AN INTRODUCTION

to

VULGAR LATIN
AN INTRODUCTION

TO

VULGAR LATIN

BY

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PREFACE.

WHILE this book is intended primarily for students of Romance Philology, it will, I hope, be of some interest to Classical scholars as well. Although it has been long in the making, I have endeavored to keep it, at every stage, abreast of current scholarship. I have tried, furthermore, to treat all portions of the subject, not exhaustively, but with even fulness; I fear, however, that the Syntax — perhaps unavoidably — is somewhat scanty as compared with the other parts. It will be seen that I have continually furnished abundant references for the guidance of those who wish to look further into special topics. My principal authorities are listed in the Bibliography; others are cited in the appropriate places in the text.

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WITH ABBREVIATIONS.


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Bausteine: Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie, 1905. A volume of miscellaneous studies issued in honor of A. Mussafia.

Bayard: L. Bayard, Le latin de saint Cyprien, 1902.


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Tiktin: H. Tiktin, Die rumänische Sprache, in Grundriss, I², 564.


Zs.: *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*. Four to six numbers a year. Halle.


Works to which only occasional reference is made are cited in full in the text.
PHONETIC ALPHABET
AND OTHER SYMBOLS.

\( \beta \) = bilabial \( v \), the sound of Spanish \( v \) and \( b \).
\( \delta \) = the sound of \( th \) in English \( this \).
\( \varepsilon \) = the sound of \( e \) in French \( me \).
\( \eta \) = the sound of \( ng \) in English \( long \).
\( \ddot{o} \) = rounded \( e \), the sound of German \( \ddot{o} \).
\( \ddot{p} \) = the sound of \( th \) in English \( thin \).
\( \ddot{u} \) = rounded \( i \), the sound of German \( \ddot{u} \).
\( \chi \) = the sound of \( ch \) in German \( ach \).

- (a dot) under a vowel letter shows that the vowel is close.
κ (a hook) under a vowel letter shows that the vowel is open.
\( \wedge \) (a semicircle) under a vowel letter shows that the vowel is not syllabic.
\( \acute{\nu} \) (an acute accent) after a consonant letter shows that the consonant is palatal.
* (an asterisk) before a word shows that the form is conjectural, not attested.
> indicates derivation, the source standing at the open end of the figure, whichever way it be turned.
SMALL CAPITALS mean that the forms so printed occur in inscriptions (but this indication is used only when for some special reason it seems desirable).

The other marks and abbreviations employed are so generally accepted as to need no explanation.
AN INTRODUCTION TO VULGAR LATIN.

I. The extent of the Roman Empire is shown by the map on p. x. Throughout this territory the official language was Latin, originally the speech of Latium, a little district on the Tiber. The Latin tongue was thus extended to many peoples, representing different races, civilizations, and linguistic habits. In central Italy it was adopted by Etruscans and by various Italic tribes, in northern Italy by Ligurians, Celts, and Illyrians, in southeastern and southwestern Italy respectively by Illyrians and Greeks; beyond the peninsula it spread among Iberians, Ligurians, Celts, Aquitanians, Semites, Germanic tribes, and others still. The Latinization of these peoples was the work of several centuries\(^1\): by 272 B.C. all Italy was subdued south of the Macra and the Rubicon; Sicily became a province in 241, Sardinia and Corsica in 238; Venetia cast her lot with Rome in 215; Spain was made a province in 197; Illyria was absorbed after 167, Africa after the fall of Carthage in 146, southern Gaul in 120; the Cimbri and Teutones were destroyed in 102–1; northern Gaul was a province in 50, Rætia in 15; Dacia was colonized in 107 A.D., forsaken in the third century, and quite cut off from the rest of the Latin-speaking world in the sixth. The Latin language never gained a foothold in Greece; political changes drove it from Great Britain, the Orient, and Africa; in the rest of the Empire it has remained, for the most part,

until the present day, and has been carried thence to America, Africa, and Asia. The map on p. xi marks the parts of Europe where Latin in its modern forms is now spoken.

2. The Latin tongue, like every living language, has always been in an unstable condition. The evidence of inscriptions and of grammarians indicates that from the beginning to the end of Roman history speech was constantly changing, the alteration being most rapid in the earliest and the latest periods. Furthermore, there were at all times, but especially before the Social War, considerable local divergences. The Latin-speaking peoples were not homogeneous, and their speech reflected their varied origin. In Italy the language of Latium was adopted by tribes using, in the main, kindred languages. At first there was sturdy resistance; until the conflict of 90–89 B.C. all southern Italy was under Oscan influence, and Oscan was used in inscriptions until the first century of our era.¹ When Latin conquered, it blended more or less with the native idioms; the resulting geographical discrepancies are manifest in early monuments. The Social War, however, had a levelling effect, and speech in Italy became more uniform; but there doubtless were still noticeable differences in pronunciation and even in vocabulary.² In the outlying provinces, and to some degree in the peninsula, Latin was simply substituted for foreign tongues, and there was little or no mixture; nevertheless a few native words were kept, and there must have been a variety of accent. It should be remembered, moreover, that the language carried

¹ See Chronologie 133 and 116–120. Oscan forms are *ligud* for *lēge, pru* for *prō, ni* for *nē, * etc.

² The S. Italian *nn* for *nd, i* for *ē, and *u* for *ō* may be Oscan. *Pomex, ǣlex* for *pūmex, īlex* are perhaps Umbrian: *Lat. Spr.* 445, 464. The Italian word *zavorra* is possibly Etruscan: *Chronologie* 98–99.
to the several provinces was not identical: it represented different chronological stages and different local dialects of Italic Latin; the earlier acquisitions received a more popular, the later colonies a more official speech. Administration and military service tended to obliterate distinctions; under the Empire the variations probably came to be no greater than those now to be found in the English of the British Empire. We may say in general that the Roman territory, excepting Greece and the East, was completely Latinized by the fourth century after Christ.

3. With the beginnings of culture and literature there came inevitably a divergence between the language of the upper and that of the lower classes, and also between city and country speech. Literary influence is conservative and refining, while popular usage tends to quick change. In late Republican and early Imperial times educated speech became highly artificial, drawing away from the everyday language; on the other hand, the common idiom, throughout the Republic and the Empire, was constantly developing away from the archaic standard of elegant parlance. What we call Vulgar Latin is the speech of the middle classes, as it grew out of early Classic Latin. It is not an independent offshoot of Old Latin: it continues the Classic, not the primitive, vowel system. Neither is it the dialect of the slums or of the fields: grammarians tell us of not a few urban and rustic vulgarisms that are not perpetuated in the Romance tongues. It is distinct from the consciously polite utterance of cultivated society, from the brogue of the country, and from the slang of the lowest quarters of the city, though affected by all of these. Vulgar Latin naturally developed differently in

various localities, as far as the levelling influence of school and army permitted; the universal inclination of language to diverge was reinforced by the original habits of the diverse speakers and by such peculiarities of native accent as had survived. The differentiation progressed, being accelerated when schools decayed and military was replaced by ecclesiastical organization, until the dialects of distant localities became mutually unintelligible. At this point we may say that Vulgar Latin stops and the Romance languages begin. Although any definite date must be arbitrary, we may put it, roughly speaking, in the sixth or seventh century of our era. The Vulgar Latin period lasts, then, from about 200 B.C. to about 600 A.D.; it is most sharply differentiated from Classic Latin in the last few centuries of this epoch.

4. If we compare Classic and Vulgar Latin, we shall see that the latter was always tending to become more flexible and more explicit. We note an enormous development of modifying and determining words, such as articles and prepositions, and an abundant use of prefixes and suffixes. We find also a great simplification of inflections, due partly to phonetic but mainly to syntactic causes. Furthermore, we observe certain changes in pronunciation, some of which can be ascribed to an inclination to discard those parts of words that are not necessary for their identification (as when viridis, vetulus become virdis, veclus), some to a tendency to assimilate unlike adjacent sounds (soipse is spoken isse, and the diphthong ai is reduced to e), some to a desire for differentiation (which lowers i to e to make it more remote from i), some to unknown reasons. Why, for instance, ai almost

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1 Cf. Sittl and Hammer; Pirson and Carnoy; also, for African Latin, B. Kübler in Archiv VIII, 161.
2 For a history of the Latin language, see Lat. Spr. 492-497.
universally became ë, while au did not in Latin generally become o, is a problem as yet unsolved.

5. Our sources of information concerning the current spoken Latin are: the statements of grammarians; the non-Classic forms occurring in inscriptions and early manuscripts; the occasional lapses in cultivated authors, early and late; a few texts written by persons of scanty education; some glossaries and lists of incorrect forms; and, most important of all, the subsequent developments of the Romance languages. All of these are to be used with caution. Of especial value are the *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, a considerable fragment of a description of travel in the East, by an uneducated woman (probably a Spanish nun) of the latter part of the fourth century; the *Appendix Probi*, a list of good and bad forms, possibly as early as the third century; the veterinary treatise known as *Mulomedicina Chironis*; the so-called *Glossary of Reichenau*, made in France in the eighth century. There is an interesting collection of curses by A. Audollent, "*Defixionum Tabellæ*, 1904.

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4 For the chronology of developments, the distinction of learned and popular words, and the establishment of unattested Vulgar Latin words, see G. Grüber, in *Archiv* I, 204 ff., and VII, 25 ff. Something can be learned from the charters and laws of the barbarians: cf. F. Schramm, *Sprachliches zur Lex Salica*, 1911.
8 See Bibliography.
I. VOCABULARY.

A. WORDS AND THEIR MEANINGS.

6. It is natural that the speech of the literary and fashionable classes should differ from that of the common people; so it is in all civilized communities. Literature inclines to extend the senses of words, popular use tends to restrict them. The polite language, too, has many poetic figures and many abstract terms unknown to the crowd. On the other hand, the vulgar idiom has homely metaphors of its own and numerous specific, technical words not found in literature.

1. WORDS USED ALIKE IN CLASSIC AND VULGAR LATIN.

7. This class includes a great mass of words, forming, so to speak, the nucleus of the language. Examples are: canis, filius, mater, panis, pater, puteus, vacca; alius, bonus, longus, viridis; amare, audire, dicere, vendere; bene, male; quando, si; in.

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§ 10]  

2. WORDS USED DIFFERENTLY IN CLASSIC AND IN VULGAR LATIN.

8. Very many Classic words are used in Vulgar Latin with a different sense: *comparare* = 'buy', *focus* = 'fire', *paganus* = 'pagan', *viaticum* = 'journey'. *Capit* assumed the meaning of *fieri potest*: R. 351–352, *non capit prophetam perire*, etc.; Hoppe 48, *haec estimare non capit, non capit utique videri Deus*.

Most of the examples can be classified under the heads of restriction or extension of meaning.

a. SENSE RESTRICTED.

9. This happens frequently, a word assuming a more definite or concrete signification: *cognatus* = 'brother-in-law'; *collocare* = 'put to bed' (*se collocare* = 'go to bed', Bon. 286); *dominicus* = *divinus*; *ingenium* = 'trick', Bon. 283; *lectio* = 'text'; *machinari* = 'grind'; *mulier* = 'wife'; *necare* = 'drown', Bon. 286, Dubois 220; *orbis* = 'blind'; *tractatus* = 'treatise'.

Many words kept their literal but lost their metaphorical sense: *captio* = 'act of taking', G. 243, not 'sophism' nor 'deceit'; *robur* = 'oak', not 'strength', 'authority', nor 'best part'.

b. SENSE EXTENDED.¹

10. The general use of a word in an extended sense is not common, but there are some examples: *fortis* = 'strong' in all senses, Bayard 105; *infans* = 'child', Pirson 257–258; *parentes* = 'relatives', Pirson 260–262; *se plicare* = 'go', Per. 46, 11, etc.; *villa* = 'town', G. 272.

Many words, however, assume a new meaning in addition to the old one: *ambulare* = 'march', *Archiv* XII, 269–270, Bechtel 137, etc., and also 'continue', Regnier 24, perhaps

¹ Cf. Bayard 63–202, Bon. 235–328, Dubois 185–225, Quillacq 54–79.
An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

§ II

'go'; facere = 'pass (time)', Regnier 27 (quadraginta dies fecit), Per. 66, 11 (secimus ibi biduum), etc.; fascia means a measure of land, Pirson 255; habet is used like the French il y a (Old French a), G. 422 (in arca Noe . . . habuit serpentes), Regnier 29 (in carne paucas habet virgines sanctimoniales), Bechtel 127 (habebat de eo loco forsitan quattuor milia, etc.), Per. 37, 13, etc.; homo has the sense of French on, Regnier 20, Dubois 218; ille = 'the' and 'he', Bechtel 144, Bon. 258 ff.; populus minutus = 'common people', Waters Ch. 44; replicare = 'reply', Dubois, 204; res is used of persons, Waters Ch. 58 (bella res); satis = 'much', Bayard 83, Per. 38, 25, etc.; unus = 'a', Bechtel 144; virtutes = 'miracles' (in imitation of the Greek), Bayard 94.

So various prepositions and conjunctions (as ad, apud, cum, de, per, and quasi, quia, quod, quomodo) assumed new functions. Unde came to mean 'and so', Bon. 328.


II. Numerous Classic Latin words either were not employed at all in the vulgar speech or went out of use before the earliest monuments of the Romance languages: so funus, jubere, proles. Very many adverbs and conjunctions disappeared: an, at, autem, diu, donec, enim, ergo, etiam, haud, igitur, ita, nam, postquam, quidem, quin, quippe, quoad, quoque, saltem, sed, sive, ut, utrum, vel, etc.; tamen must have been moribund, although it is common in the Peregrinatio. Poetic terms and some abstract nouns were not needed: aurora, frondifer, horresco, fletus. Ecclesiastical Latin, to be sure, is very rich in abstract nouns (G. 391-397, Dubois 301-308), but most of them are new formations. When lost terms were needed for literary or other purposes, they were either bor-
rowed from Classic or clerical Latin (as nobilis) or replaced by new constructions (as *carrica for onus).

a. SYNONYMS.

12. When Latin had two words nearly synonymous, one often crowded out the other: atrium gave way to cors; cur to quare; equus to caballus, R. 472; ferre to portare, Dubois 220; ludus to jocus; magnus to grandis; os to bucca, R. 472; parentes to genitores, Olcott XXV; senex to vetulus.

Sometimes the survivor was far from a synonym in Classic Latin: discere was displaced by apprendere; domus by casa, mansio, hospitale; emere by comparare; humerus by spatula, R. 324; ignis by focus, R. 313; nunc by hora; omnes by toti, R. 338, Zs. XXXIII, 143; quot, tot by quanti, tanti, R. 336, 337; urbs by civitas, Dubois 209, and by villa, G. 272.

b. SUBSTITUTES.

13. Sometimes a term was replaced by a word not found in Classic Latin at all: anser was driven out by *auca (< *avica, diminutive of avis); noverca by *matraster; privignus by *filias-ter; vitricus mostly by patraster. Occasionally the substitute was apparently a slang word: aliquis yielded in part to res nata, R. 345; caput to testa; crus gave way to gamba; edere in the main to manducare, Bechtel 140; gena to gabata.

Some words were replaced by diminutives, some nouns by derivative adjectives: avis by aecellus; avus by *aviolus; sol

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1 According to Olcott XVIII, casa occurs only in Italian inscriptions, mansio (= 'dwelling') only in Roman. For mansio, cf. R. 472, Dubois 212. Among the Romance languages, Rumanian, Rætian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese prefer casa, French and Provençal mansio and hospitale. Cf. Zauner 41-42.

2 Caput (or rather *capum) is preserved by Rumanian, Rætian, Italian, Provençal, French; testa by Italian, Provençal, French; *capitia (< caput) by Spanish and Portuguese. Cf. Zauner 41-42.
in part by *soliculus; *vetus for most part by vetulus; *dies largely by diurnus, Gl. Reich.; *hiems by hibernum, R. 472; *mane extensively by matutinum. Diminutives were extremely common in late Latin: G. 121–130 (cereolus, schedula, etc.), Olcott 250–263 (gemelli, mammula = 'grandmother', naucella, neptilla, etc.), Dubois 147 (novellus). Adjectives used as nouns were frequent also: R. 100–107 (arida, infernus, etc.), G. 108–121 (brevis, credens, infernus, etc.). Occasionally, too, words were replaced by phrases: *div by longum tempus (Bon. 201, paucum tempus for haud *div); *ver by vernum tempus, Bon. 203, and other phrases.

c. PARTICLES.

14. Many prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs were lost by substitution.

*Ab was made unnecessary by *de and *per; *apud was partially supplanted by *ad; *cum, in Gaul, yielded to *apud; *ex gave way to *de, R. 395–396; *ob to *pro and *per. *Pro, doubtless under the influence of *per, became *por, which replaced *per and *pro in Spain and to a considerable extent in northern Gaul; southern Gaul, Italy, and Dacia preferred *per. *Cis, erga, *pra, propter were displaced by other words.

The functions of *an, *ne, *utrum were assumed by *si; the place of *cum was taken by quando and other conjunctions; quando, quod, quoniam were often replaced by quomodo, R. 403. Autem, ergo, etiam, etsi, igitur, sed, tamen, ut were ousted by various substitutes. Cf. Densusianu, 184–185.

4. WORDS USED IN VULGAR BUT NOT IN CLASSIC LATIN.

15. Vulgar Latin evidently had many words that do not appear in Classic texts. Some of these were probably old
native terms that do not happen to occur in the works preserved, some were late creations, some were borrowed from other languages.

a. NATIVE WORDS.

16. Some native words are rarely attested, although they were doubtless in common use: *amma, Archiv XIII, 154; atta, Archiv XIII, 154; baro = 'athlete', Waters Ch. 53, Ch. 63; battalia, Archiv XII, 270–271; branca, Densusianu 196; circare = 'hunt', Archiv VIII, 186; cloppus, Densusianu 196; drappus, Substrate II, 106, Körting (found in the 6th century); ficatum, Densusianu 190; gavia (used by Pliny); mamma, Archiv XIII, 151–152; nonna, nonnus, Archiv XIII, 156–157; pa(p)pa, Archiv XIII, 158, Bayard 179 (applied by St. Cyprian to the bishop of Carthage); pappus = 'grandfather', Pirson 243; serutinus, Audollent 199; tata, tatus, Pirson 244, Archiv XIII, 151–153; trepalium, Rom. XVII, 421.

17. A few that must have existed are not attested at all: *refusare, Substrate V, 234; *retina = 'rein', Substrate V, 237; so not improbably the original of the Romance words meaning 'touch', and perhaps those of the words meaning 'find', 'gape', and 'go' (cf. § 405). Likewise words made by onomatopoeia, as *miaulare; cf. M. Grammont, Onomatopées et mots expressifs in Revue des langues romanes XLIV, 97.

Some of the unattested words were obviously late developments: *finis, adj. (Fr., Pr. fin; It. fine fino), from the noun finis in such phrases as honorum finis, pudoris finis, etc. (so, e.g., finis honoris > fins onors, etc.), E. Herzog in Bausteine 484; *gentis, adj. (Fr., Pr. gent, It. gente), apparently a cross between genitus and gentilis; prode, then m. and f. *prodis, adj., detached from prodest (cf. potis est = potest, Neue II, 176–177), R. 468–469 (quid enim prode est homini, sed non fuit prode illis, hoc enim prode fit vobis, etc.).
18. Late Latin was rich in derivatives, some of popular creation, some made by Christian writers. According to Olcott XIX, African Latin was freest in word formation. This subject will be discussed at length in the following chapter, but a few examples may be given here: post-verbal dolus < dolere, Regnier VIII; *abbellire; *ausare; carricare, Gl. Reich.; confessor = ‘martyr’; *coraticum; dulcor, *dulcior = ‘sweetness’; follia; *man(u)aria; modernus, Dubois 144; *nivicare; *soliculus; vict(u)alia; *vir(i)dura.

b. FOREIGN WORDS.

19. A few Celtic terms were adopted, such as alauda, vertragus. More Germanic words (cf. Gram., Introduction) found their way into Latin: bannus, Bon. 226; hapja; haribergum, Gl. Reich. (cf. alberca, Pirson 236); haunjan; watan; wërra.

We find a large number of Greek words, a few of them apparently borrowed by popular speech: amygdalum; cata, a distributive preposition, verging on the sense of ‘every’, R. 247 (cata mane mane), Bechtel 95 (cata mansiones, cata pascha), cf. §71; colaphus; dactylus, Bon. 211; saga. More came in through the Christian vocabulary: angelus; baptizare; blasphemare; etc. Some were introduced by fashionable society, which affected familiarity with Greek; there are many Greek words in Petronius: hepatia, Waters Ch. 66; schema, Waters Ch. 44.

Very many Greek terms used by ecclesiastical writers never became popular. Cf. G. 205–226: anathema, prophetare, zelare; numerous verbs in –izare, as allegorizare, anathematizare, catechizare, colaphizare, evangelizare, eunuchizare, Judaizare, prophetizare, sabbatizare, scandalizare, thesaurizare; and not a few new derivatives, as baptizatio, diaconissa, G. 225, 224.
B. DERIVATION.

20. Vulgar Latin is very rich in derivatives and compounds; it has many affectionate diminutives, some of them made with new suffixes (as -icca, -itta).\(^1\) Petronius shows a fondness for long derivatives, such as *gaudimonium* (Waters Ch. 61). Late writings almost all abound in abstract nouns (Cooper 1-2). In strictly Classic texts there seem to be few really living suffixes\(^2\); but the facility of word formation, which the literary language lost, popular speech preserved and increased.\(^3\) This freedom of formation was abused by African authors, who were especially addicted to prepositional compounds with *con-*, *in-*, *sub-*, etc.\(^4\) We shall consider first post-verbal nouns (i.e., substantives taken from the roots of verbs), then prefixes, next suffixes, and finally composite words.

1. POST-VERBAL NOUNS.

21. After the model of *cantus* — *cantare*, *saltus* — *saltare*, etc. (pairs in which the derivative verb seemed to come from the noun, whereas in reality both come from a primitive verb, as *canere*, *salire*), a fictitious primitive noun was derived from a number of verbs in Vulgar Latin and in the Romance languages: so *dolus* from *dolere*, *Vok.* I, 35, 98, *Bon.* 367, Regnier VII (blamed by St. Augustine).

2. PREFIXES.\(^5\)

a. PREFIXES USED WITH NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, AND PRONOUNS.

22. *Bis*— or *bi*— was used with some adjectives and apparently with a few nouns: *bimaritus*, G. 130; *bisacutus*, G. 170; *bisaccium*, Petronius.

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1 See *Gram.* II, 430-693; Densusianu 156-173.  
2 Cooper XXXIV.  
3 Cooper XXX ff.  
4 Cooper XXXVI, XLVI, 246-247.  
5 Cooper 246-297.
23. *Ad-, con-, de-, dis-, ex-, in-, re- and some others were occasionally used to form adjectives: *adaptus; commixtius, G. 160; defamatus; *disfactus; exsucus; inanimatus; *replēnus. Cf. G. 160 ff.

24. *Ac-, atque-, ecce-, eccu-, met- were used as demonstrative prefixes to pronominal adjectives and to adverbs. Ecce- is eccum, i.e., ecce hum; its origin being forgotten, it was used in late Vulgar Latin as a synonym of ecce. Met, primarily a suffix, came to be used as a prefix through such combinations as semet ipsum, understood as se metipsum. In archaic writings such reinforced demonstratives as eccum, eccam, eccos, eccas, ecca, eccillum, eccillam, eccillud, eccistam are not uncommon; in Classic texts they are rare. Vulgar Latin examples are: ac sic; atque ille; ecce hic; *eccu istè; *eccu sic, Substrate VI, 385; met ipse. Cf. A. Köhler, Die Partikel ecce in Archiv V, 16. See §§ 65, 66.

b. PREFIXES USED WITH VERBS.

25. *Ad-, con-, de-, dis-, ex-, in-, re- were freely used, dis- being mainly a Vulgar Latin prefix: abbreviare, G. 179; *adcap(i)lare; adgenunculari, R. 181; adpretiare, R. 181, G. 180· adpropiare, R. 181, G. 180; adunare, R. 182; confortare, R. 185; G. 181; *cominitiare; complacere, R. 184; deaurare, G. 182; *disjejunare; exaltare, G. 183; excoriare, G. 182; impinguare, G. 183; *infurcare; recapitulare, G. 185; *requarere. Ad-, con-, de- lost their special significance; ad- was particularly favored in Spain, con- in Italy. Cf. Lat. Spr. 487. Occasionally there was a change of prefix: aspectare was used with the sense of expectare, *convitare sometimes took the place of invi­tare; dis- was often substituted for ex-.

26. Ab-, contra-, per-, sub-, super supra-, tra·trans- were
used occasionally: *aboculare; *contrafacere; *perdonare; subaudire, G. 185; *subcludere; subsannare, R. 199, G. 187; superabundare, G. 187; *super-*suprafacere; *trabuccare; *transannare; transplantare, G. 188.

27. Extra— was sometimes used in Italy and Dacia, infra— and intra— in Italy: *extrabuccare; *infraponere; *intratenere.

28. Abs-, e-, ob-, præ-, pre-, pro-, retro— were apparently not used to form new verbs in the popular spoken language, although some of them are occasionally so employed by late writers: opprobrare, G. 184; prædestinare, G. 184 (cf. Livy); prolongare, G. 184. Ob— is sometimes replaced by ad—: obdormire > addormire.

29. Foris and minus came to be used as prefixes in some regions: *forisfacere; *minuscredere. Foris was confounded in Gaul with the Frankish fir— (= ver—): verslahen = Old Fr. forbatre. See G. Baist, Fränkisches fir— im ältesten Französischen in Romanische Forschungen XII, 650; cf. Rom. XXX, 633. For this use of minus, compare the phrase minus est = deest, Regnier 109: caritas in quantum adest . . . in quantum autem minus est. Cf. § 245.

30. Some verbs take a double prefix: adimplere; coexcitare, R. 207 (cf. Quintilian, coexercitatus); deexarcerbare, R. 207; *deexcitare; *exeligere.

31. Recomposition, i.e., the restoration of the full form of the primitive verb, was a regular process in Vulgar Latin (cf. §139): asargo for aspergo is blamed by Velius Longus, Édon 127, and is used by St. Cyprian, Bayard 3; commando is, according to Velius Longus, the usual form, rather than commendó, S. 60, Édon 131; consacrati etc. occur in inscriptions, S. 60; crededit, Bon. 490; reddedit, Bon. 490; retenere, Bon. 489;
tradedit, Bon. 490. Cf. S. 58–64, Bon. 486–493. Cómpūto, cōllīgo, cōllōco, cōnsto, cōnsūo, ērīgo, ēxĕo, inflo, prāsto seem to have been regarded as simple verbs: S. 64.

32. Late writers were in the habit of restoring the full, primitive form of prefixes; but this was doubtless merely a matter of spelling, and did not indicate the common pronunciation. In Tertullian, Cyprian, and some others there is generally no assimilation of the prefix; other writers, such as Gregory of Tours, apparently used both assimilated and unassimilated forms. Bayard 12–15: adpetere, conpenderium, inprobus, obfero, subplanto. Bon. 178–188: adtonitus, committere, inlatus, obprimere, subcumbere.

3. SUFFIXES.

a. SUFFIXES FOR VERBS.¹

33. Verbs from nouns² generally end in -are; occasionally in -iare or -ire; sometimes in -icare, which was eventually supplanted in Italy and in Gaul by -izare (for pronunciation see §339). This last ending came from Greek -ιζατι through borrowed words, such as baptizare. For a list of Greek verbs in -ιζατι adopted by Christian writers, see R. 248–249 (cf. §19 above); some new formations were used, as catechizare. In early Latin this same ending appears as -issare (atticisso, rhetorisso): see A. Funck, Die Verba auf issare und izare in Archiv III, 398.

Examples: oculare; pectinare; plantare; potionare; * trepaliare; — plagiare; — ignire; — carricare; follicare; * nivicare; — * dom’nizare; * werrizare.

²Cf. R. 154–162.
34. Verbs from adjectives and perfect participles end in -are, -iare, -ire; also in -icare (cf. albicare), -itare (cf. debilitare, visitare), -escere and -iscere (cf. canescere, mollescere); possibly in -izare: angustare; *ausare; captivare; confortare; falsare; gravare; levare; *oblitare; rütare; üsare; — alleviare; *altiare; *captiare; humiliare; — *abbellire; unire; — amari­care; — *vanitare; — fortescere; lætiscere; viles­cere; — *blan­kizare? Many verbs from perfect participles (frequentatives, etc.) replace the original verbs: adjuvare > adjutare; audere > au­sare; canere > cantare; uti > usare. The endings -(i)tare, -escere lost their frequentative or inchoative sense: adparescere, Dubois 157; ostentare, Dubois 156.

35. Verbs from other verbs end in -icare (cf. fodicare < fodere), -itare (cf. clamitare < clamare); also in -escere, -iscere (cf. florescere, dormiscere), which lost its inchoative force: *bullicare < bullire; — crocitare; — apparescere; *finiscere; stupescere. Vulgar Latin has many old frequentive verbs: G. 178–179, Cooper 205. There are some late diminutives in -aculare, -iculare, -uculare, through diminutive nouns or ad­jectives (cf. periculiari < periculum): *salticulare. We find also some miscellaneous imitative formations: *expaventare (and some others) apparently after the analogy of præsentare; *misculare perhaps after maculare.

b. SUFFIXES FOR NOUNS.¹

37. Some 90 endings, apparently, were used in Vulgar Latin. The Christian writers are especially rich in derivatives. Petronius, too, was very fond of diminutives: *adulescentulus, Waters Ch. 59, Ch. 64; *porcellus, Ch. 40; *taurellus, Ch. 39.

The commonest endings are the following: —

-ā, used to form feminines: *nepta, Pirson 123, Bon. 366, Haag 41; socera, Bon. 355.

-āgo, -īgo, -ūgo were characteristic of rustic speech: Cooper 111.

-āl, -āle, used to form adjectives and also nouns, especially names of parts of apparel (as bracchiale), was extended: *coxale, G. 95. Cf. Olcott 238-239.

-ālia, a neuter plural, as victualia (cf. the collective plural -īlia, as mirabilia, volatilia, G. 110-111), was used, in a collective sense, as a feminine singular with an augmentative and pejorative signification, in Italy and Gaul: *canalia < canis.

-ānda, -enda, neuter plural of the gerundive, came to be used as a feminine singular: *facienda and *facenda.

-āns, -ēns: see Adjectives.

-āntia, -entia, made from present participles + -ia (as benevolentia, essentia, significantia), were used to form abstract nouns from verbs: *credentia; fragrantia; placentia; *sperantia. Cf. R. 49-52, G. 79-102, Olcott 73-78.

-ānus: see Adjectives.


-āria: see -ā.

-arium, used to designate a place (as gallinarium), was extended: breviarium; *calamarium. Cf. R. 31-37, Olcott 176-182.

-ārius: see Adjectives.

-āster: see Modern Language Notes XXIV, 240.

-āta: see -ta, etc. [cum.

-aticum (as vaticum) was extended, to form nouns from nouns: *corati-

-ātus, as senatus (common in Petronius, e.g., bonatus, Waters Ch. 74), was extended: *clericatus; *ducatus. Cf. -ta, etc.

—cellus, diminutive, was used beside —culus: avicula, avicella; navicula, navicella. So *domnicellus, etc.
—ceus, —cius: see Adjectives.
—culum, —crum (as miraculum, lavacrum) were occasionally used: *genuculum. Cf. G. 91–92, Olcott 131–134.
—ellus, diminutive (as castellum), was often used beside —ilus, which lost its diminutive force: anulus, anellus; porculus, porcellus; vitulus, vitellus. So calamellus, etc.
—enda: see —anda.
—ens: see Adjectives, —ans.
—ensis: see Adjectives.
—entia: see —antia.
—erium, as desiderium, was probably somewhat extended: Old Fr., Pr. consirier, etc. Cf. R. 31–37. See A. Thomas, Les substantifs en —ier et le suffixe —arius, Rom. XXXI, 481; and Nouveaux essais de philologie française 110.
—eum: see —ium.
—eus: see Adjectives.
—ia, unaccented, used to form abstract nouns (as victoria), was extended: *fortia (cf. fortia n. pl. = ‘mighty deeds of God’, Koffmane 76).
—ia, unaccented, used to form feminines (as avus, avia): neptia, Pearson 123 (cf. Zs. XXXII, 640).
—ia, from Greek —ia through Christian writers and speakers: monarchia; philosophia; etc. It was often attached to words in —arius; hence an ending —arta: *librarla. Cf. Olcott 173–176.
—ica: see Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen CXIV, 457.
—icca (as Bodicca, Bonica, Karica) first appears in Africa in feminine proper names; it was then extended to Spain, Sardinia, and Dacia, and came to be used as a diminutive suffix in Spanish, Portuguese, and Romanian: Sp. animalico; Rum. manică. It may have arisen in the first place from a childish pronunciation of —iclus, —ica, being used in pet names. Cf. Einf. §173. For —accus, —iccus, —occus, —uc(ce)us, see A. Horn ing in Zs. XIX, 170, XX, 335; cf. Gram. II, 591. Cf. Zs. XXXIV, 26.
—iccus, —icius: see Adjectives, —ceus.
—incus or —inguus (as propinquus), perhaps also *—ingus and locally —ancus, possibly of Ligurian origin (Rom. XXXV, 1–21, 283ff., 333ff.), was used for many new words: Pr. Arbonenca, ramenc; It. solingo, Valinca;
Sp. Cusanca. It was probably confounded, in some regions, with the following.

-ing, a German patronymic ending, was used for some nouns and perhaps for adjectives (see -incus above): Pr. lausenga; It. camerlingo.

-inus (as caninus, Montaninus) originally denoted appurtenance, then resemblance, then smallness; it was freely used, especially to form diminutive nouns, but sometimes to form new adjectives: *domnina = 'young lady', Olcott 134–136; Florentinus; serpentinus. Cf. Olcott 200–204.

-itio: see -tio.

-isca, from the Greek -σκα (as βασιλισσα, so pythonissa), was used for some new formations: *dukissa; Germanissa, Pirson 228; prophetissa, R. 251. Cf. Cooper 251.

-itas: see -tas.

-*lla, -llies, used to form nouns from adjectives (as munditia -ies), were much extended, -ities especially in the south; both are rare in Rumanian (Cooper XLV): *altitia; *granditia. Cf. Olcott 78–80.

-*itus first appears during the Empire in inscriptions in Italy and Dacia, sometimes in Spain and Gaul, as a suffix for proper names: feminine Attita, Bonitta, Caritta, Julitta, Livitta, Suavitta, etc.; masculine Muritta, Nebitta, Sagitta, etc. Cf. Pirson 226: Julianeta, Nonnita, Nonnitus. Its origin is unknown; it may have arisen from a childish pronunciation of *clus -a: cf. -ica. Meyer-Lübke, Einf. § 172, conjectures that it may have come from the Germanic ending that now appears as z in such names as Heinz. A. Zimmermann, Zs. XXVIII, 343, regards -attus, -ittus, -ittus as alternative forms of -atus, -itus, -ōtus, like littera beside litera, etc. It came to be very widely used as a diminutive suffix for nouns, and also for adjectives, the i being short in Gaul, Rætia, and central and northern Italy, generally long in the Spanish peninsula and in Sardinia: nouns, Fr. amourette, It. fioretto, Sp. bacito; adjectives, Fr. doucet, It. grassetto, Sp. bonito.

-itudo: see -tudo.

-ium, -ēum (as capitium, calcaneum): see G. 56–59.

-īvum, -īva: see Olcott 224–226.

-men, -mentum, used to form nouns from verbs (as certāmen, vestimentum), were extended, especially -mentum: *gubernamentum. Cf. Olcott 123–131, R. 22–25.

-*ōnium, -ōnia: see Olcott 81–82.

-ō (-ōnem), originally used to indicate a characteristic (as blōbo), was

-or (*ōrem), used to form abstract nouns (as *candor, *sapor), was employed for many new formations of the same kind, especially in Gaul: *dulcor; *flator; *flavor; *lūcor; *senter; *viror. In Gaul these nouns came to be feminine: Bon. 503-504 (*dolor, *timor, etc.).

-or (*ōrem), used to designate the agent: see -tor.

-ōrium: see -ōrium.

-ōtus, of unknown origin (cf. -ōtus), was apparently used first of young animals, then as a general moderate diminutive: It. *aquotto, *casotta.

-ōs: see -ōs, -ōsor, -ōsorium, -ōtus, -ōsa, -ōsus, later -āta, -ātus, -āta, perfect participles used as nouns, started perhaps with such forms as *defensa, *remissa, i.e., feminine perfect participles with a feminine noun understood, and were reinforced by neuter plural forms which became feminine and also by fourth declension nouns in -ās, as *collectus, *narratus: cf. C. Collin in Archiv XIII, 453; L. H. Alexander, Participial Substantives of the -āta type in the Romance Languages, 1912. They were considerably used to make abstract nouns from verbs (and -āta was sometimes attached to nouns, as *annata); -ās and -āsa were preferred in Dacia (Cooper XLV): *collecta, *g. 111; *debita; *extensa, R. 83; *movita, *narrata, Substrate IV, 122; *perditia; *recubitus; *redita; *vendita; It. *andata, *fosso, *venuta. Cf. Olcott 33-51, R. 82-83, G. 85-88, Bayard 24-25.

-ōs (-ōtem), used to make abstract nouns from adjectives, was freely employed: *falsitas; *nativitas; *puritas; *trinitas. So *deltas from *deus. Cf. Olcott 58-69, G. 102-106, Bayard 19-22 (very common in St. Cyprian).

-tio, -sio (-lionem, -sionem), used to form abstract nouns from verbs (as *lectio, *mansio, *potio), are very common in St. Jerome, St. Cyprian, and other late writers: *abbreviatio; *agravatio, G. 63; *nutritio; *ostensio; *prensio; *revisio; *revoluatio. Cf. Olcott 2-23, R. 69-82, Bayard 19-22.

-tor, -trix, -ōr (*ōrem, *ōricem, -ōrem), used to denote the agent (as amātor, *mensur), were very freely employed (but show few traces in Romanian: Cooper XLV): *necātor; *ostensor; Pr. *beveire, *trobaire. Cf. Olcott 88-122, R. 55-63, G. 45-56.

-ōrium, -sōrium, used to form from verbs nouns denoting place, some-
times instrument (as dormitorium, natatorium, cursorium), were much extended, often taking the place of -ulum (cubiculum > accubitorium): *casorium; mensiorium; missorium; oratorium; *pressorium; repositorium. Cf. Olcott 194-196, R. 31-37, G. 96-97.

-ūdo (-tūdinem), used to make abstract nouns from adjectives (as fortitudo), was extended: *certitudo; servitudo. Cf. Olcott 69-73.

-ūra: see -ūra.

-lus: see -ta, etc.

-ūlus, -ūla, diminutive (as vitulus), was used for a few new formations: *alaudula; ossulum, Bon. 197.

-ūra and -t-ūra, -s-ūra, used to form abstract nouns from perfect participles (as censura, strictura), later from adjectives also, were extended, in late Latin often replacing -or (fervor > *fervura): *frig'dura; mes'sura; nutritura; ornatura; *planura; pressura; tensura; *vir'dura. See Einf. § 171. Cf. Olcott 51-58, R. 40-45, G. 88-90.

-ūla: see -ta, etc.

38. When Greek nouns were borrowed by Latin, the endings were adapted as follows: —

-os, -η, -οv regularly became respectively -us, -a, -um: Claussen 796. There are a few exceptions for special reasons (Claussen 795): ἐλαυνόv, influenced by olere, gave oleum; μηλάφυλλον, by popular etymology, gave millefolium.

-as in popular words generally became -a (Claussen 798-799): λαμπάσ > lampa.

-ης, -ης became -a, -ta or -us, -lus (Claussen 798): τρώκτης > tructa; βωλίτης > boletus.

-ι in popular words either fell or became -a, -e, -is, or -i (Claussen 799): πέπερι > piper; σινάπι > sinapis, sinape; κόμμι > gumma, gummi-s.

-is often became -a, instead of -is (Claussen 798): pausis > pausa.

-μα in popular words gave a feminine -ma (Claussen 796-797): κόμμα > cima.

-ροσ preceded by a consonant became -er (Claussen 797): ἀλέξανδρος > Alexander.

-ων in popular words became -o (Claussen 797): λέων > leo.

 Sometimes the genitive or the accusative was taken as a basis, instead of the nominative (Claussen 800-802): ἐλέφαντος > elefantus; μαγίδα > magīda.
The unaccented vowel of the penult was often changed in conformity with Latin habits (Claussen 802–806): διάβολος > diabulus diabulus; κέρας > cerāsus *cerēsus; κυθάρα > cithāra cithēra; σκόπελος > scopulus; σπατάλη > spatula.

c. SUFFIXES FOR ADJECTIVES.¹

39. The commonest endings are the following: —

-ābūlis: see -būlis.

-āceus –ācius, –īceus –īcius, used to make from nouns adjectives denoting material (as arenaceus, pelliceus), were extended (especially in rustic speech: Cooper 111), –aceus being employed later as an augmentative and pejorative suffix for adjectives and finally for nouns: chartaceus; formaceus; mixticius, G. 143; *setaceus; It. tempaccio, etc. Cf. Olcott 215–220. See E. Wölflin, Die Adjectiva auf –icius in Archiv V, 415.

-ālis, –īlis, used to make from nouns adjectives of appurtenance (as regalis, gentilis), were extended: *cortilis; *ducalis; episcopalis. Cf. Olcott 226–238, G. 144.

-āneus –ānius, –ōneus –ōnius (as extraneus, erroneus) were slightly extended: *caroneus; *spontaneus.

-āns, –ens (–antem, –entem), present participles (as amans, potens), were used freely to make adjectives and nouns from verbs: credens; *currens; *passans.

-ānus, denoting appurtenance (as paganus, Romanus), was used to form adjectives of place (occasionally time) and nouns of office: biduanus, Bechtel 83; medianus, Bechtel 83; *Sicilianus; Tuscanus; — *capitanus; decanus.

-āriicus, a combination of –arius and –īcius (as sigillaricius), became popular in Gaul: see A. Thomas, Nouveaux essais de philologie française 62 (Hacherece, etc.).

-āris (as singularis) was extended: particularis. Cf. Olcott 182–187.

-ārius, attached to nouns and adjectives, to denote connection, and used also in the masculine to form nouns of occupation (as aquarius, argentarīus, pomarius), was much extended, especially in the latter function: imaginarius; *leviarius; — apothecarius; *marinarius; *werrarius. Cf. Olcott 137–173. The phonetic development of this suffix was apparently peculiar in Gaul and some other regions: the earliest examples are glaw-

deria < glandarius + -la (6th century) and sorcerus < *sortiarius (8th century); the earliest forms in French and Provençal are -ers, -er, then -iers, -ier. On the other hand, Spanish -ero and Italian -aio are perfectly regular, Italian -aro is easily explained by the analogy of the plural -ari, and Italian -iere, -iero are probably borrowed. E. R. Zimmermann, Die Geschichte des lateinischen Suffixes -arius in den romanischen Sprachen, and E. Staaff, Le suffixe -arius dans les langues romanes, try to derive all the forms from -arius. P. Marchot, Zs. XXI, 296 (cf. Phon. I, 34-36), postulates -ar(i)us and -er(i)us, showing that while the French forms may perhaps be derived from -arius and -arius, the Provençal cannot. Cf. Gram. I, 222, § 227. Zimmermann, Zs. XXVI, 591, points out that many words have c, e, or i before the a, that -iarius was a real suffix (cf. anatiarius, Olcott 142), that -iarius and -arius may have established -iers in French. A. Thomas, Rom. XXXI, 481 (cf. Nouveaux essais de philologie française 119, and Baustéine 641), suggests that the Germans in Gaul associated -arius with their proper names in -areis or -ari, and when umlaut affected the a of these, pronounced -arius, too, as -erius or -erus, and that this pronunciation spread to the neo-Latin speakers. Cf. Chairibertus repeatedly used for Charibertus by Fredegarius: Haag 7.

-ätus, a perfect participle ending (as sceleratus), was much used to make adjectives in the popular language: exauguratus; *fatatus; timoratus. Cf. Olcott 244-250, G. 159-160.

-ölis, or -öölis, -ölis, an objective suffix used to make adjectives from verbs (as amabilis, terribilis), is very common in Christian writers and was much employed in late Latin, especially in learned words; it is rare, however, in Rumanian (Cooper XLV): acceptabilis; capabilis; *caritabilis; diligibilis; indicibilis, G. 137. Cf. Olcott 209-213, R. 109-116, G. 135-140.

-ceus -cius: see -āceus.

-ens: see -ans.

-ensis, used to make from nouns adjectives of appurtenance (as forensis), was greatly extended, especially in popular speech, the derivatives being sometimes employed as nouns: *cortensis; *Frankensis; turrensis, G. 155; vallensis, G. 155; *markensis; *pogensis.

-ceus -ius, denoting material (as aureus), was slightly extended (but is rare in Rumanian: Cooper XLV); the derivative was sometimes used as a noun: panneus; papyrius; — fageus; querceus. Cf. Olcott 339-344.

-ölis: see -ölis.

-iceus -icius: see -āceus.
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-\textit{eus} (as \textit{medicus}) was used especially in words from the Greek: \textit{cler-}

-\textit{dus} (as \textit{rapidus}) was slightly extended: \textit{exs\textit{sicidus}}, G. 155 (Tertullian);
*\textit{ripidus}; \textit{sapidus}.

-\textit{ilis}: see -\textit{\textae}.

-\textit{inus}: see Nouns.

-\textit{inus} (as \textit{fraxinus}) was used for a few adjectives: \textit{quercinus}.

-\textit{iscus}, probably a fusion of Greek -\textit{oskos} (\textit{Syriscus}) and Germanic -\textit{isk} (\textit{Thiudiscus}), was used for -\textit{eus} in some late words: *\textit{Angliscus};
*\textit{Frankiscus}.

-\textit{itus}: see Nouns.

-\textit{ius}: see -\textit{eus}.

-\textit{ivus} (as \textit{nativus}) occurs in a few new formations: *\textit{restivus}. Cf. Olcott
224–226.

-\textit{oneus}: see -\textit{\textae}.

-\textit{orius}: see -\textit{t\textae}.

-\textit{osus}, also -\textit{\textae}s: Rom. XXXIX, 217.

-\textit{orius}: see -\textit{t\textae}.

-\textit{torius}, -\textit{\textae}rius, made up of -t-or, -s-or + -\textit{ius} (as \textit{noscere notor notorius},
cens\textit{ere censor censorius}), were used for some new formations: \textit{defensorius};
\textit{mansorius}. In Provençal and Rumanian -\textit{torius} was extended, with the
sense of -\textit{bilis} or of the gerundive: Pr. \textit{punidor}; Rum. \textit{jur\textae}t\textit{\textae}rt\textit{\textae},
Tiktin 597.

-\textit{ilus}, diminutive (as \textit{albulus}), was a favorite with Christian writers;

-\textit{undus} (as \textit{jocundus}) was used in Spanish and Provençal for a few
words: Pr. \textit{volon}.

-\textit{ius} (as \textit{canus}) was somewhat extended: *\textit{carnus}.

d. SUFFIXES FOR ADVERBS.\textsuperscript{1}

40. The usual endings are as follows: —

-\textit{ce} –\textit{c} (as \textit{ne nec}, \textit{num nunc}, \textit{tum tunc}) was apparently used to form
\textit{dunc} (C. I. L. IX, 4810, etc.) = \textit{dum} + \textit{ce} (cf. Franz. 7 I, 10); Pirson 252
cites eight examples of \textit{dunc}, one of them from Gaul. Cf. \textit{\textae}no\textae}ne in
\textit{Substrate II}, 103–106. Possibly *\textit{anc} is derived from \textit{an} in the same

-\textit{e} is very common in St. Jerome: G. 193–197 (\textit{angelice}, etc.). It was

\textsuperscript{1}Cf. Cooper 196–204, Dubois 163–171, Bon. 467–470.
preserved in popular speech in *bene, longe, male, pure, tarde,* and occurs also in *Romanice,* whence such formations as *Brittanice, Normannice,* etc.

-iter: see -ter.

-o and -um generally coincided in pronunciation (*multum =: multo,* etc.). They are rare in St. Jerome, but common in other late writers: *clanculo, multum, rato,* etc. Many such adverbs were preserved in common speech, as *It. alto, basso, caldo, chiaro, piano, poco;* hence other adjectives came to be used as adverbs (as *It. forte, soave,* and in Rumanian nearly all adjectives may be so used (as *greu, noiî,*)

-ter (as *breviter*) was not preserved in common speech, though much used in ecclesiastical Latin (G. 197–201: *infantiliter,* etc.), being especially common in St. Cyprian (Bayard 32–34).

-tim was favored by St. Cyprian (Bayard 34–35) and some other writers, but was not kept alive in popular Latin.

Some adverbial phrases on the model *ad...ones* (in Italy also without the preposition) came into use: *It. a ginocchioni, bocconi; Fr. à reculons.* Cf. Gram. II, 689; Rom. XXXIII, 230; Zs. XXIX, 245, XXX, 337, 339.

Repetition was used, as sometimes in Classic Latin, for emphatic effect. Many examples are to be found in Petronius: *modo modo = 'only yesterday,'* Waters Ch. 37, Ch. 42, Ch. 46.

41. Adverbs of manner came to be made with the ablative *mente.* This noun was first used with an adjective to denote a state of mind, as *forti mente, obstinata mente, jocunda mente,* *firma mente, sana mente;* Apuleius, *dubia mente,* I, 6, and *saucia mente,* V, 23. Then it was employed in a more general sense: *pari mente,* G. 428; *bona mente; *ipsa mente; *mala mente. Later, perhaps after the Vulgar Latin period, *mente* was used with any adjective that could make an adverb of manner; *longa mente; sola mente, Gl. Reich.* This formation is not common, however, in Rumanian: *Lat. Spr. 487.* In the Romance languages *mente* was sometimes added to adverbs: *Fr. comment; It. insiememente.*
42. The popular language sometimes substitutes one suffix for another, as *manuplus* for *manipulus*. The principal types are:

1. Substitution of a new or common suffix for an old or rare one:

- *cillus* > *cellus*: see *cellus*.
- *culus* > *cellus*: see *cellus*.
- *élus* > *élus* (common in late Latin): *camélus* > *camélus*, Cohn 213-216, R. 460; *loquélà* > *loquélà*, Corssen I, 227, R. 460; *querélà* > *querélà*, S. 131, R. 321, 460; *suadélà* > *suadélà*, R. 460. Cf. Caper (Keil VII, 96): "querélà, loquélà per unum l."
- *ex(-écem) > -ix(-ícem):* *vervécem* > *berbícem*. Cf. Cohn 41-42.
- *íllus* > *íllus*: *axílla* > *ascílla*, etc. Cf. Cohn 42-52.
- *or(-órem) > -ura:* *calor* > *calúra*; *pavor* > *pavura*; *rancor* > *ran-cúra*, etc. Cf. Cohn 172-180.
- *úlus* > *ellus*: *anúlus* > *anéllus*; *avicúla* > *avicélla*, etc. Cf. Cohn 17-28.
- *ús* > *tus*: *vacuus* > *vóctitus* (cf. § 195).

2. Indiscriminate use of two suffixes:

- *ánus* = *ánæus*: *extraneus* *extranus*; *subterraneus* *subterr anus*. Cf. Cohn 160-172.
- *átus* = *ítius* = *ítus*: *barbatus* *barbutus*; *carnatus* *carnutus*; caudat*us cauditus*, Cohn 184; *lanatus lanutus*, Cohn 184. Cf. Cohn 180-205.
- *íceus* = *ícius* = *íceus* = *ícius*: *erícius* *erícius*. Cohn 30-31.
- *ícíllus* = *ícíllus*: *ápítûlus* *ápítûlus*; *cornícúla* *cornícúla*; *lentícúla* *lentícúla*. Cf. Cohn 151-154.
- *ícíllus* = *ícíllus*: *ossúculum* *ossúculum*, Waters Ch. 65; *pedículus pedículus*.
- *íllus* = *íllius*: *consílium* *consílium*; *família* *família*. Cf. Cohn 154-160.
- *íx(-ícem) = -íx(-ícem):* *sórice* *sórice*. Cf. Cohn 147-151.

3. Alteration of a suffix:

4. COMPOUNDS.

a. NOUNS.

43. Acer arbor (> Fr. érable); alba spina; avis struthius; bene placitum, G. 131; bis cóctum; in odio; médio die; médio lóco.

b. ADJECTIVES.

44. These compounds generally belonged to the literary style. G. 130–134, 160–170: magnisonans; omnimodus; unicorns; unigenitus; etc. But male habitus, etc., were popular.

c. PRONOUNS.

45. See §§ 24, 65.

d. VERBS.

46. Calce pistare; crucifìgère, G. 191; fóris mittère; genuflectère, G. 191; inde fügère (> Fr. enfuir); intra vidère; manu tenère; mente habère (> Pr. mentaver); minus pretiare. So antemittère, etc., in Gl. Reich. In church writers there are many verbs in -ficare, as mortificare: G. 190.

e. ADVERBS.

47. There were many compounds made up of a preposition and an adverb: ab ante, R. 234; ab intus, R. 231, Bon. 483; ab olim, Bechtel 101; a contra, Bechtel 101; a foras, Bechtel 101; a foris, R. 231, Bon. 483; a longe, G. 203, Bon. 483; a modo, R. 232, Bon. 483; a semel, Bechtel 101; — ad horam = ‘presently’, ‘just now’, G. 426; ad mane, Bechtel 101; ad semel, Bon. 194, 484; ad sero, Bechtel 101; ad subito, Bechtel 101;
ad tunc, Bechtel 101; — de contra, Bechtel 101; de deorsum, R. 232; de foris, R. 232, G. 203; de intro, Bechtel 102; de intus, R. 232, G. 203; de magis, Lat. Spr. 487; de retro, R. 232; de semel, Bechtel 101; de sursum, R. 233, G. 203, Bon. 484; — e contra, G. 203; ex tunc, R. 433; — in ante, Bon. 484, Lat. Spr. 487; in contra, R. 235; in hodie, Bechtel 102; in mane, Bechtel 102; * in semel, Substrate III, 268.

Petronius (Waters Ch. 38) says: *Ubi semel res inclinata amici de medio.*

The following compounds are of a still different nature: ac sic, Per. 40,8, etc.; et sic, Per. 39,17, etc.; usque hodie, G. 426, Per. 68,13.

48. Some of these adverbial compounds, and some others similar to them, were used as prepositions: ab ante, Lexique 40; — de ante, Bechtel 102; de inter, Bechtel 102, Haag 75; de intus; de retro; in ante; in contra. Cf. E. Wölflin, *Abante,* in Archiv I, 437. Slightly different is intus in, Bechtel 102.

A compound made up of preposition + noun is found in: in giro (followed by the ablative or the accusative), Bechtel 102; in medio, Bechtel 102; per girum and per giro = circa, Bechtel 102.

Some compounds consist of two prepositions: *de ad (> It. da)*1; de post, R. 235; de sub, R. 235; de super, Bon. 484.

49. *At ubi* and *ad ubi,* Bon. 484–486 (cf. Per. 74,28, 85,15, etc.); *et at ubi,* Per. 72,19, 75,3.

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1 Romance *da, dad* may be the result of a fusion rather than a combination of *de* and *ad.* In any case it is probably a late product. Some have thought it came from *de+ab.* Mohl, *Lexique* 38–47, says *da* is found from the 7th century on; he would derive It. and Old Sp. *da,* Sardinian *dave, dae,* Rætian *dad* from the Oscan *da, dat* and from a southern Latin *dabi, *dabs.*
II. SYNTAX.¹

A. ORDER OF WORDS.²

50. The Romance order is simpler and more rational than that of Classic Latin. It does not permit the arbitrary separation of members that belong together, such as the preposition and the word it governs, or the adjective and the noun it modifies, as in Ovid's "In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas corpora." Neither does it allow the collocation of words of the same part of speech that belong logically in different places, as in the "In multis hoc rebus dicere habemus" of Lucretius. The most irrational features of the Classic Latin construction were surely artifical, and were not characteristic of daily speech. Nevertheless there is really a fundamental difference between the old order and the new: Romance has, so to speak, a crescendo, Latin to a certain extent a diminuendo movement (Lat. Spr. 491); Romance puts the emphasis at the end, Latin very frequently in the middle. The principle, however, is not primarily rhythmic, but psychic, the difference being due to a diverse conception of the structure of language: Romance inclines more to put the modifier after the word modified. The modern order is the more logical, proceeding from the known to the unknown. The old arrangement is exemplified by this sentence: "Fabius

¹ See Meyer-Lübke, Gram. III, for a comprehensive account of Romance syntax.
² See Elise Richter, Zur Entwicklung der romanischen Wortstellung aus der lateinischen, 1903, from which work most of the matter of this chapter was taken.
æquatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem vidit." The following examples illustrate the later structure: "Mors perfecit tua ut essent omnia brevia," "Hæc loca sunt montuosa et natura impedita ad rem militarem." The change constitutes a progress in language; all cultivated peoples have made it. It is indigenous in Latin, not imitated from the Greek, which independently effected the same transformation.

51. The modern order was not abruptly substituted for the old. On the contrary, it is to be found in Latin, with generally increasing frequency, in inscriptions and popular writers, from the earliest texts down; it occurs sporadically also in literary authors, especially in Cicero. Petronius has notably short periods and an approach to the new structure. But until the fourth century the majority of Latin sentences have the old arrangement. Classic Latin may be said to represent an intermediate stage, while the revolution was in progress; there was a long struggle, and for centuries the ancient and the modern type were used side by side. By the fourth century the new order prevailed. Here is a characteristic passage from the Peregrinatio: "Hæc est autem vallis ingens et planissima, in qua filii Israhel commorati sunt his diebus, quod sanctus Moyses ascendit in montem Domini, et fuit ibi quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus" (Per. 37, 21-24). The following is a good sample of the style of the Vulgate: "Cui respondit Dominus: Qui peccaverit mihi, delebo eum de libro meo; tu autem vade, et duc populum istum quo locutus sum tibi; angelus meus praecedet te. Ego autem in die ultionis visitabo et hoc peccatum eorum" (Exodus XXXII, 33, 34).

52. There was always a tendency to put a stressed word first, followed by an unaccented one, such as a connective or an atonic pronoun (Lat. Spr. 490). According to Meyer-
Lübke, Zs. XXI, 313, personal pronouns, when unstressed, were always enclitic in Latin, and were attached preferably to the first word in the sentence; and so it was in the early stages of the Romance languages: cf. It. vedolo but non lo vedo, aiutatemi but or m'aiutate; Fr. voit le but qui le voit. The definite article, however, precedes its noun in all the Romance languages except Rumanian and Albanian (Zauner 40).

53. In dependent clauses, which were naturally of less importance, the old order survived longer than in independent. In a few other respects the old arrangement lingered and under certain conditions is still preserved: negative and intensive adverbs precede their verb; under some circumstances the object may come before the verb, and sometimes the whole predicate precedes; in certain constructions the dependent infinitive may stand before the finite verb (as Pr. morir volgra).

B. USE OF WORDS.

54. There were great changes in the functions of pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs. Many uses of prepositions are connected with the loss of inflections: these will be discussed under the Use of Inflections. A definite and an indefinite article developed out of ille and unus.

1. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

55. For the simplification of inflections, see the Use of Inflections.

Repetition for intensive effect is not uncommon in late writers: Commodian, malum malum, Wölflin 4; bene bene, bonis bonis, fortis fortis, malus malus, etc., R. 280. Cf. § 40.
a. COMPARISON.

56. Little by little the old comparative and superlative lost their precise sense from being employed frequently with merely an intensive force (Wölfflin 83). The comparative came to be used for a superlative, as *omnium levior* (Wölfflin 68–71), and also for a positive, as Ovid's *inertior atas* (Wölfflin 63–68); and the superlative was often really a positive in meaning, as in St. Augustine's *sancta atque dulcissima* (Wölfflin 57–63), and in *hie est filius meus carissimus*, etc. (R. 415–417). From early times certain periphrases were used to emphasize the comparative idea, as Plautus, *melius sanus* (Wölfflin 16); Anthimus, *plus congruus* and *maxime congruus* (Wölfflin 16; cf. *maxime pessima*, etc., R. 280); Vitruvius, *magis melior*, etc. (Wölfflin 46); Commodian, *plus levior*, etc. (Wölfflin 47). To avoid ambiguity, the *plus* and *magis* constructions were employed more and more to express a distinct comparison: *plus miser* in Tertullian, *plus formosus* in Nemesianus, *plus dulce, plus felix*, etc., in Sidonius Apollinaris (Wölfflin 29). Finally, toward the end of the Vulgar Latin period, this formation came to be popularly regarded as the regular one: *magis mirabilem*, Sepulcri 232; *plus popularis, magis . . . praclarum*, Bon. 451. Many old comparative forms remained, however, in common use. Cf. Adverbs. In the Romance languages a substitute for the superlative was made by prefixing the definite article to the comparative; it is likely that this device existed in late Vulgar Latin, but no example of it has been found. See *Archiv VIII*, 166–170.

b. NUMERALS.¹

57. *Unus* was used as an indefinite article, occasionally in Classic Latin, frequently in late and popular writers: *lepida*

¹ For the forms of numerals, see Morphology.
58. Ordinal numerals, except a few of the smallest, were apparently not much used in popular speech after the fifth century.

2. PRONOUNS.

59. Pronouns were much more used than in Classic Latin: G. 408–409.

a. PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

60. The personal pronouns came into more and more frequent use. Ego and tu are very common in Petronius. The demonstratives, especially ille, were employed as personal pronouns of the third person. The adverb inde came to be used occasionally as a genitive neuter pronoun: nemo inde dubitat, Regnier 10; exinde = Fr. en, Bon. 580.

Many pronouns developed double forms, according as they were accented or unaccented (as suus and sus): see Morphology. Cf. §158.

There was great irregularity in the use of reflexives, especially the possessives, suus being generally substituted for ejus. See Lat. Spr. 489, G. 403–404, Hoppe 102–103, Dubois 333–336.

b. DEMONSTRATIVES.

61. Idem went out of popular use, being replaced by ille and ipse. For the encroachment of ipse on idem, see Hoppe 104, Bayard 133.

62. Is, too, was often replaced by ille and ipse (Bechtel 145), and eventually was preserved in vulgar speech only in the combination eccum (= ecce hum), where it was not recog-
nized,\(^1\) and in the extremely common phrase *id ipsum* (> It. *desso*), where likewise the *id* lost its significance. This last compound was used as a neuter pronoun, meaning 'it' or 'that,' as *id ipsum sapite*, R. 424 (cf. R. 424–425, G. 407, Quillacq 126), and also as a demonstrative adjective, generally invariable, as *id ipsum velam*, R. 424, *in id ipsum monastyriu*, *Franz. 2 II, 2, in id ipsam rem*, *Franz. 2 II, 2*.

63. *Hic*, *ille*, and *iste* came to be used indiscriminately (G. 405–406, Hoppe 104, Bayard 130–132); there are examples of *iste* for *hic* in Cæsar's time (Densusianu 178). *Hic* and *is*, too, were confused by late writers (Bayard 132). Toward the end of the Vulgar Latin period *hic* was apparently going out of common use, with the exception of the neuter *hoc*.

64. A combination of two demonstratives was common in Christian writers: *is ipse*, *iste ipse*, *ipse ille*, *ille ipse*, *iste ille*, *iste hic*, *hic ipse*. The last three have left no trace.

65. *Ecce* and *eccum* (pronounced *eccu*) were used as demonstrative prefixes (cf. §24): we find early *ecce ego*, *ecce tu*, *ecce hic*, *ecce nunc*; also *ecce iste*, *ecce ille*, such combinations being common in Plautus. The final stage, probably not reached until the end of the Vulgar Latin period, is the fusion of the two parts into one word.

*Atque*, too, was perhaps used as a prefix (*Gram. II, 646*): Plautus, *atque ipse illic est* (*Epidicus 91*), *atque is est* (*Stichus 582*). G. Ascoli, however, *Intorno ai continuatori neolatini del lat. "ipsu—"* in *Archivio glottologico italiano XV, 303* (discussing Sp. *aquese*, Pg. *aquesse*, Catalan *aqueix*, etc.), maintains that *eccu' was the basis in all the Empire. At any rate, *eccu' was influenced in some regions, especially in Spain and southern Gaul, by *atque* or *ac* (as in *ac sic*).

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When *iste and *ille lost their distinctive force, people said for 'this' ecciste or eccu'iste, for 'that' eccîlle or eccu'ille. These compounds developed into *ecceste, *acceste, *ceste, *ecqueste, *acqueste, *cueste and *ecquele, *acquele, *cuelle, *ecquelle, *acquelle, *cuelle.

66. The suffix -met was used also as an intensive prefix, ipsemet becoming metipse through such combinations as temet ipsum (Ecclus. XXX, 22), semet ipsum (Philip. II, 8). Cf. §24. Ego met ipse is blamed by Donatus (Lat. Spr. 484).

Beside ipse, there was an emphatic form ipsimus (used by Petronius: Waters Ch. 69, etc.). This, with the prefix met-, became *metipsimus.

67. Ille, hic, ipse, is, especially ille, were used as personal pronouns of the third person. Cf. §60.

68. Ille, hic, ipse, is were used also as definite articles. Ille in this function is very common: R. 419-420 (cito proferte mihi stolam illam primam). Examples of the others are by no means infrequent: hic, R. 427 (virum hunc cujus est zona hce); ipse, R. 423 (in ipsa multitudine); is, R. 423-425. This use of is was probably more literary than popular.

c. INTERROGATIVES AND RELATIVES.

69. The forms were greatly confused by late writers. In Bon. 391-396 we find qui used as n. sg. and pl.; quæ as m., as n., as acc. f. sg., as acc. m. pl.; quod as m., as f. pl., as n. pl.; quem as n.; quæ very often as n. pl. (395-396).

In popular speech qui was apparently used regularly for quis: Audollent 549, Quillacq 126-127, Bon. 391-392; it is common in inscriptions. Furthermore, the masculine qui took the place of the feminine quæ; it occurs in Christian inscriptions from the fifth century on: cf. R. 276 (qui, quem for quæ,

70. *Qualis* was kept, and was used as an interrogative and as a relative. The adverb *unde* came to have occasionally the meaning of French *dort* (Bon. 580; Zs. Beiheft 7, 178), and eventually *de unde*, *d’unde*, was employed as a relative pronoun. Cf. § 84.

d. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

71. Some Classic Latin pronouns fell into disuse, and some new compounds were made. The principal indefinite pronouns and adjectives used in late popular speech are as follows:—

*aliquanti* took the place of *aliqui* and *aliquot*: *aliquanta oppida cepit*, G. 415.

*alquis* flourished especially in the west: Sp. *alguien*, Pg. *alguem*. The neuter *aliquid* was more extended: Pr. *alques*.

*alius unus* > *aliqu’unus* > *aliciinus*.

*alius* and *alter* were confused in common speech: G. 415–417; Plautus, *alius filius*, G. 417. This confusion is more frequent in late Latin: St. Jerome, *nemo judicat alterum*, G. 416. There is evidence of the retention of the old neuter *alid* (Lucretius I, 263): Archiv I, 237.

*cata* was probably introduced, along the Mediterranean, by Greek merchants, in such phrases as *cata unum = kaθ’ ένα*, *cata tres = κατά τρείς*. Hence *cata unus*, *cat’ unus*, etc. Cf. § 19.

*hōmo* was used sometimes like French *on*: Per. 55, 25.

*Inde* came to mean, in certain constructions, ‘some’ or ‘any.’

*magis*: see *plus*.

*mūllus*.

*nec ente* or *ne ente* was apparently used as an equivalent for *nihil*. Meyer-Lübke, Gram. II, 650, conjectures *ne inde*.

*ne ipse unus*, *ne’ps’unus*.

*nec unus*.

*nēmo* was kept in Italy, Sardinia, and Dacia: Lat. Spr. 485.

*nūllus*.

*omnis*: see *tōtus*. *Omnis* and *omnia* were kept in Italy.
paucus.
persone.

plus and magis were confused: G. 427, Regnier 108–109 (quanto plus tenetur tanto plus timetur, 109).

qualis.


qui.

quiique.

quis.

quisque, quisquis. Quisque was much extended (G. 409–411), being used for quisquis and quicumque (Bayard 135).


talis.

tantus: see quantus.

totus, pronounced also totus (S. 121) and perhaps *tuttus, was sometimes used for omnis: Plautus, totis horis, Mil. Glor. 212. This use was common in late Latin: Densusianu 178, Bechtel 143, R. 338, G. 402–403 (tota tormenta diaboli in me veniant, 403). Cf. §§ 163, 204, (2).

¼nus.

3. VERBS.

72. Frequent in late Latin is a pleonastic use of debeo, Bon. 691–693: commonens ut . . . custodire debeant, 692. Cf. § 117. Compare the old Italian use of dovere.

There is also a common pleonastic use of capi with the infinitive, instead of the perfect: see § 124.

Videri, too, is often used pleonastically: Bayard 99–100.

4. ADVERBS.

73. The words referring to the “place in which” and the “place into which” were confused, ubi being used for quo, ibi for eo: Lat. Spr. 488. Unde was employed in the sense of
'where' (Zs. Beiheft 7, 157); also 'therefore' and 'wherefore': *Dic amice unde tristis es*, Regnier 110; cf. § 84.

74. *Plus* was often substituted for *magis*, and *magis* for *potius*: Bayard 110. *Plus* and *magis* were used more and more for comparison, and the old comparative and superlative forms became rarer: see § 56. Repetition was used for intensive effect: Seneca, *semper semper*, Wölflin 5. *Bene, multum, satis* were employed as intensives more than in Classic Latin. *Totum* occurs often as an adverb: *Per.* 37,14, and many other places; Dubois 332.

75. Double negation is frequent: R. 446-447 (*nee facio nihil*, etc.). *Non* for ne with the subjunctive is common: G. 435, Regnier 110. The absolute use of *non*, meaning 'no', occurs occasionally: *Dicit unus ex uno angulo: Ecce hic est. Alius ex alio angulo: Non, sed ecce hic est*, Regnier 111.

5. PREPOSITIONS.

76. The functions of prepositions were very much extended (Bayard 137-158): see Use of Inflections, Cases.

77. *Ab*, according to Mohl, *Lexique* 43, is not found in any of the Italic dialects except Latin. It apparently has no successors in the Romance languages, having been replaced by *de*, which also, from the third century on, usurped the place of *ex* (*Lat. Spr.* 487, R. 395-396, Hoppe 38): *de palatio exit*, Bechtel 105; *egredere de ecclesia*, Bechtel 105; *de utero matris nati sunt sic*, R. 395; *egressus de arca*, G. 339; *muri de lapide jaspite*, G. 342; *vivo de decimis*, G. 341; *de adversario . . . aliquid postulare*, Hoppe 38; *nee de cubiculo . . . procedit*, Hoppe 38.

78. *Ad* for *apud* occurs in Plautus, Terence, and others
(Oliver 5–6), and is common in late writers (R. 390–392, Urbat 10): *ad ipsum fontem facta est oratio*, Bechtel 103; *ad nos*, Bechtel 104; cf. Per. 42,27. For the most part *apud* was replaced by *ad*, except in Gaul, where it was kept with the sense of *cum*: Haag 74, Urbat 27 (*tractans apud me metipsum*; also *ab una manu pallas altaris tenerem*, etc., where *ab* seems to be used for *apud*). *Apud* is used for *cum* by Sulpicius Severus, and more frequently by later authors: *Lat. Spr. 489*. According to F. G. Mohl, *La préposition cum et ses successeurs en gallo-roman* in *Bausteine 61*, *apud* is repeatedly found for *cum* in the Latin writers of Gaul, and *cum* for *apud* in Gregory of Tours; *cum* probably disappeared from actual use in Gaul by the fourth century; *apud*, being, as he says, a new word, had a great vogue in authors of the second and third centuries, a critical period for Gaul, and so came to supplant *cum* in that country.¹

79. *Pro* often had the sense of ‘for,’ and replaced *ob* and *propter*: *fides pro una muliere perfida*, G. 343; *volo pro legentis facilitate abuti sermone vulgato*, G. 343; *attendimus locum illum pro memoria illius*, Bechtel 106. *Pro* itself was partially replaced by *per* (cf. §14), but was substituted for *per* in other regions (Urbat 34–35).


¹ Mohl would derive the Old It. *appo*, not from *apud*, but from *ad post* (p. 71); Fr. *avec*, not from *apud + hoc*, but from *ad hoc* (pp. 75–76). Pr. *ab* he takes from *apud*, but Pr. *am* from Italic *amb*, *am*. 
§ 81. *Retro, sub tus, de for is, for is, for as* were freely used as prepositions (R. 398–400, G. 334): *vade retro me, R. 399; sub tus terram, R. 399.*

6. **CONJUNCTIONS.**

§ 82. *Quod, quia, quoniam* (and after *jubere, ut*: R. 427–428) are used very often by late writers instead of the accusative and infinitive construction: R. 402, Regnier 112–113. *Ut* with the infinitive is not infrequent: R. 445–446. *Quod* for *ut* is very common: Audollent 549. *Eo quod* came to be much used in the sense of ‘that’: Per. 48, 27, etc. Eventually *ut* was generally discarded.

*Cur, quare* sometimes replaced *quod* and *quia*: G. 431–432. *Quia*, which in late Latin was often reduced to *qui* or *qua* (see § 168) frequently took the place of *quod*: Regnier 111–112. *Quomodo* became a great favorite, often supplanting *quando, quod,* and *quoniam*: R. 403. *Quando* displaced *cum* in the temporal sense. *Qua,* ‘when’, encroaches on *quando* in the *Peregrinatio:* 46, 22, etc.; cf. Bechtel 119–120.

§ 83. *Si* took the place of *an* and *utrum* (R. 403–405, Regnier 111), and was often used for *ne* and *num* (G. 430): *videte si potest dici,* Regnier 111. *Ac si* frequently did service for *quasi:* Per. 39, 13, and many other places; Bon. 323.

§ 84. *Aut . . . aut* is sometimes equivalent to *et . . . et:* Per. 49, 24; cf. Bayard 161. *Ac sic* recurs continually in the *Peregrinatio,* meaning ‘and so’ or ‘so’: 40, 8, etc. *Tamen* in the same text (37, 2, etc.) seems to be used, in most cases, merely to indicate a subordinate clause. *Magis* is much employed for ‘but’ by late writers. *Unde* sometimes means ‘therefore’ and ‘wherefore’: G. 424 (*unde inquit Dominus*); cf. §§ 70, 73.
C. USE OF INFLECTIONS.

1. CASES.¹

85. In popular speech prepositions were more used, from the beginning, than in the literary language; prepositional constructions, as time went on, increasingly took the place of pure case distinctions, and the use of cases became more and more restricted. Hence arises in late writers a great irregularity in the employment of cases²: G. 302–326, Quillacq 96–103; for African Latin, Archiv VIII, 174–176; for confusion after verbs and adjectives, R. 412–415.

a. LOCATIVE.

86. The locative, rare in Classic Latin, remained eventually only in names of places. There are, however, several examples in the Peregrinatio: Bechtel 110, et sic fit missa Anastasi, ut fit missa ecclesia, etc. We find remnants of the locative genitive in Agrigenti > Girgenti, Arimini > Rimini, Clusii > Chiusi, Florentia > Firenze, Palestina (G. 322), etc.; of the locative ablative singular in Tiburī > Tivoli; of the locative ablative plural in Andecāvīs > Angers, Aquīs > Acqui Aix, Astīs > Asti, Finibus > Fimes, Parīsiis > Parigi Paris, etc. Cf. B. Bianchi in Archivio glottologico italiano IX, 378. With other words, and very often with place names also, the locative was replaced by in with the ablative (Hoppe 32: in Alexandria) or by ad with the accusative (Urbat 10); the domi or domo of Cicero becomes in domo in Seneca. When the locative of names of localities was kept, it generally came to be regarded as an in-

² There is confusion even in Petronius, who occasionally uses the accusative for the dative and the ablative.
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variable form; we find such locatives used as nominatives from the third century on: Lat. Spr. 481.

b. VOCATIVE.

87. The vocative is like the nominative in most words in Classic Latin, and such words as had a separate vocative form tended to discard it: vocatives in -us, instead of -e, occur in Plautus, Horace, and Livy; meus for mi is very common (Regnier 34). In Vulgar Latin the vocative form probably disappeared entirely, except perhaps in a few set phrases, such as mi dōmine.

c. GENITIVE.

88. The genitive, little by little, was supplanted by other constructions, generally by the ablative with de (which occurs as early as Plautus), sometimes by the dative. Examples abound: expers partis . . . de nostris bonis, Terence Heaut. IV, 1, 39; partem de istius impudentia, Cicero, Verr. II, 1, 12; clerici de ipsa ecclesia, Bechtel 104; de aceto plenum, R. 396; de Deo munus, R. 396; curator de sacra via, R. 426; de colentibus gentilibusque multitudo magna (also quidam ex eis), Acts XVII, 4; possessor de propria terra, Urbat 20; de sorore nepus, Pirson 194; terminus de nostra donatione, 528 A. D., Archiv I, 53; cf. Bon. 610ff. For the partitive genitive we find: nil gustabit de meo, Plautus, cited by Draeger I, 628; aliquid de lumine, Hoppe 38; neminem de prasentibus, Hoppe 38; de pomis = 'some apples,' Per. 40, 10; de spiritu Moysi, Bechtel 104; de animalibus, de oleo, etc., R. 396; aliquid habet de verecundia discipuli, R. 342; numquid Zacchæus de bono habebat, Regnier 54; quid de scientia, Sepulcri 217; de studentibus, Pirson 197. Cf. Oliver 14.

89. According to Meyer-Lübke, Lat. Spr. 487, the genitive probably ceased to be really popular, save in set combinations,
by the beginning of the third century. In late Latin a wrong form was often used: *a deo honorem* in an inscription in Gaul, *Zs. fr. Spr. XXV*, ii, 135; *matre meae, alta nocte silentia*, etc., *Bon. 341–342; in fundo illa villa*, etc., *D’Arbois 13; in honore alme Maria*, etc., *D’Arbois 91–93.*

The genitive was retained, however, in some pronouns, in a good many set phrases, in certain words that belonged especially to clerical Latin, and probably in some proper names: *cujus, illujus, illorum*, etc.; *lūnæ dies, est ministērii, de noctis tempore > It. di notte tempore (later di notte tempo)*, etc.; *angelorum, paganorum*, etc.; *It. Paoli, Pieri*, etc.

d. DATIVE.

90. The dative was more stable than the genitive: *Lat. Spr. 487.* We find, however, as early as Plautus, a tendency to replace it by the accusative with *ad*: *ad carnucicem dabo*, Plautus, *Capt. 1019; ad me magna nuntiavit*, Plautus, *Truc. IV, 1, 4; si pecunia ad id templum data erit*, inscription of 57 B. C., *C. I. L. IX, 3513; apparet ad agricolas*, Varro, *De Re Rustica I, 40; ad propinquos restituit*, Livy II, 13 — constructions freely used by Classic authors. Inasmuch as the dative, in the singular of most nouns and in the plural of all, was identical in form either with the ablative or with the genitive (e. g., *causa causis, muro muris, mari maribus*), the fear of ambiguity naturally fostered this practice and the substitution became very general in most of the Empire: *ait ad me*, *Per. 64, 8; dicens ad eum*, etc., *Bechtel 102–103; cum hæc ad vestram affectionem darem*, Bechtel 103; *fui ad episcopum = ‘I went to the bishop’*, Bechtel 104; *loquitur ad Jeremiam*, G. 329; *ad quem promissio facta*, G. 329; *ad quem dixit*, Sepulcri 218; *Dominus ad Moses dicit*, Urbat 12; *ad me restituit omne regnum*, Urbat 12; *ad Dei officio paratus*, Pirson 194. Cf. *Lat. Spr. 488, Oliver*
§ 92 AN INTRODUCTION TO VULGAR LATIN.

3–4. Sometimes super, not ad, was used: *imposuerat manus super eum*, Bechtel 105; *super me misericordiam præstare*, Bechtel 105.

91. The dative remained in Dacia, and lingered rather late in Gaul (*Lat. Spr. 481*); elsewhere it probably disappeared from really popular speech by the end of the Empire, except in pronouns (*cui, illi illi*, etc., *mi, tibi*, etc.).

Rumanian has kept the dative, in its original function and also as a genitive, in the first declension (as *case*), and so in feminine adjectives (as *romine*).

e. ABLATIVE.

92. The analytical tendency of speech, reinforced by the analogy of prepositional substitutes for the genitive and dative, favored the use of prepositions with the ablative, to distinguish its various functions. For *de* = ‘than,’ see *Zs. XXX, 641*.

*Ab* is common: *ab omni specie idololatriæ intactum*, Hoppe, 36; *ab sceleribus parce*, G. 335; *a carne superatur*, G. 337; *ab scriptura sancta commemoratos*, Regnier 51; *a præmio minorem esse*, St. Cyprian, cited by Wölfflin 52; *ab Ariulfæ astutia deceptus*, Sepulcri 218.

*De* is the most frequent: *erubescens de infamia sua*, Hoppe 14; *de singularitate famosum*, Hoppe 33; *nobilior de obsoletiore matrice*, Hoppe 33; *digni de caelo Castores*, Hoppe 34; *gaudet de contumelia sua*, Hoppe 34; *de victus necessitate causatur*, Hoppe 35; *de vestra rideat emulatione*, Hoppe 36; *de manibus suis*, Bechtel 104; *de oculis*, Bechtel 104 (cf. *de se*, Bechtel 105); *occidam de lancea*, R. 393; *patrem de regno privavit*, R. 426; *de virgine natus est*, Regnier 54; *de te beati sunt*, Regnier 56. Cf. R. 392–395, G. 339–342, Regnier 54–56.

*Ex* occurs also: *ex causa humanae salutis*, Hoppe 33; *ex infirmitate fatigata*, Sepulcri 218.
In is often found: *in illo die*, Hoppe 31; *quo in tempore*, Hoppe 31; *in maxilla asinæ delevi mille viros*, R. 397; *in camo et freno maxillas eorum constringe*, Ps. XXXI, 9; *in amore Dei ferventes*, G. 347; *in bonis operibus abundetis*, Regnier 60. Cf. R. 396-397, G. 344-347, Regnier 58 ff.

93. Sometimes *ad* or *per* with the accusative is substituted for the ablative: *per hoc*, Hoppe 33; *addiemen*, Bechtel 103; *ad horam sextam aguntur*, etc., Bechtel 103-104; *per nomen vocavit*, Sepulcri 218; *pugnare ad ursos*, *ad unum gladii ictum caput desecare*, Lat. Spr. 488.

94. The use of prepositions became really neccessary in the late spoken language, because, after the fall of final *m* and the loss of quantitative distinctions in unaccented syllables, the ablative differed little or not at all from the accusative in the singular of most words: *causām causā*, *donūm donō*, *patrēm patrē*, *fructūm fructū*, *diēm diē*. It is likely that before the end of the Empire the ablative plural form was generally discarded, the accusative being used in its stead, and that the ablative and accusative singular were pronounced alike, in all words, in most of the Latin territory. The fusion of the two cases was doubtless helped by the fact that certain prepositions might be combined with either accusative or ablative.

95. There is evidence of the confusion of accusative and ablative as early as the first century, but it was probably not very common before the third. *Cum* with the accusative is very frequent: *cum suos discentes*, *cum sodales*, in inscriptions, Lat. Spr. 488; *cum epistolam*, Bechtel 95; *cum res nostras*, D’Arbois 27. Cf. E. K. Rand in *Modern Philology* II, 263, footnote 5.

The accusative form is substituted for the ablative after
other prepositions: *a monazontes*, Bechtel 94; — *de eo torrentem*, Bechtel 96; *de actus*, Bechtel 96; *de hoc ipsud*, Bechtel 96; *de martyrium*, Bechtel 96; *de carnem*, etc., R. 406–412; *de ipsas villas*, D'Arbois 27; *de regna nostra*, D'Arbois 70–71; — *ex fines tuos*, etc., R. 406–412; — *videbo te in publicum*, Waters Ch. 58; *in finem Deus fecit caelum et terram*, etc., Hoppe 40–41; 12 examples of in + acc. for abl. in Per., Bechtel 97–98; *erat in medium maris*, R. 410; — *pro hoc ipsud*, Bechtel 101; *pro nos*, D'Arbois 152; — *sine fructum*, etc., R. 406–412.

96. Conversely, the ablative form is very often written for the accusative: *ad ecclesia majore*, Bechtel 94; — *ante sole*, ante crucem, Bechtel 95; *ante sole*, etc., R. 406–412; — *circa puteo*, Bechtel 95; — *contra ipso loco*, Bechtel 95; — *foras ecclesia*, Bechtel 96; — *in carne conversa*, etc., Hoppe 40–41; in the Per., in + abl. for acc. is three times as common as the correct use of in + acc., Bechtel 94–101; *venit in civitate sua*, etc., R. 406–412; — *intra civitate sua*, Bechtel 99; *intro spe lunca*, Bechtel 99; — *juxta aqua ipsa*, Bechtel 99; — *per valle illa*, and 21 other cases of per + abl., Bechtel 100; — *post lectione*, Bechtel 100; *post morte*, etc., R. 406–412; — *prope luce*, Bechtel 101; — *propter populo*, Bechtel 101; — *super civitate hac*, Bechtel 101.

97. The ablative was kept only in some fixed expressions, such as *hōrā, ist' anno, quōmōdō, parī mente*, etc.; perhaps in such phrases as It. *vendere cento soldi*, etc.; probably in some proper names with *de*, as *Della Casa*. It is likely, too, that the ablative absolute survived in a few common expressions, like It. *ciò fatto*; generally, however, in popular speech, the nominative absolute took its place: Bechtel 109–110, *et benediciss nos episcopus profecti sumus, visa loca sancta omnia* (Per. 45, 8), etc.
f. ACCUSATIVE.

98. After verbs of motion ad was often used, sometimes in, instead of the simple accusative: eamus in forum, Waters Ch. 58; fui ad ecclesiam, Bechtel 103; ad Babyloniam duxit, G. 327; consules ad Africam profecti sunt, G. 328; ad istam regionem venit, Regnier 52. Cf. Regnier 51-52.

99. Duration of time was expressed by per with the accusative, also by the ablative: Bechtel 108–9, per totos octo dies is ornatus est, tota autem nocte vicibus dicuntur psalmi, etc.

g. FALL OF DECLENSION.

100. By the end of the Vulgar Latin period there probably remained in really popular use (aside from pronouns and a number of set formulas) in Dacia only three cases, in the rest of the Empire only two—a nominative and an accusative-ablative. Clerics, however, naturally tried to write in accordance with their idea of correct Latin.

2. VERB-FORMS.

101. Many parts of the verb went out of popular use, and were replaced by other locutions; these obsolete parts were employed by writers with more or less inaccuracy. In the parts that remained many new tendencies manifested themselves.

a. IMPERSONAL PARTS.

102. Only the present active infinitive and the present and perfect participles were left intact.

(1) SUPINE.

103. The supine disappeared from general use, being replaced, from the first century on, by the infinitive: as cum
veneris ad bibere, St. Augustine, *Sermones* 225, Cap. 4. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 490, Dubois 275. In Rumanian, however, the supine was preserved: Tiktin 596.

(2) GERUND.

104. With the exception of the ablative form, the gerund came to be replaced by the infinitive, sometimes with a preposition: *dat manducare, Lat. Spr.* 490; *quomodo potest hic nobis carnem dare ad manducare, R.* 430; *potestatem curare, necessitas tacere,* etc., G. 363.

The ablative form of the gerund became more and more a substitute for the present participle: *ita miserrimus fui fugitando, Terence, Eun. V, 2, 8; Draeger II, 847–849, cites Livy, coniendo ad se multitudinem,* and Tacitus, *assurgens et populando; hanc Marcion captavit sic legendo, Hoppe 57; multa vidi errando, Densusianu 179; qui pertransivit benefaciendo et sanando, R.* 432. Cf. *R.* 432–433. The ablative gerund was sometimes used for a conditional clause: *cavendo salvi erimus,* Hoppe 57.

(3) GERUNDIVE.

105. The gerundive was used as a future passive participle, with *esse,* from the third century on, in place of the future: *filius hominis tradendus est,* R. 433. Cf. *R.* 433–434, G. 386–388. Eventually, however, the gerundive was discarded, except in some standing phrases.

(4) FUTURE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.

106. The future active participle was probably rare in late Vulgar Latin, except when it was used with *esse* as a substitute for the future (as *facturus sum*). Sometimes, in a literary style, it took the place of a relative clause: *faveant mihi pro ejus nomine pugnaturu,* G. 389. Cf. G. 388–389.
(5) Present Participle.

107. The present participle was kept, and was used as an adjective and as a noun: see Derivation, Suffixes for Adjectives, -ans. Sometimes it was employed periphrastically with esse: *si ipse est ascendens in caelos*, G. 389. Writers occasionally substituted it for a relative clause: *nemo mentiens plorat*, G. 388. Often, however, it was replaced by the ablative gerund: see Gerund above.

(6) Perfect Participle.

108. The perfect participle was kept, and, as will presently be seen, its use was greatly extended through new methods of forming the passive and the perfect tenses. Verbs that had no perfect participle were obliged to make one.

(7) Infinitive.

109. The perfect and passive infinitive forms eventually disappeared: see Voice and Tense below. In late writers, however, the perfect instead of the present infinitive is very common: R. 431-432 (*malunt credidisse*, etc.).

110. The infinitive + accusative construction was more and more avoided from the third century on: G. 371-375. It was replaced sometimes by the passive, but often by a clause introduced by *quia, quod, quoniam, ut*, etc.: *Eva vidisse describitur*, G. 371; *legitur dixisse Deus*, Regnier 63;—Bechtel 112-115, *dicent eo quod filii Israel eas posuerint, sciens quod libenter haberetis haec cognoscere, credidit ei quia esset vere filius Dei*, etc.; *perspicue exposuit quod aeger mundus sit*, G. 377; *nesciebat quia Jesus erat*, G. 383; *de corpore loquor, ut spiritu valeat non ignoramus*, G. 385. Cf. G. 375-385, Bon. 659-671.

Late writers, wishing to avoid vulgarisms, often misused the infinitive + accusative: G. 371-373.
III. On the other hand, the infinitive assumed many new functions: see Supine and Gerund above. Cf. Hoppe 42-52: *Ninus regnare primus, amant ignorare, aliter exprimere non est, bonus et dicere et facere, etc.*

It was often used as a noun: *totum vivere animæ carnis est*, Hoppe 42; *ipsum vivere accedere est*, Regnier 106; *per malum velle perdidit bonum posse*, Regnier 106.

It replaced the subjunctive with *ut* and similar constructions: *vadent orare*, Bechtel 117; *revertitur omnis populus resumere se*, Bechtel 117; *valeamus assumi*, G. 363; *qua legi digna sunt*, G. 366; *timuisti ... facere*, G. 368; *non venit justos vocare*, G. 370; *venit aliquis audire*, Regnier 73; *male fecisti dare Spiritum sanctum*, Regnier 74; *mihi præcepit hæc loqui*, Bon. 673. Cf. G. 363-370, Regnier 73, Bon. 647, 671-675; P. Thielmann, *Facere mit dem Infinitiv in Archiv III*, 177.

It took the place of a relative or indirectly interrogative clause after certain verbs: *nesciendo qua petere*, Venantius Fortunatus, cited in *Lat. Spr.* 490; *non habent unde reddere tibi*, R. 430.

b. VOICE.

III2. Under the influence of *carus est*, etc., *amatus est* came to mean 'he *is* loved', etc. Hence *amatus fuit* signified 'he *was* loved': see Draeger I, 276ff. Then a whole passive inflection was made up of the perfect participle + *esse* (in northern Italy *fieri*). The old passive forms—except the perfect participle and, to some extent, the gerundive—gradually disappeared from ordinary speech. Although authors kept up the classic practice as far as they were able, some examples of the popular formation may be culled from late writings: *denuo factus filius fui*, Hoppe 60; *mors salva erit cum fuerit devorata*, Hoppe 60; *conjectus in carcerem fuerat*, Hoppe 61; *permissa est accedere*, Regnier 63.
113. As the passive inflection disappeared, deponent verbs became active. Even in Classic Latin there is often hesitation, as in the case of *frustrare frustrari, irascere irasci*, etc. Many deponent verbs are used as active verbs by Petronius. In late vulgar speech *mori, sequi*, etc., followed the same course. Cf. Bonnet 402–413.

114. In the intermediate period the passive was frequently replaced by reflexive and active constructions. When *littera scribitur* seemed archaic, and *littera scripta est* vulgar, people said *littera se scribit* and *litteram scribunt* or *litteram scribit homo*: cf. *facit se hora quinta*, Bechtel 126; *se sanare = sanari* in the 4th century, *Rom. XXXII*, 455 (cf. *Zs. XXXIII*, 135); for the use of *homo* with the force of French *on*, see *Per.* 55, 25.

c. MOOD.

(1) IMPERATIVE.

115. The imperative came to be restricted to the second person singular and plural of the present, the subjunctive being used for the third person, and also for the first. Dubois 275 notes that the forms in -o are very rare in Ennodius, who lived in southern Gaul in the fifth century.

116. In negative commands the imperative was often replaced by the subjunctive, by the indicative (found in Pirminius), and in Italy, Gaul, and Dacia by the infinitive: *Lat. Spr.* 490.

(2) SUBJUNCTIVE.

117. The subjunctive was limited to fewer functions, being replaced by the indicative in many constructions: *cum hi omnes tam excelsi sunt*, Bechtel 115; *si scire vultis quid facitis*, Regnier 69; etc. At the end of the Vulgar Latin period it was probably used, in popular speech, very much as it is used
in the Romance languages. Late writers, while trying to follow the traditional practice, were less logical and evidently less spontaneous than Classic authors in their employment of the subjunctive.

Sometimes the subjunctive was replaced by *debeo* with the infinitive: *debeant accipi = accipientur*, G. 418. Cf. § 72.

Sometimes, after *facio*, its place was taken by the infinitive: Regnier 27–28, *ecce Pater fecit Filium nasci de vergine*, etc. Cf. § 111.

In conditions not contrary to fact, in indirect discourse and indirect questions, in dependent clauses that are not adversative nor dubitative, the indicative was often substituted for the subjunctive: R. 428–430, G. 355–357, Regnier 68–71.

On the other hand, late writers often put the subjunctive where Classic authors would have put the indicative: G. 357–362.

118. The imperfect subjunctive gradually gave way to the pluperfect: this use is common in the *Bellum Africanum* (*Lat. Spr. 489*); cf. Sittl 133–134. It apparently began with *debuisset, potuisset, voluisset*, used freely for the imperfect by Gregory the Great (Sepulcri 226) and others, and with perfect infinitives like *tacuisse* for *tacere* (*Lat. Spr. 489*: examples from the 4th century).

The imperfect subjunctive ultimately went out of use, except in Sardinia. Writers of the third and fourth centuries show uncertainty in the use of it; R. 431 cites many examples, as *timui ne inter nos bella fuissent orta*.

In Rumanian the pluperfect subjunctive has assumed the function of a pluperfect indicative: *căntăse*, etc.

119. The perfect subjunctive was apparently confused with the future perfect indicative. It was thus preserved in Spain
and in Italian and Rumanian dialects: cf. C. De Lollis in *Bausteine* 1, and V. Crescini in *Zs.* XXIX, 619; Tiktin 596. Cf. § 124.

d. TENSE.

120. The present and imperfect indicative and the present subjunctive remained, in general, with their old functions; see, however, § 117. For the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive, see § 118; for the perfect subjunctive, § 119. In the perfect, pluperfect, future, and future perfect indicative great changes took place, which led also to the formation of a new perfect and pluperfect subjunctive.

(1) The Perfect Tenses.

121. In Classic Latin *habeo* with the perfect participle was used to express a lasting condition: *Hannibal quia fessum militem præliis operibusque habebat*, Part. perf. 376. It was used in the same way with adjectives: *miserum habere*, etc., Part. perf. 372 ff. Even in Classic Latin, however, the meaning of this locution began to shift to the perfect, or something akin to it: Cato the elder, *quid Athenis exquisitum habeam*, Part. perf. 516; Plautus, *illa omnia missa habeo*, *omnis res relictas habeo*, Part. perf. 535; in legal phraseology, *factum habeo*, Part. perf. 537–538; Sallust, *compertum ego habeo*, Draeger I, 295. The construction is very common in Cicero in a sense that closely approaches the perfect: *satis habeo deliberatum*, Part. perf. 415; *scriptum habeo*, Part. perf. 422; *rationes cognitas habeo*, Densusianu 181; *pecunias magnas collocatas habent*, Draeger I, 294; cf. *Part. perf. 405, 414–415, 423, 518–521*, Draeger I, 294–295.

122. In late Latin this compound often had simply a perfect meaning: *metuo enim ne ibi vos habeam fatigatos*, Regnier 28; *episcopum invitatum habes*, Bon. 690. Cf. Bon. 689–691.
In popular speech it supplanted more and more the original perfect form, which was increasingly confined to its aorist function: *Lat. Spr.* 489. In the Spanish peninsula, however, and to some extent in Italy, the old perfect meaning was not entirely lost.

123. On the model of this new perfect, a compound pluperfect was constructed: Cicero, *quas in arario conditas habe-bant*, Draeger I, 294; *si Dominum iratum haberes*, Regnier 28; *quam semper cognitam habui*, Sepulcri 227. In the same way a future perfect was made: *de Cæsare satis dictum habebo*, *Part. perf.* 537. Eventually an entire perfect inflection was built up with *habere* or, in the case of neuter verbs, with *esse*; its vogue began in Gaul in the fifth century, elsewhere in the sixth: *Part. perf.* 543, 541.

124. The old perfect form remained in popular use, generally with the aorist sense. Some late writers were fond of substituting for it *cæpi* with an infinitive: Waters Ch. 70, etc. Cf. § 72.

The old pluperfect indicative became rarer, but still lingered, sometimes with its original sense, sometimes as a preterit, sometimes as a conditional. The preterit use occurs in *dix-erat, ortaret, transalaret* in the *Gl. Reich.*; *auret, furet, pouret*, etc., in the Old French *Sainte Eulalie*; *boltier* in the Old Italian *Ritmo Cassinese* (*Zs. XXIX, 620*); etc. The conditional function, which came down from the Classic Latin use in conditional sentences, was preserved in Spanish, in Provençal, in some southern Italian dialects (notably in the *Rosa fresca aulentissima*), and in the Italian *fora <fueram*.

The old future perfect was apparently confused with the perfect subjunctive, and continued to be used, with the force of a future indicative or subjunctive, in the Spanish peninsula.
in some dialects of Italy, and in Dacia: Sp. cantáre, Old Sp. cantáro. Cf. § 119.

The old pluperfect subjunctive was used as an imperfect: see § 118.

(2) Future and Conditional.

125. The Latin future was not uniform in the four conjugations; the formation in -bo, which was used in three of them and prevailed in two, was native, according to Mohl, Pr. Pers. Pl. 141–142, only in Rome and the immediate vicinity. Furthermore, the future in the first two conjugations was suggestive of the imperfect, and in the other two, in late pronunciation, was liable to confusion with the present subjunctive and indicative. These causes or others made the future unpopular. As the tense became rare in speech, mistakes were made in writing: Vok. I, 98; Regnier viii. The old audibo, dormibo forms were kept late (Futurum 161), and we find such errors as respondeam for respondebo (Futurum 158).

126. Classic Latin had some circumlocutions, such as facturus sum, delenda est, habeo dicere, which approached the meaning of the future. During the Empire there was a strong tendency to substitute these or other constructions for the future forms (such periphrases are particularly frequent in African church Latin):—

(1) The present indicative for the future is common in Cicero in conditional sentences: Lebreton 188–190. The substitution became frequent in all sorts of constructions: nam si vis ecce modo pedibus duco vos ibi, Bechtel 112; cum volueris ire imus tecum et ostendimus tibi, Bechtel 112; pervidet, Bechtel 90–91; quando corrigit, quando mutaris? cras, inquis, Regnier 64; jam crastina non eximus, Sepulcri 225. Cf. Draeger I, 286 ff.; Sepulcri 225–226.
(2) The future participle + esse was a favorite with late writers: sic et nos futuri sumus resurgere, Regnier 29. Cf. Bayard 256. See §§ 105, 106.

(3) Velle and posse + infinitive were frequent: G. 423. Velle in this sense was preserved in Dacia; the oldest Romanian future is voïû jurâ or jurâ voïû: Tiktin 599.

(4) Debere + infinitive was another substitute. It was kept in Sardinian.

(5) Vadere, ire, venire + infinitive were used also.

127. The form that prevailed, however, was habeo with the infinitive: In Classic Latin habeo dicere = habeo quod dicam, being so used by Cicero and many others; later, as in Suetonius, it means debeo dicere: Futurum 48ff. Cf. Varro, De Re Rustica I, 1, ut id mihi habeam curâre; Cicero, Ad Famil. I, 5, tantum habeo tibi pollicerì; Lucretius VI, 711, in multis hoc rebus dicere habemus; Ovid, Trist. I, i, 123, mandare ... habebam. In these senses it was very common in late writers: habes spectare, Hoppe 43; filius Dei mori habuit, Hoppe 44; probare non habent, Hoppe 44; non habent retribuere, R. 447; multa habeo dicere, R. 447; unde mihi dare habes aquam vivam, R. 448; exire habebat, R. 449; nec verba nobis ista dici habent, Regnier 28. Cf. R. 447-449.

128. This habeo construction finally took the sense of a simple future: Tertullian, aliter prædicantur quam evenire habent, cui dare habet Deus corpus, etc., Hoppe 44-45;—Servius, velle habet, Futurum 180;—St. Jerome, qui nasci habent, G. 370;—St. Augustine, tollere habet, Densusianu 181; et sic nihil habes invenire in manibus tuis, videre habetis, venire habet, etc., Regnier 28. It had become common in Italy by the sixth century.

129. In the early stages of the Romance languages, or
possibly in the latest stage of Vulgar Latin, the infinitive came to stand regularly, though not immutably, just before the habeo. Finally the two words were fused into one, but this union was not completed until after the beginnings of the Romance literatures, and in Portuguese it is not completed yet: Old Sp. cantaré or he cantar; separation is common in Old Provençal, and occurs in Old Italian; Pg. fazel-o-he. The earliest examples of the Romance future are found in Fredegarius: Justinianus dicebat ‘daras’, Haag 54; addarabo, Haag 55. See Morphology.

130. On the model of this new form, an imperfect of the future, or conditional, was constructed. The phrase existed, ready for use, in Classic Latin, where it was employed with an implication of obligation or necessity. So it seems to be used by Tertullian, although sometimes with him the meaning borders on a real conditional: non traditus autem traduci habebas, ista civitas esterminari haberet, quod esset venturus et pati haberet, etc., Hoppe 43–45.

In Classic Latin, in place of amassem in the conclusion of a conditional sentence, amaturus eram or fui was often used; and when amaturus sum was replaced by amare habeo, it was natural that amaturus eram should give way to amare habebam. Furthermore, to match such a sentence as dicit quod venire habet, there was needed a past construction like dixit quod venire habebat or habuit; and corresponding to si possum venire habeo, something like si potuissem venire habebam or habui was called for.

St. Cyprian and St. Hilary seem to show a simple conditional use of the compound: quod lex nova dari haberet, Bayard 256; manifestari habebat, Bayard 257;—Herodes principes sacerdotum ubi nasci habebat Christus interrogat, Quillacq 116. There are sure examples from the fifth century on: Lat. Spr. 489.
The development of this form in the Romance languages was, in general, parallel to that of the future: see Morphology.

The origin of the Rumanian conditional, *cintareasf*, is not obvious; for a full discussion of the question, see H. Tiktin, *Die Bildung des rumänischen Konditionalis* in Zs. XXVIII, 691.
III. PHONOLOGY.

A. SYLLABICATION.

131. The principles of syllabic division are rather difficult to establish. The Latin grammarians seem to have given no heed to actual speech, but to have followed the usage of Greek spelling, supporting it with purely theoretical considerations. Cf. S. 132–151. According to these writers, the syllable always ended in a vowel, or in a liquid or nasal followed by another consonant in the next syllable, or in half of a double consonant: *a-ni-ma, no-cetem, pro-pter, a-mnis; al-ter, in-fans; sic-cus, mit-to.* The division of *s +* consonant they regard as uncertain (*a-s-trum*); doubtless in reality the *s* was nearly syllabic, as in Italian. They add that etymological considerations often disturb the operation of the rule, as in *ob-liviscor,* etc.

132. In point of fact, however, all consonant groups, except a mute + a liquid, made position and attracted the accent: *perféc-tus,* and not *perfe-ctus.* It is altogether likely, then, that a consonant group, in the spoken language, was usually divided after the first consonant: *noc-tem, prop-ter.* A single consonant between vowels certainly went with the second: *po-si-tus.*

The group mute + liquid makes position in the older dramatists: Nævius accents *intégram,* Lat. Spr. 466. In the Classic poets it may or may not make position. Quintilian I, 5 recommends *ténebrae, vólucres, pháretra,* etc. In Vulgar Latin this combination almost invariably attracts the accent: *cathédra.* It is likely that in Old Latin the division came before the
liquid, but subsequently, after the accent had become fixed on the preceding vowel, both consonants were carried over: *co-luba*, *co-luba*, *co-lobra*.

133. We have reason to believe that in closely connected speech a final consonant was carried over to the next word, if that word began with a vowel: *cor exsultat* = *co r-exsultat*.

B. ACCENT.

134. The Latin accent was probably from the beginning a stress accent. In the earliest stage of the language it apparently fell regularly on the first syllable: Corssen II, 892–906; S. 30–34; Franz. 2 I, 13. The Classic Latin system—according to which the accent falls on the penult if that syllable is long, otherwise on the antepenult—developed as early as literature began, and remained, both in the literary and in the spoken language, through the Classic period; even after the distinctions of quantity were lost, the place of the accent was unchanged: *bonitatem, computo, delicto*.

The penult vowel before mute + liquid (cf. §132) normally has the stress in Vulgar Latin: *cathedra*, *colubra*, *integrum*. There seem to be a few exceptions to the rule: Old Fr. *palpres* < *pálpebras*, Old Fr. *poltre* < *púllitra*, and perhaps some others.

1. PRIMARY STRESS.

135. We have seen that Vulgar Latin regularly accents according to the Classic quantitative accentuation. There are, however, some cases in which the Classic principle fails to operate or the Classic stress has been shifted:—

a. VOWELS IN HIATUS.

136. Accented *e* and *i*, when immediately followed by the vowel of the penult, became *y*, the accent falling on the
following vowel: *mulēris > muljēris, S. 51, Lat. Spr. 468; *putēlis > putjōlis, C. I. L. X, 1889 (pvtēolis); so *pariētes > *parjētes > parētes,¹ C. I. L. VI, 3714 (paretes). This change seems to be due to a tendency to shift the stress to the more sonorous of two contiguous vowels: cf. O. Jespersen, Lehrbuch der Phonetik, p. 192. It was favored also by the analogy of mulier, puteus, pāries, etc., in which the vowel in hiatus is atonic.

137. Accented *u, when immediately followed by the vowel of the penult, became w, the accent falling on the preceding syllable: *bat(t)ūere > *bāttuere > bāttore; consūere > *cónsuere > cónsere; *habūērunt > *hābuerunt; tenūēram > *tēnueram. Here the shift was apparently due in each case to analogy, bāttuere being influenced by bāttuo, consūere by cónsuo, habuerunt by hābuit, teneram by tēnui, etc.

138. Aside from these cases, hiatus seems to have had no effect on the accent in Latin. It is possible, however, that diūos, suōs, tuōs were sometimes pronounced duōs, suōs, tuōs.

b. COMPOUND VERBS.

139. Verbs compounded with prefixes were generally reconstructed with the accent and the vowel of the simple verb, provided the composite nature of the formation was understood and the parts were recognized (cf. §31): défīcit > *disfācit, displīcit > *displācit, implicat > *implīcat, reddīdi > reddēdi, requīrit > *requērit, rētinet > *rētēnet, etc. Cf. Gram. II, 668–670. Socalefacis, S. 56; condedit, perdedit, reddēdit, tradēdit, S. 54; addedi, adsteti, conteneo, crededi, inclusus, presteti, etc., Sepulcri 213–215. On the same plan new verbs were formed: *de-mīnat, re-nēgat, etc.

¹É regularly became ę; but if the preceding consonant was l, it was palatalized, hence parētes, but *mulēres. Cf. § 225.
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Rēcipit became *recipit, the composite character of the word being felt, although the compound was no longer associated with capere.

In cōllīgo and some others not even the composite nature was perceived, the simple verbs having become rare or having taken a different sense: legerē, for instance, came to be used only in the sense of 'read.'

c. ILLAC, ILLIC.

140. The adverbs illāc, illīc accented their last syllable through the analogy of ĕac, ĕic. Priscian says "illīc pro illīce": S. 42.

d. FICATUM.

141. There existed in Greek a word συκωτόν (Pirson 40), 'figlike', which was applied by cooks to a liver. It is found in late Latin in the form sycotum, which should properly have been pronounced sycōtum; for some unknown reason, perhaps under the influence of a vulgar *hēpāte for hēpar, 'liver', it probably became *sēcotum.

Through this word there came into use the culinary terms fīcātum, *fīcatum, *fēcatum, *fēcotum, *fēcitum, all meaning 'liver.' Fīcātum, a simple translation of συκωτόν, prevailed in Dacia, Rētia, and northern Italy. Fēcatum or fēcotum, a fusion of fīcātum and *sēcotum, was preferred in central and southern Italy. Fīcatum, a cross between fēcatum and fīcatum, was kept in Sicily and in the Spanish peninsula. Sardinia preserved both fīcātum and fīcatum. Gaul had fīcatum and fīcatum; later, by a change of suffix, fēcitum. See G. Paris in Miscellanea linguistica in onore di Graziadio Ascoli 41; H. Schuchardt in Zs. XXV, 515 and XXVIII, 435; L. Clédat in Revue de philologie française et de littérature XV, 235.
e. NUMERALS.

142. The numbers viginti, triginta, quadraginta, quinquaginta, etc., were sometimes accented on the antepenult: Consentius mentions a faulty pronunciation triginta, Keil V, 392, lines 4–5; quarranta occurs in a late inscription, Vok. II, 461, Pirson 97. See M. Ihm in Archiv VII, 69–70; G. Rydberg in Mélanges Wahlund, 337. The shift was probably due to a natural tendency to differentiate the numerals from one another: compare the floating accent in English thirteen, fourteen, etc.

d. GREEK WORDS.

143. The accentuation of Greek words was varied. Sometimes the Greek stress was preserved, sometimes the word was made to conform to the Latin principle.

(1) GREEK OXYTONES.

144. Greek oxytones, when borrowed by Latin, were stressed according to the Latin system: ἔφιππος > drach(ū)ma, ἑπιστῦλον > epistula-ōla, λαμπάς > lampa(s), μῆκανὴ > mác(h)-ίνα, παραβάλλον > parábula, πειρατής > pirāta, σπασμός > spāsmus, ταπεινός > *tapīnus. Cf. S. 42ff., Claussen 809.

Συκωτόν, however, apparently stressed the first syllable: see § 141.

(2) GREEK PAROXYTONES.

145. Greek paroxytones were mostly accented according to the quantity of the penult: γραφίων > gráphiōn, καμάρα > caméra, μαγία > mágida, παλάμη > pálma, πολύπους > polýpus,1 πορφύρα > purpurā, φαρέτρα > pharētra or pharētra (cf. § 134).

Πισάνη (> ptsāna) > It. tisāna, φιάλη (> phíāla) > It. fiala, χολέρα (> chólera) > It. coléra, etc., may represent popular terms borrowed by ear from the Greek, with the Greek stress,

1 Occasionally the accent was kept by doubling the consonant, as polippus.
but it is more likely that the Italian forms are book-words with a shifted accent.

Cf. S. 42ff., Claussen 810–811.

146. The ending –la was at first generally assimilated to the Latin –ia: βιβλία > biblia, βλασφημία > blasphemía, ἐκκλησία > ec(c)λέσια, ἱστορία > historia, σερία, συμφωνία > symphónia. Later a fashionable pronunciation –ia, doubtless favored by Christian influence, penetrated popular speech (σοφία > sophía, etc.) and produced a new Latin ending –ia, which was used to form new words: see Derivation, Suffixes for Nouns. Cf. Claussen 812. The pronunciations melodia, etc., and sophía, etc., are attested: S. 55–56.


(3) Greek Proparoxytones.

147. The treatment of proparoxytones is complicated. Cf. S. 42–49, Claussen 814–821, Gram. I, 35, § 17, A. Thomas in Rom. XXXI, 2–3. Late Latin grammarians mention a pronunciation of Greek words with the Greek accent (S. 42), but their statements are too vague to be of use.

A few early borrowed words perhaps show the Old Latin accentuation: κυπάρισσος > *cúparissos > cupressus. Cf. Claussen 809.

148. When the penult was short, the accent remained unchanged: γένεσις > génēsis, κάλαμος > cálmus, κόλαφος > cólaphus, πρεσβύτερον > presbýtērum (with a new nominative présbyter).

149. When the penult vowel was in position, it took the accent: ἁβύσσος > abýssus, βάπτισμα > bāptisma, τάλαντον > talēntum.
*Εγκαυστόν, however, became both *encaustum and *encaustum.

Occasionally the consonant group was simplified and the accent remained: *καρυόφυλλον > *καρύοφυλλον.

150. When the penult vowel was long and not in position, it apparently took the accent in book-words but not in words learned by ear (S. 48–49): κάμηλος > καμήλος –*έλλος, κάμινος > καμίνος, κροκόδειλος > κρόκοδειλος, φάλλανα > βαλάνα; ἄγκυρα > ἄνκυρα, βλάσφημος > βλάσφημος (Prudentius), βούτυρον > βούτυρον (AEmilius Macer), Ἰάκωβος > Ἰάκωβος, σέλινον > *σέλινον.

Some words have both pronunciations: εἴδωλον > εἴδωλον (both in Prudentius: Lat. Spr. 466), ἵππος > ἵππος ἵππος (Prudentius), σίναπι > σίναπι σίναπι.

e. OTHER FOREIGN WORDS.

151. Some words borrowed from other languages kept their original accent, contrary to Latin rules (S. 49): Umbrian Pisaurum > It. Pésaro, etc.; Celtic Baiocasses > Fr. Bayeux, Durócasses > Fr. Dreux, Trícasses > Fr. Troyes, etc., Dottin 103.

152. Germanic words were apparently made to conform to Latin types: Húgo Húgun > Húgo Hugónem > Fr. Húes Huón; Kluge 500.

2. SECONDARY STRESS.

153. As far as we can determine the rhythm of Vulgar Latin, judging from phonetic changes and from semi-popular late Latin verse, it consisted in a tolerably regular alternation of accented and unaccented syllables. Thus Sedulius, at the beginning of the fifth century, writes:

Beátus áuctor sǽculí
Servíle córpus índuit,
Ut cárne cárnem liberáns
Ne pérderét quos cóndidit.
The secondary stress, then, fell on the second syllable from the tonic: *cupiditósus, felicítátēm; dólórósā, lācrímósā; Cásrēm, Gálλīās. In some derivatives, however, the root syllable may have received an irregular stress through the analogy of the primitive: *árboricéllus.

In late formations e or i in hiatus did not count as a syllable: *comínițiāre.

154. When the secondary stress preceded the tonic, it was strong, and the vowel bearing it was apparently treated as an accented vowel: *amíciťátēm > Pr. amístiát; so, in Italian, Bušlogné beside Bolórna, Fiôrentíno beside Fírënze, vêtto-vágía beside vittóría.

When it followed the tonic, it was weak, but probably the vowel bearing it had more force than a wholly unaccented final vowel: sóděrl > Pr. sózer, pláciťūm > Pr. plach; but clérd-cūm > Pr. clérquge while clérdcum > Pr. clere, cółáphüm > Pr. cólbe while cółpum > Pr. colp.

155. In many cases the intervening vowel fell out or lost its syllabic value. Then the primary and the secondary accent were brought together, and the secondary was shifted or lost: *parábuláre > *parduláre > *párauláre, cálidús > cáldus, filliús > fillius.

UNSTRESSED WORDS.

156. Short, unemphatic words, in Latin as in other languages, had no accent, and were attached as additional syllables to the beginning or end of other words (S. 38–39): non-ámat, áma-me, te-videt, dó-tibi, cave-fáciás, circum-lítora (Quintilian I, 5). Many words, especially prepositions and conjunctions, as well as some adverbs and pronouns, were used only as enclitics or proclitics.
157. If such particles had more than one syllable, they tended to become monosyllabic: unstressed *magis, perhaps influenced by *plus, became *mais and *mas. A dissyllabic proclitic beginning with a vowel seems to have regularly lost that vowel: *illum videt > 'lu' videt; ecce hic > 'c'ic (but ecce hic > ecc'ic); eccum istum > 'cu' istu' (but eccum istum > eccu'istu'). For elision, see Franz. 2 II, 73–79, 379–390.


C. QUANTITY.

159. We must distinguish between the quantity of vowels and the quantity of syllables. Every Latin vowel was by nature either long or short; how great the difference was we do not know, but we may surmise that in common speech it was more marked in stressed than in unstressed vowels. A syllable was long if it contained (1) a long vowel or a diphthong or (2) any vowel + a following consonant. If, however, the consonant was final and the next word began with a vowel, the consonant, in connected speech, was doubtless carried over to the next syllable and did not make position: see §133. For the syllabication of mute + liquid, see §§132, 134.

1. POSITION.

160. In some of the Romance languages position checked the development of the preceding vowel, and it is probable that the beginnings of this differentiation go back to Vulgar Latin times: pa-rem > Old Fr. per, par-tēm > Fr. part. Mute + liquid did not prevent the development: pa-trem > Fr. pere. Neither, apparently, did a final consonant (cf. §133): sa-l > Fr. sel.
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Compare Italian fiero < fē-rus, ferro < fē-rum; petto < pēc-tus, pieta < pē-tra, fiel(e) < fē-l; — fuore < fō-ris, collo < col-lum; corpo < cōr-pus, cuopre < *cō-p'rit, cuor(e) < cō-r.

161. Early in the Empire ss after diphthongs and long vowels was apparently reduced to s (S. 112–120): cāssus > cāsus, causā > causa, formōssus > formōsus, glōssa > glōsa, missīt (S. 118: MIssIT) > mīsit. This did not occur, however, in the contracted endings —āssē —āssem etc., —ēsse —ēssem etc., —īsse —īssēm etc.

Similarly one l was lost in māllo, mīllia (but not in mīlle: Pompeius, S. 127), nōllo, paullum.

162. In Latin texts there is much confusion of single and double consonants, especially before the accent: bal(l)ana, buc(c)ina, cot(t)idie,1 ec(c)lesia,2 glut(t)ire, mut(t)ire, tap(p)ete, ves(s)ica, etc. Cf. S. 111–132, Stolz 223–224. In some words this may result merely from bad spelling; but often it must represent an actual difference in pronunciation, as seems to be the case with the doublet cito > Sp. cedo, citto (C. I. L. VIII, 11594) > It. cetto. Cf. § 163.

163. Many words certainly had two forms, doubtless belonging to different Latin dialects,—one with a long vowel + a single consonant, the other with a short vowel + a double consonant: brāchium brācchium; būca būcca; camēlus camēllus, where we have perhaps only a change of suffix, cf. § 42; cīpus cippus; cūpa, cūppa, giving Sp. cuba, Fr. cuve, It. cupola and Sp. copa, Fr. coupe, It. coppa; glūto glutto; hōc erat hōcc erat, S. 125–126 (Velius Longus and Pompeius); Jūpiter Jūppiter; perhaps litera littera; mūcus múccus; pūpa pūppa; stūpa stūppa; sūcus succus. Cf. Stolz 222–225.

1 The antiquity of double t is attested by an old inscription: Lexique 101.
2 The single c, which prevailed in Romance, is common in Greek and Latin manuscripts: S. 129.
To these may perhaps be added: bāca bacca; bāsium (It. bascio); brāca bracca; *būtis (<βοῦτις) *būtīs (It. botte); cāseus *cāsseus (It. cascio); chāne(<χάνη) channe; conservāmus conservammus, Vok. I, 261; jubēmus jubemmus, Vok. I, 261 (iubimmus iobemmus); litus littus; mīsi *missi (It. messi).

Beside the two forms indicated, there was occasionally a third, seemingly a cross between the other two, having both the long vowel and the double consonant: anguīla (Sp. anguila) + anguīlla =*anguilla (It. anguilla); *stēla (Old Fr. esteile: cf. Lexique 95–98) + stēlla (It. dialect stella) = *stella (It. stella; cf. Vok. I, 339, stilla); strēna (Old Fr. estreine) + strēnna =*strēnna (It. strēnna, Sic. strinna); tōta (Sp. toda) + tōtta (Keil V, 392¹)=*tōtta (Pr. tota, Fr. toute).² So perhaps Diomedes’ littera: Archiv XIV, 403.

164. In late Latin inscriptions and manuscripts a consonant was sometimes doubled before r or u: acqua, bellua, frattrē, lattronēs, mattrona, strennuor, suppra, suppremis, tennuis. Cf. S. 122, Stolz 223. This doubling indicates in most cases a local pronunciation, prevalent in Africa or in Italy. According to F. G. Mohl, Zs. XXVI, 612, a consonant was doubled before i and u in the old Italic dialects: compare the Italian doubling in fabbro, tenne, volle, etc. In acqua the double consonant, attested by inscriptions and by Christian poets, was very widespread and prevailed in Italy, Rätia, and a large part of Gaul. See Clara Hürlimann, Die Entwicklung des lateinischen acqua in den romanischen Sprachen, reviewed by Meyer-Lübke in Liblt. XXIV, 334.

¹ Consentius: "per adjectionem litterae tottum pro toto." Cf. Gram. I, 488, § 547; Lexique 98–104. According to Lat. Spr. 485, tottus was used by Pirminius.
² For *tūtūs see § 204(2).
2. VOWEL QUANTITY.

165. Originally, perhaps, long and short vowels were distinguished only by duration, the vowels having, for instance, the same sound in *látus* and *látus*, in *dēbet* and *rēdit*, in *vinum* and *minus*, in *nōmen* and *nōvus*, in *ullus* and *mūltus*. However this may have been, long and short *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* were eventually differentiated, the short vowels being open while the long were close: *vendo* *sentio*, *pinus* *piper*, *solus* *solet*, *mulus* *gula*. That is, for the vowels of brief duration the tongue was not lifted quite so high as for those held longer. Later, in most of the Empire, *i* and *y* were allowed to drop still lower, and became *e* and *o*: see §§ 201, 208. In the case of *a*, which is made with the tongue lying flat in the bottom of the mouth, there was no such differentiation.

According to Meyer-Lübke, *Lat. Spr. 467*, the distinction was clear by the first century of our era. In *Vok. I*, 461, II, 146, III, 151, 212, is given the testimony of grammarians, all of later date; in *Vok. II*, 1 ff., the evidence of inscriptions. Marius Victorinus, about 350 A.D., distinguishes two *e*-sounds (S. 174, 182); Pompeius, about 480, cites Tertullian for an *e* similar to *i*, and several fifth century grammarians plainly distinguish *e* from *i* (S. 176, 182); from the second century on *a* was often used for *e* in inscriptions (S. 183–184). Terentianus Maurus, by 250, distinguishes *o* from *u* (S. 175, 211), and so do other grammarians (S. 211). Writers do not clearly distinguish *i* and *i̯*, until Consentius, in the fifth century (S. 193); *e*, however, is often used for *i̯* in inscriptions, as *menus*, etc., and *i* for *e*, as *minses*, etc. (S. 195, 200–201). None of the grammarians apparently distinguished *u* and *u̯*, but *o* is used for *u̯* in inscriptions, as *ocsor*, *secondus*, etc. (S. 216–217).

166. In open syllables, if the word is used in verse, the quantity of the vowel is in general easily ascertained. In
closed syllables and in words not used by poets the quantity is in many cases doubtful; but it is sometimes given by grammarians, sometimes marked in inscriptions, sometimes conjectured from the etymology, and often shown by subsequent developments in the Romance languages. Occasionally the testimony conflicts: some inscriptions have carissimo, etc., others karessimo, etc. (S. 98, 99); Aulus Gellius prescribes dictum, but an inscription has dictatori (S. 105); Classic Latin offers frigidus (cf. frígida, S. 105), but the Romance languages, except Spanish, require a short i; some Romance forms support Classic nūtrīre, others demand ā; undēcim, lūrīdus, āltra were apparently pronounced also with short u (S. 81–82); Fr. loir calls for *glirem beside glirem.

a. VOWELS IN HIATUS.

167. Vowels in hiatus with the last syllable offer difficulties. The Classic rule that a vowel before another vowel is short is not absolute even for verse, and the practice of poets was not always in accordance with spoken usage. Dies, pius kept their originally long vowel, attested by inscriptions (dīes pīvs pīvs, S. 93; cf. Substrate II, 101–102); so cūi, proved by old inscriptions; and, at least in part, fūi, found in inscriptions, in Plautus, and in Ennius (S. 93): these preserved their close vowel in the Romance languages.

Naturally long vowels, then, probably kept their original quantity in hiatus. Naturally short vowels doubtless had their regular development also: dēus = deus, although we do find the spellings dius and mius (S. 187); dūo > dūi = dui; via = via. At a later stage, after y had become ø (see §§165, 208), any ø before u was apparently differentiated into o: ovum > oum (cf. §324) > ɒum (and also ɒuum, with a restoration of the v through the plural ova); sūus > sous > sous (S.
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216, Pirson 16). There may have been other special variations in different countries. Cf. § 217.

For a different theory, see *Gram. I*, 246–248. For another still, see A. Horning in *Zs. XXV*, 341.

168. *Quia*, used for *quod* in late Latin, had a peculiar development from the sixth century on: before a vowel it was pronounced *quiʾ* and was confused with *quid*, which had begun to assume the functions of *quod* (see §§ 69, 82; cf. *Franz. 3 II*, 352–355); before a consonant, under the influence of *qua* and *qua(m)*, it became *qua*. Cf. *Franz. 3 II*, 357–390; J. Jeanjaquet, *Recherches sur l'origine de la conjonction 'que' et des formes romanes équivalentes*, 1894.

169. *Pluere* was supplanted in popular usage by *plövere* (*Lat. Spr. 468*). *Plüvia*, on the other hand, gave way to *plöja*. Cf. § 208,(4).

b. **LENGTHENING BEFORE CONSONANTS.**

170. According to some grammarians, vowels were lengthened before *j*, as in *ējus, mājor.* The Romance languages, however, point to open vowels in *pejor, Troja.* The apparent contradiction disappears if we accept the statement of Terentianus Maurus, 250 A.D., who says (S. 104) that the vowels in these words were short, but the *j* was doubled — that is, there was a glide from the vowel to the *j*, which prolonged the first syllable: not *pejor, Trōja*, but *pējor, Trōija*. We find in inscriptions such spellings as *Aiiax, coiix, cuiius, eiius, maiorem*, etc.: S. 236, Pirson 74. Quintilian states that Cicero preferred *aiio, Maiiam*, with double *i* (S. 236). Velius Longus adds that as Cicero approved of *Aiiacem, Maiiam*, we should write *Troiia* also (S. 236). Priscian analyzes *pejus*, etc., into *pei-ius, ei-ius, mai-ius* (Édon 207).
171. When \( n \) was followed by a fricative (\( f, j, s, \) or \( v \)), it regularly fell early in Latin, and the preceding vowel was lengthened by compensation: \( cēsor, cōjugi, cōventio, īfēri \). But inasmuch as \( n \) occurs before \( f, j, \) and \( v \) only at the end of prefixes, it was usually restored by the analogy of the full forms \( con-, in-: \) so \( infinitem \) through \( indignus, etc.; conjungere \) through \( conducere, etc.; convenire \) through \( continere, etc. \) Before \( s, \) however, \( n \) occurred in the middle of many words, and the fall was permanent, the \( n \) being restored only in compounds before initial \( s: \) \( cōsul, īsula, mēsis, spōsus; \) but \( insignare \). Cf. § 311.

It is altogether likely that the \( n \) fell through nasalization of the vowel: \( consul cōnsul cōsul cōsul \). If so, all trace of the nasality disappeared, but the length and the close quality of the vowel remained. Cf. \( Archiv \) XIV, 400.

Romance and late Vulgar Latin words with \( ns \) (except in compounds as above) are either learned terms or new formations: so \( pensare, \) beside the old popular *\( pēsare \).

See S. 77–78; for the usage of Cicero and others, S. 86; for inscriptions, S. 89.

172. (1) Vowels were apparently lengthened before \( ηκ: quīnque, sānctus, etc. \) Cf. S. 78; for inscriptions, S. 90.

(2) Before \( gn \) vowels were lengthened according to Priscian (S. 91), and inscriptions mark length in \( dignus, rēgnum, signum \) (cf. \( sigillum \)), S. 91. The Romance languages, however, call for \( dignus, lignum, pignus, pygnus, signum \). Priscian, who wrote in the sixth century, is a very late authority, and some philologists regard the passage in question as an interpolation of still later date; still the evidence of the inscriptions remains. According to Meyer-Lübke (\( Gram. I, 54, Lat. Spr. 467 \)), the vowel was lengthened, but only after \( ĭ, ĭ \) had become \( ī, ĭ, \) so that the result was \( ĭ, ĭ, not ĭ, ĭ; \) cf. \( BENEGNVS \)
in *C. I. L.* XII, 2153, which is doubtless equivalent to the benignus of *C. I. L.* XII, 722. This seems a very plausible explanation. C. D. Buck, however, in the *Classical Review* XV, 311, prefers to regard such forms as dignus, in so far as they existed at all, as due to a vulgar or local pronunciation.

c. DISAPPEARANCE OF THE OLD QUANTITY.

173. The difference in quantity was probably greater and more constant in accented than in unaccented vowels. The distinctions in quality, resulting from the original quantity, remained, in stressed syllables, through the Latin period and developed further in the Romance languages; in unaccented syllables the distinctions were doubtless weaker, and were often obliterated.

174. The old quantity itself was lost, for the most part during the Empire. It seems to have disappeared from unaccented syllables by the third or fourth century; but confusion set in as early as the second. The nominative singular *-ēs* and the plural *-ēs* were confounded by 150 A.D. (S. 75), and *a* was often used for *e* in inscriptions (S. 183–184: bena, etc.). Terentianus Maurus, about 250, tells us that *au* is short in unaccented syllables, as in *aut* (S. 66). Other grammarians warn against quantitative mistakes. Servius says, in the fourth century, *"miseræ dativus est non adverbium,"* etc. (S. 226). The poetry of Commodian, in the third or fourth century, seems to observe quantity in stressed and to neglect it in unstressed syllables, and we find numerous metrical errors in other late poets: cf. J. Cornu, *Versbau des Commodian* in *Bausteine* 576.

On the other hand, Latin words borrowed by the Britons, mostly in the third and fourth centuries, show, through a shift of accent, the preservation of quantity in post-tonic
syllables: Loth 72, 65. Moreover, Latin words borrowed by Old High German indicate a retention of long \( i \) and \( u \) before the accent: Franz.

It is possible that the quantity of unstressed vowels was better kept in the provinces than in Italy.

175. In accented syllables there are sporadic examples of confusion by the second century, as \( \text{æques} \) for \( \text{eques} \) in 197 (S. 225); but probably the disappearance of the old distinction was not general before the fourth and fifth centuries, and not complete before the end of the sixth. Servius, in the fourth century, criticizes \( \text{Rōma} \) (S. 106). St. Augustine declares that “Afræ aures de correptione vocalium vel produc­tione non judicant” (Lat. Spr. 467). Pompeius and other grammarians blame the confusion of \( \text{æquus} \) and \( \text{equus} \) (S. 107, 178). Much late poetry disregards quantity altogether.

On the other hand, Latin words borrowed by the Britons from the second to the fifth century, but mostly in the third and fourth, show the preservation of the quantity of stressed vowels: Loth 64. Latin words in Anglo-Saxon, taken over in the fifth and sixth centuries, retain the quantity of vowels that bear the accent: Pogatscher. The Latin words in Old High German, too, distinguish by quantity \( \ddot{i} \) and \( \ddot{e} \), \( \ddot{o} \) and \( \ddot{a} \), \( \ddot{u} \) and \( \ddot{u} \); \( \ddot{e} \), \( \ddot{o} \) are distinguished by quality also, for \( \ddot{e} > e \) or \( i \), \( \ddot{o} > u \) or \( o \) while \( \ddot{a} > o \): Franz.

d. DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW QUANTITY.

176. At the end of the Latin period a new system of quantity grew up, entirely diverse from the old, and based on the situation of the vowel. In most of the Empire accented vowels not in position were pronounced long, all other vowels short: \( \text{sāinctō vālēs, vēndō vēnīs, dīxī pīcās, fōrmās fōrī, frūctūs} \).
In Spain and in some parts of Gaul, all stressed vowels were apparently long: *tēmpūs, pōrtā.*

This new pronunciation doubtless sprang up with the disappearance of the old, which it displaced. Meyer-Lübke in *Gram.* I, 561–562, says that the development was different and independent in the several Romance languages; in *Einf.* 103–104, he describes it as common to all, but as posterior to the fifth century; in *Lat. Spr.* 467, he puts it in the fourth and fifth centuries.

177. It is likely that these new long vowels were pronounced in most regions with a circumflex intonation, which in the transition from Latin to the Romance languages resulted in diphthongization in a large part of the Empire, particularly in northern Gaul: *vēnis* > It. *vieni*, *gūla* > Old Fr. *goule*, *cōr* > It. *cuor*, *nōs* > Fr. *nous*, *trēs* > Old Fr. *treis*. Portugal, southern Gaul, Lombardy, and Sicily apparently did not participate in this early breaking; and the conditions of diphthongization were very diverse in different localities. The vowels most affected were *ē* and *ē*.

An isolated example, perhaps only a blunder, occurs in an inscription made a little before 120 A. D.: *NIEPOS*, beside *NEPOTIS* (A. Zimmermann in *Zs.* XXV, 735). In 419 A. D. we find *VOBIT* for *obīt* (S. 213).

D. VOWELS.

178. Latin had the vowels *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, and in unaccented syllables before a labial (as in *prosumus*) a short *ū*; furthermore, the groups *ae*, *au*, *eu*, *ē*, also *ui*. We have seen (§ 165) that *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū* were pronounced close, and *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū* open, while *ā* was not affected by quantity. We shall see presently
(§§ 209, 210) that \( a > \varepsilon \) and \( ce > e \), while \( au, eu \) generally remained \( \acute{a}u, \acute{e}u \) (\textit{cautus, tōn}), and \( ui \) (as in \textit{cui}) was \( \tilde{u}i \).

179. The foreign vowels of borrowed words were assimilated in some fashion to the Latin system. In the few Celtic words that were taken over there are no important peculiarities. In the Germanic vocabulary there is not much to be noted: \( ai \) in words adopted early apparently became \( a \), as \( *\textit{waidanjan} > *\textit{wadaniare} \); \( eu \) (or \( iu \)) appears in \( \textit{treuwa} \) (or \( \textit{triuwa} \)), which became \( *\textit{trēwa} \); \( iu \) is found in \( \textit{skiuhan} > *\textit{skivare} \).

The history of Greek vowels is very complicated: —

**GREEK VOWELS.**

180. According to Quintilian (Edon 64–65), the Greek letters were sounded as in Greek. This pronunciation was doubtless the ideal of people of fashion, but popular speech substituted for unfamiliar vowels the sounds of the vernacular. The inconsistencies in this substitution arise partly from the different dates at which words were borrowed, partly from the channel (written or oral) through which they came, and partly from the various pronunciations of the vowels in the several Greek dialects.

181. \( A \), long or short, was pronounced \( å \): \( \Phi\alpha\nu\varsigma > \textit{Phāsis} \), \( \phi\lambda\alpha\gamma\varepsilon > \textit{phālanx} \).

182. \( H \) was in Greek originally a long \( \varepsilon \), but early in our era it became \( i \). In book-words it was assimilated to Latin \( e \): \( \acute{a}ποθήκη > \textit{apothēca} > \textit{It. bottega} \); so in some late words, as \( \betaλασφήμια > \textit{blasphēmia} > \textit{It. bestemmia} \). In words of more popular origin it often had the Greek open sound: \( ēκκλησία > \textit{eclēsia} \); \( σηπία > \textit{sēpia} \), but also \( sēpia > \textit{It. seppia} \); \( σκηνή > \textit{scena scēna} \). Late words often show \( i \): \( ασκητής > \textit{ascitis} \), \textit{Per.}
40, 1, etc.; ἐκκλησια > eclisia, Neumann 9; μοναστήριον > monastirium, μοναστήριον > mistirium, etc., Claussen 854–855; ταπήτων > Fr. tapis, Pr. tapit.

183. E was close in some Greek dialects, open in others. In book-words it was assimilated to Latin ē: γένεσις > gēnēsis. In popular words it was sometimes close, sometimes open: ἐρμος > er'mus er'mus > It. ermo, Sp. yermo; κέδρος > cedrus > It. cedro; πέπερ > piper; Στέφανος > Stephanus Stephanus. Cf. Claussen 853–854.

184. I, at least in the principal dialects, seems to have had a very open sound, even when long. In book-words it was assimilated to Latin į: φίμος > phīmus; φίλος > phīlus. In popular words į apparently became ĭ, later ē or e; ĭ apparently became ē, later often ē: ἀρθρίτικος > arthriticus > It. artetico; ἀρτέμισια > artemīsia > Old Fr. armeise; βωλίτης > boletus; ὀργανός > It. regamo; χρίσμα > chrīsma > It. cresima, Old Fr. cresme; Χριστός > Christus Chrestus, cf. Christianus Chrestianus; etc.; — ἀντίφωνος >* antefona > Old Fr. antiefne; βλίτον > blitum > It. bieta; μύνθη > menta > It. menta, Sp. mienta; σίναπι > sinapi > It. senape; etc. Cf. Claussen 855–857.

185. O was probably ơ, but perhaps dialectically ơ (cf. ὁρα > hōra). In book-words it was assimilated to Latin ď: φωνη > phōca. In popular words it apparently became ơ, occasionally u: γλώσσα > It. chiosa; πτωχός > It. pitocco; τρώκτης > tructa. Cf. Claussen 869–870.

186. O in most dialects was ơ. In book-words it was assimilated to Latin ơ: κόψινος > cóptinus; ὀρφανός > ὀρφάνος. In popular words it was generally close, but sometimes open, and occasionally the same word had both pronunciations: ἀμύργη > amūrca; δοχή > dōga > It. doga, etc.; κόμμα > gūmmi; ὀσμή > ? It. orma; πορφύρα > pūrpūra; τόρνος > tūrnus > It.
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torno, etc.; — κόγχη > cóncha; στρόφος > stróppus; χορδή > 

187. Y was originally pronounced u; later in Attic and 
Ionic it became û, which subsequently, in the 9th or 10th 
century, was unrounded into i.

In the older borrowed words, perhaps taken mostly from 
Doric (Claussen 865), u regularly was assimilated to Latin u 
(S. 219–221): βύρσα > bûrsa; κρύπτη > crypta; κύμβη > cîmba; 
μῦλλος > mûllus; μῦρτος > müria, App. Pr.; πῦξ > buixus. It. 
busta seems to represent a peculiar local development: cf. 
buxida (= pyxis) in Theodorus Priscianus and in glosses, 
Lat. Spr. 468. Cf. Zefurus, Audollent 536; “tymum non tu-
mum,” App. Pr.; Olumpus, etc., Pirson 39. In τρυγάνη > 
trûlina the v was shortened. In ἀγκόρα > ancóra, στύρα > 
stórax, and a few other words the v for some reason became ð; 
these probably have nothing to do with καλύπτρα > It. calotta, 
kρύπτη > It. gróatta, μῦδος > It. motto, in which the q is a later 
local development. For some words we find an occasional spell-
ing æ, which may represent a Greek dialect pronunciation be-
tween u and ū: γύρος > gyrus gærus; Μυσία > Mysia Masia; etc.

Towards the end of the Republic, cultivated people adopted 
for Greek words the Ionic-Attic pronunciation, which is 
generally represented, in the case of v, by the spelling y. Cicero 
says: “Burrum semper Ennius, nunquam Pyrrhum” (S. 221). 
According to Cassiodorus, u is the spelling in some words, y 
in others (S. 221). In the App. Pr. we find: “Marsyas non 
Marsuas,” “myrta non murta,” “porphyreticum marmor non 
purpureticum marmor,” “tymum non tumum.” Among the 
common people the unfamiliar û was assimilated to i. The 
spelling i occurs sometimes before Augustus: ἀγκώλα > ancilia; 
'Οδυσσεία > Odissia, Livius Andronicus; 'Ολυσσεύς > Ulixes. 
In inscriptions we find misteriis, etc., S. 221. The App. Pr.
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has "gyrus non girus." Cf. giro, misterii, etc., Bechtel 76–77; giret, Audollent 535; Frigia, etc., Pirson 39. This i, if long, was usually pronounced i; if short, ı, which became e: γύρος > It. giro; κόμα > It. cima; σφυριγγα > It. scilinga; — κύκνος > It. cecino; etc. For σφυκτόν, see § 141; γύφως > It. gesso is probably a local development. Κυ frequently became qui: κολοκύντη > coloquinta, etc.; cf. § 223.

The modern Greek pronunciation is represented by some Romance words: ἀμυλόν > It. amido; βυζαντίς > It. bisante; τύμπανον > Fr. timbre; etc.


188. AI originally became ai, as in Αἰας > Aiax, Μαιά > Maia; later æ (as in aiγίς > ægis), which came to be pronounced e, as in Αἰθιοπία > Αἰθιοπία Ethiopia. Cf. Claussen 871–872.


190. EI was doubtless originally pronounced ei in Greek, then, from the sixth to the fourth century B.C., e; finally, about the third century, i, except before vowels. In Latin, e became i before consonants, e or i before vowels; εἰδολον > idōnum; παράδεισος > paradīsus; πειρατῆς > pírāta; — Κλεω > Clío; Μήδεα > Medēa. In –eos –ea –eou, the penult was often shortened: πλατεία > platēa. Cf. Claussen 873–875.


192. OI originally became oï, as in ποιη > poïna; later æ (as in pæna), which came to be pronounced e, as in Φοῖβος > Phæbus Phebus (S. 277). Sometimes, however, it became o,
as in ποιητής > poëta. Cimiterium cymiterium, for cæmeterium < κομμητήριον, perhaps indicates an ignorant confusion of ü and ö. Cf. Claussen 877–878.

Like o, ο became α: κωμωδία > comedia.

193. OY was doubtlessly originally pronounced ou in Greek, then ø, then ū. In Latin it usually became ü: βρῶχος > brūchus; οὐρανός > Ūrānus. Cf. Claussen 878–879.

1. ACCENTED VOWELS.

a. SINGLE VOWELS.

N.B. — For vowels in hiatus, see § 167. For nasal vowels, see § 171.

194. A regularly remained unchanged in the greater part of the Empire: caput, dare, factum, latus, manus, patrem, tantus. But in Gaul, especially in the north, it probably had a forward pronunciation tending somewhat toward ɛ: cf. crepere (probably for crepare) in Gl. Reich.; and agnetus (for agnāitus?) in Fredegarius, Haag 6.

195. Some words had a peculiar development:—

(1) Beside aïacrem the Romance languages seem to postulate alçrem and aîcrem. It is possible that álêcer (whence alçrem) > *álêcer (whence alçrem), then *alîcer (whence alîcrem alçrem).

(2) For the suffix -arius, see § 39, -arius.

(3) Beside cërâsus (< képsos) there must have been a Latin *cërësus. So beside *cërësës, which was used in southern Italy, Rome, and Sardinia, there was a cërësës, which was used elsewhere: Lat. Spr. 468; cf. Substrate I, 544.

(4) Beside grâvis there was a grêvis, under the influence of lēvis: greve, Lat. Spr. 468; cf. Substrate II, 441.

(5) Beside mëlum (< Doric μᾶλον) there was a mëlum (< μηλον), used by Petronius and others: Lat. Spr. 468.

(6) Beside vacuus there was a vëcuus: vocuam, C.I.L. VI, 1527 d 33; cf. vocatio, C.I.L. I, 198, etc. Cf. S. 171, Olcott 33. The o was probably
original; old *vocāre, vocāvus regularly became vacāre, vacāvus (> vacūus), whence by analogy vācat for vocāt: Lat. Spr. 466. By a change of suffix vocūus became *vōcītus.

196. Long e, which was pronounced € (§ 165), probably remained unchanged in Vulgar Latin, at least in most regions: debēre, debet, habētis, mercēdem, vēndere, vērūs.

In Sicily, Calabria, and southern Apulia e has become i. In old Oscan, which was spoken in nearly the same region, ē became i in late Republican times, as in cinsum, dibeto, etc. (Lexique 106). There is, however, no proof of historical connection between the phenomena: cf. Lat. Spr. 468.

197. I is very often used for ē in inscriptions and late writings: Gregory the Great has crudilitas, dulcido, ficit, filix, minsam, vindo, etc., -ido for -edo, -isco for -esco, -isimus for -esimus; and conversely ver for vir, etc.: Sepulcri 193–194. Cf. S. 189–190; Carnoy 15 ff. (ficet in the 3d century, etc.). Also Vok.: for the confusion of -ere and -īre, I, 260 ff., II, 69 ff.; for -ēsco and -īsco, I, 359–364; for -ēlis and -īlis, -ēlius and -īlius, I, 287–289; for vindimia instead of vindēmia, I, 328, III, 127 (Lexique 115). These spellings are due in the main to the identity of ē and i in late pronunciation: see § 165.

A. Sepulcri, in Studi Medievali I, 614–615, conjectures that s + consonant may have tended to raise € to i, q to u. This would account for bistia (= bēstia) found in late Latin, Studi Medievali I, 613; for crisco and other verbs in -isco for -ēsco; for adimplisti, etc.; for fistus, etc.;—also for colustra; for cognusco and other verbs in -usco for -ōsco. Some of the -ēsco > -ēsco cases are surely due to a shift of conjugation: see §§ 414–415.

198. In Gaul this substitution of i for ē was so very common that it must signify something. It probably indicates an
extremely close pronunciation of the \( e \) (cf. \( o \)); later, in northern Gaul, this very high \( e > ei \) (\( \text{vērum} > \text{Old Fr. veir} \)): \textit{Lat. Spr.} 468. It is interesting to note that Celtic \( ê \) also became \( i \): Dottin 99.


\( ê \)

199. Short \( e \), which was pronounced \( e \) (see § 165), remained unchanged: bêne, êxit, fêrum, fêrus, fêsta, têneo, vênit.

For the development of diphthongs, see § 177.

(i) According to \textit{Lat. Spr.} 466, voster, which supplanted vester, is to be regarded as a new formation on the model of noster rather than as the old form.

\( ì \)

200. Long \( i \), pronounced \( ï \) (§ 165), remained unchanged: audire, dico, mille, quinque (\textit{Substrate I}, 546), villa, vinum.

(i) F\textit{rigidus}, except in Spain, must have become *fr\textit{igidus} (\( > \text{frigidus} \)), perhaps through association with \( \text{rigidus} \). Cf. § 166.

(2) Beside \( ìlex \) there was an \( ëlex \), found in Gregory of Tours: \textit{Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen} CXV, 397. Cf. \textit{Lexique} 114.

(3) Beside \( ñcùla \) there was a \( ñcùla \) (\textit{Lexique} 119) > It. segolo. Varro (\textit{Lexique} 119) mentions a rustic \( ñpêca \) for \( ñpêca \). It. stegola, Sp. and Port. esteva postulate *\( stëva \) for \( stëva \); cf. \textit{C. G. L.} IV, 177, l. 1.

(4) For \( ë\), see § 229, (4).

\( ï \)

201. Short \( i \), pronounced \( ï \) (§ 165), became, doubtless by the third century and sporadically earlier, \( ë \) in nearly all the Empire: bibo, circulus, ille, minus, piscem, sitis, vittium. The spelling \( e \) for \( ï \) is common from the third century on: frecare,
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legare, menus, etc., S. 200–201; elud ( = illud), Audollent 535; minester, etc., Pirson 8–10; karessemo, etc., Carnoy 15 ff.; minester, sebe, semul, sene, vea, Neumann 23–25; corregia, etc., R. 463; accepere, trea, etc., Bon. 117–123; æteneris, trebus, etc., Haag 11. Conversely i is often used for ē (cf. §§ 197, 198): miness, etc., S. 195; benivolus, etc., R. 463. Quintilian and Varro mention (S. 166) a rustic e for i, attested also by inscriptions (S. 202).

In Sardinia and a part of Corsica this change did not take place, and both i and ē > i. These two islands were taken from Rome by the Vandals in 458 and added to the African kingdom; after that they were perhaps isolated: Einf. 106.

In southern Italy ē from i, like ē from ē, became i: cf. § 196.

(1) Beside camīsia there was a camitsia: Substrate I, 541.
(2) Beside simul there was a *sēmul, perhaps through the analogy of sēmel: Lat. Spr. 468.
(3) Sinister was replaced by sinixter, under the influence of dēxter: Lat. Spr. 469.

6

202. Long o, pronounced o (§ 165), remained unchanged in Vulgar Latin, at least in most regions: colorem, forma, hora, nomen, solus, sponsus. In Sicily, Calabria, and southern Apulia o has become u, as it did in old Oscan: cf. the change of ē to i, § 196.

For agnusco, cognusco, etc., used by Gregory the Great and others, see the end of § 197. The popular ūstium for ōstium (Lat. Spr. 468; Studi Medievali I, 613) is perhaps to be explained in this way.

For ou > ou, see § 167.

203. The spelling u for ō is very common in Gaul (Lat. Spr. 468): furma, etc., S. 214; amure, etc., Pirson 13; victurias,
It probably represents a very close sound, which later, in northern Gaul, became ou or ü: cōrtem > Old Fr. court. Cf. § 198.

204. There are a few peculiar cases:—

(1) Fr. and Sp. meuble, mueble postulate q in mōbilis, presumably through the analogy of mōveo. Cf. § 217.

(2) Beside totus and totus (§ 163), some of the Romance forms point to *tūtus or *tūctus, or at least to a nom. pl. *tūti or *tūcti: It. sg. tutto, pl. tutti; Neapolitan sg. totto, pl. tutto; old Fr., Pr. sg. tot, pl. tuit. The Italian tutto may have come through the plural. Such a form seems to be attested by the Gl. Cassel: “aiatutti. uuela alle,” where tutti is defined as alle. No satisfactory explanation has been proposed; the most plausible, perhaps, is that of Mohl, Lexique 102–104, namely, the influence of cūnci on tōti. Cf. Zs. XXXIII, 143.

205. Short o, pronounced q (§ 165), remained unchanged: bōnus, fōlia, fōris, fōrum, lōcus, mōrtem, sōlet, sōrtem. The rustic Latin funtes, frundes (for fōntes, frōndes) are perhaps connected with Italian fonte and other words containing q for q before n + dental.

U is occasionally used for ò in inscriptions: lucus, etc., S. 211–212. Cf. App. Pr., “formica non furmica.”

For the development of diphthongs, see § 177.

206. Long u, pronounced ü (§ 165), remained unchanged in most of the Empire: cūra, dūrus, nūllus, üna. Grammarians mention the protrusion of the lips: S. 216.

But in Gaul, a large part of northern Italy, and western Rāetia it was probably formed a little forward of its normal position. It was certainly not ü, cf. K. Nyrop, Grammaire historique de langue française I, § 187; but it doubtless slightly approached it. This pronunciation may have been due to the
§ 208. The following special cases are to be noted:—

(1) Beside lürdus there probably was a *lürdus: Substrate III, 517.
(2) Nüptia, through the analogy of *növius (“bridegroom,” from növus) and nöra, became nöptia: Lat. Spr. 469. Cf. Substrate IV, 134.
(3) Beside pümex there was a pömex: Bon. 136, pomic. Cf. F. G. Mohl in Zs. XXVI, 617–618.

ü

208. Short u, pronounced y (§ 165), became, probably by the fourth century or earlier, o in most of the Empire: bucca, culpa, gula, rüphtus, undai. The spelling o is common in late documents: “columna non colomna,” “turma non torna” (cf. “coluber non colober,” “formosus non formunsus,” “puella non poella”), App. Pr.; tomolus, etc., Pirson 15–17; tonica, etc., Bon. 132–135; corso, coventum (= cübítum), toneca, Haag 14. The old spelling o for u after v (voltus, servos, etc.), which lasted down into the Empire, is perhaps only orthographic: Lat. Spr. 464.

In Sardinia, a part of Corsica, Albania, and Dacia this change did not take place, and both ü and ü > u: Lat. Spr. 467.

For ĕu > ĕu, see § 167.

(1) Beside angüstia there must have been *angöstia.
(2) Fr. couleuvre, fleuve, jeune call for local q in colûbra, flûvium, jûvènîs. There are other local irregularities. Cf. § 217.
(3) In place of niurus we find nörus (R. 465) and nöra (S. 216), due to the analogy of söror and *növia (“bride,” from növus).
(4) Instead of plâvere and plâvia people said plôvere (used by Petronius and others) and *plôja: Lat. Spr. 468. Cf. §§ 169, 217.
b. DIPHTHONGS.

æ

209. æ was originally written and pronounced ai, but through the mutual attraction of its two parts it became æ, later e: cæcus, cælum, quæro.

In certain words a vulgar and dialect pronunciation ë, common to Volscian and Faliscan (Hammer 7, 8), came into general use: fēnum, prēda, sēpes, sēptum, sēta. Cf. S. 166–168, 188; Carnoy 79–80. For fēnum fænum, prēda præda, sēpes sæpes both forms were preserved. Hence, by analogy, such spellings as fæcit, etc., S. 190. Cf. Neumann 13 (2nd Fortsetzung 21–23): fæmina, quiæti, etc.

210. The regular change of æ to e took place largely in Republican times in unaccented syllables; in stressed syllables in the first century of our era and later. E for æ in dative endings occurs early: Corssen I, 687 ff. About the middle of the first century B.C., when Varro cited edus for hædus as a rural form, stressed æ was probably still a diphthong in the city but had become e in rustic Latium; some hundred years later e came into the city and pervaded the provinces: Lat. Spr. 465. Terentius Scaurus, in the first century, says that æ represents the sound better than ai: S. 224. E is found early in Campania, especially in Pompeii (presta, etc.): S. 225. In Spanish inscriptions e occurs from the first century on (Carnoy 78): questus (2d century), etc., Carnoy 69–84. It was probably general everywhere by the second century: Einf. § 78. Pompeius blames the confusion of æquus and équus: S. 178. The spelling e for æ was usual in unaccented syllables (as sancte) before the third century, in stressed syllables (as questor) from the fourth century on; it may be called regular by the fifth century: S. 178, 225. Cf. Bechtel
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75–76: cedat, grece, etc. Conversely ae was often erroneously used for ē (S. 183–184) and for Greek η (as scenam, Lexique 104).

Au

211. Au, pronounced ãu, generally remained in Vulgar Latin: aura, gaudium, taurus. In Rumanian and Provençal it was preserved as au, in Portuguese as ou; its existence in the earliest stage of French is proved by the treatment of c in causa > chose; in Italian and Spanish it did not become ò until original ò had broken into uo or ue.

(1) The spellings Cladius, Glacus, Scarus, etc., with a for au when there is an u in the next syllable, are pretty common in various countries: S. 223; Carnoy 86–95. Perhaps they represent a provincial pronunciation, or possibly they are only orthographic.

(2) Clūdo for claudo is common, coming through derivatives, such as oclūdo: Vok. II, 304; Carnoy 100 (clūdo in two Sp. inscriptions of the 1st and 2d centuries); Bayard 6. Cf. Carnoy 85–86 (clusa, etc.).

212. Umbrian and Faliscan had o in place of Latin au: Hammer 4–5, 8. So, in general, the dialects of northern and central Italy: Chronologie 158–164. There are some examples in Pompeii, in Oscan territory, where au was normally preserved; this pronunciation was used also in the country around Rome, and in the first and second centuries B.C. crept into the city, where it was used by the lower classes: Lat. Spr. 465–466. In Umbrian inscriptions we find toru, etc.: Hammer 4. In Latin, Clodius and Plotus are common in first century inscriptions: Carnoy 85, Pirson 27. Closa, etc., occur in the second century: Carnoy 85.

Conversely, \textit{au} was occasionally used for \textit{ō} (\textit{Chronologicae 160}): Festus, \textit{ausculum}; Marius Victorinus, "\textit{sorex vel saurex}."]  
Cf. *\textit{aucidere} for \textit{occidere}, postulated by some Romance forms.

213. This rustic and vulgar \textit{ō}, — which was pronounced \textit{o}, while the Romance \textit{o} from \textit{au} was \textit{o}, — was generally adopted in Vulgar Latin in a few words: \textit{cōda}; \textit{fōces}; *\textit{ōt} (cf. Umbrian \textit{ote}, Hammer 4)\(=\)\textit{aut}; \textit{plōdēre}. Cf. Classic \textit{fauces}, \textit{suffōco}; \textit{plaudo}, \textit{explōdo}; \textit{si audes}, \textit{sōdes}. Cicero used \textit{loreola}, \textit{orica}, \textit{plōdo}, \textit{pollulum}: Carnoy 95. \textit{Ōla}, \textit{cōdex}, \textit{cōles} = \textit{caulis}, \textit{lōtus}, \textit{plōtus} occur also.

\textbf{eu}


\textbf{œ}

215. \textit{Œ} was originally written and pronounced \textit{oi}, but through the mutual attraction of its two parts it became presumably \textit{ō}, later \textit{ε}: \textit{cæpi}, \textit{pæna}, \textit{pænitet}. It may be that the intermediate stage is reflected by the spelling \textit{PHYEBÆ} for \textit{Phæbe}, S. 227.


\textbf{ui}

216. \textit{Ui}, pronounced \textit{ūi}, was preserved: \textit{cūi}, \textit{hūic}, \textit{illūi}. For the development of \textit{fui}, see § 431.
c. INFLUENCE OF LABIALS.

217. According to some philologists, a following labial tends to open a vowel: *colūbra > colūbra, *flūvium > flūvium, *jūvenis > *jōvenis, *mōbilis > *mōbilis, *ovum > *q̄vum, *pīūere > pīōvēre, etc. A general influence of this kind can hardly be regarded as proved for any combination except *OU, which became QU: see § 167.

S. Pieri, La vocal tonica alterata dal contatto d’una consonante labiale in Archivio glottologico italiano XV, 457, maintains that i, e, o, u were lowered one stage—to e, e, q, 0—by a preceding or following labial, even if it was separated from the vowel by a liquid. Although many examples are cited, the evidence is not convincing. For a criticism of the theory, see G. Ascoli, Osservazioni al precedente lavoro, ibid., p. 476. The discussion is continued by Pieri, La vocal tonica alterata da una consonante labiale in Zs. XXVII, 579.

d. CLERICAL LATIN.

218. In clerical Latin the vowels were probably pronounced for the most part as in vulgar speech, until the reforms of Charlemagne. After that, in general, ā = a, ē = e, ĩ = i, ō = o, ũ = u (or ū), āe and āe = e, au = q or au.

2. UNACCENTED VOWELS.

N. B.—For secondary stress, see §§ 153–155.

219. Among unstressed vowels, those of the first syllable had most resistance, possibly through a lingering influence of the Old Latin accent: cf. § 134.

The vowels of the final syllable lost much of their distinctness, but did not fall, except sporadically, until long after the Vulgar Latin period, and then only in a part of the Empire.
Grammarians testify to the confusion of \( o \) and \( u \): S. 212. *Quase, sibe* are found in place of *quasi, sibi*: S. 199–200. According to Quintilian I, iv, 7, “in *here* neque *e* plane nequi *i* auditur.”

Weakest were medial vowels immediately following the secondary or the primary stress. In early Latin there was an inclination to syncope: *ar(i)drem, av(i)dere, bāl(i)nēum, cal(e)fācere, jūr(i)go*, etc. This tendency continued, in moderation, in Classic and Vulgar Latin: *cal(i)dus, ōc(u)lus, frig(i)daria, vīr(i)dis*, etc. In inscriptions we find such forms as *infri, vetranus*: S. 251.

For the confusion of unaccented *e* and *i*, see Pirson, 30–36, 47–48; for *o* and *u*, see Pirson 41–47. Fredegarius is very uncertain in his use of unstressed vowels: Haag 15–24.

220. \( ū \) was employed only before labials, in unaccented syllables: cf. S. 196–198, 203–208; Lindsay 25–26, 35; *Franz.* I, 21–24. During the Classic period it generally became *i*: *decumus > decimus, maxumus > maximus, pontufex > pontifex, quodlubet > quodlibet*, etc.; cf. *Lat. Spr.* 466. In Spanish inscriptions we find *maximus*, etc., spelled both with *u* and with *i*: Carnoy 65–69.

*Sūmus*, being sometimes accented, developed two forms, *sūmus* and *simus*. The former was the one generally adopted in Classic Latin, but *simus* was favored by Augustus and by some purists of his time (Lindsay 29). According to Marius Victorinus (*Keil* VI, 9), “Messala, Brutus, Agrippa pro *sumus simus* scripserunt.” In the vulgar speech *simus* seems to have prevailed in Italy and southern Gaul. Cf. § 419, (1).

221. In general Latin quantity did not sensibly affect the quality of unstressed vowels, except in initial syllables, and even there the difference must have been small. In final syllables, however, *ī* was certainly distinct from *ī*: *sentīs,*
sentīt > It. senti, sente; fēcī, fēcit > Pr. fīs, fēs. In sībi, tībi the final vowel was sometimes long, sometimes short.

a. UNACCENTED VOWELS IN HIATUS.

222. I and u followed by a vowel and beginning a syllable were apparently pronounced as consonants from the earliest times. Quintilian says that u and i in uos and iam are not vowels: S. 232. Quintilian and Velius Longus cite the spellings Aiiax, aiio, Maiiam as approved by Cicero: S. 236. Bonnet notes that a, not ab, is used before Joseph, Judais, etc. These, then, will be treated as consonants, and will be left out of consideration in the present chapter.

223. After gutturals, u followed by a vowel was originally a vowel itself, but lost its syllabic value in early Classic times: acua > aqua, distinguere > distinguere. So it was in qualis, quæro, quem, qui. In Greek transliterations κβ for qui (as in ἀκβλας) is very common: Eckinger 123–125; cf. §187.

In perfects, however, such as nocuit, placuit, the u was apparently not reduced to a semivowel until the end of the Classic period.

In some other words the syllabic value of u was kept, at least in theory, rather late: Velius Longus distinguishes aquam from acuam, S. 234; App. Pr., “vacua non vaqua,” “vacui non vaqui.”

224. Otherwise, e, i, and u in hiatus with following vowels lost their syllabic value probably by the first century of our era, and sporadically earlier. Occasional examples (such as dormio, facias, fluviorum) are found in Ennius, Plautus, Lucilius, Lucretius, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, and Seneca: e.g., deorsum in Lucretius; vindemiat or in Horace; abie te, abietibus in Virgil. Italia counts as three syllables in poets of the
early Empire. Cf. S. 232. Valerius Probus has *parietibus*: Ædon 208. Consentius declares that trisyllabic *soluit* and four-syllable *induruit* are barbarisms; Æsæellius is undecided whether *tenuis* has three syllables or two: S. 234. *Suavis*, however, was used as a trisyllable by Sedulius in the fifth century; it was probably a semi-learned word, as it became *soef* in French, *soave* in Italian.

The pronunciation *e*, *i*, *u* was probably regular in popular speech by the first century or before; by the third century, with a narrowing of the mouth-passage, the semivowels presumably developed into the fricative consonants *y* and *w*: S. 231–232. So *alea* > *alea* > *alja*, *filius* > *filius* > *filjus*, *sapui* > *sapui* > *sapwi*. In the same way *fillsulus* > *filljolus* (§ 136), *tenueram* > *t'enweram* (§ 137); likewise *ecçu'hic* > *eccwic*, *ecçu'ista* > *ecwista* (§ 65), etc. We have, then, in late Latin, a new *y* and a new *w*.

Hence arises, in late Latin spelling, a great confusion of *e* and *i* in hiatus: *capriolus* (cf. § 136), S. 187; Caper, "non iamus sed eamus," "sobrius per *i* non per *e* scribendum," Keil VII, 106, 103; *aleum*, *calcius*, *cavia*, *coclia*, *fasiolus*, *lancia*, *lantium*, *noxus*, *solia*, *vinia*, App. Pr.; *abias*, *abiat*, *exiat*, Lauriatus, *valiat*, Audollent 535; *palleum*, etc., R. 463; *calciare*, *liniamenta*, Bayard 4; *eacit* (= *jacet*), *eam* (= *jam*), Vok. II, 43; cf. Carnoy 33–35.

225. But the combinations *et*, *ié*, *ob*, *uó* developed differently, *et* and *ié* apparently being contracted into *ē*, *ōb* and *uó* into *ō*, at an early date: *arītēm* (§ 136) > *arētēm* (Varro, "ares veteres pro aries dixisse": Carnoy 43); *de-*excito > *de-*actic > *It. desto; faciēbam* > *facēbam; multērem* (§ 136) > multērem, the *i* remaining long enough to palatalize the *l* (the Romance *æ* was doubtless a later analogical development); *parētes* (§ 136) > *parētes*, C. I. L. VI, 3714 (Rome); *prēhēndēre* >
prendère, then *prendère through the analogy of rëddère and perhaps also of ascëndère, desñdère, pëndère, tëndère; quëtëus > quëtus, common in late inscriptions, Pirson 57 (cf. requëbit, Carnoy 43); — côhörtem > côrtem; côôpërîre > côpërîre, then *côpërîre *côp'rîre through the analogy of cô– and perhaps also of ôpërã, ôpus; dûôdëcim > dôdëcim (Pirson 58: dodece).

226. Furthermore, u after all consonants fell before unaccented u probably by the middle of the first century, before unaccented o by the second century: antiquus > anticus; carduus > cardus; côquus > cocus (App. Pr., "coqui non coci," "coquis non cocus"; cf. S. 351); distinguunt > distinguunt (according to Velius Longus, some writers use no u in distinguere, Édon 130); équus > écus (App. Pr., "egus non ecus"; cf. Velius Longus, S. 217); innôcuus > inôcus, Koffmane 111; môrtuus > môrtus; suus > sus, tuum > tum, Carnoy 117;— battuo > batto (cf. abattas, Gl. Reich.); côquo > cóco (App. Pr., "coquens non cocens"; hence *cocina); quat(t)uor > quattor (S. 218) quator (Pirson 58) quatro (7th century, Carnoy 221); quot(t)idie > cottidie, S. 352; stînguo > stîngo; tînguo > tîngo (Caper, "tinguere ... non tingere," Keil VII, 106); tôrqueo > *torquo > *tërco; unguo > ãngo (ungo, ungentur, ungi, Bayard 7; Caper, "ungue non unge," Keil VII, 105; uncis = unguis, Audollent 536). So apparently aruum > *arum, éruum > érum (Lat. Spr. 472: ero). Viduus, however, doubtless under the influence of the commoner vîdua, kept its u: Old Fr. vef.

After gutturals, u fell before stressed u and o: quum > cum; quômôdo > cômôdo, Audollent 536. See § 354.

U often fell irregularly in contin(u)ari, Febr(u)arius, Jan(u)arius: Vok. II, 468–469; S. 217–218.

227. Similarly, i after a consonant fell before unaccented i: audii > audi, consîlii > consîli, ministërii > ministëri. Velius
Longus found it necessary to say that *Claudii, Cornelii, Julii,* etc., should be spelled with double *i:* Keil VII, 57.


b. INITIAL SYLLABLE.

228. As far as one can judge from spellings and subsequent developments, *a* was pronounced *a; ae, e, i, æ all came to be sounded *e; i* remained *i; o and ü were finally all pronounced *o or u; o remained o; au became a if there was an accented *u* in the next syllable, but otherwise remained unchanged (cf. Lat. Spr. 470): *radicem, vālēre; ætātem, débēre, tēnēre, vidēre, fādāre; ridēmus, cīvitātem, hibernus; plōrāre, frūmentum, sūbinde; cōlōrem, dōlēre, mōvētis; A(u)gustus, A(u)runci, a(u)scūlto, audēre, gaudēre, naufragium.* For the confusion of *e* and *i,* see Audollent 535, Carnoy 17–33, Bon. 135–138. Cf. æclesia, Bechtel 76; *“senatus non sinatus,” App. Pr.; golosus gylosus (for gulōsus), Koffmane 110; moniti (for mūniti), Bon. 136. *Agustus* is frequent from the second century on, S. 223 (cf. agustas, Pirson 26); *Arunci* occurs in manuscripts of Virgil; Caper says *“ausculta non asculta,” S. 223; *agūrium* must have existed also.

229. In a few words the vowel of the initial syllable was lost before an *r:* *corrōtūlare >*corrōtūlare; dīrēctus generally > d'rēctus (Vok. II, 422: drcctus); quīrītare >*quīrītare. Jejunus after prefixes lost its first syllable: *dis-junare.*

Some minor peculiarities are to be noted: —

(1) *A* after *j* apparently tended to become *e:* Old Latin jajūnus > Classic jejūnus (the original *a* seems to be preserved in some Italian dialect forms); Classic Januarius >*Jēnuarius* (common in inscriptions, S. 171–172, Lat. Spr. 470); Classic janua >*jēnua > Sardinian genna.*

(2) *E,* long or short, is very often replaced by *i* in Gallic inscriptions (Lat. Spr. 470): *divota, mimoria,* etc.; *dilevit,* Bon. 109; cf. Vok. I,
§ 230. This perhaps indicates a close pronunciation: cf. § 198. *Di-* for *de-* , possibly through confusion with *dis-* , is common in Gregory the Great: *dirivare*, etc. According to Mohl, *Lexique* 105-108, e became i in southern Italy from the fourth to the sixth century: *rivocaverit*, etc. A form *ni* for *ne* is found from early times: Pirson 3.


4 *I* tended to become *e*, by dissimilation, if there was an accented *i* in the next syllable:1 *dividère > *devidère*; *divinus > devinus*, in fourth century inscriptions, *Lexique* 122; *finière > fenière*, in manuscripts and inscriptions, *Lexique* 123; *vícinus > vecinus*, attested by Servius, *Lexique* 104 ff. *Si*, in late Latin, sometimes became *se*, attested from the sixth century on (*Vok.* II, 87; *Lexique* 120; *Franz.* II, 224 ff.; *Bon.* 126; *Haag* 11; cf. *nise*, *C. I. L.* I, 205); in very late texts there is frequent confusion of *si* and *sed* (*Franz.* II, 225, 234-235); the *e* is perhaps due to the analogy of *que* < *quid* = *quod* (cf. §§ 69, 82), cf. Italian *sed* on the model of *ched*: *si* is preserved in French, Provençal, and Spanish, *se* in Portuguese, Old French, Italian, and Old Rumanian. In *mirabilia* the *i* apparently became *e* and *a*.

5 *U* was kept by analogy in many words: *dūrare, mūrare, mútare, nūtire* (beside *notrire*). *Jūniperus > jeniperus* (*Lat. *Spr.* 470) and *jniiperus* (*App. Pr.*).


7 *Au* in vulgar speech was often replaced by *o* (cf. §§ 212, 213): *oricla, App. Pr.*, Pirson 27; so *ot* (for *aut*: cf. Umbrian *ote*, Lindsay 40), which prevailed in Vulgar Latin.

230. *S* before a consonant was doubtless long and sharp, as in modern Italian, so that at the beginning of a word it had a syllabic effect — *s-chola*. This led to the prefixing of a front vowel (until the seventh century nearly always an *i*, later

1 Mohl's view, *Lexique* 122-126, is that original Latin *ei*, if *i* followed, became *e* instead of *i*. 
often e) to the s when no vowel preceded — in ischola. This i or e came to be regarded as a regular part of the word. The prosthetic vowel occurs first in Greek inscriptions. The earliest Latin example is probably iscolasticus, written in Barcelona in the second century; it is found repeatedly, though not frequently, in the third century (Carnoy 114–116); in the fourth and fifth it is very common: espiritum, ischola, iscripta, isperabi, ispose, istatum, istudio, S. 317; ismaragdus, Pirson 60; estatio, Estephanus, iscola, istare, R. 467. Grammarians took no note of it until St. Isidore, in the seventh century. But in late Latin texts ab rather than a was used before words beginning with sc, sp, st: ab scandalo, Dubois 171; ab sceleribus, Bon. 445; cf. Dubois 171–172, Bon. 445–446.

The es-, is- thus produced was confounded with ex-, exs- (pronounced es-) and ins-, his- (pronounced is-): explendido, splorator, instruo for struo, Spania, etc., S. 317; hispatii for spatii, Bechtel 78; spiratio for inspiratio, Koffmane 109; scalciare for excalceare, scoriare for excoriare, spandere for expandere, Spania, Spanus, stantia for instantia, strumentum, etc., R. 469–470; spectante for expectante, etc., Bon. 148. Cf. Vok. II, 365 ff.; S. 316–319; Pirson 59–60.

c. INTERTONIC SYLLABLE.

N.B.—By this term is meant the syllable following the secondary and preceding the primary stress.

231. Vowels so situated probably became more and more indistinct towards the end of the Empire, and occasionally disappeared. In some regions they began to fall regularly before the close of the Vulgar Latin period, but a was generally kept: bón(i)tatem, cáp(i)tális, cárr(i)cáre, cérebéllum, clv(i)tátem, cóll(o)cáre, cómparáre cómpérare, dél(i)cátus, dú-b(i)táre, élémentum éléméntum, frígidaaria frígidaaria, mtrabillia,
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Ministérium apparently became mínstérium early enough for the n to fall before the s: see § 171. Cf. Substrate IV, 116.

d. PENULT.

232. The Vulgar Latin rhythmic principle tended to obliterate one of the two post-tonic syllables of proparoxytones. The penult, being next to the accent, was weaker and more exposed to syncope. We find in late Latin much confusion of e and i: anemis, meretis, etc., Neumann 22; dixemus, etc., Bon. 118. Likewise 0 and u: ambolare, etc., R. 464; insola, etc., Bon. 131–135; cf. Sepulcri 201–202.

The treatment of this vowel, however, was apparently very inconsistent in Vulgar Latin, and the conditions differed widely in different regions. There was probably a conflict between cultivated and popular pronunciation, both types often being preserved in the Romance languages: thus while the literary and official world said (h)ómines (> It. uomini), the uneducated pronounced ōm’nes (> Pr. omne); similarly beside sócrum there was sócrum.

As far as the general phenomena can be classified, we may say that in popular words in common speech the vowel of the penult tended to fall under the following conditions:—

(1) BETWEEN ANY CONSONANT AND A LIQUID.

233. A vowel preceded by a consonant and followed by a liquid weakened and fell in the earlier part of the Vulgar
Latin period: *altra; anglus; aspra; dedro for déderunt, Léxi­que 63; fecrunt fecru, Lexique 64; *ins(u)la; juglus; manliplus; socro, Pirson 51. In some words we find a weakened to e: citera, App. Pr.; hilerus, Carnoy 12; Cæseris, compera, seperat (about 500 A. D.), Vok. I, 195–196; Eseram for Isaram, Bon. 96. For a vowel between a labial and a liquid, see (2) below.

But if the first consonant was a palatal, the vowel seems to have been kept, at any rate in some regions: *bálulus, frágilis, grácilis, virgínum. In vígilat>*viglat the vowel fell before the g began to be palatalized (so apparently in digitum>dictum, Franz. 2 I, 15–16; frigidus>frigídus, App. Pr.). Cf. § 259.

234. Latin originally had the two diminutive endings -clus (<-tlo), as in sǽclum, and -cūlus (<-co-lo), as in aurícūla. These were kept distinct by Plautus. Later they were confused, both becoming -cūlus in Classic Latin, both -clus in vulgar speech: artic(u)lus, bác(u)lus, másc(u)lus, óc(u)lus, spéc(u)lum, vernác(u)lus, vic(u)lus. Oclus and some others occur in Petronius: see W. Heraeus, Die Sprache des Petronius und die Glossen, 1899; cf. peduclum, Waters Ch. 57. Many examples are found in inscriptions: oclo, scaplas, Audollent 538; aunclus, felicla, masclus, Pirson 49–50. Cf. Franz. 2 I, 16–18.

To -clus was assimilated in popular Latin the ending -tulus: capitulus>*capiclus; fístula>*fiscla; vétulus>veclus, App. Pr. (cf. vitlus, Pirson 51). But a few words, which must have been slow in entering the common vocabulary, escaped this absorption: crústulum>*crustlum (found in 18 A. D.); spatula>*spatla. Cf. § 284.

(2) Between a Labial and any Consonant.

235. A vowel preceded by a labial and followed by a con­sonant was inclined to fall early: bublus; cóm(i)tem; comp’lus;
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déb(i)tum; dóm(i)nus; fib(u)la; póp(u)lus; sablum; trib(u)la; vápulo baplo. In dóm(i)nus the mn form may be the older: domni, Pirson 50; domnus in St. Augustine, Koffmane 109; dominicus, R. 467; domnulus, Koffmane 111. Lamna occurs in Horace and Vitruvius, Franz. 2 I, 13. Petronius has bublum, Waters Ch. 44, offla, Waters Ch. 56. Cf. fíbla, poplus, sablum, etc., in R. 467.

In some words, however, the vowel was kept, either everywhere or in a large region: árb(o)rem; hámulá; hóm(i)nes; júv(e)nis; nélula; trémulá.t.

236. When ab or av was brought next to a consonant by the fall of a following vowel, it generally became au, but often there were double forms; the process began very early: *ávica > auca, found in glosses; ávidus > audus, Plautus (cf. avunculus > aunculus, Plautus); *clávido > claudo (cf. *navifragus > naufragus); fábula > *faula *fabla; gábata > *gauta *gabta; *návitat > *nautat; parábula > *paraula *parabla; tábula > *taula *tablā. Cf. Franz. 2 I, 12.

(3) BETWEEN A LIQUID AND ANY CONSONANT.

237. A vowel preceded by a liquid and followed by a consonant was subject to syncope at all periods: ardus, Plautus; caldus, Plautus, Cato, Varro, Petronius; cól(a)phus (cf. percolopabat, Waters Ch. 44; colpus, Gl. Reich.); fúlica fulca, Franz. 2 I, 13; lardum, Ovid, Martial, Juvenal, Pliny; merto, Pirson 51, Franz. 2 I, 15; soldus, Cæsar, Horace, Varro; valde; virdis, App. Pr. (cf. virdiaria, Vegetius, 4th century). Cf. Franz. 2 I, 12 ff.

(4) MISCELLANEOUS.

238. In some words the vowel fell under different conditions: digitum > dictum, Franz. 2 I, 15–16 (cf. § 233); frigidus
>frigidus (cf. § 233), App. Pr. (fricda), Pompeii (FRIDAM); máximam > masma, 2d century, Suchier 732; nitidus > *nittus, pútídus > *puttus, probably late; postus, Lucretius, Pirson 50, Franz. I, 13–14 (cf. posturus, Cato).

239. In the transition from Vulgar Latin to the Romance languages the vowels in classes (1), (2), (3), —in so far as they had not fallen already,—were syncopated with some regularity; and a number of vowels otherwise placed fell under different conditions in various regions: pónere > *ponre, tóllere > *tolre; fémina > *femna, hábitus > *abtus, rápidus > *rapdus; cárrico > *carco, cléricus > *clercus, cóllocat > *colcat; déc(i)mus, fráx(i)mus, pérs(i)ca, séd(e)cim. Cf. Gl. Reich.: carcatus, culicet culcet = cólócat.

In a part of Gaul ámbita > *anta, débita > *depta, domínica > *dominca, márca > *manca, sémita > *senta. Some of these shortened forms were used in other regions.

A vowel preceded by d or t and followed by c seems to have remained longer than most other vowels that fell at all: júdico, mécicus, viáticum, víndico, etc.

e. FINAL SYLLABLE.

240. The vowels regularly remained through the Vulgar Latin period. Later, about the eighth century, they generally fell, except a and i, in Celtic, Aquitanian, and Ligurian territory.

241. In the App. Pr. we find "avus non aus," "flavus non flaus," "rivus non rius." Aus and flaus have left no representatives, but rius is evidently the ancestor of Italian and Spanish rio. All three forms are probably examples of a phonetic reduction that affected certain regions.

Through a large part of the Empire –ævit > –aut: triumphant is found in Pompeii. See Morphology.
§ 242. Final vowels, as in modern Italian, must have been often elided or syncopated in the interior of a phrase, especially e after liquids: Caper, "bibere non biber"; haber in an inscription; conder, præber, prædiscer, tanger in manuscripts. See Franz. 2 I, 41. So, perhaps, autumnal(e), tribunal(e), etc.

The App. Pr. has "barbarus non barbar," "figulus non figel," "masculus non mascel." These curious forms are probably not the result of a phonetic development, but are rather due to a local change of inflection, which left no trace in the Romance languages. Cf. Old Latin facul = facilis, famul = famulus.

§ 243. A, long or short, was naturally pronounced a; a, e, i, according to the testimony of numerous inscriptions (Lat. Spr. 469), were all probably sounded e, which in Sicily became eventually i; i remained i; ð was o, which became u in Sicily; û was u. In some localities this o and this u were kept distinct, but generally they were confounded (Lat. Spr. 469). Examples: āmās, āmāt; sancta, tristēs, tristēm, trīstīs; fēcī, bōnī, sēntīs; bōnōs, mōriōr; corpūs, frūctū. About the eighth century a probably became ð in northern Gaul.

§ 244. The changes in pronunciation led to great confusion in spelling. It is likely that final vowels were especially obscure in Gaul in the sixth and seventh centuries.

Neumann 7–8 cites ten cases of e for a: Italice, etc.

E and æ, in late Latin, were not usually distinguished (cf. § 210): apte = apta, cotidiae, etc., Bechtel 75–76.

E and i came to be used almost indiscriminately. Quintilian I, vii, says that Livy wrote sībe and quase; in I, iv and I, vii, he describes the final vowel of here as neither quite e nor quite i. Cf. mihe, tibe, etc., Lexique 118. E for i is frequent in the dative and ablative, Carnoy 45: luce, dative; uxore, ablative.
Es and is are continually interchanged: Vok. I, 244 ff., III, 116; mares = maris, etc., Audollen 535; Joannis, etc., Neumann 11-13; jacis, omnes = omnis (3d century), etc., Carnoy 13-15; regis = reges, etc. Bon. 111; omnes = omnis, etc., Bon. 121. So et and it: Bechtel 88-89, very common in Per.; tenit, etc., Neumann 11-13; posuet, etc., Carnoy 13; movit, etc., Bon. 115; Sepulcri 229-230.

With o and u it was the same. In Vok. II, 91 ff., there are 61 examples of u for ablative o between 126 and 563 A D, as well as frequent instances of ablative in um, of om for um, os for us, and us for os. The confusion of o and um is very common in Per.; also in Gregory the Great, Sepulcri 203-204; cf. Carnoy 48, monumento = monumentum. Bon. 131 has spoliatur for spoliator. Os and us were interchanged from the third century on: anus = annos, Carnoy 48; bonus = bonos, etc., Sepulcri 201. The accusative plural in us was particularly common in Gaul: filius = filios, etc., Bon. 128; cf. Haag 42.

245. In words often used as proclitics final -er, -or became -re, -ro: inter > *intre; qual(u)or > quatro, Carnoy 221; sémper > *sempre; süper > *supere. Cf. Lat. Spr. 474.

Minus, used as a prefix (cf. § 29) as in minus-pretiare, became in Gaul mis-, perhaps at the end of the Vulgar Latin period, under the influence of dis-. Cf. Phon. 43-44.

E. CONSONANTS.

246. The Latin consonant letters were B, C, D, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Z. I and V were used both for the vowels i and u and for the consonants j and v. K, an old letter equivalent to C, was kept in some formulas; it need
not be separately considered. $Q$ was generally used only in the combination $QV = kw$ (cf. § 223). $X$ stands for $ks$. $Z$ in Old Latin apparently meant $s$ or $ss$ (§ 319–320); later it represented a different Latin version of Greek $\xi$, which will be treated below (§§ 338–339).

In addition to the above, Vulgar Latin had a new $w$ and $y$ coming from originally syllabic $u$, $e$, or $i$ in hiatus: see § 224. In words borrowed from Greek and German there were several foreign consonants, which will be discussed after the native ones.

247. Double consonants regularly kept their long pronunciation: annus, nullus, passus, terra, vacca. For $ss > s$ and $ll > l$ after long vowels, see § 161. For double forms like $cipus$ $cippus$, see §§ 162, 163.

In late spelling there is some confusion of single and double consonants: anos, Pirson 88; fillio, Pirson 85; serra, Bon. 158; cf. Pirson 83–91. For Fredegarius see Haag 39–40. Double consonants are often written single in early inscriptions.

248. The principal developments that affected Latin consonants may be summed up as follows: $b$ between vowels was opened into the bilabial fricative $\beta$, and thus became identical with $v$, which also changed to $\beta$; $c$ and $g$ before front vowels were palatalized and were then subject to further alterations; $h$ was silent; $m$ and $n$ became silent at the end of a word, and $n$ ceased to be sounded before $s$. The voicing of intervocalic surds began during the Vulgar Latin period.

The consonants will now be considered in detail, first the native Latin, next the Greek, lastly the Germanic; the Celtic need not be separately studied. The Latin consonants will be taken up in the following order: aspirate, gutturals, palatals, dentals, liquids, sibilants, nasals, labials.
1. LATIN CONSONANTS.

a. ASPIRATE.

249. \( H \) was weak and uncertain at all times in Latin, being doubtless little or nothing more than a breathed on-glide: S. 255–256. Grammarians say that \( h \) is not a letter but a mark of aspiration: S. 262–263. There is no trace of Latin \( h \) in the Romance languages. Cf. G. Paris in Rom. XI, 399.

250. It probably disappeared first when medial: S. 266. Quintilian commends the spelling deprendere: S. 266. Gellius says ahenum, vehemens, incohare are archaic; Terentius Scaurus calls reprehensus and vehemens incorrect, and both he and Velius Longus declare there is no \( h \) in prendo: S. 266. Probus states that traho is pronounced troa: Lindsay 57. Cf. App. Pr., "adhuc non aduc." In inscriptions we find such forms as aduc, comprehendit, cortis, mi, nil, vemens: S. 267–268.

251. Initial \( h \) was surely very feeble and often silent during the Republic. In Cicero's time and in the early Empire there was an attempt to revive it in polite society, which led to frequent misuse by the ignorant, very much as happens in Cockney English to-day: for the would-be elegant chommoda, hinsidias, etc., of "Arrius," see S. 264.

Quintilian says the ancients used \( h \) but little, and cites "aedos ircosque": S. 263. Gellius quotes P. Nigidius Figulus to the effect that "rusticus fit sermo si aspires perperam"; but speaks of bygone generations—i.e., Cicero's contemporaries—as using \( h \) very much, in such words as sepulchrom, honera: S. 263–264. Pompeius notes that \( h \) sometimes makes position, as in terga fatigamus hasta, sometimes does not, as in quisquis honos tumuli: Keil V, 117. Grammarians felt obliged to discuss in detail the spelling of words with or without \( h \): S. 264–265.
$\S$ 254. An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

$H$ is dropped in a few inscriptions towards the end of the Republic: *arrespex* (for *haruspex*), etc., S. 264. In Rome are found: *e[redes]*, *C. I. L. I.*, 1034; *oratia*, *C. I. L. I.*, 924; *ostia*, *C. I. L. I.*, 819. In Pompeii $h$ is freely omitted; and after the third century it is everywhere more or less indiscriminately used: *abeo*, *abitat*, *anc*, *eres*, *ic*, *oc*, *omo*, *ora*, etc., *haram*, *hegit*, *hossa*, etc., S. 265–266. Cf. *ospitium*, *ymnus*, etc., *heremum*, *hiens*, *hostium*, etc., Bechtel 77–78; *ortus*, etc., *hodio*, etc., R. 462–463.

252. After $h$ had become silent, there grew up a school pronunciation of medial $h$ as $k$, which has persisted in the Italian pronunciation of Latin and has affected some words in other languages: *michi*, *nichil*, Bechtel 78, R. 455. Cf. E. S. Sheldon in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* I (1892), 82–87.

b. Gutturals.

253. $C$ and $K$ did not differ in value except that $C$ sometimes did service for $G$: *App. Pr.*, “*digitus non dicitus*”; *dicitos* = *digitos*, Audollent 536; cf. S. 341–344. There was some confusion, too, of $Q$ and $C$: S. 345.

254. $QV$ was pronounced *kw*: S. 340–341, 345–346, 350–351. Before $u$ and $o$, however, the *kw* was reduced to $k$ by the first or second century, probably earlier in local or vulgar dialects: Quintilian VI, iii, records a pun of Cicero on *coque* and *quoque*; *condam*, *cot*, *cottidie*, S. 351–352; *in quo ante* = *in-choante*, *quooperta* = *coperta*, *secuntur*, Bechtel 78–79. Cf. § 226.

Before other vowels the *kw* was regularly kept in most of the Empire, unless analogy led to a substitution of $k$, as in *coci* for *coqui* through *cocus*: see § 226. But in Dacia, south-eastern Italy, and Sicily subsequent developments point to a Vulgar Latin reduction of *que* to *ke*, *qui* to *ki*: *Lat. Spr.* 473.
In *quinque* the first *w* was lost by dissimilation: *cinqve*, Carnoy 221, found in Spain (so *cinqv*, Lexique 93); *cinctivs*, *cinqvaginta*, S. 351. *Laqueus* seems, for some reason, to have become *laceus*: Substrate III, 274.

255. *X* stood for *ks*: S. 341, 346, 352. After a consonant *ks* early tended to become *s*: Fiautus uses *mers* for *merx*; Caper, "*cals* dicendum, ubi materia est, per *s*," Keil VII, 98.

By the second or third century *ks* before a consonant was reduced to *s*: *sestus* is common in inscriptions, cf. Carnoy 170, Eckinger 126 (*Σεστος*); *destera*, Carnoy 171; *dester*, S. 353; *mextum* for *mastum*, Audollent 537. So *ex-* > *es-* in *excutere*, *exponere*, etc.: cf. *extimare* for *œstimare*, Bechtel 139. Hence sometimes, by analogy, *es-* for *ex-* before vowels, as in *essa-gium*, but not in *exire*.

At about the same time final *ks* became *s*, except in monosyllables: *cojus*, *conjus*, *milex*, *pregnax = prægnans*, *subornatris*, etc., in inscriptions, S. 353 (cf. *xanto*, etc.); *felis*, fifth century, Carnoy 159; App. Pr., "*aries non ariex*," "*locuples non lucuplex*," "*miles non milex*," "*poples non poplex*." In parts of Italy *ks* between vowels was assimilated into *ss* by the first century, but this was only local: *alesan[der]*, S. 353; *bissit bisset visit = vixit*, S. 353. For *ks* > *χs*, see § 266.

There are some examples, in late Latin, of a metathesis of *ks* into *sk*: *axilla > ascella*, Lindsay 102; *buxus > *buscus*; *vixit > vixcit* (i.e., *vict*), Carnoy 157. Cf. Vok. I, 145. On the other hand, *Priscilla > PRIXSILLA*, Carnoy 158. In northern Gaul apparently *sk* regularly became *ks*, as in *cresco*, *nasco*, etc.: see *Mêlanges Wahlund* 145.

256. The voicing of intervocalic surds doubtless began as early as the fifth century; it is shown by Anglo-Saxon borrowings and by such Latin forms as *frigare*, *migat* in inscriptions
and manuscripts; there are many examples from the sixth century: *Lat. Spr. 474. A. Zimmermann, Zs. XXV, 731, finds in inscriptions some slight evidence of a change of $t$ to $d$ during the Empire, in some places perhaps as early as the first century. According to Loth 21–26, intervocalic $c$, $p$, $t$ were voiced in Gaul in the second half of the sixth century. Rydberg, *Franz. 2 I*, 32, maintains, on the evidence of inscriptions and manuscripts, that $t > d$ in the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth, while $c > g$ at least two centuries earlier. Cf. *Vok. I*, 125 ff.; *immudavit*, 2d century, Carnoy 121; *eglesia, lebra, pontivicatus*, 7th century, Carnoy 123; *negat, pagandum*, etc., *sigriacus = secretiius*, etc., Haag 27; *cubidus, occubavit*, etc., *stubri*, etc., Haag 27–28; *cataveris = cadaveris*, etc., Haag 28–29. Some of the above examples show that consonants followed by $r$ shared in the voicing, at least as early as the seventh century.

Voicing was not general, however, in central and southern Italy, Dalmatia, and Dacia.

257. Initial $c$ and $cr$, in a few words, became $g$ and $gr$: *gaveola; *gratis; *crassus + grossus > grassus*, found in the 4th century. Cf. Densusianu 111–112.

(1) *C AND G BEFORE FRONT VOWELS.*

258. Before the front vowels $e$ and $i$ the velar stops $k$ and $g$ were drawn forward, early in the Empire or before, into a mediopalatal position—$k', g'$. $G$ seems to have been attracted sooner than $k$: in Sardinian we find $k$ before $e$ or $i$ preserved as a stop while $g$ is not—*kelu, kena, kera, kima, kircare, deghe < decem, noghe < nucem*, but *reina*, etc.

In Central Sardinia, Dalmatia, and Illyria $k'$ went no further, and in Sicily, southern Italy, and Dacia the $k'$ stage was apparently kept longer than in most regions: *Lat. Spr. 472.*
259. *G* by the fourth century had become præpalatal and had opened into *y*, both in popular and in clerical Latin: 

_Gerapolis_ for _Hierapolis_, _Per._ 61, 3; "calcostegis non calcosteis," 

_App._ _Pr._; _congilgi_ = _conjugi_, S. 349; _geiuna_ = _jejuna_, Stolz 275, Neumann 5, _Lat._ _Spr._ 473; _genvarivs_, S. 239; _genarisv_, Pirson 75; _agebat_ = _aiebat_, _Ienubam_ = _Genavam_, _inges_ = _ iniens_, Bon. 173; _agebat_ = _aiebat_, _agere_ = _aiere_, Sepulcri 205; _Gepte_, _Tragan_, _Troge_, Haag 33; _iesta_, D'Arbois 10. Before this happened, _frigidus_ in most of the Empire had become _frigdat_ (App. _Pr._, "frigida non frieda"), _viglat_ had become *viglat*, and _digitus_ in some places had become _dictus_ (_Franz._ 2 I, 15–16): cf. § 233.

This *y*, when it was intervocalic, fused, in nearly all the Empire, with the following *e* or *i* if this vowel was stressed: _magister_ > * _mayister_ > _maester_; so * _pa(g)é(n)sis, re(g)tna, vi-(g)nti_, etc.; similarly perhaps the proclitic _ma(g)is_. Cf. _Agrientum_, _βεντι_ = _viginti_, _μεστρο_, etc., _Vok_. II, 461 (cf. _maestati_, _Vok_. II, 460); _trienta_, S. 349, Pirson 97; _quarranta_ = _quadraginta_, Pirson 97; _aliens_, _colliens_, _diriens_, _negliencia_, Haag 34; _recolliendo_, etc., F. _Diez_, _Grammaire des langues romanes_ I, 250. After the accent, and after a consonant, the *y* regularly remained, except when analogy forced its disappearance (as in _colliens_ through _colliente_, etc.): _légit_, _léges_, _plángit_, _argéntum_. But sometimes it fused with a following *i* in proparoxytones: _roitus_ (= _rógitus_ = _rogátus_), _Vok_. II, 461.

Spain, a part of southwestern Gaul, and portions of Sardinia, Sicily, and southwestern Italy remained at the *y* stage; elsewhere the *y* developed further in the Romance languages. Cf. _Lat._ _Spr._ 473.1

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1 Some light is thrown on the later clerical pronunciation by a statement in a fragment of a tenth century treatise on Latin pronunciation, _Thurot_ 77, to the effect *g* has "its own sound" (i.e., that of English _g_ in _gem_) before *e* and *i*, but is "weak" before other vowels.
260. $k'$ as early as the third century must have had nearly everywhere a front, or præpalatal, articulation: $k'entu, duk'ere$. The next step was the development of an audible glide, a short $y$, between the $k'$ and the following vowel: $k'yentu, duk'yere$. By the fifth century the $k'$ had passed a little further forward and the $k'y$ had become $t'y$: $t'yentu, dut'yere$. Through a modification of this glide the group then, in the sixth or seventh century, developed into $t's'$ or $ts$: $t's'entu$ or $tsentu$.

Speakers were apparently unaware of the phenomenon until the assimilation was complete. There is no mention of it by the earlier grammarians: S. 340. In the first half of the third century some writers distinguish $ce, ka, and qu$, apparently as præpalatal, mediopalatal, and postpalatal; in the fifth century we find bintcente, intcitamento: P. E. Guarnerio in Supplementi all'Archivio glottologico italiano IV (1897), 21–51 (cf. Rom. XXX, 617). S. 348 cites FES[IT], PAZE (6th or 7th century). Cf. Vok. I, 163. Frankish tins (German zins) is from census, borrowed probably in the fifth century: F. G. Mohl, Zs. XXVI, 595.¹

So was palatalized also: crēscere, co(g)nōscere, fascem, nascère, pīscem, etc. Cf. consiensia, septrum, S. 348.


¹ In the school pronunciation of the seventh and eighth centuries $c$ before $e$ and $i$ was probably $ts$. In the treatise cited in the preceding note, Thurot 77, it is stated that $c$ has "its own sound" before $e$ and $i$, and is almost like $g$ before other vowels.
(2) C AND G BEFORE BACK VOWELS.

263. K and g before vowels not formed in the front of the mouth usually remained unchanged: canis, gustus, pacare, negare. See, however, § 256. Inasmuch as a had in Gaul a front pronunciation (§ 194), ka, ga in most of that country became k'a, g'a, probably by the end of the seventh century, and then developed further: carum > Fr. cher, gamba > Fr. jambe.

Intervocalic g before the accent fell in many words in all or a part of the Empire, and apparently remained—perhaps under learned or under analogical influence—in others: AVSTVS from the second century on, Carnoy 127 (cf. AVSTE, S. 349); FRVALITAS, S. 349; so *leālis, *liāmen, *reālis (for realis in Gl. Reich., see Zs. XXX, 50); so, too, the proclitic eo for ego, found about the sixth century, Vok. I, 129 (other examples in manuscripts, Franz. 2 II, 242–243). But ligāre, nēgāre, pagānus.

(3) C AND G FINAL AND BEFORE CONSONANTS.

264. At the end of a word the guttural seems to have been regularly preserved in Vulgar Latin: dic, dūc, ecce hīc, eccu'hāc, fac, hōc, sīc; cf. Italian dimmi (< dic mī), fammi (< fac mī), siffatto (< sīc factum).

Occasionally, however, the c must have been lost,—mainly,
no doubt, through assimilation to a following initial con-
sonant: FA for fac, Zs. XXV, 735. In late texts nec is often
written ne before a consonant, and there is a confusion of si

265. Before another consonant k and g were for the most
part kept through the Vulgar Latin period: actus, oclus; frig-
dus, *viglat (§ 233).
For kw = qu, see § 254. For ks = x, see § 255.

266. Kt in some parts of Italy was assimilated into tt by
the beginning of the fourth century, in the south even in the
first century: FATA, OTOGENTOS, in Pompeii, Lat. Spr. 476;
AVTOR, LATTVCÆ (301 A. D.), OTOBIS (380 A. D.), PRÆFETTO,
etc., S. 348; App. Pr., "auctor non autor"; Festus, "dumecta
antiqui quasi dumecita appellabant quæ nos dumeta," S. 348.
The Celts perhaps pronounced the Latin ct as χt from the
beginning, inasmuch as their own ct had become χt (e.g., Old
Irish ocht-n corresponding to Latin octo, Windisch 394, 398–
399); and likewise substituted χs for ks: *factum > Fr. fait,
*exsire > Pr. eissir. Cf. Einf. § 186, Gram. I, § 650. The
resultant phenomena can, however, be explained otherwise:
Suchier 735.

267. Nkt became yt, which seems to have been assimilated
into nt in parts of the Empire, probably by the first century:
defuntus, regnancte, sante, Lat. Spr. 472; santo, S. 278; cuntis,
santus, Carnoy 172.
There is reason to believe, however, that the γ was retained
very generally in Gaul and perhaps some other regions, and
subsequently drawn forward to the praepalatal position—nt':
sanctum > Fr., Pr. saint, sanh, etc.

268. Gm became um: fraumenta, fleuma, Lat. Spr. 472;
App. Pr. "pegma non peuma" (i.e., πγγμα); St. Isidore, "sagma
quae corrupte vulgo *sauma* [or *salma*] dicitur” (i.e., σάγμα), S. 327. Cf. Italian *soma*; and also *salma*, which comes from *sauma* as *calma* from καῦμα. *Soma* occurs in Gl. Reich.

269. *Gn* was variously treated in different regions, being preserved in some, assimilated into *n* or *n* in others, and subjected to still further modifications: *rænante, renum*, Haag 34. Cf. Lat. Spr. 476.

In *cognōsco* the *g* generally disappeared, the word being decomposed—after the fall of initial *g* in *gnosco*—into *co-* and *nōsco*; similarly the *g* was sometimes lost in *cognatus*: Vok. I, 115-116, *connato, cunnuscit*, etc.

270. *Gr*, between vowels, in popular words apparently became *r* in parts of the Empire: *fra(g)rare, inte(g)rum, ni(g)rum, pere(g)rinum, pi(g)ritia*.

c. PALATALS.

271. Latin *j* was pronounced *y*, being identical in sound with the consonant that developed out of *e* and *i* (§ 224): *jam, conjux, cūjus; ēamus, habeam, tēneat, filia, vēnio*. Instead of *i* (≡*j*) the spelling *ii* was often used: *coiiugi, eiius*, Neumann, *Fortsetzung 7*.

When *y* followed a consonant, that consonant was often more or less assimilated, sometimes entirely absorbed by the *y*. Palatalization was commonest in Gaul, rarest in Dacia.

272. *Dy* and *gy*, in the latter part of the Empire, probably were reduced to *y* in vulgar speech: *deōrsum, diūrnus; adjutare, audīam, gaudium, hōdie, ōdium, pōdium, vīdeam; exagium, fageus*. Compare *oze = hôdie* (S. 323) and *Zουλεία = Julia* (Eckinger 80); *zaconvs = diaconus*, etc. (S. 324) and *zesv = Jesu, zvniōr = junior* (S. 239). Cf. *ajulit = adjutet*, Pirson 76; *madias = maias*, 364 A. D., Stolz 275, Pirson 75, Carnoy
162; *maio = maio, Haag 34; *maia = maias, Carnoy 162, S. 349; *maio = maio, Haag 34; *maia = maias, Carnoy 162; *maio = maio, Haag 34; *maia = maias, Carnoy 161; *aios = *aios, Vok. II, 461; *Condianus = Condianus, Carnoy 162; *corrigia = corrigia, Remidium = Remigium, Haag 34; *inoget = *inoget, Gl. Reich.

Dz, di, however, towards the end of the Empire, had another—doubtless more elegant—pronunciation, which was probably dz: *poddium > It. *poggio, but *medium > It. *mezzo. Servius in Virg. Georg. II, 216, says, “Media, di sine sibilo proferenda est, græcum enim nomen est,” S. 320. St. Isidore writes, “solent Itali dicere ozone pro hodie,” S. 321. The letter Z is often used in inscriptions, but we generally cannot tell whether it means dy, y, or dz (cf. § 339): *zes = dies, S. 323; *ze = die, Audollent 537; *zogenes, S. 324; cf. *sacritus = diákratos, Waters Ch. 63.

In most words the vulgar y prevailed, in others—especially in Italy—the cultivated dz; from radius Italian has both raggio and razzo. The dz pronunciation was especially favored after a consonant: *hördeum > It. *orzo, *prandium > It. pranzo.

273. It appears that the labials were not regularly assimilated in Vulgar Latin: sapiam > It. sappia, Pr. sapcha, etc. But through the analogy of audio > *auyo, video > *veyo, etc., and perhaps through slurring due to constant and careless use, habeo, débeo often became *ayo, *deyo: cf. It. aggió, deggio, beside abbio, debbio. The reduced forms generally prevailed, but not everywhere. For plúvia a form *plója was substituted in most of the Empire: cf. §§ 169, 208,(4).

274. Ly, ny, between vowels, probably became l', n' before the end of the Empire: filius, fólia, melius, palea, tilia; Hispána, ténear, véniam. This palatal pronunciation may be represented by the spellings Aureia, Corneius, fúios, etc., S. 327.
Lly, ll'g', l'g' were probably reduced to l' somewhat later: allium, malleus; colligit; ex-eligit.

Oleum, from έλαιον, is an exception: cf. It., Sp. olivo, Pg. oleo, Pr. oli, Fr. huile; the foreign words borrowed from Latin oleum indicate the same irregularity.

For ry, see § 296.

275. Sy, between vowels, doubtless became during the Vulgar Latin period s', a sound similar to English sh in ship: basium, caseus, mansiónem, etc.

Sy, scy, sty were generally assimilated later: *bassiare, fascia, póstea. Cf. consiensia, Pirson 72.

For the confusion of sy and ty, see § 277.

276. Cy and ty, in the second and third centuries, were very similar in sound, being respectively k'y and t'y (cf. Fr. Riquier and pitit in popular speech), and hence were often confused: Ἀρονκιανός = Aruntianus, 131 A.D., Eckinger 99; TERMINACIONES (2d century), concupiscencia (an acrostic in Commodian), justicia (in an edict of Diocletian), many examples in Gaul in the 5th century, Lat. Spr. 475; defeniciones (222-235 A.D.), oció (389 A.D.), staacio (601 A.D.), tercius, S. 323; oracionem (601 A.D.), tertia, Pirson 71; mendatium, serviciun, etc. Bon. 171; especially common in Gallic inscriptions of the seventh century, Stolz 51. Cf. Vok. I, 150ff.; Densusianu 111.

In later school pronunciation cy and ty were sounded alike. According to Albinus (S. 321) "benedictio et oratio et talia t debent habere in pænultima syllaba, non c." In the treatise published by Thurot (see footnote to § 259), p. 78, we are told that tʃ, unless preceded by s, is pronounced like c, as in etiam, prophetia, quatio, silentium; tʃ, furthermore, is confused with cʃ, the spelling c being prescribed in amicicia, avaricia, duricia, justicia, leticia, malicia, pudicicia, etc., also in nuncius, ocium,
spacium, tercius. Cf. Gl. Reich.: audatia, speties, sotium; ambicio, inicio, spacio, tristitia, etc.

This similarity or identity of sound led, in some cases, either locally or in the whole Empire, to the substitution of suffixes and to other permanent transfers of words from one class to the other: cf. Carnoy 151-154. Hence arose numerous double forms: condicio conditio, solacium solatium; later avaritia -cia, *cominiare -ciare, servitium -ciom, etc.; so many proper names, Anitius -cius, etc., S. 324. Cf. A. Horning in Zs. XXIV, 545. This explains such seemingly anomalous developments as *exquartiare > It. squarciare, *gutteare > It. gocciare, etc. A number of words evidently had a popular pronunciation with t' and a school pronunciation with k', or vice versa: cf. It. comenziare cominciare, etc. ¹

277. T'y developed sporadically in the second century, regularly by the fourth, into ts (cf. §260): crescentian[vs], 140 A.D., S. 323; martianenses = Martianenses, 3d century, Carnoy 154; zodorys = Theodorus, etc., S. 324, Vok. I, 68; ampitlatru, Vincentius, Audollent 537. Servius in Don. (S. 320) says, "Iotacismi sunt quotiens post ti- vel di- syllabam sequitur vocalis, et plerumque supradictae syllabae in sibilum transeunt." Papirius, cited by Cassiodorus (S. 320): "Justitia cum scribitur, tertia syllaba sic sonat quasi constet ex tribus litteris, t, z, et i"; he goes on to state that it is always so when ti is followed by a vowel other than i (as in Tatius, otia, but not in otii, justitiia), except in foreign proper names or after s (as in justius, castius). Pompeius says the same thing at considerable length, adding (S. 320), "si dicas Titius, pinguius sonat et perdit sonum suum et accipit sibilum." Consentius

¹ For a different explanation of the Italian and Rumanian developments, see S. Puscariu, Lateinisches ti und ki im Rumänischen, Italienischen und Sardischen, 1904; reviewed in Litbl. XXVII, 64.
mentions the assimilation in *etiam*, St. Isidore in *justitia*: S. 320–321. Welsh words borrowed from Latin before the fourth century show no assimilation; but names in *-tiacum*, carried into Brittany in the second half of the fifth century, are assimilated (e.g., *Metiacus* > *Messac*).

At an intermediate stage between *ty* and *ts* — say *t's'y* — the group, if the *t* was rather weak, was easily confused with *sy*. Examples are very numerous: *Observatione*, 5th century, S. 323, Pirson 71; *diposisio* = *depositio*, *hocsies*, *sepsies*, 6th century, S. 323; *tersio*, Pirson 71; cf. *Vok.* I, 153. Clerical usage for a while doubtless favored *sy* for *ty*, and many words have preserved it in various regions, especially in suffixes: *palatium* — *slium*, *pretium* — *slium*, *ratio* — *sio*, *statio* — *sio*, *servitium* — *sium*, etc.; hence Italian *palagio* beside *palazzo*, etc., and — *igia* beside — *ezza* from — *itia*. Cf. *Liblt.* XXVII, 65; *Rom.* XXXV, 480.

278. *K'y* was assimilated sporadically in the third century, but not regularly until the fifth or sixth, after the assimilation of *t'y* was completed: *Mαρσουανός* = *Marcianus*, 225 A. D., Eckinger 103; *judigsium*, 6th century, Carnoy 154; so *facio*, *glacies*, *placeam*, etc. The resulting sibilant was different from that which came from *t'y*: *faciam* > It. *faccia*, *vitium* > It. *vezzo*. But the intermediate stages were similar enough to lead to some confusion, and the ultimate products have become identical in many regions.

279. For *k', g',* not followed by *y*, see Gutturals.

d. DENTALS.

280. The dentals were pronounced with the middle of the tongue arched up and the tip touching the gums or teeth, as in modern French, and not as in English: S. 301–302, 307.

281. *D* regularly remained unchanged: *dare, perdo, modus, quid*. 
Oscan and Umbrian had *nn* corresponding to Latin *nd*: Sittl 37. There is some indication that this pronunciation was locally adopted in Latin: *agenne*, *verecvnnvs*, etc., S. 311–312; “grundio non grunnio,” App. Pr. If this was the case, the central and southern Italian *nn* for *nd* (as *quannu* for *quando*) may go back to ancient times: *Lat. Spr.* 476.


(2) In a few words *d > r*: *medidies* by dissimilation > *meridies*; *arvorsvm = adversum*, S. 311; Consentius blames “peres pro pedes,” S. 311. The cases seem to be sporadic and due to different special causes.

282. At the end of a word there was hesitation between *d* and *t*; *d* may have been devocalized before a voiceless initial consonant, and possibly at the end of a phrase: *apvd apvt*, S. 365; *capud* in Gregory the Great; *fecit feced*, etc., S. 365; *inxvid*, *set*, etc., S. 366–367; *aput*, *quot*, *set*, Carnoy 180. Some of the confusion was doubtless due to the fall of both *d* and *t*: see § 285.

In proclitics assimilation naturally went further, as we may infer from the treatment of the prefix *ad*–: people probably said not only *at te* (cf. *attendere*) but sometimes *ar Romam* (cf. *arripere*). So the final consonant eventually often disappeared. Cf. S. 358–359. Grammarians warn against the confusion of *ad* and *at*, etc., S. 365–366. Cf. *ad eos* and *at ea*, etc., Carnoy 179–180; *id it*, *quid quit*, Carnoy 180; *a, quo* and *co*, Haag 29.

*Illud*, through the analogy of other neuters, became *illum*: Haag 29, *illum corpus*, etc.

283. Intervocalic *d*, perhaps at the end of the Vulgar Latin period, became *ẓ* in Spain, Gaul, Rætia, northern Italy, and a part of Sardinia: *vtdere > *vedere*. Similarly intervocalic *dr,*
either at the same time or later, became dr in Spain and Gaul: *quadro > *quadro.

In quadraginta, dr > rr: quarranta, Pirson 97.

284. T usually remained unchanged: teneo, sitis, partem, facit.

TI, however, seems to have regularly become ci: astula > Pr. ascla; stloppus > *scloppus > It. schioppo; ustulare > Pr. usclar. Cf. sclit- and sclitib- (from stlis stlitis), S. 312-313; Caper, "Martulus . . . non Marculus," "stlataris sine c littera dicendum," Keil VII, 105, 107; App. Pr., "capitulum non caplicum," "vetulus non veclus," "vitulus non vclus." For -tulus > -clus, cf. §234.

Between s and a t developed: Caper, "pessulum non pestulum" (hence Italian pestio, etc.), S. 315. So probably insula > *isla > *istla > *iscla > It. Ischia.

285. Final t fell in Volscian (fasia = faciat), often in Umbrian (habe), occasionally in Faliscan: Hammer 5, 7, 8. In early dialects we find such forms as CVPA, DEDE: S. 367. In Latin, final t disappeared early in the Empire in southern Italy, and during the Empire in most of Italy and Dacia; Rumanian, Italian (except Sardinian), and also Spanish and Portuguese show no trace of final t except in monosyllables. Cf. Hammer 28-32. The first sure examples of the fall in Latin are found in Pompeii; others appear later in the inscriptions in Christian Rome and northern Italy, as ama, peria, relingue, valia, vixi, etc.: S. 367-368, Lat. Spr. 472. Gaul, Ræitia, and Sardinia kept the t late; but forms without the consonant (as audivi, posui) — possibly due to Italian stoncutters — occur in Gallic inscriptions. Fredegarius wrote e for et: Haag 29.

Final nt perhaps lost its t before consonants: Lat. Spr.
§ 288. The Romance languages show forms with \( nt \), with \( n \), and without either consonant. \( Nt \), in general, is preserved in the same regions as \( t \). In inscriptions we find: \( dedro \) and \( dedrot \), in Pisaurum, S. 365; \( posuerun \), \( restituerun \), Lat. Spr. 473–474. Cf. Lindsay 124.

Final \( st \), likewise, may have lost its \( t \) before consonants — as \( post illum \) but \( pos' me \), \( est amatus \) but \( es' portatus \): Lat. Spr. 473. \( Pos \) is very common in inscriptions, and \( es \) is found: S. 368. Cf. \( pos \), \( posquam \) in R. 470. According to Velius Longus, Cicero favored \( posmeridianus \); Marius Victorinus preferred \( posquam \): S. 368. Both \( st \) and \( s \) are represented in the Romance languages.

For the confusion of final \( d \) and \( t \), see § 282: \( capud \), \( feced \), \( inquid \) are found. When \( t \) did not fall, it was doubtless often voiced, inside a phrase, before a vowel or a voiced consonant. \( Caput \) became \( capus \) (Pirson 238) or *\( capum \). Fredegarius uses \( capo \): Haag 29.

286. Intervocalic \( t \) was voiced to \( d' \) in Spain, Gaul, Rætia, and northern Italy probably in the fifth or sixth century: cf. § 256. Inscriptions show a few such forms as \( amadus \), S. 309. Such a spelling as \( retere \) for \( reddere \) (S. 309) may indicate uncertainty in the use of \( d \) and \( t \).

Later this \( d' > \delta \) in northern Gaul and Spain. In Gaul and Spain, moreover, \( tr > \delta r > \delta r \). Cf. § 283.

e. LIQUIDS.

(1) \( L \).

287. \( L \) had a convex formation, like \( d \) and \( t \) (cf. § 280): S. 306–307, 309.

288. Priscian I, 38 (S. 324) writes: "\( L \) triplicem, ut Plinio videtur, sonum habet: \( exilem \), quando geminatur secundo loco
posita, ut *il-le, Metel-lus;* plenum, quando finit nomina vel syllabas et quando aliquam habet ante se in eadem syllaba consonantem, ut *sol, silva, flâvus, clarus;* medium in aliis, ut *lectus, lectum.* Consentius distinguishes the "sonus exilis," which he ascribes to initial and double *l* (as in *lana, ille*), from the "pinguis," heard before a consonant (as in *alb', alga*, etc.): S. 326. Other grammarians blame, in obscure terms, a faulty pronunciation of *l* particularly prevalent in Africa or Greece: S. 325–326. See also Zs. XXX, 648.

It is likely that *l* before or after another consonant had a thick sound caused by lifting the back of the tongue. Before consonants, this formation led in some regions, sporadically by the fourth century but regularly not until the eighth and ninth and later (*Lat. Spr.* 476), to the vocalization of *l* into *u:* *καυκοῦλατο* in an edict of Diocletian, 301 A.D., Eckinger 12; *cauculus* in manuscripts, Vok. II, 494. After consonants, this elevation, shifted forwards, brought about the palatalization of *l* in Spanish and Italian: *clavem > kl'ave > Sp. llave, It. chiave.*

According to H. Osthoff, *Dunkles und helles l im Lateinischen* in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* XXIV, 50, intervocalic *l*, except before *i*, also had the thick sound—as in *famulus* (but not in *similis*): thus is explained the different fate of *a* in *calere > Old Fr. chaloir* and *gallina > Old Fr. geline,* etc.

289. During the Latin period *l* regularly remained unchanged: *luna, altus, mille, sol.* It seems to have fallen in *tribunal.*

For *ll > l,* see § 161. For *ly,* see § 274. For *sl > stl, skl,* see § 284.

(1) Metathesis occurs occasionally: Consentius (S. 327) blames "*coaela pro cloaca,*" "*dispticina pro disciplina;*" cf. *fabula > *flaba > It. fiaba,* etc.

(2) There are sporadic examples of the dissimilation of two *l*’s:

(3) Marius Victorinus (Keil VI, 8) says: "Gn. Pompejus Magnus et scribat et dicebat kadamitatem pro calamitate." Cf. § 281, (1).

(2) **R**.

290. *R* in Classic and Vulgar Latin was probably a gingival or præpalatal trill: S. 307, 309, 328. It generally resisted change: *ridet, carrus, cursus, pater*.

291. In many words, however, *rs* > *ss*. The principle seems to have been that original *rs* remained, while old *rss*, coming from *rrt*, was early reduced to *ss*: *Lat. Spr. 471*. Velius Longus says (S. 330): "Dossum per duo *s* quam per *r* quidam ut lenius enuntiaverunt, ac tota *r* littera sublata est in eo quod est *rusum* et *retrosum*." *Russum rusum, susum* occur in early writers; *dextrosus, introitus, rusus, suso, susum*, etc., in inscriptions: S. 330. *App. Pr.* has *pessica*; *Gl. Reich.* has *iusu = deorsum*. The assimilation was not consistently carried out everywhere, being probably somewhat hindered by school influence. It took place in the whole territory in *deorsum* and *sürsum*; in most of the Empire in *dörsun*; in about half the Empire in *përsica*; locally in *aliörsun, retrörsun, revër corsus, vër surs*.

After long vowels the *ss* > *s* (see § 161); so *süssum > süsum*, while *dössum* remained unchanged: *susum*, Waters Ch. 77; *susosusu susum*, Bechtel 83: *susum* very common, R. 460–461; *diosum*, R. 460. Cf. Corssen I, 243.

292. Moreover, there was a strong tendency to dissimilate two *r*'s, although it was only sporadically carried out: in Old Latin, *-aris* after *r* > *-alis*, as in *floralis*; *App. Pr.*, "*terebra non telebra*"; in inscriptions we find repeatedly *pelegrinus*
(Sittl 74), also *ministorum, perpenna = Perperna, *propietas, *propio, S. 329; *albor, colianandrum, criblare, flagrare, melatrix, plurigo are attested likewise, Lat. Spr. 477. Pompeius (S. 329) says: "Barbarismus, quando dico *mamor pro eo quod est *marmor." Cf. Italian *propio, dietro dritto.

293. Velius Longus (S. 329) tells us that in elegant speech *per before l was pronounced pel, as in *pellabor, *pellicere. Cf. *pellige, etc., S. 329. So Italian *per lo > *pello, averlo > (in Old It.) avello. This assimilation was probably not widespread in Latin; it has left very few traces in the Romance languages. Cf. Italian Carlo, merlo, orlo, perla, etc.


An intrusive r is found in culcitra, Waters Ch. 38.

295. Final r, except in monosyllables, fell, probably before the end of the Vulgar Latin period, in most of Italy and Dacia: *sōror > It. *suora, Rum. soaru. Sittl 11 mentions an early fall of final r among the Falisci and the Marsi, as in mate, uxo; cf. FRATE, MATE.

296. *Ry was probably preserved through the Vulgar Latin period, although it may have been reduced to y in parts of Italy: *cōrium > *coryu and possibly *c̣yu (cf. It. cuoio).

f. SIBILANTS.

297. S seems to have been dental, with the upper surface of the tongue convex (cf. § 280): S. 302, 304, 307—308.

The old voiced s having become r (S. 314—315), Classic Latin s was probably always voiceless and remained so in
Vulgar Latin (S. 302-304): this is indicated by the fact that intervocalic \( s \) is still generally surd in Spanish (\textit{casa}, etc.) and in most popular words in Tuscan (\textit{naso}, etc.); corroborative evidence, as far as it goes, is furnished by such spellings as \textit{nupsi, pleps, urps}, also \textit{maximus, rexi}, etc., and the development of a \( p \) in such words as \textit{hiems, sumps}. At the very end of the Vulgar Latin period, however, intervocalic \( s \) may have become voiced in some regions (cf. § 256): \textit{causa, m\=isi}, etc.\(^1\)

Classic Latin \( s \) was generally preserved: \textit{sex, ossum, cur-sus, iste}.

298. Final \( s \) often fell in Umbrian (\textit{kumate}), and occasionally in Faliscan: Hammer 5, 8. Cf. Sittl 27, who cites Umbrian \textit{pisavrese}. In early Latin final \( s \) was very weak after \( ù \) and \( ì \), and often was not written. Cicero (\textit{Lat. Spr. 471}) says the loss of \( -s \) is "subrusticum, olim autem politius." Quintilian also (S. 361) notes the omission of \( -s \) by the ancients. Ennius and his followers down to Catullus did not count \( -s \) before a consonant in verse: S. 355-356. Cf. Pompeius (Keil V, 108): "\textit{S littera hanc habet potestatem, ut ubi opus fuerit excludatur de metro.}" In the older inscriptions \( -s \) is freely omitted, but later it is in the main correctly used until the second century of our era: \textit{Lat. Spr. 471}. The omission is commonest in nominative \( -òs \) or \( -ùs \), but occurs also in \( -ìs \) and \( -äs \), rarely in \( -âs \): \textit{bonu, Cornelio, nepoti, pieta, Terentio, unu}, etc., and \textit{matrona} for \textit{matronas}, S. 361-362. According to \textit{Chronologie 175-186}, the nominative singular without \( s \) (as \textit{Cornelio, filio}) predominated in central Italy until the time of Cæsar, when \( -s \) was partially restored; but by 150 to 200 A.D. the forms without \( s \) became common.

\(^{1}\)In the previously cited Latin treatise (see footnote to § 259), Thurot 77, \( s \) between vowels is described as "weak," except in compounds, such as \textit{resolvit}. This evidently indicates a voicing in late school pronunciation.
again, and prevailed in central Italy in the third century (eio for ejus, liberio, etc.). Cf. morbu = morbus, etc., Audollent 539, 540; filio = filios, C. I. L. IX, 1938. In most of Italy, and probably in Dacia, final s disappeared for good from the common pronunciation in the second and third centuries, except in monosyllables (*Lat. Spr. 471): amātis > It. amate, sēntis > It. senti, tempus > It. tempo; but das > It. dai, tres > Old It. trei (later tre). Cf. Hammer 19–28, Densusianu 122–123.

In Gaul, Spain, and some other regions, –s, probably owing to the previous linguistic habits of the natives, was strongly pronounced and therefore preserved. Carnoy 185–206 records the omission of –s in many inscriptions, but notes that as this nearly always happens at the end of a line it is doubtless only a conventional abbreviation.

299. According to Velius Longus (S. 316), trans– became tra– before d, j, and sometimes before m and p: traduxit, tra-jectit; tra(ns)misit, tra(ns)posuit; transtulit. We sometimes find, however, transduco and transjicio. Both forms occur before l and v: tra(ns)luceo, tra(ns)veho.

Italy generally favored tra– (but trasporre), Gaul and Spain usually preferred tras– (but traduire, traducir).

300. In presbýter, a new nominative constructed from πρεσβύτερος, the s fell in Italy and elsewhere through the substitution of the prefix pra– (as in prætior) for the unusual initial pres–: hence It. prete, Pr. preveire (*præbýtērum).

301. For prosthetic i or e before s + consonant, see § 230. In Old French pasmer (from spasmus) the s was lost probably through confusion with es– coming from the prefix ex–.

302. For ss > s, see § 161. For sy, see § 275. For assimilation, see Gutturals and Palatals. For z, see § 246 and Greek Consonants.
§ 305. AN INTRODUCTION TO VULGAR LATIN.

**g. NASALS.**

303. *N*, like *d* and *t* (§ 280), was dental or gingival, with an arched tongue: S. 269–270.

*M* and *n*, initial and intervocalic, regularly remained unchanged: *mēus, nōster, amat, vēnit*. For the reduction of *minus*—to *mis*—, see § 245. There was a dissimilation of two *n*’s in *Bononia > It. Bologna.*

304. *M* and *n*, final or followed by a consonant, were obscure and weak in Classic Latin; the preceding vowel must have been partly nasalized, and the mouth closure incomplete. According to Priscian (S. 275), “*m* obscurum in extremitate dictionum sonat, ut *templum*, apertum in principio, ut *magnus*, mediocre in mediis, ut *umbra*." Terentianus Maurus (S. 275) says that for *n* the air comes through both nose and mouth. So Marius Victorinus (S. 275): “*N* vero sub convexo palati lingua inhārente gemino naris et oris spiritu explicabitur.” The same author describes (S. 275) a sound between *m* and *n*: “Omnes fere aïunt inter *m* et *n* litteras medium vocem quae non abhorreat ab utraque littera sed neutram proprie exprimat.” Cf. S. 276.

305. In Classic Latin the nasal naturally took before labials the form of *m*; before dentals, *n*; before *f* and *v*, probably first *m*, then *n*, as the pronunciation of these fricatives changed from bilabial to dentilabial (cf. § 320); before gutterals, *γ*: *combura, immitto, imperio; conduco, contineo, inno-cens; comfluo confluo, convenio convenio; anguis, inquit, uncus* (cf. ivncxi, nvncqvm, S. 278). Cf. S. 270, 279–280. The *γ*—or “*n* adulterinum”—is described by Nigidius (in Gellius), and also by Priscian, as between *n* and *g* (S. 275); cf. S. 269–270, 272. Before liquids the nasal was assimilated (*colligo, corrigo*, etc.), before *s* it was silent (*cosul*, etc.: cf. §§ 171, 311).
Final nasals seem to have been adapted, like medial nasals, to a following consonant: *nom paret, cun duce, nom or non fécit, iy carne; nol lēgo, cur rígibus, i senātu*. Cicero advocated *cun nobis; Servius, cun navibus*: *Lat. Spr. 476*. In inscriptions we find *cun, locun sanctum, nomem, quan floridos, quen, S. 364; cf. forsitam mille, Bechtel 81 (forsitam, Carnoy 220)*.

306. In the vulgar speech of the Empire the sound before labials seems to have been indistinct, and even before dentals not always clear (S. 271–272); before *f* and *v* there was great uncertainty (cf. §§ 171, 311), and there was apparently some doubt before *gu* and *qu* (S. 272): this is indicated by such spellings as *senper, quamta, nynfis, nunque, S. 276–277; completre, decemter, Carnoy 176; tan mulieribus, Carnoy 220. Cf. Carnoy 176–177. In both old and late inscriptions the nasal is often omitted altogether before a consonant: *Decebris, exeplu, occubas, etc., innocet, laterna, secudo, etc., iferos, etc., defucta, pricipis, reliquat, etc.*, S. 273, 281–285. For the change of *ykt* to *yt*, then to *nt*, see § 267: *santa, etc.*, Pirson 92; *santo, etc.*, frequent, S. 278.

The hesitation and inconsistency in spelling are certainly due in part to imperfect articulation, largely to mere carelessness in cutting, but in great measure also to the mistaken efforts of later writers to restore a real or hypothetical earlier orthography: compare the treatment of prefixes, § 32.

In late Vulgar Latin *m, n, y* must have been reinforced, as there is little trace of confusion in the Romance languages.

307. *Mn* seems at one time to have been pronounced *m*: Quintilian (S. 286) says: “*Columnam et consules exempta n littera legimus.*” Cf. Priscian (S. 275): “*N quoque plenior in primis sonat et in ultimis partibus syllabarium, ut nomen,*
stamen; exilior in mediis, ut amnis, damnum." Carnoy 166 has Interamico, for -amn-, from the first century.

Late inscriptions, on the other hand, show a fondness for such spellings as calumpnia, dampnum (cf. Bon. 189, calumpnia, damnare, etc.); and mpn is common in the early Romance languages. It is likely that this orthography indicates a conscious and painful effort to articulate clearly. Toward the end of the Empire fashion evidently prescribed a distinct pronunciation of mn, counteracting a previous tendency to slur the group.

The Romance languages point to the preservation of mn, although it was probably assimilated into nn in central and southern Italy before the Empire was over (Lat. Spr. 476): Interanniensis, Carnoy 166.

308. Between m and s or t a p generally developed in Latin—that is to say, the latter part of the m was unvoiced and denasalized before the surd that followed; this p was not always written: sum(p)si, sum(p)tus, etc. Cf. S. 298.

309. Final m often fell in Umbrian (as in puplu), occasionally in Faliscan: Hammer 5, 8. In Old Latin it was weak: S. 356. It is often omitted in inscriptions down to 130 B.C., and again in late plebeian inscriptions; in the last century of the Republic and the first two centuries of the Empire the traditional spelling is carefully observed: early and late such forms as dece, eoru, mecu, mense, septe, unu are very common, and conversely forms with a superfluous m, S. 363–364; cf. Audollent 539–540, abundant examples; App. Pr., ide, numqua, oli, passi, pride. The omission of -m and the wrong use of it are very frequent in the Per.: que ad modum, terra, Bechtel 79; jacent, etc., accedere, etc., Bechtel 80; dormito for dormitum, Bechtel 91; cf. Bechtel 107. So R. 462,
ardente lucernam, etc. According to Quintilian (S. 362), Cato said *dixit hanc*; he adds that there is scarcely any *m* audible in *tantum ille, quantum erat*.

Final *m* before vowels seems to have been, from early times, only a weak nasal glide: in *circueo* it disappears (S. 274), in poetry it may be disregarded (cf. *audiendu'st*, etc., S. 361). Before consonants it was assimilated (cf. *tan dvrvm*, etc., S. 361): see § 305. Cf. S. 356–358, 360. Carnoy 206–221, who notes the omission of *-m* in many inscriptions under all possible conditions, reaches the conclusion that it became silent at the end of polysyllables by the first century, having disappeared very early before vowels, next before spirants and at the end of a phrase, then (by assimilation) before other consonants.

In the opinion of Schuchardt, *Vok. I*, 110–112, the preceding vowel was nasalized. The contrary view is maintained by Seelmann, 288–292. As the fall of *m* seems to have been due primarily to a failure to close the lips completely between two vowels, it is likely that the nasalization was slight.

The Romance languages point to a loss of *-m* in all words but monosyllables: *damnu(m), possu(m), tenea(m); cum, jam, quem (quen*, Audollent 537). Cf. Hammer 32–41.

310. Final *n* must have been indistinct (S. 358), but it seems to have been reinforced in Classic speech (S. 286). The prefix *con-* became *co-* before vowels, as in *coactum, cohaerere, cohors, coicere*: S. 274, 282. Before *gn*, too, the final *n* of prefixes fell very early, as in *cognatus, cognosco, ignotus*: S. 274. Otherwise there is no sure proof of the fall of *-n* in Latin (S. 364–365), but there is abundant evidence of its assimilation to a following labial (im bello, etc., S. 361): see § 305; cf. *Lat. Spr.* 473. For further assimilation, cf. Caper (Keil VII, 106), "*in Siciliam dicendum, non is Sicilium*": see § 311.
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The Romance languages indicate the disappearance of \(-n\), except in monosyllables: \(n\)ome\((n)\), \(s\)eme\((n)\); \(in\), \(n\)on. It probably fell late, after the Vulgar Latin period: *Lat. Spr.* 473.

For final \(nt\), see § 285.

311. Before fricatives or spirants \(n\) regularly fell, probably through nasalization of the preceding vowel: see § 171. This phenomenon was only partially recognized by Classic authority: \(-\)ensimus > \(-\)esimus, \(-i\)ens > \(-\)i\(\dot{e}\)s, \(-\)onsus > \(-\)osus, as in vicesimus, toties, formosus (S. 273); \(ns\), however, was kept in participles, as videns, mansus; both forms were used in \(-\)e(n)sis (according to Velius Longus, Cicero preferred foresia, hortesia, S. 287). Charisius (S. 286) records that "men-sam sine \(n\) littera dictam Varro ait." Cf. Quintilian (S. 286), "consules exempta \(n\) littera legimus."


Before \(f\), \(j\), \(v\), the \(n\) was generally restored by analogy (see § 171); such words as conjux, convenio are really new formations: S. 274. The only sure Romance traces of the loss of \(n\)
before these consonants in Latin are Italian \textit{fante} and French \textit{couvent}, although at a later date \textit{nf} became \textit{f} in Rätia and much of southern France.

Before \textit{s}, the fall of \textit{n} was permanent, and the only Romance words containing \textit{ns} are learned terms or new formations: \textit{mesa}, \textit{mesis}, \textit{pesat}, \textit{sposus}, \textit{tosus}; but \textit{pensare}.

\textbf{h. LABIALS.}

\textbf{312.} \textit{P} regularly remained unchanged: \textit{pater}, \textit{opus}, \textit{corpus}.

(1) There was some sporadic confusion of \textit{p} and \textit{b}: \textit{BVBLICÆ, SCRIPT}, S. 299; \textit{App. Pr.}, "\textit{plasta non blasta}," "\textit{zisiber non zisiper}"; \textit{cannabis} and \textit{It. canapa}.

\textbf{313.} In Italy and perhaps elsewhere there was a tendency to drop \textit{p} between a consonant and an \textit{s} or \textit{t}: \textit{redemti}, etc., Pirson 93; \textit{scultor}, etc., S. 299.

In a part of Italy \textit{ps} became \textit{ss} as early as the first century: \textit{isse} for \textit{ipse} is found in Pompeii, and is attested by Martial and possibly by the \textit{icse} for \textit{ipse} mentioned by Suetonius, \textit{Lat. Spr.} 476.

In central and southern Italy \textit{pt} became \textit{tt} probably early in the Empire: \textit{scritus}, etc., S. 299; \textit{settembres}, 7th century, Carnoy 165. In a part of Gaul \textit{captivus} seems to have been pronounced *\textit{caxtivus}: it may be that in Gallic speech the \textit{pt} of this word became \textit{xt}, as was the case with Celtic \textit{pt} (Dottin 100; cf. Old Irish \textit{secht-\textit{n} = septem}, Windisch 394); or perhaps \textit{captivus} became first *\textit{cactivus}, under the influence of Celtic *\textit{cactos} (Welsh \textit{caeth}) = Latin \textit{captus} (Loth 35).

\textbf{314.} Intervocalic \textit{p} probably became \textit{b} in the fifth and sixth centuries in Spain, Gaul, Rätia, and northern Italy: see § 256. Cf. Pirson 60–61: \textit{labidem}, etc. \textit{Pr} likewise became \textit{br}: \textit{Abrilis}, Pirson 61; \textit{lebræ}, Bon. 160; \textit{stubrum}, Haag 862.
In northern Gaul intervocalic $p$ and $pr$, even in clerical Latin, developed through $b$ and $br$ into $β$ and $βr$ by the seventh century: rivaticus, 629 A.D., Vok. I, 128; cavanna, Gl. Reich.

For $pf$, $ph$, see § 273.

(2) B.

315. When $b$ was not intervocalic, it usually remained unchanged: $bene$, $blitum$, $oblitus$.

$Mb$, as in Oscan and Umbrian, became $mm$ in Sicily and southern and central Italy, the $mm$ being found in inscriptions as far north as Rome: Lat. Spr. 476. Cf. nd, § 281.

Before $s$ or $t$ it is likely that $b$ regularly became $p$ in Latin, although it was often written $b$: $absens$ $apsens$, $ab$–$apsolvere$, $plebs$ $pleps$, $scribsi$ $scripsi$, $scriptum$ $scriptum$, $trabs$ $traps$, $urbs$ $urps$; App. Pr., “celebs non celeps,” “labsus non lapsus.”

Final $b$ must have been often assimilated to a following consonant: $sud$ $die$, 601 A.D., Carnoy 165.

316. In the Empire, especially in the second century, initial $b$ and $v$ were much confused in inscriptions (cf. $V$): $biginti$, $bixit$, $botu$, $vene$, etc., S. 240; $Baleria$, $Balerius$, $Beneria$, $Betrubius$, $Bictor$, $bos$, $valneas$, Audollent 536; African $birtus$, $bita$, $boluntas$, Vok. I, 98; $bivere$, very common, Carnoy 140; $baluis$, Bechtel 78; $vibit$, etc., R. 456; $bobis$ in Consen-
tius, Vok. III, 68.

In the Romance languages there are few, if any, traces of such an early interchange. Probably the confusion was mainly or wholly graphic, being due to the identity in sound of $b$ and $v$ between vowels (§ 318): Lat. Spr. 473; cf. Einfl., § 120. The Spanish levelling of initial $b$ and $v$ does not go back to Vulgar Latin (Carnoy 139–141); the confusion is far commoner in Italian inscriptions than in Spanish or Gallic (Carnoy 142–146). We find also a change of initial $v$ to $b$ in north Portuguese, Gascon, south Italian, and Old Rumanian.
317. After liquids, too, there was a confusion of b' and v in inscriptions, b being substituted for v much oftener than v for b: Nerba, salbum, serbus, solbit, etc., S. 240; berbex, Waters Ch. 57; solbere, repeatedly, Carnoy 140; solbere, etc., R. 455; App. Pr., "alveus non albeus."

In all probability v really changed to b after liquids: see V. B remained unchanged.

318. Intervocalic b opened into β; the development apparently began in the first century, was well along in the second, and was completed, at least in Italy, in the third: Oivovia = Vibia, Rome, Eckinger 95; devere, devitvm, provata, etc., S. 240. As v also was pronounced β, a confusion in spelling resulted, b and v being used indiscriminately: cvrabit, ivbentvtis, nove, etc., S. 240; ivvente = jubente, 2d century, Einf. 127, § 120; cabia = cavea, Danuvium, Dibona, iubenis, vovis, etc., Audollent 536–537; devitum (6th century), lebis, redivit, vibi, Carnoy 134–135; annotavimus, lebat, Bechtel 78; devetis, habe = ave, rogavo, suabitati, etc., R. 455–456; cf. Stolz 51, Pirson 61–62, Carnoy 134–136. Cf. V.

When this β became contiguous to a following consonant, it was vocalized into u: *faula, *paraula, *taula, etc. Cf. V.

Intervocalic br, perhaps not until the end of our period, became βr in northern Gaul, Rätia, part of northern Italy, and Dacia.

(1) In the early stages of clerical Latin intervocalic b was pronounced β, as in popular speech: *faþula, *taþula, etc. Later, perhaps by the seventh century, it was sounded b.

(2) In App. Pr. we find "sibilus non sifilus," and Priscian (S. 300) mentions "sifilum pro sibilum"; cf. French sifler. Perhaps the form with f comes from some non-Latin Italic dialect: cf. bubulcus = It. bifolco, and a few other words.

(3) For habebam > *aþea, see § 421.

319. Be', bi' probably remained unchanged, at least in most
of the Empire: *rabies, *rübeus, etc. For the analogical change of *habeo to *a*yo, *dëbeo to *dëyo, see § 273.

(3) *F*

320. *F* was originally bilabial (S. 294–295), but became dentilabial by the middle of the Empire (S. 295): cf. § 305. It is the old *f*, apparently, that is described by Quintilian (S. 296–297); a plain description of the dentilabial *f* is given by Terentianus Maurus and Marius Victorinus (S. 296).

(1) Grammarians speak of an alternation of *h* and *f*: *fædus > hædus, fasena > harena, fircum > hircum, habam > fabam*, etc., S. 300. The *f* and the *h* doubtless belonged to different dialects in early Latin; according to Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5, § 97, the *f* for *h* was Sabine. This phenomenon can have no connection with the change of initial *f* to *h* in Spanish and Gascon.

321. It is probable that intervocalic *f* became *v* at the end of the Vulgar Latin period (cf. § 256): *alevanti = eleephaniti, paceveci = pacifici, pontevecem = pontificem*, Haag 32–33.

(4) *V*

322. The letter *v* was doubtless originally pronounced *w*; but, losing its velar element, the sound was reduced, probably early in the Empire, to the bilabial fricative *β*. During the Empire Greek-letter inscriptions have *ov* or *β* for *v* (*Nepova* or *Nepba*): *Ouovia = Vibia*, Rome, Eckinger 95; *β* for *v* is common from the first century on, Eckinger 85–91. Velius Longus, in the middle of the second century, says that the *u* in *ualente* is pronounced "cum aliqua aspiratione": S. 232.

Hence arises a complete confusion of intervocalic *b* and *v* (cf. *B*): *cvrabit, ivbentvtis*, etc., S. 240; *fubari* for *juvari* in Gregory the Great. This leads to a graphic confusion of initial *b* and *v* in inscriptions: *biginti, bixit, botv*, etc. (so *inbicto*), S. 240.
Later the bilabial \( \beta \) became dentilabial \( v \) in most of the Empire: cf. § 305.

For the substitution of \( w \) for \( \beta \) or \( v \) in a few words, see Germanic Consonants.

323. After liquids \( \beta \) seems to have closed regularly into \( b \); this state was preserved in Rumanian (Densusianu 97, 103–105), but elsewhere the \( \beta \) or \( v \) was partially restored by school influence: CERBVS, CORBI, CVRBATI, FERBEO, NERBA (about 100 A.D.), SERBAT, SOLBIT, E. G. Parodi in Rom. XXVII, 177, cf. § 317. So vervex became *verbex, then herbex: Waters Ch. 57; BERBECES, 2d century, Einf. 127, § 120 (also in Gl. Reich.).

Hence came hesitation in spelling (*ervero, ferbui, etc.) and inconsistent results in the Romance languages: cŏrvus > It. corbo corvo, Fr. corbeau; cūrvus > Old Fr., Pr. corp, Sp. corvo; nĕrvus > It. nerbo, Fr. nerf; servare, servire > It. serbare, servire.

324. Intervocalic \( w \) or \( \beta \) had a tendency in older Latin, as in Umbrian, to disappear between two like vowels: divinus > dinus (cf. Umbrian deivina > deina, Sittl 26), obliviscor > obliscor, si vis > sis. Cf. Lindsay 52. Also, at all times, before or after \( o \): bōvis > bōs; devorsum > deōrum; faor, Pirson 63; moere, Audollent 539; Noemβios, Vok. II, 479; NOEM\[BRIS\], S. 241; “pavor non paor,” App. Pr.; cf. late noembris, noicius, Lindsay 52. “Favilla non failla” in App. Pr. seems to be isolated.

In the above cases the fall apparently was only sporadic. But before an accented \( o \) or \( u \), the \( w \) or \( \beta \) fell regularly in most of the Empire: aunculus, Vok. II, 471 (cf. auncli, Pirson 63); FLAONIVS, S. 241; *paönem; *paõrem.

Furthermore, intervocalic \( w \) or \( \beta \) regularly disappeared in popular speech before any \( u \), probably towards the end of the Republic (when \(-vos>-vus\)): FLAVS, VIvS, S. 241 (cf. flaus in
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App. Pr., vius in Pirson 63); oum, Vok. II, 472 (cf. oum in Probus, Keil IV, 113); nous, Audollent 539 (cf. noum, Pirson 63); gnaeus, Lindsay 52; datius, Carnoy 128; primitius, Pirson 63; aus, rius, App. Pr. Often, however, the v was restored, after the analogy of a feminine or a plural form: ovum (beside oum) through ova, rivus (beside rius) through rivi, etc. Cf. § 167.

(1) In inscriptions –vs is common in place of –vvs; in most cases this is probably only graphic: Carnoy 128–131. The ΑΕΩΜ of C. I. L. I, 1220, cited by Schuchardt (Vok. II, 471) and others as aum, is evidently intended for avum.

325. When intervocalic w or β became contiguous to a following consonant, it was vocalized into u (cf. B): Classic claudio, naufragus, etc.; Vulgar aucella, triumphat, etc.

(5) U.

326. U in hiatus which had not already become w (§§ 223–224) probably took that sound by the end of the Vulgar Latin period: eccu' hic > *eccwic, eccu' ista > *eccwista, nōcui > nōcwii, placuit > placwit. Before this, the original Latin w (spelled v) had become β: § 322.

2. GREEK CONSONANTS.

327. In Greek the surd and the sonant stops must have been less sharply differentiated than in Latin; the sonants were perhaps not fully voiced, and the surds doubtless had a weak, voiced explosion: so they were not always distinguished by the Latin ear. The Greek liquids, nasals, and sibilants usually remained unchanged in transmission.

(1) B, Γ, Δ.

329. B, γ, δ regularly remained b, g, d: βλαυσός > blasus; γάρν > garum; δέλτα > delta. Sometimes, however, they were unvoiced into p, c, t: Tάκωβος *Jácopos (also *Jácomus); γόγγρος > conger gonger, σπήλαγγα > spelunca; κέδρος > citrus. Cf. Claussen 833–838.

Γυ > um (cf. § 268): σάγμα > saga sauma.

(2) Κ, Π, Τ.

330. Κ, π, τ generally remained c, p, t: κόλαφος > colaphus; πορφύρα > purpura; τάλαντον > talentum.

Κ, however, often became g; π sometimes became b; of a change of τ to d there is no example, although κάνδυτος for candidus (Eckinger 88) seems to point in that direction: Ακράγας > Acragaς Agragas, κάμμαρος > cammarus gammarus, κόμμι > gummi, κυβερνάν > gubernare, κωβίος > gobius; cf. EGLOGE, PROGNE, S. 346; App. Pr., “calatus non galatus” (= κάλαθος); the confusion is mentioned by Terentius Scaurus and others, S. 347; —πύξος > buxus, πυρρός > burrus, cf. bustiola in Gl. Reich.

Κυ > cin in κύκνος > cicinus > Old. It. cecino.

331. After nasals, κ, π, τ regularly came to be pronounced g, b, d in Greek: ἀνάγκη > anángi, λαμπρός > lambrós, ἄντρον > ándron. This late Greek pronunciation perhaps accounts for such cases as καρπή > Lat. gamba, τύμπανον > Fr. timbre, σάνταλον > Fr. sandal. Cf. Claussen 838–841.

(3) Θ, Φ, Χ.

332. The explosives θ, ϕ, χ became in Old Latin t, p, c (S. 252–253): πορφύρα > purpura; old inscriptions, Pilipus, etc., S. 259; later inscriptions, Teodor, nimpe, Cristo, etc., S. 259–260. From the middle of the second century B.C. we find the spellings TH, PH, CH: Claussen 823–833. People of fashion
undoubtedly tried to imitate the aspirates (Lindsay 54), but popular speech kept the old \( t, \theta, c \), for new words as well as for old: \( \sigma\rho\alpha\theta\eta > spatha = spata \); \( \kappa\omega\lambda\alpha\phi\omega\varsigma > colaphus = colapus \); \( \sigma\mu\mu\phi\omega\nu\alpha > \) It. zamprgna, \( \phi\lambda\alpha\gamma\varepsilon > \) It., Sp. palanca, \( \phi\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\alpha > \) Pr. pantaisar; \( \chi\rho\sigma\delta\eta > \) chorda = corda.

Quintilian (S. 256) says there were no aspirate consonants in older Latin. Cicero (S. 256) speaks of using the old, unaspirated pronunciation (as \( \pi\nu\lambda\kappa\rho\varepsilon\sigma, \tau\riam\rho\mu\sigma \)) in order to be better understood. The proper spelling is discussed by grammarians: S. 257–258.

The letter \( h \) is occasionally misused, as in \( \varphi\theta\sigma\iota\iota, \varphi\chi\mu\chi, \) etc.: S. 260. It is transposed in \( \varphi\theta\iota\nu\iota\nu\iota, \varphi\theta\iota\nu\iota\iota\iota \), Bonnet 141, 218; cf. \( \varphi\theta\iota\nu\iota\iota, \varphi\theta\iota\nu\iota\delta\iota \) in Gl. Reich.

333. In \( \varphi\alpha\lll\alpha\iota\nu\alpha > \) ballana, and some other early adoptions, \( \phi > b \); perhaps the reason is to be sought in a Greek dialect pronunciation: Claussen 829–831. In \( \delta\chi\varepsilon\iota > \) doga, etc., \( \chi > g \): Claussen 831. In \( \theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma > \) It. \( \zeta \omicron \) we have a late development of \( \theta \); cf. App. Pr., “Theophilus non izofilus”: Claussen 833.

(1) Evidence of a late school pronunciation \( \theta as ts \) is to be found in Thurot 78, 79 (cf. footnote to § 259): “\( T \) quoque, si aspiretur, ut \( c \) enuntiatur, ut \( a\theta\iota \), \( \nu\theta\iota\nu\iota \), Parthi, cathedra, catholicus, etheus, Matheus”... “In principio inquam dictionis nulla prescripta causa variari compellitur, ut \( \theta\iota\alpha\alpha \), Thiestes, Thetius, Thescelus, Theo.”

334. By the first century A.D., \( \phi \) had developed into \( f \) in some places (S. 261): \( \varphi\alpha\lars\nu\iota \) occurs in Pompeii, Claussen 828; \( f \) is common later in southern Italy, S. 261. Certainly as early as the fourth century (Lindsay 58) \( f \) came to be the standard pronunciation: App. Pr., “amfora non ampora,” “strofa non stropa”; Bechtel 79, neofiti; so \( \delta\phi\nu\kappa\nu\iota \) for officium, etc., Eckinger 97. In late words \( \phi \) regularly appears as \( f \): \( \varphi\alpha\sigma\eta\lambda\iota\sigma > \varphi\alpha\sigma\nu\lambda\iota\sigma \), \( \kappa\epsilon\iota\alpha\lars > \) It. \( \zeta \epsilon\iota\alpha\lars \); etc.
LIQUIDS, NASALS, AND SIBILANTS.

335. The liquids regularly remained unchanged: \( \lambda\mu\nu\alpha\sigma > lampas; \rho\eta\tau\omega > rhetor. \) Rh in common speech was doubtless pronounced like \( r. \)

In \( \sigma\alpha\nu\nuov > It. sedano, \) and a few other words, we probably have to do with a late Greek change of \( \lambda \) to \( \delta. \)

336. The nasals, too, regularly remained unchanged: \( \mu\alpha\nu\rho\omega > maurus; \nu\omicron\eta > nome. \) There are, however, some indications that they were weak before consonants: \( \beta\omicron\beta\omega\sigma > Pr. bobansa, \) etc. Cf. Claussen 845.

337. Of the sibilants, \( \sigma \) and \( \xi \) were regularly unchanged: \( \sigma\omicron\nu\omicron\tau > sinapis; \xi\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron > exodus. \) In \( \delta\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron > It. orma, \) \( \sigma \) has probably become \( r. \) For \( \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\beta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\rho\omicron\sigma > prebiter, \) see § 300.

The unfamiliar combination \( \upsilon \) lent itself readily to metathesis: \( \psi\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu > psallere spallere. \)

For \( \zeta, \) see below.

(5) Z.

338. Z doubtless had several pronunciations in Greek. In early Latin it was represented by \( ss \) or \( s: \mu\acute{a}z\alpha > massa, \xi\omega\nu\eta > sona \) (Plautus). From Sulla’s time on it was written \( z \) in Latin: Claussen 841–843. The grammarians throw no light on the Latin pronunciation. Quintilian refers only to the Greek letter and the lack of a corresponding Latin one; Velius Longus discusses \( z \) at length, as a simple sound, but seems to be referring only to Greek speech: S. 308. Priscian (Keil II, 36) says that \( \xi \) is sounded \( sd, \) but was often replaced, among the ancients, by \( s, ss, \) or \( d—\)as in \( Saguntum, massa, Medentius. \)

339. Judging from inscriptions, it was pronounced in Vulgar Latin \( dy, \) later \( y \) (cf. § 272), and subsequent developments confirm this view: \( baptizare \) was equivalent to \( bapt(i)d)yare, \)
zelosus to (d)velosus. The ending -i(d)yare became very common: see § 33.

The spelling di for z occurs repeatedly: baptidiare is found several times in Per. (90, 22, etc.; cf. Bechtel 79), and is common in inscriptions (cf. baptidiatus, Carnoy 163); oridium for ὄρος, Lat. Spr. 473. Conversely, z is often used for di: zabvllvs, Vok. I, 68; zabulus, zacones, Koffmane 38; Lazis = Ladiis, zabulus, zaconus, zebus, zeta = diaeta, zosum = deorsum, R. 457–458.

In late inscriptions z for j is common: zerax = ἱεραξ (202 A. D.), zanuari, Vok. I, 69; zesv, zvnior, S. 239; Zouleía = Julia, κόλους = conjux, Eckinger 80. Cf. septuazinta, Carnoy 163.

3. GERMANIC CONSONANTS.

340. Most of the consonants offer no peculiarities, being treated as in Latin. A few, however, had no Latin equivalents: š, ŕ, h, and w. Furthermore, b and k came in after the corresponding Latin sounds had undergone some modification.

341. B between vowels, occurring apparently only in words adopted after Latin intervocalic b had become β (§ 318), remained a stop: roubón > It. rubare, *striban > Pr. estribar.

G, although it can scarcely have come in time to share in the early palatalization of Latin g before front vowels (§§ 258 ff.), seems to have followed a similar course, and to have participated also in the later Gallic palatalization of g before a (§ 263): gilda > It. gelda, *giga > Pr., It. giga, geisla > Pr. gislae; garba > Fr. gerbe, garto > Old Fr. jart.

K resisted front vowels: skēna > Sp. esquena, skernôn > It. schernire; so *rik-ītia > Pr. riqueza, etc. Franko seems to have been an early acquisition, and its derivatives palatalized their k before e and i: frank-īscus > It. Francesco, etc. In the
regions where Latin c was palatalized, in the seventh century and later, before a (§ 263), Germanic k was modified in the same way before all front vowels (including a): cf. Old Fr. eschine, eschernir, richesse; so blank-a > Fr. blanche (but It. bianca).

342. The spirants ø and ð were replaced in Latin by the corresponding stops, d and t: widarlon > It. guiderdone; hau-nipa > Fr. honte, pahso > It. tasso, parrjan > Fr. tarir, þrèscan > Pr. trescar. Cf. Kluge 500.

343. Germanic h appeared when Latin h had long been silent in popular speech.

At the beginning of a word it kept its sound in northern Gaul, but apparently was neglected in the rest of the Empire: hanca > Fr. hanche, Sp. anca; hapja > Fr. hache, Pr. apcha; hardjan > Fr. hardir, It. ardire; hêlm > Old Fr. helme, It. elmo. Bon. 445 notes that ab, rather than a, is used before initial ch: ab Chilperico, etc.

Intervocalic h disappeared in most words, but in a few—perhaps borrowed at a different date—it seems to have been sounded kk in the greater part of the Empire: fêhu > Fr., Pr. feu, It. fio; skiuhan > Fr. esquier, It. schivare; spêhôn > Old Fr. espier, Pr. espiar; —jêhan > Old Fr. jehir, Pr. gequir, It. gecchire, Old Sp. jaquir.

Hs, ht were generally treated like Latin ss, tt: pahso > It. tasso; —slahta > Old Fr. esclate, Pr. esclata, It. schiatta; slêht > Pr. esclet, It. schietto. But wahta, doubtless adopted at a different time, became Old Fr. gaite, Pr. gaita; cf. It. guatere.

344. Germanic w was a strong velar and labial fricative, at a time when original Latin w (spelled v) had become the purely labial fricative ß (§ 322). It was nearer in sound to Latin y: see § 326. In the Gl. Reich. we find it
represented by *uu, in *uuadius, reuuardent, etc. Bon. 167 records *Euua, *wa (the interjection), *Waddo, *walde, *Wandali, etc. It is generally written *w in Fredegarius, but *Wintrio is spelled *Quintrio: Haag 38.

In extreme northern and eastern Gaul, in northwestern Italy, and in Rätia this *w apparently remained unchanged in the Vulgar Latin period; elsewhere, through a reinforcement of its velar element, it became *gw: *warjan > *warire *guarire, *wërra > *wërra guërra, *wisa > *wisa guiësa.

Through association with Germanic words, the β of some Latin words was changed to *w: *vadum + *watan > *wadum, *vastare + *wost > *wastare, etc.

See E. Mackel, Die germanischen Elemente in der französischen und provenzalischen Sprache, 1884; W. Waltemath, Die fränkischen Elemente in der französischen Sprache, 1885; W. Bruckner, Charakteristik der germanischen Elemente im Italienischen, 1899.
IV. MORPHOLOGY.

A. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

1. GENDER.

345. The three genders of Latin were not, in the main, dependent on sex or lack of sex. They were grammatical distinctions, whose observance was a matter of outward form. If words lost their differentiating terminations, confusion of gender ensued.

a. MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

346. Between masculine and feminine there was not much confusion, but there were some important shifts:

(1) Feminines of the second declension nearly all became masculine: *fraxīnus*, etc.; cf. *castaneus* for *castanea*, Bon. 194. Feminines of the fourth declension varied (*Gram. II, 461*): *dōmus, fīcus, manus*.

(2) In Gaul, abstract nouns in *-or*, through the analogy of the great majority of abstract terms, became feminine (Bon. 503–504): *color, honor, Lat. Spr. 483; dolor, timor, Bon. 504*.

(3) Nouns that had a proparoxytonic accusative in *-erem, -icem, -inem, -orem*, or *-urem* were of uncertain gender (*Gram. II, 464–467*): *carcērem, pulīcem, marginem, lepōrem, turtūrem*.

(4) There were some sporadic changes: *duos arbores*, Pirson 157; *cucullus* and *cuculla*, G. 293; *fons* feminine in late Latin, *Lat. Spr. 483*; *grex* became feminine.

(5) See also § 351.
b. Masculine and Neuter.


In popular and late Latin this tendency was strong: ante Classic, m. *papaver;* Plautus, m. *guttur, dorsus* (*Mil. Glor. II, 4, 44*), *lactem* (*Bacch. V, 2, 16*); Varro, m. *murmur;* Petronius, *balneus, calus, fatus, lactem, vasus-*um, *vinus,* etc., Waters Ch. 39, 41, 42, 57, Densusianu 129, 132; *collus,* me[*nt*]us, etc., Audol- lent 545; maris, marem, Densusianu 132; *castellus, fænus, lignus, signus, templus,* verbus, *vinus,* etc., R. 266; sulphurem, G. 293; frigorem, maris nom. sg., marmorem, pectorem, roborem, Bon. 348; *incipit judicius,* etc., D'Arbois 135. Beside *lūmen,* nōmen,* pīper* there must have been *lūminem,* nōminem,* pīpērem.

Conversely we find *cinus,* n., for *cinis,* ciner, m.; there must have been a *pūlus,* n., beside *pūlis,* m. and f. (*Lat. Spr. 483*); Petronius has *thesaurum,* Waters Ch. 46. Cf. *gladium,* laqueum,* puteum,* thesaurum,* etc., R. 270–272.


348. The transition from masculine to neuter was facilitated by the fall of final *m* (*§ 309*), and also by the fall of final *s* in the regions where that phenomenon occurred (*§ 298*). These changes reduced considerably the distinguishing marks of the two genders:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>filius(s)</td>
<td>foli(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filii</td>
<td>foli(i)</td>
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<tr>
<td>filio</td>
<td>folio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filius</td>
<td>folia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filioru</td>
<td>folioru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filius(s)</td>
<td>folii(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filio(s)</td>
<td>folia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filii(s)</td>
<td>folii(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come(s)</td>
<td>corpo(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comiti(s)</td>
<td>corpori(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comite</td>
<td>corpori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comite(s)</td>
<td>corpora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comiti</td>
<td>corporu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitiu(s)</td>
<td>corpori(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitibu(s)</td>
<td>corpora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitib(s)</td>
<td>corpora</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the second declension the only difference is in the nominative singular and the nominative and accusative plural; and in Italy and Dacia the distinction disappears even in the nominative singular. In the third declension the genders are distinguished only in the accusative singular and the nominative and accusative plural.

349. Thus the masculine and neuter inflections came to be fused, the characteristic neuter plural –a being regarded as an alternative masculine plural ending: Petronius writes nervia for nervi, Waters Ch. 45; cf. rivus rivora, Zs. XXX, 635. So lōcus, mūrus, for instance, give in Italian: sg. luogo, muro; pl. luoghi luogora, muri mura. Cf. § 351.

Nearly all neuters became masculine: os locutus est, R. 266; donum cælestem, etc., R. 277; hunc sæculum, hunc stagnum, hunc verbum, hunc vulnere, Bon. 386, 348. Mare, however, perhaps influenced by terra, generally became feminine: maris, m. and f., Densusianu 132; mare, f., Haag 48. Greek neuters in –ma, if popular, generally became feminine: cyma, saga.

The loss of the neuter gender for nouns was probably not complete until early Romance times. Cf. Archiv III, 161.

350. Among pronouns, the neuter forms were kept to express an indefinite idea: hoc, id ipsum, ILLE or illum, quid, quod.

Neuter adjective forms were used for a similar purpose: in the early stages of the Romance languages we find phrases pointing to such Vulgar Latin constructions as *mihi est grave quod ille non veniat, etc.

c. FEMININE AND NEUTER.

351. Classic Latin often used not only the singular for the plural in a collective sense (as eques, miles, etc., in Livy: cf. Draeger I, 4), but also the collective plural for the singular
(as frigora, marmora, rura: cf. Draeger I, 5–9; Archiv XIV, 63). So the neuter plural forms in –a were preserved in their collective use after the neuter singular forms had disappeared.

This formation in –a was extended to many masculine (cf. § 349) and even to some feminine nouns: digita, fructa, fusa, grada occur in late Latin, Lat. Spr. 482. Cf. Old Fr. crigne <? *crinea = crines; It. alla, fratta, etc.; Sardinian, Apulian, Rumanian frunza <? *frondia = frondes.

352. In late Latin and early Romance this collective plural in –a came to be taken for a feminine singular: tribula sg., R. 269; gaudia sg., Bon. 351; linea, ardet (cf. rana), Gl. Reich.; hic est testa, D’Arbois 10; cf. me forte et mihi haec eventiat, etc., R. 435. The feminine character of such words was doubtless reinforced by the use, for instance, of an *illa pectora to match qua pectora: Chronologie 199. Conversely, palpebrum for palpebra occurs, R. 270.

Hence arose such feminine singular forms as *brachia, *folia, gaudia, gesta, linea, etc., for which a new plural was created: brachias, Audollent 548; armentas, membras, Gl. Cassel; ingenias, simulacras, Gl. Reich.

In most of the Romance territory the –a forms were kept only as feminine singulars, but many were preserved as plurals in central and southern Italy and Rumania.

353. Aside from these, few neuter nouns became feminine: marmor, f., occurs in late Latin, Lat. Spr. 483. For mare and Greek neuters in –ma, see § 349. For cinus = cinis, *pulvus = pulvis, see § 347.

2. DECLENSION OF NOUNS.

354. For the use of cases, see §§ 85–100. By the end of the Vulgar Latin period the cases were generally reduced,
except in Dacia, to two,—a nominative and an accusative-ablative,—the plural following the analogy of the singular. In Dacia the dative singular was to some extent preserved also: § 91. Cf. K. Sittl in Archiv II, 550.

355. The number of declensions was reduced to three, the fourth and fifth being absorbed by the others.

(1) The transfer from the fourth to the second began in Classic Latin and continued in vulgar and late speech: dōmus, fīcus, so frūcti, senāti; gustus in Petronius; manus, Audollent 544; jusso, passos, Bechtel 86; cornum, fructus fructos, gelus, genuim, gradus, senatus, spiritus, etc., R. 260–262, 270; lacus, mercatus, G. 282–283; jusso, lūcto, etc., Bon. 135. All the fourth declension eventually went over. One result of the intermediate confusion was an accusative plural spelling -us for -os, which was very common in Gaul: Bon. 337–338.

(2) The transfer of nouns in -ies from the fifth to the first declension began also in Classic Latin: effigies -ia, luxuries -ia, materies -ia. Acia, facia, glacia, scabia are attested later: Densusianu 133, Lat. Spr. 482. All passed over in the greater part of the Empire; but -ies was kept in the Spanish peninsula, in southern Italy and Sardinia, and occasionally in southern Gaul, being assimilated to the third declension: cf. Sp. haz, Pr. glatz, etc. Dies maintained itself, as a third declension noun, beside dia.

Fifth declension nouns not in -ies went into the third: res rem, spes spem, etc. There was also an inflection spes spene(m), whence Italian spene (cf. SPENI): W. Heraeus in Archiv XIII, 152.

356. The other declensions generally held their own, but there were a few shifts:—

(1) For an inflection mama mamāne(m), etc., see § 359.
(2) For an inflection *Bellus Bellōne(m)*, etc., see § 362. Beside *ervum ervi*, there was an *ervus ervoris*: Lat. Spr. 483. *Fimus fimi*, under the influence of *siērcus*, apparently became *fēmus* (Gl. Reich.) *fēmōris*: cf. Old Fr. *fiens*, Pr. *femps*. *Fūndus fūndi* perhaps became *fūndus *fūndōris*: Old Fr. *fonz*, Pr. *fons*, Fr. *effondrer*. Beside *terminus –i*, there was a *termen termīnis*.

(3) On the other hand, ḍs > ṣssum (R. 259–260), *vas > va-sum vasus* (Waters Ch. 57); so apparently *ros > *rōsum* (cf. Fr. *arroser*, It. *rugiada*, etc.); beside *coclear* there was *coclearium*. *Caput* became *capus* (Pirson 238) and *capum –i*: cf. Līblīt. XXVII, 367. *Corpo* for *corpore* occurs in the Per.: Bechtel 86.

Greek nouns of the third declension sometimes passed into the first: *absis > absida*, G. 280; *lampas > lampada*, R. 258–259, G. 280, Dubois 258; *pyxis > *buxida; sirena > sirena*, G. 280. So a few Latin nouns: *juventus or –tas > juventa*, likewise *tempesta* (Gl. Reich.) and probably *potesta*; but the old forms were retained also. *Puulva* for *pūlvis* is recorded by Audollent 416.

**a. FIRST DECLENSION.**

357. In countries which did not lose final *s* (§ 298), the accusative plural form came to be used as a nominative plural. This use was due in the main to the analogy of the singular, where there was only one form, and of feminine nouns of the third declension, which had only one form in the plural: *fīlia fīlia(m)*, *matres matres*, hence *fīlias fīlias*. So *linguas*, Audollent 546. It probably was not common until late Vulgar Latin or early Romance times.

In Italy and Dacia, where the fall of *–s* made the accusative plural identical with the singular, the nominative plural was kept instead.
(1) According to Mohl, *Chronologie* 205–209, the nominative plural in -as was probably old in some parts of Italy: *scalas*, nom., 57 B.C.; *liberti libertasque*, Dalmatia; *hic qvescunt dvś mřes dvś filias*, Africa. M. Bréal, *Journal des savants* 1900, Feb., p. 70, affirms that there was a feminine in -a with a plural in -as in Oscan, and also in Latin down to the second century B.C.; Celtic, too, had a similar plural. D'Arbois 21–24 assumes Celtic influence: *hic sunt cartas*, etc. No foreign influences are needed to explain the practice, but they may have helped its diffusion.

358. An ablative in -abus is occasionally found: *Cassiabus*, *feminabus*, *filiabus*, *pupillabus*, *Archiv VIII*, 171; *deabus*, *filiabus*, etc., *Pirson* 115–116; *animabus*, *famulabus*, *filiabus*, *villabus*, *Bon*. 331. This form left no traces in Romance.

359. Feminine proper names and words denoting persons often developed, rather late, an inflection in -ānis, etc., or -ēnis, etc., probably under the influence of the consonantal declension of Greek names that was in vogue in schools. Pupils were taught to inflect *Glauci Glaucēnis*, *Nicē Nicēnis*, etc. (R. 264); cf. Dante's *Semell*, etc.: hence arose *Anna Annānis* or -ēnis, mamma mammānis, amita *amitānis* (so *Juliana Julianenis* in *Pirson* 143), cf. W. Heræus in *Zs. fr. Spr.* XXV, ii, 136. Some masculine person-names in -a had the same declension (*Einf.* 150, § 153): barba *barbani*, sacrīsta *sacristanis* (cf. It. sacristano), scriba *scribanis* (cf. It. scrivano). Both mamani and tatani are found in the third century: W. Heræus in *Archiv XIII*, 152–153. See G. Paris, *Les accusatifs en -ain*, *Rom.* XXIII, 321; E. Philipon, *Les accusatifs en -on et en -ain*, *Rom.* XXXI, 201; W. Meyer-Lübke in *Ltblt.* XXV, 206; G. Salvioni in *Rom.* XXXV, 198. In *Lat. Spr.* 483, Meyer-Lübke expresses doubt whether the feminine -a -ānis is connected with masculine tatani, etc.

This feminine inflection left some traces in Gaul, Rētia, and Italy: Fr. *nonnain*, *putain*, etc.; Lombard *madrane*, etc., *Rom.* XXXV, 207.
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(1) G. Salvioni, *La declinazione imparisillaba in -a-âne, -o-âne, -e-êne-ine, -i-îne-êne*, *Rom. XXXV*, 198, shows that these forms of declension were very common in the mediaeval Latin documents of all parts of Italy, from 750 on: *amitane*, 218; *Andreani*, 216; *barbane*, 214-215; *domnani*, 219; *Joanneni*, 250; etc. *Attane, barbane* still exist at both ends of Italy. According to Salvioni, the starting-point of all this inflection was *bárba barbánis*, from which it was extended to other nouns of relationship and to proper names; *bárba barbánis* itself he would ascribe to the influence of the synonymous *bárbo barbónis*. A Germanic origin is postulated by J. Jud, *Recherches sur la génèse et la diffusion des accusatifs en -ain et en -on*, 1907; also in *Archiv fur das Studium der neueren Sprachen* XXIV, 3-4, 405.

(2) A. Zimmermann, *Zs. XXVIII*, 343, shows that there was also an inflection in *-dtis, -tis, and -sitis*: *Aureliati, Agneti, etc.* Cf. *Eugeneti* from *Eugenes*, R. 264, Dubois 250; *Andreati, Rom. XXXV*, 216; also *Jóannenti, Rom. XXXV*, 250.

360. In general, at the beginning of the Romance period, the first declension was reduced to this pattern:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>luna</th>
<th>facia</th>
<th>*folia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>luna</td>
<td>facia</td>
<td>folia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lune lunas</td>
<td>facie facias</td>
<td>folie folias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luna(s)</td>
<td>facia(s)</td>
<td>folia(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Dacia the dative singular (*lune, etc.*) was kept also.

b. SECOND DECLENSION.

361. As neuter nouns became masculine, they assumed, partly in Vulgar Latin but mostly in Romance, the masculine inflection in those countries where the masculine and neuter differed: *vinus, etc.* Cf. §§ 347-349.

The plural in *-a*, however, was retained to a considerable extent, especially in southern and central Italy and Dacia. Some masculines took this *-a*, by the analogy of *bracchia, etc.*: *botella, botula, digita, fructa, rama, etc.* Cf. §§ 349, 351-352.

362. From the seventh century on,—perhaps under Germanic influence combined with the analogy of the Latin type
giulo gulónis, etc.,—there developed in Gaul, Ræitia, Italy, and possibly Spain, a declension -us (or -o) -ónis for masculine proper names: Húgo Húgon was Latinized into Húgo Hugó-ne(m) (cf. § 152); avus avi>avo avonis, attested in Lucca in 776 (Rom. XXXV, 204); hence Pétrus or Pétro Petróné(m), Paulus or Paulo Paulóne(m), etc. Cf. Pirson 133: Bellus Belloni, Firmus Firmonis. See E. Philipon in Rom. XXXI, 201; G. Salvioni in Rom. XXXV, 198.

Traces of this inflection are to be seen especially in French and Provençal proper names: Foucon, Huon, etc. So perhaps Italian Donatoni, Giovannoni, etc., and possibly Corsican baboni, suceroni: Rom. XXXV, 212–213.

363. In general, at the beginning of the Romance period, the second declension followed this pattern:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{anu}(s) & \quad \text{fa}b(e)\text{r} & \quad \text{vinu}(s) & \quad \text{bracciu} & \quad *-us & \quad \text{fructu}(s) \\
\text{anu} -o & \quad \text{fabru} -o & \quad \text{vinu} -o & \quad \text{bracciu} & \quad -o & \quad \text{fructu} & \quad -o \\
\text{anni} & \quad \text{fabri} & \quad \text{vini} & \quad \text{braccia} & \quad -i & \quad \text{fructi} & \quad -a \\
\text{anno}(s) & \quad \text{fabro}(s) & \quad \text{vino}(s) & \quad \text{braccia} & \quad -o(s) & \quad \text{fructo}(s) & \quad -a
\end{align*}
\]

The letters enclosed in parentheses were silent in Italy and Dacia. In Gaul the accusative plural ending was often spelled -us: Bon. 337–338; cf. § 355, (1).

c. THIRD DECLENSION.

364. In the ablative there was considerable confusion of -i and -ē in Classic Latin: marī marē, turrī turrē, etc. This was carried further in common speech: cf. Vok. II, 85, 87. The ablative in -ē finally triumphed, but there are some traces of -ī: It. pari, etc.

365. In the accusative plural there was still greater confusion of -īs and -ēs (nubēs nubīs, etc.), both in Classic and in Vulgar Latin: cf. Vok. I, 247–249. Apparently -ēs crowded out the rarer -īs, which left no sure traces.
Italian \textit{pani}, etc., Rumanian \textit{pint}, etc., are best explained, as by Tiktin 565–566, through the analogy of the second declension: see §368. Cf. \textit{folli} for \textit{folles} in \textit{Gl. Reich}.

366. In the nominative singular the common \textit{-is} largely displaced the less frequent \textit{-ēs}: Vok. I, 244–247, III, 116; Caper, \textit{"fames non famis"}, Keil VII, 105; \textit{App. Pr.}, \textit{"nubes non nubis"}; \textit{adis}, \textit{famis}, \textit{nubis}, etc., R. 263; \textit{famis}, etc., Sepulcri 220.

As \textit{-ēs} and \textit{-is} came to be pronounced alike before the end of the Vulgar Latin period (cf. §§ 174, 243), it is futile to trace the Romance forms phonetically to one source rather than the other.

367. Nouns which added a syllable in the genitive, without a change of accent, tended in popular speech to use for the nominative a form in \textit{-is}, \textit{-es}, or \textit{-ē} fashioned on the model of the oblique cases: so \textit{saps > sapes}, \textit{stips > stipes}; \textit{Jovis}, nom., in Ennius, Varro, Petronius (Waters Ch. 47); \textit{lacte} in Ennius, Plautus, Petronius (Waters Ch. 38), Apuleius, Aulus Gellius; \textit{bovis} in Varro, Petronius (Waters Ch. 62); \textit{carnis} in Livy; \textit{stirpis} in Livy, Prudentius; \textit{suis} in Prudentius (F. D'Ovidio in \textit{Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad Alessandro D'Ancona 627}); \textit{lentis} in Priscian; \textit{calcis} in Venantius Fortunatus; \textit{divite}, etc., Audollent 545–547; \textit{"grus non gruis"}, \textit{App. Pr.}; \textit{principens} (= \textit{principis}), R. 263; \textit{antestetis}, \textit{superstitis}, Vok. III, 9; \textit{urbis}, Haag 45; \textit{pedis}, \textit{travis} (three times), \textit{Gl. Reich.}; cf. \textit{Chronologie 203, Lat. Spr. 481}. These forms prevailed in Romance, perhaps in late popular Latin.

In Vulgar Latin this formation was extended to words with a shift of accent: \textit{excellente} for \textit{excellens} in Petronius, Waters Ch. 45, 66; \textit{audace}, \textit{castore}, \textit{latrone}, \textit{victore}, \textit{voluntate}, etc., Audollent 545–547; \textit{heredes}, R. 263; \textit{cardonis}, \textit{papilionis} (cf. \textit{aculionis} for \textit{aculeus}), \textit{Gl. Reich.}; \textit{heredes}, etc., D'Arbois 85–88.
These forms, too, prevailed in Romance, except for names of persons, which, being used mainly in the nominative and vocative, retained and generally preferred the old nominative form: homo, soror, etc.; cantator, servitor, etc. But names of persons in -ans and -ens usually made over the nominative: parentis, etc. (also presentis, etc.), D'Arbois 85–88; so, no doubt, *amantis, etc. (also *clamantis, etc.), but infans (also pragnans).

368. In most of the Romance languages (but not Spanish), masculine nouns made over their nominative plural on the model of the second declension, which was regarded as the normal masculine type: filii, hence *patri; lupi, hence *cani; anni, hence *me(n)si.

The process may have begun in the Vulgar Latin period, but there is virtually no evidence that it started so early: in late Latin, however, elifanti is common, according to Bon. 367; parentorum is frequent in charters; in the Gl. Cassel, made in Italy in the eighth or ninth century, we find sapienti.

369. Neuters in -n and -s regularly kept their nominative-accusative singular, as nome(n), corpus corpu(s); for *lumine(m), *nomeine(m), beside the old forms, see § 347. For the nominative-accusative plural, however, they constructed, probably in late Vulgar Latin or early Romance, new forms on the masculine pattern, as *nomes *nome(s), *corpes *corpe(s); but in Italy and Rumania the old ones, especially those in -ora, were kept also (Lat. Spr. 482). In these countries -ora was used as a plural ending (It. corpo, corpi corpora; Rum. timp, timpuri), and was extended in Old Italian to the second, in Rumanian to both the second and first declensions: cf. Tiktin 566.

Neuters in -r, which apparently became masculine or
feminine earlier than the others, often developed an accusative singular in \(-e(m)\) as well as a nominative-accusative plural in \(-es\): marmorem, Bon. 348, Zaunder 30; papa\(v\)er\(e\)m, Plautus, Pæn. I, 2, 113; \(*piperem\); sul\(ph\)urem, G. 293; cf. § 347. But mar\(mor\), etc., were kept also. Côr apparently made its plural \(*côres\) instead of \(*côrdes\): according to Mohl, Lexique 21–38, the word shows no trace of \(d\) in any of the Romance languages, except Spanish cuerdo, and so probably goes back to an Old Latin \(*côr *côris = kôp kôpos\); the open \(o\) would possibly be explained as due to a cross between this \(*côr\) and the Classic côr.

Caput became \(*capu(m)\) or capus (Pirson 238), and passed into the second declension: cf. § 356, (3).

370. A few feminines in \(-is\) apparently became neuters in \(-us\), but the original forms were kept also: cinis cinus; pulvis \(*pûlvis\), whence Sp. polvo, Old Fr. pûls (It. pûlve may come from pûlver).

Incus, incûdis > incûdo, incûdtnis: Lat. Spr. 483.

Sanguis, sanguine(m) also sangue(m).

371. In general, at the beginning of the Romance period, the third declension must have gone about as follows (\(-is\) and \(-\tilde{e}s\) having coincided in the pronunciation \(-es\)):—

**No Change of Accent.**

**No Change of Stem.**
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§ 373

CHANGE OF STEM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Things</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pede(s)</td>
<td>*arte(s)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>arte</td>
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<td>arte(s)</td>
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<th>Persons</th>
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<td>corpu(s)</td>
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<td>corpu(s)</td>
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<td>corpe(s)</td>
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(2) CHANGE OF ACCENT.

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<td>*ratione(s)</td>
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<td>ratione</td>
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<td>ratione(s)</td>
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<td>sermone(s)</td>
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<td>ratione(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sermone(s)</td>
<td>ratione(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Letters enclosed in parentheses were silent in Italy and Dacia.

d. LOSS OF DECENSION.

372. In Italy and Dacia, through the dropping of final *r and s, declension nearly disappeared before the end of the Vulgar Latin period: cf. Audollent 545-547, nom. alumnu, Glaucu, Romanu, etc. It was probably lost altogether soon after, although a few double forms still remain: e. g., It. ladro, ladrone.

It disappeared early in Spain also. In most of Gaul it lasted through the twelfth century and later.

373. In Gaul and Spain the forms preserved were the accusative singular and the accusative plural. In Italy and Rumania, for phonetic reasons, the surviving cases are the accusative singular and the nominative plural.

There are, however, not a few examples of the nominative singular of names of persons.
3. DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES.

374. Adjectives were declined after the same model as nouns. As neuter nouns assumed masculine endings (§ 347), the neuter adjective forms were less and less used; the neuter singular, however, was kept to represent a whole idea (cf. § 350), and the neuter plural (as omnium) was doubtless employed from time to time as an indefinite collective.

375. The principal types are:—

(1) Three Genders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bonu(s)</td>
<td>bona</td>
<td>bonu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bonu -o</td>
<td>bona</td>
<td>bonu -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boni</td>
<td>bone -as</td>
<td>bona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bono(s)</td>
<td>bona(s)</td>
<td>bona</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So superlatives, as optimus, -a, -um.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>libru(r)</td>
<td>libra</td>
<td>libru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libru -o</td>
<td>libra</td>
<td>libru -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libri</td>
<td>libre libras</td>
<td>libra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libro(s)</td>
<td>libra(s)</td>
<td>libra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So ager, agra, agrum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acre(r)</td>
<td>acre(s)</td>
<td>acre</td>
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<tr>
<td>acre</td>
<td>acre</td>
<td>acre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acre(s)</td>
<td>acre(s)</td>
<td>acria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acre(s)</td>
<td>acre(s)</td>
<td>acria</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Two Genders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>triste(s)</td>
<td>triste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>triste</td>
<td>triste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>triste(s)</td>
<td>tristesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>triste(s)</td>
<td>tristesia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(3) Originally One Gender in the Nominative Singular.

*felice(s) felis *prudente(s) prude(s)
felice felis prudente prude(s)
felice(s) felicia prudente(s) prudentia
felice(s) felicia prudente(s) prudentia

(4) Comparatives apparently did not reconstruct the Nominative Singular:

mélior(m) mélis(s) mélior
méliore mélis(s) mélora
méliore(s) mélora
méliore(s) mélora

376. There was a good deal of confusion of types in Latin times: beside alacer, m. and f., there was alacris, m. and f., and there was probably also a feminine *alacra and *alecra. Pauper early developed a feminine paupera and later a neuter pauperum: paupera, pauperum, pauperorum, R. 275 (cf. pauperorum, Waters Ch. 46). Macer, miser, sacer passed into the -us -a -um class, Densusianu 142; so tæter > tetrus, App. Pr. Declivis, effrēnis, imbecillis also assumed the -us -a -um inflection in the Latin period; so trīstis > tristus, App. Pr. Cf. celerus, gracilus, præstus, sublimus, etc., and conversely benignis, infirmis, etc., R. 274. Præcox developed a feminine præcoca: Neue II, 162.

In the Romance languages more adjectives went over to the -us -a -um type: Pr. comuna, doussa, etc.

4. COMPARISON.

377. For the new method of comparison, see § 56. The Romance type, not completely evolved in Vulgar Latin, was:

\[
\text{carus} \begin{cases} \text{plus} \\ \text{magis} \end{cases} \text{carus} \quad \text{ille} \begin{cases} \text{plus} \\ \text{magis} \end{cases} \text{carus}
\]
However, the Classic Latin comparatives of many common adjectives remained: *altior, grandior, gravior, grevior, grossior* (G. 285), *levior, longior, major, melior, minor, pejor*; also *bel­latori*. So the adverbs: *longius, magis, melius, minus, pejus, sordidius, vivacius*, etc. The old superlatives remained to a considerable extent, in the clerical language, as intensives: *altissimus, carissimus, pessimus, proximus, sanctissimus*.

### 5. NUMERALS.1

378. *Unus* was probably declined like *bonus*. It was used also as an indefinite article (§ 57) and an indefinite pronoun (cf. § 71).

*Dūo* came to be replaced by *duī*, attested in the third century: *Archiv IX, 558* (cf. II, 107). Its inflection at the end of the Vulgar Latin period was probably:—

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{dui} & \text{doi (duo?)} & \text{due} & \text{doe} & \text{duas doas} & \text{dua doa} \\
\text{duo(s)} & \text{dua(s)} & \text{doa(s)} & \text{dua doa}
\end{array}
\]

In early Romance there was doubtless much confusion of the forms.

379. The numbers between two and twenty were as follows:—

*Très* probably developed a nominative *trei*, on the model of *dui*.

*Quattuor* became *quattor* (*Archiv VII, 65*), also *quatro* (Carnoy 221), *quattro*.

*Quinque*, by dissimilation, became *cinque* (*Archiv VII, 66*); so *cinqua­ginta* (*Archiv VII, 70*). Cf. § 254.

*Six, sēpte* (and *sētte*), *octo* (and *sētto*), *nōve, dēce* offer no peculiarities. Cf. *Archiv VII, 68*.

Beside *undēce* there seems to have been *undēce*.

For *dōdece*, see § 225.

*Trēdēce* is regular.

---

1 See M. Ihm, *Vulgärförmen lateinischer Zahlwörter auf Inschriften in Archiv VII, 65*. 
Quattuordecim regularly became *quattordēce (cf. § 225), but also *quattordēce.

Quīndēce is regular.
Beside sēdēce there was *dēce et (or ac) sēx.

Septuādecim, etc., went out of use; also unus de viginti, etc.: G. 400. Priscian (Keil III, 412) mentions decem et septem. Beside this dēce et sēpē there was *dēce ac sēpē; so *dēce et (or ac) octo, *dēce et (or ac) nōve.

380. The tens, beginning with 20, are irregular: cf. § 142.

Viginti, trīginta regularly became viinti, triinti (§ 259): bēuven occurs in a sixth century document of Ravenna, Vok. II, 461; trienta, Archiv VII, 69. These forms easily contracted into viinti, trint (vinti, trinta: Archiv VII, 69), which account in general for the Italian, Provençal, and French words; Rumanian has new formations. But beside these we must assume for Spanish something like *viiinti, *triiinta, with an opening of the first i and an early shift of accent, probably anterior to the fall of the g; trīginta is, in fact, mentioned as a faulty pronunciation by Consentius, Keil V, 392. Cf. G. Rydberg in Mélanges Wahlund 337.

This change of accent apparently occurred everywhere for the subsequent tens: *quadrāinta, *cinquāinta, *sexāinta, *septāinta *septāinta, *octāinta *ottāinta, *nonāinta *novāinta; the septua- and the octo- of 70 and 80 were made to conform to the type of the others. Outside of the Spanish peninsula -āinta apparently became -ánta. Furthermore the dr of *quadrāinta became rr: quarranta is found in an inscription, perhaps of the fifth century (Pirson 97; Zs. fr. Spr. XXV, ii, 136; Archiv VII, 69).

381. Čentu was regular. For ducēnti, trecēnti, etc., there were probably new formations, such as *dūi ĉentu, etc.

Mille was regular. For its plural it had *dūi mille or *dūi mil(l)ia, etc.
382. The ordinal numerals, after 5th, were probably not very commonly used: the Romance languages show many new formations; in northern Italian, Provençal, and Catalan the distributive ending –ēnus was employed (septēnus for sēptīmus, etc.).

Primus, secundus, tērtius, quartus, quintus were generally kept, inflected like bōnus; but some languages have new formations even for these.

The ordinals were best preserved in Italy.

B. PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

383. The nominative and accusative remained; and the dative was preserved in personal, demonstrative, relative, and interrogative pronouns. The ablative gave way to the dative and accusative. The genitive was usually lost; but cūjus was kept, and so was the genitive singular and plural of ille, ipse, and iste.

1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

N. B. — For the use of personal pronouns, see §60.

384. As the pronouns came to be expressed more and more, ille and also hīc, ēpse, and ēs were used to supply the lacking pronoun of the third person: cf. §§ 60, 67. Examples occur as early as the second century: Franz. 2 II, 262. Hōc served as an indefinite neuter. Inde assumed the function of an indefinite genitive: nemo inde dubitat, Regnier 110.

385. Ego lost its g in all the territory, but probably not until the end of the Vulgar Latin period. According to Meyer-Lübke, Lat. Spr. 484, eo occurs in manuscripts of the sixth century.¹ See §263.

¹But his reference to Vok. I, 242 is incorrect.
In the last syllable of *tibē*, *sibē* the short *i* prevailed, and was carried into *nōbis*, *vōbis*. On the pattern of *mi* < *mihi*, there were formed *ti*, *si* beside *tibē*, *sibē*; these are found, according to *Lat. Spr.* 484, from the sixth century on; cf. *Franz.* 2 II, 243–244.

386. The inflection was probably reduced to: —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>co</em></th>
<th><em>nōs</em></th>
<th><em>tu</em></th>
<th><em>vos</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mē</em></td>
<td><em>nōbe(s)</em></td>
<td><em>tē</em></td>
<td><em>tebe</em></td>
<td><em>nōbe(s)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>me</em></td>
<td><em>nōs</em></td>
<td><em>tē</em></td>
<td><em>vos</em></td>
<td><em>sē</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. POSSESSIVES.

387. *Mēus*, *tūus*, *sūus* were declined like *bōnus*; *nōster*, *vōster*, like *liber*. But *mi* was used, beside *mēus*, *mēa*, as a masculine and feminine vocative (G. 281–282); *mi domina* is common, G. 282, Dubois 261–262. For the plural of the third person, *illōru* came, in the Romance languages except Spanish, to replace *sūus*, etc.

By the analogy of *mēus*, there was a *seus*: *C. I. L.* XII, 5692, 9; cf. *sie*, IX, 3472.

*Sous* is found in Gaul, *Zs. fr. Spr.* XXV, ii, 135: perhaps it is only a phonetic spelling of *sous* < *sūus*, but it may represent a pronunciation *sous* with an *o* opened by dissimilation (cf. §167). There doubtless was a *tous* also.

*Vester* disappeared. Vulgar Latin *vōster* may be a survival of the Old Latin *vōster*, or a reconstruction on the model of *nōster*: cf. §199, (1).

388. In archaic and popular Latin there was a short *sus sa sum*, probably used originally in the unaccented position: *sas*, *sis* occur in Ennius, *sam* in Festus; *so* is found in *C. I. L.* V, 2007. There must have been similar short forms for the first and second persons singular: *mis*, indeed, is used by Ennius.
The full inflection is found in the sixth century: *Franz.* 2 II, 244.

These forms survived in Romance: Old It. *fratello, madre-*

3. DEMONSTRATIVES.

N. B.—For the use of demonstratives, see §§ 61–68. For their function as definite articles and personal pronouns, see §§ 60, 67–68, also § 392.

389. When *ille* and *iste* had a really demonstrative force, they came to be compounded usually with the prefix *ecc* or *eccu*': see § 65. Cf. *Franz.* 2 II, 283–304.

390. The inflection of *ille* developed considerably in popular speech. *Ipse* and *iste* followed a similar course; we find, however, the special forms *ipsus* for *ipse* and *ipsud* for *ipsum*, R. 276; *Franz.* 2 II, 274.

*Ille*, nom. sg. m., was partially replaced, probably in the second half of the sixth century, by *illī*, framed on the model of *quī*: Bon. 114, *illī* = *ille*, *ipsī* = *ipse*; cf. *Franz.* 2 II, 246–260.

Through the analogy of *cūjus*, *cūi*, the m. *illius* gave way to *illūjus*, and the dat. sg. m. *illī* was replaced in part by *illūi*. The former, however, subsequently went out of use, and the latter is not found in Calabria, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Spanish peninsula. *Illius* (*ipsius*, *istius*), having become archaic in popular speech, sometimes occurred as a dative: *Franz.* 2 II, 277–279. There was another dative form, *illo*, used by Apuleius and others (Neue II, 427; R. 275; Quillacq 83); but it disappeared from late Latin, being confused with the ablative and the accusative. The Old Latin genitive *illi* (*ipsi*, *isti*), was abandoned: cf. *Franz.* 2 II, 273, 275.

In the dat. sg. f., beside *illī*, there was *illē* (or *ille*), used by Cato and others (Neue II, 427; R. 275; Audollent 302); and from that, on the model of *illūi* (and perhaps of *quei*), was
made *illæi (illei), which was used beside *illi and *illa. In the genitive, on the same pattern (influenced perhaps by quejus), was constructed *illæjus (illejus), which crowded out *illi.

Illujus, illui, illejus, ille are found from the sixth century on: Zs. XXVI, 600, 619. Cf. Lat. Spr. 484: illujus, illui, illejus, illæ, ille; ipsujus, ipsæus.

Illorum displaced the f. illarum. It came, furthermore, to be used, in Romance, for the dat. m. and f. illis, which, however, did not entirely disappear. In parts of northern Spain and southwestern France illorum seems to have become *illurum, through the analogy of illujus, illui.

The neuter illud was replaced by illum: Neue II, 426; R. 276.

391. The popular inflection, at the end of the Vulgar Latin period, was something like this (brackets indicating forms not kept in Romance):

```
èllè èlli [ellujus]
èlli [èllo] ellui
èlju èllo
èlli
ellôru elluru?
èlli(s) ellôru
èllo(s)
èlu
èllu
èlla
èllæ
èllæjus
èlli èlle ellei
èlla
èllu èllo
èlle
èlleru
èlli(s) èlleru
èlla(s)
èlluru
èlla(s)
èlla
```

392. When unaccented, these words tended to lose their first syllable (see § 157): tū illam vīdēs > *tū 'la' vēde(s); vīdēs tū īpsam clavem > *vēde(s) tu 'sa' clave'. Lui and lei are found after the seventh century: Franz. 2 II, 281–283.

Ille and ipse were used freely as definite articles from the fourth century on: Densusianu 177. Ille prevailed, except in Sardinia, Majorca, a part of Catalonia and Gascony, and some dialects on the south shore of France. Cf. Franz. 2 II, 271–272.
4. INTERROGATIVE AND RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

N. B. — For the use of these pronouns, and the substitution of qui for feminine quæ, see §§ 69-70.

393. In Christian inscriptions from the fifth century on, qui takes the place of quis, and also of the feminine quæ. Beside cūjus, cui is found a corresponding feminine quejus, quei: see Mohl in Zs. XXVI, 619.

The combined inflection of qui and quis, by the end of the Vulgar Latin period, was probably reduced, in common speech, to something like this: —

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{qui} & \text{que} & \text{qui} & \text{cqd qued} \\
\text{cujus} & \text{quejus} & \text{cujus} & \text{cujus} \\
\text{cui} & \text{quei} & \text{cui} & \text{cui} \\
\text{que} & \text{qua} & \text{que} & \text{cqd qued} \\
\text{co?} & \text{qua} & \text{co?} & \text{co?} \\
\text{qui} & \text{que} & \text{qui} & \text{que} \\
\text{cos?} & \text{quas?} & \text{cos?} & \text{que}
\end{array}
\]

The genitive was probably not used everywhere; perhaps it was kept only in Spain. Unde and d'unde, 'whence,' took the meaning 'of which': Bon. 580.

394. Qualis, inflected like tristis, was used as an interrogative pronoun and adjective. In the Romance languages (il)le + qualis came to be employed as a relative pronoun.

5. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

395. For these, see § 71. Alter, nūllus, sōlus, tōtus, ūnus doubtless developed an inflection like bōnus: gen. nulli, etc., R. 276; dat. solo, toto, uno, etc., R. 276-277. Alter, however, assumed a dative *altrūi, on the model of illūi, etc.
C. VERBS.

1. THE FOUR CONJUGATIONS.

396. There was some confusion of conjugations; the first and fourth were least affected. In the Peregrinatio the second decidedly preponderates over the third (Bechtel 87); in other texts the third gains at the expense of the second.

The second gained most in Spain, the third in Italy, the fourth in Gaul. Eventually Spanish and Portuguese discarded the third, Sicilian and Sardinian the second.

New formations went into the first and fourth.

a. FIRST CONJUGATION.

397. The first conjugation generally held its own, defections being few and partial.

Beside do, dant and sto, stant there came into use *dao, *daunt and *stao, *staunt: Rum. daū, staū; Old It. dao; Pr. dau, daun, estau, estaun; Pg. dou, estou. Mohl, Lexique 47, would connect these forms with Umbrian stahu, but it seems more likely that they were late Latin formations due to an effort to keep the root vowel distinct from the ending. Cf. Probus, “adno non adnao,” Lexique 47.

In northern Gaul there may have developed with *stao a *stais and a *stait, on the analogy of (*vao), *vais, *vait (see §405): cf. Lexique 47–54.

The Italian present subjunctive dia from dare is associated by Mohl, Lexique 47 and Pr. Pers. Pl. 30, with Umbrian dia. It is entirely possible, however, that the form is a later, Italian development due to the analogy of sia: see §419, (2).

398. For new formations,—such as abbreviare, follicare, werrizare, etc.,—see §§33–35. Germanic verbs in –on and in
an (but not -jan) regularly went in the first conjugation: roubôn > It. rubare, witan > It. guidare. Cf. §36.

b. SECOND CONJUGATION.

399. Even in Classic Latin there was some confusion between the second conjugation and the third: fervère, tergère. In Vulgar Latin the second lost some verbs to the third in most of the territory: *ardère, *lucère, lugère (R. 283), miscère (R. 284), *mordère, *nocère, *ridère, respondère (Bechtel 88: responduntur), tondère, *torcère (for torquère). Other verbs passed over locally or occasionally: seditur, Bechtel 88.


Habēre, at least in Italy, sometimes became habīre: Vok. I, 266 ff.; havite, C. I. L. V, 1636; habībat, Itala, Luke VI, 8; avīre in many Italian dialects in which e does not phonetically become i, and even in early Tuscan (cf. E. Monaci, Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli I, p. 20, l. 10, etc). According to Mohl, Lexique 108–109, this is a peculiarity of ancient Umbrian.

401. While retaining habeō, habeš, habét, habént, the verb habēre, under the influence of dare and stare, adopted the forms *ho or *hao, *has, *hat, *hant or *haunt.

c. THIRD CONJUGATION.

402. The third conjugation gave a few verbs to the second, perhaps beginning with those that had a perfect in -ui, such as cadere *cadui, capere *capui, sapere sapui: sapere was influenced, especially in Italy, by habēre; capere may easily have imitated sapere, and cadere may have followed capere.
In Spain all the third conjugation verbs eventually passed into the second. This transition was probably helped by a partial fusion of esse and sedere.

403. The anomalous posse pōtui, vēlle vōlui naturally went over to the second conjugation, assumed the infinitive forms potere, *volere, and conformed their inflection more or less to the regular type. Vēlle, however, was discarded in Spain and Sardinia.

(1) Potere, potebam occur repeatedly in the sixth century (Pr. Pers. Pl. 24), potebo is found in the Gl. Reich., potebas in Fredegarius (Haag 60). Posso for pōssum is used by Gregory and Fredegarius (Pr. Pers. Pl. 24), poteo is attested in 745 A.D. (Pr. Pers. Pl. 25). The present indicative must have been inflected something like this:—

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{possu} & \text{posso} \quad \text{poteo} \quad *\text{posse} \\
\text{pote(s)} & \text{potete(s)} \quad *\text{potete(s)} \\
*\text{pote(t)} & \text{potele(s)} \quad \text{potele(t)} \\
\text{possum(t)} & \text{potele(t)} \quad *\text{potele(t)}
\end{array}
\]

The present subjunctive must have had corresponding forms.

(2) Volimus is found in the sixth century (Lat. Spr. 478), volemus in the seventh (Pr. Pers. Pl. 21); voles is found in the Gl. Reich. Volestis, framed on the pattern of potestis, is twice used by Fredegarius (Pr. Pers. Pl. 21). The present indicative forms must have been something like this:—

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
*\text{voleo} & \text{volemus(s)} \quad \text{volemu(s)} \\
\text{vole(s)} & \text{voleste(s)} \quad \text{voleste(s)} \\
*\text{vole(t)} & \text{volete(s)} \quad \text{volete(s)} \\
\text{vole(t)} & \text{vole(t)}
\end{array}
\]

The present subjunctive must have been similarly inflected.

404. Beside facere there doubtless existed *fare (Facere 48), strongly influenced by dare and stare. Dare and facere were associated in old formulas: Lexique 53. Furthermore, a suggestion of shortening existed in the monosyllabic imperative
fac (also fa: Zs. XXV, 735), which must have led to *fate beside facite. The present indicative certainly had several sets of forms, one series being on the pattern of the first conjugation, but the present subjunctive retained its old inflection (see Facere 72, 121; Zs. XVIII, 434):—

facio *fao *fo fácimu(s) *fáimus *famu(s)
face(s) *fais *fas fácite(s) *fáitis *fate(s)
face(t) *fait *fat faciun(t) *faunt *fant

There was also a rare infinitive facire, which occurs several times in the sixth and seventh centuries: Facere 13.

405. Vadere supplied its missing past tenses from ire and other verbs. These other substitutes, whose origin constitutes one of the most discussed problems in Romance philology, resulted—to cite only the principal types—in the verbs *allare or alare (used in northern Gaul), *annare (used in southern Gaul), *andare (used in Spain and Italy). It is now generally thought that *allare and *annare developed in some peculiar way (perhaps through distortion in military commands) from ambulare, which is very common in late Latin in the sense of 'march' or 'walk.' *Andare is commonly traced to *ambitare, coming either from ambitus or, more probably, from ambulare with a change of suffix. C. C. Rice, in the Publications of the Modern Language Association of America XIX, 217, argues that the three verbs sprang from Latin annare (= adnare) and its derivatives *annulare, *annitare. For a bibliography of the subject, see Körting. Cf. also A. Horning in Zs. XXIX, 542; H. Schuchardt in Zs. XXX, 83; Lexique 56-78. Both ambulare and alare occur in the Gl. Reich. Amnavit is found on a sixth century African vase: see F. Novati in Studi Medievali I, 616-617.

Ire and the other substitutes were introduced also into the
present. The present indicative, moreover, was influenced by facere fare:

- **vado** *vao* *vo*
- **vade(s)** *vais* *vas*
- **vade(t)** *vait* *vat*

vaddimu(s) imu(s) etc.
vdite(s) ite(s) etc.
vdun(t) *vaunt* *vant*  

406. Verbs in -io tended to pass into the fourth conjugation (see, however, §416): *capire, beside *capère; cupire, Lucretius (Lat. Spr. 477), Densusianu 148, Bon. 426; fodiri, Cato; fugire, St. Augustine (Lat. Spr. 477), common in the Vulgate (R. 285), Sepulcri 229, Bon. 427, Haag 60, Gl. Reich.; moriri, Plautus, and *morire.*

Some others went over, at least locally: *fallire; gemire, Pirson 148; occurire, Pirson 148; *offerire, *sofferire, by the analogy of *aperire (sufferit, R. 286; cf. deferet, offeret, Bechtel 90; offeret, first half of the 7th century, Carnoy 112); *sequire, beside *séquère.*

Dicère, probably in the Vulgar Latin period (cf. Lexique 62), developed a form *dire, doubtless suggested by dic (cf. fac and *fare, §404) and helped by the analogy of audire.

d. FOURTH CONJUGATION.

407. The fourth conjugation usually held its own, and gained some verbs from the others.

For new formations, — such as *abbelire, ignire, — see §34. Germanic verbs in -jan regularly went into the fourth conjugation in Latin (Kluge 500): furbjan>It. forbire; marrjan>Fr. marrir; parrjan>Fr. tarir; warnjan>It. guarnire. Cf. §36.

For the intrusion of the inchoative -sc- into this conjugation, see §415.

2. FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN INFLECTION.

408. Of the personal forms of the verb there remained in general use in Romance only the following tenses of the active voice, the entire passive inflection having been discarded: the
indicative present, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and in some regions the future perfect; the subjunctive present, pluperfect, and in some regions the perfect; the imperative present. For instance: *amo, amabam, amavi, amaram, (amaro); amem, amassem, (amarim); ama.* See Syntax.

Of the impersonal forms of the verb there remained: the present active infinitive, the present participle, the perfect participle, the gerund (especially the ablative case), and probably in some standing phrases the gerundive. For instance: *amare, amans, amatus, amando, (amandus?).* The supine fell into disuse from the first century on. See Syntax.

409. The entire passive inflection came to be replaced, towards the end of the Vulgar Latin period, partly by active and reflexive constructions but mainly by a compound of the perfect participle with *esse* (in northern Italy *feri*): *littera scribitur>; *littera scripta est* (or *fit*).


Cf. §§112–114.

410. The Latin perfect was kept in its preterit sense. In its perfect sense it was replaced, in the Vulgar Latin period, by a compound of *habère* and the perfect participle—in the case of neuter verbs, *esse* and the perfect participle: *feci* > *habeo factum; reverti* > *reversus sum*, R. 289. Similar compounds replaced the pluperfect and the future perfect. See §§121–124.

The old pluperfect indicative (*amāram, audīram*) was kept, as a preterit or a conditional, in various regions: see §124. In the subjunctive the pluperfect was used instead of the
imperfect, which disappeared everywhere but in Sardinia (facheret, etc.): amārem > amāssem, audirem > audissem; cf. §118.

The old future perfect — amā(vē)ro — fused with the perfect subjunctive — amā(vē)rim — and apparently remained more or less in use, as a future indicative or subjunctive, in all regions except Gaul and Rætia. It is best preserved in Spanish and Portuguese, but is found also in Old Rumanian and Macedonian. There are traces of it in Old Italian, sometimes confused with the pluperfect indicative and later sometimes with the infinitive (ápriro, póteri, crđdere, etc.): see C. De Lollis in Bausteine 1; V. Crescini in Zs. XXIX, 619.

411. The old future, with the exception of ēro, was crowded out by the present and by new formations, especially by the infinitive combined with the present indicative of habēre (amābo > amar’ habeo): see §§125–129. In this compound all the various forms of the present indicative of habēre were used (see §§273, 401): *amar’-ābeo, -áyo, -āo, -ō; *amar’-ābe(s), -ās; *amar’-ābe(t), -āt; *amar’-āben(t), -āunt, -ānt. In the first and second persons plural, habēmus and habētis eventually, as they came to be regarded as mere endings, were reduced to -emu(s), -ete(s), to correspond to the dissyllabic or monosyllabic -dyo, -dbe(s), -dbe(t), -dbe(t) and -ō, -ās, -āt, -ānt: *amar’-emu(s), *amar’-ete(s).

On the model of this new future, an imperfect of the future, or conditional, came to be made, in late Vulgar Latin and Romance, from the infinitive combined with the imperfect or the perfect of habēre (see §130): *amar’-ābe(b)a(m) or *amar’-ābūi. In these formations the unaccented (h)ab– disappeared, as in the first and second persons plural of the future: *amar’-ē(b)a, *amar’-ēsti, etc.; but *amar’-ābūi, etc. In Italian we find, beside -la from habēbam and -ābbi-ēbbi from habūi, a form in -ēti (amerēti), which has prevailed in the
modern language, while in Old Italian the *ei* was sometimes detached and used as a preterit of *avere*: it is probably due to the analogy of the first person singular of the weak preterit (*credéi*, hence *crederéi*), cf. § 426.

412. The imperative disappeared, except the present, second person singular and plural: *âmá, amáte; téné, tenéte; crédé, crédité; audí, audíte*. The first and third persons were supplied from the present subjunctive. In some verbs the present subjunctive was used instead of all imperative forms. See § 115.

Instead of the plural form, the second person plural of the present indicative came to be used: *adcerte > adcertis*, R. 294. For the monosyllabic *dic, duc, fac*, writers sometimes employed *dic* *duc* *fac*: R. 294.

3. INCHOATIVE VERBS.

413. The Latin inchoative ending *-sco* was preceded by *ā-, ē-, ē-, or ὁ-. The types *-āscō* and *-ōscō* were sparingly represented and were not extended in late and popular Latin; they have bequeathed but few verbs — such as Pr. *traissēr < trāscĕre, conbissēr < conbissēr < co(g)nōscĕr* — to the Romance languages. The types *-ōscō* and *-isco* — as *parēscō, dormisco* — were extended in the third century and later, and lost their inchoative sense.

414. There is some evidence of a confusion of *-ēscō* and *-ēscō* in Latin. Virgiliius Grammaticus (Sepulcri 194) mentions double forms of inchoative verbs, such as *calescō calisco*, etc. *Clarisco, erubisco*, etc., are common in Gregory the Great: Sepulcri 193. Cf. *criscere*, etc., in *Vok. I*, 359 ff.

In Veglia, the Abruzzi, Sardinia, and a part of Lorraine neither of these two endings left any trace. Only *-ēscō* survived in the Tyrol, the Grisons, French Switzerland, Savoy, Dauphiné, Lyons, the Landes, Béarn, and Spain — Sp. *parecer*,
Florecer; -esco was preferred also in Rumanian. Elsewhere, although there are traces of -esco, -isco prevailed — Fr. il fleurit, It. fiorisce. For Pr. despereissir, etc., see E. Herzog in Bausteine 481.

415. The ending -isco eventually entered into the formation of the present stem of fourth conjugation verbs. There is no direct evidence of this in Latin, nor are there any traces of it in Spanish, Portuguese, Sardinian, or southern Italian; but in the earliest texts of France, northern and central Italy, Rætia, and Rumania we find a type

| *finisco   | finimu(s)     |
| *finisce(s) | finite(s)     |
| *finisce(t) | *finiscun(t) |

The -se- then generally disappeared from the infinitive—It. fiorire. Later, in some regions, the -se- was carried throughout the present indicative (Fr. finissons, finissez); it also penetrated the present subjunctive (Fr. finisse), and in some districts eventually the present participle and the imperfect indicative (Fr. finissant, finissais).

See Archiv I, 465; Zs. XXIV, 81; Rom. XXX, 291–294; Lat. Spr. 478.

4. PRESENT STEMS.

416. Many verbs in -io dropped the i whenever it was followed by another vowel. In the present participle this was a regular phonetic development (see §225): audientem > *audente, facientem > *facente, partientem > *partente, sentientem > *sentente. Hence forms without the i were introduced more or less into the indicative and subjunctive: audio *audo, *dormo, partunt *partunt, sentiam *sentam, etc.

By the analogy of these, the e was occasionally lost in the second conjugation: video *vido. On the other hand, by the
analogy of capiunt, faciunt, etc., the second conjugation admitted such forms as *habeunt, *videunt, etc., beside the regular habent, vident, etc.

417. The verbs struère, trahère, vehère developed infinitive forms *strúgere, trágere, végere (tragere and vegere are used by Fredegarius, Haag 34) and a whole present and imperfect inflection with -g-, as *trago, *tragam, *tragébam. The guttural was derived from the perfect indicative and the perfect participle — struxi structus, traxi tractus, vexi vectus — on the analogy of ago actus, figo fixi, lego lectus, rego rexi rectus, tego tectus, and also fingo finxi fictus, tango tactus, and probably cingo cinxii cinctus, jungo junxi junctus, pango panxi pæctus, plango planxi plantus, ungo unxi unctus, etc.

There may have been also *strúcare, *trácare, *vécare, based on the analogy of dico dixi dictus, duco duxi ductus.

Cf. Substrate VI, 131.

418. The verbs dare, debère, dicère, facère, habère, pösse, stare, vadère, velle underwent considerable changes in the present: see §§273, 397, 401, 403–406, 412, 416.

419. Esse was made into *issère, to bring it into conformity with the usual third conjugation type. Considerable alterations were made in the present indicative and subjunctive. For the use of fieri for esse, see §409. The Spanish use of sedère for esse is probably later than our period.

(1) The present indicative shows some signs of a tendency to normalize its erratic inflection by making all the forms begin with s. The old esum cited by Varro (Pr. Pers. Pl. 128) went out of use. Italian sei and Rætian sës point to a *sës beside ës; Italian siete and Rætian siede, etc., indicate a *sëtis for ëtis, while there is some evidence of an alternative *sûtis on the model of sùmus; Old Italian se for ë, Provençal ses for
es, usually understood as reflexive forms, may go back to *sēt and *sēst for ēst. In the first person plural sūmus became sūmus and sīmus (see §220); sūmus, the usual Classic form, was preferred in Spain, Portugal, northern Gaul, and the Tyrol (Sp. somos, Old Fr. sons, etc.); sīmus, which was used, according to Suetonius, by Augustus, and by various purists of the Augustan age (Stolz 58), prevailed in southern Gaul, Italy, Dalmatia, and Dacia (Pr. sem, Old It. semo, etc.): cf. Lat. Spr. 479; Pr. Pers. Pl. 130; Rom. XXI, 347. Provençal esmes < *ēsmus seems to be a new formation on the analogy of ēstis; Mohl, Pr. Pers. Pl. 135, would derive it from old esīmus, which existed with esum. The present indicative inflection was doubtless something like this:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sōm} & \quad \text{sōmu}(s) & \quad \text{sēmu}(s) & \quad *\text{esmu}(s) \\
\text{ēst} & \quad *\text{set} & \quad *\text{sete}(s) & \quad *\text{sote}(s) \\
\text{sōnt} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(2) In the present subjunctive the analogy of other third conjugation verbs tended to introduce the characteristic vowel \(a\). It is likely, too, that from early times there was a reciprocal influence of fiām, etc., and the Old Latin optative siēm, etc. (cf. Lexique 51): fiēt is common for fit, Pirson 150; fiām replaces siēm in northern Italy and Dacia. Hence comes an alternative inflection *siām, etc., which ultimately prevailed:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sēm} & \quad *\text{sea} & \quad \text{siēm}(s) & \quad \text{siām}(s) \\
\text{sīs} & \quad *\text{sea}(s) & \quad \text{site}(s) & \quad *\text{siāte}(s) \\
\text{sēt} & \quad \text{sea}(t) & \quad \text{sent} & \quad *\text{sean}(t) \\
\end{align*}
\]

For siāt, see sead in Vok. II, 42. Siamus, according to Lat. Spr. 478, occurs in Italian documents of the eighth century.

5. IMPERFECT.

N. B.—For the loss of the imperfect subjunctive, see §118.

420. The endings were –ābam, –ēbam, –īēbam, –ībam. In the third conjugation –īēbam regularly developed into –ēbam,
§ 423] AN INTRODUCTION TO VULGAR LATIN.  177

just as -entem > -entem (see §§ 225, 416): faciēbam > *facēbam. In the fourth conjugation -ēbam and -ibam existed side by side from early times (Neue II, 445), -ibam — as in munibam — being common in early Latin and recurring at later periods (Lindsay 491); -ibam, which stressed the characteristic vowel of the fourth conjugation, prevailed in popular speech, and -ēbam disappeared: vestībat, etc., Dubois 277–278.

421. Habēbam, pronounced αβεβα (cf. § 318), developed another form, *αβεα, probably through dissimilation. Hence came an alternative ending -eα for -εβα, which in Romance was widely extended, affecting all the conjugations but the first: It. vedēa, credēa, sentīa. It is common to nearly all the Romance territory except Rumania: Lat. Spr. 479.

6. PERFECT.

422. We must distinguish two types, the weak and the strong: the weak comprises the v- perfects in which the v is added to a verb-stem (-āvi, -ēvi, -īvi), the strong includes all others. Verbs of the first and fourth conjugations generally had weak perfects, those of the second and third had mostly strong. Only six verbs — all of the second conjugation and most of them rare — regularly had a perfect in -ēvi: deleo, fleo, neo, -oleo, -pleo, vieo; silevit for siluit occurs also, R. 287.

All first and fourth conjugation verbs with strong perfects probably developed a weak one in Vulgar Latin: prastiti > prastavi, R. 289; salui > salivi. For further encroachment of the weak type on the strong, see § 426.

a. WEAK PERFECTS.

423. A tendency to keep the stress on the characteristic vowel, and also a general inclination to omit v between two i's (see § 324), led early, in the fourth conjugation, to a reduction
of -īvīstī to -īstī and -īvīstis to -īstis, which brought about, still early, the further reduction of -īvī to -īī and *-īī, -īvit to -īīt and *-īīt, -īvērant to -ierunt, and, later, the reduction of -īvimus to -īmus and probably *-immus (the lengthening of the m being due to compensation and also, perhaps, to a desire to distinguish the perfect from the present). For -īīt, as in lenītt, see Servius ad Aen. I, 451; for -ierunt, see Neue III, 452–454; for -īmus, as in repetīmus, etc., see Neue III, 449.

Then a contraction of the two vowels gave, in the first and third persons singular and the third person plural, -ī, -īt, *-īrant: audi, Neue III, 434 (cf. S. 241: 65–121 A.D.); petit, etc., Neue III, 446–448; “cupit pro cupivit,” Priscian XII, 17 (Keil II, 587); perīt, petit, redīt, Bayard 60; perīt, etc., Bon. 440.

A contraction without the fall of v, in the third person singular, gave rise, locally, to an alternative form, *-iut: It. servīto, etc.

### § 424

The loss of v, carried into the first conjugation, gave rise early to a reduction of -āvīstī, -āvīstis, -āvērant to -āstī, -āstis, -ārant. Much later -āvī > -āi, -āvit > āit and -āt, -āvimus > -āmus and probably *-āmmus: calcai (Probus), edificai, probai (Probus), Vok. II, 476; νεγακα, Densusianu I, 152; — laborait, C. I. L. X, 216; speculārit, Vok. II, 476; dedicait, Lexique 46; “fumāt pro fumavit,” Priscian XII, 17 (Keil II, 587); denumerat, iudicat, Fredegarius (Haag 55); — cælebramus, memoramus, vocitamus, Gregory of Tours (Bon. 440); speramus, Fredegarius (Haag 55). The third person singular in -ait is found in Old Sardinian: Lat. Spr. 479.

A contraction without the fall of v gave rise, in the third person singular, to -aut; and, in the first person plural, probably to *-aumus: triumphaut in Pompeii, Densusianu I, 152. This -aut prevailed in Romance: It. amò and amáo, etc. The
§ 426] AN INTRODUCTION TO VULGAR LATIN. 179

*–aumus is preserved in some Old French dialects near Douai: Rom. XXX, 607.

425. The forms in the first and fourth conjugations, therefore, were: —

-āvi  -āi  -ĕvi  -ĕi  -ī  -ī
-āsti
-āve(t)  -āut  -āit  -āt  -ēve(t)  *–ēut  *–ēit  *–ēt
-āvimu(s)  -āmu(s)  *–āmmu(s)  *–āmus
-āste(s)
-ārun(t)

With the exception of *–ivi in Old Italian, the forms with v were not preserved in Romance.

Verbs in *–evi doubtless had a similar inflection: *delēi, delēsti, etc. Some other second conjugation verbs apparently adopted this perfect: *silevit, R. 287.

426. Compounds of dare had a perfect in *–didi (crēdīdī, perdidī, vēndīdī, etc.), which in Vulgar Latin became *–dēdī (see § 139): perdedī, etc., Audollent 544. This *–dēdī was extended to many other verbs in –d–: prandīdī, Keil IV, 184; descendīdī, respondīdī, Lat. Spr. 479, 480; ascendetīdī, incendetīdī, odedere, pandiderunt, prendiderunt, videderunt (cf. edediderit with an extra –de–), R. 288.

Through the analogy of –āi, *–ēi, *–īi, helped by dissimilation, this *–dēdī became *–deī. Hence arose eventually an inflection *–deī, *–destī, *–det, *–dem(u)s, *–deste(s), *–derun(t), from which there came a set of endings *–ēi, *–estī, etc., corresponding to the –ai –asti, etc., and the –ii, –isti, etc., of the first and fourth conjugations: so caderunt, Gl. Reich. In some of the Romance languages these endings were carried into other verbs of the third and even the second conjugation (It. battēi, Pr. cazēt); in Provençal they invaded the first also (amēi). In Dacia, on the other hand, they apparently did
not develop at all. In Italy, under the influence of *stettii < *stētui, dare had (beside diēdi < dēdi) a perfect detti, whence arose an inflection -detti, etc., and a set of endings -etti, etc., beside -dei and -ei.

Through these endings the weak type encroached somewhat on the strong. In Italy all strong verbs except esse introduced weak endings in the second person singular and the first and second persons plural: It. presi, prendesti, etc.; cf. plaudisti for plausisti, R. 286, also vincisti, Gl. Reich. In Rumania, where there was no -dei, the -ui and -si types were extended.

A few weak verbs adopted strong inflections: quæsivi > *quasi, sapivi > sapui.

b. STRONG PERFECTS.

427. There are three types — those that add u to the root, those that add s, and those that have nothing between the root and the personal endings: plac-u-i, dic-s-i = dixi, bib-i. In the first class the u lost its syllabic value and became w (cf. § 326): placwi, etc.

428. The -ui type, according to Meyer-Lübke, Gram. II, 357, included from the start not only perfects of the placui sort, but also all perfects in -vi not made from the verb-stem (cf. § 422), — such as cognovi, crēvi, mōvi, pāvi, — this ending being pronounced wui, but written vi to avoid the doubling of the v. At any rate, the development of the vi indicates that it was sounded wui, wwi, or βwi in Vulgar Latin: cf. It. conobbi, crebbi, etc.; Pr. moc, etc.

This perfect disappeared from the first and fourth conjugations: crepui > *crepavi, necui > necavi, etc.; apersi > *aperii *apersi, salui > salivi salii *salsi, etc. In the second and third conjugations it maintained itself very well: cognovi, crevi,
gemui(?), messui(?), molui, movi, pavi, tenui, texui. It lost posui (>posi), silui (>silevi), and possibly a few others. On the other hand it received many additions: bibi > *bibui; cēdui > *cadui *caddedi; cēpī > capui, Haag 56, Lat. Spr. 479 (so *recëpui); expavi > expabui, Lat. Spr. 479; lēgi > *lēgui *lēxi: natus sum > *nacui; peperci > parcui, R. 288; sapivi > sapui; sēdi > *sēdui; sētī > also *stētui; sustūli > *tolui *tolsi; texi > texui, Lat. Spr. 479; vēni > also *vēnui; vīci > also *vincui *vīnisi; vīdi > also *vīdui *vīdui; vīxi > also *vīscui; etc. Cf. A. Zimmermann in Archiv XIII, 130; Zs. XXVIII, 97.

429. Of the -si class,—which comprised perfects in -si, -ssi, and -xi,—some thirty-five were preserved: arsi, cinxi, clausi, coxi, divisi, dixi, duxi, excussi, finxi, fixi, frixi, junxi, luxi, mansi, misi (also *missi, perhaps on the model of missus, cf. § 163), multsi, pinxi, planxi, pressi, rasi, rcsi, rcsi, scripsi, sparsi, -stinxi, strinxi, struxi, tersi, tinxi, torsi, traxi, unxi, vixi. Sensi, however, became *sentii.

In Vulgar Latin there were perhaps some thirty or more new formations: abscō(n)si, Keil VII, 94; *accē(n)si; *apērsi; *attinxı; *copērsi; *cūrsi; *dēfe(n)si; *ērsi from erigo; *franxi; *fūsi; *impīnxi; *lēxi; *mōrsi; *occisi; *offērsi; *pē(n)si; pērsi, Lat. Spr. 480; pōsi, R. 288; *prē(n)-si; *pūnxi; *quæsi; *redēmpsı; *respō(n)si; *rōsi; *salsi; *sōlsi; *sūrsi; *taxi; *tanxi; *tē(n)si; *tōlsi; *vīnisi; *vōlsi. Some of these—*defensi, *fusi, *morsi, *occisi, *pensi, *prensi, *responsi, *rosi, *tensi—assumed the s- perfect through having an s in the perfect participle.

Cf. Einf. § 165.

430. Among the -i perfects, the reduplicative formations were discarded in Vulgar Latin, with the exception of dēdi and stēti (also *stētui), whose reduplicative character was no longer
apparent; compounds of *dare* usually formed their perfect like the simple verb (cf. § 426; but *circumdavit* in Gl. Reich.), while compounds of *stare* tended to follow the regular first conjugation model (*praestiti* > *praestavi*, R. 289). *Cecidi* became *cadui* or *cadedi*; *sefelli* > *falii*; *peperci* > *parcui*, R. 288. The other reduplicative perfects either disappeared or passed into the –si class: *cucurri* > *cūrsi*; *momordi* > *mōrsi*; *pependi* > *pē(n)si*; *pupūgi* > *pūnxi*; *tetendi* > *tē(n)si*; *telōgi* > *taxi* *tanxi*.

The other –i perfects were greatly reduced in number in Vulgar Latin. Some simply disappeared, some became weak, some went over to the –ui or the –si type: *ēgi*, *vērti*; *fugi* > *fugii*; *bibi* > *bibui*, *cēpi* > *capui*, *lēgi* > *lēgui*, *sēdi* > *sēdui*; *accendi* > *accē(n)si*, *defendi* > *defē(n)si*, *frēgi* > *franxi*, *fūdi* > *fūsi*, *lēgi* > *lēxi*, *prendi* > *pré(n)si*, *solvi* > *sōlsi*, *vici* > *vinsi*, *volvi* > *vōlsi*. There were no additions. Two of the old perfects maintained themselves intact, and two more were kept beside new formations: *feci*, *fui*; *vēni* *vēnui*, *vidi* *vidui*.

431. In *fui* the *u* was originally long, but it was shortened in Classic Latin; Vulgar Latin seems to show both *ū* and *ū*.

In an effort to keep the accent on the same syllable throughout (cf. §§ 423–424), *fusti* > *fusti*, *fūstis* > *fustis*; then *fūmus* generally became *fum(m)us*, *fuit* was often shortened to *fut*, and *fuērunt* became *fūrunt*. There may have been also, through dissimilation, a form *fōrunt*.

The prevailing inflection, with some variations, was probably something like this: —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>futi</th>
<th>fui</th>
<th>*fom(m)u(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>fosti</em></td>
<td><em>foste(s)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fut</em></td>
<td><em>fut</em></td>
<td><em>fōrun(t)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. PLUPERFECT AND FUTURE PERFECT.

432. When preserved at all, these tenses followed the old types: *plácueram* (cf. § 137), *placuissem*, *plácuero*; *dixéram*, *dixíssem*, *dixéro*; *fécéram*, *fécíssem*, *fécéro*. In formations from weak perfects only the contracted forms were used: *amáram*, *amássem*, *amáro*; *deléram*, *delésem*, *deléro*; *audí(e)ram*, *audíssem*, *audí(e)ro*; cf. *alaret*, *ortaret* in *Gl. Reich*. Bayard 60–61 notes that St. Cyprien employed only the shortened forms—*petisset*, etc.—before *ss*.

433. In some regions a tendency to keep the accent on the same syllable throughout the pluperfect subjunctive led to a change of *—assémus*, *—assétis*, etc., to *—ássimus*, *—ássítis*, etc.: It. *amássimo* *amáste*, Sp. *hablásemos* *habláseis*; but Pr. *amessém* *amessétz*, Fr. *aimassións* *aimassiéz*.

8. PERFECT PARTICIPLE.

434. Verbs which had no perfect participle were obliged to form one in order to make their passive and their perfect tenses: *fério*, *fáritus*.

435. In the first conjugation *—ātus* was preserved and was extended to all verbs: *frictus* > *fricatus*; *nectus* > *necatus*; *sectus* > *secatus*; so the new *alatus*, *Gl. Reich*. The ending *—ītus*, in the first conjugation, generally fell into disuse: *crepitus* > *crepátus*; *domitus* > *domátus*, R. 295; *plícitus* > *plícátus*; *sonitus* > *sonátus*; *tonitus* > *tonátus*; *vetitus* > *vetátus*, R. 296. Nevertheless there were some new formations in *—ītus*: *lēvítus*, *próvítus*, *rógítus*, *vócítus*; cf. Lat. *Spr.* 480.

In the third conjugation *—ātus* disappeared: *oblátus* > *offértus* (*Gl. Reich.*), *sublátus* > *suffértus*, by the analogy of *apértus*, *copértus*; *sublátus* (from *tollō*) > *töllítus* (*Gl. Reich.*).
436. In the fourth conjugation –itūs was preserved and was extended to nearly all verbs: saltus>*salitus; sensus>*sentitus; sepultus > sepelitus, old and found in all periods, Pirson 152, Gl. Reich. Apertus and copertus, however, were kept; and ventus generally became *ventūtus.

In the third conjugation quāsitus > *quāstus.

437. In the second conjugation the rare –ētus disappeared as a participial ending: complētus, etc., were kept only as adjectives.

438. The ending –ūtus, belonging to verbs in –uere and –vere. (argutus, consutus, minūtus, secutus, solutus, statūtus, tributus, volutus), offered a convenient accented form, corresponding to –ātus and –ītus. It was extended to nearly all the verbs that had an –ui perfect: *bibutus, *habutus, *parutus, *tenutus, *venutus, *vidutus, etc.; but status. It did not always, however, entirely displace the old perfect participle: natus was kept beside *nascitūtus.

Eventually –ūtus was carried further, —as *credutus, *per¬dutus, *vendutus,— and in Sicily encroached largely on –ītus.

On the other hand, *mōvitūs and *mōssus were formed beside *movutus, *sölviūtus (or *sōltus) beside solutus, *vōlviūtus (or *vōltus) beside volutus.

439. The ending –ītus tended to disappear (cf. §435): absconditūs > absco(n)sus; bibitūs>*bibutus; credītūs>*credutus; fugītūs > *fugitus; molītūs > *molutus; parītūs > *parutus *parsus; perdītūs > *perdutus *persus; submonitūs > *submo(n)sus; vendītūs > *vendutus. A few of these participles, however, remained, and there were some new formations in –ītus: gēmitūs?, pōs(i)tus, sōlitūs; *lēvitūs, *mōvītūs, prōvi¬tūs, rōgītūs, *sölviūtus (or *sōltus), töllītītus, vōcītūs, *vōlviūtus (or *vōltūs).
440. The ending -tus was kept for some twenty verbs, occasionally with a change of stem: cinctus; dictus; dactus; extinctus; factus; fictus finctus, R. 295; fractus *franctus; frictus; lectus; mistus; pictus *pinctus; punctus; rectus; scriptus; strictus *strictus; structus; *surtus for surrectus; tactus? *tancus?; tintus; tortus; tractus. There were a few new formations in -tus: offertus, *quæstus, *suffertus, *vistus; and perhaps *söltus, *völtus (cf. §439).

About fifteen verbs probably replaced -tus by -átus, -ítus, or -útus: captus *capítus; cognòtus > *conovítus?; crétus > *crevítus?; fartus > *farctus and farsus, Lat.Spr. 480; frictus > fricátus; mótus > *movítus? and *mósus; nectus > necáitus; pastus > *pavítus?; saltus > *salítus and *salsus; sectus > secáitus; sepultus > sepelíitus; tenitus > *tenítus; texus > *texítus; venitus > *venítus and venítus, Bechtel 91; víctus > *vinctus and *vinctus; vícitus > *vixítus.

441. The ending -sus was generally kept: acce(n)sus; arsus; clausus; defe(n)sus; divísus; excussus; fixus; fusus; ma(n)sus; missus, also perhaps *misus by the analogy of misi; morsus; pe(n)sus; pre(n)sus; pressus; risus; rosus; sparsus; te(n)sus; tersus; to(n)sus; visus, also probably *vis-tus. Several of these developed also a participle in -ítus: *pendutus, *vidutus, etc. Salsus, 'salted,' maintained itself beside salitius.

A few verbs replaced the old form by one in -ítus or -útus: expansus > *expandutus; falsus > *fallítus; fusus > fundútus, Gl. Reich.; gavisus > *gaudútus; messus > metítus, Dubois 282; sensus > *sentiitus; sessus > *sédutus.

On the other hand, there were some new formations in -sus: abscó(n)sus, Keil VII, 94, Lat. Spr. 480, R. 295 (very common); farsus, Lat. Spr. 480; *mossus; *parsus; *persus; *salsus; *submo(n)sus.
9. PERSONAL ENDINGS.

442. For the reduction of -io to -o, see §416.

443. Meyer-Lübke, Grundriss I², 670, assumes that in Italy -ās and -ēs became -ī. The evidence, historically considered, does not support this view. Italian lodi and Rumanian lauzi, from laudas, are correctly explained by Tiktin 565–566 as analogical formations.

444. As unaccented ē, ē, and ī came to be pronounced alike (§243), great confusion ensued between -ēs and -īs, -ēt and -īt. This confusion is very frequent in the Peregrinatio: Bech­tel 88–89, colliget, etc.

445. In southern and to some extent in northern Gaul the first person plural lost its final s, perhaps in the Vulgar Latin period: vidēmus > Pr. vezēm. This is not a phonetic phenomenon, as -s did not fall in this region. It may be that -s was dropped because it was regarded as a characteristic of the second person, as ī was of the third (cf. Pr. Pers. Pl. 73–80):

   ámo  *amāmu
   ámas  amātes
   ámat  ámant

446. According to Mohl, Pr. Pers. Pl., forms like *cānomus, due to Celtic influence, were used in northern Gaul instead of canīmus, etc.; then the accent was shifted to the penult—*canōmus, whence came the French -ons. This theory has not found acceptance.

447. In strong perfects the first person plural, -imus, —through the analogy of -īstī and -īsti, and doubtless of weak perfects as well,—tended, perhaps after our period, to stress its penult: fēctimus > Pr. fezēm. There are traces of this in inscriptions and elsewhere: S. 47, 53. The shift, however,
was not universal, as there are in Italian and French remains of the original accentuation.

448. In the present indicative and imperative, -ĭmus, -ĭtis, -ĭte generally became, in the sixth or seventh century, -ēmu(s), -ēte(s), -ēte, — the penult assuming the accent, to match -āmu(s), -āte(s), -āte and -ēmu(s), -ēte(s), -ēte and -īmu(s), ēte(s), ēte in the other conjugations. The shift was perhaps helped by the analogy of the future — mittĭmus, for instance, being attracted by mittĕmus: Pr. Pers. Pl. 30, 64. Rumanian, however, kept the old accent (Tiktin 596): ŭngem, ŭngeţi; vin-dem, vindeli; etc. There are some traces of its preservation in southeastern French dialects also. Furthermore, facĭmus, facĕtis and dicĭmus, dicĕtis kept their old forms in many regions.

449. For the reduction of -iunt to -unt, see §416. Beside -ent, in the second conjugation, there was an ending *-eunt (*habeunt, etc.), — due to the analogy of -iunt, — which was particularly common in Italy: cf. §416.

The endings -ent and -unt came to be very much confused (*crĕdent, *vidunt, etc.); their interchange is frequent in the Peregrinatio: Bechtel 88–90, absolvent, accipient, exient, responduntur, etc. According to Mohl, Pr. Pers. Pl. 112, the confusion goes back to early Italic. The Classic distinction was best kept in Gaul and northern Italy; in Spain and Portugal, Sardinia, and a part of southern Italy, -ent prevailed; in central and the rest of southern Italy, Rätia, Dalmatia, and Dacia, -unt was preferred.

450. In the perfect, the third person plural ending -ēre was discarded. The ending -erunt, in Classic Latin, sometimes had a short e (ē is common in the comic poets, Virgil wrote tulĕrunt, etc.); in Vulgar Latin this vowel was apparently always short: débuerunt, dixerunt, viderunt. Cf. §137.
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