Proto-Romance Phonology

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LUCL

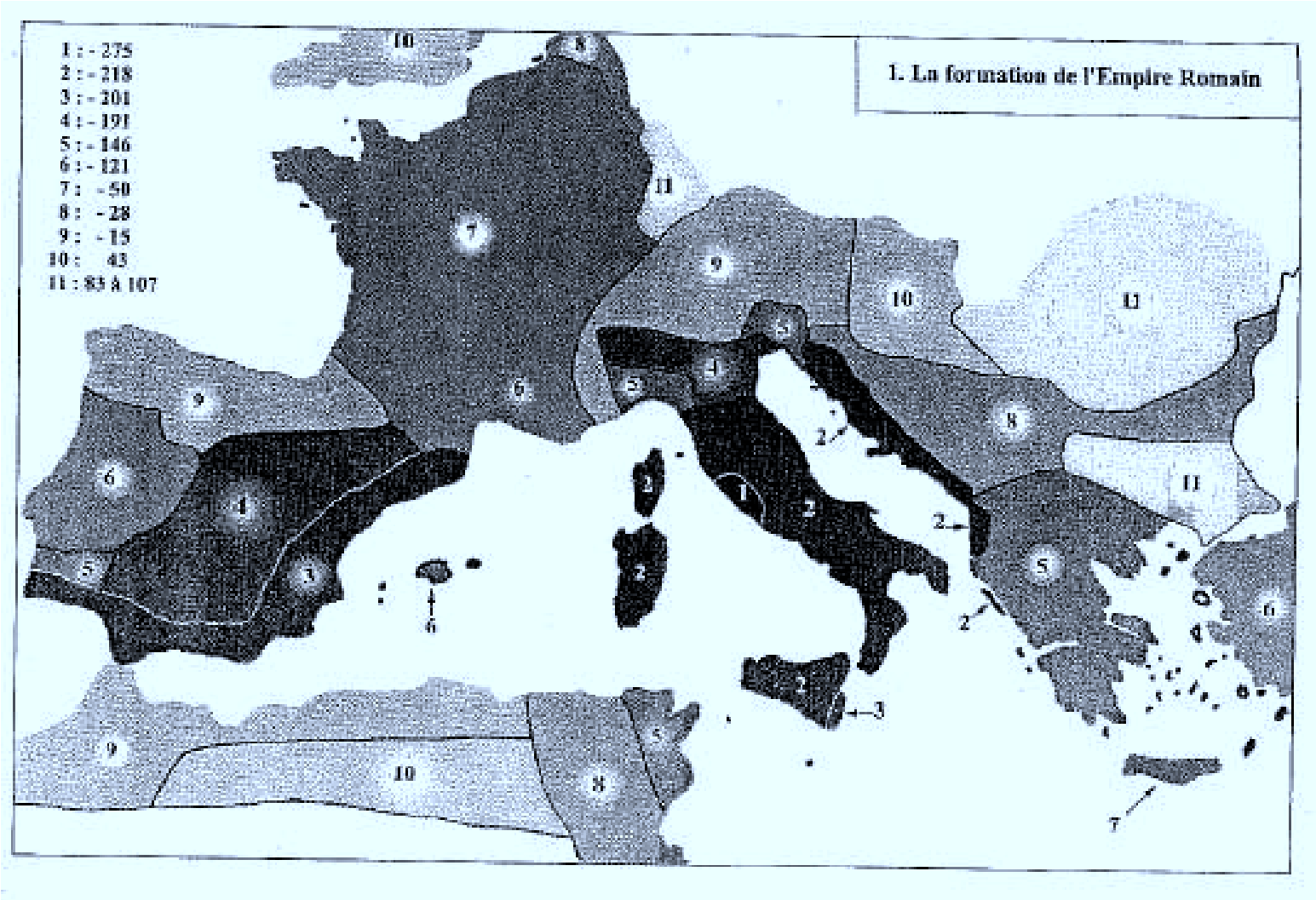
Intro

Notion of Romance Unity

Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*, c. 7:

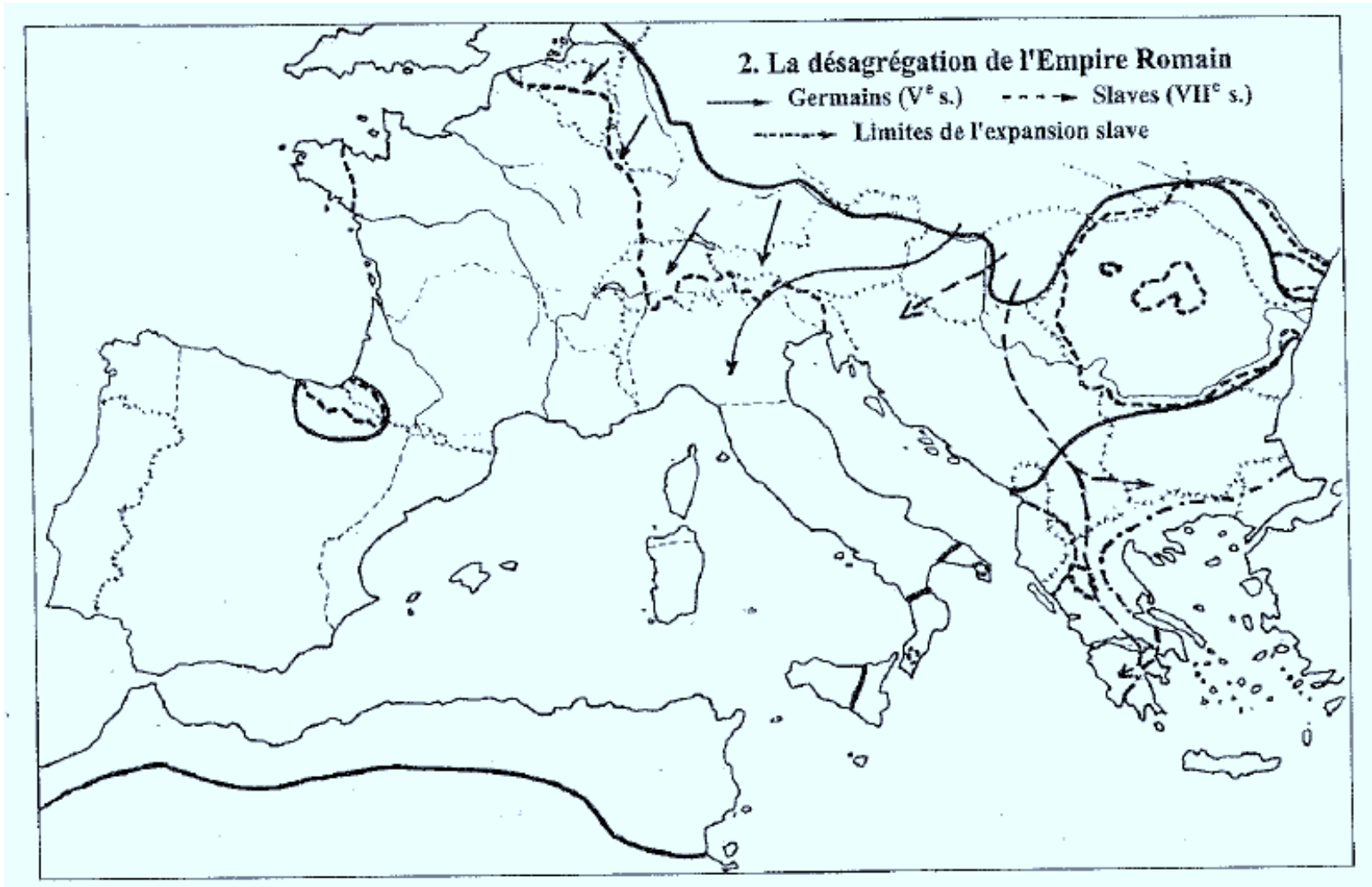
> *[...] alii oc, alii oil, alii si affirmando locuntur, ut puta Yspani, Franci et Latini. Signum autem quod ab uno eodemque ydiomate istarum trium gentium progrediantur vulgaria, in promptu est, quia multa per eadem vocabula nominare videntur, ut Deum, celum, amorem, mare, terram, est, vivit, moritur,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

Spread of the Roman Empire



Cf. Allières (2001: 7)

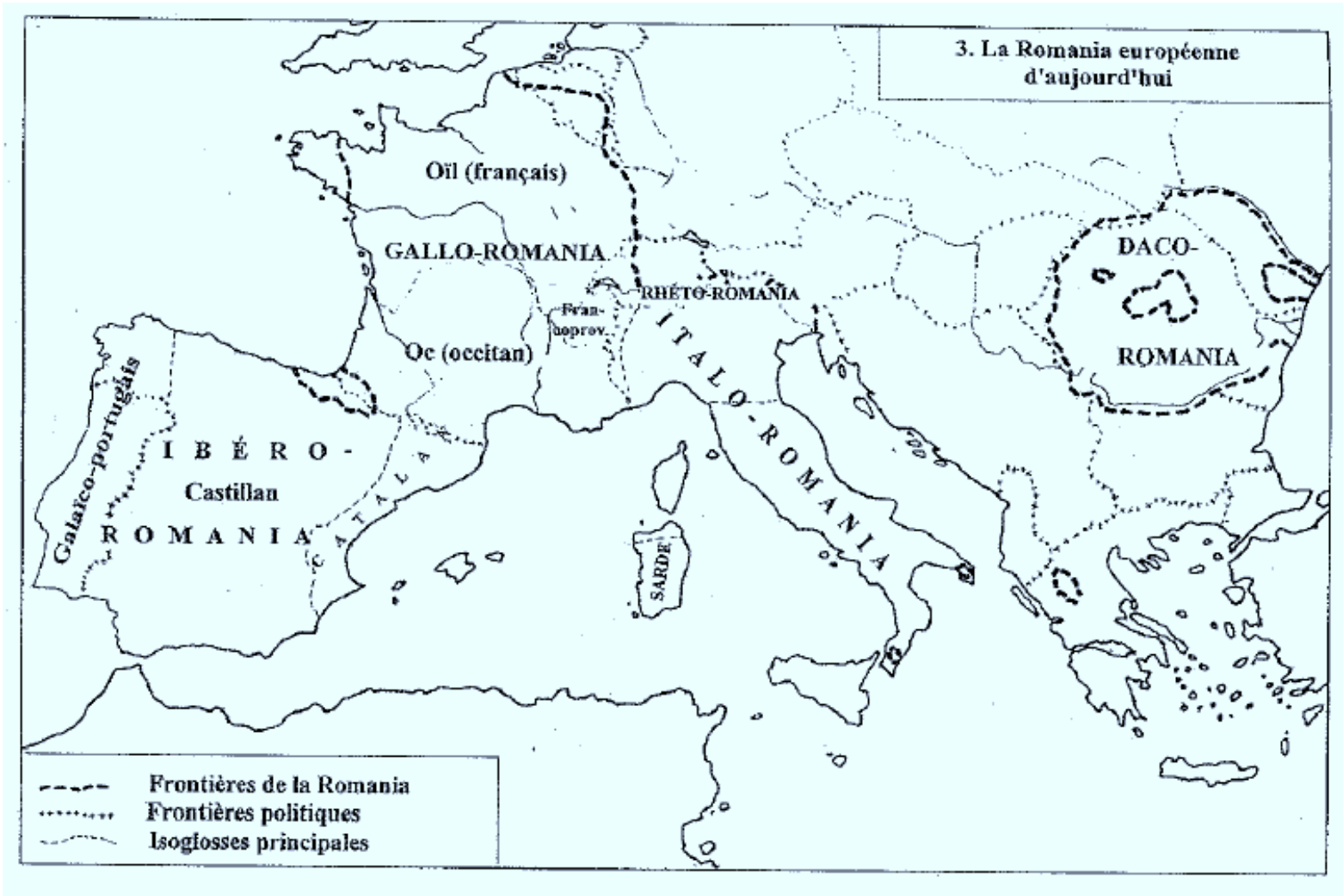
Disintegration of the Roman Empire



Cf. Allières (2001: 8)

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

Romania today



Cf. Allières (2001: 9)

Romaniae

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

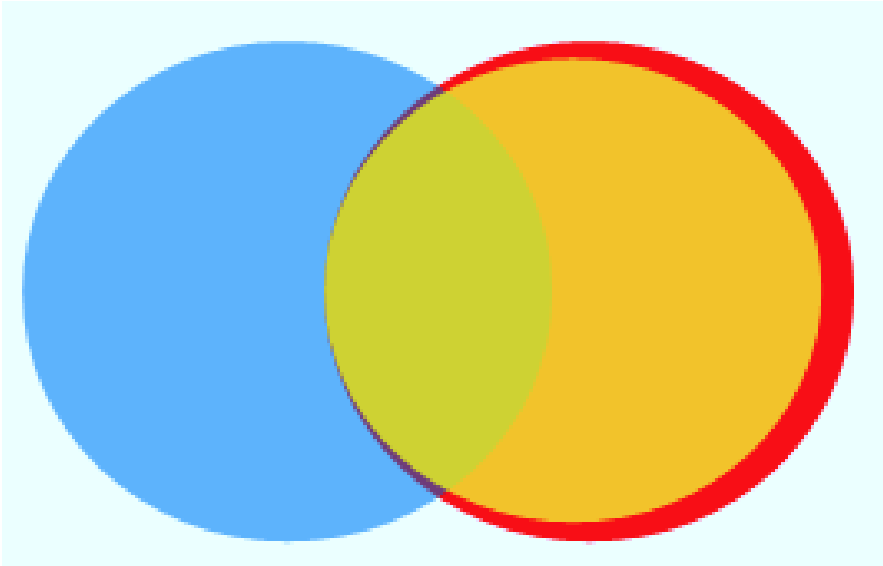
Vulgar Latin vs. Proto-Romance

Vulgar Latin (F. Diez) is the Latin language as spoken by the Roman people and as opposed to Classical Latin of the formal literature. Traditionally it refers to 2nd-4th c. AD. It is also called Common Romance (R. de Dardel, esp. in the late stage), *sermo quotidianus, plebeius, vulgaris*.

Proto-Romance (R. A. Hall Jr.) is the theoretical common ancestor of the modern Romance languages. Usually thought to be a form of Vulgar Latin immediately preceding diffusion into separate forms of Romance (e. g. Old French, Old Spanish, etc.). Traditionally it refers to 5th-8th c. AD. Also referred to as Common Romance.

Early Romance (R. Wright) points to the earliest actual, if scarce, data (cca 4th to 12th c. AD).

Latin vs. Vulgar Latin



Vulgar Latin
Proto-Romance
Common Romance

Latin vs. Vulgar Latin

Overview of phonology:

Lat.	/a, e, i, o, u, ā, ē, ī, ō, ū/	vs.	VLat. /*a, *ę, *ẹ, *i, *ǫ, *ọ, *u/
Lat.	/a͡i, a͡u, o͡i/	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*.

Latin vs. Vulgar Latin

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.

Vulgar Latin Records

- 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.

Vulgar Latin: Examples

CIL IV 1173 (Pompei):

quisquis ama valia peria qui nosci amare
bis tanti peria quisquis amare vota

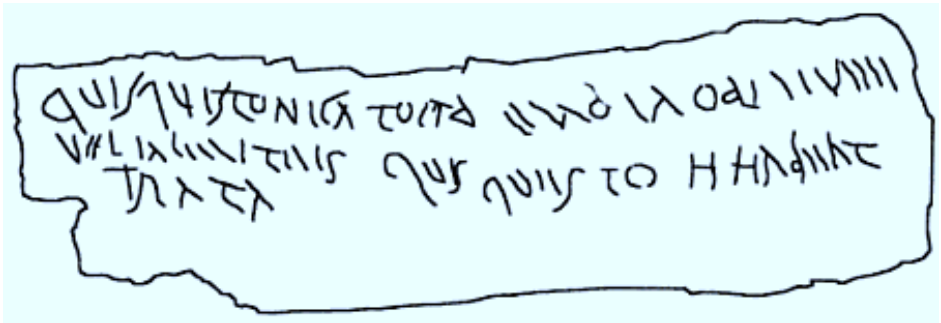
QUÍSQUIS AMÁ VALIÁ, || PERIÁ QUI NÓSCI AMÁRE
BÍS TANTÍ PERIÁ || QUÍSQUIS AMÁRE VOTÁ.

Comm.

1. *ama, valia, peria, nosci* vs. AMAT, VALEAT, PEREAT, NESCIT (loss of finals)
2. *valia, peria* vs. VALEAT, PEREAT (elimination of hiatus)
3. *nosci, vota* vs. NESCIT, VETAT

Vulgar Latin: Examples

CIL II2/14, 757b (Saguntum):



*quis res tunica tulid e livia, obi eam vel ium ite is quis questo habeat trata (*QUIS RES, TUNICAM TOLIT LIVIAE, ODI EAM VEL EUM; ITEM IS QUI QUAESTO HABEBAT TRACTA*)*

Comm.

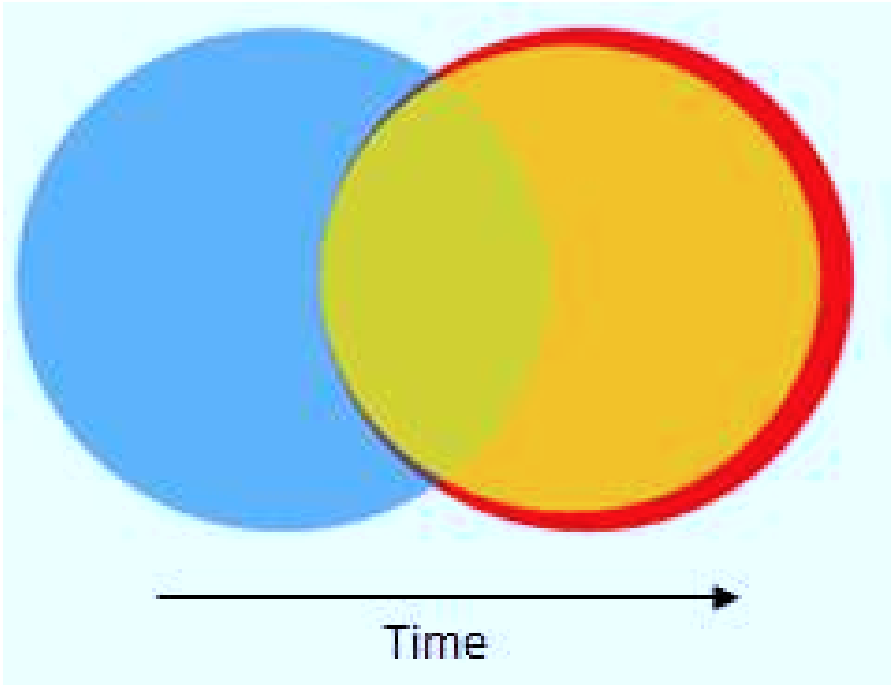
1. *tunica, ite* vs. TUNICAM, ITEM (-M# > -0); 2. *tolid* vs. TULIT (-T > -d); 3. *habeat* vs. HABEBAT (-B- > -0-); 4. *trata* vs. TRACTA (-CT- > -t-); 5. *questo* vs. QUAESTO; 6. Other: *ium* vs. EUM, *e liva* vs. LIVIAE, *habeat trata* vs. TRACTAVIT.

Proto-Romance: Origins

Sociolonguistic hypothesis argues that the difference between Latin and Romance is due to the split between higher and lower register with the lower register (Vulgar Latin) evolving into Proto-Romance.

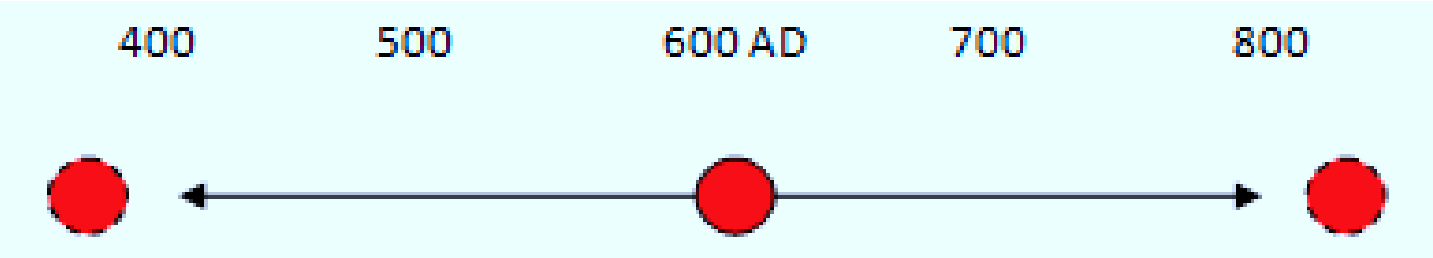
Ethnolinguistic hypothesis argues that the split was mostly due to invasions during the 3rd and the 4th c. AD. Therefore, sociolinguistic hypothesis relies on internal and ehnolinguistics on external factors.

Proto-Romance: Origins



Vulgar Latin
Proto-Romance
Common Romance

Proto-Romance: Origins



The exact date cannot be pinpointed. Traditionally it falls around 600 AD.

"Procrastinators" move the critical point away from 600 AD. They are H. Lüdtke, R. Wright, M. Van Uytfanghe and M. Banniard. E.g. Wright dates it between the 9th c. and 1080 (Council of Burgos); Banniard to 750-800 AD in Northern France, 800-850 AD in Southern France and Catalonia, 900-950 in Northern Italy etc.

"Early risers" move the critical point to the period before 600 AD. They are Ch. Schmitt, J.-P. Chambon and Y. Gerub. E.g. Schmitt dates rounding of Fr. [y] as early as 3rd or 4th c.

Proto-Romance: Verbatim test

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 mí me inquietan. . .
Spanish translation: Pourtant je devine que tu es quelquefois troublé de manière particulièrement sensible par certains problèmes qui me touchent aussi. . .

Cf. López García

Proto-Romance: Verbatim test

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 [él].

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)

Cf. López García

Proto-Romance: Diversification

Romance 7-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i	ẹ		ę	a	ǫ	ọ		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	ẹ		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

Proto-Romance: Diversification

Italian 7 vowel system: Ī > i; Ĭ, Ē > ẹ; ĕ > ę; Ā, Ă > a; ŏ > ǫ; Ō, Ŭ > ọ; ū > u. N. B. NĬVE, CATĒNA > *n[ẹ]ve, cat[ẹ]na*; SŌLE, CRŬCE > *s[ọ]le, cr[ọ]ce* etc.

Romanian 6 vowel system: Ī > i; Ĭ, Ē > ẹ; ĕ > ę; Ā, Ă > a; ŏ, Ō > o; Ĭ,Ū > u. N. B. SĬTI, CRĒDERE > *s[ẹ]te, kr[ẹ]de*, but SŌLE > *soare* vs. CRŬCE > *cruce*.

Sardinian 5 vowel system: Ī, Ĭ > i; Ē, ĕ > ę; Ā, Ă > a; ŏ, Ō > ǫ; Ŭ, Ū > u. N.B. CATĒNA, FĔLE > *kad[ę]na, f[ę]le*; RŎTA, SŌLE > *r[ǫ]da, s[ǫ]le*. Cp. also South Corsica and Lausberg area (Basilicata-Calabria border).

Sicilian 5 vowel system: Ī, Ĭ, Ē > i; ĕ > e; Ā, Ă > a; ŏ > o; Ō, Ŭ, Ū > u. FĪLU, NĬVE, TĒLA > *filu, nivi, tila*; SOLE, NŬCE, LŪNA > *suli, nuci, luna*. Cp. also South Calabria and Cliento.

Lucanian 5 vowel system: Ī > i; Ĭ, Ē, ĕ > e; Ā, Ă > a; ŏ, Ō > o; Ŭ, Ū > u. N.B. SĬTI, TĒLA, DĔCE > *filu, s[e]te, d[e]ce* (dial. of Castelmezzano).

Proto-Romance: Diversification

Possible causes:

1. regional, areal varieties: Menéndez Pidal (1950), M. G. Bartoli (1945);
2. social polarity: H. Meier (1941, 1946), Ch. Schmitt (1974);
3. substrate influence: G.I. Ascoli (1881-1886), Morf (1911);
4. adstrate influence: Wartburg (167).

Protests:

Wagner (1948): particular causes need not exclude each other
Malkiel (1972): not only historical linguistics and substrates act as factors

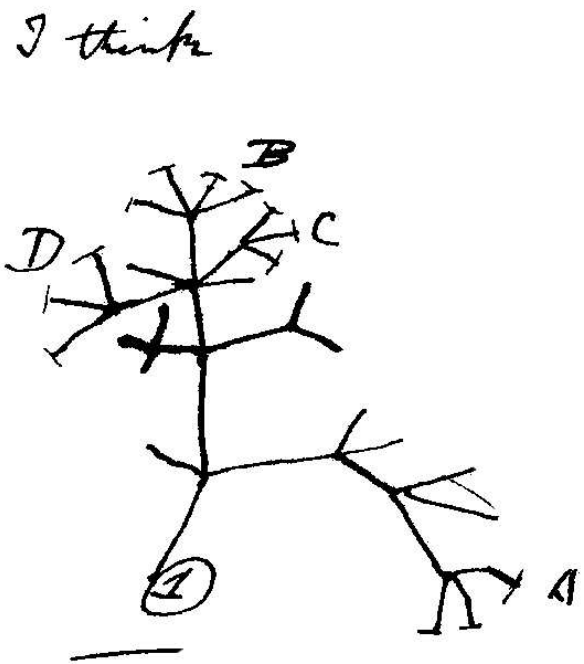
Classification

Classification: Intro

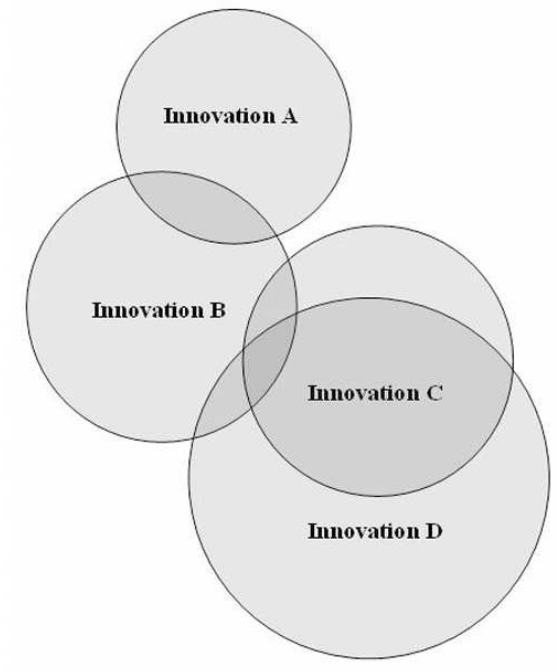
Criteria:
1. genetic
2. typological

Classification:
1. genetic
2. typological (contact)

Models:



VS.



Classification: F. Diez (1836-44)

East Romance

Romanian

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.

Classification: W. Meyer-Lübke (1920)

Balkan-Romance

Romanian

Italo-Romance

Italian

Rhaeto-Romance

Friulian

Ladin

Romansh

Gallo-Romance

French

Provençal, 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".

Classification: M.G Bartoli (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)

Classification: W. von Wartburg

East Romance Romanian, Italian

West Romance French, Spanish...

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

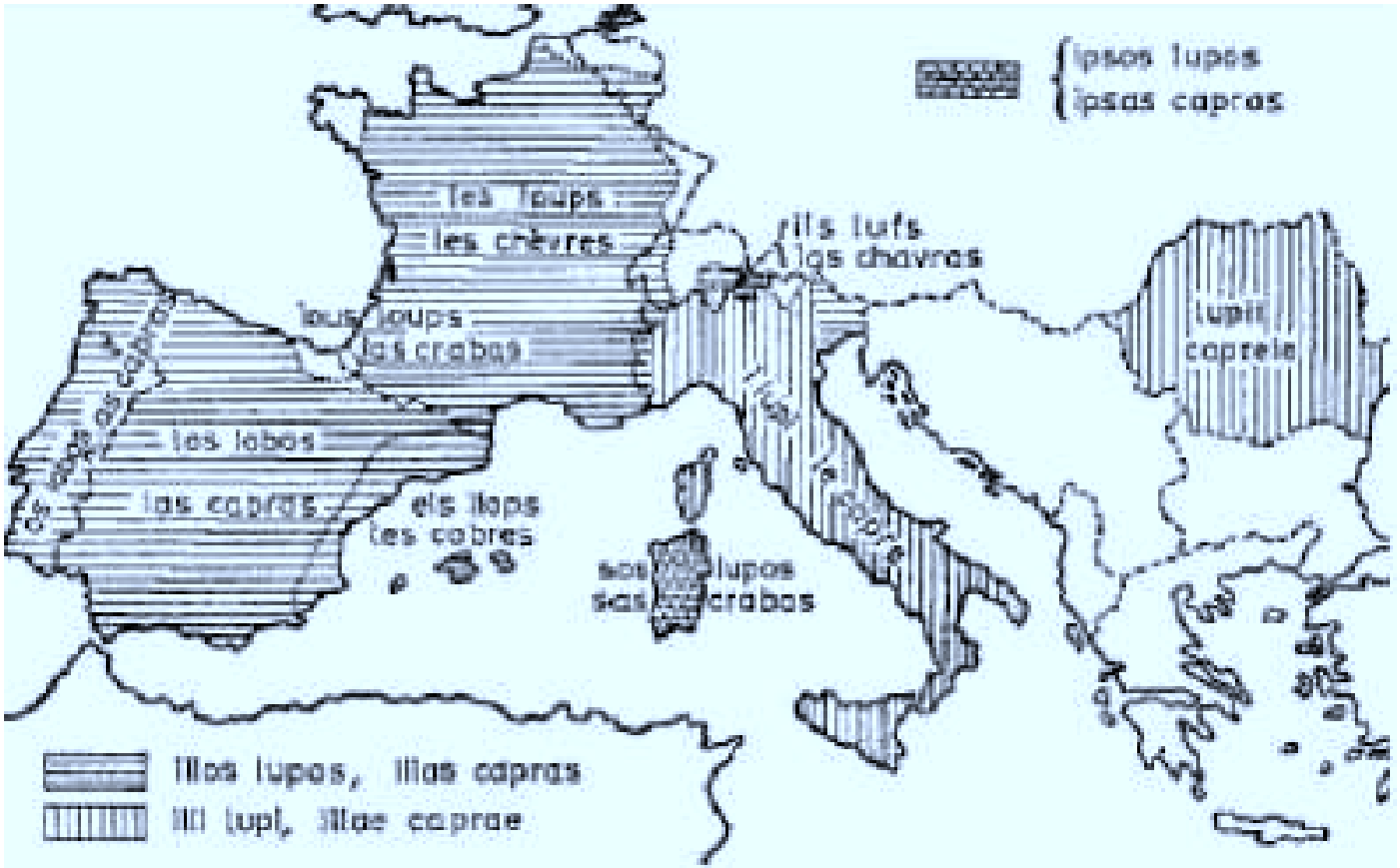
Criteria:

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

Comm.

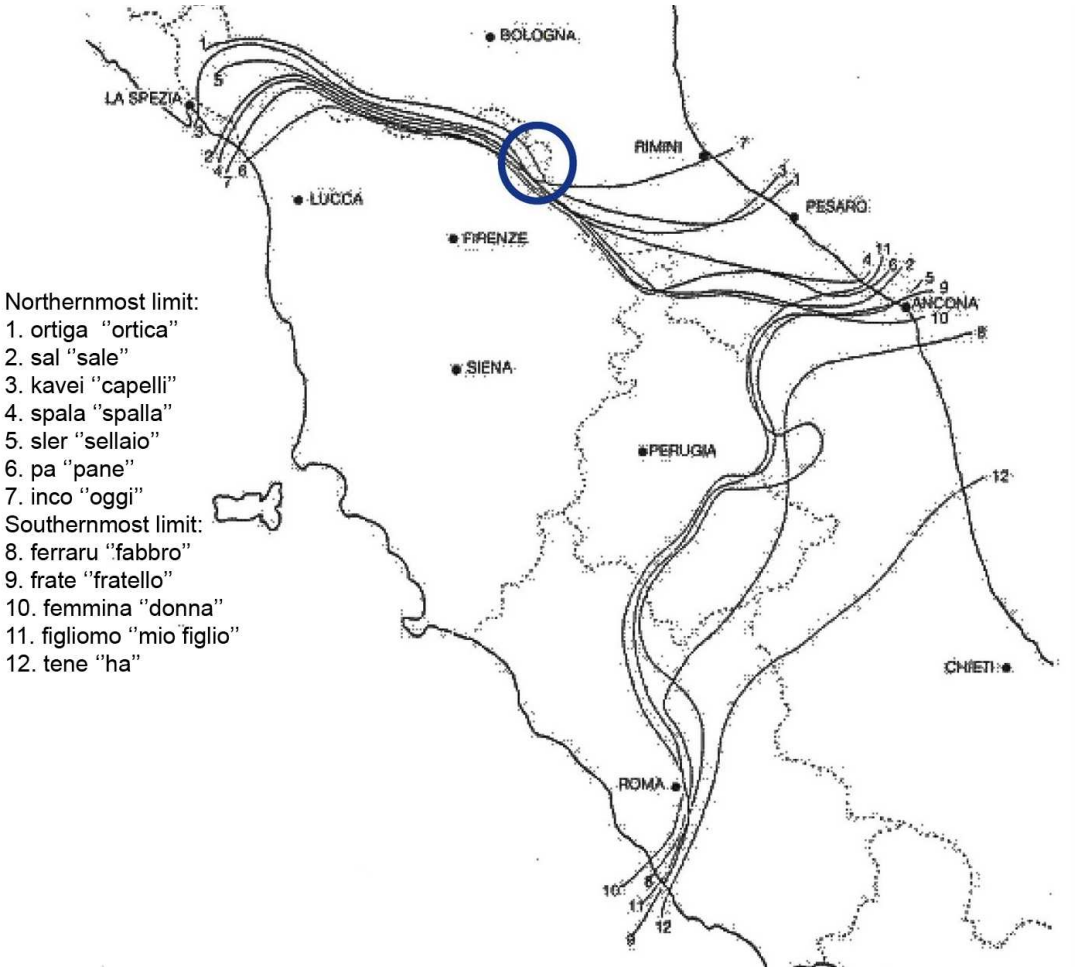
1. Bartoli already used both criteria;
2. Politzer showed that the sonorization in the North Italy was rather recent;
3. Fricativization in ERom. as well, cp. *gorgia toscana*: MATURU $>$ *maθuro*;
4. in Sardinian too, cp. NEPOTE, SECARE $>$ *neβoδe, seγare* (Campidanese, Logudorese).

Classification: M.G. Bartoli and W. von Wartburg



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

Classification: La Spezia-Rimini line

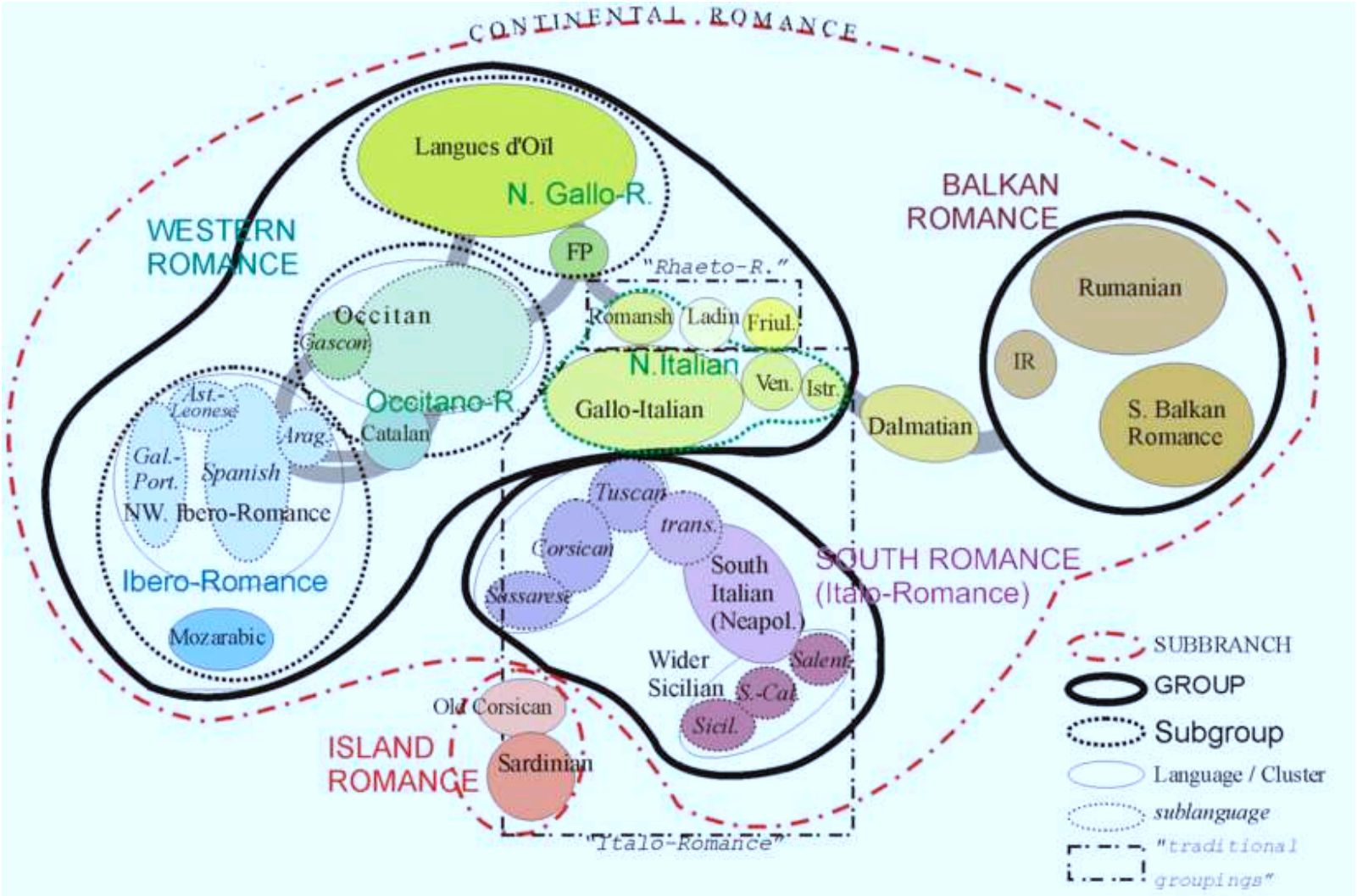


Cf. Allières (2001: 265)

Classification: Tweaks

- For languages like Catalan and Dalmatian C. Tagliavini suggested the term bridge-languages. In response (esp. vis-à-vis Catalan) P. Bec formed Occitano-Romance group including Provençal, Languedoc, Gascon, Limousin, Auvergnat, Vivaro-Alpine and Catalan. Similarly, G. Rohlfs suggested Pyreneo-Romance group including Catalan, Aragonese, and Gascon.
- H. Lausberg proposed La Spezia-Pesaro instead of La Spezia-Rimini line. Also he proposed a separate group for Romanian, Dalmatian and South Italian.
- A. Alonso proposes two groups: Romania continua and Romania discontinua (French, Romanian) since Fr. and Romn. were romanized rather late. (Not the same terms as on slide No. 5)!
- M. Halle proposed two groups: South Proto-Romance (Sardinian, Sicilian, Lucanian) and Continental Proto-Romance (all others). Therefore, division between ERom. and WRom. is caused by Continental PRom. splitting off.

Classification: Synthesis



Cf. Koryakov (2001)

Classification: Typology

- Togeby (1968) distinguishes between Northern (Romanian, Friulian, French, Provençal, Italian) and the South-Western group (Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Sardinian, South Italian, Rhaeto-Romance etc.). NRom. uses ILLORUM as the possessive pronouns and SWRom. SUUS, cp. Fr. *leur ami*, Romn. *casa lor*, It. *la loro storia* etc. but also Cat. *llur* (arch.), Arag. *lor*.
- Based on partitive article and the prepositional accusative as criteria, Körner distinguishes between: 1. French, Italian, Occitan (have partitive article, don't have prepositional accusative); 2. Portuguese, Spanish, Romanian, Sardinian (dont have partitive article, have prepositional accusative); 3. Catalan (neither partitive article nor prepositional accusative).

Sociolinguistic issues

Indisputably languages (*Ausbausprachen, lingue per elaborazione*):
a. National languages: Portuguese, Spanish, French, Rhaeto-Romance, Romanian.
b. Regional languages:

Aranese	Vall d'Aran (Catalonia)
Friulian	Friuli (1999)
Galician	Galicia (1981)
Catalan	Andora, Catalonia (1979), Balears (1983), Valencia (1982)
Leonese	Mirando do Douro (1999)
Sardinian	Sardinia (1997)

2. *Abstandsprachen, lingue per distanzione*: Dalmatian, Franco-Provençal, Istriot, Occitan and Sardinian.

3. Disputable languages (Muljačić *Wiesosprachen?!*): Aragonese [or Spanish], Asturian [or Spanish], Gascon [or Occitan]

Dialect issues

H. Kloss:

Abstand-und-Ausbausprachen (e.g. French) owe their language status to both sociolinguistic and structural independence.

Nur-Abstandsprachen (e.g. Dalmatian, Sardinian etc.) owe their language status to structural independence.

Nur-Ausbausprachen (e.g. Galician, Portuguese) owe their language status to the sociolinguistic independence even though they belong to the same overall system.

Ž. Muljačić:

lingue basse: dialects subordinated to a super-dialect;

lingue medie: dialects sub- and superordinated at the same time;

lingue alte: in fact *Abstand-und-Ausbausprachen*.

Dialect issues

The issue of *historical language* (Coseriu)

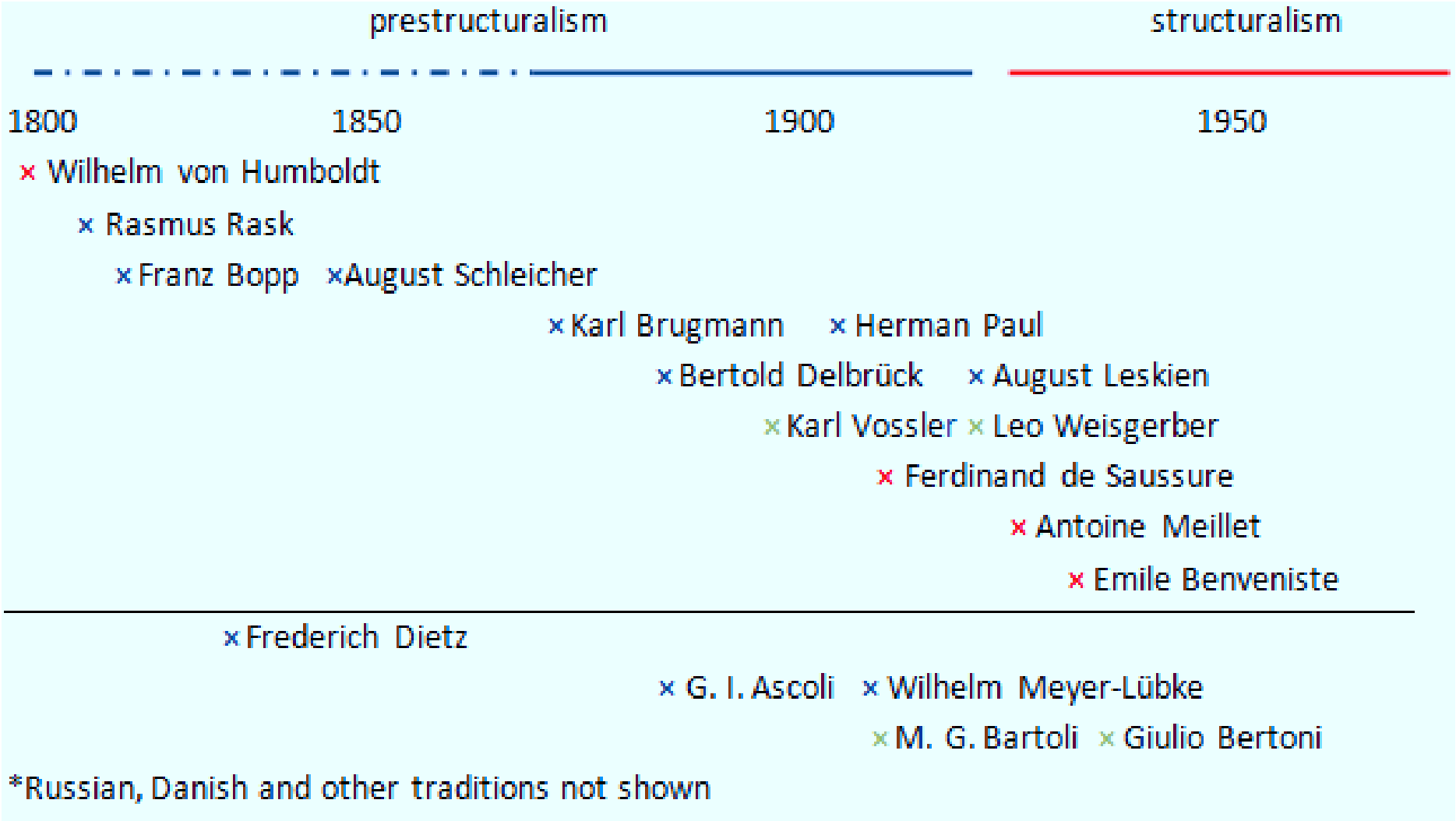
LAT. OLEUM 'oil' >

	Italian	vs.	French
Piedmont:	[œ:ri]	Isère:	[œrju]
Florence:	[lɔʎɔ]	Occitan:	[oli]
Bari:	[ɖɖ'uɖɖjə]	Charente:	[oel]
Salento:	[u'weju]	Franco-Provençal:	[ul]
Sicily:	[u:ɖj]	North-French:	[wil]

Cp. AIS (1012 l'olio) and ALF (702 huile).

Brief History of Romance Linguistics

Timeline of Historical and Romance Linguistics



Prestructuralists: Aesthetic or Idealistic School

- Based on W. von Humboldt: active spirit dominates passive matter; language emanates from the spirit; the emanation is *energeia* rather than *ergon*
- Further inspired by H. Schuchardt, H. Bergson (individualism) and B. Croce (aesthetics)
- K. Vossler: language is a product of the individual spirit; like in Humboldt, it is active, but its essence is found in the style.
- Distinctly opposed to the Neo-Grammarians
- Manifest: *Positivismus und idealismus in der Sprachwissenschaft* (1904) by Vossler
- Followers: E. Lerch, L. Weisgerber and L. Spitzer
- Fields: stylistics and literary criticism.

Neo-linguistics

- Based on Aesthetic School and the works of J. Gilléron
- M. G. Bartoli: language is a sublimation of the physical and the spiritual: it is individual; consequently studying the language one studies the spirit
- Helped improve dialectology, substrate theory and the concept of *Sprachbund* first introduced by the Prague School
- Manifest: *Alle fonti del neolatino* (1910) by Bartoli; reworked as *Breviario di neolinguistica* (1925) by Bartoli and G. Bertoni
- Followers: B. A. Terracini, G. Devoto, V. Pisani and G. Bonfante
- Fields: linguistic geography or areal linguistics, dialectology, lexicology.

Prestructuralism vs. Structuralism

Main tenets:

Language is an inventory of words	Language is a system of signs[14]
Language is individual	Language is communal[15]
Syn- and diachrony vague	Syn- and diachrony distinguished[16]

- Manifest: *Cours de linguistique génénale* (1916) by F. de Saussure (compiled by Ch. Bally and A. Sechehaye)
- Followers: 1) The Swiss School; 2) Functionalists, influenced by the Prague School; 3) Glossematicians. American structuralism represented by the Yale School.
- Fields: general linguistics, phonology, formalism.

[14] 'La langue, c'est un système de signes' (Saussure).

[15] 'La langue, elle n'existe parfaitement que dans la masse' (Saussure).

[16] 'Est synchronique tout ce qui se raporte à l'aspect statique de notre science, diachronique tout ce qui a trait aux évolutions'. (Saussure)

Schools and scholars in postmodern times

Neo-Traditionalists Fields: etymology, typology, historical phonology and morphology. Scholars: Y. Malkiel.

Humanists Fields: theory of language, semantics, stylistics. Scholars: E. Coseriu.

Dialectologists Fields: structural dialectology, pidgins, creols, linguistic atlantes. Scholars: G.Rohlfs, W. von Wartburg.

Glossematicians Fields: theory of language. Scholars: K. Togeby

Functionalists Fields: theory of language, historical phonology. Scholars: [R. Jakobson, A. Martinet]; H. Laubserg, H. Lüdtke.

American structuralists Fields: descriptive and historical linguistics. Scholars: [L. Bloomfield, E. Sapir]; R. A. Hall Jr.

Generative grammarians Fields: language theory, language acquisition, syntax. Scholars: [N. Chomsky].

Cf. Posner (1970)

Vulgar Latin (and Romance) in Contact

VLat. borrowings

Vulgar Latin borrowings are found in:

- Celtic languages, esp. Breton, Welsh, Irish (+);
- Germanic, esp. High German, English (+);
- Slavic, esp. Serbo-Croatian, Slovene (+);
- Greek (+);
- Albanian (+);
- Hungarian;
- Basque (+);
- Berber (+);
- Arabic, esp. East and West Arabic;
- Turkish, esp. South (Osmanli) Turkish.

(+) - important for reconstruction.

Celtic borrowings

Traces of quantity-based vocalism:[17]

L|R CIVITĀTEM 'city' > W. *ciwdod*, but *calaf* < CALAMUS 'reed'

L|R CĒRA 'wax' > W. *cwyr*, but *meddyg* < MĔDICUS 'doctor'

L|R COQUĪNA 'kitchen'> W. *cegin*, but *ffydd* < FĬDES

Syncope:

L|R Ir. DOMNICUM 'of the lord' > *domnach*

No palatalization:

L|R PACEM 'peace' > *peoc'h*

Lexical items:

L|R SATURNI DIES 'Saturday' > W. *dydd sadwrn*

[17] In the following chapter, L|R indicates a feature that's more Latin, L|R that's more Romance, and L|R that is either Latin or Romance.

Germanic borrowings

Traces of quality based vocalism:

L|R PĬSCARE 'fish' > NHG *pescên*

L|R PŬTEUS 'well' > NHG *pfuzzi*

Diphthongs preserved:

L|R CAESAR 'emperor' > *kaisar*

No palatalization:

L|R ACĒTUM 'vinegar' > Go. *akeit*

L|R CELLARIUM 'cellar' > NHG *Keller*

Lexical items:

L|R SATURNI DIES 'Saturday'> Du. *zaterdag*, Fri. *saterdei*

Old Church Slavic borrowings via Gothic

cěsarъ < Go. *kaisar* < CAESAR;

osъlъ < Go. *asilus* < ASINUS 'donkey';

ocьtъ < Go. *akeit* < ACĒTUM 'vinegar'.

Serbo-Croatian borrowings

VLat. Ū > CSlav. y > i:

MŪRUM 'wall' > *mir*

Unstressed VLat. A > o:

PAGANUM 'heathen' > *pogan* 'pagan'

ALTAREM 'altar' > *oltar*

VLat. I, U > CSlav. ь, ъ> a:

MĬSSA 'mass' > *maša*

RĔPA 'turnip' > *rapa*

Liquid metathesis:

CALCE 'lime' >*klak*

PERSICA 'peach' > *praska*

PRom. palatalization:

L|R PALATIUM 'palace' > *polača*

L|R RATIONEM 'bill' > *račun*

Middle Greek borrowings

Syncope:

L|R BACULUM 'stick' > *báklon*

L|R DOMINA 'lady' > *dómna*

VLat. unstressed O > Gr. u:

L|RCONVENTUM 'meeting' > Tosk. *kubénta*

L|R FOSSATUM 'ditch' > *fussâton*

Traces of quantity-based vocalism:

L|R SĬTULA 'basin' > *síkla*

L|R SĬGNA [pl.] 'mark' > *sígna*

No palatalization:

L|R CELLA 'cell' > *kélla*

L|R OFFICIUM 'duty' > *ophíkion*

Albanian borrowings

Traces of quantity-based vocalism:

L|R MEDIUM 'middle' > *miez-* 'middle' but *furkë* < FURCA 'fork'

Traces of VLat. Ō:

L|R PŌMUM 'fruit' > *pemë*

L|R HŌRA 'hour' > *herë*, cp. Alb. *ne* < PIE *nōs

VLat. AU preserved:

L|R AURUM 'gold' > *ar*

L|R LAURUM 'laurel' > *lar*, cp. *ag* < PIE *$h_2$eug- 'ray'

L|R CAUSA 'case' > *kafhë*

L|R LAUDEM 'glory' > *lavd*, cp. SCr. *javra* < AUREA

Syncope:

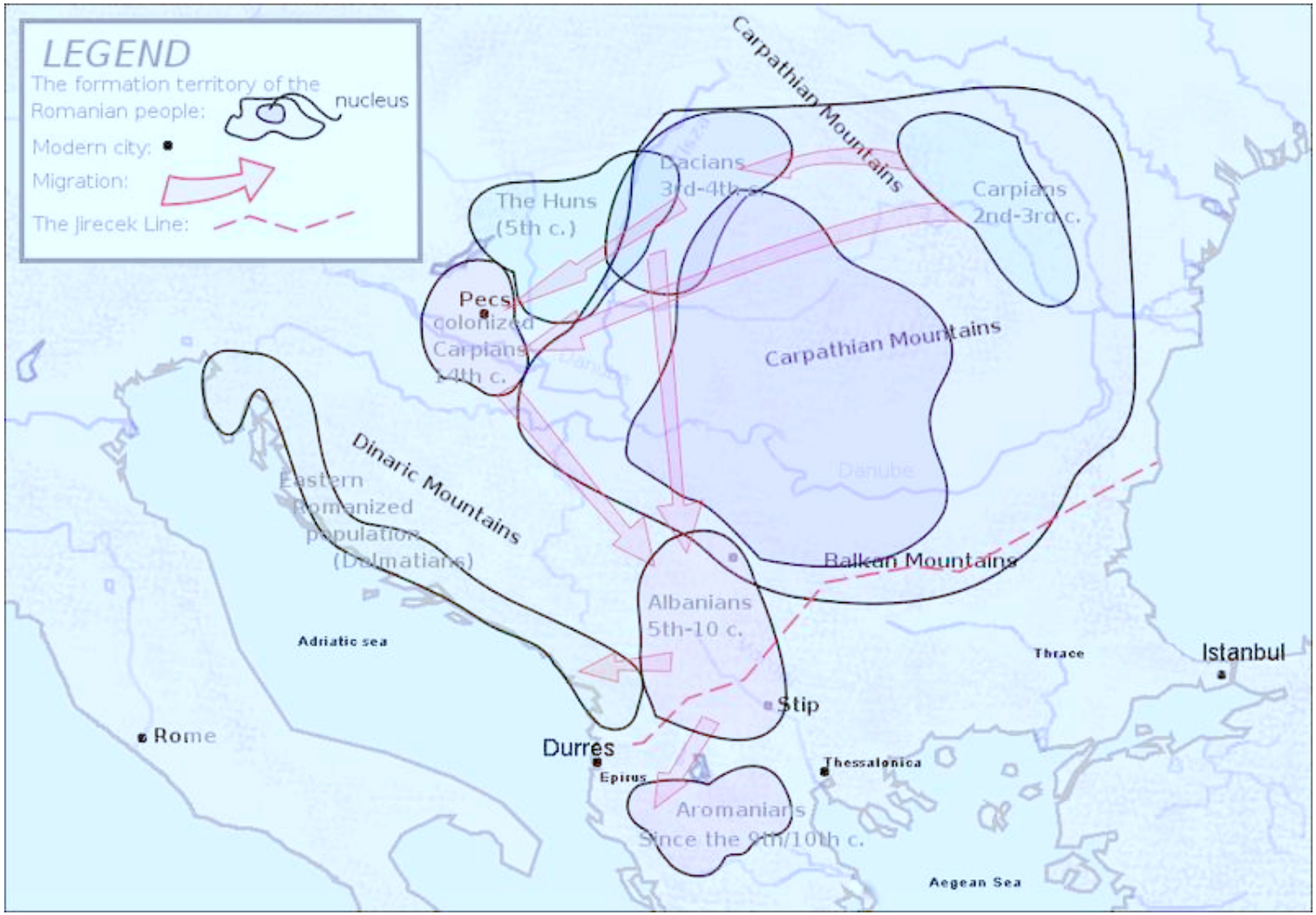
L|R MEDICUM 'doctor' > *mjek*

L|R PAGANUM 'villager' > *i pëganë, i pëgërë*

Paltalization:

L|R SOCIUM, RADIUM, RATIONEM 'friend, ray, bill' > *shoq, rreze, (a)rësye*

Albanian


LEGEND
The formation territory of the Romanian people:
nucleus
Modern city:
Migration:
The Jirecek Line:
Carpathian Mountains
Dacians
3rd-4th c.
The Huns
(5th c.)
Carpians
2nd-3rd c.
Pecs
colonized
Carpians
4th c.
Carpathian Mountains
Danube
Dinaric Mountains
Eastern
Romanized
population
(Dalmatians)
Balkan Mountains
Albanians
5th-10 c.
Adriatic sea
Thrace
Istanbul
Stip
Rome
Durres
Epirus
Thessalonica
Aromanians
Since the 9th/10th c.
Aegean Sea

Basque borrowings

No palatalization:

L|R PACEM 'peace' > *bake*

L|R CERASEA 'cherry' > *gerezi*

L|R CYMA 'top' > *gima*

L|R CELLA 'room' > *gela*

VLat. -N- > h:

ANATEM 'duck' > *ahate*

HONOREM 'honor' > *ohore*

VLat. -L- > r:

SOLUM 'ground' > *soro*

VOLUNTATE 'will' > *borondate*

VLat. B- > m-:

BACILLUM 'stick' > *makila*

Berber borrowings

Traces of quantity-based vocalism:

L|R PĬRUM 'pear' > *ti-firest*

L|R ŬLMUM 'elm' > *ulmu*

VLat. diphthongs preserved:

L|R TAEDA 'pine wood' > *taida*

VLat. IA- > ie-:

L|R IANUARIUS 'January' > *ennajer*

Syncope:

L|R REGULA 'ruler' > *ta-rigla*

L|R SUBULA 'awl' > *ti-subla*

No palatalization:

L|R CICER 'beans' > *akiker*

L|R FILCEM 'fern'> *ifilku*

L|R AGER 'field' > *iger*

Ibero-Romance

Reconquista: Timeline

711 - Moors invaded Spain and established Al-Andalus

1094 - Castilian knight El Cid conquered Valencia from the Moors

1159 - The Kingdom of Portugal was established

1212 - Major victory at Las Navas de Tolosa

1213 - Fall of Aragon

1230 - Castilla and Leon form a union. Galicia breaks off from Portugal.

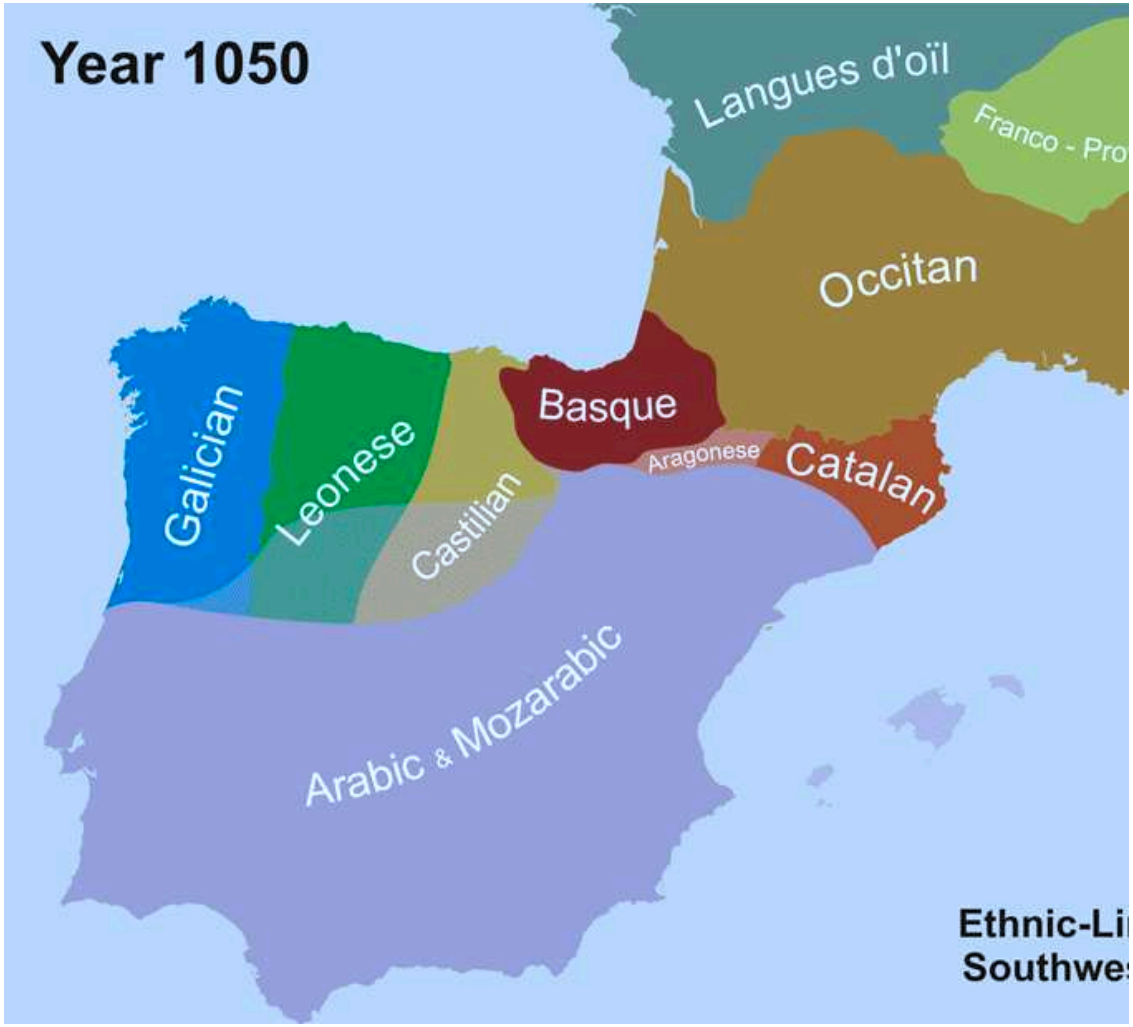
1252 - Alfonso X: the emergence and standardization of *lengua castellana*

1492 - Fall of the Cordovan Caliphate.

Reconquista



Reconquista



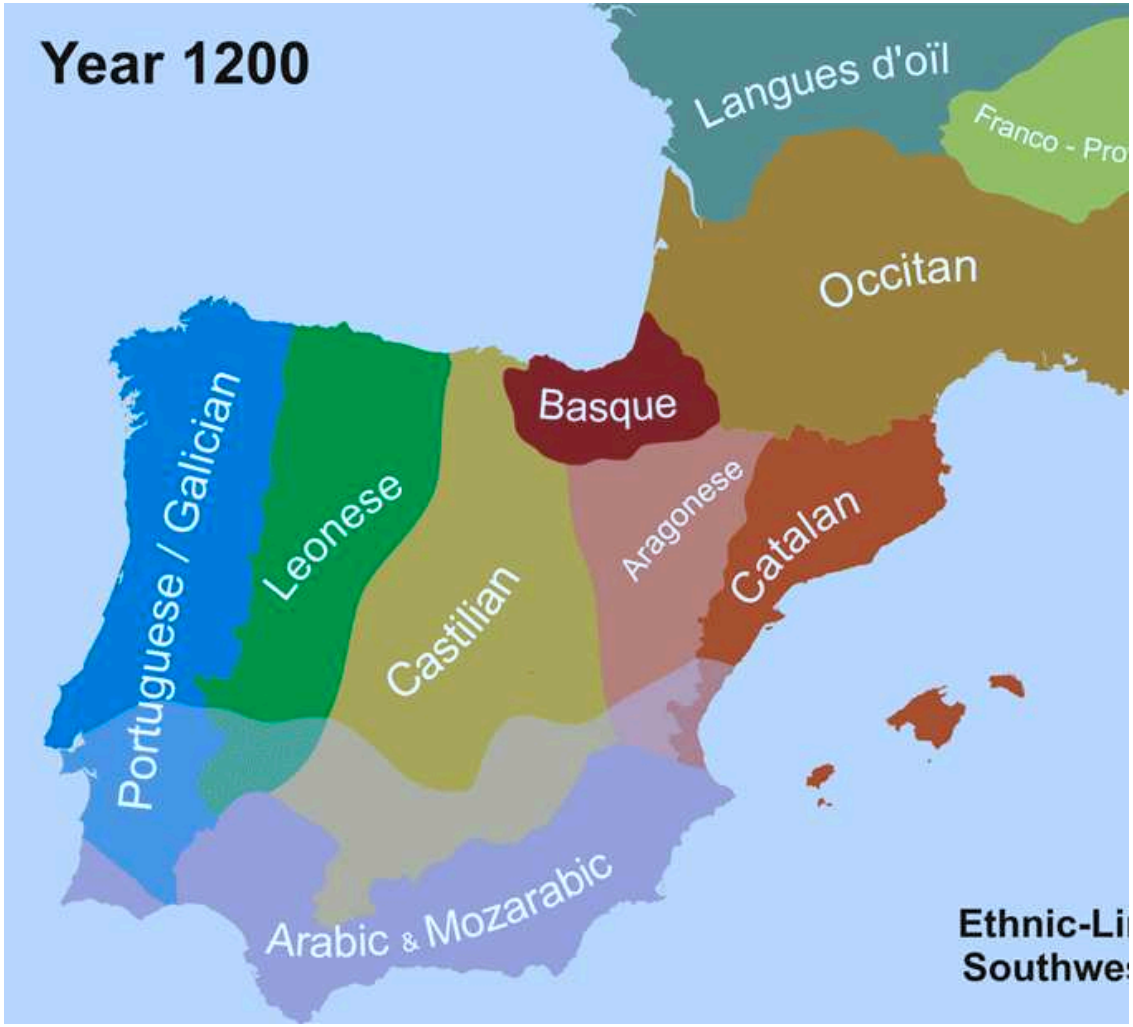
Reconquista



Reconquista



Reconquista



Reconquista



Proto-Ibero-Romance

- Proto-Ibero-Romance has been hypothesized by e.g. Wright 2003.

	MANUS	3sg impf -ABAT	ERAT
Sp.	*mano*	1sg impf *-aba*	*era*
Port.	*mão*	1sg impf *-ava*	*era*
Cat.	*mà*	1sg impf *-ava*	*era*

- Mondéjar (1998: 971) points out that the proposed properties of PIRom. apply to Occitan as well, cp.

Occ.	*man*	1sg impf *-áva*	*era*

- But $\bar{\mathrm{U}} >$ y only in Occitan, not in Catalan 'car il s'était détaché avant le Xe siècle du groupe dialectal proprement occitan' (Müller 1974: 16)

Vulgar Latin in Hispania

Griera (1922):

Hispania Ulterior > Galicio-Portuguese, Asturian-Leonese, Castilian*
- Baetica (Corduba)
- Lusitania (Emerita Augusta)
- Galaecia (Baracara)

Hispania Citerior > Navarro-Aragonese, Catalan, Castilian*
- Carthaginensis (Carthago Nova)
- Tarraconensis (Tarraco)

*Meier's (1930) addendum

Hispania Ulterior : Hispania Citerior :: Innovative : Conservative

Roman Hispania



Roman provinces in Hispania

Vulgar Latin in Hispania Ulterior

VLat. AU preserved:

TAURUS 'bull' > GPort. *touro* vs. Cast. *toro*

Secondary diphthongs preserved:

PRIMARIUM 'first' > GPort. *primeiro*, ALeo. *primeiru* vs. Cast. *primero*

Final vowels preserved:

VERITATEM 'truth' > GPort. ALeo. *verdade* vs. Cast. *verdad*

VLat. F preserved:

FILIUM 'son' > GPort. ALeo. *fijo* vs. Cast. *hijo*

VLat. -CT- preserved as -it-:

FACTUM 'deed' > GPort. *feito* vs. Cast. *hecho*

VLat. -MB- preserved:

PALUMBA 'dove' > GPort. *palomba*, ALeon. *pomba* vs. Cast. *paloma*

Vulgar Latin in Hispania Ulterior - conservative

Vulgar Latin in Hispania Citerior

VLat. AU > o:

AUT 'or' > Cast. NAr. Cat. *o* vs. GPort. *ou*

Apocope (partim):

MORTEM 'death' > Cast. *muerte*, NAr. *muert*, Cat. *mort*

VLat. -MB- > -m-:

PALUMBA 'dove' > Cast. *paloma*, NAr. *paloma* (Cat. *colom*)

VLat. -ND- > -n-, 0:

ROTUNDUM 'round' > Cast. *rodono*, Cat. *rodó*

VLat. L- > [ʎ] (partim):

LINGUA 'tognue' > Cast. *lengua*, Astur. *llingua*, Cat. *llengua*

VLat. -RR- > Ŕ:

CANNA 'reed' > Cast. *caña*, Cat. *canya*

Vulgar Latin in Hispania Citerior - innovative

Catalan

Western Catalan dialects

North-Western Catalan: Ribagorçan, Pallarès, Lleidatà, Valencian

South-Western Catalan: Northern Valencian, Central Valencian, Southern Valencian, Alacantí, Majorcan Valencian

Eastern Catalan dialects

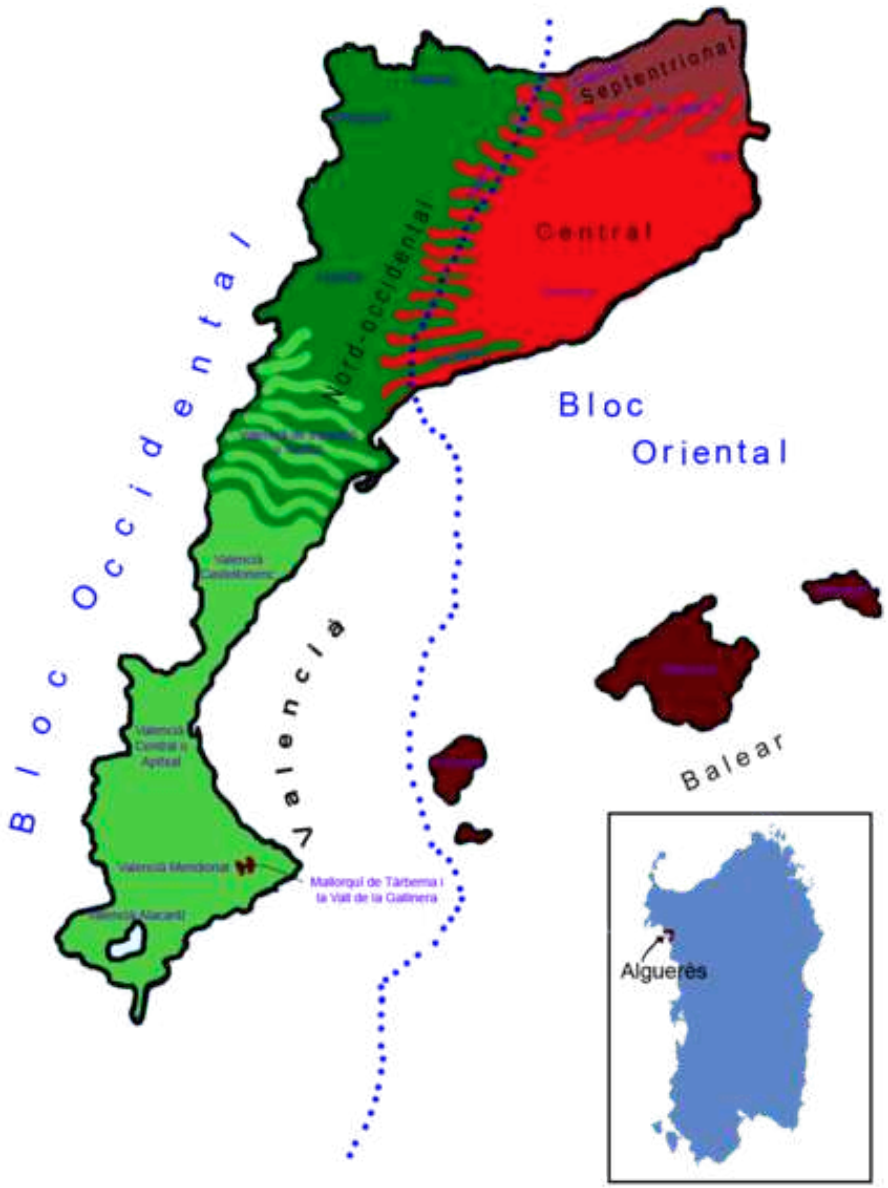
North Catalan

Central Catalan: Salat, Barceloní, Tarragoní, Xipella

Balearic: Majorcan, Minorcan, Ibizan

Alguerese

Catalan: Dialects



Catalan: Dialects

CĒPA 'onion' > WCat. [seβə], ECat. [səβə]

NASCERE 'be born' > WCat. *nàixer*, ECat. *néixer*

QUATTUOR 'four' > WCat. [kwotre], ECat. [kotre]

OCTO 'eight' > WCat. *huyt* [wit], ECat. *vuit* [buyt]

CANTARE 'sing' > WCat. *cantar*, ECat. cantà

Blasco Ferrer (1995: 577) points out lexical differences between E and W already during the period of Romanization: W AMARELLUS - E CROCUS 'saffron'; COMEDERE - E MANDUCARE 'eat'; W CORDARIUM - E AGNELLUS 'lambkin'

Catalan

Traits shared with French

Apocope (except -A):

MURUM 'wall' > Cat. *mur*, Fr. *mur*

FLOREM 'flower' > Cat. *flor*, Fr. *fleur*

Diphthongization of *Ę, *Ǫ in palatal context:

COXA 'thigh' > Cat. *cuixa*, Fr. cuisse

Preservation of PL-, CL-, FL-:

PLICARE 'fold' > Cat. *aplegar*, Fr. *plier*

CLAVEM 'key' > Cat. *clau*, Fr. *clé*

FLAMMA 'flame' > Cat. *flama*, Fr. *flamme*

Traits shared with Spanish

VLat. AU, AI > [o, e]:

PAUCUM 'not much' > Cat. *poc*, Sp. *poco*

VLat. -LL- > [ʎ]:

CABALLUM 'horse' > Cat. *cavall*, Sp. *caballo*

VLat. -MB- > m:

CAMBA, GAMBA 'leg' > Cat. *cama*, Sp. *cama*

Catalan

No diphthongization of *Ę, *Ǫ:

TERRA 'earth' > Cat. *terra*, Occ. *terra*

FOCUM 'fire' > Cat. *foc*, Occ. *fuec*[18]

VLat. -V > u:

NAVEM 'ship' > Cat. *nau*, Occ. *nau*

BREVEM 'short' > Cat. *breu*, Occ. *breu*

VLat. -N > 0:

VINUM 'wine' > Cat. *vi*, Occ. *vi*

PANEM 'bread' > Cat. *pa*, Occ. *pa*

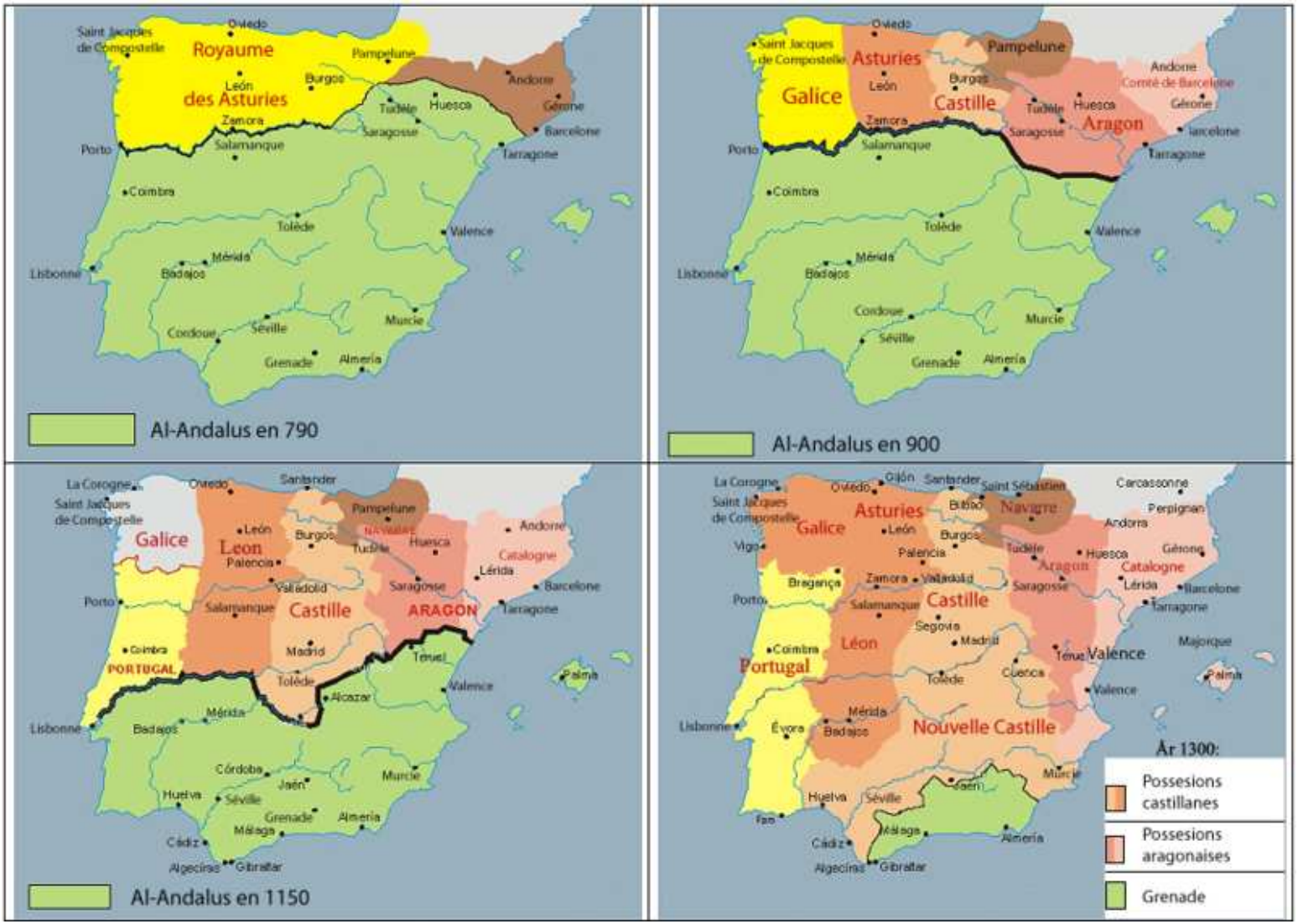
Traits shared with Occitan

[18] Occitan diphthongizes before velars.

Mozarab

- Arab. *ayamiyya* 'foreign language', Arab. *must'arab* 'Arabized' (Port. *moçárabes*, Sp. *mozárabes*, Cat.*mossàrabs* etc.) - language spoken in the Muslim-dominated areas of the Iberian Peninsula.
- Phases: 1. 711-932, *período de rebeldía*; 2. 932-1099, *período de postramiento*; 3. 1099-1147, *período de emigración*.
- Preserved in glosses, partly in either Hebrew or Arabic script - vowels have to be reconstructed.
- Byzantium vs. Visighotic Kingdom: 1. Latin tradition; 2. Christianity; 3. economical benefits. Justinian's Reconquista in 543. Cartagena becomes the capital.

Mozarab: Phases



Mozarab

Secondary diphthongs preserved:

ADAMAVI 'i loved' > Moz. *adamey*, cp. Gal. *amei* but Cast. *amé*

VLat. F- preserved:

FILIAS 'daughters' > Moz. *filyā*, cp. Gal. *filla* but Cast. *hija*

VLat. -MB- preserved:

PALUMBA, COLUMBA 'dove' > Moz.- *qolomba*, cp. Gal. *pomba* but Cast. *paloma*

VLat. -D, -T preserved:

AD MIHI, QUAERIT 'to me, seek' > Moz. *ad mībi, kiyered*

No apocope:

DEMANDARE 'ask'> *demandare*

First Romance Records

- Aragonese: Glossas Emilienses (San Millá de Cogolla), Glossas Silenses (San Sebastián de Silos, cca 950 AD). E. g. *yet* $<$ EST (Cast. *es*, Arat. *yet*), *sieculo* $<$ SAECULU (Sp. *siglo*, Arag. *sieglo*).
- Gallego-Portuguese: Testament of Alfonso II (1214), Auto de partilha (1230). Floruit 1200-1360. For a long time, the only universally renown koine, next to Occitan.
- Astur-Leonese: Libro de Alexandre (13 c.). Abandoned for Castilian soon afterwards.
- Castilian: Historia Compostellana (1137), Poema de Almería (1147). Oral tradition: El Poema de mio Cid. Standardized during the times of Alfonso X.
- Catalan: literature in Old Occitan koine. First records mostly documents: Greuges de Guitard (1080), Jurament de pau (1098). From 13 c. Occitan koine abandoned.
- Mozarab: Glossarium Latino-Arabicum and jarchas - final lines in *muwwaššahas*

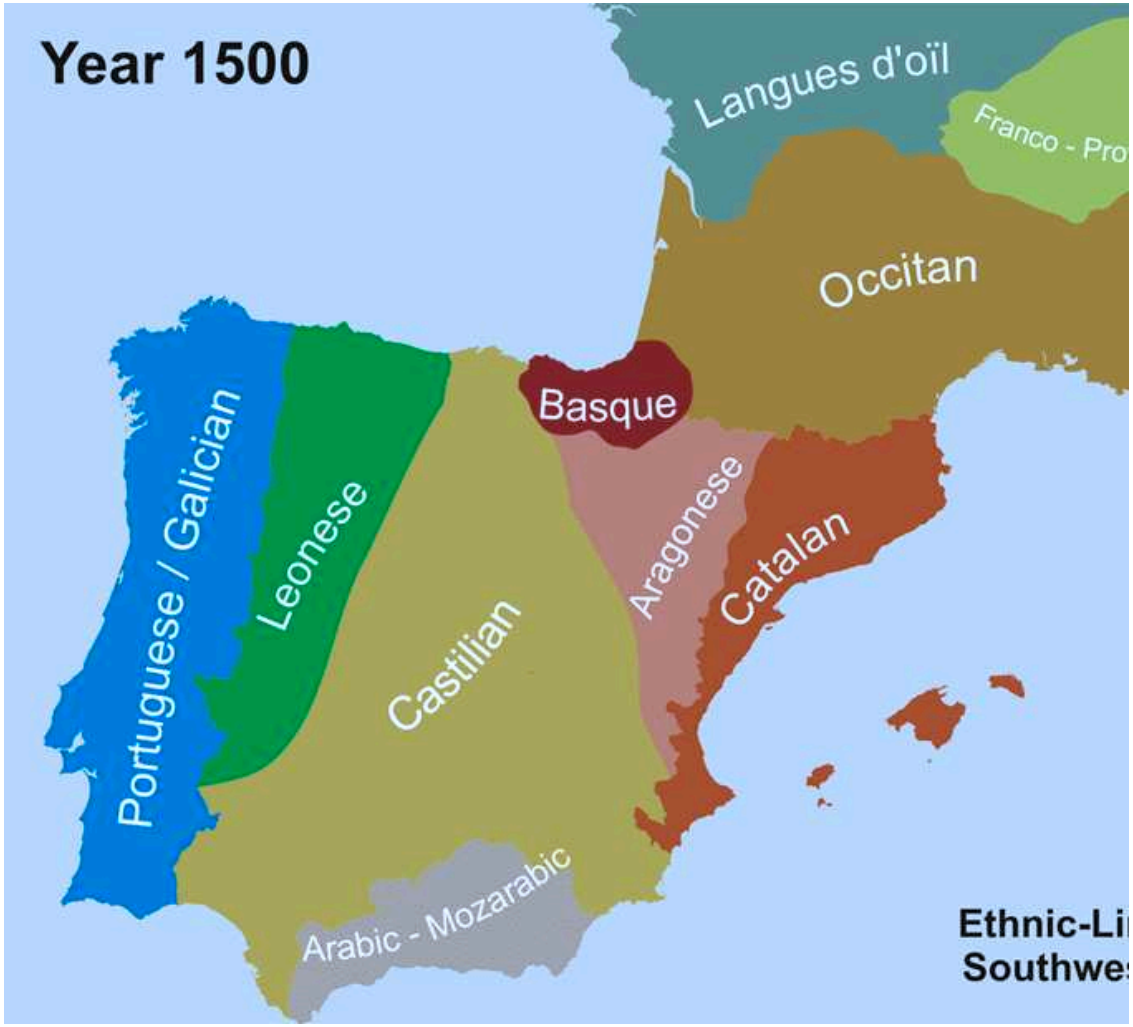
Fate of Ibero-Romance Languages



Fate of Ibero-Romance Languages



Fate of Ibero-Romance Languages



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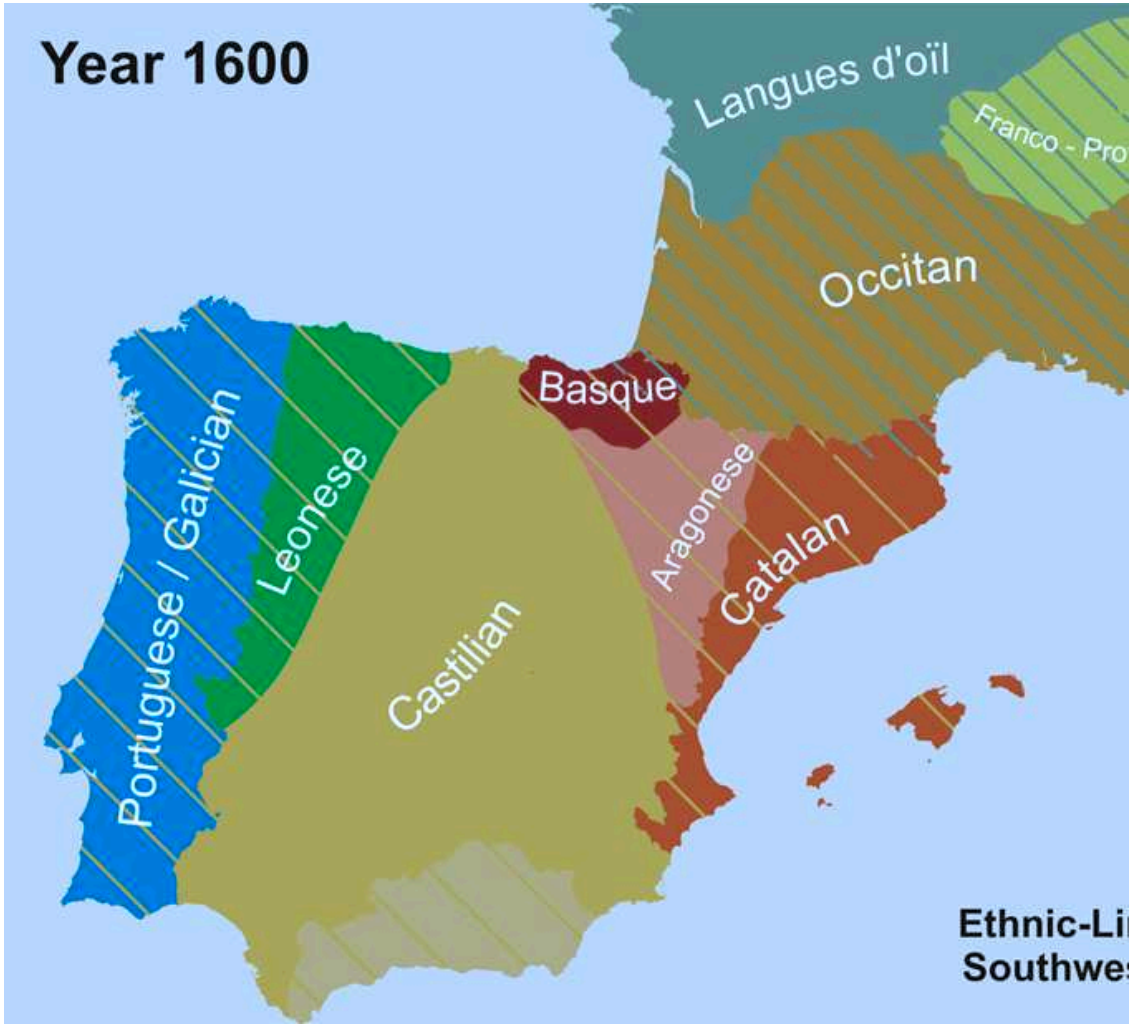

Fate of Ibero-Romance Languages



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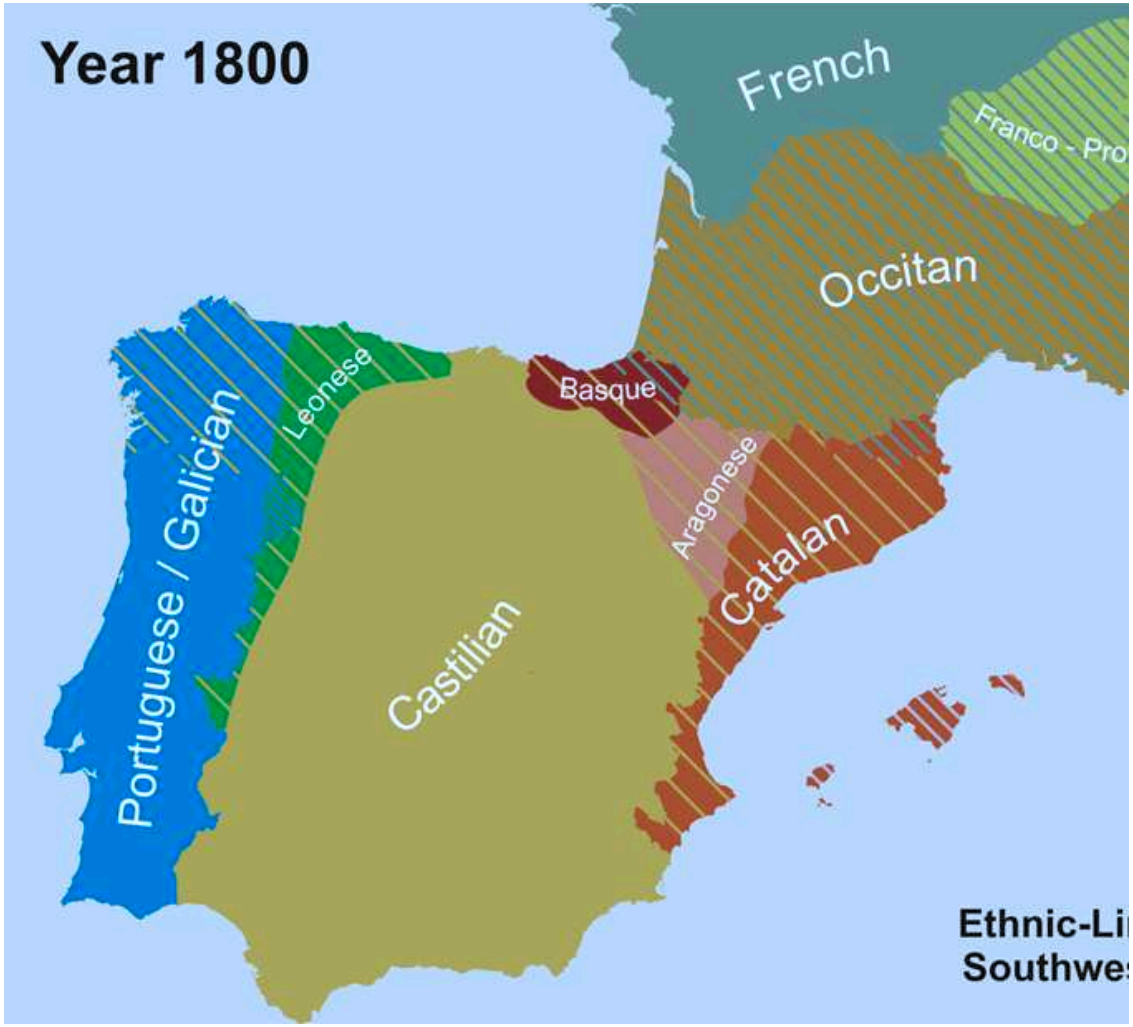

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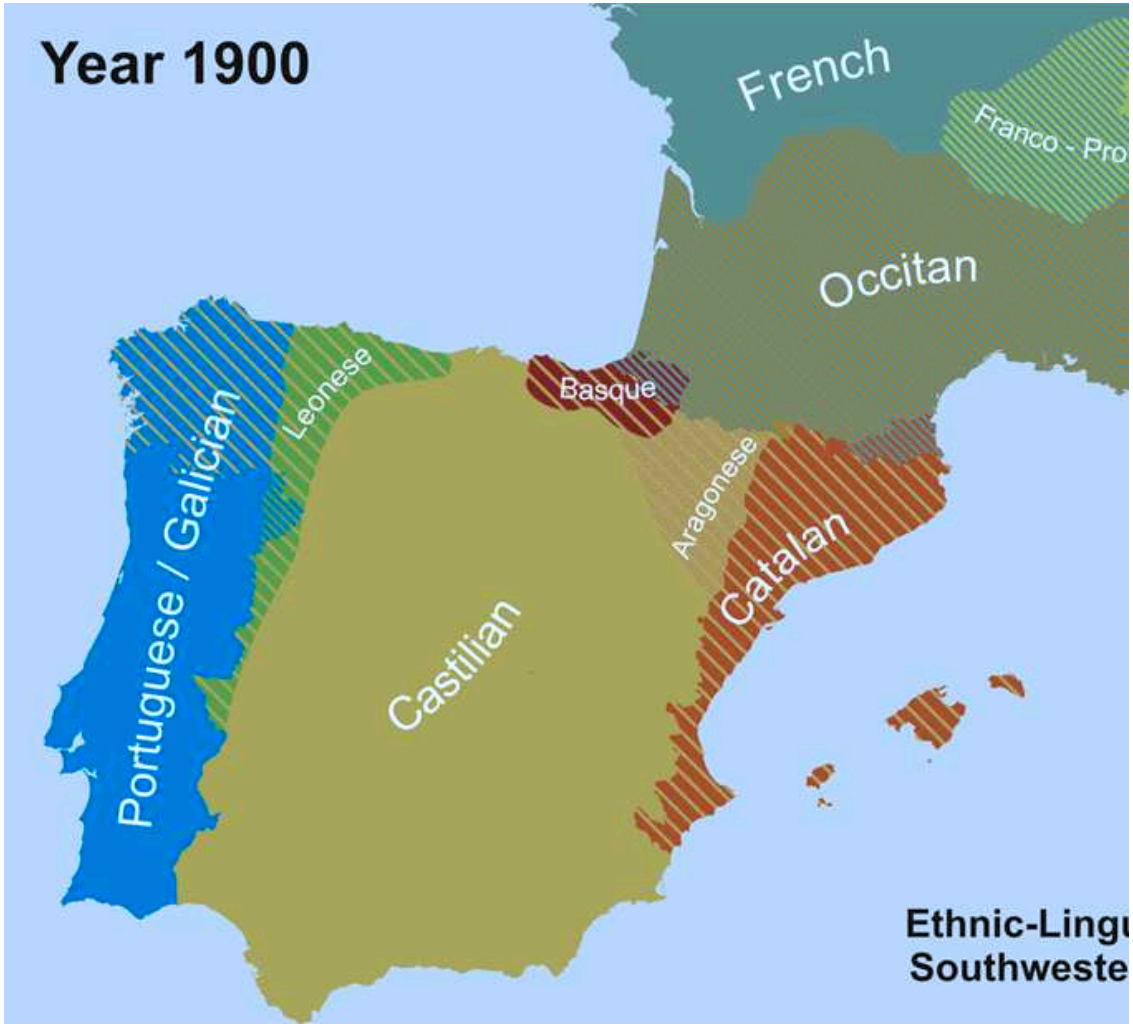


Gallo-Romance

Gaul[19]

Gallia Cisalpina - Gallo-Italian

Gallia Narbonensis - cca Occitan

Gallia Comata - cca French

Celtica (or Lugdunensis)

Aquitania

Belgica

Cp. Caes. *De bello Gallico* I 1:

> *Omnis Gallia divisa est in partes tres quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate Provinciae longissime absunt. . .*

[19] 'France's linguistic separation began with Roman influence' (Bec 1963).

Gaul in Roman Times



Occitan

- Gallia Narbonensis (Occitania) became a Roman province in the late 2nd century BC.
- In comparison with French little Celtic or Frankish influence. Caesar points out that people of Aquitania could teach the Romans themselves to speak Latin. Early romanization.
- Occitan troubadour literature in Old Occitan koine. Floruit 11th and 12th century: Boecies (1030), La Nobla Leyczon, Las, qu'i non sun sparvir, astur (11th c.) etc. Declines from 14. century: in 1539 it was decreed (Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts) that langue d'oïl would be used in administration.

Occitan Dialects

Bec (1973):

West	- in Roman Aquitania
	Gascon, Aranese
Middle	in Roman Provincia
	Languedocien
	Provençal
North	- in Roman Comata
	Limousin
	Auvergnat
	Vivaro-Alpine
(South)	in Roman Hispania
	Catalan

Weehler (1988):

Innovative	- in Roman Hispania and Aquitania
	Gascon, Languedocien (and Catalan)
Conservative	- in Roman Provincia
	Limousin, Auvergnat, Provençal and Vivaro-Alpine

Occitan Dialects



Occitania

Occitan: Shared Traits

Shared with French, but not Catalan:

VLat. Ū > y:

DŪRUM 'hard' > Occ. *dur*, Fr. *dur* vs. Cat. *dur*

VLat. O > u:

FLOREM 'flower' > Occ. *flor*, Fr. *fleur* vs. Cat. *flor*

Shared with Catalan, but not French:

VLat. A > a:

MARE 'sea' > Occ. *mar*, Cat. *mar* vs. Fr. *mer*

VLat. -T- > d:

VITAM 'life' > Occ. *vida*, Cat. *vida* vs. Fr. *vie*.

Occitan: Traits not Shared

Shared with neither Catalan nor French:

VLat. AU > [aw]:

AURICULA 'ear' > Occ. *aurelha* vs. Cat. *orella*, Fr. *oreille*

VLat. -A > [-o]:

PORTA 'doors' > Occ. *porta* vs. Cat. *porta*, Fr. *porte*

VLat. Ĕ, Ŏ diphthongize in front of velars:

FOCU 'fire' > Occ. *fuoc, fuec* vs. Cat. *foc*, Fr. *feu*

GRAECU 'Greek' > Occ. *grieu* vs. Cat. *grec*, Fr. *grec*

Vlat. -CC- > [ts]:

Occitan [otsita] et sim.

Occitan: Gascon Dialect

VLat. F > h:

FILIU 'son'> Gasc. *hilh* [h-], Occ. *filh*, Cat. *fill*, but Sp. *hijo*

VLat. -N- > 0:

UNA '1' > Gasc. *ya*, Occ. *una*, Cat. *una*, but Port. *uma*

VLat. -LL- > -th-:

castellu 'castle' > Gasc. *casteth*, Occ. *castèl*, Cat. *castell*

VLat. -CT- > [č]:

LACTE 'milk' > Gasc. *lach*, Occ. *lait*, Cat. *llet*, Fr. *lait*, but Sp. *leche*

VLat. -V- > -β-:

HABERE 'have' > Gasc. *aver*, Occ. *aver*, Cat. *haver*, Fr. *avoir*, but Sp. *haber*

Comm. A Gascon dialect, Aranese, is the official language in Val d'Aran (Spain); it is the only official Occitan language.

Langues d'oil

9th-13th c. - Old French, also Old Norman
14th-15th c. - Middle French
16th c. - Early Modern French
17th-18th c. - Classical French
19th c.-present - Modern French

Frankish dialects
: Picard, Walloon, Lorrain, East Champenois, Norman

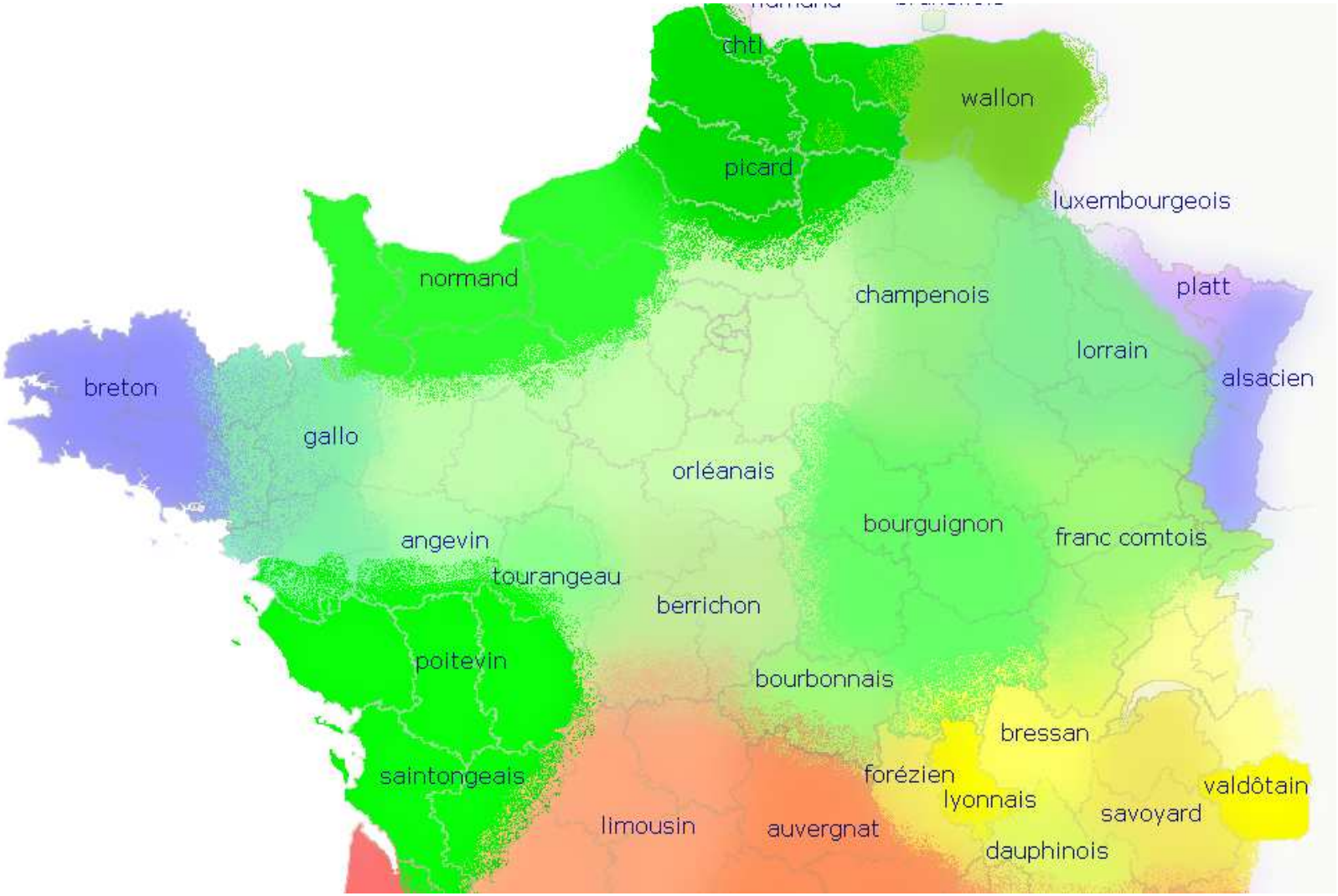
Francien dialects (French proper)
: Orléanais, West Champenois, Berrichon, Bourbonnais

Burgundian dialects
: Bourguignon

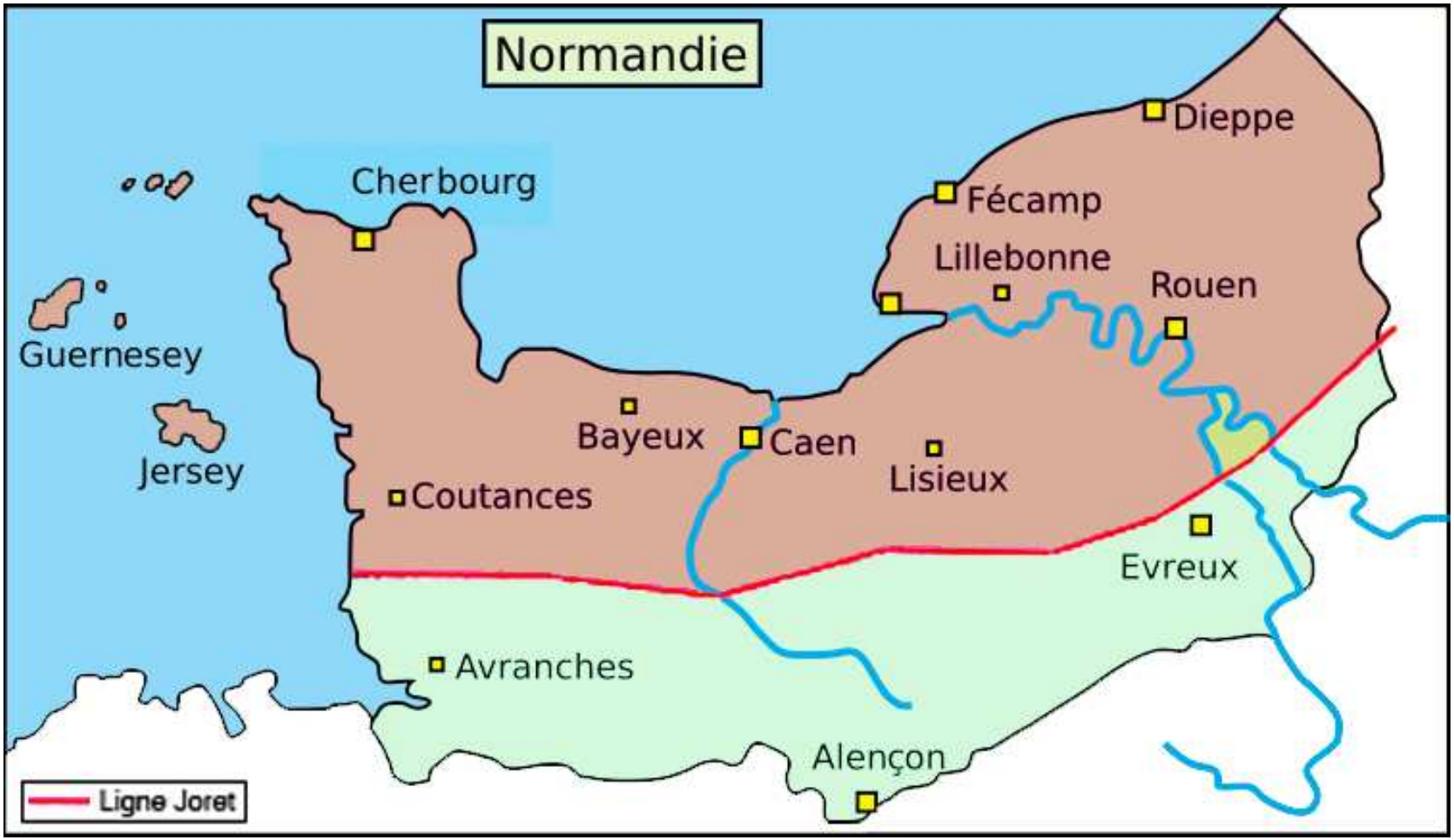
Armorican dialects
: Gallo language, Norman

Poitou dialects
: Poitevin, Saintongeais

Langues d'oil



Langues d'oil: Joret Line



Joret, Ch. 1883. *Des caractères et de l'extension du patois normand.* Paris.

Langues d'oil: Joret Line

VLat. CA, GA > Norm. Pic. [ka, ga] vs. Fr. [ša, ža]:*
CATTUM 'cat' > Norm. Pic. *cat* vs. Fr. *chat*
CANDELA 'candle' > Norm. Pic. *candelle* (> E *candle*) vs. Fr. *chandelle*
GAMBA 'leg' > Norm. Pic. *gambe* vs. Fr. *jambe*

VLat. CE, CI > Norm. Pic. [č, š] vs. Fr. [s]:
CERESIUM 'cherry' > Norm. Pic. *cherise* (> E *cherry*) vs. Fr. *cerise*

Gm. *w > Norm. Pic. *w* vs. Fr. *gu*:
Frank. *WERRA 'fight' > ONorm. *werre, warre* (> E *war*) vs. Fr. *guerre*

*Distinguish:
Norman borrowing: E *catch* < Norm. *[kače] < CAPTIARE
French borrowing: E *chase* < Fr. *[šase] < CAPTIARE

Langues d'oil: Substrate Influence

VLat. -PT- $>$ Fr. *-it-* (passim):

CAPTIVUM 'captive' $>$ OFr. *chaitif*, W. *caeth*

SEPTEM 'seven' $>$ OFr. *set*, W. *saith*

VLat. -p-, -t-, -g- $>$ PGIR. *-β- , *-δ-, *-γ-:

SEDERE 'sit' $>$ Fr. *seoir*, Cat. *seure*, but It. *sedere*

-coincides with la Spezia-Rimini line, the limit of Celtica.

Frank. *h* vs. VLat. 0 (reintroduction of *h*):

ILLAS HERBAS 'grasses' $>$ Fr. *les herbes* [lε zεrb]

PGm. *hagja 'hedge' $>$ Fr. *les haies* [lε ε]

Frank. *w* vs. VLat. *v* (reintroduction of *w*):

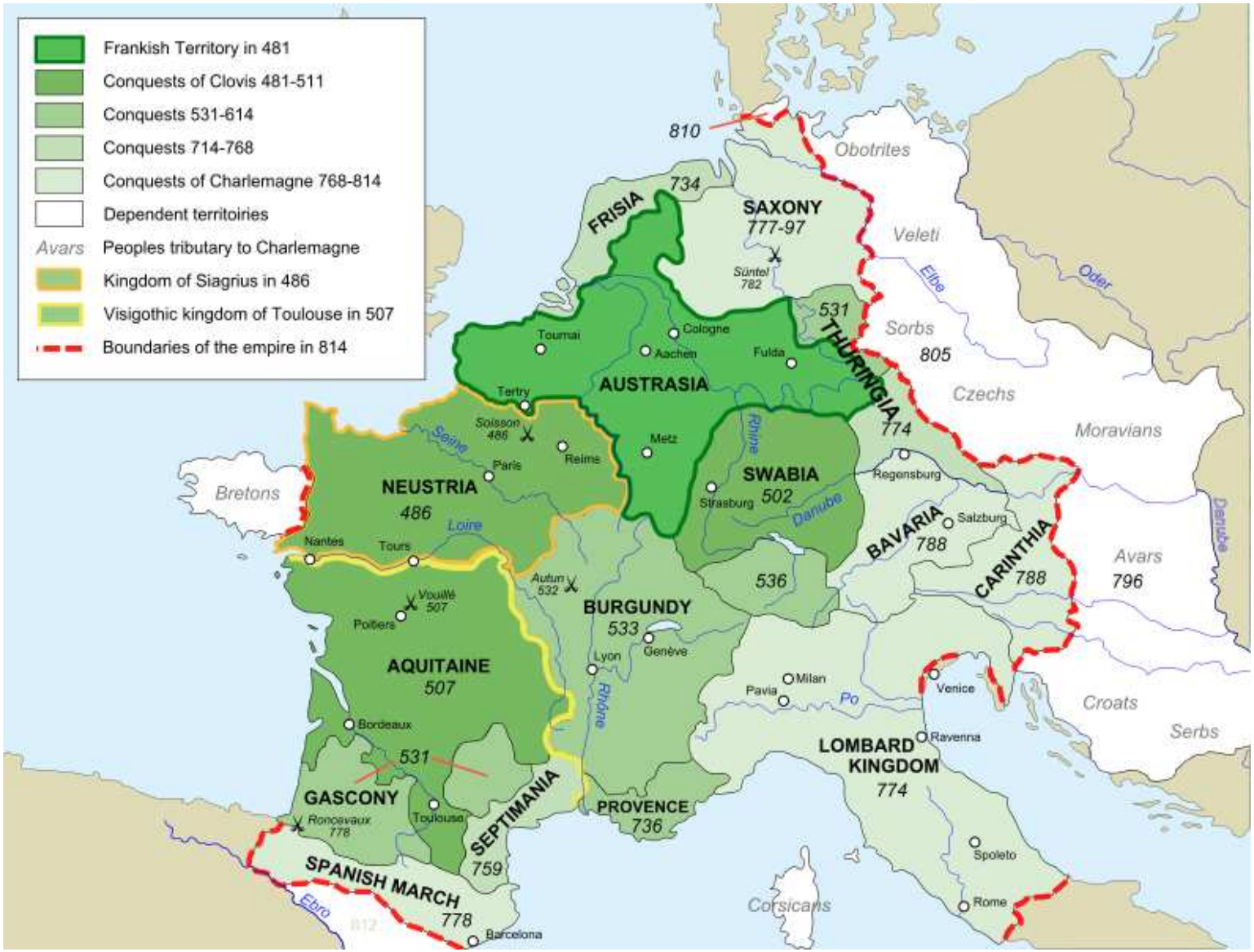
VETULUM 'old' $>$ Fr. *vieux*

PGm. *Willahelm 'William' $>$ OFr. *Guillaume*

OFr. final devoicing:

OFr. *grant* 'big' vs. *grande*

Langues d'oil: Frankish empire



Langues d'oil: Frankish Influence

New *h:

*HALTUM (ALTUM) 'tall' > OFr. *halt*, Fr. *haut* vs. It. Sp. *alto*.

New *w:

*WESPA (VESPA) 'wasp' > Fr. *guêpe* ONF *wespe* vs. Occ. *vèspa*

*VISCUS 'mistletoe' > Fr. *gui* vs. Occ. *vesc*, It. *vischio*[20]

Syn- and apocope:

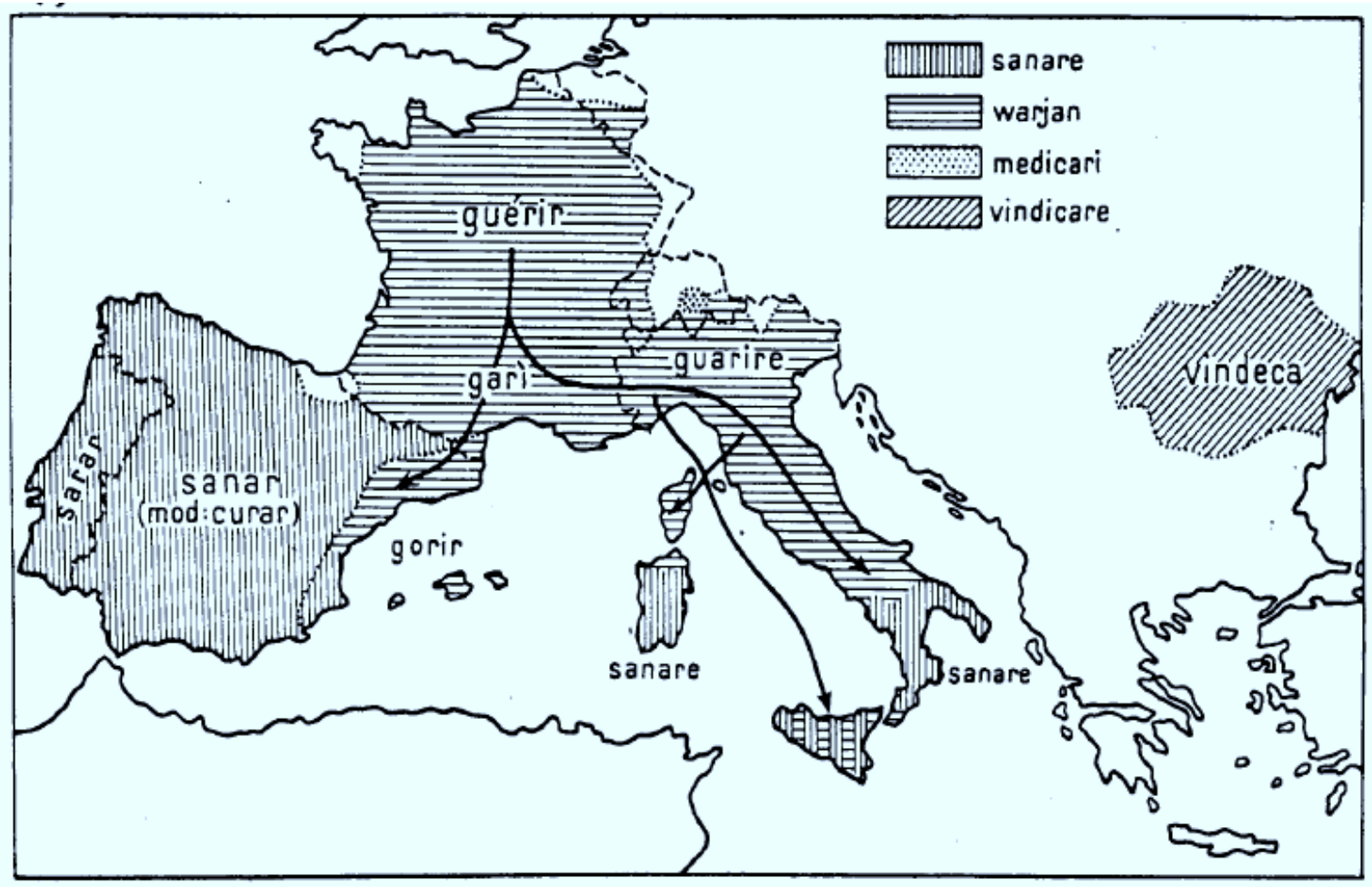
CATENAM 'chain' > OF chaiene vs. Occ. *cadena*, It. *catena*

Consequences of Germanic-like stress: diphthongization, differentiation between long and short syllables, fall of unaccentuated and final syllables.

Reconstruction of Old Frankish: virtually based on Dutch and French, cp. Du. *bier*, Fr. *bière* < OFrk. *bera; Du. *fris*, Fr. *frais* < OFrk. *fris-ka.

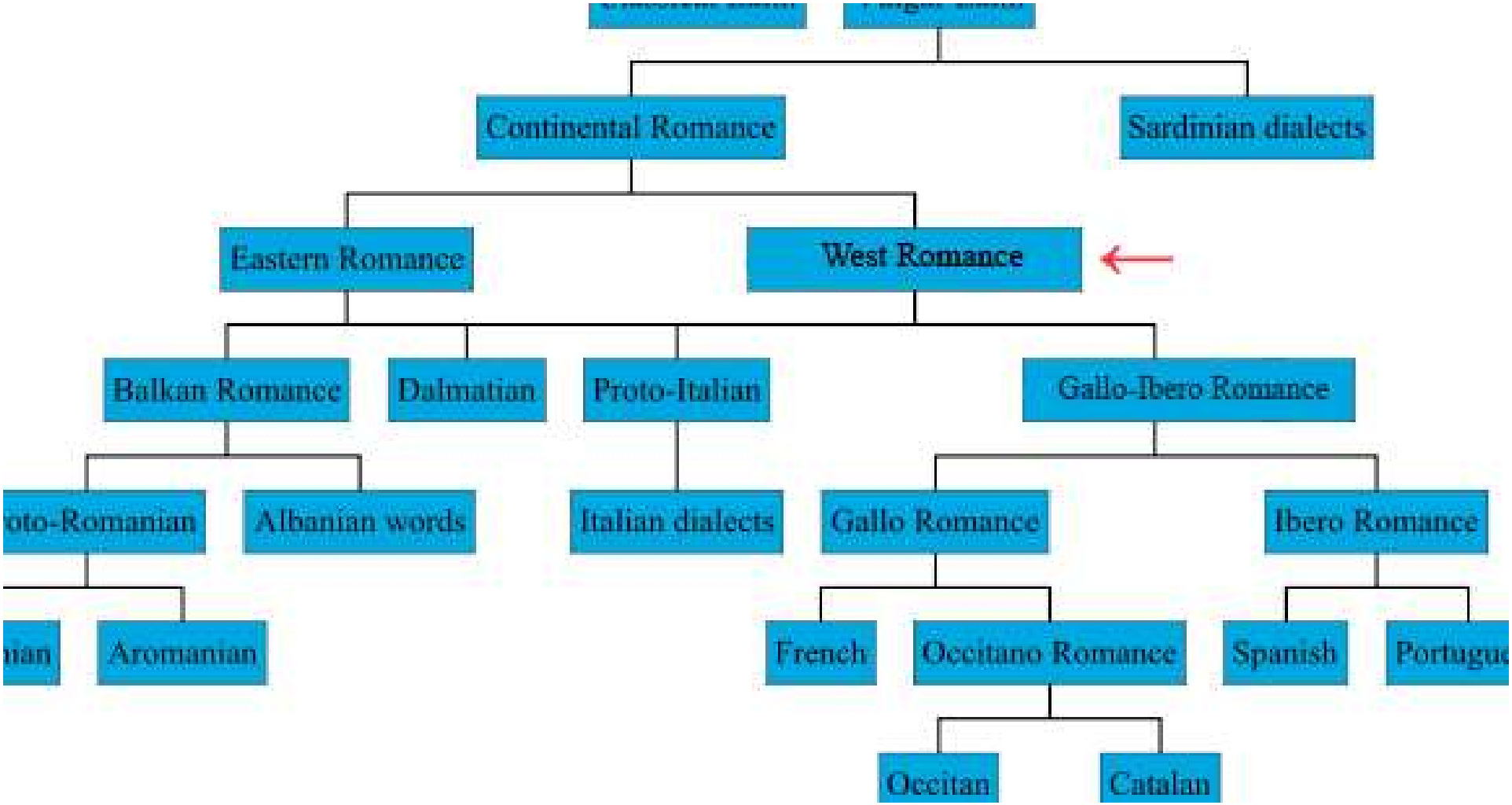
[20] *h and *w introduced via contamination with Gm. *wepsō- 'wasp', *hauhaz 'tall' and *wihsila 'mistletoe'.

Langues d'oil: Frankish Influence



Distribution of Frank. WARJAN 'cure'

Proto-West-Romance



Proto-West-Romance

VLat. sC- > PWR. *ęsC-:

SCHOLA 'school' > Fr. *école*, Cat. Port. *escola*, Sp. *escuela* vs. It. *scuola*

VLat. gV^{FRONT}, giV, diV > PWR *ž:

GENTEM 'people' > Fr. *gens*, Occ. Cat. *gent*, Sp. *gente* vs. It. *gente*

DIURNUM 'day' > Fr. *jour*, Occ. Cat. *jorn* vs. It. *giorno*

VLat. -NS- > PWR. *-s-:

MENSA 'table' > Fr. *moise*, Sp. Port. *mesa* vs. It. *mensa*

VLat. -RS- > PWR. *-ss- (partim):

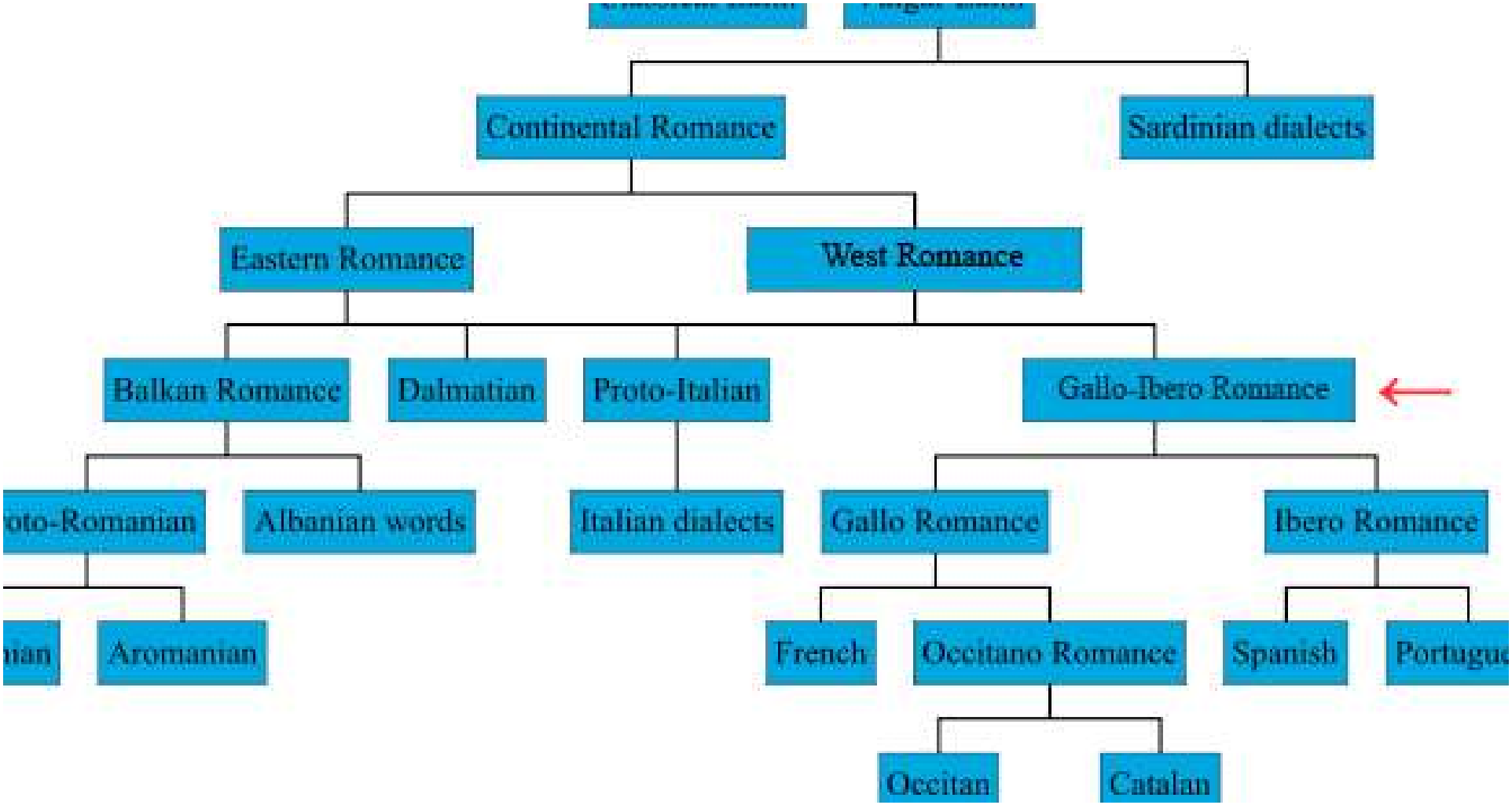
DORSUM 'back' > Fr. *dos*, OCat. *dos* but Sp. *dorso* vs. It. *dorso*

URSUM 'bear' > Cat. *os*, Sp. *oso* but Fr. *ours* vs. It. *orso*

PWR. syncope:

MATUTINUM 'morning' > Fr. *matin*, Cat. *matí* vs. It. *mattina*

Proto-Gallo-Ibero-Romance



Proto-Gallo-Ibero-Romance

1. diphthongization (partim): Vlat. *Ę, Ǫ > PGIR. *ie, uo* > Fr. ie, ue:

CAELUM 'sky' > Fr. *ciel*, Sp. *cielo* vs. Cat. *cel*, Port. *céu*.

VLat. -p-, -t-, -g- > PGIR. *-β- , *-δ-, *-γ-:

ROTA 'wheel' > Fr. *roue*, Cat. Occ. Port. *roda*, Sp. *rueda* vs. It. *ruota*

VLat. *KIV, *TIV > PGIR. *c:

PROVINCIA 'province' > Fr. *provence*, Port. *provença* vs. It. *provincia*

GRATIA 'grace' > Fr. *grâce*, Port. *graça*, vs. It. *grazia*

VLat. KT > PGIR. *jt: (1. dipthongization)

FACTUM 'deed' > Fr. *fait*, Occ. *fach*, Sp, *hecho* vs. It. *fatto*

VLat. KS > PGIR. *js: (1. diphthongization)

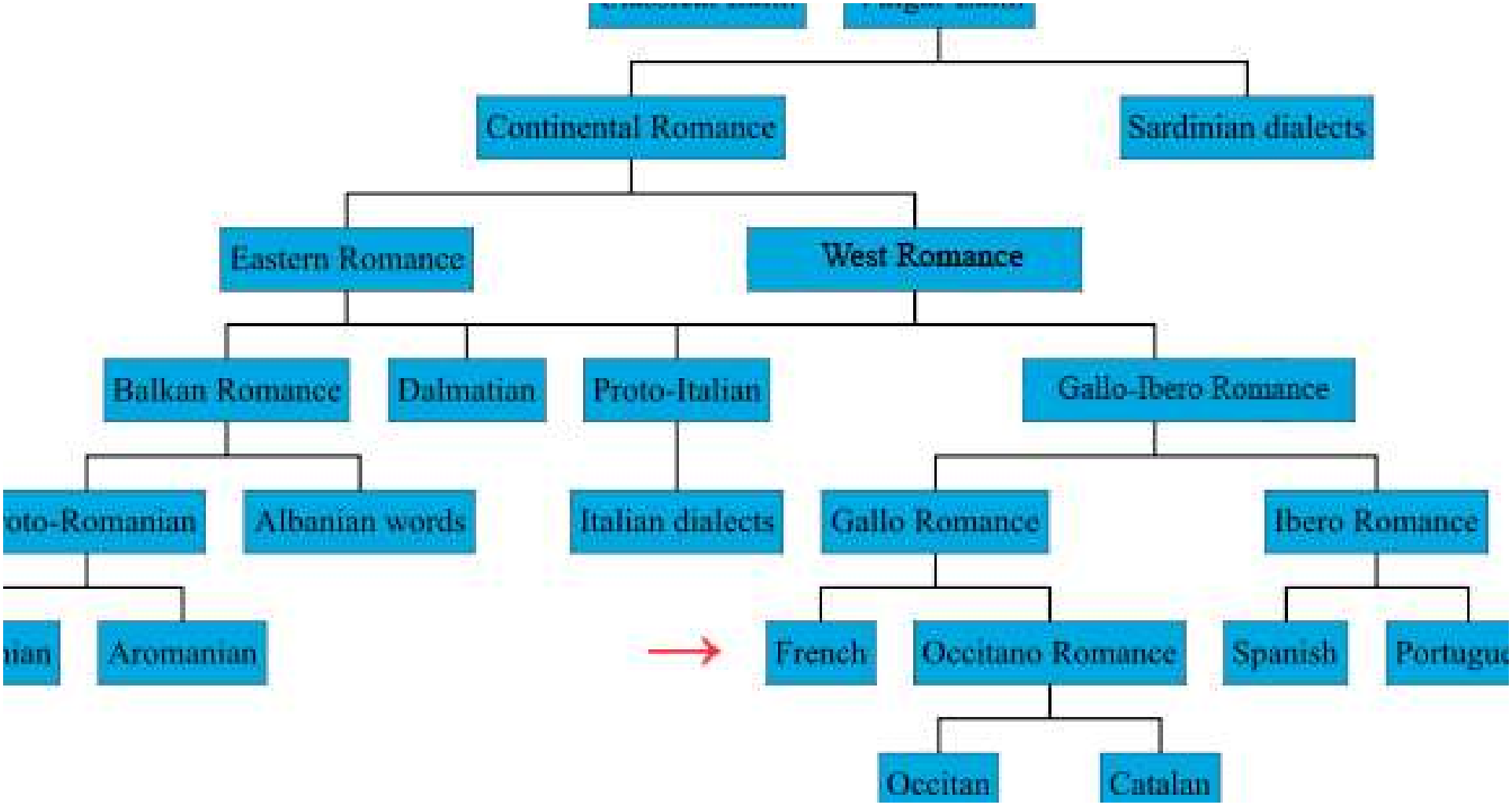
COXA 'thigh' > Fr. *cuisse*, Cat. *cuixa* vs. Romn. *coapsă*

VLat. -GN-, -CL-, -GL- > PGIR. *-ń-, *-Ĺ-:

OCULUM 'eye' > Fr. *oeil*, Cat. *ull*, Occ. *uèlh*, Sp. *ojo* vs. It. *occhio*

PUGNUM 'fist' > Fr. *poing*, Cat. *puny*, Sp. *puño* vs. Romn. *pumn*

Proto-West Romance



Old French: Most important traits

2. diphthongization: Vlat. Ẹ, Ọ, A > OFr. ei, ou, ae > Fr. oi, eu, e

VIDĒRE 'see' > OFr. *vedeir* > Fr. *voir* vs. It. *vedere*

Gaulish palatalization:

MANU 'arm' > OFr. *main* > Fr. *main*, vs. It. *mano*

Apocope: -V# > 0:

SEPTEM 'seven' > OFr. *set* > Fr. *sept*, vs. It. *sette*

VLat. *YC > OFr. *yCy:

IMPEIORARE 'worsen' > OFr. *empoirier*

VLat. *CY > OFr. iC:

MANSIONE 'house' > OFr. *maisun* > Fr. *maison*

VLat. -CC- > OFr. -C-:

ILLE HOC 'this' > OFr. *iluec*

Old French: Records

Reichenau glosses (8th c.), Kassel glosses (9th c.):

APER = PORCUS SALVATICUS 'boar' > OFr. *porc salvage*
CANERE = CANTARE 'sing' > Fr. *chanter*
GECOR = FICATUM 'liver' > Fr. *foie*
HIEMS = HIBERNUS 'winter' > Fr. *hiver*, It. *inverno*, Romn. *iarnă*
FORUM = MERCATUM 'market' > Fr. *marché*, but It. *foro*, Sp. *fuero*.
AGER = CAMPUS 'field' > Fr. *champ*, but Romn. *agru*
CASEUM = FORMATICUM 'cheese' > Fr. *fromage* but Romn. *caș*
PULCHRA = BELLA 'pretty' > Fr. *belle*, but Sp. *pulcro*

Oaths of Strasbourg (Serments de Strasbourg, 9th c.), Eulalia sequence (Cantilène de sainte Eulalie, 9th c.)

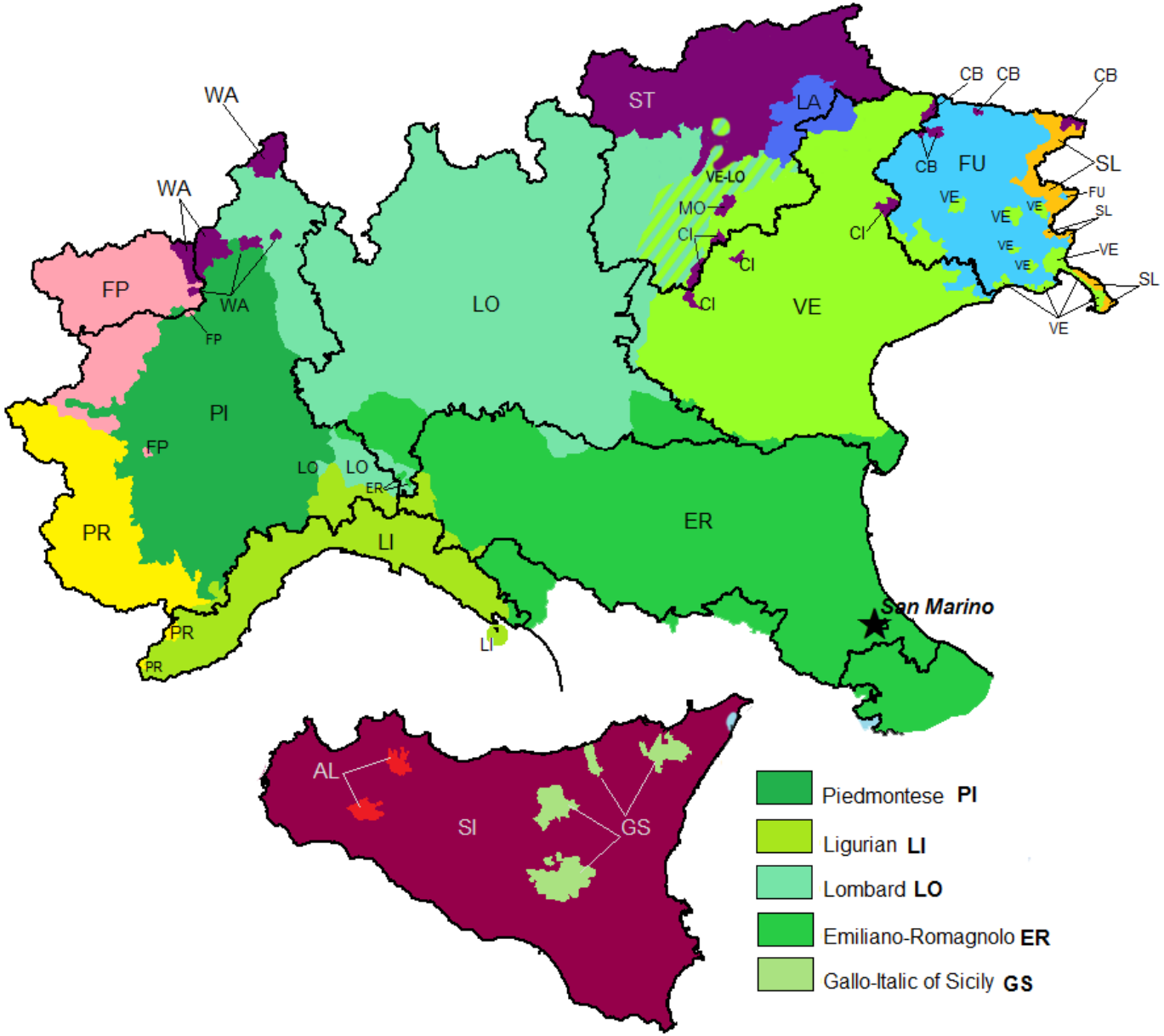
Gallo-Italic Languages

Gallo-Italic languages

Piedmontese - Piedmont
Ligure - Liguria, Emilia-Romagna
Lombardo - Piedmont, Lombardia, Trentino
    lombardo orientale
    lombardo occidentale
Emiliano-romagnolo - Emilia-Romagna
    emiliano
    romagnolo
Gallo-italico di Sicilia - Enna, Messina (12th c.)

Alternatively grouped as Italo-Romance languages (G. B. Pellegrini, M. Dardano, T. Telmon)

Gallo-Italic languages



Gallo-Italic languages: Gallo-Romance traits

Apocope:

HOMINEM 'man' > Lomb. *òm*, Fr. *homme* vs. It. *uomo*

VLat. ū > [y]:

FŪMUM 'smoke' > Lomb. *füm*, Fr. *par-fum* vs. It. *fumo*

VLat. Ē, Ō > *ei, ou*:

MENSEM 'month' > *meis > Pied. *mis*, OFr. *meis*, Fr. *mois* vs. It. *mese*

VLat. CI, CE > [si, se] (partly):

CENARE 'dine' > Gl. *sener* vs. It. cenare

Lenition:

DIGITUM 'finger' > Gen. *diu*, OFR. *doi*, Fr. *doigt* vs. It. *dito*

VLat. -CT- > *-yt-*:

FACTUM 'deed' > OGen. *fàito* > *fetu*, Fr. *fait* vs. It. *fatto*

Gallo-Italic language: Italo-Romance traits

Metaphony: VLat. A, E, O > *e, i, u* /_$i, u:[21]

ECCE ISTUM 'this' > Lomb. *quest* vs. ECCE ISTI 'these' > Lomb *quist*

CANEM 'dog' > Lig. *can*, Vgl. *kan* vs. CANI 'dogs' > Lig. *chen*, Vgl. *chen*

Partial absence of apocope in Ligurian:

RAMUM 'branch' > Lig. *ramu*, It. *ramo* vs. Occ. *ram*

CANEM 'dog' > Lig. *can*, Fr. *chien* vs. It. *cane*

VLat. -CL-, -GL- > [tš, dž]:

OCULUM 'eye' > Pied. *eucc*, It. *occhio* vs. Fr. *oeil*

[21] Cp. metafonia ciociaresca and metafonia meridionale.

Rhaeto-Romance languages

Rhaeto-Romance[22] (or Ladin)[23] languages

Friulian - Friuli (Italy)
Ladin ($<$ LATINE) - Trentino, Alto Adige (Italy)
Romansh ($<$ ROMANICE) - Grischun (Switzerland)

Questione ladina: dialects of Val di Non and Val di Sole (Trentino)?
Substrates: Celtic and Rhaetic.



[22] Plin. NH III 20: Raetos Tuscorum prolem arbitrantur a Gallis pulsos duce Raeto.
[23] Distinguish from Ladino i.e. Judaeo-Spanish.

Rhaeto-Romance traits

Apocope (except for VLat. -A):

TESTA 'head' > Rmc. *testa*, It. *testa* vs. Fr. *tête*

PARTEM 'part' > Rmc. *part*, Fri. *part*, Fr. *part* vs. It. *parte*

VLat. Ū > [y], [i]:

PLUS 'more' > Lad. *plü*, Rmc. *pli*, Fr. *plus* vs. It. *più*

VLat. Ē, E > *ia, ei*:

FĒSTA 'party' > Rmc. *fiasta* vs. Fr. *fête*, It. *festa*

PEDEM 'foot' > Rmc. *pei* vs. Fr. *pie*, It. *piede*

Voicing of VLat. unvoiced stops:

LATINUM 'Latin, Romance' > Lad. *ladin*, Sp. *ladino* vs. It. *latino*

Loss of VLat. voiced stops:

CREDERE 'believe' > Rmc. *crair*, Fr. *croire* vs. It. *credere*

VLat. CA-, GA- > *ča, čo*:

CABALLUM 'horse' > Fri. cjaval, Rmc. chaval, Fr. cheval vs. It. caballo

VLat. PL- > *pl-*:

PLEBEM 'people' > Rmc. *plaiv*, Fri. *plêv* vs. It. *pieve*

Italo-Dalmatian Languages

Italo-Dalmatian Languages

Dalmatian

Ragusan (Dubrovnik), Vegliot (Krk), Zaratin (Zadar), Spalatin (Split)

Venetian

and Istriot (Istria)

Tuscan

incl. Standard Italian and Corsican (Gallurese and perhaps Sassarese)

Central Italian

Umbro, Romaneco, Ciocaro, Sabino, Northern Marchigiano

Southern Italian[24]

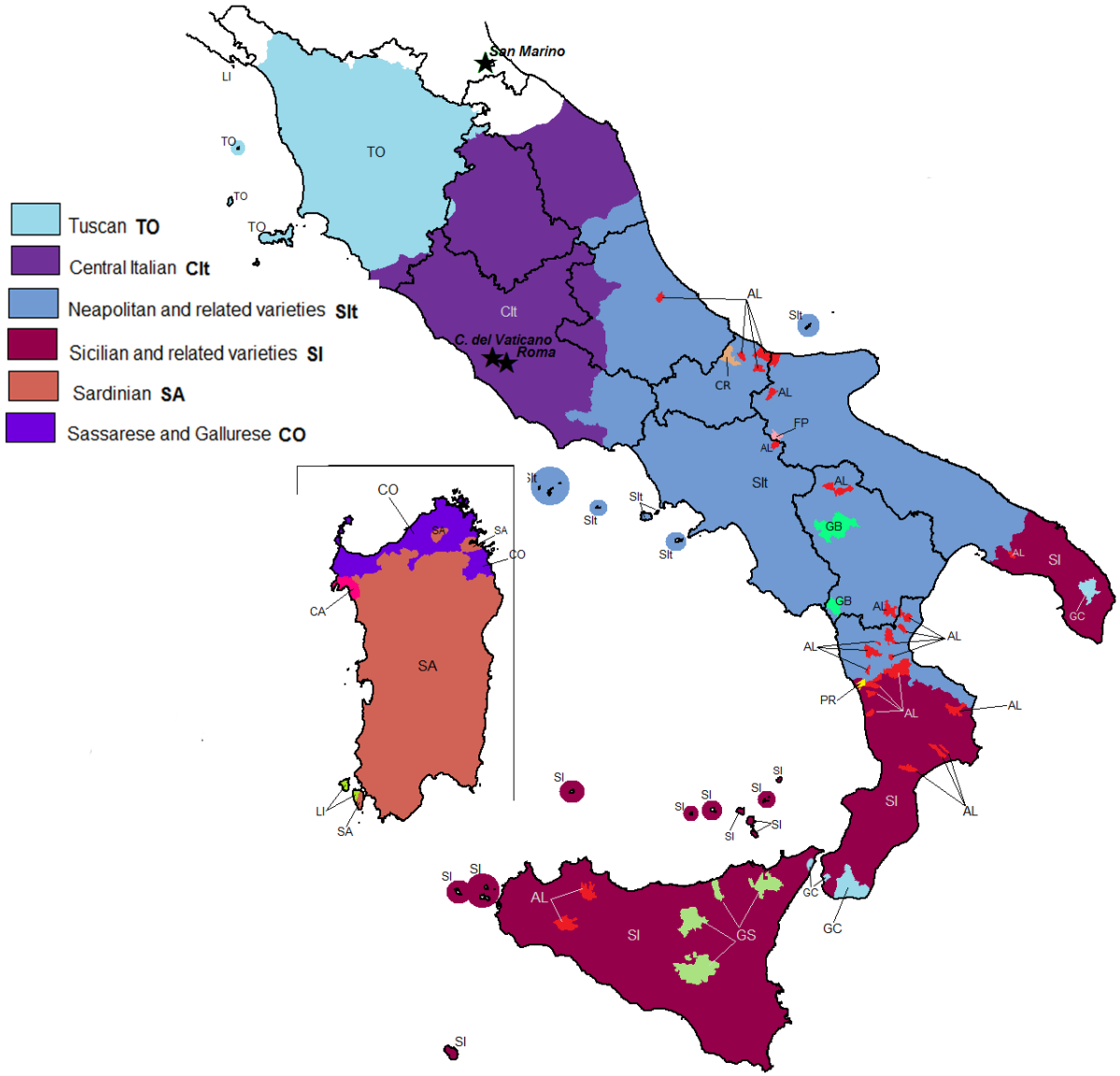
Southern Marchigiano Abruzzese, Campano, Molisano, Barese, Lucano

Extreme Southern Italian

Sicilian, Salentino, Calabrese

[24] Dante *De vulg. eloq.* I 12, 7: "Apuli quoque, vel a sui acerbitate, vel finitimorum suorum contiguitate, qui Romani et Marchiani sunt, turpiter barbarizant. Dicunt enim *Volzera che chiangesse lo quatraro*." (= Vorrei che piangesse il ragazzo).

Languages of Southern Italy



Languages of Southern Italy



Italo-Dalmatian and Romanian

VLat. tenues retained:

RIPAM 'shore' > OIt. *ripa*, Vegl. *raipa*, Romn. *rîpă* vs. Fr. *rive*, Sp. *riba*

VITA 'life' > It. *vita*, Romn. *vită* vs. Fr. *vie*, Sp. *vida*

VLat. CC clusters retained:

OCTO 'eight' > It. *otto*, Vegl. *guapto*, Romn. *opt* vs. Fr. *huit*, Sp. *ocho*

SEPTEM 'seven' > It. *sette*, Roman. *șapte* vs. Fr. *sept*, Sp. *siete*

COXA 'thigh' > It. *coscia*, Vegl. *copsa*, Romn. *coapsă* vs. Sp. *cuja*

COGNATUM > Vegl. *comnut*, Romn. *cumnat* vs. It. *cognato*, Sp. *cuñado*

VLat. Cl clusters retained:

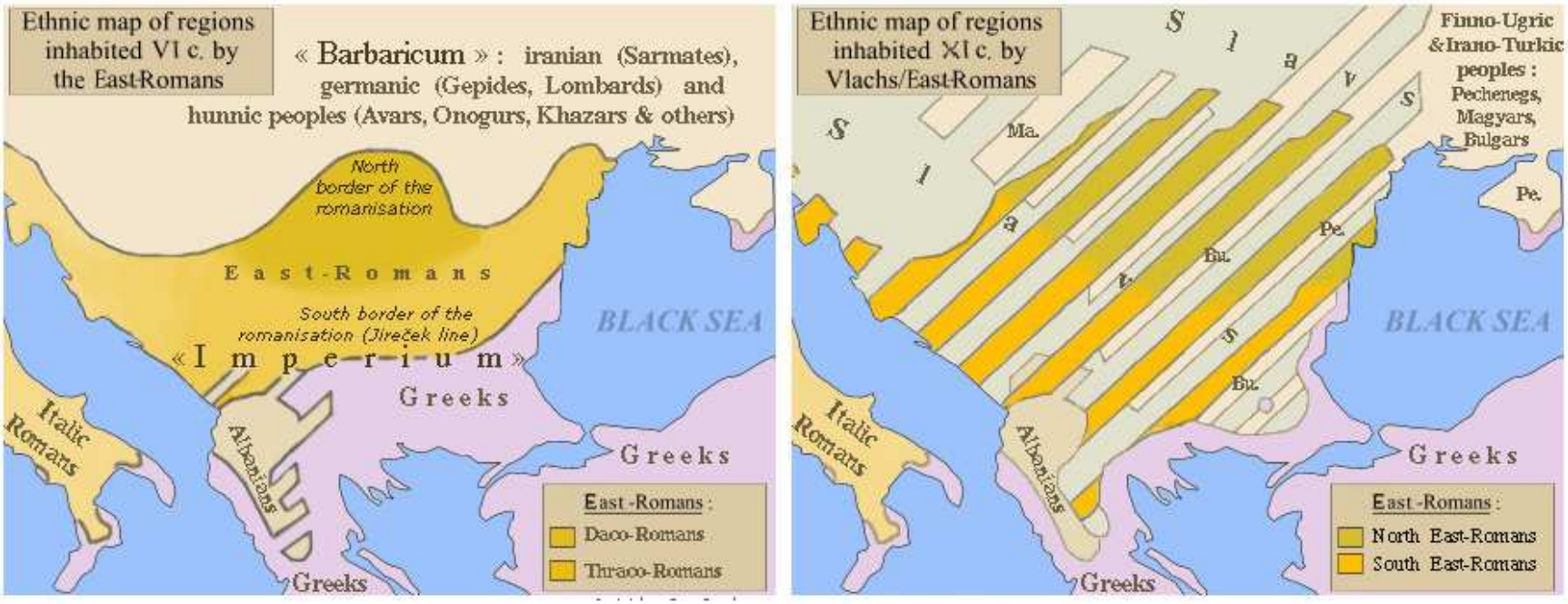
CLAMARE 'call' > Romn. *clama*, Vegl. *clamuor* vs. It. *chiamare*

VLat. -S > ERom. -i:

NOS 'we' > It. *noi*, Vegl. *nu, noi*, Romn. *noi* vs. Fr. *nous*, Sp. *nos*

STAS 'you stend' > It. *stai*, Romn. *stai* vs. Sp. *estás*, Cat. *estàs*

Italo-Dalmatian and Romanian



Southern Italian phenomena

Tuscan gorgia:

SAPERE 'know' > Tusc. *saϕere* vs. St. It. *sapere*

MATURUM 'mature' > Tusc. *maθuro* vs. St. It. *maturo*

SECURUM 'secure' > Tusc. *siχuro* vs. St. It. *sicuro*

Diphthongization of VLat. Ĭ, Ē, Ŭ, Ō:

SĬTIM 'thurst' > Abr. *säjt*ə, ELuc. *sejt*ə, Vegl. *sayt* vs. It. *sete*

VĒNA 'vessel' > Abr. *väjn*ə, ELuc. *vejn*ə, Vegl. *vayn* vs. It. *vena*

PĬSCEM 'fish' > Abr. *päš*, ELuc. *pɛš*ə, Vegl. *pask* vs. It. *pesce*

VĒNDERE 'sell' > Abr. *vänn*ə, ELuc. *vɛnn*ə, Vegl. *vandro* vs. It. *vendere*

Diphthongization of VLat. Ī, Ū:

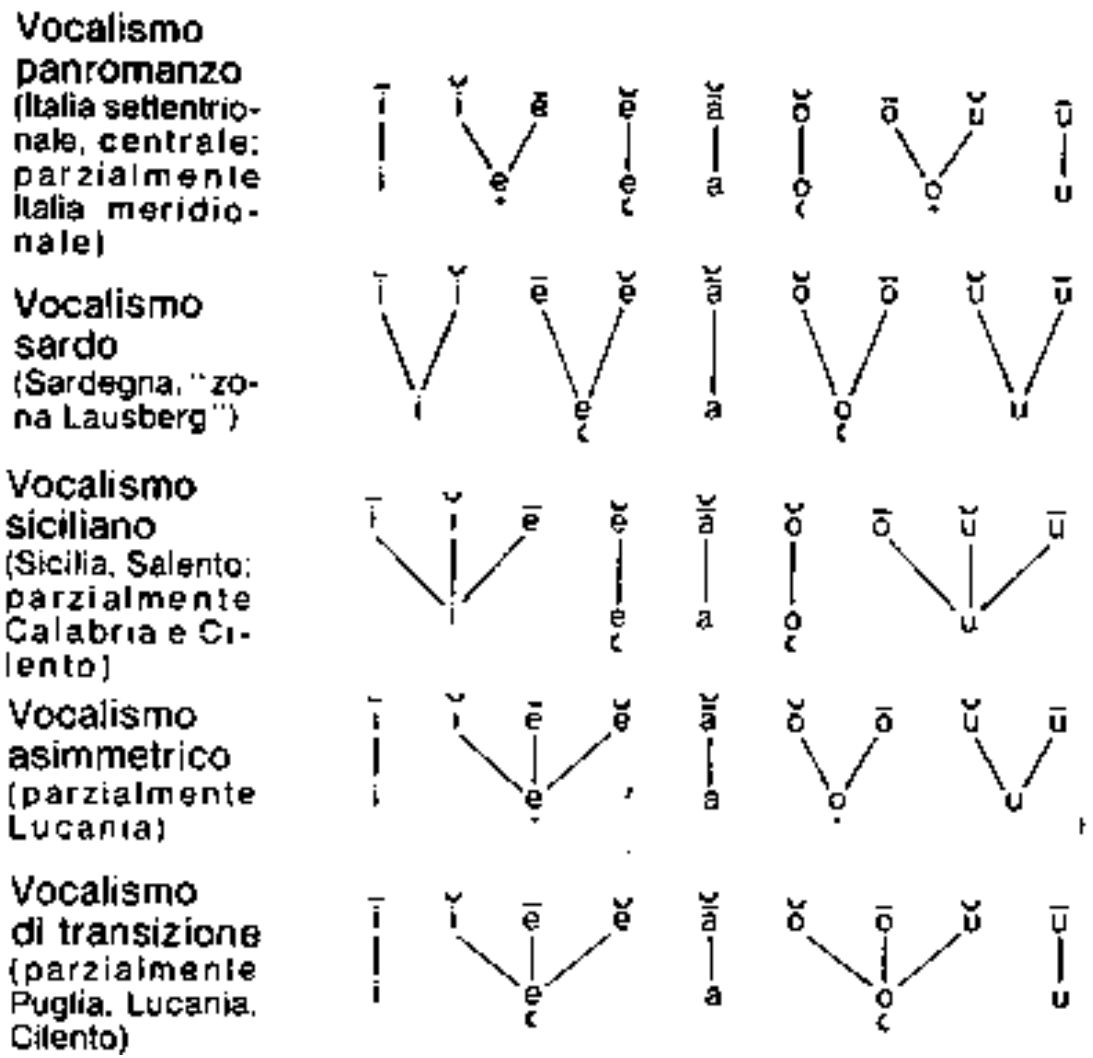
AMĪCUM 'buddy' > Abr. ELuc. *amejk*ə, Istr. *amejk*, Vegl. *amajk*

LŪNA 'moon' > Abr. *liun*ə, ELuc. *loun*ə, Istr. *lowna*, Vegl. *lojna*

Lausberg area (Sardinian, Lucanian):

FĪLUM 'thread' > Sard. *filu*, NĬVEM > *nivem*, CATĒNA > *cadẹna* FĔLEM 'gall' > *fẹle*, ROTA 'wheel'> *rọda*, SŌLEM 'sun' > *sọle*, CRUCEM 'cross' > *ruke*, DŪRUM 'hard' > *duru*

Zona Lausberg[25]



[25] St. Aug. *De doc. christ.* III, 3: "[. . .] non elucet legenti, utrum correpta littera *os* pronuntiet, an producta".

Southern Italian phenomena

Palatalization of VLat. A in Abruzzese:

CANEM 'dog' > Abr. *kɛnə*, cp. Fr. *chien* vs. It. *cane*

CATTUM 'cat' > Abr. *gɛttə*, vs. Fr. *chat*, It. *gatto*

Sardinian metaphony:

TĔMPUS 'time' > Sard. *tempus* but pl. tęmpus < *TĔMPOS

CŎRPUS 'body' > Sard. *korpus* but pl. kǫrpus < *CŎRPOS

Metafonia meridionale:

SĬCCA 'dry' > Neap. *secca*, but *siccə* < SĬCCUM

RŬSSA 'red' > Neap. *rossa*, but *russə* < RŬSSUM

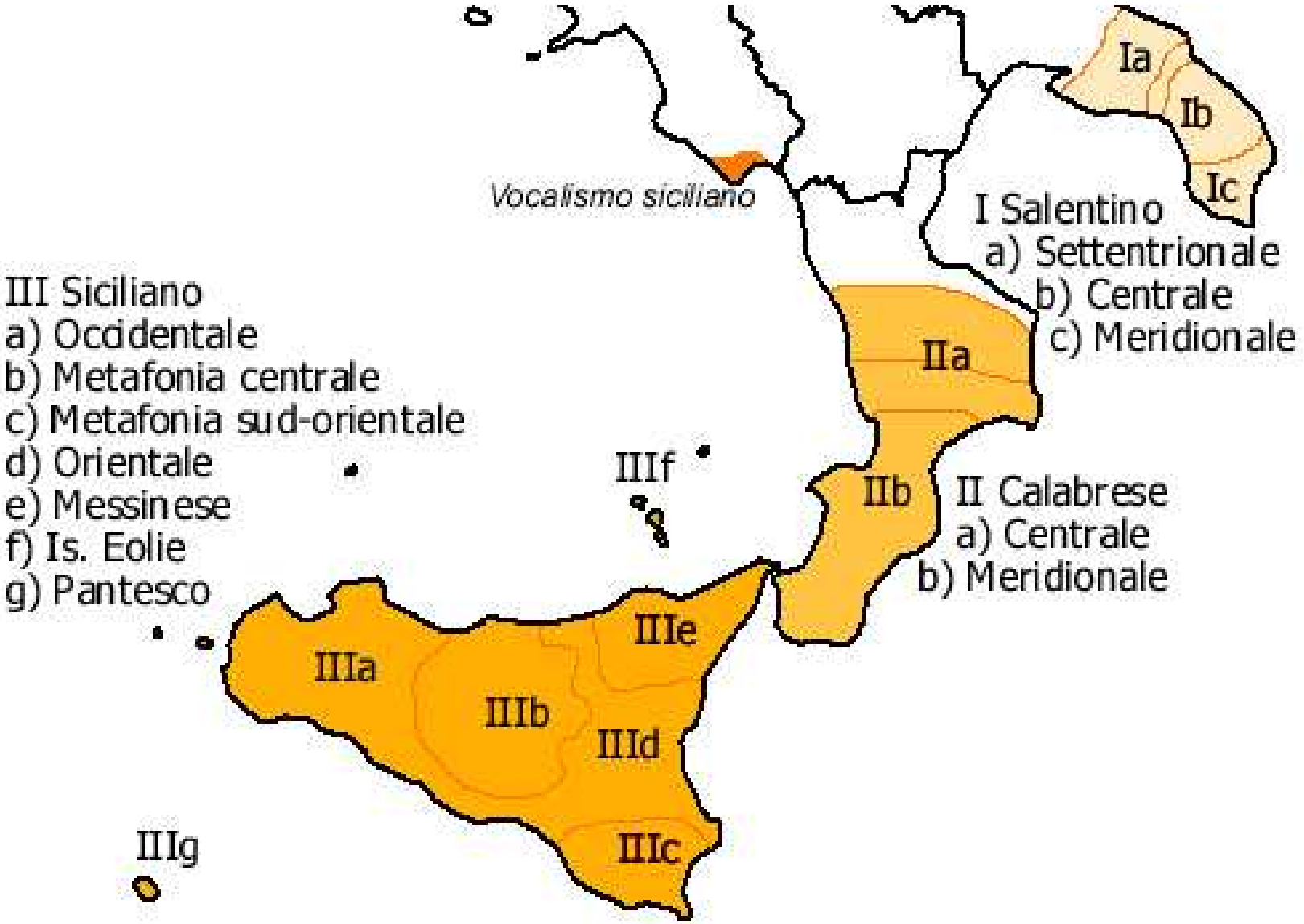
Metafonia ciociaresca:

NĬGRA 'black' > Cioc. *nera*, but *nirə* < NĬGRU

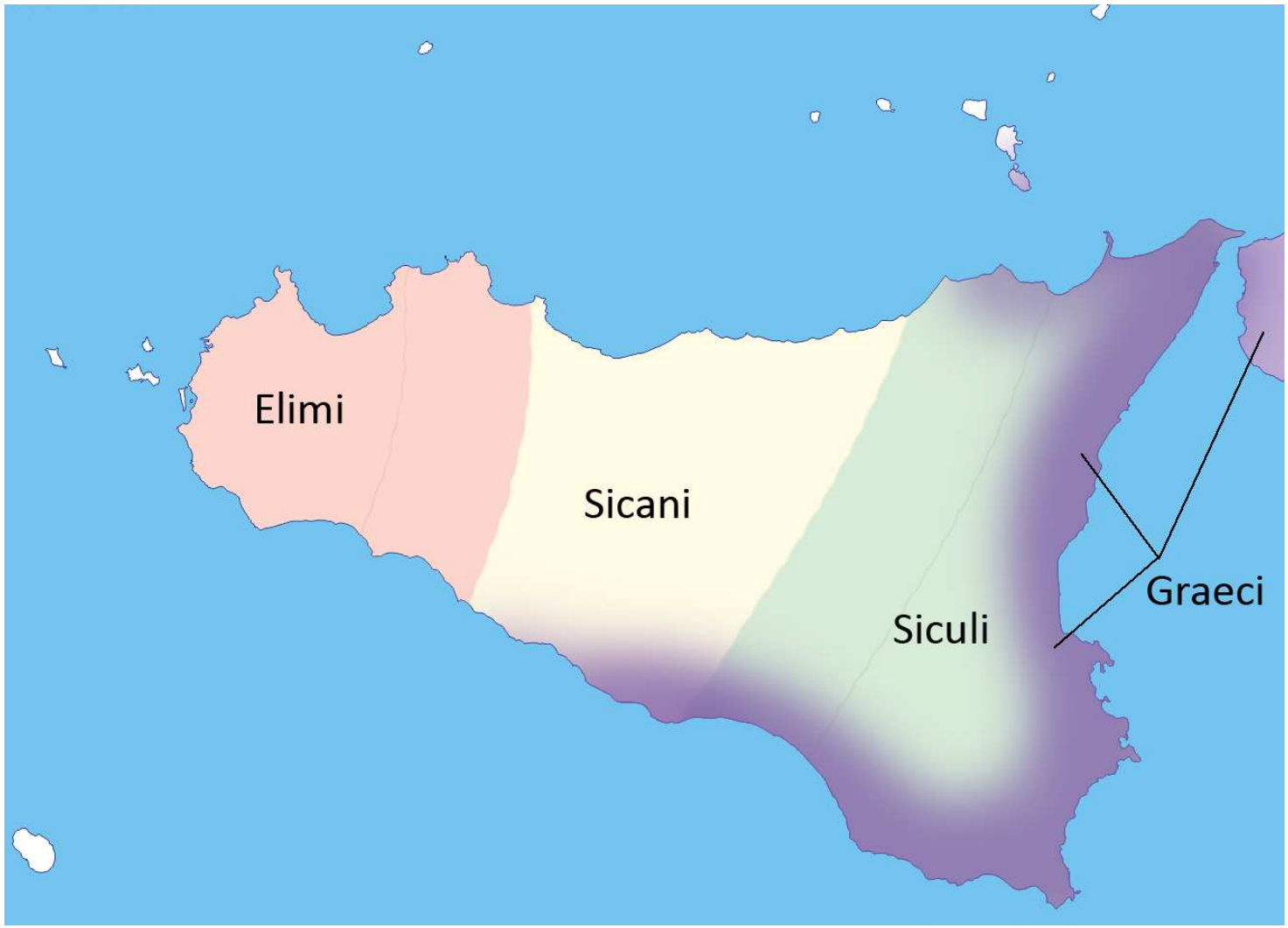
SŌLA 'alone' > Cioc. *sola*, but *sulə* < SŌLU

Sicilian

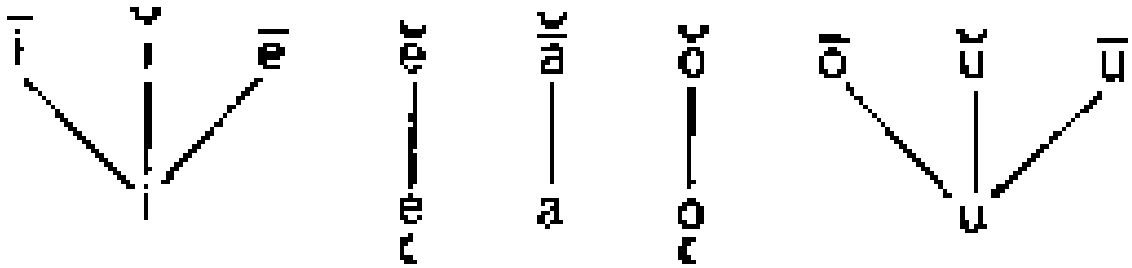
Sicilian


Vocalismo siciliano
Ia
Ib
Ic
I Salentino
a) Settentrionale
b) Centrale
c) Meridionale
IIa
IIb
II Calabrese
a) Centrale
b) Meridionale
III Siciliano
a) Occidentale
b) Metafonia centrale
c) Metafonia sud-orientale
d) Orientale
e) Messinese
f) Is. Eolie
g) Pantesco
IIIf
IIIa
IIIb
IIIc
IIId
IIIe
IIIg

Sicilian



Sicilian



Sicilian vowel system:

FĪLU 'thread' > *filu*, NĬVE 'snow' > *nivi*, TĒLA 'cloth' > *tila*

MĔL 'honey' > *meli*

PARTE 'part' > *parti*, CABĀLLUM > *cavàddu*

RŎTA 'wheel' > *rota*

SŌLEM 'sun' > *suli*, NŬCEM 'nut' > *nuci*, LŪNA 'Moon' > *luna*

Apheresis of VLat. I-:

INIMICUM 'enemy' > Sic. *nimicu*, It. *nemico* vs. Romn. *inamic*

IGNORANTEM 'ignorant' > Sic. *gnuranti* vs. It. *ignorante*

Sicilian

VLat. -liV- > -gghi-:

FILIUM 'son' > Sic. *figghiu* vs. It. *figlio*, Romn. *fiu*

FAMILIA 'familiy' > Sic. *famigghia* vs. It. *famiglia*, Romn. *fameie*

VLat. -LL- > -dd-:

BELLUM 'pretty' > Sic. *beddu* vs. It. *bello*, Ven. *belo*

MOLLEM 'soft' > Sic. *moddu* vs. It. *molle*, Romn. *moale*

VLat. CL-, PL-, FL- > chi-:

CLAVEM 'key' > Sic. *chiavi*, cp. It. *chiave* vs. Fr. *clé*

PLANUM 'flat' > Sic. *chianu* vs. It. *piano*, Romn. *plan*

FLOREM 'flower' > Sic. *chiuri* vs. It. *fiore*, Romn. *floare*

VLat. -ND-, -MB- > -nn-:

MUNDUM 'world' > Sic. *munnu* vs. It. *mondo*, Sard. *mundu*

PALUMBUS 'pigeon' > Sic. *palumma* vs. It. *palombo*, Romn. *porumb*

Sardinian

Sardinian

Northern Sardinian: Logudorese, Nuorese

Log. *sas limbas* < IPSAS LINGUAS

Southern Sardinian: Campidanese

Camp. *is limbas* < IPSAS LINGUAS

Sassarese:

le linge < ILLAE LINGUAE

Gallurese:

li linge < ILLAE LINGUAE

Dante (*De vulg. eloq.* I 11, 7):

> *Sardos etiam, qui non Latii sunt sed Latiis associandi videntur, eiciamus, quoniam soli sine proprio vulgari esse videntur, gramaticam tanquam simiae homines imitantes: nam domus nova et dominus meus locuntur.*

Sardinian



SARDEGNA
SARDIGNA
LINGUA SARDA [sc]
Logudorese [src]
Nuorese [src]
Campidanese [sro]
LINGUA CORSA [co]
Corso oltramontano [co]
Gallurese [sdn]
Sassarese [sdc]
ALTRE LINGUE
Catalano [ca]
Ligure [lij]
0
50 km
Mar Tirreno
Mare Tirrenu
Mare di Sardegna
Mare de Sardigna
MARE MEDITERRANEO
MARE MEDITERRÁNEU
Bocche di Bonifacio
Bouches de Bonifacio
Bocchi di Bunifaziu
Golfo dell'Asinara
Golfo di l'Asinara
Golfo di Orosei
Golfo de Orosei
Golfo di Oristano
Golfo de Aristanis
Golfo di Cagliari
Golfo de Casteddu
Isola di San Pietro
Iza de San Pé
Isola di Sant'Antioco
Isula de Santu Antiogu
Uiza de Sant'Antiòccu
Bonifacio
La Maddalena
Isola della Maddalena
Isula di a Madalena
L'Asinara
Castelsardo
Caltheddu
Porto Torres
Posthudorra
Sorso
Sossu
SASSARI
Alghero
L'Alguer
Ittiri
Itiri
Cannedu
Ozieri
Otieri
TEMPIO PAUSANIA
TEMPIU
OLBIA
TERRANOA
TARRANOA
Tavolara
Taulara
Arzachena
Alzachena
Siniscola
Thiniscole
NUORO
NUGORO
Macomer
Macumere
Bosa
ORISTANO
ARISTANIS
Sorgono
LANUSEI
TORTOLÌ
Isili
SANLURI
SEDDORI
VILLACIDRO
BIDDACIDRU
IGLESIAS
IGRESIAS
CARBONIA
CAGLIARI
CASTEDDU
Quartu Sant'Elena
Quartu Sant'Aleni
Selargius
Ceraxius
Assemini
Monserrato
Pula
Sant'Antioco
Santu Antiogu
Carloforte
U Paize
Teulada
Capo Teulada
Cabu Teulada
Capo Caccia
Cap de la Cupa
Capo Testa
Capu Testa
Santa Teresa Gallura
Lungoni
Porto Cervo
Portu Cervu
Golfo Aranci
Figari
Tavolara
Taulara
Capo Comino
Cabu Cumino
Capo Teulada
Cabu Teulada
8°
9°
10°
41°
40°
39°

Sardinian: Archaisms

VLat. ĭ, ŭ retained:

VIRIDEM 'green' > Sard. *birde* vs. It. *verde*, Fr. *vert*

BUCCA 'mouth' > Sard. *bukka* vs. It. *bocca*, Sp. *boca*

No diphthongization:

BONUM 'good' > Sard. *bǫnu* vs. It. *buono*, Sp. *bueno*

PETRA 'stone' > Sard. *pędra* vs. It. *pietra*, Fr. *pierre*

VLat. tenues retained (Nuorese):

APEM 'bee' > Nuo. *ape* vs. Occ. *abelha*, Sp. *abeja*

LOCUM 'place' > Nuo. *lǫcu* vs. It. *luogo*, It. *lieu*

VLat. velars retained:

CERVUM 'deer' > Sard. *kęrvu* vs. It. *cervo*, Fr. *cerf*, Sp. *ciervo*

QUINQUE 'five' > Sard. *kimbe* vs. It. *cinque*, Fr. *cinq*, Sp. *cinco*

Sardinian: Innovations

VLat. -LL-, -LD- > Sard. *-ḍḍ-*:

VILLA 'pretty' > Sard. *biḍḍa* vs. It. *villa*, Fr. *ville*

SOLIDUS 'money' > Sard. *sǫḍḍu* vs. It. *soldo*, Fr. *sol*

VLat. PL-, FL-, CL- > Sard. *pr-, fr-, cr-*:

PLATEA 'street' > Sard. *pratsa* vs. It. *piazza*, Fr. *place*

FLUXUM 'flow' > Sard. *frúšu* vs. *flusso*

ECCLESIA 'church' > Sard. *kręsia* vs. It. *chiesa*, Fr. *église*

New mediae:

LOCUM 'place' > Camp. Log. *lǫgu*, cp. Sp. *luego* vs. Nuo. *locu*

PORCUM > Camp. Log. *pǫrku* vs. IPSUM PORCUM 'the pig' > *su bǫrku*

Prothesis:

ROTA 'wheel' > Camp. *arrǫda*, cp. Gasc. *arròda* vs. It. *rota*

STELLA 'star' > Log. *istęḍḍu*, cp. Sp. *estrella* vs. It. *stella*

Balkan Romance

Dalmatian

Ph. de Diversis (1440):

> *Oratores, advocati, iudices et consules legis statuto latine loquntur non autem sclave, nec tamen nostro idiomate italico [. . .] sed quodam alio vulgari ydiomate eis speciali, quod a nobis Latinis intelligi nequit [. . .] panem vocant pen, patrem dicunt teta, domus dicitur chesa, facere fachir.*

Aelius Lampridius (1499):

> *[. . .] me puero memini nonnullos senes romana lingua, quae tunc rhacusaea dicebatur, causas actitare solitos.*

M.G. Bartoli (1906) regarding 10 Jul 1898, 6:30 AM:

> *Das ist das Vegliotische, und das war sein Ende.*

Dalmatian



Dalmatian

Diphthongization:

SĬTIM 'thirst' > Vegl. *sayt*, It. *sete*, Romn. *sete*

VĒNA 'vein' > Vegl. *vayn*, It. *vena*, Romn. *vână*

PĬSCEM 'fish' > Vegl. *pask* vs. It. *pesce*, Romn. *peşte*

VĒNDERE 'sell' > Vegl. *vandro* vs. It. *vendere*, Romn. *vinde*

Diphthongization of VLat. Ī, Ū:

AMĪCUM 'friend' > Vegl. *amajk* vs. It. *amico*, Romn. *amic*

LŪNA 'Moon' > Vegl. *lojna* vs. It. *luna*, Romn. *lună*

Palatalization of VLat. A:

PANEM 'bread' > Rag. *pen*, TATA 'father' > *teta*, CASA 'house' > *chesa*

Metaphony:

CANEM 'dog' > Vegl. *kan,* but *kin* 'dogs' < *CANI

Retention of velars:

FACERE 'do' > Rag. *fachir*, PLACERE 'please' > Vegl. *plakar*

CIMICEM 'bedbug' > Vegl. *činko*, Rag. > SCr. *kimak*, cp. Sard. *kimike*

Romanian

Daco-Romanian (Romania, Moldova, Serbia)

Aromanian (Albania, Greece, Macedonia)

Megleno-Romanian (Greece, Macedonia)

Istro-Romanian (Istria)

Balkansprachbund traits:

VLat. A > ə:

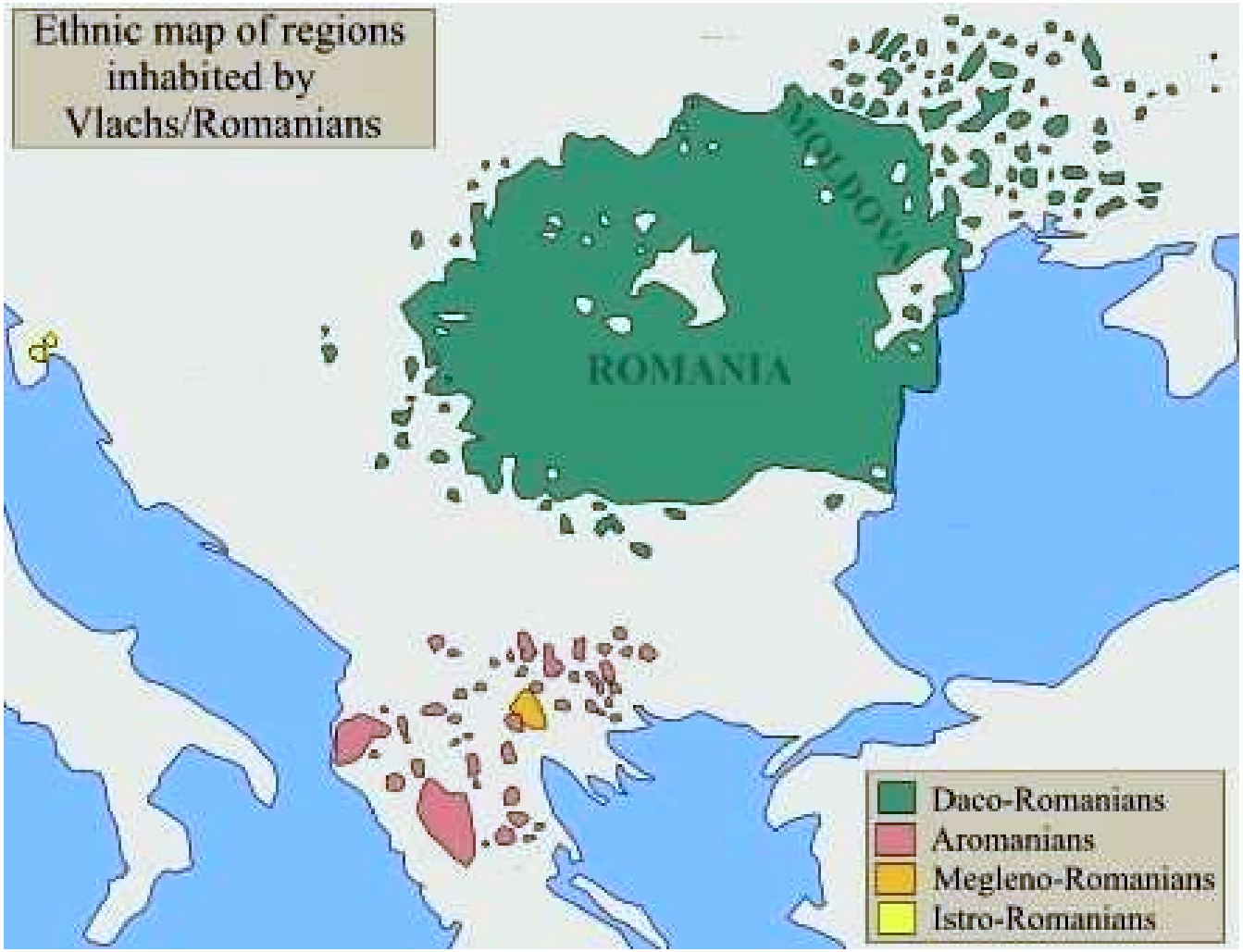
CAMISIA 'shirt' > Romn. *cămașă*, Alb. *këmishë*

Rhotacism:

CAELUM 'sky' > *cer*,VINUM 'wine' > *verë*

(Umlaut)

Romanian dialects



Romanian

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i	ę		ę	a	o		u	

Asymmetric vowel system:

FĪLUM 'thread' > Romn. *fir*

SĬTIM 'thirst' > Romn. *sete*, CRĒDERE 'believe' > Romn. *crede*

DECEM '10' > Romn. *zece*

PARTEM 'part' > Romn. *parte*, CABĀLLUM 'horse' > Romn. *cal*

ROTA 'wheel' > Romn. *roată*, SŌLE 'Sun' > Romn. *soare*

CRŬCEM 'cross' > Romn. *cruce*, DŪRUM 'hard' > Romn. *dur*

Cp. Alb. *miez-* < MEDIUM 'middle', *peshk* < PĬSCE 'fish' but *kofshë* < COXA 'thigh', *furkë* < FURCA 'fork'

Metaphony - VLat. Ē, Ĭ, Ō > Romn. ea, oa /_-E, A:

NĬGRA 'black' > Romn. *neagră* vs. *negru* < NIGRUM

FLŌREM 'flower' > Romn. *floare* vs. *flori* < *FLORI

Romanian

PRom. palatalization:

PUTEUM 'well' > Romn. *puț*, Dalm. > SCr. *puč*, Alb. *pus*, cp. It. *pozzo*

CASEUM 'cheese' > Romn. *caș*, Dalm. > SCr. *-kež*, cp. It. *cacio*

Metathesis BY > yB:

RUBEUM 'red' > Romn. *roib*, cp. CAVEA 'cage' > Dalm. > Scr. *gajba*

VLat. C^w > p /_a, C elsewhere:

QUATTUOR 'four' > Romn. *patru* vs. Vegl. *quatro*, It. *quattro*

SANGUEM 'blood' > Romn. *sânge*, cp. It. *sangue*

VLat. CT, X, GN > Romn. pt, ps, mn:

OCTO 'eight' > Romn. *opt*, Vel. *uapto*, vs. It. *otto*

COXA 'thigh' > Romn. *coapsă*, Alb. *kofshë* vs. It. *coscia*

COGNATUM 'cousin' > Romn. *cumnat*, Alb. *kunat*, Dalm. *comnut* vs. It. *cognato*

Romanian

PRomn. palatalization:

TESTA 'head' > *tyesta > Romn. *țeastă* vs. It. *testa*
DECEM '10' > *dyeke > Romn. *zece* vs. *dieci*
SERVUM 'serf' > *syerbu > Romn. *șerb* vs. It. *servo*
LEPOREM 'hare' > *lyepure > Romn. *iepure* vs. It. *lepre*

Rhotacism of VLat. L:

CAELUM 'sky' > Romn. *cer*, vs. It. *cielo*, Fr. *ciel*
GELU 'ice' > Romn. *ger* vs. It. *gelo*, Fr. *gel*

Weakening of resonants:

VINEA 'vineyard' > *vinya > Romn. *vie* vs. It. *vigna*
STELLA 'star' > *stelya > Romn. *stea* vs. It. *stella* but
CABALLUM 'horse' > *kaβaly > Romn. *cal*, Alb. *kalë*

Romanian and Albanian

VLat. A > ə:

CAMISIA 'shirt' > Romn. *cămașă*, Alb. *këmishë*

VLat. CT > pt:

LUCTA 'battle' > Romn. *luptă*, Alb. luftë

VLat. X > ps:

COXA 'thigh' > Romn. *coapsă*, Alb. *kofshë*

VLat. X > s:

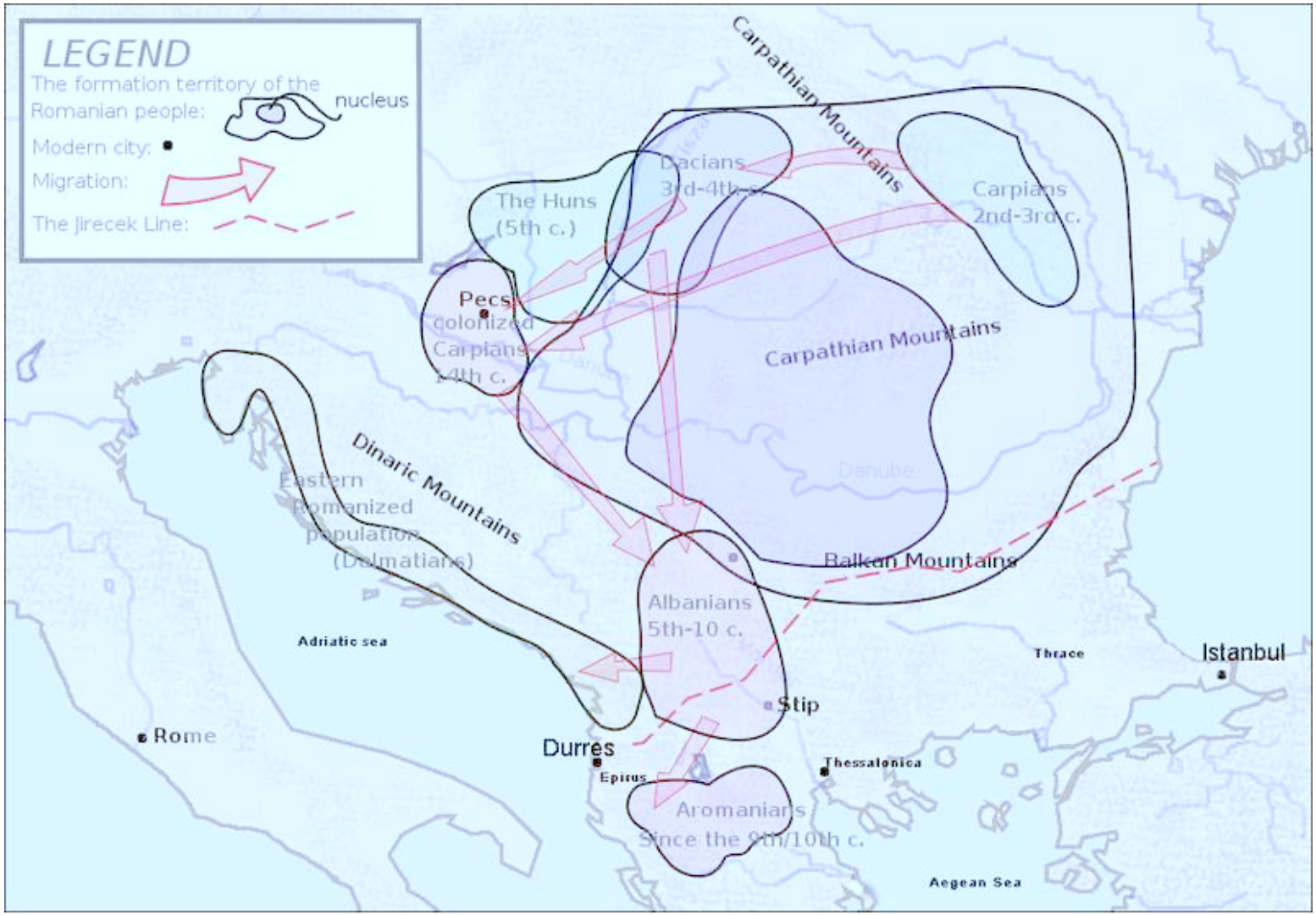
FRAXINUM 'ash' > Romn. *frasin*, Alb. *frashër*

Alb-Romn. *ć, ǰ > Romn. s, z, Alb. th, dh:

*kurća 'fall' > Romn. *cursă*, Alb. *kurth*

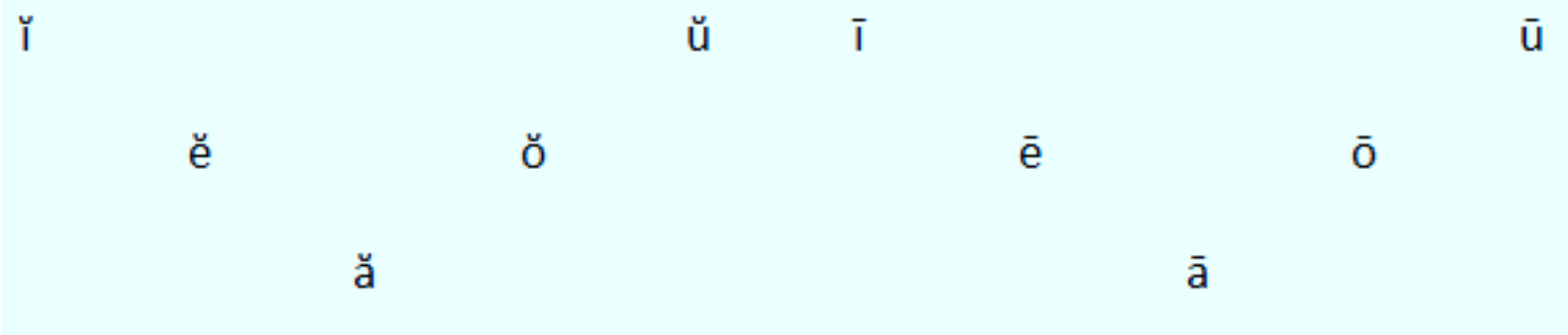
*barǰe' white' > Romn. *barză*, Alb. *bardhë*

Romanian and Albanian



Proto-Romance Phonology
From Latin to Romance

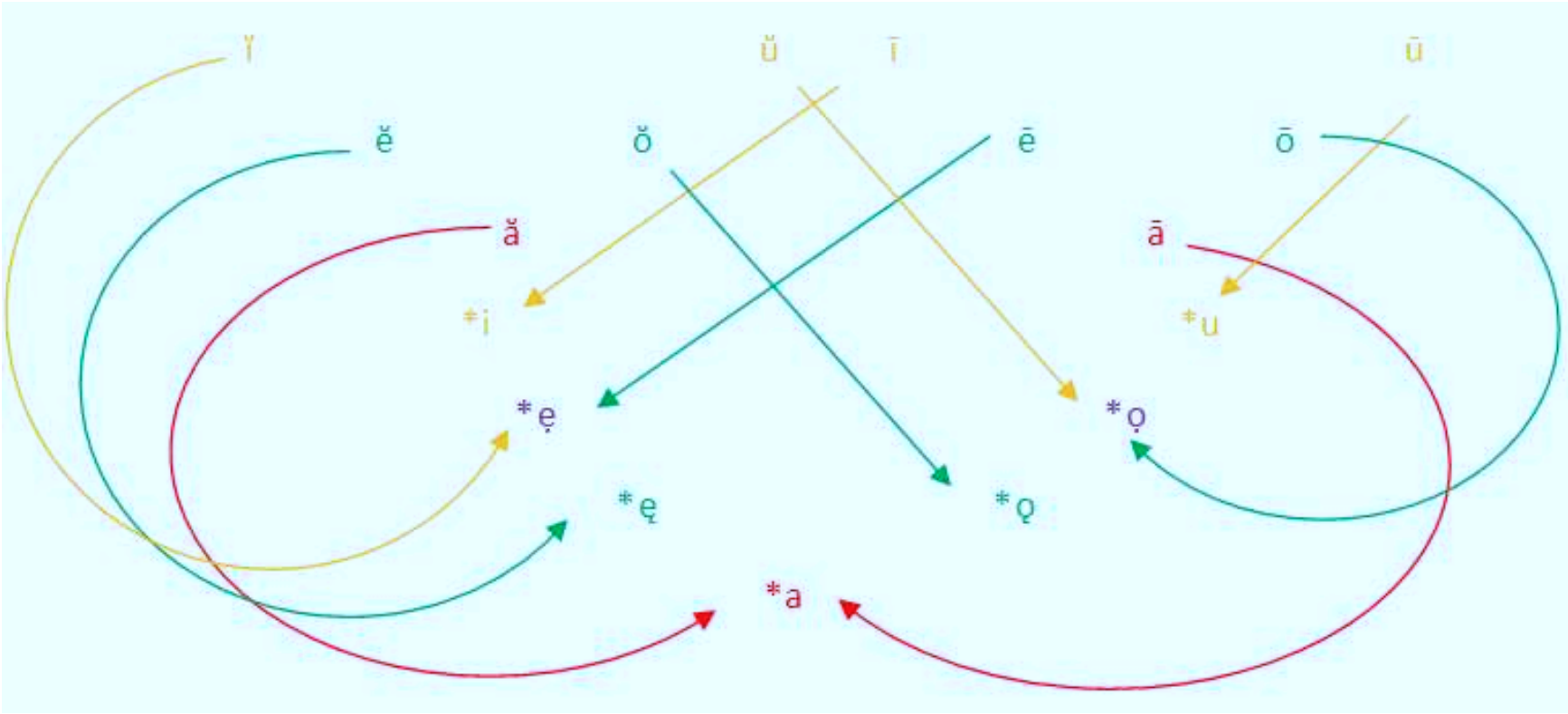
Latin Vowel System



Opposition by quantity:

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

Romance Vowel System



Lat. opposition by quantity $>$ Rom. opposition by quality

Latin Diphthongs

Lat. oe > VLat. ẹ̄ > PRom. *ẹ:

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

Lat. ae > VLat. ę̄ > PRom. *ę:

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

Varro *LL* V, 97:

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

Lat. au > VLat. ǭ > PRom. *ǫ:

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

App. Probi:

> *auris, non oricla (<* AURICULA*)*

Divergences

Romance 7-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i	ẹ		ę	a	ǫ	ọ		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	ẹ		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

Examples

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*

Romance diphthongs

PRom. *ę > i̯ę
PRom. *ǫ > u̯ǫ

Languages without diphthongization:
Portuguese, Galician, Catalan, Occitan, Sardinian, Romanian (partim)

Languages with diphthongization in open syllable:
French, Italian

Languages with diphthongization in both open and closed syllable:
Spanish, Asturian, Friulan, Istriot, Vegliot, Romanian (partim)

Languages with diphthongization in front of VLat. I, U:
South Italian, cp. CAELUM, FĔRRUM > SIt. *cielu, fierru*; FOCUM, GROSSUM > SIt. fuocu, gruossu

No diphthongization

	PĔTRA	HĔRBA	CAELUM	FĔRRUM
Sard.	pedra	erba	kelu	ferru
Port.	pedra	erva	céu	fer
Gal.	pedra	herba	ceo	ferro
Occ.	peira	herba	cel	ferro
Cat.	pedra	herba	cel	ferro

	RŎTA	PŎRTA	FŎCUM	GRŎSSUM
Sard.	roda	porta	fogu	
Port.	roda	porta	fogo	grosso
Gal.	roda	porta	fogo	groso
Occ.	roda	porta	fuec	gros
Cat.	roda	porta	foc	gros
Romn.	roată	poartă	foc	gros

Diphthongization of *ę, *ǫ in open syllable

	PĔTRA	HĔRBA	CAELUM	FĔRRUM
Fr.	pierre	herbe	ciel	fer
It.	pietra	erba	cielo	ferro

	RŎTA	PŎRTA	FŎCUM	GRŎSSUM
Fr.	ruede	porte	feu	gros
It.	ruota	porta	fuoco	grosso

Diphthongization of *ę, *ǫ in both open and closed syllable

	PĔTRA	HĔRBA	CAELUM	FĔRRUM
Sp.	piedra	hierba	cielo	hierro
Ast.	piedra	yerba, yarba	cielu	fierro
Romn.	piatră	iarbă	cier > cer	fier
Vegl.	pjetra > pitra	*čjal > čil	fjar	
Istr.	pèra (pjera)	ğierba, ğirba	sil	fjero
Friu.	piera	jerbe	ciel > cîl	fier

	RŎTA	PŎRTA	FŎCUM	GRŎSSUM
Sp.	rueda	puerta	fuego	grueso
Ast.	rueda	puerte/puorta		
Vegl.			fwok > fuk	grwas
Istr.	rwoda	puorta	fogo	grwoso
Friul.	ruede	puarte	fuec > fuc	grues

Diphthongization of *ę, *ǫ in palatal context

Diphthongization in front of a palatal:

	CERĔSEA	*PĔCTINEM	MĔDIUM	PĔCTUM
Occ.	ciriela	pienti	mieg	pieit
Fr.	cerieise > cerise	pieigne > pigne	miei > mi	pieiz > piz

	NŎCTE	CŎXA	CŎRIUM	CŎCTUM
Occ.	nuech	cueissa	cuer	cueit
Fr.	nueit > nuit	cueisse > cuisse	cueir > cuir	cueit > cuit

Diphthongization of *ẹ, *ọ

French: *ẹ > [we] > [wa]; *ọ > [ow] > [oe] > [ø]

Engadin: *ẹ > [aj]; o > [wo]

Bolognese: *ẹ > [ej] > [aj]; *ọ > [ow] > [aw]

West Friulan: *ẹ > [ej]; *ọ > [ow]

Vegliot: *ẹ > [aj]; *ọ > [aw]

Abbruzzese: *ẹ > [äj]; *ọ > [äw]

Eastern Lucano: *ẹ > [aj]; o > [ow]

SĬTIM 'thirst' > Fr. *soif*, Eng. *said*, Bol. *said*, Friul. *seit*, Vegl. *sayt*, Abr. *sajtə*, Luc. *sejtə*

NEPŌTEM 'nephew' > Fr. *neveu*, Eng. *nef*, Bol. *amvaud*, Friul. *nevoud*, Vegl. *napawt*, Abr. *napäwtə*, Luc. *nəpowtə*

Diphthongization of *i, *u

Vegliot: *i > [ej] > [aj]; *u > [y] > [oj]

Istriot: *i > [ej]; o > [ow]

Eastern Lucano: *i > [ej]; o > [ow]

Abbruzzese: *i > [ej]; o > [ju]

AMĪCUM 'friend' > Vegl. *amajk*, Istr. *amejk*, Luc. Abr. *amejkə*

LŪNA 'Moon' > Vegl. *lojna*, Istr. *lowna*, Luc. *lounə*, Abr. *liunə*

Palatalization of VLat. A

In: French, Rhaeto-Romance, Piedemontese (partim), Lombardo (partim), Emiliano-Romagnolo, Tuscan (partim), Umbro (partim), Adriatic South Italian, Ragusan.

Imola (Romagnolo)

Paroxytona with open syllable:

PATRE 'father' > *peə̯dər*

STRATA 'street' > *streə̯*

Paroxytona with syllable closed with R, L:

BARBA 'beard' > *beə̯rbə*

SALTAT 'jump' > *seə̯ltə*

Paroxytona with syllable cosed with a stop:

FACTUM 'deed' > *fat*

ACQUA 'water' > *akwə*

Proparoxytona and oxytona:

MACHINA 'machine' > *meə̯znə*

DAT 'give' > *da*

Unstressed vowels

Romance 7-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i		e		a		o		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		e		a		u		

Sicilian 5-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
	i			a		u		

Unstressed vowels

Examples:

VLat. Ī > i:

HĪBĔRNUM 'winter' > Sp. *invierno*, Fr. *hiver*, It. *inverno*

VLat. Ĭ, Ē, Ĕ > e:

CĬRCĀRE 'search' > Sp. *cercar*, Fr. *chercher*, It. *cercare*

SĒCŪRUM 'secure' > Sp. *seguro*, It. *seguro*

SĔPTIMANA 'week' > Sp. *semana*, Fr. *semaine*, It. *settimana*

VLat. Ā, Ă > a:

SĂNITĀTEM 'health' > Sp. *sanidad*, It. *sanità*

VLat. Ō, Ŏ, Ŭ > o:

DŎLOREM 'pain' > Sp. *dolor*, It. *dolore*

FŎRMĀTICUM 'cheese' > Fr. *fromage*, It. *formaggio*

SŬSPĔCTUM 'suspicious' > Sp. *sospecha*, It. *sospetto*

VLat. Ū > u:

MŪTĂRE 'change' > Sp. *mutar*, It. *mutare*

Syncope

Intertonic Ĕ:

HĔDĔRA 'ivy' > OFr. *iere*, Occ. *elra*, Eng. *edra*, Sp. *hiedra*, Port. *hera*, Cat. *eura* vs. It. *edera*, Romn. *iederă*

Counter-example: CAMĔRA 'room' > Sp. *cámara*, Port. *câmara*

Intertonic Ŏ:

LĔPŎREM 'rabbit' >Fr. *lièvre*, Occ. *lebre*, Eng. *leivra*, Sp. *liebre*, Port. *lebre*, Cat. *llebre*, Friul. *jeur*, Vegl. *lipro*, tal. *lepre* vs. Sard. *lepere*, Romn. *iepure*, Istr. *levaro*

Counter-example: ARBŎREM 'tree' > Sp. *arbol*, Port. *arvore*, Friul. *arbul*

Intertonic Ĭ:

*PĔCTĬNEM 'comb' > OFr. *pigne*, Sp. *peine*, Vegl. *pjakno* vs. It. *pettine*, Eng. *pettan*, Sard. *pettene*, Romn. *pieptene*

Interronic Ŭ:

MATUTĪNUM 'morning' > Fr. *matin*, Port. *matĩs*, Sp. *matines*, It. *mattino*

Final vowels

Italian 7-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i		e, i		a		o		

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, 0		e, i		ă		u, 0		

West Romance final vowels:

MALU 'bad' > Port. Sp. Cat. Occ. Fr. *mal*

BENE 'good' > Port. *bem*, Sp. Fr. *bien*, Cat. Occ. *bé*

VALET 'be worth' > Port. Cat. Occ. *val*, Sp. *vale*, Fr. *vaut*

DICIT 'say' > Port. *diz*, Sp. *dice*, Cat. *diu*, Occ. *ditz*, Fr. *dit*

SALUTEM 'health' > Port. *saude*, Sp. *salud*, Occ. Cat. Fr. *salut*

Apocope

	-A	-U	-E (3)	-E (2)
Fr.	+	+	+	+
Cat.	-	-	+	+
Sp.	-	-	+	-
Port.	-	-	+	-
It.	-	-	-	-
Vegl.	-	+	+	-

	NOVA	NOVUM	CANTARE	NOVEM
Fr.	neuve	neuf	chanter	neuf
Cat.	nova	nou	cantar	nou
Sp.	nueva	nuevo	cantar	nueve
Port.	nova	novo	cantar	nove
It.	nuova	nuovo	cantare	nove
Vegl.	nawva	nuf	kantur	nu

Intervocalic stops

Degemination: [pp], [tt], [kk] > [p], [t], [k]

Sonorization: [p], [t], [k] > [b], [d], [g]

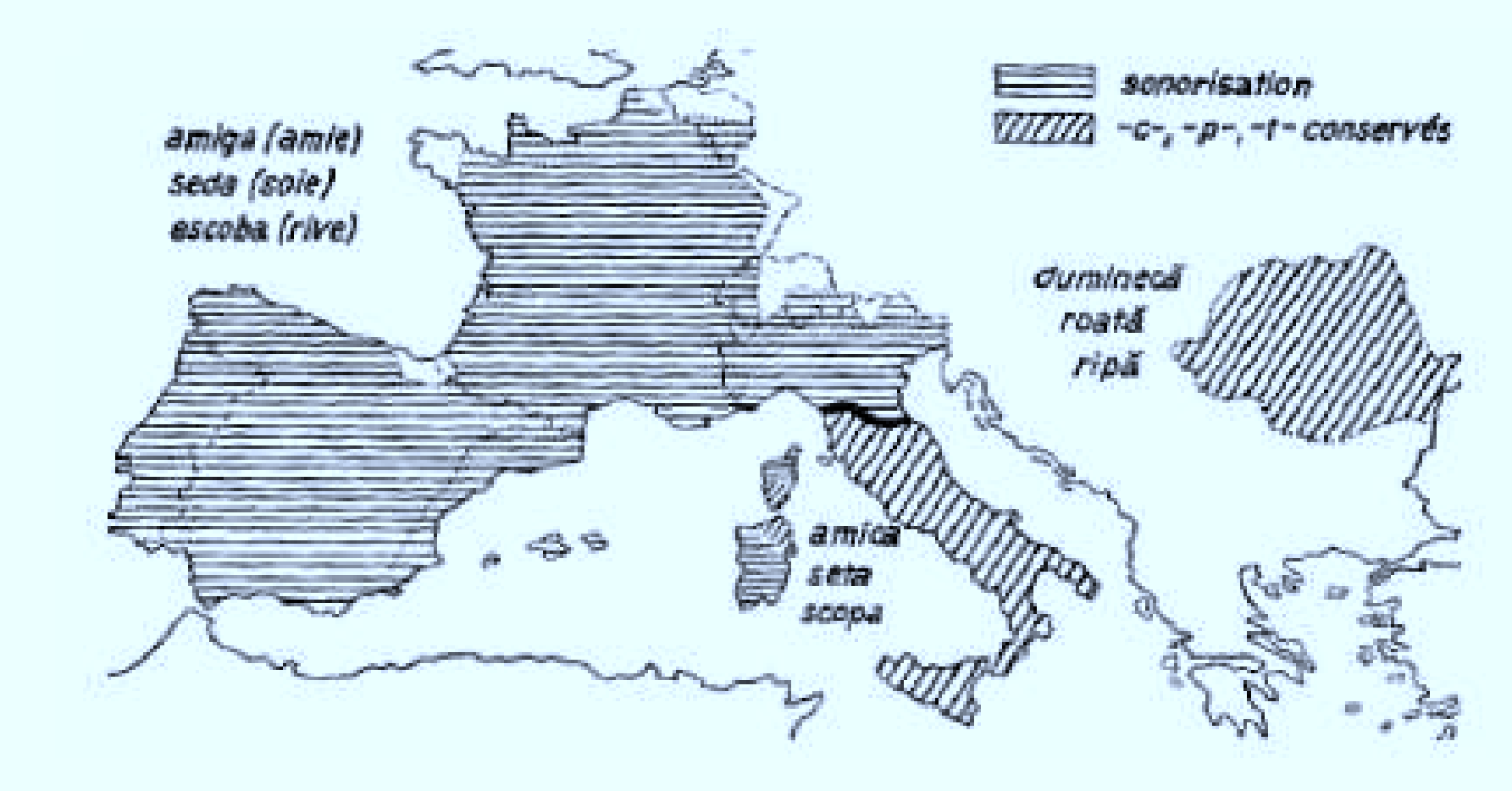
Spirantization: [b], [d], [g] > [β], [δ], [γ]

Loss: [β], [δ], [γ] > Ø

Intervocalic stops in West Romania and Sardinia:

	Sp.	Fr.	Log.	Camp.
CIPPUM	cepo	cep	kippu	kippu
CAPUT	cabo	*[kavo] > [tševə] > chef	ka[β]u	kapu
RATTUM	rata	rat	battu	battu
SITIM	sete	*[seδa] > [seə] > soif	si[δ]is	sitis
VACCA	vaca	*[vaka] > *[vatšə] > vache	bakka	bakka
AMICUM	amigo	*[amiγo] > ami	ami[γ]u	amiku

Intervocalic stops



Intervocalic -S-

Voicing:

CASA 'house' > Port. *ca[z]a*, Occ. *ca[z]a*, NIt. *ca[z]a*, Sard. *ca[z]a*

Voicing > devoicing:

CASA > Gal. *ca[z]a* > *ca[s]a*, Port. *ca[z]a* > *ca[s]a*, Cat. *ca[z]a* > *ca[s]a*

No voicing:

CASA > SIt. *ca[s]a*, Vegl. *kwo[s]a*, Romn. *ca[s]a*

Intervocalic -B-

Voicing:

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*

No voicing:

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*

Palatalization of C

	CENA	CIMICEM/ CIVITATEM	PLACERE/ FACERE	COCINA
CSard.	[ʔ]ena	[ʔ]imi[ʔ]e	fa[ʔ]ere	ko[ʔ]ina
Log.	[k]ena	[k]imi[γ]e	fa[γ]ere	ko[γ]ina
Campid.	[ž]ena		fa[ž]ere	ko[ž]ina
Vegl.	kajna	[tš]inko	pla[k]ar	ko[tvs]ajna
Rag.		[k]ima[k] (SCr.)	fa[k]ir	
Romn.	[tš]ină	[tš]etate	fa[tš]e	
South Italy	[tš]ena	[tš]ime[tš]e	kja[tš]e	ku[tš]ina
It.	[tš]ena	[tš]imi[tš]e	pia[tš]ere	co[tš]ina
Eng.	[tš]aina	[tš]ited	pla[ž]air	cu[ž]ina
Fr. arch.	[s]ener	i[s]té	plai[z]ir	cui[z]ine
Occ.	[s]enar	[s]iutat	pla[z]er	co[z]ina
Cat.	[s]enar	[s]iutat	plaer	cuina
Sp.	[θ]ena	[ts]isme	ha[θ]er	co[θ]ina
Moz.	[ts]anach			ko[tš]ina
Port.	[s]ea	[s]incho	fa[z]er	co[z]inha

Palatalization of G

	GELARE	MULGERE	GYRARE	FUGIRE/ FRIGERE
CSard.	[g]elare	mur[γ]ere		fri[γ]ere
Log.	[b]elare	mur[γ]ere		frìere
Campid.	[d]elar	mur[d]ere		frì(ri)
Vegl.	[g]elut			
Romn.	[dž]er		mul[dž]e	fu[dž]i
South It.	[j]elo	[j]ira		fu[j]ire
It.	[dž]elo	mun[dž]ere	[dž]irare	fu[dž]ire
Eng.	[dž]hel	mun[dž]er	[dž]irer	fü[dž]ir
Fr.	[ž]el	moudre	[dž]irer	fuir
Occ.	[ž]el	mol[z]er	[dž]irar	fu[ž]ir
Cat.	[dž]el	munyir	[dž]irar	fu[dž]ir
Sp.	hielo	muñir	[x]irar	huir
Moz.	[j]elid			
Port.	[ž]elo	mun[ž]ir	[ž]irar	fu[ž]ir

Gaulish palatalization

Franco-Provençal
North Occitan
Engadin
Friulan
Ladino (partim)

	CAPRA	PACARE	GALLU	LIGARE
Eng.	[j]avra, [j]evra	pa[j]er, pa[j]er	[j]al	li[j]ar, li[j]er
Friul.	[k]avre	pa[j]â	[g']al	le[j]â
Fr.	[š]èvre	pa[j]er	[ž]al	li[j]er
North Occ.	[š]abra	pa[j]ar	[ž]alh	li[j]ar

Clusters PL, CL, FL

	PLANUS	CLAVE	FLORE
CSard.	[pr]anu	[kr]aβi	[f]ore
Log.	[pr]anu	[kr]ae	[fr]ore
Romn.	[pl]an	[k']eie	[fl]oare
Vegl.		[kl]uf	
Friul.	[pl]an	[kl]âf	[fl]or
Istr.	[pj]an	[tš]ave	[fj]ur
It.	[pj]ano	[kj]ave	[fj]ore
Eng.	[pl]aun	[kl]ev, [kl]av	[fl]ur
Friul.	[pl]ain	[kl]é	[fl]eur
Occ.	[pl]a	[kl]au	[fl]or
Cat.	[pl]a	[kl]au	[fl]or
Sp.	[ʎ]ano	[ʎ]ave	[fl]or
Ast.	[j]anu	[j]anu	[fl]or
Moz.	[pl]an	[kl]aw	[fl]orentsija
Port.	[tš]ao	[tš]ave	[fl]or

Final stops

	-M	-N	-T	-B	-D	-C	-L	-R	-S
Sard.	Ø	Ø, nV	tV	βV	dV	kV	lV	rV	sV
Romn.	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø (k)	lV	rV	Ø, j
Vegl.	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø			j
Slt.	Ø	Ø	Ø, tV	Ø	Ø	Ø	lV	Ø	Ø, j, sV
It.	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	lV	rV, Ø	Ø, j
Nlt.	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø, l, w	rV, Ø	s, Ø
RRom.	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	l	V	s
Fr.	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø, (j)	l	rV	Ø
Occ.	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	l	rV	s
Cat.	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	l	rV	s
Sp.	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	l	rV	s
Port.	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	l	rV	š

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ALE = *Atlas linguarum Europae*
ALEA = *Atlas linguistic y etnográfico de Andalucia*
ALF = *Atlas Linguistique de la France*
ALGa = *Atlas linguistic galego*
ALI = *Atlante linguistico italiano*
ALJA = *Atlas linguistique ethnographique du Jura et des Alpes du Nord*
ALLR = *Atlasul lingvistic român pe regiuni*
ALPEG = *Atlas linguistic-etnográfico de Portugal e da Galiza*
ALPI = *Atlas linguistic de la Península Ibérica*
ASLEF = *Atlante storico-linguistico etnografico friulano*

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