

A Workbook for Historical Romance Linguistics

John Hewson

PREFACE

The field of Romance linguistics is enormous: It covers the two thousand year evolution of Latin into some ten modern vernaculars, each with its own interesting dialectal variation and individual history. It is impossible to be an expert in all aspects of the subject; it goes without saying that the expert in the syntax of Old Provençal may know little of the phonology of Modern Portuguese and nothing of Southern Italian and Sicilian dialects.

There is nevertheless a common core of knowledge to the discipline that is passed on by its teachers and which is available in such books as W.D. Elcock, *The Romance Languages* (London: Faber 1960) and Rebecca Posner *The Romance Languages: a Linguistic Introduction* (Anchor Books Paperback 1966). More detailed and more comprehensive information is contained in such texts as Edouard Bourciez, *Eléments de linguistique romane*, an encyclopaedic presentation in three parts: (1) Latin, (2) Primitive Romance, and (3) the different Romance languages.

It is often difficult for the ordinary student to bridge the gap between the texts that give a survey, such as Elcock and Posner, and the texts containing encyclopaedic detail, such as Bourciez. A recent book by D. Lincoln Canfield and J. Cary Davis, *An Introduction to Romance Linguistics* (Southern Illinois University Press) is an attempt to fill this gap, but is unsatisfactory for several reasons: (1) it goes too far too fast with too much detail for a beginner, (2) instead of concentrating on the coherent evolution of each language, it presents all the languages together, making the information indigestible for the student, (3) it has no exercises for students to practice so that they can learn, and (4) it contains a good deal of unnecessary error. There is still the need for a simple coherent text with linguistic detail that will enable the ordinary student of a Romance language to master the basis of what is a fascinating discipline.

The exercises in this workbook have been put together out of the conviction that, as John Dewey put it, one learns *by doing*. They have been designed to allow beginning students to amuse themselves while acquiring fundamental knowledge which will be of use to them when looking at any Romance language. The students will also, of necessity, come to be familiar with handbooks like Bourciez, and with dictionaries and grammars of different Romance languages, in short, with the library resources available to the discipline.

For the beginner a selection must be made, and every selection is by nature arbitrary, likely to promote disagreement. These exercises, for example, concentrate only on the five major national languages: French, Italian, Portuguese, Rumanian and Spanish, thus leaving Provençal, Catalan, Sardinian, Rheto-Romance and Dalmatian to a later stage. There is no value judgment involved here, merely the intention of concentrating on what is most useful and most available to the beginner.

The term *Vulgar Latin* has been deliberately avoided in this work, and replaced by the more exact historical term *Late Latin*. It is normal in all languages for what is non-standard in one generation to become standard usage in a later generation, and Latin was no exception to this perfectly normal process. Late Latin contains much that was non-standard in Classical Latin times.

There are still some who cling to the older term. Elcock, for example, defends the use of the term *Vulgar Latin* to mean the “spoken Latin of the Roman Empire.” (Elcock 1960:21). The attempt is to distinguish the different registers of speaking and writing: spoken Latin and written Latin, which are often quite different. In Modern English speaking and writing are also quite different: but no one refers to modern spoken English as vulgar English.

One learns to speak before one learns to write; it is the spoken language that is the fundamental fact of any civilisation; speech is a fundamental feature of human societies, a creation of nature, whereas writing is an artefact, an artificial creation of human beings. When we think of a language of a community, therefore, we should automatically think of it as *speech*. This is confused, however, by the fact that the Latin that we know comes from written sources since no one now speaks it. But if we wish to emphasize the speaking of Latin why would we use the term *Vulgar Latin* when we really mean *Spoken Latin*?

Late Latin is the typical Latin of the third and fourth centuries A.D., before the sack of Rome in 410, and the subsequent breakup of the Roman Empire. Late Latin is to be distinguished from Common Romance, the collection of mutually comprehensible regional dialects that existed for a while (fifth and sixth centuries A.D.) after the breakup of the Roman Empire. Both of these are to be distinguished from Proto-Romance, the purely theoretical reconstruction achieved by applying the comparative method to the modern Romance vernaculars. The term Proto-Romance will normally be reserved in these exercises for reconstructions, theoretical forms for which we have no written corroboration.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following is intended as a “beginner’s bibliography” which contains general introductory texts and the most common and useful reference works.

Extensive and comprehensive bibliographies, when needed, will be found in the pages of the works that are listed here.

The texts marked with an asterisk should be accessible to anyone wishing to follow this manual and complete the exercises.

1. Latin

Grandgent, Charles H. *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin*. Boston, 1907; New York: Hafner, 1962.

Herman, Joseph. *Le latin vulgaire*. Collection Que sais-je? Paris: PUF, 1967.

Meillet, A. *Esquisse d’une histoire de la langue latine*. 5th ed. Paris: Klincksieck, 1948.

Palmer, L.R. *The Latin Language*. London: Faber, 1954.

2. General and Comparative Romance

Auerbach, E. *Introduction to Romance Languages and Literatures*. Translated by G. Daniels. New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1961.

*Bourciez, Edouard. *Éléments de linguistique romane*. 5th ed., rev. Edouard Bourciez and Jean Bourciez. Paris: Klincksieck, 1967.

*Canfield, D. Lincoln and J. Cary Davis. *An Introduction to Romance Linguistics*, Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale and Edwardsville.

Diez, Friedrich. *Grammaire des langues romanes*. Translated from 3rd rev. and enl. edition by A. Brachet, G. Paris, and [A. Morel-Fatio]. 3 vols. Paris: Vieweg, 1874-76.

*Elcock, W.D. *The Romance Languages*. London: Faber; New York: MacMillan, 1960.

Hall, Robert A. *An External History of the Romance Languages*. New York: American Elsevier, 1974.

Jordan, Iorgu and Rebecca Posner. *An Introduction to Romance Linguistics, Its Schools and Scholars*. Revised, with a Supplement: *Thirty Years On*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1970.

*Mendeloff, Henry. *A Manual of Comparative Romance Linguistics. Phonology and Morphology*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1969.

Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm. *Grammaire des langues romanes*. Translated by E. Rabiet and Georges Doutrepoint. 4 vols. Paris: Welter, 1890-1906.

*Posner, Rebecca. *The Romance Languages: A Linguistic Introduction*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966.

3. Italian

Devoto, G. *Profilo di storia linguistica italiana*. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1953.

Grandgent, Charles H. *From Latin to Italian*. 3rd ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1940.

Hall, Robert H. *Bibliography of Italian Linguistics*. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1941.

Pei, Mario. *The Italian Language*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1941.

4. Spanish and Portuguese

Entwistle, W.J. *The Spanish Language, together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque*. London: Faber, 1951.

Lapesa, Rafael. *Historia de la lengua española*. 4th ed. New York: Las Américas, 1959.

Neto, S. de Silva. *Historia da lingua portuguesa*. Rio de Janeiro: Livros de Portugal, 1952.

*Spaulding, Robert K. *How Spanish Grew*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1943. Paperback edition, 1962.

*Williams, Edwin B. *From Latin to Portuguese: Historical Phonology and Morphology of the Portuguese Language*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962.

5. French

*Bourciez, E. et J. *Phonétique française*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1967.

Ewert, A. *The French Language*. London: Faber, 1933.

- Fouché, P. *Phonétique historique du français*. I. *Introduction*, 1952. II. *Les voyelles*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1958.
- Pope, Mildred K. *From Latin to Modern French*. 2nd ed. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1952.

6. Rumanian

- Nandris, G. *Colloquial Rumanian*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1945.
- Pop, Sever. *Grammaire roumaine*. Berne, 1947.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	iii
Select Bibliography	v
List of Abbreviations	ix
Chapter 1 Romance Vowel Systems	1
Chapter 2 Diphthongization of Stressed Vowels	7
Chapter 3 Italian	11
Chapter 4 Rumanian	18
Chapter 5 Spanish	24
Chapter 6 Portuguese	29
Chapter 7 French	36
Chapter 8 Morphology of Noun and Adjective	46
Chapter 9 Morphology of the Verb	55
Chapter 10 The Personal Pronouns	61
Appendix	68
Word Index	72
General Index	85

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Acc.	Accusative
CL.	Classical Latin
CR.	Common Romance
D.O.	Direct Object
Dat.	Dative
Eng.	English
Fem.	Feminine
fig.	Figurative
Fr.	French
Gen.	Genitive
GR.	Gallo-Romance
I.O.	Indirect Object
It.	Italian
L.	Latin
LL.	Late Latin
Masc.	Masculine
MFr.	Modern French
Neut.	Neuter
Nom.	Nominative
pers.	Person
Pl.	Plural
Port.	Portuguese
PR.	Proto-Romance
Rum.	Rumanian
Sg.	Singular
Sp.	Spanish

CHAPTER ONE

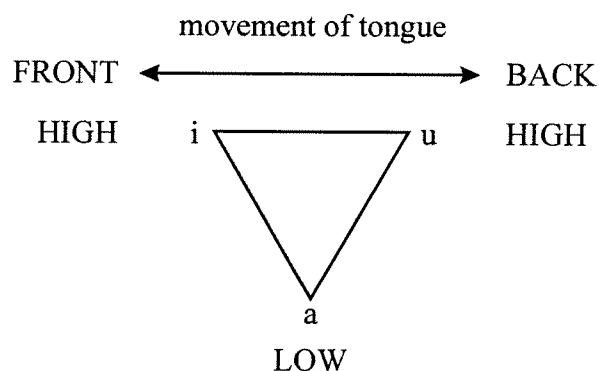
ROMANCE VOWEL SYSTEMS

Vowel systems

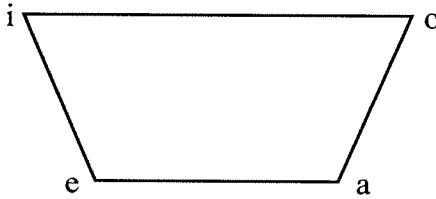
Vowel systems are structured and patterned; they are, like the snow flake, creations of nature. This patterning can most easily be seen in the way that 'phonological space' within the phonetic apparatus is divided and structured. We are aware how sound may be structured by the structure of space: blowing across the top of a bottle will produce a note; half fill the bottle with water, thereby altering the spatial parameter, and a different note will be produced. In fact the different note will be an octave of the first note, caused by the fact the column of air in the bottle vibrates twice as fast when the bottle is half full.

The parameters of phonological space may be altered by three basic physiological movements: (1) the opening and closing of the jaw (depth), (2) the back and forth movement of the tongue inside the mouth (front to back) and (3) the spreading or rounding of the lips (labialisation) which also affects the length of the phonological space.

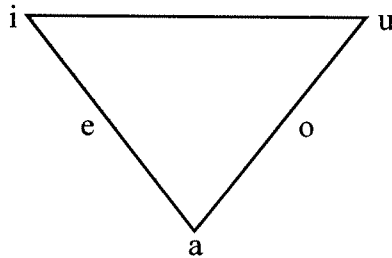
Parameters (1) and (2) are recognized as being universal features of vowel systems. The simplest of vowel systems will distinguish high from low vowels (movement of the jaw) and front from back vowels (movement of the tongue). We represent such systems on a grid which symbolizes phonological space as if the mouth of a speaker were viewed from the left hand side:



Simple triangular systems are to be found, for example, in Arabic and in Inuktitut (Eskimo). We do not find systems with less than three contrasts, representing a triangle spatially. A four vowel system will normally have two high and two low vowels as in the following diagram:



Such a four vowel system is found in Fox, an Amerindian language of the Algonkian family. A five vowel system, on the other hand, will require a return to the triangular pattern and further divisions:



Such a system is found in Swahili, a Bantu language of East Africa. It will be obvious that the vowel /e/ from a four vowel system is not the same element as /e/ from a five vowel system: what may be similar phonetically can be quite different phonologically.

Classical Latin

We know from ancient writings that Classical Latin, like Swahili, had a system of five contrasts. Consequently the Latin alphabet had five vowel symbols (a, e, i, o, u), quite sufficient for representing Latin sounds, and quite inadequate for other languages such as English which have borrowed the Latin alphabet without making major additions.

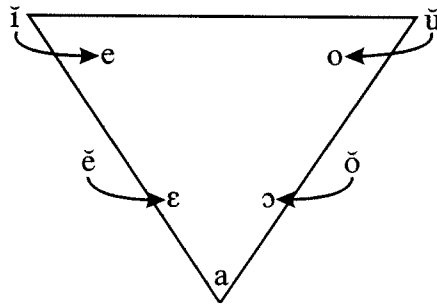
The five contrasts of Classical Latin are contrasts of 'timbre' (sometimes spelled 'tamber' by English phoneticians) or 'quality' of sound. But Latin had

another parameter of contrast, appropriately called ‘quantity’: Latin vowels could be either long or short, giving a total set of 10 vowels:

Short	i	e	a	o	u
Long	ī	ē	ā	ō	ū

Linguists, in writing Latin words, will normally mark the long vowels, since the distinction of length marks distinctions of meanings: *vēnit* “he came”, *venit* “he comes”. This is especially important in Romance Linguistics because the two different sets (long and short) evolve in different ways: Latin *mūla(m)* becomes French *mule*, for example, whereas L. *gula(m)* becomes Fr. *gueule*.

In fact the first evolutionary change from Classical Latin affects the short vowels: they became more open, and thus changed timbre:



By Late Latin times the system of ten vowels had become

Short	e	ε	a	ɔ	o
Long	ī	ē	ā	ō	ū

There are three things to note in this change:

- (1) that a vowel system will change as a system: the changes are systematic, coherent.
- (2) that the vowel /a/ did not open further simply because it was already a fully open vowel.
- (3) that these changes apparently took place throughout the whole Romance domain, except for (a) the Mediterranean islands of Corsica and Sardinia, where the original timbre of short vowels was maintained, and (b) Balkan Romance, where *i* > *e*, but *u* was maintained, and survives in Modern Rumanian: e.g., Rum. *cruce* = It. *croce* < L. *cruce(m)* “cross”.

Common Romance

The breakup of the Roman Empire early in the fifth century A.D. produced an era of political and economic chaos known as the Dark Ages which lasted roughly from 400–800 A.D. This is a period of further linguistic evolution, and by the end of it the modern Romance vernaculars are beginning to emerge.

The first stage of evolution that may be said to distinguish Common Romance from Late Latin is the loss of distinctive vowel length. If we take the vowels of Late Latin we may discern seven different timbres:

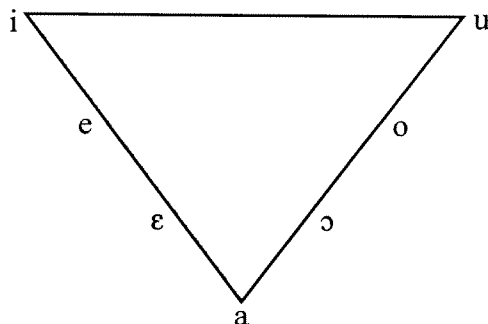
Short		e	ɛ	a	ɔ	o	
Long	ī	ē		ā		ō	ū

In other words the shift of timbres in Late Latin had created two new timbres (/ɛ/ and /ɔ/) and left only long high vowels (/ī/ and /ū/). Also, the new short /e/ and /o/ vowels created out of the original i and u of Classical Latin had now joined the same timbre as Classical Latin /ē/ and /ō/.

Consequently when vowel length distinctions were lost in Common Romance, /e/ and /ē/ fell together, as also did /a/ and /ā/, /o/ and /ō/ to give us the seven vowel system from which most of the modern Romance languages are descended:

i e ɛ a ɔ o u

This system is essentially a pattern of four heights, and may be represented in the following spatial grid:



EXERCISES

- Trace the evolution of the pronunciation of the following words from Classical Latin through Late Latin to Common Romance. Change only the stressed vowels; do not change the final vowels. E.g.:

CL		LL	CR
brūnu(m)	“brown”	brūno	bruno
dente(m)	“tooth”	dente	dente

fide(m) “faith”, *petra(m)* “rock”, *(h)abēre* “have”, *ī(n)sula(m)* “island”, *cō(n)stat* “it is agreed”, *porta(m)* “door”, *pāssu(m)* “step”, *fūmu(m)* “smoke”, *pulmōne* “lung”, *camīsia* “shirt”, *pede(m)* “foot”, *scribere* “write”.

- Taking the list of Common Romance words from Exercise 1, list all words in Italian and Spanish that are still identical to the Common Romance forms, and those that have changed, e.g.

CR	Italian	Spanish
bruno	bruno	bruno
dente	dente	(diente)

- In Exercise 1 the initial *h* of Latin *(h)abēre* is written in parentheses. Why? See Bourciez *Eléments*, 54, and check the Catullus ode referred to there (use Loeb Classical Library edition, which has facing translation). What other errors does Catullus report Arrius as making? In several dialects of English initial [h] is quite random: *'am and heggs* for “ham and eggs”. What does such usage indicate about initial [h] in these dialects? Given the evidence of Catullus and of the *Appendix Probi*, what conclusion should be drawn about initial /h/ in Classical Latin?
- In Exercise 1 the *-m* of the accusative is placed in brackets. Why? We may leave it off Late Latin phonological forms completely, in spite of the fact that it is regularly written in Late Latin texts.

Compare the Late Latin situation with modern English: determine, for example, when the *k* and *gh* of *knight* ceased to be pronounced. (B.M.H. Strang, *A History of English*, pp. 118 and 167).

5. Some Romanists use different phonetic symbols for the mid vowels, using a subscript dot to indicate the high mid vowels, and a subscript tail to indicate the low mid vowels. Give the corresponding IPA symbols for the following: ɛ̣, ɔ̣, œ̣, ɛ̥, ɔ̥, œ̥. Others use a click to indicate palatalization. Give the IPA equivalents for š, ž, č, ĵ.
6. In Exercise 1 the *n* of *cō(n)stat* and *ī(n)sula(m)* is also written in brackets. Consult Bourciez *Eléments* §56 to find out why and give two corrections from the Appendix Probi that apply to the *(n)s* cluster.
7. What is the estimated date of the *Appendix Probi*? What does it tell us about the following: (1) loss of the penultimate syllable when unstressed, (2) opening of short vowels. Give five examples of Modern English pronunciations showing the loss of a penultimate unstressed syllable (e.g., flattening pronounced flat-ning).

CHAPTER TWO

DIPHTHONGIZATION OF STRESSED VOWELS

Latin words had a fixed accent on one syllable, originally thought to be a pitch accent, but almost certainly a stress accent by Late Latin times. The stressed syllable gave a stress pattern to the whole word which has largely determined its shape in the modern Romance languages. As we have already seen, there was a tendency for unstressed syllables to be lost. This was true not only of internal syllables following the stress, as in *speculum* for *spēculum* (*Appendix Probi*), but also of internal syllables preceding the stress (L. *malehabitu(m)* becomes Fr. *malade*) and in some regions of final vowels as well, since final vowels are always unstressed (except, of course, in monosyllables). The spellings of seventeenth century French, for example, show the loss of all final vowels except for the reflex of Latin *-a*:

	Latin	Spanish	Italian	French
“strong”	forte(m)	fuerte	forte	fort
“when”	quandō	quando	quando	quand
“hundred”	centu(m)	ciento	cento	cent
“yesterday”	(h)erī	(ayer)	ieri	hier
“door”	porta(m)	puerta	porta	porte

The initial syllable could also carry a lighter, secondary stress if it was distinct from the main stressed syllable. In French only the stressed syllables have survived, so that French words that have evolved from Latin have either one or two syllables: Proto-Romance **dia-doménica* “the day of the Lord” becomes Fr. *dimanche*, L. *mānsiōnaticu(m)* becomes Fr. *ménage*. The other Romance languages conserve unstressed vowels to a greater degree.

The open mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ early underwent diphthongization to /jɛ/ and /wɔ/ respectively. In Italian and French this generally took place in open syllables (syllables ending in a vowel) whereas in Spanish it took place not only in open syllables, but in most closed syllables (ending in a consonant). Sardinian and Corsican, since they had not undergone the shift to /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ in the first case, remained unchanged, and Portuguese was not affected. Since we have already noted a tendency in Rumanian for lack of a systemic balance between

back and front vowels (e.g., $i > e$ but $u > u$) we should not be surprised to find that /ε/ became Rumanian /je/ in all syllables at an early date, whereas /ɔ/ remained unchanged. At a later point in time in Rumanian all stressed mid vowels in words ending in -a or -e underwent a second stage of diphthongization whereby $e > ea$, $ie > iea > ia$ and $ɔ > ɔa$. This last diphthong has become /wa/ in Modern Rumanian, and is only to be found in words which ended originally in -a or -e.

Further changes also overtook the back diphthong in French and Spanish. In both languages the second element of the diphthong was fronted to give /ue/, which finally became /ue/ in Spanish: L. *porta(m)* > Sp. *puerta*. In French the initial *u* of the diphthong caused the following *e* to be labialised (assimilation of the lip rounding) and to become a front rounded vowel /œ/: L. *novu(m)* > Fr. *neuf* [nœf].

Voicing of Intervocalic Consonants

Vowel sounds are voiced; it is natural, therefore, for unvoiced consonants between vowels to become assimilated by acquiring the voicing feature of the surrounding sounds. In Modern English we may hear *city* pronounced as [sidi] or *latter* indistinguishable from *ladder*.

Intervocalic consonants became voiced in Western Romance but not in Eastern Romance (Italian and Rumanian), and this has sometimes been considered one of the features that distinguishes East from West: L. *focu(m)* “hearth, fire” It. *fuoco*, Rum. *foc*, Sp. *fuego*, Port. *fogo*, Fr. *feu*. This word also illustrates how the intervocalic consonants in French subsequently became fricative, then in certain cases disappeared altogether: L. *portāta(m)* “carried” > It. *portata*, Sp. *portada*, Fr. *portée*.

Alternation of *b* and *v*

The Classical Latin symbol V represented three phonetic values: [ū, u, w]. The difference between [ū] and [u] was distinctive, or phonological, as we have seen. The distinction between [u] and [w] appears to have been allophonic since the two are in complementary distribution: [u] precedes consonants and [w] precedes vowels. The Roman word *GVLA* was [gula] but *VIVVS* was pronounced [wīwus]. In short, [u] is the vocalic allophone, and [w] is the consonantal allophone. Bilabial [w] may easily become either a labiodental fricative [v] or a bilabial plosive [b] and there is some vacillation between one and the other in Romance forms. See, for example, the items introduced by Bourciez (*Eléments* §58(b), p. 52) and also, in the following exercises, items (e) and (f) of Question 1 and item (a) of Question 2.

EXERCISES

1. In the following sets the Romance words are jumbled. Draw up columns as follows, and sort the words under the appropriate heading:

Latin Spanish Italian Rumanian Sardinian French

Do not use a dictionary: identify the words from what you have learned of their evolution. With a little practice you will find it quite easy. The words have been transcribed in order to give you relevant information (N.B. Rumanian drops final *-o* and *-u*; Spanish frequently drops initial *f*-).

- (a) L. **fele(m)* “bile”: *fjel, fjere, fele, fiele, iel*
 - (b) L. *feru(m)* “fierce”: *fiero, fiero, fjer, fjer, feru*
 - (c) L. **mele(m)* “honey”: *mjere, mele, mjel, miel, miele*
 - (d) L. *perdo* “I lose”: *pierdo, pjerd, perdo, perdo, per*
 - (e) L. *vet(u)lu(m)* “old”: *vekkio, bekku, vekj, biexo, vjø*
(*vjø* is from OFr. *vieux* < *viels*)
 - (f) L. *(h)erba(m)* “grass”: *ierba, jarbə, erva, erb, erba*
2. Carry out the same exercise with the following jumbled words:
- (a) L. *novu(m)* “new”: *næf, nuevo, nuovo, novu, now*
 - (b) L. *rota(m)* “wheel”: *ruota, rueda, ru, rwatə, roda*
 - (c) L. *porcu(m)* “pig”: *puerko, porko, pork, porku, pør*
 - (d) L. *jocu(m)* “joke”: *juoko, xuego, zoku, žok, žø*
 - (e) L. *forte(m)* “strong”: *forte, fwarte, forte, for, fuerte*
 - (f) L. *dolu(m)* “deception”: *døj, dolu, dor, duolo, duelo*
3. From the Latin forms given, work out the proper evolutionary form in the language named. Use transcriptions.

e.g., L. *costa(m)* “rib”: (a) It. (b) Sp.

Answer (a) It. *kɔsta*, (b) Sp. *kuesta*

- (i) L. *terra(m)* “earth”: (a) Sp. (b) Sard. (c) It. (d) Fr. (*rr* > *r*)
- (ii) L. *lep(o)re(m)* “hare”: (a) Fr. (*p* > *v*), (b) Sp. (*p* > *b*)
- (iii) L. *pelle(m)* “skin”: (a) It. (b) Rum.
- (iv) L. *centu(m)* “hundred”: Sard.

- (v) L. *pede(m)* “foot”: It.
 - (vi) L. *petra(m)* “rock”: (a) Rum. (b) It.
 - (vii) L. *corpu(s)* “body”: (a) It. (b) Sp. (c) Rum.
 - (viii) L. *dole(t)* “he grieves”: (a) Sp. (b) It. (c) Sard.
 - (ix) L. **pote(t)* “he can”: (a) Sp. (b) Rum. (c) Sard. (d) Fr.
 - (x) L. *porta(m)* “door”: (a) Fr. (b) Sp. (c) It. (d) Sard. (e) Rum.
 - (xi) L. *nocte(m)* “night”: (a) Rum. (kt > pt) (b) It. (kt > tt) (c) Sard. (kt > tt)
4. In the preceding exercise final *-s* and final *-t* are both placed in parentheses. Why? Cf. Bourciez *Eléments* §58. Which other final consonant was lost early? Which of these three final consonants continued to be pronounced in Western Romance in most words? What light might this throw on noun plurals in Romance, which were formed from the Nominative Plural in the East and the Accusative Plural in the West?
5. Early Classical Latin itself had three diphthongs. What became of them? Cf. Bourciez *Eléments* §51. Consult also Canfield and Davis *An Introduction to Romance Linguistics*, pp. 30–31. From what you now know, work out the proper evolutionary plural forms for Modern Italian, Rumanian, Spanish and Portuguese from the following (use transcriptions, noting that intervocalic *s* may be voiced in all forms):

Nom. pl.	<i>causae</i> “causes, things”
Acc. pl.	<i>causās</i> “causes, things”

One of these forms will of course give you the Rumanian and Italian forms; the other will give you the Spanish and Portuguese forms. Remember that final syllables are unstressed; in unstressed syllables /ε/ normally becomes /e/.

How is Port. *cousa* pronounced? (Consult E. B. Williams, *From Latin to Portuguese*, p. 30.). The form *coisa* is the common form in Portuguese, however, and *oiro* is an alternate form of *ouro* (< L. *auru(m)* “gold”). What is the probable origin of these doublets? (Williams, p. 85–86). How does this also explain Port. *couro* “leather” (< L. *coriu(m)*) which is not a regular derivation? What would the regular derivation be?

CHAPTER THREE

ITALIAN

Italy was not a national state until just over a century ago. Before that it was a collection of small states, each with its own regional dialect, so that much dialectal variation persists in modern Italy and there is not the same sense of a standard language as there is in France, for example, where the state government has been strongly centralised for centuries.

Standard literary Italian is based upon the Tuscan dialect of the north central area of the Italian peninsula. In many respects it is very conservative and reflects quite closely the Italo-Romance from whence it evolved more than a millennium ago. Consequently it has the seven stressed vowels of Common Romance (including /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ in closed syllables). It also has the diphthongs /iɛ/ and /uɔ/ (in open syllables), except in proparoxytons (words stressed on the antepenultimate syllable): *populo* “people”, *édera* “ivy”, words in which French, for example, shows the results of diphthongization: *peuple*, *lierre*.

Palatalization

All the Romance languages except Sardinian show palatalization of velar plosives before front vowels. It is therefore considered to be a feature of Late Latin and to have spread throughout Romania (or the Romance speaking area) before the breakup of the Empire. Consequently Latin /k/ and /g/ have undergone change before /i/ and /e/ in all Romance languages except Sardinian.

The subsequent evolution of the palatalized elements has given different results in the different languages, however, and some of the languages have been subject to secondary palatalization (e.g., /k/ before /a/ in Old French) and even tertiary palatalization.

Literary Italian still shows the original palatalization of /k/ and /g/ before /i/ and /e/. This phenomenon is, of course, an assimilation, whereby the back or velar consonants become assimilated to the frontal position of the vowels. If the process is gradual, the first stage gives simply a palatal allophone of /k/, written [kʲ] by most Romanists or [kʲ] in IPA, as for example in English *cue* as opposed to *coo*. If the consonant comes any further forward in its point of articulation, it ceases to be perceived as a /k/, since it is now articulated on the front part of the palate close to the point of the articulation of /t/. Plosive sounds produced in this

area also produce a *son de passage* or epenthetic fricative, since when the plosive is exploded, the air rushing out causes friction between the tongue and the hard palate that can be heard as [ç] or [š] if the sound is unvoiced, as [j] or [ž] if the sound is voiced. These complex sounds are affricates rather than plosives, and are frequently transcribed as [tš] and [dž] to show the two component elements (or [tʃ] and [dʒ] in IPA) although they may also be written [č] and [j] when one wishes to emphasize their segmental unity.

We are familiar with the Italian sound of [č] in borrowed words such as *cello*, and with the sound of [j] in all the English words borrowed from French during the Mediaeval period after the Norman Conquest when the sound was still to be heard in French: *gentle*, *gem*, *giant*, etc.

Romance languages do not normally use the letter *k* which was not originally part of the Roman alphabet, which used *c* instead (*k* is borrowed from the Greek alphabet). After the initial palatalization the old Roman spellings continued to be used and persist to this day so that in the Modern Romance languages *c* and *g* have different phonetic values before *e* and *i* than they do before *a*, *o* and *u*, because spelling change did not accompany or follow sound change. In short *c* represented /k/ everywhere in Classical Latin, and *g* represented /g/; but this is no longer true of any Romance language except Sardinian. Furthermore all kinds of spelling accommodations have had to be made in order to have consistent spelling. When, for example Late Latin *quī* [kwī] and *quae* [kwē] became Italian [ki] and [ke] through loss of the labial element [w], these new words could not be spelled *ci* and *ce*, which would be pronounced [či] and [če] respectively. The solution for Italian spelling was to add an orthographic *h* after the *c* and spell *chi* and *che*.

Paradigmatic Resistance to Sound Change

Words such as It. *bianco*, from Proto-Romance **blancu(m)* “white”, would normally form a plural **bianci* (from PR. **blanci*) where the final consonant of the stem should be palatalized before front vowel [i]. The modern spelling *bianchi* tells us that one of two things happened: either (a) the sound change did not take place in this word (most unlikely) or (b) the palatalization did take place, but the [k] sound was subsequently replaced by analogy with the singular forms, so that all forms of the adjective have /k/ and in this way irregular formations are avoided. A set of forms, such as the masculine and feminine, singular and plural forms of an adjective is called a ‘paradigm’, and this kind of analogical reshaping within the paradigm is sometimes referred to as ‘paradigmatic resistance’ to sound change.

Restoring the Systemic Contrasts in Italian

When [k] is palatalized before front vowels, the new consonant [č] so produced replaces [k] and so is not in contrast with it. The two sounds may be considered to be allophones (or variants) of a single phoneme (or distinctive speech sound). When, however, by loss of the labial element /kwi/ becomes /ki/, or by paradigmatic resistance */bianci/ becomes /bianki/, the original use of /k/ before high front vowels is restored, and /k/ and /č/ are then clearly separate phonemes because they contrast and are distinctive in this position: It. *ci* “us” and *chi* “who” are two different words. It is curious that the labial element of Latin /kw/ was only lost before high front vowels in Italian – almost as if there was a push to restore the lost contrast of /k/ with other sounds before high front vowels. Conservative pronunciation has also prevented this shift from being complete, however, so that /kw/ is heard in such words as *cinque* “five”, for example. The labial element is also kept in /gw/ where it occurs in borrowings from Germanic: **gwerra* “war” > It. *guerra* /gwerra/; **gwisa* “way, wise”, It. *guisa* /gwiza/.

Dissimilation

One would in fact expect L. *quīnque* to give It. **chinque* /kinkwe/, but the evidence from the other Romance languages indicates that the two *kw*’s underwent dissimilation (whereby one of two similar elements becomes different from the other), so that the word must have been **kinkwe* in Late Latin. Dissimilation is a frequent phenomenon in Romance, most often affecting /r/ and /l/, whereby, for example L. *peregrīnu(m)* “stranger” becomes **pelegrīnu* in order to give Fr. *pèlerin* (which is subsequently borrowed into English as pilgrim).

The words **gwerra* and **gwīsa* were borrowed from Germanic (cf. English *war*, *wise*), into Common Romance probably in the 5th century A.D., that is immediately after the Germanic invasions that broke up the Roman Empire. The original /w/ of Classical Latin had by this time become /v/ as in It. *vino* < L. *vīnu(m)*, but had survived as [w] in the cluster /gw/: e.g., *lingua*. As a result the Romance speakers were used to pronouncing [w] with a preceding [g] and this is the way they pronounced the initial /w/ of Germanic borrowings.

This phenomenon is not unusual. The Cree Indians of Canada have borrowed the English word *shop*. The low back vowel that is heard in this word only occurs in Cree as an allophone after [w]; as a result, the borrowed word occurs as [swāp] in Cree. Consequently the attempt by Bourciez (*Phonétique française* p. 169) to explain the *g* of **gwerra* as resulting from too great an effort to pronounce a totally foreign sound should be disregarded. Spanish speakers of

English illustrate the same phenomenon when they pronounce [tʃɪp] for *ship*: Spanish has /tʃ/ but no /ʃ/ in its phonemic inventory.

Prothesis

Initial clusters beginning with /s-/ in Latin were subjected to prothesis (or prostheses) in Late Latin, i.e., the prefixing of a vowel (called a prothetic vowel) which makes the cluster more easily pronounceable. Inscriptions from the time of the Roman Empire show such spellings as *iscola* for Classical *schola*. See Bourciez *Elements* §54b.

The Regularity of Sound Change

When linguists began to study the historical evolution of languages in great detail (during the nineteenth century) they were impressed by the fact that sound changes showed very striking regularities. For example if Latin *i* became *e* in one word in Late Latin it was found that the same change took place in all others words where Classical Latin *i* was found in stressed syllables. The reason for this regularity is clear: what has changed is the phonological system, and such systemic changes affect the total product of the system: replace the letter I on a computer printer with an E, and as the machine prints text, every I will be replaced by an E. The human being that carries out this change is not really changing the text: he merely makes one simple change in the computer's *system* and the machine automatically does the rest. The regular sound changes consequently give us insights into systemic changes in languages and enable us, by putting the various pieces of the puzzle together, to work out what has taken place in linguistic evolution and to reconstruct earlier, even prehistoric, linguistic states.

We know, for example, that by regular sound change CL. *cerasu(m)* "cherry" could not have given It. *ciliegia* or Fr. *cerise*. Both, however, could be derived by regular sound change from **cerésia*, a reconstruction which would satisfy all the requirements. This reconstruction we would describe as being Proto-Romance, that is a purely theoretical reconstruction (hence the asterisk) posited on the evidence of the forms found in the modern Romance languages.

Is Proto-Romance different from Latin? Yes, but only in terms of scientific procedure. Proto-Romance is reconstructed from the evidence of other languages. Latin on the other hand is not reconstructed; instead we have written evidence of Latin, written down at a time when the language was still living. However, in 90% of cases our reconstructions of Proto-Romance correspond directly to the ancient forms that were written down two millenia ago, and in that sense Proto-Romance is the same as Latin.

Not all sound change is regular, however. We have already noted the anomaly of paradigmatic resistance. The word **cerésia* affords us another instance of irregularity: Latin /r/ in this word gives /r/ in French but /l/ in Italian. Because [r] and [l] are similar in that both are sonorants produced with the tip of the tongue raised, there is a good deal of confusion between the two sounds throughout the Romance languages, and although some regularities may be observed in the distribution of /l/ and /r/, there is also considerable irregularity. Note, for example Fr. *cercle* < L. *circulu(m)*, “circle”, but *titre* < L. *titulu(m)* “title”.

Consequently alongside normal linguistic sound change, which shows a quite dependable regularity, there are also spasmodic changes in certain words that are based on confused perception by the hearer of the original form of the word.

Another factor that prevents total regularity is regional or social variation. A standard language, for example, may be based on a single dialect, as literary Italian is on Tuscan, and yet borrow forms from another dialect where evolution has been different. Although as a general rule intervocalic voiceless plosives do not become voiced in Italian, for example, occasional words do show such voicing: L. *scūtu(m)* > It. *scudo* “shield”, L. *strāta(m)* > It. *strada* “street”. These forms may have been imported from the Northern dialects where such voicing is regular. Social variation and conservative pronunciations, and above all the use of Latin for scholarly and ecclesiastical purposes, likewise undoubtedly prevented many words from following their natural evolution. We know from the *Appendix Probi*, for example, that the vowel of the unstressed penultimate syllables was lost early. L. *speculum* was heard as *speclum*. It. *pericolo* < L. *perīculu(m)* “danger”, which still has this syllable intact, indicates the result of a conservative, perhaps consciously archaizing pronunciation. And words like It. *gloria* and *memoria*, which have essentially the same form as they had in Classical Latin, show the same conservative and archaizing tendency. Had they undergone regular evolution they would have become *ghioia* and *memoia*.

EXERCISES

1. The following are English words of Germanic origin. What did the Germanic words become when borrowed into Italian?

to waste, to ward, to wade, to watch

Give the English meaning of the Italian words, and give cognates from at least one other Romance language. What did the Germanic verb *waidanjan* “to loot” become in Italian? Give other Romance cognates.

2. Examine the following sets, find the origin for each word, and where possible give the French cognate. Comment on any irregularities.

piano “flat”
piove “it rains”
pianta “plant”
piazza “square”
più “more”

bianco “white”
biondo “fair”
biasimare “to blame”

chiaro “clear”
chiave “key”
chiamare “call”
chiesa “church”

ghiaccio “ice”
ghianda “acorn”
ghiotton “glutton”

fiore “flower”
fiasco “flask”
fianco “side”
fiamma “flame”
fiottare “float”

fiume “river”
fiocca “flake”
fiato “breath”

Give one simple rule which will account for the sound change that has overtaken the initial consonant clusters of these words. How would you account for the fact that Italian has both *macula* and *macchia* from Latin *macula(m)* “stain, spot”? For supplementary evidence note It. *cerchia* < L. *cerculu(m)* “circle”, but It. *pericolo* < L. *perīculu(m)* “danger”.

3. Is It. *albero* “tree” cognate with Fr. *arbre*? Is Sp. *arbol* also cognate? Given that Latin had *arbore(m)* what has happened in the Romance words? Given

L. *au* > It. *u* as in L. *audīre* > It. *udire* “to hear”, why did L. *augustu(m)* give Italian *agosto* “August” not **ugosto*? As for It. *luglio* “July” < L. *iūliu(m)*, is this an assimilation or a dissimilation?

4. Note the following:

Latin	Italian	Spanish	French
<i>schola(m)</i>	<i>scuola</i>	<i>escuela</i>	<i>école</i>
<i>scribere</i>	<i>scrivere</i>	<i>escribir</i>	<i>écrire</i>
<i>spō(n)su(m)</i>	<i>sposo</i>	<i>esposo</i>	<i>époux</i>
<i>spō(n)sa(m)</i>	<i>sposa</i>	<i>esposa</i>	<i>épouse</i>
* <i>studiāre</i>	<i>studiare</i>	<i>estudiar</i>	<i>étudier</i>
<i>statu(m)</i>	<i>stato</i>	<i>estado</i>	<i>état</i>

Given that Italian has *storia* < L. *(h)istoria(m)*, *scusare* < L. *excusāre*, and *chiesa* < L. *ecclēsia(m)*, how would you account for the fact that the initial vowel which appears in the Spanish and French words is missing from Latin and Italian? What regular change has occurred in the French words? Can you give any French words which would be more or less identical to English words except for this same change? Given that most English borrowings from French took place after 1066, when is it likely that this sound change took place?

5. Note the following:

Latin	Italian	French
<i>area(m)</i> “open space”	<i>aia</i>	<i>aire</i>
<i>paria(m)</i> “pair”	<i>paia</i>	<i>paire</i>
<i>coriu(m)</i> “leather”	<i>cuoio</i>	<i>cuir</i>
<i>rasōriu(m)</i> “razor”	<i>rasoio</i>	<i>rasoir</i>

For the treatment of Latin /e/ and /i/ after a consonant, see Bourciez *Eléments* 52b. What is the conditioning factor for the loss of /r/ in Italian? The French spellings clearly show what happened to the French words: what regular change took place?

CHAPTER FOUR

RUMANIAN

Since Greek was the official language of the Eastern Roman Empire it would appear that Latin, in the east, was neither an administrative or literary language, but rather the language of common people who had settled certain areas in the east. The Eastern Roman Empire, with its capital at Constantinople, survived and flourished until 1453 when Constantinople fell to the Turks and much of south-eastern Europe, including the Balkan peninsula, came under Turkish domination eventually becoming a part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire.

The fact that the eastern region of the ancient Romania was dominated for a thousand years by Byzantine Greek and then for several hundred years by Turkish, explains in part why we have no ancient texts in Rumanian, and why the first major texts in 1561 and 1577 were religious texts, ecclesiastical productions translated into the language of the common people for religious purposes.

A glance at the map, furthermore, will also reveal that the Rumanian language constitutes a linguistic island, with Bulgarian to the south, Serbian and Hungarian to the East, and Ukranian and Russian to the North. Bulgarian, Serbian, Ukrainian and Russian (but not Hungarian) are all Slavic languages, so that Rumanian is literally an island amid a sea of Slavic, and, in fact, has been separated from the rest of the ancient Romania since the Slavic invasions of the 6th century A.D. As is always the case with linguistic islands, Rumanian has been influenced by Slavic and has borrowed a large segment of its vocabulary from Slavic sources.

In fact the early texts are all written in the Cyrillic alphabet, which is used for writing Bulgarian, Ukrainian and Russian; it was only a century ago that the Latin alphabet came into popular usage for writing Rumanian.

Vowel Sounds

We have already seen that the early Romance sound changes of Short Vowel Opening and Diphthongization affected only the front vowels of Balkan Romance, so that whereas $i > e$ and $e > \epsilon > je$, both o and u remained unchanged in stressed syllables. These sounds have, for the most part survived into Modern Rumanian.

A secondary diphthongization, however, has altered the appearance of the language resulting in a good deal of paradigmatic irregularity, and the development of two centralised vowels /i/ and /ə/ (written *î* and *ă*) has also modified the phonological shape of a significant part of the lexicon.

The second diphthongization concerns the Rumanian mid vowels *e*, *ie*, *o*, which became *ea*, *iea*, *oa* when *a* or *e* was the final vowel of the word. We may resume these changes in a single rule:

$$V \begin{Bmatrix} \text{- high} \\ \text{- low} \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow Va / \text{_____} (C)(C) \begin{Bmatrix} a \\ e \end{Bmatrix} \#$$

This shorthand statement means that mid vowels develop a final segment [a] (which we may call the off-glide of the vowel) when they occur before final /a/ or /e/, whether or not one or more consonants intervene. This is an early change in Rumanian; that is it takes place fairly early in historical time, before other changes. Necessarily, for example, it takes place before final /a/ becomes /ə/ (spelled *ă* in Rumanian). This latter change we may formalize as

$$a \rightarrow \text{ə} / \text{_____} \#$$

To gain a purely practical experience of the evolution of a language it is necessary to practice the historical derivation of words. The simplest way of doing this is to formalize the changes by means of numbered rules and then to trace each change in a vertical column. For example, if we number the two rules given above as (1) and (2) we may trace the evolution of L. *porta(m)* "gate" to Rum. *poarta* as follows:

Latin	<i>porta(m)</i>
	<i>poarta</i> (1)
Rumanian	<i>poartă</i> (2)

In this example the (1) and (2) on the right hand side give reference to the appropriate rules.

Given that the evolution of back vowels is unlike that of front vowels in Balkan Romance it is no surprise that back vowels on the end of words disappeared, whereas front vowels remained (although original /i/ is now mostly reduced to yod or to simple palatalization). We may state this rule as follows:

$$o, u \rightarrow \text{zero} / \text{_____} \#$$

Consonant Sounds

Consonant changes can be symbolized and formalized in similar fashion. For example, in the evolution of Rumanian geminated consonants are reduced to single consonants, so that L. *vacca(m)* “cow” gives Rum. *vacă*. We may generalize as follows:

CC when identical → C

This means that a cluster of two identical consonants will be reduced to a single consonant.

Other consonant clusters are not reduced in this fashion, but undergo other changes. For example the velar consonants /k/ and /g/ become labials when they precede dental consonants in clusters: L. *lacte(m)* gives Rum. *lapte* milk. This change may be stated in varying degrees of detail or generality:

(1) C(+ velar) → $\frac{\{(-\text{velar})\}}{\{(+\text{labial})\}}$ / ____ n, t, s

(2) C(+ velar) → $\frac{\{(-\text{velar})\}}{\{(+\text{labial})\}}$ / ____ C (+dental)

A secondary palatalization also occurs in Rumanian: it affects dental consonants when followed by high front vowels, so that *ti*, *di*, *si* become *tsi*, *dzi* and *și* respectively. In modern Rumanian these are spelled *ți*, *zi*, and *și*. This palatalization may be stated as follows:

C (+ dental) → (+ palatal) / ____ i, j

As often happens the palatalizing vowel disappears in certain contexts. This happens in English, for example, where [sjuɡr̩] sugar became [ʃjuɡr̩] and then [ʃuɡr̩]. The same may be seen in Rum. *țară* “earth”, which shows the result of the following derivative changes: L. *terra(m)* → *terra* → *tierra* → *tiearra* → *tiarra* → *tsiarra* → *tsarra* → *tsara* → *tsarə*. (The modern Rumanian form is the result of eight regular sound changes). The palatal element is assimilated by the palatalized consonant when it is followed by another vowel:

j → zero / C (+ palatal) ____ V

EXERCISES

1. In these exercises the opening of short vowels in Late Latin is Rule (1), and the early Romance diphthongization is Rule (2). Given the following additional rules, trace the derivation of the Rumanian words from their Latin sources.

- (3) $V \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-high} \\ \text{-low} \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow Va/ ___ (C)(C)C \begin{Bmatrix} a \\ e \end{Bmatrix}$
- (4) $iea \rightarrow ia$
- (5) $a \rightarrow \text{ə}/ ___ \#$
- (6) $ea \rightarrow e/ ___ Ce \#$
- (7) $ia \rightarrow ie/ ___ Ce \#$
- (8) $l \rightarrow r$
- (9) $ll \rightarrow \text{zero}/ ___ i, ___ \text{ə} \#$
- (10) $ll \rightarrow l/\text{elsewhere}$
- (11) $ea\text{ə} \rightarrow ea$
- (12) $o, u \rightarrow \text{zero}/ ___ \#$

L. *(h)erba(m)*, Rum. *iarba* “grass”; L. *sēra(m)*, Rum. *seara* “evening”; L. *flōre(m)*, Rum. *floare* “flower”; L. *pirae* > *pire*, Rum. *pere* “pears”; L. *vir(i)de(m)*, Rum. *verde* “green”; L. *tēla(m)*, Rum. *teara* “cloth”; L. *costa(m)*, Rum. *coasta* “rib”; L. *sōle(m)*, Rum. *soare* “sun”; L. *gula(m)*, Rum. *gura* “throat”; L. *rota(m)*, Rum. *roata* “wheel”; L. **pote(t)*, Rum. *poate* “is able”; L. **mele(m)*, Rum. *miere* “honey”; L. *dolu(m)*, Rum. *dor* “grief”; L. *illa(m)*, Rum. *ea* “she”; L. *illae*, Rum. *ele* “they” (Fem. Pl.); L. *illī*, Rum. *ei* “to her” (Dat.)

2. Add the following rules to those above, and trace the derivation of the given words.

- (13) $a \rightarrow i/ ___ nV, nC \text{ (exc. nn)}, mC \text{ (exc. mn)}$
- (14) $C \text{ (+Velar)} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-velar} \\ \text{+labial} \end{Bmatrix} / ___ C \text{ (+dental)}$
- (15) $CC \text{ when identical} \rightarrow C$
- (16) $C \text{ (+dental)} \rightarrow \text{(+palatal)}/ ___ i, j$
- (17) $j \rightarrow \text{zero}/ C \text{ (+palatal)} ___ V$
- (18) $kw \rightarrow k$

L. *nūdu(m)*, Rum. *nud* “bare”; L. *ursu(m)*, Rum. *urs* “bear”; L. *crēdo*, Rum. *cred* “I believe”; L. *corpu(s)*, Rum. *corp* “body”; L. *ruptu(m)*, Rum. *rupt* “broken”; L. *vacca(m)*, Rum. *vacă* “cow”; L. *surdu(m)*, Rum. *surd* “deaf”; L. *factu(m)*, Rum. *fapt* “fact”; L. *campu(m)*, Rum. *cîmp* “field”; L. *frūctu(m)*, Rum. *frupt* “fruit”; L. *terra(m)*, Rum. *țară* “earth”; L. *lacte(m)*, Rum. *lapte* “milk”; L. *nocte(m)*, Rum. *noapte* “night”; L. *serra(m)*, Rum. *șară* “a saw”; L. *cantō*, Rum. *cînt* “I sing”; L. *coxa(m)*, Rum. *coapsă* “thigh”; L. *fīlu(m)*, Rum. *fîr* “thread”; L. *quandō*, Rum. *cînd* “when”; L. *feru(m)*, Rum. *fîer* “wild”; L. *sī(c)*, Rum. *și* “yes”; L. *lāna(m)*, Rum. *lînă* “wool”.

3. Trace the historical derivation of Rum. *pumn* (L. *pugnu(m)* “fist”) and *lemn* (L. *lignu(m)* “wood”), using the rules given above. Show also what final change needs to be made to derive the Rumanian forms. Describe this change in the form of a rule, and indicate what general linguistic process is involved (e.g., dissimilation, palatalization, etc.)
4. Given that $a \rightarrow i / ______ N$ (with some exceptions), where N = nasal consonant, and that Rumanian has *timp* < L. *tempu(s)* “time”, *dinte* < L. *dente(m)* “tooth”, can these facts be correlated? What seems to be the effect of a following nasal on a vowel? How would these help to account for Rum. *cunună* < L. *corona(m)* “crown”? What other linguistic process has operated in this word? Since the /d/ of *dinte* is not palatalized, which of the following changes took place first?

- (a) $e \rightarrow i / ______ NC$ (exc. nn, mn)
- (b) $C (+dental) \rightarrow (+palatal) / ______ i, y$

We might conclude from Rum. *bine* < L. *bene* “well” and Rum. *vine* < L. *venit* “he comes” that $e \rightarrow i / ______ NV$ as well. Rum. *ține* < L. *tene(t)* “he holds”, when compared with *timp* and *dinte*, however, indicates that words with /NV/ followed a different evolution from those with /NC/. To solve this problem trace the derivation of *ține* using the rules in Exercises (1) and (2) above. What final change must have occurred to account for the form *ține*? State it as Rule (c), and order it correctly with (a) and (b) above.

5. From a knowledge of sound change in Rumanian, explain the paradigmatic irregularities in the following:

Latin	Rumanian	English
(a) dirēctū(m)	drept	“direct” (masc.)
dirēcta(m)	dreaptă	“direct” (fem.)
(b) flōre(m)	floare	“flower”
*flōri	flori	“flowers”
(c) *nepōtu(m)	nepot	“nephew”
*nepōti	nepoți	“nephews”
(d) viride(m)	verde	“green” (sg.)
*viridi	verzi	“green” (pl.)
(e) fenestra	fereastră	“window”
fenestrē	ferestre	“windows”
(f) stēlla(m)	steă	“star”
stēllē	stele	“stars”

What other change must be accounted for in (e)? What kind of change is it?

6. Note the following paradigmatic irregularities in Rumanian.

Latin	Rumanian	English
(a) mē(n)sa(m)	masă	“table”
mē(n)sē	mese	“tables”
(b) pira(m)	pară	“pear”
pirē	pere	“pears”
(c) pinna(m)	pană	“feather”
pinnē	pene	“feathers”
(d) *vēra(m)	vară	“spring, summer”
*vēri	veri	“springs, summers”

In these examples the plural forms can all be derived according to rules already given. What must have happened to the singular forms? What do /m/, /p/ and /v/ have in common? Write a rule that will account for the final form of the singulars.

CHAPTER FIVE

SPANISH

In the century immediately following the death of the prophet Mohammed, his Arab followers swept across North Africa, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, conquered most of the Iberian peninsula in the early years of the eighth century, then crossed the Pyrenees and invaded France. They were finally stopped by Charles Martel at the battle of Poitiers (Tours) in 732, after which they retreated to the Iberian peninsula which they occupied in varying degrees until the end of the 15th century.

They were, in fact, gradually driven farther and farther south by the Christian princes who had remained independent in Asturias and Galicia, in the north west corner of the peninsula, so that by the end of the twelfth century they occupied only the Kingdom of Granada in the far South, and the Northern Kingdom of Castile had become the dominant power. As a result Castilian has been the basis for standard Spanish, which also has extensive lexical borrowing from Arabic.

Vowel Sounds

We have already seen that Romance diphthongization of Late Latin /ε/ and /ɔ/ takes place in Spanish in both checked and unchecked (i.e., closed and open) syllables, giving /ie/ and /uo/ respectively; the latter then goes on to become /ue/ by dissimilation of the two elements of the diphthong. This diphthongization, however, did not take place before palatal elements, so that L. *podiu(m)* “parapet” goes on to become Sp. *poyo* “stone bench”. Apart from the diphthongization of [ε] and [ɔ] Spanish vowels have remained remarkably conservative.

Consonant Sounds

One of the most interesting developments of Spanish has been its distinctive system of four voiceless fricatives: /f, θ, s, x/. The /f/ and /s/ are original but the /θ/ and the /x/ both developed from the falling together of voiced and voiceless pairs: /θ/ developed from earlier /ç/ and /z/, and /x/ developed from earlier /š/ and /j/. Since Old Spanish /v/ has fallen together with /b/ none of the four fricatives of Spanish has a voiced equivalent.

The changes that we are looking at here relate to the palatal region, and indeed one of the sources of this Spanish development is the Romance palatalization of velars before front vowels:

$$\begin{array}{l} k \rightarrow t\check{c} \rightarrow \check{c} \rightarrow \theta \\ g \rightarrow d\check{j} \rightarrow j \rightarrow x \end{array}$$

For example L. *cibu(m)* “food” became Sp. /θebo/ and L. *gente(m)* “people” became Sp. /xente/.

Another notable feature of Spanish is the loss of initial /f/. When /v/ passed to [β] (voiced bilabial fricative) to become an allophone of /b/, it is probable that /f/ also became [ɸ] (unvoiced bilabial fricative) before losing the bilabial element to become simply /h/. Eventually the /h/ was lost: although it remains in the spelling of Spanish words, it is not pronounced.

As in most Romance languages, the treatment of initial consonant clusters with /l/ as the second element is distinctive in Spanish: these clusters are reduced to /ʎ/ (palatalised l). Where Italian has *chiave* “key” from L. *clāve(m)*, for example, Spanish has *llave* [ʎave]. The [ʎ] is not a very stable sound, however, and has become [j] in most regional usage, especially in Latin America.

The initial velar element of clusters (e.g., of *kt*, *ks*, *gn*) that became labialised in Rumanian (e.g., Rum. *lapte* “milk”) became palatalized in Spanish, then in turn the palatalization was assimilated by the following consonant to give the following

$$\begin{array}{l} kt \rightarrow jt \rightarrow t\check{s} (= \check{c}) \\ ks \rightarrow js \rightarrow \check{s} \rightarrow x \\ gn \rightarrow jn \rightarrow \check{n} \end{array}$$

The formation of this yod briefly created diphthongs with the preceding vowel. In the case of /aj/ this became /ej/ before the palatal element disappeared, so that Spanish has *leche* “milk” from Latin *lacte(m)*.

When one adds to these palatal features already discussed the effect of the yod that developed from /e/ and /i/ before another vowel (e.g., L. *vīnea(m)* > *vinja* > Sp. *viña*) it can be seen that the palatalization that has taken place in Spanish is quite extensive.

EXERCISES

1. In this exercise Late Latin Short Vowel Opening is Rule (1); Romance diphthongization is Rule (2); Palatalization of Velars before Front Vowels (yielding tç, dj) is Rule (3). With the following additional rules, trace the historical derivation of the given words.

- (4) tç, dj → ç, j (loss of plosive element)
- (5) ç → θ
- (6) j → x/ ____ o, ue when stressed
- (7) j → h/ ____ i, e when unstressed
- (8) f → h/ initially, except before ue
- (9) h → zero
- (10) p, t, k → b, d, g/V ____ V
- (11) u → o/ ____ #
- (12) e → zero/ ____ #, exc. after v
- (13) shift of stress where necessary
- (14) metathesis where necessary

L. *facere*, Sp. *hacer* “to do”; L. *germānu(m)* “half brother”, Sp. *hermano* “brother”; L. *focu(m)* “hearth”, Sp. *fuego* “fire”; L. *jocu(m)* “joke”, Sp. *juego* “game”; L. *gelāre*, Sp. *helar* “to freeze”; L. *fīlu(m)*, Sp. *hilo* “thread”; L. **gen(e)ru(m)*, Sp. *yerno* “son-in-law” (note metathesis); L. *farīna(m)*, Sp. *harina* “flour”; L. *fata(m)*, Sp. *hada* “fairy”; L. **ficātu(m)*, Sp. *higado* “liver”; L. *cervu(m)*, Sp. *ciervo* “deer”; L. *caecāre* (= *cēcāre*), Sp. *cegar* “to blind”; L. *civ(i)tāte(m)*, Sp. *ciudad* “city”.

2. From the following additional rules trace the derivation of the given words.

- (15) kl, pl, fl → ʎ
- (16) CC (when identical) → C

L. *clāve(m)*, Sp. *llave* “key”; L. *plēnu(m)*, Sp. *lleno* “full”; L. *flamma(m)*, Sp. *llama* “flame”; L. *plānu(m)*, Sp. *llano* “plain, flat”; L. *plōrāre*, Sp. *llorar* “to weep”; L. **pluvēre*, (CL. *pluere*), Sp. *llover* “to rain”; L. *clamāre*, Sp. *llamar* “to call”.

- L. *lacte(m)*, Sp. *leche* “milk”; L. *lēctu(m)*, Sp. *lecho* “bed”; L. *nocte(m)*, Sp. *noche* “night”; L. *taxu(m)*, Sp. *tejo* “yew tree”; L. *factu(m)*, Sp. *hecho* “fact”; L. *pectu(s)*, Sp. *pecho* “chest”; L. *dirēctu(m)*, Sp. *derecho* “straight,

right” (init. vowel assimilated); L. *axe(m)*, Sp. *eje* “axle”; L. *exemplu(m)*, Sp. *ejemplo* “example”.

CHAPTER SIX

PORTUGUESE

Portuguese and Spanish are often grouped together. Although one can see their resemblances, they are, nevertheless, no more similar than are Italian and Sardinian, or French and Provençal.

Whereas, for example, Romance Diphthongization was most extensive in Spanish, affecting both front and back vowels in both open and closed syllables, this change did not affect Portuguese at all. And whereas Spanish presents a reasonably conservative face, much distinctive change, such as nasalization, has overtaken Portuguese.

Both languages nevertheless share a common geography and a common history. Just as standard Spanish is based on northern dialects which were spread southwards as the Moors (Arabs) retreated to their Kingdom of Granada, Portuguese is based upon the original dialect of Galicia in the extreme North West tip of the Iberian peninsula, which spread southward in similar fashion. And Portuguese, like Spanish, contains hundreds of loan words of Arabic origin.

The Portuguese were also early explorers and colonizers, so that Portuguese, like Spanish, English and French, is not only spoken around the world, but also has more speakers abroad than at home. And like English, it has, because of its use as a trade language, borrowings from Hindi, Malay, Japanese, Chinese and African languages.

Another similarity among the languages of the Atlantic seaboard is that they have, because of their use as trade languages, all developed pidgins and creoles in various parts of the world. A pidgin is basically a limited vocabulary used for trading purposes, with a grammar that is a fusion of the trading language and the native language; it is used only for communications and is not spoken as a mother tongue. If a pidgin develops to become a community language, it then becomes a creole, and it will be learned as a mother tongue by children growing up in that community.

Finally Portuguese and Spanish are both (again like English) spoken by many more speakers abroad than at home. Brazil, the largest Latin-American country is Portuguese speaking; Spanish, Portuguese and English, in fact, all have three or four times as many speakers in the Americas as they do in Europe.

The two most distinctive features of Portuguese vowel sounds are the centralized and nasalized vowels. Portuguese, like Rumanian, has two centralized vowels that may be heard in both stressed and unstressed syllables: L. *amat* “he loves”, Port. *ama* [ʼəmə]; L. *servit* “he serves”, Port. *serve* [ʼsərvə]. (The final schwa of this latter word tends to be voiceless in Modern Portuguese, however).

$$VN \rightarrow \tilde{V} / __ \# , __ C$$

The words *mãe* and *muito* also show another feature of Portuguese nasalization that does not occur in French: nasal diphthongs. There are four of these: [ɛĩ, ɔũ, õĩ, ɥĩ] as in *mãe* ‘mother’, *mão* ‘hand’ (L. *manu(m)*), *põe* ‘puts’ (L. *pōnit*) and *muito* ‘much’. It may be noted that these diphthongs are formed when vowels fall together because intervocalic consonants have been lost. These nasal diphthongs may also occur in sequences, as in *põem* ‘they put’ [põĩẽĩ] and *teem* ‘they have’ [tẽĩõĩ].

It can be seen that nasalization in Portuguese is much more extensive than in French, for example, and is a fundamental feature of the language.

Unstressed Vowels

The unstressed vowels of Portuguese have also undergone evolution. Wherever original /a/ occurred unstressed it has become [ɐ], and original /e/ has become [ə] in similar circumstances, with the variant [i] being heard initially (*ereto* [i'retu] “erect”) and before [ʃ] and [ʒ] (*está* [i'sta] “is”; *desejar* [dəziʒar] “to desire”). Sometimes, in fact, this initial vowel has become [i], so that Port. *irmão* “brother” is the same word as Sp. *hermano*. The /o/ of Iberian Romance has also come to be pronounced /u/ in almost all unstressed syllables: L. *romānu(m)* “Roman”, Port. *romano* [rrumánu].

Consonant Sounds

We have already seen that initial clusters of C + 1 are treated distinctively by the Romance languages, and Portuguese is no exception: the [ʎ] that is found in Spanish goes through a further stage of evolution to /ʃ/ so that Latin words with *pl-* are spelled with initial *ch* in Portuguese: L. *plōrāre* “weep”, Port. *chorar*; L. *flamma(m)* “flame”, Port. *chama* [ʃəmɐ], etc.

The /č/ and /j/ of early Romance became /s/ and /ʒ/ respectively, and Portuguese has differed from Spanish in maintaining voiced fricatives alongside the unvoiced: /f, v, s, z, ʃ, ʒ/. Final /s/ and preconsonantal /s/ have also become /ʃ/ in European Portuguese. We may summarize this fact as follows:

$$s \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{ʃ/} ___\# \\ ___\text{C} \end{cases}$$

Intervocally -d-, -l-, -n-, were all lost (the -n- frequently first nasalizing the preceding vowel), and unvoiced consonants became voiced. Other interesting changes took place intervocally, which will be found in the following exercises.

EXERCISES

1. Using the following rules trace the derivation of the given words.

- (1) Short Vowel Opening
- (2) Romance Palatalization of Velars to *č* and *ĵ*
- (3) C (-voice) → (+voice)/V__V
- (4) *č* → s, *ĵ* → *ž*
- (5) *ε* → e/___N
- (6) V → *Ũ*/___N#, NC
- (7) iNe, eNe → *ãĩ*
- (8) l → zero/V__V
- (9) VV when identical → V
- (10) e → zero/Vr___#
- (11) e, i (unstressed) → *ĩ*
- (12) o (unstressed) → u

L. *gente(m)* “people”, Port. *gente* [žěnti]; L. **gén(e)ru(m)* “son-in-law”, Port. *genro* [žěnrũ]; L. *centu(m)* “hundred”, Port. *cento* [sěntũ]; L. *cervu(m)*, Port. *cervo* “stag”; L. *caelu(m)* (= *celu(m)*), Port. *ceu* “sky”; L. *bene* “well”, Port. *bem* [bãĩ]; L. (*h*)*omine(m)* “man”, Port. *homem* [‘omãĩ]; L. *sine* “without”, Port. *sem* [sãĩ]; L. *salũte(m)*, Port. *saude* “health”; L. *salĩre* “to leap”, Port. *sair* “to go out”; L. *volāre*, Port. *voar* “to fly”; L. *colōre(m)*, Port. *côr* “colour”.

2. Sometimes intervocalic /n/ disappeared without affecting preceding vowels, especially (a) after unstressed vowels, (b) before final /a/ after /ō/ and /ũ/, and (c) before /a/ and /o/ after /ĩ/. Trace the following derivations.

- (1) Short Vowel Opening
- (2) n → zero/V (-stressed) ____, $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \bar{o} \\ \bar{u} \end{matrix} \right\}$ __a
- (3) CC when identical → C
- (4) C (- voice) → (+ voice)/V__V
- (5) VV when similar → V
- (6) e → zero/Vr___#
- (7) a → *ɐ*/___#
- (8) o (unstressed) → u
- (9) e (unstressed) → *ĩ*

L. *tenēre*, Port. *ter* “to hold”; L. *venīre*, Port. *vir* “to come”; L. *monēta(m)*, Port. *moeda* “coin”; L. *corōna(m)*, Port. *corôa* [kuroə] “crown”; L. *lūna(m)*, Port. *lua* “moon”; L. **commūna(m)*, Port. *comua*; L. *vanitāte(m)*, Port. *vaidade* “vanity”; L. *vēnātu(m)* “hunted”, Port. *veado* “deer”.

3. When intervocalic nasals were lost in Portuguese, there were three possible sequels: (a) loss of nasalization as in Exercise 2 above, (b) formation of a nasal diphthong, (c) development of an epenthetic consonant. In the following derivations nasal diphthongs are formed.

- (1) Short Vowel Opening
- (2) *tī, ct, cti* → *s*
- (3) *C* (- voiced) → (+ voiced)/*V*___*V*
- (4) *ānu, ane, ōne* → *ãũ/*___*#*
- (5) *ōne* → *õĩ/*___*s#*
- (6) *ane* → *ãĩ/*___*s#*
- (7) *s* → *š/*___*#*
- (8) *e, i* (unstressed) → *ɨ*
- (9) *a* (unstressed) → *ɐ*

L. *manu(m)*, Port. *mão* [mãũ] “hand”; L. *pane(m)*, Port. *pão* “loaf”; L. *sānu(m)*, Port. *são* “sane”; L. *pōnis*, Port. *pões* [põĩš] “thou placest”; L. *cane(m)*, Port. *cão* “dog”; L. *canēs*, Port. *cães* [kãĩs] “dogs”; L. *sāpōne(m)*, Port. *sabão* “soap”; L. *natiōne(m)*, Port. *nação* “nation”; L. *natiōnes*, Port. *nações* “nations”; L. *lēctiōne(m)* “reading”, Port. *lição* “lesson”; L. *lēctiōnes*, Port. *lições* “lessons”.

4. In the following examples an epenthetic consonant develops in one of two circumstances: (a) between the vowels in hiatus, eliminating the nasalization, and (b) after vowel contraction before a following consonant, keeping the nasalization.

- (1) Short Vowel Opening
- (2) Romance Palatalization of Velars to *č* and *ǰ*
- (3) *č* → *s*, *ǰ* → *ž*
- (4) *C* (- voiced) → (+ voiced)/*V*___*V*
- (5) *ε* → *e*, *ɔ* → *o/*___*N*
- (6) *VN* → *Ũ*
- (7) *ĩ* → *iũ/*___*a, o*

- L. *vīcīnu(m)*, Port. *vizinho* [viziñu] “neighbour”; L. *gallīna(m)*, Port. *galinha* “hen”; L. *vīnu(m)*, Port. *vinho* “wine”; L. *farīna(m)*, Port. *farinha* “flour”; L. *tenētis*, Port. *tendes* [tēndiš] “you hold”; L. *divinitāte(m)*, Port. *divindade* [divindadi] “divinity”; L. *venītis*, Port. *vindes* “you come”; L. *plēna(m)*, Port. *cheia* “full” (fem.); L. *plēnu(m)*, Port. *cheio* “full” (masc.); L. *vēna(m)*, Port. *veia* “vein”; L. *cēna(m)*, Port. *ceia* “supper”; L. *avēna*, Port. *aveia* “oats”; L. *arēna(m)*, Port. *areia* “sand”.

- (1) Short Vowel Opening
- (2) e, i → j/C___V
- (3) C (- voice) → (+ voice)/V___V, V___r, l
- (4) o → u/___cl, gn, ngl
- (5) g → j/V___l, r
- (6) k → j/___t, s
- (7) jl, lj → ʌ
- (8) au → ɔ
- (9) nj, ng, gn, ngl → ñ
- (10) aj → ej
- (11) tj, kj → s
- (12) ej → vj
- (13) s → š/j___
- (14) o (unstressed) → u
- (15) a (unstressed) → ɐ
- (16) e → zero/Vr___#
- (17) e (unstressed) → i

L. *folia* “leaves”, Port. *folha* “leaf”; L. *oc(u)lu(m)*, Port. *olho* “eye”;
L. *tēg(u)la(m)*, Port. *telha* “tile”; L. *auric(u)la(m)*, Port. *orelha* “ear”;
L. *vīnea(m)*, Port. *vinha* “vineyard”; L. *ung(u)la(m)*, Port. *unha* “claw”;
L. *sēniōre(m)* “elder”, Port. *senhor*; L. *cognātu(m)* “kinsman”, Port. *cunhado*

“brother-in-law”; L. *integro(m)*, Port. *inteiro* “entire”; L. *factu(m)*, Port. *feito* “fact”; L. *puteu(m)*, Port. *poço* “well”; L. *nocte(m)*, Port. *noite* “night”; L. *lacte(m)*, Port. *leite* “milk”; L. *taxu(m)*, Port. *teixo* [tɛjʃu] “yew”; L. *facie(m)*, Port. *face* “face”; L. *bracc(h)iu(m)*, Port. *braço* “arm”; L. *pugnu(m)*, Port. *punho* “fist”.

6. Trace the following derivations

- (1) Short Vowel Opening
- (2) $b \rightarrow v/V_V, V_r, l$
- (3) $d \rightarrow \text{zero}/V_V$
- (4) $C \text{ (-voice)} \rightarrow (+ \text{ voice})/V_r, l; V_V$
- (5) $bl \rightarrow br$
- (6) $b(V)l \rightarrow l$
- (7) $gu \rightarrow g/_V \text{ (- low)}$
- (8) $gu \rightarrow gw/_a$
- (9) metathesis where necessary
- (10) $VV \text{ when similar} \rightarrow V$
- (11) $e \rightarrow \text{zero}/Vr, Vl_ \#$
- (12) $e \text{ (unstressed)} \rightarrow i$
- (13) $a \rightarrow \text{ɐ}, o \rightarrow u / _ \#$
- (14) $CC \rightarrow C \text{ when identical (except rr)}$

L. *lacrima(m)*, Port. *lagrima* “tear”; L. *petra(m)*, Port. *pedra* “stone”; L. **oblitāre*, Port. *olvidar* “forget”; L. *ten(e)ru(m)*, Port. *terno* “tender”; L. *parab(o)la(m)*, Port. *palavra* “word”; L. *crepāre* “to crack”, Port. *quebrar* “to break”; L. **duplāre* “to double”, Port. *dobrar* “to duplicate”; L. *lab(ō)rāre*, Port. *lavar* “work”; L. *fab(u)lāre*, Port. *falar* “speak”; L. *aqua(m)*, Port. *agua* “water”; L. *aquila(m)*, Port. *aguila* “eagle”; L. *equale(m)*, Port. *igual* “equal”; L. **guerra*, Port. *guerra* “war”; L. *pede(m)*, Port. *pé* “foot”; L. *nūda(m)*, Port. *nua* “naked” (Fem.); L. *crēdere*, Port. *crer* “to believe”; L. *fide(m)*, Port. *fé* “faith”.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FRENCH

For political reasons it is common to group French and Provençal together. Both have been spoken within the boundaries of a single state for some thousand years, but in many ways Provençal is just as closely related to Rhetoromance. Provençal is not a dialect of French. In fact it is a dialect of Occitan, a language that includes such southern French dialects as Gascon and Limousin, and which occupies the area of south and south western France. Provençal must also be distinguished from Franco-Provençal which is spoken in south eastern France and is classified as belonging to Rhetoromance, not Occitan.

The French language that is known to history is based, therefore, on the dialects of Northern France, and more especially on Francien, the dialect of the Ile de France, that is, of the region surrounding Paris. The prestige of this particular dialect stems, of course, from a geographical accident: the fact that it happened to be the regional speech of the king's court and of the capital city.

The difference between the northern and the southern dialects of France is a major one, stemming from a very early tendency to separate into two linguistic groups that by medieval times were known as the *langue d'oïl* (north) and the *langue d'oc* (south), based on the distinctively different ways of saying "yes" in the North (*oïl*) and in the South (*oc*). At the time of the Crusades the *langue d'oc* had a brilliant flowering in the lyric poetry of the troubadours (approximately 1100–1300) but by the fourteenth century it had gone into decline, and with the growth of the power of Paris after the Hundred Years' War (1350–1450) gradually became reduced to the status of a *patois*, a rustic dialect of low prestige.

In part this overemphasis on a single regional dialect was a phenomenon of the printing press, which was developed in the fifteenth century. The literature of medieval France, like that of Middle English, shows dialectal variations, each author being influenced by the way that he was used to speaking: writing was a function of the *ear*, and spelling was phonetic. The printer, however, sets up his fount of type from what he sees; writing at the time of the Renaissance becomes a function of the *eye*, and spelling becomes an arbitrary tradition based on what others have done in the past. The spelling of both Modern French and Modern English is consequently an ossified form of fifteenth century phonetic

spelling, which relates to the way people spoke in the fifteenth century more than it does to the way people speak today.

Vowel Sounds

There are two features in the evolution of French vowel sounds that are quite distinctive: (1) the passage of Common Romance /a/ in open stressed syllables to /e/, and (2) the secondary diphthongization that overtakes Common Romance /e/ and /o/ in open stressed syllables. The historians of French discuss the first feature as being an early distinguishing trait between the dialects of the north and south of France, but in fact it is a feature which distinguishes French from all other Romance languages.

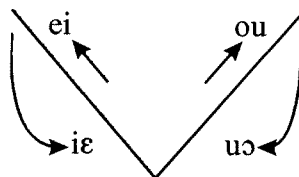
The second feature when examined in terms of individual sound changes appears to be enormously complex, but when viewed in systemic terms can be seen to be in many ways quite regular. Just as the low mid vowels of Common Romance became falling diphthongs in open syllables in northern Gallo-Romance (a facet of Common Romance diphthongization):

$$o \rightarrow uo, \epsilon \rightarrow i\epsilon / ___\text{CV}$$

in similar fashion the high mid vowels broke into rising diphthongs when they occurred in open syllables:

$$o \rightarrow ou, e \rightarrow ei / ___\text{CV}$$

(Note that for the low mid vowels *u* and *i* become the initial elements, for the high mid vowels *u* and *i* become the final elements). We may diagram these changes as follows:



A stage of dissimilation overtakes these new diphthongs: both *e* and *i* are front vowels, and the change that occurred was that the initial *e* of the diphthong becomes *ə* and finally *o*, thereby changing from a high mid front vowel to a high mid back vowel. This stage of the evolution is still preserved in the spelling, as may be seen in the following derivations:

L. *mē* > CR. *me* > *mei* > *māi* > OFr. *moi* [moi]

L. *tē* > CR. *te* > *tei* > *tāi* > OFr. *toi* [toi]

The exact inverse occurs with the back diphthong /ou/, giving a remarkable structural parallel:

ou > əu > eu

and this too is preserved in the spelling:

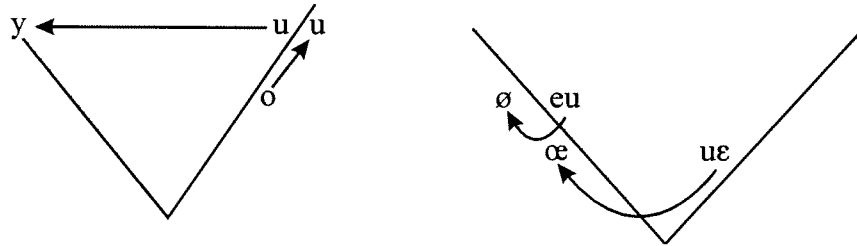
CL. *illōru(m)* > *louru* > *laur(u)* > OFr. *leur* [leur]

In subsequent evolution /oi/ underwent a secondary dissimilation whereby the second element became a low vowel, the first element a high vowel: *oi* > *oe* > *œ* > *ue* > *we*. This was the accepted pronunciation until the French Revolution: in the 1790's, when the Paris populace took over the government, their dialectal /wa/ then became the accepted standard that others gradually learned to copy.

Formation of the front rounded vowels

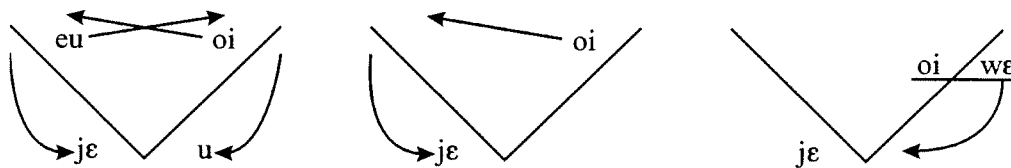
The fate of OFr. /eu/ is tied in with other changes in the language. By the thirteenth century the back vowels of French had become involved in a 'chain' shift upward: /u/ had become fronted to /y/, and /o/ had moved up to take the place of /u/. The formation of /y/ undoubtedly encouraged the formation of other front rounded vowels and the lip rounding of the second element of /eu/ affected the *e*, so that the diphthong was pronounced [əu], and finally, losing its off-glide, became /ø/ and joined /y/ as part of the system of front rounded vowels distinctive of French.

Similar changes had overtaken the open diphthong /uo/, which, as in Spanish, had early become /ue/. This time the lip rounding of the on-glide rounded the [ɛ] to [œ], and then the on-glide in turn disappeared, leaving a third rounded front vowel to complete the system.



Formation of French rounded front vowels from (a) chain shift and (b) reduction of diphthongs

The corresponding front diphthong /jε/ (Common Romance diphthongization) meanwhile had not changed, and, in fact, still survives today: CL. *pēde(m)* > LL. *pēde* > MFr. *pje*. The survival of one diphthong and the loss of the other helps to explain the evolution of /oi/ to /wa/: this development restores the balance, since /wa/ is a back falling diphthong that now parallels the front falling diphthong /jε/.



(a) original OFr diphthongs; (b) diphthongs remaining after formation of front rounded vowels (c) adjustment of *oi* to *wε* to balance the system

All these changes took place in open syllables. In closed syllables, the front mid vowels fell together as /ε/:

CL. *vir(i)de(m)* > LL. *verde* > MFr. *ver* “green”

CL. *ferru(m)* > LL. *ferru* > MFr. *fer* “iron”

CL. *illa(m)* > LL. *ella* > MFr. *el* “she”

Of the back mid vowels in closed syllables, /ɔ/ remained intact while /o/ was involved in the ‘chain’ shift to /u/:

CL. *porta(m)* > LL. *pōrta* > MFr. *pōrt* “door”

CL. *tōtu(m)* > LL. *tottu* > MFr. *tu(t)* “all”

CL. *bucca(m)* > LL. *bokka* > MFr. *buš* “mouth”

Regionally this shift of /o/ > /u/ also affected /ɔ/ in certain words before /s/ and nasals, which explains regional pronunciations such as *grousse*, *boune*, *houme*, (= *grosse*, *bonne*, *homme*) etc., which may be heard in Western France and in the Acadian dialect of Canada.

As with other Romance languages the effect of a yod on preceding and following vowels has produced widespread changes. The effect of the /i/ which became vocalized before a following consonant (e.g., *chevals* > *chevaus*, spelled *chevaux*) will also be examined in the exercises at the end of the chapter.

Nasalization of vowels preceding nasal consonants is also a distinctive feature of French which led to the development of nasal vowel phonemes.

All final vowels but /a/ disappeared by the eighth century, and by the ninth century this unstressed /a/ had become /ə/, a pronunciation that persisted till the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, during which time it gradually disappeared. It is only heard today when certain combinations of consonants occur, as in *autre chose* [otrəʒoz].

Consonant Sounds

The difference between It. *agosto* and Fr. *août*, pronounced /u/, is illustrative of the degree of consonant reduction in the history of French. Intervocalic clusters are reduced, and intervocalic and final consonants extensively lost. Only initial consonants seem to demonstrate any stability, since only velars show any degree of change in this position.

From the Romance palatalization of velars before front vowels the resulting /ts/ is reduced to /s/, so that where Italian has *città* French has *cit  * and the resulting /dʒ/ is reduced to /ʒ/, so that where Italian has *genero* ‘son in law’ French has *gendre*.

A further and later palatalization of velars, distinctively French, took place before /a/ in the seventh and eighth centuries: L. *carru(m)* > Fr. *char*; LL. *gamba(m)* > Fr. *jambe*.

The labial element of /kw/ and /gw/ was lost: L. *qu  * > Fr. /ki/; CR. **gwerra* > Fr. /ger/. Where this change brought velars once more before front vowels a tertiary palatalization took place in some of the western dialects in France, as also in the Acadian dialect of Canada, which was transplanted to Louisiana in the *Grand D  rangement* of 1755. In all these regions the following pronunciations may be heard: /  i/ for *qui*, /    l/ for *quel*, /    v/ for *cuve*, /      r/ for

coeur, /ʃijom/ for *Guillaume*, /ʃer/ for *guerre*, /leʝym/ for *légume*, /ʝœl/ for *gueule*.

Intervocally unvoiced consonants became voiced; voiced plosives then became fricatives and tended to disappear. This explains, for example, why feminine past participles in *-ata(m)* appear as *-ata* in Italian, *-ada* in Spanish and Portuguese, but *-ée* in French: It. *armata* = Sp., Port. *armada* = Fr. *armée*. However, *-p-* and *-b-* survived as *-v-*; L. *rīpa(m)* > Fr. *rive*; L. *(h)abēre* > Fr. *avoir*, and *-c-* and *-g-* if they survived, normally gave a yod which added further complexities.

As well as the reduction of geminated consonants, two other distinctive reduction of clusters should be noted: (1) where /s/ occurred before another consonant it disappeared at the end of the eleventh century, leaving a lengthened vowel marked with a circumflex (most of these have been shortened in MFr): L. *ī(n)s(u)la(m)* > OFr. *isle* > MFr. /il/ (spelled *île*), and (2) where /l/ occurred before another consonant it became a vocoid /w/ which then frequently became an off-glide for the preceding vowel, producing a diphthong. This second change explains such irregular paradigms as *animal*, *animaux* (< *animals*), *elles*, *eux* (< *ells*), and such variation as *cheveux* but *chevelure*, *chapeau* but *chapelier*, *couteau* but *coutellerie*. (The singulars *cheveu*, *chapeau* and *couteau* are all 'back formations', formed from their plurals by analogy).

Palatalization from secondary sources has been extensive in French, as in other Romance languages. The phoneme /ɲ/ has survived from such sources, but /ʎ/, less stable, has been reduced to a yod, which is the most frequent pronunciation of the spellings *-ill-* and *-il-*. Frequently the yod which developed after a consonant became preposed by metathesis and formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel: L. *area(m)* > Fr. *aire*; L. *mā(n)sione(m)* > Fr. *maison*; L. *folia* > OFr. > *fueille* > MFr. *feuille*.

Epenthetic consonants arise commonly in French between combinations of nasal + liquid, and also between *l + r* and *s + r*: L. *cam(e)ra(m)* > Fr. *chambre*; L. *sim(u)lāre* > Fr. *sembler*; L. **generu(m)* > Fr. *gendre*; L. *mol(e)re* > Fr. *moudre*; L. **ess(e)re* > Fr. *être*.

There are other changes in French that would need to be detailed in a full account of the evolution of the language, but which are too detailed for present purposes.

EXERCISES

1. From the following rules derive the given forms.

- (1) Short Vowel Opening
- (2) $e \rightarrow ei$, $o \rightarrow ou$ / ___ CV, ___ Cr, or elsewhere in open syllable
- (3) dissimilation $ei \rightarrow oi$, $ou \rightarrow eu$
- (4) dissimilation $oi \rightarrow wa$
- (5) assimilation $eu \rightarrow \emptyset u \rightarrow \emptyset$
- (6) C (- voice) \rightarrow (+ voice) / V ___ V, V ___ r
- (7) $kk \rightarrow \check{s}\check{s}$, $k \rightarrow \check{s}$ / ___ V (+ low)
- (8) $b \rightarrow v$, $d \rightarrow$ zero / V ___ V, V ___ r
- (9) $e \rightarrow \text{ə}$ in unstressed syllables
- (10) $\#sa \rightarrow \#\check{s}\text{ə}$ when unstressed
- (11) V (- low) $\rightarrow \text{ə}$ / Cr ___ #
- (12) V (- low) \rightarrow zero / ___ #, elsewhere
- (13) V (+ low) $\rightarrow \text{ə}$ / ___ # when unstressed
- (14) $u \rightarrow y$, $o \rightarrow u$
- (15) $z, s \rightarrow \emptyset$ / ___ C, ___ #
- (16) $CC \rightarrow C$ when identical
- (17) $\text{ə} \rightarrow$ zero / ___ #
- (18) V (+ mid high) \rightarrow (mid low) / ___ C#, ___ CC

L. *fide(m)*, Fr. *foi* “faith”; L. *tēla(m)* “web”, Fr. *toile* “cloth”; L. *pira(m)*, Fr. *poire* “pear”; L. *sēru(m)* “late”, Fr. *soir* “evening”; L. *(h)abēre*, Fr. *avoir* “have”; L. *mē(n)se(m)*, Fr. *mois* “month”; L. *pip(e)re(m)*, Fr. *poivre* “pepper”; L. *pisu(m)*, Fr. *pois* “peas”; L. *pilu(m)*, Fr. *poil* “hair”; L. *sōlu(m)*, Fr. *seul* “only”; L. *gula(m)*, Fr. *gueule* “throat”; L. *vōtu(m)*, Fr. *voeu* “vow”; L. *flōre(m)*, Fr. *fleur* “flower”; L. *nepōte(m)*, Fr. *neveu* “nephew”; L. *mitt(e)re* “send”, Fr. *mettre* “put”; L. *siccu(m)*, Fr. *sec* “dry”; L. *crista(m)*, Fr. *crête* “crest”; L. **missa(m)*, Fr. *messe* “mass”; L. *litt(e)ra(m)*, Fr. *lettre* “letter”; L. *bucca(m)*, Fr. *bouche* “mouth”; L. *cō(n)sta(t)* “it is agreed”, Fr. *coûte* “costs”; L. *musca(m)*, Fr. *mouche* “fly”; L. *vacca(m)*, Fr. *vache* “cow”; L. *caballu(m)*, Fr. *cheval* “horse”; L. *carru(m)*, Fr. *char* “car”; L. *tū*, Fr. *tu* “thou”; L. *tē*, Fr. *toi* “thee”; L. *mūla(m)*, Fr. *mule* “mule”; L. *ūna(m)*, Fr. *une* “one” (Fem).

2. From the following rules, derive the given forms

- (1) Short Vowel Opening
- (2) Common Romance Diphthongization (open syllables)
- (3) Prothetic /e/ added /___#sC
- (4) dissimilation uɔ → uε
- (5) assimilation uε → uœ → œ
- (6) C (- voice) → (+ voice)/V___V, V___r
- (7) a → ε/___CV, ___Cr
- (8) d → zero, b → v/V___V, V___r
- (9) V (- low) → ə/Cr, Cl___#
- (10) V (- low) → zero/___# elsewhere
- (11) V (+ low) → ə/___# when unstressed
- (11a) vr > rr
- (12) CC → C when identical
- (13) d → t/___#
- (14) s → zero/___C
- (15) t → zero/___#
- (16) r# → zero in first conjugation infinitives
- (17) V (+ mid low) → (+ mid high)/___#
- (18) ə → zero/___#

L. *pede(m)*, Fr. *pied* “foot”; L. *(h)eri*, Fr. *hier* “yesterday”; L. *feru(m)* “fierce”, Fr. *fier* “proud”; L. **mele(m)*, Fr. *miel* “honey”; L. *ferru(m)*, Fr. *fer* “iron”; L. *perd(e)re*, Fr. *perdre* “lose”; L. *testa(m)* “jug”, Fr. *tête* “head”; L. *portāre*, Fr. *porter* “carry”; L. *mare*, Fr. *mer* “sea”; L. *prātu(m)*, Fr. *pré* “meadow”; L. *patre(m)*, Fr. *père* “father”; L. *tab(u)la*, Fr. *table* “table”; L. *mola(m)*, Fr. *meule* “mill-stone”; L. *op(e)ra(m)*, Fr. *oeuvre* “work”; L. **pote(t)*, Fr. *peut* “is able”; L. *morte(m)*, Fr. *mort* “death”; L. *pottu(m)*, Fr. *pot* “pot”; L. *scrib(e)re*, Fr. *écrire* “write” (loss of /v/ by analogy with *j’écris*); L. *rīpa(m)*, Fr. *rive* “river bank”.

3. From the following rules derive the given forms

- (1) Short Vowel Opening
- (2) CR Diphthongization (open syllables)
- (3) CR palatalization to /ts/ and /dž/
- (4) k → š, g → ž/___a
- (5) ts → s, dž → ž

- (6) V (- low) → ə/Cr, Cl___#
- (7) V (- low) → zero/___# elsewhere
- (8) V (- low) → ə/___#
- (9) u → y
- (10) i → ĩ, jε → jĕ, y → œ, o → ɔ̃/___N#, ___NC
- (11) ε, e, a → ă/___N#, ___NC
- (12) Add epenthetic consonant where necessary
- (13) N → zero/V___
- (14) ə → zero/___#

L. *vīnu(m)*, Fr. *vin* “wine”; L. *fīne(m)*, Fr. *fin* “end”; L. *bene*, Fr. *bien* “well”; L. *veni(t)*, Fr. *vient* “comes”; L. *nōme(n)*, Fr. *nom* “name”; L. *unda(m)*, Fr. *onde* “wave”; L. *ūnu(m)*, Fr. *un* “one” (Masc.); L. *planta(m)*, Fr. *plante* “plant”; L. *man(i)ca(m)*, Fr. *manche* “sleeve”; L. **prēnd(e)re*, Fr. *prendre* “take”; L. *fīnd(e)re*, Fr. *fendre* “split”; L. *cin(e)re(m)*, Fr. *cendre* “ash”; L. *sim(u)la(t)*, Fr. *semble* “seems”; L. **gen(e)ru(m)*, Fr. *gendre* “son-in-law” (loss of (e) closes syllable)

4. Trace the following derivations

- (1) Short Vowel Opening
- (2) Romance Diphthongization (open syllables)
- (3) uɔ → uε
- (4) i, e → j/C___V
- (5) metathesis of rj, sj, lj
- (6) k, g → j/V___V, V___C
- (7) jl → ʎ; jn, nj → ñ
- (8) jej, jej → i; oj, ej → wa; uej → ɥi
- (9) aj → ε; ij → i
- (10) V (- low) → zero; V (+ low) → ə/___#
- (11) ʎ → j
- (12) on → ɔ̃/___C
- (13) ε → e; ə → zero/___#
- (14) e → ε/___C#
- (15) t → zero/___#

L. *area(m)*, Fr. *aire* “area”; L. *plāga(m)* “blow, wound”, Fr. *plaie* “scar”; L. *lacte(m)* Fr. *lait* “milk”; L. *mac(u)la(m)* “spot”, Fr. *maille* “stitch”; L. **montānea(m)*, Fr. *montagne* “mountain”; L. *dece(m)*, Fr. *dix* “ten”;

L. *rēge(m)*, Fr. *roi* “king”; L. *cōnsiliu(m)*, Fr. *conseil* “counsel”;
 L. *vig(i)la(t)*, Fr. *veille* “stays awake, keeps vigil”; L. *tinea(m)*, Fr. *teigne*
 “moth”; L. *amīcu(m)*, Fr. *ami* “friend”; L. *coriu(m)*, Fr. *cuir* “leather”;
 L. *dor(mi)tōriu(m)*, Fr. *dortoir* “dormitory”; L. *līnea(m)*, Fr. *ligne* “line”

5. Trace the following

- (1) Short Vowel Opening
- (2) $k \rightarrow \text{ʃ}/__\text{a}$
- (3) added epenthetic consonant where necessary
- (4) $l \rightarrow u/__\text{C}$
- (5) $eu \rightarrow \emptyset$
- (6) $ou, \text{ɔ}u \rightarrow u$; $au \rightarrow o$
- (7) $d \rightarrow \text{zero}/V__\text{V}$
- (8) $V \text{ (- low)} \rightarrow \text{ə}/\text{Cr}__\#$
- (9) $V \text{ (- low)} \rightarrow \text{zero}/__\#$ elsewhere
- (10) $V \text{ (+ low)} \rightarrow \text{ə}/__\#$
- (11) $\text{ə} \rightarrow \text{zero}$

L. *cal(i)du(m)*, Fr. *chaud* “hot”; L. **filtru(m)*, Fr. *feutre* “felt”; L. *mol(e)re*,
 Fr. *moudre* “grind”; L. *sol(i)du(m)*, Fr. *sou* “sou”; L. *ultra*, Fr. *outré*
 “beyond”; L. *calvu(m)*, Fr. *chauve* “bald”.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MORPHOLOGY OF NOUN AND ADJECTIVE

The Classical Latin noun had five working cases and was to be found in five different paradigms or declensions. The first declension nouns were essentially feminine, the second declension were masculine (or neuter if they had no distinctive nominative form), the other declensions were of mixed gender. The inflections are as follows:

1) **Declension I:** *femina* “woman” (feminine)

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	femina	feminae
Acc.	feminam	feminās
Gen.	feminae	feminārum
Dat.	feminae	feminīs
Abl.	feminā	feminīs

2) **Declension II:** *taurus* “bull” (masculine), *templum* “temple” (neuter)

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	taurus, templum	taurī, templa
Acc.	taurum	taurōs, templa
Gen.	taurī	taurōrum
Dat.	taurō	taurīs
Abl.	taurō	taurīs

(*templum* has identical inflexions elsewhere)

3) **Declension III:** *urbs* “city” (feminine), *caput* “head” (neuter)

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	<i>urbs, caput</i>	<i>urbēs, capita</i>
Acc.	<i>urbem, caput</i>	<i>urbēs, capita</i>
Gen.	<i>urbis, capitis</i>	<i>urbium, capitum</i>
Dat.	<i>urbī, capitī</i>	<i>urbibus, capitibus</i>
Abl.	<i>urbe, capite</i>	<i>urbibus, capitibus</i>

4) **Declension IV:** *portus* “port” (masculine); *genū* “knee” (neuter)

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	<i>portus, genū</i>	<i>portūs, genua</i>
Acc.	<i>portum, genū</i>	<i>portūs, genua</i>
Gen.	<i>portūs, genūs</i>	<i>portuum, genuum</i>
Dat.	<i>portuī, genū</i>	<i>portibus, genibus</i>
Abl.	<i>portū, genū</i>	<i>portibus, genibus</i>

5) **Declension V:** *diēs* “day” (feminine)

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	<i>diēs</i>	<i>diēs</i>
Acc.	<i>diem</i>	<i>diēs</i>
Gen.	<i>diēī</i>	<i>diērum</i>
Dat.	<i>diēī</i>	<i>diēbus</i>
Abl.	<i>diē</i>	<i>diēbus</i>

Note the following:

- the accusative singular ends in *-m* in all declensions. The only exceptions are third and fourth declension neuters.
- there is considerable syncretism (i.e., two or more cases with identical forms. Note that syncretism of dative and ablative plural is found universally in all declensions.)

There were but few nouns in declensions IV and V, and these declensions disappeared early, nouns from IV joining the second declension, and those from V joining the third declension or else being reshaped as first declension nouns.

During the time of the Roman Empire the case distinctions were considerably eroded, their meaningful role being replaced by increased use of prepositions. As early as the first century A.D., for example, one finds prepositions that had governed the ablative in Classical Latin followed now by the accusative.

This reduction in the number of cases was accompanied by further reduction in the declension distinctions. Many feminine nouns of the third declension were reshaped as first declension nouns, thus adopting a distinctive feminine morphology. Consequently a noun such as *glans*, *glandem* “acorn” appears in Italian as *ghianda*, with a final vowel that could not have come from the Classical Latin forms of the word.

The nominative plural of the third declension was also reshaped to *-ī* so that in both second and third declensions the nominative plural now ended in *-ī* and the accusative plural in *-s*. The distinctions between masculine and neuter disappeared, the neuters being reshaped as masculine. The distinctive neuter plural in *-a*, however, was confused with the *-a* of the first declension feminine, and expressions such as CL. *mea gaudia* “my joys” ended up as Fr. *ma joie*. When the neuters adopted the masculine plural morphology, in fact, sometimes the old neuter plural took on new life as a separate noun, so that we have pairs such as Fr. *le grain* “the seed” (< L. *grānu(m)*, sg.), *la graine* “grain” (< L. *grāna*, pl.), or Sp. *leño* “stick” (< L. *lignu(m)*) but *leña* “firewood” (< L. *ligna*). Italian and Rumanian also kept some of the neuter plurals as irregular formations: e.g., It. *braccio*, pl. *braccia* < CL. *bracc(h)iu(m)*, pl. *bracc(h)ia*. (These nouns have masculine agreements in the singular, but feminine agreements in the plural). Note It. *il frutto* “the fruit”, *le frutta* “the (pieces of) fruit”, and also *la frutta* (sg.) “fruit (collectively)” which shows both possible evolutions for the original neuter plural (L. *frūctum*, *frūcta*).

As a result of these reductions, there was a tendency towards a morphology of two genders and two cases as follows:

	Feminine			Masculine	
	Sg.	Pl.		Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	a	e		us/is	i
Acc.	a	as		u/e	os/es

From this paradigm most of the noun-morphology of Romance languages can be derived. In all languages except Rumanian all traces of the original Latin noun case distinctions have now disappeared: in Western Romance it is the accusative forms that have survived for both singular and plural; in Eastern Romance the singular is based on the accusative, the plural on the nominative. Whereas, for example, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Provençal and Sardinian have plurals in *-s*, Italian and Rumanian have plurals in *-i* (basically masculine) and *-e* (basically feminine).

The morphology of distinct Nominative and Accusative survived into Old French and Old Provençal, showing the following forms for Old French (from CL. *porta* “door” and *mūrus* “wall”):

	Feminine		Masculine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	porte	portes	murs	mur
Acc.	porte	portes	mur	murs

Old Provençal has *porta*, *portas* for “door”, but otherwise has the same forms.

Remnants of third declension morphology also survived into Old French, such as the following from Latin *sēnior*, *sēniōrem* “elder”:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	sire	seignor
Acc.	seignor	seignors

In this case where the nominative singular was ‘imparisyllabic’ (did not have the same number of syllables as the rest of the paradigm) two distinctive forms of the word emerged, that ultimately went on to become two different words: French *sire* and *seigneur*.

In Rumanian a remnant of yet another case has survived from the Genitive/Dative of Latin, but only shows in the morphology of the noun in the feminine singular (*casă* “house”; *domn* “gentleman”):

	Feminine		Masculine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom/Acc	casă	case	domn	domni
Gen/Dat	case	case	domn	domni

This case distinction is also marked in the definite article, however, which in Rumanian is postposed:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom/Acc	<i>casa</i> “the house”	<i>casele</i> “the houses”
Gen/Dat	<i>casei</i> “of/to the house”	<i>caselor</i> “of/to the houses”
Nom/Acc	<i>domnul</i> “the gentleman”	<i>domnii</i> “the gentlemen”
Gen/Dat	<i>domnului</i> “of/to the gentleman”	<i>domnilor</i> “of/to the gentlemen”

From these paradigms one can distinguish *domn-i-i* and *domn-i-lor* where the *-i-* marks the plural of the nouns and *-i* and *-lor* are forms of the definite article, not part of the noun morphology *per se*. In fact the article is movable and may be placed on the adjective if this latter precedes the noun: *bunelor fluvii* “of the good rivers” is used when the adjective has special emphasis, otherwise *fluviilor bune*.

Latin adjectives agreed with their nouns in gender, number and case. Case forms of adjectives survived into Old French and Old Provençal but then disappeared along with the noun morphology. The only surviving morphology of case in the adjective is to be found in Rumanian, where separate cases are found (as in the noun) only in the feminine singular: *o casă bună* “a good house”, *unei case bune* “of a good house”.

Latin adjectives of the first and second declension follow the nominal paradigms of these declensions (see *bonus* below). The neuter disappears historically, falling together with the masculine. Third declension adjectives did not distinguish between masculine and feminine, and some of these have survived: L. *triste(m)* “sad”, for example, has yielded reflexes which are unmarked for gender in French, Portuguese and Spanish but has been reshaped in Italian *tristo*, *trista* and Rum. *trist*, *tristă*.

Since Latin adjectives of the first declension always belong to the second declension as well, and since the second declension includes the neuter as well, such adjectives may be called ‘trimorphic’ (having masc., fem. and neut. forms):

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	<i>bonus</i>	<i>bona</i>	<i>bonu(m)</i>
Acc.	<i>bonu(m)</i>	<i>bona(m)</i>	<i>bonu(m)</i>

It is the trimorphic paradigms that yield the distinctive morphology for masculine vs. feminine in modern Romance languages. Adjectives belonging to the CL. third declension, however, distinguish only animate (masc. and fem.) on the one hand and inanimate (neut.) on the other; they may be termed ‘dimorphic’:

	Masc./Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	tristis	triste
Acc.	triste(m)	triste

It can be easily seen that these dimorphic adjectives would have to be reshaped to give a distinctive masculine/feminine contrast in modern Romance languages.

Derivational Morphology

We distinguish the inflectional suffixes or inflections (which can be added to every true noun) from derivational suffixes which (a) are not necessarily added to every noun and (b) may be used for deriving nouns from other parts of speech.

The derivational suffixes are also distinguishable (a) because they *precede* the inflections, and (b) it is possible to have more than one of them, whereas one can not have more than one inflection:

agō “I drive” (root *ag* + inflection *-ō*)
agitō “I drive continuously” (*-it-* = frequentative)
agitātiōne(m) “agitation” (*-ātiōne* = abstract noun)

The CL. noun *agitātiōne(m)* shows root /*ag-*/, frequentative suffix /*-it-*/, abstract noun suffix /*-ātiōne*/ and accusative inflection /*-m*/.

Diminutive markers, which indicate that a thing is smaller or of less value, are found almost universally in the languages of the world, frequently in the derivational morphology. Latin, for example, had the suffix *-culu/-cula*.

CL. *aure(m)* “ear”
auricula(m) “little ear”

The diminutive sense of the suffix has been lost, and it is the diminutive form of the word that has come down to us as Fr. *oreille*, Port. *orelha*. The Romance languages have also developed their own morphology of the diminutive, mostly from Late Latin sources: LL. *-itta* > Fr. *-ette*; LL. *-īnu(m)* > It., Sp. *-ino*.

Augmentatives (also called intensives) which indicate that a thing is larger are also found. CL. *tālu(m)* “ankle” is the etymology of Fr. *talon* “heel”, but this latter can only have come from the augmentative form **tālōne(m)*. Italian has continued to use this particular suffix as an augmentative, whereas Spanish has developed an augmentative in *-a*, by analogy with those singular nouns formed from the neuter plural (see above): CL. *hortu(m)* “garden” (a masculine noun) gives Sp. *huerto*, and then by analogy *huerta* “fruit growing area”, an obvious augmentative.

EXERCISES

1. The following were fifth declension nouns in Classical Latin: *glaciēs* “ice”, *diēs* “day”, *faciēs* “face”, *rēs* “thing”, *fidēs* “faith”. From the evidence of French and Italian, indicate how these nouns were assimilated into other declensions. (The French reflex of *rēs* is *rien*, from the accusative *rem*; there is no Italian cognate).
2. What are the etymologies of the following feminine nouns: Fr. *feuille* “leaf”, *fée* “fairy”, *oeuvre* “work”; Sp. *seña* “sign”, *fiesta* “holiday”. Spanish has both *fruta* “fruit” and *fruto* “fruit”; what is the difference? Latin *rīvus* “brook, stream” gives Sp. *rio* “river”, and from this Sp. has formed an entirely new word *ria* “estuary”. What process is involved here, and what is its rationale?
3. In which of the five Latin declensions were imparisyllabic nouns to be found? Trace the etymology of the following: Fr. *on*, *homme*; *chantre* “cantor”, *chanteur* “singer”; Port. *câncer* “cancer”, *cancro* “scourge” (fig.), Fr. *cancer* “cancer”, *chancre* “ulcer”; Fr. *pâtre* “herder”, *pasteur* “pastor”. What reasons are there for the survival of these different forms?
4. What is the reason for such French forms as *grand-messe* “high mass”, *grand-mère* “grandmother”, *grand-terre* “mainland”, *grand’rue* “mainstreet”? Is the lack of a gender distinction in Fr. *tendre* “tender” due to morphological or phonological causes?
5. Given that Fr. *mineur* is a learned spelling of OFr. *meneur* from L. *minōre(m)* “smaller”, what is the etymology of Fr. *moindre* “less”? Explain the evolution of the two words. (Note that OFr. *meindre* is the regular form of the latter, and that MFr. *moindre* is an unusual phonological variation which cannot be explained).
6. Given that adjectives in Italian agree in gender, explain the morphology of Italian *forte*, as seen in the following:
 - (a) *un uomo forte* “a strong man”
 - (b) *i uomimi forti* “the strong men”
 - (c) *una donna forte* “a strong woman”
 - (d) *le donne forti* “the strong women”

7. Given L. *casa* 'house', what Latin cases gave rise to the Rumanian paradigm Nom./Acc. (sg.) *casă*, (pl.) *case*; Gen./Dat. (sg.) *case*, (pl.) *case*? Given L. *socrus* "father-in-law" what Latin cases gave rise to Rumanian Nom./Acc. (sg.) *socru*, (pl.) *socri*, Gen./Dat. (sg.) *socru*, (pl.) *socri*? Is there a complete parallel between the masculine and feminine paradigms in Rumanian?
8. Analyse the following Rumanian forms into their component morphs:
 - (a) *fluviu* "river"
 - (b) *fluvii* "rivers"
 - (c) *fluviul* "the river"
 - (d) *fluviului* "of the river"
 - (e) *fluviile* "the rivers"
 - (f) *fluviilor* "of the rivers"

Are all the morphs regular reflexes of the Latin antecedents? Eastern Romance has tended to develop a new neuter gender, which has the morphology of the masculine in the singular, but of the feminine in the plural: It. *il braccio*, *le braccia* "the arm(s)"; Rum. *umar*, *umere* "shoulder(s)". Given that Rum. *e* > *i* after a palatal element, how far does Rum. *fluviu* fit this class? Note the contrast between *socrii* "the fathers-in-law" (which has added the masculine plural definite article /-i/ to the plural *socri*) and *fluviile* "the rivers". Given that the root of *fluviile* is *fluvi-*, explain why the plural inflection is /-i/ and yet the definite article is /-le/.

9. From the reflexes of the Latin third declension adjective *dulce(m)* "sweet" determine which languages have reshaped the adjective to give it masculine/feminine forms. Is the distribution the same as for L. *triste(m)*? Can one draw any conclusions about the distribution? Does the fact that Rumanian has *unui copil dulce* "of a sweet child (masc.)" but *unei surori dulci* "of a sweet sister (fem.)" indicate that Rumanian has reshaped this adjective? Explain the alternation *dulce/dulci* in these phrases. (Examine the forms of the Latin third Declension and base your answer on the results of the analysis carried out in Q.7 above).
10. English has borrowed the words *patron* and *matron*. The Italian equivalents are *padrone*, *madrone*. From what roots are these words derived, and what kind of a derivation is involved?

CHAPTER NINE

MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB

As early as the first century BC the Roman grammarian Varro had noted that in the Latin verb there are two horizons: that of the ‘infectum’ and that of the ‘perfectum’.

(infectum)	amābam	<----- amō ----->	amābō
(perfectum)	amāveram	<----- amāvī ----->	amāverō

At each level there is a future (*amābō, amāverō*), a past (*amābam, amāveram*) and a present (*amō, amāvī*). The same parallelism is also found in the subjunctive forms:

(infectum)	amārem	<-----	amem
(perfectum)	amāvissem	<-----	amāverim

In this case, however, we have a contrast between past (*amārem, amāvissem*) and non-past (*amem, amāverim*).

The four Latin conjugations

Latin had four declensions of regular verbs, identified by the theme vowel that occurred before the *-re* of the infinitive ending.

	I	II	III	IV
Infinitive	am-ā-re “love”	mon-ē-re “warn”	dīc-e-re “say”	fīn-ī-re “finish”
present tense	amō amās amat amāmus amātis amant	moneō monēs monet monēmus monētis monent	dīcō dīcis dīcit dīcimus dīcitis dīcunt	fīniō fīnis fīnit fīnīmus fīnītis fīniunt

The infinitive endings gave the following regular derivational results in French:

Latin	French
-āre	-er
-ēre	-oir
-ĕre	-re
-īre	-ir

There was, however, considerable reshaping in all the Romance languages, and many verbs shifted from one category to another.

Future and Conditional

The regular future of the four conjugations was formed as follows (singular only):

I	II	III	IV
amābo	monēbō	dīcam	fīniam
amābis	monēbis	dīcēs	fīnies
amābit	monēbit	dīcet	fīniet

Already by Late Latin times these future forms of the indicative were beginning to be replaced by periphrastic forms such as *amāre habeō*. The reasons for this shift are not clear, but the following facts may have been factors: (1) the futures of conjugations I and II had different inflections from those of conjugations III and IV, (2) with sound change the difference between future *amābit* and perfect *amāvit* would be lost, causing possible confusion, and (3) there was also likely to be confusion between present *dīcit* and future *dīcet*, especially in those areas that tended to reduce vowels in unstressed syllables.

Notionally, however, the future remained a part of the tense system so that very quickly the combination of *amāre habeō* became **amarayo*, the auxiliary *habeō* becoming a new inflection. This formation underlies the future in *-r-* that is common to Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, Provençal, French and Italian. Periphrastic future forms are still found, however, in Rumanian, Rheto-Romance and Sardinian; these languages did not adopt the new inflected future.

The periphrastic form *amāre habeō* was complemented, in subordinate clauses requiring a past, with the imperfect form *amāre habēbam*. This periphrasis also fused, in its turn, to become a new tense, the conditional, which has, as a result, imperfect endings on an infinitive stem.

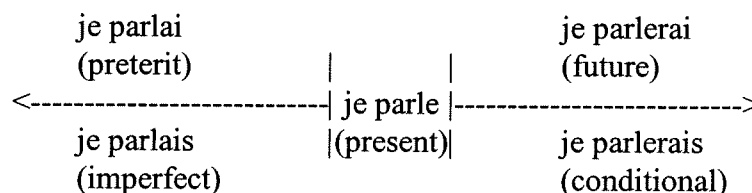
Present and Imperfect

For those languages that adopted the new future inflections, the old different

conjugational endings of the future were replaced by a single regular set of inflections. The different conjugational forms of the 'present' survive in the modern languages, however, generally reduced to three sets, with some irregular formations. The imperfect in Classical Latin already had a single regular set of inflections, which were added after the typical theme vowel. This is still the situation in Modern Italian, but elsewhere the *-b-* was lost after *e*, and *i*, that is everywhere except in Conjugation I. This variation still shows in Spanish and Portuguese, for example, but the forms without *-b-* have been generalized into a single regular set of inflections in French (formed from second declension $\bar{e}(b)a- > \text{OFr. } ei\bar{a} > oi\bar{a} > w\varepsilon(\bar{a}) > (w)\varepsilon > \varepsilon$).

Preterit

The perfectum/infectum distinction was also lost everywhere, and the present perfect (e.g., *amāvī* "I have loved") has become a preterit in the modern systems (= Fr. *aimai*), which typically show, for French, Provençal, Italian, Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese, a system of five tenses, as shown by the following forms from Classical French:



This means that the Classical Latin future perfect and past perfect disappeared and the present perfect went to form a new preterit or simple past. Archaic remnants of the pluperfect have survived however, in Spanish and Portuguese.

Perfective Forms

The old morphology of the perfectum was replaced, in fact, by new periphrastic formations. The perfect passive in Classical Latin had been formed with an auxiliary (e.g., *amātus sum*) and it was a simple step to form the perfect active in a similar fashion: *habeō amātum* which goes on to become Fr. *j'ai aimé*. Other perfective forms are made with the different tenses of the auxiliary: (fut.) *j'aurai parlé*, (pret.) *j'eus parlé*, etc.

Passives

The passive and deponent morphology of Classical Latin also disappeared. Deponent verbs were reshaped as simple active verbs (L. *morior* > Fr. *je meurs*)

and the passive morphology was again replaced with a periphrastic construction using an auxiliary and past participle (e.g., Fr. *je suis aimé* replaces L. *amor*), this morphology also growing out of the passive perfect which already in Classical Latin times showed the alternation *amātus sum/amātus fuī*.

Paradigmatic Irregularities

The stress pattern of the first and second persons plural was different from the rest of the verbal conjugation in Latin (except for conjugation III):

ámō
 ámas
 ámat
 amāmus
 amātis
 ámant

Since the evolution of stressed vowels was different from that of unstressed vowels, this distinction led to all kinds of irregularities of the paradigms of verbs (e.g., *je bois, nous buvons; je peux, nous pouvons; je dois, nous devons*). Sometimes these differences have been levelled by analogy (paradigmatic resistance to sound change), at other times the different forms have been utilized to form two different verbs: L. *disiēiūnāre* “to break fast” gave *je déjeune* but *nous disnons* and these forms, originally parts of a single paradigm, have given us two verbs, *déjeuner* and *dîner*.

In French the verbs with infinitives in *-ir* developed an inchoative meaning (i.e., beginning of event, or change of state). As a result, in the present, imperfect, and present participle they added the Latin inchoative suffix, *-isc*, so that CL. *fīniō* became *finisco*, on its way to becoming Fr. *je finis*. In French the *-sc* cluster was reduced to *-s-* (the /k/ became a yod which was transposed and assimilated to the /i/) which, of course disappeared in final position (*je finis*) but remains before the endings of the plural. The same suffix may be found on some of the same verbs in Italian and Rumanian.

EXERCISES

1. The morphology of the Latin perfect was quite varied. The five common markers are as follows: (1) -v after theme vowel, (*amāvit*) (2) -u after consonant, (*dēbuit*) (3) -s, (*sculpsit, sculpsit* “carve”; *condūcit, condūxit* “conduct”) (4) ablaut (change of vowel: *venit, vēnit; facit, fēcit*) (5) reduplication (*pendit, pependit* “hang”; *tendit, tetendit* “stretch”). (Essentially (1) and (2) are the same, being allophones of the same phoneme). Show what became of these five different markers in any one Romance language (i.e., what survives of them in the morphology of the modern preterit). Summary information may be found in Elcock, *The Romance Languages*, pp. 136 ff. Comprehensive lists of Latin perfect forms may be found in Kennedy’s *Latin Primer* (ed. Mountford) pp. 98 ff.
2. Given the following Classical Latin paradigm, draw up a table of reflexes from Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian and Rumanian, commenting on obvious irregularities or reshapings: *fuī, fuistī, fuit, fuimus, fuistis, fuērunt*.
3. Analyse the forms of the infinitive, past participle and present participle in French, showing their historical derivation. Has there been any obvious analogical levelling in any of these forms? (See Elcock pp. 110ff.)
4. Analyse the paradigms of the present tense in any Romance language, indicating from which Latin conjugations they are historically derived. (See Elcock pp. 119ff.)
5. Comment on the following derivations, indicating what reshapings have taken place, if any.

Latin	French		Latin	French	
tenēre	tenir	“hold”	cēdere	céder	“yield”
abolēre	abolir	“abolish”	mittere	mettre	“put”
rīdēre	rire	“laugh”	pingere	peindre	“paint”
mordēre	mordre	“bite”	tingere	teindre	“dye”
movēre	mouvoir	“move”	gemere	gémir	“groan”
vovēre	vouer	“vow”	molere	moudre	“grind”
tondēre	tondre	“shear”	vomere	vomir	“vomit”
pendere	pendre	“hang”	cadere	choir	“fall”
venīre	venir	“come”	bibere	boire	“drink”

6. The following deponent and semi-deponent verbs have active forms in modern French. What morphological reshapings have taken place?

Deponent

ūtor, ūtī, ūsus sum

nāscor, nāscī, nātus sum

morior, morī, mortuus sum

French

user “use”

naître “be born”

mourir “die”

Semi deponent

audeō, audēre, ausus sum

gaudeō, gaudēre, gāvīsus sum

oser “dare”

jouir “enjoy”

(Latin forms are ‘present’, ‘infinitive’ and ‘perfect’).

CHAPTER TEN

THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Latin had case declensions for the personal pronouns, but had no personal pronoun paradigms (except the reflexive) for the third person, either singular or plural: if a third person pronoun was needed, a demonstrative pronoun would be used instead. Consequently we find paradigms only for first and second person, singular and plural, and a partial paradigm for the third person reflexive:

	Singular		Plural		Reflexive
	I	II	I	II	III
Nom.	ego	tū	nōs	vōs	
Acc.	mē	tē	nōs	vōs	sē
Ge.	meī	tuī	nostrī	vestrī	suī
			nostrum	vestrum	
Dat.	mihi	tibi	nōbīs	vōbīs	sibi
Abl.	mē	tē	nōbīs	vōbīs	sē

Of these the nominative was used only for emphasis, since the personal subject was marked in the ending of the verb, and subject pronouns were not needed. This is still the case today in the majority of Romance Languages: French, in requiring subject pronouns, is the exception, not the rule. This kind of grammatical emphasis, which uses items that are essentially redundant, is not to be confused with emphasis of the voice, or 'stress'.

Stress differences, in fact, led to the development of different forms: L. *mē* and *tē*, for example, when stressed underwent the usual evolution of stressed vowels in French and became *moi* and *toi*, whereas unstressed they became *me* and *te*, which again reflects the regular evolution of unstressed vowels in French. These forms *me* and *te* became elements of a new paradigm, that of the conjunct pronouns — the so-called clitic pronouns which precede the verbs with a very fixed order, and which are a marked development of the Romance languages, since Latin had no distinctive morphology for clitic pronouns. The pronouns *moi* and *toi* continued to fill their traditional role as objects of prepositions, etc. In distinction to the conjunct pronouns they are called the disjunctive pronouns.

The case distinctions of these Latin paradigms also survived, sometimes being used to distinguish direct from indirect object, sometimes conjunct from disjunctive. Rumanian, for example, distinguishes Acc. *te* < *tē* and Dat. *ti* < *tibi*, whereas Italian has *mi* and *ti* for conjunct pronouns (both direct and indirect) but *me* and *te* for the disjunctive pronouns. Spanish (and similarly Portuguese) curiously has the inverse: Sp. *mi/ti/si* are disjunctive whereas Sp. *me/te/se* are conjunct pronouns.

The paradigmatic difference between *mihi/tibi/sibi* was levelled to give either *mihi*/**tihi*/**sihi* (whence Italian, and Spanish *mi*, *ti*, *si*) or **mibi*/*tibi*/*sibi* (whence Sicilian *meve/teve/seve*), according to Elcock (1960:79). The case distinctions *nōs/nōbīs* and *vōs/vōbīs* were also apparently levelled; it should be noted here that distinctions made in the singular are often levelled in the plural (cf. Eng. *he/she/it* vs. *they*). The so-called plurals are complex rather than compound (*we* = *you* + *I*, *he* + *I*, not *I* + *I*) and are all more notionally complex than the singular pronouns. Consequently there is justification for reducing the complexity of the plural pronouns where possible. In this regard note that where French has the set *je/me/moi* for the first person singular, it has only *nous* for the first person plural.

The Latin demonstrative that was most often used for third person reference (Masc. *is*, Fem. *ea*, Neut. *id*) has left no traces in the Romance Languages. In its place the demonstrative paradigm of *ille/illa/illud* has provided the third person pronouns (and articles) for most Romance languages. It belonged to a set of three paradigms: *hic*, *iste*, *ille*. These correspond somewhat to English *this*, *that* except that the set contains three contrasts, not two: *hic* is the “this” or “here” of the first person, *iste* is the “that” or “there” of the second person (i.e., near you) and *ille* is the “that” or “there” of the third person (yonder, or remote from you and me). This contrastive meaning of *ille* undoubtedly played a role in its evolution into a general third person pronoun in the Romance languages.

SINGULAR				PLURAL		
Masc.	Fem.	Neut.		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	ille	illa	illud	illī	illae	illa
Acc.	illum	illam	illud	illōs	illās	illa
Gen.	illīus	illīus	illīus	illōrum	illārum	illōrum
Dat.	illī	illī	illī	illīs	illīs	illīs
Abl.	illō	illā	illō	illīs	illīs	illīs

This paradigm will not, however, explain all the forms we find in the modern Romance languages, since analogy has operated to change some of the forms.

The Italian and French subject forms *egli* and *il* cannot be derived from *ille* for example, but both could be derived from **illī*, and it is consequently assumed that *ille* was reshaped to **illī* by analogy with the relative pronoun *quī*. (It is possible, however that the French and Italian forms were derived from the historically attested variant *illic*, which shows the same final *-c* as the demonstrative *hic/haec/hoc*). Likewise there are no forms in the Latin paradigm that can give us French and Italian *lui*, and it is assumed that the dative of the same relative pronoun (*cui*) is the model for an analogically reshaped dative **illui*. Given this masculine form it is a simple step to an analogical feminine dative *illaei*, which would then explain Italian and OFr. *lei*, Rum. *ei*, and Provençal *liei*. This reshaping did not take place everywhere, however; the existence of both *lui* and *gli* in Italian, for example, suggests that the analogical formation **illui* must have existed side by side with the classical dative form *illī*.

The Spanish and Portuguese indirect object pronouns (*le/les* and *lhe/lhes* respectively) are obviously not straightforward derivations from L. *illī/illīs*. The early forms for Portuguese were *li/lis* (which have also survived dialectally in Aragonese Spanish) and these are clearly direct derivations from the Latin datives. The modern forms of Portuguese emerged from early compound dative/accusative forms: *illī-illu(m) > *li-ello*. Italian, for example, alongside *gli* to “him” and *lo* “it” has the compound form *glielo* “it to him” (as in *Glielo mostri* “Show it to him”) the vowel *e* being the remnant of the initial vowel of the second pronoun. It is this vowel that became the *e* of Port. *lhe*, by the process of back formation. (Back formation is really the consequence of a new and different analysis of an old form, as when English *pease* is analysed as *pea + s*, and a new singular *a pea* created by back formation). If one were to analyse It. *glielo* as *glie + lo* instead of the etymological *gli + elo*, one might be tempted to use the new formation **glie* as a regular indirect object: this is clearly what has happened in the derivation of Port. *lhe* as Williams shows (1962:153–4).

The situation in Spanish is more complex, since the compound *illī-illu(m)* became Old Spanish *gelo*, pronounced [želo], a regular phonological development (llj → ž) still heard regionally (as [xelo], of course). The evolution of this particular form to Standard Spanish *selo* is clearly irregular and undoubtedly related to the fact that Modern Spanish tends to use both *le* and *lo* as direct objects, so that the case distinction is no longer clear, as it is in Portuguese, which has formed new compound pronouns *lho/lha* “him/her-it” and *lhos/lhas* “him/her-them”. (Portuguese also has other contractions, such as *mo(s)/ma(s)/to(s)/ta(s)* when indirect and direct objects fall together).

Spanish *le/les* could therefore not have come from the historically recorded compound pronoun form, and the ultimate derivation of these forms has never been made clear, they have traditionally been considered Castilian equivalents to Aragonese *li/lis*, the etymology of which is transparent.

The form *le* may have been derived, again by back formation, from the reconstructed **llielo* which is the proposed origin of Old Spanish *gelo* (see above). If this is the case, the **llie* so formed was reshaped to *le* by analogy with *lo/los/la/las*, and *les* was then formed by analogy with Aragonese *lis*. That **llielo* was not similarly reshaped but maintained the initial palatalization could be attributed to the early confusion of *le/les* and *lo/los* which would prevent them being used together and require a distinctive dative form for the dative when both objects were third person. However, the origin and status of Sp. *selo* are still matters of controversy.

EXERCISES

1. The Latin preposition *cum* “with” was often postposed with the personal pronouns: *Dominus vōbīscum* “the Lord be with you”. Determine the etymology of the following pronominal forms: Sp. *conmigo*, *contigo*, *consigo*; Port. *comigo*, *contigo*, *consigo*; It. *teco*, *seco*, *nosco*, *vosco*. Sound change alone will not explain It. *nosco*, *vosco*; what other process has operated here?
2. Find the etymology of the French disjunctive pronouns *lui*, *elle*, *eux*, *elles*, and explain which one of the four is different from the others. Do the same for the equivalent Italian pronouns *lui*, *lei* and *loro*, and explain the differences between French and Italian. Do the same for Port. *êle*, *ela*, *êles*, *elas*, again explaining the differences in derivation and usage (e.g., in terms of its usage Port. *êle* = Fr. *il*, *lui*).
3. Find the etymology of the Italian direct and indirect object pronouns *mi/ti/ci/vi*. Indicate the other uses in Italian of *ci* and *vi*. Why is the etymology of *ci* particularly appropriate? (See, for example, the comments on *hic/iste/ille*). What French pronoun is cognate with It. *vi*?
4. Trace the evolution of the third person direct and indirect objects in French and Italian (Fr. *le/la/les/lui/leur* vs. It. *lo/la/le/li/gli/le/loro*). Where else are forms cognate with *leur* and *loro* to be found? What facts explain the differences between Fr. *les* and It. *le/li*? Which of the above forms in the two languages have identical origins? Although standard Italian has *li* for masculine plural accusative, the variation *li/gli* is found. Since *gli* is also the standard form for dative singular masculine, what does this indicate about the derivation of *li* and *gli*? (Cf. Fr. *je peux/je puis*).
5. Compare the following Spanish and Portuguese paradigms.

	Spanish	Portuguese
(a) direct object	lo/la/los/las	o/a/os/as
(b) indirect object	le/les	lhe/lhes

What are the etymologies of the direct object forms? What similar change has taken place in both languages in the derivation of these forms? Given that these pronouns are normally postposed in Portuguese, and attached as enclitics (e.g., *tenho-o* “I have it”) what simple rule of Portuguese historical phonology will explain the difference between the Spanish and Portuguese forms?

Trace the derivation of Port. *lhe* and *lhes*. Can both forms be derived in a similar fashion? Is the usage of Sp. *le* and Port. *lhe* parallel?

6. Examine the following Rumanian paradigm.

		clitics		disjunctives	
	Subject	D.O.	I.O.	Nom./Acc.	Gen./Dat.
Sg. 1 st pers.	eu	mă	mi	mine	mie
2 nd pers.	tu	te	ți	tine	ție
3 rd masc.	el	l	i	el	lui
3 rd fem.	ea	o	i	ea	ei
Pl. 1 st pers.	noi	ne	ni	noi	nouă
2 nd pers.	voi	vă	vi	voi	vouă
3 rd masc.	ei	i	li	ei	lor
3 rd fem.	ele	le	li	ele	lor

- What is the probable origin of *mine/tine* and *mie/ție*? (See, for example, Bourciez p. 238).
- What facts of Rumanian historical phonology explain the /t/ of *tine*, but the /tʃ/ in *ți* and *ție*?
- In what other Romance languages that you have seen are subject and disjunctive pronouns identical except for 1st and 2nd person singular?
- What rules of Rumanian historical phonology are required to account for the following forms: *ea* “she”, *ele* “they” (fem.), *el* “he”, *ei* “they” (masc.)?
- Examine the set *mi/ti/ni/vi*. Given that *mi/ți* are etymologically derived from *mihī/*tihi*, what can you say of *ni/vi*? What other language has *vi* for 2nd person plural clitic? Is it probable that both words are cognate?
- What other Romance language has 3rd person plural clitics cognate with the direct objects *i/le*? Of what general pattern is this a feature? (i.e., why

are the forms in the other languages not cognate?) Since Rum. *i* is the regular clitic derivative of L. *illi*, what can one say of the 3rd plural indirect object form *li*?

- (g) Given that all the clitics and the Gen./Dat. disjunctives of Rumanian lost the initial vowel from the root *ill-* what is the origin of Gen./Dat. *lui/ei/lor* “to him/her/them”? Give the full evolution of the form *ei*, showing what happens as a consequence of Romance diphthongisation and stating what final (and irregular) change is necessary to explain the modern form. In what way is this form quite different from *ei* “they” (masc. pl.) in its phonological history?

APPENDIX

ITALIAN

(Luke, XV, 11-24)

11. . . . Un uomo aveva due figli, 12. e il più giovane di essi disse al padre: Padre, dammi la parte dei beni che mi spetta. E il padre devise tra loro i beni. 13. Pochi giorni dopo, il figlio più giovane, messa insieme ogni cosa, se n'andò in un paese lontano y quivi dissipò la sua sostanza, menando vita dissoluta. 14. Quand'ebbe consumato ogni cosa, una gran carestia colpì quel paese; ed egli cominciò a sentire la miseria. 15. E messosi in cammino, si pose al servizio d'uno di quegli abitanti, che lo mandò ne' suoi campi a custodire i porci. 16. Ed egli desiderava ardentemente di cavarci la fame con le ghiande che mangiavano i porci, ma nessuno gliene dava. 17. Allora, rientrato in sè, disse: Quanti servitori in casa di mio padre hanno pane a volontà, mentre io qui muoio di fame! 18. M'alzerò e andrò dal padre mio e gli dirò: Padre ho peccato contro il cielo e contro te; 19. non son più degno d'esser chiamato tuo figlio, trattami pure come uno de' tuoi servitori. 20. Levatosi, andò da suo padre; e mentre egli era ancora lontano, il padre suo lo vide e n'ebbe pietà; gli corse incontro e gli si gettò al collo e lo baciò. 21. Gli disse il figliuolo: Padre, ho peccato contro il cielo e contro te; non sono più degno d'esser chiamato tuo figliuolo! 22. Ma il padre comandò a suoi servi: Presto, portate quà la veste più bella, e mettetegliela addosso; ponetegli un anello al dito e calzari ai piedi; 23. menate il vitello ingrassato ed ammazatelo e si mangi e si banchetti; 24. perchè questo mio figliuolo era morto ed è tornato in vita; era perduto ed è state ritrovato. E cominciarono a far gran festa.

SPANISH

(Luke, XV, 11-24)

1. . . . Cierta hombre tenía dos hijos: 12. y el menor de ellos dijo a su padre: Padre, dame la parte que me toca de tus bienes. Y él les partió la hacienda. 13. Y no muchos días después, juntándolo todo el hijo menor, partió para una región lejana; y allí desperdició su caudal, viviendo disolutamente. 14. Y cuando lo hubo gastado todo, sucedió una grande hambre en aquel país; y él comenzó a padecer necesidad. 15. Y fue, y arrimóse a uno de los ciudadanos de aquel país;

el cual le envió a sus campos para apacentar los puercos. 16. Y deseaba hartarse de las algarrobas que comían los puercos; y nadie le daba nada. 17. Mas cuando volvió en sí, dijo: ¡Cuántos jornaleros de mi padre tienen sobreabundancia de pan, y yo aquí perezco de hambre! 18. Me levantaré, e iré a mi padre y le diré: Padre, he pecado contra el cielo y delante de ti; 19. ya no soy digno de ser llamado hijo tuyo; haz que yo sea como uno de tus jornaleros. 20. Y levantóse, y fue a su padre. Y estando todavía lejos, le vio su padre; y conmoviéronse las entrañas; y corrió, y le echó los brazos al cuello, y le besó fervorosamente. 21. Y el hijo le decía: Padre, he pecado contra el cielo, y delante de ti: ya no soy digno de ser llamado hijo tuyo. 22. Mas el padre dijo a sus siervos: Sacad al momento la ropa más preciosa, y vestidle con ella; y poned un anillo en su mano, y zapatos en sus pies; 23. y traed el becerro cebado, y matadle y comamos, y regocijémonos; 24. porque este mi hijo muerto era, y ha vuelto a vivir; habíase perdido, y ha sido hallado. Y comenzaron a regocijarse.

PORTUGUESE
(Luke, XV, 11-24)

11. ... Um certo homem tinha dois filhos; 12. e o mais moço deles disse ao pai: Pai, dá-me a parte da fazenda que me pertence. E ele repartiu por eles a fazenda. 13. E, poucos dias depois, o filho mais novo, ajuntado tudo, partiu para uma terra longínqua, e ali desperdiçou a sua fazenda, vivendo dissolutamente. 14. E, havendo ele gastado tudo, houve naquela terra uma grande fome, e começou a padecer necessidades. 15. E foi, e chegou-se a um dos cidadãos daquela terra, o qual o mandou para os seus campos, a apascentar porcos. 16. E desejava encher o seu estômago com as bolotas que os porcos comiam, e ninguém lhe dava nada. 17. E, tornando em si, disse: Quantos jornaleiros de meu pai têm abundância de pão, e eu, aqui, pereço de fome! 18. Levantar-me-ei, e irei ter com meu pai, e dir-lhe-ei: Pai, pequei contra o céu e perante ti; 19. já não sou digno de ser chamado teu filho; faze-me como um dos teus jornaleiros. 20. E, levantando-se, foi para seu pai; e, quando ainda estava longe, viu-o seu pai, e se moveu de íntima compaixão, e, correndo, lançou-se-lhe ao pescoço e o beijou. 21. E o filho lhe disse: Pai, pequei contra o céu e perante ti, e já não sou digno de ser chamado teu filho. 22. Mas o pai disse aos seus servos: Trazei depressa o melhor vestido, e vesti-lho, e pond-lhe um anel na mão, e alparcas nos pés; 23. e trazei o bezerro cevado, e matai-o; e comamos, e alegremo-nos; 24. Porque este meu filho estava morto, e reviveu; tinhase perdido, e foi achado. E começaram a alegrar-se.

FRENCH
(Luke, XV, 11-24)

11. . . . Un homme avait deux fils. 12. Le plus jeune dit à son père: "Père, donne-moi la part de fortune qui me revient." Et le père leur partagea son bien. 13. Peu de jours après, le plus jeune fils, rassemblant tout son avoir, partit pour un pays lointain et y dissipa son bien dans une vie de prodigue. 14. Quant il eut tout dépensé, une grande famine survint en ce pays et il commença à sentir la privation. 15. Il alla se mettre au service d'un des habitants de la contrée, qui l'envoya dans ses champs garder les cochons. 16. Il aurait bien voulu se remplir le ventre des caroubes que mangeaient les cochons, mais personne ne lui en donnait. 17. Rentrant alors en lui-même, il se dit: "Combien de journaliers de mon père ont du pain en abondance, et moi je suis ici à mourir de faim. 18. Je veux partir, retourner vers mon père et lui dire: 'Père, j'ai péché contre le Ciel et contre toi; 19. je ne mérite plus d'être appelé ton fils, traite-moi comme l'un de tes journaliers.'" 20. Il partit donc et s'en retourna vers son père. Comme il était encore loin, son père l'aperçut et fut touché de compassion; il courut se jeter à son cou et l'embrassa longuement. 21. Le fils alors lui dit: "Père, j'ai péché contre le Ciel et contre toi; je ne mérite plus d'être appelé ton fils." 22. Mais le père dit à ses serviteurs: "Vite, apportez la plus belle robe et l'en revêtez, mettez-lui un anneau au doigt et des chaussures aux pieds. 23. Amenez le veau gras, tuez-le, mangeons et festoyons, 24. car mon fils que voilà était mort et il est revenu à la vie; il était perdu et il est retrouvé!" Et ils se mirent à festoyer.

RUMANIAN
(Luke, XV, 11-24)

11. . . . un om aveà doi fii. 12. Și cel mai tânăr dintre ei zise tatălui său: tată, dă-mi partea de avere ce-mi cade. Și le împărți averea. 13. Și nu după multe zile fiul mai tânăr, strângând toate, se duse într-o țară depărtată, și acolo risipi averea sa, viețuind destrămat. 14. Și după ce dânsul cheltuî tot, se întâmplă foamete mare prin aceea țară, și el începî să fie în lipsă. 15. Și ducându-se, se lipi de unul dintre locuitorii acelei țări, și-l trimise la câmpul său să păzească porcii; 16. Și doriă să-și umple pântecile din roșcovii pe care îi mâncau porcii, dar nimenea nu-i dă. 17. Și venindu-și în menți zise: câți simbriași ai tatălui meu, au prisos de pâine, iar eu pier aci de foame. 18. Sculându-mă, voiu merge la tatăl meu și-i voiu zice: tată, am greșit în fața cerului și înaintea ta. 19. Nu mai sunt vrednic a fi numit fiul tău; fă-mă ca pe unul dintre simbriașii tăi. 20. Și sculându-se, veni la tatăl său. Și fiind el încă departe, tatăl său îl văzu și i-se făcî mila, și alergînd

se plecă pe gâtul lui și-l sărută. 21. Iar fiul îi zise: tată, am greșit în fața cerului și înaintea ta, nu mai sunt vrednic a fi numit fiul tău. 22. Și tatăl zise către slugile sale: aduceți curând un vestmânt lung, cel dintâiu, și îmbrăcați-l, și dați inel în mână lui și încălțăminte în picioare. 23. Și aduceți vițelul cel îngrășat, înjunghiați, și mâncând să ne veselim. 24. Că acest fiu al meu mort era și înviat, pierdut era și se află. Și începură a se veseli.

WORD INDEX

Latin:

abolēre 59	caballu(m) 42
agitātiōne(m) 51	cadere 59
agitō 51	caecāre 26
agō 51	caelu(m) 32
*amarayo 56	calidu(m) 45
amāre 55, 56	calvu(m) 45
amat 30	camera(m) 41
amātum 57	camīsia 5
amātus 57,58	campānia(m) 27
amāvī 57	campu(m) 22
amāvit 59	cane(m) 33
amīcu(m) 45	canēs 33
amor 58	cantō 22
annu(m) 27	caput 47
aqua(m) 35	carru(m) 40, 42
aquila(m) 35	casa 54
arbore(m) 16	causae 10
area(m) 17, 41, 44	causās 10
arēna(m) 34	cēcāre 26
audeō 60	cēdere 59
audēre 60	celu(m) 32
audīre 17	cēna(m) 34
augustu(m) 17	centu(m) 7, 9, 32
aure(m) 51	cerasu(m) 14
auricula(m) 27, 34, 51	cerculu(m) 16
auru(m) 10	*ceresia 14, 15
ausus 60	cervu(m) 26, 32
avēna 34	cibu(m) 25
axe(m) 28	cinere(m) 44
bene 22, 32, 44	circulu(m) 15
bibere 59	civitāte(m) 26
*blanci 12	clamāre 26
*blancu(m) 12	clāve(m) 25, 26
bonus 50	cognātu(m) 34
bracchia 48	colōre(m) 32
bracchiu(m) 35, 48	commūna(m) 33
brūnu(m) 5	compānia(m) 27
bucca(m) 40, 42	condūcit 59
	condūxit 59
	cōnsiliu(m) 45

- cōnstat 5, 6, 42
 coriu(m) 10, 17, 45
 corōna(m) 22, 33
 corpu(s) 10, 22
 costa(m) 9, 21
 coxa(m) 22
 crēdere 35
 crēdo 22
 crepāre 35
 crista(m) 42
 cruce(m) 3
 cui 63
 cum 30, 65
 damnu(m) 27
 dēbuit 59
 dece(m) 44
 dente(m) 5, 22
 *dia-domenica 7
 dīcere 55, 56
 diēs 47, 53
 directu(m) 23, 27
 disiēiūnāre 58
 divinitāte(m) 34
 dolet 10
 dolu(m) 9, 21
 dominus 65
 dormitōriu(m) 45
 dulce(m) 54
 *duplāre 35
 ea 62
 ecclēsia(m) 17
 ego 61
 equale(m) 35
 excusare 17
 *essere 41
 exemplu(m) 28
 fabulāre 35
 facere 26
 facie(m) 35
 faciēs 53
 facit 59
 factu(m) 22, 27, 35
 farīna(m) 26, 34
 fata(m) 26
 fēcit 59
 *fele(m) 9
 femina 46
 fenestra 23
 ferru(m) 39, 43
 feru(m) 9, 22, 43
 *ficātu(m) 26
 fide(m) 5, 35, 42
 fidēs 53
 filiū(m) 27
 *filtru(m) 45
 filu(m) 22, 26
 findere 44
 fine(m) 44
 finiō 58
 finīre 55, 56
 finisco 58
 flamma(m) 26, 31
 flōre(m) 21, 23, 42
 focu(m) 8, 26
 folia 27, 34, 41
 forte(m) 7, 9
 frūcta 48
 frūctu(m) 22
 fuērunt 59
 fuī 58, 59
 fuimus 59
 fuistī 59
 fuistis 59
 fuit 59
 fūmu(m) 5
 gallīna(m) 34
 gamba(m) 40
 gaudeō 60
 gaudēre 60
 gaudia 48
 gāvīsus 60
 gelāre 26
 gemere 59
 *generu(m) 26, 32, 41, 44
 gente(m) 25, 32
 genū 47
 germānu(m) 26
 glaciēs 53
 glans 48
 grāna 48
 grānu(m) 48
 *guerra 35

gula(m) 3, 21, 42	littera(m) 42
GVLA 8	llie 64
habeō 56, 57	llielo 64
habēre 5, 41, 42	lūna(m) 33
haec 63	macula(m) 16, 44
herba(m) 9, 21	male-habitu 7
herī 7, 43	manica(m) 44
hic 62, 63, 65	mānsiōnaticu(m) 7
historia(m) 17	mānsione(m) 41
hoc 63	manu(m) 30, 33
homine(m) 32	mare 43
hortu(m) 52	mātre(m) 30
id 62	mē 30, 38, 61
illa 62	mea 48
illae 21	meī 61
illaei 63	*mele(m) 9, 21, 43
illa(m) 21, 39	mēnsa(m) 23
ille 62, 63, 65	mēnse(m) 42
illī 21, 63, 67	mihi 61, 62, 66
*illī 63	minōre(m) 53
illic 63	*missa(m) 42
illīs 63	mittere 42, 59
illōru(m) 38	mola(m) 43
illud 62	molere 41, 45, 59
*illui 63	monēre 55, 56
illu(m) 63	monēta(m) 33
īnsula(m) 5, 6, 41	*montānea(m) 27, 44
integru(m) 35	mordēre 59
is 62	morī 60
iscola 14	morior 57, 60
iste 62, 65	morte(m) 43
iūliu(m) 17	mortuus 60
jocu(m) 9, 26	movēre 59
*kinkwe 13	mūla(m) 3, 42
labōrāre 35	multu(m) 30
lacrima(m) 35	mūrus 49
lacte(m) 20, 22, 25, 27, 35, 44	musca(m) 42
lāna(m) 22	nāscī 60
lēctiōne(m) 33	nāscor 60
lēctu(m) 27	natiōne(m) 33
lepore(m) 9	natiōnes 33
*li-ello 63	nātus 60
ligna 48	nepōte(m) 42
lignu(m) 22, 27, 48	*nepōtu(m) 23
līnea(m) 45	nōbīs 61, 62
lingua 13	nocte(m) 10, 22, 27, 35

- nōme(n) 44
 nōs 61, 62
 nostrī 61
 nostrum 61
 novu(m) 8, 9
 nūda(m) 35
 nūdu(m) 22
 *oblitāre 35
 oculu(m) 27, 34
 opera(m) 43
 pane(m) 33
 parabola(m) 35
 paria(m) 17
 pāssu(m) 5
 patre(m) 43
 pectu(s) 27
 pede(m) 5, 10, 35, 39, 43
 *pelegrinu 13
 pelle(m) 9
 pendere 59
 pendit 59
 pependit 59
 perdere 43
 perdo 9
 peregrīnu(m) 13
 perīculu(m) 15, 16
 petra(m) 5, 10, 35
 pilu(m) 42
 pingere 59
 pinna(m) 23
 pipere(m) 42
 pira(m) 23, 42
 pirae 21
 pisu(m) 42
 plāga(m) 44
 planta(m) 44
 plānu(m) 26
 plēna(m) 34
 plēnu(m) 26, 34
 plōrāre 26, 31
 pluere 26
 *pluvēre 26
 podiu(m) 24
 pōnis 33
 pōnit 30
 porcu(m) 9
 porta(m) 5, 7, 8, 10, 19, 40, 49
 portāre 43
 portāta(m) 8
 portus 47
 *pote(t) 10, 21, 43
 pottu(m) 43
 prātu 43
 prēnd(e)re 44
 pugu(m) 22, 27, 35
 pulmōne 5
 puteu(m) 35
 quae 12
 quandō 7, 22
 quem 30
 quī 12, 63
 quīnque 13
 rasōriu(m) 17
 rēge(m) 45
 rem 53
 rēs 53
 rīdēre 59
 rīpa(m) 41, 43
 rīvus 53
 romānu(m) 31
 rota(m) 9, 21
 ruptu(m) 22
 salīre 32
 salūte(m) 32
 sānu(m) 33
 sāpōne(m) 33
 schola(m) 14, 17
 scrībere 5, 17, 43
 sculpit 59
 sculpsit 59
 scūtu(m) 15
 sē 61
 sēnior 49
 sēniōre(m) 27, 34, 49
 sēra(m) 21
 serra(m) 22
 sēru(m) 42
 servit 30
 sibi 61, 62
 sīc 22
 siccu(m) 42
 simulāre 41

simulat 44
 sine 32
 socrus 54
 sōle(m) 21
 solidu(m) 45
 sōlu(m) 42
 speculum 7, 15
 spōnsa(m) 17
 spōnsu(m) 17
 statu(m) 17
 stēlla(m) 23
 strāta(m) 15
 *studiāre 17
 suī 61
 sum 57, 58, 60
 surdu(m) 22
 tabula 43
 *tālōne(m) 52
 tālu(m) 52
 taurus 46
 taxu(m) 27, 35
 tē 38, 42, 61
 tēgula(m) 34
 tēla(m) 21, 42
 templu(m) 46
 tempus 22
 tendit 59
 tenēre 33, 34, 59
 teneru(m) 35
 tenet 22
 tenētis 34
 terra(m) 9, 20, 22
 testa(m) 43
 tetendit 59
 tibi 61, 62
 tine(m) 45
 tingere 59
 titulu(m) 15
 tondēre 59
 tōtu(m) 40
 triste(m) 50, 51, 54
 tū 42, 61
 tuī 61
 ultra 45
 ūna(m) 42
 unda(m) 44

ungula(m) 27, 34
 ūnu(m) 44
 urbs 47
 ursu(m) 22
 ūsus 60
 ūtī 60
 ūtor 60
 vacca(m) 20, 22, 42
 vanitāte(m) 33
 vēna(m) 34
 vēnātu(m) 33
 venīre 33, 59
 vēnit 3, 59
 venit 3, 22, 44, 59
 venītis 34
 *vēra(m) 23
 vestrī 61
 vestrum 61
 vetulu(m) 9
 vīcīnu(m) 34
 vigilat 45
 vīnea(m) 25, 27, 34
 vīnu(m) 13, 34, 44
 viride(m) 21, 23, 39
 VIVVS 8
 vōbīs 61, 62
 vōbīscum 65
 volāre 32
 vomere 59
 vōs 61, 62
 vōtu(m) 42
 vovēre 59

Italian:

agosto 17, 40
 aia 17
 albero 16
 armata 41
 bianchi 12
 bianco 12, 16
 biasimare 16
 biondo 16
 braccia 48, 54
 braccio 48, 54
 bruno 5

- cento 7
cerchia 16
che 12
chi 12, 13
chiamare 16
chiaro 16
chiave 16, 25
chiesa 16, 17
ci 13, 65
ciliegia 14
cinque 13
città 40
croce 3
cui 63
cuoio 17
dente 5
donna 53
donne 53
édera 11
egli 63
fiamma 16
fianco 16
fiasco 16
fiato 16
fiocca 16
fiore 16
fiottare 16
fiume 16
forte 7, 53
forti 53
frutta 48
frutto 48
fuoco 8
genero 40
ghiaccio 16
ghianda 16, 48
ghiottone 16
giardino 30
gli 63, 65
glielo 63
gloria 15
guerra 13
guisa 13
i 53
ieri 7
il 48, 54
la 48, 65
le 48, 53, 54, 65
lei 65
li 65
lingua 13
lo 63, 65
loro 65
luglio 17
lui 63, 65
macchia 16
macula 16
madrone 54
me 62
memoria 15
meve 62
mi 62, 65
mostri 63
nosco 64
padrone 54
paia 17
pericolo 15, 16
piano 16
pianta 16
piazza 16
piove 16
più 16
populo 11
porta 7
portata 8
quando 7
rasoio 17
scrivere 17
scudo 15
scuola 17
scusare 17
seco 64
seve 62
si 62
sposa 17
sposo 17
stato 17
storia 17
strada 15
studiare 17
te 62
teco 64

teve 62
 ti 62, 65
 trista 50
 tristo 50
 u 53
 udire 17
 una 53
 uomimi 53
 uomo 53
 vi 65
 vino 13
 vosco 64

Rumanian:

bine 22
 bună 50
 bune 50
 bunelor 50
 casă 49, 50, 54
 casa 50
 case 50, 54
 cîmp 22
 cînd 22
 cînt 22
 coapsă 22
 coasta 21
 copil 54
 corp 22
 cred 22
 cruce 3
 cunună 22
 dînte 22
 domn 49
 domnul 50
 dor 21
 drept 23
 dulce 54
 dulci 54
 ea 21, 66
 ei 21, 63, 66, 67
 el 66
 ele 21, 66
 eu 66
 fapt 22
 fereastră 23

fier 22
 fir 22
 floare 21, 23
 fluvii 50
 fluviilor 50
 fluviu 54
 foc 8
 frupt 22
 gura 21
 i 66, 67
 iarba 21
 lapte 20, 22, 25
 le 66
 lemn 22
 li 67
 lîă 22
 lor 67
 lui 67
 masă 23
 mi 66
 mie 66
 miere 21
 mine 66
 nepot 23
 ni 66
 noapte 22
 nud 22
 o 50
 pană 23
 pară 23
 pere 21
 poarta 19
 poate 21
 pumn 22
 roata 21
 rupt 22
 șară 22
 seara 21
 și 22
 soare 21
 socri 54
 socrii 54
 socru 54
 steă 23
 surd 22
 surori 54

țară 20, 22
te 62
tê 62
teara 21
ti 62, 66
tibi 62
ție 66
timp 22
tine 66
ține 22
trist 50
tristă 50
umar 54
umere 54
unei 50, 54
unui 54
urs 22
vacă 20, 22
vară 23
verde 21, 23
vi 66
vine 22

Spanish:

año 27
arbol 16
armada 41
ayer 5, 7
bruno 5
campana 27
cegar 26
ciento 7
ciervo 26
ciudad 26
connmigo 65
consigo 65
contigo 65
daño 27
derecho 27
diente 5
eje 28
ejemplo 28
escribir 17
escuela 17
esposa 17

esposo 17
estado 17
estudiar 17
fiesta 53
fruta 53
fruto 53
fuego 8, 26
fuerte 7
gelo 63, 64
hacer 26
hada 26
harina 26
hecho 27
helar 26
hermano 26, 31
higado 26
hijo 27
hilo 26
hoja 27
huerta 52
huerto 52
juego 26
la 64
las 64
le 63, 64, 66
leche 25, 27
lecho 27
leña 48
leño 27, 48
les 63, 64
li 63, 64
lis 63, 64
llama 26
llamar 26
llano 26
llave 25, 26
lleno 26
llorar 26
llover 26
lo 63, 64
los 64
me 62
mi 62
montaña 27
noche 27
ojo 27

oreja 27
 pecho 27
 portada 8
 poyo 24
 puerta 7, 8
 puño 27
 quando 5, 7
 ria 53
 rio 53
 se 62
 selo 63, 64
 seña 53
 señor 27
 si 62
 te 62
 tejo 27
 ti 62
 uña 27
 vina 25
 viña 27
 yerno 26

Portuguese:

agua 35
 aguila 35
 ama 30
 areia 34
 armada 41
 aveia 34
 bem 32
 braço 35
 cães 33
 câncer 53
 cancro 53
 cão 33
 ceia 34
 cento 32
 cervo 32
 ceu 32
 chama 31
 cheia 34
 cheio 34
 chorar 31
 coisa 10
 com 30

comigo 65
 comua 33
 consigo 65
 contigo 65
 cor 32
 corôa 33
 couro 10
 cousa 10
 crer 35
 cunhado 34
 desejar 31
 divindade 34
 dobrar 35
 ela 65
 elas 65
 êle 65
 êles 65
 ereto 31
 está 31
 face 35
 falar 35
 farinha 34
 fê 35
 feito 35
 fogo 8
 folha 34
 galinha 34
 genro 32
 gente 32
 guerra 35
 homem 32
 igual 35
 inteiro 35
 irmão 31
 jardim 30
 lagrima 35
 lavrar 35
 leite 35
 lha 63
 lhas 63
 lhe 63, 66
 lhes 63, 66
 lho 63
 lhos 63
 li 63
 lição 33

lições 33
lis 63
lua 33
ma(s) 63
mãe 30
mão 30, 33
mim 30
mo(s) 63
moeda 33
muito 30
nação 33
nações 33
noite 35
nua 35
oiro 10
olho 34
olvidar 35
orelha 34, 51
ouro 10
palavra 35
pão 33
pé 35
pedra 35
poço 35
põe 30
põem 30
pões 33
punho 35
quebrar 35
quem 30
romano 31
sabão 33
sair 32
são 33
saude 32
sem 32
senhor 34
serve 30
ta(s) 63
teem 30
teixo 35
telha 34
tendes 34
tenho-o 66
ter 33
terno 35

to(s) 63
unha 34
vaidade 33
veado 33
veia 34
vindes 34
vinha 34
vinho 34
vir 33
vizinho 34
voar 32

French:

abolir 59
ai 57
aimai 57
aimé 57, 58
aire 17, 41, 44
ami 45
animal 41
animaux 41
août 40
arbre 16
armée 41
aurai 57
autre 40
avoir 41, 42
bien 44
boire 59
bois 58
bonne 40
bouche 40, 42
boune 40
buvons 58
cancer 53
céder 59
cendre 44
cent 7
cercle 15
cerise 14
chambre 41
chancre 53
chanteur 53
chantre 53
chapeau 41

chapelier 41	fier 43
char 40, 42	fin 44
chaud 45	finis 58
chauve 45	fleur 42
cheval 40, 42	foi 42
chevaux 40	fort 7
chevelure 41	feuille 41
cheveu 41	gémir 59
cheveux 41	gendre 40, 41, 44
choir 59	grain 48
chose 40	graine 48
cit�� 40	grand-m��re 53
coeur 41	grand-messe 53
conseil 45	grand-terre 53
co��te 42	grand'rue 53
couteau 41	grosse 40
coutellerie 41	grousse 40
cr��te 42	guerre 41
cuir 17, 45	gueule 3, 41, 42
cuve 40	Guillaume 41
d��jeune 58	hier 7, 43
d��jeuner 58	homme 40, 53
devons 58	houme 40
dimanche 7	il 63, 65
d��ner 58	��le 41
disnons 58	isle 41
dix 44	jambe 40
dois 58	jardin 30
dortoir 45	je 57, 62
��cole 17	joie 48
��crire 17, 43	jouir 60
elle 65	la 48, 65
elles 41, 65	lait 44
��pouse 17	le 48, 65
��poux 17	l��gume 41
��tat 17	lei 63
��tre 41	les 65
��tudier 17	lettre 42
eus 57	leur 38, 65
eux 41, 65	lierre 11
f��e 53	ligne 45
fendre 44	lui 63, 65
fer 43	ma 48
feu 8	maille 44
feuille 41, 53	maison 41
feutre 45	malade 7

- manche 44
me 61, 62
meindre 53
ménage 7
meneur 53
mer 43
messe 42
mettre 42, 59
meule 43
meurs 57
miel 43
mineur 53
moi 38, 61, 62
moindre 53
mois 42
montagne 44
mordre 59
mort 43
mouche 42
moudre 41, 45, 59
mourir 60
mouvoir 59
mule 3, 42
naître 60
neuf 8
neveu 42
nom 44
nous 62
oc 36
oeuvre 43, 53
oïl 36
on 53
onde 44
oreille 51
oser 60
oultre 45
paire 17
parlai 57
parlais 57
parlé 57
parlerai 57
parlerais 57
pasteur 53
pâtre 53
peindre 59
pélérin 13
pendre 43, 59
père 43
peuple 11
peut 43
peux 58, 65
pied 39, 43
plaie 44
plante 44
poil 42
poire 42
pois 42
poivre 42
porte 7, 40
portée 8
porter 43
pot 43
pouvons 58
pré 43
prendre 44
puis 65
quand 7
quel 40
qui 40
rasoir 17
rien 53
rire 59
rive 41, 43
roi 45
sec 42
seigneur 49
semble 44
sembler 41
seul 42
sire 49
soir 42
sou 45
suis 58
table 43
talon 52
te 61
teigne 45
teindre 59
tendre 53
tenir 59
tête 43
titre 15

toi 38, 42, 61
 toile 42
 tondre 59
 tout(e) 40
 tu 42
 un 44
 une 42
 user 60
 vache 42
 veille 45
 venir 59
 vient 44
 vieux 9
 vin 44
 voeu 42
 vomir 59
 vouer 59

English:

'am and heggs 5
 city 8
 coo 11
 cue 11
 flattening 6
 gem 12
 gentle 12
 giant 12
 he 62
 I 62
 it 62
 knight 5
 ladder 8
 latter 8
 matron 54
 patron 54
 pea 63
 pease 63
 pilgrim 13
 she 62
 ship 14
 shop 13
 that 62
 they 62
 this 62
 wade 16

war 13
 ward 16
 waste 16
 watch 16
 we 62
 wise 13

Germanic:

*gwerra 13, 140
 *gwisa 13
 waidanjan 16

Provençal:

liei 63
 porta 49
 portas 49

GENERAL INDEX

- Acadia 40
- Acadian dialect of French 40, 41
- allophone 13
 - vs. phoneme 13
- allophonic distinction of [u] and [w] in
 - Classical Latin 8
- Appendix Probi* 5, 7, 15
- Arab invasions of Iberian peninsula 24
- Arabic 2
 - influence on Portuguese 29
 - influence on Spanish 24, 29
- Aragonese dialect of Spanish 63, 64
- archaizing 15
- Arius 5
- augmentative (intensive) 52
- back formation 41, 63
- Balkan Romance 3, 19
- Brazil 29
- Byzantine Greek 18
- Castile 24
- Castilian 24, 64
 - vs. Aragonese 64
- Catalan iv, 49, 56, 57
- Catallus 5
- chain shift 38–39
- clitic pronoun 61
- Common Romance iv, 4
 - vs. Late Latin iv
- Constantinople 18
- Corsica 3
- Corsican 7
- Cree 13
- creole 29
- Cyrillic 18
- Dalmation iv
- Dark Ages 4
- declension 46
- depth 1
- derivational morphology 51–52
- diminutive 51
- dimorphic 51
- diphthongization 7–8
- dissimilation 13
- Eastern Roman Empire 18
- Eastern Romance 8
- Fox 2
- Francien 37
- Franco-Provençal 36
 - vs. Provençal 36
- French loanwords in English 17
- French Revolution 38
- Galicía 29
- Gallo-Romance 37
- Gascon 36
- geminated consonant 20
- Germanic 13, 16
- Grand Dérangement* 40
- Greek 12, 18
- Greek alphabet 12
- Hundred Years' War 36
- Iberian Romance 31
- Ile de France 36
- imparisyllabic 49
- inchoative 58
- infectum 55
- Inuktitut (Eskimo) 2
- Italo-Romance 11
- labialisation 1

- langue d'oc* 36
- langue d'oïl* 36
- Late Latin iv
 - vs. Common Romance iv
- length distinction in Latin 3
- levelling 58
- levelling in Latin paradigms 62
- Limousin 36
- Louisiana 40
- Mediaeval Period 12
- Mediterranean 3
- Norman Conquest 12
- Occitan 36
- off-glide 19
- Old Provençal 49
- Ottoman Empire 18
- paradigm 12
- paradigmatic resistance 12–13, 15, 58
- patois* 36
- perfectum 55
- periphrasis 56
- phoneme 13
- phonological distinction of [ū] and [u] in
 - Classical Latin 8
- phonological space 1
- pidgin 29
- pitch accent 7
- printing of French 36–37
- proparoxyton 11
- prothesis (prosthesis) 14
- Proto-Romance iv, 14
 - vs. Common Romance iv
 - vs. Late Latin iv
 - vs. Latin 14
- Provençal iv, 29, 49, 56, 57
- quality 2
- quantity 3
- reconstruction 14
- regional variation 11, 15
- regularity of sound change 14–15
- Rheto-Romance iv, 36, 56
- Roman Empire iv, 4, 13–14, 48
- Roman (Latin) alphabet 13–14, 18
- Rumanian religious texts 18
- sack of Rome iv
- Slavic influence on Rumanian 18
- Sardinia 3
- Sardinian iv, 7, 11, 29, 49, 56
- Slavic languages 18
- social variation 15
- son de passage* 12
- sound change in Classical Latin 3
- speech iv
- spoken Latin iv
- standard French 11, 38
- standard language 15
- (standard) literary Italian 11, 15
- standard Portuguese 29
- stress 58, 61
 - accent 7
 - in Latin 7, 58
- syncretism 47
- Swahili 2
- timbre (tamber) 2–4
 - in Late Latin 4
- trimorphic 50
- Turks 18
- Tuscan dialect of Spanish 11, 15
- vacillation 8
- Varro 55
- voicing
 - in Western and Eastern Romance 8
 - of intervocalic consonants 8
- vowel system 1
 - triangular vowel system 2
 - four vowel system 2
 - five vowel system 2

Vulgar Latin iv

Western Romance 8, 10, 49

vs. Eastern Romance 8, 10, 49