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.

C. H. Grandgent.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MAPS</td>
<td>x, xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Roman Empire</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Neo-Latin Territory in Europe</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY, with Abbreviations</td>
<td>xiii–xvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHONETIC ALPHABET and Other Symbols</td>
<td>xvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOCABULARY</td>
<td>6–29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words and Their Meanings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words used alike in Classic and in Vulgar Latin</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words used differently in Classic and in Vulgar Latin</td>
<td>7–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense Restricted</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense Extended</td>
<td>7–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words used in Classic but not in Vulgar Latin</td>
<td>8–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synonyms</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitutes</td>
<td>9–10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particles</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words used in Vulgar but not in Classic Latin</td>
<td>10–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Words</td>
<td>11–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Words</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivation</td>
<td>13–29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Verbal Nouns</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefixes</td>
<td>13–16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefixes used with Nouns, Adjectives, and Pronouns</td>
<td>13–14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefixes used with Verbs</td>
<td>14–16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixes</td>
<td>16–28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixes for Verbs</td>
<td>16–17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixes for Nouns</td>
<td>18–23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixes for Adjectives</td>
<td>23–25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixes for Adverbs</td>
<td>25–26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change of Suffix</td>
<td>27–28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iv

Digitized by Microsoft®
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbs</td>
<td>28-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepositions</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunctions</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Syntax**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order of Words</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use of Words</td>
<td>30-59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Use of Words**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns and Adjectives</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comparison</td>
<td>32-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerals</td>
<td>33-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>34-38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal and Possessive Pronouns</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>35-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogatives and Relatives</td>
<td>36-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite Pronouns</td>
<td>37-38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38-39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbs</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38-39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prepositions</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39-41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunctions</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Use of Inflections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42-48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42-43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43-44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verb-Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impersonal Parts</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48-51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supine</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48-49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gerundive</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future Active Participle</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Participle</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect Participle</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>50-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice</td>
<td>51-52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mood</td>
<td>52-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>52-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>54-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Perfect Tenses</td>
<td>54-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future and Conditional</td>
<td>56-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PHONOLOGY</strong></td>
<td>60-143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syllabication</td>
<td>60-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accent</td>
<td>61-68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Stress</td>
<td>61-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowels in Hiatus</td>
<td>61-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound Verbs</td>
<td>62-63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illac, Illic</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ficatum</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerals</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Words</td>
<td>64-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Oxytones</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Paroxytones</td>
<td>64-65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Proparoxytones</td>
<td>65-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Foreign Words</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Stress</td>
<td>66-67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstressed Words</td>
<td>67-68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>QUANTITY</strong></td>
<td>68-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position</td>
<td>68-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel Quantity</td>
<td>71-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowels in Hiatus</td>
<td>72-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lengthening before Consonants</td>
<td>73-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disappearance of the Old Quantity</td>
<td>75-76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of a New Quantity</td>
<td>76-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VOWELS</strong></td>
<td>77-104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Vowels</td>
<td>78-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accented Vowels</td>
<td>82-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Vowels</td>
<td>82-87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>82-83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_digitized by Microsoft®_
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table of Contents</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>88-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>88-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>89-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence of Labials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Latin</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaccented Vowels</td>
<td>91-104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaccented Vowels in Hiatus</td>
<td>93-96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial Syllable</td>
<td>96-98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intertonic Syllable</td>
<td>98-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penult</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Syllable</td>
<td>102-104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consonants</td>
<td>104-143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Consonants</td>
<td>106-137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirate</td>
<td>106-107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutturals</td>
<td>107-114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C and G before Front Vowels</td>
<td>109-112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C and G before Back Vowels</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C and G Final and before Consonants</td>
<td>112-114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatals</td>
<td>114-118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td>118-121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>121-124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>121-123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>123-124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibililants</td>
<td>124-126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>127-132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td>132-137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>132-133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Greek Consonants</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pages</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B, Γ, Δ</td>
<td>137-141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K, Π, Τ</td>
<td>138-139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Θ, Φ, Χ</td>
<td>138-139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids, Nasals, and Sibilants</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>140-141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Germanic Consonants</strong></th>
<th><strong>Pages</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>141-143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>MORPHOLOGY</strong></th>
<th><strong>Pages</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nouns and Adjectives</strong></td>
<td>144-161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td>144-147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine and Feminine</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine and Neuter</td>
<td>145-146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine and Neuter</td>
<td>146-147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Declension of Nouns</strong></td>
<td>147-156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Declension</td>
<td>147-151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Declension</td>
<td>151-152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Declension</td>
<td>152-156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of Declension</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Declension of Adjectives</strong></td>
<td>157-158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Comparison</strong></td>
<td>158-159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Numerals</strong></td>
<td>159-161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pronouns and Pronominal Adjectives</strong></td>
<td>161-165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal Pronouns</strong></td>
<td>161-162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Possessives</strong></td>
<td>162-163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demonstratives</strong></td>
<td>163-164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interrogative and Relative Pronouns</strong></td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indefinite Pronouns and Adjectives</strong></td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verbs</strong></td>
<td>166-187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Four Conjugations</strong></td>
<td>166-170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Conjugation</td>
<td>166-167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Conjugation</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Conjugation</td>
<td>167-170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Conjugation</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fundamental Changes in Inflection</strong></td>
<td>170-173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inchoative Verbs</td>
<td>173-174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Stems</td>
<td>174-176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>176-177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>177-182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak Perfects</td>
<td>177-180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Perfects</td>
<td>180-182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect and Future Perfect</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect Participle</td>
<td>183-185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Endings</td>
<td>186-187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td>189-219</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Audollent: A. Audollent, Defixionum Tabellae, 1904.

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.


Bon.: M. Bonnet, Le latin de Grégoire de Tours, 1890.

Carnoy: A. Carnoy, Le latin d’Espagne d’après les inscriptions, 1902-03.


Claussen: T. Claussen, Die griechischen Wörter im Französischen, in Romanische Forschungen XV, 774.

Cohn: G. Cohn, Die Suffixwandlungen im Vulgärlatein und im vorlitterarischen Französisch nach ihren Spuren im Neufranzösischen, 1891.

Cooper: F. T. Cooper, Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius, 1895.


Bibliography.


Lindsay: W. M. Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, 1894.


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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.

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

- (a dot) under a vowel letter shows that the vowel is close.
- (a hook) under a vowel letter shows that the vowel is open.
- (a semicircle) under a vowel letter shows that the vowel is not syllabic.
- (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 variousItalic tribes, in northern Italy by Ligurians, Celts, and Illyrians, in southeastern and southwestern Italy respectively byIllyrians and Greeks; beyond the peninsula it spread amongIberians, Ligurians, Celts, Aquitanians, Semites, Germanic tribes, and others still. The Latinization of these peoples was the work of several centuries: 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 107; 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,

1 See Mohl, Chronologie; also Meyer-Lübke, Lat. Spr., pp. 451-455.
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 pro, ni for nē, etc.

² The S. Italian nn for nd, i for ē, and u for ē may be Oscan. Pomex, ēlex for pūmex, ēlex 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.\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) Vulgar Latin naturally developed differently in

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\(^1\) Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 463-464.

\(^2\) Cf. Cooper XV-XXX.
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 the military organization was broken, 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.

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 (so *ipse* 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 e, 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-Classical 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 spellings, possibly as early as the third century; the so-called Glossary of Reichenau, made in France in the eighth century. There is an interesting collection of spells by A. Audollent, — Defixionum Tabella, 1904.

2 Utilized by E. Seelmann, Aussprache des Latein, 1885. For a brief account of the Latin grammarians, see Stolz, 55–67.
3 Used by H. Schuchardt, Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins, 1866–68.
4 For the chronology of developments, the distinction of learned and popular words, and the establishment of unattested Vulgar Latin words, see G. Gröber, in Archiv I, 204 ff., and VII, 25 ff.
7 See W. Förster and K. Cöppenhagen, Ueber ein lateinisches Uebungsbuch, 1902; P. Marchot in Romanische Forschungen XII, 641; K. Hetzer in Zs., Beiheft 7.
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; altus, bonus, longus, viridis; amare, audire, dicere, vendere; bene, male; quando, si; in.

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a. 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 aestimare 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; *orbus* = '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.
‘go’; debere indicates moral obligation, G. 418; facere = ‘pass (time)’, Regnier 27 (quadraginta dies fecit), Per. 66, 11, etc.; fascia means a measure of land, Pirson 255; habet is used like the French illya, 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.

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

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, horrescere, 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; 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 *filiaster; vitricus 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 auccellus; 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 by matutinum. Diminutives were extremely common in late Latin: G. 121–130 (cereolus, cuculla, 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: diu by longum tempus (Bon. 201, paucum tempus for haud diu); 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 7th century); *ficatum*, Densusianu 190; *gavia* (used by Pliny); *mamma*, Archiv XIII, 151–152; *nonna*, *nonnus*, Archiv XIII, 156–157; *pa(b)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 onomatopoea, 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; *abellire; *ausare; caricare, Gl. Reich.; confessore = ‘martyr’; *coraticum; dulcor, *dulciorn = ‘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; hariber-gum, Gl. Reich. (cf. alberca, Pirson 236); haunjan; watan: werra.

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; sagma. 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). 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 appear to be no really living suffixes; but the facility of word formation, which the literary language lost, popular speech preserved and increased. This freedom of formation was abused by African authors, who were especially addicted to prepositional compounds with con-, in-, sub-, etc. 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 noun seems to come from the derivative verb, whereas in reality both come from a primitive verb, as canere, satire), 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.6

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: *adadaptus; commixtius, G. 160; defamatus; *disfactus; exsūcus; inanimatus; *replēnus. Cf. G. 160 ff.

24. *Ac−, atque−, ecce−, eccu−, met− were used as demonstrative prefixes to pronominal adjectives and to adverbs. Eccu− is eccum, i.e., ecce eum; 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, eccus, ecca, eccillum, eccillam, eccillud, eccistam are not uncommon; in Classic texts they are rare. Vulgar Latin examples are: ac sic; atque ille; ecce hic; *ecce iste; *ecce 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)tare; adgeniculari, R. 181; adpretiare, R. 181, G. 180; adpropriare, 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; *requærere. 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; *trabucare; *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: *opprobare, 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 *ver-* (= *ver-): verslahen = Old Fr. *forbatre. See G. Baist, Fränkisches fir— im ältesten Französi-
schen 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, *coexcercitatus*); *deexacerbare, 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): *aspargo* for *aspergo* is blamed by Velius Longus, Édon 127, and is used by St. Cyprian, Bayard 3; *commendo* is, ac-
cording to Velius Longus, the usual form, rather than *commendo, S. 60, Édon 131; consacrat* etc. occur in inscriptions, S. 60; *crededit, Bon. 490; reddedit, Bon. 490; retenere, Bon. 489;
An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

§ 33

tradedit, Bon. 490. Cf. S. 58–64, Bon. 486–493. Computo, colligo, colloco, consto, consuo, erigo, exeo, inflo, præsto 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 un-assimilated forms. Bayard 12–15: adpetere, compendium, inprobus, obfero, subplanto. Bon. 178–188: adtonitus, committere, inlatus, obprimere, subcumbere.

3. SUFFIXES.

a. SUFFIXES FOR VERBS.

33. Verbs from nouns 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 -ζευ through borrowed words, such as baptizare. For a list of Greek verbs in -ζευ 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 (atticusso, 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, -iare; 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; rútare; ùsare; — alleviare; *altiare; *captiare; humiliare; —* abbellire; unire; — amari-
care; — *vanitare; — fortescere; lætiscere; vilescore; —* blan-
kizare?

Many verbs from perfect participles (frequentatives, etc.) replace the original verbs: adjuvare > adjuutare; audere > au-
sare; 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 < bullere; — 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 adject-
tives (cf. perīcullari < perīculum): *saltuculare. We find also some miscellaneous imitative formations: *expaventare (and some others) apparently after the analogy of präsentare; *misculare perhaps after maculare.

36. Greek verbs in -av, -ev, etc., when taken into Latin, regularly end in -are: κυβερνᾶν > gubernare; βλασφημᾶν > blas-

Germanic verbs in -an or -on regularly passed into the first conjugation in Latin: witan > It. guidare; roubôn > It. rubare. Those in -jan went into the fourth: hatjan > hatire, Gl. Reich.; warnjan > It. guarnire.
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: —

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

−āgo, −ūgo were characteristic of rustic speech: Cooper iii. −al, −āle, used to form adjectives and also nouns, especially names of parts of apparel (as brachiale), was extended: *coxale, G. 95. Cf. Olcott 238–239.

−alia, a neuter plural, as *victualia (cf. the collective plural −ilia, 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.

−anda, −enda, neuter plural of the gerundive, came to be used as a feminine singular: *facienda.

−ans, −ens: see Adjectives.

−antia, −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.

−ar, −āre, for nouns and adjectives: *liminare, G. 95; *pollicare. Cf. Olcott 187–189.

−aria: see −ta.

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

−arius: see Adjectives.

−ata: see −ta, etc.

−aticum (as *viaticum) was extended, to form nouns from nouns: *coraticum.

−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.
—eus, —cius: see Adjectives.
—culum, —rum (as miraculum, lavacrum) were occasionally used: *genuculum. Cf. G. 91–92, Olcott 131–134.
—ellus, diminutive (as castellum), was often used beside —ius, 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 —entia.
—ium, 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.
—um: 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, avià): neptia, Pearson 123.
—ia, from Greek —ia through Christian writers and speakers: monarchia; philosophia; etc. It was often attached to words in —arius; hence an ending —aria: *libraria. Cf. Olcott 173–176.
—ica: see Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen CXIV, 457.
—ica (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 Rumanian: Sp. animalico; Rum. manică. It may have arisen in the first place from a childish pronunciation of —icus, —ica, being used in pet names. Cf. Einf. § 173. For —accus, —iccus, —occus, —uc(c)us, see A. Horning in Zs. XIX, 170, XX, 335; cf. Gram. II, 591.
—icenus, —icius: see Adjectives, —eus.
—incus or —inquus (as propinguus), 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;
An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

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. lausienga; 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.

-io: see -io.

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

-itas: see -tas.

-itia, -ties, 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.

-ittus first appears during the Empire in inscriptions in Italy and Dacia, sometimes in Spain and Gaul, as a suffix for proper names: feminine Attitta, Bonitta, Caritta, Julitta, Livitta, Suavitta, etc.; masculine Muritta, Nebitta, Sagitta, etc. Cf. Pirson 226: Julianeta, Nonnita, Nonnittus. Its origin is unknown; it may have arisen from a childish pronunciation of -iclus -a: cf. -ica. Meyer-Lübbe, 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 -áttus, -áttus, -ótus as alternative forms of -átus, -ítus, -ótus, like littera beside lettera, 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 -itudo.

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

-ëvum, -ëva: see Olcott 224–226.

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

-mönium, -mónia: see Olcott 81–82.

-o (-öjem), originally used to indicate a characteristic (as bībo), was
commonly employed as an augmentative or pejorative, in Gaul often as a diminutive: *gūlo; It. boccone; Fr. aiglon. See Archiv V, 56, 223, XIII, 222, 415, 475. Cf. Olcott 83–87, G. 44–45.

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

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

-ōrium; see -tōrium.

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

-sa: see -ta, etc.

-sio: see -tio.

-sor: see -tor.

-sōrium: see -tōrium.

-sūra: see -ūra.

-sus: see -ta, etc.

-ta, -tus, -sa, -sus, later -āta, -ātus, -īta, 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 fourth declension nouns in -tus, as collectus, narratus: cf. C. Collin in Archiv XIII, 453. They were considerably used to make abstract nouns from verbs (and -ata was sometimes attached to nouns, as *annata); -tus and -sus were preferred in Dacia (Cooper XLV): collecta, G. 111; *debita; extensa, R. 83; *movīta, Substrate IV, 122; *perītia; recubītus; *reditā; *vendītia; It. andata, fossato, venuta. Cf. Olcott 33–51, R. 82–83, G. 85–88, Bayard 24–25.

-tas (-tātem), used to make abstract nouns from adjectives, was freely employed: falsitas; nativitas; puritas; trinitias. So dētas from deus. Cf. Olcott 58–69, G. 102–106, Bayard 19–22 (very common in St. Cyprian).

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

-tor, -trix, -sor (-tōrem, -trīcem, -sōrem), used to denote the agent (as amātor, mensōr), 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.

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

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

-tūra: see -ūra.

tus: see -ta, etc.

-ālus, -āla, 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; messa; nutritura; ornatura; *planura; pressura; tensura; *vir'dura. See Einf. § 171. Cf. Olcott 51-58, R. 40-45, G. 88-90.

-ūta: see -ta, etc.

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

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

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

-ης, -ης became -a, -ta or -us, -tus (Claussen 798): τριφότης > tructa; βόλτης > boletus.

-i in popular words either fell or became -a, -e, -is, or -i (Claussen 799): πέπερ > piper; σιναπί > sinapis, sinape; κύμα > 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): κύμα > cima.

-pos 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 > elephantus; μαγίδα > magīda.
§ 39] An Introduction to Vulgar Latin. 23

The unaccented vowel of the penult was often changed in conformity with Latin habits (Claussen 802-806): διάβολος > diabolus diabulus; κέρασος > cerásus *cerésus; κιθάρα > cithēra cithēra; σκόπελος > scopulus; σπατάλη > spatula.

c. SUFFIXES FOR ADJECTIVES.¹

39. The commonest endings are the following: —

-abilis: see -bilis.

-äceus —äcius, —ieceus —icius, 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.

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

-äneus —änius, —öneus —önius (as extraneus, erroneus) were slightly extended: *caroneus; spontaneus.

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

-änus, 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; —*capitans; decanus.

—articus, a combination of —arius and —icius (as sigillaricius), became popular in Gaul: see A. Thomas, Nouveaux essais de philologie française 62 (Hacherece, etc.).

—äris (as singularis) was extended: particularis. Cf. Olcott 182-187.

—arius, attached to nouns and adjectives, to denote connection, and used also in the masculine to form nouns of occupation (as aquarius, argentarius, 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 glan-

¹ Cf. Cooper 92-163 (diminutives, 164-195), Quillacq 32-40, Dubois 136-151, Bon. 464-467.
deria < glandarius + -ia (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 -iarius, 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. ana-
tiarius, Olcott 142), that -arius and -arius may have established -iers in French. A. Thomas, Rom. XXXI, 481 (cf. Nouveaux essais de philologie française 119, and Bausteine 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.

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

-bilis, or -abilis, -ibilis, 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; *car-

-ceus -cius: see -ceus.

-ens: see -ans.

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

-eus -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.

-ibilis: see -bilis.

-iceus -icius: see -ceus.
§ 40] An Introduction to Vulgar Latin. 25

-icus (as medicus) was used especially in words from the Greek: clericus. Cf. Olcott 220–223.

-idus (as rapidus) was slightly extended: exsicidus, G. 155 (Tertullian); *repidus; sapidus.

-ilis: see -alis.

-inus: see Nouns.

-inus (as fraxinus) was used for a few adjectives: quercinus.

-iscus, probably a fusion of Greek -ισκος (Syriscus) and Germanic -isk (Thiudiscus), was used for -icus in some late words: *Angliscus; *Frankiscus.

-itus: see Nouns.

-ius: see -eus.

-iuss (as natius) occurs in a few new formations: *restius. Cf. Olcott 224–226.

-ōneus: see -āneus.

-ōrius: see -ōrīus.

-sōrius: see -sōrius.

-tōrius, -sōrius, made up of -t-or, -s-or + -ius (as notare notor notorius, censēre censor censorius), were used for some new formations: defensorius; mansorius. In Provençal and Rumanian -tōrius was extended, with the sense of -bīlis or of the gerundive: Pr. punidor; Rum. juratoriH, Tiktin 597.

-ūlus, diminutive (as albulus), was a favorite with Christian writers; promptitus, G. 158. Cf. G. 157–158.

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

-ūtus (as canutus) was somewhat extended: *carnutus.

d. SUFFIXES FOR ADVERBS.¹

40. The usual endings are as follows: —

-ce -e (as ne nec, num nunc, tum tunc) was apparently used to form dunc (C. I. L. IX, 4810, etc.) = dum + ce (cf. Franz. v I, 10); Pirson 252 cites eight examples of dunc, one of them from Gaul. Cf. dōnique in Substrate II, 103–106. Possibly *anc is derived from an in the same way: cf. Archiv I, 241; Gram. III, 552.

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

preserved in popular speech in bene, longe, male, pure, tarde, and occurs also in Romanice, whence such formations as Brittanice, Normannice, etc.

-iter: sec -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 greii, noii).

-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; modo sic modo sic = 'now so, now so,' Ch. 45; cf. nec sursum nec deorsum non cresco, Ch. 58. Cf. § 55.

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. 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.
An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

e. CHANGE OF SUFFIX.

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:

-ellus > -ellus: see -illus.
-culus > -ellus: see -illus.


-illus > -illus: axílla > ascélla, etc. Cf. Cohn 42-52.
-or(-órem) > -ura: calór > *calúra; pavór > *pavura; rancór > *ran-çúra, etc. Cf. Cohn 172-180.


-íus > -itus: vacuús > *vöctitus (cf. § 195).

(2) Indiscriminate use of two suffixes:


-átus = -átus = -átus: barbatus * barbutus; carnátus * carnutus; cauda-tus cauditus, Cohn 184; lanátus lanutus, Cohn 184. Cf. Cohn 180-205.


-ícúlum = -ícúlum: ossículum ossículum, Waters Ch. 65; pedícúlum pedícúlum.


(3) Alteration of a suffix:

An Introduction to Vulgar Latin. [§ 47]

-ĕnus > -īnus through late pronunciation of Greek η as ĭ: σαγγήν > sagina (Vok. III, 121: 7th century) > Old Fr. saîne, etc.


-ūdo (-ūdīnem) > -ūmen (-ūmīnem): consuetudo *costumen, Substrate I, 553-554; incus incūdō *incūminem, etc. Cf. Cohn 264-274.

4. COMPOUNDS.

a. NOUNS.

43. Acer arbor (> Fr. érable); alba spīna; avis strūthius; bene placītum, G. 131; bis cōctum; in ōdio; mēdio die; mēdio lōco.

b. ADJECTIVES.

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

c. PRONOUNS.

45. See §§ 24, 65.

d. VERBS.

46. Calce pīstare; crucifīgēre, G. 191; fōris mittēre; genuflectēre, G. 191; inde fūgēre (> Fr. enfuir); intra vidēre; manu tenēre; mente habēre (> Pr. mentaver); minus pretiare. So antemittēre, etc., in Gl. Reich. In church writers there are many verbs in -ficāre, as mortificāre: 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;
§ 49]  An Introduction to Vulgar Latin. 29

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.

f. PREPOSITIONS.

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. Wölfflin, 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.

g. CONJUNCTIONS.

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

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, Rätian dad from the Oscan da, dat and from a southern Latin *dabi, *dabe.
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 habe-mus” of Lucretius. The most irrational features of the Classic Latin construction were surely artificial, 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 of the sentence, Latin 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: Latin places the modifier before, Romance 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 militare." 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 _gui 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_.

#### i. 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.
§ 57. **An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.**

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 ætas (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 hic 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 Nemasianus, 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 . . . præclarum, 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.**

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

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1 For the forms of numerals, see Morphology.
... una ... mulier, Plautus, Pseud. 948; unus servus, Petronius, Waters Ch. 26; accessit ad eum una sorella, R. 425; cf. Per. 48, 25, etc.

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 *ecum* (≈*ecce eum*), where it was not recog-
nized, 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. *ausesse,* 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' *eccille* or *eccu*ille. These compounds developed into *ecceste*, *acceste*, *ceste*, *accueste*, *accu*este, *cu*este and *eccele*, *accele*, *celle*, *accuelle*, *accuelle*, *cue*elle.

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 haec*); *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.; *qua* as m., as n., as acc. f. sg., as acc. m. pl.; *quod* as m., as f. pl., as n. pl.; *quem* as n.; *qua* 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 *qua*; it occurs in Christian inscriptions from the fifth century on: cf. R. 276 (*qui, quem* for *qua*, *qua*...
§ 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 *dont* (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.
- *aliquis* flourished especially in the west: Sp. *alguien*, Pg. *algum*. The neuter *aliquid* was more extended: Pr. *alques*.
- *aliqui unus > *aliqui’anus *alicüñus*.
- *alus* 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 may have been a neuter *alid*, after the model of *id, quid*: *Archiv I, 237*.
- *cata* was probably introduced, along the Mediterranean, by Greek merchants, in such phrases as *cata unum = kata’ eva, cata tres = kata τρεῖς*. Hence *cata unus, *cat’ unus, etc. Cf. § 19.
- *hómo* was used sometimes like French *on*: Per. 55, 25.
- *inde* came to mean, in certain constructions, ‘some’ or ‘any.’
- *magis*: see *plus.*
- *múltus.*
- *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’ünus.*
- *nec unus.*
- *nemo* was kept in Italy, Sardinia, and Dacia: *Lat. Spr.* 485.
- *nullus.*
- *omnis*: see totus. *Omnis* and *omnia* were kept in Italy.
An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

§ 73

paucus.
persona.

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

qualis.


qui.
quique.
quisque.
quíc

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

res and res nata = 'anyone', 'anything': R. 345.

talis.
tantus: see quantus.

totus, pronounced also totus (S. 121) and perhaps *tútus, 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).

iusus.

3. VERBS.

72. Frequent in late Latin is a pleonastic use of debo, 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 cxpi 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 jaspide*, 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).


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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, subtus, de foris, foris, foras were freely used as prepositions (R. 398–400, G. 334): vade retro me, R. 399; subtus 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, 4, 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 cases: 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, Florentiae > Firenze, Palestinae (G. 322), etc.; of the locative ablative singular in Tibrī > Tivoli; of the locative ablative plural in Andecāvis > Angers, Aquis > Acqui Aix, Astīs > Asti, Fīnibus > Fimes, Parisīs > 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-

\(^1\) Cf. Pirson 169–202.

\(^2\) There is confusion even in Petronius, who occasionally uses the accusative for the dative and the ablative.
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 præsentibus*, Hoppe 38; *de pomis = 'some apples,'* *Per.* 40, 10; *de spirito 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: *cūjus, illūjus, illōrum*, etc.; *lūnæ dies, est ministērīi, de noctis tempore > It. di notte tempore* (later *di notte tempo*), etc.; *angelōrum, paganōrum*, 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 carnuficem dabo*, Plautus, *Capt. 1019; ad me magnā nuntiavit*, Plautus, *Truc. IV, 1, 4; si pecunia ad id templum data erit*, inscription of 57 B.C., *C. I. L. IX, 3513; apparēt ad agricolas*, Varro, *De Re Rustica I, 40; ad propinquos restituit*, Livy II, 13. 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., causæ 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, Prr. 64, 8; dicēns 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 Jeremiah*, G. 329; *ad quem promissio facta*, G. 329; *ad omnem injuriam impatiens*, G. 330; *ad quem dixit*, Sepulcri 218; *Dominus ad Moysen dicit*, Urbat 12; *ad me restituit omne regnum*, Urbat 12; *ad Dei officio paratus*, Pirson 194. Cf. *Lat. Spr. 488, Oliver*
§ 92. 3-4. Sometimes *super*, not *ad*, was used: *imposuerat manus super eum*, Bechtel 105; *super me misericordiam praestare*, 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*).

c. 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 Ariulfi 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 aëmulacione*, 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 humanæ salutis*, Hoppe 33; *ex infirmitate fatigata*, Sepulcri 218.
In is often found: *in illo die*, Hoppe 31; *quo in tempore*, Hoppe 31; *in maxilla asinae 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; *ad diem*, 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 necessary 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
§ 97 | An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.


96. Conversely, the ablative form is very often written for the accusative: *ad ecclesia majore*, Bechtel 94;—*ante sole*, ante *cruce*, 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 spelunca*, 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;—*proprie luce*, Bechtel 101;—*propter populo*, Bechtel 101;— *super civitate hac*, Bechtel 101.

97. The ablative was kept only in some fixed expressions, such as *hūrā, ist' annō, quōmodo, pari 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 benedicens 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, conciendo 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 pugnaturum, G. 389. Cf. G. 388–389.
An Introduction to Vulgar Latin. § 110

(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, dicit eos quod filii Israel eas posuerint, sciens quod libenter haberetis haec cognoscere, credidit ei quia esset vere filius Dei, etc.; perspicue exposuit quod ager 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 animae 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 praecipit haec 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.

112. 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; 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 virgine*, 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: *cântâse*, 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* i, 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 praeliis 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 habeas, 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 ærario conditas habebant*, 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 *cepi* 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 *dixerat, 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 corrigis, quando mutaris? cras, inquis, Regnier 64; jam crastina non eximus, Sepulcri 225. Cf. Draeger I, 286ff.; 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 voți jură or jură voți: 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, i, ut id mihi habeam curare; Cicero, Ad Famil. I, 5, tantum habeo tibi polliceri; Lucretius VI, 711, in multis hoc rebus dicere habemus; Ovid, Trist. I, 1, 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 habeat*, 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, cîntareaști, 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-ctem, pro-pter, a-mnis; al-ter, in-fans; sic-cus, mi-tio. The division of s + consonant they regard as uncertain (a-strum); 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: perféctus, and not perféctus. 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 ténébrae, vólucres, pháreira, 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: cd-
lub-ra, co-lüb-ra, co-lü-bra.

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 appar-
ently fell regularly on the first syllable: Corssen II, 892–906;
S. 30–34; Franz. 2 I, 13. The Classic Latin system—accord-
ing 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: bonitátēm, cómpūto, delēcto.

The penult vowel before mute + liquid (cf. §132) normally
has the stress in Vulgar Latin: cathédra, colúbra, intégram.
There seem to be a few exceptions to the rule: Old Fr.
palpres < pálpébras, 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 > mulēris, S. 51, Lat. Spr. 468; putēolis > putēolis, C. I. L. X, 1889 (pvteōlis); so parētes > parētes > pārētes,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 múlier, pūteus, 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 > *battuere > bāttere; consūēre > *cōnsuere > cōnsere; habuērunt > *hābuerunt; tenūēram > *tēnueram. Here the shift was apparently due in each case to analogy, battuere being influenced by bātuo, consuere by cōnsuo, habuerunt by hābuīt, tenueram 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 dúos, súos, túos 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): déficit > *disfācit, displicet > *displācet, implīcāt > *implicat, rēddīdi > reddēdi, régūirit > *reguārit, rētinet > *retēnet, etc. Cf. Gram. II, 668–670. So caelefacis, S. 56; condedit, perdedit, reddedit, tradedit, S. 54; addedi, adsteti, conteneo, crededi, inclausus, presteti, etc., Sepulcri 213–215. On the same plan new verbs were formed: *de-mīnāt, re-nēgāt, etc.

1Vē regularly became ē; but if the preceding consonant was l, it was palatalized; hence pārētes, but *mulēres. Cf. § 225.
Récipit became *rectpit, the composite character of the word being felt, although the compound was no longer associated with capere.

In cólligo and some others not even the composite nature was perceived, the simple verbs having become rare or having taken a different sense: legere, 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 hāc, hic. Priscian says "illīc pro illice": 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 sycotum; for some unknown reason, perhaps under the influence of a vulgar *hēpāte for hēpar, 'liver', it probably became *secotum.

Through this word there came into use the culinary terms fīcatum, *fēcatum, *fēcotum, *fēcium, all meaning 'liver.' Fīcatum, a simple translation of συκωτόν, prevailed in Dacia, Rāetia, and northern Italy. Fécatum or fēcotum, a fusion of fīcatum and *secotum, was preferred in central and southern Italy. Fécatum, a cross between fēcatum and fīcatum, was kept in Sicily and in the Spanish peninsula. Sardinia preserved both fīcatum and fēcatum. Gaul had fēcatum and fēcatum; 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, quadräginta, 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: δραχμή > drach(ū)ma, ἐπιστῦλα > epistula –ōla, λαμπάς > lāmpa(s), μηχανή > màc(h)-ina, παραβολή > parábula, πειρατής > pirāta, σπασμός > spásmus, ταπεινός > *tapīnus. Cf. S. 42 ff., 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: γραφίον > gráphìum, καμάρα > cāmēra, μαγία > mágīa, παλάμη > pálma, πολύμος > pólymōs,¹ πορφύρα > púrpūra, φαρέτρα > pharētra or pharētra (cf. § 134).

Πιτσάνη (> phitasāna) > It. tisāna, φιάλη (> phítāla) > It. fiala, χολέρα (> chōlēra) > It. coléra, etc., may represent popular terms borrowed by ear from the Greek, with the Greek stress,

¹Occasionally 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. 42 ff., Claussen 810–811.

146. The ending -ia was at first generally assimilated to the Latin -ia: βιβλία > biblia, βλασφημία > blasphemía, ἕκκλησία > ec(ec)lesía, ιστορία > historia, οππία > sēpia, συμφωνία > symphónia. Later a fashionable pronunciation -ta, doubtless favored by Christian influence, penetrated popular speech (σοφία > sophía, etc.) and produced a new Latin ending -ta, 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 >*cūparissos > cupressus. Cf. Claussen 809.

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

149. When the penult vowel was in position, it took the accent: ἀβυσσός > abyssus, βάπτισμα > baptisma, τάλαντον > talēntum.
Eγκαυστον, however, became both *encáustum and éncæustum. Occasionally the consonant group was simplified and the accent remained: καρνόφυλλον > *garófūlum.

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 > camēlus –ĕllus, κάμινος > caminus, κροκόδειλος > crocodīlus, φάλλανα > ballāna; ἀγκῦρα > ánōra, βλάσφημος > blāsphēmus (Prudentius), βουτῦρος > būtûrum (Æmilius Macer), Ἰάκωβος > Jacobus, σέλινον > *sē-linum.

Some words have both pronunciations: ἐδωλον > iābōlum (both in Prudentius: Lat. Spr. 466), ἐρημος > erēmus erēmus (Prudentius), σιναπε > sinapi sināpi.

e. OTHER FOREIGN WORDS.

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

152. Germanic words were apparently made to conform to Latin types: Hūgo Hūgun > Hūgo Hugōnem > Fr. Hūes 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
Servile córpus induit,
Ut cárne cárnem líberánís
Ne pérderét quos cóndidít.
The secondary stress, then, fell on the second syllable from the tonic: cupidítósus, felícitátem; dólórosa, lácrímosa; Césárém, Gálliás. In some derivatives, however, the root syllable may have received an irregular stress through the analogy of the primitive: *árborícellus.

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

154. When the secondary stress preceded the tonic, it was strong, and the vowel bearing it was apparently treated as an accented vowel: *amícitátem > Pr. amístát; so, in Italian, Buólognino beside Bológna, Fiórentino beside Fiérenze, vétto-váglia beside vittória.

When it followed the tonic, it was weak, but probably the vowel bearing it had more force than a wholly unaccented final vowel: sócért > Pr. sózer, plácitum > Pr. plach; but clér-cum > Pr. clérque while clér’cum > Pr. clerç, cóláphum > Pr. cólbe while cól’pum > Pr. cólp.

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 > *paráuláre > *párauláre, cálidús > cáldus, filiús > filiús.

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-védet, dó-tibi, cave-fácias, 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. 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-tem > 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.
An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

69

Compare Italian fiero < fē-rus, ferro < fē-rum; petto < pēctus, pietra < pē-tra, fiel(e) < fē-lí; — fiore < fō-ris, collo < cōl-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, caussa > causa, formōssus > formōsus, glōssa > glōsa, mīssit (S. 118: Mīssit) > mīsit. This did not occur, however, in the contracted endings –āsse –āssem etc., –ēsse –ēssem etc., –īsse –īssem etc.

Similarly one l was lost in māllo, millia (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)āna, buc(c)īna, cot(t)īdie,1 cc(c)lesia,2 glut(t)īre, mut(t)īre, tap(ā)ēle, ves(s)īca, 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 citto > Sp. cedo, cītto (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 brāchium; būca būcca; camēlus camēllus, where we have perhaps only a change of suffix, cf. § 42; cīpus cippus; cūpa, căppa, giving Sp. cuba, Fr. cuve, It. cupola and Sp. copa, Fr. coupe, It. coppa; glūto glūtto; höc erat höcc erat, S. 125–126 (Velius Longus and Pompeius); Jūpiter Jūppiter; perhaps littera littera; mūcus mūccus; pūpa pūppa; stūpa stūppa; sūcus sūccus. Cf. Stolz 222–225.

1 The antiquity of double l 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 (< βουτις) *būtis (> It. botte); cāseus *cāsseus (> It. cascio); chāne (< χάνη) channe; conservāmus conservāmmus, Vok. I, 261; jubēmus jubemmus, Vok. I, 261 (iubimmus iobemmus); lītus littus; mīsi *mīssi (> 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) + anguilla = *anguilla (> It. anguilla); *stēla (> Old Fr. esteile: cf. Lexique 95–98) + stella (> It. dialect stella) = *stella (> It. stella; cf. Vok. I, 339, stilla); strenna (> Old Fr. streine) + strena = *strenna (> It. strenna, Sic. strinna); tōta (> Sp. toda) + tōtta (Keil V, 392) = *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, frattre, latrones, matrona, 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 aqua the double consonant, attested by inscriptions and by Christian poets, was very widespread and prevailed in Italy, Rāetia, and a large part of Gaul. See Clara Hürlimann, Die Entwicklung des lateinischen aqua in den romanischen Sprachen, reviewed by Meyer-Lübke in Ltblt. XXIV, 334.

¹ Consentius: "per adjectionem litterae totum pro toto." Cf. Gram. I, 488, § 547; Lexique 98–104. According to Lat. Spr. 485, totus was used by Pirminius.
² For *tūtus 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 lātus and lātus, in dībet and rēdit, in vīnum and mīnus, in nōmen and nōvus, in Úllus and múltus. 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, múlus gylā. 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 u 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 e (S. 176, 182); from the second century on ae was often used for e in inscriptions (S. 183–184). Terentianus Maurus, by 250, distinguishes o from o (S. 175, 211), and so do other grammarians (S. 211). Writers do not clearly distinguish i and i, until Consentius, in the fifth century (S. 193); e, however, is often used for i in inscriptions, as menus, etc., and i for e, as minees, etc. (S. 195, 200–201). None of the grammarians apparently distinguished u and u, but o is used for u 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 nutrire, others demand ü; undécim, luridus, ultra 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 ĉui, proved by old inscriptions; and, at least in part, ĕui, 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 = dēus, although we do find the spellings dius and mius (S. 187); dūo > dūi = dūi; viā = via. At a later stage, after ū had become ū (see §§ 165, 208), any ū before ū was apparently differentiated into ū: ūvum > ūm (cf. § 324) > ūm (and also ūvum, with a restoration of the v through the plural ova); sūs > sōus > sōus (S.
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. Quīa, used for quod in late Latin, had a peculiar development from the sixth century on: before a vowel it was pronounced qui’ and was confused with quid, which had begun to assume the functions of quod (see §§69, 82; cf. Franz. II, 352–355); before a consonant, under the influence of qua and quam, it became qua. Cf. Franz. II, 357–390; J. Jeanjaquet, Recherches sur l'origine de la conjonction 'que' et des formes romanes équivalentes, 1894.

169. Plūere was supplanted in popular usage by plōvere (Lat. Spr. 468). Plūvia, on the other hand, gave way to *plōja. 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, coiiux, cuiius, eiius, māiiorem, 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 Troia 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: \( cēsor, cōjugi, cōventio, ĭferi \). 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 \( \text{infantem} \) through \( \text{indignus} \), etc.; \( \text{conjungere} \) through \( \text{conducere} \), etc.; \( \text{convenire} \) through \( \text{continere} \), 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 \( \text{insignare} \). Cf. § 311.

It is altogether likely that the \( n \) fell through nasalization of the vowel: \( \text{consul} cōnsul cōsul cōsul \). 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 \( \text{pensare} \), 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 \( yk \): \( \text{quinque, sāinctus} \), etc. Cf. S. 78; for inscriptions, S. 90.

(2) Before \( gn \) vowels were lengthened according to Priscian (S. 91), and inscriptions mark length in \( dīgnus, rēgnum, sīgnum \) (cf. \( sīgillum \)), S. 91. The Romance languages, however, call for \( dīgnus, līgnum, pīgnus, pūgnus, sīgnum \). 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 \( i, û \) had become \( ũ, u \), so that the result was \( ĭ, û \), not \( i, û \); 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 –*is* and the plural –*ēs* were confounded by 150 A. D. (S. 75), and *ae* was often used for *ē* in inscriptions (S. 183–184: *bene*, 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: so Servius, in the fourth century, "*miserē* 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
sylables: 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 \( aques \) for \( éques \) 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 \( Rôma \) (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 \( aequus \) and \( équus \) (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 \( i \) and \( ï \), \( ë \) and \( ĩ \), \( û \) and \( ù \); \( ā \) and \( û \); \( ë \), \( ë \) are distinguished by quality also, for \( ë > i \) while \( ë > e \) or \( î \), \( ë > û \) or \( ë \) while \( ë > o \): Franz.

\[ \text{d. DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW QUANTITY.} \]

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: \( sāntô valēs, vēndō vēnis, dîxi plîcās, fôrmās fôrî, frûctûs \]
§ 178. Latin had the vowels ā, ē, ī, ō, ū, and in unaccented syllables before a labial (as in proxumus) a short ĭ; furthermore, the groups a, au, eu, ce, also ui. We have seen (§ 165) that ē, ĩ, ĵ, ĭ were pronounced close, and ĕ, ĵ, ĭ, ĭ open, while ā was not affected by quantity. We shall see presently
(§§ 209, 210) that \( e > \epsilon \) and \( ce > \epsilon \), while \( au, eu \) generally remained \( âu, éu \) (cántus, céu), and \( ui \) (as in cui) was \( ùi \).

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 *waiðanjan > *wadaniare; \( eu \) (or \( iu \)) appears in \( treuwa \) (or \( triuwa \)), which became *trewā; \( iu \) is found in \( skiuhan > *skivare \).

The history of Greek vowels is very complicated:—

**GREEK VOWELS.**

180. According to Quintilian (Édon 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 \( ã: \) Phâsis > Phāsis, φάλαγξ > phālanx.

182. \( H \) was in Greek originally a long \( \epsilon \), but early in our era it became \( ì \). In book-words it was assimilated to Latin \( ë: \) àποθήκη > apothēca > It. bottega; so in some late words, as βλασφημία > blasphēmia > It. bestemmia. In words of more popular origin it often had the Greek open sound: ἐκκλησία > eclēsia; σηπία > sēpia, but also sēpia > It. seppia; σκηνή > scena scēna. Late words often show \( i: \) àσκητής > ascitis, Per.
§ 186]  AN INTRODUCTION TO VULGAR LATIN.  79

40, i, etc.; εκκλησίαι > ecclesia, Neumann 9; μοναστήριον > monastirium, μυστήριον > 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 > gênesis. In popular words it was sometimes close, sometimes open: ἔρημος > er'mus er'mus > It. ermo, Sp. yermo; κέδρος > cedrus > It. cedro; πέπερ > pîper; 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 Ĩ: φίμος > phîmus; φίλος > philus. In popular words Ĩ apparently became Ĩ, later ē or ę; Ĩ apparently became ĕ, later often ē: ἀρθρίτικος > arthriticus > It. artetico; ἀρτεμίσια > artemisìa > Old Fr. armeise; βολίτης > boletus; ὀργανός > It. organo; χρίσμα > chrisma > It. cresima, Old Fr. cresme; Χριστός > Christus Christus, cf. Christianus Christianus; etc.; —ἀντιφῶνος >* antefona > Old Fr. antefne; βλίτον > blítum > It. bieta; μύθη > menta > It. menta, Sp. mienta; σίναπι > sinapi > It. sênape; etc. Cf. Claussen 855–857.

185. Ω was probably õ, but perhaps dialectically ą (cf. ὁρα > hōra). In book-words it was assimilated to Latin Ï: φώκη > phôca. In popular words it apparently became ə, occasionally u: γλώσσα > It. chîosa; πτωχός > It. pitôcco; τρόκτης > tructa. Cf. Claussen 869–870.

186. O in most dialects was ə. In book-words it was assimilated to Latin Ə: κόφινος > cóphînus; ὀρφανός > órphanus. In popular words it was generally close, but sometimes open, and occasionally the same word had both pronunciations: ἀμώργη > amûrca; δοχή > dôga > It. doga, etc.; κόμμα > gûmmi; δομή >? It. orma; πορφύρα > pûrpûra; τόρνος > tûrnus > It.
**187.** *Y* was originally pronounced *u*; later in Attic and Ionic it became *i*, which subsequently, in the 9th or 10th century, was unrounded into *i*.

In the older borrowed words, perhaps taken mostly from Doric (Claussen 865), *v* regularly was assimilated to Latin *u* (S. 219–221): βύρσα > bũrsa; κρύπτη > crũpta; κύμβη > cũmba; μύλλος > müllus; μύρτος > mürtα, App. Pr.; πῦξος > bûxus. It. *buxida* (=pyxis) in Theodorus Priscianus and in glosses, Lat. Spr. 468. Cf. Zefurus, Audollent 536; "tymum non tumum," App. Pr.; Olumpus, etc., Pirson 39. In τρυτάνη > trūtina the *v* was shortened. In ἀγκύρα > ancόra, στόραξ > stōrax, and a few other words the *v* for some reason became *o*; these probably have nothing to do with καλύπτρα > It. calotta, κρύπτη > It. grotta, μῦδος > It. motto, in which the *o* is a later local development. For some words we find an occasional spelling *æ*, which may represent a Greek dialect pronunciation between *u* and *ii*: γῦρος > gyrus gærus; Μυσία > Mysia Mæsia; 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 *ii* was assimilated to *i*. The spelling *i* occurs sometimes before Augustus: ἀγκύλια > ancilia; Ὄδυσσεία > Odissia, Livius Andronicus; Ὄλυσσεύς > Ulixes. In inscriptions we find misterii, etc., S. 221. The App. Pr.
§ 192] AN INTRODUCTION TO VULGAR LATIN.

has "gyrus non girus." Cf. giro, misterii, etc., Bechtel 76–77; girot, Audollent 535; Frigia, etc., Pirson 39. This i, if long, was usually pronounced i; if short, i, which became e: γύρος > It. giro; κύμα > It. cima; σφριγγα > It. scilinga; — κύκνος > It. cecino; etc. For σφικτόνι, see § 141; γύφος > It. gesso is probably a local development. Κv 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. Cf. Claussen 860–869.

188. AI originally became ai, as in Αίας > Aiax, Μαία > Maia; later a (as in αἰγίς > agis), which came to be pronounced e, as in Αἰθιοπία > Ἐθιοπία Ethiopia. Cf. Claussen 871–872.


190. EI was doubtless originally pronounced ei in Greek, then, from the sixth to the fourth century B.C., ε; finally, about the third century, i, except before vowels. In Latin, e became i before consonants, ĕ or i before vowels; εἴδωλον > idolum; παράδεισος > paradīsus; πειρατῆς > pīrāta; — Kleō > Clio; Μήδεια > Medēa. In -eios -eia -eion, the penult was often shortened: πλατεία > plātēa. Cf. Claussen 873–875.


192. OI originally became oi, as in ποιή > poina; later a (as in pēna), which came to be pronounced e, as in Φοῖβος > Phæbus Phebus (S. 277). Sometimes, however, it became o,
as in ποιητής > poēta. Cimiterium cymiterium, for caemeterium < κομμητήριον, perhaps indicates an ignorant confusion of ü and ò. Cf. Claussen 877–878.

Like ou, ω became α: κωμωδία > comedia.

193. ᵜΟΫ was doubtless originally pronounced ou in Greek, then ò, then ü. In Latin it usually became ù: βροῦχος > 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 e: cf. crepere, senetūs, volumptate in Gl. Reich.; and agnetus (for agnātus?) in Fredegarius, Haag 6.

195. Some words had a peculiar development:—

1. Beside alācrem the Romance languages seem to postulate alēcrem and alēcrem. It is possible that alācer (whence alācrem) > *alēcer (whence alēcrem), then *alicer (whence alēcrem alēcrem).

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

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

4. Beside grāvis there was a grēvis, under the influence of levis: greve, Lat. Spr. 468; cf. Substrate II, 441.

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

6. Beside vacuus there was a vōcūsus: vocum, 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, vocivus* regularly became *vācāre, vāctic* (*> vacuus*), whence by analogy *vācat* for *vōcat*: Lat. Spr. 466. By a change of suffix *vōcun* became *vōcītus*.

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

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, dulcīdo, fīcit, fīlix*, *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 *-iere*, I, 260 ff., II, 69 ff.; for *-esco* and *-isco*, I, 359–364; for *-ēlis* and *-ēlis, -ēlius* and *-ēlius*, 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 *ī* in late pronunciation: see § 165.

A. Sepulcri, in Studi Medievali I, 614–615, conjectures that *s* + consonant may have tended to raise *e* to *i*, *o* to *u*. This would account for *bistia* (*= bēstia*) found in late Latin, Studi Medievali I, 613; for *crisco* and other verbs in *-isco* for *-ēsc*; for *adimplisti*, etc.; for *fistus*, etc.; — also for *colustra*; for *cognusco* and other verbs in *-usc* for *-ōsc*. Some of the *-ēsc* > *-isc* 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 \( e \geq ei \) (\( \text{vērum} \geq \text{Old Fr. veir} \)): \textit{Lat. Spr. 468}. It is interesting to note that Celtic \( \dot{e} \) also became \( i \): Dottin 99.


\( e \)

199. Short \( e \), which was pronounced \( \varepsilon \) (see § 165), remained unchanged: \( \text{bēne, ēxit, fērrum, fērus, fēsta, tēneo, vēnit} \).

For the development of diphthongs, see § 177.

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

\( i \)

200. Long \( i \), pronounced \( i \) (§ 165), remained unchanged: \textit{audire}, \textit{dīco}, \textit{mille}, \textit{quinque} (\textit{Substrate I}, 546), \textit{vīlla}, \textit{vīnum}.

(1) \textit{Frīgīdus}, except in Spain, must have become \(*\text{frīgīdus} (>\text{frīgīdus})\), perhaps through association with \textit{rigīdus}. Cf. § 166.

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

(3) Beside \textit{sīcūla} there was a \textit{sēcula} (\textit{Lexique} 119) \( >\text{It. segolo} \). Varro (\textit{Lexique} 119) mentions a rustic \textit{speca} for \textit{spīca}. It. \textit{stegola} seems to postulate something like \(*\text{stēva} \text{ for stīva} \).

(4) For \textit{sī}, see § 229, (4).

\( ĩ \)

201. Short \( ĩ \), pronounced \( i \) (§ 165), became, doubtless by the third century and sporadically earlier, \( e \) in nearly all the Empire: \textit{bībo}, \textit{cīrculus}, \textit{īlle}, \textit{mīnus}, \textit{pīscem}, \textit{sītis}, \textit{vītium}. The spelling \( e \) for \( ĩ \) is common from the third century on: \textit{frecare},
§ 203. Long o, pronounced ō (§ 165), remained unchanged in Vulgar Latin, at least in most regions: colorem, fōrma, hōra, nōmen, sōlus, spōnsus. In Sicily, Calabria, and southern Apulia o has become u, as it did in old Oscan: cf. the change of e to i, § 196.

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

For ou > ōu, 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,
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 *tuctus, or at least to a nom. pl. *tūti or *tucti: 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: "aiattu. uuella 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 cuncti on tōtī.

ō

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 ē in inscriptions: lucus, etc., S. 211–212. Cf. App. Pr., "formica non furmica."

For the development of diphthongs, see § 177.

ū

206. Long u, pronounced u (§ 165), remained unchanged in most of the Empire: cūra, dūrus, nūllus, ūna. 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
linguistic habits of the Celts: cf. Windisch 396–397. Celtic $\ddot{u} > \acute{i}$ in Great Britain by the second century; in Latin words borrowed by the Celts $\ddot{u}$ is generally treated like Celtic $\acute{o}$ ($m\ddot{u}rus > mur$), but in a few, presumably taken very early, $\ddot{u} > \acute{i}$ ($c\ddot{u}p\dot{a} > cib, cr\ddot{u}dus > criz$): Loth 67–68.

207. The following special cases are to be noted:—

(1) Beside $l\ddot{u}r\ddot{d}us$ there probably was a $*l\ddot{u}r\ddot{d}us$: Substrate III, 517.

(2) $N\ddot{u}p\ddot{t}ia$, through the analogy of $*n\ddot{b}\ddot{v}ius$ ("bridegroom," from $n\ddot{b}vus$) and $n\ddot{b}ra$, became $n\ddot{o}p\ddot{t}ia$: Lat. Spr. 469. Cf. Substrate IV, 134.

(3) Beside $p\ddot{u}m\dot{e}x$ there was a $p\ddot{o}m\dot{e}x$: Bon. 136, pomece. Cf. F. G. Mohl in Zs. XXVI, 617–618.

208. Short $u$, pronounced $u$ (§ 165), became, probably by the fourth century or earlier, $o$ in most of the Empire: $b\ddot{u}c\ddot{c}a, c\ddot{u}l\ddot{p}a, g\ddot{u}l\ddot{a}, r\ddot{u}p\ddot{t}us, \ddot{u}n\ddot{a}$. The spelling $o$ is common in late documents: "columna non colomna," "turma non torma" (cf. "coluber non colober," "formosus non formunsus," "puella non poella"), App. Pr.; tomolus, etc., Pirson 15–17; tonica, etc., Bon. 132–135; corso, covetum (= c\ddot{u}b\ddot{t}um), 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 $\ddot{u}$ and $\ddot{u} > u$: Lat. Spr. 467.

For $ou > ou$, see § 167.

(1) Beside $ang\ddot{u}st\ddot{a}$ there must have been $*ang\ddot{b}\ddot{t}ia$.

(2) Fr. couleuvre, fleuve, jeune call for local $q$ in $c\ddot{u}l\ddot{b}ra, fl\ddot{u}vium, j\ddot{u}v\dot{e}n\dot{is}$. There are other local irregularities. Cf. § 217.

(3) In place of $n\ddot{u}rus$ we find $n\ddot{b}r\ddot{u}s$ (R. 465) and $n\ddot{b}ra$ (S. 216), due to the analogy of $s\ddot{b}r\ddot{r}or$ and $*n\ddot{b}\ddot{v}ia$ ("bride," from $n\ddot{b}vus$).

(4) Instead of pl\ddot{u}ere and pl\ddot{u}via people said pl\ddot{u}vere (used by Petronius and others) and $*pl\ddot{b}ja$: Lat. Spr. 468. Cf. §§ 169, 217.
209. \( \ddot{AE} \) was originally written and pronounced \( ai \), but through the mutual attraction of its two parts it became \( \ddot{a} \), later \( e \): \( \ddot{aeus} \), \( \ddot{aelum} \), \( quero \).

In certain words a vulgar and dialect pronunciation \( \ddot{e} \), common to Volscian and Faliscan (Hammer 7, 8), came into general use: \( \ddot{fenum} \), \( \ddot{pr\ddot{eda}} \), \( s\ddot{e}pes \), \( s\ddot{e}ptum \), \( \ddot{s\ddot{e}}ta \). Cf. S. 166–168, 188; Carnoy 79–80. For \( \ddot{fenum} \) \( \ddot{f\ddot{e}num} \), \( \ddot{pr\ddot{eda}} \) \( \ddot{pr\ddot{e}da} \), \( s\ddot{e}pes \) \( \ddot{s\ddot{e}pes} \) both forms were preserved. Hence, by analogy, such spellings as \( \ddot{fae}cit \), etc., S. 190. Cf. Neumann 13 (and Fort-setzung 21–23): \( \ddot{faemina} \), \( \ddot{qui\ddot{e}ti} \), etc.

210. The regular change of \( \ddot{a} \) 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 \( \ddot{a} \) in dative endings occurs early: Corssen I, 687 ff. About the middle of the first century B.C., when Varro cited \( edus \) for \( \ddot{haedus} \) as a rural form, stressed \( \ddot{a} \) was probably still a diphthong in the city but had become \( \ddot{e} \) in rustic Latium; some hundred years later \( \ddot{e} \) came into the city and pervaded the provinces: \( \text{Lat. Spr. 465} \). Terentius Scaurus, in the first century, says that \( \ddot{a} \) represents the sound better than \( ai \): S. 224. \( E \) is found early in Campania, especially in Pompeii (\( \ddot{pres\ddot{ia}} \), etc.): S. 225. In Spanish inscriptions \( e \) occurs from the first century on (Carnoy 78): \( \ddot{questus} \) (2d century), etc., Carnoy 69–84. It was probably general everywhere by the second century: \( \text{Einf. § 78} \). Pompeius blames the confusion of \( \ddot{aequus} \) and \( \ddot{equus} \): S. 178. The spelling \( e \) for \( \ddot{a} \) was usual in unaccented syllables (as \( san\ddot{cte} \)) 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
An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

§ 212

75–76: cedat, grecce, etc. Conversely æ was often erroneously used for è (S. 183–184) and for Greek η (as scanam, Lexique 104).

Au

211. Au, pronounced Æu, 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 è in causa > chose; in Italian and Spanish it did not become q until original q had broken into uo or ue.

(1) The spellings Cladius, Glacus, Scarus, etc., with æ 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) Cludo for claudio is common, coming through derivatives, such as occludo: Vok. II, 304; Carnoy 100 (cludo 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, au was occasionally used for õ (Chronologie 160): Festus, ausculum; Marius Victorinus, “sorex vel saurex.” Cf. *auqidere for occidere, postulated by some Romance forms.

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

eu

214. Eu, pronounced ēu (as in cēu, eu, Europa, eurus, eheu, heu, neu, neuter, seu), was not preserved in any popular words. Cf. S. 228.

æ

215. OE was originally written and pronounced oi, but through the mutual attraction of its two parts it became presumably õ, later e: cēpi, pēna, pēnitet. It may be that the intermediate stage is reflected by the spelling phvēba for Phœbe, S. 227.

E is attested by inscriptions in the first century of our era: ceperint, Carnoy 84; Phebus, C. I. L. IV, 1890; etc. Cf. S. 227, Lat. Spr. 464. In the Per. we find amenus, cēpi, etc., Bechtel 76. The confusion of æ and e is mentioned by late grammarians: S. 227. In late Latin a bad spelling, æ for æ and e, became popular: cæcus, cælum, cæmenta, fœmina, fœnum, mœrore, mœstus, pœnates. Cf. S. 228; Vok. II, 293ff.

ui

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

217. According to some philologists, a following labial tends to open a vowel: *colūbra > colūbra, *flūvium > flūvium, jūvēnis > *yovēnis, *mobīlis > mobilis, *ōvum > *ovum, *plūcre > plūvēre, etc. A general influence of this kind can hardly be regarded as proved for any combination except *ou, which became ou: 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, o, o—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 = ē, ĭ = ĭ, ō = o, ŭ = u (or ū), æ and œ = ë, au = o 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)dōrem, av(i)dēre, bāl(i)nēum, cal(e)fācēre, jūr(i)go, etc. This tendency continued, in moderation, in Classic and Vulgar Latin: cal(i)dus, őc(u)lus, frig(i)daria, vir(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. 2 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, i was certainly distinct from ī: sentīs,
sentīt > It. senti, sente; fecī, fecīt > Pr. fis, fes. In sībi, tībi the final vowel was sometimes long, sometimes short.

a. UNACCENTED VOWELS IN HIATUS.

222. ῥ 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, aiiio, Maiiam as approved by Cicero: S. 236. Bonnet notes that a, not ab, is used before Joseph, Judæis, 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 κv for qui (as in ἀκύλας) 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; vindemiator in Horace; abiete, abietibus in Virgil. Italia counts as three syllables in poets of the
early Empire. Cf. S. 232. Valerius Probus has *parietibus*; Édon 208. Consentius declares that trisyllabic *soluit* and four-syllable *induruit* are barbarisms; Cæsellius 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* > *ala*, *filius* > *filius*, *sapui* > *sapui* > *sapwi*. In the same way *filolus* > *filjolus* (§136), *tenueram* > *tenweram* (§137); likewise *eccu'hič* > *ecwči*, *ecwísta* > *ecwísta* (§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: *capriolvs* (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*, *lintium*, *noxeus*, *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 *é*, *ié*, *ó*, *ú* developed differently, *é* and *ié* apparently being contracted into *e*, *o* and *ú* into *o*, at an early date: *arítem* (§136) > *arítem* (Varro, “*ares veteres pro aries dixisse*”: Carnoy 43); *dé'-excito* > *dēxcito* > It. *desto*; *faciébam* > *facébam*; *mulírem* (§136) > *mulírem*, the *i* remaining long enough to palatalize the *l* (the Romance *é* was doubtless a later analogical development); *paríetes* (§136) > *parětēs*, C. I. L. VI, 3714 (Rome); *prēhěndčre* >
prēndĕre, then *prēndĕre through the analogy of rēddĕre and perhaps also of ascēndĕre, defēndĕre, pēndĕre, iēndĕre; quīētus > quētus, common in late inscriptions, Pirson 57 (cf. requēbit, Carnoy 43); — cōhōrtem > cōrtem; cōōpērīre > cōpērīre, then *cōpērīre *cōpŏrīre through the analogy of cō- and perhaps also of ōpēra, ōpus; duōdēcim > dōdēcim (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 > antiquus; carduus > cardus; cōquus > cōcus (App. Pr., “coqui non coci,” “coqus non cocus”; cf. S. 351); distinguunt > distinguunt (according to Velius Longus, some writers use no u in distinguere, Edon 130); ēquus > ēcus (App. Pr., “equus non ecus”; cf. Velius Longus, S. 217); innōcuius > innōcus, Koffmane 111; mōrtuus > mōrtus; suus > sus, tuum > tum, Carnoy 117; — battuo > batto (cf. abattas, Gl. Reich.); cōquo > cōco (App. Pr., “coquens non cocens”; hence *cocīna); quat(t)uor > quattor (S. 218) quator (Pirson 58) quatro (7th century, Carnoy 221); quot(t)idie > cottīdie, S. 352; stīnguo > stīngo; tīnguo > tĭngo (Caper, “tinguere ... non tingere,” Keil VII, 106); tŏrqueo > *torquo > *tŏro; ŭnguo > ŭngo (ungo, unguntur, ungi, Bayard 7; Caper, “ungue non unge,” Keil VII, 105; uncis = unguis, Audollent 536). So apparently arum>*arum, ėrum>ĕrum (Lat. Spr. 472: ero). Viduus, however, doubtless under the influence of the commoner vidua, kept its u: Old Fr. vef.

After gutturals, u fell before stressed u and o: quum > cum; quōmōdo > cōmōdo, 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, consilii > consilī, ministērii > ministērī. Velius
Longus found it necessary to say that Claudii, Cornelii, Julii, etc., should be spelled with double i: Keil VII, 57.

Some late words, however, kept –ii and –iis: Dionysii > It. Dionigi, Parisiiis > It. Parigi.

b. INITIAL SYLLABLE.

228. As far as one can judge from spellings and subsequent developments, à was pronounced a; æ, ē, i, ɛ all came to be sounded e; ĩ remained i; ọ and ū were finally all pronounced ο or u; ọ remained ọ; au became a if there was an accented u in the next syllable, but otherwise remained unchanged (cf. Lat. Spr. 470): rādicem, vālēre; aeētem, dēbēre, tēnēre, vīdēre, fōdāre; ridēmus, cīvitātem, hībernus; plōrāre, frūmentum, sūbīnde; cōlōrem, dōlēre, mōvētis; A(u)güstus, A(u)runci, a(u)scūltu, audēre, gaudēre, naufragium. For the confusion of e and i, see Audollent 535, Carnoy 17–33, Bon. 135–138. Cf. aecclesia, Bechtel 76; “senatus non sinatus,” App. Pr., golosus gylosus (for gulósus), 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: *corrōstulare > *crōṭlare; dīrēctus generally > d’rēctus (Vok. II, 422: drichtus); quīritare > *crītare. Jejūnus 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 jājūnus > Classic jejūnus (the original u seems to be preserved in some Italian dialect forms); Classic Januarius > Jenuarius (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. 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 i-schola. 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, istatuam, istudio, S. 317; ismaragdus, Pirson 60; estatio, Estephanus, isola, 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)tátem, cáp(i)tális, cárr(i)cáre, cérébllum, cív(i)tátem, cóll(o)cáre, cómparère cómperäre, dél(i)cátus, dúb(i)táre, éleméntum éliméntum, frigidária frigidária, mtrabilia,

Ministèrium apparently became ministerium 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 proparoxytiones. 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 o 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)ōmines (≥ It. uomini), the uneducated pronounced ’ōm’nes (≥ Pr. omne); similarly beside söcerum there was söcruum.

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, Lexique 63; fecrunt fecru, Lexique 64; ins(u)la; juglus; man̄tplus; socro, Pirson 51. In some words we find a weakened to e: cîtēra, App. Pr.; hîlerus, 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: bâjulus, frâgîlis, grâcilis, vîrîgem. In vîgilat > *vîglat the vowel fell before the g began to be palatalized (so apparently in dîgium > dîctum, Franz. I, 15–16; frîgidus > frîgðus, App. Pr.). Cf. § 259.

234. Latin originally had the two diminutive endings -clus (<-tlo), as in seclum, and -cûlus (<-co-lo), as in aurîcûla. These were kept distinct by Plautus. Later they were confused, both becoming -cûlus in Classic Latin, both -clus in vulgar speech: artîc(u)lus, bâc(u)lus, māsc(u)lus, òc(u)lus, spîc(u)lum, vernàc(u)lus, vîc(u)lus. Oclus and some others occur in Petronius: see W. Heræus, Die Sprache des Petronius und die Glossen, 1899; cf. peduclum, Waters Ch. 57. Many examples are found in inscriptions: oclos, scaplas, Audollent 538; aunclus, felicla, masclus, Pirson 49–50. Cf. Franz. I, 16–18.

To -clus was assimilated in popular Latin the ending -tûlus: càpitûlus > *capiclus; fistûla > *fîscla; vêtûlus > veclus, App. Pr. (cf. vîltus, Pirson 51). But a few words, which must have been slow in entering the common vocabulary, escaped this absorption: crûstûlum > crûstlum (found in 18 A.D.); spatûla > *spatîla. 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’tus;
§ 238] An Introduction to Vulgar Latin. 101

déb(i)tum; dóm(i)nus; flá(b)ula; pób(u)lus; sáblum; trí-b(u)la; vápulo bápló. 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. 3 I, 13. Petronius has bublum, Waters Ch. 44, offla, Waters Ch. 56. Cf. fibla, poplus, sáblum, etc., in R. 467.

In some words, however, the vowel was kept, either everywhere or in a large region: árb(o)rem; hámula; hób(i)nes; júv(e)nis; nébula; trémulat.

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 > clau(du)do (cf. *návifragus > naufragus); fábula > *fauila *fabla; gábata > *gauta *gabta; *návitat > *nautat; parábula > *paraula *parabla; tábula > *taula *tabla. Cf. Franz. 3 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. 3 I, 13; lardum, Ovid, Martial, Juvenal, Pliny; merto, Pirson 51, Franz. 3 I, 15; soldus, Cæsar, Horace, Varro; valde; virdis, App. Pr. (cf. virdiaria, Vegetius, 4th century). Cf. Franz. 3 I, 12 ff.

(4) Miscellaneous.

238. In some words the vowel fell under different conditions: digitum > dictum, Franz. 3 I, 15–16 (cf. § 233); frigidus.
frigdus (cf. § 233), App. Pr. (fricda), Pompeii (fridam); máxima > masma, 2d century, Suchier 732; nitidus > *nittus, pútidus > *puttus, probably late; postus, Lucretius, Pirson 50, Franz. ι 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 > *raptus; cárrico > *carco, cléricus > *clercus, cóllocat > *colcat; déc(i)mus, fráx(i)nus, pérs(i)ca, séd(e)cim. Cf. Gl. Reich.: carcatus, culicet culcet = collēcat.

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

A vowel preceded by ð or t and followed by c seems to have remained longer than most other vowels that fell at all: júdico, médicus, viaticum, 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 –āvit > –aut: triumphaut 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, prædisceur, 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; α, ē, ı, according to the testimony of numerous inscriptions (Lat. Spr. 469), were all probably sounded e, which in Sicily became eventually i; i remained i; ō was o, which became u in Sicily; ū was u. In some localities this o and this u were kept distinct, but generally they were confounded (Lat. Spr. 469). Examples: āmās, āmāt; sanctae, tristēs, tristēm, tristēs; fēcī, bōnī, sēntēs; bōnōs, mōriōr; cōrpūs, frūctū. About the eighth century a probably became ə 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 a, in late Latin, were not usually distinguished (cf. § 210): aptē = aptae, cotidiae, etc., Bechtel 75–76.

E and i came to be used almost indiscriminately. Quintilian I, vii, says that Livy wrote sibe and quase; in I, iv and I, vii, he describes the final vowel of here as neither quite e nor quite i. Cf. mihe, tībe, 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., Audollent 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: dous = 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; quat(u)or > *quatro, Carnoy 221; semper > *sempre; supr(e) > *supre. 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
§ 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, nasals, sibilants, 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 *trao*: 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 *sepalchrum, 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.
§ 254] AN INTRODUCTION TO VULGAR LATIN. 107

*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 = inchoante, 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, southeastern 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: *cinque*, 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*: Piautus 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 *maestum*, Audollent 537. So *ex-* > *es-* in *executere*, *exponere*, etc.: cf. *estimare* for *æstimare*, 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 = praegnans*, *subornatris*, etc., in inscriptions, S. 353 (cf. *xanto*, etc.); *felis*, fifth century, Carnoy 159; *App. Pr.*., "aries non *ariex*," "locuples non *lacuplex*," "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* *bist* *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 > viccit* (i. e., *viscit*), 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., *sigricius = *secretius, 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.

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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.; conjugi* = *conjugi*, S. 349; *jejuna* = *jejuna*, Stolz 275, Neumann 5, *Lat. Spr. 473*; *Genvarivs*, S. 239; *Genvarivs*, Pirson 75; *aiebat* = *aiebat*, *Genavam* = *Genavam*, *ingen* = *iniens*, Bon. 173; *agebat* = *aiebat*, *agere* = *aiere*, Sepulcri 205; *Gepte*, *Tragani*, *Troge*, Haag 33; *iesta*, D'Arbois 10. Before this happened, *frigidus* in most of the Empire had become *fridus* (*App. Pr., "frigida non frieda"*), *viglat* had become *viglat*, and *digitus* in some places had become *dictus* (*Franz. 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\( g \)ë\( n \)*\( s \)is, re\( g \)\( ï \)\( n \)a, vi\( g \)\( ï \)\( n \)ti, etc.; similarly perhaps the proclitic *ma\( g \)is*. Cf. *Agrientum*, *beleuvi* = *viginti*, *maae\( t \)ro*, etc., *Vok. II*, 461 (cf. *maestati*, *Vok. II*, 460); *trienta*, S. 349, Pirson 97; *quarranta* = *quadraginta*, Pirson 97; *aliens*, *colliens*, *diriens*, *negliencia*, Haag 34; *recoliendo*, 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

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'yiₕ*: *t'yenₕu, 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 ts'entu.*

Speakers were apparently unaware of the phenomenon until the assibilation 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[ît], 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

*Sc* was palatalized also: *crēscĕre, co(g)nōscĕre,* *fascem,* *nascĕre,* *pīscem,* etc. Cf. *consiensia,* *septrvm,* S. 348.


¹In 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 *q* before other vowels. 
Spr. 472, in *Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie* 313 ff.; Carnoy 155–160 (who puts the assibilation in the sixth century and earlier). For a possible indication, through alliteration, of a local assibilation of *c* as early as the second century, see *Archiv* XV, 146.

262. For *ce₂, ci₂*, see Palatals below.

(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.* 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: *dīc, dūc, ecce hīc, eccu’hāc, fac, hōc, sic*; cf. Italian *dimmi* (< *dīc mī*), *fammi* (< *fac mī*), *siffatto* (< *sic 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, otogetos, in Pompeii, Lat. Spr. 476;
avtor, lattucæ (301 A. D.), otobris (380 A. D.), præfetto,
etc., S. 348; App. Pr., "auctor non auctor"; Festus, "dumecta
antiqui quasi dumecita appellabant quae 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: *faxtum > Fr. fait,
*eksire > 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 y was retained
very generally in Gaul and perhaps some other regions, and
subsequently drawn forward to the præpalatal position—n':
sanctum > Fr., Pr. saint, sanh, etc.

268. Gm became um: fraumenta, fleuma, Lat. Spr. 472;
App. Pr. "pegma non peuma" (i.e., πγμα); St. Isidore, "sagma
An Introduction to Vulgar Latin. [§ 272

quae corrupte vulgo sauma [or salma] dicitur” (i.e., σάυμα), 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: ranante, 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 nosco; 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, inié(g)rum, ni(g)rum, pere(g)rīnum, pi(g)ritia.

c. PALATALS.

271. Latin j was pronounced y, being identical in sound with the consonant that developed out of ε and i (§ 224): jam, conjux, cūjus; eāmus, habeam, tēneat, filia, vēnio. Instead of i (= j) the spelling ii was often used: coiiugi, eīus, 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: deōrum, diūrnus; adjutare, audiam, gaudium, hōdie, ōdium, pōdium, videam; exagium, fageus. Compare oze = hodie (S. 323) and ζουλεῖα = Julia (Eckinger 80); zaconvs = diaconus, etc. (S. 324) and zev = Jesu, zvniōr = junior (S. 239). Cf. ajuit = adjutet, Pirson 76; madias = maias, 364 a. d., Stolz 275, Pirson 75, Carnoy.
162; madio = maio, Haag 34; magias = maias, Carnoy 162, S. 349; juria = jurgia, Σεργίος = Sergius, Carnoy 161; aios = āyos, Vok. II, 461; Congianus = Condianus, Carnoy 162; corridia = corrigie, Remidium = Remigium, Haag 34; anoget = *inodiat, Gl. Reich.

De, di, however, towards the end of the Empire, had another—doubtless more elegant—pronunciation, which was probably dz: pōdium > It. poggio, but mēdium > 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 ozie 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): zēs = dies, S. 323; ζε = die, Audollent 537; zogenes, S. 324; cf. sacritus = διάκριτος, 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: hōrdeum > 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, vīdeo > *veyo, etc., and perhaps through slurring due to constant and careless use, habeo, dēbeo often became *ayο, *deyo: cf. It. aggio, deggio, beside abbio, debbio. The reduced forms generally prevailed, but not everywhere. For plūvia a form *plōja 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, fōlia, mēlius, palea, tīlia; Hispania, tēneat, vēniam. This palatal pronunciation may be represented by the spellings Aureia, Corneius, fios, etc., S. 327.
An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

§276

Lly, llg', llg' were probably reduced to l' somewhat later: allium, malleus; colligit, ex-eligit.

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

For ry, see §296.

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

Ssy, scy, sty were generally assimilated later: *bassiare, fascia, postea. 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 pitid in popular speech), and hence were often confused: Ἀποκυανός = 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.), ocio (389 A.D.), staacio (601 A.D.), tercius, S. 323; oracionem (601 A.D.), tercia, Pirson 71; mendatium, servicium, etc. Bon. 171; especially common in Gallic inscriptions of the seventh century, Stolz 51. Cf. Vok. I, 150 ff.; 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 penultima syllaba, non c.” In the treatise published by Thurot (see footnote to §259), p. 78, we are told that ṯi, unless preceded by s, is pronounced like c, as in etiam, prophetia, quatio, silentium; ṯi, furthermore, is confused with ci, the spelling c being prescribed in amicicia, avaricia, duricia, justicia, leticia, malicia, pudicia, etc., also in nuncius, oium,
§ 277. Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

spacium, tercius. Cf. Gl. Reich.: audatia, spaties, sotium; ambitio, inicio, spacio, tristicia, 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 avaritio –cia, *cominitiare –iare, servitium –cium, 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. squarchiare, *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. comenzare cominciare, etc.¹

277. T'y developed sporadically in the second century, regularly by the fourth, into ts (cf. § 260): crescentsian[vs], 140 A.D., S. 323; marsianesses = Martianenses, 3d century, Carnoy 154; zodorys = Theodorus, etc., S. 324, Vok. I, 68; ampitiatru, Vincentius, Audollent 537. Servius in Don. (S. 320) says, "Iotacismi sunt quotiens post ti– vel di– syllabam sequitur vocalis, et plerumque supradictæ syllabæ 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, justitii), 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, Latenisches ti und ki im Rumänischen, Italienischen und Sardischen, 1904; reviewed in Ltbü. XXVII, 64.
mentions the assibilation in *etiam*, St. Isidore in *justitia*: S. 320–321. Welsh words borrowed from Latin before the fourth century show no assibilation; but names in -tia*cum*, carried into Brittany in the second half of the fifth century, are assibilated (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: *observasione*, 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* -sium, *pretium* -sium, *ratio* -sio, *statio* -sio, *servitium* -sium, etc.; hence Italian *palagio* beside *palazzo*, etc., and -igia beside -ezza from -itia. Cf. *Ltblt*. XXVII, 65; *Rom*. XXXV, 480.

278. *K'y* was assibilated sporadically in the third century, but not regularly until the fifth or sixth, after the assibilation of *t'y* was completed: *Mapovavōs* = *Marcianus*, 225 A. D., Eckinger 103; *judigsium*, 6th century, Carnoy 154; so *fācio*, *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*.
§ 283] An Introduction to Vulgar Latin. 119

Oscan and Umbrian had nn corresponding to Latin nd: Sittl 37. There is some indication that this pronunciation was locally adopted in Latin: agennae, 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; INQVID, 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 § in Spain, Gaul, Rætia, northern Italy, and a part of Sardinia: videre>*vedere. Similarly intervocalic dr,
either at the same time or later, became ñr in Spain and Gaul: *quadro > quadro.

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

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

Tl, however, seems to have regularly become cl: astula > Pr. ascla; stloppus > *sloppus > It. schioppo; usulare > Pr. usclar. Cf. sclit- and sclitib- (from stlis stlitis), S. 312–313; Caper, “Martulus . . . non Marculus,” “stlatar is sine c littera dicendum,” Keil VII, 105, 107; App. Pr., “capitulum non capiculum,” “vetulus non vecus,” “vitulus non viclus.” For -tulus > -clus, cf. § 234.

Between s and l 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, relinue, valia, vixi, etc.: S. 367–368, Lat. Spr. 472. Gaul, Rätia, and Sardinia kept the t late; but forms without the consonant (as audivi, posui) — possibly due to Italian stone-cutters—occur in Gallic inscriptions. Fredegarius wrote e for et: Haag 29.

Final nt perhaps lost its t before consonants: Lat. Spr.
473–474. 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* > *ð* in northern Gaul and Spain. In Gaul and Spain, moreover, *tr* > *dr* > *ðr*. Cf. § 283.

e. LIQUIDS.

(1) *L*.

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

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, flavus, 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 albo, 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 n: καυκολατε 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: lūna, altus, mīlle, sōl. It seems to have fallen in tribūnal.

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

(1) Metathesis occurs occasionally: Consentius (S. 327) blames “coacla pro cloaca,” “displicina pro disciplina”; cf. fabīla > *flaba > It. fiaba, etc.

(2) There are sporadic examples of the dissimilation of two l's:
An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

§ 292]  


(3) Marius Victorinus (Keil VI, 8) says: "Gn. Pompejus Magnus et scribebat 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: rīdet, carrus, cūrsus, pater.

291. In many words, however, rs > ss. The principle seems to have been that original rs remained, while old rss, coming from rtt, 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, introsus, rūsus, suso, susum, etc., in inscriptions: S. 330. App. Pr. has pessica; Gl. Reich. has iusū = deorsum. The assimilation was not consistently carried out everywhere, being probably somewhat hindered by school influence. It took place in the whole territory in deōrusum and sūrsum; in most of the Empire in dōrsum; in about half the Empire in pērsica; locally in aliōrusum, retrōrsum, revērsus, vērsus.

After long vowels the ss > s (see § 161); so sūssum > sūsum, while dōssum remained unchanged: susum, Waters Ch. 77; suso susu 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 florialis; App. Pr., "terebran non telebra"; in inscriptions we find repeatedly pelegrinus

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 *cōyu (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 (casa, etc.) and in most popular words in Tuscan (naso, etc.); corroborative evidence, as far as it goes, is furnished by such spellings as nupsi, pleps, urps, also maximus, rexi, etc., and the development of a p in such words as hiemps, sumpsi. At the very end of the Vulgar Latin period, however, intervocalic s may have become voiced in some regions (cf. § 256): causa, mīsi, etc.¹

Classic Latin s was generally preserved: sēx, ōssum, cūrus, īste.

298. Final s often fell in Umbrian (kumate), and occasionally in Faliscan: Hammer 5, 8. Cf. Sittl 27, who cites Umbrian pisavrese. In early Latin final s was very weak after ā and ĭ, and often was not written. Cicero (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): “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: Lat. Spr. 471. The omission is commonest in nominative −ōs or −ūs, but occurs also in −īs and −ās, rarely in −ās: bonu, Cornelio, nepoti, pieta, Terentio, unu, etc., and matrona for matronas, S. 361–362. According to Chronologie 175–186, the nominative singular without s (as 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

¹In the previously cited Latin treatise (see footnote to § 259), Thurot 77, s between vowels is described as “weak,” except in compounds, such as resolvit. This evidently indicates a voicing in late school pronunciation.

In Gaul, Spain, and some other regions, \textit{s}, probably owing to the previous linguistic habits of the natives, was strongly pronounced and therefore preserved. Carnoy 185–206 records the omission of \textit{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), \textit{trans}– became \textit{tra}– before \textit{d}, \textit{j}, and sometimes before \textit{m} and \textit{p}: \textit{traduxit}, \textit{tra-jecit}; \textit{tra}(\textit{ns})\textit{misit}, \textit{tra}(\textit{ns})\textit{posuit}; \textit{transstulit}. We sometimes find, however, \textit{transduco} and \textit{transjicio}. Both forms occur before \textit{l} and \textit{v}: \textit{tra}(\textit{ns})\textit{luceo}, \textit{tra}(\textit{ns})\textit{veho}.

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

300. In \textit{presbyter}, a new nominative constructed from \textit{πρεσβύτερος}, the \textit{s} fell in Italy and elsewhere through the substitution of the prefix \textit{pra}– (as in \textit{prăbitor}) for the unusual initial \textit{pres}–: hence It. \textit{prete}, Pr. \textit{preveire} (<\textit{praβyṯērum}).

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

302. For \textit{ss} > \textit{s}, see § 161. For \textit{sy}, see § 275. For as McBibilation, see Gutturals and Palatals. For \textit{z}, see § 246 and Greek Consonants.
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 Bondia > 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 inhærente gemino naris et oris spiritu explicabitur.” The same author describes (S. 275) a sound between m and n: “Omnes fere aiunt inter m et n litteras medianm vocem quæ 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 gutturals, y: combura, immitto, imperio; conduco, contineo, innocens; comfluo confuo, convenio convenio; anguis, inquit, uncus (cf. ivncxi, nvncqvam, S. 278). Cf. S. 270, 279–280. The y—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 dūce, nom or non fēcit, iyi carne; nol tēgo, cur rēgibus, 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, nunquam, S. 276–277; complere, 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, exemplu, occubas, etc., innoceti, laterna, secudo, etc., iferos, etc., defectae, principis, reliquat, etc., S. 273, 281–285. For the change of ykt to yt, then to nt, see § 267: sancta, 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 syllabarum, ut nomen,
stamen; exilior in mediis, ut amnis, damnun.” 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, dampnare, 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 pplu), 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; jacente, 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 dice hanc; he adds that there is scarcely any m audible in tantum ille, quantum erat.

Final n 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. audiendum'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), pössu(m), iënea(m); cum, jam, quen (guen, 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, coherere, co-hors, 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 Siciliam": see § 311.
§ 311. An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

The Romance languages indicate the disappearance of \(-n\), except in monosyllables: \(nōme(n)\), \(sēme(n)\); \(in, nōn\). 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: \(-ensīmus > -ēsimus\), \(-iēns > -ēs\), \(-onsus > -ōsus\), as in *vicesimus,* *tories,* *formosus* (S. 273); \(ns\), however, was kept in participles, as *videns,* *mansus*; both forms were used in \(-ē(n)sis\) (according to Velius Longus, Cicero preferred * foresia, hortesia,* S. 287). Charisius (S. 286) records that “mensam 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 *fante* and French *convent*, although at a later date *n* became *f* in Rætia and much of southern France.

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

**h. LABIALS.**

(1) *P.*

**312.** *P* regularly remained unchanged: *pater, òpus, órpus.*

(1) There was some sporadic confusion of *p* and *b*: *vuliciae, scriptit*, S. 299; *App. Pr.*, "plasta non blasta," "ziziber non ziziper"; *cannabis* and It. *canapa*.

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

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

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

**314.** Intervocalic *p* probably became *b* in the fifth and sixth centuries in Spain, Gaul, Rætia, and northern Italy: see § 256. Cf. Pirson 60–61: *labidem*, etc. *Pr* likewise became *br*: *Abrilis*, Pirson 61; *lebra*, Bon. 160; *stubrum*, Haag 862.
In northern Gaul intervocalic \( p \) and \( pr \), even in clerical Latin, developed through \( b \) and \( br \) into \( \beta \) and \( \beta r \) by the seventh century: \textit{rivaticus}, 629 A.D., \textit{Vok. I}, 128; \textit{cavanna}, \textit{Gl. Reich}.
For \( pe, \ddot{p}e \), see § 273.

(2) \( B \).

315. When \( b \) was not intervocalic, it usually remained unchanged: \textit{bene}, \textit{blitum}, \textit{oblitus}.

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

Before \( s \) or \( t \) it is likely that \( b \) regularly became \( p \) in Latin, although it was often written \( b \): \textit{absens apsens}, \textit{ab—apsolvere}, \textit{plebs pleps}, \textit{scribsi scripsi}, \textit{scriptum scriptum}, \textit{trabs traps}, \textit{urbs urps}; \textit{App. Pr.}, "\textit{celebs non celeps}," "\textit{labsus non lapsus}.

Final \( b \) must have been often assimilated to a following consonant: \textit{sud die}, 601 A.D., \textit{Carnoy 165}.

316. In the Empire, especially in the second century, initial \( b \) and \( v \) were much confused in inscriptions (cf. \( V \)): \textit{biginti, bixit, botu, vene}, etc., S. 240; \textit{Baleria, Balerius, Beneria, Beneti, Betrubius, Bictor, bos, valneas}, \textit{Audollent} 536; \textit{African birtus, bita, bolantas, Vok. I}, 98; \textit{bivere}, very common, \textit{Carnoy 140}; \textit{baluis, Bechtel—78; vbit}, etc., R. 456; \textit{bobis} in \textit{Consentius, 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): \textit{Lat. Spr. 473}; cf. \textit{Einf.}, § 120. The Spanish levelling of initial \( b \) and \( v \) does not go back to Vulgar Latin (\textit{Carnoy 139—141}); the confusion is far commoner in Italian inscriptions than in Spanish or Gallic (\textit{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: Nerva, 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: Oiuovia = Vibia, Rome, Eckinger 95; devere, devitum, provata, etc., S. 240. As v also was pronounced β, a confusion in spelling resulted, b and v being used indiscriminately: cvrabit, ivbentvtis, nobe, 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, Rætia, part of northern Italy, and Dacia.

(1) In the early stages of clerical Latin intervocalic b was pronounced β, as in popular speech: *faβula, *taβula, 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 habēbam > *aβea, see § 421.

319. Be, bī probably remained unchanged, at least in most
of the Empire: *rabies, rübeus, etc. For the analogical change of *habeo to *ayo, *dēbeo to *deyo, 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).

(i) Grammarians speak of an alternation of $h$ and $f$: *fēdus > hēdus, fasena > harena, fīrcum > 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 = elephanti, *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 $ον$ or $β$ for $v$ (Νεψνα or Νεψβα): Οὐνια = 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; *jubari 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 $\nu$ in most of the Empire: cf. § 305.

For the substitution of $w$ for $\beta$ or $\nu$ 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 $\nu$ was partially restored by school influence: CERBV$\S$, CORB$\S$, CURB$\S$, FERBE$\S$, NERBA (about 100 A.D.), SERBAT, SOLBIT, E. G. Parodi in Rom. XXVII, 177, cf. § 317. So vervex became *verbex, then berbex: Waters Ch. 57; BERBECES, 2d century, Einf. 127, § 120 (also in Gl. Reich.).

Hence came hesitation in spelling (serveo, ferbui, etc.) and inconsistent results in the Romance languages: còrvus > It. corbo corvo, Fr. corbeau; cùrvus > Old Fr., Pr. corp, Sp. corvo; nèrvus > 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 $o$: bòvis > bòs; devorum > deòrsum; faor, Pirson 63; moere, Audollent 539; Noem$\beta$os, 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; *paðnem; *paðrem.

Furthermore, intervocalic $w$ or $\beta$ regularly disappeared in popular speech before any $u$, probably towards the end of the Republic (when $-vos > -vus$): flaus, VIVS, S. 241 (cf. flaus in
§ 328]  

An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.  137

App. Pr., vius in Pirson 63); oum, Vok. II, 472 (cf. oum in Probus, Keil IV, 113); nous, Audollent 539 (cf. noun, Pirson 63); gnaeus, Lindsay 52; datus, 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 ÆVM of C. I. L. I, 1220, cited by Schuchardt (Vok. II, 471) and others as œum, 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, triumphaut, 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' rsta > *eccwista, nōcui > nōcwi, 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.

328. Single consonants sometimes became double in Latin, and Greek double consonants sometimes became single: νόμος > nummus; ἐκκλησία > ec(c)lesia. Cf. Claussen 847-851.
(1) B, Γ, Δ.

329. B, γ, δ regularly remained b, g, d: βλασος > blesus; γαρον > garum; δελτα > delta. Sometimes, however, they were unvoiced into p, c, t: ἴδακβος > *Ιάκοπος (also *Ιάκομος); γόγγρος > conger gonger, σπήλυγγα > speluncia; κέδρος > citrus. Cf. Claussen 833–838.

Γμ > um (cf. § 268): σάγμα > sagma sauma.

(2) Κ, Π, T.

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 κάντιτος for candidus (Eckinger 98) seems to point in that direction: Ἀκράγας > Acragas Agragas, κάμμαρος > cammarus gammarus, κόμμα > gummi, κυβερνάν > gubernare, κωβιός > gobius; cf. eglogue, procne, S. 346; App. Pr., “calatus non galatus” (= κάλαθος); the confusion is mentioned by Terentius Scaurus and others, S. 347; —πόξος > buxus, πυρρός > burret, 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 > anāngi, λαμπρός > lambrós, ἄντρον > ándron. This late Greek pronunciation perhaps accounts for such cases as καμπή > 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, nimpa, 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 \( t, \hat{p}, c \), for new words as well as for old: \( \sigmaπ\delta\gamma > spatha = spata \); \( κόλαφος > colaphus = colapus \); \( ςυμφωνία > \text{It. zampogna} \); \( φάλαγξ > \text{It. Sp. palanca} \); \( \varphiαντοσία > \text{Pr. pantaisar} \); \( ωρδή > chorda = corda \).

Quintilian (S. 256) says there were no aspirate consonants in older Latin. Cicero (S. 256) speaks of using the old, unaspirated pronunciation (as pulcros, triumpos) in order to be better understood. The proper spelling is discussed by grammarians: S. 257–258.

The letter \( h \) is occasionally misused, as in phosit, pache, etc.: S. 260. It is transposed in phitonis, phitonissae, Bonnet 141, 218; cf. Fitonis, Fitones in Gl. Reich.

333. In φάλαγνα > ballāna, and some other early adoptions, \( φ > b \); perhaps the reason is to be sought in a Greek dialect pronunciation: Clausen 829–831. In δοξή > doga, etc., \( χ > g \): Clausen 831. In θεῖος > It. zio we have a late development of \( θ \); cf. App. Pr., "Theophilus non izofilus": Clausen 833.

(i) Evidence of a late school pronunciation of \( θ \) as \( t s \) is to be found in Thurot 78, 79 (cf. footnote to § 259): "\( T \) quoque, si aspiretur, ut \( ε \) enuntiatur, ut ather, nothus, Parthi, cathedra, catholicus, etheus, Matheus"... "In principio inquam dictionis nulla prescripta causa variari compellitur, ut thiara, Thiestes, Thestius, Thescelus, Theos."

334. By the first century A.D., \( φ \) had developed into \( f \) in some places (S. 261): dafne occurs in Pompeii, Clausen 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 ὁφίκιον for officium, etc., Eckinger 97. In late words \( φ \) regularly appears as \( f \): φάσηλος > phaselus faselus; κέφαλος > It. cefalo; etc.
(4) Liquids, Nasals, and Sibilants.

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

   In \( \sigma \dot{e} \lambda \nu o v > \text{It. sedano}, \) 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: \( \mu \alpha \dot{i} \rho o s > maurus; \nu o m \dot{i} > n o m e. \) There are, however, some indications that they were weak before consonants: \( \beta \dot{o} \mu \beta o s > \text{Pr. bobansa}, \) etc. Cf. Claussen 845.

337. Of the sibilants, \( \sigma \) and \( \xi \) were regularly unchanged: \( \sigma \nu a m > \text{sinapis}; \xi o d o s > \text{exodus}. \) In \( \dot{o} \sigma m \dot{i}? > \text{It. orma}, \) \( \sigma \) has probably become \( r. \) For \( \pi r e o s \beta \dot{u} \tau e r o s > \text{prebiter}, \) see § 300.

   The unfamiliar combination \( \psi \) lent itself readily to metathesis: \( \psi \alpha l l e w > \text{psallere spallere}. \)

   For \( \xi, \) see below.

(5) Z.

338. Z doubtless had several pronunciations in Greek. In early Latin it was represented by \( s s \) or \( s: \mu \alpha \zeta a > \text{massa}, \zeta \omega n \eta > \text{sona} \) (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 \( \text{Saguntum, massa, Medentius}. \)

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

The spelling di for z occurs repeatedly: baptismiare is found several times in Per. (90, 22, etc.; cf. Bechtel 79), and is common in inscriptions (cf. baptidatus, Carnoy 163); oridium for opulca, Lat. Spr. 473. Conversely, z is often used for di: ZABLULVS, Vok. I, 68; zabulus, zacones, Koffmane 38; Lazis = Ladiis, zabulus, zaconus, zebus, zeta = dieta, zosum = desorum, R. 457-458.

In late inscriptions z for j is common: zerax = ηραξ (202 A.D.), zanuari, Vok. I, 69; zexy, zvinor, S. 239; Zovexia = Julia, kogovz = 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: δ, ι, η, and ο. 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: roubon > 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. geldra, *giga > Pr., It. giga, geisla > Pr. giscle; garba > Fr. gerbe, garto > Old Fr. jart.

K resisted front vowels: skena > Sp. esquena, skernon > It. schernire; so *rik-itia > Pr. riqueza, etc. Franko seems to have been an early acquisition, and its derivatives palatalized their k before e and i: frank-iscus > 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, riches; so blank-a > Fr. blanche (but It. bianca).

342. The spirants $\delta$ and $\phi$ were replaced in Latin by the corresponding stops, d and t: widarlon > It. guiderdone; hau-nija > Fr. honte, pahso > It. tasso, parrjan > Fr. tarir, préscan > 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. fcu, It. fio; skiuhan > Fr. esquier, It. schivare; spêhôn > Old Fr. espiar, 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; slëht > Pr. esclet, It. schietto. But wahta, doubtless adopted at a different time, became Old Fr. gaité, Pr. gaita; cf. It. guatare.

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 $\beta$ (§ 322). It was nearer in sound to Latin $u$: see § 326. In the Gl. Reich. we find it
represented by *uu, in *uuadius, reuuardent, etc. Bon. 167 records *Euuua, *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 Rætia this *w apparently remained unchanged in the Vulgar Latin period; elsewhere, through a reinforcement of its velar element, it became *gw: *warjan > *warîre guarîre, *werra > *werra guerra, *wîsa > *wîsa guîsa.

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.

2. 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: fraxinos, etc.; cf. castaneus for castanea, Bon. 194. Feminines of the fourth declension varied (Gram. II, 461): iōmus, ficus, 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, pulicem, marginem, lepōrem, turtūrem.

— (4) There were some sporadic changes: duos arbores, Pison 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., Audollent 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, nómen, pīper* there must have been *lūminem, nōminem, pīpērem.*

Conversely we find *cīnus, n.*, for *cīnis, cīner, m.*; there must have been a *pūlvas, n.*, beside *pūlvis, m.* and f. (Lat. Spr. 483); Petronius has *thesaurum*, Waters Ch. 46. Cf. *gladium, laqueum, puteum, thesaurum*, etc., R. 270–272.

Cf. Bon. 345–349, 507–509. For the confusion of masculine and neuter in Africa, see Archiv VIII, 173.

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:

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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., Denselianu 132; mare, f., Haag 48. Greek neuters in –ma, if popular, generally became feminine: cyma, sagma.

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, illud or illum, quid, quōd.

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 < *crīnea = crīnes; It. dita, frutta, 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; ligna... ardet (cf. rama), Gl. Reich.; hic est iesta, D’Arbois 10; cf. ne forte et mihi hæc eveniat, etc., R. 435. The feminine character of such words was doubtless reinforced by the use, for instance, of an *illa pectora to match quæ pectora: Chronologie 199. Conversely, palpebrum for palpebra occurs, R. 270.

Hence arose such feminine singular forms as *brachia, *folia, gaudia, gesta, ligna, etc., for which a new plural was created: brachias, Audollent 548; armentas, membras, Gl. Cassel; ingenias, simulaehras, 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, ficus, so fructi, senātī; gustus in Petronius; manos, Audollent 544; jusso, passos, Bechtel 86; cornum, fructo fructos, gelus, genum, gradus, senatus, spiritus, etc., R. 260–262, 270; lacus, mercatus, G. 282–283; jusso, lucto, 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: Den-susianu 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. Heræus 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 Bellône(m), etc., see § 362. Beside ervum ervi, there was an ervus ervoris: Lat. Spr. 483. Fīmus fīmi, under the influence of stērcus, apparently became fēmus (Gl. Reich.) *fēmōris: cf. Old Fr. fiens, Pr. fēmps. Fūndus fūndi perhaps became fūndus *fūndōris: Old Fr. fonz, Pr. fons, Fr. effondrer. Beside terminus -i, there was a termen terminis.

(3) On the other hand, ōs > ōssum (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. Libli. 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; siren > 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. Pūlus 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 filias filias. 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 quescent dvs mres dvas 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 or dialect influ-
ences 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; decabus, fili-
abus, etc., Pirson ii5–i16; animabus, famulabus, filiabus, vil-
labus, Bon. 331. This form left no traces in the Romance
languages.

359. Feminine proper names and words denoting persons
often developed, rather late, an inflection in —anis, etc., or
—enis, etc., probably under the influence of the consonantal
declension of Greek names that was in vogue in schools.
Pupils were taught to inflect Glaucé Glauénis, Nicé Nicénis,
etc. (R. 264); cf. Dante's Semelé, etc.: hence arose Anna
Annánis or —enís, mamma mammánis, amita *amíánis (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, sa-
crista *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 —anis is connected with masculine tatani, etc.

This feminine inflection left some traces in Gaul, Rætia, and
§ 362. In general, at the beginning of the Romance period, the first declension was reduced to this pattern:

- **luna**
  - facia
  - *folia*
- **luna**
  - facia
  - folia
- **lune**
  - faciæ
  - faciæs
- **luna(s)**
  - faciæs
  - foliæs

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
gulo gulonis, etc., there developed in Gaul, Rætia, Italy, and possibly Spain, a declension –us (or –o) –onis 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 Petróne(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:—

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{anni} & \text{fabri} & \text{vini} & \text{braccia} & \text{fructi} & \text{anni} & \text{fabro(s)} & \text{vino(s)} & \text{braccia} & \text{fructo(s)}
\end{array}
\]

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 –i: 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.
An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

Italian *pani*, etc., Rumanian *pini*, etc., are best explained, as by Tiktin 565-566, through the analogy of the second declension: see §368. Cf. *folli* for *folles* in Gl. Reich.

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

As *-ēs* and *-ēs* 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 *-ēs*, *-ēs*, or *-e* fashioned on the model of the oblique cases: so *saēps* > *sāpes*, *stīps* > *stipes*; *Jovis*, nom., in Ennius, Varro, Petronius (Waters Ch. 47); *lactē* in Ennius, Plautus, Petronius (Waters Ch. 38), Apuleius, Aulus Gellius; *bovis* in Varro, Petronius (Waters Ch. 62); *carnis* in Livy; *stīris* in Livy, Prudentius; *svis* in Prudentius (F. D’Ovidio in *Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad Alessandro D’Ancona* 627); *lentis* in Priscian; *calcis* in Venantius Fortunatus; *divite*, etc., Audollent 545-547; "*grus non gruis,*" App. Pr.; *principens* (= *principis*), R. 263; *antestetis, superstītis*, Vok. III, 9; *urbis*, Haag 45; *pedis, travis* (three times), Gl. Reich.; cf. *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: *excellente* for *excellens* in Petronius, Waters Ch. 45, 66; *audace, castore, latrone, victore, voluntate*, etc., Audollent 545-547; *heredes*, R. 263; *cardonis, papilionis* (cf. *aculionis* for *aculeus*), Gl. Reich.; *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: *hōmo, sōror, etc.; cantātor, servātor, 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 praēgnans).

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; lūpi, 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; parentorūm 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 nóme(n), cōrpus cōrpu(s); for *lūmīne(m), *nōmine(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 *nōmes *nōme(s), *cōrpes *cōrpe(s); but in Italy and Rumania the old ones, especially those in -ōra, were kept also (Lat. Spr. 482). In these countries -ora was used as a plural ending (It. corpo, cōrpi 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
§ 371] An Introduction to Vulgar Latin. 155

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; Zauner 30; papa\(\text{\textvisiblespace}\text{\textvisiblespace}\)verem, Plautus, Pen. I, 2, 113; *piperem; sulphurem, G. 293; cf. § 347. But marmor, etc., were kept also. Cor apparently made its plural *còres instead of *còrdes: 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 *còr *còris = κηρ κηρος; the open o would possibly be explained as due to a cross between this *còr and the Classic còr.

Caput became *capu\(\text{\textvisiblespace}m\) 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; pùlvis *pùlvis, whence Sp. polvo, Old Fr. pods (It. polve may come from pùlver).

Incus, incùdis > incùdo, incùdinis: Lat. Spr. 483.

Sanguis, sanguine\(\text{\textvisiblespace}m\) also sangue\(\text{\textvisiblespace}m\).

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

(1) No Change of Accent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Things</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cane(\text{\textvisiblespace}m)</td>
<td>fine(\text{\textvisiblespace}m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cane</td>
<td>fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cane(\text{\textvisiblespace}m)</td>
<td>fine(\text{\textvisiblespace}m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cane(\text{\textvisiblespace}m)</td>
<td>fine(\text{\textvisiblespace}m)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| pat\(\text{\textvisiblespace}m\) | mate\(\text{\textvisiblespace}m\) |
| patre | matre |
| patre\(\text{\textvisiblespace}m\) | matre\(\text{\textvisiblespace}m\) |
| patre\(\text{\textvisiblespace}m\) | matre\(\text{\textvisiblespace}m\) |

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CHANGE OF STEM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THINGS</th>
<th>PERSONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pede(s)</td>
<td>*arte(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pede</td>
<td>arte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pede(s)</td>
<td>*arte(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pede(s)</td>
<td>arte(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) CHANGE OF ACCENT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THINGS</th>
<th>PERSONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*sermóne(s)</td>
<td>*ratióne(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sermóne</td>
<td>ratióne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sermóne(s)</td>
<td>ratióne(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sermóne(s)</td>
<td>ratióne(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Letters enclosed in parentheses were silent in Italy and Dacia.

d. LOSS OF DECLENSION.

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. alumnus, Glaucus, Romanus, 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 *omnia*) was doubtless employed from time to time as an indefinite collective.

375. The principal types are:

(1) **Three Genders.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-us -a -um</th>
<th>-er -a -um</th>
<th>-er -is -e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bonu(s)</td>
<td>bona</td>
<td>acre(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bonu -o</td>
<td>bona</td>
<td>acre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boni</td>
<td>bone -as</td>
<td>acre(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bono(s)</td>
<td>bona(s)</td>
<td>acre(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>acre(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(2) **Two Genders.**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>felicis</th>
<th>felis</th>
<th>prudentes</th>
<th>prude(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*felici(s)</td>
<td>felicis</td>
<td>*prudente(s)</td>
<td>prude(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>felice</td>
<td>felis</td>
<td>prudente</td>
<td>prude(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*prudentia</td>
<td>prudens</td>
<td>prudens</td>
<td>prudens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- meli(r)      melis
- meliure      meliure
- meliure(s)   meliura
- meliure(s)   meliura

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: pauper, pauperum, pauperorum, R. 275 (cf. pauperorum, Waters Ch. 46). Macer, miser, sacer passed into the -us -a -um class, Densusianu 142; so tater > tetrus, App. Pr. Declivis, effrenis, imbecillis also assumed the -us -a -um inflection in the Latin period; so tristis > tristus, App. Pr. Cf. celerus, gracilus, praestus, sublimus, etc., and conversely benignis, infirmis, etc., R. 274. Praecox developed a feminine praecoca: 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:

- carus
- ille {plus magis} carus
However, the Classic Latin comparatives of many common adjectives remained in use: altior, gravior, grevier, grossior (G. 285), levier, longior, major, melior, minor, pejor. 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 dūi, attested in the third century: Archiv IX, 558 (cf. II, 107). Its inflection at the end of the Vulgar Latin period was probably:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>dua</th>
<th>dua</th>
<th>dua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dui</td>
<td>doi (duo?)</td>
<td>due doe duas doas</td>
<td>dua doa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duo(s)</td>
<td>dua(s)</td>
<td>doa(s)</td>
<td>dua doa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Trēs probably developed a nominative *trei, on the model of dūi.
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.
Sēx, sēpte (and *sētte), ācto (and *ātto), nōve, dēce offer no peculiarities. Cf. Archiv VII, 68.
Beside ūndēce there seems to have been *ūndēce.
For dōdēce, see § 225.
Trēdēce is regular.

Quattuordēcim regularly became *quattōrdēce (cf. § 225), but also *quattōrdēce.
Quīndēce is regular.
Beside sēdēce there was *dēce et (or ac) sēx.
Septendēcim, etc., went out of use; also unus de viginti, etc.: G. 400. Priscian (Keil III, 412) mentions decem et septem. Beside this dēce et sēptē there was *dēce ac sēptē; so *dēce et (or ac) ōcto, *dēce et (or ac) nōve.

380. The tens, beginning with 20, are irregular: cf. § 142.
Vigintī, trīginta regularly became viīnti, triīnta (§ 259): βεντη occurs in a sixth century document of Ravenna, Vok. II, 461; trienta, Archiv VII, 69. These forms easily contracted into viīnti, triīnta (viīnti, triīnta: 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 *viīnti, *triīnta, 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 Mēlanges Wahlund 337.

This change of accent apparently occurred everywhere for the subsequent tens: *quadrānta, *cinquānta, *sexānta,
*septānta *settānta, *octānta *ottānta, *nonānta *novānta; the septua– and the octo– of 70 and 80 were made to conform to the type of the others. Outside of the Spanish peninsula –ānta apparently became –ānta. Furthermore the dr of *quadrānta 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. Cēntu was regular. For ducēnti, trecēnti, etc., there were probably new formations, such as *duī cēntu, etc.
Mille was regular. For its plural it had *duī mīlē or *duī mēl(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 septimus, etc.).

Prīmus, secūndus, tērtius, quartus, quīntus 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 īlle, īpse, and īste.

1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

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

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

385. Ēgo 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, sībē* the short *i* prevailed, and was carried into *nōbis, vōbis*. On the pattern of *mi < mihi*, there were formed *ti, si* beside *tibē, sībē*; these are found, according to *Lat. Spr.* 284, from the sixth century on; cf. *Franz.* II, 243–244.

§86. The inflection was probably reduced to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>me</th>
<th>nos</th>
<th>te</th>
<th>vos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mī</em></td>
<td><em>nōbe</em>(s)</td>
<td><em>tē</em></td>
<td><em>vōbe</em>(s)</td>
<td><em>sē</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mi</em></td>
<td><em>nōs</em></td>
<td><em>tē</em></td>
<td><em>vōs</em></td>
<td><em>sē</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. POSSESSIVES.

§87. *Mēus, tiūs, 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. *siae*, IX, 3472.

*Sous* is found in Gaul, *Zs. fr. Spr.* XXV, ii, 135: perhaps it is only a phonetic spelling of *sous < suus*, 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).

§88. 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: *mīs*, indeed, is used by Ennius.
The full inflection is found in the sixth century: *Franz. II*, 244.

These forms survived in Romance: Old It. *fratelmo, madrema*, etc.

### 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.*, 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.*, 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.*, II, 246–260.

Through the analogy of *cujus, cui*, the m. *illius* gave way to *illius*, 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.*, 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.*, II, 273, 275.

In the dat. sg. f., beside *illī*, there was *illae* (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 *illei (illei), which was used beside *illi and *illae. In the genitive, on the same pattern (influenced perhaps by quejus), was constructed *illejus (illejus), which crowded out illius. 

Illejus, illui, illejus, illei are found from the sixth century on: Zs. XXVI, 600, 619. Cf. Lat. Spr. 484: illujus, illui, illejus, ille, ille; ipsujus, ipseus.

Illorum displaced the f. illārum. It came, furthermore, to be used, in Romance, for the dat. m. and f. ills, which, however, did not entirely disappear. In parts of northern Spain and southwestern France illorum seems to have become *illūrum, through the analogy of illujus, illūi.

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): —

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{elle} & \text{elli} & \text{ella} \\
[\text{illejus}] & \\
\text{elli} & \text{illo} & \text{ellejus} \\
\text{ellu} & \text{ello} & \text{ella} \\
\text{ell} & \text{ills} & \text{ellu} (s) \\
\text{ellor} & \text{elluru} (s) & \text{ella} \\
\text{ell(1)} (s) & \text{elloru} (s) & \text{ella} (s) \\
\end{array}
\]

392. When unaccented, these words tended to lose their first syllable (see § 157): tus illam vidēs > *tus 'la' vede(s); vidēs tus ipsisam clavem > *vede(s) tus 'sa' clave? Lui and lei are found after the seventh century: Franz. I, 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. I, II, 271–272.
4. INTERROGATIVE AND RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

N. B.—For the use of these pronouns, and the substitution of qui for feminine qua, see §§ 69–70.

393. In Christian inscriptions from the fifth century on, qui takes the place of quis, and also of the feminine qua. Beside cuius, cui is found a corresponding feminine queius, 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:—

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{qui} & \text{que} & \text{qui} & \text{cod qued} \\
\text{cuius} & \text{queius} & \text{cuius} & \text{cuius} \\
\text{cui} & \text{quei} & \text{cui} & \text{cui} \\
\text{que} & \text{qua} & \text{que} & \text{cod qued} \\
\text{co} & \text{qua} & \text{co} & \text{co} \\
\text{qui} & \text{que} & \text{qui} & \text{que} \\
\text{cos} & \text{quas} & \text{cos} & \text{que} \\
\end{array}
\]

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, n ullus, 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. daũ, staũ; 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 adnaio," 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: fierère, 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), tendère, *torcère (for torquère). Other verbs passed over locally or occasionally: seditūr, Bechtel 88.


Habère, at least in Italy, sometimes became habire: Vok. I, 266 ff.; havite, C. I. L. V, 1636; habiat, Itala, Luke VI, 8; avire 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 habeo, habes, habet, habent, the verb habère, 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 habère; 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 *possse pōtui, vēlle vōlui naturally went over to the second conjugation, assumed the infinitive forms potēre, *volēre, 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 *posssum 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possu</th>
<th>Posso</th>
<th>Potgo</th>
<th>*Posse</th>
<th>*Potemu(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pote(s)</td>
<td>Potese(s)</td>
<td>*Potete(s)</td>
<td>Pessun(t)</td>
<td>*Poten(t)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*Volego</th>
<th>Volimu(s)</th>
<th>Volemu(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vole(s)</td>
<td>Voleste(s)</td>
<td>*Volete(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Vole(t)</td>
<td>*Volen(t)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present subjunctive must have been similarly inflected.

404. Beside facēre there doubtless existed *fare (Facere 48), strongly influenced by dare and stare. Dare and facēre were associated in old formulas: Lexique 53. Furthermore, a suggestion of shortening existed in the monosyllabic imperative
§ 405] An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

*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):

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{facio} & *faio & *fo & fàcimu(s) & *fáimus & *famu(s) \\
\text{face(s)} & *fais & *fas & fàcîte(s) & *fáitis & *fate(s) \\
\text{face(t)} & *falt & *fat & fàcîun(t) & *faunt & *fant \\
\end{array}
\]

There was also a rare infinitive *facire*, which occurs several times in the sixth and seventh centuries: *Facere* 13.

405. Vadère 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 Köring. 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: —

\[
\begin{align*}
vado & \quad *vao & \quad *vo \\
vade(s) & \quad *vais & \quad *vas \\
vade(s) & \quad *vait & \quad *vat
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
vadim(u)s & \quad *im(u)s & \quad etc. \\
vadite(s) & \quad *ite(s) & \quad etc. \\
vadun(t) & \quad *uant & \quad *vant
\end{align*}
\]

406. Verbs in -io tended to pass into the fourth conjugation (see, however, §416): *capīre, beside *capēre; cupīre, Lucretius (*Lat. Spr. 477*), Densusianu 148, Bon. 426; fodīri, Cato; fugīre, St. Augustine (*Lat. Spr. 477*), common in the Vulgate (R. 285), Sepulcri 229, Bon. 427, Haag 60, Gl. Reich.; morīri, Plautus, and *morīre.

Some others went over, at least locally: *fallīre; gemīre, Pirson 148; occurīre, Pirson 148; *offerīre, *sofferīre, by the analogy of aperīre (sufferit, R. 286; cf. deferet, offeret, Bechtel 90; offeret, first half of the 7th century, Carnoy 112); *sequīre, beside *sēquēre.

Dicīre, 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 audīre.

a. Fourth Conjugation.

407. The fourth conjugation usually held its own, and gained some verbs from the others.

For new formations, — such as *abbellīre, ignīre, — see §34. Germanic verbs in -jan regularly went into the fourth conjugation in Latin (Kluge 500): furbjæn > Ital. forbire; marrjan > Fr. marrir; barrjan > Fr. tarir; warnjan > Ital. 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 fiēri): lītēra scribētur > lītēra scripta esse (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 habēre and the perfect participle — in the case of neuter verbs, esse and the perfect participle: fēci > habeō factum; revertī > 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 (ja-
cheret, etc.): amārem > amāsses, audirem > audīsses; cf. § 118.
The old future perfect — amā(vē)ro — fused with the per-
fect 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 (āprio, pōteri, crēdere, etc.): see
C. De Lollis in Bausteine i; 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
indefinite 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 —ābēo, —āyo, —āo, —ā; *amar
—ābē(s), —ās; *amar —ābē(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 end-
ings, were reduced to —ēmu(s), —ēte(s), to correspond to the
dissyllabic or monosyllabic —āyo, —ābē(s), —ābē(t), —āben(t) and
—ā, —ās, —āt, —ānt: *amar —ēmu(s), *amar —ēte(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 —ābē(b)a(m) or
*amar —ābui. In these formations the unaccented (b)ab—
disappeared, as in the first and second persons plural of the
future: *amar —ē(b)a, *amar —ēst, etc.; but *amar ābui, etc.
In Italian we find, beside —ta from habēbam and —abbi —ebbi
from habui, a form in —ēi (amerēi), 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 (*credēi*, hence *credēri*), cf. § 426.

412. The imperative disappeared, except the present, second person singular and plural: *āmā, amāte; tēnē, tenēte; crēdē, crēdīte; audī, audīte.* 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: *adferē > adferitis, R. 294.* For the monosyllabic *dic, duc, fac,* writers sometimes employed *dice, duce, face:* R. 294.

3. INCHOATIVE VERBS.

413. The Latin inchoative ending *-esco* was preceded by *ā-, ē-, i-,* or *ō-.* The types *-āesco* and *-ōesco* were sparingly represented and were not extended in late and popular Latin; they have bequeathed but few verbs — such as Pr. *irdisser < irāscēre,* *conōisser < co(g)nōscēre* — to the Romance languages. The types *-ēsco* and *-īsco* — as *parēsco,* *dormīsco* — were extended in the third century and later, and lost their inchoative sense.

414. There is some evidence of a confusion of *-ēsco* and *-īsco* in Latin. Virgilius Grammaticus (Sepulcri 194) mentions double forms of inchoative verbs, such as *calesco 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 *-ēsco* 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

\[
\begin{align*}
*\text{finisco} & \quad \text{finimunu(s)} \\
*\text{finisce(s)} & \quad \text{finite(s)} \\
*\text{finisce(t)} & \quad *\text{finiscun(t)}
\end{align*}
\]

The -sc- then generally disappeared from the infinitive—It. fiorire. Later, in some regions, the -sc- 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 *audio, *dormo, partunt *partunt, sentiam *sintam, 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 struere, trahere, vehere developed infinitive forms *strugere, tragere, vegere (tragere and vegere are used by Fredegararius, Haag 34) and a whole present and imperfect inflection with -g-, as *trago, *tragam, *tragēbam. The guttural was derived from the perfect indicative and the perfect participle — struxi structus, traxi tractus, vexi vectus — on the analogy of ago actus, fingo fixi, lego lectus, rego rexi rectus, tego tectus, and also fingo finxi fictus, tango tactus, and probably cingo cinxii cinctus, jungo junxi junciustus, pango panxi panctus, plango planxi planctus, ungo unxi unctus, etc.

There may have been also *strucere, *trācere, *vēcere, based on the analogy of dico dixi dictus, duco duxi ductus.

Cf. Substrate VI, 131.

418. The verbs dare, debere, dīcere, facere, habere, pōsse, stare, vadere, velle underwent considerable changes in the present: see §§ 273, 397, 401, 403–406, 412, 416.

419. Esse was made into *ēssere, 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 fīeri for ēsse, see § 409. The Spanish use of sedere for ēsse 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 Rātian šėš point to a *sēs beside ēs; Italian siete and Rātian sieđe, etc., indicate a *sētis for ēstis, while there is some evidence of an alternative *sūtis on the model of sūmus; Old Italian se for è, 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. Sspr. 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{som} & \quad \text{somu}(s) \quad \text{semu}(s) \quad *\text{esmu}(s) \\
\text{ēs} & \quad *\text{es} \quad \text{es} \quad \text{es} \quad \text{es} \\
\text{ēsēt?} & \quad *\text{esēt} \quad *\text{esēt} \quad *\text{esēt} \quad \text{esēt} \\
\text{sont} & \quad \text{sont} \quad \text{sont} \quad \text{sont} \quad \text{sont}
\end{align*}
\]

(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 fiam, etc., and the Old Latin optative siem, etc. (cf. Lexique 51): fiet is common for fit, Pirson 150; fiam replaces sim in northern Italy and Dacia. Hence comes an alternative inflection \(*\text{siam}\), etc., which ultimately prevailed:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sem} & \quad *\text{se}a \quad \text{simu}(s) \quad \text{siāmu}(s) \\
\text{sīs} & \quad *\text{se}(s) \quad \text{si}(s) \quad \text{si}(s) \quad \text{si}(s) \\
\text{sēt} & \quad \text{se}(t) \quad \text{se}(t) \quad \text{se}(t) \quad \text{se}(t) \\
\text{sent} & \quad *\text{se}(t) \quad *\text{se}(t) \quad *\text{se}(t) \quad *\text{se}(t)
\end{align*}
\]

For siat, see sead in Vok. II, 42. Siamus, according to Lat. Sspr. 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 \(−ābam\), \(−ēbam\), \(−ībam\), \(−ībam\). In the third conjugation \(−ēbam\) regularly developed into \(−ēbam\),
just as \(-ientem \rightarrow \text{-entem} \) (see §§ 225, 416): \(\text{faciēbam} \rightarrow *\text{facebam}\). In the fourth conjugation \(-e\beta\text{am} \) and \(-ibam\) existed side by side from early times (Neue II, 445), \(-ibam\) — as in \(\text{munībam}\) — 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 \(-e\beta\text{am}\) disappeared: \(\text{vestibat}\), etc., Dubois 277–278.

421. \(\text{Habēbam}\), pronounced \(aβeβa\) (cf. §318), developed another form, \(*aβeα\), probably through dissimilation. Hence came an alternative ending \(-e\alpha\) for \(-eβa\), which in Romance was widely extended, affecting all the conjugations but the first: It. \(\text{vedēa}, \text{credēa}, \text{sentīā}\). It is common to nearly all the Romance territory except Rumania: \(\text{Lat. Spr. 479}\).

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 \((-\text{vī}, -\text{evi}, -\text{iivi})\), 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 \(-\text{vī}: \text{deleo}, \text{fleō}, \text{neo}, -\text{oleo}, -\text{pleo}, \text{vieo}; \text{siilevit}\) for \(\text{siluit}\) occurs also, R. 287.

All first and fourth conjugation verbs with strong perfects probably developed a weak one in Vulgar Latin: \(\text{præstiti} \rightarrow \text{præstavi}\), R. 289; \(\text{saluit} \rightarrow \text{salivi}\). 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 –īviṣtī to –īsti and –īviṣtis to –īstis, which brought about, still early, the further reduction of –īvi to –īi and *–īi, –īvit to –īit and *–īit, –īvērunt to –ierunt, and, later, the reduction of –īvimus to –imus and probably *–īmmas (the lengthening of the m being due to compensation and also, perhaps, to a desire to distinguish the perfect from the present). For –īit, as in lenīit, see Servius ad Aen. I, 451; for –ierunt, see Neue III, 452–454; for –imus, as in repetimus, 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, *–īrunt: audī, 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); petīt, 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, *–īut: It. servīo, etc.


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 –āt
-āste(s)
-ārun(t)
-āvit

With the exception of –ivi in Old Italian, the forms with v were not preserved in Romance.

Verbs in –ēvi doubtless had a similar inflection: *deleī, delestiti, etc. Some other second conjugation verbs apparently adopted this perfect: silevit, R. 287.

426. Compounds of dare had a perfect in –dīdī (credīdī, perdīdī, vēndīdī, etc.), which in Vulgar Latin became –dīdī (see § 139): perdedīt, etc., Audollent 544. This –dīdī was extended to many other verbs in –d–: prandīdī, Keil IV, 184; descendīdī, respondīdī, Lat. Spr. 479, 480; ascendentērīt, descendīdīt, incendēderīt, odedere, pandiderunt, prendiderunt, viderunt (cf. edediderīt with an extra –de–), R. 288.

Through the analogy of –āi, *–ēi, *–ū, helped by dissimilation, this –dīdī became *–deī. Hence arose eventually an inflection *–deī, *–desti, *–det, *–dem(m)u(s), *–deste(s), –derun(t), from which there came a set of endings *–ei, *–esti, 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 (ambēi). In Dacia, on the other hand, they apparently did
not develop at all. In Italy, under the influence of *stēti, dare had (beside diēdī < dēdī) a perfect dēti, whence arose an inflection —dēti, etc., and a set of endings —ēti, etc., side —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: quāsīvi > *quāsi, sapīvi > 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 = dīxi, bīb-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 cognōvi, 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. mōc, etc.

This perfect disappeared from the first and fourth conjugations: crepui > *crepavi, necui > necavi, etc.; aperui > *aperii *apersi, salui > salivi salii *salsi, etc. In the second and third conjugations it maintained itself very well: cognovi, crevi,
An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.

§ 430.[3]

It lost posui (>posi), silui (>silevi), and possibly a few others. On the other hand it received many additions: bibi > *bibui; cœctdi > *cadui *cadedi; cœpi > capui, Haag 56, Lat. Spr. 479 (so *rectpui); expavi > expabui, Lat. Spr. 479; lēgi > *lēgui *lēxi; natus sum > *nacui; peperci > parcui, R. 288; sapivi > sapui; sēdi > *sēdui; stēti > also *stētui; sustuli > *tolui *tolsi; texi > texui, Lat. Spr. 479; vēni > also *venui; vici > also *vincui *vinsi; vidi > also *vidui *vidui; vixi > also *vīsciui; 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, excussi, finxi, fixi, frixi, junxi, luxi, mansi, misi (also *missi, perhaps on the model of mīssus, cf. § 163), mulsi, pinxi, planxi, pressi, rasi, rexi, risi, rosi, 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: abscð(n)si, Keil VII, 94; *accē(n)si; *apērsi; *attǐnxi; *copērsi; *cūrsi; *defe(n)si; *ērsi from ērīgo; *franxi; *fūsi; *impǐnxi; *lēxi; *mōrsi; *occīsi; *offērsi; *pē(n)si; ērsi, Lat. Spr. 480; pōsi, R. 288; *pre(n)-

sī; *pūnxi; *quae; *ređēmpsi; *respō(n)si; *rósi; *salsi; *sōlsi; *sūrsi; *taxi; *tanxi; *tē(n)si; *tōlsi; *vinsi; *vōlsi. Some of these—*defeni; *fusi; *morsi; *occisi; *pensi; *prensi; *responsi; *rosi; *iensi — 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; fefelli > *falii; peperi > 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; tetēgi > *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; fūgi > *fugii; bibi > *bibui, cēpi > capui, lēgi > *lēgui, sēdi > *sēdui; accendi > *accē(n)si, defendi > *defē(n)si, frōgi > *franxi, fūdi > *fūsi, lēgi > *lēxi, prendi > *prē(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: fēci, fui; vēni *vēnui, vīdi *vīdui.

431. In fui the u was originally long, but it was shortened in Classic Latin; Vulgar Latin seems to show both ā and ĕ. In an effort to keep the accent on the same syllable throughout (cf. §§ 423–424), fuisti > *fusi, fuistis > *fustis; then fuimus generally became *fum(m)us, fuit was often shortened to *fut, and fuērunt became *furunt. 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>Form</th>
<th>Vulgar Latin</th>
<th>Classic Latin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fui</td>
<td>fōi</td>
<td>*fom(m)u(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*fosti</td>
<td></td>
<td>*foste(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fēc(ē)</td>
<td>fue(ē)</td>
<td>*fot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. PLUPERFECT AND FUTURE PERFECT.

432. When preserved at all, these tenses followed the old types: plácucēram (cf. § 137), placuīssem, plácucēro; dixēram, dixíssem, dixēro; fēcēram, fecīssem, fēcēro. In formations from weak perfects only the contracted forms were used: amāram, amāssem, amāro; delēram, delēssem, delēro; audī(e)ram, audīssem, audī(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 —assēmus, —assētis, etc., to —āssīmus, —āssītis, etc.: It. amāssimo amāste, Sp. hablásemos habláseis; but Pr. amessēm amessētza, Fr. aimassions aimassiēz.

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: fērio, *ferītus.

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 > *crepatus; domitus > domatus, R. 295; plicitus > plicatus; sonitus > *sonatus; tonitus > *tonatus; vetitus > vetatus, R. 296. Nevertheless there were some new formations in —ītus: *lēvitus, prōvitus, rōgitus, vōcitus; cf. Lat. Spr. 480.

In the third conjugation —ātus disappeared: oblatus > offertus (Gl. Reich.), sublatus > *suffertus, by the analogy of apertus, copertus; sublatus (from tollo) > tōllitus (Gl. Reich.).
436. In the fourth conjugation —ītus was preserved and was extended to nearly all verbs: saltus > *salitus; sensus > *sentītus; sepultus > sepelītus, old and found in all periods, Pirson 152, Gl. Reich. Apertus and copertus, however, were kept; and ventus generally became *venūtus.

In the third conjugation quāsītus > *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, minutus, secutus, solutus, statutus, 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 *nascītus.

Eventually —ūtus was carried further, — as *credutus, *perdutus, *vendutus, — and in Sicily encroached largely on —ītus.

On the other hand, *movītus and *mōssus were formed beside *movutus, *sōlvītus (or *sōltus) beside solutus, *vōlvītus (or *vōltus) beside volutus.

439. The ending —ītus tended to disappear (cf. § 435): abscondītus > absco(n)sus; bibītus > *bibutus; credītus > *credu-tus; fugītus > *fugītus; molītus > *molūtus; parītus > *parū-tus *parsus; perdītus > *perdutus *persus; submonītus > *submo(n)sus; vendītus > *vendutus. A few of these participles, however, remained, and there were some new formations in —ītus: gēmitus?, pōs(i)tus, sōlītus; *lēvitus, *mōvitus, prōvītus, rōgitus, *sōlvītus (or *sōltus), tōlītus, vōcitus, *vōlvītus (or *vōltus).
440. The ending -tus was kept for some twenty verbs, occasionally with a change of stem: cinctus; dictus; ductus; extinctus; factus; fictus finctus, R. 295; fractus *frantus; frictus; lectus; mistus; pictus *pinctus; punctus; rectus; scriptus; strictus *strictus; structus; *surtus for surrectus; tactus? *lanctus?; tinctus; tortus; tractus. There were a few new formations in -tus: offertus, *questus, *suffertus, *vistus; and perhaps *soldtus, *volitus (cf. §439).

About fifteen verbs probably replaced -tus by -ätus, -it, or -ütus: captus *capitus; cognötus > *conovtus?; crëtus > *cretvötus?; fartus > *farcitus and farsus, Lat. Spr. 480; frictus > fricätus; mötus > *movtus? and *mössus; nectus > necätus; pastus > *pavtus?; saltus > *salitus and *salsus; sectus > secätus; sepätus > sepélititus; tentus > *tenütus; texitus > *texitus; ventus > *venütus and venitus, Bechtel 91; viktus > *vintcütus and *vinctus; vichtus > *vixütus.

441. The ending -sus was generally kept: acce(n)sus; arsus; clausus; defe(n)sus; divisus; excussus; fixus; fusus; ma(n)sus; missus, also perhaps *míssus 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 *visitus. Several of these developed also a participle in -ätus: *pendutus, *vidutus, etc. Salsus, 'salted,' maintained itself beside salitus.

A few verbs replaced the old form by one in -it or -ätus: expansus > *expandutus; falsus > *fallitius; fusus > fundutus, Gl. Reich.; gavisus > *gadutus; messus > metitius, Dubois 282; sensus > *sentitius; sessus > *sedutus.

On the other hand, there were some new formations in -sus: absco(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 1°, 670, assumes that in Italy \(-ās\) and \(-ēs\) became \(-ī\). The evidence, historically considered, does not support this view. Italian \(lōdi\) and Rumanian \(lauzi\), from \(laudas\), are correctly explained by Tiktin 565–566 as analogical formations.

444. As unaccented \(ē, ę,\) and \(ī\) came to be pronounced alike (§ 243), great confusion ensued between \(-ēs\) and \(-ē, -ēt\) and \(-ēt\). 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 \(-ś\) was dropped because it was regarded as a characteristic of the second person, as \(t\) was of the third (cf. Pr. Pers. Pl. 73–80):

\[
\begin{align*}
admo & \quad *\text{amāmu} \\
admas & \quad amātes \\
admat & \quad āmant
\end{align*}
\]

446. According to Mohl, Pr. Pers. Pl., forms like \(*\text{cānomus}\), due to Celtic influence, were used in northern Gaul instead of \(canīmus\), etc.; then the accent was shifted to the penult—\(*\text{canōmus}\), whence came the French \(-ons\). This theory has not found acceptance.

447. In strong perfects the first person plural, \(-īmus\),—through the analogy of \(-īstis\) and \(-īsti\), and doubtless of weak perfects as well,—tended, perhaps after our period, to stress its penult: \(fēcīmus > Pr. fēzēm\). 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, -īmus, -ītis, -īte 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 -ēmu(s), īte(s), īte in the other conjugations. The shift was perhaps helped by the analogy of the future — mittimus, for instance, being attracted by mittēmus: Pr. Pers. Pl. 30, 64. Rumanian, however, kept the old accent (Tiktin 596): ūngem, ūngeći; vindem, vindetić; etc. There are some traces of its preservation in southeastern French dialects also. Furthermore, facīmus, facītis and dicīmus, dicītis 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 (*crēdent, *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, Rāetia, 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 tulērunt, etc.); in Vulgar Latin this vowel was apparently always short: débuerunt, dixerunt, viderunt. Cf. §137.
INDEX.

N.B.—Arabic numerals refer to Paragraphs. Words printed in Roman type belong to ancient, words in italics to modern languages.

a 194–5, 228, 229 (r), 231, 240, 243, 244
accented 39, 194–5
–arius 39
ja–je– 229 (r)
unaccented 228, 229 (r), 231, 240, 243, 244
–a 37
a 181
ab 14, 77, 92
before j 222
before s + cons. 230
ab 78
ab– 26
ab–au– 236
ab ante 47, 48
abbellire 18, 34
abbio 273
abbreviare 25
abbreviatio 37
abeo = habeo 251
abias 224
abiat 224
abiete 224
–abilis 39
ab intus 47
abitat 251
Ablative 92–7, 383
abl. absolute 97
abl. = accus. 94–6
aboculare 26
ab olim 47
abs– 28
absconsus 439, 441
absida 356 (3)
absolvent 449
abyssus 149
ac– 24, 65
accedere(m) 309
accensus 441
Accent 134–58
primary 135–52
Greek words 143–50
other foreign words 151–2
shift 136–8, 140
ficatum 141
nouns 367
numerals 142
recomposition 139
verbs 423–4, 431, 433, 447–8, 450
vowels in hiatus 136–8
secondary 153–5
unstressed words 156–8
Accented Vowels: see Vowels
accepere 201
acceptabilis 39
accipient 449
accubitory 14
accus 37
Accusative, 82, 94–6, 98–9, 373, 383
acc. = abl. 94–6
acc. + infin. 82
acc. pl. in –us 244, 355 (r)
acer arbor 43
–aceus 37
acia 355 (2)
–acius 37
a contra 47
a(c)qua 164
Acqui 86
Acragas 330
ac si 83
ac sic 24, 47, 84
acua = aqua 223
–aculare 35
aculonus 367
ad 14, 78, 86, 90, 93, 96, 98
ad = at 282
ad– 23, 25
adaptus 23
adcap(i)tare 25
addedi 139
addormire 25
adferitis (imper.) 412
adgenucularis 25
ad horam 47
adimplere 30
Adjectives
comparison 56, 377
declension 374–9
numerals 378–82
unus (article) 57
adjutare 34
ad mane 47
adnao 397
adparescere 34
adpetere 32
adpretiare 25
adpropiare 25
ad semel 47
ad sero 47
adsteti 139
ad subito 47
adtonitus 32
ad tunc 47
ad ubi 47
aduc 250
adulescentulus 37
adunare 25
Adverbs 73-5
ae 174, 178, 209-10, 228, 243, 244
accented 174, 178, 209-10
unaccented 174, 178, 243, 244
–ae = –e 174, 244
aecclesia 228
ædis 366
ægis 188
æliens = eligens 259
æques = e- 175
æquus = e- 175, 210
æteneris = itineris 201
Æthiopia 188
æum = æuum 324 (1)
a foras 47
a foris 47
agensae = –nd- 281
agere = ajere 259
aggio 273
aggravatio 37
Agneti 359 (2)
agnetus = –na- 194
–ago 37
Agragas 330
Agrientum 259
agurium 228
agustas 228
Agustus 228
ahenum 250
ai > æ > e 209
ai 188
Aiak 188, 222
aiglon 37 (-0)
Ailax 222
aiio 222
–ai 39 (-arius)
aios = Æγιος 272
Aix 86
ajutit = adjutet 272
–al 37
alacer 195 (1)
alare 405, 435
alanda 19
alantula 37
alba spina 43
alberca 19
albens 317
alber = arbor 292
–ale 37
alecer 195 (1)
Alexander 255
alevanti = eleph- 321
Alexander 38, 255
alguein 71
alguien 71
–alia 37
alicer 195 (1)
alicens 71
alid = aliud 71
alio(t)sum 291
alipes = ad- 281 (1)
aliquanti 71
aliqui 71
aliquis 13, 71
aliquot 71
–alis 39
alium 224
altius 71
allare 405, 435
allegorizzare 19
allare 34
allium 274
a lange 47
alques 71
alter 71, 233, 395
altiare 34
altior 377
altissimus 377
altiteia 37
alto (adv.) 40
altra 233
altrui 395
alumnus (nom.) 372
am 78
amadus = –t- 286
amantis (nom.) 367
amato 424
amaricare 34
ama(t) 285
amitare 405
ambolare 232
ambulare 10, 232, 405
amei 424
amenus 215
amfora 334
amicxia 276
amido 187
amistat 154
amita 239, 359, 359 (1)
amitane 359
amitani 359
amma 16
ammavit 405
and 424
a modo 47
amourette 37 (-ittus)
amptizatru 277
ampora 334
amurca 186
amure 203
amygdalum 19
an 11, 14, 83
–an 36
–av 36
anangi 331
anathema 19
anathematize 19
anc 40
anc = hanc 251
anca 343
ancilia 187
ancora 150, 187
–ancus 32 (-incus)
–anda 37
andare 405
andata 37 (-ta)
Andreati 359 (1)
Andreati 359 (2)
andron 331
anellus 37, 42

Digitized by Microsoft®
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anemis</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>apud</td>
<td>14, 78, 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aneus</td>
<td>39, 42</td>
<td>aput</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angelice</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>aqua</td>
<td>164, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angelus</td>
<td>19</td>
<td><em>aquil(l)a</em></td>
<td>37 (–ottus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angers</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>-ar</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angliscus</td>
<td>39</td>
<td><em>Arbonenca</em></td>
<td>37 (–incus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angostia</td>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>arbor</td>
<td>346 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anguil(l)a</em></td>
<td>163</td>
<td>arboicellus</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angustiare</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>ardente(m)</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anicius</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>ardere</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animabus</td>
<td>358</td>
<td><em>ardire</em></td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animalico</td>
<td>37 (–icca)</td>
<td>-are (infin.)</td>
<td>33, 34, 36, 397–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antius</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>-are (nouns)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annanis</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>ares = aries</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annare</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>aretem</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annata</td>
<td>(–ta)</td>
<td>argentum</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annenis</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>-aria</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annitare</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>-aricus</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annotavitum = –bi-</td>
<td>318</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annulare</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>arida (noun)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anos = annos</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>ar(i)dorem</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ans</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>ar(i)odus</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anser</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>aries</td>
<td>225, 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anta</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>-ars</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ante</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>-aris &gt; -alis</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>-arius</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antestetis (nom.)</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>armeise</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-antia</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>armentas</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anticus</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>-aro</td>
<td>39 (–arius)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antifne</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Aroncianos</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antiphona</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>arrespex = haruspex</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anus = annos</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>Arrius</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-anus</td>
<td>39, 42</td>
<td><em>arroser</em></td>
<td>356 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>arsi</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>apcha</em></td>
<td>343</td>
<td>arsus</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aperii</td>
<td>428</td>
<td><em>artemisia</em></td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aperii</td>
<td>428, 429</td>
<td>artificio</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apertus</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>arthriticus</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apotheca</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>Article</td>
<td>57, 68, 392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apothecarius</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>artic(u)lus</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apparescere</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>arvorsum = adversum</td>
<td>281 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>appo</em></td>
<td>78</td>
<td>arvum &gt; arum</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apprendere</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aprico</em></td>
<td>410</td>
<td>-as &gt; -i 443</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apsens</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>ascella = axilla</td>
<td>42, 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apsolvere</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>ascendiderat</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apte = -æ</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>ascetes</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apud</td>
<td>14, 78, 282</td>
<td>ascla</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aput</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>asculta</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqua</td>
<td>164, 223</td>
<td>a semel</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aquil(l)a</em></td>
<td>37 (–ottus)</td>
<td>aspargo</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antiphona</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>aspectare</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asculta</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>Ap(her)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ascendiderat</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>Annanis</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anitiare</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anniare</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>-asem</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antistitis</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>-asemus</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-antia</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Assisitis</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annulare</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>Assibilatio</td>
<td>277–8, 260–1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animabus</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>229 (3), 255, 264, 265, 267, 269, 282, 293, 307, 310, 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animus</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Asti</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>at = ad</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antestetis (nom.)</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>-ata</td>
<td>37 (–ta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-antia</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>aticum</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annata</td>
<td>37 (–ta)</td>
<td>atque = 24, 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>atque</td>
<td>24, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antestetis</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>atque is</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animus</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>atrium</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>at = ad</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antestetis</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>atta</td>
<td>16, 359 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-anrius</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Attane</td>
<td>359 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>atticissare</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antestetis</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>attinxi</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Attitita</td>
<td>37 (–ittus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antestetis</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>-attus</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>atrium</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antestetis</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>at ubi</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>-atus</td>
<td>37 (–ta), 39, 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antestetis</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>participle</td>
<td>435, 440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>178, 211–3, 228, 229 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antestetis</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>accented</td>
<td>178, 211–3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>unaccented</td>
<td>222, 229 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>au &gt; o</td>
<td>229 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>auca</td>
<td>13, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>auctelus</td>
<td>13, 325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>aucidere</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>audace</td>
<td>(nom.) 367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>audi</td>
<td>227, 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antemittere</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>audiendu'st</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index.

192

aud(i)entem 416
aud(i)o 272-3, 416
audivi(t) 285
audus 236
-aumus = -avimus 424
aunc(u)lus 234, 236, 324
Aureia = -elia 274
Aureliati 359 (2)
aus = avus 241, 324
ausare 18, 34
ausculum = osc- 212
Austus 263
aut 174
   . . . . aut 84
   . . at = -avit 424
autem 11, 14
Authorities 5
autor 266
autumnal(e) 242
auyo 272-3
av- > au- 236, 241
avaricia 276
avec 78
avello = averlo 293
-avi > -ai 424
avica 13, 236
avicella 37, 42, 325
av(i)dere 219
avidus 236
aviolus 13
avis 13
avis struthius 43
avire 400
   -avit > -ait - at - aut 241,
   424
avo = avus 362
avus 13
ayo = habeo 273
b: see Labials
baboni 362
bac(c)a 163
bacito 37 (-ittus)
bac(u)lus 234
Baiocasses 151
bajulus 233
Baleria = Va- 316
Balerius = Va- 316
bal(i)neum 146, 219
   balneus 347
ballana 150, 162, 333
balneum 146: balneus 347
balteum -us 347
banus 19
baplo 235
baptidiare 339
baptisma 149
baptizare 19, 33, 339
baptizatio 19
barba -anis 359, 359(1)
barbane 359(1)
barbar 242
baro 16
basiare 275
bas(s)ium 163
basso 40
battalia 16
battei 426
ba(t)uere 137, 226
Bayeux 151
bei(l)ua 164
Bellus -onis 362
bene 40, 74
bene bene 55
benegnus 172 (2)
bene placitum 43
Beueria = Ve- 316
benignis 376
benivolus 201
berbeces 323
berbex (-ix) 42, 317, 323
bestemnia 182
Betrubius 316
beveire 37 (-tor)
bi- 22
bianca 341
biber 242
biblia 146
bibui 428
bibutus 438, 439
Bictor 316
biduamus 39
bieta 184
bifolco 318 (2)
biginti = vi- 316, 322
-bilis 39
bimaritus 22
bintcente = vincente 260
bis- 22
bisaccium 22
bisacutus 22
bisante 187
bis coctum 43
bis(s)it = vixit 255
bivere = vi- 316
bixit = vi- 316, 322
blesus 329
blanche 341
blanka 341
blankizare 34
blasphemare 19, 36
blasphemia 146, 182
blasphemus 150
blasta 312 (1)
blitum 184
bobans 336
bobis = vo- 316
boccone 37 (-o)
bocconi 40
Bodicca 37 (-icca)
boletus 38, 184
Bologna 303
bonatus 37 (-atus)
Bonica 37 (-icca)
bon(i)tatem 231
bonito 37 (-ittus)
Bonitta 37 (-ittus)
Bononia 303
bonu 298
bonus = -os 244
bonus bonus 55
bos = vos 316, 324
botella 361
botega 182
botu = vo- 316, 322
botula 361
bovis (nom.) 367
brac(c)a 163
bracchiale 37
brac(c)hium 163
brachia 352
branca 16
Breaking 177
breviarium 37
brevis 13
Brittanice 40
bruchus 193
buplicæ = pu- 312 (1)
bublus 235
bubukus 318 (2)
buc(c)a 12, 163
bullicare 35
Buolognino 154
burrus 330
Burrrus 187
bursa 187
buscus 255
busta 187
but(t)is 163
butyrum 150
buxida 187, 356 (3)
buxus 187, 330
Byzacinus 42
c: see Gutturals
c for g 253
cy 276, 278
-c 40
caballus 12
cabia = cavea 318
cactius 313
cactos 313
cadeci 428
cadère 402
caderunt 426
cadui 428
cælebramus (perf.) 424
cælus 347
Cæseris 233
cæsorium 37
cæth 313
calamarium 37
calamellus 37
calamus 150
calatus = ga- 330
calci = -avi 424
calcaneum 37 (-iunm)
calce pistare 46
calciare 224
calcis (nom.) 367
calculus 224
calcoste(g)is 259
cald 40
cal(e)facere 219
calefacis 139
calere 288
cal(i)dus 155, 219, 237
calisco 414
calma 268
calotta 187
cals 255
calumpnia 307
calura 42
camel(l)us 42, 150, 163
camera 145
camerlingo 37 (-ing)
caminus 150
camisia 201 (1)
cammarus 330
canalia 37
cani (pl.) 368
cantare 34
capabils 39
capēre 8, 402
capiculus 234, 284
capire 406
cap(i)talis 231
cipitanus 39
cippitium 37 (-iunm)
cipitulus 42, 234
cipitus 440
capriolus 224
captiare 34
captio 9
captivare 34
captivus 313
capud 282
capui 428
capum 285, 356 (3), 369
capus 285, 356 (3), 369
caput 13, 282, 285, 356 (3), 369
cardonis (nom.) 367
cardu(u)s 226
carissimus 377
caritabilis 39
caritta 37 (-ittus)
carnis (nom.) 367
carnutus 39, 42
caroneus 39
carrica 11
car(ri)care 18, 33, 231, 239
cartas (nom. pl.) 357 (1)
carum 263
casa 12
Cases 85-100, 354, 372, 383
caseum -us 347; cf. 163
casotta 37 (-ottus)
cas(s)eus 163; cf. 347
Cassianus 358
cassus 161
castaneus 346 (1)
castellus 347
castius 277
castore (nom.) 367
cata 19, 71
catal unus 71
cataveris = -d- 256
catechizare 19, 33
cat' unus 71
cauculus 288
cauditus 42
caus(s)a 161
cavia 224
-ce 40
cecinio 187, 330
cedat = cedat 210
cedo 162
cedrus 182
cesallo 334
celeps 315
celerus 376
-cellus 37
Celtic Words 19
cen(s)or 311
-census 260
centu 381
ceperint 215
cepi 215
cerusus 38, 195 (3)
cerbus 323
cerebellum 231
cereolus 13
ceresus 195 (3)
ceresus 38, 195 (3)
certitudo 37
cetto 162
—ceus 39
Chairibertus 39 (-arius)
chaloir 288
Change of Meaning 8-10
Change of Suffix 42
chan(n)e 163
chartaceus 39
cher 263
chiaro (adv.) 40
Chilperico 343
chlosa 185
Chiusi 86
cholera 145
chommoda 86
chorda 186, 332
Chrestus 184
chrisma 84
C(h)ristus 184, 332
cib 206
cicinus 113
—cillus > -cellus 42
—coliandrum 254
—coliare 254
—cinctus 440
—cinqua(gi)nta 254, 379, 380
—cinque 254, 379
—coemptum 379
—cincus 347, 370
—cini 429
—cip(p)us 163
—citra 80, 96
—circare 16
—circave 309
—circumdatit 430
—cis 14
—cit(h)era, -ara 38, 233
—cito 162
—citrus 329
—ciurma 191
—citus 39
—civ(l)tas 12, 231
—clamantis (nom.) 367
—clarisco 414
—Clau(d)ius 211 (1)
—claudio 236, 325
—clau(s)us 441
—clavem 288
—clavido 236, 325
—Clepatra 191
clerc 154
clergue 154
Clerical Pronunciation
218, 259 (1), 260 (1), 276, 277, 297 (1), 318 (1), 333 (1)
clericatus 37
cler(i)cus 39, 154, 239
—cler(i)cus 254, 379
—Clidius 212
cloppus 16
closa 212
—clus 234
—coco 379
—coccodrillo 294
cocens 226
coclearium 356 (3)
coclia 224
cochodrilus 294
cocus 226
coda 212, 213
codex 213
cobemeterium 192
cœpi 72, 124
cœxercitare 30
—cœxercitatus 30
—cœfescisse 311
—cognatus 9, 269
cognavi 428
cognusco 197
cohærere 310
cohaerere 310
—coiiugi 271; cf. 311
—cojectis 311
—co Luigi 311; cf. 271
—colaphize 19
—coli(p)hus 19, 150, 154, 186, 237, 330, 332
colbe 154
coles 213
collardrum 292
—collecta 37 (-ta)
—collectus 37 (-ta)
coll(i)ens 259
col(i)gere 31, 139, 259, 272, 305, 444
collget 444
col(lo)care 9, 31, 231, 239
collo 160
collus -um 347
colover 208
colobra 208 (2), 217
colonna 208
coloquinta 187
color (fem.) 346 (2)
colp 154
—colustra 197
comenzare 276
—cominciare 276
—cominiciare 276
—cominitiare 25, 153, 276
—comitem 235
—commando 31
—comment 41
—commixtius 23
—comode = quo—226
—comedia 192
—comparare 8, 12, 231, 233
Comparison 56
—comparer 231, 233
—complacere 25
—compline 400
—Compound Words 43-9, 64
—comprehendit 250
—computare 31
—computus 235
—comuna 376
—con- 23, 25
—concha 186
—concupiscencia 276
—condam 254
—condedit 139
—conder(e) 242
—condicio 276
—conditio 276
Conditional 124, 130, 411
confessor 18
confortare 25, 34
conger 329
Congianus 272
congigi 259
Conjugation 101–30, 396–450
Four Conjugations 396–407
First 397–8
Second 399–401
Third 402–6
Fourth 407
Fundamental Changes 408–12
Imperfect 420–1
Inchoative Verbs 413–5
Perfect 422–31
Strong 427–31
Weak 422–6
Perfect Participle 434–41
Personal Endings 442–50
Pluperfect and Future
Perfect 432–3
Present Stems 416–9
Use of Forms 101–30
Conjunctions 82–4
co(n)jus 255
co(n)jux 171, 255, 311
committere 32
connato 269
conobbi 428
conoisser 413
conopeum 146
conovutus 440
conpendium 32
conpere 306
consacrat 31
conservam(m)us 163
consiensia 260, 275
consili 227
consilium 42
consirier 37 (-erium)
Consonants
Aspirate 249–52
Dentals 280–6
Double: see Double Con-
sonants
Germanic: see Ger-
manic Consonants
Greek: see Greek Con-
sonants
Groups 131–2, 160
Gutturals 253–70
Labials 312–26
Latin 246–8
Letters 246
Liquids 287–96
Nasals 303–11
Palatals 271–8
Sibilants 297–302
constare 31
consuere 31, 137
consuetudo 139
continari 226
coperaire 225
copersi 429
copertus 436
cophinus 186
cogue 254
coraticum 18, 37
corbeau 323
corbo 323
corcodilus 294
corcodrillus 294
cores = corda 369
corium 294
Crescentius 277
cresio 255
cresima 184
cresme 184
crevi 428
crevetus 435
crepavi 428
Crepatus 184
Crepitus 438, 439
crista 356
Cristata 206
Cristata 206
croceus 274
Crocelia 298
crocinula 42
cronum = um = us 347, 355 (1)
cor(n)are 231
cor 323
corpes = corpora 369
corpi = ora = 369
corpo = corpore 356 (3)
Index.

crocodilus 150, 294
crot'lare 229
crucifigere 46
crudilitas 197
-crum 37 (-culum)
crumpa 187
crus 13
crust(u)lum 234
crypta 187
cubidus = cupidus 256
cuculla 13; cf. 346 (4)
cucullus -a 346 (4)
cuerdo 369
culcitra 294
-culum 37, 234
-culus > -cellus 42
-c(ul)us 42, 234
cum (conj.) 82, 226
cum (prep.) 14, 78, 95, 305
cumba 187
cun = cum 305
cunnuscit 269
cimtellum = cul-
cuoio 296
cuopre 160
cuore 160, 177
cupa(t) 285
cupire 406
cuptft 423
cup(p)a 163
cupressus 150
cur 12, 82
curabit = -avit 318, 322
currens 12, 82
curabit = -avit 318, 322
currens 39
cursi 429
cursorium 37
cuvus 323
Cusanca 37 (-incus)
cy 276-8
-cy = ty 277
cycnus 187; 330
cyma 38, 187; (fem.) 349
cymba 187
cymiterium 192
cypressus 150
d: see Dentals

dy 272
da 48
dacruma 281 (1)
dactylus 19
dad 48
Dafne 334
dai 298
dampnum 307
Danuvium 318
da 397
dare 397
datis 324
Dative 90-1, 383
da 397
dau 397
dawn 397
dave 48
de 14, 48, 77, 88, 92, 95
de- 23, 25
-de- > di- 229 (2)
deabus 358
de ad 48
de ante 48
dearare 23, 25
debbio 273
debo 273
debere 10, 72, 117, 126 (4)
debita 37
deb(i)tum 323, 239
decanus 39
dec(m) 309
decem et (or ac) septem 379
dec(m)bris 306
decemter 306
dec(i)mus 239
Declension 85-100, 354-76
Adjectives 374-6
Fall of Decl. 100, 372-3
Nouns 354-73
Shift of Decl. 355-6, 376
First 357-60
Second 361-3
Third 364-71
Use of Cases 85-100
declivis 376
d de contra 47
decumus 220
dede = dedit 285
d de deorsum 47
dedi 430
dedica(t) 424
ded(i)cavit 231
dedro dedrot 285
dexacerbare 30
dexcipitare 30
defeniciones 276
defensa 37 (-ta)
defensi 429
defensorius 39
defensus 441
deferet 406
Definite Article 68, 392
de foris 47, 81
defuntus 267, 306
deggio 273
defna 324
de inter 48
de intro 47
de intus 47, 48
defitas 37
del(i)catus 227
delitus 198
delta 329
del(i)catus 227
delitus 198
delta 329
de minus 47
de medio 47
deminat 139
Dentals
d 272, 281-3
dy 272
nd > nn 281
Final 282, 285
Intervocalic 283, 285
nd > nn 281
nt 285
st 285
t 284-6
denumerat 424
deo(r)sum 291, 324
deorsum 224
Deponent Verbs 113, 409
de post 48
dependere 250
de retro 47, 48, 292
Derivation 20-49
descendidi 426
de semel 47
despereiss 414
### Index.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diphthongization 177</th>
<th>donec 11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs 177, 209-16</td>
<td>dont 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ 209-10</td>
<td>donum (masc.) 349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au 211-3</td>
<td>dormio 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu 214</td>
<td>dormito 309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ο 215</td>
<td>dormitorium 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui 216</td>
<td>dormo 416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diposio 277</td>
<td>dorsus 347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dire 406</td>
<td>dossum 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>directus 229</td>
<td>dossum 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diri(g)ens 259</td>
<td>dou 397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirivare 229 (2)</td>
<td>Double Consonants 161-4,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dis- 23, 25</td>
<td>247, 328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discere 12</td>
<td>Double = Single 162-3,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disfacit 139</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disfactus 23</td>
<td>Double &gt; Single 161, 328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dis(je)junare 25, 229</td>
<td>Single &gt; Double 164, 328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>displacet 139</td>
<td>Double Forms 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>displicina 289 (1)</td>
<td>Double Negation 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissimilation 167, 195 (6),</td>
<td>Double Prefixes 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 4, 254, 289 (2), 292,</td>
<td>donet 37 (-ittus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303, 421, 426, 431</td>
<td>doussa 376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distinguere 223, 226</td>
<td>drachma 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dita 351</td>
<td>drappus 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diu 11, 13</td>
<td>d'rectus 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diurruus 13</td>
<td>Dreux 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divisi 429</td>
<td>driot 292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divisus 441</td>
<td>dub(i)tare 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divite (nom.) 367</td>
<td>ducalis 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divota 229 (2)</td>
<td>ducatus 37 (-ta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dixemus 232</td>
<td>duce = duc 412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dixi 429</td>
<td>ductus 440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dodecim 225</td>
<td>dui 167, 378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doga 186, 333</td>
<td>dukissa 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolor (fem.) 346 (2)</td>
<td>dulcior (noun) 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolus = dolor 18, 21</td>
<td>dulcor 18, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domatus 435</td>
<td>dume(c)ta 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domin(i)ca 239</td>
<td>dunc 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dominicus 9, 239</td>
<td>d'unde 70, 393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domnani 359 (1)</td>
<td>duo 378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dominicellus 37</td>
<td>duos 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dominicus 235</td>
<td>durare 229 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dominna 37</td>
<td>Duration 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domnizare 33</td>
<td>duricia 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dominus 235</td>
<td>Durocasses 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domnus 235</td>
<td>duxi 429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domus 12; (masc. and</td>
<td>e 165, 177, 196-9, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.) 346 (1); (2d decl.)</td>
<td>accented 165, 196-9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 355 (1) | }
Index.

-entia 37 (-antia)
-enus > -inus 42
e = ego 73, 385
eo = quod 82, 110
eor 309
episcopalis 39
epistula 144
equus 12
equus = æquus 210
-er > -er 245
-er 39 (-arius)
érable 43
-ère (perf.) 450
-ère > -ire 197
eredes 251
-èrem 346 (3)
ercus 150
eres 251
erga 14
ergo 11, 14
ericicus 42
eriger 31, 429
-èrium 37
erminomata 191
ero 411
-èro 39 (-arius)
eri 429
erubisco 414
-èrunt 450
ervum > erum 226
ervus (3d decl.) 356 (2)
-es > -is 443
-es = -is 174, 244, 365-6, 444
es = ex- exs 230, 255
-es 38
Esaram 233
-escere 34, 35, 197, 413-4
eschernir 341
eschine 341
esclate 343
es(i)mus 419 (1)
-esimus > -isimus 197
esmes 419 (1)
espiar 343
espiar 343
index.

fervere 399
fervura 37
fesit 260
feu 343
fezem 44
fiaba 289 (1)
fiamb 419 (2)
fib(u)la 235
fictum 16, 141
fictus 440
ficus (masc. and fem.) 346 (1)
ficus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
fidens 311
fiere 160
fieri 112, 409, 419 (2)
fiere 160
fiel 419 (2)
figel 242
folos = filios 274
fillabus 358
filias (nom.) 357 (1)
fillaster 13
fillio(s) 298
fillus 155, 274; = filios 244
filix 197
fillio 247
Fimes 86
Final Syllable 240–5
finctus 440
finis (adj.) 17
finiscere 35
finxi 429
fio 343
fiorentino 154
fioretto 37 (–ittus)
fortis 37
fir- 29
fircum 320 (1)
Firenze 86
Firmus –onis 362
fiscla 234
fistula 234
fistus 197
fixi 429
fixus 441
flaba 289 (1)
flagrar 292
flanis 324
flator 37
flaus 240, 324
flavor 37
fetus 11
fleuma 268
fleuit 414
flevit 208 (2)
floralis 292
floricer 414
Florentinus 37
florire 400
florisco 400
flovimus 208 (2), 217
fluviourum 224
foces 213
focus 8, 12
fodiri 406
fonia 32
folia (noun) 18
follicare 33
fons (fem.) 346 (4)
fons 356 (2)
fonte 205
fons 356 (2)
foras 81, 96
forbatre 29
forbire 407
Foreign Words 19; see
Germanic Words and
Greek Words
foresa 311
foris 81
fort- 29
forisfacere 29
forismittere 46
formaceus 39
formosus 161
formunsus 208
forsitan 305
forte 40
fortescere 34
fortia 37
fortis 10
fortis fortis 55
fossato 37 (–ta)
fractus 440
fragellum 289 (2)
fragilis 233
fragrantia 37
fra(g)are 270
Francesco 341
fractus 440
Frankens 39
Frankiscus 39, 341
Franko 341
franxi 429
frate 295
fratello 388
frat(t)re 164
frax(i)rus 239; (mc.) 346 (1)
fragmenta 268
frecare 201; cf. 256
frenum –us 347
fricatus 435, 440
fricda = frigida 238, 259
frictus 440
frigare 256; cf. 201
frigdira 219, 231
frigdura 37
Frigia 187
frig(i)rus 166, 200 (1), 233, 238, 259
frigora 351
frigorem 347
frisi 429
frondifer 17
frualitas 263
fructa 351, 361
fructus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
frundes 205
frunsa 351
frutta 351
fugii 430
fugire 406
fugitus 439
fuli 431
ful(i)ca 237
fum 424
fundus (3d decl.) 356 (2)
fundutus 441
funtes 205
funus 11
fuore 160
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>g: see Gutturals</th>
<th>glut(t)o 163</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gy 272</td>
<td>gnaus 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabata 13, 236</td>
<td>gocciaire 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabta 236</td>
<td>gerus 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaita 343</td>
<td>golosus 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaite 343</td>
<td>gonger 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galatus 330</td>
<td>goule 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gallina 288</td>
<td>gracillus 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamba 13, 263, 331</td>
<td>gracilis 376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gammarus 330</td>
<td>grada 351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garba 341</td>
<td>gradus 355 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garofulum 149</td>
<td>grandis 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garum 329</td>
<td>granditia 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaudia (sg.) 352</td>
<td>graphium 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaudimmonium 20</td>
<td>grassetto 37 (=ittus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaudutus 441</td>
<td>grassus 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gauta 236</td>
<td>gratis = cratis 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gavela 257</td>
<td>gravare 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gavia 16</td>
<td>gravior 377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gecchire 343</td>
<td>grece 210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geisla 341</td>
<td>Greek Accent 143-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geluna = je- 259</td>
<td>Oxytones 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geline 288</td>
<td>Paroxytones 145-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gelus (2d decl.) 355 (1)</td>
<td>Proparoxytones 147-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gemellus 13</td>
<td>Greek Consonants 327-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gemire 406</td>
<td>$, $ 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gemitus 439</td>
<td>$, $ 332-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumui 428</td>
<td>Liquids 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gena 13</td>
<td>Nasals 336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender 345-53</td>
<td>$, $ 338-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem. and Neut. 351-3</td>
<td>Greek Endings 36, 38, 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masc. and Fem. 346</td>
<td>Greek Vowels 180-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masc. and Neut. 347-50</td>
<td>Diphthongs 188-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neut. Pl. &gt; Fem. Sg. 352</td>
<td>Single Vowels 180-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neut. Pron. and Adj. 350</td>
<td>Greek Words 19, 36, 38, 143-50, 180-93, 327-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genesis 148, 183</td>
<td>gre i 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 88-9, 383</td>
<td>gre vior 327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitores 12</td>
<td>grex (fem.) 195 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gentius 17</td>
<td>gressor 327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gentilis 17</td>
<td>grossor 327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gentis (adj.) 17</td>
<td>grota 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen(u)arius = jan- 259</td>
<td>gruis (nom.) 367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genus 229 (1)</td>
<td>grunno 281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gerape 259</td>
<td>guarire 344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gegovir 343</td>
<td>guarire 36, 407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerasp = Hier- 259</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerbe 341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germanic Consonants 340-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germanic Words 19, 152, 340-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germanissa 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund 104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerundive 105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gesso 187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gesta (sg.) 352</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giga 341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giga 341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gigantem 229 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginocchi ioni 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovannoni 362</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giret 187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girus 187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giscele 341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glacia 355 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glacus 211 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gladium 347</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glanderia 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glaiz 355 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glaucé -énis 359</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glaucu (nom.) 372</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glirem 166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glios(s)a 161, 185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gluria 203</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glut(t)ere 162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index.

-iamus 224
-iare 33, 34
-ibilis 39
-ibo 125
-ic 251
-ica 37
-icare 33, 34, 35
-icca 37
-icus 37
-icem 42, 346 (3)
-iceus 37, 39, 42
-icins 37, 39, 42
-ice 313
-iculare 35
-iculus 42
-icus 39
idem 61, 309
id ipsum 62, 350
idolam 150, 190
-idus 39
-i(d)yare 339
ie > e 225
-iebam > ebam 225; >
-ibam 420
-ie(n)s 311
Jenubam 259
-iér 39
-ière 39
-ies > -ia 335 (2)
iesta = gesta 259, 352
ifer 311
iferi 311
iferos 306, 311
ifimo 311
ifra 311
-igia 277
igitur 11, 14
ignire 33
ignis 12
ignotus 310
-igo 37
ii unaccented > i 227, 423
-ilis 39
-illus 42
illac 140
illae (dat.) 390
illae 390
illæjus 390
ille 10, 61-8, 389-92
illeipse 64
illejus 390
illi = ille 390
illac 390
illo (dat.) 390
illorum = suus 387
illud > illum 282, 350
illu 390
illujs 390
illum = illud 282, 350
illurum 390
-illus > -ellus 42
im = in 310
imaginarius 39
imbecillis 376
immudavit 256
Imperative 115-6, 412
impinguare 25
impinxi 429
implicat 139
implire 400
-imus > -imus 447-8
in 86, 92, 95, 96, 97
in = 23, 25
in > s > is 310
inanimatus 23
in ante 47, 48
incendiderit 426
Inchoative Verbs 400,
413-5
inclusus 139
incohare 250
in contra 47, 48
incudo 42, 370
incuminem 42
incus 42
-incus 37
inde 60, 71, 384
inde fugere 46
Indefinite Article 57
Indefinite Pronouns: see
Pronouns
Indicative
Conditional 130, 411
for Imperative 116, 412
for Subjunctive 117
Future 125-9, 411
Future Perfect 119,
123, 410
Imperfect 120, 420-1
Perfect 121-4, 422-31
Pluperfect 123-4, 410,
432
Present 120, 273, 397,
401, 403-5, 415, 416-9
indicibilis 39
induruit 224
-inem 346 (3)
ina(n)s 10, 311
i(n)ans 171
infantiliter 40
i(n)feri 171, 219
infernus 13
Infinitative
as Noun 111
Conjugations 396-407
dicere 406
esse 419
facere 404
for Clause 111
for Imperative 116
for Subjunctive 111, 117
for Supine and Gerund
103, 104
habere 400
Passive 109
Perfect 109
with habere 125-9, 411
posse 403
Present Active 102, 109
velle 403
with Accusative 82, 110
inflare 31
Inflections
Forms 345-450
Use 85-130
infra- 27
infraponere 27
infri 219
infurcare 25
-ing 37
ingenium 9
ings 259
in giro 48
Index.

-ingus 37 (-incus)
in hodie 47
Initial Syllable 228-30
ivulatus 32
in mane 47
in medio 48
innoce(n)ti 306
innocus 226
in odio 43
inprobus 32
inquid 282
in quo ante 254
-inquns 37 (-incus)
is = is 230
in semel 47
insiemmente 41
insola 232
instruo = struo 230
ius(u)la 171, 233, 284
incitamento 260
inte(g)rum 307
Interamico 307
Interanniensis 307
Interrogatines: see Pronouns

Intertonic Vowel 231
intra 96
intra- 27
intratenere 27
intravidere 46
intre 245
intro(r)sus 291
intus in 49
-inus 37, 42
-inus 39
-io > -o 416
ipsa mente 41
ipse 61-8, 390-2
ipse ille 64
ipsejus 390
ipsimus 66
ipsud 390
ipsujus 390
ipsus 390
itraisser 413
irascere 413
ire 126 (5), 405
-ire 35, 34
is 62-4, 67-8
-is = ins- his 230
-is = es 244, 365-6, 444
-is 38
-iscere 34, 35
Ischia 284
ischola 230
ischolasticus 230
-isco for -esco 197, 414
iscripta 230
-is cus 39
-isus 39
is ipse 64
ismaragdus 230
ispersabi 230
ispose 230
-issa 37
-issare 33
isse 313
-isse 161
-issimus 166
-issimuna 230
istare 230
istatam 230
iste 63-8, 390-2
iste hic 64
iste ille 64
iste ipse 64
istudio 230
it = id 282
-it = -et 244, 444
ita 11
Italia 224
Italic Tribes 1, 2
-itare 34, 35
-itas 37
-ite > -ite 448
-iter 40
-itia 37, 277
-ities 37
-itis > -itis 448
-ittus 37
-itudo 37
-itus 42 (2), 436, 438, 440, 441
-itus 435, 438-9
-ium 37
-iunt > -unt 416
-ius 39

-j 271
jacente(m) 139
jacis 244
Jacobus 150, 329
Jacomus 329
jagante 229 (3)
jaivant 229 (3)
jajunus 229 (1)
jambe 263
-jan 36
janarius 226
jaquir 343
jauzei 426
jéhan 343
jehir 343
jejunus 229, 229 (1)
jeniperus 229 (5)
jenua 229 (1)
jenarius 229 (1)
jeune 208 (2)
jiniperus 229 (5)
Joanneni 359 (1)
Joannentis 359 (2)
Joannis 244
jocus 12
jovenis 208 (2), 217
jovis 367
jubari 322
jubem(m)us 163
jubenis 318
jubentutis 318, 322
jubere 11
Judaizare 19
judicat 424
judicus 347
judico 239
judgisium 278
Index.

lucë (dat.) 244
lucëre 399
lucire 400
lucor 37
lucto 355 (1)
lucus = locus 205
ludus 12
lugëre 399
lugire 400
luminem 347
lunëe dies 89
luogi-ora 349
lurdus 207 (1)
luridus 166, 207 (1)
luxi 489
luxuria 355 (1)
luc(m)anis 359
mammula 13
manducare 13
mane 13
man(i)ca 239
manică 37 (--ica)
maniplus 42, 233
manos 355 (1)
manși 429
mansiio 12
mansiōs 39
mansus 441
manuaaria 18
manuplus 42
manus (masc. and fem.) 346 (1)
manu tenere 46
Maps: pp. x, xi
Marcianus 278
Marculus 284
mare (fem.) 349
marem 347
mares = -is 244
mari = -e 364
marinarius 39
maris (masc. and fem.) 347, 349
markensis 39
marmor (fem.) 353; cf. 347, 369
ma(r)mor 292; cf. 347, 353
marmora 351
marmorem 347, 369
marrir 407
marrjan 407
Marsianesses 277
Marsus 187
Marsyas 187
mas = magis 157
mascel 242
Masculine: see Gender
masc(ul)us 234
masma = maxima 238
massa 338
mate(r) 295
materia 355 (2)
matrona(s) 298
mat(t)ona 164
matutinus 13
maurus 336
maxim 56
maximus 56, 220, 238, 297
maximus 220
Meanings of Words 7–10
Change of Meaning 8–10
me(s) 309
Medea 190
Medentius 338
media 272
medianus 39
medicus 239
medio die 43
medio loco 43
medius 272
meletrix 292
melior 377
melius 56, 377
melum 195 (5)
membras 352
memoramus (perf.) 424
-men 37
 mendatium 276
 me(n)sas 311
 mense(n) 309
 men(ser) 368
 me(n)sis 171, 198, 201, 311
 me(n)sor 311
 men(sorium 37
 menta 184
-mente 41
 mente habere 46
 mentire 409
-mentum 37
 mentus 347
 mens 201
 mercatus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 meretis 232
 meridies 281 (2)
 mer(i)to 237
 mers = merx 255
Messac 277
messui 428
messura 37
met- 24, 66
Index.

Metathesis 245, 255, 289

Metiacus 277

metipse 24, 66

metipsimus 66

metitus 441

meuble 204 (1)

meus = mi 87

mextum = maestum 255

mezzo 272

mi = meus -a 87, 387

mi = mihi 250, 385

miuare 17

michi 252

mienta 184

migat = micat 256

mihe 244

mille 161, 381

millefolium 38

mil(l)ia 161

mimoriEe 229 (2)

minester 201

ministeri(i) 89, 227

mi(ni)sterium 231

ministr(onun 292

minor 377

minsis 198, 201

minus 201, 377

minus- 29, 245

> mis- 245

minus credere 29

minus est 29

minus pretiare 46

minutus 10

mirabilia 37, 229 (4), 231

mis = meis 388

mis- 245

miscere 399

misculare 35

misera 376

mis(s)i 161, 163, 429

missorium 37

mis(s)us 441

mistus 440

mixticius 39

mobilis 204 (1), 217

moc 428

modernus 18

modo modo 40

moere = move- 324

Messa 187

molui 428

molusus 439

monarchia 37

monasterium 182

–monia 37

monibam 420

moniti = mu- 228

–monium 37

mo(ni)strate 311

monumento = –um 244

Mood 115–9

morbu(s). 298

mordre 399

morire 406

Morphology 345–450

mors 429

morsus 441

mortificare 46

mortu(u)s 226

mossum 438, 440, 441

mo(t)ire 162

motto 187

movi 428

movit 244

movita 37; cf. 438, 439

movitus 438, 439; cf. 37

movatus 438, 440

muc(c)us 163

meuble 204 (1)

mul'erm 225

mulier 9, 136

mulieris 136

mulus 187

muli 429

multum 74

multus 71

multu = multum 289 (2)

mur 206

murare 229 (5)

muri –a 349

muritta 37 (–ittus)

murta 187

mutare 229 (5)

Mutes – Liquid 132, 160

mut(t)ire 162

myrta 187

Mysia 187

mysterium 182, 187

n: see Nasals

n + fricative 171, 311

ny 274

nacui 428

nam 11

narratus 37 (–ta)

Nasals 303–11

Final or + Cons. 304–6

–m falls 309

–n falls 310

mn 307

n + fricative 171, 311

ny 274

nasco 255

nascutus 438

nasum –us 347

natatorium 37

nativitas 37

natus 13, 438

nancella 13

naufragus 325

nautat 236

navicella 37

navitat 236

ne 14, 75, 83, 229 (2)

Nebitta 37 (–ittus)

nebula 235

negare 9

necator 37

necatus 435, 440

necavi 428

nece ente 71

nec unus 71

ne ente 71

negare 263

negat 246

Negation 75

negliencia 259

nemo 71

neofiti 334

nepoti(s) 298

ne'ps'unus 71
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neuter: see Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nei = ne 229 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nieps 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nihil 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimpae 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nise 229 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nitidus 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nivicare 18, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nobe 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nobilis 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nobis 318, 385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nocere 399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noptiae 207 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>norar 208 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normannice 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>norsus 208 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notrire 229 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noi 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns 345–73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see Declension and Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nous 177, 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nova(-i)nta 380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>novellus 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>novius 207 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noxens 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ns 171, 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nubis 366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nulli (gen.) 395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nullus 71, 395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nnum 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerals 57–8, 378–82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accent 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nnummus 328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nun = non 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunc 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuncius 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuncquam 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunqua(m) 305, 306, 309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nups i 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nutrire 166, 229 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nutritio 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nutritura 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nynis 306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o 165, 167, 177, 197, 202–5, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accented 202–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o 202–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o &gt; o 197, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou &gt; ou 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o &gt; u 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o &gt; ou 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o &gt; o 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o &gt; uo 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o for an 212–3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oł &gt; æ &gt; e 192, 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o6 &gt; o 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou &gt; ou 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unaccented 219, 228, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6), 243, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u6 &gt; o 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o 37, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o (Greek) 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ω (Greek) 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ob 14, 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ob–28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obdormire 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obferrre 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obliscor 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oblitare 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obprimere 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>observatione 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oc 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occasio 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occidere 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occubavit 256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occum 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occurire 406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–occus 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ocio 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ocium 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>octa(gi)nta 380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oc(n)lus 219, 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odedere 426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odissia 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ for æ and e 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offeret 406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offerire 406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offersi 429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offertus 435, 440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offla 235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oł &gt; æ &gt; e 192, 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o (Greek) 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ola 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oleo 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oleum 38, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ołi 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ołi(m) 309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olio 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omnes = –is 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omnimodus 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omnis 12, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omo 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–omns 446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–on 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–op 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–ow 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–ones 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–oneus 39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Digitized by Microsoft®
Index.

pa(v)onem 324
pa(v)orem 324
pavura 42
pavutus 440
pace 260
pectinare 33
pectorem 347
pediculus 42
pedis (nom.) 367
peduclum 234
peduculus 42
pejor 170, 377
pejus 377
pelegrinus 292
pellabor 293
pellicere 293
pellige 293
pello 293
pendutus 441
pe(n)sare 171, 311
pensi 429
pensus 441
Penult 232-9
per 14, 79, 93, 96, 99
per > pel 293
per 160
per- 26
percolopabat 237
perdedit 139, 426
perdita 37 (-ta)
perdonare 26
perdutus 438, 439
pere 160
per(g)inus 270
peres = pedes 281 (2)
Perfect 121-4, 410, 422-31
Strong 427-31
Weak 422-6
Perfect Participle: see Participle
Perfect Subjunctive 119, 123-4
per giro 48
per girum 48
peria(t) 285
Periphrastic Future 126
perít 423
perlum = præ- 294
perpenna 292
persi 429
pe(r)s(i)ca 239
persona 71
Personal Pronouns: see Pronouns
persus 439, 441
Pesaro 151
pessica 291
pessimus 377
pestio 284
pestulum 284
petit 423
Petrus -onis 362
petto 160
peuma 368
ph: see Greek Consonants
phalanx 181
pharetra 145
phaselus 334
Phasis 181
Phesus 192
philosophia 37
philus 184
Phitonis 184
Phoeniceae 332
phoca 185
Phoebus 192
Phono-logy 131-344
Phoebae = Phoebæ 215
piano 40
pictus 440
pietas 298
pietra 160
pignus 172 (2)
pi(g)itia 270
Pilipus 332
pinctus 440
pini 365
pinxi 429
piper 38, 183, 347, 369
piperem 347, 369
pirata 144, 190
Pisaurese 297
Pisaurum 151
pitocco 185
pius 167
placentia 37
plach 154
placuit 223, 326
plagiare 33
plangit 259
plantare 33
planura 37
planxi 429
platea 146, 190
plaudisti 426
pleps 297, 315
plicare 10, 435
plicatus 435
plostrum 212
plotus 212, 213
plovere 169, 208 (4), 217
pluere 169, 208 (4), 217
Pluperfect 118, 123-4, 410
432, 433
Pluperfect Subjunctive 118, 123, 433
plurigo = pr- 292
plus 56, 74
pluvia 169, 208 (4), 273
poco 40
podium 272
poella 208
poena 192
poeta 192
poggio 272
polippus 145
pollicare 37
pollum 213
pols 370
poltre 134
polve 370
polvo 370
polypus 145
pomex 207 (2)
pou(e)re 239
pontevecem 321
pontivicatus 256
pontu(c)atus 220
poplex 255
pop(u)lus 10, 235
INDEX.

por 14
porcellus 37
porphyreticum 187
portare 12
posi = posui 428, 429
Position 160-4
positus 238, 439
posmeridianus 285
posse 126 (3), 403 (1)
Possessives: see Pronouns
posse 403 (1)
poste 275
pos(t) 96, 285
posterus 238
postus 238
Post-Verbal Nouns 21
posueram 285
posuere 244
potebam 403 (1)
potebo 403 (1)
poteo 403 (1)
potere 210
postet 139
prete 300
pretium 277
prevere 300
pride (m) 309
primitius 324
principenn 367
prœ(n)cipis 306
Prixilla 255
pro 14, 79, 95
pro- 28
probai 424
Proclitics 156-8
probai 17
Progne 330
proles 11
prolongare 28
promptulus 39
Pronouns 59-71, 383-95
Demonstrative 61-8
Indefinite 71, 395
Interrogative 69-70, 393-4
Personal 60, 67, 384-6
Possessive 60, 382-8
Relative 69-70, 393-4
Pronunciation 131-344
prophetissa 37
prophetizare 19
propietas 292
propio 292
propter 14, 79, 96
provata 318
provitus 435, 439
proximus 377
psallere 36, 337
ptisana 145
pudicicia 276
pugnus 172 (2)
pulvis 347, 370
punctus 440
puni = poni 203
punior 39
punxii 429
pupillabus 358
puplu 309
pup(p)a 163
pure 40
puritas 37
purpura 145, 186, 330, 332
purpureticum 187
putator = po- 229 (6)
puteolis 136
puteum 347
putrire 400
putrisco 400
puulva 356 (3)
Pyrrhus 187
pyxis 187
q 246, 252, etc.
qu 223, 226, 254
qua 82
quadraginta 142, 380; cf.
259
quadra(i)nta 380
quadra 283
quasi 426, 429
questus 436, 440
qualis 70, 71, 394
quantum 306
quan 305
Index.

 quando 14, 82, 281
 quandu 281
 Quantity 159-77, 221
 Development of New Quantity 176-7
 Disappearance of Old Quantity 173-5
 Doubtful Quantity 166
 Length before Consonants 170-2
 Position 160-4
 Unaccented Vowels 174, 221
 Vowels in Hiatus 167-9
 Vowel Length 165-77
 Words from Other Languages 174-5
 quantu(m) 309
 quantus 12, 71
 quare 12, 71
 quarranta 142, 259, 380
 quase 244
 quasi 83, 219, 244
 quatt(t)or 226, 379
 quattordecim 379
quat(t)ro 226, 245, 379
 quel 393
 quejus 393
 que(m) 309
 quen 305, 309
 quercinus 39
 quere(l)a 42
 questor 210
 questus 210
 quetus 225
 qui 69, 71, 393
 qui = quia 82
 qui = ky 187, 223
 quia 82, 110, 168
 quiati 209
 quicumque 71
 quid 350
 quidem 11
 quiensces 311
 quietus 225
 quiu 11
 quinquaginta 142, 380
 quinqué 172 (1), 200
 Quintrio = Win- 344
 quippe i1
 quire 71
 quiiritare 229
 quis 69, 71, 350, 393
 quisque 71
 quisquis 71
 quo 73
 quo = quod 282
 quoad 11
 quod 14, 82, 110, 282, 350
 quodlubet 220
 quomodo 14, 82
 > comodo 226
 quoniam 14, 82, no
 qui = quia 82
 qui = ky 187, 223
 quia 82, no,
 quiqnuti 311
 quiqvare 225
 quiqvit = −bit 318
 refusare 17
 re(g)alis 263
 re(g)ina 259
 regis = −es 244
 regnancte 267
 regnum 172 (2)
 Relatives: see Pronouns
 reli(n)qua 306
 relinqu = −it 285
 remasit 311
 Remidium 272
 remissa 37 (−ta)
 renégt 139
 renum = reg− 269
 Repetition 40, 55, 74
 replenus 23
 repositorium 37
 reprehensus 250
 requårere 25, 139
 requærit 139
 requubit 225
 res 10, 71, 355 (2)
 res nata 13, 71
 respondère 399, 449
 respondentur 449
 responsi 429
 restitueram 285
 restivus 39
 resurge(n)s 311
 retenere 31, 139
 retenet 139
 retere = reddere 286
 retina 17
 retro 81
 retro− 28
 retro(r)sum 291
 retundus 229 (6)
 reuuardent 344
 reve(r)sus 291
 reversus sum 37
 revolutio 410
 revi 297, 429
 rhetor 335
 rhetorissare 33
 richesse 341
 rictu = rectum 198
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ridere</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ridedi</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riges</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rigna</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rikitia</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimini</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ripidus</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riquesa</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>risi</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rius</td>
<td>241, 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rivaticus</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rivocaverit</td>
<td>229 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roborem</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robur</td>
<td>9, 347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rogavo</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro(g)itus</td>
<td>259, 435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romance Territory</td>
<td>p. xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Empire</td>
<td>p. x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanice</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanu (nom.)</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pos</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rosi</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ros</td>
<td>356 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rosus</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robbôn</td>
<td>36, 341, 398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rs</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rubare</td>
<td>36, 341, 398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rubeus</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rugiada</td>
<td>356 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rura</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru(r)som</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>russum</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rutare</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

s : see Sibilants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s: see</td>
<td>Sibilants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final s in 1st pers. pl.</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>initial s + cons.</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scy, ssy, sty, sy</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa = ipsa</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>37 (3a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabbaticare</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salbect</td>
<td>229 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salbum</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sali</td>
<td>422, 428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salitus</td>
<td>436, 440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salivi</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salma</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salsi</td>
<td>428, 429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salsus</td>
<td>440, 441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saltem</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salticulare</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salvage</td>
<td>229 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salvatico</td>
<td>229 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salvaticus</td>
<td>229 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanctissimus</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san(c)tus</td>
<td>172 (1), 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandal</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanguem</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanh</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapheca</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapere</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapiam</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sipidus</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sipienti</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sappia</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapul</td>
<td>426, 428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satis</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sauma</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scabia</td>
<td>355 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scena</td>
<td>182, 210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scalciare</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scandalizare</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scaplus</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sca(u)r us</td>
<td>211 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scena</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schema</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schernire</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schiatta</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schietto</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schioppo</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sclitib.</td>
<td>(stlis) 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scloppus</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scopulus</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scoriare</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scriba</td>
<td>anis 359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>script</td>
<td>312 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scripsi</td>
<td>315, 429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scriptum</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scrip(t)us</td>
<td>313, 440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scultor</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>si 229 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se = d</td>
<td>419 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sead = sit</td>
<td>419 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sebe = sibi</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secatus</td>
<td>435, 440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secula</td>
<td>200 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secu(n)do</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secuntur</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sed</td>
<td>11, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sed = se</td>
<td>229 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sedano</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sed(e)cim</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sedere = esse</td>
<td>402, 419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seditum</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sedui</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sedutus</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>segnal = signavi</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>segolo</td>
<td>200 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sei</td>
<td>419 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sel</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selinium</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sem</td>
<td>419 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se melè</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semita</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semo</td>
<td>419 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semper semper</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sempre</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semul</td>
<td>201, 201 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senape</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senatus (2d decl.)</td>
<td>355 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sene = sine</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senex</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senper</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senta = semita</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sentam</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sententem</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Page(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>senti 298</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sentia 421</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sentii 428, 429</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sentitus 436, 441</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>servitium 276, 277</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>servitudo 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ses = es 419 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setacaeus 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setacus 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setis = estis 419 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>settembres 313</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>septicus 309</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>septicus 309</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>septime 309</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>septem 339</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>septum 209</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sepulchrum 251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sequare 406</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seraph 323</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seraph 323</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sertorius 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>servus 317</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siby 219, 244, 385</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siby 219, 244, 385</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibilants 297-302, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>signum -us 172 (2), 347</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>signum -us 172 (2), 347</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinapis -e -i 38, 150, 184, 337</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinatus 228</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sina 95, 201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sine x 201 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sio 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sirena 356 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sis = si vis 324</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sive 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skêna 341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skërnôn 341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skiuhán 343</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slahta 343</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slèht 343</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soara 295</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soave 224</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sobreus 224</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socera 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socer 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soc(e)rum 232, 233</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soef 224</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sofferire 406</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sol 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solalium 276</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sola mente 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solatium 276</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solbore 317</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solbit 323</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solia 224</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sollicitus 13, 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sol(i) dus 237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solingo 37 (incus)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solo (dat.) 395</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solis 429</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solitus 438, 439, 440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soluit 224</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solus 395</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solutus 438</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solvitus 438, 439</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soma 268</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somos 419 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sona = sona 338</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonatus 435</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sons 419 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sophia 146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sor 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sorcerus = sortarius 39 (arius)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sordidus 377</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sorex 42, 213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soriceum 42, 213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sorium 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sorius 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soro(r) 295</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sous = suus 167, 387</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sozer 154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spacium 276</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spallere 337</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spandere = exp- 230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spana 230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanus 230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sparsi 429</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sparsus 441</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spasmus 144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spat(h) 332</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spat(u)la 12, 38, 234</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speca = spica 200 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specularum 419 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spectante = exp- 230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spêhon 343</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spelunca 329</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spec 355 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spen from spex 355 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speramus = -avimus 424</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sperantia 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

Theophilus 333
thesaurizare 19
thesaurus -um 189, 347
threscan 342
ti = tibi 385
-tiacum 277
tibe 244
tibi 221, 244, 385
-tim 40
timbre 187, 331
timor (fem.) 346 (2)
timoratus 39
timpuri 369
tinctus 440
tingo 226
tinguere 226
tins < census 260
tinxi 429
-tio 37
Titius 277
Tivoli 86
toll(e)re 239
tollitus 435, 439
tolsi 428, 429
tolui 428
tomolus = tumu- 208	onatus 435
tondère 399
tonica = tu- 208
tonsus 441
-tor 37
torcère 399
torco 226, 399
toreomatum 191
-torium 37
-torius 39
torma = tu- 208
tornus 186
torqu(e)o 226, 399
torsi 428
tortus 440
tot 71
tot 204 (2)
toto (dat.) 395
tot(us) 12, 71, 163, 204 (2),
395
totum (adv.) 74
tous = tuus 387

tra- 26, 299
trabucare 26
tracere 417
tractatus 9
tractus 440
tradedit 31, 139
traduiur 299
traguir 299
Tragani = Traj- 259
tragere 417
trahere 417
trans- 26, 299
transannare 26
tra(ns) duco 299
tra(ns) jicio 299
tra(ns) luco 299
tra(ns) mitto 299
transplantare 26
tra(ns) pono 299
tra(ns) tulo 299
tra(n)s veho 299
traps 315
traspore 299
travis (nom.) 367
traxi 429
trebus 201
trei = tres 379
trei 298
treis 177
tremulat 235
trepaliare 33
trepalium 16
tres 379
trescar 342
trib(u)la 235, 352
tribuna(l) 242, 289
Tricasses 151
trienta 259
trif(g) inta 142, 259, 380
trinitas 37
trinta 380
tris = tres 198
tristus 376
triumphaut 241, 325, 424
-trix 37
trobar 37 (-tor)
Troge = -jae 259
Troja 179
INDEX.

Troyes 151
tructa 38, 185
trutina 187
tu 60
tucti 204 (2)
tudo 37
tuit 204 (2)
tulerrunt 450
-tulus >-clus 234
tum = tuum 226, 388
tumum 187
uus 138
-tura 37
turrellens 39
turri -e 364
-tus 37 (-ta), 440
Tuscanus 39
tutto 204 (2)
tuttus 204 (2)
tuus 226, 387-8
ty 276-7
ty > cy 277
ty > sy 277

u 165, 206-8, etc.
accented 206-8
	ū 206-7
	ā > u 165, 206
ū 208
	ē > ā > ē 165, 208
u cons. 222, 326
ū 178, 187, 192, 206, 220
ui 216
unaccented 219, 228, 229 (5), 243, 244
in hiatus 222-6
uo > ē 226
uu > u 226
ūō > o 225
uu > u 226
ubic 73
-uc(c)us 37 (-icca)
-uculare 35
-uculus 42
-udo > -umen 42
ū 178, 187, 192, 206, 220
-ugo 37 (-ago)
ūi 216
-ula 37 (-ulus)
Ulixes 187
ultra 166
-ulus 37, 39
> -ellus 42
-um 40
Unaccented Vowels: see

Vowels
unde 10, 70, 73, 84, 393
undecim 166, 379
-undus 39
ungen 226
unguere 226
unicornis 44
unigenitus 44
-unire 34
uno (dat.) 429
-unent = -ent 449
unos 10, 57, 71, 298, 378, 395
unu (s) 298
unxi 429
uo > o 225
uo unacc. > o 226
obit = obiit 177
-ura 37, 42
Uranus 193
urbs (nom.) 367
urbis 12, 297, 315, 367
-ūrem 346 (3)
urps 297, 315
usare 34
Use of Cases 85-100
Use of Inflections 85-130
Use of Words 54-84
usque hodie 47
ustium 202
ut 11, 14, 82, 111
-us 37 (-ta)
uitarum 11, 14, 83
-utus 39, 42, 438, 440, 441
uu unacc. > u 226
uuadius 344
-uss > -itus 42
uxo(r) 295
uxore (abl.) 244
v: see Labials
vacuus 42 195 (6), 223

vadere 126 (5), 405
vatum 344 ; -us 347
valde 237
valla (t) 224, 285
Valinca 37 (-incus)
valleis 39
valueas = ba- 316
vanitate 34
vaqua = vacua 223
vaqui = vacui 223
vastare 344
vasus -um 347, 356 (3)
vea = via 201
vecere = veh- 417
vecinus 229 (4)
veclus 234, 284
vedea 421
vedere 283
vegerae = veh- 417
ve(h)emens 250
vehere 417
vel ni
ville 126 (3), 403
vendita 37 (-ta)
vendutus 438
vene = bene 316
veni 428, 430
veninum 42
venire 126 (5)
venitius 436, 438, 440
venii 428, 430
veninum 42
venire 126 (5)
verba 436, 438, 440
verni 428, 430
ver 13
verbex = verbex 323
Verb Forms
Inflection: see Conjugation
Use 72, 101-30
Verbs: see Verb Forms
verbus 347, 349
verecundia 231
verecunnus 281
vernac(u)lus 234
vernatum tempus 13
ver(t)sus 291
vertragus 19

Digitized by Microsoft®
INDEX.

vervex 323
ves(s)ica 162
vestibat 420
vetatus 435
vet(e)ranus 219, 231
vetovaglia 154
vetulus 12, 13, 234, 284
vetus 13
veyo = video 272–3
vezem 445
vezzo 278
-vi = -vui 428
via 167, 201
viaticum 8, 239
vibi = bibi 318
vibit = ibit 316
victore (nom.) 367
victualia 18, 37
victorius 203
vic(u)lus' 234, 284
videderunt 426
video 272–3, 416
videre 72, 272–3, 283, 416, 428, 430, 438, 441
vidi 416
vidi 428, 430
vido = video 416
vidui = vidi 428, 430
vidutus 438, 441
viduus 226
vieni 177
vig(i)lat 259
vig(i)nti 142, 259, 380
vilescre 34
villa 10, 12, 358
villabus 358
Vincentzus 277
vincisti 426
vinctus 440
vinci 428
vinctus 440
vindemiator 224
vindico 239
vindemia 197
vindo = ve- 197
vinia = -ea 224
vinsi 428, 429
vinti 380

INDEX.

virus 347
virgineus 233
vir(i)diaria 237
vir(i)dis 237
vir(i)dura 18, 37
viror 37
virtus 10
visci = vixi 428, 429
visit = vixit 255; cf. 285, 428
vistus 441
vivus 441
vitellus 37
vitium 278
vitricus 13
vit(u)lus 234
vivus = vivus 324
vivacius 377
vixcit = vixit 255; cf. 285, 428
vixi = vixit 255, 428
vixi (t) 285; cf. 255, 428
vixutus 440
vobis 385; cf. 318
Vocabulary 6–49
Voicing 256–7, 286, 297, 314, 321

Clerical Pronun. 218
Diphthongs 209–16
Influence of Labials 217
Single Vowels 194–208
before gn 172 (2)
before j 170
before n + fricative 171
before nk 172 (1)
Breaking 177
Celtic Vowels 179
Close and Open 165
Differentiation 165
German Vowels 179
Greek Vowels 180–93
in hiatus 136–8, 167–9
in words borrowed by other languages 174–5
Latin Vowels 178
Position 160–4
Quantity 165–77, 221
Unaccented 219–45
Final Syl. 240–5
in hiatus 222–7
Init. Syl. 228–30
Intert. Syl. 231
Penult 232–9
Quantity 221
Vulgar Latin 3, 4
Vulgar Words 15, 19
vulnus (masc.) 349

w (Ger.) 344
w (Latin) 224
Waddo 344
wadum 344
wahta 343
walde 344
Wandali 344
warjan 344
warnjan 36, 407
wastare 344
watu 19, 344
wëra 19, 344
werrarius 39
werriare 33
widerlan 342

Digitized by Microsoft®
Wintrio 344
wisa 344
witan 36, 398
Word Order 50–3
wost– 344
x 246, 255, 266

y (Greek) 187
y (Latin) 224
ymnus 251

2 246
zabul(l)us = dia– 339
zacones = dia– 339
zaconus = dia– 272, 339
zagante 229 (3)
zamphogna 332
zamurini = ja– 339
zebus = die– 339
Zefurus 187
zelosus 339
zerax = hierax 339
zes = dies 272
Zesu = Jesu 272, 339
zeta = diezeta 339
zie = die 272
zins 260
zio 333
zizipfer 312 (1)
Zodorus = Theo– 277
Zogenes = Dio– 272
zosum = deorsum 339
Zouleia = Julia 272, 339