

Muta cum Liquida in the Light of Tertenia Sardinian Metathesis and Compensatory Lengthening Lat. $\check{V}tr > Old\ French\ Vrr$

TOBIAS SCHEER

Université de Nice-Sophia Antipolis, CNRS 6039

Abstract

This article is designed to show that muta cum liquida (branching onsets) enclose an empty nucleus (in case they are bipositional). Arguments come from two data sets. A compensatory lengthening is studied that has occurred in the evolution from Latin to Old French *within* a muta cum liquida: $tr, dr > rr$, i.e. the loss of t, d is accompanied by the gemination of r iff the preceding vowel is short (*petra* > *pierre* vs. *paatre* > *père*). In Tertenia Sardinian, it is argued that metathesis of r from the right to the left of the o in $/sesø\ d\oormendu/ \rightarrow s\acute{e}rø\ \check{d}ørømm\acute{e}$ *ndu* (with ensuing gemination of the m on the position vacated) occurs in order to circumscribe the second of two empty nuclei ($\emptyset$) in a row.

The present file is the appendix of the article mentioned above, which could not be included in the paper version due to space restrictions.

Appendix

The appendix illustrates an evolution from Latin to French whereby intervocalic (primary and secondary) tr, dr lose the t, d . In some cases, gemination of r accompanies this evolution: $tr, dr > (r)r$.

(1)		r does not geminate		r geminates	
tr	primary	<i>patre</i>	ofr. <i>père</i>	<i>petra</i>	ofr. <i>pierre</i>
	secondary	3sg <i>it(e)rat</i>	ofr. <i>eire</i>	<i>it(e)raare</i>	ofr. <i>errer</i>
dr	primary	—	—	<i>quadraatu</i>	ofr. <i>carré</i>
	secondary	* <i>riid(e)re</i>	ofr. <i>rire</i>	fut.3sg * <i>riid(e)rat</i>	ofr. <i>rirra</i>

Following Fouché (1966-73:719ff), it is shown in the article that gemination occurs iff the preceding vowel is short, while simplex r is observed in case the preceding vowel is long. The exhaustive material mentioned by Fouché (1966-73:719ff) is provided below:

- 23 items illustrating $tr, dr > r / VV_$ under (2)
- 59 items illustrating $tr, dr > rr / V_$ under (3)
- the distribution of gemination within verbal paradigms under (4)
- a discussion of analogical activity under (5)

2 Appendix to Scheer (2013): lat. tr,dr > fr. r(r)

(2) tr,dr > r / VV

g.-rom.		lat.		lat.			
tonic monophthong	<	ii	3sg consiid(e)rat	ofr. cossire	uu	buut(y)ru	ofr. bure
	tonicV	ii	3sg desiid(e)rat	ofr. desire	aa	fraatre	ofr. frere
	V	ii	*riid(e)re	ofr. rire	aa	maatre	ofr. mere
		ii	occiid(e)re	ofr. ocire	aa	imperaator	ofr.
							emperere
	< tonic	i	arbitriu	ofr. arvoire	a	latro (cas sujet de latroone)	ofr. lere
V	e	*petr(i)ca	ofr. pierge	a	patre	ofr. pere	
				u	lutra	ofr. leure	
	oo < au	au	claud(e)re	ofr. clore	au	exclaud(e)re	ofr. esclore
		au	Lovolautrum	Vollore			
heavy diphthong	ei	i	3sg it(e)rat	ofr. eire	i	vitru	ofr. veire
		i	tonítru (<cl. tónitru)	ofr. toneire	ee	creed(e)re	ofr. creire
	ai	a	*mat(e)riamentu	ofr. mairment	a	*mat(e)riame	ofr. mairien
		a	repatriaare	ofr. repairier			

(3) tr,dr > rr / V

g.-rom.		lat.			lat.		
light diphthong	ie	e	hed(e)ra	ofr. ierre	e	Petru	ofr. Pierre
		e	petra	ofr. pierre			
	ue	oo	frk. foodre	ofr. fuerre	o	Altiod(u)ru	ofr. Auçuerre (>Auxerre)
		oo	frk. *loopr	ofr. luerre	o	Nemelod(u)ru	ofr. Nantuerre
					o	Tonod(u)ru	ofr. Tonuerre
non-tonic monophthong	< VV	ii	fut.3sg *occiid(e)rát	ofr. ocirra	aa	maatriina	marraine
		ii	fut.3sg *riid(e)rát	ofr. rirra	uu	*buut(y)raare	ofr. burrer
		ee	fut.3sg *creed(e)rát	ofr. crerra	uu	*buut(y)rariu	ofr. burrier
	oo < au	au	fut.3sg *claud(e)rát	ofr. clorra	au	fut.3sg *aud(i)rát	ofr. orra
		au	fut.3sg *gaud(i)rát (*gaudiire, lat. gaudeere)	ofr. jorra			

(3) tr,dr > rr / V__

g.-rom.	lat.	lat.
non-tonic monophthong < V	i *Bit(u)riigu ofr. Berri	a *matriculaare ofr. mareillier
	i it(e)raare ofr. errer	a *matriina ofr. marrine, marraine
	i fut.3sg ofr. verra	a quadratu ofr. carré
	*vid(e)rát	
	i vitrariu ofr. verrier	a patriinu ofr. parrin, parrain
	i vitriinu ofr. verrin	a *quadrellu ofr. carrel
	e *petrariu ofr. perrier	a *quadrifurcu ofr. carreforc
	e *petroone ofr. perron	a quadruviu ofr. carrouge
	e *petrosiiliu ofr. perresil	a *quadrariu carrier
	e Petriciacu ofr. Perreci	a *quatriniioone ofr. carregon (>carillon)
	e fut.3sg ofr. serra	a *adripaare arriver
	*sed(e)rát	
	a atramentu ofr. arrement	o *fodratu ofr. forrage
	a Atrebatas ofr. Arras	(<frk. foodr)
	a *atrapica, ofr. arrache,	o *fodraare ofr. forrer
	*atrepace (lat. arrace	o *pot(e)rát ofr. porra
	atriplex)	
	a fut.3sg ofr. cherra	o Theod(e)riicu ofr. Tierri
	cad(e)rát	
	a fut.3sg ofr. harra	o Brivód(u)ru Brierre, auj. Briarre, cf. Briarres-sur- Essonne (Loiret)
	*hat(i)rát (<frk. *hatjan)	
	a latroone ofr. larron	u fut.3sg ofr. escorra
	a latrociiniu ofr. larrecin	*escut(e)rát
	a adrestaare ofr. arrester	u *nutriire ofr. norrir
		u *putriire (lat. ofr. porrir
		putrescere)
	a atramentu ofr. arrement	u fut.3sg ofr. secorra
		*succut(e)rát
	a latrociiniu ofr. larrecin	u *nutrituura ofr. norreture
		u nutriimen ofr. nourrin
		u nutritione nourrisson

4 Appendix to Scheer (2013): lat. tr,dr > fr. r(r)

(4)	VV > r		V > rr	
	*riid(e)re	ofr. rire	fut.3sg *riid(e)rát	ofr. rirra
	3sg it(e)rat	ofr. eire	it(e)raare	ofr. errer
	creed(e)re	ofr. creire	fut.3sg *creed(e)rát	ofr. crerra
	occiid(e)re	ofr. ocire	fut.3sg *occiid(e)rát	ofr. ocirra
	buut(y)ru	ofr. bure	*buut(y)raare	ofr. burrer
			*buut(y)rariu	ofr. burrier

- (5) As may be expected, there is a fair amount of analogical levelling in (verbal) paradigms, which typically leads to the presence of doublets in Old French texts. The table recapitulates the examples collected by Fouché (1966-73:721f) and mentions the analogical attractor that Fouché proposes.

	lat.	ofr. doublet		analogical attractor	
		expected form	unexpected form	lat.	ofr.
a.		r	rr		
	látro	sujet lere	sujet lerre	rect. latroone	larron
	patre	sujet pere	sujet perre		rect. lerre
	buut(y)ru	bure	burre	*buut(y)raare	burrer
				*buut(y)rariu	burrier
	3sg it(e)rat	eire	eirre	it(e)raare	errer
	vitru	veire	veirre	vitrariu	verrier
				vitriinu	verrin
	tonítru	toneire	toneirre		
		escore	escorre	fut.3sg *escut(e)rát	escorra
		secore	secorre	fut.3sg *succut(e)rát	secorra
b		rr	r		
	fut.3sg	crerra	crera	creed(e)re	creire
	*creed(e)rát				
	fut.3sg	occirra	ocira	occiid(e)re	ocire
	*occiid(e)rát				
	fut.3sg	clorra	clora	claud(e)re	clore
	*claud(e)rát				