)

15) Ähnlich ist wohl auch afr. *barate* „trug“ aus Südfrankreich entlehnt, s. RF 43, 57 sowie hier 9, 332.

FEW

prattein (gr.) handeln [to trade] 9, 330b, 331a

Afr. *barate* „confusion, agitation (du combat), embarras“ (Wace - 13. jh., Gdf; TL; Li; Edm; Yder; RF 43, 51; Mire; TilLex), *barete* „tapage, agitation“ SGilles, apr. *barata* f. „façon d’agir, action, entreprise“ (13. jh.); „affaire commerciale“ (Béz. ca. 1300), „échange“ (Narbonne 13. jh., Fagniez), „prêt sur gage“ (13. jh., Brunel), *pagar a barata* „satisfaire un créancier par un gage“ (Albi 1370), pr. *barato* „échange, troc“, bearn. *barate*: afr. „élégance recherchée, éclat“ (ca. 1180 - ca. 1240); „tromperie, fraude; ruse“ (Chrestien - ca. 1390, TL; Guiot; RobHo; RésSauv), afrb. id. (1466) apr. *barata* (13.-14.jh.. Rn: Lv; Jaufre; Flamenca). Nice „marché frauduleux“, Alais *barato* „fraude, contrebande“; (...)

G OldFr

BARAT, *barapt*, *barrat*, *bairret*, *baret*, s. m., tromperie, ruse, fourberie :

Grant *baret* et grant felonie

Fist li dyaubles de celi.

(*Vie des Pères*, Ars. 3641, fo 130d.)

(...)

-- Il s’employait particulièrement pour signifier stratagème, embûche :

Il doit estre avisié de tous les *baras* et soubtilleté d’armes par quoy ses ennemis le pourroyent grever. (CHRIST. DE PIZ.. *Charles V*, 2e p., ch. 32, Michaud.)

-- Par extension, désordre, confusion, bruit, tapage :

L’enchauz, l’occise e li *baraz*.

U tant en chet envers e plaz.

Dura treis liues d’un tenant.

(BEN., *D. de Norm.*, II, 3845, Michel.)

-- Divertissement :

(...)

Par tans nouveles en aras :

Ve u i ai trop biaux *baras*.

(A. DE LA HALLE, *Li giues de Robin et de Marion*, Coussemaker, p. 402.)

-- Nom d’une fête à Amiens:

Fu deliberé de bailler a ferme au profit de le ville le jeu de brelen et le jeu de des, d’entre les octaves de la Saint Firmin au *barat*, a juer en dehors des maisons seulement. (12 juill. 1417, Echev. d’Amiens.)

Ce mot avait cessé d’être de la langue littéraire à la fin du XVIe siècle, et Pasquier le regrettait justement :

«Nos ancestres, dit-il, userent de *barat*, guille et lozange, pour tromperie, et barater, guiller et lozanger, pour tromper: Dictions qui nous estoient naturelles, au lieu desquelles nous en avons adopté des latines, dol, fraude, circonvention. Vray qu’encores le commun peuple use du mot *barat*.» (E. PASQ. *Rech.*, VIII, 3.)

Il ne tomba pas cependant avant la seconde moitié du XVIIe s. On lit dans l'Inventaire de Monet: «BARAT, tromperie. Qui fait *barat*; par *barat*.»

Ménage observe que *barat* était encore en usage de son temps parmi les Languedociens. Dans le Quercy, ajoute-t-il, *barata* signifie proprement tricher. Ainsi on dit *vous me baratas*, pour dire *vous trichez en jouant avec moy*. (*Dict. Etym.*)

Suivant Le Duchat, la langue de Metz avait conservé le vieux proverbe :

«Qui fait *barat*, *barat* lui vient.»

Guernesey et Suisse rom., *barat*. fraude, dol.

Nom de lieu, *les Barats* (Nièvre).

Nom propre, *Barat* (Normandie).

BARATE, s. f. confusion, agitation :

N'a cure plus de lor *barate*;

La rien dunt il plus or se haste,

C'est d'eus esloignier et fuir.

(BEN., *D. de Norm.*, II, 33698, Michel.)

(...)

-- Par extension, éclat, étalage, élégance recherchée :

Roube ot de vair et d'eskerlate:

Moult ert li vairs de grant *barate*.

(REN. DE BEAUJEU. *Li Biaus Desconn.*, 159, Hippeau.)

(...)

-- Embarras, ennui :

Li vilains est a cort remez

Et si l'a on tondu et rez.

Et si ot robe d'escarlante:

Fors cuida estre de *barate*

(...)

(*Du Vilain Mire*, 322, Montaiglon et Raynaud, *Fabl.*, III, 166.)

--Ruse:

Qui plus souef manie et flate,

Il est adjoint a la *barate*.

(LE FEVRE. *La Vieille*, 2037, Cocheris.)

Lorr., Fillières. *barata*, tromperie.

BARATEMENT, s.m., fraude, tromperie :

(...)

BARATEOR, -*eur*, -*eour*, -*our*, -*eur*. *barr.*, *baret.*, *barest.*, *bareit.*, *baract.*, *barteur*.
s. m., trompeur, fraudeur, fripon'chicaneur :

(...)

BARATER, *baratter*, *bareter*, *baretter*, *barreter*, *baireter*, -*eir*, verbe.

(...)

BARATERESSEMENT, adv., frauduleusement, par fraude, en trompant :

(...)

BARATERIE. *barterie*, s.f., tromperie :

(...)

BARATEUS. *barrateulx, baredues*, adj., trompeur, frauduleux :

(...)

BARATEUSEMENT, adv., frauduleusement, par fraude, en trompant :

(...)

DALF OldFr

Barat (2), *subst. masc.* Litige, controverse. -- Trouble, peine, embarras. -- Intrigue d'amour. -- Ruse, tromperie, trahison. -- Combat, dérouté. -- Profusion.

Barat est expliqué par litige, controverse, dans le Grand Coutumier de France, p. 343. Britton. Loix d'Angleterre, fol. 224, s'est servi du mot *baret* dans le même sens.

On employoit ce mot pour trouble, peine, embarras:

L'empereur folie fist,
Et en grant *barate* se mist,
Qui deffiance te manda.

Rom. de Brut, MS. fol. 83.

(...)

Le mot *baret* a signifié mouvement, agitation. Il est dit d'une grande ville où l'on entend des moulins qui tournent et où l'on voit aller et venir des ouvriers de toute espèce, charpentiers et maçons.

Car ne puet estre en la cité
C'assés n'i ait *barat* mené

Athis, MS. fol. 60, Vo col.1.

De l'embarras naît l'intrigue. De là, *barat* s'est employé pour signifier une intrigue d'amour:

(...)

Par son angin, et son art
Se mella de grant *barat*.

(...)

Chron. fr. du XIIIe siècle, MS. de Bouhier, ch. LXVI, fol. 84, Vo.

On trouve *barat, barad, baras*, pour ruse, tromperie, trahison, dans les Dict. de Borel, Nicot, Rob. Estienne et Ménage, etc. Les François, dans une action contre les Espagnols qui étoient armés pesamment, les commencèrent à prendre par les épaules «et les trebucher à terre entre les piez des chevaux; quant ils apperçurent ce *barat* que les François leur faisoient, etc.» (Chron. de St Denys, Tome II, folio 87.)

(...)

Ce mot a été employé pour combat, dérouté :

Lors voissiez entre serjans,
Granz coupz d'Engleiz et de Normanz,
Granz *barates* et granz mellées.

Roman de Rou, MS. p. 335.

Les François s'obstinent à vouloir faire abattre au duc Richard de Normandie son château de Tillières.

Mez ja ne remaindra par perte,
Tant est l'ire entr'euls découverte,

Qui qu'en seuffre puis la *barate*,
Que il Tuillieres n'abate.

Roman de Rou, MS. p. 183.

De là cette expression: *mettre à la barate*, pour mettre en dérouté:

Ni ot François. n'el sien abate:

Tous les *ont mis à la barate*.

Ph. Mouskes, MS. p. 585.

Enfin *barate* a signifié profusion. En décrivant la magnificence du sacre de St Louis, le poète dit:

Et si avoit assés encor

De rices dras batus à or:

Et de dras tains, et d'escarlates.

De tranciés à *grans barates*.

Ph. Mouskes, MS. p. 653.

(...)

VARIANTES: BARAD, BARAG, BARAS (plur.), BARAZ (plur.), BARET, BARATE (subst. fém.)

Barateaulx, *subst. masc.* Trompeur. (...)

Barater, *verbe*. Tromper. -- Détruire. -- Troquer, échanger. -- Négocier, traiter. -- Agir, se remuer. -- Emprunter, prendre à crédit. -- Prendre par la tête.

(...)

Barateressement, *adv.* Frauduleusement. (...)

Baraterie (3), *subst. fém.* Tromperie, trahison, fourberie.

(...)

Baratresse, *subst. fém.* Trompeuse. (...)

(2) On a voulu voir l'origine de ce mot, qui se retrouve dans toutes les langues romanes, dans l'arabe *barthala*, corruption d'un juge, le nordique *barâtta*, combat, le grec *πραττειν*, faire des affaires, d'où le verbe *barâtati*; il faudrait encore tenir compte du kymri *brad*. (N. E.).

(3) Le mot se trouve aussi dans Froissart: «Li autre disoient que ce estoit une *bareterie* couverte.» (Froissart, édition Kervyn, V, 233.) (N.E.)

AW OldFr

barat *s. m.*

[Meyer-Lübke REW 6731 *prattare*; Godefroy I 576c]

Handel (Markt): Quant je voi a ces festes Et de dras et de bestes Faire si grant barat. Donc sui je plus iriez .. Quant n'ai dont les achat, *Prov. vil.* 199c.

wüstes Treiben: daus bons amics dameredé, qui jadis furent en l'amertume e on barat de cest secle, *Serm. poit.* 122. -- *vom Kampfe*: La ot testes par mi fendues E trenchiez poinz e piez e braz; La fu estranges li baraz, *Toie* 21410. Un jor avint .. que le barat comencerent, *Ambr. Guerre s.* 5630. *eb.* 9832. *Chr. Ben.* 3845. *eb.* 38998. Et a la porte saint Martin Ot grant barat et grant hustin (*bei der Berennung der Stadt*), *Mousk.*

21206. La ot trop fier martelement .. Genz mortes et testes et braz; Trop fu le jour granz li baraz. *Clariss* 6488.

Trug: circumventio: baras, *Guil. Brit.* 99a. Par son barat t'a esmëue Jorge et t'a forment decëue. *SGeorge* 106. N'i ot barat ne tricherie, *Clig.* 4447. Trop i a sun barat par cest päis semmé (*seine Irrlehre*). *SAub.* 995. molt sot barat, *RSSag.* 2140. *Ambr. Guerre* s. 8317. *eb.* 9051. *Chr. Ben. Bd. I, S. 331 Anm.* Öez le barat de Satan, *Méon* II 365, 106. Barat de barat est portier, *I Ys.* I 105. N'onques mais si apertement Son barat ne seut ne ne vit, *Atre per.* 2707. Sans barat de fause träine, *eb.* 3763. Mahommes .. Ki tant barat set dire et faire, *Mahom.* 74. Par barat estuet barater, *Rose* 8139. en tex marchiés a trop de baraz, *LMest.* 35.

barate *s. f.*

Handel: De grant neient entre en barate, Qui ço bargaigne qu'il n'achate. *Troie* 11419. Moult m'avez fet male barate. *Ren.* 3583. Fors cuida estre de barate, *Barb. u. M.* III 10, 294. Et s'i avoit assés encor De rices dras batus a or Et de dras tains et d'escarlates Detrencies a grans (*so Hds.*) barates, *Mousk.* 24196. -- *von Streit und Kampf*: Il mëismes a son esfors Fu as rivages et as pors. Que ses freres ne s'i embate Sans contredit et sans barate, *Brut* 2480. Lors vëissiez entre serjanz, Gelde d'Engleiz e de Normanz, Granz barates e granz medlees. *Rou* I 13197. Mais ja ne remaindra pur perte. Tant est la ire entr'els discoverte, Ki ke seffre puis la barate Que il Tuillieres nen abate, *Rou* III 1687. Ici vos di qu'ot grant barate, *Troie* 9502. Bien a Rannol son conseil pris Que ja ne s'en traïra plus près, Kar mult les veit feus e engrès: N'a cure plus de lor barate. *Chr. Ben.* 33698. *Fantosme* 399. *eb.* 960. Eth vos la barate levee, *Ambr. Guerre* s. 636. Grant fu la noise e la barate, *eb.* 687. Eth vos la barate esmëue E la noise par l'ost crëue, *eb.* 707. Eth vos la vile en bone estate E sanz tençon e sanz barate, *eb.* 1038. *eb.* 8185. Ja i avra barate et granz criz et granz huz, *Ch. Sax.* II 30. N'i ot François, le sien n'ahate; Tous les ont mis a le barate, *Mousk.* 21802. Cil ne quiert repos ne sejour Qu'adez ne soit en la barate, *Escan.* 5574.

Lärm: quant les vermines veneient E les genz les aperceveient, Donc öisiez en l'ost tel noise .. Tel barate, tel batëiz, .. E les vermines s'en fuioient Por la grant noise qu'il oioient, *Ambr. Guerre* s. 5921.

Trug, schlechtes Treiben: Les lermes au mien jugemant Et la chiere honteuse et mate Ne vindrent mie de barate, N'i ot barat ne tricherie, *Clig.* 4446. trop i a guile et barate, *GCoins.* 230, 730. assez sot barrate, *Joufr.* 1634. cil s'esloigne. Qui sa barate veut couvrir, *Atre per.* 2685. *eb.* 2693. Que bone gent n'en soit surprise Par tel barate, *Ruteb.* II 102. il n'i ot onques celui .. Qui aïnz s'osast faire aparoir A lui en champ ne en bataille, Fors ausi comme en repostaille, En fuïant et en tel barate, *Escan.* 1759. Qui plus souef manie et flate. Il est adjoint a la barate, *Vieille* 99.

[*Godefroy I 577b.*]

baratement *s. m.*

Trug: (...)

baratëor *s. m.*

Betrüger: (...)

barater *vb.*

intr. Geschäfte machen; in unruhiger Geschäftigkeit sein: (..)

[‘to have sex’] (...)
rfl. Geschäfte machen, rührig sein: (...)
trans. austauschen: (...)
betrügen: (...)

barateresse s. f.

subst. Betrügerin: (...)

baraterie s.f.

Trug, Betrügerei: (...)

baratos adj.

trügerisch: (...)

E 1539

Barat, c'est a dire Tromperie & finesse, Astutia.

Barater, Tromper & decevoir, Circunuenire.

N 1606

Barat, m. acut. Est tromperie, fraude, principalement en marchandise, Fraus, dolus malus, deceptio. Ainsi l'on dit, Contracter sans fraude, barat ne malengin, Benè pacisci ac sine fraudatione, Bona fide conuenire. C'est vn mot grandement vsité és pays de Languedoc, Prouence, & adiacents. Lesquels en font vn verbe actif en leur langue, Barator, c'est Barater, qui signifie tromper autruy en fait mesmement de marchandise, vendant, acheptant ou troquant, & en vsent außi pour troquer ou eschanger vne chose à autre. Et outre encores en font vn nom adiectif, Baratier, & Baratiere, pour celuy ou celle qui est costumier de frauder autruy. Fraudulentus, Fraudator, Fraudulenta, Fraudatrix.

Barater, verbe.act.acut. Decevoir, tromper, voyez Barat.

Barateur, m. acut. Decepteur, trompeur, frauduleur, voyez Barat.

C 1611

Barat: m. Cheating, deceit, guile, cousenage, lying, or falshood, in bargaining; also, a barter, scourse, trucke, exchange.

Barater. To cheat, cousen, beguile, deceiue, lye, cog, foist, in bargaining; also, to trucke, scourse, barter, exchange.

Barateur: m. A deceiuer, cheater, cousener; cogger, foister, lyer, (in bargaining:) also, a barterer, trucker, exchanger.

Barateux: m. euse: f. Deceitfull, craftie, cheating, full of lyes, or of slie deuises, in bargaining.

R 1680

BARAT, s. m. Terme de mer. Malversation, ou déguisement de marchandises commise par la faute du Patron de Navire.

Baraterie. s. f. Terme de Mer. Il signifie la même chose que barat. Fourn.

F 1690

BARAT. s.m. Vieux mot François & hors d'usage, qui signifioit. Tromperie, fourbe, mensonge, calomnie. On juroit autrefois qu'il n'estoit intervenu dans un contract aucune fraude. *barat* ni malengin.

BARATTERIE. s.f. Terme de Marine. C'est la tromperie du Patron, ou malversation du Maistre. ensemble les larcins, alterations, & deguisemens causez par le Maistre, ou par l'équipage. La peine de la *baraterie* est mentionnée au livre 2. de l'Ordonnance de la Marine. L'Affeueur court la risque de la *baraterie*. On se sert aussi de ce terme en Italien & en Espagnol. Originaires il ne signifioit que *marché*: & parce qu'on y fait souvent des fraudes, il a été appliqué aux tromperies du commerce. On a appelé aussi *Barattiers*, les chicaneurs qui faisoient des surprises en plaidant: & on lit dans Matthieu Paris, que l'Empereur Federic fut accusé d'avoir dit, *tres fuisse baratores in mundo, seu tres impostores*. Ce mot est venu du viex mot François *barat*, qui de tout temps a signifié toute sorte de tromperie. On disoit aussi *baratter*, pour dire, *tromper*.

Note: The Academy Dictionaries of 1778, 1799, 1835 and 1884 and the Littré (1883) do not list *barat* or *barate* but they do list *baraterie*.

Lan 1857

BARAT, subst. mas. (*bara*). Nous trouvons ce mot dans *Boiste*: il semble être le même que *baraterie*. C'est aussi le nom que l'on donne à un fief turc.

BARATTERIE, subst. fém. (*baraterî*), t. de mar.. fausse indication de route ou supposition d'accidents de mer. pour frauder dans les assurances maritimes.

L&F 1888

BARAT (*x*), s.m. Tromperie (vx). -- **Dér.** *Baraterie*.

BARATERIE (vx fr. *barat*, tromperie), s.f. Fraude commise par un capitaine de navire marchand au détriment des armateurs ou assureurs. Elle consiste le plus souvent à faire échouer volontairement le navire.

DG 1902

BARAT [bà-rà] s.m.

[ÉTYM. Origine inconnue. || XIIIe s. **En tex marchiés a trop de baras**, E. BOILEAU, *Livre des mest.* I, x, 6.]

|| *Anc. franç. et dialect.* Tromperie.

BARATER [bà-rà-té] v. tr.

[ÉTYM. Dérivé de **barat**, § 154. || XIIIe s. ROBERT LA CHIEVRE, dans GODEF.]

|| *Anc. franç. et dialect.* Tromper.

BARATERIE [bà-rat'-ri; *en vers*, -rà-te-ri] s.f.

[ÉTYM. Dérivé de **barater**, § 69. || XIIIe-XIVe s. G GUIART, *Roy. lign.* 19687.]

|| *Anc. franç.* Tromperie. | *Spécialt.* (Marine.) Fraude commise par le capitaine ou le patron d'un navire au préjudice des armateurs, des assureurs, etc. **L'assureur n'est point tenu des prévarications et fautes du capitaine et de l'équipage connues sous le nom de -- de patron, Code de comm. art. 353.**

DOF

baratar, *v. tr. et intr.* Troquer, trafiquer : frauder, duper, tromper ; parler à tort et à travers, hâbler, bavarder, *Cent., Toul. Dér.* **barat**, *m.* **barata**, *f.*, échange, troc ; dol, fraude, tromperie. **barataire**, brocanteur : fripon, fraudeur : babillard, hâbleur. **baratariá**, tromperie, fraude. **baratejar**, tromper, frauder, tricher, tripoter ; hâbler, bavarder. **baratièr. -ièra**, *m. et f.*, fraudeur, fripon. *Étym. L. V. prattare. du Gr. pratein.*

Variations: barete, barat, barapt, barrat, bairet, baret, barad, barag, baras, baraz

Derivatives: baratement, barateor, (barateur, barateour, baratour, barateur, barrateor, barrateur, barrateour, barratour, barrateur, bareteor, bareteour, bareteour, bareteour, bareteur, baresteor, baresteour, baresteour, barestour, baresteur, bareiteor, bareiteour, bareiteour, bareitour, bareiteur, baracteor, baracteur, baractour, baracteur, barteur), barateresse, (bratëor), barater, (baratter, bareter, baretter, barreter, baireter, bareteir), baratessement, (barateusement), baraterie, barateus, (barrateulx, baredeus, baratos, barateux), baratron, baratin

The Greek word *πραττειν* gave rise to a number of words in various languages.

Its meanings in Greek were "to do, to act, to treat, to deal with, to transact business

(either good or bad), to accomplish, to manage, to provide for, to export, to pursue

traitorous undertakings, to recover a debt, to execute a punishment". From there various

meanings developed in the Romance languages. Bloch W tries to show that the two

meanings of this etymon in the Romance languages, "to cheat" and "strife, confusion",

come, in fact, from separate etymons. The *FEW* does not agree. All of the meanings can

be derived from the central meaning of "handeln" ("to trade") and "sich benehmen"

("to conduct oneself"). From the idea of "to deal with, to trade with" it is only a short

step to the pejorative meaning of "to cheat, to swindle". In Spanish one finds *barato*, in Catalan *barat* and in Portuguese *barato*, all meaning "cheap". This word gave rise to Old Breton *brat* "traitor", Irish *brath* and Welsh *brad* as well as English *to barter*. It also gave rise to Mid Ger. *pârât*, "tauschhandel" ("to trade") etc., *partieren* "to cheat", Hess. *bardieren*, mhd. *partieraere* "cheater", Schwab. *partite* "betrügerei", Mnd. *baraet* "betrug" etc. It seems likely that the words that mean "to do business" and then "to cheat" come from the Greek word. The words that have to do with fighting were probably borrowed from *baratta* (Scand. "combat"). Both groups of words met and the meanings of each group were taken into the other and eventually both groups melded.

The word *barat* survived until at least 1690, when Furetière's dictionary was published, although even then it was considered an old word. The word *barate* seems to have had a shorter life-span. In French it did not survive past the Old French period. The *DALF* lists *barate* as a variation of *barat*, so from that point of view *barat(e)* had a much longer life-span. In fact, two 19th century dictionaries, the *Landais* 1857 and the *Larive & Fleury* 1888, list *barat* as an old word. My guess would be that the word survived until the 20th century primarily in French dialects. The proverb from Metz uses *barat*. The Petit Robert lists *barater* as deriving from *barat* (1926). The word still has derivatives in French: *baratin*, *baraterie*, *baratiner*, *baratineur*, *baratter*. It would seem that *baratin* is the base for the series of words with *-n-*, such as *baratiner* and *baratineur*. The reasons for its disappearance are unclear to me. It seems likely that competition from other words may have played a part. Words like *troc*, *fraude* and *tromperie* could

have been used instead of *barate*. Some of the derivatives developed specialized meanings.

Baraterie came to mean a fraud committed by captains or owners of ships. The word must have been borrowed from the Greeks at the beginning of our era. The Greek word passed into Latin and was inherited by Occitan. It was then borrowed into French.⁸²

61) BARGER

v. „tiller le chanvre“ MidFr

FEW

***brekan** (germ.) brechen. [to break] I, 511b

1. a. Hanf brechen: Mfr. nfr. *broyer* (seit Villon, RF 16, 536), apr. *hargar* (seit 14. Jh.), (...) Esternay *harjer* 1), (...)

b) Diese und andere Formen weisen auf Entlehnung aus dem Süden, wie denn auch im Mfr. *hargar* „tiller le chanvre“ in der landwirtschaftlichen Literatur sich findet. Gdf Compl.

G Comp. OldFr

BARGER, v.a., tiller, briser le (chanvre) :

Le lin estant tendre et delicat, ne faut que soit en l'eau plus de deux jours entiers mais s'il est dur, ne doit on l'en oster qu'il n'y ayt trempé trois jours et trois nuits, faisant encor cecy entre deux lunes, afin qu'en le batant et *bargant* il ne s'en aille en festus, et sans aucune filasse de reste. (BELLE-FOR., *Secr. de l'agr.*, p. 55.)

-- Fig., briser, endommager :

Les biens de la terre furent si bien rompus et *bargez* en aucuns endroitz, qu'il n'y fut besoin de faucheur ni moissonneur. (HATON, *Mém.*, an 1577.)

DOF

bargar ~ **barjar**, (Év., v. tr. et intr. Broyer, briser ; maquer le chanvre ou le lin ; bavarder, babiller, (...) *Étym. Got. brikan. Cat. bregar. V. bregar.*

Homophones: barge

This word was confined to agriculture. It was not adopted into standard French.

⁸² As pointed out to me by Ron Akehurst, the term *barratry* is still used in US law. According to Webster's (1975), *barratry* is 1 : the purchase or sale of office or preferment in church or state 2 : a fraudulent breach of duty on the part of a master of a ship or of the mariners to the injury of the owner of the ship or cargo 3 : the persistent incitement of litigation.

62) **BAR(R)ICAVE**

f. "fondrière 1561-1677 Montluc Béarnais

VARICAVE

f. "précipice"

FEW**ravin** 21, 18b

1. a. Gers *barricaouo* f. „ravin“ Bts 7, 88, V-d'Aure *baricáuo* „id., fondrière“, Caut. *baricane* „ravin, torrent“ 1), bearn. *baricabe* „ravin, fondrière, précipice“. Daraus entlehnt mfr. nfr. *baricave* „fondrière“ (1561 - Miegé 1677), *barricave* (1594 - Cotgr 1611), mfr. *varicave* „id., précipice“ (Blaise de Monluc 16. jh., ZFSL 41, 2, 48).

1) Wahrscheinlich druckfehler für *baricaue*.

G OldFr**BARICAVE**, *barricave*, s.f., fondrière, précipice :

(…)

J'avois une guide qui me vouloit conduire par des *baricaves*. (MONTL., *Comm.*, I.)

DALF OldFr

Baricave, *subst. masc.* Fondrière, précipice. (Dict. de Nicot, Monet et Oudin, au mot Baricave.) Au lieu de *baricace*, dans le Dict. de Corneille, il faut lire *baricave*. *Baricane*, dans D. Flor. de Grec, fol. 126, n'est aussi qu'une faute d'orthographe. «Acier château situé dans un fort laid pais qui est le Quercy, pierreux, raboteux, montagneux, et tout plein de *barricaves*.» (Brantôme, Cap. Fr. T. I, p. 214.)

VARIANTES: BARRICAVE, BARICACE, BARICANE, BARMAQUE, BARICAUT

N 1606

Baricaue, f. penac. de βαρυς, Grec, qui signifie grief, aspre & fascheux, caue profonde. Le Fouilloux chap. 19. de sa Venerie: La forest de Mereuant est toute en montagnes, vallées & barycaues, où les viandes sont arres, aigres & de peu de substance.

C 1611

Barricave: f. *A hole, pit, or hollow place aboue ground; also, a low bottome, steepe valley; or deepe path, in a wood, or valley.*

F 1690

BARICAVE. s.f. Vieux mot qui signifie une *fondriere*, precipice au pied des montagnes.

Variations: barricave, barricace, baricane,⁸³ barmaque, baricaut

⁸³ Possibly a printing error for *baricave*.

Although Furetière lists the word in his dictionary, he calls it an old word: it was undoubtedly on its way out by then. There were at least two synonyms, *fondrière* and *précipice*, that took its place. It could be that this word was not specific enough. The word *varricave* appears to be a variation on *barricave*. In some parts of the south of France /b/ is not distinguished from /v/.

63) **BARIS**

m. "barrière, rempart" Old Fr.

FEW

***barra** querstange. [cross pole] I, 256b

Apr. *barri s*) „rempart d'une ville; faubourg“, in der ersten bed. apr. viel belegt bei Meyer Doc. für Albi RLR 47, 360. afr. *baris* „barrière, rempart d'une ville“ (<apr.), for. *barri*, (...)

s) Diese form ist den npr. mda. entlehnt.

G OldFr

BARI, *barri*, s.m., barrière, mur, rempart de ville :

Pour ce que ladite ville et les *barriz* d'icelle, ont besoin de reparation et fortification. (1371, *Ord.*, v. 396.)

FPO

BARRI. Faubourg ; mot CCC pour désigner les anciens faubourgs des villes ou villages (Versols etc.) mais PFFF pour désigner les nouveaux faubourgs ; *je vais au barri, tu me rejoindras?* ; de l'oc. **barri** «id.». VPF 10, TF 234.

DOF

barri, m. Rempart ; fossé ; faubourg ; fossé pour provigner, *Rgt.* ; long provin en espalier ; grand nuage. *Dér.* **barrian**, **iana**, m. et adj., qui habite les faubourgs près des remparts. **barriana**, gros grelot, *Rgt.*

Homophones: [barre], baril, [barrière]

Godefroy is the only dictionary that I consulted that lists *bari(s)*. It was likely not a common word in Old French. It had competition from *barrière* and *rempart*, which is

perhaps why the word eventually disappeared. In Occitan *baris* refers to a suburb, a part of the town built beyond the ramparts.

64) **BARROT**

m. "chariot" 1877 Auvergne

FEW

***birotium** zweirädriger karren. [two-wheeled cart] l. 374b

[?] (...) Lyon *barrot* „petit tombereau“, for. „char rustique composé d’une simple claie placée sur 2 roues“, (...) Vinz. *baro*. „char traîné par des vaches pour transporter des récoltes“ (...) daher nfr. *barouche* „sorte de voiture“ Littré Suppl. (...) [Note: *Landais*: BAROUCHE subst. fém. (*barouche*), sorte de voiture anglaise.]

Homophones: barrot (poutrelle transversale; baril à anchois), barreau

This word appears to have been a hapax.

65) **BARTAS**

m. "buisson" 1694-1750 Languedocien

FEW

***barros** (gall.) haarschopf, büschel. [mop of hair, tuft] l. 262a

2. Apr. *barta* „buisson, broussaille“, aland. *barte* „bosquet“, narb. *barto* „broussaille“ M. Aude „ronce“, viv. *bartos* „bois taillis“, aveyr. *barto* „terrain couvert de genêts et de broussaille“. Lot-et-G. *barto* „haie“ ALF 1592 p. 638, Gers „bois, forêt, particulièrement dans une plaine“. Bayonne *barte* „terrain vague avoisinant les cours d’eau“, bearn. „lande et bois“ 2).

Ablt. Apr. *bartas* „hallier, buisson épais“, rhod. *bertas* M, npr. *bartas*, Genolhac „buisson“ RLR 55, 25, lang. „hallier“ S 3), (...)

2) Stammt daher auch bask. *darte* „jeune plant d’arbre“, *darthe* „buisson“, *darthu* „rejeton de tronc d’arbre“ ? -- Als Ortsname findet sich *La Barte* im saint., sowie im kanad. (*Barthe* KrJber 9, 238).

3) Auch bei Ménage 1694 lang. *bartas* „buisson“.

DALF OldFr

Bartas, *subst. masc.* Buisson. Mot languedocien. (Dict. étym. de Ménage, et Du Cange, à *Barta*.)

FPO

BARTAS. Buisson épais, CCC ; *fais attention, que l'autre jour, j'ai cherché une boule dans le bartas pendant une heure (propos d'un joueur de pétanque) ; attention, quand la lièvre sortira du bartas de pas la louper ; de l'oc. bartàs «id.». VPF 43, TF 237. Lièvre est féminin ici.*

DOF

bartà, *f.* Buisson, hallier ; terrain couvert de broussailles (ronces, genêts, bruyères) ; bois épais, (...) *C'ent. bartàs, hallier, haie, Rgt., bois touffu. (...) Étym. prélatin bar, pierre.*

Homologues: buisson

This does not appear to have been a current word in French. The *DALF* characterizes it as a word from Languedocien, so I would say that if it was ever current in French, it was confined to the French of the south of France. In fact, the word is still current in the French of the south. There was already a word for "bush" in French, so that if *bartas* was to survive, it would have had to develop a more specific meaning (i.e., it could have designated a particular kind of bush.)

66) **BASSAGUE**

f. "paillasse" 1574-1585 Provençal

FEW

paillasse 23, 32a

Mfr. bassague f. „paillasse remplie le plus souvent de paille de maïs” (Marseille 1574,1585, Hav).

DOF

bassac, *m.* Grand sac ; étoupe grossière. *A bassac, au pillage, en déroute. Dér. bassaca, f., grand sac de couchage, paillasse; gros dormeur. (...) Étym. Occ. bes + sacar. Var. butsacar, bachacar, bitsacar.*

Homologues: paillasse

I would say that this word was confined to the French of the south of France.

There was a French equivalent, *paillasse*.

67) BASTANGUE

f. ``raja pastinaca`` 1640-1660

FEW

pastinaca pastinak; stachelroche. [sting ray] 7, 755b

b. Apr. *bastango* (1554, Rondelet), *vastango* (1554, Rondelet), npr. *bastango*, *vastango* (beide schon DRUA 1759), mars. *pastango*, narb. *vastango*, Bayonne *bastanga*, landm. id. (1777, Duh 3, 282), Arcachon *bastangue*. Aus dem occit. entlehnt nfr. id. (Oud. 1640 – Duez 1660, RLR 51, 387), *vastangue* (Oud 1640 – Duez 1660). -- Npr. *vastrango*. -- Npr. *vantrango*. -- Npr. *rastango*.

DALF Old Fr

Bastangue, *subst. fém.* Sorte de poisson. En italien *pastinacca marina*. Oudin, dans son Dict. italien, interprète ces mots par «tareronde, sorte de raye, bougnette, *Bastangue*, *Vastangue*.»

It seems likely that this word was confined to the French of the south of France since it refers to a fish found in southern waters, around Bayonne and Arcachon among other places.

68) BASTIDAN

m. ``campagnard`` 1867

FEW

***bastjan** (germ.) mit bast flechten. [to plait with rafia] 15, I, 77a

(...) Pr. *bastidan*, *-ano* „campagnard, -e“, mars. id. A (> nfr. *bastidan* Lar 1867), Aix id. P.

Homophones: *bastide*, *bastidon*

Homologues: *campagnard*

Bastidan appears to be a hapax. *Bastidon* ``petite bastide`` appeared around the same time as *bastidan*. Perhaps this word prevented *bastidan* from advancing very far in

French. In Provence *bastide* means "farm". Two 19th century dictionaries, the *Landais* and the *Littéré*, define *bastide* as "petite maison de campagne". This meaning may have prevented the meaning "country dweller" from catching on.

69) BATUM

m. "mastic" 16th

FEW

bitumen erdpech. [pitch] 1, 386b

[?] (...) apr. *batum*, auch in den dial., vgl. noch npr. *bitoun* (< fr.) neben pr. *batun*, Vinz. *ble.tō* 1), périg. *betum*. Ablt. Apr. *batumar* „bétonner, cimenter“, nfr. *bétonner* (seit Lar 1867); *bétonnage*; mfr. *embetumé* „composé de béton“ (1556).

1) Die nebenform *bleton* auch von Lar bezeugt.

DOF

batum, V. **betum**.

betum. m. Bitume ; béton. *Dér.* **betumar**, bitumer ; bétonner. *Éty.* **bitumen**. *Cat.* **betum**.

Homologues: mastic, bitume

I can find no trace of this word in the dictionaries I consulted. This word may never have been in French. The *FEW* seems to suggest that Occitan borrowed the word from French. In any case, there were *mastic* and *bitume* in French.

70) BECCADE

f. "béquée du faucon" 1751-1873

FEW

beccus schnabel. [beak] 1. 306b

Afr. *bechiee* „béquée“, mfr. nfr. *béchée* 11), afr. *bequee* „coup de bec“, nfr. *béquée*, (...) npr. pr. lang. aveyr. *becado*, béarn. *becade* „id.“; „coup de bec“, aus dem npr. nfr. *beccade* „béquée du faucon“ (Enc; Littéré); (...)

11) Noch bei Fur 1708, Trév 1771. die aber ausdrücklich beifügen, in Paris sage man *bequée*.

DALF OldFr

Beccade. *subst. fém.* Béquée. On a dit, en parlant de la manière dont il faut dresser un faucon: «Se tu le treuves mengant....ne lui fais nulle froiterie ne ennuy, mais le reprens au loerre s'il a mengié, et lui donne une *bechiée* de char, et lui met le chapperon.» (Modus et Racio, MS. fol. 120.) Ce mot est pris dans un sens figuré en ce passage: «Vint le duc d'Orléans à Paris, pour prendre une *beschée* sur la pouvre ville.» (Journal de Paris sous Charles VI et VII, p. 191.)

VARIANTES: BECQUADE. BESCHÉE, BECHÉE, BECHIÉE

Lan 1857

BECCADE. *subst. fém.* (*bèkade*), t. de vieille faucon.: *donner la beccade à un oiseau.* lui donner à manger.

Note: Nicot, Cotgrave and Furetière list *becquée* and *bechée*; Richelet, the Academy Dictionaries (except the 1695 ed.), Littré, Larive & Fleury and the Dictionnaire Général list *be(c)quée*.

FPO

BÉCADE. *Becquée* : *becade C*, *becquée CC* ; *tu as vu la maman qui lui donne la bécade au pitchou aoucélou* (petit oiseau)? ; de l'oc. **becada** «id.». VPF 13. TF 253.

DOF

bèc. m. *Bec* ; (...) *Aur. becada*, coup de bec; *becquée* ; période de sommeil; *becasse* (oiseau). (...)

Variations: *becquade*

Cognates: *becquée*, (*bequée*), *bechée*. (*bechiée*)

It seems that *beccade* was a term from falconry. There were two words from French. *be(c)quée* and *bechée* in competition with *beccade*. In the end, one of the northern forms. *be(c)quée* won out. However, it may be that the southern form *beccade* inclined the French to favour *be(c)quée* instead of *bechée*. Or it may be that a northern form with a hard *k* sound, such as *rouchi* (dialect of Valenciennes) *becquie* and Pléché. (Bretagne) *peke*, was adopted into Standard French.

71) **BEDEL**

m. "bloc d'hématite (dans les Pyrénées franç.)" 1866 Gascon

FEW

schiste 21. 38a

Gask. *bedel* m. „matière qui sert de noyau aux blocs d'hématite (dans les Pyrénées françaises)". Lar 1866.

This word appears to have been a hapax in French. It seems likely that it was confined to the French of the south of France.

72) **BEDEL**

m. "milice urbaine (au Midi)" Old Fr.

FEW

***bidal** (frk.) gerichtsbote. [court messenger] 1. 354a

1. Afr. mfr. *bedel* „sergent à verge dans les justices subalternes; sergent chargé de fonctions publiques relatives à la police intérieure des villes et surtout de poursuivre et d'arrêter les voleurs". adauph. *badel*, apr. *bedel*; daher afr. *bedelage* „office de bedeau" Gdf. Lex; *bedellet* „sergent".

2. Aus der bed. „scherge, subalterner polizist" entwickelt sich afr. *bedel* „milice urbaine (surtout au Midi); soldat de troupes légères et irrégulières et adonnées au pillage". *bidau* Gay 1. 156.

I can find no trace of the meaning "milice urbaine (au Midi)" in the dictionaries I consulted. In any case, when *bedel* ("urban militia in the south") was borrowed, *bedel* ("soldier, mercenary") was already there. That would make this loan a semantic loan. The meaning "milice urbaine du Midi" may have been confined to the south of France or used only when referring to these soldiers from the south. This particular southern institution may have disappeared because new policing methods were introduced.

73) **BÉDOUIDE**

f. "alouette des prés" 1791-1867 Provençal

FEW

alouette 21, 228b

Provence *bédouide* f. „alouette des prés“ (Valm 1791 - Lar 1867), BAIp. *bedouido*. Mars. id. A. Gém. id., Vaucl. id. M; nfr. *bédouille* (AcC 1838 - Lar 1867).

L 1883

BÉDOUILLE (bé-dou-ll', // mouillées), *s. f.* Un des noms vulgaires de la farlouse.

Homologues: farlouse

This southern name for the *farlouse* did not catch on in northern France, probably because the bird already had a designation there. There was another form, *bedouille*.

74) **BEDOUZE**

f. "chaîne de monticules" 1868

FEW

bourbe, fondrière -> auch mare, marais 21, 36b

Cantal *bedousa* f. „fondrière“. Teste *bedouse* „fondrière de sable mouvant au bord de la mer ou des étangs“; nfr. *bedouze* „petite chaîne de monticules qui séparent des vallées humides, et dont le sol tremble sous les pas“ Lar 1868. -- Zuss. Cantal *s'embedousar* „s'enliser“. Teste *emboudousá* v. n. „enfoncer dans une fondrière de sable M.

This word would appear to have been a hapax. It refers to a geographic feature typical of the south of France.

75) **BELLICANT**

m. "espèce de poisson" 1803-1867 Provençal

FEW

pompholyx (gr.) wasserblase; hüttenrauch. [water bubble, hut smoke] 9, 147a

Bmanc. *be*lw"e* „se troubler (de la vue)“. SeudreS. *belugher* [-he.] „fourmiller, pétiller en bluettes“, hdauph. *beluyé* „étinceler. briller“, *beleyé*, mdauph. *beluá* bdauph. *belujá*, mars. *belugar* A, castr. aveyr. *belugá*, Ambert *bel/idz^á* „jeter des étincelles“, Périgueux *belugá* „étinceler“ Benoit F 64. Dol *bluner* „avoir la berlue“. – Cette *belugan* m. „trigla gurnardus“ 18) (>nfr. *bellicant*, Boiste 1803 - Lar 1867) RIFn 3, 175, 177. 18) „les trigles émettent dans les ténèbres une certaine phosphorescence“. ThomasMél 43.

Lan 1857

BELLICANT, subst. mas. (*bèlelikan*), t. d'hist. nat., nom donné à la trigle.

L 1883

BELLICANT (bèl-li-kan), s. m. Nom d'un poisson des côtes de France.

Homologues: trigle

The northern name for this fish, *trigle*, was preferred to *bellicant*.

76) **BENARRIC, BENARIS**

m. "ortolan" 1584-1885 Langdocien

FEW

ortolan 21, 228a

Mfr. *benarric* m. „ortolan, emberiza hortulana“ (1584; Cotgr 1611), nfr. *benari* (1633 - Pair 1885, s. Trév 1771; „en Languedoc“ Trév 1771), *benaris* (Baudr 1834 - Lar 1867), kanad. *bènarí* m. „roitelet de Carolina“, lang. *benarit* „ortolan“, *benarrit* (beide 17. jh., M), *benourit* M, SalleStP. *benari*, Toulouse *benarric* G, Aubin *bennorí* „tarin“, gask. *benarric* „ortolan“ (17. jh., M), Gers *benaric* „petit oiseau d'été“, beam. *benarit* „ortolan“. *benerit*. Bayonne *benerit* „ortolan“ LF, Landes *benarrit* Recl 17, 69.

DALF OldFr

Benari, subst. masc. Ortolan. Dans le patois de Languedoc. (Dict. étymologique de Ménage.)

C 1611

Benarric. *The little black-headed bird called, a Gnat-snapper.*

Lan 1857

BÉNARI, subst. mas. (*bénari*), t. d'hist. nat., nom donné vulgairement, dans le Languedoc, à l'ortolan.

Homologues: ortolan

It would seem that *benarric* was largely confined to the south of France. The *DALF* and the *Landais* call it a word from the Languedoc. The word *ortolan* is now used to designate this word. Interestingly enough, *ortolan* also comes from Occitan. So here it is a case of one Occitan word being preferred to another.

77) BEQUERUT

m. "esp. d'olivier" Ol de Serres Provençal

FEW

beccus schnabel. [beak] 1, 309b

(...) -- Npr. *ouliviè becarut* „olivier à fruit terminé par une pointe“ (als *bequerut* bei Ol. de Serres). (...)

C 1611

Bequerut. *A kinde of Oliue.*

This word would appear to have been used only by Olivier de Serres.

78) BERNÈDE

f. "aunaie" 1604-1746 Gascon

FEW

verno- (gall.) erle. [alder] 14, 300b

(...) Ustou *bernéd o* RLiR 7, 143, beam. *bernede*, nfr. *bernède* (in dokumenten aus der Gaskogne 1604 - 1746, Littré Suppl).

Homologues: *aunaie*

It seems that this word was confined to texts from Gascony. It could be that the word was not known in the north. In any case, there was *aunnaie* in the north.

79) **BESAGRE**

f. "esp. de canard" 1610 Limousin

FEW

tadorne 21. 245a/b

Nfr. *besagre* f. „espèce de canard“ (1610, Loys Guyon, R 34, 614). -- Guyon stammt aus dem Limousin.

It would appear that Guyon, an author from Limousin, used an Occitan word in a French text. There appears to have been no northern equivalent for this word.

80) **BESAL**

m. "bief d'un moulin" Mid Fr.

FEW

***bedu** (gall.) kanal, graben. [canal, ditch] 1, 312a

Ablt. Alyon. *bessal* „canal, endroit creux“. apr. *bezal* „bief d'un moulin; rigole“ (> mfr. *besal*). *beal* (Htes Alpes, BAlpes. Alpes-Mar, Meyer Doc; Drôme, RLR 56, 163, 165), (...)

FPO

BÉSAL. (1) rigole, canal pour l'irrigation des prés, CC ; *fais-moi le droit ton bésal* ; (2) bief de moulin, CC ; *demain, il faudra commencer à vider le bésal* ; de l'oc. **bésal** «id.». VPF 19, TF 274. On entend PF **béal**.

DOF

besa, *f.* Bief d'un moulin. *Aur. Dér.* **besada**, rigole d'arrosage. **besal**, **besala**, rigole d'arrosage, bief de moulin. **besalada**, écluse ; terrain arrosable entre deux rigoles. **besalar**, creuser des rigoles d'arrosage. **besalon**, saignée pratiquée à une rigole. **besalièra**, rigole d'arrosage ; bief. *Éty. Gaul.* ***bedu**.

I can find no trace of this word in any of the dictionaries I consulted. This technical word had an approximate equivalent in the French word. *bief*, perhaps that explains why the word did not last long. It could be that the word was used mostly in the French of the south of France, but disappeared as the use of French became widespread. It was undoubtedly confined to technical vocabulary.

81) **BESIAT**

adj. “douillet, paresseux” BPériers

FEW

vitium laster. [vice] 14, 562a

II. Apr. *veziat* adj. „habile, rusé; joyeux“ (12.-13 jh., Lv; BernMarti), mfr. *besiat* „douillet, paresseux“ BPériers (<occit.), (...)

It seems that this word was only used by Bonaventure des Périers (d. ca. 1544).

In any case, there were synonyms for the word in French.

82) **BESSE**

f. “vesce” 1838-1867

FEW

vicia wicke. [vetch] 14, 413b + n 1

(...) Creuse, HVienne *ve.so*, gask. *be.so*, *be.se** 1). -- ALF 1379; ALLo 273; ALG 506; RohlfsGasc; RIF1 4, 218; JorF1; AnnNorm 1895, 309.

1) Aus einem text aus dem occit. stammt wohl das von AcC 1838 - Lar 1867 verzeichnete *besse*.

L 1883

BESSE (bè-s'), *s.f.* L'un des noms de la vesce.

-- ÉTYM. Voy VESCE.

VESCE (vè-s'), *s.f.* Terme de botanique. Genre de la famille des légumineuses, où l'on distingue la vesce commune, *vicia sativa*, L. (...)

-- ÉTYM. Berry, *voice*, *vosce*; Anjou, *voice*; du latin *vicia*, vesce; grec, βίχος, βίχιον.

FPO

BÉSSIÈ[Y]RE. Champ de vesces, R ; *Julou, elle est belle cette année ta béssièyre* ; de l'oc. **bessiè[i]ra** «id.». VPF 20 le signale à S.-A. ; TF 276.

Homologues: vesce

This plant already had a name in the north of France, *vesce*, a name similar to the southern name. This is probably why *besse* did not catch on. The word appears to have

been confined to the south of France. In the South, *b* has the same sound as *v*, as it does in Catalan and Spanish.

83) BIGARRAT

m. "oranger qui produit la bigarade" Ol de Serres Provençal

FEW

***garr-** scheckig. [spotted, dappled] 4, 65a

b. α. Nfr. *bigarade* f. „sorte d'orange amère" (seit Wid 1669); „esp. de poire" (Quint 1690 -- Trév 1771). Mfr. *bigarrat* „oranger qui produit la bigarade" (Provence, Ol de Serres). Nfr. *bigaradier* (seit 1751).

L 1883

BIGARADE (bi-ga-ra-d'), *s. f.* Orange aigre, globuleuse, à peau raboteuse, et dont l'écorce interne est amère.

-- HIST. XVIe s. Bigarrat ou cornu, nom provençal d'une espèce d'oranger, O. DE SERRES (voy. ORANGE).

-- ÉTYM. *Bigarrat*, qui, d'après O. de Serres, paraît avoir signifié cornu dans la Provence, et qu'on pourrait rattacher à *bec* avec un changement de voyelle (voy. BIGOT 2).

DOF

bigarrar, *v. tr.* Bigarrer. *Dér.* **bigarrada**, bigarade, sorte de cerise (*Cerasus versicolor*).

bigarradièr, bigaradier. **bigarradura**, bigarrure. **bigarratge**, action de bigarrer.

bigarrèu, m. bigarreau. **bigarratièr**, bigarreautier, *Rgt.* *Étym. Occ.* **biga** + **arrar**. *Cat.* **bigarrat**.

Homophones: bigarrer, bigarré

Cognates: bigaradier

It seems that Olivier de Serres was the only author to have used *bigarrat*.

However, the *Petit Robert* lists *bigarrat* as an earlier form of *bigarade*: **BIGARADE** (1651; *bigarrat*, 1600; prov. *bigarrado* «bigarré» [from *bigarra*, which has the same origin as *bigarrer* "to mark with different colours"]). Orange amère. *The Trésor de la langue française* does not agree. It lists *bigarrat* as an isolated attestation in Olivier de

Serres' book *Théâtre d'Agriculture*. Now this book was widely for centuries. It is likely that the word *bigarrat* was known to farmers. The word *bigaradier* entered the French lexicon later (1751), from *bigarade* rather than from *bigarrat*. It seems that *bigaradier* was formed from *bigarade* on the model of other tree names that end in *-ier*. Even if *bigarrat* had caught on, its form would have made it less transparent than *bigaradier*.

84) BIGOTER

v. ``se dépiter`` 17th

FEW

bī got (ahd.) bei Gott. [by God] l. 357a

(...) in sekundärer bed. nfr. *bigoter* „se dépiter“ (seit 1640, nur im 17. jh.), Toulouse (*bigouta* l), dauph. id. M 3); (...)

3) Auch Schmidlin 1771 verzeichnet *bigouta* als pr. Oudin kennt *faire bigotter* „mettre en colère“. Doch taucht es im fr. nur ganz kurze zeit auf, wohl wegen der konkurrenz der andern bed. von *bigotter*. Es scheint, daß bei der entstehung von *bigotter* „se dépiter“ die bed. des d. *bei Gott* wieder hineingespielt hat. Sainéan Paris 79 hält dieses verbum für südfranzösischen ursprungs und möchte es von BĪ GOT trennen.

Homophones: bigot, bigoterie

Homologues: se dépiter

It would appear that, as the *FEW* suggests, the well known meaning of *bigot* ``bigot``, which has been in French since the 12th c., prevented *bigoter* ``se dépiter`` from catching on. In addition, there was *se dépiter* in French.

85) BIGOURELLE

f. ``couture ronde (d'une voile) 1836-1867 Provençal

FEW

voile 23, 95a

Npr. *bigourello* f. „couture ronde faite à certaines voiles de navire, couture grossière, daher nfr. *bigourelle* „couture ronde à l'aide de laquelle on réunit les deux lisières d'une laize de toile à voile“ (AcC 1836 - Lar 1867).

Lan 1857

BIGOURELLE, s(u)bst. fém. (*bigourèle*), t. de mar., couture ronde qu'on fait à certaines voiles.

This technical term might have become marginalized when steam power replaced sails. It is likely that this word was not well known in standard French.

86) **BISE**

f. "bonite (poisson)" 1636-1867 Langdocien

FEW

scombre 21, 255a/b

Pr. lang. *byze* f. "bonite" (Rondelet 1554 - Oud 1660), nfr. *bise* (Mon 1636 - Lar 1867), pr. lang. *bize* (Rondelet 1554 - Cotgr 1611; Enc 1751; Duh 3, 209). -- Auch kat. *bis*, sp. *biza*. Corom 1, 467 stellt die frage, ob diese benennungen vielleicht zum fr. adj. *bis* (hier 1. 431) gehören.

R 1680

Bise. Poisson de mer presque semblable au ton. *Rond.l.s.*

Lan 1857

BISE, subst. fém. (*bize*) (...) -- T. d'hist. nat., poisson de mer presque semblable au thon.

Homophones: *bise* ("north wind", "fruit", "piece of bread")

Homologues: *bonite*

It could be that the word *bise* disappeared because an equivalent word, *bonite* already existed in French. In any case it appears not to have been too solidly anchored in the language. The form *bise* had a number of other meanings in French, which might have prevented *bise* "bonite" from catching on.

87) **BITERNE**

f. "enfer" Rabelais 1532 Languedocien

FEW**enfer** 23, 154b

Apr. *cara de boc de biternz* „figure de bouc d'enfer“ (Apt ca. 1225), mfr. *au diable de biterne* „au diable de l'enfer (juron)“ (Toulouse, Rab 1532), lang. *un diable de biterno* „un grand diable d'enfer“ M.

DALF OldFr

Biterne (diable de). «On dit à Toulouse, un diable de *biterne*, comme on dit à Paris, un grand diable de Vauvert (2).» (Le Duchat, sur Rab. T. II, p. 221.)

(2) *Vauvert* est pour *val vert*, vallée verte: il est vicieux de dire *diable au vert*. Sainte-Foix (Essais historiques sur Paris, 1754) raconte que sous le règne de Saint Louis, des chartreux reçurent du roi une belle maison à Gentilly, et, mis en appétit par ce cadeau, convoitèrent le château abandonné de *Vauvert*, qu'avait autrefois bâti le roi Robert dans la rue d'*Enfer*, et qu'ils voyaient de leurs fenêtres. Pour forcer la piété du monarque, ils peuplèrent le château d'une légion d'esprits, et personne n'osa plus en approcher; Saint Louis fut alors heureux de céder aux religieux propriété et revenants: telle serait l'origine du *diable Vauvert*. Joinville dit seulement (éd. de Wailly, § 724): «Et fist faire li bons roys la maison des Chartreux, *au dehors de Paris*, qui a nom *Vauvert*.» (N. E.)

DOF

bitèrna. f. Localité imaginaire. *Diable de bitèrna*, grand diable, diable d'enfer. *Éty.* anc. Occ. **boc de Bitèrna**. Cat. **biterna**.

Homologues: enfer

This word would appear to have been used in French only by Rabelais. The

DALF lists it and implies that it was largely confined to the French of the south.

88) **BLADIER**

m. "blatier" 17th

FEW

***blad** (anfrk.) feldfrucht. [field fruit] 1, 389b

(...) apr. *bladier* „marchand de blé; préposé à la halle au blé“, awallon. *blair* „blatier“ (1451), nfr. *bladier* (nur 17. jh.; < pr., Brunot 3, 126), (...)

G OldFr

BLADIER, voir BLAIER.

1. **BLAIER**, *blaer, bleer*, v.a., cultiver en blé, mettre en blé :

(...)

2. **BLAIER**, *-yer, bladier*, s.m., celui qui est chargé de veiller sur les terres semées en blé:

(...)

Lesdiz consulz puissent mectre et oster chascun an gardes et *bladiers* pour les vignes et champs garder. (1462, Ord., XV, 514.)

BLAIERE, s.f., femme du *blaier* :

(...)

C 1611

Bladier: m. *A Marchant, or Ingrosser of corne.*

Bladier: m. ere: f. *Of, or belonging to, corne.*

Blattier: m. *A marchand, or ingrosser of corne.*

Cognates: blatier

Although *bladier* was in use for a time as a variant of *blatier*, it was the latter form that won out. The difference between the two was not all that great. It may be that *blatier* won out because it was the most widespread. In addition, *bladier*, with a slightly different meaning was in use before the 17th c.

89) **BLAI**

m. ‘‘érable’’ Ol de Serres

FEW

platanus platane. 9. 36b

2.a. Apr. *blazi* m. ‘‘sycomore’’ (1397, Pans), *blaizi* (1397, Pans), Larzac *blási*. Occit. *blai* m. ‘‘érable’’ Ol de Serres, pr. ‘‘érable plane’’ RIF1 3, 161, AlpesM. ‘‘érable à feuilles d’osier’’ AnnAMar 18, 259, *bláve*. m. ‘‘érable’’ ALF 478 p 898, hauv. *bladre* m. ‘‘sycomore’’ MAnt 9, 380), Cantal *bladr* ‘‘érable’’ RIF1 3, 144.

Homophones: blé

Homologues: érable

It seems that only Olivier de Serres used this word in French.

90) **BLAMARÉE**

f. "maïs" (dans le Midi) (BLAMAZÉE 1845) 1867 Languedocien

FEW

maïs. 21, 117b

Gard *blad-mare* m., *blatrama*, *bratama*, *blatama*, *blad-amar* (alle M), daraus entlehnt nfr. *blamarée* f. „id., dans quelques régions du Midi de la France“ Lar 1867, *blamazée* Besch 1845 1). -- M deutet „blé amer“, ohne die verschiedenen lautvarianten zu erklären.

1) Der wandel von *r* > *z* ist im lang. häufig, Z 69, 274-275.

steht auch FEW 15, I, 130a

***blad** (anfrk.) feldfrucht. field fruit

... - Lang. *blamarë* „maïs“ S 36), *blat marés*, Alais *bla-maré*, Lozère *bla mare.s*; daraus entlehnt nfr. *blamazée* Besch 1845, *blamarée* f. Lar 1867 37);

36) Ergänzung zu 6, 319 s. v. *mare*, vgl. auch ALMC 968.

37) Lar 1867: „dans quelques régions du Midi de la France“.

Homologues: maïs, blé

It seems that this word was mostly confined to the French of the south.

91) **BLANQUET**

m. "vin blanc" Ol de Serres - 1660 Languedocien

FEW

***blank** (germ.) weiss. [white] 15, I, 145a

f. **Verschiedenes.** (...) - Mfr. *blanquet* „espèce de vin blanc supérieur du Languedoc“ (OldeSerres; Cotgr 1611- Oud 1660); (...)

DALF OldFr

Blanquet. *subst. masc.* Espèce de raisin blanc. (Voyez le Dict. d'Oudin.)

C 1611

Blanquet. *A kind of the best white wine of Languedoc.*

DG 1902

BLANQUET [blan-kè] *s. m.*

[ÉTYM. Dérivé de **blanc**, § 133. Qqs sens paraissent empruntés au provenç. **blanquet**, § 11. (Cf. **blanchet**, **blanchette**, **blanquette**.) || 1611. COTGR.]

|| 1. Menu poisson blanc. (V. **blanchaille**.)

|| 2. Végétation qui attaque les racines de l'olivier.

|| 3. Petite poire d'été, grisâtre.

BLANQUETTE [blan-kèt'] *s. f.*

(...)

|| 2. (...) Variété de raisin blanc. | *P. ext.* Vin du Midi fabriqué avec ce raisin. **La -- de Limoux.**

Note 1: Richelet, Furetière, the Academy Dictionaries, Landais, Littré, Larive & Fleury list *blanquette* "vin blanc"

Note 2: Gebhardt has the word *blanquette* four times in the main list, but none of them mean "vin blanc"

Homophones: *blanquette* ("vin", "poire")

It seems that *blanquet* may not have died out; it may have collapsed together with *blanquette*. In Occitan, final consonants are usually pronounced. It could be that the *-t* of *blanquet* was pronounced in French, thus making it a homonym of *blanquette*. *Blanquet* may have been in use before Olivier de Serres' time and de Serres helped spread it.

92) **BLASTEMER**

v. "blasphémer" Old Fr.

FEW

blasphemare schmähen. [to abuse, to vituperate against] 1, 403a

2. Apr. *blastemar* „blasphémer; blâmer“, pr. *blastema* „blasphémer, maudire“; wohl aus dem apr. entlehnt die nur in einer übersetzung der Makkabäer belegten afr. *blastemer*, -e, -eor, -ement.

G OldFr

BLASTEMER, v.n., blasphémer :

Cil qui furent mandé del rei Sennacherib qui te *blastemerent*. (*Liv. des Machab.*, Maz. 70, fo 166d.)

... Et maudissoient Juda et *blastemoient*. (*Ib.*, fo 191d.)

-- *Blastemant*, part. prés. et s. m., blasphémateur :

As mescreanz et *blastemanz* (*Liv. des Machab.*, Maz. 70, fo 192c.)

Note: *blasteme*, *blastement* and *blastemeor* are also attested, all from the Book of Maccabees.

Cognates: blasphémer

It seems that *blastemer* was used in only one Old French Biblical translation. At that time, few people could read, thus few people would have understood the word and hence it would not have been able to become widespread. It is quite possible that this word is an error in transcription.

93) BLAVETE

f. "figue violette" Ol de Serres

FEW

blao (frk.) blau. [blue] 1. 400a

(...) -- Npr. *blaveto* „figue violette“ (schon bei Ol. de Serres *blavete*).

Homophones: blavette "bluet" etc.

It is likely that only Olivier de Serres used *blavete* in the sense of "figue violette". *Blavet(t)e* had at least two other meanings in the north of France: "bluet" and *blavet* "a kind of mushroom". In any case, people in the north of France could have used the designation *figue violette* instead of borrowing *blavete*.

94) BOCCABREVÉ

m. "variété de pomme" Ol de Serres

FEW

bucca wange; mund. [cheek, mouth] 1, 584b

(...) Npr. *boucoprèvo* „variété de pomme“ (vgl. bei Ol. de Serres *boccabrevé*); ...

C 1611

Boccabrevé: f. *The name of a certaine apple.*

Only Cotgrave lists this word. It seems likely that only Olivier de Serres used it in French.

95) **BOISSE**

f. "canard sauvage" Mid Fr. Langudocien

FEW

canard 21, 244b

Npr. *bouis* m. „nom de plusieurs canards sauvages“; mfr. *boisse* f. (Montpellier, R 33, 139), npr. *bouisse* m., Nice *bouis*, *bouissa* f.; npr. Nice *bouisset* m. „petit canard sauvage, morillon“. -- Zuss. s. Mistral.

It is not clear that this word was ever used in French, except perhaps in the French of the south of France.

96) **BOLADE**

f. "massue" 1409 [-1469]

FEW

bull blase. [bubble]l. 610a

[?] (...) npr. *boulado* „bâton terminé par un noeud en forme de boule“, lang. „jet d'une boule (au jeu)“, (...)

G OldFr

BOLADE, *boll.*, *boul.*, s.f., massue dont le bout avec lequel on frappe est plus gros et a la forme d'une boule :

Lequel leur bailla deux *bollades* ou massues. (1409, Arch. JJ 163, pièce 316.)

Embastonné d'une grosse massue ou *boulade* de bois. (1412, Arch. JJ 176, pièce 238.)

Embastonnez de massues ou *bollades*. (1469, Arch. JJ 196, pièce 158.)

Cf. BOULAIE 2.

AW OldFr

bole s. f.

[*Meyer-Lübke REW 1385 bulla; Godefroy VIII (Compl.) 353c*]

Blase: Le joie de cest mont ne pris mie une bole, Quant li sire del mont laira hui se gent sole. *RAlix*. 522, 30.

Kugel: Gieus de tables et d'eschequiers. De boules et de mereliers, *Peler*. V 6762. jouer au gieu de la boule, *eb*. 11842.

Cognates: bole, boule

Homologues: massue

According to Godefroy, the word *bolade* was in use from 1409-1469. It is interesting to note that in the three quotes given above, it was used next to *massue*. This sort of "doubling" was frequent in the Middle Ages. It could also be that *massue* was needed to explain *bolade*; the latter may not have been well known. The words *bole* and *boule* were also in use in Old French and meant "massue". The word *bolade* may have been perceived as a variation of *bole*, as a native word with a southern suffix.

97) **BOLUME**

f. "ourlet du bas de la voile latine" 17th

FEW

volumen band; wirbel. [volume (of book), whirl] 14, 612a + n 5

(...) *bolume* „ourlet du bas de la voile latine“ (17. jh.) 5; (...)

5) Offenbar occit. wort. „la voile se roulait autour de l'ourlet inférieur de la voile; les Provençaux appelèrent ainsi *bolume* le bas de la voile carée“ Jal.

It would seem that this word was largely confined to the French of the south of France and to marine terminology. This part of the sail may have had another designation in the north of France. This word may have become marginalized as steam power replaced sails.

98) **BONNE ROBE**

f. "femme appétissante" Rabelais 1552-1771 (Vidos Prestito 152: it.)

FEW

***rauba** (germ.) beute,raub. [booty, robbery] 16, 674a/b + n 4

1. 1. Afr. *robe* f. „butin, dépouille de guerre“ (Wace - ca. 1230), mfr. id. (1493; 1605), apr. *rauba* (12.-14. jh.); afluand. *reube* „vol à main armée“ (St-Amand 12.-14.jh.), (...)

2. Afr. *robe* „biens mobiliers qui sont à l'usage d'une personne“ Wace 1); asav. *roba* „bagages“ Bruchet, apr. *rauba* (14.-15. jh., Lv; SFlor). „effets personnels de qn“ (AlpesM. 16. jh., Meyer Doc), abearn. *robe*, npr. *raubo* „id.; endroit où les travailleurs déposent leurs vêtements; vivres qu'on porte aux champs“, mdauph. *ro, wbo* „vivres“. aost. *roba* „denrée, nourriture“; apr. *eser de las raubas d'alcun* „être de la maison de qn“ (Aurillac 1298). Afr. mfr. *robe* „gages“ (Gautier Au-Dex, Gdf; Maillart) 2), *reube* (1325); Mons „chose de rien“ Dl. -- Rougemont *de. ruba* „dans le sens de la largeur (d'une étoffe)“ Ust 115 3). Apr. *rauba* „marchandise (13.-15.jh., Lv; Fagniez), mfr. *robe* Brantôme, Bessans *ró-bå* „id.; matière quelconque“, pr. *roba* „marchandise“ Enc 14, 309a. Mfr. nfr. *bonne robe* „se dit d'une femme appétissante et ardente au plaisir“ (1552-Trév 1771) 4).

1) Daraus entlehnt bret. *rob* „richesse“.

2) Besonders in der redensart *estre aux robes* de qn.

3) Hier scheint die bed. entw. etwa zu „stück tuch“ geführt zu haben; so auch kat. *roba* „stoff“, *rauba*.

4) Ist von Rab wohl aus dem occit. aufgenommen worden, vgl. auch im Heptameron in analogem sinn *la meilleure robbe qu'il eust onques veue*. Aus Rab dann von LaFont übernommen: auch Tallemant.

G OldFr

1. ROBE, *robbe, rouble, reube*, s.f., pillage, butin, dépouille de guerre :

(...)

-- *Bonne robe*, prop., de bonne prise, se dit d'une femme appétissante et ardente au plaisir :

Le jeune brodequin prenoit la vieille botte a femme, pource qu'elle estoit *bonne robe*, bon point et grasse a profict de mesnaige. (RAB., *Quart livre*, ch. IX, éd. 1552).

Et luy fit la feste d'avoir trouvé la *meilleure robe* qu'il eust onques veue. (MARG. D'ANG., *Heptam.*, VIII, p. 89, éd. 1581.)

Cette locution était encore usitée au XVIIe s.:

La cadette (de Marion Delorme) estoit fille et le sera tousjours, a la mode de sa soeur; elle est gastée de petite verolle; mais elle ne laisse pas d'estre *bonne robe*.

(TALLEMANT, *Histor.*, Mar. de l'Orme, p. 66, 3e éd. Mommerqué et P. Paris.)

(...)

DALF OldFr

1. Robbe. (..)

-- «Bonne *robbe*» (Rabelais, t. IV, p. 74), se dit d'un homme. -- «Bonne *robbe*,» parlant d'une femme dont la jouissance seroit agréable. (Id. p. 41.) -- La meilleure *robbe* qu'il eust jamais vue.» (Contes de la reine de Navarre, p. 79.) (...)

C 1611

Robbe: f. *A robe, gowne, mantle, coat; any long upper garment; also, the sea C'alfé, a fish.*

(...)

Bonne robbe. *A Bona roba; good stuffe, sound lecherie; a round, fat, plumpe wench.*

(...)

F 1690

ROBBE (...) On dit encore d'une belle femme, ou de toute autre chose qu'on estime, que c'est une bonne *robbe*: suivant une phrase Italienne, *bona roba*: car en cette Langue *roba* signifie toute sorte de meubles ou de choses.

Cognates: bonne; robe

Bonne robe was used by Rabelais and others, including D'Aubigné and Brantôme, and it seems that it did have a certain currency in French, as its inclusion in Cotgrave and Furetière would seem to indicate. However, the expression did not stay in standard French. It is interesting to note that the *FEW* does not derive the expression from *robe* "dress" but from *robe* "booty". Although, inevitably the two would have "crossed". In the Middle Ages (and indeed today) a *robe* could be worn by both sexes, so the expression did not start out as metonymy, in the same way that *skirt* in English was slang for "woman". Rabelais borrowed the expression from Occitan, where the word *raubá* still meant "possessions". It is also interesting to note that *bonne robe* underwent an expansion in meaning. By the 17th century, according to Furetière, it could refer to anything that whetted one's appetite, not just an attractive woman.⁸⁴ It may be that this expression went out of fashion as new slang terms were found to designate women.

⁸⁴ Furetière derives the word from the Italian *bona roba*. Wind (1928) and Hope (1971) mention the expression *de bonne robe* "de bonne composition, de bon usage ou bonne marchandise". *Robe* meant "merchandise, goods" in 16th century French, a meaning influenced by the Italian *roba*. There is also the

99) ? **BORIE**

f. "métairie" OldFr

FEW**bovaria** (mlt.) ochsenstall. [ox stall] l, 476a + n lApr. *bo(a)ria* „métairie“ 1), (...)1) Wo ist afr. *borie* (Gdf Lex) belegt? Ist es apr. *boria* im französierten gewand?**FPO****BORYE.** (pron. boryoe) ferme, borye PF : à *Ayssènes* (25 km de S[aint].-A[ffrique].) *les boryes sont toutes trabéssudes* (à flanc de montagne) : de l'oc. **bòria** «id.». VPF 53, TF 307.**DOF****bòria**, f. Ferme, domaine agricole. Syn. *bòrda*, *granja*, *mas*, *capmàs*. Dér. **boriaire**, habitant d'une ferme, fermier, métayer, maître-valet. **boriassa**, grosse ferme. **borieta**, petite ferme. *Étyim. L. bovarius + ia > boairía, boaríá, bòria.*Homologues: métairie

Borie may have been a hapax. Godefroy's *Lexique de l'ancien français* appears to be the only source. Perhaps it is a ghost word.

100) **BORTOULAGE**

m. "pourpier" Old Fr.

FEW**portulaca** portulak. 9, 226bb. Apr. *bortolaiga* LvP (> afr. *bortoulage*, hap.), (...)

G OldFr

BORTOULAGE, s.m., sorte de plante :

Frankish *rauba* "goods, chattel" (14th c.), which gave rise to *robe* "dress" There was also the expression *aimer la bonne robe* "to be plump, 'fair in flesh'" (Estienne, in Hope 1971, v. I, p. 220). Rabelais used the expression *bonne robe* to mean "good value, a good bargain". This meaning, as well as the meaning "merchandise, goods" for *robe*, may come from the Italian. The meaning "femme appétissante", according to the *FEW* comes from the Occitan. The expression *bonne robe* "femme appétissante" would have been helped into French thanks to the other meanings associated with *robe* and *bonne robe*.

Feuilles de *bortoulages*. (B. DE GORD.. *Pratiqu.*, I, 3, impr. Ste-Gen.)

Homologues: pourpier

It seems that the French designation was preferred to the Occitan designation. In any case, the word appears to have been a hapax.

101) **BOUBAX**

m. ^{''esp. d'olive''}Ol de Serres Provençal

FEW

olivier; olive 21. 90b

Pr. *boubau* m. ^{..esp. d'olive''} Ol de Serres. mfr. *boubax* pl. Cotgr 1611. -- Wohl zum familiennamen lang. *Boubaus*. -- Hb.

C 1611

Boubax. *The name of a kind of Oliues.*

Although Cotgrave recorded this word in his dictionary, it seems that it was used only by Olivier de Serres.

102) **BOURGADIER**

m. ^{''habitant d'un bourg''} Daudet 1879

FEW

***burg-** stadt, befestigte ortschaft. [city, fortified town] 15. II, 17b

(...) -- Lang. *bourgadié* ^{..habitant d'un bourg ou d'un faubourg''} M, nfr. *bourgadier* (1879. Daudet).

Cognates: bourgade (prov.)

This word was apparently used only by Daudet.

103) **BOURRAQUIN**

m. "vase à boire" Mid. Fr.

FEW

vase à boire; tasse 23, 39b

Mfr. *bourraquin* m. „vase à boire dont la bouche et la base ont même largeur; bouteille“ Cotgr 1611. - Zu npr. *bourraquin* „grand flacon de cuir“ (hier I, 645 n 42), voridg. **burr-* in gefässbezeichnungen. HubschmSchl.

FEW

burra scherwolle. [shearings] I, 645a + n 42

(...) npr. *bourracho* „flacon de terre“ 42).

42) Steht npr. *bourraquin* „grand fl[a]con de cuir“ damit in beziehung?

C 1611

Bourraquin. as Bourrabaquin ; or, a Bourrachoe.

Bourrabaquin: m. A great carousing glasse, fashioned like a Cannon, Horne, or in some other anticke manner; (sometimes) also, a Bourrachoe.

It seems that this word was not too solidly anchored in the language. It may be that this type of drinking vessel came into fashion and then went out again.

104) **BOUSCATIÈRE**⁸⁵

f. "serpe pour couper le bois" 1791 Provençal

FEW

***bosk-** (germ.) busch. [bush] 15, I, 207a

(...) - Apr. *boscadier* m. „serpe pour couper le menu bois“ (1422, Pans 5). Barc.

bouscatiera f. „bûcher“. pr. *bousquetiero*, Aix id. P, Entraunes *buskatiero* Bl 12, Castell. id. Kruse 35; nfr. *bouscatière* (mars. 1791, Hav).

⁸⁵ In the course of my research, I discovered an Occitan word overlooked by Gebhardt. Here is the entry from the Landais: BOUSCARLE ou BOUSCARLO, subst, masc. (*boucekarle, boucekaro*). t. d'hist. nat., espèce de fauvette de Provence.

This word may have been use for a time, but there appears to be only one recorded use of it, so the word appears to have been a hapax. It may have been a technical word, hence unknown in standard French.

105) BOUSCHASSE

f. "marron d'Inde" Ol de Serres

FEW

***bosk** (germ.) busch. [bush] I, 449a

d. Npr. *bouscas* „sauvage, bâtard (fruit, arbre)", dauph. *bouchais*, *-aissi* Ch, TFr. *hoθye*, *-e,se**, voir. *bouchiet*, Die, Romans *bouchas*, lang. *bouscas* S, substantiviert mfr. *bouschasse* „marron d'Inde" (Ol de Serres), (...)

C 1611

Boussade: f. *The rot, or plague, among sheepe.* ¶ Langued.

Homologues: marron d'Inde

It would appear that only de Serres used this word in standard French. It appears to have undergone some semantic change. Its original meaning "marron d'Inde" was expanded to include "the rot or plague among sheep". It could be that chestnut coloured marks were one of the signs of this rot. The latter meaning was confined to the south of France. There was an equivalent in French, *marron d'Inde*.

106) BOUSSETE

f. "tonneau" mfr. Gascon

FEW

***buttia** art gefäß. [a kind of vessel, recepticle] I, 659a

(...) mfr. *boussete* „tonneau" (Gironde, R 39, 147 n 10), adauph. *hoceta*, apr. *hoseta* „petit tonneau", (...)

G OldFr

2. **BOSSET**, s.m., sorte de tonneau :

Que ly rectour de la fabrique mette en la maison de la curaz ung *bosset* de bon vin roge por aministrar vin pour chanta les messes de sain Nicolay, qui soit de la tenour de trois ou de quatre chevalla. (1425, Arch. Frib., 1re Coll. de lois, no 728, fo 267.)

1. **BOUSSETE**, s.f., petite boîte :

Sept peres de *boussetes* de Lion. (1527, *Invent. de merc.*, Arch. Gir., Not., Brunet, 67.5.)

DALF OldFr

Bosse, *subst. fém.* Espèce de tonneau où l'on mettoit le vin. (Voy. l'Extr. de la Chron. Delphinale, rapporté par M. Lebeuf, dans les Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres. T. XX, p. 243.)

Bossete, *subst. fém.* Diminutif de bosse. De bosse, pris dans le sens générique, on a fait *bossete*. Ce mot, dans le passage que nous citons, signifie les inégalités du terrain.

Par terres dures, et par boes,
Ront li plusieurs piquois, et hoes,
A quoy les *bocetes* esrachent,
Li autre les buissons dehachent.

G. Guiart, MS. fol. 76, Vo.

On a dit aussi que «le lievre a le fond du pied *bosseté* de petites *bossetes*.» (Modus et Racio, fol. 30 (1).)

VARIANTES: BOSSETTE, BOCETE, BOCLETE, BOUCETTE

Bossettes, *subst. fém. plur.* Bossettes. Les Grecs, suivant Plutarque, au combat de l'escrime, s'armoient «de manoples ou brassars garnis de courroyes de cuir bien dures, ou de bouillons, et *boussetes* de cuivre.» (La Colombière, Théâtre d'honneur, T. I, p. 219.)

VARIANTE: BOUSSEAUX

(1) La même phrase décrit le pied de la loutre au fol. 12, verso. (N. E.)

Cognates: bossette

Boussete may have crossed with *bossete*. For a time the two words would have been in competition. Synchronically, *boussete* would have been perceived as a variation of *bossete*. It would seem that only the pronunciation of the word was borrowed, but not the meaning. *Bossete* already existed in Old French with the meaning "little barrel".

Eventually *bosset(t)e* won. The French form of the word has not been lost, but its meaning has. In modern French *bossette* means “1. ornement en bosses sur le mors, sur les oeillères d’un cheval. - Par ext. Les oeillères elles-mêmes. 2. Clou d’ornement à tête ouvragée. 3. Bossetets d’une arme à feu: petits renflements des ressorts de la batterie ou de la tête de gâchette.” *Petit Robert*

107) BOUTANE

f. “éttoffe, toile” 1578 Provençal

FEW

but.ana (ar.) futter eines kleides. [lining of a dress] 19, 37b

1. Awallon. *butane* f. „sorte d’éttoffe commune“ (1422), *bittaine* (1445), alütt. *butaine* JPreis 1), aflandr. *buttenne* „sorte d’éttoffe fabriquée à Valenciennes“, *bustane*, *bustanne* (alle 1434, Gdf). *HaustEt* 40.

2. Nfr. *boutane* f. „toile de coton du Levant“ (Mars. 1688, s. SavBr 1730; SavBr 1723 - AcC 1836). *boutannes de Chipre* (1706, s. SavBr 1730, 772 b), *bottanne* „sorte d’éttoffe fabriquée à l’étranger“ (commerce de Lyon, SavBr 1723 - Trév 1771), *botanne* (Rich 1732 - 1759), *botane* (Boiste 1803 - Land 1834), npr. *boutano* „toile de coton, sorte d’éttoffe qui se fabriquait à Montpellier“, Puiss. „toile de matelas“, daher nfr. *boutane* „sorte d’éttoffe fabriquée à Montpellier“ (Trév 1721 - AcC 1836).

Aus ar. (Ägypten) *but.ana* „futter eines kleides oder stiefels“ 2), woher auch siz. *butana* „rockfutter“. Lokotsch 316. Das wort ist offenbar zweimal entlehnt worden, gegen ende des Mittelalters zur bezeichnung eines stoffes, der in Flandern produziert wurde, offenbar in nachahmung der *but.ana* benannten orientalischen stoffe (1), im 18. jh. durch den handel mit der Levante; doch wurde dierser stoff in Südfrankreich ebenfalls nachgeahmt (2).

1) Verbessert aus dem im text stehenden *bulaine*.

2) Der vokal -u- entspricht der ägyptisch-vulgären vokalisation; das klassisch ar. lautet *bit.ana*, s. auch *bat.a-na*.

G OldFr

BUSTANE, voir **BUTTENNE**.

BUTTENNE, *bustane*, *buttanne*, s. f., sorte d’éttoffe fabriquée à Valenciennes :

.I. pourpoint et une *buttenne*. (1434, Valenciennes, ap. La Fons, *Gloss. ms.*, Bibl. Amiens.)

Bustane, *bustanne*. (*Ib.*)

This appears to be a *mot-voyageur*, however I find no trace of it in the dictionaries. The word was borrowed twice, once at the end of the Middle Ages when it was used to designate a cloth from Flanders which was an imitation of an oriental cloth. It was borrowed again in the 18th century. This word is attested in French in 1688, 1730 and 1723-1836. The word appears to have had a longer life-span than what Gebhardt says. The word comes from Arabic *butana*. It undoubtedly passed through the south of France on its way up north. Perhaps the word went out of style when the fabric did.

108) **BRAME-LA-FAIM**

m. ``individu affamé`` Daudet 1895 Provençal

FEW

***bramôn** (germ.) brüllen. [to shout, to roar] 15, I, 241b + n 11

b. **Hunger leiden** (...) - Nfr. *brame-la-faim* m. „individu affamé“ (1895, Daudet 11), (...)

11) Daudet hat das wort offenbar aus der Provence mitgebracht. Es lebt im frpr. und im occit.

DOF

bramar, v. *intr.* Bramer ; braire ; mugir ; beugler, s'égosiller. *Dér.* (...) **bramafam**, m.

Homme toujours affamé ; ibéride pinnée (*Iberis pinnata*), (...) **bramapan**, m. *V.*

bramafam. **bramasopa**, m. Meurt-de-faim. (...)

Cognates: bramer; [faim]

Brame-la-faim was used in French only by Daudet. *Bramer* is still current in French and in the French of the south and *bramafam* is still current in Occitan. There is a French word which is similar to *brame-la-faim*, namely *crève-la-faim*, and which appears around the same time (1877) as Daudet's word. In fact, Daudet may have had *crève-la-faim* in mind when he gallicized *bramafam* as *brame-la-faim*. The word *bramer*,

borrowed from Provençal (1528), is still current in French and might have made *bram-la-faim* transparent to French speakers, but that did not help to keep it in the language.

109) BRASSAL

m. “partie de l’armure” Pléïade -1677

FEW

brachiale armband. [armband] 1. 484a

Afr. *bracel* „bracelet“, apr. *brasal* 1) „partie de l’armure qui protège les bras“, (...)

1) Daraus mfr. nfr. *brassal* (Pléïade - Miegé 1677).

G OldFr

BRACEL, s.m, bracelet :

Le roi porte encore en trois leus en bras *braciaus* d’or. (*Voy. de Marc Pol*, ch. CLXXIV, Roux.)

DALF OldFr

Brassal, *subst. masc.* Armure de fer. On nommoit ainsi celle qui couvroit le bras. L’auteur du Discours polit. et milit. propose de donner aux gens d’armes le *demi brassal*. c’est-à-dire une armure qui ne couvroit que la moitié du bras. «Je voudrois qu’ils fussent accommodez, à sçavoir, de corcelets noirs, assez legers, car les pesant accablent; avec les cuissots, *demi brassals*, la bourguinote, puis une bonne et longue pistole.» (Discours, polit. et milit. de la Noue, p. 283 (1).) On lit dans les Bigarrures de Des Accords, fol. 47: «*Armilla*, mot latin qui signifie *bressats*, qui couvre les épaules.»

VARIANTES: BRAÇAL, BRASSART, BRASSAT, BRESSATS, BRACHERES, BRACIERES

(1) On lit aux Mém. de Bussy-Rabutin, qu’en vertu d’une ordonnance royale rendue en 1553, à chaque compagnie de cent hommes d’armes furent attachés cinquante arquebusiers à cheval «armez de corseletz, morions, *brassals* ou manches de maille, avec la scopette ou arquebuse, propre à mesche ou à rouet.» (M. Quicherat, *Histoire du Costume*, p. 389.) (N. E.)

C 1611

Brassal: m. *An Archers bracelet, or bracer; also, a vambrace, or peece of armour for the arme; also, the wooden cuffe, or bracer worne by Balloone-players.*

Variations: braçal, brassart, brassat, bressats, bracheres, bracier

Cognates: brasselet, bracelet, brassard, bras

Although the word survived into the 18th century, it does not appear to have been current for that long. It seems that *brassal* went out along with other words designating parts of armour. In spite of what the *FEW* says, the word appears to have been in use before the time of the *Pléiade*. A variation of *brassal* did survive into modern French, namely *brassard*, also from Occitan. *Brassard* went on to develop another meaning in the 19th century, “Bande d’étoffe ou ruban servant d’insigne, qu’on porte au bras.”

(*Petit Robert*) There might have been a crossing with *bracelet*.

110) BRASSIER

m. “homme de peine” 1614-1650 (Banbeck Boden 127: “ins Regfr. des Midi 1552”)

FEW

brachium arm. [arm] 1, 486a

Apr. *brasier* „ouvrier, manoeuvre; celui qui cultive la terre seulement à bras”, mfr. *brassier* ɿ) „homme de peine” (Huls 1614 - Stoer 1650), Guyenne id. Marion, saint. „homme de journée, manoeuvre rural”, gask. „ouvrier attaché au sol” R 23, 286, npr. *brassié* „celui qui travaille des bras, homme de peine; celui qui donne le bras à qn”; mfr. *brassier* „esp de fronde” (? Sainéan Rabelais, 1, 81).

ɿ) Vgl. mfr. *laboureurs de braz* „moissonneurs” (Mir. de Notre-Dame).

G OldFr

BRASSIEUR, *brassaieur*, s.m., celui qui fait et charge quelque chose avec les bras : Un *brassieur* de foing. (1431, *Enq. afuture*, Arch. législ. de Reims, I, 508.)

Vergeurs de vin, *brassaieurs* de foing et fourrages. (*Extr. faits en 1579 d’un livre en parchemin*, fo 109 ro, ib., 2e p., I, 412.)

DALF OldFr

Brassier, *adj.*, Homme de peine. (Dict. d’Oudin et de Cotgrave.) C’est proprement homme de bras, qui vit du travail de ses bras. (Dict. de Monet.)

C 1611

Brassier: m. *A Brasier; also, a sling; also, a cudgell; also, the tub that receiues the droppings of a tap; also, a labouring man.*

Homophones: brasier

Cognates: bras

It is not clear to me why this word should have gone out of use. It could be that people no longer felt it necessary to designate a man who works with his hands with a special term. The word *brassier* had quite a few meanings, including "sling, cudgel, pan for coal, labouring man and manufacturer of brass", some of which have something to do with manual labour, some of which do not. There were designations for *brassier* in French, such as *brassieur, ouvrier, manoeuvre* and *moissonneur*. The later was a specialized agricultural term. The connection with *bras* has been lost, but *manoeuvre* is still a current word in French, although it now means "unskilled labourer".

111) BRIF

m. "impétuosité, etc..." 1165

FEW

**brivos* (gall.) kraft, mut, lebhaftigkeit. [strength, courage, liveliness] I, 542a, 543b

Afr. *brif*, apr. *briu* „impétuosité, empressement; valeur, force; court espace de temps: attaque“, npr. *briéu* „impétuosité“, lang. *briou* „certain temps“, aveyr. *briéu* „espace de temps assez long“, aveyr. *briu* „étendue, espace“ ALF Suppl 78 p 716, Baretous *briu* „entraîn“ RLR 43, 319; in spezieller bed. npr. *briéu* „endroit d'un ruisseau où l'eau coule avec bruit, courant rapide de l'eau: gué, lieu où l'eau coule“, gask. *briù* „courant d'eau“, (...)

Das grundwort scheint besonders in Südfrankreich heimisch zu sein, dem vielleicht auch it. sp. pg. *brio* entlehnt sind. Afr. *brif* ist nur im Roman de Thèbes belegt, so daß es wohl ebenfalls aus dem süden importiert ist. Ein kräftiges leben führen im norden die verbalableitungen besonders in ihren adjektivisch gebrauchten part. perf. (*abrivé, eshrivé*), die verben selber treten erst später auf. Das legt wiederum entlehnung aus dem apr. nahe. -- Air. *brig* „kraft, macht, ansehen, wert“, kymr. *bri* „würde“, korn. *bry* „wert“, mbret. *bri* „achtung“ gehen auf ein urkelt. *BRIGO- zurück. Vielleicht lautete das wort auch im gall. so. Dieses **brigo* wäre in einem großen teile von Südfrankreich zu *briu* geworden, das als grundlage der romanischen formen einwandfrei ist. Auch von diesem standpunkt aus ergibt sich also der süden als die heimat des wortes. Diez 68, 714; AGI 3, 454; Z 4, 184; 5, 99; 38, 367; Thurneysen 30; Dottin Gaul 237; A Rom 6, 206.

G OldFr

BRIFAUDER, v.a., manger goulument, dévorer :

(...)
 Te preigne male mort soubite!
 Brifaut; vos l'avez *brifaudee*;
 (...)

(*De Brifaut*, 66, Méon, *Nouv. Rec.*, I.)

BRIFFERIE. s.f., gloutonnerie :

Les gens serviles et abjects sont volontiers addonnez a telles *brifferies* et yvrogeries.
 (LE PLESSIS. *Ethiq. d'Artist.*, fo 51 ro, éd. 1553.)

DALF OldFr

Brifau, *subst. masc.* Enfant, jeune homme. -- Grand mangeur. -- Nom d'un chien de chasse.

Sur le premier sens d'enfant, jeune homme, voyez les Dict. de Nicot, Oudin et Celthell. de L. Trippault. Ce mot désigne un jeune homme amoureux et sans expérience, dans les vers suivans, où l'auteur dit, en parlant des femmes galantes:

Et qui pis vaut,
 S'aucun *briffaut* (1)
 Vient en leur game,
 Tantost il faut,
 Qu'il soit nigaut,
 En brief espace.

Le Blason des Faulces Amours. p. 273.

Brifau s'est dit aussi pour signifier un grand mangeur; mais en ce sens, il vient de *briffer*. (Voy. BRIFFER.) Nous trouvons ce mot employé dans cette signification sous presque toutes ses orthographes. (Voyez les Dict. de Monet, Mégage, Cotgrave, Oudin, et les Epith. de Mart. de la Porte.)

De là, ce mot a servi pour désigner un chien de chasse. *Brifaut*, suivant Beneton de Perin, *Eloge, Hist. de la Chasse*, p. 11, signifie le *pilleur*.

VARIANTES: BRIFFAU, BRIFEAU, BRIFFAUD, BRIFAUT, BRIFFAUT,
 BRIFFAULT, BRIPHAULT

(1) On en trouve des exemples au XIIIe siècle: «Qu'est donc la treille devenue? *Brifaut*, vous l'avez *brifaudée*.» (*Nouv. Rec. de Fabl.*, I, 74.) (N. E.)

Briffer, *verbe*. Manger goulûment. Dans le style populaire, *baffrer*. (Dict. de Borel, Nicot, Monet, Oudin, Ménage et Cotgrave. -- Voyez l'*Hist. du Th. Fr. T. VII*, p. 336.)

VARIANTE: BRIFER

Briffeur, *subst. masc.* Gourmand.
 VARIANTE: BRIFEUR

AW OldFr

brif, bri, brin s. m.

[*Meyer-Lübke REW 1318 gall. *brivos; O. Schultz-Gora, Ztschr. f. rom. Ph. XXXVIII 367; Godefroy I 734b*]

brif: Li bacheler avront le brif (*Vorrang, Auszeichnung*), Et nos (wir, die Alten) serron entre eus bāif. *Thebes* 4617. (...)

bri: lez mains ot liées par forche et de tel bri (*Ungestüm*) Que le sanc tout vermeil dez onglez li sailli, *Doon* 24. (...)

brin: Onques ne fus vencus, ja ne perdras ton brin, *RAlix*. 355, 19. (...)

(...)

brifauder vb.

trans. verfressen, den Wert in Essen draufgehn lassen: Brifaut (nom propre⁸⁶), vos l'avez brifadee (la toile); Car fust or la langue eschaudee Et la gorge par ou passerent Li morsel qui si chier costerent, *Méon* I 126, 70. [Godefroy I 733a.]

C 1611

Brifaut: m. *A hastie deuourer, a fast eater, a rauenuous feeder, a greedie glutton.*

Brifeau. *as* Brifaut.

Brifée: f. *A morsell, bit, snatch, mouthfull (eaten greedily.)*

Brifer. *To deuoure, eate hastily, feed rauenously, or like a hungrie glutton.*

Brifeur. *as* Brifaut.

Briffaux: m. *Rauenous feeders, hastie deuourers.*

Briffeur: m. *as* Brifaut.

R 1680

Brifable. *adj.* Mangeable. [Fromage brifable. *S.Am.*]

Brifer, v.a. Manger avidement. [Il a brifé en un moment tout ce qu'on avoit servi.]

F 1690

BRIFFER. *v.act.* Manger goulument. Les écoliers dans les pensions sçavent bien *briffer*.

Quelques-uns derivent ce mot à *bis faucibus*, comme si on mangeoit avec deux bouches.

AFa 1695

BRIFER. *v. a.* Manger avidement, d'une maniere gourmande. *Ces gens-la ont bon appetit, ils auront bien-tost brifé tout cela. ils brifent comme il faut.* Il est bas.

AFb 1778

BRIFER. *v.a.* Terme bas & populaire, qui signifie, Manger avidement. (Ces gens-là ont bon appetit, ils auront bientôt brifé tout cela. Ils brifent comme il faut.)

BRIFÉ, ÉE. participe.

BRIFEUR, EUSE. *s.* Celui ou celle qui brife. (C'est un bon vrifeur. C'est une grande brifeuse.) Il est populaire.

AFc 1799

BRIFE. *s.f.* Gros morceau de pain. Il est populaire.

BRIFER. *v. act.* Terme populaire, qui signifie, Manger avidement. *Ces gens-là ont bon appetit, ils auront bientôt brifé tout cela. Ils brifent comme il faut.*

⁸⁶ A name given to farmers in the fableau of the Middle Ages.

BRIFÉ, ÉE. participe. *Le dîner a été brifé en un moment.*

BRIFEUR, EUSE. s. Celui ou celle qui brife. *C'est un bon brifeur. C'est une grande brifeuse.* Il est populaire.

Lan 1857

BRIFAUT, subst. mas. (*brifô*), t. de chasse, chien. (*Boiste*.) Nous ne pensons pas que le mot *Brifaut* soit le nom d'une espèce particulière de chien: c'est tout bonnement, selon nous, un *nom propre de chien*, comme *Castor, César, Diane, Diamant*, etc.: pourquoi donc le faire entrer dans un *dictionnaire*?

BRIFE, subst. fém. (*brife*), se dit du grand appétit des vers à soie quelques jours avant de faire leurs cocons. -- *Boiste* donne à ce mot le sens de *bribe*, gros morceau de pain: c'est un barbarisme.

BRIFÉ, E. part. pass. de *brifer*.

BRIFER, v. act. (*brifé*) (suivant *Bochard* et *Huet*, du bas-breton *dibriff*, qui signifie manger), manger avidement. Il est maintenant hors d'usage.

BRIFEUR, subst. mas., au fém. **BRIFEUSE** (*brifeur, feuze*), grand mangeur, grande mangeuse. Inus.

BRIFEUSE, subst. fém. Voy. **BRIFEUR**.

L 1883

BRIFAUD ou **BRIFAUT** (*bri-fô*), *s.m.* || 1. Gourmand; enfant mal élevé. Populaire. || 2. Nom de chien de chasse. L'autre fit cent tours inutiles, Entra dans cent terriers, mit cent fois en défaut Tous les confrères de Brifaut, LA FONT. *Fables*, IX, 14.

(...)

-- ÉTYM. *Brifer. Brifaud*, celui qui brife, qui mange beaucoup.

BRIFE (*bri-f'*), *s.f.* Gros morceau de pain. Mot populaire. || Redoublement d'appétit du ver à soie aux approches des mues. [Note: Silk industry was largely southern.]

-- ÉTYM. Voy. BRIBE, dont *brife* n'est qu'une forme dialectique.

BRIFER, (*bri-fé*), *v.a.* || 1. Manger avidement. Mot populaire. Par le bon accueil de mon père, Et par sa table où tu fis chère, Trinquas et briffas tout ton souï, *Seconde suite du Virgile travesti*, liv. X. || 2. Familièrement. Froisser ou gaspiller du linge.

(...)

-- ÉTYM. *Brife*.

BRIFEUR, EUSE (*bri-feur, feû-z'*), *s.m.* et *f.* Celui, celle qui brife, qui mange avidement. || Mot populaire.

-- ÉTYM. *Brifer*.

DG 1902

BRIFAUD [*bri-fô*] *s. m.*

[ÉTYM. Dérivé de **brifer**, § 138. || XIIIe s. **Li vilains avoit non Brifaus ... Brifaut, vos l'avez brifaudée**, dans MONTAIGLON et RAYNAUD, *Rec. de fabliaux*, IV, 150, 152.]

|| *Vieilli*. Glouton.

BRIFE [brif] *s.f.*

[ÉTYM. Subst. verbal de **brifer**, § 52. || 1611. COTGR. Admis ACAD. 1798.]

|| Action de manger de gros morceaux gloutonnement. (*Syn.* **bâfre**.) | *Spécialt.* Avidité du ver à soie à l'approche de la mue.

BRIFÉE [bri-fé] *s.f.*

[ÉTYM. Dérivé de **brifer**, § 119. || 1611. COTGR.]

|| *Vieilli.* Quantité d'aliments qu'on peut avaler en brifant.

BRIFER [bri-fé] *v. tr.*

[ÉTYM. Origine inconnue. Le mot est plus ancien que les exemples qui nous sont parvenus, car **brifaud** et **brifauder** se trouvent au XIIIe s. et se rattachent sûrement à **brifer**. || 1547. **Oh! le bon appetit! Tenez, comme il briffe**, N. DU FAIL, *Prop. rust.* 12.]

|| 1. Manger de gros morceaux, être glouton. (*Syn.* **bâfrer**.)

|| 2. *P. ext.* Froisser, gaspiller (du linge).

BRIFEUR, EUSE [bri-feûr, feuz'] *s.m. et f.*

[ÉTYM. Dérivé de **brifer**, § 112. || 1611. COTGR. Admis ACAD. 1740; suppr. 1835.]

|| *Pop.* Glouton, gloutonne. (*Syn.* **bâfreur**.)

Derivatives: briffer, (brifauder), brifferie, brifau, (brifaud, brifaut, brifeau, beriffaux), brifée, brifeur, (briffeur, brifeuse), brifiable

According to the *FEW*, the word *brif* appears to have been used only once, in the *Roman de Thèbes*. However, there are a number of derivatives that may have come from *brif* and they have been more successful. They did undergo a slight semantic change. *Brifer* meant "to eat ravenously"; *brif* meant "impetuosity". The verb *brifer* is still in French, although according to the *Petit Robert* it comes from the onomatopoeia *brf*. We could, in fact, be dealing with two etymons here. Or it could be that the two words crossed. If indeed we do have two etymons, then *brif* is a hapax. If not, then *brif* disappeared due to competition from *impétuosité*, *ardeur*, *fougue*, *vivacité* etc.

112) **BRONDEL**

m. "rameau" Colin Muset 12th, 13th Provençal Lyric

FEW

frons, -dis laub. [foliage, leaves] 3, 817b. 818a + n 1

I. A Dauph. apr. *bronda* „ramille“, mfr. *brondes* Cotgr 1611, (...)

Apr. *brondel* „rameau; buisson“ (Lv; Z 34, 500; Bernart Marti), afr. id. 1), (...)

1) Hap. leg. bei Colin Muset. Gamillscheg ZFSL 56, 239 glaubt, durch diese form werde erwiesen, dass der typus I ursprünglich sich bis ins nördliche Frankreich erstreckt habe. Doch ist dieser schluss nicht zulässig: Colin Muset ist, wie die andern lyrischen dichter, auch sprachlich stark den Provenzalen verpflichtet. In der auf den fröling bezüglichen terminologie spielt, wie andere wörter mit der bed. „zweig, blätterwerk“, auch *brondel* eine ziemliche rolle. Es ist daher ganz erklärlich, dass Colin Muset dieses wort auch einmal übernimmt. Damit entfällt auch die von Gamillscheg vorgeschlagene verbindung von nfr. *brondissage* mit der hier behandelten wortgruppe.

AW OldFr

brondel s. m.

La verdure et li brondelz Et li douls chans des oisels Me remet en grant baudour,
Col. Mus. [ed. Bédier 1912] IX 19 mit Hinweis im Glossar auf G. Paris, Rom XXII 287.
Anm. 3.

C 1611

Brondes : f. *Greene boughes, or branches, of trees; browzing for cattell; or browze-wood.*

Homophones: brondes

Homologues: rameau

Apparently this word was used in French only by Colin Muset. As Cotgrave indicates, there was *brondes* in French, which would have made *brondel* more transparent.

113) BUCIOCHE, BUCHIOCHE

m. “sorte de drap de Prov. et de Languedoc” (commerc.) 1723-1836

FEW

drap 21, 547b, 548a

Nfr. *bucioche* s. „sorte de drap de Provence et de Languedoc que les Français débitent en Egypte“ (SavBr 1723 - SavBr 1741), *buchioche* m. (Rich 1732 - Rich 1759), *bucioche* (Trév 1752 - AcC 1836).

Perhaps the word disappeared when the French no longer traded this type of cloth with Egypt or perhaps this type of cloth went out of fashion.

114) **BUCOUBLE**

m. "attelage de 2 boeufs" Marg. de Navarre

FEW

copula band. [tie. bond] 2, 1159a + n 6

(...) Mfr. *bucouble* „attelage de 2 boeufs“ 6); (...)

6) Wohl nur individuelle bildung bei Marguerite de Navarre.

This word was used in French only by Marguerite de Navarre.

115) **BUDELIER**

m. "entrailles" Mid. Fr. southern texts

FEW

botellus *darm. [gut, intestine, bowel] 1, 464a

Ablt. Afr. *boele* f. sg. 1) „entrailles“, (...) Afr. *boelee* „boyaux“, apr. *budelada*, npr. *budelado*. Afrcomt. *boialot* „petit boyau“, apr. *budelet*, Schweiz *bouallet*, npr. *budelet* „chute du rectum“. Mfr. *budelier* „entrailles“ (hap. leg., wohl ein südlicher text). Apr. *budelier* „tripier“, (...)

1) Entstanden aus dem pl. neutr.

DOF

budèl. m. Boyau, tripe, intestin ; fig. éboulis de terre. *Quer. Dér.* **budelada**, les boyaux.

Var. *bullada*, *Rgt.* **budelalha**, les boyaux. *Var.* *budalha*. **budelam**, les boyaux.

budelièr, tripier. *Étym.* L. **botellus**. *Cat.* **budell**.

Homologues: entrailles

This word appears to have been a hapax confined to southern (perhaps medical) texts.

116) **BUISSONNADE**

f. "buissons" 16th

FEW***bosk-**. (germ.) busch. [bush] 15, I. 197a

Apr. *boisonada* f. „touffe de buissons; barre formée de branches épineuses“ (13.-14. jh.), mfr. *buissonnade* „buissons (t. collect.)“ (hap. 16. jh.), bmanç. hmanç. *bussonée* „buisson“, Etivey *boussenée* „buisson touffu“, Schweiz *buissonnée* „lieu couvert de buissons“, *bosuná*, sav. *bossená* „touffe de bois ou d'herbe“, Vaux *bwaisoná*, LoireSO. *bw'isoná* „haie“ ALLy 453, hdauph. *boassoná* „lieu couvert de buissons“, mdauph. *bue,ysuná*, bdauph. *bouissounado*, wald. *bouissouná* Rol 23), aveyr. *bouissounado*. - Mfr. *buissonnaye* (hap. 16. jh.), nfr. *buissonnaie* (Mon 1636; seit Besch 1845). - Afr. *buissonnois* m. (Brut; GlDouai). - Mfr. *bissonnage* Mist, *buissonnaige* (Evreux 1496: 1540), *buissonnage* (Cotgr 1611; Oud 1660), (...)

23) Nach osten anschliessend piem. *bussoná* „hecke“ Moncalvo *büslá* ARom 3, 99, piem. *anbussonè* „mit einer hecke umschliessen“.

Cognates: buisson. buissonnaie, buissonnage

This word appears to have been a hapax. Old French had *buissonnois*. Middle French had *buissonnaye* (hapax 16th c.) and Modern French had *buissonnaie* and *buissonnage*, so the language has been receptive to this type of construction *buisson* + ending . Perhaps *buissonnade* was not specific enough to catch on. It was a collective term and did not refer to a specific type of bush, one particular to the Midi, let us say.

C117) **CABAL**

m. "capital" Rabelais Gascon

FEW**caput** kopf. [head] 2, 342bApr. abearn. *cabal* „excellent; riche, puissant; juste, loyal“ 48); (...)

Apr. *cabal* „argent et biens meubles; capital“ (Rn; Lv; RF 22, 823; Brunel) 49), abearn. *cabalh* „capital, fortune“, mfr. *cabal* „capital“ (Gaskogne, Rab; Rag 1583), Toulouse *cabal* „fonds d'un marchand“ (...)

48) Dieses adj., in der form *capalis*, zuerst in den Form. Bignon. ALL 2, 562.

49) Auch kat. *cabal* „kapital“. *acabalar* „geld aufhäufen“, usw.

C 1611

Cabal: m. *The money, or merchandise which one takes of another, to yeeld him the halfe, or third, or fourth, part of the gaine thats made thereof.*

DOF

cabal, *m.* Capital, avoir ; héritage ; cheptel ; groupe compact ; bétail ; meubles ; outils d'une ferme, *Quer., Aur. Far cabal de*, tenir compte, prendre en considération. *Dér. cabalièr*, cheptelier, preneur de cheptel. **cabalista**, *adj. et s.*, capitaliste ; qui concerne le cheptel ; qui a des biens mobiliers. **cabalós, -osa** *adj.*, riche en capital. *Étym. L. capitalis. de caput. Cat. cabal.*

Homophones: cabale

Homologues: capital

It appears that only Rabelais used *cabal* "capital" in French. There was also *cabale* "Jewish tradition concerning the mystical and allegorical interpretation of the new testament" (1532). This word may have, in turn given rise to *cabale* "manoeuvres secrètes", a word that was first recorded in French (1586) around the same time Rabelais used *cabal*. It could be that the latter two words, with their secret associations, prevented *cabal* "capital" from catching on. These types of associations may become pejorative, particularly since Jews were often regarded with suspicion at the time.

118) CABASSON

m. "poisson" 16th-1611

FEW

caput kopf. [head] 2. 334b

(...) Mfr. *cabasson* „petit poisson à grosse tête“ (Cotgr 1611, wohl pr.), mars. „esp. de poisson de mer qui ressemble au lavaret“ Trév 1771. Mfr. *chavessot* „esp. de poisson“ (1393), nfr. *chavassot* „poisson qui vit dans les cours d'eau des Alpes“ (1877, Littré Suppl).

C 1611

Cabasson : m. *A certaine little, toothlesse, and great headed, fish.*

The *DALF* does not list *cabasson*, but it does list *cabas*, which, in one of its meanings was obscene; it could refer to a woman of loose sexual morals. Quite possibly this obscene meaning affected *cabasson*, although the words are not related. There appears to have been French equivalents, *chavessot* and *chavassot*. This word was testified in Trévoux's dictionary as late as 1771.

119) **CABIROT**

m. "chevreau" Rabelais Gascon

(c.f. 121) CABRIAU It seems that Gebhardt made a mistake; this word should be *cabriot*.)

FEW

capra ziege. [goat] 2. 295b

Alang. *crabot* „chevreau“ (Foix), agask. *cabrot*, alyon. *chavrot* Duraff Phén 212, adauph. id., mfr. *chevrot* (1529; Cotgr 1611), *cabriot* (Rab., < gask.), (...)

Homologues: chevreau

Cognates: cabri

It seems that only Rabelais used this word in French. There is a tie with the word *cabriau* "goat". *Cabriot* may be interpreted as *cabri* + diminutive suffix *-ot* or *-eau*.

Cabri, also from Provençal, has been attested since 1392.

120) **CABOTE**

f. "grondin (poisson)" 1611-1851

FEW

caput kopf. [head] 2, 335a

Apik. *cabot* „cottus gobio“ s) (ca. 1220 -- 1380), apr. *cabot* (ca. 1240), *gabot* (ca. 1240), mfr. nfr. *chabot* (seit Th 1564), mfr. *jabot* (1552, R 33, 558), nfr. *cabot* (Widerh 1675; seit Enc 10, 854a), (...)

5) Fr. *chabot* wird gewöhnlich zu CAPUT gestellt, so DG; Barbier RPh 20, 120; Jud BGl 11, 9; Dauzat R Ph 29, 90. Man fasst diese form als entlehnung aus dem norden des occit. auf. Dieser auffassung stehen aber entgegen die pik. norm. formen, die sehr alt sind und unmöglich auf einer ablt. von CAPUT beruhen können; das nebeneinander von *chabot/cabot* im fr. zeigt, dass das wort im norden alteinheimisch ist. Daher sieht Sjögren Nph M 28, 169 im ersten teil das subst. *chat*. Im zweiten teil möchte *BUTT stecken. Die geschicklichkeit und behendigkeit des fisches, sowie seine raubtiernatur rechtfertigen den vergleich mit der katze, seine plumpe gestalt erklärt das beiwort. Die ähnlichkeit der gestalt und die flinken bewegungen haben die übertragung auf die kaulquappe verursacht, wie denn auch im d. die gleichen namen zum teil bei beiden wiederkehren. Die occit. formen und schon frcomt. *chavot* können wiederum nur zu CAPUT gehören. Bei der geographischen kontinuierät fällt es aber schwer, die beiden familien reinlich zu scheiden. Sie sind daher hier miteinander vereinigt.

G OldFr

CABOCHE. s.m., nom de poisson. chabot :
Capito, *caboche*. (NECK., *Gloss.*, ap. Scheler, *Lex.*, p. 87.)
Cf. CHABOSSEAU.

CABOCEAU. voir *CHABOSSEAU*.

CHABOSSEAU. *caboceau*, s.m., chabot, poisson :
Un *chabosseau*. (1484. ms. du Poitou.)
Caboceaus, myllers thombes. (DU GUEZ, *An Introd. for to lerne to speke french trewly*, à la suite de PALSgrave, p. 913, Génin.)

Vienne, arr. de Poitiers, *chaboissea*.

Cf. CABOCHE.

G Comp. OldFr

1. **CHABOT**, s. m., poisson à grosse tête appelé aussi meunier :
... N'est pas graindres d'un *cabot*.
(*Hist. de Ste Leocade*, B. N. 19152, fo 28.)

Que il ne soit nuls, qui d'ores en avant pesque en no justice, en le riviere d'Escaut de harnas nul, quel qu'il soit, fors que a le nasse dont on prent *cabos* et gouvions. (26 avril 1380, *Reg. aux publicacions*, A. Tournai.)

DALF OldFr

Cabot, subst. masc. Chabot, petit poisson.

..... N'est pas graindres d'un *cabot*.

Hist. de Ste. Léocade, MS. de S. Germ. fol. 28, Vo col. 3.

VARIANTE: CABOTE (Cotgrave)

AW OldFr

cabot *s. m. s. chabot.*

***chabot, cabot** (nfz. chabot) *s. m.*

[REW 1668 *caput*; Gamillscheg *Et. Wb. d. fz. Spr. 200a (1926)*; Godefroy *LX 23c*]
Kaulkopf (Fisch): capito: cabot, Gl. Lille 33a. d'un petit page, D'une francine,
d'un rabot, Qui n'est pas graindres d'un cabot, Barb. u. M. I 293, 722.

chabot (çabot) *s. m. s. Godefroy X 605b (sabot), I 764c (cabot 2) [Ren. Contref. Rayn. 11 727, 11 755].*

N 1606

Chabot. *petit poisson à grosse teste*, vnde ei nomen Gallicum, cottus.

C 1611

Cabot: *m. The Gull-fish, Bull-head, Millers-thumb.*

Cabote: *f. as Cabot; Or, (more properly) a Gurnard.*

Chabot: *m. The little fish called a Gull, Bullhead, or Millers-thumb; also, the little water vermine called, a Bullhead.*

R 1680

CHABOT, *s.m.* Petit poisson qu'on trouve aux ruisseaux & aux rivieres, qui a la tête grande, large & plate, la bouche fort ouverte, & sans dens, & qui diminuë de grosseur depuis la tête jusques à la queuë. *Rond.*

F 1690

CHABOT. *s.m.* Petit poisson de riviere à grosse teste. dont le corps va toujours en diminuant. La maison de Chabot a des *chabots* dans ses Armes. Regnier en parlant d'un troc de choses égales, a dit,

Si ce n'est un *chabot* pour avoir un gardon.

Ce mot vient du Latin *capito*, qui luy a esté donné à cause de la grosseur de sa teste. On l'appelle aussi *cabo* & *rhombus*.

AFa 1695

CHABOT. Poisson qui a la teste plus grosse que le reste du corps.

AFb 1778

CHABOT. *s.m.* Espèce de poisson qui a la tête plus grosse que le reste du corps.

AFc 1799

CHABOT. Espèce de poisson qui a la tête plus grosse que le reste du corps.

AFd 1835

CHABOT. *s.m.* Espèce de poisson qui est très-commun dans les eaux douces d'Europe. et dont la chair est agréable à manger. On l'appelle aussi *Meunier*.

Lan 1857

CABOT, subst. mas. (*kabo*), t. d'hist. nat., nom vulgaire du muge et du gobie.

CABOTE, subst. fém. (*kabote*), t. d'hist. nat., nom d'une hirondelle.

CHABOT, subst. mas. (*chabó*) (de l'italien *capo*, en lat. *caput*, tête), t. d'hist. nat., petit poisson de rivière qui a quatre ou cinq pouces de longueur. Il a la tête plus grosse que le corps, c'est de là qu'il a pris son nom. On l'appelle aussi meunier. (...)

L 1883

CABOT (ka-bo), Voy. CHABOT.

CHABOT, (cha-bo), *s.m.* || **1.** Espèce de poisson, appelé aussi meunier; ce sont des noms vulgaires de la *lotte goujon*. Ne faites...présent ni don. Si ce n'est d'un chabot pour avoir un gardon, RÉGNIER, *Sat.* XIII. || On dit aussi cabot. Nous pêchions sur ce rivage des cabots, des polypes. BERN. DE S.-P. *Paul et Virg.* || **2.** Terme de blason. Meuble d'armoiries qui représente un chabot en pal, la tête en haut montrant son dos. Pour leurs armes les Chabot ont toujours conservé leurs chabots en écartelure, ST-SIM. 166, 202.

(...)

-- ÉTYM. Dérivé, à l'aide du suffixe diminutif *ot*, de *chab* ou *cab*, tête (voy. CHEF).

AFe 1884

CHABOT, *s.m.* Espèce de poisson qui est très commun dans les eaux douces d'Europe, et dont la chair est agréable à manger. On l'appelle aussi *Meunier*.

L&F 1888

CHABOT (l. *caput*, tête + sfx. *ot*), *sm.* Petit poisson d'eau douce remarquable par la grosseur énorme de sa tête et l'extrême amincissement de la partie postérieure de son corps. Il appartient aux acanthoptérygiens à joues cuirassées. Sa peau est sans écaille, mais très gluante. Sa chair est fort agréable. On le pêche en l'embrochant avec une fourchette de fer.

DG 1902

CHABOT [chà-bó] *s. m.*

[ÉTYM. Forme dialect. pour **chevot**, diminutif de **chef**, tête, § 136. B. DE ST-P. emploie la forme **cabot**, *Paul et Virg.* || XIIIe s. **Qui n'est pas grandre d'un cabot**, G. DE COINCY, dans DU C. **cabos**.]

||Poisson acanthoptérygien, à tête large et déprimée. -- **de rivière**, variété de chabot qu'on trouve dans les eaux douces, petit poisson dit aussi **cotte**, **goujon**, **meunier**, **tête-d'âne**, **têtard**. || *P. ext.* Poisson du genre able, dit aussi **chevanne**. || *Spécialt.* (Blason.) Chabot figuré en pal sur l'écu, la tête en haut.

Note: Gebhardt lists *chabot* in the main list.

DOF

cabòt, *m.* Chabot (poisson) ; mulot (poisson de mer) ; têtard de grenouille. *Dér.* **cabòta**, trigle lyre, trigle grondin (poisson de mer) ; chabot. **cabotèl**, **-ilh**, diminutif. **cabotièra**,

filet de pêche pour les trigles et les muges; barque longue et étroite. *Étym. L. caput + ottus. Cat. cabot.*

Homologues: grondin etc.

Cognates: chabot

It seems that both *cabot* and *chabot* have the same Occitan etymon. It would seem that *cabot* was borrowed in the Old French period. The Occitan etymon was *cabotz* (*Petit Robert. Trésor de la langue française*) from the Vulgar Latin **capoceu*, itself a derivative of *caput* ‘‘head’’. The initial *c-* became *ch-* and the final *-t* became mute, in conformity with other French words whose final consonants were no longer being pronounced. The hard *c* was maintained in Normandy and Picardy.⁸⁷ Later on *cabote* was borrowed from Occitan. Cotgrave and the *DALF* list the word as a variation of *chabot*. The *Landais* distinguishes *cabot* from *chabot*. According to this dictionary, the *cabot* is found on the coast and the *chabot* is a fresh water fish. It would seem that *chabot* was already well established in French. Furthermore, this fish is quite common in Europe and already had a number of names, including *grondin*, which were available to replace *cabote*. The *Littré* lists *cabot* and *chabot* as variations.

121) CABRIAU

m. ‘‘chevreau’’ Mist 1485

(c.f. 119) CABIROT)

FEW

capra ziege. [goat] 2, 296b + n 19

β. (...) -- Afr. *cabrioche* f. ‘‘petite chèvre’’ (hap. leg.) Mfr. *cabriau* ‘‘chevreau’’ Mist 19).

⁸⁷ It may also be, as the FEW suggests, that *chabot* comes from Normandy and Picardy. Instead of being derived from the Occitan, which according to the FEW is not possible, the word was derived from a cross between *chat* ‘‘cat’’ and **butt*, owing to the predatory habits of this fish.

19) Im munde der Rebekka, während des gespraches, das sie mit Jakob über die unterschiebung der zicklein an stelle des von Esau seinem vater versprochenen wildes führt. Interessanterweise braucht Jakob mit derselben konsequenz nur *chevreau*, mit der Rebekka *cabriau* sagt. Da diese nüancierung sicher beabsichtigt ist, muss dem *cabriau* ein besonderer stilwert, etwa der bagatellisierung, innewohnen.

Homologues: chevreau

Cognates: cabri

It would appear that *cabriau* is a hapax, used only in *Le Mistère du Viel*

Testament (1485), a Mystery play. Rebecca uses the word *cabriau(l)x*, while Jacob uses *chevreaux*. The reason for this is unclear.

122) CABRIL

m. „chevreau qui n`a pas encore un mois“ 1611-1822 Provençal

FEW

capra ziege. [goat] 2, 296b

β. Afr. *capriz* „chevreau“ (hap. leg.), mfr. *cabril* (14. jh.), *cabrit* Froissart, mfr. nfr. *cabri* (seit Huls 1596), nfr. *cabril* „chevreau qui n`a pas encore un mois“ (als prov.. Cotgr 1611 -- Mersan 1822), (...)

C 1611

Cabril: m. *A yong Kid*.

R 1680

CABRI. s.m. Le petit de la chevre.

F 1690

CABRIL. s.m. Jeune chevreau. On le nomme ainsi en plusieurs endroits de la France.

AFb 1778

CABRI. s.m. On appelle ainsi un chevreau, le petit d`une chevre. (Un quartier de cabri, un morceau de cabri.)

AFc 1799

CABRI. s.m. On appelle ainsi Un chevreau, le petit d`une chèvre. *Un quartier de cabri, un morceau de cabri. Il saute comme un cabri.*

AFd 1835

CABRI. s.m. Un chevreau, le petit d'une chèvre. *Il saute comme un cabri. Un quartier de cabri. Un morceau de cabri.*

Lan 1857

CABRI ou **CABRIL.** subst. mas. (*kabri*) (en lat. *capreolus*), chevreau. -- *Cabris* se dit au plur., en t. der mar., de petites chèvres placées dans toute la longueur d'une galère.

CABRIL. Peu usité. Voy. CABRI.

L 1883

CABRI (ka-bri), s. m. Chevreau. Il saute comme un cabri. Les chèvres et les cabris.

-- HIST. XVe s. On aura là pain et vin, Gras moutons, cabrits et agneaux, FROISS.

Pastourelle.

-- ÉTYM. Berry. *chebri*; provenç. *cabril*, qui est de la chèvre; de *capra*, chèvre (voy. CHÈVRE).

AFe 1884

CABRI. s.m. Un chevreau, le petit d'une chèvre. *Il saute comme un cabri. Un quartier de cabri. Un morceau de cabri.*

L&F 1888

CABRI (vx fr. *cabrit*: du bl. *capritum*, de *capra*, chèvre), sm. Chevreau: *Sauter comme un cabri.*

DG 1902

CABRI [kà-bri] s. m.

[ÉTYM. Emprunté du provenç. **cabrit**, m. s. dérivé de **cabra**, chèvre, § 11. On écrit généralement **cabril** au XVIIe s. (COTGR., OUD., FURET.). || XIVe s. **Un cabril, c'est-à-dire un chevrotin masle**, *Somme Me Gautier*, fo 36, vo.]

|| Petit de la chèvre. (Syn. **chevreau**.)

Note: *cabri* is in Gebhardt's main list.

Cognates: cabri

Cabril, which had a specialized meaning, "young goat not a month old", might have been retained because it had this specialized meaning. However, that did not happen. The word eventually became extinct. On the other hand, the word did survive for over two centuries, again, perhaps because of its specialized meaning. It may be that competition from *chevreau* and *cabri* (from Prov. *cabrit*) played a part in this word's

extinction. *Cabri* and *cabril* would have been pronounced the same way. *Cabri* became the preferred form. It may have been more of a preference in spelling than a preference for one word over the other. For whatever reason, the distinction in age became no longer important.

123) CACHER

v. "fouler, écraser" D'Aubigné

FEW

coactare zusammendrücken. [to compress] 2, 804b

I. 1. Zerdrücken, zerbrechen. (...) Cantal *cachar* „casser avec les dents, écraser“, lim. „écraser“ DD, Agen *catchá* „briser (une noix), presser fortement“, aus dem occit. übernommen mfr. *cachar* „fouler, écraser“ D'Aubigné, (...)

DOF

cachar, v. tr. Écacher : presser, serrer : pincer, couper : v.r., se presser, se serrer, se blesser. Échalasser, enfoncer les échalias, appuyer sur le timon. (...)

Homophones: *cachar* "to hide"

It seems that only D'Aubigné used this word in French. There were at least two synonyms for *cachar*, *fouler* and *écraser*. The more well-known meaning of *cachar*, "to hide", may have prevented this *cachar* from becoming accepted.

124) CACHER en la mer

v. "appesantir le bateau" (mar.) 1573-1637

FEW

coactare zusammendrücken. [to compress] 2, 804b

I. 1. Zerdrücken, zerbrechen. (...) *cachar en la mer* „appesantir le bateau de sorte que sa proue enfonce dans les flots (de l'action de certaines voiles)" (Dup 1573 -- Cresp 1637).

N 1606

Cacher en la mer. est une façon de parler de mariniere, pour bouter & enfoncer en la mer.

disans: le beaupré & la misaine releuent & haussent le nez au nauire, & les autres voiles d'iceluy cachent en la mer, c'est à dire le beaupré & misaine le remontent sur le flot, & les autres voiles l'appesantissent & l'enfoncent en iceluy.

C 1611

Cacher en la mer. *To send into the sea; a ship to go so low before, that at euerie push forward she is like to thrust her nose into the sea.*

Lan 1857

CACHER, v. act. (*kaché*) (du lat. *saccus*, *sac*; *enfermer comme dans un sac*), (...) -- En t. de mar., on dit qu'un grand bâtiment cache le vent à un petit, lorsqu'il le met à couvert de son impulsion. De même une côte élevée, d'où souffle le vent, le cache à un bâtiment qui passe auprès. (...)

L 1883

CACHER (ka-ché), v. a. (...) || Terme de marine. Cacher le vent, le masquer à un bâtiment. (...)

Homophones: cacher "to hide"

This nautical term, *catcher en la mer*, went out of use in the 17th century. It could be that competition from the other nautical meaning of *catcher* played a part. It is likely that *catcher en la mer* remained a maritime expression.

125) CAFFETIN

m. "sucre raffiné" 1359-1555 Occit. < It.

FEW

sucre 21, 486a

Achamp. *cafectin* adj. „(sucre) raffiné“ (ca. 1340), mfr. *caffetin* (1359), *cafferin* (1555) 1), *cafetin* (1353; Cotgr 1611), *rafectin* RenartContr 2). BarbierProc 5, 218.

Dazu auch ait. *zucchero cafettino* (1340), zusammen mit aus dem Orient eingeführten zuckerarten erwähnt, BarbierProc 5, 218. Die fr. belege stammen, vermittelt durch Südfrankreich, aus dem it. Die herkunft von it. *cafettino* ist unbekannt 3).

1) Druckfehler für *caffetin*.

2) Druckfehler für *cafectin*.

3) Nach Gay würde eine ablt. von *cafis* als massbezeichnung vorliegen, weil dieser zucker angeblich in *cafis* genannten fässern aus Cypern, Sardinien oder Spanien eingeführt wurde. Doch ist eine solche ablt. schwer verständlich.

G OldFr

CAFETIN, *caffetin*, adj., qualifiant le sucre blanc :

16 livres de sucre *caffetin*. (1359, *Journ. des dép. du R. Jean*, ap. Douët d'Arcq, *Compt. de l'Argent.*, p. 215.)

Sucre *cafetin*, re(f)ined sugar. (COTGR.)

-- S. m., sucre blanc :

Cafetin, ou sucre blanc, bon et convenant. (1353, *Ord.*, II, 535.)

DALF OldFr

Cafetin, *subst. masc.* Sucre blanc. On lit *cafetin* ou sucre blanc, dans les Ord. des R. de Fr. T. II, p. 535. (Dict. de Cotgrave.)

AW OldFr

cafetin *adj.*

[Du sucre blanc dur rafectin (*l. cafectin*), *Ren. contref. Rayn.* 26602. s. *Godefroy I.* 767b.]

C 1611

Cafetin. sucre cafetin. *Refined Sugar.*

The word *sucre* (< It. *zucchero* < Ar. *sukkar* < Sanskrit **çarkarâ* ``grain``, which gave Lat. *saccharum*) has been attested since the 12th century, but this sugar was not quite the refined sugar we know today. Although sugar refining is very old, earlier refined sugar was not as white as it is today. When white refined sugar started to become more common, and less expensive, the word *caffetin* may have been used for a time to distinguish it from raw sugar. Eventually, this refined sugar became the normal sugar and hence there was less need for a special word to designate it. Instead, *sucre raffiné* could be used if it became necessary to be specific. The word *caffetin* was both a noun and an adjective, however it was more frequently used as an adjective. As an adjective it was used with *sucre* in the expression *sucre caffetin*. Another development may have contributed to the demise of *caffetin*: the development of the triangular trade route in the 16th century with one apex on Nantes. Sugar no longer came through the south of France on its way north, it came from the Caribbean through Nantes. The turning away from the

Mediterranean trade routes may have contributed to a similar switch from a southern word to a northern word.

126) CAGADE

f. "reculade honteuse" 16th. Brantôme, D'Aubigné

FEW

cacare kacken. [to defecate] 2, 18b + n 14

β. Nfr. *cacade* „reculade honteuse“ (seit Ac 1694) 13), Moselle „lâcheté“, ard. „action contraire au bon sens, faite par dépit“, Albertv. tarent. *cacâda* „entreprise manquée“, Lyon „lâcheté; bêtise“. Mfr. *cagade* „reculade honteuse“ Brantôme 14). (...)

13) Bei Voltaire ganz vereinzelt, ans It. angelehnt, *cacata* Rhlitt 28, 123.

14) Wohl aus dem pr. übernommen.

C 1611

Cagade: f. *A vaine, and effectlesse flourish; a scuruie, slrtten*⁸⁸, *idle boast, or boasting.*

F 1690

CACADE. s.f. signifie aussi. Décharge de ventre. Une bonne *cacade* soulage fort un homme qui a la colique.

CACADE. ou *Cagade.* se dit figurément en derision. du mauvais succès de quelque folle entreprise qu'un homme s'étoit vanté de faire reüssir. Il a fait là une vilaine *cacade*. Ce mot vient de l'Italien *cagar, cagada*, qui signifie la même chose.

AFa 1695

CACADE. Se dit plus ordinairement au figuré. *Il a fait une vilaine cacade*, pour dire, Il n'a pas reüssi, il a manqué à quelque entreprise qu'il s'estoit vanté de faire.

AFb 1778

CACADE. s.f. Décharge du ventre. Il se dit plus ordinairement au figuré. *Il a fait une vilaine cacade*, pour dire. Il a manqué par imprudence ou par lâcheté une entreprise où il s'étoit flatté de reüssir.

The Academy Dictionaries of 1799, 1835 and 1884 list *cacade* with the same meaning as in the above listed 1778 edition.

⁸⁸ I am unable to make out this word in the edition of Cotgrave I am using. It seems to me likely though, that this adjective is a scatalogical term startin with s.

Lan 1857

CACADE, subst. fém. (*kakade*) (du lat. *cacare*, fait du grec *κακαη*, excrément), décharge du ventre. Il est bas et peu usité au propre. -- Au fig., démarche, entreprise qui, en échouant, a prouvé l'ineptie, l'ignorance, la lâcheté ou l'imprudence de la personne qui l'a faite: *on peut lui reprocher plus d'une cacade*. Peu en usage même en ce sens.

L 1883

CACADE (ka-ka-d'), *s.f.* || **1.** Décharge de ventre. Bas et peu usité. || **2.** Fig. Fuite, retraite honteuse, ruine causée par la couardise, le manque de tête, d'habilité. Faire une vilaine cacade, manquer par sottise ou lâcheté une entreprise. Quand je vois la cacade devant Dantzick, l'incertitude dans mille démarches... VOLT. *Lettr. Pruss.* 109.

-- ÉTYM. *Cacare*, aller du ventre; espagn. *cagada*; ital. *cacata*.

DG 1902

CACADE [kâ-kâd'] *s. f.*

[ÉTYM. Emprunté de l'ital. *cacata*, *m.s.* § 12. On trouve aussi **cagade**, sous l'influence du provenç. *cagada*, *m.s.* **J'ai failli à faire une grande cagade**, D'AUB. *Foeneste*, I, 1. || 1611. COTGR.]

|| *Veilli*. Brusque évacuation d'excréments. || *Fig.* (Par allusion à cet effet physique procédant qqf de la peur.) Reculade honteuse. **La -- devant Dantzick**. VOLT. *Lettr. pruss.* 109.

The *Petit Robert* does not list *cacade*, but the *Trésor de la langue française* does:

TLF

CACADE, subst. fém.

A. -- *Pop., fam.* Brusque évacuation d'excréments (*cf. colique*). J'avais pas remis ma culotte... *J'étais comme ça en pleine cacade* (CÉLINE, *Mort à crédit*, 1936, p. 392).

B. -- *P. métaph., péj.* Déchéance par effondrement soudain. *Faire une vilaine cacade* (*Ac.* 1798-1878). *Le caporal Heaume (...) aurait sans doute sauvé sa compagnie s'il n'avait pas sombré dans la cacade* (H. BAZIN, *L'Huile sur le feu*, 1954, p. 204):

Depuis Clemenceau, chez les républicains au pouvoir, pas une échine : Des mots, des mots, des *reculades*, des *abandons*, des **cacades** ...

L. DAUDET, *La Recherche du beau*, 1932, p. 204.

(...) **Étymol. et Hist.** Fin XVI^e s. *caguade* (BRANTÔME, *Discours d'aucunes retraictes de guerre*, éd. L. Lalanne, t. 7, p. 282) -- 1616-20 *cagade* (D'AUBIGNÉ, *Hist. Univ.* XV, 15 ds HUG.), forme encore notée ds *Trév.* 1752; 1690 *cacade* (FUR.), considéré comme appartenant au style bas dep. *Trév.* 1704. *Caguade*, *cagade*, empr. au prov. mod. *cagado* proprement «selle» fig. «entreprise manquée, mauvais succès» (LESPY; MISTRAL) dér. de *cagar*, (...) p. réfection sur *caca*. **Fréq. abs. littér. : 6.**

(...)

FPO

CAGADE. (1) Excréments (d'homme ou d'animal), C ; *attention, il y a une belle cagade sur le paillason* ; (2) *entreprise complètement manquée, CCC ; tu l'as vu ton travail? Tu m'as fait une belle cagade, masette (maladroit)* ; (...) VPF 94 ne cite que le sens concret: TF 416 cite les deux sens.

DOF

cagar, v. *intr. et tr.* (...) *Dér. cagada*, chiure, excrément ; *cacade*, échec ; *éboulis* ; *lâcheté*. (...)

Cognates: *caca*

It seems that this word may not be dead after all. Although *cagade* is no longer used, *cacade* survived to the mid 20th century according to the *TLF*. It would appear that the military meaning of *cagade* was used mainly by the authors cited above, Brantôme and D'Aubigné. There was also *cacade* which meant "reculade honteuse". As well it could mean a vain, idle boast and was used to describe a failed enterprise in the expression *Il a fait une vilaine cacade*. This is a word from the Italian *cacata*, whose first appearance was in 1694. Voltaire used the word *cacada* with the meaning "reculade honteuse" in his Prussian letters. It seems that the Provençal form *cagada* crossed with the Italian *cacata* producing *cacade* in French. The form *cagade* was used until at least 1690. The French word *caca* may have also played a part in changing the -g- of *cagade* to -c-. The association with excrement undoubtedly brought the word into disfavour among the polite society of the 18th and 19th centuries.

127) **CAGOUILLE**

f. "têt du colimaçon" 16th-1611 Gascon

FEW

cuculla kapuze. [hood, cowl] 2, 1453a

II. 1. Apr. *cogolha* „escargot“ LvP. mfr. *cagouille* „têt du colimaçon“ (...)

C 1611

Cagouille: f. *A deaw-snayle*.

It would appear that *cagouille* “snail shell” was not a serious competitor for the native word *coquille*. However, this word is still current in Charentes, with the meaning “edible snail”.

128) CAHORS

m. “raisin noir” 1867 Languedocien

FEW

Cahors. [city in the south of France] 2, 44a

I. Nfr. *cahors* „raisin noir cultivé surtout à Cahors“ Lar 1867.

There appears to have been only one recorded use of this word. Many places have given their names to products, such as *cognac* and *champagne*. The *cahors* was not a finished product, but the name of a kind of grape, so it is unlikely that people outside the wine industry would have needed to use it.

129) CALER

v. “(se) taire” Brantôme

FEW

calare herablassen [to let down, to lower] (from Gk. χαλαρν) 2, 60b

II **Schweigen.** -- Apr. *calar* v. n. r. „(se) taire“, mfr. *caler* (Brantôme, Papon), (...)

FPO

CALER (SE). *Se taire* PF ; *mais il se calera pas : quelle lengasse qu'il a* (langue trop longue) ; le verbe est non pronominal (parfois) à l'impératif où l'on peut dire *cale* (C) ou (moins souvent, PPF) *cale-toi* “tais-toi” ; *mange et cale* ; *cale-toi un peu, on s'entend plus ici* : de l'oc. **(se) calar** “se taire”, VPF 95, TF 422.

CALO-TÉ. Tais-toi. C : expression occitane employée emphatiquement : *mais calo-té, tu vois pas que tu me pompes l'air avec tes salades!* de l'oc. **cala-te** «id.». VPF 95, TF 422.

DOF

calar, v. *intr., tr.* et *r.* Se taire ; céder ; s'apaiser, se calmer, cesser ; caler, baisser les voiles ; jeter les filets, tendre un filet, des lacets pour les oiseaux ; s'enfoncer dans l'eau (en parlant d'un navire). *Syn.* *calhar*, *Cent.*, se taire. *Dér.* **cala**, cale de navire. **calatge**, action de caler les voiles. **calament**, cessation, silence, calme. *Éty.* *Gr.* **khalân** ; *L. V.* ***callare**. *Cat.* **callar**.

Homophones: caler ``baisser``, ``enfoncer dans l'eau``, ``ceder, reculer``, ``s'arrêter``
Homologues: se taire

Although *caler* ``se taire`` is still alive in the French of the south of France, it was apparently only used in French by two authors. Brantôme and Papon. There was also competition from other meanings of *caler*, such as `` abaisser`` (mar., from Occitan *calar*, 1704), and ``s'arrêter``. In French, *se taire* was available.

130) CÂLINEUR

m. ``amoureux, fiancé`` Daudet Lang.

FEW

***calina** wärme. [warmth] 2. 93a

c. (...) -- Pr. *calinaire* ..amoureux, celui qui courtise une femme, fiancé`` Cotgr 1611. *calignaire* (seit 16.jh.. Pans). (...) Aix id. P. mars. id. A. lang. *calignaire* (> nfr. *câlineur* bei Daudet), (...)

C 1611

Calinaire. A loue, leyman, or sweet heart. ¶ Provenç.

DOF

calinhar, v. *tr.* et *intr.* Courtiser, coqueter, faire la cour à une femme. *Dér.* (...) **calinhaire**, galant, amoureux. **calinhairitz**, amoureuse, amante. (...) *Éty.* *Occ.* **calinar**, du *L.* **calere**.

Cognates: câlin, câliner, câlinerie

This word would appear to represent a single use by an author. As an aside, the word *câlineur* would have been interpretable for a French speaker as someone who likes to give and/or to receive caresses. The verbe *câlineur* is still in French, TLF, PR, as is *câlin* and *câlinerie*. The word *calinaire* was not in standard French. It may have been confined to the French of Provence. Gebhardt does not list *calinaire* in his main list.

131) CALLIQUE

f. "célerin (poisson)" 1554-1775 Languedocien

FEW

célerin 21, 253b

Agde *callique* f. „célerin“ (1554, Rondelet 1, 220; Gesn 1560; Cotgr 1611; 1775, Duh 2, 473), *caillique* (Enc 1751 - Trév 1771), *calico* M.

C 1611

Callique : f. *A certaine fish, that resembles a little shad; and is taken most about Montpellier.*

Homologues: célerin

This word was probably confined to the French of the south of France, or more specifically to the area around Montpellier, as Cotgrave has indicated. There was already a French designation for this fish, *célerin*.

132) CAMBIER

v. "changer" Rabelais Gascon

FEW

cambiare austauschen. [to exchange, to interchange] 2, 123a

II. **Ändern**. -- Afr. *changier* „v. a. rendre différent, modifier; v. n. devenir autre, être modifié; v. r. se modifier“ (seit 12. jh.), apr. *cambiar*, mfr. nfr. *changer* 13), (...) Puiss. Aude, Tarn, Ariège *cambiá* 15), (...)

13) Gewöhnlich *changer en* (so schon Est 1538), doch im 17. jh. auch *changer à* (Régnier, Molière, Racine); diese konstruktion, wohl archaisierend, auch bei V Hugo, Marion Delorme, ferner erhalten in *le pain est changé au corps de Notre Seigneur*.

15) Daher auch bei Rabelais in scherzhafter nachahmung *cambier*.

DOF

cambiar, v. tr. et r. Changer, échanger, substituer, changer de costume, de ligne ; se changer, faire sa toilette. (...) *Étym. B. L. cambiare*, origine gauloise. *Cat. canviar*.

Homologues: changer

Cambier appears to have been used in French only by Rabelais. There was already the word *changer* in French.

133) CAMBRADE

f. "chambrée" 1636-1675

FEW

camera gewölbte decke, zimmer. [curved roof, room] 2, 131a

Mfr. *chambrée* „mesure de fourrage, prob. contenu d'un compartiment de la grange“ (1377, 1395) 5); mfr. nfr. 6) „nombre d'ouvriers, de soldats qui couchent dans une même chambre“ (seit 1539), lütt. *tchambréye* H, Moselle *s^ãbräy*, npr. aveyr. *cambrado*, beam. *crampade* ALF Suppl, aus dem occitan. nfr. *cambrade* (Mon 1636 -- Widerh 1675); nfr. *chambrée* „assemblée qui se fait dans une chambre pour donner un spectacle au public“ (Fur 1690 -- 1708); „quantité de spectateurs que tient une salle de concert, de théâtre“ (seit Ac 1762); „ce qui revient de la représentation d'une pièce de théâtre“ (Rich 1680 -- Ac 1878); Moselle *s^ãbräy* „chambre où l'on a l'habitude de se réunir“. Gren. *cambréa* „toutes les personnes d'une même famille“, Isère *cambreia* „réunion de petits enfants“ ChF, mdauph. *tsãbrá* „parenté, troupe d'enfants“, bdauph. *chambrado*; gask. *crambada* „classe“ (1567, RF 23, 299); lang. *cambrado* „quantité de vers à soie contenus dans une magnanerie“. nfr. *chambrée* (seit Littré Suppl). -- Bress. *chambrè* m. „petite réunion intime dans une chambre“.

5) Hat wohl nichts direkt mit *chambree* (zu CAMERARE) zu tun, wie Z 38, 14 angedeutet wird.

6) Aus dem fr. entlehnt piem. *ts^ambréa*, mndl. *cambreje* „kameradschaft; kamerad“.

Note: Cotgrave, Richelet, Furetière and the Academy dictionaries (except the 1695 ed.) list *chambrée* with the meaning "a roomful of soldiers".

DOF

cambra, *f.* Chambre. (...) *Dér.* **cambrada**, chambrée, contenu d'une chambre ; chambrée de vers à soie élevés sous la conduite d'un «magnanier». (...) *Étym.* *L.* **camera**. *Cat.* **cambra**.

Cognates: chambrée

The southern form *cambrade* appears not to have been too widespread: the northern form *chambrée* won out.

134) **CAMISADE**

f. "fine membrane de l'enfant après la naissance" 16th-1611

FEW

camisa hemd. [shirt] 2, 141b

2. (...) -- *Mfr.* *camisade* "fine membrane qui enveloppe un enfant après la naissance" (< apr.?) *Cotgr* 1611.

C 1611

Camisade : *f.* *A Camisado, canuas, or cold Pie; a suddain assaulting, or surprisall of the enemie (so tearmed, because the souldiors that execute it, most commonly weare shirts ouer their armours, or take their enemies in their shirts;) also, the thin filme, or skin, which inwraps a child in the bed, or after-birth.*

Note: Richelet, Furetière the Académie Dictionary (1778) and Littré list *camisade* with the meaning "attack at dawn (or at night AD)". The *Petit Robert* does not list *camisade*. but Gebhardt gives it in his main list with the meaning "nighttime attack".

Homophones: *camisade* "nighttime attack"

Homologues: *placenta*

This word may in fact be a hapax, even though Gebhardt lists it as lasting from the 16th c. to 1611. None of the dictionaries list *camisade* with its medical meaning. The only recorded use seems to be that of *Cotgrave*. The term now used in French is *placenta* a Latin loan first recorded in 1654. The lack of a popular term for *placenta* in French may indicate that both *placenta* and *camisade* were confined to medical terminology. It

may be that this switch from a popular to a Latin term indicates the taking over of childbirth by the medical profession.

135) CANDANT

m. "position de l'aviron" 1783-1867 Provençal

FEW

rame 23, 106b

Npr. *candant* m. „position de l'aviron quand il est en équilibre sur la toletière“ (EncMMar 1783 - Lar 1867; M).

This technical word probably never made it out of sailor's jargon. It could be that the word became obsolete as sailing techniques changed.

136) CANONADE

f. "embrasure pour une pièce d'artillerie" 1562 Gascon

FEW

canna schilf. [reed] 2, 205b

II. Entlehnungen.

1. **Kanone.** (...)

(...) Mfr. *canonade* „embrasure pour une pièce d'artillerie“ (Gironde 1562). (...)

Mfr. nfr. *canonnière* „embrasure pour une pièce d'artillerie“ (1415 -- Trév 1752), (...)

DALF OldFr

Canonade, *subst. fém.* Coups de canon. - Embrasure.

Ce mot se dit encore dans le premier sens. Brantôme, parlant de ceux qui se servent de termes impropres, s'exprime ainsi: «D'autres disent un coup d'arquebusades, un coup de *canonnades*, ce qui est très improprement parlé, car le coup de canon s'appelle *canonnade*, et le coup d'arquebuse, *arquebusade*.» (Brant. Cap. Fr. T. IV, p. 228. -- Voyez CANONNERIE ci-après)

On disoit autrefois *canonade*, pour exprimer les ouvertures par où l'on tire les canons, et que l'on nomme maintenant embrasures ou canonnières: «Passa toute la teste et le sein par un creneau, faisant semblant de vouloir tirer contre les Turcs par ceste *canonade* (2).» (Printemps d'Yver, fol. 51. -- Voyez CANONNIÈRE ci-dessous.)

VARIANTE: CANONNADE

Canonnerie, *subst. fém.* Canonnade. (Voyez Rabelais, T. IV, p. 261.)

Canonniere, *subst. fém.* Embrasure. -- Eglise de chanoine. (...)

(2) *Canonade* signifiait aussi portée de canon: «Ils se savent très bien rallier, comme par aventure ils pourroyent faire à deux *canonnades* de là.» (Lanouë, 428.) (N. E.)

Note: Furetière the Academy dictionary (1778) and Littré list *canonade* “coup de canon”

Cognates: canon, canonnière

This word would appear to have been a hapax. The northern form *canonnière* was preferred to *canonade*. Incidentally, the word *canonade* is still current with the meaning “coups de canon”.

137) CANTHÈNE

m. “sorte de spare (poisson)” 1581-1867

FEW

cantharus humpen. [tankard, mug, stein] 2, 226a

2. Apr. *cantera* „sorte de spare (poisson)” (Cannes 1458, Meyer Doc; >nfr. *canthère*, seit Raym 1832), apr. *canteno* (> mfr. *cantenot*, 1581, nfr. *canthène*, 18. jh. -- Lar 1867).

G OldFr

CANTHENOT, s.m., espèce de poisson :

On trouve aussi en ceste mer des *canthenots*. (DU PINET, *Pline*, XXXII, ch. XI.)

C 1611

Canthenot: *A certaine tawnie, and unsauorie. seafish.* ¶ Langued.

Lan 1857

CANTHÈNE ou **CANTHÈRE**, subst. mas. (*kantène*, *kantère*), t. d'hist. nat., poisson du genre des spares.

L 1883

CANTHÈRE (kan-tê-r'), s. m. Nom d'un poisson (*sparus cantharus*).

-- ÉTYM. *Cantharus*, sorte de poisson de mer.

DG 1902

CANTHÈRE [kan-tèr] s. m.

[ÉTYM. Emprunté du lat. **cantharus**, grec *χανθαρος*, sorte de poisson. ||
Néolog.]

|| Poisson de la famille des Sparoïdes. dont une espèce est connue sous le nom de **brème de mer**.

DOF

cantena, *f.* Spare canthène : poisson (*Sparus annularis*). *Syn. cantó. Étym. L. cantharus.*

Note: *canthère* is in the main list.

In addition to competition from *spare*, there was also eventually competition from *canthère*, a word of undoubtedly the same origin borrowed from Occitan in the 19th century.

138) CANTONNIÈRE

f. ``prostituée`` 1520-1752 Provençal

FEW

canthus eiserner radreifen; augenwinkel. [iron tire, corner of one's eye] 2, 231a

4. Winkel, ecke. (...)

(...) mfr. nfr. *cantonnière* „prostituée, qui arrête les passants au coin des rues“ 25) (ca. 1520 -- Trév 1752); (...)

25) Bei der ersten überlieferten stelle ist Valence schauplatz der handlung, was dieses wort auch als fertiggeprägten ausdruck nach dem süden weist, trotzdem wir keine apr. belege haben.

G OldFr

CANTONNIERE, *-onniere*, s.f., femme prostituée, débauchée, qui arrête les passants au coin des rues :

Filz d'une vilaine barbiere,
 Laquelle fut toute sa vie
 De Valance grant *cantonniere*.

(GUILLOCHE, *Proph. de Ch.* VIII, p. 35, La Grange.)

Filles de joye ou *cantonnières*. (NICOT, *Thresor*.)

DALF OldFr

Cantonniere. *subst. fém.* Sorte de rideau -- Femme publique
 (...)

Par allusion à son étymologie, ce mot a servi à désigner une femme de mauvaise vie, qui se tient au coin des rues. (Monet, Nicot et Epith. de M. de la Porte.)

Son père bastard, quoi qu'on die,

Fils (3) d'une vilaine barbière,

Laquelle fut. toute sa vie,

De Valence grant *cantonniere*.

(3) Il est parlé, là, de Ferdinand 1er, roi de Naples, d'après un poème manuscrit de maître Guilloche, composé sous Charles VIII. (N. E.)

E 1549

Canthoniere. Quae prostat passim in angiportis & vicis.

N 1606

Canthoniere. Quae prostat passim in angiportis & vicis.

C 1611

Canthonniere. as *Cantonniere*.

Cantonniere : f. *A Doxie, common hackney, hedgewhore* ; *one that will lye downe under any stall, or in any corner of a street.*

F 1690

CANTONNIERE, est aussi une femme de mauvaise vie qui se va prostituer en divers cantons.

Note: the Academy dictionaries, Furetière, Landais, Littré and the Dictionnaire Général list *cantonnière* with the meaning "fabric that covers the columns of a bed".

Homophones: *cantonnière* "fabric"

Homologues: prostituée etc.

Cognates: *canton*

It is easy enough to follow the history of this word, but I can find no satisfactory explanation for the disappearance of one of its meanings, "prostitute". Since most slang words are ephemeral, perhaps that particular meaning went out of fashion, to be replaced by other words for *prostitute*. There is no shortage of those. There was also another meaning of *cantonnière*: "fabric with which one covers the columns of the foot of a bed" (since 1562).

139) **CANUT**

m. ``variété de raisin`` 1832-1867 Rouerg.

FEW

canutus grau. [grey] 2, 239b

2. Npr. *canus* (...)

(...) -- Aveyr. *conut* „variété de raisin“ (> nfr. *canut*, Raym 1832 -- Lar 1867); (...)

DOF

canut. *m.* Cépage du Lot et de l'Aveyron, blanc et noir. *Étym.* *L. canutus*, blanc.

Note: *Canut* is in Gebhart's main list with the meaning ``ouvrier en soie des fabriques de Lyon``.

This word does not appear to have been widespread. Perhaps it was known only by viticulturalists in the south of France.

140) **CAPDEULH**

m. ``principale maison d'un domaine`` 16th-1771 only the south of France

FEW

capitolium kapitol. [capitol] 2, 265a

Apr. *capdoh* „donjon; exercice de la puissance souveraine“ (Lv; AM 26, 354; SFoy; R 62. 547). mfr. *capdeulh* „principale maison d'un domaine“ (Cotgr 1611 -- Trév 1771), saint. *capdeuil*. Übertragen apr. *capdoh* „sommet“ (Arch 134, 113; AM 31, 302).

Ablt. -- Apr. *capdolhar* „dominer, s'élever (des qualités d'une personne)“; *descapdolhar* „être défectueux“.

Der name des Kapitols in Rom wurde auch auf andere stadtburgen übertragen. Doch nur in Südfrankreich hat das wort weitergelebt, auch in ortsnamen (s. Gröhler 2, 24).

DALF OldFr

Capdeul, *subst. masc.* Manoir seigneurial. C'est en ce sens que Laurière explique ce mot: «L'hôtel noble, le chateau et maison principale qui appartient à l'aîné par préciput.» (Gloss. du Dr. fr.) «En succession de biens nobles, l'aisné du premier mariage doit avoir la maison principale appelée vulgairement *capdeulh*, par préciput.» (Cout. de St Sever., T. 12. art. 26. Cout. Gén. T. II, p. 693.)

VARIANTES: CAPDEULH Cout. Gén., CAP-DEULH Trév

C 1611

Capdeul : m. *A gentlemans chiefe house; falling (almost every where) unto the share of the eldest heire.*

Variations: capdeuil (Saint.), capdeul, cap-deulh
Cognates: cap (“head”, Old Fr.)

This word appears to have been confined to the French of the south of France.

The *capdeulh* was defined by Cotgrave as the house of the eldest heir. He states that this is the custom almost everywhere and makes no mention of the southern origin of the word. Now the 16th century, when this word was first recorded, was when documents in the south were beginning to be written in French. The word may have been used in southern documents because the *capdeulh* was a southern institution. In the south (and in Wallonia) of France the land went to the eldest heir. In the north, the custom was to divide the land equally.⁸⁹ After the Revolution, the word became obsolete.

141) **CAPER**

v. “recouvrir les formes de poterie (raff. de sucre)” 1771

FEW

cappa art kopfbedeckung. [a kind of head cover] 2, 272b

(...) npr. *capá* „recouvrir d’un papier imbibé de sang de boeuf les formes de poterie usitées autrefois dans les raffineries de sucre, afin de les préserver de la casse” M 2, 1156 (> nfr. *caper* Trév 1771); (...)

Homophones: cap (“head”, “cape” Old. Fr.)

This word appears to have been a hapax in standard French. Its technical nature would have prevented it from becoming widespread.

⁸⁹ This is a simplification of the inheritance laws of France. For more information, please see the article by Eugène Le Roy Ladurie, “Système de la coutume. Structures familiales et coutume d’héritage en France au XVIe siècle”, *Annales*, 27, 4-6, 1972, pp. 825-846.

142) **CAPITE**

f. "cabine dans un bateau" 1611-1771 durch Rhôneschiffahrt nach Norden

FEW

capitellum köpfchen. [little head] 2, 259b + n 12

II. **Kapitäl** usw. (...)

Ablt. – Stéph. *chaitella* „cabane, hangar“ (schon V), lang. *capitèlo* „hutte de vigne“, Chav. *chopitelo* „cabane“; Creuse *s^hapitolo* ALF 190 p. 603. Rückbildung nfr. *capite* „cabine dans un bateau“ 12) (Cotgr 1611 – Trév 1771), ...

12) Das wort ist dann offenbar durch die Rhoneschiffahrt nach norden getragen worden. Zu CAPPÄ kann es wegen des *c*- nicht gehören.

DALF OldFr

Capite, *subst. fém.* Terme de marine. Loge ou lit dans un vaisseau. (Dict. de Cotgr. et d'Oudin.)

C 1611

Capite. *A Cabin in a ship.*

F 1690

CAPITE. Terme de Marine. Lit de vaisseau. Voyez *Cajutes*.

CAJUTES. Terme de Marine. Ce sont les lits des vaisseaux, qui sont la plus-part emboëstés autour du navire. On les appelle aussi *camagnes & capites*.

Perhaps the word *capite* was closely associated with ships on the Rhone, so much so that when traffic on that river began to decline, the word became less and less used. The word seems to have undergone a semantic shift from "cabin in a ship" to "bed on a ship". Furthermore, the word was a back formation in French, formed from an Occitan word (possibly lang. *capitèlo*) and undoubtedly influenced by Fr. *cabine*. Later (1867) the word *camagne* "lits qui sont emboîtés autour du navire" was borrowed from Occitan.

143) **CAPOSER**

v. "amarrer le gouvernail" 1670-1759

FEW

pausare ruhen. [to rest] 8, 63b + n 17

(...) -- Nfr. *caposer* un navire „amarrer le gouvernail pour suivre l'abandon du vent“ 17)
(Fur 1690 -- Rich 1759).

17) Wohl zuss. mit CAPUT in der bed. „richtung“, die dieses im occit. oft hat. S.
entsprechende zuss. 2, 338 a.

F 1690

CAPOSER. Terme de Marine, qui signifie, Mettre le navire à la cape, c'est à dire,
Amarrer le gouvernail bien ferme pour suivre l'abandon du vent.

Lan 1857

CAPOSER. v. neut. (*kapozé*), t. de mar., amarrer le gouvernail, mettre à la *cape*. Il a
vieilli.

L 1883

CAPOSER (ka-po-zé), v. n. Terme de marine. Amarrer le gouvernail; mettre à la *cape*,
afin de suivre l'abandon du vent.

This technical term was associated with sailing ships. As steam was introduced, it
would have been used less and less. As the *Landais* indicates, it was already old by the
middle of the 19th century.

144) CAPOT

m. „lépreux“ 1407-1867

FEW

lèpre 21. 424a

Mfr. *capot* m. „lépreux“ (1407), „ladre blanc“ Bouchet, nfr. „nom que l'on donne
qqfois aux crétiens ou cagots du Béarn“ (Trév 1732 - Lar 1867). (...)

Mfr. *cassot* m. „lépreux“ (1407), *cachots* pl. „ladres blancs“, *caquots* (beide Bouchet),
Puiss. *cassot* sg. „ladre“.

G OldFr

CAPOT. s.m., sorte de lépreux :

Comme ezdites seneschauissies et duchié ait plusieurs personnes malades d'une
maladie, laquelle est une espece de lepre ou meselerie, et les entachies d'icelle maladie
sont appellees en aucunes contrees *capots*, et en autres contrees *cassots*, et ont accoustumé
de toute ancienneté et doivent porter certaine enseigne pour estre connus des saines
personnes, et aussi doivent demourer et vivre separement... (1407, *Ord.*, IX, 299.)

Laissans la lepre particuliere, ils se mirent a disputer si les *capots* de Gascongne estoient vrayment ladres. (G. BOUCHET, *Serees*, XXXVI.)

C 1611

Capot : m. *A White Leaper* ; also, as Cappot.

Cappot: m. *A country cloake, or course, and scantie cloake; also, as Capot.*

Variations: cappot

Homophones: capot "sorte de cape" (1576) "dispositif destiné à protéger", "construction légère" (1832, mar.), ["hood of a car"]; Être capot "ne pas faire une levée" (cards), (from Prov. 1642) "confus, embarrassée, interdit" (rare) (1690)

Note: Gebhardt lists *capot* m. "manteau à capuchon"; adj. "qui n'a pas fait une levée au jeu de piquet": faire capot "chavirer" (mar.)

It would appear that *capot* "leper" was either rare or confined to the French of the south of France. In any case, the word may have disappeared because leprosy was becoming less and less common in Europe. The word may be a variation of *cagot* "leper", a word which means "faux dévot, bigot" in French today.

145) CAPOT

m. "chapeau de femme" Daudet 1885 Languedocien

FEW

cappa art kopfbedeckung [kind of head cover] 2, 271a

(...) ang. maug. pois. bgât. *capot* „large capuchon des femmes“, bgât. Elle, Beauvoir, Roch. aun. saint. „coiffe de femme“, loch. Blois „petit collet à capuchon“, bberr. „capote de bergère“, verdch. „mantelet à capuchon, élégant, que portaient jadis les laitières“, neuch. „coiffure de laine tricotée“, Lallé „chapeau de paille des femmes“, mars. „capote“ A. lang. *capò* „chapeau de femme“ (> nfr. *capot* Daud 1885), (...)

DOF

capòt, m. Capote : espèce de manteau. *Dér.* **capòta**, capote militaire ; couverture de voiture ; espèce de voiture ; chapeau de femme. *Étym.* Occ. **capa**. Cat. **capot**.

Homophones: capot (see above)

Capot with the meaning "woman's hat" was used in French only by Daudet.

146) **CAQUEROLE**

f. "limace" Rabelais Langdocien

FEW**conchylium** muschel. [mussel] 2, 1005a

(...) -- Lang. *cagarâoulo* f. „escargot“ (schon S), Clerm. *cagaraula*, Gard, Hér. *kagaraulo*. Béz. Péz. Carc. id., rouerg. id. Pr. Lozère *kagaraulo*. mfr. *caquerole* „limace: coquille“ Rab (dazu *caquerolière* „limaçonnière“ Rab), (...)

G OldFr

CAQUEROLE, s.f., coquille, ou limaçon de mer. Oudin, dans son *Dict. Fr.-It.*, a expliqué ce mot par *conchiglia ô limace di mare*:

Quand estoit bonne annee de *caqueroles* et hanettonns de requestes. (RAB., III, 2)

En ma vie je ne veis tant de *caqueroles* que dans les destours de ce Dedale. (*Prem. acte du Synode noct.*, XV.)

Jura, *coquereulle*, escargot.

CAQUEROLIERE, s.f., limaçonnière :

J'aime mieux leur donner toute ma *caquerolliere*, ensemble ma hannetonniere. (RAB., III, 33.)

C 1611

Caqueroles : f. *The shels of Snayles, Periwincles, and such like.* ¶ Rab.

Caquerolierie : f. *A shore full of little shels.* ¶ Rab.

Caquerotier: m. *A catcher.eater, or owner, of shellfish.*

Derivatives: caquerolière

Homophones: caquer, caquet, caquetage, caqueter, caque "barrique" ?

Homologues: limace, limaçon

It would seem that only Rabelais used this word in French. In any case, there was already *limace* and *limaçon* in French. I should point out that *limaces* "slugs" have no shells.

147) **CARABASSE**

f. "crabe (poisson)" 1552-1611 Provençal

FEW**carabus** meerkrebs; art leichtes schiff. [sea crab, a kind of light ship] 2, 352b

I. Mars. *carabaso* „crabe, pagurus“ Steph Nom 1547, mfr. *carabasse* f. „crabe“ (1552 -- Cotgr 1611).

C 1611

Carabasse : f. *as Callabasse; a Gourd; or a bottle made thereof; (also, a Grit, Grampell, Pungar-fish. ¶ Marseillois.)*

Callabasse: f. *A great gourd; also, a bottle made thereof.*

DOF

carabassa ~ carbassa. f. *Calebasse, courge; roulette (jeu de hasard) ; bilboquet ; crabe, Narb. ; poire à poudre, Narb. Étym. Esp. calabaza. Cat. carbassa.*

Homophones: basse ?, carabasse “gourd”

Homologues: crabe

Perhaps this word was confined to the French of the south of France as Cotgrave indicated. This fish did have a designation in the north, *crabe*. Furthermore, this word had other meanings (see Cotgrave above).

148) CARASSE

f. “grande figure” 16th - 1611

FEW

cara *haupt.* [head] 2. 349a

l. a. **Antlitz.** (...)

(...) -- Npr. *carasso* „grande figure” (> mfr. *carasse* Cotgr 1611).

C 1611

Carasse: f. *A huge, or great face.*

DOF

cara, f. *Figure, visage, face, aspect, mine ; moue. (...) Dér. (...) carassa, visage désagréable, (...) Étym. L. cara, du Gr. Cat. cara.*

Homophones: carat

Cognates: care (“face”, Old Fr.)

This word may have been a hapax. It may have been originally adopted because of its emotional connotations. It may have simply dropped out of use as no semantic place could be found for this word. There was no need for a separate word for *big face*.

149) CARAVIRÉE

f. "femme qui a la face de travers" 16th - 1611

FEW

car hapt. [head] 2, 349a

1. a. **Antlitz**. (...)

(...) mfr. *caravirée* „femme qui a la face de travers ou qui fait souvent la moue" Cotgr 1611 (< occit.); (...)

C 1611

Caravirée: f. *A wry-mouthed, or wry-faced wench; or one that often makes wry mouthes, or ill favoured wry faces.*

Homophones: carat

Cognates: virer; care ("face", Old Fr.)

The word was gallicized, but it appears to have been rare. It has a slangy feel, and like most slang its life was short. The word may have been a hapax. Like *carasse*, there may have been no semantic place for *caravirée* in French.

150) CARBONADE

f. "étuvée de viande" Daudet

FEW

carbo kohle. [coal] 2, 358a

2. Afr. *charbonade* „viande grillée sur les charbons" (13. jh., hap. leg.), mfr. *charbonnade* (Sainéan Rab; Huls 1596 -- 1614), mfr. nfr. *carbonnade* 21) (seit Est 1539), mfr. *carbounade* D'Aubigné, rouchi *carbonate*, saint. *carbonade* „ragoût", loch. „civet fait avec le foie, le poumon et le sang du cochon qu'on vient de tuer", Sologne „civet de porc", verdch. „tranche de porc à griller", pr. *carbounado* „tranche de gigot; sorte de

ragoût fait avec du mouton et des navets ou autres légumes'', Mars. „ragoût'' A, lang. „étuve de mouton ou de veau'' (daher *carbonade* étuvée de viande'' Daudet), (...) 21) Aus dem fr. stammt d. *karbonade* Schulz B 332; Kretschmer 158 (dort auch viele mundartliche formen), ndl. id., fläm. *krammenade*.

DOF

carbon, *m.* Charbon ; anthrax ; inflammation gangreneuse ; nielle du blé ; charbon (*médecine*) ; houille ; morceau de bois enflammé ; partie brûlée d'une mèche. *Dér.* **carbonada**, grillade ; tranche de porc grillée ; étuvée de mouton. (...) *Éty. l.* **carbo**, -**onis**. Cat. **carbó**.

Cognates: carbone, carboné, carbonifère, carbonique, carbonisation, carboniser, carbonnade/carbonade (``manière de griller la viande'', la viande ainsi apprêtée''), charbon, charbonnée

Apparently only Daudet used the word in standard French. The word *carbonnade*, with slightly different meanings -- ``manière de griller la viande sur des charbons'' and ``la viande ainsi apprêtée'' -- comes from the Italian *carbonata* (1539), according to the *Petit Robert*. This *carbonnade* is listed in Gebhardt's main list. It may very well turn out that these two words are the same word. Therefore, Daudet's use was not a hapax, but rather the use of an already established word of Occitan origin. As an aside, the word *charbonnée* appears in the *fabliaux* with the meaning ``steak''.

151) CARBONAL

m. ``carie'' 1845-1867 Langedocien
(c.f. 152) CARBONAT)

FEW

carbo kohle. [coal] 2, 358b

3. An pflanzen. -- Nfr. *charbon* „carie des blés'' (seit Ac 1798), Tournus *charbons* „épis de maïs charbonneuses'', Urim. *chorbon* „carie'', Thônes, Annecy *ðarbõ*, Bozel *tsarbõ*, dauph. *tsarbú*, pr. Nice *carboun*, BAIPes *ts^arbun* Flagge 73, beam. *carbou*, *crabou*.

Ablt. -- Pr. *carbouniho* „blé charbonné''. -- Lang. *carbounel* „blé niellé (daher *carbonal* „carie'' Besch 1845 -- Lar 1867).

Homophones: carbon etc.

It would seem that the name of this particular disease of wheat had many competitors: *nielle* (first attested in the 12th c.), *carie* (16th c.), *rouille* (16th c.), *anthracose* (19th c., from Gk. *anthrax* "charbon") as well as *charbon* (12th c.), which is the northern form of *carbon(al)* and *carbonouille*, words of Occitan origin borrowed in the 18th c.. Given that *carbonal* did not even last a generation in French, it would seem that there was no place for it: its function was already fulfilled.

152) CARBONAT

m. "carie" 1845 Rouerg.
(c.f. 151) CARBONAL)

FEW

carbo kohl. [coal] 2, 358b

(...) Als subst. rouerg. *carbounat* „blé niellé“ Pr (daher *carbonat* „carie“ Besch 1845), aveyr. *carbounat* „id.; nielle“, Agen *carbounat* „nielle“, bearn. *carboat*. – Pr. *carbounoux* „niellé“. – Nfr. *charbonnage* „niellure“ (Enc 1753 – 1770, Brunot 6, 270).

DOF

carbon, m. Charbon : (...) *Dér.* (...) **carbonat**, nielle, carie du blé, (...) *Éty.* *L.* **carbo**.
-onis. *Cat.* **carbó**.

Homophones: carbon etc.

The reason for *carbonat* disappearing is undoubtedly the same as for *carbonal*: competition from other words. In addition, this word appears to have been a hapax.

153) CARCAGNER (SE)

v. "(s') inquiéter" Daudet 1897 Marseillais

FEW

carcannum halsring. [neck ring ?] 2, 362b + n 3

b. Übertragen auf menschen. (...)

Abt.(...) -- Aix *carquagna* „presser, inquiéter“ P. Mars. *carcagnar* „inquiéter“ A 3).
 3) Von Daudet 1897 als *se carcagner* aufgenommen.

DOF

carcanhar, v. tr. et r. Tourmenter ; inquiéter ; fatiguer ; chercher noise ; importuner ;
 presser ; assaillir ; solliciter ; s'inquiéter, se tourmenter ; se quereller. *Dér.*
carcanhaire, hargneux ; grondeur ; inquiet.

Homologues: (s') inquiéter

It seems that only Daudet used this word in French. There was *s'inquiéter* already
 in French.

154) CARCHIOPHE, CHARCHIOPHE

f. "artichaut" 1542-1638 Langdocien < Catalan

FEW

harsufa (ar.) artischocke. [artichoke] 19, 68a/b

2. Mfr. *charchiophe* „artichaut“ (Gesn 1542; Est 1561), *carchiophe* (1551- Stoer 1638) 1), apr. *carchoflo* (1544), (...)

(...) -- 2 ist wohl aus kat. *carxofa*, *escarxofa* entlehnt: die mfr. formen müssen, obwohl sie früher liegen als die des occit., über dieses nach dem nordgallorom. gelangt sein. Im occit. wechselt das wort zwischen m. und f. 4). (...)

1) *carchiope* bei Cresp ist sicher verdrückt.

4) Das it. mask. *carciofo* (seit 16. jh.) will Corom 1, 92 aus dem ar. kollektiven plural *hasuf* erklären. Man müsste sich dann fragen, ob eine solche erklärung auch für die mask. formen im occit. gilt, was wohl schwierig anzunehmen wäre. Auch in Italien stehen mask. und fem. formen neben einander, vgl. ausser *carciofo* tosk. *carciofano*, moden. *carciofen*, Iesi *scarciofolo* Z 34, 686, Bologna *carciofel*, gegenüber *carciofolo* bei Ariost. *carciòffola* in Neapel. Es ist daher wohl eher mit dem einfluss anderer gemüsebezeichnungen zu rechnen, die mask. sind, wie die vertreter von CAULIS. It. *carciofo* ist doch wohl in diesem sinne auch aus dem iberorom. bezogen. Die pflanze scheint im 15. jh. in der Toskana eingeführt worden zu sein, s. Targioni-Tozzetti, *Cenni storici sulla introduzione di varie piante nell'agricoltura e orticoltura toscana* (1896) s. 43.

E 1549

Carchiophe, *Artichault*, Cinara.

N 1606

Carchiophe, *Artichault*, Cinara.

C 1611

Carchiophe: m. *An Artichoke.***DOF**

carchôfa, *f.* Artichaut (*Cynara scolymus*), *Toul.*, *Cév. Var. escariôfa*, *Toul.*; *carchôfle*, *Cév. Dér. carchôfe*, grande joubarbe, *Toul.*, *Cév. carchofeta*, id. **carchoflièr**, artichaut, *Cév. Étym. Ar. karchoûf. Cat. carxofa. Comp. carchòfle d'ase, *m.* Chardon crépu; cirse laineux.*

Homologues: artichaut

It would seem that *carchiophe* entered into competition with *artichaut* for a time, but lost. *Artichaut* entered French in the 16th century as well. (Lombard *articioe* < It. *carciofo* < Ar. *al-karchoûf*).

155) **CARDELLE**

f. "laiteron" MRust 1837

FEW**carduus** distel. [thistle] 2, 371b

Pr. *cardélo* „laiteron“, mars. id. A, Gard id. (ALF 747: als nfr. *cardelle* N MRust 1. 825). (...)

Homologues: laiteron

It seems that this word was used by only one author. In any case, there was already *laiteron* in French.

156) **CARE**

f. "mine, air" Pléiade, Brantôme

FEW**cara** haupt. [head] 2, 349b + n 6

2. a. **Gesichtsausdruck**. -- Afr. *chiere* „mine, air, apparence du visage“ (seit 12. jh., Gdf; Guernes SThomas; Eust; PMor), mfr. *chere* (Mach; Comm; CentNouv; Hu), *care* (Pléiade; Brantôme; Chol) 6; nfr. *chère* (Cab Sat; Régnier), apr. *bela, trista cara* „l'air

gai, triste'', poit. *chère* „mine“ (schon N), aost. *tséra* „mine“, St-Genis *côla* „apparence“. Lyon *cara* „t. péjor. pour mine“. (...)

6) Ist natürlich nicht aus dem it., sondern aus dem occit. herübergenommen. Wind 159; A Rom 14. 141.

C 1611

Care: f. *The face, visage, countenance, looke, aspect.*

also Caire: f. *The visage, countenance, looke, aspect, representation of the face.*

F 1690

CARE. s.f. Vieux mot qui signifioit autrefois *visage*. car on disoit, Il a la *care* vieille; & il venoit du mot Espagnol *cara*, qui signifie la même chose. On dit même encore *acarar* & *acaration*, pour dire, Confronter. & confrontation, en plusieurs Provinces, & sur tout en celles au delà de la Loire. (See *accaration* etc. words 3, 4, and 5)

DOF

cara. f. Figure. visage. face. aspect, mine ; moue. (...) *Éty m L. cara*, du *Gr. Cat. cara*.

Homologues: mine, air

Cognates: care (‘‘face’’, Old Fr.)

This word appears to have been confined to poetic use in the 16th century.

Furetière calls it an old word for *visage*. *Care* had many equivalents in French, such as *mine* and *air*. *Care* did not succeed in taking the place of *visage* as the general word for face.

157) CAREILLADE

f. ‘‘jusquiamé’’ Lar 1866 Languedocien through the University of Montpellier

FEW

caliculata bilsenkraut. 2, 86a + n 1

1. Nice *caleiada* „jusquiamé“, Gard *careyado*, Hér. *caréyada* 1). Puiss. *carelhado*, H Gar. *careillado* Dub.

1) Daraus auch als *careillade* in fr. wörterbücher übergangen, vielleicht über die Universität Montpellier.

Homologues: *jusquiamé*

This word would appear to be a hapax. In addition, there was the word *jusquiamé*

(since the 13th c.) to designate this plant, which was used in medicine because of its calming effect.

158) CARESTRE, CARESTIE

f. "disette" 1542

FEW

***carestia** teuerung [rise in price] 2. 373a + n 1

Afr. *chere(s)tie* „cherté de vivres. disette“ (12. -- 13. jh., selten, in abgelegenen texten). apr. *carestia* (seit 12. jh., Rn; RLR 45, 453; Pans), mfr. *carestre* (1542) 1), ...

1) Ist wohl verdruckt für *carestie*. Deroziers hätte dann das wort aus Südfrankreich aufgenommen.

Homologues: disette

Carestie appears to have been a hapax. *Carestre* appears to have been a printing error.

159) CARGADE

f. "cargaison" 16th-1611 Provençal

FEW

carricare beladen. [to load] 2. 420b

2. a. Nfr. *cargaison* „ensemble des marchandises dont un navire de commerce est chargé“ (seit 1606, Kuhn 199), (...)

b. Nfr. *cargade* „cargaison“ Cotgr 1611.

DALF OldFr

Cargade, *subst. fém.* Cargaison. (Cotgrave et Oudin, Dict.)

C 1611

Cargade: f. *as* Cargaison.

Cargaison: f. *The freight, fraught, or lading, of a ship.*

Homophones: carguer (1611) (prov. or sp.)

Cognates: cargaison

Undoubtedly competition from *cargaison*, also of Occitan origin (1516, *PR*), prevented *cargade* from going too far. The *-ade* ending marks it as foreign, although not necessarily Occitan.

160) CARNALAGE

m. "droit dû en viande au seigneur" (jur.) 16th-1771 Gascon

FEW

carnalis fleischlich. [meat (adj.)] 2, 381b

b. Abeam. *carnal* „saisie de bétail surpris dans les lieux où il lui était interdit de paître“ (15. jh., RBéarn 1905, 454), beam. *carnau*. -- Ablt. Abeam. aland. *carnalar* „faire une saisie de bétail (schon 14. jh.); *carnalador* „celui qui fait cette saisie“; beam. *carnalat* „à qui du bétail a été saisi“; *carnalè* „lieu où se fait la saisie“; nfr. *carnalage* „droit de *carnal*“ (mit bezug auf die Gaskogne, seit Cotgr 1611). Mfr. *acarnaler* „saisir du bétail“ (Toulouse 1491).

Cognates: carnage. carnassier

Carnalage in the sense of "droit dû en viande au seigneur" was undoubtedly confined to the French of the south of France. In any case, the word disappeared when this feudal right did. The word *carnalage* appears in Gebhardt's main list with the meaning "droit de saisie de bétail" (1611, Cotgrave *carnallagen*).

161) CARNICIER

m. "boucher" 15th Gascon

FEW

caro fleisch. [meat] 2, 385a

Abeam. *carnicer* m. „boucher“ (> mfr. *carnicier* „bourreau“, hap. leg. 15. jh.), Montalba *karnisyè*. „boucher“ 4).

4) Es ist der iberorom. typus, der hier etwas herübergreift: sp. *carnicero*, kat. *carnicier*. S. noch ALF 152; Sal 96, 178; RDR 5, 63.

G OldFr**CARNICIER**, s.m., bourreau :Oui, *carnicier*, dist liement,

Amis, si te vient a plaisir,

Or fier, que bien en as loisir.

(Mart. de Ste-Marg., ms., ap. Ste-Pal.)

DALF OldFr**Carnicier**, *subst. masc.* Bourreau. Du latin *carnifex*. On lit, en ce sens, dans les vers qui suivent :Oui, *carnicier* dist liement,

Amis, si te vient à plaisir,

Or fier, que bien en as loisir.

Martyre de Ste Marguer. MS. en vers fr.

Cognates: carnage, carnassier

This word would appear to have been a hapax. The word may have changed meaning when it passed from Béarnais into French. It meant "butcher" in that dialect; it came to mean "executioner" in French. It could also be that this use of *carnicier* to mean "butcher" is a figurative use of the word.

162) **CARNILLET**

m. "esp. de champignon" [?] 1787-1867 Provençal

FEW**silène**. 21, 169a

Nfr. *carnillet* m. „nom vulgaire des genres cucubale et silène“ (1787 - Lar 1867). norm. *cornillet* „silene inflata“, Ouche *carnillet*, HMarne *cornillet* „silene nutans“, pr. *carnihet* „silene inflata, béhen blanc, plante que les gens de la campagne mangent quelquefois en soupe. dans le printemps, comme les épinards“, *cranihet*, BAAlpes *carnihet*. Var *crenillet*, *cournillet*, Apt, *carnié*. BRhône *carnihet*, mars. *carnilhets* pl. „béhen-blanc“ A, Aix *carnillet* sg. „silene inflata“ (1716; P). -- Nfr. *carniolet* (1784), Arles *grignoulet*. -- Pr. *carniho*; *crinéou*, BRhône *crignéou*. Apt. *carnioun*.

Lan 1857**CARNILLET**, subst. masc. (*karni-iè*), t. de bot., plante du genre des cucubales.

This plant had a number of designations in French, such as *cucubale*, *silène* and

béhen blanc which is perhaps why *carnillet* did not catch on. It seems that *carnillet* was not the name of a mushroom, but the name of a plant.

163) **CAROUS**

m. "char" Papon 1565

FEW

carrus karren. [cart] 2, 428b + n 16

Afr. *charat* „esp. de char“ (Doubs 1286), (...) (..) -- Mfr. *cherrotz* „chariots“ (orl. 15. jh.) 15); (...) apr. *carrós* m. „char“ (Vaucluse ca. 1200), mfr. *carous* Papon 16).

15) Die einzahl wird wohl **cherrot* lauten. Ob hier altes -OTIU oder -OTTU (wie *chariot*) vorliegt, ist schwer zu entscheiden. Nicht ausgeschlossen, aber am wenigsten wahrscheinlich ist auch ausstrahlung von abourg. *charrot* (für -et).

16) Offenbar aus dem pr. nach norden gewandert.

Homologues: char

This word appears to have been used only by Papon. In any case, it had competition from *carosse*, a word of Italian origin.

164) **CARRAS**

m. "bois de forme carrée" 1787-1867 Provençal

FEW

quadratus viereckig. [square (adj.)] 2, 1399a

(...) lang. *carras* „bois de forme carrée“ (SavBr 1730 -- Trév 1771) 2).

2) Wohl aus *cairat* ins fr. umgesetzt.

Cognates: carré

This word does not appear to have been too widespread, as its absence from the Academy dictionaries, the *Landais* and the *Littré* would seem to indicate. It could be that it was confined to technical vocabulary.

165) CARTHAGÈNE

f. “esp. de liqueur” Daudet 1880 Langdocien

FEW

Cartagena. [city in Spain] 2, 439a

Lang. *cartagèno* „liqueur de ménage composée de vin cuit, d’épices et d’eau-de-vie“ (als *carthagène* Daud 1880), Péz. *cartazèno*. -- Wohl zuerst aus Cartagena in Spanien importiert, vgl. *Malaga*.

Although this word is still current in the south of France, it seems that only Daudet used it in standard French. Like cognac, this liqueur takes its name from its place of origin.

166) CARTON

m. “conducteur d’une charette” 16th Gascon

FEW

carrus karren. [cart] 2, 432b

c. Ablt. in bestimmten bed. gruppen.

α. **Fuhrmann.** -- Afr. *charetier* „celui qui conduit un chariot, une charette“⁵¹⁾ (seit Chrestien, besonders Paris, champ. agn.), (...)

(...) mfr. *charton* (noch Widerh 1675), *carton* (bei occit. autoren), (...)

⁵¹⁾ Daraus entlehnt mbret. *charreter*.

C 1611

Carton: m. (...) (*also, a Carter, or carre-man: ¶ Pic.*) [Note: *FEW* 2, 432b apik. *carreton* (seit 13. jh.)]

Homophones: carton, cartonnier

Homologues: cocher, charretier

Cognates: charton, carreton

The word was used only by authors from the south of France. It had competition from *charton*, *carreton*, *cocher* and *charretier*. The Old Picard form *carreton* could have become confused with the Occitan form *carton*, as indeed seems to have been the case with Cotgrave.

167) CASCARET

m. "forte marée sur la côte" 16th-1611 Gascon

FEW

marée 21, 31a

Mfr. *cascaret* m. „forte marée sur la côte (entre Bordeaux et La Rochelle)“ Cotgr 1611.
-- Wohl irgendwie im Zusammenhang mit *mascaret*, hier 6, 430b.

FEW

mask- (vorigd.) schwarz. [black] 6, 430b

2. **Mit russ u. ä. beschmieren.** (...)

(...) *mascaret* „phénomène produit à l'embouchure d'un fleuve quelconque par la résistance que ces fleuves présentent à l'arrivée du flot marin (t. de géographie)“ (seit 1792, Jal), mars. id. A. (...)

C 1611

Cascaret: m. *A furious, and boyling tide, or sea, that sometimes comes in (betweene Bourdeaux and Rochel) surging, and roaring, and ouerturning the barkes which be in the way thereof.*

Homophones: *cascaret*⁹⁰

It seems likely that *cascaret* gave way to *mascaret*, another word of Occitan. more specifically of Gascon origin. According to the Petit Robert this word has been attested since the 16th century; according to A. Jal *Glossaire nautique* (1848) it has been attested

⁹⁰ The DALF lists *cascaret* with a different meaning:

Cascaret, *subst. masc.* Terme de mépris. Ce mot est employé dans ces vers, contre Diogène:

Ce vieux cynique estoit un vray falot,

Cousin germain de sa dive lanterne,

Un *cascaret*, ou bien un sibilot.

Rech. des Rech. épître au lecteur. p. 9.

since 1792. *Mascaret* can be used to describe this type of tide in northern estuaries. Curiously enough, *cascaret* is in the main list with the meaning “homme mince et d’apparence chétive” (1845). This may be a continuation of the older meaning of *cascaret*.

168) CASQUILLON

m. “coquille” 1845-1867

FEW

cuscolium scharlachbeere. [scarlet berry] 2, 1592b

b. Apr *cascolha* f. „coquille d’un animal“ (Foix 14. jh.), (...) -- Nfr. *casquillon* „coquille du genre nasse“ (Besch 1845 -- Lar 1867); (...)

Homophones: casque etc.

Homologues: coquille

Perhaps this word was too general. There was already *coquille* in the language since the 13th century.

169) CASSOTTE

f. “casserole” 1523-1607 Gascon

FEW

cyathion (gr.) schüssel. [dish] 2, 1601b/1602a

2. **Schmorpfanne**. -- (...)

(...) Mfr. *cassotte* (Bordeaux 1523 -- 1607, Hav). Nfr. *cassoton* „casserole en fonte“ (fam., seit Lar 1867), Genf *câssoton*, Etivaz *kasotō* Ust 98.

Homologues: casserole

It seems likely that this word was confined to the French of the south of France. *Cassotte* had *casserole* as a competitor, a word that also comes from Occitan.

170) **CASTAGNEAU**

m. ``petit poisson`` 1816-1873 Provençal
(c.f. 171) CASTAGNOT)

FEW

castanea kastanie; kastanienbaum [chestnut, chestnut tree] 2, 466a [fr. Gk. κάστανον]

γ. (...)

(...) -- Mfr. *castagnot* „petit poisson de mer“ (1581), *castagnon* Cotgr 1611; nfr. *castagneau* „petit poisson de la Méditerranée du gendre chromis“ (1816 -- Littré, RLR 53. 31); nfr. *petit castagneux* (Blanch. wo?). -- Nfr. *castagnole ordinaire* „brama rayi“ Blanch. *castagnole* (Joub 79; Lar 1929), npr. *castagnola*, *castagnolo* (beide Joub 79, Mittelmeerküste); Nice *castagnòla-grossa*. Nfr. *castagnole* „thynnus alalonga“ (Blanch. wo?).

Lan 1857

CASTAGNEAU. subst. mas. (*kacetagnió*), t. d'hist. nat., c'est le spare chromis, qui sert aujourd'hui de type au genre chromis.

L 1883

CASTAGNEAU (ka-sta-gnô) s. m. Nom vulgaire d'un poisson très-commun dans toute la Méditerranée (type du genre *chromis* de Cuvier).

Homologues: spare

Since this fish is found in the Mediterranean, perhaps its name was largely confined to the south of France. In any case, there was already a designation for this fish in the north of France. *spare*.

171) **CASTAGNOT**

m. ``petit poisson`` 1581
(c.f. 170) CASTAGNEAU)

FEW

castanea kastanie; kastanienbaum [chestnut, chestnut tree] 2, 466a [fr. Gk. κάστανον]

γ. Fische. (...) -- Mfr. *castagnot* „petit poisson de mer“ (1581), (...)

G OldFr

CASTAGNOT, s. m., petit poisson de mer :

Le *castagnot* qui a sa taniere en l'eau.

(DU PINET, *Pline*, XXXII, ch. XI.)

Note: Gebhardt lists CASTAGNE, CASTAGNOT (!), CASTAGNON, CASTAGNEAU (!), CASTAGNEUX all m. and CASTAGNOLE f. in his main list, but none of the dictionaries he consulted lists them. These are all supposed to be names of fish, but some dictionaries list them as names of birds.

Homologues: spare ?

It would seem that *castagnot* was a hapax, used by Du Pinet in a translation of Pliny the Elder. It may also be that *castagnot* and *castagneau* are spelling variations.

172) CASTELLAN

m. "seigneur d'un manoir" Brantôme (Duclos.)

FEW

castellum schloss. [castle] 2, 469b

II. 1. a. (...)

3. a. (...)

b. Fr. *châtelain* „seigneur d'un manoir; propriétaire d'un château fortifié“, adauph. *chastellan*. apr. *castelan*, abearn. *castelaa*, mfr. *castellan* (Brantôme, <apr.), (...)

DALF OldFr

Castellan, *subst. masc.* Châtelain (4). Proprement gouverneur de château. «Je vous prie contentez bien le comte et le *castellan*, et ne plaignez point à leur écrire de bonnes lettres.» (Duclos. Preuv. de Louis XI, p. 425.) «Dom Sanche d'Avila estoit *castellan* du chasteau de Pavie.» (Brant. Cap. Estr. T. II, p. 198. -- Voy. CHASTELAIN.)

(4) *Castellan*, au sens de poignard, doit dériver de *castille* plutôt que de *castellum*: «Un coustel ou *castellan*, que l'en appelle au país (Languedoc) puinhal.» (JJ. 169, p. 396, an. 1416.) (N. E.)

DOF

castèl, *m.* Château ; nuage. *Dér.* **castelan**, châtelain. (...) *Étyim.* *L.* **castellum**. *Cat.* **castell**.

Cognates: castel, castillan; châtelain

It seems that this word was used only by the two authors mentioned above.

173) **CATALANE**

f. "petite coiffe" Daudet 1884 Provençal

FEW

catalanus katalanisch. [Catalan] 2, 488a

I. 1. a. Stéph. *catalana* „agrafe pour retenir le bord du chapeau“ V, lang. *catalano* (schon S), Puiss. castr id.; rhod. „petite coiffe d'indienne des femmes du peuple“ (> nfr. *catalane* Daudet 1884); Aix *catelano* „retroussis d'un chapeau“ P.

DOF

catalan, -a. *adj.* Catalan : le diable. *Cév. Dér. catalana*, *f.* Retroussis, bord d'un chapeau relevé ; agrafe et sa porte qui servent à relever ; coiffe catalane. **catalanar**, relever les bords d'un chapeau. *Éty. Occ. catalan*.

It appears that only Daudet used *catalane* to mean "petite coiffe".

174) **CAVALLET (À)**

adv. "à dos d'âne" 16th-1611 Languedocien

FEW

caballus pferd. [horse] 2, 11a

e. **Furchenrain** u. ä. (...) -- Puiss. à *cavalet* „(piocher) à dos d'âne“ (als mfr. *cavallet* auch Cotgr 1611).

DALF OldFr

Cavalet, *subst. masc.* Chevalet. Mot du patois de Marseille, selon Oudin. Du Cange, à *Cavalletus*, dit que c'est la montre où les marchands étalent leurs marchandises.

(Note: **Chevalet**, *subst. masc.* Petit cheval, poulain. - Sorte d'affût.- Danse. - Monnaie. (...))

C 1611

Cavallé: m. ée. f. *Ridden; trauelled on; toyled; also, staulked, or dogged.*

Cavaller. *To ride; also, to trauell, toyle, vse like, or as, a horse; also, to staulke, or dog.*

Homophones: cavale, cavalier, c avalerie, cavaleur, cavalier, cavalièrement

The *DALF* characterized à *cavalet* as a word from the patois of Marseilles. It could be that this expression with the meaning "à dos d'âne" was confined to the south of France.

175) **CAVALO**

m. "croupière" 1741

FEW**caballa** stute. [mare] 2. 3a + n 3(...) -- Nfr. *cavalo* m. „croupière“ (1741; EncPl 2, 11 p 3b) 3).

3) Wohl in Südfrankreich heimisch. Morphologisch ist das Wort nicht recht klar. Barbier Misc 34.

Homophones: cavale (see above)Homologues: croupière

This word would appear to have been a hapax. In any case, there is an equivalent in French. *croupière*.

176) **CAVESSANE**

f. "caveçon" 16th-1611

FEW**capitium** kopfföffnung der tunika. [head opening of the tunic] 2, 262a + n 123. Halfter u. ä.(...) Mfr. *cavessane* „caveçon“ 12) Cotgr 1611, (...)12) Südlich anschliessend arag. *eabezana* B Cat 24. 163. -- Mfr. *cavessane* aus dem occit. übernommen und lautlich an *caveçon* angepasst. [According to the *Petit Robert*, *caveçon* is from It. *cavezzone*; *caveçon* is not in Gebardt's main list.]**DALF** OldFr**Cavessane**. *subst. fém.* Caveçon (8). (Oudin et Cotgrave, Dict.)(8) L'italien a encore les formes *cavezzine*, *rênes*, et *cavezza*, *licou*. (N.E.)**C** 1611Cavessane. *as* Cavesanne.Cavesanne: f. *A cauesan, false-raine, or head-straine (commonly of silke) to lead, or hold, a horse by.*Homophones: cave ?Homologues: caveçon

It would seem that Occitan *cavessane* “crossed” with Italian *caveçon*, a word still in French. Both words were borrowed at around the same time.

177) CAVETTE

f. “pot à liqueurs” 1723-1793

FEW

cavus hohl. [hollow, empty, shallow] 2, 559b

Ablt. (...) Nfr. *cavette* „petit pot à mettre des liqueurs” (besonders im süden, SavBr 1723, l. 545 -- 1793. Hav). (...)

Cognates: cave

Apparently this word was mostly confined to the French of the south of France.

Perhaps the object it designated became outmoded.

178) CAYLANIE

f. “droit de guet” 16th-1704 Languedocien

FEW

castellum schloss. [castle] 2. 469b

II. 1. a. Apr. *caslar* „château” (12. -- 14. jh.). (...)

3. a. Apr. *caslan* „habitant d’un château; châtelain” (Lv; BrunelCh; MeyerDoc). -- Ablt. Apr. *caslania* „châtellenie”; mfr. *caylanie* „droit de guet” (Languedoc 16. jh., Laur 1704).

DOF

castèl. m. Château: nuage. *Dér.* (...) **castelaniá**, châtellenie. (...) *Étyim.* L. castellum. *Cat.* castell.

Homologues: châtellenie

It would seem that this word was confined to the French of the south of France and disappeared either because this particular right did, or because the French language

was gaining ground in the south, or perhaps it was a combination of the two. In addition, there was a French counterpart to this word, *châtellenie*.

179) CAYON

m. "variété d'olivier" 1836 Provençal

FEW

olivier; olive 21, 91a

Var *caiano* adj. et s. f. „variété d'olive ronde et noire, produite par l'olivier franc”
Marseille *caïanne* DuhArb 2, 58. Npr. *caiono*, Var *caïouno*, *ôulivo caïouno*; *ouliviè caïoun* m. „variété d'olivier”, nfr. *cayon* AcC 1836.

This word appears to have been a hapax. It seems to have undergone a change in meaning, from “a kind of olive” to “a kind of olive tree”.

180) CAYREUX

adj. “vermoulu” 16th-1611 Bordeaux

FEW

caries fäulnis, morschheit. [rot, brittleness] 2, 375a

Ablt. -- Bearn. *querè* „vermoulure” Thomas N Ess 118. -- Land. *kayrotte* „insecte rongeur des arbres” Mt. -- Mfr. *cayreux* „vermoulu” (Cotgr 1611, wohl Bordeaux). npr. *querous*.

C 1611

Cayreux: m. euse: f. *Worme-eaten*, or *moath-eaten*.

Homologues: vemoulu

It would appear that this word was confined to the French of the south of France.

Perhaps it was a hapax.

181) **CÈDE**

f. "bord d'un canal" 1769 Provençal

FEW

canal 23. 88b

Pr. *cède* f. „bord artificiel d'un canal“ (1769, Duh 1 b, 58).

Homophones: cède

This word appears to have been a hapax.

182) **CERO**

f. "esp. de labre (poisson)" 1554-1845 Provençal

FEW

labre 21. 255a + n 1

AlpM. *cero* f. „espèce de labre“ Rondelet 1554 1), Nice *sera* „paon de mer“ Pl, Toulon *sayre* „vieille“ (1777, Duh 3, 51), mars. *cèiro* „labre“ M.

1) Wird weiterhin unter berufung auf Rond zitiert von Enc 1751 - Besch 1845.

Homophones: zéro

This word could not have been too widespread in French: it is listed in none of the dictionaries I consulted. It had a rough equivalent in French, *labre*. However, this is not an exact equivalent, as *cero* is defined above as a kind of *labre*. Perhaps this kind of *labre* was found only in southern waters. Perhaps the word was mostly confined to the French of the Midi. The 18th c. encyclopedia by Diderot and D'Alembert and the Bescherelle copied the word from Rondelet, who in turn got the word from regional French in Alpes-Maritimes.

183) **CERTATEUR**

m. "gladiateur" 1542

FEW**certare** kämpfen. [to fight] 2, 607b/608a

Daraus entlehnt apr. *certar* „combattre“ (hap. leg. HAipes 15. jh.). Daraus abgeleitet mfr. *certateur* „gladiateur romain“ (1542). -- Aus CERTATIO „kampf“ entlehnt mfr. *certation* „combat“ Bouchet.

Homologues: gladiateur

This word appears to have been a hapax. It seems that *certateur* was formed in French; it was not borrowed directly from Occitan. Middle French had *certation* "combat" from the Latin *certatio*, which would have made *certateur* more transparent. However, this word appears to have been rare.

184) **CHAMPART**

m. "enclos pour le pâturage" 1675 South-east

FEW**campus** feld. [field] 2, 156a/b + n 5

I. 1. **Feld.** -- Fr. *champ* „pièce de terre destinée à être cultivée, non enclose de murs“, (...)

(...) Nfr. *champart* „enclos pour le pâturage“ Widerh 1675 s).

s) Wohl eine südöstliche form. Das -t in anlehnung an fr. *champart*.

C 1611

Champar, ou champart. *Field-rent ; halfe, or part, or the twelfth part, of a Crop due, by bargaine, or custome, unto a Landlord, and taken off the ground for him, before the farmer lead any ; also, a field, or close; also, a greene lying before a countrey house.*

Homophones: champart "droit féodal"; champ

It would seem that the meaning "enclos pour le pâturage" of *champart* was a hapax. Cotgrave lists *champart* with, among other meanings, the meaning "field", so it

would seem that the word was used before 1675 with a meaning similar to “enclos”. The word *champart* with its meaning “feudal right that seigneurs had to take a part of the harvest of their tenants” was in use long before the 17th century. It would seem that this meaning of *champart* prevented the other from taking hold. Furthermore, according to the *FEW*, the *-t* of *champart* “enclos” owes its existence to the *-t* of *champart* “droit féodal”.

185) CHARETE

f. “masque” Rabelais 1544 Langedocien
(Baldinger RLiR 20, 90: ‘emprunt gasc.’)

FEW

cara *haupt.* [head] 2, 348b/349a + n 3

1. a. **Anlitz.** (...)

Ablt. (...) -- Mfr. *charete* „masque“ Rab 1544 3), (...)

3) Rabelais hat das wort aus dem lang. Das occit. wort ist der nördliche ausläufer von kat. sp. pg. *careta*. Vgl. noch Sassari *careta* „haube“ AGl 14, 391.

Revue de Linguistique Romane 20, 89-90

(...) de même *charete* «masque» que Rabelais, d’après le *FEW*, aurait emprunté au languedocien, où il est attesté en 1655 1; mais il peut s’agir aussi d’un emprunt gascon, puisqu’il apparaît à Bayonne déjà en 1527.

1. Chez Borel qui est né à Castres.

Homophones: char

Homologues: masque

It would seem that only Rabelais used this word in standard French. The word *masque* was available in French.

186) **CHARIOLLE, CARRIOLE**

f. "couchette basse et roulante" 1449-Montaigne

FEW**carrus** karren. [cart] 2, 435a + n 69(...) Mfr. *chariolle* „couchette basse et roulante qu'on glisse sous les grands lits pendant le jour“ (1449--1456) 69), *carriole* (Montaigne) 70); 1659, Gay).

69) In den abrechnungen des königs René, also französisierung des pr. wortes.

70) Gdf bemerkt zu dem beleg bei Montaigne „en Italie“. Es handelt sich um eine stelle, die von Montaignes reiseerinnerungen aus Italien handelt, und it. *carruola* hat vom 15. -- 17 jh. tatsächlich die vorliegende bed. Aber Montaigne sagt nichts davon, dass die betr. leute selber das kinderbett so nannten; er braucht vielmehr *carriole* wie man ein einheimisches wort verwendet, hat es also nicht erst in Italien kennengelernt.**G OldFr****CHARIOLLE**, *charr.*, s.f., petit châlit :Deux grans charlitz et deux *chariolles* dessoubz. (1471-72, *Compt. du R. René*, p. 272. Lecoy.)Une *charriolle*. (*Ib.*, p. 274.)Soubz ledit lit une *chariolle* garnye de lit, avecques une sarge rouge. (*Ib.*, p. 275.)**G Suppl. OldFr****CARRIOLE**, s. f., petite voiture légère dont on se sert à la campagne; mauvaise voiture; en Italie. sorte de lit à roulettes :Une *carriole* a quatre roues. (TAILLEPIED, dans *Dict. gén.*)Ils n'y ont aussi que des petites cahutes a tout des chetifs pavillons, un, pour le plus, en chaque chambre, a tout une *carriole* au dessous; et qui hairroit a coucher dur, s'y trouveroit bien ampesché. (MONT. *Voyages*, t. I, p. 247.)

Cf. CHARIOLLE. II, 73 a.

The *FEW* calls *charriole* the gallicized use of an Occitan word. Montaigne uses the southern form of the word, *carriole*, with a hard *c*. In any case, it is likely that its use was mostly confined to the south of France or to authors from the south, like Montaigne. Wind (1928) calls *carriole* an Italianism, from *carruola* "baby's walker" and "porter's chair, such as one uses in Italy". It may be that Taillepiéd in the quote above is using an Italianism and not an Occitanism. As far as Montaigne is concerned, according to the

FEW both Wind and Godefroy are wrong. In the quote above, *carriole* is not an Italianism, but an Occitanism. Montaigne did not say that the people in Italy used the word *carriole* to designate this piece of furniture. He very likely used a word from his native Occitan.

187) CHASTELLANE

f. "femme du propriétaire du château" D'Aubigné Northen Occitan

FEW

castellum schloss. [castle] 2, 469b

II. 1. a. Apr. caslar „château“ (12. -- 14. jh.).

3. a. (...)

b. (...) -- Fr. *châtelaine* „femme du propriétaire, du gouverneur du château“ (seit 12. jh.), apr. *castelana*, mfr. *chastellane* s) D'Aubigné.

s) Aus dem nördlichen teil des pr. sprachgebietes.

Homologues: châtelaine

Apparently only D'Aubigné used this word in French. It was borrowed from the northern part of the Occitan speaking area of France. where *c* did become *ch*, unlike in the rest of Occitania.

188) CHATILLON

m. "esp. de poisson" 1611-1890 Languedocien

FEW

(fehlt sub *cattus*; Barbier RLaR 52. 104)

Revue de langues romanes

p. 104 On a donné les noms du chat à une foule de poissons: (...)

p. 105 (4) au genre *petromyzon* et plus particulièrement au *petromyzon planeri* Bloch : Vosges *chette* (Sainéan, *op. cit.*, p. 28), prov. *chatilhoun* d'où, selon le *Dict. Gén.*, le fr. *chatillon* (Cotgrave), fr. *chatouille* (Rabelais, liv. IV chap. 60), *satouille*, etc. 2.

2) Sainéan, *op. cit.*, donne *minard* = *petromyzon planeri* dans le Finistère et renvoie à Rolland, *Faune Pop.*, III, 97 où je ne le trouve pas.

DALF OldFr

Chatillon. [Intercalez *Chatillon*, lamprillon à Toulouse, d'après le Glossaire français de Du Cange (Henschel, VII, 577, col. 3); il renvoie à *lampetra*, où on ne trouve aucune citation,] (N.E.)

C 1611

Chatillons: m. *Small fresh-water Lampreyes; called so at Tholouse.*

L 1883

CHATILLON (cha-ti-lon, // mouillées), s. m. Nom vulgaire du lamprillon.

DG 1902

CHATILLON [chà-ti-yon] s. m.

[ÉTYM. Emprunté du provenç. mod. **chatilloun**, m.s. § 11. (Cf. **chatouille**.) || 1611. COTGR.]

|| Lamproie d'eau douce à l'état rudimentaire. (Syn. **chatouille**, **lamprillon**.)

Homophones: chat, chatouille

Homologues: lamproie

The word appears not to have been confined to the French of the south of France, although the DALF and Cotgrave characterize it as being from Toulouse. There was already a word for *chatillon* in French, *lamproie* (since the 12th c.), which could explain why the southern word did not catch on.

189) **CHATLOUP**

m. "lynx" 15th Gascon

FEW

cattus katze. [cat] 2. 518a

b. Tiere. (...) --Nfr. *chat-pard* „variété de lynx“ (seit Fur 1690). Mfr. *chatloup* „lynx“ (gask. 15. jh.), Aran *gatilup*, bearn. *gat-loup*.

G OldFr

CHAT LOUP, s.m., loup cervier :

Toutesvoies y a il diverses manieres de chatz sauvages, especialement en y a uns qui sont grans comme liepars et ceulx appellent les aucuns loups serviers et les autres *chatz loups* et c'est mal dit, car il ne sont ne loups serviers ne *chatz loups*, on les pourroit mieulx appeller lyepars. (*Gast. Feb.*, Maz. 514, fo 25d.)

Cognates: chat and loup

The word does not appear to have been too widely used. The lynx is found in the Pyrenees and rarely in the Alps. It seems that in both of these areas the local name was used for this animal, then *lynx* came to be used as French influence spread.

190) **CHATONNIÈRE**

f. “ouverture dans la porte pour les chats” Brantôme only the south of France

FEW

cattus katze. [cat] 2, 516a + n 3

(...) -- Mfr. *chatonnière* „ouverture dans la porte pour les chats“ (Brantôme 3), apr. *catouniero* (16. jh.. Pans), poit. *chatouère* (...)

3) Der von *chaton* aus gebildete typus ist auf Südfrankreich beschränkt. Aus dem occit. entlehnt piem. *ciatunèra*.

DALF OldFr

Chatonnière, *subst. fém.* Chatière. «Estant entré, d’aventure, un jeune chat dans la chambre. elle le prit avec ses compagnes, le fourra et poussa par la *chatonnière*, en la chambre de sa maîtresse.» (Brantôme, Des Gall. T. II. p. 28.)

FPO

CATOUNIÈRE. Chatière, CCC ; *qu'ils sont piots (sots) ils ont été me flanquer une catounière dans cette belle porte, que maintenant il me faudra la pétasser (mettre une pièce) ; de l'oc. catonièra* «id.». Cf. chatonnière.

DOF

cat ~ **gat**, *m.* Chat, (...) *Dér.* (...) **catonièra**, chatière (trou du chat) ; (...)

Homophones: chat

Cognates: chatière

It seems that this word was used in French only by Brantôme. It appears to be part French, part Occitan, as if French *chatière* (since 1265) crossed with Occitan *catonièra*. In any case, the word was confined to the south of France.

191) **CHAUD sur la ~**
adv. "en hâte" 16th

FEW

calidus warm. [warm] 2. 89b

6. **Schnell**, bald. -- Mfr. *chaudement* „promptement“ (16. jh.). -- Afr. *chaut pas* „tout de suite“ (12.--13. jh., Gdf: QLivre; Angier). -- Mfr. nfr. *à la chaulde* „en hâte“ (15. jh. - - Pom 1671). Pail *a la s^aod*. Mfr. *sur la chaude* (16. jh., besonders bei südfr. autoren), *Aix sur la caudo* „sur-le-champ“ P, npr. *sus la caudo*.

Homologues: en hâte

Cognates: à la chaude

The expression *sur la chaude* was used mainly by authors from the south of France. It is a calque of the Occitan expression and undoubtedly would have been perceived as a variation of *à la chaude*. When *à la chaude* ceased to be current it might have brought *sur la chaude* with it.

192) **CHAUMENY**

adj. "moisi" Rabelais-1611

FEW

venire kommen. [to come] 14. 245b + n 30

Mfr. *chaumenir* v. n. „moisir“ 29) (...) -- Mfr. *chaumeny* adj. „moisi“ Rab 30), nant. *chaumi*, ang. *chaubi* „gâté (viande)“, *chaugueni* „moisi“, (...)

29) Offenbar zuss. von *chaud* und *venir* „devenir“. Für die art der zuss. vgl. centr. *chaubiter* „maltraiter“. hier I, 384. Die bed. erklärt sich vielleicht vom gären des heus her, bei dem wärme entwickelt wird und von dem oft verschimmelte partien zurückbleiben. Ähnlich Marche *calfiss* „schimmelig werden (brot, käse usw.)“ Neumann-Sp. 61. *Alessandria scarfì* „stoffa ammuffita e guasta dall'umido“, zu It. *calefieri*. Vielleicht hat der typus *chauvenir* ursprünglich noch weiter nach norden gereicht. So könnte sich norm. *caumoni* „moisi“ erklären, das mit afr. *waumonné* AucNic, ard. *gomune.y* Brun 1016 zusammenzuhängen scheint, aber durch den anlaut und den morphologischen typus (-i statt -ê) auf *chaumenir* hinzuweisen scheint. Neben *chaumenir* auch *chaumezir*, das ähnlich gebildet ist, doch mit MUCERE und vielleicht aus einer zuss. von CANUS und MUCERE nach dem vorbild von *chaumenir* umgebildet ist.

30) Erscheint bei Cotgr als gask.

G OldFr

CHAUMENIR, -yr, v.n., moisir :

Va t'en ausdits terriers, et tu trouveras quantité desdites marcacites, et si tu les gardes longtemps, tu trouveras qu'elles *chaumeniront*, et taste au bout de la langue, et tu trouveras qu'elles sont salees. (PALISSY, *Recepte*.)

--*Chaumeni*, part. passé, moisi

Morceau de pain *chaumeny*. (RABEL., II, 30.)

Couillon moysi, c. rouy, c. *chaumeny*. (ID., III, 28.)

On dit encore *chaumenir*, *chauvenir*, pour signifier moisir, en parlant du pain, dans le Poitou, dans le Berry dans l'Aunis et dans la Saintonge.

On est persuadé dans nos villages, remarque l'auteur du *Glossaire du centre de la France*, que le pain que l'on fait pendant la semaine des Rogations *chaumenit* toujours. Aussi s'abstient-on de pétrir ces jours-là.

DALF OldFr

Chaumeni, *adj.* Plein de chaume. Le Duchat explique ainsi le *pain chaumeni*. (Voyez Rabelais, T. II, p. 251, note 27 ; et le Dict. Etym. de Ménage.) Il signifie moisi, selon Cotgrave. C'est l'épithète d'un mot obscène, dans Rabelais, T. III, p. 154.

VARIANTE: CHAUMENY

C 1611

Chaumeny: m. ye: f. *Mustie, mouldie, unseasonable* : ¶ Gasc. ¶ Rab.

Homophones: chaume

Homologues: moisi

Although Cotgrave calls *chaumeny* a Gasconism, it would appear that the verb from which it derives is still used in some northern patois. These patois are not far from the pays d'Oc and could have borrowed the word *chaumeny*. Now at one time the Occitan area extended further north, up to the mouth of the Loire and east to the southern Vosges. It could be that *chaumeny* is found in these patois because it is a hold-over from the time when these areas were Occitan speaking. The word did not catch on in standard French though. Perhaps it was because of *chaume* -- "tige des céréales; paille qui couvre le toit des maisons" (PR) -- and its derivatives. It seems that only Rabelais used

chaumeny in French. Another author of southern origin, Palissy, used the verb *chaumenir*. *Moisi* was available in French.

193) CHEMISADE

f. "camisade" 1578

FEW

camisia hemd. [shirt] 2. 142b

Mfr. nfr. *camisade* „attaque nocturne“ 13) (seit 1552, seit Rich 1680 nur als historischer Ausdruck); mfr. *en camisade* „en portant une chemise par-dessus l'armure“ (1572, Monluc). Französiert in mfr. *chemisade* „camisade“ EstDial.

13) Wird als Entlehnung aus it. *camiciata* aufgefasst, das erst Ende des 16. Jhs. zu belegen ist; Wind 125. Es müsste aus Oberitalien stammen. Entstehung in Südfrankreich wäre lautlich möglich, aber sachlich weniger wahrscheinlich. Auch kat. *encamisada*.

DOF

camisa. f. Chemise. Var. *camiá*, Rgt. Dér. **camisada**, contenu d'une chemise ; grande sueur ; attaque de nuit avec une chemise par-dessus les armes, (...) Étym. B. L. **camisia**. Cat. **camisa**.

Homophones: chemise

Cognates: camisade

This word appears to have been a hapax. However, the *FEW* gives no dates for the use of *chemisade*. In any case, it seems that the foreign form *camisade* (from the Italian) was preferred to the gallicized form *chemisade*. It could also be that the term went out of use when this type of nocturnal attack stopped being practiced.

194) CHEVROLLE

f. "femelle du chevreuil" 14th Gascon, Limousin

FEW

capreolus rehbock. [roebuck] 2, 304a

I. 1. Afr. mfr. *chevrueil* „cervus capreolus“ (seit Chrestien), *chevrol* Eneas, *chevriol* Entrée, agn. *cheverol* (Hue; Bibb), (...) apr. *cabirol* (pr. 12. Jh.), (...)

Dazu das fem. apr. *cabirola* „femelle du chevreuil“ (14. jh.), *cabrola* (Millau 1535), mfr. *chevrolle* (14. jh., texte aus Poitou, Gaskogne), *chevreule* (16. jh.), pr. *cabroro*, Toulouse *cabirola* G, blim. *tsobrollo*; mfr. *chevreuse* (1569).

G OldFr

CHEVROLLE, *chevreule*. -eulle, s.f., femelle du chevreuil :

(...)

En 1464. l'hôtel de Morry. en la paroisse de Latillé, était tenu de l'abbaye de Ste Croix à hommage plain au devoir d'une *chevrolle* appréciée .X. s. à mutation d'homme seulement. (Ste-Croix, Ayron, *Aveu et dénomb. du fief de Morry*, Arch. Vienne.)

(...)

DALF OldFr

Chevrol, *subst.* Cheveau ou chevreuil. (Marbodius, col, 1660.) Dans le latin *capreoli*. Il paroît pris pour chevreuil dans cet art. 27. *ibid.* où il est dit de la pierre appelée *gagatromée*: c'est une pierre tachetée. «Cume pel de *chevrol* s'en faille.» (Id. *ibid.*)

DOF

cabra, *f.* Chèvre. femelle du bouc ; (...) *Dér.* (...) **cabròla**, chevrette, femelle du chevreuil ; (...)

Cognates: chèvre, chevrette, chevreule

It would seem that the northern form *chevreule*, now no longer current,⁹¹ was preferred to *chevrolle*, and that the latter was confined to texts from Gascony and Poitou.

195) CHIEFMES

m. "habitation principale du domaine" 1393-1564

FEW

caput kopf. [head] 2, 343b + n 51

β. Apr. *capmas* „habitation principale d'un domaine“ (12. -- 13. jh., rouerg. Quercy, Rn: Brunel), *camas* (Aude 16. jh., RLR 42, 271), mfr. *chiefmes* (pik. norm. 1393 -- 1564), norm. *chef-mois* (Cotgr 1611, noch Trév 1771), npr. *capmas* „chef-lieu d'un domaine“, castr. „hameau“, *cammas*. Apr. *capmazil* „petit capmas“ LvP. Apr. *capmasura* „principal manoir“ (Albi 1159). Anorm. *chiefmeisnage* (Caux 1400). Anorm. *chiefmasage* (Caux 1400). Apik. *quief manoir* Beaum Cout. -- Apr. *capcazal*, abearn *capcasau*; apr. *maizon capcasaliera*. -- Apik. *keis lieu* (1321), mfr. nfr. *chef-lieu* 51 (1605--Ac 1798); (...)

⁹¹ *Biche* and *chevrette* are the current terms.

51) Bruch Z 55, 446 sucht zu erweisen, dass *chef-lieu* und alle vorangehenden formen aus *chiefmes* umgebildet seien, und dieses, wie auch apr. *capmas* in der verwaltungssprache der Franken entstanden seien als übersetzung des dem ahd. *houpitstat*, mndl. *hovetstat* entsprechenden anfrk. wortes. Doch sind seine argumente wenig überzeugend: die von ihm behauptete geographische deckung der ältesten verbreitung von *chiefmes* mit den ortsnamen auf *-ville* und *-court* besteht nicht. Ausserdem ist mlt. *cabmasus* in Südfrankreich bereits 1058, *capmasura* sogar schon 990 belegt, also vier jhe. vor mfr. *chiefmes*. Anzunehmen, dass das letztere einfach so lange zeit in den dokumenten fehle, fällt wohl schwer. Der typus ist seit dem 10. jh. in Südfrankreich belegt, und zwar von Limoges und Bordeaux bis Marseille verbreitet; ende des 11. jh. finden wir ihn, aber nur in mlt. form, in der Bourgogne, und seit ende des 13. jh. lebt er in der Pikardie und in der Normandie. So scheint er eher von süden nach norden gewandert zu sein; höchstens könnte man annehmen, das pik. norm. habe die zuss. später selbständig geschaffen, auf keinen fall aber, sie sei von norden nach süden getragen worden. Bruch will in *chiefmes* ein **capi mansus*, also „des oberhauptes haus“ sehen, weil er in *chef-* nicht die bed. „hauptsächlich, führend“ sehen will. Bruch wird dadurch zu seinen annahmen veranlasst, dass er nicht zu glauben vermag, dass *chef-* hier adjektivische funktion habe, wie Meyer-L. annahm. Aber die von ihm selber angeführten fälle, wie *chieve rente*, neben *cheifrente* zeigen, dass das gefühl für den adjektivischen wert eben in jener zeit sich auch auf die form auszuwirken beginnt. Es gibt doch zu jener zeit noch sehr viele einendige adj. wie etwa *grant*. Man vergleiche auch damit norm. *lieu chevels* (= *chiefmes*) Cotgr 1611. Es hat also wohl bei der alten auffassung zu bleiben. Fr. *chef-lieu* ist allerdings aus dem norm. pik. in die reichssprache gelangt. Unter dem Ancien Régime bezeichnete es den ort, wo man dem herrn den treueid zu leisten und die steuer zu bezahlen hatte; dieser ort war meist die burg des herrn, manchmal aber auch nur ein bauernhof. ja, sogar einfach ein zu diesem zwecke bestimmtes feld. Ähnlich wird in den Coutumes des Loudunois das hauptwohnggebäude einer herrschaft *maistre hostel* genannt. Cout Gén 4. 730. Die steuertechnische funktion des *chef-lieu* hat dann den terminus bereits im 18. jh. in die terminologie der staatlichen finazverwaltung übergehen lassen, und mit der Revolution hat die gesamte staatsverwaltung das wort aufgenommen.

G OldFr

CHIEFMES, *-mais, -mois, -moys, chef., cheesmois, chiermois, quiefmez, chymois, chemois*, s.m., principal manoir, chef-lieu :

Un fief dont le *chemois* est assiz es paroisses de Campigny. (1393, *Dénombr. du baill. de Rouen*. Arch. P 307, fo 59 vo.)

(...)

also: **CHIEFMASAGE**, *-chef*, **CHIEFMEISNAGE** with the same meaning

DOF

cap, m. Tête ; fin ; bout ; chef ; (...) *Dér.* (...) **capmàs**, m. Ferme. (...)

Variations: chiefmais, chiefmois, chiefmoys, chefmes, chefmais, chefmois, chefmoys, cheesmois, chiermois, quifmez, chymois, chemois

Homologues: chef-lieu

Cognates: chef

It would seem that *capmas* wandered north from the south of France. It reached Picardy and Normandy by the end of the 13th century, according to the *FEW*. Now, *chef-lieu* was taken into standard French from Picard and Norman around the same time. It may be that *chef-lieu* was formed on the basis of *chiefmes*, which in turn may have been formed on the basis of *capmas*, in which case the word is not really dead. However, the hyphen in *chef-lieu* would suggest a compound. The word was formed from the native French elements *chef* and *lieu*. It could be that *chiefmes* originated in Normandy and Picardy independent of southern influence. The word *chiefmes* disappeared after the French Revolution, along with other feudal vocabulary. However, *chef-lieu* was adopted by the revolutionary government.

196) **CHUGUETTE**

f. "mâche" 1873

FEW

lactuca lattich. [a kind of weed] 5, 124b

Ablt. (...) --Pr. *lachuguetto*, Agen *latchuguéto*. Pr. *chuguetto* „mâche“ (> fr. *chuguette* Littré; Thomas Mél 83).

L 1883

CHUGUETTE (chu-ghè-t') s. f. Un des noms vulgaires de la mâche.

Homologues: mâche

This word would appear to have been a hapax. In any case, there was already the word *mâche* in French.

197) **CIBOREE**

f. "ragôut à la ciboule" Old Fr. Gascon

FEW**cepulla** zwiebel. [onion] 2, 593b + n 32. **Schnittlauch.** (...)Abt. (...) -- Afr. *ciboree* „ragôut à la ciboule 3). Apr. *ciboreria* „ciboule“ (1521, Pans).

3) Scheint aus einer gask. form entlehnt zu sein.

G OldFr**CIBOREE.** s.f., ragôut à la ciboule :Après viennent ces *ciborees*

Et de porions cez porees.

(Bat. de Quaresme, Richel. 19152, fo 92c.)

DALF OldFr**Ciborées.** *subst. fém. plur.* Espèce de ragôuts. Peut-être a-t-on entendu par ce mot des ragôuts à la ciboule. Voici le passage:Après viennent ces *ciborées*,

Et de porions (poireaux) cez porées (ragouts de poireaux);

Oitres, et hennons au civé.

Viennent enprès (après) tuit abrivé (tout à la hâte).

Bat. de Quaresm. MS. de S. Germ. fol. 92, Ro col. 3.

Cognates: ciboule (prov. 13th c.)

This word appears to have been a hapax, used in only one text.

198) **CINDRER**

v. "disposer en voûte" 16th-1611 South-west

FEW**cinctura** gürtel. [belt] 2, 678aII. 1. Mfr. voûte *chintree* „disposée en cintre“ (Tournai 1349), mfr. nfr. *cintrer* „disposer en voûte“ (seit 1455) mfr. *cindrer* (16. jh., autoren aus Südwestfrankreich; Cotgr 1611). apr. *cintrar* (1496, Pans), (...)**DALF OldFr****Cindrer,** *verbe.* Ceintrer. (Dict. de Cotgrave.)De clapiers mal *cindrez* attendons les ruines.

Contes de Choliere, fol. 6, Ro.

C 1611

Cindré: m. ée: f. *Girt* ; also, *spotted*; also, *supported*.

Cindrer. *To gird*; also, *to spot*; also, *as Cintrer*.

Cintrer. *To mould an Arch* ; *to build it on*, or *(in the building) to uphold it with*, a *Centrie*, or *frame of tumber*.

DOF

cinta, f. Ceinture. *Dér.* **cintar**, ceindre ; ceinturer, *Cév., Toul. Éty.* L. **cinctus**. (...)

Cognates: cintrer

This word appears to have been confined to authors from the south of France.

Although the word is still alive in Occitan, its technical meaning appears to have been lost. In the north there was *cintrer*.

199) **CITRE**

f. "esp. de pastèque verte" (plante) Daudet Languedocien

FEW

citrus callitris quadrivalvis; citrus medica. 2, 721a

2. a. (...) lang. *citro* f. „espèce de pastèque verte“ (daher *citre*, Daud.). (...)

DOF

citra, f. Citrouille ; pastèque panachée, *Mtp. Dér.* **citre**, espèce de pastèque ; citron ; sot, niais. *Cév.* **citrolha**, pastèque, *Mtp.* **citrolhat**, citrouille cuite au four. **citrolhon**, ache sauvage. **citron**, citron. **citronada**, **citronat**, conserve de citron. **citronièr**, citronnier. **citronèla**, mélisse ; armoise ; aurone. *Rgt.* **citronèla salvatja**, *Melittis caryophyllum*. *Éty.* L. **citrus**.

It seems that only Daudet used this word in French.

200) **CLARANT, CLAIRAN**

m. "sonnette du mulet" 15th-1869

FEW

clarus hell. [clear] 2, 743a

b. **Deutlich**, laut (stimme, usw.). (...)

β Afr. mfr. *clarain* „clarine“ (13. --14. jh.), (...) -- Mfr. *clarant* (15. jh.), nfr. *clairan* „sonnette de mulet“ (Südfrankreich, 1741-- Lar 1869, Barbier Proc 1, 34).

G OldFr

CLAIRAIN, *clairin, clarin, clerin, clarain*, s.m., instrument de musique ayant un son fort aigu, clairon :

Ça et la sonnent li clairain.

(GUIART, *Roy. lign.*, 18541, W. et D.)

(...)

-- Clochette, grelot qu'on pendait au cou des animaux :

Au col de son cheval pendit un *clarain* tel que l'on attache au cou de ces bestes qui vont en pastures ez boscages. (*Grand. Chron. de France*, IV, 8, P. Paris.)

Dans le Berry, dans la Vendée et en Poitou, Deux-Sèvres, cant. de Chef-Boutonne, on appelle *clairin* une espèce de clochette qu'on suspend au cou des bestiaux. Dans le Bourbonnais on appelle *clairin* le cheval qui porte la clochette.

Nom propre, *Clairin*.

DALF OldFr

Clairain, *subst. masc.* Clairon A . Sonnette, clochete B .

A Au premier sens, c'est une sorte de trompette :

Çà et là sonnent li *clarain*.

G. Guiart, MS. fol. 312, Vo.

Loués ses *clarins*, et trompettes.

Vig. de Ch. VII, T. II, p. 202.

B C'étois aussi une sonnette qu'on attachoit *au col des bestes qui vont pestre ès bocages*. (*Chron. St Denis*, T. I, fol. 65.)

J'ay beax *clareins* à mettre à vaches.

Fabl. MSS. de St Germ. fol. 42, Vo col. 3.

Elles servoient aussi d'ornement aux chevaux : «Au col de son cheval pendit un *clarain* tel (2), etc.» (*Chron. St Denis, ubi supra.*)

VARIANTES: CLAIRIN, CLARIN, CLAREIN, CLARAIN, CLERIN, CLÉRON, CLARON

(2) Voici la citation d'après D. Bouquet (III, 256): «Landris li connestables... au col de son cheval pendit un *clarain*, autel com l'en atache au coulx de ces bestes, qui vont en pastures em boscages.» Au reg. JJ. 187, p. 239, an. 1458, on lit: «Ung *clarant* qu'on pend au col des beufz [en Périgord].» Au reg. JJ. 124, p. 68, an. 1383: «Guillemin chastellain a acoustumé mener un sien chien, au col duquel par esbattement il pandi une sonnette ou *clare*, que ont acoustumé de porter vaches, brebis ou moutons.» Au reg. JJ. 153, p. 28, an. 1397: «Dessous un des seps de la vingne, ledit Robin trouva un *clarin* de vaches.» (N. E.)

Variations: clairain, clairin, clarin, clarein, calrain, clerin, cléron, claron

Derivatives: clariné "hung with a bell"

Homophones: clair

Cognates: clairon

It would seem that *clairan* was mainly used in the south of France; in the north there was *clairon*.

201) CLAVA

f. "canne ou perche" (mar.) 1832-1869

FEW

clava knüttel. [stick?] 2, 757a

(...) npr. *clavo* „canne ou perche que l'on ajoute au bout du filet de la tartane pour le tenir tendu“. Grau *klaβo* R 47 (als *clava* Raym 1832 -- Lar 1869), Nice *clava* „massue“ Pl.

Lan 1857

CLAVA. subst. mas. (*klava*), t. de pêche, perche qu'on ajuste au bout d'un filet pour le tenir tendu.

DOF

clava, f. Perche qui tend le bout du filet de la tartane ; bout de filet du brégin où l'on attache la corde pour le tirer. *Étym. L. clava*, gros bâton.

It would seem that this word never left its field of specialized terminology.

202) CLAVAISSON

f. "clous et chevilles" (mar.) 16th-1628

FEW

clavus nagel. [nail] 2, 769b

(...) -- Apr. *clavason* „fourniture de clous“ (1354, Pans), mfr. *clavaison* „assortiment de clous et de chevilles qui entrent dans la construction d'un bateau“ (16. jh. -- 1628, Jal).

It seems that this specialized marine term never entered the general vocabulary.

203) CLAVELADE

f. "esp. de raie" 1611-1628 Provençal

FEW

clavellus *kleiner nagel; geschwür. [small nail; ulcer, boil] 2, 758a

Grau *run klave*. lat „turbot“ R 63, Péz. id., Carc. *clavelat*. -- Apr. *clavelada* „raia clavata“ s) (1373. Pans), mfr. *raie clavelée* Cotgr 1611, pr. *clavelado* (als *clavelade* Cotgr 1611: Enc 13. 760b), mars. *clavelado* (...)
 5) So benannt wegen der wie nagelköpfe aussehenden hautverdickungen. RLR 56, 229.

C 1611

Clavelade: f. *A Thornebacke*. ¶ Langued.

Cotgrave characterized this word as being from Languedoc. It could be that it was confined to the French of the south of France. As an aside, *clavelade* with the meaning “claveau” appears in 1869.

204) CLEDAT

m. “fermeture” 1590

FEW

**clela* (gall.) hürde. [pen (for animals)] 2. 777b
 (...) -- Apr. *cledas* m. „crible“ CCons Albi (-ACEU), *cladas* „claié“ Bonis (daher mfr. *clodat* „fermeture“. 1590). (...)

DALF OldFr

Cledat. *subst. masc.* Enclos (3). Ce mot, dans le patois de Béarn, signifie proprement une étendue de terrain entouré de fossés ou de pieux, où l'on fait paître des bestiaux. (Laur. Gloss. du Dr. fr.)
 (3) Le mot subsiste comme nom de famille. (N.E.)

DOF

cleda. f. Claie : (...) *Dér.* (...) **clodat**, claié ; parc à brebis ; grille de fenêtre. (...) *Éty. L.* **clela**, claié, mot gaulois. *Cat.* **cleda**.

Homologues: fermeture

Cognates: clé

This word appears to have been a hapax. Although it would seem that the word *clodat* with the meaning of “enclosure for animals” was used in the south of France (and still is), but perhaps it was used only in the French of the south.

205) **CLOSSER**

v. **troncher, grossir** (blé) Ol de Serres-1611

FEW

taller 21, 47b

Mfr. *closser* v.n. „troncher, grossir, pousser des rejetons; produire plusieurs épis (blés, autres grains)” (Ol de Serres; Cotgr 1611), Mens, Agnières *klowsá-* „taller” pr. *clooussá*. Thuiles *klosá-*. Ilonse, Isola *klusá-*, lang. *cloussá* S 2. -- Ablt. Isola *klúos* m. „tige de blé”.

G OldFr

CLOSSER, v. n.. troncher, grossir, pousser des rejetons; produire plusieurs épis, en parlant des blés et autres grains :

La terre grasse, pour sa fertilité, faict abondamment troncher ou *closser* les grains, c'est a dire qu'un grain y faict plusieurs espis. (O. DE SERR., *Th. d'agr.*, II, 4, éd. 1605.)

Par le benefice du temperament des temps et fertilités de la terre, faisant troncher, *closser* et multiplier a la longue ce peu de grains qui s'y treuvent nais. (ID., *ib.*)

DALF OldFr

Closser, *verbe*. Ce mot subsiste encore pour exprimer le cri de la poule qui couve et mène ses poussins.

VARIANTES: CLUCHER, GLOCER, GLOSSER, GLOUSSER

C 1611

Closser. *To clocke like a henne.*

Closser les grains. *Many stalkes, or eares to shoot up, or come from one graine of seed.*

Homophones: *closser* “to cluck”; *glousser* (*clocir*, *glocir* (13th c.), *clocier* (1350), *clousser* (16th c.), *glosser* (1538))

It would appear that the meaning of *closser* was not well known in the early 17th century, or else why would de Serres have given what were presumably synonyms (*troncher*, *grossir*) along with it? Furthermore, the verb *closser* meant “to cluck” in the late 16th, early 17th centuries. The word *glousser* is now the word used in French to mean “to cluck”. It comes from the Vulgar Latin *clociare* which is from Latin *glocire*

“to cluck”. It seems likely that this meaning “to cluck” would have prevented the other meaning from taking hold.

206) COCATIER

m. “coquetier” 1732-1771

FEW

kok- 2. 858a/b

2. Ablt. in der bed. **Geflügelhändler** u. ä. -- Mfr. nfr. *coquetier* „marchand d’oeufs et de volailles en gros” (seit 1475), Alençon *croquetier*, hag. *coquetiei*, Roanne *coquetier*. Brotte *ke.ko.te* (dazu *ke.ko.tá* „faire le métier de k.”); Courtis. *koktyi* „messenger”, Aisne *ko.kye* ALF 845. for. *coqueti* „maraîcher qui emporte les fruits et les légumes à Lyon”. --- Varennes *coquetoué* „coquetier”. Havr. kanad. bmanç. *cocotier* „coquetier”, Jers. *cocotchi*. Nfr. *cocatier* (prov., Trév 1732 -- 1771), (...)

Homophones: coque, coco

Cognates: coquetier, coque

It would appear that *cocatier* did not last very long in French due to competition from *coquetier*.

207) CODRE

f. “branche de châtaignier pour cercler les futailles” 1796-1869 Gascon

FEW

châtaignier : **châtaigne** 21. 89a

Alang. *codra* f. „branche de châtaignier fendue pour cercler les futailles” (1345, Bonis; Cahors 1468. Dob 214; AM 47, 296), alim id. (Corrèze 1482, AM 7, 233), agask. *coudra* (Bordeaux 1361, AHGir 21, 416), *coldra* (Bordeaux ca. 1385, AHGir 22, 253), „bâton de châtaignier” (Agen 1370), (...) Médoc *codre* (FeuillCult 6, 101 - Lar 1869).

DALF OldFr

Codre. *subst. masc.* Coudre. (Du Cange, au mot *Codra*.) Ce mot est tiré d’un passage de la coutume de Bergerac. Poquet, add. MSS. à Laurière, dit que *codre* et *cedre* est un cerceau de tonneau. (Falconn.)

Lan 1857

CODRE-FEUEILLARS, subst. mas. plur. (*kodre-feuiar*), nom donné à Bordeaux, et dans les environs, aux cercles qui servent à relier les tonneaux. C'est un mot bien risqué.

DOF

còdra, *f.* Cercles de bois pour la futaille ; tiges de châtaigniers refendues pour faire des cercles. *Dér.* **codraire**, ouvrier qui fait des cercles.

It would appear that this word was confined to the French of the south of France.

Moreover, it seems likely that it was a technical word.

208) **COGNIOL**

m. "maquereau (poisson)" 1553-1771 Mars.

FEW

maquereau 21. 255b

[?] Mars *cogniol* m. „scomber colias L.“ (1553, Belon Aq 202; Enc 1753; Trév 1771), *coguiol* (1554, Rondelet 1, 236; Gesn 1560; Enc 1753), *coguoil* (Pin 1562; Cotgr 1611; Lacépède Poiss 5. 53), *cagoille* (1779, Duh 3, 167).

C 1611

Cognil: m. *The bastard Tunnie fish ; or, as Coguoil.*

Coguoil: m. *A fish like unto a Mackerell, but greater, and thicker; or as Cognil.*

Homologues: maquereau

It would appear that this particular name for the mackerel was not widely known in France. This fish already had a designation in French, *maquereau*, and this latter form was the preferred one.

209) **COHEQUER**

v "répartir les impôts" 1466-1611 from Occitan into French

FEW

coaequare gleichmachen. [to equalize] 2, 815b

II. Apr. *coecar* „répartir les impôts sur les contribuables“ (Millau 1379, Doc 209). *cohequar* (Millau 1358, Doc 112), mfr. *cohequer* (Lozère 1466, Bartzsch 100). -- Ablt. Mfr. *coëque* „partenaire“ Cotgr 1611. Mfr. nfr. *coéquation* „répartition de l'impôt entre les contribuables“ (seit 16. jh.). -- Die gruppe lebt vorzüglich oder ausschliesslich in Südfrankreich.

(...) -- Das lt. verbum ist als ausdruck der steuerverwaltung ins occit. und von da in die fr. verwaltungssprache übergegangen (II).

DALF OldFr

Coéquation, *subst. fém.* Egalité, parité. Ce mot, aussi bien que *peréquation*, selon Pocquet, add. MSS. à Laurière, est le réglement de rente entre des frères, c'est-à-dire partition qui règle ce que chacun des contribuables doit payer. (Voyez le passage cité à l'article suivant.)

Coéqués, *adj. au plur.* Associés. Entre lesquels les contributions ont été réparties. «Si le seigneur censier, rentier, ou leur receveur nient avoir reçu ce qu'ils ont reçu des *coequez*, ou *perequez*, et il se trouve, après le contraire, ils seront tenus en tous les intérêts, pertes et dommages de celui contre lequel ils auront fait la dite négation de reception de la dite *coequation*, et en amende envers justice.» (Cout. Gén. T. II, p. 399.)

C 1611

Coëque: m. *A coopartner, or cooparcener.*

It seems that this family of words (*coéquer, coéquation*) lived mostly in the south of France and in particular in administrative language.

210) COLLE

f. „mur de soutien dans une vigne“ Ol de Serres-1611

FEW

collum hals. [neck] 2, 917b + n 49

f. (...) BelmontA. *couólo* „partie de champ en terrasse“, mfr. *colle* „mur de soutien dans une vigne“ (Ol de Serres; Cotgr 1611) 49).

49) Diese französierte form stammt natürlich aus dem süden.

C 1611

Colles: f. *Crosse walls of stone, &c, in some vineyards; Looke Bancs.*

Homophones: colle „glue“

It would seem that *colle* “mur dans une vigne” was confined to the south. It was most probably confined to the vocabulary of viticulturists.

211) COLOMBADE

f. “fauvette” 1834-1869

FEW

columbus taube. [dove] 2, 931b + n 8

Nfr. *colombade* „fauvette” (Baudr 1834; Lar 1869) 8); (...)

8) Nach Baudr ist dieses wort pr.: es ist wahrscheinlich aus *couloumbaoudo* (s. zuss.) französisiert, vielleicht, da die wortausgänge nicht entsprechen, auf falsche weise. Das wort besteht also vielleicht gar nicht. Vgl. auch piem. *culunbada* „pernice bianca”.

Homophones: colombe

Homologues: fauvette

This word does not appear to have been widespread. This family is quite numerous: *colombe*, *colombin*, *colombier* etc. This in itself may have prevented *colombade* from catching on. Furthermore, there is already a word in French for this bird, *fauvette*, a word which apparently has nothing to do with the *colombe* “dove”. This apparent confusion may have prevented *colombade* from catching on.

212) COMPAGNISER à

v. “accompagner” 1589

FEW

companiono genosse. [comrade] 2, 967a + n 6

(...) --Mfr. *compagniser à* „accompagner” (1589) 6).

6) Das suffix ist wohl aus occit. *-ejá* umgebildet; s. unten npr. *acoumpagnejá*. Matthieu, der das wort gebraucht, hat lang im süden gelebt.

DOF

acompanhar, v. *tr.* et *r.* Accompaner. (...) *Étym. Occ. a + companha. Cat. accompanyar.*

Cognates accompagner

This word was used only by Matthieu, an author who lived a long time in the south of France. Furthermore, the word looks like its French counterpart and adds nothing new in terms of meaning.

213) **COMPIERRE**

f. "lichen pulmonaire" (chir.) ca. 1300

FEW

petra stein. fels. [stone, rock] 8, 320a + n 31

(...) -- Afr. *compierre* „hepatica minor, lichen pulmonaire“ HMond 31).

31) Vielleicht ist diese wortbildung ursprünglich occit.

It would seem that this word was confined to medicine, although even there the word may not have been widespread. There seems to be only one written source for this word. It would seem that this use of the word was figurative, as the *Petit Robert* suggests. In the 16th c. *lichen* was the generic name given to "dermatoses caractérisées par la présence de papules." Presumably this dermatitis looked like lichen growing on the skin. There is no mention of *lichen pulmonaire* in this article, but my guess is that this disease looked like lichen on the lungs. Presumably *lichen pulmonaire* took the place of *compierre*. Perhaps this word was a hapax.

214) **COMPORTE**

f. "seau profond pour la vendange" 1469 Gascon

FEW

comportare zusammentragen. [to collect] 2, 987a

(...) -- Apr. *comporta* „seau profond et aplati d'un côté qu'on dispose par paires et qu'on accroche au bât pour le transport de la vendange“ (Quercy, gask., Lv; AM 43 197; aus

der gleichen gegend wohl auch mfr. *comporte*, 1469 2), saint. SeudreS. *comporte* „petit tonneau portatif à 2 anses porté par 2 hommes“, (...) Gallargues *comporte* „cuve de bois pour la vendange“ Enc 16, 482 (seither als fr. in den wörterbüchern; (...)

2) Hav verzeichnet Toulouse *comporte* „petite lanterne portative en bois“ (1668). Doch geht aus dem zitat die bed. nicht mit sicherheit hervor.

G OldFr

COMPORTE, s. f., cuve de bois pour transporter la vendange :

Le suppliant print incontinent son cheval et le basta et mist dessus les semales, dites *comportes* ou portouoires et se transporta en la ditte vigne. (1469, Arch. JJ 197, pièce 88)

DALF OldFr

Comporte. *subst. fém.* Sabord. Embrasure de canon, dans un vaisseau (4). (Dict. d'Oudin.)

(4) Il a aussi le sens de *basse*, cuve de bois pour transporter la vendange (JJ. 197, p. 88. an. 1469): «Le suppliant print incontinent son cheval et le basta, et mist dessus les semales, dites *comportes* ou portouoires, et se transporta en la ditte vigne.» (N. E.)

Lan 1857

COMPORTE, *subst. mas.* (*konporte*), grand vaisseau de bois, dans lequel on mettait la dixième partie de la vendange, donnée, à titre de dime, aux seigneurs et aux curés.

DOF

comportar. *v. tr. et r.* Comporter; (...) *Dér.* **compòrta**. *comporte* ; corbeille à fond mobile servant à transporter le fumier, les pierres, la terre, (...) *Éty.* *L. comportare*. *Cat.* **comportar**.

Homophones: *comporter*, *porter*

It seems that this word is not dead after all. Both the *Petit Robert* and the *Trésor de la langue française* list it. Furthermore, Gebhardt lists the word in his main list with the meaning “cuve de bois pour la vendage”, which is similar to the definition in the *Petit Robert*: “Baquet de bois servant au transport de la vendange.” In the quote above in Godefroy, the word is given with two synonyms, which would seem to indicate that it was not at that time known to French speakers. The *Petit Robert* gives that same year, 1469, as the first year that *comporte* was used. However, it says that it comes from the

Latin *comportare*. Gebhardt gives 1765 as the first year that *comporte* (main list) appeared. Perhaps the word was borrowed twice, once in 1469 and again in 1765 at which time it stayed in French. Here is the relevant passage from the *FEW*: “Gallargues *comporte* ..cuve de bois our la vendange“ Enc [Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société des gens de lettres, p. p. Diderot et D`Alembert. 1751-1765. 1780] 16. 482 (seither als fr. in den wörterbüchern): ...” The *TLF* also gives 1469 as the year that *comporte* was first used in French and describes it as a borrowing from “languedocien central”.

215) **COMPORTE**

f. “porte d`écluse” 1660 Gascon < Catalan

FEW

2. 201b (? unable to locate word)

FEW

comportare zusammentragen. [to collect] 2, 987a + n 4

(...) HPyr. *k u~mpo, rto* „écluse“ 4), (...)

4) Vgl. pg. *comporta* „schleuse“.

Homophones: porte; porter, comporter

This word appears to have been a hapax.

216) **CONADON**

m. “fosse où l`on met les pieds de chanvre” 1869

FEW

sécher le chanvre. 21, 152a

Npr. *conadon* m. „fosse où l`on met les pieds de chanvre femelle pour faire mûrir les grains“ Lar 1869.

This word appears to have been a hapax.

217) **CONFLE**

m. "foule de gens" 1538 Provençal

FEW

conflare zusammenblasen. [to blow together] 2, 1041b

(...) -- Mfr. gros *confle* de gens „grande foule de gens“ (Nice 1538, R 25, 77).

This word appears to have been a hapax.

218) **CONQUISTER**

v. "conquérir" Brantôme

FEW

conquirere zusammensuchen. [to collect] 2, 1058a + n 1

Ablt. -- Apr. *conquistar* „conquérir; gagner“, mfr. *conquister* „conquérir“, *conquister* Brantôme 1). (...)

1) Brantôme hat das verbum nicht aus dem it. übernommen, wie Wind meint, sondern aus dem occit. seiner umgebung.

G OldFr

CONQUESTER, *conquister*, *conquiter* v.a., *conquérir*, *gagner* :

(...)

Ains me dit : Sire Angelez

En quel terre avez esté

Que n'avez rien *conquesté*

Aval la ville?

(COLIN MUSET, *Chans.*, ap. Ler. de Lincy, *Ch. hist. fr.*, p. 224.)

(...)

Pour *conquister* le Saint Sepoucre. (RUSTICIEN, *Meliadus de Leonnois*, Richel. 340, préamb.)

(...)

CONQUESTEUR, s.m. *conquérant* :

(...)

CONQUESTABLE, *-auble*, adj., qu'on peut *conquérir*, qui peut être *conquis* :

(...)

CONQUESTE, s. f., t. de droit, *conquêt* :

(...)

Note: the *DALF*, *AW*, Estienne, Nicot, Cotgrave and Furetière list *conquister*. Richelet lists *conquêter*. Richelet and Furetière call the word "old" and "not used a great deal"

respectively. The Academy Dictionaries of 1695, 1778 and 1799 call *conquister* "vieux".

DOF

conquère ~ conquérir, *v. tr.* Conquérir. (...) *Dér.* **conquêt**, bassin d'un cour d'eau ; plaine, pays. **conquerent**, conquérant. **conquista**, conquête, **conquistar**, conquérir. **conquistador**, conquérant. *Étym.* *L. V.* **conquaerere**, *L.* **conquirere**, d'après **quaerere**. *Cat.* **conquerir**.

Cognates: conquérir etc.

This word would appear to have been more than a hapax, as the quote in Godefroy would seem to indicate. It appears that there were several variations of *conquérir* in Old French, so that *conquister* would have been seen as merely another variation and not necessarily a foreign word. The two words may have developed in the south and the north independently of each other. *Conquister* disappeared with the other variations of *conquérir*.

219) CONRIGE, CONSIVE

f. "registre, somme" 1723-1771 Provençal

FEW

transport 23. 61b

Nfr. *conrige* f. „registre où l'on inscrivait les sommes déposées pour le transport des marchandises à leur destination (en Provence)" (SavBr 1723 - Rich 1759), *consive* (SavBr 1723- Rich 1759). „somme qu'on consignait dans les bureaux des droits du roi, en Provence" (SavBr 1723 - Trév 1771), *consige* (SavBr 1723 - Enc 1754).

It would seem that these words were confined to Provence. There were already words in French: *registre* for *conrige* and *somme* for *consive*.

220) **CONSUL**

m. "magistrat municipal" 1311-1789 ('Midi')

FEW

consul konsul. [consul] 2, 1093a

c. Mfr. nfr. *consul* „magistrat municipal (dans certaines villes du Midi)“ (1311-- Revolution. Ba: Hu); mfr. nfr. „juge qui était choisi parmi les commerçants pour connaître de certaines affaires commerciales“ (seit 1563) 3).

3) Durch einen erlass Karls IX. geschaffen.

DALF OldFr

Consul, *subst. masc.* (3) Conseiller A . Échevin B . Administrateur C .

A Borel entend ce mot dans le sens générique de conseiller, et Froissart l'emploie avec cette signification. (Liv. I, p. 13.)

B C'étoit aussi le nom donné aux échevins dans quelques villes. (Voyez La Thaum. Cout. de Berry, p. 22.) «Les *consuls*, c'est-à-dire les capitouls de Toulouse vestus de leurs habits royaux portoient le dais sous lequel étoit Charles VI, à son entrée dans cette ville en 1398.» (Hist. de Louis III. duc de Bourbon, p. 270.) (4) Voy. ci-après les mots CONSULAZ et CONSULES, qui paroissent avoir eu la même signification.

C On nommoit *consulz* d'une terre, ceux qui administrèrent les affaires d'un pays, d'une terre. Les seigneurs de la cour du roi Artus, le croyant perdu, conviennent avec Gouvain, à qui ils défèrent la royauté : «S'il advient entre cy et la que nous n'en oyons aucunes bonnes nouvelles, nous nous tiendrons à vos *consulz* de la terre, et de seigneur, si comme le voudrez attourner (régler).» (Lanc. du Lac, t. I, fol. 129.)

(3) On lit déjà dans l'Hist. occid. des Croisades (II, 443, XIIIe siècle): «Et morut Hugelin *consules* des Pisans d'Acre.» (N. E.)

(4) Comparez édition Chazaud, p. 217: «Les *consuls* de la ville vestus d'habits royaux, portoient le paille au roy.» (N. E.)

Consulaz, *subst. masc. plur.* Conseillers. Officiers municipaux. Les consuls et conseillers de Villeneuve dont il est parlé dans une ordonnance au Recueil des Ord. t. V, p. 394, sont appelés *consuls* et *consulaz*, *ibid.* et plus bas *consuls* et *conseillers*.

Consules, *subst. masc. plur.* Officiers municipaux. Titre affecté aux magistrats de la ville de Montpellier. (Eust Desch. Poës. MSS. fol. 114.)

C 1611

Consul : m. (...) *In most Cities of Aquitaine the chiefe Governors are tearmed Consuls; the rest of the good townes in France have such Consuls as Paris, by the names of, Les Iuges, & Consuls des Marchands.*)

R 1680

Consul. s.m. Ce mot signifie Echevin, mais en ce sens il n'a guere de cours que dans la

Provence & le Languedoc. [On a fait un tel Consul.]

F 1690

CONSUL, s.m. signifie aussi les principaux Officiers d'un bourg ou d'une petite ville dans les Provinces Meridionales de France, qui ont soin des affaires publiques de la Communauté, comme les Eschevins en d'autres endroits. Ce sont les *Consuls* qui reglent les impositions, les logements des gens de guerre, &c.

AFb 1778

CONSUL, s.m. (...)

En certaines villes du Royaume, on appelle *Consuls* ceux que l'on nomme Échevins à Paris. & en quelques autres lieux.

(...)

AFc 1799

CONSUL (...)

En certaines Municipalités du Royaume, on appelle *Consuls*, Ceux que l'on nomme Échevins à Paris et en quelques autres lieux.

(...)

AFd 1835

CONSUL, dans certaines municipalités du royaume, se disait autrefois de Ceux qu'on appelait Échevins à Paris et ailleurs.

(...)

Lan 1857

CONSUL subst. mas. (*konçul*) (...) -- Depuis, on a nommé ainsi, dans quelques villes :
1. les anciens échevins; (...)

L 1883

CONSUL (kon-sul), s.m. (...) || 3. Autrefois, nom, dans certaines municipalités de la France méridionale. des magistrats dits dans le Nord échevins. (...)

AFe 1884

CONSUL, dans certaines municipalités du royaume, se disait autrefois de Ceux qu'on appelait Échevins à Paris et ailleurs.

(...)

DG 1902

CONSUL [kon-sul] s. m.

[ÉTYM. Emprunté du lat. **consul**, m.s. || XIVE s. Un **consul** disoit à ceux de la cité, ORESME. *Éth.* VII. 13.]

(...)

|| 2. *P. ext.* | 1. Anciennement, dans certaines villes du midi de la France, magistrat municipal. (...)

PR 1984

CONSUL 2o (Moyen âge). Magistrat municipal du Midi de la France. Consul de Toulouse.

Homophones: consul "magistrate in ancient Rome"

Homologues: échevin

It would appear that *consul* "corps municipal" was confined to the French of the Midi. Roman law disappeared later in the south of France than in the north of France and consequently, a number of Roman terms were preserved there. *Consul* had an equivalent in the north, *échevin*. The French Revolution led to the restructuring of the entire country and many of the old terms were abolished. *Consul* "corps municipal" was one of them. However, after the Revolution *consul* was used as the name of the three magistrates to which the constitution of the year VIII had confided the government of the French Republic (1799 - 1804). *Consul* is still a current word in French and now refers to a diplomatic consul.

221) CONSULAT

m. "corps des consuls" 1478-1789 esp. Auvergne

FEW

consul konsul. [council] 2, 1093a

II. 1. a. (...)

b. Apr. *consolat* „fonction de *consol*; durée de leur fonction; hôtel-de-ville“, Gap „droit qui se lève sur les blés qui sont exposés au marché“ Trév 1771.

2. a. Mfr. nfr. *consulat* „charge de consul romain“ (seit Bersuire).

b. Mfr. nfr. *consulat* „corps des consuls d'une ville ; hôtel de ville“ (seit 1478, Ba. besonders auv. Angers, bis Revolution); „dignité des juges-consuls“ (seit 1563).

G OldFr

CONSULAT, s.m., maison de ville :

Pour ce que lesdis consous ont a assembler souvent les conseillers dudit *consulat*... il aura un saint ou campane commune qui sera au dedens de leur *consulat*. (1368, *Ord.*, v. 706.)

DALF OldFr

Consulat. [Intercalez *Consulat*, maison de ville, au t. V des *Ord.*, p. 706, an. 1368: «Pour ce que lesdis consous ont à assembler souvent les conseillers dudit *consulat*,... il aura un saint (*signum*) ou campane commune, qui sera au dedens de leur *consulat*.»] (N.E.)

C 1611

Consulat: m. *A Consulship; the office, or place, of a Consul.*

F 1690

CONSULAT, est aussi la charge de Consul, & le temps qu'elle dure, soit dans les Provinces, soit dans les villes de commerce. Quand on a exercé le *Consulat* des Marchands, on est en passe pour être Eschevin. (...)

AFb 1778

CONSULAT. s.m. (...)
Il signifie aussi le temps pendant lequel on exerçoit la charge de Consul. (...)

AFc 1799

CONSULAT. s.m. (...)
Il signifie aussi Le temps pendant lequel on exerçoit la charge de Consul. (...)

AFd 1835

CONSULAT. s. m. (...)
Il signifie, par extension, Le temps pendant lequel on exerçait la charge de consul. (...)

Lan 1857

CONSULAT, subst. mas. (*konçula*) (en lat. *consulatus*), dignité, charge, office de *consul*: (...) -- Le temps pendant lequel on exerce la dignité de *consul*. (...)

L 1883

CONSULAT (kon-su-la; le t ne se lie pas dans le parler ordinaire), s. m. (...) || 3.
Emploi des officiers municipaux qui portaient le nom de consuls. (...)

AFe 1884

CONSULAT.
Il signifie, par extension, Le temps pendant lequel on exerçait la charge de consul. (...)

Homophones: *consulat* "the time in which one exercises the dignity, function of a *consul*"

As with *consul*, *consulat* was apparently confined to the French of the Midi and was eliminated during the French Revolution. *Consulat* still exists in modern French with the meaning “(diplomatic) consulat”.

222) CONTRAT À ARRÈGES

m. “louage de bétail de labourage” 1771 Provençal

FEW

arare pflügen. [to plow] 25. 82a

(...) nfr. *contrat à arrèges* „louage de bétail de labourage“ (prov., Trév 1771).

This expression would appear to have been a hapax.

223) COQUE

f. “plateau d’osier” Daudet 1881 Provençal

FEW

coccum auswuchs an einer pflanze. [growth on a plant] 2, 825a

11. (...) Npr. *coco* „plateau d’osier où les paysans mettent la bouteille et les verres“ (als *coque* bei Daudet 1881).

Homophones: coque, coq

Coque “plateau d’osier” was used in French by only Daudet. It is a gallicized version of *coco*.

224) COQUERELLE

f. “nobil de Vénus (plante)” 1623 Languedocien

FEW

nombril de Vénus. 21, 170a

Adauph. *bloudo* f. „nombril de Vénus“ (1549, RIF1 6, 91).

Var. *carinet* m. RIF1 6, 91.

Lang. *coucarêlo* f. S 2, Montpellier *coucarèla*, Aude *cougarèlo*; daraus entlehnt nfr. *coquerelle* (1623). -- Ablt. Npr. *coucoureléto* „id.; sein de jeune fille“. RIF1 6, 90.

C 1611

? Coquerelles : f. *Red Night-shade*, *Alkakengie*, *winter-cherries*.

Homophones: coque

Homologues: nombril de Vénus

This word appears to have been a hapax. This plant was called a *nombril de Vénus* in the north.

225) CORAU, COURAU

m. "petit bateau sur la Gironde" 16th-1877 Gascon

FEW

currere laufen. [to run] 2, 1571b

2. **Fahren** (mit schiff). -- Fr. *courir* „aller vite sur l'eau (d'un navire)“ (seit 11. jh.).

Ablt. -- Mfr. *corau* „petit bateau sur la Garonne, allège“ (16. jh.), nfr. *courau* (1671 -- Trév 1771), Bordeaux *courreau* (1877, Littré Suppl), saint. *coureau* „grande barque de charge“. Bayonne. Bordeaux *couralin* „petite chaloupe des pêcheurs“ (auch Enc 4, 375). RCelt 26. 321; R 31, 431.

G OldFr

CORAU -ault, cour., s.m., sorte de bâtiment de guerre :

Barques, gabarres, *couraulx*, pinasses.

(11 déc. 1515. Arch. Gir., Not., Sénéchault, 477-1.)

Commuer la peine des galeres a bord d'ung *corau* armé a B* pour le service de sa majesté (27 juin 1569, Arch. Gir., Arr. du parl., portef. 226.)

Le dit *corault*. (*lb.*)

DALF OldFr

Courau, *subst. masc.* Sorte de bateau plat. On s'en sert encore sur les rivières de Gascogne.

Engins r'ont de part et d'autre

De fust (bois) parfaits et achevez,

En nez (navires) et en *couraux* levez

Des quiex grosses pierres eschappent.

G Guirart, MS. fol. 223, Vo.

Du Cange rapporte ce passage, Glossaire latin, au mot *Cursorioe*. De là : «Le tirage du *courau* ou galupe.» (Cout. de Marsan, Nouv. Cout. Général, t. IV, p. 911.) Voyez

l'édition de cette même coutume imprimée à Bordeaux, en 1700. L'éditeur ajoute en marge: *coureau et galupe* sont des noms de certaine espèce de bateau (1)

VARIANTE: COUREAU.

(1) On donne encore ce nom aux allèges. (N. E.)

Lan 1857

COURAU, subst. mas. (*kourô*), t. de pêche, petit bateau pour la pêche; allège.

L 1883

COURAU (kou-rô), *s. m.* Terme de pêche. Petit bateau ; allège.

DG 1902

COUREAU [kou-rô] *s. m.*

[ÉTYM. Dérivé de **courir**, § 126. || 1671. **Vrengues, couraux, chaloupes**. *Us. et cout. de la mer*, dans DELB. *Rec.*]

|| 1. Au port de Bordeaux et sur la Garonne. bateau léger servant d'allège, ou employé à la pêche.

(...)

This word may have been confined to the French of the south of France, or if it was known in the north, it would have been considered southern. There is a northern equivalent of *courau*, namely *allège* "embarkation used to load and unload ships" (since the 17th c.). The word *courau* appears to be no longer current in Occitan. However, the names for the *allège* in that language are [*a*]leuje and *pinelo*. (*Dictionnaire français-occitan*, 1970). Perhaps the northern word gradually replaced the southern word, even in the south. The word [*a*]leuje may have been a borrowing from French or a word created through French influence. (*Allège* comes from *alléger*; Occitan could have formed [*a*]leuje in a similar manner.)

226) **CORDOEUIL**

m. ``chagrin`` Mid. Fr.

FEW**cordolium** herzeleid. [heartache] 2, 1182aApr. *cordolh* „chagrin“ (> mfr. *cordoeuil*, hap. leg.). -- Auch it. *cordoglio*. ML 2229.**G OldFr****CORDOEUIL**, *corredueil*, s.m., chagrin, crève-cœur :*Cordoeuil*, douleur et ennuy

Ne produisent fleur ne fruit

(GABR. MEURIER, *Tres. des Sent.*, ap. Ler. de Lincy, *Prov.*)

A orgueil

Ne manque de *corredueil*.(ID., *ib.*)Homologues: deuil

It seems that only one author used *cordoeuil* in French. This word appears to be part Occitan *cor* and part French *doeuil* (replacing the Occitan *dolh*).

227) **CORNIAT**

m. ``suc de la cornouille`` Ol de Serres

FEW**cornus** kornelkirschbaum. [corn cherry tree] 2, 1205ab. (...) -- Mfr. *corniat* „suc de la cornouille“ (< occit., Ol de Serres).**DALF OldFr****Corniat**, *subst. masc.* Sirop de cornouilles (Oudin et Cotgrave, Dict.)**C 1611**Corniat: m. *The Juice, or Syrop of Cornill berries.*

This word appears to be more than a hapax; it was mentioned in two dictionaries, Oudin and Cotgrave. At one time people must have thought it necessary to designate the

juice of the cornill with its own name, but this did not last for long. Perhaps the juice was used in medicine or used in cooking and something else was found to substitute for it.

228) CORNUDEAU

m. "petite miche" 1408 Languedocien

FEW

cornutus gehört. [horned] 2. 1207b

ζ. Nfr. pain *cornu* „ayant des coins en forme de cornes“ (seit Widerh 1675); (...) Mfr. *cornudeau* „petite miche“ (Montpellier 1408, Gay), nfr. *cornuau* „esp. de petit gâteau“ Bonn 1655, 28, Alençon *cornuyau* „échaudé en forme de croissant“, hmanç, *cônuau* „genre de cochelin“. -- Nfr. *cornuet* „pâtisserie champenoise en forme de corne (seit Trév 1743).

G OldFr

CORNUDEL. s.m., échaudé:

Icelle Ysabeau va appeller une fille portant deux pains et deux eschaudez ou *cornudeaux*. (1408, Arch. JJ 163, pièce 229.)

DALF OldFr

Cornudeau. [Intercalez *Cornudeau*, échaudé, au reg. JJ. 163, p. 229, an. 1408: «Icelle Ysabeau, demourant à Montpelier, ... de la fenestre de son hostel va appeller une fille ... portant deux pains et deux eschaudez ou *cornudeaux*.»] (N.E.)

This word appears to have been a hapax. In the quotes above the word *cornudeau* is used as a synonym of *échaudé*, presumably the former was an unknown or little known word and the latter was known. *Cornudeau* was of Occitan origin and *échaudé* was its French equivalent. At that time, the early 15th c., the gallicization of the Midi had not begun in earnest. Furthermore, in the 19th century (*Petit Robert*) the word *croissant* (from Germ. *Hörnchen*, the name given to this pastry after the Austrian victory over the Turks in 1689) was adopted to designate this type of "horned" pastry.

229) **COUCHINE**

f. "variété de pomme" Ol de Serres-1852 (Regional French)

FEW

pommier; pomme. 21, 79b + n 6

Pr. *couchine* f. „pomme coeur de boeuf“ (Ol de Serres; Cotgr 1611) 6), nfr. *couchine de Provence* (1850), *couchine rouge* (1852), npr. *couchino* „variété de pomme teintée de rouge“, BRhône *poumo couchino* „pomme d'api“. -- LeroyPom 3, 226.

6) Regionalfranzösisch der Provence.

C 1611

Couchine. *The name of a certain apple.*

It seems that this word remained a regional expression. It was also known as a *pomme d'api*. This name won out.

230) **COUDERLE**

m. "esp. de champignon" 1845-1869 Gascon

FEW

champignon. 21, 165a

1. Apr. *coderda* f. „sorte de champignon“ (14. jh., R 78, 321), (...) Ariège *kudé, rlo* „coulemelle“, HPyr. id. (p. 649 SO); daraus entlehnt nfr. (im Süden) *couderle* „esp. de champignon“ (Besch 1845; Lar 1869); *couderlo* m. „coulemelle“ (BoisteS 1823 - AcC 1838).

Lan 1857

COUDERLO. subst. mas. (*koudèrelò*), t. de bot., espèce de champignon qui croît en Languedoc.

DOF

codèrta, f. Champignon en général vénéneux ; *Pleurotus ostreatus*, *Aude* ; agaric du panicaud, *Toul.* ; oreillette, *champignon* ; noix vomique, *Alb.* ; quartiers de poire desséchés. *Dér. coderlon*, agaric oreillette, *Toul.* ; *Clytocibe auriculata*, *Aude*.

It would appear that this word was confined to the French of the south of France.

Notice how the *Landais* gives its Occitan form, which would seem to indicate that it was regarded as a southern word. Perhaps this mushroom is found only in the Midi, hence it

would not have needed a northern name. The fact that it is poisonous may explain why its name was not more widespread; this mushroom could not be eaten, so it was not traded in the north of France.

231) COUGOURDIER

m. "plante de courge" Daudet Provençal

FEW

cucurbita kürbis. [pumpkin] 2, 1458b

Mfr. *courdier* „calebassier“ Cotgr 1611, Clessé, Igé *t'ieudri* „tige de la courge“, Montret *codrier*. Bourber. *kotay* „plante de courge“ RPGR 1, 250, pr. *cougourdié* 7) (daher *cougourdier* Daudet), (...)

7) Schwierig zu beurteilen Aix *cougourdie* f. P. Pellas gibt für *-ier* stets die graphie *-ie*. Es handelt sich also wohl um diese ablt., dann ist f. versehen für m.

Homophones: *cougoudette*, *cougourde*

It seems that only Daudet used *cougourdier* in French.

232) COULAC

m. "alose" 1547-1611

FEW

***colacus** (gall.) else. [shad (fish)] 2, 865a

Alang. agask. *colac* „alose, clupea alosa“ (11. jh. -- Cotgr 1611), mfr. *coulac* (1547 -- Cotgr 1611). Toulouse *coula* D, Tarn, castr. id., blim. *coular*, Agen *coulat*, bearn. *coula*, Bayonne *coulac*.

Barbier RPh 32, 150 stellt für diesen fischnamen eine keltische grundform auf, deren suffix ja wirklich im gall. vorkommt, und für deren stamm er zusammenhang mit kymr. *col* „spitze“ vermutet.

G OldFr

COULAC. s.m., *alose* :

Alosa vel *alausa*, *alose* ... Hic piscis in Aquitania *coulac* vulgo dicitur. (C. EST., *de lat. et graec. nom. pisc.*, p. 79, éd. 1547.)

DALF OldFr

Coulac, *subst.* *Alose*. Mot gascon. (Dictionn. de Cotgrave.) (2)

(2) Dans un traité ms. sur les poissons (B. N. lat. 6838. c, cap. 14) on lit: «Alosam. gall. *alose* Burdegalenses vocant *coulat*, Massilienses *halachia*, Romani *laccia*, Hispani *saboga*.» (N.E.)

C 1611

Coulac. *The Shad fish; (called so in Bourdeaux.)*

DOF

colac, *m.* Alose (poisson). *Alb. Syn. alausa.*

Homologues: alose

It seems that this word was used mostly in the south of France. It had a northern equivalent, *alose*, which was borrowed from Occitan in the 12th century.

233) **COUP, SI UN ~**

adv. “lorsque” Daudet, 1888

FEW

colaphus schlag. [blow (of fist etc.)] 2, 868a

(...) nfr. *si un coup „lorsque”* (1888, Daudet, < occit.), (...)

Homologues: lorsque

It seems that only Daudet used this expression in French. Its unusual appearance, it does not look like an adverb, in fact it looks like the start of a sentence, would have prevented it from becoming widespread. Daudet used this expression in his memoirs *Trente ans de Paris*. In one chapter he writes about how his novel the *Aventures de Tartarin* upset the good citizens of Tarascon with its unflattering portrayal of them. Even after fifteen years travellers have told him that the Tarasconais have still not forgiven him: “... à l’heure où la petite ville provençale ouvre les volets de ses boutiques et secoue ses tapis au souffle du grand Rhône, de tous les seuils, de toutes les fenêtres, jaillit le

même poing irrité, le même flamboiement d'yeux noirs, le même cri de rage vers Paris :
 «Oh! ce Daudet... si un coup, il descend par ici...» comme dans l'histoire de Barbebleue :
 «Descends-tu... ou si je monte!»'' (pp. 139-140) Daudet used this expression because the
 people in this town did.

234) **COUPLE, un ~**

m. ``deux'' 1787 South of France

FEW

copula band. [tie. bond] 2, 1159b

γ. Mfr. nfr. *une couple de* „deux“ (Montaigne -- SSimon, auch D'Aubigné; Sév; Platt 1835). nfr. *un couple* (prov. Fév 1787), norm. *coupe* m.. Blois, Sologne *une couble*, St-Chartier *coupe*; Roanne *couble* m. „petit nombre de“. -- Ablt. Teste *coupléy, -re* „jumeau, -elle“ 14), Gir. land. id. ALF 1604 p 662, 675.

14) Ähnlich nordsard. *kuppioli* ARom 19, 4, Marche *cuppiaroli* Z 28, 484 usw. AIS 15; Wagner Stud 15.

FPO

COUPLE. Deux. dans l'expression **un couple de**, CC ; *j'y suis été* (sic) *un couple de fois* à Rodez ; traduction de l'expression oc. **un parelh de** «id.».

Homologues: deux

Cognates: couple

The only difference between the Occitanism *un couple* and French *une couple* is the gender. It would seem that the use of *un couple* to mean “two” was restricted to the French of the south of France. In French it appears to have been a hapax. As an aside, the French expression is a loan translation from the Occitan.

235) **COURBU**

m. "cépage rouge" 1863 Gascon

FEW

curvare biegen, krümmen. [to bend] 2, 1588b

(...) bearn. *courbut* „esp. de cépage à raisin rouge“ (> nfr. *courbu*, 1863).

L 1883

COURBU (kour-bu), *s. m.* Variété de raisin.

Homophones: courbe

This word appears to have been a hapax. However, the *Littré* lists it, which would seem to indicate that the word had some currency in French. This word may have been used only in the south of France. Its somewhat technical nature may have prevented it from becoming widespread in French.

336) **COURONNE**

f. "gâteau rond" Daudet

FEW

corona kranz. [crown] 2, 1210a

d. (...) npr. *courouno* „gâteau rond“ (> *couronne* bei Daudet) (...)

Homophones: couronne "crown"

It seems that only Daudet used *couronne* "gâteau rond" in French.

237) **COURSIE**

f. "couloir sur les galères" 1495-1771 Provençal < Italian

FEW

cursus lauf. [run] 2, 1580b

11. a. Mfr. nfr. *coursie* 21) „couloir ménagé de la proue à la poupe des galères, entre les bancs des forçats“ (1495 -- Trév 1771), apr. *corsia* (15. jh.), mfr. *corcye* (1515, Jal), mfr. nfr. *accourcie* (Belleau -- Trév 1771). (...)

b. Nfr. *coursive* „coursie“ (seit 1687), *corsive* (1691); *coursive* „demi-pont qui sert de communication entre l'avant et l'arrière des navires non-ponté“ (1694 -- DG); „passage étroit pratiqué entre les soutes d'un navire“ (seit Boiste 1829).

21) Nfr. *tourice* und *courni* (Jal) sind nur druckfehler für *coursie*.

DALF OldFr

1. Coursier, *subst. masc.* Courrier A. Sorte de canon B (3).

A Au premier sens, ce mot vient de *course*. On lit «messagier en maniere de *coursier*.» (Chron. fr. MS. de Nangis, an 929. -- Voyez Chron. de S. Denis, t. I, fol. 133.)

B Nous avons vu *courcie* pour galère; de là on a nommé *coursiers* les canons dont on se servoit pour les armer (4). «Les galeres se disposent à écarter l'ennemi avec ces grosses pièces d'artillerie à qui l'on a donné le nom de *coursiers*.» (Histoire de Louis XIV, par Peliss. t. I, liv. II, p. 208.)

(3) C'est aussi une sorte de bâtiment léger: «Quant nostre marinier nous orent ramenez dou bras dou flum là où ils nous orent en batus, nous trouvames les *courciers* le roy, que li roys nous avoit establiz pour nos mallades deffendre, qui s'en venoient fuyant vers Damiette.» (Joinville, § 315.) (N. E.)

(4) Ce canon, placé sous le *coursier*, serait aujourd'hui un canon de chasse. (N. E.)

C 1611

Coursie: f. *Part of the Hatches of a Galley, tearmed the Coursey ; or, the Gallerie-like space, on both sides whereof the seats of the slaues are placed.*

R 1680

COURSIE, *s.f. Terme de Mer.* Passage de la prouë à la poupe de la Galere entre les rangs des forcâs.

F 1690

COURSIE, *subst. fem.* ou *Coursier*, *subst. masc.* Terme de Marine. Passage qui est entre les bancs des forçats sur une galere depuis la poupe jusqu'à la prouë, où se met le Comite pour les faire ramer.

DG 1902

COURSIE [kour-si]. *V. coursive*.

COURSIVE [kour-siv'] *s. f.*

[ÉTYM. Emprunté de l'ital. *corsiva*, *corsia*, *m. s. propr.*, fém. de l'adj. *corsivo*, où l'on peut courir, § 12. La forme *coursie* est la plus fréquente, quoique ACAD. ne donne que *coursive*. On trouve souvent *courcive*, *courcie*, par suite d'un rapprochement fautif avec le verbe *accourir*. (Cf. *accoursie*.) XVe - XVIe s. **Tout au long de la coursie**, G. DE VILLENEUVE. *Mém.* ann. 1495. Admis ACAD. 1835.]

|| (Marine.) || **1.** Dans les galères, coulour ménagé de la proue à la poupe, entre les bancs des forçats. (*Syn. accourse, coursier*.)

(...)

Note: The *Academy Dictionaries* and the *Littré* (1883) list *coursier*. The Academy Dictionary of 1799 lists *coursie*. The Academy Dictionaries of 1835 and 1884 lists *coursive*. The *Dictionnaire Général* lists *coursie*, *coursier*, *coursive*, *accourse* and *accoursie*. All of these words have the same definition as *coursie* above.

Homophones: cour

On the one hand one could say that *coursie* disappeared, or at least fell out of common use when galleys did. On the other hand one could say that *coursie* is not completely gone. It seems that in the late 17th century a variation of *coursie*, namely *coursier* (1671-1798) appeared. This word could have developed from *coursie*. The word *coursie* could have crossed with *coursier* “cannon placed on the *coursie*” (1643-1798) resulting in *coursier* taking over from *coursie* “couloir sur les galères”. Since these canons were placed on the *coursies*, that seems a reasonable assumption to make. There is also *coursive* (1687), which may have entered French from Italian via Occitan as *coursie* had done. This word is still found in the *Petit Robert*. Some time in the 17th century, *coursier* gave way to *coursive*.

238) COURTE

f. “bécassine” Rabelais Languedocien ?

FEW

curtus kurz. [short] 2. 1586a

(...) --- Art. *courte* „poule d’eau” Lar 1922. Mfr. „petite bécassine” Rab (< lang. ?).

Homophones: courte (adj.)

Homologues: bécassine

It would seem that only Rabelais used this word in French. In French there was *bécassine*.

239) **COUSTIÈRE**

f. `grosse manoeuvre sur les galères` 1525-1829 Marseilles

FEW

costa rippe. [rib] 2. 1247a + n 11

(...) mfr. nfr. *coustiere* „grosse manoeuvre qui servait de hauban sur les galères“ 11)

(1525 -- Boiste 1829), nfr. *coutiere* (Trév 1704 -- 1863), (...)

11) Auch it. *costiera* (seit 14. jh.). Der erste fr. beleg stammt aus Marseille. Ob dieser hafen das wort aus dem it. erhalten hat, wie Jal meint, ist schwer mit sicherheit zu sagen.

F 1690

COUSTIERES. Terme de Marine, qui se dit des gros cordages qui soutiennent les masts d'une galere. & qui luy servent de haubans.

Lan 1857

COUSTIÈRES, subst. fém. plur. (*houcetièrre*), t. de mar. Voy. **COUTIÈRES**.

COUTIÈRES, subst. fém. plur. (*koutièrre*), t. de mar., gros cordages qui contiennent les mâts d'une galère, et qui lui servent de haubans.

L 1883

COUTIÈRES (kou-tiê-r'), s. f. pl. Terme de marine. Gros cordages qui, contenant les mâts d'une galère, lui servent de haubans.

It would seem that this specialized marine term was not widely known. It is likely that it disappeared when galleys did.

240) **COUTOIR**

m. `clovisse` 1754-1869 Gascon

FEW

clovisse 21. 268a

Gask. *coutoir* m. „clovisse“ (Enc 1754 - Lar 1869), *coutoye* s. „solen (?)“ (1771, Duh 1 c 85), *coutoyo* f. „mulette d'eau douce“ RIFn 3, 219, Agen id., Arcachon, Teste, bord. *coutoïe* „clovisse“ RIFn 12. 76; npr. *coutard* m. „escargot comestible“ (1874).

Homologues: clovisse

There was already a term for this edible clam in French, *clovisse*. Furthermore, the word does not appear to have been too widespread.

241) CRÉAT, CRAT

m. "esturgeon" 1514-1863 Gascon

FEW

cragacus stōr. [sturgeon] 2. 1266a

Apr. *creac* „esturgeon“ (Bayonne 1322), *creat* (Bayonne 1462), mfr. *creac* (Bordeaux 1514 - Voulz 1613), *greac* (Bordeaux, Huls 1614 dfr 376 a), vend. *créat*, *créac*, aun. saint. *créa*. Charl. *kre.a* ALF Suppl p. 535. SeudreS. id., Bordeaux *créac*, Montpellier *gréac* Nemn 1793, Toulouse *crac* G, *créat* Rev Eaux For 36, 664, Agen id., Gers *creac* (17. jh.). Lomagne, Bayonne *créac*, nfr. *crat* (vulg., 1863). RIFn 3, 94; 11, 173. -- Ablt. Apr. *creagat* „petit esturgeon“ (Bayonne 1322). Nfr. *creadier* „filet pour prendre les esturgeons“ (Enc 4. 437; Enc MA 2, 817).

DALF OldFr

Creac. *subst. masc.* Esturgeon (2). «Le poisson accipenser, que les François appellent esturgeon. et ceux de Bordeaux, *creal*, ne se servoit jamais à la table des Romains sans une grande pompe.» (Bouchet, Serées, liv. I, p. 219.)

VARIANTE: CREAL

(2) On le nomme encore *crat*. (N.E.)

C 1611

Creac. ou Creal: *a Sturgeon*. ¶ Langued.

Creac de Busc. *The Scate-fish*.

L 1883

CRÉAC (kré-ak). *s.m.* Voy. CRAT.

CRAT (kra). *s. m.* Un des noms vulgaires de l'esturgeon.

DOF

creac. *m.* Esturgeon (poisson). *Syn. esturion*.

Homologues: esturgeon

Both versions of this word do not seem to have been too widespread. The *DALF* and Cotgrave characterize the word as southern (from Bordeaux and Languedoc

respectively). According to the *FEW*, this fish name is largely confined to south-western France, as this fish is particularly found on the Atlantic coast. Interestingly enough though, the *Littré* does not characterize it as a southern word. The *Littré* calls it one of the common names for the sturgeon. This does not imply that it was not mainly used in the south of France, although it does suggest that it may have been known in the north. It would seem to me that the well established name for the fish, *esturgeon*, prevented *creac/crac* from becoming established in French.

242) CRETE

f. "petit bateau sur la Gironde" Mid. Fr. Gascon

FEW

navire; bateau; barque 23. 90a

Mfr. *crete* f. „petit bateau dont on se sert sur la Gironde“ Chastell. Kemna 239.

Homophones: crête "crest" (of a bird), crete "friche ou broussailles", "ferme",
"craie"

It would seem that this word was confined to the French of the south of France. It may be that the word went out along with the thing it designated.

243) CRIME D'AUCIS

m. "coups portés à une femme enceinte" (jur.) 1621

FEW

occidere töten. [to kill] 7, 298b + n 2

Abt. (...) -- Mfr. *occeis* m. „massacre“ Froiss, *ancis* „meurtre (d'un enfant non né)“ (hbret., Planiol); *crime d'aucis* „coups portés à une femme enceinte de façon à provoquer la mort de l'enfant“ (1621) 2).

2) Offenbar aus einem juristischen text aus Südfrankreich in Bouteiller übergegangen. In einer ältern ausgabe von Bouteiller steht *crime de anchis*, eine form, die wohl der Haute-Bretagne oder der angrenzenden Normandie entstammt. Ist das *an-*dieser und der vorangehenden form verschrieb oder beruht es auf wirklichkeit? Im letztern fall müsste

man sich fragen, ob es durch einen juristischen text aus Bologna beeinflusst ist. Mél Roques 2, 102.

This word appears to have been borrowed from a southern text (Bouteiller) and was a hapax in French. It is worth noting that *ancis* may have been a misspelling for *aucis*.

244) **CROISADE**

f. ``diagonale'' Ol de Serres

FEW

crux kreuz. [cross] 2, 1378a

(...) mfr. *croisade* „diagonale'' Ol de Serres (<occit.), à la *croisée* „en diagonale'' Cotgr 1611, lang. St-Affrique à la *crousado*, castr. „manière de lever la paille quand on a battu le blé''; (...)

Homophones: croisade ``crusade'', ``croisée'', ``signe de croix''

Homologues: diagonale

It would seem that only Olivier de Serres used *croisade* ``diagonale'' in French.

245) **CROS**

m. ``silo creusé dans le sol'' Ol de Serres

FEW

***krosu-** (gall.?) hohl. [hollow, empty] 2, 1363a

(...) occit. *cros* „silo creusé dans le sol'' Ol de Serres, Nice *cròs*, Gers *cros* (auch Deff 50, XXIII); (...)

DOF

cròs, *m.* Creux ; fosse, trou ; cavité ; silo, *Alb.* ; ravin ; petit vallon, *Aur.* ; tombe. (...)

Étym. *B. L.* ou *Gaul.* **cròsa**.

It seems that only Olivier de Serres used *cros* ``silo'' in French.

246) **CROUSTEAU**

m. ``gâteau de cire'' 1539-1660 Dauph. Lim. ?

FEW

crusta kruste. [crust] 2, 1372a + n 6

(...) Mfr. *crousteau* „croûte“ Belleau; gâteau de cire“ 6) (1539 - Oud 1660), *crusteau* (Est 1552 - 1594): (...)

6) Die autoren, die sich dieses wortes bedienen, stammen aus Paris, Dauphiné, Limousin. Es scheint also nirgends regional verwurzelt zu sein. Auch die form mit *u* ist sehr auffällig.

G Old Fr

CROUSTEAU, *crouteau*, *crusteau*, s.m., gâteau de cire :

(...)

Comme un amas bruyant de mouches engluées
 Dans un onguent confit de senteurs enmusquées,
 Enyvré de parfum, gaste et corrompt l'odeur,
 Et fait comme un *crousteau* de mauvaise senteur.
 (BELLEAU, *Poés.* III, 193, Gouverneur.)

(...)

DALF Old Fr

Crousteau, *subst. masc.* Croûte A . Gale sèche B . Rayon de miel C .

A Oudin l'explique, au premier sens, morceau de croûte. (Dict. fr. ital.)

B Ce mot signifioit aussi gale sèche, selon Cotgr. Dict. On dit encore croûte, en ce sens.

C Enfin *crousteau* s'est pris pour rayon de miel. (Dict. de Cotgrave et d'Oudin.) C'est en ce sens qu'il faut entendre *crouteau* dans ces passages: «Les abeilles ont acoustumé de se tenir dessus leurs ruches ou esseins , quand elles mangent, ce qui abonde de leur *crouteau*, connoissans, par instinct naturel, que si elles ne faisoient ainsi, les yragnes (araignées) s'y mêleroient, qui les feroient mourir.» (Div. Leç. de P. Messie, fol. 355.)

(...)

VARIANTE: CROUTEAU

C 1611

Crousteau: m. *A great crust; or great scab.*

Crousteau de cire. *A wax comb wherein bees make, or lay up, their honie.*

This word might have gone out of use due to competition from *rayon de miel* and *gâteau de cire*.

247) **CUISINAT**

m. ``esp. de mets`` Old Fr. Provençal

FEW**coquina** küche. [kitchen] 2. 1168bApr. *cozinat* „esp. de mets“ R 21, 217, afr. *cuisinat* (in texten aus Provence), (...)**G OldFr****CUISINAT**, s.m., aliments cuits :Trois jours de la semaine donoient aumoune, pain, vin et *cuisinat* a tous ceaus qui venoient. (1294, *Stat. de S.J. de Jér.*, roul., Arch. B.-du-Rhône, et *Regle del hospit.*, Richel. 1978, fo 36 ro.)

(...)

AW OldFr**cuisinat** s.m.[gekochte Ware: s. *Godefroy II 398b.*]*mal cuisinat* Name einer Straße in Jerusalem : Devant le Cange, venant a la Rue des Herbes, a une rue c'on apele Malquisinat. En celle rue cuisoit on le viande c'on vendoit as pelerins. *Cit. Jer. S. 38.*Homophones: cuisine

It seems that this word was confined to texts from Provence. The word appears to have been gallicized by crossing with French *cuisine*.

248) **CUISSIN**

m. ``coussin`` 13th-1671 Languedocien

FEW**coxa** hüfte. [hip] 2. 1262b+ n 13II. **Kissen**. -- Afr. mfr. *coissin* „carreau d'étoffe, de cuir, rembourré de plumes, de crin, etc.. pour qu'on puisse s'y appuyer“ (12. jh. -- Cresp1637, auch Baye 18; Rab), *couessin* GIPar 7018, fr. *coussin* 12) (seit 12. jh.), *cuissin* (13. jh. -- Pom 1671) 13), (...)12) Zur differenzierung von *coussin* und *carreau* Brunot 4, 331.

13) Besonders in texten aus Toulouse (1507--1668), Hav.

DALF OldFr**Cuissinet**, *subst. masc.* Petit coussin. Diminutif du mot *cuissin* employé sous *coycin*. (Voyez ce dernier mot.)

Coycin. *subst. masc.* Coussin. oreiller.

(...)

VARIANTES: COYSSIN, COISSIN, CUISSIN.

E 1549

Cuissinet. *cherchez* Coussin.

Coussin *ou coussinet*, Puluinus, seu Puluillus, Ceruical. *Vng coussinet, qu'on met sur l'autre espaule pour n'apparoir point bossu*, Analectis.

Petit coussinet de drapelets qu'on met sur une playe apres l'emplastre, Splenium

N 1606

Cuissinet, *Cherchez* Coussin.

Coussin. *ou couβinet*, Puluinus, seu Puluillus, Ceruical.

Vn couβinet qu'on met sur l'autre espaule pour n'apparoir point bossu, Analectis.

Petit couβinet de drapelets qu'on met sur vne playe apres l'emplastre, Splenium.

C 1611

Cuissin: m. *A cushion*.

Variations: coycin, coyssin, cuissin

Derivatives: cuissinet

Cognates: coussin

It seems that this word was confined mainly to texts from the south of France.

There was also competition from *coussin*.

249) **CURADE**

f. "entre-deux des sillons" 1877 Gascon

FEW

curare pflgen. [to look after] 2, 1561b

i. Lagraulet *curá* „faire les 2 derniers sillons“. -- Ablt. Miremont *curado* „sillon“ Bts 23. 57. Bigorre id. (>nfr. *curade* „entre-deux des sillons“ Littré Suppl).

Homophones: cure

This word appears to have been a hapax.

3.4 Classification of Borrowed Words

The classification of these loanwords according to “domain” or “semantic category” can be problematic. Both Wind (1928) and Gebhardt (1974) have pointed out that one word may fit into more than one category. The selection of one category over another, whenever more than one category presents itself, will therefore be largely arbitrary, although I will attempt to discern a “core meaning” of the disputed word whenever possible.

The choice of categories is also, in some ways artificial. I have chosen to follow the classification system that Gebhardt used for the words in his main list. Not all of the categories are filled by my corpus of 249 words.

I would like to mention briefly the classification system used by Vidos and Wind, among others. This method of classification distributes words according to a scale of intimacy. Three main categories, Public Life, Social Life and Private Life are further subdivided. Presumably, if there are more words in intimate categories like Private Life, then the donor language can be said to have had a more profound impact on the borrowing language than if the words were mostly found in the Public Life category. “Si nous admettons en outre que le passage de mots indiquant des idées abstraites ou des sentiments intimes est plus caractéristique et plus probant pour une influence étrangère que celui des mots dits techniques, qu’en d’autres termes une influence est d’autant plus réelle que le contact est plus personnel, nous possédons par là un principe de

groupement."⁹² (Wind, p. 112) As I have already mentioned, Hope finds Vidos' distribution of words into these categories to be at times hard to defend on logical grounds; the classification is arbitrary. Nevertheless, these semantic categories are important because, according to him, they impose an overall pattern on the words. I might add, however, that some classification systems are more adequate than others. One must first choose the categories and then choose how the words are to be classified. The scale of intimacy, as proposed by Vidos, does have at least one merit: some borrowed words do seem to be more intimate than others. These are words that have emotional connotations, or seem particularly piquant. On the other end of the scale we have technical words, in the broadest sense of the word technical. These words are related to clearly definable areas, such as plant and animal names, sailing, carpentry etc.

These "lexical categories" are not to be confused with semantic fields as outlined in Chapter Two. It may be that the words of one category may belong to more than one semantic field. This is particularly true of a category like literature. In fact, this category presented me with a problem. Literature could be understood to include not only words directly related to literary techniques such as *ballade* and *sonnet*, but words that were introduced through literature, in particular, words introduced through the poetry of the troubadours. This category would also include words introduced by individual authors, which would have the effect of making the category too large and too heterogeneous. Instead of lumping these words together into one category, I have chosen to keep as

⁹² If we admit, in addition, that the passage of words indicating abstract ideas or intimate feelings is more characteristic and more probing for a foreign influence than that of technical words, that in other terms an influence is all the more real as the contact is more personal, we possess there a principle of grouping.

literary only those words that are related to literary techniques or that were used exclusively or primarily in literature for esthetic purposes.

It is conceivable that a word may belong to more than one semantic field, not only if it has more than one meaning, but the thing it designates may have more than one use. The Occitan word for “jusquame” for example, could be classified under medicine as well as under plant. This is likely to be how words are stored in the mind. A word in one field is connected to one or more others. Fields are not only connected through their superordinate term, but also through individual words that make them up.

3.5 Table of Words According to Semantic Category

The following table will show not only the words classified according to category, but according to duration. Words that lasted for more than a year, or an époque, are in normal type. Words that are listed with a year are in *italics*. Words listed with a century are in *italics and underlined*. Words listed with an époque are underlined and words listed by an authors name are in **bold type**.

LITERATURE 4

abelir “plaire”, atainer/atiner “agacer”, brondel “rameau”, **care** “mine, air”

MARINE and SHIPS 22

Types of Ships

anguille “sorte de bateau”, corau/courau “petit bateau”, crete “petit bateau”

Construction

clavaison “clous et chevilles”

Parts of Ships

balançons ``petites pièces de bois``, bigourelle ``couture ronde (d'une voile)`` *bolome* ``ourlet``, capite ``cabine``, clava ``canne ou perche``, coursie ``couloir sur les galères``

Ships' Tools arganeau ``anneau de fer``, aste ``manche (d'un faubert)``

Loading

allagant ``arrosant avec de l'eau``, cargade ``cargaison``

Ship Operations

candant ``position de l'aviron``, coustière ``grosse manoeuvre sur les galères``

Maritime Weather

cascaret ``forte marée sur la côte``

Verbs

aquitraner ``goudronner``, aramber ``accrocher un bâtiment``, attriquer ``accoster un quai``, cacher en la mer ``appesantir le bateau``, caposer ``amarer le gouvernail``

FISH and FISHING 18

Techniques

areignol ``travail``, *aven* ``pêche qu'on pratique en Provence``

Names of Fish

bastangue ``raja pastinaca``, bellicant, bise ``bonite``, cabasson, cabote ``grondin``, callique ``célerin``, canthène ``sorte de spare``, carabasse ``crabe``, castagneau ``petit poisson``, *castagnot* ``petit poisson``, cero ``esp. de labre``, chatillon, clavelade ``esp. de raie``, cogniol ``maquereau``, coulac ``alose``, créac/crat ``esturgeon``

ZOOLOGIE (Names of Animals except Fish) 21

Names of Animals

aguassière ``merle d'eau``, alan ``esp. de chien``, *asneton* ``ânon``, avecca ``chevêche``, aveille ``abeille``, bédouide ``alouette des prés``, benarric/benaris ``ortolan``, *besagre* ``esp. de canard``, *boisse* ``canard sauvage``, *cabirot* ``chevreau``, *cabriau* ``chevreau``, cabril ``chevreau qui n'a pas encore un mois``, *caquerole* ``limace``, *chatloup* ``lynx``, *chevrolle* ``femelle du chevreuil``, colombade ``fauvette``, *courte* ``bécassine``, coutoir ``clovisse``

Words Associated with Animals

beccade ``bequée du faucon``, cagouille ``têt du colimaçon``, casquillon ``coquille``

BOTANY. Names of Plants, Trees, Fruit, Vegetables 32

aloumère "agarc", argalou "paliure", argilier "arbre épineux", **aubicon** "figue longue", *auvier* "esp. de pin", avoussé/avaux "quercus coccifera", *avelancque* "fruit de l'amélanchier", bartas "buisson", **bequerut** "esp. d'olivier", bernède "aunaie", besse "vesce", **bigarrat** "oranger qui produit la bigarade", **blai** "érable", *blamarée/blamazée* "maïs dans le Midi", **blavete** "figue violette", **boccabrevé** "variété de pomme", **bortoulage** "porpier", **boubax** "esp. d'olive", **bouschasse** "marron d'Inde", *buissonnade* "buissons", carchiophe/charchiophe "artichaut", **cardelle** "laiteron", *careillade* "jusquiame", carnillet "esp. de champignon", *cayon* "variété d'olivier", *chuguette* "mâche", **citre** "esp. de pastèque verte", *coquerelle* "nombril de Vénus", couchine "variété de pomme", couderle "esp. de champignon", **cougourdier** "plante de courge",

AGRICULTURE. Forestry 19

agannir "consommer, fanner", **arger** "tiller le chanvre", **borie** "métairie", brassier "homme de peine", **bucoble** "attelage de 2 boeufs", carbonal "carie", *carbonat* "carie", *carestre/carestie* "disette", cayreux "vermoulu", *champart* "enclos pour le pâturage", clarant/clairan "sonnette du mulet", closser "troncher, grossir" (blé), *conadon* "fosse où l'on met les pieds de chanvre", *contrat à arrèges* "louage de bétail de labourage", **coque** "plateau d'osier", **corniat** "suc de la cornouille", **croisade** "diagonale", **cross** "silo creusé dans le sol", *curade* "entre-deux des sillons"

VITICULTURE 6

ajubine "raisin qu'on fait sécher", *cahors* "raisin noir", canut "variété de raisin", colle "mur de soutien dans une vigne", *comporte* "seau profond pour le vendange", *courbu* "cépage rouge"

MINERALS. STONES 2

batum "mastic", *bedel* "bloc d'hématite (dans les Pyrénées franç.)"

TRADE. TRANSPORTATION 12

apport "profit d'un capital", *aven* "biens, fortune", banque "banc sur lequel travaille l'ouvrier en peignes", **barate** "tromperie", *boutane* "étouffe, toile", bucioche/buchioche "sorte de drap de Prov. et de Languedoc", **cabal** "capital", caffetin "sucre raffiné", conrige/consive "registre, somme"

Means of Transport

barrot “chariot”, **carous** “char”

Money

arnaudens “esp. de monnaie”

BUILDING TECHNIQUES, ARCHITECTURE 2

cède “bord d’un canal”, *cindrer* “disposer en voûte”

FASHION 3

Clothing

avalades (bragues) “chausses abattues”, **capot** “chapeau de femme”

Hairstyles

catalane “petite coiffe”

MILITARY 9

acantonner (s’) “se retirer dans un coin”, baris “barrière, rempart”, *bolade* “massue”, brassal “partie de l’armure”, cagade “reculade honteuse”, *cambrade* “chambrée”, *canonade* “embrasure pour une pièce d’artillerie”, *chemisade* “camisade”, **conquister** “conquérir”

INDUSTRY and TECHNIQUES 7

adouberie “tannerie”, besal “bief d’un moulin”, boussete “tonneau”, *caper* “recouvrir les formes de poterie (raff. de sucre)”, *carras* “bois de forme carrée”, *codre* “branche de châtaignier pour cercler les futailles”, *comporte* “porte d’écluse”

INSTRUMENTS 3

aguille basteresse “carrelet”, *bouscatièrre* “serpe pour couper le bois”, *clodat* “fermeture”

OCCUPATIONS, PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS 10

Professions, Trades

bladier "blatier", carnicier "boucher, bourreau", carton "conducteur d'une charrette", certateur "gladiateur", cocatier "coquetier"

Personal Descriptions

accouchade "femme qui vient d'accoucher", *bastidan* "campagnard", **bourgadier** "habitant d'un bourg", **brame-la-faim** "individu affamé", caravirée "femme qui a la face de travers"

INSTITUTIONS and PERSONS of SOUTHERN FRANCE

7

bedel "milice urbaine (au Midi)", capdeulh "principale maison d'un domaine", **castellan** "seigneur d'un manoir", **chastellane** "femme du propriétaire du château", chiefmes "habitation principale du domaine", consul "magistrat municipal", consulat "corps des consuls"

HOUSE and HOME

18

aiguadière "sorte de vase", banqual "pièce d'étoffe", bassague "paillasse", bourraquin "vase à boire", cassotte "casserole", cavette "pot à liqueurs", chariolle/carriole "couchette basse et roulante", **chatonnière** "ouverture dans la porte pour les chats", cuissin "coussin"

Food

arbolade "esp. de ragoût", *arbolaste* "esp. de mets", **carbonade** "étuvée de viande", ciboree "ragoût à la ciboule", *cornudeau* "petite miche", **couronne** "gâteau rond", cuisinat "esp. de mets"

Drink

blanquet "vin blanc", **carthagène** "esp. de liqueur"

LIFE in SOCIETY 4

brif "impétuosité, etc...", *cavalo* "croupière", cavessane "caveçon", **charete** "masque"

ADMINISTRATION 3

archivaire "archiviste", assiette "assemblée pour le règlement des tailles", cohequer "répartir les impôts"

LAW 9

acaration "confrontation", acarement "confrontation", ac(c)arer "confronter", acasement "action de donner en fief", acazer "pourvoir d'un fief", aubergade "droit de gîte", carnalage "droit dû en viande au seigneur", caylanie "droit de guet", *crime d'aucis* "coups portés à une femme enceinte"

MEDICINE 6

ancoeur/encueur "tumeur du cheval", *aumade* "tumeur sous l'aisselle", {boussade (see bouschasse)}, budelier "entrailles", camisade "fine membrane de l'enfant après la naissance", capot "lépreux", *compierre* lichen pulmonaire"

GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY 2

bar(r)icave "fondrière", *bedouze* "chaîne de monticules"

CHURCH 1

blastemer "blasphémer"

AFFECTIVE DOMAIN 13

accoucher de (s) "enfanter", **agourmandir** "affriander", **agrader** "plaire", **avalisque!** "disparais en bas (à Satan)!", **besiat** "douillet, paresseux", **biterne** "enfer", **caler** "(se) taire", **câlineur** "amoureux, fiancé", **cambier** "changer", **carcagner (se)** "inquiéter", chaude (sur la) "en hâte", confle "foule de gens", cordoeuil "chagrin"

THE BODY 1

carasse "grande figure"

VERBS (that are hard to classify) 5

aner "aller", **appropinquer** "approcher", **arraper** "empoigner", **catcher** "fouler, écraser", *compagniser à* "accompagner"

SLANG 4

arcavot "tromperie", bigoter "se dépiter", bonne robe "femme appétissante", cantonnière "prostituée"

HARD TO CLASSIFY WORDS 7

arap "arrachement", **autre-temps** "autrefois", cavallet "à dos d'âne", chaumeny "moisi", **coup** (si un) "lorsque", *couple* (un ~) "deux", crousteau "gâteau de cire"

3.6 Some Observations

Here are a few general observations. Out of 249 words 68 have to do with plants or animals, that is, about 27% of the total. It should come as no surprise that this should be so. One of the reasons why words are borrowed is to describe "exotic" things. Hence plants and animals indigenous to the south of France and not found in the north would be likely to keep their local designation. Furthermore, it will be observed that, as a general rule, superordinate terms are not borrowed as frequently as subordinate terms. The names of individual plants are borrowed, but not the word *plant* itself. The names of animals are borrowed, but not the word *animal* itself.⁹³ As far as the duration of the words is

⁹³ English offers a counter-example to this. The word *animal* was borrowed from Latin, displacing the native *deer*, which became the name for a specific kind of animal.

concerned, I expected there to be more “durable” words in the categories of plants and animals. I reasoned that these kinds of words, words that designate natural phenomena, would be more likely to endure, because the borrowing language usually lacks such terms. Here I am referring to words listed by Gebhardt that are listed with a first use and a last use. This turns out to be not always the case. Many words for plants and animals were borrowed and then disappeared quickly. On the other hand the category of marine terminology turned out to contain mostly durable words, words lasting for more than a year. In light of the importance of southern sailing techniques, that is not surprising. It is also interesting to note that names of fish are more long lasting: 15 out of 16 words. It could be that fish from the south were eaten in the north; hence their names would be familiar to northerners. As far as the other categories are concerned, wine cultivation, military terminology, occupations and the affective domain are less stable than law and, surprisingly enough, slang. Although slang is subject to the whims of fashion and slang words tend to become dated quickly, once borrowed into another language, the word may lose its slangy flavour and become more stable. Furthermore, most of these slang words were borrowed because they fulfilled a need in the borrowing language.

Let us return to the question of superordinated terms. The lower a word is on the superordination scale, the more likely a candidate it will be for borrowing. Since what borrowing does is to remove a word from its hierarchy and place it in an alien setting, the word becomes subject to the word relationships in its new environment. A word lower down on the scale may, in the receiving language, move higher up thanks to semantic widening. As an example there is the previously cited French word *truc*, which in

Occitan meant ‘‘blow’’; it now has a very general meaning. Conversely, a word higher up on the scale may, in the receiving language, move lower down. The higher a word is on the scale, the easier it would be to use. These catch-all words can make life easier.

The word *truc* can stand for anything. Needless to say, however, precision is lost. When it comes to loanwords, the more precise word on the scale may be chosen, but it may acquire a more generalized meaning in the receiving language. Sometimes that is not the case. The Occitan word *buissonade* ‘‘buissons’’ may not have lasted long because it was not specific enough. This is a superordinate term and not the name of a specific bush.

The same thing goes for *casquillon* ‘‘coquille’’ and *bartas* ‘‘buisson’’. This list could be expanded to include *abelir* and *agrader* ‘‘plaie’’ and *aner* ‘‘aller’’, and could be expanded further. It seems that superordination is not an important factor as far as the rejection of loanwords is concerned. A general term may acquire a more specific meaning, as the example from Cypriot Greek shows (section 2.4.4). The general Turkish word for soup has come to mean a specific kind of soup in Cypriot Greek. To give another example, the Spanish word *sombrero* ‘‘hat’’ is used in English to designate a particular kind of Mexican hat.

The ‘‘abstractness’’ or ‘‘concreteness’’ of a word will determine its position in the hierarchy of the receiving language. If a word is concrete, i.e. if it names something that can be perceived by the senses, then chances are that it has a function to fulfill and it will not move up the superordinate scale in the receiving language and become more general. An abstract term is more subject to the vagaries of the receiving language. Abstract terminology is less likely to be borrowed than concrete terminology.

3.7 The Control Group

How representative is my list of 249 obsolete Occitanisms in French? In this section I will classify 249 words from another part of the list of obsolete Occitan words in French. The list starts at *peason* and goes to the end. It will be seen that by and large the two lists agree proportionately with each other. There are, however, a few difficult points.

LITERATURE 0

MARINE and SHIPBUILDING 17

pendour ``cordage``, perne ``boulon``, pertègues ``parteguettes``, picou/pigou ``chandelier de fer``, piquer ``frapper avec une corde``, à plan ``commandement aux matelots de s'asseoir``, poulemart ``gros fil``, querrat ``derrière du vaisseau``, quiade ``petit vaisseau``, rambade ``construction élevée à la proue d'une galère``, remolquer ``remorquer``, rode (de poupe, de proue) ``pièce de charpente``, saurre/saure ``lest pour bateau``, souberne ``amas d'eau``, vache ``gangui à un seul bateau``, vage ``boules de racage``, var(r)er ``mettre un bateau en mer``

FISH and FISHING 21

pimpignon ``anneau de fil``, pousal ``filet de pêche``, poutin ``clupea pilchardus``, resaigner ``jeter des pierres autour d'un filet tendu``, ronce ``raie bouclée``, royan ``sardine``, sanut ``poisson de mer``, sauquène ``dorade``, seinche ``filet de pêche``, siège ``vandoise``, tartane ``grand filet``, tis ``filet de pêche``, torpin ``esp. de raie``, traigne ``grande vive``, tremoise ``torpille``, vache marine ``raia batis``, veirat ``maquereau``, velette/vilette ``petit poisson``, vergadelle ``saupe: merluche``, vergue ``filet de pêche``, verrat de mer

ZOOLOGY (Animal names except fish names) 23

pellixe ``perdrix``, pen(n)ade/pan(n)ade ``saut d'un cheval``, péringle ``mésange``, pintadon ``jeune pintade``, pive ``crustacé``, pivote-ortolane ``alouette des

prés'', posade ''fait de se percher sur une branche, de l'oiseau'', pote ''méduse (de mer)'', poustagnade ''cuvée'', pregue-dieu ''mante religieuse'', rane ''grenouille'', squinade ''esp. de crustacé'', talpier ''puce pénétrante'', talpinette ''esp. de musaraigne'', tapi ''bauge'', tardoune/tadoune ''canard'', tays ''taupe-grillon'', tounin ''marsouin'', tridet ''petite grive'', turque ''brebis qui n'a pas encore porté'', vanelle ''crécerelle'', vedel ''petit de la vache'', vetade ''esp. de coquille''

BOTANY 33

pétoulier ''olivier sauvage'', pigau ''olivier'', pignet ''épicéa'', pourette ''mûrier blanc'', pourragne ''esp. d'asphodèle'', pourtalone ''variété de châtaigne'', pulege ''mentha pulegium'', rabe ''rave'', rache ''cuscute'', ravel ''esp. de bogue'', reneau ''esp. de bogue'', restencle ''lentisque'', rode ''céterac'', roufouine ''salicorne'', rouvet ''osyris alba'', sadriege ''satureia hortensis'', saraignet ''esp. de blé'', sarente/serente/sérente ''épicéa'', sarron ''ansérine'', sauzin ''esp. d'olive'', savonnaire ''saponaria officinalis'', segaline ''poire'', souquillon ''chicot'', stergonette ''poire'', tapada/ tapade ''hélice comestible'', tarton-raire ''passerine'', terre-crêpe ''picridium vulgare'', trantanel (?) ''passerine des teinturiers'', treboul ''plante odoriférante'', trombon ''jonquille'', trompe cassaire ''esp. de figue'', truffemande ''santoline'', verdale ''esp. d'olivier''

AGRICULTURE 8

ponhardiere ''mesure de grains'', porchiere ''enclos pour les porcs'', pougnère ''mesure pour les grains'', presseur ''pressureur d'olives'', proudeau ''allonge à un timon'', rase/raze ''rigole d'arrosage'', vacant ''terre inculte'', versane ''mesure agraire''

WINE CULTIVATION 8

picopoulo ''cépage blanc'', serper ''tailler la vigne'', sommade ''mesure de vin'', soubergue ''esp. de cépage'', spin ''sorte de cépage'', truil ''presseur à raisin'', trulaire ''pressureur de vin'', vinage ''vin qu'on boit après un marché''

QUALITIES of the GROUND 1

pierrequeux ''pierreux''

MINERALS, STONES, MINING 1

touffe ''exhalaison (dans les mines)''

TRADE and TRANSPORTATION 6

permuta "échange", pincennade "étoffe de laine", sommière "tissu de laine", sonica (payer) "payer comptant", tapradin "tissu de laine", vaquette "monnaie béarnaise"

ARCHITECTURE, BUILDING TECHNIQUES 8

peason "fondements d'une maison", pitron "poutre", placette "petite place dans un quartier de ville",⁹⁴ polastre "pente", post "bardeau", soulelié "haut des maisons en Languedoc", tapie "paroi", traverse rue "chemin détourné"

FASHION 4

plateuse "plie", provençales "haut-de-chausses", spardègne "soulier de sparte", totcap "perruque élastique"

MILITARY 9

peirade "jet de pierres", petrinal "petite arquebuse", pisto(u)lade "coup de pistolet", prede "butin de guerre", raillon "flèche triangulaire", revirade "riposte", rodelle "bouclier rond", tendal "esp. de tente", tronchon "espadon"

INDUSTRY and TECHNIQUES 6

permette "morceau d'argile du faïencier", plonmade "masse de plomb", porges "côtés de la tuyère dans les fours catalans", rebute "bâtardeau", spallière "panneau de tapisserie", talagognes "bois de sapins"

INSTRUMENTS 7

piasse "hache", picosse "cognée", poudadoure/podadoire "serpe", pouliege "réa d'une poulie", pouserague "puits à roue", pouzaranque "puits à roue", rodelle "tête d'un clou"

⁹⁴ This word is still in use with the same meaning, according to the *Petit Robert* which cites an example from Giono, an author from the Midi. This is the quote: "La placette de l'église...". This word was attested in 1356 and taken up again in the 20th century. According to Gebhardt, Daudet used it in 1881.

PROFESSIONS. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS 9

pichon -onne "petit enfant", piqueur "mendiant qui simule des infirmités", plumat "jeune homme imberbe", prainssaire "ouvrier qui travaille au pressoir", reformayre "reformateur", sartre "tailleur", subresaillant/soubresaillant "homme d'armes. aventurier", touchin "rebelle. brigand", to(u)se "jeune fille"

SOUTHERN INSTITUTIONS and PERSONS 4

perprise "étendue (d'un terrain)", rantiere "terre, domaine", sauvatier "habitant d'une seigneurie qui paie un droit au seigneur", vinade "droit du seigneur de faire transporter son vin"

HOUSE and HOME: FOOD and DRINK 15

pommade "cidre", pourpu/poulpu "pulpeux", recuite "fromage à la crème", redon "roudou", regardelle "mets imaginaires", sarrasson "fromage blanc", savorade "rossée; sauce", seri "ustensile de cuisine", soringue "sauce d'anguilles", sotoul "sous-sol", souillarde "cabinet à laver la vaisselle", spira(i)l "souponrail", tran "sous-sol", vaze "carré de légumes", verial "souponrail"

LIFE in SOCIETY 15

peiregade "sorte de jeux", piquer le bahu "faire l'anti-chambre", piveler "charmer. fasciner", revergasse "danse ancienne", senes "coup de dés", souffre "courroie. harnais", tahu(t) "cercueil", tamballe "tambourin", timbon "tambour", tinyer "table abondamment servie", tornadot "retour d'une dot", toucher la main à qqn. "mettre la main dans la sienne", truffe "moquerie", vegude "place d'où l'on voit bien un spectacle", villine "très petite ville"

ADMINISTRATION 0

LAW 3

playe loyau "blessure pour laquelle se payait une amende", subhaster "vendre par autorité de justice", use "usufruit"

MEDICINE 4

pesogne "piétain des moutons", potingues "drogues", poutringuer "droguer",
sinipion "maladie des enfants"

GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, METEOROLOGY, NATURAL PHENOMENA 7

plan "plaine", pontias "nom d'un vent à Nyons", poupe "haute montagne en
dôme", ségonneau "terrain d'alluvion", tresmontaine "étoile polaire", tuquet
"monticule", vésine "vend du sud-ouest"

MYTHOLOGY 1

sarpe/serpe "le démon tentateur"

CHURCH 2

personnat "dignité ecclésiastique", surplomber "baptiser par ondolement"

AFFECTIVE DOMAIN 7

petoffe "tracasserie", plague de Dieu "t. d'injure", pote de "exclamation qui
marque l'étonnement", sang de les cabres "sorte de juron", souffrant "douloureux",
viaire "visage", yeux bordés d'anchois "yeux aux paupières rouges décillées"

BODY 1

vedille "cordon ombilical"

VERBS 14

(se) penser "penser, estimer", poutonner "embrasser", (se) preforcer
"s'efforcer", prendre le mal "se refroidir", pullyquer "répandre la nouvelle que",
rebailier "redonner", reconquister "reconquérir", relivrer "délivrer de nouveau",
revenir "ranimer, rappeler à la vie", revolumer "être enflé par le vent", tâcher moyen
"essayer", talonner "ne pas parler sérieusement", travers "lier", turcquer/trouquer
"baisser la tête"

SLANG 3

pegoce "pou", ruby "portefaix", vallade "poche de derrière"

DIFFICULT TO CLASSIFY 10

pégade "sorte de mesure", posade/pauzade "arrêt, pause", publiance "action par laquelle on rend une chose publique", rancade à rame ou à voile "aussi vite qu'on peut", renclus (sentir le ~) "sentir le renfermé", sedon "collet d'oiseleur", some "soir", trempe "trempé, mouillé", ve(i)gade/vagade "fois", vel(l)uté "velouté"

The Lists Compared

What follows is a list showing the percentage of the words from A-C of the main list, the words A-C and *peason-Z* in the list of obsolete words.

Categories	Main List		Main List		Obsolete		Obsolete	
	A-C		A-Z		Words		Words	
	/655		Total	%	A-C		P-Z	
	#	%			#	%	#	%
Literature	9	1.4	1.6		4	1.6	0	-
Marine & Ships	105	16	15		22	8.8	17	6.8
Fish & Fishing	57	8.7	10		18	7.2	21	8.4
Zoology	23	3.5	4.2		21	8.4	23	9.2
Botany	61	9.3	9.4		31	12.4	33	13.3
Agriculture	17	2.6	3.2		19	7.6	8	3.2
Viticulture	31	4.7	4.2		6	2.4	8	3.2
Tree and Plant Cultivation	7	1.1	1		-	-	-	-
Qualities of the Ground	7	1.1	0.8		-	-	1	0.4
Minerals, Stones	6	0.9	0.6		2	0.8	1	0.4
Trade, Transport	19	2.9	3		12	4.8	6	2.4
Building Tech., Arch.	17	2.6	2.5		2	0.8	8	3.2
Fashion	17	2.6	2.6		3	1.2	4	1.6
Military	18	2.7	2.6		9	3.6	9	3.6
Industry & Tech.	56	8.5	11		7	2.8	6	2.4
Instruments	34	5.2	5.3		3	1.2	7	2.8
Occupation & Per. Char.	15	2.3	2.6		10	4	9	3.6
Inst. & Pers. of the South	4	0.6	1.1		7	2.8	4	1.6
House and Home	38	5.8	4.5		18	7.2	15	6
Life in Society	28	4.3	4.6		4	1.6	15	6
Administration	7	1.1	0.75		3	1.2	0	-
Law	9	1.4	1.3		9	3.6	3	1.2
Medicine	8	1.2	1.2		6	2.4	4	1.6
Geography & Geology*	8	1.2	1.7		2	0.8	7	2.8
Mythology	-	-	0.6		-	-	1	0.4
Church	1	0.2	0.2		1	0.4	2	0.8
Affective Domain	25	3.8	4.3		13	5.2	7	2.8
Body	6	0.9	1.5		1	0.4	1	0.4
Verbs	8	1.2	2.4		5	2	14	5.6
Slang	50	7.6	9		4	1.6	3	1.2
Hard to Classify	-	-	-		7	2.8	10	4

* I have expanded this category to include natural phenomena.

For now a few points are worth making. Marine terminology occupies a large percentage of all of the lists, but I would point out that almost twice as many marine terms stayed in the language as left. As far as the category Occupations and Personal characteristics is concerned we find the opposite situation. There are twice as many words in the obsolete lists as in the main list. This is the type of category whose members tend to be ephemeral. Perhaps that is the reason why more words disappeared than stayed. In general, percentages remain relatively the same from the A-C list to the *peason-Z* list.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

Here are my hypotheses regarding Occitanisms in French: 1) There will be more *emprunts de sens* in the main list than in the list of extinct Occitanisms because semantic loans have a better chance of being assimilated than loanwords: the forms of semantic loans are already in the language. Words like *travailler* (‘‘to work’’) and *arriver* (‘‘to arrive’’),⁹⁵ which in French are semantic extensions under Occitan influence, are among the most frequent words in French. 2) There will be more words in the main list which were assisted in their transition into the recipient language by ‘‘helping words’’ – homonyms and quasi-homonyms most notably. I call them helping words; Haugen (1949) calls them analogues (see section 2.4.3). 3) Since a word’s change in meaning may be a sign of its acceptance in the recipient language, I expect to find more loanwords that have changed meaning/acquired a new meaning or meanings since being borrowed in the main list than in the extinct list.⁹⁶ To give an example, the word *cadeau* (‘‘gift’’), borrowed from Occitan in the early 15th century, originally meant ‘‘lettre capitale’’,⁹⁷

⁹⁵ There is some doubt as to the Occitan provenience of this meaning.

⁹⁶ According to Gebhardt (1974, p. 220), 90% of Occitan words borrowed into French did not undergo any semantic change.

⁹⁷ ‘‘capital letter used to illuminate manuscripts’’

then it came to mean “*régal, fête galante offerte à une dame*”,⁹⁸ then in the 18th century it acquired its present meaning of “*gift*”. 4) I also expect to find that the words in the main list have given rise to more derivatives than those in the other. Unless other factors intervene, a word’s acceptance will be determined by its relationship to other words. One of the factors that may intervene is the technical nature of the loan. A word with a highly specialized meaning may be preserved because of this specialized use.

In order to test my hypotheses, I will first present a table of the 249 obsolete Occitan words and for each one the reason(s) for its demise will be given. Following this table will be a more detailed description of the categories of obsolescence. An analysis of the data will follow these descriptions. Next I will look briefly at the scale of intimacy. This is the method of classification that proposes to divide loanwords into three main categories: Public Life, Social Life and Private Life. I shall present a table showing how the obsolete words can be divided among these categories and whether or not this has anything to tell us about why they became obsolete. I shall mention briefly pejoration as a factor in lexical obsolescence. In another table I will present the 249 words, but this time I will be looking at abstract versus concrete words to see if this distinction has any bearing on their disappearance. I will also look at semantic fields and the distinction between core vocabulary and peripheral vocabulary. Then I will proceed to an evaluation of the data. The next section will present a review of the factors that help a loanword’s acceptance and the factors that hinder its acceptance.

⁹⁸ “*treat, gallant feast offered to a lady*”

4.2 Factors that Help and Factors that Hinder

Let us review the factors that help a loanword's acceptance in a foreign language and the factors that hinder that acceptance. The factors that help are as follows: 1) the loanword conforms to the word formation habits of the borrowing language; 2) it fills a gap in the language, as in the example of *Kranz* Ger. "wreath" and *corona* It. "crown" and "wreath" (see section 2.5.2); 3) there is a need in the language for new, expressive words, which may be filled by loanwords; 4) the word was borrowed with a new thing, or in other words, it is a borrowing of necessity; the source language is prestigious in the eyes of at least some members of the borrowing community; 5) the word may have been borrowed to resolve a homophonic clash in the borrowing language.

Here are the factors that hinder a word's acceptance: 1) During a period of purism foreign words may be prevented from entering a language and foreign words already in a language may be replaced by native words; 2) the extension of meaning of one word may kill another word in the same semantic field; 3) the thing the word designates is no longer in use; 4) a loanword may take on pejorative meanings; 5) the loanword has a low frequency of use.

In addition there are factors which have more to do with the maintenance of a word once it has been accepted. If a word is accepted by the community and it somehow manages to become a part of the core vocabulary then it stands a good chance of surviving in the language of adoption. If few people accept the word (during times of

purism notably) and it remains on the periphery of the vocabulary then chances are that it will fall out of use.

Then there is the question of analogues or helping words. As I have already mentioned, the presence of interlingual homonyms and synonyms may help in the acceptance of a loanword. However, homonyms and synonyms may hinder a word's acceptance or cause a loanword to fall out of use. It remains to be seen how much of a help these helping words are.

4.3 Causes of Obsolescence: the Categories

In the following section I will list the 249 obsolete words according to the reasons they became extinct. I have come up with eight categories plus one category for words that do not fit into the other categories. These categories can be divided into two groups, external reasons for a word disappearing and internal reasons. Let us look at each of the nine categories in turn. Within the first group, categories of words that became obsolete for external reasons, there are five categories. The first category, Author's single use and Hapax/word infrequently used, is really a list of words that never made it into French in the first place. This category is in fact an amalgamation of two categories -- Author's single use and Hapax. The only difference between the two is that in the first category we know the names of the authors who used the words in question and in the second category we do not. However, both of these categories contain words that were infrequently used; thus for the purposes of this study there is no need to keep them in

separate categories. Even though the categories are now amalgamated I will note author's single use with an A and hapax/infrequently used words with a H. The second category is Words (mostly) confined to the French of the south of France. Unlike the words in the first category, these words were used in French; however they were not used in the French of the north of France. Many of them describe realities of the south. The third category consists of words confined to a specific, usually technical area. These words did not enter standard French. The explanation as to why they eventually disappeared altogether is often found in other categories. The fourth external category is one that has been much cited in works on lexical obsolescence: Word disappears with thing. I call the fifth category "Thing no longer needs to be named". This category contains words that make distinctions once thought necessary, but whose functions have been taken over by other words. The three internal categories are as follows: 6) Competition from other words: these are homologues or interlingual homonyms; 7) Competition from other meanings: these are interlingual homophones and 8) Word "crosses" with a word in the borrowing lexicon having a similar form and meaning. These are what I am calling cognates. The final category is called Other. In this category are reasons that do not fit in any other category. Because this category is heterogeneous, I have given a brief explanation for the word's disappearance in the space next to the X. What follows is a table of the obsolete words: for each one the category or categories relating to its cause(s) of obsolescence will be given. For a number of words there appears to be more than one explanation for their obsolescence.

There would appear to be a hierarchy of categories. By that I mean some categories are more important for determining a word's fate than others. The external categories usually take precedence over the internal categories. The first three external categories are particularly important. If a word is classified under Author's single use/Hapax, Words confined to the French of the south of France and Word belongs to specialized vocabulary, then there usually is no need to look for any further explanation for its demise.

4.3.1 Summary of the Causes of Obsolescence

To sum up what has been said, the categories are the following:

- 1) Author's use/Hapax or infrequently used words;
- 2) Words confined to the French of the Midi, written and spoken language;
- 3) Word belongs to a specialized vocabulary, technical, slang, literary;
- 4) Word disappears with thing;
- 5) Thing no longer needs to be named;
- 6) Competition from other words;
- 7) Competition from other meanings;
- 8) Word crosses with another word and
- 9) Other.

In addition to the above information, this table will also show which words have given rise to derivatives and how many there were/are.

Table 1: Classification of the 249 obsolete words according to causes of obsolescence

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Der.
ABELIR			X			X		X	X pejoration	3
ACANTONNER (S')	A							X		
ACARATION		X	X			X				
ACAREMENT		X	X			X				
AC(C)ARER		X	X			X				
ACASEMENT		X	X	X						
ACAZER		X	X	X						
ACCOUCHADE	A							X		
ACCOUCHER DE (S')	A							X		
ADOUBERIE		X				X				
AGANNIR						X				
AGOURMANDIR	A					X				
AGRADER	A					X				
AGUASSIÈRE		X				X				
AGUILLE BASTERESSE	H					X				
AIGUADIÈRE		X		X		X		X		
ALAN			X			X				
ALLAGANT	H?	X								
ALOUMÈRE		X				X				
ANCOEUR, ENCUEUR						X		X		
ANER								X	X scribal error	
ANGUILLE		X		X						1?
APPORT		X	X			X				
APPROPINQUER	A					X				
AQUITRANNER		X				X				
ARAMBER			X	X						1
ARAP	H?					X				
ARBOLADE				?		X				
ARBOLASTE	H									
ARCAVOT			X			X				
ARCHIVAIRE		X						X		
AREIGNOL		X	X			X				
ARGALOU			X			X				
ARGANEAU			X					X		1
ARGILIER		X								
ARNAUDENS		X		X						
ARRAPER	A	X				X			X many meanings	
ASNETON								X		
ASSIETTE		X								
ASTE		X	X			X				

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
ATAINER			X			X				5?
ATTRAQUER			X							
AUBERGADE		X	X	X						
AUBICON	A									
AUJUBINE		X								
AUMADE	H									
AUTRE-TEMPS	A					X		X		
AUVIER	H									
AVALADES, bragues ~	A									
AVALISQUE!	A									
AVAOUSSÉ, AVAUX						X				
AVECCA						X				X homophonic clash
AVEILLE								X		
AVELANCQUE	H							X		
AVEN (avoir)		X				X				
AVEN (pêche)	H									
BALANÇONS			X							
BANQUAL		X								
BANQUE			X	X						
BARATE						X				10?
BARGER			X							
BAR(R)ICAVE (VARICAVE)						X				X not specific
BARIS						X				
BARROT	H									
BARTAS		X				X				X not specific
BASSAGUE		X				X				
BASTANGUE		X								
BASTIDAN	H					X	X	X		
BATUM						X				
BECCADE			X					X		
BEDEL (bloc)	H	?								
BEDEL (milice)		X		X						
BÉDOUIDE						X				
BEDOUZE	H									
BELLICANT						X				
BENARRIC, BENARIS		X				X				
BEQUERUT	A									
BERNÈDE		X				X				
BESAGRE	A									
BESAL		X	X			X				
BESIAT	A					X				
BESSE		X						X		
BIGARRAT	A?							X		
BIGOTER						X	X			

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
BIGOURELLE			X							term marginalized with
BISE						X	X		X	the coming of steam
BITERNE	A	X								too many meanings
BLADIER								X		
BLAI	A									
BALAMARÉE (BLAMAZÉ)		X								
BLANQUET							?	X		
BLASTEMER	H							X	X	transcription error
BLAVETE	A						X			
BOCCABREVÉ	A									
BOISSE		X								
BOLADE						X		X		term marginalized with
BOLUME		X	X						X	the coming of steam
BONNE ROBE			X							
BORIE			H							
BORTOULAGE	H					X				
BOUBAX	A									
BOURGADIER	A									
BOURRAQUIN				X						
BOUSCATIÈRE	H		X							
BOUSCHASSE	A					X				
BOUSSETTE								X		
BOUTANE				X						
BRAME-LA-FAIM	A							X		
BRASSAL				X				X		
BRASSIER					X	X	X	X		
BRIF	H?					X?				7
BRONDEL	A									
BUCIOCHE. BUCHIOCHE				X						
BUCOUBLE	A									
BUDELIER	H	X	X							
BUISSONNADE	H							X	X	not specific
CABAL	A							X		
CABASSON						X			X	homophonic clash
CABIROT	A							X		
CABOTE						X		X		
CABRIAU	H					X				
CABRIL						X		X		
CACHER	A					X	X			
CACHER en la mer			X				X			
CAFFETIN					X					X trade routes
CAGADE	A?							X		
CAGOUILLE						X				
CAHORS	H		X							

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
CONFLE	H								
CONQUISTER								X	
CONRIGE, CONSIVE		X				X			
CONSUL		X		X		X			
CONSULAT		X		X					
CONTRAT À ARRÈGES	H								
COQUE	A								
COQUERELLE	H					X			
CORAU, COURAU		X				X			
CORDOEUIL	A								
CORNIAT			?		?				
CORNUDEAU	H					X			
COUCHINE		X				X			
COUDERLE		X							X poisonous mushroom
COUGOURDIER	A								
COULAC		X				X			
COUP, si un ~	A								X unusual construction
COUPLE un ~	H	X							
COURBU	H	X	X						
COURONNE	A								
COURSIE				X				X	
COURTE	A					X			
COUSTIÈRE			X	X					
COUTOIR						X			
CRÉAT. CRAT		X				X			
CRETE		X		X					
CRIME D'AUCIS	H								
CROISADE	A								
CROS	A								
CROUSTEAU						X			
CUISINAT		X						X	
CUISSIN		X						X	
CURADE	A								
TOTALS	107	80	49	28	3	100	14	54	20
PERCENTAGES	43	32.1	19.7	11.2	1.2	40.2	5.6	21.6	8

Table 2 shows the same totals and percentages as above. In addition, it also shows the ranking of the causes of obsolescence.

Table 2 Totals, Percentages and Ranking of the Causes of Obsolence

	No	%	Rank
1) Author's use/Hapax	107	43	1
2) Words confined to the Midi	80	32.1	3
3) Specialized/Technical	49	19.7	5
4) Word disappears with thing	28	11.2	6
5) Thing no longer needs to be named	3	1.2	9
6) Equivalent word(s) in French	100	40.2	2
7) Competition from other meanings	14	5.6	8
8) Word crosses with another word	53	21.6	4
9) Other	20	8	7

Obviously, some causes are more important than others. Author's use/Hapax is the most important (43.0%). In second place there is Equivalent word in French (40.2%) and in third, Words confined to the Midi (32.1%). In fourth place is Word crosses with another (21.3%). Each of these categories have more than 20% of the total number of words. Specialized words ranks fifth (19.7%), followed by Word disappears with thing with nearly half the percentage of the former (11.2%). Coming in at seventh is Other (7.6%) and Competition from other meanings (5.6) and Thing no longer needs to be named (1.2%) come in at eighth and ninth. As far as rank is concerned, there is an even distribution among the external and internal categories. These percentages overlap. The question of words that have only one reason for their disappearance and words with

more than one reason will be dealt with in section 4.4.

4.3.2 External Reasons

4.3.2.1 Authors' Single Use and Hapax

It may be said that the reason why this group of words became obsolete is because they were in French in a superficial way. Most of these words were used only once by one author. Furthermore, most of these words already had equivalents in French. However, as I have stated, not all of these authors used Occitan words for stylistic reasons. Furthermore, among the authors who did use Occitan words for stylistic reasons, one can find different reasons for this stylistic use. It seems that Rabelais used Occitan words for the same reason he used other dialectical words and Latin words -- his writing style was quite playful. He enjoyed using words from a variety of sources. At this time, the 16th century, the vernacular languages were slowly being emancipated from the tutelage of Latin. In France, many authors believed that the French language could be made as illustrious as Latin. There were those authors who believed that the more words the French language had, the more perfect it would be.⁹⁹

On the other hand, Daudet, who was writing in the 19th century, was not interested in perfecting the language, but in adding local colour to his novels and short stories. His use of Occitanisms added a note of realism to his stories; people in the south of France use Occitan words when they speak French. Daudet came from the south of

⁹⁹ Ronsard "Plus de mots on a, plus notre langue sera parfaite."

France. so for him many of the Occitan words he used would have undoubtedly appeared more expressive and more emotional than their northern counterparts. Many of these words describe southern realities and have no counterpart in standard French. It may also have been a matter of pride for Daudet to have used words from his mother tongue in French. His contemporary, Mistral, wrote an epic poem in Provençal (*Mirèio*, 1859), a poem which would later win a Nobel Prize (1904).

Not all of the words these authors used ended as hapaxes. Nine words in the A-C list were used more than once and then disappeared. They have been dealt with in the appropriate sections.

Let us examine each of the authors in turn.

Blaise de Lasseran Massencome, seigneur de Monluc (1500-1577): *acantonner* (s). It would seem that Montluc did not use this word for stylistic effect. Its French counterpart, *se cantonner*, looks enough like *s'acantonner* to lead me to the conclusion that both of these words would have seemed like variations on each other.

Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné (1626-1696): *accouchade*. Like *s'acantonner*, *accouchade* had an equivalent in French, *accouchée*. It seems likely, that Sévigné, who was from Paris, used *accouchade* for a certain stylistic effect. Her daughter married François d'Adhémar, Comte de Grignan, a nobleman from Provence. Mme de Sévigné spent some time in Provence at the château of her daughter and son-in-law. It is after this period that a few Provençal words appear in Mme de Sévigné's letters. She

used *accouchade* in a letter to the Count of Guitaut, Governor of the Îles de Lérins, whose wife had just given birth. The letter was written in Nantes on the 21st of September, 1675. “Embrassez donc l’*accouchade* pour l’amour de moi, et m’aimez tous deux, car votre amitié est pour moi une chose admirable.”¹⁰⁰ There is an endnote (3) after *accouchade* which leads to this: 3. Participe provençal en -ade : accouchée.

Alphonse Daudet (1840-1897): *accoucher de (s')*, *agourmandir*, *agrader*, *arraper*, *autre-temps*, *bourgadier*, *brame-la-faim*, *câlineur*, *capot*, *carbonade*, *carcagner*, *carthagène*, *catalane*, *citre*, *coque*, *courgourdier*, *coup*, *si un ~*, *couronne*. Of these, 18 words. 7 correspond to a southern reality, namely: *capot*, *carthagène*, *catalane*, *citre*, *coque*, *courgourdier* and *couronne*. Seven of them have emotional connotations, namely: *agourmandir*, *agrader*, *arraper*, *autre-temps*, *brame-la-faim*, *calineur* and *carcagner*. These words had equivalents in French. *Carbonade*, *bourgadier* and *si un coup* have French equivalents and are not particularly emotional. Their use seems to have been largely stylistic. The remaining word, *s'accoucher de* is somewhat unusual in that it was in use for some three centuries, but was proscribed by Malherbe. However, it may be that *s'accoucher de* was a native French expression mistaken for a Gasconism. Daudet's use of the word in the 19th century could have been a way of adding a southern “flavour” to a northern expression.

¹⁰⁰ Madame de Sévigné, p. 858. She also uses *bardot* “petit mulet” (p. 599, still a current word, in use since the 16th c.), *pétouffe* “tracasserie” (p. 633) and *pinchon* “petit enfant” (p. 736).

François Rabelais (1494-1553): *appropinquer, avalades, avalisque!, biterne, cabal, cabirot, cambier, caquerole, charete, courte*. Rabelais' writing is characterized by an exuberant use of foreign words, dialectisms and Latinisms as well as made-up words. In fact many of his contemporaries would not have understood them. With the exception of *avalisque* and *biterne*, these words are not "emotional". All of them had French equivalents which may explain why they did not catch on.

Olivier de Serres (c. 1539-1619): *aubicon, bequerut, bigarrat, blai, blavete, boccabrevé, boubax, bouschasse, corniat, croisade, cros*. Olivier de Serres was a 16th century agronomist. All of the above words have something to do with plants or plant cultivation. These words were either too technical to have been adopted into French, or else the plant or fruit they designated was confined to the south of France.¹⁰¹

Colin Muset: *brondel*. Muset's use of *brondel* to mean "rameau" was undoubtedly poetic.

Marguerite de Navarre (1492-1549): *bucouble*. Perhaps this rather prosaic word meaning "attelage de deux boeufs" was used because it provided a concise way of saying "attelage de deux boeufs". In other words, it was borrowed because of its technical nature and for that same reason never made it into Standard French.

¹⁰¹ I was unable to find detailed information on Periers. He died in 1544. His contribution to the list is *besiat*.

Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552-1630) *catcher, cagade* (Brantôme), *chastellane*. This poet and warrior was from Pons, in Saintonge. It seems perfectly natural that a bilingual writer would use some words from his native language.

Pierre de Bourdeille, abbé et seigneur de Brantôme (c. 1538-1614) *cagade* (D'Aubigné), *caler, care* (Pléiade), *castellan, chatonnière, conquister*. Brantôme, who was from the south of France and who retired there, would have found it only natural to use Occitan terms in his writing.

Charles Estienne, et Jean Liébault, *L'agriculture et maison rustique* (1564) *cardelle*. Again we see the name of a specific plant being borrowed. The term still in use in French, *laiteron*, dates from 1545 was perhaps unknown to the authors.

Pléiade (A group of poets of the 16th century which was made up of Ronsard, Joachim du Bellay, Pontus de Tyard, Jean Antoine de Baïf and starting in 1553, Étienne Jodelle, Jean Bastier de La Péruse, Rémi Belleau and Jacques Peletier du Mans, who replaced Guillaume des Autels in 1555) *care*. It goes without saying that a group of poets were always on the lookout for new ways of expressing themselves.

Loys Papon (wrote between 1560 and 1597): *carous*. This poet was from Forez in the south of France.¹⁰²

¹⁰² I was unable to find out much about Loys Gyon (*besagre*), Deroziers (*carestre/carestie*) or Gabriel Meunier (*cordeuil*).

Most of these authors wrote in the 16th century, a time when the literate elites were more willing to accept regional vocabulary in French. Colin Muset wrote in the Middle Ages, a time when the French language was not standardized. Hence there were no restrictions on the use of regional expressions. Mme de Sévigné wrote in the 17th century. This century saw the advent of Academies and other regulators of language. However, Mme de Sévigné wrote in the epistolary genre, considered more intimate than the poetry and dramas of her time. Daudet wrote at the time of a Provençal “Renaissance”. This was not as important as the one taking place in Catalonia at the same time, but there was a renewed interest in the Provençal language and culture. This revived interest in folk cultures was in part a reaction against industrialization.

The choice of one word over another was more a matter of personal choice in the 16th century than it would be in later periods. So, for example, Olivier de Serres used what he thought was an appropriate term. It did not concern him that this term may have come from one of the “dialects”. This is another point. Occitan was not widely regarded as a separate language in the 16th century. Mme de Sévigné may not have been as conscious of using a foreign word when she used *accouchade*, as if she had used an Italian word (a language that she knew).

Let us now turn our attention towards the hapaxes. Most, if not all of the above words were used in only one text. The major difference between Hapaxes and Author’s single use is that for the hapaxes we do not know the names of the authors of the texts in which the words appear. Many of these words appear not in literary works but in official documents.

The fact that these words are hapaxes should be sufficient to explain their demise: they were never really a part of the language to begin with. However, some of these hapaxes may turn out to have had a much more durable existence in the language. A particular word may have been recorded only once, but it may have been in use for a long time. It may also be that a word was recorded in a number of documents, but that these have never been examined. It seems that the archives of the Midi have remained largely unexplored.

Some of the above words call for particular attention. As I have already mentioned, *brif* may be more than a hapax. It may have given rise to a few derivatives, in which case the disappearance of *brif* requires a more complete explanation. It seems likely that *brif* disappeared due to competition from other words in the same semantic field, words such as *impétuosité*, *hâte* and *vivacité*. These are abstract qualities, which may offer another explanation as to why *brif* disappeared. Abstract words exist in relationship to each other, not to some concrete “thing” in the word. Consequently their attachments to their meanings are looser than for words referring to concrete things. The word *brif* did not add anything new to the field of “impétuosité”. It was therefore dropped. The verbs derived from *brif*, if indeed they are derived from *brif*, survived, largely because they refer to actions.

The word *camisade* is interesting for another reason. The fact that it is a hapax explains its demise, but it also belongs to the field of medical vocabulary, where it might have been in use for a time. Montpellier was known for its medical school. The same century in which *camisade* died out (1611), the word *placenta* was introduced (1654).

Placenta comes from the Latin, but there was a popular form of the word used in the 16th century meaning “gâteau, galette” (1540). Latin was the language of medicine at that time; so it was only natural that it should provide a source for new words. What was the placenta called before the 17th century? It may or may not have had popular names in both the south and north of France. It could be that this adoption of a learned term indicates that childbirth was coming under the control of the medical profession. It was around this time that the groundwork was being laid for the modern sciences.

The word *chemisade* looks like a cross between the French *chemise* and the Occitan *camidade*. Normally I would say that such a “hybrid” would be preferred to the foreign form, but such is not the case here. Perhaps this type of nocturnal raid was a technique used mostly in the south or it may have had its origin there. Techniques of war have changed since the 16th century, which may also account for the disappearance of *chemisade*. Incidentally, the word *camisade*, although listed by Gebhardt as current, is not in the *Petit Robert*.

Carasse may have disappeared because it was an ephemeral “slangy” word. Other words such as *aguille basteresse* and *bortoulage* had equivalents in French, but these words would not have added any new shade of meaning.

One final note: it seems as if *comporte* “seau” is not dead at all. This word is listed by the *Petit Robert* and the *Trésor de la langue française*.

4.3.2.2 Words Confined to or Associated with the French of the South of France

In this category we find the words that were either confined to texts of the south of France or else confined to the French spoken in the south of France. This list could easily be expanded. August Brun¹⁰³ in his study of how the French language was introduced in the south of France quoted a number of documents written in French from the 16th century which are full of Occitanisms. Actually, it is sometimes difficult to tell if the author was writing in French and using Occitan words and expressions or writing in Occitan and using French words and expressions. The use of Occitan words in these documents was the result of interference between the languages. The writers of these documents, most of whom were not native French speakers, used words from their native language if the equivalent French word was unknown to them or if there was no equivalent.

The gallicizing of the Midi is the key to understanding why a good number of the words in this list went out of use. The 16th century saw the Ordonance de Villers-Cotterêts (1539), which ordered that all documents be written in “*langage maternel françois et non autrement*”. As Brun documents in his book, most of the documents in the south began to be written almost exclusively in French starting around this time. Gradually French began to appear in documents. Although the people continued speaking Occitan well into the 20th century, it gradually ceased to be the language for official documents. Hence French equivalents had to be found for many of the Occitan terms in use. I believe that such is the case with *acaration*, *acarement* and *acarar*. As

¹⁰³ August Brun, *Recherches historiques sur l'introduction du français dans les provinces du midi*, 1923

the use of French in the law courts became more and more frequent, these terms were replaced by their French equivalents.

Archivaire is an interesting word. In addition to it being largely found in the south, there is also the fact that its Occitan ending - *aire* may have been switched for the French ending -*iste*. The two words might have “crossed”, that is to say they might have both been in use for some time, but the northern form won out. It may be because the ending -*iste* was becoming more and more common, beginning in the 18th century.

4.3.2.3 Word Disappears with Thing

This category is the “classical” reason for lexical obsolescence. The thing the word designates is no longer in use; hence the word itself goes out of use. But as we have seen, one does not always follow the other. To take an example from Gebhardt, the word *brassard* which described the part of the armour that protected the arm, did not disappear when knights and chivalry did. Instead the word acquired a different meaning, “insignia”. Not only did *brassal* cross with *brassard*, but also with *bras*. Just as *archivaire* gave way to *archiviste*, so too might *brassal* have given away to *brassard*.

As far as *coursie* is concerned, it may have crossed with *coursier* “canon” giving *coursier* instead of *coursie*. There was also a cross with *coursive*, an Italian word borrowed in the 16th century.

Some of the above words that disappeared with the things that they designated disappeared for other reasons as well. Fourteen of these words were confined to the

French of the south of France. Some referred to objects peculiar to the south such as *anguille*, *arnaudens*, *corau* and *crete*. Others refer to institutions particular to the south such as *banque*, *capdeulh*, *carnalage*, *caylanie*, *consul* and *consulat*. Others were southern designations for people and things already known in the north, such as *bassague*, *capot* and *cassotte*. One word, *bolume*, belonged to the technical vocabulary of sailors. Some of these words had equivalents in French, such as *arbolade*, *aiguadière*, *bassague*, *capot* and *cassotte*. Words like *bigourelle*, *bolume*, *candant* and *caposer* were confined to a specialized area. Some of these words were hapax (*boutine* and *chemisade*) and some crossed with words already in French (*chemisade*).

4.3.2.4 Word Confined to Specialized Areas

This group is quite heterogeneous. There are slang words in it as well as technical words from specialized areas such as sailing and agriculture. What they have in common is the fact that they were not a part of the standard vocabulary. The fact that these words were not widespread does not explain why they disappeared. In fact most of the words above are cross referenced to at least one other category. The fact that these words were confined to one social group -- sailors, farmers -- would have made it easier for them to disappear.

One of the above words, *atainer*, belongs to poetic usage. *Alan* is somewhat problematic. It is safe to assume that this breed of dog did not disappear entirely. Perhaps the *alan* was known only to hunters as such and when it became known outside

this group it was given a different name. It seems to me that *alan* was replaced by *molosse*, a word borrowed in 1555. In addition, *chien de chasse* and *dogue* were available.

4.3.2.5 Thing No Longer Needs to Be Named

The way one language divides up the universe is not always the same as the way another language divides up the universe. For example, in English both animals and humans have legs, but in French two words are used, *patte* and *jambe* respectively. Different stages of the same language may also divide up the universe differently. In Latin there were separate words for mother's brother (*avunculus*) and father's brother (*patruus*), but in French and the other Romance languages, there is only one word, French *oncle*, Spanish *tio*, etc.

All of the words in this category have other explanations as to why they fell out of the language, but there is also this reason, that the world view of the speakers of the language changes and the words no longer fulfill a purpose. A *brassier* was a man who worked with his hands, a manual laborer, or a man working in the fields. Eventually, people no longer thought it necessary to distinguish a man working with his hands as opposed to another kind of worker.

At one time, most of the sugar consumed in Europe was unrefined. *Caffetin* was used to refer to refined sugar because this type of sugar was relatively rare. Eventually refined sugar became the norm and it was replaced by *sucre*. Unrefined sugar could always be referred to as such, if it became necessary to distinguish between these types of

sugar. Similarly, *corniat* may have disappeared because people felt it was no longer necessary to have a separate word for the juice of the *cornouille*.

4.3.3 Internal Reasons

4.3.3.1 Competition from other words

The majority of the words in the corpus could fit into this category. The fact that another word existed in the language for the Occitan word does not mean that the “native” word would always prevail. In fact sometimes the foreign word is the one preferred. In this category, the pairs of words do not resemble each other. There does not seem to be any linguistic reason why one should be preferred to the other. In fact, I would say that this is not a sufficient reason in itself to explain why a word disappears. There must be some reason why speakers chose one word over the other. This reason might be linguistic or extra-linguistic.

4.3.3.2 Competition from Other Meanings

In this category are the words that disappeared due to competition from the meanings of (usually native French) words that were their homophones. In this category we find words such as *bigoter* “to hurry”. Competition from *bigot* “bigot” may have played a role in the disappearance of *bigoter*. Words such as *bise*, *blanquet* and *blavette* had numerous meanings in French. *Bise* could mean “north wind”, “fruit” and “piece of bread”, *blanquet* could mean “pear”, “white fish” and “white grape”, *blavette* could

mean “bluet” and “kind of mushroom”. Aside from meaning “labouring man” *brassier* also meant “sling”, “cudgel” and “pan for coal”. The more well known meaning of *catcher* “to hide” may have prevented *catcher* “to crush” from catching on. *Cacher en la mer* may have been displaced by another nautical meaning of *catcher* “a big ship hiding a little ship”. *Caler* had a few meanings (“to lower into the water”, “to yield”, to stop”, which may have prevented “se taire” from catching on. Aside from meaning “prostitute”, *cantonnière* was a kind of fabric. *Carabasse* was a gourd as well as a kind of fish. *Champart* was a feudal right, “enclosure for animals” and appears to have been a hapax and *closser* meant “to cluck” as well as “troncher” and “to grow big” (of wheat).

4.3.3.3 Word “Crosses” with Word(s) in French

Here I should clarify what I mean by crossing. Gebhardt talks about a loanword crossing with a native word and producing a hybrid. When I talk about words crossing I am referring to a potential for crossing. A foreign word may resemble a native word through coincidence or because the languages in question share a common source language, as with Occitan and French. The words may not ever formally meet, as with *accouchade* and *accouchée*. Therefore in this category are either Occitan words whose French equivalents are from the same Latin source and hence resemble each other, or else Occitan words that crossed with French words producing “hybrids”. Many of the Occitan words differ from their French counterparts only in their suffixes or prefixes,

such as *archivaire* and *archiviste* or *s'acantonner* and *se cantonner*. It would seem to me that the choice between these pairs was not arbitrary. It is more than a question of choosing one word over another, rather it is a question of choosing one affix over another, or choosing the form that seems to be the most established in the language. To give some examples, in the pair *archivaire/archiviste*, the latter was preferred because the suffix *-iste* was becoming more and more prevalent at the time the choice was made, in the 18th century. The prevalence of the suffix *en/em* undoubtedly contributed to the disappearance of *abelir* in favour of *embellir*. In the pair *arganeau/organeau*, the latter was preferred because *organeau* brought the word in line with *organe*. It is not always the case that the foreign word is rejected. The Occitan form *camisade* was preferred to the gallicized form *chemisade*.

The suffix *-ade* deserves particular attention. There remains some controversy as to its origin. Is it Italian, Spanish or Provençal? According to Gebhardt it might have all three languages as its origin. The number of loanwords with this suffix is so large in fact that it can be considered a French suffix. In the 16th century this suffix had been assimilated in French. There are 18 words with this suffix in the list of obsolete words and of those, 8 had a French counterpart. This would seem to indicate that having a French counterpart is neither a help nor a hindrance for an Occitan word. Here is a list of these words with their counterparts at the time of borrowing.

accouchade	accouchée
arbolade	-
aubergade	-
aumade	oméé, dial.
beccade	becquée
bolade	-
buissonnade	-

cagade	caca
cambrade	chambrée
camisade	-
canonade	canonnière
carbonade	-
careillade	-
cargade	cargaison
chemisade	camisade
clavelade	-
colombade	-
croisade	-

4.3.4 Other Reasons

I have found additional reasons for some words going out of existence, reasons that do not fit into the other nine categories. For example, *abelir* may have disappeared partially because the word began to acquire a pejorative meaning. From meaning “to please” it came to mean “to please someone in order to gain something”. *Aner* and *carestre/ie* may have been scribal/printing mistakes. Occitan *arraper* corresponded to French *poigner*, which had many meanings in French. There was a potential homophonic clash with *avecca*: *avèque* would have been the gallicized form which would have made it a homophone of *avec*. *Cabasson* may have caused another homophonic clash with *cabas*, a pejorative word used to describe a woman of loose sexual morals. The words *baricave*, *bartas*, *buissonade* and *casquillon* may not have been specific enough. The coming of steam power may have marginalized these terms used for sailing ships: *bigourelle*, *bolume* and *caposer*. Please note that many of the terms associated with sailing ship have survived; sailing ships are still in use. *Cabril* may have disappeared

partly because *cabri* was the preferred spelling. The southern word *caffetin* may have given away to *sucre* as trade routes moved from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.

4.3.5 Derivatives

As far as the derivatives are concerned, there seems to be little doubt that a word's ability to give rise to derivatives is a sign of its good "health" in the language. Of the words in the main list, 250 out of 656 have given rise to derivatives, or about 38.1%. Only 7 of the 249 extinct words gave rise to derivatives, or about 2.8%. Let us take a look at these seven words. The derivatives of *abelir*, *atainer barat*, and *brif* follow similar patterns: those derived from the verb *atainer* include three nouns, an adjective and an adverb; similarly, those derived from the nouns *barat* and *brif* are verbs, adjectives, and for *barat* adverbs. Some of the derivatives of *barat*, *baraterie* and *baratin*, are still alive in French. The verb *abelir* gave rise to only three derivatives, two nouns and another verb. The verb *aramber* gave rise to a noun: *arambage*. The nouns *anguille* and *organeau* gave rise to other nouns: *anguillier*, "captain of an *anguille*" and *arganet* "a little *arganeau*". As far as these words' relation to the categories of obsolescence is concerned, 6. Equivalent word existed in French (4 occurrences) and 3. Specialized vocabulary (3) are the most frequent, followed by 2. Word confined to the Midi, 4. Word disappears with thing and 8. Crossings at two each and 1. Author's use/Hapax and 9. Other at one each. Logically enough, hapaxes do not give rise to derivatives. The one exception, *brif*, may not be a hapax at all. With this exception, the other categories follow the ranking of the main list.

4.4 Evaluation of the Criteria

Let us examine the causes of obsolescence (Table 1) in terms of the frequency of the categories. In the following table I have listed the nine causes of obsolescence in the first vertical column. I have called the second column Single Reason. These are the words for which I could find only one reason for their disappearance. There are 87 of them (34.9% of the total). The third column shows the percentage of those words. The fourth column gives the total number of words belonging to each category (out of 249). The fifth column shows the percentage of these words and finally the sixth column shows the percentage of the second and fourth columns.

Table 3. Words that disappeared for a single reason

Categories	Single Reason		Total Words		2/ 4
	No/87	%	No/249	%	%
1) Author`s Use/Hapax	44	51.7	107	43	42.1
2) Words (mostly) confined to the French of the Midi	8	11.5	80	32.1	12.5
3) Specialized Words	7	6.9	49	19.7	12.2
4) Word Disappears with thing	6	4.6	28	11.2	14.3
5) Thing no longer needs to be named	0	0	3	1.2	0
6) Competition from other words	13	16	100	40.2	14

	Single Reason No/87		Total Words No/249		2/4 %
7) Competition from other meanings	0	0	14	5.6	0
8) Word crosses with French word	9	10.3	54	21.6	16.6
9) Other	0	0	20	8	0

It would seem that the first category, Author's single Use/ Hapax shows the least variation. This category accounts for 44% of the total for all of the Single Reasons, 43% of the total number of words and 42.1% of the Single Reason out of the total number of words. Five categories (2, 3, 4, 7 and 8) show considerable variation from their percentages of Single Reason to their percentages of the total number of words. It seems that these categories are more likely to need help from other categories. Three of the categories (5, 6 and 9) do not have any single word reasons for disappearance. It would seem that 5 (Thing no longer needs to be named) and 6 (Competition from other meanings) are not sufficient reasons for word obsolescence. As for the ninth category (Other), it is too heterogeneous for me to draw any conclusions.

Let us take a look at each of the nine categories in turn and see how each one combines with the others. Each category will be cross referenced to the eight others. The first number in each row indicates for each word in the headline category the number of words in the other categories. So, for example, the number 12 beside category 2. Midi in the first table below means that 12 words from this category correspond to 12 words from 1) Author's single use/Hapax.

Table 4 More than one reason

1) Author's use/Hapax

		%
2. Midi	12	14.6
3. Specialized	8	9.8
4. Word w. thing	1	1.2
5. Thing ... named	0	-
6. Comp. from words	30	36.5
7. Comp. from meanings	6	7.3
8. Crossing	18	22
9. Other	7	8.5
Total	82	

2) Words mostly confined to the French of the Midi

		%
1. Author's/Hapax	12	12.5
3. Specialized	16	16.7
4. Word w. thing	15	15.6
5. Thing ... named	0	-
6. Comp. from words	36	37.5
7. Comp. from meanings	2	2.1
8. Crossings	11	11.5
9. Other	4	4.2
Total	96	

3) Specialized Words

		%
1. Author's/Hapax	8	13.3
2. Midi	16	26.7
4. Word w. thing	7	11.7
5. Thing ... named	1	1.7
6. Comp. from words	15	25
7. Comp. from meanings	3	5
8. Crossings	4	6.7
9. Other	6	10
Total	60	

4) Word disappears with thing

		%
1. Author's/Hapax	1	3.2
2. Midi	15	48.4
3. Specialized	7	23.6
5. Thing ... named	0	-
6. Comp. from words	3	9.7
7. Comp. from meanings	0	-
8. Crossings	5	16.1
9. Other	0	-
Total	31	

5) Thing no longer needs to be named

		%
1. Author's/Hapax	0	-
2. Midi	0	-
3. Specialized	1	20
4. Word w. thing	0	-
6. Comp. from words	1	20
7. Comp. from meanings	1	20
8. Crossings	1	20
9. Other	1	20
Total	5	

6) Competition from other words

		%
1. Author's/Hapax	30	25.6
2. Midi	36	30.8
3. Specialized	15	12.8
4. Word w. thing	3	2.5
5. Thing ... named	1	0.9
7. Comp. from meanings	9	7.7
8. Crossings	15	12.8
9. Other	8	6.8
Total	117	

7) Competition from other meanings

		%
1. Author`s/Hapax	6	24
2. Midi	2	8
3. Specialized	3	12
4. Word w. thing	0	-
5. Thing ... named	1	4
6. Comp. from words	9	36
8. Crossings	4	16
9. Other	0	-
Total	25	

8) Word crosses with another word ("Crossings")

		%
1. Author`s/Hapax	18	29
2. Midi	11	17.7
3. Specialized	4	12.5
4. Word w. thing	5	15.6
5. Thing ... named	1	3.1
6. Comp. from words	15	46.9
7. Comp. from meanings	4	12.5
9. Other	4	12.5
Total	62	

9) Other

		%
1. Author`s/Hapax	7	23.3
2. Midi	4	13.3
3. Specialized	6	20
4. Word w. thing	0	-
5. Thing ... named	1	3.3
6. Comp. from words	8	26.7
7. Comp. from meanings	0	-
8. Crossings	4	13.3
Total	30	

The next table combines these two sets of statistics. It will show the percentage of words of a single category to words with two or more categories.

Table 5. Single reasons and more than one reason compared

	Single Reason	%	Combined with at least one other Reason	%
1) Hapax	44	41.1	63	58.8
2) Midi	8	10	72	90
3) Specialized	7	14.3	42	85.7
4) Word/Thing	6	21.1	22	78.5
5) Thing/Named	0	0	3	100
6) Comp/Words	13	13	87	87
7) Comp/Meanings	0	0	14	100
8) Crossings	9	16.6	45	83.3
9) Other	0	0	20	100
Totals	87		368	

The next table shows how the external categories compare with the internal categories.

Table 6 External and internal categories compared

	Single	%	Helping	%
External Categories	65	24.3	202	75.7
Internal Categories	22	13	147	87

Table 7 External and internal categories, minus Hapax/Author's single use

	Single	%	Helping	%
External Categories	20	12.5	139	87.4
Internal Categories	22	13	147	87

Category 1 Authors'/Hapax is most frequently paired with 6, Competition from other words. The same is true of category 2, Midi. This would tend to support my assumption that many of the Occitanisms largely confined to the French of the Midi were eventually replaced by their French counterparts. Category 3, Specialized words does not show the same pattern. There is a more even distribution between external and internal categories. As far as 3 is concerned, 2, Midi is only slightly more important than 6, Competition from other words. Many of these technical words were confined to the French of the south and many of them had corresponding French words. Most of the words of category 4, Word disappears with thing correspond to category 2, Midi as well. It would seem that many southern institutions and things became obsolete. Category 5, Things no longer need to be named has an even distribution. There are not many words in this category, only 3, so there is not much that can be said about this category. The same thing applies to category 7, competition from other meanings. Not surprisingly, 6, Competition from other words corresponds to categories 1 and 2. Category 8, Crossings shows a more even distribution. This category corresponds mostly to 1, Author's/Hapax, 2, Midi and 6, Competition from other words. Category 9 is too heterogeneous to be of use here.

It would seem that the internal categories are not as independent as the external categories. For the internal categories, 87% of the words had helpers, only 13% were alone. For the external categories, 75.7% had helpers, but 24.3% were alone. However, if we eliminate the first category, Author's single/Hapax use, then the numbers are about the same for both categories. (See table 7 above.)

4.5 The Scale of Intimacy

I have already mentioned that Vidos and Wind used another set of categories to classify loanwords. According to their system, there is a scale of intimacy along which loanwords can be classified. In this section, I will reclassify Gebhardt's loanwords according to this scale. I did encounter some problems, not the least of which was the fact that three of Gebhardt's major categories - namely Fish and Fishing Techniques, Animals and Plants are not mentioned at all by Wind. There are also slight differences in the criteria used to classify the words. For example, Wind groups legal terminology and terminology from the galleys together. She separates house and home from food and drink, whereas Gebhardt keeps them together. These differences are, however, minor and do not effect the results. The following table will show Wind's categories: Vie Publique, Vie Sociale and Vie Privée. In addition, I have included Nature (not used by Wind) as a category before the others, as this one is the least intimate of all, in that it has the least to do with human beings. Categories not mentioned by Wind are in parentheses.

Table 7, The scale of intimacy

Wind's Categories	Obsolete Words A-C	Current Words A-C
(Nature)	(73 words, 29.3%)	(154 words, 23.5%)
	Fish & Fishing 18, 7.2% Zoology 21, 8.4% Botany 32, 12.9%	Fish & Fishing 57, 8.7% Zoology 23, 3.5% Botany 61, 9.3
	Minerals 2, 0.8%	Qualities of the Ground 7, 1.1% Minerals 6, 0.9%
A. Vie Publique	65 words, 26.1%	182 words, 27.8%
1. Arts et Sciences		
2. Littérature	Literature 4, 1.6%	Literature 9, 1.4%
3. Musique		
4. Architecture	Build. Tech., Arch. 2, 0.8%	Build. Tech., Arch. 17, 2.6%
5. Théâtre		
6. Médecine et Art Vet.	Medicine 6, 2.4%	Medicine 8, 1.2%
7. Mots de Guerre	Military 9, 3.6%	Military 18, 2.7%
8. Marine	Marine & Shipb. 22, 8.8%	Marine & Shipb. 105, 16%
9. Vie de Cour		
10. Église	Church 1, 0.4%	Church 1, 0.2%
11. Juridiction et Galères	Law 9, 3.6%	Law 9, 1.4%
12. Administration	Administration 3, 1.2%	Administration 7, 1.1%
13. Monnaies	(Inst. & Pers. of South 7, 2.8%)	(Inst. & Pers. of South 4, 0.6%)
B. Vie Sociale	41 words, 16.5%	151 words, 23.1 %
1. Commerce	Trade & Transp. 12, 4.8%	Trade & Transp. 19, 2.9%
2. Industrie	Ind. & Tech. 7, 2.8% Instr. 3, 1.2%	Ind. & Tech. 57, 8.7% Instr. 34, 5.2
3. Noms d'Étoffes		
4. Vie des Villes		
5. Vie des Champs	Agr. 19, 7.6% Vit. 5, 2%	Agr. 17, 2.6% Vit. 31, 4.7% Tree& Pl. 7, 1.1%
6. Vie Sociale en Général	Life In Society 4, 1.6% (Occ. & Pers. Char. 10, 4%)	Life in Society 28, 4.3% (Occ. & Pers. Char. 15, 2.1%)

C. Vie Privée	40 words, 16.1%	137 words, 20.9%
Mots techniques		
1. Maison et Mobilier	House & Home 19, 7.6%	House & Home 38, 5.8%
2. Déplacements		
3. Vêtements et Toilette	Fashion 3, 1.2%	Fashion 17, 2.5%
4. Extérieur des Personnes (ou animaux)	Body 1, 0.4%	Body 6, 0.9%
5. Jeux		
6. Escrime		
7. Chasse		
8. Chevaux		
9. Amusement et Danse		
10. Nourriture		
Mots Non Techniques		
11. Particularités de la Vie Privée		
12. Rapports Personnels		
13. Rapports Verbaux		
14. Qualités Physiques		
15. Qualités d'Esprit de Coeur et de Caractère		
16. Mots Affectifs	Affective Domain 13, 5.2% (Slang 4, 1.6%)	Affective Domaine 25, 3.8% (Slang 51, 7.7%)
Mots Difficiles à Classer		
	Verbs 5, 2%	Verbs 8, 1.2%
	Other Words 7, 2.8%	-

Generally speaking, this table does not show any greater preponderance of intimate words in the Main List. As far as the least intimate category is concerned, Nature, there are more in the obsolete list than in the main list 29.3% versus 23.5%. This is not, however, a great difference. As far as the individual categories are concerned, there is no great variation but for Zoology there are twice as many words in the obsolete list as in the main list (8.4% versus 3.5%). The percentages of words in Vie Publique are about the same for both lists, 26% and 27%. However, some of the categories do show

variation from current to obsolete words. Since these numbers are not great to begin with, the results are not seriously affected. For the category Marine and Shipbuilding, there are twice as many words in the current list than in the extinct list. For Vie Sociale, there are slightly more words in the Main List than in the Extinct List 23% and 16% respectively. As for the individual categories are concerned, sometimes the main list has more, sometimes the obsolete list does. For Vie Privée, again the Main List has a slight advantage: 20% and 16% respectively. The individual categories show no significant variation. Most of these differences are not great enough to be statistically significant. However, there are seven times as many slang words in the main list than in the extinct list. As I have mentioned (Chapter Two), in this type of intimate contact situation many familiar/popular/argotic words are borrowed. It would seem that the reasons for a loanword's longevity or lack thereof are not to be found by comparing scales of intimacy. Thus, I have answered my question about the usefulness of the scale of intimacy.

4.6 Pejoration

As far as pejoration is concerned, there is only one example from the list, *abelir*. From meaning "to please" it underwent slight pejoration and came to mean "to please in order to gain something". There appears to be no examples of words disappearing because of a taboo. In fact, foreign words are often borrowed to replace a taboo word, so it would seem unlikely that a taboo word would have been borrowed, nor does it seem likely that a word would become taboo. A foreign word may become pejorative later on, however.

4.7 Abstract Versus Concrete Words

In the following list I would like to provide some additional information about the extinct words. In the following list I will categorize each word as abstract or concrete, list its origin (Latin, Germanic etc.), designate the word as a loanword, loan blend or loan shift¹⁰⁴ and finally I will say whether or not the word is still alive in Occitan and in the French of the south of France according to the dictionaries of Alibert (1965) and the *FPO* (1978).

Let us look briefly at my distinction between foreign words (*Fremdwörter*) and integrated loan words. There are very few unassimilated foreign words in either list. There are about the same percentages in both lists (about 3% in the obsolete list and about 2% in the main list, both for words from A to C). It would seem that this is not a factor in the disappearance of a word.

It might be interesting to see what the percentage of abstract versus concrete words in both lists is. By concrete words, I mean words that refer to entities in the real world, entities that can be perceived through the senses, *table, chair, dog* etc. Abstract nouns refer to ideas and concepts, things that cannot be perceived by the senses: *truth, justice, hope* etc. Sometimes it is not always easy to determine if a word is concrete or abstract. Verbs are not usually, but not always concrete. For example, *s'acantonner* is

¹⁰⁴ Loanwords are taken directly from the foreign language, both form and meaning. Although they may undergo changes in pronunciation and meaning. In Haugen's (1950) terminology there is importation without substitution. With loan blends there is importation and substitution. Part of the word is substituted, part of it is kept. With loan shifts, there is substitution without importation. The native word undergoes a shift in meaning under the influence of a foreign word.

listed as a concrete word, as it describes an action one can see; whereas *ac(c)arer* is listed as an abstract word, this kind of confrontation goes on in court and is more abstract.

Depending on the kind of contact between the two languages, I expect to find either more concrete words than abstract words or more abstract words than concrete words. A language that has a strong influence on the intellectual life of speakers of the other language would tend to give more abstract terms, such as can be seen between Latin and Greek and the modern European languages. I would expect that languages that are in more intimate contact with each other would exchange more concrete terms. As far as Occitan and French are concerned, I expect to find more concrete terms than abstract terms among the successful words, and more abstract terms among the obsolete terms.

If the word is still alive in Occitan, its Occitan form will be given if this form differs from the French form.

Table 8. Abstract versus concrete words, origin, type of loan, still alive in Occitan/the French of the Midi

	Abstract or Concrete	Origin	Kind of Loan	Alive in Occitan	Alive in Midi French
ABELIR "plaire"	A	Lt	lw	X	
ACANTONNER (S')	C	Lt	lw	X	acantonar X
"se retirer dans un coin"					
ACARATION "confrontation"	A	Lt	lb		
ACAREMENT "confrontation"	A	Lt	lw	X	
AC(C)ARER "confronter"	A	Lt	lw	X	
ACASEMENT "action de donner en fief"	A	Lt	lw/ls		
ACAZER "pourvoir d'un fief"	A	Lt	lw/ls		
ACCOUCHADE "femme qui vient d'accoucher"	C	Lt	lw		
ACCOUCHER DE (S')	C	Lt	lw		
"enfanter"					
ADOUBERIE "tannerie"	C	Ger	lb?		
AGANNIR "consommer, fanner"	C	Ger	lw	X	
AGOURMANDIR "affriander"	A	Ger	lw		
AGRADER "plaire"	A	Lt	lw	X	
AGUASSIÈRE "merle d'eau"	C	Lt	lb		
AGUILLE BASTERESSE "carrelet"	C	Ger	ls		
AIGUADIÈRE "sorte de vase"	C	Lt	lb?		
ALAN "espèce de chien"	C	Lt	lw	X	
ALLAGANT "arrosant avec de l'eau"	C	Lt	lb		

	Abstract or Concrete	Origin	Kind of Loan	Alive in Occitan	Alive in Midi French
ALOUMÈRE "agaric"	C	?	lw		
ANCOEUR. ENCUEUR	C C	Lt Lt	lw lb/lb		
"tumeur du cheval"					
ANER "aller"	A?	Lt	lw		
ANGUILLE "sorte de bateau"	C	Lt	lw		
APPORT "profit d'un capital"	A	Lt	lw		
APPROPINQUER "approcher"	C	Lt	lw		
AQUITRANNER "goudronner"	C	Lt	lw		
ARAMBER "accrocher un bâtiment"	C	Ger	lw		
ARAP "arrachement"	C	Ger	lw		
ARBOLADE "esp. de ragoût"	C	Lt	lw		
ARBOLASTE "esp. de mets"	C	Lt	lw		
ARCAVOT "tromperie"	A	Ar	lw		
ARCHIVAIRES "archiviste"	C	Lt	lw		X
AREIGNOL "tramail"	C	Lt	lw		X
ARGALOU "paliure"	C	?	lw		X
ARGANEAU "anneau de fer"	C	Gk/Lt	lw		
ARGILIER "arbre épineux"	C	?	lw		
ARNAUDENS "esp. de monnaie"	C	Ger/Lt	lw		
ARRAPER "empoigner"	C	Ger	lw		
ASNETON "ânon"	C	Lt	lb?		

	Abstract or Concrete	Origin	Kind of Loan	Alive in Occitan	Alive in Midi French
ASSIETTE "assemblée pour le réglement des tailles"	A	Lt	ls		
ASTE "manche (d'un faubert)"	C	Lt	lw	X	X
ATAINER, ATINER "agacer"	A	Ger	lw	X	
ATTRAQUER "accoster un quai"	C	?	lw		
AUBERGADE "droit de gîte"	A	Ger	lw		
AUBICON "figue longue"	C	?	lw		
AUJUBINE "raisin qu'on fait sécher"	C	Ar	lw		
AUMADE "tumeur sous l'aisselle"	C	Ger	lw		
AUTRE-TEMPS "autrefois"	A	Lt	ls	X	
AUVIER "esp. de pin"	C	?	lw		
AVALADES bragues ~ "chausses abattues"	C	Lt	lw?		
AVALISQUE! "disparais en bas (à Satan)!"		A	Lt	lw	X
AVAOUSSÉ, AVAUX "quercus coccifera"	C	?	lw	X	
AVECCA "chevêche"	C	?	lw		
AVEILLE "abeille"	C	Lt	lw	X	abelha
AVELANCQUE "fruit de l'amélanchier"	C	Gal	lw		
AVEN "biens, fortune"	C	Lt	lw	X	
AVEN "pêche qu'on pratique en Provence"	C	Gal	lw		
BALANÇONS "petites pièces de bois de sapin débitées"	C	Lt	lw		
BANQUAL "pièce d'étoffe"	C	Ger	lw		

	Abstract or Concrete	Origin	Kind of Loan	Alive in Occitan	Alive in Midi French
BANQUE "banc sur lequel travaille l'ouvrier en peignes"	C	Ger	lw		
BARATE "tromperie"	A	Gk	lw	X	
BARGER "tiller le chanvre"	C	Ger	lw	X	
BAR(R)ICAVE "fondrière"	C	Lt	lw		
BARIS "barrière, rempart"	C	Lt	lw		
BARROT "chariot"	C	Lt	lw		
BARTAS "buisson"	C	Gal	lw	X	X
BASSAGUE "paillasse"	C	?	lw	X	
BASTANGUE "raja pastinaca"		C	Lt	lw	
BASTIDAN "campagnard"	C	Ger	lw		
BATUM "mastic"	C	Lt	lw	X	
BECCADE "béquée du faucon"	A/C	Lt	lw		X
BEDEL "bloc d'hématite (dans les Pyrénées franç.)"	C	?	lw		
BEDEL "milice uraine (au Midi)"	C	Ger	ls	X	
BÉDOUIDE "alouette des prés"	C	?	lw		
BEDOUZE "chaîne de monticules"	C	?	lw		
BELLICANT "esp. de poisson"	C	Gk	lw		
BENARRIC, BENARIS "ortolan"	C	?	lw		
BEQUERUT "esp. d'olivier"	C	Lt	lw		
BERNÈDE "aunaie"	C	Gal	lw		

	Abstract or Concrete	Origin	Kind of Loan	Alive in Occitan	Alive in Midi French
BESAGRE "esp. de canard"	C	?	lw	X	
BESAL "bief d'un moulin"	C	Gal	lw	X	X
BESIAT "douillet, paresseux"	A	Lt	lw		
BESSE "vesce"	C	Lt	lw		
BIGARRAT "oranger qui produit la bigarade"	C	?	lw	X	
BIGOTER "se dépiter"	A	Ger	ls?		
BIGOURELLE "couture ronde (d'une voile)"	C	?	lw		X not spec.
BISE "bonite (poisson)"	C	?	lw		
BITERNE "enfer"	A	?	lw	X	
BLADIER "blatier"	C	Ger	lw		
BLAI "érable"	C	Lt	lw	X? blasèra	
BLAMARÉE "maïs (dans le Midi)"	C	?	lw		
BLANQUET "vin blanc"	C	Ger	lw		
BLASTEMER "blasphémer"	A	Lt	lw	but blastemer	
BLAVETE "figue violette"	C	Ger	lw	blavet	
BOCCABREVÉ "variété de pomme"	C	Lt	lw		
BOISSE "canard sauvage"	C	?	lw		
BOLADE "massue"	C	Lt	lw		
BOLUME "ourlet du bas de la voile latine"	C	Lt	lw		
BONNE ROBE "femme appétissante"	C	Ger	ls		
BORIE (?) "métairie"	C	Lt	lw		

	Abstract or Concrete	Origin	Kind of Loan	Alive in Occitan	Alive in Midi French
BORTOULAGE "pourpier"	C	Lt	lw		
BOUBAX "esp. d'olive"	C	?	lw		
BOURGADIER "habitant d'un bourg"	C	Ger?	lw		
BOURRAQUIN "vase à boire"	C	?	lw		
BOUSCATIÈRE "serpe pour couper le bois"	C	Ger	lw	X	
BOUSCHASSE "marron d'Inde"	C	Ger	lw		
BOUSSETE "tonneau"	C	Lt	lw		
BOUTANE "étouffe, toile"	C	Ar	lw		
BRAME-LA-FAIM "individu affamé"	C	Ger	lw	X	X bramer
BRASSAL "partie de l'armure"	C	Lt	lw		
BRASSIER "homme de peine"	C	Lt	lw		
BRIF "impétuosité, etc.."	A	Gal	lw		
BRONDEL "rameau"	C	Lt	lw		
BUCIOCHE. BUCHIOCHE "sorte de drap de Prov. et de Languedoc"	C	?	lw		
BUCOUBLE "attelage de 2 boeufs"	C	Lt	lw		
BUDELIER "entrailles"	C	Lt	lw		
BUISSONNADE "buissons"	C	Ger	lw		
CABAL "capital"	A	Lt	lw	X	
CABASSON "poisson"	C	Lt	lw	?	
CABIROT "chevreau"	C	Lt	lw		

	Abstract or Concrete	Origin	Kind of Loan	Alive in Occitan	Alive in Midi French
CABOTE "grondin (poisson)"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CABRIAU "chevreau"	C	Lt	lw		
CABRIL "chevreau qui n'a pas encore un mois"	C	Lt	lw		
CACHER "fouler, écraser"	A	Lt	ls	X	
CACHER en la mer "appesantir le bateau"	C	Lt	ls		
CAFFETIN "sucre raffiné"	C	?	lw		
CAGADE "reculade honteuse"	C	Lt	lw		
CAGOUILLE "têt du colimaçon"	C	Lt	lw		
CAHORS "raisin noir"	C	Lt?	lw		
CALER "(se) taire"	A	Lt	ls		
CÂLINEUR "amoureux, fiancé"	C	Lt	lw	X calinaire	
CALLIQUE "célerin (poisson)"	C	?	lw		
CAMBIER "changer"	A	Lt	lw	X	
CAMBRADE "chambrée"	C	Lt	lw	X cambrada	
CAMISADE "fine membrane de l'enfant après la naissance"	C	Lt	lw		
CANDANT "position de l'aviron"	C	?	lw		
CANOADE "embrasure pour une pièce d'artillerie"	C	Lt?	lw		
CANTHÈNE "sorte de spare (poisson)"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CANTONNIÈRE "prostituée"	C	Lt	lw		
CANUT "variété de raisin"	C	Lt	lw		

	Abstract or Concrete	Origin	Kind of Loan	Alive in Occitna	Alive in Midi French
CAPDEULH "principale maison d'un domaine"	C	Lt	lw		
CAPER "recouvrir les formes de poterie (raff. de sucre)"	C	Lt	lw		
CAPITE "cabine dans un bateau"	C	Lt	lw		
CAPOSER "amarrer le gouvernail"	C	Lt	lw		
CAPOT "lépreux"	C	Lt	lw		
CAPOT "chapeau de femme"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CAQUEROLE "limace"	C	Lt	lw		
CARABASSE "crabe (poisson)"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CARASSE "grande figure"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CARAVIRÉE "femme qui a la face de travers"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CARONADE "étuvée de viande"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CARBONAL "carie"	C	Lt	lw		
CARBONAT "carie"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CARCAGNER. (SE) "inquiéter"	A	Lt	lw	X	
CARCHIOPHE. CHARCHIOPHE "artichaut"	C	Ar	lw	X	
CARDELLE "laiteron"	C	Lt	lw		
CARE "mine, air"	C	Lt	lw		
CAREILLADE "jusquiamé"	C	Lt	lw		
CARESTRE, CARESTIE "disette"	C	Lt	lw		
CARGADE "cargaison"	C	Lt	lw	cargar	carguer

	Abstract or Concrete	Origin	Kind of Loan	Alive in Occitan	Alive in Midi French
CARNALAGE "droit dû en viande au seigneur"	A	Lt	lw		
CARNICIER "boucher"	C	Lt	lw		
CARNILLET "esp. de champignon"	C	?	lw		
CAROUS "char"	C	Lt	lw		
CARRAS "bois de forme carrée"	C	Lt	lw		
CARTHAGÈNE "esp. de liqueur"	C	?	lw		
CARTON "conducteur d'une charrette"	C	Lt	lw		
CASCARET "forte marée sur la côte"	C	Lt	lw		
CASQUILLON "coquille"	C	Lt	lw		
CASSOTTE "casserole"	C	Gk	lw		
CASTAGNEAU "petit poisson"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CASTAGNOT "petit poisson"	C	Lt	lw		
CASTELLAN "seigneur d'un manoir"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CATALANE "petite coiffe"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CAVALLET "à dos d'âne"	A?	Lt/Gal	lw		
CAVALO "croupière"	C	Lt	lw		
CAVESSANE "caveçon"	C	Lt/It	lw		
CAVETTE "pot à liqueurs"	C	Lt	lw		
CAYLANIE "droit de guet"	A	Lt	lw		
CAYON "variété d'olivier"	C	?	lw		
CAYREUX "vermoulu"	C	Lt	lw		

	Abstract or Concrete	Origin	Kind of Loan	Alive in Occitan	Alive in Midi French
CÈDE "bord d'un canal"	C	?	lw		
CERO "esp. de labre (poisson)"	C	?	lw		
CERTATEUR "gladiateur"	C	It	lw		
CHAMPART "enclos pour le pâturage"	C	Lt	lw		
CHARETE "masque"	C	?	lw		
CHARIOLLE, CARRIOLE "couchette basse et roulante"	C	Lt	lw		
CHASTELLANE "femme du propriétaire du château"	C	Lt	lw		
CHATILLON "esp. de poisson"	C	Lt/Gal	lw		
CHATLOUP "lynx"	C	Lt	ls		
CHATONNIÈRE "ouverture dans la porte pour les chats"	C	Lt	lw	X	X
CHAUDE, sur la ~ "en hâte"	A	Lt	ls		
CHAUMENY "moisi"	C	Lt	lw		
CHEMISADE "camisade"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CHEVROLLE "femelle du chevreuil"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CHIEFMES "habitation principale du domaine"	C	Lt	ls		
CHUGUETTE "mâche"		C	Lt	lw	
CIBOREE "ragoût à la ciboule"	C	Lt	lw		
CINDRER "disposer en voûte"	C	Lt	lw		cintar
CITRE "esp. de pastèque verte"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CLARANT. CLAIRAN "sonnette du mulet"	C	Lt	lw		

	Abstract or Concrete	Origin	Kind of Loan	Alive in Occitan	Alive in Midi French
CLAVA "canne ou perche"	C	Lt	lw	X	
CLAVAISSON "clous et chevilles"	C	Lt	lw		
CLAVELADE "esp. de raie"		C	Lt	lw	
CLEDAT "fermeture"	C	Gal	lw		
CLOSSER "troncher, grossir" (blé)	C	?	ls		
COCATIER "coquetier"	C	Lt?	lw		
CODRE "branche de châtaignier pour cercler les futailles"	C	?	lw	X	
COGNIOL "maquereau (poisson)"	C	?	lw		
COHEQUER "répartir les impôts"	A	Lt	lw		
COLLE "mur de soutien dans une vigne"	C	Lt	lw		
COLOMBADE "fauvette"	C	Lt	lw		
COMPAGNISER à "accompagner"	A	Lt/Ger	lw		
COMPIERRE "lichen pulmonaire"	C	Lt	lw		
COMPORTE "seau profond pour la vendange"	C	Lt	lw	X	
COMPORTE "porte d'écluse"	C	Lt	lw		
CONADON "fosse où l'on met les pieds de chanvre"	C	?	lw		
CONFLE "foule de gens"	C	Lt	lw		
CONQUISTER "conquérir"	C	Lt	lw		
CONRIGE, CONSIVE "registre: somme"	C	?	lw		
CONSUL "magistrat municipal"	C	Lt	ls		
CONSULAT "corps des consuls"	A	Lt	ls		

	Abstract or Concrete	Origin	Kind of Loan	Alive in Occitan	Alive in Midi French
CONTRAT à ARRÈGES	C	Lt	lw		
“louage de bétail de labourage”					
COQUE	C	Lt	lw		
“plateau d’osier”					
COQUERELLE	C	Lt	lw	X	
“nombril de Vénus (plante)”					
CORAU. COURAU	C	Lt	lw		
“petit bateau sur la Garonne”					
CORDOEUIL	A	Lt	lw	còrdor	
“chagrin”					
CORNIAT	C	Lt	lw		
“suc de la cornouille”					
CORNUDEAU	C	Lt	lw		
“petite miche”					
COUCHINE	C	?	lw		
“variété de pomme”					
COUDERLE	C	?	lw	X	
“esp. de champignon”					
COUGOURDIER	C	It	lw		
“plante de courge”					
COULAC	C	Gal	lw	X	
“alose”					
COUP. si un ~	A	Lt	ls		
“lorsque”					
COUPLE. un ~	C	Lt	ls		X
“deux”					
COURBU	C	It	lw		
“cépage rouge”					
COURONNE	C	Lt	lw		
“gâteau rond”					
COURSIE	C	Lt	lw		
“couloir sur les galères”					
COURTE	C	Lt	lw		
“bécassine”					
COUSTIÈRE	A	Lt	lw		
“grosse manoeuvre sur les galères”					
COUTOIR	C	?	lw		
“clovisse”					
CRÉAC, CRAT	C	Lt	lw	X	
“esturgeon”					
CRETE	C	?	lw		
“petit bateau sur la Gironde”					

	Abstract or Concrete	Origin	Kind of Loan	Alive in Occitan	Alive in Midi French
CRIME D'AUCIS "coups portés à une femme enceinte"	A	Lt	ls/lw		
CROISADE "diagonale"	C	Lt	lw		
CROS "silo creusé dans le sol"	C	Gal?	lw	X	
CROUSTEAU "gâteau de cire"		C	Lt	lw	
CUISINAT "esp. de mets"	C	Lt	lw		
CUISSIN "coussin"	C	Lt	lw		
CURADE "entre-deux des sillons"	C	Lt	lw		

There are about 40 abstract words in the above list out of a total of 249, which works out to about 16%. In the main list there are about 30 abstract words out of a total of 655 A-C words, that works out to about 4.4% of the total. This seems to confirm my hypothesis that there would be more abstract terms in the obsolete list. The number of abstract words in both lists is quite low, which would seem to indicate that concrete terms are more readily borrowed, at least as far as French and Occitan are concerned. In other types of contact situation one would expect to find a higher percentage of abstract words. For example, Latin provided many abstract terms that French lacked. If we turn our attention to the proportion of loanwords, loanblends and loanshifts we find that the vast majority of the above words are loanwords (223/249, 89.5%). Next come loanshifts 20/249 or about 8% and loanblends 6/249 or 2.4%. These are more or less the same numbers one finds in the main list. According to Gebhardt 93% of the words are

loanwords and the remaining 7% are *Lehnprägungen* (loan creations), a category which includes loanblends and loanshifts. I expected to find more loanshifts in the main list. I was wrong about that, however.

As far as helping words are concerned, it seems I was wrong about that too. About 21.3% of the words in the extinct list had helping words, listed as crossings. In the main list about 6.6% did. It would seem that although analogues may be important in the initial acceptance of a word, they play little or no part in their maintenance.

As far as semantic change as a gauge of a word's acceptance is concerned, it seems I was right about that. About 10% of the words in the main list underwent semantic change. About 1% of the words in the obsolete list underwent semantic change.

4.8 Semantic Fields and the Core/Periphery Distinction

As outlined in Chapter Three (3.5), word fields provide one way of organizing the vocabulary of a language, for otherwise it would be too cumbersome to deal with. Word fields may also provide another way at looking at how loanwords are integrated into the lexicon of a language. As I have already stated, a foreign word may be helped in its integration to target language vocabulary if it resembles a word or words in its vocabulary in form or in meaning. In other words, a foreign word would be considered integrated if it could fit into one of the semantic fields of the language. It may be that some foreign words form their own semantic field, whereas others are integrated into the already existing semantic fields. The question of word loss may have something to do with whether or not the foreign words form their own fields or become members of already

existing fields. This is not to imply that foreign words that are “ghettoized” in their own semantic field are somehow less integrated than foreign words integrated into the preexisting fields of a language. Take the field of music. Many of the musical terms in use in English (and other languages) come from Italian. For musicians this field is important, but for non-musicians that field hardly exists at all. The fact that musical terms of Italian origin are found in the one semantic field may be precisely because they already formed a semantic field before they were borrowed. The way words are organized in the source language may have nothing to do with the way they are organized in the borrowing language. What counts is how the people speaking the receiving language organize these words. Italian speakers may distribute musical terms into other semantic fields, but speakers of English or French may put them in one field, the field of musical terms.

However, it may also be that some foreign words are put into a catch-all category. Of course, over time these words may be redistributed to other categories. If, for some reason, one of these semantic fields should become obsolete, all of the foreign words in it will be lost. Of course, word loss can affect any part of the language, but having all of one’s loanwords in one basket would make them more vulnerable to loss than if they were more spread out. If word fields are as structured as Trier claimed, then any addition to a field will displace the other members. A foreign word introduced into a field may eventually replace one or more “native” members.

The frequency of a foreign word in the lexicon of a language will determine whether or not it will become a part of that lexicon. Even words from “exotic”

languages, if their frequencies are high enough, may become a part of the language, although their numbers are not all that high. There are not many words of Hindi origin in English, but the few that are in the language have a relatively high frequency. Words like *pyjamas* and *verandah*¹⁰⁵ are fairly well established in English, probably more so than Italian words like *arpeggio*. Of course the reason why *pyjamas* and *verandah* are more well known is that they belong to everyday life, whereas *arpeggio* and its other Italian cousins belong to the specialized field of music. The whole thing could be circular. In other words, words like *pyjamas* and *verandah* are frequent because they belong to the vocabulary of everyday life, and they belong to the vocabulary of everyday life because they are frequent.

Some semantic categories seem more central than others, hence the words in these categories are more central than words in other categories. As I have already mentioned, in any language some words are more central than others. They may be more frequent than others, as with the list of words in the *français fondamental*, or they may belong to the core vocabulary, as for example postulated by Swadesh (1960), and used in the classification of “exotic” languages. Certain concepts are universal and hence certain words are universal. These words are most notably parts of the body, numbers and words in nature and “colourless” verbs such as *faire* “to do, to make”, *aller* “to go” *venir* “to come” and *mettre* “to put”. See Dixon (1997) and Haarmann (1990) for a criticism of this theory. Words that are not a part of this core vocabulary are said to be on the

¹⁰⁵ *Verandah* originally came from Portuguese.

periphery. Can this distinction of core vocabulary versus periphery vocabulary be applied to the corpus? Here is a table of the first 34 words in the obsolete list.

Table 9. Core/Periphery distinction. list of first 34 obsolete words

	Core	Periphery	Either one
ABELIR		X	
ACANTONNER (S')		X	
ACARATION		X	
ACAREMENT		X	
AC(C)ARER		X	
ACASEMENT		X	
ACAZER		X	
ACCOUCHADE		X	
ACCOUCHER DE (S')		X	
ADOUBERIE		X	
AGANIR		X	
AGOUMANDIR		X	
AGRADER		X	
AGUASSIÈRE		X	
AGUILLE BASTERESSE		X	
AIGUADIÈRE		X	
ALAN		X	
ALLAGANT		X	
ALOUMÈRE		X	
ANCOEUR		X	
ANER		X	
ANGUILLE		X	
APPORT		X	
APPROPINQUER		X	
AQUITRANNER		X	
ARAMBER		X	
ARAP		X	
ARBOLADE		X	
ARBOLASTE		X	
ARCAVOT		X	
ARCHIVAIRE		X	
AREIGNOL		X	
ARGALOU		X	

By way of comparison, here is a table of the first 34 words of the main list.

Table 10. Core/Periphery comparison, first 34 words of the main list

	Core	Periphery	Either One
ABASOUDIR		X	
ABEILLE			X
ABOUCHOUCOU		X	
ABRIER		X	
ACABIT		X	
ACCOLADE		X	
ACCON		X	
ACCONIER		X	
ACCOSTER			X
ADIOUSIAS			X
ADOUX		X	
ADRET		X	
AFFIDÉ		X	
AFFORESTAGE		X	
AFFRES		X	
AGACE		X	
AGANTER		X	
AGASSIN		X	
AGRUME		X	
AIGLE			X
AIGRETTE		X	
AIGUADE		X	
AIGUAIL		X	
AIGUAYER		X	
AIGUE-MARINE		X	
AIGUER		X	
AIGUIÈRE		X	
AIGUILLADE			X
AIGUILLAT		X	
AILLADE		X	
AILLOLI			X
AIRELLE		X	
AIRAL		X	
AISSADE		X	

Most of these loanwords belong to the periphery. Therefore, this type of binary classification will not be useful for determining whether or not a word's position affects its stability. However, it may be that a more finely honed classification system would

reveal interesting patterns. A classification method that could place words as in the rings of a target may reveal that indeed some words are more stable than others. This type of classification would require a much more detailed analysis which would be beyond the scope of this thesis.

4.9 Observations

Let us summarize what we have so far. Although each word has its own life story, the causes of these words' disappearance can fit into nine categories. Some of these categories are more important than others. For example, category one, Authors single use/Hapax, accounts for 43% of the total, whereas category five, Thing no longer needs to be named, accounts for only 1.2%. Derivatives and semantic change are good indicators of a word's viability in a language. The current Occitan words have more derivatives and experienced more semantic change than the obsolete words. There are more abstract words in the obsolete list than concrete words and more concrete words than abstract words in the main list. The scale of intimacy, as used by Wind is not useful for determining a word's chance of survival. Nor is the distinction between core vocabulary and periphery vocabulary useful for the present study.

After having examined all 249 words I can see some patterns. It would seem that when the Occitan words for plants and animals go out of use, they are replaced by their French equivalent. Or it may be that the Occitan word was never really a serious competitor of the French word to begin with. Take the word *aguassière*. In French this

bird is called a *merle d'eau*. Here the French word was adopted instead of the Occitan word. Take the word *bennaric*. This type of small yellow bird is found in the south of France. The word now used is *ortolan*, which is itself a loan from Occitan. Sometimes a word higher up can be used for the more specific term. The word *anguille* is no longer current with the meaning “boat that plied the waters between Blaye and Bordeaux”. This type of boat may no longer be in use, or it could be that French speakers called it a *bateau*, the superordinate term. The literary term *abelir* illustrates another pattern. It may be that reflexes of this word were used throughout the north and south of France. The prestige of Troubadour poetry caused it to be adopted into courtly French where it stayed for a while and then was dropped. The word is still alive in some northern dialects. I have already mentioned that if a word gives rise to derivatives it stands a better chance at survival. I may, however, be confusing cause and effect. The fact that a foreign word is already accepted in the language may mean that it is more likely to produce derivatives, since it is used by monolingual speakers of the language. Sometimes the derivatives of a foreign word may survive but the word itself does not. Such is the case with *barate*. Some of its derivatives and sub-derivatives are still alive such as *baraterie*, *baratin*, *baratiner* and *baratineur*.

I have been writing about why loanwords are rejected. Let us look at why some loanwords are accepted. I propose a model to describe the path of a foreign word entering the language. This model consists of a series of questions.

1) Are there any (absolute) synonyms for the word already in the language?

> Yes.

>No

> Does the word have
any emotional, poetic
or stylistic connotation?

> Does the word fulfill a need in the
language? Does it designate something
not already designated?

> Yes

> No

> Yes.

No >

> Accept the word. > Reject the word.

> Accept the word. > Is there room for semantic change?

> Yes. > The word will find a niche.

>No. > Reject the word.

A word at first accepted may be later on rejected if for example the need it once fulfilled is no longer there. The word may have been accepted into a specialized vocabulary, or it may not have had a very wide diffusion to begin with. This process is not instantaneous. A word about which one answers no to the first question and that does not describe anything not already designated may still be kept for a while.

The fact that a loanword has given rise to derivatives and/or has undergone semantic change is a good indication that the word in question has been accepted into the language. However, it is important not to confuse cause and effect. A loanword's ability for derivation and semantic change may not be the cause of its being accepted into the host language, but rather a sign that it has been accepted.

Then there is the question of what I have called crossings. The foreign word to be imported may resemble one or more native words. It remains to be seen whether this is a help or a hindrance as far as the ultimate acceptance of the loanword is concerned. I am inclined to think that a word crossing may be neutral as far as acceptance is concerned. Inevitably, because French and Occitan are Latin based languages, there will be formal and semantic resemblance between some vocabulary items. One language may borrow some of these words from the other. However, as we have seen with *accouchade/accouchée*, unless the word brings a difference in meaning, then it most probably will not be adopted. Sometimes the foreign word is preferred. For example, *moustique* was adopted into French from Spanish *mosquito* which is a diminutive of the Latin *musca*. The form *moustique* is the result of a crossing between French *mouche* and Spanish *mosquito*.¹⁰⁶ Sometimes this crossing results in a “hybrid” form as with *moustique*, but sometimes one or the other form prevails. As an example of this latter possibility there is *chemisade*, a word borrowed in 1578. This semi-gallicized form crossed with *camidade*, borrowed in 1552. However, the latter was preferred.

¹⁰⁶ *Überseeische Wörter im Französischen*, Karl König, Halle, Niemeyer, 1939, p. 148. However, according to the *TLF*, the Spanish word *mosquito* came under the influence of the French word *mousquite*. The form *moustique* is due to metathesis.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

It seems that Brunot was right and that each word has its own story,¹⁰⁷ as a glance at the word biographies would reveal. Some words require detailed explanations that go on for pages; others need only a line. It is possible, however, to discern patterns among this variety. I have shown how the obsolete loanwords fit into semantic categories and, more importantly, I have shown how these words fit into categories of obsolescence. There are eight such categories of obsolescence plus one category, called Other, which is composed of reasons for obsolescence that are hard to classify. Some of these categories are more important than others, as far as the number of words they contain is concerned. Let us start this conclusion with a look at some of the topics covered in Chapter Two: neologisms, bilingualism and the mental lexicon.

As far as neologisms are concerned, they must, according to Hagège (1993), meet the needs of the linguistic community in question and be in conformity with the word formation habits of the language of that community. The first criterion is linguistic and the second, extra-linguistic. It would seem that this balance between linguistic and extra-linguistic factors occurs in the factors of obsolescence, as we shall see. Loanwords are like neologisms in that both are foreign and sometimes strange-looking to the speakers of the language. They need to be accepted by the community and conform to the lexical

¹⁰⁷ "Chaque mot a son histoire" quoted in Hope (1964), p. 47.

structures of the language of that community. Loanwords fail to integrate themselves when they are not accepted by the community and are used by only a part of that community. As has been shown in the previous chapter, a large number of the obsolete words were either hapaxes or else they were used by only some authors or they remained part of a specialized/technical vocabulary. Failure to conform themselves to the lexical patterns of the language may also be a strike against them.

Bilingualism has an important role to play in the transfer of words from language to language. The adoption of loan words from language B by the speakers of language A depends on a certain number of speakers of language A knowing language B. As we have seen from the statistics, that was the case as far as Occitan and French were concerned. Most of the authors who used Occitan words in their writings were from the south of France and were bilingual. The important thing to remember is that the community did not follow them in their use of these words in French. Bilingualism is necessary, but it is not sufficient in itself. Bilingual speakers provide a point of entry for a loanword, but cannot guarantee that it will be accepted by the wider (monolingual) community. The word may in fact remain in use in the bilingual community, but remain unknown to everyone else.

Another way of approaching the study of loanwords is by looking at the mental lexicon, how words are stored in the mind. In Chapter Two, I mentioned that the words of one's native language are stored in one's mind, and not according to alphabetical order. Words are collocated, coordinated and subordinated to each other. Words may be stored according to their synonyms and antonyms. It would seem that some loanwords in

effect duplicate native words, as we saw with *buisson* and *buissonnade*. Why bother having two (or more) words that mean the same thing? It seems that many of the obsolete words had French equivalents. The statistics bear this out. Of the obsolete words 100 belong to the category Equivalent word exists in French, which works out to about 40.2%. There are about 80 words in the main list that come under this category, which is about 12% of the total. Among these words in the main list, a few went on to find a niche in French. For example, *brume* “light fog” coexists with *brouillard* “fog” because it designates a different kind of fog. It seems that the law of economy applies here. A certain amount of vocabulary duplication can be tolerated, but not too much. There is a tendency for synonyms to develop different shades of meaning, or stylistic differences.

One important conclusion that can be drawn concerning the disappearance of Occitan loanwords in French is that there is often more than one reason for a word’s disappearance. In only about 35% of the cases do we have a single reason for a word’s disappearance. Let us review my hypothesis regarding loanwords and the results of my study. I predicted that there would be more *emprunts de sens* in the main list than in the obsolete list. This turns out not to be the case. 93% of the words in the main list are loanwords and about 7% are loan shifts and loan blends. In the obsolete list 89.5% of the words are loanwords and about 10.4% of the words are loan shifts and loan blends. It seems that the number of loanshifts is never very high. I predicted that there would be more words with derivatives in the main list than in the obsolete list. I was right about

that. About 38% of the words in the main list gave rise to derivatives. Whereas only 2.8% of the words in the obsolete list gave rise to derivatives. I predicted that the more words in the main list would undergo semantic change. About 1% of the words in the obsolete list underwent semantic change. In the main list that number is closer to 10%. Semantic change and the presence of derivatives are good indicators of a loanword's acceptance in a language. It would seem that the proportion of loanwords versus loan shifts remains the same in the lists of successful words and obsolete words.

It seems that there are more abstract words in the obsolete list than in the main list: 30 words out of 65 or 4.4% in the main list and 40 out of 249 or 16% in the obsolete list. It would seem that concrete words have a better chance of survival than abstract words. *Auberge* has become an integral part of the French language, but *aubergade* has not. The latter refers to the "droit de gîte" and is more abstract than *auberge* "hostel". The marine terminology is concrete and, I might add, technical. The names of plants and animals refer to concrete "things" in the real world. These last two groups are not as stable as marine vocabulary, but they are still more stable than Life in Society and the Affective Domain.

The question of "helping" words or cognates is complicated. I have stated that these words appear to be neutral as far as the acceptance of loanwords is concerned. It may in fact be that these helping words are more of a hindrance. In the main list only about 6.6% of the words had cognates. In the obsolete list that number is 21.3%. As far as interlingual homophones are concerned, there are more in the extinct list (5.6%) than

in the current list (2.4%). In other words, the fact that a word may have competition from other words or other meanings does not mean that the word will disappear. The native word can just as easily be rejected. However, it would seem that the native word is more often preferred.

Let us now consider the categories of obsolescence. It is obvious that some categories are more important than others. The first category, Author's single use/Hapax accounts for nearly half (43%) of the disappearances. Of the words with only one reason for their obsolescence 51.7% are Author's single use/Hapax; this compares with 43% of the total number of words. That this category should account for so many disappearances should not be surprising. In an intimate contact situation such as this, there are usually many such ephemeral loans, usually on the level of *parole*. As Hartweg (1988) puts it: "Il s'agit fréquemment d'emprunts éphémères relevant du comportement individuel -- phénomènes qui se situent au niveau de la parole -- et ne correspondant à aucune nécessité ou lacune dans le système lexical du dialecte." (in Vermes, p. 47)¹⁰⁸ He was talking about Alsatian, but his observation could also be applied to the Occitan/French contact situation. Individual authors choose to use an Occitan word, either because the French word is unknown to them, or it seems to them that the Occitan word is the *mot juste*. An Occitan word can add a note of colour, a touch of realism to a story. In a document, the use of an Occitanism may indicate that the writer did not know the corresponding French word or there was no corresponding French word. For most of

¹⁰⁸ Frequently it is a question of ephemeral loans dependent on individual behavior - phenomena that are situated at the level of *parole* -- and do not correspond to any necessity or need in the lexical system of the dialect.

these words, there were French equivalents – this category correlates most strongly with category 6, Equivalent word exists in French (36.5%) and 8, Crossings (22%). It would seem that even if these words had become more widespread there would have been, in most cases, native French replacements.

The category of Words confined to the Midi is the second largest of the internal categories. A little over 32% of the words belong here. Again, it is not surprising that it should be so. The south of France was gallicized slowly. In 1539, when the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts made French mandatory in documents, French was not the native language of most document writers of the south, and in any case, they were used to writing in Latin. When they set out to write in French, they filled their gaps in knowledge with Occitan words. It may have also been the case that there was no French equivalent to the word or expression. This category correlates most strongly with category 6. Equivalent word exists in French (37.5%). As French influence in the south increased, so did knowledge of the French language. Hence many of the Occitan words were replaced with their French equivalents. This category correlates only slightly with the first category, Author's single use/Hapax (12.5%). It would seem that most of these southern expressions were not ephemeral.

The number of specialized words is not high in the obsolete list, a little over 19%. The number of specialized words in the main list is quite high, according to Gebhardt. It would seem that specialized words have a better chance of survival than non-specialized

words. One of the reasons why foreign words are borrowed in the first place is that they provide a designation for an object or a technique previously unknown in the borrowing culture. About a quarter of these words had equivalents in French and a little over 29% were largely confined to the Midi.

Few of the words, a little more than 11%, in the obsolete list come under the fourth category, Word disappears with thing. This seems to imply that most of the cultural items that the northern French borrowed from the south stayed and hence their designations stayed as well.

The fifth category, Thing no longer needs to be named, with only three words, is too small to be significant.

Of the internal categories, the most numerous is Equivalent word existed in French. A little over 40% of the words belong to this category. As I have already mentioned, it would seem that languages do not support too much redundancy. Inevitably, these equivalents will develop other meanings or else will disappear. This category correlates most strongly to the first category, Author's single use/Hapax. The reason why many of these hapaxes did not catch on in French was that there were equivalents in French for them.

There are not many words in the seventh category, competition from other meanings (5.6%). This category correlates most strongly with another internal category, number six, Equivalent word exists in French. There are, it seems, few interlingual homophones between French and Occitan among the obsolete words.

That there is a relatively high number of words (21.3%) in category eight, Crossings, should not be surprising; French and Occitan have the same Latin origins, so there should be a certain number of words that resemble each other formally between them. There are few of them in the main list, about 6.6 percent had “helping” words or cognates. These helping words may be a hindrance because the native French form is usually preferred to the Occitan form.

The ninth category is heterogeneous. The only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that sometimes the reasons for a word becoming obsolete do not fit so easily into categories.

It would seem that the external categories are more independent than the internal categories. As was reported in the last chapter, of the external categories, 31.1% appear as the only reasons for a word’s disappearance. 68% had helping words. Of the internal categories only 17% appear on their own, 83.8% have helpers. Internal categories are more likely to need helpers than external categories. In other words, linguistic factors are not as important as extra-linguistic factors in the disappearance of words. However, we shall see that when individual categories are compared with each other, there is more of a balance between extra-linguistic and linguistic factors.

Let us now look at the semantic categories. As I have mentioned, marine terminology is the most stable of any of the semantic fields. This should come as no surprise. *Méridionaux* dominated this area, although starting in the 16th century, the Atlantic took the place of the Mediterranean as the theatre of naval activity. Words

associated with the culture and the people of the south show, again not surprisingly, staying power. Southern Institutions and Persons, House and Home and the Law all have vocabulary items which lasted more than a year. Life in Society and Affective Domain are less stable. These are areas where the vagaries of fashion and taste tend to predominate and where one finds more abstract vocabulary. Surprisingly enough, slang turns out to be quite stable. This may be because many Occitan words seem comical, cute and even affectionate for French speakers. Many, if not most, slang words may be described as such. Slang words from foreign languages tend to stay because they provide emotional connotations not found in native vocabulary.

The fortunes of Occitan loanwords in French do follow certain patterns. Most of them were either Author's single use or Hapax or Equivalent word exists in French. This is an interesting balance between extra-linguistic and linguistic factors. As far as the table of correlations is concerned, there is also balance. Taking each of the categories in turn one finds that the first two (Authors' use/Hapax, Words confined to the Midi) and the seventh (Competition from other meanings) correlate most with linguistic categories, the fourth (Word disappears with thing) and sixth (Equivalent word in French) with extra-linguistic categories and the third (Specialized vocabulary), fifth (Thing no longer needs to be named), eighth (Word crosses with other word) and ninth (Other) are more or less balanced between the two.

I was wrong about the *emprunts de sens*: there are about the same number in both lists, not more in the main list. I was right about the derivatives and semantic change:

these are good indicators that a word has been fully accepted by the borrowing language. As far as the helping words are concerned, they may be more of a hindrance. It seems that an analogue might help a word during the initial borrowing period, but not during the interim period.

This thesis has shown that, most of the time, one reason is not enough for a word to disappear. Often there is more than one reason. For about 35% of the words there is one reason for their disappearance; about 65% of the words had more than one reason. Extra-linguistic factors are more important than linguistic factors. However, as far as individual categories are concerned there is a balance. The first external category, Hapax/Author's single use, accounts for 43% of the total word losses whereas the internal category accounts for 40.2% of the losses. Indeed, "chaque mot a son histoire", but I hope I have shown that although each word has its own story, one can discern patterns.

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