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Objektyp: **Article**

Zeitschrift: **Vox Romanica**

Band (Jahr): **32 (1973)**

PDF erstellt am: **26.04.2024**

Persistenter Link: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-25978>

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The Latin Suffix -ATICU in Early Old Spanish

The Spanish representatives of Latin -ATICU have achieved frequent if superficial mention in a number of places, principally because of the unusual triple pattern they make up: alongside learned *-ático* and popular *-azgo* there exists a third variant, *-aje*, as a result of borrowing from Old French (*-age*) and Old Provençal (*-atge*)¹. Two recent articles by Anita Katz Levy (*RomPhil.* 18 [1965], 399–429 and 20 [1967], 296–320) study only the third form and then only as a foil to another borrowed suffix or suffixoid (*-el/-er*). A more interesting and fuller treatment is to be found in the unpublished thesis of G. A. Meyer (1934) who contrasts the development of French *-age* and Spanish *-azgo* and also the use of all three forms within Spanish. Meyer's thesis has been generally ignored, and as it remains unpublished it may be of interest to reproduce his main conclusions here:

The Latin suffix -ATICUS, having lost early its capacity for building adjectives in the popular speech of Latin-speaking peoples in Gaul and Spain, acquired a new function, that of creating substantives of fiscal meaning, due in all probability to Greek influence. The neuter -ATICUM, showing great vitality in Gaul, in the creating of feudal-service nouns, acquired the capacity for expressing not only fiscal concepts, but also verbal concepts of a collective aspect. These characteristics having been transmitted to O.F. *-age*, the latter created nouns of verbal aspect other than purely fiscal ones, and after the 13th century began to create genuine collectives. Through borrowing of many feudal terms in *-age* during the 12th and 13th centuries, the Spanish language gradually became conscious of *-aje* as a formative suffix, and after the 17th century the suffix became vigorous in producing new terms which reflect the functions acquired by -ATICUM in the early Middle Ages in Gaul.

The neuter -ATICUM in Spanish territory had the same fiscal functions as did the suffix in Gaul. It did not, however, play the role of forming feudal-service nouns, and consequently did not acquire verbal aspect as it did in Gaul. The activity of the suffix was limited, until the 11th or 12th centuries, to the production of fiscal terms. An extension of its function to that of denoting dignity, jurisdiction came about, in the 11th or 12th centuries, due, probably, to the influence of Gallic feudal terminology and the derived suffix *-azgo* shows from then on the two functions acquired. The suffix is no longer formative, and the vocabulary in *-azgo* tends to become archaic².

¹ For example, R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Manual de Gramática histórica española*, Madrid 1958, § 84; J. D. M. FORD, *The Old Spanish Sibilants*, Boston 1900, p. 132, 143ss, 147, 151. For a survey of different treatments by philologists of Spanish *-aje*, see ANITA KATZ LEVY, *RomPhil.* 18 (1965), 399–429, esp. 425–429.

² G. A. MEYER, *The Latin Suffix -aticus in old French and in Spanish* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1934); by «verbal aspect» in the passage quoted, Meyer is referring simply to the capacity for forming post-verbal derivatives and not to the normal meaning of the term.

The evidence of my researches³ confirms several of these points. First, there is no evidence that the adjectival suffix (corresponding to the modern learned form *-ático*) was living in Old Spanish. Only three words were found containing it, and all of them represent Latin forms; there are no new formations. One of the three is an adjective: *demoniatico* (*Glosas silenses*) 'possessed by devils'; the other two are substantivised: *gramatgo* (*Auto de los reyes magos*) 'grammarian, wise man' and *lunatico* (*Libro de Alexandre*), meaning unclear, possibly 'astrologer'.

New forms are found in *-ático*, but as will be explained below they are evidence rather for the new kind of nominal derivation (from neuter -ATICUM) which was to give *-azgo*.

Less straightforward is the position of the form *-aje*, influenced by French or Provençal. This occurs in a number of loan-words:

<i>vasallage</i>	<i>lenguaje</i>	<i>ora(t)ge</i>
<i>bernaje</i>	<i>lina(t)ge</i>	<i>para(t)ge</i>
<i>coraje</i>	<i>mensa(t)ge</i>	<i>romeatge</i>
<i>doma(t)ge</i>	<i>monedage</i>	<i>salvage</i>
<i>erbage</i>	<i>omena(t)ge</i>	<i>usaje</i>
<i>guionage</i>		

Of these rather less than half (six out of sixteen) are not analysable as containing a recognisable simplex in Old Spanish; these are *bernaje*, *doma(t)ge*, *mensa(t)ge*, *omena(t)ge*, *ora(t)ge* and probably *salvage*, though the link with *selva* cannot entirely be discounted in this last case. In the remainder, analysis of the suffix's function would show a broad spectrum which would confirm Meyer's summary: some are fiscal and post-nominal (*erbage*, *monedage*), some are collective (*vassalage*, *lina(t)ge* and by extension perhaps *coraje*, *lenguaje* and *para(t)ge*) while some are post-verbal (*guionage*, *romeatge*). I do not propose to pursue this further, however, for as Meyer correctly points out, *-aje* is not a living suffix in Old Spanish. It was necessary for many more borrowings to be made before the analogical process began to operate, and while I have no evidence to confirm or reject his date of the seventeenth century, it is certain that no new formations in *-aje* appear during the thirteenth century in the texts studied⁴.

It is the form *-adgo* (modern *-azgo*) which is of most interest in early Old Spanish. The following forms are found:

³ What follows is based on the word list printed as an appendix to this article. The list is based on a wide selection of literary and non-literary texts dated before 1300.

⁴ In this connection ANITA KATZ LEVY gives an imprecise picture of the productiveness of *-aje* by referring to the "continued (in fact, accelerated) growth of *-aje* as against the early ossification of *-el/-er*" (*RomPhil.* 20 [1967], 319). At the early period there is no such growth.

<i>almoxirifadgo</i>	<i>montazgo</i>
<i>arciprestadgo</i>	<i>(o)bispadgo</i>
<i>arenzatgo</i>	<i>padronalgo</i> ⁷
<i>carceradgo</i>	<i>portadgo</i>
<i>infantadgo</i>	<i>prioradgo</i>
<i>marçadga</i> ⁵	<i>terradgo</i>
<i>montacenadgo</i> ⁶	

These words fall naturally into two groups, as noted by Meyer. Some are what he calls "fiscal" terms: words referring to fees, taxes, payments, etc. Examples are *carceradgo* (1195 Logroño) 'payment made to jailor on leaving prison', *portadgo* (1225 Sigüenza) 'tax paid on transport of goods (which was originally paid on crossing passes or passing through gates)', *padronalgo* (1286 León) 'tribute paid to the patron of a benefice'⁸.

Others refer to offices or jurisdictions: *arciprestadgo* (1266 Alava) 'jurisdiction of archpriest', *(o)bispadgo* (*Fuero Juzgo*) 'bishopric'⁹. The development of this function out of the fiscal one is convincingly explained by Meyer as hinging on late Latin *INFANTATICUM*, originally referring to the service owed by the *infanzón* to his overlord, thence to the land granted in return for such service, and analogically extended to other territorial terms (Meyer pp. 56–59).

⁵ *Marçadga* is anomalous in that it is the only word to show a feminine form of the suffix and invariably does so. No explanation seems ever to have been attempted; it may be an isolated instance of the collective feminine. This would arise because the word refers to a tribute in kind (so called because it was paid in March) which consisted of a number of individual items.

⁶ *Montacenadgo* (1274 Toledo *DLC* 286) was mentioned without explanation by COROMINAS as a variant of *montazgo* (*DCELC* 3, 426a); E. K. NEUVONEN's identification of this word with *(al)montacenadgo* from *almotacén* 'fiel de las pesas y medidas' (ar. *al-muhtasib*) seems much more likely. As he says, the -n- may reflect a contamination by *montazgo* (*Los arabismos del español*, Helsinki 1941, p. 94).

⁷ The form -algo is a Leonese variant. In addition to *padronalgo* it is found in *montalgo*, *portalgo* and *prioralgo*. This is a normal phonetic feature: «si, par suite de la chute d'une voyelle atone, deux explosives (ou une fricative et une explosive) se rencontrent, la première de ces consonnes se transforme en l» (E. STAAFF, *Etude sur l'ancien dialecte léonais*, Uppsala 1907, p. 242).

⁸ Others are *almoxirifadgo*, *arenzatgo*, *marçadga*, *montacenadgo*, *montazgo*, *terradgo*. Problems often arise over the precise meaning of these terms, and I have referred to J. A. LLORENTE, *Noticias históricas de las tres provincias vascongadas*, vol. 2, Madrid 1807, which contains a chapter (x) «De los tributos antiguos de Castilla», and to J. KLEIN, *The Mesta*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1920, which has a glossary of fiscal terms at p. 423–428. For *almoxirifadgo* and *montacenadgo* see NEUVONEN, *op. cit.*, p. 157s., 93s.

⁹ Also: *infantadgo* and *prioradgo*. OELSCHLAGER lists one other apparently relevant form, *visirazgo* 'visirate', from a 13th-century Mozarabic document (No. 279) in A. GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo*, Madrid 1926–1930. Although GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA prints the word in italics, which he normally uses to signify *aljamiado*, he is here giving an equivalent rather than a transcription, and no such suffixed form appears in the Arabic of the document. I am indebted to Professor L. P. HARVEY for help on this point.

The mention of late Latin highlights a problem. None of the terms in *-azgo* current in early Old Spanish correspond to Classical forms in *-ATICUM*. Meyer, in fact, considers that only one such form ever had anything approaching “fiscal” function, namely *VIATICUM* ‘money for a journey’ and that the growth of this function is essentially an outgrowth of functions acquired in the Merovingian and Carolingian periods (Meyer p. xiii; cf. p. 9 for *VIATICUM*). Early documents in Old Spanish still often use forms in *-atico* which may well represent popular *-azgo* derivatives: as well as variants of some words already listed (*infantaticum*, *portatico* and *herbatico* appear alongside forms in *-adgo* or *-aje*) we find *posatico* (1102 Caparrosa) ‘billeting’ (viewed as a duty), *senioratico* (1181 Aragón) ‘jurisdiction of the *sennor*’ and *direct-atico* (1097 Aragón) ‘rights connected with taxation’.

The evidence, then, confirms Meyer’s contention that Old Spanish *-adgo* (replaced by *-atico* in early documents) has the dual function of creating fiscal terms and nouns denoting offices or jurisdictions. He is also correct in saying that *-azgo* shows no signs of the widening of scope associated with French *-age* (cf. Meyer, p. 21–28): it does not become either a collective suffix or a post-verbal one. This failure to develop is seen as a reflection of the difference between the social orders of the two countries: in France, with its developed feudal system, fiscal terms were intimately linked with the idea of a service performed. In Spain the fiscal system remained basically one of payments and only *posatico* was coined to refer to a service or duty with verbal force. The failure of *-adgo* to follow *-age* in developing a collective function can best be ascribed to the small number of words involved (the suffix was in rivalry with others, notably *-ía* and *-era*, for the designation of taxes). Also, the Spanish system may have placed less emphasis on payment in kind, which lends itself especially to the establishment of the collective nuance. Only *marçadga* (whose final *-a* may indicate just such a nuance; cf. N5) appears to be connected with payment in kind.

If the stunted growth of *-adgo* was eventually to lead to its demise, it enables us to study it in Old Spanish as an interesting example of a suffix semantically compact in function and, within its limited field, relatively productive.

Oxford

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APPENDIX: *Word List*

The list is arranged in normal alphabetical order, with the following modifications: *b* and *v* are treated as one letter; *c*, *ç*, *k* and *z* are treated as one letter and follow *b/v*; *j*, *x* and consonantal *i/y* are treated as one letter and follow vocalic *i/y*.

Each word is followed by (1) its etymon, which will be either a Latin form or, if no corresponding Latin form existed, the Romance form presumed to have been the simplex; (2) meaning; (3) textual references: literary sources are provided with line references, non-literary sources with date, area and a reference to the published or unpublished source (and, where relevant, to the number of the document therein). Abbreviations and editions used are as follows:

AHNC	Archivo histórico nacional (Madrid), sección de clero.
Alex.	<i>Libro de Alexandre</i> , ed. R. S. Willis, Princeton 1934.
Apol.	<i>Libro de Apolonio</i> , ed. C. C. Marden, Baltimore 1917–1922.
ARM	<i>Auto de los Reyes Magos</i> , ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, <i>RABM</i> 4 (1900), 453–462.
BLoor.	Berceo, <i>Loores de Nuestra Señora</i> , <i>BAE</i> 57 (Madrid 1864) 93–100.
BMil.	Berceo, <i>Milagros de Nuestra Señora</i> , ed. A. G. Solalinde (Madrid 1922).
Brutails	J. Brutails, <i>Documents des archives de la Chambre de Comptes de Navarre</i> (<i>BEHE</i> Vol. 84; Paris 1890).
BSDom.	Berceo, <i>Vida de ... Santo Domingo de Silos</i> , ed. A. Andrés (Madrid 1958).
BSMill.	Berceo, <i>Estoria de San Millán</i> , ed. G. Koberstein (Münster 1964).
Cid	<i>Cantar de mio Cid</i> , ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid 1908–1911.
DLA	T. Navarro, <i>Documentos lingüísticos del Alto Aragón</i> , New York 1957.
DLC	R. Menéndez Pidal, <i>Documentos lingüísticos de España I: Reino de Castilla</i> , Madrid 1919.
FJuzgo	<i>Gramática y Vocabulario del Fuero Juzgo</i> , ed. V. Fernández Llera, Madrid 1929.
G. Larragueta	S. García Larragueta, <i>Colección de documentos de la Catedral de Oviedo</i> , Oviedo 1962.
GSil.	<i>Glosas silenses</i> , in: R. Menéndez Pidal, <i>Orígenes del español</i> , Madrid, 1956, p. 9–24.
LibReg.	<i>El Liber Regum</i> , ed. L. Cooper, Zaragoza 1960.
Mañueco	M. Mañueco Villalobos, <i>Documentos de la Iglesia Colegial de Santa María la Mayor de Valladolid</i> , 3 vol., Valladolid 1917–1920.
Oel.	V. R. B. Oelschlager, <i>A Medieval Spanish Word-List</i> , Madison 1940.
PCG	<i>Primera Crónica General...</i> , ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid 1955.
Serrano	L. Serrano, <i>Cartulario del Infantado de Covarrubias</i> , Valladolid 1907.
SME	<i>La vida de Santa María Egipcíaca</i> , ed. M. S. de Andrés Castellanos, Madrid 1964.
Staaff	E. Staaff, <i>Etude sur l'ancien dialecte léonais d'après des chartes du XIIIe siècle</i> , Uppsala 1907.
Ubieto	A. Ubieto Arteta, <i>Colección diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra</i> , Zaragoza 1951.

- ALMOXIRIFADGO, ALMOXERIFADGO (*almojarife*) 'a tax (paid to the *almojarife*)' 1288 Alava *DLC* 141; 1294 Andalucía *DLC* 355.
- ARCIPRESTADGO (*arcipreste*) 'jurisdiction of archpriest' 1266 Alava *DLC* 135.
- ARENZATGO (*arienzo*) 'a monetary tax' 1095 Logroño Oel.
- VASALLAGE (fr. *vasselage*, prov. *vasalatge*) 'vassaldom' *PCG* 273a32; 'vassals' *BSMill* 450.
- BERNAJE (fr. *barnage*, prov. *barnatge*) 'valiant deed' *Alex.* P 255, P 967.
- BISPADGO, BISPAZGO, see OBISPADGO.
- CARCERADGO (*carcer*) 'payment on leaving prison' 1195 Logroño Oel.
- CORAGE (fr. *corage*, prov. *coratge*) 'courage' *PCG* 290a1, 291b16.
- DEMONIATICO (late lat. *DAEMONIATICUM*) 'possessed by devils' *GSil.* 292.
- DIRECTATICO (*directo/derecho*) 'a tax' 1097, 1099 Aragón Ubieto 35, 37.
- DOMAGE (fr. *domage*, prov. *domatge*) 'harm' *BSMill.* 441, *Alex.* P 506.
- DOMATGE 'pity' *SME* 255.
- ERBAGE (fr. *herbage*, prov. *erbatge*) 'a tax paid for use of crown pasturage' 1248 Navarra AHNC 1421/5; 1254 Aragón AHNC 3671/4; 1299 Aragón *DLA* 75.

- (H)ERBATICO 'a tax' 978 Covarrubias Serrano 7; 1099 Aragón Ubieto 66.
 GRAMATGO (GRAMMATICUM) 'grammarian, wise man' *ARM* 122.
 GUIONAGE (fr. *guionage*, prov. *guidonatge*) 'guidance' *BLoor.* 197; *BSDom.* 574, 727.
 INFANTADGO (*infante*) 'land granted to *infanzón*' 1129 Castrotorafe Oel; 1148 Covarrubias Oel.
 INFANTATICUM 'land granted to *infanzón*' 1092 Valladolid Mañueco 4.
 LENGUAJE (fr. *langage*, prov. *lengatge*) 'language' *BLoor.* 157; *BMil.* 321; *PCG* 308b26, 311a17, 321a43.
 LINAGE, -AJE (fr. *lignage*, prov. *linhatge*) 'lineage' *BLoor.* 111; *BSMill.* 370, 374, 450 etc., *Apol.* 169, 172, 412 etc., *Alex.* OP 7, OP 340; *PCG* 8a27, 9b37, 10b53 etc.; 1209 Burgos *DLC* 160; 1214 Osma *DLC* 209.
 LIGNAGE 'lineage' *LibReg.* 4/1, 6/22 etc.
 LINATGE 'lineage' *SME* 118, 132; 1220 Sigüenza *DLC* 250.
 LUNATICO (LUNATICUM) 'astrologer(?)' *Alex.* OP 2329.
 MARÇADGA (*março*) 'payment in kind made in March' 1237 Rioja Alta *DLC* 91; 1295 Burgos *DLC* 203.
 MESSAGE, -AJE, MENSAJE (fr. *message*, prov. *mesatge*) 'message' *Cid* 627, 975, 1188, etc., *LibReg.* 4/25; *BLoor.* 24; *BMil.* 313; *BSMill.* 412; *Alex.* OP 506.
 MENSATGE 'message' *Apol.* 214.
 MONEDAGE (fr. *moneage*, prov. *monedatge*) 'a tax' 1283 Aragón *DLA* 55.
 MONTACENADGO ([*al*]motacen) 'dues paid to *almotacén*' (cf. N 6), 1274 Toledo *DLC* 286.
 MONTADGO, MONTAZGO (*monte*) 'tax on movement of animals' 1254 Aragón AHNC 3761/4; 1219 Guadalajara Oel.
 MONTALGO 'tax on movement of animals' 1260 Sigüenza *DLC* 258.
 (O)BISPADGO, (O)BISPAZGO ([*o*]bispo) 'bishopric' *FJuzgo*.
 OMENAGE, -AJE (fr. *homenage*, prov. *omenatge*) 'oath of homage' *Cid* 3425, *PCG* 40b46, 149b43, 291a39 etc.; 1276 Navarra Brutails 18.
 OMENATGE 'oath of homage' *Apol.* 616, 636.
 ORAJE (fr. *orage*, prov. *auratge*) 'wind' *BMil.* 589; *Alex.* OP 2300.
 ORATGE 'wind' *SME* 274; *Apol.* 456.
 PADRONALGO (*padron*) 'tribute paid to patrons of a benefice' 1286, 1289 León Staaff 67,69.
 PARAJE (fr. *parage*, prov. *paratge*) 'rank' *Alex.* P. 506.
 PARATGE 'rank' *SME* 248, 256, 270.
 PORTADGO (*puerto/-a*) 'tax paid on transport of goods' 1225 Sigüenza *DLC* 251; 1261 Burgos *DLC* 197, 1274 Navarra Brutails 15; 1294 Andalucía *DLC* 355.
 PORTALGO 'tax paid on transport of goods' 1252 León Staaff 40, 1260 Sigüenza *DLC* 258.
 PORTATICO 'tax paid on transport of goods' 957 Sahagún Oel.; 1036 Oviedo G. Larragueta 45.
 POSATICO (*posar*) 'billeting, as a duty' 1102 Caparrosa Oel.
 PRIORADGO (*prior*) 'monastery' 1249 Rioja Alta *DLC* 98; 1254, 1260 León Staaff 52, 55.
 PRIORALGO 'monastery' 1291 León Staaff 70.
 ROMEATGE (prov. *romavatge*) 'pilgrimage' *SME* 273.
 SALVAGE (fr. *sauvage*, prov. *salvatge*) 'wild' *PCG* 74a56.
 SENIORATICO (*sennor*) 'jurisdiction of Lord' 1181 Aragón AHNC 3751/16.
 TERRADGO (*tierra*) 'a tribute' 1252 Toledo *DLC* 283; 1269 Avila *DLC* 240.
 HUSAJE (fr. *usage*, prov. *usatge*) 'custom' *Cid* 1519.