BOUGHT WITH
THE GIFT OF
WILLIAM GRAY,
of Boston, Mass.
(Class of 1829).
Jan. 25, 1862.
AN ESSAY
ON THE ORIGIN AND FORMATION OF
THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

CONTAINING AN EXAMINATION OF
M. RAYNOUARD'S THEORY ON THE RELATION
OF THE ITALIAN, SPANISH, PROVENCAL,
AND FRENCH TO THE LATIN.

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OXFORD: D. A. TALBOYS.
MDCCCXXXV.
1862, Jan. 25.
£ 3.11
J. H. Hyde
PREFACE.

The following Essay was originally written with the view of being published in the Cambridge Philological Museum, as a criticism of M. Raynouard's researches into the history and formation of the Romance Languages. The discontinuance of that journal having left me no alternative, but to suppress altogether what I had written, or to print it as a separate work, I resolved after some hesitation to adopt the latter course. I am fully conscious that much still remains to be done for the systematic exhaustion of the subject discussed in it: but as M. Raynouard's writings have now become scarce even in France; as they are rarely met with, and are little known in this country: as moreover a reference to many other books is required which can only be procured in foreign libraries; and as there is no extant work of authority which contains a general view of the history and grammatical structure of the Romance languages, I have thought that the results of my researches would be acceptable to some persons who might be desirous to obtain a connected view of the entire question, without consulting a variety of books and scattered essays, of very different degrees of accuracy and
value, in which alone the desired information can now be found.

The problem, of which a tolerably complete solution is offered in the following pages, is one which cannot fail to interest all who have considered the intimate connexion of the development of languages, as well with the political history of the communities by which they are spoken, as with those refined processes of thought, of which language is at once the exponent and the evidence. In this point of view the origin and progress of the modern dialects of the Latin are marked by peculiarities, which give them a predominant title to attention. Having arisen within a purely historical period, they are free from the elements of uncertainty which embarrass all enquiries into the origin of most other languages; while their descent from the language of the great Roman nation, and their actual diffusion over all the west of continental Europe, invests them with a deep interest in the eyes of all who take a connected view of the ancient and modern condition of these great nations.

On the other hand, the subject presents to the linguist and metaphysician a clear and full exemplification of the progress of a language in discarding its synthetic, and introducing analytic forms; of the progress by which, at the same time that its dictionary is enriched, its grammar is impoverished; that while its substance is improved, its form is deteriorated: a fact affording
plentiful and interesting materials for reflexion, inasmuch as it offers the only certain instance in which the general course of civilisation does not tend to refine and improve all the instruments and appliances of the human intellect.
**CONTENTS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chap.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. <strong>The Origin of the Romance Languages</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. <strong>The Formation of the Romance Articles and Nouns from the Latin.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§. 1. <strong>Articles</strong></td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§. 2. <strong>Forms and Inflexions of Romance Nouns</strong></td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§. 3. <strong>Genders of Romance Nouns</strong></td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§. 4. <strong>Formation of new Romance Nouns by Affixes</strong></td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. <strong>Degrees of Comparison, Pronouns, and Numerals.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§. 1. <strong>Degrees of Comparison</strong></td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§. 2. <strong>Pronouns</strong></td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§. 3. <strong>Numerals</strong></td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. <strong>Formation, Conjugation, and Syntax of Verbs in the Romance Languages.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§. 1. <strong>Formation and Conjugation of Romance Verbs</strong></td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§. 2. <strong>Syntax of Romance Verbs</strong></td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. <strong>Prepositions, Adverbs, and Conjunctions, in the Romance Languages.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§. 1. <strong>Prepositions</strong></td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§. 2. <strong>Adverbs</strong></td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§. 3. <strong>Conjunctions</strong></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§. 4. <strong>Concluding Remarks on M. Raynouard's Hypothesis</strong></td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Appendix</strong></td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

It is now nearly twenty years since M. Raynouard published at Paris two grammatical treatises on the Romance language, one containing an account of the rules of that language before the year 1000 A.D.: the other, a complete grammar of the language of the Troubadours as preserved in their extant poems. These two grammars, accompanied with an introduction on the antiquity of the Romance language, and researches on its origin and formation, composed the first volume of the series which he has since continued under the name of Selections from the Poetry of the Troubadours. These poems, which form the four next volumes of his collection, were published by him from various manuscripts belonging to different public libraries of France and Italy, but especially from a manuscript in the king's library at Paris. Before the publication of this work, there was no printed collection of the poetry of the Troubadours in existence: and the few single poems contained in the treatise of the Abbé Millot and some other works of French and Italian writers, had for the most part been derived from inaccurate
copies, and had been imperfectly explained by the editors*. As forming part of the same series, though not so closely connected as the preceding volumes, M. Raynouard afterwards put forth a comparative grammar of the modern Latin languages, considered in their relation to the language of the Troubadours. His entire undertaking will have been completed, when the dictionary of the Romance language, which he announced some years ago as being in a state of forwardness, shall have been laid before the public. To those who are acquainted with M. Raynouard's labours, it is unnecessary to speak in praise of publications of which the merits have been so generally and so justly admitted: to those who may not have met with them, it may be proper to say, that by his industry and original researches he has made known an European language and literature almost wholly forgotten since the extinction of the independence of Provence: and has thrown a greater light on the origin of the modern Latin languages, their mutual relations, and their early structure and syntax, than perhaps all the other writers on these subjects collectively. In addition to the works here mentioned, his criticisms in the Journal des Savans form a complete history of the various publications of ancient French poems, and other writings connected with the philology of the Romance languages,

* See an account of these works in Diez, Poesie der Troubadours, (Zwickau, 1827,) p. v.—ix.
called forth by that taste for the early native literature which his example and investigations have greatly contributed to create of late years in France. It is not indeed without reason that M. Raynouard's fame has spread itself through the learned public in Europe; that Schlegel has said that he has done more for the history of the French language than all the academicians of his country; that by his means the study of the Troubadour poetry has taken root both in Germany and Italy, and that parts of his labours have been reproduced by writers of both those countries. In England, however, as far as I am aware, M. Raynouard's works have not attracted even among scholars and philologists the attention which they unquestionably deserve: and therefore I propose in the present work to lay before the reader such an account of the principal parts of them as may enable him to form a judgment of the nature and value of their contents; though at the same time I shall sometimes take the liberty of departing from the order in which M. Raynouard has arranged his materials, and shall investigate some collateral questions relating to the origin of the Romance languages, on which he has not fully expressed his opinion.

In order to effect this purpose, I shall proceed to give an abstract of the principal contents of M. Raynouard's Grammar of the Troubadour language, inserting in their proper places the

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b Kritische Schriften, vol. i. p. 356.
CHAPTER I.

corresponding forms and idioms in the Italian, Spanish, and French languages, which are ad-
duced in his Comparative Grammar*: so as to present in the most important points a tolerably complete parallelism of the Romance tongues. In this manner it will be made evident what relation the Provençal language, or the language of the Troubadours, bears to its cognate dialects of the Latin: and the reader will be enabled to judge of the truth of M. Raynouard's theory with respect to their origin, which I will now state as nearly as possible in his own words. He conceives that the Romance language, formed from the corruption of the Latin, was common to all the countries of Europe in which the Latin had been spoken, and is preserved in a pure form in the poetry of the Troubadours (Gr. R. p. 5, 6.). It was a regular fixed language, having constant rules (Gr. Comp. p. ii.) and was universally understood over Roman Europe (Gr. Comp. p. xxix.) And this was the common source from which all the modern Latin languages were derived (Gr. Comp. p. ii.); so that all the characteristic marks and idioms of each of these

* In this Grammar M. Raynouard constantly compares the forms of the Portuguese as well as of the Spanish language. For the sake of brevity and clearness I have omitted the Portuguese; as, although it deviates in many respects from the Spanish, nevertheless there is such a fundamental resemblance between them, that the same general arguments apply to both.

† In the following pages, the references are made to the separate edition of the Grammaire de la langue Romane; but the miscellaneous treatises which belong to it are quoted as they are collected in the first vol. of the Choix des Poésies des Troubadours.
languages are traceable in the mother tongue (ib. p. iv.), and the resemblances of the forms of certain words in these languages is sufficient to prove, not only a community of origin, but also the existence of a common intermediate type, which has modified both the Latin and other languages by operations of which the characteristic marks and the perfect unity may still be recognised (Gr. Comp. p. 30.)

Such is M. Raynouard's theory with respect to the origin of the Italian, Spanish, and French, and their dialects, which he does not place on the same line with the ancient Provençal or Langue d'oc, deriving them all as sister languages directly from the Latin: but he considers the Romance as an universal language, which arose from the corruption of the Latin in the middle ages, which was severally modified into the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, modern Provençal, and French, and of which we have a faithful transcript in the poems of the Troubadours. In establishing this theory M. Raynouard in some degree resembled the prophet mentioned in the Bible, who was required not only to interpret the dream, but also to divine what the dream was: for before he could trace the relations of the modern Latin languages with the Romance, he had first to discover the Romance itself, to explain its structure, and to ascertain its grammatical rules*. When we con-

* The same theory had indeed been previously advanced by others as a conjecture, but only as a conjecture. M. Raynouard's merit
CHAPTER I.

sider the novelty of M. Raynouard's investigations, the multiplicity of unperceived relations which he brought to light, the extent of his erudition, his unwearied industry, and his scrupulous accuracy of citation, it is no wonder that his theory should have obtained general assent, as his works deserved general admiration, among persons occupied about the history of the Romance languages. Even before the publication of his Comparative Grammar, and when his theory had merely been put forward as an hypothesis, Perticari, in a treatise which has been much admired in Italy, adopted his views on the origin of the Italian: considering (to use his own words) "that the Latin was the grandmother, while the Romance was the mother of the new languages now spoken over a large part of Eu-

consists in assigning definite reasons for that which was before a mere guess. Smollett, the novelist, in his travels in France and Italy, gives an account of the origin of the Romance and its relation to the other dialects of the Latin, which exactly agrees with M. Raynouard's views, though I am not aware whence he borrowed it. "The Patois, or native tongue of Nice (he says), is no other than the ancient Provençal, from which the Italian, Spanish, and French languages have been formed. This is the language that rose upon the ruins of the Latin tongue, after the irruption of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and Burgundians, by whom the Roman empire was destroyed. It was spoke all over Italy, Spain, and the southern part of France until the thirteenth century, whence the Italians began to polish it into the language which they now call their own. The Spaniards and French too improved it into their respective tongues. From its great affinity to the Latin, it was called Romance, a name which the Spaniards still give to their own language." Letter xxi. vol. i. p. 334. The mention of the Huns is probably an oversight, as they did not establish themselves in a part of Europe where, according to Smollett's view, the Romance language was ever spoken.
rope;” which Romance (he says in another place) was the common language of Europe for more than five hundred years. The same theory has been adopted by Champollion-Figéac, by Sismondi in the later editions of his work on the Literature of Southern Europe, by Niccolini, Lampredi, and Ugo Foscolo: and it is received by Balbi as the established opinion in his Ethnographic Atlas. A few writers, such as Daunou, in the Journal des Savans, Galvani, who has published an Italian work on the Troubadour poetry, and a contributor to the Florence Antologia, have faintly expressed a dissenting opinion, or rejected some of the arguments by which the doctrine has been supported: Schlegel alone has expressed his entire dissent from this theory; and has stated succinctly in a short work published at Paris many years ago, what appears to me to be the true explanation of the origin of the modern Latin languages, and some

"Quindi possiamo dire che la latina veramente fu avola, ma la romana fu madre delle nuove favelle che ora si parlano in tanta parte d’Europa." Scrittori del Trecento, lib. i. cap. 7; and see Difesa di Dante, cap. vii. ad fin. et 10.

"Quel comun sermone romano che per 500 e più anni tutta occupò l’Europa Latina." Difesa di Dante, c. 44.

Discorso in cui si ricerca qual parte aver possa il popolo nella formazione d’una lingua, (Florence, 1819,) p. 8.

See Balbi, Introduction à l’atlas ethnographique du globe, p. 166—76. Bernhardy likewise, in his Grundlinien zur Encyclopädie der Philologie, p. 188. appears to consider the Provençal as intermediate between the Latin and the other Romance languages.

Journal des Savans, 1823, p. 88—90.

Osservazioni sulle poesie dei trovatori, p. 515. note.

of the chief objections to which M. Raynouard's system is liable: but no one has undertaken to refute, or even to examine in detail, M. Raynouard's demonstrations, although it might have been expected that among a nation so jealous of the honour of their language and literature as the Italian, some critic would have arisen to question the truth of a theory which takes from that language the reputation which it has hitherto enjoyed of being the first-born of the ancient Latin. The objections which I shall propose to M. Raynouard's system do not, however, arise from any national feeling, or literary jealousy: the difficulties which I find in his argument presented themselves unsought; and it is only because no one better versed than myself in the literature of the middle ages has undertaken the task of examining his theory, that I shall in this work lay before the reader my grounds for venturing to reject an explanation supported with so much erudition and ingenuity.

There is perhaps no problem connected with language which admits of a completer solution than that which respects the modern European languages formed from the Latin. Unlike the

"La langue romane (says M. Raynouard) est peut-être la seule à la formation de laquelle il soit permis de remonter ainsi, pour découvrir et expliquer le secret de son industieux mécanisme: j'ai mis à cette recherche autant de patience que de franchise, et dans le cours de mes investigations grammaticales, j'ai eu souvent occasion de reconnaître la vérité de l'axiome, 'non quia difficilia sunt, non audemus, sed quia non audemus, difficilia sunt.'" vol. i. p. 104. Among the other European languages, however, the English, as well as the modern Greek, has been formed since the time of memory.
origin of most languages, it lies within a purely historical period: the language of the native population, the changes which took place in their political condition, the race and languages of the invaders and of the other foreign nations with which they came in contact, all are certainly known: and although the early stages of these Latin dialects, when they were merely barbarous and unfixed jargons, formed by the intercourse of natives and strangers, spoken chiefly among illiterate persons, and used neither as the language of the government, of legal instruments, nor of books, are not only (with the exception of a few words) wholly unknown, but lost without hope of recovery; yet the events which accompanied and occasioned their origin are matter of historical record; and if we cannot always say with certainty to what precise cause the changes which the Latin underwent were owing, our information enables us at least to obtain negative results, and to exclude undoubtingly many hypotheses which might be tenable if we had merely the languages without a contemporary history of the times when they arose. The same is the case with the English language: without looking to its structure or examining the etymology of its words, we should be justified in rejecting an hypothesis which should derive it from an union of the Anglo-Saxon and the Greek, or the Anglo-Saxon and the Celtic; as we know that the invaders, who formed a new tongue by their intercourse with the native An-
glo-Saxon population, spoke not Celtic, or Greek, but Norman-French. When on the other hand we look at the Latin, we find by analyzing its forms and words, that it contains a Hellenic and a barbarous element, and is therefore probably a mixed language formed by the union of different races in one community*: but what were the component parts of the nation (though the historical traditions afford materials for conjecture) is a matter of extreme uncertainty, and we may as well infer such a mixture of populations from the form of the language, as account for the form of the language by the mixture of the populations. It is therefore peculiarly important to explain, so far as the present state of our knowledge permits, the formation of the Romance languages: as they may furnish a sure point of comparison for other

*Lassen, in Welcker’s Rheinisches Museum, vol. i. p. 361—4. objects to dividing the Latin into a Grecian and non-Grecian part, and says that it might as well be divided into an Indian and non-Indian, or a Teutonic and non-Teutonic part. It is however to be observed, that though all these languages are derived from a common source, yet there is a closer affinity between the Latin and the Greek, than between the Latin and the Sanscrit or the Gothic. The comparison is moreover instituted partly for the purpose of drawing inferences with regard to the component parts of the Roman people; one of which was probably Grecian. Moreover, when Lassen says that the Latin bears no marks of being a mixed language, like the English and Persian, he forgets Müller’s remark with respect to the Latin passive voice, and the progress which it has made towards analytic forms. The want of a power of forming compound words in Latin, which its cognate tongues possess in so remarkable a degree, (see Livy, xxvii. 11.) seems likewise to prove that the mixture of a heterogeneous element had enfeebled the capacities of the original language.
mixed languages whose origin lies before the dawn of history, and which can only be illustrated by means of their analogy with those of a more recent date.

Before I proceed to examine M. Raynouard's account of the Provençal language, it will be proper to say something on a theory of the origin of the Italian, proposed by some native writers; since, if it could be established, it would apply with equal force to the other languages of the same family. The hypothesis to which I allude is that in ancient Rome, and in Italy, after the extension of the Roman dominion, there were two dialects or forms of the Latin language: one spoken by the upper classes, and educated persons, and used as the language of government, of the tribunals, of the laws, and of literature; while the other, universally spoken by the lower classes, and differing essentially in structure from the high Latin, was never written until the middle ages, when it became the general language of Italy, or (as it is now called) the Italian. This theory, first proposed by some writers of little note, is illustrated at length by Maffei, in his history of Verona: the same view, in its unmitigated shape, is likewise followed by Lanzi, in his work on the Etruscan language; by Bo-

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p See their names mentioned in Perticari Scrittori del Trecento, c. 5.
q "Non furono straniere lingue che in Italia lo (il latino) estinsero: fu un linguaggio di volgo, che fin da antichissimi tempi annidato in queste contrade, anzi in Roma stessa, e restatosi occulto nei miglior secoli, si riprodusse nei peggiori; e dilatandosi a poco e prendendo
namy, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions; and has been more recently maintained by Ciampi, a Florentine writer, in a separate dissertation. A nearly similar account of the existence of a low Latin dialect is given by Muratori and Perticari, although both these writers admit the influence of the Teutonic invaders on the native language of Italy, which Maffei and Lanzi altogether exclude; Muratori in particular has laid great stress on the changes introduced by the conquerors of Italy, and has pointed out the German origin of a whole series of Italian words. It is not indeed very easy to ascertain the precise opinions of Muratori and Perticari on this subject; for, as they rest on a

forza, degenerò in quella che anco per questa sua origine possiam chiamare volgar lingua d'Italia." Lanzi, Saggio della lingua Etrusca, vol. i. p. 331.


* Ciampi, De usu linguae Italicae. Pisis, 1817, 4to. An excellent review of this book (which cannot now be procured even in Tuscany) and a refutation of the arguments on which it is founded, by M. Raynouard, may be seen in the Journal des Savans, 1818, p. 323—31.

* See Scrittori del Trecento, c. 5—7. In c. 6, speaking of the effects of the invasion of the barbarians, he says: "Seguendo adunque la partizione dantesca, diremo essere presto mancato il latino illustre, ma il rustico essere in quei tempi rimase." In c. 7. he says that he "has traced the history of the lingua rustica, discovered its ancient origin, showed how it prevailed for a long period of time, and afterwards under the name of Romance was polished in a better age." In another place he says "non dalla barbarie Vandala né dalla Gota, ma da questo volgar romano propriamente l'Italico fu prodotto." Difesa di Dante, c. 7. Nevertheless he distinctly admits the influence of the Teutons, ib. c. 8: thus he says: "non fu nè perduto nè rinnovato in quel devastamento Italico tutto il vecchio parlare."
confusion of things which ought to be distinguished, the statements of their arguments naturally partake of the ambiguity on which the arguments themselves are founded. The confusion in question has (as M. Raynouard has remarked*) arisen from overlooking the distinction between style and structure, from inferring that because the lower classes of ancient Italy used ungrammatical and vulgar forms of expression, therefore they spoke a language which differed in its inflexions and syntax from that written in books and current among educated persons. Doubtless illiterate people in ancient Italy, as in all other countries, frequently committed grammatical errors*, and used low words in their conversation: doubtless the countrymen employed words which had been disused in the towns, and had become provincialisms: doubtless professions, as soldiers, lawyers, farmers, etc. had certain peculiar terms not generally current through the community. On the other hand there was a style of writing and speaking adopted by the upper classes, correct in grammar, admitting no mean and vulgar expressions, free from provincialisms, and the cant phrases of the camp, the country, or the forum; the standard

* Gr. Comp. p. xlvii.—viii. See also the criticism cited above in p. 12. 

* Thus Quintilian, I. 6. 45. says: "Quemadmodum vulgo imperiti loquuntur, tota sepe theatra et omnem circi turbam exclamasse barbarae scimus." Hence in c. 6. §. 27, he says: "Non invenuste dici videtur aliud esse Latine aliud grammatico loqui," that is, it is one thing to speak a language, another to speak it correctly.
CHAPTER I.

of composition as established by critics and grammarians on the models of classical writers; the *lingua aulica* or *cortigiana*, as it was called by Dante, after the political institutions of his day, in opposition to the *lingua plebea*, the unpolished idiom of clowns. It was this pure and correct style which the grammarians of Rome taught to their scholars, and of which they treated in their works; like the Greek rhetoricians and elocutionists who taught their pupils to use a more elevated and grammatical diction, but not to speak in a different language from the vulgar. In Latin, as in other languages, "many things (as Maffei says?) had two names: one of which was used by educated persons and by writers, the other was current among the lower orders and in common use." Thus in an elevated style a writer or speaker would use *os, equus, simus, pilumio, pulcher, ruber, percutere, ducere*: but in familiar conversation, or in works *sermoni proprio*, the corresponding terms *bucca, caballus, laetamen, nanus, bellus, russus, batuere, menare*, would be employed*. So Varro tells us that what the inhabitants of towns called *quiritare*, the country people called *jubilare*, that where the former said *pellicula*, the latter said *scortum*. Pliny calls *conterraneus* a *castrense verbum*, Gel-

* "Di molte cose v'eran due vocaboli; un dei quali si adopra
da dalla gente colta e dagli scrittori, l'altro era proprio della plebe ed usuale." Verona Illustrata, part I. col. 313.
* These instances are given by Maffei.
* De L. L. v. 7. vi. 5.
lius says the same of copior; and we know that Livy was reproached with his Patavinity. But when Maffei would infer from such facts as these that there was a dialect spoken by the lower orders of ancient Italy, resembling the modern Italian rather than the Latin, his reasoning has just as little weight as his proofs of the use of articles and auxiliary verbs in ancient Italy.

There is no doubt that Latin writers sometimes prefix the pronoun ille to a noun, much in the same way that the Italian uses its definite article, there is no doubt that they sometimes used habeo and a past participle, after the manner of the modern conjugation with avere; but these are anomalous instances, not rules; they are only the rudiments and germs of a system which had not then come into being; and notwithstanding these idioms the Latin had no articles, and no active conjugation with auxiliary verbs. The very examples cited by Maffei make against him: for we find that the purest and most elegant writers of Latin did not avoid his plebeian words, and that they used them moreover with the

-- See his entire argument, col. 312—20. Maffei's conclusion is rejected as absurd by Tiraboschi, Storia della litteratura Italiana, Preface to tom. iii. part I.; by Pignotti, Storia di Toscana, vol. ii.: Dell'origine e progressi della lingua Italiana; by Diez, Poesie der Troubadours, p. 288; and by other writers. See also Hallam's Middle Ages, ch. 9. part I. vol. iii. p. 320.
-- Ib. col. 318, 319. By the same mode of reasoning it might be shown that the Greek, which sometimes said καύσιμος ἵχνω, βασιλεύωκες ἵχνω, used auxiliary verbs. See Quarterly Review, vol. xxiii. p. 146.
Latin terminations and inflexions. Instead therefore of producing an exclusively plebeian word with an Italian termination, he quotes from Lucretius, Horace, and Juvenal such words as *russus, bellus,* and *caballus* with a purely Latin form. There can be little doubt that the state of the Latin language in ancient Italy exactly resembled that of the English in most parts of England, and that of the French in Paris and its neighbourhood: viz. that the language spoken by the whole population was the same in its structure and form, but that the upper and educated classes spoke it without solecisms, and coarse or vulgar expressions, while the lower orders and the country people used an ungrammatical, homely, and sometimes antiquated mode of diction. It would be easy to make in English a list of passages from writers on style who give cautions against the use of plebeian expressions: and to collect a series of double synonyms, of which one is suited to a serious, poetical, and lofty, the other to a ludicrous, familiar, or humble style. This, according to Maffei’s way of reasoning, would be a proof of the existence of two languages in England, one spoken by the upper, the other by the lower classes. The orthography of the Latin, as of all other languages before the use of printing, was completely unfixed, and from the practice which prevailed in ancient, as it prevails in modern Italy, of representing the exact sounds of the voice with letters, (instead, like English and French, of often making a word an
ORIGIN OF THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

arbitrary symbol to represent a sound,) many peculiarities of local pronunciation were introduced by the stone-cutters into public and private monuments: but there is no trace of the existence in ancient Italy of a language spoken among the lower orders, differing from the Latin in its grammatical structure, of a patois or dialetto, standing to the Latin in the same relation as the Provençal or Gascon to the French, as the Catalanian to the Spanish, as the Genoese, Mantuan, or Bolognese, to the Italian: which are languages with different inflexions and syntax, and the one is not intelligible to a person acquainted with the other, although both belong

* We have no word in English to express the idea signified by these words, of an unwritten language spoken by the inferior classes, differing in structure or in origin from the national or common language. The Welsh, the Gaelic, and the Erse, as spoken in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, are indeed properly patois like the Bas-breton: but the provincial languages of Norfolk, Somersetshire, Yorkshire, and Scotland, cannot in strictness be so called, as they have the same inflexions as the written English, though they contain many peculiar words not generally understood. A Norfolk or Yorkshire peasant would understand a play of Shakspere, or a speech made in pure English, but a Provençal learns French as he would learn Spanish, and there are translations of Tasso into Venetian, Milanese, Bolognese, and other Italian dialects. The definition of dialetto in the Vocab. della Crusca, viz. "spezie particolare di pronunzia di alcun linguaggio," is very imperfect. The Dictionnaire de l'Académie defines patois to be "language du peuple et des paysans particulier à chaque province." Baretti, in his Italian and English Dictionary, explains dialetto to be "a manner of speech peculiar to some part of a country, yet all using the same radical language." The latter limitation is probably true of the word dialetto, as used in Italian: but it does not appear to apply to the French term patois: for the Basque in Navarre, or the Bas-breton in Britany, would, I conceive, be properly termed patois, though they belong to a different stock from the French and Spanish.
to the same stock. But the language popularly spoken in Tuscany has the same inflexions and grammar as the pure Italian, the κοινὴ διαλεκτὸς of Italy, though it may contain many words peculiar to itself; and such, I conceive, was the relation which the plebeian language of Rome bore to the style in which Cicero addressed the senate, or composed a philosophical treatise. It was only a less perfect, refined, and correct form of the self-same Latin language. Without further discussion, therefore, we may reject, as wholly destitute of evidence, the theory of Maffei, which finds the Italian, and of Perticari, which finds the Provençal, in the dialect of the lowest classes of ancient Italy.

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\(^1\) See the Lamento di Cecco di Varlungo, a pastoral poem in the language of the Tuscan peasants. Some remarks on the much controverted point of the relation of the Tuscan to the written Italian, and the other Italian dialects, will be found in note (A.) at the end.

\(^2\) The following statements of Balbi, in his Atlas Ethnographique, agree nearly with Perticari's theory; tab. xii. par. 161. "Latine. C'était la langue écrite et commune au beau monde de l'Italie et de tout le vaste empire romain ; elle était très différente de la lingua plebeia ou rustica, parlée dans les campagnes de la péninsule, et par les personnes des classes inférieures dans les Espagnes, les Gaules, et autres provinces." Ib. 162 : "Romane ou Romana rustica parlée dans les beaux temps de Rome par les basses classes de la société dans tout le midi de l'Europe romaine ; la Grèce et quelques autres pays exceptés. Après avoir subi des modifications plus ou moins considérables, la romane paraît encore subsister dans les dialectes vulgaires qu'on parle dans une grande partie de l'Espagne, de la France, de la Suisse, et dans quelques cantons de l'Italie." For a similar view of this subject in a more recent work on the modern European languages see note (B.) at the end.

\(^b\) On an assertion of Niebuhr's, with respect to the mention of a lingua vulgare subordinate to the Latin, by Priscus, in relation to an embassy which took place in 448, A. D., see note (C.) at the end.
ORIGIN OF THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

The extension of the Latin language over the countries of Western Europe occupied by the Romans, is a fact more easily proved\(^1\) than accounted for. As the native tribes of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, yielded successively to the Roman arms, so their multifarious dialects gave way before the language of their conquerors. In many instances the language of conquering nations has disappeared, or left only faint traces of its existence in the native dialect of the country. Thus the Normans adopted the language of their subjects and neighbours in Northern France\(^2\); and the English tongue, though completely subverted by their influence, nevertheless retains in substance its original Saxon character. But the Latin, having at the same time the advantages accruing from the influence of government, which imposed on the governed the necessity of understanding it\(^1\), seems like the Greek, to have propagated itself

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\(^1\) The Romans used their own language in all acts of the government even in Greece, (see Raynouard, vol. i. p. 2, 4.) and did not, like the Austrians and the French in Italy, employ the language of
by a sort of magical power among the inhabitants of Western Europe. In Italy the Etruscan disappeared before it under the early emperors, and every trace of that singular language has been lost except the inexplicable inscriptions: the Oscan and other dialects of the native Italian tribes underwent the same fate: the Celtic was forgotten in Gaul and Spain, and was only

the conquered nation. The Latin however did not surplant the Greek either in Greece or in Magna Graecia; and in the former country it was not constantly used as the language of government, as we know from the many extant Greek inscriptions relating to public matters which belong to the time of the Empire: but it was introduced by the influence of government into Asia Minor, Syria, and Constantinople: see the Quarterly Review, vol. xxiii. p. 142.

* "The facility with which they were thus moulded into Greeks is a characteristic of the Pelasgian tribes, and a main cause of the dissolution and extinction of the nation. It is natural to view it as resulting from the affinity between the two races, which yet were not on that account the less essentially different: and such I believe to have been the case; yet we may observe a magical power exercised by the Greek language and national character over foreign races that came in contact with them, even where no such affinity can be conceived." Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 50. I agree entirely with those writers (see Müller's Dorians, vol. i. p. 6. Clinton, Fast. Hellen. vol. i. p. 92.) who consider the Pelasgians as Greeks, as belonging to a race closely allied to the original Hellenes, and as being themselves called Hellenes after the extension of that name. Nevertheless the Greek language seems, as Niebuhr says, to have propagated itself in Asia Minor in a very extraordinary manner: the same facts, however, doubtless serve to explain the diffusion of the Greek in the East, by which it will be presently attempted to explain the diffusion of the Latin in the West. 1. The conquest and occupation of the country by Greeks, and the use of their language by the government. 2. The superior cultivation of the Greek language, and its possession of a rich literature. (See Clinton, ib. p. 97. note x.)

" On the extension of the Latin in Italy, see Lanzi, Saggio della lingua Etrusca, vol. i. p. 27.
preserved among the inhabitants of Armorica: the Iberian gave way in Spain, and only lived in the modern Basque among the mountaineers of the Pyrenees: the Ligurian became extinct on the shores of the Mediterranean. The use of the Latin language gradually became as universally over Western Europe, as the dominion of the Roman laws and political institutions. As this language had been spread by conquest, so it was destined to be destroyed by conquest;

* On the diffusion of the Latin language in Gaul, see Bonamy Mémoires de l’Acad. des Inscriptions, vol. xxiv. p. 587—94. The Celtic however still lingered in some of the Eastern and Southern parts in the third and fourth centuries. Alex. von Humboldt has the following remarks on this subject. "I believe (he says) that we must look into the character of the natives and the state of their civilization, and not into the structure of their language, for the reason of this rapid introduction of Latin among the Gauls. The Celtic nations with brown hair, were certainly different from the race of the Germanic nations with light hair, [see Niebuhr, vol. ii. n. 1169:] and though the Druid caste recals to our minds one of the institutions of the Ganges, this does not demonstrate that the idiom of the Celtic belongs, like that of the nations of Odin, to a branch of the Indo-Pelasgic languages. [This affinity has now been proved by Dr. Prichard.] From analogy of structure and of roots, the Latin ought to have penetrated more easily on the other side of the Danube, than into Gaul; but an uncultivated state joined to great moral inflexibility, opposed probably its introduction among the Germanic nations." Personal Narrative, vol. vi. p. 249, note. Although it may be true that the Celtic is inferior in natural capacity to the Teutonic race, yet the reason why the Latin made no way in Germany, is, that the Germans were not subjugated and their country occupied by the Romans. It is certainly difficult to explain how the Romans should have completely eradicated the Celtic language from a large part of Gaul, while the same causes which appear at that time to have produced so great an effect, have during the last eight or nine centuries produced so little effect, among the Celts of Brittany, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. In Cornwall alone the Celtic language has become extinct, and that within less than a century.
and when the Teutonic races of the Heruli,
Goths, Lombards, Burgundians and Franks, successively overran the west of Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries, and established themselves in it as rulers by the power of the sword, it was to be expected that the language of the conquered people would undergo great changes; such as in England and Scotland were produced by the invasion of the Normans, and in Greece by the irruption of the Sclavonic tribes. If the relative numbers of the invaders and the native population had been reversed, if the Teutonic armies had formed a large majority, instead of a small minority of the entire nation, the Latin would probably have become extinct; as the Celtic in England disappeared before the Saxons and Angles, who not only vanquished but exterminated the ancient Britons. As it was, the numbers of the natives were two large to allow of the extinction of their language; while the conquerors would naturally be as little willing to

yield the use of their native tongue, as to surrender any other of the privileges of conquest. But as it was necessary that the two parties should communicate with each other, the one in order to give, the other in order to receive commands; the less numerous party abated something of their privileges, and submitted to attempt to explain themselves in the language of their subjects. Being, however, more versed in war than in letters, they used a form of speech which instead of faithfully imitating the Latin only approximated to it, and by introducing

The following account of this change is given by Sismondi. "Ignorant les uns et les autres tout principe de grammaire générale, ils ne songeaient point à étudier la langue de leurs ennemis; ils s'accoutumaient seulement à entendre réciproquement le jargon dans lequel ils cherchaient à se rencontrer. Ainsi nous voyons encore aujourd'hui des gens du peuple transportés dans un pays étranger, se faire avec ceux dont ils ont besoin, un patois de convention qui n'est le leur, ni celui de leurs hôtes, mais que tous deux comprennent, et qui empêche tous deux d'arriver à la langue de l'un ou de l'autre. Ainsi dans les bagnes de l'Afrique et de Constantinople des esclaves Chrétiens de toutes les parties de l'Europe mêlés avec les Maures, n'ont point enseigné à ceux-ci leur langage, et n'ont point appris celui des Maures; mais ils se rencontrent avec eux dans un jargon barbare qu'on nomme langue francoise; il est composé des mots romans les plus nécessaires à la vie commune dépourvus des terminaisons qui marquent les temps et les cas, et unis ensemble sans syntaxe. Ainsi dans des colonies d'Amérique, les plantes s'entendaient avec les nègres dans la langue Créole, qui est de même le Français mis à la portée d'un peuple barbare, en le dépouillant de tout ce qui donne de la précision, de la force, ou de la souplesse." Littérature du Midi, vol. i. p. 19, and compare p. 33. "The Moravians have translated the Bible and a book of hymns into the Talkee-talkee, or negro language, of which they have also composed a grammar. It is curious that this patois of the blacks, though it includes many African words, should have for its basis the English language, pared of inflexions, and softened by a multitude of vowel termina-
the use of articles and auxiliary verbs, by destroying the inflexions of cases which was too complex a system to be easily learnt, and by infusing a number of Teutonic words, they formed a hybrid language, generated from the corruption of the Latin, and differing essentially from its parent, though still retaining a strong resemblance to it. It is likewise to be remembered that in contending with the language of the Teutonic invaders, the Latin enjoyed the advantage which is derived from the possession of a classical literature and a high cultivation, both of grammatical form and rhetorical style; an advantage which was wanting to the German language, when the Goths, the Lombards, the Vandals, the Franks and Burgundians overran the Western Empire. The maintenance of the Roman law in its original form, and of the constitution and worship of the Roman church also tended to uphold the Latin language, and to preserve it from oblivion. If these circumstances had been reversed, if the Germans with

Bolingbroke, Voyage to Demerary, cited in the Quarterly Review, vol. xliii. p. 553. where specimens are given of a similar negro corruption of the Dutch language, in which the inflexions are also obscured. On the change of the Latin into the Romance language of France, see also Histoire littéraire de la France, vol. vii. avertissement p. 28. And compare Brerewood's Enquiries touching the Diversity of Languages, c. 5. Wachsmuth's Europäische Sittengeschichte, vol. i. p. 254.

The following conceit of an Italian writer cited by Galvani, Osservazioni sulle poesie dei trovatori, p. 20. correctly expresses the origin of the modern languages. "La lingua latina ... della gravidezza dei linguaggi barbari partorì la nostra volgare, e ne morì a mezzo il parto."
a cultivated language and literature, and a code of laws already written in their native tongue, had overrun a less civilized people, (which was the case with the Latin, when brought in collision with the Celtic, Iberian, Etruscan, etc.) the probability is, that not even the large numbers of the native Roman population would have saved their language from almost total destruction.

From what has been said, it follows, that the change undergone by the Latin, in consequence of the Teutonic invasion, was threefold: viz. a change of structure, affecting the terminations and inflexions of nouns, participles, and pronouns, and the conjugations of verbs: a change of syntax, including the introduction of new idioms; and the introduction of numerous foreign terms, relating in great part to military and political subjects. On the two first of these changes,

* On the difficulty of eradicating a language, particularly a cultivated language, with a literature, see Heeren's Essay Ueber die Mittel zur Erhaltung der Nationalität besiegeter Völker: Historische Werke, vol. ii. p. 17 sqq.

† "In comparing (says Gibbon, speaking of the Lombard kingdom in Italy) the proportion of the victorious and vanquished people, the change of language will afford the most probable inference. According to this standard it will appear that the Lombards of Italy, and the Visigoths of Spain, were less numerous than the Franks or Burgundians; and the conquerors of Gaul must yield in their turn to the multitude of Saxons and Angles, who almost eradicated the idioms of Britain. The modern Italian has been insensibly formed by the mixture of nations; the awkwardness of the barbarians in the nice management of declensions and conjugations reduced them to the use of articles and auxiliary verbs, and many new ideas have been expressed by Teutonic appellations. Yet the principal stock of technical and
which alone concern the grammar of the Romance tongues, I shall hope to be able to give a satisfactory account in the course of the present work: the latter, which is a question of etymological research, scarcely admits of being treated in a connected form, though a discussion of it might lead to highly interesting results, as regards the history both of nations and languages.

By this change the Latin language of western Europe passed from the synthetic to the analytic class: that is to say, instead of declining nouns and conjugating verbs by the inflexion of their terminations, it resolved the ideas into their component parts, and expressed them by means of prepositions and of participles with auxiliary verbs: as will be explained in detail when we come to examine those parts of speech. It has been supposed by some writers that this grammatical system was transferred from the Teutonic to the Latin language; and that the Ger-

familiar words is found to be of Latin derivation." Decline and Fall, c. 45. This passage appears to me to contain a just view of the origin of the Italian: but although the French has departed further than the Italian or Spanish from the Latin, I am not aware that it contains a greater number of Teutonic words, though the greater changes which it has undergone may possibly afford evidence of a larger proportion of Franks than of Goths or Lombards. Moreover, the confusion and loss of cases gave rise not to the use of articles, but to that of prepositions, to express the relation previously signified by the inflexion. Savigny, Geschichte des Römischen Rechts, vol. i. c. 3., infers from the difference of the legal relations, that in northern France the Franks settled in large numbers, and expelled the chief part of the natives, while in Southern France their number was smaller, and most of the Romans were spared.

* See note (D.) at the end.
mans, accustomed to analytical forms in their own tongue, copied them faithfully in the jargon which they produced by literally translating German thoughts into Latin words. But this hypothesis, though it affords an easy solution of the problem, is not entirely consistent with fact. The ancient German or Gothic was undoubtedly a synthetic language, like the Greek; and at the time when the Teutonic tribes settled over the western empire, it had as yet made but little progress to the adoption of analytic forms. It still used the inflexion of cases; it had no indefinite article, and of the definite article it made little use; nor does it exhibit more than the rudiments of conjugation by auxiliary verbs. Consequently, although there appear to be some few instances (which will be pointed out hereafter) of German idioms having been adopted into Romance languages, yet we must seek some other explanation of the new character assumed by the Latin at the time of the German conquest. This explanation is doubtless to be found in the remark of Schlegel, that "when synthetic languages have at an early period been fixed by books which served as models, and by a regular instruction, they retained their form unchanged: but when they have been abandoned to themselves, and exposed to the fluctuations of all human affairs, they have shown a natural tendency to become analytic, even without

* Schlegel, Observations, p. 19. 21. 34. 87.
having been modified by the mixture of any foreign language." He illustrates this position by the history of the German language, "which, not having been fixed by any artificial means till the beginning of the sixteenth century, had full liberty to follow its natural course; and the progress which it made during that time towards analytical forms, by losing part of its synthetical forms, is immense." It cannot be doubted that the natural tendency of language is to substitute analytical for synthetical forms: but this principle being admitted, there are two ways of accounting for the predominance of the latter in the Romance languages. One is that adopted by Diez, who, without going to the same length as Maffei, thinks that the familiar language of the people had adopted a number of analytical forms, and that the German influence only increased and hastened the disposition to change which already existed in the popular Latin. And he cites as a parallel instance the modern German; which, as the language of the educated classes, retains the use of cases; while in the mouths of the lower orders the cases are supplanted, as in Dutch, by a preposition or pronoun*. But although there might be strong reason, on the ground of analogy, for accepting this explanation, still there is no historical evidence in its favour: on the contrary, we know

* Poesie der Troubadours, p. 286—90.
that not only compositions meant for general perusal, but that private letters, such as those of Cassiodorus, were, either at or immediately after the settlement of the Goths in Italy, written in a Latin, which, however impure or inelegant, retains its synthetic character as strongly as that of Ennius or Lucretius. Notwithstanding the powerful tendency which may exist to break down synthetic forms, it may perhaps be conjectured with some reason, that as the Latin had a fixed classical standard, it would have retained its grammatical character unchanged in Italy, Spain, and France, as it has in the mouths of the people in some parts of Hungary, if the German invasion had never taken place. It seems, therefore, that there is no reason for not adopting the explanation of Schlegel, that the change produced in the Latin was purely the effect of the German conquest⁵. The con-

⁵ "Les conquérants barbares (ils adoptèrent eux-mêmes ce nom qu'ils croyaient honorable, puisqu'il signifiait l'opposé de romain) trouvant dans les pays conquis une population toute latine, ou, selon l'expression du temps, romaine, furent en effet forcés d'apprendre aussi le latin pour se faire entendre, mais ils le parloient en général fort incorrectement ; surtout ils ne savoient pas manier ces inflexions savantes, sur lesquelles repose toute la construction latine. Les Romains, c'est-à-dire les habitants des provinces, à force d'entendre mal parler leur langue, en oublèrent à leur tour les règles, et imitèrent le jargon de leurs nouveaux maîtres. Les désinences variables, étant employées arbitrairement, ne servoient plus qu'à embrouiller les phrases : on finit donc par les supprimer et par tronquer les mots. Voilà ce qui distingue les dialectes romans, dès leur origine, de la latinité même la plus herissée de barbarismes. Mais ces désinences supprimées servoient à marquer d'une manière très-sensible la construction des
querers, not understanding the complicated and refined system of inflexions on which the Latin language depended, naturally sought to express their ideas by the more circuitous but less artificial method of analysis; according to which each phrase is, as it were, built up of the single ideas which compose it, instead of their being all expressed by the modifications of one word. It was in this way that the Normans mutilated the Anglo-Saxon inflexions, and produced the modern English; and that other nations have, as Sismondi expresses it, by a mutual compromise formed a sort of neutral language, which properly belongs to neither party, but is the language of the one or the other, deprived of its characteristic forms. By degrees the Germans, forming a small minority of the entire nation, disused their own language, even among themselves: and the native population, forced to adapt themselves to the habits and convenience of their masters, and actuated by the disposition just noticed to analyze grammatical forms, substituted the several Romance languages for the ancient Latin.

It is natural to suppose that the mode of

phrases, et la liaison des idées; il fallait donc y substituer une autre méthode, et c'est ce qui donna naissance à la grammaire analytique.” Schlegel, p. 24.

* See above, p. 23. note.

speech formed by the process just described would be unsettled and fluctuating, and would vary in different parts of western Europe, according to the greater or less purity of the Latin spoken by the natives, the different proportions of the natives and invaders, and the different Teutonic dialects spoken by the latter: while it would preserve a general resemblance on account of the similarity of the causes which produced it. In the mean time the Latin retained its place in literature, in legal instruments, and in the service of the church, not only on account of its superior cultivation, but as being the language of the clergy, who were then the only depositories of learning. The invaders indeed for some time continued to use their native tongue: but the mass of the people or the Romans (as the subjects of the empire were called, in Gaul, Spain, and Italy *), spoke a mixed dialect, which (as dis-

* Ducange in barbarus and Romani shows that Roman was a general name of Roman provincials as opposed to the barbarians. Galvani, Osserv. sulla poesia dei Trov. p. 433-7. has some remarks on the opposition of the Roman and Latin. The title of king of the Romans was even applied to the head of the Gothic kingdom in Spain by an Arabian historian (Gibbon, c. 51. vol. vi. p. 478.), in the same way that the Anglo-Saxons and Normans of England are called Britons; and that Machiavelli, in his Discourses on Livy, speaks of the taking of Rome by the French. See also Sismondi, Litt. du Midi. tom. i. p. 260. ed. 3. Perticari, Difesa di Dante, c. 12. says, that the ‘lingua romana’ was ‘veramente degnissima di tal nome; perchè in Roma è ancora parlata quasi interamente, dopo il giro di 800 anni.’ The inhabitants of Gaul and Spain however were probably quite ignorant what language was spoken at Rome, when they called their vulgar tongue the lingua Romana rustica. Smollett, above quoted, p. 5, e. says that it was called Romance from its great affinity to the Latin; which comes nearer to the truth.
tonguished both from the Latin and Teutonic) was thence called *lingua Romana*, and from being the language of the rural population, *lingua rustica Romana*, or simply *lingua rustica*. This was a general term for all the varieties of language formed by the union of the Teutonic and Latin. The language used by Lewis the Germanic in the oath of 842, and by Charles king of France in the treaty of 860, is called *lingua Romana*. In the acts of the council of Tours, A.D. 813, the bishops are warned, “ut—homilias quisque aperte transffe r studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Theotiscam, quo facilis cuncti possint intelligere quæ dicuntur.” A monk of Bobbio who wrote an account of the miracles of St. Columbanus about 950 A.D., describes a mountain near Bobbio thus, “Alter vero qui est ad lævam nuncupatur rustica lingua Groppo altum,” i.e., *Groppo alto*. The modern language spoken in Italy seems not to have been called *lingua Romana* in the middle ages, but to have been usually known by the name of *lingua vulgaris* or *volgare*.

3 These passages are cited by Muratori, Diss. 32.
4 See Muratori, Diss. 32, vol. ii. p. 1019, D. Learned writers at a later period have however given the name of *romano* to the Italian: Raynouard, Gr. Comp. p. 374. In the following extract from the Tresor of Brunetto, Dante's master, it seems that, “Romance after the manner of France,” is equivalent to “French.” “Et se aucuns demandoit pourquoi chis livre est ecris en roumans selon la raison de France, pour chou que nous sommes Italien, je dirioe que ch' est
as opposed to the lingua erudita, the Latin: numerous instances however occur where that name is applied to the languages of France and Spain, to the Provençal, the French, the Spanish, and the Portuguese. This community of appellation does not afford any reason for supposing that there was no difference between the corruptions of the Latin in the different parts of western Europe: there was a sufficient resemblance in their character, in the circumstances under which they had arisen, and in the classes of persons by whom they were spoken, to warrant their being included under a common name, in spite of minor differences. At the same time it cannot be doubted that the differences between them were not at first so great as they are now, and that in their early youth the children more resembled their common parent and one another: as the English and Scotch, which were

pour chou que nous sommes en France; l'autre pour chou que la parleure en est plus delitable et plus commune a toutes gens.” Cited in Ginguéné, Hist. Litt. d'Italie, vol. i. p. 369.

k See Ducange in lingua Romana, romancier, romanitas, romane, romanire, romanum, romancium, romantium. Muratori, Diss. 32. Raynouard, Gr. Comp. p. 371-4. The modern Latin languages of Walachia and Switzerland, although they have departed widely from the original type, are called in those countries by the name of Romance, viz. linguæ romane or rumensch, and limba romanesc. See Diefenbach Ueber die romanischen Schriftsprachen, (Leipsig, 1831.) p. 21.

1 “Naturum enim ac genium linguarum considerans, quæ sensium mutationem patiuntur, veri simile reor, Italici populi linguam, quo proprius accessit ad fontes sive ad secula latinitatis eo minus tum verbis tum modis dicendi a Latina matre potissimum sua dissessisse.” Muratori, vol. ii. p. 1037, C.
formed independently under the same circumstances have a closer resemblance both in words and structure, the nearer they approach their respective sources. This is particularly seen in the French language, which formerly used the masculine and feminine terminations in o and a, since modified into e, as in the article lo for le, Cellas, Fontanas, Ferrerias, names of places, afterwards changed into Celles, Fontaines, Ferrieres. The affinity indeed was so great that a person who spoke the vulgar Roman dialect would probably have been able to make himself understood in any part of western Europe: as we find it narrated by a monkish writer that in the reign of Charlemagne an Italian priest, who happened to meet a Spanish pilgrim in Germany, understood the conversation of the Spaniard as being an Italian: whence it is

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* See Raynouard, Gr. Comp. p. xii. Diez, Poesie der Troub. p. 325. The final a has in French passed into the e muet, as musa, muse, domine, dame, etc. In lo however (which in old French was sometimes made le, Rayn. in J. des. S. 1820, p. 199.) ma, ta, and sa, it was retained.

* Mabillon, Act. SS. Bened. sec. 3. Part II. p. 258. correctly explained by Raynouard, vol. i. Introd. p. xvi. Gr. Comp. xxxix. and after him by Perticari, vol. i. p. 305. The remarks of the critic of Perticari, in the Florence Antologia, No. III. p. 356. that perhaps the pilgrim could talk Italian, or the monk understand Spanish, are untenable; for it is distinctly said that the priest, as being an Italian, understood the language of the Spaniard ("quoniam linguae ejus, co quod esset Italius, notitiam habebat:"") plainly implying that he under-
evident that the Italian and Spanish were not then so different as not to be mutually intelligible to natives of both countries. As has been already observed, M. Raynouard does not adopt the absurd fancy that the Romance or the Italian existed as the language of the lower orders of ancient Italy, in a shape little different from that which they bore in the thirteenth century: his theory is, that the Latin, by the influence of the Germans, was corrupted into an uniform language, called the Romance, spoken for some centuries, and at least as late as the reign of Charlemagne, over the whole of western Europe: that this language is preserved unchanged in the Troubadour poetry and the early literature of Provence: and that it was gradually modified into the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, modern Provençal and their various dialects, which are all derived indirectly indeed

stood it, not as having learned it, but in his character of an Italian. Schlegel, p. 50. remarks that this statement affords no proof of the identity of the languages then spoken in Italy and Spain, as even now an Italian and Spaniard understand one another tolerably without an interpreter. The general resemblance of these two languages is indeed so great, that a Venetian writer of the sixteenth century, introduced into a drama a Spanish character speaking his native language: thus putting the Spanish on the same footing with an Italian dialetto. See Gamba, Serie degli scritti impressi in dialetto veneziano (Venice, 1832.) p. 75. Mr. Planta, in his Paper on the Romansh language, says, that he had heard it stated as a fact, that two Catalonians traveling in the Grisons, found to their surprise "that their native tongue was understood by the inhabitants, and that they could comprehend most of the language of the country." Philos. Transactions, vol. 65. p. 154.
from the Latin, but directly from the Romance, and retain with different degrees of fidelity the forms of that language. On the first statement of this hypothesis, it is obvious to enquire in what manner M. Raynouard understands that an uniform language arose on the ruins of the Latin. Languages may be diffused by colonisation or conquest; as the Greek was propagated in Asia Minor, Africa, Italy, Sicily, and Gaul; as the Latin in Gaul and Spain; as the Spanish and English in North and South America and the West Indies; but where were the conquests or the colonies of the Provençals? Or does he suppose that the Romance was diffused from Provence by the influence of the Troubadour literature? Nations however do not learn languages from poets, least of all from foreign poets; and some other cause must be found for the propagation of the Provençal language than the fame of the Provençal minstrels? If on the other hand, M. Raynouard does not suppose that the Romance was diffused from Provence as from a centre, he must conceive that the Romans over the chief part of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Gaul, and Spain, when invaded at different periods by different Teutonic races, agreed without communication to corrupt the Latin into the self-same language; but unless he here

— Muratori, Diss. 33. says, that the few words which came from Provence into Italy, were indeed used by some writers, but not adopted by the people. On the small influence of literature on the language of the lower orders, see Philol. Museum, vol. ii. p. 248.
calls in the assistance of a miracle, and supposes that as at Babel the tongues were confounded, so after the invasion of the Germans they were made uniform, it is difficult to understand how he accounts for such a prodigy. If he means that the Romance was spread over western Europe from a common centre, he is contradicted by history, which records no movements of population, which could have brought about this effect; if he means that accidentally all the natives of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, coincided in forming one and the same new language, he supposes an agreement to which no parallel can be furnished, and which is utterly incredible.

The proofs which M. Raynouard collects with great industry and learning, of the original coincidence of the modern Romance languages with the Provençal, and which will be presently examined in detail, are of two kinds. 1. Words and forms in which the Italian, Spanish, and French agree with the Provençal, but in which the Provençal agrees with the Latin. 2. Words and forms in which the Italian, Spanish, and French agree with the Provençal, but in which the Provençal disagrees with the Latin. Of these two kinds of proofs, the first is obviously open to the following objection. Every body admits that the Italian, Spanish, Provençal, and

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*It would seem that this is M. Raynouard’s meaning, as in the Journal des Savans, 1829, p. 672. He states, that *nessuno* was received into the Italian from the Trouvères, that *adesso*, was taken from *ades* as used by the Troubadours and Trouvères.*
French, were derived from the Latin: M. Raynouard’s position is that the Provençal, under the name of the Romance, was intermediate between the Latin and the other modern languages. In order therefore to support this assertion, it behoves him to show forms in those languages which can only be accounted for on the supposition of such an intermediate language, and could not have been directly derived from the Latin. Instead of confining himself to this species of proof, he often alleges forms in Italian, Spanish, and French, which he derives from the Provençal, but which may just as well be referred to the Latin, and by no means necessitate the hypothesis of a transition language. Whenever the Provençal form is not a necessary condition for the existence of the Italian, Spanish, or French form, the coincidence of the two goes for nothing in proof of the interposition of the Provençal between the Latin and the modern language, or at most is only consistent with it. M. Raynouard might have put his argument in this shape: part of the Italian, Spanish, and French languages can only be accounted for on the supposition of the Provençal having succeeded the Latin; the other part, though consistent with the supposition that those languages immediately succeeded the Latin, is equally consistent with the supposition that they did not immediately succeed it. Without making this distinction, M. Raynouard is liable to the objection that a large part of his proofs are good
for nothing, which may induce an inconsiderate reader to condemn the whole because the majority are untenable. He himself clearly points out this distinction in some passages of his treatise, which will be hereafter noticed: nevertheless he has not kept it constantly in view, and has often alleged in proof of the derivation of the modern Latin languages from the Provençal, facts which can be equally well accounted for on the supposition of their being all parallel languages derived from a common source.

The second class of proofs above mentioned refers to words, forms, and idioms, in which all the modern languages differ from the Latin; such as, the use of articles, and the disuse of cases, the formation of nouns from the accusative of Latin nouns of the third declension, the use of affirmative expletives, which afterwards became negative, as the derivatives of mica, res, passus, etc.; the introduction of foreign words as the adverb tosto, tost, quick; the derivations of the German herberge, frisch, reich, mark, helm, fein, lassen, anden, and many others which occur in all the Romance languages. The argument derived from these facts is, however, one which may as well be employed against M. Raynouard's theory as in its support: for why does the agreement of the Provençal with the Italian, Spanish, or French, in forms or words not trace-

* Gram. Comp. p. 70. 265.
* See note (D) at the end.
able to the Latin, prove that the latter languages borrowed them from the Provençal rather than the converse? All we know is, that the Latin disappeared as a living language from western Europe soon after the sixth century, and that a new form of speech was substituted in its place; which, as far as we can learn from the earliest monuments of it, had a different character in Spain, in Italy, in Northern and in Southern France: in these several Latin dialects we find numerous forms, idioms, and words, not borrowed from the Latin, but corresponding or identical with one another. On what ground are we to conclude, from the mere fact of agreement and apart from historical evidence, that one of these dialects in particular made the innovations in question, and then communicated them to the others? The Provençal may have had a literature and a standard of composition before the others, but there is no reason to suppose that as a language it existed before them. No error indeed has been more frequent among speculators in language, nor is there any which it requires greater vigilance to avoid, than the con-

Specimens of Italian forms, chiefly names of places, occurring in documents of the eighth and following centuries, are collected in Muratori, Diss. 32. The language of the notaries, which, as Muratori has shown, was evidently not a spoken language, is an unquestionable proof of the disuse of the Latin soon after the invasion of Italy, Spain, and Gaul. Schlegel, p. 5. calls the Provençal the eldest daughter of the Latin: an assumption for which there appears to me to be no ground, if it means that the Provençal existed as a spoken language before the other Romance tongues.
fusion of cognate with affiliated languages. Where we see in two languages corresponding forms or words, nothing is easier, or apparently safer, than to derive one from the other. Thus if we find that the Greeks said βόος, Feoυς, Feίκος, φιλή, νέπος, that the Romans said bos, vinum, vicus, faor, lego: it is immediately concluded that the latter were borrowed from the former: and a Latin lexicographer would think that he had not performed his duty unless he had duly registered the Greek as the originals of the Latin words. In like manner a German etymologist will inform his readers that werk is derived from Fieρχο, and wein from Fείνος. But what evidence have we that these words were not separately derived from a common source; and that the Latins might not have used vinum and bos, the Germans werk and wein, if the natives of Greece had never developed their language, and had been crushed in their germ by a barbarous immigration? It is on this mistaken principle, that Dr. Johnson has arranged the etymological part (which however he chiefly borrowed from others) of his English dictionary. Whenever he is at a loss for an etymology, he sets down the corresponding word in Dutch or German, or he derives an English from a German word; and sometimes

* "From arc, an eagle, I believe our word cyrie derived; Johnson derived it from ei, an egg, properly ey, German: but I do not believe there is a word in the English language, (unless very modern,) of German origin .... The words which we have in common with the
he even makes a parallel increased form the origin of the English word\textsuperscript{x}: as if we had not only borrowed our radical words, but even our formations from our neighbours! In kindred languages derived from a common stock, there is always a correspondence both of roots and formations; more or less close, according to the length of time since they parted from the parent-stem, and the various disturbing causes to which both or either have since that divergence been exposed. It is therefore of no avail, in proof of a derivation or dependence, to show a scheme of parallel forms, idioms, and words, in several languages: they may have arisen from a common source under similar circumstances; and we may be led to mistake for cause and effect, what in truth are only similar effects of the same cause. Now such, as I conceive, is the case of the Romance languages: they all owed their origin to the same cause, viz. the permanent subjugation by Teutonic races of a people speaking Latin; and there is nothing in their character which cannot be explained without supposing a nearer affinity. They have just the amount of resemblance which might have been expected in languages derived from the same original, and just the amount of difference which might have been expected in languages formed

Germans are not borrowed from them, but drawn from a higher source.” Herbert’s Icelandic Poetry, p. 121. note.

\textsuperscript{x} For instance, he derives the word \textit{manikin} from \textit{manniken} Dutch, See Phil. Mus. vol. i. p. 680.
under the same circumstances independently of each other:

Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.

A comparison of the analogous forms in cognate languages is calculated to throw light both on their relation to each other, and on the causes to which their affinity is owing: as the sculpture of the Greeks may be illustrated by comparing it with their poetry, and their poetry by comparing it with their sculpture. The mistake too often committed with respect to languages consists, not in comparing them, but in making a wrong use of the comparison, by discovering parentage where there is only fraternity: as any one would err who should derive the sculpture of the Greeks from their poetry, or their poetry from their sculpture; the truth being that they are both the products of the national taste and genius of that people, which they serve in common to illustrate.

M. Raynouard, in answer to some remarks of Schlegel on the independent origin of the Romance languages, says that "if each nation had formed its language separately, doubtless one of those languages would have presented several essential and indispensable forms which the other languages would have wanted, such for instance as the use of a passive voice, as in Latin y." This example is unhappily chosen.

*"Si chaque peuple avait composé son idiome isolément, sans doute quelqu'un de ces idiomes eût offert plusieurs formes essentielles et in-
CHAPTER I.

There is no part of the Latin language which was more likely to disappear under the German influence than the formation of a passive voice by inflexion. The Germans themselves, made the passive by means of auxiliary verbs; and would therefore according to their way of speaking Latin doubtless imitate their own idiom. The passive voice of the Latin verb had already degenerated from its original model, and the Greek system of inflexion had been much encroached upon by the formation of some tenses with auxiliary verbs introduced by a foreign influence at some early period of the Latin language*. The inflexions of the Latin are precisely that part of it which was mutilated by the German influence; and there is only one instance in which any trace of them has been preserved. But in this instance, viz. the retention of the nominative and accusative cases, all the languages do not agree; for we find that while this inflexion was preserved in the languages of oc and oil, there is no trace of its having ever existed in Italian and Spanish*. This therefore is an example, in respect of a rule which M. Raynouard himself calls fundamental, of the occurrence of an essential form

dispensables qui ne se fussent pas trouvées dans les autres idiomes, telles par exemple que de conserver un passif ainsi que les Latins,” etc. Journal des Savans, 1818, p. 591.


* See below, ch. 2. § 2.
in some of those languages which is absent in others.

When we come to the detailed examination of the corresponding forms in the Romance languages, it will be shown that there are many traces of the Latin preserved in the Italian and Spanish which have been lost in the Provençal; and consequently could not have been preserved in those languages if they had been derived from the latter in which those features of the model had been obliterated. There are however other difficulties of a more general nature to which M. Raynouard's theory gives rise, and of which it affords no explanation. If the Romance of the Troubadours was once the universal language of western Europe, which was afterwards modified into distinct dialects; there appears to be no reason why any one of these dialects should be more like it than another. Now there is no doubt, and it is distinctly admitted by M. Raynouard, that the modern Provençal has a far closer resemblance than any other modern language to the Romance of the Troubadour poetry: especially if we take specimens of that language as it existed about the eleventh cen-

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* "Il (l'içiome provençal) à peu varié depuis les troubadours": says M. Raynouard, in the Journal des Sav. 1818, p. 589. See him also in Journal des Sav. 1824, p. 92—7. in a review of a dictionary of the Limousin patois, and ibid. p. 174—80. in a review of a Languedocian dictionary. In p. 96. he points out some words in Low Limousin which occur in the language of the Troubadours, and not in the other Romance languages.
tury, at which time the Italian and Spanish had been completely fixed in their present form. But if the Romance, as used by the early Provençal poets, was once the language of Italy and Spain, there is no reason why the Italian and Spanish should have departed from it so much more widely than the modern Provençal. It seems far more natural to suppose that the Troubadours wrote in the language of their country, the langue d'oc, which was from the beginning distinct from the Italian, and the Spanish, and the langue d'oïl, (although it resembled the latter much more closely than the others,) and that the modern Provençal has arisen from the natural development of it, in the same way that the modern French has been developed from the language of Villehardouin and the Trouvères.

Another important fact, directly opposed to the theory of an universal Romance language, is the vast number of modern Romance dialects which prevail in France, Spain, Switzerland, the Tyrol, Italy, and the neighbouring islands. The patois of the langue d'oïl in northern France and Flanders: of the langue d'oc in Southern

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France, Savoy, Piedmont, the Grisons, and the county of Nice, are very numerous, and are distinguished by important differences. In Spain there are the dialects of Leon, the Asturias, Aragon, Andalusia, Murcia, Galicia, Catalonia, and Valencia: the two latter of which, as well as the language of the Balearic islands, resemble the langue d’oc more than the Castilian or written Spanish. The islands of Corsica and Sardinia appear to possess native dialects different from any other Romance tongue. In


* There are several dictionaries of different dialects of the langue d’oc: two are mentioned above, p. 45 note e. There are also two dictionaries of the Eastern Provençal, published in the last century, and a more recent work published at Marseilles in a cheap form. There are likewise a few books in the same language; particularly some poems by M. Dioulofet of Aix, and a poem in the Nice dialect, (which partakes more of the Genoese,) by M. Ranchez of Nice. A curious specimen of the popular Provençal may be seen in Mr. Hayward’s Translation of Faust, p. 286. ed. 2.

† Bastero, Crusca provenzale, p. 21. quoted by Diez, p. 5.

‡ On the relation of the Valencian and Catalan to the Provençal, see Raynouard, vol. i. Introd. p. xiii.; Gr. Comp. p. xxxviii. In the Universities of Vicenza and Vercelli, the schools were divided into four universities of nations, as follows. 1. French, English and Normans. 2. Italians. 3. Provençals, Spanish, and Catalans. 4. Germans. Savigny, Gesch. des R. R. c. 21. On the Catalanian language and literature, see Jaubert de Passa, Recherches historiques sur la Langue catalane, in Mélanges sur les Langues, p. 297—431.

b Diefenbach Ueber die jetzigen romanischen Schriftsprachen, p. 21.
CHAPTER I.

Italy not only are the languages of the northern and southern districts distinguished from each other by certain broad marks of difference, but almost every town which was once independent has a dialect of its own, differing from the common or written Italian, both in its inflexions and its terms. Muratori says, that there is scarcely a city of Italy which is not distinguished from others by its pronunciation, the sound of its accents, the terminations of its words, and its peculiar terms. Much more does the dialect of one province differ from that of another; sometimes there is such a difference that even the Italians of other provinces, although they speak the common language, can with difficulty understand each other.

(Leipsig, 1831.) states that he was informed by a Sardinian of good authority that, "besides the language of foreign introduction, the Catalanian and Italian, there are in Sardinia three Romance dialects, one verging towards the Spanish, another towards the south Italian, the third still a kind of Romana rustica closely resembling the ancient Latin both in forms and words. This latter is still spoken in about twenty-four villages in the interior of the country." See Adelung's Mithridates, vol. ii. p. 528—34. Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 144. says, that "specimens of the Sardinian language from the civilized districts exhibit peculiarities which are more than varieties of dialect, and indicate a Romance language of a distinct kind."

1 The literature of the Italian dialects is very rich, and there are few of any importance (except that of Genoa,) which have not their dictionary. Thus dictionaries have been published of the Sicilian, Neapolitan, Venetian, Bolognese, Ferrarese, Veronese, Mantuan, Brescian, Bergamasque, Milanese, and Piedmontese dialects. See Adelung's Mithridates, vol. ii. p. 496—528.

2 Dissert. 32. vol. ii. p. 1038, A. See also Denina, Observations sur les dialects, particulièrement sur ceux d'Italie, Mémoires de
kind to be reconciled with the theory of an uniform language, formed on the ruins of the Latin? Is it to be supposed that these irregularities and discordancies grew up spontaneously in the midst of an universal Roman language, as the multifarious Christian sects arose out of the bosom of the universal Roman Church? Such a hypothesis would be directly opposed to all experience. The progress of language is to widen the dominion of prevailing analogies; to enlarge rules, and to diminish anomalies: to root out what is local, partial, and peculiar: to carry the speech of the towns into the country: to abolish provincialisms: and to spread the language of literature and of educated persons in the place of dialects less cultivated and less generally understood. Thus the English gradually encroaches on the Welsh, along the borders of Wales; thus the Gaelic and Irish are slowly giving way in Scotland and Ireland.

l’Académie de Berlin, 1797. Classe des belles lettres, p. 64—90. and Baretti’s Account of Italy, vol. ii. c. 30. There is also the Romance language of Walachia, on the origin of which see the Wiener Jahrbücher, vol. 46. p. 77—88.

1 Johnson, Journey to the Hebrides, p. 277. speaking of the Highlanders says, “Of what they had before the late conquest of their country, there remain only their language and their poverty. Their language is attacked on every side. Schools are erected, in which English only is taught, and there were lately some who thought it reasonable to refuse them a version of the holy Scriptures, that they might have no monument of their mother tongue.” See also note (E) at the end.

2 On the measures taken by the government to diffuse the English and to extinguish the Erse language in Ireland, see Anderson, Historical Sketches of the Native Irish, sect. 3.
and the Cornish language, though spoken in the memory of living persons, has been completely extirpated in Cornwall. The diffusion of the Latin over Italy, in the place of the Etruscan, the Oscan, the Ligurian, and other native dialects, has been already noticed. Much easier however is this process when the inferior dialect is threatened by a language of the same family; as was the case with the propagation of the Attic Greek in the age of Philip and Alexander; and such is the case with the French, the Italian, and the Spanish, as they come in contact with the dialects spoken in the countries where they are the ruling languages*. As the progress of civilization is to destroy local usages and laws, to break down distinctions both of place and rank, and to fuse large bodies of men into an uniform and compact whole; so the progress of language is to substitute one polished idiom in the place of numerous uncultivated dialects. In supposing, therefore, that the multiplicity of Romance dialects which now prevail over western Europe, were capricious aberrations

* Mr. Marshall, in explaining his reasons for making a collection of the Provincialisms of Yorkshire, has a remark which applies to this subject. "Finding (he says) in this particular instance, a declining language which is unknown to the public, but which, it is highly probable, contains more ample remains of the ancient language of the central parts of this island, than any other which is now spoken, I was willing to do my best endeavour towards arresting it in its present form, before the general blaze of fashion and refinement, which has already spread its dawn even over this secluded district, shall have buried it irretrievably in obscurity." Rural Economy of Yorkshire, vol. ii. p. 302.
from a single type, as established after the disturbance of the German invasion, and that their difference, having once been almost imperceptible, became such as we now see it, M. Raynouard makes a supposition at variance with all analogy, and represents the stream of language as flowing back upon its source.

Perticari attempts to get rid of this difficulty by saying, that as the empire of Charlemagne was partitioned, so the common Romance language was divided into dialects, as languages follow the government. But if languages follow the government, how came the universal Romance language to be formed? When the East and West Goths, the Lombards, Burgundians, and Franks, had separate and independent empires, how could an uniform language arise through their influence? And if each of these

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* "Anche senza prova di fatto la ragione fa congetturare ch' essendovi fra gli antichi Italiani minor cultura e minor commercio, la differenza tra le loro favelle doveva essere maggiore di quella che è ai nostri tempi." Niccolini Discorso, etc. p. 22. note. See also Lanzi, vol. i. p. 24.

"The little connexion there is in mountainous countries between the inhabitants of the different vallies, and the absolute independence of each jurisdiction in this district, which still lessens the frequency of their intercourse, also accounts in a great measure for the variety of secondary dialects subsisting in almost every different community or even village:" says Mr. Planta, Philos. Transactions, vol. lxvi. p. 144. speaking of the Romance of the Grisons.

P "Ma intanto quella lingua, che prima era una, si divise in molte: perciocché le lingue seguono le condizioni de' governi. E come per la novità de' feudi e de' baronaggi quel francese imperio si squarciò a brani, così il comune romano anch'esso fu partito nel Limosino, nel Provenzale, nell' Italico, nel Vallone, nel Catalano ed in altri." Perticari, Difesa di Dante, c. 11.
several states had a peculiar dialect, it surely will not be contended that Charlemagne by uniting them into one empire, could during his lifetime have removed all these varieties, and established a common mode of speech. There is scarcely any change which requires more time than a change of language. Obedience to foreign laws may be enforced after the loss of a battle: outward observance of a new religion may in a short time be brought about by persecution or conquest; but no terror can inculcate the use of a new language, even if there were any motive for introducing it: for its use does not depend on the mere desire to use it, but is the result of early and long-continued habit. All explanations therefore which suppose sudden and extensive revolutions of language produced by the mere influence of government, unassisted by the mixture of population, are liable to strong objections. It would moreover be easy to show

As to the small influence of government in producing changes of language, see Prichard on the Eastern origin of the Celtic Nations, p. 8. "The pertinacious adherence of mankind to their mother tongue, (says Mr. Anderson, in his work on the Irish language,) might be verified by a number of remarkable proofs. 'It is a curious fact, (says a writer in the statistical account of Scotland, vol. xx. p. 490.) that the hills of King's seat and Craigy Barns, which form the lower boundary of Dowally (parish in Perthshire) have been for centuries the separatory barrier of the English and Gaelic. In the first house below them, the English is and has been spoken, and the Gaelic in the first house, not above a mile distant, above them.' In different parts of Ireland something similar to this will be found. It is said, that on crossing the river Barrow, a very striking difference is observable; on the eastern bank, English is spoken, and Irish scarcely
that the Romance dialects have not always followed the government: for instance, the French of Dutch Flanders has existed not in consequence but in spite of the government. If Pericari had said that the Romance languages followed the original government, that is, the number and influence of the German invaders, who first occupied the country when its inhabitants spoke Latin, he probably would have been much nearer the truth.

Nevertheless, when it is said that the natural course of things is, that differences of dialects are softened down; it is necessary to distinguish between changes arising from the natural development of a language, and from the introduction of new or foreign words, and those caused by the fresh creation of separate forms and analogies, so as to give rise to a new dialect. If there is a nation speaking the same language, which by colonisation or conquest forms two new societies, the languages of those three nations, which at first were identical, will become continually more and more unlike one another, and their common stock, in proportion as the time elapsed since their separation increases. Analogies which one nation will extend, another will narrow or even disuse: in one language the exception will supplant the rule, in another the rule will swallow up all exceptions: different

known; a little way interior it is quite the reverse." Hist. Sketches of the Native Irish, p. 195.
words will be contracted; different contractions will be used: different modes of forming new derivatives will be followed; accidents of literature, taste, form of government, manners, foreign influence and intercourse, will variously affect the growth of the respective languages of each nation. Thus the Portuguese of Brazil has become in many respects different from that of the mother country, chiefly by the introduction of many new words: and the language of the North American states would, within no short time, have differed widely from that of England, in using many peculiar idioms, in introducing new words, and attaching different senses to the same words, (the grammatical forms and syntax remaining indeed the same;) if the frequent and rapid communication between the two countries, and the mutual influence of their literature had not kept up an uniform standard of composition. In like manner I conceive that the Italian and Spanish, and the languages of oc and oil, being together with their dialects formed independently by the German working on the Latin, had in their origin fundamental differences, but still bore a strong likeness to each other: as years rolled on, each language assumed a more peculiar form by dealing differently with the wreck which it had saved from the Latin: by altering more or less the original forms, and by following different principles of inflexion. In this respect languages

See Balbi, Atlas Ethnogr.
are like human beings: the older they become, the more strongly marked are their distinctive features. The same would doubtless be the course of the several dialects of each language: every dialect would doubtless assume in the process of time a more distinct and individual character. But there is nothing in the development of language, independently of political circumstances, which leads to the arbitrary creation of separate dialects, distinguished by their inflexions and forms: on the contrary, the influence of government and literature tends always to spread the use of the language of the ruling classes and the writers, to the prejudice of local dialects: an effect which in modern times has been immensely assisted by the use of printing, and the facilities given to the circulation of newspapers and books, and to the carriage of persons. It seems to me, therefore, that although the difference of actually existing dialects is increased in the lapse of time, yet that dialects are not formed by mere caprice, without external and political influence: and that the spontaneous generation of the countless Romance dialects now spoken in Europe from an universal language, which has existed since the extinction of the Latin, is just as improbable as the spontaneous generation of insects and reptiles.

Having offered these general considerations on M. Raynoard's views with regard to the origin of the modern Latin languages, I shall proceed to a detailed examination of his proofs:
for which purpose it will be necessary to repeat at length the principal parts of his Romance Grammar, as the language to which its refers, and the rules which it contains, are not generally known, like those of the living languages to which it is allied. But before this comparison is begun, it is first necessary to determine what name shall be given to the language which is to serve as the standard of comparison. "There is (as Schlegel has remarked) some difficulty in finding a proper designation for the language of the Troubadours. The names of Provençal, Limousin, and Catalanian, which have been applied to it, are too narrow, as they only comprehend one of the districts where it was spoken, and as its use extended over a much wider territory. On the other hand, the name of Romance is too indefinite." M. Raynouard, however, constantly applies the name of Romance to the language of the Troubadours; and M. Champollion-Figéac, who has since discussed this subject, adheres to his use of the word, and makes the Romance language a common term for the dialects of Provence, Dauphiny, the Lyonese, Auvergne, Limousin, Languedoc, Gascony, and Catalonia." In the following pages,
however, I shall attempt to show that although the ancient language of oc, the language spoken in Southern France and Catalonia, was a Romance language, it was not the Romance language: that it was merely one of the dialects arising out of the change produced in the Latin by the Teutonic invasion. Nor does M. Raynouard merely employ an ambiguous, and therefore an inconvenient term: but he founds an argument in favour of his theory upon that ambiguity; when he attempts to show that the Italian, the Spanish, and the French, were once identical with the Troubadour language, because they were all called Romance languages. In this mode of reasoning, however, he appears to me to have committed the same error as a person of the Teutonic language. M. Roquefort has, however, full as much right to call the ancient langue d'oil, as M. Raynouard has to call the ancient langue d'oc, the Romance language. Compare Berrington's Literary History of the Middle Ages, p. 337.

* "It is generally admitted that the word Romance was first employed to signify the Roman language as spoken in the European provinces of the empire; and that in its most extensive sense it comprised all the dialects of which the basis was the vulgar Latin, whatever might be the other materials which entered into their construction. The name was therefore equally applicable to the Italian, the Spanish, and French, and was sometimes, though incorrectly, applied to the vulgar languages of other countries." Ellis, Specimens of early English romances, vol. i. p. 1. See also Walter Scott's article on Romance, near the beginning, in the Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica. A passage occurs in Giraldus Cambrensis, where the common English is called Romance. See Ritson's Ancient English Romances, vol. i. p. 12—18.

* Gr. Comp. p. 371.
who having undertaken to write a history of trees, and described those kinds, such as the ash and the oak, which are deciduous, should thence conclude that the ilex and the olive are deciduous, because they are also trees. The language of Southern France was doubtless a Romance language, as were the languages of Northern France, Spain, Italy, Savoy, and parts of Switzerland and the Tyrol. But it does not follow that what is true of the language of Southern France is also true of the Spanish or Italian, because they were all three Romance languages, any more than it follows that lions ruminate, as well as oxen, because they are both animals. There is perhaps no name for the language in question which is wholly unexceptionable: nevertheless the appellation Provençal, as Diez remarks, deserves the preference. The historians of the Crusades apply the term Provincia to all the south of France, distinguishing the inhabitants of the northern and southern parts of that country by the names Francigenæ and Provinciales: an ancient Grammar of the langue d'oc is called Donatus Provincialis; and Dante, as well as a contemporary biographer of a troubadour, speaks of the Provençal language. It may be moreover remarked, that although it might be inconvenient to give the name of Provençal to the language of Cata-

\footnote{Diez, p. 5—12.}
lonia, the examples cited by M. Raynouard are almost without exception taken from the poems of troubadours who were strictly natives of Provence, in the extended sense of that word.
CHAPTER II.

Formation of the Romance Articles and Nouns from the Latin.

§ 1. ARTICLES.

The utility of articles, and especially of the definite article, is so obvious, that there is no wonder that they should be gradually introduced by the effort which is constantly perceivable in language, to analyse and separately to express every idea. Thus we know that in the early Greek language there were no definite articles: but in the interval of time which elapsed between the ancient epic poets and the first prose writers, the pronoun ὁ had become a definite article. The same transfer of the German demonstrative pronoun der, and the Anglo-Saxon pronoun *thaet* to the sense of a definite article likewise took place in the gradual development of the language, and without external influence. In those languages likewise the numeral one, by a similar process of abstraction, obtained the sense of the indefinite article. It is probable that the sudden change which the Latin underwent in this respect, at the time of the German invasion, was the consequence rather of the ten-

* See Rask, A. S. Grammar, §. 146.
dency just described, than of the imitation of the Teutonic idiom. It seems more than doubtful whether the use even of the definite article had at that era been introduced into the Teutonic languages: and it is probable that we shall most nearly approach the truth, if we suppose that when the Latin was by that event put into a state favourable to a new development of its grammatical forms, it obtained the use of articles, and adopted for them those words which appear naturally to suggest themselves as most convenient for this purpose. Hence unus was taken as the indefinite, and ille as the definite article: and their forms and inflexions underwent those changes which will be explained when we speak of the formation of the modern nouns.

The following scheme exhibits the structure of the Provençal definite article: the masculine singular (as will be shown below) is formed from the Latin accusative illum, by rejecting either the first or the last syllable: the masculine plural is partly formed from the Latin nominative, partly from the accusative: els and los being made out of illos; ill and li from illi: the feminine plural is formed from the Latin accusative illas. The genitive, dative, and ablative cases have completely disappeared, and their forms are replaced by the use of prepositions; de being prefixed in order to give the sense of the genitive and ablative, a (from ad) of the dative, and a (from ab) of the ablative.

* See below in these prepositions.
that in the masculine plural, _de li_ and _de los, a li_ and _a los_, the forms derived from both the Latin nominative and accusative, are placed after the preposition: in general, however, as will appear when we come to the nouns, the prepositions govern the Provençal accusative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Singular.</strong></th>
<th><strong>Plural.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masc.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fem.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El, lo</td>
<td>ill, la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de lo, del</td>
<td>de la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a lo, al, el,</td>
<td>a la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


All the modern Latin languages have formed their definite article from _ille_, and exhibit nearly the same modifications as those which appear in the Provençal. _El_, which is the common Spanish form, occurs in old French and Italian: _lo_ also occurs in old French, as well as _del, al, dels, als, and el_, from which have been formed by the suppression of _l_ or its change into _u_, so prevalent in that language, _deu, du, au, des, aux_, and _ès_: _los_ and _las_, by changes likewise of frequent occurrence became _les_. It should be observed that the Spanish exhibits no trace of _li_, (from _illi_,) and the Italian no trace of _los_, (from _illos_,) and that the Italian made the feminine plural _le_, (from _illex_,) whereas the Spanish agreed with the Provençal in forming it from _illas_. These characteristic differences will be again

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* I have not inserted the mere varieties of orthography, as _elh_ for _el_, _ill_ for _il_, etc. See Gr. Rom. p. 79. 116.
adverted to, when we speak of the nouns. (Gr. Comp. p. 2—19.)

Several modern grammarians have thought that the articles in the Romance languages have supplied the place of the Latin inflexions of the nouns to which they are prefixed. Thus the Italian grammarians call their articles *segnacasi*; and M. Raynouard says, that “the use of articles has delivered the modern languages from the slavery of the Latin declensions, without diminishing the clearness of the expression.” (Vol. i. p. 44.) This is, however, an erroneous view of the subject. The use of the Latin nominative and accusative has been supplied by a certain collocation of words, of the genitive, dative, and ablative, by prepositions. Neither of the articles has any influence whatever in giving to nouns the meanings expressed by the Latin cases. In languages which have both cases and articles, the article is as much inflected as the noun to which it belongs.

§ 2. FORMS AND INFLEXIONS OF ROMANCE NOUNS.

We come now to the nouns, which we shall consider under the heads of their form, their mode of declension, their gender, and their derivative terminations; and by this means be enabled to judge how far the changes which they underwent in the several modern languages support M. Raynouard’s theory with regard to the
universal prevalence of the Provençal, and the derivation of the other Romance languages from it as a common type.

The entire confusion of cases which prevailed in the Latin language after the German invasion, may be seen in many legal instruments of the middle ages; and although we may concede to Muratori that the Latin of the notaries was not a spoken language, still it is impossible to conceive that charters and deeds would have been composed in a barbarous and ungrammatical jargon, when the pure language was current in any part of the community. The following extract from a Pisan deed of sale, of 720 A. D. may serve as a specimen of this language. “In nomine Domini dei nostris Jesum Christi, regnante domno nostro Liutprand rege, anno hoctavo sup die quartam kalendis Februari, per inditione tertia, constant me Sunduald, vir honorabilis, hac dies arvitrium bone mee voluntatis... eniente, neque aliquis me suadente, nisi bono animus meus, vindedisse et vindedi, tradedisse et tradedi tivi Filicausi medietatem de casa meas infra civitatem cum gronda sua livera tam solamentum sine grondas, etc.” In this language however it is not always possible to distinguish between the proper terminations of the cases and the corruptions of a vicious pronunciation: thus in some of the above instances, as ‘in nomine Domini nostris Jesum Christi,’ ‘hac dies’

FORMS AND INFLEXIONS OF ROMANCE NOUNS. 65

‘aliquis suadente,’ bono animus meus’, ‘de casa meas,’ the Latin cases are used at random: in others however, such as ‘sub die quartam,’ ‘per inditione tertia’, it is uncertain whether it is not the pronunciation which is in fault, and whether the final m was not dropped from diem and indicationem tertiam, as ‘bono animus meus’ probably meant ‘bonum animus meus.’ The omission of the final m and n occurs again in the same instrument in other words, as ligname for lignamen, nove for novem, hanc cartula for hanc cartulam, venditionem a me facta for venditionem a me factam, dece for decem, etc.

A rhythmical poem, written in vulgar Latin about 871 A. D. on the imprisonment of the Emperor Lewis II. by Adelchis duke of Beneventum, offers another specimen of the state of the ancient during its transition into the modern language.

Andite omnes fines terrae orrore cum tristitia
Quale scelus fuld factum Benevento civitas.
Llududicum comprenderunt sancto pio Augustio f.
Beneventani se adunarunt ad unum consilium.
Adalferio loquebatur, et dicebant principi:
‘Si nos eum vivum dimitemus, certe nos peribimus.
Celus magnum præparavit in istam provintiam:
Regnum nostrum nobis tollit; nos habet pro nihilum:


f Augustio is a conjecture mentioned by Muratori. The MS. has Augusto. In the first line, for errore I have written orrore, i. e. horrore.
Plures mala nobis fecit: rectum est ut moriad."
Deposuerunt sancto pio de suo palatio.
Adalferio illum ducebat usque ad pretorium, etc.

These verses offer numerous instances of the confusion of cases: but *Lhuduicum sancto pio Augustio, Adalferio loquebatur, deposuerunt sancto pio, Adalferio ducebat*, appear to be corruptions by pronunciation of *sanctum pium Augustium, Adalferium and sanctum pium*: as in the same poem *'leto animo habelbat de illo quo fecerat'* is put instead of *'letum animum habelbat de illo quod fecerat'* b), not by a confusion of the ablative and accusative cases, but by the corruption of the termination of the accusative. So in the following instances collected by M. Raynouard, (vol. i. p. 18—22.) from Italian, Spanish, and French instruments of the middle ages, the accusative case is probably everywhere meant, though its characteristic letter is often dropped for facility of pronunciation.

"Ab hodiernum die: absqueullo dolo aut
vim: ad die presente: ad ipso rio; adversus
apostolico viro: ante valneo et orto: contra
hoste barbaro: cum omnes res ad se pertinentes:
cum pectus inscium: de quam præfatam por-
tionem; ex successionem: infra valle: intra
comitatu nostro: per mandato suo: per arte:
pro panem: pro supradictas sex uncias: pro
mercedem animæ meæ: propter amorem dei et

*That is, *moriat*, for *moriatur*.

b Muratori mistakes the meaning of this line, in supposing *habelbat* to be here put for *abibat*. 
FORMS AND INFLEXIONS OF ROMANCE NOUNS. 67

vita æterna : sine præmium : sine rixas : usque
memorato loco : versum palude : ubi nepte mea
instituemus abbatissam : bona intentione mon-
strant mihi e faciunt Saracenis bona acolhenza.”
The tendency to the use of the accusative case
in particular appears in many places: thus in
two sentences cited by M. Raynouard, “Si
aliquas causas adversus istud monasterium ortas
fuerint:” “ipsas monachas vel earum abbat.
(for abbatem) debeant possidere:” so a charter
of 761 A. D. begins thus: “Regnante domno
Desiderio et Adelgis viros excellentissimos
reges,” and a Lucchese plea of 853 A. D. as
follows: “Dum ap (i. e. ab) celsa potestatem
Domni nostri Hludovici magni imperatoris directi
fuissent Johannem venerabilem sancte Pisensis
ecclesie episcopus, necnon et Adalpertum Mar-
chionem, seu Gausbertum Vassum et ministrum
minor ipsius imperialis potestatem, et conjuncti
fuissent hic civitate Luca,” etc.

1 Muratori. Ant. It. vol. iii. p. 167. See other specimens of this
language in Muratori, Diss. 32. vol. ii. p. 1025 E—1048. Muratori
argues with considerable force and ingenuity that the language of the
notaries was never a spoken language, but was a barbarous jargon
made in imitation of the old Latin, by illiterate scribes: he says justly
that there is no dialect spoken by any class of persons, which does
not observe some rules of grammar. This is undoubtedly true: a
language without a grammar is not a language; unless there were some
rules settled by general usage, people could not understand one
another. But this does not appear to be precisely the case with the
Latin of the notaries: although there is often a confusion both of
number, gender, and tense, yet the chief confusion is that of the cases
or inflexions of nouns and participles. The most probable explanation
of this matter seems to be that the Latin of the early Italian deeds is
the tradition of the corrupted language caused by the influence of the
CHAPTER II.

The ancient system of cases being thus completely confounded, we need not be surprised to find that in the Italian and Spanish languages the nouns were formed, not from the nominative, but from some inflected case of the Latin word. In nouns of the first and second declension this fact cannot be perceived, as the Italian and Spanish *musa* and *muro* might come from either the nominative, accusative, or ablative cases of the Latin *musa* and *murus*. The nouns of the third declension which increase in the genitive case, furnish a criterion for ascertaining this fact: and from the following table it will be seen that not only the Italian and Spanish, but also the Provençal and French nouns, take the increment of the genitive, and consequently are not derived from the Latin nominative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Provençal</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>plebs</td>
<td>plebe</td>
<td>pleb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>dux</td>
<td>duca</td>
<td>duque</td>
<td>duc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>laus</td>
<td>lode</td>
<td></td>
<td>due</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>lex</td>
<td>legge</td>
<td>ley</td>
<td>leg or ley³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

German on the Latin: that although the people in the eighth and ninth centuries may have spoken a language like the Italian, yet the Latin was not yet considered a dead language to be learned from books, and that the notaries who could not use the vulgar dialect, wrote in the jargon which they received by oral communication from those who spoke the bastard Latin which had sprung from the invasion. The verses which are cited in the text moreover exhibit the very same character of style as the legal instruments; and to them Muratoris remark with respect to the notaries does not apply: for they must have been written in a language intelligible to the public.

³ The final *g* easily passes into *y*: thus the Anglo-Saxon *ænig, blodig, dreorig*, become in English *any, bloody, dreary*, etc. see Grimm, vol. ii. p. 302. 306.
FORMS AND INFLEXIONS OF ROMANCE NOUNS. 69

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Provençal</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N caro</td>
<td>carne</td>
<td>carne</td>
<td>carn</td>
<td>carn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natio</td>
<td>nazione</td>
<td>nacion</td>
<td>nacion</td>
<td>nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virgo</td>
<td>vergine</td>
<td>virgen</td>
<td>virgen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R genus</td>
<td>genere</td>
<td>genero</td>
<td></td>
<td>genre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T salus</td>
<td>salute</td>
<td>salud</td>
<td>salut</td>
<td>salut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT gigas</td>
<td>gigante</td>
<td>gigante</td>
<td></td>
<td>géant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V nix</td>
<td>neve</td>
<td>nieve</td>
<td>nev</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above instances show that the derived nouns exhibit all the different increments of the Latin genitive: the following nouns from the Italian and Spanish are arranged according to the termination of the nominative, in order to show the diversity of forms derived from Latin nouns having the same termination in the nominative, which, if they had all been derived from that case, would have been impossible.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Latin} & \quad \text{Italian} & \quad \text{Spanish} \\
\{ & \quad \{ & \quad \} \\
\text{Leonid-as} & \text{Leonid-a} & \text{Leonid-as} \\
\text{Nai-as} & \text{Nai-ade} & \text{Nay-ada} \\
\text{as} & \{ & \} \\
\text{libert-as} & \text{libert-ate} & \text{libert-ad} \\
\text{eleph-as} & \text{elef-ante} & \text{elef-ante} \\
\text{v-as} & \text{v-ase, v-aso} & \text{v-aso} \\
\text{ax} & \{ & \} \\
\text{p-ax} & \text{p-ace} & \text{p-az} \\
\text{Astyan-ax} & \text{Astian-acte} & \text{Astian-ax} \\
\text{er} & \{ & \} \\
\text{magist-er} & \text{maest-ro} & \text{maest-ro} \\
\text{cerc-er} & \text{cerc-ere} & \text{cerc-el} \\
\text{pat-er} & \text{pad-re} & \text{pad-re} \\
\text{Jupit-er} & \text{Giove} & \text{Jupit-er} \\
\end{align*}
\]

1 The old French used carn, (Gr. Comp. p. 63.) which it afterwards changed into charn, char, and chair, the latter probably in order to distinguish it from char from the Teutonic car.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>es</td>
<td>er-ede</td>
<td>Cer-es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cer-es</td>
<td>Cer-ere</td>
<td>Cer-es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interpr-es</td>
<td>interpr-ete</td>
<td>interpr-ete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lim-es</td>
<td>lim-ite</td>
<td>lim-ite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sp-es</td>
<td>sp-em-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is</td>
<td>cen-ere</td>
<td>fin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cin-is</td>
<td>cin-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fin-is</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nere-is</td>
<td>Nere-ide</td>
<td>Nere-ida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-is</td>
<td>l-ite</td>
<td>l-id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix</td>
<td>nutr-ice</td>
<td>nutr-iz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nutr-ix</td>
<td>St-ige</td>
<td>Est-ige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St-yx</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-ix</td>
<td>n-eve</td>
<td>n-ieve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ynx</td>
<td>l-ince</td>
<td>l-ince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-ynx</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sph-ynx</td>
<td>sf-inge</td>
<td>esf-inge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>ord-ine</td>
<td>ord-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ord-o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serm-o</td>
<td>serm-one</td>
<td>serm-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>orizz-onte</td>
<td>horiz-onte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horiz-on</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cle-on</td>
<td>Cle-one</td>
<td>Cle-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phænomen-on</td>
<td>fenomen-o</td>
<td>fenomen-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>os</td>
<td>fl-ore</td>
<td>fl-or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fl-os</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b-os</td>
<td>b-ove</td>
<td>b-oy, b-uey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>os</td>
<td>osso</td>
<td>hueso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popul-us</td>
<td>popol-o</td>
<td>puebl-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virt-us</td>
<td>virt-ute</td>
<td>virt-ud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pal-us</td>
<td>pal-ude</td>
<td>pal-ude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen-us</td>
<td>gen-ere</td>
<td>gen-ero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gr-us</td>
<td>gr-ue (grù)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-aus</td>
<td>l-ode</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selin-us</td>
<td>Selin-unte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These examples incontestably prove that the Italian and Spanish nouns are not formed from the Latin nominative; it now remains to ascertain from which of the remaining cases they were formed. The Provençal nouns above cited might have been formed from either of the oblique cases by simply rejecting the termination, thus duc or nazione might have been equally formed from duc-is, duc-i, duc-em, or duc-e, nation-is, nation-i, nation-em, or nation-e, by simply omitting the termination is, i, em, or e; any one of which might be supported by examples. Many of the Spanish terminations, as luz, lid, margen, ley, are of the same nature: others, however, end with a vowel, which is universally the case with the Italian nouns. On comparing these vowel terminations with the Latin cases, it will appear that there is little resemblance between the terminations of the modern nouns and those of the Latin genitive and dative cases: and that the forms in question are evidently derived from either the accusative or the ablative. Of these two cases the preference might seem due to the ablative, as it accounts for most of the forms, derived both from the second and third declensions of Latin nouns: thus modus, abl. modo, modo Ital. and Span.; lignum, abl. ligno, legno Ital., leño Span.; limes, abl. limite, limite Ital. and Span. These, and nearly all other instances of Italian words derived from Latin nouns of the second and third declensions,
exhibit the precise form of the Latin ablativem: and the Spanish for the most part, though often without the final vowel. Nevertheless, it seems to me certain that the Italian and Spanish nouns were formed not from the ablativé, but from the accusative case, as I shall now attempt to show.

In the first place, it may be observed that the nominative and accusative are more easily confounded than the nominative and the other

m Galvani, Osserv. sulla poesia dei Trovatori, p. 515. n., considers the Latin ablativé as the type of the Italian nouns: “Dal sesto caso dei nomi (he says) si formano quasi tutti i nomi volgari.” The same is also the opinion of Diefenbach, Ueber die romanischen Schriftsprachen, p. 119. Schlegel, Observ., p. 38., says that “il est incontestable que dans l’italien la plupart des mots sont formés de l’ablatif latin.” Maffei does not decide between the ablativé and the accusative: “Siccome non era possibile (he says) che la gente idiota senza studio di grammatica regolarmente secondo la varia esigenza dei verbi usasse le inflessioni dei nomi, e dovea quasi sempre valersi dell’ accusativo, o dell’ ablativó, così da quei due casi venne l’Italico.” Verona Illustrata, P. I. c. 316. M. Raynouard remarks, vol. i. p. 38. “Une observation me semble décisive pour nous convaincre que les noms romans ont été formés du nominatif et principalement de l’accusatif des Latins. Par ce système toutes les difficultés s’explicuent, tandis que les autres cas, tels que le génitif et l’ablatif, n’offrent pas le même avantage.” Diez, Poesie der Troubadours, p. 294. shows briefly, but convincingly, that the Italian nouns were formed from the accusative, and not from the ablativé of the Latin. Sismondi, Litt. du midi, vol. i. p. 15. has the following remarks on this subject: “Elle (la grammaire) n’a dans aucune des langues du midi conservé les cas dans les noms; mais choisissant entre les terminaisons diverses du mot latin, elle a fait le mot nouveau avec le nominatif en italien, avec l’accusatif en espagnol, avec une contraction qui s’éloigne de tous deux en français.” He then adds in a note: “Cette règle doit s’entendre surtout du pluriel.” It will, however, be shown below, that the formation of the plural is governed by different principles from the formation of the singular noun.
FORMS AND INFLEXIONS OF ROMANCE NOUNS. 73

cases; as the accusative merely signifies the government of a verb or preposition, without those additional meanings expressed by the genitive, dative, and ablative. It is natural that the terminations denoting the subject and object of a verb should be confounded, especially by ignorant or unobservant persons. Thus in vulgar English, him says, her says, and them say, are of frequent occurrence; and the use of lui and lei for egli and ella is established in the most correct Italian. The proneness of the Low Latin to the use of the accusative case, where the ancient language would have required the nominative or the ablative, has been already pointed out in numerous instances.

The supposition that the Italian and Spanish nouns and participles were formed from the Latin accusative by rejecting the final consonant, and changing the final u into o, accounts for all the phenomena, with a few exceptions of little importance. The omission of the final m is paralleled by meco, sette, nove, dieci, undici, dodici, cento, amava, Ital.; migo, siete, nueve, diez, once, doce, ciento, amaba, Span.; from mecum, septem, novem, decem, undecim, duodecim, centum, amabam. In the fourteenth century the Latin words pax tecum, Te Deum, regnum tuum, flagellum Dei, gaudeamus, were commonly known in Italy by the corruptions pastecó, tadeo, regnontuo, flagellondeo, galdeamo*. The elision of

* See Perticari, Scrittori del Trecento, l. 1. c. 12.
the final *m* in Latin proves that it had a dead sound, which was easily lost: and the interchange of the forms *cum* and *con* in ancient Latin (as *coneo* and *coeo* for *cumeo*) prove the close affinity between the sounds of the Latin *um* and *on*; which last (as will be shown below) was probably the transition between the Latin *um* and the modern *o*. The change of the final *u* into *o* also occurs in the first persons plural of Italian and Spanish verbs: as *fummo, amiamo, temiamo, sentiamo, Ital.; fuimos, amamos, tememos, sentimos, Span.* The change of the short Latin *u* into *o* in the interior of Italian words, is likewise of frequent occurrence. It is, moreover, a circumstance of some weight as regards this


* Both in Italian and Spanish the Latin *u*, when long by nature, is with few exceptions retained unchanged: as *musa, palude, muro, uno, duro*, etc. In Italian, when it was long by position, it is occasionally retained: as *ultimo, gusto*; but usually changed into *o*, as *sepolcro, polvere, mondo, molto, nasse, mosca, sommo, sotto, giorno, bocca, rotto, colto*, etc. The short *u* was almost invariably changed into *o*, as *popolo, noce, croce, Tivoli, etc.*: though in some few cases it was not changed, as *numero, fiore, subito, due, lupo*. The Italian *o*, formed from the Latin *u*, is short like *torn*, but not thus changed it is open, like *thorn*. Hence *volto* from *vultus* is not pronounced like *volto* from *volutus*. In Spanish the *u* long by position has sometimes been retained, as *mundo, sumo*, and sometimes been changed into *o*, as *boca, soto*; the short *u* (except in terminations where it is changed into *o*, as *Dios, Carlos, huebos, amamos, etc.*) has usually become *ue*, as *pueblo, nubes*; probably, however, the *u* was first changed into *o*, and then the *o* was changed into *ue*: as *bueno, cuello, fuego, fuente, muerte, suerte,*
question, that in the Sicilian dialect the masculine termination is not o but u: thus campu, funnu, (fondo,) arcu, argentu, cornu, corpu, capu. It is true that the Sicilian often changes the Latin o into u, as in maggiuri, minuri, inferiuri, funte, from major, minor, inferior, fons: but in many other instances, as in cornu, corpu, just cited, it does not; and it seems that in Italian u has more frequently passed into o than the converse.

The supposition that the Italian and Spanish nouns were derived from the Latin ablative, does not account for many of the forms.

1. Although the derivation from the ablative explains such words as popolo, collo, Ital.; pueblo, cuello, Span.; from populo, collo; it does not explain such words as mano, canto, Ital. and Span., from manu, cantu: whereas the other hypothesis equally well explains mano from manum, as populo and pueblo from populum. It is true that mano might come from manu, as well as gielo and yelo from gelu: but the very object of the derivation from the ablative is to obtain etc. came from bonus, collum, focus, fons, mors, sors. In like manner the Italian made nuora from nurus; that is, nurus, nora, nuora, like uovo, nuovo, ruota, buono, fuoco, from ovum, novus, rota, bonus, focus, etc.

See Pasquilino, Vocabolario Siciliano, Palermo, 1785, 4to. The dialect of Corsica likewise makes the final masculine vowel u and not o, see Miscali, Storia degli antichi popoli Italiani, vol. ii. p. 54. note. On the occurrence of the final u in other modern Italian dialects, see Lanzi, Saggio di lingua etrusca, vol. i. p. 342. note. ed. 2. On its use in ancient Italian dialects, Niebuhr, vol. i. n. 33.
the o, without having recourse to the supposition of a change of letters.

2. Where the Latin nominative of a neuter noun increasing in the genitive case ended in a vowel, as poema, idioma, diadema, the termination remained unchanged in the Italian and Spanish; but where the nominative of a masculine or feminine noun increasing in the genitive case ended in a vowel, the increment of the genitive was adopted, as nasione, nacion, imagine, imagen, sermone, sermon, Ital. and Span., from natio, imago, sermo. Now if the modern nouns had been formed from the ablative, poema would have become poemate, as sermo became sermone and sermon, Ital. and Span.: whereas, if they are derived from the accusative, this difference is explained, as neuter did not, like masculine and feminine nouns, take the increment of the genitive in the accusative case.

3. The Latin neuter nouns, indeed, increasing in the genitive case, whatever may be their termination, furnish a test, an instantia crucis, by which to try whether the modern nouns were formed from the ablative or accusative: for if they were formed from the ablative, they ought to exhibit the augmentative syllable of the genitive case; whereas, if they were formed from the accusative, they ought not. Comes made in the accusative and ablative cases comitem, and comite, from either of which conte and conde might be formed: but the accusative and ablative of tempus were not tempore and temporem, but tem-
pore and tempus: so that we are enabled to distinguish which of these cases was the type of the modern form. Now from the following table of neuter nouns of the third declension, and their modern derivatives, it will be perceived that the derivatives in no instance assume the augmentative syllable which characterizes the ablative case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abdomen</td>
<td>addome</td>
<td>abdomen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acumen</td>
<td>acume</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aeramen</td>
<td>rame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>albumen</td>
<td>albume</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cacumen</td>
<td>cacume</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caput</td>
<td>capo</td>
<td>cabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carmen</td>
<td>carme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>certamen</td>
<td>certame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corpus</td>
<td>corpo</td>
<td>cuerpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crimen</td>
<td>crime</td>
<td>crimen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>examen</td>
<td>esame</td>
<td>examen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flumen</td>
<td>fiume</td>
<td>flumen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foramen</td>
<td>forame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gravamen</td>
<td>gravame</td>
<td>gravamen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jus</td>
<td>gius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lastamen</td>
<td>letame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>latus</td>
<td>lato</td>
<td>lado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legumen</td>
<td>legume</td>
<td>legumbre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>litus</td>
<td>lito or lido</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lumen</td>
<td>lume</td>
<td>lumbre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marmor</td>
<td>marmo</td>
<td>marmol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these words the Italian, in order to avoid a consonant termination, rejects the last letter of the Latin accusative, and where the termination includes \( u \), it changes that vowel into \( o \). In this manner \textit{acumen}, \textit{flumen}, become \textit{acume}, \textit{flume}, etc.; as \textit{fenomeno}, \textit{lessico} are formed from \textit{phænomenon}, \textit{lexicon}, \textit{forse} from \textit{forsan}, \textit{amme} from \textit{amen}, in Dante, (Paradiso, xiv. 64 :) and \textit{latus},

1 The Provençal likewise made \textit{lum} and \textit{nom} from \textit{lumen} and \textit{nomen}, although in masculine and feminine nouns it adopted the increment of the genitive.

\* See Sanchez, ibid, vol. i. Index in \textit{huebos} and \textit{huevos}.

\* The French has evidently formed its nouns in the same way as the Italian and Spanish: thus from \textit{caput}, \textit{chap} or \textit{chef}, from \textit{carmen}, \textit{charme}, from \textit{corpus}, \textit{corps}, from \textit{nomen}, \textit{nom}, from \textit{pondus}, \textit{poids}, from \textit{stamen}, \textit{étain}, from \textit{tempus}, \textit{temps}: in some of which words the final Latin \( \textit{s} \) is still preserved. From \textit{marmor} and \textit{sulfur} it has likewise made \textit{marbre} and \textit{soufre}; but in these words the formation from the uninfected case is not so obvious.
sulphur, marmor, caput, become lato, solfo, mar-
mo, capo. The Spanish is less regular, but in no word does it assume the increment of the genitive: like the Italian it changes us and ut into o, (with the exception of the old word huebos from opus); but the termination en it sometimes exhibits entire, as examen, volumen, and sometimes changes it into re, as lumubre, nombre. In marmor the Italian rejects the final r, the Spanish softens it into l.

The old Spanish said nome, lume, etc. Rayn. Gr. Comp. p. xxxiv. It will be observed, however, that now all words from neuter nouns in en, which have not retained that termination unchanged, end in re; as enxambre, legumbre, etc. There are likewise the forms sangre, hombre, and hambre, from the masc. and fem. sanguis, homo, and fames. This termination has been caused by the easy transition of the liquids into one another, and has originated thus: homine-m, homne, (which form occurs, Sanchez, vol. i. p. 396.) hombre, hombre; sanguine-m, sangne, (which occurs in the Sacrifício de la misa 16, Sanchez, vol. ii. p. 183.) sangre; lumen, lumne, (by transposition, used in old Spanish, Sanchez, vol. i. p. 396.) lumre, lumbre. So in Italian anima, anma, alma, arma, (see Marrini on the Lamento di Cecco, p. 176.) and in Spanish femina, marmor, carcer, arbor, became hembra, marmol, carcil, arbol; in French ordine-m became ordre, pam-pinus pampre, altare first alter, (Gr. Comp. p. 35.) then alter, then autel; in Provençal femina has become frema, i. e. femna, frena, frema. The b in lumubre, hombre, etc. is inserted on account of the difficulty of pronouncing a liquid following m: as in hombro, Span. from húmerus; comble, chamble, humble, and numerus, French, from cumulus, camera, humilis, and numerus: in Greek, γάμβρος (for γάμβρος) from γάμος, παρμέβλωκε for παρμελάκαε, μεσήμβριος for μεσημ-
βρίος, ἤμβρον for ἤμορον (i.e. ἤμορον, ἤμορον, ἤμβρον) etc. So in English ramble and tumble correspond to rammeln German, and tummeln Dutch: Hamblett for Hamlet, Hambleton for Hamilton: solemn and damned were formerly written solempne and dampened: 'firmle hemp' for 'female hemp' occurs in Tusser, c. 45. § 8. etc.
In the following words the Italian, and sometimes the Spanish, adds a vowel to the Latin accusative case:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>animale</td>
<td>animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cor</td>
<td>cuore</td>
<td>cuer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebur</td>
<td>e bure</td>
<td>fiel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fel</td>
<td>fiele</td>
<td>leche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lac</td>
<td>miele</td>
<td>miel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nectar</td>
<td>nettare</td>
<td>nectar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>os</td>
<td>osso</td>
<td>hueso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sal</td>
<td>sale</td>
<td>sal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribunal</td>
<td>tribunale</td>
<td>tribunal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vas</td>
<td>vase or vaso</td>
<td>vaso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That in these words the final e is euphonic, and is not the e of the Latin ablative, is proved by cuore, cuer, e bure, fiele, and miele, which if they were derived from the ablative would be cuorde, cuerde, e bore, felle, and melle. The Spanish fel, miel, etc., indeed, prove nothing either way, as they might be curtailed from the ablative: but leche is evidently formed from lac with an euphonic vowel, since if it came from the ablative it would be lette, like the Italian latte. That the final e is here only euphonic, and was added in order to avoid the consonant termination is also shown by the circumstance that when the neuter noun ended in a, the form of the Latin nominative or accusative was preserved without alteration, as in the following words:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ænigma</td>
<td>enigma</td>
<td>enigma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anathema</td>
<td>anatema</td>
<td>anatema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axioma</td>
<td>assioma</td>
<td>axioma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baptisma</td>
<td>battesmo*</td>
<td>bautismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chrisma</td>
<td>cresima</td>
<td>crisma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diadema</td>
<td>diadema</td>
<td>diadema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diploma</td>
<td>diploma</td>
<td>diploma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dogma</td>
<td>domma</td>
<td>dogma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drama</td>
<td>dramma</td>
<td>drama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epigramma</td>
<td>epigramma</td>
<td>epigrama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idioma</td>
<td>idioma</td>
<td>idioma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>problema</td>
<td>problema</td>
<td>problema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psalma</td>
<td>salmo</td>
<td>salmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sophisma</td>
<td>sofisma or -mo</td>
<td>sofisma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spasma</td>
<td>spasimo</td>
<td>espasmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sistema</td>
<td>sistema</td>
<td>sistema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thema</td>
<td>tema</td>
<td>tema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>theorema</td>
<td>teorema</td>
<td>teorema</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That in these words (which passed into the Latin from the Greek) the inflexion of the genitive case was not forgotten, and that they would have been anateme, idiome, etc., if the Latin accusative had been anathematem, idiomatem, appears from the Italian form stimati, from the plural stigmata.

There are a few words in which the Italian form exhibits the increment of the Latin neuter noun: as numine, esamine, crimine, where nume, esame, crime, are the more common forms*. But

* The reason of the change of the final a into o in neuter nouns is explained below under the head of the genders, ch. II. § 3.

* Also ulcer from ulcus, where ulcera (from the plural) is the more common form: on the origin of ulcera see below, ch. II. § 3.
in the words *fulmine*, *genere*, *latte*, and *pettine*, there is no variation: and *estiercol*, Span., is derived from some inflected case of *stercus*, like *marmol* from *marmor*.

The Italian appears at first sight to offer some instances of the formation of nouns from the Latin nominatives of the third declension, as *uomo*, *ladro*, *margo*, *imago*: but it is evident that these are modern forms which have undergone different modifications, and that the original words were *hominem*, or *uomine*, *ladrone*, *margine*, *imagine*. The Italian, however, sometimes preserved the Latin nominative in proper names, as *Peleus* in the early writers, *Feton*, *Climenes*,

b The original form of *uomo* was probably *hominem*, regularly formed from *hominem*. This form is still extant in the plural *uomini*, anciently *hominis*. It then became *omini* or *omen*, a form preserved in the Milanese dialect. *Omen* was then shortened into *ome*, by the rejection of the final *n*, like *volume* from *volumen*, etc. (above p. 78.), and *ome* became *omo* or *uomo*, as in many other words where the termination vacillates between *e* and *o*. Thus *cespite* and *gurgite* were first contracted into *cespe* and *gurge*, (which last occurs in Dante,) and then changed into *cespo* and *gorgo*. (See Castelvetro on Bembo, vol. ii. p. 18.) The same explanation applies to *margo* and *imago*: which originally were doubtless *margine* and *imagine* (the common forms,) contracted into *image* (which occurs in Dante,) and *marge*, and then the terminations were confounded. The word *ladro* shortened from *ladrone*, *(ladrone*, *ladron*, *ladro*) furnishes another instance of the rejection of the final *n*. Words in constant use like *umine*, were most liable to contraction: thus *mulierem* has now become *moglie*, though the form *mogliere* occurs in ancient writers; and *sanguine* has been contracted into *sangue*: the Spanish still has *sangre*, (see above, note 7.) See Schlegel, p. 36: "Ces mots, qui reviennent sans cesse dans le langage populaire, ressemblent à la petite monnoie d'argent: elle perd son empreinte à force de passer d'une main à l'autre, tandis que les gros écus la conservent."
Semiramis, Minos, in Dante⁵: in some names likewise there are two forms, one from the nominative, and the other from the accusative: as Plato, Platone, Cato, Catone, Pluto, Plutone⁴. The Spanish likewise presents several instances of the Latin nominative in proper names; as Jupiter, Palas, Apolo, Fenix, Carlos, etc.: it has likewise retained it in the single word dios⁶. But with these exceptions there is not (as far as I am aware) in either language any noun or participle which has retained the termination of the Latin nominative.

It may therefore, I conceive, be laid down as the general result of the above remarks, that Italian and Spanish nouns and participles are formed from the Latin accusative: sometimes retaining it unaltered, as poema, diadema, Ital. and Span.; semen, volumen, Span.; sometimes by rejecting the final consonant, as musa, limite, amante, gente, nume, fiume, marmo; sometimes

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⁵ See Peticari Difesa di Dante, c. 13.

Whence it has formed the fem. diosa, a goddess. Coms from comes in Provençal, (conte Ital., conde Span., comte French,) affords an instance of the preservation of the Latin nominative in a masculine noun of the third declension. In the Poeme sur Boece, v. 34. Coms fo de Roma, and v. 138—40. Molt fort blasmava Boecis sos amigs, Qui lui laudaven dereer euz dias antix, Qu’el era coms, molt onraz e rix: Raynouard in both places translates consul. Perhaps count (comes) is the word meant. The French has likewise retained the ancient form of the nominative in some proper names, as Charles, Bigues, (instead of Challon, Hugon, which were the ancient accusative,) though it now has universally adopted the form of the Latin accusative.
by rejecting the final consonant and changing u into o, as modo, amato, mano, solfo, capo, corpo, cabo, cuerpo: and the Spanish sometimes by rejecting the final syllable, as imagen, trinidad, luz.

On comparing this system of forming nouns and participles from the Latin with that prevalent in the other Romance languages, it will appear that there was an important and fundamental difference between the method adopted by the Italian and Spanish on the one hand, and the Provençal and French on the other. It has been shown above that the Provençal and French nouns adopt the increment of the Latin genitive, and so far all the four languages agree. The Provençal, however, in forming its nouns and participles from Latin forms in us, sometimes preserved the termination of the Latin nominative entire, as us, (for uns), mieu, Deus, or where us was preceded by a consonant, it omitted the u and preserved the s, as philosophus, bels, amis, fers, amatx, from philosophus, bellus, amicus, ferus,

1 Speme in Italian is evidently spem, the accusative of spes. as ren in Provençal (like rien in French) is the accusative of res, both which forms occur. This explanation accounts for the double form speme and spene, since the final m was in Italian (as has been already shown) often changed into n. Aria likewise, as will be explained below, comes from aera: as also lamparo Span., from lampada; (on the change of d and r, as in fedire for ferire, rado for raro, Ital. see Muratori Ant. It. vol. ii. p. 532. A. vol. iii. p. 1090. A.: so in English paddock is parrock, (parroc, A. S.) whence park is contracted: see Archaeologia, vol. xvii. p. 138.)

2 Above, p. 68.
amatus. By analogy this termination was then transferred to all nominatives, even to those which were not terminated with s in Latin, as amors, talens, valors, to comparatives, as maiers, mielhers, and even to infinitives used substantively, as sabers, plazers. This analogy was not, however, extended to Latin substantives in a, to the definite article, or to personal pronouns.

Pursuing this system of imitating the terminations of the Latin cases, the Provençal rejected the final s from its accusative singular, the only oblique case which it preserved from the Latin: and in the plural number formed the nominative without, and the accusative with the s. The following example, therefore, may serve as a general type for the declension of Provençal nouns and participles, and at the same time by the comparison with the Latin show the reason of the changes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lat.</td>
<td>Prov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>amicus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>amicum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

h These are traces of the rule with regard to the final s not applying to nouns where it was not present in Latin: thus paire, maire, hom, from pater, mater, homo, sometimes have the s and sometimes have it not. Thus el drac, nominative plural, i. e. e li dracs, (dracones,) Gr. R. p. 109.; whereas lo drac, nominative singular, p. 141. (draco): according to the rule these forms ought to be just reversed: but from the same translation of the Apocalypse in which these forms occur, Johans, nominative singular, i. e. Johannes, p. 141. See Diez, Poesie der Troubadours, p. 296.
The Provençal has moreover a declension of proper names founded on the same principles, and in which the traces of the Latin are more distinctly visible. These nouns sometimes made the nominative sing. in s or es, and the accusative in on, the final n of which might be omitted, when the Provençal accusative became the same as the Italian and Spanish form. Thus we find, nom. Aimes, Hugues, Odiels; acc. Aimon or Aimo, Ugon, Odilo, (Gr. Comp. p. 85, 86.) This declension has probably preserved the intermediate steps between the Latin and the common Provençal form: viz. campus, campes, camps: campum, campon, campo, campe, camp.

The declension of the nouns is further illustrated by a comparison of the Latin and Provençal possessive pronouns, (Gr. R. p. 96—114.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nostrum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vestrum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nostra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nostram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vestram</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meus, mes</td>
<td>Mea, mia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meum, mon</td>
<td>Meam, mieu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuus, tus</td>
<td>Tua, tieu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuum, ton</td>
<td>Tuam, ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suus, sos</td>
<td>Sua, sueu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suum, son</td>
<td>Suam, sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noster, nostris</td>
<td>Nostra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nostrum, nostre</td>
<td>Nostram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vester, vostres</td>
<td>Vesta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vestrum, vostre</td>
<td>Vestram</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FORMS AND INFLEXIONS OF ROMANCE NOUNS. 87

PLURAL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lat.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mei</td>
<td>mei, meu</td>
<td>meas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meos</td>
<td>mos, meus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tui</td>
<td>tui, teu</td>
<td>suas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuos</td>
<td>tui, teus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sui</td>
<td>sei, seu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suos</td>
<td>sos, seus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nostri</td>
<td>nostre</td>
<td>nostras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nostrae</td>
<td>nostras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vestri</td>
<td>vostre</td>
<td>vestras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vestreas</td>
<td>vostres</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With all classes of nouns except those ending in *a*, and another kind to be mentioned below, the Provençal exactly imitated the Latin declension in *us*, in making the nominative singular, and the accusative plural in *s*, and the nominative plural and the accusative singular without *s*. With those ending in *a*, however, it preserved the Latin nominative singular unchanged, but formed the plural of all cases after the Latin accusative, as *musas, domnas, mias*, etc.

In the declension of its adjectives the Provençal observes the same rules, founded on the same reasons.

Thus *bons*, good, is declined as follows:

Singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>Acc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bons or <em>bos</em></td>
<td><em>bon</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>Acc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bona</em></td>
<td><em>bon</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>Acc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bonas</td>
<td><em>bons</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gr. R. p. 42.
Past participles of verbs are declined in the same manner: thus

**Singular.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>amatz</th>
<th>amat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>amat</td>
<td>amata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>amat</th>
<th>amadas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amatz</td>
<td>amadas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gr. R. p. 200.

Some adjectives, however, are common to both genders, and these in the singular number omit the *s* in the accusative case, but in the plural preserve it for both the cases. *Grans*, great, will furnish an example of this declension.

**Singular.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>grans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>gran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural.**

| grans |

The reason of this difference is obvious, viz. that whereas the Latin adjectives which took a feminine termination, ending in *us*, made *i* in the nominative plural; those which did not take a feminine termination ending in *ens, ans, is*, etc. made *es* in the nominative plural, though they made *em* in the accusative singular: consequently the Provençal, after the model of the Latin adjective, omitted the *s* in the accusative singular, but preserved it in the nominative plural.

The present participles of verbs active were de-
FORMS AND INFECTIONS OF ROMANCE NOUNS. 89

clined on the same principle, only they showed in the accusative case the letter of the increased genitive: as

SINGULAR.                                  PLURAL.
Nom. amans                                    Nom. amans or -anz for amants
Acc. amant                                      amans

Gr. R. p. 197.

The acc. singular is often written without the final t, as the Provençal used mon for mond from mundus, and generally omitted the final d or t after n: thus chant, the first person of the present indic. of chantar, became chan, atend from atendre became aten, sent, from sentir became sen, etc. (Gr. R. p. 209.)

In old French the same system of declension is observed, as M. Raynouard has shown by a multitude of examples, which prove beyond a doubt the retention in that language of the same two Latin cases. Thus in the nom. singular, “Qui ere amirals des galies;” “Johans li rois de Blaquie venoit;” “Nus n’est joyeux com Thiebaux;” (i. e. Thiebauds, Theobaldus); “Que ce fut la flors des barons!” In the acc. singular,

1 In modern French the words fils, (from filius,) fonds, (from fundus,) lace, (from laqueus,) tiers, (from tertius,) and Artus, (from Arturus,) for Arthur, are remnants of this ancient form: also corps, poids, temps, (see above, p. 78. x.) choux, (from caulis,) époux, (from sponsus,) and proper names, such as Charles, Hugues, Jules, Georges, Jacques, Louis, Villars or Villiers, (from Villarius,) Londres, (from London, like Havre, from the German hafen.) Anciently the final s in these words was doubtless sounded, and fils nom. was distinguished from fil acc., to the ear as well as the eye.

N
"del plus bas enfern;" "Ested e iern tu as fait." Nom. plural, "Celui cui li Franc avoient chacié de Constantinople;" "toumi penser sont à ma douce amie;" "dont li nom ne sont mie en escrit." Acc. plural, "Li rois mande ses arceveques, Ses meillors clerces et ses evesques;" "sur les chevels de mun chief;" "Sire Deus de vertuz," (i. e. vertutz.) Gr. Comp. p. 71—84.

The old French likewise, as well as the Provençal, extended this inflexion to the infinitives of verbs, when used as substantives: thus in the nom singular, "Si la blonde savoit Com li departirs m'ocira:" but in the acc. singular, "mainte larme i fu florée de pitié al departir de lors pays." (Gr. Comp. p. 96.)

The same inflexion of proper names as that above pointed out in the Provençal also occurs in the old French: thus Hues, Pieres, Bueves are nom. Huon, Pieron, Buevon, are acc. (Gr. Comp. p. 86, 87.)

Many traces of this ancient form of the accusative still appear in the modern French proper names: thus Hugon, Pierron, or Perron, Odilon, Guyon, (from Guy,) Guillon, (from Guille for Guillaume,) Giraudon, (from Giraud,) Girardon, (from Girard,) Morelon or Morlon, (from Morel,) Philippin, (from Philippe,) Vernon, (from Verne,) etc.

It is unnecessary to repeat any of M. Ray-

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nouard's instances of the declension of French adjectives, as it is a mere repetition of the declension of the substantives, (Gr. Comp. p. 129—36.)

The French also ancienly used *mes, tes, ses*, formed from *mos, tos, sos*, in the nom. singular, and *mon, ton, son*, in the acc. singular: thus "je suis ses fils, il est mes pere." *Nostres* and *vos tres* were likewise used as nom. singular, as "sacès que nostres sires m'a pardonnez mes pecheiez." The latter forms have, however, been supplanted by the acc. *nostre* or *notre, vostre* or *votre*, and the former by the acc. *mon, ton, son*. (Gr. Comp. p. 162—170.)

The Provençal had, however, a peculiar exception to the general rule with regard to the final *s*, for substantives ending in *aire, eire, ire*, which made the acc. singular, and the nom. and acc. plural, in *ador, edor*, and *idor*. Thus *tro-baire, cantaire, amaire, entendeire, servire*, were nom. singular; but in the acc. singular, *trobador, cantador, amador, entendedor, servidor*, and in both cases of the plural, *trobadors, cantadors, amadors, entendedors, servidors*. (Gr. R. p. 33-5.)

The reason of this singular declension is that these words, or the words from which the analogy was derived, were formed from Latin nouns in *ator, ítor, and ítor*; and in such words as *am-átör, domítör, audítör*, in the nom. singular, the last syllable being short, the *o* was easily slurred over, and *ator, ítor, and ítor*, contracted into *aire, eire*, and *ire*; but in all the other cases,
CHAPTER II.

singular and plural, amatōrem, amatōres, domi-
tōrem, domitōres, etc.; the or being long, it had a
stronger hold on the tongue, and only the last
syllable, according to the constant practice of the
Provençal, language was omitted. In like manner
the Italian has formed lepre from lepōrem, elimi-
nating the short o, but has preserved the long
o in lepore from lepōrem. The following scheme,
therefore, explains this declension.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lat.</td>
<td>Prov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. amatōr</td>
<td>amaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. amatōr-em</td>
<td>amador</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analogous change may be observed in
those Provençal comparatives which have been
derived from the Latin. These form the nom.
singular in ers, the acc. singular and nom. plural
in or, and the acc. plural in ors. The reason of
this change is, that in the nom. singular the final
or, being short in Latin, lost its full sound of o,
and became er; then, according to the analogy
above explained, it took the final s in the nom.
singular: but in the augmented cases the or
being long, the vowel was not changed into the
thinner sound of e.

This remarkable declension of nouns in aire,

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1 So it may be observed in the declension of proper names, the
Provençal changed the final us of the nom. into es, because it was
short, but changed the final um of the acc. into on, because it was
long.
reappears in the old French: which in the substantives corresponding to the Latin nouns in ator and itor made the nom. singular in eres, erres, and ieres, but the other three cases in eor or or. Thus nom. singular, "Diex tu ies rois et conseilleres, et gouverneres, et jugieres."
"Couronés empereres i fu." Acc. singular, "il deguerpit Deu sun faitor." Nom. plural, "Vous estes dui enchantor, et li nostre enemi sunt jugor." Acc. plural, "Que il est dieu des jon- gleors, et dieu de tous les chanteors." The modern French has formed these nouns from the ancient termination, not of the nominative, but of the accusative singular: thus from empereror, chanteor, came emperor, chantor, changed first into emperour, chantour, then into emperer, chanteur.

The word troubadour, from trobador, has never undergone the last change and be-

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* None of the Provençal examples cited by M. Raynouard, Gr. R. p. 33. take the final e after aire; the French nouns, however, take it invariably. Gr. Comp. p. 87—94.

* This series of changes may be observed in many other French words, thus illorum, lor, lour, leur; morir, mourir, meurs; probus, proux, (whence proviene,) preux, etc.: also in the substantives derived from Latin nouns in or, as honor, honour, honneur, etc. (see below § 3.) Some of these preserved the ancient termination unchanged, as amour, labour; in others it can be perceived in their derivatives, as vigoureux, douloureux, rigoureux, savoureux, etc.: valeureux has been formed after the termination eur came into use. Synopeux and liquoreux have preserved the Latin form in or. Nous from nos, vous from vos, bouche from boca, (bucca, Lat.) mouvoir from mover, vouloir from voler, are instances of the change of o into ou; le from lo, les from los, ce from ço, of the change of o into e.
come troubadour. The modern Provençal on the other hand has formed all these nouns in aire from the termination of the nominative, as chantaire, triounfaire, troumpaire, etc.; but like the French it has lost the inflexion.

Of the distinction between the cases of comparatives derived from the Latin, there appears to be no trace in any Romance language except the Provençal. (Gr. Comp. p. 138.)

Now when we come to compare the system of formation and declension which has been just described, with that which prevails in the Italian and Spanish, we shall find the strongest and most marked dissimilarity.

1. In the first place there is no trace in the Italian and Spanish languages of any distinction of cases: whereas the Provençal distinguished between the nominative and accusative, both in the singular and plural, by at least four different manners: viz. the retention or omission of s, the change of es and on, of aire and ador, and of ers and or. Three of these methods of distinguishing cases likewise appear in the old French.

2. The Provençal in all nouns and participles derived from Latin nouns and participles in us, formed its derivative from the nominative by omitting the last but one, and preserving the last letter, as amic-u-s, amics; amat-u-s, amatx: the Italian and Spanish, on the other hand, formed their derivative from the accusative by preserving the last but one, and omitting the
last letter; thus amicu-m, amico, amatu-m, amato.

M. Raynouard himself, speaking of the strong resemblance which the Catalanian and Vaudois languages bear to the Provençal, remarks that their chief difference consists in their wanting the fundamental rule with regard to the final s. He then adds: "it appears that this rule has never been able to cross either the Pyrenees or the Alps." (Gr. Comp. p. xxxix.) By these words, M. Raynouard, if I rightly understand him, means to say, that the rules for the formation and declension of nouns and participles were originally different in the Provençal and French on the one hand, and in the languages spoken in Italy and Spain on the other. If this be so, his theory of the universality of the Pro-

* M. Raynouard, having shown that the Italian formerly used meo for mio, goes on to say that "the Romance (i.e. Provençal) pronoun mon was adopted and still exists in Monsignor. This remarkable vestige is a fresh proof of the ancient community of language." Gr. Comp. p. 164. This vestige, which is certainly remarkable, proves no more than this: that the Italian, as well as the Provençal, corrupted the Latin meus into mon: the Provençal used it as an acc. case; in Italian it was the only case. Afterwards mon became mo, as in the ancient expressions fratelmo, patremo, cuzinomo: see Menage, Etym. Ital. in cuzinomo. If M. Raynouard can show that the Italian, like the Provençal, used meus and mos in the nom. case, he will then indeed have gone far to prove a community of language. It is not improbable that in Italian, as it appears to have been the case in Provençal, (see above, p. 86.) the transition of um into o took place in this manner: viz. um, om, on, o; amicum, amicom, amicon, amico. The suppression of the final n is very frequent in the Provençal. Gr. R. p. 346. Gr. Comp. p. 163. So likewise in Italian con il and non il are contracted into col and dol, in German von dem into vom.
vençal language must, according to his own admission, be considerably circumscribed.

It might, indeed, be argued, that as the Provençal and French, although they adopted as their type the accusative of Latin nouns increasing in the genitive case, yet retained the s of the nominative case of nouns and participles in us: so the Italian and Spanish, though they are formed from nouns and participles increasing in the genitive, by taking the accusative case, yet formed from nouns and participles in us, by taking not the accusative but the nominative, with the rejection of the final s, which, we know, was often suppressed in Latin before a consonant: thus mondo, buono, amato, would come from mundu', bonu', amatu': and in some Italian dialects the final vowel is still u and not o.

This hypothesis, however, would not account for such forms as tenero, suocero, genero, ministero, maestro, Ital. tierno, suegro, yerno, ministero, maestro, Span., etc., the originals of which have not u in the nominative case. We are, therefore, compelled to suppose that the Latin accusative was the universal type for the Italian and Spanish nouns. We know, likewise, from the Provençal and French form of the nominative case, that the final s had not been in the corrupt period of Latinity, dropped from the terminations of nouns even in conversation; al-

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* See Lanzi, Lingua Etrusca, vol. i. p. 91.
* See above, p. 75.
though it was frequently elided before a consonant by the early Latin poets.

3. In forming the plurals of masculine nouns, the Provençal and Italian so far agree, that both follow the Latin, nominative case in *i*: the Provençal rejecting, the Italian retaining, the final vowel. The Spanish, however, forms its masculine plural after the model of the Latin accusative, not of the Latin nominative, by adding *s*: thus the Italian and Provençal have *amici* and *amic*, like the Latin *amici*, the Spanish *amigos* like *amicos*: *desiderj, pensamenti*, Ital. *desir, pensamen*, Prov., but *deseos, pensamientos*, Span. The Spanish forms its masculine plurals simply by adding *s*, from the analogy of the acc. plur. of Latin nouns in *us*, while the Italian forms its masc. plur. in *i*, from the analogy of the nom. plur. of nouns in *us*. Thus the Italian says indifferently, *modi, mani, onori, poemi*; the Spanish *modos, manos, onores, poemas*.

4. In forming the plurals fem. of nouns and participles in *a*, the Provençal and Spanish agree in following the Latin accusative, and in simply adding *s*: thus *domnas, bonas, amatas*, Prov., *dueñas, buenas, amadas*, Span. Here, however, the Italian disagrees, as it forms the plural in these instances from the Latin nom. in *æ*, which, not having any diphthongs, it changes into *e*; thus *done, buone, amate, nuptiae nozze*.

The characteristic varieties of the several Romance languages in forming their masculine and feminine nouns from Latin nouns in *us* and *a*,

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are shown by the following scheme, which at the same time proves that each language derived its terminations directly from the Latin, and independently of any of its cognate languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Prov.</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>caballus</td>
<td>cavallo</td>
<td>caballo</td>
<td>cavals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caballum</td>
<td>cavalli</td>
<td>caval</td>
<td>cheval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>caballos</td>
<td>caballos</td>
<td>cavals</td>
<td>cheval</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It has been shown that the Italian and Spanish nouns were formed from the Latin acc. singular: and that the Provençal and French nouns also took the increment of the genitive case; the same languages (as is shown in the above table) also formed the plural of feminine nouns in a from the Latin accus., and the Spanish formed the plural of all nouns from the accusative. The same tendency to employ the accusative as a nominative case is also visible in the progress of the Provençal and French languages; and, when the distinction of cases was gradually given up, led to the disuse of the nominative, and the retention of the accusative form in each number. Thus in both those languages, the singular number of nouns ending with a consonant is now marked by the absence of a final s, and the plural by its addition: which is the
rule observed in the ancient *accusative* cases of nouns, but in the *nominative* cases the rule was just reversed. The gradual progress of this change can be observed in the remains of the early Provençal literature, in which the distinction between the nom. and acc. is by no means constantly observed; and in almost every instance it may be seen that the disposition is to use the accusative and not the nominative as the invariable form. In general, the observation of the distinction of cases is in proportion to the antiquity of the writing: thus in the *Poeme sur Boece*, the earliest work in the Romance languages now extant, the rule as to the final *s* is constantly observed; in the *Nobla Leyczon* it is almost constantly neglected in the singular number. The same progress is also discernible in other parts of speech; thus *mon, ton, son, nostre* and *vostre*, sometimes occur as nominatives singular, and *mos, tos, sos*, as nominatives plural, although for the most part they are only accusatives: but this licence (as M. Raynaud states) rarely occurs in the compositions taken from the best and most ancient monuments (Gr. R. p. 116). It is not improbable that a similar change took place in the formation of the plural of Provençal nouns in *a*; and that at a very early period of that language, prior to the date of any remains of it which we possess, *muse* was the nom., and *musas* only the acc. case; so that there were two cases in the fem. as in the masc. plural. This proneness to abandon the nom. and em-
ploy only the acc. case, however prevailing, was not invariable; thus it has been already shown that, although the modern French forms, empe-
reur, chanteur, etc. have been formed from the ancient acc. emperer, chanteor, and not from the ancient nom. empereres, chanteres, yet the modern Provençal forms chantaire, triounfaire, etc. have followed the analogy of the ancient nominatives cantaire, amaire, and not of the an-
cient acc. cantador, amador*. The Italian, more-
over, although it completely deserted the traces of the Latin nominatives in the singular number, still retains their terminations unchanged in the plural. However it cannot be doubted that on the whole the Romance languages show a de-
cided tendency to the accusative in preference to the nominative case; a tendency, likewise, pointed out above in some specimens of the Latin of the middle ages*: and it seems to me that this disposition affords a better explanation of the forms of the modern nouns than the re-
mark of Schlegel that the oblique cases served as a type, because taken together they were more numerous, and therefore occurred oftener than the nominative*. All the cases except the

* See above, p. 93, 94.  
* See above, p. 64—7.  
* "Toutes les langues dérivées du Latin ont donné la préférence à un cas oblique quelconque. Et pourquoi? parce que tous les cas o-
bliques pris ensemble étant d'un usage plus fréquent que le nominatif, la forme du substantif commune à tous ces cas s'était mieux imprimée dans la mémoire de ceux qui ne savoient pas le latin d'une manière savante." Observ. p. 38. The same explanation is also given by Diefenbach, p. 119.
nom. and acc. appear to have become obsolete at a very early period after the German invasion: and therefore this remark does not explain why, when only those two cases remained, the preference should, in almost every instance, have been given to that case which seems to have the less obvious claim. But although the existence of a disposition to abandon the subjective and use the objective case as the invariable form, appears to me to be convincingly proved by a wide induction, I am unable to suggest any very satisfactory explanation of the

It may be observed that foreigners, in attempting to speak a language which they do not understand, almost always use the accusative as the nominative of the pronoun in speaking of themselves: e.g. *moi* in French, and *me* in English. The accusative seems to be more emphatic than the nominative, and to be preferred to it on that account: thus in French, where a stress is laid on the pronoun, the accusative case is invariably used: as *c'est moi*, *c'est toi*, and not *c'est je*, *c'est tu*; which the strict rule of syntax would require. Thus when Nisus, in Virgil, wishes to direct instant attention to himself, he exclaims,

*Me, me, adsam qui feci, in me convertite ferrum*

O Rutuli, mea fraus omnis, etc.

The West Indian negroes have made the same change in the pronouns, in their corruption of the English language: thus in a song written in the negro dialect of Jamaica,

Peter, Peter, was a black boy;
Peter *him* pull foot one day:
Buckra girl, *him* Peter's joy;
Lilly white girl entice him away.

*(Journal of a West India Proprietor, by M. G. Lewis, p. 120).* "The negroes (the author of this song adds in a note) never distinguish between 'him' and 'her' in their conversation." They have therefore not only abolished the distinction between the two cases by making the accusative serve for both, but they have also abolished the distinction between the two genders, by making the masculine serve for both.
causes which induced the mind to make this preference.

In explaining the formation of the Italian nouns from the acc. case, I had occasion to remark that when the final syllable was um or us, the last letter was rejected, and u became o; that where it was em, the last letter was rejected and the e retained. According to this hypothesis, there could be nothing arbitrary in the final vowel of the Italian nouns, and the harshness of a consonant termination was avoided, not by adding a vowel after a consonant, but by suppressing a consonant after a vowel. M. Raynouard, however, takes an entirely different view of this subject. Conceiving that the Italian was derived from the Provençal, he represents the Italian nouns and participles as having been first reduced to the Provençal form, and then being augmented with a vowel, for the sake of euphony, in order to avoid a consonant termination. Hence he considers such words as largo, porco, tardo, campo, carne, altare, toro, falso, furto, parte, as formed by the addition of the euphonic e or o, from the ancient forms larg, porc, tard, camp, carn, altar, tor, fals, furt, part: he even goes further, and supposes that the ancient e has sometimes been changed into o: thus the original forms diable, secle, sepulcre, nostre, vostre, clergue, evesque, were, according to him, changed in Italian into diavolo, secolo, sepolcro, nostro, vostro, cherico, vescovo. In support of this assertion he cites the authority of Giambul-
lari, a Florentine writer of the sixteenth century, who states that in ancient times most of the Florentine words ended with consonants, and that the Florentines, seeing the softness of the vowel terminations of the Sicilians, adopted the Sicilian rule. This ancient usage, he thinks, is preserved in many of the Italian dialects, which reject the final vowels, and have the same consonant terminations as in the corresponding words of the Provençal: and a remnant is retained by the written Italian, in the power of omitting the final vowel of certain words ending with a liquid. He further adds that Boccaccio called his great collection of novels Decameron, without the final e, which was not added till afterwards: and that in a poem of Barsape, an early Milanese writer, the final e is never added to substantives in on, and is often wanting after those ending in x, as pax, lux, verax, which are now always pace, luce, verace.

To this doctrine I must object, in the first place, that the Provençal nouns were not as M. Raynouard represents them, but largs, porcs, tards, camps, etc. with the final s, the mark of the nominative, which there is no reason to believe ever existed in Italian. Moreover if the Italian nouns originally ended in consonants, and the final vowel was afterwards added for the

* See Gr. Comp. p. lx. lvi.—vii. and for the consonant terminations of the Italian dialects, p. 397—409. He makes the same supposition with regard to the addition of the euphonic vowel to the Spanish nouns, ib. p. xxxv.
sake of euphony, how comes it that attention should in almost all cases have been paid to the Latin termination, and that where the Latin accusative ended in _um_ or _us_, the final vowel was _o_, where it ended in _em_ or _en_, the final vowel was _e_? Is it conceivable that if the Latin terminations had been long cut off and forgotten, we should never (with a very few exceptions) find _monde_ from _mundum_, or _monto_ from _montem_? Let us take ten Italian substantives which M. Raynouard has deprived of their terminations in order to exhibit their agreement with the Provençal forms, viz. _animal_, _cardinal_, _cristal_, _mal_, _metal_, _quintal_, _sal_, _senescal_, _signal_, _val_, (Gr. Comp. p. 33.) and I will ask him to calculate how many million chances to one there are, that a person ignorant of Latin (which we must take to be the condition of his Romance euphonist) does not err in adding to these words their vowel terminations? Nor is this all: but we are called on to believe that where the Provençal had reduced the Latin _u_ to the meagre

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7 Sometimes _e_ is used for _o_, as in _stile_ for _stilo_ from _stilus_, and in the termination _iere_ from _arius_: (see below, § 4.) sometimes _o_ is used for _e_, as _vimo_ for _vime_ from _vimen_, _povero_ from _pauper_, _padrone_ from _patronus_, _lavoro_ from _labor_, _albero_ from _arbor_, _consolo_ from _consul_: sometimes _a_ is used for _e_, as _sirena_ from _siren_, _duca_ from _dux_. Some changes of final vowels produced by the genders will be explained below, § 3. _Duolo_, which Castelvetro ou Bembo, Prose, vol. ii. p. 19. (Naples, 1714.) mentions as an irregular form, is probably not derived from _dolor_, but from the ancient Teutonic word _dol_, _suffering_, preserved in the Scotch _dule_. See Meidinger in Dulden. The Italian has _dolore_, regularly formed from _dolor_. 
sound of e, as in diable, secle, etc. the Italian retraced its steps and returned to the fuller vowel. The invariable progress of language is to shorten long forms, and to attenuate full sounds: and we would as willingly believe that the Tiber and Ebro in the middle ages ran up to their sources, as that the languages of Spain and Italy, having once been identical with the Provençal, returned to their present state. It cannot be doubted that when the practice had once been established that all the Italian words ended with a vowel, the euphonic e and o were sometimes added to consonant terminations, and I have already had and shall hereafter have occasion to point out some instances, such as speme, animale, sono, hanno, etc., where the final vowel is plainly owing to the love of euphony*: the difference between my opinion and M. Raynouard's is, that what he considers the rule, I consider as the exception, and what he considers as arbitrary, I consider as regulated by fixed principles.

The argument which M. Raynouard founds on the absence of vowel terminations in the dialects of Upper Italy deserves a full investigation, as there can be no doubt that the lower orders and provincial districts commonly preserve the ancient language with the greatest fidelity. In most of these dialects the nouns, verbs, participles, prepositions, adverbs, and

* See above, p. 80.
other parts of speech, have not the vowel terminations which prevail in the written Italian language, but follow the system perceptible in the Provençal and French. Thus they say sacc, vin, bianch, nemic, fuog, bosc, mond, camp, nas, paradis, abiss, sabbat, libertat, argent, digest, sacerdot, nativ, etc. Numerals from five to nine are sinch, ses, sett, ott, nov: participles, present and past, and gerunds, parland, volend, tocat, fatt, miss, mort: first persons of verbs, perd, parl, demand: third persons of verbs, dorm, pend, cognoss: adverbs and prepositions, poc, quand, trop, ades, apress, vers, mezz, inanz, altrument. The examples collected by M. Raynouard (from which the above words are taken) refer only to the dialects of Piedmont, Engaddine in the Tyrol, Milan, Bergamo, Mantua, Friuli, Ferrara, and Bologna. It would require more local knowledge than a foreigner can pretend to possess in order to trace the exact line of demarcation between the Italian dialects which have the vowel terminations, and those which have not; but the following description may probably be considered as an approximation to the truth. The dialects of the Provençal run into Piedmont both on the west and north: in Piedmont, however, an Italian dialect with consonant terminations begins, and it reaches through part of the Grisons, over the districts of Milan, Bergamo, Pavia, Parma, Brescia, Cremona, Mantua, Modena, the Italian vallies of the Tyrol, Friuli, the territory of Treviso, and those of Ferrara and
Bologna. In the west and east, it does not extend into the Genoese, Venetian, Vicentine, Paduan, and Veronese territories: and towards the south the vowel terminations first appear in Tuscany and Romagna. Throughout all the rest of Italy the vowel terminations are as prevalent in the local dialects and in the mouths of the lowest classes, as in the written language*: and, as far as our knowledge extends, have ever been so: the anonymous history of Roman affairs in the fourteenth century written by a contemporary in the Roman dialect⁵, and the Chronicle of M. Spinello written in the thirteenth century in the Apulian dialect⁶ precisely agree in this respect with the language of the present day. M. Raynouard's argument would have great weight, if over the whole of Italy the lower orders used a dialect which wanted the final vowels: in that case it might be said that the ancient language is always most faithfully preserved among uneducated persons, and in mountainous or secluded districts; and that the upper classes, from their love of a harmonious and flowing language, had softened the rough pro-

* For an account of the dialects of Southern Italy see the Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. v. p. 158—90.

† This history (which contains the life of the celebrated Cola di Rienzo) is printed in Muratori Ant. It. vol. iii. p. 251—548. It is written, according to Muratori, p. 249, "vulgi Romani dialecto, quæ fortassis a Neapolitana eo tempore parum distabat." See a passage of it rendered into the Roman of the present day in Perticari Dif. di D, c. 36.

nunciation of their forefathers. But this is not so: the lower orders of southern Italy and Sicily speak a language which even luxuriates in vowels beyond the written Italian: and although the vowel terminations may have been introduced among the upper ranks of northern Italy, there is no reason to suppose that they were not always in use among the rudest peasants in the remotest corners of Tuscany, the states of the Church, of Naples, Calabria, and Sicily. It appears to me that the Italian must be considered as divided into two principal dialects, one with vowel, the other with consonant terminations. The latter of these (which closely resembles the French and Provençal) probably owed its characteristics to the same causes which gave a peculiar form to the latter languages; viz. the larger proportion of Germans who occupied Gaul and northern Italy, as compared with those who settled in southern Italy and Spain. The Lombard kingdom, which was the principal Teutonic establishment of Italy, had its head quarters at Pavia; and along the Alps and in the Tyrol, the Italians came in actual contact

* Any body who has heard the harsh and guttural pronunciation of the peasants of Tuscany will not easily believe that considerable changes were introduced into their language for the sake of euphony:

* By the Italian I understand that language which makes the masc. plural in i and the fem. plural in e.

* M. Raynouard remarks that "le voisinage et même le mélange de la langue allemande ont influé surtout sur la prononciation du patois d'Engaddine." Gr. Comp. p. liiii. Engaddine is the valley of the Inn on the west of the Tyrol. The language of the Sette Communi, a
with a German population. Triuli, moreover, and the north-eastern angle of Italy, was the highroad by which armies of Germans continually poured into Italy. And generally it may be observed, that it was in the country lying between the Alps, the Apennines, and the Exarchate, that the German influence was most strongly felt. It is remarkable, however, that although the consonant dialect occupies so considerable a space in the north-east part of Italy, it misses the districts of Venice and Padua, as it does the two rivieras of Genoa on the west. Whether this is owing to the influence of the sea-coast in the formation of language (according to the opinion of some philologists) or to the comparative exemption enjoyed by those countries from the inroads and dominion of the Teutonic races, (particularly in the case of Venice,) I shall not pretend to determine: certain, however, it is, that the dialects of these districts, though widely differing both from the written Italian and from one another, have not the chief part of the consonant terminations which dis-

part of the Vicentine territory, is a nearly pure Teutonic dialect, as may be seen from the specimens of it given in Rose's Letters from the North of Italy, vol. i. p. 257—8. and in the Journal of Education, No. xii. p. 353.

* Few Germans established themselves in the Duchy of Rome and the Exarchate, according to Savigny, Gesch. des Röm. Rechts, c. 7.

tistinguish all the other dialects of northern Italy.

The statement which M. Raynouard quotes from Giambullari's treatise on the origin of the Florentine language, seems at first sight to prove that the consonant terminations once extended so far south as the city of Florence, and therefore requires our attention. Giambullari was a Florentine, born in 1495, who in 1546 published the first work written by a Tuscan on his native tongue. In this treatise (composed in the form of a dialogue) he undertakes to refute the common opinion, that the Florentine or written Italian language, was a corruption of the Latin; and proposes to show that it was derived from the ancient Etruscan: which language he conceives to have been allied to the Hebrew and Chaldean. Having offered various proofs of the affinity of the Etruscan, Hebrew, and Florentine languages, he represents one of the interlocutors in the dialogue as quoting a sonnet written by a certain Agatone Drusi of Pisa, in which the poet says, that "if his grande avolo, who was the first to join the Sicilian with the Tuscan mode of speech, had left any works, as

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1 The Venetian dialect is divided between the southern and northern dialects: thus it says, amigo, capo, carne, carità, carater, potente, abate, fiume; but carbon, corexion, fior, amorin; and it omits the final e of the infinitive, and says amur, perder, sentir. See Boerio, Dizionario del dial. Veneziano. Venice, 1829. A specimen of the Paduan dialect of the sixteenth century (which closely resembles the Venetian) may be seen in Sismondi Litt. du Midi, vol. ii. p. 239. c. 15. ad fin.
he intended, he would be greater than all the modern poets, including Dante." The person referred to (Giambullari proceeds to say) is supposed to have been named Lucio Drusi, who wrote a poem on virtue, and another on the life of a lover, which were lost in the sea as he was taking them to the king in Sicily. The writer then argues, that as this Lucio Drusi was not great, either in arms or learning, Agatone does not mean by *grande avolo,* "the great man his grandfather," but "his ancestor beyond the fifth degree:" whence he reckons five generations, or one hundred and fifty years, from the time of Ag. Drusi, and thus fixes Lucio Drusi in 1170 A. D., the tenth year of William, king of Sicily, who is therefore the king who was so unfortunate as not to receive the two poems. The date of L. Drusi being thus ascertained, it is asked in what manner he joined the Sicilian and Tuscan modes of speech: and Giambullari answers this question by saying that "the ancient Tuscans ended most of their words with conso-

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k *Se'l grande avolo mio, che fu'l primiero
   Che'l parlar Siciliano giamme col nostro,
   Lassato avesse un' opera d'inchiostrro,
   Come sempre che visse ebbe in pensiero,
   Non sarebbe oggi in pregio il buon Romiero,
   Arnaldo provezzal, nè Beltram vostro.
   * * * * * * *

Non Brunellesco o Dante sarian letti.
Chè la luce di questo unico sole
Sola rilucea lungi e da presso.

Giamb. Origine della lingua Fiorentina,
nants, as might be seen from the very ancient Etruscan words before mentioned in the dialogue, while the Sicilians, on the other hand, ended them with vowels: that L. Drusi (as it is said) began to soften that harshness, not by adopting foreign words, but by adding vowels at the end of all the Tuscan words. This custom (he continues) did not please many persons in Drusi’s lifetime, but after his death the Tuscans began to follow the practice introduced by him, not only in poetry, but even in prose and in conversation. This is the substance of Giambullari’s argument; and in the first place it may be remarked, that the proceeding by which the date of L. Drusi’s compositions is fixed, appears somewhat arbitrary: for Agatone Drusi might have called his ancestor a great man, especially as he doubts not of his superiority to Dante, even if he had never been a great commander or doctor. But the statement which more concerns the subject in question, viz. that the Tuscans formerly ended all their words in consonants, seems to me nothing more than an imagination of Giambullari, made in order to support his baseless speculations on the affinity of the ancient and modern languages of

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1 The existence of Ag. Drusi was at first doubted by Tiraboschi, Stor. della litt. ital., tom. 4. lib. 3. c. 3. § 2. and after him by Pignotti, Storia di Toscana, vol. iv. p. 68. Tiraboschi, however, in the later editions of his work, showed that his former suspicion was unfounded, but justly considered Giambullari’s argument as to the antiquity of L. Drusi as untenable. L. Drusi probably wrote in the last half of the thirteenth century.
Tuscany. The expression in the sonnet refers, as I conceive, to the influence of the Sicilian poetry on the ancient writers of Tuscany, and to their imitation of the earliest Italian compositions in an elevated and refined style: and not to any change in the structure of the Tuscan language. Giambullari, however, seizes on this passage, grafts on it a false interpretation, supported by a statement which he gives only as a report, in order to strengthen his proofs of a theory which now would on all hands be admitted to be utterly devoid of foundation: and he would have us believe that a certain Lucio Drusi, who wrote in the middle of the twelfth century two poems that were lost in the sea, persuaded the whole population of Tuscany to change one of the most important characteristics of their language. It has been said, that Augustus, though master of the Roman world, could not alter the meaning of a Latin word: how fortunate then was this obscure rhymer, whose example induced a whole nation, in an unlettered age, not merely to change the meaning of a word, but to remodel their entire language! The stress which M.

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1. See Perticari, Difesa di Dante, c. 4—7.
2. Dicono adunque che Lucio, considerando la nostra pronunzia e la Siciliana, etc. p. 245.
3. If the ancient Tuscan had really been characterised by consonant terminations, the attempt of any individual to change that characteristic would probably have been as successful as that of Frederic the Great to add vowels at the end of the German words, or of Dr. Murray to effect the same improvement in the English language. See the article on English orthography in the Philol. Mus. vol. i. The only instance
Raynouard lays on this passage of a treatise evidently belonging to the infancy of philology, and abounding in the wildest dreams about the history and languages of Italy, would have reminded me of the eagerness with which a drowning man catches at a straw, if his views were not supported by so many other proofs of a more substantial character.

As to the practice of cutting off the final vowel after a liquid consonant in Italian, which M. Raynouard considers as a proof that the vowel was originally added for the sake of euphony, it is to be observed that the Italian writers, especially in poetry, assume the privilege of suppressing it, not merely where M. Raynouard supposes it to have been arbitrarily added, but also in cases where it has manifestly been retained from the Latin: thus the poets contract both amore and amori into amor, both Romano and Romani into Roman.

For example, in the verses of Dante:

Perchè i Pisan veder Lucca non ponno
Inf. c. 33. l. 30.

of such a change with which I am acquainted, is in some of the negro corruptions of the English (see above, p. 23. note 4); and this, we may be assured, was not made at the suggestion, or by the authority of any individual. Comp. p. 36. note 3.

The same passage of Giambullari is likewise cited with approbation by Perticari, Dif. di D., c. 20; who adds the equally unfounded supposition that the Sicilians derived their final vowels from the Æolic dialect of the Greeks inhabiting their island.

4 “E da sapere (says Castelvetro) che tutti i nomi i quali potevano nel numero minore lasciare la e o vero lo o, potranno similmente nel maggiore lasciare lo i.” Bembo, Prose, vol. i. p. 30.
Poiche i vicini a te punir son lenti
ib. l. 81.

son is contracted from sono by the rejection of a
does not traceable to the Latin, and ev-
dently added for the mere sake of euphony:
veder and punir are contracted from vedere and
punire by the rejection of the final e, which ap-
ppears unquestionably to be retained from the
Latin, though this is denied by M. Raynouard:

Pisan, however, contracted from Pisani, is evi-
dently not formed, according to M. Raynouard's
own view, by the rejection of an euphonic ter-
mination: so that his mode of accounting for
the practice of the Italian writers in omitting
final vowels is not applicable in all cases; and
consequently there is no reason for supposing
that those vowels which may be elided were or-
ginally added for the sake of euphony. M. Ray-
nouard, likewise, mentions in proof of his asser-
tion with respect to the recent addition of the
final vowels in Italian, the name of Boccacio's
collection of novels, which by the author was
written Decameron, but was afterwards changed
into Decamerone. This example, however, has
no weight: Decameron was a Greek word which
had not passed through the Latin into popular
usage, but was first employed by Boccacio him-
self. If it had thus come into general use, it
would doubtless, like fenomeno and lessico, have
been modified into Decamero. As it was, Boc-
cacio introduced it into Italian without any
change, as Dante employed many uncommon
proper names with their consonant terminations, as Minos, Semiramis, Empedocles, Austeric, etc. The vowel terminations of the Italian nouns were, however, as firmly and universally established in the times of Dante and Boccacio as at the present day. As to the peculiarities of Barsape, mentioned by M. Raynouard, they may probably be referred to the dialect of his native city, from which this early Milanese writer had perhaps not quite emancipated himself: nevertheless the language of this poet (in Perticari's opinion) little differs from that of the early classical writers of Italian.

It appears, therefore, that there is no ground for assenting to M. Raynouard's conclusion that the final vowels in Italian were arbitrarily added, at a recent date, for the sake of euphony. Indeed it appears to me that the written remains of that language, so far as they reach, afford every reason for believing that the prevalence of vowel terminations was one of its earliest characteristics: in the Latin documents of Italy, which are of an earlier date than any compositions in the Romance languages, whenever any Italian word or name is accidentally inserted, it almost invariably exhibits the vowel termination, even in charters belonging to the northern states: whence it seems to me much more

* Dif. di Dante, c. 29.
* For example, the names Petro, Martino, Geminiano, Benedicto, Domminico, Bonoaldo, Raginberto, Lanfranco, Sigefredo, Ingelberto, some of which are of Roman, others of German origin, occur in a
probable that the dialects of upper Italy originally had vowel terminations, and afterwards lost them, than that the dialects of southern Italy, having originally wanted them, afterwards added them for the sake of euphony.

The impossibility of the derivation of the Italian and Spanish languages from the Provençal is evidenced not only by the retention of the final vowels from the Latin which the Provençal had thrown away, but by the contraction or alteration of many Latin words in the latter language, which the former languages exhibit in a completer and less altered state. But if they had come from the Latin through the medium of the Provençal, this difference could not have been perceptible: the water must have tasted of the impure channel through which it had passed.

document of Lemonte near Lake Como, A.D. 882; and another of Modena, about 980 A.D. published in Muratori, Ant. It. vol. iii. p. 747. 723: and see other instances, from deeds, of the use of the vowel terminations in Italian, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, in Murat. Diss. 32. vol. ii. p. 1030, B.—1037, D. Muratori, vol. ii. p. 1047, B. cites the following verses, which were inscribed in the ancient cathedral of Ferrara:

Il mile cento trempta cinque nato
Fo questo templo a Zorzi consecrato.
Fo Nicolao sulptore
E Gielmo fo lo autore.

If this inscription was not set up in the year 1135 A.D. its date, probably, is not much later. A diploma of Roger, Count of Calabria and Sicily, in 1122 A.D., published in Ughelli Italia Sacra, tom. viii. Part I. col. 291. contains many Italian words with vowel terminations.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Provençal</th>
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<td>vescovo</td>
<td>obispo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In this list both the Provençal and French masculine nouns are exhibited without the final *s*, as the object is merely to compare the *internal* changes in the words.

* The Italian has not preserved the word *pavor*. *Paura*, like the Spanish *pavura*, is a fem. substantive in *ura*, formed from the verb *parere*: see below, §. 4. on the termination *ura*.

* The French *oi* sometimes came from the Latin *e*, as in the terminations of verbs, avoir from aver, valoir from valer, etc. (Gr. Comp. p. 257—60), te toi; tres trois; tect-um, toit; mes, mois; sometimes from the Latin *i*, as digitus, degt, doigt, pix, peç, poix: sometimes from *o*, as gloria, gloire, vox, voix, Ambrosius, Ambroise: sometimes from *u*, as punctum point, unctum oint, jungere joindre; sometimes from *au*, as claustrum cloître. In the two latter cases, *u* and *au* doubtless became first *o*, then *oi*.

* *Bispo*, the Portuguese form of *episcopus*, occurs in a Latin charter of Alboacem, a Moorish king of Coimbra, of the year 734. Rayn. vol. i. Introd. p. xi. At so early a period (as Schlegel remarks, p. 49.) were the peculiarities of the Romance languages developed. The genuineness of the document in question has, however, been doubted: thus Southey, Chronicle of the Cid, p. 406. has the following remarks on it. "This charter, like the funeral urn of Achilles, the tomb of
FORMS AND INFLEXIONS OF ROMANCE NOUNS. 119

On comparing these instances it will be seen that in some cases the Italian and Spanish, and especially the former, do not exhibit the modifications of the Latin word which appear in the Provençal: in others, that the same Latin word has been modified differently in the three languages. The Provençal likewise admits many occasional contractions and changes which do not appear in the Italian: thus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Provençal</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nox</td>
<td>nueyt or nueue</td>
<td>nuit</td>
<td>notte</td>
<td>noche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>septimana</td>
<td>setmana or</td>
<td>semaine</td>
<td>settimana</td>
<td>semana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>semmana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alexander, and the relics of the archangel Michael, is the more to be suspected because it would be of such exceeding value, if genuine. It may be doubted whether a Moorish governor, at so early an age, would give charters in Latin, whether at any age he would use the sign of the cross for his mark, and whether the language into which the Latin is corrupted be not of a more modern complexion. But the exemption, if it be forged, could be of no use after Coimbra was recovered by the Christians: so that even in that case it is of very curious antiquity, and may truly state the laws to which the Christians were subject." There does not, however, appear to be any reason why a Moorish governor should not have given a charter to his Christian subjects in the language which they understood, and which was at that time and long afterwards universally employed by all the Christians of western Europe for the composition of both public and private documents. As to the use of the cross, it is expressly mentioned in the charter that he employed it "rogatu Christianorum," in compliance with the wishes of the grantees: and there is no reason to doubt that so many years after the invasion of the Goths, a Romance language was currently spoken in Spain. Gibbon, c. 51. n. 187, citing the substance of this charter from Fleury's Ecclesiastical history says: "I have not the original before me; it would confirm or destroy a dark suspicion that the piece has been forged to introduce the immunity of a neighbouring convent." Gibbon, however, was always ready to suspect fraud when ecclesiastics were concerned.
Another difference between the several Romance languages consists in prefixing the vowel e to words beginning with s followed by a consonant*; a practice which the Spanish always observes, the Provençal and French often, the Italian never. The following examples will illustrate the manner in which the Italian has avoided this change admitted by the Provençal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Prov.</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stare</td>
<td>stare</td>
<td>estar</td>
<td>estar</td>
<td>estre (être)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spiritus</td>
<td>spirito</td>
<td>esperit</td>
<td>espirit</td>
<td>esprit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strata</td>
<td>strada</td>
<td>estrada</td>
<td>estrada</td>
<td>estrade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sperare</td>
<td>sperare</td>
<td>esperar</td>
<td>esperar</td>
<td>esperer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scutum</td>
<td>scudo</td>
<td>escudo</td>
<td>escu (écu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sclavus</td>
<td>schiavo</td>
<td>esclau</td>
<td>esclavo</td>
<td>esclave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stoppa</td>
<td>estopa</td>
<td>estopa</td>
<td>estoupe (étoupe)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Spanish has no word beginning with s followed by a consonant: invariably it prefixes e to avoid the concourse of consonants: the Italian, on the other hand, seems rather to seek this sound, since in some cases it even rejects an initial e before s with a consonant, as state for estate from æstas, stimare for estimare from æstimare, sperto for esperto from expertus; in some cases it prefixes s to a word beginning with a consonant, as spergiuro from perjurus, sprofondare from profundus, etc.; and the prefix

* Meidinger, in his Teutogothic Dictionary, p. 82. completely mistakes the nature of this euphonious vowel prefixed only to words beginning with s followed by a consonant, in calling it a 'particle,' and comparing it with significant prefixes, such as ge in High German, and a in Anglo-saxon.
FORMS AND INFLEXIONS OF ROMANCE NOUNS. 121

dis is always curtailed to a simple s, as spietato, sbarcare, scavalcare, etc. It is to be observed, however, that although the Italian rather seeks than avoids the concourse of s with a consonant at the beginning of a word, yet when the preceding word ends with a consonant (which rarely happens) it prefixes the vowel i, as con isdegno, and not con sdegno.

The French seems originally to have had the same tendency as the Spanish of prefixing e to s followed by a consonant; but the tendency was not so strong as to make the practice universal, and many words were formed in it without this change. It is obvious, on looking through the two classes of words which have and which have not undergone this change, that the former belong to an early period of the French language, and that the latter are of a more learned and less popular character, and have been formed with a view of adhering closely to the Latin originals: thus scapula, schola, spatha, spatium, spina, sponsus, stagnum, stannum, stabulum, status, stella, scabinus, schaum, have become espaule, escole, espée, espace, espine, espoux, estang, estain, estable, estat, estoile, escevin, escume: while scandalum, sculptor, statua, statutum, stipulatio, stratagema, structura, stylus, have become scandele, sculpteuer, statue, statut, stipulation, stratagemme, structure, style. In some cases there is both an ancient and a modern derivative from the same Latin root: thus from stomachus is the old word estomac, but from stomachicus comes
the modern medical term *stomachique*; from *studium étude*, but from *studiosus studieux*.

There are also many words in which the Italian has retained the Latin \( p \), while the Provencal and Spanish have changed it into \( b \), the French into \( v \)\(^*\): thus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Provencal</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aperire</td>
<td>aprire</td>
<td>abrid</td>
<td>ubrid</td>
<td>ouvrir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aprilis</td>
<td>aprile</td>
<td>abril</td>
<td>abril</td>
<td>avril</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capillus</td>
<td>capello</td>
<td>cabello</td>
<td>cabel</td>
<td>cheveu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capra</td>
<td>cabra</td>
<td>cabra</td>
<td>cabra</td>
<td>chevre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capistrum</td>
<td>capestro</td>
<td>cabestro</td>
<td>cabestre</td>
<td>chevestre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juniperus</td>
<td>ginepro</td>
<td>enebro</td>
<td>genibre</td>
<td>genievre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opera</td>
<td>opera</td>
<td>obra</td>
<td>obra</td>
<td>œuvre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sepelire</td>
<td>seppellire</td>
<td>sepelir</td>
<td>sebelir</td>
<td>en-sevelir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapere</td>
<td>sapere</td>
<td>saber</td>
<td>saber</td>
<td>savoir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapor</td>
<td>sapore</td>
<td>sabor</td>
<td>sabor</td>
<td>saveur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some cases, however, the Italian has changed the Latin \( p \) into \( b \); as in *riva* from *ripa*, and in *povero* from *pauper*.

In the Provençal likewise may be discerned the tendency which has been very prevalent in the French, but of which there is scarce a trace in Italian and Spanish, of changing \( c \) before \( a \) into \( ch \): thus from *cantare* the Prov. has both *cantar* and *chantar*, *chanter* French; from *canto*, *canson* and *chanson*, *chanson* French.

The following differences have prevailed in the Romance languages with respect to the changes undergone by the Latin \( c \) before vowels.

FORMS AND INFLEXIONS OF ROMANCE NOUNS. 123

In Latin c before all vowels was equivalent to k; thus ca, ce, ci, co, cu = ka, ke, ki, ko, ku.

In Italian c has retained the sound of k before a, o, and u; as caro, coro, cura: but it has become ch before e and i, as Cerere, cinque (according to the English pronunciation, cherere, chinque\(^b\)).

In Spanish, as in Italian, the c retains the sound of k before a, o, and u; but before e and i it has the force of th, as Ceres, cinco, (pronounced theres, thinco.)

The French c before a has usually become ch, as carus, cher; caro, chair; camera, chambre; capra, chèvre; castanea, châtaigne; carmen, charme; caput, chef; calidus, chaud; calvus, chauve; caulis, chou; scabinus, eschevin; karr, char; bucca, bouche; musca, mouche, etc.: before e and i it is pronounced like s, as ceci, (pronounced sesi:) before o and u it has (as in Italian and Spanish) retained the sound of k, as comme, contre, couleur, col, corde, corps, culte, curé, courbe. Not unfrequently, however, the Latin c has remained unchanged before a: but (as has been already remarked of the prefix e before s and a consonant) in words which belong to a later period of the language, and which have a more learned aspect; as cadavre, calomnie,

\(^b\) It will be observed that this statement only applies to the southern Italian dialect with vowel terminations: that of the north with consonant terminations, pronounces the c like the French. (See above, p. 106.) In Tuscany the sound of c before e and i has been softened, so that it is pronounced like sh in English.
canal, candide, canon, capable, capituler, caractère, cataracte, catégorie, etc. Sometimes there is a double derivative from the same word, as in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Ancient French</th>
<th>Recent French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>calx</td>
<td>chaux</td>
<td>calquer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canonicus</td>
<td>chanoine</td>
<td>canonique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capitulus</td>
<td>chapitre*</td>
<td>capitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>captivus</td>
<td>chetif</td>
<td>captif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capra</td>
<td>chèvre</td>
<td>caprice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carbo</td>
<td>charbon</td>
<td>carbon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carta</td>
<td>charte</td>
<td>carte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causa</td>
<td>chose</td>
<td>cause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chevalier and chevalerie were the ancient forms from cheval (caballus;) cavalier and cavalerie were probably borrowed from the Italian. From canis was formed chien; but from canicula canicule; from candela chandelle, but from candela-brum candélabre.

It is obvious that these diversities of pronunciation could not have been borrowed by the Romance languages from each other, or from any one common origin: but that that they must have been produced by the separate workings of each, and by the different vocal organization of the populations by which they were spoken. Nor is there any reason to suppose that they were of recent introduction: for we know that at the Sicilian vespers the French

* Chapitre from capitulus like épître from epistola, titre from titulus.
FORMS AND INFLEXIONS OF ROMANCE NOUNS. 125

were distinguished from the Italians by being made to pronounce the words *ceci* and *ciceri*; and consequently the characteristic peculiarities of the French and Italian pronunciation were as firmly established at the end of the thirteenth century as at the present day: and it will be observed that in the pronunciation of *c* before *e* and *i*, both these languages differed from the Latin; thus *ceci* according to the Latin pronunciation would be *keki*, according to the Italian *chechi*, according to the French *sesi*.

§ 3. GENDERS OF ROMANCE NOUNS.

With regard to the genders of nouns, it may be observed that as the use of them, like that of cases, requires some knowledge and discrimination, they are naturally destroyed or confounded by the same causes which lead to the destruction of inflexions, and the substitution of analytic for synthetic forms. Thus the Anglo-Saxon genders were lost at the Norman conquest: and the English only retains the natural genders; that is to say, no nouns have any gender which do not designate male or female individuals⁴. The

⁴ This appears to me to be a correct statement of the English usage of genders: our language never marks genders except by the use of the pronouns *he* and *she*, the former of which refers to males, the latter to females: of the relative *who*, which refers either to males or females, and of *it* and *which*, which refer only to inanimate things. The neuter forms *it* and *which* are commonly used in speaking of brute animals,
influence of the German conquest on the Latin language, as in other respects it was not so great as that of the Norman conquest on the Anglo-Saxon language, so likewise in respect of genders it did not produce so considerable a change: but it left the masculine and feminine genders of nouns, and only destroyed the neuter gender. In all the Romance languages the Latin genders of nouns were, for the most part, preserved unchanged, with this general exception, that all the neuter nouns became masculine*. The close coincidence of the inflexions of masculine and neuter nouns in Latin, as caballus and damnum, sol and sal, naturally led to this confusion.

especially where the sex is not apparent, as in insects, fish, birds, etc.: but never in speaking of the human race, except sometimes of infants. Whenever he and she are applied to an inanimate thing, as to the sun, the moon, a country, or a quality of the mind, the object is personified: the same is also the case with a ship, which a sailor personifies, in order to represent it as an object of affection. In all cases where he or she is applied to an inanimate thing, it would be correct, though perhaps not so energetic or suitable to the expression, to employ the neuter pronoun. It appears to me, therefore, that the state of things which Grimm anticipates, viz. that “the English language will at some future time limit the use of he and she to persons, and in all other cases employ it,” (vol. iii. p. 547.) has already arrived, and has indeed existed for some centuries. Our language has no grammatical genders: the masculine, feminine, and neuter pronouns are applied with reference, not to the noun itself, but to that which the noun signifies. Whereas in languages which have grammatical genders, the noun itself has a certain gender, without reference to the sex or animation of the object signified: thus in Greek παιδίον is neuter, πίθα is feminine, and αἰγαλός masculine, although a child is either male or female, and a rock and a shore are lifeless objects.

* Some pronouns in Provençal and Spanish preserved the neuter form; see below, chap. 3.

† See Grimm, vol. iii. p. 542.
GENDERS OF ROMANCE NOUNS.

The resemblance of these two genders, sufficiently great in the Latin, was moreover increased by the changes in the form of nouns which took place in the Romance languages: for in the Ital. and Span. the forms in *us* and *um* were identified by the use of the acc. case; since *caballum*, *damnum*, or their derivatives in *o*, had the same invariable termination; and in the Prov. and French the general adoption of the Latin nom. terminations produced a similar identity, as those words became *caval* and *dans*. Hence in Ital. and Span. the nouns in *o*, and in Prov. and French those in *s*, were together as masculines generally opposed to feminine nouns in *a*. Besides this universal change of neuter into masculine nouns, there are, however, particular deviations in the Romance nouns from the Latin gender; in some of which the reason is apparent, in others it is more obscure.

In the first place the Italian changed the gender of some nouns of the third declension, as *arbore*, *fronte*, *aere*, *carcere*, *cenere*, *fine*, *folgore*, *fonte*, *margine*, *ordine*, which it made both masculine and feminine*. Whereas in Latin the two first were always feminine, and the eight last always masculine. The Spanish, likewise, has changed the gender of several nouns of this declension: thus *carcel*, *fuente*, *leche*, *legumbre*, *miel*, *sal*, are feminine; *arte*, *dote*, *canal*, *mar*, *margen*, *orden*, *fuente*, are of both genders. In

Provençal carcer, dens, fons, mar, are feminine; arbret is masculine. In French, likewise, many Latin nouns have changed their gender without any apparent reason, as dent, font, mer, mode, obole, have become feminine; corn in old French was masculine, (Gr. Comp. p. 65;) cor is now masculine, but corne is feminine; arbret, art, dot, été, ongle, salut, sort, have become masculine; hymne is of both genders. Moreover, in the Latin nouns making orem in the accusative singular, which the Provençal adopted without further alteration, than the addition of s to the truncated accusative, it changed the gender from masculine to feminine, except in those words which signified a male. Thus from the Latin amor, color, dolor, dulcor, flos, honor, sapor, timor, valor, were formed the Provençal amors, colors, dolors, doussors, flors, honors, sabors, temors, valors, feminine; lavors, however, from labor, retained its masculine gender. The old

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\(a\) Grimm, vol. iii. p. 560. cites souris fem. from sores masc. as an instance of this change of gender in French. Sorex, however, being the name of an animal, was doubtless of both genders, and perhaps the feminine was familiarly used in preference, as in no\(\nu\) and caris.

\(1\) The following Provençal passage from Dante’s Purgatory, canto 26. as restored from the Ms. by M. Raynoard, Journ. des Sav. 1830. p. 67—78. clearly exhibits this change of gender:

Tan m’ abellis vostre cortes deman
Ch’ieu non me puece ni-m voil a vos cobrire;
Ieu sui Arnautz, che plor e vai cantan;
Consiros vei la passada follor,
E vei jaussen lo joi qu’esper deman;
Aras vos prec, per aquella valor
French preserved the same terminations, but likewise changed the gender: thus ‘la bonne amor,’ ‘l’amors que Diex m’a commandée,’ ‘de bone amor,’ ‘sous la color de pitié,’ ‘la dolors,’ ‘la flors,’ ‘doint la tenors estoit telle,’ ‘une des plus altes honors’ (Gr. Comp. p. 59—61. 84.) This termination in or, when the s had been disused, and the form of the acc. had supplanted that of the nom., was in French successively changed into our and eur: and, with the exception of words such as acteur, auteur, seigneur, from actor, autor, senior, etc. which are necessarily masculine, and the forms labour and labeur from labor, and honneur from honor k, which have retained the Latin gender, this termination is always feminine. Thus amour, ar-deur, clameur, chaleur, couleur, douleur, erreur, fleur, fureur, horreur, humeur, liqueur, mœurs, odeur, pâleur, peur, pudeur, rigueur, rumeur, sa-veur, splendeur, sueur, terreur, torpeur, tumeur, valeur, vapeur, vigueur, are feminine, although

* Que us guida al som sens freich e sens calina,
Sovegna vos atenprar ma dolor.

That is, literally translated: “So much does your courteous demand please me that I neither can nor will conceal myself from you. I am Arnald, who weep and go singing. Grieved I see the past folly, and I see with pleasure the joy which I hope for the future. Now I entreat you by that virtue which guides you to the summit without cold and without heat, that you will remember to assuage my grief.” For further details relating to this passage, see Raynouard, Journ. des Sav. ubi sup.

k Honneur was, however, feminine in old French, as in one of the instances above cited.
the Latin nouns from which they were derived are masculine. In their derivatives from these same nouns, the Italian and Spanish have constantly preserved the masculine gender¹. It is difficult to say what induced both the Provençals and French to change the gender of so many Latin masculine nouns in or: probably, however, it was the tendency to designate abstract qualities by feminine nouns, so observable in the Latin language², which led to the deviation in question.

Other variations of gender, of which we can trace the cause, arose from the changes in the terminations of nouns which took place in the Romance languages. Thus in the modern languages o was generally the masculine, and a the feminine termination; and hence many forms in o derived from Latin feminine nouns became masculine, and many forms in a derived from Latin masculine or neuter nouns became feminine. In this manner all Latin feminine nouns of the second and fourth declensions became masculine in Italian, as il pero, il melo, il fico, il duomo, except la mano from manus³. The same change has likewise been made in Spanish: which, however, has preserved the feminine gender of manus. On the other hand, some masculine and neuter

¹ Flor, however, is feminine in Spanish, and flore was sometimes made feminine in old Italian: Peticari, Dif. di Dante, c. 13. vol. i. p. 323.
² See Grimm, vol. iii. p. 531.
nouns in a have become feminine, as aria, (from aëra,) cometa, cresima, flemma, scisma, Ital; asma, Span.; anagramme, énigme, French°; fantasima and tema in Ital., have both genders. On the other hand, baptisma, psalma, sophisma, having retained their genders, became bannesimo, salmo, sofismo, in Ital.; bautismo, salmo, in Span., while stigmata plural in Ital. became stimati. Sometimes, however, the Ital. noun not only formed its plural according to the regular analogy, but also preserved the Latin plural in or a, as i corpi and le corpora, i tempi and le tempora, i prati and le prata, i corni and le corna, gli ornamenti and le ornamenta, etc.; and as in these cases the plural in a became feminine, it was sometimes changed into e, the regular feminine plural, as gli ossi, le ossa, and le osse, i legni, le legna, and le legne°. In some cases, moreover, the neuter plural of the Latin became the feminine singular of the Italian noun, thus arma, strata, spolia, insignia*, fata¹, pecora, folia, ulcera, became in Ital. l’arma, la strada, la spoglia, l’insegna, la fata, la pecora, la foglia, la ulcera*: so likewise in Span. arma, bona,

* Popular usage had already made this change in Latin, in some words: thus schema (ςχήμα) is made feminine by Plautus and Suetonius, glaucoma (γλαυκόμα) by Plautus, etc.; see Scheller’s Latin Grammar by Walker, vol. i. p. 474.
° Castelvetro, ib. p. 21.
¹ Castelvetro, ib. p. 35.
* Menage, Etym. Ital. in v.
¹ The Italian, however, likewise had the form ulcero, irregularly formed from ulcus, (above p. 81. note *) now obsolete.
CHAPTER II.

claustra, dona, fata, folia, insignia, plana, pecora, signa, strata, vela, ulcera, Latin, became l'arma, la bona, la claustra, la dona, la fada, la hoja, la ingegnia, la lan'a, la pecora, la seña, la estrada, la vela, la ulcera. In French, likewise, we find dépouilles, dette, étude, fée, feuille, huile, idole, lèvre, pomme, ulcère, of the feminine gender. So in English kitten the plural of cat, chicken the plural of chick, twin the plural of two, stocken (stocking) the plural of stock, and gärden the plural of geard or yard, have become singular, because the ancient plural termination in en, like the Latin neuter plural in a, is no longer understood.

From this comparison of the changes which have taken place in the Latin genders, it appears that though all the Romance languages agree in retaining the masculine and feminine, and rejecting the neuter gender, and in changing the neuter into the masculine, yet that the Provençal has introduced innovations from which the Italian and Spanish are free, and in which it agrees remarkably with the French; and that the Italian has retained vestiges of the Latin which do not appear in the Provençal. These facts therefore are inconsistent with the suppo-


* See Johnson, in stocking.

* Holstein, the proper name, (whence Holstein,) has in like manner been corrupted from Holsten, the plural of Holste: see Grimm's Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, p. 316. note.
sition that the Provençal was the most ancient form of the Italian and Spanish languages.

§ 4. FORMATION OF NEW ROMANCE NOUNS BY AFFIXES.

M. Raynouard enters into a long comparison of the terminations of substantives in the Romance languages, and shows a great resemblance between the Provençal and the others, whence he would, as usual, infer the derivation of the latter from the former. (Gr. Comp. p. 23—71.) These similarities may be reduced to three heads.

1. *Those in which the Provençal has preserved the Latin word unchanged*, such as *barba, herba*, *comedia, bestia, forma, pluma, persona, aurora, animal*, etc. The agreement of the other languages with the Provençal in these forms evidently furnishes no proof of their derivation from the Provençal, as the Provençal and Latin are here the same. M. Raynouard seems occasionally to forget that the presumption is in favour of the Latin, and that the burden of proof lies on him to show that the Italian and Spanish came not from the Latin, but from another modern language.

2. *Those terminations which were formed from the inflexion of the Latin nouns*, as has been above explained. There would be nothing singular in different nations forming new substantives from the inflected cases, when they were influenced
by the same causes, even if the agreement was perfect, which, as we have shown, it was not: inasmuch as the Provencal and French retained the termination of the Latin nom., of which there is no trace in the Italian and Spanish. Hence the agreement of the Italian and Spanish with the Provençal in such terminations as metal, val, man, mar, part, trinitat, magistrat, fren, orient, argument, mes, fin, marit, titol, leon, amor, carn, etc., affords no argument in favour of the derivation from the Provençal, as they are merely Latin words deprived of their terminations, a process which each language could doubtless have performed for itself without the intervention of the Provençal. Nor is it by any means true that the terminations of nouns agree in the different Romance languages; for M. Raynouard has only produced this exact correspondence by cutting off the only characteristic peculiarity which belongs to each language, and leaving what they have in common, the Latin type. Thus when he has omitted the final s of the Provençal and French, and the final vowel of the Italian and Spanish nouns, which are their distinctive and proper marks, it is easy to say that amor and metal are the same in all the four tongues: whereas in fact the Provençal and French forms are amors and metals, the Italian amore and metallo, the Spanish amor and metallo.

3. Those substantives whose termination does not agree with the Latin, but is the same in the
Romance languages. M. Raynouard himself perceives the difference between this and the other two classes, and the assistance which these examples afford to his argument, though he does not admit that the other forms are just as consistent with the falsity as with the truth of his theory. "If (he says) many of the terminations pointed out come from the Latin, by the preservation of the entire word, as animal, etc., or by the omission of the final syllable which marked the case, as pont-em, there are many others which do not come directly from the Latin, and which have been introduced into all these languages, and joined to words to which the Latin annexed another termination, as cor-age, lenguage, linhage, message, omenage, vi-age, etc., signal, beltat, agnel, annel, ramel, vessel, cavalier, corrier, campion, cubertor, mirador, servidor, etc. How could these different languages have agreed in rejecting the original Latin termination, in order to substitute a new one? Is it not evident that for this process a common type was indispensable?" Gr. Comp. p. 70. Now with regard to the words in question, it is to be observed that they have not rejected the Latin termination and substituted another of their own, like altitudo, for which the Italian and French said altezza and hauteur, but they are derivatives from Latin roots adopted in the Provençal: thus from cor, lengua, via, vas, bel, servir, etc., were formed cor-age, lengu-age, vi-age, vas-sel, bel-tat, servi-dor: the Latin, how-
ever, had no such substantives formed from cor, lingua, via, vas, bellus, servire, etc. Consequently these are not words which have rejected the Latin in order to substitute a different termination, but they are new derivatives formed in the Provençal from roots of its own. In order, however, to ascertain how far this argument of M. Raynouard's avails in support of his system, it will be necessary to examine, at some length, the subject of the terminations of nouns in the Romance languages.

With this view I will in the first place set down the formative terminations of nouns which the Romance languages have borrowed from the Latin, but have subjected respectively to various modifications.

Aco, fem., as in farrago, imago, indago, sar-tago, virago, vorago, etc. The Romance languages, in forming their nouns from the accusative case, have subjected this termination to nearly the same changes: thus from imago the Italian makes imagine, the Spanish imagen, the Provençal and French, by the rejection of the final n, image. Of all the modern languages the Italian alone appears to have formed new nouns with the termination agine, or aggine, as

The Italian, likewise, has used the form image, which it has likewise changed into imago, like uome and uomo, etc., see above, p. 82. Image occurs in Dante, Purg. xxv. 26; Par. ii. 131; xiii. 2; xix. 2; on which latter place Lombardi says, "Image qui come altrove, ad-opera alla francese, per immagine." M. Raynouard mistakes the form of this word by comparing it with the masc. termination in aggio: Gr. Comp. p. 31. See below, in this termination.
New Romance Nouns Formed by Affixes.

Dappocagginé, fanciullaggine, fantasticaggine, infingardaggine, insensataggine, scempiaggine, sciagurataggine, seccagginé, etc.

Antia, entia. Feminine nouns having this termination in Latin were derived from participles or participial adjectives in ans or ens, as abundantia, diligentia, obedientia, petulantia, sapientia. The Romance languages varied these terminations as follows; anza, enza Ital. and Prov., anza, encia Span., ance, ence French. Sometimes all the languages agreed in forming new derivatives with these terminations, as tardanza Ital. and Span., tarzanza Prov., tardance French, decadensa Ital., decadencia Span., descainenza Prov., décadence French. Sometimes each language formed separate words of its own, not occurring in the others: thus, mancanza, vicinanza Ital., échéance, bienviellancé, jactance, nuance Fr. Sometimes also the corresponding words are derived from the forms peculiar to each language; thus fidanza Ital., from fidare, but fianza Span., and fiancé French, from fier and fier. Credenza Ital., from credere, credencia, and also creencia Span., from creer, credence, créance, and croyance French, from croire; possanza Ital., pujanza Span., puissance French.

Anus, ianus. In Latin this was properly an adjectival termination, as Romanus, urbanus, Christianus. As proper names were often inflected with it, adjectives of this form frequently were used substantively, as Romani, Pompeiani, Christiani, etc. In the Romance languages it is

**ARIUS, ARIS.** The first of these terminations was common to both kinds of nouns in Latin, though properly belonging to adjectives, as *armentarius*, *nemarius*, *senarius*: the latter was confined to adjectives, as *militaris*, *vexillaris*. From *arius* the Italian has modified the several terminations *ario, aro, aio, iero, iere*\(^{\ast}\), the Span. *ario, ero, er*: the Prov. *ari, ar, er*, and *ier*; the French *aire, er, ier*, (Gr. Comp. p. 35. 48.)\(^{\ast}\)

**Aris** in Ital. and Span. becomes *are* and *ar*: the French confounds it with the derivatives of *arius* under the terminations *aire* and *ier*, as the Prov. confounds them under the termination *ar*: thus from *falsarius*, *militaris*, *Januarius*, and *singularis*, the French made *faussaire*, *militaire*, *Janvier*, *singulier*; and from *scholarius* and *familiaris* the Prov. made *escolar* and *familiar*,

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\(^{\ast}\) See also Raynouard, Obs. sur le Roman de Ruc.; p. 10.
NEW ROMANCE NOUNS FORMED BY AFFIXES. 139

(Gr. Comp. p. 35. 110.) The following table of some Latin words shows the relation which the modern terminations bear to the ancient one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>denarius</td>
<td>danaro, danaio</td>
<td>dinero</td>
<td>denier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ferrarius</td>
<td>ferraio</td>
<td>herrero</td>
<td>ferrier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>granarium</td>
<td>granaio</td>
<td>granero</td>
<td>gienier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Januarius</td>
<td>Gennaro, Gennaio</td>
<td>Enero</td>
<td>Janvier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>librarius</td>
<td>libraio</td>
<td>librero</td>
<td>libraire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primarius</td>
<td>primario, primaio, primiero</td>
<td>primario, primoire, premier</td>
<td>primo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scutarius</td>
<td>scudiere</td>
<td>escudero</td>
<td>escuyer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When these modifications had once been established, a great number of new substantives were formed with them in all the languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Prov.</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cavaliere</td>
<td>caballero</td>
<td>cavalier</td>
<td>cavalier or chevalier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corriere or -ero</td>
<td>corriere</td>
<td>corrier</td>
<td>courrier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>destriere</td>
<td>destrier</td>
<td>destrier</td>
<td>destrier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>falconiere</td>
<td>halconero</td>
<td>fauconier</td>
<td>guerrier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guerriero</td>
<td>guerrero</td>
<td>guerrier</td>
<td>guerrier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pensiere or -ero</td>
<td>prisonero</td>
<td>prisonier</td>
<td>prisonier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prigionere</td>
<td>prisionero</td>
<td>esparvier</td>
<td>espervier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sparviere -iero</td>
<td>extrangero</td>
<td>estranger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This termination has been much used in all the languages for the formation of new nouns,

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b See above p. 124.

c i.e. dextrarius. See Muratori in v.
and in particular it has been employed after the model of the Latin, which made *librarius*, *lignarius*, *ferrarius*, *vestiarius*, *sellularius*, *lapidarius*, *aerarius*, etc. to form nouns which signify certain orders, professions, or trades. This may be observed in several of the modern words, such as *cavalier*, *courrier*, *fauxonier*, already mentioned, and it may be further perceived in several forms common to the Ital. and Span., as *cameriere* Ital., *camerero* Span.; *caffetiere* Ital., *cafetero* Span.; *forastiere* Ital., *forastero* Span.; *banchiere* or *banchiero* Ital., *banquero* Span.; *carceriere* Ital., *carcelero* Span. In other cases these two languages have respectively forms of this kind peculiar to each, as *calamaio*, *masnadiere*, *condottiere*, *lardiero*, *girellaio*, Ital.; *agujero*, *mercadero*, *tintero* Span. The French nouns in *er* and *ier*, forming their fem. in *ère* and *ière*, are in great number, and comprehend most of the words signifying the persons belonging to different kinds of trades, professions, orders, etc. as *aumônier*, *banquier*, *boulanger*, *boucher*, *chancelier*, *contrebandier*, *cordonnier*, *cuisinier*, *douanier*, *fermier*, *huissier*, *héritier*, *mercier*, *meunier*, *rentier*, *roturier*, *sorcier*, *usurier*, etc. The French has likewise modern nouns in *aire*, as *sociétéaire*, *fonctionnaire*, *factionnaire*.

The various modifications of the Latin *minis-*

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\[c\] From the Latin *foras*; see Muratori in v.

\[d\] The French nouns in *aire* are probably of a later date than those in *er*, and the two classes appear to stand to each other in the same relation as those pointed out above, p. 121. 124.
terium (menester Span., mistero, mestieri, mestiere or mestiero Ital., mestier Prov., métier French) do not belong to the modern words formed with the termination er or ier, but are corrupted and contracted from the Latin word. Bicchiere Ital., and picher French, are derived from the German becher, (beaker Eng., bicker Scotch): alfiere Ital., and alferex Span., are said to be derived from the Arabic alpheres.

Aster. This termination had in Latin a diminutive force, which, as in many other instances, sometimes passed into a contemptuous sense, as filiaster, a stepson, calvaster, a little bald, oleaster, a wild, bad olive, poetaster, a worthless poet, etc. Hence the Ital. and Span. have derived the termination astro, the Prov. and French the termination astre, which the latter has softened into âtre. Thus figliastro Ital., hijastro Span., filhastre Prov., filastre or filâtre French. The French and Span. have marastre or marâtre and madrasta for stepmother, which word does not occur in Italian. The French uses this termination as a diminutive, (like the English ish,) as blanchâtre, bleuâtre, douceâtre, grisâtre, folâtre,

* Perticari, Scrittori del Trecento, lib. i. c. ii. vol. i. p. 58. who calls the ancient use of mistero for mestiero a "bruttissima, anzi sacrilega permutazione," does not see that mistero is nearer than the common form to ministerium, and that it was evidently corrupted into mestiero in order to avoid the confusion with mistero derived from mysterium.

† See Menage, Et. It. in bicchiere.

‡ Menage in alfiere.

jaunâtre, rougedâtre, saumâtre, etc. The Ital. and Span. sometimes give it an opprobrious force, as filosofastro, medicastro, teologastro, etc. which it likewise has in the French acariâtre and opiniâtre.

Atium, as in palatium. In Latin, however, the more common form was itium, as exitium, servitium, being a neuter form of the fem. termination itia, as in lætitia, sævitia, which will be noticed under another head. From atium the Ital. made agio, forming palagio from palatium, as servigio from servitium; in other Ital. words likewise t was changed into g, as stagione, ragione, from statio, ratio. In all the Romance languages this termination has assumed nearly the same form: thus it is agio or aggio in Ital. asgo or age in Span, atge or age in Prov., and

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1 See Muratori in salmastro, and Menage in falsastro from fals.

2 Also in mardre: "L'opinion qu'en général on a des marâtres dont le nom seul parmi nous est devenu presqu'une injure, est justifiée par les faits." Guerry, Statistique Morale de la France, p. 22. The word commonly used in French for stepmother is belle-mère, which also signifies mother-in-law: in Italian suocera, not having the termination in astra, has not, as far as I am aware, obtained a reproachful force, although the character of stepmothers in Italy (unless they have greatly improved since ancient times) is probably not at all superior to that of stepmothers in France.

The Spanish varies more in this termination that the other languages: thus it had not merely patronasgo corresponding to padronego and patronage, but ventoja corresponding to vantaggio and advantage, ultraje corresponding to oltragio and outrage. The popular dialect of Rome formerly made this termination in ajo, as lennajo for linnaggio, dannajo for danneggio, in the Roman history in Muratori, Ant. It. vol. iii. p. 399. 501. This, however, was rather a variety of orthography than of form, as j was pronounced hard as in French.
age in French: and although it is of rare occurrence in Latin, has in all the modern Latin dialects served to form a great variety of new nouns. And from the Romance languages it was translated into Low Latin, under the neuter form of agium; thus from maritaggio or maritage came maritagium, from homagio or homage homagium. If these words had been formed in Latin according to the true analogy, they would have been maritatium and hominatium. Sometimes, however, a Low Latin form in aticus corresponds to a Romance form in agio or age, as formaticus (cheese) to formagio and fromage, hostaticus to ostaggio and ostage, selvaticus to salvage and selvaggio, (although the Ital. and Span. likewise have selvatico.) Many of the substantives formed with this termination run through all the languages, as the instances cited by M. Raynouard, coraggio, lignaggio, messaggio, omaggio, viaggio Ital.; corage, linage, message, omenage, viage Span.; corage, linhage, message, omenage, viage Prov.; courage, lignage, message, hommage, voyage French, (Gr. Comp. p. 31.) So likewise we find in Ital., Span., and French, padronaggio, patronasgo, and patronage, potaggio and potage, passeggio, passage, and passage, villaggio and village, etc. In other


* Muratori in v.
cases, however, these forms occur only in two languages: thus the Prov. and French formed *auratge* and *orage* from *aura*: in Span. and Ital., however, there is no trace of this word. So in Ital. and French there are *beveraggio* and *breuvage*, *formaggio* and *fromage*, *ostaggio* and *ostage*, *rivaggio* and *rivage*, but there are no corresponding words in Span. Frequently each language has substantives of this form peculiar to itself, as *alegratge*, *agradatge* Prov., *appaggio*\(^*\), *fardaggio*, *farangaggio*, *figliuolaggio*, *parlaggio*\(^\dagger\), *vasellaggio* Ital., *aguage*, *cabezage*, *cabestrage*, *pontage* or *pontazgo*, *primazgo*, *serage*, *villanage* Span., *arrivage*, *bocage*, *chauffage*, *cirage*, *étage*, *fermage*, *fenillage*, *ménage*, *mirage*, *nuage*, *ouvrage*, *ramage*, *ravage*, *roulage*, *rouage*, *tapage*, *tirage*, *triage* French. Sometimes one language has preserved the Latin noun, where another has made a new form in *age*, thus *testimonio* Ital. and Span., but *témoignage* French: sometimes one language has used the termination *age*, where others have used different terminations: thus *schiavitù* Ital., *esclavitud* Span., but *esclavage* French, *vicinanza* Ital., *voisinage* French: *vecinata* is preserved in Span. from the Latin *vicinitas*; the other two words translated into Latin forms would be *vicinantia* and

\(^*\) A Sienese word from *opacus*: see Menage, Etym. It. in *abbacinare*.

\(^\dagger\) The name of the place where the Florentines ancietly held their parliaments; see Perticari, Dif. di Dante, c. 36. vol. ii. p. 162.
vicinatium. Sometimes again the corresponding words do not precisely agree, but appear to have been formed from similar roots variously modified in the several languages: thus linguaggio Ital. from lingua, language Prov. and langage Span. from lengua, langage French from langue: so maritaggio Ital. from maritare, maridage Span. from marido, mariage French from marier; danneggio a Ital. dommage French; redaggio Ital. from redare, but héritage French from hériter; pedaggio Ital. peage Span. péage French; romitaggio Ital. from romito corrupted from eremita, hermitage French from hermite.

Ia, Itia. The first of these terminations occurs in the Latin words gratia, inopia, miseria, etc. The Italian has preserved and used it in forming pazzia from pazzo, bizzarria from bizarro, signoria from signore, follia from folle, etc.

So likewise in the Span. fulleria, fusileria, plumageria and in the French boulangerie, boucherie, seigneurie. Sometimes the Ital. used the simpler form in a, as lega from legare, tema from temere.

a Dammaggio occurs in a Neapolitan sonnet of the thirteenth century, cited by Peticari, Dif. di Dante, c. 7. vol. i. p. 289, who calls aggius Neapolitan termination. It may prevail in the Neapolitan dialect, but it is common to all the Romance languages.

The English having adopted the termination age from the Norman French used it as a formative termination, and added it to Saxon roots: thus bondage, carriage, cottage, package, stoppage, stowage, steerage, thirlage, tillage, etc.

* See Grimm, vol. iii. p. 507. The terminations are here classed with reference not to the Latin, but to the Romance languages; otherwise the terminations antia and entia above treated would come under the general head of ia (p. 137.)
The Latin termination *itia* (e.g. *justitia, nequitia, maestitia*) has in Ital. past into *isia* and *ezza*, in Span. into *icia* and *exa*, in French into *ice* and *esse*. Thus *justitia, tristitia* Latin *giustizia, tristezza* Ital. *justicia, tristexa* Span. *justizia, tristexa*, Proven. *justice, tristesse* French. With regard to these two terminations from *itia* it is however to be observed that the former only occurs in words of Latin origin, as *justitia, militia, malitia, notitia*, etc. and that all the new nouns formed with this termination take the latter in *ezza, exa* or *esse*. The modern languages have formed in this manner a great variety of nouns which do not occur in Latin: thus they have all substantives of this form derived from *altus, largus, probus*, and from the words *fein* and *reich* adopted from the German (in Proven. *alteza, largueza, proexa, fineza, richeza*, (Gr. Comp. p. 30). Sometimes they have made a new noun of this form where the Latin employed a different termination; thus *altezza, alteza* and *altesse* correspond to *altitudo, agrezza* to *acritudo, giovanezza* and *jeunesse* to *juventus, noblezza, nobleza* and *noblesse* to *nobilitas, secheresse* to *siccitas, chaitiveza* in the Poeme sur Boece, v. 88. to *captivitas*. Sometimes the different languages have used the corresponding terminations for the same words, as in the instances mentioned above: sometimes some of the languages used the termination derived from *itia*, and some another termination: thus from

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the various derivatives of the Germanfrisch came frescura and freschezza Ital., frescura and frescor Span., frescor or fraichor Proven., fraicheur French. So agrezza, Ital., aigrura Span. aigreur French; grandezza Ital., grandeza Span., grandeur French; frigidezza Ital. frigidex Span., froideur French; rigidezza Ital., rigideza Span., roideur French; tepidezza Ital., tibieza Span., tiedeur French. Lunghezza Ital., corresponds to longueur French; the Span. uses the Latin longitudo. From fievoile and faible modified from flebris, the Ital. and French have made fievolizza and faiblesse: the Span. has not this word. Sometimes each language has forms of this kind peculiar to itself, as ampiezza, amorevolizza, dappochezza, mattezza Ital., honradez, idiotex, insensatez, pobreza Span., chaitiveza Proven., ivresse, paresse, rudesse, souplesse, vitesse French.

The fem. termination of nearly the same form, which prevails in the Romance languages, as duchessa Ital., duquesa Span., duquessa Prov., and duchesse French, is considered by Grimm as a lengthened form of the Latin ix, as in netrix, piscatrix, etc. This view is liable to the objection that the Romance words formed from Latin fem. in ix have kept nearer to the Latin form, as the derivatives of nutrix, cicatrix, calyx, matrix. It seems therefore more probable, that the fem. termination in Issa, as in the words mantissa, favissa, of more frequent usage in the Greek, as

* See Muratori in fresco.  
* Muratori in fievoile. 
pepsioua, κλίσις, etc. was the origin of the Romance form.

Inus. This is a termination of nearly the same kind as anus, and is chiefly confined to adjectives, as caballinus, Latinus, marinus, masculinus, matutinus, peregrinus, supinus, vicinus. It occurs, however, in substantives of the fem. and neut. gender, as farina, medicina, rapina, ruina, salina, lupinum, salinum. The Ital. and Span., which have made it ino, the Prov. and French, which have made it in, used it for the formation of substantives, as festino and festin derived from festus. (Gr. Comp. p. 50.) In Italian this termination is still in great use, with a diminutive sense, as ragazzino, tavolina, bambino from bambo (i.e. babe*.) It likewise has a diminutive force in Spanish. The French has also used it for the formation of new words, but without a diminutive force, as angevin, bavardin, chevrotin, diablotin, fagotin, patelin, Poitevin, bécassine, routine: so also names of parties in the French revolution, Brissotin, Girondin*.

Ista. This termination, introduced into the Latin at a late period from the Greek, has passed into the modern languages: thus copista, legista, algebrista, cabalista, Ital. and Span.; copiste, légiste, algébriste, cabaliste, modiste, dentiste, Fr.

* See Grimm, vol. iii. p. 703.
NEW ROMANCE NOUNS FORMED BY AFFIXES. 149

O, onis, masculine, as in caupo, latro, sermo, commilito, and in proper names, as Scipio, Cæsio, Cæpio, Maro. Hence the Ital. one, the Span. Prov. and French on (Gr. Comp. p. 56, 7.) Thus bastone Ital., baston Span., Prov. and Fr.; falcone Ital., halçon Span., falcon Prov., faucon French; milione Ital., millon Span., million Fr.; campione Ital., campeon Span., campion Prov., champion French. Many of the modern nouns of this form are derived from a German root: thus bastone comes from bat or bast, campione from kampf, spione from spißen, to spy, balcone from balk, marrone from marre, a Chesnut, poltrone from polster, prigione from prisund, sperone from sporn, fellone from fell. Antrustione, barone, and garzone have likewise German roots. In French it has been used for the formation of many words, as aiguillon, caisson, chaillon, brouillon, jambon, menton, monton, rejeton, téton, vallon, piéton; and in this language it is sometimes a diminutive termination, as in mignon, salon, ânon, and in the familiar proper names Alison, Lison, Robichon, Fanchon, Jeanneton, Louison, Gothon, Marion, Nanon, Ninon.

— See Menage in bastone and fellone, Muratori in spia, balcone, marrone, poltrone and poltrire, prigione and sperone. I have not thought it necessary to repeat the Spanish and French forms of the words mentioned in the text.

— Garzone, according to Muratori, is derived from an ancient Frankish word, which is written Garto in an Italian document of the ninth century. Ant. It. vol. ii. p. 1118, A—C. Garziine in the Nib. Lied, v. 905, is probably borrowed from the Romance. In low Latin a marquis is marchio, a noun of this form, and not marchensis, the form used in the Romance languages.
Susan. In Italian likewise it frequently occurs, sometimes as a mere formative termination, as in burrone, falcione, montone, and other instances above cited, and sometimes with an augmentative force, as donnone, salone, cavallone. In Spanish, likewise, on is sometimes an augmentative: thus hombron from hombre, calaveron from calavera.

On the feminine termination io, ionis, and its use in the modern languages, it is unnecessary to say anything.

Or. This masculine termination is of two kinds; first, when it denotes qualities, as amor, honor, color, and secondly, when it denotes persons, as imperator, lictor, possessor. Among the modern languages, it has become ore in Italian, or in Spanish and Provençal, and in old French; in which language it has since been modified into our and eur. (Gr. Comp. p. 59—61. above, p. 93.) The modern languages have formed, with this termination, some new words corresponding to the former class of Latin nouns, as bollore, malore, rancore, tristore, sentore, verdore, Ital.; frescor, renco, verdor, Span.; frescor or fraichor, verdor, Prov.; fraîcheur, lueur, lenteur, rancueur, pesanteur, profondeur, verdieur

4 Grimm, vol. iii. p. 705, is mistaken in supposing that the old French proper names in on, as Charlon, are of this form. They are the ancient accusative case from the nominative in es or s: see above, p. 90.

5 On the Italian and Spanish augmentatives of this form see Grimm, vol. iii. p. 705.

6 On tristore, see Perticari, Dif. di Dante, c. 26. vol. ii. p. 36.
French. The chief part of the new substantives formed with this termination belong, however, to the other class of nouns signifying persons, as miratore, servitore, Ital., mirador, servidor, Span. and Prov., serviteur, French. So likewise ambasciatore, coniatore, conoscitore, confettatore, Ital.; embaxador, matador, picador, sangrador, Span.; accapareur, accoucheur, agioteur, escamoteur, farceur, siffleur, vendangeur, French.

It has been already remarked that the Provençal and French changed the gender of the nouns in or signifying qualities, and said la dolor, la color, la frescor, la verdor, etc., while the Italian and Spanish preserved the masculine gender not only in the words retained from the Latin, as amore, colore, amor, color, but also in the words newly formed, as in rancore, verdore, Ital., frescor, rencor, verdor, Span.⁸

Tas, tatis, tus, tutis, as in servitus, virtus, bonitas, libertas. Since (as has been above shown) all the modern languages, in forming nouns from Latin substantives of the third declension, took the accusative case as their type, these terminations became in Ital. tate and tute; in Span. tad and tud, anciently tat and tut; in Prov. tat and tut; in French tet and tut. In Italian the terminations in tate and tute were formerly written at full length, as cittate, veritate, virtute, or cittade, veritade, virtude; for some time, however, they have, by the omission of the last consonant,

⁸ See above, p. 128.
been contracted into tâ and tù, (i.e. tae and tue), so that these words have now become città, verità, virtù: this change, nevertheless, has only affected the termination tute or tude, as salute and palude have preserved their ancient form. The French having, as in many other instances, changed the a into e, made originally libertet, citet, nativitet, voluntet: it has since suppressed the final t, and indicated its suppression by the acute accent, as liberté, cité, nativité, volonté: in the termination tut, it has merely suppressed the final t, and from vertut made vertu. (Gr. Comp. p. xix. 37—42. 68, 69.) Many new substantives have been formed in the modern languages with this termination, as beltate or beltà Ital., beldad Span., beltat Prov., beauté French; lealtà, sovraniità Ital., lealtad, soveranidad Span., loyauté, souveraineté French. So likewise schia-vitù Ital., esclavitud Span., debonnaireté, gaîté, honnêteté, netteté, oisiveté, papauté French.

ULUS, ELLUS, ILLUS. Ulus, or olus, in Latin, was originally a mere formative termination, as in sedulus, garrulus, famulus, credulus, gerulus, un-

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a When the ancient termination was not at but ata, the French, following its two rules of changing the final a into e muet, and at in a termination into é, converted it into éce: thus, amat (from amo) became aimé, amata, aimée. So likewise fumée, French, corresponds to fumata Ital.; armée French, to armata Ital. and armada Span.; fete French, to fata Ital., and hada Span.; journée French, to giornata Ital. jornada Span. (see Machiav. Disc. ii. 17. ad init.); vallée Fr., to vallata Ital., and not to valle: as is implied by M. Raynouard, who speaks of “Le mot val roman qui a produit en français vallée.” Journ. des Sav. 1823. p. 111.
gula, regula, fabula, Græculus, Pænulus, Romulus, Scævola: afterwards it obtained a diminutive sense, as in regulus, filiolus, and in Hadrian’s address to his soul, animula, vagula, blandula. The Italian in adopting this termination changed it into olo, or uolo, as favola, tavola, figliuolo, from fabula, tabula, filiolus; and has formed with it many new words, as bussolo, nuvola, gocciole, piccolo, (from putus,) legnaiuolo, etc. The Spanish modified this termination into uelo, as aguero or abuero, corresponding to the Ital. avolo, coxuelo, ojuelo. The French has made it eul, but has rarely used it: thus filleul answers to the Ital. figliuolo and the Span. hijuelo. Sometimes the Latin lengthened the termination ulus by a syllable, making it aculus or iculus, as in cænaculum, obstaculum, miraculum, auricula, curruculus, fasciculus, ridiculus, Æquiculus from Æquus. These terminations were softened by the Ital. into acchio and icchio, as in oculus, occhio, circulus, cerchio, macula, macchia, gracula, gracchia, auricula, orecchia, pariculus.

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k See above, p. 74. q.

1 Niebuhr, vol. i. n. 419., speaking of the Poediculi, says that “the simpler forms Poedi and Poedici have not been preserved in books.” There is no doubt that the termination in iculus originated in the manner here indicated, and was a double affix: nevertheless in many words the simpler derivative form probably never existed, and it is perhaps as unsafe to infer from Poediculus the existence of a form Poedicus, as to infer from auricula, curruculus, and ridiculus, the existence of such words as aurica, curricus, and ridicus.
parecchio, speculum, specchio. The change took place thus, auricula, auricla, aurichia, cl being softened into chi, as in chiave from clavis, chioestro from claustrum, etc. After these models were formed the Ital. pistacchio, pecchia, (i.e. apicula,) lenticchia, ginocchio, birracchio; and by a change of acchio and icchio into accio and iccio, fossaccia, mostaccio, cappriccio, pasticcio, fantoccio. The termination accio, as is often the case with diminutives, has sometimes in Ital. a contemptuous sense, as donnaccia, giovinaccio, pitturaccia, robaccia. While the Ital. changed the Latin terminationculus or cula into chia or chio, the Span. changed it into ejo and eja, the Prov. into el and elha, the French into eil and eille; thus auricula, apicula, oculus, pariculus Lat., orecchia, pecchia, occhio, parrecchio Ital., oreja, abeja, ojo, parejo Span., aureilha, huels Prov., oreille, abeille, oeuil, pareil French.

The Latin sometimes augmented the termination ulus by prefixing to it el or il; so that from novus it formed novelulus, from pusus pusilulus. These three syllables were afterwards contracted

= See Murator in parecchio, and Menage in abbacchiare, which he derives from bacculus, and in conocchia, which he makes equivalent to colucula from colus. Also Pasqualini Vocabolario Siciliano, vol. ii. p. x. xi.

= Muratori in serchio.

= Muratori in v.

p The termination iccio sometimes comes from itius or icius, as posticcio from posticius, (Murat. in v.), fatticcio, facticius: but in other cases accio and iccio seem to be slightly modified from acchio and icchio.
into two, so as to make elli or illus, and thus were formed the words novellus, pusillus, miscellus, Sabellus, Terentilla, codicillus, furcille, etc. The same termination was, however, sometimes produced in a different manner, viz. by the softening of r into l: thus liberulus, miserulus, puerulus, became libellus, misellus, puellus. Of these two forms in illus and illus the Ital. made ello, the Span. ello and illo, the Prov. and French el, (Gr. Comp. p. 43.) The modern French has changed the termination el into eau: thus instead of the ancient chastel, drapel, faiscel, tonnel, etc., it now says château, drapeau, faisceau, tonneau: the trace of the ancient form is, however, preserved in the inflexions, as cervelle from cervel (cerveau), nouvelle from nouvel (nouveau); and in the derivatives, as niveler from nivel (niveau), chapelier from chapel (chapeau), sceller from scl (sceau), morceler from morcel (morceau), Bordelais from Bordel (Bordeau). When the French language was introduced into England this change had not been made: hence the English castle, flail, mackerel, morsel, muzzle, tressel, tunnel, vessel, etc., correspond to the modern French château, fléau, macquereau, morceau, museau, trêtau, tonneau, vaisseau.

* See Grimm, vol. iii. p. 696.

* That is morsel, a little bit (bite), from mors, an old French word from morsus. See Raynouard in Journ. des Savans, 1831. p. 516.

* The old French had flæel, and also flæel, whence our word is taken. It had likewise the word flæeler.
CHAPTER II.

This termination has been much used by the modern languages for the formation of new nouns. Sometimes the several languages agree remarkably in forming corresponding derivatives from the same root, as mantello Ital., mantel Span. Prov. and French; martello Ital., martillo Span., martel Prov. and French; vassel Prov., vaisseau French, vascello Ital., which latter form, however, partakes of a variety which will be presently noticed; batello¹, agnello, anello, coltello, capello Ital., batel, aüillo, cuchillo, cabello Span., batel, agnel, an nel, coutel, chapel French. The Italian has substituted several of these derivatives for the ancient underived forms: thus fratello and sorella for frate and sorore²: it has likewise still the power of using ello as a diminutive termination, as ragazzello from ragazzo. Other derivatives of this simple form in Span. are camarilla, corcillo, guerilla, ladrillo, lagrimilla, lamparilla, pecadillo, etc.; in French ber cel, boissel, chalumel, faiscel, panel³, tombel, troupel. Sometimes the form of this termination became more complicated, as fiumicello, donzello, (domicellus⁴,) leoncello, madamigella, monticello, vermicello, violoncello⁵, vecchierello, pazzarello Ital.;

¹ From bat, boat, Murat. in v.
² Sorella comes from sore, contracted from sorre, as fratello comes from frate, contracted from fratre. The old Ital. writers likewise use siroccia for sister, i.e. sororcula.
³ On paneau see Murat. in pania.
⁴ See Manzoni's notes to Adelchis.
⁵ Leon-cello, violon-cello, etc. do not fall under the same class as the
leoncillo, manecilla Span.; lioncel French. Of the same form as leoncillo is vascello, noticed above; as also augello or uccello Ital.*, contracted from avicello, like the Span. avecillo: the French oisel arose in a like manner.

Sometimes the French added to the termination el the termination et, of which I shall speak presently: hence having formed oisel from avis, from oisel it formed oiselet; having formed chapel from chap, from chapel it formed chapeletb; having formed roitel from roi, from roitel it formed roitelet.

Ura, as in censura, jucitura, cultura. This termination remained the same in all the modern languages except the French, which as usual changed the final a into e. Several new words were formed with it, as aventura, armadura, verdura Ital., Span., and Prov., aventure, armure, verdure, French, cosidura or cucitura Ital., costura Span., cosdura Prov., couture French, (Gr. Comp. p. 28.) Other new words of this form are altura, bruttura, cambiatura, caricatura, fatatura, lordsura, magagnatura, pianura, paura, seccatura Ital., domadura, embarradura, echadura, enjalbegadura, rebosadura, pavura Span., blessure,

Latin hom-unculus, ov-unculus, etc. (Grimm. vol. ii. p. 347.) as the n belongs not to the termination but to the root.

* See Menage in augello, who quotes auccellus, στρωβλος, from an ancient gloss.

* See above, p. 78. x. Schapel, which occurs several times in the Nibelungen Lied, in the sense of an ornament or covering for the head, is borrowed from the French chapel, and not from chapelet, as is stated by V. Hagen in v.
coiffure, decoupure, doublure, ferrure, nourriture, ordure, souillure French.

There are likewise some Romance terminations of nouns adjective derived from the Latin, of which the following may be here noticed.

Ensis, as in forense. The Italian has preserved the termination under the form ese, as Veronese, Lucchese, paese from pagense, which in Span. is pais, in French pays. It occurs in the derivatives of German roots, as from marke and burg, marchese and borghese Ital., marques Span., marquis and bourgeois French: so likewise cortese Ital., cortes Span. and Prov., courtois French. From the old German hárðneskja, lorica, (now harnisch,) were formed arnese Ital., arnes Span., harnois French.

Ivus, as in aestivus, fugitivus, captivus, lascivus. The modern languages have formed new adjectives with this termination, as tardivo, distruttivo Ital., destructivo Span., craintif, naif, oisif, pensif, tardif French.

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* Muratori in v.
\[ See\  Grimm,\ vol.\ ii.\ p.\ 373.\ n.\]

* Landor in his Imaginary Conversations, vol. i. p. 212. speaking of the moral inferences to be drawn from the use of words in Italian, says "Misfortune is criminal: the captive is a wicked man, cattivo." The same remark applies to the French caitif, whence the English caitiff. Nor does it appear that there is any peculiarity in this transfer of meanings: a prisoner usually became a slave, and there are numerous instances in both Romance and Teutonic languages of a close association of the ideas of slavery and of meanness, cowardice, and moral abasement. Thus the word thraell or thrall meant both a slave and a bad man. See Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, p. 303. 308. Arndt in the Rheinisches Museum, vol. ii. p. 348—52.
NEW ROMANCE NOUNS FORMED BY AFFIXES. 159

Osus, as in *generosus*, *formosus*, *nemerosus*. The Ital. and Span. made this termination in *oso*, the Prov. in *os*, and the French in *os* or *ox*, which latter termination it changed first into *oux*, and then into *eux*. Thus the Ital. and Span. have formed *amoroso*, *perilloso*, *maravigioso*, *maravilloso*, the Prov. *amoros*, *perillos*, *enuios*, *saboros*, the French *amoros*, *perillos*, *enuios*, *merveillos*, *doutos*, *envios*, which were sometimes written with a final *x*, as in *amorox*, *perillox*, etc. (Gr. Comp. p. 122.) Afterwards the *o* was changed into *ou*, so that the termination became *ous* or *oux*: which is still preserved in the word *jaloux*; and this is the form of the termination in question in modern Provençal, as *argentous*, *cendrillous*, *famous*, *pietous*, *ponderous*. Such also was its form when the French language was introduced into England, and hence our adjectives *generous*, *clamorous*, *callous*, *famous*, *vigorousand* *monstrous*, etc. Each language has new words of this form peculiar to itself, as *noioso*, *neghittoso*, *ritroso*, *pensieroso*, *schizzinoso* Ital., *guardoso*, *hastioso*, *presagioso*, *primoroso* Span., *chanceux*, *fâcheux*, *heureux*, *oiseux*, *nuageux* French.

There are some other terminations of nouns which do not appear to be derived from the

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2 From *negligere*, see Muratori in v.
Latin, but which are used in all or some of the Romance languages. They are three in number and of these two evidently spring from a Teutonic scource, and the third probably has the same origin.

ARD. This German terminal has been received into the Romance languages, and has served to form a great variety of new nouns, especially in the Ital. and French. Thus bu-giardo, (probably from a German root) azardo, bastardo, bombarda, chiavardo, codardo, (from cauda, a person who lingered at the rear of an army,) gagliardo, infingardo, leardo, maliardo, moscardo, mostarda, saccardo, tabarro, testardo, vecchiardo Ital., cobarde, gallardo, Span., campagnard, bavard, babillard, couard, gagliard, billard, branlard, brouillard, fugard, milliard, pendard, etc. French. Many nouns have likewise been formed with this termination in English, as braggart, drunkard, wizard, haggard, pollard, steward (from to sow,) custard (from cost, food,) mazzard, froward, etc.

Etto, ito, ete, et; otto, ote, ot. These terminations occur in Ital. in the words boschetto, cavalletto, giovanotto, merlotto, signorotto: in Span. in caballeto, señorito, muleto, papeleta, capote: in French in ballet, bonnet, filet, billet, couplet, poulet, sommet, violet, ballot, cachot, chariot, matelot, mignon, poulot. It has been

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^ See Murat. in v.
already mentioned that in French et is sometimes added to the termination el, as in agnelet, batelet, bracelet, carrelet, châtelet, rondelet. In cailléteel and louvetel (cailléteau and louvetecau) this process has been reversed.

In some words these terminations merely serve to form new nouns; in others they have a diminutive sense, as merlotto, señorito, poulet: in Span., however, ote has an augmentative force, as hombrote, capote. Their origin, though it is probably to be found in some Teutonic formative syllable, is quite obscure.

Asco, esco, isco, esc, esque. In Italian asinesco, Bergamasco, buffonesco, burasca, cagnesco, cavaleresco, Dantesco, duchesco, donnesco, gigantesco, giovanesco, marinersco, naveresco, pittoresco, soldatesco: in Span. borrasca, gatesco, gigantesco, marisco, Morisco, marinesco, pintoresco, soldadesco, etc.: in Prov. Espanesc, Francesc, Grexesc, Serrasinesc, and joglaresc. Probably the French words of this form, as burlesque, grottesque, gigantesque, pittoresco, are borrowed from the Italian: the two latter, if they had been formed in French, would have been géantesque, peinteur-esque; and the roots of the two former, burlo and grotto, are wanting in the same language.

* Grimm is mistaken, vol. iii. p. 705. in stating that otto in Ital. has an augmentative force: it is always a diminutive, according to Marrini on the Lamento di Cecco, p. 106. who gives numerous examples of it.

1 Grimm, vol. iii. p. 702.

* See Muratori in v.
CHAPTER II.

This termination is derived from the German termination in \textit{isch}°; thus \textit{Tedesco} in Ital. corresponds to \textit{Theotiscus} or \textit{Theotisch} (Teutsch), as \textit{fresco} was formed from \textit{frisch}. Thus \textit{Arabesco, barbaresco, Turchesco} Ital., answer to \textit{Arabisch, barbarisch, Türkisch}. National names were often formed with this termination in the Romance languages, as they are both in German and English.

Now it cannot be contended that the result of this summary examination of the Romance terminations of nouns by any means necessitates M. Raynouard’s hypothesis with respect to the parentage of the living Latin dialects, or indeed is at all favourable to it. We see, indeed, that the different languages subjected the Latin terminations to similar modifications, and used them for similar purposes; but in this fact there is nothing which compels us to suppose that they had anything more in common than their derivation from the Latin. In their corresponding words there is just that degree of resemblance and of difference which might have been expected in languages formed under the same circumstances from the same original. Thus there are some new nouns not derived from the Latin, such as those formed with \textit{aggio} and \textit{age} from \textit{lingua} and \textit{cor}, with \textit{ezza, exa}, and \textit{esse} from \textit{largus} and \textit{probus}, with \textit{one} and \textit{on} from \textit{kampf}, with \textit{tate} or \textit{tat} from \textit{bellus}, with \textit{ura} from \textit{viridis},

which occur in all the languages: sometimes the different languages formed the same root with different terminations, as allegrezza and allegria Ital., alegria Span., alegrage Prov., allegresse French; vicinanza Ital., voisinage French; frescor Prov., freschezza Ital., frescura Span.; schiavità Ital., esclavage French: sometimes each language had words of the several forms peculiar to itself, of which many examples have been cited above; and sometimes the corresponding words are formed from the differently modified roots belonging to each language, as maritaggio, maridage, and mariage; romitaggio and hermitage; credencia, creencia, and eroyance. As these latter words could not have been derived from the same source, but were formed by means of the same terminations from similar roots; it is fair to conclude that the agreement in others where the roots were the same was the effect of chance, and does not necessitate the hypothesis of a common language in which these nouns were formed. It is not to be wondered that having the same terminations to work with, and the same roots to work upon, the languages should have often coincided in the new forms. Nor can it be doubted that nations, whose territories lay so near together, which were governed by institutions so closely resembling, between which there was so constant an intercourse, and whose languages had so strict an affinity, should frequently have borrowed words from each other. Under these circumstances such words
as *omaggio*, *vassallagio*, and other political terms, would naturally pass from one to another country. The influence of the Church had, moreover, the effect of binding all the Romance nations into a species of federal republic, by making all the clergy members of a community dependent on the See of Rome. And on the whole, such a communication existed between these countries, as made it impossible that their cognate languages could have been developed altogether independently of one another.

The similarity of effects produced on language by similar causes, may likewise be perceived in the foreign words introduced into the Romance tongues during the middle ages, such as the derivatives of *weira*, *herberge*, *wand*, *anden*, *harnisch*, *reim*, *sclavus*, *spatha*, etc., which probably were in most cases adopted by each language independently of the others. The subject of the non-Latin part of the Romance languages is, however, of sufficient importance to require a separate investigation; and in this essay I shall confine myself to that which concerns the grammar, without endeavouring to explain that which concerns the dictionary of the modern Latin dialects.

* On the influence of the Italian on the French see Muratori, Ant. It. vol. ii. p. 1112. B.
> See note (D.) at the end.
CHAPTER III.

Degrees of Comparison, Pronouns, and Numerals.

§. 1. DEGREES OF COMPARISON.

The Provençal formed its degrees of comparison by means of the adverb *plus*: which word prefixed singly to an adjective denoted the comparative, and together with the article, the superlative degree: as *bels, plus bels, el plus bels.* Sometimes it preserved the Latin inflexion in *or* for the comparative, as *majers, mielhers, gensers,* (from *gent, gentilis* Latin,) *ausers (altior* *) and rarely that in *issimus* for the superlative, as *altismes, altissimus.* The superlative might likewise be expressed by means of the article and the Latin comparative: thus *la genser,* was equivalent to *la plus genta.* *Am la plus bella et la meilleur,* 'I love the fairest and the best.'

After the comparative degree, the relation between the two things compared is signified by the particle *que,* (derived from the Latin *quam,* ) as *‘plus rieux qu’el senher de Marroc,* 'more

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* The manner in which the Latin termination in *or* became *er* in Provençal, and received a final *s,* has been explained above, p. 92.
powerful than the lord of Morocco.' Sometimes the *que* was omitted between verbs, as

'É am la mais no faz cozin ni oncle:' 'and I love her more (than) I do cousin or uncle.'

Or the preposition might be used before substantives and pronouns, as 'plus fresca de lei,' 'fresher than her;' 'mielhs de mi,' 'better than me;' 'mas de cen,' 'more than a hundred.' M. Raynouard says that this usage was imitated from the Greek, (Gr. Rom. p. 55.) but there seems no reason for supposing that it was borrowed from a language which could not have exercised any influence on the Provençal, or indeed any of the Romance languages. When two objects are compared, it is natural to say that one is the better, the worse, the more beautiful, etc. of the two; and it is an easy transition to say that one is better of the other: though it is an idiom which our language does not admit, (Gr. Rom. p. 51—8.)

The other Romance languages have in like manner lost the Latin mode of forming the degrees of comparison by inflexion, with the exception of a few words retained from the Latin, as *maggiore*, *maggio*, *meno*, *peggiore*, *peggio*, *migliore*, *meglio* Ital., *mayor*, *peor*, *mejor*, *ménos* Span., *majeur*, *meilleur*, *mieux*, *pire*, *moins* French; and the Italian and French, like the Provençal, form the comparative with *più* and *plus*, the superlative with *il piú* and *le plus*: while the Spanish uses *mas* (from *magis*) for the same purpose. M. Raynouard says that the
Provençal alone possesses both *plus* and *mais* (Gr. Comp. p. 137.): but he forgets that the Latin equally possesses them both; and the Provençal does not prefix *mais*, like the Spanish, to adjectives, but uses it only as an adverb of comparison. The Latin termination of the superlative, as has been already remarked, rarely occurs in Provençal, and M. Raynouard cites a few instances of it in old French, in which language, with the exception of a few relics of the ancient form, such as *illustrissime*, *révérendissime*, etc., it is now disused. The Italian and Spanish have, however, preserved the use of this termination, and can annex it to any adjective: but it has lost its proper superlative meaning, and only has an intensive force: thus 'maximus omnium' would be in Italian 'il più grande di tutti,' while 'vir maximus' would be 'uomo grandissimo.' Wherever it is meant that none possess the quality in an equal degree, the article and the adverb must be used: where it is meant that the subject possesses the quality in a high degree, the termination is proper. The same rule also applies to the Spanish. It should be remarked that in the retention of the superlative termination, the latter languages have adhered more closely than the Provençal to the Latin.

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b The Italian only preserved the Latin termination in *issimus*: it has, however, retained some Latin superlatives of a different formation, as *ottimo*, *pessimo*, *minimo*, *infimo*, *supremo*, *accerimo*, *celeberrimo*. These are collected by Biagioli, Gr. Ital. p. 62. who, however, ought not to have called *benissimo* a Latin superlative.
The employment of *que* after comparatives, and of *de* before substantives and pronouns, occurs in all the Romance languages; and of the suppression of *che* before verbs M. Raynaud gives some instances from old Italian: as ‘E piò soave dorme in vile e picciol letto...no face segnore en grande e caro suo.’ Guit. d' Arezzo, Lett. I. p. 4.° (Gr. Comp. p. 137—42.)

§. 2. PRONOUNS.

The Provençal personal pronouns have for the most part only two cases in the singular, and one in the plural number, distinguished by the termination: the others are formed by prepositions. They are as follows:

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<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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<tr>
<td><em>Nom.</em> eu, ieu, me, mi</td>
<td>nos</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Acc.</em> me, mi</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Nom.</em> tu</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Acc.</em> tu, te, ti</td>
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</table>

|MASC.|

| *Nom.* il, el     | il, els |
| *Acc.* il, el, lo, li, lui | els, los, li: lor only after de or a |

* This construction resembles the vulgar English idiom, ‘better nor me,’ ‘older nor him,’ etc.
### Pronouns

**Singular.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ella, il, leis</td>
<td>ellas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>la, lei, leis</td>
<td>las</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after a and de</td>
<td>ella and not</td>
<td>after a and de ellas or lor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la was used.</td>
<td></td>
<td>and not las was used.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Se* and *si* were used either in the singular or the plural, either in the nominative or accusative case, and with the prepositions *de* and *a*, (Gr. Rom. p. 59—86.)

In these forms the greatest confusion prevails: while *me* and *mi* are used in the nom. case, together with *eu* derived from *ego, tu* is used in the acc. case, together with *te* and *ti*: although *eu* is never the accusative, or *te* the nominative. *Il, el,* and *ella,* in the nom. singular come from *ille* and *illa:* *il, el, lo, ella,* and *la,* in the oblique case are formed from *illum* and *illam:* *li, lui, lei,* and *leis* from *illi.* The two latter feminine forms are likewise used as nominatives. In the nom. plural, *il, els,* and *ellas,* come from *illi,* *illos,* and *illas;* while *lor,* common to both genders, is derived from *illorum.* *Li* from *illi* nom. was transferred to the oblique case plural, as *lei* from *illi* dat. was transferred to the nom. singular.

To the personal pronouns were sometimes joined in the Provençal other pronouns, which had the effect of giving additional force to the affirmation; such as *eis,* (from *ipse*), *mezeis,* (the

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4 On this final *s* see below, ch. 5. § 1.
origin of which word will be explained presently,) and *altres*. Thus ‘elh eis dieus la fetz,’ ‘God himself made her,’ ‘ille ipse Deus’; ‘ab qu’el mezeis se balaya,’ ‘with which he himself flogs himself’; ‘de se mezeis nos fe do,’ ‘he made us a gift of himself’; ‘son ves els mezeis trachor,’ ‘they are traitors towards themselves.’ *Altre* is only joined to *nos* and *vos*: thus ‘Et afermi que mays valh Mahomet que ton Xrist loqual vos autres adoratz’; ‘and I affirm that Mahomet is worth more than thy Christ whom you adore.’

*En* and *ne* were used in Provençal to mean, of *him, her, it, them*; *i, y, and hi*, to mean, to *him, her, it, them*. Although (says M. Raynouard) *en* and *ne* derived from *inde*, and *i, y, or hi* derived from *ibi*, ought only to have been used for the pronoun when they signified inanimate things, yet the Provençal used them to signify persons, both in the singular and plural, and both masculine and feminine, (Gr. Rom. p. 86.)

The modifications of the Latin personal pronouns made by the Provençal reappear, for the most part, in the other Romance languages. The old Italian *eo* and the modern *io*, the Spanish *yo*, and the old French *jeo*, have retained the *o* of the Latin *ego*, which has become *u* in the Provençal. The use of *mi* in the nominative appears likewise to have anciently existed in Italian and Portuguese*: but that of *tu* in the

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* On the tendency to substitute the accusative for the nominative,
acc. is peculiar to the Provençal. The Italian, from its intolerance of final consonants, has changed nos and vos into noi and voi: 'notwithstanding which (says M. Raynouard) the Romance (i.e. Provençal) nos and vos appear in Italian joined with the preposition co,' (Gr. Comp. p. 148.): a singular assertion; for in the first place, nos and vos are as much Latin as Provençal, and if they were the common forms in Italian would not prove any connexion with the Provençal, and secondly, nosco and vosco are evidently contracted from nobiscum and vobiscum, forms of which there is no trace in the Provençal or any other Romance language.

It is remarkable that the practice of adding alter to nos and vos, occurs in all the Romance languages, and in Spanish particularly it has become inseparably joined to those pronouns, so that nosotros and vosotros are the common forms for the nom. case, nos and vos being reserved for the accusative.

With regard to the derivatives of the pronoun ille, it is to be observed that from this word all the Romance languages have formed their definite article⁵; and it is curious to observe how

as being more emphatic, some remarks have been already made, above p. 101. and the same explanation probably applies to such expressions as 'io mi sono,' 'io non so ch'io mi dica o ch'io mi faccia' (Boccaccio), 'io mi viva' (Petrarch), which occur in old Italian: the mi was doubtless added in order to give force to the affirmation, and afterwards might be used merely from habit, (see Gr. Comp. p. 146.)

⁵ Vi, the accusative, appears to be merely a contraction of voi.

⁶ Except the Sardinian dialect, in which the definite article is so, sa,
each language has chosen different forms, originally synonymous, to distinguish the one sense from the other. The Provençal used _el_ as an article, and both _el_ and _il_ as the pronoun: the Italian originally used both _el_ and _il_ as the article, and _el_ as the pronoun: the latter has now substituted _egli_, apparently from _illi_, as the Prov. used _lei_ also from _illi_ in the feminine gender. The Provençal used both _el_ and _lo_ (from _illum_) as the nom. of the article, but _lo_ as a pronoun was only acc. The old French used both _el_ and _lo_ as the article, and _lo_ as the accusative of the pronoun: but it has since disused _el_ as an article, for which it uses _le_ (_lo_,) and has retained _il_ only as the nom. of the pronoun. _Lei_, though derived from _illi_ the Latin dative, was used in old Italian, as well as in the Provençal, as a nom.: thus Petrarch,

_E ho sì avezza_
_la mente a contemplar sola costei_
_Chi’ altro non vede, e ciò, che non è lei,_
_Già per antica usanza odia e disprezza._

(See other instances in Gr. Comp. p. 155.) The same idiom is still retained in Italian in the language of conversation. With regard to _li, los, ellas_ in Italian and Spanish, the same observation applies as to _li, los_, and _las_, the plural of the article; and _lor_, which in the Italian _loro_
PRONOUNS.

retains one more letter of *illorum*, does not appear as a personal pronoun in Spanish and Portuguese.

The Provençal use of *se* occurs in all the other languages, of *en* and *ne* in French, of *ne* in Italian, and of *i* or *y* in all, (Gr. Comp. p. 143–58.)

The Provençal moreover often omitted the vowels of its personal pronouns, and affixed the remaining consonant or consonants to the preceding word: thus *me*, *ti*, *se*, *nos*, *vos*, were represented by *m*, *t*, *s*, *ns*, *us*: thus we find ‘No sai en qual guiza-m* h* fui natz,’ ‘I know not in what guise I was born.’ ‘Per aixo-t tem amors,’ ‘For this I fear thee, Love.’ ‘Mos coratges no-s pot partir de vos,’ ‘my heart cannot part itself from you.’ ‘Lo jorn que-ns ac amor amdos eletz,’ ‘the day that love had chosen us both.’ ‘Tolre no-m podetz que no-us am,’ ‘You cannot prevent me from loving you.’ *N* is likewise used as an affix for *ne* or *en*, (Gr. Rom. p. 91–5.) In poetry the pronoun was necessarily affixed to the preceding word, and could not be used in its uncontracted form* 1.

This remarkable system of affixed pronouns occurs in old French, and is still preserved in some of the French *patois*: it was likewise very

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* In the manuscripts the affixed pronouns are written as part of the word with which they are in pronunciation combined. I have separated them (after Schlegel and Diez) with a hyphen for the sake of clearness.

* See Raynouard in the Journal des Savans, 1831, p. 348.
prevalent in old Spanish: but there is no trace of its existence either in Portuguese or Italian, though it still prevails in many of the dialects of Upper Italy, (Gr. Comp. p. 158—61. 402.)

The declension of the possessive pronouns has been already given*, and it only remains to be remarked that lor Prov. as not being derived from a word declinable in Latin, is itself indeclinable. The Provençal having obtained an article, naturally employed it before possessive pronouns used substantively, as in Greek: thus ‘E non es benestan qu’hom eys los sieus aucia,’ ‘and it is not good that man should kill even his own.’ ‘Vos e’llhs vostres foratz totz mortz,’ ‘You and yours would be all dead,’ (Gr. Rom. p. 96—116.)

The Provençal demonstrative pronouns are cel, aicel, aquel, est, cest, aquest. The three first appear to be compounded of hic or hicce, and ille; est, from iste, compounded with the same word, likewise appears to have made cest and aquest. The following is the declension of these words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MASC.</th>
<th>FEM.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. cel, celui</td>
<td>Nom. cella, cil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and aicel,</td>
<td>aicella, aicil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. aquel</td>
<td>aquella, aquil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acc. cella, celleis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aicela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aquella, aquelleis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See above, p. 86-7.
### Pronouns

#### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. est</td>
<td>Nom. esta, ist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and cest</td>
<td>costa, cist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. aquest</td>
<td>aquesta, aquist</td>
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</tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Acc. est</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>cesta</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>aquesta</td>
<td></td>
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#### Plural

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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. cil, cels</td>
<td>Nom. cellas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aicil, aicels</td>
<td>and aicellas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aquil, aquels</td>
<td>Acc. aquellas</td>
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</tbody>
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<p>| | |</p>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc. cels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aicels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aquels</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. ist, est</td>
<td>Nom. estas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cist, cest</td>
<td>and cestas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aquist, aquest</td>
<td>Acc. aquestas</td>
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<p>| | |</p>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc. ests</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cests</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aquests</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

The remarks above made on the personal pronoun *el* apply with little variation to these forms. It will be observed that *celui* masc. from *illi* dat. is used in all the cases, though *celleis* and *aquelleis* fem., derived from the same case, are never nominatives. Moreover *cil, aicil, aquil, ist, cist, and aquist*, are used as nom. feminines, though in the acc. the final *a* is never
omitted: probably because the former are derived from *illa* and *ista*, the latter from *illum* and *istam*. Besides these masculine and feminine forms, *aisso, so,* and *aguo,* are the neuter forms: they appear to have retained their final *o* on account of the *u* in the neuter *ipsum* and *illud,* which does not appear in the other genders, (Gr. Rom. p. 117—131.) So likewise in Spanish *aquel* is masculine and *aquello* neuter, (Gr. Comp. p. 175.)

Nearly all these pronouns with their variations occur in the different languages. The Italian uses only the abbreviated form *quello,* which M. Raynouard compares with *aicel* and *aquel,* but which seems rather to correspond with *cel,* while the Spanish has not the shorter form, but only uses *aquel,* (Gr. Comp. p. 171—6.)

Of the Provençal relative pronouns it is only necessary to mention *qui,* which is used in the nom. and acc., both as masc. and fem. *Que* (derived from *quid*) is used in all cases, and as both masc. and fem.: and it is alone used after neuter demonstrative pronouns. *Qui* and *cui* sometimes perform the function of genitives, datives, and ablatives: *cui,* however, is commonly preceded by a preposition, which *che* always requires.

*Don,* derived from *de unde,* and indeclinable, had the sense of *whence, whose,* by or from *whom.* *On,* from *unde,* meant *where, to whom,* *in whom.*
The Provençal used another pronoun relative formed by prefixing the article to *qualis*: viz. *lo qual*, *la qual*, *los quals*, etc.

In Provençal, as in Latin, the antecedent is often understood: thus 'no say que dire,' 'nescio quid dicam.' 'Trobat avem qu'anam queren.' 'Invenimus quod quærimus,' etc. 'Qui en gaug semena, plazer cuelh,' '(He) who sows in joy, reaps pleasure.' 'La premiera ley demostra a qui ha sen e raczon,' 'The first law proves to (him) who has sense and reason.' 'Ai cum par franch e de bon aire qui l'au parlar,' 'Ah, how frank and debonair she appears (to him) who hears her speak.' Sometimes, on the other hand, the antecedent being a substantive, and not a pronoun, the relative was suppressed, particularly in poetry: thus 'Car anc no vi dona tan mi plagues,' 'For never saw I lady (who) pleased me so much,' (Gr. Rom. p. 131—43.)

The corruptions of the Latin *qui* appear with little difference in the other languages, which likewise sometimes suppress the antecedent, and rarely the relative. *Onde* in Ital. has retained the form of the Latin *unde* more faithfully than the Prov. *on*: it has, however, occasionally the sense of a relative pronoun, which it has obtained by the same process of abstraction which has rejected the notion of time in the prepositions *de* and *ad*, as used in the Romance languages to express the relation of the genitive and dative cases, and in the verb *venire*, when used as an auxiliary verb, equivalent to *essere*, in Italian. *Dont* like-
wise remains in French as a relative pronoun, and in old Italian and Spanish *donde* and *don* had the same sense, (Gr. Comp. 176—86.)

Of the Provençal indefinite pronouns, the first to be noticed is *hom*, or *om*, from the Latin *homo*, which, followed by the verb in the singular number, had a distributive sense, and signified mankind in general, or a large number of people. Thus ‘Hom ditz che gaug non es senes amor,’ ‘Man says (i.e. it is said) that there is no joy without love.’ This very convenient idiom (which our language unfortunately wants) seems to have been introduced into the Romance languages by the Germans, who used the substantive *man* in this manner. In French, as is well known, this use of *on* is very prevalent; which word in ancient times was spelt very variously, retaining sometimes evident traces of its original form, viz. *hom*, *hon*, *hum*, *om*, *um*, *on*. The Italian¹, Spanish, and Portuguese, formerly used *uomo*, *omne*, and *one*, in the same manner: but in them this idiom has now become obsolete, (Gr. Comp. p. 187—9.)

The Provençal had two pronouns *quecx*, and *usquecx*, signifying *whoever*, *every-one*, derived from *quisque* and *inusquisque*; but no other Romance language had any derivatives of these words.

*Cadauns* or *caduns*, *cac*, *cascuns*, meant every one; *alcuns*, some one; *nuls*, *neguns*, *deguns*.

¹ See Menage, Etym. Ital. in uom dice.
nessuns, no one. Of these words cadauns or caduns appears to have been formed from quotus unus or quotunus, cac and cascuns* from quisque and quisque unus (unusquisque:); alcuns was formed from aliquis unus, like alicubi in Latin from aliquo ubi: nuls from nullus, neguns and perhaps nessuns* from nec unus. The origin of deguns, unless it was a corruption of neguns, does not appear. Being derived from Latin pronouns in us, they were declined according to the rules given above: thus nom. cascuns or cascus, cascuna; acc. cascun, cascuna. Cada or cad is sometimes used in the sense of every: thus ‘A Carduel una pentecosta On cad an gran pobels s'ajosta,’ ‘At Carduel, an Easter, where every year many people assemble’: in which passage cad an appears to answer to the Latin quot annis, both in form and meaning. Cada has the same sense both in Italian and Spanish*. The French has it not, but only chaque, which, like the Provençal cac, probably comes from quisque; and chacun, which, as well as ciascuno Ital., probably comes from quisque unus. The Italian likewise has cadauno, compounded of cada*. Every language has the de-

* If cac came from quisque, it would be the same word as quecs mentioned above, without the final x or s.
* There are instances in Provençal of the confusion of the final c and s: see below, ch. 5. § 1. Muratori in v. derives nessuno from nescio unum, without any probability.
* The Spanish nada and nadie appear to be allied to cada: but I am unable to offer even a conjecture as to their origin.
* Cadauno occurs in an ancient Italian letter published by Muratori, Diss. It. vol. ii. p. 1047. E.
rivatives of *aliquis-unus* and *nullus*: but the Italian and French have *neuno* and *neun* formed from *ne unus*, as well as *nessuno* and *nesun* from *nec unus*: the Spanish alone has from *nec unus* made *ninguno*, like the Provençal *neguns*. The Portuguese had *nenhum*.

From *alter* the Prov. made *altres* or *altre* declined, *altrui* undecorated, (which appears to have been formed from the dative *alteri*, like *lui* from *illi*, *costui* Ital. from *isti*;) and lastly by contraction *al*. The other languages likewise have these forms, and particularly *al*, which (sometimes changed into *el*) occurs in old French, is still used in Spanish and Portuguese, and appears in some Italian words, as *alsi*.

*Eis*, *eissa*, *meteis*, *metissa*, signifying *self* or *own*, were used after all persons: thus ‘Eu eis mi son traire,’ ‘I am a traitor to myself,’ (ego *ipse* mihi sum traditor.) ‘En eysa la semana,’ ‘in the very week.’ ‘Per mo mezeis follatge,’ ‘through my own folly.’ ‘Altresi com la candela Que si meteissa destrui,’ ‘like the candle which destroys itself.’

*Eis, es*, or *eps*, (as it is sometimes written in the more ancient monuments of the Provençal,) is derived from *ipse*. *Meteis* (sometimes written

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9 See Grimm, vol. iii. p. 70. note. It will be observed that all the Romance languages have lost the Latin *nemo*.

7 *Ips* or *eps* (the corruptions of *ipse*) sometimes became *eis*, and sometimes *es*. From the latter of these forms came the compounds *des* and *ades*, from the former the compounds *neis* and *anceis*, (Gr. Rom. p. 251.) as will be shown below, ch. 5. § 2. On *ippo* and *esso*
medeis or medes, mezeis and messeis) is evidently formed by the composition of eis with the emphatic particle met, which is subjoined to the Latin personal pronouns: thus the latter example would be word for word in Latin, 'velut candela quæ se met ipsam destruit.' When the suffix had been detached from the pronoun to which it belongs, and permanently prefixed to the following word, it is no wonder that the compound thus formed should be used without a pronoun immediately before it, as when it occurs as an adverb in the sense of even. It is remarkable that all the other Romance languages should agree in this peculiar corruption, although they have taken for their type the Latin superlative of ipse, and from met-ipsissimus have formed medesimo Ital., mismo Span., mesme French.

From the Latin totus the Provençal made tots or totx, declined according to the rule given above: it was sometimes compounded with the adverb tras or tres, very; making trastotx, which had a stronger sense than the simple word. Tras (as will be mentioned below) appears to be derived from extra by the addition of s and the suppression of the first syllable. The old French likewise had the compound trestox or trestout. It is remarkable that the Latin word omnis was

in Italian derived from ipse, see Perticari Dif. di Dante, c. 13. vol. i. p. 321. Muratori, Diss. 32. vol. ii. p. 991. B.

* See Menage and Muratori in medesimo, Grimm, vol. iii. p. 13.

† Ch. 5. §. 2.
abandoned in all the Romance languages (except the Italian, which has *ogni*) and *totus* substituted for it.

From the Latin *multus* are derived the Ital. *molt*, the Prov. *molts*, the French *molt, mult*, or *moult*, and the Port. *muito*. From the German *manch* are derived the Prov. *mantz* or *maintz*, the French *maint*, and the Ital. *manto*. The Span. instead of these words has *mucho*, which M. Raynouard derives from *multus*, but which appears to be of Teutonic origin, and to be derived from an ancient word preserved in the English *much*, (*mik-ils* Goth., *mik-il* old H. German"). *Plusor*, formed from *plus*, appears in the Ital., Prov., and French: in Span. and Port. it is wanting. On the derivatives of *talis* and *qualis*, *tantus* and *quantus*, it is unnecessary to make any remark, (Gr. Rom. p. 145—60. Gr. Comp. p. 186—96.)

§. 3. NUMERALS.

The cardinal numbers of the Provençal, which will furnish an easy means of comparison for the different languages, are as follows: *uns* or *us, dui, trei, quatre, cinq, sex and sei, set, och and ot, nov, dexe and dex, unze, doze, treze, quatorze, quinze, setze, vint, treinta, quaranta, cent, mil. The ordinal numbers are *premiers, segons, ters,*

* See Grimm, vol. iii. p. 608. 610.
NUMERALS.

quarts, quints, seizens, setens, ochens, novens, dezens, unzens, dotzens, trezens, quatorzens, quinzins, sezesmes, vintesmes, trentesmes, quarantesmes, centes, milles. Of these forms uns or us was declined like the adjectives bons or bos: dui was nom. masc., dos acc. masc., and doas was fem. of both cases. The Prov. likewise used ams masc. and ambas fem. from ambo: by combining which word with dui it formed likewise the compound ambedui or amdvi, declined like dui. Trei is nom. masc., and tres acc. masc. and also fem. of both cases. In the other cardinal numbers, the Prov., like the Latin, made no distinction of cases. The ordinal numbers were declined like adjectives of both genders in s, except ters, which (as being contracted from tert-ius) was invariable in the masc. gender, and in the fem. made tersa. It is to be observed, moreover, that segons made in the fem. segonda; centes, centesma; milles, millesma: the fem. retaining in the middle the letter which had dropped from the masc. where it was a final; as in the French beau, belle, etc. This was also the case with the ordinals in ens, of which the masc. was commonly in es, the fem. in ena, as seizes, seizena. Several ordinals had the termination esmes, as well as ens, thus sezesmes, as well as seizens, (Gr. Rom. p. 161—6.)

On comparing the numerals in the other Romance languages with the Prov. forms, it will

* See above, p. 155.
be observed that the Ital., in deriving *quattro* from *quattuor*, *otto* from *octo*, *undici*, *dodici*, etc. from *undecim*, *duodecim*, etc. kept nearer to the Latin than did the Prov., which made *quatre*, *ot*, *unze*, *doze*, etc. It is inconceivable, as has been already remarked in a similar case, that the Latin *quattuor*, *octo*, and *undecim*, should first have been contracted or attenuated into *quatre*, *ot*, and *unze*, and then restored to *quattro*, *otto*, and *undici*. The old French used the cases *dvi* and *dos*, like the Prov., as also the compound *ambedvi* or *embedvi*: it likewise distinguished between *troi* and *tres* for the nom. and acc., (Gr. Comp. p. 198—9.)

The first of the ordinals the Prov. took not from the Latin *primus*, but from *primarius*; in which it has been imitated by the French: the Ital. and Span., though they have *primiero* and *primero* from *primarius*, nevertheless use *primo* from *primus* as their ordinal. In the derivatives of *secundus*, *tertius*, *quartus*, and *quintus*, (except that the Spanish makes *tercero* from *tertius*,) all the languages agree. At this point, however, a disagreement takes place: for whereas the Ital. and Span. use the derivatives of the common Latin forms *sextus*, *septimus*, *octavus*, *nonus*, *decimus*, *undecimus*, *duodecimus*; the Prov. used the termination perceptible in the less common Latin forms *septennis*, *octonus*, *novenus*, *denus*, etc. to form ordinals of its own, by which means it made *seizen*, *seten*, *ochen*, etc. from *sei*, *set*, *och*, etc.
It is a singular circumstance that all the Romance languages should agree in deviating from the Latin with regard to the formation of the three numerals before twenty. The Latin forms all its cardinal numbers from eleven to nineteen inclusive, by annexing *decem* to the unit number: thus *undecim*, *duodecim*, *tredecim*, etc. to *novendecim*. The modern languages follow the same rule till they come to seventeen, when instead of affixing the word ten to the unit number, they reverse the order of the words, and to correspond to *septendecim*, *octodecim*, *novendecim*, we have in Prov. *deze set*, *deze ot*, *deze nor*; in Ital. *diciasette*, *diciotto*, *diciannove*; in Span. *diez y siete*, *diez y ocho*, *diez y nueve*; in French *dix sept*, *dixhuit*, *dixneuf*. The change is the same as if in English after saying *thirteen*, *fourteen*, *fifteen*, *sixteen*, we were to proceed *ten-seven*, *teneight*, *tennine*.

* There is this difference between the Greek and Latin with its dialects on the one hand, and the Teutonic languages on the other, that in the former the numerals *eleven* and *twelve* are composed of *one* and *two* and the word *ten*: whereas in the latter they are derivatives of *one* and *two*, and the word *ten* does not enter into them. Thus *δέκα* and *undecim*, *δώδεκα* and *duodecim*: but *eif* and *swel* or *swölf* from *ein* and *swei* or *zwo*. Andlesen Goth. and *einlef* or *endlef* old H. Germ. show the relation of *eif* to *eleven*. See Meidinger’s Dictionary, p. 507.

* At least I suppose that this is M. Raynouard's meaning, as he omits the numerals between sixteen and twenty, (Gr. Rom. p. 161.)
CHAPTER IV.

*Formation, Conjugation, and Syntax of Verbs in the Romance languages.*

§. 1. FORMATION AND CONJUGATION OF ROMANCE VERBS.

The Provençal verbs are arranged by M. Raynouard in three conjugations, viz. those whose infinitive mood ends in *ar*, in *er* or *re*, and *ir* or *ire*. The Provençal has three auxiliary verbs, *aver* from the Latin *habere*, *esser* from the Latin *esse*, and *estar* from the Latin *stare*.

The Latin had itself degenerated from the more perfect type of conjugation preserved in the Greek verb, and had admitted the use of an auxiliary verb in some tenses of the passive voice: the use of the auxiliary verb was, however much extended in the Romance languages by the influence of the Germans, who, accustomed to this method of conjugation in their own language, and misunderstanding or not knowing the force of the Latin terminations, employed the easier method of compounding a tense out of an auxiliary verb and the past participle. Nevertheless it is to be observed

* On the use of *stare* for *esse* in Latin see Menage, Orig. Ital. in v.
CONJUGATION OF VERBS.

that in the active voice all, or nearly all, the Latin tenses were preserved, and the compound tenses of the Romance languages were added to those of the Latin verb, and not substituted for them.

I will now set down the conjugations of the three Provençal auxiliary verbs, omitting the compound tenses.

Infin.  esser  estar  aver
Pres. Part. essens  estans  avens
Past Part. essen  estatz  agutz
Gerund  estan  aven

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present.
son, soi, sui  estai, au  ai
est, iest  as  as
es  a, ai  a
sem, em  am  avem
etz  atz  avets
sun, son  an, on  an

Imperfect.
era  estava  avia
eras  avas  ias
era, er  ava  ia
eram  avam  iam
eratz  avats  iatz
eran, eron  avan, avon  ian, ien, ion

Perfect.

fui  estei  aigui, aic
fust  est  aguist, aguest
fo, fon  et  aguet, ac
fom  em  aguem
fotz  etz  aguets
foren, foron  eren, eron  agueren, agueron
the French, declines the verb être with the auxiliary avoir, as ai. estatus, j'ai été; while the Italian declines stare with the verb essere, as sono stato.

The conjugations of the regular verbs, which have been mentioned above, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inf.</th>
<th>amar</th>
<th>temer</th>
<th>sentir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Part.</td>
<td>amans</td>
<td>temens</td>
<td>sentens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past. Part.</td>
<td>amatz</td>
<td>temutz, suz</td>
<td>sentets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>aman</td>
<td>temen</td>
<td>senten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Indicative Mood.**

**Present.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>am, ami</th>
<th>tem, temi</th>
<th>sent, sente</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amas</td>
<td>temes</td>
<td>sentis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama, am</td>
<td>teme, tem</td>
<td>senti, sent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amam</td>
<td>temem</td>
<td>sentem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amatz</td>
<td>temetz</td>
<td>sentets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aman, on, en</td>
<td>temen, on</td>
<td>senten, on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperfect.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>amava</th>
<th>temia</th>
<th>sentia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>avas</td>
<td>ias</td>
<td>ias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ava</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avam</td>
<td>iam</td>
<td>iam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avatz</td>
<td>iatz</td>
<td>iatz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avan, avon</td>
<td>ian</td>
<td>ian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Perfect.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>amci, ici</th>
<th>temi, ei</th>
<th>senti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>est, iest</td>
<td>ist, est</td>
<td>ist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et</td>
<td>i, et</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>em</td>
<td>em, im</td>
<td>im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etz</td>
<td>etz, its</td>
<td>its</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eren, eron</td>
<td>eren, eron</td>
<td>ieren, iron</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CONJUGATION OF VERBS.

#### Future.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>amarai</th>
<th>temerai</th>
<th>sentirai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>avas</td>
<td>eras</td>
<td>iras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ava</td>
<td>era</td>
<td>ira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arem</td>
<td>erem</td>
<td>iram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aretz</td>
<td>eretz</td>
<td>iratz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aran</td>
<td>eran</td>
<td>iran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Conditional.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>amaria, era</th>
<th>temeria, era</th>
<th>sentiria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arias, eras</td>
<td>erias, eras</td>
<td>irias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aria, era</td>
<td>eria, era</td>
<td>iria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ariam, eram</td>
<td>eriam, eram</td>
<td>iriam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ariatz, eratz</td>
<td>eriatz, eratz</td>
<td>iriatz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arian, eran</td>
<td>erian, eran</td>
<td>irian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Imperative Mood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ama, am</th>
<th>teme</th>
<th>senti, sent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>e,</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>em</td>
<td>em</td>
<td>am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etz</td>
<td>etz</td>
<td>etz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en, on</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>an, on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Subjunctive Mood.

#### Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ame</th>
<th>tema</th>
<th>senta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>es</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>em</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etz</td>
<td>atz</td>
<td>atz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en, on</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Imperfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ames</th>
<th>temes</th>
<th>sentis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>esses</td>
<td>esses</td>
<td>esses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>essem</td>
<td>essem</td>
<td>issem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>essetz</td>
<td>essetz</td>
<td>isetz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>essen, esson</td>
<td>essen</td>
<td>issen, on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On comparing with this scheme of the Provençal verbs the conjugations of the Italian and Spanish verbs analogous remarks to those already made on the terminations of nouns naturally suggest themselves. In almost all instances the Provençal cut off or contracted the final syllable of the Latin word: thus from amare it made amar, from amo it made am, from amamus it made amam, from amasti it made amest, from amando it made aman: the Italian, however, where the Latin word ended with a vowel, retained it unchanged, as amare, amo, amasti, amando; where the Latin word ended in us, instead, like the Provençal, of omitting altogether the final syllable, it only rejected the s, and changed the u into o, as amamus amiamo, amabamus amavamo, like littus lido, pondus pondo, subtus sotto, etc. The Spanish in some respects adhered less closely than the Italian to the Latin: thus it made the infinit. amar: and in the second person sing. of the preterite it made amaste, and not amasti: it retained, however, the final o in the first person sing. of the present, as amo, and in the gerund, as amando, and in the first person plural it only changed us into os, as amamos, amabamos. Now it is inconceivable that this close adherence to the Latin should have been accidental, and that the Latin terminations should be preserved in the Italian and Spanish, if these languages had been derived from the Provençal, in which all the terminations in question had been cut off. Nobody can be-
lieve that amare, amo, amasti, and amando, were first contracted into amar, am, amast, and aman, and then restored, by accident, for the sake of euphony, to their original forms: that amamus was changed into amam, and then lengthened into amiamo and amamos. These differences between the Provençal and the Italian and Spanish, pervading every tense of every verb, make it evident that the latter languages did not pass through the alembic of the former language in the process of their transmutation from the Latin.

The only instances in which the Italian appears to have arbitrarily added to its verbs a final vowel for the sake of euphony, are the third persons plural, such as amano, amavano, amarono, lengthened from aman, amavan, amaron, (the contractions of amant, amabant, amarunt, which are the only forms used in Spanish: and in the third persons singular of the preterite in ette, thus stetit and deit, having been contracted into stet and det, were lengthened into stette and dette, (Gr. Comp. p. 252.) The Italian likewise having changed sum as well as sunt into son, added to it the euphonic o, both in the first and third person.

The most remarkable divergence from the Latin verb, and one in which all the Romance languages agree, is in the future tense, as may be seen from the following table.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Ital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amabo</td>
<td>amerò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temebo</td>
<td>temerò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sentiam</td>
<td>sentirò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Latin has two modes of forming its future active, one for the two first conjugations by adding *bo*, and another for the two last conjugations by adding *am* to the characteristic letter: thus *ama-bo, time-bo, reg-am, senti-am*. In its derivative languages, both these modes of formation have been lost, and in their place a single termination has been substituted, viz. *r* followed by a vowel or diphthong. There is no trace of the formation of the Latin future by this consonant, except in *ero*, the future of the verb *esse*.

M. Raynouard supposes that the modern futures have been formed by annexing the present tense of *avere, haber, aver, or avoir*, to the infinitive mood of each verb, and in proof of this assertion he cites several passages where the infinitive mood of the auxiliary verb is in the Provençal separated by the interposition of another word: thus 'Et quant cobrat l'auran, tornar l'an e so poder per fe e senes engan,' where the French exactly renders this idiom: 'Et quand recouvé l'auront, tourner l'ont en son pouvoir par foi et sans tromperie.'

So likewise in poems of the Troubadours; 'E si li platzt, alberguar m'a' 'and if it pleases him, he has to lodge me.'
CONJUGATION OF VERBS.

E pos mon cor non aus dir a rescos,
Pregar vos ai, s’en aus, en ma champs.

‘And since I do not dare to express my wish in secret, I have to entreat you, if I dare, in my song.’

Amarai ? oc ; si li platz ni l’es gens,
E si nol platz, amar l’ai eissamen.

‘Shall I love? Yes; if it pleases her and she is kind, and if it does not please her, I have to love her (i. e. I will love her) equally.’

In Provençal, too, the verbs aver and esser, with the preposition a before another verb, were used to express the future: as ‘ab lieys ai a guerir,’ ‘with her I have to recover:’ i. e. ‘I shall recover.’ ‘A l’advenement del qual tuit an a ressuscitar,’ ‘at whose coming all have to rise again:’ i. e. ‘all will rise again.’ ‘Tem que m’er a morir,’ ‘I fear it will be to me to die,’ i. e. ‘I fear I shall die,’ (Gr. Rom. p. 221—2. comp. vol. i. p. 70. 81. Gr. Comp. p. 206.)

Of these idioms the latter occurs, though with a sense not so closely allied to the future, in all the Romance languages: of the former, examples are to be found only in the Spanish and Portuguese; in the Italian and French this usage does not appear ever to have prevailed. The following are examples from the Spanish: ‘Non te diran Jacob, mas decir te han Israel.’ ‘Castigar los hé como avran á far.’ ‘Haber les hemos como alevosos perjurados,’ (Gr. Comp. p. 297—8.)
These examples appear to prove the truth of M. Raynouard's assertion with respect to the origin of the Romance future; as becomes more evident by comparing the future tense in each language with the modern present tense of habere: thus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ho</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amerò</td>
<td>amaré</td>
<td>amar ai</td>
<td>aimer ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perderò</td>
<td>perder é</td>
<td>perder ai</td>
<td>perdrai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sentirò</td>
<td>sentir é</td>
<td>sentir ai</td>
<td>sentirai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In old Italian, moreover, haggio and abbo were used for ho, (i.e. habeo,) as the first person of the present tense of havere: and thus we likewise find futures in aggio and abbo, as faraggio, veniraggio, diraggio, torrabbo. When this form had once been established in the active verb, it was then transferred to the auxiliary verbs, so that the verb habere was inflected by itself, (Gr. Comp. p. 206.)

As the future tense was formed by means of the present tense, so the conditional was probably

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c The story which M. Raynouard cites from Aimoin de Gestis Francorum, ii. 5. about Dara taking its name from the Emperor Justinian saying Daras, (thou shalt give,) and which he calls 'a fact difficult to explain,' (vol. i. p. x.) is, as Schlegel has remarked, evidently an etymological fable, (p. 45. 102.) like those which the Greeks so often invented about the origin of their cities.
formed by means of the imperfect, of habere: in Spanish some instances occur where this tense is, as it were, analysed into its component parts; as, 'dexcar me ias con el sola;' 'E mas pechere me hia en pia diez mil maravedis;' 'Pechar nos ya toda aquella pena,' (Gr. Comp. p. 278.) All the languages except the French have a double form of this tense.

|-------|-------|-------|--------
| amerei | amara | amera | aimereic
| ameris | amaria | amaria |
| perderei | perdiera | perdera | perdereic
| perderia | perderia | perderia |
| sentirei | sentiera | sentiria | sentireic
| sentiria | sentiria |

The simple forms in ara and era appear to be corrupted from the Latin amarem, perderem, sentirem: the form in ia M. Raynouard considers as taken from avia, (aveie in French,) the imperfect of avere. Nor would there be any doubt about this derivation, if it were certain that ia ever had the force of avia, and that such is its meaning in the passages quoted above from the Spanish. The Italian form in ei, however, is evidently borrowed, not from the imperfect, but from the preterite, of avere, ebbi, anciently ei, as may be seen from the inflexion of the different persons\(^4\). The Venetian dialect has vorave, sarave, for vorrei, sarei, etc., which more dis-

tinctly shows the Latin *habui*. *Parrave* for *parrebbe* was used by Dante da Maiano<sup>4</sup>.

With regard to the other tenses of the regular verbs in the Italian and Spanish, and their relation to the Latin and Provençal, there is nothing which calls for particular notice. The formation of the French verb, however, having undergone more changes, and having departed further from its original type, requires a more detailed explanation.

The final *s* now added to the first and third persons of the present, to the second person of the imperative, and to the first person plural, of the French verb, formerly did not exist: and those tenses which have now *ois* as the termination of the first and second persons singular, originally made *eie* or *oie* in the first, and *eis* or *oies* in the second person: thus *je mand, je voi, je regard, je bais, il aim, il chant, pren-tu, fui-t-en, nous avum, nous devum, nous parlum, nous prion, nous gardon, j'aveie, je fereie, je soie, j'estoie, tu saveies, tu consentecies, tu devoies, tu tenoies*. In these respects the French verb approached nearer to the Latin and Provençal forms (Gr. Comp. 225—38.)

The French imperfect has undergone remarkable changes: *amabam*, the Latin form of the first conjugation, first, by a slight modification, as in the other languages became *amava*:

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<sup>4</sup> Denina, in the Mém. de l'Acad. de Berlin, 1797. p. 76.
<sup>4</sup> Castelvetro, ibid.
then the internal a was, as in other French words, changed into o, and the final a underwent the regular change into the e muet: by which means amava became amoue. M. Raynouard cites many examples of this form; as je crioue, je parlowe, je quidoue, tu parloes, il cueitoue, ils alouent, ils contrariowent, ils errouent; afterwards u was changed into i, so that amoue became amoie; the final e was then suppressed, when the imperative was written jestoy, jescoutoy, and lastly, a final s was added, which brought it to its present form. The other forms of the Latin imperative, ebam and ibam, appear to have been changed in French, as in Provençal, into ia, then ie, eie, or oie, then oi, and lastly into ois: by which means the termination of the imperative became uniform in all the conjugations, (Gr. Comp. p. 244—8. 271.)

In the preterite of the first conjugation the French has adhered more closely than the Provençal to the Latin original, as from amavi, amavit, it makes jaimai, il aima, (anciently aimat,) whereas the Prov. has amei and amet. The Prov., however, sometimes, though rarely, used the termination ai in the first person, (Gr. Rom. p. 217.;) and the terminations in ei and et or eit sometimes occur in old French: thus je trouwey, je saluey, il chanteit, il desarmeit, etc. (Gr. Comp. p. 248.) The first and third persons of the perfect, in the two other French conjugations, anciently were not as now terminated in s and t, but wanted those consonants, as je perdi,
je vi, il nasqui, il rendi, je converti, j'establi, il se
departi, il failli, (Gr. Comp. p. 271. 281.) The
addition of s to the first person of the preterite
is an arbitrary change, which likewise sometimes
occurred in the Provençal, (Gr. Rom. p. 217.):
the final t of the third person appears, however,
to have been retained from the Latin.

On the passive voice of the Provençal and the
other languages there is little to be said, as it is
formed in all by means of the past participle and
the verb substantive. The destruction of the
more perfect form of conjugation which is shown
in the Greek verb, had already been begun by
the change which compounded the Latin lan-
guage of a Hellenic and a foreign element: so
that some of the Latin passive tenses are formed
by inflexion, as amor, amabor, others by means
of the verb substantive, amatus sum, eram, ero,
forem, etc. All these remains of inflexion were
destroyed by the influence of the Germans, and
the Romance languages form their passive tenses
without exception by an auxiliary verb, (Gr.

All these languages likewise agree in giving a
passive sense to the third person of the verb
active together with the pronoun se; as in Pro-
vençal, 'czo que se conten en questa leiczon,'
'that which is contained in that lesson,' (Gr.
Comp. p. 287.) By this use of se, as well as of
the other pronouns, a verb obtains a reflective
sense, which at length becomes merely passive.
The Italian makes great use of this mode of ex-
pression, and employs it as a substitute for the French on, which the Italian had originally copied from the German, but which never came into general use, and for some centuries has fallen into complete desuetude, (see above, p. 178.)

The Provençal infinitive has preserved the Latin termination, rejecting the final vowel, as amér from amare, sentir from sentire, far from facere, etc. Sometimes, however, there are two forms of the infinitive, one retaining the final vowel, which the other form rejected, and sometimes suppressing an internal vowel, which the other form preserved; thus far and faire from facere, querer and querre from quærere, seguir and segre from sequi, (modified into sequire, according to a principle which will be presently explained,) did not retain the form of the Latin passive infinitive, (Gr. Rom. p. 194—7.)

Of the other Romance languages the Italian has preserved unchanged the Latin terminations of the active infinitive: the Spanish, like the Provençal, has suppressed the final vowel. The French, suppressing the final e, has retained unchanged the termination in ir, as sentir; that in ar it has, as usual*, changed into er, as mander from mandar, aimer from amar. The Latin infinitives of the second and third conjugations it subjected to greater modifications: in some it

* See above, p. 138. on the termination in arius, which the French sometimes changed into aire, but more frequently into er.
suppressed the penultimate vowel of the termination, as *defendre* from *defendere*, *fendre* from *fundere*, *rompre* from *rumpere*, *connostre* from *cognoscere*; in others it suppressed the final vowel, and then changed the last syllable into *eir*, and lastly into *oir*: thus *habere*, *aver*, *aveir*, *avoir*; *movere*, *mover*, *moveir*, *mouvoir*; *sedere*, *seer*, *seoir*, *seoir*; *videre*, *veer*, *veoir* or *veir*, *voir*. It will be observed that for the most part the French suppressed the penult vowel when it was short, that is, in verbs of the third conjugation, as in *rendre*, *vendre*, *fendre*, *perdre*, *croire*, *naitre*, etc.; and suppressed the final vowel when the penult was long, as in *avoir*, *chaloir*, *douloir*, *mouvoir*, *souloir*, *valoir*, *voir*, etc. This distinction, however, is by no means invariably observed, as on the one hand there are *tair* from *tacere*, *rire* from *ridere*; on the other there are *decevoir*, *falloir*, *percevoir*, *pleuvoir*, *savoir*, from *decipere*, *fallere*, *percipere*, *pluere*, *supere*: *pouvoir* and *vouloir* are derived from *potere* and *volere* barbarous forms for *posse* and *velle*, which may perhaps

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3 Anciendly, however, these terminations were sometimes written with *er*: thus *aprener*, *commiter*, *deffender*, *discender*, *mitter*, *prendre*, etc. M. Raynouard by an oversight cites *ester*, from Littleton, s. 276. as an instance of this form, which, as he himself has explained, is for *estar* from *stare*.

1 Other instances of the reduction of anomalous Latin infinitives to the regular terminations in the Romance languages are afforded by the word *esse* which became *essere* or *esser*; and by *ferre*, which, though lost in its simple form, has been variously modified in its compound forms into *deferire*, *profferire*, *rifier*, *sofferire*, *trasferire* Ital., *deferir*, *proferir*, *referir*, *sufrir*, *transferir* Span., *souffrir* French.
CONJUGATIONS OF VERBS.

have had the penult long from the beginning, as they are now pronounced by the Italians, who (it may be remarked) likewise lengthen the penult of sapere, (Gr. Comp. p. 239. 257—63.)

The Latin termination in *ere* has often become *ire* in the Romance languages: thus in the Provençal *delir* and *florir* from *delere* and *florere* Lat. The following table exhibits some verbs in the three principal Romance languages, which have respectively undergone this change.

From *ère* of the second Latin conjugation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abolere</td>
<td>abolire</td>
<td>abolir</td>
<td>abolir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implere</td>
<td>empire</td>
<td></td>
<td>emplir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>florere</td>
<td>fiorire</td>
<td></td>
<td>fleurir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>langnere</td>
<td>languire</td>
<td></td>
<td>languir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pœnitere</td>
<td>ripentere</td>
<td>arrepentir</td>
<td>repentir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenere</td>
<td>tenere</td>
<td>tenir</td>
<td>tenir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From *ère* of the third Latin conjugation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adquirere</td>
<td>adquirir</td>
<td></td>
<td>acquérir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agere</td>
<td>agire</td>
<td></td>
<td>agir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>applaudere</td>
<td>applaudere and applaudere</td>
<td>applaudir</td>
<td>applaudir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advertere</td>
<td>avvertire</td>
<td>adverdir</td>
<td>avertir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capere</td>
<td>capire</td>
<td></td>
<td>courir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>currere</td>
<td>currere</td>
<td>currir</td>
<td>courir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concurre</td>
<td>concorrere</td>
<td>conclir</td>
<td>concluir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>convertere</td>
<td>convertere and convertere</td>
<td>converteir</td>
<td>converteir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Romance languages substituted for the inflected form of the passive infinitive mood, the past participle and the verb substantive: as for *amari*, *esser* *amato* Ital., *ser* *amado* Span., *esser* *amato* Prov., *étre* *aimé* French. In the deponent verbs this expedient would not suffice: therefore the infinitive was by different means reduced to an active form. The following are instances of this change.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Ital.</th>
<th>Span.</th>
<th>Prov.</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>exhortari</td>
<td>esortare</td>
<td>exhortar</td>
<td></td>
<td>exhorter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irasci</td>
<td>lottare</td>
<td>luchar</td>
<td></td>
<td>lutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luctari</td>
<td>morire</td>
<td>morir</td>
<td></td>
<td>mourir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morti</td>
<td>mentire</td>
<td>mentir</td>
<td></td>
<td>mentir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naisci</td>
<td>nascere</td>
<td>nacer</td>
<td></td>
<td>naitre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pati</td>
<td>patir</td>
<td>padecer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressi</td>
<td>progressire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Naistre (naitre) from nascere, like paistre (paître) from pascere.*
The principle of declension for present and past participles in the Provençal has been already stated in connexion with that of nouns, (above, p. 88—9.): it now only remains to ascertain the manner of their formation.

The present participle was in all the Romance languages preserved from the Latin without change, except that those of the second and third conjugation was the same, as temens from temer, sentens from sentir, Prov.

The past participles in the Prov. followed the track of the Latin, except that the penult vowel of the participle of the second conjugation was slightly altered, as is shown in the following scheme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Conj.</th>
<th>Second Conj.</th>
<th>Third Conj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lat. amatus</td>
<td>placitus, perditus</td>
<td>auditus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prov. amatz</td>
<td>plazutz, perdutz</td>
<td>ausitz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is the regular mode of formation; and new participles were thus created independently of the Latin, and in cases where the Latin verb had no participles, or where they were different; as in the subjoined examples.
In other cases, however, the Provençal verb did not form its participle according to the rule, but retained only the anomalous Latin form.

In other instances, however, the Prov. verb had two participles, one anomalous retained from the Latin, and one regular formed according to the Prov. analogy.

1 M. Raynouard gives florescere, not florere, as the original of the Prov. florir: but see the explanation above, p. 203.

= These words are perhaps not the participles of florir and luser, but adjectives from floridus and lucidus.
CONJUGATION OF VERBS.

aelectus  eleitz  eligitz, eligutz
defensus  defez  defendutz
ira/us  iratz  irasutz
redemptus  rezemtz  rezemutz
ruptus  rotz  romputz


The formation of the past participles of the first and third conjugations in the other Romance languages offers no difficulty or anomaly: from *atus* and *itus* the Ital. and Span., according to the rule already explained, make *ato* and *ito*,

∗ M. Raynaud, Gr. Rom. p. 204. makes an anomalous class of past participles in *at*, which changing the Latin termination have passed into the conjugation in *or*, although originally they belonged to another Latin conjugation. His examples are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 cupere</td>
<td>cupitus</td>
<td>cobeitar</td>
<td>cobeitatz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 oblivisci</td>
<td>oblitus</td>
<td>oblidar</td>
<td>oblidatz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 uti</td>
<td>usus</td>
<td>user</td>
<td>usatz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 tremere</td>
<td>tremblar</td>
<td>tremblatz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 calefacere</td>
<td>calefactus</td>
<td>calfar</td>
<td>calfatz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 dulcescere</td>
<td>dulcitus</td>
<td>adolzar</td>
<td>adolzatz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first four of these instances the Prov. does not correspond to the Latin verb: in the three first it is a derivative formed from the Latin participle or supine, viz. *cupitare* from *cupitum*, *oblitare* from *oblitum*, *usitare* from *usum*, (like *ventitare* from *ventum*, *excitare* from *excitum*, etc.): the fourth, which in Latin would be *tremulare*, appears to be formed from *tremulus*: the Ital. and Span. have *tremolare* and *tremolar*, (see above, p. 97. note *) Calfar is contracted from *calfacere*, as far from *facere*: *calfatz* is likewise contracted from *calefactus*; where the final *a* belongs not to the termination, but to the body of the word. *Adolzar* is likewise a new verb formed from *dulcis* or *dulcor*, and has no reference to *dulcescere*. These words, therefore, ought not to be arranged, with M. Raynaud, under the head of anomalous participles.
and the French, so long as it observed the distinction of cases, made ets or ex, its or is in the nom., et and it in the acc.: which latter forms it now retains in use, having rejected the final t, as aimet, aimé, sentit, senti: the former, like libertat, libertet, liberté, (above, p. 152. Gr. Comp. p. 239—41. 277—9.) It is curious to observe the number of changes to which the past participle of the first conjugation has been subjected in different Romance languages: thus from amatus, amatz Prov., from amatum, amat Prov., (whence aimet, aimé French,) amato Ital., amado Span., amao, amà, and amò, in different Italian dialects.

In the second conjugation the Prov., as we have already seen, constantly changed the i in the penult of the Latin participle into u, and formed new participles according to that analogy, making, for example, perdutz from perder, and irascutz from irascer. The Italian likewise makes the same change, and says perduto, temuto, tenuto, etc. The Span. now makes these participles in ido, as temido, perdido, tenido: anciently, however, their termination was sometimes udo, as connoxudo, contenudo, perdudo, tenudo, vendudo, etc. The regular termination of the French participles of this conjugation was likewise uz or ut, now simply u, as venditus, venduts, venduz, vendut, vendu, like virtutem, vertut, vertu, (Gr. Comp. p. 239—41. 263—8.)

M. Raynouard appears to lay great stress on

* See Gamba, Serie di Scrittori Veneziani," p. 28. 74.
the coincidence of terminations just stated, and he thinks that such an agreement is a decisive proof that some of the Romance languages were derived from a language intermediate between them and the Latin. 'I will remark, he says, 'that the participles in *udo* which occur in ancient Spanish cannot have been borrowed directly from the Latin, as the corresponding Latin participles were not in *utus*.' (p. 265.) If the change had been very considerable, for instance, if for the Latin termination in *itus*, all the Romance languages had substituted the Greek termination *opus*, and had made *perdomen, temomeno*, etc., then every one would agree with M. Raynouard that it would be necessary to look for a common cause independent of the Latin usage. But when the change is so inconsiderable as that in question, when it is a mere modification of a vowel sound, it does not appear to warrant any such hypothesis as that attempted to be raised upon it. The *i* in the penult of the Latin participle became *u* in the Ital., Prov., and French: in ancient Span. it was sometimes one and sometimes the other: but usage has now given universal currency to the Latin vowel. In Span., moreover, the Latin *t* has become *d*: a change of perpetual occurrence, and which likewise appears to have taken place in the Provençal, as the feminines of the past participles all exhibit that letter; thus *amatx, amada, amadas*; *temutz, temuda, temudas*; *sentitz, sentida, sentidas*, (Gr. *ektus*).
Rom. p. 206—7. In these variations from the Latin there seems to me to be nothing which each language may not reasonably be conceived to have effected for itself, independently of any foreign influence: in the Span., moreover, the Latin termination has been universally restored, which would scarcely have happened if it had not been retained by an uninterrupted tradition, and if the modern language had been entirely derived from the Prov. It is to be remarked that the change of i into u has only taken place in participles where, like tacitus, perditus, venditus, it was short, and where probably it had a thick indistinct sound, which might easily pass into u: in participles of the last conjugation, as sentitus, auditus, feritus, where the i was long, that vowel is in all the modern forms preserved unchanged.

As in the Provençal, so in the other Romance languages, many participles of the second and third conjugations were not formed according to the rules just explained, but were derived immediately from the Latin: thus in Italian rompere makes not romputo but rotto, cuocere not...
cociuto but cotto, morire not morito but morto: in Span. poner not ponido but puesto: abrirdo but aperto: in French the participles né, clos, mis, ouvert, are borrowed directly from the Latin participles natus, clausus, missus, apertus, and not formed regularly from natire, clirre, mettre, ouvrir, etc. M. Raynouard describes the derivation in question, by saying that "the irregular Latin participles, having become Romance, passed into the other Latin languages": a supposition perfectly gratuitous, as there is no reason why these forms should not have passed directly from the Latin into each modern language without any foreign assistance.

The Ital. and Span., moreover, like the Prov., have in many instances not only preserved the Latin participle, but have also formed another according to their own analogy. In this manner many verbs have two past participles, one irregular, the other regular, one ancient and the other modern.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>natus</td>
<td>nato</td>
<td>nasciuto (nascere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occisus</td>
<td>ucciso</td>
<td>ucciduto (uccidere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prensus</td>
<td>preso</td>
<td>prenduto (prendere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quartus</td>
<td>chiesto</td>
<td>chieduto (chiedere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rasus</td>
<td>raso</td>
<td>raduto (radere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonsus</td>
<td>tonso</td>
<td>tonduto (tondere)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a 'Ces participes, devenus romans, passèrent dans les autres langues de l'Europe latine.' Gr. Comp. p. 290. By Romance, it is to be observed, M. Raynouard means Provençal.
<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>conversus</td>
<td>converso</td>
<td>convertido (convertir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extinctus</td>
<td>extinguido (extinguir)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natus</td>
<td>nado</td>
<td>nacido (nacer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presus</td>
<td>preso</td>
<td>prendido (prender)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruptus</td>
<td>rotto</td>
<td>rompido (romper)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scriptus</td>
<td>escrito</td>
<td>escribido (escribir)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gr. Comp. p. 289—97.

A system of double forms, exactly analogous to those pointed out in the participles of some of the Romance languages, prevails in the preterites and participles of many English verbs, which have preserved their ancient Saxon form, and at the same time coined a new one according to the more prevailing analogy. Thus the common participle of *acquaint* is *acquainted*, in Scotch it is *acquent*; on the other hand the common preterites of *wind* and *grind* are *wound* and *ground*, in Scotch they are *winded* and *grinded*; in many other cases the original form has become antiquated and the modern form is alone in use, as *clomb* and *climbed*, *spat* and *spit*, *clave* and *cleft*, *puck* and *picked*, *squoze* and *squeezed*: although

* These double forms, it will be observed, properly belong to the same verb, like *fruʃa* and *fruʃov*; and they are altogether different from those cases in which a more recently formed verb has not only its own regular participle, but also a participle of an obsolete form, which is assigned to it as having no owner, and being a sort of waif or estray. Thus in Spanish *juntar* and *soltar* (*solutare*) have their regular passive participles *juntado* and *soltado*: but, besides these, they likewise lay claim to *junto* and *suelt*, from *junctus* and *solutus*, the participles of the obsolete Latin verbs *jungere* and *solvere*. See Gr. Comp. p. 293.
these ancient preterites still retain their currency as provincialisms*. Some English nouns likewise have a double plural, as brethren and brothers, one formed according to the ancient, one according to the more recent practice; like the Ital. nouns mentioned above, such as corpo, pl. corpora and corpi; prato, pl. prata and prati, which have the Latin as well as the Ital. form of the plural†. The double genitive case in English, one formed by synthesis, the other by analysis, (as Shakspeare's plays, an edition of Shakspeare,) is another example of an ancient and a modern form running parallel in a language, without the one supplanting the other.

§. 2. Syntax of Romance verbs.

Having thus examined the structure of the Provençal and the other Romance verbs, I will now transcribe from M. Raynouard a few remarks on their syntax, and their relations with other parts of speech.

The Prov. sometimes uses its gerund like the Latin, as 'aman viv e aman morrai;' 'I live in loving and I shall die in loving:' sometimes it prefixed the preposition en or a, as 'en ploran

* See Philol. Museum, vol. ii. p. 198. and 214. and other parts of the same article, where this subject is treated at length and fully explained.
† Above p. 131.
serai chanteur, 'in weeping I shall be a singer.\ 'At pareisse de las flors, 'at the appearing of the flowers,' (Gr. Rom. p. 230.\)

All the Romance languages, like the Greek and sometimes the Latin, used the infinitive mood as a substantive, (which indeed it must in strictness be considered,) and prefixed prepositions to it, as in Prov. 'En agradar et en voler Es l'amors de dos fis amans,' 'In pleasing and in wishing is the love of two pure lovers.' In the other languages this idiom is too well known to require the repetition of examples, (Gr. Rom. p. 231. Comp. p. 300.)

In Latin, as is well known, pronouns when the subjects of verbs were rarely expressed. In all the Romance languages this usage was retained, both when the suppressed pronoun signified a person, and when it signified a thing, in which case a verb is said to be employed impersonally. In French the ellipsis of the pronoun has now become obsolete: but it was anciently universal, and used in all styles whether lofty or familiar; nor was it to the jocular poetry of Marot, or to the style known in France by the name of Marotique, that this idiom was confined, as some writers have supposed, (Gr. Rom. p. 233—7. Comp. p. 301.)

The infinitive preceded by a negation was in Prov. sometimes used with an imperative force:*

* The infinitive is never thus used except in a negative address: see Raynouard, Journ. des Sav. 1825. p. 184.
as ‘Non temer, Maria,’ ‘Fear not, Mary.’ ‘Ai amors, no m’aucire,’ ‘ah love, do not kill me.’ This idiom is still used in Italian*, and it existed in old French; but M. Raynouard states that he has not been able to find any instance of it in Spanish or Portuguese, (Gr. Rom. p. 237. Comp. p. 302.)

All the Romance languages have used the custom of addressing a person in the plural number of the verb, any adjective which refers to the subject nevertheless remaining in the singular, (Gr. Comp. p. 238. Comp. p. 303.)

The Provençal, moreover, like the Latin, often put the verb in the sing. number after several nouns: as

Dieus sal vos, en cui es assis
Mos joys, mos desportz e mos ris.

‘God save you, in whom is placed my joy, my happiness, and my laughter.’

The Prov. likewise used the plural after a noun of multitude, as

Amor blasmon per non saber
Fola géné, mais lei non es dans.

‘Foolish people blame love from ignorance, but it does not suffer.’

M. Raynouard says that ‘the following form is remarkable: ab, with, is considered as a con-
junction.’

* See Perticari, Dif. di Dante, c. 18. vol. i. p. 375.
'And then the king with his barons get up and gird their swords.'

This is one of those forms which are called ungrammatical; that is, the sentence is formed according to the sense, and not according to the structure of the words. Instances of this peculiar idiom occur in Latin, and it is of frequent occurrence in English, (Gr. Rom. p. 239—40.)

M. Raynouard closes his remarks by an explanation of the use of *que* in connexion with verbs. *Que*, as a pronoun, is derived, as has been already mentioned (p. 176.) from *quod*: as a conjunction it is taken from *quia*, to which word the lower Latinity attributed the senses both of *that* and *because*. The Prov. con-

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7 *Ca* for *that*, used by the early Ital. poets, shows its original more plainly than *che*: thus in some verses of Ruggerone of Palermo, written about 1230 A. D. 'E la mi priega per la sua bontate *Ca* mi deggia tenere lealtate:' see Perticari, Dif. di Dante, c. 22. vol. ii. p. 5. *Ca* occurs in the Lamento di Cecco, st. 9.

    E sì da un ago il cor mi sentii punto,
    Cha'n vederti restai magio e balordo.

*Ca* (for *quia*) occurs frequently in old Spanish: see for example Milagros de N. Señora, v. 37. 47. 71. 77. 84. 87. etc. Sanchez, vol. ii.

8 Matth. xxvi. 21. is in the Vulgate translated 'Amen dico vobis *quia* unus vestrum me traditurus est.' *Δέ* in Greek also properly and originally meant *because*: but it obtained the sense of *that* at a comparatively early period of the language, and is used for *șta* by good writers, as Herodotus and Plato: see Welcker's Rheinisches Museum,
junction *que* thus obtained two senses: 1. where it either replaced the use of the Latin accusative before a second verb in the infinitive mood, according to the German construction, as 'E conosco be *que ai dic* gran follicage,' 'I know well that I have said a great absurdity,' where the classical Latin would say 'scio me dixisse:' or where the Latin would use *ut, quod*, or some other particle, as 'vos prec que m' entendatz,' 'I pray you that you will hear me.' 'Guart si que res no mi cambi,' 'Let him take care that nothing changes me.' And 2dly where it replaces *quia*, in the ordinary classical sense of *because*, as 'Alberguem lo tot plan e gen, Que ben es mutz,' 'Let us lodge him plainly and well, since he is dumb.' 'Ni contra mi malvat conselh non creia, Qu'eu sui sos hom liges,' 'And let him not believe evil counsel against me, since I am his liegeman.' M. Raynouard mentions that the manuscripts often have the various reading *quar* or *car* (from *quare*) for *que* in this sense, (Gr. Rom. p. 241—4.)

Vol. ii. p. 265. *Perché* in Ital. has also a similar ambiguity; and like *quia* and *quóri* its original sense is *because*.

The well known assertion, 'credo *quia* impossibile est,' is commonly taken as a declaration of passive belief: but the truth is, that no man in his senses ever believed a thing *because* it is impossible, though he might believe a thing *in spite of* its apparent impossibility: this sentence merely means, as has been remarked by others, 'I believe that it is impossible.' Gibbon, vol. viii. p. 435., says of a theologian, 'in the trammels of severe faith he has learnt to believe *because* it is absurd:' an assertion just as paradoxical as some of the theological fancies for which Gibbon entertained so profound a contempt.
CHAPTER IV.

All the other Romance languages have this double use of the particle *que* (in Ital. *che*) in the sense both of *that* and *because*, and employ it with verbs in the same manner. The French alone has disused the causal sense of *que*, which, however, occurs in old writers, as in Amyot's translation of Plutarch,

Il faut qu'il soit assisté d'un des dieux,
Qu'il est si fort au combat furieux.

Gr. Comp. p. 304—8.

The Prov. and the other languages sometimes suppressed the particle *that* between two verbs, as in Prov. 'Ben sapchatz... s'ieu tan non l'ames, Ja no saupra far vers ni sos,' 'Know well, if I did not love her so, I should never know how to make verses or sounds.' So in Ital. 'Dubitava... non fosse alcuna dea:' in Span. 'temo... seré culpado:' in old French, 'Ne nous ne pourrions nier... Ne nous aiez par armes pris;' (Gr. Rom. p. 245. Comp. p. 308—11.)

M. Raynouard concludes his chapter on the comparison of the Romance verbs, with a brief enumeration of some of their most important points of resemblance: and he then enquires whether any one who sees such conformities can believe that these different languages could have presented them, if they had not been derived from a common origin*. There is no doubt or

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* 'Quand on voit de telles conformités, peut-on croire que ces di-
difference of opinion about the answer to be given to this question: every one admits that the Romance languages had a common origin; that common origin has generally been supposed to be the Latin, and the Latin alone: M. Raynouard undertakes to show that it was the ancient Provençal: but his argument is not assisted by proofs which, however consistent with the truth of his own hypothesis, are equally consistent with the truth of that which he is attempting to overthrow.

verses langues auraient pu les offrir, si elles n'avaient eu primitivement une origine commune.' p. 311.
CHAPTER V.

Prepositions, Adverbs, and Conjunctions in the Romance languages.

§. 1. PREPOSITIONS.

In examining the indeclinable parts of speech in the Romance languages, viz. prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions or particles, it will be convenient to begin with the prepositions, as many are used adverbially, and need not be repeated under the head of adverbs.

Ab, a. This Latin preposition was preserved in the Provençal, but its meaning was entirely changed, as it received the sense of with instead of from or by. This wide departure from the original meaning of prepositions will be pointed out below in other instances.

Thus in the oath of 842: ‘Ab Ludher nul plai nunquam prindrai;’ ‘I will never make any treaty with Lothaire:’ in the poem on Boethius, ‘Ella ab Boeci parla ta dolzament,’ ‘She spoke so sweetly with Boethius.’ Or the b was omitted, as ‘Es a dreit jugatz,’ ‘he is judged with justice.’ The Ital., Span., and French likewise sometimes used the preposition a in the sense of with, as ‘Furo ricevuti tutti a grandissimo honore,’ (Giov. Villani.) ‘La cinta fué obrada a muy grant
maestria,' (Poema de Alexandro.) 'Et furent reçu a grant feste et a grant joie;' (Villehardouin.) These languages, however, had other prepositions which they commonly employed in that sense.

The Provençal subjected this word to a change of which there are examples in other languages, by inserting m before b, when it became amb: as 'Et aqui atrobero lor fraire Thomas et l'arce-vesque Turpi amb elhs;' 'And there they found their brother Thomas and the archbishop Turpin with them.' Afterwards the final b after m was rejected, as was also the case with the final d or t after n, and the preposition became am, as 'Am l'ajutori de Dieu;' 'With the help of God.' From the completest of these forms the modern Provençal has derived its preposition embe, which is in common use in the sense of with.

The French on the other hand has formed its preposition avec from ab, by the addition of a

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*a* Galvani, Osservazioni sulla poesia dei trovatori, p. 131. quotes some instances of the use of ab for cum in Latin authors, as 'Et tenerum molli torqueb ab arte latus,' Ovid. Amor. ii. 4. 30. 'Ne possent facto stringere ab axe latus,' Propert. iii. 9. 24.

*b* Some instances of à being used in ancient French with the sense of the Latin ab, as 'apreneiz à moi,' 'discite a me,' in St. Bernard, are cited by Orell, Alt-französische Grammatik, p. 317. (Zurich, 1830.)

*c* Thus δεξαίων and δεμβρων, ἀπλακέω and ἀμπλακέω, Σηλυβρία and Σηλυμβρία, Τύφρωσος and Τύμφρωσος, θυβρός and θυμβρός, Θίβρων and Θύμβρων (see Meineke, Euphor. fragm. p. 149. 157.), in Greek: Robert is Ῥόμπερτος in the Byzantine writers. See above, p. 79. note r.

*d* See above, p. 89.

See Orell, ibid, p. 318.
suffix, to which I am not aware of any parallel, (Gr. Rom. p. 249—51. Comp. p. 318—20.)

Ad, a. This preposition was preserved in the Provençal, the final consonant being always suppressed before a consonant, and sometimes before a vowel. M. Raynouard says that ‘sometimes the d is for the sake of euphony changed into z: thus in the Roman de Jaufre, of which there are two manuscripts, one has ‘El pres eran ad anar,’ the other ‘az anar,’ (Gr. Rom. p. 66.) As in the latter instance is ads, (like Thiebaux for Thiebauds,) and is obtained by the addition of s, many other examples of which will be noticed.

All the other Romance languages have retained a from the Latin ad, and use it prefixed to a noun as a substitute for the Latin dative,

(Gr. Rom. p. 251.)

Ante. This preposition underwent the following changes in Provençal, ant, an, ans or ans; of which form the first only occurs as an adverb, the last is formed by the addition of a final s. The second only occurs in composition, as enan, denan, adenant, abans, davan or devan,

† Cinonio in his Treatise on the Italian particles, c. 1. does not distinguish between a derived from ab, and a derived from ad: which, although they have the same sound, are, like che from quod and che from quia, etymologically different words. The same observation likewise applies to the preposition da, which in such expressions as ‘da sera a mane,’ ‘fatto da me,’ comes from de ab; in such expressions as ‘verò da voi,’ ‘I will come to your house,’ ‘gioje da donne,’ ‘èt à da marito,’ ‘carta da scrivere,’ ‘da dieci mesi,’ ‘about ten months,’ it comes from de ad.
which resolved into their elements are *in ante*, *de in ante*, *ad in ante*, *ab ante*, *de ab ante*; *antan*, ‘formerly,’ comes from *ante annum*; *derenan* and *deserenan*, ‘henceforth,’ M. Raynoard derives from ‘*de hora in antea*,’ and ‘*de ipsa hora in antea*.’

The other Romance languages had also various derivatives of this preposition. The Ital. once used *ante* unchanged: its common forms are, however, *avanti* and *davanti* (anciently *avante* and *davante*) from *ab ante* and *de ab ante*; also *diansi* and *dinanzi* from *de antius* and *de in antius*. The Span. has retained *ante* as a preposition unchanged; as an adverb it used *antes*, with a final *s*. *Ant* for *ante*, and *avant* for *avante*, occur in ancient writers. It has likewise *antaño* in the same sense and with the same origin as the Prov. *antan*. The French has *avant* and *devant*, like the Prov. and Ital. and *dorénavant* from *de hora in ab ante*, which does not precisely agree with the Prov. *derenan* or *deserenan*, and moreover adheres more closely to the Latin, (Gr. Rom. p. 258—61. Comp. p. 344.)

From *antius* the neuter comparative of *ante*, like *propius* from *prope*, Menage derives *anzi* Ital., *antes* Span., and *ainsi*, anciently *anz* and *ains*, French. The Prov. has *ans* or *aintz*, in the sense of *rather*, which confirms this etymology. The Ital. uses *anzi* not only in the

*Cinonio, Trattato delle particelle, c. 36. 76. 82. 89.*
sense of *rather*, but also as a preposition equivalent to *ante*.  

Apud. From this preposition the Ital. has made *appo*, like *capo* from *caput*; none of the other Romance languages appear to have preserved it.

CircA. Preserved unchanged in Ital.: the Span. makes it *cerca*. M. Raynouard does not mention any Provençal derivative of this preposition, nor is it preserved in French.

Contra. The Ital., Span., and Prov., have this preposition unchanged: the French has softened the final *a* into *e*. The Ital. likewise has the form *contro*, whence it has formed *incontro*: the Span. also has the adverb *al encuentro*. The Prov. has *encontra*, (Gr. Rom. p. 264.)

Cum. In Ital. and Span. this preposition has been preserved under the form *con*: in Prov. and French its place has been supplied (as already stated) by *ab* and *avec*. Nevertheless the Prov. used it as an adverb or conjunction in the sense of *as* or *how*, sometimes in its Latin form, sometimes making it *con* or *co*: thus ‘no sai *com*,’ ‘I know not how;’ ‘Fresca *cum* rosa en mai,’ ‘fresh as rose in May;’ ‘Si *com* in isto pergamen es scrit,’ ‘as it is written in that parchment;’ ‘Aissi *col* peis an en l’aigua lor vida,’ ‘Like as the fishes have their life in the water.’

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* Cinonio, c. 27.
  * See above, p. 74.
The Ital. and Span. have from cum formed come and como, which they use in the same manner as the Prov. com\(^k\): the French has made comme (anciently com) and comment, which latter is a lengthened form corresponding to the Ital. comente employed by ancient writers. The Ital. likewise sometimes used chente for che, and finente for fino: which Perticari compares with Moisente for Mose, which occurs in the Nobla Leycon\(^1\): it will be shown hereafter that niente is probably a paragogic form of this kind, from the acc. of the Latin res, (Gr. Rom. p. 265—7. Comp. p. 342.)

De. All the languages derived from the Latin have retained this preposition unchanged, (except the Ital. which now, except in certain cases; uses di;) and employ it before a noun to express the meaning conveyed in Latin by the genitive and sometimes by the ablative case, (Gr. Rom. p. 267. Comp. p. 321.)

Extra. From this word the Prov. made estra, ester, andesters, used both as prepositions and adverbs. The latter forms appear to have arisen thus: estra, estre, ester, and with the final s, esters, (Gr. Rom. p. 272.) The Span. has preserved this preposition unchanged: it likewise occurs as estre in old French\(^m\).

\(^k\) Com occurs without the euphonic vowel in both Italian and Spanish.

\(^1\) Difesa di Dante, c. 12. n. 12. to the text.

\(^m\) Orell, p. 324.
From *extra*, by the suppression of the first syllable and the addition of a final *s*, appears to be derived the Prov. adverb *tras*, as well as the French *très*: in Ital. *stra* and *tra* occur sometimes in the same sense, which show their origin more distinctly, as ‘*straricco*; ‘*strabbondansa*; ‘*strabuono*; ‘travalente e tranobile imperadore,’ etc. a

In. The Prov. changed this preposition into *en*, and before a consonant sometimes suppressed the *n*: the Span. and French likewise use *en*, but never omit the *n*: the Ital. alone has preserved in unchanged, though *en* sometimes occurs in ancient writers, (Gr. Rom. p. 267. Comp. p. 322.)

Infra. The Ital. alone (as it appears) has retained this preposition, which it has changed into *fra*, giving it the sense of *among* and *in*. There appears to be no way of accounting for so great a change of signification as this word has undergone, except by supposing that *fra* and *tra* have been confounded, (see Cinonio, c. 112. 134.)

Inter or infra. Hence the Span., Prov., and French formed their preposition *entre*; the Ital. sometimes preserves the Latin form without change, sometimes it omits the first syllable, and makes *tra* from *intra*, like *fra* from *infra*. Probably in both these words the first syllable was omitted, as being taken for the preposition *in*, and a separate word; in the same way that *super*

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a Annot. 59. to Cinonio, c. 191.
lost its last syllable, which was mistaken for the preposition *per*.*

*Entre* in Prov. was sometimes used as a conjunction with *que* in the sense of *whilst*, as 'entre qu'es tos,' 'while he is young;' which particle at other times took the form of *mentre* with the same sense. This latter word, which likewise occurs in Ital., in Span. under the form of *mientras*, (anciently sometimes written *mientre,* ) and in French as *endementres* or *ende-mentiers*, appears to be compounded of *dum intra:* for in old Ital. *domentre* sometimes occurs*, which evidently betrays its origin. *Domentre* was doubtless corrupted into *di mentre* or *dementre*, and the first syllable being taken for the preposition *de* was rejected as superfluous.

From *intro* the Prov. made a preposition *entro*, which had the sense of *until*, as 'entro a la fin del mont,' 'until the end of the world. Sometimes the first syllable was omitted, and it became *tro*, as the Ital. made *tra* from *intra*, as 'del cap tro al talo,' 'from the head to the heel.' In both these forms it could be used as a conjunction. From *intro* the Ital. has made *entro*, and by prefixing *de*, *dentro*, in the sense of *within*. The Span. likewise made *dentro*, and likewise

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* See below in *super*, p. 231.

* See Cinonio, c. 171. who gives examples both of *domentre* and *di mentre*, and Muratori in *v.* who derives *domentre* from *dum interea*, or *dum interim*. *Dementre* occurs in Provençal, see Galvani, p. 262. See also Orell, p. 334.
adentro by prefixing a as well as de, (Gr. Rom. p. 268—71. Comp. p. 323. 343.)

JUXTA. The Prov. changed this preposition into justa, josta, and, prefixing de, dejosta. The Ital. has giusta and giusto, the old French jouxte

PER. The Prov. and Ital. made no change in this preposition: the Span. made it por and para, the French pour and par, but the original form occurs in old writers of both these languages. The Prov. as well as the Ital. has the particle pero, from per hoc, (Gr. Rom. p. 300—2. Comp. p. 322.)

Post. This word the Prov. changed into the forms pos, pois, poois, poisis, pus, and pueis: using it, however, as an adverb and conjunction, and not as a preposition. It likewise, as in many other instances, prefixed the preposition de and thus made de pois. From post the Ital. made poi, which once was sometimes used as a preposition; but now is only used as an adverb or conjunction. Dopo, which appears to be compounded of de and post, (dopoi from depoi, like domani from demane, and domandare from demandare,) has taken the place of the Latin preposition. The Span. made anciently pos and pois, and, by a composition with de, depos.

Afterwards, as in other instances, it changed

4 Orell, p. 326.
5 Cinonio, c. 201. § 4.
7 See above, p. 74. note 4.
pos into pues, and by adding a final s after de, made depo into despues, the modern form. So the French made puis and depuis; the former of which was formerly, the latter is now, used as a preposition. It may be remarked that the Ital. has poscia from postea, a form which all the other Romance languages have lost. (Gr. Rom. p. 303. Comp. p. 326.)

Prope. From this word the Prov. formed as adverbs and prepositions prop and pres, and by composition apro, apres, en apres, de prop. Pres appears to have been formed from prope as follows: prop, pro, pre, pres: all which changes, viz. the rejection of a final consonant, the change of o into e, and the addition of a final s, may be paralleled by many instances in the Romance languages. The corresponding forms are presso and appresso in Ital. apres in old Span. près, après, (anciently apro".) and auprès in French.

In Prov. as in French, apres or apro signified after: thus

Cal presats mais e respondets premiers;
Et apro vos respond En Perdigos.

'which prize you most and answer first, and after you, let Lord Perdigon answer.'

This change of meaning took place on account of the facility of transition from the notion of place to that of time. As prope

* See Orell, p. 318.
meant near, from signifying next in the order of place, it came to mean next in order of time: after which it was easy to pass to the notion of mere posteriority. This transition in Ital. may be distinctly traced in the uses of the word *appresso*: thus, ‘La giovane subitamente si levò in piè e cominciò a fuggire verso il mare, e i cani appresso di lei.’ (Boccaccio, Giorn. 5. nov. 8.) where *appresso di lei* means ‘close upon her.’ Again, ‘Venuta era Elisa alla fine della sua novella, quando la reina ad Emilia voltatasi le mostrò voler che ella appresso d’Elisa la sua raccontasse,’ (ibid, Giorn. 4. nov. 1.) where *appresso d’Elisa*, means ‘next after Elisa in order of time.’ as in Dante,

\begin{quote}
Però non lagrimai nè rispos’io
Tutto quel giorno nè la notte appresso.
\end{quote}

*Inferno, c. 33.*

*Appresso,* however, in Ital. never obtained the general sense which belonged to *après* in French, but was (as it appears) only used to signify immediate succession, without anything intervening. The confusion between succession of place and time may be observed in many words, as in *interval* from *intervalum*?, and in *after*, which has both significations, (Gr. Rom. p. 304—6. Comp. p. 323.)

*Secundum.* From this preposition the Prov. made *segont*, and by a change most frequent in

* Cinonio, c. 31.
* See D. Stewart’s Essay 1. on the Beautiful, c. 1.
that language segon. The Ital. adhering closely to the Latin made secondo, the Span. segun, anciently segund and segunt, the French originally segont, which has now become selon, (Gr. Rom. p. 308. Comp. p. 325.)

SINE. From this preposition the Prov. by adding s made senes, modified into sens, ses, and sans. The Ital. senza or sanza has been formed from sens or sans, by the addition of an euphonic vowel, which the French sans has not taken: the old Ital., however, used both san and sen. The Span. alone has remained faithful to the Latin, and says sin: anciently, however, it used sen and senes, like the Prov., (Gr. Rom. p. 308. Comp. p. 324.)

SUPER. This word was used by the Italian without change, but each syllable was written separately, so that the latter part was taken for the preposition per, and the first syllable became an independent preposition in the sense of on: thus ‘Tutte... su per la nave quasi morte giacevano,’ (Bocc. Giorn. 2. nov. 7.) ‘E lei segnendo su per l’erbe verdi, Udi dir alta voce di lontano,’ (Petr. p. 1. mad. 2.) Su was then used by itself, as ‘Siede la terra dove nata fui Su la marina dove il Po discende Per aver pace, etc.’ (Dante.*) The form sur, however, contracted from super, also occurs in Italian.\(^b\)

\(^a\) Vocab. della Crusca in san. Cento osservazioni al dizionario dantesco di Viviani, (Turin, 1830.) p. 56.
\(^b\) Annot. 74. to Cinonio, c. 231.
It should be observed that *su* the preposition in Ital. has quite a different origin from *su* the adverb: see below in *jusum*.

**Supra.** Changed by the Prov. into *sobre*, and compounded with *de* into *desobre*, which latter was also used adverbially. The Ital. slightly modified it into *sopra* or *sovra*: the Span. has *sobre*: the French changed *sovre* or *sovre* into *soire* by omitting the *v*, into *seure* by modifying the *o* into *e*: whence came the modern form *sur*: unless indeed it was formed more compendiously from *super*, (Gr. Rom. p. 313. Comp. p. 324.)

**Subtus.** As from *supra* the Prov. made *sobre* and *desobre*, so from *subtus* it made *sotz* and *desotz*. The Ital. and Span. following their own mode of formation changed *subtus* into *sotto* and *soto*: the French has contracted it into *sous*, anciently *sous*, (Gr. Rom. p. 213.)

**Trans.** This word the Prov. changed into *tras*, and by composition made *atras* and *detrax*, adverbs. The identical forms recur in Span. and they bear in both languages the sense of *behind*. The transition from the ancient to the modern sense is easily explained: thus in a passage of the Roman de Jaufré cited by M. Raynouard, ‘Et abaitant us nas issi Qui estava tras un boison,’ ‘and at the instant a dwarf came out who was behind a bush:’ it comes to the same thing whether he is said to be *on the other side of* the bush or *behind* it. From this particular to the more general sense of *behind*, the
distance is not great. The Ital. and French have not, as far as I am aware, any derivative of trans, (Gr. Rom. p. 261.)

Versus. The Prov. modified this word into vers, ves, vais, and vas, and by composition made deves, envers, envas, enves. The Ital. has verso and inverso: the French vers, envers, and devers. The Span. has lost this preposition, (Gr. Rom. p. 319.)

Ultra. The Prov. has ultra, oltra, and outra; the Ital. oltra and oltre; the Span. ultra; the French ultre, now outre, (Gr. Rom. p. 271. Comp. p. 328.)

Usque. By combining with this word the particles dum and tro (the latter of which has been explained above, p. 227.) the Prov. made the prepositions duesca and troesca, which had the sense of until. M. Raynoard considers the former word as compounded of de and usque: but the composition just suggested seems more probable, (Gr. Rom. p. 318.) To duesca the French jusque appears to correspond, the final e being softened into e.

In Ital. the word usque has been lost and its place is supplied by infino and fino, derived from

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* It is possible that the Prov. adverb tras (see above, p. 226.) and the French adverb trèse have been derived from ultra by the addition of the final s: thus the Ital. has oltracotanza and tracotanza, different forms of the same word, (outrecuidance French.) The derivation from extra suggested above, seems, however, preferable. Trapatarse Ital. and trespasser French appear evidently to be compounded of ultra not extra.
finis, and often corrupted into sino and insino. Muratori (in v.) cites a passage from an Italian charter belonging to the year 899, 'Qui habet fines de capu fine via publica antiqua, de alio latu finem flumen Calore, de alia parte fine flumen Cottia."

The Span. has substituted for usque the word hasta, of the origin of which I am ignorant.

§. 2. ADVERBS.

The most common and at the same time the most remarkable class of adverbs in the Romance languages is that formed by the union of an adjective with the ablative case of the Latin word mens, so that instead of retaining the classical forms alte, large, dure, they said alta-mente, larga-mente, dura-mente. The Ital. and Span. have preserved these forms unchanged; though the Span. often omitted the final vowel. The Prov. and French, as usual, did the same: and the French likewise, according to its custom, softened the a into e, and made allement (haute-ment,) largement, durement. This mode of forming adverbs was naturally resorted to, when

- For an explanation of these accusative cases, see above, p. 66. sqq.
- Maffei, Verona Illustrata, part 1. col. 318. finds some traces of this formation of adverbs in Latin, as 'Insistam forti mente,' in Ovid, Am. iii. 2. and 'jucunda mente respondit,' in Apuleius.
- On the ancient Spanish adverbs of this form see Raynoard, Journ. des Sav., 1818. p. 480.
the ancient inflexions had been lost, and when in some of the Romance languages, as the Prov. and French, the vowel terminations had been altogether suppressed, so that all distinction between the adjective and the adverb formed from it was obliterated.

Sometimes when two or more of these adverbs were used in succession, the termination _mente_, as if it were still a separate word, was only placed at the end of _one_ of the adjectives: thus in Provençal:

Dona non deu parlar mas gen
E suau e causidament . . .
Amatz suau e bellament.
Mostret lur grans reliquias
Qu' avia lorc temps guardat
_Sanctament e devota._

E Guarentz respondet
_Follament et irada._

M. Raynouard gives examples of the same construction in Italian: ‘Quanto _prudente_ e _giudiziosamente_ m’ammaestrò Aristotile,’ (Varchi, Ercolano :) in Span. ‘Los trata _cortes y amigablemente_’ (Cervantes :) in Portuguese ‘onde _sotil_ é _artificialmente_ estava lavrada e esculpida toda a manera de sua vida,’ (Palmeirim de Inglaterra :) and in French ‘Son chef trecie moult richement, Bien, _et bel et estroitement,_’ (Rom. de la Rose.) Some parallel idioms occur in

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*See Grimm, vol. iii. p. 123.*
English and German, where of two consecutive compounds having the first part different and the last part the same, the part which agrees is only expressed once. Thus as the Germans say *ein-und ausgehen*, as the English say *a wine and spirit merchant*, so the Romance languages said *suau e bellament, sanctament e devota, cortes y amigablemente*, etc. It will be observed, however, that the Romance languages sometimes used *mente* after the first word, which is intelligible when it is remembered that these adverbs are not proper compounds, but two words, with their grammatical structure, which have as it were coalesced together: hence if the sentence is resolved into its elements, it is as easy to say 'sancta mente et devota,' as 'sancta et devota mente:' whereas such expressions as 'a wine merchant and spirit,' 'a teadealer and coffee,' do not make sense, as these are proper compounds, the elements of which reassume their original meaning when disjoined from their composition, (Gr. Rom. p. 322—3. Comp. p. 312—6.)

In adverbs of this kind the Ital., Span., and Prov., omitted the final vowel of the adjective when it was not *a*; thus *generalmente* Ital. and Span., *humilmen, sopilmen* Prov.: the French now inserts *e* after the final consonant of the adjective, as *fortement, généralement*: anciently, however, it followed the same orthography as

the others, and wrote imperialment, loyalment, cruelment, vilment, (Gr. Comp. p. 316—7.)

The adverbs which do not belong to any general class distinguished by the termination may be conveniently considered under two heads, 1. Those derived directly with slight modifications from corresponding Latin adverbs, and 2. Those formed anew in the modern languages.

The following are the principal adverbs derived from the Latin.

Aliorum. From this word the Prov. made alhors and ailihors, the French ailleurs. The Ital. and Span. have not retained it.

Aliquoties. In Prov. alques, which language alone (as it appears) has a derivative of this adverb.

Foras. In Prov. this adverb has various forms, viz. foras, for, fora, for: and compounded, as deforas, defor. The Ital. has both fuori from foris, and fuora from foras. The Span. now has only fuera, formerly it used foras and fueras: the French has fors, (Gr. Rom. p. 272. Comp. p. 327.)

Hodie, heri. The first of these adverbs became in Prov. hoi, oi, ui, uoi, huei: in Ital. hoggi or oggi: in Span. hoy or oi: in French oi and huy. In Prov. this word was sometimes compounded with mais, as hueimai or oimai, when it signified ‘henceforth’: sometimes desser hueimais was used, which resolved into its Latin elements
is, 'de ipsa hora Hodie magis,' like the French désormais.

The modern languages, forgetting the composition of Hodie (hoc die), sometimes compounded it again with the same words: thus the Prov. had enchoy or encoi, i.e. 'in hoc Hodie;' which occurs in Ital. under the form ancoi: in like manner the French and Ital. compound it with jour and di, saying aujourd'hui and oggidì.

From heri the Ital. made hieri or ieri, the Prov. her, the French hier, the Span. ayer.

Jam. Ja, and with the final s jasse, (that is, ja, jas, jasse, like anc from unquam, ancs, ancse: see below;) and compounded with mais (from magis) jamais in Prov., which exactly corresponds to the English evermore, and the German immermehr. Hence jamais is always used with reference to future times, whereas anc from unquam always has reference to past times. Ja, like the Latin jam and the English ever, may refer both to the past and the future. Jasse means always, as 'vos am e us amarai jasse,' 'I love you, and shall ever love you.' Sometimes ja and mais are separated, as 'E ja non volria mais esser residatz,' 'I would not wish ever to be awakened.' The Ital. has già, and compounded with mai, giammai, which words are used both of past and future times1: the Span. has jamas: the French had formerly ja, whence are formed

1 Cinonio, c. 114.
déjà (i. e. desja) and jadis, and it now uses jamais, (Gr. Rom. p. 280. Comp. p. 332.)

Ibi. The Prov. contracted this adverb into i, y, and hi, which combined with aisso and aquo neuter demonstrative pronouns, made aissi, aqui; with ipse (sa) and ile (la) sai and lai, sometimes written sa and la.

The Ital. has preserved the Latin word in its integrity under the form of ivi, which it sometimes contracts into vi: formerly it sometimes used i, as in Dante Inf. c. 8. v. 4. 'Per due fiammette che i vedremmo porre.' It likewise has the double forms la and li, qua and qui: which doubtless were respectively contracted from lai and quai, as from περιευκο came the double forms περιευκο and περιευκο.

The French has y from ibi; it formerly used lai, and doubtless also cai, now la and ça. Ci from çai is preserved in the word voici.

The Span. has lost ibi, but has the compound forms aquí, allé, and allá, (Gr. Rom. p. 276—8. Comp. p. 340—1.)

Inde. Changed by the Prov. into ent, enz, (i. e. ents,) en, and ne, as 'Veder enz pot l'om per quaranta ciptaz,' 'One can see from thence over forty cities.' 'Ieu m'en anarai en eyssilh,' 'I will go hence in exile.' The use of ne or en as a pronoun has been explained above, p. 170.

The Ital. and French have the same double sense of the derivatives of inde; in Ital. ne, (that

* See Grimm, vol. iii. p. 223.
is, ine, ne,) in French en (that is, ind, end, en:) thus andarsene, s'en aller; averne bisogno, en avoir besoin, (Gr. Rom. p. 268.)

Insimul. In Prov. ensembs and essems, by the rejection of the last syllable and the addition of s: in Ital. insieme, in French ensemble¹, (Gr. Rom. p. 270.)

Intus, deintus. From these two words the Prov. made ins and dins, by composition dedins: the former word compounded with ipsa and illa made lainz and sainz. Parallel forms in French are dans, dedans, and the old words léans and cèans, (Gr. Rom. p. 278—9.)

Jusum, susum. Of these two words which occur in low-latin writers, the latter appears evidently to come from sursum, the former according to Muratori (Diss. 32.) is a different word from deorsum. The Prov. changed them into jos and sus: the Ital. into giuso and giù, suso and sum²: the old Span. had juso and jus, and suso, desuso, and desus: the old French had jus and sus, whence the compound dessus, (Gr. Rom. p. 282. Comp. p. 338.)

Magis. Changed by the Prov. into mais, mas,

¹ There seems to be no reason for suspecting with Muratori in v. that insieme comes from the German sammen: though doubtless simul and sammen are cognate words. The same writer thinks that assembrare Ital., and assembler (or assembler) and ensemble French, come from sammelen. Ensemble is probably from insimul, i.e. ensimel, ensamble, like cumulo, comle, comble; marmor, marmar, marmre, marmbre, marbre.

² The forms giuso, gio, and soso likewise occur: Perticari, Dif. di Dante, c. 16. vol. i. p. 347.
and mai, and used sometimes as an adverb in its primitive sense of more; sometimes as a conjunction in the sense of but, which it acquired through the intermediate sense of rather. In Ital. magglio from majus bore the adverbial sense of magis: it uses, however, mai from magis as a conjunction: as also mai, in the expressions mai si and mai no. The French formerly had mais both as an adverb and conjunction: it now only retains this word in the sense of but: the Span. has mas (formerly mais,) in both acceptations: whence by composition with a and de, ademas, ‘besides,’ (Gr. Rom. p. 285. Comp. p. 335.)

Mene. The modern languages having all lost the Latin adverb cras®, supply its place by means of this word: the Ital., Prov., and French, by compounding it with de, have dimane, dimani, or domani®, deman, and demain; the Span. has formed from it the substantive mañana, which it uses adverbially, (Gr. Rom. p. 274.)

Medium. Mezzo or mezo as an adverb in Ital. and frequently used as an adjective, like the Latin medius: as ‘in mezza strada,’ ‘a mezza state,’ ‘per mezzo il sangue.’ Sometimes it became indeclinable, as ‘per mezzo questa oscura

* See Muratori in v.
* Cras was, however, preserved in old Spanish: thus, Poema del Cid, v. 545. ‘Cras á la mañana pensemos de cavalzar;’ and Poesias de Arcipreste de Hita, v. 1433. ‘Quando á ti sacaren á judio hoy ó cras.’
* Muratori in v.
valle,' Petrarch (Cinonio, c. 173.) The Prov. changed this word into miei, mieg, and mest; and used it without declination, sometimes with a preposition, as 'per miei lo cors,' 'per mieg la giardina,' 'en mieg la via,' 'per mest las bonas gens.' The French made this word into mi; whence le mi lieu, 'the middle place;' and par mi, 'through the middle,' used without declination, like the Ital. per mezzo, and the Prov. per miei. Mezzo Ital. is formed from medius, like aguzzo from acutus, prezzo from pretium, pozzo from puteus, Arezzo from Arretium, Abruzzi from Bruttii. It still, however, preserves the trace of the Latin, as it is pronounced medso from medius, as prezzo from pretium is pronounced pretso. The Prov. mest appears to have originated in a like manner, with a transposition of letters, i.e. mest for mets (mez), (Gr. Rom. p. 290.)

Minus, pejus, plus. Meno, peggio, più (plù) in Ital., mens and meins, pietz and piegz, plus and pus in Prov., moins and plus in French. The Span. and French have no derivative of pejus, but have peor and pire from pejor, (Gr. Rom. p. 289. 302. Comp. p. 334. 336.)

Quando. Quant and quan in Prov., which had also the compound word lanquan, i.e. l'an quan, 'the year (or the time) when.' The French has quand: the Ital. and Span. have retained the Latin form unchanged: the ancient Span., however, sometimes used quand and quant, (Gr. Rom. p. 306. Comp. p. 343.)
ADVERBS.

QUARE. Quar and car in Prov. properly signifying for, but sometimes having the sense of that: like quia in Latin and perchè in Ital. The Ital. and Span. have lost this word, which is preserved in the French car, with the single sense of for, (Gr. Rom. p. 307.)

RETRO. This adverb, compounded with a and de, became areire and dereer or derer in Prov., arrière and derrière in French, and diretro or dietro in Ital., (Gr. Rom. p. 261.)

SATIS. Compounded with a became asatz or assats in Prov., assaz in Span., assex in French, assai in Ital., (Gr. Rom. p. 262.)

M. Raynouard remarks (Gr. Comp. p. 336.) that, 'l'assai italien prouve que cette langue a souvent fait des modifications très importantes aux désinences des mots pour les accommorder à l'euphonie locale:' but the Ital. has made no greater change than the Prov.: it has only made a different change. The Prov. always contracting, and not objecting to final consonants, changed satis into sats; the Ital., not so fond of contractions, but always avoiding final consonants, changed satis into sai.

SEMPER. Sempre Ital. and Proven. siempre Span. sempres in old Span. (Gr. R. 308. Comp. 332.)

Sic. Si in Proven. and compounded aissi and cossi: the latter of which words is com si, i.e. ut sic instead of sicut: the former is perhaps ac sic. It had also altresi or atresi, from alterum sic. The Ital. has sì and così (the same as siccome,
the elements of composition being only reversed), and *altresi*: The Span., has *si*, *assi*, and *otrosi* : the French, *si*, *aussi*, and anciently *altresi* or *autresi*.

On the use of *si* as an affirmative particle I shall speak lower down. (Gr. R. p. 309—12. Comp. 337.)


Tunc. In Proven. *donc*, which by different modifications became *adonc*, *doncas*, *doncx*, *adoncas*, *adonx*; *ad tunc*, which occurs in Low-latin, is, as M. Raynouard remarks, borrowed from the Romance *adonc*. In Ital. *dunque* and *adunque*, anciently likewise *dunqua*, *donqua* and *adonqua*: in old Span. *doncas*: in French. *donc*, formerly *dunc* and *adunc*, *donkes* and *adonkes*. The Span. has moreover the form *entonces*, compounded with the preposition *en*. (Gr. R. p. 254—6. Comp. 331.)

Ubi. *Ou* and *o* in Proven., *ove* in Ital., in which the forms *u* and *o* likewise occur: *ô* in old Span., *ou* in French. (Gr. R. p. 298. Comp. 340.)

Unde. *Ont*, *on*, and by comparision with *de*, *dunt* or *don* in Proven. *onde* and *donde* in Ital. *donde* in Span. which anciently had the forms

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* See Annotat. 6. to Cinonio, Part. c. 8.
* Cinonio, Part. c. 193. §. 11, 12.
ond, ont, and don; dont and formerly unt or ont in French. (Gr. R. p. 296. Comp. 339.)

Unquam, nunquam. In Proven. ongan, oan, unca, anc, and by the addition of a final s, oncas, and ancse from ancs, like jasse from jas (above p. 238.) From nunquam there is only the form nonca. The Ital. has unqua and also uguanno, used by Boccacio*: the Span. has nunca: the French onc and oncques are now obsolete. (Gr. R. p. 291.)

I will now set down the most remarkable Provençal adverbs, not derived from corresponding Latin adverbs, nor formed from them by a simple composition; and compare them with similar forms in the other Romance languages.

Amon, aval. These adverbs, sometimes damon and daval, are derived from mons and vallis, in French à mont and à val, in Ital. a monte and a valle¹, formed after the model of the German xetel and zeberge². From aval the French has made avaler, to swallow (i. e. to put down the throat,) and the Span. avalor, to tremble like the earth (i. e. to sink down.) Gr. R.³ p. 257.

Ades, Now; adesse or des, since: formed

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¹ See Pertićari Dif. di Dante c. 15. vol. i. p. 339.
² A monte occurs in the Tesoro of Brunetti, (Voc. della Crusca in v.): a valle is used by many writers (ibid. in v.), for instance by Dante, Inferno, xii. 46. Da valle and da monte are still in use among all the inhabitants of the Apennines, according to Pertićari, Dif. di Dante, c. 16. vol. i. p. 340.
with *ad* and *de*, and *es*, from *ipse* (above p. 180.) The Ital. has *adesso*: the French, *dès*. *Neis* ‘even,’ and *anceis* ‘on the contrary,’ Proven. were formed by compounding the same pronoun with *in* and *ante*. (Gr. R. p. 251—9.)

*Entorn*, *environ*, from *tornare* and *girare*. The Ital. has *intorno*, *d'intorno*, *a torno* or *attorno*, and *dattorno*: the French, *à l'entour*, and *autour* without the preposition *en*. It has likewise *environ*. (Gr. R. p. 271.)

*Lev*, from *leve*, which had the double sense of the English word *lightly*, *viz. quickly* and (joined with *ben*) *easily*, whence it came to signify *perhaps*; as

\[
\begin{align*}
D'amor non del dire mas be, \\
Quar non ai ni petit ni re, \\
Quar ben leu plus no m'en cove.
\end{align*}
\]

* Tour comes from *torn*, or *turn*, as *jour* from *jorn*, *chair* from *carn*, *enfer* from *enfern*, *cor* from *corn*, *four* from *furn*: see Gr. Comp. p. 63—4.

*Giorno* and *jour* come from *diurnum*, as *inverno* and *hiver* come from *hibernum* (*tempus* being understood,) which I should have thought it unnecessary to mention if a modern Italian critic had not derived *giorno* from *horn* German, because the Alemans and Franks announced the day by the sound of the horn! (Benci on Malispini, vol. ii. p. 433. ed. Leghorn, 1833).

It may be observed that the Spanish has alone retained the derivative of the Latin *dies, dia*, in common use: the Ital. has the word *di*, but commonly uses *giorno*: the French has only *jour*. The substitution of the periphrasis *diurnum* (*tempus*) for *dies* is paralleled by *hibernum* (*tempus*) for *hyems*, (*inverno* Ital., *invierno* Span., *hiver*, ancientsly *hyvern* French.); *estivum* (*tempus*) for *estas* (*estío* Span., the Ital. and French have *estate* and *esté,* and *matutinum* (*tempus*) for *morn* (*mattino* Ital., *matin* French, the Span. has *mañana*, i.e. *hora matutina.*) *Autumnus* is retained in all three languages; *ver* is lost in French, which has *printemps*, but is retained by the Ital. and Span. in the compound *primavera*.
ADVERBS.

‘Of love I ought not to speak well more, as I have not any, either small or great, for perhaps more does not besee me!’

It is probable that this adverb, which appears to be peculiar to the Provençal, was imitated from the German. (Gr. R. p. 284).

MALGRAT. This word is used in all the Romance languages, with a personal pronoun often inserted immediately before grat: thus malgrat vostre, mal mon grat, mal lui grat Proven., mau gré sien, mau gré lor French, mal su grado Span., mal mio grado, mal grado suo Ital. These expressions may be rendered, ‘with my ill pleasure,’ ‘with his ill pleasure,’ etc. If a possessive pronoun is not used, the phrase takes a different turn, as ‘malgrat de Karle’ ‘with the ill pleasure of Charles.’ Grat (from gratum) is here used substantively as grato or grado in Ital., (Voc. della Crusca in v.), agrado in Span., and gré in French, in the expressions savoir gré, à mon gré, etc. (Gr. R. p. 286. Comp. 359–61.)

MANTENEN, sometimes de mantenen, from manutenens; mantenate, immantenate Ital7., maintenent French, à man teniente in Span., has a different meaning. De manes, another Proven. adverb, signifying suddenly, appears evidently to come from manus, corresponding to ‘offhand’ English, ‘auf der Hand’ German; and not from mane in the sense of early, as M. Raynouard supposes. (Gr. R. p. 28.)

HORA. This Latin word was first used in

7 Peticari, Di. dif Dante, c. 16. vol. i. p. 349.
CHAPTER V.

Proven. adverbially, with the preposition a, as ora, in the sense of now: afterwards the preposition was omitted, and it became ara, ar, era, er, and with a final s, oras, eras. From in hanc horam was derived enca or encara, with the final s, encaras or enqueras, 'hitherto:' from des l'ora (i.e. de ipsa illa hora) deslor, 'henceforth:' from qua hora, quora, 'when;' derenan has been already mentioned (p. 223.) Ora occurs as an adverb with the same sense in Ital., which also has ancora. Ore, or, ores were formerly used in French, which now uses encor and déslors. M. Raynouard cites a passage from an ancient French chronicle, which well illustrates this application of hora: 'Barcinone est une cité qui siet en la marche d'Espaigne: une heure estoit des Sarrazins, et une heure estoit des Crestiens.' (Comp. R. p. 293—6. Comp. 330).

PRON or PRO. This word occurs in Prov. with the sense of Satis:

Del papa sai che dara largamen
Pron del pardon e pauc de son argen.

'Of the pope I know that he will give liberally plenty of indulgences and little of his money!'

The old French had prou in the same sense. M. Raynouard offers no suggestion on the derivation of these words. (Gr. R. p. 263.)

Tost. This enigmatic word occurs in all the Romance languages: tosto Ital., tost old Span. and Proven., toste old Portug., tost now tôt Fr., No probable explanation of its origin has hither-
ADVERBS.

249

to been given. (See Muratori in v. Gr. R. p. 316. Comp. 333.)

Trop. In Proven. this word meant very, and too much: thus ‘Sap trop ben violar’ ‘he knew very well how to play on the viol.’ ‘Per qu’om no-s deu per gaug trop esjuazir, Ni per ira trop esser anguyossos.’ ‘Wherefore one ought not for joy to exult too much, Nor for sadness to be too much cast down.’ Troppo in Ital., has both these senses (Cinonio, c. 243) trop French, only the last. As troppus is used in the Latin of the middle ages with the sense of a herd or flock, Muratori (in v.) thinks that it is derived from some German word, whence the French troupe and troupeau, (also truppa Ital.) Troppo, a substantive, is preserved in Ital. (Gr. R. p. 317*.)

Veti, i. e. ‘See thou,’ or in the plural vecvos (softened into veus) ‘see ye,’ used adverbially like the French voici and violà, which are compounded with the particles ci here, and là there. The Ital. alone has preserved ecco, from the Latin eccum, (Gr. Rom. p. 320.*)

* It might be thought that the French adverb très is formed from trop, like près from prop: but the Proven. form trus, shows that it had not this origin, and that one of the two derivations above suggested is correct: see p. 233.

* So sik-tir was used in old German, Grimm, vol. iii. p. 247.
§. 3. CONJUGATIONS.

I shall next proceed to the conjunctions and the affirmative and negative particles, which may be conveniently treated apart, as they are marked with some peculiar features in the Romance languages.

Aut. In Prov. and old French this word became o or ou; in modern French the latter form alone is used; in the Span. it is ó. The Ital. alone has retained the consonant changed into d, and has made the word od; before a consonant, however, the d is dropped, as in English the n of an is only used before a vowel, (Gr. Rom. p. 336. Comp. p. 346.)

Et. Preserved unchanged in Prov., but the t was generally dropt before consonants: in Ital. et or ed, subject to the same rule. The French now only has et, but the t is not pronounced: e is sometimes written in old French: the Spanish formerly used both et and é, now it has only y, (Gr. Rom. p. 328. Comp. p. 345.)

All the modern derivatives of aut and et have retained their ancient sense unchanged.

Gaire or guaire in Prov., guari in Ital., guère or guères French. These adverbs are evidently derived from the German gar or wahr, (very Eng.) b: the force of which (much) has

b See Muratori in guari.
been retained in each language, though in French guère is generally supposed to have a contrary meaning. The confusion has arisen from this particle being almost constantly used in negative prepositions: thus in Prov. ‘Que sciensa no pretz gaire S'al ops no la vey valer,' ‘As I do not value knowledge much, If I do not see it avail in time of need.' ‘Non istette guari che trapassò,' ‘he was not long before he died, Boccaccio (Cinonio, c. 121.) ‘Et n'eut pas gueres demeuré a Sparte, qu'il fut incontinent soupconné,' etc., Amyot Plut. Vie d'Agesilas. ‘La plupart des œuvres d'Aristote et de Théophraste qui n'estoient pas gueres encore cognueus, etc.' Id. vie de Sylla. Being constantly used in this manner, it appeared to acquire a negative force, independently of the proper negation; and thus while guari in Ital. is explained to mean much, guère in French is explained to mean little. Nevertheless guère is never used by itself with a negative force, like pas, point, personne, and other words which originally being affirmatives in a negative sentence, at first like guère were used constantly with a negative particle, from which they seemed to catch a negative force by contact; and then were employed by themselves as negatives, (Gr. Rom. p. 274. 333. Journ. des Sav. 1824, p. 180.)

Gens. The Prov. used gens or ges as an expletive particle of affirmation: thus, ‘Ella-s fen sorda: gens a lui non atend,' ‘She feigns herself deaf: she does not attend to him at all.' ‘No-m
mogui ges,’ ‘I did not move at all.’ M. Ray-
nouard derives this particle from the Latin gens; in
which case it would probably be gent or gen
(from gentem ;) nor do the meanings of the
Latin and Prov. words at all correspond: the
suggestion of Schlegel, who derives it from the
Teutonic ganz (like gaire from gar) is far more
probable, (Gr. Rom. p. 333. Galvani, Poesie
dei Trovat. p. 39. n. 1. Orell, p. 303.)

Mica. Sometimes used unchanged, sometimes
modified into miga, minga, and mia in Prov.;
mica and minga in Ital., mie in French. In
Prov. it is always used in negative sentences, to
give force to the negation, as ‘Pero no desesper
mia,’ ‘wherefore do not despair at all.’ In Ital.
this is generally the case, as ‘Fosse nascosto
un dio? Non mica un dio Selvaggio, o della
plebe degli dei.’ Tasso Aminta. ‘Signor mio,
non sogno mica.’ Bocc. Giorn. 7. n. 9.

In the following passage, however, of a poem
written in the language of the Tuscan peasants,
it does not add force to a negative:

* Observations, p. 115.

* Grimm, vol. iii. p. 749. says that M. Raynouard’s explanation is
probably incorrect, as a notion of a thing, not a person, is required.
He then adds, ‘ges must signify something small: in Italian ghesso is a
mushroom, ghiozzo is a little bit.’ Schlegel’s etymology is, how-
ever, confirmed by gaire.


* See Annot. 56. to Cinonio, c. 58. Marrini on the Lamento di
Cecco da Varlungo, p. 185.
CONJUNCTIONS.

Gli è rigoglioso, come un berlingaccio,
Talchè non par, che morir voglia mica.

In French it has a similar force: ‘Mais comme
un harenc ne faut mie Que toujours lé bec aye
en l’eau,’ Basselin.

In Italian it is sometimes used familiarly by
itself, with a negative sense, like other particles,
which will be presently noticed.

Nec. Ne and ni in Prov. and French, ne in
Ital., ni in Span. In Prov. ne or ni sometimes
retained its Latin sense of a negative disjunction,
as ‘Davans son vis nulz om no-s pot celar; Ne
eps li omne qui sun ultra la mar,’ ‘Before his
face man can conceal himself, nor even the men
who are beyond the sea.’ ‘Non avent macula
ni ruga,’ ‘Not having stain nor wrinkle.’ Now
where a negative precedes a disjunctive negative
particle, the repetition of the negation is un-
necessary to the sense, though it may add
force to the expression: thus it is the same
thing to say ‘he has neither wife nor children,’
or ‘he has not wife and children.’ Hence as nec
is composed of et non, in such cases as that just
described it was indifferent whether it was
understood to have an affirmative or a negative

* Marrini ibid, p. 103.
* Cited by M. Raynouard, Journ. des Sav. 1823, p. 116. See
Orell, p. 307. Mie is still used in some familiar phrases: see Dict.
de l’Acad. in v. which defines it to be a ‘particule négative, qui sig-
nifie, Pas, point.’ Properly speaking, neither mie, pas, nor point, are
negative particles.
sense, and thus it vacillated between the two, in Prov. generally having the former, and being synonymous with *et*; thus St. John, viii. 14. is translated 'Quar ieu sai don venc ni on vauc.' This use never became common in any other Romance language except the Provençal: instances of it, however, occur both in old French and Ital., as 'Dès que Diex fit Adan ne Eve.' 'Se gli occhi suoi ti fur dolci ne cari,' Petrarch. This use of *ne* still prevails in the Piedmontese and Lombard dialects, (Gr. Rom. p. 329—30. Comp. p. 347.)

Non. Preserved without change of meaning in all the Romance languages. The Prov. used both *non* and *no* in the same manner as the Latin *non*. The Ital. has both forms: but it uses the former in connexion with other words, as 'non è là;' 'non lungo tempo dopo;' the latter as an answer, as 'Sta dentro? No.' The Span. now only uses *no*: it formerly had the full Latin form. The French has *non*: but the other form *no* has been attenuated into *ne*, like *lo* into *le*, (above, p. 62.)

A very peculiar use of the particles *si non* 'except' occurs in all the Romance languages: not are only they used together, as in Latin, but they

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1 See Cinonio, c. 178. s. 2. 4. 7. Perticari, Dif. di Dante, c. 18. vol. ii. p. 373.


1 See Grimm, vol. iii. p. 746.
are often separated by several words interposed: thus

Tant es mortals lo danz, che no i a sospeisson
Que jamais si revenha, s'en aital guisa now
Qu'om li traga lo cor.

'The loss is so great that there is no suspicion
that ever it can be repaired, except, in such guise,
that they take his heart, etc.'

So in Ital. 'Nullo è buono s'ello è buon no,' and in Span. 'De al no li membraba si de esto
solo non.' In old French it is of frequent occurr-
rence: thus 'Maintes gens dient que en songes
N'a se fables non et mensonges\textsuperscript{m}.' 'Il ne parle
se de toi non,' (Gr. Rom. p. 332. Comp. p.
348—50.)

Passus. The Prov. used \textit{pas} as an expletive
particle, but always with a negation, as '\textit{non pas}
dos jorns ni tres,' 'not two days nor three.'
The French, as is well known, has the same use
of this particle. In both languages it appears
to have obtained this sense from being originally

\textsuperscript{m} These two verses are taken from the beginning of the Roman de
la Rose, which were modernized as follows by Marot, in an edition of
that poem published by him in the sixteenth century:

Maintes gens vont disant que songes
Ne sont que fables et mensonges.

By which means (says M. Raynouard, Gr. Comp. p. 364.) he changed
\textit{fables} and \textit{mensonges} from the singular to the plural number. This
appears to be an oversight: \textit{fable}, from \textit{fabula}, had not the final \textit{s} in
the singular number, but took it in the plural, which was modified from
\textit{fabulas}. 
used with verbs of motion, as ‘ne bougez un pas,’ or ‘ne bougez pas,’ ‘do not stir a step;’ and this being equivalent to ‘do not stir at all,’ by a process of abstraction of perpetual occurrence in the use of words, it was transferred to other verbs in the more general sense: and thus it was said, ‘je ne l'aime pas,’ ‘je ne veux pas,’ ‘I do not love him at all,’ ‘I do not wish it at all,’ ‘non pas,’ ‘not at all.’ Being constantly used in negative prepositions, pas thus seemed to have itself a negative sense, and by degrees came to be used independently as a negative particle: thus ‘pas un,’ ‘pas mal,’ ‘pas souvent,’ ‘not one,’ ‘not ill,’ ‘not often,’ for ‘non pas un,’ ‘non pas mal,’ ‘non pas souvent,’ ‘not even one,’ ‘not at all ill,’ ‘not at all often.’ (Gr. Rom. p. 335. Orell, p. 313.)

**Persona.** Both Ital. and French use this substantive for *alcuno* and *aucun* in both affirmative and negative phrases, as ‘Guatiam per l’orto, se persona ci è, e s’egli non c’è persona, che abbiamo noi a fare, etc.’ Boccaccio, Nov. xxi. 14. So in French, ‘Si jamais personne est assez hardi pour l’entreprendre, il réussira,’ ‘Personne ne sera assez hardi,’ i. e. ‘*any person will not* be bold enough,’ in other words ‘*No person will be bold enough.*’ From being used frequently in negative prepositions, *personne* has sometimes a negative sense: thus ‘Y a-t-il quelqu’un ici? Personne,’ i. e. ‘Personne *n’est ici,* ‘a person is *not* here.’

**Punctum.** This was adopted as an expletive
CONJUNCTIONS. 257

affirmatory particle, as signifying a very small quantity, like mica or mie a grain of salt, goutte a drop, brin a small leaf*, and in English, ‘not a jot,’ ‘not a bit,’ ‘not a morsel,’ etc. In Ital. it is sometimes used in affirmative, sometimes in negative propositions, as ‘Qual di questa greggia S’arresta punto giace poi cent’anni.’ Dante, Inf. xv. 37. ‘Who ever stops an instant.’ ‘A cui il pelegrin disse: Madonna, Tebaldo non è punto morto.’ Bocc. G. 3. nov. 7. Hence it sometimes denies without a negative particle, as ‘V’è egli piaciuto quello stile? Punto,’ i. e. ‘not at all.’ In French from being used in order to give force to negative propositions, as

* These words are used familiarly in the very same manner as pas, point, mica, punto, and other expletives, as in the phrases, ‘ne voir goutte,’ ‘n’entendre goutte,’ ‘il n’y en a brin.’ See Dict. de l’Acad. in v. The Bolognese has likewise an expletive of this kind, as is explained in the following extract from a dictionary of that dialect:


* See Tommaso, Nuovo Diz. dei sinonimi della ling. Ital. in mica. And Cinonio, c. 205.

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‘il n’est point mort,’ ‘il ne s’arrête point,’ ‘he is not by any means dead,’ ‘he does not stop at all,’ it contracted, like other words already mentioned, a negative sense, and was used by itself as a negation, as ‘point du tout,’ ‘not at all.’ ‘Lisez vous ces vers? Point.’ ‘Are you reading those verses.’ By no means.’

Res. This substantive was retained unchanged in the Prov., making res in the nominative, and ren or re in the accusative case. Thus ‘Qu’ieu non soi alegres per al, Ni al res no-m fai viure,’ ‘For I am not joyful for another, and another thing does not make me live,’ i. e. ‘no other thing makes me live.’ (Gr. Rom. p. 152.) ‘Ieu am la plus debonaire Del mon mais que nulla re,’ ‘I love the fairest woman in the world more than anything.’ (Ib .p. 76.) ‘Nuls homs ses amor ren non vau,’ ‘No man without love is (not) worth anything.’ ‘Ja ren non dirai,’ ‘Never will I say anything.’ (Ib. p. 333.) ‘Res mas merces no es a dire,’ ‘Anything except mercy is not wanting,’ i. e. ‘nothing except mercy is wanting.’ (Ib. p. 337.)

The Ital. used the accusative case of res, doubtless first changed into ren and rien, in the same manner; but subjected it to farther alter-

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v Perticari, Diff. di Dante, c. 15. p. 334 n. 4. says that the Italians used rien, referring to the Cento Novelle Antiche, No. 61. In c. 21., however, p. 413. n. 6., he shows that rien in that place is a Provençal, not an Italian word, which occurs in a Provençal song introduced by the novelist, and he blames Lombardi for introducing it into the Vocab. della Crusca on the authority of that passage.
CONJUNCTIONS.

ations, by adding a paragogic syllable, as in *come, comente, che, chente*, already observed⁴, by which means it became *riente*; and by changing *r* into *n*, (as in the Span. *hombre, nombre, luombre*, from *hominem, nomen, luumen*⁵,) which made it *niente*. *Niente* sometimes retains its ancient affirmative sense, as *Rispose che egli non ne voleva far niente.* Bocc. Giorn. x. nov. 2. *‘Et in questa maniera fece due notti, senza che la donna di niente s’accorgesse.* Bocc. Giorn. 2. nov. 9. Sometimes it has a negative sense, acquired in the manner already explained with respect to other words, as *‘Ma fin a qui niente mi rileva Pianto o sospiro o lagrimar ch’io faccio.‘* Petrarch, P. 1. canz. 1. *‘E’l fuggir val niente Dinanzi a l’ali, che’l segnor nostro usa.* Petrarch, (Cinio, c. 181.) The rule at present established in Ital. with respect to the use of *niente* is, that where it precedes the verb, it has a negative, where it follows, it has an affirmative, sense: as *‘niente ho,’ ‘I have nothing,’ ‘non ho niente,’ ‘I have not anything.’* In answer to a question, moreover, *niente* has a negative sense: as *‘cosa fate? Niente.’ ‘What are you doing? Nothing.’*

The old Span. likewise used the accusative

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⁴ Above p. 225.
⁵ See above, p. 79. note.

* Rien and *niente* from *rem* are like *mici* from *mei, Dieu* from *Deus*, etc. Muratori in *v.* rejects the absurd derivation of *niente* from *ne ens*; *ens* was a scholastic, not a popular term. The French *niant* appears to come from *negans: ‘a negative quantity.* See Orell, p. 309.

Vidien que de ladrones non era degollado,
Ca nol tollieron nada nil avien ren robado.

Also v. 293.

Cata non aías miedo, por ren non te demudes,
Piensa como me fables è como me pescudes¹.

The use of rien in French is precisely analogous to that of niente in Italian. Sometimes it retains its original affirmative sense, as ‘Y a-t-il rien de si beau que cela.’ ‘Il ne sait rien de rien,’ i.e. ‘he knows nothing of anything.’ But from being used after ne, it has itself acquired a negative force, and sometimes means nothing instead of anything, as ‘Dieu a créé le monde de rien.’ ‘On ne fait rien de rien,’ i.e. ‘Ex nihilo nil fit.’ ‘Qu’ avez vous trouvé? Rien.’

Sic. This word, changed into si*, became the affirmative particle of the Ital. and Span.: in French it is still often employed in familiar style, and it also occurs in the old Prov.: thus in the Nobla Leyçon:

¹ Sanchez, vol. ii. p. 311. 324.
² Schlegel’s Kritische Schriften, vol. i. p. 358.
La ley velha deffent solament perjurar,
E plus de si o de no non sia en ton parlar.

The last line being a translation of St. Matthew, ‘and let thy conversation be yea, yea, nay, nay.’ (Gr. Rom. p. 312. Comp. p. 346.)

It is known that the difference of the affirmative particle was used to distinguish the three Romance languages, of Italy, northern and southern France: the former being called the language of *si*, the latter of *oil* and *oc*. The agreement of all these languages in the use of *si* may therefore seem a proof of their derivation from a language posterior to the Latin, in which this particle had a different sense. It is, however, easy to conceive that the use of the Latin *sic* for *yes* should have been introduced by the Germans, with whom *so* had a familiar sense; or that *sic* should have been used without reference to the German practice, as the Latin formerly employed *ita*, a nearly synonymous particle. But although the languages of *oil* and *oc* sometimes used *si* in the same sense as the Italian, yet they had other particles which they commonly used in that sense. The characteristic of the Italian, as opposed to the languages of France, was not that it used *si*, but that it used *si* alone; the characteristic of the languages of France, as opposed to that of Italy, was not that they did not use *si*, but that they commonly used *oil* and *oc*, particles of which no trace is to be found in any Italian dialect.
The Bolognese dialect has been characterized by its use of *sipa*:

\[ \text{E non pur io qui piango Bolognese:} \]
\[ \text{Anzi n'è questo luogo tanto pieno,} \]
\[ \text{Che tante lingue non son ora apprese} \]
\[ \text{A dicir *sipa* tra Savena e'l Reno.} \]

Dante, Inf. xviii. 58.

*Sipa* or *sepa*, however, now no longer in use, is a peculiar form of *sia*, and is not connected with *si*?: though it appears evidently to have been used as equivalent to *si*, since Dante elsewhere takes this affirmative particle as the distinguishing mark of a language.

With regard to the affirmative particles *oil* and *oc*, it cannot be doubted that they are both derived from the form *o*, which was used in old French. *Oil* is doubtless formed by the addition of the pronoun *il*, like *nenil* from *non* or *nen*. *Oc* is considered by Grimm as equivalent to *já ich*: an etymology of which the probability is much increased, if, as Grimm suggests, and as appears likely, the Romance *o* is borrowed from the German *já*.

Should this explanation be received, the adoption of a German affirmative particle in France, while in Italy and Spain a Latin word was used for this purpose, must be

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1. See Menage, Orig. Ital. in *sipa*. Ferrari, Vocab. Bologn. in *sepa*.
CONJUNCTIONS.

considered as a proof of the greater amount of German influence in the former than in the latter countries.

The modern French *oui* appears to be formed from *oil* by dropping the final *l*, as *nenni* from *nennil*, the *o* before *i* being pronounced like *ou*, as *Louis*, ancienly *Loys*\(^a\). The final *l* has in French commonly passed into *u*, as *scel, sceau, morcel, morceau*\(^b\): but if *oil* had suffered a change of this kind, it would have become *oiu*, and not *oui*.

Among the particles which have been just enumerated it will be observed that several having originally had an affirmative sense, and having been introduced into negative propositions for the sake of strengthening the negation, in process of time themselves contracted a negative force. Negation may, as Grimm states, be strengthened in two ways: either by a repetition of the proper negative particles, or by the addition of a positive word. With regard to the latter of these he remarks: "A positive expression may sometimes expel and replace the simple negation: the proper negative force of the lost negative particle then falls upon it, and it denies by means of it, as the moon shines with borrowed light. Such words, however,

\(^a\) This is satisfactorily proved by Biester on *oc* and *oyl*, Philol.. Museum, vol. ii. p. 342. cf. ib. 324.

\(^b\) See above, p. 155.
though not properly negative, must yet originally have some natural fitness for expressing negation. Words of this kind commonly convey a notion of smallness, and as it were of nullity. At first they appear to have suggested a sensible image, which afterwards was lost, and a mere grammatical abstraction remained. The introduction of words signifying small, insignificant, worthless and mean objects, prevailed to a great extent in the old German, and numerous examples of this usage are cited by Grimm from poets of the thirteenth century. Among these are blat, a leaf, bast bark, ber a berry, stró a straw, bóne a bone, nux a nut, ei an egg, brót a loaf of bread, droof a drop, hár a hair, fuox a foot, twint a twinkle, wiht a thing, etc. For the most part these words were used after a negation: as 'daz huflu
niht ein blat; 'wan ez half niht ein bast;' 'ich wäre niht einer bône wêt.' Sometimes, however, the same word occurs both with and without the negative particle, as 'dat halp allent nicht ein stôf,' (i.e. stoup, an atom,) with the negative particle; but 'ez was in allez ein stoup,' without it. It appears probable, as Schlegel had remarked before Grimm, that the system of expletive particles in negative phrases was formed in the Romance languages on the model of the German idiom; as in the Latin there are

* Observ. sur la litt. Prov. p. 34. Schlegel's remark is, however, limited to the French language.
no traces of any idiom to which the usage in question can be referred. The Italian has some, but not many, particles of this kind, viz. mica, niente, persona, punto, derived from Latin words, and guari from a German word. The Provençal has *pas, ren, mica*, from the Latin, *gai*re and *gens* from the German. The Spanish does not appear to have any particles belonging to this class. The French, on the other hand, formerly luxuriated in the use of this idiom: among the instances cited by Grimm, are *gant, ail, feuille, oef, pome, poire, bouton*, etc. Mie, goutte, and *brin*, still retain a certain currency in the same manner: but *pas, point, guère, personne*, and *rien*, are in constant use, and show in the clearest manner the transition from the affirmative to the negative sense.

The Romance and Teutonic words of this kind often correspond in their meaning, as *pas*...
and *fuo* *goutte, oef* and *ei, blat* and *feuille*, though this cannot be considered as a proof that the one is derived from the other. It will be observed that *nihil* has not been retained in any of the Romance languages, three of which have agreed in substituting for it a derivative of *res*, preceded by a negative particle, in the same manner that the German *nichts* or *nicht* was formed from *nivaihts* or *niowiht*, nothing⁶.

The other mode of strengthening a negation, viz. a repetition of the negative particles, likewise occurs in the Teutonic languages¹: whence it was probably derived to those formed from the Latin, as will appear from the following examples.

*Nullo, niuno, and nessuno* in Ital., *neguns* and *nuls* in Prov., are equivalent to *nullus* and *nemo* in Latin, and thus they are often used: nevertheless a negative particle is often added to the proposition, the sense remaining the same, contrary to the rule that two negatives make an affirmative. Thus in Ital., ‘non dice nulla,’ ‘non v’è niuno,’ ‘non è neuna cosa sì bella che ella non rincresca altroi,’ Bocc. ‘Che Annibale non fusse maestro di guerra, nessuno mai non lo dirà,’ Machiavelli, Disc. iii. 10. In Provençal, ‘Negus vezers mon bel pensar no-m val,’ ‘No sight is (not) worth to me my thoughts.’ ‘Nuls

⁶ Grimm, vol. iii. p. 748.
¹ Grimm, vol. iii. p. 727.
hom non pot ben chantar sens amar,' 'No man can (not) sing well without loving.' All of which are affirmative, not negative propositions. Now in Latin the use was in this respect completely reversed: *non-nullus* meant *some*, *nonnullum* meant *somebody*; and whereas 'non c'è nessuno' is in Italian a negative, 'non nulli adfuerunt' is in Latin an affirmative proposition. The confusion has indeed gone a step further, and as affirmative particles, such as *mica, niente, rien, pas, point*, etc. by being continually used in negative sentences acquired a negative sense; so the negative pronouns by being used after a negation which absorbed their own meaning, retained only an affirmative force. Thus Machiavel says in the preface to his History: 'Se *niuna cosa* diletta o insegna nella istoria, è quella che particolarmente si descrive;' that is, if anything.

On the other hand, affirmative terms sometimes contract a negative meaning, and make a proposition negative, which in its form is affirmative. Of this we have seen many examples in the words, *niente, rien, personne*, etc.: but these are not the only instances of such a change. Thus *mai* in Ital., which properly signifies *ever*, from being used in negative sentences, came to signify *never*: thus 'Ti priego che *mai* ad alcuna persona dichi d'avermi veduta,' Bocc. G. 2. n. 7. i. e. 'non mai,' *never*. So in French, 'Avez

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*b* Cinonio, c. 180. 188. Rayn. Gr. Rom. p. 149.

*See other instances in Cinonio, c. 164. s. 2.*
vous jamais été là? Jamais.' 'Have you ever been there? Never.' Veruno in Italian is another word of this kind, which, though properly synonymous with aliquis, sometimes has a negative sense: thus 'I peccati mortali veniali in verun modo si perdonano sanza i mortali,' i.e. 'in no way.' Whether alcuno in Ital. ever had a negative meaning seems doubtful: in French, however, aucun frequently denies; as, 'Ce livre mérite-t-il aucune confiance? Aucune,' i.e. None.

The use of expletive particles in negative propositions, their subsequent assumption of a negative sense, the repetition of negative particles, and the confusion of affirmation and negation which prevail in the Romance languages, have all been introduced since the Latin, in which none of these idioms are to be observed. Nevertheless the comparison just made proves that there is only an analogy, and not an identity in the words which have undergone these changes, and that the conformity is to be accounted for, not by deriving one idiom from the other, but by referring them all partly to the disposition (which appears to be general to all men) to strengthen negation by additional words, and to confound affirmative and negative mean-

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* Cinonio, c. 250. Veruno appears to be derived from vel unus, in the same manner that medesmo came from met ipsissimus, and dimentre from dum interea. Thus, for example, such a sentence as 'ut non vel unus sciret,' might be rendered in Italian by 'che non veruno sapesse.'

* See Cinonio, c. 13. s. 6.
ings: partly to the existence of the idioms in question among the nations who mixed their languages with the Latin.

It is moreover to be remarked that the Spanish language does not (as far as I am aware) use any expletive particles of affirmation in negative propositions, that consequently these particles have never acquired a negative sense, and in general that there are fewer examples of the confusion of negation so common in its sister tongues. Thus the Spanish does not use a negative between the comparative and the verb, like the Provençal, Italian, and French; and the words nada and nadie, though their derivation is not very obvious, appear at any rate to be allied to the negative particle no, and not like niente, rien, and personne, to have a negative force, having originally been affirmative terms.

In reviewing the various prepositions, adverbs, and particles, compared in this chapter, it appears that although the several languages sometimes agree in remarkable deviations from the Latin, as in making pres and presso from prope, sens and senza from sine, and in introducing new words not found in the Latin, as the adverbs malgrat and malgrado, tost and tosto, trop and troppo: yet the Italian, the Spanish, and the French, and especially the two former, exhibit peculiarities which could not have been borrowed from the Provençal, nor could have been de-
rived from any other source than the Latin itself. Thus the Ital. has preserved *apud*, *circum*, *infra*, and *eccum*, which the Provençal has lost: so likewise the Ital. and Prov. in modifying the Latin forms followed the different analogies respectively observed by them in other parts of speech: thus from *subtus*, *versus*, *minus*, *pejus*, *secundum*, *jusum*, *susum*, *medium*, the Ital. made *sotto*, *verso*, *meno*, *peggio*, *secondo*, *gioso*, *suso*, *mezzo*, like *petto* and *mostru* from *pectus* and *monstrum*: whereas the Prov. made *sotx* from *subtus*, *ves* from *versus*, *mens* from *minus*, *pietz* from *pejus*, like *amatz* from *amatus*: and segont from *secundum*, *miei* or *mieg* from *medium*, *jos* and *sos* from *jusum* and *susum*, like *amic* from *amicum*. It will be observed, moreover, that the Italian retained in many words the final Latin vowel unchanged, which the Provençal either modified or cut off: thus *intra* and *sopra* Ital., *intre* and *sobre* Prov.; *sovente*, *onde* Ital., *sovent*, *ont* Prov.; *fuori*, *hieri*, *assai* Ital., *fors*, *hier*, *assatz* Prov. Sometimes also a Latin consonant which had disappeared in the Prov. was preserved in the Ital.: as from *hodie* and *ibi*, *hoggi* and *ivi* Ital., *oi* and *i* Prov. The Prov. likewise has several peculiar words, such as the derivatives of *aliquoties* and *aliorsum*, and the use of *gens* as an expletive in the sense of *something:* the adverbs *pron*, moreover, and *pas* employed as an affirmative (or negative) particle, are common only to the French with the Prov., and are wanting in Ital. and Span.
If, however, the Provençal had been the mother tongue of the Italian and Spanish, it is inconceivable that they should have preserved traces of the Latin, which the other had not: and it is very improbable that there should be any words peculiar to the original language, and not retained in any of the various dialects which, according to the supposition, sprung from it. It would be easy to carry this analysis further, and to point out other peculiarities in the latter languages, which could not have been derived from the Provençal: but enough has been said to illustrate the differences now in question, and to indicate the numerous difficulties to which M. Raynouard's theory is liable. I will only in conclusion remark, that with respect to the indeclinable parts of speech last examined, the Spanish departs widely from its sister languages, and bears strong marks of an independent origin.

§. 4. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON M. RAYNOUARD'S HYPOTHESIS.

M. Raynouard concludes his proofs of the derivation of the Italian, Spanish, and French, from the Provençal, by collecting several peculiar idioms not traceable to the Latin in which these languages agree, as the use of avere instead of essere, of lasciare stare, far la fia, aver
nomine⁵, etc. This kind of proof has been much insisted on by Perticari, who has collected a long series of corresponding idioms and expressions in Italian and the language of the Troubadours⁵,

* Gr. Comp. p. 351–61. The expression nomen habere is, however, Latin, as M. Raynouard himself shews:

   Est via sublimis, caelo manifesta sereno,
   Lactea nomen habet, candore notabilis ipso.

  p Dif. di Dante, c. 13–19. The reader must, however, be on his guard against an artifice practised by Perticari, in order to render the resemblances which he points out more striking, by assimilating the inflexions and terminations, as well as the syntax. In almost all the passages which he quotes he obliterates the more salient peculiarities of the Provençal, and brings the forms nearer to the Italian, without informing his readers that the words are not faithfully transcribed, and then he calls on them to observe how close the Provençal is to the Italian. Thus in his very first example, c. 13. taken from the poem on Boethius, he says: "questi sono versi citati dal dottissimo Renuardo:

   D'avant son vis null' om non se pot celar,
   Nè ess li omen chi sun ultra la mar."

Which by adding the final vowels becomes, as he says, Italian:

   D' avanti 'l suo viso null' omo non si pote celare,
   Nè essi li omni che son oltra 'l mare.
   Vol. i. p. 318:

Now in M. Raynouard's Gr. Rom. p. 330. these verses are cited thus:

   Davan son vis nulz om no s pot celar,
   Ne eps li omne qui sun ultra la mar.

There is no wonder that these verses should pass so easily into Italian, when they had been prepared for their reduction by taking away all that characterizes the language in which they were written: and even after Perticari had restored the Provençal contractions to their fuller form by writing d'avant for davan, and non se for no-s, after he had introduced the Italian variations ess for eps, omen for omne, chi for qui,
CONCLUDING REMARKS.

which is interesting as throwing light on both those languages, and as showing the close affinity which subsisted between them, but which cannot be considered as proving the derivation of one from the other, more than a table of parallel idioms in German, Dutch, and English, would prove the mutual dependence of those three sister languages. The close analogy between many of the idioms, no less than between the words and forms of the Romance languages, for the most part arises not from their propagation from one language into another, but from the similarity of effects produced by similar causes. Not only were the circumstances attending the mixture of the conquering and conquered populations similar over all western Europe, (as has been before explained,) but all the kingdoms created by the invaders had nearly the same form of government, the same system of laws, the same religion, the same manners; they existed in the same age; and a frequent communication both in peace and

and after he had suppressed the final s retained from the Latin, the distinctive mark of the Provençal nominatives, by writing null (meaning null) for nulls, he was unable to get rid of son instead of suo and la mar instead of il mare, with the gender changed, as in Spanish and French. (See above, p. 127-8.) Numerous other instances of changes of this kind in passages cited by Perticari (which I fear could not have been unintentional) are collected by Galvani, in his collection of Troubadour poetry, p. 504-20. M. Raynouard, whose good faith and accuracy in citation cannot be exceeded, probably did not perceive that Perticari had garbled the passages which he quoted, when he referred to that writer as an authority, without cautioning the reader against his misrepresentations.
war, was reciprocally kept up between them, especially among the class of writers, whether chroniclers, theologians, or poets. In this state of things similar phrases would not unnaturally be suggested by similar wants and by similar ideas: and some expressions likewise would doubtless pass from one language to the other, (as we see at the present day,) though their number would probably be inconsiderable as compared with those of native growth, and would chiefly be confined to poets and other writers in an exotic style. Any resemblance, therefore, whether of words, forms, or idioms, in the Romance languages is quite compatible with the supposition that they were derived immediately from the Latin: whereas any marked dissimilarity between the Provençal and any other modern language is incompatible with the supposition that the latter is derived from the former. Thus it may be remarkable that the futures of all the modern verbs should be formed by adding the future tense of habeo to the infinitive mood of the verb: nevertheless it is conceivable that this mode of formation should have been adopted independently by different languages: but it is inconceivable that the Ital. hebbi or hebbero, the Span. hube and hubieron should have been formed from agui or aic,

4 See above, p. 164. on the introduction of Italian words into French. Some likewise appear to have been borrowed from the Spanish, as salade, limonade, esplanade, estrade, etc. Salade if formed according to the French analogy would be salée.
CONCLUDING REMARKS.

agueron or agueren, the first person singular and the third person plural of the perfect of aver, whereas they might all three be independent corruptions of the Latin habui and habuerunt. A comparison of the Romance languages with the Latin will probably convince any person who examines the relations with an unbiased mind, that the Italian is in every respect nearer to the Latin than any of its cognate tongues; that it has retained the most Latin words, and subjected them to the fewest and least considerable alterations of form¹. Next to the Italian,

¹ Passages which are at once Italian and Latin serve to show the close affinity of the two languages. The following couplet is well known:

In mare irato, in subita procella
Invoco te, nostra benigna stella.

Matthews, Diary of an Invalid, c. 10. adds these verses:

Vivo in acerba pena, in mesto orrore,
Quando te non imploro, in te non spero
Purissima Maria, et in sincero
Te non adoro et in divino ardore.

The following address to Venice is a still longer composition:

Te saluto, alma Dea, Dea generosa,
O gloria nostra, o Veneta regina!
In procellosi turbine funesto
Tu regnasti liquida; mille membra
Intrepida prostrasti in pugna acerba.
Per te miser non fui, per te non gemo;
Vivo in pace per te. Regna, o beata,
Regna in prospera sorte, in alta pompa,
In augusto splendore, in aurea sede.
Tu serena, tu placida, tu pia,
Tu benigna; tu salva, ama, conserva.


Although these passages were doubtless composed in order to show
though after a long interval, comes the Spanish, which has not so much changed the Latin form, as it has lost numerous Latin words preserved in Italian. After the Spanish is the language of *oc*, which has clipped the Latin standard much more closely than the two former languages, especially the Italian, and has not only rejected many vowel terminations which the others have preserved, but has introduced various contractions in the body of words which the others have not admitted. Last of all comes the language of *oil*¹, which had at a very early period undergone the coincidence of the two languages, I question whether it would be possible to do as much in any other modern language derived from the Latin.

The Latin language probably remained longer in current use in Italy, especially in the central and southern parts, than in any other part of western Europe. Of this we have a proof in the two Latin songs composed in 871 and 924 A. D. referred to by M. Raynoard, (Gram. Comp. p. L.) which must have been understood by a large number of persons. (See above, p. 65.) Dante likewise introduces Cacciaguida in the Paradise as addressing his descendant in Latin (xv. 28–30.) and afterwards he says that Cacciaguida spoke to him 'con voce più dolce e soave, Ma non con questa moderna favella,' xvi. 32. which Daniello explains to mean "that Cacciaguida spoke not in Italian but in Latin, as was the custom of persons of some education in his time." It was this practice which made it so difficult to eradicate the use of Latin from the modern literature of Italy, and which even to a great degree banished the Italian from books after the age of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio: it would, however, be absurd to suppose that in Cacciaguida's time the *lingua volgare* was not as much the language of the *volgo* of Florence as it is at the present day. The practice of preaching in Latin to mixed audiences prevailed in Italy so late as the sixteenth century: M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy, p. 51. Compare Wachsmuth in the Atheneum, vol. i. p. 287. note.

*¹ *Parmi les langues modernes, la langue française est celle qui a
the considerable modifications which may be seen in the modern French, and which caused it to be opposed as a distinct Romance dialect to the language of \textit{oc}. Nevertheless in tracing the French language to its present form, it appears evidently to have passed through a stage little different from the language of \textit{oc}, as preserved in the poems of the Troubadours: thus these two languages agreed in marking, in nouns and participles not ending in \textit{a}, the nom. sing. and the acc. plural by the presence of \textit{s}, the acc. sing. and nom. plural by the absence of \textit{s}; and in


\footnote{M. Raynouard, at the end of his Gram. Comp. p. 389–94. considers what would have been the effect on the literature of France, if the French court had been established in a town south of the Loire, and the \textit{langue d’oc} had become the language of government; and he appears to regret that the fates of the two languages of \textit{oc} and \textit{oil} had not been reversed, and the former had become the subordinate instead of the superior dialect. If one is to judge from the modern Provençal what would have been the present form of the French language under the circumstances supposed, it is difficult to assent to M. Raynouard’s opinion. The language would doubtless have taken a more perfect form than it now bears in the southern \textit{patois}, if it had been cultivated by the chief writers of France: but it would unquestionably have lost many of the advantages which M. Raynouard ascribes to it, and which induce him to give it the preference over the language of \textit{oil}. Thus he says that it would have had the power of distinguishing the subject and regimen in both numbers, by the absence of presence of a final \textit{s}; and he instances a verse of Thomas Corneille:

\begin{quote}
Le crime fait la honte et non l’échafaud.
\end{quote}

which by means of this distinction would have lost its ambiguity, being written,

\begin{quote}
Le crimes fait la honte et non pas l’échafauds.
\end{quote}

I will say nothing of M. Raynouard’s inconsistency in extolling the
forming the plural of feminine nouns in *a* from the Latin accusative: in both which points the Ital. and Span. differ, as well from these two languages as from each other. Hence when M. Raynouard selects passages from Ital., Span., and French writers, which are at once Ital. and Prov., Span. and Prov., French and Prov., he is forced in the former to confine himself to sentences, such as ‘la vista angelica serena per subita partenza,’ in Petrarch, where are only singular feminine nouns in *a*; for passages containing masculine nouns either singular or plural, (unless the terminations are cut off,) and feminine nouns in the plural, would have immediately betrayed the characteristic differences of the two languages. In Spanish he is less confined, for he can there cite not only the singular but also the plural of nouns in *a*, (as ‘mas son que arenas in riba de la mar’ from Berceo,) since the Spanish, like the Provençal and unlike the Italian, forms its feminine plural from the Latin superiority of the modern Romance languages over the Latin as being free “from the slavery of declensions,” (above, p. 63.) and yet preferring the ancient Provençal to the modern French on the very ground of its possessing declensions: but I would remark that M. Raynouard appears to forget that the distinction of cases which he points out existed equally in ancient French, in which it has been lost, as it has likewise been lost in all the dialects of the language of *oc*. This advantage, therefore, which he finds in the *langue d’oc* would doubtless have disappeared if that language had become predominant in France, and it also existed in the *langue d’oil*. The final *s*, moreover, in the verse of Corneille would be a distinction only to the eye, and not to the ear, like the *s* of the French plural: anciantly the last letter of *Thiebaut*, *chacun*, etc. was doubtless pronounced as well as written, like the modern *fils*. 
CONCLUDING REMARKS.

accusative. In old French, on the other hand, he has a wider field; for there is a strong resemblance between the languages of northern and southern France, and it is easier to find passages where even in their later form they agree, than to establish any characteristic distinction between them in their earlier form.

However singular the close concordance of the languages of oe and oil may appear, as well of the Romance languages in general, without the hypothesis of their mutual dependence, or their common derivation from a language already corrupted from the Latin; yet the English and Scotch offer an analogy of languages between which there is the closest resemblance, but which were nevertheless formed independently of each other. Both in England and the Lowlands of Scotland the Norman invaders found an Anglo-Saxon population, and in both countries a new language was formed by mixing the language of the conquered with that of the conquerors. The further we go back the closer we find the relation between the Scotch and English, both in structure and in words, though each language has peculiarities of its own, which having been more strongly marked in the course of years, at last have created so considerable a difference between the two dialects, that a large part of a Scotch composition is unintelligible to a person acquainted only with modern English.

* Gr. Comp. p. 376-84.
In reviewing the whole series of proofs collected by M. Raynouard, of the derivation of the Italian, Spanish, and French, from the ancient language of Provence as preserved in the poetry of the Troubadours, it appears to me that he has failed to establish his theory, and that he has shown nothing more than the close affinity which exists between these languages, as being derived from the Latin, their only common origin. Although, however, we may withhold our assent to the inference which he would draw from his premises, it is impossible to be blind to the light which he has thrown on the relations of the languages of which he treats, or to deny the service which he has rendered to the elucidation of the history of the modern dialects of the Latin: nor in the above essay do I aspire to any higher merit than of having reconstructed the materials furnished by M. Raynouard himself, into a more consistent theory than that which he formed from them.
APPENDIX.

Note (A.)

Perticari, in his account of the formation of the Italian language, and of the relation which its several dialects bear to one another, perpetually confounds grammatical forms and style. The question is not, whether in early times, writers in other parts of Italy besides Tuscany wrote in an elevated and noble style, avoiding low and plebeian terms, or whether they composed good poetry: but whether the forms of the Italian language, such as it is now, its terminations, contractions, and inflexions, existed in any other dialect except the Tuscan. There can be no doubt that in all the north of Italy the same character of language, which prevails now, has prevailed universally from a very early period, even if it has not existed since the Latin settled into its new form*. The dialects of Milan, Piedmont, Bologna, and other towns of northern Italy, are not confined to the lower and middle classes: they are to this day used by the upper classes in their familiar intercourse when no stranger from southern Italy is present. That

these were not in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the languages of Milan, Piedmont, etc. is by no means proved by alleging a few verses written in the Tuscan Italian by the natives of those countries. It is remarkable to what an extent the power of composition in a foreign language may be acquired. We have abundant proofs of this fact in our public schools, where youths of sixteen or seventeen frequently compose even Latin poetry with a facility, elegance, and correctness, probably far beyond many native Romans who had not cultivated the art of versification. Many foreigners have written in modern languages with complete success, as Manzoni and Schlegel in French, Baretti in English, etc. A century and a half ago, when Latin was the language of Science, most mathematical and physical philosophers probably wrote in Latin with as much facility as in their own languages, although their thoughts were not turned to philological studies. To Newton it would doubtless have been a matter of perfect indifference, as far as the facility of composition was concerned, whether he wrote the Principia in Latin or in English. These instances are sufficient to show that there is not so much difficulty as would at first sight appear, in thinking in one language and composing in another. But when the transfusion of thought takes place, not from languages of a different family, as from German into Latin or French, but from one to another dialect of the same language, as from
Milanese or Piedmontese to Tuscan, the process is far easier and simpler. The most that can be conceded to Perticari is that the Italian language, as written by its classical authors, has borrowed its forms in great measure from the Roman, Neapolitan, and Sicilian, as well as the Tuscan dialect; that it is in fact a refinement of the dialects of central and southern Italy and of Sicily. But even this concession is liable to great objections, as any person may see who will compare the forms of the Sicilian and Roman dialects with the language of Tasso, for example, or Ariosto, who were not Tuscans. To argue, as Perticari does, that the written Italian was not borrowed from the Tuscan, because the Tuscan has many peculiar terms which are not intelligible out of Tuscany, betrays a complete misapprehension of the true question at issue: the Tuscan no doubt has peculiar words and phrases, but has it any peculiar forms, and have other dialects any forms which occur in the common Italian and do not occur in the Tuscan?

Note (B.)

Meidinger, in the Introduction to his Dictionary of the Teuto-Gothic languages, (Frankfort, 1833.) has the following remarks on the Romance languages.
The Italian language has for its base the *romana rustica* or *vulgaris* (plebeia) of the ancient Romans, which at a later period, after the dominion of the Franks, received the name of *lingua franca*. It is the mother of all the Romance languages. Among the Romans it formed the popular language properly so called, and the written Latin, as it is at present used, was confined to the upper classes, (*lingua nobilis* or *urbana* or *classica.*)" Introd. p. xl ix. In a note he adds: "Originally the *romana rustica* was a mixture of the Pelasgo-Gothic, the Gallo-Celtic, and the Romano-Latin, as may be inferred from the different races which inhabited Italy." Speaking of the French, he says, that "the Gaelic or Celtic, mixed with the *Romana rustica*, formed the Romance language." He afterwards adds: "In the thirteenth century there were two principal dialects of the Romance language. These were the Romance language properly so called, or Provençal-Romance, or *langue d'oc*, spoken in the countries to the south of the Loire and in Catalonia, and 2. the *langue d'oïl.*" p. 1. Of the language of Spain, he says, that "the modern Spanish, like the French, has for its basis the *Romana rustica*, which has also undergone numerous changes, and is mixed with Arabic and Gothic words." p. lii.

In this passage there is scarcely a single proposition to which I am able to assent. In the first place, there appears to be no evidence whatever for the opinion that the *Romana rustica*
or *vulgaris* was a language distinct in its forms or roots from the Latin, and spoken by the lower classes or the peasants of Italy: still less is there any proof that this language was the base of the Italian. The statement that the *lingua Romana rustica* after the dominion of the Franks, received the name of *lingua franca* is equally unfounded: for the *lingua franca* was the corrupt and truncated language spoken by the various inhabitants of the Romance nations who met in the Levant and in the ports of Greece and northern Africa, and was called *lingua franca*, as being spoken by the *Franks*, the general name given by the Mussulmans to Europeans. So far from being identical with the language which formed the base of the Italian, it is itself a mutilated and imperfect form of the Italian, mixed with the Spanish, Provençal, and perhaps other languages. (See above, p. 23. note 9.) Having assumed the existence of this inferior dialect of the Latin, the *rustic* or *vulgar*, as opposed to the *classical* language, or that of the city; he proceeds to account for its origin by the races which inhabited Italy, viz. the Pelasgo-Gothic, the Gallo-Celtic, and the Romano-Latin. What the Pelasgo-Gothic race may be, or how it differs from the Romano-Latin; or how the language of the Romans, so far as it agrees with the Hellenic, differed from that of the Pelasgian part of the ‘Pelasgo-Gothic’ tribe; I confess myself wholly unable to comprehend. Nor is it very obvious why the Gallo-Celtic race should have
produced so powerful an influence on the *lingua rustica* of Italy, and have produced no influence on its *lingua urbana*: or how, if the *lingua Romana rustica* was full of Celtic words, the languages supposed to be derived from it (as the Ital. and Span.) should be nearly destitute of them. It may be here observed, that if in ancient Italy, the inhabitants of Rome and of the other large towns, had spoken a language different from that of the inhabitants of the country, the latter would not have been called the 'lingua Romana rustica:' as at that time the appellation of Romans was not extended to the inhabitants of the entire peninsula. It was only at a much later period when the name of *Romani* was given to all the provincials, to all the subjects of the Roman empire, that the name of *rustic Roman* language could by possibility have arisen. (See above, p. 31.)

With regard to the origin of the Romance languages of France, Mr. Meidinger says that they were formed by the mixture of the *Romana rustica* and the Celtic: which is much the same as if any one were to say that the English was formed by the mixture of the Anglo-Saxon and the Celtic: for in both cases the true origin of each language would be omitted, and a false origin would be asserted. The Latin language of France was transformed into the Romance by the operation of the Teutonic, as the Anglo-Saxon language of Britain was transformed into English by the operation of the Norman French:
nor had the Celtic, the native language both of Gaul and Britain, exercised any influence on either language before the invasion of Gaul and and Britain by the Teutons and the Normans. There is not (as far as I am aware) any instance of a Celtic having been amalgamated with either a Teutonic, a Latin, or a Romance language: a remarkable circumstance, when the diffusion of the Celts over the whole of western Europe is considered.

As to Mr. Meidinger's account of the Spanish, it is not easy to understand why he should have mentioned the influence of the Gothic invaders on the Romana rustica of Spain, while he makes no mention of any influence exercised by the Teutonic invaders of France on the Romana rustica of that country. Moreover the influence of the Arabic on the Romance of Spain was by no means equal to that of the Gothic, and ought not to be placed on the same level with it.

I have selected the above passage in Mr. Meidinger's introduction to his Teuto-Gothic Dictionary, as it occurs in a book of reference, compiled with great industry, and considerable ability, which may be supposed to express the opinions on the origin of the Romance languages generally current even among persons who have a more than superficial acquaintance with the subject: and I have examined it in order to justify myself for contributing my mite to the destruction of accredited and received errors, although they might seem to have been already
overthrown by former writers, such as Schlegel and Diez, and in part by M. Raynouard himself.

Note (C.)

"Ausonian in Priscus Excerpt. Legat. p. 59. B. seems to mean volgare as opposed to the Latin," says Niebuhr, Hist. of Rome, vol. i. note 46. The passage of Priscus is as follows: Διατρίβοντι δὲ μοι καὶ περιπάτους ποιούμενος πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου τῶν οἰκημάτων, προσελθὼν τις, δὲ βαρβάρον ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς φώνην εἶναι στολής, Ἕλληνικῇ ἀσπάζεται μὲ φωνῇ "χαῖρε" προσεπών, ὡστε μὲ θαυμάζειν, διὶ γε δὴ ἔλληνίζει Σκύθης ἀνήρ. ξύγκλυσε γὰρ οὗτος πρὸς τῇ σφέτερα βαρβάρῳ γλῶσσῃ ξηλούσιν ἡ τὴν Οὐνιὼν ἡ τὴν Γότθων, ἡ καὶ τὴν Δύ- σονων, ὑσοίς αὐτῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιμελεία καὶ οὐ ράδιος τις σφῶν ἔλληνίζει τῇ φωνῇ, πλὴν δὲν ἀ- πήγαγον αἰχμαλώτων ἀπὸ τῆς Θρακίας καὶ Ἰλυρίδος παραλοιχ. p. 190. ed. Bonn. It does not appear to me that this passage affords any reason for supposing that there was in the time of Priscus, any language spoken by the Romans different from the classical Latin. Priscus had accompanied Maximus on an embassy to Attila, (448 A. D.) and being in the interior of Scythia he was surprised by hearing a person address him in Greek: "for, says he, besides their own language the Scythians in general speak either that of the Huns, or of the Goths, or sometimes that
of the Ausoniāns, in cases where they have had intercourse with the Romans; but it rarely happens that any of them speak Greek, except those who have been brought captive from Thrace and the Illyrian coast." It appears to me quite evident that Priscus here used Ausoniāns for Romans, in order to avoid the repetition of the word Pọμαιος, and that the two terms are precisely synonymous: his meaning being that the Scythians, from their intercourse with the Romans, occasionally learnt to use the Latin language. Even if there had been a difference of dialects in the spoken language of Italy, it is very unlikely that Priscus, who was a Greek by education and habits, should have noticed such a distinction.

Note (D.)

On the non-Latin part of the Romance languages.

It has been stated in the text that the object of the above essay is to elucidate the form and structure of the Romance languages, without reference to the origin of the words themselves, and therefore no mention was made of those foreign terms which were introduced into these languages at, or soon after, the Teutonic conquest of western Europe. This is properly a question of etymological research: nor could it be satisfactorily determined without making a
dictionary of all the Romance languages with their several dialects, in which the corresponding words should be arranged together, and their etymology explained.

It has, however, occurred to me that a few facts illustrative of the foreign or non-Latin part of the Romance languages might be conveniently given in this place; and with that view I shall first subjoin some of the chief derivatives of German words in the Italian, Spanish, and French languages, merely as instances of the manner in which foreign terms were adopted in those tongues, and not as making any claims to completeness. Most of them are selected from Menage's Origini Italiane, and the Glossary attached to Muratori's thirty-third Dissertation on the Italian Antiquities of the Middle Ages: from the list of French and Italian words derived from the ancient northern languages in Hicke's Thesaurus Ling. Vet. Septent. vol. i. p. 91—100. and from the index of French words at the end of Wachter's Glossarium Germanicum. Other remarks on the same subject will also be found in the treatise of G. J. Vossius de vitiis Sermonis et glossematis Latino-barbaris, printed in his works, vol. ii. Amsterdam, 1695, folio.

Words in Italian, Spanish, and French derived from the Teutonic:

*Agraffe* Fr. from *krappen*, to hook, to grapple.

*Airain* Fr. probably from the adjectival form *erin* (now *ehern*) from *er*; and not from *æs*. 
Alabarda It. halabarda Sp. hallebarde Fr. from hallebard.

Albergo It. albergue Sp. auberge Fr. from herberge.

Alessa Sp. alesne or aléne Fr. lesina It. from alansa. (Grimm, D. Gr. vol. ii. p. 346.) Lesina in Italian is for alesina, like pecchia for apecchia, above p. 154.

Aldea Sp. is probably Gothic, according to Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, p. 309.

Allouer Fr. from lauben.

Alto It. and Sp. halte Fr. from halten.

Ambasciatore It. embaxador Sp. ambassadeur Fr. from ambacht, ministerium or minister.

Amuser Fr. from musse.

Anca It. and Sp. hanche Fr. from anke.

Andare It. andar Sp. andar and anar Prov. (Raynouard, Gr. Comp. p. 300.) aner and aller Fr., from anden or wanden, the same as the English to wend, of which the preterite is still in use. (Wachter in anden and wallen, p. 1814.) The initial w has been preserved in the Italian galleria and the French gallerie.

Angoscia It. angoisse Fr. from angst.

Araldo It. heraldo Sp. héraud Fr. from herald.

Aringa It. arenga Sp. høreng Fr. from häring.

Aringo It. arenga Sp. harangue Fr. from ringen.

Arnese It. arneses Sp. harnois Fr. from harnisch: see Grimm quoted above, p. 158.
Aspo It. from asp-el.

Astio It. hastio Sp. hair Fr. from hass, hassan. See Muratori in astio: Orell, Altfranzösische Grammatik, p. 154.

Attaccare It. attacher Fr. from tekan Goth.

Attizzare, adizzare, aizzare It. atizar Sp. atiser Fr. from hetzen.

Avviso, avvisare It. aviso Sp. avis, aviser Fr. from weisen.

Azza It. hax Sp. hâche Fr. from axt.

Bacino It. and Sp. bac, bachot, bassin (i. e. bacin) Fr. from backen. See Adelung in v.

Baldo It. baud Fr. from bald. See Menage, Dict. Fr. in baud.

Balìa It. baille Fr. from balg. See Adelung in v.

Balla It. bala Sp. balle Fr. are probably from the German ball, though nearly the same word is in Latin, (bulla, see Philological Museum, vol. i. p. 411.)

Ballare It. baylar Sp., to dance, are probably from ballen, in the sense of turning, like walzen.

Baluardo It. baluarte Sp. boulevard Fr. from bollwerk.

Bambino It. The Greek had μικρός; but bambo (whence bamb-ino, above p. 148.) was probably derived from a Teutonic form bab, (bube High German, babe English,) and the m was inserted before b, as in amb Prov. from ab, and other words mentioned above, p. 221.

Banco It. and Sp. banc Fr. from bank.
Banda It. and Sp. bande Fr. from band. Also benda and bendare It. from binde and binden.
Bandire It. bannir Fr. from bannen.
Bando It. and Sp. ban Fr. from bann.
Bara It. bière Fr. from bären.
Barone It. baron Sp. and Fr. from baro or varo.
Barca It. barco Sp. barque Fr. from barke.
Basso It. baxo Sp. bas Fr. whence bastardo It. and Sp. bátard Fr. (above p. 160.) from bas, below. See Wachter, p. 126.
Batello It. (batto in Giov. Villani) bateau Fr. from bat or bot. Above, p. 156.
Beau-frère, beaufère, etc. Fr. The first word is probably a mistranslation. See Wachter in Schönbruder.
Berger Fr. from børgen. See Muratori in parco.
Biada It. bled Fr. from blatt.
Bianco It. blanco Sp. blanc Fr. from blank.
Bicchiere It. picher Fr. from becher : compare flasch.
Biera It. bière Fr. from bier.
Biglietto It. billete Sp. billet Fr. from bille. See above p. 160.
Biondo It. blondo Sp. blond Fr. from blonde.
Bloquer Fr. from lukan Goth. belocan A. Sax. to shut. Wachter in lucken.
Bordello It. burdel Sp. bordel Fr. from bord. See above, p. 155.
Borgo It. burgo Sp. bourg Fr. from burg.
Borso It. bolsa Sp. bourse Fr. from borse.
**Bosco** It. **bosque** Sp. **bois** Fr. from **busch**.
**Botte** It. from **botte, butt**.
**Bouc** Fr. from **bock**.
**Bout** Fr. from **but : abutan, or butan, Ang. Sax.**
**Brando** It. **brand** Fr. from **brand**.
**Bravo** It. and Sp. **brave** Fr. from **brav**.
**Breccia** It. **brecha** Sp. **brèche** Fr. from **brechen**.
**Brida** It. **bride** Fr. from **brid, whence brit-til**
old H. German, **brid-le** English. The Ital.
changed **d** into **l** (see above, p. 84. note 1) and
made **briglia**.
**Bruno** It. and Sp. **brun** Fr. from **braun**.
**Busto** It. and Sp. **buste** Fr. from **brust, according**
**to Hickes.**
**Butiro, butero** It. **beurre** Fr. from **butter**. The
Sp. has not this word.
**Buttare** It. **botar** Sp. **bouter, pousser** Fr. from
**bossen, to push**. Wachter in **bossen**.
**Canif** Fr. from **kneif, knife** Eng.
**Canto** It. and Sp. from **kant**. Perhaps **coin**
Fr. may have the same origin.
**Cacciare** It. **cazar** Sp. **chasser** Fr. from **hetzen,**
**to hunt,** (i.e. **chetzen,** according to the Frankish
pronunciation.) Wachter.
**Cappa** It. **capa** Sp. **chape** Fr. with their nu-
merous derivatives, from **kappe**.
**Carro** It. and Sp. **char** Fr. from **karr.** See
**Chiasso** It. from **gasse.**
**Choisir** Fr. from **chiusan or kiusan,** old H.
German, (now **kiesen.**) See Schlegel, Observ.
p. 110.
APPENDIX.

Cloche Fr. from glocke.
Compagno It. compañero Sp. (above, p. 138.) and compagnon Fr. (above, p. 149.) from compan. See Wachter in v.
Coc Fr. from coc. See Wachter in küchlein.
Cuscino, coscino It. coussin Fr. from küssen. Coucher in French has probably the same origin.
Daga It. and Sp. from degen.
Danzare It. danzar Sp. danser Fr. from tanzen.
Dardo It. and Sp. dard Fr. from dard.
Dogue Fr. from docke Germ. dog Eng.
Douve Fr. from daube, whence adouwer or adouber and radouber, (Wachter,) addobbare Ital.
Drudo It. drut Fr. dru Fr. from draut or drut; see v. Hagen, Glossary to the Nibel. Lied in trut, Wachter in draut.
Elmo It. helmo Sp. héaume Fr. from helm.
Elsa It. from halten.
Fallare It. fallar Sp. faillir Fr. from fehlen.
Fello, fellone It. follon Sp. félon Fr. also come from the same root.
Falda It. and Sp. from falte, fold Eng.
Feltro It. fieltró Sp. feutré Fr. from fílz, felt.
Fiano It. fianco Sp. flanc Fr. from flanck.
Fiasco It. frasco Sp. flasque, flacon Fr. from flask.
Fino It. and Sp. fin Fr. from fein.
Fodero It. forro Sp. fourrier Fr. from führen.
Folla It. foule Fr. from fülle.
Folle It. fol Fr. from faul, fool Eng.
Forest It. floresta Sp. forêt (forest) Fr. from forst.
Franco It. and Sp. franc Fr. from frank.
Fresco It. and Sp. frais Fr. from frisch. Above, p. 147.
Freccia It. flecha Sp. fléche Fr. from flitsch or flitz.
Frisson and affreux Fr. from freis-lich.
Gamuza Sp. camozza It. chamois Fr. from gemse.
Garzone It. garçon Fr. See above, p. 194. note e.
Gaspiller i. e. ge-spillen, to spill. See Wachter in verspillen. Spillan Ang. Sax.
Gerbe Fr. from garbe.
Ghirlanda It. guirnalda Sp. guirlande Fr. probably from gairdan Goth. (gürten H. Germ. gird Eng.) On the change of d into a liquid see above, p. 84. note f. So odvord, and Ulysses.
Giallo It. jaulne Fr. from gelb.
Giardino It. jardin Sp. and Fr. from garten. See above, p. 148.
Girfalco It. girifalte Sp. gerfaut Fr. from geier.
Glaive Fr. from glef, hasta. Wachter.
Gramo It. from gram.
Gridare It. gritar Sp. crier Fr. from gridan Goth.
Grifo It. griffe Fr. from greisen.
Grosso It. grueso Sp. gros Fr. from gross.
Guadagnare It. ganar Sp. gagner Fr. from winnen.


APPENDIX.

Guajo It. from weh.
Guancia It. from wange.
Guanto It. guante Sp. gant Fr. from wante.
Guardare It. guardar Sp. garder Fr. from wahren.
Guarentire It. garantir Fr. from weren. See Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, p. 603. Guarire It. and guérir Fr. appear to have the same origin.
Guarnire, guarnigione It. guarnacer, guarnicion Sp. garnir, garnison Fr. from warnen, munire: "postea sensus ab apparatu militari ad quicumque apparatum translatus est." Wachter.
Guatare It. guet, gueter Fr. from wachen, wacht.
Guiderdone It. guerdon Fr. from widerthun.
Guisa It. and Sp. from weise.
From the foregoing examples it will be perceived that the Romance form of the Teutonic w is gu, and sometimes g in French.
Harpe Fr. arpa It. and Sp. from harpfe, harp.
Havre Fr. from hafen, formed (as Hickes remarks) like Londres from London. See above, p. 89, note 1.
Landa It. landes Fr. from land.
Lanzichenecco It. lansquenet Fr. from lanzknecht.
Lasciare It. dexar Sp. (above, p. 84. note 1) laisser Fr. from lassen.
Leccare It. lecher Fr. from lecken.
Lindo It. and Sp. from lind.
Lotto It. lot Fr. from loos: hlauts Goth.
Marca It. and Sp. marche Fr. from marke.
Masto It. mastil Sp. mát Fr. from mast.
Matar Sp. ammazzare It. massacrer Fr. from metzen, whence mâçon Fr. Wachter.
Matto It. from matt, mad Eng.
Meutre Fr. from maurthr Goth. See Schlegel, Observ. p. 99.
Mignon, mignard Fr. either from minne love, or min small.
Milsa It. melsa Sp. from miltz.
Mischiare It. mezclar Sp. mesler (mèler) Fr. from mischen.
Mouton Fr. Wachter derives this word from mutzen, trunciare: but montone It. creates a difficulty, which signifies a ram. See Muratori in v.
Mutiner Fr. ammunitarsi It. from motjan Goth. to meet. See Muratori in ammutinarsi.
Nord, sud, est, ouest Fr. from the German. The German names for the points of the compass appear to have been introduced into the Spanish from the French, which has also been the case more recently with the Italian.
Palco It. and Sp. from balck.
Pancia It. panza Sp. panse Fr. from pantz, paunch Eng.

Panziera It. from panser.

Partigiana It. partesana Sp. pertuisane Fr. has probably a Teutonic origin. See Muratori in partigiana.

Perla It. and Sp. perle Fr. from perl.

Pezzo, pezza It. pieza Sp. pièce Fr. from fetz (i.e. pfetz.) See Wachter in v.

Piazza It. plaza Sp. place Fr. from platz.

Piccare It. picar Sp. piquer Fr. from picken.

Piffero It. pifaro Sp. fifre Fr. from pfeiffer.

Poltrone It. poltron Sp. and Fr. poltrire It. from polster. See Muratori in poltrone and Wachter in polster.

Prigione It. prision Sp. prison Fr. from prisund Goth.

Randa It. from rand.

Raspare It. raspar Sp. râper Fr. from raspen.

Ratto It. raton Sp. rat, raton Fr. from ratte.

Recare It. from reichen.

Ricco It. rico Sp. riche Fr. from reich.

Riga It. raya Sp. from reihe.

Rima It. and Sp. from reim.

Rocca It. rueca Sp. roque Fr. colus, from rocke.

Ronx-ino It. rocin Sp. rouss-in Fr. from ross.

See above, p. 148.

Rostir Fr. arrostire It. (Muratori in v.) from rost.

Rubare It. rubar Sp. rober, dérober Fr. from rauben.

Sabre Fr. from súbel.
Sacco It. saco Sp. sac Fr. from sack.
Sala It. and Sp. salle Fr. from sal.
Scalco It. from schalck; whence mariscalco
and siniscalco.
Schermo, schermire It. esgrimir Sp. escrimer
Fr. from schirm, schirmen.
Scherzo It. from scherz.
Schiatta It. from schlacht (now ge-schlecht.)
Schiera It. from schaar.
Schiotto It. from schlecht.
Schifo It. esquife Sp. esquif Fr. from schiff. See
above, p. 120.
Schinca It. from schenk-el, shin Eng.
Schivare It. esquivar Sp. esquivier Fr. from
 scheuen.
Schiuma It. écume Fr. from schaum.
Schizzo It. esquisse Fr. a drawing hastily
thrown down, from schiessen. See Tooke, Div. of
Scotto It. escote Sp. écot Fr. from schooss.
Sennu It. from sinn. Bi-sogno It. and soin
and be-soin Fr. are derived from the ancient
Teutonic word which is written sonnis and sunnis
in the Salic Law. See Muratori in bisogno.
Smacco It. from schmack.
Smaltire It. from schmelzen.
Snello It. from schnell.
Spanna It. from spann.
Sparviere It. épervier Fr. from sperber.
Sperone It. espuela Sp. éperon Fr. from sporn.
Spiaire It. espiar Sp. épier Fr. from spähen.
Spruzzare It. from sprützen.
APPENDIX.

*Stanco* It. from *stank*.

*Stampare* It. *estampar* Sp. *étampe* Fr. from *stampfen*.

*Stanza* It. *estancia* Sp. from *stanze*.

*Steccare* It. *estacar* Sp. from *stechen*.

*Stelo* It. from *stiel*.

*Stivale* It. from *stiefel*.

*Stocco* It. *estoque* Sp. from *stook*.

*Stormo* It. from *sturm*.

*Strale* It. from *strahl*.

*Stucco* It. *estuque* Sp. from *stück*, "because it is made of pieces of marble," Menage in v.

*Stufa* It. *estufa* Sp. from *stube*.

*Tasca* It. from *tasche*.

*Toccare* It. *tocar* Sp. *toucher* Fr. from *teken* Goth. to *take*.

*Tomare* It. *tomber* Fr. from *dümen*, *daumen* Germ. tumb-le Engl.

*Tonel* Sp. *tonneau* Fr. from *tonne*.

*Tornare* It. *tornar* Sp. *touner* Fr. The form from which these words are derived is not preserved in High German; nor does it appear to occur in the ancient monuments of that language; the Anglo-Saxon has *turnan*; see Wachter in *drehen*.

*Tourbe* Fr. from *torf*, *turf* Engl.

*Tregua* It. and Sp. *trève* Fr. (to which may be added *intrigue* Fr.) are derived by Wachter from *traga*, mora.

*Trincare* It. *triquer* Fr. from *trinken*.

*Tromba* It. *trompa* Sp. from *tromp-ete*.

*Tuer* Fr. from *töten*, Wachter.
**APPENDIX.**

*Tuffare* It. *etouffer* Fr. from *taufen.*

*Uosa* It. *house* and *houseaux* Fr. from *hosen.*

Menage in v.

*Urtare* It. *heurter* Fr. from *horten,* to hurt.

*Usbergo* It. *hauberc, haubergeon* Fr. from *halsberge.*

*Zanna* It. from *zahn.*

*Zuppa* It. *sopa* Sp. *souppe* Fr. from *suppe.*

With regard to the classes of words introduced from the Teutonic into the Romance languages, Wachsmuth remarks that they are for the most part the names of outward objects, as food and implements, or they relate to customs and institutions, especially the use of arms and the feudal system. (Athenæum, vol. i. p. 298.) Many words relating to warlike subjects will have been observed in the list of words just given: the introduction of which, as well as of political terms, is quite consistent with the existence of a dominant military class of foreigners*.

In many cases, however, it is not obvious why a Teutonic word should have been naturalized: as in the following instances, where the original Latin term has been retained by some of the

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* The following Latin terms occurring in the Greek of the New Testament, furnish a curious parallel of the introduction of foreign names for military and political subjects by a dominant nation:

APPENDIX.

Romance languages, and a new German term been substituted by others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Ital.</th>
<th>Span.</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aeramen</td>
<td>rame</td>
<td>cobre (<em>kupfer</em>)</td>
<td>cuivre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attonitus</td>
<td>attonito</td>
<td>atonito</td>
<td>estonné (<em>to stun</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cerevisium</td>
<td>birra (<em>bier</em>)</td>
<td>cerveza</td>
<td>bière</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastor</td>
<td>pastore</td>
<td>pastor</td>
<td>berger&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saburra</td>
<td>savorra</td>
<td>lastre (<em>from last</em>)</td>
<td>lest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sedes</td>
<td>sede</td>
<td>sede</td>
<td>siège (<em>from sitt</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socer</td>
<td>suocero</td>
<td>suegro</td>
<td>beaupère&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spuma</td>
<td>spuma and schiuma (<em>from schaum</em>)</td>
<td>escume</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suber</td>
<td>suvero</td>
<td>corcho (<em>from liége kork</em>)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be perceived that some of the words above enumerated as derived from the Teutonic are among the commonest and most familiar in the Romance languages, as *albergo, andare, bambino, basso, bianco, bicchieria, birra, biglietto, borgo, bosco, bravo*, etc. Ital.; *albergué, bazo, blanco, billete, burgo, bosque, bravo*, etc. Span.; *auberge, airain, balle, bas, berger, blanc, bière, billet, bourg, bois, brave*, Fr. In this respect there is a remarkable difference between the foreign words introduced by conquest into the English and into the Romance languages. In

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 291. The French has *pasteur*, but only in a metaphorical sense.

<sup>c</sup> That *siège* is not derived from *sedes* is proved by the gender.

<sup>d</sup> See above, p. 291.
English the more familiar, idiomatic, and simple the style, the more exclusively Saxon it is, and the fewer are the foreign or French terms: whereas in the Romance languages the converse is generally the case. In Italian, for example, the more elevated the style, the more purely Latin is its character: in Tasso many successive stanzas often occur in which every word is of Latin origin; but if we take a composition in the familiar spoken language, as a comedy or a satire, it will be found scarcely possible to find a long passage entirely free from Teutonic derivatives. Dante is a much more idiomatic writer than Tasso, and uses a much less stilted style: but his language abounds far more in words not of Latin origin.

Some words have passed into the Romance languages, either mediately or immediately, from the Greek: as *spada* It. *espada* Sp. *espée* Fr. from σέπα; *parola* It. *palabra* Sp. *parole* Fr. from παράβολή, (Schlegel, Observ., p. 109.) To these Wachsmuth adds *frissonner* Fr. from φίσσω, *lisser* Fr. from λισσάμενος, *golfo* It. from κλακείν, *gaiò* It. from γαλά, (Athenäum, vol. i. p. 299.) With regard to *frisson*, the Teutonic derivation mentioned above, p. 294, is more probable than a Greek one: κλακείν may have been easily introduced by the intercourse with the Greek mariners of the Mediterranean: as to the other two words it seems unlikely, notwithstanding the agreement of sound and meaning, that the etymology suggested should be true.
On the introduction of Arabic words into the languages of the Spanish peninsula, my entire ignorance of Arabic prevents me from offering any remarks of my own: I am, however, enabled, through the kindness of Dr. Rosen, to annex the following notes, communicated to me by that able oriental scholar.

*Arabic Words in Spanish and Portuguese.*

The Arabic words in the Spanish and Portuguese languages have already engaged the attention of several scholars, chiefly natives of the peninsula. The works of some of them I have had an opportunity of consulting in the library of the British Museum; and the extracts which I have made from them, and which are now before me, form the basis of the following remarks.

In the *Origines dela lengua Española, compuestos por varios autores*, etc. edited by Don Gregorio Mayáns i Siscár, (Madrid, 1737, 2 vols. 12mo.) some observations are made on the Arabic words in the Spanish language, (vol. i. p. 235—264.) but apparently with too little knowledge of Arabic to be of much utility.

Of more value are the etymological remarks occasionally given in the *Diccionario Español Latino Arabigo*, by Francisco Cañes, (Madrid, 1787, 3 vols. folio.) This work is intended for a purely practical purpose as a Spanish and modern Arabic dictionary; and the author seems
to be familiar only with the Arabic *now spoken* in Mauritania, etc.; otherwise he might have given a far greater number of Arabic synonymes, and would probably have assigned more satisfactory derivations for many Spanish words from the ancient and literary Arabic.

In the *Tesoro dela lengua Castellana Española*, by D. Sebastian de Cobarruuisas, (Madrid, 1611, fol.) etymologies from the Arabic are frequently reported on the authority of others, but the author seems in many instances to admit them with reluctance, as he endeavours to account differently for the origin of the words thus explained.

In Portuguese there exists a separate treatise on the subject of our enquiry, Joaõ de Sousa, *Vestigios de la lingua Arabica em Portugal*, (Lisbon, 1789, 4to.) In his preface the author makes an assertion which I subjoin in his own words, as it is much at variance with what you seem to anticipate as to the quantum of Arabic in European languages⁴: *e tambem ficamos conservando tantas palavras Arabicas, que dellas bem se pode compor hum arrastoado lexicon, como já notou José Scaligero Escripit. 228 ad Isaac. Fontan. *‘Tot puræ Arabicæ voces in Hispan. reperiuntur ut ex illis justum lexicon confici possit.’*—Souza makes mention of several writers that preceded him in his enquiry: Duarte Nunes de

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⁴ The author had ventured to express to Dr. Rosen an opinion that the number of Arabic words in Spanish and Portuguese is not considerable.
Leaõ, who in 1606 published a work, *Origem da lingua Portugueza*, (reprinted in 1781,) containing a list of two hundred and seven Arabic words in the Portuguese language; Manoel de Faria e Sousa, author of the *Europa Portugueza*; and Dom Raphael Bluteau, who in 1712 edited a *Diccionario da lingua Portugueza*.

I hardly know whether the remark just extracted from Sousa's preface is justified by the body of his work, which consists of an alphabetic list of Portuguese words explained from the Arabic, and filling one hundred and sixty pages of small quarto. Many of his etymologies are stated at great and unnecessary length. Some of the words explained do not, I apprehend, owe their existence in the Portuguese language to the Arabian dominion, but to the subsequent intercourse of the Portuguese with the East. With regard to other expressions, it would seem that they have become obsolete, and can no longer be considered as forming part of the living and popular language of the Portuguese nation, as Sousa finds it necessary to adduce passages from Portuguese authors in which they occur.

Besides Sousa's work I know only of one other treatise exclusively devoted to the subject of our present enquiry; it is written in English, and bears the title "*Remains of Arabic in the Spanish and Portuguese languages*," by S. Weston, (London, 1810, 8vo.) It contains two copious lists of Spanish and Portuguese words derived
from the Arabic and other oriental languages, but it should be used with great caution, as the Arabic words are not always correctly reported, and many of the etymologies given are evidently farfetched and fanciful: the word Alhambra, for instance, the name of the celebrated castle of Granada, is by Mr. Weston derived from hembera, which words he says signify "sans souci," whereas, according to the etymology commonly received, it is the regular feminine form of the Arabic adjective ahmar, "red," with the article prefixed, al-hamrâ, i. e. "the red (castle)," in allusion to the colour of the materials of which it was built. Again, the Spanish word Alquerría, also written Alcarria, "a farm," is by Mr. Weston traced back to the Persian khargáh, "a pavilion or tent, a moveable Turcoman hut:" but it seems much simpler to consider it as identical with the Arabic karyah or karyat, "a village," with the article al prefixed to it.

Sousa premises a few general remarks on the change which certain letters have undergone in the passing over of Arabic words into the Portuguese. One of them, of which the glossary affords the most ample confirmation, is on the transition of the Arabic H into F in Portuguese. The following are examples collected from the glossary.

*Alfeola* (mélasse en caramel) from halwah, sweetness, any thing sweet.

*Azafeme* from the Arabic zahmah: "Aperto
de gente em lugar pequeno o estreito; também se toma por pressa, fervor, cuidado, diligencia, etc. Deriva-se do verbo "zahama, apertar, coarctar, restringir."

*Almofalla*, an encampment, from the Arabic *mahallah*, a halting place or encampment of a caravan.

*Refens*, from the Arabic *rahen*, a pledge.

*Amofinar*, from the Arabic *mahana*, to afflict, to vex.

There are also a few instances in which the Arabic *kh* (or *ch* as pronounced by the Germans and the Scotch) is thus changed into *f* in Portuguese: e. g.

*Alfange*, from the Arabic *khanjar*, a poniard.

*Alface*, from the Arabic *khass*, pot-herbs.

The same transition from *H* and *Kh* into *F* may also be observed in Spanish: e. g.

*Alfageme* (according to Cobarruuiias, a barber) from *hajim*, a surgeon, a barber.

*Alfombra*, the measles, from *homrah*, redness, erysipelas.

*Alforja*, from *khurj*, a portmanteau.

*Alfayata*, from *khayyát*, a tailor.

It is remarkable that Latin words have in Spanish undergone the opposite change, substituting *H* for *F*, as in *hijo, filius; hacer, facere*, etc. I am not aware of any instance of such a transition of an Arabic *F* into a Spanish or Portuguese *H*.

I subjoin a few more words from Sousa's list,
but slightly changing the spelling of the Arabic words, so as to suit it to the English pronunciation of the consonants: the vowels being always taken in their German or Italian value.

 Açougue, (in Spanish azoque,) Arabic sük, (with the article, as-sük,) a market, a marketplace.

 Adail, Arabic dalîl, (with the article, ad-dalîl,) a guide.

 Adarme, Arab. dirhem, (ad-dirhem,) a particular coin.

 Adibo, Arab. dîb or zîb, (ad-dîb, az-zîb,) a wolf.

 Albafor, Arab. bakhûr, (al-bakhûr,) incense.

 Almofarîx, Arab. mihrâs, (al-mihrâs,) a grinding-stone.

 Azeîte, Arab. zait, (az-zait,) an olive.

 The great proportion of words that begin with A in Sousa’s and Weston’s lists is striking. The Arabic article, as usually pronounced, begins with that vowel, and it would appear that words restricted in their meaning to one special and definite object by the prefixed article, and thus losing, as it were, according to the conception of hearers unacquainted with Arabic grammar, their general or appellative nature, and becoming a sort of proper name of the things designated by them, found a way most easily into the vocabulary of a foreign language.—The L of the Arabic article is always assimilated to the initial consonant of the word to which it is pre-
fixed, if that consonant is either a sibilant or a
dental letter, or \textit{R}, or \textit{N}. Sousa draws attention
to this euphonic rule, as it explains a number of
words in his glossary.

The remark as to the preponderance of words
beginning with \textit{A} and \textit{Al} applies equally to the
Arabic terms found in Spanish. I submit a few
Spanish words with their explanations from the
Arabic.

\textit{Algebra, algebrista}, from the Arab. verb \textit{jabara}
to restore any thing broken.

\textit{Acemita}, from the Arab. \textit{samid}, \textit{(as-samid,)}
white bread.

\textit{Açofar}, (according to Cobarruuias, \textit{æs fusile,})
from the Arabic \textit{sofr}, \textit{(as-sofr,)} copper.

\textit{Albarda}, Arab. \textit{barda'ah}, \textit{(al-barda'ah,) a sad-
dle.}

\textit{Albeytar}, Arab. \textit{baitár} \textit{(al-baitár,) a farrier, a
horse-leech.}

\textit{Alboque}, Arab. \textit{búk}, \textit{(al-búk,) a trumpet, a
clarion, a pipe.}

\textit{Alcala}, Arab. \textit{kal'ah} \textit{(al-kal'ah,) a castle, a
fort.}

\textit{Alcantara}, Arab. \textit{kantarah}, \textit{(al-kantarah,) a
bridge.}

\textit{Albufera} and \textit{albuhera}, probably the Arabic
\textit{bohairah}, \textit{(al-bohairah,) a small lake.}

\textit{Almaizar}, Arab. \textit{mizar}, \textit{(al-mizar,) a girdle.}

\textit{Alberca}, Arab. \textit{birkah}, \textit{(al-birkah,) a tank, a
pond, a reservoir.}

\textit{Alcohol}, Arab. \textit{kohl}, \textit{(al-kohl,) antimony used
as a collyrium to paint the eyelids; hence *alcohóldo*, said of animals that have around the eye-lids a darker colour than over the remaining part of their body.


*Arraez*, Arab. *raïs*, (*ar-raïs,* a master or lord.

*Atalaya*, (an observatory, a barbican,) Arab. *ittilá*, (from the verb *tala*a,) the ascending to a high place for the purpose of taking a survey.


*Cafila*, Arab. *kafílah*, a caravan.

*Cid*, Arab. *sayyed*, (commonly pronounced *std,* master, lord.

*Fulano*, Arab. *fulán*, such an one, *un tel.*

*Guada*, Arab. *wádi*, a river: in many proper names, e. g. *Guadalquivir,* i. e. *Wádi-al-kabír,* "the Great River."


*Tahona*, Arab. *tahhánat*, a mill turned by either camels or asses.

*Matraca*, (a rattle,) Arab. *mitrakat*, a smith's hammer, a wooden rod for beating cotton or wool.

*Mascara*, (a cover to disguise the face,) Arab. *maskhárat*, a buffoon, a jester; sport, pleasantry.
APPENDIX.

Xegue, Arab. sheikh, an old man, a chief.
Xarate, Arab. sharâb, any beverage.
Rambla, Arab. raml, sand, a tract of sandy country.

F. Rosen.

NOTE (E.)

The following extract from the Evidence of Dr. Chalmers, before the Committee of the House of Commons on the State of the Poor in Ireland, also throws light on the gradual extinction of the Gaelic language in Scotland.

"Does the use of Gaelic at the present day operate to impart instruction better among the Highlanders?—It has given them an additional taste and demand for knowledge in general; so that in virtue of that change they are more acquainted with English books and English literature than they were.

Are you not of opinion that the operations of the Gaelic Society have turned rapidly, though indirectly, to the extinction of the Gaelic language?—I am not aware that they have had that effect.

Have not they operated considerably to give an increased knowledge of the English language?—They have, certainly.

Do you consider it probable that the English and Gaelic language will continue to go on pari s s
passu for any considerable time in the country?—The retrogression on the part of the Gaelic language is very slow; the line of demarcation between the Gaelic and the English being still, I believe, very much what it was fifty years ago. We can ascertain that from a circumstance that is noticeable enough; in the Gaelic parishes, the minister is bound to preach in Gaelic once every Sunday. There has certainly been a slow progress in a northern direction towards preaching exclusively in English, but the progress is exceedingly slow. In a large period of time, however, the tendency is to the subsiding, and at length to the ultimate disappearance of the Gaelic language.

Do you not think that the course which has been taken in the management of Highland property has tended materially to diminish the number of those that speak the Gaelic language?—I should think so.

Has it ever occurred to you that the extension of paper currency has had the effect of extending the knowledge of the English language?—I am not aware of it.”—Qu. 3361. 3665—9.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 12. l. 14. Add the following note to ‘Muratori.’

Thus he says, Dissert. It. med. ævi, vol. ii. p. 1013, E., 14 A. Incompertum sane est, ne dicam falsum, eo præcipue tempore, quo Gothi et Langobardi in Italia dominati sunt, natam, atque ad culmen suum perductam fuisse vulgarem Italicam linguam, quam ad exprimendas cogitationes nostras nunc usurpamus. But he adds, p. 1016 E. Itaque non immerito opinemur, præcipue sub Langobardorum regno Latinum sermonem, antea in barbariem multam prolapsum, gravius corruptum atque immutatum fuisse, ita ut faciem novæ linguae Italic populi tunc preferreretur. Nam quod nonnulli sensisse videntur, eam ipsam Italicam linguam, qua nunc utimur, a Latina seu Romana adeo diversam, vel florente romanis imperii fortuna, viguisse, somnium est nulla confutatione dignum. And again, Diss. 33. p. 1101 C. Quum tamen longe plures semper abundarint in Italicis urbis et agris incolae Latini, propterea primas retinuit ubique Latinorum lingua, sed simul impedire nequit quin ex tanta colluvione septentricalium popolorum potentiis in dies corrumparetur et antiquas voces adulteraret, aut iiis voces gentis dominatricis immisceret; præsertim quod officia fere omnia, et publica munera tum sacra tum profana Langobardis dominantibus conferrentur.

p. 18, note h, for vulgare read volgare.


Ibid, add at the end of note i. On the universality of the
Latin language in Spain, see Mayans i Siscar, Origenes de la lengua Española, vol. ii. p. 20.

p. 31, note 6, add:
The right explanation is also given by Wachsmuth, Athenæum, vol. i. p. 301. After speaking of the Lingua Romana rustica he says: "The origin of the appellation Romana appears to have been, that the inhabitants remembering that they had been from an early period distinguished from the Germans by their language, thought less of pure Latinity than of the political dominion of the Roman people: whence it arose that the natives, as opposed to the Germans, were called Romani, (Menage, Orig. de la langue Fr. in Roman,) and France itself had the epithet Romana, (Liutprand, l. I. Franciam quam Romanam vocant.)"

p. 32, last line, for 'ch'est' read 'c'est.'

p. 33, note 1. For 'naturum' read 'naturam,' and for 'sensium' read 'sensim.'

p. 34, l. 10. For 'Ferrierès' read 'Ferrières.'
Ibid, note a. 'On le for la, see Orell, ut sup. p. 7—9.

p. 39, l. 21. For 'derivations' read 'derivatives.'

p. 48, notes 1, 7. For 'language' read 'languages.'

p. 70. Insert at the top:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Lat.} & \text{Ital.} & \text{Sp.} \\
\text{fid-es} & \text{fed-e} & \text{fe} \\
\end{array}
\]

at the bottom:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{lep-us} & \text{lep-re} & \text{lieb-re} \\
\end{array}
\]

p. 74, note 4, l. 9. For 'short' read 'shut.'

p. 79, note 7, l. 19. For 'numerus' read 'nombre.'

p. 90, l. 14. For 'floreo' read 'ploreo.'

p. 104, note 7. Transpose 'padrone from patronus' after 'stilus,' and after 'consul' add 'subero from suber.'

p. 122, l. 19. For 'p into b' read 'p into v.'
Ibid. On the change of p into v in Spanish, see Mayans i Siscar, ut sup. vol. ii. p. 146.

p. 144, l. 15. For 'fenillage' read 'feuillage.'
Ib. l. 25. For 'vecinada' read 'vecinad.'
p. 149, l. 12. For ‘spíhen’ read ‘spáhen.’
p. 152, l. 3. Cittate or cittade, virtute or virtude, and other similar nouns were contracted into città and virtù in order to avoid the repetition of the double t, or of the t and d; but salute and palade were not contracted, because there was no such cacophony to avoid.

p. 155. On the French termination in el, see Orell, p. 32.

p. 160, l. 17. For ‘fugard’ read ‘fuyard.’
p. 167, note b. For ‘accerimo’ read ‘acerrimo.’
p. 176, l. 22. For ‘quid’ read ‘quod.’
p. 190, l. 9. For ‘sentetz’ read ‘sentitz.’
p. 194, l. 2. For ‘temebo read ‘timebo.’
p. 199. An intermediate form of the French imperfect between amava and amoue, viz. ameve, omitted by M. Raynouard, is pointed out by Orell, p. 100—3: thus ‘Certes li paiz ne cessevet,’ (Si quidem non cessabat pax,) St. Bernard. ‘In jueyve par defors en la place,’ (ludebam ego foris in platea,) St. Bernard. ‘Alsi com eles en après racontevent,’ (ut post ipsae referebant,) St. Gregory.


p. 201, l. 18. Expunge ‘did not—infinitive.’
p. 202, l. 19. Add ‘cheoir from cadere:’ on which verb see Orell, p. 213.

p. 204, note b. Add ‘and croistre from crescere.’
p. 205, l. 2. Suivre was also suivir in old French, Orell, p. 257.

p. 216, l. 9. The following are Latin examples of this construction. Livy, xxi. 60. Ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur; where see Ruperti. Sallust. Jug. c. 38. Cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum...transiere ad regem. c. 101. Bocchus cum...editibus...postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt.

p. 240. On jusum and sussum see Facciolati in susum.
p. 247, l. 28. For ‘auf’ read ‘aus.’
p. 249, l. 20. For ‘viola’ read ‘voila.’
p. 251. On guère see Orell, p. 303.

p. 260. On rien, used in old French as a feminine substantive for chose, see Orell, p. 70.

p. 287, l. 4. For 'from Thrace and the Illyrian coast' read 'from the Thracian and Illyrian coast.'
INDEX.

ACCUSATIVE used for the nominative case in the Latin of the middle ages, 66; tendency to substitute it for the nominative, 98, 170 note.

Adjectives, Provençal, their declension, 87, 88.
Adverbs, Romance, in mente, 234.

————— derived from the Latin, 237:

from aliorum, 237.
—— aliquoties, ib.
—— foras, ib.
—— Hodie, heri, ib.
—— jam, 238
—— ibi, 239
—— inde, ib.
—— insimul, 240
—— intus, deintus, ib.
—— jussum, susum, ib.
—— magis, ib.
—— mane, 241

from medium, 241
—— minus, pejus, plus, 242
—— quando, ib.
—— quare, 243
—— retro, ib.
—— satis, ib.
—— semper, ib.
—— subinde, 244
—— tunc, ib.
—— ubi, ib.
—— unde, ib.
—— unquam, nunquam, 245.

Adverbs, Romance, modern, not derived from Latin adverbs:

amon, aval, 245
ades, adesse, des, ib.
extern, environ, 246
lev, 246
malgrat, 247
manteinen, ib.

hora, 247
pron, 248
tost, ib.
trop, 249
veti, ib.
INDEX.

Aimoin de Gestis Francorum, 196, note c.
Albocem, charter of, its genuineness examined, 118, note r.
Analytic forms of grammar, 26.
Arabic words in Spanish and Portuguese, 141, 285, 303.
Articles, their origin, 60; Romance definite article, 62.
At, its changes in French, 152, note b.
Auxiliary verbs, in Provençal, 187; in the other Romance languages, 189.

B, inserted between m and a consonant, 79, note r.

C, its changes in the Romance languages, 122.
Cases, their confusion in Latin after the German invasion, 64.
Celtic languages, their extinction in western Europe, 21, note o, 49; were not mixed with other languages, 285.
Comparison, degrees of, in Provençal, 165; in the other Romance languages, 166.
Conditional tense in the Romance languages, 196.
Conjunctions, Romance, from Latin,

\[ \text{aut, 250} \quad \text{et, ib.} \quad \text{nec, 253.} \]

Dante, his usage of proper names, 115; Provençal passage of, cited, 128, note l; his use of sipa, 260.
Dialetto, 17, note e.
Diez, 28.
Diminutives, 148.
Drusi, 111.

E, before s, followed by a consonant, 120.

French, its ancient form 34; its nominative and accusative, 89; its genders, 128; its degrees of comparison, 166, its pronouns, 172; its numerals, 184; its auxiliary verbs,
INDEX. 319

189; its regular verbs, 198; its prépositions, 220; its adverbs, 239; its conjunctions and particles, 250; it has departed further from the Latin than the other Romance languages, 274.

Future tense in the Romance languages, 194.


——— words in the Romance languages, 287.


Greek, its diffusion in Asia Minor, 20 note 2; its relation to the Romance languages, 166.

Grimm, (Jacob,) 126 note d, 128 note h, 150 note d, 161 note k, 252 note d.

IMPERFECT tense in French, 198.

Infinitive mood, in the Romance languages, 201.

Italian, theory as to its origin from a plebeian dialect of the Latin examined, 11—18, 284, 286; its dialects, 48, 279; divided into those with and without vowel terminations, 106; its genders, 127; its degrees of comparison, 166; its pronouns, 170; its numerals, 183; its auxiliary verbs, 189; its regular verbs, 192; its prépositions, 220; its adverbs, 134; its conjunctions and particles, 250; its close adherence to the Latin, 273.

LANDOR, (W. S.) on cattivo, 158 note e.

Language of the Troubadours, difficulty in finding an unobjectionable name for it, 56.

Langue d'oc, its dialects, 46.

—— d'oïl, its dialects, ib.

Lanzi, 11.

Lassen, 10 note o.

Latin, its relation to the Greek, 10; its extension over western Europe, 19; changes undergone by it in consequence
INDEX.

of the Teutonic invasion, 25; its close agreement with the Italian, 273; had not a patois or a dialect spoken by the lower classes, 11, 286.

Lingua Franca, 23 note 3, 283.
—— Romana rustica, 32, 282.
—— vulgaris, 32, 286.

M, elision of final, in Latin, 74.
Maffei, 11.
Meidinger, 120 note 8, 280.
Muratori, 12, 66 note b, 67 note 1, 240 note 1.

Negation, means of strengthening, 263.
Negro corruption of the English, 23 note 8, 101 note 7.
Niebuhr, 153 note 1, 286.
Notaries, Latin of the, 67 note 1.

Nouns, Romance, their formation from the Latin, 68; whether from the accusative or the ablative, 72; formed from Latin neuter nouns, 77.
—— Italian and Spanish, formed from the Latin accusative, 83; Provençal and French formed from the Latin nominative, 84.

Numerals, Romance, 182.

O, in Italian, its origin, 74 note 9.
Öi, in French, its origin, 118 note 2.

P, Latin, changed into b and v in Romance languages, 122.

Particles, negative and affirmative, in Romance languages:

\[
\begin{align*}
gaire, \text{ guari, guere} & \quad 250 & \quad \text{persona} & \quad 256 \\
mica & \quad 252 & \quad \text{punctum, ib.} \\
non & \quad 254 & \quad \text{res} & \quad 258 \\
passus & \quad 255 & \quad \text{sic} & \quad 260
\end{align*}
\]

Participles, Provençal, their declension, 88, 89; their for-
INDEX.

mation in Provençal, 205; in the other Romance languages, 207.

Patois, 17 note c.
Perticari, 6, 12, 51, 141 note q, 145 note q, 258 note p, 270 note p, 279.

Prepositions, Romance derivatives of Latin:

| ab, a, 220 | per, 228 |
| ad, ib. | post, ib. |
| ante, 222 | prope, 229 |
| apud, 224 | secundum, 230 |
| circa, ib. | sine, 231 |
| contra, ib. | subtus, 232 |
| cum, ib. | super, 231 |
| de, 225 | supra, 232 |
| extra, ib. | trans, ib. |
| in, 226 | versus, ib. |
| infra, ib. | ultra, 233 |
| inter or intra, ib. | usque, ib. |
| juxta, 228 |

Present tense in French, 198.
Preterite tense in French, 199.

Priscus, 286.

Pronouns, possessive, in Provençal, 86; French, 91.
— personal, in Provençal, 168; in the other Romance languages, 170.
— demonstrative, in Prov., 174; in the other Romance languages, 176.
— indefinite, 178.
— relative, in Prov., 176; in the other Romance languages, 177.

Proper names, declension of in French, 90.

Provençal, 58; its genders, 128; its degrees of comparison, 165; its pronouns, 168; its numerals, 182; its auxiliary verbs, 186; its regular verbs, 190; its prepositions,
INDEX.

220; its adverbs, 234; its conjunctions and particles, 250; its relation to the other Romance languages, 274.

Regular verbs, in Provençal, 190; in the other Romance languages, 192.

Romance languages, M. Raynouard’s theory as to their origin, 4; generally adopted by subsequent writers, 6; proper meaning of the word, 57.

Romans, 31.

Sardinia, its dialects, 47 note b.

Schlegel, (A. W. von,) 7, 29, 252.

Se, used with an active verb in a passive sense, 200.

Southey, 118 note 7.

Spanish, its dialects, 47; its genders, 127; its degrees of comparison, 166; its pronouns, 170; its numerals, 184; its auxiliary verbs, 189; its regular verbs, 192; its prepositions, 220; its adverbs, 234; its particles and conjunctions, 250; its relation to the Latin, 274.

Synthetic forms of Grammar, 26.

 Terminations, Latin, and the corresponding Romance forms, 136.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>in ago, 136</th>
<th>in o, onis, 149</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>— antia, entia, 137</td>
<td>— or, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— arius, aris, 188</td>
<td>— tas, tus, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— aster, 141</td>
<td>— ulus, ellus, illus, 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— atium, 142</td>
<td>— ura, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— ia, itia, 145</td>
<td>— ensis, 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— inus, 148</td>
<td>— ivus, ib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— ista, ib.</td>
<td>— osus, 159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Terminations, Romance, not derived from the Latin:

ard, 160

etto, ito, ete, et; otto, ote. ot, ib.

asco, esco, isco, esc, esque, 161.
INDEX.

U, Latin, its modifications in Romance languages, 74 note 4.
U, final, in Italian, 75.

Verbs, their syntax in the Romance languages, 213.
Vowels, final, in Italian, 102, 105, 114, 198.

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