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OLD PROVENÇAL

C. H. Grandgent

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Heath's Modern Language Series

AN OUTLINE

OF THE

PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

OF

OLD PROVENÇAL

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS book, which is intended as a guide to students of Romance Philology, represents the result of desultory labors extending through a period of twenty years. My first introduction to the scientific pursuit of Provençal linguistics was a course given by Paul Meyer at the École des Chartes in the winter of 1884–85. Since then I have been collecting material both from my own examination of texts and from the works of those philologists who have dealt with the subject. Besides the large Grammars of the Romance Languages by Diez and by Meyer-Lübke, I have utilized H. Suchier's *Die französische und provenzalische Sprache* (in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, I, 561), the *Introduzione grammaticale* in V. Crescini's *Manualetto provenzale*, the *Abriss der Formenlehre* in C. Appel's *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, and many special treatises to which reference will be made in the appropriate places. Conscious of many imperfections in my work, I shall be grateful for corrections.

I have confined myself to the old literary language, believing that to be of the greatest importance to a student of Romance Philology or of Comparative Literature, and fearing lest an enumeration of modern forms, in addition to the ancient, might prove too bewildering. I should add that neither my own knowledge nor the material at my disposal is adequate to a satisfactory presentation of the living idioms

of southern France. These dialects have, however, been investigated for the light they throw on the geographical distribution of phonetic variations; my chief source of information has been F. Mistral's monumental *Dictionnaire provençal-français*. Catalan and Franco-Provençal have been considered only incidentally. I have not dealt with word-formation, because one of my students is preparing a treatise on that subject.

Readers desiring a brief description of Provençal literature are referred to H. Suchier and A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, pp. 56–96; A. Stimming, in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, ii, pp. 1–69; and A. Restori, *Letteratura provenzale*. For a more extended account of the poets they should consult *Die Poesie der Troubadours* and the *Leben und Werke der Troubadours* by F. Diez; and *The Troubadours at Home* by J. H. Smith. The poetic ideals are discussed by G. Paris in *Romania*, XII, pp. 516–34; and with great fulness by L. F. Mott in *The System of Courtly Love*. The beginnings of the literature are treated by A. Jeanroy in his *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*, reviewed by G. Paris in a series of important articles in the *Journal des Savants* (November and December, 1891, and March and July, 1892) reprinted separately in 1892 under the same title as Jeanroy's book. Contributions by A. Restori to several volumes of the *Rivista musicale italiana* deal with Provençal music; some tunes in modern notation are to be found in J. H. Smith's *Troubadours at Home*, and in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CX (New Series X), 110 (E. Bohn). Aside from the editions of individual poets, the best collections of verses are those of C. Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*; V. Crescini, *Manualetto provenzale*; and K. Bartsch, *Chresto-*

mathie provençale. Earlier and larger anthologies are M. Raynouard's *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours*, and C. A. F. Mahn's *Werke der Troubadours* and *Gedichte der Troubadours.* The only dictionary of importance for the old language is the *Lexique roman* (six volumes) of M. Raynouard, augmented by the *Supplement-Wörterbuch* of E. Levy (now appearing in instalments). The poetic language of the present day can be studied to advantage in E. Koschwitz's *Grammaire historique de la langue des Félibres.*

C. H. GRANDGENT.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., NOVEMBER, 1904.

ABBREVIATIONS AND TECHNICAL TERMS.

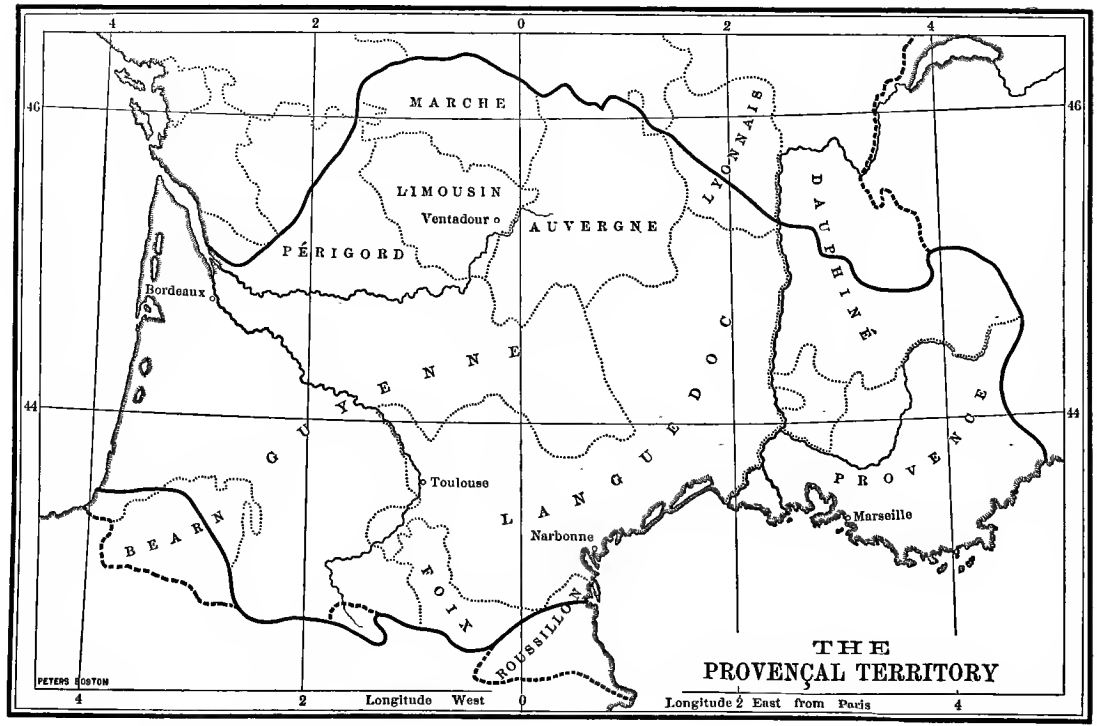
Abl.: ablative.
Acc.: accusative.
Cl.L.: Classic Latin.
Cond.: conditional.
Cons.: consonant.
Einf.: W. Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung in das Studium der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 1901.
F.: feminine.
Fr.: French.
Free (of vowels): not in position.
Fut.: future.
Gram.: W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, 3 vols., 1890–1900.
Grundriss: G. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, 2 vols., 1888–1902.
Imp.: imperfect.
Imper.: imperative.
Intertonic (of vowels): following the secondary and preceding the primary accent.
Intervocalic (of consonants): standing between two vowels.
It.: Italian.
Körting: G. Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, 2d ed., 1901.
Lat.: Latin.
Levy: E. Levy, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, 1894—.
Ltblt.: *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, monthly, Leipzig.
M.: masculine.
Nom.: nominative.
Obj.: objective (case).
Part.: participle.
Perf.: perfect.
Pers.: person.
Phon.: P. Marchot, *Petite phonétique du français prélittéraire*, 1901.
Pl.: plural.
Pr.: Provençal.
Pres.: present.
Pret.: preterit.
Raynouard: M. Raynouard, *Lexique roman*, 6 vols., 1836–44.
Rom.: *Romania*, quarterly, Paris.
Sg.: singular.
V.L.: Vulgar Latin.
Voc.: H. Schuchardt, *Vocalismus des Vulgärlateins*, 3 vols., 1866–68.
Voiced (of consonants): sonant, pronounced with vibration of the glottis.
Voiceless (of consonants): surd, pronounced without glottal vibration.
Vow.: vowel.
Zs.: *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 4 to 6 nos. a year, Halle.

SIGNS AND PHONETIC SYMBOLS.

N. B. — Phonetic characters not entered in this list are to be pronounced as in Italian. Whenever it is essential to distinguish spelling from pronunciation, *italic* type is used for the former, Roman for the latter.

• (under a vowel): close quality.
ɛ (under a vowel): open quality.
– (over a vowel): long quantity.
˘ (over a vowel): short quantity.
ˌ (under a letter): semivowel, not syllabic.
ˊ (over a letter): stress.
ʼ (after a consonant): palatal pronunciation.
* (before a word): conjectural, not found.
> (between words or letters): derivation, the *source* standing at the *open* end.
\+: followed by.

ạ: French *â* in *pâte*.
ą: French *a* in *patte*.
β: bilabial *v*, as in Spanish.
c: see k.
c′: palatal *k*, as in English *key*.
ð: English *th* in *this*.
ẹ: French *é* in *thé*.
ę: French *ê* in *fête*.
g: English *g* in *go*.
g′: palatal *g*, as in English *geese*.
h: English *h* in *hat*.
ị: French *i* in *si*.
į: English *i* in *pit*.
k: English *k* in *maker*.
k′: see c′.
l′: palatal *l*, as in Italian *figlio*.
n′: palatal *n*, as in Italian *ogni*.
ŋ: English *ng* in *sing*.
ọ: German *ō*, as in *sohn*.
ǫ: German *ŏ*, as in *sonne*.
r′: palatal *r*.
š: English *sh* in *ship*.
þ: English *th* in *thin*.
ụ: German *ū*, as in *gut*.
ų: German *ŭ*, as in *butter*.
ü: French *u* in *pur*.
w: English *w* in *woo*.
χ: German *ch* in *ach*.
y: English *y* in *ye*.
z: English *z* in *crazy*.
ž: French *j* in *jour*.



THE
PROVENÇAL TERRITORY

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AN OUTLINE OF THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF OLD PROVENÇAL.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. The language here studied is, in the main, that used by the poets of Southern France during the 12th and 13th centuries. The few works that we have earlier than the 12th century must, of course, be utilized for such information as they afford concerning the process of linguistic change; and lacking words or forms must occasionally be sought in writings later than the 13th. Prose literature, moreover, should not be neglected, as it greatly enlarges our vocabulary and throws much light on local divergences. The modern dialects need be cited only to determine the geographical distribution of variations.

2. The extent of the Provençal territory is sufficiently indicated by the map on p. viii. The upper black line separates Provençal on the northwest and north from French, on the northeast from Franco-Provençal; on the east are the Gallo-Italic dialects. The lower black line divides Provençal on the southwest from Basque, on the south from Spanish, on the southeast from Catalan. The boundary line between French and Provençal must be determined somewhat arbitrarily, as there is no distinct natural division; the several linguistic characteristics of each idiom do not end at the

same point, and thus one language gradually shades into the other. The line shown on the map is based on the development of free accented Latin a, which remains a in Provençal, but is changed to e in French. The limits of other phonetic phenomena may be found in Suchier's maps at the back of Vol. I of Gröber's *Grundriss*. There may be seen also a large map showing the place of Provençal among the Romance languages. Consult, furthermore, P. Meyer in *Romania*, XXIV, 529.

3. The Spanish and Gallo-Italic frontiers are more clearly defined, and Basque is entirely distinct. Franco-Provençal and Catalan, on the other hand, are closely related to Provençal and not always easy to divide from it. Catalan, in fact, is often classed as a Provençal dialect; but it is sufficiently different to be studied separately. Franco-Provençal, rated by some philologists as an independent language, has certain characteristics of Provençal and certain features of French, but more of the latter; in some respects it is at variance with both. The Gascon, or southwest, dialects of Provençal differ in many ways from any of the others and present not a few similarities to Spanish[1]; they will, however, be included in our study.

4. The Provençal domain embraces, then, the following old provinces: Provence, Languedoc, Foix, part of Béarn, Gascony, Guyenne, Limousin, most of Marche, Auvergne, the southwestern half of Lyonnais and the southern half of Dauphiné. The native speech in this region varies considerably from place to place, and the local dialects are, for convenience, roughly grouped under the names of the provinces; it should be remembered, however, that the political

[1] See E. Bourciez, *les Mots espagnols comparés aux mots gascons.*

and the linguistic boundaries rarely coincide. For some of the principal dialect differences, see §§ 8 and 10–13.

5. The old poets frequently called their language *lemosí*; and, in fact, the foundation of their literary idiom is the speech of the province of Limousin and the adjacent territory on the north, west, and southwest.[1] The supremacy of this dialect group is apparently due to the fact that it was generally used for composition earlier than any of the others: popular song, in all probability, had its home in the borderland of Marche[2]; religious literature in the vulgar tongue developed in the monasteries of this region; the artistic lyric was cultivated, we know, at the court of Ventadour, and it must have found favor at others. Furthermore, many of the leading troubadours belonged by birth or residence to the Limousin district.

6. The troubadours' verses, as we have them, seldom represent any one dialect in its purity. The poet himself was doubtless influenced both by literary tradition and by his particular local usage, as well as by considerations of rhyme and metre. Moreover, his work, before reaching us, passed through the hands of various intermediaries, who left upon it traces of their own pronunciation. It should be said, also, that the Limousin was not a single dialect, but a group of more or less divergent types of speech. For these reasons we must not expect to find in Provençal a uniform linguistic standard.

7. Neither was there a generally accepted system of orthography. When the vulgar tongue was first written, the

[1] See C. Chabaneau, *la Langue et la littérature du Limousin*, in the *Revue des langues romanes*, XXXV, 379.

[2] See G. Paris, *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge.*

Roman letters were used with approximately the same values that they had in Latin, as it was then pronounced. As the Provençal sounds changed, there was a conflict between the spellings first established and new notations based on contemporary speech. Furthermore, many Provençal vowels and consonants had no equivalents in Latin; for these we find a great variety of representations. The signs are very often ambiguous: for instance, *c* before *e* or *i* (as in *cen*, *cinc*) generally stands in the first texts for ts, in the more recent ones for s, the pronunciation having changed; *z* between vowels in early times usually means dz (*plazer*), but later z (*roza*); *i* between vowels (*maiór*) indicates either y or dž (English *j*), according to the dialect; a *g* may signify "hard" g (*gerra*), dž ("soft" *g*: *ges*), or tš (English *ch*: *mieg*). It is probable that for a couple of centuries diphthongs were oftenest written as simple vowels.

8. Some features of the mediæval pronunciation are still obscure. The close o was transformed, either during or soon after the literary epoch, into u (the sound of French *ou*); hence, when we meet in a late text such a word as *flor*, we cannot be certain whether it is to be sounded flor or flur. We do not know at what time Latin ū in southern France took the sound ü (French *u*): some suppose that it was during or shortly before the literary period; if this be true, the letter *u* (as in *tu*, *mur*) may represent in some texts u, in others ü. In diphthongs and triphthongs whose first element is written *u* (*cuer*, *fuolha*, *nueu*, *buou*), this letter came to be pronounced in most of the dialects like French *u* in *huit*, while in others it retained the sound of French *ou* in *oui*; we cannot tell exactly when or where, in ancient times, this development occurred. In the diphthongs ue, uo (*luec*, *fuoc*), opinions disagree as to which vowel originally bore the

stress; subsequent changes seem to indicate that in the 12th and 13th centuries the practice varied in the different dialects. Old Provençal must have had in some words a peculiar type of r, which was sufficiently palatal in its articulation to call for an i-glide before it (*esclairar*); we do not know precisely how it was formed; in most regions it probably was assimilated to the more usual r as early as the 12th century. The š and ž (palatal s and z) apparently ranged, in the several dialects, between the sounds of French *ch* and *j* on the one hand, and those of German *ch* (in *ich*) and *j* (in *ja*) on the other; the former types were largely assimilated, doubtless by the 13th century, to s and z (*pois*, *maisó*), the latter were not (*poih*, *maió*).

9. The following table comprises the Old Provençal sounds with their usual spellings, the latter being arranged, as nearly as may be, in the order of their frequency. Diphthongs and triphthongs are included in the vowel list, compound consonants in the consonant table. For an explanation of the phonetic symbols, see p. vii. The variant pronunciations are discussed in § 8.

VOWELS.

SOUND.	SPELLINGS.	EXAMPLES.
a̤	*a*	*pan*
ą	*a*	*car*
ai	*ai, ay*	*paire, cays*
au	*au*	*autre*
e̤	*e*	*pena*
ę	*e*	*cel*
e̤i	*ei, ey*	*vei, veyre*
ęi	*ei, ey*	*seis, teysser*
e̤u	*eu*	*beure*
ęu	*eu*	*breu*
i̤	*i, y*	*amic, ydola*

SOUND.	SPELLINGS.	EXAMPLES.
ię	*ie, e*	*quier, velh*
ięi	*iei, iey, ei*	*ieis, lieys, leit*
ięu	*ieu, eu*	*mieu, deus*
ịu	*iu*	*estiu*
ọ (or ụ)	*o, u*	*corre, sun*
ọ	*o*	*cors*
ọi	*oi, oy*	*conoisser, oyre*
ọi	*oi, oy*	*pois, poyssán*
ọu	*ou*	*dous*
ọu	*ou*	*mou*
ụ: see ọ, ü		
ü (or ụ?)	*u*	*mut*
uę, üę	*ue, o?*	*cuec, olh?*
uęi, üęi	*uei, uey, oi?*	*cueissa, pueyssas, oit?*
uęu, üęu	*ueu, ou?*	*nueu, bou?*
üi	*ui, uy*	*cuit, duy*
uọ, üọ	*uo, o*	*gruoc, folha*
uọi, üọi	*uoi, oi*	*puoi, noit*
uọu, üọu	*uou, ou*	*pluou, ou*

CONSONANTS.

SOUND.	SPELLINGS.	EXAMPLES.
b	*b, bb*	*bel, abbat*
d	*d*	*don*
dz	*z, c*	*plazer, dicén*
dž	*i, g, tg, gg, ti, tgi, ih*	*ioc, gen, paratge, viagge, coratie, lotgiar, puihar*
ð	*d*	*veder*
f	*f, ph*	*fer, phizica*
g	*g, gu*	*gras, guan, guerra*
h (Gascon)	*h, f?*	*ham, fe?*[1]
k	*c, qu, k, g*	*cais, quar, quer, ki, longs*[2]
l	*l, ll*	*leu, belleza*

[1] This h (coming from f) is peculiar to Gascon; the other dialects have no h.

[2] *G, b, d* are sounded k, p, t only at the end of a word or before a final s.

SOUND.	SPELLINGS.	EXAMPLES.
l′	*lh, ill, ilh, ll, l, il, yl, yll, li*	*fuelha, meillor, failha, vellar, viel, voil, fiyl, fayllentia, filia*
m	*m, mm*	*mes, commanda*
n	*n, nn*	*nas, annat*
n′	*nh, gn, inh, ign, ing, innh, ingn, ngn, nn, n, in, ng, ynh, ni, ny, nyh*	*cenher, plagner, poinh, seignor, soing, poinnher, fraingner, ongnimen, vinna, franén, soin, sengor, poynh, lenia, senyoria, senyhor*
ŋ	*n*	*lonc*
p	*p, pp, b*	*prop, apparer, obs*[1]
r	*r*	*rire*
r′	*r*	*cuer*
rr	*rr*	*terra*[2]
s	*s, ss, c, ç, x*	*sap, fassa, cenat, ça, locx*
š	*ss, s, sh, h, hs*	*faissa, cais, pueysh, Foih, faihs*
t	*t, tt, d*	*tot, attenir, nud*[1]
ts	*c, z, tz, ç, gz, cz, ti*	*cel, faz, parlatz, ço, fagz, czo, fayllentia*[3]
tš	*ch, g, ich, ig, h, gz*	*chan, plag, ueich, faig, lah, gaugz*[4]
v	*u* (printed *v*)	*ven*
y	*i, y*	*gabia, preyar*
z	*s, z, ç*	*pausa, roza, rïçia* (< *rīdēbat*)
ž	*s, z, i*	*raso, poizo, maio*

10. The Gascon group presents certain striking divergences from the other dialects: (1) it shows a b corresponding to Provençal v, as in *be* = *ve* < *vĕnit*, *abetz* = *avetz* < *habētis*; (2) it substitutes r for l between vowels, as in *bera* = *bela* < *bĕlla*; (3) it changes initial f to h, as in *he* = *fe* < *fĭdem*. Other Gascon peculiarities are less ancient, less general, or less important.

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[1] *G*, *b*, *d* are sounded k, p, t only at the end of a word or before a final s.

[2] Rr is generally distinguished from r, but there are a few examples of their confusion in rhyme.

[3] Ts is usually written *c* at the beginning of a word, *z* or *tz* at the end.

[4] *G* has the sound of tš only at the end of a word or combined with final *z*.

11. Some distinctions may be pointed out between the speech of the north and that of the south:—

(1) Latin ca and ga, either at the beginning of a word or after a consonant, became respectively tša and dža in the northern dialects[1], and remained unchanged in the southern: *canto* > *chan can*, *lŏnga* > *lonia longa*.

(2) Latin ct and gd became it and id in most of the north and in the southwest[1], tš and dž in most of the south and in the northwest[2]: *factum* > *fait fach*, *frig(i)da* > *freida freia*. Nct became int, nt, n', ntš in different regions: *sanctum* > *saint sant sanh sanch*. Cs (Latin *x*) had various local developments—is, itš, tš—somewhat similar to those of ct: *exīre* > *eissir eichir ichir*.

(3) Latin d between vowels disappeared in some spots in the north and northeast[1], and became z nearly everywhere else: *audīre* > *auir auzir*.

(4) Latin ll became l' in some parts of the south[2], and usually l in other regions: *bĕlla* > *belha bela*.

(5) Provençal final ns remains in the southeast and east, and is elsewhere generally reduced to s: *bŏnus* > *bons bos*. Provençal final n also falls in a large region, but its history is more intricate; the poets use indifferently forms with and without *n*: *bĕne* > *ben be*.

12. Several Latin consonants, when combined with a following e̯ or i̯, give results that are widely different in various localities, but the geographical distribution of the respective forms is complicated and not always clear: *pŏdium* > *puech poi*; *basiare* > *baisar basar baiiar baiar*; *bassiare* > *baissar baichar bachar*; *potiōnem* > *poizon pozon poio*. The same thing

[1] Cf. French. [2] Cf. Spanish.

may be said of intervocalic y (Latin *j*): *major* > *mager maier.* Also of intervocalic c, sc, g, ŋg, followed by e or i: *placēre* > *plazer plaizer plager, nascere* > *naisser nasser naicher nacher, lēgem* > *lei leg, ŭngere* > *onher onger.*

13. In the development of unstressed vowels there are very numerous local variations, which will be discussed later. Even among accented vowels there are some divergences:—

(1) Provençal a̤, e̤, o̤ before nasals become a̤, e̤, o̤ in some dialects, especially in those belonging to or bordering on the Limousin group: *canem* > ca̤n ca̤n, *vĕnit* > ve̤n ve̤n, *bŏnum* > bo̤n bo̤n. The poets nearly always use the forms with close vowels.

(2) The breaking of e̤, o̤, under certain conditions, into diphthongs is not common to the whole territory, and the resulting forms show local differences: *mĕum* > me̤u mie̤u, *fŏcum* > fo̤c fuo̤c fue̤c füc. Breaking is least common in the southwest.

II. PHONOLOGY.

14. Inasmuch as Provençal, like the other Romance languages, grew out of the Latin commonly spoken under the Roman Empire, we must take this latter language as our starting-point. The transformation was so gradual and continuous that we cannot assign any date at which speech ceases to be Latin and begins to be Provençal; since, however, the various Latin dialects—destined to become later the various Romance languages—began to diverge widely in the 6th and 7th centuries, we may, for the sake of convenience, say that the Latin period ends at about this time. Before this, certain changes (which affected all the Romance tongues) had occurred in the popular language, differentiating it considerably from the classic Latin of the Augustan writers. Although the most important of these alterations have to do with inflections rather than with pronunciation, the sound-changes in Vulgar Latin are by no means insignificant.

15. It is essential at the outset to distinguish "popular" from "learned" words. The former, having always been a part of the spoken vocabulary, have been subject to the operation of all the phonetic laws that have governed the development of the language. The latter class, consisting of words borrowed by clerks, at various periods, from Latin books and from the Latin of the Church, is naturally exempt from sound-changes that occurred in the vulgar tongue before

the time of their adoption. The form of learned words depends, in the first place, on the clerical pronunciation of Latin at the date of their borrowing; then, if they came into general use, their form was subject to the influence of any phonetic laws that were subsequently in force. The fate of borrowed terms differs, therefore, according to the time of their introduction and the degree of popularity which they afterwards attained.

1. ACCENT.

16. The place of the *primary* accent, which in Classic Latin was determined by quantity, remained unchanged in Vulgar Latin even after quantitative distinctions were lost. A short vowel before a mute followed by a liquid may, in Classic Latin, be stressed or unstressed; in Vulgar Latin it is usually stressed: *cathédra*, *tenébræ*.[1]

There are some exceptions to the rule of the persistence of the accent in Vulgar Latin:—

1. An accented e or i immediately followed by the vowel of the penult transfers the stress to this latter vowel, and is itself changed to y: *filĭólus* > *filyólus*, *mulĭérem* > *mulyére*. This shift is perhaps due to a tendency to stress the more sonorous of two contiguous vowels.

2. An accented u immediately followed by the vowel of the penult transfers the stress to the *preceding* syllable, and is itself changed to w: *habúĕrunt* > *ábwerunt*, *tenúĕram* > *ténwera*. This shift cannot be explained on the same principle as the foregoing one; it is perhaps due in every case to analogy—*hábuit*, *ténui*, for instance, being responsible for the change in *habúerunt*, *tenúeram*.

3. Verbs compounded with a prefix, if their constituent parts were fully recognized, were usually replaced in Vulgar Latin by a formation in which the vowel and the accent of the simple verb were preserved: *défĭcit* > *disfácit*, *réddĭdi* > *reddédi*, *rénĕgo* > *renégo*, *réquĭrit* > *requærit*. In

[1] For some exceptions see *Rom.*, XXXII, 591; P. Marchot, *Phon.*, p. 9.

récĭpit > *recípit* the accent but not the vowel was restored, speakers having ceased to associate this verb with *capio*. In *cólligo*, *érigo*, *éxĕo*, *ínflo* the composite nature of the word was apparently not recognized.

4. The adverbs *íllāc*, *íllīc* accented their last syllable, by the analogy of *hāc*, *hīc*.

17. In Provençal the primary accent falls on the same syllable as in Vulgar Latin: *bonitātem* > V. L. *bonitáte* > Pr. *bontát*, *compŭtum* > V. L. *cómputu* > Pr. *cónte*; *cathĕdra* > V. L. *catédra* > Pr. *cadéira*; *filiŏlus* > V. L. *filyólus* > Pr. *filhóls*, *tenuĕram* > V. L. *ténwera* > Pr. *téngra*, *requĭrit* > V. L. *requærit* > Pr. *requér*, *illac* > V. L. *illác* > Pr. *lai*.

1. Some learned words have an irregular accentuation, apparently due to a mispronunciation of the Latin: *cándĭdum* > *quandí*, *grammátĭca* > *gramatíca*, *láchrўmo* > *lagrím*, *spirĭtum* > *esprít* (perhaps from the formula *spirítui sancto*). Others were adopted with the correct stress, but shifted it later: *fábrĭca* > *fábrega* > *fabréga* (and *fárga*), *fémĭna* > *fémena* > *feména* (and *fémna*), *láchrўma* > *lágrema* > *lagréma*, *sémĭnat* > *sémena* > *seména* (and *sémna*), *vírgĭnem* > *vérgena* > *vergína* (and *vérge*).

2. *Dimércres* < *dīe Mercūrī* has evidently been influenced by *divénres* < *dīe Vĕnĕris*.

3. Some irregularities due to inflection will be discussed under Morphology.

18. The *secondary* accent, in Vulgar Latin, seems not to have followed the Classic Latin quantitative rule, but to have fallen regularly on the second syllable from the primary stress: *cŏgĭtó*, *cupĭdĭtātem*. If this secondary accent *followed* the tonic, its vowel probably developed as an unstressed post-tonic vowel; if it *preceded*, its vowel was apparently treated as a stressed vowel. This treatment was doubtless continued in Provençal until the intertonic vowel dropped out: *cógĭtó cógĭtánt* > *cug cúian* (cf. *cánto cántant* > *can cántan*), *cupĭdĭtátem* > *cupéðitáte* > *cubéðtát* > *cobeitát*. As may be seen from this last example, after the fall of the intertonic vowel,

the secondary stress, being brought next to the primary, disappeared, and its vowel was henceforth unaccented. Cf. § 45, 1.

19. Short, unemphatic words had no accent in Vulgar Latin, and were attached as particles to the beginning or the end of another word: *te vídet, áma me.* Such words, if they were not monosyllabic, tended to become so; a dissyllabic proclitic beginning with a vowel regularly, in Vulgar Latin, lost its first syllable: *illum vídeo* > V. L. *lu véyo* > Pr. *lo vei.* A word which was used sometimes independently, sometimes as a particle, naturally developed double forms.

2. VOWELS.

QUANTITY.

20. Latin had the following vowels, which might be long or short: a, e, i, o, u. The diphthongs, æ, œ, au, eu, ui, were always long: æ and œ, however, were simplified into monophthongs, mainly in the Republican epoch, *æ* being sounded ę̄, *æ* probably ę̄; au retained (save in some popular dialects) its old pronunciation; eu did not occur in any word that survived; ui, in *cui, illui,* in Vulgar Latin, was accented *úi* (as in *fui*). The simple vowels, except a, were, doubtless from early times, slightly different in quality according to their quantity, the long vowels being sounded close, the short open: ę̄, ī, ǭ, ū; ę̆, ĭ, ǫ̆, ŭ.

21. Between the 1st and the 7th century of our era, the Classic Latin quantity died out: it had apparently disappeared from unstressed vowels as early as the 4th century, from stressed by the 6th. It left its traces, however, as we have seen, upon accentuation (§ 16), and also upon vowel

quality, the originally long and short remaining differentiated in sound, if they were accented. Of the unaccented vowels, only i shows sure signs of such a differentiation, and even for i the distinction is evident only in a final syllable: *vēnī vēnĭt* > veṇi veṇiṭ.

ACCENTED VOWELS.

22. The vowels of Vulgar Latin are a, ẹ, ẹ, i̯, i̯, ọ, ọ, u̯, u̯, with the diphthongs áu and úi; the old æ and œ had become identical in sound with ẹ and ẹ. As early as the 3d century of our era, i̯ was changed, in nearly all the Empire, to ẹ, and thus became identical with the vowel coming from original ē. A little later, perhaps, u̯, in the greater part of the Empire, became ọ, thus coinciding with the vowel that was originally ō. Ypsilon, in words taken from the Greek, was identified, in early borrowings, with Latin u; in later ones, with Latin i: βύρσα > Pr. *borsa*, γῦρος > Pr. *girs*. Omicron, which apparently had the close sound in Greek, generally (but not always) retained it in recently borrowed words in Vulgar Latin: τόρνος > tọrnus (cf. Pr. tọrn), but κόλαφος > *cŏlăphus* = cọlapus or cọlapus (cf. Pr. cọlp).

The development of the Vulgar Latin vowels in Provençal will now be examined in detail:—

a

23. Cl. L. ā, ă > V. L. a > Pr. ạ: *ărbŏrem* > ạrbre, *grātum* > grạt, *măre* > mạr.

1. The ending *-arius* shows an irregular development in French and Provençal, the Provençal forms being mainly such as would come from *-ĕrius*; as in *parlier*, *parleira*. In the earliest stage we find apparently -ẹr′ and -ẹr′a; then -ẹr′ and -ẹir′a; next -ẹr, -i̯ẹr and -ẹira, -i̯ẹira; finally, with a reciprocal influence of the two genders, -ẹr, -i̯ẹr, -ẹir, and -ẹra, -i̯ẹra, -ẹira, -i̯ẹira: *caballarium* > *c(h)avaler -ier*, *-eir*, **man(u)aria*

> *manera -iera -eira -ieira.* The peculiar treatment of this suffix has not been satisfactorily explained. See E. R. Zimmermann, *Die Geschichte des lateinischen Suffixes -arius in den romanischen Sprachen*, 1895; E. Staaff, *Le suffixe -arius dans les langues romanes*, Upsala, 1896, reviewed by Marchot in *Zs.*, XXI, 296, by Körting in *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XXII, 55; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, I, 222, § 237; Zimmermann in *Zs.*, XXVI, 591; Thomas in *Rom.*, XXXI, 481. The most promising theory is that of Thomas: that *-arius* was associated with the Germanic ending *-ari* and participated in the *umlaut* which affected the latter; cf. also P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 34–36.

2. In Gascony and Languedoc *ei* is used for *ai* < *habeo.* The *ei* perhaps developed first as a future ending (*amar -ei*) by analogy of the preterit ending *-ei* (*amei*): see Morphology, §§ 152, 1, 162, (4), 175, (4), where this latter ending is discussed also. For a different explanation, see Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, I, 222, § 237.

3. A few apparent irregularities are to be traced to the vocabulary of Vulgar Latin. For instance, Pr. *sereisa* represents, not Cl. L. *cĕrăsus*, but V. L. *cĕrĕsĕa*: see Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, § 103. *Uebre* is from **ŏpĕrit*, or *apĕrit* modified by **cŏpĕrit* = *cōperit*. *Voig* is from **vŏcĭtum* = *vacuum*: *Einf.*, § 114.

4. Such forms as *fontaina* = *fontana* < *fontāna*, etc., and *tres* = *tras* < *trans*, etc., are French or belong to the borderland between French and Provençal.

24. In some dialects, particularly in Rouergue, Limousin, Auvergne, and Dauphiné, a became ạ before a nasal, and at the end of a monosyllable or an oxytone: *cănem* > cạn, *grandem* > grạnt, *cadit* > cạ, *stat* > esta.

1. The conditions differ somewhat in the various dialects, according as the nasal consonant falls or remains, and is followed by another consonant or not. In Limousin the sound is ạ before an n that cannot fall: see § 11, (5). In Rouergue and in Dauphiné, ạ appears before all nasals. The poets generally follow the Limousin usage. See F. Pfützner, *Ueber die Aussprache des provenzalischen A*, Halle, 1884.

ẹ

25. Cl. L. ē, ĭ, œ > V. L. ẹ > Pr. ẹ: *habēre* > avẹr, *mē* > mẹ,

mensem > mes, *plēnum* > plen, *rēgem* > rei, *vēndĕre* > vendre; *ĭnter* > entre, *fĭdem* > fe, *malĭtia* > maleza, *mĭnus* > mens, *mĭttĕre* > metre, *sĭccum* > sec, *vĭrĭdem* > vert; *pœna* > pena.

1. Some words have ę instead of e:—

(*a*) The ending *-ētis* in the present indicative becomes -ętz through the analogy of ętz < *ĕstis*.

(*b*) Camęl (also e), candęla (also e), cruzęl, fizęl (also e), maissęla have ę through the analogy of the suffix -ęl < *-ĕllus*. In *camel* the substitution probably goes back to Vulgar Latin.

(*c*) Many learned words, including proper names, have ę for e: decręt, Elizabęt, Moysęs, pantęra, requięs, secręt (e), sencęr.

(*d*) Espęr for espęr < *spĕro*, quęt for quęt < *qu(ĭ)ētum* are perhaps bad rhymes. Bartolomeo Zorzi, a Venetian, rhymes -ęs with -ęs; in Catalan these two endings were not distinguished.

(*e*) Individual cases: adęs, 'at once,' probably from *ad id ĭpsum*, seems to have been affected by pręs and apręs < *ad prĕssum*; mostięr < *monastērium* shows the influence of *ministĕrium*; nęr nięr (also nęr nęgre) < *nĭgrum* perhaps shows the influence of entęr entięr and the numerous adjectives in -ęr -ięr; nęu nięu nęy < *nĭvem* has been attracted by bręu gręu, lęu; sęze < *sēdĕcim* follows sęis < *sĕx*; senęstre (cf. late Lat. *sinexter*) is evidently influenced by dęstre.

2. Many words have i instead of e:—

(*a*) *Berbitz* = *vervēcem*, *camisa* = *camĭsia*, *dit* = *dĭctum* come from alternative V. L. forms, *berbīcem*, **camīsia*, **dīgitum*.

(*b*) In many learned words Latin ĭ is represented by i in Provençal: *albir*, *martire*, *edifici*, *iuzizi*, *servizi*, *vici*, etc.; *iusticia*, *leticia*, *tristicia*, etc.; *planissa*, *sebissa*, etc. *Aurilha* (also e) < *aurĭcula*, *cilh* (also *cieilh*, *sobreselhs*) < *cĭlium*, *issilh* < *exĭlium*, *familha* < *famĭlia*, *maistre* (also maęstre maięstre) < *magĭstrum*, *meravilha* (also e) < *mirabĭlia*, *perilh* < *perĭculum*, etc., are probably learned forms. *Máistre* and *mestre* are French.

(*c*) *Ciri* (*cere*) = *cēreum*, *iure* (cf. *ebriac*) = *ēbrium* (or **ĕbrium*), *marquis* (e), *merci* (e), *pais* (e) = **pagēnsem*, *plazir* (e), *pris* (e), etc., are French. For a discussion of *iure* and a different explanation of *ciri*, see P. Savj-Lopez, *Dell' "Umlaut" provenzale*, 1902, p. 4.

(*d*) *Ins* (also *entz*) < *ĭntus*, *dins* (also *dens*) < *de ĭntus*, *dintre* (cf. *en*, *entre*) < *de ĭnter* have not been satisfactorily explained. Regular forms with e are found in Béarn, Gascony, Dauphiné, and the Alps.

(*e*) Individual cases: *tapit* < ταπήτιον shows the modern pronunciation of Greek η; *verin* = *venēnum* is an example of substitution of suffix.

3. *Arnei, fei, mei* = *me, palafrei, perquei, sei* = *se* are French or borderland forms. *Mercey, rey* = *re*, used by Marcabru, seem to be due either to an imitation of such forms as the preceding or to the analogy of *crei cre* < *crēdo*. Cf. § 65, N, 3.

4. *Contránher* seems to be a fusion of *constrĭngere* and *contrahere*; *vendanha* < *vindēmia* shows French influence.

26. An ẹ in hiatus became i: *lĭgat* > lia, **sĭam* > sia, *vĭa* > via.

27. When there was in the next syllable a final ī, V. L. ẹ was changed in Provençal to i: *ecc'ĭllī* > cilh, *ecc'ĭstī* > cist, *fēcī* > fis, **prēsī* > pris, **vēnuī* > vinc, *vigĭntī* **vĭntī* > vint.

1. In the nominative plural of masculine nouns and adjectives this change was regularly prevented by the analogy of the singular and the accusative plural: *mĭssī* > *mes*, *plēnī* > *plen*. We find, however, *cabil* < *capĭllī*.

2. *Dec* for **dic* < *dēbuī* is probably due to the influence of the weak ending –ẹc, which owes its ẹ to the –ẹi –ẹst –ẹt of the first and third conjugations. *Venguest* for *venguist* < **venuĭstī* is due both to the influence of the plural forms *venguem, venguetz* and to the analogy of the weak preterits, such as *cantest, vendest*.

ẹ

28. Cl. L. ĕ, æ > V. L. ẹ > Pr. ẹ: *infĕrnum* > enfẹrn, *fĕrrum* > fẹr, *pĕdem* > pẹ, *trĕmŭlat* > trẹmbla; *cælum* > cẹl, *quærit* > quẹr.

1. Such forms as *glisia, lire, pire, pis, profit* are French. *Profich* may be a cross between *profieg* and *profit*, or it may be due to the analogy of *dich*.

2. *Cossint, mint, sint*, used by Arnaut Daniel, are perhaps faulty rhymes.

3. *Auzil* < *avicĕllī*, in the *Boeci*, may be due to the analogy of such plural forms as *cabil* < *capĭllī*, *il* < *illī*, etc. *Briu*, sometimes used for

breu < *brĕvem*, is evidently connected with *abrivar*, 'hasten,' the origin of which is uncertain. *Elig* shows the influence either of *eligir* (beside *elegir*) or of *dig*. *Ginh* = *genh* < *ingĕnium* evidently follows *ginhos* < *ingeniōsus* and its derivatives. *Isme* (*esme*) is a post-verbal noun from **ismar* (cf. *azismamen*), a dialect form of *esmar* < *æstimare*. *Quis* < **quæsi*, *tinc* < *tĕnui* are due to the analogy of *pris* < **prēsī*, *vinc* < **vēnui*.

4. Beside nẹula < *nĕbula*, we find *nebla*, *neble*, presumably from the same source, and also *nible*, *niól*, *nióla*, *niúl*, *niúla*, *nivól*. According to Nigra, *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XV, 494, *nūbes* > *nūbĭlus* > **nĭbŭlus* (and **nĭbūlus*?), whence might be derived **niúlus* **niúlụs*, which would account for *niól–a*, *niúl–a*, and perhaps for a **nívol* > *nivól*. *Nible* might be regarded as a cross between *neble* and *niul*.

5. In ẹs < *ĕst* the ẹ probably comes from such combinations as mẹ's, quẹ's, understood as m'ẹs, qu'ẹs. Espẹlh < *spĕculum* shows the influence of cosselh, solẹlh. Estẹla presupposes a Latin **stēla* or **stēlla* for stĕlla: cf. the Fr. and It.

6. *Plais*, 'hedge' seems to be a cross between *plĕxus* and *paxillus*, 'fence.' *Vianda* (< *vivenda*?) is probably French.

7. *Volon* < *volentem* shows the influence of the ending *–ŭndus*.

8. *Greuga* < *con–gregar* has been influenced by *greu* < **grĕvem* = *gravem* influenced by *lĕvem*. Cf. *grey* < *grĕgem*.

29. Before a nasal, in most of the dialects of Limousin, Languedoc, and Gascony, ẹ became ẹ: *bĕne* > bẹn, *dicĕnṭem* > dizẹn, *tĕmpus* > tẹms, *tĕnet* > tẹn, *vĕniam* > vẹnha, *vĕntum* > vẹnt.

30. Early in the history of Provençal, before u, i, or one of the palatal consonants l′, r′, s′, z′, y, tš, dž, an ẹ broke into iẹ, except in a few dialects of the west and north: *dĕus* > dieus, *mĕum* > mieu; *amāvi* > **amai* > amẹi amieẹi, **fĕria* > fieẹira, **ec(c)lĕsia*? (Cf. *Zs.*, XXV, 344) > glieẹiza, *lĕctum* > lieẹit, *pĕjus* > pieẹis; *vĕtŭlum vĕclum* > vielh, *ministĕrium* > mestieẹr, **ec(c)lĕsia*? > glieẹza, *mĕdia* > mieẹia, *lĕctum* > lieg. There seems to be also, at least in some dialects, a tendency to break the ẹ before a g or a k: *lĕgunt* > liegon; **sĕquit* > sẹc

sięc, subjunctive sięgas (sęga), but infinitive sęgre < **sĕquere*.[1]

The breaking was probably due to a premature lifting of the tongue under the influence of a following high vowel or a palatal (or velar) consonant.[2] Before u it occurred everywhere except in the extreme west; before palatals the ę apparently remained intact both in the extreme west and in Quercy, Rouergue, Auvergne, and Dauphiné. At first, no doubt, the diphthong was less marked than it became in the 12th and 13th centuries. It is not indicated in our oldest text, the *Boeci* (*breu*, *deu*, *eu*, *mei*, *meler*, *vel*)[3], and it frequently remains unexpressed even in the writings of the literary period.

It is to be noted that ę does not break before u < l nor before i < *ð*: *bĕllus* > bęls > bęus, *pĕtra* > *pęðra > pęira, *Pĕtrum* > * Pęðre > Pęire, *rĕtro* > * ręðre > ręire[4]. The breaking must, therefore, have occurred before these developments of l and *ð*, both of which apparently antedate the *Boeci*: cf. *euz* = *els*, v. 139; *eu* = *el*, v. 155; *Teiric* < * *Teðric* < *Theodorīcum*, v. 44, etc. On the other hand, there is no diphthong before ts, dz, s, z coming from Latin c′, cy, pty, tty, ty: *dĕcem* > dętz, *pĕttia* (or *pĕcia*) > pęssa, *nĕptia* > nęssa, **prĕtiat* > pręza, *prĕtium* > prętz[5]. The breaking, therefore, took

[1] There is no diphthong in the preterit ending -ęc: cazęc, etc.

[2] This view is a modification of the theory developed by C. Voretzsch in his admirable treatise, *Zur Geschichte der Diphthongierung im Altprovenzalischen*, Halle, 1900. That ę is not affected by an i in the following syllable is shown by such words as empęri, evangęli, salțęri, which must have been adopted fairly early. The same thing is true of ǫ: apostǫli, ǫli, etc.

[3] The diphthong of ǫ occurs, however, in this text, v. 203, in *uel* < *ŏculi*.

[4] *Derrier* (*derer*, *dereer*), beside *dereire*, is manifestly due to the influence of *primier*. To the influence of the same ending *-ier*, as in *carr(i)eira*, is to be ascribed the diphthong in *cad(i)eira* < *cathĕdra*.

[5] The things just said of ę are true of ǫ: there is no breaking before u < l (tǫut = tǫlt) nor before ts, dz, s, z (*nŏcet* > nǫtz, * *nŏptias* > nǫssas).

place after these consonants had ceased to be palatal. We may ascribe it with some confidence to the period between the seventh and tenth centuries.

1. A number of cases of ię before r are doubtless to be explained by analogy. *Hĕri* > ęr; *autre* + *er* > autręr, which, through the influence of adjectives in –ęr –ięr, became autrięr: hence the form ięr. *Fĕrio, mĕreo* > fięr, mięr; hence, by analogy, the first person forms profięr, quięr, then the third person forms fięr, mięr, profięr, quięr, sięrf (but sęrvon, sęrva), and the subjunctives ofięira, sofię(i)ra.

2. Ięsc (= *ĕxeo*), ięscon, ięsca receive their diphthong either from earlier forms with s′ or from ięis < *ĕxit*.

ị

31. Cl. L. ī > V. L. ị: *amīcum* > amịc, *fīnem* > fịn, *trīstem* > trịst.

1. Freg, frẹit are from V. L. **frĭgdum* = *frīgĭdum*, the ĭ being perhaps due to the analogy of *rĭgĭdum*.

32. In the 13th century or earlier the group iu, in most dialects, became ieu: *captīvum* > caitiu caitieu, *æstīvum* > estiu esticu, *revīvĕre* > reviure revieure, *sī vōs* > sius sieus.

ọ

33. Cl. L. ō, ŭ > V. L. ọ > Pr. ọ, which developed into ụ probably during the literary period: *dolōrem* > dolọr, *spōnsa* > espọsa, *flōrem* > flọr; *bŭcca* > bọca, *gŭla* > gọla.

1. An irregular ọ, which is found in some words, goes back to Vulgar Latin: cọbra = *re–cŭperat*, cọsta (also ọ) = *cōnstat*, nọra = *nŭra*, ọu = *ōvum*, plọia = *plŭvia*, redọbla = **redŭplat*, sọbra = *sŭperat*, suefre = *sŭffero*. V. L. **cŏperat* may be regarded as a fusion of *cŭperat* and **cŏperit* (§ 40, 1; cf. *Rom.* XXXI, 9); **cŏstat* is unexplained; **nŏra* shows the influence of *sŏror* and *sŏcĕra*; the *ŏ* of **ŏvum* has been explained as due to differentiation from the following *v*; **plŏia* is to be connected with the popular *plŏvĕre* (cf. Meyer–Lübke, *Einf.*, § 142); **sŏperat* follows the analogy of **cŏperat*; **sŏffero* evidently follows *ŏffero*. Redọbla (also ọ)

is not accounted for. If trọba has anything to do with *tŭrbat*, it was perhaps influenced by *prŏbat* (cf. *Zs.*, XXVIII, 50).

2. Some words have ü: iüs (also iọs) < *deōrsum* shows the influence of süs < *sūrsum*; lür (usually lọr) < *illōrum* (cf. *lur* in the dialects of Navarre and Aragon) comes through an **illūrum* due to the analogy of *illūi* = *illi*; melhüra (ọ), peiüra (ọ) perhaps follow aüra < **a(u)gūrat*; rancüra is a mixture of *rancōrem* and *cūra*; üis is from V. L. *ūstium* = *ōstium* (cf. *Zs.*, XXV, 355); üpa < *ŭpŭpa* is due to onomatopœa.

3. The adverbs *ar*, *ara*, *er*, *era*, *eras*, meaning 'now,' are hardly to be connected with *hōra*. Meyer–Lübke takes *era*, etc., from a Latin **era* corresponding to Greek ἄρα; *ara*, *ar* may come directly from ἄρα, ἄρ: cf. *Gr.*, III, 552, note.

4. *Adoutz*, 'fount,' from *addŭctus*, probably owes its *ou* to the analogy of *doutz*, *adouzar*, from *dŭlcis*.

5. *Tonleu*, 'tariff,' from τελώνιον, shows a metathesis of vowels and of consonants.

34. Before tš, dž (and it, id), before n′, and before final i, an ọ becomes ü in various dialects: *cōgĭtat* > cüia cüida, **stŭdiat* > estüia, *fŭgit* > füg, *refŭgium* > refüg; *jŭngĕre* > iünher, *ŭngĕre* > ünher, *pŭgnum* > pünh; *dŭī* > düi, *sŭm* > sọ + i > süi. The ü before tš, dž apparently occurs everywhere except in Dauphiné; before n′ it is to be found in nearly all the dialects of the north and west; before final i it seems to be limited to Bordeaux, Auvergne, and a part of Languedoc.

ọ

35. Cl. L. ŏ > V. L. ọ > Pr. ọ: *cŏr* > cọr, *cŏrpus* > cọrs, *mŏrtem* > mọrt, *ŏpĕra* > ọbra, *rŏta* > rọda.

1. For demọra (also ọ) < *demŏrat, see Meyer–Lükbe, *Gram.*, I, 204, § 220. For prọa (also prọa, prueva) < *prŏbat*, see *Rom.*, XXXI, 10, footnote 3.

36. Before a nasal, in most of the dialects of Limousin, Languedoc, and Gascony, ọ became ọ: *bŏnum* > bọn, *fŏntem*

> fọnt, *pŏntem* > pọnt. Cf. E. Levy in *Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à Carl Wahlund*, 1896, p. 207.

1. If the nasal was n′, the vowel remained open in most or all of these dialects: *cŏgnĭta* > *coinda cuenda cuenhda*, *lŏnge* > *lonh luenh*, *sŏmnium* > *sonh suenh*.

37. Early in the history of Provençal, before u, a labial consonant, a g or a k, an i, or one of the palatal consonants l′, n′, r′, s′, z′, y, tš, dž, an ọ broke, in most dialects, into a diphthong which developed into ue, üo, üe, or ü[1]: *bŏvem* > bọu büọu büeu, **ŏvum* > ọu üou üeu, *nŏvus* > nọus nüous nüeus; **cŏpero* > cọbri cüebre[2], *nŏva* > nọva nüeva, *ŏpus* > ọps üops, *prŏbat* > prọa prüeva, **trŏpo*? > trọp trüeb; *cŏquus* > cọcs cüocs cüex, *fŏcum* > fọc füoc füec füc, *crŏcus* > grọcs grüocs grüecs, *jŏcum* > iọc iüoc iüec iüc, *lŏcus* > lọcs lüocs lüecs, *lŏcat* > lüoga, *pŏtui* > püec, *sŏc(ĕ)rum* > (sọzer) sọgre süegre (fem. süegra); **ingrŏssiat* > engrọissa engrüeissa, **angŏstia* > engọissa engüeissa, *nŏctem* > nọit nüoit nüeit, *ŏcto* > ọit üeit, *pŏstea* > pọissas püeissas, *prŏximus* > prọymes prüeymes; *fŏlia* > fọlha füolha füelha fülha, *ŏcŭlus ŏclus* > ọlhs üolhs üelhs ülhs, *lŏnge* > lọnh lüenh, *sŏmnium* > sọnh süenh, *cŏrium* > cọr cüer, *pŏstea* > pües, *prŏximum* > prọsme prüesme, **plŏia* > plọia plüeia plüia, **inŏdiat* > enọia enüeia enüia, **pŏdiat* > pọia püeia püia, *nŏctem* > nüoch nüech nüh, *ŏcto* > üeg.

The breaking was probably due to a premature lifting of the tongue under the influence of a following high vowel or a palatal or velar consonant, or to a premature partial closure

[1] The conditions are not quite the same as for e: an ẹ does not break before a labial (nẹps) nor before n′ (vẹnha). Breaking before g and k seems more general for ọ than for ẹ.

[2] So the second person forms *cuebres*, *uebres*, *uefres*, and the third person forms *cuebre*, *uebre*, *uefre*; cf. cọbron, ọbri, etc.

of the lips in anticipation of a following labial. Before i or a palatal the diphthong was at the start presumably üo; before u or a labial or velar consonant, uo: from these two types, the first of which influenced the second, came the later developments. Ü is a reduction of üo or üe; it apparently does not occur before u.

The dialect conditions are mixed, the development in each region depending somewhat on the following sound. In the southwest, o̤ and ue seem to prevail; in the northwest, ü; in the west, in Limousin, and in Auvergne, üe; in Languedoc, üo; in the east and south, üe, üo, o̤.

The date of breaking is discussed in § 30.

1. In some words where a diphthong would be expected, none is found, although it may have existed: mo̤u < *mŏvet*, no̤u < *nŏvem*, plo̤u < **plŏvit*; tro̤p < *prop*; bro̤cs < **brŏccus*, io̤gon < *jŏcunt*, lo̤gui < *lŏco*. The form püoc or püec < *pŏtui* is regularly reserved for the first person, *pŏtuit* being represented by po̤c.

2. A few cases of irregular breaking are easily explained: püosc püesc (= *pŏssum*) and püosca püesca (= *pŏssim*) owe their diphthong either to earlier forms with s′ or to the analogy of püec; so̤fre süefre süfre (= *sŭffert*) are from **sŏfferit*, formed upon **ŏfferit* = *ŏffert* (cf. § 33, 1); vüelc (= *vŏlui*) follows the analogy of vüelh (< **vŏleo* = *vŏlo*) and of püec.

ụ

38. Cl. L. ū > V. L. ụ > Pr. ü: **habūtus* > avütz, *jūstum* > iüst, *mūrum* > mür, *mūtus* > mütz, *nūdus* > nütz, *plūs* > plüs.

The date of the change of ụ into ü is not known; there is no ü in Catalan, and there may have been none in early Gascon. It seems likely that the Celts, when they adopted Latin, pronounced ū a little further forward in the mouth than did the Romans; that their ụ continued to advance gradually toward the front of the mouth until it became ü; and that this ü spread to the parts of France that were not

originally Celtic.[1] In the literary period the sound was probably ü in the Provençal region, with the possible exception of Gascony.

1. Pr. o̤nze represents a V. L. **ŭndĕcim*, which in Gaul and Spain replaced *ūndĕcim*. Lo̤ita lücha, tro̤cha trücha probably go back to Latin double forms, **lŭcta lūcta*, **trŭcta trūcta*. Engo̤issa < V. L. **angŏstia* = *angūstia* (cf. Italian *angoscia*).

2. No̤ssas < **nŏptias* = *nūptias*, by analogy of **nŏvius*, 'bridegroom,' from *nŏvus*.

au

39. Cl. L. au > V. L. au > Pr. au: *aurum* > aur, *gaudium* > gaug, *paucum* > pauc, *thesaurus* > tesaurs.

1. *Bloi* < *blaupr*, *ioi*, *ioia*, *ioios*, *lotia* < **laubja*, *noiza*, *onta* < *hauniþa*, *or*, *sor*, *tesor*, etc., are French. *Iai*, 'joy,' seems to be a fusion of *ioi* and Pr. *iai* = *gai*.

2. *Anta* < *hauniþa* is unexplained.

UNACCENTED VOWELS.

40. (1) The fate of an unaccented vowel depended largely upon the syllable in which it stood: in general, unstressed vowels in the initial syllable remained intact, while all vowels, except a, fell (at different dates) in the other syllables. The fall of unaccented vowels resulted in many new consonant groups: *collocáre* > colcár, *hóminem* > ómne, *sábbatum* > sápte.

(2) The vowels e̯ and i̯, instead of falling or remaining unchanged, became y in Vulgar Latin, early in our era: *alea* > alya, *diŭrnus* > dyu̯rnus, *mĕdium* > me̯dyu. Similarly u̯ became w: *placui* > placwi, *tĕnuis* > te̯nwis.

1. Apparently, however, e̯é, i̯é > e; o̯ó, u̯ó > o: *prĕhĕndĕre* > *prĕndĕre*; *abĭĕtem* > **abētem*, *facĭēbat* > **facēbat*, *parĭĕtem* > *parētem*, *quĭētus* >

[1] For a discussion of the date, see K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française* (Copenhagen, 1899–1903), I, § 187.

quētus; *cŏhŏrtem* > *cōrtem*, *cŏŏpĕrit* > *cōpĕrit* **cŏpĕrit*; *dŭŏdĕcim* > **dōdĕcim*. The short e and o in *prĕndĕre* and **cŏpĕrit* are not accounted for. In *mulĭĕrem*[1] > Pr. molher the i̯ remained long enough (perhaps under the influence of the nominative *mŭlier*) to palatalize the l.

INITIAL SYLLABLE.

41. Usually, in the literary language, Latin a > Pr. a; Latin æ, œ, and e, i (without regard to quantity) > Pr. e; Latin o, u (long or short) > Pr. o; Lat. au > Pr. au, unless the next syllable contained an ú, in which case the au was reduced (in the Vulgar Latin time) to a. Ex.: *amīcum* > amic, *caballus* > cavals; *æquālem* > egal, **pœnĭtĕre* > penedre, *dēbēre* > dever, *mĕliōrem* > melhor, *dīlĕctum* > deleit, *dīvīnum* > devin, *dīvīdĕre* > devire, *fīnīre* > fenir, *mĭnōrem* > menor; *plōrāre* > plorar, *sōlātium* > solatz, *cōlōrem* > color, **vōlēre* > voler, *mūstēla* > mostela, *sŭbĭnde* > soven; *aucĕllum* > auzel, *audīre* > auzir, *augŭstum* > aost, **augūrium* > aür.

1. An initial vowel is occasionally lost, either through elision with the article (**ecclĕsia* > *eglęisa, la eglęisa > la glęisa) or through the dropping of a prefix (*ingĕnium* > engęnh gęnh): *epĭscŏpus* > *bisbes*, *alauda* > *lauzeta*, *occasiōnem* > *ocaiso caiso*.

2. In a few words the vowel of the initial syllable disappeared, for some unknown reason, in Vulgar Latin: **cŏrrŏtŭlāre* > **crŏtŭlāre* > *crollar*, *dīrēctus* > *drēctus*[2] > *dreitz*, *quĕrītāre* > **crītāre* > *cridar*.

3. *Domne*, used familiarly as a proclitic (§ 19), lost its first syllable, and, before a vowel, was reduced to *n*. The combinations *de n*, *que n* (followed by a proper name) were understood as *d'en*, *qu'en*; hence the title *en*, 'Sir.' See Schultz-Gora in *Zs.*, XXVI, 588; Elise Richter in *Zs.*, XXVII, 193.

4. The proclitic o̯ probably comes from a V. L. *ot*, not from *aut*.

42. The vowel of the initial syllable, especially in verbs,

[1] For the accent, see § 16, 1.

[2] Spelled *drictus*: see Schuchardt, *Vocalismus des Vulgärlateins*, II, 422.

was extremely subject to the influence of analogy: cülhir (o̩) through cülh (o̩) < *cŏllĭgit*, dizen < *dīcĕntem* through dire < *dīcĕre*, dürar through dür < *dūrum* and düra < *dūrat*, finir through fin < *fīnem*, fivela through fibla < *fībula*, puẹiar (o̩) through puẹia (o̩) < **pŏdiat*.

1. Avangẹli (e) is perhaps influenced by *avan*; blisọ (e) < *blas* may possibly have been influenced by *tiso*; gazardọ < *wiðarlôn* shows the influence of *gazanhar*; in piucẹla (pülcẹla) < **pūellicĕlla* (*Zs.*, XXV, 343) the püu of the first syllable was changed to piu perhaps under the influence of *pius* < *pius*; in *vas* = *ves* < *ve(r)sus* the a is due to the analogy of *az* < *ad*; *vais* is unexplained, *vaus* follows *daus* (§ 44, 6). If dessẹ is from *de exín*, the first syllable is irregular. Beside *maniar* < *manducare* are unexplained forms *meniar miniar*. In *duptar* (*o*), *suritz* (*o*) the *u* doubtless represents ụ or o̩, not ü. *Girofle* < Καρυόφυλλον and *olifan orifan* < *elephantem* are French.

43. Sometimes the initial syllable was altered by a change of prefix or a false idea of etymology: aucire < *occīdĕre* (cf. the Italian and Rumanian forms), diman (e) < *de máne* and dimẹnge < *domĭnĭcum* (cf. di < *diem*), dementre < *dum ĭntĕrim* (cf. de < *de*), engọissa < **angŭstia* (cf. en < *in*), envanezir < *evanēscĕre*, escür < *obscūrum* (cf. es– < *ex–*), preọn prefọn (o) < *profŭndum*, redọn < *rotŭndum* (*re–* in V. L.: Schuchardt, *Vocalismus des Vulgärlateins*, II, 213), trabalh < *trepalium* (cf. tra– < *tra–* = *trans–*).

1. On the same principle are doubtless to be explained such double forms as *evori* (*a*), *saboros* (*e*), *socors* (*e*), *somondre* (*e*), *soror* (*e*). *Serori* occurs in a Latin inscription.

2. The prefix *eccu–*, under the influence of *ac* and *atque*, became **accu–* in southern Gaul and elsewhere: *aco* < **accu'hoc*, *aquel* < **accu'illum*, *aquest* < **accu'istum*, *aqui* < **accu'hīc*. *Eissi* < *ecce hīc* sometimes becomes *aissi* through the analogy of *aissi* < *ac sīc*.

3. In such forms as *tresanar*, the prefix *tres–* is French.

44. Local or partial phonetic changes affected the initial

syllable of many words: demandar (do–) < *demandāre*, emplir (üm–) < *implēre*; ciutat cieutat < *cīvĭtātem*; eissir issir < *exīre*, getar gitar < **jĕctāre*; crear criar < *creāre*; merce (mar–) < *mercēdem*; delgat (dal–) < *delicātum*.

1. Nearly everywhere there is a tendency to change e to o, u, or ü before a labial, especially before m: *premier promier prumier*, *remas romas*, *semblar somblar*, *trebalh trubalh*. So *de ves* > **do ves* > *dous*.

2. In the 13th century, nearly everywhere, iu > ieu: *piucela pieucela*.

3. Many dialects of the north and west change ei and e to i: *deissendre dissendre*, *eissam issam*, *eissi issi*, *eissilh issilh*, *leisso lisso*, *meitat mitat*; *degerir* (*i*), *denhar* (*i*), *disnar*, *en in*, *enfern* (*i*), *entrar* (*i*), *envers* (*i*), *escien icient*, proclitic *est ist*, *estar* (*i*), *estiers*(*i*), *Felip* (*i*), *gelos* (*i*), *genhos* (*i*), *genolh* (*i*), *gequir* (*i*), *guereiar* (*i*), *guerensa* (*i*), *i(n)vern*, *isnel irnel*, *peior pigor*, proclitic *per pir*, *premier* (*i*), *semblar* (*i*), *serven* (*i*), *serventes* (*i*), *sevals* (*i*), *trebalhar* (*i*), *tremblar* (*i*). In *disnar*, *ivern*, *isnel* only i is found. In some dialects there is an alternation of e and i, e being used when there is an í in the next syllable, i when there is none: *fenít*, *sirvén*. In *vezí* < *vīcīnum* the e probably goes back to V. L.: cf. Fr.

4. In a few dialects e in hiatus with a following vowel becomes i: *crear criar*, *leal lial*, *prear priar*, *preon prion*, *real rial*.

5. In many dialects of the north and west e has a tendency to become a before r: *guerentia garensa*, *merce marce*, *pergamen pargamen*.

6. In some dialects there is a tendency to assimilate e to an á in the next syllable: *delgat dalgat*, *gigant iaian*, *deman* (*a*), *semblar* (*a*), *serrar* (*a*), *tremblar* (*a*). So *de vás* (§ 42, 1) > *da vás* > *dávas*; hence *daus*, under the influence of *deus* > *de ves*.

INTERTONIC SYLLABLE.

45. The term *intertonic* is applied to the syllable that follows the secondary (§ 18) and precedes the primary accent. In this position all vowels, except a, regularly disappeared in popular words, probably between the 5th and the 8th century[1]; a apparently remained: **bŭllĭcāre* > boiar (bollegar),

[1] The period of the fall of the intertonic vowel covers, in part, the period of the voicing of intervocalic surds (§ 65); sometimes the vowel fell too soon for the surd

bŏnĭtātem > bontat, **carrĭcāre* > carcar cargar, *caballĭcāre* > cavalcar cavalgar, *cĕrĕbĕllum* > cervel, *cīvĭtātem* > ciutat, *cōllŏcāre* > colcar colgar, *dēlĭcātum* > delcat delgat, *excommūnĭcāre* **excommĭnĭcāre* > escomeniar, *vĕrēcŭndia* > vergonha; *calamĕllum* > calamel, *invadĕre* **invadīre* > envazir, *margarīta* > margarida, *mīrabĭlia* > miravilha, *parav(e)rēdus* > palafres.

1. The vowel is preserved in a number of words in which it originally bore the secondary accent (§ 18): *abbréviáre* > *abreuiar*, *cupiditátem* > *cobeitat*, **ericiónem* > *erisso*; on the other hand, **cominítiáre* (through **comín'tiáre*) > *comensar*, *partitiónem* (through **pártiónem*) > *parso*. Cf. *Zs.*, XXVII, 576, 684, 693, 698, 701, 704. When kept, the vowel is sometimes altered: **carōnea* **caróneáta* > *caraunhada*, **cupiditósus* > *cobeitos cobitos*, *papiliónem* > *pabalho*.

2. The prefix *mĭnus-* was reduced to *mis-* (or *mes-*) in Gaul, perhaps at the close of the Vulgar Latin period: **mínus-prétiat* > *mespreza*. Cf. P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 43, 44.

3. *Mostier* is from **monistĕrium*, altered, by the influence of *ministĕrium*, from *monastĕrium*. *Comprar* is from V. L. *comperare*. *Calmelh calmelha* (cf. *calamel* above) are Provençal formations from *calm*. *Caresma* or *caresme*, from *quadragēsĭma*, is probably French. *Anedier* < *anatarium* shows the influence of *anét ánet* < *anătem* (§ 50).

4. In learned words the vowel is generally preserved: *irregulár*, *irritár*, *pelicán*, *philozophía*. The vowel is, however, often altered, the exchange of e and i being particularly frequent: *esperít*, *femenil*, *orifán*, *peligrí* (*e*), *soteirán* (*sotrán*) < *subterraneum* influenced by *dereirán* and *primeirán*.

46. Very often the intertonic vowel was preserved by the analogy of some cognate word or form in which that vowel was stressed: dev*i*nár through *devín*, fin*i*mén through *finír*, guerre*i*ár through *guerréia*, noir*i*dúra through *noirír*, obl*i*dár through *oblít*, pert*u*sár through *pertúsa*, re*u*sar through *reúsa*, serv*i*dór through *servíre*.

to be voiced, sometimes it did not. The relation of the fall of unstressed vowels to the development of intervocalic consonants, in French, has been examined by L. Clédat in the *Revue de philologie française*, in a series of articles beginning XVII, 122. Cf. P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 84–90.

1. In such cases the preserved vowel is sometimes altered, the exchange of e and i being especially common: *avinén, covinén, sovinénsa*, cf. *venír, ven*; *enginhár, enginhós*, cf. *genh*; *envelzír*, cf. *vil*; *gememén*, cf. *gemír*; *issarnít* (*eissernít*), from *excĕrnĕre*; *randóla*, from *hirŭndŭla*, perhaps influenced by *randón*; *temerós* (*o*), from **timorōsus*, influenced by *temér*; *traazó* (*i*), from *traditiōnem*, with a substitution of suffix; *volentiérs*, from *voluntarius*, under the influence of *volén* < *volentem*.

PENULT.

47. (1) The vowel of the penult of proparoxytones fell in many words in Vulgar Latin, especially between a labial and another consonant, and between two consonants one of which was a liquid: **avĭca* > **auca*, *cŏm(i)tem*, *cŏmp(u)tum*, *dēb(i)tum*, *dŏm(i)nus*[1]; *alt(e)ra*, *vĭg(i)lat*, *cal(i)dus*, *vĭr(i)dem*; *frig(i)dus*, *nĭtĭdus* > **nĭttus*, *pŏs(i)tus*, *pūtĭdus* > **pūttus*.

(2) The classic Latin *-culus* comprises an original *-clus* (*sæclum*) and an original *-culus* (*aurĭcŭla*). In popular Latin both were *-clus* (**macla*, *ŏclus*, etc.), to which was assimilated *-tŭlus* in current words (*vĕtŭlus* > *vĕclus*, etc.).

(3) Many popular words which in Vulgar Latin had very generally lost the vowel were for some reason introduced into southern Gaul in their classical forms, and not a few were adopted both in the uncontracted and in the syncopated state: *fragĭlem* > frágel (cf. Fr. *fraile*, It. *frale*), *jŭvĕnem* > iọve (cf. Fr. *iuevne*); *clĕrĭcum* > clẹrgue *clĕr'cum* > clẹrc, *dēbĭtum* > dẹute *dēb'tum* > dẹpte, *flēbĭlem* > frẹvol *flēb'lem* > frẹble, *mal'habĭtum* > malaute *mal'hab'tum* > malapte, *nĭtĭdum* > nẹde **nĭttum* > nẹt, *hŏmĭnem* > ome *hŏm'nem* > omne, *pŏpŭlum* > pọbol *pŏp'lum* > pọble.

1. *Cŏgnĭtum* seems to have become **cónhede*, whence *coinde cuende conge*. Cf. § 79, Gnd, Gnt.

[1] *Domnus* may be the older form.

48. The unaccented penult vowels that had not already fallen dissappeared, in most cases, in the transition from Latin to Provençal: **carrĭcat* > carca, *cŏllŏcat* > coụlca, *cŭrrĕre* > coụrre, *spathŭla* > espatla, **ĕssĕre* (= *ĕsse*) > ẹstre, *ī(n)sŭla* isla, *pĕssĭmum* > pẹsme, *pōnĕre* > poụnre, **rīdĕre* > rire, *tabŭla* > taula, *tŏllĕre* > toụlre.

1. A apparently was more tenacious than other vowels, and frequently remained as an indistinct e: *anătem* > ánet, which, being associated with the diminutive ending *-ét*, became anét (cf. modern Pr. *anèdo*); *cannăbim* > cánebe (learned?); *cŏlăphum* > *cólebe > coụlbe, but *cŏl'phum* > coụlp; *Stĕphănum* > Estẹve; *lampăda* > lámpeza; *ŏrgănum* > órguene (later orguéne) órgue; *ŏrphănum* > oụrfe; *raphănum* > ráfe; *Rhŏdănum* > Roụzer; **sĕcăle* (= *sĕcāle*) > séguel (but cf. modern *segle selho*). Cf. A. Thomas in the *Journal des savants*, June, 1901, p. 370. See also P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 90–94. Cf. § 45, footnote. It is noteworthy that *cólebe ultimately lost its penult, while the other words lost the final syllable or none.

49. Under certain conditions, however, a vowel which had not fallen in the Latin of southern Gaul was often kept in Provençal. It was then probably indistinct in sound, and was written usually *e*, but occasionally *o*.

(1) After c′, g′, or y the vowel was apparently retained in some dialects and lost in others. When the c′, g′, or y was intervocalic, forms with and without the vowel are about equally common; when the c′, g′, or y was preceded by a consonant, forms with the vowel predominate, and after cons. + c′ the vowel was apparently never lost. After intervocalic c′: *cŏcĕre* (= *cŏquĕre*) > coụire coụzer, *dĭcĕre* > dire dízer, *dūcĕre* > düire *düzer (condücir dedüzir), *facĕre* > faire *fázer (fazedọr, etc.), *gracĭlem* > graile, **nŏcĕre* (= *nŏcēre*) > noụire noụzer, *placĭtum* > plach, *sŏcĕrum* > soụzer (soụgre is from *sŏcrum*), **vŏcĭtum* (= *vacuum*) > vuech. After intervocalic g′ or y: *bajŭlus* > bailes, *fragĭlem* > frágel, *imagĭnem* > imáge, *lĕgĕre* > leụire legír (through *leụger?), *rĭgĭdum* > reụide reụge, *rĭgĭda* >

regeza, **tragĕre* (= *trahĕre*) > traire tragír (through *tráger?). After cons. + c′: *carcer* > cárcer, *crēscĕre* > creisser, *nascĕre* > náisser, *pascĕre* > páisser, *parcĕre* > párcer, **tŏrcĕre* (= *tŏrquēre*) > torzer. After cons. + g′ or y: *angĕlum* > ángel (learned?), **cŏll'gĕre* (= *cŏllĭgĕre*, through *cŏllĭgo* etc.) > colre cuelher colhír, **dē–ēr'gĕre* (= *ērĭgĕre*) > derdre derzer, **fŭlgĕrem* (from *fŭlger* = *fŭlgur*) > fouzer, *jŭngĕre* > ionher, *margĭnem* > marge, *plangĕre* > planher, *vĭrgĭnem* > vergena verge.

(2) After ks, s, ss, and sy the vowel was apparently retained in some dialects and lost in others: *dīxĕrunt* > diron disseron (through *dísseron)[1], *dūxĕrunt* > düystrent düisseron (*dúisseron), *fraxĭnum* > fraisne fraisse, *traxĕrunt* > traisseron (*tráisseron), *tŏxĭcum* > tueissec; *asĭnum* > asne ase, *mĭsĕrum* > miser (learned), **prē(n)sĕrunt* > preson prezeron (*prezeron), *rema(n)sĕrunt* > remastrent remaseron (*remáseron); **essĕre* (= *ĕsse*) > estre esser (used in Rouergue, Limousin, Marche, and Dauphiné), **mĭssĕrunt* (= *mīsĕrunt*) > mestrunt (mesdren) meseron (*messeron), *passĕrem* > pásser; **cō(n)sĭĕre* (= *consuĕre*) > coser (cozír is from V. L. **cosīre*).

(3) Between a labial and a dental the vowel was apparently kept: *cŭpĭdum* > cobe, *fēmĭna* > femena feme (but *fēm'na* > femna), *jŭvĕnem* > iove, **lūmĭnem* > lüme (*lūmen* > lüm), *hŏmĭnem* > ómen óme (but *hŏm'nĕm* > omne), *tĕpĭdum* > tebe, *tĕrmĭnum* > terme. Cf. § 48, 1.

(4) Between a dental and a guttural the vowel remained long enough for the guttural to become y (§ 52; § 65, G): *mĕdĭcum* > *medegu > *medeye > medze (= *mege*). If the first consonant was a liquid or a nasal, the vowel apparently allowed the guttural to become y in some dialects, but not in

[1] The change of accent, in this verb and others, was due to the analogy of the first and fourth conjugations (canteron, sentíron) and to the influence of the second person plural (dissetz).

others: **carrĭcat* > caria carga, *clĕrĭcum* > clerie clergue, *mŏnăchum* > monie mongue. *Caballĭcat* > cavalga, *cŏllŏcat* > colca colga show an earlier fall. In *clĕr'cum* > clerc the fall goes back to Latin times.

50. Some learned proparoxytones kept for a while both post-tonic vowels (usually written *e*), but most of them ultimately either shifted their accent to the penult (§ 17, 1) or dropped their final syllable: *domĕstĭcum* > domestegue, *lacrĭma* > lágrema, *mĕrĭtum* > merite, *hŏrrĭda* > oreza, *rēgĭmen* > régeme; *fistŭla* > festóla, *fragĭlem* > fragíl, *mĕrĭtum* > merít, *tĕrmĭnum* > termíni; *diacŏnum* > diágue, *flĕbĭlem* > frevol (cf. *flēb'lem* > freble), *nĭtĭdum* > nede (cf. **nĭttum* > net), *ōrdĭnem* > órde, *pŏpŭlum* > pobol (cf. *pŏp'lum* > poble), *prīncĭpem* > príncep prínce. Cf. § 47, (3).

FINAL SYLLABLE.

51. As early as the 8th century, in popular words, the vowels of final syllables fell, the fall occuring first, perhaps, after liquids: *hĕrĕ* > er, *malĕ* > mal; *bŏnŭs* > bos, *cŏlăphŭm* > colp, *cōgĭto* > cüg, *panĕm* > pan, *prĕtiŭm* > pretz.

(1) Latin a, however, remained, being generally pronounced a: *audĭăm* > auia, *bŏnă* > bona, *fīliās* > filhas.[1]

(2) Latin final ī probably remained in all dialects later than the 8th century, and in some until the beginning of the literary period: *hábuī* > águi > aguí. Before it fell, it changed an accented e in the preceding syllable to i: see § 27.

(3) Latin i and u remained if they were immediately

[1] In most of the modern dialects (but not in Gascony and lower Languedoc) this a has become o: *rosa* > *roso*. But in the Limousin dialects and some others -as > -a: *rosas* > *rosa*.

preceded by an accented vowel: *fuī* > füi, *mĕī* > mẹi, *sŭī* > sọi; *cavum* **caum* > chau, *dĕus* > dẹus, *ĕgo* **ĕo* **ĕu* > ẹu, *rīvum rīum* < riu. In such cases the two vowels formed a diphthong.

(4) Before final nt Latin e, u remained as e, o: *cantent* > canten, *vĕndunt* > vẹndon.

1. In Aude, Tarn, Aveyron, Corrèze, and a part of Haute-Garonne, final ī was preserved as late as the 12th century: *pagadi, salvi, soli.* See *Rom.*, XIV, 291–2. Such forms occur also in Vaud and Dauphiné. Cf. *Gram.*, II, p. 82.

2. In the extreme east there are traces of final *-ōs*: *aquestos, ellos, tantos.*

3. *Grau* for *gra* < *gradum*, *niu* for *ni* < *nīdum* are Catalan. *Amiu* for *amic* < *amīcum*, *chastiu* for *chastic* < *castīgo* belong to the dialect of Forez, and point to a very early fall of the guttural in that dialect. Cf. § 65, D, G.

4. *Ferre* beside the commoner *fer* < *fĕrrum* is perhaps due to the analogy of *terra*. *Aire, vaire*, beside *air* < *aĕrem*, *vair* < *varium*, probably show the influence of the numerous nouns in *-aire* (*amaire*, etc.); cf. § 52, (1). *Fores* is doubtless a cross between *foras* < *fŏras* and *fors* < *fŏris*. *Nemes* beside *nems* < *nĭmis*, *senes* beside *sens* < *sĭne* perhaps follow the analogy of *fors fores*. For *colbe*, see § 48, 1. *Reide rede* perhaps owes its -e to *rege*: § 49, (1).

5. *Coma*, beside *com*, *con*, *co* < *quōmŏ(do)*, apparently owes its -a to the analogy of the adverbs *bona* and *mala* and other adverbs of manner. For a different explanation, see J. Vising in the *Tobler Festschrift* (*Abhandlungen Herrn Prof. Dr. Tobler . . . . dargebracht*, 1895), p. 113.

6. *Demanes* < *de manu ĭpsa* lost its -a perhaps under the influence of *ades*.

7. E seems to have been preserved in the second person singular of some verbs, to distinguish it from the third person: co(g)nōscis < conọisses, *co(g)nōscit* > conọis.

52. When the fall of the vowel would have resulted in an undesirable consonant group at the end of a word, the vowel was retained as an indistinct e: *dŭbĭto* > dọpte, *lŭcrum* > lọgre.

The principal groups that call for a supporting vowel are:

(1) a consonant and a liquid; (2) a labial and a dental; (3) in proparoxytones, a consonant and a c′ or c originally separated by the vowel of the penult; (4) in proparoxytones, a consonant and an m or n originally separated by the vowel of the penult. Ex.: *ĭnter* > ẹntre; *aptum* > apte; **dōdĕcim* > dọtze, *jūdĭco* > iütge; *Jacŏmus > Iacmes, *asĭnum* > asne.

If the word was a paroxytone, and the first consonant was a palatal and the second an r, the supporting vowel stood between the two: *major* > maier, *mĕlior* > mẹlher, *mŭlier* > mọlher, *pĕjor* > pẹier, *sĕnior* > sẹnher. Otherwise the supporting vowel followed the consonant group.

The four classes of groups (aside from the palatal + r just mentioned) will now be examined in detail:—

(1) Examples: *alter* > autre, *Carŏlus* > Carles, *dŭplus* > dọbles, **ĕssĕre* > ẹstre, *fabrum* > fabre, **mĕr(ŭ)lum* > mẹrle, *nŏster* > nọstre, *pauper* > paubre, *pŏp(ŭ)lum* > pọble, *pōnĕre* > pọnre, *recĭpĕre* > recẹbre, *rŭmpĕre* > rọmpre, *tŏllĕre* > tọlre, *vŏlvĕre* > vọlvre; *mascŭlum* > mascle, etc.; *flēb(ĭ)lem* > frẹble, etc. Under this head is included r–r (*cŭrrere* > cọrre, *quærĕre* > quẹrre), but not ll and rr (*bĕllum* > bẹl, *fĕrrum* > fẹr). In Provençal the first element was often changed, later than the 8th century, into a vowel, original b and v becoming u, and d, t, c, g, and y being turned to i: *bĭbĕre* > bẹure, *scrībĕre* > escriure, **mŏvĕre* > mọure, *plŏvĕre* > plọure, *vīvĕre* > viure; *latro* > laire, *matrem* > maire, *radĕre* > raire, **rīdĕre* > rire, *vĭtrum* > vẹire; *desīdĕro* > desire, etc.; *amātor* > amaire, *servītor* > servire, etc.; *dīcĕre* > dire, *dūcĕre* > düire, *facĕre* > faire, *gracĭlem* > graile, **tacĕre* > taire; *frĭgĕre* > frire, *weigăro* gaire, *lĕgĕre* > lẹire; *bajŭlum* > baile. Apparent exceptions to the rule are intervocalic cl, gl, which were probably reduced to single consonants before the 8th century: *ŏc(ŭ)lum* > ọlh, *vĭg(ĭ)lo* > vẹlh.

1. The rare forms *frair, pair*, beside regular *fraire, paire*, are perhaps due to the alternative forms *air aire, vair vaire* (§ 51, 4). There may be a similar explanation for *faur* = *faure* < *faber*, and for the learned *albir* = *albire* < *arbĭtrium*. *Sor*, beside *sorre* < *sŏror*, probably developed first as a proclitic.

(2) Examples: *cŭbĭtum* > cọde; *cŏmĭtem* > comte; *dēbĭtum* > dẹpte dẹute, § 47, (3); *dŏmnum* > domne; *dŭbĭto* > dọpte; *hŏspĭtem* > ọste; *sabbătum* > sapte.

1. *Azaut* seems to be post-verbal from *azautar* < *adaptāre*. *Escrit* < *scrīptum* probably shows the influence of *dit* < *dictum*. *Malaut*, beside *malaute malapte* < *mal'habĭtum*, is perhaps reconstructed from the feminine *malauta* on the model of *aut, auta*. *Set* < *sĕptem* must have developed as a proclitic.

(3) Examples: *jūdicem* > iütge[1]; *pŏllĭcem* > pọuze; *quīndĕcim* > quinze; *salĭcem* > sauze; *sĕdĕcim* > sẹdze;—*canŏnĭcum* > canonge canọrgue,[2] § 49, (4); *clĕrĭcum* > clẹrge clẹrgue (§ 48, 2); *mĕdĭcum* > mẹtge; *mŏnăchum* > monge mọngue mọrgue,[2] § 49, (4); *vĭndĭco* > vẹnie; *viatĭcum* > viatge, etc.

1. The forms *poutz, sautz*, beside *pouze, sauze*, would seem to indicate that lc' did not require a supporting vowel in all dialects.

2. **Ficotum* (= *jēcur*), a fusion of *συκωτόν* ('fig-fattened') and *fīcus*, combined with **hēpăte* (= *hēpar*), became *fẹcatu *fẹcitu *fẹgidu, and then, through the influence of the familiar ending -igu (= *ĭcum*), *fẹdigu > fẹtge. See G. Paris in *Miscellanea linguistica in onore di G. Ascoli*, 1901, p. 41; H. Schuchardt in *Zs.*, XXV, 615, and XXVIII, 435; L. Clédat in *Revue de philologie française et de littérature*, XV, 235. *Pege*, for *peich* < *pĕctus*, seems to be due to the analogy of *fetge*.

(4) Examples: *æstĭmo* > esme; *dĕcĭmum* > dẹsme; *fraxĭnum* > fraisne; *incūdĭnem* > enclütge (cf. § 80, Dn); **metĭpsĭmum* > medẹsme; *pĕssĭmum* > pẹsme; *prŏxĭmus* > prọsmes.

1. Faim < *facĭmu(s)* doubtless lost its -e through the analogy of the alternative form fazẹm < **facímu(s)* and of the usual endings -ám, -ẹm.

[1] The *tg* in this word is probably due to the influence of *iutiar* < *jūdĭcāre*.

[2] The forms with *r* may be due to dissimilation or to the influence of *clergue*.

(5) In some dialects, at least, by, mby, mny, py, rny required a supporting vowel: *rŭbeum* > rọtge, *cambio* > camie, *sŏmnium* > songe suenh, *apium* > ache api, *Arvĕrnium* > Alvẹrnhe; ratge (.= *rabiem*) is probably French. Original lm, rm, sm required a supporting vowel in some dialects but not in others: *hĕlm* > ẹlme ẹlm, *ŭlmum* > ọlme ọlm, *palmum* > palm; **ĕrmum* (ἔρημον) > erm, *fĭrmum* > fẹrm, *gĕrmen* > gẹrme; *spasmum* > espasme.

(6) Many verbs regularly have an –e in the first person singular of the present indicative: desire, dọpte, iütge, etc. By the analogy of these, –e often appears in the first person singular of verbs which need no supporting vowel: *remīro* > remir remire. By the analogy of the preterit (águi, füi, etc.), –i is very often substituted for this –e: azọr azọri, cant canti, prẹtz prẹzi, etc.

53. Many late words preserve the final vowel as *–e*: benigne, bisbe < *epĭscŏpum*, digne (cf. denhar), mixte (cf. mẹst), regne (cf. reing), signe (cf. sẹnh). Cf. § 50; (for cọlbe) § 48, 1; and (for cọinde, etc.) § 47, 1. Learned formations from nouns in *–ium* usually end in *–i*, simply dropping the *–um*: capitọli, edifici, empẹri, iüzízi, martíri (martíre), negọci, ofíci, periüri, remẹzi, servízi, vici. Similar forms in *–i* were sometimes taken from the accusative of nouns and adjectives in *–ius*: Boẹci < *Boëthium*, prọpri (prọpre) < *prŏprium*, savi < *sabium*.

1. It should be remembered that the Latin words, at the time of their adoption, had undergone various phonetic changes in the clerical pronunciation: cf. § 15. A form *remezi*, for instance, presupposes a pronunciation of *remĕdium* as remẹðiu(m).

3. CONSONANTS.

54. The Latin consonants which we have to consider are: b, c (= k), d, f, g, h, j (= y), l, m, n, p, qu (= kw), r, s, t, v (= w), x (= ks). To these we must add the Vulgar Latin w coming from u̯, and y coming from e̯, i̯: see § 40, (2). Furthermore, in words borrowed from Germanic dialects we find b, ð, h, k, þ, w, which call for special notice; and, in words borrowed from Greek, ch, k, ph, th, z.

The Latin d, f, j, l, p, t call for no remark at present. Latin h, in popular speech, became silent very early (*hŏc* > *ŏc*, *hŏmo* > *ŏmo*), and, although an attempt was made to restore it in polite speech, it left no trace in the Romance languages: cf. *Rom.*, XI, 399. Double consonants were pronounced distinctly longer than single ones: *annus*, *ĭlle*, *ŏssum*, *tĕrra*.

55. Latin b, c, g, m, n, qu, r, s, v, w, x, y show the following developments in popular Latin speech:—

B between vowels became, through failure to close the lips tightly, β (bilabial v), from the 1st to the 3d century of our era: *habēre* > aβẹre. The same change took place, to a certain extent, when the b was not intervocalic, but we have few, if any, traces of it in Provençal. Between vowels, even in learned words, the clerical pronunciation was probably β or v until the 7th century. Cf. V.

C before a front vowel (e, i), as early as the 3d century, doubtless had, in nearly all the Empire, a front or palatal articulation; that is, it was formed as close as possible to the following vowel[1]: *cĕntum* > c′ĕntu, *dūcĕre* > dūc′ĕre. The next step was the introduction of an audible glide, a brief y, between the c′ and the vowel[2]: c′yẹntu, dục′yere. By the

[1] Compare, in English, the *c* of *coo* and the *k* of *key*.

[2] Compare the old-fashioned pronunciation of words like *card*, *kind*.

5th century this c'y had developed into a kind of ty, the c' having been drawn still further forward: t'yẹntu dụt'yere. Through a modification of the y–glide, the group then became, in the 6th or 7th century, tš or ts: tšẹntu tsẹntu. See H. Schuchardt, *Voc.*, I, 151, and *Ltblt.*, XIV, 360; P. E. Guarnerio, in *Supplementi all'Archivio glottologico italiano*, IV (1897), pp. 21–51 (cf. *Rom.*, XXX, 617); G. Paris, in the *Journal des savants*, 1900, 359, in the *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes–Études*, 1893, 7, in the *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1893, 81, and in *Rom.*, XXXIII, 322; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, pp. 123–126; F. G. Mohl, *Zs.*, XXVI, 595; P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 51–53; P. Meyer, *Die Aussprache des* c *und* t *im klassischen Latein*, 1902. Cf. G and X.[1]

G between vowels, before the accent, disappeared in some words in at least a part of the Empire: *le(g)ālis*, *li(g)āmen*, *re(g)ālis*, (*realis* is attested for the 8th century); *ĕgo*, generally used as a proclitic, everywhere lost its g; on the other hand, g was kept in *castigāre*, *fatigāre*, *ligāre*, *negāre*, *pagānus*. G before a front vowel (e, i), by the 1st or 2d century, was pronounced g' (cf. C): *gĕntem* > g'ĕnte, *fragĭlis* > frag'ĭlis. As early as the 4th century this g', through failure to form a close articulation, opened into y[2]: yẹnte, fráyilis. Before an accented e or i an intervocalic y disappeared, in the greater part of the Empire, being fused with the vowel: *magĭster* > mayịster > maẹster, **pagēnsis* > payẹsis > paẹsis, *regīna* > reyịna > reịna.[1]

M and n, when final, were weak and indistinct from the earliest times, except in monosyllables; by the 3d or 4th cen-

[1] For final *-ci*, *-gi* in plurals, see § 92, (2).

[2] Before this, *frīgĭdus* had become frịgdus in Italy and Gaul.

tury they had probably disappeared altogether from the end of polysyllables: damnu, nọme; but jam, non.

N before spirants (f, j, s, v), except in the prefixes *con–* and *in–*, became silent during the Republican period, the preceding vowel, if it was short, being lengthened by compensation[1]: *mē(n)sis*, *pē(n)sare*. If the syllable *con–* or *in–* was not recognized as a prefix, the n fell: *co(n)sul*, *co(n)ventum*, *i(n)fas*. In learned and newly constructed words the *n* was pronounced. Cf. M.

Qu, gu before o or u were reduced to c, g in the 1st or 2d century: see W.

R before s, in a number of words, became s in the Republican period: *deōrsum* > deōssum, *dŏrsum* > dŏssum, *sūrsum* > sūssum; so, in a part of the Empire, *pĕrsĭca* > pĕssĭca, *vĕrsus* (preposition) > vĕssus. Early in our era ss after a long vowel was reduced to s: deōsu, sūsu.

S was probably always voiceless, or surd, in classic Latin, but became voiced between vowels, in Gaul, at the end of the Vulgar Latin period: *casa*. To initial s + consonant an i or e was prefixed, at first, no doubt, after a word ending in a consonant: *in schŏla* > in iscŏla; this process began in the 2d century and had become general by the 4th.

V, originally pronounced w, became *β* probably in the 1st century: *vīvĕre* > *β*īβĕre. Before u, *v* regularly disappeared, but it was restored by analogy in many words: *flavus* > flaus, *ōvum* > ŏum, *rīvus* > rīus; but also *ŏvum*, *rīvus*, by the analogy of *ọva*, *rivi*. In the greater part of the Empire v apparently fell also before an accented o: *pavōnem* > paōne, *pavōrem* > paōre. Cf. W. When a *β*, representing either b or v,

[1] It is natural to suppose that the n, in falling, nasalized the vowel; but no trace of this nasality remains.

became contiguous to a following consonant, it changed to u: **avĭca* > aβĭca > auca, *gabăta* > gaβata > gauta, **flavĭtat* > flaβĭtat > flautat. In several words rv became rb in Latin: *vervēcem* > berbēce berbīce, *cŏrvus* > cŏrbus, *cŭrvus* > cŭrbus.

W coming, in the 2d or 3d century, from u̯ (§ 40) differed from Latin *v*, then pronounced *β*, but was probably identical with Germanic *w*: *dēbuī* > dḛbwi̯, *placuī* > placwi̯ *sapuit* > sapwit, *tĕnuis* > tḛnwis. W fell between a consonant and o or u: *antīquus* > anticus, *battuo* > batto, *carduus* > cardus, *cōquus* > cọcus, *distĭnguo* > distịngo, *mŏrtuus* > mọrtus; so *eccu'hŏc* > Pr. acọ. Cf. Qu.

X (=ks) was reduced to s, in the 2d or 3d century, before a consonant or at the end of a word of more than one syllable: *sĕstus*, *sĕnes*; but *sĕx*. So the prefix *ex–* > es– before any consonant but s: **exgaudēre* > Pr. esiauzir, **exlucēre* < Pr. esluzir, **exmĭttĕre* > Pr. esmḛtre. Ex– + s apparently became either ex– or ess–: **exsanguinātum* > Pr. eissancnat, **exserāre* > Pr. eissarrar esserrar, **exsaritāre* > Pr. eissartar, **exsĕquĕre* > Pr. essḛgre, **exsŭrgĕre* > Pr. essọrger, **exsūcāre* > Pr. eissügar essügar.

Y coming, in the 2d or 3d century, from e̯ or i̯, (§ 40) coincided with Latin *j*: *habeam* > abya, *eāmus* > yamus, *tĕneat* > tḛnyat; *audio* > audyo, *fīlia* > fịlya, *vĕniat* > vḛnyat. As early as the 4th century the groups dy, gy were reduced to y; and ly, ny probably became l′, n′: *mĕdius* > mḛdyus > mḛyus, *corrĭgia* > corrịgya > corrḛya; *mĕlior* > mḛlyor > mḛl′or, *tĕneo* > tḛnyo > tḛn′o.

56. Germanic b, *ð*, h, k, þ, w call for special mention:—

B did not participate in the change of Latin intervocalic b to *β*: *roubôn* > Pr. raubar. The words containing it were evidently adopted after this phonetic law had ceased to operate.

ð, þ were pronounced by the Latins as d, t: **waiðanjan* > *wadanyāre > Pr. gazanhar (It. guadagnare), *þrëscan* > *trescāre > Pr. trescar.

H, at the beginning of a word, was lost in the greater part of the Empire, including southern Gaul: *haþja* > *apya > Pr. apcha. H between vowels was lost in some words and replaced by kk in others: *spëhôn* > Pr. espiar, *fëhu* > Pr. feu̯; *jëhan* > *yekkīre > Pr. gequir. Ht was regularly replaced by tt: *slahta* > *sclatta > Pr. esclata; but *wahta*, perhaps borrowed later, became Pr. gaita.

K, in southern Gaul, did not take the palatal pronunciation before front vowels: *skërnon* > Pr. esquernir, *skina* > Pr. esquina, *skiuhan* > Pr. esquivar, **rîk–ĭtia* > Pr. riqueza; only the derivatives of *Franko* (doubtless Latinized early) show palatalization, as **Francia* > Pr. Fransa. G, however, seems to have been palatalized: *gîga* > Pr. giga, *geisla* > Pr. giscle. Before a, in words introduced early, k and g were treated like Latin c and g: *kausjan* > Pr. cauzir chauzir, *gâhi* > Pr. gai iai; see § 11, (1).

W was vigorously pronounced, and, through reinforcement of its velar element, came to be sounded gw: *warjan* > *warīre gwarīre > Pr. garir, *wërra* > *werra gwerra > Pr. guerra.

57. Greek ζ, θ, κ, φ, χ did not exactly correspond to any Latin consonants: —

Z, whatever may have been its original pronunciation, received in Vulgar Latin the value dy, which then, like any other dy, became y: **zelōsus* (from ζῆλος) = dyelosus yelosus > Pr. gelos. The infinitive ending *–ίζειν*, introduced in such words as *βαπτίζειν* > *baptizāre* = bapti(d)yāre, became very common in the form –idyāre –iyāre, and was used to make

new verbs: *wërra* + *ίζειν* > *werr̥idyāre gwerr̥iyāre > Pr. guerr̥iar.

θ, in the popular speech of Rome, was replaced by t: similarly *χ* was replaced by c: *σπαθή* > *spatha* = spata; *χορδή* > *chŏrda* = cọrda.

κ was apparently intermediate in sound between Latin c and g; it was generally replaced by the former, but sometimes by the latter: *κατά* > *cata*, *κυβερνᾶν* > *gubernare*.

φ, in Greek, was in early times (perhaps until the 4th century of our era) a strongly explosive p; it then developed into f. In words borrowed by the Romans in the early period it was replaced by p; in later words it was sounded f: *κόλαφος* > *cŏlăphus* = cọlapus, *φασίολος* > *phaseŏlus faseŏlus*.

58. The fate of all these consonants in Provençal depended largely on their position in the word: we must therefore distinguish *initial*, *medial*, and *final* consonants. In a general way, the first tended to remain unchanged, the second to weaken, the third to disappear. Furthermore we must separate single consonants from consonant groups: the latter resisted change better than the former; but a group consisting of dissimilar elements tended to assimilate them.

INITIAL CONSONANTS.

59. A consonant preceded by a prefix was treated as an initial consonant as long as the character of this preceding syllable was recognized: *de-cadĕre* > decazẹr, *de-pĭngĕre* > depẹnher, *præ-parāre* > preparar, *re-cordāre* > recordar, *re-patriāre* > repairar, *re-pausāre* > repausar, *se-dūcĕre* > sedüire. If, however, the initial syllable ceased to be recognized as a prefix, the following consonant was treated as a medial con-

sonant: *præpŏsĭtum* > preboṣt, *retŏrta* > redoṛta; so, perhaps, *profŭndum* > preoṇ. The rare reboṇre (beside repoṇre) < *re-pōnĕre* has the special sense 'to bury'.

SINGLE INITIAL CONSONANTS.

60. B, d, l, m, n, p, r, s, t underwent no change: ben, doṇ, loc, meṣ, nau, pauc, rius, si, tü.

1. For *cremetar* < **tremitāre*, see Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, § 194. For *granolha* < **ranŭcŭla*, see Körting, *ranuculus*.

61. C, c′, f, g, g′, *β*, y suffered some change. C, g must be distinguished from c′, g′: § 55, C, G.

C, g before o, u remained unchanged: *colōrem* > coloṛ, *cūra* > cüra; *gŭla* > goṭa, *gŭtta* > goṭa. Before a they changed only in the north and northeast, where they became (perhaps from the 7th to the 9th century) respectively tš and dž: *campus* > camps champs; *gaudēre* > gauzir iauzir.

C′ > ts, which just before and during the literary period was reduced to s: cælum > ceṛ seṛ, *cīvitātem* > ciutat ciptat siptat. Eor g′, see Y.

Y, comprising Latin dy, g′, gy, j, and z, became dž (except in Béarn, where it remained y): *diurnālem* > iornal (yornal), *deō(r)sum* > ioṣ; *gĕlus* > geṛs, *gentīlem* > gentil (yentil), *gȳrāre* > girar; *jam* > ia, *jŏcum* > ioc (yoc), *jŭvĕnem* > ioṿe; *zelōsus* > geloṣ.

F remained unchanged, except in Béarn and a part of Gascony, where it became h: *famem* > fam ham, *fĭdem* > feṛ heṛ, *fŏcum* > foc hüc, *fŏlia* > fuelha huelha.

β > v (the dentilabial spirant), except in Béarn, Gascony, and parts of Languedoc, where it became b: *vĕnit* > ven be, *vĕntum* > vent bent, *vĕrsus* (§ 55, R) > veṣ beṣ, *vōs* > voṣ boṣ.

1. In a few words *β*, owing to Germanic influence, was replaced by w > gw: *vadum* + *watan* > *gua*, *vastare* + *wôst* > *guastar*. So *vagīna* > *guaĭna*, *Vascŏnia* > *Gasconha*. Cf. gw below.

INITIAL GROUPS.

62. There are three classes of groups: those ending in l or r, those ending in w, and those beginning with s: —

(1) Bl, br, cl, cr, dr, gl, gr, pl, pr, tr underwent no change: *blasphemāre* > blasmar, *brĕvem* > breu, *clarus* > clars, *crŭcem* > crotz, *drappus* > draps, *glaciem* > glatz, *gradum* > gra, *plēnum* > plen, *precāre* > pregar, *trans* > tras. Gras is from *grassus*, a fusion of *crassus* and *grossus*. For grocs < κρόκος see § 57, κ.

(2) Gw (Germanic w) and kw (Latin qu) were reduced, perhaps in the 10th century, to g and k, except in the west, where the w was retained: *wahta* > gaita guaita, *warjan* > garir guarir, *wërra* > gerra guerra, *wīsa* > gisa guisa; *quando* > can quan, *quare* > car quar. It should be noted that the *u* was commonly kept in the spelling (especially before e and i) after it had ceased to be pronounced, *gu* and *qu* being regarded merely as symbols for "hard" g and c. For cinc < *quīnque*, see § 87, kw. Sw remained in *suavem* > suau.

(3) To groups beginning with s a vowel had been prefixed in Vulgar Latin (§ 55, S); this vowel appears in Provençal as e. Sc′ apparently did not occur in any popular word; sl early became scl; the other groups (sc, scl, scr, sp, st, str) remained unchanged, except that in the north and northeast sc > stš before a: *scala* > escala eschala, *schŏla* > escola, *slahta* > **sclatta* > esclata, *scrībĕre* > escriure, *spīna* > espina, *stare* > estar, *strĭngĕre* > estrenher.

MEDIAL CONSONANTS.

63. (1) It is well to note at the outset that when, through the fall of an unaccented vowel (§ 51), an early Provençal b, d, dz, dž, g, z, or ž was made final or contiguous to a final s, it became voiceless: *ŏpus* > o̤bus > o̤bs o̤ps, *ŏrbum* > o̤rbu > o̤rb o̤rp: *datum* > dadu > dad dat, *vĭrĭdem vĭrdem* > ve̤rde > ve̤rd ve̤rt; *prĕtium* > pre̤dzu > pre̤dz pre̤ts (written *pretz*), *vōcem* > vo̤dze > vo̤dz vo̤ts (written *votz*); *mĕdium* > me̤yu me̤džu > me̤dž me̤tš (written *meg* or *mech*); *amīcus* > amigus > amigs amics, *largum* > largu > larg larc; *rīsum* > rizu > riz ris; *basium* > bažu > baiž baiš (bais). The combination tžs, however, loses either its second or its third element: **gaudios* > gautšs > gautš or gauts (both of them often written *gaugz*); so *nŏctes* > nuetšs > nuetš or nuets (*nuegz*). For *apud* > *ab ap am an*, see § 65, P, 2.

(2) Under the same conditions, y became i: *vĭdeo* > ve̤yo > ve̤y ve̤i, *pĕjus* > pe̤yus > pe̤ys pie̤is.

(3) Under the same conditions, *ð*, coming from intervocalic d, fell when final, but became t before s: *audit* > auði > auð au; *crūdus* > cruðus > cruds crüts. So *crūdum* > crü, *fĭdem* > fe̤, *fraudem* > frau, *gradum* > gra, *nīdum* > ni, *nōdum* > no̤, *pĕdem* > pe̤, *sapidum* > sabe, *tĕpidum* > te̤be; *grados* > grats, *nōdus* > no̤ts, *nūdus* > nüts, *pĕdes* > pe̤ts. The two sets of forms influenced each other: hence *degras*, *fes*,[1] *nis*, *pes*, etc.; *crut*, *grat*, *not*, *nut*,[1] etc.

(4) Under the same conditions, *β*, coming from v or from intervocalic b, became u if preceded by a vowel, but fell if preceded by a consonant: *bĭbit* > be̤βi > be̤β be̤u, *vīvit* > βi̤βi > βi̤β vi̤u, *claves* > claβes > claβs claus, *vīvus* > βi̤βus >

[1] *Fes*, *nut*, which quite supplanted the regular forms, perhaps show the influence of *res*, *mut*.

β i̯ β s v i̯us; *salvet* > sal, *salvum* > sal, *sĕrvit* > si̯er, *nĕrvos* > ne̯rs, *salvŭs* > sals, *sĕrvus* > se̯rs. Sometimes, however, final β preceded by a consonant, instead of falling, became f: *salvet* > salf, *salvum* > salf, *sĕrvit* > si̯erf, *vŏlvit* > vo̯lf; it may be that these are the only regular forms for cons. + β *when final*, and that *sal*, *sier* are due to the analogy of *sals*, *siers*.

(5) Under the same conditions, final n, if preceded by a vowel, was kept in the extreme west, parts of the north, and all the southeast and east, but fell everywhere else; n before s was generally kept only in the southeast and east: *bĕne* > be ben, *canem* > ca can, *sŏnum* > so son[1]; *bŏnus* > bos bons, *mansiōnes* > maiso̯s maiso̯ns. If the n was preceded by a consonant (r), the fall seems to have been even commoner: *cŏrnu* > co̯r co̯rn, *tŏrno* > to̯r to̯rn; *diŭrnus* > io̯rs io̯rns. Provençal n coming from nn never falls: *annus* > ans.

(6) Under the same conditions, g, representing original c or g, became c after o or u, and after other vowels either became c or was changed to i (which fused with a preceding i): *fŏcum* > fo̯c, *lŏcus* > lo̯cs, *paucum* > pauc, *Hūgo* > Uc; *Aureliācum* > Aurelhac, *dĭco* > dic di, *Henrīcum* > Enric Enri, **trago* > trac trai. The forms with c are the commoner; they have been most persistent in the west.

(7) The vocalization of l before s (*malus* > maus) is a different phenomenon from the foregoing, and will be treated by itself: § 65, L.

(8) An m or an n that becomes contiguous to final s often develops into mp or nt, but oftener (judging from the spellings) does not: *nĭmis* > *nems nemps*, *rēmos* > *remps*; *annos* > *ans anz*, *gĕnus* > *ges gens genz*.

[1] By analogy of such double forms, n is sometimes added to a few words ending in a vowel: *fŭit* > *fo fon*, *prō* > *pro pron*.

(9) Between a liquid or a nasal and a final s, a b or a p generally fell, unless supported by the analogy of a form in which the b or p was final: *ambos* > *ams ambs*, *cŏrpus* > *cors*, *tĕmpus* > *tems temps*; cf. *balbs* (*balb*), *orbs* (*orb*).

1. The d, n, t of the proclitics *ad*, *quid*, *in*, *aut*, *et* will be treated under Final Consonants.

64. Final ts from any source, in Provence, Limousin, and a part of Languedoc and Gascony, was reduced, during the literary period, to s: *amātis* > amatz amas, *habētis* > avẹtz aveṣ, *dīcit* > ditz dis, *grandes* > granz grans, *latus* > latz las, *prĕtium* > prẹtz preṣ. On the other hand, in a part of Limousin (especially in Limoges), and also in Dauphiné, –ts, in the second person plural of verbs, became t: habētis > avẹt.

SINGLE MEDIAL CONSONANTS.

65. The single medial consonants will now be considered separately, in alphabetical order: —

β, coming from b or v, became v; except in the west and a part of the centre, where, if it remained intervocalic, it changed to b: *habētis* > avẹtz abẹtz, *debēre* > devẹr debẹr, *faba* > fava faba; *avārum* > avar, *æstīva* > estiva, *brĕvem* > breu,[1] *clavem* > clau, *dīe Jŏvis* > diiọus, *lĕvat* > leva, *novĕlla* > novẹla nabẹra (Gascon), *vīvus* > vius. When the preceding or following vowel was o or u, a *β* before the accent fell in most dialects, being fused with the vowel: *abŭndare* > aondar abondar, *gŭbĕrnare* > goernar governar, proclitic *ŭbĭ* > ọ, *prŏbare* > proar, *sŭbĭnde* > soẹn soven soben, *trĭbūtum* > treüt; *Lŭdovīcus* > Lozoics, *Provĭncia* > Proẹnsa Proẹnsa, *novĕllum* > noẹl novẹl, *novembrem* > noembre novembre, *pavōnem* > paọn, *pavōrem* > paọr (cf. § 55, V).

[1] Cf. § 63, (4).

1. The perfect endings *-avi* etc., *-ivi* etc. had lost their v in Latin. For avia, etc., see § 87, *β*.

2. *Abans*, beside *avanz*, *avan* < *ab ante*, apparently shows the influence of Pr. *ab* = *apud*. *Abet* < *abiětem* (§ 40, 1) is unexplained: cf. Italian *abete*. *Abora* is a Provençal compound of *ab* and *ora*. *Trap*, beside *trau* < *trabem*, is doubtless from the nominative *traps* < *trabs*, which seems to have been differentiated in meaning from the V. L. nominative *trabis*.

3. *Brey*, *grey*, *ney*, beside *breu* < *brĕvem*, *greu* < **grĕvem*, *neu* < *nĭvem* (cf. § 25, 1, *e*), have been subjected to the attraction of *grey* < *grĕgem*, *ley* < *lēgem*. *Greug* is a post-verbal noun from *greuiar* < **grĕviare*.

4. *Massis* < *massīvus*, *natiz* = *natius* < *natīvus* seem to have been influenced by *mestis* < *mixtīcius*.

5. *Paziment* = *pavamen* owes its z perhaps to the analogy of *aizimen*.

6. In purely learned words, *b* and *v* were written as in Latin: *diabol*, *diluvi*.

C, from the 4th to the 6th century, was voiced to g, and then developed like any other g. See G.

1. After au, apparently, c did not change: **auca* (< **avĭca* < *avis*) > *auca*, *pauca* > *pauca*, *rauca* > *rauca*, **traucare*(? < **trabucare*) > traucar. Cf. § 65, P, 3.

2. In purely learned words, c remained unchanged: *vocal*. *Alucar aluchar*, *aluc* seem to be learned formations patterned after *antelucānus* and Low Latin *lucānus*.

C′, when it became contiguous to a consonant, through the fall of the unaccented vowel of the penult, was reduced to i: **cŏcĕre* > coire, *dīcĕre* > diire dire, *dīcĭtis* > ditz, *facĕre* > faire, *facĭmu*(*s*) > faim, *facĭtis* > faitz, *fēcĕram* > feira, *fēcĕrunt* > feiron, *gracĭlem* > graile. When it remained intervocalic, it was assibilated during the transition period (§ 55, C); in most of the Provençal territory it became dz, which during the literary period was simplified to z; but in some dialects of the south and the northwest it resulted in idz (later iz), an i-glide having developed before the consonant while it was still palatal: *aucĕllum* > auzel, *jacēre* > iazer, *lĭcēre* > lezer,

lūcēre > lüzẹr lüzir lüisir, *placēre* > plazẹr plaizẹr; *crŭcem* > croz croiz crois (see §§ 63, 64), *dīcere* > dízer, *dīcit* > ditz dis, *dūcit* > dütz düs, *facit* > fatz fas, *jacet* > iatz ias iays, *pacem* > patz pas pais, *placet* > platz plas plais, *verācem* > verais, *vōcem* > vọtz vọiz.

1. *Aucel*, beside *auzel*, perhaps belongs to a dialect in which c′ was not voiced after au: cf. C, 1. See § 80, Bc′.

2. *Iasser*, beside *iazer*, seems to be due to *ias* < *jacet* and *iassa* < *jaceat*.

3. For *desma deima*, see S, 1.

4. In purely learned words, c′ > ts: *actŭm* > ạci.

D, in a part of the west, remained unchanged; elsewhere, during the Vulgar Latin period, it opened into *ð*, which fell in the 11th century and earlier in parts of the north and east, and in the rest of the Provençal territory became z as early as the first part of the 12th century: *audīre* > auzir auir audir,[1] *audit* > au,[2] *cadit* > ca, *crudēlem* > cruzẹl cruẹl crudẹl, *fīdat* > fia, **gaudo* > gau, *hŏrrĭda* > ọreza, *hŏrrĭdum* > ọre, *laudo* > lau, *alauda* > lauzẹta laudẹta, *rīdat* > ria, *tradĕre* > trazir trair tradir, *vidēre* > vezẹr vẹr vedẹr, *vĭdet* > vẹ. When *ð* became contiguous to a following consonant (except final s), it changed to i: *cupĭditātem* > cobeitat, *divīdĕre* > divire,[3] *traditōrem* > traidọr.[4]

1. *Crey*, beside *cre* < *crēdo*, follows *dei* < *dēbeo*, *vei* < *vĭdeo*. *Mercey*, beside *merce* < *mercēdem*, shows the influence of *grey* < *grĕgem*, *lei* < *lēgem*, and perhaps French *fei* < *fĭdem*. Cf. β, (3).

2. *Grau* = *gra* < *gradum*, *niu* = *ni* < *nīdum* belong to the Catalan dialect, in which *ð* fell before the 8th century: *gradum* > *graðu* > *gra-u* > *grau*, the u being preserved through combining into a diphthong with the a.

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[1] Also *auvir*, probably a local development of *auir* or *auzir*; and *aurir*, doubtless from *auzir* in a dialect that confuses r and z. See R, 2 and S, 2.

[2] Cf. § 63, (3).

[3] The i from *ð* fuses with the preceding i.

[4] *Trachor* has been influenced by *trach*, past participle of *traire*.

3. In purely learned words, d remained: *odi* < *ŏdium*.

F is very rare (cf. § 59). The few examples appear to show that f (presumably in the 6th century or earlier) became *β*, and then developed like any other *β* (see *β*): *Stĕphănum* > Esteve, *co(n)fortāre?* > * coβortar > * coortar > conortar (through the common use of the double forms, *con–*, *co–*), *gryphum* > griu, *raphănum* > rave rafe, * *refusāre* > rehusar refusar, **prefŭndum* (= *pro–*) > preọn. Nevertheless, cofịn *cŏphĭnum*, defọrs < *de fŏris*, grifọ, profięg < *profĕctum*, rafe, would seem to indicate that in some words, possibly less popular at the outset, f was retained.

1. In purely learned words, f was kept: *antifona*, *Caifas*, *philozophia*.

G, representing original c and g, had a varied development.[1] For the fall of g in some words in Vulgar Latin, see § 55, G.

(1) Before a, g remained in the greater part of the territory, but in the north and east it early became y; and this y was generally retained in the eastern dialects (often fusing with a preceding i), while in most of the northern it developed into dž (cf. Y): *amīca* > amiga amiia amia, *dīcam* > diga dia, *mīca* > miga miia mia,[2] *pacāre* > pagar paiar, *precāre* > pregar preiar; *castigāre* > castigar castiar, *legālem* > leial leyal lial, *ligāmen* > liam, *lĭgātum* > legat liat, *plaga* > plaga plaia, *regālem* > reial, *rūga* > rüa.

(2) Before o and u (ü), g was preserved, except in a few words which (doubtless in Vulgar Latin times) lost it either in all or in many dialects: *acūtum* > agüt, *secŭndum* > segọn, *secūrus* > segürs; * *a(u)gūrium* > agür aür, *a(u)gŭstum* >

[1] Intervocalic c and g have been studied by H. Sabersky, *Zur provenzalischen Lautlehre*, 1888, pp. 8-19.

[2] *Mica micha* are from **mīcca* = *mīca* + *cĭccum*.

agọst[1] ahọst, proclitic *ĕgo* > ẹu, **fagŏttum* > fagọt, *figūra* > figüra, *Hugōnem* > Ugọ. For a g that becomes final or contiguous to final s, see § 63, (6): *amīcus* > amics amis, *Auriācum* > Auriac, *cŏcum* (= *cŏquum*) > cọc, *jŏcus* > iọcs, *Ludovīcum* > Lozoic Lozoi, *prĕco* > prẹc; *castīgo* > chastic chasti.

(3) Between the last two vowels of a proparoxytone, g, early in the Provençal period, became y, which developed into dž before the literary epoch; cf. § 49, (4): *clĕrĭcum* > clẹrge, **coratĭcum* > coratge, *domĭnĭcum* > dimẹnge, *manĭca* > mania, *mĕdĭcum* > mẹge, *mŏnăchum* > monge, **paratĭcum* > paratge, *viatĭcum* > viatie. In some dialects, however, the vowel of the penult, after liquids and nasals, fell too early for the g to become y: clẹrgue,[2] dimẹrgue, mongue.

1. *Amiu, chastiu* belong to the dialect of Forez; so perhaps *fau* < *fagum*, *preu* < *prĕco*. These forms indicate a very early fall of the g in the dialect to which they belong. Cf. § 51, 3.

2. In purely learned words, Latin g remains unchanged: *paganōrum* > *paganor*.

G′ became y during the Vulgar Latin period (§ 55, G). See Y.

1. In purely learned words the letter *g* was retained, but it was doubtless pronounced dž: *astrologia*.

L remained: *colōrem* > colọr, *male* > mal, **volēre* (= *velle*) > volẹr. Before final s, l became u in most dialects, in some as early as the 10th century: *malos* > maus, *talis* > taus; *l* was written, however, long after l had been vocalized. Under the influence of forms in which –ls > –us, final l became u in the southwest and in some other regions: *Aprīlem* > abriu. Cf. § 74, (2).

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[1] For the reduction of *au* to *a* see § 41.

[2] *Clerc* is from **clĕrcum*, which must have existed contemporaneously with *clĕrĭcum*.

1. For Gascon l > r, see § 10.

2. *Orifan*, beside *olifan* < *elephantem*, is probably French.

L′ will be considered, as ly, under Groups, § 73, Ly.

M remained: *amāre* > amar, *hŏmo* > om, *timōrem* > temor.

1. Occasionally final *-am* rhymes with *-an* (*afan* : *fam*, *portam* : *avan*); this would seem to indicate an indistinct pronunciation of the final nasal in some dialects. Cf. *aven* = *avem* < *habēmu*(*s*) in the *Nobla Leyczon*. Cf. § 167, 2.

N remained: *bŏnas* > bonas, *donāre* > donar, *lūna* > lüna. For n final or contiguous to final s, see § 63, (5): *fīnis* > fis fins, *panem* > pa pan.

1. In *canorgue*, *dimergue*, *morgue*, beside *canonge*, *dimenge*, *monge*, the r may be explained by the analogy of *clergue*.

2. *Menhs meins*, beside regular *mens* < *mĭnus*, show the influence of the alternative forms *genhs geins* and *gens* from *ingĕnium* (see § 73, Ny).

3. *Iassey* (= *iasse*, the latter part of which may be from *exín* = *exĭnde*), *tey* (= *te* < *tĕnet*), used by Marcabru, are doubtless due either to a mistaken imitation of conventional borderland forms (see § 25, 3) or to the analogy of *crei* = *cre* < *crēdo* (*crei* itself being due to the analogy of *dei* < *dēbeo*, *vei* < *vĭdeo*).

N′ will be considered, as ny, under Groups, § 73, Ny.

P, from the 4th to the 6th century, was voiced to b: *capĭllum* > cabel, *rīpa* > riba, **sapēre* (= *sapĕre*) > saber, *trepalium* > trebalh; *capit* > cap (§ 63), *sapis* > saps.

1. In some borderland dialects p > v, as in French: *saver*. *Evescat*, *evesque*, beside *bisbat*, *bisbe*, are French.

2. *Apud*, used as a proclitic, became for some reason in Vulgar Latin **apu*, which developed regularly into **abu* and, after the fall of intertonic vowels, *ab*. This *ab* assimilated its b more or less to a following consonant, becoming *ap* before voiceless consonants, *am* before nasals; *am*, used before dentals, became *an*: hence we have four forms, *ab*, *ap*, *am*, *an*. *Amb* seems to be a fusion of *am* and *ab*; when used before a consonant with which mb did not readily combine, it expanded into *ambe*. See Elise Richter, *Zs.*, XXVI, 532.

3. In some dialects, apparently, p was not voiced after au: *sapuĕrunt* **sapwĕrunt* **saupĕrunt* > *saubron saupron*. Cf. § 65, C, 1.

4. In purely learned words, p remains: *epifania*.

R remained: *amāra* > amara, *durāre* > dürar, *ĕrat* > e̥ra. Final rs was reduced to s, in most dialects, during and after the literary period: *priōres* > prio̥rs prio̥s (*Girart*); the reduction apparently began in Limousin as early as the 12th century (Bertran de Born rhymes io̥s and flo̥rs).

1. Final r began to fall in many dialects in the 14th century. At present it has disappeared all through the south and west: *amōrem* > *amou*, *flōrem* > *flou*.

2. In some dialects (especially those of Gard and Hérault) intervocalic r and z were confused, probably during the literary period: *gyrāre* > *girar gisar*; conversely *audīre* > *auzir aurir*. Cf. *Revue des langues romanes*, XL, 49, 121.

S was voiced to z, probably from the 4th to the 6th century: *pausa* > pausa, *presĕntem* > presen; *rīsum* > ris (§ 63).

1. An s that became contiguous to n was changed, in a few dialects, to r: *almosna almorna*, *disnar dirnar*. In modern Limousin and some of the dialects of Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Gascony, s has disappeared before nasals: *asne ane*, *caresma carema*, *disnar dinar* (so *blasmar blamar*, *desma dema*); the fall began during the literary period. S before a consonant in many of the modern dialects, and final s in some, has become i: *asne aine*, *caresma careima* (so perhaps *desma deima*, *pruesme prueime*); some traces of this change occur in texts of the literary period. Cf. *Zs.*, XXIII, 413. *Isla*, in Limousin, became *ilha* (perhaps through *iyla*): cf. *Zs.*, XXIII, 414. Cf. § 78.

2. In some southeastern dialects intervocalic z after au has changed to v: *causa cauva* (so *auzir auvir*); possibly the *auvent* of the *Boeci*, v. 23, is to be connected with this.

T, from the 4th to the 6th century, was voiced to d: *amāta* > amada, *natālis* > nadals, *servitōrem* > servido̥r; *habētis* > ave̥tz ave̥s ave̥t (§§ 63, 64), *latus* > latz las, *natum* > nat. For a t which became contiguous to r (*amātor* > amaire), see § 52, (1), and § 70, Tr.

1. In some dialects of the south and southeast, final t fell shortly after the literary period: *amātum* > *amat ama*.

2. *Tōtus*, in Gaul, became *tōttus* as early as the 4th century: hence Pr. *tota totas*. For *meteis* < *met-ĭpse* see § 131, (2).

3. *Espaza* (beside *espada*) < *spatha*, was perhaps influenced in its pronunciation by the spelling of the Latin word. *Ez*, coming from *et* before a vowel, shows the influence of *az* (< *ad* + vowel) and *quez* (< *quĭd* + vowel). *Grazal*, 'grail', is perhaps a cross between **cratella* < *crater* and *gradale*, 'service-book'; so *grazalet*. *Grazir grazire* (cf. *agradar*) is perhaps altered from an earlier **grazar* < **gratiare*. *Mezeis* < *met-ĭpse*, *mezesmes*, *meesmes* (beside *medesmes*) < **met-ĭpsĭmus* have been subjected to the analogy of *ez* < *et* and *quez* < *quĭd* or of *īd ĭpsum*: § 131, (2).

4. *Appoestat* must be French.

5. *Calabre* < **catabŏlum* seems to have been assimilated to *Calabria*.

6. In purely learned words, t remains: *eternal*.

W will be considered, as gw, under Groups, § 72, βw.

X is a symbol for ks: see Groups, § 79, Ks.

Y, representing Latin dy, g′, gy, j, and z (cf. § 55, G, Y; § 57, Z) had a varied development.

(1) When it became contiguous to a following consonant (§§ 45, 49), it changed to i: *adjutāre* > *ayudāre* > ay'dar > aidar, *medietātem* > meitat; *cōgitāre* > cüidar, *frĭgĕre* > frire, *lĕgĕre* > leyre, *propagĭnem* > probaina, *rĭgĭda* > reida, **tragĕre* > traire; *bajŭlus* > bailes.

(2) When it remained intervocalic, it became dž in most of the territory, but in the northeast and parts of the north it was not changed: *audiam* > auia, *in-ŏdiare* > enoiar, *invĭdia* > enveia, *invĭdiōsus* > enveios enveyos, **gladia* > glaya, *mediānum* > meian, **pŏdiāre* > poiar, *radiāre* > raiar, *sordĭdior* > sordeier, *vĭdeat* > veia; *fragĭlem* > fragel; **exagiāre* > assatiar essaiar essayar, *corrĭgia* > correia correya, *fagea* > faia faya, *regiōnem* > reio; *dīe Jŏvis* > diious, *major* > maier, *pĕjor* > pieier, *pejōrem* > peior, *trŏja* > troia; *baptizāre* > bateiar. For

a dž or a y that became final or contiguous to final s, see § 63, (1), (2): *audio* > auch, *in ŏdio* > enueg (plural enuetz enueg) enoi, *gaudium* > gauch, *gladium* > glai, *mĕdium* > meg mei, *hŏdie* > oi, *pŏdium* > pueg poi, *radium* > rai; *fŭgit* > füg füi, *grĕgem* > grey, *lēgem* > leg (pl. leitz) lei, *lĕgit* > lieg, *magis* mais,[1] *rēgem* > rei, **tragit* > trai; *exagium* > essai; *pĕjus* > pieis.

(3) Before accented e or i, y disappeared (doubtless in Vulgar Latin: § 55, G), except in some western dialects, where it became dž: *vagīna* > guaïna, ** legīre* (= *lĕgĕre*) > legir,[2] *magĭster* > maestre maiestre magestre, **pagē(n)sis* > paes pages, *regīna* > reïna, *sagĭtta* > saeta saieta sageta.

1. *Detz ditz* < *dĭgĭtus* are irregular and unexplained. The word is irregular in some other Romance languages, notably in Italian. Cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, p. 507.

2. *Glavi*, beside *glai* (and learned *glazi*) < *gladium*, is supposed by some to show the influence of Celtic *cládibo*. Cf. Körting; also H. Schuchardt, *Zs.*, XXV, 345.

3. *Messér* seems to be a contraction (due to proclitic use) of **messeyer* = *mes*, 'my', + **seyer*? < **sĕyor* = *sĕnior* (cf. A. Lindström, *L'analogie dans la déclinaison des substantifs latins en Gaule*, 1897–8, pp. 292–3).

4. In purely learned words, *di*, *g*, *gi*, *z* are retained, the *g* being pronounced presumably as dž, the *z* as z: *odi*, *fragil*, *regio*, *canonizar*.

MEDIAL GROUPS.

66. Medial groups may be conveniently classified as follows: — A. *Double Consonants* (1); B. *Groups of Dissimilar Consonants:* groups ending in l (2), groups ending in r (3), groups ending in w (4), groups ending in y (5), groups beginning with l, m, n, r, or s and not ending in l, r, w, or y

[1] *Magis* was probably reduced to *mais* in Vulgar Latin.

[2] *Legir* may have been reconstructed on the basis of *leg* < *lĕgit*.

(6), all other groups (7). They will be treated in the order indicated.[1]

1. It should be noted that the prefixes *ad–*, *sub–* regularly assimilate their d or b to the following consonant: **ad–rīpāre* > *arribar*, *sub–venīre* > *sovenir*. *Sosrire*, *sosterrar*, *sostraire* show a substitution of prefix, due, no doubt, to the analogy of *sospirar*, *sostener*.

1. DOUBLE CONSONANTS.

67. In general, the double consonants became single, in the 9th or 10th century (perhaps earlier before the accent), but underwent no other change save those described in §§ 63, 64: *abbātem* > abat, *sĭccum* > seç, *rĕddo* > reţ, *affībulāre* > afiblar, *aggregāre* > agregar, *flamma* > flama, *pĭnna* > peṇa, *cappa* > capa, *passum* > pas,[2] *mŭttum* > moţ, *advenīre* **avvenīre* > avenir.

(1) Cc before a, in the east and northeast, became tš; elsewhere, c; *bŭcca* > boça bocha, *vacca* > vaca vacha.

(2) Ll, in some southern dialects, became l'; elsewhere, l: *capĭllum* > cabeļ cabeļh, *grȳllum* > gril grilh, *mantĕllum* > mantel mantelh, *villānus* > vilas vilhas. It is possible, however, that –llī regularly became l' in Limousin, while ll before other vowels was not palatalized: *caballum* > caval, *caballī* > cavalh; *ĭllī* > ilh, *ĭllōs* > eļs; this would account in part for the frequent occurrence of *lh* in the poems. For final ls and l, see § 65, L: *ĭllos* > eļs eus, *vallem* > val vau. For Gascon l > r, see § 10: *appĕllat* > apeļa apera.

(3) Rr, when intervocalic, seems generally to have been distinguished from r during the literary period and later: *cŭr-*

[1] For the groups ending in y, cf. L. J. Juroszek, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der jotazierten Konsonanten in Frankreich*, in *Zs.*, XXVII, 550 ff. The groups ending in y and those containing c or g have been studied by H. Sabersky, *Zur provenzalischen Lautlehre*, 1888.

[2] S is generally written *ss* between vowels, to distinguish it from *s* = z.

rĕre > corre, **corrŭptiāre* > corrossar, *errāre* > errar, *tĕrra* > terra. Occasionally, however, rr is found in rhyme with r.

2. GROUPS ENDING IN L.

68. The groups of two consonants will be treated in alphabetical order. It will be seen that bl, rl, sl remained unchanged; ml developed a glide consonant between its two members; pl, tl, βl and yl respectively voiced, assimilated, and vocalized their first element; while cl, gl were fused into l'. For an explanation of this last phenomenon, see § 79.

Bl > bl: *nĕbŭla* > nebla, **oblītāre* > oblidar, *sabulōnem* > sablon.[1]

βl > ul: *fabŭla* **faβla* > faula, *sibilāre* **siβlāre* > siular, *tabŭla* **taβla* > taula.

Cl > l': *genŭcŭlum* > genolh, *ŏcŭlum* > olh, *sĭtŭla* **sĭcla*[2] > selha, *vĕtŭla vĕcla*[2] > velha. In learned words we find gl, cl: **e(c)clēsia* > gleiza, *joculārem* > ioglar, *sæcŭlum* > segle secle.

C'l > il: *gracĭlem* > graile.

Dl > dl, which during the literary period became ll and then l: *mŏdŭlum* > *modle molle.

Gl > l': *vĭg(ĭ)lat* > velha. Teula < *tēgŭla* is irregular: cf. *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XIII, 439, 459.

Ml > mbl: *sĭmĭlāre* > semblar, *trĕmŭlat* > trembla. In *sembrar* we find an r < l due perhaps to the analogy of membrar < *memorāre*.

Pl > bl: *cōpŭla* > cobla, *dŭplum* > doble. Learned words have pl: *duplicar*.

Rl > rl: *Carŏlus* > Carles, *hōrolŏgium* > orloi, **paraulare* > parlar.

[1] Most of the words in this category are semi-learned: cf. *fabla* and *faula*. See § 55, B.

[2] See § 47, (2).

Sl > sl: *ī(n)sŭla* > isla. For *ilha*, see § 65, S, 1.

Tl > tl, which during the literary period became ll and then l: *rŏtŭlum* > ro̤tle ro̤lle, *spathūla* > espatla espalla espala. In really popular words tl had become cl in Vulgar Latin.[1]

Yl > il: *bajŭlus* > bailes. Cf. § 65, Y, (1).

69. A group of three consonants remained unchanged, except that double consonants became single: *ambulāre* > amblar, *implēre* > emplir, *avŭncŭlus* > avo̤ncles, *cĭrcŭlus* > ce̤rcles, *mascŭlus* > mascles, **afflammāre* > aflamar, *inflāre* > enflar, *ŭngŭla* > o̤ngla, *emplastrum* > emplastre.

1. *Selcle*, beside *cercle*, seems to show an assimilation of the r to the l of the next syllable. *Empastre*, beside *emplastre*, has been influenced by *pasta*. *Emblar* is probably from V. L. **imbolare* = *involare*.

3. GROUPS ENDING IN R.

70. The groups of two consonants will be treated in alphabetical order. It will be seen that br, gr, lr, nr generally remained unchanged; mr, sr, zr (and sometimes lr, nr) developed a glide consonant; cr, pr voiced, and βr, c'r, dr, tr, yr vocalized their first element.

Br > br: *fabrum* > fabre, *fĕbrem* > fe̤bre, *līb(ĕ)rum* > libre.

βr > ur: *bĭbĕre* > be̤ure, débēr' hábe̤o > deβ'r-áyo > deurái, *faber* > faure;[2] **mŏvĕre* (= *mŏvēre*) > mo̤ure, *plŏvĕre* > plo̤ure.

Cr > gr: *acrem* > agre, *lacrĭma* > lagrema, *lŭcrum* > lo̤gre, *macrum* > magre, *sacrāre* > sagrar, *sŏcrum* > so̤gre.[3] In late learned words we find cr: *secret*.

C'r > ir: *cŏcĕre* > co̤ire, *dīcĕre* > dire, *dūcere* > düire, *facĕre* > faire. Cf. § 49, (1).

Dr > ðr > ir: *divīdĕre* > devire, *quadrum* > caire, vídēr' há-

[1] See § 47, (2).

[2] We find also *faur*: cf. § 52, (1), 1.

[3] *Sozer* is from *sŏcĕrum*: cf. § 49, (1).

bẹo > veð'r–áyo > veirái. After au, apparently, ð simply disappeared: *claudĕre* > claure. Late learned words have dr: *quadrupedi.*

Gr, in popular words, was reduced to r in Vulgar Latin in parts of the Empire: *fra(g)rāre* > *frarar *flarar flazar, *intĕ(g)rum* > entẹr entiẹr, *nĭ(g)rum* > nẹr niẹr,[1] *pere(g)rīnum* > peleri, *pĭ(g)rĭtia* > pereza; these forms occur in Gascony, Rouergue, and Limousin, but forms with gr are found in the same region. Elsewhere, in these same words, and everywhere, in more bookish words, gr remained in Vulgar Latin; this gr was kept in most of the Provençal territory, but was changed to ir in Dauphiné, Auvergne, and Languedoc: **degrădum* > degra, *fragrāre* > flairar, *integrāre* > enteirar, *intĕgrum* > entẹgre entẹir,[2] *nĭgrēscĕre* > negrezir, *nĭgrum* > nẹgre nẹir,[2] *peregrīnum* > pelegri, *pĭgrĭtia* > pigreza. Purely learned words have gr everywhere: *agricultura.*

G'r: see Yr.

Lr usually remained unaltered, but in some dialects became ldr[3]: válēr' hábẹo > valrai valdrai, *vólēr' hábẹo > volrai voldrai.

Mr > mbr: *caměra* > cambra, *memorāre* > membrar, *nŭmĕrum* > nombre.

Nr usually remained unaltered, but in some dialects became ndr[3]: *cĭnĕrem* > cẹnre cẹndre, *dīe Vĕnĕris* > divenres divendres, *in-gĕnerāre* > engenrar, *Henrīcum* > Enric, *expōnĕre* > espọnre espọndre, **gĕnĕrem* (=*gĕnus*) > genre, *gĕnĕrum* > genre gendre,

[1] For the vowel of nẹr niẹr, see § 25, *1*, (*e*).

[2] *Enteir, neir* seem to have lost final e under the influence of numerous adjectives in *-er -ier -ieir* < *-arium.*

[3] In the modern dialects the d is probably commoner than it was in the old literary language; it occurs in Bordeaux, Languedoc, and Provence.

honorāre > onrar ondrar, *prĕndĕre* > penre, *tenēr' habeo* > tenrai tendrai, *venīr' habeo* > venrai vendrai.

Pr > br: *capra* > cabra, *cŭperāre* > cobrar, *erĭpĕre* > erẹbre, *ŏpĕra* > ọbra, *pauper* > paubre, **pĭperāta* > pebrada, *recĭpĕre* > recẹbre, *sŭperāre* > sobrar, *sŭper* > sọbre. Purely learned words have pr: *caprin.* It is uncertain whether *paupre* (beside the usual *paubre*) is a Latinism or represents some dialect in which au prevented voicing.

Sr > str: **ĕssĕre* (= *ĕsse*) > ẹstre. For ẹsser, see § 49, (2).

Tr > dr > ðr > ir: *amātor* > amaire, *fratrem* > fraire, *latro* > laire, *mater* > mạire, *ūtĕrem* > ọire, *pĕtra* > pẹira, *Pĕtrus* > Pẹires, *petrōnem* > peirọ, *petrōsus* > peirọs, *pre(s)bўtĕrum* (*Einf.*, § 140) > preveire, *servītor* > servire, *vĭtrum* > veire. Learned words have dr and tr: **poenĭtĕre* > *penedre* (*penedir*), *impetrāre* > *impetrar.*

Yr > ir: *frīgĕre* > frire, *lĕgĕre* > leyre.

Zr > zdr: *mīsĕrunt* + **mĭssĕrunt* > *mẹzron mẹsdron.

1. *Redebre* (beside *rezemér*) < *redĭmere* has apparently been influenced by *recebre.* The Burgundian *sor* for *sobre* comes from the prefix *sŭr-* (*sŭr-rīdēre*, etc.). *Perri* < **pētrīnum* is probably French.

71. A group of three consonants nearly always remained unchanged, except that double consonants became single: *ŭmbra* > ọmbra, *arbŏrem* > arbre, *sepŭlcrum* > sepulcre, **can-c(e)rōsus* > cancrọs, * *addīrēctum* > adreit, *fŭndĕre* > fọndre, *ardĕre* > ardre, * *offerīre* > offrir, * *Hungaría* > Ongria, *rŭmpĕre* > rọmpre, *apprĕssum* > apres, *asprum* > aspre, *ŭltra* > ọltra, *intrāre* > entrar, *mo(n)strāre* > mostrar, *mĭttĕre* > mẹtre. Lβr and rg'r, however, regularly became ldr and rdr, and llr became ldr to the same extent as lr (q. v.): *absŏlvĕre* > absọldre (*absolvre* is probably a Latinism), *pŭlvĕrem* > pọldre; **dē-ēr' gĕre* > dẹrdre; *tollĕre* > tọlre tọldre. Rmr became rbr

in *marmor* > marbre (also marme). Prendre often became penre (perhaps to distinguish it from pendre < *pĕndĕre*) through the analogy of genre gendre, etc.; the first r having been lost by dissimilation.

1. The four-consonant group shtr is reduced to str in *prestre* < *prĕsbyter*. *Prever* is perhaps a proclitic syncopation of a V. L. **preβiter*. Cf. § 78, 1.

4. GROUPS ENDING IN W.

72. This class includes not only Latin gu̯, qu̯, but all combinations of consonant + u̯, cf. § 40, (2). A w thus evolved seems to have developed like Germanic w (cf. § 56, W): it became gw (assimilating the preceding consonant, unless that consonant was a liquid or a nasal), and then was reduced, before the literary period, to g, cf. § 62, (2). Pẘ, however, had a quite different history, owing, on the one hand, to the affinity of its two labial elements, and, on the other, to the stability of the voiceless stop, which prevented the assimilation that we find in βw > ww.

1. G. Körting (*Zs.*, XXII, 258) would explain through the analogy of the perfects in *-cui* all other perfect forms which in Provençal have g and c corresponding to Latin *-ui* etc.

βw > ww > gw > g: *habuĭssem* > agues, *dēbuit* > dec (§ 63); **co(g)nōvuit* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 357) > conoc, **crevuĭstī* > creguist, **movuĭsset* > mogues, **plŏvuit* > ploc. We seem to have the same combination in Germanic *treuwa* > tręgua tręga (*treva* is probably French).

1. The diphthong of *aic* = *habuī* is probably not a phonetic development. The first and third persons of the preterit, *aic* and *ac* (< *habuit*), have been differentiated after the pattern of the present — *ai* and *a*.

Dw > gw > g: **sĕduit* > sec.

1. *Vezoa* < *vĭdua* must be an early learned word: *veuva* is doubtless French.

Kw > gw > g: *antīqua* > antiga, *ĕqua* > ẹga, *æquālem* > egal (*engal* has received through a mistake in etymology the prefix *en–* or *e–* < *in–*), *nŏcuit* > nọc, *placuĭstī* > plaguist, **sĕquĕre* (= *sĕqui*) > sẹgre, **sequīre* > seguir, *tacuĭssem* > tagueṣ.

1. Several words show a different development: cf. *Ltblt.*, XXIV, 335; *Zs.*, XXVIII, 381. In *aqua* (or *acqua*) and *aquĭla* (or **acquĭla*) the first consonant became, for some reason, a spirant, which later changed to i: aχwa > aiwa > aigua aiga, áχwila > áiwila > áigwila > aigla. So *aiglentina*. These same words show irregularities in other languages. Perhaps the dialect form *eigal* (Auvergne, Arles) for *egal* is to be explained in the same way; but the *ei* here may be analogical.

2. In several words kw was reduced to c (or c') in Vulgar Latin: *coquĕre* (+ *cŏcus*) > *cŏcĕre* > cọzer, *tŏrquēre* **tŏrquĕre* (+ **tŏrco* **tŏrcunt*) > **tŏrcĕre* > tọrser. Cf. § 55, W.

Lw > lgw > lg: *caluit* > calc, **toluĭstī* > tolguist, *valuĭssem* > valgueṣ, *vŏluĕrunt* (§ 16, 2) > vọlgron.

Nw, ngw, nkw > ngw > ng: *tĕnuit* > tẹnc, **venuĭsset* > vengueṣ; *sanguem* > sanc; *cīnque* (= *quinque*) > cinc.

1. Tẹuns < *tĕnuis* is probably a learned word; the transposition of u and n may have been due originally to a misreading of the letters. *Ianuer*, *manual*, etc. are learned. *Maneira* is apparently from a Vulgar Latin **man(u)aria* from *manuarius*. For *enquerre* < *inquærĕre*, see § 59.

2. *Exstĭnguĕre* (+ **exstĭngo* **exstĭngunt*) > **estĭngĕre* > estẹnher.

Pw > upw > up > ub: *sapŭisset* > saubẹs, *recĭpuit* > recẹup.

1. *Saupes* apparently belongs to a dialect in which au prevented voicing. Cf. § 65, P, 3.

Rw > rgw > rg: *mĕruit* > mẹrc.

Sw seems to have been reduced early to s in *consuetūdĭnem* **costūmen* > costüm (costüma). *Cōnsŭo* apparently became **cōsio*, whence an infinitive **cōsĕre* or **cosīre* (Pr. cọzer, cosir).

Tw > dw > gw > g: *pŏtuit* > pọc.

1. *Ba(t)tuo*, *qua(t)tuor* were reduced to *batto*, **quattor* in Vulgar Latin: Pr. *bat*, *quatre*.

5. GROUPS ENDING IN Y.

73. This class contains: 1st, combinations of consonant + y < e̯ or i̯, cf. § 40, (2); 2d, consonant + g′ > y (§ 55, G), the g′ having been in some cases always contiguous to the preceding consonant, in others originally separated from it by a vowel; 3d, consonant + g > y, the g representing an original c or g between the last two vowels of a proparoxytone, cf. § 65, G, (3). It does not include dy and gy, which early became y: see § 65, Y. The groups will be considered in alphabetical order:—

Bry > bry in *ebriācum* > ebriac (*iure* is probably French).

βy was early reduced to y in *habeo habeam* etc. and *dēbeo dēbeam* etc., partly, no doubt, through the proclitic use of these words, partly under the influence of *audio* > **auyo audiam* > **auya* and *vĭdeo* > **veyo vĭdeam* > **veya*; this y, like any other medial y (§ 65, Y), became dž or remained y: ai (for some reason there seems to have been no form **ach*), aia; dei dech, deia. Aside from these words, βy > udž and uy apparently in the north; elsewhere uy, by, vy — uy prevailing in the west, by and vy in the south and east. When the y became final, it changed to i, which, after a consonant, was syllabic. Ex.: *abbrĕviat* > abreuia, **aggrĕviat* > agreuia, **allĕviat* > aleuia, *avĭŏlum* > aviol aiol, *cavĕa* > gabia cauia, *labia* > lavia–s, **leviarius* > leugiers, **rabiam* (= *rabiem*) > rabia rauia,[1] **rabiāre* > rabiar, *rabiōsus* > rabios rauios, *rŭbeum* > rog roi,[2] **sabium* > savi sabi, *atavia* > tavia, *vidŭvium* > vezoig bedoi.[2] In purely learned words, Latin *bi, vi*, etc., are kept: *abiurament, fluvial.*

Cc′y: see C′y.

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[1] *Ratie* is perhaps French.

[2] After o, the u disappears.

Cly > l′: *coclearium* > cuilhi̯er.

Cty > is: *factiōnem* > faisso̯, *lectiōnem* > leisso̯, *suspectiōnem* > sospeisso̯. In purely learned words we find the spellings *cti*, *cci*, which doubtless indicate ktsy or ksy: *electio*, *accio*. Cf. Ssy.

C′y, cc′y, kwy > ts; this ts, when it remained medial, was reduced, before and during the literary period, to s: *bracchia* brassa, *bracchium* > bratz bras (§ 64), *faciam* > faza fassa, *faciem* > fatz fas, *glaciem* > glatz glas[1], *laqueāre* > lassar, *laqueum* > latz las, **pĕcia* > pe̯ssa, *placeam* > plassa. Learned words have *zi* and *ci*, doubtless pronounced at first dzi, tsi, later zi, si (cf. A. Horning, *Zs.*, XXIV, 545; XXV, 736): *iuzizi iudici*, *edifici*, *Grecia*. Cf. Pty.

D–g > dž: *jūdĭco* > iütge, *mĕdĭcum* > me̯ge̯, **sĕdĭcum* > se̯ie[2].

Dy: see § 55, Y and § 65, Y.

Gdy: see § 80, Gd.

Gy: see § 55, Y and § 65, Y.

Kwy: see Cy.

Lc′y > lts > uts > us: *calceāre* > caussar. Cf. Lty. See § 74, (2).

Lg′ apparently became ldz udz uz in **fŭlgĕrem* (=*fŭlgur*) > fo̯uzer.

Ll–g′ > l′ in *cŏllĭgit* > cue̯lh. Cf. Ly.

Lly: see Ly.

Lny > n′: *balneum* > banh.

Lty > lts > uts > us: **altiāre* > auçar aussar. Cf. Lc′y. See § 74, (2).

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[1] *Glai* is due perhaps to the analogy of *ney* (§ 65, β, 3), perhaps to such double forms as *fatz fai* = *facit*.

[2] *Seti* (pronounced with two syllables) seems to be an improperly constructed post-verbal noun from *assetiar*.

Lvy > lby > uby in *salvia* > saubia (Gascon).

Ly, lly > l′: *consĭlium* > cosselh, *fīlium* > filh, *fīlia* > filha, *nūllī* + vowel > nülh. Learned words have *li*: *familiarmens. Lili liri lire* < *līlium* are doubtless learned; *lis* is French.

Mby > mby, mdž, and ndž; mdž being the usual form in the literary language: *cambiāre* > camiar caniar cambiar.

Mmy > my, mdž, and ndž: *commeātus* > comiatz coniatz.

Mny > n′ in Limousin and in the extreme east and southwest, elsewhere ndž: *somniāre* > sonhar soniar. *Somni*, beside *suenh songe*, is learned.

Mply > mply in *ampliāre* > ampliar, probably learned.

My > my and n′: *sīmia* > simia, *vindēmia* > vendemia vendanha.

Nc′y > nts > ns: **Francia* > Fransa. Cf. Nty.

Nd–g > ndž: **pĕndĭcat* > penia, *vĭndĭco* > venie. Similarly *mandūcāre* > **mandugare manduyare mandyare* > maniar[1].

Ndy > n′: **Burgŭndia* > Borgonha, *verecŭndia* > vergonha. Cf. Ny.

N–g > ndž: **excommĭnĭco* (= *excommūnĭco*) > escomenie[1], *mŏnăchum* > monie.

Ng′ > n′ and ndž: *jŭngĕre* > ionher ionger, *ŭngĕre* > onher onger, *plangĕre* > phanher planger, *pŭngĕre* > ponher ponger. *Angel* is probably learned.

Ng′y > ndž: *spŏngia* > esponia.

Nty > nts > ns: *cantiōnem* > canso, *comĭn(i)tiāre* > comensar, *sperantia* > esperansa. Purely learned words have *nti*: *essentia.* Cf. Nc′y.

Ny > n′: *extraneum* > estranh, *tĕneo* > tenh, *vĕniat* > venha. Before or during the literary period final n′ or n′s lost its

[1] Apparently *maniar, escomeniar* developed in the region where g became y before a: cf. § 65, G, (1).

palatal quality in many dialects: *ingĕnium* > genh gen. If *estraniar* comes from *extraneāre* (and not from **extranicāre*), it must be a word of later adoption; so *estrangier*. In *sotran* < *subterraneum* there is probably a change of suffix.

Pfy seems to became f in **kŭpphja* > cọfa.

Pry probably became regularly bry: *capreŏlum* > *cabriọl cabiṛọl (cabṛọl seems to be a new formation from *cabra*). *Coyre* < ? *cŭpreum* is unexplained.

Pty > ts, which, when it remained medial, was reduced, before and during the literary period, to s: **captiāre* > cassar, **corrŭptiāre* > corrossar, *nĕptia* > nẹssa, **nŏptias* (§ 38, 2) > nọssas. Cf. C'y.

Py remained py in the west and a part of the south, and elsewhere became ptš, later tš: *apium* > ache api, **appr*ŏ*piat* (< *prŏpe*) > apṛọpcha apṛọcha apṛọpia, *sapiam* > sapcha sacha sapia, *sapiĕntem* > sachent sapient, *sēpia* > sẹpia. If *asabentar*, 'instruct', comes from *sapientem*, it has been influenced by saber, saben. *Piion* < *pipiōnem* is French. Learned words have *pi*: *copia*; but *mancĭpium* > *mancip massip*.

Rc'y > rts (> rs?): *urceŏlum* (*Zs.*, XXVI, 668) > orzọl.

Rdy > rdi in *hŏrdeum* > ọrdi.

R–g > rdž: *clĕrĭcus* > clẹries.

Rg' > rdž and rdz (> rz): *argĕntum* > argen, **burgē*(*n*)*sis* > borgẹs borzẹs (also *borgues*, under the influence of *borc*), *dē–ērĭgit* > dẹrs, **dē–ēr*(*i*)*gĕre* > dẹrzer (also *derdre*: §71), *sŭrgĕre* > sọrger sọrzer, *sŭrgit* > sọrtz.

Rny > rn': *Arvĕrnium* > Alvẹrnhe.

Rr–g > rdž: **carrĭcat* > caria.

Rry? > rdž in **horrearium*? > orgiẹr (cf. Körting).

Rt–g > rdž and rts (> rs): **excŏrtĭcat* > escọria escọrsa.

Rty > rts > rs: **fortiāre* > forsar, *tĕrtium* > tẹrz tẹrs. *Convercio* is learned.

Rvy > rvy rby: **cĕrvia* > cervia cerbia.

Ry > r′, which developed into ir when it remained medial, but became r at the end of a word[1]: **exclariāre* > esclairar, **donatōria* > donadọira, **fĕria* > fẹira fiẹira, *fĕriat* > fẹira, *matĕria* > madẹira, **mŏriat* > mọira, *primaria* > premẹira premiẹira (§ 23, 1), **punitōria* > punidọira, *varia* > vaira, *variāre* > vairar; **a(u)gūrium* > aür, *cŏrium* > cuẹr, **donatōrium* > donadọr, *impĕrium* > empiẹr, *mĭnistĕrium* > mestiẹr, **mŏrio* > mọr muẹr, *monastĕrium* > mostiẹr (§ 45, 3), *primarius* > premiẹrs, **punitōrius* > punidọrs. If the ry is preceded by au, it apparently remains unchanged: *Auriācum* > Auriac (*Zs.*, XXVII, 559). Learned words have *ri*: *bori* > *ebŏreum*, *contrari*.

1. Adjectives in *-er* (*-ier*) and *-or*, coming from *-arium* and *-ōrium*, regularly have feminines in *-eira* (*-ieira*) and *-oira*. By the analogy of the masculine, there is a feminine in *-era* in parts of the west; by the analogy of the feminine, there is a masculine in *-eir* in Auvergne. The i of *vair* probably comes from the feminine *vaira* and from the verb *vairar*. The noun *feira* sometimes becomes *fiera* like a feminine adjective.

Sc′y: see Ssy.

Ssy, sc′y, sty > s′, which in most of the territory became is, but in the west and the extreme east developed into i(t)š and (t)š: **bassiāre* > baissar baichar bachar, **angŭstia* > engọissa, **ingrŏssiat* > engrueissa, *fascia* > faissa, **grassiāre* > graissar, *pŏstea* > pueissas pueih püch, *ūstium* > üis.

Sty: see Ssy.

Sy > z′, which in most of the territory became iz, but in parts of the northeast, north, and west developed into i(d)ž and (d)ž, and in some scattered dialects gave y and z: *ba-*

[1] The r remained palatal long enough to cause breaking: cf. §§ 30, 37.

sium > bais bai (§ 63), *basiare* > baisar baiiar baiar bayar basar, *quasi* + vowel > cais quaish, *camisia* (cf. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*, XII, 265) > camiza, *cerĕsea* (*Einf.*, § 103) > cireiza ciriẹiia cerieya cerieza, *ma(n)siōnem* > maiso̩n maiio̩n maio̩n mayo̩, *occasiōnem* > ochaizo̩, *pre(hen)siōnem* > preiso̩ (cf. enpreyo̩na, 'imprisons'), *quĭd se* + vowel > queis, Ger. *sazjan* > saisir, *to(n)siōnem* > toiso̩.

T–g > dž: **coratĭcum* > corage, **paratĭcum* > parage, *viaticum* > viatie.

Try apparently became ir: *atrium*? > aire, *arbĭtrium* > albire.

Tty > ts > s: **plattĕa* > plassa.

Ty > apparently t′ > d′ > generally d′z′,[1] which in most of the west and north became dz, but in the south and east developed into idz; dz and idz, when they remained medial, were reduced, before and during the literary period, to z and iz: **altĭtia* > alteza, **bellĭtia* > beleza, *malĭtia* > maleza, *pigrĭtia* > pereza, **prĕtiat* > preza, **rikĭtia* > riqueza; *palatium* > palatz palaitz palais (§ 64), *pŭteum* > po̩tz püis, *prĕtium* > pre̩tz pres, *solatium* > solatz solas; *potiōnem* > pozo̩n poizo̩n, **pretiāre* > prezar, *ratiōnem* > razo̩ raizo̩n, *s(t)atiōnem* > sazo̩ saizo̩n. The forms without i prevail in the literary language, and in words in which the dz comes after the accent (especially in the ending –eza) they seem to have encroached largely upon the ground of the others.[2] According to some philologists, the development of ty differed according to its position before or after the accent: for a brief bibliography of the discussion,

[1] These sounds lost their palatal quality too early to cause breaking: cf. §§ 30, 37. Cf. *Einf.*, § 133.

[2] *Palaitz*, however, is used by Marcabru, A. Daniel, and P. Vidal. *Poizon* occurs in *Flamenca* and in modern Limousin (beside *pozon*), *raizo* is found in the *Boeci* and other texts.

see *Zs.*, XXVII, 689. In learned words we find *zi, ci, çi, ti*: *estimatio, iustizia –icia –ecia –eçia, natio nacio, negoci, servizi –ici* (cf. A. Horning, *Zs.*, XXIV, 545, XXV, 736).

1. *Palai* (beside *palatz –aitz –ais*) may have been made from *palais* (used by Bertran de Born and in *Flamenca*) by dropping the s which was regarded as an inflectional ending. It was perhaps influenced by such words as *bais bai*: cf. Sy. A clerical Latin **palasium*, however, would account, not only for *palai palais*, but also for French *palais* and for Italian *palagio*.

2. Modern *poijon* (Alps) and *rajo* (Limousin) have perhaps followed the analogy of such words as *maison maijon majon*: cf. Sy.

3. *Escoisson* < *excŭtiunt* seems to follow **escois* < *excŭtio*. It was perhaps influenced by *conoisson* < *co(g)nōscunt*.

4. Some of the modern western dialects have d in *radon, sadon*, etc. = *razo, sazo*, etc.

6. GROUPS BEGINNING WITH L, M, N, R, OR S.

74. (1) Of the groups beginning with l (and not ending in l, r, w, or y), the following remained unchanged (except that c before a became tš in the north and northwest).— **lb, lc** (and llc), **lg** (llg), **lm, lp, lv**: *alba* > alba; *calcāre* > calcar, *collocāre* **colcāre* > colcar (–char); *collocare* **collogare* **colgare* > colgar; *hĕlm* > ẹlm, *ŭlmum* > ọlm; *cŏlăphum* **cŏlpum* > cọlp (κόλπος > gọlfe is unexplained); *calvum* > *calv* (= calf?), *salvāre* > salvar. **Ld, ls** (lls), **lt** (llt) were regularly unchanged except for the vocalization of the l: see below. **Lc′** (llc′) became lts, and then the l was vocalized: see below. **Lc′p** became lp in *calce pīsāre* > calpisar. **Lg′, llg′**, have been treated in § 73. **Lvs, lvt** became ls, lt, and then the l was vocalized: see below.

(2) L became u before the dental consonants d, s, t in most of the dialects. The vocalization seems to have begun in the 8th century and to have progressed through the literary

period and later. It is difficult to trace it, as *l* long continued to be written for u. In modern Provençal, ls remains in Languedoc, lt in Rouergue. *Auça* occurs in the *Boeci.* The l was probably first retracted, to differentiate it from the following dental; and then this velar l was opened into u. Ex.: *cal(ĭ)daria* > caudiera, *cal(ĭ)dum* > caut, *sŏl(ĭ)dum* > sọlt sọut; *falsum* > fals faus, *malos* > mals maus, *valles* > vals vaus; **fallĭta* > fauta, *mŭltum* > mọlt mọut, **tŏllĭtum* > tọlt tọut; *dŭlcem* > dọlz dọutz dọus, *pŏllĭcem* > pọutz, *salĭcem* > sautz; *calvus* > *cals caus, **vŏlvĭta* > vọlta vọuta. So **altiat* > auça aussa, **calceare* > cauçar caussar: cf. § 73, Lc'y, Lty. In dọs (=dọus) and mọt (=mọut) the ọ seems to have absorbed the u. Cf. § 65, L.

1. The final t of *molt* seems to have been lost sometimes before a consonant: hence *mul*, which before d became *mon*.

2. *Altretal* (also *autretal*) became *atretal* by dissimilation; hence we have also *atressi* for *altressi* (*autressi*). *Aital, aitan* seem to be made up of *tal, tan* with the first syllable of *aissi* (<*ac sīc*), regarded as a prefix meaning 'just'.

3. *Pallĭdus* > *palles* (through **pádillus?*).

4. *Fouzer* is from *fŭlger* or **fŭlgerem* = *fŭlgur*.

75. Of the groups beginning with m (and not ending in l, r, w, or y), the following usually remained unchanged — **mb, md, mf, mp, ms, mt:** *gamba* > gamba (if *bobansa* is from *βόμβος*, it is irregular); **semitarium* **semidarium* > semdier; *triumphāre* > triomfar; *lampas* **lampa* > lampa; **camisīle?* > camsil (dialectically cansil; so Samson, Sanso); *cŏmĭtem* > comte (dialectically conte). **Mbd** shows four different developments in *ambo dŭos* > ambedọs abdọs amdọs andọs. **Mbt** apparently became nt in **cambĭtos* + *-ōnem* > cantọn (French?). **Mn** in the literary language generally remained unchanged (often spelled *mpn*), but in some dialects it was

assimilated into nn, which was locally simplified into n: *dŏmĭna dŏmna* > dompna domna donna dona, *damnāre* > dampnar damnar dannar danar, *fēmĭna* **fēmna* > femna fenna (*feme* is from *fémena* < *fēmĭna*),[1] *hŏmĭnem* **hŏmnem* > omne (*ome* is from **ómene* < *hŏmĭnem*).[1] **Mnc′** > ndz nz in **domnicĕlla* > donzela. **Mpt** > mt, dialectically nt: *computāre* > comtar contar, *temptāre* > temptar tentar.

76. (1) Of the groups beginning with n (and not ending in l, r, w, or y), the following generally remained unchanged (except that c, g before a became tš, dž in the north and northeast)—**nc, nd, ng, nm, nt:** *hanka* > anca, *blank-* > blanc (-ca -cha), *franko* > franc (-ca -cha); *mandāre* > mandar, *ŭnda* > onda; *lŏngum* > lonc (-ga -ia), *plango* > planc, *rĭng* > renc; *anĭma* > anma (also, by dissimilation, arma); *sentīre* > sentir. For *final* **nd, nt,** see (2) below. **Nc′** > nts ns: **francē(n)sis* > franceṣ, *mancĭpium* > mansip (also massip: cf. **ns** below), *vĭncere* > veṇcer veṇser. **Nct** became in different dialects n′ int nt ntš: *jŭnctum* > ioṇh ioint ioṇt ioṇch, *ŭnctūra* > onchüra, **pĭnctūra* > peintüra penchüra, *planctum* > planh planch, *sanctum* > sanh saint sant. **Ndc′** became, in different dialects, ndz (later nz), nts, ndž: *quīndĕcim* > quinze quintze quinge. **Nf** remained in some dialects, while in others it became ff, then f: *confŭndit* > confoṇ cofoṇ, *infantem* > enfant effant efant, *infĕrnum* > enfern efern. **Ng** > ng: *mŏnăchum* **mon'gu* > mongue (*manĭcum* > margue by dissimilation). **Ns,** in learned words and new formations (see § 55, N), remained in most dialects, while in others (especially those of the centre) it became ss, then s: *consĭlium* > conseṇlh cosseṇlh, *in sĭmul* > enseṃ esseṃ, **insignāre* > ensenhar essenhar, *pensāre* > pensar pessar, *sen-*

[1] Cf. § 49, (3).

sus > sens; for *final* **ns**, see § 63, (5). **Ntc'** > nts ns in *pantĭcem* > pansa. **Nv** remained in some dialects, while in others it became vv, then v: *convenīre* > convenir covenir. **Ndc, ndg, n–g, ng'** have been treated under § 73.

(2) Final **nd** remained as nt in the eastern and central part of the territory, became n in the west and a part of Limousin, and disappeared altogether in a part of Languedoc and Gascony: *amando* > aman, *descĕndit* > deissẹn, *grandem* > grant gran gra, *mŭndum* > mọnt mọn, *vēndit* > vẹnt bẹn, *profŭndum* > preọn, *quando* > quant quan. Final **nt** remained in most of the territory, but in a part of Languedoc and Gascony became n or disappeared: *fŏntem* > font fon fo, *mŏntem* > mont mon, *quantum* > quant quan, *vĕntum* > vent bent be.

77. Of the groups beginning with r (and not ending in l, r, w, or y), the following remained unchanged (except that c, g before a became tš, dž in the north and northeast) — **rb, rc, rd, rf, rg, rm, rn, rp, rs, rt, rv**: *barba* > barba, *cŏrbum* > cọrp, *hĕrba* > ẹrba, *ŏrbum* > ọrp; *barca* > barca, *circāre* > cercar, *clĕrĭcum* * *clĕrcum* > clẹrc, *fŭrca* > fọrca fọrcha, *mercātum* > mercat; *arděntem* > arden, **perdūtum* > perdüt, *vĭr(ĭ)dem* > vẹrt; *ŏrphănum* > ọrfe; **carricāre* **carrigāre* **cargāre* > cargar cariar, *largum* > larc (–ga –ia), *sērĭça* **sẽr'ga* > sẹrga; *ĕrēmum* > ẹrm, *fōrma* > fọrma; *hiběrnum* > ivẹrn, *tabĕrna* > tavẹrna, *tornāre* > tornar; *wërpan* > guerpir; *arsum* > ars, *cŭrsum* > cọrs (for *vĕrsus* > vẹs, see § 55, R); *artem* > art, *fŏrtem* > fọrt, *mŏrtem* > mọrt; *Arvernia* > Arvernha (also, by dissimilation, Al–), *servīre* > servir. For *final* **rn, rs**, see § 63, (5); § 65, R. **Rc'** > rts rs: *parcĕre* > parcer, *parcit* > partz, **tŏrcĕre* > tọrser. **Rdc'** became, in different dialects, rdz (later rz), rts, rdž: *quatuŏrdĕcim* **quattōrdĕcim* > quatọrze quatọrtze quatọrge. **Rdg** before a > rg, rdž: *vĭridicantem* **vĭrdigantem* > verguan verian.

Rps > **rs**: **escarpsus* (= *excerptus*) > escars. **Rtm** > rtm or rm: *fŏrti mĕnte* > fortmen formen. **Rg'** has been treated under § 73.

78. Of the groups beginning with s (and not ending in l, r, w, or y), the following usually remained unchanged through the literary period (except that c before a became tš in the north and northeast) — **sc, sm** (ssm), **sn, sp, st**: **bŭscum* (? = *bŭxum*) ? > bọsc, **lŭscum* > lọsc, *pascha* > pasca pascha, *pĕrsĭca pĕssĭca *pĕsca* > pẹsca, *piscātor* > pescaire, *piscarium* > pesquier peschier, *prĕscan *trescāre* > trescar; *ex–mittĕre *esmittĕre* (§ 55, X) > esmẹtre, *pĕssĭmus* > pẹsmes; *eleemŏsўna* > almọsna, *asĭnum* > asne; *expōnĕre *espōnĕre* > espọnre, *gaspildjan* ? > guespilhar; *præpŏsĭtum* > prebọst, *trīstem* > trist. For *final* **scs, sts**, see 2 below. **Sc'** became, in most of the territory, is; in parts of the north and northeast, s; in the west and the extreme east, i(t)š and (t)š (cf. § 73, Ssy): *co(g)nōscĕre* > conọisser, *crēscĕre* > crẹisser, *ex–cĕrnĕre *escĕrnīre* > eissernir, **ex–cerebellāre *es–* > esservelar, *fascem* > fais, *nascĕre* > naisser nasser naicher nacher, *pĭscem* > pẹis pẹich pẹch. **Scb** became sb in *epĭscŏpus *ebíscobus* > bisbes. **Spm** became sm in *blasphemāre* > blasmar. **Stg** became sg and sdž in *domesticāre *–gāre* > domesgar domesiar. **Stm** became sm in *asthma* > asma. For the later history of the s in all these groups, see § 65, S, 1.

1. *Prĕsbўter* became regularly prẹstre: § 71, 1. But beside *prĕsbўter* there existed in Vulgar Latin *prebĭter* (*Einf.*, § 140), the syllable *pres–* being replaced by the Latin prefix *præ–* or *pre–*, through the analogy of such words as *præbĭtor, præpŏsĭtus*. From the accusative *prebĭtĕrum* we have regularly prevẹire. Prẹire (used in *Flamenca*) seems to be a cross between prẹstre and prevẹire.

2. Final sts, in nearly all the territory, was reduced to ts: *finīstis* > finitz, *hŏstis* > ọz (accusative ọst), *trīstes* > tritz (sg. trist); but sts was kept in ẹstz < *ĭstos* and in its derivative aquẹstz. Similarly final scs was

generally reduced to cs: **bŭscus ?* > (bọscs) bọcs (accusative bọsc), *quĭsquis* > quẹcs.

3. *Conois* etc. < *co(g)nōsco* etc. (beside *conosc* etc.) are doubtless due to the second and third persons (*conoisses conois* etc.). Some of the modern eastern dialects have *–isso* corresponding to *–sca* (*freisso* etc.): this seems to indicate an old metathesis of sc in that region.

7. MISCELLANEOUS GROUPS.

79. Of the groups not yet discussed, the most important are **ct, gd, gn, ks,** which show palatalization. It is now generally assumed that the Celts, who had turned their native ct into χt, pronounced Latin ct in the same way when they learned Latin (Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, § 186), and likewise substituted χs for ks (Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, I, § 650), and probably χd, χn for gd, gn. The χ was attracted into a palatal spirant by the following dental, and the dental itself was then palatalized. Most philologists explain the development of cl, gl into l′ (cf. § 68) in a similar way. Inasmuch as Indo-European pt had also been changed to χt in Celtic, it is not unlikely that the Celts substituted χt, χs for Latin **pt, ps** in a few words; the χ replacing p may sometimes have been rounded.

1. To account for palatalization in the non-Celtic parts of southern Gaul, we may assume either that the spirant pronunciation spread from the Celtic to the other regions, or that in the latter the palatalization came about simply through the mutual attraction of the guttural and the dental.

80. The groups will now be discussed in alphabetical order: —

Bc > (*pc), ptš (before a): **reprŏb(ĭ)cat* > repropcha.

Brg > rg in *fabrĭca *fabrĭga* > farga.

Bs > bs in the learned words *absens, absensa.*

Bsc > sc: *obscūrus* > escürs.

Bst > st: *sŭbstat* > so̧sta.

Bt > bt, t: *subtīlem* > sobtil sotil. See also βt below.

Bts > ts: *sŭbtus* > so̧tz.

βc > uc: **avĭca* **aβca* > auca.

βc′ > udz or uts, later uz, us: *avicĕllum* **aβcĕllu* > auzȩl aucȩl. Cf. § 65, C′, 1.

βd > ud, in the west bd: *dēbĭtum* **dēβĭdu* **deβdu* > dȩude, *mal'habĭtum* **malaβĭdu* **malaβdu* > malaude; *cīvitātem* **cīβidāde* **ciβdad* > cibdat. Cf. βt below.

βt > ut, in the west pt: *dēbĭtum* **dēβtu* > dȩute dȩpte, *dŭbĭto* **dŭβto* > do̧ute do̧pte, *mal'habĭtum* **malaβtu* > malaute malapte; *cīvitātem* **cīβtate* > ciutat (later cieutat: § 44, 2) ciptat, **mŏvĭta* **mŏβta* > mo̧uta, **remōvĭtum*? > remo̧ute (*Girart*). *Depte, malapte* are not confined to the west (modern Limousin *dete*, Dauphiné *malate*); they come also from Latin *dēb'tum, mal'hab'tum*: cf. § 47, (3).

Cc′ > its > is; in the west and the extreme east itš or tš: *ecc'hīc* > eici eissi eichi achi.

Cm > cm, m: **Jácomus* > Iacmes Iames (also, perhaps borrowed, Iaumes).

C′m > im or sm: *dĕcĭmum* > dȩime dȩsme, *facĭmu(s)* > faim. Cf. § 52, (4).

Ct > tš in most of the territory; but in the north and northeast, and in the southwest, it became, as in French, it: *coctāre* > cochar coitar, *dīctum* > dig dit, *factum* > fag fait, *lacte* > lag lait, *lĕctum* > liȩg lȩit, *lūcta* > lücha, *nŏctem* > nuȩg nuȩit, *pactum–a* > pacha, *pĕctus* > piȩg pȩitz, *ŏcto* > uȩich[1] uȩit. The ct of *(e–)jectāre* > getar does not show popular treatment; the word is similarly irregular in most of the other languages.

C′t seems to give the same results as ct, namely tš and it: *dīcĭtis* > ditz, **explĭcitāre* > esplechar espleitar, *facĭtis* > faitz,

[1] The *i* in *ueich* seems to be merely graphic.

placĭtum > plach plait, (hence *plaieiamen*, *plaideiar*), **vŏcĭtum* (= *vacuum*) > vuẹch voịg[1] voḥ (hence *voiar*; *voidar* would appear to presuppose a form *voịt).

Dc, dg: see § 73, D–g.

Dc′, in the greater part of the territory, became dz, later z; but in Auvergne and some western dialects it became ts, and in parts of the southeast and southwest it gave dž: *duŏdĕcim* **dōdĕcim* > doze dotze doge, *jūdĭcem* > iütge, *radicīna* > razina, *sēdĕcim* > seze sętze sętge. *Iütge* may have been influenced by iütiar.

Dn developed peculiarly in *consuetūdĭnem* **costūmen* > costüm, *incūdĭnem* **inclūd–*? > enclütge.

Gd > dž and id, corresponding to the tš and it from ct: **frĭgdum* (= *frīgdum*) > freg freịt (fem. freịa freịda). The irregularity in *amўgdăla* > amandola goes back to Vulgar Latin. *Frezir freizir* is perhaps from **fre*(*i*)*zar* (cf. Italian *frizzare*) < **frigdiare*.

G′d: see Yd.

Gm > m: *pigmĕntum* > pimen. *Fragment* is learned. Greek γμ became um: *phlĕgma* > fleuma, *sagma* > sauma.

Gn > n′: *agnĕllum* > anheḷ, *pūgnum* > poṇh. According to the rhymes, final n′ would seem to have become n in many dialects. *Stagnum* > estanc, *rēgnum* > reṇc (also *reing*) show an early metathesis. When *gnōsco* lost its *g*, *cognōsco* became **conōsco* in popular Latin.

Gnd > n′d, later, in different dialects, ind, n′d, nd, ndž: *cŏgnĭtum* **cŏn′ĭdu* > *coṇhede *coṇhde, then coịnde, cuẹnde, coṇge. Cf. Gnt below. See § 47, 1.

Gnt > n′t, later, in different dialects, int, n′t, nt: *cŏgnĭtum* > **cŏn′ĭtu* > *coṇhete (the t being due to clerical influence) >

[1] The *i* in *voig* seems to be merely graphic.

cọinte cọnte; *dĭgnitātem* **dĭn'tāte* > denhtat. Cf. Gnd above.

Ks > is, in most of the territory; in Auvergne and in the extreme east it became itš or tš: *ac sīc* > aissi, *exāmen* > eissam eicham echam, *exĭlium* > eissilh, *exīre* > eissir eichir ichir, **exorbāre* > eissorbar, *laxat* > laissa, *uxōrem* > oiṣọr, *tŏxĭcum* > tuẹissec. In *essaiar*, *essemple*, *essilh*, the prefix became es– through the analogy of ex– before consonants: cf. § 55, X.

Ksc > sc; before a, in the north and northeast, stš: **laxicāre* > laschar, *toxicāre* > toscar.

Ksm > s'm, later sm: *prŏxĭmum* > prọsme pruẹsme. For the later history of the s (pruẹime), see § 65, S, 1.

Kss > is: **exser(r)āre* (*Einf.*, § 142) > eissarrar, **exsūcāre* > eissügar (*essugar* presupposes a Vulgar Latin es–: see § 55, X).

Pf > f: *sapphīrum* > safir.

Ppc > (*pc), ptš (before a): **cloppicāre* > clopchar.

Ps, in some dialects, remained unaltered; but in most of the territory it changed (through χs: § 79) to is, iš, š, s, and us; iš and š belonging especially to the west, us to the east: *capsa* > capsa caissa caisha casha, *ĭpse* > ẹps ẹis, *ĭpsa mĕnte* > epsament eissamen ichamens, *met–ĭpse* > medẹis mezẹish medẹs mezẹus, *ne–ĭpse* > neẹps nẹis nẹus. The ps forms seem to have been crowded out by the others, especially by those with is.

Pt > pt, later t (except in parts of Languedoc and Gascony); in a few words, ut, it: **accaptāre* (or **accapitāre*?) > acaptar achatar, *aptum* > apte, *adaptāre* > azautar (hence *azaut*) through *aðaχtāre (§ 79), *baptizāre* > baptegar (*g* = dž) bateiar, *capitāle* > captal catal chatal, *captīvum* > captiu catiu and more commonly caitiu chaitiu (through *caχtīβu:

§ 79), *rŭpta* > roṭa, *septimāna* > septmana setmana, *sĕptem* > seṭ. *Escrich escrit* (= *scrīptum*) are probably formed on the model of *dich dit*.

Td > t (through V. L. tt): *nĭtĭdum* > neṭ, *pūtĭdum* > püt. Cf. § 47, (1).

Tn: if *renha*, 'rein', is connected with *rĕtĭne* (see Körting), it must have been influenced by *renhar* < *regnāre*.

Ts: *et sīc*, under the influence of *ac sīc*, became **ec sīc* > eissi eichi ichi.

Yd > dž and id: *cōgĭto* **cōyĭdo* > cüg cüit, *cōgitāre* **cōyidare* > cüiar cüidar, *rĭgĭdum* **rĭyĭdu* > reide (§ 50, 1). *Rede* is perhaps a cross between *reide* and *rege*: § 49, (1).

FINAL CONSONANTS.

81. The only single consonants that occur in Latin at the end of a word are b, c, d, l, m, n, r, s, t. The only groups (in words preserved) are ks, nt, st.

Single Final Consonants.

82. D, n, r, t at the end of proclitics (*ad*, *in*, *per*, *et*) are really medial consonants, and must be distinguished from final n, r, t in independent words (*nōmen*, *frater*, *amat*); final d occurs only in proclitics. The consonants will be treated in alphabetical order: —

B appears as b in Iacọb, p in Iọp, both learned.

C apparently fell after all vowels in some dialects; in others it remained after back vowels, and became i after a and front vowels: *eccu'hŏc* (§ 55, W) > acọ (§ 43, 2), *ecce hŏc* > aissọ çọ sọ, *hŏc* > ọ ọc (in the literary language these two forms were differentiated in use, ọ meaning 'it', ọc meaning 'yes'); *fac* > fai, *illăc* (§ 16, 4) > lai la, *ecce hac* > sai sa; *dīc* > di, *ecce*

hīc > eici, *sīc* > si. Düi < *dūc* may perhaps be explained as due to the analogy of *düire* and of *fai*. Cf. § 63, (6).

D in *apud* fell early: see § 65, P, 2. In the proclitics *ad*, *quid*, the d disappeared before a consonant, and before a vowel became in most dialects *ð* > z (cf. § 65, D): a, que; a*ð* az, que*ð* quez.

L fell in *in sĭmul* > essem. It remained in the learned Abel, tribunal. It is believed by some that *sivals*, 'at least', comes from *sī vel*.

M fell in Vulgar Latin at the end of a word of more than one syllable (§ 55, M): *crēdam crēda* > creza, *dōnum dōnu* > don, *fŏrtem fŏrte* > fort; *Adam* is learned. At the end of an independent monosyllable, it fell in some dialects and in others became n (cf. § 65, N): *jam* > ia, *rĕm* > re ren (Marcabru uses rey for the rhyme), *sŭm* (verb) > so son. At the end of proclitics, m was probably kept at first before vowels and labials, while it became n before dentals, ŋ before gutturals, and disappeared before spirants; but the n forms (helped by the analogy of *en*, *non*) and those without a final consonant replaced m before vowels and partly before labials, and probably took the place of ŋ before gutturals; we find, then, sometimes m before labials, but either no consonant or n before all other sounds: *quĕm* > que, *sŭm* (verb) > so son, *sŭm* (= *sŭum*) > so son som, **tŭm* (= *tŭum*) > to ton tom.

N fell in Vulgar Latin at the end of a word of more than one syllable (§ 55, M): *nōmen nōme* > nom. At the end of proclitics we generally find n before a vowel, a form without n before spirants, both forms before other consonants, but often m before a labial: *ĭn* > en (*en amar*, *en cant*), e (*e Fransa*, *e ls*), em (*em breu*); *nōn* > non (*non es*, *non ges*), no (*no falh*, *no tol*), nom (*nom plagues*).

R remained: *amātor* > amaire, *cŏr* > cọr, *marmor* > marbre (*marme* shows dissimilation), *sŏror* > sọrre (*sor* through proclitic use). So in proclitics: *per* > per, *sŭper* > sobre.

1. A Provençal final r began to fall in the west and south in the 14th century: cf. § 65, R, 1.

S remained: *amīcus* > amics, *cŏrpus* > cọrs, *facias* > fassas, *fŏrtes* > fọrtz, *ŏpĕras* > ọbras, *sŭbtus* > sọtz. Between a palatal, or an n that did not fall, and an s, a t developed in some dialects: *annos* > anz, *fīlios* > filz; cf. § 63, (1), (8).

1. Final s began to fall or to become i in many dialects as early as the 14th century: cf. § 65, S, 1. In *mai*, beside *mais*, the fall was earlier.

2. Final ts > t, in the second person plural of verbs, in parts of Limousin and Dauphiné: *habētis* > avẹt. Cf. § 64. In all first person plural forms (except esmes) final s fell very early: *amāmus amāmu'* > amám. Cf. § 167.

3. Through the influence of such common adverbs as *entz* < *ĭntus*, *fors* < *fŏris*, *ios* < *deōrsum*, *mais* < *magis*, *mens* < *mĭnus*, *nemps* < *nĭmis*, *plus* < *plūs*, *sotz* < *sŭbtus*, *sus* < *sūrsum*, s, coming to be regarded as an adverbial ending, was often added to the suffix *-men* (*belamens*), to many other adverbs, as *ensem-s*, *era-s*, *onca-s*, *poissa-s*, and to some prepositions, as *sen-s* (cf. *tras*, *vers*, etc.). By the analogy of such double forms, we have *for*, *men* beside *fors*, *mens*.

4. *Magis*, used as a proclitic, probably became in Vulgar Latin **mais* and **mas*, whence Provençal *mais* and *mas*. For *mai*, see 1 above.

T, in independent words, fell very early, except in the preterit of verbs; there it was retained in most dialects in weak preterits of the first and third conjugations, in many dialects in weak preterits of the fourth, but disappeared in strong preterits: *amat* > ama, *cantābat* > cantava, *dar'* **hat* > dara, *dōnet* > dọn, *stat* > esta, *partībat* > partia, *placet* > platz, *tenēr'* + *-ē(b)at* > tenria, *vĕnit* > ven; *donāvit* > donẹt donẹ, *vēndĭdit* **vendĕdit* > vendẹt vendẹ, *partīvit partīt* > parti partit, *placuit* > plac, *vīdit* > vi. In the proclitics *et* and **ot* (= *aut*), the t fell before consonants; before vowels it became d,

which, under the influence of *ad* and *quĭd*, developed like an original d: *et* > e, eð ez; **ot* > o, oð oz; later, e and o came to be used often before vowels also.

FINAL GROUPS.

83. Ks remained in Vulgar Latin at the end of monosyllables only (§ 55, X); there it became, in Provençal, is: *rēx* > reis, *sĕx* > seis. *Grecx*, *nicx* are Latinisms.

Nt was generally reduced to n; but in the extreme north and some parts of the south the t was retained in *–ant*: *amant* > aman, *habē(b)ant* > avian aviant; *cantent* > canten; *vēndunt* > vendon. In some dialects the n fell after o, u (vendo, au); *–on* and *–o* were used concurrently by the poets.

St > s in *ĕst* > es. Cf. § 28, 5.

SPORADIC CHANGE.

84. For certain consonant changes no laws have been established.[1] Some of them doubtless originate in the language of children, which is governed by principles different from those which regulate the speech of adults. Others are due to vague associations of sound or sense. Borrowed and learned words are especially exposed to such whimsical alteration.

INSERTION.

85. The insertion (or addition) of a consonant, in such cases as those mentioned below, is probably always due to some false association or wrong etymology, but the specific

[1] The phenomena of dissimilation have been well classified by M. Grammont in *La dissimilation consonantique dans les langues indo-européennes et dans les langues romanes*, 1895. For metathesis, see *Zs.*, XXVIII, 1.

cause often cannot be ascertained; the added consonant seems to be generally a liquid or a nasal:—

alhọnd*r*e -s < *aliŭnde*: V. L. **aliŭnder*?

co*n*si = *cossi* < *eccu' sīc*: analogy of the prefix *co- con-*. Cf. § 76, (1), nf, ns.

enc*l*utge < *incūdĭnem*: cf. French *enclume*.

e*n*gal = *egal* < *æquālem*: analogy of the prefix *e- en-*. Cf. § 76, (1), nf, ns.

i*n*vẹrn = *ivern* < *hibĕrnum*: *hi-* mistaken for the prefix *in-*; cf. Italian *inverno*, etc.

par*v*en (hence *parvensa*) < *parĕntem* (*parēre*): analogy of *ferven, serven*, or of *espaven, espavensa*?

pe*n*chenar < *pectināre*: analogy of *pencheire, penchura*?

perd*r*is = *perditz* < *perdīcem*: analogy of *perdre*? Cf. French *perdrix*.

pọuze*r* = *pouze* < *pŏllĭcem*: confusion with *polgar* < *pollicāre*.

ref*r*eitọr = *refeitor* < *refectōrium*: association with *refreidar* (*freit*).

re*n*linquir = *relinquir* < *relĭnquĕre*: analogy of *e- en-*; cf. *reforsar* and French *renforcer*.

METATHESIS.

86. Metathesis is not very common in Provençal, although a few texts offer many examples; it is apparently restricted to liquids and nasals:—

cabi*r*ọl = **cabriol* < *capreŏlum*.

cocod*r*illa < *crocodīlum*: cf. Italian *coccodrillo*.

c*r*aba = *cabra* < *capra*.

enf*r*ondar = **enfondrar* < French *effondrer* < ? **infŭndulāre*.

esc*r*emir < *skirmôn*: cf. French *escrimer*.

esta*n*c < *stagnum*: cf. French *étang*.

estu*r*men = *estrument* < *instrumĕntum*: cf. Italian *stormento*.

fo*r*mir = *fromir* < *frumjan*: cf. French *formir*, etc.

f*r*eïr = *ferir* < *ferīre*.

g*r*ada = *garda* < **warda*.

g*r*epir = *guerpir* < *wërpan*.

lhu*n* = *nulh* < *nūllum*: analogy of *negun*.

p*r*esseguier (also *pess-*) < **préssega* < *pĕrsĭca*.

rẹ*n*c (also *regne*) < *rēgnum*.

trida < *τίγριδα*.
tronar < *tonitrūare* + *thrŏnus*.
truoill < *tŏrculum*.
trobar < ?*tŭrbāre*: see Körting.

1. In *ginhol* = *genolh* < *genŭcŭlum* the palatalization is shifted from the liquid to the nasal. In *lunh* = *nulh* < *nullum*, on the other hand, the palatalization remains at the end of the word, but the liquid and the nasal change places.

DISSIMILATION.

87. Dissimilation, like the other irregular phenomena, affects mainly liquids and nasals, particularly r; it is not, however, entirely confined to these classes. The two nasals, m and n, are similar enough to undergo dissimilation. Some of the cases go back to Vulgar Latin, while others are peculiar to Provençal or to Provençal and French. In the table below, a dash indicates the total disappearance of the consonant in question.

β + β > β + — (v + —): *habēbam* > **aβēa* > avia, **vivāciārium* > viacier, *vivācius* > viatz. *Vianda*, whatever its ultimate origin may be, was probably borrowed from French.

kw + kw > k + kw: *quīnque* > *cīnque* > cinc.

l + l < r + l, — + l, d + l: *calamĕllum* > calamęl caramęl, **umbilīcŭlum* > emborígol, *flēbĭlem* > fleble freble feble, *ŭlulāre* > ulular udolar. Perhaps püs = plüs < *plūs* is to be explained by dissimilation, occurring in such phrases as *plus larc*, *plus lonc*.

m + m > n + m: *memorāre* > membrar nembrar (renembransa).

m + n > m + r: **comĭnicāre* > comenegar comergar, **indomĭnicātum* > endomeniat endomergat, *mancĭpium* > mansip massip marsip, *manĭcum* > margue, *mŏnăchum* > mongue morgue.

n + m > r + m: *anĭma* > anma arma, **mĭnimāre* > mermar.

n + n > n + r, r + n; ? d + n: *canŏnĭcum* > canónegue canorgue, *venēnum* > verin; *nec ūnum* > negün degün? (cf. Andalusian and Asturian *dengun*, Catalan *dingu*, apparently from *nec ūnum* + *nĭngŭlum*).

r + r > r + —, — + r, l + r: **Bernhardum* > Bernart Bernat, *marmor* > marbre marme, *prŏprium* > proṛpri proṛpi; *dīe Mércūrī* (influenced by *dīe Vénĕris*) > dimęrcres dimęcres, *grandem rem* > granrę ganrę, *pr*(*eh*)*ĕndĕre* > prenre penre, *prĕsbўter* > prẹstre pẹstre; *arbĭtrium* > albire, *Arvĕrnium* > Alvęrnhe, *peregrīnus* > *pele*(*g*)*rīnus* > peleris, *pŭrpŭra* > poṛlpra.

s + s > — + s: **spasmāre* > (espasme) pasmar (cf. French *pâmer*), perhaps through confusion of the initial es– with the prefix ex–.

t + t? > — + t: *statiōnem*? > sazọ (cf. French *saison*, Spanish *sazon*.

y + y > y + —: **disjejūnāre* > * *disieunāre* > * *disy'nāre* > dis'nar disnar.

III. MORPHOLOGY.

88. The most important morphological developments are common to all, or nearly all, the Romance languages. They may therefore be ascribed, in their early stages, to Vulgar Latin, although direct evidence of their beginnings is scanty.

1. DECLENSION.

NOUNS.

89. (1) During the late Vulgar Latin and early Romance period neuter nouns gradually became masculine; this change was doubtless due in part to phonetic developments which obliterated distinctive endings: *dōnum* > don, m.; *nōmen* > nom, m. *Mare*, however, became almost always feminine in Gaul: la mar. Some neuter plurals in *-a*, used mainly in a collective sense, were preserved and eventually became feminine singulars: *fŏlium fŏlia* > folha, f. sg.; *lĭgnum lĭgna* > lenha, f. sg.; so luogua, poma, prada, beside loc, pom, prat (and, by analogy, grasa, beside gras < *gradus*); similarly *labia* > lavias, f. pl.

(2) Masculine and feminine nouns usually kept their original gender. Abstract nouns in *-or*, however, regularly became feminine in Gaul, other abstract nouns being mostly feminine in Latin: *honōrem* > onor, f.; *sapōrem* > sabor, f. With the exception of *manus*, which generally retained its gender, feminine nouns of the second and fourth declensions, unless they

passed into the first declension (*pĭrus* > pera), became masculine, to conform to the usual *-us* type: *fraxĭnus* > fraisnes, m.; *pīnus* > pins, m. Attracted by such words as these, *arbor* became masculine. There were some other less important shifts.

1. *Juventus*, passing into the second declension, became masculine (*ioven*); but we find also *ioventut*, f. *Laus* became masculine in Provençal; *fin*, on the other hand, is always feminine. *Mĕrŭla* > *merle*, m. *Correitz*, *linh*, both m., occur beside *correia* < *corrĭgia*, *linha* < *līnea*. Other similar changes might be noted. Pr. *dia* (also *di*), like Latin *dīes*, is usually masculine.

90. Some nouns passed from the fourth to the second declension in the classic Latin period (*dŏmus*, *fīcus*); the rest doubtless followed in Vulgar Latin (*frūctus*,[1] *gradus*, *manus*). Fifth declension nouns in *-ies* went over, for the most part, to the first declension:[2] *dīes* > dia, *facies* > fassa, *glacies* > glassa, *rabies* > rabia; but we find also di, fatz, glatz (ratge is probably French), following the third declension type. Fifth declension nouns which did not shift to the first came to be declined after the model of the third (*fides*, *res*, *spes*). The five declensions were therefore reduced to three, presumably in Vulgar Latin times. Among these there were some exchanges: polvera, vergena; cf. § 89, (1), (2), 1.

91. The use of cases became more and more restricted in Vulgar Latin, prepositional constructions taking the place of pure case distinction. At the beginning of the Romance period, nouns probably had, in unstudied speech, only two cases in constant use: a nominative and an accusative or accusative-ablative. These two cases were generally retained

[1] Cato uses *fructi*.

[2] The process began in classic Latin: *materies materia*, etc.

in Provençal, for the second and third declensions, until the literary period: we may call them *nominative* and *objective*.

(1) The locative, which had almost vanished in classic Latin, lingered in Vulgar Latin only in names of places. It has left no sure traces in Provençal.

(2) The vocative, in classic Latin, was like the nominative for most words; in Vulgar Latin it probably disappeared, except in Church phrases, such as *mī dŏmĭne*. In Provençal we find the nominative regularly used in address (chanzos, companh, emperaire, ioglars, Papiols), although the objective occasionally occurs in its stead (barons pl., ioglar malastrüc, trachor).

(3) The genitive, in the popular language, was little by little replaced by other constructions — commonly by the ablative with *de* or by the dative; the beginnings of this substitution may be observed as early as Plautus. Among Provençal nouns — aside from such learned forms as ancianor, christianor, companhor, paianor, parentor — we find remnants of the genitive only in a few compound words, as diious < *dĭe Jŏvis*, and in the standing phrase es mestier < *est ministĕrii*.

(4) The dative, which in most words had the same ending as the ablative, came to be replaced, in the greater part of the Empire, by the accusative with *ad*; this construction, too, goes back as far as Plautus. Provençal nouns retain no traces of the dative.

(5) The ablative, after the fall of final m (§ 55, M) and the loss of quantitive distinctions in unstressed syllables (§ 21), differed little or not at all from the accusative in the singular of nearly all nouns: *causăm causā, dōnŭm dōnō, patrĕm patrĕ, frūctŭm frūctū, dĭĕm dīē*. Furthermore, some prepositions (especially *in*) were used both with the accusative and

with the ablative. It was inevitable, then, that the two cases should be confounded in the singular, and we have evidence of such confusion as early as the first century of our era; this led gradually to a substitution of the accusative for the ablative in the plural, the accusative plural being somewhat commoner and frequently simpler than the ablative. We may, therefore, take the accusative as the basis of the Provençal objective, remembering, however, that this accusative has been more or less blended with the ablative.

(6) The two-case declension remained theoretically in use in Provençal literature through the 14th century; but in texts later than the 12th, cases are often confused. From the spoken language the declension disappeared, in the west (as in Catalan), before the literary period; in the centre and east, probably in the 12th century; in the north, in the 13th. The case preserved was usually the objective, but sometimes the nominative. Some nouns in *–aire –ador* kept both forms, with a differentiation of meaning.

92. In the discussion of declensions some phonetic peculiarities must not be overlooked: —

(1) In the nom. pl. of the 2d declension, a stressed ẹ, followed in the next syllable by final –i, would regularly give ị (cf. § 27, 1); but the ẹ is preserved by the analogy of the nom. and obj. sg. and the obj. pl.: *capĭllī* > cabẹl, *mĭssī* > mẹs, *quētī* > quẹt, *sērī* > sẹr. We do, however, find cabil, and (perhaps by analogy) auzil < *aucĕllī*.

(2) In the nom. pl. of the 2d declension, a c or g before the final –i would regularly be palatalized (cf. § 55, C, G); but it is preserved from palatalization by the analogy of the other three forms: *amīcī* > amic, *lŏngī* > lonc.

(3) For the development of a t between a palatal or an n and a final s, see § 82, S: *annos* > anz, *fīlios* > filz.

(4) For the simplification of final scs, sts to cs, ts, see § 78, 2: **bŭscus*? > bo̤cs, *trīstes* > tritz.

(5) For the history of *-arius* and *-tōrius*, see § 23, 1 and § 73, Ry, 1.

93. (1) Nouns whose objective singular ended in s were invariable in the earlier part of the literary period; *bracchium* > bratz, *cŏrpus* > co̤rs, *imperatrīcem* > emperairitz, *fascem* > fais, *latus* > latz, *lūcem* > lütz, *mĭssum* > me̤s, *nasum* > nas, *ŏpus* > o̤ps, *ŭrsum* > o̤rs, *pĭscem* > pe̤is, *pĕctus* > pe̤itz, *prĕtium* > pre̤tz, *tĕmpus* > tems, *vĕrsum* > ve̤rs, *vīsum* > vis, *vōcem* > vo̤tz. Later, however, a plural (originally obj. pl.) was made for such words by adding -es, generally at a time when final ts had been reduced to s (§ 64): brasses, co̤rses, me̤sses, pe̤isses, ve̤rses; examples occur as early as the end of the 12th century.

(2) Other invariable nouns are midons, sidons, and often laus and re̤s; the last two sometimes have an objective lau, re̤. Midons comes from the Church Latin *mī dŏmĭne*, which was popularized by the substitution of the Provençal don for *dŏmĭne* and the addition of the nom. -s; the term was transferred from religious to feudal, and thence to amatory use, and came to mean 'my lady.' Sidons is formed on the model of midons.

(3) For nouns in tš, see § 63, (1): **disdūctum* > desdüg, *frūctum* > früch, *gaudium* > gaug, *nŏctem* > nuech. Such words were very often written in the plural with *-gz*, which was pronounced either ts or tš. The pronunciation ts is attested by such rhymes as *malfagz*: *alumenatz*.

94. Infinitives used substantively conformed to the 2d de-

clension type: lauzars lauzar (like fọcs fọc), rire–s rire (like fabre–s fabre): see § 96. The same thing is true of masculine post-verbal nouns: (getar) gẹtz gẹt, (guidar) guitz guit, (lansar) lans (invariable).

FIRST DECLENSION.

95. This declension came to include a part of the fifth and also some neuter plurals of the second and third. With the exception of dia (nearly always masculine) and of a few learned words, it contained only feminine nouns. As the nominative, accusative, and ablative singular early became identical, leaving only one form in the singular, the plural forms were reduced to one, the accusative crowding out the nominative; this substitution, which must have been begun before the Provençal period, was doubtless helped by the identity of nominative and accusative plural in feminine nouns of the third declension. *Causa* will serve as a model:—

causa	> causa	*causæ* **causas*	> causas
causam	> causa	*causas*	> causas

1. *Dia* sometimes has a nom. sg. *dias*, following the example of other masculine nouns.

2. Many feminine proper names, in Gaul and elsewhere, developed a Low Latin declension *–a –āne(m)* or *–a –ēne(m)*, as *Anna Annāne*. Provençal has few traces of this inflection. The word *putana* < *?pūt̆da* + *ānem* + *a* may be a remnant of it. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 27; E. Philipon, *Les accusatifs en* –on *et en* –ain, *Rom.*, XXXI, 201.

SECOND DECLENSION.

96. This declension came to include the fourth. With the exception of mas, 'hand' (generally feminine), it contained only masculine nouns. The different types may be illustrated by *fŏcus*, *dōnum*, *faber*:—

fŏcus	> fọcs	*dōnum* **dōnus*	> dọns	*faber*	> faure fabre fabres
fŏcum	> fọc	*dōnum*	> dọn	*fabrum*	> fabre
fŏcī	> fọc	*dōna* **dōnī*	> dọn	*fabrī*	> fabre
fŏcos	> fọcs	*dōna* **dọ̄nos*	> dọns	*fabros*	> fabres

For the c of *fŏcī*, see § 92, (2). For **dōnus*, etc., see § 89 (1). Nom. fabre is due to the analogy of the other three cases; the s of fabres is borrowed from the prevailing fọcs type.

1. Neuters which long preserved their gender often have no *–s* in the nom. sg.: *segle* or *segles*. Nouns in *–age* from *–aticum* commonly have no *–s*: *corage*, *damnage*, *message*, *senhorage*; but forms with *–s* occur also. Learned nouns in *–i* from *–ium* regularly have no *–s*: *breviari*, *emperi*, *iuzizi*, *testimoni*. Post-verbal nouns, on the other hand, usually take the nom. –s: *albires*, *blasme–s*, *consires*, *desires* (cf. § 94). By the analogy of the *fabre–s*, *segle–s*, *blasme–s* types, many masculines in *–e* sometimes drop the *–s*: *clergue–s*, *diable–s*, *morgue–s*, *oncle–s*, *poble–s*. *Maestre*, *prestre* regularly have no *–s*.

2. Most proper names are declined like common nouns: *Arnautz Arnaut*, *Boecis Boeci*, *Enrics Enric*, *Lozoics Lozoic*, *Peire–s Peire*. Many proper names, however, developed in Gaul and elsewhere, from the 9th century on, a Low Latin declension *–us –ōne(m)*, as *Petrus Petrōnis* (cf. § 95, 2): hence *Carle–s Carló*, *Peire–s Peiró*, etc.; so *Bergonhs Bergonhó*, etc.

3. *Mas*, being usually feminine, has a nom. pl. *mas*.

4. For *pagadi*, *salvi*, *soli*, etc., see § 51, 1.

THIRD DECLENSION.

97. This declension absorbed a part of the fifth: cf. § 90.

98. Nouns whose stem was different in the nominative and the accusative singular, reconstructed the nominative to correspond to the accusative, the new form being similar to the original genitive: *papĭlio papiliōnem* > *papiliōnis papiliōnem*, *pēs pĕdem* > *pĕdis pĕdem*. The change began in the Vulgar Latin period. Exceptions to the rule are names of persons,

unless they ended in *–ans* or *–ens*: *nĕpos nepōtem* > neṗs neḅot; but *amans amantem* > **amantis amantem* > amáns amán.

1. *Carnis* for *caro* is used by classic writers. *Grūis* for *grūs* occurs in the *Appendix Probi* III, belonging perhaps to the 3d century. *Papiliōnis, pĕdis, travis* = *trabs*, and some others are found in the 8th century *Glossary of Reichenau.*

99. Masculine nouns of the third declension, early in the Provençal period, made their nominative plural conform to the second declension type, thus distinguishing it from the objective plural: *pater patrem patres patres* > paire paire paire paires (cf. Old French and Italian). Feminines, on the other hand, kept the nominative plural in –s: *mater matrem matres matres* > maire maire maires maires.

100. A few neuter nouns, becoming masculine in Vulgar Latin, developed distinctively masculine forms in the singular: *gĕnus gĕnus* > **gĕnĕris* **gĕnĕrem* > genres genre; so *fŭlgur* (> *fŭlger*) > **fŭlgĕrem* > fọuzer. Most neuters, however, kept in the singular their original stem: *sēmen* > sẹm, *tĕmpus* > tems. But those in *–men* regularly, and those in *–r* sometimes, took an –s in the nominative singular: *flūmen flūmen* > flüms flüm, *marmor marmor* > marme–s marme; cọr, in the literary language, usually has no nominative –s. In the plural most neuters brought their forms into harmony with the masculine type, but those in *–us* kept the –s throughout: (*caput* >) *capus* **capum capĭta capĭta* > caps cap cap caps, *cŏr cŏr cŏrda cŏrda* > cọr cọr cọr cọrs, *nōmen nōmen nōmĭna nōmĭna* > nọms nọm nọm nọms; but *cŏrpus cŏrpus cŏrpŏra cŏrpŏra* > cọrs cọrs cọrs cọrs. *Mare*, becoming feminine, was declined thus: mars mar mars mars.

1. *Gĕnus* also became *ges*, which was used as an adverb.

101. The third declension comprises three principal types: (1) nouns which in Latin had no difference of stem or of

accent between the nominative and the accusative singular; (2) those which had a difference of stem but not of accent; (3) those which had a difference of accent.

(1) Nouns with no difference of stem or of accent:—

MASCULINE

canis > cas	*pater* > paire–s	*sōl* > soḷ–s
canem > ca	*patrem* > paire	*sōlem* > soḷ
canes > ca	*patres* > paire	*sōles* > soḷ
canes > cas	*patres* > paires	*sōles* > soḷs

FEMININE

fīnis[1] > fis	*mater* > maire	*fĭdes* > fẹs
fīnem > fi	*matrem* > maire	*fĭdem* > fẹ
fīnes > fis	*matres* > maires	*fĭdes* > fẹs
fīnes > fis	*mātres* > maires	*fĭdes* > fẹs

1. Masculine nouns of this type which etymologically had no –s in the nom. sg., often took one, even in the earliest times.

2. *Laus* and *res* were often invariable, but were sometimes declined like *sols* and *fes*.

(2) Nouns with a difference of stem but not of accent:—

MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
pōns **pŏntis* > ponz	*pars* **partis* > partz	*lūmen* > lüm–s
pŏntem > pon	*partem* > part	*lūmen* > lüm
pŏntes > pon	*partes* > partz	*lūmĭna* > lüm
pŏntes > ponz	*partes* > partz	*lūmĭna* > lüms

NAMES OF PERSONS

cŏmes > coms	*hŏmo* > om
cŏmĭtem > comte	*hŏmĭnem* > ome omne[2]
cŏmĭtes > comte	*hŏmĭnes* > ome omne
cŏmĭtes > comtes	*hŏmĭnes* > omes omnes

1. For other neuter types, see § 100.

2. *Om* later developed an inflection *oms om om oms*.

3. *Lex*, *rex* became *leis lei leis leis*, *reis rei rei reis*.

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[1] See § 89, 1.

[2] See § 47, (3).

(3) Nouns with a difference of accent: —

MASCULINE		FEMININE	
sĕrmo **sermōnis*	> sermọs	*ratio* **ratiōnis*	> razọs
sermōnem	> sermọ	*ratiōnem*	> razọ
sermōnes	> sermọ	*ratiōnes*	> razọs
sermōnes	> sermọs	*ratiōnes*	> razọs

NAMES OF PERSONS IN -ANS, -ENS

amans **amantis*	> amáns	*parens* **parĕntis*	> paréns
amantem	> amán	*parĕntem*	> parén
amantes	> amán (*f.* amáns)	*parĕntes*	> parén (*f.* paréns)
amantes	> amáns	*parĕntes*	> paréns

NAMES OF PERSONS NOT IN -ANS, -ENS

amātor	> amaire	*sĕnior*	> sẹnher	*mŭlier*	> mọlher
amatōrem	> amadọr	*seniōrem*	> senhọr	*muliĕrem*[1]	> molhẹr
amatōres	> amadọr	*seniōres*	> senhọr	*muliĕres*	> molhẹrs
amatōres	> amadọrs	*seniōres*	> senhọrs	*muliĕres*	> molhẹrs
servītor	> servire	*baro*	> bar	*sŏror*	> sọrre sọr[2]
servitōrem	> servidọr	*barōnem*	> baro	*sorōrem*	> soroṛ
servitōres	> servidọr	*barōnes*	> baro	*sorōres*	> soroṛs
servitōres	> servidọrs	*barōnes*	> baros	*sorōres*	> soroṛs

1. After the same pattern as *senher*, we have *pastor pastōrem* > *pastre pastór*, etc.; after the *bar* pattern, **companio* (*Einf.*, § 43) **companiōnem* > *companh companhó*, **fillo* (Körting) **fillōnem*? > *fel feló*, *glŭtto* (= *glūto*) *gluttōnem* > *glot glotó*, *latro latrōnem* > *laire lairó*, *lĕo* (treated like the name of a person) *leōnem* > *leu leó*, etc. On the model of *amaire*, *servire*, we find *trobaire trobadór*, etc., *iauzire iauzidór*, etc.; and, for the second and third conjugations, *teneire tenedór*, etc., *beveire bevedór*, etc. The inflection of such words became much confused, and some of them eventually developed double declensions: *bars bar bar bars*, *barós baró baró barós*; *emperaires emperaire emperaire emperaires*, *emperadórs emperadór emperadór emperadórs*. Some proper names follow the *bar* model: *Bret Bretó*, *Folc–s* (*Folques*) *Folcó* (later *Folcós Folcó*), *Gasc Gascó*, *Uc Ugó*, (later *Ucs Uc*); cf. § 96, 2.

[1] See § 16, 1.

[2] See § 52, (1), 1.

ADJECTIVES.

102. What has been said concerning the inflection of nouns applies also to adjectives: see §§ 91–101. For pronominal adjectives see §§ 114 ff.

1. The operation of phonetic laws sometimes results in a difference in stem between the m. and the f.: *bos bona*, *larcs larga*, *nutz nuda*, *preon preonda*; *mut muda*, *prezat prezada*. For *pauc pauca*, *rauc rauca*, see § 65, C, 1. For *-arius -aria*, *-tōrius -tōria*, see § 23, 1; § 73, Ry, 1.

2. Adjectives in -s or -š are undeclinable in the m. sg.: *glorios*, *perfieg*. Those in -s originally had no inflectional ending in the m. pl., but later they sometimes added -es: *divers diverses*, *frances franceses*. For the pl. of those in š, see § 93, (3).

103. We must recognize two classes of adjectives: (1) those which in Latin distinguish the feminine from the masculine; (2) those which do not.

1. Adjectives like *acer*, which, though inflected after the 3d declension type, could distinguish the m. from the f. in the nom. sg., fell into one or the other — usually the first — of the following classes (*agre agra*, *alegre alegra*; *terrestre terrestre*).

(1) Masculine and feminine different: —

MASCULINE		FEMININE	
bĕllus	> bęls	*bĕlla*	> bęla
bĕllum	> bęl	*bĕllam*	> bęla
bĕlli	> bęl	*bĕllæ* * *bĕllas*	> bęlas
bĕllos	> bęls	*bĕllas*	> bęlas
pauper	> paubre-s	*paupĕra*	> paubra
paupĕrum	> paubre	*paupĕram*	> paubra
paupĕri	> paubre	*paupĕræ*-**as*	> paubras
paupĕros	> paubres	*paupĕras*	> paubras

(2) Masculine and feminine alike: —

MASCULINE		FEMININE	
fidēlis	> fezęls	*fidēlis*	> fezęls
fidēlem	> fezęl	*fidēlem*	> fezęl
fidēles	> fezęl	*fidēles*	> fezęls
fidēles	> fezęls	*fidēles*	> fezęls

1. Some adjectives of the second class were attracted into the first either in Vulgar Latin or in Provençal; this happened to all adjectives in *-és, -able, - ible*, and also to *comun, dous, fol, freble, graile, len, mol, noble, paubre* (early), *rude, trist*: *cortes cortesa, durable durabla*; *comuna, doussa*, etc. Some kept both inflections: *dolens, dolens* or *dolenta*; *grans, grans* or *granda*, etc. So *gens, gens* or *genta*.

104. In impersonal constructions we frequently find a nominative singular without -s, which is apparently a survival of the Latin neuter: *m'es bel* (*greu, parven, semblan*, etc.) *que* . . . But the form with -s sometimes occurs in the same constructions: *m'es greus que* . . .

1. For *es mestier*, see § 91, (3).

105. Most adverbs of manner were formed by adding -men (-ment, -mens, or -menz) to the feminine singular of the adjective: belamen. These adverbs were originally ablative phrases: *serēna mĕnte*, etc. In Provençal the specific meaning of the -men was forgotten, but the two parts might still be separated by an intervening word: epsa . . . ment. When two adverbs in -men were used together, the ending was generally affixed to only one, oftener the first. Bona and mala could be used as adverbs without the suffix.

1. For the adverbial ending -s, see § 82, S, 3.

COMPARISON.

106. Adjectives and adverbs regularly formed their comparative by prefixing plüs to the positive, and their superlative by prefixing the definite article to the comparative: cara, plüs cara, la plüs cara. This method of comparison goes back to Vulgar Latin times.

1. 'Than' is expressed by *que* and *de*.

107. Some adjectives preserved their old comparative in

–ior. These comparatives had an inflection similar to that of senher: cf. § 101, (3) and § 101, (3), 1.

POSITIVE		COMPARATIVE	
altus:	aut	———	aussọr
**bellātus* = *bĕllus*:	———	bellaire bellázer–s	bellazọr
gĕnĭtus:	gen	génser–s	gensọr
**grĕvis* = *gravis*:	greu	greuger	———
grŏssus:	grọs	gruęysser	———
laid:	lai	láiger	
largus:	larc	———	largọr
lĕvis:	lęu	lęuger	———
lŏngus:	lonc	———	lonhọr
(*grandis*):	(gran)	máier	maiọr
(*bŏnus*):	(bon)	mẹlher	melhọr
(*paucus*):	(pauc)	mẹnre–s	menọr
nūgālis:	———	———	nüalhọr
(*malus*):	(mal)	pẹier	peiọr
(*mŭltus*):	(mọlt)	———	plüsọr[1]
sŏrdĭdus:	sorde	sordẹier	sordeiọr

108. The following neuter comparatives were used as adverbs: genseis genses gensetz (<génser influenced by longeis, sordeis); longeis longeitz <? *longĭtius (<longĭter + lŏngius); mais < *magis*; melhs < *mĕlius*; mens < *mĭnus*; peitz < *pĕjus*; sordeis < *sordĭdius*; viatz < *vivacius*. Mais, melhs, mens, peitz were used also as neuter pronouns. Viatz lost its comparative sense.

109. A few adjectives, most or all of them learned, preserved the old superlative form with an intensive sense: altisme, carisme, pesme, prosme, santisme.

[1] Perhaps from a fusion of *plūs* and *pluriōres* = *plūres*. Cf. Fr.

NUMERALS.

110. The cardinal numerals are: —

ün	onze	vint e ün	dozent
dos	dotze	vint e dos	tresent
tres	tretze	trenta	quatre cen
quatre	quatorze	quaranta	cinc cens (de)
cinc	quinze	cinquanta	mil
seis	setze, sedze	sessanta	dos milia
set	detz e set	setanta	tres melia
ueg	detz e ueg	quatre vint	quatre mila
nou	detz e nou	nonanta	cinc milliers (de)
detz	vint, vin	cent, cen	cent miria

111. The first two numbers were inflected as follows: —

u(n)s üna	düi doi	doas dos
ü(n) üna	dos (düi)	doas dos

Düi doi are from Vulgar Latin *dŭī* = *dŭo*; dos is from *dŭos*, doas from *dŭas*. Tres has a form trei (originally nom. m.), patterned after düi, and a form treis, which seems to be a cross between tres and trei. For the dialect forms of onze–setze, see §76, (1), Ndc′, and §80, Dc′. Cen, multiplied by another number, took a plural form when used substantively; when used adjectively, it generally did not, but we find dozentas with a feminine noun. Mil had four plurals, milia miria melia mila; milliers is a noun.

1. As an example of a longer compound numeral, we have *cen e quatre vint e ueg.*

2. From *ambo* we have the obj. forms, m. and f., *ams*, *ambas*. *Ambo* combined with *dŭī* (*dŭos dŭas*), and perhaps influenced by Pr. *ab* (§ 65, P, 2), had this inflection:

amdui	*andui*	*abdui*	*ambedui*	*amdoas*
amdos	*andos*	*abdos*	*ambedos*	*amdoas*

112. The ordinal numerals had separate forms for the two genders; the masculine forms followed the second declension

type, the feminine forms, the first declension. After 5th, they were made by adding to the cardinal numeral the originally distributive ending *-ēnus -ēna.*

primiẹr,	primiẹra	seizẹ(n),	seizẹna	onzẹ(n),	onzẹna
segọn(t),	segọnda	setẹ(n),	setẹna	dozẹ(n),	dozẹna
tẹrz,	tẹrza	ochẹ(n),	ochẹna	vintẹ(n),	vintẹna
quart,	quarta	novẹ(n),	novẹna	centẹ(n),	centẹna
quint,	quinta	dezẹ(n),	dezẹna	milẹ(n),	milẹna

113. Beside primiẹr we find premiẹr prümiẹr promiẹr (§ 44, 1, 3), and also prim and primeiran; for the developments of the ending -iẹr, see § 23, 1 and § 73, Ry, 1. Tẹrz, tẹrza regularly became tẹrs, tẹrsa (§ 83, Rty). Such forms as seọnda, tẹrcia, sẹxta, octava, nọna, dẹcima are learned.

1. As an example of a compound ordinal numeral, we have *vintena tersa.*

PRONOUNS.

114. Under this head will be treated not only pronouns and pronominal adjectives, but also articles.

115. In popular Latin the personal, possessive, and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives had two sets of forms, according as they were accented or unaccented (§ 19). *Ille*, when stressed and used pronominally, became a disjunctive personal pronoun of the third person; when unstressed and used pronominally, it furnished the conjunctive forms of the third person; when unstressed and used adjectively, it developed into a definite article. *Ipse* had similar uses. These differentiations must have begun in Vulgar Latin times.

116. The declension of *ĭlle* was considerably altered in Vulgar Latin. The neuter *ĭllud* disappeared, being replaced by *ĭllum.* Through the influence of *quī cūjus cūī*, **ĭllī illū-*

jus[1] *illūī*[1] came to be used beside *ĭlle illīus ĭllī*. The feminine had, beside *illīus ĭllī*, a genitive and dative *ĭllæ*; through the analogy of *illūjus illūī*, *ĭllæ* was expanded into *illæjus*[1] *illæi*.[1] *Illīus* then went out of use. In the plural, *illōrum* (which in some regions, by the analogy of *illūjus illūī*, had a form **illūrum*) crowded out *illārum*; this *illōrum* came to be used also as a dative.

Ipse and *ĭste* followed in the main the same course as *ĭlle*.

ARTICLES.

117. The indefinite article comes from *ūnus*, which seems to have been occasionally so used even in classic Latin: —

ü(n)s	üna
ü(n)	üna

118. (1) The definite article comes from unaccented *ĭlle*, which, being used as a proclitic, regularly lost its first syllable (§ 19). *Ille* (**ĭllī*), *ĭllum*, *ĭllī*, *ĭllos*, *ĭlla*, *ĭllas* became respectively le (li), lo, li or lhi,[2] los, la, las. Le, lo, li, lhi, la frequently elided their vowel before another vowel (l'an, l'arma), becoming l or lh. Furthermore, le, lo, li, lhi, los, in the intertonic position after a vowel (vé lo páire), regularly lost their vowel (vęl páire)[3]; and, by analogy, la and las were sometimes reduced to l and ls. We have, then, beside the full forms, the proclitics l, lh, and the enclitics l, lh, ls. Inasmuch as l might be vocalized before a dental,[4] the enclitics l and ls sometimes became u and us (á͡u portęr, é͡uz dias antix).

(2) The particles e and que, with the enclitic l, formed

[1] These forms existed as early as the 1st century of our era. See *Zs.*, XXVI, 600, 619. *Ejus*, *ei* may have had some influence.

[2] See § 67, (2).

[3] § 45.

[4] § 74, (2).

combinations el and quel. Quel, being understood as *qu'el*, gave rise to a form el.

(3) In the f. nom. sg. there is a form li or lhi, which is hard to explain. The most likely theory is that when the masculine *quī* took the place of the feminine *quæ* (see § 133), the masculine **ĭllī* came to be used beside *ĭlla*,[1] for the feminine. The Provençal feminine li (lhi) which resulted was strongly supported by the analogy of a feminine possessive mi, beside ma (see § 127).[2]

(4) The regular forms are, therefore, the following: —

		MASCULINE				FEMININE				
Sg.	*nom.*:	lę	li	l	ęl	la	li	lhi	l	lh
	obj.:	lǫ	l	u	ęl	la	l			
Pl.	*nom.*:	li	lhi	l	lh	las				
	obj.:	lǫs	ls	us		las	ls			

In many texts the objective forms lo, los, ls are used in the nominative.

1. The m. obj. sg. *le*, obj. pl. *les*, which occur in a few texts, are doubtless French. So is the enclitic form *s* for *ls* or *us*: *de s*, *entre s*, *e s*.

2. The enclitic forms combine as follows with the prepositions *a*, *con*, *de*, *en*, *entre*, *iosta*, *per*, *sus*, and with the conjunctions *e*, *ni*, *o*, *que*, *si*: *al au als aus*, *col*, *del deu dels deus* (*des*), *enl el els eus*, *entrels*, *iostal*, *pel pels*, *sul suls*; *eil* (= *e lhi*) *el* (= *e lo*), *nils*, *oill* (= *o lhi*), *quel*, *sil*. They combine freely with other words: *eral* (= *era le*), *fals* (= *fa los*), etc.

119. In some southwestern and some southeastern dialects we find forms sǫ, sǫs, sa, sas, coming from *ĭpse*.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.[3]

120. In Vulgar Latin *ĕgo* lost its *g* (§ 95, G). The dative,

[1] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 104.

[2] See Suchier in *Grundriss*, I, p. 627.

[3] Cf. A. von Elsner, *Ueber Form und Verwendung des Personalpronomens im Altprovenzalischen*, 1886.

mĭhi, was preserved only in its contracted form, *mī*. After the pattern of *mī*, **tī* and **sī* were created for the other persons.

121. Provençal has no nominative forms that are regularly unaccented. In the conjunctive forms of the third person (not reflexive), the direct object is distinguished from the indirect; elsewhere there is no such distinction.

CONJUNCTIVE FORMS.

122. Latin *mē* > mẹ, *mī* > mi, *nōs* > nọs; *tē* > tẹ, **tī* > ti, *vōs* > vọs; *sē* > sẹ, **sī* > si. Me mi, te ti, se si, used as proclitics before a vowel, or as enclitics after a vowel, were reduced to m, t, s: m'ama, t'apela, s'es; o͡m, be͡t, cosi͡s. Nọs and vọs, used as enclitics after a vowel, became respectively ns and us; que͡ns, no͡us; *sī vōs* > sius, later sieus (§ 32). The forms (all objective) for the first and second persons and for the third person reflexive are, then: —

FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON (REFLEXIVE)
Sg.: mẹ mi m	tẹ ti t	sẹ si s
Pl.: nọs ns	vọs us	sẹ si s

1. The pronouns of the first and second persons could, of course, be used reflexively.

123. The conjunctive forms of the third person (not reflexive) come in the main from the proclitic *ĭlle*: *ĭllī*, *ĭllum*, *illōrum* (**illūrum*), *ĭllos*, *ĭlla*, *ĭllas* became respectively li or lhi, lo, lọr (lür), lọs, la, las. When used proclitically or enclitically, under the conditions described in § 118, (1), li (lhi), lo, los were reduced to l (lh), l, ls; and l was sometimes vocalized. O < *hŏc* was employed also, meaning 'it.' The adverb *ĭnde* became ẹnt ẹn n (and, through the analogy of me m, te t, se s, also ne), which was often used as a pro-

noun with the sense 'of it', 'of them', sometimes 'of him', 'of her'; nos en > noṇ, vos en > voṇ. The adverb *hīc* became i, meaning 'here' or 'there,' which served also as a dative pronoun, 'to it,' 'to them'; it was then always an enclitic, forming a diphthong with a preceding vowel; it regularly took the place of li in the constructions loi = lo li, lai = la li. The forms are: —

		MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
Sg.	*gen.*:	ẹnt ẹn n nẹ	ẹnt ẹn n nẹ	ẹnt ẹn n nẹ
	dat.:	li lhi l lh i	li lhi l lh i	i
	acc.:	lọ l u	la	lọ l ọ
Pl.	*gen.*:	ẹnt ẹn n nẹ	ẹnt ẹn n nẹ	
	dat.:	lọr lür	lọr lür	
	acc.:	lọs ls	las	

1. *Les* for *los* is doubtless French. *Los*, *ls* were occasionally used for m. *lor*; *lors*, which occurs rarely for *lor*, looks like a cross between *lor* and *los*.

2. The following combinations illustrate the use of the enclitic forms: *aura i, be i, e l, laissa n, no i, qui ll, si ls.*

DISJUNCTIVE FORMS.

124. Vulgar Latin **ĕo* or **ĕu* > ẹu iẹu (§ 30), which before an enclitic became ẹ iẹ (ẹ͡l, iẹ͡n). The other forms explain themselves. The nominative tü, from the beginning of the 13th century, was sometimes used for tẹ after prepositions; this use may have been suggested by the existence of lü = 'him'; § 125, (1). Nọs + ẹn > noṇ, vọs + ẹn > voṇ.

		FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON (REFLEXIVE)
Sg.	*nom.*:	ẹu iẹu ẹ- iẹ-	tü	
	obj.:	mẹ mi	tẹ (ti?) tü	sẹ si
Pl.	*nom.*:	nọs	vọs	
	obj.:	nọs	vọs	sẹ si

1. We find, besides, the French or borderland forms *ie iou iu yo* for *eu* (*gi* and *iey* have been noted also), *mei tei sei* for *me te se.*

125. The disjunctive pronouns of the third person (not reflexive) come from accented *ĭlle*, with the exception of o from *hŏc. Illūi, illōrum, illæjus, illæi* lost their first syllable, perhaps through elision after a vowel; *illūjus* disappeared. *Ille*, **ĭllī* gave el elh, il ilh; el sometimes vocalized its l. *Illūī* became lüi, in some dialects reduced to lü. *Illum* became el elh. *Illōrum* (**illūrum*) gave lor (lür). *Illos* became els (often eus) elhs. *Illa, ĭllam* both gave ela elha. *Illæjus* became leis leis (in some dialects reduced to lies).[1] *Illæi* gave lei (dialectically le) liei. *Illas* became elas elhas.

(2) In the feminine singular nominative there is, beside ela elha, a form ilh il. This is probably to be explained, like the feminine article lhi li, as coming from the masculine nominative **ĭllī* introduced into the feminine, and supported by the feminine possessive mi: see §118, (3).

(3) Some dialects preserve the final –i of eli (m. pl. nom.) and ilhi ili (f. sg. nom.): see §51, 1.

(4) Occasionally the conjunctive li (f. sg. obj.) and lo (neuter sg. nom.) were used as disjunctive forms. And sometimes the masculine lüi lü was used for the feminine.

(5) The forms are, therefore, the following: —

		MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
Sg.	*nom.*:	el eu elh il ilh	ela elha ilh il ilhi ili	el lo
	obj.:	lüi lü el elh	leis leis lies lei liei le ela li lüi lü	o
Pl.	*nom.*:	il ilh el elh eli	elas elhas	
	obj.:	lor lür els eus elhs	lor lür elas elhas	

In many texts the objective forms els elhs, leis lei are used

[1] Cf. Thomas in *Rom.*, XII, 334; Meyer-Lübke in *Gram.*, II, page 104. For a different explanation, see Ascoli in *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XV, 314, 396.

in the nominative. We then find occasionally a new objective, elses.

POSSESSIVES.

126. Beside *mĕus mĕa, tŭus tŭa, sŭus sŭa*, there existed in popular Latin the shorter forms **mĕs? *ma, *tŭs *ta, sŭs sa*. Of the two forms *vĕster* and *vŏster*, only the latter was used. To supply the lack of a third person possessive denoting a plural possessor, *illōrum* came to be employed as a possessive.

SINGULAR POSSESSIVE.

127. (1) The primarily atonic possessives come from the shorter Latin forms. The original masculine singular forms of the first person were displaced by mọs mọ, made on the analogy of tọs tọ, sọs sọ, which come regularly from **tŭs *tŭm, sŭs, sŭm*; so in the objective plural we find mọs, corresponding to tọs < **tōs*, sọs < *sōs*. *Mĕī, tŭī, sŭī* gave mẹi, tọi tüi, sọi süi (§34), which, however, were often replaced by the objective forms. **Ma *mam *mas, *ta *tam *tas, sa sam sas* became ma mas, ta tas, sa sas; ma, ta, sa often elided their a before a vowel. The formation of *midons* has been explained in §91, (2); §93, (2); §118, (3): from it came a feminine singular possessive mi, and, by analogy, ti and si.

(2) The forms are:—

		FIRST PERSON			SECOND PERSON			THIRD PERSON		
Sg.	*nom.*:	mọs	ma	mi	tọs	ta	ti	sọs	sa	si
	obj.:	mọ mọn	ma	mi	tọ tọn	ta	ti	sọ sọn	sa	si
Pl.	*nom.*:	mẹi mọs	mas		tọi tüi tọs	tas		sọi süi sọs	sas	
	obj.:	mọs	mas		tọs	tas		sọs	sas	

They are generally used only adjectively, and without the definite article. In some early texts, however, tọs and sọs, preceded by the article, are used substantively.

128. (1) The primarily tonic possessives come from the longer Latin forms. *Mĕus mĕum mĕi mĕos* > mẹus mẹu mẹi mẹus, which regularly became mieus etc. (§30); an analogical form mieu is found beside miei. In the feminine of the first person we have, instead of *mẹa, mieua and mia: the first of these two forms is evidently made up from the masculine; the second may be due partly to the analogy of mi, partly to a proclitic use of the word (§44, 4).[1] In the second and third persons the masculine forms are mainly, and the feminine forms partially, replaced by analogical formations based on the possessive of the first person; *tŭi, sŭi, tŭa, sŭa,* however, give regularly tọi tüi, sọi süi, tọa tua, sọa sua (§8).

(2) The forms follow, those of the third person (which correspond exactly to those of the second) being omitted:—

FIRST PERSON

Sg.	*nom.*:	mẹus mieus	mia mieua
	obj.:	mẹu mieu	mia mieua
Pl.	*nom.*:	mẹi miei mieu	mias mieuas
	obj.:	mẹus mieus	mias mieuas

SECOND PERSON

Sg.	*nom.*:	tẹus tieus	tọa tua tieua tia
	obj.:	tẹu tieu	tọa tua tieua tia
Pl.	*nom.*:	tọi tüi tẹi tiei tieu	tọas tuas tieuas tias
	obj.:	tẹus tieus	tọas tuas tieuas tias

They may be used adjectively or substantively, with or without the definite article.

1. We occasionally find a neuter sg. nom. form without final *-s*: *lo mieu.*

PLURAL POSSESSOR.

129. *Nŏster, vŏster* developed regularly after the *pauper*

[1] For a different explanation of *mia*, see *Gram.*, I, pp. 246–248; also Horning in *Zs.*, XXV, 341.

model: §103, (1). The masculine singular nominative often took an –s: cf. §96; §101, (1). Some southeastern dialects preserved the –i of nọstri: cf. §51, 1. Beside vọstra we occasionally meet vọstri, due to the analogy of feminine mi, ti, si.

		FIRST PERSON		SECOND PERSON		THIRD PERSON	
Sg.	*nom.*:	nọstre–s	nọstra'	vọstre–s	vọstra vọstri	lọr lür	lọr lür
	obj.:	nọstre	nọstra	vọstre	vọstra vọstri	lọr lür	lọr lür
Pl.	*nom.*:	nọstre nọstri	nọstras	vọstre	vọstras	lọr lür	lọr lür
	obj.:	nọstres	nọstras	vọstres	vọstras	lọr lür	lọr lür

These forms are used adjectively or substantively, with or without the definite article.

1. In later times *lor* came to be inflected like a one-gender adjective: § 103, (2).

DEMONSTRATIVES.

130. Latin *ĭdem* went out of use. Latin *ĭs* was preserved only in the phrase *ĭd ĭpsum* (*ad ĭd ĭpsum* > adẹs), and in the combination *ĕccum*, in which it ceased to be recognized, so that *ĕccu'* was regarded as a synonym of *ĕcce*.

131. (1) The demonstrative particles *ĕcce* and *ĕccu'* were often prefixed to pronouns in Vulgar Latin. Being thus proclitically used, they frequently lost their first syllable (§19); sometimes, however, under the influence of *ac* (as in *ac sīc* > aissi), they preserved it, assuming the vowel of *ac*: *ecce ĭlla* > aicẹla, *eccu' ĭsta* > aquẹsta; cf. §43, (2).

(2) The suffix *–met* was used in Vulgar Latin as an intensive prefix. Its change of place was probably due to such phrases as *sēmet ĭpsum*, understood as *sē metĭpsum*. The *–t*, before a vowel, regularly gives –d– (*met–ĭpsum* > medẹs); but we find, besides, –z– (< Lat. *d*), introduced perhaps through the analogy of *ĭd* in *ĭd ĭpsum* (**medĭpsum* > mezẹis); and also

–t– (< Lat. *tt*), which may be the result of a combination of *met–* and *ĭd–* (*met-ĭd-ĭpsum* > * *metdĭpsu* > meteis).

132. The pronouns preserved, either in their simple form or combined with a prefix, are the following: —

(1) Of *hīc* only the neuter, *hŏc*, was kept. *Hŏc* > o; *ecce hŏc* > aiço aisso, and ço so; *eccu' hŏc* > aquo aco. All of these are invariable.

(2) *Ipse* appears as eps epsa, eus eussa, eis eissa (with a m. pl. eisses and a neuter eis); the last forms are the commonest; for the development of the *ps*, see §79 and §80, Ps. *Met-ĭpse* gives (medips) medes, (meteish) meteis, and, more commonly, mezeis (f. mezeissa, neuter mezeis); see §131, (2). **Met–ĭpsĭmus* becomes medesme–s, mesesme–s, meesme–s (§65, D), with feminine forms in –a. Unaccented *ĭpsum* is probably one source of the neuter so: cf. § 132, (1). For the article (so, sa), see §119.

(3) *Ille*, uncombined, developed into an article (§ 118) and a personal pronoun (§§ 123, 125), but went out of use as a demonstrative. Combined with *ecce* and *eccu'* it gave: aicel aissel, cel, sel; aquel. Echel (pronounced ekel?) seems to come from *eccu' ĭlle* with its original initial vowel preserved. *Ipse ĭlle* perhaps gave rise also to a sel, which ultimately coincided with the form coming from *ecce ĭlle*. There is a neuter aicelo, perhaps aicel + o. Cel will illustrate the inflection of all these words; the forms are to be explained like those of the disjunctive personal pronoun (§ 125): —

	MASCULINE					FEMININE				
Sg. *nom.*:	cel	ceu	celh	cels[1]	cellüi	cela	celha	cil	cilh	cilha[2]
Sg. *obj.*:	cel	ceu	celh	cellüi		cela	celha	celei	celeis	celieis cilh

[1] *Cels* shows the influence of masculine nouns and adjectives.

[2] *Aquel* has also *aquilli*. *Cilha* is evidently a combination of *cilh* and *celha*.

		MASCULINE	FEMININE
Pl.	*nom.*:	cil cilh celh cels[1]	celas celhas
	obj.:	cels celhs[2]	celas celhas

(4) *Iste* gave est, estz, esta, estas. *Ecce iste* became aicest (not common) and cest sest; *eccu' iste* became aquest echest, and chest. Aquest will illustrate the inflection; the forms are to be explained like those of cel: —

		MASCULINE	FEMININE
Sg.	*nom.*:	aquest	aquesta aquist aquisti
	obj.:	aquest	aquesta
Pl.	*nom.*:	aquist aquisti	aquestas
	obj.:	aquestz aquetz	aquestas

INTERROGATIVES AND RELATIVES.

133. The interrogative and relative pronouns were confused and combined in Vulgar Latin, *quī* taking the place of *quĭs*, and *quĭd* gradually encroaching on *quŏd*. Furthermore, the masculine forms were used instead of the feminine, which disappeared. We have in Provençal no evidence of the survival of any other cases than the nominative, dative, and accusative singular and the nominative plural: —

		MASCULINE AND FEMININE	NEUTER
Sg.	*nom.*:	*quī* > qui	*quĭd* > que, (*before vowel*) quez
	dat.:	*cūī* > cüi	*cūī* > cüi
	acc.:	*quĕm* > que	*quĭd* > que, (*before vowel*) quez
Pl.,	*nom.*:	*quī* > qui	*quæ* > que

The distinction between que < *quĕm*, que quez < *quĭd*, and que < *quæ* could not be maintained; we have, then, simply three forms: a nom. sg. or pl. qui, a nom.-acc. sg. or pl. que (quez), a dat. sg. or pl. cüi (sometimes written *qui*).

[1] *Aquel* has also *aqueli*.

[2] *Aquel* has also *aquelz* and *aquelses*.

134. We have also *qualis*, which came to be inflected like fezẹls: see § 103, (2); the feminine singular, however, often dropped its –s, and sometimes took the ending –a (cal, cala). *Quīnam* apparently became quina, which, understood as a feminine form, developed a masculine, quin. There seems to have been also a **quīniam* (cf. *quŏniam*?), which gave quinh, quinha. Cf. D. Behrens in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XVII, ii, 67–8, footnote. The phrase *de ŭnde* became dọnt, dọn, which was often used with the meaning 'of which', 'of whom'.

135. (1) In Provençal the interrogative pronouns are: **qui**, 'who' or 'whom'; **que quez**, 'what'; **cüi**, 'to whom' or 'whom', 'to what' or 'what' (obj.); **cals** (either alone or preceded by the definite article, inflected as in § 134), 'which'; **quin quinh, quina quinha**, 'which'. **Cals** is used also as an adjective.

(2) The relative pronouns are: **qui**, 'one who', indefinite (used also, in early texts and in southwestern Languedoc, as the regular relative pronoun for persons); **que quez**, 'who' or 'whom', 'which'; **cüi**, 'whom', 'which' (generally used as indirect object of a verb, or after a preposition); **lo cals** (inflected as in § 134), 'who' ('whom'), 'which'; **don dont**, 'of which', 'of whom'.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

136. The following words call for special mention: —

(1) **Alcüs** < **alĭqu' ūnus* = *alĭquī ūnus*, 'someone'. Inflection: alcüs, alcü(n); alcüna.

(2) **Alquant** < *aliquantum*, *aliquanti*, 'somewhat', 'some'; diminutive, **alquantet**.

(3) **Alques alque** < *alĭquĭd*, used as an invariable neuter

pronoun or adverb, 'something', 'somewhat'. The –s form, which originally developed before a vowel, was preferred because of the analogy of other neuter pronouns and adverbs. The preservation of the e is due to association with quez que. Alque was sometimes used as an adjective.

(4) **Als al au**, used as an invariable neuter pronoun, 'something else'. Al (au) may have been detached from alques, understood as al ques. Meyer-Lübke, however, takes it, as well as Old French el, from **alum* = *aliud*: *Gram.*, II, p. 649. Als owes its –s to the analogy of other neuter pronouns, such as alques, ẹis, mais, mẹlhs, mẹns, pẹis, etc.

(5) **Altre autre** < *alter*, 'other', pronoun and adjective. A dative **altrūī*, following *illūī*, goes back to Vulgar Latin. The Provençal forms autrüs, autrü show the influence of alcüs and negüs; autri belongs to the southeastern dialects (cf. aquẹli, ẹli, nọstri, tüti, etc.). Inflection: —

		MASCULINE	FEMININE
Sg.	*nom.*:	autre autres autrüs	autra
	obj.:	autre autrüi autrü	autra
Pl.	*nom.*:	autre autri	autras
	obj.:	autres	autras

(6) **Altretals autretals** < *alter talis*; by dissimilation, **atretals**: by substitution of ai– (first syllable of aissi < *ac sīc*) for atre–, **aitals**; by fusion of aitals and atretals, **aitretals**; through analogy of atressi, **atrestals**. Cf. § 74, 2. Inflection like that of cals (§ 134).

(7) **Altretan atretan aitan atrestan** etc. < *alter* + *tantum*: see **altretals**.

(8) **Cada un** < κατά + *ūnum*, 'every one'. The Greek preposition κατά was introduced into the Latin territory, probably by Greek merchants, in stating prices: καθ' ἕνα = *cata ūnum*,

κατὰ τρεῖς = *cata trēs*; hence cada ün, cada trei. Inflection: cada üs, cada ü(n); cada üna.

(9) **Calacom qualacom qualaquom,** 'something', 'a little', seems to be a Provençal compound of cal and acọ (§ 132), the last syllable of which was perhaps understood as cọm cọ < *quŏmŏ(do)*. Cf. **quezacom** below. There is a diminutive **calacomet,** which helped to maintain the m of calacom.

(10) **Cals que quals que, cal que qual que,** 'whoever', is a Provençal compound.

(11) **Cant quant can quan** < *quantum quanti*, 'how much', 'how many'. Cant, inflected like bẹl (§ 103), is used also as an adjective and as a masculine and feminine pronoun.

(12) **Cascüs chascüs,** 'everyone', 'every', appears to be a fusion of cada üs and *cescüs < **cisqu' ūnus* = *quĭsque ūnus* = *ūnus quĭsque*. Inflection: cascüs, cascü(n); cascüna.

(13) **Ent en n ne** < *ĭnde*, 'some': cf. § 123.

(14) **Maint mant man manh** < Celtic **mantî*, 'many', 'many a', 'many a one'. Obj. pl. in –s, f. sg. in –a, f. pl. in –as.

(15) **Molt mout mot mul mon** < *mŭltum*, 'much'. For mọt, mul, mọn, see § 74, (2) and § 74, 1. Mọlt, inflected like bẹl (§ 103), is used also as an adjective and as a masculine and feminine pronoun.

(16) **Negüs** < *nĕc ūnus*, 'no one'. Inflection: negüs, negü(n); negüna. Beside negün we find **degün,** apparently through dissimilation.

(17) **Nüls** < *nūllus*, 'no', 'none'. Inflection: nüls, nül, nül nülh, nüls; nüla, nülas. From **nülh** < *nūllī* comes a set of forms with lh: see § 67, (2). Hence, by metathesis suggested by the analogy of negün, **lhün.** A fusion of nülh and lhün results in **lünh,** whence a set of forms with nh.

(18) **Om** < *hŏmo*, 'one'.

(19) **Pauc** < *paucum*, *pauci*, 'little', 'few'. There is also a regular adjective, paucs, 'small'.

(20) **Que que**, 'whatever', is a Provençal compound.

(21) **Quecs** < *quĭsquis* (§ 78, 2), 'everyone'. From quẹcs were formed an objective quẹc and a feminine quẹga (cf. amics amic amiga).

(22) **Quesacom** (diminutive **quesacomet**), 'something', 'a little', is formed like calacọm above, the first element in this casẹ being either quẹs < *quĭd* or quẹ s = quẹ es.

(23) **Qui que**, 'whoever', is a Provençal compound.

(24) **Res re**, 'anything', 'something.

(25) **Tals** < *talis*, 'such', inflected like cals (§ 134).

(26) **Tamanh** < *tam magnum*, 'so great'; f. tamanha.

(27) **Tant tan ta** < *tantum*, *tanti*, 'so much', 'so many'. Tant, inflected like bẹl (§ 103), is used also as an adjective and as a masculine and feminine pronoun.

(28) **Totz** < *tōttus* = *tōtus* (*Gram.*, I, § 547), 'all', had a regular inflection: tọtz, tọt, tọt, tọtz; tọta, tọtas. In the masculine nominative plural, however, we find oftener the forms tüch tüich tüit tüt tüti, which point to a Latin **tūctī* (cf. Italian *tutti*); for this no satisfactory explanation has been discovered (see Nigra, *Rom.*, XXXI, 525). Hence we occasionally have in the singular tütz, tüt, and in the objective plural tügz tütz; the last form occurs also as a nominative plural. Tọt is frequently used as a neuter pronoun and as an adverb.

(29) **Üs**, 'some'; from *ūnus*, used as an indefinite adjective or pronoun, we have the plural forms: ü(n), ü(n)s; ünas.

2. CONJUGATION.

THE FOUR CONJUGATIONS.

137. (1) In Vulgar Latin there were some shifts, the verbs of the second and third conjugations being particularly unstable: *cadĕre*, *capĕre*, *sapĕre*, for instance, often passed into the second, while *mŏvēre*, *rīdēre* frequently followed the third, and *mŏri*, *sĕqui* usually went into the fourth. *Pŏsse*, *vĕlle*, with the new infinitives **potēre*, **volēre*, were made to conform with more or less regularity to the second conjugation type. Beside *do*, *dant*, *sto*, *stant*, there came into use the forms **dao*, **daunt*, **stao*, **staunt*. Beside *facĕre* there doubtless existed a verb **fare*,[1] strongly influenced by *dare* and *stare*; the first suggestion of shortening probably came from the monosyllabic imperative singular *fac* (or *fa*[2]), which must have led to a plural **fate* beside *facĭte*. *Habēre* and *vadĕre*[2] also came under the influence of *dare* and *stare*; the former adopted, beside *habeo*, *habes*, *habet*, *habent*, the forms **ho*, **has*, **hat*, **hant* or **haunt*. *Vadĕre* generally lost its past tenses, which were replaced by *īre* and, in southern Gaul, by *annare*.[3]

(2) In Provençal the first conjugation was well preserved, and the fourth lost but little. The second and the third lost many verbs (especially learned words) to the fourth: delir, emplir, envazir, espandir, fugir, iauzir, merir, regir, relinquir, reluzir, vertir;[4] cọzer cozir < *consŭere*,[5] devire devezir < *divīdĕre*, dire dir < *dīcĕre*, lẹire legir (also lire lir) < *lĕgĕre*, quẹrre querir < *quærĕre*, sẹgre seguir < *sĕqui*, tẹner tenir[6] < *tenēre*. More-

[1] See G. Rydberg, *Le développement de* facere *dans les langues romanes*, 1893.

[2] See A. Zimmermann in *Zs.*, XXV, 735.

[3] See C. C. Rice in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIX, 217.

[4] Cf. §138.

[5] Cf. §72, Sw.

[6] According to Raimon Vidal, a 13th century grammarian, *tenir* is French.

over, the second and third conjugations, which in Provençal differed practically only in the infinitive, were much confused: caber, cazer, mordre, rire, saber; corre accorrer, mentaver mentaure < *mente habēre*, mover moure, querre querer, redebre rezemer < *redĭmĕre*. Uc Faidit, a 13th century grammarian, enumerates about 500 verbs in –ar, about 100 in –er and –re, and a little over 100 in –ir.

138. The inchoative ending *–scĕre* lost its original sense. The *–īsc–* type, for verbs of the fourth conjugation, was very widely extended, the *–isc–* becoming a part of the regular present stem of the fourth conjugation, and disappearing from the infinitive: *finīre*, **finīsco* > finir, finisc. The Latin *–ēsc–* type, combining with *–īre* (*dis-pigrēscĕre* > despereissir, *evanēscĕre* > envanezir[1]), produced an ending –eissir –ezir –zir, which was used in forming some new verbs: enfolezir[2] < fol, envelhezir < velh, envelzir < vil, esclarzir < clar, escürzir < escür oscür, espaorzir < paor. The *–āsc–* and *–ōsc–* types appear only in such old verbs as *irāscĕre* > iráisser, *co(g)nōscĕre* > conoisser.[3]

139. New verbs were formed, in late Vulgar Latin and in Provençal, only in the first and fourth conjugations. The commonest suffixes were *–āre*, *–iāre*, *–icāre*, *idiāre* (< ίζειν: §57, Z), *–īre*: **oblītāre* > oblidar, **altiāre* > aussar, **carricāre* > cargar, **werridiāre* > guerreiar, **abbellīre* > abelir. Germanic verbs generally went into the first conjugation, except those in *–jan*, most of which entered the fourth: *roubôn* > raubar (also raubir), *wîtan* > guidar; *furbjan* > forbir, *raustjan* > raustir.

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[1] *Esvanuir* seems to come from the perfect, *evanuī*.

[2] *Enfolhetir* shows the influence of *follet*.

[3] See K. Sittl in *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, I, 465.

FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN INFLECTION.

140. The Latin perfect passive took the sense of a present; *amātus est*, for instance, under the influence of such phrases as *carus est*, came to mean 'he *is* loved'. This led to the establishment of an entire passive inflection made up of the perfect participle and the parts of the verb *ĕsse*; and the old passive forms were gradually abandoned, leaving no trace (save the perfect participle and possibly the gerundive) in the Romance languages. So the passive is constructed in Provençal as in French: ẹs amatz, ẹra amatz, fọ amatz, será amatz, etc.; the participle regularly agrees with the subject in gender and number. Latin deponent verbs became active: *mŏri* > morir, *sĕqui* > seguir.

141. (1) Such phrases as *ĭd habeo factum* shifted their meaning from 'I have it done', etc., to 'I have done it', etc. The Latin perfect came to be restricted to its aorist sense, and the perfect was expressed by compounds of *habēre* with the perfect participle. In the Romance languages all compound tenses were eventually formed in this way: ai cantat, avia cantat, aurai cantat, etc. In Provençal the auxiliary is sometimes ẹsser, instead of avẹr, if the main verb is reflexive, passive, or neuter; ẹsser is particularly common with neuter verbs of motion: sọi vengütz.[1] A participle used with avẹr may agree in gender and number with the direct object, if there is one: ai cantat *or* cantada la cansọ.

(2) The Latin perfect indicative continued to be used as an aorist, and is the source of the preterit in Provençal, as in

[1] For *ai estat* we sometimes find *soi agutz*. The confusion arises perhaps from the use of both *es* and *a* in the sense of 'there is': hence *es estat* = *a agut*; and by a mixture of the two, *es agut*. Cf. L. Gauchat, *Sono avuto*, in *Scritti vari di filologia* (dedicated to E. Monaci), 1901, p. 61.

the other Romance languages: *vīdī* > vi, 'I saw'. The pluperfect indicative survived in some regions; in Provençal it is used with the sense of a conditional: *fŭĕrat* > fọra, 'he would be'. The future perfect indicative and the perfect subjunctive did not remain in Provençal: *amavĕro* = aurai amat, *amavĕrim* = aia amat. The pluperfect subjunctive assumed the functions of the imperfect, which disappeared from nearly every part of the Romance territory: *audīssem* (for *audīrem*) > auzis. The perfect infinitive left no trace: *audīsse* = avẹr auzit.

142. The Latin future, which was not uniform in the four conjugations, and, in the third and fourth, was liable to confusion with the present subjunctive, was gradually replaced by various periphrastic constructions: instead of *faciam* people said *factūrus sum*, *dēbeo facĕre*, *vŏlo facĕre*, *habeo* (*ad*) *facĕre*, etc. The construction that prevailed in the greater part of the Empire was *facĕre habeo*, a combination of the infinitive with the present indicative of *habēre*. The verb *ĕsse* was the only one that ultimately retained the old future beside the new: Pr. ẹr, ẹrs, ẹr, beside serái serás será; in the plural, only serẹm, serẹtz, serán. The new composite future was occasionally used by Tertullian, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, and became common in Italy by the 6th century.[1]

(2) As an imperfect of the future, there was evolved a combination of the infinitive and the imperfect or perfect indicative. To correspond to *dīcit quod venīre habet*, was constructed *dīxit quŏd venīre habēbat* (or *habuit*); to match *sī pŏssum*, *venīre habeo*, was made *sī potuĭssem*, *venīre habēbam* (or *habuī*). In Gaul, as in most of the Empire, only the imperfect of *habēre* was used for this purpose. Traces of such

[1] Cf. P. Thielmann, *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, II, 48 and 157.

a construction are found as early as the 3d century. This form is generally called the *conditional*, and it existed in Provençal side by side with the conditional described in §141, (2): sería, serías, sería, etc., beside ḍora, ḍoras, ḍora, etc. The Romance languages developed also a perfect conditional: auría agüt = 'I should have had'.

143. (1) The present participle remained in use as an adjective: *fīlias placentes* > filhas plazẹns; cf. § 101, (3). In its verbal function it was replaced by the ablative of the gerund: *vĕnit accŭrrens* > *vĕnit accŭrrendo* > ven acorrẹn. In most Provençal dialects, however, the present participle and the gerund coincided in form (*amantem* and *amando* both > amán), the gerund being distinguished from the participle only by its lack of inflection: see § 76, (2).

(2) The gerund retained only the ablative case, the use of which was considerably extended: see above. In its other cases it was replaced by the infinitive: *artem dīcendī* > *artem dīcĕre* > art de dire. The supine, too, was replaced by the infinitive: *vīsum vĕnit nōs* > *vĕnit nōs vĭdēre* > ven nọs (a) vezẹr.

INFINITIVE, PRESENT PARTICIPLE, AND GERUND.

144. The infinitive endings *–āre*, *–ēre*, *–īre* regularly became –ar, –ẹr, –ir; *–ĕre* became –re or –er: see § 48, (1) and § 52, (1). Ex.: *amāre* > amár, *vĭdēre* > vezẹr, *audīre* > auzir; *tŏllĕre* > tọlre, *nascĕre* > náisser, *dīcere* > dire dízer. For shifts of conjugation, see § 137.

1. The fourth conjugation verbs *enantir*, *gauzir*, *grazir*, *murir*, *servir* sometimes took a final *e* by the analogy of *devire* (< *dīvīdĕre*), *dire*, *rire*. On the other hand, *dire* occasionally lost its *–e* by the analogy of the fourth conjugation. *Lire* for *leire* (< *lĕgĕre*) is probably French, and *lir* is to be explained like *dir*.

2. *Far* beside *faire* doubtless comes from **fare* = *facĕre*: see § 137, (1). *Trar* beside *traire* (< **tragĕre*) follows *far*.

3. *Escriure* (< *scrībĕre*) sometimes became *escrire* through the analogy of *dire*.

4. Some verbs that passed from the second to the third conjugation preserved the old infinitive as a noun: *debēre* > *deure devér*, *placēre* > *plaire plazér*.

145. The endings *–antem –ando*, *–ĕntem –ĕndo* regularly became –an or –ant, –en or –ent: § 76, (2). See § 143, (1). The endings *–iĕntem –iĕndo* lost their i in Vulgar Latin (§ 40, 1), and were thus reduced to *–entem –endo*. Ex.: *amantem amando* > amán (or amánt), *viděntem viděndo* > vezén (or vezént), *creděntem creděndo* > crezén (or crezént); *sapiĕntem sapiĕndo* > **sapĕntem* **sapĕndo* > sabén (or sabént), *partiĕntem partiĕndo* > **partentem* **partendo* > partén (or parténT). Fourth conjugation verbs which adopted the inchoative –sc– (§ 138), generally introduced it into the present participle and the gerund: florir, florissen. Cf. § 155. For the declension of the present participle, see § 101, (3).

PAST PARTICIPLE.

146. The Provençal past participle comes from the Latin perfect participle. It is to be noted that verbs which originally had no perfect participle were obliged to create one in order to form their compound tenses: see § 141, (1). Past participles in Provençal, when inflected, were declined like bel: §§ 102; 102, 1; 103, (1). See § 141, (1).

147. In the first and fourth conjugations the endings were *–ātum* and *–ītum*, which regularly became –at and –it: *cantātum* > cantát, *finītum* > fenít. The first conjugation verbs which had a form in *–ĭtum* discarded it for *–ātum*: *crepāre crĕpĭtum* = crebár crebát. On the other hand, *aperīre* and

operīre preserved their participle in *–ĕrtum*: cubrir (< *cooperīre*), cubẹrt (also cubrít); ubrír (< *aperīre* + *cooperīre*), ubẹrt. By the analogy of these, sufrir (< *sufferre*) and ufrir (< *offĕrre*) have sufẹrt (also sufrít), ufẹrt. Tenẹr tenir keeps its Provençal second conjugation ending, tengüt (see § 148); and venir, following the analogy of tenir, has vengüt.

148. (1) Most Latin verbs of the second and third conjugations had no accented ending, but a few had an ending *–ūtum*, which corresponded very well to the *–ātum* and *–ītum* of the first and fourth: *arguĕre, argūtum*; *consuĕre, consūtum*; *sĕqui, secūtum*; *solvĕre, solūtum*; *volvĕre, volūtum*. This ending was considerably extended in Vulgar Latin, especially to verbs having a perfect in *–ŭī*: *habēre, habŭī, habĭtum* **habūtum*. In Provençal it spread still further: cazẹr, cazẹc, cazegüt. Inasmuch as it was closely associated with the perfect, it came to be attached, more and more frequently, to the stem of that tense.

(2) Of the Provençal verbs of the second and third conjugations, about half adopted the ending -üt. In some the –üt is added to the stem of the infinitive: crezüt, defendüt, escondüt, molüt, perdüt, resemüt, respondüt, rompüt, vendüt, vezüt veüt. Most of the verbs, however, attach the –üt to the stem of the preterit; nasc, nascüt; pasc, pascüt; tems, temsüt; tesc, tescüt; venc, vencüt (from vẹnser); visc, viscüt. A few have both forms: agüt avüt; cazegüt cazüt; vengüt venüt. It is to be noted, in the case of verbs that add –üt to the preterit, that if the third person singular of the preterit ends in a voiceless consonant preceded by a vowel or l or n, that consonant is voiced in the participle: ac, agüt; bẹc, begüt; cazẹc, cazegüt; conọc, conogüt; crẹc, cregüt; dẹc, degüt; elẹc, elegüt; mọc, mogüt; nọc, nogüt; plac, plagüt; plọc, plogüt; pọc, pogüt; remas, remazüt; saup, saubüt; sẹc, següt; tẹnc, ten-

güt; tọlc, tolgüt; valc, valgüt; vẹnc, vengüt (from venir); vọlc, volgüt. Exceptions are ceupüt, saupüt (beside saubüt), and vencüt (from vẹnser): for ceupüt, saupüt, cf. § 65, P, 3; in vencüt the c was perhaps kept to distinguish the word from vengüt (venir).

(3) The other half of the second and third conjugation verbs generally preserved the old participle with no accented ending: ars, cẹing, claus, dich, düit, estreịt, fach, ioinch, mẹs, ọnh, pọst, prẹs, trach, etc. Some of these have also forms in –üt: defẹs defendüt, elig esleịt elegüt, escọs escondüt, mọut molüt, nat nascüt, remas remazüt, rọt rompüt, vis vezüt. A few verbs made up new forms without a stressed ending: conquẹrre, conquẹs conquis; redemer rezemer, redems (rezemüt); sọrger, sọrs; tọlre, tọlt tọut; vezẹr, vist (vis vezüt veüt); vọlvre, vọut. *Mĭttĕre* probably had beside *mĭssum* a form **mīsum* (cf. *mīsī*); hence mẹtre, mẹs mis. By the analogy of this, prendre has beside prẹs a form pris. Ẹstre borrowed estát from estar < *stare*. Escriut, from escriure, is probably influenced by the infinitive; escrich follows dich. So, probably, does elig = esleịt, from elegir eslire eslir.

1. For sọi agütz (= ai estat), which is found not only in some Provençal dialects, but also in southeastern France, French Switzerland, and parts of northern Italy, see § 141, (1), footnote 1.

FUTURE AND NEW CONDITIONAL.

149. For the formation of these parts, see § 142, (1), (2). Ex.: amarái, creisserái, florirái. Verbs of the second conjugation regularly, and verbs of the fourth very often, syncopate the e or i of the infinitive: remanrái, volrás; partrái, venría. Third conjugation infinitives with final e drop this e before the ending; those in –er keep the e: vẹndre, vendrái; náisser, naisserái. First conjugation infinitives regularly keep the a

(§ 45), but in a few texts (especially the *Girart* and the *Rasos de trobar*) the a is changed to e: cantarái, sonaría, trobarẹm; blasmerán, comterá.

1. *Esser* keeps the old future forms *er, ers, er,* beside *serái, serás, será* (*serém, serétz, serán*).

150. For the phonetic changes exemplified in a*u*ría, de*u*rái, mo*u*rá; pla*i*ría; ca*i*rá, ve*i*rái; val*d*rái; reman*d*rém, ten*d*ría; po*i*ría, see § 70, *β*r, C'r, Dr, Lr, Nr, Tr. Anar (<*annāre*) has beside anarái a form irái from ir (<*īre*). Ẹsser drops its first syllable (serái), perhaps through elision (tu 'sserás, etc.), perhaps in accordance with the general principle stated in § 19. Faire far always makes its future and conditional from the latter form (farái). Saber has beside sabrái a form saubrái, due no doubt to the combined influence of aurái and the preterit saup<*sapuit*. Vezer, following the analogy of beurái, deurái, viurái, has veurái beside the regular veirái.

151. The composite nature of the future and conditional was still sufficiently felt, in the literary period, to admit of the separation of the component parts: amar vos ái, dar n'ẹtz, donar lo t'ái, tornar nos ẹm, tornar s'en ía.

FUTURE ENDINGS.

152. For the 1st pers. sg., the Provençal verb used the form **ayo*>ai (§ 73, *β*y); for the 2d and 3d pers. sg. and the 3d pers. pl., the forms **has*>as, **hat*>a (§ 82, T), **hant* **haunt*>an aun (§ 83, Nt): see § 137, (1). In the 1st and 2d pers. pl., *habēmu'* (§ 82, S, 2), *habētis* naturally gave avẹm, avẹtz (§ 64); but inasmuch as the other four terminations were monosyllabic, the av– was dropped when avẹm, avẹtz came to be understood merely as future endings. The future is, therefore, inflected as follows:—

cantar–ái	cantar–ẹm
cantar–ás	cantar–ẹtz, –ẹs, –ẹt
cantar–á	cantar–án, –ánt, –áun, –áu

1. In Gascony and Languedoc we find –ẹi for –ai: see §§23, 2; 162, (4). In Gascon and in the modern dialects of some other regions –am is used for ẹm. In some dialects of Béarn, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, –ẹm becomes –ẹn: cf. § 65, M, 1; also § 167, 2.

CONDITIONAL ENDINGS.

153. *Habēbam* > aβẹβa > (probably through dissimilation: § 87, β) aβẹa > avía (§ 26); so avías, avía, aviám, aviátz, avían. But inasmuch as the conditional was formed in imitation of the future, and none of the future forms retained the av–, the conditional endings were reduced to –ía, –ías, –ía, –iám, –iátz, –ían. Some dialects, which substituted –on for –an, introduced –íon into the conditional: § 169. The conditional is, therefore, inflected as follows:—

cantar–ía	cantar–iám
cantar–ías	cantar–iátz, –iás, –iát
cantar–ía	cantar–ían, –íon, –ío

1. In verse these endings are sometimes counted as monosyllabic: poiri͡a. Guiraut Riquier uses –íatz for –iátz. In some dialects of Béarn, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, –iám becomes –ián: cf. § 65, M, 1; also § 167, 2.

PRESENT.

154. The personal endings will be discussed separately in §§ 164–169.

155. The Provençal present indicative and subjunctive come, in the main, directly from the corresponding parts of the Latin verb:—

amo > am	*amāmu'* > amám	*faciam* > fassa	*faciāmu'* > fassám
amas > amas	*amātis* > amátz	*facias* > fassas	*faciātis* > fassátz
amat > ama	*amant* > áman	*faciat* > fassa	*faciant* > fássan

In the 4th conjugation, however, most verbs have adopted the originally inchoative –sc– (§ 138) and incorporated it into the inflection of the present, except in the 1st and 2d pers. pl. of the indicative:—

florīsco	> florísc	*florēmu'*	> floręm[1]
florīscis	> floris florísses	*florētis*	> floręts[1]
florīscit	> floris	*florīscunt*	> floríscon
florīscam	> florísca	*floriscāmu'*	> floriscám
florīscas	> floríscas	*floriscātis*	> floriscáts
florīscat	> florísca	*florīscant*	> floríscan

We occasionally find such forms as florisșem, florisșets, and florám, florátz.

1. The s coming from sc' was of course originally palatal; it is sometimes written *sh*. The sc of the 1st pers. sg., the 3d pers. pl., and the whole pres. subjunctive was replaced, in some dialects, by s or sh: floris florish, florisson florishon, florissa florisha.

156. Of the Latin imperative forms, only the present active, 2d pers. sg. and pl., remained in use. The Provençal verb kept the sg., but substituted for the pl. the 2d pers. pl. of the present indicative:—

ama	> ama	*tĕne*	> ten	*crēde*	> cre
amāte amātis	> amátz	*tenēte tenētis*	> tenętz	*crēdĭte* *crēdĭtis*[2]	> crezętz
partī	> part			*fīnīsce*	> finís
partīte partītis	> partętz[2]			*finīte finītis*	> finętz[2]

In negative commands the present subjunctive is generally used instead of the plural imperative, and sometimes the infinitive is employed instead of sg. or pl. The verbs auzir, aveṛ, dire, ęsser, sabeṛ, vezeṛ, voleṛ regularly took their imperative forms from the present subjunctive: áuias, digátz, veiátz, etc.

[1] For the accented vowels in these forms, see §§ 167, 168.

[2] See § 168.

1 *Fait* < *facĭte* (beside *faitz*) seems to come directly from the Latin form.

2. Before *vos* the pl. drops final *-tz* (or *-t*?): *departe vos, vene vos. Ve vos* becomes *veus*; a fusion of *ve vos* and *ec* < *eccum* results in *vecvos*.

DOUBLE STEMS.

157. Differences in accentuation and in the environment of vowels or consonants regularly developed different stems in different parts of some verbs. For instance, *ádjūtâre* > aidar (§ 45), while *adjútat* > aiüda.

158. Sometimes, as above, an intertonic vowel disappeared: *mándūcâre* > maniar, *mandūco* > *mandüc manüc; **parabolâre* **páraulâre* > parlar, **parabŏlat* **paraulat* > paraula. In such cases the shortened stem usually prevailed: mania, parla. But in *adjutare* the longer one was preferred: aiüdar.

159. (1) A vowel which breaks in one part of a verb may be unstressed, and therefore remain unbroken, in another part: *probâre* > proar, *prŏbat* > prueva,[3] **sequīre* > seguir, **sĕquit* > siẹc.[4] In such cases the phonetic development is generally undisturbed.

(2) A vowel which breaks in one part of a verb may, with different environment, remain unbroken even in another part in which it is stressed: **volêre* > volẹr, **vŏleo* > vuelh, **vŏlet* > vọl. If the breaking occurs in the 1st pers. sg., the phonetic development is regularly undisturbed; if it occurs in the 2d and 3d pers. sg., it is generally carried into the other forms in which the vowel is stressed: *cŏllĭgit* > cuẹlh, hence cuẹlh = *collĭgo*; *ĕxit* > ieis, hence iẹsc, iẹscon, iẹsca.

160. A consonant may be followed by e̯ or i̯, and so pala-

[3] See § 37. [4] See § 30.

talized, in one part of the verb, and not in another: **cadeo* > chai, **cadēmu'* > chazẹm; *dēbeo* > dẹch dẹi (§ 73, βy), *dēbet* > dẹu; *faciat* > fassa, *facĕre* > faire; *fŭgio* > füi, *fugĕre* > fugir; *jaceam* > iassa, *jacēre* > iazẹr[1]; *placeāmu'* > plassám, *placēmu'* > plazẹm; *sapiam* > sapcha, *sapit* > sap; *tĕneo* > tenh, *tĕnet* > ten; *valeo* > valh, *vales* > vals; *vĕniat* > venha, *venīre* > venir; *vĭdeam* > vẹia, *vidētis* > vezẹtz; **vŏleo* > vuẹlh, **vŏlet* > vọl. Verbs in *–eo* generally keep this distinction; but we find mọva, somóna, tẹma = *mŏveam*, *submŏneam*, *tĭmeam*. Most verbs in *–io*, on the other hand, dropped the i in Vulgar Latin: *partio* **parto* > part, *partiunt* **partunt* > parton, *partiam* **partam* > parta; sen, senton, senta; sierf, siẹrvon, siẹrva; etc. A few verbs show forms both with and without the ẹ or i: *audio* > auch (*audiam* > auia), **audo* > au; *crēdo* > crẹ, **crēdeo* > crẹi[2]; *vĭdeo* > vẹi[2], **vĭdo* > vẹ.

161. Verbs in –ng– naturally developed a palatal consonant before e or i (§ 73, Ng′), but not before other vowels: *cĭngĕre* > cẹnher, *cĭngo* > cẹnc, *cĭngit* > cẹnh, *cĭngam* > cẹnga; so fẹnher, ọnher, plánher, pọnher, etc. The palatal was carried by analogy into the parts that were originally without it: hence the double forms cẹnc cẹnh, cẹngon cẹnhon, cẹnga cẹnha, etc. These double forms led tener, venir to adopt tenc, venc, tenga, venga, beside the regular tenh, venh, tenha, venha. Such forms as these, supported by dẹrc < *de–ērĭgo*, dic < *dīco*, prẹc < *prĕco*, sẹc < **sequo*, trac < **trago*, etc., afforded a starting-point for an ending –c, adopted by some other verbs in the 1st pers. sg. of the present indicative: *pĕrdo* < pẹrt pẹrc, *pr(eh)ĕndo* > pren prenc, *remaneo* > remanh remanc, etc.

[1] Also, by analogy, *iassér*.

[2] Raimon Vidal says that *crei*, *vei* are the proper forms for the 1st pers. sg. of the pres. indicative.

PECULIAR FORMS.

162. The following verbs have individual peculiarities that call for special mention:—

(1) **Anar** (<*annāre*), 'to go', takes most of its present from *vadĕre*: indicative, *vau vauc* (analogy of *estau estauc*), *vas*, *va vai* (analogy of *fai*), *anám*, *anátz*, *van vaun* (analogy of *estan estaun*); subjunctive, *an* or *vaza* (<*vadam*) *vaia* (analogy of *vai* and of *traia*), *vaga* (analogy of *traga*), etc.; imperative, *vai* (analogy of *fai*), *anátz*.

(2) **Aucire** (<*occīdĕre*: § 43) has in the pres. indicative 3d sg. *auci* (<*occīdit*) and *aucis* (analogy of *aucizém*, *aucizétz*). Cf. *auzir*, *caire*, *rire*, *traire*, *vezér*. These forms were doubtless helped by the analogy of *ditz* (<*dīcit*), *diütz*, *fatz*, *iatz*, *letz* (<*lĭcet*), *platz*, *tatz*.

(3) **Auzir** (<*audīre*) has in the pres. indicative 3d sg. *au* (<*audit*) and *aus* (analogy of *auzém*, *auzétz*). Cf. *aucire*, *caire*, *rire*, *traire*, *vezér*. See also § 160.

(4) **Aver** (<*habēre*) has in the pres. indicative: *ai* (<*habeo*: § 73, βγ), *as*, *a*, *avém*, *avétz* (see §§ 167, 168), *an aun*; see § 137, (1). There is no trace of **ho*. Instead of *ai*, the dialects of Aude, Tarn, Tarn et Garonne, and Haute-Garonne have *ei* (cf. *Gram.*, II, p. 304), which probably developed first in the future (§ 152, 1) through the analogy of the preterit ending *-ei* which took the place of *-ai*: *amāvi* **amai* > **amai amei* (§ 175), then *amarai* > *amarei*, then *ai* > *ei*. The pres. subjunctive is *aia* (<*habeam*: § 73, βγ). For the imperative, see § 156.

(5) **Caire cazér** (<*cadĕre* **cadēre*) has in the pres. indicative 3d sg. *ca* (<*cadit*) *cai* (analogy of *brai* < **bragit*, *fai*, *trai* < **tragit*, *vai*) *cas* (analogy of *cazém*, *cazétz*: cf. *aucire*, *auzir*, *rire*, *traire*, *vezér*).

(6) **Conóisser** (<*cognōscĕre*) has in the pres. indicative 1st sg. *conosc* (<*cognōsco*) and *conóis* (analogy of 2d and 3d sg., *conóisses*, *conóis*).

(7) **Creire** (<*crēdĕre*): pres. subjunctive *creza* (<*crēdam*) and *crega* (analogy of *diga*, *prega*, *sega*, *traga*). See also § 160.

(8) **Créisser** (<*crēscĕre*): pres. subjunctive *cresca* (<*crēscam*) and *crega* (analogy of *diga*, *prega*, *sega*, *traga*, and of the imperfect subjunctive *cregués*).

(9) **Dar** (<*dare*): *dau* (<**dao*), *daun* (<**daunt*); see § 137, (1).

(10) **Destruire** (<**destrūgĕre* = *destruĕre*): analogy of *agĕre*, *tĕgĕre*, etc. Cf. *traire*. **Destrūgit* > *destrüi*.

(11) **Dever** (< *debēre*) has in the pres. indicative 1st sg., beside *dech dei* (§ 160), *dec* (analogy of *dic*, *prec*, *sec*, *trac*, and perhaps of the preterit *dec*).

(12) **Dire** (< *dīcĕre*): *dic* (< *dīco*) *diu* (cf. § 51, 3; § 65, G, 1); *ditz* (< *dīcit*) *di* (analogy of *fai*, *trai*, and of imperative *di* < *dīc*); *dizon* (analogy of *ditz*, *dizém*, *dizétz*); *diga dia* (both < *dīcam*: § 65, G). For the imperative, see § 156.

(13) **Düire** (< *dūcĕre*): *dütz* (< *dūcit*) *düi* (analogy of *destrüi*, *traï*).

(14) **Eissir** (< *exīre*): *iesc*, *iescon*, *iesca*, analogy of *conosc*, *florisc*, etc.; for vowel, see § 159, (2).

(15) **Ésser estre** (< **ĕssĕre* = *ĕsse*). Pres. indicative: *sŭm* > ṣọn ṣọ (§ 82, M), then, by the analogy of *ai* and *füi*, ṣọi süi; *ĕs* became ẹst ieṣt, perhaps through *ĕs tu* > ẹs–t–u > ẹst–tü, supported by the analogy of the preterit ending of the 2d sg. (vọs vendẹtz, tü vendẹst or vendieṣt, so, to match vọs ẹtz, a form tü ẹst or ieṣt); *ĕst* became ẹs, probably through such combinations as quẹ's (understood as qu'ẹs); *sĭmu'*, which existed in Latin beside *sŭmus* (*Rom.*, XXI, 347), gave sẹm, while from *ĕstis* there was constructed an **ĕsmus* > ẹsmes (rare), and from ẹtz a form ẹm (very common); *ĕstis* > ẹstz ẹtz (§ 78, 2); *sŭnt* > ṣọn ṣọ (§ 83, Nt). Pres. subjunctive: *sĭm*, *sīs*, etc., were replaced in V. L. by **sĭam*, **sĭas*, etc. (on the analogy of *fiam*, *faciam*, etc.), which gave sía sías sía siám siátz, sían síon; we find also sẹia, etc., formed apparently on *deia*, *veia*. Imperative borrowed from subjunctive.

(16) **Estar** (< *stare*). Pres. indicative: *estáu* (< **stao*) *estáuc* (§ 161); *estás* (< *stas*); *está* (< *stat*) *estái* (analogy of *fai*, *traï*); *estám* (< *stamu'*); *estátz* (< *statis*) *estáitz* (after *faitz*); *están* (< *stant*) *estáun* (< **staunt*); see § 137, (1). Pres. subjunctive: *estía*, etc., *estéia*, etc., patterned on *sia*, *seia*; also *estéi*, perhaps a cross between *esteia* and **esté* < *stem*. Imperative: *está*, *estáitz*.

(17) **Faire far** (< *facĕre* **fare*): § 137, (1). Pres. indicative: *fatz* (< *facio*) *fau* (analogy of *dau*, *estau*) *fac fauc* (§ 161); *fas* (< **fas*); *fatz* (< *facit*) *fa* (< **fat*) *fai* (influence of *faire*, *faim*, *faitz*, and of *traï*); *faim* (< *facĭmu'*: § 167, 1) *fam* (< **famu'*) *fazém* (see *fazétz*); *faitz* (< *facĭtis*) *fatz* (< **fatis*) *fazétz* (analogy of regular verbs, *crezétz*, etc.); *fan* (< **fant*) *faun* (analogy of *daun*, *estaun*). Pres. subjunctive: *faça fassa*, etc. (< *faciam*, etc.). Imperative: *fai* (< *fac*); *fatz faitz* (borrowed from indicative) *fait* (< *facĭte*).

(18) **Iazér** (< *jacēre*), also *iassér* (influence of *ias* < *iatz* < *jacet*, and of

iassa?): *iatz* (<*jacet*) *iai* (analogy of *fai, trai*); *iassa* (<*jaceam*) *iaia* (analogy of *traia, vaia*).

(19) **Movér móure** (<*movēre* **mŏvĕre*): *mova* (<**mŏvam* = *mŏveam*) *moga* (analogy of *traga*).

(20) **Partir** (<*partīre*): *part* (<**parto* = *partio*) *parc* (§ 161); so *parta parga.*

(21) **Perdre** (<*pĕrdĕre*): *pert perc, perda perga*; see § 161.

(22) **Plazér plaire** (<*placēre* **placĕre*): *platz* (<*placet*) *plai* (analogy of *fai, trai*); *plassa* (<*placeam*) *plaia* (analogy of *traia, vaia*).

(23) **Podér** (<**potēre* = *pŏsse*): see § 137, (1). Pres. indicative: *posc* (<*pŏssum* influenced by *cognōsco*) *puosc puesc* (analogy of *puoc puec* < *pŏtui*), *puecs* (? < **pots* < **pŏtsum* + *puesc*), *pois* (< **pŏsseo*); *potz* (<*pŏtes*); *pot* (< **pŏtet* = *pŏtest*); *podém* (< **potēmu'*); *podétz* (< **potētis*); *póden* (< **potent*) *pódon, pon* (analogy of *potz, pot*, and *son* < *sŭnt*). Pres. subjunctive: *posca puosca puesca* (like *posc puosc puesc*), etc.; *poissa* (< **pŏsseam*), etc.

(24) **Prendre** (*prĕnděre* = *prehĕnděre*) **penre** (see § 71, end): *pren* (<*prĕndo*) *prenh* (analogy of *tenh, venh*) *prenc* (§ 161); so *prenda prenha prenga.*

(25) **Rire** (< **rīděre*): *ri* (<*rīdet*) *ritz* (analogy of *rizém, rizétz*: cf. *aucire, auzir, caire, traire, vezér*); *ria* (<*rīdeam?*).

(26) **Sabér** (< **sapēre*): see § 137, 1. Pres. indicative: *sai sei* (analogy of *ai ei* from *avér*); *saps*; *sap*; *sabém* (< **sapēmu'*); *sabétz* (< **sapētis*); *sáben* (< **sapent*) *sábon.* Pres. subjunctive: *sapcha* (<*sapiam*). Imperative from subjunctive.

(27) **Tazér taire** (<*tacēre* **tacĕre*): *tatz* (<*tacet*) *tai* (analogy of *taire* and of *fai, trai*).

(28) **Tenér** (<*tenēre*): *tenh* (<*tĕneo*) *tenc* (§ 161); so *tenha tenga.*

(29) **Traire** (< **tragĕre*, perhaps also **tracĕre*, = *trahĕre*): *trac* (< **tragо* or **traco*) *trai* (§ 63, 6)[1]; *trai* (< **tragit*) *tra* (analogy of *da, esta, fa, va*) *tratz* (< **tracit?*: cf. *aucire, auzir, caire, rire, vezér*); *trázon* (analogy of *tratz*); *traga traia* (both < **tragam*).

(30) **Vezér** (<*vidēre*): *vei* (<*vĭdeo*) *vec* (§ 161); *ve* (<*vĭdet*) *ves* (analogy of *vezém, vezétz*: cf. *aucire, auzir, caire, rire, traire*). Imperative from subjunctive.

[1] According to Raimon Vidal, *trac* is the only correct form.

(31) Volér (< *volēre = vělle): see § 137, (1). Pres. indicative: *vuelh* (< *vŏleo); *vols* (< *vŏles); *vol* (< *vŏlet); *volém* (< *volēmu')[1]; *volétz* (< *volētis); *vólon* (< *vŏlent). Pres. subjunctive: *vuelha* (< *vŏleam), *vuelhas, vuelha, vulhám, vulhátz, vuelhan.* Imperative from subjunctive.

163. In verse the present subjunctive ending –ia sometimes counts as one syllable: si͡atz. Cf. § 153, 1.

PERSONAL ENDINGS[2].

164. (1) In the **first person singular** final *–o* and *–em* regularly disappeared: *amo* > am, *amem* > am. When, however, the *–o* or *–em* was preceded by a consonant group requiring a supporting vowel (§ 52), the ending was regularly retained as –e: *dŭbĭto* > dọpte, *sŭffĕro* > suffre, *trĕmŭlem* > tremble.

Through the analogy of ai, crẹi, dẹi, sọi, vẹi, and the 1st pers. sg. of the preterit, this –e was in the indicative generally changed at an early date to –i: **cŏpĕro* > cọbre cọbri, **opĕro* > ọbre ọbri; so *ĭmpleo* **ĭmplo* > ompli. This –i (occasionally –e) was then taken as a distinctive ending of the 1st pers. sg., and was added to many verbs that needed no supporting vowel: auzir, au auze; azorar, azọr azọri; cantar, can canti; cọrre, cọr cọrri; mẹtre, mẹt mẹti; prezar, prẹtz prẹzi; remirar, remir remire remiri; respondre, respon respondi; sentir, sen senti; vẹndre, vẹn vẹndi.

In the subjunctive, when a final vowel was required, –e was usually kept; it was also extended to some verbs that did not need it: acabe, dọne, mire, plọre. Very rarely an unnecessary –i was added instead of –e: laissar, lais laissi.

(2) The ending *–am* regularly gave –a: *audiam* > auia.

[1] *Volemus* occurs repeatedly in 7th century Latin.

[2] Cf. O. Schmidt, *Ueber die Endungen des Præsens im Altprovenzalischen*, 1887.

165. In the **second person singular** final *–as* regularly remained, and *–ēs* and *ĭs* became –s (or, when a supporting vowel was required, –es): *amas* > amas; *valēs* > vals, *sapĭs* > saps, *partīs* > partz; *dŭbĭtēs* > doptes. Cf. § 82, S. Sometimes, especially in late texts, –s is expanded into –es: canz cantes, partz partes, saps sabes, vals vales; so floris florisses, etc.

Final *–a* remained, and *–ĕ* and *–ī* fell: *ama* > ama, *tĕne* > ten, *crēde* > cre̥, *partī* > part.

166. In the **third person singular** final *–at* became –a, *–ĕt* and *–ĭt* fell (but remained as –e when a supporting vowel was needed): *amat* > ama, *amet* > am, *tĕnet* > ten te, *vĕnit* > ven ve; *trĕmŭlet* > tremble. Cf. § 82, T.

167. In the **first person plural** the final *–s* disappeared early, *s* being perhaps regarded as a distinctively second person ending[1]. The rare form e̥smes = *sŭmus* is the only one that retains the *s*: cf. § 162, (15).

Then *–āmu'*, *–ēmu'* gave regularly –am, –e̥m: *cantāmus* > cantám, *habēmus* > ave̥m. Likewise *–ĭmu'*, through the analogy of *–āmu'*, *–ēmu'*, came to take the accent on its penult, and then regularly developed into –e̥m: *crēdĭmus* **credímu'* > crezem. This –e̥m of the second and third conjugations passed into the fourth, and entirely displaced the –im that would have been the regular representative of *–īmu'*: *partīmus* > *partím parte̥m.

1. In *faim* < *facĭmu'* the old accentuation apparently survives: cf. § 52, (4), 1.

2. In some dialects of Béarn, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, *–m* apparently becomes *–n*: *devén*, *havén*, *volén*; so *aurián*, *trobarén*, *segrián* (cf. § 152, 1; § 153, 1). Cf. § 65, M, 1.

[1] The loss of *–s* is not confined to the Provençal territory: it occurs also in western France, Catalonia, and the Engadine.

168. In the **second person plural** *–ātis* regularly gave –atz: *amātis* > amatz, *audiātis* > auiatz. The regular form from *–ētis* is –ẹtz, which we find kept in the future (veirẹtz) and in the present subjunctive (cantẹtz); in the present indicative it was replaced by –ẹtz, probably through the analogy of ẹtz < *ĕstis*: *habētis* > avẹtz avẹtz, **potētis* > podẹtz podẹtz, so sezẹtz, valẹtz, etc.; the rare avẹtz and podẹtz are the only forms that preserve ẹ. The ending *–ītis*, taking the accent on its penult (cf. § 167), became *–ẹtz, then –ẹtz: *crēdĭtis* > crezẹtz. This –ẹtz also displaced the –itz that would have been regular in the fourth conjugation: *partītis* > partẹtz.

The final –tz was reduced, in some of the principal dialects, to –s (§ 64): cantás, sezẹs, partẹs. In other dialects it was replaced very early by –t (§ 64): auiát, avẹt, passát, podẹt; so partirẹt, etc.

1. In *faitz* < *facĭtis* the old accentuation apparently survives.

169. In the **third person plural** *–ant*, *–ent*, *–unt* gave respectively –an –ant, –en, –on –o (§ 83, Nt): *amant* > áman ámant, *audiant* > áuian áuiant; *valent* > válen, *ament* > ámen; *vēndunt* > vẹndon vẹndo. In Languedoc –an was replaced by –on or –o in the 13th century; in other regions, later: ámon, chanto ls, coménso l. The *Boeci* has –en for –an: amen, monten. In Gascony and some of the Limousin territory –en partially displaced –on (floríssen, párten, vẹnden), elsewhere –on or –o displaced –en (válon).

IMPERFECT INDICATIVE.

170. In the first conjugation *–abam* regularly gave *–ava*. In the second, through the analogy of *aβéa* < *habēbam* (§ 153), *–ēbam* came to be replaced, in southern Gaul, by *–éa*, which regularly changed to *–ía* (§ 26). In the third, *–iēbam* regu-

larly became *–ēbam* (§ 40, 1); and this and original *–ēbam* were replaced by the *–éa* > *–ía* of the second conjugation. In the fourth, *–ībam*, which had in the accented syllable the characteristic vowel of the conjugation, crowded out *–iēbam*; *–ībam* then lost its *β* through the analogy of the second and third conjugations. We have, then, in Provençal, only two sets of endings: *–áva*, etc., in the first conjugation; *–ía*, etc., in the second, third, and fourth.

amáva	vezía	fazía	partía
amávas	vezías	fazías	partías
amáva	vezía	fazía	partía
amavám	veziám	faziám	partiám
amavátz	veziátz	faziátz	partiátz
amávan	vezían	fazían	partían

1. In poetry *ia* is sometimes counted as one syllable: *avi͡an*, *devi͡an*.

2. For some subsequent developments of western dialects, see Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 326.

3. For the personal endings, see §§ 164–169.

4. *Esser* has: ęra, ęras, ęra, erám, erátz erás, ęran ęron ęro.

PRETERIT, OLD CONDITIONAL, AND IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

171. These parts are all formed from the same stem, that of the Latin perfect: cf. § 141, (2). Ex.: cantęi, cantęra, cantęs; vendęi, vendęra, vendęs; partí, partíra, partís; vi, vira, vis; dęc, dęgra, dęgues.

PRETERIT.

172. Preterits which stress the ending throughout are called *weak*; those which do not stress the ending throughout are called *strong*: part*í*, part*íst*, part*í*, part*ím*, part*ítz*, part*íron* is weak; saup, saub*ést*, saup, saub*ém*, saub*étz*, sáub*ron* is strong. Verbs of the first and fourth conjugations regularly

have weak preterits (amẹi, finí). Verbs of the second and third, with very few exceptions, originally had strong preterits (*placuī* > plac, *fēcī* > fis): many of them, however, developed weak preterits either in Vulgar Latin or in Provençal (irasquẹi, nasquẹi, tessẹi tesquẹi, visquẹi); some assumed a weak form in –í in the 1st pers. sg. (dis dissí, pris prenguí, remas remanguí, trais traguí: cf. §§ 173, 177); quẹrre, on the other hand, substituted a strong preterit (quis, etc.) for a weak one.

173. (1) Final *–ī*, in the first pers. sg., doubtless remained through the earlier stages of Provençal (*habuī* > águi, *dīxī* > díssi): cf. § 51, (2). Before it fell, it changed an accented ẹ in the preceding syllable to i (*vēnī* **vēnuī* > *vẹngui vinc): cf. § 27; occasionally, however, the ẹ was kept, through the analogy of the other persons (pris prẹs). Sometimes, instead of falling, the –i took the accent (following the analogy of the fourth conjugation) and remained: águi > ac or aguí, díssi > dis or dissí (cf. § 177).

When the –i was immediately preceded by an accented vowel, it regularly formed a diphthong with that vowel, and did not fall (*fuī* > füi): cf. § 51, (3); but –íi was simplified to –i (*partīvī partīī* > partí).

Before enclitic l, –ei –iei were often reduced to –e –ie: cantie l.

(2) In the 2d pers. sg., *–stī* became –st, a preceding ẹ being changed to i (§ 27): *partīstī* > partíst, *debuīstī* > deguíst; sometimes, through the analogy of the 2d pers. pl., ẹ remains (venguẹst: cf. § 27, 2). Occasionally the final –t disappears: aniẹst aniẹs, fezíst fezís.

(3) The *–t* of the 3d pers. sg. was lost in strong preterits: *placuit* > plac, *vīdit* > vi. In weak preterits, it was retained

by most dialects after é, and by many after í: donẹt donẹ, vendẹt vendẹ; partí partít. Cf. § 82, T.

(4) In the 1st pers. pl., *–mus –mu'* (see § 167) was reduced to –m: *vīdĭmu'* > vim.

(5) The *–stis* of the 2d pers. pl. regularly became –tz (§ 78, 2), later in many dialects –s (§ 64): *debuĭstis* > deguẹtz degueṣ.

(6) The *–runt* of the 3d pers. pl. regularly gave –ron or –ro (§ 83, Nt): *partīrunt* > partíron partíro, *vīdĕrunt* > viron viro. In some dialects –en is substituted for –on: *fŭĕrunt* > foron foren (cf. § 169).

The *e* before *–runt*, which in classic Latin was usually long, was always short in Vulgar Latin when it was preserved at all: *amavĕrunt* > *amārunt*, *fēcĕrunt*.

WEAK PRETERITS.

174. (1) In the first and fourth conjugations we find in Latin the following endings:—

–āvī	*–āī*	*–āvĭmus*			*–īvī*	*–īī*	*–īvĭmus*		
–āvĭstī	*–āstī*	*–āvĭstis*	*–āstis*		*–īvĭstī*	*–īstī*	*–īvĭstis*	*–īstis*	
–āvit	*–aut*	*–āvēre*	*–āvĕrunt*	*–ārunt*	*–īvit*	*–īit*	*–īt*	*–īvēre*	*–īvĕrunt*	*–īrunt*

The popular speech preferred in every case the shortened form, and generally reduced *–āvĭmus*, *–īvĭmus* to *–āmus*, *–īmus* (in southern Gaul *–āmu'*, *–īṃu'*: § 167), on the analogy of the 2d pers. sg. and pl.

(2) In the second conjugation a few verbs (*delēre*, *flēre*, *nēre*, *olēre*, *–plēre*, *viēre*) had similar endings (*delēvī*, etc.), which were doubtless contracted in like fashion in so far as these words were in common use. Most verbs of this conjugation, however, had strong preterits (*tacēre*, *tacuī*; *vidēre*, *vīdī*; etc.).

(3) The third conjugation had in classic Latin no weak endings corresponding to those of the first, second, and fourth; but the vulgar speech developed a set in the following manner. Compounds of *dare* formed their perfect in *-dĭdī* (*pĕrdĭdī*); this *-dĭdī*, in accordance with the principle set forth in § 16, 3, came to be pronounced -dẹ́dị (*condédi*); and -dẹdi, probably through dissimilation[1], was shortened to -dẹi (**credéi*). With this form as a starting-point, a weak preterit was created on the analogy of those of the other conjugations, the endings being something like -ẹi, ẹsti, -ẹt, -ẹmus -ẹmu', -ẹstis, -ẹrunt. This inflection was probably extended to some verbs outside the *-dĕre* class (**battéi*, etc.?).

175. (1) In Provençal the weak inflection disappeared from the second conjugation, *delēre* and *-plēre* passing into the fourth, and the other weak verbs going out of use.

(2) Verbs of the fourth conjugation (except venir) all took the weak endings -í, -íst, -í, -ím, -ítz, -íron: partí, partíst, partí, partím, partítz, partíron. Irregular verbs either disappeared or became regular (*sensī* = sentí), with the exception of *venīre* > venir (vinc).[2]

(3) The new weak endings of the third conjugation developed into -ẹi, -ẹst, -ẹt, -ém, -ẹtz, -ẹron: vendẹi, vendẹst, vendẹt, vendém, vendẹtz, vendẹron. In the 1st pers. sg. the ẹ often broke (vendịei), and the diphthong was sometimes carried into the 2d pers. sg. (vendịest). These endings were considerably extended in Provençal (cazẹt, etc.), and were occasionally attached to a strong preterit stem (nasquẹt, tesquẹt, venquẹt, visquẹt). Most verbs, however, kept their

[1] Cf. the reduction of *habēbam* to *aβea*: § 153.

[2] *Tenér tenír* really belongs to the second conjugation.

strong preterit (mis, conọc). The *-īvī* perfect disappeared from the third conjugation: *quæsīvit* > **quæsit* > ques.

(4) The first conjugation discarded its own weak endings, and substituted those of the third: cantẹi cantiẹi, cantẹst cantiẹst, cantẹt, cantém, cantẹtz, canteron. This strange phenomenon seems to have originated as follows: *dare*, *dĕdī* > dar, dẹi; from dar the ending -ẹi was readily extended to estar (estẹi); and from these two very common verbs it spread to the whole first conjugation.

Irregular verbs (except *dare*, *stare*) either disappeared or became regular.

1. According to Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 304, Latin *-ai* became by phonetic process -ẹi in Vulgar Latin, and -ẹi or -iẹi in Provençal. There seems to be no evidence to support this theory. Cf. § 23, 2.

2. In the dialects of Béarn and Catalonia the original *a* remains in some parts of the preterit.

176. A final -c, which developed in the strong *-ui* preterits (§ 184), often became attached to the 3d pers. sg. of weak preterits of the fourth conjugation: floríc, fugíc, iauzíc, partíc.[1] It was sometimes extended to other weak preterits: chantẹc, entendẹc, nasquẹc,[2] parẹc.[3] We find also a 3d pers. pl. cazẹgron, etc., and even a 1st pers. sg. ameguí, etc. In some western dialects the final -c was adopted by the whole first conjugation: donẹc, portẹc, etc.

177. Some strong preterits occasionally assumed weak endings:—

(1) In the 1st pers. sg. several verbs in -s sometimes either added an -í or shifted the stress to an originally unaccented

[1] According to Raimon Vidal, this is the regular ending of the 3d pers. sg. of the fourth conjugation.

[2] In *nasquec* the *ui* ending occurs twice.

[3] Beside parẹc, coming perhaps from a V. L. **parēvit* **parēvuit*.

final –i (cf. §§ 172, 173): dis dissí, pris presí, quis quesí, respos respozí. A few verbs in –c did the same: aic aiguí, bẹc beguí, conọc conoguí, saup saubí, vinc venguí, vọlc volguí. An ending –guí being thus established, this syllable was sometimes added to preterits not of the –c class: costrenguí, destrenguí, prenguí, remanguí, restrenguí, traguí.

(2) In the 3d pers. sg. weak endings are rare: ac aguẹt, vẹnc venguẹt.

(3) In the 3d pers. pl. the weak ending is not uncommon in –s preterits: diron dissẹron, düistrent düissẹron, mẹsdren mezẹron, prẹson presẹron, remastrent remazẹron, traissẹron. We probably have to deal here, as in (1), with a shift of accent—*dīxĕrụnt* > *dísseron > dissẹron, etc.: see § 49, (2). The same thing may be true of such a form as aguẹron, beside ágron, from **áβwerunt* = *habuĕrunt*; such a form as visquẹron, on the other hand, is doubtless imitative.

STRONG PRETERITS.

178. (1) The reduplicative perfects were discarded in Vulgar Latin, with the exception of *dĕdi* (and its compounds) and *stĕti*, whose reduplicative character was no longer apparent. *Cecĭdī* became **cadui* or **cadéi*; the rest either disappeared or passed into the *–sī* class: *cucŭrrī* > **cŭrsī*, *momŏrdī* > **mŏrsī*, *pepĕndī* > **pē*(*n*)*sī*, *pupŭgī* > **punsī*, *tetĕndī* > **tē*(*n*)*sī*, *tetĕgī* > **taxī* **tanxī*.

(2) The *–i* perfects were greatly reduced in number in Vulgar Latin. Some disappeared (*ēgī*), some became weak (*fūgī* > **fugīī* > fügí); others passed into the *–sī* or the *–uī* class: *prehĕndī* > **prē*(*n*)*sī* > pris; *bĭbit* > **bĭbuit* > bẹc, *vēnit* > **vēnuit* > vẹnc. In Provençal only three *–ī* verbs remained: *fēcī* > fis, *fuī* > füi, *vīdī* > vi.

(3) Of the *-sī* class (including *-ssī* and *-xī*) over twenty verbs were preserved in Vulgar Latin (*dīxī, excŭssī, mīsī, traxī*, etc.), and about the same number passed into this class from others (*absco(n)sī, *fraxī *sŭrsī*, etc.): cf. (1) and (2) above. In Provençal nearly half the verbs of the second and third conjugations have *-sī* preterits: *rema(n)sī* > remas, **respō(n)sī* > respos[1].

(4) The *-uī* class held its own very well in Vulgar Latin (*placuī*, etc.) and received some additions (*natus sum* > **nacuī, sustŭlī* > **tŏluī, vēnī* > **vēnuī, vīcī* > **vĭncuī, vīxī* > **vīscuī*, etc.)[2]. To this class belonged, in Vulgar Latin (and, according to Meyer-Lübke[3], in classic Latin also), all perfects in *-vī*, this ending being pronounced -wŭī, later -wwi or -βwi: *cognōvī* > **conōvuī* > conoc, *crēvit* > **crēvuit* > crec, *mōvī* > **mŏvuī* > moc. Cf. § 148. In Provençal not far from half the verbs of the second and third conjugations have *-uī* preterits. For a combination af a -c < *-uī* stem with a weak ending, see § 175, (3). For the extension of -c < *-uī* to other conjugations, see § 176.

179. In the 1st pers. pl. the accent was shifted to the ending, to make this form correspond to the 2d pers. sg. and pl.: *fĕcĭmus* > **fĕcĭmu'* > fezem (cf. *fecĭstī* > fezist, *fecĭstis* > fezetz), **prē(n)sĭmus* > **presĭmu'* > prezem, *debŭĭmus* > *debwĭmu'* > deguem. Exceptions are *fŭĭmus* > fom, *vīdĭmus* >

[1] All verbs in *-ndĕre* took the perfect in *-sī*: *ascos, aucis, pris, respos*, etc. *Lĕgĕre* took **lĕxī* > *leis* through the analogy of the p. p. *lĕctum*. So *fĭngĕre* took **fĭxī* > *feis* through *fictum*; *frangĕre, pĭngĕre, tangĕre* did likewise (*frais, peis, tais*); and in Provençal *cénher* < *cĭngĕre, esténher* < *exstĭnguĕre, plánher* < *plangĕre* followed the example of these (*ceis, esteis, plais*): hence all verbs in *-nher* have the preterit in *-s*.

[2] See *Zs.*, XXVIII, 97.

[3] *Gram.*, II, p. 357.

vim; in these verbs the 2d pers. forms also are monosyllabic (füst, fọtz; vist, vitz).

180. We find in some verbs an irregular 3d pers. pl. without –r–, made by adding –on or –en to the 3d pers. sg., the final consonant of which is voiced in all verbs in which it is voiced in the other persons of the plural: (aucire) aucis, aucíson; (plánher) plais, pláisson; (prenre) pres, preson; (remanre) remas, remáson; (venir) venc, venguen; (volẹr) volc, volgon.

1. *Prenre* has *preiron* (beside *preson preseron*), probably through the analogy of *feiron* < *fēcĕrunt*. *Mairon*, from *maner*, is perhaps to be explained in the same way.

181. (1) Through the change of –ẹ– to –i– by the influence of a final –ī, as described in § 173, (1), a distinction was established between the first and the third person singular of some preterits: *crēvī* > cric, *crēvit* > crec; *fēcī* > fis, *fēcit* > fes; **prē(n)sī* > pris, **prē(n)sit* > pres; *tĕnuī* **tĕnuī*[1] > tinc, *tĕnuit* **tĕnuit* > tenc; *vēnī* **vēnuī*[1] > vinc, *vēnit* * *vēnuit* > venc. Metre, also, has mis, mes, which may come from **mĭssī* **mĭssit* (cf. *mĭssum*) = *mīsī*, *mīsit*; or perhaps mis comes from *mīsī* and mes is analogical. Through the analogy of such forms, querre has quis, ques. In the preterit of poder, both *pŏtuī* and *pŏtuit* would regularly have given poc puoc puec (§ 37), but poc was kept for the 3d person, and puoc puec was used for the 1st. The preterit of volẹr differentiates the two persons similarly — vuelc, volc; here the diphthong (perhaps under the influence of puec) is borrowed from the present, where we have **vŏleo* > vuelh, **vŏlet* > vol (§ 37). Aver, likewise, borrows a distinction from the present: aic, ac reproduce the vowels of ai, a; aic + aguí > aiguí.

[1] *Tĕnuī* and *vēnī* influenced each other.

(2) For *–í* as a characteristic of the first person, see § 177, (1).

(3) For *–c* as a distinctive mark of the third person, see § 176.

182. The three **–ī perfects** developed in Provençal as follows: —

(1) *Facĕre* > faire (**fare* > far) has:

fēcī	> fis, fezí	*fēcĭmus* **fēcĭmu'*	> fezẹm
fēcīstī	> fezíst fezís	*fēcīstis*	> fezẹtz fezẹs
fēcit	> fẹtz fẹs	*fēcĕrunt*	> fẹiron fẹiro

1. We do not find, in the 1st pers. sg., as we should expect (§ 65, C'), *fitz* beside *fis*; doubtless the form came early under the influence of *mis*, *pris*, *quis*, etc. For *fezí*, see § 177, (1). There is also a form *fi*, due, perhaps, to the analogy of *vi* < *vīdī*; corresponding to *fi* are 3d pers. sg. *fe*, and pl. *fem*, *fes*, *feron*. A rare *figuí* is evidently made on the model of *aiguí*, etc. In the 3d pers. sg. we find also *fei*, which seems to be patterned after *feiron* or after the present *fai*.

(2) *Esse* (> **ĕssĕre* > ẹsser ẹstre) had originally a long *u* in the perfect. In literary Latin the *u* was shortened, but the popular speech seems to have kept *ū* beside *ŭ*. The Provençal 1st and 2d pers. sg. apparently come from *fūī*, **fūstī* = *fuístī* (although Pr. füi might be taken from *fŭī*), while the other forms presuppose *ŭ*:

fūī	> füi	*fŭĭmus* **fŭmu'*	> fọm
fŭĭstī **fūstī*	> füst füs	*fŭĭstis* **fŭstis*	> fọtz fọs
fŭit	> fọ, fọn, fọnc	*fŭĕrunt* **fŭrunt*	> fọron fọro, fọren

1. A rare *fo* in the 1st pers. sg. seems to be simply borrowed from the 3d. In the 3d pers. sg., *fon* beside *fo* is due to the analogy of *–on –o* in the 3d pers. pl., and, in general, of such double forms as *bon bo*, *mon mo*, *son so*, *ton to*: cf. § 63, (5). *Fonc* shows the influence of *tenc*, *venc*.

(3) *Vidēre* > vezẹr has:

vīdī	> *viði *viđ vi, vic	*vīdĭmus* **vīdĭmu'*	> *viđmu *viim vim
vīdĭstī	> vist vis	*vīdīstis*	> vitz vis
vīdit	> *viđ vi, vit, vic	*vīdĕrunt*	> *viđrun viron viro

1. The 1st pers. sg. *vic* is patterned upon *aic* < *habuī*, *cric* < *crēvi*, etc. The 2d pers. forms are irregular, as we should expect **vezist*, **vezetz*: evidently the 2d pers. followed the analogy of the 1st and 3d. In the 3d pers. sg., *vit* and *vic* follow the model of *partit*, *partic*, etc.: see § 173, (3), and § 176.

183. In the **–sī perfect** the 3d pers. pl. presented difficulties. If the –e– of the penult fell, an s or z and an r were brought together. Most dialects apparently preserved the –e–, and shifted the accent to it (aucizęron, condüisseron, disseron, prezęron, remazęron, traisseron), or else borrowed outright the weak ending (respondęron): cf. § 49, (2), and § 177, (3). Dialects which lost the –e– too early to follow this method, generally suppressed the sibilant (aucíron, diron, męron from mętre, remáron), or omitted the –r– and formed the 3d pers. pl. directly from the 3d pers. sg. (aucízon, pláisson, prezon, remázon: § 180), or else imitated a preterit of another class (mairon from manęr, preiron from prenre, doubtless patterned after feiron < *fēcĕrunt*); some borderland dialects kept the sibilant and the r, and developed a dental between them (düystrent < *dūxĕrunt*, męsdren < *mīsĕrunt* + **mĭssĕrunt*: § 70, Sr, Zr).

As examples of the *–sī* perfect we may take the preterit of dire < *dīcĕre* and penre prenre < *pr(eh)ĕndĕre*: —

(1) *dīxī* > dis, dissí *dīxĭmus* **dīxĭmu'* > dissęm
dīxīstī > dissíst *dīxĭstis* > dissętz disses
dīxit > dis *dīxĕrunt* > disseron, diron diro

(2) **prē(n)sī* > pris, pręs, presí **prē(n)sĭmus* **prēsĭmu'* > presęm
**prē(n)sistī* > presíst **prē(n)sĭstis* > presętz preses
**prē(n)sit* > pręs **prē(n)sĕrunt* > preseron, pręson, [preiron

(3) Escriure < *scrībĕre* has, beside escris < *scrīpsī*, a preterit escrius (cf. p. p. escriut escrit escrich), in which the u is probably due to the influence of the infinitive.

(4) For dissí, presí, quesí, respozí, see § 177, (1). For pris pres, etc., see § 173, (1).

184. In the **-uī perfect** the development depends somewhat upon the consonant preceding the *u*. The treatment of the various cons. + w groups, which was discussed in § 72, may be illustrated by *habuit* > ac[1], *crēvit* **crēvuit* > crec[2]; *nŏcuit* > noc[3]; *sēdit* **sĕduit* > sec, *pŏtuit* > poc; *valuit* > valc[4], *tĕnuit* **tēnuit* > tenc[5], *mĕruit* > merc; *sapuit* > saup[6]: the noteworthy features are the change of *u* to -c (through w, gw, g), the absorption of the preceding consonant unless it be a liquid, a nasal, or a *p*, the preservation of the liquid or nasal, and the metathesis of the *p*.

Aver < *habēre*, poder < **pŏtēre pŏsse*, voler < **vŏlēre vĕlle*, saber < **sapēre sapĕre* will serve as examples (for the accentuation of the 3d pers. pl., see § 16, 2): —

(1) *habuī*	> ac, aguí, aic, aiguí	*habuĭmus* **aβwĭmu'*	> aguem
habuĭstī	> aguist	*habuĭstis*	> aguetz agues
habuit	> ac	*habuĕrunt*	> ágron ágro, aguer̤on

1. For *aguí* (*beguí*, *conoguí*), see § 177, (1). For *aic*, *aiguí*, (*cric*), see § 181, (1). For *aguer̤on* (*visquer̤on*), see § 177, (3).

(2) *pŏtuī*	> poc puoc puec	*potuĭmus* **potwĭmu'*	> poguem
potuĭstī	> poguist	*potuĭstis*	> poguetz pogues
pŏtuit	> poc, pot	*potuĕrunt*	> pogron pogro

1. For *puoc*, see § 181, (1). *Pot* is apparently due to the combined influence of weak preterits and the parts of *poder* in which the dental is preserved.

---

[1] So *bĭbuit* > *bec*, *debuit* > *dec*.

[2] So *cognōvit* > *conoc*, *mōvit* > *moc*.

[3] So * *cŏcuit* > *coc*, *jacuit* > *iac*, * *nascuit* > *nasc*, * *pa(s)cuit* > *pac*, *placuit* > *plac*, *tacuit* > *tac*, * *tescuit* > *tesc*, * *vĭncuit* > *venc*, * *vīscuit* > *visc*.

[4] So *caluit* > *calc*, * *tŏluit* > *tolc*, *vŏluit* > *volc*.

[5] So * *vēnuit* > *venc*.

[6] So *erĭpuit* > *ereup*, *recīpuit* > *receup*.

(3) *vŏluī* > vọlc, vuẹlc, volguí *voluĭmus* **volwĭmu'* > volguẹm
voluĭstī > volguíst *voluĭstis* > volguẹtz volguẹs
vŏluit > vọlc *voluĕrunt* > vọlgron vọlgro

1. For *vuelc* (*tinc*, *vinc*), see § 181, (1); for *volguí* (*venguí*), § 177, (1).

(4) *sapuī* > saup, saubí *sapuĭmus* **sapwĭmu'* > saubẹm
sapuĭstī > saubíst *sapuĭstis* > saubẹtz saubẹs
sapuit > saup *sapuĕrunt* > sáubron sáubro, sáupron

1. For *saubí*, see § 177, (1). For *sáupron* (*sáupra*, *saupés*, *saupút*), see § 65, P, 3; cf. § 148, (2).

OLD CONDITIONAL.

185. The old conditional came from the Latin pluperfect indicative, which had been supplanted in its pluperfect sense by a compound form, and was gradually restricted in its use to the functions of a preterit, a perfect conditional, and a simple conditional: see § 141, (2). In Provençal it had only the conditional meaning; and as the new conditional rendered it superfluous, it fell into disuse (with the exception of ágra and fọra) in the 13th and 14th centuries: see § 142, (2).

186. In the fourth conjugation the old conditional comes from the contracted form of the pluperfect (*audīram* < *audīvĕram*). Weak verbs of the third conjugation constructed a similar form (**vendẹram*). First conjugation verbs started with the contracted pluperfect (*amāram* < *amāvĕram*), but in Provençal substituted ẹ for á, as in the preterit: § 175, (4). The Provençal types of the old conditional of weak verbs are, therefore, represented by: amẹra, vendẹra, auzíra. The inflection is as follows: —

amẹra	amerám	auzíra	auzirám
amẹras	amerátz	auzíras	auzirátz
amẹra	amẹran	auzíra	auzíran

187. Strong verbs of the *-ī* and the *-uī* classes regularly

took their old conditional directly from the Latin pluperfect: *fēcĕram* > fẹira, *fŭĕram* > fọra, *vīdĕram* > vira; *habŭĕram* **áβwĕram* (§ 16, 2) > ágra, *pŏtŭĕram* > pọgra, *vŏlŭĕram* > vọlgra, *sapŭĕram* > sáubra sáupra (§ 65, P, 3). Of course the Latin pluperfect, and therefore the Provençal conditional, followed the shift of the perfect if it changed from one class to another: *vēnī* > **vēnuī*, hence **vēnŭĕram* > vẹngra. The inflection is as follows: —

fọra	forám	ágra	agrám
fọras	forátz forás	ágras	agrátz agrás
fọra	fọran	ágra	ágran

1. *Faire* has *féra* (cf. *feron*) beside *féira*.

2. For *sáupra*, cf. §148, (2), and § 184, (4), 1, and § 192.

3. *Devér* has beside *dégra* a form *déura*, evidently influenced by the new conditional, *deuría*.

4. *Páisser*, *plazér* have beside *págra*, *plágra* the forms *paisséra*, *plazéra*.

188. Strong verbs of the *–sī* class regularly form their old conditional on the same plan as the 3d pers. pl. of the preterit (§ 183): (*dīxĕram*) díra, cf. díron; (**prēsĕram*) prẹira, cf. prẹiron; (*arsĕram*) arsẹra, cf. arsẹron.

189. It will be noted that in all verbs, weak and strong, the old conditional may be constructed from the 3d pers. pl. of the preterit by changing –on to –a.

IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

190. The Provençal imperfect subjunctive came from the Latin pluperfect subjunctive, which in Vulgar Latin assumed the functions of the imperfect and generally displaced it, its own place having been taken by a compound form: see § 141, (2).

191. For weak verbs the basis was the contracted form of the first and fourth conjugations (*amāssem* < *amāvĭssem*, *audīssem* < *audīvĭssem*); weak verbs of third conjugation had a similar analogical form (**vẽndẹssem*). First conjugation verbs substituted ẹ for á, as in the perfect and the old conditional: § 175, (4); § 186. The Provençal types are: amẹs, vendẹs, auzís. The inflection is:

amẹs	amessẹm	auzís	auzissẹm
amẹsses	amessẹtz –ẹs	auzísses	auzissẹtz –ẹs
amẹs	amẹssen –on –o	auzís	auzíssen –on –o

192. Strong verbs regularly made their imperfect directly from the Vulgar Latin form of the pluperfect: *fecĭssem* > fezẹs, *fŭĭssem* **fŭssem* > fọs, *vidĭssem* > vezẹs, *venĭssem* **venuĭssem* > vengues; *dixĭssem* > disses, **pre*(*n*)*sĭssem* > prezẹs; *habuĭssem* > agues, *potuĭssem* > pogues, *voluĭssem* > volgues, *sapuĭssem* > saubẹs saupẹs (§ 65, P, 3). The inflection is: —

fọs	fossẹm	agues	aguessẹm, acsẹm
fọsses	fossẹtz –ẹs	aguesses	aguessẹtz –ẹs, acsẹtz –ẹs
fọs	fọssen –on –o	agues	aguẹssen –on –o

1. The syncopated forms in the 1st and 2d pers. pl. are common to the *–uī* class: *decsém*, *iacsém*, *pocsém*, *saupsém*.

2. In the 3d pers. pl. *–an* sometimes takes the place of *–en* or *–on*: *mezéssan*, *saubéssan*. This ending is doubtless borrowed from the present subjunctive and the old conditional.

3. *Vezér* has *vis* beside *vezés*. From *faire* we find in the 3d pers. pl. *fésson*.

4. *Metre* has *mezés*, due, no doubt, to the analogy of *mes* and of *prezés*.

193. Some dialects have an ending –a, –as, –a, –ám, –átz, an, borrowed from the present subjunctive and the old conditional, but added to the stem of the imperfect subjunctive: chantẹssa, vendẹssa, floríssa; fọssa.

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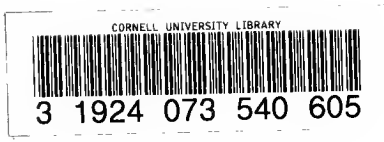
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