Introduction to Vulgar Latin

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LUCL

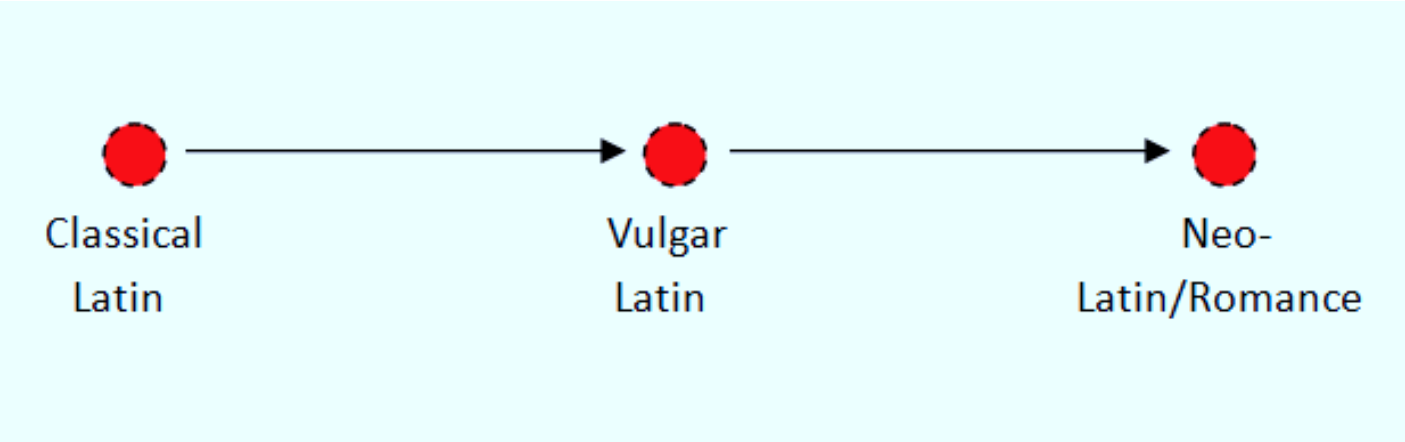
Intro

[...] alii oc, alii oil, alii si affirmando locuntur, ut puta Yspani, Franci et Latini. Signum autem quod ab uno eodemque ydiomate istarum trium gentium progrediantur vulgaria, in promptu est, quia multa per eadem vocabula nominare videntur, ut Deum, celum, amorem, mare, terram, est, vivit, moritur, amat, alia fere omnia.

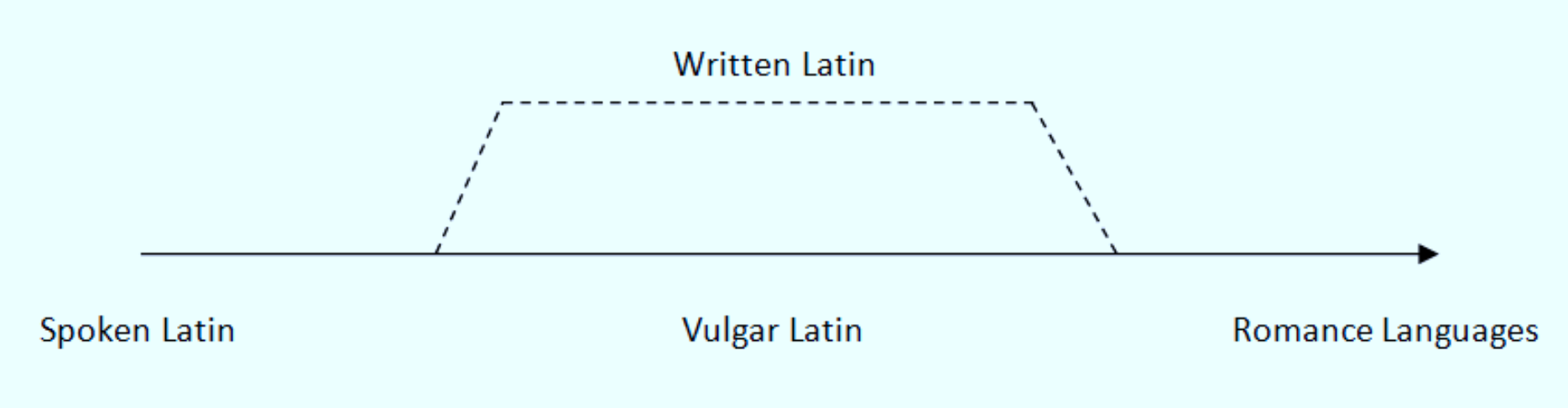
Dante,
De vulgari eloquentia, c. 7

Q: What is the unum idem ydioma?

Intro: Model 1

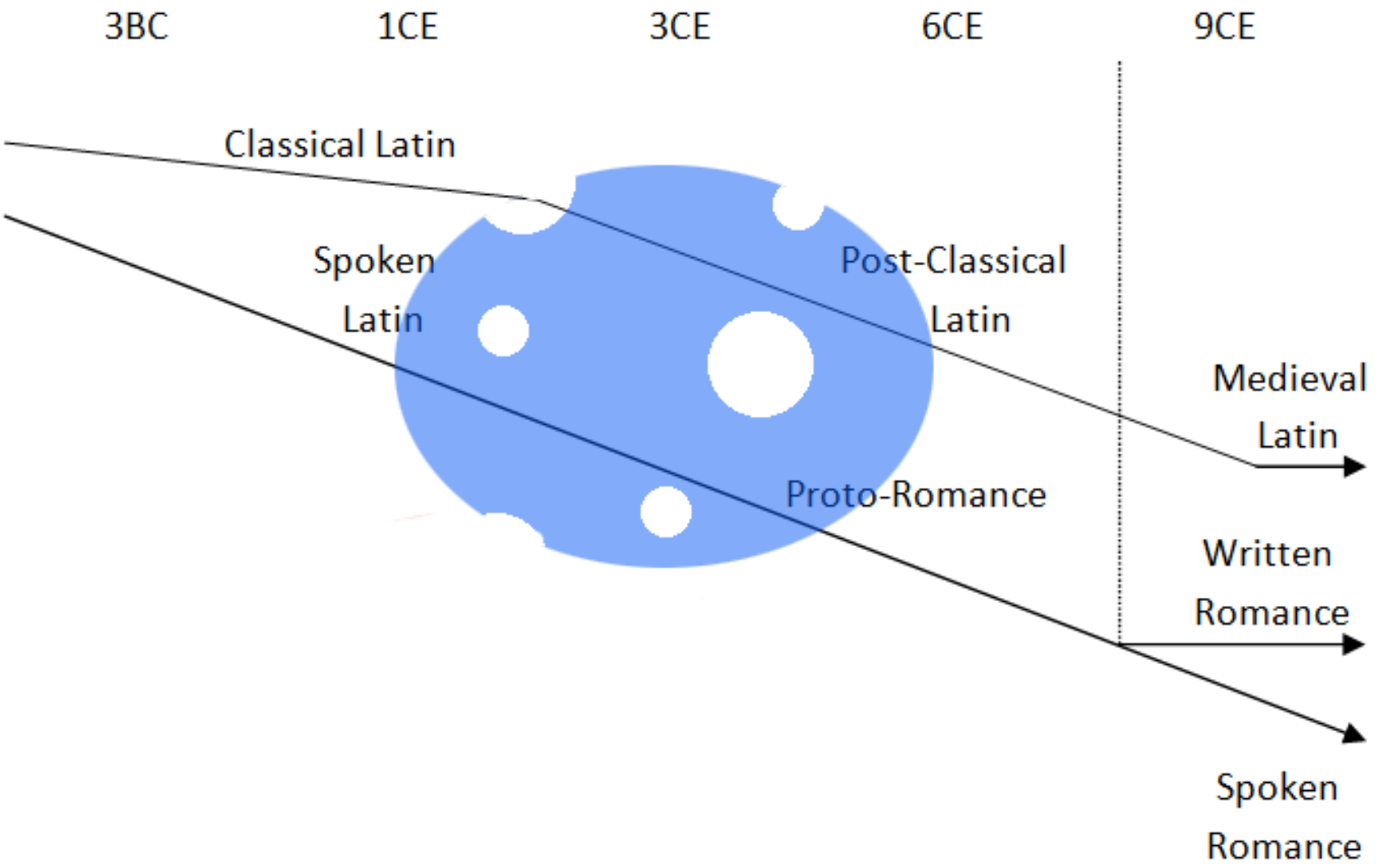


Intro: Model 2



Groeber apud Schmeck (1955)

Intro: Model 3



Cf. Pulgram (1950, 1958, 1967)

Intro: Definition

Vulgar Latin (F. Diez) is the Latin language as spoken by the Roman people and as opposed to Classical Latin of the formal literature.It is called Common Romance as well. (Also: *sermo quotidianus*, *popularis*, *plebeius*, *vulgaris*.)

Proto-Romance (R. A. Hall) is the theoretical common ancestor of the modern Romance languages. Also called Common Romance.

Early Romance (R. Wright) points to the earliest actual, if scarce, data.

Intro: Definition

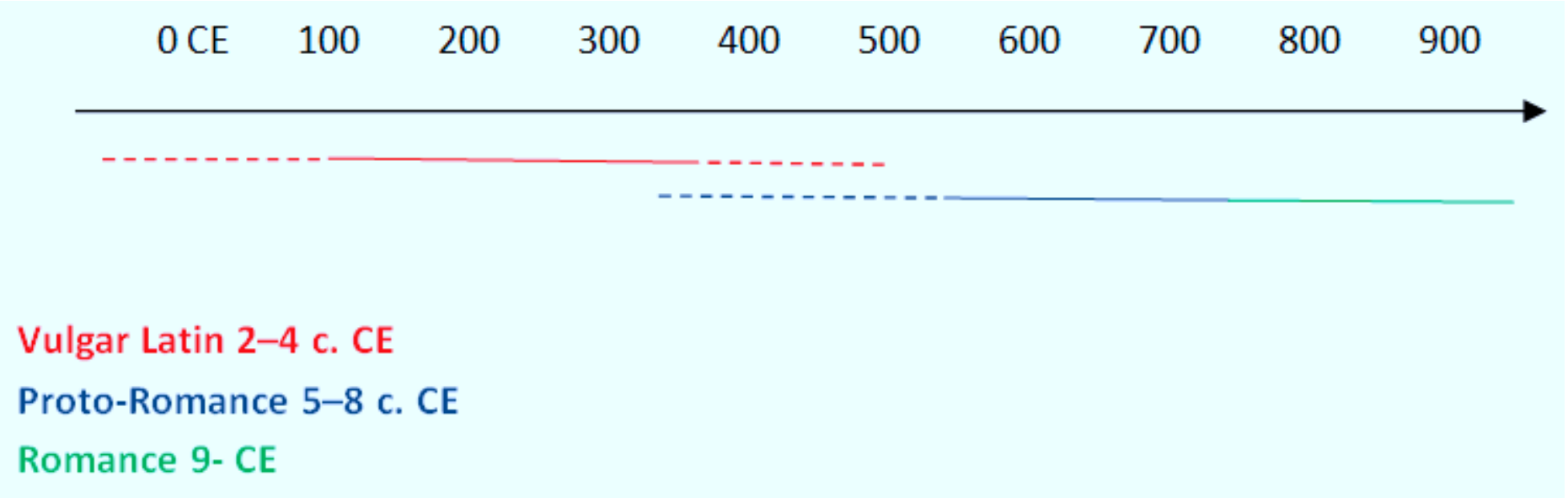
Definition:

> *Vulgarni latinski je ukupnost pojava, diferenciranih geografski, socijalno i vremenski, koje odražavaju govorni jezik cijelog Rimskog Carstva u svim njegovim varijantama, koje time u velikom dijelu odstupaju od klasičnog jezika kakav je poznat iz književnih djela, a koje djelomično predstavaljaju temelj i ishodište kasnijeg razvoja romanskih jezika.*

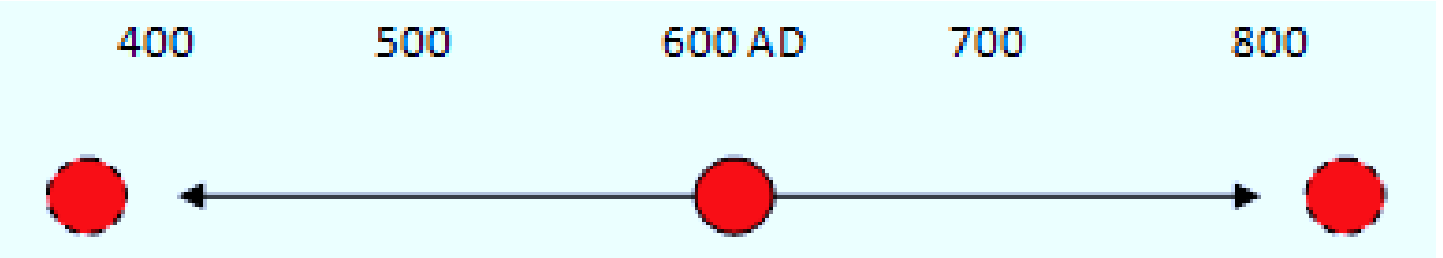
Tekavčić (1970: 8)

Intro: Dating

Traditionally:



Intro: Dating



Proto-Romance traditionally falls around 600 AD.

"Procrastinators" move the critical point away from 600 AD. They are H. Luedtke, R. Wright (1080 CE), M. Van Uytfanghe and M. Banniard (750-800 CE).

"Early risers" move the critical point to the period before 600 AD. They are Ch. Schmitt (400 CE), J.-P. Chambon and Y. Gerub.

Intro: Dating

Original: Et tamen te suspicior eisdem rebus quibus me ipsum interdum gravius commoveri . . . (Cicero, *De sen.* I 1)

Spanish verbatim = nonsense: Y no obstante te sospecho por las mismas cosas, por las cuales yo mismo a veces fuertemente estar agitado. . .
French verbatim = nonsense: Pourtant je te doute par les mêmes choses, par lesquelles moi-même parfois gravement être agité. . .

Spanish translation: Sospecho, con todo, que algunas veces te sientes seriamente preocupado por las mismas circunstancias que a m me inquietan. . .
Spanish translation: Pourtant je devine que tu es quelquefois troublé de manière particulièrement sensible par certains problèmes qui me touchent aussi. . .

So-called Verbatim Test (López García)

Intro: Dating

Original:Tunc venerunt duae mulieres meretrices ad regem steteruntque coram eo. . . . (*Vulgata*, I Regum 3)

Spanish verbatim = translation: Tunc [entonces] uenerunt [vinieron] duae [dos] mulieres [mujeres] meretrices [meretrices] ad [al] regem [rey] steteruntque [y se quedaron de pie] coram [ante] eo [ľl].

French verbatim = translation: Tunc [lors] venerunt [vindrẽt] duae [deux] mulieres [femmes] meretrices [paillardes] ad [au] regem [roy] steteruntque [& se mirent] coram [devant] eo [luy]. (*Bible de Louvain*, 1550)

So-called Verbatim Test (López García)

Intro: VLat. Features

Overview of phonology:

Lat.	/a, e, i, o, u, ā, ē, ī, ō, ū/	vs.	VLat. /*a, *ę, *ẹ, *i, *ǫ, *ọ, *u/
Lat.	/ai̯, au̯, oi̯/	vs.	VLat. /*ę, *o, *ẹ/[1]
Lat.	/-b-/	vs.	VLat. /*-β-/[2]
Lat.	/-V$V-/	vs.	VLat. /*-yV-/[3]
Lat.	/-VnC-/	vs.	VLat. /-VC-/[4]
Lat.	/-VC#/	vs.	VLat. /-V#/[5]
Lat.	no syncope	vs.	VLat. syncope[6]
Lat.	no prothesis	vs.	VLat. prothesis[7]

[1] App. Prob. *caelebs non celeps.*
[2] App. Prob. *bravium non brabium.*
[3] App. Prob. *cochleare non cocliarium.*
[4] App. Prob. *mensa non mesa.*
[5] App. Prob. *olim non oli*
[6] App. Prob. *vobiscum non voscum*
[7] Cp. Lat. SPATHA to Gal. Port. Ast. Sp. *espada*, Occ. Cat. *espasa*, OFr. *espee*.

Intro: VLat. Features

Overview of Morphology, Syntax and Lexicon:

Lat. nominal morphology synthetic	vs.	VLat. " " analytic [8]
Lat. 5 declension classes	vs.	VLat. 3 " classes[9]
Lat. 3 genders	vs.	VLat. 2 genders[10]
Lat. 3 demonstrative pronouns	vs.	VLat. 2 " pronouns[11]
Lat. 4 conjugation classes	vs.	VLat. 3 " classes[12]
Lat. ACI, NCI constructions	vs.	VLat. none[13]
Lat. SOV word order	vs.	VLat. SVO " "
Lat. equus, plorare, plangere. . .	vs.	VLat. caballus, flere, fabulari. . .

[8] Cp. a-stems: nsg. ROSA, gsg. ROSAE, dsg. ROSAE, asg. ROSAM, absg. ROSA to VLat nsg. asg. ROSA, gsg. dsg. DE, AD ROSA.

[9] Cp. SILVA, POPULUS, LEO, ACUS, SPECIES to It. *selva, popolo, leone, ago, specie*.

[10] Cp. Sp. *nombre*, Fr. *nom*, It. *nome* etc. - all masc. vs. Lat. neuter NOMEN.

[11] Lat. 3rd person demonstrative (ILLE, IPSE) becomes the definite article.

[12] Cp AMARE, VIDĒRE, SCRIBERE, AUDIRE to It. *amare, vedere, scrivere, udire*.

[13] Cp. DICO TE VALERE (ACI) becomes VLat. DICO QUOD VALES.

Intro: Sources

- Graffiti;
- Curse tablets (*Tabellae defixionum*);
- Pre-classic authors: Plautus (3rd c. BC), Ennius (3rd c. BC), Terentius (2nd c. BC), Cato (2nd c. BC);
- Post-classic authors: Petronius (*Cena Trimalchionis*, 1st c. AD), Vitruvius (*De architectura*, 1st c. AD), Apicius (*De re coquinaria*, 4th c. AD), Empiricus (*De medicamentis*, 5th c. AD);
- Bible translations: *Vetus Latina* (2nd c. AD), *Vulgata* (4th c. AD);
- Other early Christian writings, e.g. *Peregrinatio Eteriae* (4th c. AD);
- Legal writings, e.g. *Lex Salica* (5th c. AD);
- Chronicles, e.g. *Historia Francorum* (6th c. AD);
- Grammar tracts, e.g. *Appendix Probi* (5th c. AD);
- Glosses, e.g. Reichenau or Kassel glosses.

Intro: Sources

- Borrowings:

  DOMINA 'lady' > Gr. dómna
  IANUARIUS 'January' > Berb. ennajer

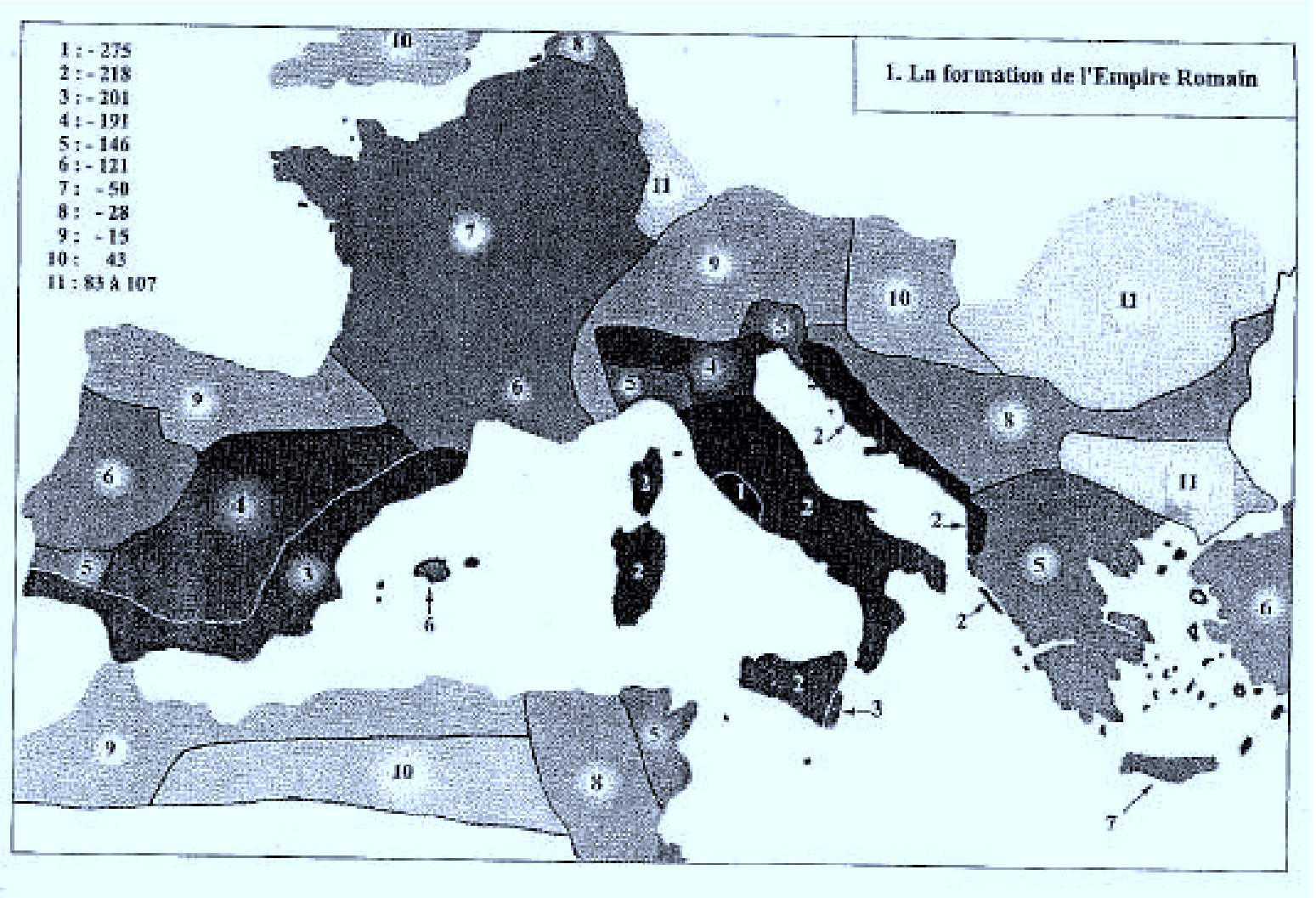
- Comparative Method:

  Occ. aurelha vs. Cat. orella, Fr. oreille < (*)AURICLA 'ear'
  It. carogna, Fr. charogne, Sp carroña < *CARONEA 'corpse'

La comparaison apporte un système de rapprochements sur lequel on peut fonder l'histoire d'une famille de langues; elle ne fournit pas une langue réelle.

Meillet

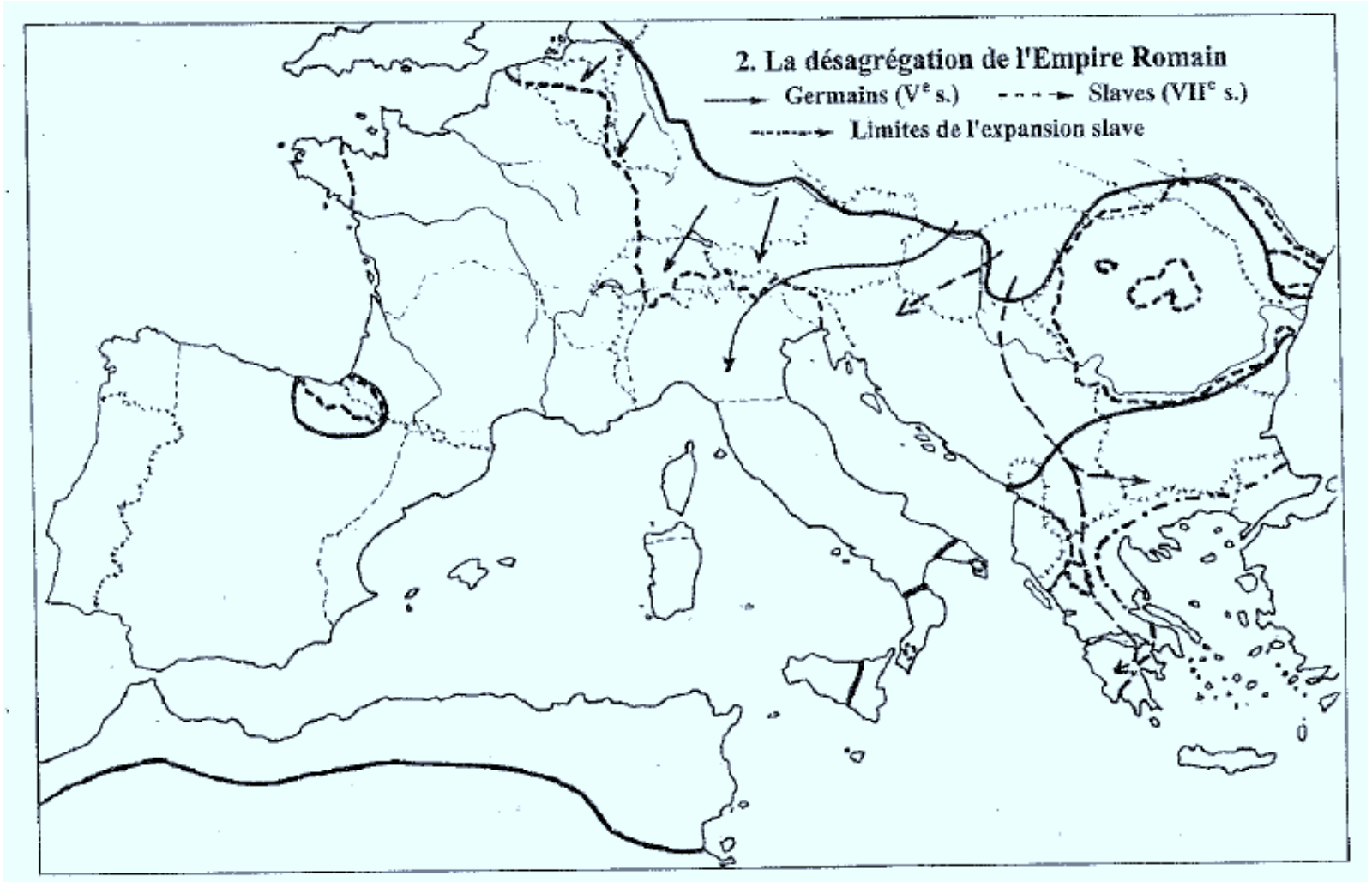
Intro: Diversification



Cf. Allières (2001: 7)

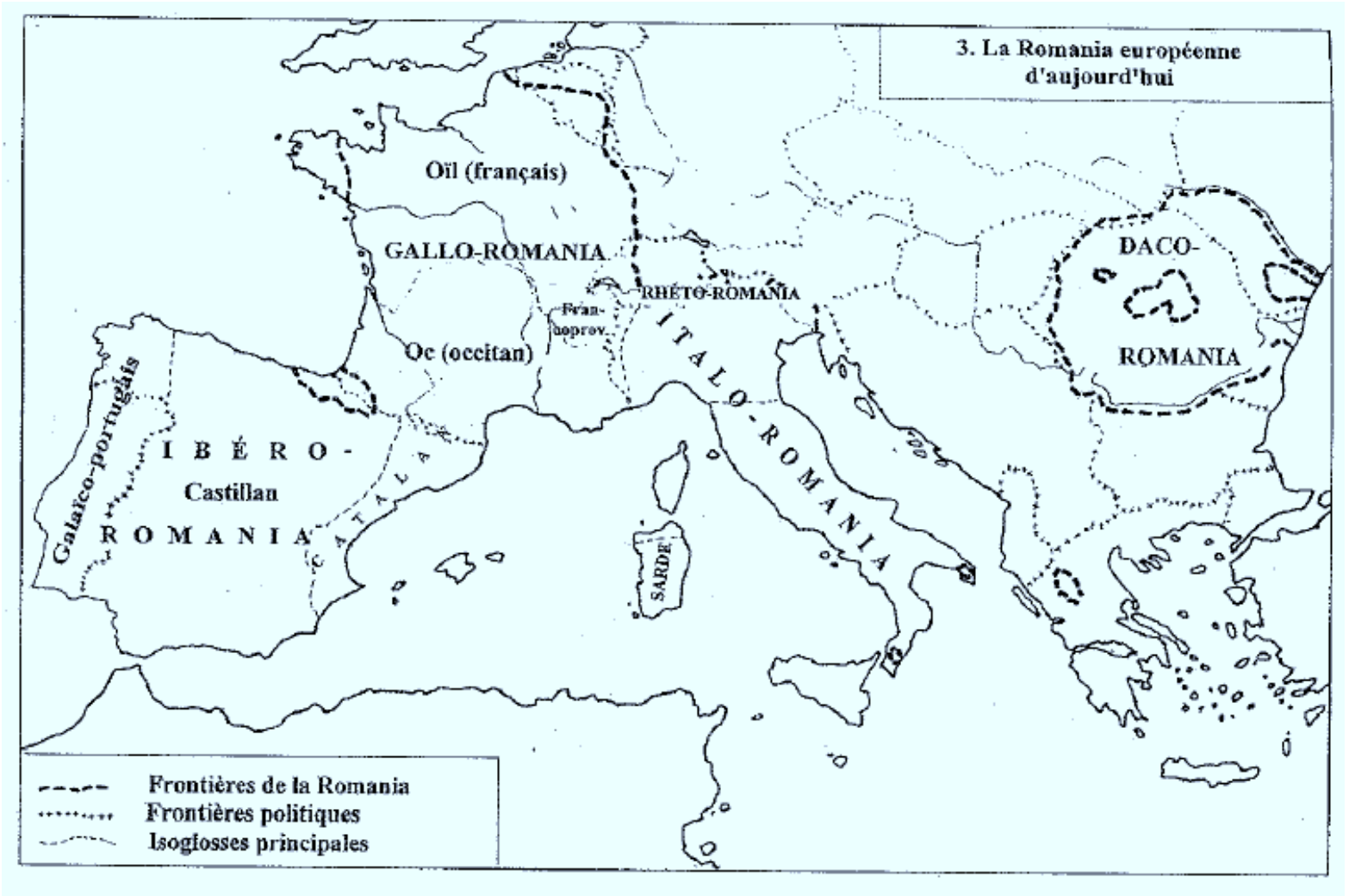
Republic	340-338 BC	Latium, Campania	
	326-283 BC	Sabina, Samnium	
	282-264 BC	Magna Graecia	
	241 BC	Sicilia	
	238 BC	Sardinia, Corsica	
	218-197 BC	Hispania	
	197-181 BC	Gallia Cispalpina	
	181-153 BC	Histria, Dalmatia	
	146 BC	Africa Vetus, Graecia	
	133 BC	Asia Minor	
	118 BC	Gallia Narbonensis	
	58-51 BC	Gallia Celtica	
Principate	27 BC	Lusitania, Aegyptus	Petronius
	15 BC	Rhaetia, Noricum	
	9 AD	Pannonia	
Claudii	41-69 AD		
Flavii	69-96 AD		Quintilianus
			Pompeian graffiti
Antonini	96-193 AD	Dacia, Arabia, Armenia	
Severi	193-235 AD	retreat from Dacia	Constitutio Antoniniana
Barracks emperors	271 AD		Appendix Probi, Donatus,
	395 AD	division and collapse	Mulomedicina Chironis

Intro: Diversification



Cf. Allières (2001: 8)

Intro: Diversification



Cf. Allières (2001: 8)

Intro: Diversification

Romania continua

- Ibero-Romania
- Gallo-Romania
- Rhaeto-Romania
- Italo-Romania
- Daco-Romania

Romania submersa (vel perdita)

- Africa
- Dalmatia
- Epirus
- Germania inferior

Romania nova

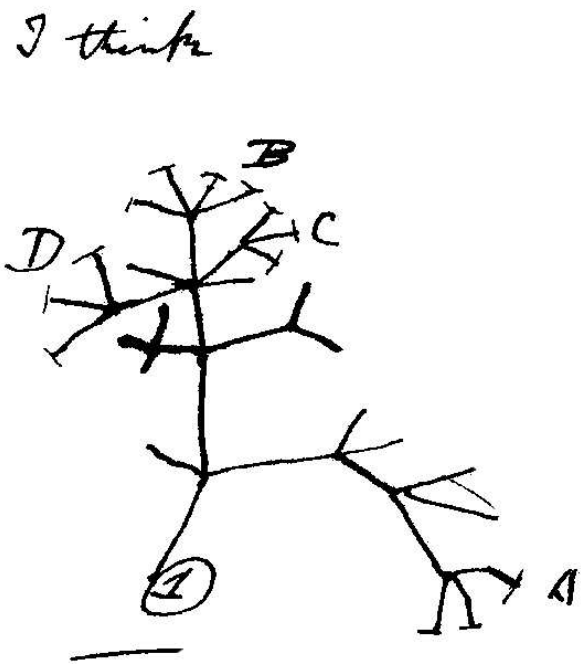
- Africa
- Americae

Intro: Classification

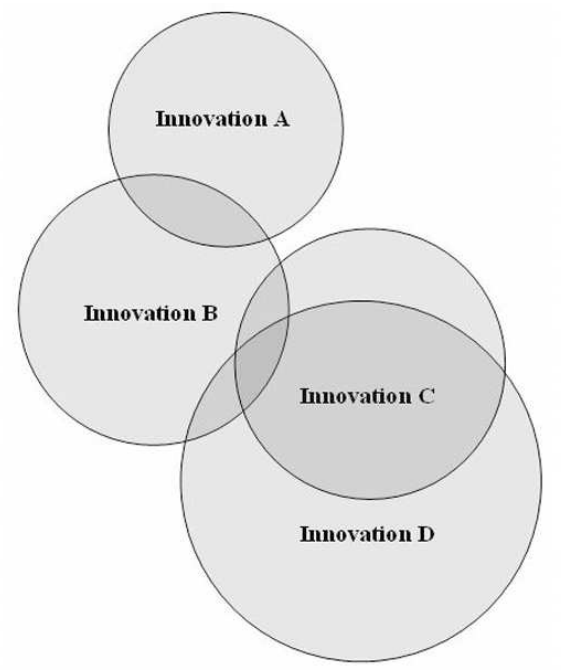
Classification:

1. genetic
2. typological

Models:



VS.



Intro: Classification

F. Diez's Model (1836-44):

East Romance
: Romania
: Italian

North-West Romance
: French
: Provençal, incl. Catalan

South-West group
: Spanish, incl. Asturian-Leonese and Aragonese
: Portuguese

Comm.

1. Dalmatian, Istriot and Franco-Provençal not yet known;
2. Sardinian and Rhaeto-Romance not included - not Schriftsprachen.

Intro: Classification

W. Meyer-Lübke's Model (1920):

Balkan-Romance

Romanian, Dalmatian

Italo-Romance

Italian

Rhaeto-Romance

Friulian, Ladin, Romansh

Gallo-Romance

French

Occitan, incl. Catalan

Ibero-Romance

Spanish, incl. Asturian-Leonese and Aragonese, Portuguese

Comm.

1. Based on arbitrary criteria (by author's own admission); 2. First to include Catalan, Gascon and Rhaeto-Romance; 3. "The standard model".

Intro: Classification

M.G Bartoli's Model (1903, 1906):

Apennino-Balkan Romance

- Italian
- Romanian
- Albano-Romanian
- Dalmatian

Pyrenaeo-Alpine Romance

- Rhaeto-Romance
- French
- Provençal
- Spanish
- Portuguese

Comm.

Largely based on substrates; other criteria include development of intervocalic stops and final -S, extent of palatalization, positioning of possessive pronouns etc. Also proposed: Illyro-Romance (Muljačić)

Intro: Classification

W. von Wartburg's Model

East Romance Romanian, Dalmatian, Italian

West Romance French, Spanish...

Separated by La Spezia-Rimini line (Massa-Senigallia line).

Criteria:

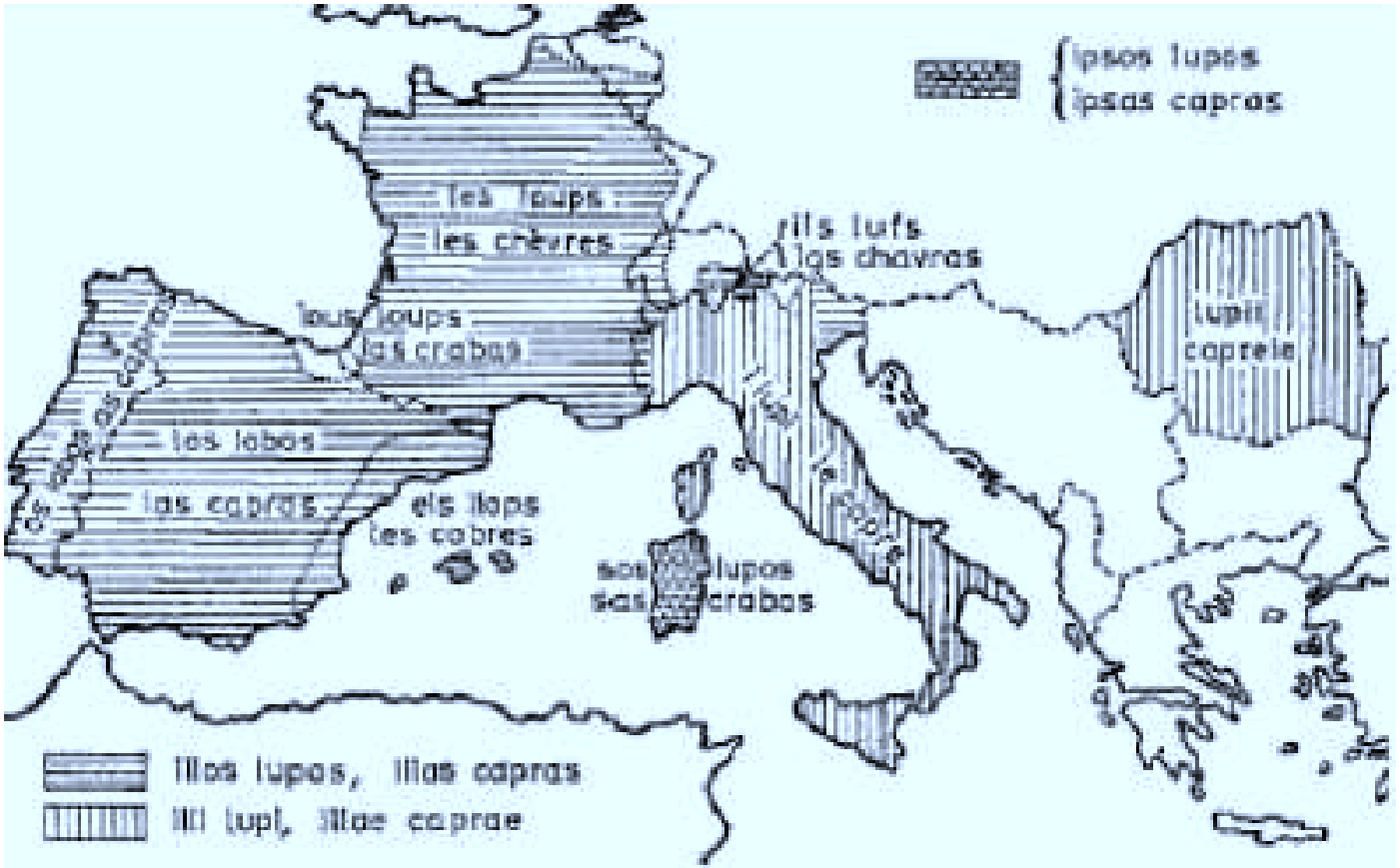
	Loss of -S	Sonorization of -P-, -T-, -K-
East Romance	+	-
West Romance	-	+
Sard., Arag., Gascon	-	-

Comm.

1. Bartoli already used both criteria;
2. Politzer showed that the sonorization in the North Italy was rather recent;
3. Fricativization in ERom. as well, cp. *gorgia toscana*: MATURU > *maθuro*;
4. in Sardinian too, cp. NEPOTE, SECARE > *neβoδe, seγare* (Campidanese, Logudorese).

Intro: Classification

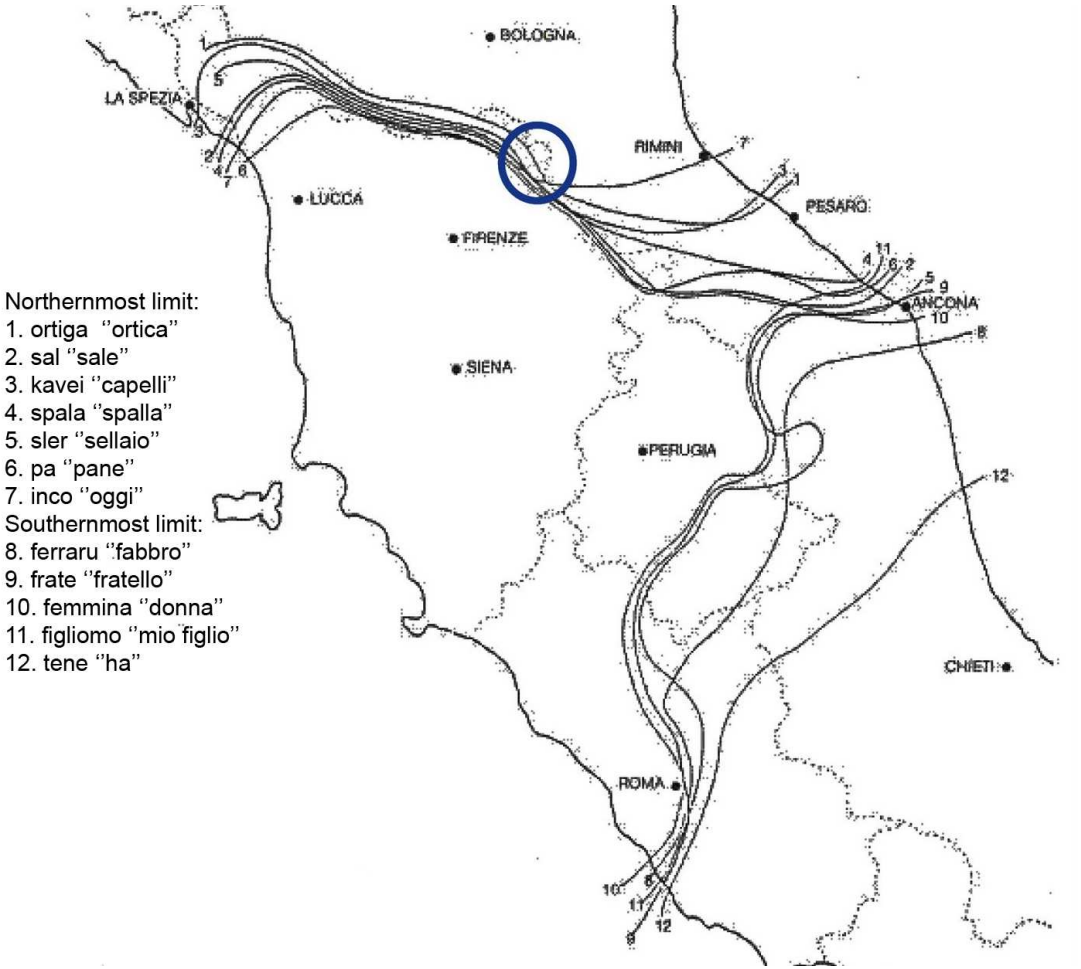
Bartoli's and von Wartburg's Model:



The article and the reflexes of Lat. -S in East and West Romania

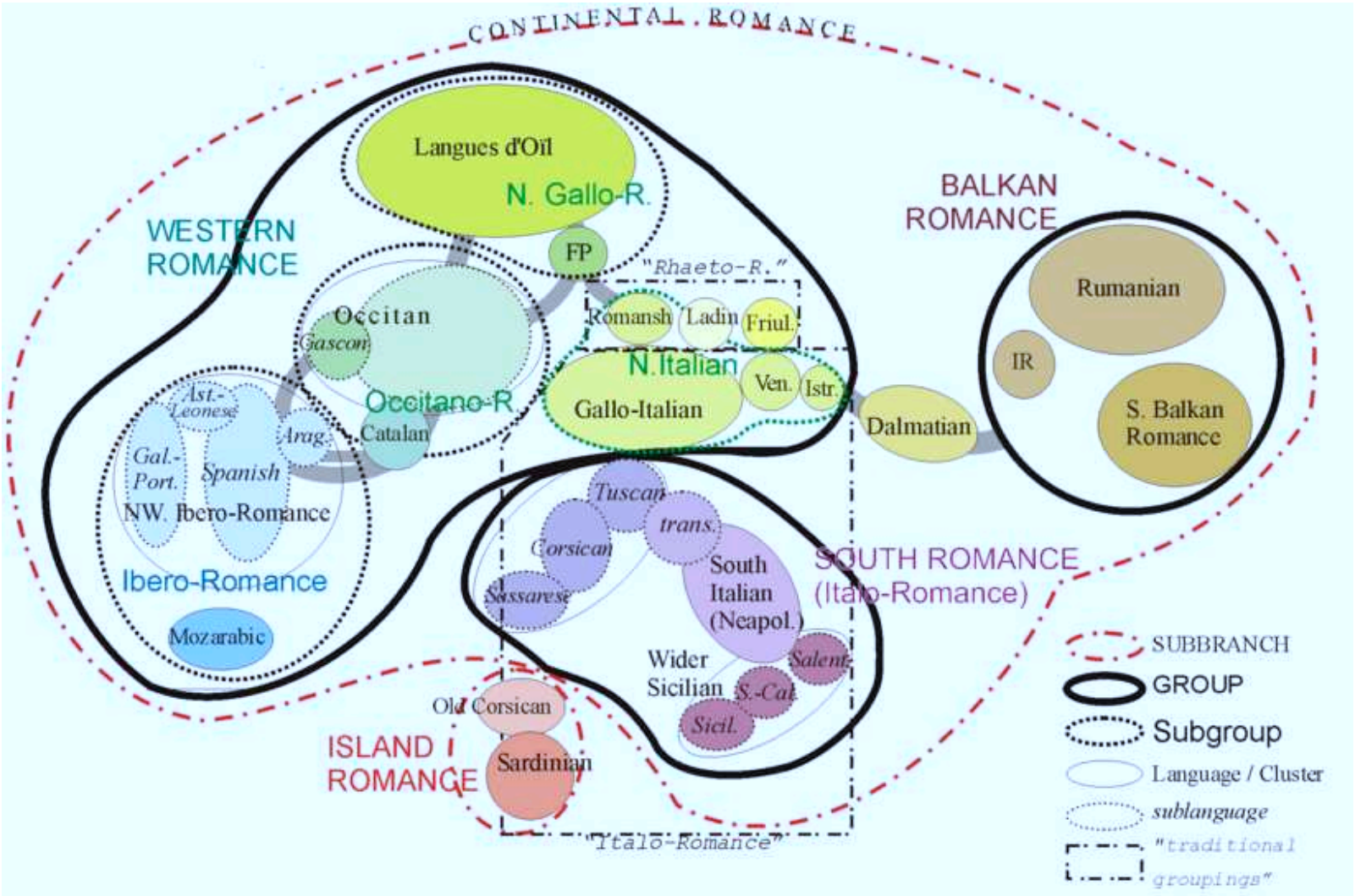
Intro: Classification

Classification: La Spezia-Rimini line



Cf. Allières (2001: 265)

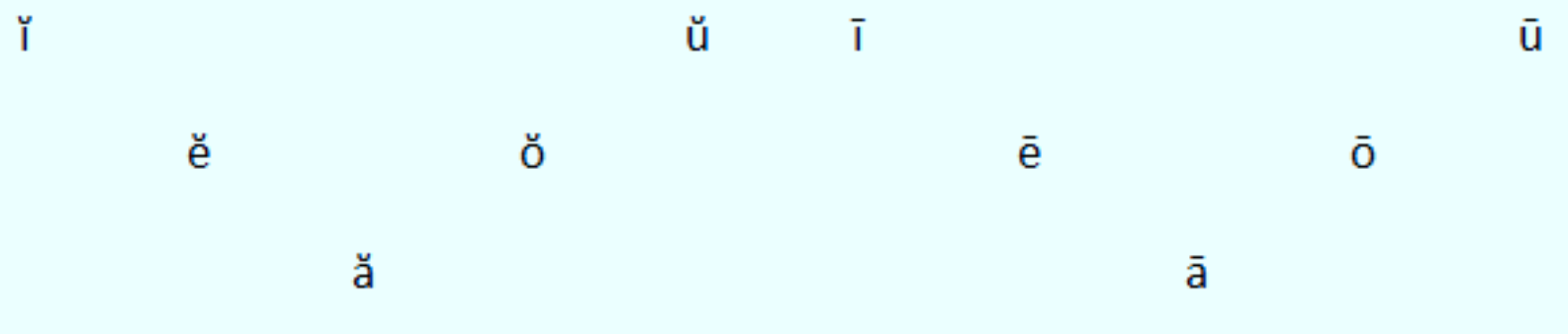
Intro: Classification



Cf. Koryakov (2001)

Vulgar Latin

Latin Vowel System



Latin Vowel System

Short vs. long vowel:

PĂLUS 'swamp' : PĀLUS 'stick'
Gsg. PĔDIS 'foot' : PĒDIS 'lice'
PŎPULUS 'people' : PŌPULUS 'poplar tree'
ĭS 'he' : 2sg. ĪS 'go'
FRUCTUS 'fruit' : Npl. FRUCTŪS 'fruits'

Open vs. closed syllable:

CASUS 'fall' : CASSUS 'without'
Gsg. CARUS 'dear, expensive' : CARRUS 'carriage'
VILIS 'inexpensive' : DAb. pl. VILLIS 'country house'

Latin Vowel System

Vowel length =/= syllable structure in Latin:
Open syllable + short vowel: PĬRUS ‘pear’
Closed syllable + long vowel: STĒLLA ‘star’
Open syllable + long vowel: MŪRUS ‘wall’
Closed syllbale + short vowel: MĬTTO ‘send’

Brink’s Law:
Open syllable + short vowel > open syllable + long vowel
Closed syllbale + long vowel > closed syllable + short vowel

Vowel length = syllable structure in Vulgar Latin:
Open syllable + long vowel
Closed syllable + short vowel

Testimonia

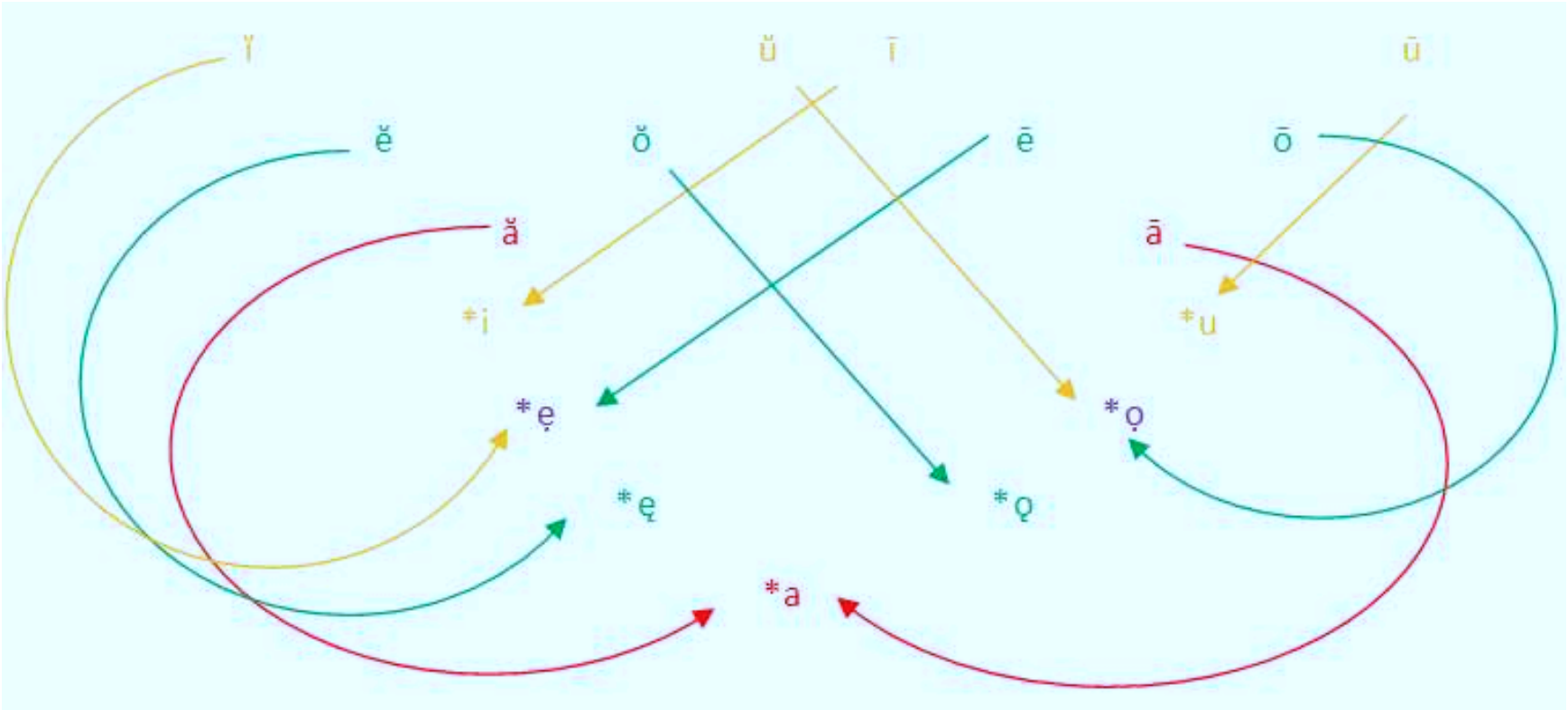
. . . plerumque male pronuntiamus et facimus vitium, ut brevis syllaba longo tractu sonet aut iterum longa breviore sono.

Pomp.

Quidam dicunt piper producta priore syllaba cum sit brevis

Coss.

Latin Vowels



Latin Vowels

Romance 7-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i	ę		ę	a	ǫ	ǫ		u

Sardinian 5-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i		e		a		o	u	

Romanian 6-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i	ę		ę	a		o	u	

Sicilian 5-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ū	ŭ
	i		e	a	o		u	

Lucanian 5-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i		e		a		o	u	

Latin Vowels

FĪLUM 'thread' > It. *filo*, Sard. *filu*, Rom. *fir*, Sic. *filu*, Luc. *filu*

NĬVEM, SĬTIM 'snow, thirst' > It. *neve*, Sard. *nive*, Romn. *sete*, Sic. *nivi*, Luc. *sete*

CATĒNA, CRĒDERE, TĒLA 'chain, believe, cloth' > It. *catena*, Sard. *kadẹna*, Romn. *crede*, Sic. *tila*, Luc. *tela*

PĔLLEM, FĔLEM, MĔL, DĔCEM 'hide, bile, honey, 10' > It. *pelle*, Sard. *fẹle*, Romn. *fele*, Sic. *meli*, Luc. *dece*

ŎSSUM, RŎTA, ŎCTO 'bone, wheel' > It. *osso*, Sard. *rọda*, Romn. *roată*, Sic. *rota*, Luc. *otte*

SŌLEM 'Sun' > It. *sole*, Sard. *sọle*, Romn. *soare*, Sic. *suli*, Luc. *sole*

CRŬCEM, NŬCEM 'cross, nut' > It. *croce*, Sard. *ruke*, Romn. *cruce*, Sic. *nuci*, Luc. *cruce*

DŪRUM, LŪNA 'hard' > It. *duro*, Sard. *duru*, Romn. *dur*, Sic. *luna*, Luc. *luna*

Appendix Probi

Examples of u $>$ o and e $>$ i in Appendix Probi?

Latin Diphthongs

Lat. OE, AE, AU monophthongized (partim)

Lat. oe > VLat. ę̄ > PRom. *ę:

POENA 'punishment' > Port. Sp. Cat. It. *pena*

Lat. ae > VLat. ę̄ > PRom. *ę:

CAELUM 'sky' > Sp. *cielo*, Fr. *ciel*, It. *cielo*

Lat. au > VLat. ǭ > PRom. *ǫ:

AURUM 'gold' > Cat. Fr. *or*, It. Sp. *oro*
but Port. *ouro*, Occ. Romn. *aur*, Dalm. *jaur*, Alb. *ar*

Hypercorrection:

SAEDET, TIMAEO, AET etc. for SEDET, TIMEO, ET (Inscr.)

Latin Diphthongs

Dissimilation: AU-U > A-U:

AGUSTU 'punishment' > It. Sp. Po. agosto, Occ. agost, aost, Fr. août.
AUSCULTARE 'listen' > Romn. a asculta, It. ascoltare, Occ. escoutar, Fr. écouter, Sp. escuchar, Po. escutar.

Testimonia

. . . hircus, quod Sabini fircus; quod illic fedus, in Latio rure hedus, qui in urbe ut in multis a addito haedus.

Varro
De lingua Latina V, 97:

Latin Vowels in Hiatus

Neutralization in hiatus: eV, iV > yV.

Crescentsianus, Vincentza, ampitzatru, consiensia etc. for Crescentianus, Vincentia, amphiteatrum, conscientia (Inscr.)

Moutziani kastellon, Loutzolo (Procop.), abolitzio, gratzias (Inscr.) for Muciani castellum, Luciolum, abolitio, gratias

pocius, cicius, pontifitium (Txt.), potius, citius, potificum

Latin Vowels in Hiatus

FILIA > Romn. fie, It. figlia, Fr. fille, Occ. Po. filha, Cat. filya, Sp. hija.

VINEA > Romn. vie, It. vigna, Sard. bindza, Fr. vigne, Occ. Po. vinha, Cat. vinya, Sp. viña

N.B. Sardinian bindza, but kervu < CERVU.

Testimonia

Iustitia cum scribitur, tertia syllaba sic sonat quasi constet ex tribus litteris: t, z et i.

Serv.

Media, di sine sibilo proferenda est.

Serv.

Appendix Probi

Examples of e $>$ i in hiatus in Appendix Probi?

Appendix Probi

FILIA > Romn. fie, It. figlia, Fr. fille, Occ. Po. filha, Cat. filya, Sp. hija.

VINEA > Romn. vie, It. vigna, Sard. bindza, Fr. vigne, Occ. Po. vinha, Cat. vinya, Sp. viña

N.B. Sardinian bindza, but kervu < CERVU.

Syncope

Affects intertonic syllable.

Pretonic Syncope: BÒNITÁTE 'goodness' > BONTATE
Posttonic Syncope: ÓCULÙ 'eye' > OCLU

Not systematic: depends on groups already present in the system? (Anderson)

Syncope

Old Latin Syncope:

CEDERE 'goodness' > CEDRE (Inscr.)
POPULO 'eye' > POPLO (Inscr.)

Earlier Vulgar Latin Syncope:

OCULU 'eye' > Romn. ochiu, It. occhio, Vegl. vaklo, Sard. oyu, Fr. œil, Occ. olh, Cat. ull, Sp. ojo, Po. olho
DOMINU 'lord' > Romn. domn, OIt. donno, OSard. domnu, Occ. don, Sp. dueño, Po. dono.

Earlier and Later Vulgar Latin Syncope:

VETULU 'eye' > VLat. *veklu > Romn. vechiu, It. vecchio, Vegl. vieklo, Fr. vieil, Occ. vielh, Cat. vell, Sp. viejo, Po. velho
SPATULA 'shoulder' > VLat. *spatla > It. spalla, Fr. épaule, Occ. espatla, Cat. espatlla, Sp. espalda, Po. espádua.

Appendix Probi

Examples of syncope in Appendix Probi?

Latin B

Latin VBV, VVV > β

DEVERE, INCOMPARAVILI, GUVERNACULA etc. for DEBERE, INCOMPARABILI, GUBERNACULA (Inscr.)

LABARE, NOBACULA etc. for LAVARE, NOVACULA (Inscr.)

Confusion of AVEO and HABEO

Latin B

Spirant:

CABALLU > Sp. *ca[β]allo*, Cat. *ca[β]all*, Occ. *ca[β]au*, Sard. *ca[β]aḍḍu*
LAVARE > Sp. *la[β]ar*, Cat. *lla[β]ar*, Sard. *la[β]are*

Fricative:

CABALLU > Port. *ca[v]alo*, Fr. *che[v]al*, Eng. *cha[v]agl*, It. *ca[v]allo*
LAVARE > Port. *la[v]ar*, Occ. *la[v]ar*, Fr. *la[v]er*, Eng. *la[v]er*, It. *la[v]are*

Loss:

CABALLU > Romn. *cal*
LAVARE 'wash' > Romn. *la*

Testimonia

V sonat cum aliqua adspiratione.

Vel. Long.

Appendix Probi

Examples of v and b oscillation in Appendix Probi?

Latin H

Hypercorrection (Cat. Carm. 84)

Chommoda dicebat, si quando commoda uellet
dicere, et insidias Arrius hinsidias,
et tum mirifice sperabat se esse locutum,
cum quantum poterat dixerat hinsidias.
credo, sic mater, sic liber auunculus eius.
sic maternus auus dixerat atque auia.
hoc misso in Syriam requierant omnibus aures
audibant eadem haec leniter et leuiter,
nec sibi postilla metuebant talia uerba,
cum subito affertur nuntius horribilis,
Ionios fluctus, postquam illuc Arrius isset,
iam non Ionios esse sed Hionios.

Accent

Group -ÍE- > -IÉ-:

MULIERE 'woman' > Romn. *muiere*, Sp. *mujer*, Po. *molher*
PARIETE 'wall' > Romn. It. *parete*, Fr. *paroi*, Sp. *pared*

Group -ÍO- > -IÓ-:

FILIOLU 'son' > It. *figliuolo*, Fr. *filleul*, Sp. *hijeulo*

Muta cum liquida:

INTEGRU 'whole' > Romn. *întreg*, It. *intero*, Fr. *entier*, Sp. *entero*, Po. *inteiro*

Nominal Morphology: Intro

Nomina:
Nouns (Substanitiva)
Adjectives (Adiectiva)
Pronouns (Pronomina)
Numerals (Numeralia)

Nominal categories:
Gender (Genus): masculinum, femininum, neutrum
Number (Numerus): singularis, pluralis, (dualis)
Case (Casus): nominativus, genitivus, dativus, accusativus, vocativus, ablativus

Markers often blended in amalgams (Martinet)

Declension Classes in Latin

	I	II	III	IV	V
N	PORTA	CERVUS	PONS	FRUCTUS	DIES
G	PORTAE	CERVĪ	PONTIS	FRUCTŪS	DIĒI
D	PORTAE	CERVŌ	PONTĪ	FRUCTUĪ	DIĒI
Acc	PORTAM	CERVUM	PONTEM	FRUCTUM	DIEM
Abl	PORTĀ	CERVŌ	PONTE	FRUCTŪ	DIE
n	PORTAE	CERVĪ	PONTĒS	FRUCTŪS	DIES
g	PORTĀRUM	CERVŌRUM	PONTIUM	FRUCTUUM	DIERUM
d	PORTĪS	CERVĪS	PONTIBUS	FRUCTIBUS	DIEBUS
acc	PORTĀS	CERVŌS	PONTĒS	FRUCTŪS	DIES
abl	PORTĪS	CERVĪS	PONTIBUS	FRUCTIBUS	DIEBUS
	'door'	'deer'	'bridge'	'fruit'	'day'

Peculiarities

I declension:

1. Greek nouns: MUSICE-type

II declension:

1. in -AIUS, -EIUS, -IUS: CAIUS-type
2. in -ER: LIBER-type vs. PUER-type
3. in -IR: VIR 'man'
4. DEUS 'god'

III declension:

1. imparisyllabic vs. parisyllabic: CIVITAS-type vs. AMNIS-type
2. old i-stems: TURRIS-type
3. 'exceptions': VIS, BOS, IUPPITER etc.

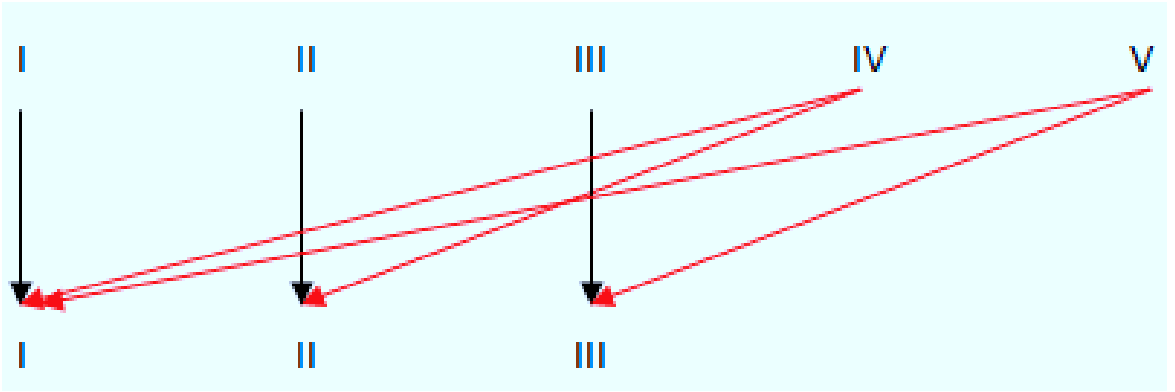
IV declension:

1. II-declension influx: DOMUS 'house'

V declension:

1. FIDES-type vs. DIES-type

IV and V Declension Dissolve



IV declension:

FRUCTUS 'fruit' (IV) > *fructus* (II)

NURUS 'daughter-in-law' (IV) > *nura* (I)

SOCRUS 'mother-in-law' (IV) > *socra* (I)

Exc. MANUS 'hand' (IV) > *manus* (II)

V declension:

FACIES 'face' (V) > *facia* (I)

FIDES 'faith' (V) > *fides* (III)

Loss of Oblique Cases: Genitive

Genitive = DE + Prepositional:[14]

DIMIDIUM DE PRAEDA 'half of the booty' (Pl.)

FAECEM DE VINO 'dregs of the wine' (Cat.)

GRANA DE FICO 'fig seeds' (Varro)

DE EADEM LIBRA TERTIA PARS 'a third of the same weight' (Ben.)

MONASTERIUM DE CASTAS 'a convent of nuns' (Ben.)

[14] Since 2nd c. BC.

Loss of Oblique Cases: Dative and Ablative

Dative = AD + Prepositional:[15]

AD CARNUFICEM DABO 'i will give to the executioner' (Pl.)

PRAECIPE QUAE AD PATREM VIS NUNTIARI 'tell me what you want said to the father' (Pl.)

AD EOS DES MANDUCARE 'give them something to eat' (Mul. Chir.)

Ablative = CUM, IN etc. + Prepositional:[16]

CUM DISCENTES SUOS 'with his pupils' (Inscr.)

CUM IUMENTUM 'with a draft animal' (Inscr.)

CUM FILIOS SUOS TRES 'with his three sons' (Inscr.)

PRO SE ET SUOS 'for himself and his familiy' (Inscr.)

[15] Since 2nd c. BC.

[16] Since AD.

Effect of Sound Changes

N	PORTA	*porta	MURUS	*muros	DOLOR	*dolor
G	PORTAE	*porte	MURĪ	*muri	DOLORIS	*dolori
D	PORTAE	*porte	MURŌ	*muro	DOLORĪ	*dolori
Acc	PORTAM	*porta	MURUM	*muro	DOLOREM	*dolore
Abl	PORTĀ	*porta	MURŌ	*muro	DOLORE	*dolore

Loss of -M:

N ROSA, Acc ROSAM $>$ *rosa

Merger of Ā and Ă:

N ROSA, Abl ROSĀ $>$ *rosa

Merger of Ŭ and Ō:

Acc MURUM, D Abl MURŌ $>$ *muro

Merger of -Ī and -IS:

G DOLORIS, D DOLORĪ $>$ *dolori

Neutralization of Plural Cases

a-stems:

n *porte - non-n *portas $>$ n *portas - non-n *portas:

Examples:

BENE QUIESCANT RELIQUIAS 'may the remains rest well' (Inscr.)

HIC QUIESCUNT DUAS MATRES 'here lie two mothers' (Inscr.)

AQUAS COQUENDAE SUNT 'the waters are to be cooked' (Orib.)

SI DUAS PLAGAS FUERINT 'if there be two wounds' (Edict. Roth.)

Plural Types Today

	PORTA	PORTAS	CERVU	CERVOS	PONTE	PONTES
Port.	porta	portas	cervo	cervos	ponte	pontes
Sp.	puerta	puertas	ciervo	ciervos	puente	puentes
Fr.	porte	portes	cerf	cerfs	pont	ponts
It.	porta	porte	cervo	cervi	ponte	ponti
Romn.	poartă	poarte	cerb	cerbi	punte	punți

Plural Types

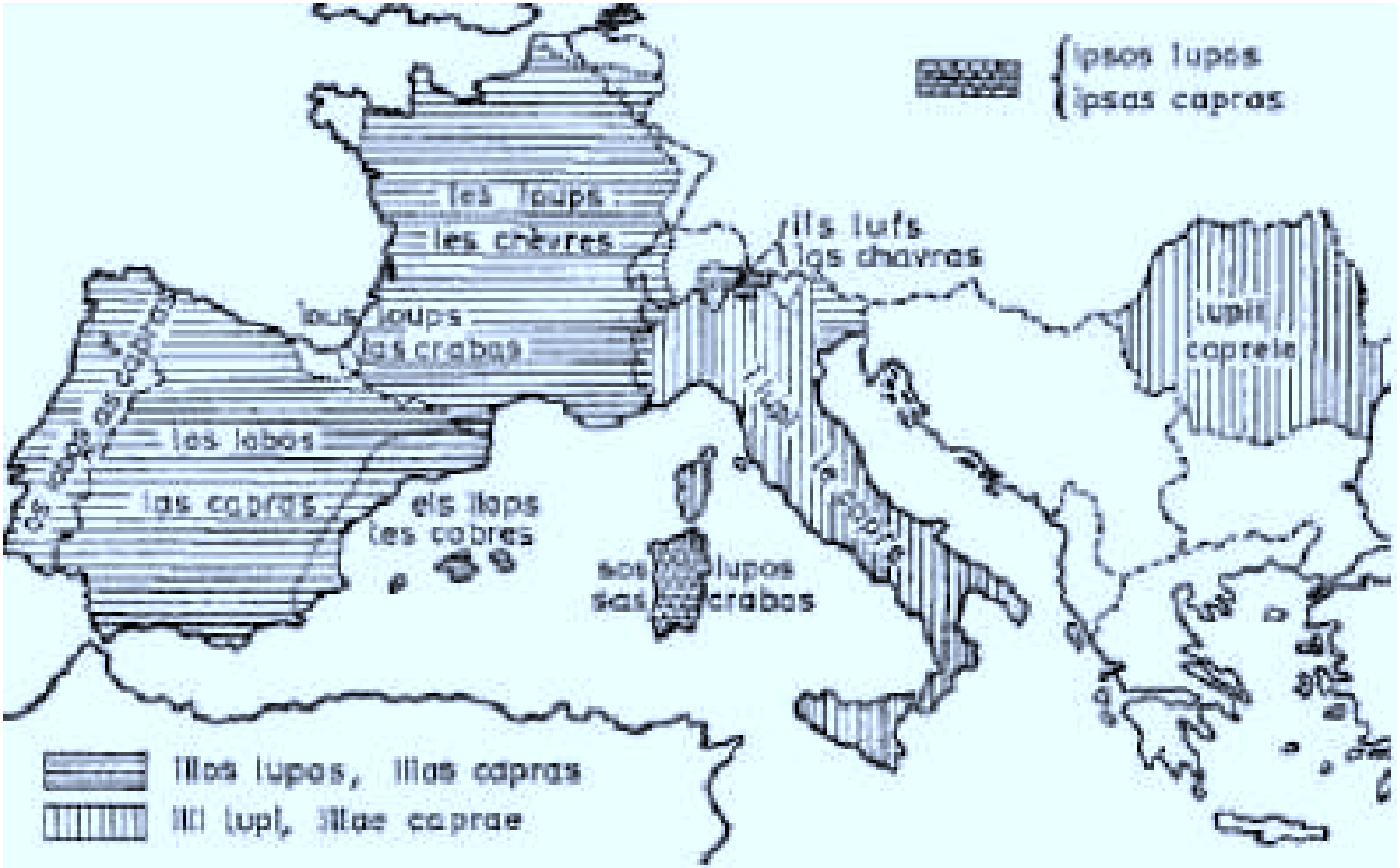
General types:

1. in -s (West Romance and Sardinian)
   Exc. OSp. *revocadi son, foren enclausi*
   Exc. RRom. [dut] $<$ TOTUS, [dutš] $<$ TOTI
2. in -V (East Romance)

Other types:

3. collective plural, cp. It. *le ossa* 'bones' (innovated)
4. in -ORA, cp. Romn. *praturi*, SIt. *pratora* ($<$ -ORBIUS, -ORA)
5. loss of -S:
   a) in Andalusia: pl. *amigos* $>$ [amiɣoh] $>$ [amiɣu, amiɣɔ]
   b) in Limousin: sg. *boton* [butu], pl. *botons* [butu:]
   c) in French: plural expressed through syntax save for the for *sg. animal/pl. animaux*-type
6. loss of -I and metaphony: Vegl. sg. *kamp*/pl. *kimp*, Abr. sg. *kɛnə*/pl. *kinə*

East-West Split



Cf. Wartburg's classification.

Origins of V-plurals

1.. I-plural:

a. Morphological Hypothesis (D'Ovidio, Rohlfs, Lausberg)
It. i < -I due to -UM, -OS > -o; similarly -EM, -ES > -i
(Problem: DENTES 'teeth' > GIt. *i dente*)

b. Phonetic Hypothesis (Lausberg, Maiden, Politzer):
It. i < -ES (Problem: Sp. *besos* (Andalusia) > [besɔ, besu])

c. -IS Hypothesis (Pușcariu, Aebischer):
It. i < -IS

2. AE-plural:

a. Morphological Hypothesis (Rohlfs):
It. -e < -AE (Problem: AMICAE > It. *amiche*, not *amice* but Romn. *fiice*)

b. Phonetic Hypothesis (Aebischer, Lausberg):
It. -e < -AS

Case Relics

Nominative:

ARBOR 'tree' > Rom. *arbor* vs. ARBORE > Po. *árvore*
N. B. DEUS > Sp. *dios*, HOMO > It. *uomo*, FRATER > Po. *frade*, etc.

Genitive:

VENERIS (sc. DIES) 'Friday' > Ga. *venres*, Sp. *viernes*
AURI FABER 'goldsmith' > Fr. *orfèvre*
PEDIS UNGULA 'foot nail' > Sp. *pezuña*
LUNAE DIES 'Monday' > *lunedì* 'Monday'
IOVIS (sc. DIES) 'Thursday' > Sp. *jueves*

Ablative:

HOC ANNO 'this year' > Sp. *hogaño*
QUO MODO, QUOMODO 'what way' > Sp. Po. *como*
HAC HORA 'this hour' > Po. *agora*
QUA RE 'whereby' > Fr. *car*

Case Relics

Occitan:

CS PORTA, MURUS, NAVIS > Occ. *porte, murs, naus*
CR PORTAM, MURUM, NAVEM > Occ. *porte, mur, nau*

CS PORTAS, MURI, NAVES > Occ. *portes, mur, naus*
CR PORTAS, MUROS, NAVES > Occ. *portes, murs, naus*

Old French:

CS PORTA, MURUS, NAVIS > Occ. *porte, murs, nés*
CR PORTAM, MURUM, NAVEM > Occ. *porte, mur, nef*

CS PORTAS, MURI, NAVES > Occ. *portes, mur, nés*
CR PORTAS, MUROS, NAVES > Occ. *portes, murs, nés*

Romanian:

N/A VACCA, DOMINU, NOCTE > N/A *vacă, domn, nopt*
G/D VACCAE, DOMINO, NOCTI > G/D *vaci, domn, nopți*

n/a VACCAE, DOMINI, *NOCTI > n/a *vaci, domni, nopți*
g/d VACCIS, DOMINIS, *NOCTI > g/d *vaci, domni, nopți*

Gender

Feminina: -A (I), -ES (V)

Masculina: -US (II), -ER (II), -US (IV)

Neutra: -UM (II), -U (IV), -C (III)

Exceptions:

I-A - *nauta; Sequana; caelicola, terrigena. . .*
II-US - *alvus, humus, vannus, colus; atomus, dialectus. . .*
II-UM - *virus, pelagus, vulgus*
IV-US - *manus, tribus, porticus, acus, domus, ldus . . .*
V-ES - *dies, meridies*

Heterogenea:

locus, pl. *loca, loci*
iocus, pl. *ioci, ioca*
freni, pl. *freni, frena*
caelum, pl. *caeli*

Gender

Gender slipping in Satyricon:

CAELUS HIC, IN QUO DUODECIM DII HABITANT. . . (39)
'This sky, in which twelve gods live. . . '

VINUS MIHI IN CEREBRUM ABIIT (41)
'The wine has gone to my head'

VIX ME BALNEUS CALFECIT (41)
'bath hardly keeps me warm'

ETIAM SI ILLOS MALUS FATUS OPRESSERIT (71)
'even if bad fate opresses them'

ET SERVI. . . LACTEM BIBERUNT (71)
'slaves too drank milk'

Gender: Masculina and Feminina

Latin masculine > Romance masculine
Latin feminine > Romance feminine

but DENTE 'tooth' m. > Cat. Fr. *la dent*, It. *il dente*, Romn. *dentele*

Grammaticalization:

*-o (II class) > Romance masculine
*-a (I class) > Romance feminine

but DOMU 'house' f. > It. *il duomo*

III class:

ARBORE 'tree' f. > Romn. *arborele*, It. *l'albero*
CALORE 'heat' m. > It. *il calore*, Fr. *la chaleur*, Cat. *la calor*
COLORE 'color' m. > Po. *a cor*, Fr. *la couleur*, It. *il colore*

Gender: Neutra

II-class neutra:

sg. -o > Romance masculine
pl. -a > Romance feminine

sg. VINU 'wine' > Sp. *el vino*, Fr. *le vin*, It. *il vino*
pl. FOLIA 'leaves' > Sp. *la hoja*, Fr. *la feuille*, It. *la foglia/il foglio*

Examples:

CASTRA HAEC VESTRA EST (Acc.)
'This is your camp'

SATIO OPTIMA RADICIS ET RAPAE (Col.)
'Best sowing for radish and turnip'

Gender: Neutra

III-class neutra:

-0/-E > Romance masculine and feminine

MARE 'sea' n. > Sp. *el/la mar*, Fr. *la mer*, It. *il mare*
FEL 'bile' n. > Sp. *la hiel*, Fr. *le fiel*, It. *il fele*

QUIDAM MULTAM OPERAM IN RES OBSCURAS CONFERUT (Cic.)
'Some devote much attention to obscure things'

III-class neutra in -US:

-US > Romance masculine

TEMPUS 'time' n. > Sp. *el tiempo*, Fr. *le temps*, It. *il tempo*
CORPUS 'body' n. > Sp. *el cuerpo*, Fr. *le corps*, It. *il corpo*

Stem Leveling

BOS, BOVIS 'ox' > *bovis, bovem
DENS, DENTIS 'tooth' > *dentis, dentem

LACTE GALLINACEUM SI QUAESIERIS, INVENIES (Petr.)
if you want chicken milk, you'll find it'

Reflexes of unleveled stem:

CAPUT, CAPITE 'head' > Sp. *cabo*, Fr. *chef*, It. *capo*
MULIER, MULIERE 'woman' > Sp. *mujer*, It. *moglie*

Reflexes of both stems:

SERPENS 'snake' > Sp. *sierpe*, It. *serpe*
SERPENTE 'snake' > Sp. *serpiente*, Fr. *serpent*, It. *serpente*

HOMO 'man' > It. *uomo*, Fr. *on*
HOMINE 'man' > Sp. *hombre*, Fr. *homme*

Gender

Collective relics:

LIGNA 'wood' > It. *legna*, Sard. *linna*, Cat. *llenya*
RAMA 'branches' > It. *rama*

Sursilvan collective:

FOLIA 'leaf' > Ssl. sg. *fegl*, pl. *fegls*, coll. *feglia*

New neuter:

Sp. *lo bueno* 'that which is good', *lo de ayer* 'that of yesterday'
SIt. *lo pescio* 'fish' coll. vs. *lu pesciu* m.

Italian ambigenerics:

sg. n. BRACCHIU 'arm' > It. *il braccio*
pl. n. BRACCHIA 'arms' > It. *le braccia*
sg. n. OVU 'egg' > It. *l'uovo*
pl. n. OVA 'eggs' > It. *le uova*

Gender Marking

Lat. PAUPER 'poor':

PAUPERA HAEC RES EST (Pl.)
'this is a poor thing'

PAUPERORUM VERBA DERIDES (Petr.)
'you mock the speech of the poor'

PAUPER MULIER NON PAUPERA MULIER (App. Prob.)
'poor woman'

*PAUPERU 'poor' m. > It. *povero*
*PAUPERA 'poor' f. > It. *povera*

III-class:

SOROR 'sister' > *sora > Romn. *soră*, It. *suora*
PAPAVER 'poppy' > *papaveru > It. *papavero*
ARBOR 'tree' > *arboru > It. *albero*, Sic. *árbulu*

Gradation

Analytic gradation:

Lat. FORTIOR, FORTIORE 'strong' > Rom. plus/magis fortis, forte

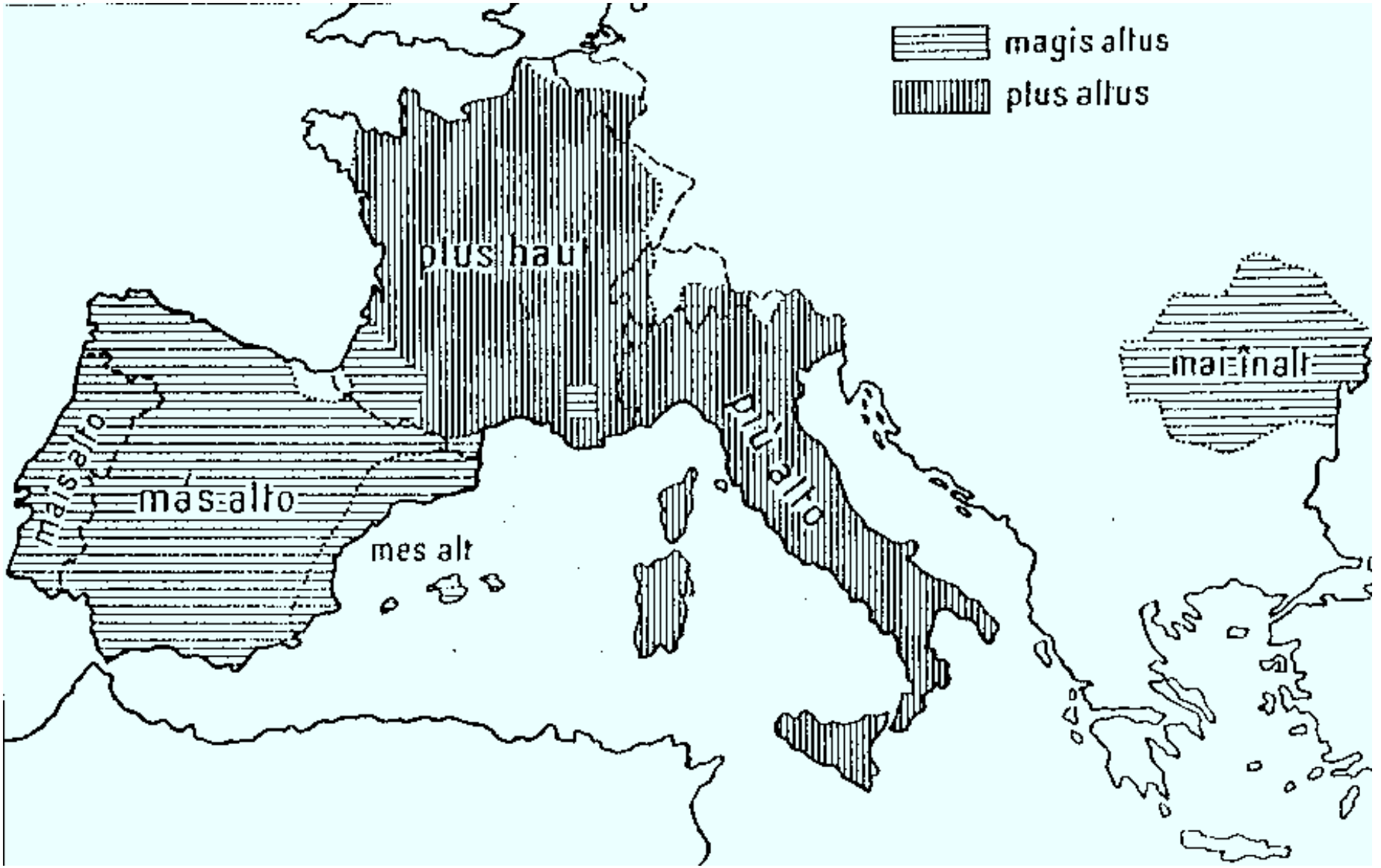
PLUS 'more' > Fr. *plus*, RRom. *pli, pü, più*, Sard. *prus*
MAGIS 'more' > Po. *mais*, Sp. *más*, Cat. *més*, Romn. *mai*
PLUS or MAGIS > Occ. *mai, pus*, Vegl. *mai, ple*

Lat. MARCUS EST FORTIOR PETRO
Sp. *Marcos es más fuerte que Pedro*
It. *Marco è più forte di Pietro*

Reflexes of uneleveled stem:

MELIOR 'better' > Po. *melhor*, Sp. *mejor*, Fr. *meilleur*, It. *migliore*
MELIUS 'better' > Fr. *mieux*, It. *meglio*
PEIOR 'worse' > Po. Sp. *peor*, Cat. *pitjor*, It. *peggiore*
PEIUS 'worse' > Fr. *pis*, It. *peggio*
MINUS 'lesser' > Po. Sp. *menos*, Fr. *moins*, It. *meno*

Gradation


magis altus
plus altus
plus haut
mas alto
mes alt
mas alto
mai nalt

Pronouns

Innovative: heavy vs. light distinction

	VIDET ME	VIDET ME
It	mi vede	vede me
Fr.	il me voit	il voit moi
Sp.	me ve	ve a mi
Romn.	mă vede	vede pe mine

Partly Conservative: cases partly preserved.

Pronouns: 1st and 2nd person

Nominative:

EGO >	It. *io*, Sp. *yo*, Fr. *moi*	It. -, Sp. -, Fr. *je*
TU >	It. *tu*, Sp. *tú*, Fr. *toi*	It. -, Sp. -, Fr. *tu*
NOS >	It. *noi*, Sp. *nos(otros)*, Fr. *nous*	It. -, Sp. -, Fr. *nous*
VOS >	It. *voi*, Sp. *vos(otros)*, Fr. *vous*	It. -, Sp. -, Fr. *vous*

Accusative:

ME >	It. *me*, Sp. *mí*, Fr. *moi*	It. *mi*, Sp. *me*, Fr. *me*
TE >	It. *te*, Sp. *tí*, Fr. *toi*	It. *ti*, Sp. *te*, Fr. *te*
NOS >	It. *noi*, Sp. *nos(otros)*, Fr. *nous*	It. no, *ci*, Sp. *nos*, Fr. *nous*
VOS >	It. *voi*, Sp. *vos(otros)*, Fr. *vous*	It. vo, *vi*, Sp. *os*, Fr. *vous*

Dative:

MIHI > It. -, Sp. *mí*, Fr. -, Romn. *mie*

TIBI > It. -, Sp. *tí*, Fr. -, Romn. *ţie*

Pronouns: 3rd person

IS = ILLE:

ILLE ROGAT ILLA COMISERETUR (CIL)
'he begs her to take pity on him'

ILLE > *ILLI ~QUI:

ILLI VENIENS AD PRAESENTIAM NOSTRAM SUGGESSIT (CIL)
'he came into our presence and suggested'

ILLIUS > *ILLUIUS ~CUIUS:

ROFINA FILIA IPSUIUS (CIL)
'Rofina, his daughter'

ILLI> *ILLUI ~CUI:

ULTIMUM ILLUI SPIRITUM (CIL)
'his last breath'

Pronouns: 3rd person

ILLI	ILLA	ILLU
ILLUIUS	ILLUIUS	ILLUIUS
ILLUI	ILLUI	ILLUI
ILLU	ILLA	ILLU

ILLI	ILLAE, -AS	ILLA
ILLORU	ILLORU	ILLORU
ILLIS	ILLIS	ILLIS
ILLOS	ILLAS	ILLA

D ILLI > Po. *lhe*, Sp. *le*, Cat. *li*, It. *gli*, Rom. *îi, i*
D *ILLUI > Occ. *lui*, Fr. *lui*, It. *lui*, Romn. *lui*
D *ILLAEI > Occ. *lei*, It. *lei*, Romn. *ei*
d ILLIS > Po. *lhes*, Sp. *les*, Cat. *les*

Other attested variants include Gsg. ILLAEIUS.

Italian 3rd Person Pronoun

Heavy:

egli, ella	$<$	N. *ILLI, ILLA
lui, lei	$<$	Non-N. *ILLUI, *ILLAEI
eglino, elleno	$<$	n. ILLI, ILLAE
loro, loro	$<$	non-n. ILLORU, *ILLORU

Light:

lo, la	$<$	Non-N. ILLU, ILLA
gli, le	$<$	Non-n. ILLI, *ILLAE
li, le	$<$	Non-n. ILLI, *ILLAE
loro, loro	$<$	Non-n. ILLORU, *ILLORU

Secondary hevy:

esso, essa	$<$	Non-n. IPSU, IPSA
essi, esse	$<$	Non-n. IPSI, IPSAE

Spanish 3rd Person Pronoun

Caseless heavy:

él, ella $<$ ILLE, ILLA

ellos, ellas $<$ ILLOS, ILLAS

Light:

lo, la $<$ Non-N. ILLU, ILLA

le, le $<$ Non-N. ILLI, ILLI

los, las $<$ Non-n. ILLOS, ILLAS

les, les $<$ Non-n. ILLIS, ILLIS

French 3rd Person Pronoun

Caseless heavy:

lui, elle $<$ *ILLUI, ILLA

eux, elles $<$ ILLOS, ILLAS

Light:

il, elle $<$ N. *ILLI, ILLA

ils, elles $<$ n. ILLI, ILLAS

le, la $<$ Non-N. ILLU, ILLA

les, les $<$ Non-n. ILLOS, ILLAS

lui, lui $<$ Non-n. *ILLUI, *ILLUI

leur, leur $<$ Non-n. ILLORU, *ILLORU

Composed Pronouns

Romn. *acest* 'this' < ATQUE ISTU, *acel* 'that' < ATQUE ILLU

Dalm. *kost* 'this' < ECCU ISTU, *kol* 'that' < ECCU ILLU

Sard. *kustu* < ECCU ISTU, *kussu* < ECCU IPSU

It. *questo* 'this' < ECCU ISTU, *quello* 'that' < ECCU ILLU

Fr. *ce* 'this' < ECCU ILLU, *celui* 'the one' < ECCU *ILLUI

Occ. *aquest* 'this'< ATQUE ISTU, *aquel* 'that'< ATQUE ILLU

Sp. *aquel* 'that' < ATQUE ILLU

Po. *aquel* 'that' < ATQUE ILLU

OIt. *quesso* < ECCU IPSU

OFr. *cist* < ECCU ISTU

OSp. *aqueste* < ATQUE ISTU

Article

NOSTER SERMO ARTICULOS NON DESIDERAT (Quint.)
'our language doesn't require articles'

ILLE as substantivizator:

ILLUD STERTIT VOLUI DICERE (Pl.)
'I wanted to stay STERTIT'

REMOVENDUM CENSEO ILLUD DISSIMULANTEM (Cic.)
'I think DISSIMULANTEM ought to be removed'

ILLE as article:

PERDET COLOREM ET NON EST ARENOSA SICUT ILLA PRIOR
'fades and isn't as sandy as the previous one'
(Com. ad ting. mus)

Articles and Nouns: Nominative

Lat. ROMANUS

Hispania	ILLE ROMANU
Gallia	ILLU ROMANUS
Italia	ILLU ROMANU
Sardinia	IPSU ROMANU
Dacia	ROMANU-ILLE

Lat. ROMANI

Hispania	ILLOS ROMANOS
Gallia	ILLOS ROMANOS
Italia	ILLI ROMANI
Sardinia	IPSOS ROMANOS
Dacia	ROMANI-ILLI

Articles and Nouns: Accusative

Lat. ROMANUM (VINCERE)

Hispania	VINCERE AD ILLE ROMANU
Gallia	VINCERE ILLU ROMANU
Italia	VINCERE ILLU ROMANU
Sardinia	VINCERE AD IPSU ROMANU
Dacia	VINCERE PER ROMANU-ILLE

Lat. ROMANOS (VINCERE)

Hispania	VINCERE AD ILLOS ROMANOS
Gallia	VINCERE ILLOS ROMANOS
Italia	VINCERE ILLI ROMANI
Sardinia	VINCERE AD IPSOS ROMANOS
Dacia	VINCERE PER ROMANI-ILLI

Articles and Nouns: Genitive

Lat. ROMANI (AMICUS)

Hispania	AMICU DE ILLE ROMANU
Gallia	AMICUS DE ILLU ROMANU
Italia	AMICU DE ILLU ROMANU
Sardinia	AMICU DE IPSU ROMANU
Dacia	AMICU ROMANO-ILLUI

Lat. ROMANORUM (AMICUS)

Hispania	AMICU DE ILLOS ROMANOS
Gallia	AMICUS DE ILLOS ROMANOS
Italia	AMICU DE ILLI ROMANI
Sardinia	AMICU DE IPSOS ROMANOS
Dacia	AMICU ROMANI-ILLORUM

Articles and Nouns: Dative

Lat. ROMANO (DARE)

Hispania	DARE AD ILLE ROMANU
Gallia	DARE AD ILLU ROMANU
Italia	DARE AD ILLU ROMANU
Sardinia	DARE AD IPSU ROMANU
Dacia	DARE ROMANO-ILLUI

Lat. ROMANIS (DARE)

Hispania	DARE AD ILLOS ROMANOS
Gallia	DARE DE ILLOS ROMANOS
Italia	DARE AD ILLI ROMANI
Sardinia	DARE AD IPSOS ROMANOS
Dacia	DARE ROMANI-ILLORUM

Articles and Nouns: Ablative

Lat. (CUM) ROMANO

Hispania	CUM ILLE ROMANU
Gallia	CUM ILLU ROMANU
Italia	CUM ILLU ROMANU
Sardinia	CUM IPSU ROMANU
Dacia	CUM ROMANO-ILLE

Lat. (CUM) ROMANIS

Hispania	CUM ILLOS ROMANOS
Gallia	CUM ILLOS ROMANOS
Italia	CUM ILLI ROMANI
Sardinia	CUM IPSOS ROMANOS
Dacia	CUM ROMANI-ILLI

Determined Article

	msg.	mpl.	fsg.	fpl.
Po.	o	os	a	as
Sp.	el, lo	los	la	las
Occ.	lo, l'	li, los	la, l'	las
Fr.	le, l'	les,	la, l'	les
It.	il, lo, l'	i, gli, gl'	la, l'	le
Romn.	l, le	i	a	le

Romanian article:

	msg.	mpl.	fsg.	fpl.
N/A	-l, le	-i	-a	-le
G/D	-lui	-lor	-ei	-lor

Untedermined Article

	msg.	mpl.	fsg.	fpl.
Po.	um	uns	una	unas
Sp.	un	unos	una	unas
Occ.	un	lunes	luna	unas
Fr.	un	(uns)	une	unes
It.	un(o)	-	un(a)	-
Romn.	un	niște	o	niște

Romanian article:

	msg.	mpl.	fsg.	fpl.
N/A	un	niște	o	niște
G/D	unui	a/la niște	unei	a/la niște

Article

FAVA COCTA MELIOR EST QUAM ILLA FAVA FRESA (Anth,)
'the cooked bean is better than the crushed beans'

OPTIMUM EST NON MOVERE ILLUM IUMENTUM DE LOCO (Mul. Chir.)
'it is best not to move the animal'

TUNC DIXIT NOBIS IPSE SANCTUS PRESBYTER (Per. Aeth.)
'then the holy priest said to us'

ILLI SENIORES ILLAS CAPPAS NON COMMUTENT (Reg. Chod.)
'the elders are not to sell the cloaks'

New Adverbs and Prepositions

MODO MALE LOQUENTES ITA DICUNT: DEPOST ILLUM AMBULANT
'those who speak badly now say DEPOST ILLUM AMBULANT'
(Pomp.)

Classical Latin:

de-magis, de-subito

Vulgata:

ab-ante, ab-intus, de-post. . .

Mulomedicina Chironis:

de sub, de subtus, de-iuxta, de-contra. de-intro, de-iossum, di-ossum. . .

Misc:

rotas de d-avante, de-subtus de aqua, de-intus, de-foris. . .

New Adverbs and Prepositions

Pan-Romance or nearly Pan-Romance Univerbations:

DE-POST 'after' > Romn. *după*, It. *dopo*, Fr. *depuis*, Sp. *despues*

DE-RETRO 'from behind' > Romn. *în-dărăt*, It. *dietro*, Fr. *derrière*

DE-, AB-ANTE 'in front' > It. *davanti*, Fr. *devant*, Occ. Cat. *devant*

A-FORAS 'outside' > Rom. *afară*, Sp. *afuera*, Po. *afora*

DE-FORIS, -FORAS 'from without' > It. *difuori*, Sp. *defuera*, Fr. *dehors*

Marker Positioning:

No postpositions GRATIA, CAUSA, CUM.

Prepositions, case and grade markers all now prepositioned.

Numerals

UNUS '1' > Sp. *uno, una*, Fr. *un, une*, It. *uno, una*, Romn. *unu, una*
DUO, DUAE, DUO '2'> Sp. *dos*, Fr. *deux*, It. *due*, Romn. *doi, două*
TRES, TRIA '3' > Sp. *tres*, Fr. *trois*, It. *tre*, Romn. *trei*
...

SEPTENDECIM '17' > Sp. *diez y siete*, Fr. *dix sept*, It. *diciasette*
DUODEVIGINTI '18' > Sp. *diez y ocho*, Fr. *dix-huit*, It. *diciotto*
UNDEVIGINTI '19' > Sp. *diez y nueve*, Fr. *dix-neuf*, It. *diciannove*

but
Romn. *șaptesprezece*
Romn. *optsprezece*
Romn. *nouăsprezece*

Numerals

SEPTUAGINTA '70' > Po. *setenta*, Sp. *setenta*, It. *settanta*
OCTOGINTA '80' > Po. *oitenta*, Sp. *ochenta*, It. *ottanta*
NONAGINTA '90' > Po. *noventa*, Sp. *noventa*, It. *novanta*
CENTUM '100' > Po. *cem*, Sp. *ciento*, Fr. *cent*, It. *cento*

but
Fr. *soixante-dix* (also *septante*), Romn. *șaptezeci*
Fr. *quatre-vingts* (also *octante/huitante*), Romn. *optzeci*
Fr. *quatre-vingt-dix* (also *nonante*), Romn. *nouăzeci*
Romn. *sută*

Conjugation Classes

	Italian	Spanish	French
LAVARE 'wash'	lavare	lavar	laver
PENSARE 'think'	pensare	pensar	penser
HABERE 'have'	avere	haber	avoir
DEBERE 'owe'	dovere	deber	devoir
PERDERE 'lose'	perdere	perder	perdre
VENDERE 'sell'	vendere	vender	vendre
DORMIRE 'sleep'	dormire	dormir	dormir
PARTIRE 'depart'	partire	partir	partir

rhizotonic (III) vs. arhizotonic (I, II, IV)

Class III Reshuffling in Spanish

BIBERE	'drink'	beber
CAPERE	'grasp'	caber
PERDERE	'lose'	perder
VENDERE	'sell'	vender
VINCERE	'conquer'	vencer
DICERE	'say'	decir
FERVERE	'boil'	hervir
FUGERE	'flee'	huir
RECIPERE	'receive'	recibir
VIVERE	'live'	vivir

Class III Reshuffling in Italian

LEGERE	'read'	leggere
...	...	...
AGERE	'act'	agire
AD-VERTERE	'warn'	avvertire
CAPERE	'grasp'	capire
*DE-MINUERE	'lessen'	diminuire
FUGERE	'flee'	fuggire
RESTITUERE	'give back'	restituire
RAPERE	'snatch'	rapire

Class III Reshuffling in French

CEDERE	'yield'	céder
CONSUMERE	'consume'	consommer
CORRIGERE	'correct'	corriger
*DE-MINUERE	'lessen'	diminuer
DISTINGUERE	'distinguish'	distinguer
GERERE	'manage'	gérer
EXISTERE	'exist'	exister
AGERE	'act'	agir
CURRERE	'run'	courir
FUGERE	'flee'	fuir
GEMERE	'groan'	gémir
SURGERE	'arise'	surgir

Miscellanea

Lat. III rarely reshuffles into Fr. It. II:

		Italian	French
CADERE	'fall'	cadere	choir
SAPERE	'know'	sapere	savoir

Conversly, Lat. II reshuffles into Fr. It. III:

		Italian	French
MORDERE	'bite'	mordere	mordre
MOVERE	'move'	muovere	(mouvoir)
NOCERE	'harm'	nuocere	nuire

Occasionally, Lat. II reshuffles into Fr. It. Sp. IV:

		Italian	Spanish	French
ABOLĒRE	'destroy'	abolire	abolir	abolir
EXHIBĒRE	'present'	esibire	exhibir	exhiber

Verba deponentia

		Italian	Spanish	French
ADMIRARI > ADMIRARE	'admire'	ammirare	admirar	admirer
PISCARI > PISCARE	'fish'	pescare	pescar	pcher
MORI > MORIRE	'die'	morire	morir	mourir
NASCI > NASCERE	'be born'	nascere	nacer	naÆtre
SEQUI > SEQUERE	'follow'	seguire	seguir	suivre
DEMOLIRI > DEMOLIRE	'demolish'	demolire	demoler	dl'molir

Infectum and Perfectum Stem

Present	**Perfect**	**Present**	**Perfect**
CANTO	CANTAV-I	CANTEM	CANTAV-ERIM
CANTAS	CANTAV-ISTI	CANTES	CANTAV-ERIS
...	...	...	...
Imperfect	**Pluperfect**	**Imperfect**	**Pluperfect**
CANTABAM	CANTAV-ERAM	CANTAREM	CANTAV-ISSEM
CANTABAS	CANTAV-ERAS	CANTARES	CANTAV-ISSES
...	...	...	...
Future I	**Future II**	-	-
CANTABO	CANTAV-ERO	-	-
CANTABIS	CANTAV-ERIS	-	-
...	...		

Perfectum Stem Types

V-stems:

CANTARE 'sing', CANTAV-I

HABERE 'have', HABU-I

GEMERE 'groan', GEMU-I

DORMIRE 'sleep', DORMIV-I

S-stems:

REMANERE 'stay', REMAN-S-I

DICERE 'say', DIXIT (= DIC-S-I)

Stems with ablaut:

VĬDERE 'see', VĪD-I

CĂPERE 'seize', CĒPI-

VĔNIRE 'come', VĒN-I

Stems with reduplication:

TANGERE 'touch', TE-TIG-I

Strong and Weak Perfects

Weak Perfects:

CANT-A-RE	DEL-E-RE	PART-I-RE
CANT-A-V-I	DEL-E-V-I	PART-I-V-I

Strong Perfects:

VID-E-RE	SCRIB-E-RE	TANG-E-RE
VID-0-I	SCRIP-0-S-I	TE-TIG-0-I

Old Categories Retaining Original Morphology

Present	**Perfect**	**Present**	**Perfect**
CANTO	CANTAV-I	CANTEM	-
CANTAS	CANTAV-ISTI	CANTES	-
...	...	...	-
Imperfect	**Pluperfect**	**Imperfect**	**Pluperfect**
CANTABAM	-	-	-
CANTABAS	-	-	-
...	-	-	-
Future I	**Future II**	-	-
-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-
-	-		

Old Categories with Non-Original Morphology

Present	**Perfect**	**Present**	**Perfect**
CANTO	CANTAV-I	CANTEM	-
CANTAS	CANTAV-ISTI	CANTES	-
...	...	...	-
Imperfect	**Pluperfect**	**Imperfect**	**Pluperfect**
CANTABAM	-	CANTAVERAM, -ISSEM	-
CANTABAS	-	CANTAVERAM, -ISSEM	-
...	-	...	-
Future I	**Future II**	**Future**	-
CANTARE HABEO	-	CANTAVERIM	-
CANTARE HABES	-	CANTAVERIS	-
...	-	...	
Conditional			
CANTARE HABEBAM	-	-	-
CANTARE HABEBAS	-	-	-
...	-	-	-

Future Indicative

	Italian	Spanish	French
CANTAR*[ajo] < HABEO	canterò	cantaré	chanterai
CANTAR*[as] < HABES	canterai	cantaras	chanteras
CANTAR*[at] < HABET	canterà	cantará	chantera
CANTAR*[emus] < HABEMUS	canteremo	cantaremos	chanterons
CANTAR*[etis] < HABETIS	canterete	cantareis	chanterez
CANTAR*[ant] < HABENT	canteranno	cantarán	chanteront

Future Indicative

DE SOMNIIS QUID HABEMUS DICERE?
concerning dreams what have we to say?
(Cic.)

SIMON, HABEO TIBI ALIQUID DICERE
'Simon, I have something to say to you'
(Vulg.)

TEMPESTAS ILLA TOLLERE HABET TOTAM PALEAM DE AREA
'that tempest will lift all the chaff from the threshing floor'
(Aug.)

COD ESTIS FUI ET QUOD SUM ESSERE ABETIS
'what you are, I was, and what I am, you will be'

A Note on Conditional

VERCINGETORIX DICIT CAESAREM VENTURUM ESSE
VERCINGETORIX DIXIT CAESAREM VENTURUM ESSE

VERCINGETORIX DICIT QUOD CAESAR VENTURUS EST
VERCINGETORIX DIXIT QUOD CAESAR VENTURUS ERAT

VERCINGETORIX DICIT QUOD CAESAR VENIRE HABET
VERCINGETORIX DIXIT QUOD CAESAR VENIRE HABEBAT

'Vercingetorix says Caesar will come'
'Vercingetorix says Caesar would come'

SANARE TE HABEBAT DEUS. . . SI FATERERIS
God would heal you if you confessed
(Pseudo-Aug.)

Periphrastic tenses

	Latin	Romance
Present	CANTO	CANTO
Imperfect	CANTABAM	CANTABAM
Future	CANTABO	CANTARE HABEO
Conditional	-	CANTARE HABEBAM
Preterite	CANTAVI	CANTAVI
True Perfect	CANTAVI	HABEO CANTATU
Pluperfect	CANTAVERAM	HABEBAM CANTATU
Future II	CANTAVERO	HABERE HABEO CANTATU
Past Conditional	-	HABERE HABEBAM CANTATU

Periphrastic tenses

(MONACHUS) QUI HABET CURAM PEREGRINORUM DEPUTATAM
'(a monk) who has the care of visitors assigned (to him)'
(Cass.)

DE EA RE SUPRA SCRIPTUM HABEMUS
'we have written above on that matter'
(Vitr.)

SICUT PARABOLATUM HABUISTIS
'as you had said'
(Form. Sal.)

EPISCOPUM INVITATUM HABES
'you have invited the bishop'
(Greg. Tour.)

Periphrastic tenses

	Latin	Vulgar Latin	Romance
Perfect	CANTAVI	HABEO CANTATU	HABEO CANTATU
	'I have sung'	'I have sung'	'I have sung'
Preterite	CANTAVI	CANTAVI	HABEO CANTATU/CANTAVI
	'I sang'	'I sang'	'I sang'

Strong participles

		Italian	Spanish	French
APERTU	'open'	aperto	abierto	ouvert
SCRIPTU	'written'	scritto	escrito	l'crit
DICTU	'said'	detto	dicho	dit
FACTU	'done'	fatto	hecho	fait
MORTUU	'died'	morto	muerto	mort
POSITU	'put'	posto	puesto	-
FUSU	'melted'	fuso	-	-
CURSU	'run'	corso	-	-
COCTU	'cooked'	cotto	-	cuit
CLAUSU	'closed'	chiuso	-	clos
CONCLUSU	'concluded'	concluso	-	conclu
VISU	'see'	visto	visto	-
REMANSU	'remain'	rimasto	-	-
RESPONSU	'respond'	risposto	respuesto	-

Weak participles

		Italian	Spanish	French
CANTATU	'sing'	cantato	cantado	chanté
PARTITU	'leave'	partito	partido	parti
*HABUTU	'have'	avuto	-	eu
*DEBUTU	'owe'	dovuto	-	dû
*VENDUTU	'sell'	venduto	-	vendu
*PERDUTU	'lose'	perduto	-	perdu
*POTUTU	'can'	potutu	-	pu
*VOLUTU	'want'	voluto	-	voulu
*COGNOSCUTU	'know'	-	OSp. cognozudo	-
*MITTUTU	'send'	-	OSp. metudo	-
*COGNOSCITU	'know'	-	conoscido	-
*MITTITU '	send'	-	metido	-

Latin Verbal Morphology: Overview

Present Indicative Form and function preserved.

Imperfect Indicative Form and function preserved.

Perfect Indicative Form and function preserved; in literary use today.

Pluperfect indicative Evolves into Romance Conditional or Pluperfect Subjunctive. Form and Function preserved in Portuguese, Gallego, Asturian and Old Castilian. In modern Spanish form and function only partly preserved. Form alone preserved in Vegliot, South Italian, Old Catalan and Old Occitan; function evolved into Conditional.

Future I Function preserved, form turned Analytic. South Italian lacks future; instead Present catachresis.

Future II Function preserved, form based on Perfect Subjunctive. Perfect Subjunctive and Future II merge in Portuguese, Gallego and Castilian where they are preserved as Future Subjunctive.

Latin Verbal Morphology: Overview

Present Subjunctive Form and function preserved.

Imperfect Subjunctive Form and function preserved in Sardinian. In Gallego and Portuguese basis for the Romance Inflected Infinitive.

Perfect Subjunctive See Future II.

Pluperfect Subjunctive Basis for the Romance Imperfect Subjunctive (except in Sardinian and Romanian).

Present Imperative Form and function preserved.

Future Imperative Form and function lost.

Future Infinitive Form and function lost.

Supine Form and function lost (except in Romanian).

Future Participle Form and function lost.

Gerundive Form and function lost.

Perfect Infinitive Replaced by HABEO + Participle.

Latin Verbal Morphology: Overview

Present Passive Infinive Replaced by ESSE/ESTARE + Participle.

Perfect Passive Infinitive Replaced by HABERE + Aux. Participle + Participle.

Present Active Infinitive Form and function preserved.

Gerund Preserved in Ablative (Pan-Romance) and Accusative (Italian dialects, Surselvan).

Perfect Participle Form and function preserved.

Present Participle Form preserved, function turned into Adjectives or Adverbs.

Romance Innovations: Overview

Future Indicative Types: VOLEO + Inf. (Romanian, Gallo-Italian); DEBEO + Inf. (Sardinian); VENIRE AD + Inf. (Surselvan); HABEO + inf. (South Italian, Sardinian, Gallego); HABEO DE + Inf. (Portuguese, Old Castilian); Inf. + HABEO (Portuguese, Gallego, Castilian, Catalan, Occitan, French, Engadin, Italian); Inf. + HABEAM (Engadin); VENIRE AD + Inf. (French, Spanish, Portuguese, Gallego).

Conditional Types: Inf. + HABEBAM (Portuguese, Catalan, Occitan, Gallego, Castilian, French); Inf. + HABUI (Italian); HABEBAM DE + Inf. (Portuguese). Romanian Conditional etymologically unclear. Vegliot and South Italian use Pluperfect Indicative as Conditional; Rhaeto-Romance uses Pluperfect Subjunctive. (Old Occitan and Old Catalan used Pluperfect Indicative as well.)